

CRIMINAL
JUSTICE
RESEARCH



PATTERNS OF BURGLARY

SECOND EDITION

010767

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration
National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice

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SECOND EDITION
ENLARGED and REVISED

By

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This project was supported by Grant No. 72-0002-G awarded by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice, under the omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, as amended. Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

June 1973

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration
National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice

CONTENTS

PREFACE vii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS x

Part 1

An Intensive Study of Crime in the Metropolitan Area

CHAPTER I: Burglary, Burglars, and Burglarizing 2
 A Conceptual Orientation 3
 1. Needs that may be satisfied through
 successful burglary 5
 2. Knowledge of burglary technology 7
 3. Perceives opportunity to burglarize 8
 4. Perceives burglary as path to need-meeting 10
 5. Chooses burglary over other paths to meet need 11
 6. Attempts and succeeds at burglary 12
 7. Converts burglarized items into need-meeting items 13
 8. Satisfies need. 14
 9. Reinforces burglary behavior pattern 14
 Summary 15
CHAPTER II: The Study Site and Data Base 16
 The Setting 16
 Fairfax County, Virginia 17
 Washington, D. C. 18
 Prince George's County, Maryland 19
 Data and Data Sources 20
 Police Reports 20
 1970 Census Data 21
 Burglary Rate Data 22
 Interviews with Victims and Non-Victims 22
 Interviews with Offenders 23
 Interviews with Criminal Justice System Personnel 23
 Summary 24
CHAPTER III: The Offense 25
 What is a Burglary Offense Like? 25
 Burglary Attempts 26
 Type of Structure Entered 26
 Type of Goods Stolen 27
 Value of Goods Stolen 28
 Value of Property Damaged 28

Place of Entry	29
Means of Entry	30
Month of Occurrence	30
Season of Occurrence	30
Time of Day and Day of the Week of Occurrence	31
How are Burglaries Distributed Through Space and Time ?	32
Residential Burglary Rate Patterning	32
Fairfax County, Virginia	32
Washington, D. C.	33
Prince George's County, Maryland	34
Non-Residential Burglaries	35
What Social Characteristics are Correlated with the Occurrence of Burglaries ?	36
Fairfax County, Virginia	36
Washington, D. C.	38
Prince George's County, Maryland	40
A More Intensive Look at the Residential Burglary Rate: A High Rate-Low Rate Tract Comparison for the Three Jurisdictions	42
Fairfax County, Virginia	43
Washington, D. C.	43
Prince George's County, Maryland	43
Summary	44
 CHAPTER IV: The Victim	 45
Developing an Interview Schedule	46
Methodology of the Full-Scale Survey	47
Characteristics of Respondents in the Final Sample	48
Victimization Experiences of Respondents and at Sites	50
Burglary	50
Other Crimes	52
Police	54
Psychological Orientations: Perceptions of the Crime Problem and Attitudes Toward It	55
Responses to the Crime Problem in General and Victimization Experiences in Particular	57
Physical Target Hardening	57
Behavior Changes	60
Prevention Efforts	61
Summary	62

CHAPTER V: The Burglar	63
Background	63
Organization of this Chapter	65
Motivation: Why Steal?	66
Technology: How?	67
Opportunity: What Cues are Reliable?	69
Choice: Why Burglary Rather than Something Else?	73
Outcomes: What is Taken?	74
Conversion: On the Necessity for Having a Good Fence	75
Reinforcement: Satisfactions of Thieves	76
Summary	76
 CHAPTER VI: Courts and Burglars	 77
Fairfax County	79
How is the Offender Caught?	80
The District of Columbia	89
How is the Offender Caught?	90
The District of Columbia Court System	91
Other Options	97
Prince George's County	98
How is the Offender Caught?	99
Conclusions	102
 CHAPTER VII: Generalizations and Recommendations	 103
Generalizations	103
The Nature of the Offense	104
The Patterning of the Offense	104
The Correlates of the Offense	105
The Victims of the Offense	106
Victims vs. Non-Victims	106
Residential Burglaries vs. Non-Residential Burglaries	106
Victims of Residential Burglaries vs. Non-Victims of Residential Burglaries	107
Victims of Non-Residential Burglaries vs. Non-Victims of Non-Residential Burglaries	109
Attitudes Toward Police	110
Recommendations	110
Citizen Responses	110
Police Responses	111
Conclusions	112

Part 2

Tables and Figures

CHAPTER I: Burglary, Burglars, and Burglarizing.	115
CHAPTER II: The Study Site and Data Base	119
CHAPTER III: The Offense	129
CHAPTER IV: The Victim	189
CHAPTER V: (No Tables or Figures)	
CHAPTER VI: Courts and Burglars	279
CHAPTER VII: (No Tables or Figures)	

Part 3

Bibliography

An Annotated Bibliographic Guide to the Literature on Burglary, Burglars, and Burglarizing	281
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PREFACE

The study of a crime like burglary is like the tracking of wild game: The investigator is constantly in the position of reconstructing a trail by inference from evidence of the prior presence of his quarry. Unlike other instances of surveying a population to find out what its characteristics are, the universe of criminals is not available for enumeration so that any sensible sampling procedure can be carried out. Furthermore, one is in the position of relying on those universes correlated with the criminal universe for information about the activities of the perpetrators of most crimes. What this means for our study is a heavy reliance upon the patterning of offenses in a metropolitan area; an almost equally heavy reliance upon face-to-face interviews with the victims of offenses in that same area; lesser reliance upon interviews with personnel in the court system; and least reliance upon information collected from burglars themselves.

This ranking is a very unsatisfactory, if understandable, state of affairs. With finite resources, the decision evolved, as the study progressed, to devote most energy to the more reliable sources of information. The several interviews that were conducted with criminals--both professionals and amateurs; both drug users and non-drug users--resulted in considerable redundancy of information. Since we had neither adequate resources nor personnel to carry out a systematic and extensive search for criminals "on the street," nor time to spend digging behind the facades with which we were always presented by our potential criminal informants, our decision was to rely on criminal informants only for anecdotes illustrating the art of burglary. Only slightly more satisfactory was our experience with the court system, though here we were able to interview more systematically incumbents of a variety of roles within that system, and trace out how those roles impinge upon the process of dealing with an apprehended criminal. We are happier

with the outcome of this phase of our study than with our lack of success to adequately deal with live, on the street, criminals, but much remains even there to bring our court study to the level achieved by the other two portions of our work.

We are most satisfied with our victimization survey, and with our offense-patterning study. We were able to select victims and non-victims randomly and stratify them according to several important variables. Thus, we can differentiate between residential and non-residential burglary; we can differentiate between being victimized in a high crime-rate versus a low crime-rate area; and we can finally, of course, differentiate between being a victim of the crime and not being a victim of the crime. If one adds the variable of geography (Fairfax County, the District of Columbia, Prince George's County), our survey can be described as a 2x2x2x3 factorial design. To this sample we were able to administer an extensive and lengthy questionnaire, one that enables us to get to the heart of the criminal victimization process. It is our conviction that a carefully chosen sample like ours, modest in size but interviewed in depth, is most desirable when attempting to describe a type of crime in detail and with precision. We are equally satisfied with our analysis of the patterning of offenses, based on police report data, even after acknowledging the difficulties inherent in those materials. We are especially pleased with the detail we were able to achieve in describing the correlates of this patterning with social structural variables.

The substance of the study is organized around the four major concepts necessary, if not sufficient, for an understanding of any crime: the offense, the victim, the offender, the criminal justice system. Since we are interested in drawing action implications for controlling the crime and reducing its incidence and prevalence, we have also included a chapter devoted to generalizations about the crime derived from our empirical study, and recommendations to diminish its impact. The interested practically oriented reader may wish to begin with that chapter and examine and read the remainder of our text with an eye to noting the degree to which our conclusions seem substantiated by our facts.

At the highest level, of course, our study is but another modest attempt to provide some information in answer to that most fundamental of questions which has bedeviled man since he began interacting with his fellows in an organized social structural arrangement: Under what circumstances do men obey rules?

HAS
McLean, Virginia
1972

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Criminological research is impossible without the cooperation of the criminal justice system, the collaboration of scientific investigators with a variety of skills, and generous financial support from disinterested action agencies. This study is principally indebted to the following people and agencies:

First, financial support for the research was provided by the United States Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, National Institute for Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Grants No. NI-70-064 and NI-72-002-G. Technical and moral support were provided by four men from NILE-CJ at different points in the study. First, Charles Wellford, now of Florida State University, was most helpful in his role as project monitor in the early stages of the research. To him, we owe a debt of thanks for getting the whole business started. Secondly, Fred Heinzelmann, the project monitor for sixteen months following Dr. Wellford, was mostly responsible for the actual shape of the study. Dr. Heinzelmann was our staunchest supporter within NILE-CJ. To him we owe our largest thanks. Largely through his patient help we were both assured of carrying the project to completion, and of having our results widely disseminated through a Government Printing Office publication, Patterns of Burglary, embodying the work of the first thirteen project months. Third, George Shollenberger, our monitor after Dr. Heinzelmann, was most helpful in introducing us to other projects dealing with the same kinds of problems of offense patterning and criminal justice response, as well as in the many other ways a technical monitor is helpful to an outside investigator. Finally, Louis Mayo has been the project monitor for the final seven months of the study. Mr. Mayo has been very understanding in overseeing the wind-up of a project which was largely set in its ways before he had to assume the responsibility for it. In

a role that could lead to frustration and mutual distrust, Mr. Mayo has been extremely generous in supporting us in a way that allows us to finish the project along lines that have been set down before him, but that would be extremely difficult to change now. In brief, the relationship with the agency providing financial support for our research has been excellent.

Second, we owe a large debt to members of the police departments, courts and criminal justice systems, and other parts of the three jurisdictions which are the data base for our study. Though both the police departments and the courts contributed heavily to the essential success of the study, the extremely heavy demands we made upon the time of members of the police departments in particular lead us to specifically thank by name the following people for their help and patience:

- Members of the Fairfax County Police Department, and, in particular:

Chief William L. Durrer
Colonel Richard A. King
Investigator Edward Bohn
Investigator Robert Keyes
Investigator James Riddel
Corporal Alan Barbee

- Members of the Metropolitan Police Department of the District of Columbia, and, in particular:

Chief Jerry V. Wilson
Lieutenant Sherwood Harring, Retired
Inspector Richard E. Tilley
Captain Herbert F. Miller, Jr.
Mr. Milton Sirota
Miss Mary Ellen Simmons

- Members of the Prince George's County Police Department, and, in particular:

Chief Roland Sweitzer
Captain Robert Duncan
Sergeant John Branzell
Lieutenant Paul Clements
Lieutenant Albert L. Coolie

We would also like to thank those members of the Fairfax County, District of Columbia, and Prince George's County courts systems and parole and probation offices for their cooperation, particularly in providing background material for the participant observation court study which we conducted. One of the ground rules of that study required that they be assured anonymity, so as much as we might like to single them out, we cannot.

Third, George Bricker, Briar Corporation, who, throughout the course of the study, has been a reliable consultant with respect to all problems of computer processing of our data, has been a valuable resource for the study. Both in his former capacity as Vice President of Census Data Corporation, and in his current role with Briar, Dr. Bricker has been more than helpful in meeting the demands we have placed upon him for all aspects of the data manipulation phases of the study.

Fourth, a large debt is owed Sidney Hollander Associates, a marketing and opinion research firm of Baltimore, for the efficiency with which they carried out the task of interviewing victims and non-victims in that part of our study. In particular, Sidney Hollander, Jr., the President of the firm, and Mrs. Marilee Considine, who was actually in charge of the interviewing for Sidney Hollander, performed heroically in completing a very difficult task on schedule. Without their assistance, the victimization study could literally not have been done.

Fifth, for assisting us in meeting the dissemination requirement of both our grants, we would like to thank:

- Human Sciences Research, Inc., for providing transportation costs for Dr. Scarr to attend the American Society of Criminology meetings in Caracas, where a large part of the criminological research community was made aware of the kind of work we were doing.

- Fred Heinzelmann, once again, for seeing to it that the results of the first half of our study were published by the Government Printing Office, under the aegis of NILE-CJ.
- The University of Maryland for selecting Dr. Scarr to be Chairman of a session on the Prevention and Deterrence of Crimes In and Around Residences, where an opportunity was forthcoming at the Fourth National Symposium on Law Enforcement Science and Technology to inform yet another relevant audience of the results of our work.

Each of these three occasions resulted in a publication largely based on the research we have been conducting for the past thirty months. We are grateful to all the agencies involved for letting us tell their clients and audiences about the work we are doing.

Finally, but most importantly, I wish to express my warm personal appreciation to my two collaborators and friends, (Mrs.) Joan Pinsky and (Mrs.) Deborah Wyatt. Without them, the study would have been very different and less fun to do. I would also like to express equal thanks to (Mrs.) Audrey Reniere for coding and typing assistance, and the remaining staff of Human Sciences Research for their support when needed.

HAS
McLean, Virginia
1972

PATTERNS OF BURGLARY
PART I:
AN INTENSIVE STUDY OF THE CRIME
IN A METROPOLITAN AREA

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Chapter I. Burglary, Burglars,
and Burglarizing

This report is a study of the patterning of incidents of one particular kind of criminal offense--burglary¹--in three distinct but adjacent jurisdictions for the three-year period 1967, 1968, 1969. How these crimes distributed themselves over space and through time is the first step in an attempt to understand this particular kind of criminal behavior.

At the most abstract level, for any kind of criminal behavior, three agencies are responsible for forming the patterns on the environment of any area, patterns which produce the characteristic criminal behavior distributions found there:

The offender, by taking advantage of existing opportunities and/or creating his own opportunities, commits crimes;

The citizen, by what he does or does not do, increases and/or decreases the probability that he will or will not become a victim of a particular crime.

The political jurisdiction--largely via its major law enforcement component, the police--attempts to counter the moves of the offender, and abet the moves of the citizen, in the neverending interaction among these three elements of the patterning of criminal behavior.

If we consider these three agents, what we shall present in this report is (1) a description of the distribution of the crimes that are the consequence of the interaction of these three sets of forces; (2) an analysis of the circumstances of victims of the crimes; and (3) some hunches about

¹Included in this crime category are "breakings and enterings." To simplify communication, we will refer to all incidents within the category as "burglaries."

offenders and the court/police systems as these contribute to crime patterning. We will be able to say, when we are finished, what the patterning is and what it is not, and what are the best ways to go about changing it.

A Conceptual Orientation

Burglary is a crime against a place, or against property, not against people. More appropriately, it is a crime against people only indirectly. Although in common usage we refer to the residents or owners of the burglarized structures as victims, it is technically the structure itself that is "victimized." Both from everyday observations of police personnel and from the informal reports of professional thieves, a burglar looks for likely places to hit in contrast to, say, a con-man, who looks for likely people to swindle. Thus, to a large extent, burglary is a crime of opportunity as this opportunity is reflected in the environment--both physical and social--through which the burglar moves. In order to know the way in which this environment is construed, we must eventually, of course, discover the perceptions of burglars as they practice their trade. However, in the absence of this information, we can learn a good deal about the characteristics of the "objective" opportunity structure of the physical and social environment by an analysis of the patterning of the offense, regardless of this subjective reality, at least to the extent that this objective reality, too, is meaningfully patterned.

Burglary itself is behavior. (Or, more properly, burglarizing is the behavior of committing a burglary.) Like all behavior, it involves needs to be met, opportunities to meet them, perceptions of these opportunities, means to take advantage of such opportunities, satisfactions when needs are met, decisions about alternate routes to need-meeting, and the existence of outside interference in the process. Thus, schematically, the following elements are necessary in any approach to burglary, as indeed they are for

any form of motivated behavior: needs, opportunities, means, satisfactions, choice (not necessarily rational-conscious). This is presented schematically in Figure 1.²

This approach contains the basic logic for a more elaborate cycle representing burglary specifically, and presented as Figure 2. Though the order of the elements in this cycle is open to modification based on empirical constraints and not fixed, the elements themselves are a minimum necessary to a full understanding of the crime. The elements are, in the hypothetical cycle order of the figure:

- Needs that may be met through successful burglarizing.
- Knowledge of burglary technology.
- Perceived opportunities to burglarize.
- Burglary perceived as a path to meet needs.
- Choice of burglary over other paths.
- The burglary attempt, which succeeds in the complete cycle. (Note that if it fails, the police and court systems come into play and this single cycle, at least, is broken.)
- Conversion of the burglarized goods into a useful form.
- Satisfaction for the act.
- Reinforcement of the whole series of steps in the cycle, thus increasing its probability of reoccurrence.

²To make easier the examination of Tables and Figures while reading the text, both have been included in Part II of this report.

Note that in Figure 2, we have represented each element in a differentiated form--that is, there are available at any point many more options than the one necessary to complete a burglary, and most of these options are neither burglary nor even criminal options, reflecting the fact that non-criminal behavior cycles or partially criminal cycles are no different in kind from the particular cycle we are focusing on. (One important implication of this, in addition to the recognition of the fact that non-criminal behavior is most common in the repertoires of all of us, is that deflection at any point before the burglary attempt is one mode of preventing the occurrence of a burglary.)

This cycle enables us to organize, in a useful way, the information produced by our investigation of the empirics of burglary in particular, but also--in the long run--of crime in general. Let us use it first, however, to briefly review and similarly organize some of the more important prior work in the study of burglary.

1. Needs that may be satisfied
through successful burglarizing

A common and obvious need that may be satisfied through successful burglarizing is a need for money. Prominent among those who steal for money are drug addicts. For, as most authorities agree, "once addiction is begun, the highly inflated prices paid for drugs is a factor which virtually forces the addict into illegitimate income-producing behavior" (Kavaler, 1968). Other equally current information supports this fact of addiction-related theft (Brill and Lieberman, 1969; O'Donnell, 1966; Plair, 1970; Smith, 1966). However, more empirical studies need to be conducted before the extent to which addicts are responsible for property crimes in general (and burglary in particular) can be precisely estimated. Perhaps the most realistic observation about the drug-crime relationship is one offered by

Blum; who wrote: "The best evidence today suggests that the drug-crime relationship depends upon the kinds of persons who choose to use drugs, the kinds of persons one meets as a drug user, and on the life circumstances both before drug use and those developing afterward by virtue of the individual's own response to society and society's response to him" (Blum, 1967).

Similar uncertainty about precision arises when attempting to determine the relationship between crime and the use of alcohol.³ Arguments vary: On the one hand it is asserted that criminal behavior, e. g., breaking and entering, is a result of the relaxed inhibitions felt by the person in an intoxicated state; on the other, it is believed that crimes against property occur as a method of obtaining money to purchase alcoholic beverages. (MacCormick, 1968; McGeorge, 1963; Blum, 1967.) In this area the evidence for a crime-alcohol link, though substantial, is imprecise.

A final "need" in the general category of stealing for financial reasons is represented by the burglar whose goal is to lead a "fast" and "expensive" life. He may choose burglary as a means of supplementing his normal income, or he may make burglary his primary career upon realizing that more money can be made in this way than he can realize by working as a "nine-to-fiver." (Barnes, 1970.)

Another broad class of motives which may be met by stealing are those grouped under the label "social." Motivation of this kind is often thought to be reflected in activities of members of delinquent subcultures who band together in "youth gangs," and whose illegal activities serve to mutual reinforcement and satisfaction of needs for peer group approval, social status, and recognition of worth. (Spergel, 1964.)

³Though, properly speaking and increasingly acknowledged, alcohol is but another drug, it is so prevalent and has so many social-structural special responses surrounding it, that we bow to convention and consider it apart from other drugs here.

Finally, there are all those drives best characterized as idiosyncratic or eccentric. These range from the simple desires to obtain "kicks" and "thrills" through burglary, to more complex behavior patterns, tending toward the scatological if not outright psychopathological. Thus, for some, burglary may provide an exciting life of adventure or a satisfying way of matching wits with the law; for others it may be a means of rebelling against the dull routine of a nine-to-five job; and for yet others, it may be an expression of frustration or a manifestation of neurotic or even psychopathic personality characteristics. (Bromberg, 1965; Haveman, 1957; Koskoff, 1968; West, 1963.)

This categorization is not meant to imply empirical differentiation; only analytical precision. For each type of need is not necessarily independent of the others. It is, in fact, most often the case that more than one need is satisfied by one kind of behavior. Thus, the youth who participates in gang burglaries may be satisfying not only a need for peer group approval and achievement of social status within his group, but may be finding a means of expressing his internal feelings of rebellion and frustration against life in general.

2. Knowledge of burglary technology

The number and type of skills demonstrated by those who perceive burglary as a satisfactory way of meeting their needs is varied considerably, particularly along the dimension of technological sophistication. They range from the relatively simple technique of throwing a rock through a window in order to gain entry, to the very complex art of using lock-picking tools to overcome barriers erected by cautious property owners. A burglar's degree of skill may also be indicated by the type of goods he steals. Thus, while the relatively unskilled or amateur burglar will generally seek money as his object of theft, since this "loot" requires no knowledge of "fences" for

disposal, and is easily converted into need-meeting items, the professional burglar, with his wider number of contacts with receivers of stolen goods and the ability to distinguish between valuable and worthless items (a necessary ability in the case of furs or jewelry, for example), will often make that kind of goods his prime target. The literature suggests that burglars of the latter ilk are less common than unskilled or semi-skilled criminals (Pileggi, 1968), and furthermore, that the majority of burglaries that do occur are a result of opportunity rather than careful, rational planning (e. g., a potential thief sees promising circumstances [the household with three days' accumulation of newspapers on its porch] and takes advantage of them at the moment [Furlong, 1968]).

Another distinction between types of techniques necessary for a burglar to become successful has been suggested by Shover (1971). He contrasts "physical techniques," which include the process of learning how to overcome improvements in security measures and to keep up with other industrial innovations, with what he classifies as "definitional techniques," which consist of what is best described as "larceny sense." These include the processes of sensitizing oneself to the presence of all those opportunities available in everyday life for illicit gain. The latter includes such diverse talents as "spotting a score" and successfully "taking it off." Such a "sense" may be acquired through exposure to other thieves, or--in a very few cases--through "independent invention."

3. Perceives opportunity to burglarize

Obviously, a burglar may initially be exposed to the vast numbers of opportunities to burglarize in a variety of ways. Shover suggests that initial exposure frequently occurs through observation of the crime surrounding the youth residing in a socially disorganized urban area, or, for the rural youth, through geographic mobility and a consequent exposure to diverse

social worlds and "faster" life styles (1971). Given such an initial contact with opportunity, the burglar or potential burglar becomes aware of the ease with which entry can be made from clues left through the carelessness of potential victims. Thus, doors and windows are often left unlocked, or, even if locked, in many cases the locks used are obviously worthless and easily forced by a celluloid strip, or some other equally simple tool. The potential burglar is often clearly "told" of a victim's absence from premises by clues ranging from the obvious three-day accumulation of newspapers, to the more subtle lone living-room light shining brightly at three o'clock in the morning. Local obituary columns and society pages notify burglars of places ripe for theft, as do casual comments of potential victims or persons associated with potential victims (servants, beauticians, or bartenders, for example) informing the thief of a given person's wealth as well as the patterning of occasions of his absence from his dwelling. Ecological studies--including our own--strongly suggest that burglars perceive specific areas of a city as providing a greater opportunity for their crimes than others. (Boggs, 1965; Giertz, 1970; Morris, 1958; Reiss, as cited in Normandeau, 1969; Spergel, 1964.) Other analyses of burglary patterns seem to suggest that the perceived opportunities vary according to time of day and day of week as well (Luedtke, 1970).

Another factor suggesting a varying opportunity structure is patterning in choice of items to be burglarized. The burglar keeps up with changing values of items, and, as a result, now steals more television sets, say, than horses. Similarly, checks and credit cards⁴ have become more important targets to the burglar in recent years. (Shover, 1971.) Because of technological development and improvements in the construction of safes over recent

⁴Though recent liability limits for the consumer have complicated the credit card picture in the last several years.

years, the number of non-residential safe burglaries have, by contrast, shown a downward trend. ("The Boom in Bank Robbery," 1960; "Safe Burglaries in California," 1970.)

4. Perceives burglary as path to
need-meeting

For too many members of our society, it seems, burglary is perceived as an acceptable path to meeting needs. Particularly for those brought up outside the values of the majority culture, burglary reflects a rejection of the values of that culture as well as a way of life which is both emotionally and financially satisfying. Some feel that the crimes they commit through burglary are less harmful than those that they allege are frequently committed by respected members of the business community. For some, the adoption of burglary as a way of life represents a way of expressing, in active behavior, the attitude that they, too, have a right to share in the wealth and abundance of contemporary society. For still others, burglary is not adopted as a way of life, but is viewed as an occasional method of alleviating pressure, usually financial pressure, brought on by unusual circumstances. Within this group falls the "circumstantial offender" whose criminal activities do not reflect basic values, but only a temporary deviation from ordinary abiding by society's rules. Regardless of which group one is discussing, this aspect of the behavior of burglars and other criminals as well, is least understood and infrequently considered, despite its critical place in the criminal behavior cycle.

5. Chooses burglary over other paths to meet need

The choice of burglary over other paths to meet needs is frequently based upon a belief that it offers the greatest chance of success with the minimum amount of risk, given that one is not squeamish about breaking laws. Although it has been alleged that there has been an increase in the number of burglaries in which the burglar actively seeks a confrontation with the victim (Furlong, 1968), most students of burglary still regard burglary as an essentially passive crime in which the burglar tries to avoid any form of contact with the victim. (Barnes, 1971; Black, 1963; Cousins, 1969; Malcolm X, 1964; Roebuck, 1967.) The reasons for this are both varied and obvious. First, the chances of getting caught after committing a crime within an unoccupied structure are lower than those same chances in an occupied structure because of the greater probability of the burglar being gone from the scene of the crime (and possibly rid of the stolen goods) before the crime (burglary) is discovered. Second, entering unoccupied premises minimizes the risk of later identification. Third, even if the burglar should be caught, the penalties accompanying this crime are likely to be less severe than those accompanying other forms of theft, for example, the penalties accompanying robbery. Fourth, the burglar is usually fearful of encountering his "victim," realizing that such an encounter may both endanger his own life as well as increase the risk of his apprehension and subsequently severe punishment. A fifth reason for the choice of burglary over other types of crime relates to the rich opportunity structure represented by most environments, a reason described in more detail above.

Given a choice of burglary as a means, there then exists a variety of subchoices about the particular form of the crime to be made. Some individuals choose daytime activity, working only during the day on vacant homes; others choose to steal at night, including the so-called "cat burglars,"

who, though they allegedly like to enter a site while a victim is there, characteristically do not generally seek a direct confrontation with him. Still others include specialists in burglarizing hotels, resorts, and apartments. In brief, the complexity of the division of labor is limited only by the relative richness of the environment.

6. Attempts and succeeds at burglary

For the cycle of burglary behavior to continue beyond this point, the burglar must be successful at his criminal activity. Thus, a part of the literature on burglary describes those burglars who were repeatedly successful in breaking in and stealing, and continued this until they were caught. (Black, 1963; Carter, 1966; Frum, 1958; Morris, 1951; Partsch, 1970; Tappan, 1960.) In other cases, the burglar will attempt a burglary (frequently in the case with the unskilled or "crude" burglar), but because of, say, his lack of basic skills, he may be unsuccessful and thus be discouraged from any further attempts. Often, too, the more highly skilled burglar may temporarily be dissuaded from burglarizing because of the occurrence of unforeseen obstacles. According to Barnes, for example, a burglar will usually commit a burglary once he has decided to do it, unless he encounters one particular indicator: noise. For, according to Barnes, "Any kind of noise creates uncertainty. Noise is the burglar's main concern and fear." (1971.) In most instances, however, once a burglar successfully penetrates a target, he will usually complete his intended theft unless, of course, he discovers someone else on the premises. (Furlong, 1968; Irwin and Yablonsky, 1965.)

Of course, the most important factor affecting the outcome of burglary attempts, and the general level of burglary activity in a particular geographic area, is police activity. For an example discussing such activity

in the New York City Police Department, of patrolling and trailing in order to catch burglars in the act, see Black (1963).

7. Converts burglarized items into
need-meeting items

Although there is little systematic evidence available on the means by which stolen property is disposed of, there is both anecdotal and descriptive material available, as well as consensus among burglars, police, and scientists, that conversion is the single most important element in the cycle. There are a variety of routes through which the burglar disposes of his stolen goods, ranging from the "square-john" man-on-the-street who purchases, say, a color television at an abnormally low price even though he suspects that the item has been stolen, to the professional fence who purchases large quantities of stolen goods in order to supplement his legitimate business, or, in some cases, to operate a business entirely based on the sale of stolen goods.

To almost all burglars, a trustworthy fence is the key to a successful burglary operation. The fence provides the burglar with an outlet for stolen goods, a source of credit, and a link to the straight world. Furthermore, by having a reliable way to dispose of stolen goods immediately, the professional thief avoids the pitfall, common to novice thieves, of being caught with hot items in his possession because he lacks a place to dispose of them quickly. (Barnes, 1971.)

Specifics of relationships between particular fences and particular burglars vary. Thus, a drug addict, desperate for a fix, may sell his goods at an extraordinarily low percentage of street values whereas a more highly

skilled burglar, well-trained in the art of bargaining, and not driven by drug-induced cravings, will often use more than one fence as an outlet for his goods, and thereby both increase his bargaining position, and avoid the danger of the loss of an entire haul in the event that any one fence is caught. (Pileggi, 1968.)

8. Satisfies need

If all the elements of the cycle have been successfully completed up until this point, then the original needs that the burglar set out to meet will be filled. The dope addict may now purchase drugs; the compulsive spender may go on a spending spree; the insecure youth will feel approved and accepted; and the rebel may avoid a nine-to-five routine.

For some, such as the "circumstantial offender," a single act may satisfy all his needs and he may never again burglarize. For others, such as the drug addict, the action must be repeatedly performed in order to provide a continuing source of funds with which to purchase the drugs.

Finally, for the professional burglar, the activity may occur only once in several months, at which time he steals enough to last him for a relatively long while, engaging in the crime once again only after his supply of money begins running short.

9. Reinforces burglary behavior pattern

The way in which burglary behavior is reinforced is through success. For many, the process continues until they are caught. But even for those who are arrested and incarcerated, confrontation with the law is often considered only a temporary perturbation in an otherwise linear career line. Especially for younger offenders, imprisonment acts as a reinforcing, rather than deterring, factor: Prison is perceived as a test of his capacity to endure.

He learns to "do time like a man" and, upon release, all too frequently falls back into a criminal career pattern. (Shover, 1971.) Especially if the burglar is embittered by his contact with the criminal justice system, he may express his frustrations against it and society in general by making this use of the time he must "do."

For first offenders, prison almost invariably provides the first intensive association with hardened criminals. Many receive a broad education in theft from these "veteran" offenders. For a man imprisoned later in life, there may be an experience of "loss of heart," a feeling that "crime just wasn't worth it." He may undergo a period of self-examination and heightened anxiety, concluding that his life in crime is too costly, and may decide to go straight when his current sentence is completed. Others, too, may withdraw from the cycle upon reaching middle-age. Little research has been done that allows one to understand the nature of the "dropping out" process, though age statistics indicate that dropping out is a fairly frequent occurrence among property offenders.

Summary

In this chapter we have set the stage for presenting the results of our study by presenting a conceptual framework embodying the crime which should help us make sense of our findings. The remaining chapters are devoted to presenting those findings, the facts upon which they are based, as well as the recommendations implied by these facts and findings for dealing with the problem of burglary.

Chapter II. The Study Site
and Data Base

The Setting

The three jurisdictions which provide the setting for this study are Fairfax County, Virginia (hereafter, FC), Washington, D. C. (hereafter, DC), and Prince George's County, Maryland (hereafter, PGC). The actual police departments,¹ whose jurisdictions we are examining, are the Prince George's County Police Department (hereafter, PGCPD), the Metropolitan Police of the District of Columbia (hereafter, MPDC), and the Fairfax County Police Department (hereafter, FCPD). The universe of burglaries we want to understand include those offenses known to these three departments for the calendar years 1967, 1968, and 1969, and categorized by each of them, for purposes of reporting to the FBI each calendar year, as burglaries, according to local statutory definition. Figure 3 locates the three jurisdictions in the Washington, D. C. Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area; Table 1 presents summary data characterizing each of the three sites. A few additional remarks about each site will prove of additional help in orienting the reader.

¹The particular department is of some moment since, in the case of Prince George's County, there are a total of 21 additional police presences within the County boundaries and, in the case of Fairfax County, there are two other police departments whose jurisdictions lie within the overall county boundaries and who are completely surrounded by areas whose policing agency is the Fairfax County Police Department.

Fairfax County, Virginia

Lying directly to the west of the District of Columbia, though separated from it by the Potomac River, Arlington County, and Alexandria City, FC is the wealthiest, least densely populated, whitest, freest from crime, and most lightly policed of the three jurisdictions under study (see Table 1). From 1940 though 1970 the population of the county doubled each decade, making the county one of the fastest growing in the country. Though a good deal more homogeneous with respect to most social indicators than either DC or PGC, it has nevertheless some areas that are considerably less affluent than one might expect considering the county median family income.

The county is governed by a Board of Supervisors, all of whom are elected, who in turn appoint the county executive, who is the administrative head of government.² The County police force consisted, for the study years, of 396 men. Patrolling is done almost exclusively by automobile, for the obvious reason that the jurisdiction of the county police encompasses a large geographical, suburban, area. Fairfax City and Falls Church City are not part of the county, and therefore are not part of the police area of responsibility; the towns of Vienna and Herndon, though part of the county, are also not part of the county police area of responsibility. As noted above, the county is the most lightly policed of our three jurisdictions, as well as having the lowest crime rate per population. As for its burglary problem specifically,

²Fairfax County publishes, each year, a booklet entitled The Citizens Handbook. The reader can pursue a more detailed anthropological description of the county by reading it. Though intrinsically interesting--especially to a Civil War buff--most of the material is not directly relevant to our study.

it has the lowest frequency and lowest residential rate of the three jurisdictions studied.³

Washington, D. C.

In stark contrast to FC, DC is the poorest, most densely populated, blackest, most crime-ridden, and most heavily policed of our three jurisdictions. From 1960 to 1970, it is the only one of our three jurisdictions to suffer a net population decline. It is a rather heterogeneous urban area, encompassing within its borders at one and the same time extremes of slum and fashionable housing.

The District is controlled by the Federal government. Executive authority is vested in a single Commissioner (called the "Mayor"), an assistant to that commissioner, and a nine-member city council. All are appointed by the President. Its finances are controlled by Congress. It is, thus, a non-representatively governed jurisdiction. It is heavily policed but, in spite of this, suffers from one of the highest overall crime rates of any urban area in the country. It has the largest burglary problem, in terms of both raw frequencies and residential burglary rates, of the three jurisdictions under study here.

³As will be noted later, it is not yet possible to calculate non-residential burglary rates for our sites under study. Another study has indicated that, nationally, non-residential burglary rates are higher in central cities than they are in suburban locations. (Reiss, 1969, p. 75.)

Prince George's County, Maryland

Only the Potomac River has a longer boundary with DC than does PGC. Lying directly east of Washington, the entire southwestern border and three-fourths of the northwestern border of the District of Columbia touch PGC. This geographical fact has profound implications for the future development of the county, as it has had for the most recent decade when, experiencing the most rapid growth of our three jurisdictions, the emigration from the District to the nearer parts of PGC began to affect the county's character. The areas immediately adjacent to the District are similar in many respects to those within the District next to these same boundaries. But, the political context circumscribing life in these areas is vastly different in the District and in the county. The county is, thus, in the process of attempting to cope at one time with (1) the development of a plethora of independent jurisdictions, (2) a full range of rural-suburban-urban problems, and (3) rapid change and growth.

The county contains eight cities and twenty towns. These incorporated areas contain 30.6% of the county's population. Partially in response to the changes that have been and are going on in the county--changes largely a function of the inexorable laws of demography--the government of the county has recently undergone a drastic change in structure. Prior to 1971, the county was governed by five commissioners, all of whom were elected, who handled both administrative and legislative functions. Beginning in 1971, a county executive head is elected directly, while legislative functions are carried out by an 11-man elected county council. As the county adapts to this vigorously contested change, a good deal of upheaval and stress has occurred throughout the year. PGC stands between FC and DC in wealth, density, racial composition, criminality, rates of burglary, and intensity of policing, though nationally the county is above average for suburban jurisdictions with respect to its overall crime rate.

Data and Data Sources

Police Reports

The empirical description of the patterning of burglary offenses reported in Chapters III and IV is based upon offense reports from the police departments in the jurisdictions chosen as our study sites.⁴ That the number of offenses reported in police records is less than the total number of offenses actually committed in a jurisdiction is a commonly accepted fact: non-reporting by victims, non-reporting by police, and police errors in classifying crimes are just some of the factors which contribute to this discrepancy. However, how representative of the total offense population the recorded offenses are is an almost impossible parameter to estimate. The fact remains that at this point in time police data are the best available for demographic analyses of crime patterning; indeed, they are almost the only data available that are economically feasible to study.

Table 3 presents the number of burglaries for FC, DC, and PGC for 1967, 1968, and 1969, as reported in the Uniform Crime Reports for those years. Of the 85,292 events reported in the UCR, we have available a total of 56,926 for our analyses, distributed in the manner presented in Table 4 over jurisdictions and years. The following factors account for the major discrepancies between the two tables:

⁴ Table 2 presents the percentage distribution of the seven FBI index crimes for the study site. In all three jurisdictions, burglary is the single largest category of crime, although its percentage varies somewhat from one site to another.

1. The absence of police report information, coded and recorded on computer tape, in the MPDC, prior to 1 February 1968.
2. The use of a random sample of cases from PGC police report files, necessitated by the lack of a computerized data processing system in that jurisdiction.

Table 5 presents characteristics of the PCG sample, in detail.

For the data used from DC and FC, we had available to us the complete police report data files from MPDC and the complete burglary and breaking and entering police report data files from the FCPD. Data for the PGCPD sample of burglary events were coded directly by members of our staff from police report files at Seat Pleasant, Maryland.

1970 Census Data

By coding data according to geographical location--specifically, according to census tract of occurrence--we are able to relate burglary to social characteristics of "neighborhoods."⁵ From the available data, a set of social characteristics are correlated with burglary statistics on a tract-to-tract basis after selecting those data which we feel are most reliable.

⁵There is now available, from the 1970 Census, first count and some second count data. The task of interpolation of values from 1960 census data to 1970 census data was carried out by Census Data Corporation. Under subcontract to HSR, CDC--and most specifically, Dr. George B. Bricker--was responsible for the programs necessary to convert 1970 data to 1960 boundaries; interpolate values for all characteristics used; and produce relevant percentages. The greatest difficulty was obtaining 1960 data, on tape, in order that interpolations might be possible. Though it is hindsight, and though Wolfgang (1958) was one of the first to anticipate the following solution to the nastiness of interpolation, we strongly recommend that longitudinal studies with fewer than 11 time points, as a matter of policy, "turn the corner" around census years. From our experience, the extra effort involved in working with any other time sampling consumes time more profitably spent on other aspects of offense patterning.

Burglary Rate Data

Crime rates have generally been, and continue to be, computed as the number of crimes that occur in an area relative to the number of people residing in that area. However, it has been pointed out⁶ that a valid rate forms a probability statement, defining the actual likelihood of a crime occurring with respect to an appropriate target group of potential "victims." For example, the exposed population of potential rape victims is female, so that a rape rate might be computed as the number of rapes relative to the number of females in the population. For burglary, the most meaningful rate is stated as the number of structures or units that are at risk. To calculate a burglary rate in this manner necessitates obtaining an estimate of burglarizable units.

For the jurisdictions under study, estimates of the number of housing units are available and can be used as a valid base for calculating residential burglaries. These estimates result in the overall residential burglary rates presented in Table 6. Unfortunately we were unable to gain access to some usable count of non-residential structural units similar to the count of residential units we have used throughout. These data are simply not available for our jurisdictions in a form that is easily and immediately applicable to becoming the denominator of an expression for a non-residential burglary rate.

Interviews with Victims and Non-Victims

Subsequent to completing analysis of police report data, the census tracts in our three jurisdictions were stratified according to the rate of burglarization in each. Following this, from each jurisdiction the highest

⁶Stuart Lottier, who calculated burglary rates of chain grocery stores in Michigan, using the total number of grocery stores in the chain as the base for his rates, is one of the earliest examples of a recognition of the rate base problem (Lottier, 1938a). More recently this method has been applied by S. L. Boggs (1966), Albert J. Reiss (1967), Andre Normandeau (1968), Sagi and Wellford (1968), among others in addition to ourselves.

and lowest tracts were chosen, and a printout of burglarized sites in each of those tracts for 1969 was obtained from the police jurisdictions. Households on each list were then randomly ordered, and interviews were conducted with residents or business owners at those sites who had been there since 1969 when the original burglary occurred. In addition to interviewing these victims, an attempt was made to interview a comparable non-victim in each of the relevant tracts. Strictly speaking, of course, there is no such thing as a non-victim: there is, at best, simply someone who has not yet been victimized. However, in order to avoid the clumsiness of a long phrase, we will use the terms victim and non-victim as they are ordinarily understood.

The distribution of interviews in the pilot study where our questionnaire was developed, and in the full-scale study where data was systematically collected from a sample that was as random as we could make it, are presented in Table 7.

Interviews with Offenders

In spite of the small number of offenders we were able to talk to, we have included a description of much of the material provided by them. It is our distinct impression that there is a large degree of redundancy in the material these men were able to provide. Our specific hypothesis to account for this is the extent to which burglary, as a crime, is dependent upon the characteristics of sites. And, quite frankly, sites do not vary that much in their essential means of entrance and exit. Nevertheless, some of the information did provide rather valuable clues for interdicting the crime itself, clues that could only be provided by participants in the culture of crime.

Interviews with Criminal Justice System Personnel

More than 50 informants, from among police, prosecutors, defense attorneys, judges, and probation and parole personnel in our three jurisdictions were interviewed, in order to create, for each of the jurisdictions, a typical scenario with respect to the progress of an apprehended burglar through the

system. Rather than burden the reader with a host of statistics, which are available in other studies, concerning the disposition of cases, average case loads, etc., etc., we have chosed to present in narrative form a typical and representative path through the systems of each of the jurisdictions. It is our distinct impression that whatever problems exist with respect to the criminal justice system in terms of interdicting crimes, and whatever advantages that portions of that system have in interdicting crime, a qualitative presentation is much more apt to capture these good and bad points than is a simple recital of by now familiar statistical characteristics. The reader may differ with our judgment, but he is at least encouraged to examine with as open a mind as possible the materials which we present and the form in which we present them.

Summary

From these five sources--offense reports, census data, interviews with victims, interviews with offenders, and interviews with members of the criminal justice system--we assemble and present the facts necessary to understand burglary in its empirical manifestation in our study site. The following five chapters detail the gathering of and uses made of these sets of material. They are but prolegomenon to the ultimate chapter--generalizations and recommendations we draw from the facts our study uncovered.

Chapter III. The Offense

Three questions form the framework for this chapter:

1. What is a burglary offense like?
2. How are burglaries distributed through space and time?
3. What social characteristics are correlated with the occurrence of burglaries?

Let us take them up in that order.

What is a Burglary Offense Like?

In a trivial sense, a burglary possesses certain characteristics by law. These vary somewhat from jurisdiction to jurisdiction but, by and large, the similarities are greater than the differences.¹ What we are interested in noting here are other characteristics--not necessarily embodied in these definitions--which are correlated with the offense. We are interested in the details of the crime, and--given our comparative emphasis--the degree to which these details vary from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, and year to year.

¹There is, as we fully recognize, the issue of decision processes in the minds of individual police personnel as they assign the report of some piece of untoward behavior to one crime category or another. This, too, is a part of the definitional problem. No amount of speculation will allow us to ascertain the degree to which this factor has affected our findings. Committed as we are to the police report as our fundamental datum, and interested in a study of a substantive offense, coping with the methodological jungle that an error analysis of police judgment embodies is simply beyond our resources and, apparently, often beyond the wit and resources of other professions, as well. See, e.g., New York Times, 26 September 1972, p. 37, "Crime in Capital is Focus of National Political Fight."

Stated another way, though burglary is an offense in which illegal entrance into a structure is made or attempted in order to commit a felony or theft, within the broad limits of this definition, a wide variety of behaviors are subsumed. For example, the structure entered may be a one-room apartment, or it may be a huge warehouse; the intruder may have taken five cents worth of candy, or he may have stolen a half million dollars worth of jewelry; the offense may take place at any time of day, on any day of the week, and during any month of the year. However, even though the crime of burglary may vary greatly along such continua, certain regularities do appear, and can be identified, from an analysis of the data provided in the offense reports under examination. It is our purpose here to delineate these regularities as concisely as the data permit.

Burglary Attempts

The legal definition of burglary includes cases in which a forcible entry is attempted, but not actually made. A variety of reasons may account for an unsuccessful entry. For example, the potential intruder may be scared off, or he may not be able to effect entry. Table 8 provides a distribution of burglaries according to whether or not entry was made. Unsuccessful attempts at entry in the District of Columbia account for a smaller percentage of total burglaries than in the other two jurisdictions, by a considerable margin.

Type of Structure Entered

Burglary is more frequently a crime against residential structures than against non-residential structures: for the nation as a whole, in 1970, residential burglary accounted for 58% of the total number of burglaries.²

²U. S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Crime in the United States. Uniform Crime Reports--1970. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1971.

This same pattern holds true for all three jurisdictions we studied, although the degree to which it does so varies, both within and between jurisdictions (see Table 9). Note that relatively fewer residences are burglarized in FC than in the other two jurisdictions. Note further that, even were all sites not stated on the FC reports to be residences considered residences, this difference would still remain. A further observation is that the relative percentage of residential burglaries appears to be increasing over time. This trend is present in data from all three jurisdictions, and is consistent with trends in national statistics; viz., the percentages of residential burglaries nationally for the years 1966-1970 are, respectively, 49%, 49%, 54%, 56%, and 58%.³

Type of Goods Stolen

Although occasionally a burglar will break into a structure in order to commit an act of violence, in the vast majority of cases theft is the criminal intent. Of those cases in which theft is the intent, there are several possible outcomes: (1) In burglary attempts, the offender ipso facto does not carry away any property or money from within the structure. (2) In some cases in which the burglar succeeds in entering the structure, he may not succeed in his intent to steal, for he may be either frightened away before he has the chance, or not find what he is looking for, or other circumstantial factors may interfere.

Of the cases reported to the police in which money or property is stolen, the amount of information regarding the stolen property varies in the offense report. In some instances, it is not possible to tell, at the time the initial report is completed, what--if anything--is stolen. For various

³Uniform Crime Reports (see Footnote 2), for 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, and 1971.

reasons, this information may not get recorded at a later date, either. In many cases of breaking and entering with theft, more than one type of property is taken; however, the coding forms in FC and DC allow space for recording only one type.

In spite of all these difficulties, it is still possible to get, from police data, a rather useful idea of the shape of the distribution of the types of goods stolen (see Table 10). The most striking feature of the distributions presented in Table 10 is the preponderance of home entertainment equipment (televisions, radios, stereos, etc.), and money and coins, stolen, compared to all the other categories of goods stolen. No other single category of goods comes close to either of these two in relative popularity as burglarizable items.

Value of Goods Stolen

Table 11 presents a distribution of the value of property stolen.⁴ The most striking feature of this table is the extent to which the bulk of burglaries involves items of moderate value.

Value of Property Damaged

In the course of a burglary, an offender may damage a building or other property when attempting entry, while rummaging through the premises and carrying away property, or to express anger or strong emotion (Friedman, 1968). We were able to assess the amount of damage done in burglary only for PGC. Table 12 presents a distribution of the value of property damaged by burglars in that jurisdiction. About two-thirds of the

⁴In some burglary cases in which theft occurs, the "victim" is more likely to be able, at the time the report is taken, to say what was stolen, than he is to provide an estimate of the value of the items stolen; thus, the number of cases available for tabulation with respect to this information is unusually low.

reported burglaries involved no recorded property damage; where damage did occur, the value of the amount of damage was usually fairly low.

Place of Entry

In all three jurisdictions, access to premises broken into was most generally via the door (Table 13). Although our data on place of entry was not broken down by type of structure, there is evidence from an early FBI study that place of entry does vary according to type of structure entered.⁵ Data submitted by 1,941 city police departments throughout the U. S. during October, 1961, to the FBI, showed that doors were a more frequent place of entry for residential burglaries than for non-residential burglaries (Table 14).

In two jurisdictions in our study, information was collected regarding whether the door or window entered was located in the front, side, or rear of the premises. Analysis of these data show a marked preference in DC for front doors or windows, contrasted with more use of rear or side doors or windows in PGC (Tables 15 and 16). Perhaps the difference in modal type of housing in these two jurisdictions (one and two family dwellings vs. apartments) partially accounts for this discrepancy. Location of entry has also been shown by another study to vary according to type of structure entered. In an analysis of burglaries committed in one police district in Chicago during 1969, rear doors or windows were the most frequent point of entry for non-residential burglaries, whereas front doors or windows were the most frequent point of entry for residential burglaries.⁶

⁵U. S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Crime in the United States. Uniform Crime Reports--1961. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1962, p. 9.

⁶Chicago Police Department Operations Research Task Force. Allocation of Resources in the Chicago Police Force. November 1969, pp. 305-307.

Means of Entry

Data on means of entry are available for two jurisdictions (Table 17). The most substantial difference between these two jurisdictions is a greater relative frequency of forcing locks in DC. One hypothesis which may partially explain this difference is that city dwellers may be more security-conscious, making it necessary for the intruder to use force in entering, as opposed to a lack of such security-consciousness among suburbanites, who thereby make it relatively easier by their carelessness about security for an intruder to enter without force.

Month of Occurrence

Although the monthly distribution of burglaries, as presented in Table 18, demonstrates some unevenness, the more striking characteristic of these data is the narrowness of the range within which the monthly percentages fluctuate. The fact of stability in burglaries over the months was also noted in several other American cities.⁷

Season of Occurrence

To examine the seasonal nature of burglary, the months of the year were grouped into Cold, Mild, and Hot weather months. The distribution of burglaries among these three seasonal types is shown in Table 19. Again, a significant difference in the number of burglaries from season to season

⁷1967-1969 data provided by the police departments in San Francisco, California; Columbus, Ohio; Portland, Oregon; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Miami, Florida; and St. Louis, Missouri.

does not appear.⁸ This same observation may be made from the data supplied by police departments in several other cities. However, there is a hint of a pattern in our data, with PGC having relatively more burglaries recorded in the winter, FC having relatively more in the summer, and DC remaining intransigently egalitarian across the seasons.

Time of Day and Day of the Week of Occurrence

By definition, burglary times of occurrence estimates are inferential and circumstantial; i. e., by definition no one is around when burglaries occur. The time of occurrence, recorded on police reports, becomes less accurate as the fineness of the time interval increases. Thus, the year of occurrence is very reliably recorded, the month slightly less so, the week even less so, the day considerably less so, and--by the time one is estimating day/night or hour--anything finer is almost totally unreliable.⁹ Consequently, we have here only reasonably reliable data from the jurisdiction whose reports we coded ourselves--PGCPD.

As Tables 20, 21, and 22 show, the kind of burglary profoundly affects the time of occurrence. The patterns for residential vs. non-residential burglaries are strongly related to time of occurrence, and in expectable ways. Non-residential burglaries, as compared to residential

⁸Theodore N. Ferdinand, of Northern Illinois University, disagrees with this analysis. In a personal communication he suggests that our groupings of months into "cold, mild, and hot," obscured a pattern found in his research of housebreak and business break peaks in July, August, and December. More research is clearly needed here. (Personal Communication, 22 January 1972).

⁹Inquiry at the relevant MPDC and FCPD offices produced the information that weekend burglaries are usually (but not always) recorded as occurring on the day of reporting (that is, usually Monday). Burglaries occurring during the night are frequently recorded as occurring when reported, rather than at the time of actual or estimated occurrence.

burglaries, are much more likely to be weekend and nighttime crimes. Or, stated another way, they are most likely to occur when structures of a non-residential nature are most likely a priori to be unoccupied. This is perhaps not so surprising as is the extent to which residential burglary is a daytime, weekday phenomenon. Granted that residences are likely to be unoccupied for substantial portions of the day, nevertheless, the fact that almost 50% of all residential burglaries for which time of occurrence could be estimated, occurred between 10:00 a.m. and 4:00 p.m. is rather startling.

How are Burglaries Distributed Through Space and Time?¹⁰

Burglary rates are computed, for residential burglaries, as the number of burglaries of residences per 1,000 residential units (i.e., family dwelling space, such as a house, apartment, or room) for each census tract. For non-residential burglaries, we have used the raw frequency within each tract as our indicator since, as we have mentioned previously, there is no way to know the appropriate denominator in the absence of a structure-at-risk count, a count which is not readily available for our areas. Nevertheless, in spite of the difficulty with a non-rate indicator of prevalence, the difference between these two classes of burglaries is of sufficient interest to warrant an examination of both indicators, even though one is less than adequate compared to what we would ideally wish.

Residential Burglary Rate Patterning

Fairfax County, Virginia

Table 23 presents the residential burglary rates for census tracts in FC. Table 24 and Figures 4-6 select from Table 23 the highest and lowest rate tracts, and present them separately--in the former instance, as an abbreviated table; in the latter instance, as a geographical pattern. There is, at this level of abstraction, little obvious consistency to the year-to-year changes in the county in the rates of residential burglary. From 1967,

¹⁰Studies which have dealt with these questions in other metropolitan areas are Sutherland, 1934; Schmid, 1937; Lottier, 1938; Morris, 1958; and Schmid, 1960.

the average residential burglary rate across tracts grew from 18.31 to 20.63 in 1968, and then remained constant in 1969 at 20.62. Furthermore, the co-variation between years across tracts (as expressed by a simple product moment correlation coefficient) ranges from +.18 between 1967 and 1968 to +.49 between 1968 and 1969 ($r_{67-69} = +.28$). Given the rapid growth and change in the county over the past decade, it is not surprising that simple geographical stability should not be a characteristic of the rate of residential burglary. Thus, although other factors differentially operative in the tracts--factors such as wealth, changing land use patterns, etc.--may still be associated with the burglary rate on a within-tract basis, the low year-to-year correlations we have found across tracts suggest that these factors have been changing rapidly enough to eliminate relationships on a between-tract level.

Visually, from the maps in Figures 4 through 6, there is a tendency for high rate tracts (relative to each year's independent ranking of rates) to cluster increasingly in the eastern end of the county; i.e., nearer Arlington County and Alexandria City. The exception to this is, of course, Tract 42 (the southern part of the Centreville District of the county). Nevertheless, the overall tendency seems clear, as the burglary rates in general, more and more, center upon the eastern and northeastern fringes of the county.

Washington, D. C.

In marked contrast to Fairfax County, and in spite of a sharp rise in the overall rate of residential burglary from 1968 to 1969 (from 36.53 to 53.85), the patterning of rates per units at risk by census tract in DC is remarkably stable. The relevant data are presented in Tables 25 and 26 and Figure 7 and 8.

The year-to-year correlation of rates across tracts in DC is +.88 between 1968 and 1969--the two years for which data were available to us. Furthermore, a distinct geographical pattern can be clearly seen in Figures 7 and 8, contrasting the high risk "southeastern" section of the city with the low risk "northwestern" section. This general pattern is not startling for those familiar with DC--indeed, it is an instance of confirmed folk knowledge--but the degree of stability in patterning implied by the size of the correlation between the two years is somewhat higher than we anticipated, particularly

in view of the general increase in the residential burglary rate itself. Thus, it is not that burglars are necessarily conquering new worlds within DC; it is, rather, that they are more intensively cultivating well-worked soil, gathering an increasing number of harvests each year from the same limited acreage. One intriguing suggestion from the figures is that of a more sharply geographic split in 1969 than in 1968--note the changes in Tracts 44, 47, 56, and 57.2 as indicators of an increasing relative freedom from victimization in the westerly reaches of the District, and the opposite kinds of changes in Tracts 66, 67, and 81, indicating the reverse direction on the other "side" of the city. By and large, however, these are small perturbations in an otherwise exceptionally stable situation, given the fact of a general overall increase in the residential burglary rates.

Prince George's County, Maryland

PGC stands between DC (highest) and FC (lowest) in its rate of residential burglary. The rate per 1,000 units at risk overall was 23.08 in 1967, 28.95 in 1968, and 31.41 in 1969. It also stands between these two in the degree of year-to-year stability in rates by tract, though it is more nearly similar to DC. Thus, the correlation over tracts from 1967 to 1968 is +.54, and from 1968 to 1969 that same statistic is +.77 ($r_{67-69} = +.70$). Data by tract are presented in Tables 27 and 28 and Figures 9-11.

Visually, the change that is occurring in the county appears to be an increasing concentration across its middle of high rate areas, beginning at the eastern tip of DC and extending through the Bladensburg, Kent, and Marlboro areas (Tracts 33, 35, and 5, for example), with no similarly clear concentration in terms of low rate areas occurring.¹¹

¹¹It is well to note when considering PGC that there are a multitude of small municipalities, as noted earlier, whose police report data are uncoordinated with those of the PGCPD records. This eliminates a substantial area of the county from our data base, and compels us to exercise caution in generalizing about PGC.

Non-Residential Burglaries

Tracts with the highest and lowest frequencies of non-residential burglaries are shown in Tables 29-31, and the physical location of these tracts are mapped in Figures 12-19. In FC, there is considerable consistency over time with respect to the geographical distribution of non-residential burglaries--much more so than was the case with the residential rate. The correlation across tracts between 1967 and 1968 is +.89; between 1968 and 1969 it is +.84; and between 1967 and 1969 it is +.90. From Figures 12-14, it is apparent that the tracts with the most non-residential burglaries are clustered together in the mid-eastern section of the county; tracts with the lowest frequencies of non-residential burglaries, on the other hand, seem scattered in an apparently non-patterned fashion.

In DC, a consistent pattern through time also emerges. The correlation of non-residential burglaries across tracts between 1968 and 1969 is +.90. As expected in an urban setting, the non-residential burglaries are concentrated in the central area of the city, and the tracts with the fewest non-residential burglaries are located around the periphery.

In PGC, the spatial distribution of non-residential burglaries is also consistent over the years 1967-69, though less so than either FC or DC. The correlation between 1967 and 1968 is +.69; between 1968 and 1969, it is +.64; and between 1967 and 1969 it is +.67. Geographically, the distribution across tracts seems patternless, although any statement of this sort about PGC must be made with caution, because of the large number of tracts which were eliminated from the analysis because of police jurisdictional problems.

DC, like most cities, has a central business district. For those familiar with DC, it is readily observable from Figures 15 and 16 that the high non-residential burglary tracts are concentrated in the central business segment of the city. Neither of the suburban jurisdictions under study has a central area of business activity. Each can better be described as having a series of business and shopping areas varying in size and distributed geographically more or less in relation to population density. For example, as of 1970, in FC there were 34 neighborhood shopping centers, 23 community

shopping centers, and two regional shopping centers.¹² The patterning of these suggests a straightforward explanation of the distribution of non-residential burglaries in the county. A comparison of Figures 12-14 with Figure 20, which indicates visually the location of shopping centers, demonstrates what we mean. This comparison reveals a similarity of pattern of concentration (the one exception being Tract 32) of centers and of non-residential burglaries. Though these observations are not surprising, they lend strong support to a hypothesis which asserts that burglaries are a function of opportunity.

What Social Characteristics are Correlated with the Occurrence of Burglaries?

As we begin examining answers to this third major question, we know already, in a gross sense, what social factors are associated with burglary rates and frequencies. Simply by comparing the characteristics noted in the descriptions of the three jurisdictions within our site, and noting those which order the sites in the same way that burglary indicators do, a crude estimate of covariation is available. It is our intention now to attempt a slightly more refined analysis of burglary indicator correlates, though still using the essential logic of tying indicators to one another via the mechanism of linking both to geographical areas by utilizing census tract information.

Fairfax County, Virginia

Table 32 presents, for FC, the mean values for the four burglary indicators and the thirteen census-tract based social indicators for the three

¹²Fairfax County, Fairfax County Facts and Figures 1970.
Fairfax County, March 1971.

years of the study. Several facts of interest are apparent from this table. First, the average residential burglary rate across census tracts (RBR) changed little over the three years. Second, though in 1967 the average frequency of residential and non-residential burglaries per tract was equal (almost literally so), since that time there has been a decline in the non-residential burglary frequency, and an increase in the residential burglary frequency. Third, if we look for changes in the other social indicators of a similar magnitude, only housing and rental costs co-vary systematically over the three years: in both instances, increasing. The one other indicator which might be thought to be predictive moves in the "wrong" direction; i. e., the percentage overcrowded housing units declines.

Table 33 presents the intercorrelations among the four burglary indicators across census tracts for FC. Of most interest in this table is the rather strong positive correlation, all three years, between the residential burglary frequency and the non-residential burglary frequency. A comparison with Tables 36 and 39 will quickly show that while this is also the case in PGC (though dramatically less so in 1969 as compared to 1967 and 1968), it is definitely not the case in DC. Our explanation for the high correlation in one instance, and the low in another, revolves around the differences between land use development in the urban DC and the suburban counties, FC and PGC. The existence of shopping centers throughout FC and PGC means that opportunities for both residential and non-residential burglaries will coexist in the same geographical areas to a similar degree. In DC, residential and non-residential land use is more likely to be geographically separated. Thus, to the degree that both residential and non-residential burglary are a function of opportunity, to that degree should results such as ours for FC, and differences between FC and PGC and DC such as ours, emerge. That is, mixed use areas (such as suburbs) will present a problem

of burglaries of all kinds for all geographic areas; more urban areas will result in segregated burglary patterns, by type.¹³

Table 34 presents the correlations between the four burglary indicators for 1967, 1968 and 1969 for FC and census indicators. There are simply no year-to-year replicated relationships between the one rate measure we are able to construct, and the social indicators derived from census tract data, in the county. In no instance is there significance in two years with respect to the same variable and the residential burglary rate. The three frequency indicators, however, show a different pattern: each of them is strongly correlated with census tract population. In addition, residential burglary frequency, the increasingly more frequent form of burglary in the county, is associated all three years with two other indicators which are also related to opportunity structure: the percent overcrowded housing (negative correlation) and the percent lower cost housing (negative correlation). Thus, again, we have another piece of evidence that the occurrence of burglary, on an absolute basis, is a function of the opportunities which exist. The greater the population the greater the number of burglaries. The most profitable way to think about burglary on a county-wide basis in FC is as a flat probability which is associated with population density and structure alone.

Washington, D. C.

Table 35 presents the average values, across census tracts, for the four burglary indicators and thirteen social indicators for the District

¹³This implies, by the way, that police personnel in all areas of a "suburb" must be able to cope with all kinds of burglaries. Segregated use areas, on the other hand, imply the possibility of relatively more specialization on the part of police personnel in coping with fewer kinds of burglaries for any given geographical area. A simple point, perhaps, but one that does have implications for practical matters like police staffing at substations, etc.

of Columbia. As was the case with FC and PGC--though to a lesser extent--the residential rate is going up, as is the residential frequency, while the non-residential frequency by tract is declining. Because we have data for only two time points in DC, we cannot infer trends which are in any sense compelling, so let us turn immediately to the intercorrelations across tracts of the four burglary indicators and the thirteen social indicators.

From Table 36 we can see that--unlike the two suburban jurisdictions--there is little relationship between residential and non-residential burglary frequencies in DC.¹⁴ Note further that, with this exception, all the indicators are more highly intercorrelated in DC than in either FC or PGC. This finding anticipates the general picture presented in Table 37, where the correlations of the indicators of burglary with the other census-derived indicators are presented. In general, all indicators are much more strongly related to tract characteristics in DC than in either FC or PGC, implying a very strong interaction between urban-ness of jurisdiction and the strength of the relationship between crime and social indicators.¹⁵ Thus,

¹⁴Similar results were obtained by Boggs in St. Louis in his correlations among different kinds of burglary rates. (Boggs, 1964, p. 63.)

¹⁵Boggs found that, in the city of St. Louis, both residential and non-residential burglary rates were significantly and positively correlated with "minority group status," a dimension composed of percentage Negro and a fertility ratio. (Boggs, 1964, pp. 72-74.) Schmid, in a study using 1949-51 burglary rates (calculated on the basis of population) showed that in Seattle, non-residential burglary was correlated positively with percent male, percent 60 years and over, percent unemployed, and negatively with percent married and median income (Schmid, 1960, p. 673.) In Atlanta, it was shown that family median income was negatively associated with the burglary rate (based on population). (Atlanta Commission on Crime and Juvenile Delinquency, 1966; Appendix B-1, p. 15.) In Chicago, the burglary rate per 100,000 population was positively correlated with percent non-white, density, and percent migrant. The rate was negatively correlated with median family income, percent owner occupied, median rent, value of owner-occupied homes, and with percent foreign born. (Giertz, 1970, p. 28.)

for all four indicators there is a relationship in both years between burglary and percent white aged 5-24, percent husband-wife households, percent overcrowded, percent lower cost rentals and percent owner-occupied housing. Further, there is a relationship both years for three out of the four indicators and one year for one out of the four indicators, between burglary and percent white, percent black overcrowded households, and percent lower cost houses. And all of these relationships are in the "expected" directions; i. e., more burglary (or a higher rate of burglary) is associated with the "less desirable end" of a variable, or with the presence of a higher proportion of the relatively more disadvantaged portion of the population.

Prince George's County, Maryland

Table 38 presents the mean values, across census tracts, for the by now familiar set of variables. As noted before, for the area of the county with which we are concerned, residential burglary is increasing (as is its rate), while non-residential burglary is declining. With respect to direction of change of the other indicators, as well as these facts about burglary occurrences, the county characteristics resemble FC more closely than they do DC. Table 39 suggests that, with respect to land use, PGC more closely resembles FC than it does DC. In addition, recall that there is a larger portion of PGC which is not policed by the PGCPD than is the case with respect to FC and the FCPD. Given the nature of the rapid change and growth of PGC, we would predict that the diminished correlation between residential burglary frequency and non-residential burglary frequency in 1969, as compared to 1967 and 1968, represents a real trend and that--as will be noted in a moment--in this as in other respects, PGC is a unit that stands between FC and DC in its present structural characteristics and in the nature of the changes it is undergoing.

The residential burglary rate, in PGC, is negatively correlated with percent white, negatively correlated with percent husband-wife households, and positively correlated with percent black housing units (see Table 40). Residential burglary frequency, however, is positively correlated with percent white aged 5-24 and with the total population. If one looks at Table 37, it can be noted that though the burglary rate is correlated with race in the same way in both DC and PGC, the correlation with percent white aged 5-24 is the opposite in each of the jurisdictions. Our hypothesis to explain this anomaly is that the absolute number of crimes is a function of the size of the population in the younger age groups in an area, while the crime rate is a function of relative opportunity.¹⁶ Thus, in the two jurisdictions with a preponderantly white population, whites commit most burglaries (see percent white 5-24 for FC and PGC) in an absolute sense, but the rate is higher in those areas with a high proportion of blacks simply because the areas in which blacks live offer more opportunity for committing the crime of burglary. In brief, the positive correlations between percent white aged 5-24 and the burglary frequency indicators in PGC and FC are artifacts of the correlation between the burglary frequency indicators and the total population of the jurisdictions.

¹⁶The issue of the relationship between burglary rates and burglar rates has been dealt with by Boggs. She found, in St. Louis, a significant correlation between burglar rates and residential burglary rates. The correlation between burglar rates and non-residential burglary rates was found to be insignificant. She concluded that residential burglaries were crimes of opportunity. (Boggs, 1964, pp. 65-68.)

A More Intensive Look at the Residential
Burglary Rate: A High Rate-Low Rate Tract
Comparison for the Three Jurisdictions

For practical reasons, it may be informative to look intensively at the ten highest rate, and ten lowest rate, residentially burglarized tracts, and see which of our social indicators distinguishes between the two different kinds of tracts. To do this, a Fisher's exact test for statistical significance was applied to a median test with respect to the social indicators for each jurisdiction and year separately in the following manner: First, the number of tracts in both the high and low rate sets which exceeded the median value for the social characteristics in question were counted. Second, a Fisher's exact test was applied to the resultant two by two table, generated by the axes high vs. low rate tract, and equal to or above the median vs. below the median on the variable of interest. These results are presented in Tables 41-43.¹⁷

¹⁷ An example of how to read these rather information-dense tables is the following: In FC in 1967, the residential burglary frequency of 5 of the 10 highest residential burglary rate tracts exceeded the median value of the residential burglary frequency of the ten highest and lowest rate tracts taken as a single distribution, and the remaining five were equal to or below this median value; of the ten low RBR tracts, four exceeded the median, five equalled it or were less than it, and one had no information with respect to that characteristic. By a Fisher's exact test of the resultant 2 x 2 table, the null hypothesis of no difference between the two sets of tracts with respect to this characteristic could not be rejected. Substantively, the absolute number of residential burglaries in Fairfax County in 1967 did not distinguish high rate tracts from low rate tracts.

Fairfax County, Virginia

None of the social indicators distinguishes between high and low rate tracts in FC consistently over the three-year period for which we have data. The only correlates which are possibilities are percent white and percent black overcrowded. The percent white result suggests that the racial make-up of tracts remains moderately, but weakly, associated with the burglary rate through time; the percent black overcrowded result occurs in only one year. These are, however, hardly worth mentioning. For FC, at least, there is little to choose from in distinguishing high and low rate residentially burglarized census tract units.

Washington, D. C.

In DC, by contrast, almost every social indicator plus every measure of burglary distinguishes high rate from low rate tracts. As was the case with correlations, this testing of extreme groups indicates that social indicators interact with urban vs. suburban settings in producing strong and definite patterns.

Prince George's County, Maryland

The most revealing set of data is that from PGC where, for 1967 and 1968, there is little association between the burglary rate and social characteristics; but in 1969, there is frequent and marked association. Our hypothesis is that PGC has, in some manner, crossed the urban threshold in a way which FC has not, and is now experiencing the turmoil and problems of the urban inner city. Note that we are not inferring this from any particular single association, but from the pattern of significance which we find over our jurisdiction and across the three years we are looking at them.

Summary

The results of this chapter indicate that burglary patterns differ according to the degree of urbanization of the area where the burglaries occur, and that these differences are patterned. A detailed presentation of the highlights of these results will be given in the final chapter.

Chapter IV: The Victim

What differences are there between homes and businesses that are burglarized, and other nearby homes and businesses that are not burglarized? Of those differences, which are factors that can be controlled in order to prevent or deter burglary in the future? Which are factors that cannot be changed? These questions, and others like them, are the kinds of considerations that guided the intensive study of victims and non-victims of residential and non-residential burglaries in our study site. Our purpose is to provide information to citizens and to members of the criminal justice system that will help them prevent and deter future burglaries.

We inquired in detail about five kinds of factors characterizing victims and non-victims in similar neighborhoods:

- Background and demographic information.
- Victimization experiences.
 - Burglary victims.
 - Victims of other crimes.
 - Victim assisting responses of the police and other elements of the criminal justice system.
- Psychological orientations.
 - Perceptions of the crime problem in general, and the burglary problem in particular.
 - Fear of crime.
 - Feelings along a dimension of potency-impotency with respect to the likelihood of one's being able to do something about the crime problem.
- Responses to the perceived crime problem or the crime problem experienced as a victim.
 - Target hardening efforts.
 - Prevention efforts.
 - Heightened attending to crime deterrent information.
- Physical characteristics of victimized sites and sites which have not yet been victimized.

Victims of both residential and non-residential burglaries in both high and low burglary rate areas in each of the three political jurisdictions in our study site were interviewed about these issues. In addition, people who had not yet been burglarized but who were from the same neighborhood as these victims were interviewed as a comparison sample. In all, a total of 346 completed interviews, out of a goal of 360, were gathered.

Developing an Interview Schedule

We first conducted a pilot study of burglary victims and non-victims, both residential and non-residential, with two purposes in mind:

- To develop interview schedules for the full-scale survey of victims and non-victims.
- To pretest those schedules prior to the full-scale survey.

We conducted forty-eight pilot interviews. Subjects for those interviews were obtained in one of three ways. First, members of our company's staff not involved in the burglary project were interviewed, and also asked for comments and suggestions for improving by revision the interview schedule. Second, interviews were conducted with friends and acquaintances of the interviewers. Third, interviewers went into the field to pretest, on a "cold" basis, "randomly" chosen respondents, in circumstances simulating the actual survey conditions. Table 44 presents a summary description of the respondents in the pilot survey. They represent a wide variety of potential respondent types, in terms of background characteristics and, as our subsequent experience with the interview schedules in the full survey confirmed, they allowed us to anticipate, by their behavior, most of the problems in interviewing that the larger sample did.

Methodology of the Full-Scale Survey

The study site was stratified according to political jurisdiction (FC vs. DC vs. PGC), burglary type (residential vs. non-residential), and neighborhood (high burglary rate vs. low burglary rate).¹ Working from police report computer printouts, a listing of burglary victims for the year 1969 was prepared for each of the twelve "cells" resulting from the intersection of these three stratification factors. The numbers of victims potentially available to be interviewed, ranged from 81 cases in the high burglary rate, non-residential burglary type, of Prince George's County, to 100 cases in six of the remaining "cells." Addresses of burglary sites in each list were then randomly ordered, and the interviewers were instructed to proceed through the list until 15 completed interviews had been conducted. Table 45 presents the dispositions of residential and non-residential victim addresses for each "cell" of the sampling frame.

A sample of non-victims to compare with victims in each of the twelve "cells" was chosen by a process that approximated unbiased selection, if not strictly speaking random selection. The overriding criterion was the selection from the neighborhood of a burglary-victim address, by a chance process, someone who had not been burglarized, but who by virtue of being in the same neighborhood, living in the same kind of house, or operating a similar "business," had been at equal risk. In some instances the procedure that we devised of counting facing houses or businesses on a block until a randomly chosen number had been reached proved feasible; in other instances

¹In the case of residential burglaries, "rate" means occurrences per 1,000 residential units per geographical area; for non-residential burglaries, "rate" simply means raw frequency per geographical area. For a fuller discussion of all this, see Harry A. Scarr, Patterns of Burglary (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1972).

the interviewers simply tried to obtain anyone who had not been victimized within a "reasonable" surrounding area. In five of the twelve instances it proved literally impossible to obtain the quota of fifteen non-victims. Consequently, though we obtained a 96 percent completion rate in terms of our target sample size, our failures only involved non-victims of non-residential burglaries.

Figures 21, 22, and 23 show the geographical distribution of interviews in the three jurisdictions of our study site. Interviews were conducted during June and July 1972. Table 46 presents the distribution of complete interviews, within our sampling frame. Throughout the remainder of this chapter, the number of cases upon which percentages are based will be 90 in the case of victims of residential burglaries, non-victims of residential burglaries, and victims of non-residential burglaries; and 76 in the instance of non-victims of non-residential burglaries. Only when the number of cases differs from these, will a figure for the number of cases be given.

Characteristics of Respondents in the Final Sample

Table 47 presents briefly some demographic characteristics of the respondents in our final sample. The median age in three of the four groups of respondents fell in the category 46-55; the single exception being non-residential non-victims whose median age fell in the category 36-45. As is usually the case in surveys of this kind, residential respondents were predominantly female, while non-residential respondents were primarily male. The racial composition of the respondents was predominantly white in all four groups, though the percentage white was considerably higher among non-residential respondents than amongst residential respondents.

Tables 48 through 55 present interviewer ratings of sample sites. Residential sites were typically two-story, and non-residential sites were typically one-story, buildings. Most premises were judged to be in sound

condition by the interviewers, although residential non-victim and non-residential victim sites were more likely to be judged deteriorating or dilapidated than residential victim sites or non-residential non-victim sites. Table 50 shows that sites were distributed all along block faces, though there was some concentration at or near corners. Table 51 indicates that, in general, respondents' views of their surroundings were largely unobstructed.

Parking facilities for residential sites were typically on the street in front of the site, rather than to the side or in the rear. By contrast, many non-residential sites had both parking lots and front, on the street, parking, with less frequently parking on the sides or in the rear. All this is shown in Table 52. Table 53 indicates that land usage around residential sites was largely residential, and around non-residential sites was largely non-residential. However, as Table 53 also indicates, residential victims were less likely to be in totally residential surroundings than were residential non-victims, and non-residential victims were similarly less likely to be surrounded by non-residential sites than were non-residential non-victims. Table 54 is another way of stating that fact, i. e., in spite of these slight qualifications, residential sites were largely in residential neighborhoods, and non-residential sites were largely in entirely non-residential neighborhoods. (The latter is true, however, to a lesser degree than is the case with residential sites.) Finally, Table 55 indicates that in the case of residential sites, single family dwellings, and duplex or attached single family units, were by far the most common form of residential housing unit among both victims and non-victims.

Table 56 presents information about non-residential sites in our sample. Among the various characteristics, the only differences between victims and non-victims among the non-residential sites seem to be two: First, non-victimized non-residents have been at their present site a shorter time period than have victimized respondents; and non-victimized respondents are at sites with fewer people than are respondents at victimized sites.

In summary, an examination of this table describing the characteristics of our final sample reveals few differences between victims and non-victims in either the residential burglary category or the non-residential burglary category. Thus, any differences found cannot automatically be considered artifacts of our particular sample.

Victimization Experiences of Respondents and at Sites

Burglary

Tables 57-85 describe the context in which residential burglary occurs, and some victimization experiences of both victims of residential burglaries and non-victims of residential burglaries. First, if one examines Tables 57 and 58, which represent activity levels around the residential sites, one can see that the median values for amount of light and amount of traffic do not differ between victims and non-victims of residential burglary. Thus, both groups judged the lighting on their streets to be about "average," and both day and night traffic to be moderate. This was also the case for non-residential victims and non-victims, although it should be noted in Table 58 that non-residential respondents judge daytime activity on their street to be higher than do residential respondents.

In over 50 percent of the cases of residential burglaries, victims were away from their homes between 20 minutes and four hours. In the case of non-residential victims, premises were usually unoccupied for no more than 10 hours before the burglary was discovered. The latter case reflects the fact that non-residential burglaries are much more likely to be night-time and weekend burglaries than are residential burglaries. All this information is summarized in Tables 59 and 60. Shifting our attention to the way in which an intruder gains access to both residential and non-residential structures, Tables 61 and 62 imply the following: First, intruders are more likely to

enter residences than non-residences through the door, though the difference is fairly slight. Second, when considering the orientation of the building, residential victims are relatively more likely to be attacked from the rear; and non-residential victims more likely to be attacked from the front. Access to both is almost invariably via the first floor.

If we look at the means that intruders used to gain access, we find that the breaking of glass in doors or windows is most common in both residential and non-residential burglaries, though such breakage is relatively more frequent in the latter case than in the former. In addition, perhaps a reflection of the fact that professionals are more likely to concentrate on non-residential burglaries, other tools, and undoing locks, are much more likely to be techniques used by non-residential intruders, whereas hands are much more likely to be used by residential burglars. Finally, from Table 63, we see that the intruder, in the judgment of our respondents, succeeded in burglarizing the attacked structure in approximately two-thirds of both the residential and non-residential crimes we had information about.

Tables 64 and 65 present preventive measures in operation at the time of the criterion burglary for both our residential and non-residential sites. In general, the degree of protection used by both is remarkably similar. Two exceptions are that non-residential sites are much more likely to have lights on at the presumed time of the intrusion, whereas residential victims are more likely to have had a dog on the premises at that time. Two other items that differ substantially--the presence of a radio, record player or TV, or the presence of a private guard--are really incomparable as between the two kinds of burglary. In Table 65 we can see that, in general, non-residential sites had more precautionary measures being taken than did residential sites at the time of the intrusion. Thus, the modal number of precautions in the case of non-residential sites was two and the modal number in the case of residential sites was one.

Details of the outcome of the burglary or attempted burglary are presented in Tables 66-69. In Table 66, we note that non-residential burglaries are more likely to involve the taking of one kind of property, whereas residential burglaries were likely to involve the loss of several different types of property. Furthermore, as Table 67 demonstrates, the property stolen is more likely to be limited to easily converted items in the case of residential burglaries, than in the case of non-residential burglaries. On the other hand, Table 68 shows that vandalism is much more likely to be characteristic of non-residential burglaries and breakings and enterings. (To some degree this is an artifact of the presence of schools in our sample, but their presence alone is insufficient to account for the dramatic difference we find). Whether or not property is recovered does not distinguish between the two kinds of burglary. As might be expected and as Table 69 indicates, the value of the property stolen or damaged is likely to be higher in the case of non-residential than in the case of residential burglaries.

On the Sellin-Wolfgang seriousness scale, non-residential burglaries tend to be slightly more serious than residential burglaries, but the difference is trivial and certainly not significant (see Table 70). Finally, in terms of the distribution of final outcomes of burglaries, note in Table 71 that we too find the usual low clearance rate in our sample for the crime, i. e., no arrest was made in three-fifths of both the residential and non-residential burglaries we studied.

Other Crimes

In addition to asking about burglary in particular, we asked all four categories of respondents about other kinds of offenses that occurred in their neighborhoods. If one compares Tables 72 and 73, and Tables 74 and 75, one discovers that the neighborhoods of non-residential non-victims

seem to differ more systematically from the neighborhoods of non-residential victims, than do the neighborhoods of residential non-victims differ from the neighborhoods of residential victims. That is, if one simply counts the number of instances where the answer "No offenses or attempted offenses" is given for each offense category for non-residential respondents, and does the same thing for residential respondents, in the case of non-residential respondents the proportion of non-victims saying no is greater than the proportion of victims saying no in 11 of 13 instances, whereas in the case of residential respondents in only 7 of 13 instances do non-victims indicate "No offenses" proportionally more often than victims.

However, as Table 76 indicates, there is a slight difference between victims and non-victims of both residential and non-residential burglaries in the number of times they have been victimized. Thus, for residential sites the median number of times victims have been victimized is three, whereas the median number of times non-victims have been victimized is two, and for non-residential sites, the difference is even more dramatic, viz., medians of six and three.

In an inquiry made only of non-residential sites, we found that though the victims of non-residential burglaries are more likely also to be victims of bad checks and shoplifting, the reverse is true for employee theft. Taking these three categories of crime--check passing, shoplifting and employee theft--we note that more than half of the non-residential victims have been victimized five or more times with respect to these three crimes, whereas half of the non-residential non-victims have been victimized only three or more times (Tables 77 and 78).

In summary, then, though non-victims of burglary are not free of other victimization experiences, they are less likely than burglary victims to have had them.

Police

The police are an essential part of the experience of most victims of residential and non-residential burglaries. In Tables 79-85 we summarize the orientations of all four of our categories of respondents to various aspects of police behavior in the context of their neighborhoods, as well as police behavior in response to particular victimization experiences. As Table 79 indicates, at least half of all four categories think the police are doing a "good" or "very good" job in their neighborhoods. Table 80 indicates, however, that victims of both residential and non-residential crimes think there are some ways in which the police aren't doing a good job, though this tendency is slight. As one would predict, Table 81 indicates that victims, more than non-victims, are much more likely to be interested in having an increased police presence (i. e., more police cars and more police on foot) in their neighborhoods.

Considering only actual victims of both residential and non-residential burglaries, we see from Tables 82 and 83 that the police response to the criterion crime, in the vast majority of cases, was extremely quick. We also note from Table 84 that, subsequent to the initial contact by the police, in the majority of cases of both kinds of crime, additional follow-up contacts were made. Table 85 presents the degree of satisfaction with police performance with respect to the three dimensions of promptness, courteousness and competence, for both residential and non-residential victims. Note that, in general, the proportion of non-residential victims giving the very satisfied response for all three dimensions--promptness, courteousness, and competence--is greater than the proportion of victims of residential crimes giving that response, though in each case it is by far the modal response. Note further that victims of both kinds of crimes are most satisfied with police courteousness, next most satisfied with police promptness, and least satisfied with police competence. Again, however, note that these

are relative trends, and that, in terms of absolute percentages, the police response to the crimes we were studying was generally very satisfactory.

Psychological Orientations: Perceptions
of the Crime Problem and Attitudes Toward It

Given the experiences with burglary and other crimes that were reported by our respondents, what kinds of effects do we find these experiences to have had on their attitudes and beliefs about the particular neighborhood situation in which they find themselves, and the crime situation in general? In Tables 86 through 97 we record the perceptions of our four categories of respondents with respect to the seriousness of crime and related problems in their surroundings. If one examines Tables 86 and 87, and Tables 88 and 89, one notes that the actual perception of kinds of problems in the neighborhoods of victims and non-victims of both residential and non-residential burglaries do not differ significantly. However, if one then examines Table 90 and notes the number of problems perceived by our four categories of victims, one sees that non-residential non-victims perceive fewer total problems in their neighborhoods than do the other three categories of respondent. Thus, the median number of problems noted by non-residential non-victims is one, whereas the median number noted by the other categories of respondents is two.

Though perceptions are the same with respect to problems in general, Tables 91 through 94 reveal that non-victims of both residential and non-residential burglaries report fewer crimes in their neighborhoods than do victims of either kind of burglary. That is, in the case of residential respondents, in 10 out of the 12 instances presented in Tables 91 and 92, the percentages of respondents giving "No" in answer to the question of whether particular crimes are committed in their neighborhoods is greater on the part of residential non-victims than on the part of residential victims. Similarly,

in comparing Tables 93 and 94 note that in 11 out of 12 instances the percentage of non-residential non-victims giving "No" as the answer to the question of what crimes are committed in their neighborhood is greater than the percentage responding "No" among non-residential victims. This is also reflected, though imperfectly, in Table 95, where the median number of crimes reported by non-residential victims is four, while the median number reported by non-residential non-victims is three, while the median number reported by residential victims and non-victims is the same--three. Given the prior evidence of similar perceptions, we hypothesize that the results in Tables 91 through 94 is an accurate description of what is going on. Note, further, that in Table 96, there is really little difference between the perception of the direction in which the burglary rates are moving in all four kinds of neighborhoods. And, finally, note that in Table 97 there are very few differences between victims and non-victims in all categories with respect to their estimate of their likelihood of their being burglarized or robbed.

There is little difference between victims and non-victims of either residential or non-residential burglaries in terms of how worried they are about being robbed, how afraid they are walking alone at night in their neighborhoods, and how fearful they are about their homes and businesses being broken into. This is shown in Tables 98 through 100. Table 101 indicates that there is also little difference in feelings of the amount that one can do to prevent one's being victimized on the part of resident victims and non-victims with respect to different crimes. However, if we summarize the number of items for which resident victims and non-victims feel they might be able to affect their own victimization odds, we note that there is a slight tendency for non-victims to feel more "potent" than victims. This is shown in Table 102. Data for non-residential victims and non-victims is similar to these results as Tables 103 and 104 indicate. In fact, in the instance of non-residential respondents, the difference in potency is even less than the difference just

noted for residential respondents. By contrast, we find in Table 105 that the majority of victims of both residential and non-residential crimes believe that additional protective measures than those they took might have prevented the particular burglary we were asking them about.

Responses to the Crime Problem in General and Victimization Experiences in Particular

Physical Target Hardening

Given their experiences, and given the attitudes and orientations of victims and non-victims of both residential and non-residential crimes, what efforts did they take to attempt to reduce the probability of being victims in the future? Table 106 presents two kinds of comparisons: First, a comparison of the current behavior of victims of both residential and non-residential crimes, with their own past behavior at the time of their being burglarized; second, a comparison of the current behavior of victims with the current behavior of non-victims for both residential and non-residential sites with respect to target hardening practices. Looking first at residential respondents, note that, among the factors where victims are now more cautious than they were in the past, we find:

- Leaving a light on inside.
- Leaving a light on outside.
- Having a dog on the premises.
- Having bars or wire mesh on doors or windows.
- Having a private patrolman or security guard.
- Having a chain lock without a key on the door.
- Having a dead bolt lock.

- Having a bar across a sliding door or window.
- Having key locks on windows.
- Having other special locks.
- Having other protective measures.

Comparing the current behavior of the victims of residential burglaries with their non-victim "controls," we find that victims are more likely to:

- Leave a light on inside.
- Have bars or wire mesh on doors or windows.
- Have a dead bolt lock.
- Have a bar across a sliding door or window.
- Have a key lock on a window.
- Have other special locks.

If we now summarize the results of these two kinds of comparisons, we note that, though victims of residential burglaries have in fact increased their cautiousness, they are more likely to simply have brought themselves up to the level of protection already utilized by non-victims, than they are to now exceed non-victims in their protectiveness, in most categories. Of course, both factors are operating, but the general impact of the two kinds of comparisons is that victims are more frequently bringing their levels of protection "up to snuff," rather than exceeding their non-victim compatriots in cautiousness.

If we look at non-residential victims and non-victims, we find that non-residential victims are more likely to now:

- Use a burglar alarm.
- Leave a light on outside.

- Have a dog on their premises.
- Have bars or wire mesh on doors or windows.
- Engage the services of a private patrolman or security guard.
- Have a dead bolt lock.
- Have a bar across a sliding door or window.
- Have special locks.
- Take other protective measures.

If, as we did with residential respondents, we now compare current behavior of victims and non-victims of non-residential burglaries, we find that victims are more likely than non-victims to:

- Have a burglar alarm in operation.
- Leave a light on outside.
- Have a dog on their premises.
- Have bars or wire mesh on windows.
- Have a private patrolman.
- Have a chain lock without a key on the door.
- Have a bar across a sliding door or window.
- Employ a special lock.

In the case of non-residential victims and non-victims, both increased hardening as a response to being victimized, and relatively harder premises when compared to non-victims, seem to be equally the case.

Behavior Changes

In Table 107 we are able to make similar comparisons to those we have just made with respect to behavior patterns for residential respondents. Thus, victims are usually more likely now than at the time of their burglary experience to:

- Have someone at home now.
- Leave a radio on.
- Keep their doors locked in the daytime.
- Keep their doors locked in the evening.
- Keep their windows locked when someone is home.

They are also more likely to do most of these things than are non-victims. Furthermore, as Table 108 shows, they are much more likely to be cautious now when going on vacation than they were around the time of their having been burglarized; and they are also more likely to be cautious than their current non-victim counterparts. Note, however, that--as Table 109 indicates--in terms of the sheer number of measures taken by particular individuals to protect homes when on vacation, there are no differences among (1) victims of residential crimes before the criterion burglary, (2) victims of residential crimes after the criterion burglary, and (3) current non-victim controls. In Table 110, we find similar results for non-residential respondents. That is, victims are more cautious now with respect to more items, and are in the process of catching up with, rather than surpassing, their non-victimized comparison group.

Considering items common to both residential and non-residential victims, Table 111 presents changes in levels of protection among residential and non-residential victim respondents. With the exception of the installation of a burglar alarm, victims of residential crimes seem to have increased

their protection across the board more than victims of non-residential crimes. In an absolute sense, the latter have also considerably hardened their premises. In further support of this difference, we find in Tables 112 and 113 that in the case of those items asked only of residents, the range of percentages over items where more protection now exists among residents is from 1.1 to 28.9, whereas the range over items for non-residents is from 2.2 to 5.6. This is further support for the increasingly plausible hypothesis that victims of residential crimes are more likely to harden their homes in response to a victimization experience than are victims of non-residential crimes likely to harden their victimized sites.

Finally, if one looks at Table 114, one notes that the percentage of respondents among residential victims having no special locks on their doors decreased from 65 to 23 from the time of their criterion victimization to now, and further that the current 23 percent is much less than the current 40 percent of non-victims who have no special locks on their doors now. On the other hand, the percentage of non-residents decreased from 46 to 31 percent and the 31 percent is not that different from the percentage of non-victims who currently have no special locks on their doors.

Prevention Efforts

We see in Table 115 that fewer non-victims than victims have gotten together to discuss the problem of crime with others in their neighborhood, and perhaps take some action. We note further in Table 116 that victims of residential crimes are more likely to be in favor of:

- better street lighting;
- stronger police powers;
- more crackdown on offenders;

than are non-victims of residential crimes, and--with the exception of

street lighting--the same is true when one compares the victims of non-residential crimes (Table 117) with non-victims of non-residential crimes.

Table 118 is one of the clearer illustrations we found of differences between victims and non-victims of both residential and non-residential crimes, in terms of their responding to the situation of having been victimized. The median number of things one desires to have done in order to reduce crime in the future, among the victims of both residential and non-residential crimes, is four, whereas the median number of things among non-victims of residential crimes is two and the median number of things among non-victims of non-residential crime is three.

The response to public information about the burglary problem differentiates between residential and non-residential respondents. Non-residential victims are much more likely than non-residential non-victims to have read material about protecting their sites. Tables 119 through 122 clearly show this. In addition, non-residential victims are likely to have encountered more sources presenting material on protecting themselves against burglary, than have non-residential non-victims. The same differences do not hold for residential victims versus residential non-victims.

Summary

In Chapter VII we present a summary list of all the findings from the victimization survey.

Chapter V. The Burglar

Background

In their study of personality characteristics and developmental experiences of a sample of inmates in the California State Prison system, Kolodney, et al. (1970) were able to show a distinct patterning of personality characteristics for all felons except burglars. The occurrence of behavior which can be characterized as burglary is so frequent and so prevalent in the general population, one should be surprised only if a distinct pattern of obvious personality traits is visibly apparent among a set of incarcerated felons. Since, to a large degree, most burglaries are a product of circumstance and opportunity, and since the apprehension of a burglar is an unlikely event, lack of pattern is not surprising.

In spite of these results, distinction which divides burglars into subsets that are fairly homogeneous, and reasonably different from one another, is one based on the dimension of degree of commitment to their profession. For, the crime is so rational, the technology so accessible, and the rewards so straightforward, that it is possible to "earn one's living" by burglary in a way that is distinctly less risk-ridden than would be the case with, say, armed robbery or murder for hire as true occupations. Thus, folklore, criminologists, and the police, as well as other members of the criminal justice system, have recognized for some time the distinction between master, or professional, burglars, and amateur, or casual, burglars.¹

¹Actually, a four-fold table resulting from the interaction of two analytically distinct variables may be a better way to distinguish among classes of burglars. Thus, skill and proportion of income due to burglary, imply the following:

(Footnote continued, next page)

Though one correlate of this distinction is age, a second and more important correlate is the degree of organization brought to burglary as a profession, and the lack of organization characterizing amateur efforts. As our figurative description of the elements necessary to complete the crime indicates (see Chapter I, pp. 2-15, above), a rather complicated series of events must take place for a successful burglary to have occurred. It follows, then, that to the degree these elements can be routinized and enacted within an orderly division of labor, to that degree an effective and profitable criminal social organization can be said to exist.

Within the jurisdictions constituting our field site, both kinds of burglars operate. The most notorious master burglar in the DC metropolitan area is Robert Earl Barnes (1971), who has operated for many years in and around Washington. His story is now well-known, and scarcely needs re-telling here. The interested reader is referred to his book. Another and even more remarkable professional operation, which was going on during the time that the offense report data for our study were being gathered was the "Beltway Gang." The organization of this "gang" was at one and the same

(Footnote 1, continued)

	"Amateur" (Minor in- come source)	"Professional" (Major in- come source)
Low skill level	A	B
High skill level	C	D

In terms of this typology we deal, in this chapter, with representatives of types A and D, though teen-age drug induced thieves may be B rather than A. I am indebted to Joan Pinsky for suggesting this typology. See also the chapter on professional crime (pp. 96-101) in Crime and Its Impact--An Assessment, (GPO, 1967) by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice.

time both more subtle and less complicated than people far removed from the local criminal justice systems believe. We have interviewed gang personnel, and those police personnel assigned to their capture.

The form casual burglary in our site frequently assumes is drug-induced crime, particularly on the part of teen-aged male juveniles. In our site, this form of burglary on the part of juveniles is more typical of Prince George's County and the District of Columbia, than it is of Fairfax County. Though this is only an impression based on information gathered from different parts of criminal justice systems in our jurisdictions, it must suffice since no systematic data which could assess this proposition yet exist. We can argue that our interpretation of what our informants told us seems reasonable, though that is not, of course, final "proof."

Organization of this Chapter

Without getting into problems connected with the potential transformation of one kind of burglar into another, we will in this chapter use the elements of the burglary cycle as they reflect contrasts between "professionals" and "casuals" as the mode for organizing information about the operation of the "Beltway Gang," and the activities of the drug-abusing high-school burglar. By pointing up differences in the mode of operation of each of these kinds of criminals, and by reporting anecdotal material supporting contrasts, we will be able to suggest firm hypotheses about both the characteristics of each form of the crime, each kind of criminal, and the vast differences within each set between each form, for future systematic study.

Even though this chapter is hypothesis generating and idea developing, it does not mean that the information we present is either invalid, or less than adequate to provide clues to criminal justice personnel interested in deterrence. We in no sense have a "systematic sample" of either burglars or their police

antagonists. If the reader feels compelled to hold this chapter up to the rigorous standards of conventional social science proof, a proof that the earlier chapters, incidentally, have been able to withstand quite well, before using what we offer then he had best not waste his time reading this one because it will not withstand such a scrutiny. In our judgment, it has been more important to first make a cut at the emic world of the burglar in depth and detail than to etically characterize him shallowly though broadly.

Motivation: Why Steal?

If we were to summarize the two major themes that pervaded all our discussions with and about master and casual amateur burglars, one would characterize the master burglar as a man who is motivated by the challenge of successful burglarizing, in much the same way that other members of our culture respond to similar challenges, and characterize the motivation of the drug-induced casual burglar to be that of simply obtaining sufficient funds to support a habit that is always beyond his means, and usually increasingly so.

The concept of challenge is illustrated by Barnes' reports that most professional burglars of his acquaintance, and he himself, have a particular non-instrumental need that they satisfy through burglary, in addition to the more acceptable and expectable financial rewards of their trade (Barnes, 1971). Thus, some burglars steal cufflinks, others clocks, still others stereophonic equipment, etc. One member of the Beltway Gang, in support of the challenge concept, specialized in forklifts. Though not technically a burglary, since the man who engaged in the activity was among other things a professional burglar, it is not inappropriate to report this particular "swindle" as some indication of the kind of motivation underlying his behavior. This man would offer to a prospective client a forklift at a "bargain-basement" price, provided only that

the deal were consummated immediately and in cash. The whole procedure was fairly simple: The gang member would gain access to the storage yard of a construction or warehouse firm during some of the firm's off-daylight hours, say, on a weekend, and with a client in tow. After demonstrating the machinery, he would then collect his money and leave. Though this differs from collecting artifacts, it nevertheless vividly demonstrates the kind of extra risk to which a professional criminal may expose himself in order to indulge his sense of excitement and challenge. Beyond this, police personnel are quick to acknowledge that there is no such thing as "just a burglar," and that--other than financial gain--the detective must always differentiate among multiple actual and potential motives.

Technology: How?

The outstanding difference between casual burglars and professional burglars is the degree to which more sophisticated technology of all sorts, both social and physical, is more readily available to the operation of the professional. For example, after one has listed picking locks with credit cards, smashing windows, crawling into basements, knocking on doors to see if anyone is home before entering, and stealing from one's friends whose home layouts one knows, one has nearly exhausted the technology usually available to the casual burglar.

By contrast, the physical equipment and ingenuity that is available to the professional burglar is wide, and varied in scope. (See Barnes [1971]; Burke [1966]; and Jackson [1969], passim.) Yet, it is not physical technology that is so remarkable in the professional's resources. Rather, the degree of social organization that is brought to bear by a burglary ring is the real remarkable achievement, reflecting a considerable degree of social sophistication and human engineering skill. For example, the Beltway Gang engaged in considerable planning. They routinely would enter, say, an appliance store,

or buy inexpensive appliances while in such a store, simply to collect intelligence about the best way to penetrate that structure. Included among their personnel were men who could reroute burglar alarms, men who could avoid different kinds of alarms, and men capable in most of the criminological hardware skills. They gathered knowledge about the particular hardware they would be confronting as they attacked different targets in different areas, and, in general, paid considerable attention to planning what they intended to do.

The jobber bureaucracy they created was their most noteworthy achievement. The news reports were, in fact, a bunch of romantic nonsense with respect to how the gang operated. They implied a gang of 30 to 90 members full-time. Of course, anyone with a bit of experience in organizational behavior knows that 90 members require a cumbersome visibility that a criminal gang simply cannot afford. Furthermore, it is impossible that this gang could have functioned as it did with that many members.

In fact, discussions with the gang make it clear in what sense they "had 80 or 90" members. Their structure was elegant in its simplicity. Four members constituted the core of the gang, the ruling oligarchs, as it were. These men, by virtue of their experience in crime in the DC area, had accumulated a "file" of knowledge of particular people and their exact specialties in criminal activity in the area. When a particular opportunity presented itself, they would "subcontract" to individuals with appropriate skills, the particular job at issue, raking off a certain percentage of the "take" for themselves. In some instances, of course, they actively committed crimes; but their singular genius was the multiplier effect of their subcontracting apparatus, which gave them the resources of great size without the cumbersome-ness ordinarily associated with it. Now, if one looks at their operation in the sense of an on-going process, it is easy to conceive of 80 or 90 people being routinely involved over time in criminal activity which they were responsible for generating. The operation only seems complicated and cumbersome

when viewed from the outside; from the standpoint of the core members of the gang who let subcontracts sequentially, the process was simple, effective, and lucrative.

It is social technology that we think has been generally neglected in studies of crime.² With the exception of some rather romanticized descriptions of the Mafia in its various pursuits, in discussions of criminal activity of other sorts, the Beltway Gang provides insight into the degree to which a "run-of-the-mill" burglary operation is a good deal more sophisticated than has hitherto been suspected. In fact, social technology even more than physical technology distinguishes the successful professional from the casual thief.

Opportunity: What Cues are Reliable?

The amateur relies on the resources of his friends, as potential burglary targets, far more than does the professional. It is quite common, especially among young drug abusers, to steal from increasingly socially close individuals as one's career progresses through time. Thus, he first steals from people in his neighborhood; next he proceeds to steal from acquaintances; he then begins to steal from close friends, and he finally steals from family--parents and siblings. By contrast, the opportunity structure perceived by professionals is considerably wider in scope, and less parochial in variety of targets to choose from. As a consequence, of course, the professional operates in a potentially riskier environment as he attempts to penetrate the structures of strangers. For example, the Beltway Gang was so named because its activities centered on burglarizing apartment buildings adjacent to the autobahn which surrounds the city of Washington, D. C.

²A noteworthy exception to this general neglect is Werner J. Einstadter, "The Social Organization of Armed Robbers," Social Problems, 17, no. 1 (1969) 64-83.

The gang would break up into two teams, the first responsible for marking unoccupied apartments in previously designated buildings. They would be followed, in turn, by the second team, who would break into the "cleared" units, conduct their business in a very professional manner, disturbing as little as they could in the process of stealing as much as possible.

This fact of dealing with structures of strangers induces in professional burglars the ability to develop a repertory of cover stories, in order to protect themselves should they be accidentally discovered. For example, in one instance, a member of the Beltway Gang, while working in an apartment which was empty, suddenly found himself confronting the gentleman who lived in the apartment and who had come home unexpectedly. The man, an irate Colonel assigned to the Pentagon, asked, "What in the hell are you doing in my apartment?" The thief replied, "I'm the maintenance man here to fix a leaky faucet." Whereupon the irate Colonel, mollified, offered him a drink. The thief respectfully declined, went through the door, and was gone, not before, be it noted, however, having stolen the goods he came for in the first place.

Many opportunities are equally visible to professionals and amateurs:

- Individual houses are best burglarized on weekdays, between 10:30 and noon or 1:30 and 3:00 p. m. Housewives, their husbands at work and their children in school, are apt to be away during those periods.
- Stores, and other business establishments, are best burglarized in the evenings or on weekends when they are vacant.

One of the things distinguishing professionals from amateurs, in the minds of many detectives, is the fact of a home burglary occurring in the evening or night hours, with the attendant risk of discovery few professionals would run. This, according to detectives, is one of the most reliable clues that an amateur is working an area, unless, and only unless, extraordinary circumstances are known to them.

The kinds of doors and windows, the kinds of locks on them, and the place of a structure in its surrounds, are further elements playing a role in the opportunity matrix perceived by the burglar when choosing a target. But more important than any of these cues are informants, the lifeblood of the complicated process in which are implicated the burglar, the burglary, and the criminal justice system. Most burglaries committed by professional criminals are a consequence of information they have received from informants about the availability of easily transportable and valued goods at particular locations. The informant may be anyone, from a jeweler who hopes to buy and resell jewels to share in the loot, to a doorman who is aware of the occupancy habits of the residents of the expensive apartment building he monitors, to all those persons who for any of a thousand reasons, have knowledge of the vacancy patterns with respect to any structure which contains something of value.

Informants not only abet burglars, however. They also play important roles in the capture of thieves. In terms of police lore, the informant is the element essential to make sense out of crime patterning in a particular jurisdictional area. Both the police and the criminal allegedly engage in this form of mutual "extortion," in order to keep tabs on one another. The difficulty in evaluating this hypothesis is, of course, that one has nothing with which to compare the relative effectiveness of different resources. It is impossible, for instance, to know when investigators are using every resource at their disposal, and, consequently, whether the informant truly is or is not essential to apprehension. In any event, the social networks enveloping police, criminals, and the criminal justice system within a particular geographical area, and the activities surrounding the structures containing residences and businesses in that same area, are the most important elements in the opportunity matrices within which burglars operate. For, to a large

degree, these externals shape his perception of the relative opportunities to burglarize within a particular area, which in turn plays a major role in his decision.

A quite different set of factors which shape his responses to opportunities in an area are its perceived deterrents. For example, the Beltway Gang operated in both PGC and in FC, but not in Montgomery County, Maryland. We discovered upon inquiry, that at the time of their activity, gang members alleged that there was a \$50,000 bond required for bail in Montgomery County simply for being arrested on suspicion of burglary, whereas the analogous bail bond in FC was only \$2,500, and in PGC, only \$3,000. Therefore, since Montgomery County and FC are roughly comparable in terms of their socio-economic status and thus equally promising as target areas, it simply made no sense for the gang to attempt to operate in Montgomery County, given that FC was (1) equally accessible, (2) equally wealthy, and (3) easier to stay "on the street" in. A second factor deterring the Beltway Gang was the allegedly differential punishment for daytime versus nighttime breaking and entering. For example, gang members believed the penalty for nighttime burglary to be from five years to execution, whereas daytime burglary was thought to be easily reduced to a misdemeanor.

A final, most obvious, factor which deters the professional burglar but not the casual, is simply the poverty of the intended target. The Beltway Gang would rarely bother burglarizing an apartment which they did not believe had at least a \$250 monthly rental; and, by definition in most areas in which they operated, they would similarly only rarely bother with homes valued at less than \$50,000. This, of course, stands in stark contrast to the opportunistic behavior of the amateur, particularly the drug-driven amateur, who is limited to his immediate surroundings.

Choice: Why Burglary Rather than Something Else?

Criminals of the sort who built and maintained the Beltway Gang, during its brief but lucrative time of operation, rarely confine themselves to one particular sort of criminal activity. Thus, their choice of burglary is, in each instance, dictated by the circumstances surrounding a particular potential target. We have already noted that we know little about the social organization of such gangs. We know even less about the variety of services they offer to the criminal and non-criminal community. By reputation, however, the members of the Beltway Gang were alleged to have committed crimes ranging from daytime burglaries to murder for hire. In terms of sheer opportunity and economic return for investment, though, burglary was far and away their most frequent activity. This suggests to me the interesting question of whether, as I suspect is the case, the more intelligent its members and the better-organized the gang, the higher the percentage of its activities it devotes to burglary and kindred crimes, which have a relatively low clearance rate, and result in a relatively high rate of return.

By contrast, drug-induced burglars seem to be different from drug-induced robbers. Those to whom we talked made the explicit and quite self-conscious statement that they were interested only in stealing from sites where no one was likely to be present. Unlike criminals who are more professional, amateurs are interested only in that particular kind of crime which is easy, requires relatively little skill, and has relatively light consequences if caught. The choice, then, seems dictated relatively more by opportunity in the case of the professional, and relatively more by character in the case of the amateur. This hypothesis, too, is worthy of further attention.

Outcomes: What is Taken?

Though the availability of a good fence makes it possible for both professionals and amateurs to deal, upon occasion, with unusual goods, it is still the case that both prefer easily convertible and low volume goods of high value. Diamonds, jewelry, credit cards (before the newly enacted limited liability credit card law, at least), cash, and expensive electronics equipment are the staple of the burglar. The probability of tracing these materials is extremely low; their convertibility into cash is extremely high; and they are eminently portable. A few things are stolen for instrumental purposes, rather than for cash conversion. Automobiles, tools, and-- occasionally--something as exotic as a fire extinguisher.³ However, aside from occasional esoterica like this, and aside from their "things" (see pp. 68-69, above), a professional burglar typically succeeds when he is able to remove sufficient goods which when converted into cash, support him in the style of life to which he is accustomed.

But if the rewards of success for the professional are greater, so is the punishment he encounters upon failure: One member of the Beltway Gang is now serving a total of 30 years in State Prison; a second is serving 25 years; a third is serving 18 years; and a fourth is serving 16 years. On the other hand, a typical amateur is likely to receive no more than a suspended sentence, particularly if he is caught on his first offense, and he is, in fact, supporting a potentially "rehabilitative" habit--say, drugs--with his

³ Those who have seen the classic French movie, Rififi, will recognize at once that particular kinds of fire extinguishers, which emanate sticky "goo" are quite suited to neutralizing the sound from bell burglar alarms. The net effect is to reduce the sound of an alarm to "nothing more than the humming of a hummingbird," by filling the bell chamber with said fire extinguisher goo.

burglarizing. In spite of this difference, the evidence suggested by all self-confessed professional thieves indicates that the deterrent effect of failure on them is minimal, even as the deterrent effect of failure and its attendant circumstances is profound for the amateur.

Conversion: On the Necessity for
Having a Good Fence

When discussing criminal behavior with the Beltway Gang, one area where no information of any kind would be revealed was that of fences, their description and kinds. For, from the information we were able to gather, it became clear that the fence is to the burglar banker, mother-confessor, sleeping place in time of trial, and magic converter of goods into money. In addition, fences typically function as sources of intelligence on potentially low-risk, lucrative jobs. Because a fence is alleged to be, in many instances, a legitimate businessman, he is quite frequently because of his trade in a position to turn odd and otherwise not easily disposable loot from particular kinds of burglaries into lucrative thefts. Thus, the fence looms as the essential element in the burglary cycle.⁴

But it is not only the professional who has his outlets. In the Washington, D. C. area there are numerous fences available to young drug abusers for the conversion of the goods they steal. These men are usually introduced to the young men by drug pushers. Though nickel and dime operators, it is

⁴It is little wonder that we were confronted with the cynicism of a belief in the complete corruptibility of any citizen when talking to men who allegedly had been dealing with eminent corruptible citizens for years. As one member of the organization remarked, "If I offered you a \$1,000 watch for \$100 you'd take it wouldn't you?" The implication being we are all thieves. Independent evidence from police personnel indicated that the Beltway Gang fences and bondsmen were likely to be as far away as Philadelphia or even Florida, and were suspected of being, in most instances, legitimate businessmen.

nevertheless the case that here, too, without the convertibility afforded by this particular social role, a goodly portion of the whole amateur system of burglary as lucrative behavior would collapse.

Reinforcement: Satisfactions of Thieves

The Beltway Gang returned, to each of its core members, never less than \$100 a day net for no more than four hours of effort if they chose to work. Opportunities available to these same men in legitimate employment ranged from \$7,800 a year as managers of 7-Eleven Stores, to the lower reaches of government service. Given a low clearance rate for burglary, and the opportunity to convert goods as well as knowledge about criminal technology, the reinforcements offered by legitimate society in the eyes of these men were understandably not terribly competitive. It was not, in the case of the professionals, the size of particular hauls--their largest was \$18,000--but the reliability of the income which was the most startling fact we learned from them. For the amateur the satisfaction is perhaps likely to be satisfaction at thumbing one's nose at the establishment, while--for drug users--supporting an illicit habit.

Summary

In one word, organization is the attribute most characteristic of professional thieves, and chance most apt for casual practitioners. In Chapter VII we shall, in more detail, extract recommendations for interdiction from the findings we have presented here.

Chapter VI. Courts and Burglars

What happens to an offender in each jurisdiction when he comes into contact with the criminal justice system after being apprehended? Are there differences between jurisdictions in the way they treat the "typical" burglary suspect? To begin to answer questions of this kind, we interviewed a sample of criminal justice personnel from different parts of the court system in each jurisdiction. Table 123 presents the distribution of interviews by jurisdiction and criminal justice system personnel category. On the basis of interviews with those respondents, we have constructed three scenarios, which describe, in ideal type form, the progress of a burglary suspect through the court system in each jurisdiction.

The more obvious drawbacks of this technique are evident:

1. We do violence to the range of the variety of experiences of suspects, as this variety interacts with suspect type, by singling out the most frequent category for special attention.
2. We tend to identify too strongly with criminal justice system personnel as they attempt to cope with an impossible situation--impossible from the standpoint of resources currently available to cope with an increasingly heavy load of cases. Thus, we inadvertently shade our attitudes and opinions in the direction of sympathy with the courts, rather than being as "objective" as we might like.
3. We show no statistical trends; we imbed our scenarios in no wider context, in order to give the reader a feel for the representativeness of what we are saying.
4. Finally, the rules of inference that we use to include or exclude an element from a scenario are largely unknown to the reader.

On the other hand, certain advantages accrue to the technique.

1. We are able to dramatize differences in procedures in the three jurisdictions in a way statistical descriptions do not allow.
2. We are able to give the typical reader, who perhaps is unfamiliar with the workings of a court system in a pedestrian burglary case, a feel for what is actually going on.
3. In a very real sense, the scenarios are truer to the kind of information we gathered from our informants in unstructured and semi-structured interviews, and are more appropriate vehicles for making use of that material. Had we been able to systematically sample from the criminal justice system personnel rosters in each jurisdiction (and it is questionable whether that is even possible, let alone desirable) then it would be appropriate to present our data in a more systematic form.
4. Given the limits of time, money and energy, imposed by the conditions of our study, this seemed the most effective way to present this aspect of the phenomenon of burglary in our jurisdictions. Note that, we have in fact used the most frequent kind of offense and path through the system, based on our statistical analysis. Thus, in each scenario, a young male who is involved in a relatively minor theft is the person followed through the system.

We have--when appropriate--referred to relevant sources in support of many of the points we attempt to make.¹

¹The remainder of this chapter was written by Deborah Wyatt.

Fairfax County

The following describes a typical burglary in FC:

It's shortly after noon, Friday the twentieth of June. M___, twenty-two years of age, is driving through a neighborhood close to where he lives. He knows, through a friend, that most of the neighborhood women are attending a local meeting this Friday afternoon. He spots a corner house that looks empty, parks his car and gets out.

He goes to the front door, knocks and waits several minutes for someone to answer. Certain that no one is home, he circles around back, screwdriver in his coat pocket. He reaches the rear of the house, pulls out his screwdriver and quickly pries open the screen door. He moves about through the house; he first ransacks the desk drawers, then goes to the master bedroom in search of cash or credit cards. He finds sixty dollars tucked away underneath some lingerie. He takes the money and is on his way out when he notices a stamp collection laying on top of a table. He estimates it to be worth about seventy-five dollars, picks it up and hurries out of the house. He's circling around front again when he stops frozen in his tracks: there stand two policemen waiting to arrest him. He is advised of his rights, arrested and escorted to the police car.

This is the story of M___, a fictitious person who reflects characteristics present in most burglar suspects who operate in Fairfax County. M___ is young, white and male; he is in need of money and burglary seems to him an easy way to satisfy that need. Breaking into homes is, to him, a fairly easy way of getting money, because he's done it a number of times in the past and--up to now--has never been caught. M___ has no real direction, no central goal in life. His actions in this instance were not carefully planned; he had no idea that a neighbor would be watching and that his activities would be reported to the police.

M____ represents but one of a variety of burglary offenders who burglarize in the county. Among adult offenders, there are more professional or semiprofessional burglars who commit well-planned crimes, and who are more likely to be responsible for many of the apartment burglaries that take place in the area. There is also a category that consists of "drifters," "vagrants," or "bums," individuals who allegedly commit burglaries while drunk. They are generally unemployed, come from a lower socio-economic level than the others we mentioned, and among the ones most likely to get caught.

There is yet another substantial category, juvenile offenders. This group consists primarily of middle-class young males between the ages of fifteen and seventeen. They operate in small numbers and are likely to be burglarizing more for thrills and excitement than out of any real need for money. They also gain status and recognition from their peers for burglary and other petty rebellious activities. They break into unoccupied structures, including homes, schools and restaurants; however, after one bust they usually quit.

How is the Offender Caught?

In most cases of burglary or breaking and entering reported to FC police (our sources estimate between 85 and 90 percent of all burglaries) the offender is not caught. In the 10 to 15 percent where he is caught, it is frequently through information provided the police by informants. In a few instances, the police may catch an offender with stolen goods in his possession, and obtain a confession of guilt. Or perhaps, before a burglar has left the premises, the owner may return home, see him, and later be able to make a positive identification. Sometimes, such as in our hypothetical case, a neighbor may notice the offender, call the police and the police may catch him while he is still at the scene. In the case of businesses, burglars are frequently caught as a consequence of silent alarm use. Finally, on rare

occasions (in FC, at least) the police may be able to obtain fingerprints at the scene of the crime and successfully match them with a suspect whose fingerprints are on file, either in police department or FBI records.

After being escorted to the patrol car, M___ is driven to the county jail where a warrant for his arrest is obtained and a \$5,000 bond is set. He cannot raise the \$5,000 bond, nor can he pay \$500 to a bondsman to post bond for him, so he must go to jail.

The next day he is brought before a judge in the Fairfax County Court. Bond is reviewed and because he can show "substantial community ties" (by virtue of the fact that he has lived there most of his life) it is reduced to \$2,500. Although most burglary offenders can raise the \$250 bondsman's fee for this amount of bond, M___ cannot so he will return to jail. At this time it is also determined that he is eligible for court-appointed counsel.

Fairfax County has no Public Defender System; thus, indigent offenders are represented by attorneys selected from a panel of lawyers who practice in the area. Practitioners serving under this system are compensated for their services by state funds. A date is then set for M___'s preliminary hearing; because his is a "jail case," it must be scheduled within the next ten days.

Sometime that day the courthouse will advise the attorney who has been selected of his appointment to the case. Within the next few days, the attorney will contact his prospective client at the jail to discuss the facts of the case.

M___'s next official contact with the court comes at the time of the preliminary hearing. At that time the prosecution puts forth a minimum amount of evidence in an effort to show probable cause that a crime has been committed and that this person could have committed that crime. If the judge finds "probable cause," the case is bound over for further investigation by a grand jury. Even if the judge does not bind the case over, the Commonwealth's Attorney may go ahead and ask the grand jury that an indictment be returned. The preliminary hearing is advantageous to the defense

attorney in that it offers him an opportunity to gauge the strength of the prosecution's case and thus helps him decide what course of action would be the best to take in defending his client.

In approximately 99 percent of the cases, the grand jury returns indictments requested by the Commonwealth's Attorney's office. An indictment often includes charges in addition to the one for which the person was initially arrested. In M___'s case, he is charged with the following:

Burglary with intent to commit larceny or any felony other than murder, rape or robbery;

Larceny of goods of the value of \$100 or more;

Receiving stolen goods of the value of \$100 or more.

It is not unusual for a person accused of burglary to also be charged with larceny and/or receiving stolen goods. Such multiple charging has two purposes; on the one hand, it helps assure the prosecution that the offender will be found guilty on at least one count of the offense which he is alleged to have committed. For example, the police may have apprehended a burglar close to the victim's home with the stolen property in his possession; however, there is no evidence that he broke into the home. Proof that the offender "broke and entered" the dwelling is necessary to convict a person of statutory burglary under Section 18.1-89 of the Virginia Code, consequently the prosecution may have to settle for a conviction of larceny or receiving stolen goods in the absence of proof that the defendant indeed did break into the victim's home.³

³"The word 'break,' used in this section, is borrowed from the law of burglary. If then, in any case, a person by even slight force removes or displaces anything attached to the house as a part thereof, and relied on by the occupant for the safety of the house, it is a breaking within the meaning
(Footnote continued, next page)

The multiple charging also provides both sides with an opportunity for plea bargaining. Our sources in the Commonwealth's Attorney's office give two primary reasons for engaging in this practice: (1) in cases where evidence is weak and they feel they will have difficulty obtaining a conviction, they may agree to let the offender plead guilty to a lesser charge than the initial one brought against him, and (2) when they feel that the offender deserves a break. Their reasoning closely parallels that expressed by David Sudnow in "Normal Crimes." That is,

... that the defendant "receive his due." The reduction of offense X to Y must be of such a character that the new sentence will depart from the anticipated sentence for the original charge to such a degree that the defendant is likely to plead guilty to the new charge, and at the same time, not so great that the defendant does not "get his due."⁴

Because M___ does not have a prior record, the prosecution agrees to let him plead guilty to grand larceny. Although both grand larceny and statutory burglary are felonies and, in theory, the sentences are the same (unless the burglar is armed), in practice grand larceny is considered a less serious offense and persons convicted of it generally receive a less severe sentence than those convicted of statutory burglary.

Footnote 3, continued.

of this section, if the other constituent parts of the offense exist." Finch v. Commonwealth, 14 Gratt (55 Va.) 643, cited in Code of Virginia, Michie, 1960, 213.

"Actual breaking involves the application of some force, slight though it may be, whereby the entrance is effected." Williams v. Commonwealth, 192 Va 764, 71 S. E. (2d) 73, cited in Code of Virginia, Michie, 1960, 213.

⁴David Sudnow, "Normal Crimes: Sociological Features of the Penal Code in a Public Defender Office," Social Problems, 12 (Winter 1965) 262.

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1 OF 5

M___'s primary concern is with the amount of time he is going to spend behind bars. His attorney advises him to plead guilty to grand larceny, that given his clean record, the judge will probably give him probation. M___ accepts his advice and agrees to plead guilty to the lesser offense.

There are two other alternatives which M___ might have preferred, given different circumstances. First, had the issue of a procedural error been raised (as might have occurred on a question of illegal search and seizure), it would probably have been to his advantage to plead not guilty before a judge. A judge is able to decide on the technical issues raised by defense counsel, whereas a jury decides according to the merits of the case; i. e., questions of law vs. questions of fact.

The final alternative would have been for M___ to plead not guilty before a jury. That would have been to his advantage had he had a long record of previous offenses. For, in Virginia the jury does the sentencing in cases where it convicts, and does so without benefit of a presentence investigation report.⁵ Thus, unless the fact that the offender had a prior record came out at the trial (which would not happen unless the defendant took the stand), the jury would have no way of distinguishing between a first offender and a ten-time recidivist. There is, however, one major disadvantage to the defendant in choosing a trial by jury; that is, the jury cannot give probation or a suspended sentence. In Virginia, once a person is convicted, jurors must sentence him to a prison term. However, in a case where the defendant has a long record, it is doubtful that the judge would give probation, thus it might still be to the defendant's advantage to request a jury trial.

⁵The presentence investigation is a detailed investigation into an offender's background with the purpose of helping the judge determine what would be the most appropriate disposition of a case. It would include, of course, any history of prior offenses.

On the date of his trial, M___ is arraigned (given formal notification of the charges against him) in the circuit court, and enters a plea of guilty. After he has entered a guilty plea, he is asked a series of questions, designed to insure that his constitutional rights are being protected. Among the questions are:

Has anyone forced you to plead guilty to this charge?

Has anyone promised you anything in return for a plea of guilty?

Do you know if anyone has made a recommendation for leniency, either to me or to the prosecutor?

The next step is for the prosecution to present before the judge the "evidence" that he would present if the case were going to trial. In other jurisdictions this Supreme Court requirement is satisfied by a verbal explanation of how the prosecutor would proceed. However, in Virginia, the law has been interpreted to mean that witnesses must go on the stand to testify in the form of a miniature trial. Defense counsel has the opportunity to cross examine, though he generally raises few objections to the testimony.

At the conclusion of the actual trial, the judge sets a date for the accused to return for sentence and then, at the request of the defense, orders a presentence investigation. This investigation must be ordered, at the defendant's request, in all non-jury felony cases where the defendant has been convicted of or has pleaded guilty to a crime carrying a possible maximum sentence of ten years or more.

The presentence investigation is handled by one of the probation officers from the Virginia Department of Probation and Parole. In addition to performing this investigative function, each officer also supervises a caseload of probationers and parolees.

In his capacity as an investigative officer, the probation officer first questions the offender about his background. He then verifies this information with information from the police department and FBI. The officer also speaks

to members of the defendant's family, his employer, and his friends to determine the kind of adjustment he has made within his community. The information gathered through this investigation is used by the officer to help him decide what recommendation, probation, or incarceration, to make to the court. Although the recommendation he makes to the court is not binding on the judge, in most cases the judge in fact does go along with the officer's suggestion. If the judge chooses to jail the accused, the amount of time the offender receives is determined solely by the judge.

In M___'s case, the investigative officer recommends probation. The background investigation has revealed that he comes from a family concerned about his welfare, and that, although he is currently unemployed, past employers consider him a satisfactory employee. As a probationer, he will be entitled to job placement through the Department of Vocational Education; hopefully, with a new lease on life he will not be seen in court again.

The report is sent to the court; the judge agrees that probation is the best alternative, and on M___'s sentencing day gives him a few words of warning, places M___ on probation and sends him on his way.

M___ now weighs his past record of achievements and the rewards of burglary against his fear of punishment, if caught again. Although he knows that next time, as a second offender, he is likely to receive a more severe sentence, probably several years, his primary concern is with what the chances are of getting caught again. He had successfully completed quite a few burglaries before this first arrest; he has friends who have completed hundreds before being apprehended a first time. He examines the situation closely. Finally, based on what he considers to be very low chances of getting caught, he decides that the rewards of the crime counterbalance any negative features associated with committing it and that, at least for the time being, he will continue to burglarize.⁶

⁶ One other issue that should be mentioned is the alternative path M___ would have taken had he been charged with a misdemeanor instead of
(Footnote continued, next page)

This single factor, the low probability of apprehension, has been the element most frequently mentioned by our respondents as a cause of recidivism among burglars. Fear of punishment, even though the punishment might involve a substantial amount of time in prison, generally does not outweigh the advantages provided by the crime, especially given the low likelihood of getting caught. This element is of considerable importance when considering the different methods of reducing the incidence of burglary.

There is one final path over which a burglar can travel which should be noted. Cases of offenders under the age of eighteen are referred to the Fairfax County Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court for adjudication. This court, along with most other juvenile courts in the United States, differs substantially, both in practice and philosophical approach, from the courts through which adults pass. In the words of the President's Task Force Report on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime:⁷

They [the juvenile courts] differ from adult criminal courts in a number of basic respects, reflecting the philosophy that erring children should be protected and rehabilitated rather than subjected to the harshness of the criminal system. Thus they substitute procedural informality for the adversary system, emphasize investigation of the juvenile's background in deciding upon dispositions, rely heavily on the social sciences for both diagnosis and treatment, and in general are committed to rehabilitation of the juvenile as the predominant goal of the entire process.

Footnote 6, continued.

a felony offense. Rather than being tried in the Circuit Court, his case would have gone to the Fairfax County Court. The process would not have included a preliminary hearing nor a formal indictment; he would have been subject to a fine and/or jail sentence which could not exceed one year, rather than a prison sentence.

⁷The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1967) p. 1.

This philosophy is reflected in numerous ways in Fairfax County's juvenile court. As with other juvenile courts, the general language is different from that of the adult court. "Petitions," "adjudication hearings," "predisposition investigations" are the terms used. The courtrooms are smaller than those of the Circuit Court and a more informal and relaxed atmosphere prevails. The fundamental premise under which the court operates stems from a basic belief that, if dealt with early enough, behavior patterns of these children can be changed in such a way to keep them from full-fledged criminal careers, more easily here than when they are adults. The juvenile court is geared toward rehabilitation and change rather than toward punishment and custody.

Typically, immediately after arrest, a juvenile will be released into the custody of his parents. A juvenile's initial contact with the judicial system will be at intake; the function of this stage is to try to arrive at a solution through informal court intervention. Alternatively, the juvenile may be brought before a "hearing officer," the function is the same as that of intake, although the encounter is somewhat more formalized. Burglaries, because of the seriousness of the offense, are not as likely to be informally disposed of at intake or before a hearing officer as are other categories of juvenile offenses. In most cases, a petition will be drawn up and the juvenile will be brought before one of the two juvenile court judges.

The next step in the process is a preliminary or adjudication hearing. This is the fact-finding hearing, at which witnesses appear and the judge determines whether the youth is guilty or not guilty. The juvenile is entitled to an attorney and may not waive his right to counsel. If a finding of guilty is made, there may be a predisposition investigation by one of the counselors from the Department of Juvenile Services. The role of the counselor strongly parallels that of the probation officer in the adult system except for the fact that the juvenile counselor does only investigative work, not probation and aftercare.

The final disposition in a burglary case is frequently restitution by the offender to the victim along with probation or a one year's continuance of the case. If the case is continued, and the juvenile completes the year without further incident, the case will either be dismissed or closed, and the juvenile will not have a record.

If a juvenile has been through the system, has a record of three to five offenses and probation has been tried but has not been successful, the judge may commit the youth to a juvenile institution. Juvenile commitments differ from adult commitments both in type of institution and in length of time to be served. A juvenile may be committed until he reaches twenty-one years of age; there is no distinction by type of crime as there is in the adult system. Again, the purpose of this is to allow flexibility in the system so that a young person may be released when it is felt that he has been rehabilitated.

The District of Columbia

Late one night, G___ is picked up for possession of recently stolen property. He is a known dope addict; he has been arrested several times before on both drug and burglary charges. Suspecting that he might have been involved with a burglary that was reported earlier that day, they check his prints with those found at the scene of the crime and discover that they match. Confronted with the evidence, G___ breaks down, admits to having been involved and implicates his companion, T___, with the hope that by talking he'll get a break.

G___ and T___, along with a majority of other burglars in the District, are young, black, male and stealing to support a narcotics habit, in the example, heroin. They were exposed to drugs and crime at an early age; they learned on the street and in school how to break into places and how to get rid of their stolen goods. They

wander through apartment complexes, searching for easy hits. They knock on doors, and when no one answers, deftly slip the locks with credit cards. The people they steal from are for the most part poor like themselves. Oftentimes the victims are ghetto dwellers; often the item stolen is the only thing of any real value in their home.

Another category of offender operates in the whiter, more affluent lower density areas of DC. Burglars who work in this area are generally professionals; they may even be part of an organized burglary ring. When these offenders are caught, they are described in sensational news stories by the local press.

How is the Offender Caught?

As was the case in Fairfax County, the vast majority of burglars are not caught. In cases where they are, it is often because they have been careless. In the words of a local defense attorney we talked to: "They're really dumb and clumsy. They don't just go in, take the stuff and get out, but they stop and fix themselves a sandwich. They screw around inside and leave fingerprints like crazy." This last factor, fingerprints, has been the most frequent response to our question about how burglaries are solved. Frequently, the police have a suspect in mind, and if latents are left at the scene, they can often be matched with prints on file with either the police department or FBI.

In addition to the use of fingerprints, offenders are frequently caught through information supplied by informants. However, if a case is to stand up in court, an informant's word alone will not suffice, other evidence must also be presented.

Another method of apprehending the criminal, especially in non-residential burglaries, is through the use of silent burglar alarms. Burglars may also have been seen by witnesses, or the offender may be caught soon after the crime was committed with the stolen property in his possession, as was the case in Fairfax County.

The District of Columbia Court System

Prior to 1971, DC had only one local court, the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions. That court had jurisdiction over all civil cases and criminal misdemeanors that violated local statutes. Local felony offenses, on the other hand, were handled in the U. S. District Court for the District of Columbia along with other federal crimes.

By the late 1960's, serious problems had arisen concerning the administration of justice in the District. Criminal cases had become heavily backlogged at District Court; it was not uncommon for a defendant to have been waiting a year or more for his case to come to trial. In order to relieve some of the pressure on the overburdened District Court, the U. S. Attorney's office began a policy of reducing many felonies to misdemeanors so that they could be processed through the less congested Court of General Sessions. As a consequence, many offenders, including burglars, were back out on the street the day after their trial. In addition, there were numerous administrative problems, largely due to the fact that there was no system of computerized information on persons who came through the court. The situation was one that required attention.

In the summer of 1970, Congress passed a bill providing for a sweeping reorganization of the District's court system. The Court Reform and Criminal Procedures Act of 1970 called for the establishment of a new Superior Court of the District of Columbia. The new court would inherit

the responsibilities of the old Court of General Sessions, but in addition would have jurisdiction over felony offenses that were in violation of Title 22 of the District of Columbia Code. Superior Court would take over the less serious felonies (including Burglary II) as of February 1971; at a later date, the remaining felonies (including Burglary I) would be transferred over from District Court. Seventeen new judges were added to the court during the first phase of reorganization; seven more were to be added when the reorganization was completed in August 1972. A new superior court division was formed within the U. S. Attorney's office (responsible for the prosecution of both federal offenses and local felonies), and the District's first Public Defender Service was established. Funds were also authorized (by amendment of the 1964 Criminal Justice Act) at this time to pay attorneys who defended indigents in court appointed cases in Superior Court. Judges sitting on the bench were assigned to serve on a rotating basis, both so that they would become familiar with all types of cases (which would enable the Chief Justice to assign judges to the courts where they were most needed), and to alleviate the monotony which developed from listening to cases involving only one type of law.

The juvenile court also underwent a great deal of change. In line with the goal of creating a single unified court, the juvenile court was combined with the domestic relations court and a newly created intrafamily branch to form the Family Division of the Superior Court. The new court philosophy emphasized working with the family as a whole, single unit.

Although Superior Court is still in the process of reorganizing, significant changes have already taken place. Since reorganization, the backlog, both in the adult and juvenile courts, has substantially decreased. According

to our sources, felonies no longer must be reduced to misdemeanors for them to be processed through. Offenders are getting "jail time" and as one judge put it, "Witnesses are now coming forward to talk; they no longer fear that the offender will be out on the street the next day seeking revenge." A new computerized system of arraignment and indictment procedures has been established and other miscellaneous improvements in administrative techniques have also been initiated.

This is not to say that all problems associated with reorganization have been solved. Only recently was the final phase of reorganization effectuated; it remains to be seen whether the new court is capable of handling a full criminal docket. Judges are in many cases still operating out of temporary offices; the court itself is spread over several blocks in six different buildings. Security under the new conditions may prove to be a serious problem with the transfer of prisoners from building to building. In conclusion, Superior Court has not solved all the problems facing the District's court system two years ago, but the court has certainly done a great deal towards promoting positive change. It does not have the prestige and dignity of other long established courts, but it does appear well on its way to giving the District of Columbia a local court which the city can take pride in.

G___ is transferred from the substation to the central cellblock of the Metropolitan Police Department. He is familiar with the system; as was mentioned earlier, he has been arrested several times before.

G___'s journey through Superior Court will in many respects be similar to the one M___ went through in Fairfax County. A major difference arises, however, due to the extremely high volume of cases that Superior Court handles. Because of the large number of cases that go through the District's court, the organizational structure is different from that of most local state courts. Rather than handling all types of local cases itself, the

prosecutorial responsibilities are split between the Superior Court Division of the U. S. Attorney's office and the Corporation Counsel. The former is further subdivided into three sections: felony trials, misdemeanor trials and grand jury. The Corporation Counsel is responsible for the prosecution of civil and juvenile cases. The courtroom setup, too, follows a categorical breakdown: judges handle only felonies, only misdemeanors, only civil cases, etc. The purpose of this kind of "piecemeal" operation is to provide maximum efficiency in a court that handles over a quarter of a million cases a year.

The morning after arrest, G___ is taken to the Superior Court cellblock to await judicial proceedings. He is interviewed by a representative from the CJA office who determines that G___ is eligible for appointment of counsel with funds pursuant to the Criminal Justice Act. He is also questioned by an agent from the DC Bail Agency, whose responsibility is to recommend to the court conditions for pre-trial release. Among the recommendations he may make are: (1) release on personal recognizance; (2) release to a third party custodian (friend, relative or agency that accepts third party custody), and (3) that release not be granted. In G___'s case, there appears to be an aunt who could accept custodianship, so release to her custody will probably be the decision. Finally, G___ is asked to submit a urine sample for analysis of drug usage.

In the meantime, his "lockup number" along with those of other lockups of the day, has been placed on a master list and presented before a judge for appointment of counsel. The judge has assigned G___'s case to one of the "volunteer" or "CJA" attorneys. The attorney appointed to represent him goes to the lockup section and speaks briefly with his client regarding basic background information and to learn what he knows about the facts of the case.

The next step in the process is the "presentment to the Committee Magistrate," that is, he is brought before the court where he is advised of his rights, released to the custody of an aunt, and assigned a date to return to court for his preliminary hearing.

Next, his attorney contacts an Assistant U. S. Attorney in the grand jury section to discuss a possible plea bargain. G___ is unwilling to plead guilty to a felony offense, and since the prosecutor will not reduce the charge to a misdemeanor, no agreement is made. Consequently, the case is sent on for further investigation by a grand jury.

Before the expected date of the preliminary hearing arrives, the grand jury returns the indictment on the case. Since the purpose of the preliminary hearing is to determine if there is enough evidence to hold the defendant over for further investigation by a grand jury, there is no longer a need for a preliminary hearing and it is cancelled. The grand jury indictment charges him with:

Burglary II

Larceny of property of a value in excess of \$100.

Receiving stolen property of a value in excess of \$100.

Notice of the charges of the indictment is sent to the defendant, as well as the date he is to appear in court for arraignment.

At time of arraignment, G___ appears before a judge and is formally notified of the charges against him. At this time his attorney also enters a plea of not guilty in his behalf. Dates are set for a status hearing and for trial.

Following this court appearance, his attorney again contacts the U. S. Attorney's office. This time he speaks to the Assistant U. S. Attorney in the felony trials section who has been assigned to the case. Although G___ previously refused to plead guilty to a felony charge, he has since realized the strength of the prosecution's case against him and, on his attorney's advice, agrees to plead guilty to the felony charge of grand larceny. The Assistant U. S. Attorney, satisfied that the defendant will "get his due," accepts the plea.

At the status hearing, the judge hears motions pertaining to the case, and learns of the agreement that has been made between the two parties for the defendant to plead guilty. Sometime before the scheduled trial date, G___ will appear in court and enter his plea of guilty. On that day he is asked a series of questions (much like the ones asked of M___ in FC) to assure the judge that he is entering the plea of his own volition. Next, the prosecutor "proffers" the case, that is, states what evidence he would be presenting if the case were being tried. (Unlike the procedure used in Fairfax County, he does not call witnesses to the stand.) Once the judge is satisfied that the defendant's rights have been observed, he accepts the guilty plea, sets a date for the defendant to return for sentencing and orders a presentence investigation.

The function of the presentence investigation in the District is quite similar to the one described earlier for FC. When the report is returned to court, the judge will probably follow the recommendation stated in the report. As was the case in Fairfax, it is the responsibility of the judge to determine the length of sentence.

Because G___ has been in before, probation has been tried but has failed, he is unemployed and on drugs, the decision is incarceration. He returns for sentencing and is given a two-to-six year sentence. He will be eligible for parole after two years of the sentence has been served.

Had G___ been charged with a misdemeanor offense rather than a felony, his process through the courts would have resembled more closely that which took place in Fairfax County. The misdemeanor trials section of the U. S. Attorney's office would have been responsible for the prosecution of the case and the case would have been heard before a judge hearing misdemeanor cases rather than felonies. The defendant would not have been "presented," but rather would have had only an arraignment. There would have been no requirement for a preliminary hearing and no grand jury investigation. Finally, the possible sentence would have either been a fine or jail time, but no possibility of imprisonment in the penitentiary.

Other Options

The juvenile court in DC is geared towards rehabilitation and change rather than punishment. Youthful offenders in the District range from chance one-time offenders to teen-age recidivists charged with armed robbery. Typically, juveniles caught in the act of burglary are taken to one of the Youth Divisions of the Metropolitan Police Department. There the Youth Division officer decides whether or not to detain them, and attempts are made to contact parents of the offenders.

If a youth is detained, he will be taken to the District's Receiving Home for Children, a temporary detention center. There a representative of the Court Social Services division will further screen the case, and will also make a decision to release or detain the youth to the parents pending the court appearance. Next, he will be brought before an intake officer where a decision is made to petition or not to petition the case. Since burglary is considered a serious offense, the case will probably be petitioned. (Parenthetically, though the Corporation Counsel, pursuant to the 1970 Criminal Justice Act, has absolute veto power over any decision made at the intake level, he rarely exercises this power.)

In cases where a youth has been detained overnight, he is brought before a judge the next day for a detention hearing. The judge will decide at that hearing if there is enough evidence to carry the case further and if he should be detained pending trial. A plea of guilty or not guilty will then be entered, and a date for trial or "fact finding hearing" will be set.

The juvenile fact-finding hearing strongly resembles an adult trial except that a juvenile has no right to trial by jury. If he is found guilty, a date is set for a predisposition hearing and a probation officer from the Department of Social Services will prepare a background investigation report.

In both DC and FC, many juveniles are placed on probation for one year. Although institutional commitment is also a dispositional choice, it is usually resorted to only when all other attempts at rehabilitation have failed.

Prince George's County

J___ is seventeen years old. He can neither read nor write, and is neither in school nor working. He spends most of his time at home loafing; on occasion he does some television repair work for his mother's friends. In the afternoon, after school lets out, he goes outside to play with the younger children of the neighborhood. Often they drift over to Mrs. Jones' house to fool around. Several times now, Mrs. Jones has told them not to play there, and once has even threatened to call the police. One Friday afternoon, as she is returning home from work, she sees one of the youngsters perched on a tree limb by her bedroom window. She recognizes him to be J___. She chases him away, inspects the window and upon finding indications of attempted entry, calls the police and reports the incident.

Many characteristics of burglary offenders in Prince George's County have already been touched upon in the discussions of the other two jurisdictions. Our sources estimate that about half of the burglars are white, half black and that almost all of them are stealing to support a narcotics habit. The alcohol-related offense, discussed previously for Fairfax County, is also common in PGC. Most offenders live in the county and burglarize either residences during the day (frequently apartments) or non-residences at night. Because of the 1969 passage of a housing ordinance requiring the installation of deadbolt locks on all apartment doors, some sources suggest that there has been a relative increase in house burglaries, though apartments still remain the most frequent targets for breakings and enterings.

How is the Offender Caught?

Here, as in the other jurisdictions, most of the time offenders are not caught. Cases that are solved are frequently solved through the use of informants. However, this evidence must be supplemented by other evidence if a case is to be successfully prosecuted. Fingerprints left at the scene of the crime, testimony by witnesses, apprehension of the criminal with recently stolen goods in his possession or catching the offender inside the structure being burglarized, are all methods, by now familiar to the reader, by which the offender is caught.

The path by which a burglar travels through the Prince George's County courts is similar to that traveled in the other two jurisdictions. Briefly stated, the steps are:

- Appearance before a commissioner, available twenty-four hours a day to determine bond.
- Presentment before a judge.
- Preliminary hearing:
- Investigation and indictment by a grand jury.
- Arraignment.
- Trial.
- Sentence.

The process in Prince George's County differs from that of the other two jurisdictions in that:

1. In most burglary and "b&e" cases, preliminary hearings are dispensed with, because indictments are generally returned before the hearing date has come up.

2. In Prince George's County it is reported that felony storehousebreaking charges are frequently reduced to misdemeanor storehousebreaking charges. This is possible because in the Maryland Code (and in a local county law) there is a distinction between felony and misdemeanor storehousebreakings by value of property stolen. As a consequence, it is not unusual for a reduction to be made for a storehousebreaking offense, especially when the exact value of the goods stolen is in question.
3. In January 1972, Prince George's County began operating its first Public Defender System. The organization is small and attorneys are permitted to engage in non-criminal private practice as well as serving the PDS. Indigent offenders are represented either by an attorney from this office, or by a "panel attorney." The panel attorney is similar to the court appointed volunteer attorney described in Fairfax County, however his appointment is made by the Public Defender's office, not by the court.
4. The Maryland Department of Probation and Parole serving the Seventh Circuit court is responsible for presentence investigations of cases referred to them by the court; however, unlike the Virginia system, the officers are responsible only for presentence investigation reports, not for probation and aftercare supervision.
5. Finally, unlike the statutory requirements in Virginia and the District, there is no minimum amount of time a Prince George's County offender must serve. According to our sources, although it is impossible to make a generalization regarding length of sentence, it is likely that an offender convicted of a daytime housebreaking, with some history of previous crime, will receive an eighteen month to two year sentence. Three, four or five year sentences are also given, again, depending on the circumstances of the crime.

A police officer is dispatched to Mrs. Jones' home to make a report. Upon completion of the investigative report, the officer goes to J___'s home, picks him up and takes him to the police station.

After being interviewed by an intake officer, a decision is made that J___ should go before the court, and a juvenile petition is then authorized.

Within the next few days, J___ and his mother receive a summons to appear in court for the youth's arraignment. As the arraignment begins, the juvenile court master¹¹ proceeds with question after question, taking painstaking care that J___ understands what his constitutional rights are. Since J___'s mother does not have enough money to pay an attorney, she has requested that an attorney be appointed to the case.

The attorney appointed to represent him is Mr. Brown, a panel attorney. He contacts his client and arrangements are made for an informal meeting between the two of them and the boy's mother.

When the date of the adjudication arrives, the prosecutor calls the complainant, Mrs. Jones, to the stand. She relates what she saw that Friday afternoon; the defense cross examines, and the witness steps down. J___ himself is called, and claims that he did not try to break into Mrs. Jones' house.

The master has a difficult decision to make. Though the prosecution has not proved the case, the master feels something should be done to help J___. He places the case on the docket, orders J___ to stay away from the

¹¹Activities of the juvenile court master in Prince George's County are almost identical to those of a judge, with the major difference being that a Circuit Court judge has ultimate jurisdiction over any matters that come before the Juvenile Court. In practice, however, recommendations made by the master to the Circuit Court judge responsible for the Juvenile Court are routinely approved.

lady's house and instructs the Department of Juvenile Services to get the boy into a vocational training program. He realizes it will be at least six months before the youth can be placed, yet he nonetheless turns to that as the best alternative possible.

Conclusions

Our most striking finding is that, in the opinion of our informants and regardless of its structure, the courts have a minimal impact on burglars. It was repeatedly noted that a burglar often completes thirty, forty or even more offenses before getting caught once. Thus, the punitive contacts that the burglar has with the formal criminal justice system are likely to be very infrequent compared to the rewarding contacts he has with theft as a profession. Even the potential impact which the courts might have in terms of posing a threat of punishment is completely undercut by the fact that chances of getting caught are so low.

Another factor also must be frankly acknowledged as impeding court effects. Over and over again we heard the comment: "Burglaries just aren't serious crimes." Crimes against property in general are neither considered so serious nor punished so severely as crimes against persons. Only when a burglar endangers or threatens to endanger a person, or when he has a history of recidivism, do the penalties become severe. In the words of one judge responding to a question about his sentencing practices:

One of the factors I consider when deciding how much time to give a man, is whether the crime [burglary] was committed in his own neighborhood or in one completely unfamiliar to him. The guy that breaks into a place at random, having no idea what the behavior patterns of the victim are, is running a much greater risk of breaking in while someone is home. That's one thing I won't tolerate.¹²

¹² By contrast, a prosecutor was quick to point out: You know, when you're talking about the burglar that's when you're really talking about the hardened criminal. A burglar is habitual: you can be sure that the case you've got him on isn't his first burglary, and that it won't be his last. When you get a guy for burglary, you ought to lock him up for a long time. "

Chapter VII: Generalizations and Recommendations

Generalizations

The goal of this research is reducing burglaries. The conceptual tool we suggest is the interdiction of the burglary cycle, taking those actions based--to the greatest degree possible--on whatever we discover to be the empirical situation. If we return now to the conceptual orientation presented in Chapter I, it becomes apparent that our results speak to portions of the cycle of behavior involved in the events surrounding a burglary, rather than to the total cycle. In brief, we have detailed a series of findings which are relevant to interdiction by manipulating the opportunities in the environment in which a burglar operates.

To facilitate the statement of particular recommendations which we think potentially effective in reducing the occurrence of burglaries on the basis of findings from our study, let us state those findings baldly, in their declarative, simplified, but essential, form. Each generalization we shall draw from the analysis of our data falls somewhere between a fact and a hypothesis. While there is evidence in our data to support all statements to varying degrees, it is quite obvious that each one cannot be considered a completely validated proposition. Since, however, it remains true that actions must always be based on less than perfect information, we cannot for that reason alone refuse to take predictive risks simply because our data are less than perfect. Here follow, then, the major empirical generalizations from our study.

The Nature of the Offense

- Residential burglaries occur more frequently than non-residential burglaries.
- Residential burglaries, relative to non-residential burglaries, are increasing in frequency.
- Easily movable and easily convertible-into-money goods are the preponderance of stolen items; specifically, home entertainment equipment, and money itself.
- Most burglaries involve the theft of goods of moderate value.
 - . Specifically, in our suburban jurisdictions, two-thirds of all burglaries involved the theft of items worth, in each instance, less than \$500.
- Burglarized units are usually entered via a door or window.
- Urban burglaries involved forced entry relatively more often than suburban burglaries.
- Burglary frequencies do not vary systematically by month or by season.
- Non-residential burglaries are likely to occur at night and on weekends.
- Residential burglaries are likely to occur during the day on weekdays.

The Patterning of the Offense

- Residential burglary rates tend to be geographically stable in urban areas.
- Residential burglary rates tend to be geographically unstable in suburban areas undergoing rapid population growth.

- Non-residential burglary frequencies tend to be geographically stable in both urban and suburban areas.
- Frequencies of residential and non-residential burglaries are more highly correlated, geographically, in suburban than in urban areas.

The Correlates of the Offense

- Burglary frequencies are strongly correlated with population size in suburban areas, but not in urban areas.
- Burglary rates and burglary frequencies are highly correlated with a variety of social structural characteristics in urban areas, and correlated with few such characteristics in suburban areas.

. Specifically, in our urban jurisdiction, burglary rates and frequencies are strongly positively correlated with:

percent overcrowded housing units
 percent lower cost rental units
 percent black overcrowded housing units
 percent lower-cost housing units

and strongly negatively correlated with:

percent white population
 percent white population, aged 5-24
 percent husband-wife households
 percent owner-occupied housing units.

The Victims of the Offense

Victims vs. Non-Victims

- Victims of burglaries tend to be victims of other crimes as well, more than do comparable non-victims.
- Both victims and non-victims perceive similar kinds of problems, including crime problems, to exist in their neighborhoods.
 - However, non-victims report fewer crimes occurring in their neighborhoods than do victims.
- Victims of burglaries are in favor of more different kinds of future actions to reduce crime, than are comparable non-victims.
- Victims of burglaries want a greater increase in police activity than do comparable non-victims.
- Amount of lighting and street traffic around sites does not differentiate between victims and non-victims of burglaries.
- Victims and non-victims are equally fearful about crime in general, and crime in their neighborhoods in particular.

Residential Burglaries vs. Non-residential Burglaries

- Non-residential victims of burglaries as well as non-residential non-victims pay more attention to media information about crime and its prevention, than do residential victims of burglaries and non-victims.
- Residential and non-residential burglaries are equally serious.
- Non-residential burglaries occur in neighborhoods where other offenses also occur, to a greater degree than do residential burglaries.

- Entry to residential burglary sites is more likely to be by cruder means than is entry to non-residential burglary sites.
- Vandalism is more characteristic of non-residential than of residential burglaries.
- Non-residential burglaries involve fewer different kinds of goods stolen than residential burglaries.
 - . However, the value of property taken in non-residential burglaries is higher than the value of that taken in residential burglaries.
- Victims of residential burglaries have increased their protection to a greater degree than have victims of non-residential burglaries, since the victimization experiences each went through.

Victims of Residential Burglaries vs.
Non-Victims of Residential Burglaries

- Victims of residential burglaries are more cautious since their victimization experience than they were before that experience with respect to:
 - . Leaving a light on inside.
 - . Leaving a light on outside.
 - . Having a dog on the premises.
 - . Having bars or wire mesh on doors or windows.
 - . Having a private patrolman or security guard.
 - . Having a chain lock without a key on the door.
 - . Having a dead bolt lock.
 - . Having a bar across a sliding door or window.
 - . Having key locks on windows.
 - . Having other special locks.
 - . Having other protective measures.

- . Having someone at home now.
 - . Leaving a radio on.
 - . Keeping their doors locked in the daytime.
 - . Keeping their doors locked in the evening.
 - . Keeping their windows locked when someone is home.
- Victims of residential burglaries are more cautious currently than non-victims of residential burglaries are currently with respect to:
 - . Leaving a light on inside.
 - . Having bars or wire mesh on doors or windows.
 - . Having a dead bolt lock.
 - . Having a bar across a sliding door or window.
 - . Having a key lock on a window.
 - . Having other special locks.
 - . Having someone at home now.
 - . Leaving a radio on.
 - . Keeping their doors locked in the daytime.
 - . Keeping their doors locked in the evening.
 - . Keeping their windows locked when someone is home.
- Victims of residential burglaries are more likely than non-victims of residential burglaries to favor:
 - . Better street lighting.
 - . Stronger police powers.
 - . More crackdown on offenders.

Victims of Non-Residential Burglaries vs.
Non-Victims of Non-Residential Burglaries

- Victims of non-residential burglaries are more cautious since their victimization experience than they were before that experience with respect to:
 - . Using a burglar alarm.
 - . Leaving a light on outside.
 - . Having a dog on their premises.
 - . Having bars or wire mesh on doors or windows.
 - . Engaging the services of a private patrolman or security guard.
 - . Having a dead bolt lock.
 - . Having a bar across a sliding door or window.
 - . Having special locks.
 - . Taking other protective measures.

- Victims of non-residential burglaries are more cautious currently than non-victims of non-residential burglaries are currently with respect to:
 - . Having a burglar alarm in operation.
 - . Leaving a light on outside.
 - . Having a dog on their premises.
 - . Having bars or wire mesh on windows.
 - . Having a private patrolman.
 - . Having a chain lock without a key on the door.
 - . Having a bar across a sliding door or window.
 - . Employing a special lock.

- Victims of nonresidential burglaries are more likely than non-victims of non-residential burglaries to favor:
 - . Stronger police powers.
 - . More crackdown on offenders.

Attitudes Toward Police

- All respondents are very satisfied with police courteousness, promptness and competence.
 - . However, given this high absolute level of satisfaction, respondents are relatively most satisfied with police courteousness, next most satisfied with police promptness, and least satisfied with police competence.

Recommendations

Recommendations based on these results relate mostly to the opportunity structure of a neighborhood or of a particular site, and only secondarily to the behavior of the burglar, e. g. , the conversion of stolen goods. In some instances, they are responses which it is proper for the criminal justice system to make; in other instances, they imply responses more appropriate for the private citizen to make. In either case, we have attempted to be concrete, pointed, and specific, rather than abstract, muted, and diffuse.

Citizen Responses

The most important recommendation that we make is that all effort be made to encourage the ordinary citizen in the belief that by a series of simple, straightforward acts, he can affect the likelihood of his being burglarized. Our evidence suggests that a substantial number of burglaries is the product of citizen carelessness providing an easy opportunity for a thief. Our prediction is that simple acts, of the kind we shall mention, because they affect characteristics with a high frequency among burglary offenses, could have a marked effect on counteracting the completion of such offenses, if widely utilized.

The citizen can diminish the perceived opportunity to burglarize, by being sure that:

- Residential premises always appear to be occupied, particularly during the day on weekends.
- Non-residential premises always appear to be occupied (or under surveillance), particularly during nights and on weekends.

The citizen can counteract most simpler, but more prevalent, forms of burglary technology by:

- Securing his premises, particularly during his absences, by such acts as:
 - . Bolt-locking doors and windows.
 - . Extensive lighting about the outside.

The citizen can interfere with the ease of conversion of burglarized goods by:

- Engraved identification on home entertainment equipment, or other easily pawned, portable, possessions.
- Keeping no more cash or convertible securities than is absolutely essential on his premises.

Police Responses

The police can, especially by encouraging citizens to take simple precautions of the kind we have recommended, reduce the frequency of burglaries, thus enabling their own efforts to be concentrated on the substantially fewer and--presumably--more skillfully executed offenses. This is the most important recommendation we can make to police departments at the moment, for success at encouraging simple citizen preventive efforts will have a multiplier effect of substantial magnitude in affecting "how thinly" police, and other criminal justice system personnel as well, must spread themselves.

Conclusions

In many instances what we have just said may seem "obvious." Thus, it is well to remember Lazarsfeld's incisive comments about "obviousness" before considering that characteristic necessarily pejorative:

If we had mentioned the actual results of the investigation first [rather than results which looked reasonable though, in fact, they were completely false and contrary to the actual results of the studies], the reader would have labelled these "obvious" also. Obviously something is wrong with the entire argument of "obviousness." It should really be turned on its head. Since every kind of human reaction is conceivable, it is of great importance to know which reactions actually occur most frequently and under what conditions; only then will a more advanced social science develop.¹

And, we might add, a truly more useful one, as well.

¹P. F. Lazarsfeld, "The American Soldier--An Expository Review," Public Opinion Quarterly, 13 (Fall, 1949), p. 380.

PART: II
TABLES AND FIGURES

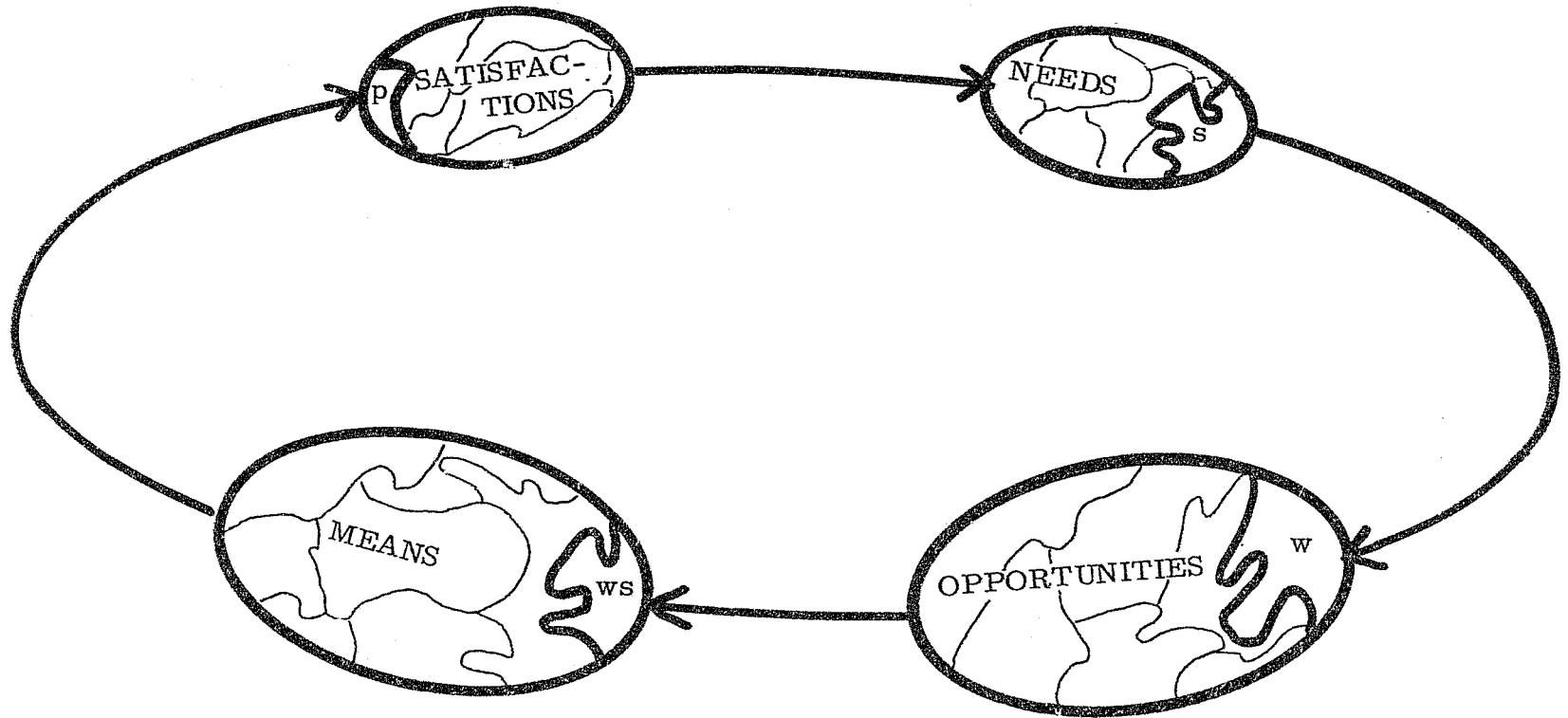
by

Harry A. Scarr

CHAPTER I

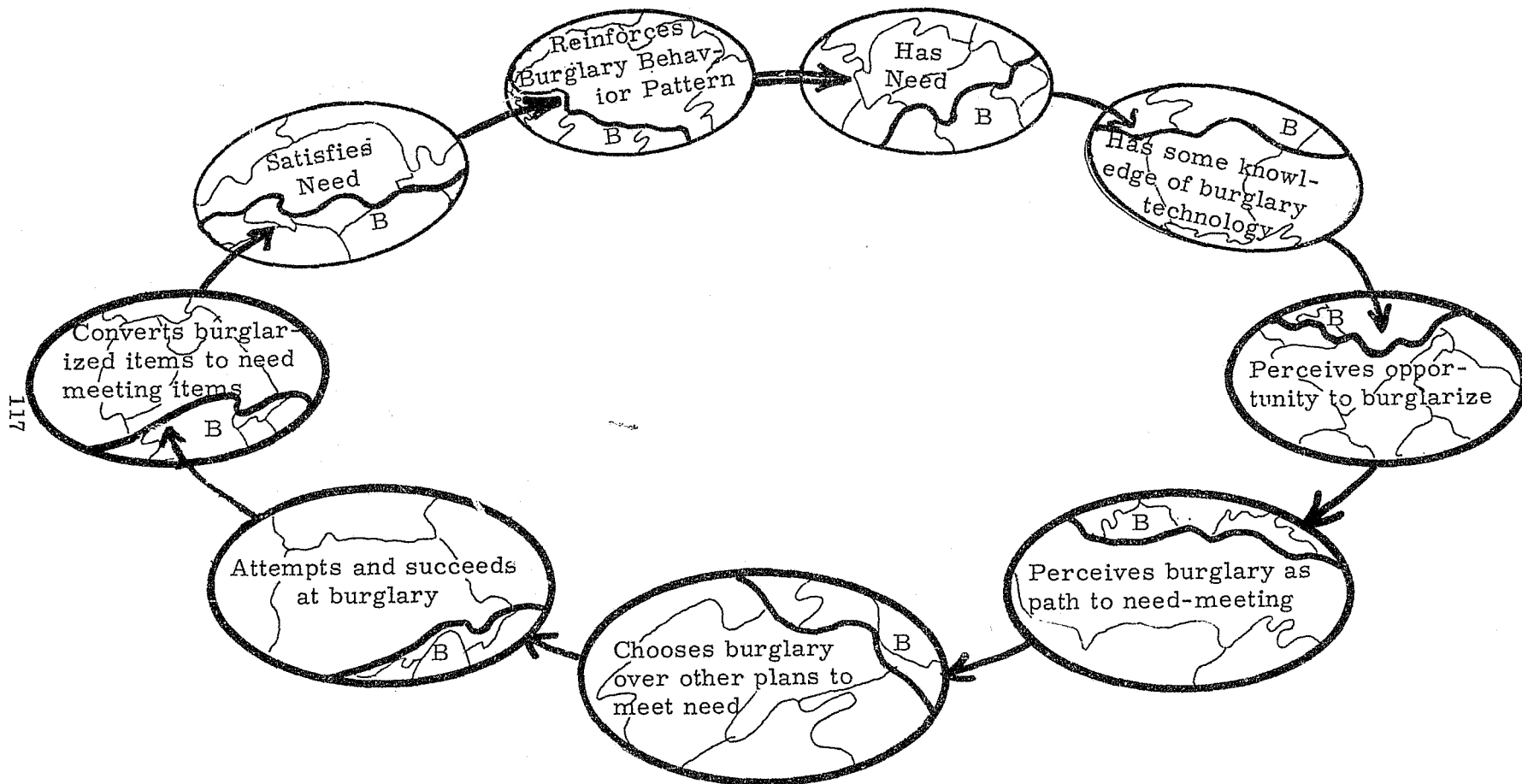
BURGLARS, BURGLARIES, BURGLARIZING

Figure 1. A General Behavior Cycle



s = status needs
w = writing for periodicals
ws = writing skills
p = peer approval

Figure 2. A Specific Behavior Cycle: Burglary



117

- B Burglary relevant behaviors
- Boundary between criminal and noncriminal activity regions
- Boundary between elements within activity regions
- Choice
- ⇒ Recycling

CHAPTER II

THE STUDY SITE AND DATA BASE

Figure 3

WASHINGTON, D.C.-MD.-VA., STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREA

10-2

120

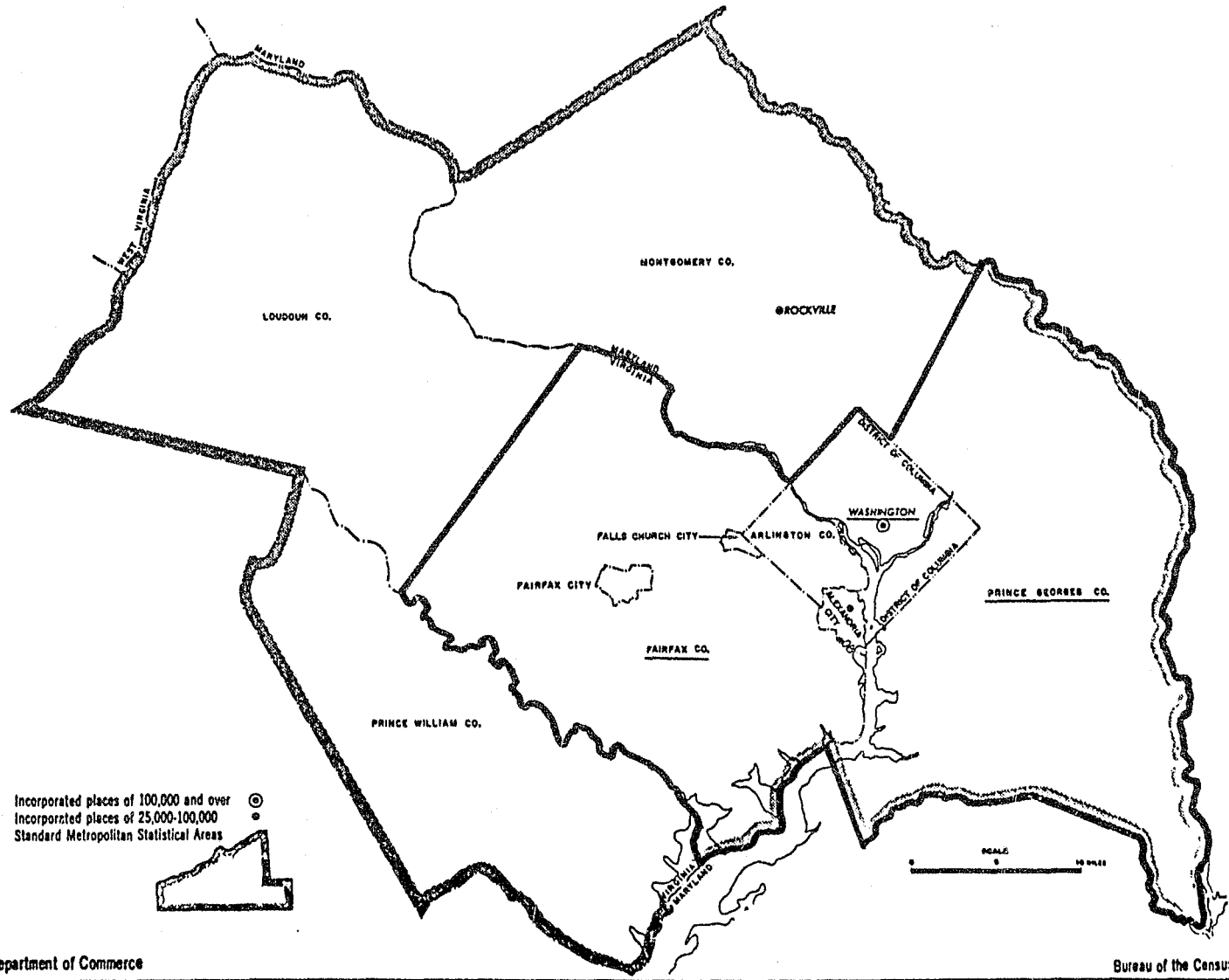


Table 1. Statistical Profile

Characteristics	Fairfax County	District of Columbia	Prince George's County
1. Population, 1970	455,021	756,510	660,567
2. Percent population change, 1960-1970	47.1	-1.0	84.8
3. Percent of population in urbanized areas, 1970 ¹	87.4	100.0	82.6
4. Percent nonwhite population, 1970	4.2	72.3	15.0
5. Median family income, 1970 ²	\$15,933	\$ 8,554	\$11,925
6. Percent school-age population (5-17)	35.0	21.7	26.7
7. Percent one and two family dwellings, 1968	76.9	36.2	57.6
8. Physical area (sq. mi.)	406	69 ³	485
9. Number of index crimes reported to the police, 1970 ⁴	9,760	59,311	16,715 ⁵
10. Persons per square mile	1,120	10,964	1,362
11. Rate of index crimes per 100,000 inhabitants, 1970	2,145.0	7,840.0	3,116.1 ⁵
12. Number of police officers, June 1970	396	4,582	538 ⁵
13. Number of police officers per 1,000 population, 1970	0.87	6.06	1.00 ⁵
14. Number of burglaries reported to police, 1970	4,054	22,348	5,469
15. Residential burglary rate per 1,000 housing units, 1968	20.24	33.97	32.48

¹An urbanized area consists of a "central city, or cities, and surrounding closely settled territory."

²In 1970 dollar values.

³Eight square miles of which are water.

⁴Includes murder, non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny \$50 and over in value, and auto theft.

⁵These figures refer to that part of Prince George's County which is under the jurisdiction of the Prince George's County Police Department. (There are 21 municipalities which have their own police and keep separate offense records.)

Table 2. Percentage Distribution of Index Crimes

	Fairfax County			Washington, D. C.			Prince George's County		
	1967	1968	1969	1967	1968	1969	1967	1968	1969
Murder	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.1
Forcible rape	0.7	1.0	1.0	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.6	0.9
Robbery	2.1	2.2	2.0	14.6	17.5	19.9	3.9	4.4	6.4
Aggravated Assault	4.5	4.4	4.9	7.9	6.3	5.8	4.5	4.1	4.9
BURGLARY	54.6	52.9	45.6	37.0	36.4	36.8	45.6	47.8	42.0
Larceny	21.7	22.3	28.2	18.0	16.0	18.5	17.8	17.3	20.7
Auto Theft	16.2	17.1	18.1	21.5	23.0	18.0	27.2	25.6	24.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	5,902	7,079	7,699	39,585	49,360	62,229	11,885	14,684	16,163

Table 3. Distribution of Burglaries
by Jurisdiction¹

	Fairfax County	Washington, D. C.	Prince George's County
1967	3,224	14,702	5,419
1968	3,742	17,950	7,023
1969	3,513	22,933	6,786

¹Uniform Crime Reports, and police department UCR tally sheets submitted to FBI.

Table 4. Distribution of Burglaries Included
in our Analyses by Jurisdiction

	Fairfax County	Washington, D. C.	Prince George's County ¹
1967	3,375	--	2,365
1968	3,986	16,447 ²	2,192
1969	3,824	22,480	2,263

¹See Table 5.

²January data incomplete.

Table 5. The Prince George's County Sample
of Burglary Reports

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Burglaries Reported</u>	<u>Sampling Fractions</u>	<u>No. of Cases Expected</u>	<u>Actual No. of Cases</u>
1967	5,437	.40	2,175	2,365
1968	7,035	.31	2,181	2,192
1969	6,808	.32	2,179	2,263

Table 6. Rate of Residential Burglaries
per 1,000 Housing Units

	Fairfax County	Washington, D. C.	Prince George's County
1967	17.13	--	24.51
1968	20.24	33.97	32.48
1969	18.87	49.38 ¹	30.56

¹Rate computed to the 1968 housing census base.

Table 7. Distribution of Respondents for
Victimization Study Pilot Interviews

Status	Fairfax County				Washington, D. C.				Prince George's County				Total
	High		Low		High		Low		High		Low		
	Residential	Nonresidential	Residential	Nonresidential	Residential	Nonresidential	Residential	Nonresidential	Residential	Nonresidential	Residential	Nonresidential	
Victim	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	23
Non-victim	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	25
													48

CHAPTER III

THE OFFENSE

Table 8. Percentage Distribution of Burglaries
According to Success or Failure to Enter

	Fairfax County			District of Columbia			Prince George's County		
	1967	1968	1969	1967	1968	1969	1967	1968	1969
Forcible entry and unlawful entry without force	87.2	86.8	88.4	95.5	95.4	93.2	90.0	90.2	90.0
Unsuccessful attempts at entry	12.8	13.2	11.6	4.5	4.8	6.8	10.0	9.8	10.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	3,224	3,742	3,513	13,895	17,227	21,484	5,419	7,023	6,786

Table 9. Percentage Distribution of Structure
Burglarized in the Three Jurisdictions

Structure	Fairfax County			D. C.		Prince George's		
	1967	1968	1969	1968	1969	1967	1968	1969
Offices	12.4	9.4	9.1	5.5	6.4	6.4	4.9	6.0
Stores	12.3	10.9	8.1	16.1	7.7	15.6	12.4	11.5
Residences	47.5	52.7	55.1	62.8	70.9	62.8	67.7	68.6
Miscellaneous*	23.5	19.7	18.8	15.4	14.8	15.2	15.0	13.9
Not stated	4.3	7.3	8.9	.2	.2	--	--	--
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	3,375	3,986	3,824	16,447	22,480	2,365	2,192	2,263

* Includes such structures as schools, churches, restaurants, and buildings under construction.

Table 10. Percentage Distribution of Property Stolen
in the Three Jurisdictions

Property Stolen	Fairfax County			D. C.		Prince George's County		
	1967	1968	1969	1968	1969	1967	1968	1969
Autos and Accessories	1.6	1.9	2.1	1.4	1.1	2.3	2.2	1.6
Cameras and accessories	1.8	2.2	1.9	2.4	2.7	2.0	2.6	1.8
Charge plates*	0	0.2	0.2	--	--	0	0.1	0
Checks and documents	1.4	0.7	1.6	0.2	0.3	0.8	1.5	1.3
Clothing	2.2	2.2	2.5	7.9	6.6	2.8	3.6	3.5
Drugs	0	0.1	0.1	0	0	0	0	0.2
Equipment and supplies	4.5	4.9	4.4	0.8	0.7	2.6	1.7	2.9
Food	2.7	2.9	2.5	1.8	1.8	2.7	2.3	1.0
Guns	4.0	5.5	6.0	1.7	1.5	4.0	5.3	6.6
Home entertainment items	13.4	17.0	16.7	33.9	39.7	21.6	22.6	26.1
Household goods	5.5	6.8	6.6	4.8	6.0	5.8	4.3	5.0
Jewelry	5.9	6.0	8.1	5.9	5.4	8.2	9.8	9.2
Keys	0.7	0.4	0.7	0.1	0.3	0.7	0.4	0.3
Liquor	4.6	3.0	2.8	2.6	0.9	1.1	1.0	1.3
Money and coins	35.9	32.8	26.0	19.5	19.0	26.6	25.8	23.9
Office supplies and equipment	2.3	2.1	3.3	4.5	5.2	2.9	2.3	2.6
Purse and contents	1.0	1.0	0.9	1.0	0.2	1.1	1.6	2.1
Sporting goods	1.1	1.3	2.5	0.9	0.8	1.4	1.5	1.8
Tobacco	1.2	1.2	0.8	1.2	0.9	1.5	0.8	0.6
Tools	5.6	4.1	5.1	2.3	2.9	4.5	4.0	2.8
Other	4.8	3.6	5.0	6.8	4.1	7.3	6.5	5.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	1,868	2,173	2,055	13,112	17,818	1,667	1,549	1,613

*No category in D. C.

Table 11. Percentage Distribution of Value of Property
Stolen in Fairfax County and Prince George's County*

Value.	Fairfax County			Prince George's County		
	1967	1968	1969	1967	1968	1969
\$.01-49	27.27	24.23	21.60	26.68	21.26	21.85
50-99	14.58	15.23	13.09	13.24	15.10	12.48
100-499	40.65	38.83	39.57	40.96	42.88	41.58
500-999	11.23	13.02	13.98	11.56	13.25	13.60
1,000-4,999	5.92	8.13	10.58	7.04	7.09	9.70
5,000+	0.34	0.55	1.18	0.52	0.42	0.79
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	1,166	1,267	1,352	1,548	1,411	1,515

* In the D.C. coding system, "no information" is included with the \$.01 to \$50.00 category, resulting in over 95% of all cases in this single category. Thus, we have not included their data.

Table 12. Percentage Distribution of Value of Property

Damaged during Burglaries:

Data Available only for Prince George's County

Value	1967	1968	1969
No Damage	65.92	66.71	66.11
\$ 01-49	26.55	25.81	25.63
50-99	2.58	3.62	3.45
100-499	4.06	3.16	4.20
500-999	0.38	0.32	0.22
1,000-4,999	0.38	0.28	0.22
5,000 +	0.13	0.09	0.18
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
N	2,365	2,181	2,263

Table 13. Percentage Distribution of Place of
Breaking and Entering for the Three Jurisdictions

Place of Entry	Fairfax County			D. C.		Prince George's County		
	1967	1968	1969	1968	1969	1967	1968	1969
Door	53.6	49.9	41.9	59.4	60.7	63.3	62.4	58.8
Window	22.6	24.0	22.7	28.0	22.9	26.2	27.0	29.8
Roof	1.2	1.0	0.5	1.0	1.4	1.0	0.5	1.0
Other	1.0	0.7	0.7	3.7	3.9	1.9	1.7	2.4
Unknown	18.6	24.4	34.2	7.5	11.1	7.6	8.4	8.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	3,375	3,986	3,824	16,447	22,480	2,365	2,192	2,263

Table 14. Percentage Distribution of Place of Entry
by Type of Structure Entered in Burglaries*

Types of Structures	Place of Entry				
	Percent	Door	Window	Roof	Other
Residence (Anywhere on premises)	100.0	61.4	33.7	.2	4.7
Retail Store	100.0	49.2	39.3	4.6	7.0
Warehouse or plant	100.0	45.1	41.7	4.0	9.2
Public Building (School, Library, etc.)	100.0	38.8	52.9	.9	7.4
Gas Station, Garage, etc.	100.0	39.7	53.6	.9	5.7
Business or Professional Office	100.0	53.1	37.6	1.6	7.7
Bank (Savings and Loan, etc.)	100.0	56.1	34.1	2.4	7.3
Other (Boxcar, Private Clubs, etc.)	100.0	60.0	27.2	1.6	11.2
Total Burglaries	100.0	53.6	38.3	1.7	6.4
Due to rounding may not add to 100 percent					

* UCR Report, 1961, p. 9.

Table 15. Percentage Distribution of Location of Door
Entered Where Door was the Point of Entry

Location	D. C.		Prince George's County		
	1968	1969	1967	1968	1969
Front	72.9	73.7	55.9	48.1	50.1
Rear	23.5	22.8	34.7	44.0	41.8
Side	3.6	3.5	9.4	7.9	8.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	9,770	13,630	721	582	595

Table 16. Percentage Distribution of Location of Window
Entered Where Window was the Point of Entry

Location	D. C.		Prince George's County		
	1968	1969	1967	1968	1969
Front	36.9	28.0	14.5	15.8	26.0
Rear	42.6	51.2	59.1	57.3	53.7
Side	20.5	20.8	26.4	26.9	20.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	4,604	5,148	235	253	227

Table 17. Percentage Distribution of Means of Entry in
Washington, D. C. and Prince George's County

Means of Entry	D. C.		Prince George's County		
	1968	1969	1967	1968	1969
Break glass	23.0	19.8	24.4	27.6	25.8
Force lock	49.3	53.0	30.8	26.9	31.0
Open unlocked door/window	8.6	6.2	10.6	10.0	10.2
Use key to unlock door	2.4	2.4	2.7	3.5	3.2
Other	5.6	3.6	15.1	15.4	15.2
Unknown	11.2	15.1	16.4	16.2	14.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	16,446	22,480	2,365	2,192	2,263

Table 18. Percentage Distribution of Burglaries by
Month of Occurrence in the Three Jurisdictions

Month	Fairfax County			D. C.		Prince George's County		
	1967	1968	1969	1968 ¹	1969	1967	1968	1969
January	7.9	7.6	8.6	7.6	8.2	9.2	7.8	9.6
February	7.5	8.3	7.3	6.8	6.2	7.2	8.3	7.4
March	7.9	7.4	8.1	7.6	6.6	7.3	8.1	7.7
April	6.5	7.7	6.8	9.9	6.6	5.7	7.0	8.1
May	6.5	8.4	7.3	9.3	7.7	7.0	7.1	6.8
June	8.4	8.4	8.9	7.8	8.1	6.4	7.1	8.0
July	10.2	9.6	9.4	8.1	8.9	8.9	8.4	8.4
August	11.1	9.2	9.5	8.7	10.0	9.0	9.6	8.8
September	8.7	7.7	7.7	8.2	8.9	9.8	7.9	9.0
October	8.7	7.2	9.0	8.7	9.5	8.8	7.8	8.4
November	8.7	8.2	8.2	8.0	9.2	9.8	9.2	8.8
December	7.9	10.0	9.2	9.3	10.1	10.9	11.7	9.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	3,375	3,986	3,824	17,678	22,480	2,365	2,192	2,263

¹Estimate.

Table 19. Percentage Distribution of
Burglaries by "Season"

Seasons	Fairfax County			D. C.		Prince George's County		
	1967	1968	1969	1968	1969	1967	1968	1969
Winter (Nov. Dec. Jan. Feb.)	32.0	34.0	33.3	31.7	33.7	37.1	36.9	34.8
Spring-Autumn (Mar. Apr. Sept. Oct.)	31.8	30.0	31.6	34.4	31.6	31.6	30.9	33.2
Summer (May June, July, Aug.)	36.2	35.9	35.1	33.9	34.7	31.3	32.2	32.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	3,375	3,986	3,824	17,678	22,480	2,365	2,192	2,263

Table 20. Percentage Distribution of Residential and Non-Residential Burglaries by Day of Week for Prince George's County

Day of Week	1967			1968			1969		
	Res.	Non-Res.	Total	Res.	Non-Res.	Total	Res.	Non-Res.	Total
Sunday	11.9	21.9	14.2	10.2	17.3	15.2	9.7	24.4	14.9
Monday	13.4	11.9	15.0	15.3	14.7	15.7	14.4	12.9	15.3
Tuesday	15.3	14.0	14.0	14.2	11.8	14.6	15.9	11.7	12.4
Wednesday	15.3	10.0	15.8	14.7	11.0	12.5	15.6	12.7	14.3
Thursday	15.2	12.6	12.8	15.4	14.7	15.1	16.2	11.6	13.9
Friday	16.1	12.8	14.8	17.0	12.8	13.5	16.8	11.6	14.5
Saturday	12.8	16.8	13.4	13.2	17.7	13.4	11.4	15.1	14.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	1,498	867	2,365	1,504	688	2,192	1,580	683	2,263

Table 21. Percentage Distribution of Residential and Non-Residential Burglaries
by Day and Night for Prince George's County

	1967			1968			1969		
	Res.	Non-res.	Total	Res.	Non-res.	Total	Res.	Non-res.	Total
Day	45.1	10.0	32.3	45.3	8.7	33.8	49.7	6.1	36.5
Night	26.5	51.4	35.6	33.6	53.3	39.8	26.5	56.1	35.4
Unknown	28.4	38.5	32.1	21.1	37.9	26.4	23.8	37.8	28.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	1,498	867	2,365	1,504	688	2,192	1,580	683	2,263

Table 22. Percentage Distribution of Burglaries by
Time of Day for Prince George's County

	1967			1968			1969		
	Res.	Non-res.	Total	Res.	Non-res.	Total	Res.	Non-res.	Total
12:01 a. m. to 3:59 a. m.	10.4	54.8	25.1	10.7	51.0	21.5	8.2	53.0	19.6
4:00 a. m. to 6:59 a. m.	2.7	16.3	7.2	3.9	17.6	7.6	2.8	17.6	6.5
7:00 a. m. to 9:59 a. m.	2.9	2.3	2.7	3.0	1.6	2.6	2.5	1.7	2.3
10:00 a. m. to 12:59 p. m.	28.9	2.5	20.2	26.9	2.1	20.3	33.1	2.0	25.2
1:00 p. m. to 3:59 p. m.	21.7	4.9	16.2	19.4	4.4	15.4	20.8	2.9	16.2
4:00 p. m. to 6:59 p. m.	11.6	5.5	9.6	11.9	6.3	10.4	10.1	6.1	9.1
7:00 p. m. to 9:59 p. m.	15.5	6.3	12.4	16.6	5.6	13.7	17.0	7.8	14.7
10:00 p. m. to 12:00 a. m.	6.2	7.4	6.6	7.5	11.2	8.5	5.5	8.8	6.3
Total*	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	1,073	527	1,600	1,174	427	1,601	1,198	409	1,607
Unknown			765			591			656
Grand Total	1,498	867	2,365	1,504	688	2,192	1,580	683	2,263

144

* These figures comprise approximately 70% of the total number of burglaries recorded for each year. In the remaining cases the time of occurrence could not be determined.

Table 23. ¹ Distribution of Residential Burglary Rates
(Number/1,000 Residential Units at Risk)
by Census Tract for Fairfax County

1960 Census Tract ²	1967	1968	1969
01	23.59	26.52	32.37
02	23.89	30.44	51.96
03	16.94	15.30	16.38
04	20.92	23.89	22.97
05	17.52	27.78	19.46
06	16.19	35.40	16.35
08	23.68	26.50	28.30
09	13.16	16.36	18.91
10	13.06	12.71	24.17
11	17.05	27.56	27.05
12	16.89	15.88	16.88
13	8.26	16.53	24.79
14	22.62	23.90	19.04
15	14.24	26.54	14.22
16	27.64	18.17	20.58
17	13.44	17.08	16.19
18	13.88	49.77	32.80
19	24.98	22.46	21.23
20	17.04	29.08	14.26
21	11.38	19.73	21.39
22	20.10	12.40	13.10
23	8.33	13.49	11.51
24	14.68	15.33	17.64
25	21.37	19.20	28.11
26	11.10	5.28	8.46
27	9.51	14.26	19.81
28	22.07	20.06	18.30
29	13.46	20.12	12.89
30	12.44	17.72	13.16

¹The number of residential units by census tract as of January 1, for 1967-1969 was obtained from the Fairfax County Division of Planning, Population and Housing--1960-1970.

²The following tracts are omitted from the table: Tract 07, Fort Belvoir; Tract 33, the town of Vienna; Tract 35, the city of Fairfax; Tract 45, the town of Herndon; and Tract 46, Dulles International Airport.

Table 23 (Continued)

Tract	1967	1968	1969
31	25.14	16.57	11.96
32	23.07	15.14	14.98
34	13.22	15.44	16.66
36	13.67	19.67	15.63
37	15.90	12.66	12.53
38	14.24	15.42	13.07
39	17.98	13.72	21.99
40	26.11	20.01	40.25
41	20.90	36.96	24.93
42	19.30	23.78	32.48
43	44.96	20.96	18.33
44	12.48	17.89	18.03

Table 24. High and Low Residential Burglary

Rate Tracts: Fairfax County

High Residential Burglary Rate Tracts

1967		1968		1969	
Tract	Rate	Tract	Rate	Tract	Rate
43	44.96	18	49.77	02	51.96
16	27.64	41	36.96	40	40.25
40	26.11	06	35.40	18	32.80
31	25.14	02	30.44	42	32.48
19	24.98	20	29.08	01	32.37
02	23.89	05	27.78	08	28.30
08	23.68	11	27.56	25	28.11
01	23.59	15	26.54	11	27.05
32	23.07	01	26.52	41	24.93
14	22.62	08	26.50	13	24.79

Low Residential Burglary Rate Tracts

1967		1968		1969	
Tract	Rate	Tract	Rate	Tract	Rate
13	8.26	26	5.28	26	8.46
23	8.33	22	12.40	23	11.51
27	9.51	37	12.66	31	11.96
26	11.10	10	12.71	37	12.53
21	11.38	23	13.49	29	12.89
30	12.44	39	13.72	38	13.07
44	12.48	27	14.26	22	13.10
10	13.06	32	15.14	30	13.16
09	13.16	03	15.30	15	14.22
34	13.22	24	15.33	20	14.26

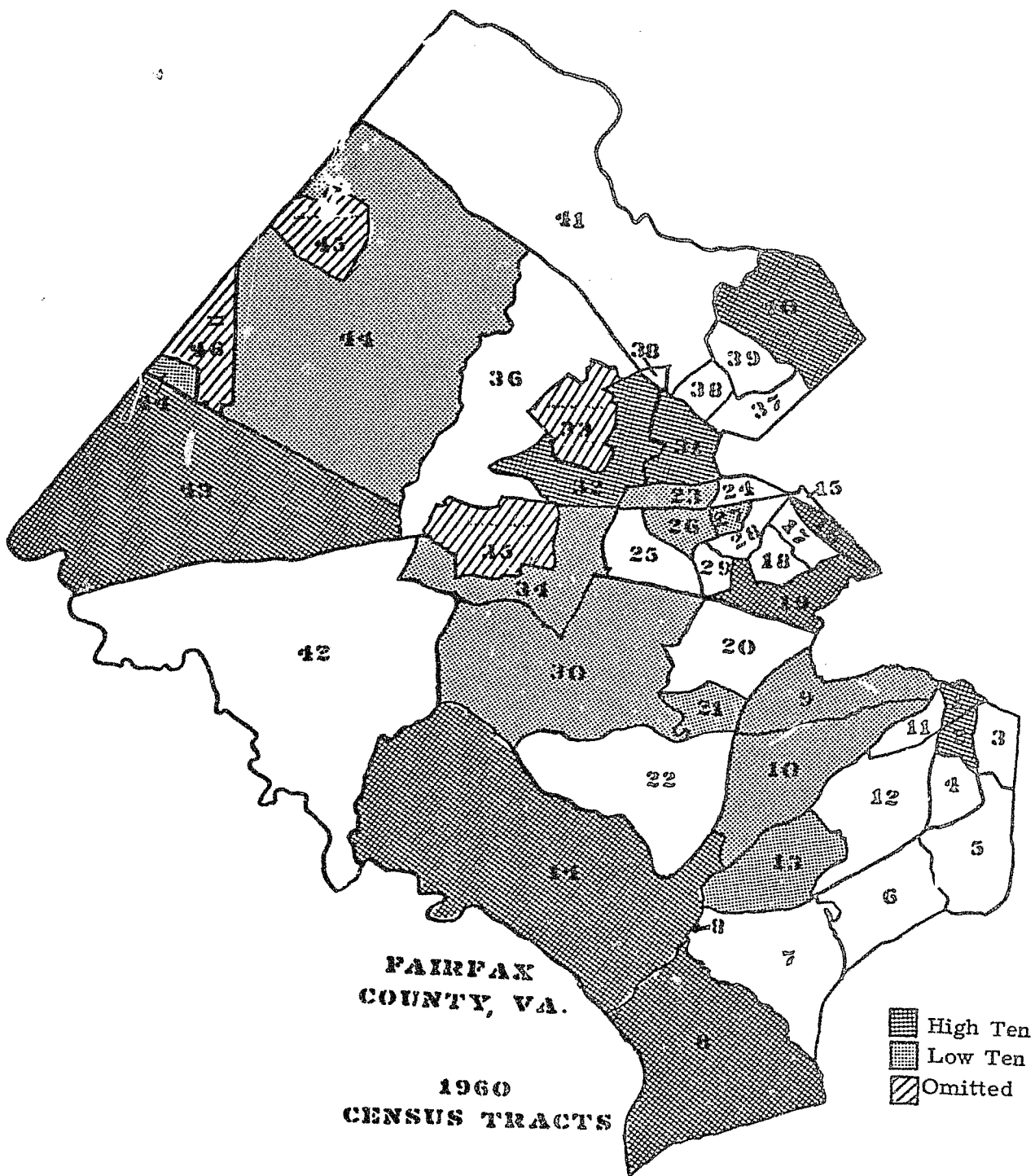


Figure 4. Highest and Lowest Residential Burglary Rate Tracts: Fairfax County, 1967.

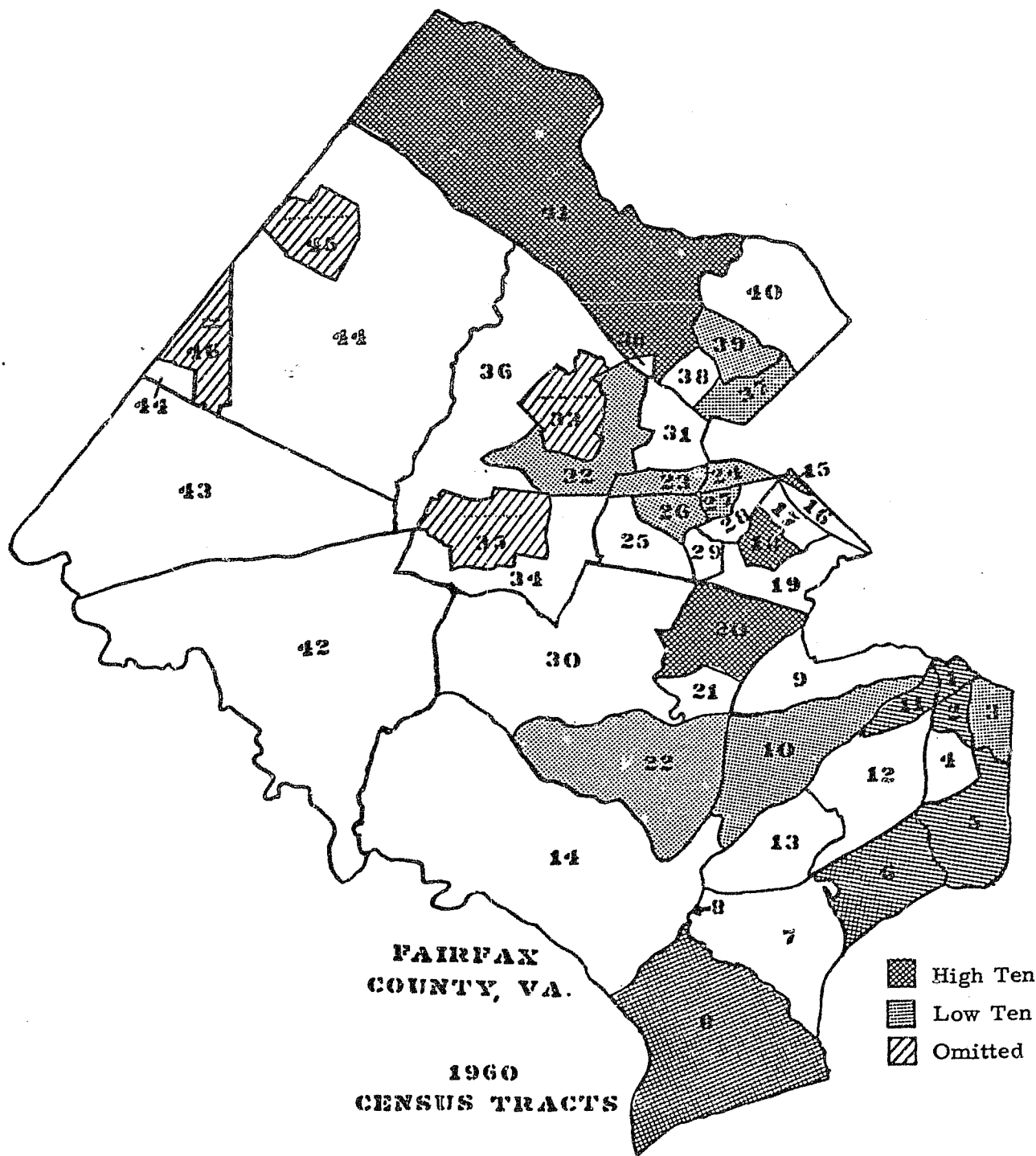


Figure 5. Highest and Lowest Residential Burglary Rate Tracts: Fairfax County, 1968.

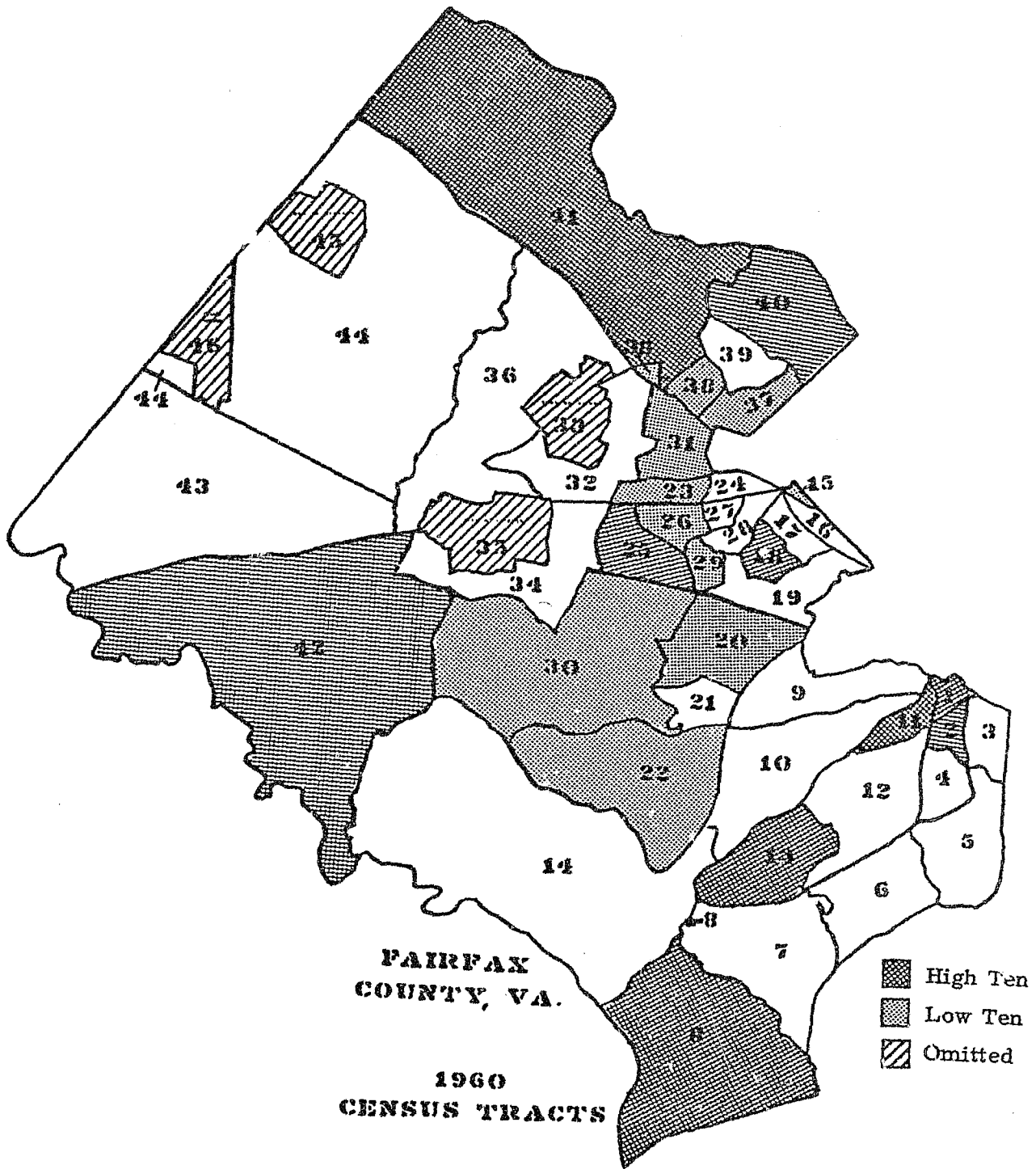


Figure 6. Highest and Lowest Residential Burglary Rate Tracts: Fairfax County, 1969.

Table 25.¹ Distribution of Residential Burglary Rates
(Number/1,000 Residential Units at Risk)
by Census Tract for Washington, D. C.

1960 Census Tract ²	1968	1969
01	33.00	56.58
02	31.60	62.57
03	7.14	12.70
04	26.64	24.59
05	34.89	33.27
06	9.23	13.37
07	12.36	8.04
08	11.88	17.33
09	12.56	28.83
10	8.73	15.55
11	12.00	18.28
12	15.19	10.27
13	9.78	12.59
14	10.02	13.86
15	12.15	24.30
16	11.36	35.22
17	16.37	23.45
18	34.03	46.72
19	16.37	24.95
20	18.70	42.08
21	20.40	40.04
22	18.84	48.05
23.1	23.51	24.98
24	28.77	47.94
25	36.60	68.16
26	29.79	68.08
27	53.86	96.64

¹The number of residential units by census tracts as of January 1, 1968 was provided by Mr. Nathan Levy, Statistical Systems Group, Office of Budget and Executive Management, Government of the District of Columbia. No comparable data for 1969 is available at this time, and therefore the 1968 data were used in computing the 1969 rates.

²The following tracts are omitted from the table: Tract 23.2, U. S. Soldiers Home; Tract 73.1, Bolling Air Force Base; Tract 73.8, D. C. Village; and Tract 96, St. Elizabeth's Hospital.

Table 25 (Continued)

Tract	1968	1969
28	56.98	70.13
29	47.45	60.76
30	49.60	59.10
31	22.89	58.09
32	24.00	50.42
33	27.46	51.13
34	45.76	84.02
35	46.17	83.83
36	53.60	94.45
37	74.79	102.47
38	42.76	58.74
39	21.43	43.20
40	31.98	56.82
41	24.80	36.74
42	62.06	73.68
43	52.22	48.76
44	81.97	103.48
45	61.69	95.77
46	58.97	68.93
47	53.57	97.09
48	32.97	68.22
49	52.25	52.24
50	47.07	42.66
51	26.74	50.88
52.1	45.91	60.06
52.2	51.19	61.90
53.1	40.37	42.87
53.2	65.39	59.01
54.1	31.70	25.79
54.2	13.11	41.19
55	30.23	42.98
56	14.46	14.70
57.1	19.29	23.07
57.2	37.44	15.41
58	35.23	53.40
59	25.79	55.55
60	17.25	39.72
61	1.23	6.15
63	23.10	33.73
64	91.77	155.06
65	56.69	77.86
66	68.27	116.34
67	61.08	113.35
68	40.10	68.22

Table 25 (Continued)

Tract	1968	1969
69	34.98	54.52
70	98.48	123.85
71	57.59	112.56
72	134.33	286.56
73.2	58.68	48.81
73.3	34.70	24.61
73.4	78.22	108.49
73.5	68.92	76.89
73.6	59.30	76.24
73.7	17.79	23.60
74.1	77.35	125.23
74.2	42.05	61.96
74.3	40.76	78.25
75	49.33	66.68
76.1	30.80	47.32
76.2	28.35	24.48
76.3	37.04	45.31
77.1	24.94	62.15
77.2	16.26	27.69
77.3	36.16	55.93
77.4	22.87	43.97
77.5	42.88	53.70
78.1	69.55	120.55
78.2	7.14	19.38
78.3	42.52	65.75
78.4	29.24	67.15
78.5	27.19	55.62
78.6	54.18	84.16
79	9.26	8.30
80	31.05	56.41
81	61.66	113.83
82	58.94	73.18
83	92.55	104.58
84	58.68	65.04
85	62.86	71.42
86	65.04	65.04
87	44.97	88.25
88.1	36.27	42.82
88.2	32.26	32.27
89	23.90	36.49
90	32.20	51.87
91	50.78	45.99
92	38.15	54.75

Table 25 (Continued)

Tract	1968	1969
93	19.38	51.51
94	23.68	60.21
95.1	27.00	29.14
95.2	18.16	33.59
95.3	12.34	24.67
95.4	10.37	16.03

Table 26. High and Low Residential Burglary

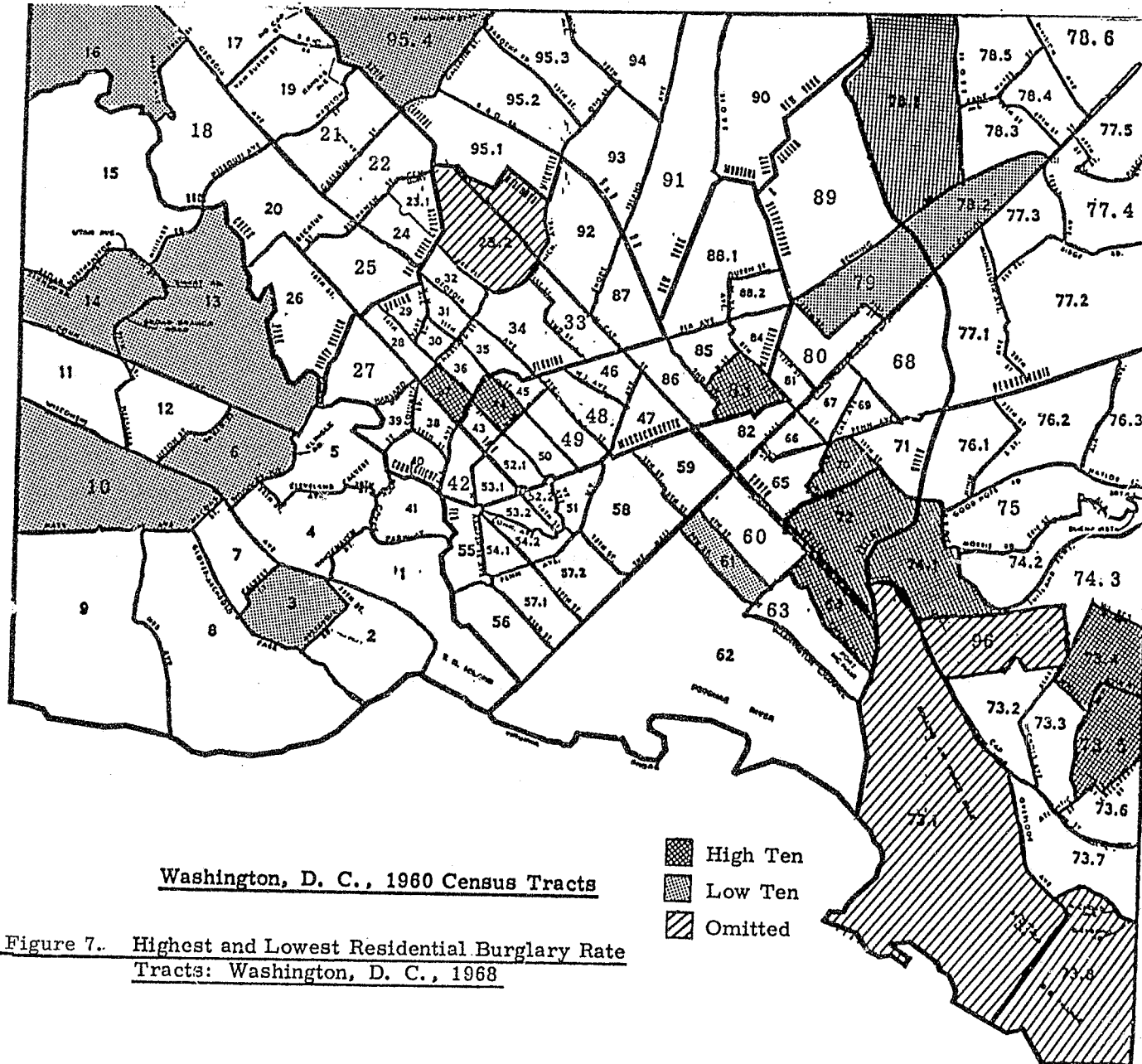
Rate Tracts: Washington, D. C.

High Residential Burglary Rate Tracts

1968		1969	
Tract	Rate	Tract	Rate
72	134.33	72	286.56
70	98.48	64	155.06
83	92.55	74.1	125.23
64	91.77	70	123.85
44	81.97	78.1	120.55
73.4	78.22	66	116.34
74.1	77.35	81	113.83
37	74.79	67	113.35
78.1	69.55	73.4	108.49
73.5	68.92	83	104.58

Low Residential Burglary Rate Tracts

1968		1969	
Tract	Rate	Tract	Rate
61	1.23	61	6.15
03	7.14	07	8.04
78.2	7.14	79	8.30
10	8.73	12	10.27
06	9.23	13	12.59
79	9.26	03	12.70
13	9.78	06	13.37
14	10.02	14	13.86
95.4	10.37	56	14.70
16	11.36	57.2	15.41



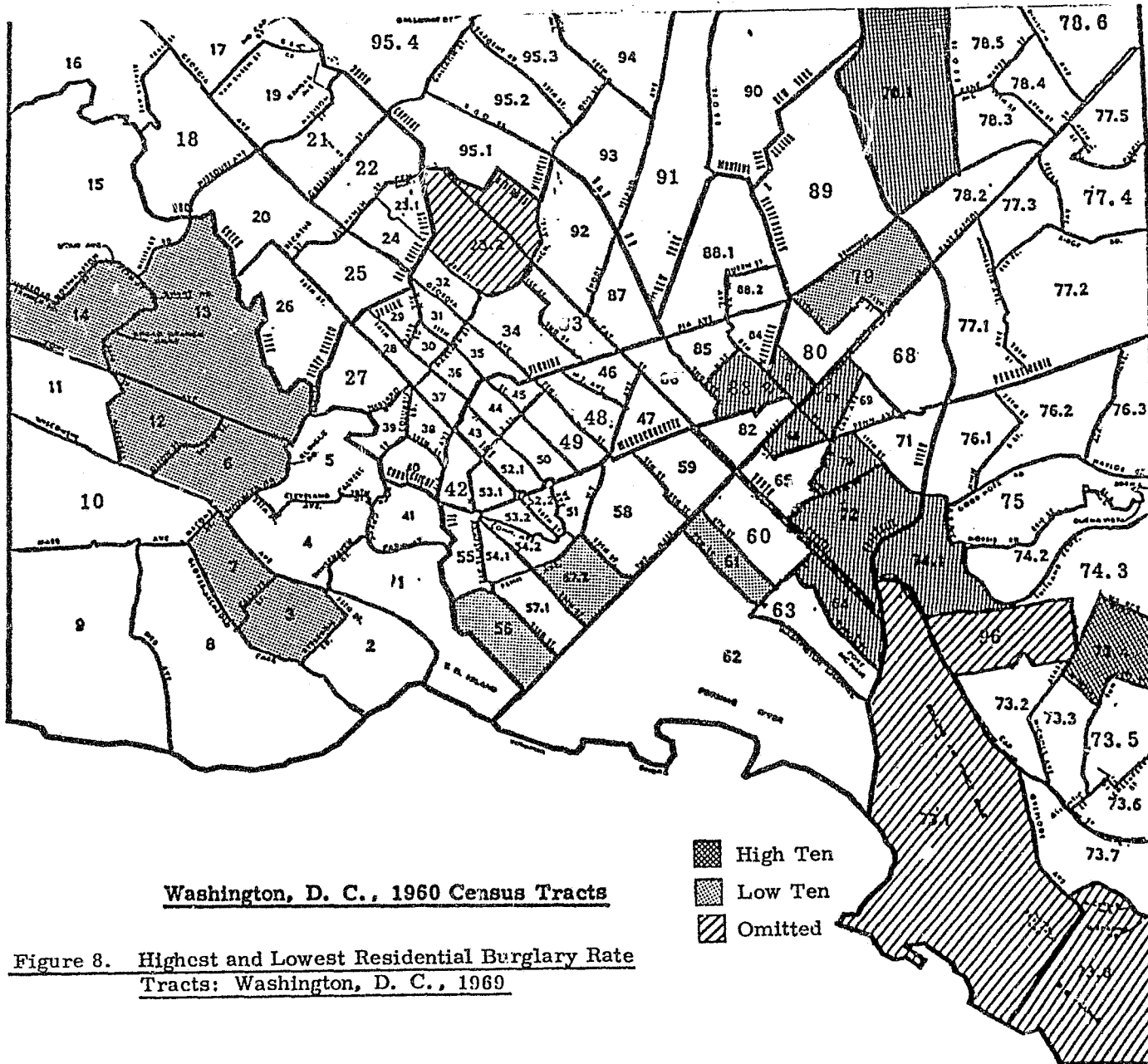


Table 27. ¹ Distribution of Residential Burglary Rates

(Number/1,000 Residential Units at Risk)

by Census Tract for Prince George's County

1966 ² Census Tract	1967	1968	1969
02	16.22	9.26	18.53
04	16.62	24.90	14.56
05	11.12	36.52	18.47
06	10.65	51.52	48.72
07	16.55	32.52	28.37
08	--	--	--
09	5.12	6.48	24.66
10	5.02	38.26	20.16
12	11.88	21.71	23.66
13	21.55	47.62	35.91
14	23.18	24.42	24.34
15	2.60	13.42	26.00
16	33.00	35.45	38.91
17	33.25	35.90	37.22
18	31.58	40.32	28.25
20	28.28	39.84	44.31
21	32.45	38.71	34.44
22	19.55	18.06	30.12
24	21.55	26.81	19.28
25	64.58	57.33	62.50
27	50.10	19.00	48.12
28	49.85	45.55	43.50
31	34.22	55.58	64.50
32	48.45	28.42	52.28

¹The number of residential units by census tract as of January 1, for 1967-1969 was obtained from the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, Information Bulletins--Area, Population, and Housing Counts, Montgomery and Prince George's County, Bulletins 12 and 15.

²The following tracts are omitted from the table: Tract 03, Glenn Dale Sanitarium; Tract 11, Andrews Air Force Base and U. S. Naval Receiving Station; and all tracts which contain or are coincidental with municipalities having their own police departments. The 1966 census tract boundaries are essentially the same as the 1960 boundaries with some alterations due to municipal annexations after 1960.

CONTINUED

2 OF 5

Table 27 (Continued)

Tract	1967	1968	1969
33	28.87	36.26	50.19
34	43.22	58.55	72.53
35	27.17	44.78	57.59
37	18.50	15.61	15.12
38	30.27	18.29	15.72
49	35.10	32.32	34.44
50	24.35	34.74	28.84
52	17.55	20.29	24.03
56	13.90	29.55	34.75
57	19.15	26.65	29.93
65	23.55	17.36	23.78
69	8.80	19.58	16.25
70	7.22	2.00	9.62
71	8.72	18.26	25.69
72	--	--	--
73	12.62	17.84	13.19
74	17.18	18.23	18.06

Table 28. High and Low Residential Burglary
Rate Tracts: Prince George's County

High Residential Burglary Rate Tracts

1967		1968		1969	
Tract	Rate	Tract	Rate	Tract	Rate
25	64.58	34	58.55	34	72.53
27	50.10	25	57.33	31	64.50
28	49.85	31	55.58	25	62.50
32	48.45	06	51.52	35	57.59
34	43.22	13	47.62	32	52.23
49	35.10	28	45.55	33	50.19
31	34.22	35	44.78	06	48.72
17	33.25	18	40.32	20	44.31
16	33.00	20	39.84	28	43.50
21	32.45	21	38.71	16	38.91

Low Residential Burglary Rate Tracts

1967		1968		1969	
Tract	Rate	Tract	Rate	Tract	Rate
08	--	08	--	08	---
72	--	72	--	72	--
10	5.02	70	2.00	70	9.62
09	5.12	09	6.48	73	13.19
70	7.22	02	9.26	04	14.56
71	8.72	37	15.61	37	15.12
69	8.80	65	17.36	38	15.72
06	10.65	73	17.84	69	16.25
05	11.12	22	18.06	05	18.47
73	12.62	74	18.23	02	18.53

Figure 9. Highest and Lowest Residential Burglary Rate Tracts:
Prince George's County, 1967

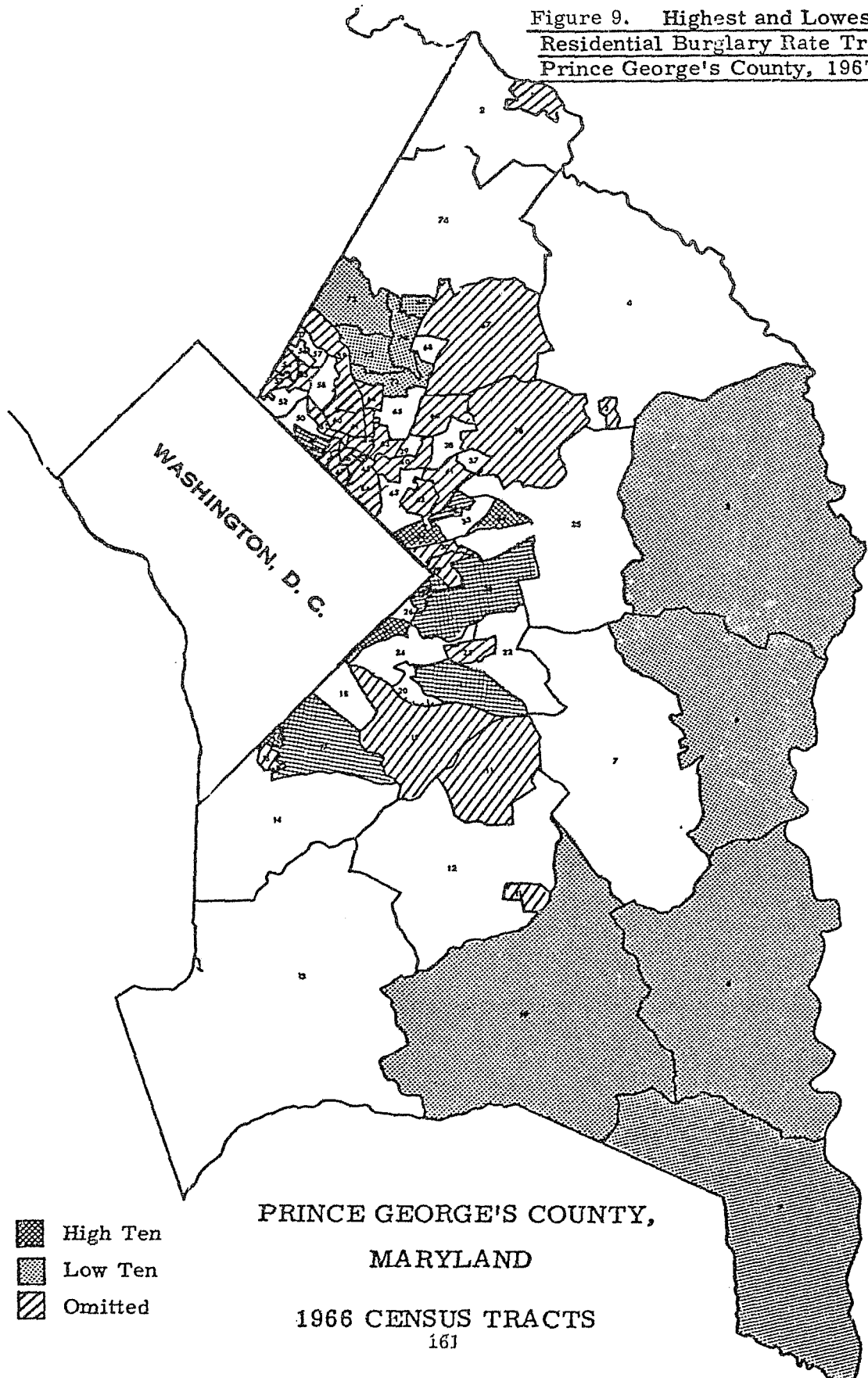


Figure 10. Highest and Lowest Residential Burglary Rate Tracts: Prince George's County, 1968

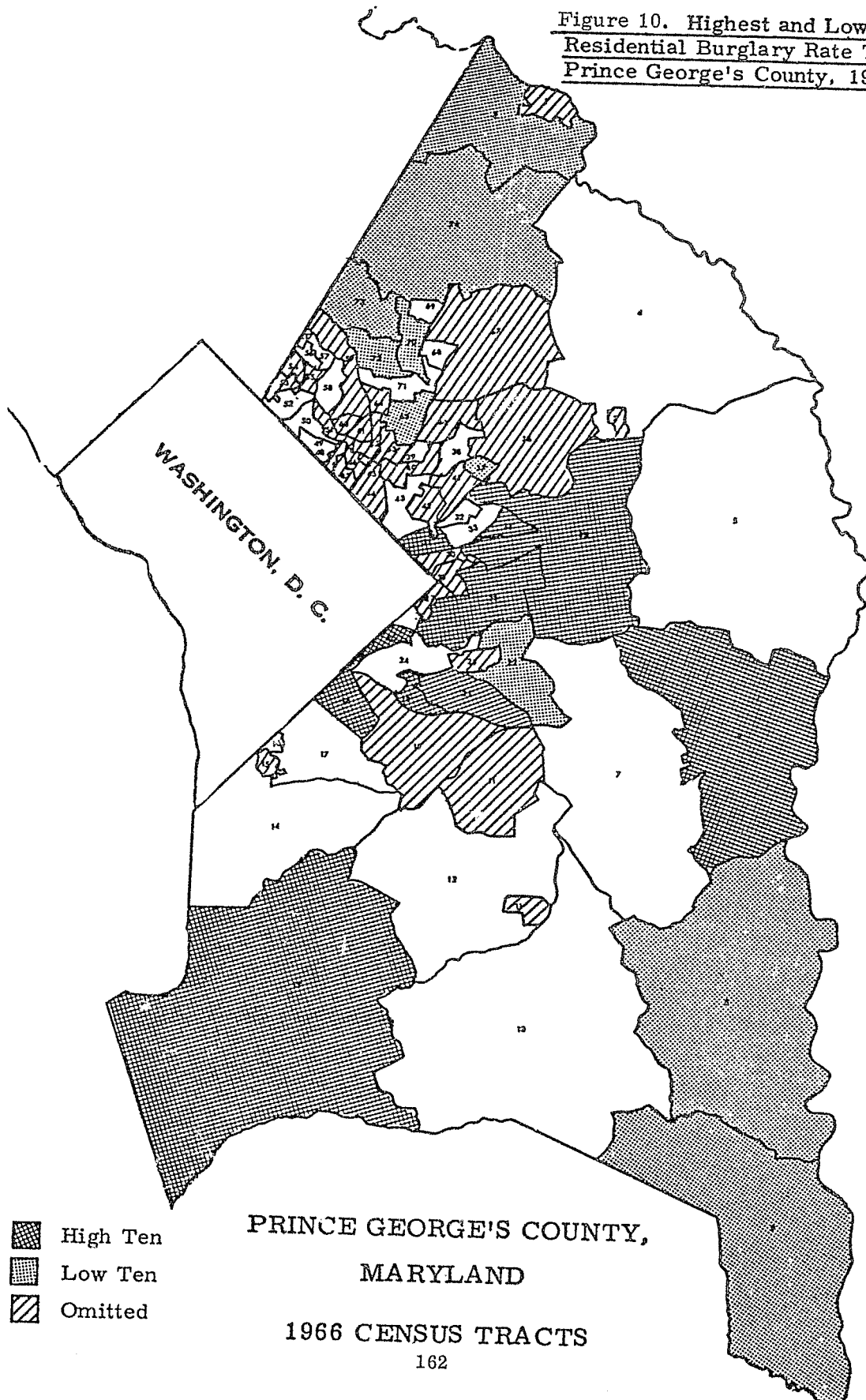


Figure 11. Highest and Lowest Residential Burglary Rate Tracts: Prince George's County, 1969

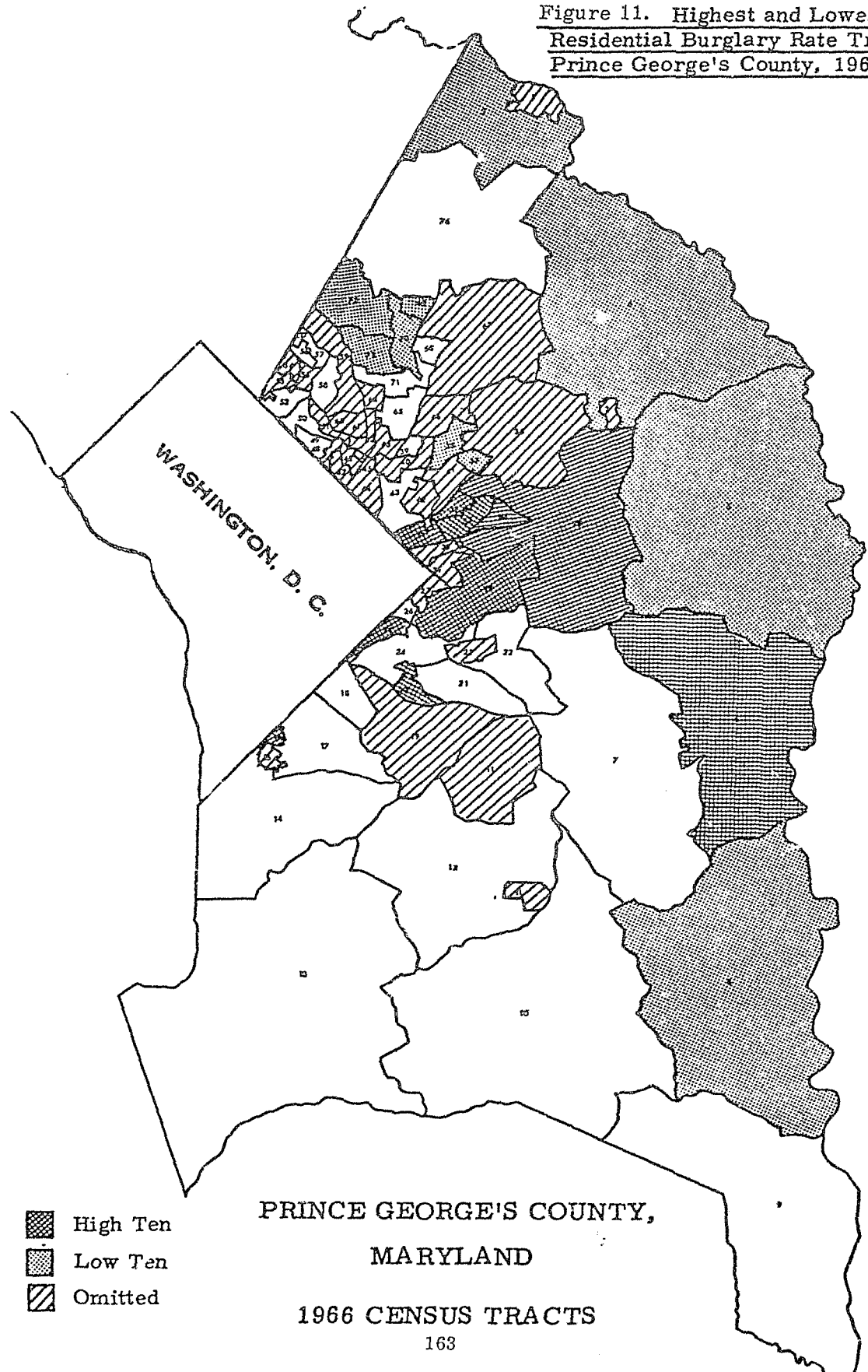


Table 29. Tracts with High and Low Frequencies of
Non-Residential Burglaries: Fairfax County

High Non-Residential Burglary Tracts

1967		1968		1969	
Tract	Frequency	Tract	Frequency	Tract	Frequency
30	124	30	142	30	103
19	108	19	87	21	71
21	98	09	76	12	69
20	81	20	76	32	62
09	73	40	66	09	58
12	60	32	64	20	58
22	56	34	64	19	52
10	52	21	60	40	48
32	52	06	58	43	46
04	50	10	53	22	42
		17	53		

Low Non-Residential Burglary Tracts

1967		1968		1969	
Tract	Frequency	Tract	Frequency	Tract	Frequency
18	6	13	3	18	3
08	6	08	4	13	5
37	9	18	5	08	8
13	9	03	11	27	8
15	14	28	13	03	12
03	16	37	13	29	15
36	17	26	15	41	15
01	17	02	19	26	17
28	18	36	20	28	18
27	19	01	22	37	18
		04	22		

Table 30. Tracts with High and Low Frequencies of
Non-Residential Burglaries: Washington, D. C.

High Non-Residential Burglary Tracts

1968		1969	
Tract	Frequency	Tract	Frequency
58	349	58	298
84	190	51	112
49	151	48	101
48	146	54. 2	99
28	132	49	93
44	118	84	86
47	106	75	85
51	104	54. 1	83
52. 1	99	45	77
85	95	53. 2	77

Low Non-Residential Burglary Tracts

1968		1969	
Tract	Frequency	Tract	Frequency
03	0	03	0
15	0	95. 3	0
95. 3	0	15	1
14	1	63	1
61	1	12	2
62	1	08	3
63	1	14	3
09	2	06	5
26	2	07	5
06	3	26	5
		56	5
		73. 4	5

Table 31. Tracts with High and Low Frequencies of
Non-Residential Burglaries: Prince George's County

High Non-Residential Burglary Tracts

1967		1968		1969	
Tract	Frequency	Tract	Frequency	Tract	Frequency
74	92	17	116	74	116
04	75	74	116	12	87
17	72	12	81	65	78
35	70	14	77	14	69
06	65	06	68	18	69
28	65	04	65	31	69
18	62	13	65	24	66
14	60	05	58	28	62
12	52	16	58	04	59
20	52	35	58	35	59
24	52				

Low Non-Residential Burglary Tracts

1967		1968		1969	
Tract	Frequency	Tract	Frequency	Tract	Frequency
15	0	08	3	72	0
08	5	32	3	08	6
09	5	34	3	15	6
49	5	72	3	37	6
72	5	73	3	57	6
32	8	09	6	09	9
38	8	56	6	21	9
57	10	57	6	25	9
37	12	50	10	49	9
56	12	69	10	32	12
69	12				

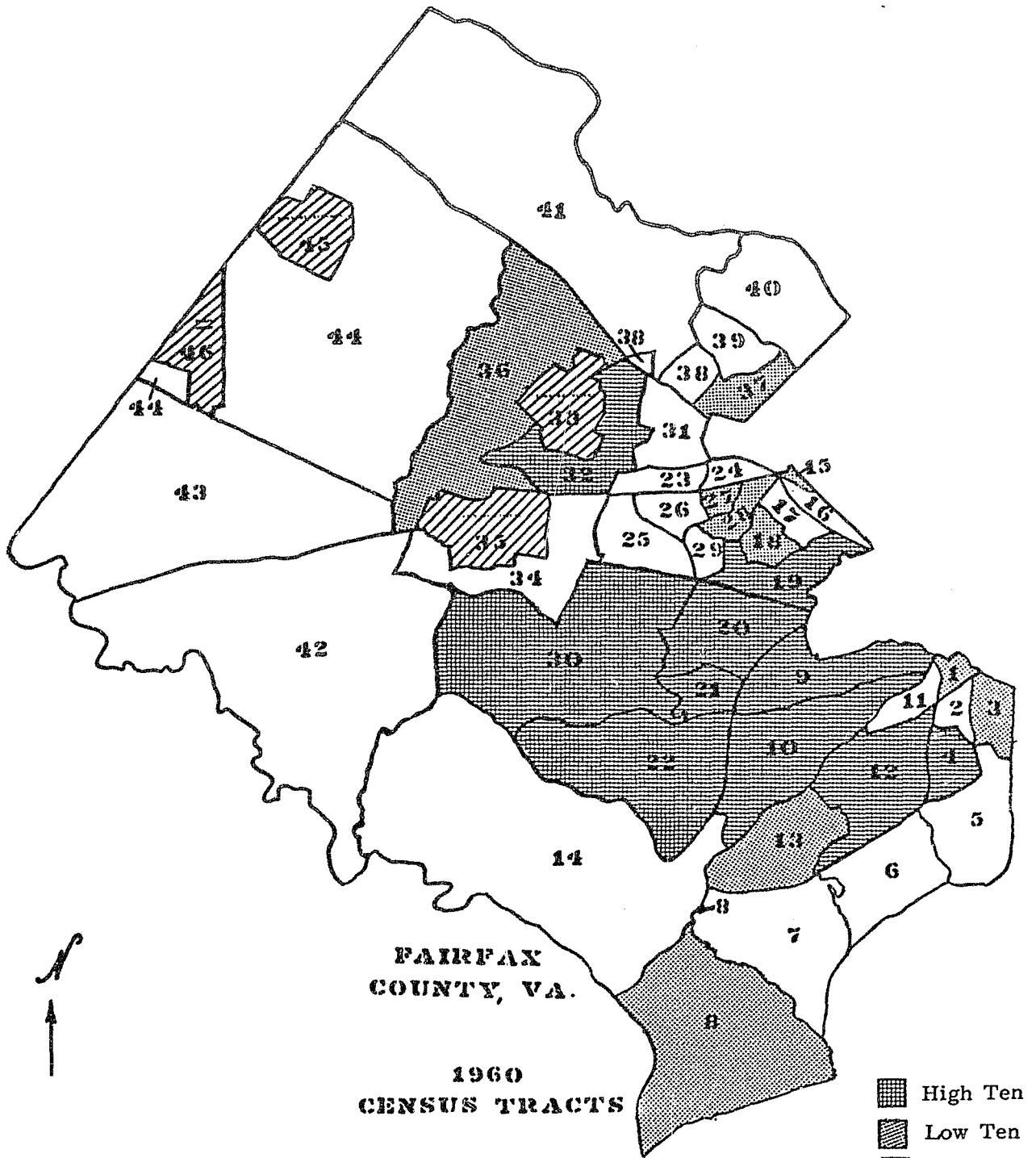


Figure 12. Highest and Lowest Non-Residential Burglary Rate Tracts: Fairfax County, 1967

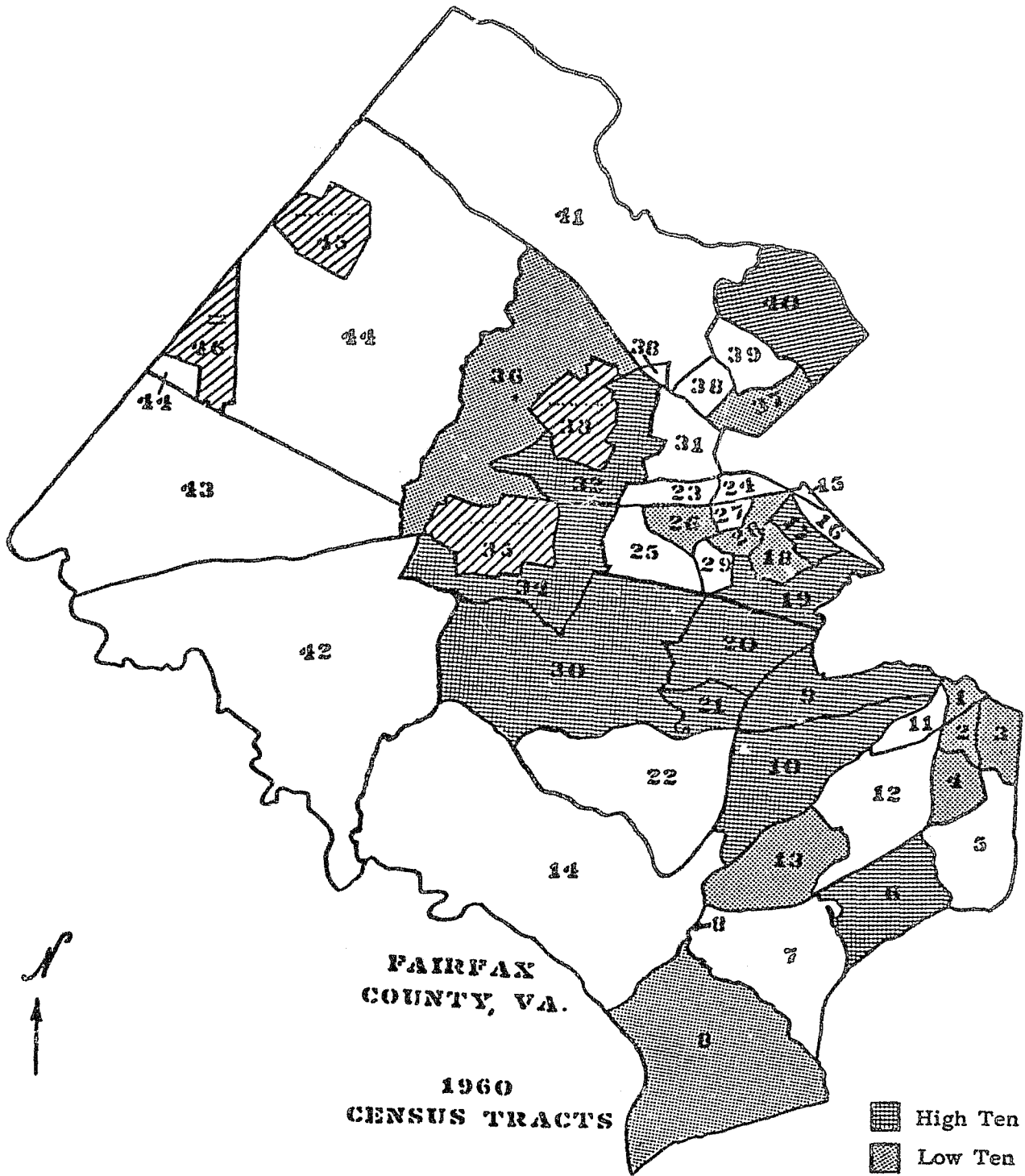


Figure 13. Highest and Lowest Non-Residential Burglary Rate Tracts: Fairfax County, 1968

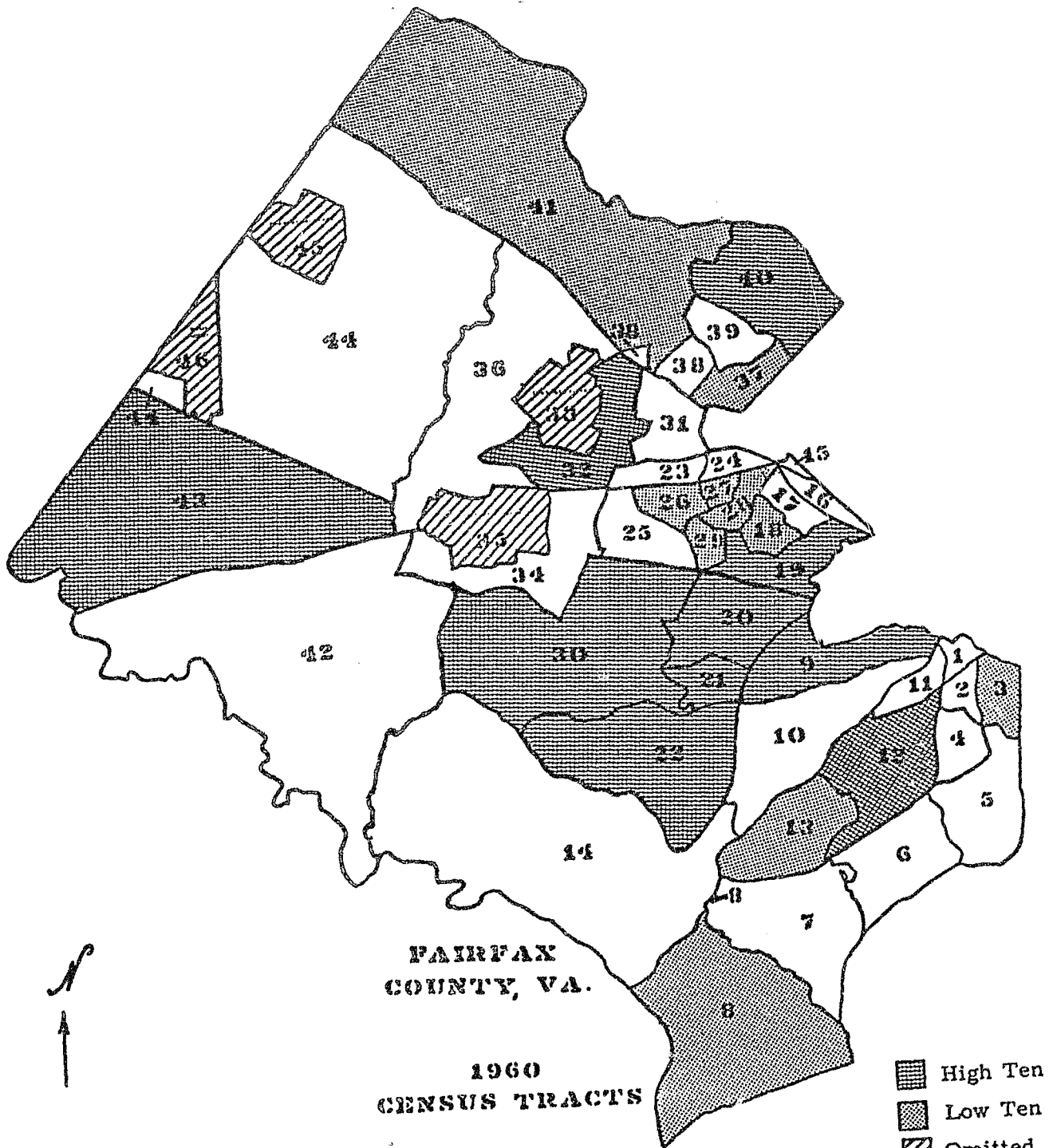
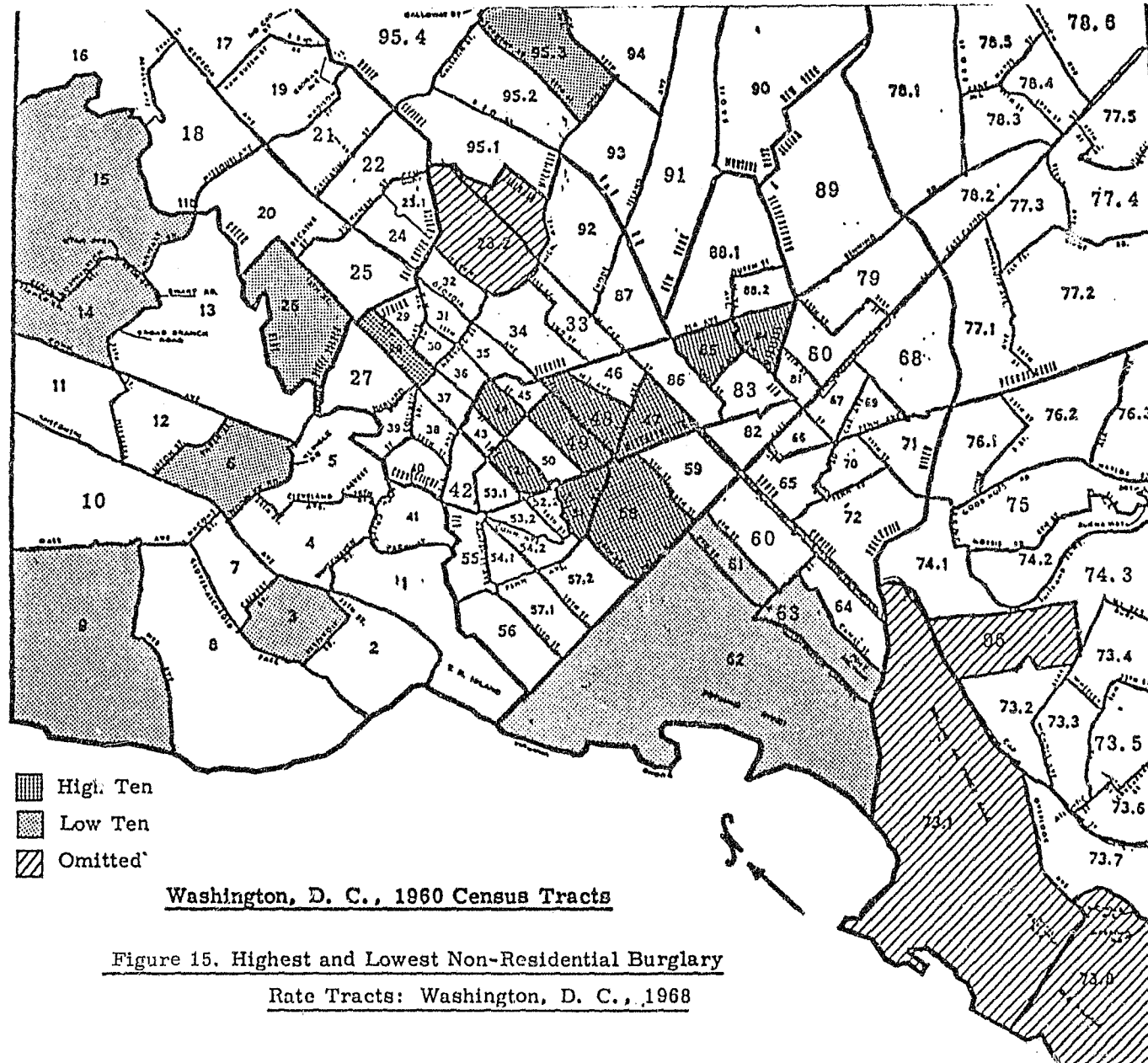


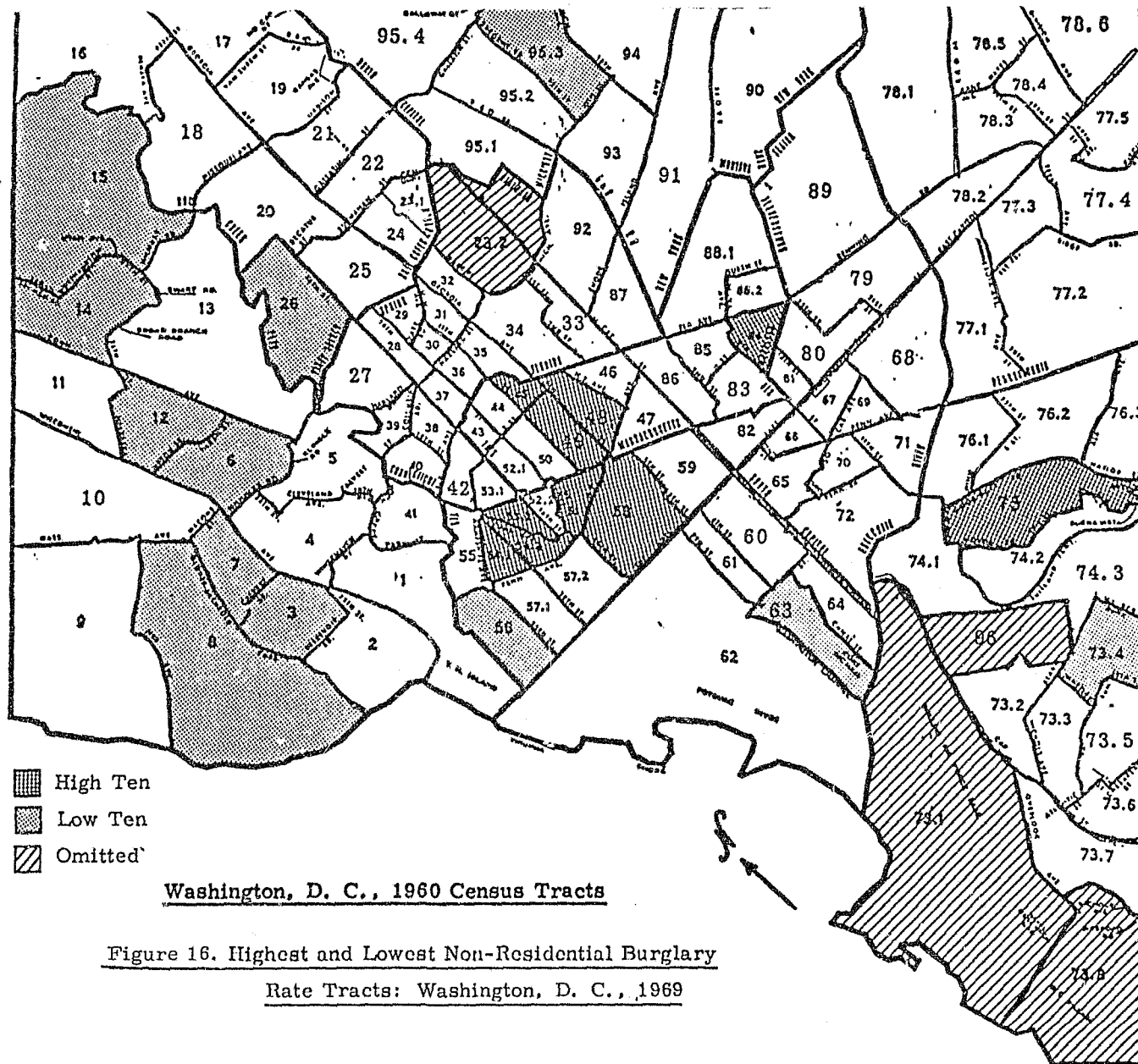
Figure 14. Highest and Lowest Non-Residential Burglary
Rate Tracts: Fairfax County, 1969



Washington, D. C., 1960 Census Tracts

Figure 15. Highest and Lowest Non-Residential Burglary

Rate Tracts: Washington, D. C., 1968



Washington, D. C., 1960 Census Tracts

Figure 16. Highest and Lowest Non-Residential Burglary
Rate Tracts: Washington, D. C., 1969

Figure 17. Highest and Lowest
Non-Residential Burglary Rate Tracts:
Prince George's County, 1967

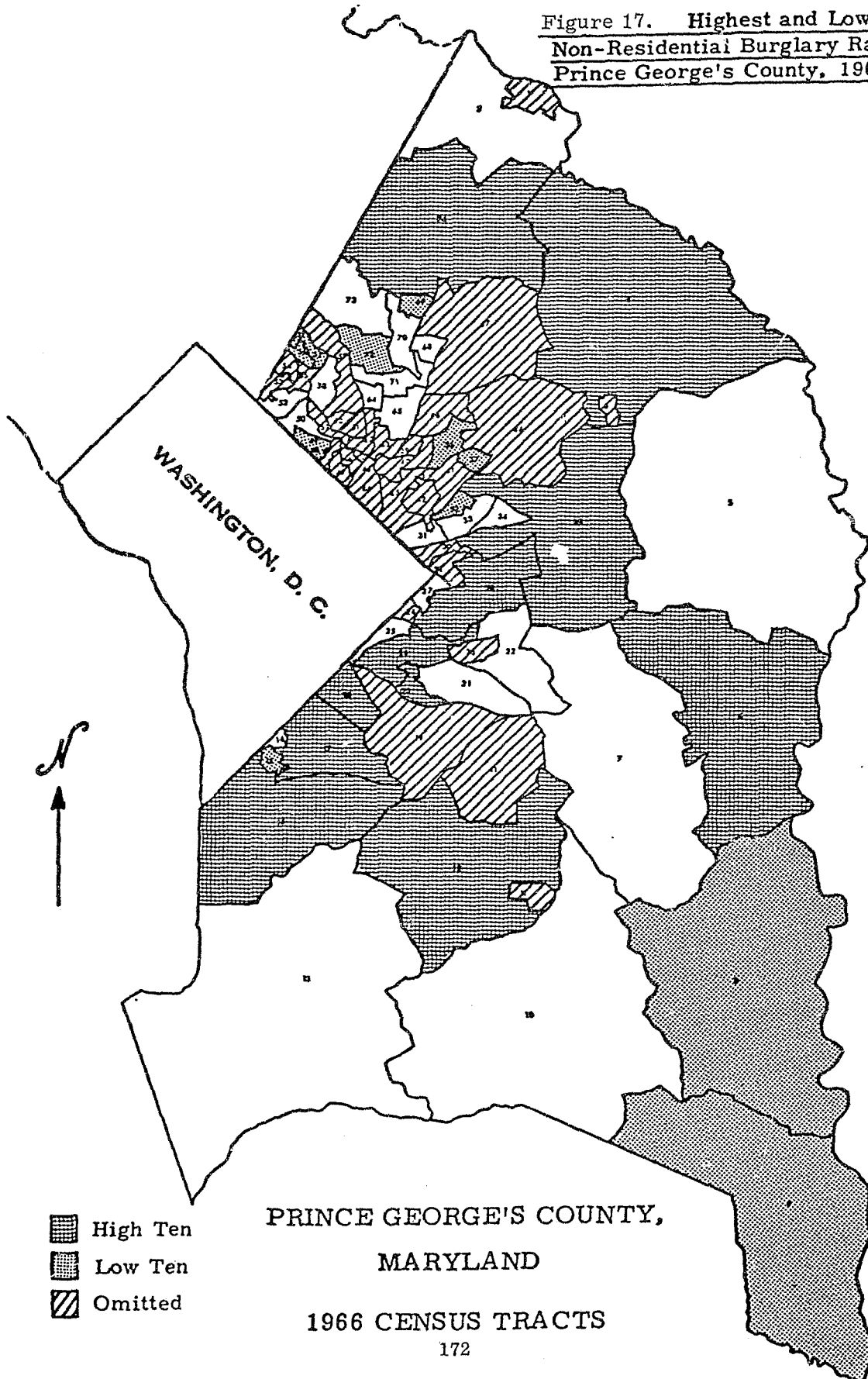


Figure 18. Highest and Lowest
Non-Residential Burglary Rate Tracts:
Prince George's County, 1968

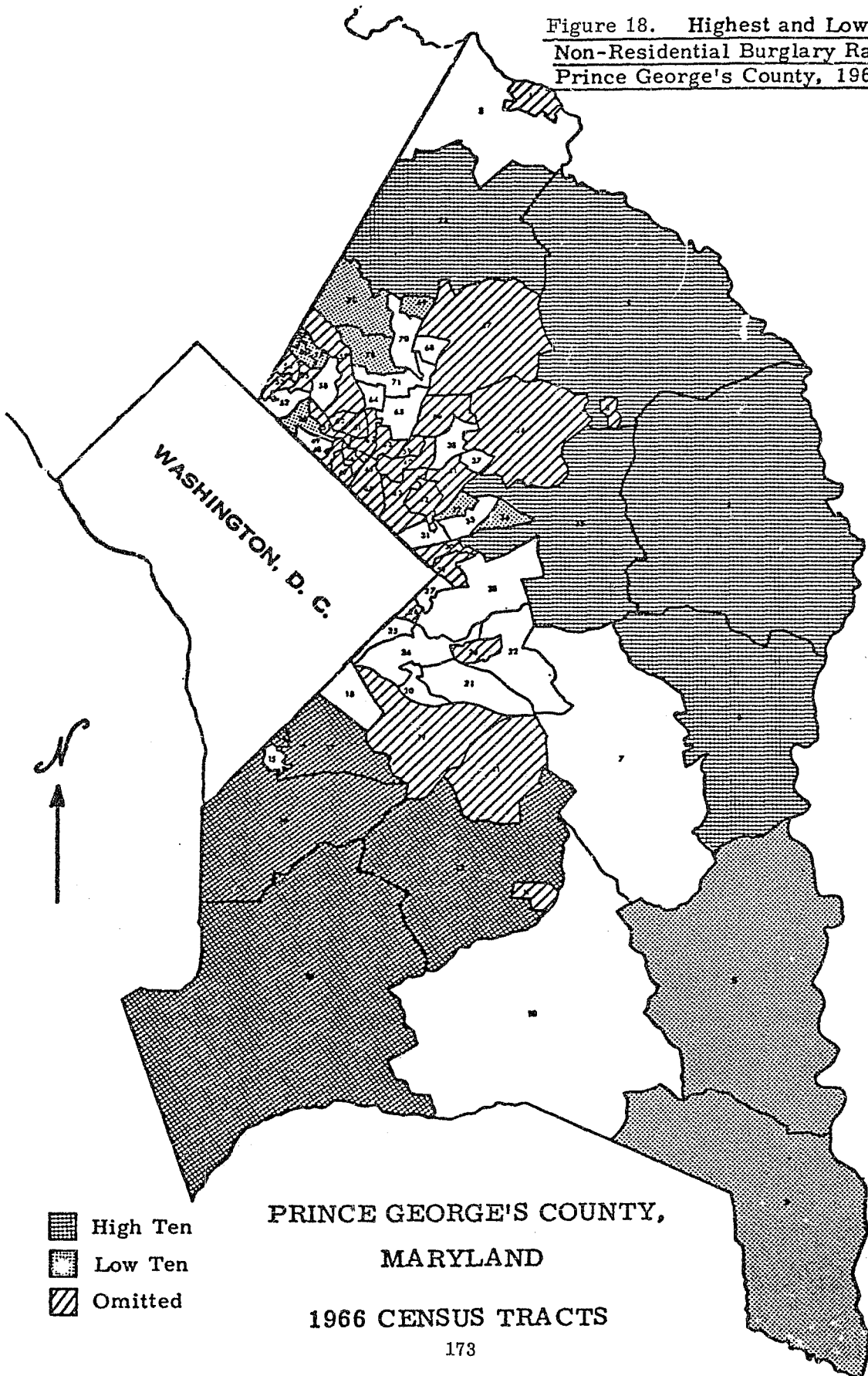
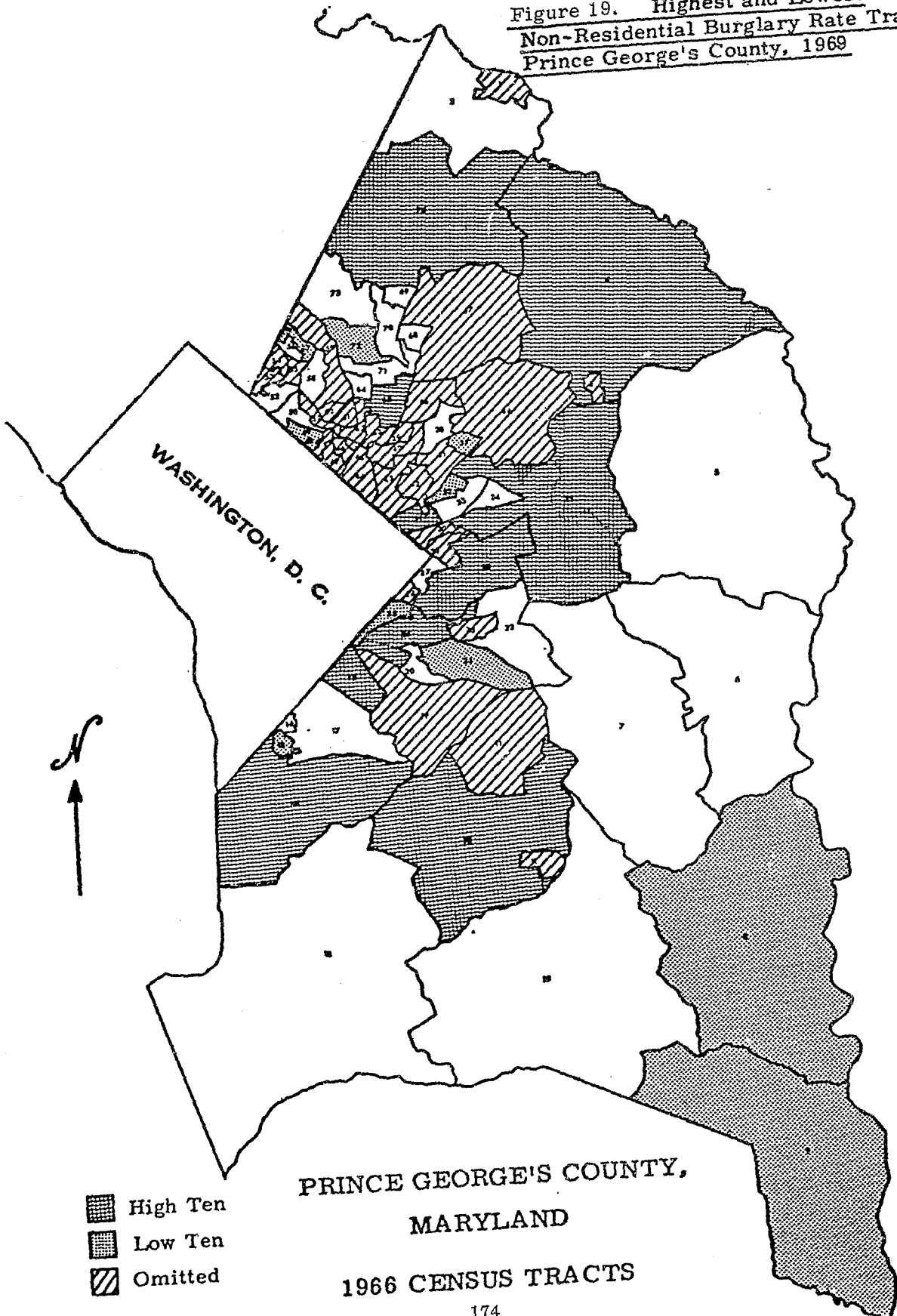


Figure 19. Highest and Lowest
Non-Residential Burglary Rate Tracts
Prince George's County, 1969



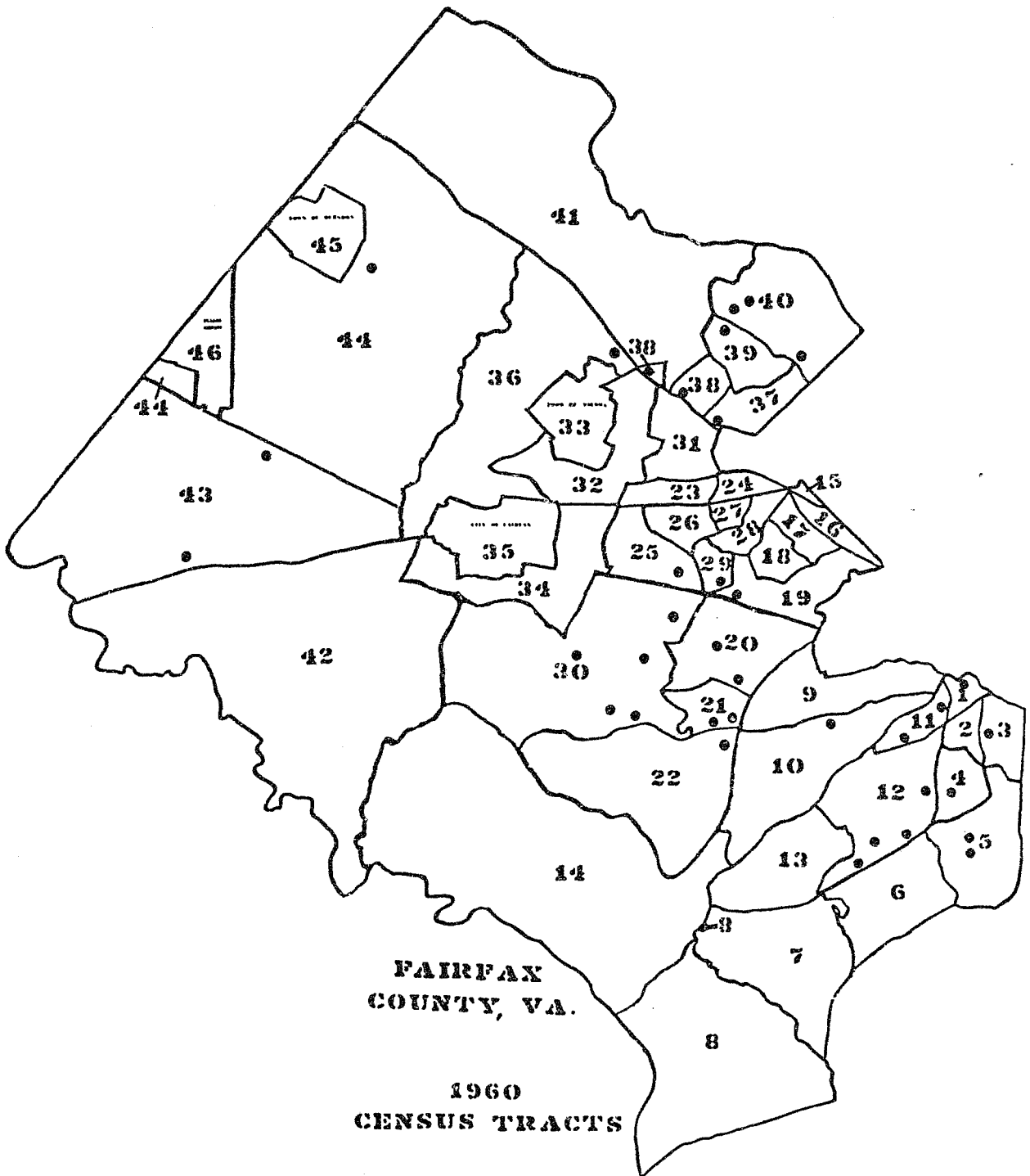


Figure 20. Location of Shopping Centers as of 1970 for Fairfax County.

Source: Homeseekers Guide to Fairfax County, Virginia. Prepared by Joel C. Miller, July 1970.

(A Joint Publication - The Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, The Housing Opportunities Council of Metropolitan Washington)

Table 32. Mean Burglary and Social Indicator Values
Across Census Tracts: Fairfax County, Virginia

	1967	1968	1969
Residential burglary rate	18.31	20.63	20.62
Residential Burglary frequency	40.56	52.85	53.23
Non-residential burglary frequency	40.51	39.97	34.23
Burglary total frequency	81.08	92.82	87.46
Population	9353.79	9842.64	10331.41
Percent white	94.87	94.85	94.92
Percent white, aged 5-24	20.18	18.69	17.46
Percent husband-wife households	89.28	88.87	88.56
Percent, aged 6-17	26.72	26.74	26.90
Percent rooming houses	1.00	1.00	1.00
Percent overcrowded	4.82	4.41	4.08
Percent black overcrowded	9.41	9.33	9.13
Percent black housing units	.79	.77	.77
Percent "lower" cost houses	58.41	55.95	53.28
Percent "lower" cost rentals	40.00	38.41	37.41
Percent owner occupied	64.67	64.13	63.54
Percent husband wife households with children under 18	73.03	72.95	73.08

Table 33. Intercorrelations Among Burglary Indicators:
Fairfax County, Virginia

	1967			1968			1969		
	RBF	NBF	BTF	RBF	NBF	BTF	RBF	NBF	BTF
1. Residential burglary rate	.16	-.09	.02	.41	-.12	.20	.27	-.17	.09
2. Residential burglary frequency		.66	.89		.66	.93		.63	.93
3. Non-residential burglary frequency			.93			.88			.87

RBF = Residential burglary frequency

NBF = Non-residential burglary frequency

BTF = Burglary total frequency

Table 34. Correlations Between Burglary Indicators
and Social Indicators: Fairfax County, Virginia

	Residential Burglary Rate			Residential Burglary Frequency			Non-residential Burglary Frequency			Burglary Total Frequency		
	1967	1968	1969	1967	1968	1969	1967	1968	1969	1967	1968	1969
Population	-.13	-.09	-.22	.74	.73	.73	.67	.73	.74	.77	.80	.81
Percent white	-.23	-.08	-.08	.01	.10	.11	.00	.04	-.05	.01	.08	.04
Percent white aged 5-24	.18	-.08	-.03	.20	.09	.29	.04	-.02	.18	.12	.05	.27
Percent husband-wife households	.19	.09	.00	.13	.07	.01	-.35	-.11	-.28	-.15	-.01	-.12
Percent aged 6-17	-.28	.11	.04	.07	.21	.18	.09	.18	.11	.09	.22	.16
Percent rooming houses	.08	-.00	.34	-.12	-.18	.02	-.16	-.10	-.10	-.16	-.16	-.04
Percent overcrowded	.07	.05	.22	-.34	-.32	-.30	-.22	-.24	-.16	-.30	-.31	-.27
Percent black overcrowded	.27	.08	.02	.38	.23	.20	.18	.11	.07	.30	.19	.16
Percent black housing units	.16	.13	.42	.00	-.08	.06	.02	-.04	.02	.02	-.07	.05
Percent "lower" cost houses	-.13	-.27	-.06	-.31	-.31	-.31	-.04	-.15	.01	-.17	-.27	-.19
Percent "lower" cost rentals	.12	-.04	.07	-.22	-.24	-.29	-.18	-.16	-.13	-.22	-.22	-.25
Percent owner occupied	-.06	.16	.08	-.14	-.01	-.07	-.03	-.03	-.02	-.09	-.02	-.06
Percent husband-wife households with children under 18	-.49	-.15	-.17	.00	.09	.04	.10	.15	.02	.06	.13	.04

Table 35. Mean Burglary and Social Indicator Values
Across Census Tracts: Washington, D. C.

	1968	1969
Residential burglary rate	36.53	53.85
Residential burglary frequency	73.28	106.53
Non-residential burglary frequency	38.85	34.48
Burglary total frequency	111.69	140.99
Population	6211.78	6210.10
Percent white	35.97	34.46
Percent white, aged 5-24	7.60	7.21
Percent husband-wife households	72.05	70.88
Percent, aged 6-17	17.15	17.35
Percent rooming houses	5.86	5.86
Percent overcrowded	11.87	11.91
Percent black overcrowded	69.45	70.25
Percent black housing units	17.27	17.60
Percent "lower" cost houses	54.56	51.69
Percent "lower" cost rentals	77.94	76.87
Percent owner occupied	27.75	28.29
Percent husband-wife households with children under 18	43.28	43.09

Table 36. Intercorrelations Among Burglary Indicators:
Washington, D. C.

	1968			1969		
	RBF	NBF	BTF	RBF	NBF	BTF
1. Residential burglary rate	.55	.30	.56	.51	.22	.54
2. Residential burglary frequency		.19	.80		.10	.91
3. Non-residential burglary frequency			.74			.51

RBF = Residential burglary frequency

NBF = Non-residential burglary frequency

BTF = Burglary total frequency

Table 37. Correlations Between Burglary Indicators
and Social Indicators: Washington, D. C.

	Residential Burglary Rate		Residential Burglary Frequency		Non-residential Burglary Frequency		Burglary Total Frequency	
	1968	1969	1968	1969	1968	1969	1968	1969
Population	-.09	-.06	-.43	.46	-.12	-.18	.22	.32
Percent white	-.38	-.46	-.21	-.28	-.25	-.13	-.30	-.30
Percent white aged 5-24	-.33	-.38	-.17	-.20	-.28	-.19	-.29	-.25
Percent husband-wife households	-.62	-.66	-.29	-.31	-.35	-.25	-.41	-.37
Percent aged 6-17	.25	.39	-.01	.09	.04	-.06	.02	.06
Percent rooming houses	.33	.35	.09	.14	.36	.23	.28	.22
Percent overcrowded	.62	.63	.26	.29	.37	.30	.40	.38
Percent black overcrowded	.37	.47	.22	.28	.19	.08	.27	.28
Percent black housing units	-.14	.00	-.20	-.10	-.01	-.07	-.14	-.11
Percent "lower" cost houses	.43	.42	.25	.24	.24	.13	.31	.26
Percent "lower" cost rentals	.45	.46	.29	.29	.35	.31	.41	.38
Percent owner occupied	-.45	-.30	-.46	-.35	-.25	-.25	-.45	-.40
Percent husband-wife households with children under 18	.16	.30	.03	.14	-.07	-.12	-.02	.07

Table 38. Mean Burglary and Social Indicator Values
Across Census Tracts: Prince George's County, Maryland

	1967	1968	1969
Residential burglary rate	23.08	28.95	31.41
Residential burglary frequency	25.20	26.85	28.25
Non-residential burglary frequency	13.92	11.40	11.45
Burglary total frequency	39.12	38.25	39.70
Population	8606.95	9154.35	9701.57
Percent white	79.72	79.10	78.27
Percent white, aged 5-24	22.50	21.72	20.85
Percent husband-wife households	88.97		87.67
Percent, aged 6-17	24.70	24.75	24.85
Percent rooming houses	1.77	1.77	1.77
Percent overcrowded	8.80	8.45	8.22
Percent black overcrowded	27.05	27.70	28.17
Percent black housing units	8.27	8.47	8.88
Percent "lower" cost houses	66.82	65.02	63.25
Percent "lower" cost rentals	62.42	61.02	59.72
Percent owner occupied	51.80	51.45	51.05
Percent husband-wife households with children under 18	68.50	68.47	68.57

Table 39. Intercorrelations Among Burglary Indicators:
Prince George's County, Maryland

	1967			1968			1969		
	RBF	NBF	BTF	RBF	NBF	BTF	RBF	NBF	BTF
1. Residential burglary rate	.52	.11	.44	.52	.14	.45	.41	-.07	.32
2. Residential burglary frequency		.62	.97		.60	.97		.34	.95
3. Non-residential burglary frequency			.80			.78			.61

RBF = Residential burglary frequency

NBF = Non-residential burglary frequency

BTF = Burglary total frequency

Table 40. Correlations Between Burglary Indicators and Social Indicators: Prince George's County, Maryland

	Residential Burglary Rate			Residential Burglary Frequency			Non-residential Burglary Frequency			Burglary Total Frequency		
	1967	1968	1969	1967	1968	1969	1967	1968	1969	1967	1968	1969
Population	.05	.14	-.15	.71	.79	.70	.75	.72	.53	.78	.84	.76
Percent white	-.30	-.44	-.63	.07	.06	-.01	.01	.18	.10	.06	.10	.02
Percent white aged 5-24	.08	.17	.03	.43	.46	.46	.23	.19	-.02	.40	.42	.38
Percent husband-wife households	-.34	-.28	-.46	-.01	.09	.01	.08	.23	.11	.02	.14	.04
Percent aged 6-17	-.19	.00	-.11	-.15	.02	-.14	.12	.16	.04	-.08	.06	-.10
Percent rooming houses	-.01	-.04	.16	-.08	-.16	.02	-.17	-.19	-.00	-.11	-.19	.01
Percent overcrowded	.09	.19	.43	-.24	-.18	-.12	-.09	-.23	-.19	-.21	-.21	-.16
Percent black overcrowded	.15	.40	.50	-.16	-.07	-.05	.04	-.13	-.11	-.11	-.10	-.08
Percent black housing units	.29	.40	.60	-.06	-.04	.04	-.04	-.16	-.05	-.04	-.08	.02
Percent "lower" cost houses	.39	.03	.30	-.10	-.29	-.24	-.46	-.42	-.28	-.22	-.36	-.29
Percent "lower" cost rentals	.20	.25	.50	-.24	-.25	-.14	-.28	-.36	-.26	-.28	-.31	-.20
Percent owner occupied	-.21	-.16	-.28	-.25	-.15	-.28	.03	.15	.10	-.18	-.07	-.20
Percent husband-wife households with children under 18	-.05	.04	-.05	.06	.06	.03	.03	.07	-.00	.05	.07	.02

Table 41. High vs. Low Residential Burglary Rate Tract Comparisons: Fairfax County, Virginia

	1967			1968			1969		
	Tracts exceeding median			Tracts exceeding median			Tracts exceeding median		
	High RBR ¹	Low RBR ²	p	High RBR ³	Low RBR ⁴	p	High RBR ⁵	Low RBR ⁶	p
Residential burglary frequency	5/10	4/9	n. s.	7/9	0/10	.01	7/9	2/9	.10
Non-residential burglary frequency	3/10	6/9	n. s.	4/9	5/10	n. s.	4/9	5/9	n. s.
Burglary total frequency	5/10	4/9	n. s.	5/9	3/10	n. s.	7/9	2/9	.10
Population	3/10	6/9	n. s.	4/9	5/10	n. s.	4/9	5/9	n. s.
Percent white	1/10	7/9	.01	3/9	6/10	n. s.	2/9	7/9	.10
Percent white aged 5-24	6/10	3/9	n. s.	3/9	5/10	n. s.	4/9	5/9	n. s.
Percent husband-wife households	1/10	3/9	n. s.	4/9	2/10	n. s.	4/9	5/9	n. s.
Percent aged 6-17	3/10	6/9	n. s.	4/9	4/10	n. s.	4/9	4/9	n. s.
Percent rooming houses	3/10	1/9	n. s.	3/9	2/10	n. s.	5/9	1/9	n. s.
Percent overcrowded	4/10	3/9	n. s.	5/9	4/10	n. s.	5/9	4/9	n. s.
Percent black overcrowded	8/10	2/9	.05	5/9	4/10	n. s.	6/9	3/9	n. s.
Percent black housing units	6/10	1/9	.10	3/9	2/10	n. s.	5/9	1/9	n. s.
Percent "lower" cost houses	3/10	6/9	n. s.	4/9	5/10	n. s.	3/9	5/9	n. s.
Percent "lower" cost rentals	5/10	4/9	n. s.	4/9	4/10	n. s.	5/9	4/9	n. s.
Percent owner occupied	4/10	5/9	n. s.	5/9	4/10	n. s.	4/9	5/9	n. s.
Percent husband wife households with children under 18	2/10	7/9	.05	4/9	5/10	n. s.	3/9	5/9	n. s.

185

¹1960 census tracts 43, 16, 40, 31, 19, 02, 08, 01, 32, 14.

²1960 census tracts 13, 23, 27, 26, 21, 30, 44, 10, 09, 34.

³1960 census tracts 18, 41, 06, 02, 20, 05, 11, 15, 01, 08.

⁴1960 census tracts 26, 22, 37, 10, 23, 39, 27, 32, 03, 24.

⁵1960 census tracts 02, 40, 18, 42, 01, 08, 25, 11, 41, 13.

⁶1960 census tracts 26, 23, 31, 37, 29, 38, 22, 30, 15, 20.

Table 42. High vs. Low Residential Burglary Rate Tract Comparisons: Washington, D. C.

	1968			1969		
	High RBR tracts* exceeding median	Low RBR tracts** exceeding median	p	High RBR tracts+ exceeding median	Low RBR tracts++ exceeding median	p
Residential burglary frequency	6/7	2/10	.05	8/8	1/10	.01
Non-residential burglary frequency	5/7	3/10	.05	7/8	2/10	.01
Burglary total frequency	7/7	1/10	.01	8/8	1/10	.01
Population	2/7	6/10	n. s.	3/8	6/10	n. s.
Percent white	1/7	7/10	.10	0/8	9/10	.01
Percent white aged 5/24	1/7	7/10	.10	0/8	9/10	.01
Percent husband-wife households	0/7	8/10	.01	1/8	8/10	.02
Percent aged 6-17	5/7	3/10	n. s.	7/8	2/10	.02
Percent rooming houses	4/7	3/10	n. s.	5/8	3/10	n. s.
Percent overcrowded	7/7	1/10	.01	8/8	1/10	.01
Percent black overcrowded	5/7	3/10	n. s.	8/8	1/10	.01
Percent black housing units	4/7	4/10	n. s.	7/8	1/10	.01
Percent "lower" cost houses	6/7	2/10	.05	8/8	1/10	.01
Percent "lower" cost rentals	6/7	2/10	.05	7/8	2/10	.01
Percent owner occupied	0/7	8/10	.10	3/8	5/10	.01
Percent husband wife households with children under 18	4/7	4/10	n. s.	7/8	2/10	.01

186

* 1960 census tracts 72, 70, 83, 64, 44, 73.4, 74.1, 37, 78.1, 73.5.

** 1960 census tracts 61, 03, 78.2, 10, 06, 79, 13, 14, 95.4, 16.

+ 1960 census tracts 72, 64, 74.1, 70, 78.1, 66, 81, 67, 73.4, 83.

++ 1960 census tracts 61, 07, 79, 12, 13, 03, 06, 14, 56, 57.2.

Table 43. High vs. Low Residential Burglary Rate Tract Comparisons: Prince George's County, Maryland

	1967			1968			1969		
	Tracts exceeding median			Tracts exceeding median			Tracts exceeding median		
	High RBR ¹	Low RBR ²	p	High RBR ³	Low RBR ⁴	p	High RBR ⁵	Low RBR ⁶	p
Residential burglary frequency	8/10	2/10	.05	9/10	1/10	.01	6/10	3/10	n. s.
Non-residential burglary frequency	6/10	4/10	n. s.	7/10	3/10	n. s.	5/10	4/10	n. s.
Burglary total frequency	8/10	2/10	.05	9/10	1/10	.01	7/10	3/10	n. s.
Population	5/10	5/10	n. s.	6/10	4/10	n. s.	4/10	6/10	n. s.
Percent white	4/10	6/10	n. s.	3/10	7/10	n. s.	1/10	9/10	.01
Percent white aged 5-24	5/10	5/10	n. s.	6/10	4/10	n. s.	6/10	4/10	n. s.
Percent husband wife households	2/10	7/10	.10	2/10	7/10	.10	2/10	8/10	.05
Percent aged 6-17	3/10	6/10	n. s.	5/10	5/10	n. s.	4/10	6/10	n. s.
Percent rooming houses	2/10	3/10	n. s.	4/10	6/10	n. s.	2/10	1/10	n. s.
Percent overcrowded	5/10	4/10	n. s.	6/10	4/10	n. s.	7/10	1/10	.02
Percent black overcrowded	6/10	4/10	n. s.	6/10	2/10	n. s.	8/10	2/10	.05
Percent black housing units	6/10	4/10	n. s.	6/10	4/10	n. s.	9/10	1/10	.01
Percent "lower" cost houses	6/10	4/10	n. s.	5/10	5/10	n. s.	6/10	4/10	n. s.
Percent "lower" cost rentals	5/10	5/10	n. s.	6/10	4/10	n. s.	8/10	1/10	.01
Percent owner occupied	4/10	6/10	n. s.	5/10	5/10	n. s.	3/10	7/10	n. s.
Percent husband wife households with children under 18	4/10	6/10	n. s.	5/10	3/10	n. s.	5/10	4/10	n. s.

287

¹ 1960 census tracts 25, 27, 28, 32, 34, 49, 31, 17, 16, 21.

² 1960 census tracts 08, 10, 09, 70, 71, 69, 06, 05, 73, 56.

³ 1960 census tracts 34, 25, 31, 06, 13, 28, 35, 18, 20, 21.

⁴ 1960 census tracts 08, 70, 09, 02, 37, 65, 73, 22, 74, 71.

⁵ 1960 census tracts 34, 31, 25, 35, 32, 33, 06, 20, 28, 16.

⁶ 1960 census tracts 08, 70, 73, 04, 37, 38, 69, 05, 02, 24.

CHAPTER IV

THE VICTIM

Table 44. Characteristics of Pilot Study Respondents

Residential		Non-Residential	
1. Sex		1. Sex	
Male.....	10	Male.....	20
Female.....	14	Female.....	4
2. Age		2. Age	
18-35.....	13	18-35.....	8
36-55.....	10	36-55.....	14
Over 55.....	1	Over 55.....	2
3. Race		3. Race	
White.....	11	White.....	11
Black.....	1	Black.....	1
4. Marital standing		4. Position	
Married.....	9	Owner.....	13
Single.....	3	Manager,.....	11
5. Occupation		5. Type of operation	
Not in labor force.....	12	Independent.....	16
Clerical.....	1	Chain store.....	8
Professional, technical managerial.....	9		
Service.....	2		
6. Education		6. Location	
High school.....	7	In shopping center.....	9
Some college or post- high school.....	3	Other.....	15
Post-graduate study.....	10		
7. Type of structure		7. Type of structure	
Detached.....	17	Retail sales.....	8
Apartment.....	3	Services.....	13
Townhouse.....	4	Other (school, etc.)....	3
8. Number of rooms		8. Floor space (in square feet)	
3-5.....	3	Under 5,000.....	20
6-8.....	8	15,000-24,999.....	1
9-11.....	10	Over 44,999.....	2
Over 11.....	3	Don't know.....	1
9. Length of time living at present address		9. Length of time in operation at present address	
Less than 6 months.....	3	6 months-1 year.....	5
6 months-1 year.....	6	2-3 years.....	2
4-5 years.....	7	4-5 years.....	2
6-10 years.....	4	6-10 years.....	6
Over 10 years.....	4	More than 10 years....	9

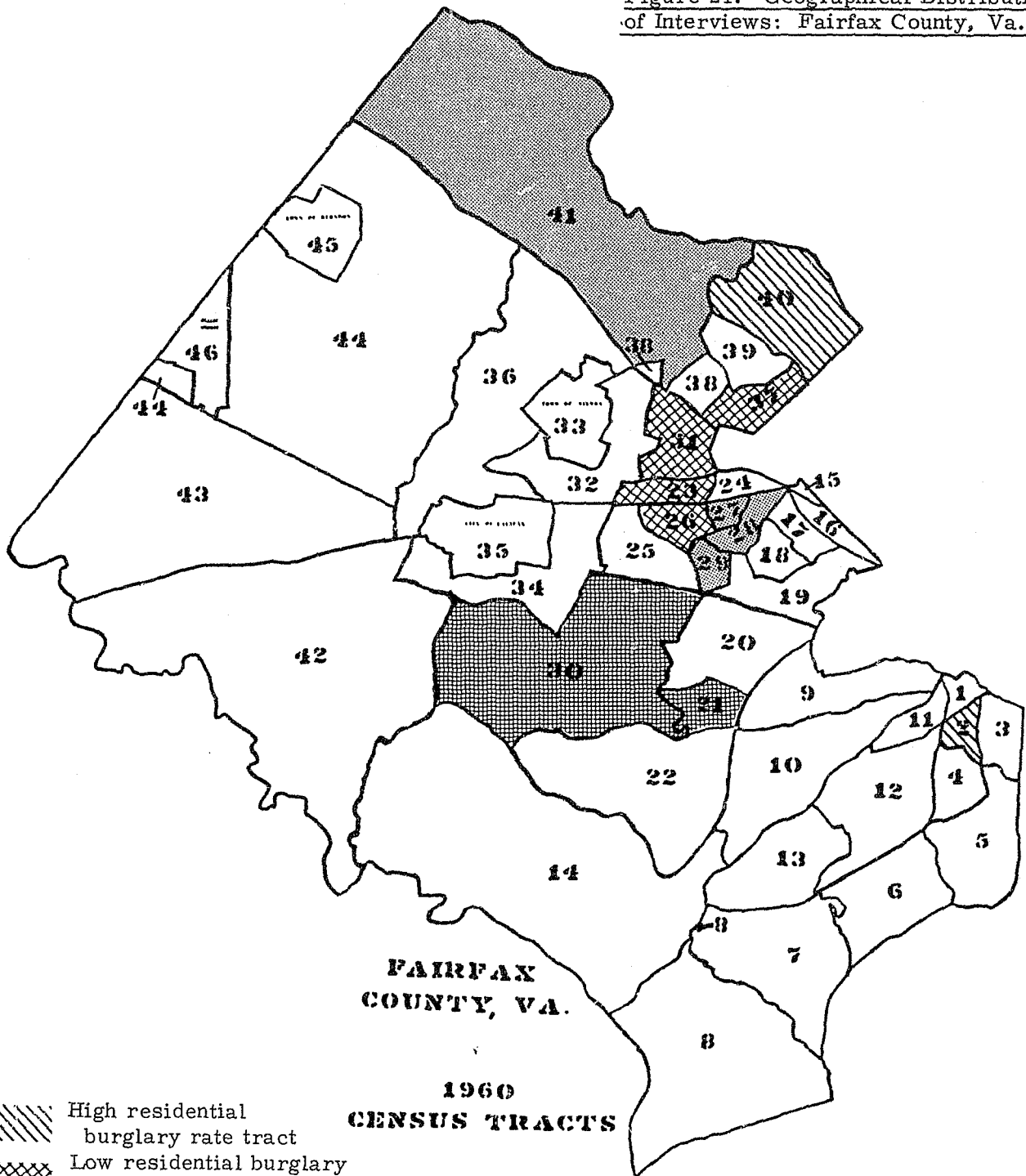
Table 45. Disposition of Residential Victim and Non-Residential Victim Addresses





Disposition	Fairfax County				Washington, D. C.				Prince George's County			
	Low		High		Low		High		Low		High	
	R/V	NR/V	R/V	NR/V	R/V	NR/V	R/V	NR/V	R/V	NR/V	R/V	NR/V
<u>Total listed offense sites</u>	91	82	100	100	100	99	100	100	88	93	100	81
Completed Interviews	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	16
Refused to be interviewed	--	5	1	5	8	2	1	7	2	4	2	4
Inappropriate Site												
Duplicated addresses	1	22	6	31	2	23	6	10	1	9	2	14
No such address/business	10	--	--	4	--	9	4	5	3	3	4	7
Vacant	3	2	--	--	1	4	1	8	--	--	4	--
No answer	15	2	15	3	17	--	7	--	7	1	15	1
New owner/tenant/mgmt.	34	7	6	8	8	6	7	8	23	12	23	10
No qualified respondent to interview	2	9	3	10	3	2	2	3	6	5	6	3
Not contacted	11	20	54	24	46	37	57	44	31	44	29	26

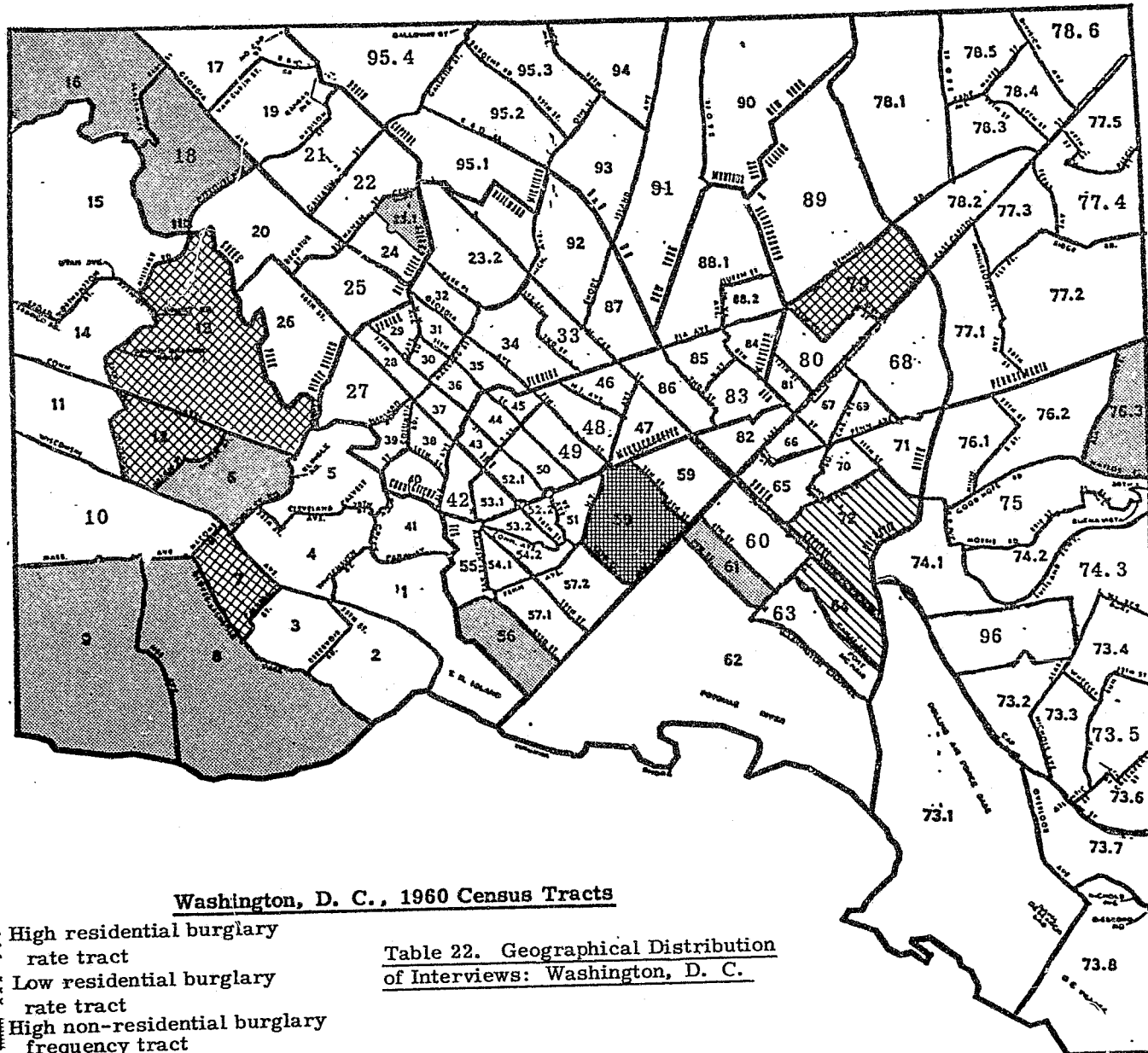
161

R/V = Resident Victim
NR/V = Non-Resident Victim

Figure 21. Geographical Distribution of Interviews: Fairfax County, Va.



-  High residential burglary rate tract
-  Low residential burglary rate tract
-  High non-residential burglary frequency tract
-  Low non-residential burglary frequency tract



Washington, D. C., 1960 Census Tracts









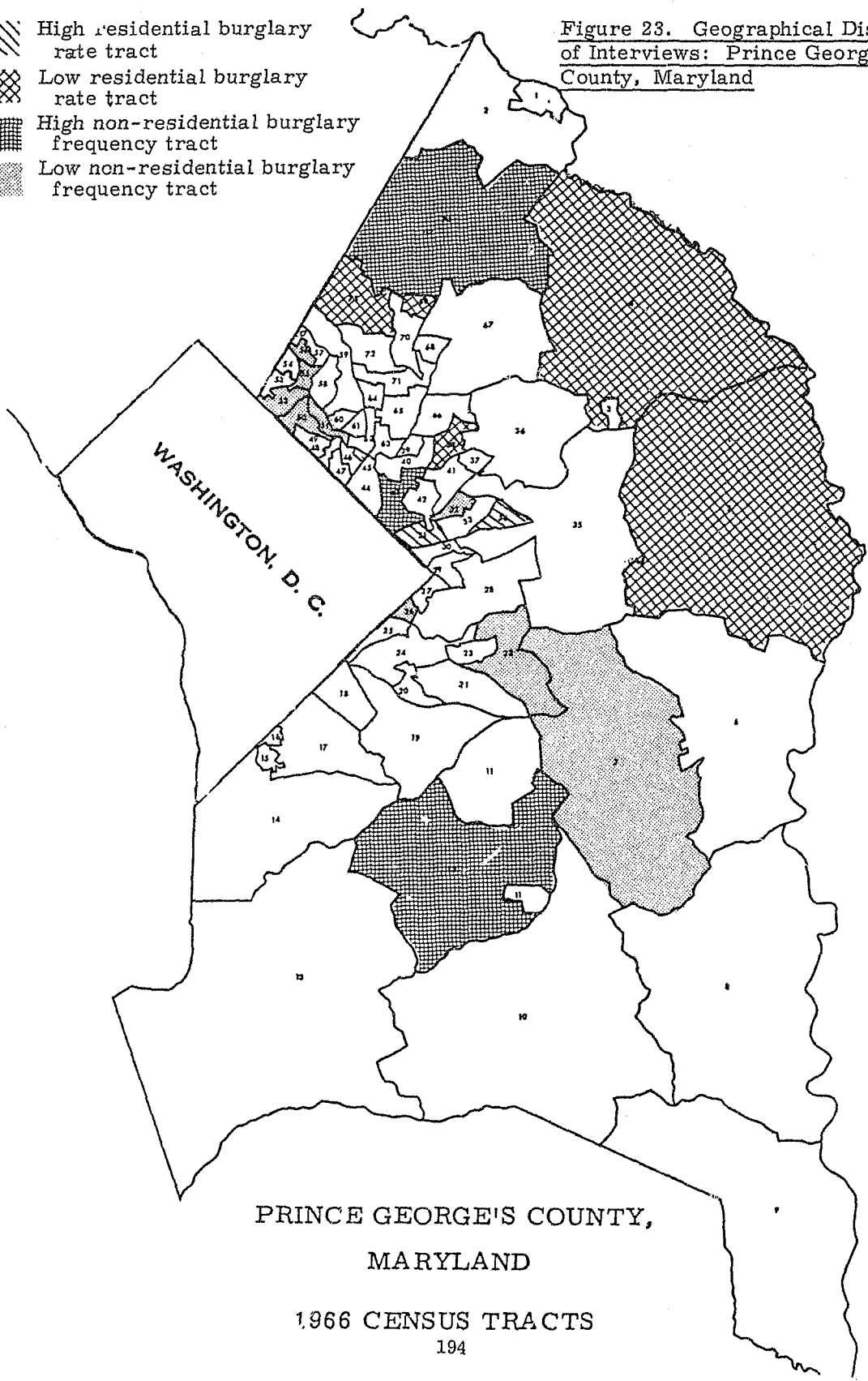
-  High residential burglary rate tract
-  Low residential burglary rate tract
-  High non-residential burglary frequency tract
-  Low non-residential burglary frequency tract

Table 22. Geographical Distribution of Interviews: Washington, D. C.

Figure 23. Geographical Distribution of Interviews: Prince George's County, Maryland

-  High residential burglary rate tract
-  Low residential burglary rate tract
-  High non-residential burglary frequency tract
-  Low non-residential burglary frequency tract



PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY,
MARYLAND

1966 CENSUS TRACTS

Table 46. Distribution of Respondents for Victimization Study Interviews

	Fairfax County				Washington, D. C.				Prince George's County				Total
	High		Low		High		Low		High		Low		
	R	NR	R	NR	R	NR	R	NR	R	NR	R	NR	
Victim	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	180
Non-Victim	15	14	15	13	15	15	15	13	15	11	15	10	166
Total													346

R = Resident
 NR = Non-Resident

Table 47. Percentage Distribution of
Age, Sex and Race of Respondants

Age	Resident		Non-Resident	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
18-25	4.4	8.9	7.8	1.3
26-35	16.7	15.6	13.3	21.1
36-45	22.2	18.9	23.3	35.5
46-55	24.4	25.6	35.6	25.0
56-65	23.3	23.3	17.8	9.2
Over 65	8.9	7.8	2.2	7.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sex				
Male	30.0	31.1	65.6	69.7
Female	64.4	66.7	23.3	28.9
Both	5.6	2.2	1.1	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Race				
Don't know	--	1.0	--	--
White	61.1	62.2	88.9	88.2
Non-White	38.9	36.7	11.1	11.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 48. Percentage Distribution of
Number of Stories in Sites Surveyed

Number of Stories	Resident		Non-Resident	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
One	34.4	32.2	55.6	51.3
Two	54.4	56.7	20.0	19.7
Three	10.0	8.9	13.3	17.1
Four to Six	0.0	1.1	6.7	9.2
Over six	1.0	1.1	4.4	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 49. Percentage Distribution of Physical Condition
of Premises Surveyed and Surrounding Premises

Respondent	Premises			Surrounding Premises		
	Dilapidated	Deteriorating	Sound	Dilapidated	Deteriorating	Sound
Resident/Victim	1.1	12.2	86.7	1.1	13.3	85.6
Resident/Non-Victim	--	8.9	91.1	3.3	20.0	76.7
Non-Resident/Victim	1.1	8.9	90.0	--	13.3	86.7
Non-Resident/Non-Victim	--	3.9	96.1	1.3	2.6	96.1

Table 50. Percentage Distribution of Location
of Sites Surveyed on Block

Location	Residents		Non-Residents	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
Corner	21.1	14.4	22.2	23.7
Near corner	26.7	30.0	21.1	27.6
Middle of block	44.4	51.1	38.9	42.1
Other	6.7	4.4	17.8	6.6
No response	1.1	--	--	--
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 51. Percentage Distribution of Respondent's View of
Surroundings: Obstructed or Unobstructed

Respondent	View Blocked by:					
	Trees or shrubbery	Fence or wall	Driveway	Enclosed porch	Other	Nothing
Resident/Victim	27.8	6.7	5.6	--	4.4	62.2
Resident/Non-Victim	18.9	5.6	2.2	1.1	5.6	71.1
Non-Resident/Victim	4.4	2.2	4.4	N/A	14.4	77.8
Non-Resident/Non-Victim	1.3	1.3	--	N/A	22.4	76.3

Table 52. Percentage Distribution of Availability of Parking
in Front, on Side, and in Rear of Sites Surveyed

Parking	Resident						Non-Resident					
	Victim			Non-Victim			Victim			Non-Victim		
	Front	Side	Rear	Front	Side	Rear	Front	Side	Rear	Front	Side	Rear
None	5.6	50.0	78.9	3.3	52.2	81.1	10.0	46.7	52.2	9.2	57.9	63.2
Street	74.4	10.0	1.1	85.6	10.0	2.2	34.4	8.9	2.2	39.5	9.2	3.9
Parking lot	3.3	2.2	5.6	3.3	--	4.4	40.0	26.7	21.1	43.4	22.4	11.8
Driveway	3.3	24.4	2.2	4.4	33.3	1.1	3.3	2.2	--	--	--	1.3
Garage	--	1.1	2.2	--	1.1	3.3	--	1.1	--	--	--	1.3
Alley	--	4.4	5.6	--	1.1	5.6	1.1	--	10.0	--	--	11.8
Loading dock	--	--	1.1	--	--	--	--	2.2	2.2	--	2.6	1.3
More than one of above	8.9	4.4	1.1	2.2	--	--	10.0	8.9	4.4	7.9	3.9	2.6
Other	2.2	1.1	1.1	1.1	2.2	2.2	1.1	1.1	5.6	--	--	--
No response	2.2	2.2	1.1	--	--	--	--	2.2	2.2	--	2.6	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 53. Percentage Distribution of Use of
Land Surrounding Sites Surveyed

Use	Resident						Non-Resident					
	Victim			Non-Victim			Victim			Non-Victim		
	Left	Right	Rear	Left	Right	Rear	Left	Right	Rear	Left	Right	Rear
Non-residential	4.4	4.4	3.3	--	1.1	1.1	75.6	66.7	47.8	86.8	85.5	56.6
Residential	84.4	86.7	75.6	95.6	90.0	83.3	6.7	10.0	21.1	5.3	9.2	19.7
Vacant lot	1.1	1.1	1.1	--	2.2	3.3	5.6	6.7	6.7	3.9	1.3	3.9
Vacant, Non-residential	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.1	--	--	--	--	--
Vacant, Residential	--	--	2.2	--	--	1.1	--	--	--	--	--	--
Building under construction	--	--	1.1	--	--	--	1.1	1.1	--	--	--	--
Wooded area	5.6	2.2	13.3	2.2	3.3	7.8	2.2	5.6	5.6	2.6	--	6.6
More than one of above	--	--	--	1.1	2.2	3.3	1.1	--	2.2	--	1.3	1.3
Other	2.2	4.4	2.2	1.1	1.1	--	6.7	10.0	14.4	1.3	2.6	7.9
No response	1.1	1.1	1.1	--	--	--	--	--	2.2	--	--	3.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 54. Percentage Distribution of Type of Block
on Which Sites Surveyed were Located

Type of Block	Residential		Non-Residential	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
Rural	--	--	1.1	1.3
Entirely non-residential	3.3	--	70.0	69.7
Mainly non-residential	2.2	--	10.0	14.5
About half and half	--	1.1	10.0	7.9
Mainly residential	5.6	2.2	6.7	2.6
Entirely residential	87.8	96.7	1.1	--
No response	1.1	--	1.1	3.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 55. Percentage Distribution of
Type of Site Surveyed

Type	Resident	
	Victim	Non-Victim
Single family dwelling	68.9	67.8
Duplex or attached single family unit	23.3	26.7
Multi-unit townhouse	1.1	1.1
Garden-type apartment	2.2	2.2
Highrise apartment	1.1	2.2
Apartment, other	1.1	--
Other	2.2	--
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 56. Percentage Distribution of Selected
Characteristics of Non-Residential Sites and Respondents

Length of Time at Site	Non-Resident	
	Victim	Non-Victim
Since 1968-69	25.6	52.6
Since 1966-67	24.4	15.8
Since 1960-65	28.9	15.8
Before 1960	20.0	15.8
No response	1.1	--
Total	100.0	100.0
Position		
Owner	24.4	25.0
Manager	34.4	38.2
Assistant Manager	1.1	2.6
Other	40.0	34.2
Total	100.0	100.0
Resident of neighborhood		
Yes	75.6	72.4
No	24.4	27.6
Total	100.0	100.0
Number of People Employed		
0-5	45.6	55.3
6-15	23.3	26.3
16-25	12.2	5.3
26-50	8.9	5.3
Over 50	8.9	6.16
	1.1	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 56 (Continued)

Establishment	Non-Residential	
	Victim	Non-Victim
Office	2.2	7.9
Church	4.4	--
School	3.3	--
Business	83.3	86.8
Other	6.7	5.3
Total	100.0	100.0
Type of Organization		
Corporation	54.4	55.3
Partnership	5.6	5.3
Sole proprietorship	25.6	26.3
No Response	14.4	13.2
Total	100.0	100.0
Part of a chain		
Part of a chain	24.4	30.3
Independent	57.8	53.9
Other	2.2	2.6
No response	15.6	13.2
Total	100.0	100.0
Floor Space		
Don't know	8.9	19.7
Under 5,000 sq. ft.	34.4	44.7
5,000-14,999 sq. ft.	25.6	18.4
15,000-24,999 sq. ft.	10.0	6.6
25,000-34,999 sq. ft.	8.9	1.3
35,000-44,999 sq. ft.	4.4	5.3
45,000 and over	7.8	3.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 57. Percentage Distribution of
Respondents by the Degree of Lighting on the Street in Front

Lighting	Resident		Non-Resident	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
Very dark	16.7	7.8	4.4	3.9
Dark	11.1	12.2	15.6	6.6
Average	33.3	36.7	43.3	48.7
Light	20.0	18.9	14.4	11.8
Very light	18.9	24.4	21.1	26.3
Don't know	--	--	1.1	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 58. Percentage Distribution of Respondents by
Amount of People and Motor Vehicles Passing in Front
in the Daytime/Nighttime

Daytime	Resident		Non-Resident	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
Sporadic	11.1	8.9	7.8	3.9
Very light	10.0	11.1	2.2	3.9
Light	21.1	18.9	6.7	6.6
Moderate	22.2	30.0	23.3	27.6
Busy	13.3	10.0	34.4	14.5
Very busy	21.1	20.0	25.6	42.1
Don't know	1.1	1.1	--	--
No response	--	--	--	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Nighttime				
Sporadic	12.2	8.9	7.8	3.9
Very light	15.6	15.6	17.8	14.5
Light	20.0	24.4	14.4	18.4
Moderate	27.8	24.4	27.8	23.7
Busy	13.3	11.1	8.9	11.8
Very busy	11.1	15.6	13.3	17.1
Don't know	--	--	10.0	9.2
No response	--	--	--	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 59. Percentage Distribution of Length of Time
Home was Unoccupied at Time of Burglary

Home unoccupied	Resident Victim
Don't know	5.6
Less than 20 minutes	--
20 minutes to one hour	27.8
2-4 hours	24.4
5-8 hours	5.6
9-12 hours	--
13-24 hours	3.3
25-48 hours	13.3
Over 48 hours	1.1
No response	18.9
Total	100.0

Table 60. Percentage Distribution of Length of Time
Premises Were Unoccupied at Time of Burglary

Premises Unoccupied	Non-Resider Victim
Don't know	2.2
Under 10 hours	46.7
10-15 hours	27.8
16-24 hours	4.4
25-48 hours	6.7
48-72 hours	1.1
Over 72 hours	1.1
No response	10.0
Total	100.0

Table 61. Percentage Distribution of
Place Burglar Entered Structure

Intruder entered:	Victim	
	Resident	Non-Resident
Don't know	2.2	5.6
Door	63.3	45.6
Window	24.4	33.3
Other	--	14.4
Door of garage	6.7	--
Window of garage	1.1	--
Garage, other	2.2	--
No response	--	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0
Don't know	3.3	5.6
Side	13.3	18.9
Front	34.4	35.6
Rear	44.4	28.9
Other	--	8.9
No response	4.4	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0
Don't know	2.2	4.4
Basement	18.9	7.8
1st Floor	72.2	75.6
2nd Floor	2.2	2.2
Above 2nd floor	3.3	2.2
Other	1.1	7.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 62. Percentage Distribution of How
Burglar Entered Structure and Instruments Used

How Intruder Entered	Victim			
	Resident		Non-Resident	
	1st Step	2nd Step	1st Step	2nd Step
Don't know	3.3	8.9	8.9	20.0
Open unlocked door/window	13.3	4.4	4.4	--
Cut or tear screen	13.3	--	1.1	2.2
Break glass in door/window	30.0	7.8	46.7	3.3
Use slip-lock method-plastic card	6.7	--	3.3	--
Pry open door/window	20.0	5.6	17.8	5.6
Use key	4.4	--	2.2	--
Other	7.8	5.6	15.6	10.0
No response	1.1	67.8	--	58.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Instruments used:				
Don't know	34.4	13.3	36.7	30.0
Hands	17.8	6.7	7.8	2.2
Key	4.4	--	2.2	--
Plastic card	4.4	--	2.2	--
Rock	5.6	3.3	14.4	--
Screwdriver	6.7	1.1	6.7	1.1
Cutting instrument	10.0	3.3	1.1	3.3
Other	11.1	--	27.8	4.4
No response	5.6	72.2	1.1	58.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 63. Percentage Distribution of
Successful and Unsuccessful Burglary Attempts

Did Intruder Succeed in Attempted Burglary	Victim	
	Resident	Non-Resident
No	15.6	15.6
Don't know	4.4	6.7
Yes	68.9	64.4
No response	11.1	13.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 64. Percentage Distribution of Preventive Measures
in Operation at Time of Burglary

At the time of the burglary:	Victim							
	Resident				Non-Resident			
	No	Yes	No response	Total	No	Yes	No response	Total
Were the doors locked?	11.1	85.6	3.3	100.0	2.2	97.8	--	100.0
Were the windows locked?	8.9	85.6	5.6	100.0	8.9	90.0	1.1	100.0
Were the lights on inside?	65.6	28.9	5.6	100.0	16.7	83.3	--	100.0
Was a radio, record player or TV on	82.2	11.1	6.7	100.0	--	--	100.0	100.0
Was a private guard on premises?	7.8	--	92.2	100.0	95.6	4.4	--	100.0
Was a dog on premises?	70.0	26.7	3.3	100.0	96.7	3.3	--	100.0
Was an alarm system in operation?	91.1	3.3	5.6	100.0	75.6	24.4	--	100.0
Were there any other measures?	92.2	2.2	5.6	100.0	96.7	3.3	--	100.0

Table 65. Percentage Distribution of Total Number of Protective Measures Being Taken at Time of Burglary

Number	Victim	
	Resident	Non-Resident
None	6.7	--
One	38.9	22.2
Two	35.6	50.0
Three	11.1	26.7
Four	--	1.1
Five	1.1	--
No response	6.7	--
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 66. Percentage Distribution of
Number of Types of Property Stolen

Types Stolen	Victim	
	Resident	Non-Resident
One	28.9	53
Two	21.1	18.9
Three	15.6	3.3
Four	4.4	2.2
Five	4.4	--
Six	2.2	--
Seven	1.1	--
Eight or more	1.1	--
Don't know	1.1	1.1
No response	20.0	21.1
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 67. Percentage Distribution of
Whether Following Types were Stolen

Was any Clothing, Home Entertain- Items, Household Goods, Jewelry, Money or Tools Stolen	Victim	
	Resident	Non-Resident
No	7.8	28.9
Don't know	1.1	1.1
Yes	70.0	48.9
No response	21.1	21.1
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 68. Percentage Distribution of Property Damaged at Time of Burglary, and Property Recovered After Burglary

Property Damaged	Victim	
	Resident	Non-Resident
No	54.4	38.9
Don't know	11.1	5.6
Yes	33.3	54.4
No response	1.1	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0
Property Recovered		
No	83.3	80.0
Don't know	3.3	4.4
Yes	7.8	11.1
No response	5.6	4.4
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 69. Percentage Distribution of Value of
Property Stolen and/or Damaged

Value	Victim	
	Resident	Non-Resident
Nothing	4.4	1.1
Under \$10	8.9	4.4
\$10-\$250	43.3	30.0
\$251-\$2,000	30.0	41.1
\$2,001-\$9,000	6.7	3.3
\$9,001-\$30,000	2.2	--
\$30,001-\$80,000	--	--
Over \$80,000	--	--
Don't know	--	14.4
No response	4.4	5.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 70. Percentage Distribution of
Seriousness of Crime

Seriousness of Crime		Victim	
		Resident	Non-Resident
Low	1	7.8	16.7
	2	8.9	4.4
	3	37.8	30.0
	4	32.2	38.9
	5	10.0	3.3
	6	2.2	1.1
	7	--	1.1
High	8	--	1.1
No response		1.1	3.3
Total		100.0	100.0

Table 71. Percentage Distribution of
Final Outcome of Suspect

Final Outcome	Victim	
	Resident	Non-Resident
No arrest made	60.0	61.1
Suspect arrested	8.9	12.2
Suspect found guilty	2.2	3.3
Suspect acquitted	1.1	1.1
Other	1.1	1.1
Don't know	26.7	21.1
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 72. Percentage Distribution of Offenses by
the Number of Times Victimized: Residential Victims

Number of offenses or attempted offenses in this neighborhood	Type of Offense												
	Stolen or attempted to steal motor vehicle	Stolen or attempted to steal part from vehicle	Damaged or attempted to damage vehicle	Malicious mischief or attempt	Taken anything from outside home (building)	Prowling	Disorderly conduct	Robbery or attempt	Rape or attempt	Other sex offense or attempt	Assault or attempt	Stolen anything else or attempted to	Any other crimes
No	91.1	73.3	68.9	64.4	76.7	71.1	87.8	96.7	97.8	97.8	96.7	92.2	98.9
Don't know	--	--	--	--	1.1	3.3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Yes, once	7.8	17.8	17.8	13.3	11.1	16.7	4.4	2.2	1.1	2.2	1.1	4.4	--
Yes, twice	1.1	5.6	6.7	5.6	3.3	3.3	1.1	--	--	--	2.2	3.3	1.1
Yes, three times	--	1.1	2.2	8.9	5.6	1.1	1.1	--	--	--	--	--	--
Yes, four times	--	--	3.3	1.1	1.1	--	3.3	--	--	--	--	--	--
Yes, five times	--	--	--	1.1	--	--	1.1	--	--	--	--	--	--
Yes, six times	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Yes, seven or more times	--	2.2	1.1	5.6	1.1	4.4	1.1	--	--	--	--	--	--
No response	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.1	1.1	--	--	--	--
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 73. Percentage Distribution of Offenses by
the Number of Times Victimized: Residential Non-Victims

Number of offenses or attempted offenses in this neighborhood	Type of Offense												
	Stolen or attempted to steal motor vehicle	Stolen or attempted to steal part from vehicle	Damaged or attempted to damage vehicle	Malicious mischief or attempt	Taken anything from outside home (building)	Prowling	Disorderly conduct	Robbery or attempt	Rape or attempt	Other sex offense or attempt	Assault or attempt	Stolen anything else or attempted to	Any other crimes
No	92.2	84.4	76.7	66.7	78.9	77.8	81.1	93.3	97.8	92.2	90.0	94.4	95.6
Don't know	--	--	--	--	--	2.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.1
Yes, once	5.6	7.8	13.3	13.3	7.8	15.6	4.4	4.4	2.2	2.2	8.9	4.4	1.1
Yes, twice	1.1	5.6	7.8	5.6	7.8	1.1	1.1	1.1	--	1.1	1.1	1.1	--
Yes, three times	--	1.1	--	2.2	2.2	1.1	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.1
Yes, four times	--	--	1.1	3.3	1.1	--	2.2	--	--	--	--	--	--
Yes, five times	--	--	--	1.1	1.1	--	2.2	--	--	--	--	--	--
Yes, six times	--	--	--	--	--	1.1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Yes, seven or more times	--	--	--	7.8	1.1	1.1	8.9	8.9	--	4.4	--	--	--
No response	1.1	1.1	1.1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 74. Percentage Distribution of Offenses by the Number of Times Victimized: Non-Residential Victims

Number of offenses or attempted offenses in this neighborhood	Type of Offense												
	Stolen or attempted to steal motor vehicle	Stolen or attempted to steal part from vehicle	Damaged or attempted to damage vehicle	Malicious mischief or attempt	Taken anything from outside home (building)	Prowling	Disorderly conduct	Robbery or attempt	Rape or attempt	Other sex offense or attempt	Assault or attempt	Stolen anything else or attempted to	Any other crimes
No	74.4	52.2	68.9	60.0	74.4	62.2	66.7	78.9	95.6	90.0	83.3	N/A	93.3
Don't know	3.3	4.4	3.3	3.3	7.8	6.7	2.2	3.3	3.3	4.4	2.2	N/A	7.8
Yes, once	11.1	14.4	7.8	8.9	5.6	10.0	10.0	8.9	1.1	4.4	7.8	N/A	3.3
Yes, twice	3.3	5.6	4.4	2.2	3.3	4.4	3.3	2.2	--	--	1.1	N/A	--
Yes, three times	3.3	3.3	5.6	4.4	--	5.6	2.2	2.2	--	--	1.1	N/A	--
Yes, four times	2.2	4.4	1.1	3.3	1.1	2.2	1.1	--	--	--	2.2	N/A	--
Yes, five times	--	4.4	1.1	4.4	1.1	4.4	3.3	2.2	--	--	--	N/A	--
Yes, six times	--	--	--	2.2	2.2	1.1	1.1	--	--	--	--	N/A	--
Yes, seven or more times	2.2	11.1	7.8	11.1	3.3	3.3	10.0	2.2	--	1.1	2.2	N/A	--
No response	--	--	--	--	1.1	--	--	--	--	--	--	N/A	5.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0

CONTINUED

3 OF 5

Table 75. Percentage Distribution of Offenses by the
Number of Times Victimized: Non-Residential Non-Victims

Number of offenses or attempted offenses in this neighborhood	Type of Offense												
	Stolen or attempted to steal motor vehicle	Stolen or attempted to steal part from vehicle	Damaged or attempted to damage vehicle	Malicious mischief or attempt	Taken anything from outside home (building)	Prowling	Disorderly conduct	Robbery or attempt	Rape or attempt	Other sex offense or attempt	Assault or attempt	Stolen anything else or attempted to	Any other crimes
No	82.9	61.8	78.9	63.2	81.6	80.3	73.7	76.3	97.4	97.4	85.5	N/A	92.1
Don't know	3.9	1.3	--	1.3	--	1.3	--	--	--	--	--	N/A	2.6
Yes, once	6.6	10.5	10.5	6.6	9.2	3.9	9.2	9.2	1.3	--	7.9	N/A	1.3
Yes, twice	3.9	10.5	2.6	7.9	2.6	1.3	3.9	3.9	1.3	1.3	2.6	N/A	--
Yes, three times	1.3	6.6	1.3	6.6	2.6	10.5	6.6	6.6	--	--	3.9	N/A	--
Yes, four times	--	1.3	1.3	2.6	--	--	--	2.6	--	--	--	N/A	--
Yes, five times	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.3	--	--	--	--	N/A	--
Yes, six times	1.3	1.3	--	2.6	--	--	--	1.3	--	--	--	N/A	--
Yes, seven or more times	--	6.6	5.3	9.2	2.6	1.3	5.3	--	--	--	--	N/A	1.3
No response	--	--	--	--	1.3	1.3	--	--	--	1.3	--	N/A	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0

Table 76. Percentage Distribution of Respondents
by the Total Number of Times Victimized

Number of Times	Residential		Non-Residential	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
One time	16.7	10.0	8.9	11.8
Two times	12.2	15.6	8.9	2.6
Three times	10.0	8.9	3.3	10.5
Four times	8.9	6.7	6.7	10.5
Five times	5.6	4.4	--	1.3
Six times	5.6	--	7.8	6.6
Seven times	3.3	5.6	7.8	3.9
Eight times	2.2	--	3.3	2.6
Nine or more times	14.4	21.1	37.8	22.4
None	21.1	26.7	20.0	26.3
No response	--	1.1	1.1	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 77. Percentage Distribution of Non-Residents by the Number of Times
Victimized Each by Bad Check-Passing, Shoplifting, and Employee Theft

Number of Times	Non-Resident					
	Victim			Non-Victim		
	Bad check	Shoplifting	Emp. theft	Bad check	Shoplifting	Emp. theft
No	30.0	18.9	63.3	23.7	13.2	73.7
Don't know	4.4	7.8	6.7	1.3	3.9	2.6
Yes, once	4.4	2.2	8.9	10.5	3.9	6.6
Yes, twice	3.3	2.2	3.3	7.9	2.6	3.9
Yes, three times	4.4	--	4.4	10.5	10.5	3.9
Yes, four times	--	2.2	3.3	6.6	3.9	1.3
Yes, five	11.1	2.2	3.3	2.6	1.3	1.3
Yes, six times	--	--	1.1	2.6	--	--
Yes, seven or more times	32.2	25.6	4.4	19.7	15.8	3.9
No response	10.0	38.9	1.1	14.4	44.7	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 78. Percentage Distribution of Non-Residents
by the Total Number of Times Victimized by Bad Check-
Passing, Shoplifting, and Employee Theft

Number of Times	Non-Residential	
	Victim	Non-Victim
Once	4.4	7.9
Twice	3.3	6.6
Three times	6.7	3.9
Four times	--	2.6
Five times	5.6	1.3
Six times	1.1	6.6
Seven times	2.2	1.3
Eight times	--	--
Nine or more times	44.4	35.5
None	31.1	32.9
No response	1.1	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 79. Percentage Distribution of Respondents
by Kind of Job Police are Doing in Their Neighborhood

Kind of Job Police are Doing	Resident		Non-Resident	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
Very poor	3.3	3.3	2.2	--
Poor	7.8	10.0	3.3	2.6
Average	26.7	25.6	16.7	14.5
Good	32.2	21.1	32.2	34.2
Very Good	25.6	34.4	42.2	47.4
Don't know	3.3	5.6	3.3	--
No response	1.1	--	--	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 80. Percentage Distribution of Respondents
by Whether or not There are any Ways in Which the Police
Are Not Doing a Good Job in Their Neighborhood

Police <u>Not</u> Doing Good Job?	Resident		Non-Resident	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
No	48.9	57.8	66.7	69.7
Don't know	17.8	14.4	7.8	7.9
Yes	20.0	18.9	15.6	14.5
No response	13.3	8.9	10.0	7.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 81. Percentage Distribution of Respondents
by Whether or Not They Would Like to See More Police Cars/
Police on Foot in Their Neighborhood to Reduce Crime

In Your Neighborhood, Would You like to see more Police Cars	Resident		Non-Resident	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
No	41.1	54.4	46.7	55.2
Yes	52.2	42.2	52.2	44.7
No response	6.7	3.3	1.1	--
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
More Police on Foot				
No	52.2	64.4	52.2	63.2
Yes	41.1	32.2	46.7	36.8
No response	6.7	3.3	1.1	--
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 82. Percentage Distribution of Victims
by Length of Time Before Police Were Notified

When were Police Notified	Victim	
	Resident	Non-Resident
Less than 5 minutes	61.1	41.1
5-15 minutes	14.4	16.7
1/2 hour - 1 hour	8.9	5.6
More than 1 hour	4.4	1.1
Next day	5.6	3.3
Week later	2.2	--
More than week later	--	--
Police discovered burglary	1.1	24.4
Don't know	2.2	7.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 83. Percentage Distribution of Victims
by Length of Time it Took for Police to Arrive

How Long did it take for Police to Arrive	Victim	
	Resident	Non-Resident
Never came to scene	1.1	--
Don't know whether or not they came	1.1	1.1
Less than 5 minutes	6.7	8.9
5-15 Minutes	45.6	25.6
About 1/2 hour	23.3	18.9
About 1 hour	7.8	7.8
More than an hour	4.4	1.1
Did not come that day	--	--
Don't know when they came	8.9	13.3
No response	1.1	23.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 84. Percentage Distribution of Victims by the Number
of Additional Personal Contacts Made by the Police

Additional Contacts Made	Victim	
	Resident	Non-Resident
No	41.1	34.4
Don't know of any more were made	2.2	11.1
Yes, one	30.0	14.4
Yes, two	12.2	15.6
Yes, more than two	7.8	12.2
Yes, don't know how many	4.4	10.0
No response	2.2	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 85. Percentage Distribution of
Victims by Satisfaction with the Police

How Satisfied were you with Police	Victim					
	Resident			Non-Resident		
	Promptness	Courteousness	Competence	Promptness	Courteousness	Competence
Very dissatisfied	3.3	2.2	1.1	--	--	--
Dissatisfied	3.3	1.1	7.8	1.1	--	4.4
Neutral	7.8	4.4	8.9	1.1	2.2	8.9
Satisfied	27.8	28.9	35.6	26.7	23.3	23.3
Very satisfied	56.7	63.3	45.6	64.4	72.2	61.1
No response	1.1	--	1.1	6.7	2.2	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 86. Percentage Distribution of Type of Problem by Whether or not They Exist in the Neighborhood, According to Residential Victims

Do These Types of Crime Exist in Neighborhood	Neighborhood Crime Reported by Residential Victims												
	Bad or Inadequate Public Transportation	Crime Problem	Inadequate Parking	Lack of Recreational Facilities	Problem with the Police	Poor Sanitation	Rats or Cockroaches	Rundown Housing (Buildings)	Poor Schools	Unemployment Problem	Unsatisfactory Shopping Conditions	Juvenile Delinquency	Other problems
No	67.8	43.3	N/A	66.7	95.6	84.4	76.7	77.8	88.9	88.9	73.3	68.9	92.2
Yes	17.8	24.4	N/A	12.2	4.4	8.9	12.2	13.3	7.8	8.9	17.8	10.0	3.3
Yes, it is the 2nd worst problem	6.7	13.3	N/A	7.8	--	4.4	5.6	4.4	2.2	1.1	5.6	12.2	2.2
Yes, it is the worst problem	7.8	18.9	N/A	13.3	--	2.2	5.6	4.4	1.1	1.1	3.3	8.9	1.1
No response	--	--	N/A	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 87. Percentage Distribution of Type of Problem by Whether or Not They Exist in the Neighborhood, According to Residential Non-Victims

Do These Types of Crime Exist in Neighborhood	Neighborhood Crime Reported by Residential Non-Victims												
	Bad or Inadequate Public Transportation	Crime Problem	Inadequate Parking	Lack of Recreational Facilities	Problem with the Police	Poor Sanitation	Rats or Cockroaches	Ruined Housing (Buildings)	Poor Schools	Unemployment Problem	Unsatisfactory Shopping Conditions	Juvenile Delinquency	Other problems
No	65.6	56.7	N/A	65.6	91.1	82.2	73.3	80.0	88.9	87.8	65.6	64.4	90.0
Yes	15.6	21.1	N/A	13.3	6.7	10.0	14.4	13.3	6.7	6.7	14.4	13.3	1.1
Yes, it is the 2nd worst problem	7.8	6.7	N/A	7.8	1.1	1.1	6.7	3.3	2.2	4.4	6.7	11.1	2.2
Yes, it is the worst problem	10.0	14.4	N/A	12.2	--	5.6	4.4	1.1	1.1	--	12.2	10.0	5.6
No response	1.1	1.1	N/A	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	2.2	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 88. Percentage Distribution of Type of Problem by Whether or Not They Exist in the Neighborhood, According to Non-Residential Victims

Do These Types of Crime Exist in Neighborhood	Neighborhood Crime Reported by Non-Residential Victims												
	Bad or Inadequate Public Transportation	Crime Problem	Inadequate Parking	Lack of Recreational Facilities	Problem with the Police	Poor Sanitation	Rats or Cockroaches	Rundown Housing (Buildings)	Poor Schools	Unemployment Problem	Unsatisfactory Shopping Conditions	Juvenile Delinquency	Other problems
No	67.8	42.2	73.3	80.0	95.6	91.1	88.9	86.7	96.7	91.1	N/A	67.8	85.6
Yes	8.9	7.8	8.9	8.9	4.4	5.6	7.8	7.8	2.2	6.7	N/A	12.2	3.3
Yes, it is the 2nd worst problem	7.8	14.4	6.7	4.4	--	3.3	2.2	2.2	1.1	1.1	N/A	13.3	6.7
Yes, it is the worst problem	15.6	35.6	11.1	6.7	--	--	1.1	3.3	--	1.1	N/A	6.7	3.3
No response	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	N/A	--	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0

Table 89. Percentage Distribution of Type of Problem, by Whether or Not They Exist in the Neighborhood, According to Non-Residential Non-Victims

Do These Types of Crime Exist in Neighborhood	Neighborhood Crime Reported by Non-Residential Non-Victims												
	Bad or Inadequate Public Transportation	Crime Problem	Inadequate Parking	Lack of Recreational Facilities	Problem with the Police	Poor Sanitation	Rats or Cockroaches	Rundown Housing (Buildings)	Poor Schools	Unemployment Problem	Unsatisfactory Shopping Conditions	Juvenile Delinquency	Other problems
No	68.4	63.2	72.4	80.3	100.0	89.5	89.5	93.4	98.7	88.2	N/A	71.1	93.4
Yes	9.2	10.5	5.3	9.2	--	7.9	6.6	5.3	1.3	6.6	N/A	6.6	2.6
Yes, it is the 2nd worst problem	11.8	2.6	7.9	6.6	--	--	2.6	--	--	2.6	N/A	7.9	--
Yes, it is the worst problem	10.5	23.7	14.5	3.9	--	2.6	1.3	1.3	--	1.3	N/A	11.8	3.9
No response	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.3	N/A	2.6	--
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0

Table 90. Percentage Distribution of Respondents
by the Number of Problems in the Neighborhood

Number of Problems	Resident		Non-Resident	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
One problem	17.8	17.8	25.6	31.6
Two problems	23.3	18.9	25.6	11.8
Three problems	8.9	15.6	17.8	18.4
Four problems	16.7	6.7	12.2	6.6
Five problems	11.1	10.0	5.6	3.9
Six problems	4.4	3.3	1.1	--
Seven problems	1.1	7.8	1.1	1.3
Eight problems	2.2	1.1	--	1.3
Nine or more problems	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.3
No problems	13.3	16.7	10.0	23.7
No response	--	1.1	--	--
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 92. Percentage Distribution of Type of Offense by Whether or Not
They are Committed in the Neighborhood, According to Residential Non-Victims

Are These Types of Offenses Committed in This Neighborhood	Type of Offense											
	Assaults	Auto thefts	Burglaries or breaking and entering	Disorderly conduct	Illegal drug use	Murder	Prowlers	Rape	Robberies of business	Shoplifting/ Employee Theft	Street robberies	Vandalism
No	83.3	57.8	32.2	74.4	72.2	93.3	73.3	90.0	76.7	77.8	80.0	50.0
Yes	15.6	33.3	38.9	20.0	15.6	6.7	25.6	10.0	15.6	20.0	18.9	31.1
Yes, biggest crime problem, don't know who commits them	--	2.2	6.7	--	1.1	--	--	--	2.2	--	--	--
Yes, biggest crime problem, committed by outsiders	1.1	5.6	15.6	--	--	--	--	--	4.4	1.1	1.1	7.8
Yes, biggest crime problem, committed equally by neighborhood people and outsiders	--	1.1	1.1	1.1	2.2	--	--	--	1.1	1.1	--	3.3
Yes, biggest crime problem, committed by neighborhood people	--	--	5.6	4.4	3.9	--	1.1	--	--	--	--	7.8
No response	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 93. Percentage Distribution of Type of Offense by Whether or Not They are Committed in the Neighborhood, According to Non-Residential Victims

Are These Types of Offenses Committed in This Neighborhood	Type of Offense											
	Assaults	Auto thefts	Burglaries or breaking and entering	Disorderly conduct	Illegal drug use	Murder	Prowlers	Rape	Robberies of business	Shoplifting/ Employee Theft	Street robberies	Vandalism
No	72.2	48.9	14.4	68.9	74.4	82.2	65.6	90.0	34.4	44.4	68.9	45.6
Yes	26.7	48.9	53.3	30.0	23.3	17.8	34.4	10.0	51.1	36.7	27.8	37.8
Yes, biggest crime problem, don't know who commits them	--	1.1	8.9	--	--	--	--	--	10.0	4.4	--	1.1
Yes, biggest crime problem, committed by outsiders	1.1	1.1	12.2	--	2.2	--	--	--	3.3	2.2	2.2	1.1
Yes, biggest crime problem, committed equally by neighborhood people and outsiders	--	--	2.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	6.7	--	5.6
Yes, biggest crime problem, committed by neighborhood people	--	--	8.9	1.1	--	--	--	--	1.1	5.6	1.1	8.9
No response	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 94. Percentage Distribution of Type of Offense by Whether or Not
They are Committed in the Neighborhood, According to Non-Residential Non-Victims

Are These Types of Offenses Committed in This Neighborhood	Type of Offense											
	Assaults	Auto thefts	Burglaries or breaking and entering	Disorderly conduct	Illegal drug use	Murder	Prowlers	Rape	Robberies of business	Shoplifting/ Employee Theft	Street robberies	Vandalism
No	82.9	69.7	42.1	63.2	82.9	92.1	88.2	94.7	43.4	51.3	76.3	53.9
Yes	15.8	26.3	51.3	28.9	15.8	7.9	11.8	5.3	38.2	22.4	19.7	26.3
Yes, biggest crime problem, don't know who commits them	--	1.3	--	1.3	--	--	--	--	--	5.3	1.3	1.3
Yes, biggest crime problem, committed by outsiders	--	1.3	5.3	1.3	--	--	--	--	9.2	11.8	--	5.3
Yes, biggest crime problem, committed equally by neighborhood people and outsiders	--	1.3	--	2.6	--	--	--	--	3.9	5.3	--	1.3
Yes, biggest crime problem, committed by neighborhood people	1.3	--	1.3	2.6	1.3	--	--	--	5.3	3.9	1.3	11.8
No response	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.3	--
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 95. Percentage Distribution of Respondents
by the Number of Types of Crime Committed
in Their Neighborhood

Number of Types	Residential		Non-Residential	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
One	15.6	21.1	7.8	13.2
Two	17.8	15.6	7.8	15.8
Three	13.3	10.0	14.4	11.8
Four	13.3	15.6	17.8	14.5
Five	13.3	10.0	8.9	10.5
Six	6.7	5.6	8.9	9.2
Seven	3.3	4.4	11.1	3.9
Eight	3.3	1.1	8.9	2.6
Nine or more	6.7	4.8	10.0	6.6
None	4.4	8.9	4.4	11.8
No response	2.2	--	--	--
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 96. Percentage Distribution of Respondents
by the Change in the Number of Burglaries Being
Committed from 1969 to the Present

Change in Number of Burglaries	Residential		Non-Residential	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
Decreased	23.3	10.0	23.3	14.5
Stayed about the same	25.6	26.7	30.0	23.7
Increased	23.3	25.6	28.9	21.1
Don't know	8.9	11.1	5.6	5.3
No response	18.9	26.7	12.2	35.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 97. Percentage Distribution of Non-Residents
by Their Perceived Chances of Being Burglarized/Robbed

Perceived Chances	Broken into or entered illegally				Robbed			
	Daytime		Nighttime		Daytime		Nighttime	
	NR/V	NR/NV	NR/V	NR/NV	NR/V	NR/NV	NR/V	NR/NV
Very low	43.3	43.3	20.0	30.3	32.2	36.8	11.1	21.1
Low	15.6	19.7	16.7	19.7	17.8	13.2	16.7	11.8
Average	16.7	13.2	24.4	19.7	27.8	31.6	18.9	11.8
High	3.3	3.9	12.2	10.5	6.7	6.6	10.0	10.5
Very high	7.8	2.6	21.1	9.2	13.3	10.5	8.9	6.6
Don't know	2.2	3.9	--	6.6	2.2	1.3	1.1	--
No response	11.1	13.2	5.6	3.9	--	--	33.3	38.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

NR/V = Non-Resident Victim

NR/NV = Non-Resident Non-Victim

Table 98. Percentage Distribution of Respondents
by How Worried They are About Being Robbed

Daytime	Resident		Non-Resident	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
Not at all worried	78.9	77.8	71.1	75.0
Just a little worried	7.8	13.3	18.9	14.5
Somewhat worried	8.9	11.1	6.7	6.6
Very worried	4.4	7.8	3.3	3.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Nighttime				
Not at all worried	46.7	40.0	33.3	44.7
Just a little worried	17.8	22.2	23.3	21.1
Somewhat worried	15.6	14.4	15.6	13.2
Very worried	16.7	18.9	17.8	13.2
Don't know	3.3	4.4	10.0	6.6
No response	--	--	--	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 99. Percentage Distribution of Residents
by Whether or Not a Fear of Crime Keeps Them from
Walking Alone at Night

Fear of Crime	Resident	
	Victim	Non-Victim
No	46.7	52.2
Don't know	2.2	2.2
Yes	51.1	45.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 100. Percentage Distribution of Residents
by How Worried They are About Their Homes
Being Broken Into or Entered Illegally

How Worried	Resident			
	Victim		Non-Victim	
	Daytime	Nighttime	Daytime	Nighttime
Not at all worried	33.3	32.2	40.0	28.9
Just a little worried	18.9	27.8	23.3	30.0
Somewhat worried	26.7	17.8	15.6	23.3
Very worried	21.1	22.2	21.1	17.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 101. Percentage Distribution of Resident Victims and Non-Victims
by Their Perception of How Effectively They can Prevent Themselves from Being Victimized

What Can Residents do to Prevent Vic- timization	Burglary		Robbery		Auto Theft		Assault		Rape		Murder	
	R/V	R/NV	R/V	R/NV	R/V	R/NV	R/V	R/NV	R/V	R/NV	R/V	R/NV
Nothing at all	3.3	3.3	14.4	13.3	4.4	5.6	5.6	8.9	7.8	6.7	17.8	17.8
Not very much	20.0	10.0	30.0	30.0	14.4	17.8	28.9	32.2	34.4	23.3	42.2	32.2
A little	10.0	13.3	11.1	11.1	13.3	8.9	15.6	13.3	10.0	14.4	4.4	14.4
Some	34.4	31.1	28.9	30.0	34.4	30.0	35.6	30.0	23.3	24.4	15.6	16.7
A lot	31.1	38.9	14.4	12.2	23.3	26.7	8.9	12.2	16.7	21.1	8.9	12.2
Don't know	1.1	3.3	1.1	2.2	10.0	11.1	5.6	3.3	7.8	10.0	11.1	6.7
No response	--	--	--	1.1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

R/V = Resident Victim

R/NV = Resident Non-Victim

Table 102. Percentage Distribution of Resident Victims
and Non-Victims by Potency Score

Potency Score		Resident	
		Victim	Non-Victim
Low	1	5.6	6.7
	2	34.4	27.8
	3	35.6	41.1
	4	24.4	21.1
High	5	--	3.3
Total		100.0	100.0

Table 103. Percentage Distribution of Non-Resident Victims and Non-Victims
by Their Perception of How Effectively They can Prevent Themselves from Being Victimized

What can Non-Residents do to Prevent Victimization	Burglary		Robbery		Vandalized		Employee theft		Shoplifting		Bad checks	
	NR/V	NR/NV	NR/V	NR/NV	NR/V	NR/NV	NR/V	NR/NV	NR/V	NR/NV	NR/V	NR/NV
Nothing	10.0	10.5	23.3	23.7	18.9	21.1	6.7	6.6	5.6	3.9	10.0	9.2
Not very much	22.2	15.8	22.2	22.4	21.1	38.2	11.1	9.2	7.8	10.5	13.3	13.2
A little	8.9	10.5	7.8	6.6	13.3	9.2	6.7	6.6	6.7	5.3	6.7	10.5
Some	26.7	30.3	27.8	26.3	21.1	22.4	22.2	23.7	15.6	17.1	20.0	17.1
A lot	32.2	28.9	16.7	17.1	21.1	7.9	31.1	36.8	11.1	18.4	23.3	31.6
Don't know	--	2.6	1.1	3.9	3.3	1.3	10.0	10.5	1.1	2.6	6.7	2.6
No response	--	1.3	1.1	--	1.1	--	12.2	6.6	52.2	42.1	20.0	15.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

NR/V = Non-Resident Victim

NR/NV = Non-Resident Non-Victim

Table 104. Percentage Distribution of Non-Resident Victims
and Non-Victims by Potency Score

Potency Score		Non-Resident	
		Victim	Non-Victim
Low	1	11.1	9.2
	2	21.1	27.6
	3	36.7	36.8
	4	27.8	23.7
High	5	3.3	1.3
No response		--	1.3
Total		100.0	100.0

Table 105. Percentage Distribution of Victims
by Types of Protective Measures they Feel Might Have Prevented Burglary

Protective measures	Victim	
	Resident	Non-Resident
No	37.8	44.4
Yes, better locks on doors	13.3	2.2
Yes, alarm	3.3	15.6
Yes, better locks on windows	3.3	--
Yes, lights on inside	--	1.1
Yes, other	40.0	34.4
No response	2.2	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 106. Percentage Distribution of Respondents
by Whether or Not Protective Measures Were/Are Taken

Burglar Alarm in Operation Then	Resident		Non-Resident	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
No	93.3		75.6	
Sometimes	--		--	
Yes	6.7		23.3	
Not relevant	--		--	
No response		100.0	1.1	100.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Burglar Alarm in Operation Now				
No	92.2	91.1	47.8	59.2
Sometimes	--	--	--	1.3
Yes	7.8	6.7	51.1	38.2
Not relevant	--	--	--	1.3
No response	--	2.2	1.1	--
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Light Left on Inside Then				
No	26.7		15.6	
Sometimes	2.2		--	
Yes	70.0		81.1	
Not relevant	--		2.2	
No response	1.1	100.0	1.1	100.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Light Left on Inside Now				
No	8.9	10.0	14.4	9.2
Sometimes	4.4	11.1	--	1.3
Yes	86.7	77.8	82.2	86.8
Not relevant	--	--	2.2	1.3
No response	--	1.1	1.1	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(Table continued, next page)

Table 106 (Continued)

Light left on Outside Then	Resident		Non-Resident	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
No	65.6		18.9	
Sometimes	10.0		--	
Yes	23.3		77.8	
Not relevant	--		--	
No response	1.1	100.0	3.3	100.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Light Left on Outside Now				
No	51.1	58.9	15.6	51.1
Sometimes	15.6	8.9	--	2.6
Yes	33.3	31.1	81.1	73.7
Not relevant	--	--	--	1.3
No response	--	1.1	3.3	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Dog on Premises Then				
No	65.6		95.6	
Sometimes	--		--	
Yes	34.4		3.3	
Not relevant	--		--	
No response	--	100.0	1.1	100.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Dog on Premises Now				
No	53.3	57.8	87.8	93.4
Sometimes	--	--	1.1	1.3
Yes	46.7	42.2	10.0	5.3
Not relevant	--	--	--	--
No response	--	--	1.1	--
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 106 (Continued)

Bars or Wire Mesh on Doors or Windows Then	Resident		Non-Resident	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
No	88.9		71.1	
Yes	11.1		26.7	
Not relevant	--		--	
No response	--	100.0	2.2	100.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Bars or Wire Mesh on Doors or Windows Now				
No	68.9	86.7	60.0	71.1
Yes	31.1	13.3	37.8	27.6
Not relevant	--	--	--	--
No response	--	--	2.2	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Private patrolman or Security Guard Then				
No	97.8		85.6	
Yes	2.2		11.1	
Not relevant	--		1.1	
No response	--	100.0	2.2	100.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Private Patrolman or Security Guard Now				
No	92.2	92.2	80.0	89.5
Yes	7.8	7.8	16.7	9.2
Not relevant	--	--	1.1	--
No response	--	--	2.2	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 106 (Continued)

Insurance to cover theft, vandalism or injury then	Resident		Non-Resident	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
No	36.7		15.6	
Yes	63.3		76.7	
Not relevant	--		1.1	
No response	--	100.0	6.7	100.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Insurance to cover theft, vandalism or injury now				
No	32.2	28.9	20.0	14.5
Yes	67.8	68.9	72.2	81.5
Not relevant	--	--	--	1.3
No response	--	2.2	7.8	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Chain lock with key on doors then				
No	84.4		96.7	
Yes	15.6		2.2	
Not relevant	--		--	
No response	--	100.0	1.1	100.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Chain Lock with key on doors now				
No	72.2	72.2	94.4	98.7
Yes	27.8	26.7	--	1.3
Not relevant	--	--	--	--
No response	--	1.1	--	--
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 106 (Continued)

Chain Lock without Key on Doors Then	Resident		Non-Resident	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
No	93.3		93.3	
Yes	6.7		5.6	
Not relevant	--		--	
No response	--	100.0	1.1	100.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Chain Lock without Key on Doors Now				
No	85.6	86.7	93.3	93.4
Yes	14.4	12.2	5.5	6.6
Not relevant	--	--	--	--
No response	--	1.1	1.1	--
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Dead bolt lock on any doors then				
No	90.0		73.2	
Yes	10.0		26.6	
Not relevant	--		--	
No response	--	100.0	1.1	100.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Dead bolt lock on any doors now				
No	55.6	71.1	58.9	57.9
Yes	44.4	27.8	40.0	42.1
Not relevant	--	--	--	--
No response	--	1.1	00	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 106 (Continued)

Bar Across Sliding Door or Window Then	Resident		Non-Resident	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
No	98.9		93.3	
Yes	1.1		5.6	
Not relevant	--		--	
No response	--	100.0	1.1	100.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Bar Across Sliding Door or Window Now				
No	93.3	96.7	88.9	96.1
Yes	6.7	2.2	10.0	3.9
Not relevant	--	--	--	--
No response	--	1.1	--	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Key Lock on any Windows Then				
No	97.8		98.9	
Yes	2.2		--	
Not relevant	--		--	
No response	--	100.0	1.1	100.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Key Lock on any Windows Now				
No	95.6	97.8	95.6	98.7
Yes	4.4	1.1	2.2	--
Not relevant	--	--	--	--
No response	--	1.1	2.2	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 106 (Continued)

Other Special Locks Then	Resident		Non-Resident	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
No	92.2		80.0	
Yes	7.7		18.9	
Not relevant	--		--	
No response	--	100.0	1.1	100.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Other Special Locks Now				
No	83.3	91.1	71.1	80.3
Yes	16.7	7.8	27.8	19.7
Not relevant	--	--	--	--
No response	--	1.1	1.1	--
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Other Protective Measures Then				
No	96.7		84.4	
Yes	2.2		11.1	
Not relevant	--		1.1	
No response	1.1	100.0	3.3	100.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Other Protective Measures Now				
No	84.4	82.2	70.0	73.7
Yes	14.4	15.5	25.5	21.1
Not relevant	--	--	1.1	2.6
No response	1.1	2.2	3.3	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 107. Percentage Distribution of Residents by Whether or Not Protective Measures Were/Are Taken

Protective Measures	Resident									
	Victim					Non-Victim				
	No	Some-times	Yes	No response	Total	No	Some-times	Yes	No response	Total
Usually someone home during day around time of burglary	45.6	11.1	42.2	1.1	100.0	--	--	--	100.0	100.0
Now	24.4	11.1	63.3	1.1	100.0	10.0	7.8	82.2	--	100.0
Usually someone home in evening before	3.3	5.6	90.0	1.1	100.0	--	--	--	100.0	100.0
Now	2.2	4.4	93.3	--	100.0	1.1	1.1	97.8	--	100.0
When no one was home was a radio left on before	84.4	5.6	8.9	1.1	100.0	--	--	--	100.0	100.0
Now	74.4	7.8	17.8	--	100.0	70.0	17.8	12.2	--	100.0
Doors locked, someone home daytime before	28.9	4.4	65.6	1.1	100.0	--	--	--	100.0	100.0
Now	21.1	3.3	76.5	--	100.0	21.1	16.7	61.1	1.1	100.0
Doors locked, someone home evening before	17.8	2.2	78.9	1.1	100.0	--	--	--	100.0	100.0
Now	14.4	3.3	82.2	--	100.0	20.0	8.9	70.0	1.1	100.0
Doors locked, asleep at night before	3.3	--	95.6	1.1	100.0	--	--	--	100.0	100.0
Now	3.3	--	96.7	--	100.0	--	1.1	97.8	1.1	100.0
Doors locked, home vacant less than an hour before	7.8	1.1	90.0	1.1	100.0	--	--	--	100.0	100.0
Now	5.6	2.2	92.2	--	100.0	5.6	6.7	86.7	1.1	100.0
Doors locked, home vacant more than an hour before	3.3	--	95.6	1.1	100.0	--	--	--	100.0	100.0
Now	2.2	--	97.8	--	100.0	2.2	2.2	94.4	1.1	100.0
Windows locked, someone home before	15.6	10.0	73.3	1.1	100.0	--	--	--	100.0	100.0
Now	10.0	8.9	81.1	--	100.0	23.3	20.0	55.6	1.1	100.0
Windows locked, no one home before	4.4	3.3	91.1	1.1	100.0	--	--	--	100.0	100.0
Now	3.3	3.3	93.3	--	100.0	6.7	7.8	84.4	1.1	100.0

Table 108. Percentage Distribution of Residents by Whether or Not
Measures Were/Are Taken to Protect Homes While on Vacation

Protective Measures	Resident									
	Victim					Non-Victim				
	No	Don't know	Yes	No response	Total	No	Don't know	Yes	No response	Total
Did you keep a list of serial numbers before	73.3	--	26.7	--	100.0	--	--	--	100.0	100.0
Now	51.1	--	48.9	--	100.0	57.8	--	41.1	1.1	100.0
Deliveries cancelled during vacation before	17.8	2.2	61.1	18.9	100.0	--	--	--	100.0	100.0
Now	13.3	2.2	64.4	20.0	100.0	11.1	--	57.8	31.1	100.0
Neighbor watch residence during vacation before	11.1	3.3	66.7	18.9	100.0	--	--	--	100.0	100.0
Now	7.8	3.3	68.9	20.0	100.0	10.0	--	58.9	31.1	100.0
Friend check on residence during vacation before	42.2	--	38.9	18.9	100.0	--	--	--	100.0	100.0
Now	34.4	--	45.6	20.0	100.0	32.2	--	36.7	31.1	100.0
Notify police of absence during vacation before	63.3	--	17.8	18.9	100.0	--	--	--	100.0	100.0
Now	56.7	--	23.3	20.0	100.0	51.1	--	17.8	31.1	100.0
Protect home during vacation other ways before	71.1	2.2	7.8	18.9	100.0	--	--	--	100.0	100.0
Now	58.9	2.2	18.9	20.0	100.0	53.3	--	15.6	31.1	100.0

Table 109. Percentage Distribution of Residents by Number
of Measures Taken to Protect Homes While on Vacation

Number of Measures	Resident		
	Victim		Non-Victim
	Before	Now	Now
One	10.0	6.7	7.8
Two	31.1	25.6	23.3
Three	20.0	24.4	23.3
Four	15.6	18.9	13.3
Five	1.1	4.4	2.2
None	3.3	--	1.1
No response	18.9	20.0	28.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 110. Percentage Distribution of Non-Residents by Whether
or Not Protective Measures Were/Are Taken

Protective Measures	Non-Resident											
	Victim						Non-Victim					
	No	Some- times	Yes	Not relevant	No resp.	Total	No	Some- times	Yes	Not relevant	No resp.	Total
Cash drawers left empty after closing before	20.0	1.1	52.2	21.1	5.6	100.0	--	--	--	--	100.0	100.0
Now	16.7	1.1	55.6	21.1	5.6	100.0	17.1	1.3	59.2	21.1	1.3	100.0
Cash drawers left visibly open before	21.1	--	34.4	1.1	43.3	100.0	--	--	--	--	100.0	100.0
Now	18.9	--	38.9	1.1	41.1	100.0	27.6	--	35.5	--	36.8	100.0
Money removed each day before	21.1	1.1	64.4	10.0	3.3	100.0	--	--	--	--	100.0	100.0
Now	18.9	1.1	65.6	11.1	3.3	100.0	26.3	1.3	60.5	10.5	1.3	100.0
Items removed from windows before	27.8	1.1	4.4	56.7	10.0	100.0	--	--	--	--	100.0	100.0
Now	28.9	1.1	2.2	56.7	11.1	100.0	36.8	--	2.6	57.9	2.6	100.0
Burglar resistant glass in windows before	84.4	--	7.8	--	7.8	100.0	--	--	--	--	100.0	100.0
Now	80.0	--	13.3	--	6.7	100.0	73.7	--	19.7	--	6.6	100.0
Safe on premises before	44.4	--	52.2	--	3.3	100.0	--	--	--	--	100.0	100.0
Now	50.0	--	44.4	--	5.6	100.0	48.7	--	50.0	--	1.3	100.0
Safe visible from outside before	40.0	--	12.2	--	47.8	100.0	--	--	--	--	100.0	100.0
Now	35.6	--	11.1	7.8	45.6	100.0	31.6	--	19.7	--	48.7	100.0
Security guard on premises before	90.0	--	6.7	1.1	2.2	100.0	--	--	--	--	100.0	100.0
Now	85.6	--	10.0	2.2	2.2	100.0	93.4	--	3.9	--	2.6	100.0

Table 111. Percentage Distribution of Protective Measures by Change in Situation from Time of Burglary to Now: Resident and Non-Resident Victims

Protection with respect to:	Victim									
	Resident					Non-Resident				
	Less	Same	More	No response	Total	Less	Same	More	No response	Total
Burglar alarm	3.3	95.6	1.1	--	100.0	--	71.1	27.8	1.1	100.0
Light left on inside	3.3	77.8	17.8	1.1	100.0	1.1	93.3	2.2	3.3	100.0
Light left on outside	5.6	77.8	15.6	1.1	100.0	--	93.3	3.3	3.3	100.0
Dog on premises	8.9	74.4	16.7	--	100.0	2.2	86.7	10.0	1.1	100.0
Bars or wire mesh on windows	3.3	76.7	20.0	--	100.0	--	85.6	11.1	3.3	100.0
Private patrolman or guard	5.6	88.9	5.6	--	100.0	1.1	88.9	6.7	3.3	100.0
Insurance	3.3	92.2	4.4	--	100.0	5.6	87.8	1.1	5.6	100.0
Special locks	3.3	43.3	53.3	--	100.0	1.1	68.9	27.8	2.2	100.0
Other measures	5.6	83.3	11.1	--	100.0	1.1	78.9	16.7	3.3	100.0

Table 112. Percentage Distribution of
Protective Measures by Change in Situation from
Time of Burglary to Now: Resident Victims

Protective measures	Change in Protection				
	Less	Same	More	No response	Total
Someone home during day	5.6	64.4	28.9	1.1	100.0
Someone home in evening	1.1	94.4	3.3	1.1	100.0
Radio left on	--	88.9	10.0	1.1	100.0
Doors locked/someone home/ daytime	--	87.8	11.1	1.1	100.0
Doors locked/someone home/ evening	1.1	94.4	3.3	1.1	100.0
Doors locked/asleep/night	--	98.9	--	1.1	100.0
Doors locked/home left vacant less than one hour	--	95.6	3.3	1.1	100.0
Doors locked/home left vacant more than one hour	--	96.7	2.2	1.1	100.0
Windows locked/someone home	--	92.2	6.7	1.1	100.0
Windows locked/no one home	--	97.8	1.1	1.1	100.0
Serial numbers	--	78.9	21.1	--	100.0
Vacations	--	60.0	21.1	18.9	100.0

Table 113. Percentage Distribution of
Protective Measures by Change in Situation from
Time of Burglary to Now: Non-Resident Victims

Protective Measures	Change in Protection				
	Less	Same	More	No response	Total
Cash drawers empty	--	71.1	3.3	25.6	100.0
Cash drawers visible	--	53.3	2.2	44.4	100.0
Money removed from premises each day	--	83.3	3.3	13.3	100.0
Items removed from window each day	--	32.2	2.2	65.6	100.0
Burglar resistant glass in windows	1.1	85.6	5.6	7.8	100.0
Safe on premises	7.8	86.7	2.2	3.3	100.0
Safe being visible	--	42.2	3.3	54.4	100.0
Guard on premises	1.1	91.1	4.4	3.3	100.0

Table 114. Percentage Distribution of Respondents by
Number of Types of Special Locks on Doors and Windows

Total Then	Resident		Non-Resident	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
One	27.8		44.4	
Two	4.4		6.7	
Three	2.2		--	
None	65.6		46.7	
No response	--		2.2	
Total	100.0		100.0	
Total Now				
One	44.4	41.1	48.9	57.9
Two	26.7	16.7	13.3	7.9
Three	5.6	1.1	4.4	--
None	23.3	40.0	31.1	34.2
No response	--	1.1	2.2	--
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 115. Distribution of Respondents by Whether or Not
Respondents Have ever Gotten Together with Any Group
of People to Discuss the Problem of Crime

Have you gotten together with any group of people	Residential		Non-Residential	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
No one got together	77.8	80.0	73.3	84.2
Don't know if anyone got together	1.1	5.6	6.7	1.3
Yes, but no action taken	5.6	3.3	3.3	5.3
Yes, but don't know if action was taken	6.7	1.1	3.3	--
Yes, and action was taken	7.8	10.0	12.2	9.2
No response	1.1	--	1.1	--
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 116. Percentage Distribution of Residents by
What They Would Like to See Done to Reduce Crime

In Your Neighborhood, Would You Like to See:	Resident							
	Victim				Non-Victim			
	No	Yes	No Response	Total	No	Yes	No response	Total
Better street lighting	40.0	53.3	6.7	100.0	54.4	42.2	3.3	100.0
More programs for youth	40.0	53.3	6.7	100.0	46.7	50.0	3.3	100.0
Stronger police powers	43.3	48.9	7.8	100.0	65.6	31.1	3.3	100.0
More crackdown on offenders	31.1	62.2	6.7	100.0	38.9	57.8	3.3	100.0
Anything else	71.1	22.2	6.7	100.0	72.2	24.4	3.3	100.0

Table 117. Percentage Distribution of Non-Residents by
What They Would Like to See Done to Reduce Crime

In Your Neighborhood, Would You Like to See:	Non-Resident							
	Victim				Non-Victim			
	No	Yes	No Response	Total	No	Yes	No response	Total
Better street lighting	61.1	37.8	1.1	100.0	53.9	46.1	--	100.0
More programs for youth	54.4	44.4	1.1	100.0	47.4	52.6	--	100.0
Stronger police powers	48.9	50.0	1.1	100.0	60.5	39.5	--	100.0
More crackdown on offenders	30.0	68.9	1.1	100.0	36.8	61.8	1.3	100.0
Anything else	66.7	31.1	2.2	100.0	78.9	21.1	--	100.0

Table 118. Percentage Distribution of Respondents by
How Many Things They Would Like to See Done to Reduce Crime

How Many	Resident		Non-Resident	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
Nothing	6.7	7.8	2.2	1.3
One	7.8	20.0	11.1	10.5
Two	11.1	21.1	15.6	22.4
Three	17.8	12.2	16.7	10.5
Four	17.8	13.3	23.3	22.4
Five	18.9	11.1	21.1	15.8
Six	13.3	7.8	6.7	5.3
Seven	--	--	--	2.6
No crime in neighborhood	3.3	6.7	2.2	9.2
No response	3.3	--	1.1	--
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 119. Percentage Distribution of Respondents by
Whether or Not They Have Read, Seen, or Heard Material
on How to Protect Against Burglary

Read, Seen or Heard	Resident		Non-Resident	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
No	17.8	11.1	35.6	56.1
Don't know	2.2	5.6	3.3	6.6
Yes	80.0	83.3	61.1	47.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 120. Percentage Distribution of Residents by Where They Have Read,
Seen or Heard Material on How to Protect Against Burglary

Have you ever:	Resident							
	Victim				Non-Victim			
	No	Yes	No response	Total	No	Yes	No response	Total
Read magazine or newspaper article	45.5	40.0	14.4	100.0	48.9	38.9	12.2	100.0
Read pamphlet	75.6	10.0	14.4	100.0	77.8	10.0	12.2	100.0
Read anything in a book	80.0	5.6	14.4	100.0	84.4	3.3	12.2	100.0
Seen anything on television	16.7	68.9	14.4	100.0	18.9	68.9	12.2	100.0
Heard anything on radio	64.4	21.1	14.4	100.0	78.9	8.9	12.2	100.0
Read or seen anything elsewhere	83.3	2.2	14.4	100.0	83.3	4.4	12.2	100.0

Table 121. Percentage Distribution of Non-Residents by Where They Have Read, Seen or Heard Material on How to Protect Against Burglary

Have you ever:	Non-Resident							
	Victim				Non-Victim			
	No	Yes	No response	Total	No	Yes	No response	Total
Read magazine or newspaper article	35.6	26.7	37.8	100.0	31.6	18.4	50.0	100.0
Read pamphlet	47.8	14.4	37.8	100.0	42.1	7.9	50.0	100.0
Read anything in a book	56.7	5.6	37.8	100.0	48.7	1.3	50.0	100.0
Seen anything on television	26.7	35.6	37.8	100.0	15.7	34.2	50.0	100.0
Heard anything on radio	54.4	7.8	37.8	100.0	39.5	10.5	50.0	100.0
Read or seen anything elsewhere	46.7	15.6	37.8	100.0	47.4	2.6	50.0	100.0

Table 122. Percentage Distribution of Respondents
by the Number of Places They Have Read, Seen, or
Heard Material on How to Protect Against Burglary

Number	Resident		Non-Resident	
	Victim	Non-Victim	Victim	Non-Victim
One	31.1	26.3	35.6	52.2
Two	35.6	24.4	16.7	18.4
Three	11.1	4.4	3.3	2.6
Four	1.1	2.2	1.1	2.6
Five	1.1	2.2	3.3	--
Six	1.1	--	1.1	--
None	4.4	3.3	1.1	--
No response	14.4	11.1	37.8	50.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

CHAPTER VI

COURTS AND BURGLARS

Table 123. Distribution of Interviews¹

Criminal Justice Personnel Category	Jurisdiction			Total
	Fairfax County	District of Columbia	Prince George's County	
Judges	3	4	4	11
Prosecutors	3	5	3	11
Defense Attorneys	4	5	3	12
Probation/Parole	3	2	33	8
Police	2	11	2	15
Total	15	27	15	57

¹Several interviews with persons marginal to the criminal justice system have not been included in this tabulation.

PART III

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHIC GUIDE
TO THE LITERATURE ON BURGLARY,
BURGLARS, AND BURGLARIZING

by

Joan S. Pinsky

This bibliography includes literature through 1970. It is as nearly exhaustive as we were able to make it, given the resources we were able to devote to it.

JSP
1972

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4 OF 5

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