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SS-74-05-0001



A REPORT ON NON REPORTING
CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION IN CLEVELAND,
1971-1972

**OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
IMPACT CITIES
ANTI-CRIME PROGRAM**

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25178

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INTRODUCTION

Crime is a concern of all citizens. Fear of injury, loss of property, unwillingness to use public facilities for shopping, transportation, or entertainment, and the economic impact directly in loss or indirectly through higher insurance rates, increased tax expenditures for enforcement and adjudication, and business losses passed on to the consumer, all affect our daily lives. The true extent of this criminal activity is not precisely known.

Most research conducted by criminal justice planners and students of criminology, as well as the information published in the media, relies on police statistics as reported in the Uniform Crime Report. However, the adequacy of such statistics has frequently been questioned and researchers are generally aware that much crime goes unreported for a variety of reasons.*

The Katzenbach Commission reported on crime in America and proposed that more research be directed at the study of crime from the perspective of the victim. (Crime and Its Impact, 1967: 2). Such an approach has two advantages: (1) it gives a much broader picture of the extent of crime, since unreported crime, for whatever reason, will be included in the analysis, and (2) the data collected thus will allow research

*See Geiss, Gilbert, "Statistics Concerning Race and Crime," and Shulman, Harry, "The Measurement of Crime in the United States," as well as the Uniform Crime Report, for discussions of the problems encountered in using most crime statistics.

on the victim, the relationship between victim and offender, and characteristics of victims, thus leading to better estimates of the factors leading to victimization.

There are certain difficulties with victimization surveys: they exclude (1) "victimless" crimes such as drunkenness, drug abuse, and prostitution, (2) crimes against the public, and (3) generally various types of fraud and blackmail. However, given these qualifications, victimization surveys provide important data on the extent of crime and may provide additional information on factors leading to crime. These attributes provide a better basis for planning and implementing programs for crime prevention and control.

In the course of reporting on crime in the United States, the Commission also cited research which indicates that the actual amount of crime varies from two to four times the amount reported in police crime statistics. In 1965, the National Opinion Research Center conducted a survey of 10,000 households to determine the extent of personal victimization experienced by individuals within these units. The results of that survey are compared to the Uniform Crime Reports for the same period in Table 1. (Criminal Victimization, 1967: 12). These findings are supported by similar surveys in Washington, D.C., Boston, and Chicago. (Crime and Its Impact, 1967: 80-85).

The use of similar research designs has been dictated by the

Table 1

COMPARISON OF NORC NATIONWIDE SURVEY RESULTS
AND UCR REPORTED CRIME (Rates per 100, 000)

	<u>NORC Survey</u>	<u>UCR Reported Crimes</u>	<u>Ratio of Survey Results to Reported Crime</u>
Willful Homicide	3.0	5.1	.58
Forcible Rape	42.5	11.6	3.66
Robbery	94.0	61.4	1.53
Aggravated Assault	218.3	106.6	2.04
Burglary	949.1	299.6	3.16
Larceny	606.3	277.6	2.26
Motor Vehicle Theft	206.3	226.0	.91
<hr/>			
Total Violent	357.8	184.7	1.93
Total Property	1,761.8	793.0	2.22
<hr/>			

problems which exist in present crime statistics. The Bureau of the Census in the Fall of 1972 collected data on criminal victimizations which occurred during the preceding year.

This report presents a description and discussion of a victimization survey similar to the NORC survey conducted in 1965 and presents similar data and analyses for the City of Cleveland. Such research will present, hopefully, an accurate picture of the extent of crime in Cleveland and will allow meaningful comparisons across cities.

The report consists of six sections, as described below.

- Section I presents an overview of the City of Cleveland, explaining the City's diversity, history, and demographic composition, today and during the 1972 survey period.
- Section II consists of an overview of the criminal justice agencies operating in Cleveland, as they are constituted now and as they were in 1972.

- Section III is a presentation of the survey results, including a discussion of crime types and definitions. This section also includes a description of the data collection procedures.
- Section IV develops the data and presents analyses of the results. The differential rates of victimization and of non-reporting are analyzed in light of the selected demographic variables outlined in Section I. These rates are also compared with other similar surveys and with "baseline" Cleveland Police Department data.
- Section V formally presents conclusions drawn from the analyses in Section IV. Appropriate recommendations, based upon the analyses of the data, are also included in this section.
- A Glossary and Technical Appendices follow the body of the report. The Appendices include a detailed explanation of the data collection procedures cited in Section III.

SECTION I

OVERVIEW OF THE CITY OF CLEVELAND

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This section presents a demographic, statistical profile of the City of Cleveland. The purpose of this section is to provide information which will illuminate better the social environment in which (1) the victimization survey data were gathered and (2) in which the reported and unreported crimes occurred. A temporal distinction has been made between the activities of the Cleveland IMPACT Cities Program and other crime control and criminal justice system improvement projects, occurring in 1973 and 1974, and the community environment extant in 1970 through 1972.

The victimization data collected by LEAA and the U.S. Bureau of the Census represent a sample chosen from the City of Cleveland as a whole. The City's residents, as shown below, do not represent a homogeneous group; the same is true for the survey sample. On the assumption that there are valid correlations between certain social conditions or community characteristics and the occurrence of criminal activity and/or victimization, the social environment of Cleveland is analyzed both from a Citywide and from a "community" point of view. Ideally, further data collection efforts will be able to make finer

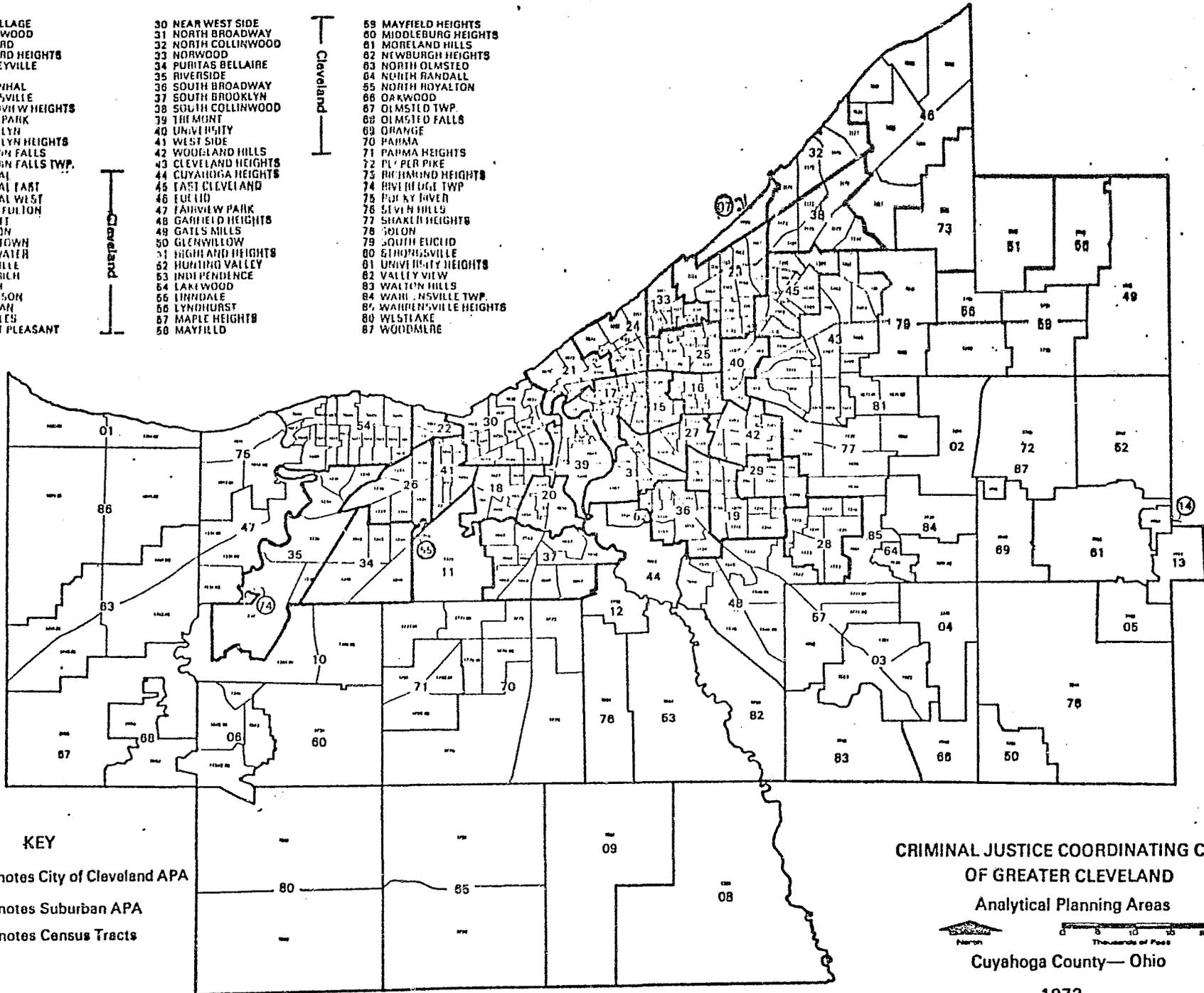
geographical distinctions in the data in order to provide planners and administrators with more useful information than Citywide aggregates.

Figure 1-1 is a map of Cuyahoga County showing the location of Cleveland with respect to the other municipalities and to Lake Erie, which forms nearly all of the City's northern boundary. Two major waterways provide lines of demarcation for other features: the Rocky River represents a significant portion of the City's western boundary; and the Cuyahoga River splits the City at approximately the East/West dividing line. The Cuyahoga River runs from the industrial valley south of Cleveland through the City north to the downtown area. The mouth of this river is at Lake Erie, just north of the industrial area known as "The Flats." Figures 1-2 and 1-3 are maps of Cleveland which demonstrate the allocation of census tracts to Social Planning Areas (infra) and the boundaries of Cleveland's six Police Districts, respectively.

The data presented here are drawn from a number of sources. Information from 1970 is principally represented by the tabulations of the U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Censuses of Population and Housing. Certain data available at the Census Tract level are aggregated into

ANALYTICAL PLANNING AREAS CUYAHOGA COUNTY 1973

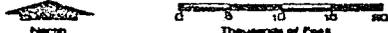
- | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|
| 01 BAY VILLAGE | 30 NEAR WEST SIDE | 59 MAYFIELD HEIGHTS |
| 02 BEACHWOOD | 31 NORTH BROADWAY | 60 MIDDLEBURG HEIGHTS |
| 03 BEDFORD | 32 NORTH COLLINWOOD | 61 MORELAND HILLS |
| 04 BEDFORD HEIGHTS | 33 NORWOOD | 62 NIWBURGH HEIGHTS |
| 05 BENTLEYVILLE | 34 PURITAS BELLAIRE | 63 NORTH OLMSTED |
| 06 BEREA | 35 RIVERSIDE | 64 NORTH RANDALL |
| 07 BRATENHALL | 36 SOUTH BROADWAY | 65 NORTH ROYALTON |
| 08 BRICKSVILLE | 37 SOUTH BROOKLYN | 66 OAKWOOD |
| 09 BROADVIEW HEIGHTS | 38 SOUTH COLLINWOOD | 67 OLMSTED TWP. |
| 10 BROOKPARK | 39 TRIMONT | 68 OLMSTED FALLS |
| 11 BROOKLYN | 40 UNIVERSITY | 69 ORANGE |
| 12 BROOKLYN HEIGHTS | 41 WEST SIDE | 70 PAINNA |
| 13 CHAGRIN FALLS | 42 WOODLAND HILLS | 71 PAINNA HEIGHTS |
| 14 CHAGRIN FALLS TWP. | 43 CLEVELAND HEIGHTS | 72 PLYMER PIKE |
| 15 CENTRAL | 44 CUYAHOGA HEIGHTS | 73 RICHMOND HEIGHTS |
| 16 CENTRAL EAST | 45 EAST CLEVELAND | 74 RIVERIDGE TWP. |
| 17 CENTRAL WEST | 46 EUCLID | 75 ROCKY RIVER |
| 18 CLARK FULTON | 47 FAIRVIEW PARK | 76 SEVEN HILLS |
| 19 COLLIT | 48 GARFIELD HEIGHTS | 77 SHAKER HEIGHTS |
| 20 DENISON | 49 GATLS MILLS | 78 SOLON |
| 21 DOWNTOWN | 50 GLENWILLOW | 79 SOUTH EUCLID |
| 22 EDgewater | 51 HIGHLAND HEIGHTS | 80 STRONGSVILLE |
| 23 GLENVILLE | 52 HUNTING VALLEY | 81 UNIVERSITY HEIGHTS |
| 24 GOODRICH | 53 INDEPENDENCE | 82 VALLEY VIEW |
| 25 HOUGH | 54 LAKWOOD | 83 WALTON HILLS |
| 26 JEFFERSON | 55 LINNDALE | 84 WARREN HILLSVILLE TWP. |
| 27 KINSMAN | 56 LYNHURST | 85 WARREN HILLSVILLE HEIGHTS |
| 28 LEE MILLS | 57 MAPLE HEIGHTS | 86 WILSTAKE |
| 29 MOUNT PLEASANT | 58 MAYFIELD | 87 WOODMERE |



KEY

- Denotes City of Cleveland APA
- Denotes Suburban APA
- - - Denotes Census Tracts

CRIMINAL JUSTICE COORDINATING COUNCIL
OF GREATER CLEVELAND
Analytical Planning Areas



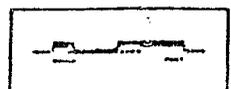
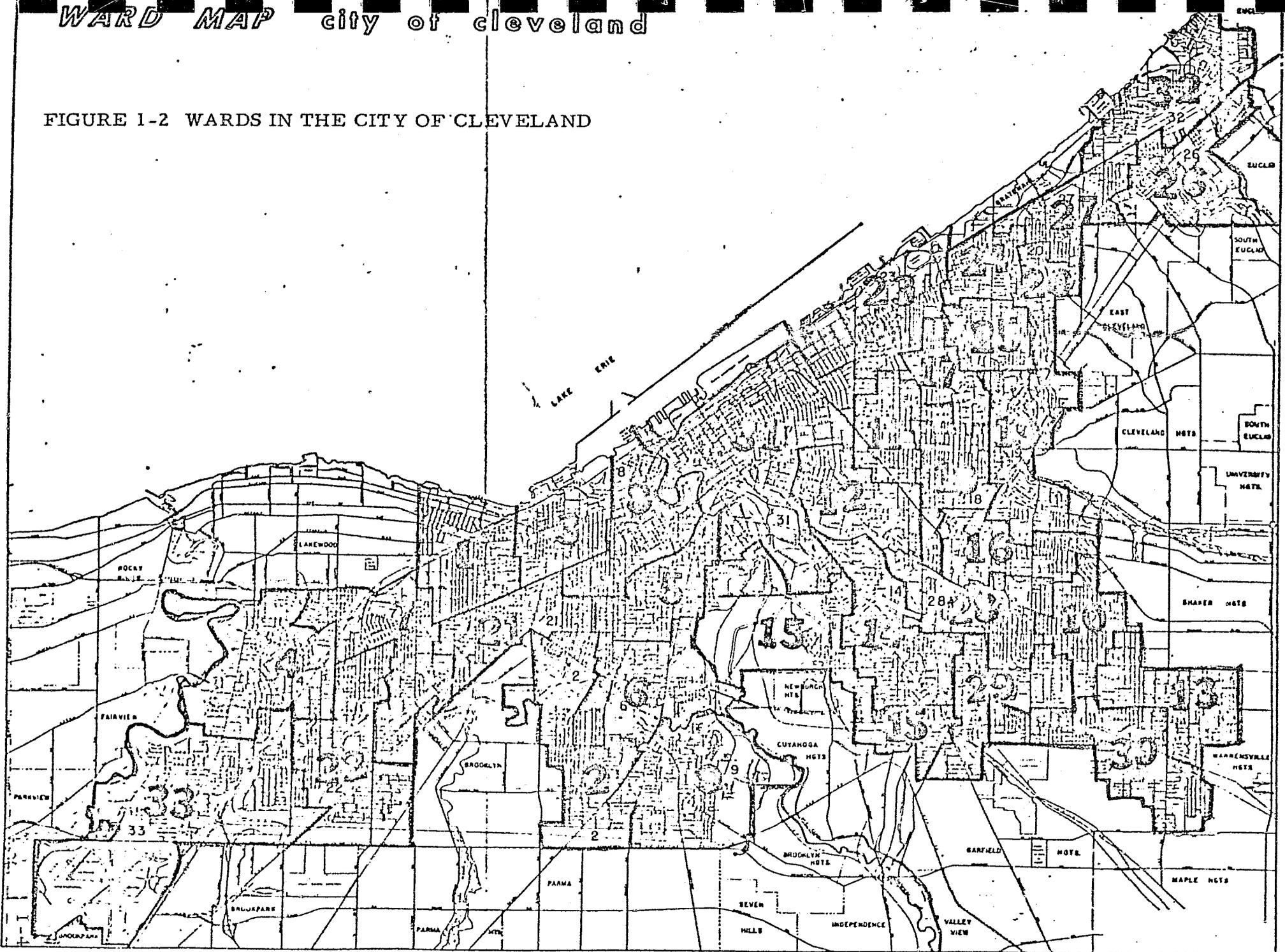
Cuyahoga County—Ohio

1973

FIGURE 1-1 SOCIAL PLANNING AREAS IN CUYAHOGA COUNTY, OHIO

WARD MAP city of cleveland

FIGURE 1-2 WARDS IN THE CITY OF CLEVELAND



CITY - WIDE WARD MAP

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CITY PLANNING

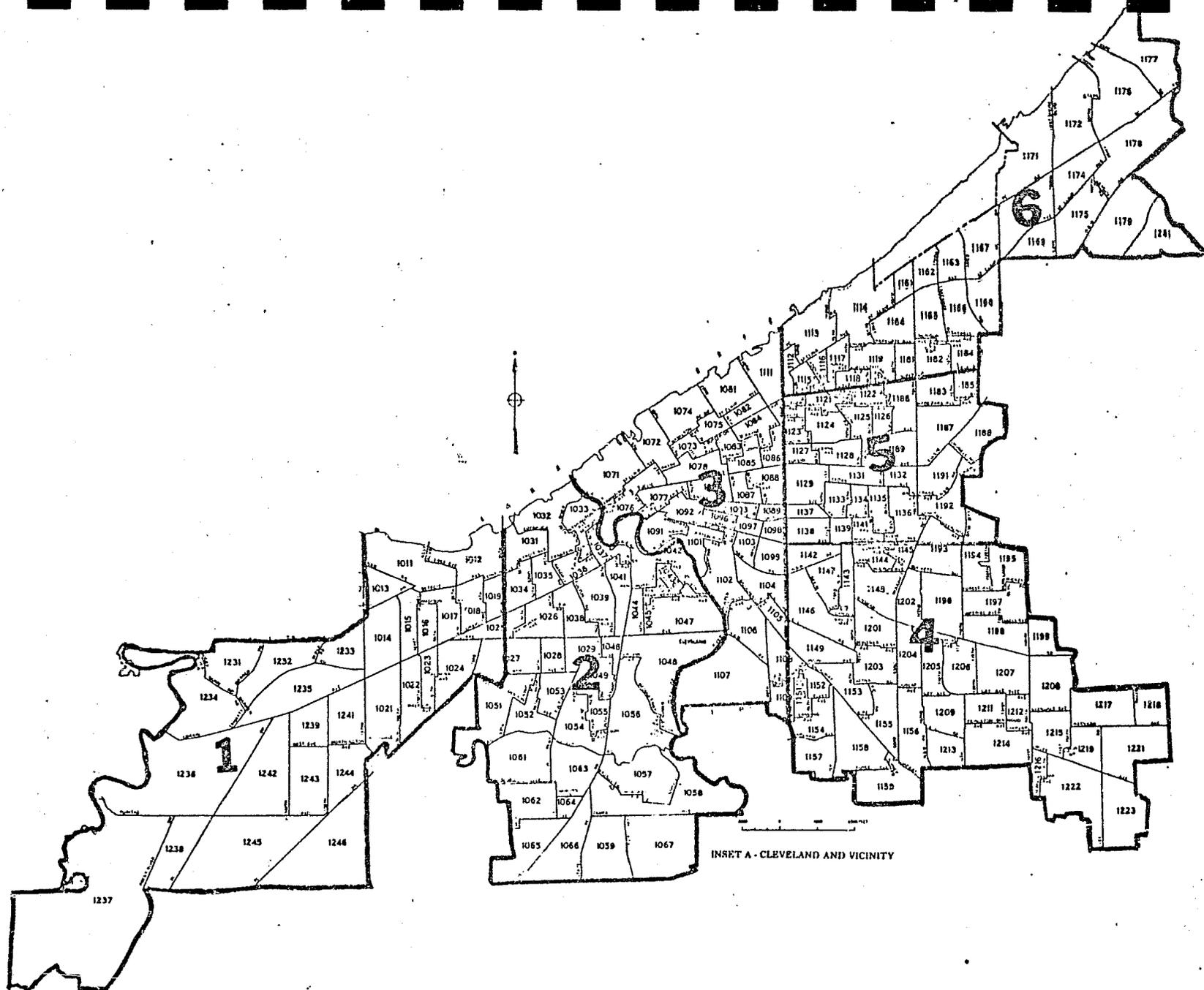


FIGURE 1-3 CLEVELAND'S POLICE DISTRICTS

Social Planning Areas (SPAs);* other data are presented for the City as a whole or for the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA)** when tract-level information was not available. Other information has been made available from the Ohio Bureau of Employment Services, the Regional Planning Commission of Cuyahoga County, the Northeast Ohio Areawide Coordinating Agency, the Real Property Inventory of Metropolitan Cleveland, and various governmental and quasi-governmental agencies in the City and County. These latter sources have principally provided data which are defined for a particular month or year and which, in some cases, are intended to update the Census Bureau's efforts.

*The geographic unit employed here, the Social Planning Area, was established by the Research Department of the Federation for Community Planning shortly after the 1950 census to reduce to more comprehensible form the mass of information presented for the almost 300 census tract units into which Cuyahoga County in 1940 was divided. The census tracts were laid out to include populations of about 3,500 persons each and their boundaries were drawn to coincide with and not to cross those of political subdivisions or physical barriers. They were intended to be permanent, except for possible further subdivision, to embrace relatively homogeneous populations, and thus to serve as a basis for comparison of areas with each other and with themselves over time.

The social planning areas of Cuyahoga County, of which 28 are within the City of Cleveland and 14 in the remainder of the County, were established out of combinations of census tracts using the same general principles as were applied in developing the original census tracts. Less emphasis was given, however, to achieving equal units of population and more to the delineation of areas of maximum homogeneity of population characteristics and in particular to the awareness of residents of their membership in an identifiable "community." (Federation for Community Planning, Research Department, AREA FACTS BY SOCIAL PLANNING AREA FOR CUYAHOGA COUNTY AND CLEVELAND, OHIO. Cleveland: January 1974, page i.). (Emphasis added)

**An SMSA is a county or a set of contiguous counties with one or more "central" cities of 50,000 or more inhabitants. The Cleveland SMSA includes Cuyahoga, Geauga, Lake, and Medina Counties.

1.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION IN 1970

The Census Bureau prepared a number of special tabulations of social and economic data* from the Bureau's 1970 Census data collection effort. In some cases, these data are not consistent with previously published reports; however, the errors are minor in consideration of the proportion of the population represented. In order to maintain internal consistency in this report, a single source has been used for the data; where other sources are used, in whole or part, the source and the deviations are noted. The 1970 Census counted 751,046 persons living in Cleveland during April of that year; this figure represents nearly half (43.6 percent) of the County's population of 1,721,248 and 36.4 percent of the SMSA's population of 2,064,194.

1.2.1 AGE AND RACE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION

The age distribution of the entire population and of the black population in 1970 do not differ significantly between the City and the SMSA. In the City, 33.7 percent of the population was under 18 and 10.6 percent was age 65 years and older, compared with 34.3 percent and 9.2 percent, respectively, for the SMSA. The median age for all residents of the City was 29.0 years; the median age for the black population of the City was 24.2 years. In 1970, white persons represented 61.1 percent of the City's population and 83.5 percent of the SMSA's residents. Table I-1 presents these data in greater detail.

*U.S. Department of Commerce, Social and Economic Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census, DATA FROM THE 1970 CENSUS FOR YOUR CITY: A COMPUTER PROFILE FOR CLEVELAND, OHIO. Washington (Photocopy, Undated).

Table 1-1

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION
BY AGE AND RACE, 1970
CITY OF CLEVELAND

	All Races		Whites		Blacks		All other	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total (A+B)	751,046	100.0	459,092	100.0	287,871	100.0	4,083	100.0
A. Under 18	253,454	33.7	136,281	29.7	115,861	40.2	1,312	32.1
1. Under 6	81,491	10.9	46,812	10.2	34,124	11.9	555	13.6
2. 6-13	116,081	15.5	60,111	13.1	55,445	19.3	525	12.9
3. 14-17	55,882	7.4	29,358	6.4	26,292	9.1	232	5.7
B. 18 and over	497,592	66.3	322,811	70.3	172,010	59.8	2,771	67.9
1. 18-20	38,164	5.1	22,674	4.9	15,264	5.3	226	5.5
2. 21 and over	459,428	61.2	300,137	65.3	156,746	54.5	2,545	62.3

Table 1-1

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION
BY AGE AND RACE, 1970
CITY OF CLEVELAND

(cont.)	All races		Whites		Blacks		All other	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
a. 21-24	47,942	6.4	31,588	6.9	16,041	5.6	313	7.7
b. 25-34	89,085	11.9	54,632	11.9	33,444	11.6	1,009	24.7
c. 35-44	80,484	10.7	44,153	9.6	35,933	12.5	398	9.7
d. 45-54	87,513	11.7	56,222	12.2	30,978	10.8	313	7.7
e. 55-64	74,592	9.9	53,095	11.6	21,276	7.4	221	5.4
f. 65 and over	79,812	10.6	60,447	13.2	19,074	6.6	291	7.1
MEDIAN AGE	29.0 years		32.1 years		24.2 years		Not Computed	

NOTE: Columns may not total 100.0 percent due to rounding. Percentages are computed within columns only.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census

1.2.2 FAMILIES, FAMILY INCOME, AND HOUSING

Using the Census Bureau's definition of a family as constituting two or more related persons residing together, there were 184,645 families in 1970 of which 80.7 percent were headed by a male. There were 67,181 black families in the City (36 percent of the total), of which 70.7 percent were headed by a male. Family size in the City for all families was an average of 3.56 persons; by race, average family size ranged from 3.43 persons for white families to 4.07 persons for black families. Of the total families in the City, 104,429 (56.6 percent) included related children under the age of 18; 71.4 percent of these related children resided with both parents.

Per capita 1969 income for the City was \$2,811. The median annual income in 1969 was \$9,098 for all Cleveland families and \$7,609 (16 percent lower) for black families. Family income in 1969 was distributed as follows: 23 percent of the families' incomes were below \$5,000; 62 percent of the families' incomes fell between \$5,000 and \$15,000; and 15 percent of the families had a 1969 annual income of \$15,000 or more. The applicable statistical poverty or low-income level for a family of four was approximately \$3,700. In 1969, 24,865 (13.5 percent) of Cleveland's families earned less than this amount; 55.8 percent of these poverty-level families were headed by women. These families accounted for 97,081 persons, or 12.9 percent of all

Cleveland residents. In 1969, a total of 128,129 City residents were below the low-income level: 77,111 (60.2 percent) of these were blacks; 22,714 (17.7 percent) of the total were age 65 and over; and children under 18 constituted 54,661 (42.7 percent) of the poverty-level population.

The Census Bureau has separately counted unrelated individuals living alone or with a nonrelative. This category included 86,487 Cleveland residents in 1970, of whom 28,113 (32.5 percent) were blacks. The median income for all unrelated Cleveland individuals was \$2,775 in 1969, less than one-third of the median income for families. The appropriate 1969 poverty-level income for individuals was approximately \$1,800. In 1969, 31,048 of the Cleveland residents below the poverty level were unrelated individuals, representing 24.2 percent of those below the low-income level and 4.1 percent of all Clevelanders.

In 1970, the Census Bureau enumerated 264,156 year-round housing units in Cleveland. Of these units, 248,393 (94.0 percent) were occupied, 114,567 by owners, and 133,826 by renters. The remaining 15,763 of the housing units stood vacant or for sale or rent and unoccupied. In the City, 39.2 percent of the occupied units were single-family dwellings, 39.7 percent were in 2-, 3-, or 4-unit structures, 20.8 percent were in apartment buildings, and 0.4 percent were mobile homes or trailers. Approximately half of the unoccupied units (50.1 percent) were vacancies in 2-, 3-, or 4-unit structures, 37.2 percent of the

vacancies were in apartment buildings, and 12.7 percent of the unoccupied units were single-family units. Blacks lived in 86,298 (34.7 percent) of the occupied housing units, including 32,448 units which were black-owner occupied. In the City, 92.9 percent of all occupied housing units had less than 1.01 persons per room; the comparable figure for the black population was 90.1 percent. One percent of the City's housing units were the residence of 1.5 or more persons per room; for the black population, this figure was 1.4 percent. Of the 248,393 occupied housing units in the City in 1970, 181,009 (72.9 percent) were more than 30 years old; 14,254 (5.7 percent) of the occupied units had been built between 1960 and March 1970.

1.2.3 ETHNICITY AND NATIVITY

Foreign stock plays an important role in Cleveland's population as it does in other major industrial cities in the Northeast United States. Of the persons enumerated in the 1970 Census, 164,523 (21.9 percent) of Cleveland's residents were foreign-born or the children of foreign-born parents. The largest of these formally-defined groups are from Poland (3.0 percent of the population), Italy (2.4 percent), Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia (2.3 percent each), Germany (2.2 percent), and Hungary (1.8 percent). Complementing these national origins, approximately 21 percent (156,062) of the population reported that at least one language other than English was spoken in the home. The

principal languages reported were Polish (3.4 percent of the City's population), German (3.2 percent), Italian (2.4 percent), Hungarian (1.7 percent), and Spanish (1.5 percent). The Spanish heritage population, reflected in the statistics on language but not on nationality, derives principally from the growing number of Puerto Rican persons among the City's residents. The importance and impact of these data are discussed in greater detail in Section 1.3, below.

1.2.4 POPULATION MOBILITY

The 1970 Census enumerated 683,642 persons age five years and older; of these individuals, 625,244 (91.5 percent) reported their 1965 and 1970 residences. During that five-year period, 41.6 percent (260,355) of those reporting had changed residence at least once. The majority of these changes had occurred within Cuyahoga County (81.8 percent of those reporting). Mobility data on the Cleveland black population indicate that of 260,195 blacks age five years and older, 134,601 (51.7 percent) lived in a different home in 1970 from 1965, representing a "mobility rate" approximately ten percentage points higher than for all Cleveland residents. During the five-year period, 13,152 blacks (9.8 percent of those who moved) relocated to Cleveland from other states, compared to an interstate rate of 13.4 percent (34,808 of 260,355) for all Cleveland residents. In all cases, the region of the United States from which the most significant numbers of these people moved was the South.

1.2.5 EMPLOYMENT AND OCCUPATIONS

The 1970 Census enumerated 524,430 persons age 16 and older. Of these persons, 302,514 individuals (57.7 percent) constituted the civilian labor force. Black residents of Cleveland represented 35.8 percent and women of all races constituted 40.2 percent of the City's civilian labor force. In 1970, 286,784 of the 302,514 persons in the civilian labor force were employed. Of the total population 15,730 persons age 16 and older were not currently employed but were either on layoff or actively seeking employment and available to accept a job. This figure represents a Citywide unemployment rate of 5.2 percent. Of the 121,625 women in the civilian labor force in the City, 6,012 (4.9 percent) were unemployed in April 1970; for the black population, 7,890 persons, representing 7.3 percent of the black civilian labor force, were unemployed.

Of the 286,784 employed persons in the City, the largest number (76,822, or 26.8 percent) worked as operatives in transportation and non-transportation occupations.* The second largest group, of 55,700 persons (19.4 percent), was employed in clerical and kindred occupations. The third and fourth largest groups, of 41,351 (14.4 percent) and 40,074 (14.0 percent), were employed as service workers (except in private households) and as craftsmen and kindred workers, respectively.

*The categories of occupations used here are those developed by the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Labor Statistics, and are known as the Standard Industrial Classifications.

Professional, technical, and kindred workers made up 8.9 percent (25,469) of the employed persons; non-farm laborers constituted 6.1 percent (17,485) of those employed. All other occupational categories represented less than five percent each of the employed labor force.

In Cleveland there were more persons employed in manufacturing (107,477 or 37.5 percent) than in any other industrial category. The second and third largest industries were wholesale and retail trade (49,672 or 17.3 percent) and professional and related services (42,742 or 14.9 percent). All other industries represented less than ten percent each of the employed labor force.

1.2.6 EDUCATION

There were 199,902 persons age three to 34 years old enrolled in schools in Cleveland in April 1970. Nearly 92 percent (183,649) of these individuals were enrolled in primary, elementary, and high schools in the City: this figure consists of 15,977 children in nursery school and kindergarten, 117,143 children in grades 1 through 8, and 50,529 in high school. Black residents of Cleveland represented 55.8 percent of those enrolled in these grades. College enrollees residing in the City constituted 16,253 (8.1 percent) persons of the school enrollment of all races.

Of the population 25 years old and over in Cleveland, 34.5 percent had a grade school education (through grade 8) or less, and 37.4 percent

were high school graduates, including 9.9 percent of the total who had completed at least one year of college. These 411,486 Cleveland residents age 25 and over had completed a median of 10.7 years of schooling.

1.3 ANALYSIS OF DEMOGRAPHIC, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

The data presented in Section 1.2 statistically describe certain of the important characteristics of Cleveland's population in 1970. In conjunction with the survey results presented in Sections III, IV, and V of this report, it is necessary to understand the demography of Cleveland from the following points of view, i. e., dimensions of stratification:

- (1) Age of residents, age of heads of households, in groups
 - 12 to 15 years,
 - 16 to 19 years,
 - 20 to 24 years,
 - 25 to 34 years,
 - 35 to 44 years,
 - 45 to 49 years,
 - 50 to 64 years, and
 - 65 years of age and older;
- (2) Sex of residents;
- (3) Race of residents, race of heads of households, in groups
 - White, and
 - Black
- (4) Marital status of residents, in groups
 - Married,
 - Never married, and
 - All other;

(5) Annual family income of residents, in groups

- Under \$3,000,
- \$3,000 to \$4,999,
- \$5,000 to \$6,999,
- \$7,000 to \$7,499,
- \$7,500 to \$9,999,
- \$10,000 to \$14,999,
- \$15,000 to \$24,999,
- \$25,000 and over, and
- Not reported and/or not available;

(6) Number of persons per household, in groups

- One person,
- Two and three persons,
- Four and five persons, and
- Six or more persons;

(7) Residence tenure, in groups

- Owned, and
- Rented;

(8) Number of units in household structure, in groups

- One unit,
- Two units,
- Three and four units,
- Five through nine units,
- Ten or more units, and
- Not reported and/or not available.

Certain data are also necessary for commercial establishments in the City, including (1) kind of business, in groups Retail, Wholesale, Service, and Other, (2) amount of annual receipts, in groups Less than \$10,000, \$10,000 to \$24,999, \$25,000 to \$49,999, \$50,000 to \$99,999, \$100,000 to \$499,999, \$500,000 or more, and No sales and/or no data available, and (3) Number of paid employees, in groups One through three employees,

Four through seven employees, Eight through 19 employees, 20 or more employees, and None and/or data not available. The Victimization Survey data collection procedures and the attempts to stratify the sample along these dimensions are discussed in detail below in Section III.

At this juncture, it will suffice to assume that the sample has been proportionately drawn for representativeness of 510,824 persons age 12 and over, 230,404 households, and 31,001 commercial establishments.

Comparison of the Victimization Survey sample with the Census Bureau's figures points up a number of discrepancies. First, regarding Sex Characteristics: the sample consisted of 44.7 percent male and 55.3 percent female persons age 12 and over; the Census Bureau reports* a population of 286,387 (46.7 percent) males and 326,378 (53.3 percent) females age 10 and over. The available data do not permit attribution of the two percentage-point difference solely to the slightly different age groupings. Second, regarding Racial Characteristics: the sample consisted of 60.5 percent white, 38.1 percent black, and 1.3 percent all other races for persons age 12 and over; the Census Bureau reports** a population of 352,169 (63.6 percent) white, 198,302 (35.8 percent) black, and 3,003 (0.5 percent) all other races, age 14 and over. Notwithstanding the differences in age groupings, it is possible that the

*U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. CENSUS TRACTS. CLEVELAND, OHIO SMSA, REPORT PHC(1)-45. Washington: GPO (May 1972). Table P-1.

**U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. DATA FROM THE 1970 CENSUS FOR YOUR CITY: A COMPUTER PROFILE. Op. cit.

"black" and "all other" racial categories may be significantly over-represented in the sample. Third, regarding Family Income Characteristics: the sample and Census Bureau report household* income distributions as shown in Table 1-2. The sample data may over-represent the low income ranges and under-represent the income ranges above \$10,000 per annum. Fourth, although the age distributions presented by the sample and the Census reports do not permit direct comparison of many characteristics, the sample indicates a Citywide unemployment rate of 8.8 percent whereas the Census Bureau reports** an unemployment rate of 5.2 percent. Both rates are computed as the ratio of unemployed persons to the total civilian labor force. As with Sex, Race, and Family Income, these unemployment figures may present data tabulation and analysis difficulties due to the proportion of the true population which is represented by each person in the sample; if the difference between the estimate and the true population is great enough, the liberal application of standard errors and error-correction techniques may not be sufficient to account for the variances.***

The following paragraphs develop an analysis of the sets of data presented in Sections 1.2.1 through 1.2.6. Where appropriate, tentative conclusions are drawn regarding the effects or relationship of these

*Census data do not include "households," hence, categories "families" and "unrelated individuals" are combined.

**U.S. Department of Commerce, op. cit., page 10.

***Cf. Michael J. Hindelang, "A Note on Sampling Error." Technical Memorandum prepared for National Crime Survey Project (LEAA and Census Bureau). Albany, N. Y.: Criminal Justice Research Center (Photocopy, January, 1974).

factors with respect to the Cleveland survey data on crime victimization presented in Sections IV and V. The analytical discussions are presented in the same order and for the same subject matter as Sections 1.2.1 through 1.2.6.

1.3.1 AGE AND RACE DATA ANALYSIS

Although the distributions of persons by age and by race do not differ importantly between the City and its surrounding communities (i. e., the SMSA), a number of marked distinctions are noticeable among various groups within the City. As shown in Table 1-1, in 1970 whites represented 61.1 percent of the population, blacks constituted 38.3 percent, and all other races made up approximately one-half of one percent of the City's residents. The differential distribution of ages within each race is revealed by the comparative median age figures, i. e., the median age of the white population is 32.1 years, whereas the median age for blacks is 24.2 years. More strikingly, 51.1 percent (147,165) of the black population was under the age of 25, while only 41.5 percent (190,543) of the white population was under 25. This group of persons, particularly those age 10 to 24, was identified by the Cleveland IMPACT MASTER PLAN as having the highest propensity toward involvement in serious crime.* As shown in Section IV, below, the data do not indicate a substantial preponderance of inter-racial over intra-racial

*Cleveland IMPACT Cities Program, IMPACT PROGRAM MASTER PLAN-- 1972, Office of the Mayor, Cleveland IMPACT Cities Program Office (June 1972), pp. 3-1 to 4-44.

TABLE 1-2

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY
CENSUS BUREAU AND VICTIMIZATION SURVEY TYPOLOGIES

Income Range (Dollars)	Census Bureau						Victimization Survey	
	Families		Unrelated Individuals		All Households		Households	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Less than \$3000	24260	13.1	45283	52.4	69543	25.6	45853	24.3
\$3K - 6999	38691	21.0	25217	29.2	63908	23.6		
\$7K - 7999							63544	33.6
\$8K - 9999	42257	22.9	10453	12.1	52710	19.4		
\$7500 - 9999							26284	13.9
\$10K - 9999	80948	43.8	35670	41.2	116618	43.0	89828	47.6
\$10K - 14999	51295	27.8	4481	5.2	55776	20.6	38506	20.4
\$15K - 24999	24658	13.4	765	0.9	25423	9.4	12933	6.8
Greater than or equal to \$25K	3484	1.9	288	0.3	3772	1.4	1766	0.9
TOTAL	184645		86487		271132		188886	

NOTE: (1) Census data provided from a 1970 survey of 1969 annual income. SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. DATA FROM THE 1970 CENSUS FOR YOUR CITY: A COMPUTER PROFILE OF CLEVELAND, OHIO. Washington: Census Bureau (Photocopy, undated).

(2) Survey data for victimization sample households taken in 1971-72 for 1970 incomes. SOURCE: Victimization Survey working notes. The victimization survey data are extrapolated from the known size of the sub-samples to the population by estimated proportionate representations. See text for further discussion of this issue.

crime in Cleveland. Thus, it is reasonable to expect a positive correlation between the number of persons in particular age groups and the amount of crime associated with those persons.

The data on the Citywide distribution of Cleveland's residents are summarized in Table 1-3. These data do not demonstrate great disparities within the population. Cleveland would appear to be a "melting-pot" of races, ages, and ethnic backgrounds. Closer examination of these data on a geographic basis reveals a much less homogeneous society, one in which there are obviously sharp differences among "communities," each of which may be homogeneous to the point of defining cliques within the City. Although ethnic considerations are discussed below in Section 1.3.3, it is useful to examine here the racial characteristics of Cleveland's heterogeneity. When the Census Tract data from the 1970 Census of Population and Housing are aggregated by Cleveland Police District, it is seen that the proportion of the residents who are non-white ranges from two percent each in Districts One and Two, to 37.5 percent in District Three, 58 percent in District Four, 87 percent in District Five, and 54 percent in District Six. The two Districts west of the Cuyahoga River, known generally as the dividing line between the East Side and the West Side, are predominantly (98 percent) white. The "non-white" population in Districts One and Two in 1970 was almost entirely of Puerto Rican descent. The "non-white" population in Districts Three,

TABLE 1-3
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE
CLEVELAND POPULATION (1970)

CHARACTERISTIC	FOR THE BLACK POPULATION	FOR ALL CITY RESIDENTS
<u>Persons</u>		
Number of persons	287,841	750,903
Percent of total population	38.3 %	100.0 %
Percent change in number, 1960 to 1970	+15.0 %	-14.0 %
Persons per square mile (Area = 76.097 sq. mi.)	3,782.56	9,867.72
Persons per residential square mile (Area = 47.758 sq. mi.)	6,027.10	15,723.14
<u>Households</u>		
Number of households	87,343	264,053
Percent of all households	33.1 %	100.0 %
Percent change in number, 1960 to 1970	+28.2 %	-6.7 %
<u>Mobility</u>		
Number of persons residing in same house as in 1965	125,594	364,889
Percent of total population residing in same house as in 1965	43.63 %	48.59 %
<u>Housing Units Occupied in 1970</u>		
Number of housing units	86,298	248,393
Average persons per unit	3.34	3.02
Percent lacking some or all plumbing facilities	2.4 %	2.4 %
Percent with 1.01 or more persons per room	9.9 %	7.1 %
Percent with telephone available	Unknown	86.4 %
Percent with one or more automobiles	Unknown	68.3 %
<u>1969 Family Income Characteristics</u>		
Number of families	67,181	184,645
Percent of all families	36.4 %	100.0 %
Mean income	\$8,197	\$9,717
Median income	\$7,617	\$9,107
Percent less than \$3,000	21.0 %	13.1 %
Percent \$3,000 to \$4,999	11.6 %	9.7 %
Percent \$5,000 to \$6,999	13.0 %	11.2 %
Percent \$7,000 to \$9,999	20.7 %	22.9 %
Percent \$10,000 to \$14,999	22.4 %	27.8 %
Percent \$15,000 to \$24,999	10.0 %	13.3 %
Percent \$25,000 and over	1.2 %	2.0 %
<u>Families with 1969 Income Below Poverty Level</u>		
Number of families	15,646	24,817
Percent of all families	23.3 %	13.4 %
Percent of all families below poverty level	63.0 %	100.0 %
Number with female head of household	10,300	13,870
Mean family income	\$1,662	\$1,692
Mean family size (persons)	4.21	3.92
Number of households	75,095	212,655
Percent of racial category	35.0 %	100.0 %
Percent of all households below poverty level	28.4 %	20.0 %

TABLE 1-3
(cont.)

CHARACTERISTIC	FOR THE BLACK POPULATION	FOR ALL CITY RESIDENTS
Educational Characteristics of Persons Aged 25 and Older		
<u>-----MALES-----</u>		
Number	63,645	189,684
Percent less than five years schooling	8.4 %	5.4 %
Percent five to eight years schooling	10.0 %	13.7 %
Percent one to three years high school	30.5 %	28.0 %
Percent four years high school	24.2 %	25.5 %
Percent four or more years college	2.8 %	4.9 %
Median years completed	10.3	10.6
<u>-----FEMALES-----</u>		
Number	77,060	221,802
Percent less than five years schooling	5.0 %	4.6 %
Percent five to eight years schooling	9.8 %	14.0 %
Percent one to three years high school	33.2 %	28.2 %
Percent four years high school	27.8 %	29.2 %
Percent four or more years college	3.3 %	4.6 %
Median years completed	10.8	10.7
Occupation of Employed Persons Aged 16 and Older		
Number of persons	100,327	286,784
Percent professional, technical, kindred	7.0 %	8.9 %
Percent managers, administrators (non-farm)	2.3 %	3.8 %
Percent sales workers	2.9 %	4.5 %
Percent clerical, kindred	16.9 %	19.4 %
Percent craftsman, foreman, kindred	9.8 %	14.0 %
Percent operatives (non-transportation)	22.1 %	21.8 %
Percent transport equipment operatives	5.9 %	5.0 %
Percent laborer (non-farm)	8.3 %	6.1 %
Percent service workers (non-household)	20.1 %	14.4 %
Percent private household workers	4.0 %	1.7 %
Unemployment Characteristics of Persons Aged 16 and Older		
Percent unemployed, male	7.7 %	3.3 %
Percent unemployed, female	6.8 %	4.0 %
Males 16 to 21 years, not attending school:		
Number	1,342	4,959
Percent unemployed	30.1 %	32.7 %
Number high school graduates	537	1,850
Percent high school graduates unem- ployed	12.0 %	12.2 %
Number high school drop-outs	805	3,109
Percent high school drop-outs unem- ployed	18.0 %	20.5 %

Four, Five, and Six in 1970 consisted almost entirely of blacks. Thus, the population of the City's East Side was 60 percent black and the City's West Side was approximately two percent Puerto Rican. Due to the dynamic social environment in Cleveland since 1970, recent data would indicate a higher "non-white" population on the West Side due to the gradual integration of certain neighborhoods in Districts One and Two.

Table 1-4 presents a distribution of age, race, and ethnicity by Social Planning Area (SPA).^{*} For the reader unfamiliar with Cleveland, the table also indicates the general location of the SPA by listing the appropriate Police District: District One is on the far West Side; District Two is on the near West Side; District Three is downtown and the near East Side, east of the Cuyahoga River; District Four is the Southeast area; District Five includes the University Circle area, the site of Case Western Reserve University, and due east of downtown; and District Six is the Northeast area.^{**} Examination of the table reveals certain of the distinctions discussed above. For example, it will be noted that high "non-white" and "foreign stock" ratios never occur together. Further, high "non-white" ratios generally are coincident with a younger population, i. e., a high "under 25 years" ratio. Finally, the occurrence of SPAs with high foreign-stock ratios on the East Side generally indicates "pockets" of older first- or second-generation

^{*}See footnote, supra, at page 1-2.

^{**}Also see Figures 1-1, 1-2, and 1-3, supra.

TABLE 1-4
 SELECTED SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS
 BY SOCIAL PLANNING AREA (1970)

Social Plan- ning Area	Police District	1970 Population	% under 25 years	% non- white	% of foreign stock
Central	5,6	10062	45.5	98.3	1.0
Central East	5	21734	38.8	96.9	2.0
Central West	3	17701	50.0	82.2	4.8
Clark-Fulton	1,2	21154	44.7	0.4	31.0
Corlett	4	39127	48.0	60.6	16.6
Denison	2	18299	44.4	1.6	31.2
Downtown	3	3794	29.9	15.8	25.5
Edgewater	1	10772	37.8	1.4	29.3
Glenville	5,6	78699	51.6	96.5	1.8
Goodrich	3	8730	39.3	5.4	37.1
Hough	5	45487	53.1	93.5	2.7
Jefferson	1	29858	40.8	0.5	36.7
Kinsman	4	14859	52.9	75.9	9.2
Lee-Miles	4	28559	45.4	91.9	5.4
Mt. Pleasant	4	33613	44.2	95.6	3.4

TABLE 1-4
 SELECTED SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS
 BY SOCIAL PLANNING AREA (1970)
 (cont.)

Social Plan- ning Area (cont.)	Police District	1970 population	% under 25 years	% non- white	% of foreign stock
Near West Side	1,2	50323	49.2	3.8	23.4
North Broadway	3,4	13501	43.9	1.3	33.2
North Collinwood	6	22439	34.6	3.1	42.9
Norwood	5,6	21910	45.1	25.3	41.3
Puritas-Bellaire	1	26846	44.5	8.4	28.8
Riverside	1	37375	44.1	0.8	28.4
South Broadway	3,4	30243	40.7	1.2	38.8
South Brooklyn	2	43239	40.0	0.3	39.4
South Collinwood	6	31544	42.6	17.4	29.6
Tremont	2	18151	49.9	4.0	30.3
University	5	12804	58.1	27.9	23.0
West Side	1	24923	45.4	0.9	28.4
Woodland-Hills	4,5	35257	36.7	35.3	35.2
City of Cleveland	1,2,3,4,5,6	750903	45.3	39.0	21.9

Source: Census Tract Reports

immigrants. These families and older couples have remained in their neighborhoods, some of which are the only homes in the United States which they have known. In these ethnic pockets, the residents continue their mores, traditions, and beliefs, either as a significant attempt to keep those attitudes alive, or as a defense mechanism when they cannot afford to move elsewhere.* Through examination of the table, the taxonomy described above (i. e., principally older white foreign stock on the West Side and certain small communities on the periphery of the East Side, and principally young "non-whites" through the geometric centers of Police Districts Three, Four, Five, and Six) is further illuminated.

These social circumstances may in several ways tend to foment the occurrence of criminal activity. First, the process of racial or cultural diversification of a neighborhood, however slowly it takes place, creates tension among old and new residents. These emotions may demonstrate themselves in the form of outward expressions of resentment or disapproval; in cities like Cleveland, however, these tensions would more frequently be manifested in paranoia and withdrawal from the extant societal framework until the major frictions have subsided. (Deutsch and Collins, 1958; Rose, 1970; Sjoberg, 1967). Lacking the opportunity to rigorously examine social-attitude data on a time-series basis, whether these situations are occurring (or have occurred) in Cleveland may be demonstrated by the incidence of criminal activity

*Cf. Gans (1962), especially chapters 2, 3, 5, and 12.

in general and assault, robbery, burglary, and larceny in particular.

The data examinations in Sections III and IV serve these ends.

1.3.2 FAMILIES, FAMILY INCOME, AND HOUSING DATA ANALYSIS

Three issues are of particular importance with respect to families, family incomes, and housing: (1) the number and proportion of families with incomes below the poverty level; (2) the quality of the housing conditions; and (3) the distribution of owner- and renter-occupied households in the City. The first two deal obviously with the disparity in the quality of life of the City's residents. The substance of the third differs from these two, but parallels the discussion advanced in Section 1.3.1 regarding the transiency/stability and community pride in the City's neighborhoods.

The Owner/Renter issue has been discussed in the IMPACT MASTER PLAN--1972. At that point it was mentioned that the ratio of renter-occupied to owner-occupied units in high crime areas of the City was approximately 4.0: 1, and that this figure was higher than desirable for a stable community. Table 1-5 shows, among other data, the number of owner-occupied units and the ratio of renter-occupied to owner-occupied units in each SPA in the City. It will be noted that although these ratios range from 0.11 (Lee-Miles) to 23.38 (Central West), 24 of the 28 SPAs had 1970 Rent/Own ratios less than 4.0: 1, and 11 of these 24 had ratios less than 1.0: 1. As an adjunct to this measure, the changes were

TABLE 1-5
 SELECTED FAMILY, INCOME, AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS
 BY SOCIAL PLANNING AREA

Social Plan- ning Area	Police District	Number of households (1970)	Average persons per household (1970)	No. Owner- occupied units (1970)	Ratio of renter-occ. to owner- occ. (1970)
Central	5,6	3261	2.99	473	5.89
Central East	5	8281	2.57	1852	3.47
Central West	3	6729	2.52	276	23.38
Clark-Fulton	1,2	7071	2.99	3827	0.85
Corlett	4	11574	3.36	7505	0.54
Denison	2	5969	2.97	2809	1.12
Downtown	3	1464	1.53	117	11.51
Edgewater	1	4425	2.37	1222	2.62
Glenville	5,6	22621	3.45	8973	1.52
Goodrich	3	3309	2.61	841	2.93
Hough	5	14437	3.07	2605	4.54
Jefferson	1	10420	2.86	6698	0.56
Kinsman	4	4676	3.17	1147	3.08
Lee-Miles	4	8066	3.53	7282	0.11
Mt. Pleasant	4	10929	3.10	5384	1.03

TABLE 1-5
 SELECTED FAMILY, INCOME, AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS
 BY SOCIAL PLANNING AREA

Social Plan- ning Area	Percent lacking plumbing fac- ilities	Percent 1.01 or more per- sons per room	Percent families be- low poverty level	Median family income
Central	9.4	13.8	39.1	4930
Central East	7.0	7.3	26.9	5945
Central West	7.1	10.9	41.0	3925
Clark-Fulton	1.5	6.3	7.0	9284
Corlett	1.2	8.4	12.1	9316
Denison	2.2	5.9	8.7	9557
Downtown	29.7	3.3	8.0	9384
Edgewater	1.3	3.2	3.8	11013
Glenville	1.2	9.7	20.0	8139
Goodrich	4.4	7.2	13.8	7786
Hough	5.3	12.4	39.4	4655
Jefferson	1.1	4.4	4.9	10565
Kinsman	2.2	13.3	30.1	4945
Lee-Miles	0.4	8.5	5.1	12600
Mt. Pleasant	0.8	7.0	14.8	8695

TABLE 1-5
 SELECTED FAMILY, INCOME, AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS
 BY SOCIAL PLANNING AREA
 (cont.)

Social Plan- ning Area (cont.)	Police District	Number of households (1970)	Average persons per household (1970)	No. owner- occupied units (1970)	Ratio of renter-occ. to owner- occ. (1970)
Near West Side	1,2	16278	3.02	4813	2.38
North Broadway	3,4	4457	2.99	2422	0.84
North Collinwood	6	8672	2.57	4844	0.79
Norwood	5,6	7391	2.94	2683	1.75
Puritas-Bellaire	1	8200	2.76	6964	0.18
Riverside	1	11451	3.22	8847	0.29
South Broadway	3,4	9988	2.91	5185	0.93
South Brooklyn	2	15082	2.86	10326	0.46
South Collinwood	6	11200	2.78	4993	1.24
Tremont	2	5907	3.05	1823	2.24
University	5	3911	2.28	900	3.35
West Side	1	8051	3.09	4512	0.78
Woodland-Hills	4,5	14460	2.42	5205	1.78
City of Cleveland	1,2,3,4,5,6	248,280	2.97	114,528	1.17

TABLE 1-5
 SELECTED FAMILY, INCOME, AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS
 BY SOCIAL PLANNING AREA

Social Plan- ning Area (cont.)	Percent lacking plumbing facilities	Percent 1.01 or more persons per room	Percent families below pov- erty level	Median family income
Near West Side	5.2	10.2	15.8	8520
North Broadway	3.0	8.4	9.5	8930
North Collinwood	1.4	2.9	5.1	9985
Norwood	3.0	7.8	15.9	8375
Puritas-Bellaire	1.1	8.7	3.9	10905
Riverside	0.8	6.7	4.0	11721
South Broadway	3.4	6.0	7.8	9738
South Brooklyn	0.8	3.4	5.1	10644
South Collinwood	1.6	5.0	7.2	9823
Tremont	5.1	10.5	18.2	7413
University	3.2	5.2	15.5	8290
West Side	1.8	5.0	4.6	10634
Woodland-Hills	1.1	3.9	11.0	9238
City of Cleveland	2.7	7.4	13.4	9207

examined in the numbers of owner- and renter-occupied units in 1960 and 1970. Notwithstanding Citywide decreases of 5.5 percent in the owner-occupied units and 10.0 percent in the number of units occupied by renters over this ten-year period, some striking changes are evident in the SPAs: the Jefferson SPA, for example, with a four percent decrease in owner-occupied and a 30.2 percent increase in renter-occupied units over the ten years, demonstrates a movement coincident with the changing nature of the neighborhoods. The older residents, whose homes are paid-for, tend to rent or subdivide their property as they leave the community, permitting other persons with moderate incomes (who do not choose to settle permanently in that neighborhood) to move in on a relatively temporary basis.* These new residents, in general, have not and will not internalize the mores or traditions of the community. A new resident thus may remain an "outsider" while living and perhaps working in the community. This aloofness or alienation is not the kind of community-oriented spirit which, according to law enforcement professionals, causes residents to think or act toward the common good of protection of each other's belongings. Thus, if the environment for unnoticed or unreported burglaries is not created, it is, at the least, not discouraged.

The quality of housing conditions and the proportion of the population below the poverty level are significant and related indicators of

*Cf. Gans (1962), Chapters 5 and 12.

the quality of urban life. Housing quality may be gauged by the proportion of the households which (1) lack some or all plumbing facilities and (2) contain 1.01 or more persons per room. Although the relationship is not absolutely predictive, Table 1-5 shows that the SPAs with the highest proportions of inadequate plumbing and overcrowding are on the East Side and on the near West Side, all in the highly-urbanized Central City areas. These communities are those which have been or are currently experiencing cultural and racial diversification. They are also subsumed within the category of "high-crime areas."

Income-related issues parallel the housing problems in the City. The SPAs with the lowest median incomes and highest proportions of families below the poverty level are nearly coincident with the low housing-quality areas. Also of potential interest is the inequality of income distribution within the City. Examination of Table 1-5 shows that the median income for SPAs ranged from \$3,925 (Central West) to \$12,600 (Lee-Miles) with concomitant poverty-level proportions of 41.0 percent and 5.1 percent. Several theories have been propounded concerning the unequal distribution of wealth or income within a defined community and the relationship of that distribution to the propensity (or the target) for commission of lucrative criminal acts.* The income

*See, for example, the technical discussion of the Lorenz Curve and Gini Concentration Ratio in Shryock and Siegel (1973) at page 178 ff. The Council on Municipal Performance (1973) reported on tests of statistically-significant correlation and found that "Poverty in the sense of not having as much as the next person is related to crime," original emphasis (at p. 12 of 1973 Report). COMP also noted that, among 17 factors tested for 30 large U.S. cities, the three measures of income inequality were "... the only ones significantly correlated with both crime indices," i. e., Robbery and Non-violent crimes (at p. 19 of 1973 Report).

data are available to test these relationships at the Census Block or Census Tract level for 1970; however, the victimization data are not available, even in coded form, to test the statistical strength of the correlation. Further, the income data are already five years old; they need to be updated, perhaps coincident with a comprehensive rigorous sampling of households for updates of other necessary data. Without these data, a number of conclusions would have to remain speculative at this juncture.

1.3.3 ETHNICITY AND NATIVITY DATA ANALYSIS

The 1970 Cleveland population of foreign stock was discussed in Section 1.3.1 in connection with the Age and Race Data Analysis. Table 1-4 lists (by Social Planning Area) the proportion of the population of foreign stock, i. e., persons who were themselves foreign-born or the children of foreign-born parents. Although only 21.9 percent of the City's residents in 1970 were first- or second-generation immigrants, the proportions in each SPA range from 1.0 percent in the Central Area to 42.9 percent in North Collinwood; the median proportion per SPA is approximately 28.6 percent foreign-stock. In Cleveland, an "Ethnic" is colloquially defined as a person of Central European stock or descent. As discussed in Section 1.2.3, the concept of ethnicity would more properly be extended to groups deriving from six nations: Poland, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Germany, and Hungary. The retention of national mores and, more relevant to the present discussion of criminal activity, the

concept of the strong nuclear family intuitively has an effect on the propensity to commit or become a target for criminal or delinquent acts. A preliminary analysis of the data indicates that a significant negative correlation may exist between the "pockets of ethnicity" and the frequency and severity of delinquent behavior among all age groups, e.g., strong families and strong-family cultures tend to "take care of their own" in a tribal-law environment. (Bensman and Rosenberg, 1963, at 83-95 and 155-182; Hauser, 1967). Timely reliable data, however, are not available to rigorously examine this phenomenon at the community/neighborhood level.

1.3.4 POPULATION MOBILITY DATA ANALYSIS

Transiency in neighborhoods and cities, as discussed in Section 1.3.2 with respect to housing, is an important criterion in assessing the stability of a community. Section 1.3.2 also described a relationship between the social stability of an area and its attractiveness to crime and criminals. Table 1-6 summarizes population mobility data for the City by Social Planning Area. The table shows that, Citywide, 57.5 percent of the population reporting had not changed residences in the five years prior to the 1970 Census. Examined by SPA, however, the data show a range from 43.74 percent (Edgewater) to 70.07 percent (Lee-Miles). Two SPAs are anomalies in this analysis: the Downtown SPA, the location of Cleveland State University and most of its student

TABLE 1-6

SELECTED MOBILITY DATA
BY SOCIAL PLANNING AREAS (1970)

Social Plan- ning Area	number of persons over 5 years-old	number reporting	Of those reporting		
			% no change	% change in SMSA	% change outside SMSA
Central	9,231	8,106	58.99	37.24	3.76
Central East	20,185	17,452	59.87	33.35	6.78
Central West	15,937	14,085	53.18	40.67	6.16
Clark-Fulton	19,057	18,423	57.12	35.33	7.55
Corlett	35,400	32,597	49.04	43.00	7.96
Denison	16,549	15,449	56.23	34.33	9.44
Downtown	3,764	2,650	33.47	35.36	31.17
Edgewater	9,954	9,188	43.74	40.26	16.00
Glenville	71,264	65,770	58.25	34.91	6.84
Goodrich	7,963	7,380	54.49	34.01	11.50
Hough	40,823	35,031	50.81	41.13	8.06
Jefferson	27,361	26,543	62.40	30.47	7.13
Kinsman	13,177	12,122	55.01	36.58	8.41
Lee-Miles	26,597	25,412	70.07	26.30	3.63
Mt. Pleasant	31,035	28,456	64.29	31.33	4.39

TABLE 1-6

SELECTED MOBILITY DATA
BY SOCIAL PLANNING AREAS (1970)

Social Plan- ning Area (cont.)	number of persons over 5 years-old	number reporting	Of those reporting		
			% no change	% change in SMSA	% change out- side SMSA
Near West Side	44,571	41,423	44.64	40.05	15.31
North Broadway	12,342	11,779	64.51	28.80	6.69
North Collinwood	20,952	20,164	61.74	31.96	6.29
Norwood	19,747	18,247	53.91	33.84	12.25
Puritas-Bellaire	24,564	23,839	69.15	25.94	4.91
Riverside	33,970	32,900	68.05	26.11	5.84
South Broadway	27,639	25,982	64.20	29.04	6.76
South Brooklyn	39,650	38,588	65.18	29.91	4.91
South Collinwood	28,295	25,881	53.28	36.16	10.56
Tremont	16,133	15,126	51.03	34.11	14.86
University	12,202	10,483	35.94	30.43	33.63
West Side	22,655	21,711	57.42	35.50	6.66
Woodland-Hills	32,638	29,729	52.84	36.27	10.89
City of Cleveland	683,655	634,516	57.50	34.00	8.50

population; and the University SPA, the location of Case Western Reserve University and most of its student population. Excluding these two units, the data show that the range of residence changes is 25.94 percent to 43 percent within the SMSA and 3.63 percent to 16 percent from outside the SMSA to Cleveland during the five-year period. These changes, coupled with the area-specific data on racial, age, and foreign stock distributions, permit certain gross conclusions to be drawn with respect to SPAs which are in transition or remaining stable with the previous population. These conclusions are described in Section 1.4.

1.3.5 EMPLOYMENT AND OCCUPATION DATA ANALYSIS

The civilian labor force in Cleveland consisted of 302,480 persons age 16 and over in 1970, representing 57.68 percent of the population in that age group. In April 1970, the Citywide unemployment rate was 5.20 percent. While this Citywide figure was not extraordinary for urban centers in the Spring of 1970, closer examination of the data reveals a significant range of these rates for the 28 SPAs. The lowest rate (2.46 percent) was to be found in the Riverside area on Cleveland's far West Side where 367 men and women were out of work; the highest rates were located in two adjacent areas on Cleveland's East Side, in the Central area where 483 persons (10 percent of the civilian labor force) were unemployed and in Hough where 1,542 persons (11.17 percent) were out of work. Table 1-7 presents these data for all SPAs in the City. The

TABLE 1-7

EMPLOYMENT CHARACTERISTICS BY
SOCIAL PLANNING AREA (1970)

Social Plan- ning Area	Persons age 16 and over	CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE			
		All Persons			Men
		Number	Percent of age group	Percent unemployed	Number
Central	6,648	3,014	45.34	5.35	1,814
Central East	16,139	8,381	51.93	8.29	4,868
Central West	11,690	4,829	41.31	10.00	2,577
Clark-Fulton	14,747	8,666	58.76	3.70	5,339
Corlett	25,696	15,309	59.58	5.44	9,139
Denison	12,902	7,538	58.43	4.95	4,678
Downtown	3,573	1,893	52.98	6.34	1,373
Edgewater	8,435	5,453	64.65	3.94	3,086
Glenville	50,292	30,339	60.33	6.83	16,851
Goodrich	6,544	3,822	58.40	7.14	2,376
Hough	28,594	13,811	48.30	11.17	8,199
Jefferson	21,911	13,304	60.72	3.28	8,125
Kinsman	9,232	4,638	50.24	9.70	2,848
Lee-Miles	19,355	13,652	70.53	3.27	7,603
Mt. Pleasant	23,717	15,221	64.18	5.66	8,148

TABLE 1-7

EMPLOYMENT CHARACTERISTICS BY
SOCIAL PLANNING AREA (1970)
(cont.)

Social Planning Area	CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE				
	Men Number Unemployed	Percent Unemployed	Number	Women Number Unemployed	Percent Unemployed
Central	231	12.73	1,200	125	10.42
Central East	443	9.10	3,513	252	7.17
Central West	296	11.49	2,252	187	8.30
Clark-Fulton	172	3.22	3,327	149	4.48
Corlett	454	4.97	6,170	379	6.14
Denison	275	5.88	2,860	98	3.43
Downtown	78	5.68	520	42	8.08
Edgewater	124	4.02	2,367	91	3.84
Glenville	1,200	7.12	13,488	873	6.47
Goodrich	178	7.49	1,446	95	6.57
Hough	977	11.92	5,612	565	10.68
Jefferson	286	3.52	5,179	151	2.92
Kinsman	267	9.38	1,790	183	10.22
Lee-Miles	256	3.37	6,049	190	3.14
Mt. Pleasant	557	6.84	7,073	304	4.30

TABLE 1-7

EMPLOYMENT CHARACTERISTICS BY
SOCIAL PLANNING AREA (1970)

Social Plan- ning Area (cont.)	Persons age 16 and over	CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE			
		All Persons			Men
		Number	Percent of age group	Percent unemployed	Number
Near West Side	33,122	18,121	54.71	6.18	11,708
North Broadway	9,607	5,447	56.70	3.89	3,490
North Collinwood	17,867	10,569	59.15	3.46	6,205
Norwood	14,974	8,606	57.47	6.39	5,188
Puritas-Bellaire	18,441	11,441	62.04	3.37	7,382
Riverside	25,643	14,925	58.20	2.46	9,357
South Broadway	22,389	12,277	54.83	4.25	7,650
South Brooklyn	31,860	18,384	57.70	2.60	11,389
South Collinwood	23,118	14,106	61.02	3.31	8,610
Tremont	11,913	6,603	55.43	6.56	4,187
University	10,953	5,459	49.84	4.23	3,073
West Side	17,461	10,711	61.34	3.79	6,744
Woodland-Hills	27,553	15,961	57.93	4.45	8,867
City of Cleveland	524,376	302,480	57.68	5.20	180,874

TABLE 1-7

EMPLOYMENT CHARACTERISTICS BY
SOCIAL PLANNING AREA (1970)

Social Plan- ning Area (cont.)	CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE				
	Men		Women		
	Number Unemployed	Percent Unemployed	Number	Number Unemployed	Percent Unemployed
Near West Side	733	6.26	6,413	386	6.02
North Broadway	109	3.12	1,957	103	5.26
North Collinwood	172	2.77	4,364	194	4.45
Norwood	389	7.50	3,418	161	4.71
Puritas-Bellaire	243	3.29	4,059	143	3.52
Riverside	228	2.44	5,568	139	2.50
South Broadway	316	4.13	4,627	206	4.45
South Brooklyn	340	2.99	6,995	138	1.97
South Collinwood	282	3.28	5,496	185	3.37
Tremont	352	8.41	2,416	81	3.35
University	161	5.24	2,386	70	2.93
West Side	231	3.43	3,967	175	4.41
Woodland-Hills	364	4.11	7,094	347	4.89
City of Cleveland	9,714	5.37	121,606	6,012	4.94

geographic patterns implied in the previous discussions of race, age, income, and housing quality also obtain here. Clearly, the propensity toward criminal activity may be only a subtle correlate of any one of these factors, but when all are considered there may be significant degrees of covariation. The feasibility and methodology for testing this postulate are currently being investigated. In particular, it appears desirable to examine a time-series of unemployment rates, on an SPA or other basis, in contrast to the changing patterns of other factors describing the social environment. Preliminary conclusions are presented below in Section 1.4.

Two other factors are of importance in the discussion of employment: the number of unemployed young men under the age of 22; and the number of high school dropouts age 16 through 21. Table 1-3 demonstrates these data on a Citywide basis by race; however, rigorous reliable data were not available to identify whether geographic patterns exist or the degree of covariation with other factors. The implications of these employment data are twofold: (1) if unemployment is high in relation to the surrounding environment, young people with nothing constructive to occupy their time may engage in delinquent or criminal behavior; alternatively, (2) where unemployment is low in relation to the larger community, residents may tend to become complacent as they enjoy "the good life," and may be careless with their property and household and thus "invite" into their

communities retaliatory or covetous criminal or delinquent behavior, particularly when racial or cultural segregation and gross income inequality are widespread.

The Citywide occupational data shown in Table 1-3 demonstrate a preponderance of employment as (1) non-transportation equipment operatives, (2) clerical and kindred workers, (3) non-household service workers, and (4) craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers. These orderings are valid for the black population as well as for all City residents. Table 1-8 presents the distribution of occupational types by SPA in 1970. The patterns are noticeable in terms of the proportionate occurrence of major occupational types. The plurality of the occupations in 16 of the 28 SPAs are Non-Transportation Operatives; ten of the SPAs have a plurality among Clerical Workers; and one SPA each has a plurality among Craftsmen and Non-Household Service Workers. The second-highest proportionate representation of occupations is distributed among approximately the same categories: ten SPAs have the second-highest fraction in Clerical Workers, seven in Service Workers, six in Craftsmen, three in Non-Transportation Operatives, and two in Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers.

The occurrence in the Professionals category of 18.7 percent of the Downtown employed persons and 17.9 percent of the Edgewater

TABLE 1-8

OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS BY
SOCIAL PLANNING AREA (1970)

Social Plan- ning Area	Employed persons over age 15	Percent Professional, etc.	Percent Managers, etc.	Percent Sales Workers	Percent Clerical Workers
Central	2,658	2.7	1.5	1.3	7.9
Central East	7,686	6.2	1.4	2.6	11.2
Central West	4,346	7.3	3.1	2.3	22.5
Clark-Fulton	8,345	5.7	3.3	5.3	5.3
Corlett	14,476	6.6	3.2	3.9	18.1
Denison	7,165	7.8	4.0	4.4	21.0
Downtown	1,654	18.7	8.0	3.0	23.2
Edgewater	5,243	17.9	7.4	6.1	27.1
Glenville	28,266	6.7	1.9	2.8	17.7
Goodrich	3,117	5.2	3.3	1.6	17.9
Hough	12,269	5.1	1.6	2.6	13.7
Jefferson	12,875	8.6	4.2	6.5	23.7
Kinsman	6,961	2.3	1.4	3.1	13.6
Lee-Miles	13,206	12.7	4.1	4.4	20.8
Mt. Pleasant	11,850	7.2	3.2	2.9	19.4

TABLE 1-8
 OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS BY
 SOCIAL PLANNING AREA (1970)
 (cont.)

Social Plan- ning Area	Percent Crafts- men	Percent Opera- tives (non- transport)	Percent Trans- port Op- eratives	Percent Labor- ers	Percent Service Workers	Percent House- hold Workers
Central	9.2	22.1	6.8	17.6	21.1	5.6
Central East	9.2	22.3	6.8	9.5	24.0	5.6
Central West	7.5	18.2	3.2	9.0	18.8	3.5
Clark-Fulton	19.4	24.5	7.1	7.0	11.9	0.6
Corlett	14.0	23.5	6.2	8.0	14.3	16.8
Denison	17.7	22.8	5.9	5.2	11.5	0.4
Downtown	12.7	10.2	4.7	5.8	13.7	0.0
Edgewater	13.5	11.1	3.8	2.7	9.8	0.4
Glenville	9.4	22.4	6.1	7.7	20.3	3.9
Goodrich	10.5	33.9	4.6	6.5	15.3	0.5
Hough	10.1	23.5	6.3	9.2	23.4	3.6
Jefferson	19.5	18.9	4.5	3.5	10.2	0.3
Kinsman	10.9	24.8	8.6	11.9	19.5	4.9
Lee-Miles	11.3	19.0	5.1	11.4	11.2	1.8
Mt. Pleasant	10.9	21.8	5.4	6.3	18.2	4.2

TABLE 1-8

*-rounded from
14.29OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS BY
SOCIAL PLANNING AREA (1970)

Social Plan- ning Area (cont.)	Employed persons over age 15	Percent Profess- ional, etc.	Percent Managers, etc.	Percent Sales Workers	Percent Clerical Workers
Near West Side	16,956	6.1	3.5	3.2	14.3 *
North Broadway	5,235	4.1	2.5	4.4	17.9
North Collinwood	10,204	12.3	4.9	4.9	22.3
Norwood	8,056	5.7	2.8	3.2	18.3
Puritas-Bellaire	11,055	6.7	4.4	5.5	19.6
Riverside	12,934	13.0	7.5	8.2	24.7
South Broadway	11,764	5.9	2.9	4.5	21.1
South Brooklyn	17,906	10.9	5.9	5.6	24.2
South Collinwood	13,639	10.0	3.6	4.7	20.2
Tremont	6,101	5.1	2.8	4.3	14.0
University	6,418	17.3	3.6	3.7	21.8
West Side	10,305	7.1	3.4	6.5	21.6
Woodland-Hills	15,250	17.1	12.1	6.7	20.5
City of Cleveland	285,940	8.9	3.8	4.5	19.4
Number of SPA s with highest proportion		0	0	0	10
Number of SPAs with second-highest proportion		2	0	0	10

TABLE 1-8

OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS BY
SOCIAL PLANNING AREA (1970)
(cont.)

**-rounded from
14.27%

Social Plan- ning Area	Percent Crafts- men	Percent Operat- ives (non- transport)	Percent Trans- port Op- eratives	Percent Labor- ers	Percent Service Workers	Percent House- hold Workers
Near West Side	14.3**	3.1	6.1	6.4	14.0	0.7
North Broadway	19.0	16.9	13.2	7.8	13.2	0.4
North Collinwood	15.9	22.8	3.0	3.0	10.7	0.2
Norwood	13.9	33.3	3.9	5.6	12.5	1.4
Puritas-Bellaire	19.9	21.4	5.2	4.2	10.1	0.6
Riverside	17.9	11.3	3.5	2.7	10.6	0.4
South Broadway	18.3	24.1	5.6	5.9	10.8	0.4
South Brooklyn	18.6	15.7	4.1	4.0	9.1	0.3
South Collinwood	15.3	26.3	3.1	4.5	11.0	0.9
Tremont	14.6	26.8	5.6	10.5	16.0	0.4
University	6.2	12.0	2.1	6.5	18.8	2.6
West Side	17.4	23.1	4.9	4.1	11.1	0.5
Woodland-Hills	10.9	17.3	3.5	5.1	12.0	2.7
City of Cleveland	14.0	21.8	5.0	6.1	14.4	1.7
No. of SPAs with highest proportion	1	16	0	0	1	0
No. of SPAs with 2nd highest prop.	6	3	0	0	7	0

employed persons is further evidence of the geographic stratification of Cleveland's society. The Downtown SPA, in addition to housing students at Cleveland State University, is also the location of a number of recently-constructed apartment buildings. Of the four such buildings occupied in 1974, only two were occupied in 1970. These 1970 Census residents constituted the beginning of a trend among professional, technical, and clerical persons to work and live in downtown Cleveland. The apartment buildings generally provided rentals in a number of ranges, i. e., from an average of 43 to 211 dollars per month, thus attracting persons with a broad spectrum of financial positions within these occupational classifications. For example, in 1970, 41.9 percent of the employed persons living in the Downtown SPA were in the professional, technical, and clerical occupations. In the Edgewater SPA, 45 percent of the employed residents were in the professional, technical, and clerical occupations. The Edgewater residential environment consists of a mixture of relatively new apartments with older multiple-unit dwellings and middle- and upper-middle income homes. The average contract rent ranged from 68 dollars per month in the southern blocks of the Area to 166 dollars per month along Lake Avenue in the northern portion of the Area. The average value of residences ranged from 12,900 dollars to 51,300 dollars. Rents averaged 3.1 to 5.9 rooms per unit; owner-occupied residences averaged 5.3 to 9.3 rooms per

home. In sum, Edgewater in 1970 was a middle- to upper-middle income Area with virtually no non-white residents, composed of professional and clerical persons, who worked principally in downtown Cleveland.

1.3.6 EDUCATION DATA ANALYSIS

The data presented in Table 1-9 permit examination of the educational attainment of Cleveland's population in 1970 by Social Planning Area. The data are tabulated for 411,486 persons age 25 and older. Citywide, 7.0 percent of this population had completed less than five years of schooling, 34.5 percent had completed less than one year of high school, 37.4 percent had completed at least four years of high school, and 4.4 percent had completed at least four years of college. The data in the table show that while these figures do not represent a population that is in general undereducated, the data do show some significant variances from the surrounding communities. These variations are noticeable from three figures: the percentage of the population with four years or less of schooling; the percentage of the population with four or more years of college; and the median school years completed. Statewide, 3.5 percent of the population had less than five years of school, in the SMSA this figure was 4.1 percent, and in Cleveland the proportion is 7.0 percent. In 1970, 9.3 percent of Ohio's inhabitants over the age of 24 had completed four or more years of college, while in the SMSA and the City the figures were 10.9 and 4.4 percent, respectively. Finally, the median school years completed figures are 12.1 years each for the

TABLE 1-9

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY PERSONS AGE 25 AND OVER
BY SOCIAL PLANNING AREA (1970)

Social Plan- ning Area	Number of Persons over age 24	Median school yrs. completed	Percent less than 5 years	Percent 8 years	Percent high school 4 years
Central	5,477	8.8	14.9	14.1	11.1
Central East	13,344	9.5	11.6	12.1	19.7
Central West	8,796	9.9	13.6	12.2	19.9
Clark-Fulton	11,675	10.1	5.3	18.1	24.6
Corlett	20,308	10.7	7.3	12.8	28.5
Denison	10,162	10.4	6.3	16.0	27.9
Downtown	2,582	10.3	6.0	16.2	18.3
Edgewater	6,682	12.2	3.4	11.5	35.3
Glenville	38,085	10.8	6.4	10.3	27.0
Goodrich	5,325	9.4	10.9	20.2	17.3
Hough	21,412	9.8	10.1	12.1	20.4
Jefferson	17,691	10.9	4.2	16.4	35.0
Kinsman	6,999	9.3	13.3	13.4	18.8
Lee-Miles	15,583	12.0	4.4	7.8	35.9
Mt. Pleasant	18,828	11.1	6.4	10.2	30.0

TABLE 1-9

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY PERSONS AGE 25 AND OVER
 BY SOCIAL PLANNING AREA (1970)
 (cont.)

Social Plan- ning Area	Percent College				
Central	0.4				
Central East	1.9				
Central West	2.2				
Clark-Fulton	1.8				
Corlett	2.6				
Denison	3.4				
Downtown	10.9				
Edgewater	11.4				
Glenville	2.8				
Goodrich	2.0				
Hough	2.2				
Jefferson	3.9				
Kinsman	0.8				
Lee-Miles	7.7				
Mt. Pleasant	4.0				

TABLE 1-9

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY PERSONS AGE 25 AND OVER
BY SOCIAL PLANNING AREA (1970)

Social Plan- ning Area (cont.)	Number of persons over age 24	Median school yrs. completed	Percent less than 5 years	Percent 8 years	Percent high school--4 years
Near West Side	25,459	9.4	9.0	18.3	18.9
North Broadway	7,616	9.5	7.1	19.7	21.8
North Collinwood	13,072	10.8	6.9	12.4	23.9
Norwood	12,018	9.4	11.0	24.2	19.5
Puritas-Bellaire	14,889	11.2	2.8	14.4	34.9
Riverside	20,910	12.3	2.1	11.3	40.9
South Broadway	17,911	10.0	7.8	17.1	24.7
South Brooklyn	25,960	11.4	2.9	14.4	34.7
South Collinwood	16,209	10.8	7.0	15.2	31.5
Tremont	9,053	9.3	13.3	18.0	17.6
University	5,365	11.8	7.1	11.1	23.7
West Side	13,590	11.2	4.1	14.9	34.3
Woodland-Hills	22,533	10.8	7.2	11.4	25.5
City of Cleveland	411,486	10.7	7.0	13.8	27.5

TABLE 1-9

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY PERSONS AGE 25 AND OVER
 BY SOCIAL PLANNING AREA (1970)
 (cont.)

Social Plan- ning Area (cont.)	Percent College				
Near West Side	2.5				
North Broadway	1.8				
North Collinwood	1.8				
Norwood	3.1				
Puritas-Bellaire	2.3				
Riverside	10.2				
South Broadway	18.3				
South Brooklyn	4.2				
South Collinwood	3.6				
Tremont	2.6				
University	19.9				
West Side	2.6				
Woodland-Hills	11.6				
City of Cleveland	4.4				

State and the SMSA, but only 10.7 years for the City. In all urban areas of Ohio, the median level was 12.2 years for whites and 10.6 years for blacks. Thus, although the City was composed of less than 40 percent non-white residents in 1970, the Cleveland population's educational attainment is noticeably closer to that of a predominantly black population in a radically integrated community.

The implication of a racial bias in educational attainment is reinforced from the data in Table 1-9. Of the 13 SPAs with above-City-median attainment, ten had less than the Citywide average proportion (39.0 percent) of non-white residents. The same ten SPAs had more than the Citywide average proportion of foreign stock and also had unemployment rates lower than the Citywide average. In general, these SPAs are located on the City's periphery, i. e., they are the outlying Areas; they are situated in Police Districts One (five SPAs), Two (one SPA), Four (one SPA), Five (one SPA), and Six (two SPAs).^{*} These data are discussed further and conclusions drawn below in Section 1.4.

1.4 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS REGARDING SOCIAL DATA

Section I has presented a general social, demographic, and economic description of the City of Cleveland in 1970. The city described is one of significant heterogeneity, compounded with the problems of most major American cities. Cleveland as a jurisdiction, however, is not as heterogeneous

^{*}The ten Areas are: (District One) Edgewater, Jefferson, Puritas-Bellaire, Riverside, and West Side; (District Two) South Brooklyn; (District Four) Woodland-Hills; (District Five) University; and (District Six) North Collinwood and South Collinwood.

as the summary citywide statistics imply. In reality, the city is an aggregation of neighborhoods, each of which constitutes a polarized region in terms of its population's age, race, ethnic/national background, housing quality, family structure, income, occupation, and education. While crime-causality is not posited here, it is significant to note that these differences, on whatever stratum, tend to breed inter-neighborhood frictions and tensions. Such attitudes may appreciably heighten a community's propensity to be a location for criminal activity, either as a target (i. e. , for burglaries or auto thefts or commercial crimes) or as a place in which persons with anti-social tendencies are born and raised. Individuals living in such neighborhoods may well be socialized differently, that is, they may learn different normative behavior which may be contrary to the accepted norm of the majority. Sub-cultural groups may readily develop into contra-cultural groups.

These patterns differ among the communities in a statistically significant manner (see Section IV). The researchers have been unable to relate these social environments to criminal victimizations principally because the Survey data were not available on a neighborhood bases. It has been impossible to come to finite conclusions about who commits crime, who gets victimized, why the crime occurs, and, in sum, how such crime can be reduced. Future victimization surveys must indicate this information in order to ensure the practical utility of the research for local government planning and resource management.

SECTION II

CRIMINAL JUSTICE AGENCIES IN CLEVELAND

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This section describes the structure, function, and operation of the criminal justice agencies serving the residents of Cleveland, Ohio. The discussion focuses upon these agencies and the City as they were in 1971 and 1972, the time period of interest with respect to the Victimization Survey results presented in the remainder of this report.

Nationally, the criminal justice agencies in large urban areas administer justice in a characteristically non-systematic manner with regard to the coordination and cooperation among agencies and functions. For the most part, this is not the case in Metropolitan Cleveland. Although the criminal justice agencies serving Cleveland did not in 1971-72 represent a finely-tuned smooth-running "system," the inter-agency activities in general performed smoothly. This is remarkable in light of a number of facts: (1) there are 60 discrete municipalities in Cuyahoga County, consisting of 38 cities, 18 villages, and four townships; (2) there is no unincorporated territory for which the County is solely responsible for municipal services; (3) in addition to the Cuyahoga County Sheriff's Office, each municipality operates a local government law enforcement agency; and (4) there are 13 Municipal Court Districts in the County, each including from one to 14 municipalities, and each with its own Municipal Prosecutor's Office attached to the Court.

The reasons for smooth operations are typified by three situations: (1) the City of Cleveland, through its criminal justice agencies, annually represents from two-thirds to three-fourths of the Countywide agencies' workload; (2) there are, as a practical matter, only three adult correction/detention facilities in the County, i. e., the Cleveland Police jail, the Cleveland House of Correction (Workhouse), and the Cuyahoga County Jail;* and (3) there are, as a practical matter, only two adult probation departments in the County, i. e., the Cleveland Municipal Court Probation Department and the Cuyahoga County Court of Common Pleas Probation Department. Thus, the City is not only the dominant force in shaping the economic and social structure of the metropolitan area, but also represents the focus of criminal justice agency operations in Cuyahoga County.

2.2 CITY OF CLEVELAND CRIMINAL JUSTICE AGENCIES

Cleveland is governed by a Mayor-Council system. Mayor Ralph J. Perk's Administration included the following cabinet-level departments in 1972: Community Development, Finance, Health and Welfare, Human Resources, Law, Port Authority, Public Properties, Public Safety, Public Service, and Public Utilities. The Director of the Law Department serves as Vice-Mayor. Cleveland's Mayor and the Councilmen from the City's 33 Wards must stand for election during the Fall of odd-numbered years. Mayor Perk was elected to his current position in 1971.

*The County Jail is principally a holding facility rather than being an institution for sentenced felons. Those sentenced for terms longer than one year are transferred to State facilities within a few weeks after their sentencing.

The City, through its Mayor and Council, provided support for the operations of the Cleveland Police Department (the Division of Police of the Department of Public Safety), the City Police Prosecutor (in the Law Department), the Municipal Court (together with the Village of Bratenahl) and Municipal Court Probation Department, and the Workhouse (the Cleveland House of Correction of the Department of Health and Welfare).

2.2.1 CLEVELAND POLICE DEPARTMENT*

The Cleveland Police Department functions through its top administrative officer, the Chief of Police, and falls within the structure of the Department of Public Safety along with other City Safety functions, such as the dog pound and City fire suppression activities. In 1972, four Inspectors headed the various operations of the police force: One Inspector served as Deputy Chief; one headed the Headquarters Staff, including responsibility for Planning and Research, Personnel, Clerical, and Recruitment functions, and the Restricted Duty Pool; the third Inspector supervised the Bureau of Staff Operations, including the Division of Administrative Services, the Division of Communications, and the Division of Services (which included the Record Section); and the fourth Inspector was in charge of Line Operations, including the Divisions of Basic Patrol, Criminal Investigation, and Traffic.

At the end of 1971, the Police Department had a total complement

*This description is taken from the Cleveland IMPACT MASTER PLAN-- 1972, Office of the Mayor, Cleveland IMPACT Cities Program (June 1972), Section 2.

of 2,315, of which 1,391 (60.1 percent) were assigned to patrol functions within one of the six Districts of the Police Department's Task Force, and 635 (27.4 percent) of the entire force were assigned to investigative activities. The Department operates out of six District Stations, including Headquarters which is colocated with the District Three Station. The Headquarters site is also the location of the Chief's office, selected staff offices, the Detective Bureau, the Communications Center, the Record Division, and the Jail. The six Districts are subdivided into zones, of which there was a total of 86 in 1971. The zones and Districts are the basic units by which the Department allocates resources and deploys personnel and equipment. The number of police per capita for Cleveland is 3.1 per 1,000 population, compared to an average for large cities of 2.0 per 1,000 population. The density is 30.4 policemen per square mile and 48.5 policemen per residential square mile.

The Cleveland Police Department's 1971 budget was \$39,096,283, up 3.6 percent from the 1970 total. The 1971 figure consisted of \$29,147,620 for personal services, \$9,766,702 for other operations, and \$181,961 for capital outlay. The Department's budget represented 60.7 percent of all local government law enforcement expenditures in 1971.

2.2.2 CLEVELAND LAW DEPARTMENT

Under the aegis of the City of Cleveland Law Department, the Chief Police Prosecutor and his staff represent the City in criminal cases

before the Municipal Court. It has been the responsibility of the Prosecutor's Office to interface and liaison with police personnel in order to bring defendants to trial or preliminary hearing (in misdemeanor or felony matters, respectively) in the City court. To this end, the Prosecutor's staff has offices colocated with the Municipal Court's Criminal Branch, the Court Clerk's Offices, the Municipal Court Probation Department, the City Jail, and Cleveland Police Headquarters. Preliminary Hearings for felonies are held Monday through Saturday mornings in the Municipal Court in order to facilitate implementation of Constitutional speedy-trial provisions and to reduce the overnight population of the City Jail.

The Cleveland Law Department, including the Police Prosecutor's Office, had a 1971 budget of \$823,008, of which \$536,819 was for personal services and \$286,189 for other operating expenses. The total 1971 budget was down 26.5 percent from the 1970 operating budget. The City Law Department's 1971 allocation was 39.7 percent of all municipal law department expenditures in the County.

2.2.3 CLEVELAND MUNICIPAL COURT*

The Ohio Legislature has created, by statute, 108 municipal courts throughout the State. There are 13 such Municipal Court Districts in Cuyahoga County. The Cleveland Municipal Court District judicates for the City of Cleveland and the Village of Bratenahl, with the City providing

*Parts of this description are taken from the Cleveland IMPACT MASTER PLAN--1972, Office of the Mayor, Cleveland IMPACT Cities Program (June 1972), Section 2.

the bulk of the Court's work. The municipal court has jurisdiction to try persons accused of misdemeanors, municipal ordinance violations, or traffic violations committed within its jurisdiction. The municipal court judge sets bond in felony cases, and upon finding of probable cause at a preliminary hearing may bind the accused over to the grand jury or the Court of Common Pleas. As a practical matter, an indictment from the grand jury is forthcoming, at which time the case is "nolled" in favor of the indictment. "Nolle" is colloquial for nolle prosequi, an entry filed by the Prosecutor denoting that the prosecution intends to proceed no further with the criminal action. Cases which are "nolled" may be refiled at a later date. The record entry for such cases as are "nolled" appears as "Nolle, Indicted," indicating the sequence and relationship of the two events.

Misdemeanor and felony are distinguished on the basis of the maximum sentence which may be assessed under state law for the particular offense. In Ohio, a felony is defined by statute as a crime which may be punished by death or by imprisonment in the state penitentiary. A misdemeanor is defined as a crime punishable only by fine or by imprisonment in the House of Correction or the county jail for not more than one year.

Misdemeanant probation in Cuyahoga County is the responsibility of the Municipal Courts. The Cleveland Municipal Court Probation Department had a staff of 25 full-time probation officers in 1971.

The Cleveland Municipal Court, including the Municipal Court Probation Department, had a 1971 budget of \$3,139,011, of which \$2,583,333 was for personal services and \$555,678 for other operating expenses. The total 1971 operating budget was up 1.3 percent from the 1970 budget. The Cleveland Court's 1971 allocation represented 72.7 percent of all Municipal Court expenditures in the County.

2.2.4 CLEVELAND HOUSE OF CORRECTION*

The Cleveland House of Correction, known as the Workhouse, is located on City-owned land in Warrensville Heights, southeast of Cleveland in Cuyahoga County. The several Workhouse facilities in 1971 had a total capacity of 860 persons. The majority of the inmates are sentenced misdemeanants. In 1971, the Workhouse had a staff of 144 full-time personnel, including 99 custodial officers, 12 guidance and counseling staff, and 33 administrative and maintenance personnel. The House of Correction is operated by the City through the Department of Public Health and Welfare.

2.3 COUNTY OF CUYAHOGA CRIMINAL JUSTICE AGENCIES

Cuyahoga County is administered by three County Commissioners, elected at-large. The County, through the Board of Commissioners and several County Departments, provided support for the operations of the Cuyahoga County Court of Common Pleas, the Court of Common Pleas

*This description is taken from the Cleveland IMPACT MASTER PLAN--1972, loc. cit.

Probation Department, County Prosecutor's Office, and the Juvenile Court. Partial subvention was provided to the Legal Aid Society of Cleveland.

2.3.1 CUYAHOGA COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE

The County Sheriff is an elected law enforcement officer for the entire county. Although the Sheriff is empowered to perform law enforcement functions, in Cuyahoga County the Sheriff's Office acts principally in the fields of process service, Court security (as bailiffs), prisoner transport, and operation of the County Jail.

2.3.2 CUYAHOGA COUNTY PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE

The Office of the Cuyahoga County Prosecutor represents the People in cases before the Court of Common Pleas and the Cuyahoga County Grand Jury. Assistant Prosecuting Attorneys coordinate case preparation activities with the Police Prosecutors at the Municipal Court level and with personnel from the police departments appropriate to the persons arrested and being tried in the Court of Common Pleas.

2.3.3 CUYAHOGA COUNTY COURT OF COMMON PLEAS*

The Constitution of the State of Ohio provides that there shall be a Court of Common Pleas in each of the 88 counties in the State. The Court of Common Pleas has original and exclusive jurisdiction to try felony matters to completion, as well as any other offense which is not in the exclusive jurisdiction of the inferior courts. In 1971, 13 of the

*This description is from the Cleveland IMPACT MASTER PLAN--1972, loc. cit.

Court's 28 judges were assigned to hear criminal cases. In addition, the bench is often augmented by visiting judges. In 1971, 40 visiting judges sat a total of 666.5 judicial days. The visiting judges are employed for the purpose of increasing the number of cases which the Court can hear in a given time, in order to reduce the Court's criminal case backlog (the number of cases awaiting trial).

The State of Ohio considers probation for adults to be a local rather than a statewide matter. The Cuyahoga County Court of Common Pleas Probation Department maintains a full-time staff to handle approximately 2,000 probation cases each year. In addition to supervising probationers from the Court, the Department prepares pre-sentence investigation reports on persons convicted in the Common Pleas Court. These reports are prepared at the direction of the judge in the case.

Until July 1972, the Juvenile Court of Cuyahoga County was a separate agency from the Common Pleas Court. Since that time, the Juvenile Court Division of the Court of Common Pleas has performed the same functions as the former autonomous Court. The juvenile court was created by the State Legislature to protect the general public's interest in the welfare of Ohio's juveniles. A child is defined as a person under the age of 18 when the alleged offense was committed. The Court has jurisdiction also over adults who are charged with child abuse or neglect, with failure to exercise reasonable parental control, or with

contributing to the delinquency of a minor child. The Juvenile Court may bind such an adult over to the Common Pleas Court in felony matters.

The Juvenile Court (Division) has original and exclusive jurisdiction over a child arrested on any complaint whatsoever. In certain circumstances, the Juvenile Court may relinquish jurisdiction to the Common Pleas Court if the child is charged with a felony and is over the age of 15.

As an extension of the judicial operations, the Juvenile Court also operates a Detention Home for temporary custody of children and a probation department to facilitate their transition to the community.

2.3.4 LEGAL AID SOCIETY OF CLEVELAND

The Legal Aid Society has operated as a Public Defender's Office in Cuyahoga County. Initially, the Society received subvention and case assignments only from the Court of Common Pleas for representation of indigent felony defendants. Recently (since 1972), the Society has begun to extend its services to the Cleveland Municipal Court in the representation of indigent defendants at preliminary hearing for felony cases and at trial for misdemeanor cases. Funds are being provided through City and County sources in addition to a number of grants from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration of the U. S. Department of Justice.

2.4 STATE AGENCIES AFFECTING CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN CLEVELAND

Three State Agencies are noteworthy in the context of the Cleveland criminal justice system. The Ohio Youth Commission operates girls' and boys' facilities in the Cleveland area. These facilities provide for schooling, custodial care, and the juvenile counterpart of adult penal institutions for children from Northeast Ohio. A State Prison System is administered from Columbus, including Minimum, Medium, and Maximum security locations throughout the State. The Ohio Adult Parole Authority operates two offices in the Cleveland area to assist in the re-integration of parolees.

SECTION III

SURVEY RESULTS

3.1 DATA COLLECTION

Before reviewing the data collected for Cleveland, a few comments on the research design are in order. This section briefly outlines the time period under study, sampling procedures, definition of categories, and generation and analysis of the basic tables used in this report. The Appendix contains an explanation of the sampling design, copies of the instrument, documentation of programs and tabulating procedures, and computation of statistics.

A stratified random sample was generated employing computer tapes from the 1970 decennial census for each city in the study.* Additional data were added to provide an accurate picture of the population of each city in 1972.

In October 1972, interviewers were sent into the field to visit each pre-selected dwelling unit. Respondents were interviewed concerning whether they or any member of the household had been a victim of a crime during the preceding year, i. e., September 1971 through August 1972. If they had, additional questions were asked of the victim if he were available,

*The 13 cities in the survey were the eight LEAA IMPACT Cities (Atlanta, GA; Baltimore, MD; Cleveland, OH; Dallas, TX; Denver, CO; Newark, NJ; Portland, OR; and St. Louis, MO) and the five largest cities in the United States (Chicago, IL; Detroit, MI; Los Angeles, CA; New York, NY; and Philadelphia, PA). These cities are sometimes known collectively as the sites for the National Crime Panel.

concerning loss, circumstances, injuries, reporting to police, and victim and offender characteristics.

The completed interview served as the principal source document for additional processing, including the computation of incidence tables, standard errors, and estimated rates. These tables serve as the basis for this report; some of the tables appear here in modified form. The period under study is the year September 1971 through August 1972. Several points are critical to understanding the implications of these data. First, the rates are computed from self-reported data, which themselves frequently are questioned.*

In addition, it must be pointed out that a questionnaire was used to obtain information on offenses which occurred to Cleveland residents. These data do not contain information on rate of victimization for suburbanites who travel into the City for work or entertainment and may be victimized while in the City. This is quite important given the position of Cleveland vis-a-vis the County and the Northeastern Ohio area. Cleveland's population increases considerably during the day as workers arrive and people come into the central city of the SMSA to shop or to make use of entertainment or service facilities. The precise magnitude of this daily influx cannot be determined. However, statistics are available on the number of workers living outside the central city who commute into the central city each day to work. According to the Real

*See Field Surveys I, op. cit., pp. 26-41 (Chapter 2), Derek Phillips, Knowledge From What?, and Pauline Young, Scientific Social Surveys and Research for a discussion of problems involved in self-reporting and attempts at external validation.

Property Inventory of Metropolitan Cleveland, over 205,000 individuals enter Cleveland daily to work and return to their homes outside of the central city in the evenings. This influx more than doubles the population within the City each day. Added to this total are the individuals who enter the City to shop, to attend concerts, theaters, museums, sporting events, etc.

As a result, the "at risk" population of Cleveland is considerably greater than the residential population. In addition, these commuters who are victims of criminal activity obviously could not be interviewed by the survey team. This circumstance may have prevented the accumulation of data on a large fraction of the victimizations. These individuals do, however, report these victimizations, when they occur in Cleveland, to the Cleveland Police. These crimes are then added to the Cleveland Police Department statistics. (See Section 4.6 below on Reporting).

3.2 ANALYSIS TECHNIQUES

Most crime statistics are presented as "rates" to allow comparison across unequal size populations. For example, if there are 130 rapes among blacks and 43 rapes among whites (as there were in 1972 in Cleveland), the important point is the rate of rape for each group given its proportion in the population; that is, the number of victimizations (or incidents) per 100,000 population. This standardizing allows easier comparison than do absolute numbers, especially when the bases are

different. However, it must be borne in mind that rates can be misleading if based on a small total.*

In many of the tables presented in this report, the "Control Totals" indicated the total population on which rates were computed. To obtain the absolute number of events, it is necessary to multiply the rate by this total (in 100,000s). For example, in Table 3-3, the rate for robbery committed by a stranger is 2,174 robberies per 100,000. To obtain the estimated number of incidents, this rate is multiplied by 5.11 (the control population in 100,000s), resulting in an absolute number of robberies by strangers of 11,109.

In many cases, the term "estimated" is used when discussing rates or number of incidents. It must be remembered that the data presented in this analysis are survey data collected from a sample of households in Cleveland. Less than 10,000 households of the more than 200,000 households were actually interviewed. Therefore, rates or numbers of incidents which were based on the smaller "n" were statistically projected (i. e., generalized) to the total population. Due to sampling error, small discrepancies are possible, resulting in the use of the term "estimated." In addition, categories sometimes do not sum to the given "Total." This is a function of the summation process

*Also implied in rate computations is a direct relationship between population and the incidence of crime. A number of studies, cited in Section IV, have noted the co-variation of the two; however, comparison of two disparate cities' rates may not be warranted. The reader is cautioned against drawing such conclusions. The issue is discussed in greater detail below.

and the rounding error which frequently inflate the sum of categories to one or two more than the given total. However, in the case of individuals, an error of two in 500,000 (or two in 230,000 in the case of households) is less than 0.01 percent and is inconsequential in the analysis.

All differences discussed in this survey have been subjected to statistical testing to determine if the difference is "real" (due to some tested variable) or due to chance. The level of significance here for all tests is 0.05. This means that the likelihood of making an error in stating that a "real" difference exists when it does not is less than one in 20. A detailed discussion of the statistical tests appears in the Technical Appendix. However, whenever the word "significant" is used in the text, it indicates that such a test has been conducted and the results indicate the difference discussed is "real."

The data presented here are estimates derived from a probability sample and as such are subject to sampling errors which may become significant. Every attempt has been made to reduce this possibility of error, but the reader must be aware that generalizations made from these data are tenuous and the interpretation of these tables must be done carefully.

The problem of causation in criminal research must be carefully examined because of the complexity of the various socio-economic,

psychological, and ecological variables being studied. The fact that a relationship, i. e., a statistically strong association between two variables, exists does not imply causation. The field of criminological research has shifted from a single variable approach to crime causation to the "multiple factor approach" of Cohen (Cohen, 1970). Several authors have addressed the issue of what causes crimes and have eliminated simplistic single-factor model research based on faulty criteria of causality.* The development of complex multi-factor statistical models would allow the elimination of some "spurious" relationships; however, this approach is beyond the scope of this research.** In addition, care must be taken to avoid attributing criminal behavior to all members of a social or geographic group.***

A brief discussion of the "representativeness" of the National Crime Survey data has been offered in Section 1.3 above. A detailed comparison of the 1970 Census data with the Survey data indicates some divergence in the sample "statistics" which cannot be explained away by either (1) non-comparability of category or (2) changes in the two years from enumeration time (1970) to Survey interview time (1972). Any difference should be analyzed in terms of a goodness-of-fit test to determine how

*See MacIver, Social Causation, and Wilkins, "The Concept of Cause in Criminology."

**See Hubert Blalock, Causal Inference from Non-Experimental Data, for a discussion of alternate designs which attack the problem of spurious relationships.

***This is frequently referred to as the "ecological fallacy" or the fallacy of aggregation.

well the two compare. Such a procedure has been employed and the results indicate that for the following categories significant differences exist*: Race, Sex, Tenure, Income, and Age, though in the latter two categories precise comparisons are difficult because of non-comparability of the data. This lack of representativeness does not appreciably affect the conclusions drawn from the data in a logical sense, but does significantly affect the ability to generalize. Statements about Cleveland or other cities are questionable and any projections or generalizations are tenuous, to say the least.

3.3 CRIME DEFINITIONS

The traditional UCR division of criminal activity into "Crimes against Persons" and "Crimes against Property" will be employed in this discussion. However, some qualifications are in order before proceeding. Difficulties in categorizing and defining crimes have frequently been discussed in the criminology literature. The typology of crime types outlined by Clinnard and Quinney (1967) and Gibbons (1965) roughly follows the dichotomy outlined above with the exceptions of victimless crimes, white-collar crimes, and organized crimes.

The categories chosen allow straightforward translation of UCR data into the categories chosen by the National Crime Panel. Three

*The data and tests of significance are presented below in the technical Appendices.

broad classifications transcending this dichotomy are also employed: Personal Crime, Household Crime, and Commercial Crime. Each specific crime is discussed below under these general headings. Many crimes are further differentiated as "attempted," distinguishing that criminal activity (e. g., burglary) which was attempted but not completed.

The crime categories used for most of this report are much simplified aggregations of very specific crime definitions. With the exception of the first nine tables (see Section 4.2), the National Crime Panel categories: "Assaultive Violence with Theft," "Assaultive Violence without Theft," "Personal Theft without Injury," and "Total Victimizations" are used for personal victimizations instead of the Uniform Crime Report categories. For household victimizations, the categories "Burglary," "Larceny over \$50," and "Auto Theft" are used, and for commercial victimizations, the categories "Burglary" and "Robbery" are used.

The National Crime Panel categories outlined above are based on an aggregation of the more specific crimes recorded on the source document (i. e., interview instrument) into categories that list "various forms of common theft and interpersonal behavior." (National Crime Survey, 1974). They do not agree with the categories employed in the Uniform Crime Reports nor with typologies developed by criminal researchers. The UCR categories are based on a hierarchy of seriousness and, in the

event that an individual is the victim of several "crimes," e.g., a woman is robbed and raped, only the more serious offense, e.g., the rape, is recorded. The NCP categories allow finer distinctions and permit a closer examination of the various "elements" of a crime.

The elements are consistent with UCR categories and allow recombination of elements of NCP incidents into UCR incidents for comparative purposes. These conversions are discussed in detail in the Appendix.

Before examining the detailed statistical breakdowns in Tables P-1 through P-31, H-1 through H-12, and C-1 through C-8, a review of the data following the more traditional UCR categories will be presented. This first section (4.2) will allow the reader to familiarize himself with the data using categories with which he is probably already familiar. The data may then be reviewed in more detail using the National Crime Panel categories, which include detailed demographic information.

3.3.1 PERSONAL CRIME

The primary characteristic of personal crime is that the victim and offender come into direct contact, thus including homicide, assault, rape, robbery, and personal larceny, i. e., theft from a person. For the purposes of this survey, murder will be excluded from the personal crime category because of its relative infrequency and the obvious

difficulties involved in interviewing victims. Rape is defined as carnal knowledge through the use of force or the threat of force, including attempted rape. Statutory rape (without force) is excluded.

An assault is an unlawful physical attack by one person upon another. Aggravated assault includes all attacks resulting in serious injury, as well as attacks with a weapon which result in injury. It also includes attempted assault with a weapon. Simple assault includes an attack without a weapon resulting in minor injury and attempted assault without a weapon. Aggravated assault may be distinguished from homicide only in that it is less serious in its consequence, i. e., death does not occur. However, this is frequently only a function of the efficiency of medical intervention or the ineffectiveness of the assailant. (Firearms and Violence, 1967: 40). In terms of the UCR categories, the accurate differentiation between simple and aggravated assaults is one of the most serious and frequent reporting difficulties experienced by police departments.

Robbery is defined as theft, directly from a person, of property or cash by force or threat of force, with or without a weapon. Robbery with injury includes attacks resulting in serious or minor injuries, as well as attempted robbery with a weapon. Robbery without injury involves the threat of harm.

The force may be applied through physical assault, i. e., "mugging"

or "yoking" (strong-arm robbery), or through the threat presented with a weapon -- gun or knife. Nationally, robbery is one of the crimes most feared because it is unexpected, can rarely be avoided, and results in the loss of property and potential injury. (Conklin, 1972: 2).

The category of personal larceny includes pocket-picking, purse-snatching without force, and theft of personal property from an individual in a public place. The first two offenses include contact; the latter occurs without contact. An example of personal larceny without contact would be the theft of a coat or briefcase from an individual while in a public place such as a restaurant. However, the victim is usually unaware of and has no contact with the offender. In Tables 3-1 through 3-10, these offenses are included under personal larceny as "personal larceny without contact." However, in the detailed analysis using the National Crime Panel (NCP) categories, these same offenses are included under household incidents as "larceny occurring elsewhere." The effect of this definition is to increase the number of personal victimizations reportable under the UCR scheme (see Tables P-1 through P-12), but to reduce their number in the subsequent analysis of household crime in Tables H-1 through H-12.

The logic of the definitional scheme chosen for this report centers on the concept of "at risk" rates of victimization. When an individual loses property in a public place, it is most likely personal property

and the loss affects him directly, in much the same way as a purse-snatching or a robbery. Hence, when examining personal victimizations, it is reasonable to view the crime in this light.

However, in terms of prevention and control, the characteristics of the offense and the circumstances are more similar to a household larceny and are counted in this category, as in the NCP classifications. Measures aimed at reduction of such offenses, i. e., public awareness campaigns, information programs, etc., are the same techniques used to reduce household offenses.

The NCP categories are aggregations of these incidents according to more than one characteristic, thus differentiating them from the UCR categories and, hopefully, providing a better description of the incident. "Assault without theft" includes simple and aggravated assault and rape in which no theft or loss of property occurs. "Assault with theft" includes incidents of simple and aggravated assault and rape which are accompanied by theft. "Personal theft without injury" includes robbery, pocket-picking, and purse-snatching. The use of the NCP categories allows two major elements of an incident, personal violence and theft, to be examined more precisely. This breakdown becomes especially useful in light of the differing hypotheses presented for the "cause" of personal crime. Research indicates that the characteristics of assaults and thefts differ significantly and may be attributed to totally different patterns of interaction between

victim and offender.

3.3.2 HOUSEHOLD CRIME

There are three major categories of household crime: burglary, larceny, and auto theft. They are classified as household crimes because they represent a loss to the entire household even though only the property of a particular individual might have been taken. In most cases, they also represent a breach of the privacy and security of the household and therefore constitute a psychological threat to the residents.

Burglary is defined as unlawful entry for the purpose of committing a felony or theft. The important characteristic of burglary is that the offender had no legal right to be in the structure. The use of force or a passkey need not be demonstrated, nor need the structure be the victim's home. Illegal entry of a shed, garage, or other structure also constitutes burglary.

Larceny is a theft committed by an individual with a right to be in the victim's home. Generally, no force is used and a confrontation does not occur. Larceny is accomplished by stealth. As noted above, the theft of personal property without contact is counted as a personal victimization in Tables 3-1 through 3-10 but is counted as a household larceny away from home in Tables H-1 through H-12. This procedure has the effect of differentially inflating household larcenies in the latter tables.

Auto theft includes the theft of the victim's automobile or other motore vehicle, e.g., motorcycle or snowmobile.

3.3.3 COMMERCIAL CRIME

The major difference between commercial crime and the household and personal crimes discussed above is that the victim is in a commercial establishment rather than a household or alone as an individual. For the purposes of this analysis, only two types of commercial crimes are considered, robbery and burglary, which are identical except in location to robbery and burglary as discussed above. Most employee crimes, such as embezzlement, are not considered.

3.4 ADDITIONAL TERMS

In addition to the crime definitions presented above, some discussion of other terms used in this survey might be in order. The response categories include two terms which may require clarification. These are "Don't know" and "Not available."

The first term, "Don't know," means that the respondent was asked a question, but after thinking about it could not answer, either due to lack of knowledge or forgetfulness. This is differentiated from the category "Not available" which may mean that data were not collected or were not applicable in this case. This may be due to loss of data, interviewer failure, or the fact that the category does not apply, e.g.,

a male victim of purse-snatching. The categories are usually included in a table in order to account for all possible responses. However, in some cases, the tables are analyzed with the exclusion of the "Don't know" or "Not available." In these cases, the discussion is prefaced with a statement of the form, "Of those cases in which loss is known"

Weapons include firearms, cutlery instruments, clubs, and dangerous solutions such as acid, poison, etc. Firearms are generally differentiated into handguns, including revolvers and pistols designed to be fired with one hand, and "long guns" such as rifles and shotguns.

The term "offender" is used to refer to the perpetrator of any incident. The characteristics of the offender are qualified by the adjective "perceived." This is necessary because of the nature of the survey. The respondent is the victim and generally can only give information on the characteristics of the offender as he saw and remembered them. No police or arrest data are employed which would in fact contain information on the demographic characteristics of offenders.

The terms "incident" and "victimization" must be clearly distinguished. The former refers to a specific criminal act (event) involving one or more victims and one or more offenders. A victimization refers to a specific criminal act as it affects a single victim. Multiple victimizations refer to a case where an individual is the victim of more than one

incident during the survey period. These distinctions are important because incident characteristics, e.g., time, location, weapons, loss, will be different from the number of victimizations. This difference will become apparent in Section 4.2 below.

SECTION IV

ANALYSIS OF SURVEY DATA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This section will present the analysis of the data collected by the National Crime Survey and broken down according to two categorization schemes. The first analysis (Section 4.2) employs the Uniform Crime Report classification scheme. This is being used to allow the reader to view the data in categories with which he may already be familiar and which allows comparison with other research which has traditionally used this scheme. The second analysis employs the National Crime Panel categories which allow the analysis of multiple crimes, such as assault with theft (robbery occurring during the commission of a rape, for example). Sections 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5 examine Personal Crime, Household Crime, and Commercial Crime, respectively. In order to facilitate the continuity of the analysis and at the same time present the reader who wishes more detail with as much of the raw data as possible, the core tables which were used in the analysis have been included and will be found at the end of the section.*

*The only exception is Section 4.2, the analysis of Uniform Crime Report data, in which the tables are presented within the text. This was felt to be desirable given the small number of tables, i. e., ten.

4.2 ANALYSIS OF UNIFORM CRIME REPORT DATA

Table 4-1 presents data on the total number of crime incidents which, according to the survey, occurred in the City of Cleveland during the year. There were 137,772 criminal actions. Of these, 59,299 were crimes against persons. An additional 64,712 (47 percent) were household incidents, and 13,761 (10 percent) involved commercial operations. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice suggests that fear of crime presents a bigger problem and a larger social loss than the actual commission of crime. (Crime and Its Impact, 1967: 3). However, in many cases, this fear is unfounded and is most probably based on a lack of knowledge about the extent of crime and the probability of victimization. It is this misinformation which frightens many Americans and prevents them from enjoying the many facilities available to them. One of the purposes of this survey is to reduce this fear and misinformation by presenting accurate data on the extent, type, and consequences of crime in Cleveland. For example, the incidence of violent crime occupies a smaller proportion of all incidents than the citizen generally believes.

Obviously, crimes against the person or violent crimes are of the greatest concern to the individual, although they comprise only a small percentage (18.7 percent) of all surveyed incidents. These crimes include those in which the individual comes in direct contact, frequently

Table 4-1 ESTIMATED NUMBER OF PERSONAL, HOUSEHOLD AND COMMERCIAL INCIDENTS IN CLEVELAND, 1971-1972

	Number	% of all Incidents
<u>Personal Incidents</u>	59299 (100%)	43.0
Rape	970 (1.6%)	
Robbery	10450 (17.6%)	
with injury	2510	
without injury	7940	
Assault	11990 (20.2%)	
serious	6230	
minor	5760	
Personal Larceny	35889 (60.5%)	
with contact	4200	
without contact	31689	
<u>Household Incidents</u>	64712 (100%)	47.0
Burglary	28665 (44.3%)	
forcible entry	12629	
unlawful entry	8904	
attempted burglary	7132	
Larceny	18457 (28.5%)	
under \$50	10083	
\$50 or more	5445	
amount not available	687	
attempted	2242	
Auto Theft	17590 (27.2%)	
completed	12043	
attempted	5547	
<u>Comercial Incidents</u>	13761 (100%)	10.0
Robbery	2386 (17.3%)	
completed	1802	
attempted	584	
Burglary	11375 (82.7%)	
completed	8353	
attempted	3022	
<u>Total Incidents</u>	137772	100.0

Source: Tables B1, SK1, E1, 4A of National Crime Survey

in a violent way, with the criminal, i. e., rape, robbery, and assault. By far, the majority of crimes (81.3 percent) are against property and do not include a violent or assaultive encounter.

In addition, in more than three quarters of the robberies (76 percent), the victim received no injury. If these are excluded from the violent crimes category, the proportion of all crimes represented by violent crimes drops to less than 13 percent. These statistics demonstrate that, for the most part, the distribution of crime in Cleveland, following that of other large cities, consists primarily of crimes against property.

Table 4-2 presents the same data in slightly different form. The emphasis here is on the number of specific victimizations which occurred. This number is larger than the number of incidents presented in Table 4-1 because an individual may suffer more than one victimization during the survey period. There were 4,209 multiple victimizations; these data, however, do not allow the determination of the number of individuals who were victimized more than once. Approximately seven percent of the incidents were multiple victimizations with multiple victimizations for robbery occurring most often.

The data presented in both Table 4-1 and Table 4-2 reflect the same basic trend, i. e., a relatively low frequency of violent crime and

Table 4-2 ESTIMATED NUMBER OF PERSONAL VICTIMIZATIONS
IN CLEVELAND, 1971-1972

<u>Personal Victimitizations</u>			63508
B)	Rape	1021	(1.6%)
	Robbery	12062	(19.0%)
	with Injury	2839	
	without Injury	9223	
	Assault	14363	(22.6%)
	serious	7909	
	minor	6454	
	Personal Larceny	36,062	(56.8%)
	with contact	4373	
	without contact	31689	

Source: Tables A1 and SK1 National Crime Survey

a relatively high frequency of theft. In the case of Table 4-2, 56.8 percent of the victimizations do not include contact and violence.* The multiple victimizations accent the prevalence of robbery in certain areas, i. e., individuals are victimized more often probably due to greater exposure to potential robbers.

These tables amply document the fact that the crimes of violence are a much smaller proportion of total crime than popularly believed. Fear of violent crime has been equated with a fear of strangers. The dimensions and effects of these fears are well stated in the Commission's Task Force Report on Crime and Its Impact:

"The first [conclusion] is that the public fears most the crimes that occur the least -- crimes of violence.

Second, the fear of crimes of violence is not a simple fear of injury or death or even of all crimes of violence, but, at bottom, a fear of strangers.

Third, this fear of strangers has greatly impoverished the lives of many Americans, especially those who live in high-crime neighborhoods in large cities. People stay behind the locked doors of their homes rather than risk walking in the streets at night. Poor people spend money on taxis because they are afraid to walk or use public transportation. Sociable people are afraid to talk to those they do not know.

Fourth, the fear of crime may not be as strongly influenced by the actual incidence of crime as it is by other experiences with the crime problem generally. For example, the mass media and overly-zealous or opportunistic crime fighters may play a role in raising fears of crime by associating the idea of 'crime' with a few sensational and terrifying acts." (Crime and Its Impact, 1967: 88-89).

*If robbery without injury is excluded, the percentage of victimizations without violence increase to 71.3 percent.

For Clevelanders, fear of crime may be closely equated with fear of strangers: their greatest chance of victimization occurs at the hands of someone unknown to them. The data presented in Table 4-3 support the contention that in Cleveland violent crimes are committed in general by people unknown to the victim. In all categories of crime types, the rate for crimes in which the offender was a stranger is higher than the rate for crimes in which the offender was not a stranger (approximately ten times greater). However, in the "violent crimes," the ratio of rates in which the offender was a stranger to rates in which the offender was not a stranger is much lower, on the order of three to one. For larceny and robbery without injury, the ratio is considerably higher.

4.2.1 VICTIM-OFFENDER RELATIONSHIPS

The statistics gathered in Cleveland differ considerably from the previous information collected on the victim-offender relationship. This difference may well be a function of the "reporting" of crime, discussed in greater detail below.

Although the Cleveland survey data do not show, in terms of absolute numbers, a preponderance of violent crimes in which the victim and offender were known to each other, there is a definite trend. The rate of violent crimes in which the offender is known to the victim is different from the rate of property crimes in which the offender is known.

The victim-offender relationship has been examined by several researchers; the study of "victimology" has become important to an understanding of crime and its incidence. (Schafer, 1968). Most research on homicide indicates that the assailant is known to the victim and is frequently a relative or close friend. (Wolfgang, 1958; Bensing and Schroeder, 1960; Bullock, 1955).* Similar research on aggravated assault (Pittman and Handy, 1964; Pokorny, 1965) and rape (Amir, 1967; McDonald, 1970) indicates that most victims of these crimes knew their assailant, at least by sight. Table 4-4 presents a summary of data from the research on the percent of individuals involved in each "violent crime" who knew their assailant.

These data differ in a major way from Cleveland victimization data; this difference may be attributed to the fact that all of the research cited is based on reported statistics. A possible explanation lies in the interpersonal relationship which existed prior to the criminal act. An emotional, tense relationship existing between individuals who are related or known to each other closely may be more likely to result in actions being reported to the police. Also, individuals may be willing to report a crime and undergo the attendant embarrassment when the assailant is known and the chance of apprehension is greater. This would differentially overload

*Even though homicide is not discussed in this survey, the research on homicide indicates that it is almost identical to aggravated assault in terms of demographic characteristics of victim and assailant, location, motive, etc. Since there is little research on assault per se, the literature on homicide will be reviewed and the similarities brought out in the discussion of assault. "In most cases it is probably the element of chance that prevents the offense [aggravated assault] from sliding over into criminal homicide by the death of one of the parties." (Clinnard and Quinney, 1973: 26).

Table 4-3 ESTIMATED RATES (Per 100,000 RESIDENTS 12 YEARS OF AGE OR OLDER) OF PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION IN CLEVELAND, 1971-1972 BY VICTIM-OFFENDER RELATIONSHIP

	Offender was a Stranger	Offender was not a Stranger	Percent Stranger
CONTROL TOTAL (PERSONS)	510,824	510,824	
TOTAL PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION RATE*	11,314	1,118	91.0%
Rape	150	50	75.0
Robbery	2,174	187	92.1
with injury	485	70	87.4
without injury	1,689	117	93.5
Assault	1,941	871	69.0
serious	1,120	429	72.3
minor	821	442	65.0
Personal Larceny	7,049	10	99.9
with contact	846	10	98.8
without contact	6,203	0	100.0

*Rates are computed per 100,000 residents.

Source: Tables A1 and SK1 National Crime Survey

Table 4-4

VICTIMS OF PERSONAL CRIME WHO KNEW ASSAILANT

	<u>Percent Who Knew Assailant*</u>
Murder	62 (1), 79 (4)
Aggravated Assault	50 (2), 75 (4), 80 (5)
Rape	48 (3), 64 (4)

* Parentheses indicate source.

- (1) Wolfgang
 - (2) Pittman and Handy
 - (3) Amir
 - (4) Crime and Its Impact--An Assessment
 - (5) McClintock
-

the category of "offenders known to victims" in reported cases.

Regardless of the explanation, the fact remains that the victim-offender relationship observed in the Cleveland data differs considerably from that observed in previously published research. The trend toward a "known" victim-offender relationship in violent crimes contrasted with a "stranger" relationship in property crimes does exist; however, reliable interpretation at this time is difficult.

4.2.2 RACIAL CONSIDERATIONS

Table 4-5 presents data on the rates of personal victimization by the race of the victim. In all cases except minor assault, the rate of victimizations was higher for blacks with victimization for robbery without injury occurring more than twice as often as for whites. This higher rate may be related to higher exposure to risk. Much of the literature discusses the relationship between race and crime and presents similar findings. (Wolfgang, 1970; Pittman and Handy, 1964). The relatively higher proportion of serious assaults may be attributed to the influx of weapons. The possession of a firearm is part of the subculture of violence as are the norms for its use (Firearms in America, 1968:6). It is possible that greater access to weapons and a willingness to use them in the crime areas of Cleveland has resulted in more serious assaults.

In general, the racial distribution of crime in Cleveland follows the patterns observed elsewhere. Blacks are more frequently involved in crimes both as offender and victim than expected from their proportionate representation in the population. The National Opinion Research Center (NORC) studies indicate that for all categories except "larceny over \$50," non-whites are victimized from one and one-half to almost four times as often as whites. In the case of violent crime, the involvement of blacks is considerably greater. This involvement may, however, be a function of factors other than race alone. Other research has indicated that differential reporting, arrest, and detainment may account for an overloading of black offenders and victims. (Wolfgang and Cohen, 1970; Reasons and Kuykendall, 1972). It is likely that, at least in some cases which are based on reported crime, this situation obtains in Cleveland. The "subculture of violence" theory, discussed by Wolfgang and re-emphasized by the President's Commission on Violence in America, indicates a differential involvement in violence by migrating black southerners. (Gastil, 1971). During the five years preceding the 1970 Census, a large number of immigrants, primarily from the South, entered Cleveland (see Section 1.2.4 above). These individuals, because of an historical use of personal violence as a solution to certain problems, may be more likely to employ similar techniques in new environments where such actions are classified as criminal. In addition, different patterns of housing, i. e., quality, density, multi-family proximity, and different

Table 4-5 ESTIMATED RATES (Per 100,000 RESIDENTS 12 YEARS OF AGE OR OLDER) OF PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION IN CLEVELAND, 1971-1972 BY RACE OF VICTIM

	White	Black
CONTROL TOTAL	309,297	194,743
TOTAL PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION RATE	11,215	14,679
Rape	195	214
Robbery	1,717	3,429
with injury	467	704
without injury	1,250	2,725
Assault	2,700	3,045
serious	1,309	1,954
minor	1,391	1,091
Personal Larceny	6,603	7,928
with contact	668	1,184
without contact	5,935	6,744

Table 4-6 ESTIMATED RATES (Per 100,000 Households)
OF HOUSEHOLD VICTIMIZATION IN CLEVELAND,
1971-1972 BY RACE OF HEAD

	White	Black
CONTROL TOTAL	145,062	82,695
TOTAL HOUSEHOLD VICTIMIZATION RATE	23,560	36,040
Burglary	8,840	18,833
forcible entry	3,241	9,439
unlawful entry without force	3,403	4,650
attempted forcible entry	2,196	4,743
Larceny*	7,956	8,127
under \$50	4,848	3,568
\$50 or more	1,954	3,071
amount N. A.	151	567
attempted	1,004	920
Auto Theft	6,764	9,080
completed	4,591	6,301
attempted	2,173	2,779

* Data taken from "at Home" sort break only

Source: Table E1, National Crime Survey

patterns of socialization may place blacks at risk more frequently than whites.

Rates of household victimization by race of household head are presented in Table 4-6. These data follow the pattern established for personal victimizations. In most categories, black households suffer higher victimization rates. This is especially true for burglary, where the rate is more than twice as high for blacks as for whites. The only exceptions are "larceny under \$50" and "attempted larceny." Explanations for this probably involve the amount and frequency of valuables and/or cash carried by individuals at risk.

4.2.3 INCOME CONSIDERATIONS

Tables 4-7 and 4-8 present two interesting trends in the relationship between the income of the victim's family (Table 4-7) or the household (Table 4-8) and victimization rates. For individuals, the rate of victimizations remains fairly constant, fluctuating only slightly until relatively high income levels are reached, where a marked increase occurs in the category of "\$25,000 plus." This jump appears to be a function of sample size for the larger income category (i. e., \$25,000 plus) contains only a few cases.*

Robbery and rape rates decline steadily with income and are probably due to the fact that those in higher income categories are less likely to

*Less than 0.8 percent of the households and 1.1 percent of individuals fall in this income category.

Table 4-7 ESTIMATED RATES (Per 100,000 RESIDENTS 12 YEARS OF AGE OR OLDER) OF PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION IN CLEVELAND, 1971-1972 BY INCOME OF HEAD

	Under \$3000	\$3000- 7499	\$7500- 9999	\$10,000- 14,999	\$15,000- 24,999	\$25,000 or More	N. A.
CONTROL TOTAL	72,099	137,922	61,942	102,635	40,766	5,780	89,681
TOTAL PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION RATE	13,276	12,573	11,626	13,282	13,879	18,071	10,153
Rape	318	257	207	126	65	0	173
Robbery	3,307	2,851	2,222	1,764	1,701	2,238	1,937
with injury	916	707	413	422	199	444	455
without injury	2,391	2,144	1,809	1,342	1,502	1,794	1,482
Assault	2,778	3,001	2,446	3,563	2,559	3,922	1,985
serious	1,581	1,790	1,402	1,647	1,242	1,738	1,266
minor	1,197	1,211	1,044	1,916	1,317	2,184	719
Personal Larceny	6,873	6,464	6,751	7,787	9,554	11,911	6,058
with contact	1,767	965	413	550	384	1,306	796
without contact	5,106	5,499	6,338	7,237	9,170	10,605	5,262

Source: Tables A9 and SK9 National Crime Survey

Table 4-8 ESTIMATED RATES (Per 100,000 Households)
OF HOUSEHOLD VICTIMIZATION IN CLEVELAND,
1971-1972 BY INCOME OF HEAD

	Under \$3000	\$3000- 7499	\$7500 9999	\$10,000- 14,999	\$15,000- 24,999	\$25,000 or More	N. A.
CONTROL TOTAL	45,853	63,544	26,284	38,506	12,933	1,766	41,518
TOTAL HOUSEHOLD VICTIMIZATION RATES	22,259	29,806	31,407	30,726	39,296	43,995	23,169
Burglary	12,747	13,415	11,600	12,663	15,441	19,442	9,708
forcible entry	5,753	6,071	4,278	5,575	6,224	11,068	4,484
unlawful entry without force	3,499	4,147	4,070	3,901	5,274	4,182	3,220
attempted forcible entry	3,496	3,196	3,252	3,188	3,943	4,192	2,004
Larceny	6,044	8,961	10,458	9,088	10,484	8,186	5,400
under \$50	3,466	4,668	5,937	5,247	5,044	1,363	3,058
\$50 or more	1,874	2,749	3,044	2,455	3,576	4,091	1,345
amount N. A.	217	502	462	62	185	0	239
attempted	487	1,042	1,015	1,324	1,678	2,732	758
Auto Theft	3,468	7,430	9,349	8,975	13,371	16,367	8,061
completed	2,454	5,066	5,643	6,579	8,303	9,502	5,878
attempted	1,014	2,364	3,706	2,396	5,068	6,865	2,183

Source: Table E6 National Crime Survey

frequent places where these offenses occur. The opposite trend occurs for larcenies in which the rate of victimization increases with income. This is probably due to the fact that such individuals have more possessions of value with them that are available to theft, i. e., cameras, coats, etc. It is probable that such thefts occur from restaurants, offices, etc. It would appear that the place of occurrence is more important to victimization in these circumstances than the income of the victim. However, income traditionally plays an important role in determining the types and locations of places frequented. Hence, individuals with lower incomes frequent neighborhood bars, poolrooms, and employ public transportation or walk; they expose themselves to a greater risk of robbery. Individuals with higher incomes are more likely to frequent restaurants, lounge bars, or places of entertainment where theft by stealth, e. g., pocket-picking, stealing of coats, briefcases, etc., is more likely to occur. The hypothesis is examined in more detail below (Table P-8) when location of occurrence is controlled.

There seems to be little association between income and likelihood of assault. The rate for high income individuals is higher but may be a function of sample size (see note on sample size above)

Household victimization rates generally increase with income as seen in Table 4-8. This is due to the fact that the wealthier households are more likely to be victimized simply because they offer a greater

reward for the would-be thief. The only exception is the upper-middle income category of \$10,000 to \$14,999. In most categories, higher income implies more possessions of value; hence, a more likely prospect for theft. It is possible that the anomaly of the \$10,000 to \$14,999 group may be explained by racial differences; race as a potential confounding factor is examined below where a more detailed breakdown is presented (see Table P-5). Alternatively, individuals in this category may be more strongly imbued with a "middle-class ethic" and thus would be more conscious of personal/household security and take extra measures to prevent victimizations. A final factor, which cannot be addressed due to a lack of data, is related to the location of these households. Individuals in this category (\$10,000 to \$14,999) may reside in the more homogenous neighborhoods near the periphery of the city. The income category is consistent with the characteristics of the residents in the Far West section of Cleveland, where the incidence of all crime types is lower.

Table 4-9 presents victimization rates by sex of victim. With the exception of rape and personal larceny, the rates for women are consistently below the rates for men. All previous research indicates that, with the exception of rape (which is sex-specific), women are involved as offenders or victims significantly less often than men. This difference can be explained in terms of an "at risk" concept. Women are less frequently in those areas, such as bars and poolrooms, where assaults or robberies

Table 4-9 ESTIMATED RATES (Per 100,000 RESIDENTS 12 YEARS OF AGE OR OLDER) OF PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION IN CLEVELAND, 1971-1972 BY SEX OF VICTIM.

	Male	Female
CONTROL TOTAL	228,433	282,392
TOTAL PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION RATE	14,483	10,775
Rape	11	353
Robbery	3,112	1,754
with injury	720	423
without injury	2,392	1,331
Assault	3,75	2,046
serious	2,254	978
minor	1 505	1 068
Personal Larceny	7,601	6,622
with contact	490	1,152
without contact	7,111	5,470

are likely to occur. Schafer (1968) argues that women are more likely to remain at home with children and hence less likely to be found in those places where crimes occur. In addition, in the event of an argument, women are less likely to resort to physical means to settle a dispute, resulting in a lower rate of involvement in assaultive violence. Obviously, the rape rate will be higher for women due to the definition of the crime. The data on personal larceny with contact contain purse-snatchings, which are primarily offenses against females.

4.2.5 AGE CONSIDERATIONS

Table 4-10 presents rates of personal victimization by age of the victim. For most crime categories, the rates peak for ages 16 to 19 and 20 to 24, the only exception is larceny with contact. This is probably a function of older individuals, especially women, who are less able to protect themselves from such theft. Purse-snatchings occur much more often among older women than among younger women.*

In most categories, however, older individuals are less likely to be exposed to criminal activity. They are more likely to stay at home, or less likely to visit public places, such as bars, where assaults and robberies frequently occur. In addition, in the event of a robbery attempt, they are less likely to resist and become injured or less likely to become involved in an altercation leading to physical violence, i. e., an assault.

*Survey results in which personal larceny is further refined indicate that the rate of purse-snatchings among older women (50+) is several times the rate for younger females.

Table 10 ESTIMATED RATES (Per 100,000, RESIDENTS 12 YEARS
OF AGE OR OLDER) OF PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION IN CLEVELAND,
1971-1972 BY AGE OF VICTIM

	12-15	16-19	20-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
CONTROL TOTAL	54 401	48,354	55,412	74,372	101,801	104 971	71 514
TOTAL PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION RATE	14,981	21,417	19,789	16,255	11,265	7,405	3,782
Rape	145	690	774	69	100	25	0
Robbery	2,977	3,388	3,535	2,584	2,147	1,867	1,087
with injury	863	597	538	624	596	460	321
without injury	2,114	2,791	2,997	1,960	1,551	1,407	766
Assault	3,785	6,581	5,460	3,603	2,083	986	364
serious	1,779	3,304	3,353	2,138	1,209	508	184
minor	2,006	3,277	2,107	1,465	874	478	180
Personal Larceny	8,074	10,758	10,020	9,999	6,935	4,527	2,331
with contact	281	856	592	839	877	1,026	1,237
without contact	7,793	9,902	9,428	9,160	6,058	3,501	1,094

Source: Tables A2 and SK2 National Crime Survey

These age findings are consistent with most previous research which supports a relationship between young individuals and criminal involvement as either a victim or offender.

4.3 ANALYSIS OF NATIONAL CRIME PANEL DATA -- PERSONAL CRIME

General patterns can be discerned by reviewing the data presented in the tables. The less serious crimes occur more frequently. Larceny accounts for more than 60 percent of all personal incidents, while rape accounts for less than two percent of all personal incidents, and less than one percent of all incidents. Robbery and assault combined account for approximately 16 percent of all incidents. Returning to the National Crime Panel categories results in excluding "household larceny occurring elsewhere "from" personal incidents" and placing it within "household incidents," it should be noted that this modification changes the distribution of crimes so that under the NCP scheme, personal crime accounts for 27,610 incidents, or 20 percent of the total incidents occurring in Cleveland in 1971-72. The artificial exclusion of this category, which will be discussed below in Section 4.4.2, results in a redistribution of personal crime with assault accounting for most types of personal crime. It must be emphasized that this artificial change in definition does not alter the fact that larceny without contact is still the most frequently-occurring crime whether it be classed as a personal or household incident.

Most of these personal crimes (in excess of 61 percent) do not result in injury or are not considered serious. Most crimes are committed by strangers and outside of the home. In most offenses in which the race of offender is known (78 percent), both victim and assailant are of the same race. Interracial crime is relatively infrequent.

In 65 percent of personal victimizations, the total loss, including damage, was less than \$50. Less than half of all personal victimizations (44.9 percent) and of all household victimizations (42.9 percent) were reported to the police.

However, different crimes occur under different circumstances, times, and locations, and involve different victims and offenders. To fully understand them, it is necessary to examine each crime in detail.

The following sections discuss each crime type as a dependent variable and examine each type in light of several independent variables. This approach has been chosen because it focuses attention on the activity (i. e., a crime) which is of principal interest. However, it must be pointed out that this approach employs a simplistic model and no attempt is made to determine causation. The fact that a relationship exists between crime incidents and selected variables is in no way meant to imply that these variables cause crime. The causative factors leading to the commission of crime are too complex to be amenable to a simplistic explanation such as presented here.

Each discussion below develops a profile of the offense, the victim, and the assailant in order to convey a maximum of information about the dimensions of crime in Cleveland. Homicide data were not collected because of its relative infrequency and because much of the literature has been devoted to studying this phenomenon. This is especially true since the rate of unreported homicide is relatively low, resulting in most homicides appearing in the official statistics for analysis. Rape is also excluded as a specific offense although it does appear under the heading of "Assaultive Violence" for most of the tables.

4.3.1 ASSAULTIVE VIOLENCE

During the year under study, there were an estimated 18,221 acts of assaultive violence in Cleveland. Assaultive violence accounted for 13.2 percent of all incidents and 57.3 percent of personal crime. The rate of victimizations was 3,567 per 100,000 residents 12 years old and older. Stated another way, an individual in Cleveland had approximately one chance in 30 of being the victim of assaultive violence. The actual rates differ considerably for different race, age, and sex groupings. The following paragraphs will examine assaultive violence from the viewpoint of the victim and the offender, and will examine reasons for non-reporting.

Victims of Assaultive Violence

Males are the victims of assaults significantly more often than females. This is especially true for assaultive violence without theft.

This category includes rape, attempted rape, serious assault, attempted assault, and minor assault. It is possible that males become involved in assaults through altercations with others while a female is more likely to become involved in an assault in the process of theft or rape. This difference is illuminated when the victim-offender relationship is examined.

Females are more likely to be victimized by individuals known to them (see Table P-1) than are males. This is probably a function of the fact that females are less likely to visit places where assaultive violence occurs. Table P-8 indicates the distribution of the surveyed personal crime by location and victim-offender relationship. Twenty-nine percent of crimes in which the offender is known to the victim occur in their home or other building while only seven percent of crimes in which the offender is unknown to the victim occur there. Unfortunately, the data are not presently available to allow controlling for sex. It may be assumed that women are more likely to be at home and less likely to be in parks or on the streets, where the majority (69.3 percent) of all stranger-to-stranger offenses occurs.

The victim of assaultive violence is most likely to be young, less than 34, with a modal age of 20 to 24 (see Table P-2). This, again, is probably a function of the victim's patterns of socialization and interaction. Younger individuals are more likely to visit bars, sporting events, and public places with an increased risk of involvement. In addition, younger males

are more likely to respond to provocation with violence. Older males and females of all ages are more likely to leave the scene of the altercation and thus avoid further violence.

The data presented in Table P-2 show that the rates for older individuals (35-65+) of both races and sexes are considerably lower than the rates for younger individuals (16-34). Generally, the rates for nonstranger assaultive violence are considerably lower than the rates for stranger-to-stranger victimization. This, however, is probably a function of the small number of nonstranger offenses which results in no offenses appearing in some age, race, and sex categories.

The lowest rate for assault with theft is for black females over 50, while white females over 50 experience the lowest rate of victimizations for assault without theft. This may be a function of the white female's greater involvement in personal theft without injury, while the black female is more likely to be involved in an altercation resulting in rape. However, in both cases, the rates are considerably less than those of males.

It appears that race has a varying effect on victimization. The rates for blacks are generally higher across age and sex categories. However, in many instances, there are larger differences, between age categories than between racial groups. At this point it can only be said that race, sex, and age all appear to interact to affect victimization rates, and that no variable, by itself is sufficient.

Victims of assaultive violence appear to be less well integrated into society, as indicated by higher rates of victimization for divorced or unemployed individuals (see Tables P-3, P-4, and P-6). Unemployment probably results in greater exposure to risk since the individual experiences considerable free time in which he may become involved in activities leading to victimization. While the differences between activity categories appear to be relatively small, they are statistically significant. Unemployed individuals and individuals under 16 have the highest rate for assault among whites. Among blacks, similar patterns obtain.* In addition, one may tentatively argue that unemployment is an indication of an overall lack of integration which places one in those situations in which violence is more frequently resorted to.

When controlling for marital status, the effect of youth is diminished, e.g., young married individuals are less likely to become involved in assaultive violence without theft than are young divorced or young never-married individuals (see Table P-4).

The differential involvement by sex is still present even when marital status is considered. Married or widowed females have the lowest rates of victimization. Rates for divorced or separated females are higher than for married women but about equal to that of married or widowed men. Divorced or separated males have the highest rates

*The high rate for black members of the Armed Forces is probably a function of the sample size, i. e., less than one-tenth of one percent of the population falls in this category, rather than any actual differential in victimization.

of victimization. This can be explained in terms of males' exposure to risk. It may be that single women or divorcees are less likely to be away from home in the evenings than are either single or married men. (Obviously, this situation is changing, but it does appear that single women have fewer such opportunities open to them.)

It appears that marriage has the effect on both sexes and on most age groups of reducing the individual's exposure to risk by giving him more responsibilities and requiring that he be at home more in the evenings, whereas drinking, dining out, attending entertainments, more often the activities of the unmarried, all expose the individual to greater risk of victimization.

Contrary to expectations generated by previous researches, the rate of nonstranger victimizations among married individuals is not significantly higher than one would expect, based on the research relating assault and homicide to close, frequently intimate relationships. Rather, it appears to follow the general trend outlined above, i. e., married individuals suffer fewer victimizations of both types and at the hands of both known and unknown offenders about equally.

The association between income and race in effecting assaultive violence may be examined in Table P-5. While total personal victimizations tend to decline with increasing income, assaultive violence does not seem to follow this pattern. This is especially true for whites. The

rate of victimizations for assaultive violence with theft does decline with increased income. However, the rate of assaultive violence without theft remains constant, but at a significantly higher rate. Surprisingly, the amount of income does not result in a greater likelihood of assault with theft (except for blacks in the \$25,000 plus category) but does result for whites in a greater chance of theft with contact. This may be partly explained by higher-income individuals' greater willingness to surrender money to a robber, thus avoiding assault and injury. Blacks suffer a relatively greater probability of being robbed with injury, possibly a result of attempting to protect their property.

The role of income is ambiguous when examining assaultive violence. The data do not follow a hypothesis which would expect higher-income individuals to avoid possible situations in which assault might occur. As income increases assaults decline up to a point and then again increase.

Theft accompanies assault more frequently between strangers than between individuals known to each other (see Table P-1). In cases of assaultive violence with theft, the ratio of stranger-to-stranger to nonstranger offenses is 6.5: 1, while for assaultive violence without theft the ratio is only 2.3: 1. The implication of this difference, which is statistically significant, is that individuals who know each other are more likely to become involved in assaults (i. e., assaultive violence

without theft) than individuals unknown to each other, while individuals unknown to each other are more likely to become involved in assaultive violence with theft. When assaultive violence with theft does occur between individuals known to each other, the theft may frequently be an afterthought. (Pittman and Handy, 1964).

In a review of previous research on violent personal crime, Clinnard and Quinney point out that

"... aggravated assaults result from domestic quarrels, altercations, jealousies, and arguments over money or property. Most of the offender-victim relationships have been intimate, close and frequent, primarily involving family members and close friends. The major exception is the small proportion of such homicides occurring in connection with other crimes like robbery." (Clinnard and Quinney, 1973: 43).

McClintock indicates in his research that only one-fifth of the assaults studied involved strangers. (McClintock, 1963: 219). Both of these studies offer data which differ from that seen in Cleveland.

The victim-offender relationship may be further examined in Table P-23, in which the data are presented broken down by race. Blacks are more frequently victimized by someone known to them than are whites (43.5 percent compared to 31.7 percent). Among relatives, spouses are more likely to be the assailant for both races, and, as expected, victims knew their assailant more often in assaultive violence without theft than in cases of assaultive violence with theft. It has been hypothesized that older individuals would not frequent places

where theft might occur and would avoid violent activities whenever possible. The relationship between age and victim-offender relationship is presented in Table P-24. For most age categories, the percent of assailants unknown to the victim remains relatively constant. Approximately 60 percent of the assaults without theft involve individuals unknown to victims (range is from 58.9 to 64 percent). The exceptions not included in the above range are individuals over age 50 and under 15. The older individuals are victimized by unknown assailants more often than other age categories, while the younger individuals (12-15) are victimized more often by known individuals. This is probably due to the youth involvement with other possibly delinquent acquaintances.

Two reasons may be offered to explain this difference. The first is a matter of definition. Using the traditional definitions of assault and robbery, the existence of certain elements might eliminate the consideration of certain offenses from the assault category when robbery occurs. The grouping employed by the NCP categories present more complete data on assaultive violence by including certain robberies in the category of assaultive violence with theft. This differential does in fact appear if the two categories of assaultive violence are examined.

In addition, most previous research is based on reported incidents while this survey includes "all" incidents. In the event of a minor assault by an unknown assailant, in which there is little likelihood of apprehension,

by an unknown assailant, in which there is little likelihood of apprehension, an individual may not report the incident to the police, thus differentially overloading the category of assault by individuals known to the victim.

The Cleveland data demonstrate the role of family members and relatives in assaults in Cleveland. Approximately 20.3 percent of the incidents in which the assailant was known involved close relatives (spouse, parents, or children). The point has already been demonstrated (Section 4.2.1) that Cleveland differs significantly from previous research which demonstrates that most assaults occur between individuals known to each other, somewhere between 50 to 80 percent. In Cleveland, the reverse is true.

A review of Table P-22 presents additional data on the relationship between victim and offender by type of incident. If "stranger" is defined as "did not know" or knew by "sight only," the percent of incidents involving relatives or well-known offenders is 13 percent for assaultive violence with theft and 24 percent for assaultive violence without theft.* These data are interesting in two respects: they support the hypothesis offered earlier that the trend is for theft to occur between strangers while assaults occur between individuals known to each, and they support the trends seen elsewhere. These findings do seem to follow the trends toward a prior victim-offender relationship found in the literature on violent personal crime.

Time of day plays a significant role in the distribution of assaultive

*If casual acquaintances are included in the nonstranger category, the percent of such nonstranger involvement increases to 23 percent for assaultive violence with theft and 39 percent for assaultive violence without theft.

acts (see Table F-7). More than 1.5 times as many assaults occur at night than during the day. In addition, most of these nighttime assaults occur between 6 P.M. and Midnight. More assaults occur during this six-hour period than occur during the 12-hour period of 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. This, again, is probably a function of exposure to risk. More people are about in the evening and they frequent public locations which place them in closer contact with potential offenders (and, in fact, become potential offenders themselves). During the day, i. e., 6 A.M. to 6 P.M., most individuals are either at work or at home and are less likely to be exposed to possible offenders.

Group assault without theft, i. e., assault by more than one offender, does not occur as frequently as does group assault with theft (see Table P-9). More than 55 percent of all assaults involved one victim and one assailant, and more than 60 percent of assaultive violence without theft involved one offender. However, two-thirds of the assaultive acts with theft involved a group of offenders, most frequently two. The concept of group attacks occurring may be a function of the media in dramatizing such occurrences. (Crime and Its Impact, 1967: 88-89). In the event that a group assault does occur, it is most likely to be of this type. Slightly more than one-half of the assaultive violence involving multiple offenders did, in fact, involve five or more.

The victim-offender relationship does appear to be related to the incidence of victimizations by multiple offenders. More than one-half

of the stranger-to-stranger victimizations involved two or more offenders, while less than one-quarter of the nonstranger victimizations involved multiple offenders. When these two categories are aggregated, as above, this distinction becomes confounded. It is probably this combination of multiple offenders and strangers which leads to the great fear of personal crime, especially crime of an assaultive nature.

The differential involvement of multiple offenders in stranger-to-stranger and in nonstranger crimes may be due to the nature of the relationship prior to the offense. In nonstranger crimes, the victim and the offender may have been involved in close contact. This relationship may in fact lead to the assault, usually of a one-to-one nature. Gang attacks are often for other motives, e. g., gain.

Weapons play a major role in crimes against persons, being present in 46.7 percent of all personal crime incidents. Guns were the most frequent type of weapon, accounting for 55.5 percent of all the weapons employed. The percent of incidents involving weapons varies from offense to offense, ranging from 41.8 percent in the case of personal theft to 54.9 percent in the case of assaultive violence with theft. In all cases in which a weapon was used, the choice was for a gun -- 50.3 percent in assaultive violence with theft, 49.8 percent in assaultive violence without theft, and 64.3 percent in the case of personal theft (see Table P-28). There appears to be no significant difference in the use of guns by offenders known to their victims or unknown to their victims. The relative ease with which certain handguns

("Saturday-Night Specials") can be obtained may be a major factor in the seriousness of the outcome of many assaults. While it cannot be argued that the possession of a handgun causes an assaultive crime, it may facilitate its commission and lead to more serious consequences.

A study conducted in Cleveland in 1973 found that a firearm purchased for self-protection was six times more likely to be used against a family member or friend than to protect oneself from an intruder. The obvious interpretation of these data indicate that the availability of a firearm is an important consideration in examining the seriousness of assault. Frequently, guns purchased for protection are turned against friends, or even against the purchaser.

Significantly more victims of assaultive violence without theft required hospitalization than did victims of assaultive violence with theft. However, those injured during the commission of a theft required, on the average, a longer stay (see Table P-12).

In addition to hospitalization, many victims were injured to the extent that they lost time from work. Thirteen percent of the victims (see Table P-20) lost some time from work ranging from a few hours to more than 10 days. Of those losing time from work, most individuals lost from one to five days of work. The percent losing days of work is considerably greater for the victims of assaultive violence with theft than for those victims of assaultive violence without theft. This trend is consistent with the differential length of hospital stay cited above.

In addition to injury, the time required to complete the police report, identify suspects, and appear in court, all take an individual away from his job. Given the complexity of personal victimization, they may result in greater time loss.

However, it is difficult to explain this differential rate of injury which involves more severe injury to victims of assault with theft. This is not consistent with the model of robbery and assault offered by most research. In both situations of assaultive violence, however, the majority of the victims who were injured suffered injuries severe enough to require at least emergency room treatment and, in some cases, overnight hospitalization. This may be a result of the increased access to and use of weapons, and possibly the fact that more victims are responding to robbery with resistance which may lead to injury.*

The victim's response to assault as reported in the data varied from no resistance to attacking his assailant (Table P-14). Most frequently (35 percent of the assaultive incidents), the victim did nothing. In approximately 27 percent of the incidents, the victim attacked the offender employing either a weapon or his hands. This high incidence of active resistance may account for the relative frequency of hospitalization. In a number of cases, the victim tried to reason with the offender. There are some interesting differences between the categories of assaultive violence with theft and assaultive violence without theft. In the latter

*The Cleveland Police report increases in the number of robberies committed by "amateur robbers," especially drug addicts. Generally, these individuals are less sure of themselves and are more likely to "lose control of the situation" with resultant violence.

category, reasoning with the offender or leaving the scene occurred much more frequently, more than one-quarter of the time, while some form of resistance occurred more frequently in cases of assaultive violence with theft. The use of a weapon, hitting the assailant, yelling for help, or grabbing the assailant occurred in 44.3 percent of these cases but in only 30.9 percent of assaultive violence without theft.

There are significant differences between age, sex, and racial categories in their individual responses to assaultive violence. Table

P-15A breaks out the attempts at self protection by the age and sex of the victim. Women of all age categories use weapons or hit their attacker less often than men. Older males use weapons significantly more often than any other group.* Surprisingly, however, with this exception, there is no pattern of weapon use or force among males according to age. Younger women (12-34) do use weapons or force significantly more often than do older women (35-65+). Women of all ages yell for help more often than men. This may be a function of training and various workshops held to discuss crime prevention. Screaming is stressed, while the use of weapons or force is to be avoided.

The differences between assaultive violence with theft and without theft hold across race and sex categories. Blacks used a weapon half again as often as whites (7.4 percent compared to 5.5 percent) (see Table P-15,B). However, when combining the use of a weapon with the

*Again, this anomaly may be a function of the small sample.

use of physical force (e.g., hitting the offender), the percentages for both races are approximately equal. The use of a weapon appears to be a result of access, i. e., force is the response, among young males of both races, to certain actions. However, it appears that some age, race, and sex categories have greater access to weapons.

Generally, the amount lost is considerably greater in thefts in which there is no violence than in thefts in which violence occurs (see Table P-18). There are many possible explanations for this, two of which are discussed below. The first centers on the effectiveness of resistance in preventing completion of the theft or in preventing the thief from obtaining all of the victim's property. The second may be a function of the victim's willingness to try to protect his money, with an assault resulting. For example, individuals with less property may attempt to prevent the theft through resistance which results in assault. Wealthier individuals may be willing to give up possessions more readily and avoid violence. In addition, there are cases on record in which the robber, dissatisfied with the small amount of property carried by his victim, assaulted him.

There appear to be significant differences in the amount of loss when looked at in terms of racial groups. Table P-21 breaks down the distribution of amount of loss by race. Blacks suffered significantly larger losses (\$50 plus) than did whites. This is probably related to

the amount of property (usually money) carried by each group: blacks may simply carry more cash than whites and thus be more likely to lose large sums. Unfortunately, we have little evidence to test this hypothesis.

In the case of assaultive violence with theft, the median loss of those suffering some loss is approximately \$50 for whites and for blacks approximately \$150.* However, the true extent of the economic impact of assaultive violence is unknown. A better estimate may be obtained by looking at Table P-19 in which the loss including damages is considered. Even this information, however, is not sufficient since it neglects lost wages, lost productivity, and business losses occurring from fear on the part of the average citizen. The Commission has addressed this problem and offered some tentative figures which only touch on the "hidden costs." (Crime and Its Impact, 1967: 3).

The fear of interracial assault is definitely unfounded. Table P-17 presents data on the race of the victim and individual assailant. Over 81 percent of all assaultive violence involved a victim and offender of the same race. In the small number of interracial cases, blacks assaulted whites approximately three times as often as whites assaulted blacks. There appear to be no significant differences in this pattern between assaultive violence with theft and assaultive violence without theft.

*The median loss is used for two reasons. Due to the open-ended nature of the upper category \$250+, the computation of a mean is impossible. In addition, the losses are probably not evenly distributed, providing further complications. The median, which is defined as the value of the "middle case" is more useful given these constants.

Multiple victimizations (Table P-11) occur only rarely in the case of assaults. In 89 percent of the assault incidents, the victim was assaulted only once. In the event that a multiple victimization did occur, it most frequently involved two victimizations. There are no significant differences between the number of multiple victimizations when examined controlling for victim-offender relationship or crime type, i. e., assaultive violence with theft or without theft. In the case of nonstranger incidents, the number of multiple victimizations is slightly lower but is not significantly different.

Offenders

Unfortunately, very little data has been collected on the offenders in these victimizations. Only age (in broad categories), race, and number of offenders are reported. Generally, the assailants and victims are similar in race and age.

The patterns of the data on the perceived characteristics of offenders generally are similar to those of the victims. Table P-10 shows these distributions. The relative frequency of black offenders is higher overall than that of white offenders with the major difference occurring in the area of assaultive violence without theft, in which more offenders are white than black. The age breakdown of offenders shows that the perceived age of most offenders is in excess of 21 (see Table P-10). There are no significant differences in offenders' ages and types of personal crime.

In the case of single victimizations, Table P- 25 presents the distribution of assaults by the age of victim and assailant. Few individuals of any age (80) are victimized by assailants under 12. In the case of assailants between 12-14, the majority (95 percent) of their victims are of the same age. It is only in the older age categories, 15-17, 18-20, and 21 or over, that differences appear between the age of victim and assailant. The 15-17 year olds tend to assault individuals in the same age categories while 18-20 year olds tend to assault individuals older than themselves. This is especially true of assault with theft, in which case 84.6 percent of the victims are the same age or older than the offender. In the cases of assault without theft, the victims tend to be the same age as their assailants.

In the case of incidents involving multiple offenders, the largest number of incidents involve victims and assailants of the same age. There appear to be no differences between the age distribution of multiple offenders when viewed in light of crime type. Multiple assailants of mixed ages tend to victimize individuals in the 20-34 age category. However, this is probably a function of the higher involvement of victims of this age category to all offenses.

Race does not appear to affect the distribution of offender-age categories as presented in Table P-27. Approximately the same proportion of whites and blacks are found in each age category. The only area of interest is the category of assailants involving assailants of mixed races. In these cases, a significantly different proportion of the assailants are of mixed ages as well. This may be a function of interracial groups which are rare, or more likely, a function of the small sample size.

Cleveland Police statistics offer some information on the individuals arrested for these offenses. However, the categories of offenses are not comparable and the fact that the data are for individuals arrested immediately biases the statistics. Even so, the age and race trends observed in the victimization data are born out in the police data.

4.3.2 PERSONAL THEFT

This category of crime refers to the theft of personal property without assault either with or without contact between offender and victim. The following offenses are included: robbery and attempted robbery (with or without a weapon), purse-snatching, and pocket-picking. This definition differs slightly from the one employed in Section 4.2 above, in which the loss of property without contact, such as theft of

coats, umbrellas, etc., is counted as personal theft under the UCR scheme. In the case of the NCP categories, such thefts are included under "Household Victimization," larceny occurring elsewhere. For the following discussion, the categories of robbery, purse-snatching, and pocket-picking are dealt with.

During the year surveyed, there were an estimated 13,596 personal thefts without assault in Cleveland. Personal theft without assault accounted for 9.9 percent of all incidents and 42.7 percent of personal crime. The crude rate of victimization was 2,662 per 100,000 residents 12 years of age and older. An individual Clevelander's chance of being victimized was approximately one in 40. The actual rates differ considerably for different race, age, and sex groupings. The following paragraphs will examine personal theft without assault from the viewpoint of the victim and the offender, and will examine the frequency of reporting.

Victims of Personal Theft

A review of Table P-1 indicates the distribution of personal theft by the victim-offender relationship. By far, the majority of personal thefts occurs between strangers (roughly 20 times as many).

It has already been pointed out that, though there is a trend toward more nonstranger assaultive violence, most crime in Cleveland is committed by individuals not known to the victims. However, the

ratio of offenders unknown to victims to offenders known to victims is much greater for personal theft than for assaultive violence. Such a trend, however, is to be expected, based on most of the previous research and literature. Individuals involved in assaultive violence may have been acting in a previous setting. It is the previous contact which may give rise to the assault. (Pittman and Handy, 1964; Pokorny, 1965; Wolfgang, 1957). Theft, however, is frequently committed only for gain and the thief (or robber) selects his victim because of opportunity or potential return. Research on robbery reported on by Conklin indicates nearly 75 percent of all robberies are (1) of persons who, as part of their employment, were in charge of goods, or (2) in the open following sudden attack. Only a small proportion occurred in cases where there was a "previous association of some duration between victims and offenders." (Conklin, 1972: 60).

Additional information on the victim-offender relationship is presented in Table P-23. Race does not affect the victim-offender in the case of personal theft without assault. Almost 92 percent of the black victims did not know their assailant, while 93.3 percent of the white victims did not know their assailant, a difference which is not significant.

With the exception of younger individuals, i. e., age 12-15 and 16-19, the percent of the victims who did not know their assailant remains constant at over 90 percent (Table P-24). This differs slightly from the data on assaultive violence presented above and reflects the more random nature of personal theft.

Females are the victims of theft at the hands of strangers more often than males. This is most likely a function of exposure. Women are the victims of personal theft without assault more often than men, even though, overall, women are the victims of personal crimes less often than men. Purse-snatching appears to be the major component of these personal thefts. The woman is an easier target for the opportunistic offender because she offers little resistance, is oftentimes careless with her purse, and is usually unable to pursue her attacker.*

*Pocket-picking, the complement of purse-snatching committed against males, requires more skill and is more often the work of the "professional thief."

In these cases, it is most likely that the victim will not know her attacker since her role as victim occurred at random. The locations in which such personal thefts occur further support this contention. Table P-8 presents the distribution of personal thefts by location and victim-offender relationship. In the case of the offender known to the victim, the largest category of thefts occurred in the street (36.8 percent). However, this is not significantly different from the category of "Inside Home or Other Building." When looking at the data for offenses in which the offender is unknown to the victim, by far, most of the offenses occur in the street (67.7 percent). This is significant, since the next largest category ("Non-Residence Building, Public Convenience") accounts for only 14 percent of the offenses.

Table P-22 presents data on the victim-offender relationship for personal thefts. By far, most victims did not know, or knew only by sight, their assailant or did not know whether they knew him or not. Ninety-two percent of the offenders fell in this category. Only 4.3 percent of the offenders were relatives or were well known to the victim. This differs significantly from the pattern for assaultive violence without theft.

It appears that women are more likely to be robbed or suffer a purse-snatching at the hands of a stranger because their exposure to this offense is greater and they make a better target because of this inability to provide substantial resistance.

Table P-2 presents age, race, and sex distribution for the victims of personal theft controlling for the victim-offender relationship. In those cases in which the victim does not know the offender, by far the majority of such cases (in excess of 95 percent), young black males (16-19) have the highest rate of victimizations. In all age and sex categories, the rates of personal theft are higher for blacks than for whites (the only exception being black males over 65).

These findings are consistent with other research and can be expected based on the concept of "exposure" or the "at risk" modal. The majority of offenders (Table P-16) in cases of personal theft are black (61.1 percent), even though, for all personal crime, the racial category of offenders is only slightly more often black (51.9 percent). If the concept of the opportunistic or need offender is employed, it is more likely that he will rob someone who he frequently sees, probably another black. The frequency of interracial personal theft, though greater than that of interracial assault, is only 28.8 percent. Generally, both victim and assailant in a personal theft are of the same race, usually black.

Age and sex crosscut racial categories (Table P-2) in that rates for males of all ages and both races are higher in both cases than the rate for females in the same age-race categories. The rates for males

generally decline with age while for females they increase with age. Again, this may be a function of the older women; lower resistance to purse-snatching, the most common type of personal theft experienced by women. Older males, on the other hand, may less frequently visit places or be placed in situations in which theft occurs.

Marital status (Table P-3), possibly as a measure of social integration, but more probably as a determinant factor in "exposure," is important in examining rates of victimization. Significantly more divorced-separated/single individuals of both sexes are victims of personal theft than are married or widowed individuals. In Section 4.3.1 above, divorced and unmarried individuals were considered less well integrated into society and, as a result, more likely to become victims of assault. The same argument is not as viable in the case of theft. An alternative argument centers on the fact that unmarried individuals (either single or divorced/separated) are more likely to frequent places in which a robbery may occur. In addition, they may carry more money and thus be a better potential victim.

When age and marital status are combined (Table P-4), marriage apparently has a moderating effect. The rates for married/widowed individuals in all age categories are lower than for divorced/separated or never-married individuals and the rates for young married individuals are considerably below the rates for all individuals in the same age category.

The question of societal integration may be examined from another dimension, i. e., employment. The highest rates of victimization (Table P-6) are for unemployed individuals of both races, though the rate for unemployed blacks is more than twice the rate for unemployed whites. Employed individuals certainly are more likely targets from the point of view of the professional robber, i. e., they simply have more worth taking, but their victimization rate is lower than the rate for unemployed individuals. Both groups are "at risk" more frequently than others, yet they are differentially victimized. These may best be explained by looking at the opportunities available to the offender.

Even though unemployed individuals are less likely targets in terms of potential return, they are probably more frequently placed in a situation in which personal theft (or assault, as seen above) is likely to occur. Unemployed individuals are more likely to frequent bars or other "hangouts" where they are exposed to theft.

Income appears to play an ambiguous role in the case of personal theft (see Table P-5). For whites, rates of victimization decline with increasing income, the only exception being the category (\$25,000+), which experiences a high rate of victimization. The rates for blacks are consistently higher, as much as twice as high, given the same income. The patterns, with the exception of the high-income white victims which

may well be a function of small sample size, can be explained best in terms of exposure. It is likely that lower income groups of both races will often frequent locations which expose them to a greater risk of victimization. It is probably the differential exposure to possible offenders, rather than the likelihood of reward to the offender, which results in increased victimization rates for lower-income groups.

The temporal distribution of personal thefts differs from that of assaults (see Table P-7). Most assaults occur between 6 P.M. and 6 A.M., with the majority of these occurring between 6 P.M. and Midnight. Most personal thefts, however, occur during the day, i. e., from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. This is probably due to the fact that most individuals are traveling to or from work during these hours and are more likely to be victimized, i. e., they present a "better target." The fewest thefts occur between Midnight and 6 A.M., which one might expect, given that fewer individuals will be abroad at this time.

There is a slight difference in time distribution for stranger-to-stranger and nonstranger offenses. More stranger-to-stranger offenses occur during the day, while more nonstranger offenses occur during the evening. This is probably due to different patterns of interaction, which would place individuals in contact with potential offenders in different ways at different times. It should be pointed out that the sample size of non-stranger offenses is too small to allow valid interpretations.

Interracial theft occurs more frequently than interracial assault but still accounts for only 2.9 percent of all personal theft victimizations (see Table P-17). In the case of interracial personal theft, whites are the victims of black assailants significantly more often than blacks are the victims of whites.

Sixty-three percent of the personal thefts involved multiple offenders, most frequently two, as opposed to assaults in which 45 percent involved multiple offenders (Table P-9). However, when looking at the number of multiple offenders by victim-offender relationship, it appears that more stranger-to-stranger offenses involve multiple offenders than do non-stranger incidents. This is probably a function of the prior activity involving the action. Theft by someone known to the victim probably occurs following close interaction on a one-to-one basis (59 percent of all incidents), while theft between individuals unknown to each other probably occurs more often by random and implies no prior involvement of this type.

Slightly more than 41 percent of the incidents of personal theft involved a weapon of some kind. Most often this was a gun (64.3 percent) or a knife (25.8 percent)(see Table P-28). Weapons were not used in purse-snatching or pocket-picking. There is no significant difference in the use of weapons when viewed in light of the victim-offender relationship. In personal theft committed by stranger-to-stranger, weapons

are used in 41.9 percent of the incidents, while they are employed in 44.6 percent of stranger-to-nonstranger offenses.

The victim's response to personal theft is, generally, to do nothing (Table P-14). Sixty-four percent of the victims responded that they did nothing when confronted by the offender. Only 9.6 percent responded to the attack with a weapon or physical force. Blacks were less likely to offer resistance to a robber or purse-snatcher (30.2 percent) than whites (44 percent). Whites used weapons or force in 11.8 percent of the incidents, while blacks used weapons or force in only 7.6 percent of the incidents. This ratio of weapon use parallels that found for both racial groups in the case of assault.

Most victims of personal theft lost less than \$50 worth of property (54.4 percent) (Table P-18). Twenty-six percent lost between \$50 and \$250. Only 6.6 percent lost more than \$250.* When total loss is considered, the pattern of loss remains approximately the same, with 53.1 percent suffering a total loss, including damages, of less than \$50. Almost 26 percent suffered a total loss of between \$50 and \$250. When examining loss by race, blacks suffer greater losses than do whites. Table P-21 presents the data on loss by race. Most white victims (61.6 percent) suffered a total loss of less than \$50, while 49.9 percent of the blacks suffered a similar loss. More than twice as many blacks,

*Percents do not total to 100 because in some cases (12.7 percent) there was no loss or the amount is unknown.

proportionately, suffered losses of over \$250 (8.9 percent) as did whites (3.3 percent). The median value of loss in the case of robbery is approximately \$37 for whites and \$50 for blacks. This differential loss by race most probably is a result of the amount of money and/or other property carried by each group. It is possible that blacks suffer larger losses simply because they carry more money than whites, for whatever reason.

Offender in Personal Theft

It has already been mentioned that there is little information available on the offender in the incidents of assaultive violence. A similar situation also occurs in the case of personal theft. Most of the offenders, when age could be determined, were 21 years of age or older (53 percent). Table P-10 breaks down the age distribution of offenders by presumed age. Of those offenders under 21, most were between 18 and 20. The majority of the offenders were black (81.8 percent). These data follow the trends observed in the individuals arrested by the Cleveland Police for robbery and larceny. Cleveland Police statistics indicate that slightly less than one-half (48.2 percent) of the offenders were 21 years of age or older. Approximately three-quarters of the offenders were blacks (74.1 percent).

Even though the Cleveland Police data refer only to persons arrested for crimes known to the police, the age distribution for both victimization survey results and Cleveland Police data are quite close.

The fact that the percent of arrested blacks is significantly higher than the percent of black offenders reported by victims may well be a result of differential reporting by blacks (see Section 3.3 below).

While the survey presents no data to test the hypothesis implied by Conklin, the role of the addict-offender has been repeatedly addressed by the Cleveland Police. Estimates on the number of opiate addicts in the City and their criminal involvement are not accurate, ranging from 2,000 to 50,000. The lower estimates are probably more accurate and, in themselves, indicate the existence of a large number of potential offenders.

4.4 ANALYSIS OF NATIONAL CRIME PANEL DATA -- HOUSEHOLD CRIME

Household crime is significantly different from personal crime in terms of a model of causation. With the exception of some types of auto theft (notably "joyriding"), most household theft has economic gain as its primary motive. Scarr points out that burglary and larceny as well are crimes of opportunity and the victim is chosen not for his personal characteristics but rather for his carelessness or ease in victimization and possibly for the potential return. (Scarr, 1972: 4). This model of burglary is based on need, perceived opportunities, knowledge of burglary techniques and the choice of burglary.* Emotion does not enter into the act as it does in the case of assault. Robbery is probably more similar

*This view holds for most burglary, though Gibbons discusses the "cat burglar," who is considered aberrant and gets his "kick" from crimes rather than committing them solely for gain. (Gibbons, 1968: 13-14).

to burglary in the conceptual model but is considered a personal crime because it involves a direct confrontation and the chance of injury to the victim.

A review of Tables H-1 through H-12 presents a general picture of the pattern of household crime. Household crime (burglary, larceny, auto theft) accounted for 47 percent of the total incidents reported during the period of study. Burglary accounted for the largest category of the household crime (44.3 percent) and for 20.8 percent of all incidents. This makes it the largest category after personal larceny without contact in the Uniform Crime Report categories (see Table 3-1). The remaining incidents were evenly distributed between auto theft and larceny. Note that this is in part a function of reporting definition because when National Crime Panel categories are employed this pattern changes. If the National Crime Panel categories are used instead of the UCR categories, refer to Table H-7 rather than 4-1, the pattern changes because of the placing of personal larcenies within the category of household crime occurring away from home. This inflates household crime to 96,401 incidents or 70 percent of all incidents in Cleveland during 1971-72. Larceny would then account for 52 percent of household incidents and 36.4 percent of all incidents.

The loss in slightly more than one half of the incidents (55.7 percent) is \$99 or less. However, there are differential rates of loss

by race which follow the trend observed earlier for robbery and personal theft (see Subsections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2 above). Blacks lose larger values of cash and property than do whites. Blacks are the victims of auto theft much more frequently than whites. Rates of larceny are significantly higher away from home than at home though burglary rates are just the opposite. This is a function of definition, in which personal larceny away from home is counted as a household theft (see Subsection 3.3.1 for a discussion of this problem). Patterns of income, housing patterns, and tenure all will be reviewed in the following discussion of household crime.

4.4.1 BURGLARY

During the year under study, there were an estimated 64,712 incidents of household crime, of which 44.3 percent were burglary. Of these 28,665 incidents, 12,629 (44.0 percent) indicated forced entry, 8,904 (24.9 percent) were unlawful entry without force, and the remainder were attempted burglary. The ratio of household burglary incidents to commercial burglary incidents in Cleveland was 2.5 to one, with household burglaries predominating. This ratio differs significantly from that found elsewhere and reported on by various researchers. Others (Scarr, 1972; Crime and Its Impact, 1967) indicate that about one-half of all burglaries are commercial. The rate for commercial burglary in Cleveland is about three times higher than the rate for household burglary.

Referring to Table H-1, the pattern of household crime in general, but burglary in particular, follows racial lines. The rate for burglary victimization for blacks is more than twice the rate for whites, a difference which is statistically significant. The difference remains when other, possibly confounding, variables such as tenure (ownership relation of victim to dwelling) or income are examined. For example, when examining Table H-3, there are no significant differences in burglary rates for individual living in property owned by victim or property which is rented. The apparent differences between property owned by victim and property rented for other than cash is most probably a function of the small sample size, in the latter case (less than 1.5 percent of the households live in dwellings rented for other than cash). However, within each tenure category, there are significant differences between races. The loss suffered by burglarized households also varies along racial lines. Blacks in all income categories suffer large losses (\$100 or more) significantly more often than whites. The combination of these two categories, however, is ambiguous. The rate for burglary increases with increasing income. The rate increases faster for blacks in the higher income brackets. This may be a combination of housing patterns, changing income, and victimization. The survey results do not indicate spatial patterns of burglary. However, Cleveland Police Department statistics do indicate that certain areas of the inner city experience the highest rates of burglary. This may well be a result of the opportunity

theory discussed above. These areas generally correspond to areas with large non-white populations. It is possible that as blacks do earn higher incomes, they become victimized because they do not move out of those geographic regions in which burglary has traditionally been high.

Previous studies of burglary have not centered on the victim and little information on the age, race, sex, and income characteristics of victims is presently available. The burglary rate, along with other index crimes, has been examined by some authors who have attempted to determine patterns and changes in the crime rate and related ecological variables. Applying the techniques of factor analysis* to census data and Uniform Crime Report data results in the development of clusters of variables (factors) which are closely related. A small correlation between race and burglary was found in two studies (Schmid, 1960; Schuessler, 1962). Other factors, including income and unemployment, were found to be more important than race in predicting burglary rates. In Cleveland, all three of these factors tend to combine to exacerbate the relationship between race and burglary. While the overall unemployment is low, the rate for blacks is almost three times as high, while the percent of black families with an income below poverty level is 1.8 times the City average.

However, before placing too much emphasis on this research, some fundamental questions of research design and the interpretation

*For a discussion of factor analysis, see Blalock, Social Statistics, First Edition, or Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research, especially Chapter 36.

of results must be addressed. Though ecological analysis cannot be discussed in detail here, * the reader is cautioned that attributing relationships to individuals within groups because the groups show a relationship is a tenuous type of reporting. In the two cases cited above, the unit of analysis was a city (Schuessler, 1962) or census tracts or neighborhoods within a city (Schmid, 1960). **

The result of the above caveat is that though the Cleveland Survey data do show that victims of burglary are predominantly black, there is little baseline data with which to compare these results. The following tentative hypothesis is offered based on the opportunity model developed above. Cleveland police statistics indicate that 73.8 percent of the burglars arrested in Cleveland in 1972 were black. If burglaries are committed as opportunities present themselves, the large number of black burglars arrested is consistent with the finding of a large number of black victims.

The age distribution of victims is presented in Table H-2. For burglary, the general pattern is that the rate of burglary declines with the age of the head of the household. For the first three categories (12-19, 20-34, and 35-49), there are no significant differences in the

*See Judith Wilks, "Ecological Correlates of Crime and Delinquency," for a discussion of the problems and uses of factor analysis in analyzing crime statistics. Also see Robinson for a discussion of the ecological fallacy.

**Schuessler examined crime rates in 109 cities using 1950 and 1960 census data. Schmid examined changing patterns in crime in Seattle. Both studies draw implicitly on the earlier work of Lottier (1939) and Shaw and McKay (1942).

burglary rate for either location. The rate for older individuals is less than that for the younger group and declines even more with age. This may be a function of different patterns of social interaction experienced by the different age groups. Older individuals are more likely to entertain at home or to spend evenings at home, thereby reducing the most common type of burglary, the entering of an unoccupied dwelling. The presence of any individual in the home is an effective deterrent to the opportunistic burglar. (Barnes, 1971). In addition, IMPACT Cities burglary workshops have shown that the elderly are more concerned with security, as evidenced by attendance.* It is possible that elderly individuals take more care and are more concerned than younger individuals and may take additional measures to protect themselves.

This relationship between dwelling type and burglary rate may be examined in Tables H-3 and H-4. The first table presents rate of household crime broken down by location and tenure of the household. It has already been pointed out that race is more important than tenure in predicting burglary rates. There are no significant differences in burglary rates between homes owned or being bought and homes being rented either for cash or for no cash rent. These data seem to indicate that other factors, probably opportunity, are more important than the type of dwelling.

*An interview with IMPACT staff members conducting these workshops supports this view that a large number of elderly individuals attend such sessions.

Table H-4 presents data on the burglary rate and the number of units in the building. For whites, the rate increases considerably as one compares single family dwellings (8.115 burglaries per 100 households) with four-suite apartments (12.042 burglaries per 100 households). However, the rate for multiple-unit dwellings (over five units) drops to a rate comparable with single homes. This may be a function of the building of numerous new, expensive "high rise" apartments which contain numerous security features.

In the case of black heads of households, number of units in the structure and burglary rates follow an ambiguous pattern. The rate for all categories is higher than the white rate and there are less obvious differences between categories. This is especially so in the category of five or more units, which does not experience the decline observed above. This may be a function of the different types of multiple-family structures occupied by whites and blacks. In the latter case, these multi-family dwellings are frequently public housing projects which have had traditionally higher burglary rates. It is unlikely that the number of units in the structure is as important as other factors such as age and location. Older two- and three-family dwellings are less secure than high rises, which frequently include security staff and/or devices.

The difference between racial groups is most probably a function

of the differential housing available to each. Most whites who live in multi-family dwellings (greater than five) live in a few areas of cities which traditionally experience low crime rates.

The rates of burglary away from home are so small as to preclude meaningful analysis. By far, the majority of all burglaries occur at the home of the victim. Table H-7 presents the distribution of offenses by location. Less than one percent of all burglaries occur away from home. All of these occur either at a vacation home or a hotel or motel. While this distribution is largely a function of the definition of burglary, the low rate of offenses away from the home is probably a function of a small amount of travel and a small number of vacation homes. The analysis of such a small number of cases, 27, while it may be interesting, is unlikely to yield statistically meaningful results.

The following discussions of burglary will center only on incidents which occur at home. Interesting relationships between rates and locations will be mentioned but no detailed analysis will be attempted.

The pattern for income and burglary rates is much more obvious for blacks than for whites. With the exception of the 7,500-9,999 category, the burglary rate increases steadily for blacks, with high-income blacks being victimized more than one and one-half times as frequently as low-income blacks, and two and one-half times as often

as whites in the same income category. While this may be a result of greater wealth and hence more attractiveness to a potential burglar, it may also be a function of the small sample size, less than one percent of the black population fits into this category of \$25,000+. The opportunity argument coupled with known migration patterns for wealthy blacks makes the latter explanation more plausible. The large differential between racial groups shows up in this table, in which the rate differs more between individuals of different races within the same income categories than across income categories. The rates for burglaries away from home is too small to allow in-depth analysis (see note above). It is interesting to note that the only away-from-home burglaries occur with high-income individuals. This may be interpreted in two ways. First, it is possible that wealthier individuals travel significantly more than others and are at risk more often, or, as some authors have pointed out, professional burglars seek out the more expensive hotels and resorts and victimize their guests, or they may own vacation homes which may be left unattended during most of the year.

Most burglaries are committed, it would appear, by "regular burglars" (Gibbons, 1968: 13) who victimize unoccupied dwellings. This individual is frequently the opportunist burglar who randomly tries dwellings until he finds one which is easy to victimize because of the owner's or resident's carelessness. The distribution of times of

burglaries reflects this pattern. Of the 23,550 incidents for which the time of occurrence is known, only 22.4 percent occurred between Midnight and 6 A.M. Most (46.0 percent) occurred during the day or in the early evening (30.7 percent). These are the times when a house is more likely to be vacant. Most individuals will have returned home and be in bed by Midnight, or shortly after. The pattern for burglary and larceny are similar but differ significantly from that of auto theft. This is consistent with the opportunity argument, which would expect cars to be stolen during the day while people are at work, or late in the evening when their owners have parked them for the night.

More than one half (62 percent) of the burglaries involved losses of more than \$100. However, there are different loss patterns when the data are examined from the point of view of race. Table H-9 presents the data for loss by race of the head of the household and location. Blacks suffer large losses (over \$100) more often than do whites. Whites suffered losses of less than \$100 51.6 percent of the time, while blacks suffered such losses 27.4 percent of the time. This loss pattern is similar to the pattern observed for personal crime above (see Section 4.3) and for larceny (see Subsection 4.4.2 below). The actual economic impact of burglary is difficult to determine because the total loss is difficult to determine from the above data. The median value of loss for whites is near \$95, while for blacks it is approximately \$284. Both of these statistics are questionable because the basis for the

determination is questionable. Individuals generally overestimate their loss for a variety of reasons, including insurance claims, use of purchase price or replacement cost rather than depreciation, and lack of knowledge.* In any case, the data in Tables H-9 and H-10 present the data on the loss and on the amount of the loss recovered. Table H-10 presents interesting statistics on the proportion of the stolen goods which are recovered. Overall, for all household offenses, some or all of the stolen goods are recovered in only 28 percent of the cases. The recovery rate for stolen autos is highest (76.4 percent) and lowest for larcenies (13.9 percent). The rate for burglaries is also relatively low at 21.4 percent. However, this recovery rate is related to the value of the loss. The proportion recovered in part or in full increases with the value of the theft. In burglaries with small losses (less than \$50), none of the property is recovered in 89.1 percent of the cases. In burglaries with a loss of over \$250, some or all of the property is recovered in 30 percent of the cases. This is probably a result of the amount of property stolen in the latter case. If a large number of goods is stolen, there is a greater chance that some of the goods will turn up and be recovered by the police. In the smaller losses, if any goods are recovered, it is more likely that the total amount will be recovered, while with larger losses it is more likely that only part of the loss will be recovered.

Table H-11 presents data on the total loss, including damages

*See Criminal Victimization in the United States (Chapter 3).

suffered by both races. The pattern is similar to that observed above when only the value of the goods (or cash) stolen was considered. Overall, slightly more than 72 percent of the losses, including damages, were for less than \$250. There were, however, differences between blacks and whites in terms of loss, with blacks losing more than \$250 in approximately 33.5 percent of the incidents and whites incurring the same loss in 20.5 percent of the incidents. This differential loss by race is consistent across most crime types with blacks generally claiming larger losses. There are several explanations for this, ranging from greater property at risk to overestimation of loss. Unfortunately, there are no additional data available to allow the testing of these alternative hypotheses.

4.4.2 LARCENY

Larceny refers to the theft of goods or cash by stealth, i. e., no force or contact occurs. This would include thefts from the areas surrounding the home, yard, sidewalk, etc., as well as losses of property in public places away from the home. This latter category, larceny committed elsewhere, presents an anomaly, given the traditional crime classifications employed by criminologists and the Uniform Crime Reports. Under the NCP classification system, the theft of a coat, briefcase, umbrella, packages, etc. which occur in a public place, i. e., restaurant, lounge, bus, or train are considered household incidents rather than personal incidents. With this distinction in mind, some of the apparently

confusing data presented in this section can be clarified.

Of the 137,772 estimated incidents which occurred in Cleveland during the year 1971-72, 18,457 were larcenies of the first type discussed above. This accounted for 13.4 percent of all incidents. However, if the personal larcenies without contact are also included (see Table 4-1), the percentage of larcenies considered by the National Crime Panel to be "household incidents" increases to 36.4 percent (50,146 incidents). Employing the same scheme, more than one-half of all household incidents (51.3 percent) were larcenies.

It is interesting to note that larceny rates do not, in aggregate, differ significantly by race. The rates of larceny for whites and blacks are relatively close but are significantly greater than the rates for other (which is a small portion of the sample). This pattern differs significantly from the pattern for burglary in which blacks are victimized more than twice as often as whites. The corresponding ratio for larceny is 1.2: 1. When race is examined in other contexts, tenure, number of dwelling units in the structure or income, it appears to be more important than the variables examined. The difference between tenure types for the same race are smaller than the difference across race for the same type of tenure. It appears that race is the dominant factor in predicting a person's likelihood of victimization. Location, as might be expected, becomes important in discussing larceny, as it will in the case of auto

theft. It has already been demonstrated that, by definition, very few burglaries occur away from home. In the latter case, however, larceny and auto theft, 1.6 times as many larcenies and three times as many auto thefts occur away from home. There are no significant differences in this pattern when examined in light of race. The ratio of "at home" to "elsewhere" categories is approximately the same for all racial groups. When looking at race and income, there appear to be differences in the type of larceny for which each race is victimized. These rates of at home larceny for both races is relatively similar, though generally slightly higher for blacks than for whites. However, in the case of larcenies away from home, the rate for blacks is considerably higher in each income category than for whites. This may be a function of two things. Blacks may have fewer possessions which they leave vulnerable or are more careful around their homes with possessions such as bicycles, toys, tools, etc., or they may be more security conscious around their homes and they may lock up such things. However, away from home, they appear either to be less careful with their belongings or, returning to the risk model discussed under personal crime, they may frequent those places where potential thieves are likely to be found. The opportunity-need model discussed for burglary probably applies equally well in this case.

Age patterns of larceny (see Table H-2) present some interesting anomalies. The larceny rates for the lower three age categories are

approximately equal when viewed as aggregates; however, there is a significant difference in the ratio of at home to elsewhere larcenies, with the youngest group (12-19) experiencing more at home larcenies and less elsewhere larcenies than the other groups (the ratio of away to at home is 1.2). The older group (35-49) experiences more larcenies elsewhere and less at home than either of the groups (the ratio is 2.0). This can most easily be explained in terms of patterns of socializing. This age group is probably most likely to visit restaurants, entertainment, etc., and suffer losses of property. The oldest age group (65+) experiences a considerably lower rate of victimization, as does the 50-64 year old group, but in addition also experiences more at home larcenies than larcenies away from home. This is probably a function of their decreased mobility and the lower frequency of travel. They may also be less careful of their possessions than younger individuals, resulting in this differential. However, it should be emphasized that the rates for these groups and the sample sizes are relatively small, making any interpretation about the patterns primarily speculation. Discussions with IMPACT staff members produce interesting comparisons in the case of older individuals. Their rate of victimization for all crime types is significantly below that of all other groups, yet they respond most strongly to programs of prevention and protection. The individuals who conduct workshops on burglary prevention, protection from assault, citizens' awareness, all indicate that, overwhelmingly, the individuals attending

these sessions are older, generally over 60. This appears to be an example of the fear, based on misinformation, which was discussed above (Section 4.2). The individuals who statistically are least likely to be victimized and hence have the least to fear are the most concerned, to the point of taking action to protect themselves. The rate for individuals 65 and over is approximately one-third ~~the~~ rate for the next lowest group (50-64). Individuals over 49 years of age are only about two-thirds as likely to be victimized by larceny as individuals 12 to 49 years of age. Similar patterns hold for all household crime.

The role of tenure has already been discussed in examining race, but a few points of interest will be mentioned. Generally, tenure is less important than other variables except when examining larcenies committed elsewhere. The overall rate for burglary among renters is slightly higher than the rate for homeowners, while the rate for larcenies is slightly lower for renters. This may simply be a function of the larger number of goods which homeowners possess, increasing their risk. Bicycles, garden tools, toys, outdoor furniture, etc., all are found more frequently among homeowners than among apartment dwellers. In addition, because of yards, driveways, and patios, these belongings are more likely to be "left out," making larceny easier, especially for the opportunistic thief. Cleveland police have reported a large increase in the number of expensive (five- and 10-speed bicycles) stolen by drug addicts from yards and sidewalks. Apartment dwellers are less likely to leave their possessions in

the yard or on the sidewalk. As a result, opportunity-motivated thefts are reduced among this group. It is interesting to examine the transition that occurs between black and white renters and homeowners. The ratio of black to white larcenies declines significantly for renters. Among homeowners, blacks are victimized 1.4 times as often as whites, but among renters, blacks and whites are victimized about the same rate. This may well be a function of income, since it is to be expected that black homeowners are more affluent than black renters. The difference in larceny rates among different income groups has already been examined and will be discussed below when reviewing Table H-5.

Larceny rates do not appear to be strongly associated with the type of dwelling as seen in Table H-4. Again, rates for black homeowners (or individuals living in single homes) suffering victimizations elsewhere are highest, while rates for residents of large multi-family dwellings are lowest for both races. Larceny rates "at home" and "elsewhere" tend to increase with size of structure up to four units and then decline slightly for large multiple-family structures. However, there are inconsistencies within the data which do not allow generalizations or speculations about the relationship between type of structure and rates. Logically, one might expect that single-homeowners and renters of double or three-family houses would suffer more larcenies at home, while residents of "high-rise" apartments, without children, might be more mobile and thus experience more larcenies committed elsewhere. The data on number

of units and larceny rates are ambiguous, but it does appear that for members of both races, the rate of larcenies committed elsewhere is approximately twice as high as the rate of larcenies committed at home for residents of "high rises," even though the residents of these buildings generally experience overall lower rates of victimization. This is probably a function of income and the increased security, garages, guards, and electronic surveillance present in these buildings.

Larcenies at home generally are positively related to income, with the rates for whites and blacks rising with income. Two interesting cases occur, the \$10,000-\$14,999 category and the over \$25,000 category, which do not follow the trend but are lower for both blacks and whites. The significant decline in the over \$25,000 category is probably a function of location of residence more than anything else. It is likely that individuals in this income category live in sheltered areas of the city in which crime rates are generally down. In addition, such individuals may have more secure homes and potential thieves may be deterred by this fact as well as the fact that they would be more visible in the neighborhood. This is especially true of the occasional or opportunistic thief. (Barnes, 1970). The slight decline in the \$10,000 to \$14,000 category may be explained in a similar way. Cleveland police statistics indicate a lower rate for all crimes in the western parts of the City. The residents of these areas are primarily middleclass individuals in this income category. This

argument, however, cannot be applied to blacks because of their differential housing pattern. Police statistics for the areas of the City occupied by higher-income blacks do not differ significantly.*

In the case of larcenies committed "elsewhere," the rates are consistently higher for each racial and income group. The decline observed above for the higher-income categories in larcenies at home does not appear for larcenies committed elsewhere. This is most likely due to a greater frequency of loss of possessions while away from home visiting places of entertainment or public places. The choice of such facilities is probably different for these individuals than for members of lower-income groups. This differential choice probably places the victim in contact with different types of potential offenders, i. e., individuals more likely to steal by stealth than by force. There is, unfortunately, a possible flaw in his argument. The occasional thief is also probably more visible in such an environment and, as a result, is less able to be effective. In general, the analysis of income data is ambiguous and few consistent trends can be discerned, even after careful examination.

Most larcenies at home occur in the early morning hours between Midnight and six A. M. (36.4 percent), as seen in Table H-6. An additional 30.6 percent occur in the late evening, while the remaining third occur during the twelve hours from six A. M. to six P. M. This may be explained

*Obviously, reported incidents will differ from Survey results. Unfortunately, spatial distribution of Survey results are unavailable, so police data are offered to support this position. The question of spatial distribution is addressed below in Section V.

in terms of the darkness needed to provide "cover" for these larcenies. It is difficult to appear inconspicuous while stealing a bicycle from individuals' yards during the day when they or their neighbors are home. Darkness provides the necessary secrecy to allow such crimes. The highest rate of theft occurs in the early morning hours when individuals are asleep and differs from burglary, which occurs most often when individuals are away from their homes during the day and early evening until Midnight. The pattern for larceny away from home is consistent with the explanation offered for robbery above in Subsection 4.3.2. Most such larcenies occur during the day (54.5 percent), when individuals are about and are placed in contact with potential thieves, i. e., riding buses and trains, eating lunch, visiting stores and so on. Following a similar vein, one might expect that a large number of such larcenies might occur in the early evening when individuals are about visiting restaurants and theaters. The smallest number of such larcenies away from home might be expected in the early morning hours when most individuals are home. The data presented in Table H-6 support this argument, with 26.3 percent occurring between six P.M. and Midnight and only 19.2 percent occurring between Midnight and six A.M. The patterns of most of the crime types observed in the victimization survey closely follow what is expected.

Larcenies occur most frequently in the street, field, or park (38.8 percent) or near the victim's home (29.7 percent). Homes,

non-residence buildings, and schools each account for about eight to nine percent of the larcenies. Larcenies in school most probably refer to the theft of books, clothing, and lunches from desks, rather than the burglary of lockers. The theft of school property is not included because of the nature of the interviewing procedure. Thefts from non-residence buildings refers to theft from stores or offices of private property, for example, a shopper's packages or an office worker's personal possessions. The theft of merchandise or office supplies either by employees or others is not considered in this survey. The location is an important consideration because it outlines the type of individuals with whom the victim is likely to come in contact. Thefts occurring inside the home (or vacation home) must be committed by someone known to the victim, either a relative, friend, employee, or other person who has legal access to the home, such as a service technician. The data presented in Table H-7 support the relationship between victimization and risk hypothesized above.

The amount lost in most larcenies is relatively small but does differ according to the race of the victim. Eight thousand, six hundred and fifty (88.5 percent) of the larcenies* at home with white victims involved losses of less than \$100, while 4,310 (78.9 percent) of the victimizations involving blacks involved losses of less than \$100. The median loss for whites was \$29, while for blacks it was \$45. This pattern of greater loss for blacks is consistent with the findings for robbery and burglary, though the argument about carrying differential amounts of cash probably does

*In which the amount of loss was known.

not apply to these incidents since most of the losses were of property. The pattern changes slightly when larcenies committed elsewhere are considered. In this case, the percentages of whites and blacks losing less than \$100 are almost equal (83.5 percent for blacks, 81.2 percent for whites). The median loss for larcenies committed elsewhere for whites is \$34, while for blacks it is \$36. It would appear that the property and cash lost by both groups while away from home is relatively close even though the whites lose more elsewhere than at home. Without more specific breakdowns of the type of loss, cash, property, clothing, etc., these differentials are difficult to explain.

The problems inherent in estimating the total economic impact of larceny as well as the estimation of individual losses has already been alluded to, in Subsection 4.3.1 above. Much the same pattern exists when looking at the total loss, including damages, by race. These data are presented in Table H-11. Unfortunately, the categories have been telescoped, making precise comparisons with the data in Table H-10 impossible. Almost 64 percent of the white victims suffered losses, including damages of less than \$50, while 54.7 percent of the black victims suffered similar losses. The median loss, including damages, for whites was \$37; for blacks the comparable figure was \$45.

Large losses were relatively rare; only 5.7 percent of all larcenies at home exceeded \$250 and less than 0.3 percent involved more than

\$1,000. The number of large losses among blacks was twice as high than among whites, 8.4 percent compared to 4.1 percent. In the case of larcenies away from home, the overall number of individuals suffering large (over \$250) losses was smaller (4.1 percent) and the rates for blacks and whites were 4.9 and 3.6 percent, respectively.

The percent of property recovered in larcenies is lower than the percent recovered in either burglary or auto theft. Generally, the percent of cases in which no property is recovered declines with the amount of property taken (Table H-10). In the case of larcenies with small losses (less than \$50), none of the stolen goods was recovered in 89.6 percent of the incidents, while in the cases of large thefts (\$250+) the percentage in which none of the goods was recovered is 78.8 percent. The chance of recovering all of the stolen goods is greatest in large thefts (over \$1000), where in 31.8 percent of the incidents all of the lost property was recovered. This compares very favorably when viewed in light of the overall recovery rate of less than 14 percent. It is interesting to note that in most cases (with the exception of the \$250-\$999 category), the percent of cases where all property is recovered is greater than the cases in which only partial recovery occurs. In other words, the victim of a larceny is most likely to recover none of his property. However, if any property is recovered, it is likely that the total amount taken will be recovered. The low rate of recovery is to be expected given the nature of larceny. By definition, there is no contact between the victim and offender, hence no description

is possible. In addition, larcenies frequently go unnoticed for a period of time. Often, the missing objects are not discovered until someone attempts to use them. Even then, people frequently believe they have been misplaced. The high rate of recovery in bigger theft may be a result of the types of goods taken which may be more difficult to "fence" (dispose), or quicker discovery by the victim.

4.4.4 AUTO THEFT

This category includes theft of a motor vehicle and attempted theft of a motor vehicle, and accounts for 12.8 percent of all incidents (17,590 incidents). Auto theft accounts for 27.2 percent of all household incidents, excluding personal larceny (larceny committed elsewhere) (see Table 4-1) and 18.5 percent of all household crime, including such larcenies. The patterns observed for most other household crime also apply to auto theft as a review of the household tables (H-1 through H-12) will demonstrate. Blacks suffer the loss of their autos about one and one-half times as often as whites. Members of "other" races experience significantly lower rates of victimization. In the case of blacks, it is interesting to note that the major difference in rates occurs for auto thefts occurring at home. It appears that residential auto theft occur proportionately more often to blacks than to whites. However, in both cases, the rate of auto thefts occurring elsewhere is significantly higher than the rate occurring at home, frequently on the order of two or three or more to one. The effect of race may also be examined in Tables H-3,

H-4, H-5, and H-12. When examining tenure (Table H-3), differences found between homeowners and renters are not significant, while differences between racial groups within tenure categories are significant. However, it does appear that tenure and race do combine in an ambiguous way in the case of auto theft. White homeowners have a significantly lower rate of auto theft than do black homeowners, yet in the case of renters, blacks have a slightly lower, but not significantly lower, rate than whites. These differences surprisingly appear in the category of location. Black homeowners experience a rate of auto theft occurring elsewhere which is two and one-half times the rate for whites, while the rate for black renters suffering auto thefts elsewhere is approximately three-quarters the white rate. This may be a function of mobility patterns among blacks who purchase homes, yet return to older, higher crime neighborhoods to visit friends. In addition, most auto thefts occur from the street, probably while the car is parked and the owner is at work or visiting. The downtown area, according to police statistics, experiences a very high rate of auto theft, with workers of both races being victimized randomly. Similar trends occur when controlling for income (Table H-5), in which blacks have consistently higher rates of victimization than do whites, with the exception of at home auto theft for very high white income groups. The rates for blacks earning over \$15,000 is significantly lower than the rates for whites earning the same amount. This may not be explained in terms of neighborhood, but may be due to the small number.

of blacks in this income category. At present, no explanation for this trend can be offered and the data are simply presented without further comment.

Auto theft is positively associated with income (see Table H-5); the rate increases as income increases. This pattern holds for auto thefts occurring elsewhere and may be related to the value and desirability of the car. Wealthier individuals are more likely to drive newer, more expensive, and possibly more sporty cars. Such cars are more desirable to the joy-rider, the car stripper, and the professional thief, though for different reasons. The high recovery rate may be equated with joy-riding, in which case, fancy cars are desirable (see the discussion of recovery rates below). There are some anomalies occurring among upper-income blacks, though these may be attributed to either more care on the part of these individuals or to their small number in the survey. In the latter case, the low rates may simply be a matter of random error. Blacks in all income categories suffer higher rates of victimization. The differences between races are greater than the differences between income categories for the same race.

Table H-12 presents data on the number of vehicles "at risk" by selected demographic characteristics, age, race, tenure, and household size. Given these data, rates based on the at risk population may be developed. This becomes important because of differential ownership of automobiles by age and race. Of the total number of households,

approximately 63.0 percent were white, 35.9 percent were black, and the remaining 1.2 percent were "other." When looking at vehicle ownership, more than two-thirds of the vehicles were owned by whites and 32.2 percent were owned by blacks. The result of this difference, even though it is slight, is to inflate the rate for blacks based on the specific risk category of auto theft. Obviously, if an individual does not own a car, he cannot be victimized. The distribution of multi-car families is not known, but is probably less important in computing "at risk" probabilities. Using the data presented in Table H-12, it becomes obvious that blacks experience an even greater differential victimization. The rate of theft for whites is 6,296 thefts per 100,000 vehicles owned, while the rate for blacks is 10,039 thefts per 100,000 vehicles owned. The rate for blacks is more than one and one-half times the white rate. As in the case for all other crime types examined so far, blacks of all ages, incomes, and of both sexes are victimized more often than whites. There is no difference, by race, between the number of attempted and the number of completed thefts. Approximately twice as many cars are successfully stolen as there are attempts made.

The distribution for auto theft by age follows the pattern of vehicle ownership. Individuals aged 12-19 own fewer autos and are victimized less often than others. This may be a function of either the type of car owned by these individuals, i. e., less expensive, undesirable cars in

many cases, or the extra car which young car owners may take irregardless of the value of the car. The highest rate occurs for individuals in the 20-34 year old category, with the rate steadily declining with age. This may be a function of the desirability of the cars driven by each age group from the point of view of the potential thief. Younger, opportunistic thieves may steal flashy, sporty cars for joy-riding or for the theft of specific components, i. e., seats, transmissions, accessories. These desirable cars are more frequently driven by young, single individuals in the 20-34 age category. Older individuals are more likely to drive less desirable cars, from this point of view at least. In addition, older individuals may take more care in parking and locking their cars. Another explanation may be offered, based on the patterns of socializing engaged in by all groups. Individuals 20-34 experience the largest rate of loss suffered away from home, which is probably a function of their increased mobility which places their cars "at risk" more often. The relationship between tenure patterns and auto theft have been discussed above (Table H-3) in the context of race. Overall renters experience slightly higher rates of victimization. This may well be a function of the difficulties which renters frequently have in finding any type of parking. In many cases, the parking lots or on-street parking are not secure and may be located a considerable distance from the renters' residence. These factors contribute to a higher rate of auto theft for renters.

The type of residence, i. e., number of units in the structure,

does not seem to be important. No discernible patterns appear to differentiate the association between number of dwelling units and thefts. The rates for multi-family units (five or more) are lower than two-, three-, or four-family units. This may be a function of the secure garages which many of these newer large apartments have.

However, when the number of vehicles at risk is considered (see Table H-12), the rates for renters appears to be significantly higher than the rate for homeowners (1,023 thefts per 100,000 vehicles owned versus 5,684 thefts per 100,000 vehicles owned). These statistics are consistent with the explanation presented above. Another variable which may be considered is size of the family. These data are presented in Table II-12. Even though there are some confounding factors,^{*} it appears that larger households suffer victimizations more often than smaller ones. This is consistent with the concept of exposure to risk. Large households are more likely to contain more than one driver, thereby placing the car at risk more often because it is driven and parked more frequently away from the owner's home. Most thefts occur from the street or fields (73.1 percent of all thefts). This might be explained in terms of the pattern of theft. Cars are frequently stolen while the owners are attending work, entertainment, or sporting events. The thief therefore has a fair idea of when the owner will return and the amount of time available to him. Stealing a car requires some "lead time" to be effective. That is, the thief should have some time before the car is missed to

^{*}Larger households may contain unrelated individuals. In addition, in the case of large families, many individuals may not drive.

strip it or move it to a secure location where extensive changes may be made to prepare the car for resale.

Of those auto thefts occurring at home, most (59 percent) occur between Midnight and six A.M. It is at this time when individuals are asleep and are less likely to interrupt the thief. In addition, most cars are away from home during the day, when the smallest number of at home thefts occur (10.7 percent). This pattern is seen reflected in the auto thefts occurring away from home. In those cases when the time is known, most occur between six A.M. and six P.M. (54.5 percent). Proportionately, almost as many occur during the six hours between six P.M. and Midnight. The smallest number of thefts away from home occur in the early morning hours because most individuals have returned home with their cars. The rates for auto thefts at home and elsewhere complement each other, with rates at home declining as rates elsewhere increase.

The amount of loss in the case of auto theft shows a much smaller distribution, with losses clustering in the \$250 or more category (83.8 percent of all incidents). There are few differences between races or location of theft. This is probably to be expected, since the categories do not allow fine enough distinctions in value. The cost of most cars, even used ones, probably exceeds the \$250 lower limit. As a result, comparisons within and across categories become clouded by the lack of sufficient, different values. No summary statistics are available for

these data. An interesting trend may be observed in comparing loss by race. Blacks tend to lose more valuable cars to theft than do whites. Fewer whites (56.5 percent) suffer total losses of \$250 or more than blacks (58.9 percent). Whites suffer relatively small losses (less than \$50) more than blacks. Unfortunately, the categories of total loss, including damages, and loss are not the same, preventing more detailed comparisons. The value of cars generally varies less than the value of goods taken in other forms of theft or robbery, which leads to less meaningful interpretations of the loss data.*

The rate of recovery for stolen autos is the highest for the three types of household crime. Overall, more than 76 percent of all stolen cars are recovered. This rate varies from 50 percent in the case of cars valued at less than \$50 to 87 percent in the case of cars valued at \$1,000+.^{***} Generally, the rate for all cars valued at \$100 or more is quite high, over 80 percent. The number of cars which are recovered "stripped" is relatively low. A little less than a third of the cars recovered (32.4 percent) are found stripped or are only recovered partially. Again, any analysis of the recovery rates and car values will be misleading, because data are not available in fine enough categories

*Data on auto theft would be more meaningful if type of car, compact, stationwagon, luxury car, etc., were recorded. In addition, crime categories for auto theft should probably go to at least \$4,000.

**It is possible that in the case of these low-value cars, the cars were actually abandoned and reported as stolen. Auto-wrecking yards are frequently overstocked and will not purchase junk cars.

to allow meaningful comparisons. In summary, the rate of recovery for stolen autos is significantly higher than the rates of recovery for other household crimes and the rate increases with the value of the auto.

4.5 ANALYSIS OF NATIONAL CRIME PANEL DATA -- COMMERCIAL CRIME

Commercial crime approximates household crime in more respects than it does personal crime. Commercial crime, like household crime, has economic goals as its motive. Burglary and robbery are committed with the intent of obtaining a monetary return. The emotional nature and previous interaction between victim and assailant present in personal crime are absent here. Burglary of a commercial building is similar to the burglary of a home, the only difference being the surroundings. Certain types of commercial crime are not included here because of the difficulty involved in obtaining reliable data. The two major crimes against business, which account for most of their losses, are shoplifting and employee theft. Estimates of the cost of these offenses reach the millions of dollars per year. (Crime and Its Impact, 1967: 3). However, the difficulties involved in collecting data which validly measures the extent of this crime, since even its dimensions are sometimes unknown to the businessman, and the lack of comparability from one type of business to another, precludes their analysis.

An estimated 31,001 businesses were surveyed, including retail stores, wholesale sales, real estate, service, manufacturing, and all

other. Banks were excluded from the survey. Ten percent of all the crime incidents occurring in Cleveland during the year 1971-72 involved commercial establishments. Of these 13,761 incidents, 2,386 (17.3 percent) were robberies and 11,375 (82.7 percent) were burglaries. Retail stores suffered robberies much more frequently than any other type of business. Retail stores and manufacturers were the victims of burglary more often than any other type of business. However, the pattern of time, loss, and reporting vary from business to business and according to crime type. The following sections will discuss the patterns of victimization for the two types of commercial crime included in the National Crime Survey Victimization survey.

4.5.1 COMMERCIAL BURGLARY

This crime is by far the most common type of commercial crime reported on in this survey. The patterns of burglary vary from business to business and are presented in summary form in Table C-1. Service businesses account for the largest single category of business, 13,576 (43.8 percent of all businesses), followed by retail sales (32.6 percent). Together, these two categories account for more than 75 percent of all businesses.

The data presented in this table include all incidents, including multiple victimizations for certain businesses. More detailed breakdowns

are presented in Table C-2. Before discussing these multiple incidents, a general view of commercial burglary can be seen in the first table. Retail stores have the largest number of burglaries (4,709) as well as the largest percent of the total burglaries (41.4 percent). In addition, these businesses also experience the highest rate of burglary (471 burglaries per 1,000 businesses). Service businesses experience the next largest number of incidents, 3,729 (32.8 percent of all incidents). However, due to their large number (43.8 percent of total businesses), they experience a relatively low rate of victimization (275 burglaries per 1,000 businesses). The category of "all other" accounts for 1,356 incidents (11.9 percent) and has a rate of 402 per 1,000 businesses. The remaining categories account for 1,582 incidents (13.9 percent of all incidents). The rates for these businesses range from 258 per 1,000 businesses for real estate to 460 per 1,000 businesses for manufacturers.

This pattern of victimization is consistent with the exposure theory discussed for personal and household crime, as well as the concept of potential reward. Retail trade businesses experience the highest number of incidents and the highest rate because of a combination of these factors. They are more readily visible to the potential thief, offer a greater potential reward, and generally are less well protected. Retail stores, as opposed to service concerns or real estate businesses, generally

have more goods available which are desirable from the thief's point of view. These include cash, clothing, entertainment equipment, and tools which the thief can use or can readily "fence."

Real estate and service businesses generally do not have as much desirable property from the point of view of the thief. Real estate transactions almost always are conducted by check, which are useless to the opportunistic burglar. Service businesses also generally conduct business by check. Real estate concerns have little desirable property, except for furnishings; service concerns have little except specialized tools and parts inventories, which generally are only worth "scrap value." The generally low rates (significantly below the rates for either manufacturing or retail businesses) are most likely a function of this decreased desirability and lower potential reward, since there is little evidence to support either lower exposure or better security.

Wholesale trade businesses follow the pattern observed for retail trade because of the desirability of the merchandise for a potential thief. However, the slightly lower rate may be attributed to the greater security employed by such concerns, involving burglar alarms, secure premises, and private police officers. In addition, a large proportion of their business is conducted by check, thus reducing the amount of available cash.

The manufacturing concerns present an anomaly based on the above argument. They may not have large amounts of cash available nor do they have desirable goods which may be stolen. In addition, data presented in Table C-3 may support the hypotheses that manufacturing concerns are not operating full shifts and are probably closed for large periods, giving the potential thief greater time to act.

The last category, "all other," is difficult to explain, given the wide range of businesses involved. It is possible that the general contractors, listed within this category, contribute to the high burglary rate because of the losses incurred at construction sites. Transportation companies, for example, household movers and warehouses, may also experience higher rates because of the desirability of the merchandise which they handle. However, these observations are mere speculation because of the lack of specificity and the broad range of industries, from agriculture to commercial airlines, which are subsumed under this heading.

The total number of incidents has been summarized, but multiple incidents have not been considered. The incidence of multiple victimizations, in burglary, robbery, or a combination of the two, may be observed

in Table C-2. The total number of businesses victimized and not victimized are presented in tabular form. Overall, less than one-quarter (23.7 percent) of all businesses were victimized; some more than four times. Of the 5,922 businesses suffering only burglary, most (81.4 percent) were victimized once, 10.3 percent were victimized twice; 4.4 percent, three times, and 3.9 percent, four or more times.

The pattern of incidents (Table C-1) and the proportion of total victimized businesses presented in Table C-2 follow closely. However, it is of interest to examine the pattern of multiple incidents for each type of business to determine if differences exist. The highest percent of multiple victimizations occur for real estate businesses, in which case 39.1 percent of all businesses were victimized more than once,* while service businesses were rarely victimized more than once (approximately 10 percent of service businesses suffered multiple victimizations) for burglary.

Wholesale businesses experience the next largest percent of multiple victimizations for burglary (35.5 percent), followed by all

*This may be a function of the small number of victimizations (92), which is 1.2 percent of the total.

others (23.6 percent), retail trade (23.1 percent), and manufacturers (19.9 percent). In the case of multiple victimizations, most businesses suffer two such incidents. Of all multiple victimizations for burglary, 55.6 percent involve two incidents.

The relatively low rates for service and manufacturing may be explained by increased security measures undertaken after the initial occurrence. This may in part be observed in the small percent of second victimizations, possibly a result of increased security after initial incidents, and relatively larger number of three- or four-incident victimizations. Retail stores may frequently be forced to close after initial victimizations, thus reducing the number at risk for multiple incidents. It must be emphasized that all of the above discussion is based on speculation, since additional data is not presently available to allow the testing of such hypotheses.

When the combination of burglary and robbery are considered, the pattern of multiple victimizations does not change appreciably. The major difference is the fact that because of the large number of robberies which are suffered by retail stores, their overall percent of multiple victimizations increases and places them third in frequency of occurrence, following wholesale and real estate businesses. This pattern may be directly attributed to the differential exposure to robbery experienced by various businesses, which when combined with burglary results in this pattern

of multiple victimizations.

Most incidents occur between Midnight and 6 A.M. (see Table C-3). This is most likely a function of the large number of burglaries relative to robberies. Of all the incidents in which the time was known, most (52.4 percent) occurred during this period; 27 percent occurred during the day (6 A.M. to 6 P.M.), and 20.7 percent occurred in the early evening (6 P.M. to Midnight). The pattern is consistent for all types of businesses; however, the actual percent of daytime incidents declines markedly for retail businesses. It appears that since burglary is the most prevalent type of commercial crime, occurring almost five times more often than robbery, and occurring most often under cover of darkness or when businesses are unoccupied, the overall number of incidents also follows this pattern.

Table C-3 is further broken down by crime type and the hypothesis offered above is supported. Of the 9,051 burglaries for which the time of occurrence was known, 83.2 percent occurred between 6 P.M. and 6 A.M. Most of these incidents occurred between Midnight and 6 A.M. This is consistent with the operating hours of most businesses which are open during the day and evening hours, thus reducing the likelihood of burglary. Temporal burglary patterns for businesses differ and complement those of household burglaries. Most homes are victimized during the day and early evening when people are away at work or

shopping, while most businesses are victimized in the early morning when workers and shoppers are not present.

Within the category of burglaries, there are differences when the type of business is examined. The percent of early morning burglaries varies from 77 percent for retail stores to 39.9 percent for manufacturing concerns. Wholesale and service businesses experience lower percentages (60.8 percent and 49.7 percent, respectively). When the entire period six P.M. to six A.M. is considered, the pattern remains approximately the same, with the exception of manufacturing businesses. The percent of burglaries doubles when the 12-hour six P.M. to six A.M. period is considered. This differs from the percentage for all businesses and the ratio for all the other types of business, in which two to three times as many burglaries occur from Midnight to six A.M. as occur from six P.M. to Midnight. This discrepancy may be explained in terms of operating hours. In the case of retail stores with later closing hours, the ratio of early morning to evening burglaries is 4.25 to one; for "all others," the ratio is 3.25 to one. These businesses are populated with staff and customers longer, as well as being open on weekends, while the other businesses are open shorter hours and are closed on weekends, providing the potential thief with greater time to operate.

Table C-4 presents information on the amount of loss involved in burglaries when examined in light of the presence of insurance coverage.

The largest category of loss for all businesses was \$250 plus, which accounted for 34.9 percent of all losses. The median loss was in excess of \$750 for this category. This was followed by moderate losses (between \$10 and \$250) which accounted for 34.3 percent, and small losses (30.8 percent). This pattern of increasingly larger numbers of large losses is independent of the presence of insurance coverage, but does affect the percentage of incidents reported to the police. Firms with proportionately larger losses report them more often than do firms with smaller losses. This is consistent with the discussion of reporting offered above for personal and household crime. The pattern of amount of loss appears to be more related to the available goods at the time of theft. Manufacturing firms experience relatively more moderate and small losses than large losses. The pattern is most probably a function of chance, in that whether the burglar is successful (i. e., a large, \$250 plus, theft) or unsuccessful (a small, less than \$10 theft) depends primarily on when he commits the crime, i. e., what is available.

The presence of insurance coverage does not appear to significantly affect the frequency of reporting. Given the need for a police report in requesting an insurance claim, it was expected that those businesses with insurance coverage would report burglaries more often than those

*Percents do not total to 100.0 because of the presence of the category "Not Available."

without. In the aggregate, this does not appear to be true. Almost seventy-one percent of the businesses without insurance report burglaries to the police, while 78.4 percent of those with insurance report such crime. The same general proportions of reporting exist for most categories except real estate businesses. In this case, only 40 percent of the businesses with insurance report burglaries, and no businesses without insurance report. This is probably a result of the fact that most losses incurred by real estate businesses are small, 67 percent of the unreported losses were of less than \$10.

The full impact of the losses suffered by business firms is unknown. The data presented in Table C-5 above merely present patterns of loss, because of the nature of the "open-ended" categories and the inability to assume an even distribution of losses within categories. In addition, the economic cost of commercial crime is frequently passed on to the customers in terms of higher prices.

4.5.2 COMMERCIAL ROBBERY

This crime occurs significantly less often than burglary, but the pattern generally follows that of burglary. The highest number of incidents (1,489) occurred in retail stores, accounting for 62.4 percent of all incidents of robbery. Retail stores experience a rate of 147.2 robberies per 1,000 businesses (see Table C-1). This rate is approximately one and one-half times the rate for wholesale businesses and three times the

rate for most other businesses. Such a pattern is to be expected, given the nature of the businesses. Most businesses do not have large amounts of cash (banks are excluded from this survey) and present less reward for the potential robber. Real estate businesses have little cash available to make a robbery profitable. Wholesale firms in the Cleveland area frequently serve retail customers, thus presenting greater appeal to a robber. However, it can generally be said that robbery is primarily a crime committed against retail stores. In terms of number of incidents, service businesses experience a relatively large number (22.4 percent) but because of the large number of service businesses, the rate is low (39.4 per 1,000), while the rate for wholesale businesses is high due to their small number (rate of 109.0 per 1,000 based on 1,384 businesses).

With the exception of the category "all other," most businesses experience fewer multiple incidents of robbery than of burglary. Between 83.2 percent (wholesale trade) and 100 percent of robberies are single victimizations as seen in Table C-2. In the case of "all others," one-half of the incidents involved multiple robberies.* It would appear that robberies are relatively rare incidents and multiple robberies seldom occur. Overall, only 13.5 percent of the businesses robbed suffered multiple victimizations. Most of these multiple incidents of robbery can be attributed to retail

*This may be attributed to the small total number of robberies (36).

businesses (56.6 percent). Real estate and manufacturing businesses suffered no multiple victimizations.

The temporal distribution of commercial robbery is as expected. Table C-3, which presents the data for robbery, supports the hypothesis that most robberies occur during the day when staff and/or customers are present. Of the 2,367 incidents in which the time is known,* two-thirds occur between six A.M. and six P.M. In the case of "all others" and manufacturing concerns, all robberies occur during the day. This is probably a function of operating hours of these concerns. If this concept of operating hours is considered in examining retail trade, the extended hours of many such businesses account for a more equitable distribution of cases, even though more than one-half do occur between six A.M. and six P.M. (52.8 percent).

Table C-5 presents the distribution of losses by business type and insurance coverage. Of the 2,386 robberies which occurred, 2,140 or 89.7 percent were reported to the police. This high rate of reporting will be discussed below in Section 4.6. Four hundred and eight (17.1 percent) involved no loss. These no-loss robberies most often occurred in retail stores (70.7 percent) and service businesses (16.9 percent). For the purposes of this discussion, only robberies with loss will be considered.

*The large number of "don't know" for service businesses is surprising but inexplicable, at present.

Most victimized businesses (see Table C-6) suffered losses of between \$51 and \$250. Eight hundred and twenty losses in this range were reported, which is 47.3 percent of the total losses and 56.4 percent of the losses in which the amount is known. In no case of robbery was the loss less than \$10. Wholesale businesses suffered large losses over \$250 relatively more often than other businesses (37.3 percent of the victimizations of wholesale businesses were \$250+) compared to retail stores (17.2 percent) and service businesses (16.7 percent). No losses over \$250 were reported for the other categories. The median loss in wholesale robberies was \$2,000. Few robberies involved losses of between \$10 and \$250, 23.1 percent of all incidents in which amount of loss is known. The general loss pattern indicates that, by far, most businesses suffered moderate losses, with only wholesale trade concerns experiencing frequent large losses.

When examined in light of insurance coverage, businesses without coverage report a larger proportion of moderate losses (\$51 to \$250) but a smaller proportion of large losses (\$250+). The median loss for businesses without insurance is larger than the loss for businesses with insurance. Comparing different businesses by loss and insurance coverage becomes difficult because of the large number of empty cells. However, it does appear that the presence of insurance does not result in higher individual claims of loss, or even in a larger number of large claims. In fact, the opposite is true: businesses with insurance report

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more large and small claims than businesses without. The overall economic loss resulting from commercial robberies is difficult to assess, and no analysis will be attempted here.

Some information is available on the offender in commercial robberies and is presented in Tables C-7 A, C-7 B, and C-7 C. In the case of a single offender, all offenders were male. This is to be expected since it is unlikely that a lone woman will attempt to rob a commercial establishment, though it is possible that a woman might accompany a man or group of men. However, this does not occur in any incidents reported in the survey. The majority of commercial robberies, 1,651 or 70.7 percent, involved two or more offenders.*

The race distribution of offenders in either single-offender or multiple-offender attempted and completed incidents is almost identical. In single-offender robberies, 22.7 percent of the offenders were white, while in multiple-offender robberies 21.5 percent were white. The majority of the remaining robberies in both cases were black.

The success of a commercial robbery may well be a function of the number of offenders. Approximately, 72.1 percent of the completed robberies involved multiple offenders, but only 66.7 percent of the attempts involved two or more offenders. This difference is small but

*In 51 incidents (2.1 percent), the number of robbers is unknown.

may point to a differential success rate for multiple offenders. In addition, it appears that there is a pattern among the different types of businesses and the presence or absence of multiple offenders as seen in Table C-7 C.

Wholesale trade businesses are most frequently robbed by two or more individuals (88.8 percent of incidents). In 71.2 percent of the incidents in which the number of offenders was known, two individuals were involved. At the other end of the continuum, in the case of "all other businesses," only 14.4 percent of the incidents involved multiple offenders. The frequency of multiple offenders is given for each of the following types of businesses: retail trade, 73.5 percent; service, 70.0 percent, and manufacturing, 60.0 percent. This latter case is surprising because one might expect manufacturing concerns to have large numbers of employees, "scaring off" the lone robber.

The age distribution presented in Table C-7 B for offenders follows the pattern already seen for personal crime. By far, most single offenders are 21 years of age or older (92 percent of offenders whose age is known). The remaining eight percent are between 18 and 20 years of age. A similar pattern exists in the case of multiple offenders, though there are some younger offenders involved. Over 59 percent of the multiple offenders are 21 years of age or older, 7.4 percent are between 18 and 20 years of age, and 3.1 percent are between 15 and 17 years of age. In the remaining 30.3 percent of the robberies, the offenders were of mixed

ages. There appear to be few differences in age of offenders in completed and attempted robberies, though unsuccessful attempted robberies involve slightly younger offenders. This is consistent with a model of learning delinquent behavior (Sutherland, 1968) which might lead one to expect younger robbers to make "mistakes" resulting in attempted rather than completed robberies.

4.6 NON-REPORTING OF CRIMINAL INCIDENTS

There are apparent differences in the reporting of personal, household, and commercial crime. Most personal and household crime is not reported to the police, while just the opposite occurs in the case of commercial crime. The following paragraphs examine the distribution of non-reporting by selected variables and presents and discusses the reasons given by the respondents for non-reporting. Patterns of crime type, severity, and loss will all be evident when the data are examined.

Only 45 percent of all personal victimizations are reported to the police. However, within the categories of personal crime there are large differences in the percentages reporting. For example, in the case of assaultive violence with theft, the percentage reporting the incident to the police is considerably higher than the percentage reporting either assaultive violence without theft or personal theft. In the former case, more than 66 percent of those individuals victimized report such incidents to the police, while only 40 percent of those victims of assaultive

violence without theft report the incident to the police (see Table P-29). Of those individuals suffering personal theft victimizations, only 46 percent report the incident.

However, this distribution of reporting and non-reporting is not surprising given the elements of each crime type. The reasons are markedly different in the three cases. When assaultive violence with theft occurs, it has already been demonstrated that the victim is probably less likely to know the offender but because of the assault and possible injury is more likely to come to the attention of the police. Either he will report the incident because of his injury or he will be given medical attention with the attendant police reporting. It might be further speculated that the individual has had less prior involvement and is probably unlikely to have precipitated the action. (Wolfgang, 1957; Pittman and Handy, 1964). The result is a higher proportion of reporting for this offense.

Both assaultive violence without theft and personal theft are reported to the police much less often. However, this higher rate of non-reporting may be attributed to two very different reasons. In the case of personal theft, the victim is unlikely to know his assailant and may well feel that nothing can be done by the police. In addition, since he has suffered no injury, the offense is less likely to come to police attention. Very different reasons probably lead to non-reporting in the case of assaultive violence without theft. It is possible that the victim knew his assailant but because

of personal involvement is unwilling to report the incident. In addition, the individuals likely to become involved in these assaults may in fact have been involved in illegal activity and may have directly or indirectly contributed to their own victimization and would be reluctant to report their activities.

The role of victim-offender relationship in reporting patterns may be seen in Table P-32 which presents data on reporting by crime type and relationship as well as reasons for non-reporting. Slightly more than 43 percent of all victimizations involving offenders known to the victim were reported while 45.3 percent of all victimizations involving strangers were reported. However, when examining different crime types data are found which support the hypotheses offered above. Assault with theft committed by strangers is reported 67.3 percent of the time while assault without theft or theft without assault perpetrated by strangers is only reported 38 percent of the time and 46.5 percent of the time, respectively. Assault with theft committed by individuals known to the victim is reported 56 percent of the time but assault without theft committed by individuals known to the victim is reported only 43.6 percent of the time.

These data indicate a trend toward reporting stranger-to-stranger victimizations for theft which are serious and not reporting assaults in which offender is known or thefts in which offender is unknown. Due to

the small number of non-stranger victimizations, more detailed analysis is difficult.

There appears to be no significant difference between races in reporting their victimizations to the police. The significant differences appear across crime types, not ~~by~~ across racial groups. Table P- 3I breaks out the percent of individuals of each racial group reporting crimes to the police. Assaultive violence with theft is reported most frequently. Approximately two-thirds of such assaults are reported and there is no difference in reporting between blacks and whites. Incidents of assaultive violence without theft are reported least often, less than 40 percent of the time, and, again, there is no significant difference between races in terms of reporting. The only difference in reporting occurs in the case of personal theft, in which blacks report a slightly higher percentage of the incidents than do whites. This might well be a function of the relatively greater loss experienced by blacks in these incidents. Overall, blacks report slightly more incidents of personal victimization than do whites.* These results are consistent with the results presented by NORC, which indicate that blacks and whites do not differ significantly in the extent of their reporting of crimes. (Criminal Victimization, 1967: 45-47).

*This is a function of the category personal theft, since in both categories of assaultive violence blacks report less often than whites.

Overall, women report victimization more often than men.

Males reported 6,590 out of a total of 16,850 victimizations (39.1 percent) while women reported 7,720 out of 14,980 victimizations for a reporting rate of 51.5 percent. The percentage of victimizations reported tends to increase with age for both males and females (see Table P-30) and generally follows the pattern already reported above.

Reasons for non-reporting are presented in Table P-32. Of the total victimizations not reported to the police, the most frequent reason cited was that "nothing could be done" (27.8 percent), followed by "not important" (27.6 percent). "Private matter" or "reported elsewhere" was given as a reason in 17 percent of the cases. This may be a result of resorting to private means of dispute settlement. Fear of reprisal is not an important reason, accounting for less than three percent of the reasons for non-reporting. Possibly lack of confidence in the police is indicated by 7.5 percent of the respondents who gave "didn't want to bother the police" as a response.

The hypothesis about non-reporting as a function of crime type is further supported when the reasons for not reporting specific types of crime are examined. In the case of personal theft, 44.2 percent of the respondents who indicated that they did not report the incident gave "nothing could be done" as a reason. This differs from both types of

assault in which "not important" was given as the reason. Generally, the reporting or non-reporting of a victimization appears to be a function of two factors: the individual's own involvement and the likelihood of a successful outcome of the report. These two factors are directly related to crime types and may well be the main determinant of whether or not the victim reports the incident.

Table H-8 presents the reasons for non-reporting in the case of household victims. Fifteen thousand, eight hundred and forty burglaries, according to self-report, were not reported to police. This accounts for 55.2 percent of all incidents. The ratio of total burglaries to reported burglaries is 2.23 to one. The reason offered most is that "nothing could be done" (35.7 percent). Given the nature of burglary, the victim is unlikely to have much information which will be of value to the police in apprehending the offender. In over 29.6 percent of the unreported burglaries the victim felt that the incident was not important, i. e., the loss was probably small and not worth the bother of reporting. Surprisingly, fear of reprisal, frequently cited by many students of criminology, is not an important reason for non-reporting, accounting for only 0.3 percent.* In 9.5 percent of the cases, private solutions, probably retaliation, are resorted to.**

*See The Challenge of Crime, 1967.

**Combining the categories "private matter" and "reporting to someone else" results in this figure. It may be that reporting to someone else is an attempt to bring other forces, i. e., neighborhood, family, etc., into play.

The individuals' attitudes toward the police may be seen in the response, "didn't want to bother police," which accounts for 9.7 percent of the reasons offered. If this is combined with the category of "nothing could be done," individuals' attitudes toward the police result in non-reporting in over a quarter of all burglaries and in almost half of the reasons cited by individuals who do not report.

Inconvenience, other, and unavailable information account for 15.2 percent of the reasons for non-reporting of burglary.

When examining personal larceny, we might expect much the same pattern, with the exception that the percent of non-reporting is much higher; 85.2 percent of the victims do not report larcenies. The ratio of total larcenies to reported larcenies is 9.3 to one. The reasons given most often are that it was "not important" (32.6 percent) or that "nothing could be done" (30.7 percent). Again, fear of reprisal is rarely offered as a reason (0.5 percent). The fact that larcenies are frequently undiscovered for some time, the offender is rarely seen or known, and the lack of physical evidence, all probably result in an attitude of "what's the use". This is confirmed by the data presented above.

The tendency to regard the theft as a private matter or to report it to others occurs slightly more often (11.2 percent). The individuals' attitudes toward the police, reflected in the above responses as well as the tendency not to want to "bother the police" (8.5 percent), possibly indicating

a general dissatisfaction with police effectiveness. The categories "other," inconvenient, or don't know account for 16.1 percent of the reasons.

Auto thefts are reported in 68.6 percent of the cases, resulting in a total auto thefts to reported auto thefts ratio of 1.5 to one. This might be expected, given the value of the loss and the relatively high recovery rate for stolen automobiles. The reason for non-reporting cited most often is that nothing could be done (32.5 percent of reasons) or that the incident was not important (31.3 percent). Police bother was cited in 11.6 percent of the cases. However, the resort to private means* occurs in only 2.5 cases. A variety of reasons, including inconvenience, "other," and don't know account for 22.1 percent of the reasons.

The patterns for non-reporting for each type of household crime are approximately equal. The major differences occur in the ratio of total crime to reported crime. Most larcenies (89.3 percent) are unreported, while few auto thefts are unreported (31.4 percent). This is probably a function of the extent of the loss and the likelihood of recovery, both of which are high for auto theft.

Similar patterns also exist in the case of commercial burglary and robbery. A much higher percentage of commercial burglaries are reported than indicated above in household burglaries (74.4 percent compared to 45.8 percent). The reason cited most often was lack of proof (34.8 percent) or unimportant (28.6 percent). Reporting to others,

probably insurance companies or private security forces, occurred in 15.4 percent of the cases. These three categories account for most of the reasons for not reporting (78.8 percent). Inconvenience and unwillingness to bother the police are relatively unimportant, accounting for only 3.7 percent and 2.5 percent, respectively. Generally, similar patterns also exist across business types. The only exception being service businesses, in which case, most of the burglaries not reported to the police are reported to someone else (35.0 percent).

When comparing the percent of incidents reported across types of businesses, most businesses report approximately the same percentages. The only exception being real estate businesses, which indicate a reporting percentage of only 22.4 percent. The reason most often cited by real estate businesses is a lack of proof. In addition, the losses are relatively small and may not be worth the bother of reporting (see Table C-5) or the adverse effect on insurance rates.

One thousand, seven hundred and thirty-two of the 2,385 incidents of commercial burglary were reported to the police (72.6 percent). There are slight differences between reporting rates for different businesses. While sales businesses report robberies most often (88.7 percent of the incidents), service and manufacturing concerns report only 60 percent of the robbery incidents.

Table C-9 gives the distribution of reasons for non-reporting of commercial robberies. Over 90 percent of all commercial robberies are reported to the police, ranging from 73.3 percent in the case of service businesses to 100 percent in the case of all others.

Three categories of reasons were cited in most cases as the reason for non-reporting. For all incidents, approximately 24 percent cited "lack of proof," 24 percent cited "not important," and 24 percent cited "reported to someone else." In the latter case, this was most likely an insurance company or a private security force. Generally, the pattern of reasons for non-reporting differs from that of either personal or household incidents. The pattern of reasons does, however, appear to vary by type of business. Retail stores generally offer lack of proof, not important, or did not want to take the time to report, while wholesale businesses reported the robbery to someone else in all cases. Service businesses generally cited a variety of reasons and manufacturing businesses cited a lack of proof in all cases. However, it must be pointed out that the small number of unreported robberies in many cases prevents detailed analysis. On the whole, it can be said that commercial establishments report robbery much more often than others and when they fail to report robbery, it is generally because of either a lack of proof or inconvenience or because it is reported to an alternative such as an insurance company or private security force.

Though precise comparisons with Cleveland Police data are difficult and are plagued with many problems, they are of interest in light of other research on non-reporting. Before discussing Cleveland Police Department data, two points must be emphasized. The first concerns the different bases employed. It has already been indicated in Section 3.1 that the present survey includes only individuals residing in Cleveland. However, any criminal act occurring in Cleveland independent of the residence of the victim is reported to the Cleveland Police and appears in its UCR statistics. Thus, the incidents appearing in the CPD statistics include a much larger potential base than the survey results. Secondly, the categories employed in the victimization survey are not completely comparable with the UCP categories used below.

Therefore, the following comparisons are presented only to give the reader a flavor of the similarities in non-reporting trends. No attempt is made to discuss the validity of the Victimization survey results, or to question the extent of non-reporting indicated by the respondents.

Cleveland Police Department statistics are available from the Annual Report: Cleveland Police Department for the years 1971 and 1972. Table 4-11 below compares statistics for selected crimes as determined from the victimization survey and the Cleveland Police statistics.

Table 4-11

COMPARISON OF VICTIMIZATION SURVEY RESULTS WITH
CLEVELAND POLICE DATA FOR PERSONAL VICTIMIZATIONS

	<u>Victimization Survey</u>	<u>Cleveland Police Data</u>	<u>Ratio</u>
Rape	370	450	2.2
Robbery	12,835**	5,807	2.2
Assault	11,990	4,486	2.6
Larceny	35,889	14,608	2.45

The pattern of underreporting offenses observed above in comparing NORC and UCR data also occurs in the data for Cleveland. The broad categorizations employed in the Annual Report: Cleveland Police Department prevent finer comparisons. However, rough comparison of the data are possible. Assault is the crime reported least frequently, while robbery is reported most often. In all cases, however, considerably more crime occurs than is reported.

Based on survey questions concerning reporting (Table P-29), the ratio of unreported to reported assaults is approximately 2.5 to one, which agrees quite closely with the results in Table 4-11 above. The ratios of unreporting for robbery and larceny are more difficult to compute from Table P-23 because of the categorization in which assault crosscuts theft. However, the ratio of 2.2 from this table is consistent with the trend seen in the comparison of NORC and UCR data and the comparison of Cleveland victimizations and Police Department data.

*Includes Commercial Robberies.

The question of comparing survey reporting frequency with police data suffers from another problem, in addition to the lack of consistency in definition. It has already been pointed out that the non-reporting information collected in the survey refers only to Cleveland residents. However, the police data include all crime reported, regardless of place of residence of victim. The "population" of Cleveland "at risk" each day is larger than the residential population. The combination of these two factors serve to artificially increase the number of offenses reported relative to the offenses reported in this survey, thus artificially reducing the ratio of unreported to reported crime. The results presented in this section, especially Table 4-11 should be considered carefully with this in mind.

Given the fact that Cleveland police data do not differentiate between household and commercial burglaries, the two categories are combined in the discussion presented below.

Table 4-12

COMPARISON OF VICTIMIZATION SURVEY RESULTS WITH
CLEVELAND POLICE DATA FOR PERSONAL VICTIMIZATIONS

	<u>Victimization Survey</u>	<u>Cleveland Police Data</u>	<u>Ratio</u>
Burglary	40,040	10,446	3.8
Auto Theft	17,590	17,526	1.0

The low ratio of victimization to reported auto theft is probably a function of the at risk population discussed above in Section 3.1. Auto theft occurring downtown may well involve suburbanites working in the City. Such thefts are reported to the Cleveland police, inflating this statistic, but do not appear in the victimization survey results. This tends to bring the numbers reported in Cleveland closer to the total number of incidents. A similar argument may be applied to personal larceny, but does not apply to burglary. At present, there is no way to "adjust" the statistics to eliminate the reporting of non-residents to allow comparison of survey results and police data.

Section V will compare the NORC results with the results reported above to determine if similar patterns exist over time and over different cities. In addition, comparisons will be made to non-reporting trends in other National Crime Panel cities. Through an analysis of these data it is hoped that patterns of and reasons for non-reporting will emerge enabling law enforcement personnel to effectively mount campaigns aimed at increasing citizens' involvement in crime prevention.

TABLES P-1 through P-31
PERSONAL VICTIMIZATIONS

TABLE P-1: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY SEX OF VICTIM AND RELATIONSHIP TO OFFENDER

	Stranger-to stranger		Non-stranger		Total		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Assaultive violence with theft	1539 (94) (11)	1146 (97) (10)	105 (6) (4)	308 (21) (10)	1644 (9)	1454 (9)	3098
Assaultive violence without theft	6514 (76) (46)	3961 (61) (53)	2097 (84) (80)	2551 (39) (82)	8611 (51)	6512 (43)	15123
Personal theft without assault	6169 (94) (43)	6777 (97) (57)	415 (6) (16)	235 (3) (8)	6584 (50) (39)	7012 (43)	13596
Total victimizations	14,222 (84)	11,884 (99)	2,617 (10) (16)	3,094 (50) (54)	16,839	14,978 (47)	31817

Source-Table A1: National Crime Panel Survey

* () partial - % accurate
 * () pen - % down

Stranger-
stranger

TABLE P-2: RATES OF PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION
BY RACE, SEX, AND AGE OF VICTIM

		WHITE						
		12-15	16-19	20-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
Assaultive violence with theft	Male	1.125	0.226	0.309	0.452	0.683	0.322	0.23
	Female	0.402	0.387	0.376	0.543	0.585	0.197	0.42
Assaultive violence w/out theft	Male	3.327	7.117	6.103	4.141	2.331	1.480	0.25
	Female	2.418	4.907	3.373	1.820	0.673	0.199	0.16
Personal theft	Male	3.128	3.520	3.289	2.197	1.548	1.414	1.56
	Female	0.203	0.745	1.884	1.068	1.457	1.894	2.42
Total victi- mization	Male	7.581	10.863	9.701	6.790	4.562	3.216	2.05
	Female	3.023	6.039	5.633	3.432	2.714	2.290	3.00
		BLACK						
Assaultive violence with theft	Male	1.188	1.275	0.929	0.514	1.167	1.699	0.00
	Female	0.206	0.418	0.886	0.933	0.190	0.127	0.24
Assaultive violence w/out theft	Male	2.016	5.038	6.515	2.621	2.349	0.658	0.86
	Female	1.936	3.198	1.789	1.219	1.059	1.038	0.24
Personal theft	Male	3.791	7.074	4.027	3.878	3.449	3.020	1.09
	Female	1.554	2.766	5.340	5.369	3.358	4.529	2.26
Total victi- mization	Male	6.996	13.387	11.470	7.013	6.964	5.277	1.9
	Female	3.697	6.381	8.014	7.521	4.607	5.695	2.75

Not stranger-
stranger

TABLE P-2: RATES OF PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION
BY RACE, SEX, AND AGE OF VICTIM

(cont.)		WHITE						
		12-15	16-19	20-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
Assaultive violence with theft	Male	0.189	0.446	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	Female	0.199	0.000	0.137	0.000	0.085	0.000	0.000
Assaultive violence w/out theft	Male	1.302	1.795	1.118	0.686	0.287	0.079	0.130
	Female	1.404	2.078	2.013	1.391	0.603	0.067	0.000
Personal theft	Male	0.000	0.445	0.000	0.000	0.191	0.000	0.130
	Female	0.000	0.194	0.292	0.104	0.090	0.000	0.000
Total victimization	Male	1.490	2.686	1.118	0.686	0.479	0.079	0.260
	Female	1.602	2.272	2.443	1.495	0.777	0.067	0.000
		BLACK						
Assaultive violence with theft	Male	0.203	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	Female	0.190	0.216	0.430	0.316	0.191	0.000	0.000
Assaultive violence w/out theft	Male	1.807	3.281	2.487	2.046	1.042	0.326	0.000
	Female	1.456	1.918	2.266	1.062	0.652	0.510	0.240
Personal theft	Male	0.805	0.745	0.940	0.000	0.000	0.177	0.000
	Female	0.190	0.212	0.221	0.000	0.099	0.000	0.000
Total victimization	Male	2.814	4.026	3.427	2.046	1.042	0.503	0.000
	Female	1.836	2.346	2.917	1.378	0.943	0.510	0.240

TABLE P-3: RATES OF PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION
BY SEX AND MARITAL STATUS

		Married	Widowed	Divorced- Separated	Never married	NA
		Stranger-stranger				
Assaultive violence with theft	Male	0.490	0.861	1.328	0.769	3.657
	Female	0.293	0.425	0.829	0.393	1.083
Assaultive violence w/out theft	Male	2.190	0.865	3.021	4.114	0.000
	Female	0.855	0.437	1.985	2.618	0.000
Personal theft	Male	1.892	1.951	3.595	3.921	0.000
	Female	1.834	2.800	5.055	2.035	3.450
Total victim- ization	Male	4.572	3.677	7.944	8.804	3.657
	Female	2.982	3.662	7.869	5.046	4.533
		Not stranger-stranger				
Assaultive violence with theft	Male	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.130	0.000
	Female	0.059	0.123	0.331	0.098	0.000
Assaultive violence w/out theft	Male	0.431	0.270	1.908	1.587	0.000
	Female	0.545	0.183	2.296	1.348	0.000
Personal theft	Male	0.061	0.000	0.362	0.359	0.000
	Female	0.019	0.064	0.168	0.168	0.000
Total victim- ization	Male	0.492	0.270	2.270	2.076	0.000
	Female	0.623	0.370	2.795	1.614	0.000

Source-Table A6: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-4: RATES OF PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY MARITAL STATUS AND AGE

	12-19	20-34	35-49	50-64	65+
	Married				
Assault with theft	0.722	0.479	0.556	0.326	0.154
Assault without theft	2.825	4.149	1.641	0.831	0.307
Theft without injury	3.633	2.402	1.867	1.755	0.986
Total personal victimizations	7.180	7.030	4.064	2.912	1.447
	Widowed				
Assault with theft	0.000	0.000	1.688	0.704	0.422
Assault without theft	0.000	3.299	0.573	1.571	0.178
Theft without injury	0.000	3.367	1.727	3.320	2.515
Total personal victimizations	0.000	6.666	3.638	5.595	3.115
	Divorced-separated				
Assault with theft	0.000	2.640	0.946	0.452	0.000
Assault without theft	14.290	7.052	4.769	1.710	2.203
Theft without injury	0.000	5.923	5.102	3.833	3.566
Total personal victimizations	14.290	15.615	10.727	5.995	5.769

TABLE P-4: RATES OF PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY MARITAL STATUS AND AGE

(cont.)	12-19	20-34	35-49	50-64	65+
	Never married				
Assault with theft	0.775	0.438	0.332	1.172	1.146
Assault without theft	5.540	5.135	1.881	0.595	0.591
Theft without injury	2.974	3.705	2.579	4.356	4.448
Total personal victimizations	9.289	9.278	4.792	6.123	6.185
	NA				
Assault with theft	6.047	0.000	4.528	0.000	0.000
Assault without theft	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Theft without injury	3.045	0.000	0.000	4.212	5.877
Total personal victimizations	9.092	0.000	4.528	4.212	5.877

Source-Table A7; Total only: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-5: RATES OF PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY RACE AND FAMILY INCOME

		less than 3,000	3,000- 7,449	7,500- 9,999	10,000- 14,999	15,000- 24,999	25,000+	NA
Assaultive violence with theft	White	0.796	0.763	0.182	0.344	0.089	0.000	0.609
	Black	1.241	0.785	1.067	0.651	0.466	1.712	0.468
Assaultive violence w/out theft	White	2.893	3.087	2.317	3.619	2.321	4.301	2.095
	Black	3.263	3.394	3.355	3.888	3.382	1.655	2.098
Personal theft	White	2.868	2.402	1.509	1.334	1.149	3.099	2.023
	Black	5.734	4.051	3.744	3.354	3.679	3.423	2.673
Total victim- ization	White	6.557	6.252	4.008	5.297	3.559	7.400	4.727
	Black	10.238	8.230	8.116	7.893	7.527	6.790	5.239

Source-Table A8; Total only: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-6: RATES OF PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY RACE AND MAJOR ACTIVITY

		Under 16 yrs. of age	Armed forces	Employed	Unem- ployed	Keep house	In school	Retired	Other
		Stranger-stranger							
Assaultive violence with theft	White	0.779	0.000	0.423	0.703	0.347	0.472	0.390	0.342
	Black	0.691	7.724	0.719	0.793	0.517	0.526	0.261	0.823
Assaultive violence w/out theft	White	2.892	0.000	2.752	5.248	0.690	4.615	0.296	2.352
	Black	1.976	0.000	2.321	2.927	1.293	1.050	0.804	1.862
		Not stranger-stranger							
Assaultive violence with theft	White	0.193	0.000	0.038	0.000	0.070	0.000	0.000	0.086
	Black	0.196	0.000	0.034	0.388	0.231	0.000	0.000	0.101
Assaultive violence w/out theft	White	1.351	0.000	0.633	4.172	0.626	0.724	0.000	0.521
	Black	1.675	0.000	1.462	2.201	0.372	1.309	0.513	1.027

Source-Table A12: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-6: RATES OF PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY RACE AND MAJOR ACTIVITY

(cont.)		Under 16 yrs. of age	Armed forces	Employed	Unem- ployed	Keep house	In school	Retired	Other
		Stranger-stranger							
Personal theft	White	1.728	0.000	2.001	2.672	1.214	1.454	2.286	2.202
	Black	2.658	0.000	4.221	5.399	2.775	3.132	1.546	4.792
Total victim- ization	White	5.400	0.000	5.176	8.623	2.251	6.541	2,972	4.896
	Black	5.325	7.724	7.251	9.119	4.585	4.708	2.611	7.477
		Not stranger-stranger							
Personal theft	White	0.000	0.000	0.075	0.354	0.109	0.000	0.093	0.000
	Black	0.493	0.000	0.203	0.609	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.104
Total victim- ization	White	1.544	0.000	0.746	4.527	0.805	0.724	0.093	0.607
	Black	2.364	0.000	1.699	3.198	0.603	1.309	0.513	1.232

Source-Table A12: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-7: PERSONAL INCIDENTS BY TIME OF OCCURRENCE

		DK	6AM-6PM	6PM-6AM	6PM-MID	MID-6AM	TOTAL
Assaultive violence with theft	Stranger	3 ⁽⁵⁾ (18)	79 ⁽²⁰⁾ (6)	152 ⁽³⁷⁾ (10)	110 ⁽²⁸⁾ (16)	42 ⁽¹¹⁾ (11)	380
	Not stranger	0	16 ⁽²⁴⁾ (1)	26 ⁽³⁷⁾ (2)	18 ⁽²⁷⁾ (2)	7 ⁽¹⁰⁾ (2)	67
	Total	3 ⁽⁷⁾ (18)	95 ⁽²¹⁾ (7)	178 ⁽³⁷⁾ (12)	128 ⁽²⁸⁾ (12)	49 ⁽¹¹⁾ (13)	450
Assaultive violence w/out theft	Stranger	3 ⁽²⁾ (18)	349 ⁽²⁵⁾ (28)	511 ⁽³⁷⁾ (35)	349 ⁽²⁵⁾ (33)	162 ⁽¹²⁾ (10)	1,300
	Not stranger	3 ⁽⁵⁾ (18)	169 ⁽²⁷⁾ (13)	228 ⁽³⁴⁾ (16)	169 ⁽²⁷⁾ (15)	57 ⁽⁹⁾ (7)	620
	Total	6 ⁽³⁾ (35)	518 ⁽²⁶⁾ (41)	739 ⁽³⁷⁾ (51)	518 ⁽²⁶⁾ (48)	219 ⁽¹¹⁾ (15)	2,000
Personal theft	Stranger	5 ⁽³⁾ (29)	630 ⁽³⁵⁾ (50)	515 ⁽³¹⁾ (35)	400 ⁽²⁴⁾ (37)	115 ⁽⁹⁾ (30)	1,600
	Not stranger	3 ⁽³⁾ (18)	23 ⁽²⁷⁾ (2)	30 ⁽³⁵⁾ (2)	25 ⁽²⁷⁾ (2)	5 ⁽⁶⁾ (1)	50
	Total	8 ⁽⁵⁾ (47)	653 ⁽²²⁾ (52)	545 ⁽³¹⁾ (37)	425 ⁽²⁴⁾ (47)	120 ⁽⁹⁾ (33)	1,700
Total victimization	Stranger	11 ⁽³⁾ (43)	1058 ⁽³¹⁾ (54)	1178 ⁽³⁴⁾ (81)	859 ⁽²⁵⁾ (50)	319 ⁽⁹⁾ (50)	3,400
	Not stranger	6 ⁽⁷⁾ (35)	208 ⁽²²⁾ (15)	284 ⁽³²⁾ (19)	212 ⁽²³⁾ (20)	69 ⁽⁷⁾ (15)	760
	Total	17 ⁽⁴⁾	1266 ⁽³⁰⁾	1462 ⁽³⁵⁾	1071 ⁽²⁵⁾	388 ⁽⁹⁾	7,200

Source-Table B1: National Crime Panel Survey

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TABLE P-8: PERSONAL INCIDENTS BY PLACE OF OCCURRENCE

		Inside home or other bld	Vaca home, hotel, motel	Near home	Inside non-res bld, pub conv	Street, park, field	Inside school	Elsewhere	NA	TOTAL
Assaultive violence with theft	Stranger	15 (3) (6)	0	(4) 20 (9)	(3) 19 (8)	(5) 180 (77)	0	0	0	234
	Not stranger	15 (3) (32)	0	(7) 5 (12)	(5) 3 (9)	(5) 18 (44)	0	0	0	41
Assaultive violence w/out theft	Stranger	67 (12) (8)	0	(10) 63 (2)	(15) 99 (11)	(17) 587 (62)	(18) 21 (2)	(20) 33 (4)	(6) 3 (30)	813
	Not stranger	113 (20) (25)	0	(12) 63 (16)	(6) 38 (16)	(4) 146 (37)	(15) 18 (5)	(13) 22 (6)	0	430
Personal theft	Stranger	54 (10) (3)	0	(21) 113 (14)	(25) 163 (18)	(23) 783 (68)	(13) 16 (1)	(15) 26 (2)	(20) 2 (20)	1,157
	Not stranger	19 (3) (35)	0	(12) 9 (16)	(14) 0 (4)	(6) 21 (37)	(4) 5 (9)	(2) 3 (5)	0	57
Total victimization	Stranger	136 (24) (16)	0	(36) 196 (6)	(44) 281 (12)	(45) 1550 (68)	(31) 37 (9)	(35) 59 (3)	(50) 5 (50)	2,264
	Not stranger	147 (3) (3)	0	(14) 77 (15)	(6) 41 (5)	(5) 185 (37)	(19) 23 (5)	(15) 25 (5)	0	492
TOTAL		566	0	546	644	3470	120	168	10	5524

Source-Table B3: National Crime Panel Survey

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 * () pen across

TABLE P-9: PERSONAL INCIDENTS BY NUMBER OF OFFENDERS

		One	Two	Three	Four+	DK	
Assaultive violence with theft	Stranger	(75) 69 (29)	(91) 81 (35)	(93) 39 (17)	(83) 37 (16)	(73) 8 (3)	237
	Not stranger	(25) 23 (55)	(9) 8 (19)	(7) 3 (7)	(12) 5 (12)	(27) 3 (7)	72
	Total	(100) 92	89	(100) 42	42	11	276
Assaultive violence w/out theft	Stranger	(57) 454 (52)	(86) 143 (16)	(82) 86 (10)	(75) 129 (15)	(100) 61 (7)	873
	Not stranger	(41) 314 (57)	(14) 23	(14) 19	(25) 44	0	400
	Total	768	166	105	173	61	1,272
Personal theft	Stranger	(70) 436 (37)	(76) 325 (28)	(79) 142 (12)	(92) 98 (21)	(100) 157 (14)	1,158
	Not stranger	(7) 33 (59)	(4) 13 (23)	(1) 2 (4)	(5) 8 (14)	0	56
	Total	469	338	144	106	157	1,317
Total victimization	Stranger	(112) 9 (42)	(78) 549 (24)	(72) 267 (12)	(72) 264 (12)	(79) 226 (10)	2,244
	Not stranger	(28) 370 (74)	(2) 44 (9)	(8) 24 (5)	(13) 57 (11)	(1) 3 (6)	448
	Total	1329 (48)	593 (21)	291 (11)	321 (12)	229 (8)	3,176

Source-Table B5: National Crime Panel Survey

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TABLE P-10A: PERSONAL INCIDENTS BY PERCEIVED AGE

	less than 12	12-14	15-17	18-20	21+	DK	
Assaultive violence with theft	(25) ³ (3)	(7) ⁵ (6)	(8) ¹⁴ (16)	(8) ²⁰ (22)	(6) ⁴⁴ (49)	(5) ³ (3)	89
Assaultive violence without theft	(50) ⁶ (27)	(65) ⁴⁸ (6)	(53) ⁸⁸ (12)	(43) ¹⁰⁰ (13)	(64) ⁴⁸¹ (64)	(56) ³³ (4)	756
Personal theft	(25) ³ (6)	(28) ²¹ (5)	(39) ⁶⁴ (14)	(48) ¹¹³ (25)	(30) ²²¹ (49)	(39) ²³ (5)	445
Total	12	74	166	233	746	59	1290

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Source--Table B6 Total only

National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-10B: PERSONAL INCIDENTS BY PERCEIVED AGE, BY RACE

White

	less than 12	12-14	15-17	18-20	21+:	DK
Assaultive violence with theft	0	0	0	(1) 5 (31)	(4) 11 (69)	0
Assaultive violence without theft	(.4) 3 (100)	(5) 16 (100)	(11) 36 (73)	(17) 57 (76)	(63) 212 (77)	(4) 12 (50)
Personal theft	0	0	(16) 13 (27)	(16) 13 (17)	(65) 58 (19)	(3) 2 (14)
Total	3	16	49	75	276	14

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Source--Table B6 Total only

National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-10C: PERSONAL INCIDENTS BY PERCEIVED AGE, BY RACE

	Black						Total
	less than 12	12-14	15-17	18-20	21+	DK	
Assaultive violence with theft	0	5 (10)	14 (12)	15 (9)	33 (7)	3 (7)	70
Assaultive violence without theft	3 (50)	32 (67)	52 (45)	43 (22)	269 (57)	21 (47)	420
Personal theft	3 (50)	21 (44)	51 (44)	100 (7)	168 (36)	21 (47)	364
Total	6	48	117	158	470	45	844

Source--Table B6 Total only

National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-22 : PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY RELATIONSHIP OF OFFENDER-VICTIM

	Total	Spouse/ ex. sp.	Parent	Child	Broth/ Sister	Other relat/ NA	Well known but not relat	Didnt know/ sight only	Casual
Assaultive violence with theft	102 6.85	2.94 3 7.50	0	0	0	0	9.80 10 6.10	77.45 79 7.27	9.80 10 6.29
Assaultive violence without theft	872 58.56	4.24 37 92.50	0	0.92 8 72.72	1.83 16 84.21	1.15 10 100.00	15.83 138 84.15	61.01 532 48.99	15.02 131 82.39
Personal theft	515 34.59	0	0	0.58 3 27.27	0.58 3 15.79	0	3.11 16 9.76	92.23 475 43.74	3.49 18 11.32
Total victim- ization	1489	2.69 40	0	0.74 11	1.28 19	0.67 10	11.01 164	72.93 1086	10.68 159

Source--Table G28 Total only

TABLE P-23: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY RELATIONSHIP OF VICTIM-OFFENDER, BY RACE

		Total	Spouse/ exsp.	Parent	Child	Bro/ Sist	Other rel/ NA	Well known but not rel	Didn't know/ sight only	Casual
Assaultive violence with theft	White	5,36 38	0	0	.0	0	0	78.95 3 4.92	78.95 30 5.62	13.16 5 6.76
	Black	8.41 65	4.62 3 13.04	0	0	0	0	12.31 8 7.69	25.38 49 8.96	7.69 5 6.02
Assaultive violence w/out thef	White	415 67.14	3.57 17 100	0	1.05 5 62.50	1.68 8 100	1.47 7 100	82.81 53 86.89	67.65 322 60.30	13.45 64 86.49
	Black	50.84 393	5.09 20 86.96	0	.51 2 100	2.04 8 72.73	.76 3 100	21.63 85 81.73	53.44 210 38.39	16.59 65 78.31
Personal theft	White	25.23 195	0	0	1.54 3 37.50	0	0	2.56 5 8.20	93.33 182 34.08	2.56 5 6.76
	Black	40.75 315	0	0	0	.95 3 27.27	0	3.44 11 10.58	91.43 288 52.65	4.13 13 15.66
Total victim- ization	White	709 47.84	2.40 17	0	1.13 8	1.13 8	.99 7	8.60 61	75.32 534	10.44 74
	Black	773 52.16	2.93 23	0	.26 2	1.43 11	.39 3	13.45 104	70.76 547	10.71 83

TOTAL: ONLY TOTAL WHITE CATEGORY IS TOTAL WHITE VICTIMIZATION PLUS FOR BLACK

Source-Table C28; Total only: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-24: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY VICTIM RELATION TO OFFENDER BY AGE

	Total	Spouse/ exspouse	Parent	Child	Bro/ Sis	Other	Not rel/ NA	DK/ Sight only	Casual	
12-15										
Assaultive violence with theft	8 5.48	0	0	0	0	0	0	62.50 5	37.50 3	10.34
Assaultive violence without theft	101 69.18	0	0	0	2.97 3 100	0	22.77 23 82.14	51.49 52 60.47	22.77 23 79.31	51.48
Personal theft	37 23.34	0	0	0	0	0	13.51 5 62.50	78.38 29 33.72	8.11 3 10.34	
Total victimization	146	0	0	0	2.05 3	0	19.18 28	58.90 86	19.86 29	
16-19										
Assaultive violence with theft	15 5.34	0	0	0	0	0	0	66.67 10	33.33 5	10.20
Assaultive violence without theft	215 76.51	1.47 3 100	0	0	2.33 .5 100	1.47 3 100	16.74 36 87.80	63.72 137 74.86	15.81 34 69.39	64.0
Personal theft	51 18.15	0	0	0	0	0	9.80 5 12.20	70.59 36 19.67	19.61 10 20.41	
Total victimization	281	1.07 3	0	0	1.78 5	1.07 3	14.59 41	65.12 183	17.44 49	

Source-Table C29: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-24: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY VICTIM RELATION TO OFFENDER BY AGE

	Total	Spouse/ exspouse	Parent	Child	Bro/ Sis	Other	Not rel/ NA	DK/ Sight only	Casual
(cont.)	20-24								
Assaultive violence with theft	7.16 20	0	0	0	0	0	15.00 3	75.00 15	10.00 2
							8.33	7.77	6.25
Assaultive violence without theft	65.23 182	5.49 10	0	0	1.64 3	1.09 2	18.13 33	59.67 109	13.73 25
		100			50	100	91.66	56.47	78.12
Personal theft	27.59 77	0	0	0	3.89 3	0	0	89.61 69	6.49 5
					50			35.75	15.68
Total victimization	279	3.58 10	0	0	2.15 6	7.17 2	12.90 36	69.17 193	11.46 32
	25-34								
Assaultive violence with theft	6.35 16	18.75 3	0	0	0	0	18.75 3	62.50 10	0
		15.00					16.67	5.38	
Assaultive violence without theft	61.11 154	11.04 17	0	0	1.36 2	1.95 3	9.74 15	61.04 94	14.94 23
		85.00			100	100	83.33	50.54	61.3
Personal theft	32.54 82	0	0	0	0	0	0	100 82	0
								44.09	
Total victimization	252	7.97 20	0	0	.79 2	1.14 3	7.14 18	73.81 186	9.130 23

TABLE P-24: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY VICTIM RELATION TO OFFENDER BY AGE

(cont.)	Total	Spouse/ exspouse	Parent	Child	Bro/ Sis	Other	Not rel/ NA	DK/ sight only	Casual
	35-49								
Assaultive violence with theft	7.61 20	0	0	0	0	0	25.00 5 16.13	75.00 15 7.61	0
Assaultive violence without theft	44.43 129	5.43 7 100	0	3.88 5 62.50	2.33 3 100	1.53 2 100	12.83 23 74.19	58.19 76 38.58	10.08 13 100-50.9
Personal theft	42.91 112	0	0	2.07 3 37.50	0	0	2.68 3 7.67	44.04 106 53.81	0
Total victimization	261	3.37 7	0	3.07 8	1.15 3	.77 2	11.88 31	75.48 197	4.98 13
	50-64								
Assaultive violence with theft	6.7 13	0	0	0	0	0	0	100 13 7.47	0
Assaultive violence without theft	39.18 76	0	0	21.63 2 100	0	0	6.50 5 100	73.08 56 32.18	17.11 13 100
Personal theft	54.13 105	0	0	0	0	0	0	100 105 60.38	0
Total victimization	194	0	0	1.03 2	0	0	2.58 5	89.69 174	6.7 13

TABLE P-11: PERSONAL INCIDENTS BY NUMBER OF VICTIMS

707

		One	Two	Three	Four+	
Assaultive violence with theft	Stranger	(84) 217 (93)	(100) 13 (6)	(100) 3 (1)	(100) 1 (4)	234
	Not stranger	(16) 41 (100)	0	0	0	41
	Total	258	13	3	1	
Assaultive violence w/out theft	Stranger	(68) 769 (88)	(75) 70 (8)	(70) 16 (2)	(74) 17 (2)	872
	Not stranger	(32) 365 (91)	(25) 23 (6)	(30) 7 (2)	(26) 6 (1)	401
	Total	1134	93	23	23	
Personal theft	Stranger	(96) 1087 (94)	(91) 50 (4)	(86) 12 (1)	(100) 7 (6)	1156
	Not stranger	(4) 49 (87)	(9) 5 (9)	(14) 2 (4)	0	56
	Total	1136	55	14	7	
Total victimization	Stranger	(82) 2073 (93)	(83) 133 (6)	(78) 31 (1)	81 25 (1)	2262
	Not stranger	(18) 455 (91)	(17) 28 (6)	(23) 9 (2)	(19) 6 (1)	498
	Total	2528	161	40	31	

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Source-Table B8: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-12: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY DAYS HOSPITALIZATION, BY RACE

		Overnight or longer					Emergency room	None	Mean days
		1 day	2-3 days	4-7 days	8+ days	NA			
Assaultive violence with theft	White	0	0	0	2,186 2 16.67	0	71,43 50 56.18	25,77 18 64.23	18
	Black	5 100%	0	3 100%	10 83.33	3 100%	57,33 39 43.82	11,76 8 30.77	12
	Total	5 3.62	0	3 2.17	12 8.7	3 2.17	89 64.49	26 18.84	13
Assaultive violence w/out theft	White	0	0	10 10 83.33	2 2 28.57	0	72,84 59 45.74	12,35 10 55.56	7
	Black	0	0	2 2 16.67	5 5 71.43	0	79,65 70 54.24	8,97 8 44.44	13
	Total	0	0	12 7.23	7 4.82	0	129 77.71	18 10.84	10
Total victimization	White	0	0	10 10 66.67	4 4 21.05	0	72,17 109 600	18,54 28 63.64	12
	Black	5 100	0	5 5 33.33	15 15 78.95	3 100	71,24 109 500	10,46 16 36.36	13
	Total	5 11.67	0	15 5.00	19 6.33	3 1.00	218 72.67	44 14.67	11

Source-Table C1; Total only: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-13A: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY AMOUNT OF MEDICAL EXPENSES

		\$1-9	\$10-49	\$50-249	\$250+	None	DK/NA
Assaultive violence with theft	Stranger	1.65 2 100%	25.62 31 91.18	33.06 40 93.02	5.79 7 58.33	4.09 11 78.57	24.79 30 90.91
	Not stranger	0	17.65 8.823	17.65 4.823	24.71 41.675	17.65 8.823	17.65 8.823
TOTAL		1.65 2	24.04 34	31.10 43	8.70 12	10.14 4	23.71 33
Assaultive violence w/out theft	Stranger	0	30.61 30 40.67	23.47 23 63.84	12.47 13 70.22	11.22 11 78.57	31.83 31 59.62
	Not stranger	3	25.10 22.15	21.67 13	21.53 27.25	21.60 13	25.00 40.3(21)
TOTAL		3	41.5	23.2	18	14	53
Total victimization	Stranger	87.00 2 40.00	22.82 61 77.22	27.51 63 79.75	8.73 20 66.67	9.61 22 76.57	23.57 61 71.76
	Not stranger	48.70 3	25.32 22.18	20.78 16	12.44 10	7.79 11.86	21.17 24
TOTAL		1.3815	25.82 79	25.82 79	9.80 30	11.52 9	23.78 5

Source-Table C3: National Crime Panel Survey

Stranger-
stranger

TABLE P-13B: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY AMOUNT OF MEDICAL EXPENSES, BY RACE

		\$1-9	\$10-49	\$50-249	\$250+	None	DK/NA	Total
Assaultive violence with theft	White	(3.26) 2 (100%)	(29.03) 18 (58.06)	(35.42) 22 (55.00)	(3.27) 2 (98.57)	(4.83) 3 (27.27)	(24.19) 15 (50.00)	(62.71) 62
	Black	(0) 0 (0)	(21.03) 13 (41.99)	(30.51) 18 (45.00)	(8.47) 5 (71.43)	(13.56) 8 (72.73)	(25.42) 15 (50.00)	(59.71) 59
	Total	(1.65) 2	(25.62) 31	(33.06) 40	(5.79) 7	(9.09) 11	(54.79) 30	121
Assaultive violence w/out theft	White	(0) 0 (0)	(31.25) 20 (66.67)	(13.33) 10 (43.48)	(20.51) 13 (100%)	(12.50) 8 (72.73)	(20.31) 13 (41.94)	(59.21) 44
	Black	(0) 0 (0)	(20.73) 10 (33.33)	(29.55) 13 (56.52)	(0) 0 (0)	(6.82) 3 (23.08)	(40.41) 18 (58.06)	(40.74) 44
	Total	(0) 0	(27.78) 30	(21.30) 23	(12.04) 13	(10.19) 11	(28.70) 31	108
Total victimization	White	(1.54) 2 (100%)	(30.16) 38 (62.30)	(25.40) 32 (50.79)	(11.90) 15 (75.00)	(9.73) 11 (50.00)	(22.22) 28 (45.90)	(55.03) 126
	Black	(0) 0 (0)	(21.23) 23 (37.70)	(20.10) 31 (49.21)	(4.85) 5 (25.00)	(10.68) 11 (50.00)	(32.04) 33 (54.10)	(44.98) 103
	Total	(1.67) 2	(26.04) 61	(21.51) 63	(16.73) 20	(9.61) 22	(26.04) 61	229

Source-Table C4: National Crime Panel Survey

C-4

Not stranger-
stranger

TABLE P-13B: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY AMOUNT OF MEDICAL EXPENSES, BY RACE

(cont.)		\$1-9	\$10-49	\$50-249	\$250+	None	DK/NA	
Assaultive violence with theft	White	0 ()	(33.33) 3 (100%)	(33.33) 3 (100%)	0	(33.33) 3 (100%)	0	9 (57.94)
	Black	0	0	0	(62.50) 5 ()	0	(37.50) 3 ()	8 (49.06)
	Total	0	(17.65) 3 ()	(17.65) 3 ()	(27.71) 5 ()	(17.65) 3 ()	(17.65) 3 ()	17
Assaultive violence w/out theft	White	(3) (100%)	(16.11) 2 (13.23)	(16.67) 3 (23.08)	(27.78) 5 (100)	0	(27.78) 5 (31.25)	18 (25.00)
	Black	0	(30.75) 13 (86.67)	(25.81) 10 (76.92)	0	(71.40) 3 (100)	(28.60) 16 (76.19)	42 (70.00)
	Total	(5.00) 3	(23.00) 15	(21.67) 13	(8.23) 5	(5.00) 3	(35.00) 21	60
Total victimization	White	(11.11) 3 (100%)	(18.52) 5 (27.78)	(22.86) 6 (37.50)	(18.52) 5 (50.00)	(11.11) 3 (50.00)	(18.52) 5 (20.93)	27
	Black	0	(23.64) 13 (72.22)	(18.18) 10 (62.50)	(9.09) 5 (50.00)	(5.45) 3 (50.00)	(34.55) 19 (79.17)	55
	Total	(3.40) 3	(23.38) 18	(20.78) 16	(12.99) 10	(7.79) 6	(31.17) 24	77

Source-Table C4: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-14: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY SELF PROTECTION

	Nothing	Used wea- pon	Hit offen- der	Rea- son w/ offen- der	Yell for help	Left scene	Held on TO PROPERTY	Other	NA	TOTAL
Assaultive violence with theft	→ 45.77 157 √ 9.57	4.37 15 9.40	26.82 92 17.42	.87 3 1.81	10.20 35 16.36	525 18 3.10	2.92 10 10.87	3.79 13 5.42	- 0 0	343 59.811
Assaultive violence without theft	→ 32.35 546 √ 33.29	6.64 112 73.20	19.08 322 60.98	6.46 109 65.66	4.56 77 35.98	20.50 346 74.89	.59 10 10.87	9.83 166 69.17	- 0 -	.1688 48.30
Personal theft NO ASSAULT	→ 64.00 937 √ 57.13	1.78 26 16.99	7.79 114 21.59	3.69 54 32.53	6.97 102 47.46	6.69 98 21.21	4.92 72 78.06	4.17 61 25.12	- 0 -	1464 41.89
Total victim- ization	→ 46.92 1640	4.38 153	15.11 528	4.75 166	6.12 214	13.22 462	2.63 92	6.87 240	- 0	3495

Source--Table C6 Total only

National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-15A: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY SELF PROTECTION, BY AGE, BY SEX

	Nothing	Used weapon	Hit of- fender	Reason w/ of- fender	Yell for help	Held on <i>To Respecty</i>	Other	NA	
	12-19								
	Male								
Assaultive violence with theft	33.94 18 5.71	5.66 3 18.75	49.06 26 19.85	5.66 3 11.54	0	0	5.66 3 11.54	0	53 7.8
Assaultive violence without theft	51.52 136 43.17	3.79 10 62.50	28.78 76 58.02	3.78 10 38.46	1.13 3 50	0	10.98 29 90.63	0	24 4.35
Personal theft	74.17 161 51.11	1.38 3 18.75	13.36 29 22.14	5.99 13 50.00	1.38 3 50	3.68 8 50	0	0	517 10.65
Total victimization	58.98 315 58.99	2.49 16 3.00	24.53 131 24.53	4.86 26 4.87	1.12 6 1.12	1.49 8 1.50	5.99 32 5.99	0	534
	Female								
Assaultive violence with theft	53.33 16 10.73	0	10. 3 4.16	0	26.66 8 18.60	10. 3 27.27	0	0	30 7.70
Assaultive violence without theft	35.43 73 48.99	2.42 5 100	32.03 66 91.66	4.88 20 100%	16.01 33 76.74	1.45 3 27.27	7.76 16 84.21	0	206 65%
Personal theft	82.17 60 40.26	0	4.10 3 4.10	0	2.73 2 4.65	6.84 5 45.45	4.10 3 15.78	0	73 23%
Total victimization	48.22 149 10.73	1.61 5	23.80 72	3.23 10	1.39 43	3.55 11	6.14 19	0	309

TABLE P-13A: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY SELF PROTECTION, BY AGE, BY SEX

(cont.)		Nothing	Used weapon	Hit of- fender	Reason w/ of- fender	Yell for help	Held on	Other	NA
	<i>Total</i>								
		20-34							
		Male							
Assaultive violence with theft	28 5.12	53.57 15 5.68	0	28.57 8 7.14	0	0	0	17.85 5 8.62	0
Assaultive violence without theft	334 6.17	41.01 137 51.89	9.88 33 71.73	21.85 73 65.17	11.37 38 82.60	2.39 8 61.53	.59 2 28.57	12.87 43 74.13	0
Personal theft	184 3.28	60.86 112 43.56	7.06 13	16.84 31 27.67	4.34 8 17.39	2.71 5 38.46	2.71 5 71.42	5.43 10 17.24	0
Total victimization	546	48.35 264	8.42 46	20.51 112	8.42 46	2.38 13	1.28 7	10.62 58	0
		Female							
Assaultive violence with theft	66 12.42	50. 33 12.45	4.54 3 13.04	22.72 15 16.66	0	22.72 15 21.73	0	0	0
Assaultive violence without theft	212 4.58	34.71 84 31.69	6.19 15 65.21	24.38 59 65.55	11.57 28 77.77	10.74 26 37.68	.82 2 16.66	11.57 28 77.77	0
Personal theft	223 4.99	66.36 148 55.84	2.04 5 21.73	7.17 16 17.77	3.58 8 22.22	12.55 28 40.57	4.48 10 83.30	3.58 8 22.22	0
Total victimization	531	47.90 265	4.33 23	16.74 90	6.77 36	12.94 69	2.25 12	6.77 36	0

Source=Table C6: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-15A: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY SELF PROTECTION, BY AGE, BY SEX

(cont.)	Total	Nothing	Used weapon	Hit of- fender	Reason w/ of- fender	Yell for help	Held on	Other	NA
35-49									
Male									
Assaultive violence with theft	40 15.62	45 18 15.51	5 2 7.14	37.50 15 24.59	0	0	5 2 40.00	7.5 3 8.23	0
Assaultive violence without theft	113 44.14	27.43 31 26.72	23.00 26 92.85	22.12 25 40.98	4.42 5 100.00	0	2.65 3 60.00	20.35 23 63.88	0
Personal theft	103 40.23	65.04 67 57.58	0	20.36 21 24.42	0	4.85 5	0	9.70 10 27.77	0
Total victimization	256	115.31 116	10.93 28	23.82 61	1.95 5	1.95 5	1.95 5	14.06 36	0
Female									
Assaultive violence with theft	35 13.46	37.14 13 8.84	5.71 2 22.22	22.85 8 42.10	0	20.00 7 25.00	8.57 3 27.27	5.71 2 7.14	0
Assaultive violence without theft	83 30.76	51.25 41 27.89	2.5 2 22.22	10. 8 42.10	10. 8 44.44	3.75 3 10.71	0	22.50 18 64.28	0
Personal theft	145 55.76	64.13 93 63.26	3.44 5 55.55	2.06 3 15.78	6.89 10 55.55	12.41 18 64.28	5.51 8 72.72	5.51 8 28.57	0
Total victimization	260	56.53 147	3.46 9	7.30 19	6.92 18	10.76 28	4.23 11	10.76 28	0

TABLE P-15A : PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY SELF PROTECTION, BY AGE, BY SEX

(cont.)		Nothing	Used weapon	Hit of- fender	Reason w/ of- fender	Yell for help	Held on	Other	NA
	TOTAL								
		50-64							
		Male							
Assaultive violence with theft	38 21.34	68.42 26 21.64	5.26 2 14.28	21.05 8 40.00	0	5.26 2 100.00	0	0	0
Assaultive violence without theft	47 26.46	21.71 15 12.5	25.53 12 85.71	21.07 10 30.00	10.63 5 50.00	0	0	10.63 5 50.00	0
Personal theft	43 52.24	84.94 79 65.83	0	2.15 2 10.00	5.37 5 50.00	0	2.15 2 100.00	5.37 5 50.00	0
Total victimization	178	67.41 120	7.86 14	11.46 20	5.61 10	1.12 2	1.12 2	5.61 10	0
		Female							
Assaultive violence with theft	13 5.88	76.72 10 7.24	0	23.07 3 30.00	0	0	0	0	0
Assaultive violence without theft	36 16.28	50.00 18 13.04	8.33 3 100	5.55 2 20.00	8.33 3 23.07	13.88 5 21.73	0	13.88 5 27.77	0
Personal theft	172 77.82	63.95 110 79.71	0	2.90 5 50.00	5.81 10 76.92	10.46 18 78.26	9.30 16 100.00	7.55 13 72.02	0
Total victimization	291	62.44 138	1.35 3	4.52 10	5.88 13	10.40 23	7.23 16	8.14 18	0

TABLE P-15A: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY SELF PROTECTION, BY AGE, BY SEX

(cont.)	Totals								
	Nothing	Used weapon	Hit of- fender	Reason w/ of- fender	Yell for help	Held on	Other	NA	
	65+								
	Male								
Assaultive violence with theft	5 7.58	0	40.00 2	60.00 3	0	0	0	0	0
Assaultive violence without theft	16 24.24	50.00 8	31.25 5	18.75 3	0	0	0	0	0
Personal theft	45 68.18	93.33 42	0	0	0	6.67 3	0	0	0
Total victimization	66	75.76 50	10.61 7	9.09 6	0	7.55 3	0	0	0
	Female								
Assaultive violence with theft	18 13.14	44.44 8	0	27.78 5	0	16.67 3	11.11 2	0	0
Assaultive violence without theft	8 5.84	62.50 5	0	0	37.50 3	0	0	0	0
Personal theft	111 81.02	56.76 63	0	4.50 5	0	18.02 20	16.22 18	4.50 5	0
Total victimization	137 137	82.89 55.47 76	0	50.00 7.30 10	2.19 3	86.96 16.79 23	90.00 14.60 20	1.00 3.65 5	0

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TABLE P-15B: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY SELF PROTECTION, BY RACE

		Nothing		Used wea- pon	Hit offen- der	Rea- son w/ offen- der	Yell for help	Left scene	Held on	Other	NA
		Totals									
Assaultive violence with theft	White	176 53 51.46	30.11 53 34.42	3.98 7 46.67	22.98 51 55.43	1.70 3 1.00	15.91 28 77.78	9.09 16 84.21	4.55 8 80.00	5.68 10 76.92	0
	Black	166 101 48.54	60.84 101 65.58	4.82 8 53.33	24.70 41 44.57	0	4.82 8 22.22	1.81 3 15.79	1.20 2 2.000	1.81 3 23.08	0
	Total	342 154	45.03 154	4.39 15	26.90 92	.88 3	10.33 36	5.56 19	2.92 10	3.80 13	0
Assaultive violence w/out theft	White	1013 286 60.23	28.23 286 52.38	5.82 59 52.21	18.76 190 59.94	7.01 71 64.55	5.73 58 72.38	22.70 230 66.47	0.99 10 1.00	10.76 109 65.66	0
	Black	669 260 39.77	38.86 260 47.62	8.07 54 47.79	18.98 127 40.06	5.83 39 35.45	2.39 16 21.62	17.34 116 33.53	8.52 0 9.87	8.52 57 34.34	0
	Total	1682 546	32.46 546	6.72 113	18.85 317	6.54 110	4.40 74	20.57 346	0.59 10	9.87 166	0

Source-Table C7:National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-15B: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY SELF PROTECTION, BY RACE

(cont.)		Nothing	Used wea- pon	Hit offen- der	Rea- son w/ offen- der	Yell for help	Left scene	Held on	Other	NA
Personal theft	657	56.93 374	2.28 15	9.74 64	2.74 18	9.28 61	7.00 46	7.76 51	4.26 28	0
	45.03	40.04	57.69	56.14	33.33	59.80	46.94	7.391	45.16	
	802	64.83 560	1.37 11	6.23 50	4.49 36	5.11 41	6.48 52	2.24 18	4.24 34	0
	54.97	59.96	42.31	43.86	66.67	40.20	53.06	26.09	54.84	
1459	64.02 934	1.78 26	7.81 114	3.70 4.54	6.99 102	6.72 98	4.73 69	4.25 52.62	0	
Total victim- ization	1846	38.62 713	4.39 81	16.52 305	4.98 92	7.96 147	15.82 292	3.74 69	7.96 147	0
	53.00	43.64	32.60	58.32	55.09	69.34	63.07	77.53	59.75	
	1637	56.26 921	4.46 73	13.32 218	4.58 75	3.97 65	10.45 171	1.22 20	5.74 94	0
	47.00	56.36	47.40	41.68	44.91	30.66	36.93	22.47	39.00	
3483	46.91 1634	4.42 154	15.02 523	7.79 157 167	6.09 212	13.29 463	2.56 89	6.42 221-241	0	

Source-Table C7: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-16: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY RACE OF OFFENDER

	White	Black	Other	Total
Assaultive violence with theft	26.89 38 5.35	63.10 65 9.15	0	6.91 <u>103</u>
Assaultive violence without theft	54.70 477 67.18	45.06 393 50.90	.22 2 28.57	58.96 <u>872</u>
Personal theft	37.93 195 27.46	61.08 314 40.67	.97 5 71.42	34.51 <u>514</u>
Total victimization	47.68 710	51.84 772	.47 7	1489

Source--Table C14 Total only

National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-17: INTERRACIAL VICTIMIZATION

	White assailant		TOTAL	Black assailant		TOTAL
	White victim	Black victim		White victim	Black victim	
Assaultive violence with theft	53.55 10 2.32	44.44 8 14.81	18	27.84 22 8.46	72.15 57 8.24	79 8.30
Assaultive violence without theft	92.67 355 92.36	7.31 28 51.85	363	24.68 117 45	75.31 357 51.66	474 49.89
Personal theft	78.51 66 15.31	21.42 18 33.33	94	30.40 121 46.53	69.59 277 40.08	398 41.85
Total victimization	431 88.86	54 11.13	466	260 27.33	691 72.66	951

Source--Table C14
National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-18: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY VALUE OF STOLEN PROPERTY

		\$1-9	\$10-49	\$50-99	\$100-249	\$250-999	\$1000+	None	NA
Assaultive violence with theft	10.41 19.46 20.0	13.13 31 13.27	23.27 61 15.76	15.55 36 23	15.17 38 25.16	8.27 21 30.00	4.23 10 40.00	2.11 5 50.00	14.40 34 22.22
Assaultive violence without theft									
Personal theft	80.51 975	21.37 203 26.75	33.33 327 44.27	14.76 144 50	11.58 113 74.23	5.02 49 70.00	1.53 15 60.00	.51 5 50.00	12.20 119 77.77
Total victimization	1.211	19.32 234	32.03 388	14.86 180	12.46 151	5.78 70	2.06 25	.82 10	12.63 153

Source--Table C8 Total only
National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-19: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY LOSS INCLUDING DAMAGE

	TOTAL	\$1-9	\$10-49	\$50-249	\$250+	None	DK/NA
Assaultive violence with theft	266 17.09	14.28 38 18.45	25 69 11.25	26.69 71 19.29	10.90 29	1.87 5 7.24	20.30 54 23.27
Assaultive violence without theft	262 16.83	20.28 61 20.00	28.67 75 15.19	11.45 30 8.15	3.05 8 72.35	18.70 49 71.01	14.88 39 16.81
Personal theft	66.88 1,028	20.28 206 67.54	32.07 340 70.34	25.97 267	5.93 61 16.57	1.45 15 21.73	13.52 139 59.91
Total victimization	556	19.48 305	31.10 484	23.65 368	6.29 98	4.43 69	14.91 232

Source--Table C19 Total only
National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-20: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY DAYS LOST

	No lost time	less than 1 day	1-5 days	6-10 days	11 days+	DK/NA	TOTAL
Assaultive violence with theft	72.16 223 7.36	3.22 10 13.51	17.15 53 29.12	0	7.44 23 37.09	0	9.91 309
Assaultive violence without theft	49.41 1352 47.67	2.18 33 44.59	5.62 85 46.70	.52 8 44.44	2.24 34 54.83	0	47.54 1512
Personal theft	92.76 1261 44.86	2.28 31 41.89	3.23 44 24.17	.73 10 55.55	.36 5 8.06	.58 8 100%	42.73 1359
Total victimization	99.18 2836	2.34 74	5.72 182	.56 18	1.94 62	.25 8	3180

Source--Table C20 Total only

National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-21: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY LOSS, BY RACE

		\$0	\$1-9	\$10-49	\$50-249	\$250+	NA
Assaultive violence with theft	White	7.14 8 50	19.62 21 72.41	24.27 26 50.	25.23 27 38.02	14.01 15 53.57	4.37 10 25.64
	Black	6.25 8 50	6.25 8 27.58	20.31 26 50.	34.37 44 61.97	10.15 13 46.42	22.3 29 74.3
	Total	6.20 16	29.12 21	22.12 52	30.12 71	11.98 28	16.57 39
Assaultive violence w/out theft	White	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Black	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	0	0	0	0	0	0
Personal theft	White	6.39 25 51.02	17.90 70 37.03	37.34 146 50.17	23.27 91 36.69	3.32 13 22.02	11.76 46 34.8
	Black	4.15 24 48.97	20.62 119 60.22	25.12 145 49.82	27.20 157 65.30	7.97 46 77.96	14.90 86 65.15
	Total	5.06 49	19.52 189	30.06 291	25.4 248	6.09 59	13.63 132
Total victimization	White	6.62 33 50.76	18.57 91 41.74	34.53 172 50.14	23.67 118 36.99	5.69 28 32.18	11.53 56 32.7
	Black	4.53 32 49.23	18.01 127	24.25 171 49.95	28.51 201 63.00	8.36 59 67.61	16.27 115 67.25
	Total	5.40 65	18.12 220 218	28.51 343	26.51 319	7.23 87	14.21 171

Source-Table C26: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-24: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY VICTIM RELATION TO OFFENDER BY AGE

(cont.)	Total	Spouse/ exspouse	Parent	Child	Bro/ Sis	Other	Not rel/ NA	DK/ Sight only	Casual
	65+								
Assaultive violence with theft	14.08 10	0	0	0	0	0	0	10.07 10 15.15	0
Assaultive violence without theft	15.49 11	0	0	0	0	0	27.27 3 60.00	72.73 8 12.12	0
Personal theft	70.12 50	0	0	0	0	0	4.00 2 4000	96.00 48 72.73	0
Total victimization	71	0	0	0	0	0	7.04 5	92.96 66	0

Source-Table C29

National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-25: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY AGE, BY OFFENDER AGE

		Total	12-19	20-34	35-49	50-64	65+
Assaultive violence with theft	Under 12	18.18 2	0	100% 2 40.00	0	0	0
	12-14	7.89 6	50% 3 4.76	0	50% 3 33.33	0	0
	15-17	8.74 16	50% 8 8.08	18.75 3 10.71	0	0	31.25 5 71.43
	18-20	8.89 24	20.83 5 61.00	30.00 12 14.81	8.33 2 4.65	20.83 5 16.67	0
	21+	6.09 52	15.38 8 2.01	34.62 18 10.53	25.00 13 7.60	15.38 8 7.34	9.62 5 27.78
	DK/NA	3.23 3	0	0	100 3 14.29	0	0
Assaultive violence w/out theft	Under 12	54.55 6	50.00 3 100%	0	0	50.00 3 100%	0
	12-14	69.74 53	94.34 50 83.33	0	5.66 3 33.33	0	0
	15-17	49.18 98	70.43 70 70.71	10.20 10 35.71	8.16 8 38.10	10.20 10 35.71	0
	18-20	44.44 120	49.17 59 71.95	31.67 38 46.91	12.50 15 34.85	4.17 5 16.67	2.15 3 9.09
	21+	64.40 550	27.64 119 75.32	50.36 277 69.69	18.36 101 59.00	9.09 50 45.87	1.55 3 16.67
	DK/NA	51.61 48	37.50 18 69.23	25.00 12 66.67	10.42 5 23.81	16.67 8 42.11	10.42 5 50%

Source-Table C16: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-25: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY AGE, BY OFFENDER AGE

(cont.)		Total	12-19	20-34	35-49	50-64	65+
Personal theft	Under 12	27.27 3	0	100% 3	0	0	0
	12-14	30.26 23	43.48 10 15.87	3.70 2 100%	13.04 3 33.33	21.73 5 100.00	13.07 3 100%
	15-17	37.70 69	30.43 21 21.21	21.74 15 53.57	18.84 13 61.29	26.09 18 64.29	2.90 2 28.57
	18-20	46.57 126	14.29 18 21.95	24.60 31 38.27	20.63 26 60.47	13.87 20 66.67	23.21 30 90.91
	21+	29.51 252	12.30 31 19.62	40.87 103 25.88	22.62 57 33.33	20.24 51 46.79	3.97 10 55.88
	DK/NA	45.16 42	19.03 8 30.77	14.29 6 33.33	30.95 13 61.90	26.14 11 57.89	11.42 5 50.00
Total victimization	Under 12	1.74 11	3	5	0	3	0
	12-14	5.11 76	33.89 63	2.63 2	11.84 9	6.58 5	3.93 3
	15-17	12.51 183	34.10 99	15.20 28	11.48 21	15.30 28	3.83 7
	18-20	16.16 270	30.37 82	30.00 81	15.93 43	11.11 30	12.00 33
	21+	57.43 854	18.50 158	46.60 398	20.02 171	12.76 109	2.11 18
	DK/NA	6.25 93	27.96 26	19.35 18	22.58 21	20.43 19	10.11 10

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Source-Table C16: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-26: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY AGE BY OFFENDERS AGE

	OFFENDERS AGE	VICTIM AGE					
		Total	12-19	20-34	35-49	50-64	65+
Assaultive violence with theft	All under 12	0	0	0	0	0	0
	All 12-20	12.30 70	60.00 42 15.27	7.14 5 4.95	14.29 10 10.64	14.29 10 15.15	4.76 3 9.09
	All over 21	13.57 60	5.00 3 5.77	30.00 18 8.65	26.67 16 21.33	25.00 15 23.44	15.24 8 18.60
	DK/NA	51.16 22	0	45.45 10 24.39	22.73 5 23.81	22.73 5 30.00	9.09 2 20.00
	Mixed	29.65 51	31.37 16 14.41	24.41 15 12.30	24.41 15	9.80 5 10.97	0
Assaultive violence w/out theft	All under 12	100 3	100 3 100	0	0	0	0
	All 12-20	37.26 212	60.85 129 46.91	20.28 43 42.57	11.79 25 20.68	4.72 10 15.15	2.86 5 15.15
	All over 21	42.99 190	17.89 34 65.38	60.53 115 55.29	14.74 28 37.33	2.63 5 7.81	4.01 8 15.15
	DK/NA	33.64 36	22.22 8 42.11	50.00 18 43.90	22.22 8 38.10	5.56 2 20.00	0
	Mixed	37.01 131	41 36.94	64 52.46	13	10 21.74	3 1.60

Source-Table C17: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-26: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY AGE BY OFFENDERS AGE

VICTIM AGE

(cont.)	OFFENDERS AGE	Total	12-19	20-34	35-49	50-64	65+
Personal theft	All under 12	0	0	0	0	0	0
	All 12-20	50.44 287	36.24 104 37.82	18.47 53 52.46	7.65 59 62.77	16.03 46 69.70	8.71 25 75.77
	All over 21	43.44 192	7.81 15 29.85	39.06 75 36.06	16.15 31 41.33	22.82 44 68.75	14.00 27 62.77
	DK/NA	42.57 43	21.51 11 57.89	30.23 13 31.71	18.60 8 38.10	6.98 3 30.00	18.60 8 80.00
	Mixed	42.59 172	31.40 54 48.65	25.52 43 35.25	15.12 26	18.02 31 67.39	10.90 18 8.57
Total victimization	All under 12	21 3	100 3	0	0	0	0
	All 12-20	48.21 569	46.32 275 66.5	17.75 101 21.40	16.32 94 49.47	11.60 66 35.48	5.80 33 30.00
	All over 21	31.29 442	11.76 52 11.30	47.06 208 44.07	16.97 75 39.47	19.48 64 34.41	9.75 43 40.00
	DK/NA	7.71 101	18.51 19 4.13	40.57 41 8.59	20.77 21 11.05	9.72 10 5.38	9.50 10 9.25
	Mixed	32.0 354 21.00	27.00 111 24.13	40.67 122 25.85		15.33 46 24.73	7.00 21 17.00
<i>Total</i>		1415	478	472	190	186	107
			22.51	33.36	13.43	13.14	7.56

Source-Table C17: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-27: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATIONS, BY AGE AND RACE OF MULTIPLE OFFENDERS

		Total	All under 12	All 12-20	All over 21	DK/NA	Mixed
Assaultive violence with theft	White	14.80 53	0	35.85 19 13,48	36.19 16 12,90	0	33.96 18 22,76
	Black	14.70 112	0	33.04 37 12,60	32.14 36 15,38	9.82 11 28,21	25.00 28 14,74
	Mixed	6.12 3	0	100 3 15,00	0	0	0
	DK/NA	20.51 8	0	0	0	100 8	0
Assaultive violence w/out theft	White	66.42 202	0	42.00 84 59,57	51.54 72 56,06	4.95 10 7,43	17.82 36 45,57
	Black	26.51 202	1149 3 100	35.15 71 23,49	32.67 66 29,21	5.45 11 28,21	25.25 51 26,84
	Mixed	53.10 27	0	37.04 10 50,00	20.00 6 50,55	1.80 1 100	47.00 10 50,00
	DK/NA	25.86 9	0	32.22 2 20,22	11.44 1 35,10	14.44 4 16,67	20.00 2 100
Personal theft	White	26.77 103	0	26.89 38 26,95	26.89 36 29,03	3.00 4 28,57	27.00 25 31,25
	Black	58.79 448	0	41.90 188 63,51	27.45 132 56,41	3.77 17 43,57	24.75 111 58,42
	Mixed	38.78 19	0	36.84 7 35,00	23.30 5 45,45	0	26.25 7 41,18
	DK/NA	56.41 22	0	51.82 7 77,76	13.64 3 75,00	34.55 12 63	0
Total victimization	White	29.64 358	0	39.39 141	34.64 124	3.91 14	22.07 79
	Black	63.08 762	137 3	38.85 296	30.71 234	5.12 39	24.93 190
	Mixed	41.06 49	0	40.82 20	22.45 11	2.04 1	30.69 17
	DK/NA	3.23 39	0	20.08 9	10.20 4	61.00 24	0.15 2

1208

TABLE P-28: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY TYPE OF WEAPON

		Gun	Knife	Other/NA	Total
Assaultive violence with theft	Stranger	52.00 65 85.53	22.40 28 84.85	25.60 32 76.19	82.78 125
	Not stranger	42.31 11 14.47	19.23 5 15.15	38.46 10 23.81	26 17.22
	Total	50. 76	21.85 33	27.81 42	11.70 151
Assaultive violence w/out theft	Stranger	48.23 218 69.21	21.02 95 70.90	30.75 139 75.54	71.41 452
	Not stranger	53.57 97 30.79	21.55 39 29.10	24.86 45 24.46	24.59 181
	Total	49.76 315	21.17 134	29.07 184	49.03 633
Personal theft without assault	Stranger	64.11 309 94.79	26.14 126 96.18	9.75 47 94.00	95.07 482
	Not stranger	68.00 17 57.1	20.00 5 3.82	12.00 3 6.00	4.93 25
	Total	64.50 326	25.84 131	9.86 50	39.27 507
Total victimization	Stranger	55.76 592 82.66	23.51 249 83.28	20.57 218 78.99	82.03 1059
	Not stranger	33.45 124 17.32	21.55 50 16.72	23.00 58 21.01	17.97 232
	Total	55.46 716	23.16 299	21.38 276	1291

Source-Table B4: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-28; PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY POLICE REPORTING

	Reported	Not reported	DK	Total
Assaultive violence with theft	66.02 204 14.27	33.98 105 6.11	0	9.71 309
Assaultive violence without theft	39.72 601 42.03	58.56 886 51.57	1.72 26 78.79	47.56 1513
Personal theft	41.31 625 43.71	53.50 727 42.32	.52 7 21.21	42.72 1359
Total victim- ization	44.95 1430	54.01 1718	1.04 33	3181

Source--Table C22 Total only

National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-20: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY POLICE REPORTING, BY AGE, BY SEX

	18-19					20-34						
	Male		Female			Male		Female				
	Reported	Not re-ported	DK	Total	Reported	Not re-ported	DK	Total	Reported	Not re-ported	DK	Total
Assaultive violence with theft	27.54 16	72.47 42	0	9.75 58	61.54 16	38.46 10	0	26	11.11	4.90	0	7.37
Assaultive violence without theft	22.04 84	77.96 221	0	51.26 305	34.68 100	58.33 147	1.98 5	252	69.44	72.06	110.73	71.39
Personal theft	21.56 67	78.44 164	0	232	27.33 28	62.67 47	0	75	19.44	23.04	0	21.35
Total victimization	76.07 167	71.76 427	0	595	40.79 144	57.77 204	1.42 5	353				
	20-34											
Assaultive violence with theft	82.14 23	17.86 5	0	3.01 28	64.41 38	33.90 20	0	10.87 59	13.24	8.16	0	10.87
Assaultive violence without theft	30.26 105	69.74 237	1.44 5	62.08 347	51.34 134	45.98 120	3.07 8	48.07 261	46.69	48.98	72.73	48.07
personal theft	40.02 74	59.98 107	1.99 2	32.92 184	61.57 115	47.09 105	1.35 3	41.07 223	40.07	42.36	27.27	41.07
Total victimization	36.14 202	63.86 349	1.25 7	559	52.85 287	45.12 245	2.03 11	543				

TABLE P-30: PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY POLICE REPORTING, BY AGE, BY SEX

(cont.)	35-49							
	Male				Female			
	Reported	Not reported	DK	Total	Reported	Not reported	DK	Total
Assaultive violence with theft	73.68 28 21.05	26.32 10 7.52	0	13.77 38	83.33 25 14.53	16.67 5 5.81	0	30 11.63
Assaultive violence without theft	37.50 48 36.09	57.81 74 55.64	3.11 5 100	47.36 128	64.37 56 32.56	34.48 30 34.88	0	87 33.72
Personal theft	53.77 57 42.86	45.23 49 36.84	0	32.17 106	64.54 91 52.91	36.17 51 59.30	0	141 54.65
Total victimization	48.90 133	48.90 133	1.34 5	272	66.67 172	33.33 86	0	258
	50-64							
Assaultive violence with theft	72.22 26 22.91	27.78 10 12.92	0	36 18.65	100 13 12.38	0	0 5.46 13	
Assaultive violence without theft	75.68 37 32.46	43.08 28 35.90	0	65 33.68	43.90 18 17.14	51.02 21 18.92	7.32 3 81.05	18.81 41
Personal theft	55.43 51 44.74	43.57 40 51.26	0	92 47.67	45.12 74 70.48	54.88 90	0	75.23 164
Total victimization	59.07 114	40.41 78	0	193	43.17 105	50.92 111	1.32 3	218

TABLE 2-304 PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION BY POLICE REPORTING, BY AGE, BY SEX

(cont.)	65+							
	Male			Female				
	Reported	Not re-ported	DK	Total	Reported	Not re-ported	DK	Total
Assaultive violence with theft	5 11.62	0	0	7.50 5	50.17 16	16.11 2	0	18 14.29
Assaultive violence without theft	13 30.23	3 13.04	0	16 44.17	5 7.51	5 9.33	0	10 7.14
Personal theft	25 56.14	20 46.10	0	45 60.10	43 67.19	53 83.33	2 1.00	98 77.78
Total victimization	43 65.15	23 38.80	0	66 60.10	64 50.77	60 47.67	2 1.54	126 60

Source-Table C22: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE P-31: ... PERSONAL VICTIMIZATIONS BY REPORTING TO POLICE, BY RACE

	White			Black			Other		
	Report- ing	Not re- porting	DK	Report- ing	Not re- porting	DK	Report- ing	Not re- porting	DK
Assaultive violence with theft	101 3.18	715 51.69	0	101 7.06	54,170 3.15	0	16,672 .06	0	0
Assaultive violence without theft	353 11.10	522 16.1	13	243 7.89	361 11.35	13 4.1	41,675 .16	3 .09	0
Personal theft	259 8.14	326 10.1	7	361 11.35	400 12.58	0	41,675 .16	0	0
Total victim- ization	713 22.2	899 27.7	20	705 21.5	815 25.1	13 4.1	12.84 .84	3 .17	0

TOTAL Reporting	1430	53.77
TOTAL Reporting	1717	53.97
TOTAL DK	33	1.02

Source--Table C23

National Crime Panel Survey

VICT
 TOTAL
 #
 10/1/77

TABLE P-12 REASONS FOR NON-REPORTING OF
PERSONAL INCIDENTS BY VICTIM-OFFENDER RELATIONSHIP

	Total Incidents	Total Reported	Not Reported								
			Nothing Could be Done	Not Important	Did Not Want To Bother Police	Inconvenient	Private Matter	Fear	Reported Elsewhere	Other	
ASSAULTIVE VIOLENCE WITH THEFT											
Stranger	NR 88-327	26910.2	181-375	21-286	26-29.54	18-20.45	5-5.28	13-14.77	8-9.09	10-11.36	23-26.13
Non-stranger	13-427	4171.9	23-55.1	3-4.26	5-5.77	0	0	5-22.77	3-10.66	5-22.77	0
Total	106-312	31082.1	204-93.1	24-32.86	31-35.31	18-16.98	5-4.71	18-13.07	11-10.37	15-14.15	23-21.69
ASSAULTIVE VIOLENCE WITHOUT THEFT											
Stranger	647-61.7	1,04849.3	399-35.0	185-21.53	209-22.23	41-6.21	20-3.08	87-13.10	15-2.31	31-4.77	103-15.87
Non-stranger	262-56.24	46584.2	203-43.0	28-10.88	95-36.25	18-6.87	8-3.05	84-32.0	13-4.91	25-9.54	36-13.74
Total	911-60.24	1,51247.5	601-37.7	214-22.41	304-32.36	59-6.47	28-3.07	172-16.88	28-3.07	56-6.14	139-15.25
PERSONAL THEFT											
Stranger	673-52.8	1,295-49.58	602-46.1	315-42.1	213-29.73	72-10.38	49-7.07	41-5.91	13-1.87	28-4.04	94-13.56
Non-stranger	42-44.61	6511.34	23-25.28	10-23.20	11-20.19	3-7.14	0	8-19.04	5-11.90	5-11.90	8-19.04
Total	735-34.51	1,36040.74	625-45.95	325-44.21	224-30.47	75-10.20	49-6.66	49-6.66	18-2.44	33-4.48	102-13.77
TOTAL VICTIMS											
Stranger	1439-54.25	2,61149.05	1,182-25.17	521-34.45	448-31.35	131-9.16	74-5.17	141-9.86	36-2.51	69-4.82	220-15.39
Non-stranger	322-56.87	57117.94	249-42.0	42-13.04	116-36.00	21-6.52	8-2.48	97-30.12	21-6.52	36-11.18	44-13.64
Total	1751-35.0	3,182	1,431-44.97	562-32.07	559-31.92	152-8.68	82-4.68	239-13.64	57-3.25	105-5.96	265-15.13

SOURCE: TABLE C-27 National Crime Panel Survey

NR = Not reported total

Tables H-1 through H-12
HOUSEHOLD VICTIMIZATIONS

TABLE H1: RATES OF HOUSEHOLD VICTIMIZATION
 BY RACE OF HEAD AND LOCATION IN CLEVELAND
 IN 1971-1972 (per 100 households)

	Burglary	Larceny	Auto theft	Total
White				
At home	8.707	7.956	1.671	18.334
Elsewhere	.135	12.066	5.093	17.292
Total	8.840	20.022	6.764	35.626
Black				
At home	18.743	8.127	2.337	29.266
Elsewhere	.091	15.157	6.744	21.991
Total	18.883	23.284	9.081	51.257
Other				
At home	10.131	7.348	1.874	19.353
Elsewhere	0.000	7.166	8.249	15.416
Total	10.131	14.514	10.123	34.769
Total				
At home	12.325	8.011	1.913	22.248
Elsewhere	.116	13.117	5.722	18.457
Total	12.441	21.130	7.634	40.705

Source-Table E1 NATIONAL CRIME PANEL SURVEY

TABLE H2: RATES OF HOUSEHOLD VICTIMIZATION BY RACE OF HEAD
AND LOCATION IN CLEVELAND IN 1971-1972 (per 100 households)

	Burglary	Larceny	Auto theft	Total
12-14				
At home	15.430	13.633	.834	29.897
Elsewhere	0.000	15.888	2.626	18.573
Total	15.430	29.520	3.459	48.410
20-34				
At home	16.168	11.278	3.078	30.544
Elsewhere	.086	16.454	7.607	24.147
Total	16.254	27.732	10.705	54.691
35-49				
At home	15.125	10.413	2.470	28.008
Elsewhere	.253	20.444	7.276	27.992
Total	15.378	30.857	9.765	56.000
50-64				
At home	10.783	6.301	1.456	18.561
Elsewhere	.075	11.068	5.510	16.654
Total	10.858	17.369	6.966	35.195
65+				
At home	6.281	3.194	.505	9.981
Elsewhere	.049	2.962	2.071	5.082
Total	6.331	6.156	2.576	15.063

TABLE H3: RATES OF HOUSEHOLD VICTIMIZATION BY TENURE, BY RACE OF HEAD, AND BY LOCATION IN CLEVELAND IN 1971-1972 (per 100 households)

	Owned or being bought			Rented for cash			No cash rent		
	White	Black	Total	White	Black	Total	White	Black	Total
Purglary At home	8.486	19.077	11.671	8.932	18.357	12.910	9.680	29.784	13.753
Elsewhere	.187	.074	.151	.075	.104	.085	.000	.000	.000
Total	8.673	19.151	11.822	9.007	18.461	13.760	9.680	29.784	13.753
Larceny At home	7.939	9.156	8.353	8.096	7.360	7.737	4.404	11.380	5.770
Elsewhere	12.409	18.510	14.202	11.824	12.767	12.131	7.324	17.921	10.969
Total	20.348	27.666	22.555	19.920	20.127	19.868	11.726	29.361	16.739
Auto theft At home	1.196	2.094	1.481	2.099	2.540	2.274	5.457	.000	4.025
Elsewhere	3.776	9.252	5.514	6.547	4.976	5.864	7.605	7.300	7.950
Total	4.972	11.346	6.995	8.646	7.516	8.138	13.062	7.300	11.975

TABLE H3: RATES OF HOUSEHOLD VICTIMIZATION BY TENURE, BY RACE OF HEAD, AND BY LOCATION IN CLEVELAND IN 1971-1972 (per 100 households)

(cont.)	Owned or being bought			Rented for cash			No cash rent		
	White	Black	Total	White	Black	Total	White	Black	Total
Total At home	17.621	30.326	21.506	19.127	28.256	22.930	19.541	41.165	23.509
Elsewhere	16.371	27.835	19.714	18.445	17.846	18.080	14.929	25.223	18.987
Total	33.992	58.161	41.220	37.572	46.102	41.010	34.470	66.388	42.496

Source-Table E4 NATIONAL CRIME PANEL SURVEY

TABLE E4: RATES OF HOUSEHOLD VICTIMIZATION BY UNITS IN STRUCTURE AND RACE OF HEAD

At home

		1	2	3	4	5-9	10+	Mobile home	Other	NA
Burglary	White	8.115	9.050	10.242	12.042	8.255	8.722	0.000	0.000	9.470
	Black	19.030	18.174	19.046	15.833	22.429	18.320	0.000	0.000	17.437
Larceny	White	8.411	8.533	11.516	6.451	8.219	4.555	0.000	0.000	6.361
	Black	10.125	6.732	9.121	6.173	7.257	5.762	0.000	0.000	7.497
Auto theft	White	1.468	1.547	2.977	2.248	2.208	1.716	0.000	0.000	2.616
	Black	2.070	2.019	3.245	3.264	1.376	1.944	0.000	0.000	7.560
Total victimization	White	17.994	19.129	24.734	20.741	18.682	14.993	0.000	0.000	18.446
	Black	31.225	26.925	31.413	25.270	31.072	26.027	0.000	0.000	32.493

Source-Table E5: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE H4B: RATES OF HOUSEHOLD VICTIMIZATION BY UNITS IN STRUCTURE AND RACE OF HEAD

Elsewhere

		1	2	3	4	5-9	10+	Mobile home	Other	NA
Burglary	White	0.139	0.200	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.144	0.000	0.000	0.000
	Black	0.075	0.000	0.000	0.427	0.345	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Larceny	White	12.728	10.741	15.244	14.695	11.231	10.001	0.000	0.000	14.491
	Black	19.881	12.734	15.434	10.291	11.679	10.667	0.000	0.000	11.119
Auto theft	White	3.942	5.817	8.507	8.353	4.955	6.254	0.000	0.000	3.948
	Black	8.334	6.438	5.160	4.170	8.026	4.057	0.000	0.000	3.696
Total victimization	White	16.810	16.758	23.751	23.048	16.186	16.399	0.000	0.000	18.039
	Black	28.290	19.172	20.594	14.888	20.050	14.724	0.000	0.000	14.815

Source-Table E5: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE 10A : RACE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD, EDUCATION OF FAMILY HEAD, INCOME AND RACE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

IN THOUS

	1955-1959	1960-1964	1965-1969	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980-1984	1985-1989	25,000+	NA
Burglary	8.233	8.102	8.551	9.115	10.521	11.796	8.089		
	16.905	21.247	17.250	21.735	26.110	29.196	11.929		
Armed robbery	5.497	6.060	10.324	9.550	10.504	9.697	5.766		
	6.589	10.179	11.324	9.020	10.634	4.899	5.020		
Auto theft	0.809	1.809	1.983	1.911	2.111	3.992	1.601		
	1.563	1.026	3.903	1.735	1.337	0.000	3.867		
Total victimization	14.538	18.051	21.637	20.576	23.136	25.485	15.456		
	27.058	33.262	32.478	31.490	38.081	34.095	20.814		

Source-Table E6: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE H5B: RATES OF HOUSEHOLD VICTIMIZATION BY FAMILY INCOME AND RACE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

Elsewhere

		less than 3000	3000-7499	7500-9999	10,000-14,999	15,000-24,999	25,000+	NA	
Burglary	White	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.345	0.520	1.951	0.101	
	Black	0.131	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.680	4.986	0.000	
Larceny	White	6.946	9.688	12.877	16.244	25.486	29.382	9.901	
	Black	8.801	14.257	17.935	25.046	31.072	42.814	12.337	
Auto theft	White	2.016	5.487	5.956	5.699	9.517	11.683	4.470	
	Black	2.760	5.817	8.759	10.620	16.669	18.810	6.893	
Total victimization	White	8.962	15.175	18.833	22.288	35.523	43.015	14.471	
	Black	11.692	20.074	26.693	35.666	48.421	66.609	19.230	

Source-Table E6: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE B-6: REPORTED VICTIMIZATION BY TIME OF OCCURRENCE, BY LOCATION

	6:00- 6:59 AM	7:00- 7:59 AM	8:00- 8:59 AM	9:00- 9:59 AM	10:00- 10:59 AM	11:00- 11:59 AM	12:00- 12:59 PM	1:00- 1:59 PM	2:00- 2:59 PM	3:00- 3:59 PM	4:00- 4:59 PM	5:00- 5:59 PM	6:00- 6:59 PM	7:00- 7:59 PM	8:00- 8:59 PM	9:00- 9:59 PM	10:00- 10:59 PM	11:00- 11:59 PM	12:00- 12:59 AM	Total
Burglary	At home	1091	1400	722	527	344	5	2840	19.5%	5	2840	19.5%	5	2840	19.5%	5	2840	19.5%	2840	19.5%
	Elsewhere	10	5	5	0	12	0	27	0.1%	0	27	0.1%	0	27	0.1%	0	27	0.1%	27	0.1%
Larceny	At home	397	1123	442	526	297	19	1846	19.5%	19	1846	19.5%	19	1846	19.5%	19	1846	19.5%	1846	19.5%
	Elsewhere	1491	1352	714	522	170	20	3023	30.5%	20	3023	30.5%	20	3023	30.5%	20	3023	30.5%	3023	30.5%
Auto theft	At home	47	375	96	260	19	0	441	0.5%	0	441	0.5%	0	441	0.5%	0	441	0.5%	441	0.5%
	Elsewhere	411	865	387	442	32	10	1318	13.5%	10	1318	13.5%	10	1318	13.5%	10	1318	13.5%	1318	13.5%
Total victim- ization	At home	1635	2898	1260	1313	570	24	5127	24.5%	24	5127	24.5%	24	5127	24.5%	24	5127	24.5%	5127	24.5%
	Elsewhere	1902	2222	1106	964	214	30	4368	45.5%	30	4368	45.5%	30	4368	45.5%	30	4368	45.5%	4368	45.5%

Source-Table F1: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE H-7: HOUSEHOLD VICTIMIZATION BY PLACE OF OCCURRENCE

	Total	Inside home	Vaca home, hotel, motel	Near home	Inside non-res bld	Street, park, field	Inside school	Elsewhere	NA
Burglary	2867 30.19	49.05 2840 87.11	0.94 27 64.28	0	0	0	0	0	0
Larceny	4868 51.26	8.21 400 12.26	0.30 15 33.71	29.68 1445 74.43	9.83 479 45.03	38.78 1888 59.48	8.66 422 1.05	4.25 207 97.64	0.24 12 20.00
Auto theft	1760 18.53	1.13 20 0.61	0	23.92 421 22.56	1.42 25 9.96	73.06 1286 40.51	0	0.28 5 2.35	0.17 3 20.00
Total victimization	9495	34.33 3260	0.94 42	19.65 1866	5.30 504	33.42 3174	4.47 422	2.23 212	0.15 15

Source--Table F2 Total only
National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE H-8: HOUSEHOLD VICTIMIZATION BY WHETHER REPORTED TO POLICE

	nothing could be done	not important	police bother	private matter	fear of reprisal	report someone else	other	NA	DK	inconvenient	Total of Row
Burglary	32.36 565 27.15	29.85 469 7.17	154 26.45	71 11.39	0.37 5 19.31	779 79 20.04	12.54 167 24.98	1.37 17 19.31	1.33 27 21.60	133 30 24.00	4584 22.4
Larceny	35.72 1336 64.19	32.64 1419 67.17	373 62.11	182 70.00	0.19 22 91.69	753 309 76.12	9.79 426 63.48	1.51 66 75.60	1.86 81 60.50	3.05 133 71.89	4341 67.2
Auto theft	32.54 180 8.64	41.42 173 8.39	11.37 64	646 7	0	1.25 7	14.10 78	0.95 5	5.07 17	3.97 22	553 8.82
Total victimization	35.09 2081	31.70 2061	49.4 591	7.00 260	0.41 27	5.09 395	15.34 671	1.35 88	1.92 125	2.85 185	6484

Source-Table F3; Total only: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE H-9: HOUSEHOLD INCIDENT BY LOSS, BY RACE, BY LOCATION

At home

		1-9	10-49	50-99	100-249	250-999	1000+	Total known incidents	
Burglary	White	8.33 63 19.00	23.80 180 29.55	17.44 147 46.22	20.50 155 60.78	21.16 160 56.93	6.74 51 58.62	756 40.21	
	Black	2.04 20 20.83	12.74 125 26.54	12.58 123 47.12	20.77 203 72.75	37.56 367 78.58	14.22 139 70.55	977 59.50	
Larceny	White	27.32 267 80.80	42.70 427 70.11	17.50 171 53.77	7.26 71 27.84	3.79 39 13.87	0.20 2 2.29	977 51.96	
	Black	13.91 76 79.16	33.74 217 63.45	23.21 138 52.87	12.63 69 24.73	8.05 44 9.42	0.36 2 1.01	546 33.25	
Auto theft	White	0 0 0.32	1.36 2 0.32	0 0 0	19.72 29 11.37	55.78 82 29.18	23.12 34 39.08	147 7.81	
	Black	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0.84 7 2.50	47.05 56 11.09	47.05 56 28.42	119 7.24	
Total victimization	White	17.55 330	32.37 609	16.97 318	13.56 255	14.94 281	4.62 87	1880	
	Black	5.84 96	20.82 342	15.87 261	16.49 279	28.44 467	11.97 197	1642	

Source-Table F4: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE H-9: HOUSEHOLD INCIDENT BY LOSS, BY RACE, BY LOCATION

Elsewhere

(cont.)		1-9	10-49	50-99	100-249	250-999	1000+	Total known incidents
Burglary	White	0	63.80 7 1.06	15.17 2 0.80	14.18 2 0.64	0	0	11 0.54
	Black	0	0	28.57 2 0.97	71.42 5 3.22	0	0	7 0.49
Larceny	White	22.93 347 97.37	42.69 646 92.52	15.34 236 9.5.16	15.00 227 73.46	3.43 52 18.98	0.33 5 2.70	1513 78.71
	Black	20.17 207 1.02	47.95 456 92.51	18.52 193 94.14	11.21 115 79.19	4.29 44 23.28	0.97 10 4.71	1025 72.48
Auto theft	White	0.99 5 1.42	0.38 2 0.30	1.99 10 4.03	15.96 80 25.88	44.71 224 81.15	35.92 180 97.29	501 24.78
	Black	0	1.30 5 110.3	2.51 10 4.87	9.16 35 22.58	34.53 130 74.71	52.87 202 95.28	27.01 382
Total victimization	White	17.32 352	32.34 655	12.27 248	15.25 309	13.52 276	9.13 185	2025
	Black	14.63 207	32.32 461	15.49 205	10.96 155	12.80 174	212	14.97 1414

Source-Table F4: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE H-10: HOUSEHOLD INCIDENT BY VALUE OF LOSS BY PROPERTY RECOVERED

		\$1-9	\$10-49	\$50-99	\$100-249	\$250+
Burglary	All	7.07 7 (8.0) 11.67	24.24 24 (7.6) 14.81	36.36 36 (13.0) 26.87	32.32 32 (8.7) 15.84	99 17.74
	Some	3.45 2 40.00	17.24 10 10.31	20.69 12 20.00	58.62 34 34.00	58 22.4
	None	8.52 75 (89.2) 8.16	31.59 278 (89.1) 15.23	25.45 224 (82.3) 26.90	14.43 303 (82.1) 43.60	880 20.65
	Total	8.10 84 8.54	30.09 312 14.97	26.23 272 26.48	35.58 369 37.01	1,037 20.3
Larceny	All	14.53 50 93.33	39.53 136 83.95	24.71 85 63.43	21.22 73 36.14	344 61.65
	Some	1.71 3 60.00	49.71 87 53.70	26.29 46 76.67	22.29 39 39.00	175 66.75
	None	25.13 842 (93.9) 91.62	45.93 1539 (87.2) 84.33	18.02 604 (82.1) 72.51	10.92 366 (75.9) 52.66	335 75.15
	Total	23.13 895 90.96	45.53 1762 94.56	18.99 735 71.57	12.35 478 47.94	3,870 76.0
7 to theft	All	1.77 2 3.33	1.77 2 1.23	10.62 12 8.95	8.84 97 48.02	113 43.15
	Some	0.00 0 0.00	0.00 0 0.00	6.90 2 3.33	9.10 27 27.00	29 11.00
	None	4.88 2 (50.0) 0.22	17.07 7 (77.7) 0.38	12.17 5 (26.3) 0.60	3.73 27 (17.9) 3.88	41 3.88
	Total	2.19 4 0.41	4.92 9 0.43	10.58 19 1.85	8.51 151 15.15	183 3.87
Total victimization	All	10.75 60	29.03 162	28.01 134	36.20 202	558
	Some	1.91 5	37.02 97	22.90 60	38.17 100	262
	None	21.57 919 (93.1)	42.72 1825 (87.3)	19.50 833 (81.1)	16.27 695 (69.4)	4,270
	Total	19.32 984	42.93 2084	20.17 1027	19.58 997	5,092

Source-Table F5: National Crime Panel Survey

NOTE: Numbers in parentheses are percentages

(cont.)

TABLE H-10: HOUSEHOLD INCIDENT BY VALUE OF LOSS BY PROPERTY RECOVERED

		\$250-999	\$1000+	None	Total
Burglary	All	29 (5.4)	22 (11.6)	0	
	Some	96	66	5	
	None	400 (76.1)	101 (53.2)	0	1381 (78.6)
	Total	525	189	5	1756
Larceny	All	15	7	0	
	Some	21	0	5	
	None	145 (80.1)	15 (68.2)	2	3513 (86.1)
	Total	181	22	7	4080
auto theft	All	298	251	0	
	Some	102	134	2	
	None	96 (18.9)	58 (13.0)	0	195 (23.6)
	Total	496	443	2	824
Total victimization	All	341	281	0	
	Some	219	200	13	
	None	640 (52.4)	174 (26.5)	2	5088 (73.0)
	Total	1200	655	15	6962

Source-Table PE: National Crime Panel Survey

NOTE: Numbers in parentheses are percentages

TABLE H11: HOUSEHOLD INCIDENTS BY LOSS, INCLUDING DAMAGE, BY RACE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

		1-9	10-49	50-249	250+	None	DK/NA	Total by ROW
Burglary	White	14.82 165 20.14	21.56 240 16.92	25.78 287 25.80	20.48 228 27.37	8.08 90 62.93	9.25 103 28.53	1,113 23.75
	Black	10.97 150 32.39	13.96 200 21.76	23.11 331 36.09	33.51 480 49.12	7.19 103 77.44	11.73 168 37.25	1,432 37.09
Larceny	White	22.33 603 73.62	40.03 1081 76.23	21.44 715 64.29	4.14 112 13.44	1.33 36 23.17	5.66 153 42.38	2,700 57.61
	Black	16.28 286 61.77	37.30 655 71.27	28.92 508 55.39	5.75 101 10.33	1.13 20 15.03	10.59 186 41.24	1,756 45.99
Auto theft	White	5.84 51 6.22	11.11 97 6.84	12.60 110 9.89	56.97 493 59.18	1.94 17 11.88	12.02 105 29.08	873 18.62
	Black	4.01 27 5.83	5.03 64 6.96	11.60 78 8.50	58.92 396 40.33	1.48 10 7.51	14.43 97 21.50	672 17.40
Total victimization	White	17.47 819	30.26 1418	23.73 1112	17.77 833	3.05 143	7.70 361	4,686
	Black	11.99 463	23.80 919	23.75 917	25.31 977	3.44 133	11.68 451	3,860

Source-Table F9; Total only: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE H-12: AUTO THEFT BY RACE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD,
BY AGE TENURE, BY NUMBER OF PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD

	Total vehicles owned	Total stolen	Total attempted thefts
All households	249,060	5.08 12,657	2.47 6164
Head-White	166,033 66.66	4.23 7032 55.56	2.06 3422 55.52
Head-Black	32.20 80,199	6.77 5430 42.90	3.27 2621 42.52
Head-Other	2829 1.14	6.89 195 1.54	4.24 120 1.95
Head-12-19	2154 0.86	1.11 24 0.19	3.34 72 1.17
Head-20-34	70926 28.48	5.97 4235	3.29 2335 37.88
Head-35-49	74810 30.04	5.59 4180 33.02	2.58 1927 31.26
Head-50-64	71830 28.84	4.43 3185 25.16	2.06 1482 24.04
Head-65+	29340 11.78	3.52 1032 7.15	1.18 347 5.63
Renters and no cash	102,557 41.18	6.88 7057 55.76	3.35 3435 55.73
Owners	146,504 58.82	3.82 5600 44.24	1.86 2728 44.26
1-person hhs	30,696 12.32	4.70 1442 11.39	2.85 875 14.19
2-person hhs	69,832 28.04	8.22 5741 45.36	4.05 2827 45.86
3-person hhs	49,327 19.80	8.26 4070 32.16	3.31 1633 26.49
4+-person hhs and NA's	99,205 39.83	1.41 1404 11.09	0.84 829 13.45

Source--Table G1

Tables C-1 through C-8
COMMERCIAL VICTIMIZATIONS

TABLE C1: VICTIMIZATION INCIDENTS AND RATES BY TYPE OF BUSINESS (rates per 1000 businesses)

		Total	Retail	Whole- sale	Real estate	Service	Manu- fact- uring	All other
Number of businesses		31,001	<i>32.02</i> 10,115	<i>4.46</i> 1,384	<i>2.09</i> 648	<i>43.79</i> 13,576	<i>6.14</i> 1,906	<i>10.87</i> 3,372
Burglary	Incidents	11,376	<i>47.39</i> 4,709	<i>4.73</i> 539	<i>1.46</i> 167	<i>32.77</i> 3,729	<i>7.70</i> 876	<i>11.91</i> 1,356
	Rates	366.9	465.5	389.5	257.7	274.7	459.6	402.1
Robbery	Incidents	2,386	<i>62.41</i> 1,489	<i>6.33</i> 151	<i>0.00</i> 0	<i>22.42</i> 535	<i>3.60</i> 86	<i>5.24</i> 125
	Rates	77.0	147.2	109.1	0.0	39.4	45.1	37.1
Total victim- ization	Incidents	13,762	<i>45.04</i> 6,198	<i>5.01</i> 690	<i>1.21</i> 167	<i>30.78</i> 4,264	<i>6.99</i> 962	<i>10.76</i> 1,481
	Rates	443.9	612.7	498.6	257.7	314.1	504.7	439.2

Source-Table 1A: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE C2: NUMBER OF INCIDENTS BY TYPE
OF INCIDENTS AND TYPE OF BUSINESS

	Total	Retail total	Whole- sale total	Real estate total	Service	Manu- factur.	All others
Total businesses victimized	7355	42.30 3111	5.51 405	1.25 92	34.96 2571	7.00 515	9.00 661
Total businesses not victimized	23647	29.60 7001	4.14 980	2.35 556	46.54 11007	5.88 1391	11.46 2712
<u>Burglary:</u>							
1 incident	4821 65.55	34.59 1668	3.83 185	1.16 50	43.28 2087	7.48 361	9.62 464
2 incidents	612 0.82	48.03 294 7.45	8.33 51 12.59	5.88 39.13	20.42 125	2.77 17	19.54 89
3 incidents	261 3.55	46.35 121 3.87	13.02 8.34	0	20.68 54	13.02 34	6.89 18
4+ incidents	228 3.10	38.15 87 2.80	7.45 17 4.20	0	23.68 54	14.91 34	15.78 36
<u>Robbery:</u>							
1 incident	784 10.66	64.41 505	10.71 84	0	15.94 125	6.63 52	2.29 18
2 incidents	69 0.94	25.85 52 1.17	24.63 17 4.20	0	0	0	0
3 incidents	35 0.46	48.57 17 0.55	0	0	0	0	51.42 18
4+ incidents	18 0.24	0 0 0.00	0	0	1.00 18	0	0

TABLE C2: NUMBER OF INCIDENTS BY TYPE
OF INCIDENTS AND TYPE OF BUSINESS

(cont.)	Total	Retail total	Whole- sale total	Real estate total	Service	Manu- factur.	All others
<u>Burglary and Robbery:</u> 1 incident							
2 incidents	3174.31	66.56 211	5.36 17	0	17.63 54	3.36 17	5.67 18
3 incidents	121 1.65	70.27 85	0	0	29.75 36	0	0
4+ inci ts	891.21	79.77 71	0	0	1.12 18	0	0

Source--Table 2A

National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE C-3: NUMBER OF INCIDENTS BY
TIME OF OCCURRENCE AND CRIME TYPE

	Total incidents	Number of incidents				
		DK if AM/PM	6AM-6PM	6PM-12AM	12AM-6AM	DK
Total	13757	5.80 798	22.49 3094	17.22 2369	43.28 5955	11.20 1541
Retail	6195 45.03	5.40 335 41.97	15.99 991 32.00	17.80 1103 46.55	56.25 3485 58.57	4.53 281 18.23
Wholesale	691 5.02	2.46 17 2.13	29.23 202 6.57	16.93 117 4.93	43.99 304 5.10	7.38 51 3.30
Real estate	164 1.19	10.97 18 2.25	33.53 55 1.77	21.95 36 1.51	33.53 55 0.92	0
Service	4264 30.97	7.95 339 42.48	25.51 1088 35.16	15.90 678 28.61	32.55 1388 23.30	19.25 821 53.27
Manufacturing	962 6.99	0	26.81 258 8.33	30.35 292 12.32	32.12 309 5.18	10.70 103 6.68
All others	1481 10.76	6.00 89 11.15	33.76 500 16.15	9.65 143 6.03	31.33 464 7.79	19.24 285 15.97

Source-Table 5: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE C3A: NUMBER OF INCIDENTS BY TIME OF OCCURRENCE AND CRIME TYPE

	Number of Burglaries					TOTAL
	DK if AM/PM	6AM-6PM	6PM-12AM	12AM-6 AM	DK	
Total	6.86 780	13.35 1518	17.46 1985	48.79 5548	13.55 1541	11,372
Retail	7.12 335	4.38 200	15.65 737	66.89 3149	5.97 281	4,708
	42.95	13.59	37.13	56.76	18.23	41.40
Wholesale	3.15 17	12.59 68	21.67 117	53.15 287	9.44 51	540
	2.18	4.48	5.89	5.17	3.31	4.75
Real estate	10.98 18	33.54 55	21.95 36	33.54 55	0.00 0	164
	2.31	3.62	1.81	0.99	0.00	1.44
Service	8.61 321	17.22 642	17.70 660	34.44 1284	22.02 821	3,728
	41.15	42.24	33.25	23.14	53.28	32.78
Manufacturing	0.00 0	19.63 172	33.33 292	35.27 309	11.76 103	876
	0.00	11.33	14.71	5.57	6.68	7.70
All others	6.56 89	27.65 375	10.55 143	34.22 464	21.02 285	1,356
	11.41	24.70	7.20	8.36	18.49	11.92

Source-Table 5: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE C3B: NUMBER OF INCIDENTS BY
TIME OF OCCURRENCE AND CRIME TYPE

	Number of Robberies					Total
	DK if AM/PM	6AM- 6PM	6PM- 12AM	12AM- 6AM	DK	
Total	0.75 18	66.08 1576	16.10 384	17.06 407	0.00 0 0.00	2,385
Retail	0.00 0 0.00	52.79 785 49.81	24.61 366 95.31	22.60 336 82.56	0.00 0 0.00	1,451
Wholesale	0.00 0 0.00	88.74 134 8.50	0.00 0 0.00	11.26 17 4.18	0.00 0 0.00	151
Real estate	0.00 0 0.00	0.00 0 0.00	0.00 0 0.00	0.00 0 0.00	0.00 0 0.00	0
Service	3.36 18 100.00	83.21 446 28.30	3.36 18 1.14	10.07 54 13.27	0.00 0 0.00	536
Manufacturing	0.00 0 0.00	100.00 86 5.46	0.00 0 0.00	0.00 0 0.00	0.00 0 0.00	86
All others	0.00 0 0.00	100.00 125 7.93	0.00 0 0.00	0.00 0 0.00	0.00 0 0.00	125

Source--Table 5

National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE C4: NUMBER OF BURGLARIES IN BUSINESSES
BY LOSS AND INSURANCE COVERAGE

		Total	less than \$10	\$10-50	\$51-250	\$250+	NA
Total	W/ insur	5293	<i>28.79</i> 1524	<i>13.52</i> 719	<i>16.81</i> 894	<i>35.94</i> 1892	<i>4.98</i> 264
	W/o insur	6065	<i>29.99</i> 1789	<i>18.81</i> 1145	<i>15.33</i> 930	<i>30.76</i> 1866	<i>5.52</i> 335
Retail	W/ insur	1500	<i>23.12</i> 348	<i>12.13</i> 191	<i>24.15</i> 362	<i>35.26</i> 529	<i>4.86</i> 70
	W/o insur	3210	<i>26.35</i> 846	<i>16.31</i> 527	<i>16.76</i> 538	<i>31.15</i> 1000	<i>9.31</i> 299
Wholesale	W/ insur	270	<i>37.00</i> 101	<i>29.77</i> 67	<i>6.29</i> 17	<i>25.18</i> 68	<i>6.27</i> 17
	W/o insur	271	<i>12.19</i> 33	<i>31.36</i> 85	<i>6.27</i> 17	<i>58.14</i> 136	
Real estate	W/ insur	90	<i>40.00</i> 36	<i>26.00</i> 18	<i>20.00</i> 18	0	<i>20.00</i> 18
	W/o insur	55	<i>67.27</i> 37	0	0	<i>32.73</i> 18	
Service	W/ insur	1980	<i>27.32</i> 446	<i>7.58</i> 179	<i>17.07</i> 392	<i>47.74</i> 874	<i>4.47</i> 89
	W/o insur	1749	<i>37.19</i> 678	<i>24.87</i> 428	<i>15.38</i> 321	<i>17.58</i> 304	<i>1.02</i> 18
Manufacturing	W/ insur	721	<i>47.59</i> 343	<i>14.80</i> 103	<i>4.71</i> 34	<i>32.61</i> 189	<i>1.21</i> 52
	W/o insur	154	<i>22.07</i> 34	<i>3.31</i> 51	0	<i>45.10</i> 69	0
All others	W/ insur	732	<i>34.15</i> 250	<i>21.73</i> 161	<i>12.15</i> 89	<i>24.15</i> 214	<i>2.75</i> 18
	W/o insur	626	<i>25.71</i> 161	<i>8.62</i> 54	<i>2.62</i> 54	<i>54.15</i> 339	<i>2.31</i> 18

*per cent
per dollar*

Source-Table 6A: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE C5A: NUMBER OF BURGLARIES IN BUSINESS WITH INSURANCE KNOWN TO POLICE BY LOS.

	Total burglaries	Known to Police						NA
		Total	Under \$10	\$10-\$50	\$51-\$250	Over \$250		
						No.	Median	
Total	5311	4166	14.27 803	13.4 559	17.67 735	43.22 1805	1000	6.33 264
Retail	1500 32.24	1199 28.78	17.18 206 25.65	11.42 137 24.10	24.27 291 30.87	41.25 495 27.42	662	5.83 70 26.51
Wholesale	270 5.04	186 4.26	9.13 17 2.11	50.00 67 11.22	9.13 17 3.31	36.35 68 3.76	1500	9.13 17 6.43
Real estate	108 2.23	36 0.86	0	50.00 18 3.22	0	0	0	50.00 18 6.81
Service	1980 37.28	1587 30.09	12.35 196 26.40	7.97 125 22.36	20.22 321 42.67	53.93 856 47.42	1000	5.50 89 32.71
Manufacturing	721 13.57	533 12.79	11.93 223 27.77	12.74 69 12.24	3.12 17 2.31	32.27 172 9.22	1500	4.75 52 19.69
All others	732 13.74	625 15.00	23.75 161 20.08	22.26 143 20.28	14.24 89 11.87	34.21 214 11.85	734	2.88 18 5.21

Source--Table 6A
National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE C5A: NUMBER OF BURGLARIES IN BUSINESS WITH INSURANCE KNOWN TO POLICE BY LOSS

(cont.)	Not known to police						NA
	Total	Under \$10	\$10-\$50	\$51-\$250	Over \$250		
					No.	Median	
Total	1127	68.47 721	17.17 160	14.10 159	7.71 87	500	0
Retail	26.70 301	47.17 142	17.97 54	23.53 71	11.29 34	1676	0
Wholesale	7.45 84	1.00 84		0	0	0	0
Real estate	54 4.79	63.36 36	0	0	33.33 18	500	33.33 18
Service	34.87 393	63.61 250	13.74 54	18.06 71	4.38 18	600	0
Manufacturing	16.38 188	63.82 120	18.08 34	9.04 17	9.04 17	450	0
All others	9.49 107	83.17 89	16.82 18	0	0	0	0

Source--Table 6A
National Crime Panel Survey

CONTINUED

3 OF 4

TABLE C5B: NUMBER OF BURGLARIES IN BUSINESS WITHOUT INSURANCE KNOWN TO POLICE B. LOSS

	Total Burglaries	Known to Police						
		Total	Under \$10	\$10-\$50	\$51-\$250	Over \$250		NA
						No.	Median	
Total	6065	4298	884	618	720	1741	760	335
Retail	3210	2471	545	281	400	946	530	299
Wholesale	271	170	0	17	17	136	492	0
Real estate	55	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service	1749	1071	268	232	285	268	600	18
Manufacturing	154	103	17	34	0	52	1200	0
All others	626	483	54	54	18	339	760	18

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Source--Table 6B

National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE C5B: NUMBER OF BURGLARIES IN BUSINESS WITHOUT INSURANCE KNOWN TO POLICE BY LOSS

(cont.)	Not Known to Police						NA
	Total	Under \$10	\$10-\$50	\$51-\$251	Over \$250		
					No.	Median	
Total	1767	51.21 905	29.82 527	11.84 210	7.07 125	490	0
Retail	41.82 739	40.73 33.25 301	33.25 46.67 246	19.67 65.71 138	7.30 43.20 54	490	0
Wholesale	5.71 101	32.67 364 33	67.32 12.90 68	0	0	0	0
Real estate	3.11 55	67.27 4.08 37	0	0	32.72 14.46 18	303	0
Service	39.37 678	60.47 48.30 410	28.90 37.14 196	5.30 17.14 36	5.30 28.80 36	1150	0
Manufacturing	2.84 51	33.33 1.87 17	33.33 3.22 17	0	33.33 13.60 17	2000	0
All others	8.09 143	74.82 11.82 107	0	25.17 17.14 36	0	0	0

Red = column work

Black = Row work

Source--Table 6B

National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE C6: NUMBER OF ROBBERIES WITH INSURANCE COVERAGE, BY KNOWN TO POLICE, BY KIND OF BUSINESS

	Total	With loss							
		with weapon					without weapon		
		under \$10	\$10-50	\$51-250	over \$250		NA	under \$10	\$10-50
			number	median					
Total	658	0	13.22 91	23.57 188	15.65 103	660	10.79 71	0	5.16 34
Retail	329 50.	0	22.18 73	46.50 153	5.16 17	900	0	0	5.16 17 50.
Wholesale	134 10.36	0	0	12.68 17	39.57 50	2000	0	0	10.68 17 50.
Real estate	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service	72 10.94	0	0	25.50 18	50. 36	404	0	0	0
Manufacturing	34 5.16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
All others	89 13.52	0	23.23 18	0	0	0	79.79 71 100.	0	0

*partial - across
per down*

Source-Table 7A: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE C6: NUMBER OF ROBBERIES WITH INSURANCE COVERAGE, BY KNOWN TO POLICE, BY KIND OF BUSINESS

(cont.)	(With loss)					Without loss				NA	
	(without weapon)			NA	Total	with weapon	without weapon	NA			
	\$51-250	over \$250							NA		
		number	median								
Total	4171 33.8	165 69 50.00	84 35 50.00	95.70 4000 33.33	0	1.61 67 50.00	36 50	100%	0	0	0
Retail	2057 16.7	2151 52 37.68	82 17 24.10	95.07 2000 16.67	0	0	18 25.00	100%	0	0	0
Wholesale	50 .41	34.00 17 12.32	0	0	0	66.00 33 24.03	0	0	0	0	0
Real estate		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service	6016 48.2	0	20 18 25.71	99.70 6000 50.00	0	0	18 25.00	100%	0	0	0
Manufacturing	31 .28	0	0	0	0	100 34 25.37	0	0	0	0	0
All others:		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	12,347	138	70	107.00		1.61	72	100.00	72		
		1.12	.57	93.33		1.04					

Source-Table 7A: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE C6: NUMBER OF ROBBERIES WITHOUT INSURANCE, BY KNOWN TO POLICE, BY KIND OF BUSINESS

	With loss								
	Total	with weapon					without weapon		
		under \$10	\$10-50	\$51-250	over \$250		NA	under \$10	\$10-50
				number	median				
Total	1074	0	211 <i>19.64</i>	563 <i>52.42</i>	144 <i>13.40</i>	350	51 <i>4.74</i>	0	0
Retail	807	0	211 <i>26.14</i>	296 <i>36.67</i>	144 <i>17.84</i>	350	51 <i>6.31</i>	0	0
Wholesale	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Real estate	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service	250	0	0	250	0	0	0	0	0
Manufacturing	17	0	0	17	0	0	0	0	0
All others	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

permit address

Source-Table 7B: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE C6: NUMBER OF ROBBERIES WITHOUT INSURANCE COVERAGE, BY KNOWN TO POLICE, BY KIND OF BUSINESS

(cont.)	(With loss)				Without loss				NA	
	(without weapon)			NA	Total	with weapon	without weapon	NA		
	\$51-250	over \$250								NA
		number	median							
Total	0	17 <i>1.58</i>	500	0	88 <i>8.19</i>	372	355 <i>95.43</i>	17 <i>4.56</i>	0	0
Retail	0	17 <i>2.10</i>	500	0	88	283 <i>74.01</i>	266 <i>93.99</i>	17 <i>6.00</i>	0	0
Wholesale	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Real estate	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service	0	0	0	0	0	54 <i>14.21</i>	54 <i>15.21</i>	0	0	0
Manufacturing	0	0	0	0	0	17 <i>4.56</i>	17 <i>4.71</i>	0	0	0
All others	0	0	0	0	0	18 <i>4.58</i>	18 <i>5.07</i>	0	0	0

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Source-Table 7B: National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE C7A: NUMBER OF ROBBERIES, BY PERCEIVED RACE OF OFFENDER

	Total	No. of robberies completed	Attempts
Total	2385	75.55 — 1802	29.94 — 583
One offender	683 28.63	71.59 489 27.13	28.40 194 33.27
White male	155 6.49	54.83 85 4.71	45.16 70 12.00
White female	0	0	0
Black male	475 19.91	73.89 351 19.47	26.10 124 21.26
Black female	0	0	0
Other/DK	53 2.22	1.00 53 2.98	0
Two+ offenders	1651 69.22	76.48 1262 70.02	23.56 389 55.77
All white male	355 14.80	38.71 141 2.82	60.38 214 36.70
All white female	0	0	0
All black male	1226 51.40	88.68 1086 60.26	11.41 140 24.01
All black female	0	0	0
Other (mixed and DK)	70 2.93	50.00 35 1.94	50.00 35 6.00
DK	51 2.13	1.00 51 2.83	0

(7 down pencil)

Source--Table 12A

National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE C7B: NUMBER OF ROBBERIES BY PER-
CEIVED AGE OF OFFENDER

	Total	No. of robberies completed	Attempts
Total	2385	1802 75.55	583 24.44
One offender	28.63 683	27.13 489 71.59	33.27 194 28.40
Under 12	0	0	0
12-14	0	0	0
15-17	0	0	0
18-20	2.18 52	1.94 35 67.30	2.91 17 32.69
21 or over	24.98 596	23.25 419 70.30	36.36 177 29.69
DK	4.46 35	1.94 35	0
Two+ offenders	69.22 1651	73.03 1262 76.43	16.12 389 23.56
All under 12	0	0	0
All 12-14	0	0	0
All 15-17	2.18 52	1.88 34 65.38	3.68 18 34.61
All 18-20	5.11 122	4.82 87 71.31	6.00 35 28.68
All 21 or over	40.96 977	37.90 710 72.67	45.19 267 27.32
Other (mixed and DK)	20.96 500	23.91 431 86.2	11.83 69 13.8
DK	2.13 51	2.53 51	0

Red-down
Pencil - answer
Source--Table 12B

TABLE C7C: NUMBER OF OFFENDERS IN ROBBERY BY TYPE OF BUSINESS

	Total robberies	Number of Offenders				
		1	2	3	4+	NA
Total	2386	684 <i>27.66</i>	1234 <i>51.71</i>	263 <i>11.02</i>	154 <i>6.45</i>	51 <i>2.13</i>
Retail	<i>62.46</i> 1489	<i>53.36</i> 365 <i>24.51</i>	<i>64.34</i> 794 <i>53.32</i>	<i>73.38</i> 193 <i>12.96</i>	<i>88.96</i> 137 <i>9.20</i>	0
Wholesale	<i>6.32</i> 151	<i>2.48</i> 17 <i>11.25</i>	<i>6.86</i> 84 <i>55.62</i>	<i>6.46</i> 17 <i>11.25</i>	0	<i>64.70</i> 33 <i>21.85</i>
Real estate	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service	<i>22.46</i> 536	<i>23.53</i> 161 <i>30.43</i>	<i>26.01</i> 321 <i>59.88</i>	<i>13.68</i> 36 <i>6.71</i>	0	<i>35.29</i> 18 <i>3.35</i>
Manufacturing	<i>3.56</i> 85	<i>4.97</i> 34 <i>40.</i>	<i>1.37</i> 17 <i>20.</i>	<i>6.46</i> 17 <i>20.</i>	<i>11.03</i> 17 <i>20.</i>	0
All others	<i>5.23</i> 125	<i>15.64</i> 107 <i>85.6</i>	<i>1.45</i> 18 <i>14.4</i>	0	0	0

*partial - correct
Red - correct*

Source--Table 12C

National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE C8: NUMBER OF BURGLARIES BY KIND OF BUSINESS AND REASON FOR NOT REPORTING

	Total burglaries	Total reported	Not reported			
			Total not reported	Lack of proof	Not important	Didn't want to bother police
Total	11371	8460	2893	1006	828	72
Retail	4708	3670	1038	459	371	54
Wholesale	539	354	185	68	83	0
Real estate	165	37	110	56	18	0
Service	3728	2658	1070	196	268	18
Manufacturing	875	635	240	120	34	0
All others	1356	1106	250	107	54	0

Source--Table 18A

National Crime Panel Survey

*panel - access
 per - search*

TABLE C9: NUMBER OF ROBBERIES BY KIND OF BUSINESS AND REASON FOR NOT REPORTING

	Total ROBBERIES	Total reported	Not reported			
			Total not reported	Lack of proof	Not important	Didn't want to bother police
Total	2386	2156 <i>92.36</i>	230 <i>9.62</i>	54 <i>2.26</i>	55 <i>2.30</i>	18 <i>.75</i>
Retail	1489 <i>62.40</i>	1436 <i>96.44</i>	53 <i>3.55</i>	19 <i>1.27</i>	19 <i>1.27</i>	0
Wholesale	151 <i>6.32</i>	134 <i>88.74</i>	17 <i>11.25</i>	0	0	0
Real estate	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service	535 <i>22.42</i>	392 <i>73.27</i>	143 <i>26.72</i>	18 <i>3.36</i>	36 <i>6.72</i>	18 <i>3.36</i>
Manufacturing	86 <i>3.60</i>	69 <i>80.23</i>	17 <i>19.76</i>	17 <i>19.76</i>	0	0
All others	125 <i>5.23</i>	125 <i>5.79</i>	0	0	0	0

pencil - across
pen - down

Source--Table 18 B

National Crime Panel Survey

TABLE C8: NUMBPR OF BURGLARIES BY KIND OF BUSINESS AND REASON FOR NOT REPORTING

(cont.)	Not reported (cont.)				NA	TOTAL
	Didn't want to take time	Not involved	Afraid	Reported to others		
Total	18.77 107 50%	0	0	78.07 445 50%	3.15 18 50%	570 50%
Retail	71 33.07	0	0	0	0	71 6.22
Wholesale	0	0	0	17 1.91	0	17 1.49
Real estate	0	0	0	0	18 3.15	18 1.5
Service	8.75 36 11.46	0	0	91.24 375 42.13	0	411 36.05
Manufacturing	0	0	0	17 1.91	0	17 1.49
All others	0	0	0	36 4.04	0	36 3.15
	214 15.77			890 78.07	36 3.15	1140

Source--Table 18A

National Crime Panel Survey

SECTION V

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The preceding sections presented data on the geographical region under study and have defined the social and economic variables relevant to the research (Section I). Neighborhood differences and the heterogeneity of Cleveland were emphasized and are discussed below in Section 5.3. The wide-ranging differences among certain neighborhoods, and even among streets or blocks within a neighborhood, make Citywide statements tenuous. Section II discussed the state of the criminal justice system as it existed in Cleveland during the survey period. Special attention was paid to those factors which have been identified as having an effect on crime rates. These factors include number of police, patrol practices, and swiftness of adjudication. The survey design, sampling procedure, and methods of analysis were presented and discussed briefly in Section III. Problems in generalizing from the sample are discussed below in Section 5.3. The actual analysis, discussion, and interpretation of the data were presented in Section IV.

The purpose of this concluding section is to present some general trends observed in the data, and to present a comparison of the Cleveland Victimization survey data with other similar research and to discuss the

differences which appear. Two basic sources will be used for comparison: the NORC study of victimization concluded in 1966 and the summary report on Crime in the Nation's Five Largest Cities, prepared by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration using data collected with the same instrument (and for the same time frame) as this research.

The question of generalization is addressed and some recommendations for future analysis are made. Techniques which will allow data to be collected and analyzed on a narrower unit than the entire city are proposed. A case for the use of Social Planning Areas as the basic unit of analysis for social and crime data is presented along with the recommendation that census tract-level data be made available to researchers.

5.2 SUMMARY AND COMPARISONS

The general trends developed in the analysis of the survey data are presented here in brief for each type of crime. These data present a summary picture of crime in Cleveland. At first, it was hoped that a comparison of data with the NORC research would be possible. However, three basic problems arose which make such comparison difficult. First, there is a considerable change in the crime picture over the seven years which elapsed between the NORC survey and the Cleveland survey. National statistics indicate marked increases in all types of crime (Uniform Crime Reports, 1972) as well as changing patterns.

Second, categories are not directly comparable because of the differences between UCR categories (employed by NORC) and the National Crime Panel categories (employed in this survey).^{*} Last, the NORC data are collected nationwide and include rural, suburban, as well as urban areas. The NORC survey does break down rates by type of city and region, but most other distributions, e.g., income, race, sex, are for the aggregate sample.

These difficulties make the independent analysis of the NORC survey of limited value. Instead, the results will be compared to the Five Cities Survey.

5.2.1 PERSONAL CRIMES

There were 31,817 incidents of personal crime in Cleveland during the survey period, accounting for approximately 23.1 percent of all incidents. Slightly more than one-half of the personal crimes were assaultive in nature. Males and blacks were the victims of personal crimes, significantly more often than others. Most victims were young, with a modal age of 20-24. Rates of victimization were generally found to decline with age and employment. Income has an ambiguous effect; assaultive violence decreases with income, while personal theft increases.

The proportion of non-stranger victimization in Cleveland is significantly less than other, earlier research would lead one to expect.

^{*}It is possible to recombine the NCP categories into UCR categories as was done in Tables 4-1 through 4-11. However, all of the detailed analysis presented in Sections 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5 employs the NCP categories.

A trend can be demonstrated which associates stranger-to-stranger offenses with theft and non-stranger offenses with assault, but the intimate relationships found between victim and assailant, and examined in studies of victim-precipitated assault, do not occur in Cleveland. This difference is of research interest, but as yet no explanation has been found. The role of weapons has been examined and among those personal crimes which do involve weapons, firearms have been frequently used. (See Section 5.4 below.)

Comparisons with NORC data are difficult for a variety of reasons including non-comparable categories, different time frames, and different samples. However, the results of the two surveys, as seen in patterns of victimization, are quite similar and will be presented in summary form below. No attempt will be made to directly compare the findings of the NORC survey and Cleveland Victimization survey. Rates of victimization for whites are lower than rates for blacks (NORC, Table 16), the only difference being larceny, in which case whites are victimized more often. Offenses almost always occur between members of the same race. In both surveys, interracial victimization is rare. Males are victimized more often in both surveys, though the difference is larger in the NORC data. Age patterns are similar, though the victims surveyed by NORC tend to be slightly older (NORC, Tables 17a and 17b).^{*} There are no NORC data on victim-offender relationships precluding any comparison of this variable. Generally, there is relatively close agreement between the trends observed in both surveys, though precise comparison is difficult.

^{*}This may, in part, be a result of non-comparable categories on both the age and crime dimensions.

The Five Cities Survey does allow better comparison because of the identity of design shared by both surveys. The Five Cities Survey authors indicate that "certain major variations in victimization rates occurred among the cities." However, by examining rates for selected groups, patterns do emerge which allow rough comparison. A summary of the findings is presented below.

"For most types of victimization, males had higher rates than females. Also, persons under the age [of] 35 were more likely to have been victimized than those age 35 or older. Minority races, including blacks, had significantly higher victimization rates than whites for such offenses as robbery and aggravated assault; the rates for aggravated and single assault were higher among persons never married than among persons married, widowed, divorced, or separated. Persons from families with incomes of less than \$10,000 had a higher rate of victimization for robbery, as well as for personal larceny with contact, than their more affluent counterparts. On the other hand, the rate for larceny without contact tended to rise with the level of family income." (Five Cities Survey, 1974: 2).

In addition, the research indicates that at least three-quarters of the personal incidents were confrontations between strangers. This brief description could be just as easily applied to Cleveland. In general, the victimization data in Cleveland presents a pattern consistent with other large cities, even though actual rates may differ.

Table 5-1 presents comparative data on the rates per 1,000 persons* for Cleveland and each of the five cities. The rates for all crime types in Cleveland are among the lowest. The percent of incidents

*Rates for Cleveland are recomputed with a new base to allow comparisons.

in which the offender was a stranger is presented in Table 5-2. The Cleveland data more closely approximate the national statistics.

Table 5-1 COMPARISON OF VICTIMIZATION RATES
BY CITY FOR PERSONAL INCIDENTS*

	<u>Cleveland</u>	<u>Chicago</u>	<u>Detroit</u>	<u>Los Angeles</u>	<u>New York</u>	<u>Philadelphia</u>
Rape	2	3	3	2	1	1
Robbery	20	26	32	16	24	28
Assault (Total)	23	27	33	35	11	34
Aggravated Assault	12	12	18	15	4	17
Simple Assault	11	14	15	19	6	17
Larceny	70	87	95	105	51	95

It has already been pointed out that the percent of stranger-to-stranger crime in Cleveland is higher than that reported on elsewhere in the literature. However, when viewed in comparison with the other five cities, this high rate of unknown offenders parallels the patterns observed elsewhere.

Table 5-2 COMPARISON OF PERCENT OF
STRANGER-TO-STRANGER CRIME BY CITY**

	<u>Cleveland</u>	<u>Chicago</u>	<u>Detroit</u>	<u>Los Angeles</u>	<u>New York</u>	<u>Philadelphia</u>
Rape	75	81	71	71	91	76
Robbery	92	94	92	89	97	93
Assault	69	74	66	68	85	74

*Source: Five Cities Survey, 1974, Table 2, p. 10, and Table 4-1 (above).

**Source: Five Cities Survey, 1974, p. 3, and National Crime Survey and Table 4-3 above.

This brief comparison has demonstrated that the crime patterns observed in Cleveland are not unique but are consistent with the patterns observed in other large urban areas.

5.2.2 HOUSEHOLD CRIME

There were 64,712 household incidents under the UCR reporting scheme (see Table 4-1) which account for 47.0 percent of all incidents. If, instead, the NCP categories are used and "larceny without" is considered a household offense, the number of victimizations is inflated to 96,401 or 70 percent of all incidents. Larceny is the largest category (52.0 percent), followed by burglary (29.7 percent) and auto theft (18.2 percent).

The data collected in Cleveland indicate that black households are victimized more often than white households and that income is positively related to the incidence of most household crimes.* Age is relatively more important compared to patterns of tenure or type of structure. Most burglaries occur during the day or early evening when people are away from home, while auto thefts occur in the early morning. When compared with NORC data, the patterns of distribution for burglary, larceny, and auto theft are quite close.

A summary of the findings of the Five Cities Survey indicates that "households headed by members of minority races were more likely than white households to have been burglarized and, ... more apt to have had

*A direct or positive association or relationship means that increases in one are accompanied by increases in the other. An inverse relationship means that increases in one are accompanied by decreases in the other.

their car stolen" This summary also indicates that victimization decreases with age but, at least for larceny and auto theft, it increases with income. The type of housing unit does not seem to be related to rate of victimization.

Table 5-3 below summarizes the rate of victimization by selected household crime for Cleveland and the five largest cities.

Table 5-3 COMPARISON OF VICTIMIZATION RATES FOR HOUSEHOLD AND COMMERCIAL RESIDENTS BY CITY*

	<u>Cleveland</u>	<u>Chicago</u>	<u>Detroit</u>	<u>Los Angeles</u>	<u>New York</u>	<u>Philadelphia</u>
Household						
Burglary	125	118	174	148	68	109
Larceny	80	77	106	131	33	87
Auto Theft	76	36	49	42	26	42
Commercial						
Burglary	367	317	615	311	328	390
Robbery	77	77	179	47	103	116

With the exception of auto theft, rates of household victimization in Cleveland fall at the lower end of the continuum.

5.2.3 COMMERCIAL CRIME

Commercial crime in this context is limited to burglary and robbery. The major types of commercial crime, shoplifting, embezzlement, and employee theft are excluded.** This is necessary given the difficulty in collecting data on these offenses. Commercial incidents account for 10.0

*Source: Five Cities Survey, 1974, Table 4, p. 16; Table 6, p. 22, and Table 4-1 above.

**These crime categories are major in terms of cost to the businesses involved.

percent of all incidents. Of the 13,761 commercial incidents, 17.3 percent were robberies and 82.7 percent were burglaries. Contrary to previous research, the number of household burglaries exceeded commercial burglaries by 2.5 to one. Retail businesses suffered robbery and burglary most often, followed by manufacturing and wholesale businesses.

No NORC data are available for comparison purposes. In the Five Cities study, the number of burglaries outnumber robberies by "amounts ranging from 3: 1 and 7: 1." With the exception of Chicago, retail establishments had higher rates of victimization for both robbery and burglary. The rates for Cleveland and the other cities are presented in Table 5-3. Cleveland's commercial burglary rate is higher than three of the five cities but the robbery rate is among the lowest.

5.2.4 NON-REPORTING

Patterns of non-reporting have already been discussed for Cleveland (Section 4.6 above). Among personal crime, assault was reported least often, while personal theft was reported more. Larceny among household crimes had the highest rate of non-reporting, followed by burglary and auto theft, which had a surprisingly low rate of non-reporting. Non-reporting among commercial establishments is relatively rare.

In the case of personal crime, reporting rates may possibly be associated with severity and degree of victim involvement, while for household crimes, non-reporting is probably a result of the victim's

feeling that reporting would be a waste of time. Such patterns closely approximate the NORC data on non-reporting, though in this case, additional data on reasons for non-reporting and attitudes toward police were also gathered.

Table 5-4 presents the percent of victimization reported to the police for each city by crime type.

Table 5-4 PERCENT OF VICTIMIZATION
REPORTED TO THE POLICE*

	<u>Cleveland</u>	<u>Chicago</u>	<u>Detroit</u>	<u>Los Angeles</u>	<u>New York</u>	<u>Philadelphia</u>
Personal	35	37	39	33	38	36
Household	31.8	48	50	44	49	46
Commercial	74	75	77	73	80	78

The percent of victimization reported to the police for all three crime types is generally lower in Cleveland than in the other cities.

5.3 DATA PROBLEMS

The question of representativeness of the survey sample has already been briefly touched upon in Section 3.1 above. Changing migration patterns and a lack of comparable census data for the year 1972 preclude a more detailed discussion of this problem. It appears that the survey sample does over-represent minority and low-income groups and, in this way, may well allow more detailed analysis of these groups; however, such data

*Five Cities Survey, 1974, Table 8, p. 28, and Tables P-29, H-8, and C-8.

make generalizations to the total minority population of Cleveland questionable. In addition, it must be emphasized that the reader must not attempt to make generalizations beyond the City of Cleveland because of the many unique geographic, socio-economic, and historical factors which have affected each city's development. However, this question of representativeness does not prevent valid analysis and discussion of the data. The trends and patterns seen to exist within the survey are, in fact, an accurate representation of the present state of such activity in the City of Cleveland.

Another concern of the researchers which was developed in Section I of this report centers on the inability to "break the data down" into more homogeneous units such as Social Planning Areas. The diversity of neighborhoods and the overall heterogeneity of Cleveland should be kept in mind when employing citywide data. The application of "average" measures in the analysis of crime data is very likely to confound important issues and neighborhood differences. Cleveland police data are presently collected and analyzed by police district. While this unit is certainly not completely homogeneous, general patterns of socio-economic variables are discernible. In addition, selected socio-economic variables, when aggregated by district, are more homogeneous than the citywide aggregations employed here.

The value of Social Planning Areas as homogeneous units of analysis has been discussed above in Section I. The choice of these units for analysis would be very profitable. A large number of social and economic variables have been collected and analyzed by SPA. The choice of this level (or of census tracts) would allow finer distinctions and more precise analysis. Using SPA or tract level data allows more accurate comparisons and avoids the confounding of issues which often occurs when the aggregate data are used.

It must be pointed out that even analysis at the tract level is open to some criticism because attributing tract characteristics to all individuals within the tract may be fallacious. However, the use of tract data definitely allows comparison of more homogeneous units than those employed by most criminal justice researchers.

A third problem presented itself in the data analysis when attempting to compare victimization data with census data. Frequently, the categories chosen do not coincide, i. e., the "breaking points" for age, education, or income categories are not consistent. Generally, these problems can be reconciled or "adjusted" by assigning the cases in question to the conflicting categories according to a computed proportion. However, these problems become much more frequent and less easily reconciled when the researcher attempts to employ data from several sources. This is unfortunate because it severely limits the data base available to the criminal justice researcher.

The easiest solution to the above problems is to obtain access to the raw data which would allow the staff to "break out" the data according to the categories available from other data sources. If this is not possible, aggregations at other than the Citywide level, preferably tract or SPA, would prove valuable.

5.4 IMPLICATIONS

The data presented in this report provide the basis for several implications about crime in Cleveland, some of which should serve to ease the fears of the citizen when faced with the statistics on rising crime.

First, even though Cleveland has been forced with rising crime, the rates are still lower than those of other large urban areas. Referring to Tables 5-1, 5-3, and 54, these comparisons are made quite clear. When overall national statistics are employed, including rural and suburban areas, Cleveland does not fare as well as when comparisons are made with more similar large urban areas. When the results of victimization surveys in other cities are made available, additional comparisons may be made.

Second, the fear felt by many Clevelanders may well be unfounded when actual rates of victimization are considered. As presented in Table 4-1, a Clevelanders' likelihood of being the victim of a serious personal crime is less than one in 20. In addition, the incidence of violence is considerably less. If robbery without injury and simple

assault are excluded, only 16 percent of the personal incidents involve violent confrontation with injury. The basic implication is that most individuals fear crime, especially violent crime, even though this fear is frequently unfounded. The role of the media was directly addressed by the Katzenbach Commission in discussing the extent of fear and the basis for such fear.

A final implication arising from the Victimization survey is the role played by firearms in personal crime. Previous research (Firearms and Violence, 1967; Hirsch, et al., 1973) indicates the growing use of handguns in crime incidents. If all incidents of personal crime in this survey are examined, weapons are found to play a part in 46.8 percent. Weapons are used most often in assaultive violence with theft (54.9 percent) and least often in personal theft (41.8 percent). Guns are used more often than any other weapon regardless of crime type. More than one-half of the weapons (56.9 percent) were guns. The distribution of guns by type is not presently available from the survey data. However, other data collected for Cleveland indicate that the majority of such weapons are handguns. The number of handguns introduced into the civilian market exceeds 28 million (Firearms, Table 2-1, p. 9). The same research indicates handguns are used in between 76 and 96 percent of crimes involving firearms.* Nationally, firearms account for 63 percent of homicides, while locally, 80 percent of homicides employed firearms. (Hirsch, et al., 1973).

*Percents vary from a 76 percent for homicide to 86 percent for assault to 96 percent for robbery.

The ready availability results in the use of firearms in many personal incidents. Many authors have argued that the severity of incidents is directly attributable to the use of weapons. For example, the elements of homicide and aggravated assault are identical with the exception of the outcome, i. e., death versus serious injury. Access to guns merely increases the likelihood of death resulting from what previously may have been a simple assault.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

The National Crime Panel data collection instrument allowed the collection of data on victimization in great detail. This permitted the categorization into crime types by "elements". The categories are listed below as they appear in the raw data. These categories can be combined to form Uniform Crime Report categories as seen below. The numbers in parentheses refer to the NCP categories.

Crimes Against the Person (1)

Assaultive Violence (2)

With Theft (3)

Rape (4)

Attempted Rape (5)

Serious Assault (6)

With Weapon (7)

No Weapon (8)

Minor Assault (9)

Without Theft (10)

Rape (11)

Attempted Rape (12)

Serious Assault (13)

With Weapon (14)

Without Weapon (15)

Minor Assault (16)

Attempted Assault, Weapon (17)

Attempted Assault, No Weapon (18)

Personal Theft, No assault (19)

Robbery (20)

With Weapon (21)

No Weapon (22)

Attempted Robbery (23)

With Weapon (24)

No Weapon (25)

Purse snatch, No force (26)

Attempted Purse Snatch (27)

Pocket Picking (28)

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