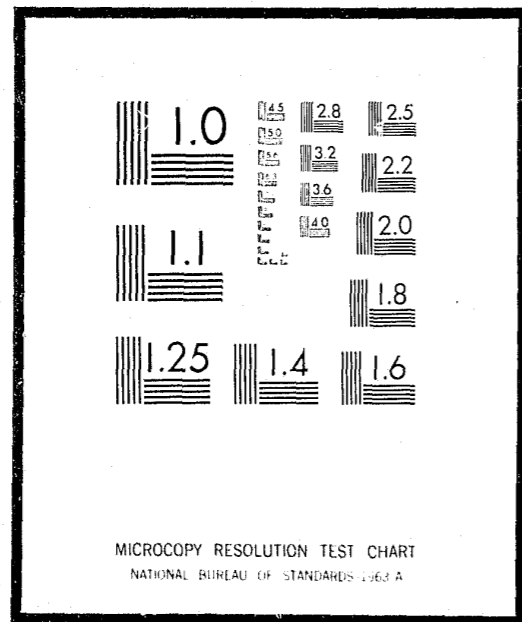


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# CRIME IN MASSACHUSETTS 1972

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THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS  
COMMITTEE ON LAW ENFORCEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION  
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CRIME IN MASSACHUSETTS,

1972

October, 1973

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THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF CRIME IN MASSACHUSETTS

I. INTRODUCTION

A. PURPOSE OF THE REPORT

This report has been prepared to provide a detailed and thorough analysis of the nature, distribution, and growth of "serious crime" in Massachusetts. The term "serious crime" includes those offenses which are generally implicit in references to "crime in the streets," such as murder, rape and robbery. While the Committee on Law Enforcement and Administration of Criminal Justice is seriously concerned about the many other types of crime not included in this report, these serious crimes are of greatest concern to the citizens of the Commonwealth.

The Committee on Law Enforcement is primarily concerned with effecting a reduction in serious crime through the development of crime-specific programs in large cities and by improving the performance and efficiency of the state and local criminal justice agencies in Massachusetts. If criminal justice agencies are to allocate their resources properly and design effective anti-crime programs, they must have accurate and up-to-date crime statistics. While statistics by themselves frequently fail to suggest clear directions for policy, the availability of appropriate data does allow public officials to extract some basic patterns and assess their implications for the planning and development of anti-crime programs.

The purpose of this report is to compile and interpret existing crime statistics for recent years in Massachusetts. It offers these data in a format which enables the public and criminal justice officials to better understand the crime problem. It is an attempt to use statistics to develop an overall perspective on crime in the Commonwealth. While it does not eliminate the need to undertake more detailed local analyses, it does provide a basis for initial decision making and planning to develop effective anti-crime programs.

B. SOURCES OF CRIME STATISTICS

The primary source of data on the incidence and distribution of crime in the United States is the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR), published by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The UCR is compiled annually from data reported by local law enforcement agencies representing 92 percent of the national population.

The UCR distinguishes between index and non-index crimes. There are seven Crime Index offenses:

- 1) murder and non-negligent manslaughter;
- 2) forcible rape;
- 3) robbery;
- 4) aggravated assault;
- 5) burglary;
- 6) grand larceny (\$50 and above);
- 7) auto theft.

The Crime Index offenses are those crimes generally believed to be most serious and most likely to be reported to the police. Although these crimes comprise less than ten percent of all crimes reported to the police (and an even smaller percentage of the actual victimized population), they instill the greatest fear in the general public. When citizens express concern about "crime in the streets," they are typically referring to the Crime Index offenses. This report will concern itself exclusively with the index offenses.

#### C. INTERPRETING CRIME DATA

The data compiled in the Uniform Crime Reports are derived from only reported offenses. This produces a weakness in the data because it is a well documented fact that offenses known to the police constitute only a fraction of the actual amount of crime committed in any locality. Victimization surveys typically disclose substantial under-reporting for all offense categories excepting murder and auto theft. The degree of under-reporting is related to the nature of the offense (for example, rape is reported less frequently than burglary and burglary less frequently than robbery), to the socio-economic composition of the community, and to the community's perception of the police (which is in turn related to police attitudes and procedures).

There are other important weaknesses in the UCR data. The definitions of the individual index crimes are somewhat arbitrary and frequently exclude offenses which are virtually identical to those counted in the Crime Index. (A theft of \$49 is not included in the Index, while one of \$51 is.) The use of fixed monetary amounts in the definition of grand larceny (the most common index crime) during an inflationary period means that the UCR index will rise even if the actual acts of larceny and other crimes involving stolen property remain static, simply because inflation increases the likelihood that the value of goods stolen in a particular crime will exceed \$50.

The distinction between index and non-index crime often depends on the judgment of the patrolman making the report. (For example, when is an assault "aggravated"?) Police departments have different standards in these matters, just as they do for deciding whether a given act will result in a criminal charge.

A somewhat different kind of problem is the lack of any weighting by seriousness of offense: the Index equates murder or forcible rape with auto theft. This lack of weighting heavily biases the Index in favor of property crimes (which in 1972 constituted 91 percent of all index offenses reported in Massachusetts). Thus a ten percent reduction in shoplifting of valuable items would more than offset a doubling of both rape and murder -- at least as far as Crime Index rates are concerned.

It should also be noted that the crime rates reported in the UCR, which are calculated in terms of offenses per 100,000 persons, are not exceptionally valid indicators of the actual likelihood of victimization in most areas. Crime rates vary enormously even within very limited geographical areas: the incidence of armed robbery in the densely populated core of the typical urban area may be hundreds of times that experienced by a suburban community only a few miles away. The concentration of crime in particular neighborhoods within a city may mean that virtually all its residents experience either substantially more or substantially less crime than the city's overall UCR statistics would indicate.

Even if there were not substantial geographic or socio-economic variations in crime, the UCR crime rates would still be statistical abstractions because likelihood of victimization obviously depends on personal circumstances. While a given offense may occur at a very low rate per 100,000 total population, if only a very restricted segment of the population actually stands threatened by that crime, those persons may individually have a very high likelihood of victimization, and that crime may pose a serious threat to their safety. The likelihood of rape for women as a sub-group of the population is at least twice the UCR rate, because men are not potential victims. Similarly, the proportion of all automobile owners having their cars stolen in a given year is far higher than the UCR auto theft rate, which projects the same number of offenses over the entire population. This is not a minor statistical point, for the actual fear of crime experienced by individuals is a result of their own perceived likelihood of victimization, not the average crime rate reported in a community.

In spite of these qualifications, the UCR statistics are the only general crime incidence data presently available, and it is important to understand the potential uses of these data. Most criticisms of the UCR data focus on their deficiencies as measures of the absolute or the actual level of crime in a community. Certainly there are substantial differences between UCR figures and true victimization rates. However, in most practical anti-crime applications, the concern is not with the absolute level of crime but rather with measuring relative variations in crime. Did burglary increase last year? Does Worcester have more robberies than Springfield? UCR statistics

can be used as relative measures of crime in answering these questions to the extent that any disparity between UCR rates and "true" crime rates is relatively constant.

A detailed discussion of the reliability and validity of the UCR is beyond the scope of this report. It will suffice to say that reporting rates vary, often substantially, among neighborhoods; different cities have different recording procedures; but both reporting rates and record-keeping practices are changing over time, bringing the UCR statistics closer to actual victimization rates. In spite of the foregoing disclaimers, the Committee feels that the UCR statistics are very useful relative measures of crime, especially for comparisons over relatively short time spans or among communities of similar size and social structure. The statistical analyses below have taken these limitations into account.

## II. THE GENERAL INCIDENCE OF SERIOUS CRIME IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1968-1972

Massachusetts, like every other state, has experienced a steady increase in most categories of crime during the past decade. 1972 marked the first major departure from this pattern. While reported crimes against persons continued to climb, crime against property declined slightly and, due to the previously mentioned preponderance of property crime in the UCR Crime Index, a small decrease in the Index resulted.

Table 1 displays the numbers and rates of each index offense reported in Massachusetts over the five-year period 1968-1972; 1972 rates for the United States are presented for comparison. Each property offense decreased slightly from 1971 to 1972, a trend that was duplicated in many other states.

The decrease in property crime should be viewed in the light of past crime trends. During the five years prior to 1972, crime rates for each index offense increased each year without exception. The most dramatic increases occurred in robbery (up 169 percent), burglary (up 98 percent), and grand larceny (up 129 percent). Overall, the number of reported index crimes almost doubled, rising from 100,989 offenses in 1967 to 200,796 in 1971. The index crime rate increased 87 percent during this period.

While this increase can in part be attributed to better reporting procedures and a larger population of individuals susceptible (in a statistical sense) to criminal activity (10-25 year olds), the marked increases in robbery, burglary, and larceny strongly suggest that a proportion of the increase might be explained by the increase in the use of addictive drugs. These three offenses are typically considered in any analysis of drug-related crime.

During the period 1967-1971, drug dependence increased dramatically in Boston and the other major urban centers of Massachusetts, which, at the same time, were experiencing both the highest rates of these three offenses as well as the most rapidly increasing rates. In 1971, Boston alone accounted for almost six out of every ten robberies reported to the police.

It appears that during 1972, the drug problem began to recede. Fewer addicts were consuming less heroin. This reduced drug use came about, in part, through increased law enforcement activity, and increasing market concentration among distributors leading to increased prices, decreased quality, and frequent supply shortages. These changes were felt most strongly in the core cities of the major metropolitan areas of the Commonwealth, and, as will be shown in later sections, it is in these cities that the most noticeable reversals of property crime trends appeared during 1972.

TABLE 1: TOTAL NUMBER OF INDEX OFFENSES  
AND INDEX CRIME RATES  
FOR MASSACHUSETTS (1968-1972)  
AND THE UNITED STATES (1972)

Index Offenses	Massachusetts								U.S.		
	1968		1969		1970		1971		1972		
	Number of Offenses	Rate Per 100,000	Number of Offenses	Rate Per 100,000	Number of Offenses	Rate Per 100,000	Number of Offenses	Rate Per 100,000	Number of Offenses	Rate Per 100,000	
Murder & Non-Negligent Manslaughter	188	3.5	191	3.4	197	3.5	220	3.8	215	3.7	8.9
Forcible Rape	518	9.5	592	10.5	684	12.0	715	12.4	784	13.5	22.3
Robbery	4039	74.3	4955	88.0	5658	99.5	8069	140.1	8840	152.8	179.9
Aggravated Assault	4171	76.7	4534	80.5	5003	87.9	6313	109.6	7247	125.2	186.6
Burglary	47210	868.3	56150	1002.6	64523	1134.1	77145	1339.8	71894	1242.3	1126.1
Larceny \$50 & above	29672	545.7	36135	641.8	44880	788.9	51625	896.6	51009	881.4	882.6
Auto Theft	43853	806.6	46950	833.9	49955	878.1	56709	984.9	56272	972.4	423.1
Totals	129651	2384.6	149807	2660.8	170900	3004.0	200796	3487.3	196261	3391.4	2829.5

A number of other factors contributed to the decline in property crime in 1972. Widespread concern about "crime in the streets" during the late sixties had, by 1971, led many citizens to take increased precautions to protect themselves and their property. The steps to safeguard property seem to have been the more effective: alarms, improved locks, auto theft prevention devices, and intensified shoplifting surveillance in stores have all made property crime more dangerous and less profitable. Many of these anti-crime strategies became widely used only in 1971 and 1972. In addition, law enforcement agencies have been trying new approaches during this same period, especially since the availability of federal funds from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. These innovations have resulted in reduced crime rates in some communities.

Also, Massachusetts has had unusually high rates of property crime relative to the rest of the nation in past years. Property crimes constitute 91 percent of all index offenses reported in the Commonwealth. If we divide the seven offenses in Table 1 into a violent crime index (murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault) and a property crime index (burglary, grand larceny and auto theft) it becomes clear that while the rate of violent crime is lower for Massachusetts than for the rest of the country, the rate of property crime substantially exceeds that of the nation as a whole. Table 2 displays the results of such analysis.

Statistically, Massachusetts' high rate of property crime is a result of the high incidence of burglary and especially of auto theft. Taken together, these two offenses account for 66 percent of all index crimes reported to the police during 1972. From 1965 through 1971 Massachusetts has had the highest rate of auto theft in the country, a rate two to three times that of most other states. During past years, the yearly increase in auto theft in Massachusetts would have been sufficient to produce a substantial increase in the UCR Crime Index for the Commonwealth even if all other index crime categories remained constant. It remains to be seen whether the new Massachusetts Certificate of Title Law for motor vehicles, which became effective in 1972, and is being implemented gradually with the expiration of existing auto registrations, will have any noticeable impact on the volume of vehicles stolen yearly.

Most of the factors which contribute to these anomalously high property crime rates are unknown; lax automobile registration laws, dense central cities, and high unemployment may all play a role. Whatever the specific underlying causes, it is likely that Massachusetts is gradually evolving -- demographically, economically, and culturally -- toward patterns more closely approximating the U. S. average.



TABLE 2: INDEX OF VIOLENT AND PROPERTY CRIMES  
FOR MASSACHUSETTS AND THE U.S.  
1971 AND 1972

1971

Category of Index Offense	Massachusetts			United States
	Number of Offenses	Rate Per 100,000 Persons	Percent Increase Over 1970	Rate Per 100,000 Persons
Violent Crime	15317	266.0	23.7	392.7
Property Crime	185479	3221.2	15.0	2514.0
Total	200796	3487.3	16.1	2906.7

1972

Category of Index Offense	Massachusetts			United States
	Number of Offenses	Rate Per 100,000 Persons	Percent Increase Over 1971	Rate Per 100,000 Persons
Violent Crime	17086	295.2	11.0	397.7
Property Crime	179175	3096.2	-3.9	2431.8
Total	196261	3391.4	-2.7	2829.5

Figure 1 depicts Massachusetts' relative standing among all states for each index offense from 1961 through 1972. The years 1961-1971 display a relatively coherent pattern: while the Commonwealth's rank in most offenses slowly rose (our rates increased somewhat more rapidly than the rates of other states), its leadership in the property crimes each year became more distinctive. It was the latter, especially, which made the state's overall index crime rate one of the highest in the nation. On the other hand, Massachusetts reported lower rates for the crimes of violence, especially when compared with other heavily urbanized states. While violent crime was increasing much more rapidly than property crime in Massachusetts, it was growing at a pace equal to that reported by other states.

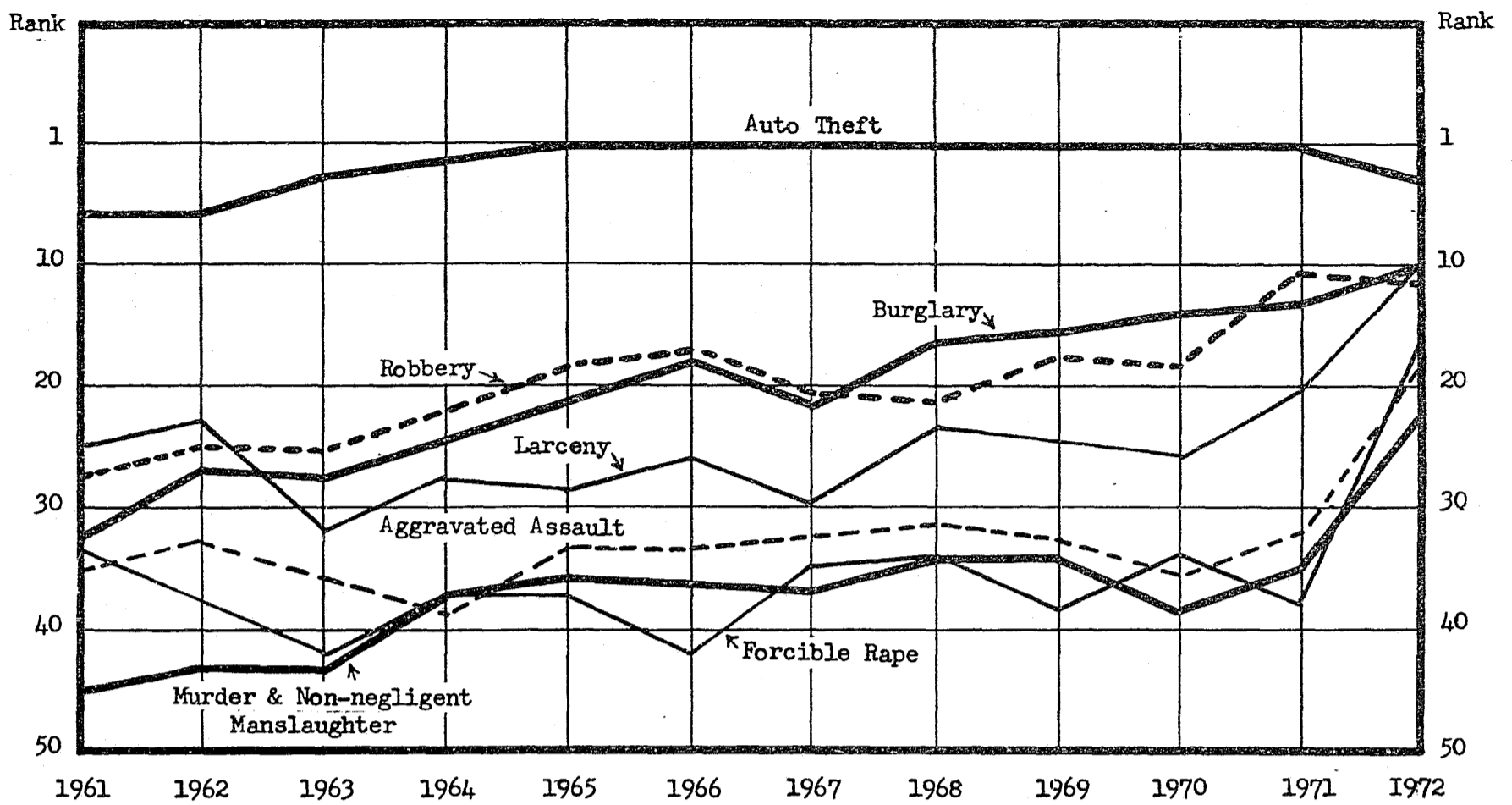
In 1972 there was a substantial change in these patterns: Massachusetts lost its leadership in auto theft. The Commonwealth's rankings in burglary and larceny increased only because these property crimes fell even more rapidly in other major states than in Massachusetts. On the other hand, the state's rankings in murder/manslaughter, rape, and assault all increased dramatically. The overall pattern of these changes seems to be a gradual convergence of Massachusetts' quite anomalous crime rates toward rates more in accord with its rank in population -- approximately tenth in the nation in most crimes.

The statistics on crimes against persons in Massachusetts present a striking contrast with those for crimes against property. Instead of decreasing slightly from high levels, they continued their rapid rate of growth during 1972. Whatever the factors responsible for the reduction in property crime, they clearly did not extend to crimes against persons. It is possible that one of the results of target-hardening, and other measures making property crimes more difficult, is a displacement of some property crime to the violent crime category, either through shifts from burglary to robbery or through the use of violence in what was intended to be only a property crime.

The most conspicuous characteristic of violent crime in Massachusetts is its continuous rate of increase. Table 3 traces the increase in crime rates in Massachusetts for each index offense during the thirteen-year period 1969-1972. Rape and murder/manslaughter have more than doubled. Most categories of property crime are at least four times as prevalent as before. Robbery, the most common violent offense, is especially important because, more than any other single crime, it generates public fear. Citizens who fear robbery will no longer walk freely in the city or react openly and helpfully when encountering strangers. And robbery has increased over sevenfold since 1960. Inasmuch as crime and increases in crime are concentrated in the major cities of the Commonwealth, these increases would be far more dramatic were only major city crime rates displayed.

The following sections will develop such analyses of local crime.

FIGURE 1: RELATIVE RANKING OF MASSACHUSETTS AMONG THE FIFTY STATES FOR ALL INDEX OFFENSES KNOWN TO THE POLICE -- 1961-1972



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TABLE 3: RATES OF CRIME PER 100,000 PERSONS -- MASSACHUSETTS -- 1960-1972

YEAR	Murder and Non-Negligent Manslaughter	Forcible Rape	Robbery	Aggravated Assault	Burglary	Larceny \$50 and Over	Auto Theft	Total
1960	1.4	4.8	20.4	19.4	309.2	184.2	211.1	750.6
1961	1.5	5.6	20.4	22.6	376.1	229.6	271.6	927.2
1962	1.8	5.0	25.8	26.0	410.4	257.5	303.6	1030.1
1963	1.9	4.5	27.0	28.8	443.1	265.7	366.0	1137.1
1964	2.0	6.0	30.6	41.2	529.7	308.5	452.1	1370.1
1965	2.4	5.4	40.0	50.7	554.5	320.7	533.5	1507.3
1966	2.4	6.4	46.0	60.5	619.0	368.2	551.8	1654.2
1967	2.8	7.6	52.0	65.2	675.5	392.2	667.4	1862.9
1968	3.5	9.5	74.3	76.7	868.3	545.7	806.6	2384.6
1969	3.4	10.5	88.0	80.5	1002.6	641.8	833.9	2660.8
1970	3.5	12.0	99.5	87.9	1134.1	788.9	878.1	3004.0
1971	3.8	12.4	140.1	109.6	1339.8	896.6	984.9	3487.3
1972	3.7	13.5	152.8	125.2	1242.3	881.4	972.4	3391.4
Net Increase 1960-1972	2.3	8.7	132.4	105.8	933.1	697.2	761.3	2640.8
Percent Increase 1960-1972	164.3	181.3	649.0	545.4	301.8	378.5	360.6	351.8

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### III. ANALYSIS OF LOCAL CRIME PATTERNS

While the foregoing analysis provides a picture of general crime trends in Massachusetts, and places them in perspective through comparison with other states, the more productive crime analyses focus on local data descriptive of crime patterns within the Commonwealth. For the most part, any effective crime prevention and control program must be conceived, designed, and implemented in response to specific local crime problems and a wide range of other local resources and constraints. It is, therefore, appropriate to survey the nature, incidence, and geographic distribution of crime for Massachusetts cities and towns of more than 25,000 population.

From a preliminary review of the available data it was concluded that local crime patterns within the Commonwealth might best be studied by: (1) looking first at Boston, inasmuch as Boston is unique in so many ways; (2) examining the incidence of crime among the major cities of the Commonwealth -- the large central cities of certain major metropolitan areas -- relative to elsewhere in the state; (3) exploring the incidence of crime in those metropolitan areas relative to elsewhere in the state; (4) analyzing the distribution of crime within the metropolitan areas -- central cities relative to surrounding jurisdictions; (5) assessing the unique crime patterns within each major city, relative to the other major cities; and, (6) evaluating the crime phenomenon as it occurs among the smaller cities and towns across the state. Where meaningful, data from Massachusetts cities will be compared to crime patterns in cities of comparable size throughout the United States.

#### A. CRIME IN BOSTON -- 1967-1972

##### 1. Overview

Over the last decade, and especially during the five years, 1967-1971, every index offense has increased each year in Boston, both in number and rate, excepting rape and larceny, which declined slightly during 1971. During 1972, the rape rate increased again, while the number and rate for larcenies continued downward. Despite the increase in the rape rate, Boston's rank among U.S. cities over 500,000 population declined from 19th to 20th, 1971-1972. Boston's rank for larceny declined from 18th to 20th, 1971-1972. During 1972, Boston's murder rate, 16.5 per 100,000 persons, reflecting 104 offenses, fell below the 1970 rate, 17.8 per 100,000, reflecting 114 offenses. Its rank among U.S. cities over 500,000 population dropped from 13th to 16th, 1971-1972.

In recent years, Boston has reported one of the highest auto theft rates among major U.S. cities. The city's 1972 rate was two and one-half times that of the Commonwealth and almost six times that of the nation. During 1972, Boston's auto theft rate fell slightly from its 1971 level, but the city climbed from second to first rank among U.S. cities over 500,000 population, due to Cleveland's declining rate.

Boston's robbery problem continued to worsen during 1972. From a rate of 475.0 in 1969, robberies have steadily increased to a 1972 rate of 798.4 -- a 68.1 percent increase. Due in part to its increasing rate, and in part to decreasing rates reported by San Francisco, Cleveland, and St. Louis, Boston's rank among the largest U.S. cities increased from 8th (1971) to 5th (1972). It is little consolation to recognize that Washington, D.C., Baltimore, and Detroit reported 1972 rates in excess of 1000.

Boston's steadily worsening burglary trend was finally reversed during 1972, from a 1971 rate of 1940.6 to 1612.5 in 1972.

Table 4 displays numbers and rates of the seven index offenses reported in Boston during 1969-1972; 1972 data for the Commonwealth and for the United States are also presented.

Although Boston contains only 10.9 percent of the state's population, it accounts for 19.8 percent of all index offenses reported in Massachusetts: 43.4 percent of all crimes against persons, and 17.5 percent of all property crimes. Thus, it is not surprising to find that Boston's rates for the index offenses are typically multiples of those for the Commonwealth as a whole: murder and robbery rates are respectively 4.5 and 5.2 times greater; aggravated assault and auto theft are respectively 2.6 and 2.5 times greater. However, Boston's 1972 larceny rate, 889.0, was little greater than the state's 881.4; the city accounts for 11 percent of the state's larcenies, proportionate to its population.

Caution is necessary in interpreting the foregoing figures; they are intimately related to Boston's unique role in Massachusetts and the New England region. The Boston metropolitan area has for many years been the locus of specialized economic, political, and cultural activities which service both the state and the region. Boston has the highest concentration of these region-oriented activities of any city in the Boston Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA). In addition, it provides a variety of business, industrial, and entertainment functions similar to those of the larger metropolitan core cities. Boston's specialized metropolitan and regional service role has become more pronounced as many residents continue to move to the surrounding suburbs. Boston is unusually small in relation to the size of its metropolitan area. And Boston, as the core city,

TABLE 4: NUMBERS AND RATES OF INDEX OFFENSES IN BOSTON, 1969 - 1972; MASSACHUSETTS AND U.S., 1972

Index Offenses	1969		1970		1971		1972		Percent Increase in Rate in 1972/69	Massachusetts 1972		U.S. 1972 Rate
	Number	Rate*	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate		Number	Rate	
Murder and Non-Negligent Manslaughter	91	14.5	114	17.8	116	18.1	104	16.5	13.8	215	3.7	8.9
Forcible Rape	253	40.3	303	47.3	235	36.7	262	41.5	3.0	784	13.5	22.3
Robbery	2984	475.0	3371	525.8	4735	738.7	5037	798.4	68.1	8840	152.8	179.9
Aggravated Assault	1529	243.4	1627	253.8	1907	297.5	2015	319.4	31.2	7247	125.2	186.6
Burglary	9002	1432.9	10002	1560.2	12439	1940.6	10173	1612.5	12.5	71894	1242.3	1126.1
Larceny (\$50 and Over)	6348	1010.5	7543	1176.6	7055	1100.6	5609	899.0	-12.0	51009	881.4	882.6
Auto Theft	15190	2418.0	15334	2391.9	16027	2500.3	15563	2466.8	2.0	56272	972.4	423.1
Totals	35397	5634.5	38294	5973.4	42514	6631.7	38763	6144.1	9.0	196261	3391.4	2829.5

\* Rates are based on number of offenses per 100,000 persons

also has an unusually large proportion of low-income households. All of these influences taken together result in very unusual use of the city: each working day, Boston hosts an influx of population significantly larger than that experienced by most other major cities in the United States.

## 2. Robbery and Burglary in Boston

Direct efforts by law enforcement agencies can at best have only a minor impact on the incidence of murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, and aggravated assault. These crimes are most frequently committed in locations not readily patrolled by the police (within a residence, an enclosed courtyard, a car, a tavern), and frequently the victim and assailant are "friends" or family members who spend considerable amounts of time together. Robbery and burglary, on the other hand, are distinguished by (1) their high rates (exceeded only by auto theft), (2) steadily increasing rates (The burglary rate dropped during 1972, but it is too early to infer an established trend reversal.), (3) their seriousness, in terms of public concern, and (4) relative susceptibility to organized police intervention.

Figure 2 clearly reflects the dramatic increase in the rate of robbery in Boston during the past six years. From 1969 through 1972, the robbery rate increased 68.1 percent (Table 4). From 1967 through 1972, it increased 238.3 percent. Boston reported 1463 robberies in 1967, 5037 in 1972 -- an increment of 244.3 percent. The city's 1972 rate was 5.2 times the state's and 3.2 times the aggregate rate for the other major cities of the Commonwealth (Table 10a). In 1970, 1971, and 1972, Boston accounted, respectively, for 59.6, 58.7, and 57.0 percent of all robberies reported throughout Massachusetts.

Although the large concentration of business and commercial establishments within Boston has contributed to this growing problem, there has also been a dramatic increase in the number of robberies occurring on the streets of the city. In 1969, street robberies accounted, numerically, for almost 75 percent of all robberies reported in Boston, and this proportion has likely increased as businesses install more effective protective measures.

The average citizen does not study statistics describing the crime problem; he senses it: he, or one of his close friends, may have been victimized, and fear has become pervasive in many of the city's neighborhoods, not to mention the apprehension felt by visitors and new residents. In 1967, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice noted that 43 percent of those people surveyed in the areas of Roxbury and Dorchester (Boston's lowest-income neighborhoods) reported that they stayed off the streets at night altogether, while 21 percent said that they used cars or cabs at night because of their fear

of crime. Robberies are now 3.4 times more frequent than when that survey was taken. It requires little imagination to explain why many areas of Boston seem virtually deserted at night, and why pedestrians in many neighborhoods keep their distance from one another or move at a half-run.

FIGURE 2: ROBBERY PER 100,000 POPULATION, 1967-1972, FOR BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, AND THE U.S.

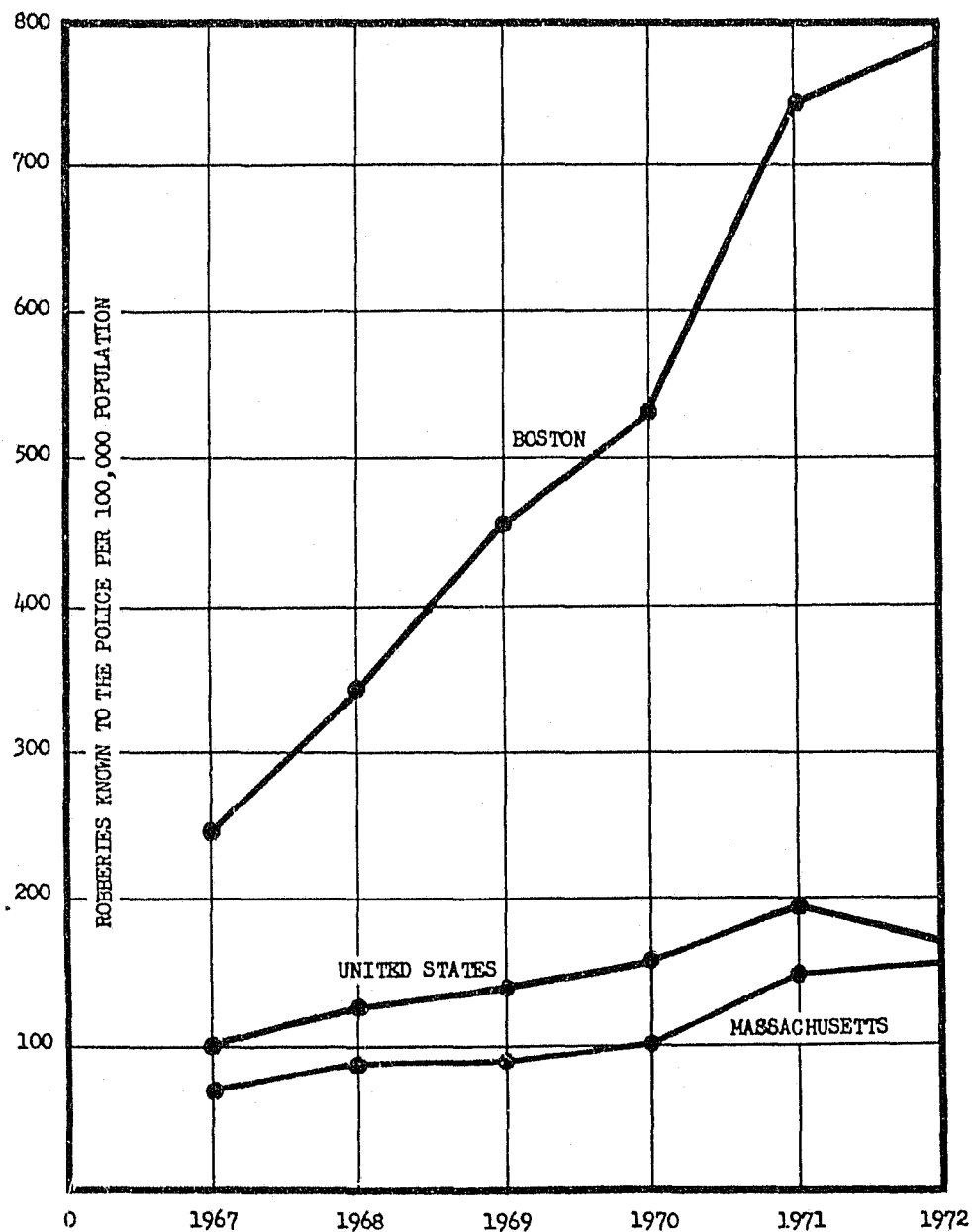


Figure 3 depicts Boston's burglary rate, 1967-1972. From 1969 through 1972, it increased 12.5 percent. (Table 4) (The percentage increase is slight, in part, because the 1972 rate was 16.9 percent less than the 1971 rate; the 1969-1971 increase was 35.4 percent.) From 1967 through 1972, it increased 98.1 percent. (1967-1971: 138.4 percent.) Boston reported 5,047 burglaries in 1967, 10,173 in 1972 -- an increment of 101.6 percent, the greatest increase involving residential burglary.

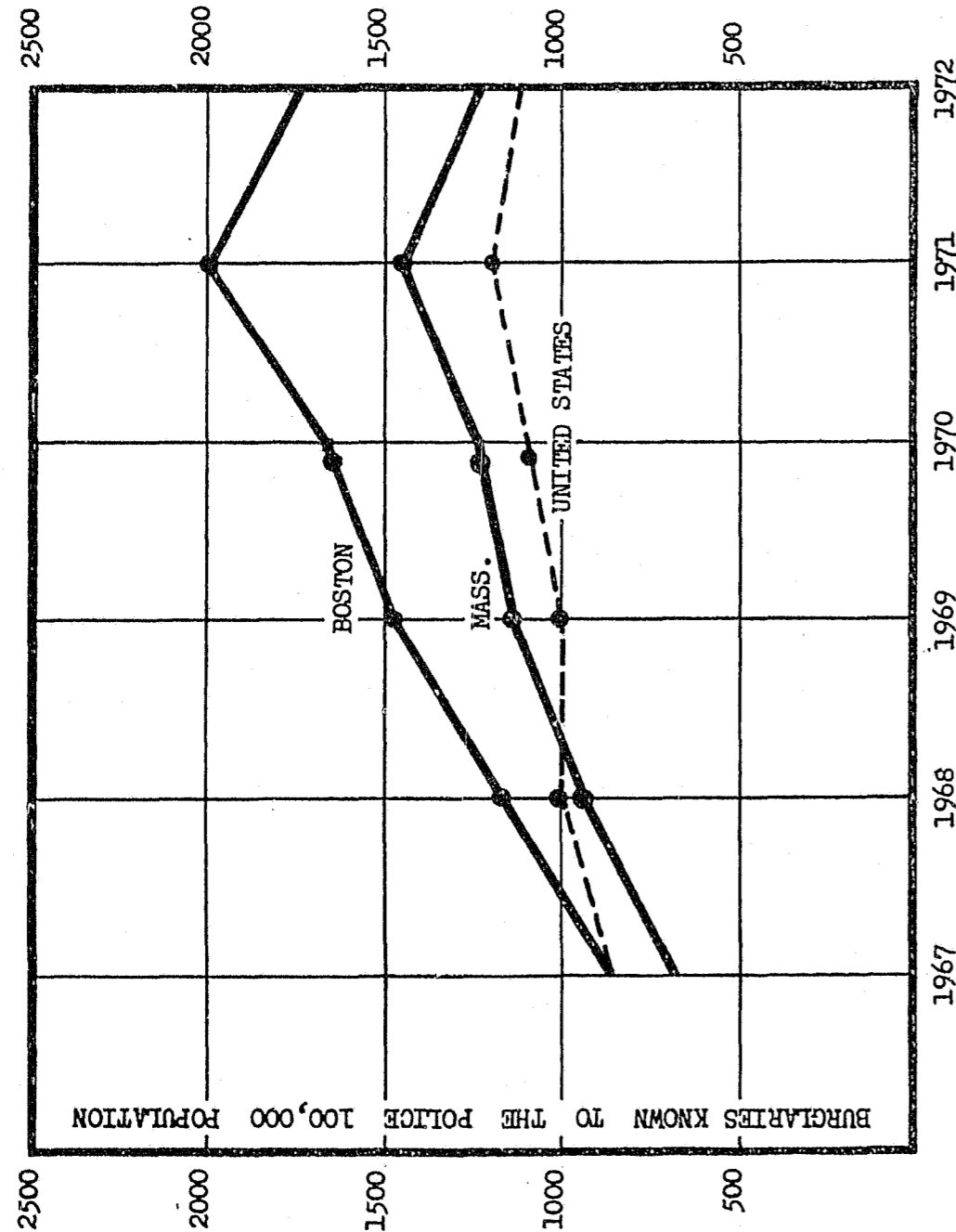
The city's 1972 rate was 1.3 times the state's but actually less than the aggregate rate for the other major cities of the Commonwealth (Table 8b). In 1970, 1971, and 1972, Boston accounted, respectively, for 15.5, 16.1, and 14.1 percent of all burglaries reported throughout Massachusetts. Thus, from one standpoint, the problem is not severe: a) Boston's burglary rate is lower than those of the other major cities in the state (though in numbers of offenses, Boston far exceeds the other cities); b) with 11 percent of the state's population, Boston's contribution to the burglary problem of the Commonwealth is not strikingly disproportionate. From another standpoint, it is quite severe: a) the burglary rate, prior to 1972, had been increasing more rapidly in Boston than in the Commonwealth, and more rapidly in the Commonwealth than in the nation as a whole (Figure 3); b) on a per capita basis, burglary is the third most frequent offense in Boston. It is important to note that this analysis does not consider many other factors: the psychological costs suffered by burglary victims have received but passing mention ("public concern"), and it is difficult to even begin to assess the economic costs -- the obvious costs borne by victims, and the not-so-obvious costs assumed by citizens and commercial establishments as they install locks, alarms and closed-circuit television scanners, pay security guards, and purchase more expensive insurance policies. In the last analysis, Boston's burglary problem is unequivocally severe, and warrants the full attention of the law enforcement community.

3. Boston Compared With All U.S. Cities Over 500,000 Population

In order to appraise more meaningfully the incidence of crime in Boston, a comparative analysis is presented, in which 1972 Boston crime data are contrasted with those obtained for all U.S. cities having more than 500,000 inhabitants in 1970.

It can be validly argued that comparisons of this nature should utilize the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) as the unit of analysis rather than the city. In recent decades, large cities across the nation have varied widely in terms of the number of square miles of contiguous suburban area which they have annexed and incorporated within their respective political jurisdictions. Consequently, and because suburban areas generally tend to have lower crime rates than the core areas of large cities, a particular city may report an ostensibly high crime rate largely as a function of the ratio of core area

FIGURE 3: BURGLARY PER 100,000 POPULATION, 1967-1972, FOR BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, AND THE U.S.



to suburban area within its political boundaries. As that ratio drops, so will the crime rate. The SMSA, a more inclusive census designation, which usually extends to include several counties surrounding its central city, if used in lieu of the city, would somewhat attenuate the impact of the core/suburbia ratio on crime statistics.

However valid this argument may be, the city, and not the SMSA, is the focus of attention in Massachusetts because: (1) SMSAs do not plan and implement crime prevention and control programs -- city governments do -- and this document is intended, among other things, to inform policy- and program-level decision making; (2) the Boston SMSA, delineated differently than most other SMSAs due to Massachusetts' unique political geography, is comprised of 77 incorporated cities and towns, immediately adjacent to each other, each with its own government. Little parallel exists between Boston's relationships with these cities and towns, and the relationship between most other large U.S. cities and governmental units included within their respective SMSAs.

Of particular note, as Boston is compared with the 26 U.S. cities over 500,000 population, is Boston's rank for auto theft (Table 5). While the rate declined slightly, from 1971 to 1972, the city moved from second to first rank displacing Cleveland (Table 6b). Were it not for a pronounced reduction in Cleveland's rate, from 2643.8 to 2334.0, Boston's rate of 2427.7 would not have earned it the dubious distinction of first place. This development illustrates an obvious characteristic of rank ordered crime data: Boston's rank order for a particular offense might change over time solely as a function of rate changes in other cities. This should not be ignored in weighing the significance of these comparisons.

Boston's 1972 larceny rate, not significantly different than the U.S. rate, reflects a marked decline from 1971, in the per capita frequency of this offense. Concurrently, the city's rank among the 26 cities fell from 18 to 20.

In 1971, Boston ranked 15th among the cities under analysis, with a burglary rate of 1940.6. Memphis and San Antonio, with rates of 1682.4 and 1617.6, held ranks 19 and 20. Both experienced rate increases in 1972, yielding 1972 ranks of 9 and 15 respectively. Had not Boston's burglary rate fallen as far as it did, it might have remained greater than San Antonio's, and emerged greater than Washington's, which dropped precipitously from its 1971 level. But, as it happened, Boston's rank fell to 18 in 1972.

In the light of the earlier discussion of robbery in Boston, it is not surprising to find that Boston ranked eighth in 1971 but fifth in 1972 (Table 6a). But again, the city's rank increase was due, in part, to declining rates reported by San Francisco, Cleveland, and St. Louis.

TABLE 5: BOSTON'S RANK AMONG ALL U.S. CITIES OVER 500,000 POPULATION -- 1971 AND 1972

Index Offenses	Boston 1971 Rate Per 100,000	Boston 1971 Rank* Among all U.S. Cities Over 500,000	Boston 1972 Rate** Per 100,000	Boston 1972 Rank Among All U.S. Cities Over 500,000	U.S. 1971 Rate Per 100,000	U.S. 1972 Rate Per 100,000
Murder and Non-Negligent Manslaughter	18.1	13	16.2	16	8.5	8.9
Rape	36.7	19	40.9	20	20.3	22.3
Robbery	738.7	8	785.7	5	187.1	179.9
Aggravated Assault	297.5	17	314.3	16	176.8	186.6
Burglary	1940.6	15	1586.9	18	1148.3	1126.1
Larceny \$50 & above	1100.6	18	874.9	20	909.2	882.6
Auto Theft	2500.3	2	2427.7	1	456.8	423.1
Total Index	6631.7	7	6046.6	6	2906.7	2829.5

\* 1= highest ranking rate/100,000 persons.

\*\* These Boston rates are consistent with those presented in Tables 6a and 6b but inconsistent with Boston rates as presented in all other tables and figures. Tables 5, 6a and b based on 1970 Census population data. Elsewhere, 1972 crime rates for all Massachusetts cities and towns, including Boston, are based on more current population data used in the 1972 UCR.

TABLE 6a: VIOLENT CRIME RATES OF U.S. CITIES OVER 500,000 POPULATION--1972

Ranks in ( ).

City	Tot. Index Crime Rate and Rank	Murder and Non-Negligent Manslaughter	Forcible Rape	Robbery	Aggravated Assault
Denver	7566.9 (1)	17.3 (15)	71.5 (4)	391.3 (16)	374.4 (11)
Detroit	7092.3 (2)	39.8 (2)	54.1 (12)	1136.0 (1)	404.9 (9)
St. Louis	6843.1 (3)	32.9 (4)	82.3 (2)	778.5 (6)	516.8 (4)
San Francisco	6514.1 (4)	11.3 (20)	70.6 (5)	639.0 (9)	372.4 (12)
Los Angeles	6282.4 (5)	17.8 (14)	78.3 (3)	505.7 (12)	534.6 (3)
Boston <sup>1</sup>	6046.6 (6)	16.2 (16)	40.9 (20)	785.7 (5)	314.3 (16)
Phoenix	5737.1 (7)	14.3 (18)	44.0 (18)	222.2 (21)	454.5 (8)
Baltimore	5623.7 (8)	36.4 (3)	51.3 (15)	1058.1 (2)	702.7 (1)
New York	5520.0 (9)	21.5 (9)	41.6 (19)	994.0 (4)	471.9 (6)
Cleveland	5467.4 (10)	40.9 (1)	61.5 (8)	751.0 (7)	264.7 (18)
Dallas	5354.4 (11)	22.7 (8)	63.1 (7)	309.8 (17)	536.4 (2)
New Orleans	5055.0 (12)	27.5 (6)	44.0 (17)	505.7 (11)	343.7 (14)
Washington	4949.8 (13)	32.4 (5)	94.4 (1)	1024.6 (3)	515.1 (5)
Houston	4896.6 (14)	23.8 (7)	39.2 (21)	415.1 (14)	175.9 (22)
Seattle	4888.9 (15)	7.9 (24)	52.4 (14)	294.6 (18)	178.8 (21)
Kansas City	4770.0 (16)	14.0 (19)	67.8 (6)	412.6 (15)	386.7 (10)
Memphis	4666.3 (17)	20.2 (12)	59.8 (9)	268.8 (21)	246.8 (19)
Pittsburgh	4527.8 (18)	9.4 (22)	57.3 (10)	508.7 (10)	351.3 (13)
Columbus	4456.2 (19)	10.9 (21)	54.1 (13)	271.3 (19)	164.9 (23)
Jacksonville	4344.2 (20)	18.2 (13)	55.4 (11)	269.6 (20)	467.8 (7)
San Antonio	4202.7 (21)	15.9 (17)	39.1 (22)	183.4 (24)	283.4 (17)
San Diego	4024.1 (22)	4.4 (26)	23.7 (25)	175.8 (25)	142.4 (24)
Chicago	3614.7 (23)	21.1 (11)	45.4 (16)	698.9 (8)	331.3 (15)
Philadelphia	3006.4 (24)	21.2 (10)	30.2 (24)	498.3 (13)	236.2 (20)
Milwaukee	2951.1 (25)	7.8 (25)	12.1 (26)	104.3 (26)	96.8 (26)
Indianapolis	2579.4 (26)	8.9 (23)	36.9 (23)	187.7 (23)	97.5 (25)

1. Consistent with Boston rates presented in Table 5. Rates based on 1970 Census population data. In preparing all other Tables and Figures, 1972 rates for Massachusetts cities and towns, including Boston, are based on more current population data used in the 1972 UCR.

TABLE 6b: PROPERTY CRIME RATES OF U.S. CITIES  
OVER 500,000 POPULATION--1972

Ranks in ( ).

City	Tot. Index Crime Rate and Rank	Burglary	Larceny Over \$50	Auto Theft
Denver	7566.9 (1)	3254.5 (1)	1969.4 (1)	1488.5 (7)
Detroit	7092.3 (2)	2816.0 (3)	1283.8 (10)	1357.7 (8)
St. Louis	6843.1 (3)	2824.8 (2)	795.0 (22)	1812.7 (5)
San Francisco	6514.1 (4)	2028.7 (10)	1844.6 (2)	1547.6 (6)
Los Angeles	6282.4 (5)	2573.0 (5)	1375.6 (9)	1197.4 (10)
Boston <sup>1</sup>	6046.6 (6)	1586.9 (18)	874.9 (20)	2427.7 (1)
Phoenix	5737.1 (7)	2641.0 (4)	1654.3 (4)	706.9 (20)
Baltimore	5623.7 (8)	1875.3 (13)	977.9 (17)	921.9 (14)
New York	5520.0 (9)	1881.7 (12)	1145.2 (16)	964.2 (12)
Cleveland	5467.4 (10)	1391.1 (22)	624.2 (24)	2334.0 (2)
Dallas	5354.4 (11)	2543.2 (6)	1241.2 (13)	638.0 (22)
New Orleans	5055.0 (12)	1420.1 (21)	1513.8 (6)	1200.2 (9)
Washington	4949.8 (13)	1692.1 (17)	821.8 (21)	769.5 (17)
Houston	4896.6 (14)	2385.7 (7)	957.2 (18)	2055.1 (4)
Seattle	4888.9 (15)	2135.9 (8)	1571.1 (5)	648.0 (21)
Kansas City	4770.0 (16)	1867.9 (14)	1247.7 (12)	773.2 (16)
Memphis	4666.3 (17)	2071.0 (9)	1483.5 (7)	492.1 (23)
Pittsburgh	4527.8 (18)	1504.3 (19)	918.6 (19)	1178.2 (11)
Columbus	4456.2 (19)	1786.4 (16)	1417.0 (8)	751.6 (19)
Jacksonville	4344.2 (20)	2007.9 (11)	1153.2 (15)	159.6 (25)
San Antonio	4202.7 (21)	1840.2 (15)	1195.4 (14)	797.9 (15)
San Diego	4204.1 (22)	1429.0 (20)	1669.0 (3)	120.0 (26)
Chicago	3614.7 (23)	1087.9 (23)	470.8 (25)	959.3 (13)
Philadelphia	3006.4 (24)	1087.0 (24)	310.4 (26)	2302.1 (3)
Milwaukee	2951.1 (25)	694.6 (26)	1283.2 (11)	752.2 (18)
Indianapolis	2579.4 (26)	1102.2 (25)	646.9 (23)	491.3 (24)

1. See footnote on preceding page.

It is important to note that despite its high crime rates, Boston is not an especially crime-ridden city, relative to other major cities across the nation, notwithstanding the fact that among the 26 cities here considered, Boston's overall index crime rate places it sixth in rank order. Instead, it is the high-crime core of what, in other circumstances, might be a much larger city, the boundaries of which would incorporate large suburban, residential neighborhoods with typically lower crime rates. (The index crime rate of the Boston SMSA ranks eighteenth among the rates of the SMSAs corresponding to the above cities.) Nonetheless, Boston's crime problem is a serious one, and, as previously stated, a growing one. Comparisons which allow us to see Boston in a "relatively" favorable light are not intended to imply that Boston's index crime rate is socially, economically, politically, or in any way acceptable.

B. THE GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF INDEX CRIME IN MASSACHUSETTS

It can be observed (Table 8b) that Cambridge and Worcester have higher auto theft rates than Boston; that the Cambridge burglary rate is greater than that for Boston. However, rate comparisons among the major cities are not of central interest here, but will be discussed in section C, Crime Patterns Differ Among Major Cities. Rate comparisons are relevant to the present discussion only tangentially. The present analysis is intended to answer questions regarding the geographic distribution of crime, in terms of numbers of offenses: (a) Of all index crimes reported in Massachusetts, what proportion are committed in the major cities of the Commonwealth, individually and collectively? (b) Of all index crimes reported in Massachusetts, what proportion are committed in the major metropolitan areas of the Commonwealth, individually and collectively? (c) What proportion of the index crime reported in the major metropolitan areas occurs in the major cities central to those areas? Each of these questions will be answered in the absolute, and relative to the distribution of population.

1. Disproportionately High Incidence of Crime in the Major Cities

Collectively in 1972, the major cities accounted for 42.8 percent of all index offenses reported in the Commonwealth. Boston alone accounted for 19.8 percent; the other six major cities (Cambridge, Fall River, Lynn, New Bedford, Springfield, Worcester) accounted for 23.0 percent (Table 7). Among the latter six cities, Springfield and Worcester contributed most heavily. Given the size of their populations, it is not surprising that more index offenses were committed there than in Cambridge, Fall River, Lynn, and New Bedford combined. Together, the six cities reported 45,225 index offenses in 1972; Boston alone reported 38,763.



TABLE 7: DISPROPORTIONATE INCIDENCE OF INDEX CRIME  
IN THE MAJOR CITIES  
RELATIVE TO POPULATION CONCENTRATION  
1971 and 1972

City	Population 1971	Population 1972	Number of Index Offenses 1971	Number of Index Offenses 1972	Percent of State's Population 1971	Percent of State's Population 1972	Percent of All Index Offenses Reported in Mass. 1971	Percent of All Index Offenses Reported in Mass. 1972
Boston	641,071	630,900	42514	38763	11.1	10.9	21.2	19.8
Cambridge	100,361	100,612	7177	6624	1.7	1.7	3.6	3.4
Fall River	98,341	97,984	6454	5535	1.7	1.7	3.2	2.8
Lynn	90,294	91,200	4389	4200	1.6	1.6	2.2	2.1
New Bedford	101,777	102,190	5603	4468	1.8	1.8	2.8	2.3
Springfield	163,905	163,369	10273	11504	2.8	2.8	5.1	5.9
Worcester	176,572	175,727	12559	12894	3.1	3.0	6.3	6.6
Totals Without Boston	731,250	731,082	46455	45225	12.7	12.6	23.1	23.0
Totals in- cluding Boston	1,372,321	1,361,982	88969	83988	23.8	23.5	44.3	42.8
Massachusetts	5,758,000	5,787,000	200769	196261	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 8a: CONCENTRATION OF CRIMES OF VIOLENCE  
IN THE MAJOR CITIES -- 1972

City (population)	Murder and Non-Negligent Manslaughter			Forcible Rape			Robbery			Aggravated Assault			All Crimes Against Persons		
	No.	Rate <sup>2</sup>	% <sup>3</sup>	No.	Rate	%	No.	Rate	%	No.	Rate	%	No.	Rate	%
Boston (630,900)	104	16.5	48.4	262	41.5	33.4	5037	798.4	57.0	2015	319.4	27.8	7418	1175.8	43.4
Cambridge (100,612)	13	12.9	6.0	32	31.8	4.1	329	327.0	3.7	238	236.6	3.3	612	608.3	3.6
Fall River (97,984)	8	8.2	3.7	11	11.2	1.4	203	207.2	2.3	149	152.1	2.1	371	378.6	2.2
Lynn (91,200)	1	1.1	.5	13	14.3	1.7	163	178.7	1.8	342	375.0	4.7	519	569.1	3.0
New Bedford (102,190)	3	2.9	1.4	21	20.5	2.7	214	209.4	2.4	150	146.8	2.1	388	379.7	2.3
Springfield (163,369)	8	4.9	3.7	30	18.4	3.8	430	263.2	4.9	791	484.2	10.9	1259	770.7	7.4
Worcester (175,727)	7	4.0	3.3	32	18.2	4.1	501	285.1	5.7	275	156.5	3.8	815	463.8	4.8
Totals w/out Boston	40	5.5	18.6	139	19.0	17.7	1840	251.7	20.8	1945	266.0	26.8	3964	542.2	23.2
Totals including Boston	144	10.6	67.0	401	29.4	51.1	6877	504.9	77.8	3960	290.8	54.6	11382	835.7	66.6
Massachusetts (5,787,000) <sup>1</sup>	215	3.7	100.0	784	13.5	100.1	8840	152.8	100.0	7247	125.2	100.0	17086	295.2	100.0

1. to nearest 1,000 2. rate per 100,000 persons 3. number of offenses reported in city/number reported in State.

TABLE 8b: CONCENTRATION OF CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY IN THE MAJOR CITIES--1972

City (population)	Burglary			Larceny (\$50 and above)			Auto Theft			All Crimes Against Property		
	No.	Rate <sup>2</sup> .	% <sup>3</sup> .	No.	Rate	%	No.	Rate	%	No.	Rate	%
Boston (630,900)	10173	1612.5	14.1	5609	889.0	11.0	15563	2466.8	27.7	31345	4968.3	17.5
Cambridge (100,612)	1711	1700.6	2.4	1039	1032.7	2.0	3262	3242.2	5.8	6012	5975.4	3.4
Fall River (97,984)	2321	2368.8	3.2	1356	1383.9	2.7	1487	1517.6	2.6	5164	5270.2	2.9
Lynn (91,200)	1664	1824.6	2.3	935	1025.2	1.8	1082	1186.4	1.9	3681	4036.2	2.1
New Bedford (102,190)	1926	1884.7	2.7	1130	1105.8	2.2	1024	1002.1	1.8	4080	3992.6	2.3
Springfield (163,369)	4565	2794.3	6.3	3051	1867.6	6.0	2629	1609.2	4.7	10245	6271.1	5.7
Worcester (175,727)	5179	2947.2	7.2	1827	1039.7	3.6	5073	2886.9	9.0	12079	6873.7	6.7
Totals w/out Boston	17366	2375.4	24.2	9338	1277.3	18.3	14557	1991.2	25.9	41261	5643.8	23.0
Totals includ- ing Boston	27539	2022.0	38.3	14947	1097.4	29.3	30120	2211.5	53.5	72606	5330.9	40.5
Massachusetts (5,787,000) 1.	71894	1242.3	100.0	51009	881.4	100.0	56272	972.4	100.0	179175	3096.2	100.0

1. To nearest 1,000. 2. Rate per 100,000 persons. 3. Number of offenses reported in city/number reported in State

The contribution of each major city to crime in the Commonwealth was disproportionately high relative to its contribution to the state's population. In other words, there exists a disproportionate concentration of the state's crime in the major cities (Table 7). (In 1972, this disproportionality was greatest for Worcester, Springfield, Cambridge, and Boston. It was also slightly greater in 1971 than in 1972, except for Springfield and Worcester.) Collectively, the seven major cities accounted for 23.5 percent of the state's population, while 42.8 percent of the state index offenses occurred there during 1972. (See Table 7.)

Some have contended that reported crime (relative to actual crime) may be greater in these cities than elsewhere in the state because the public is more aware of the crime problem, and better educated regarding appropriate responses to it (via mass media saturation). In short, it is argued that residents of major cities may have a stronger proclivity to report offenses. However, victimization studies have refuted this argument. It has been repeatedly found that serious crime goes severely under-reported in the larger cities across the nation -- 35 to 60 percent under-reported, depending upon the offense. Thus, it appears more reasonable to argue that greater urban public "awareness," and the impetus behind any mass media saturation campaign, stem as a direct function of a more serious crime problem: actual offenses are far more frequent on a per capita basis; and this more serious crime problem is reflected in major-city crime rates despite chronic non-reporting.

Tables 8a and 8b reveal that crimes against persons are significantly more concentrated in the major cities than crimes against property. Of all crimes of violence reported in the Commonwealth, 66.6 percent were reported in the seven major cities; of all property crimes, 40.5 percent were reported there. However, it is seen that Boston is the source of this disparity. If Boston is excluded from the calculation, the remaining six cities accounting for 12.6 percent of the state's population, account respectively, for 23.2 and 23.0 percent of the state's violent and property crimes. Boston, with 10.9 percent of the state's population, accounts, respectively, for 43.4 and 17.5 percent of the state's violent and property crimes. Individually, each of the six major cities, other than Boston, reports a disproportionately high incidence of both violent and property crimes, relative to their respective contributions to the state's population; but, as would be expected based on the aggregate data, it is only Boston wherein the gap between the two categories of crime is quite so pronounced.

Turning to examine the individual index offenses, the disproportionately high incidence of specific crimes in the major cities is outstanding. It is observed that 77.8 percent of all Massachusetts robberies, 54.6 percent of all aggravated assaults, 38.3 percent of all burglaries, and 53.5 percent of all auto thefts committed in 1972 were committed in the seven major cities of the Commonwealth. Expectedly, Boston's inclusion in these

statistics plays a determining role. Boston alone accounted for 57.0 percent of all robberies committed in the state.

The six cities reported a total of 1840 robberies while Boston alone reported 5037. It is interesting to note that over the past four years, the concentration of robbery and burglary in the seven major cities has remained relatively constant, but the concentration of auto theft seems to be decreasing (Table 9).

Relative to the concentration of Massachusetts' population in the major cities (Refer to Table 7, above.), these crime-specific data forcefully underscore the extraordinary concentration of serious crime in the major cities. The implications for the geographic allocation of crime prevention and control funds and for program-planning-budgeting decisions should be clear.

TABLE 9: CONCENTRATION OF ROBBERY, BURGLARY, AND AUTO THEFT IN THE SEVEN MAJOR CITIES -- 1969-1972

Index Offense	Percent of State Offenses Reported in 7 Major Cities			
	1969	1970	1971	1972
Robbery	77.6	77.7	79.2	77.8
Burglary	39.3	40.3	40.6	38.3
Auto Theft	60.1	59.0	54.4	53.5

2. Disproportionately High Incidence of Crime in the Major Metropolitan Areas

Collectively, the five metropolitan areas accounted for 59.2 percent of all index offenses reported in the Commonwealth in 1972. The Boston metropolitan area alone accounted for 32.5 percent, while the others combined accounted for 26.7 percent (Table 10). Among the latter, the Springfield and Worcester areas contributed most heavily. Together, the four metropolitan areas reported 52,380 index offenses in 1972; Boston alone reported 63,782.

As might be expected, each metropolitan area contributed to crime disproportionately, relative to its contribution to the state's population. The Boston metropolitan area, with a fraction more than a fifth of the state's population, accounted for a third of Massachusetts' index crime. In contrast, the disproportionality reflected by the Lynn metropolitan area was hardly noticeable. Collectively, the five metropolitan areas accounted

TABLE 10: DISPROPORTIONATE INCIDENCE OF INDEX CRIME IN MAJOR METROPOLITAN AREAS RELATIVE TO POPULATION CONCENTRATION -- 1972

Metropolitan Area	Area Population 1972	Number of Index Offenses 1972	Percent of State's Population 1972	Percent of all Index Offenses Reported in State -- 1972
1. Boston	1,292,502	63782	22.3	32.5
2. Fall River New Bedford	249,962	11517	4.3	5.9
3. Lynn	235,002	8395	4.1	4.3
4. Springfield	389,832	18262	6.7	9.3
5. Worcester	230,832	14206	4.0	7.2
Totals w/out Boston Metro Area	1,105,628	52380	19.1	26.7
Totals Incl. Boston Metro Area	2,398,130	116162	41.4	59.2
Massachusetts	5,787,000	196261	100.0	100.0

1. Boston/Cambridge/Somerville/Newton/Quincy/Brookline/Watertown/Revere/Milton/Dedham/Needham/Everett/Chelsea.
2. Fall River/New Bedford/Dartmouth/Somerset/Westport.  
Acushnet (7,967) is contiguous to New Bedford but data are not available.  
Freetown (4,117) is contiguous to both Fall River and New Bedford but is excluded as it is not part of either SMSA. Fairhaven (16,852) data not available.
3. Lynn/Peabody/Salem/Saugus/Swampscott/Lynnfield. Nahant (4,087) data are not available.
4. Springfield/Chicopee/Holyoke/W. Springfield/Agawam/Ludlow/Long Meadow/E. Longmeadow/Wilbraham/. Hampden (4,293) data are not available.
5. Worcester/Grafton/Holden/Millbury/Shrewsbury.  
Boylston (2,925), Leicester (8,363), Paxton (3,562), and W. Boylston (6,251) data are not available. Auburn (15,741) data are not available.

for 41.4 percent of the Commonwealth's 1972 population, while 59.2 percent of the index crime was concentrated in those areas. (See Table 10.)

It was observed that crimes against persons were significantly more concentrated in the major cities than were crimes against property. It is not surprising to find (Tables 11a and 11b) that this remains true in the metropolitan areas. Of all crimes against persons reported in the Commonwealth, 75.7 percent were reported in the five metropolitan areas; of all crimes against property, 57.6 percent were reported there. Again, as with the major cities, Boston's numerically voluminous crime patterns play a determining role with respect to this disparity. If the Boston metropolitan area is excluded from the calculation, the disparity among the other four areas is actually reversed: these areas, containing 19.1 percent of the state's population, account for 23.2 and 27.0 percent of the state's violent and property crimes. The Boston metropolitan area, with 22.3 percent of the state's population, accounts, respectively, for 52.5 and 30.6 percent of the state's violent and property crimes.

The concentration of specific offenses in the metropolitan areas is startling. With 41.4 percent of the state's population, these areas are responsible for 75.8 percent of the state's murders, 86.6 percent of the robberies, 64.1 percent of the assaults, 69.6 percent of the auto thefts, 61.0 percent of the rapes, and 55.5 percent of the burglaries. (Tables 11a and 11b.)

The reader should carefully compare Table 7 with Table 10, and Tables 8a and b with Tables 11a and b. The importance of these data for criminal justice-planning and fund-allocation decisions cannot be overemphasized.

### 3. Distribution of Crime Within the Major Metropolitan Areas

Index crime is heavily concentrated in the major cities of the Commonwealth. Expanding to consider the metropolitan areas of which those cities are central, it has been observed that a very large percentage of the state's crime occurs in those areas, far in excess of expectation based on the distribution of population. It remains to examine the geographic distribution of index crime within the metropolitan areas. Tables 12a through e examine this question. Where crime data for communities surrounding the major cities are not available, as is chronically true for the Worcester metropolitan area, the percentage of the area's crime attributable to the central city is falsely inflated.

Notwithstanding missing data, it is safe to say that crime within the metropolitan areas is largely concentrated in the major cities central to those areas. Boston houses a little less than half of the population in the metropolitan area but lives with 60.8 percent of the serious crime. Springfield reports 62.9 percent of the crime in its metropolitan area, but contains only 41.9 percent of the population. And so it is with each of the metropolitan areas.

TABLE 11a: CONCENTRATION OF CRIMES OF VIOLENCE IN THE MAJOR METROPOLITAN AREAS -- 1972

Metropolitan Area (Population)	Murder and Non-negligent Manslaughter		Forcible Rape		Robbery		Aggravated Assault		All Crimes Against Persons	
	No.	Rate Percent	No.	Rate Percent	No.	Rate Percent	No.	Rate Percent	No.	Rate Percent
Boston (1,292,502)	129	10.0	344	26.6	5858	453.2	2644	204.6	8975	694.4
New Bedford (247,962)	13	5.3	35	14.0	437	174.8	351	140.4	636	254.5
Lynn (235,002)	3	1.3	15	6.4	270	114.9	430	183.0	719	305.5
Springfield (389,832)	10	2.6	47	12.1	576	147.3	688	227.6	1521	390.2
Worcester (230,832)	8	3.5	37	16.0	513	222.2	330	143.0	688	294.7
Totals w/out Boston Area	34	3.1	134	16.1	1796	162.4	1999	180.1	3963	350.0
Totals incl. Boston Metro Area	163	6.2	479	19.9	7654	319.2	4643	193.1	12938	513.5
Massachusetts (5,787,000)	215	3.7	784	13.5	8840	152.8	7247	125.1	17006	295.4

\*Recall that the major cities alone (w/out Boston) accounted for 18.6% of all murders. Here, the more inclusive metro areas (w/out Boston) account for only 15.8% of all murders. However, the city of Cambridge is included in the Boston Metro Area; thus, the exclusion of the Boston Metro Area also implies the exclusion of Cambridge.

TABLE 11b: CONCENTRATION OF CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY  
IN THE MAJOR METROPOLITAN AREAS -- 1972

Metropolitan Area (Population)	Burglary			Larceny \$50 and Above			Auto Theft			All Crimes Against Property		
	No.	Rate	Percent	No.	Rate	Percent	No.	Rate	Percent	No.	Rate	Percent
Boston (1,292,502)	18303	1416.1	25.5	11741	908.4	23.0	24763	1915.9	44.0	54807	4240.4	30.6
Fall River New Bedford (249,962)	4899	1959.9	6.8	3082	1233.0	6.0	2700	1080.2	4.8	10681	4273.0	6.0
Lynn (235,002)	3449	1467.6	4.8	2024	861.3	4.0	2204	937.9	3.9	7677	3266.8	4.3
Springfield (389,832)	7466	1915.2	10.4	5064	1299.0	9.9	4211	1080.2	7.5	16741	4294.4	9.3
Worcester (230,832)	5794	2510.1	8.1	2214	959.1	4.3	5310	2300.4	9.4	13318	5769.6	7.4
Totals w/out Boston Metro Area	21608	1954.4	30.1	12384	1120.1	24.3	14435	1334.7	25.6	48417	4379.1	27.0
Totals incl. Boston Metro Area	39911	1664.3	55.5	24125	1006.0	47.3	39188	1634.1	69.6	103224	4304.3	57.6
Massachusetts (5,787,000)	71894	1242.3	100.0	51009	881.4	100.0	56272	972.4	100.0	179175	3096.2	100.0

TABLE 12a: INDEX OFFENSES FOR THE BOSTON  
METROPOLITAN AREA -- 1972

City or Town	Population	Total Crime Index	
		Number	Percent of All Offenses in Area
Boston	630900	38763	60.8
Brookline	60500	3658	5.7
Quincy	88900	2819	4.4
Milton	27900	527	0.8
Dedham	27826	1029	1.6
Needham	31238	748	1.2
Newton	87600	2650	4.1
Watertown	38013	643	1.0
Cambridge	100612	6624	10.4
Somerville	84800	2759	4.3
Everett	40700	798	1.3
Chelsea	30013	945	1.5
Revere	43500	1819	2.9
Totals	1,292,502	63782	100.0

TABLE 12b: INDEX OFFENSES FOR THE FALL RIVER/NEW BEDFORD METROPOLITAN AREA -- 1972

City or Town	Population	Total Crime Index	
		Number	Percent of All Offenses in Area
Fall River	97984	5535	48.1
New Bedford	102190	4468	38.8
Acushnet	7967	N/A	N/A
Dartmouth	20156	721	6.3
Fairhaven	16852	N/A	N/A
Somerset	18792	279	2.4
Westport	10840	514	4.5
Totals	249962 <sup>1.</sup>	11517	100.0

TABLE 12c: INDEX OFFENSES FOR THE LYNN METROPOLITAN AREA -- 1972

City or Town	Population	Total Crime Index	
		Number	Percent of All Offenses in Area
Lynn	91200	4200	50.0
Lynnfield	11700	239	2.8
Nahant	4087	N/A	N/A
Peabody	51900	1328	15.8
Salem	40799	1500	17.9
Saugus	25806	950	11.3
Swampscott	13597	178	2.1
Totals	235002 <sup>2.</sup>	8395	100.0

1. excluding Acushnet and Fairhaven.  
2. excluding Nahant.

TABLE 12d: INDEX OFFENSES FOR THE SPRINGFIELD METROPOLITAN AREA -- 1972

City or Town	Population	Total Crime Index	
		Number	Percent of All Offenses in Area
Springfield	163369	11504	62.9
Agawam	22455	862	4.7
Chicopee	67900	1085	5.9
E. Longmeadow	13225	217	1.2
Hampden	4293	N/A	N/A
Holyoke	49900	2407	13.2
Longmeadow	16017	289	1.6
Ludlow	16265	271	1.5
W. Springfield	28478	1200	6.6
Wilbraham	12223	427	2.3
Totals	389832 <sup>1.</sup>	18262	100.0

1. excluding Hampden.

TABLE 12e: INDEX OFFENSES FOR THE WORCESTER METROPOLITAN AREA -- 1972

City or Town	Population	Total Crime Index	
		Number	Percent of All Offenses in Area
Worcester	175727	12894	90.8
Auburn	15741	N/A	N/A
Boylston	2925	N/A	N/A
Grafton	11248	138	1.0
Holden	12726	130	0.9
Leicester	8363	N/A	N/A
Millbury	11809	187	1.3
Paxton	3562	N/A	N/A
Shrewsbury	19322	857	6.0
W. Boylston	6251	N/A	N/A
Totals	230832 <sup>1.</sup>	14206	100.0

1. excluding Auburn, Boylston, Leicester, Paxton, and W. Boylston.

For Boston, Tables 13a and b were prepared, allowing similar contrasts for each index offense. These data indicate that 86 percent of all robberies, 56 percent of all burglaries, and 63 percent of all auto thefts committed within the metropolitan area are committed in Boston. An examination of the other offenses reveals that Boston once again accounts for an inordinately large proportion of the crimes committed in the metropolitan area: 81 percent of the murder and non-negligent manslaughter, 76 percent of the forcible rape, and 76 percent of the aggravated assault -- all offenses involving violence and injury to a victim. The relative concentration of these offenses in Boston may be partially explained by the concentration of transient individuals and low-income families within the city. It is within these groups that an inordinate share of such interpersonal violent offenses exists.

It is interesting to note that while Boston accounts for 48 percent of the total number of larcenies reported within its metropolitan area, the city experiences a lower rate than several contiguous communities in spite of its large shopping districts. Of course, on the one hand, many proprietors do not report all incidents of shoplifting. On the other hand, larcenies under \$50 (the typical shop-lift) are more likely not reported than larcenies over \$50, and only the latter are reflected in these data.

Although this discussion yields some insight into the distribution of crime within the major metropolitan areas, it is but a stepping-stone to a more intensive review of the problem. In this section, as earlier, the reasons why have been almost totally ignored. The geographic and temporal distribution of offenses committed within each city has not been and will not be explored. To complete such analyses, we would need to determine the incidence of offenses within a city employing a smaller unit of analysis such as the census tract, the "neighborhood," or the police precinct. This more exhaustive approach was employed in the 1971 report, Crime in Boston: An Analysis of Serious Crime Patterns in 81 Neighborhoods, prepared for the City of Boston, Safe Streets Act Advisory Committee by Albert Cardarelli.\* This kind of design would facilitate an examination of the demographic and socio-economic conditions of each unit, and would allow a more meaningful analysis of the relationship between such factors and crime patterns.

\*Available at the library of the Committee on Law Enforcement.

TABLE 13a: CRIMES AGAINST PERSONS FOR BOSTON METROPOLITAN AREA -- 1972

City or Town	Population	Murder and Non-Negligent Manslaughter		Forcible Rape		Robbery		Aggravated Assault	
		Number	Rate Per 100,000	Number	Rate Per 100,000	Number	Rate Per 100,000	Number	Rate Per 100,000
Boston	630,900	104	16.5	262	41.5	5037	798.4	2015	319.4
Brookline	60,500	0	0	13	21.5	102	168.6	34	56.2
Quincy	88,900	3	3.4	7	7.9	52	58.5	61	68.6
Milton	27,900	0	0	3	10.8	11	39.4	7	25.1
Dedham	27,826	0	0	1	3.6	20	71.9	8	28.8
Needham	31,238	0	0	1	3.2	0	0	7	22.4
Newton	87,600	2	2.3	6	6.8	54	61.6	121	138.1
Watertown	38,013	0	0	1	2.6	20	52.6	10	26.3
Cambridge	100,612	13	12.9	32	31.8	329	327.0	238	236.6
Somerville	84,800	3	3.5	7	8.3	83	97.9	47	55.4
Everett	40,700	0	0	1	2.5	57	140.0	19	46.7
Chelsea	30,013	2	6.7	2	6.7	24	80.0	48	159.9
Revere	43,500	2	4.6	8	18.4	69	158.6	29	66.7
Totals	1,292,502	129	10.0	344	26.6	5858	453.2	2644	204.6

TABLE 13b: CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY FOR BOSTON METROPOLITAN AREA -- 1972

City or Town	Population	Burglary		Larceny \$50 and over		Auto Theft	
		Number	Rate Per 100,000	Number	Rate Per 100,000	Number	Rate Per 100,000
Boston	630,900	10173	1612.5	5609	889.0	15563	2466.8
Brookline	60,500	1246	2059.5	1101	1819.8	1162	1920.7
Quincy	88,900	1254	1410.6	588	773.9	754	848.1
Milton	27,900	199	713.3	222	795.7	85	304.7
Dedham	27,826	187	672.0	426	1530.9	387	1390.8
Needham	31,238	272	870.7	387	1238.9	81	259.3
Newton	87,600	801	914.4	1129	1288.8	537	613.0
Watertown	38,013	229	602.4	230	605.1	153	402.5
Cambridge	100,612	1711	1700.6	1039	1032.7	3262	3242.2
Somerville	84,800	996	1174.5	296	349.1	1327	1564.9
Everett	40,700	359	882.1	94	231.0	268	658.5
Chelsea	30,013	354	1179.5	196	653.1	319	1062.9
Revere	43,500	522	1200.0	324	744.8	865	1988.5
Totals	1,292,502	18303	1416.1	11741	908.4	24763	1915.9



C. CRIME PATTERNS DIFFER AMONG MAJOR CITIES

In the preceding section, The Geographic Distribution of Index Crime in Massachusetts, numbers of offenses were examined to determine where the largest proportion of serious crime was committed. Rate comparisons were of secondary importance, especially such comparisons between and among the major cities. For purposes of the present discussion, the reverse will hold true: we will be more concerned with the fact that Springfield's aggravated assault rate was 484.2 in 1972, to Boston's 319.4, than with the fact that 27.8 percent of the state's assaults occurred in Boston, while only 10.9 percent occurred in Springfield; more concerned that from 1969 through 1972 every major city has endured more burglaries per capita than Boston, than that Boston accounts for 14.1 percent of Massachusetts' burglaries while the other major cities account for only 2.3 to 7.2 percent.

Turning first to the total index crime rate (Table 14), among the six major cities other than Boston, Cambridge reported the highest rate and Worcester the second highest in 1969, 1970, and 1971. In 1972, Worcester ascended to first place, and Springfield to second, while Cambridge dropped to third, with rates of 7337.5, 7041.7, and 6583.7 respectively. As per capita crime increased in Boston, it increased faster in other major cities. In 1970 and 1971, Cambridge and Worcester recorded rates greater than Boston's; by 1972 Boston ranked fourth.

Persons-property distinctions (Tables 8a and 8b), however, shed an interesting light on these findings. For crimes against persons, Worcester's rate of 463.8 falls below those of Boston (1175.8), Springfield (770.7), Cambridge (608.3), and Fall River (569.1). Thus, Boston's low overall crime rate is largely a function of its low rate for crimes against property -- fifth in rank order among the seven cities. Worcester and Springfield reported the highest violent crimes rates: 6873.7 and 6271.1 to Boston's 4968.3.

Unlike burglary and auto theft, which, for some major cities, have shown percentage declines in numbers (1969-1972), robbery shows only positive percentages (Table 15a), Cambridge's 1972 reduction notwithstanding. Springfield's singular 561.5 percent increase (1969-1972) ostensibly reflects something more than an actual increase in robbery of that magnitude. It is interesting that during 1969 and 1970, both Fall River and Springfield fell below the robbery rate for the state. In 1971, only Fall River's rate was lower than that of the Commonwealth. And by 1972 all major cities had surpassed the state in robberies per capita.

TABLE 14: TOTAL CRIME INDEX  
MAJOR CITIES -- 1969-1972

City (1972 Population)	1969		1970		1971		1972		Percent Increase in Number of Offenses 1969 - 1972
	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	
Boston (630,900)	35397	5634.5	38294	5973.4	42514	6631.7	38763	6144.1	9.5
Cambridge (100,612)	6175	624.1	7563	7535.8	7177	7151.2	6624	6583.7	7.3
Fall River (97,984)	3324	347.4	4570	4716.3	6454	6562.9	5535	5648.9	66.5
Lynn (91,200)	3867	440.3	4288	4748.9	4389	4860.8	4200	4605.3	8.6
New Bedford (102,190)	4520	446.4	4657	4575.7	5603	5505.2	4468	4372.2	-1.2
Springfield (163,369)	7367	454.5	7834	4779.6	10273	6267.7	11504	7041.7	56.2
Worcester (175,727)	9932	567.1	11396	6454.0	12559	7112.7	12894	7337.5	29.8
Massachusetts (5,787,000)	149807	2660.8*	170900	3004.0	200796	3487.3	196261	3391.4	31.0

\*1969 UCR (p. 59) reports 2740.2, based on a Massachusetts population of 5467000; 2660.8 is based on a Massachusetts population of 5630224 (Preliminary 1970 U.S. Census).

TABLE 15a: ROBBERY IN THE MAJOR CITIES  
OF MASSACHUSETTS -- 1969-1972

City	1969		1970		1971		1972		Percent Increase in Number of Offenses 1969 - 1972
	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	
Boston	2984	475.0	3371	525.8	4735	738.7	5037	798.4	68.8
Cambridge	160	161.7	256	255.1	355	353.7	329	327.0	105.6
Fall River	44	46.0	80	82.6	129	131.1	203	207.2	361.4
Lynn	120	136.6	146	161.7	142	157.3	163	178.7	35.8
New Bedford	126	124.4	106	104.1	169	166.0	214	209.4	69.8
Springfield	65	40.1	70	42.7	407	248.3	430	263.2	561.5
Worcester	345	197.0	369	209.0	452	256.8	501	285.1	45.2
Massachusetts	4955	88.0*	5658	99.5	8069	140.1	8840	152.8	78.4

\*1969 UCR (p. 59) reports 90.6; see footnote to Table 14.

TABLE 15b: BURGLARY IN THE MAJOR CITIES  
OF MASSACHUSETTS -- 1969-1972

City	1969		1970		1971		1972		Percent Increase in Number of Offenses 1969 - 1972
	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	
Boston	9002	1432.9	10002	1560.2	12439	1940.6	10173	1612.5	13.0
Cambridge	2018	2039.6	2181	2173.2	1978	1970.9	1711	1700.6	-15.2
Fall River	1488	1555.2	1927	1988.7	3052	3103.6	2321	2368.8	56.0
Lynn	1707	1943.8	1992	2206.1	1825	2021.2	1664	1824.6	- 2.5
New Bedford	1625	1604.7	2168	2130.1	2566	2521.2	1926	1884.7	18.5
Springfield	2392	1475.8	3117	1901.7	4358	2658.9	4565	2794.3	90.8
Worcester	3981	2273.0	4612	2612.0	5110	2903.4	5179	2947.2	30.1
Massachusetts	56450	1002.6*	64523	1134.1	77145	1339.8	71894	1242.3	27.4

\*1969 UCR (p. 59) reports 1032.6; see footnote to Table 14.

TABLE 15c: AUTO THEFT IN THE MAJOR CITIES OF MASSACHUSETTS -- 1969-1972

City	1969		1970		1971		1972		Percent Increase in Number of Offenses 1969 - 1972
	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	
Boston	15190	2418.0	15334	2391.9	16027	2500.3	15563	2466.8	2.5
Cambridge	2516	2542.9	3360	3347.9	3239	3227.3	3262	3242.2	29.7
Fall River	1176	1229.1	1520	1568.7	1751	1780.5	1487	1517.6	26.4
Lynn	1140	1298.2	1199	1327.9	1070	1185.0	1082	1186.4	-5.1
New Bedford	1541	1521.8	1122	1102.4	1247	1225.2	1024	1002.1	-33.5
Springfield	2850	1758.4	2944	1796.2	3150	1921.8	2629	1609.2	-7.8
Worcester	3852	2199.4	4011	2271.6	4389	2493.7	5073	2886.9	31.7
Massachusetts	46950	833.9*	49955	878.1	56709	984.9	56272	972.4	19.9

\*1969 UCR (p. 59) reports 858.8; see footnote to Table 14.

With regard to both burglary and auto theft (Tables 15b and 15c), Boston's offenses clearly out-number those reported by the other major cities, but, on a per capita basis, other major cities have been suffering more chronic problems. Boston's burglary rate has been, and is, the lowest among the seven cities, 1969-1972. Excepting 1971, when Fall River's rate ranked first, Worcester has led the seven cities, with 1969, 1970, and 1972 rates of 2273.0, 2612.0, and 2947.2 per 100,000 persons.

Upon recalling that Boston's auto theft rate earned it first place among all U.S. cities (500,000+), note that in both Cambridge and Worcester, auto theft constitutes even a more severe problem. However, looking beyond auto theft and considering the crime problem more broadly, Worcester and Cambridge are not alone.

D. OTHER CITIES AND TOWNS OF THE COMMONWEALTH

Tables 16 and 17 respectively present crime rates for Massachusetts cities and towns having 50-100,000 and 25-50,000 inhabitants. However, it should be understood that these categories are arbitrary, and are meant to connote "middle-sized" and "small-sized" communities, rather than sharply delineated groupings. Fall River and Lynn are, accordingly, listed in Table 16, but not included in the calculations yielding row 3 in the table, as they have been considered to be among the "major cities" throughout this report.

A cursory review of both Tables 16 and 17 reveals no systematic patterns among the cities in terms of offense rates, except that rates for the larger-size cities are slightly higher excepting assault and larceny. The aggregate total Crime Index rates for both categories are lower than the Crime Index rate for the state, as is also true with regard to the individual index offenses, with one anomaly: the larceny rate for cities, 25,000-50,000, is greater than that for the Commonwealth as a whole.

The total index crime rates for the "middle-sized" communities range from 1162.8 for Arlington to 6046.3 for Brookline. It is important to note that Brookline and Framingham are the only places within this group (other than Fall River and Lynn, which are excluded) that have total index crime rates in excess of that for the state; Lowell, Somerville, Newton, and Quincy approach the state's 3391.4. Brookline, Newton, Quincy, and Somerville are all part of the Boston metropolitan area, are contiguous to Boston, and, except for political boundaries, cannot be distinguished as separate urban/social systems. The ability of any citizen to travel rapidly from one

TABLE 16 : INDEX CRIME RATES OF MASSACHUSETTS CITIES AND TOWNS HAVING 50-100,000 INHABITANTS -- 1972

City	Population	Total Index Crime Rate	Murder & Non-negligent Man-slaughter	Forcible Rape	Robbery	Aggravated Assault	Burglary	Larceny \$50 and Over	Auto Theft
Massachusetts Total	5,787,000*	3391.4	3.7	13.5	152.8	125.2	1242.3	881.4	972.4
U.S. 50-100,000	17,714,000*	3214.8	6.3	19.4	131.5	163.0	1251.0	1162.0	481.6
Massachusetts 50-100,000	1,014,980**	2810.4	1.8	9.5	60.8	65.0	1018.1	791.6	483.6
Arlington	52,200	1162.8	0	21.1	34.5	30.7	555.6	226.1	295.0
Brockton	92,958	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Brookline	60,500	6046.3	0	21.5	168.6	56.2	2059.5	1819.8	1920.7
Chicopee	67,900	1597.9	1.5	2.9	26.5	2.9	842.4	188.5	533.1
Fall River	97,984	5648.9	8.2	11.2	207.2	152.1	2368.8	1383.9	1517.6
Framingham	65,200	3418.7	1.5	3.1	21.5	58.3	957.1	1682.5	694.8
Lawrence	67,400	2866.5	0	17.8	47.5	132.0	827.9	614.2	1227.0

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TABLE 16 : INDEX CRIME RATES OF MASSACHUSETTS CITIES AND TOWNS HAVING 50-100,000 INHABITANTS -- 1972

City	Population	Total Index Crime Rate	Murder & Non-negligent Man-slaughter	Forcible Rape	Robbery	Aggravated Assault	Burglary	Larceny \$50 and Over	Auto Theft
Lowell	94,616	3221.4	3.2	19.0	61.3	87.7	1265.1	549.6	1235.5
Lynn	91,200	4605.3	1.1	14.3	178.7	375.0	1824.6	1025.2	1186.4
Malden	55,790	2335.5	1.8	7.2	120.0	28.7	623.8	593.3	960.7
Medford	64,268	1851.6	3.1	10.9	52.9	37.3	511.9	639.5	595.9
Newton	87,600	3025.1	2.3	6.8	61.6	138.1	914.4	1288.8	613.0
Peabody	51,900	2558.8	0	1.9	53.9	121.4	1152.2	448.7	780.3
Pittsfield	56,906	2651.7	1.8	0	36.9	43.9	1137.0	1217.8	214.4
Quincy	88,900	3171.0	3.4	1.9	58.5	68.6	1410.6	773.9	848.1
Somerville	84,800	3253.5	3.5	8.3	97.9	55.4	1174.5	349.1	1564.9
Waltham	60,600	1917.5	1.7	3.3	31.4	39.6	772.3	513.2	556.1

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TABLE 16 : INDEX CRIME RATES OF MASSACHUSETTS CITIES AND TOWNS HAVING 50-100,000 INHABITANTS -- 1972

City	Population	Total Index Crime Rate	Murder & Non-negligent Man-slaughter	Forcible Rape	Robbery	Aggravated Assault	Burglary	Larceny \$50 and Over	Auto Theft
Weymouth	56,300	2207.8	0	7.1	30.2	30.2	719.4	1001.8	419.2
* to the nearest thousand.									
** Excludes Brockton, for which offense data are not available. Also excluded in this row are Fall River and Lynn, which are treated as "major cities" though they technically fall within this population category.									

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TABLE 17 : INDEX CRIME RATES OF MASSACHUSETTS CITIES AND TOWNS HAVING 25-50,000 INHABITANTS -- 1972

City	Population	Total Index Crime Rate	Murder & Non-negligent Man-slaughter	Forcible Rape	Robbery	Aggravated Assault	Burglary	Larceny \$50 and Over	Auto Theft
Massachusetts Total	5,787,000*	3391.4	3.7	13.5	152.8	125.2	1242.3	881.4	972.4
U.S. 25-50,000	16,673,000*	2821.3	5.1	15.0	102.6	145.3	1063.8	1100.2	389.3
Massachusetts 25-50,000	1,092,286**	2777.3	1.3	6.0	58.7	68.6	992.4	908.5	741.8
Attleboro	33,000	2642.4	0	6.1	48.5	63.6	709.1	1045.5	769.9
Belmont	28,036	1555.1	0	7.1	14.3	32.1	577.8	770.4	153.4
Beverly	38,808	3164.3	0	5.2	54.1	20.6	1301.3	1229.1	554.0
Billerica	31,727	3624.7	3.2	6.3	41.0	167.1	1714.6	1122.1	570.5
Braintree	36,807	4550.8	0	5.4	65.2	220.1	1152.0	1420.9	1687.2
Chelmsford	31,511	1704.2	0	6.3	15.9	60.3	612.5	701.3	307.8
Chelsea	30,013	3148.6	6.7	6.7	80.0	159.9	1179.5	653.1	1062.9

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TABLE 17 : INDEX CRIME RATES OF MASSACHUSETTS CITIES AND TOWNS HAVING 25-50,000 INHABITANTS -- 1972

City	Population	Total Index Crime Rate	Murder & Non-negligent Man-slaughter	Forcible Rape	Robbery	Aggravated Assault	Burglary	Larceny \$50 and Over	Auto Theft
Danvers	26,554	3016.5	0	7.5	26.4	101.7	534.8	1318.1	1028.1
Dedham	27,826	3698.0	0	3.6	71.9	28.8	672.0	1530.9	1390.8
Everett	40,700	1960.7	0	2.5	140.0	46.7	882.1	231.0	658.5
Fitchburg	43,700	3464.5	2.3	9.2	70.9	89.2	1393.6	1009.2	890.2
Gloucester	28,388	3286.6	7.0	0	35.2	186.7	1285.6	637.6	1134.3
Haverhill	46,900	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Holyoke	49,900	4823.6	2.0	20.0	148.3	116.2	2222.4	953.9	1360.7
Leominster	34,100	3011.7	2.9	2.9	32.3	114.4	1061.6	1020.5	777.1
Lexington	33,000	2242.4	0	9.1	39.4	84.8	960.6	809.1	339.4
Marlborough	28,185	2632.6	0	24.8	63.9	120.6	879.9	993.4	549.9

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TABLE 17 : INDEX CRIME RATES OF MASSACHUSETTS CITIES AND TOWNS HAVING 25-50,000 INHABITANTS -- 1972

City	Population	Total Index Crime Rate	Murder & Non-negligent Man-slaughter	Forcible Rape	Robbery	Aggravated Assault	Burglary	Larceny \$50 and Over	Auto Theft
Melrose	33,263	935.0	0	0	39.1	51.1	222.5	249.5	372.8
Methuen	36,109	2293.1	2.8	0	60.9	74.8	1121.6	479.1	553.9
Milton	27,900	1888.9	0	10.8	39.4	25.1	713.3	795.7	304.7
Natick	31,135	2595.2	0	0	25.7	6.4	908.9	1018.1	635.9
Needham	31,238	2394.5	0	3.2	0	22.4	870.7	1238.9	259.3
Northampton	29,605	1746.3	0	0	16.9	20.3	429.0	925.5	354.7
Norwood	32,359	2546.4	0	3.1	49.4	40.2	899.3	871.5	683.0
Randolph	28,389	824.3	0	14.1	31.7	66.9	243.1	278.3	190.2
Revere	43,500	4181.6	4.6	18.4	158.6	66.7	1200.0	744.8	1988.5
Salem	40,799	3676.6	4.9	2.5	80.9	44.1	2068.7	840.7	634.8

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TABLE 17: INDEX CRIME RATES OF MASSACHUSETTS CITIES AND TOWNS HAVING 25-50,000 INHABITANTS -- 1972

City	Population	Total Index Crime Rate	Murder & Non-negligent Manslaughter	Forcible Rape	Robbery	Aggravated Assault	Burglary	Larceny \$50 and Over	Auto Theft
Saugus	25,806	3681.3	0	0	135.6	15.5	558.0	1398.9	1573.3
Taunton	44,890	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Wakefield	26,017	2056.3	0	0	57.7	69.2	787.9	853.3	288.3
Watertown	38,013	1691.5	0	2.6	52.6	26.3	602.4	605.1	402.5
Wellesley	28,402	1267.5	0	0	14.1	10.6	436.6	623.2	183.1
Westfield	31,518	2763.5	3.2	6.3	22.2	19.0	869.3	1411.9	431.5
West Springfield	28,478	4213.8	0	7.0	63.2	56.2	1362.5	1731.2	993.7
Woburn	37,500	2205.3	0	0	21.3	8.0	736.0	837.3	602.7
*to nearest 1,000									
**Excludes Haverhill and Taunton, for which offense data are not available.									

community to the next renders obsolete the notion of local communities as distinct and autonomous entities subject to the criminal activities of only local residents.

Among the cities 25-50,000, eight have rates greater than the rate for the state; and, again, six are included in the metropolitan areas delineated above: Dedham and Revere (Boston); Salem and Saugus (Lynn); Holyoke and W. Springfield (Springfield).

The fact that the "middle-" and "small-size" cities generally have lower crime rates than the major cities is consistent with conclusions drawn from earlier research in which it has been found that crime rates in general, and property crime rates in particular, decrease as distance from the center urban areas increases.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that the cities under consideration, unlike the major cities and the major metropolitan areas, do not contribute disproportionately to Massachusetts' index crime, relative to their aggregate populations. The medium-size cities collectively support 17.5 percent of the state's population, while only 14.5 percent of all index offenses were committed there in 1972. For the 25-50,000 population category, those figures are 18.9 and 15.5 percent respectively.

#### IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The incidence of index crime in Massachusetts has been compared with its incidence in other states, from 1961-1972. The incidence of index crime in Boston has been compared with its incidence in comparably large cities across the nation. Crime trends in Massachusetts and in Boston were assessed, comparing the present scope of the problem relative to its past dimensions. This approach allows us to determine the severity of the problem today, relative to its past severity in the Commonwealth and relative to its severity in other jurisdictions. But, as mentioned earlier, it is difficult to draw conclusions useful in criminal justice program-planning from analyses of this nature.

Public officials and criminal justice agencies must attempt, in analyzing the crime problem, to bring this analysis to bear on policy and program-planning-budgeting decisions. The executive decision-maker in the law enforcement-criminal justice system needs to know the answers to many questions. These answers must be determined by careful consideration of existing resources, the strengths and weaknesses of available manpower, information regarding innovative programs implemented both here in the Commonwealth and elsewhere in the nation, and through the evaluation of current crime prevention and control efforts, as well as increased data descriptive of the crime problem itself. The Committee on Law Enforcement, in its role as a comprehensive criminal justice planning agency, is continually pursuing alternative answers, continually considering all of these factors, and attempting each year to reflect those answers in its Annual Action Program, which describes the programs it will fund with the monies channelled to Massachusetts by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration in the Department of Justice. But the Commonwealth receives only a small amount of funds from the LEAA when compared to state and local criminal justice agency expenditures -- an amount which can dwindle to insignificance as it is allocated to new crime prevention and control programs implemented across the state. If these monies are divided among too many small projects, important economies of scale are forsaken. If they are directed to areas within the state where the crime problem is not great, significant reductions in the scope of the problem cannot and will not be realized. Much of this study was, therefore, focused on the geographic distribution of serious crime in the Commonwealth. If we ascertain where, within Massachusetts, the problem of serious crime is most pronounced, where each of the offenses is most concentrated, such information can form the basis for crime-specific program-planning and serve to guide the allocation of crime prevention and control funds. It is from this perspective that some of the outstanding findings of this analysis will be summarized.

#### A. TOTAL CRIME INDEX

Boston, Cambridge, Fall River, Lynn, New Bedford, Springfield and Worcester together contain 23.5 percent of the state's population but reported 42.8 percent of the index offenses committed in 1972. (See Table 18.) (And it is safe to say that non-reporting of serious offenses is probably greater in the larger cities.) Boston, with 10.9 percent of the state's population, bore the brunt of 19.8 percent of all Massachusetts index crime.

The major metropolitan areas, housing 41.4 percent of the population, accounted for 59.2 percent or almost three-fifths of the serious crimes reported during 1972. Alone, the Boston metropolitan area accounted for one-third of the Commonwealth's index crime.

The incidence of serious crime in the smaller cities of the Commonwealth is not disproportionate relative to their population concentration. The middle-size cities, having between 50,000 and 100,000 inhabitants, account in the aggregate for 17.5 percent of the population of the state but for only 14.5 percent of the index crime. The smaller cities (25,000-50,000 inhabitants) account for 18.9 percent of the population but for only 15.5 percent of the index crime.

The aggregate index crime rates of these categories of places similarly reflect the urban nature of the crime problem. For the major cities of the Commonwealth: 6166.6 index offenses per 100,000 persons. For the major metropolitan areas: 4843.9. For middle-size cities (50-100,000 population): 2810.4. And for the smaller cities and towns (25-50,000 population): 2777.3. The aggregate rates of the latter two categories were both lower than the rate for the state: 3391.4.

#### B. CRIMES AGAINST PERSONS AND CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY

Crimes of violence appear to be more concentrated in urban areas than property crimes. The murders, rapes, robberies, and aggravated assaults reported by the major cities in 1972 represented 66.6 percent of all such crimes reported in the Commonwealth. That figure for burglary, larceny, and auto theft combined was 40.5 percent. This disparity is accentuated in Boston, the most "urban" of the urban centers: 43.4 percent of the Commonwealth's crimes against persons, but only 17.5 percent of the crimes against property were committed there last year.



TABLE 18: NUMBERS, RATES, AND GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF INDEX CRIME BY POPULATION GROUPING -- 1972

Population Group	Aggregate Population of Group	Percent <sup>5.</sup> of State's Population	Total Crime Index		
			Number <sup>5.</sup>	Percent of <sup>5.</sup> State's Total	Rate <sup>5.</sup>
Major Metropolitan Areas <sup>1.</sup>	2,398,130	41.4	116162	59.2	4843.9
Major Cities <sup>2.</sup>	1,361,982	23.5	83988	42.8	6166.6
50-100,000 <sup>3.</sup>	1,014,880	17.5	28522	14.5	2810.4
25-50,000 <sup>4.</sup>	1,092,286	18.9	30336	15.5	2777.3
Massachusetts	5,787,000	100.0	196261	100.0	3391.4

1. Boston/Cambridge, Fall River/New Bedford, Lynn, Springfield, & Worcester; see notes to Table 10.
2. Boston, Cambridge, Fall River, Lynn, New Bedford, Springfield, & Worcester.
3. Excludes Fall River(97,984) and Lynn(91,200), which have been treated as major cities; avoids redundancy. Also excludes Brockton; data not available.
4. Excludes Haverhill and Taunton; data not available.
5. Note that there exists redundancy in these statistics: the major metro areas contain the major cities, as well as some of the cities in the 50-100,000 and 25-50,000 population categories.

For the major metropolitan areas, the same disparity prevails. Collectively they are responsible for three-fourths of the state's violent crime. More than one-half of the violent crimes committed in Massachusetts were committed within the Boston metropolitan area alone. Crimes against property were somewhat less concentrated in these areas, with 57.6 percent of the state's total reported therein.

In conclusion, these facts point clearly to the need to focus crime control efforts and criminal justice resources in the large urban areas of the Commonwealth if criminal activity is to be significantly reduced in the coming years.

**END**

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