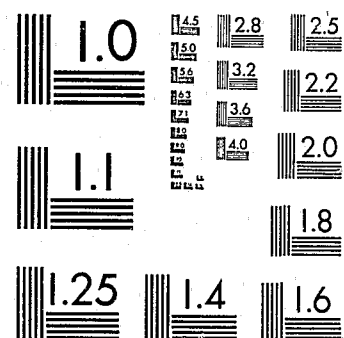


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PART ONE:

VIOLENT JUVENILES AND THEIR OLDER VICTIMS IN NEW YORK STATE

PART TWO:

CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION OF MINORITY GROUPS AND THE ELDERLY

REPORT OF THE

NEW YORK STATE SENATE COMMITTEE ON CRIME AND CORRECTION

AND

NEW YORK STATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON CRIME

SENATOR RALPH J. MARINO, CHAIRMAN

U.S. Department of Justice
National Institute of Justice

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MARCH 1977

PART ONE:

VIOLENT JUVENILES AND THEIR OLDER VICTIMS IN NEW YORK STATE

1.

INTRODUCTION

For the past twenty-five years, two trends have been converging on a collision course in New York State. These two trends are:

1. A surge in the numbers of senior citizens.
2. An explosion of violent juvenile crime.

It is not surprising that the elderly have become easy prey for young criminals. What continues to be shocking is the extent and intensity of the mindless physical and psychological injuries inflicted daily on our older kin and the inability of the criminal justice system to stop or at least stanch the havoc.

ACQUISITION

SENIOR CITIZENS

General Trends, Conditioning Factors, and Projections

According to the most recent figures reported by the United States Census Bureau (May 1976), the number of persons in the nation 65 and older rose from 12.4 million in 1950 to 22.4 million in 1975. Between 1960 and 1970, the U.S. population as a whole increased by 13 percent while the senior citizen population jumped 20 percent.

The single most important factor behind this trend appears to be medical care; it is far better than ever before and available to more of the population. Related factors are greater concern about diet and exercise. Lowering the country's speed limit to 55 miles per hour to conserve fuel has produced the unexpected fringe benefit of conserving life. In 1973, motor vehicle accidents killed 55,511; in 1975 the number dropped to 44,570, a decrease of 19.7 percent. Except for cancer, murder, and suicide, all other major causes of death decreased between 1973 and 1975. The current death rate is at an all time low of 8.9 per 1,000 compared to 17.2 at the turn of the century.

Baby boys born in 1974 can expect to live to an age of 68.2 years compared to the average life expectancy of 46.3 years for their grandfathers born in 1900. Girls born in 1974 can expect to outlive their brothers and husbands by about eight years; their life expectancy is estimated at 75.9 years compared to 48.3 for girls born in 1900. If current birth rates continue, about 17 percent of the population will be 65 and older in the year 2030. In New York City, the 60 and over population has already reached the 17 percent mark.

Between 1950 and 1970, the over 64 population in New York State rose from 1,258,457 to 1,960,752, an increase of 64.2 percent. According to the 1970 U.S. Census, New York State had 2,822,914 senior citizens age 60 or over, about 15.5 percent of the population. Approximately 1,374,495 of the over 60 group live in New York City and comprise 17.4 percent of the population. Table 1 illustrates the increase and distribution of senior citizens in the state.

It is clear from Table 1 that the Long Island counties recorded the greatest gains in elderly population: Nassau County went from 40,304 in 1950 to 123,100 in 1974; Suffolk County, from 27,680 to 99,100. In addition to New York City, all counties with large urban centers increased their 65 and over populations: Albany (the City of Albany); Erie (the City of Buffalo); Monroe (the City of Rochester); Onondaga (the City of Syracuse); and Westchester (the City of Yonkers).

Conditioning Factors Relating to Crime and the Elderly

The fact that most of New York's senior citizens live in large cities has a special significance. According to data generated by a 1973 National Crime Panel survey, city residents are far more likely to be victims of violent crime than those who live in the suburbs. City dwellers run a 24 percent higher risk of aggravated assault. The chances of "personal larceny with contact" are more than twice as great for city dwellers compared to suburbanites. The rate for robbery in cities is more than four times higher than that of rural areas. Figure 1 graphically illustrates the incidence of robbery victimizations for all age categories.

List of Personal Robbery Victims, by Age of Victim and
 Year of Robbery, 1968-1970

Table 1

OLDER POPULATION OF NEW YORK STATE, SELECTED COUNTIES*

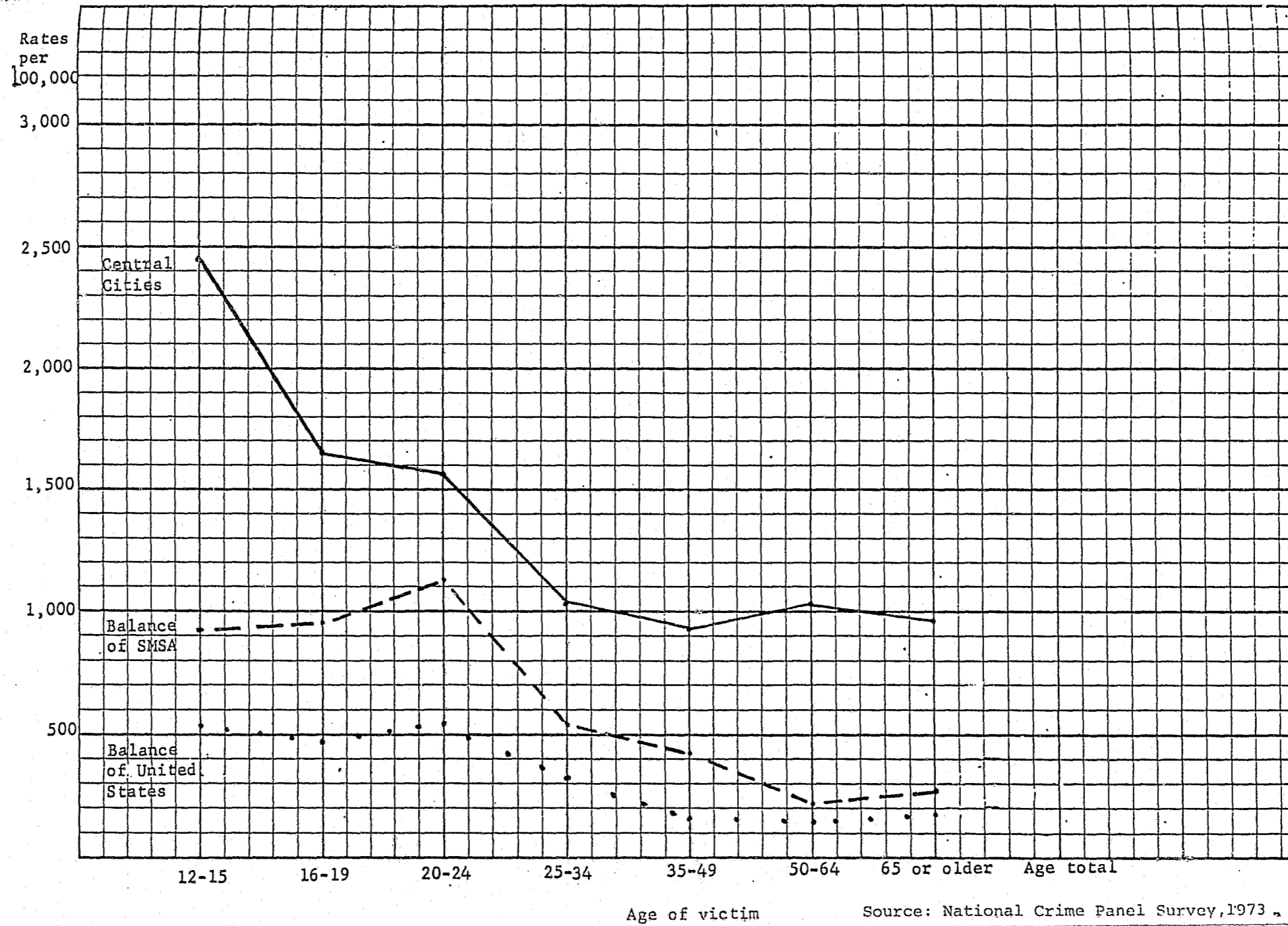
	Persons Aged 60 and Over			Population Aged 65 and Over			Total Population Projected 2000	Population Aged 65*** and Over, Projected 2000
	<u>1970</u> Number	%	<u>1974**</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1974**</u>		
New York State	2,822,914	15.5	2,866,800	1,258,457	1,960,752	1,997,900	22,655,000	2,998,153
New York City	1,374,495	17.4	1,334,000	605,235	947,878	922,700	7,795,000	1,175,359
Bronx	245,077	16.7	227,900	105,862	170,920	159,500	1,401,000	216,121
Kings	421,120	16.2	401,600	202,838	289,077	276,700	2,400,000	291,794
New York	304,394	19.8	288,400	171,323	214,973	204,400	1,408,000	251,368
Queens	366,539	18.5	375,100	109,731	247,286	253,900	2,079,000	356,985
Richmond	37,365	12.6	41,000	15,481	25,622	28,200	507,000	59,091
Selected Counties:	<u>1970</u>		<u>1974**</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1974**</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2000</u>
Albany	48,049	16.8	50,500	22,980	33,505	35,300	326,000	47,407
Broome	33,541	15.1	35,100	16,293	23,518	24,700	252,000	35,134
Dutchess	31,878	14.3	34,200	15,073	22,434	24,100	516,000	42,413
Erie	161,312	14.5	165,100	71,021	112,656	115,700	1,283,000	160,686
Monroe	96,773	13.6	98,500	48,580	68,887	70,300	1,070,000	110,664
Nassau	168,076	11.8	153,800	40,304	112,182	123,100	1,691,000	223,823
Onondaga	63,003	13.3	65,600	30,986	44,176	46,200	639,000	73,767
Suffolk	121,533	10.8	139,900	27,680	85,726	99,100	2,379,000	331,074
Westchester	141,328	15.8	149,500	51,719	94,931	100,800	1,193,000	190,728

* Source: New York State Statistical Yearbook, 1974, p. 55

** Source: Estimated, New York State Office for the Aging

*** Source: Demographic Projections for New York State Counties to 2020 A.D., June 1968; N.Y.S. Office of Planning Coordination

FIG. 1. Rates (per 100,000 persons 12 years of age or older) of Personal Robbery Victimization, By Age of Victim and Extent of Urbanization, United States, 1973.



Numerous studies* have documented the fact that the volume of crime actually committed far exceeds the number of crimes reported to the police. Estimates of the discrepancy vary depending on the type of crime (e.g. rape vs. auto theft), geographical location, business or personal victimization, etc. Nobody knows the extent of the gap between reported crime and total crime but reliable sources estimate that between two and four crimes are committed for every one reported. The reasons for non-reporting are understandable:

I don't want to get involved.

I am afraid of reprisals.

I believe the police don't want to be bothered.

I don't think reporting would accomplish anything--I have no proof.

I have been physically disabled by my attacker and it would be too painful for me to travel for identification, testifying in court, etc.

I could not bear to relive the psychological trauma.

I can't spare the time from my work/business.

For the elderly, many of these reasons are exacerbated. As victims of crime they do suffer more. They are injured more easily and take longer to heal; their fear of reprisal is greater because they perceive themselves as utterly defenseless; financial loss is a greater hardship for many because they have no way of replacing what was ripped off.

* Criminal Victimization Surveys in the Nation's Five Largest Cities;
Criminal Victimization Surveys in 13 American Cities;
Crime in Eight American Cities, (Washington, D.C.; Government
 Printing Office, 1974)

A 1973 victimization survey conducted in New York City for the National Crime Panel estimated the number of robberies of citizens age 65 and over. The survey revealed that 9,522 men and 6,967 women had been robbed that year, bringing the total estimated number of robberies of victims age 65 and over to 15,489. Moreover, 2,700 senior citizens 65 and over had been assaulted. Updated information suggests that the rate of crime against New York's elderly has increased significantly since 1973, e.g. robberies of senior citizens are now estimated at more than 18,000 per year.

The number of robberies actually reported is much lower. During 1975, the New York City Police Department received 4,048 robbery complaints of victims age 60 and over. Of 83,190 robbery complaints city-wide, about 20 percent were committed indoors--in hallways, elevators, basements, hotel rooms, apartments, and private homes. More than one in every four of these indoor robbery victims was age 60 or over. In Bronx County, the Police Department set up a Senior Citizen Robbery Unit specifically to cope with indoor crime against the elderly. Table 2 displays the extent of reported indoor robberies committed against the aged in 1975.

NEW YORK STATE SENIOR CITIZEN HOMICIDES, 1975

During 1975, the number of senior citizens murdered in New York State totaled 201. New York alone accounted for 11 percent of all elderly homicide victims in the United States. The proportion of older women killed was 7 percent higher than the national average. More than half (116) of New York State's victims were killed in the course of robberies, sex crime, arson and other felonies (Cf. Table 3).

Table 3
SENIOR CITIZEN HOMICIDES, 1975

Age	<u>1974</u>		<u>1975</u>		<u>1975</u>	
	<u>Uniform Crime Reports^{1/}</u>		<u>Uniform Crime Reports^{2/}</u>		<u>New York State^{3/}</u>	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
60-64	492	132	493	138	44	17
65-69	279	114	339	120	34	20
70-74	176	94	223	91	20	12
75 +	<u>225</u>	<u>163</u>	<u>221</u>	<u>193</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>25</u>
Subtotal	1,172	503	1,276	542	127	74
Total	1,675		1,818		201	

1 Represents 94 percent of total U.S. population.
 2 Represents 95 percent of total U.S. population.
 3 Annual Report '75 - Crime and Justice, N.Y.S. Division of Criminal Justice Services (Albany, N.Y., 1976).

Table 2

Reported Indoor Robberies of Older Victims in New York City, 1975

Area Command	Residential-Dwelling Robberies in Which Age of Victim is Known	Number of Victims Age 60 and Over	Percent of Victims Age 60 and Over
Manhattan South	2,247	454	20.2
Manhattan North	4,568	1,122	24.6
Bronx	3,496	990	28.3
Brooklyn South	1,961	794	40.5
Brooklyn North	1,763	352	20.0
Queens	979	311	31.8
Staten Island	103	25	24.3
Total	15,117	4,048	26.8

Source: New York City Police Department.

If pocketbook snatches and open-area robberies are added to the indoor incidents, the New York City 1975 total of reported robberies of the elderly comes to a shameful 8,656.

In Buffalo, New York, a 1974 National Crime Panel victimization report on approximately 51,690 persons age 65 and over uncovered 398 robberies, 278 assaults, and 347 larceny/thefts--a total of 1,023 violent crimes against senior citizens in a single year.

VIOLENT JUVENILES

Trends

In the State of New York, a "juvenile delinquent" is a person over seven and less than sixteen years of age who does any act which, if done by an adult, would constitute a crime. In this definition, "crime" is a serious crime, i.e. any felony.

According to the records of the Office of Court Administration, 5,374 youths age fifteen and under were brought into Family Court for serious crimes committed in New York State during 1974. Table 4 is a breakdown by category of crime.

Table 4
New York State Juveniles in Family Court, 1974

Homicide	121
Arson	245
Rape	196
Other Sex Crimes	240
Robbery	2,273
Assault	1,876
Dangerous Weapons	423
Total	5,374

Source: New York State Office of Court Administration

Although the number of court cases for the entire state is shockingly high, Table 5 shows the number of juveniles arrested for the same crimes in New York City has been higher since 1972.

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Table 5
New York City Police Department Arrests of Juveniles, 1966-1975

	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Homicide	26	20	27	31	19	42	73	94	77	54
Arson	175	241	162	262	199	159	188	166	181	235
Rape	119	125	77	94	99	117	152	181	261	232
Other Sex Crimes	113	125	154	227	216	181	225	243	273	228
Robbery	1,427	2,072	2,487	2,826	3,013	3,421	4,386	4,459	4,765	5,276
Assault	1,193	1,147	719	756	789	692	957	1,154	1,312	1,230
Dangerous Weapons	58	69	67	83	116	132	284	286	242	183
Total	3,111	3,799	3,693	4,279	4,451	4,744	6,265	6,583	7,111	7,438

Source: New York City Police Department

The juvenile arrest statistics for the whole of New York State for 1975 complete the picture (Table 6).

Table 6
New York State Arrests of Juveniles During 1975*

Homicide	71
Arson	540
Rape	274
Other Sex Crimes..	650
Robbery	5,999
Assault	2,563
Dangerous Weapons.	1,055
Total.....	11,152

Viewed over a longer time span and from a national perspective, the eruption of juvenile violence takes on shattering proportions. Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports, published annually by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, displays the larger dimensions of the problem (Table 7).

* Statistics for 1974 are not yet available.

Source: New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services.

Table 7
Uniform Crime Reports, 1957-1975
Arrests of Juveniles Age 15 and Under

	<u>1957</u> ^{/1}	<u>1960</u> ^{/2}	<u>1970</u> ^{/3}	<u>1974</u> ^{/4}	<u>1975</u> ^{/5}
Homicide	57	127	525	530	589
Arson	---	---	4,427	5,006	6,061
Rape	331	446	1,294	1,395	1,635
Other Sex Crimes	2,025	5,171	6,097	5,415	6,133
Robbery	1,541	4,468	15,310	16,983	21,481
Aggravated Assault	1,005	2,983	10,648	12,739	17,354
Dangerous Weapons	1,374	3,139	7,698	8,271	9,174
Total	6,333	16,334	45,999	50,339	62,427

Sources: Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, annual reports)

- 1 p. 114; 1,473 cities over 2,500 in population; total population based on 1950 census: 40,176,369.
- 2 p. 92; 2,460 cities over 2,500; population, 81,660,735.
- 3 pp.126-27; 5,270 agencies; 1970 population, 151,604,000.
- 4 pp.186-87; 5,298 agencies; estimated population, 134,082,000.
- 5 pp.188-89; 8,051 agencies; estimated population, 179,191,000.

Table 8
New York State Proportion of United States Violent Juvenile Crime, 1973

	<u>FBI Uniform Crime Report</u> ¹	<u>New York State</u> ²	<u>Percentage</u>
Homicide	630	115	18.2%
Arson	5,316	375	7.0
Rape	1,500	215	14.3
Other Sex Crimes	5,598	324	5.8
Robbery	17,815	4,878	27.4
Aggravated Assault	12,924	1,503	11.6
Dangerous Weapons	8,174	367	4.5
TOTAL:	51,957	7,777	15.0

New York State's share of violent juvenile crime is disproportionately higher than the national average. In 1973, New York State -- with approximately 8.2 percent of the nation's age ten to fourteen cohort³-- was responsible for 14.3 percent of the rapes committed by juveniles, 18.2 percent of the homicides, and 27.4 percent of the robberies (Cf. Table 8).

- 1 Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports, 1973, pp. 128-29; 6,004 agencies; estimated population, 154,995,000.
- 2 N.Y.S. Division of Criminal Justice Services, unpublished statistics.
- 3 United States Census, 1970

Comparing the 1973 statistics with those for 1975, the Uniform Crime Reports' table "Total Arrests by Age" was based on 2,047 more local agencies reporting and an estimated increase of 24,196,000 in the population base. Nevertheless, the percentage of New York State arrests of violent juveniles remained inordinately high. New York juveniles accounted for 16.8 percent of all the Uniform Crime Reports' juvenile arrests for rape; 12.0 percent, for homicide; and 27.9 percent for robbery. In the categories of Other Sex Crimes, Aggravated Assault, and Dangerous Weapons, New York's share of arrests was higher in 1975 than it was in 1973 (Tables 6 and 7).

Conditioning Factors

Perspectives of the Juvenile Justice Establishment

By legal definition, a juvenile offender in New York State is one who has not yet reached the age of sixteen. By relying on physical age as the sole criterion of maturity, the juvenile justice system has boxed itself into a static and untenable position. For all practical purposes, the system has officially ignored discoveries of scientific inquiry concerning human growth, knowledge that has been documented for some time. The Report of the Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee put it bluntly:

....chronological age becomes a progressively poorer index of physical and physiological status (as well as of social and academic skills) ... During the past century (probably since the industrial revolution, Tanner, 1962) each successive generation has reached puberty, begun the adolescent growth spurt, and attained adult size, shape, and physiological function earlier. From infancy through adulthood children are larger than were their parents, but the generational differences are maximal during adolescence, when they amount to about four months per decade not only in size but in reproductive maturity.*

By clinging unrealistically to the present legal age criterion, the establishment appears to have become so rigid and inflexible that it cannot adapt itself to cope with the culture of violence that has become endemic to New York. Moreover, the juvenile justice establishment has successfully resisted interventions for change from the outside. Serious legislative efforts have not been supported by the state administration which has limited itself to nominal measures.

In addition to turning an official blind eye to the outdated and inadequate criterion of chronological age, the juvenile justice system

* James S. Coleman, Chairman, Youth: Transition to Adulthood, Report of the Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973), pp. 95-96.

ignores what criminologists have known for a long time, namely, the effect of the context of criminality on growing youngsters. To survive in this context--which takes its toll even before a child is born--a youth in New York City can be driven or pulled toward a capacity for violence much earlier than elsewhere.

The age of first delinquency varies from place to place. In areas of high rates of delinquency, the children who become delinquent do so at an earlier age than do the children living in areas with low rates of delinquency.

A boy who is reared in an area of high delinquency might reach criminal maturity by age twelve or fourteen. He has reached criminal maturity because criminality has become an integrated part of his personality. He plans his offenses, knows how to "fix" things if caught, and thinks of himself as "delinquent" or "bad." When convicted, he takes imprisonment philosophically as a part of his life...*

It would seem that the failure of the New York State Administration--from the Governor down through the Family Court System to the newest probation officer--to alter its perspective of violent juvenile crime is a factor conditioning the proliferation and seriousness of crimes committed by youth.

* Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey, Principles of Criminology, Seventh Edition (Philadelphia, Pa. and New York, N.Y.: J.B. Lippincott, 1966), pp. 135-36 and 268-69.

Projections

Projecting juvenile crime rates is risky business. Some of the variables can be classified as normal, for example: the victim population base, the percentage of juveniles in the general population, in-migration and out-migration, birth rates (especially those in the central core of larger cities). Other variables are somewhat exceptional, e.g. cutbacks in law enforcement and educational personnel for economy reasons, changing patterns of victimization reporting of crime, and changes in agencies' ways of recording statistics. This last variable is relevant to the present discussion. New York State statistics were collected by the Department of Correctional Services until January 1, 1975. At that time the statistical unit was transferred to the Division for Criminal Justice Services and the parameters of some crime categories were generalized to conform with the specifications of the Uniform Crime Reports published by the FBI.

For New York City, reliable arrest figures are collected monthly and published quarterly by the New York City Police Department. The most recent report utilized in this paper covers the period January-June, 1976. By contrast, the most recent comparable data for New York State is for the year 1973. Based on the years 1966 to 1973, non-New York City juvenile arrests averaged 35 percent of the total State. Hence the non-New York City figures given in Table 9 for 1974 and 1975 are estimates. From the incidental information that is available, however, the estimates can safely be characterized as conservative. According to the 1975 Uniform Crime Reports, for example, serious crime in rural areas increased by eight percent and the increase for suburban crime was 10 percent.

Table 9

New York State Juvenile Felony Arrests, 1966-1975

<u>Year</u>	<u>New York State</u>	<u>New York City</u>	<u>non-New York City</u>
1966	14,391	8,177	6,214
1967	15,112	9,063	6,049
1968	15,421	9,346	6,075
1969	15,348	9,788	5,560
1970	16,365	10,073	6,292
1971	17,038	10,422	6,616
1972	19,587	12,772	6,815
1973	23,014	14,837	8,177
1974	25,791*	16,764	9,027*
1975	26,530*	17,226	9,304*

* Estimated. Source for New York City: N.Y.C. Police Department
Sources for New York State: Department of Correctional
Services and Division of Criminal Justice Services.

The impact of cuts in law enforcement personnel is already reflected in the rising crime rates of New York City and Detroit. New York City has lost more than 5,000 policemen and policewomen through layoffs and retirement since its fiscal crisis began. In the first half of 1976 major crimes increased at a rate of 18.5 percent. About 50,000 more felonies were committed in the first half of 1976 than in 1975. In Detroit, 1,000 police officers were laid off in July 1976, and youth gangs literally took over whole sections of the city. In August, Mayor Coleman Young rehired 675 policemen and the city council ordered a 10:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M. curfew for everyone under eighteen.

Given the fact of incomplete trend data and pleading ignorance of multiple unknown variables, we can still ask a valid question: If nothing is done now to change present conditioning factors, what tentative projections can we make for the next ten years? In other words, what projections can be generated by a simple straight line extrapolation of trends prevailing over the last ten years?

Felony arrests of juveniles in New York City increased by a factor of 2.10664 between 1966 and 1975. At that rate, 36,289 arrests can be expected by 1985. For non-New York City arrests, the rate of increase was 1.49726, or 13,930 by 1985. The projections for total New York State juvenile felony arrests in 1985 add up to 50,219.

However, the arrest rate for juveniles accelerated between 1971 and 1975. Using this more recent five year period as a baseline, the projection of juvenile crime jumps sharply. New York City juvenile arrests climb to 56,940; non-New York City arrests increase to 26,168; and the total projection for New York State in 1985 becomes 83,108.

If this projection appears unrealistic, the Division of Criminal Justice Services reported total arrests of juveniles in New York State during 1975 for violations, misdemeanors, and felonies at 94,329.

VIOLENT JUVENILES AND THEIR OLDER VICTIMS

Between April, 1975 and March, 1976, the New York State Crime Victims Compensation Board processed 699 "Original Decisions" involving victims between the ages of 45 and 65. The number of decisions concerning victims over 65 was 320. Many of these 1,019 victims had been robbed or assaulted by adolescents fifteen years old or younger.

The New York State Senate Select Committee on Crime undertook an analysis of 1973 robbery arrests made by City-Wide Anti-Crime personnel in Manhattan, Brooklyn, the Bronx, and Queens. The City-Wide Anti-Crime unit was a special plainclothes force deployed in high crime areas, such as Times Square, and it frequently utilized policemen and policewomen as decoys acting as derelicts, drunks, blind persons, older men and women. The findings of the Select Committee showed that almost one-fourth (24.71%) of the robbery cases traced through the courts to disposition turned out to be juveniles (Cf. Table 10).

Table 10
Dispositions of 1973 Robbery Arrests Made by CWAC Personnel

<u>County</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Juveniles</u>
Bronx	122	32 (26.22%)
Kings	92	39 (42.39%)
New York	496	98 (19.75%)
Queens	67	23 (34.32%)
Total:	777	192 (24.71%)

The percentage of juveniles arrested for robbery by CWAC personnel in 1973 was no fluke. The following table for total robbery arrests in New York City from 1971 to 1975 shows an amazingly consistent trend in the ratio of juvenile arrests (Cf. Table 11).

Table 11
PERCENTAGE OF JUVENILE ROBBERY ARRESTS, NEW YORK CITY, 1971-1975

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Robbery Arrests</u>	<u>Juvenile Arrests</u>	<u>Juvenile Percentage</u>
1971	14,001	3,421	24.4
1972	14,846	4,386	29.5
1973	17,450	4,459	25.5
1974	19,648	4,765	24.2
1975	19,940	5,276	26.4

Conditioning Factors

To summarize conditioning factors of violent juvenile crimes against the elderly, we turn to excerpts from an opinion written by Judge J. Jones in a New York State Court of Appeals case. The opinion was handed down May 13, 1976, and involves a Brooklyn youth who was 15 at the time of the alleged crime in 1974.

Our society recognizes that juveniles in general are in the earlier stages of their emotional growth, that their intellectual development is incomplete, that they have had only limited practical experience, and that their value systems have not yet been clearly identified or firmly adopted. In consequence of what might be characterized as this immaturity, juveniles are not held to the same standard of individual responsibility for their conduct as are adult members of our society. That this is so is made manifest by the establishment and continuation of youthful offender procedures... and juvenile delinquency proceedings..., under neither of which is there any accumulation of a criminal record or exposure to second felony offender sentencing under Penal Law....

For the same reasons that our society does not hold juveniles to an adult standard of responsibility for their conduct, our society may also conclude that there is a greater likelihood that a juvenile charged with delinquency, if released, will commit another criminal act than that an adult charged with crime will do so. To the extent that self-restraint may be expected to constrain adults, it may not be expected to operate with equal force as to juveniles. Because of the possibility of juvenile delinquency treatment and the absence of second offender sentencing, there will not be the deterrent for the juvenile which confronts the adult. Perhaps more significant is the fact that in consequence of lack of experience and comprehension the juvenile does not view the commission of what are criminal acts in the same perspective as an adult...

For the reasons discussed above and others, it may very well be concluded that there is a high likelihood that the juvenile will fall into further criminal activity if he is returned to the same environment and setting in which his present alleged mis-conduct occurred...

This case draws attention to what appears to be a growing tragedy -- the thus far elusive and largely unmanageable problem of the neglected and delinquent child in our society. Most important -- intelligent, effective and compassionate means must be found to assist children that are not subject to parental guidance or control, or whose custodians are ineffectual, through the temptations and turbulence of adolescence. In this aspect the children are the victims. On the other hand, if they are victims it must also be acknowledged that they are the perpetrators -- of homicides, robberies, burglaries and rapes which threaten to make the modern city an imprisoning fortress for the old, the weak and the timid. Probable cause was found here, for instance, to conclude that this youth had engaged in a mugging which led to the death by strangulation of a pedestrian on the streets of New York.

People ex. rel. Wayburn v. Schupf Case No: 152

Projections of Violent Juvenile Offenses Against the Elderly

Only one scientific study* appears to have noted the age correlation of victim and offender. In this report on eight cities (Atlanta, Baltimore, Cleveland, Dallas, Denver, Newark, Portland in Oregon, and St. Louis), younger offenders were "slightly more likely" to victimize older persons.

*Criminal Victimization in Eight American Cities (previously cited)

For New York City, two separate projections can safely be made:

1. More senior citizens will become victims.
2. Violent juvenile crime will increase.

The projections of victimization of the elderly are chilling. In 1973, the National Crime Survey estimated New York City robbery victimizations of those 65 and over at 15,489. The general direction or pattern is clear: If the trend continues, 30,000 older New Yorkers can expect to become robbery victims in 1985.

Right now--during November-December, 1976-- 3,100 New York City senior citizens will be robbed; 800 will be assaulted; 45 will be raped; and more than 7,000 will be victims of larceny/theft. In all, about 11,000 offenses will be committed against persons 65 and over in the last two months of this year. (Cf. Table 12).

The big numbers boggle the mind. To put the raw statistics in perspective, recall the public uproar over the rape-murder of a visiting nurse in Greenwich Village a few years ago. What would be the public outcry today if New Yorkers were convinced that 45 older women would be raped in the City between November 1 and December 31?

Projecting an increase in juvenile crime must be made without statistical support. Heretofore, the best index of juvenile violence was police arrest records. For New York City, arrest records are no longer a valid indicator of crimes committed by juveniles. Table 13 illustrates this phenomenon. According to the Uniform Crime Reports for January-June 1976, violent crime decreased nationwide by six percent compared to the same period in 1975. Except for robbery, New York City followed the declining trend for cities with a population of more than one million. However, when we look at the arrest rate for juveniles, the dropoff is precipitous compared to the 1975 arrest rate for the same

Table 12

PROJECTION OF SENIOR CITIZEN VICTIMIZATIONS, NEW YORK CITY, November-December, 1976 ^{1/}

<u>Victimizations, 1973</u> ^{2/}	<u>Reported Offenses, Percent of Change, 3/</u> <u>Jan. - June, 1976</u>	<u>Projection, 4/</u> <u>Nov.-Dec., 1976</u>
<u>Robbery</u>		
Male 1,674		
Female 1,372		
Total 3,046	+8.7 %	3,100+
<u>Assault</u>		
Male 490		
Female 342		
Total 832	-2.3 %	800
<u>Rape</u>		
Female 48	-15.2 %	45
<u>Larceny/Theft</u> ^{5/}		
Male 2,401		
Female 3,903		
Total 6,304	+29.1 %	7,000+
<u>Total Four Crime Categories</u>		10,945+

1 Senior Citizen = 65+

2 Two month period abstracted from the National Crime Panel Survey of New York City for the year 1973.

3 Source: FBI Quarterly Uniform Crime Reports for January-June, 1976. [Although victimization estimates cannot be compared with reported offenses, the UCR are valid for identifying trends.]

4 Age specific victimization statistics show a bell-shaped curve that flattens out as it approaches 65+; hence the +8.7% increase reported for robbery offenses cannot be correlated uniformly with all age categories.

5 Larceny/Theft, e.g. personal larceny with contact, purse snatch, pickpocket.

6 Incidental note: Nationally, 52% of women 65 or over are widows. Hence, probably safe to say majority of NYC female senior citizens are widowed.

Table 13

Violent Crime, January - June, 1976

HOM
RAP
ROB
AGG
ASS

	FBI Uniform Crime Reports			New York City Police Department
	Percentage of Change in Crime Reported			
	<u>U.S.A.</u> %	<u>Cities Over 1,000,000</u> %	<u>New York City</u> %	<u>New York City Juvenile Arrests</u> %
Homicide	-12	-3	-5.5	-60.7
Rape	-1	-10	-15.2	-30.6
Robbery	-10	-1	+8.0	-6.5
Aggravated Assault	-1	-2	-2.3	-12.9

period. And for robbery, the falling arrest rate runs contrary to the overall 8.0 percent increase in robberies reported for New York City.

What is the explanation? It appears that the loss of more than 5,000 New York City police personnel through fiscal cuts and attrition is beginning to impact on enforcement capability. For example, patrolmen are now required to perform investigations previously handled by specialists. Patrolmen are off the streets for longer periods of time and the response queue is lengthened.

Lacking hard data, the projection of increased juvenile violence is based on:

1. A growing number of violent incidents reported by the news media.
2. A change in the mode of violence, e.g. young gangs sweep through a given area such as Times Square assaulting and robbing random victims in their path; or a gang takes over a subway train and terrorizes captured riders with mindless acts of violence.
3. There has been no evidence that conditioning factors conducive to heightened juvenile violence have changed. On the contrary, there is evidence that some external controls have been removed.

There is one other projection equally serious in its potential ramifications. Since the most valid data base for gathering intelligence on juvenile crime (i.e. the police record of juvenile arrests) is in effect no longer a true indicator of crimes committed, we have in a very real sense already entered into a state of lawlessness. When the policy maker's prime source of data deteriorates to the point where it becomes misleading, the intelligence function is impaired and the first step in the decision-making process is essentially flawed.

Knowing that violent juvenile crime is going up is bad news. Not knowing what is happening is worse.

CONCLUSION

The rights of senior citizens are essentially the same as the rights we hold for everyman, i.e. the fullness of human dignity. If anything, men and women who have survived into old age are entitled to a fuller share of the goods valued by society. The elderly have made their contribution to society. During their more productive years they raised families, were part of the work force, payed their taxes, perhaps risked their lives in war. In justice, they should be able to spend the last years of life enjoying the fruits of their labor. However, for several million older Americans, the exact opposite is the case. In New York City, for example, many citizens are not free to make decisions concerning their life-style. Violent juveniles and the fear they generate have forced an entire generation of Americans to literally live in a state of siege. These senior citizens are prisoners in a garrison state. If an enemy army occupied the country, the incarceration of New York's senior citizens could not be more secure. It is an irony of history that in a year of bicentennial celebration, millions of Americans cannot exercise the powers guaranteed them by the Constitution.

Violence by juveniles against senior citizens has denied the elderly the right to carry out decisions concerning the very essentials of their way of life; impaired their opportunities for enriching their minds; robbed them of their share of material goods; struck at the very heart of their physical, mental, and spritual well-being; frustrated their skill values; slashed their bonds of affection; trampled on their self-respect and cut off the esteem they deserve from the community; raped their rights to human dignity, and cut off the external solace and support of religion. More than most, New York's elderly are compelled to suffer the bitter truth of John Donne's phrase: "No man is an island."

SERIOUSNESS OF CRIMES AGAINST SENIOR CITIZENS

To enlarge our understanding of the dimensions of crime, it is helpful to acquire data that goes beyond the mere tabulation of numbers. By applying the Sellin-Wolfgang* median seriousness scale to victimization studies, it is possible to obtain an empirical measure of the impact of violent crime against the elderly. Although the number of older victims is less than those in the age 12-49 year bracket, the seriousness of crimes against those 50 and over generally ranks higher (Cf. Tables 1 and 2)

* Sellin, Thorsten and Marvin E. Wolfgang (1964). The Measurement of Delinquency (John Wiley and Sons, New York, N.Y.)

Table 1 *

Robbery

<u>Age of Offender</u>	<u>Age of Victim</u>			
	<u>Age 12-49</u>	<u>Age 50-64</u>	<u>Age 65 and Over</u>	
Under 20	4.33	4.64 (+7.2%)	4.48 (+3.5%)	[1/
Over 20	4.83	4.69 (-2.9%)	4.83 (0.0%)	[
Under 20	3.62	4.19 (+15.7%)	3.89 (+7.5%)	[2/
Over 20	[Sample too small for statistical significance]			[
Under 20	4.09	4.39 (+7.3%)	3.90 (-4.6%)	[3/
Over 20	4.86	4.89 -----	4.76 (-2.0%)	[

Table 2 *

Assault

<u>Age of Offender</u>	<u>Age of Victim</u>			
	<u>Age 12-49</u>	<u>Age 50-64</u>	<u>Age 65 and Over</u>	
Under 20	3.73	5.68 (+52.3%)	6.00 (+60.9%)	[1/
Over 20	4.03	4.00 -----	4.00 -----	[
Under 20	3.67	4.43 (+20.7%)	4.35 (+18.6%)	[3/
Over 20	4.11	4.13 -----	4.48 (+9.0%)	[

* Source: Criminal Justice Research Center, Albany, N.Y.

1 National Crime Panel (NCP) Victimization Survey of New York City, 1973.

2 NCP Survey of Buffalo, N.Y., 1974

3 Criminal Victimization Surveys in the Nation's Five Largest Cities (Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, and Philadelphia), 1973.

PART TWO:
CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION OF MINORITY GROUPS AND THE ELDERLY

Homicide Victimization

Since 1930, at least, the rate for Black male homicide victims in the United States has far exceeded the rate for White males. In 1950, Black males were killed at a rate 12.7 times higher than the rate for White males. Although Black males constituted only 10.9 percent of the nation's male population in 1970, the number of Black male homicide victimizations totaled 7,413 compared to 5,865 for White males. Put another way, the victimization rate per 100,000 population for White males was 9.5 compared to 95.9 for Blacks (Cf. Table 1).

In 1975, the number of male and female Whites age 55 and over who were murder victims was 1,670; the number of older Blacks killed was 838 -- again, a figure excessively high for the proportion of older Blacks in the general population.* (Cf. Table 1B)

For New York State, the highest homicide victimization rate in 1975 was suffered by Hispanics. The rate for Blacks was also high: 11.4 times the rate for Whites. For persons age 55 and over, more than twice as many Whites were victims (173) as Blacks (80); but the rate per 100,000 for Blacks was 31.6 compared to 5.4 for Whites, Hispanics, and all others combined (Cf. Table 2).

* Source: Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), p. 17.

During 1975, older residents of New York State were in the group most vulnerable to felony homicide. Of 271 victims 55 years and older, 125 (or 46 percent) were slain during the commission of robberies. In 1975, New York State alone accounted for 11 percent of all elderly homicide victims in the United States age 60 and over (Cf. Table 3).

To sum up, during 1975 about 20,510 murders were committed in the United States -- approximately 90 fewer than in 1974. In 1975, the victimization rate for homicide dropped about two percent, from 9.8 for every 100,000 residents in 1974 to 9.6 in 1975.* However, the trend in New York State was just the opposite. The rate for murder rose from 10.6 in 1974 to 11.0 in 1975.**

Violent Crimes Against Persons, U.S.A.

During 1974, the rate for Black female rape victimizations in the United States was more than double the rate for White females. The rate of robbery victimizations for every 1,000 persons age 12 and over was estimated at 15.0 for Blacks; 8.6 for Hispanics; and 6.2 for Whites. Victimization rates for aggravated assault were greater for Blacks (13.0) and Hispanics (11.4) than for Whites (9.9). In the category of "Personal Larceny with Contact," victimizations of Blacks were highest at 6.2; followed by Hispanics at 3.4; and Whites at 2.7 (Cf. Table 4).

* Ibid., p. 15 (Cf. Table 1A this study)

** Ibid., Table 3

In 1974, Black males age 65 and over were robbed more than twice as often as Whites in the same age category. The rate for aggravated assault upon older Black males was 2.8 per 1,000 compared to 2.0 for older White males. Older Black men were victimized by "Personal Larceny with Contact" at a rate 7.5 times higher than older White men.

Black women age 65 and older suffered rape victimizations 7.5 times more often than older White women. The rate of aggravated assault upon older Black women was more than double the rate for older White women. On the other hand, White females 65 and over were the subject of robbery victimizations almost twice as often as older Black females. The same general pattern holds true for "Personal Larceny with Contact" (Cf. Table 6).

Violent Crimes Against Persons, New York

For all races, New York City and Buffalo were well above the United States average for robbery and "Personal Larceny with Contact." The same trend of extremely high rates of violent crime held true for victimizations of the elderly (Cf. Tables 11 and 12).

In 1974, the rate for robbery of Whites in New York City was 3.4 times higher than the average for the rest of the country; in Buffalo, the robbery rate was more than twice the national average. In the category of "Personal Larceny with Contact" the New York City victimization rate exceeded the United States average for Whites by more than five times, while the rate in Buffalo was more than double the national rate.

Robbery victimizations of Blacks in New York City outran the national rate by a factor of 2.3. In Buffalo, the comparable rates were 15.0 per 1,000 Black population for the United States and 22.8 per 1,000 for Buffalo. For "Personal Larceny with Contact," Blacks were victimized at a rate 2.7 times higher than the average for Blacks in the United States.

Hispanics in New York City endured a robbery victimization rate 2.3 times higher than the average for Hispanics in other parts of the country. The rate for "Personal Larceny with Contact" was 5.6 times greater than for Hispanics elsewhere in the nation -- the highest discrepancy found in this study.

For senior citizens 65 and over in New York City, the rate of robbery victimization was five times higher than the average for the United States. In Buffalo, the rate was twice as high. The rate for aggravated assault of the elderly was 1.6 for the United States, in New York City the rate was 2.9. For "Personal Larceny with Contact," older citizens of New York City were forced to contend with a rate almost six times higher than the average for the rest of the nation. The rate in Buffalo was twice the national average.

Household Victimizations, U.S.A.

Victimizations of U.S. households in 1974 showed fewer disparities than the rates for personal violent crime. There were 134.9 burglaries per 1,000 Black households; 138.0 "Household Larceny" victimizations of Hispanics; and 28.2 motor vehicle thefts per 1,000 vehicles owned by Hispanics (Cf. Table 4).

Household Victimizations, New York

For burglary and "Household Larceny" in New York City and Buffalo, victimizations of all races and of senior citizens were equal to or lower than the United States average. The exception was motor vehicle theft (Cf. Tables 11 and 12).

For Whites in Buffalo and New York City, the victimization rate for motor vehicle theft outstripped the national figures by 50 percent. For Black owners in Buffalo, the higher rate for motor vehicle theft was also 50 percent above the national average.

In Buffalo, motor vehicles belonging to senior citizens age 65 or over were stolen at a rate of 2.6 times greater than the average for the rest of the country.

Conclusion

In absolute terms, Whites of all ages are victimized more than other races because the distribution of Whites in the general population far exceeds all other races. Whites abound in the population, therefore -- generally speaking -- more crime victims will be White.

However, for most categories of serious crime, Blacks and Hispanics in the United States and especially in New York are far more severely victimized in proportion to their numbers in the population.

Senior citizen victimizations -- except for burglary and "Household Larceny" -- range up to 5.7 times higher in New York City and Buffalo than the national average.

Table 1

U.S. Male Homicide Victimizations, 1930-1973¹

	Number		Rate ²	
	White	Black/Other	White	Black/Other
1930	4,605	3,628	12.1	92.6
1940	2,977	3,670	6.7	79.9
1950	2,586	3,503	5.3	67.4
1960	2,832	3,437	5.3	56.2
1970	5,865	7,413	9.5	95.9
1973	7,411	8,429	11.3	100.7

¹ Source: U.S. National Center for Health Statistics, *Vital Statistics of the United States*, annual; reprinted in *Statistical Abstract of the United States - 1975*, U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

² Rate per 100,000 resident population fifteen years old and over. Ibid., Table 256

U.S. Homicide Victimization, 1930-1973

Table 1A

U.S. Homicide Victimizations, 1975

<u>Number</u> ^{/1}			<u>Rate</u> ^{/2}		
<u>White</u> ^{/3}	<u>Black</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>White</u> ^{/3}	<u>Black</u>	<u>Other</u>
9,463	8,831	175	5.1	36.6	1.1

Table 1B

U.S. Homicide Victimizations of Persons Age 55 and Over

<u>Number</u> ^{/1}			<u>Rate</u> ^{/4}	
<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black & Other</u>
1,670	838	38	4.4	[25.6]

- 1 N.B. Includes Male and Female. Crime In the United States, Uniform Crime Reports - 1975, p.17. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office).
- 2 Rate per 100,000 population. Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States - 1975, Table No. 26 (population estimate for 1974) (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.).
- 3 Includes Hispanic.
- 4 Rate per 100,000. Source: Ibid., Table No. 35.

Table 2

New York State Homicide Victimization, 1975^{/1}

<u>Number</u>				<u>Rate^{/2}</u>			
<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>	<u>Other</u>
585	938	432	18	3.8	43.3	[51.6]	

Table 3

New York State Homicide Victimization of Persons Age 55 and Over

<u>Number</u>				<u>Rate</u>			
<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>	<u>Other</u>
173	80	16	2	[31.6	5.4 ^{/3}]

1 Includes male and female. Source: Annual Report, '75 - Crime and Justice, N.Y.S. Division of Criminal Justice Services.

2 Rate per 100,000 population. Ibid., p. 67

3 Represents White, Hispanic, and Other combined.

Table 4

Criminal Victimitizations of Persons and Households, U.S.A., 1974 ^{/1}

	Rape ^{/2}	Robbery	Aggravated Assault	Personal Larceny With Contact	Burglary ^{/3}	Household Larceny	Motor Vehicle Theft
<u>White</u>	0.8	6.2	9.9	2.7	87.8	124.5	17.9
<u>Black</u>	2.1	15.0	13.0	6.2	134.9	112.0	25.9
<u>Hispanic</u>	0.5	8.6	11.4	3.4	95.8 ^{/4}	138.0	28.2

1 Rate per 1,000 persons age 12 and over and 1,000 households: Criminal Victimization in the United States, A National Crime Panel Survey Report, May 1976, U.S. Government Printing Office

2 Ibid., Table 3

3 Ibid., Table 10

4 Ibid., Table 11

Table 5

Criminal Victimization of Persons and Households, Age 65 or Over, U.S.A., 1974^{/1}

	Rape ^{/2}	Robbery	Aggravated Assault	Personal Larceny With Contact	Burglary ^{/3}	Household Larceny	Motor Vehicle Theft
	0.2	3.9	1.6	3.4	54.3	57.9	5.7

1 Rate per 1,000 persons age 65 and over and 1,000 households: Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics - 1975, Michael J. Hindelang et al., LEAA, National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service, July 1976, U.S. Government Printing Office. Hereafter referred to as Sourcebook - 1975.

2 Ibid., Table 3.10

3 Ibid., Table 3.43

Table 6

Victimizations by Race and Sex of Persons 65 and Over, U.S.A., 1974¹

	<u>Male</u>			
	<u>Rape</u>	<u>Robbery</u>	<u>Aggravated Assault</u>	<u>Personal Larceny With Contact</u>
<u>White</u>	--	4.7	2.0	1.5
<u>Black/Other</u>	--	9.9	2.8	11.2
	<u>Female</u>			
	<u>Rape</u>	<u>Robbery</u>	<u>Aggravated Assault</u>	<u>Personal Larceny With Contact</u>
<u>White</u>	0.2	3.1	1.0	4.3
<u>Black/Other</u>	1.5	1.7	2.3	2.6

1 Rate per 1,000 persons. Sourcebook - 1975, Table 3.11

Criminal Victimitizations of Persons and Households by Race, 1974

	Rape/ ²	Robbery	Aggravated Assault	Personal Larceny With Contact	Burglary/ ³	Household Larceny	Motor Vehicle Theft
White	0.5*	21.0	8.3	14.0	70.4	45.7	27.5
Black	1.4*	34.4	10.4	16.7	105.8	50.3	29.5
Other	1.6*	20.5	3.2*	19.1	53.7	27.9*	14.0*

Table 8

Criminal Victimitizations of Persons and Households, Age 65 or Over, 1974

	Rape/ ⁴	Robbery	Aggravated Assault	Personal Larceny With Contact	Burglary/ ⁵	Household Larceny	Motor Vehicle Theft
	0.3*	19.6	2.9	19.5	39.7	18.3	8.1

1 Rate per 1,000 persons age 12 and over. Criminal Victimitization Surveys in Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, LEAA, National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service, Washington, D.C., 1976, U.S. Government Printing Office

2 Ibid., Table 5

3 Ibid., Table 12

4 Ibid., Table 6

5 Ibid., Table 13

* Estimate, based on zero or on about 10 or fewer sample cases, is statistically unreliable.

BUFFALO

Table 9

Criminal Victimitizations of Persons and Households by Race, 1974

	<u>Rape^{/1}</u>	<u>Robbery</u>	<u>Aggravated Assault</u>	<u>Personal Larceny With Contact</u>	<u>Burglary^{/2}</u>	<u>Household Larceny</u>	<u>Motor Vehicle Theft</u>
White	--	14.3	12.3	6.3	87.7	90.5	27.3
Black/Other	--	22.8	20.9	7.7	133.6	98.4	40.2

Table 10

Criminal Victimitizations of Persons and Households, Age 65 and Over, 1974

	<u>Rape^{/3}</u>	<u>Robbery</u>	<u>Aggravated Assault</u>	<u>Personal Larceny With Contact</u>	<u>Burglary^{/4}</u>	<u>Household Larceny</u>	<u>Motor Vehicle Theft</u>
	--	7.7	1.5	6.7	43.3	29.4	15.0

1 Rate per 1,000 persons age 12 and over. Sourcebook - 1975, Table 3.54

2 Ibid., Table 3.58

3 Ibid., Table 3.55

4 Ibid., Table 3.59

Table 11

CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATIONS IN NEW YORK CITY AND BUFFALO COMPARED TO THE NATIONAL AVERAGE

By Race; Rate per 1,000 Population

	<u>White</u>			<u>Black</u>			<u>Hispanic/Other</u>		
	<u>U.S.A.</u>	<u>N.Y.C.</u>	<u>Buffalo</u>	<u>U.S.A.</u>	<u>N.Y.C.</u>	<u>Buffalo</u>	<u>U.S.A.</u>	<u>N.Y.C.</u>	<u>Buffalo</u>
Rape	0.8	0.5*	--	2.1	1.4*	--	0.5	1.6*	--
Robbery	6.2	21.0	14.3	15.0	34.4	22.8 ¹	8.6	20.5	--
Aggravated Assault	9.9	8.3	12.3	13.0	10.4	20.9	11.4	3.2*	--
Personal Larceny With Contact	2.7	14.0	6.3	6.2	16.7	7.7	3.4	19.1	--
Burglary	87.8	70.4	87.7	134.9	105.8	133.6	95.8	53.7	--
Household Larceny	124.5	45.7	90.5	112.0	50.3	98.4	138.0	27.9*	--
Motor Vehicle Theft	17.9	27.5	27.3	25.9	29.5	40.2	28.2	14.0*	--

¹ Reported as "Black/Other" combined

* Estimate, based on zero or on about 10 or fewer sample cases, is statistically unreliable.

Table 12

CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATIONS IN NEW YORK CITY AND BUFFALO COMPARED TO THE NATIONAL AVERAGE

By Age 65 and Over; Rate per 1,000 Population

	<u>U.S.A.</u>	<u>N.Y.C.</u>	<u>Buffalo</u>
Rape	0.2	0.3*	--
Robbery	3.9	19.6	7.7
Aggravated Assault	1.6	2.9	1.5
Personal Larceny With Contact	3.4	19.5	6.7
Burglary	54.3	39.7	43.3
Household Larceny	57.9	18.3	29.4
Motor Vehicle Theft	5.7	8.1	15.0

* Estimate, based on zero or on about 10 or fewer sample cases,
is statistically unreliable.

END