Gender and Violent Victimization, 1973-2005

FINAL TECHNICAL REPORT
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Submitted by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this project was to estimate previously unknown long-term trends in violent victimization by gender and various socio-demographic factors. These factors included race and ethnicity, age, type of place (urban, suburban, rural), socio-economic status, marital status (for adults), and family status (for juveniles). We also further disaggregated these violent victimization trends by victim-offender relationship to reveal previously unknown trends in violence committed by strangers, intimate partners, and known/non-intimate offenders. Without basic information about such long-term trends, the scientific understanding of violence against women is seriously hampered. Moreover, our understanding of crime trends in general is incomplete and remains predicated on the assumption that there is no important variation in trends across subgroups. We produced these various trends in violent victimization by pooling and appropriately weighting the only source of national data capable of providing reliable trend estimates – the National Crime Survey and its successor, the National Crime Victimization Survey for the period 1973 to 2005. In total, we developed a series of 135 previously unknown trends in violent victimization.

The trends we produce reveal a great deal of variation across subgroups. They also reveal a great deal of variation according to victim-offender relationship. Each set of trends is in need of additional research designed to better understand the sources of similarity and variation over time. New lines of research to investigate a variety of comparative hypotheses and distinguish the factors associated with short- versus long-run changes in violence are now possible. In addition, these data provide important historical information which can be used to better understand the potential effects that various policies may have had on different forms of violence, such as intimate partner and stranger victimization.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The purpose of this project was to respond to a recent National Academy of Sciences report on violence against women which demonstrated that current knowledge about trends in women's victimization in the United States, particularly within major socio-demographic risk groups, is inadequate (Kruttschnitt, McLaughlin, and Petrie, 2004). Without basic information about such long-term trends, the scientific understanding of violence against women is seriously hampered. Because existing research on violence against women often focuses on cross-sectional data and, to a lesser extent, on recent short-term trends, we have very little knowledge about long-term trends in victimization and the ways in which these may be different and similar for females and males. Moreover, prior to our research, it was unknown how these trends varied across important socio-demographic groups.

To respond to these gaps in our knowledge about long-term patterns of non-lethal violence against women, our project used the National Crime Survey (NCS) and National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) to produce national trends in violent victimization for key socio-demographic subgroups of females and males, for the years 1973 through 2005. These subgroups were determined by the following demographic variables: race and ethnicity, age, type of place (urban, suburban, rural), socioeconomic status, marital status (for adults), and family status (for juveniles). These trends also were disaggregated by victim-offender relationship. Our work has been to produce the trend estimates that can be used in future work and by other investigators to assess possible explanations of female and male violent victimization across socio-demographic subgroups and by victim-offender relationship. The

trends we produce also can be used in future research to examine possible links between women's victimization and changes in policy to address violence against women.

Research Strategy

This research produced previously unknown trends by pooling and appropriately weighting the only source of data capable of providing reliable national trend estimates – the National Crime Survey and its successor, the National Crime Victimization Survey. The NCS/NCVS is a large sample survey representative of persons ages 12 and older, and of households in the United States. Because of the large sample size and excellent response rate, the NCS/NCVS can be used to generate reliable annual estimates of violence.

Our research capitalized on the existence of these data and employed appropriate weighting and estimation procedures to produce female and male trends from 1973 through 2005 for race and ethnicity, marital status (for persons age 18 and above), urban, rural, and suburban place of residence, age, poverty status, and family status (for youths ages 12 to 17) subgroups. The present research also estimated trends for each of these subgroups by victim-offender relationship to distinguish violence committed by strangers, intimate partners, and known/non-intimate offenders. The specific procedures employed to compute and weight the trend data, to ensure that it is comparable over time, are described in detail in the Final Technical Report. These procedures comprise a complex multi-step process, and thus the research involved several verification procedures, also described in the full report.

Violent victimization was defined to include attempted and completed crimes of rape, robbery, aggravated assault and simple assault. The research produced estimates of overall (total) violent victimization rather than specific crime types (such as robbery) because the data cannot support reliable estimates of some types of violence across socio-demographic categories

and victim-offender relationships. Also, to reduce fluctuations associated with sampling error, the data points provided are three-year moving averages for each of the subgroup violent victimization trends, with the exception of the overall trends by gender which are not reported as three-year moving averages. Finally, the trends reported for victim-offender relationship are for 1980 to 2005 only, due to changes in the coding of victim-offender relationship in 1980.

Key Findings

Our research produced data points for 135 trend lines. All trends are presented in figures and described in the full report. The development of these trends lays the foundation for researchers to begin investigating a variety of important research hypotheses, including analyses that distinguish explanations of short- versus long-run changes in violence within and across socio-demographic and victim-offender relationship subgroups. The trend data also provide important historical and contextual information that can serve as the basis for research on national-scope violence reduction policies.

Overall, we find substantial variation in the trends we generate. In this summary, we present four select figures from our final report, to illustrate a subset of the findings. Readers are referred to the final report for trends in other subgroups and further discussion of the data presented here.

We highlight race and ethnicity in this summary because these findings are quite illuminating and offer many potentially fruitful avenues for future research. Our project estimated trends for Latina/o, non-Latina/o black, and non-Latina/o white females and males, separately. This disaggregation proves to be crucial for understanding patterns of non-lethal race, ethnicity and victimization, as is evidenced below. Previous research using the NCS and NCVS has not disentangled ethnicity from race, and as a result, previously reported patterns may have

been somewhat misleading. The two figures below present our estimates for non-Latino black. Latino and non-Latino white females and males, respectively.

----- Insert Executive Summary Figures I and II here -----

The figures show that the female and male violent victimization rates for all three race/ethnic groups are relatively stable during the 1970s and 1980s with some minor increases and decreases. For both females and males, the rates for all three race/ethnicity groups reached a series high between 1992 and 1994, and then dropped dramatically during the crime drop of the late 1990s, to reach a three-decade low in the early years of the 21st century. Moreover, the figures for both females and males show that combining race data across ethnicity would mask potentially important differences. The patterns of victimization for Latino females and males are more similar to those of non-Latino blacks than to non-Latino whites up until the crime peak in the early 1990s. After this point, the Latino rates become closer to those for non-Latino whites, particularly among females. These patterns are clearly important for understanding the role of race and ethnicity in the victimization patterns of women and men, and provide fertile material for subsequent research.

Another important aspect of gendered victimization, long noted by research on violence against women, is the difference across women and men in relationships between victims and offenders. The data in the next two figures give our NCS-NCVS estimates of trends in intimate partner, stranger, and known/non-intimate non-lethal violent victimization for the period 1980 through 2005, the period for which these rates can be computed accurately. Broadly, these figures show that for both females and males, stranger violence occurred at higher rates than other forms of violence from 1980 through the early 1990s. After the crime peak in the early 1990s, victimization in all victim-offender groups decreased. Unique to female victims,

however, is the fact that violence by known/non-intimates increased at a faster rate than stranger violence in the early 1990s and, in fact, exceeded rates of violence by strangers from 1992 through 2003. Among males, the gap between stranger and known/non-intimate partner victimization is more substantial than among females, although it does appear to close somewhat during the crime decline of the late 1990s and into the 2000s. Another key difference among females and males is that intimate partner violence accounts for a substantial share of all violent victimization among females, and the rates among males are so low that they cannot be estimated reliably. Moreover, the female figure shows that the gap or difference between intimate partner violence and violence by strangers and known non-intimates is smaller in the early 2000s than it was in the earlier years primarily because rates of stranger violence have declined more than rates of violence by intimate partners and by known/non-intimates.

----- Insert Executive Summary Figures III and IV here -----

These figures represent a small sampling of the findings in our full report. These and the other trends in the full report offer data material for future research on patterns over time across subgroups.

Discussion and Recommendations for Future Research and Policy Analysis

The present project has developed a substantial number of trends in violent victimization that can offer the basis for examining a variety of important research and policy questions.

- First, researchers can use these data to describe long term changes in violent victimization among women in high risk groups as compared to lower risk groups. It is often assumed by researchers and policy analysts that differences in risk associated with factors such as race and ethnicity, age, or marital status, and other socio-demographic

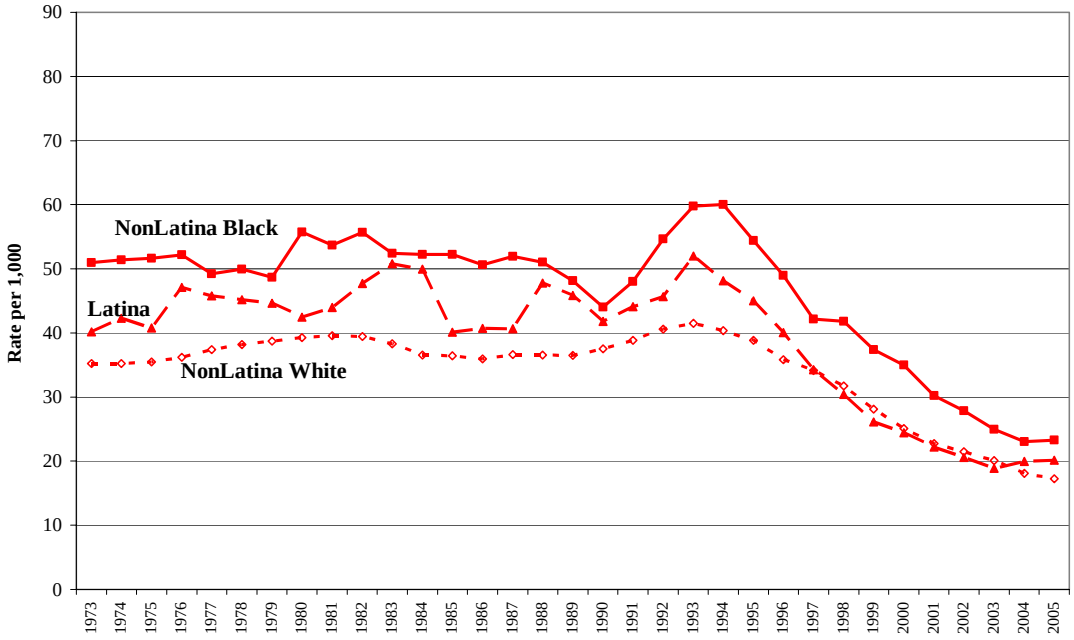
subgroups have remained constant over time. Many of the trends we produced challenge these assumptions.

- Second, the new trend data will allow researchers to compare trends in female victimization to those of males in the same socio-demographic groups. This is essential as the meaning of changes in violence against women depends on whether male victimization is shifting in similar or different ways. For example, researchers can examine in detail whether female violent victimization was affected by increases in violence during the late 1980s and early 1990s to the same extent as was male victimization, and further, whether these similarities and differences were limited to specific subgroups such as race and ethnic minorities.
- Third, the development of these trends will allow future research to isolate the extent to which overall patterns in female and male victimization in socio-demographic groups are driven by changes in different types of violence such as stranger violence or intimate partner violence. This allows research to answer basic questions about which groups experienced the greatest declines, for example, in stranger violence over the past few decades and which female subgroups have experienced the greatest changes in intimate partner violence over time.
- Fourth, long-term trend data can offer useful benchmarks for developing and assessing policies to address various forms of violent victimization. For example, to date, the effect of domestic violence resources on intimate partner violence has been tested by analyzing homicide data only. Whether such resources have had similar effects on non-lethal violence is unknown. Related hypotheses can now also be tested, such as whether the trend in violence against women in rural areas (where domestic violence resources are

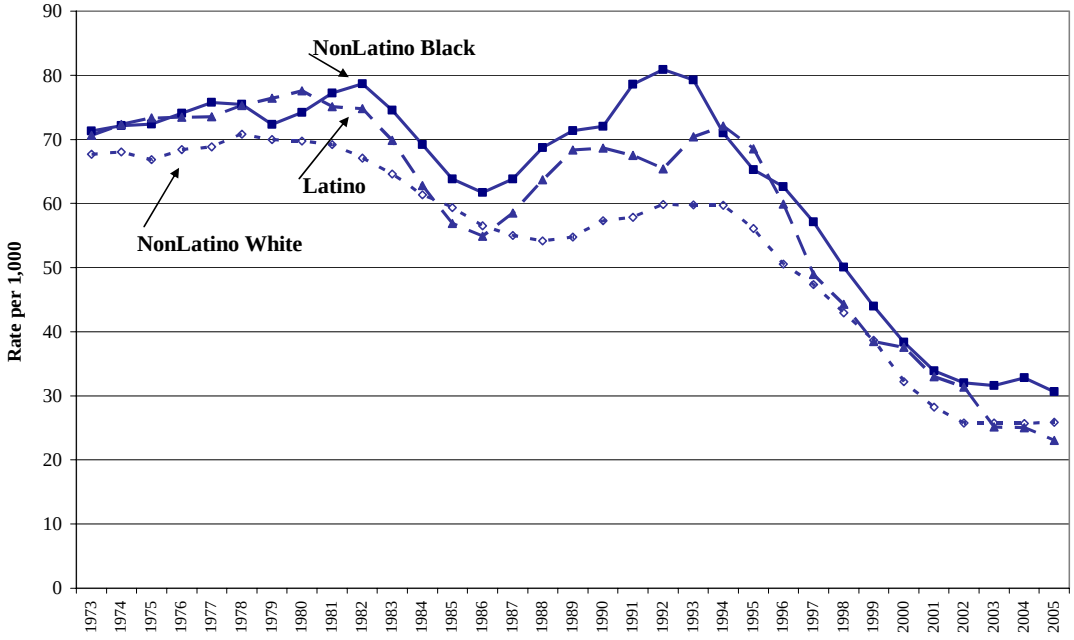
often lacking) is similar to that for women in urban areas. It has been difficult to study these kinds of issues because of concerns about the quality of police-based data in rural areas. By developing estimates of long-term trends in violence based on self-report victimization data, we have provided a foundation for future research on important topics that currently cannot be studied due to the lack of adequate data.

Executive Summary Figures I and II

Female Violent Victimization by Race/Ethnicity: NCVS 1973-2005

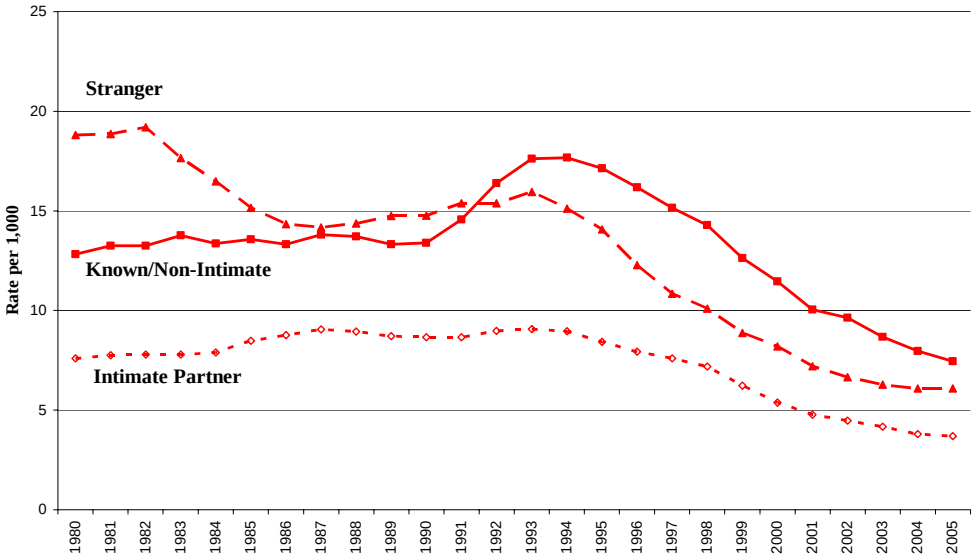


Male Violent Victimization by Race/Ethnicity: NCVS 1973-2005

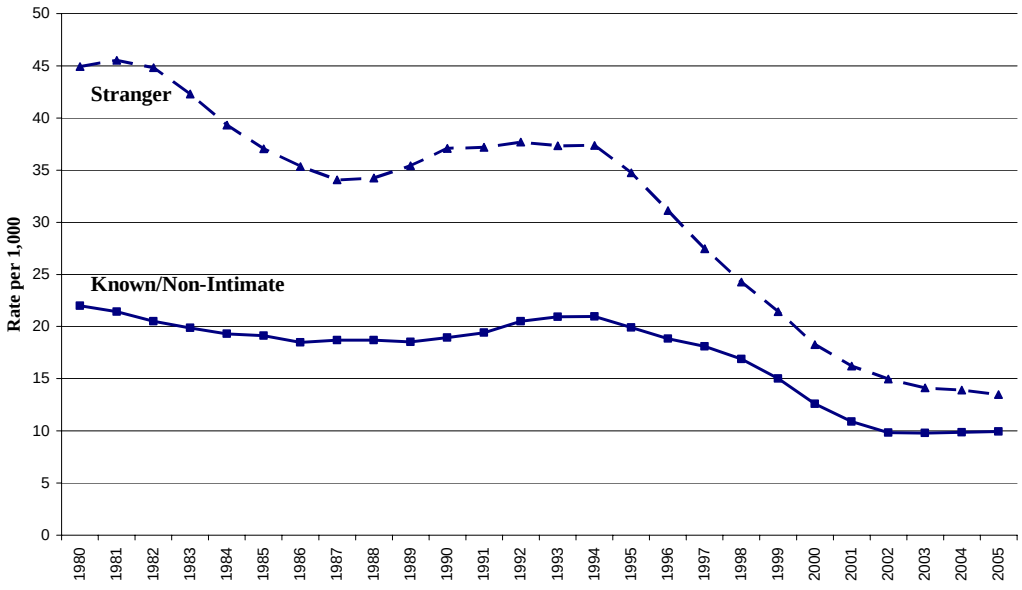


Executive Summary Figures III and IV

Female Violent Victimization by Victim-Offender Relationship: NCVS 1980-2005



Male Violent Victimization by Victim-Offender Relationship: NCVS 1980-2005



INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this project was to create estimates of long-term trends in non-lethal violent victimization of females and males. Research has not attended to these patterns, and this is an important limitation of research on violence against women, according to a recent National Academy of Sciences report (Kruttschnitt, McLaughlin, and Petrie, 2004). To respond to this gap in knowledge, we estimated long-term trends in violent victimization for females and males by various socio-demographic factors including race and ethnicity, age, type of place (urban, suburban, rural), socio-economic status, marital status (for adults), and family status (for juveniles) for the period 1973 to 2005. We also disaggregated these same violent victimization trends by victim-offender relationship to distinguish violence committed by strangers, intimate partners, and known/non-intimate offenders. We produced these previously unknown trends by pooling and appropriately weighting the only source of national data capable of providing reliable trend estimates – the National Crime Survey and its successor, the National Crime Victimization Survey.

Background Literature

The National Academy of Sciences' report on violence against women notes that the United States lacks valid and reliable indicators to examine shifts in specific patterns of violence against women over time (Kruttschnitt, et al., 2004). Rather, existing research on violence against women often focuses on cross-sectional data and, to a lesser extent, on more recent, short term trends that cannot tell us about long term trends. However, without information on long term trends, it is impossible to identify when recent patterns began. As a result, we cannot determine whether current patterns may be the result of recent policy efforts to bring about

declines in violence or alternatively, whether current patterns are continuations of long-term trends generated by other social factors.

The NAS report also notes other limitations of existing research. Some of this work has been based on non-systematic samples that cannot be generalized to the larger population. Most of this work focuses exclusively on intimate partner homicide and rape, and does not address other forms of violent victimization, such as robbery, aggravated assaults, or simple assaults. There are a few existing studies of gender and long-term victimization trends, but these also are limited to intimate partner homicide and the findings may not be generalizable to other forms of violence against women.[1] In fact, in recently published paper, we concluded that homicide trends, and the trends in the *gender gap* in homicide differ from those for aggravated and simple assault victimization (Lauritsen and Heimer, 2008). The current project focused on long term trends in non-lethal violent victimization by gender, socio-demographic subgroup, and victim-offender relationship, and by producing estimates that have not been published to date allows researchers to compare results from homicide research to those for non-lethal violence.

The substantive analysis of the trends we produced has focused, and will continue to focus on different types of research questions. Research that has assessed how socio-demographic factors have been related to violence against women over the past three decades does not exist, and we are in the process of determining whether there have been significant shifts in women's victimization within these factors over time by comparing trends across groups of women. For example, we are currently assessing whether there have been significant changes in violent victimization among black, Latina, and white women. We are also studying these

[1] The trends that we produce are for females and males, as identified by the NCS/NCVS interviewers. We recognize that for the most part these trends are specific to the biological sexes, rather than to socially constructed gender categories.

patterns among urban women, and comparatively, whether there have been similar or different changes among rural and suburban women. This kind of analyses will help determine whether some groups of women have benefited from declining rates of violence while others experienced little change or increases. We are also conducting similar substantive analyses with the trends in male violence.

In addition, we now have trend data that allows us to compare trends in the victimization risks of females with those of males in the same socio-demographic groups. As the NAS report emphasizes, this comparative approach is critical for situating findings about violence against women within the context of research on violence more generally. The meaning of increases in female victimization is quite different when male victimization is decreasing (or stable) rather than when male victimization is also decreasing. These are empirical patterns that can be uncovered by our trend estimates so that we can better understand patterns of violence against women over time. We are also examining changes over time in the gender gap in violence within the various subgroups by conducting across gender analysis. For example, now that the trends are completed, we have started to assess whether the gender gap in violence among blacks has increased, decreased, or remained the same over time, and whether there are similar patterns among whites and Latinos. This kind of analysis can help assess whether the significance of gender and race/ethnicity for violent victimization has changed over time.

The victimization estimates that we produced provide important detailed data on patterns of violence against women and men over the past three decades. These estimates provide fundamental information about the differences in the *level* of violent victimization between- and within- groups of women and men in the United States and basic knowledge about the *trends* in risk over the past three decades for these groups. Equally important, long-term trends can now

be distinguished from shorter-term fluctuations. These trends can be useful for guiding policy decisions about provisions of services for violent crime victims because the patterns identify the groups in most need of assistance. The findings also provide important baselines for contextualizing the outcomes of specific interventions aimed at reducing violence against women or against men or other subgroups, or for reducing particular forms of victimization such as stranger or intimate partner violence. For instance, an evaluation of an intervention based in a particular city or state may reveal a decrease or increase in rates of violence against women overall or in particular subgroups. Yet, it is almost impossible to evaluate the meaning of such a change without information about corresponding levels and patterns of change at the national level or in other urban, suburban, or rural areas. In other words, finding that a particular intervention is linked to a decrease in violence against women in a particular city would be most compelling if regional or national violence against women showed a different pattern. The lack of comparable or baseline data is a common challenge in assessments of crime trends. The decline in crime in New York City was initially credited almost fully to policing strategies until comparative trend analyses showed that similar declines were occurring in areas without such changes in policing (e.g., Rosenfeld, Fornango and Baumer 2005).

In addition, beyond responding to important gaps in the violence against women literature, our trends are relevant for further understanding the "crime drop" in America. Analyses of the recent U.S. crime decline are silent on the issue of gender. In one of the most visible references on the decline in crime rates, Blumstein and Wallman (2000:10) argue that there is little need to disaggregate crime rates by gender, because the gender composition of the population does not change rapidly enough to affect on aggregate rates substantially. While this assumption may be reasonable for studies of short-term trends in homicide and robbery, we

found that it is untenable for other forms of violence or longer-term trends (Lauritsen and Heimer, 2008). Our trend estimates also show that there are some groups for whom the decline in crime appears to have ended in the early 2000's, and others for whom the decline continued (for further details, see the trend figures provided in a subsequent section of this report). These types of descriptive findings add to the literature on the crime drop by showing, for example, whether victimization rates have decreased in similar or different ways among black women as compared to black men, poor women as compared to poor men, urban women as compared to urban men, and so on. Such comparisons are not possible with official Uniform Crime Report data (the data that nearly all crime trend analyses have been based thus far) because they lack detailed information about the characteristics of victims. UCR data also exclude violent crimes not reported to the police. Our trends show substantial variations in the impact of violence on socio-demographic subgroups over time, and provide important information to begin fully understanding the face of crime in the United States.

As noted above, to produce these trends we used data from the National Crime Victimization Survey and the National Crime Survey for the years 1973 through 2005. Our methodology is discussed in detail in the next section of this report. Briefly put, we produced pooled NCS-NCVS estimates of the risks for violent victimization among women and men across a variety of socio-demographic groups, including: race and ethnicity, age, type of place (urban, suburban, rural), poverty status, marital status (for adults) and family status (for youth), as well as trends by these same factors and by victim-offender relationship. The key reason why these trends had not been developed previously is the labor intensiveness of the project. We used the public-use NCS/NCVS data to create the annual estimates and trends. We conducted additional analyses to determine how best to weight the estimates for the NCS years to make

them comparable to the estimates we created from the NCVS years prior to splicing the two series together. As we were producing the trend estimates, we were simultaneously conducting research that combined some of the victimization trend data with other data to statistically analyze the correlates of changes over time. Because we found important variations in the trends across gender, socio-demographic factors, and victim-offender relationship, the amount of future additional research that is necessary to understand the patterns is greatly expanded. If all of the subgroup trends had been similar, there would be little need to further analyze each of the subgroup trends separately. Consequently, we expect to be conducting research using these trend data for several years to come. Following the presentation and description of the trends, we outline the substantive research that we are currently engaged in, as well as our plans for future analyses in the concluding section of this report.

METHODOLOGY

The National Crime Survey (NCS) and its successor, the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) have been used to gather self-report data about persons' experiences with violence and other forms of victimization continuously since 1973. The NCS/NCVS is a large sample survey designed to be representative of persons ages 12 and older, and households in the United States. The sample size has varied over the years, but generally speaking, more than 100,000 persons have been interviewed every six months about victimizations they may have experienced over the previous six-month period. Because the annual occurrence of violence is a relatively rare event in random samples of the population, the large sample size is a key advantage of the survey. Equally important, households are selected for participation on the basis of Census information (rather than random digit dialing procedures which may produce

biased samples); and participation rates are very high (more than 90% on average). Interviews are conducted with each person age 12 and older in the selected household, and participants are asked about their victimization experiences using a series of common language cues and questions. The answers to these questions are used to determine whether respondents have been the victim of an attempted or completed violent (or personal theft) crime. Aside from the 1992 redesign described below, there have been no other changes in the survey that would affect the comparability of overall rates of violence over time. Together, these methodological features help produce reliable annual estimates of victimization that can be used to study long-term trends in risk for violence. For the most recent and thorough summary of the strengths and weaknesses of the NCS/NCVS research design over the past four decades, see Groves and Cork (2008).

In 1992, the survey phased-in the use of a redesigned questionnaire and henceforth became known as the NCVS. Key reasons for the changes in the survey were the difficulties of obtaining estimates of events that were not commonly thought of as "crimes" and discoveries about the extent of family, intimate partner, and sexual violence from other surveys about violence against women (Kindermann et al. 1997). As expected, the introduction of new cues and prompts in the redesigned NCVS resulted in significantly higher rates of rape and sexual assault, as well as aggravated and simple assault. Levels of non-stranger violence and incidents not reported to the police were also higher using the NCVS instrument. In order to use the NCS and NCVS together to study victimization rates from 1973 to the present, it is necessary to take into account the break in the series in 1992 and weight the earlier NCS data in ways that are informed by research on the effects of methodological and content changes to the survey. To produce our sets of estimates, we assessed the need for additional weighting beyond the use of crime-specific weights as developed in Kindermann et al. (1997) and Rand et al. (1997).

Following a series of weighting assessment analyses, which are described in greater detail below, we made the decision to use crime-specific weighting and applied no additional weights to splice the NCS series estimates with those from the NCVS.

Annual estimates from the weighted NCS data and the NCVS data were combined to produce trends in violent victimization by gender and various socio-demographic factors for the period 1973 to 2005. We estimated disaggregated trends for groups categorized by the following factors; race and ethnicity, marital status (for persons age 18 and above), type of place, age, poverty status, and family status (for youths ages 12 to 17). In addition, we also estimated male and female violent victimization by these socio-demographic factors and victim-offender relationship. For female victimization trends, we disaggregated violent incidents into three categories; stranger, known/non-intimate, and intimate partner offenders. We also disaggregated male violent victimization by socio-demographic factors and victim-offender relationship. However for males we had to rely on two categories (stranger, and known/non-intimate) because there were insufficient numbers of intimate partner violence against males to provide reliable subgroup trend estimates. Violent victimization rates were defined to include attempted and completed crimes of rape, robbery, aggravated assault and simple assault. Certain forms of sexual assault that were not recorded in the NCS instrument were excluded from the NCVS trend estimates to ensure that the rates remained comparable over time. We estimated a measure of overall violent victimization for the trends and do not provide trends for specific crime types (such as robbery) because the data cannot support reliable estimates of some types of violence across socio-demographic categories and victim-offender relationships. Also, with the exception of the overall trends by gender, the data points we are providing as a result of this project are three-year moving averages for each of the subgroup violent victimization trends. This was done

to increase the sample size used for each estimate and reduce fluctuations associated with sampling error, making it easier to see the underlying pattern in the disaggregated trend estimates. Finally, we limited the trends that were disaggregated by victim-offender relationship to the 1980 to 2005 period. This decision was necessary due to changes in the coding of victim-offender relationship in 1980, discussed in more detail below.

Data Files

To estimate the long-term trends in violent crime by gender and other socio-demographic correlates, we used data from the National Crime Survey (NCS) and its successor, the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). These rates were estimated using the public-use data files that are available through the National Archive of Criminal Justice Data at ICPSR (U.S. Department of Justice). These files are archived under several study numbers including: 1) Study# 7635, National Crime Survey, National Sample, 1973-1983; 2) Study# 8608, National Crime Survey, National Sample, 1979-1983 [Revised Questionnaire]; 3) Study# 8864, National Crime Survey, National Sample, 1986-1992 [Near-Term Data]; 4) Study# 3995, National Crime Victimization Survey 1992-2003; 5) Study#4276, National Crime Victimization Survey 2004; 6) Study#4451, National Crime Victimization Survey, 2005; and 7) Study# 4699, National Crime Victimization Survey, 1992-2005: Concatenated Incident-Level Files. The victimization rates for each year from 1973 to 2005 were estimated by using information available in the incident- and person-level files. For many of the NCVS rates, we were able to rely on the concatenated incident-level file to produce the sample weighted incident counts. However, estimation of some of the rates required the use of annual incident-level and person-level files. More specifically, we used annual incident files for the estimates for the 1970s, and we used annual person-level

files to create the denominators for all years. The estimation procedure we used is described in detail below.

Rate Estimation Procedures

To create annual rates and trends, we followed the methodology used by the Bureau of Justice Statistics to produce their annual statistical tables. *Annual violent victimization rates* (per 1,000) are estimated by taking the number of violent victimizations reported by a subgroup in that year and dividing by the total number of persons in that category. Sampling weights provided by the Census Bureau to account for non-response by age, race, and sex are used to weight the victimization and person estimates. For the period 1993 to 2005, our estimate of the NCVS victimization rate is:

$$\text{Violent Victimization Rate} = \frac{\text{Number of violent incidents}_{(t)}}{\text{Population at risk}_{(t)}},$$

where violent incidents include the number of attempted and completed rapes, robberies, aggravated assaults and simple assaults, and t is the year in which the interview occurred. We used the same incident characteristics to define these crimes as is used by BJS. For all of the years, we define "year" to be the year in which the interview occurred. BJS published reports typically define "year" as the incident in which the incident occurred, though this practice changed in 1995 when BJS began to issue an annual bulletin in which interview year was used to define "year." In addition, we include "series victimizations" in our estimates, counting each series incident as one incident. BJS published reports of annual victimization rates do not include series incidents. For these reasons, our estimates of annual violence rates will vary some from those in published BJS reports (see Figure 1). To estimate rates for the 1973-1992 NCS

period, we include additional crime-specific weights to adjust for the effects of the NCVS redesign phased-in from January 1992 through June 1993:

$$\text{Violent Victimization Rate} = (w_1)\frac{\text{Number of rapes}_{(t)}}{\text{Population at risk}_{(t)}} + (w_2)\frac{\text{Number of robberies}_{(t)}}{\text{Population at risk}_{(t)}} + (w_3)\frac{\text{Number of aggravated assaults}_{(t)}}{\text{Population at risk}_{(t)}} + (w_4)\frac{\text{Number of simple assaults}_{(t)}}{\text{Population at risk}_{(t)}},$$

where w_1, w_2, w_3, and w_4, refer to the crime-specific weights of 2.57, 1.00, 1.23, and 1.75, respectively. Thus, the final weights for our existing gender-specific victimization rate estimates for the NCS period consists of the crime-specific ratios developed in earlier analyses of the design change and used by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (Lynch and Cantor 1996; Kindermann et al. 1997; Rand et al. 1997). The decision to use crime-specific weights was determined following an assessment of alternative weighting procedures described below.

NCS Weighting

The weights to adjust estimates from the NCS years so that they are comparable to those from the NCVS years can be produced because changes to the survey instrument were phased into the data collection process in a way that makes it possible to assess the effects of the new format on victimization estimates (Lynch and Cantor 1996; Kindermann et al. 1997; Rand et al. 1997). Prior analyses of data from the phase-in period showed that the new questionnaire significantly increased the reporting of victimization and that the magnitude of the change varied according to crime type. Because the trends that we created involved new subgroup estimates, we assessed whether it was necessary to make additional adjustments to the NCS violence rates

for each of the subgroups under consideration. To do so, we followed the same strategy used in the work sponsored by BJS to investigate this issue (Lynch and Cantor 1996; see also Lynch 2002). More specifically, we assessed the need for adjustments for each of the subgroups by using data from the 18-month NCS-NCVS overlap period and comparing the estimates obtained for the subgroups under both designs. Although prior research suggests that additional adjustments beyond crime type may not be necessary (e.g., Lynch and Cantor 1996), we proceeded to examine whether this is the case for each of our subgroup trend estimates.

We began by estimating and assessing the NCVS/NCS ratio for each of the socio-demographic factors. For example, we compared the number of violent incidents reported by urban females, suburban females, and rural females who were administered the NCVS instrument during the 18-month overlap period to the number of violent incidents reported by females in these groups who received the NCS instrument. We examined whether the NCVS/NCS ratio of the incident counts differed significantly across the groups, and also whether these ratios were significantly different from the male ratios. In this example, there were a total of six ratios available for comparison (2 genders x 3 types of places). But because each ratio can be compared to each other ratio, a large number of potential comparisons are possible.

We did these comparisons for each of the socio-demographic factors and gender, thus obtaining a very large set of ratios for comparison. Using the above factor as an example, we examined: 1) whether the NCVS/NCS ratio for urban females (UF) was significantly different from the NCVS/NCS ratio for suburban females (SF); 2) whether the UF ratio differed from the RF ratio (for rural females); and 3) whether the SF ratio was different from the RF ratio. Three similar comparisons (4 through 6) were also made for males. In addition, we examined the data for differences in ratios for: 7) UF and UM; 8) SF and SM; and 9) RF and RM, as well as other

additional combinations (such as UF versus RM). For this particular factor (type of place), we found that none of the above comparisons showed statistically significant differences in the ratios at $p<.05$. However, as we continued to work our way through the list of socio-demographic factors under investigation, it became apparent that we were conducting a large number of multiple comparisons using the same data and as a result we were risking the possibility of concluding that there were meaningful significant differences (and hence a need for a different weighting adjustment for a particular subgroup) when in fact, a number of differences were to be expected to be statistically significant simply on the basis of chance given the number of comparisons we were making.

To minimize this risk, we subsequently decided to compare each of the subgroup NCVS/NCS ratios to the overall NCVS/NCS ratio (and not to each other ratio) thus reducing the possible number of comparisons (e.g., there were now just 40 comparisons for the overall violence trends, not including those that were disaggregated by victim-offender relationship). Using the above example, the UF ratio was compared to the overall ratio, as were the SF, RF, UM, SM, and RM ratios. Using this approach across the full set of ratios, we also found very few to be significantly different. In other words, across the total set of ratios, we found no consistent systematic pattern in the data suggesting that certain subgroups were disproportionately affected by the NCVS redesign. These findings suggested that for a summary measure of violent victimization, it is the relative balance of the component crime types (e.g., simple assault, aggravated assault) within groups that was driving any observed differences in the NCVS/NCS ratio across subgroups.

We also used this same strategy to examine whether ratios for stranger, known/non-intimate, and intimate partner violence differed for each subgroup compared to the overall ratios

for these crime types. Here we found variation in the ratios, but none that obtained statistical significance in large part because the NCS and NCVS redesign phase-in sample sizes are relatively small and can detect only very large differences in disaggregated types of crime across subgroups and NCS and NCVS instrumentation. Thus we found little systematic patterning in these ratio differences. [2]

In sum, for the overall violent victimization trends and for the trends disaggregated by victim-offender relationship, we found that once the NCS rates were weighted by crime type, little trend information was gained by making any further adjustments for any of the socio-demographic groups, or for stranger versus known/non-intimate versus intimate partner violence. Consistent with the results of Lynch and Cantor's (1996) multivariate analysis then, we found that the parsimonious strategy of weighting the estimates by crime type does not result in mischaracterization of any of the subgroup trends. It does, however, simplify the NCS weighting procedure, and the substantive comparisons of the violence trends across these subgroups.

Measuring Victim-Offender Relationship

The victim-offender relationship for each violent crime incident was coded using three categories: "stranger", "known/non-intimate", and "intimate partner." Incidents involving one

[2] The largest NCVS/NCS ratio for violence disaggregated by victim-offender relationship was apparent in male reporting of intimate partner violence which appears to have been affected much more by the NCVS design than was female reporting of intimate partner violence, although levels of reporting among both groups increased. Even if an additional adjustment weight were to be applied to NCS levels of male intimate partner victimization, the rates would continue to be too low to be reliable. In addition, we suspect that levels of reporting intimate partner violence to interviewers among females and males did not remained constant throughout the NCS years, and this source of potential error in not something that can be detected with studies of the NCVS redesign phase-in. Studies of trends in victimization rates, particularly intimate violence rates, should be careful not to assume a constant rate of willingness to report victimization to interviewers. We suspect that persons may be more willing to report intimate partner violence to interviewers now than in the past, and if so, the effect of this change would be to show greater declines in such violence than are apparent in our figures.

offender were coded as "stranger" if the victim reported that the offender was "a stranger you had never seen before" or someone "known by sight only." They were coded as "known/non-intimate" if the offender was a "casual acquaintance" or "well known" but not a spouse, ex-spouse, boyfriend or girlfriend, or ex-boyfriend or ex-girlfriend. They were coded as "intimate partner" if the offender was any one of these latter categories (i.e., spouse, ex-boyfriend).

Incidents involving multiple offenders were coded according to the most intimate relationship between the victim and any of the offenders. For example, if an incident involved a stranger and an acquaintance (who was not an intimate partner), it was coded as "known/non-intimate." If the incident involved an intimate partner and an acquaintance, it was coded as "intimate partner." Incidents in which the victim reported that all of the offenders in a multiple offender incident were "strangers" or "known by sight only" were coded as "stranger."

In the earliest years of the NCS (1973 to 1979), the offender categories of "boyfriend," "ex-boyfriend," "girlfriend," and "ex-girlfriend" were not used in the survey. Consequently, incidents involving such offenders would be treated in this scheme as "known/non-intimate" for those years, and not as victims of "intimate partner" violence which would only be classified as such if the offender was reported to be a "spouse" or "ex-spouse". We investigated whether it would be possible to produce reliable estimates of intimate partner violence for the 1970s without the availability of these non-marital relationship categories by relying solely on the categories of spouse and ex-spouse. Investigations of these trends indicated no marked change in 1980 in male victimization rates disaggregated by victim-offender relationship because, as noted above, they reported relatively little intimate partner violence victimization in all years. However, the inclusion of the additional categories had a marked effect on the female intimate partner and known/non-intimate trends once implemented in 1980 as intimate partner violence

increased and known/non-intimate violence decreased correspondingly. We found it difficult to produce any sort of crude statistical "adjustment" for this change in methodology (e.g., by up-weighting the estimates of intimate partner violence during the 1970s using the ratio of estimates before and after the change) because we also found that the addition of these categories had disproportionate effects on some subgroups. For instance, intimate partner violence rates increased much more among (non-Latina) black females than among Latina and (non-Latina) white females when these categories were added, perhaps in part because of differences in marriage rates across the groups. Because of such findings, and the fact that the changes to the categories were abrupt rather than phased-in, we have limited confidence in the intimate partner violence estimates for females for the 1973 to 1979 period. Thus the decision was made to restrict our estimates of the trends disaggregated by victim-offender relationship to the period 1980 to 2005.

Even though the addition of these categories had little effect on male rates, we also restrict their estimates of victimization by victim-offender relationship to the 1980 to 2005 period to maintain the comparability of the trends across gender. Also, the low male rates of intimate partner victimization meant that it would be impossible to further disaggregate these trends by subgroup. As a result, we provide estimates of trends in "stranger" and "known/non-intimate" violence for males, but we do not provide estimates of male intimate partner violence.

Measuring Socio-Demographic Factors

We produced estimates of trends in violence by gender and race/ethnicity, marital status (for persons ages 18 and above), type of place (i.e., urban, suburban, and rural), age, household poverty status, and family status (for youth ages 12 to 17), as well as trends disaggregated by victim-offender relationship for these same factors. Our original proposal stated that we had

planned to develop trends by level of education, however after examining the NCS/NCVS education data across years in closer detail, we determined that such trends would be plagued by too much measurement error because of the ways in which the coding of education changed over time. Also, because the meaning of different levels of education (such as a high school diploma) also changed over time, the education trends would be difficult to interpret and of limited value. Thus they are not provided. We also planned to study socio-economic status using quartile categories of household income. We encountered similar difficulties developing these quartile measures because the income categories and their widths changed over time. Both income and education were originally intended to be used as indicators of socio-economic status. However, we were able to produce what we believe is a superior measure to that originally proposed – an indicator of household poverty status (discussed in detail below).

We had hoped to be able to estimate trends in victimization that would isolate the experiences of single women with children. As we suggested in our proposal, this is possible for the 1993-2005 NCVS period due to the availability of an indicator of household composition, but we had hoped that it might also be possible for the NCS years. After detailed investigation, we do not believe it is possible to develop a comparable measure for the earlier years because the available alternative measures of household composition were not adequate proxies for single women with children <u>if</u> there were other persons living as heads of household (such as the single mother's parent) or if the woman's children were above age 12. In sum, although we were unable to produce long-term trends for this specific subgroup, we were able to develop a total of 135 distinct and previously unknown long-term trends in violent victimization by subgroup and victim-offender relationship.

Race and Ethnicity

Race and ethnicity are measured using self-reports to questions created and used by the Census Bureau. Following Census practices, NCVS items on race and ethnicity have changed over time. To create a set of consistent categories, we combined responses to the "race" questions with responses to the "ethnicity" question and coded for the three largest racial and ethnic groups in the nation: 1) **non-Latino black**, 2) **non-Latino white**, and 3) **Latino** (persons of Hispanic origin or descent who may be of any race). There are insufficient numbers of subjects of other race and ethnic groups to provide reliable annual estimates. The measure of "race" changed over time in the following ways. Prior to 2003, respondents designated their race by selecting one of the following five categories: "white, black, American Indian/Aleut/Eskimo, Asian/Pacific Islander, or other." Beginning in 2003, respondents were permitted to select more than one race category, and the single race options included five categories now distinguishing Asians from Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders: "white, black, American Indian/Alaska Native, Asian, and Hawaiian/Pacific Islander." Because the proportion choosing more than one race category in the 2003-2005 NCVS is small (approximately 1% of respondents), we were also unable to provide estimates for subjects who selected more than one race category.

Like the race question, the ethnicity questions also have changed over time. Prior to 1986, multiple categories were available for the ethnicity item including "German, Italian, Irish, French, Polish, Russian, English, Scottish, Welsh, Mexican-American, Puerto-Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, Other Spanish, Afro-American, and Another Group Not Listed." Beginning in 1986, the ethnicity categories were defined as "Hispanic" and "non-Hispanic." To create a consistent definition of "Hispanic" or "Latina/Latino" ethnicity over time, we coded persons who selected "Mexican-American, Puerto-Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or

Other Spanish" as "Hispanic" or "Latina/Latino." We compared our population estimates throughout the definitional change period and found that our 1985 estimate of the Latino/Latina population was just slightly lower than the 1986 estimate based on the "Hispanic" versus "non-Hispanic" question, a finding consistent with known population trends. Consequently, we are confident that this coding for comparability is reasonably reliable.

Marital Status (Adults)

For persons ages 18 and above, we created a measure of marital status that consisted of three categories: 1) **married,** 2) **never married**, and 3) **divorced or separated**. There are insufficient numbers of widowed persons to provide annual estimates for that subgroup. Marital status is a self-reported measure, and there is no separate category for cohabitating adults. We excluded persons under age 18 from these estimates because the vast majority of them are never married. For all practical purposes then, their marital status is a constant and including them would confound age with the never married category. Youth family status is treated separately and discussed below.

Type of Place

Type of place is coded by the Census Bureau at the time of the interview under the "MSA status" variable into one of three categories: 1) city of (S)MSA, which we refer to as **urban**, 2) (S)MSA not city, which we refer to as **suburban**, and 3) not (S)MSA, which we refer to as **rural**. This variable was found to be unavailable in the public use files for 1977, 1978, and 1979. We contacted Michael Rand at the Bureau of Justice Statistics to verify this matter and he confirmed that these variables are lost from the files and that it is not possible to recover this variable for those years. Therefore, our estimates for type of place are limited to 1973 to 1976, and 1980 to 2005.

Age

Respondent age is self-reported and we use these values to create five categories of age groups for purposes of estimating age-specific violent victimization trends: **1) 12-17 years, 2) 18-34 years, 3) 35-49 years, 4) 50-64 years, and 5) 65 years and above.** However, for purposes of estimating age-specific trends in stranger, known/non-intimate, and intimate partner violence, we found that the data could not support reliable estimates of these subtypes of victimization for persons ages 65 and above, even with the use of 3-year moving averages. Therefore, for victimization trends disaggregated by victim-offender relationship, we use four age categories: **1) 12-17 years; 2) 18-34 years; 3) 35-49 years; and 4) 50 years and above.**

Poverty Status

To assess trends by socio-economic status, we created a measure of household poverty for each respondent by using the family income data reported by the key household respondent (reference person), the number of persons per household, and the federal definition of poverty for each year (Census Bureau, no date). Household income in the NCVS is reported in categories of dollar amounts (e.g., $7,500-9,999) and not in the detail needed to precisely match federal poverty thresholds. We created three categories of poverty status. Persons were coded as living **1) at or below poverty** if their household income category was lower than or included the federal threshold amount for a household of their particular size. Persons were coded as **2) above poverty** if their household income category was higher than, or did not include the federal threshold amount for a household of their particular size. An additional category was used to classify persons as **3) missing on poverty** if their household income was missing. To assess the external reliability of our poverty measure, we compared our estimates of percent of persons living below the poverty line based on the NCVS data to those produced by using the Current

Population Survey and available on-line through the Census Bureau website. The two sets of estimates were close in magnitude and highly correlated over time (r = .75) (see Appendix A). However, it should be noted that the amount of missing income data in the NCVS has increased in recent years. Unlike the CPS poverty estimates, we cannot use the NCVS data to impute household poverty because the NCVS data lack additional indicators, such as receipt of public assistance, which make such imputations possible.

Family Status (Youth)

For youth ages 12-17, we estimated rates of victimization according to their family status. We use two categories to classify the family status of youth: 1) **living with two married parents**, and 2) **living with a single parent or in some other family arrangement**. Further specifications, such as living with a parent who is single but cohabitating with an intimate partner, were not possible because such household information is not available.

Trend Estimation Process

Estimating victimization trends using the NCS and NCVS is a complex, labor intensive, and multi-step process in which the possibility of human error must be carefully guarded against. To help ensure the accuracy and consistency of our results we undertook several verification procedures. The general process we used to create the rates is as follows.

We proceeded through the trend estimation process by beginning with the factors that could be verified against published reports produced by the Bureau of Justice Statistics. We began by estimating the gender-specific total violent victimization rates to verify the accuracy of our procedure for producing the numerators and denominators for each year. Once we were able to match the printed reports for male and female rates of violence, we proceeded to address the other factors. We were also able to use printed reports to verify our estimates of violence for

some of our age-specific rates because some of our categories used similar definitions of age as found in the published reports. The only other factor for which it was feasible to verify our estimates against printed reports was type of place.

However, the remaining factors (race/ethnicity, marital status among adults only, family status among youth, and poverty) could not be verified in this same manner because published reports using these subgroup definitions do not exist. Race/ethnicity was a partial exception because BJS has produced subgroup rates for non-Hispanic whites, non-Hispanic blacks, and Hispanics using NCVS data for some of the later years of our trends. For marital status categories, we verified our estimates by using the full NCVS sample (i.e., including youth) and matched printed reports, therefore suggesting that our estimates using adults only are valid and reliable.

For youth family status and poverty we used a different approach. To determine whether our youth family status measure was valid and reliable, we began by estimating the annual denominators (that is, the number of youth ages 12 to 17 that lived in married parent households versus single parent and other households). We were able to match our estimates of the size of these groups to those produced by the Census Bureau for the decennial censuses, giving us confidence that our estimates of these subgroup victimization rates are reliable and valid. Finally, for poverty, we used a similar approach. As noted above, we compared our estimates of the population living at or below poverty to estimates from the Current Population Survey (CPS) to assess our operational definitions. We found sufficient similarity in the levels of poverty, though we note that with the NCVS data, we are concerned about missing income data in later years and we use cruder categories of income than are available in data sets like the CPS which

are designed for such purposes. In addition, the CPS estimates are for total population while the NCVS-based poverty estimates are necessarily limited to persons ages 12 and above.

Our findings, which consist of the figures depicting each of the trends, appear in the next section of this report. We offer brief descriptive commentary for each of the figures, though it should be noted that much more could have been said about each of the patterns either alone, as well as in comparison to many of the other related patterns. We have begun formal analyses of various sets of these trends (see the subsequent section on remaining tasks and future research), and once these trend data are made public, we expect other researchers to analyze these data as well. Indeed, the purpose of this project was to help develop the basic infrastructure that would allow extensive future research by many researchers.

RESULTS: TRENDS AND FIGURES

SECTION 1. GENDER BY SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

Figure 1. Comparison of Lauritsen and Heimer Trends in Total Violence by Gender with BJS Trends in Total Violence by Gender: NCVS 1973-2005.

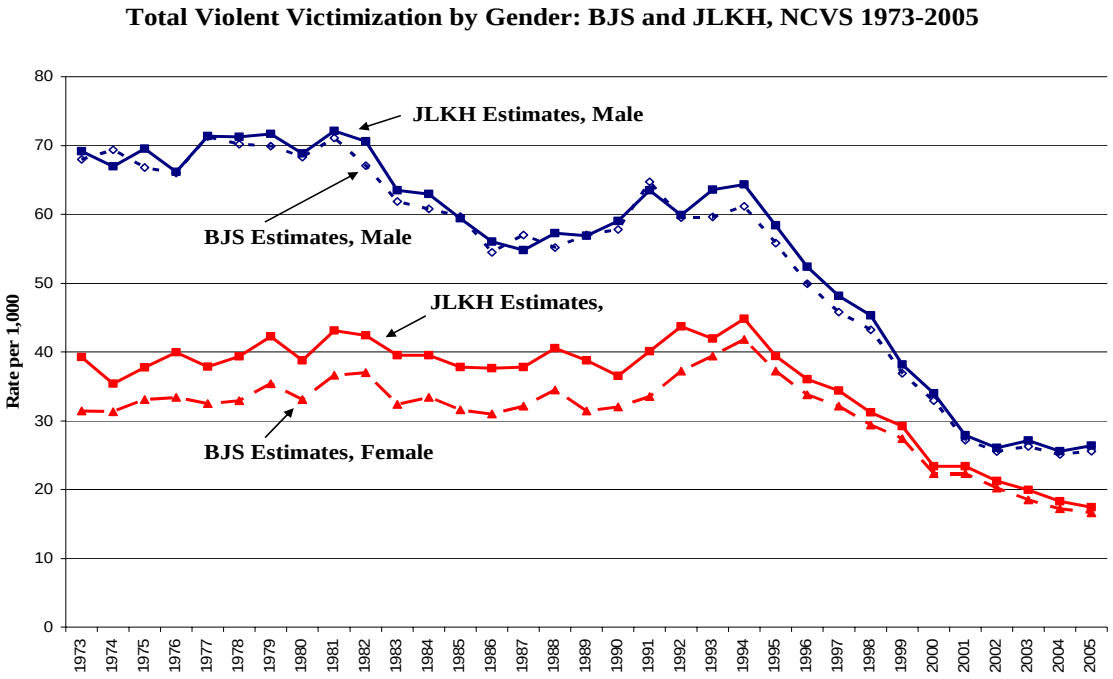


Figure 1 shows our estimates for the long-term trends in male and female violent victimization, as well as the corresponding BJS estimates. As can be seen, our estimates for males are very close to the BJS estimates throughout the series. Our estimates for female victimization also show a similar pattern over time to the corresponding BJS estimates, however, our estimates are somewhat higher during the NCS years, before the redesign. As discussed in the methodology section, these differences are primarily the result of our decision to include series victimizations in our estimates.

The trend lines show, first, that regardless of year, males were more likely to be victimized than females, by a factor of about 1.8 in 1973, about 1.4 in 1994, and about 1.5 in 2005. This also shows that there was some decrease in the gender gap in violent victimization between 1973 and 2005. Part of this seems to stem from the fact that when male violent victimization declined during the 1980s, female violent victimization showed less change. Indeed, the early 1990s "peak" in male violent victimization (about 65 per 1000 in 1994) was lower than the rates of violence against males throughout the 1970s and into the early 1980s. This was not the case for females: The rates of violence against females were only slightly higher in 1994 than they were in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Thus, in terms of this measure of violent victimization, the gender gap narrowed in part because male violent victimization decreased proportionately more than female violent victimization during the 1980s.

Figure 2. Lauritsen and Heimer Female Total Violent Victimization by Race/Ethnicity: NCVS 1973-2005 (3 year moving averages).

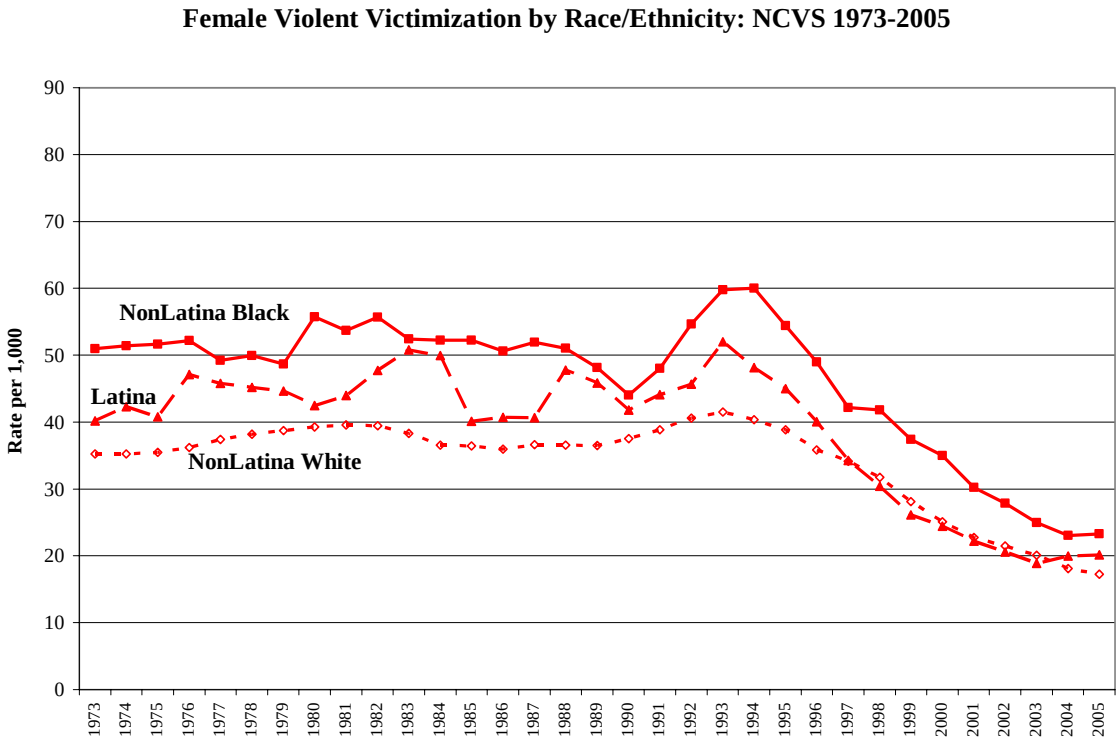


Figure 2 displays violent victimization trends for race and ethnic subgroups of females. As noted in the text, the disaggregation of race and ethnicity is an important advance for research on violence against women. As Figure 2 shows, non-Latina blacks have the highest rates of victimization throughout the series. Latinas have the next highest rates for the years up through 1997. From 1997 on, and Latinas had victimization rates that are similar to those of non-Latina whites.

The violent victimization rates of all three race/ethnic groups are relatively stable with some minor increases and decreases during the 1970s and 1980s. After increases around 1990, the rates for all three groups reached a series high in 1993-1994, and all dropped dramatically to a three-decade low by 2003. Closer inspection reveals more detail within and across race/ethnicity. For example, among non-Latina blacks, there was a downward trend between 1981 and 1990, followed by a sizable increase to 60 per 1000, which was 5 per 1000 higher than in any previous year in the series. Among Latinas, there is more variability during the 1970s and 1980s, and it is more difficult to discern meaningful patterns. But, as with non-Latina blacks, Latina victimization increased in the early 1990s to a two decade peak in 1993 of about 52 per 1000. However, unlike non-Latina blacks, this rate is only slightly higher than rates in some previous years, such as the early 1980s. Non-Latina white rates were smoother (owing to the greater sample size) and showed some upward and downward movement during the 1970s and 1980s, reaching a high point of about 41 per 1000 in 1993, and then declining substantially after this time.

Figure 3. Lauritsen and Heimer Male Total Violent Victimization by Race/Ethnicity: NCVS 1973-2005 (3 year moving averages).

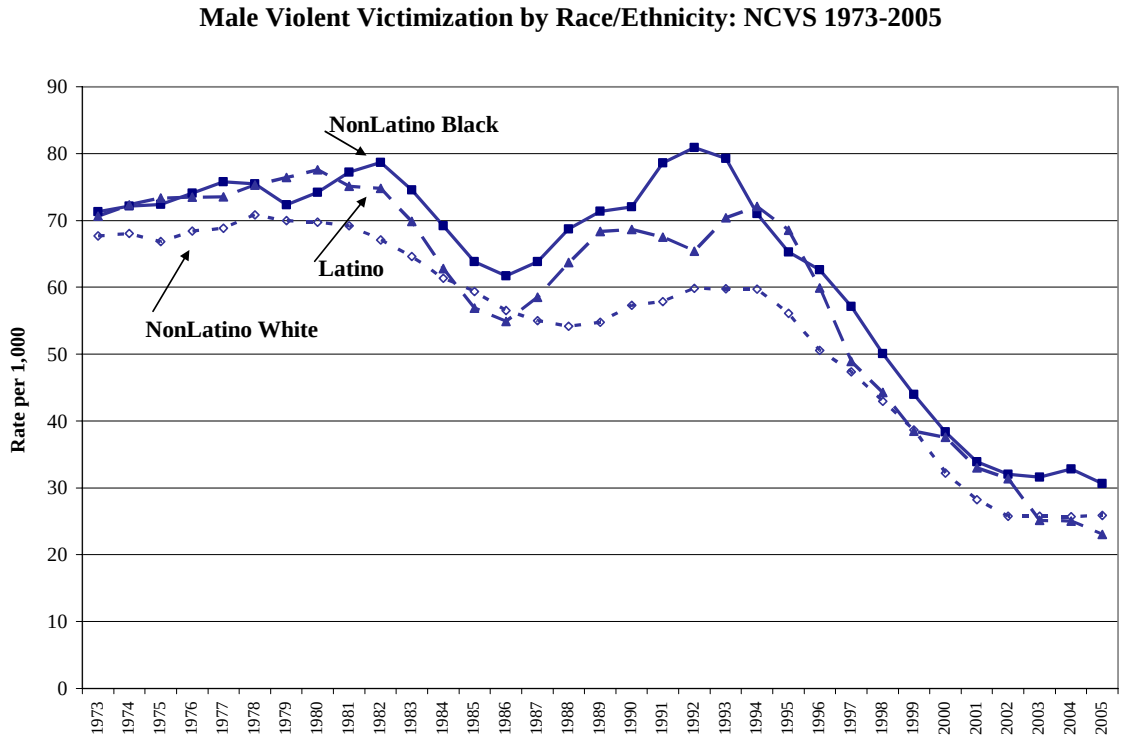


Figure 3 displays violent victimization trends for race and ethnic subgroups of males. Figure 3 shows that non-Latino black males and Latino males have higher victimization rates than non-Latino whites for most of the series, although the Latino rates show more variability, and in some years approach the non-Latino white rate. However, in contrast to the pattern for females, the race and ethnic gap for males is less pronounced at the beginning and end of the series. In addition, the general pattern over time is similar across all three race/ethnic groups among males. Specifically, there was modest increase in violent victimization during the 1970s, followed by a decrease in violence in the 1980s. There was an upswing in violence during the mid-to-late 1980s, peaking in the early 1990s, and then dropping off precipitously. Beyond the overall similarity of pattern across race and ethnic groups, however, there are noteworthy differences: The decline in the early 1980s was more pronounced for non-Latino blacks and Latinos, as was the increase in the late 1980s and the early 1990s. As such, the race and ethnic "gap" was very small in the middle 1980s – the Latino rate even fell below the non-Latino white rate in 1985 and 1986. The race/ethnicity gap is largest during the period of increases in the late 1980s and the differences between non-Latino black and non-Latino white rates are greatest in 1992, when violence against blacks peaked. When violence declined after the middle 1990s, race and ethnic differences were diminished.

A comparison of Figures 2 and 3 reveals that while female rates were uniformly lower than male rates in the 1970s and 1980s, the rates of non-Latino black females became similar to those of non-Latino white males by 1993 (60 per 1000), and remained about the same as non-Latino white male rates in 2005 (roughly 22 per 1000).

Figure 4. Lauritsen and Heimer Female Total Violent Victimization by Marital Status (Ages 18 and Above): NCVS 1973-2005 (3 year moving averages).

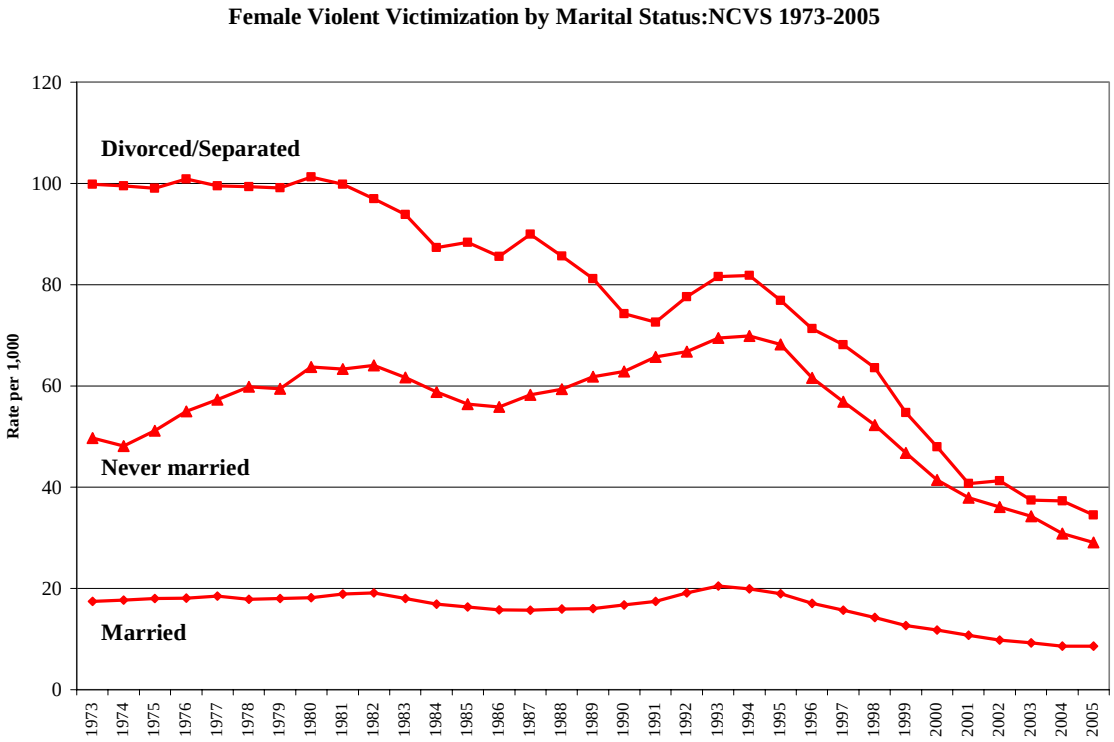


Figure 4 depicts violence against women by marital status. As the figure shows, divorced/separated women have the highest rates of victimization in all years, followed by never married women. The lowest risk category is married women. Examining the trends over time reveals that violence against divorced/separated women generally has declined over time, with the largest drop coming after 1994. Among never married women, by comparison, there was a general increase in violent victimization until the peaks years of 1993 and 1994, after which time victimization dropped steeply. Violence against married women also decreased after the middle 1990s. The gaps between violence against married and never married women, and between married and divorced/separated women, are substantial. Interestingly, there appears to have been some narrowing of the gap in victimization between divorced/separated and never married women over time. This narrowing occurred in large part because as violence against divorced and separated women declined during the 1980s, violence against never married women increased.

Figure 5. Lauritsen and Heimer Male Total Violent Victimization by Marital Status (Ages 18 and Above): NCVS 1973-2005 (3 year moving averages).

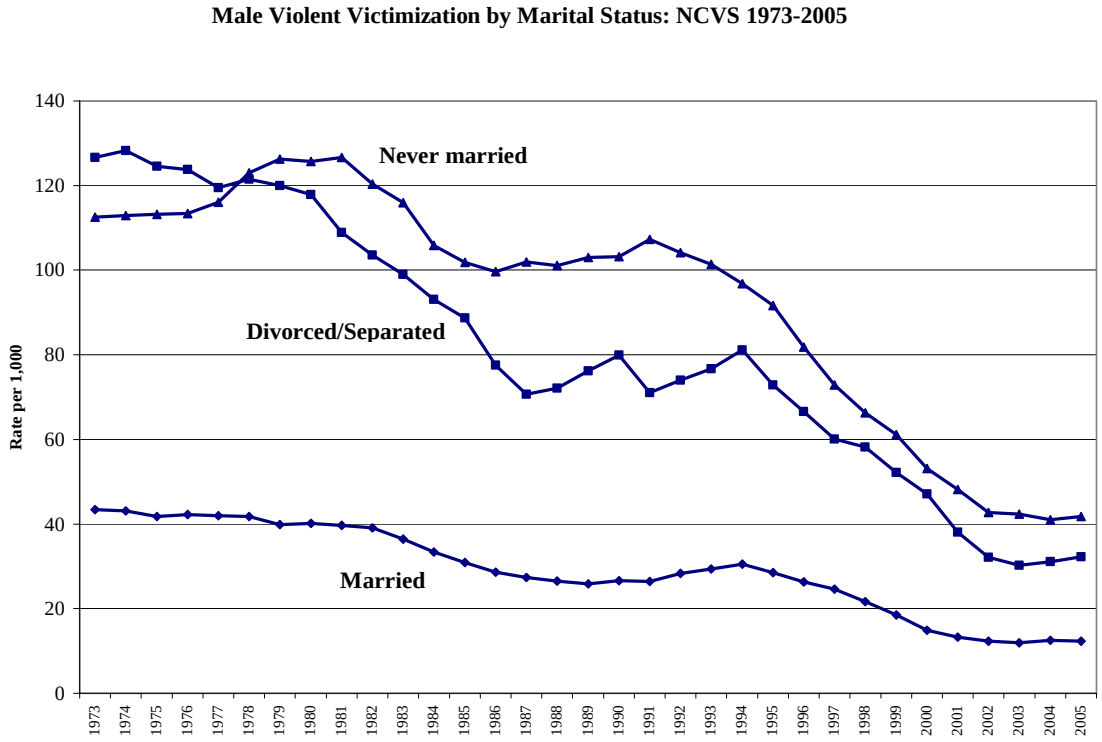
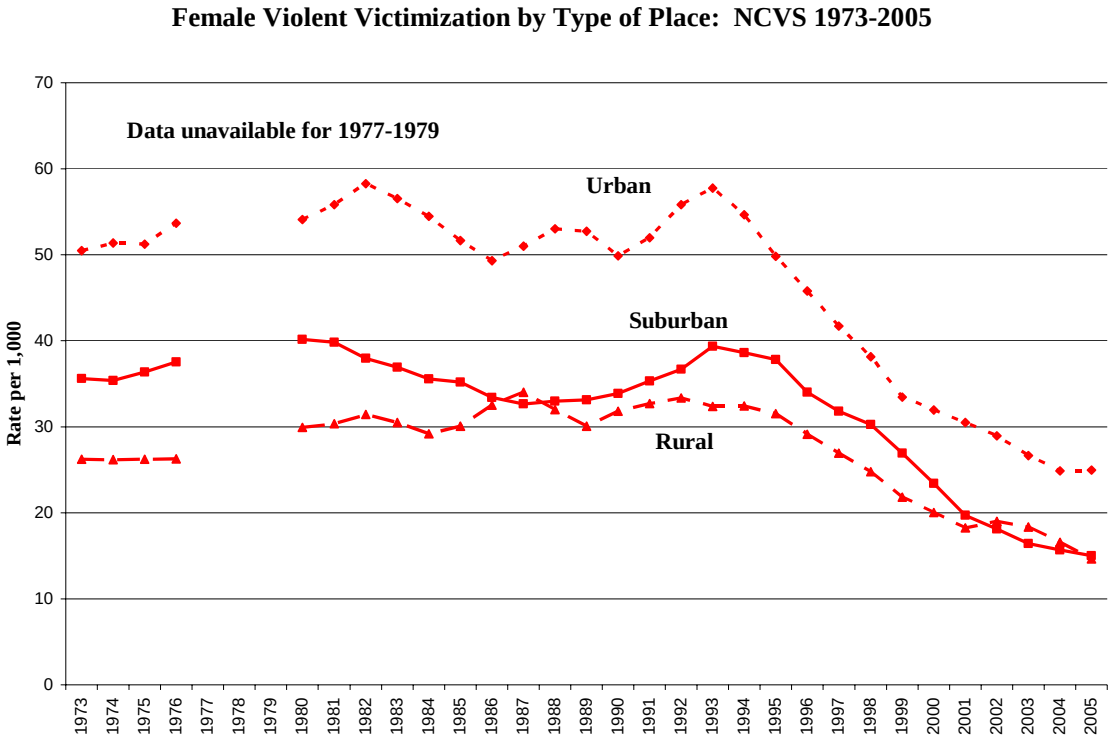


Figure 5 shows a different pattern of violence by marital status among males. Although married men, like married women, have the lowest risks of violent victimization throughout the series, never married men are at higher risk for violent victimization than divorced/separate men after 1978; by contrast, Figure 4 shows that divorced/separated women have the greatest risk of victimization in all years studied. The rates for never married and divorced/separated men also track one another over time fairly closely, which is not the case for females. Interestingly, the rates for all three marital status groups of men show long term decreases over time, punctuated by modest increases in the early 1990s, followed by substantial declines.

Figure 6. Lauritsen and Heimer Female Total Violent Victimization by Type of Place: NCVS 1973-2005 (3 year moving averages).



As discussed previously in this report, missing data precluded us from estimating violent victimization for persons residing in urban, suburban and rural areas in 1977 through 1979. Figure 6 displays our estimates of violence against females for the others years in the series, disaggregated by place of residence. Clearly, females who reside in urban areas have the highest rates of victimization. Females in suburban areas have somewhat higher rates of violent victimization than females in rural areas for most of the series. Note however that these rates are very similar in the late 1980s and then remain fairly close for many of the years during the 1990s. It is hard to make claims about the period before the middle 1980s, given the missing data, but it appears that the gap in victimization between rural and suburban females narrowed somewhat between 1970s and the middle 1980s.

The pattern of violence against females over time in urban areas is fairly similar to violence against females in suburban areas, although the rate is higher in urban areas. For both urban and suburban females, there were modest declines during the 1980s, followed by increases through the early 1990s, followed by substantial declines.

Figure 7. Lauritsen and Heimer Male Total Violent Victimization by Type of Place: NCVS 1973-2005 (3 year moving averages).

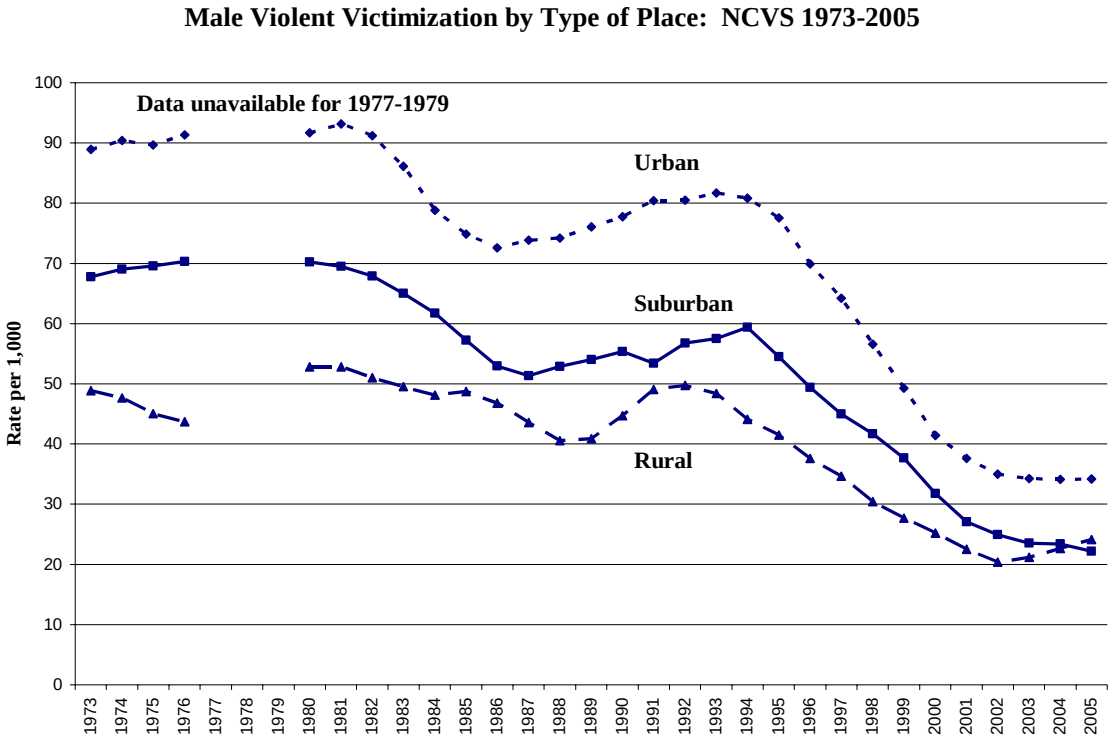
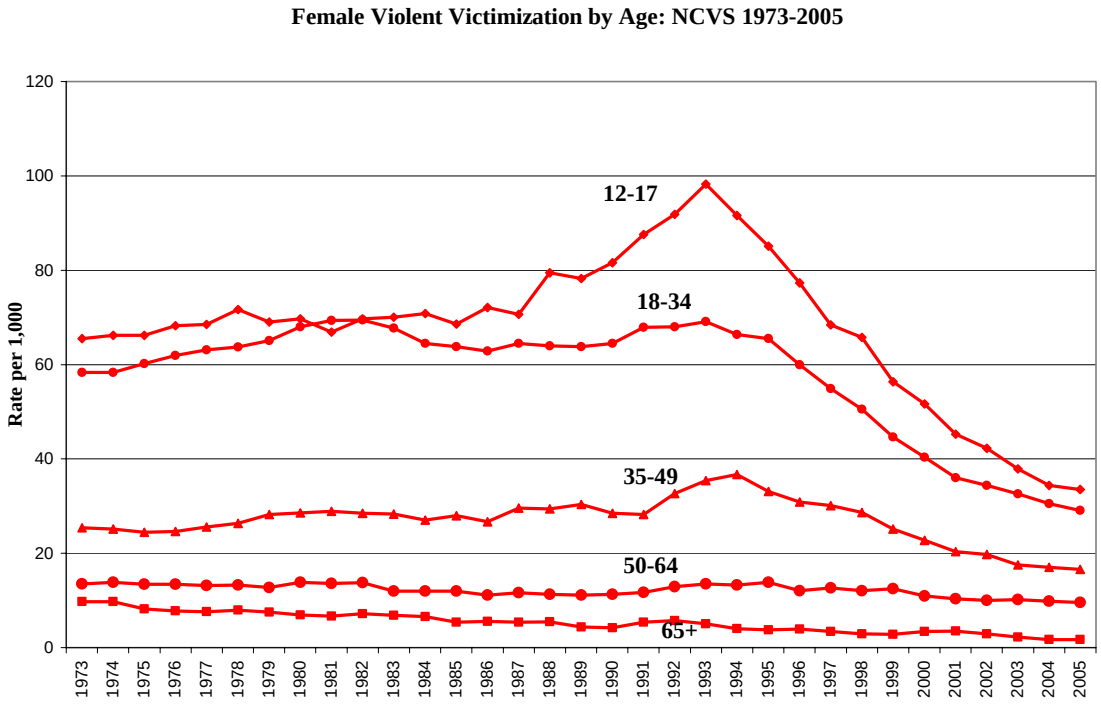


Figure 7 shows that violence against males residing in urban, suburban, and rural areas declined over the period studied. Again, urban males have the greatest risk of violent victimization throughout the series, followed by suburban and then rural males.

It appears, as with females (Figure 6), that the gap in victimization between rural and suburban males narrowed somewhat between 1970s and the middle 1980s, although making claims is difficult due to the missing data. The two series became even more similar through the 1990s and the rates became essentially the same by the end of the series.

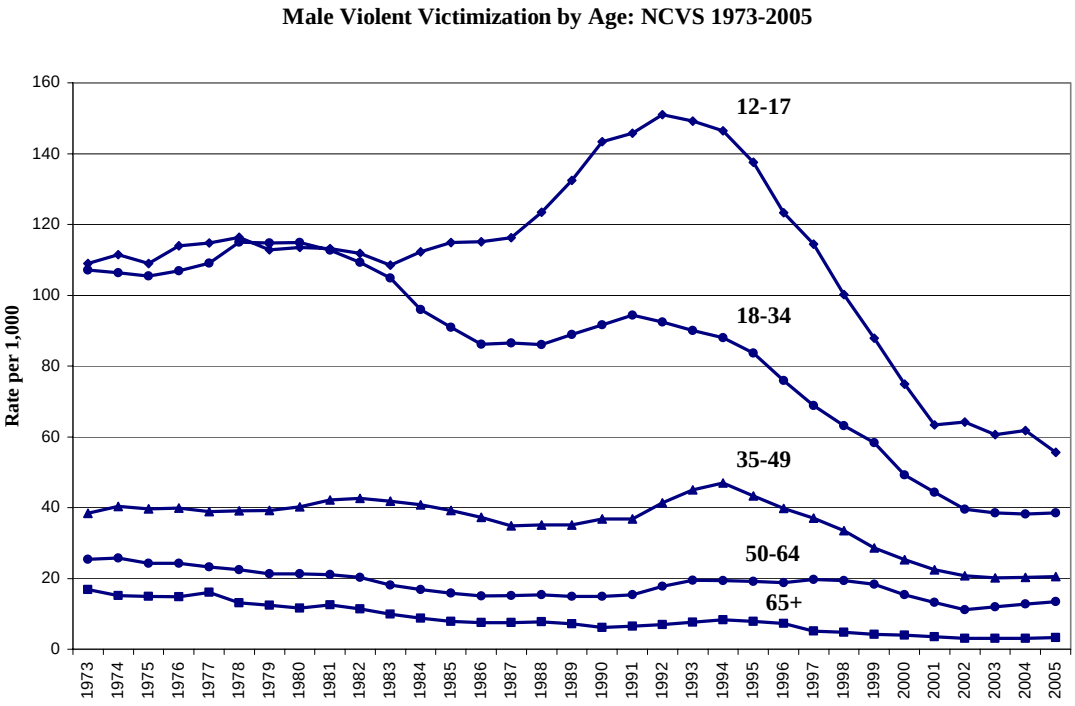
For all three residence groups, male victimization decreased in the early 1908s before increasing in the late 1980s and the early 1990s. After the early 1990s (years varying across groups), victimization rates declined substantially for all three groups.

Figure 8. Lauritsen and Heimer Female Total Violent Victimization by Age: NCVS 1973-2005 (3 year moving averages).



The familiar age pattern of crime and victimization is evident in Figure 8. Younger females experience much higher rates of violent victimization than their older counterparts. There are two additional points of interest in this figure: First, the rank-ordering of age groups by victimization risk shifted in 1980, when the trend for the 12-17 year old group crossed the trend of the 18-34 year old group, and the younger group experienced higher risk of violent victimization from this point on in the series. This occurred because of the second very notable feature of this figure: The victimization rates of 12-17 year old females shows a long-term increase, from 1973 to the peak in 1993, after which time they decline sharply. While the 18-34 and 35-49 year olds also experienced some increases in victimization from the late 1980s through middle 1990s, the increases in these two age groups is not as large as that observed for 12-17 year old females. As with the younger females, the victimization rates of 18-34 and 35-49 year old women decreased during the late 1990s and into the 2000s. There was less change in the 50-64 year old group, who experience relatively low rates of violent victimization, and if anything, there is some evidence of a downward trend over time in the rates of violence against women who are 65 and older. The figure also shows that the differences in victimization between the younger females (12-34) and older females (35+) are smaller in 2005 than in 1973. In other words, the age gap in female violent victimization appears to have narrowed somewhat over the time period studied.

Figure 9. Lauritsen and Heimer Male Total Violent Victimization by Age: NCVS 1973-2005 (3 year moving averages).



The pattern of violence against males in the various age groups is similar to that observed for females, in Figure 8. Younger males have much higher rates of violent victimization than their older counterparts. While the victimization rates for 12-17 and 18-34 year old males were similar in the 1970s, the rates begin to diverge after 1983, with violence against 12-17 year old males increasing substantially. By contrast, the victimization rates of males 18-34 dipped between 1983 and 1986, then increased until 1991. For both 12-17 and 18-34 year old males, violent victimization rates decrease from the middle 1990s through 2001, and then level off. The victimization rates of 35-49 year old men decrease during the late 1990s and then level off after 2002. There is less change in the 50-64 year old group, with rates decreasing from 1973 until a small upturn in 1991. The victimization of 50-64 year old men then held stable for a few years before declining somewhat starting in 1999; since 2003, there has been a very small increase in victimization rates in this group. As with women, there is some evidence of a downward trend over time in the rates of violence against men who are 65 and older.

As in the case of females, the differences in victimization between the younger males (12-34) and older males (35+) are smaller in 2005 than in 1973. In other words, the age gap in male violent victimization also appears to have narrowed somewhat over the time period studied.

Figure 10. Lauritsen and Heimer Female Total Violent Victimization by Poverty Status: NCVS 1973-2005 (3 year moving averages).

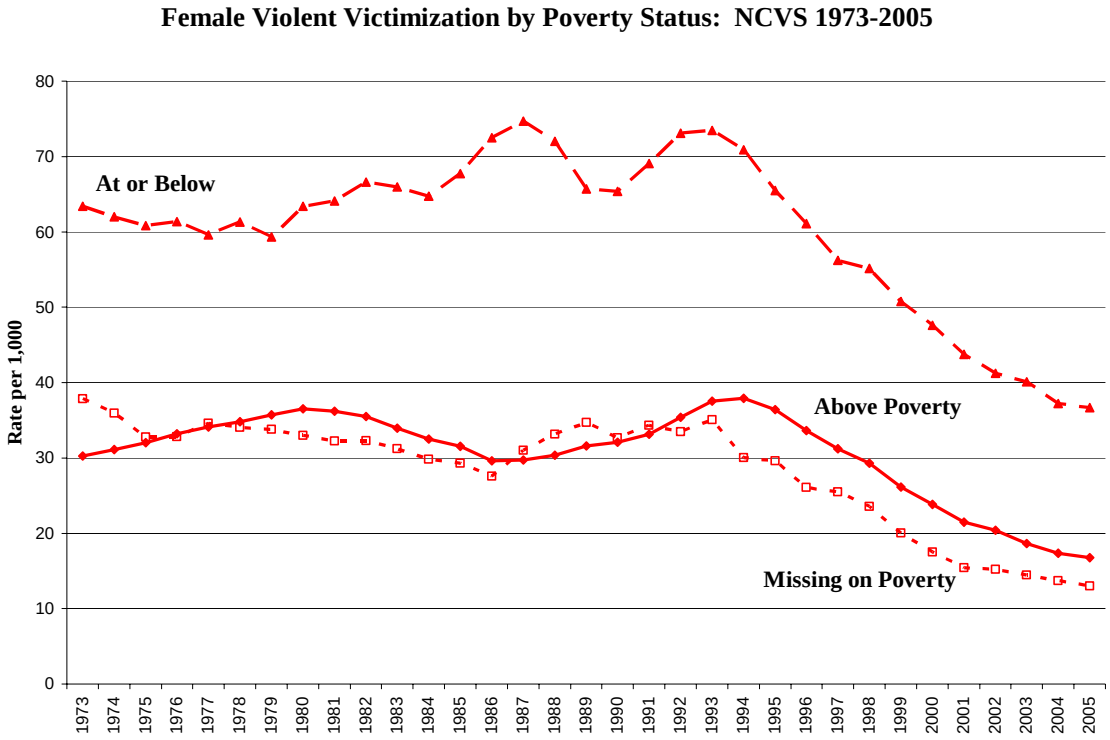


Figure 10 shows that females in our poverty category have a substantially higher rate of violent victimization than females who are in our above poverty category in all years in our series. During the peak years of 1986 and 1993, poor females were victimized at a rate of close to 75 per 1000, whereas non-poor females were victimized at a rate of 30 per 1000 in 1986 and about 38 per 1000 in 1993. The victimization gap between poor and non-poor females does not appear to narrow appreciably. There is the now familiar clear decline in the victimization rates of both groups from the middle 1990s onward, and this is the most notable change over the period studied. From 1973 through the early 1990s, there is no single trend describing the pattern observed in either group. Non-poor females showed a slight increase in victimization rates during the 1970s, followed by a decline until the 1986, after which there was an increase to the peak of 1994. Poor females showed different pattern, with victimization rates increases throughout the 1970s to a series high of about 75 per 1000 in 1987. This was followed by a sharp dip and then increase to the second highest rate of about 73 per 1000 in 1993.

Figure 10 also shows victimization rates for respondent females for whom the data on poverty status was missing. This trend line is very close in level and shape to the trend line for non-poor females, indicating that those missing on poverty are closer in victimization experiences to females categorized as not living in poverty.

Figure 11. Lauritsen and Heimer Male Total Violent Victimization by Poverty Status: NCVS 1973-2005 (3 year moving averages).

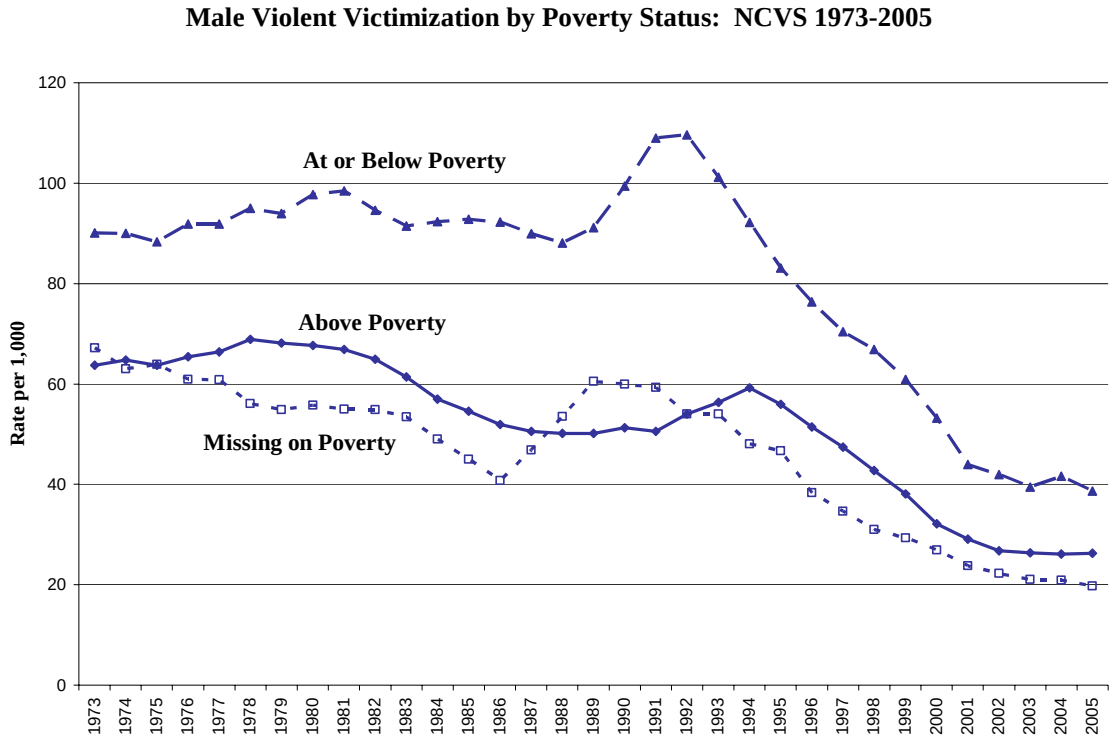
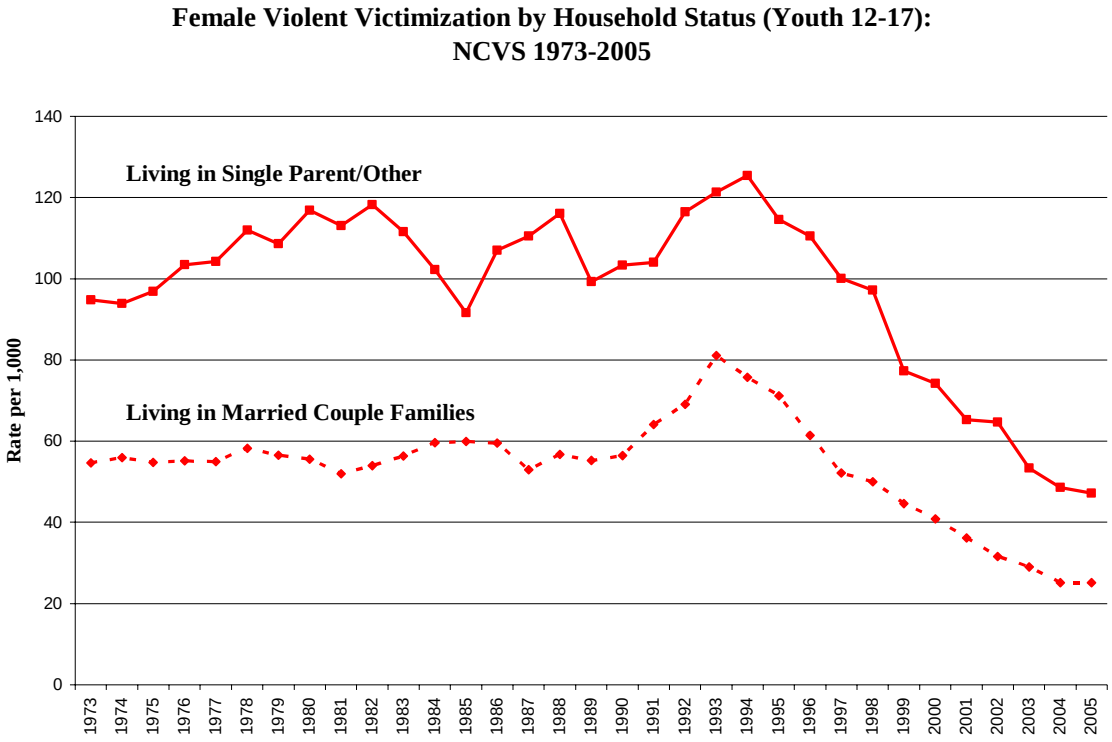


Figure 11 shows the violent victimization trends for poor and non-poor males. Again, poverty is associated with much higher rates of violent victimization. The patterns, however, depart from those observed for females. Poor males had rather flat rates of victimization from 1973 through 1988, after which rates climbed and peaked at almost 110 per 1000 in 1992, before dropping off through the rest of the 1990s and early 2000s. Non-poor males had rates of victimization that increased slightly in the middle 1970s, then declined during the late 1970s and 1980s, before increasing in the early 1990s. In 1994, the increase in victimization stopped, and a downward trend began, which lasted until 2002, when rates began to level out. The pattern for non-poor males showed an overall downward trend since the 1970s, with periodic dips and increases.

As in the female figure, Figure 11 shows the rates of victimization for male respondent missing on poverty status. Again, this trend line is close in level and shape to the trend line for non-poor males.

Figure 12. Lauritsen and Heimer Female Total Violent Victimization by Household Status (Youth 12-17): NCVS 1973-2005 (3 year moving averages).



Among female youth (12-17 years of age), the structure of the household is associated with victimization rates. Specifically, Figure 12 shows that young females who reside in single parent/other households have much higher rates of violent victimization than their counterparts in married couple households. This is consistent with the gap in marital status among adult women (see Figure 4).

Figure 12 shows that violence against females in single parent/other households increased some during the 1970s, vacillated during the 1980s, peaked in 1995 at the high rate of about 125 per 1000, and then declined substantially throughout the remainder of the series. Violence against young females in married couple households was fairly stable between 1973 and 1990; violent victimization rates then began to increase, peaked in 1993, then declined substantially.

Figure 13. Lauritsen and Heimer Male Total Violent Victimization by Household Status (Youth 12-17): NCVS 1973-2005 (3 year moving averages).

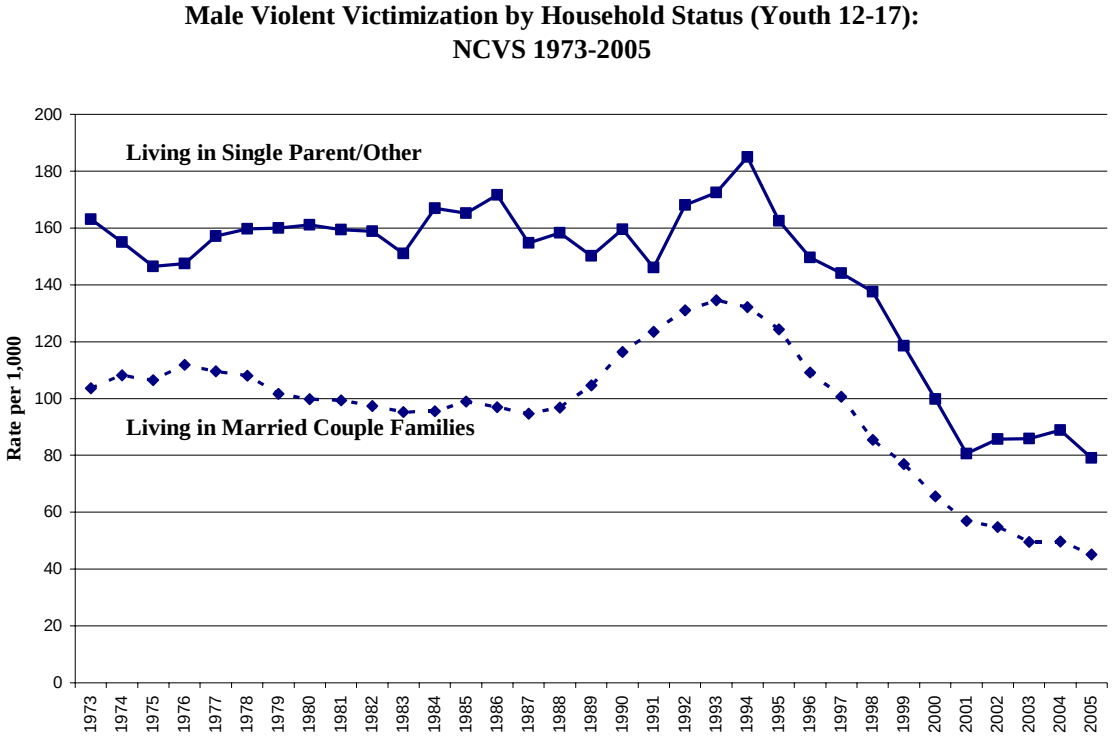


Figure 13 shows that there also is a gap in level of victimization across household status among male youth (12-17 years of age). Young males who resided in single parent/other households have higher rates of violent victimization than their counterparts in married couple households. Interestingly, this gap is not as great as in the case of females, but the rates are much higher than observed for females (compare with Figure 13).

There also appear to be some differences in pattern across gender. Violence against males in single parent/other and married couple households did not show a clear trajectory before the late 1990s, but showed some increases in the late 1980s to early 1990s. Victimization rates peaked at a series high in 1994 among males in single parent/other households (over 180 per 1000), and in 1993 among males living in married couple households (close to 140 per 1000). Rates declined after the middle 1990s in both groups. Young males in single parent/other households experienced some increase in violent victimization rates between 2002 and 2004 before returning to the 2001 rate.

SECTION 2. FEMALE VICTIMIZATION BY SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS AND VICTIM-OFFENDER RELATIONSHIP

Figure 14. Lauritsen and Heimer Female Total Violent Victimization by Victim-Offender Relationship: NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).

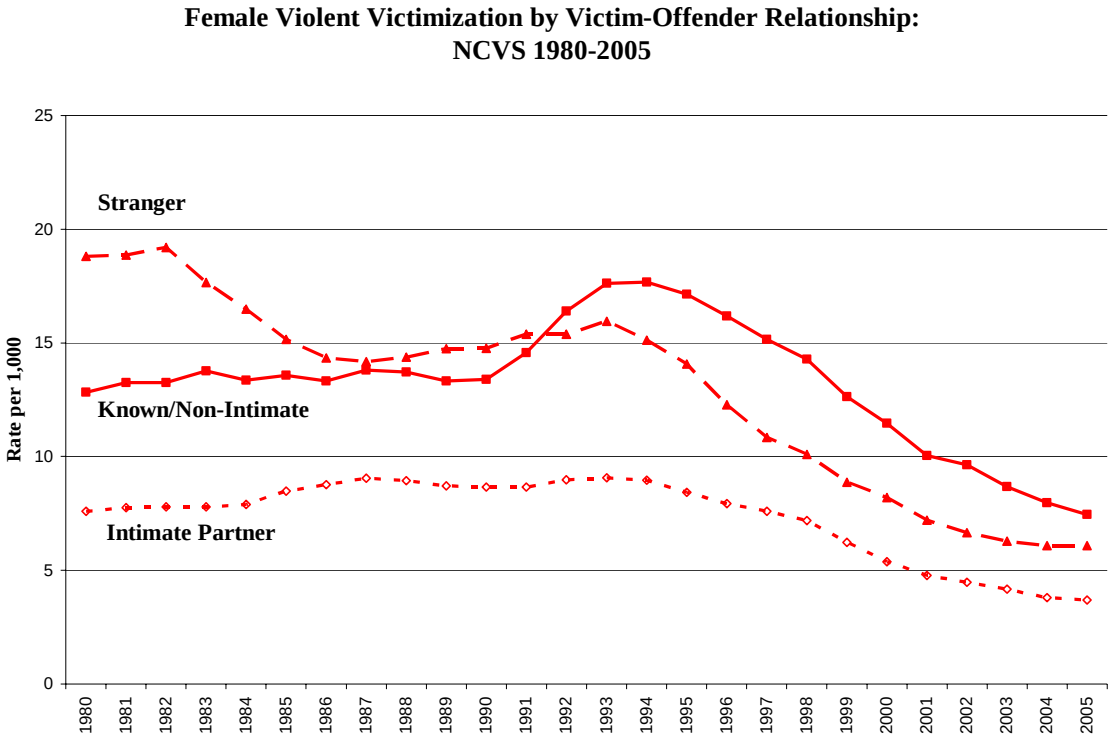


Figure 14 displays the violent the victimization of females over our series, disaggregated by victim-offender relationship. As we noted previously, it is not possible to produce these disaggregations prior to 1980. There are several very notable features of the trend lines in this figure. First, throughout the series, intimate partner victimization occurs at lower rates than either stranger or known/non-intimate victimization. Second, the gap between rates of violence by stranger and by known/non-intimate was sizable at the start of the series, but became negligible by the middle 1980s because victimization by strangers decreased while victimization by known/non-intimates increased. Both stranger and known/non-intimate violence increased during the late 1980s, but the rate of acceleration was greater in the case of violence by known/non-intimates. As a result, the trend lines had crossed by 1993. Both stranger and known/non-intimate violence against females decreased substantially after 1993-1994, but violence by known/non-intimates remained at a higher rate than violence by strangers throughout the rest of the series.

Violence by intimate partners shows an interesting pattern as well, increasing between 1980 and 1987, then remaining fairly stable through 1994, when rates began to decline. The decline, mirroring the decline in violence seen in the previous figures, continued through the end of the series.

Figure 15. Lauritsen and Heimer Female Total Stranger Violent Victimization by Race/Ethnicity: NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).

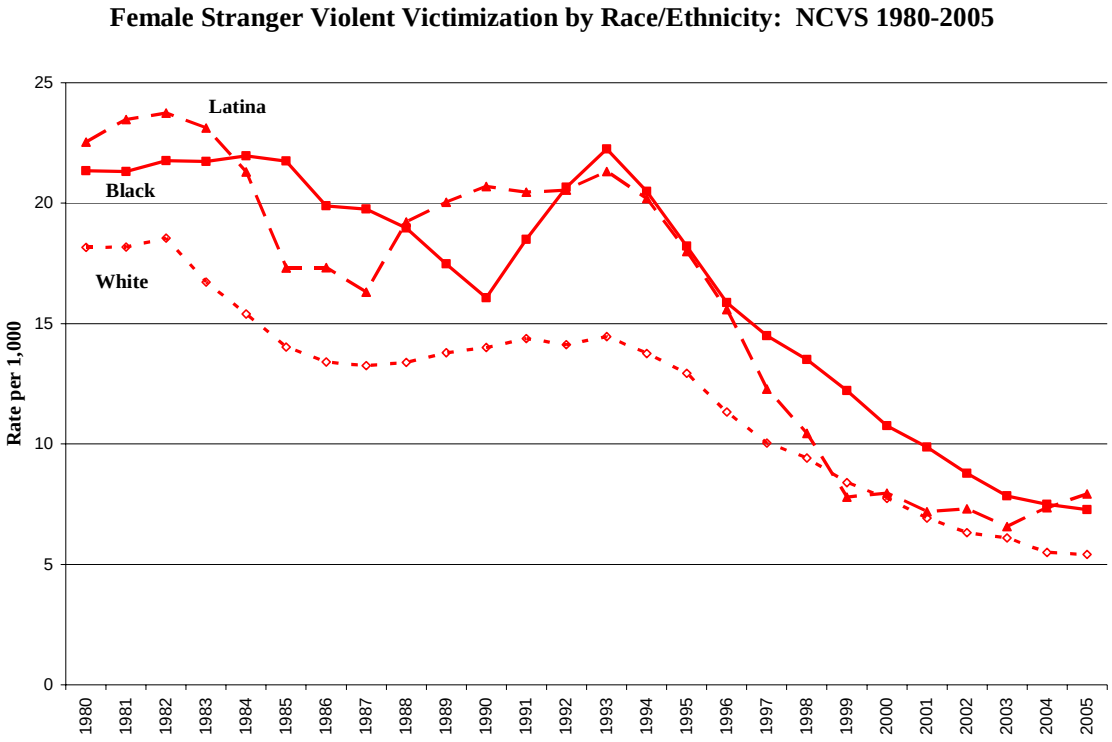


Figure 15 shows female violent victimization by strangers disaggregated by race and ethnicity. An important observation about this figure is that Latina victimization is more similar to non-Latina black than to non-Latina white victimization throughout the series, except for 1999 through 2003, when Latina rates became very similar to non-Latina white rates**.** Differences in rates across race/ethnic groups are small by the end of the series. The figure also shows that in all three groups, there were higher rates of victimization in the early 1980s, followed by dips in the middle 1980s, and then increases during the late 1980s and early 1990s. However, the increase in the late 1980s and early 1990s seems less pronounced among non-Latina whites than the other groups. There was a substantial decline in violence by strangers after the middle 1990s for all three race/ethnic groups.

Figure 16. Lauritsen and Heimer Female Total Known/Non-Intimate Violent Victimization by Race/Ethnicity: NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).

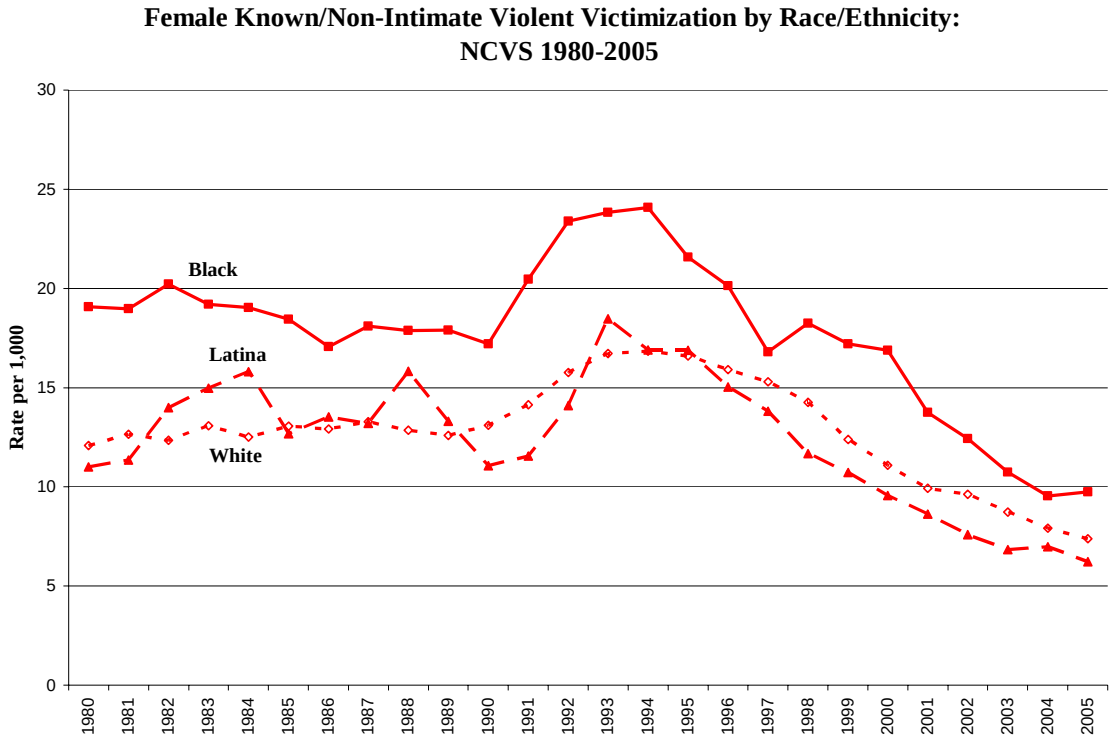


Figure 16 shows female violent victimization by known/non-intimates disaggregated by race and ethnicity. In this figure, the rates for Latina and non-Latina white females are quite similar in level and in pattern over time, unlike in the case of stranger violence (Figure 15), where the trends for Latinas are more similar to those for non-Latina blacks. Non-Latina black females' rates of violence by known/non-intimates are higher throughout the series than the rates of Latinas and non-Latina whites. The shape of the distribution is similar for all three race/ethnic groups, with increases starting in the late 1980s and continuing to the middle 1990s, then decreasing.

Figure 17. Lauritsen and Heimer Female Total Intimate Partner Violent Victimization by Race/Ethnicity: NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).

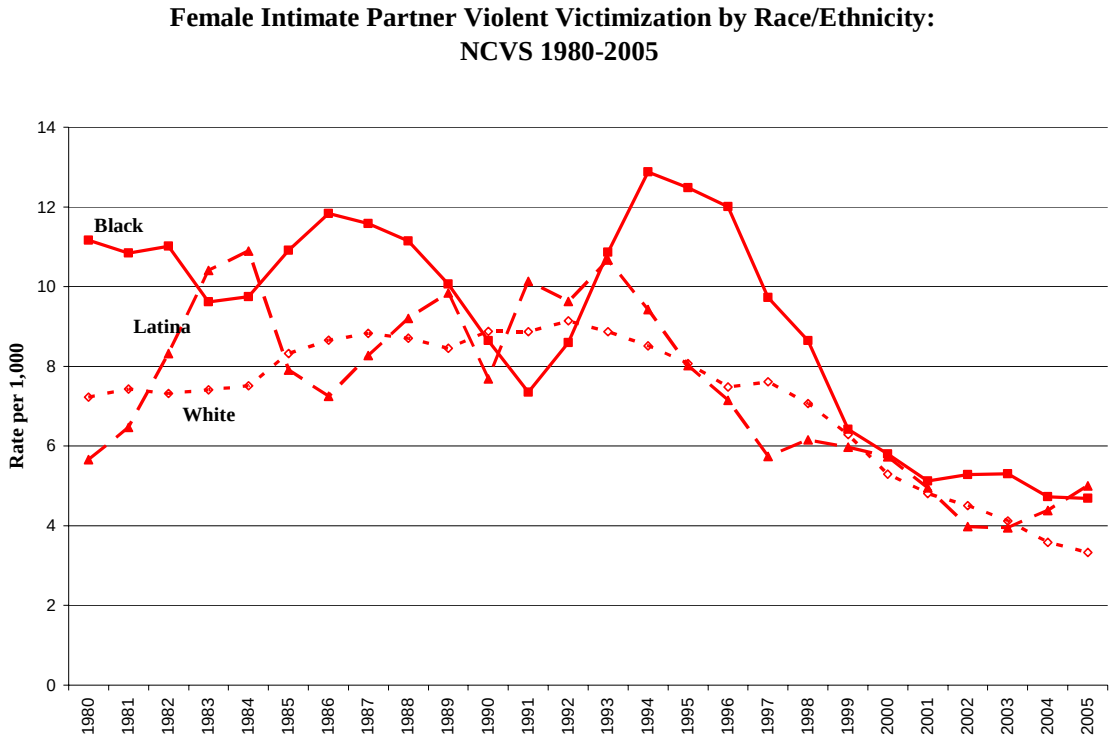
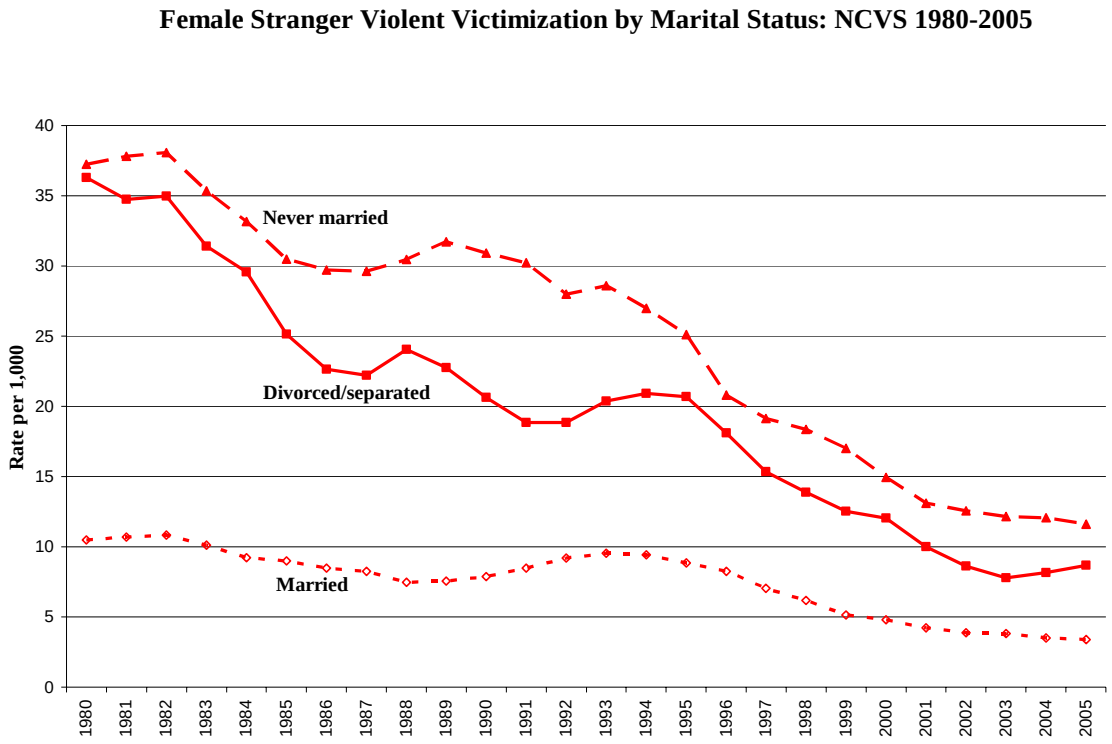


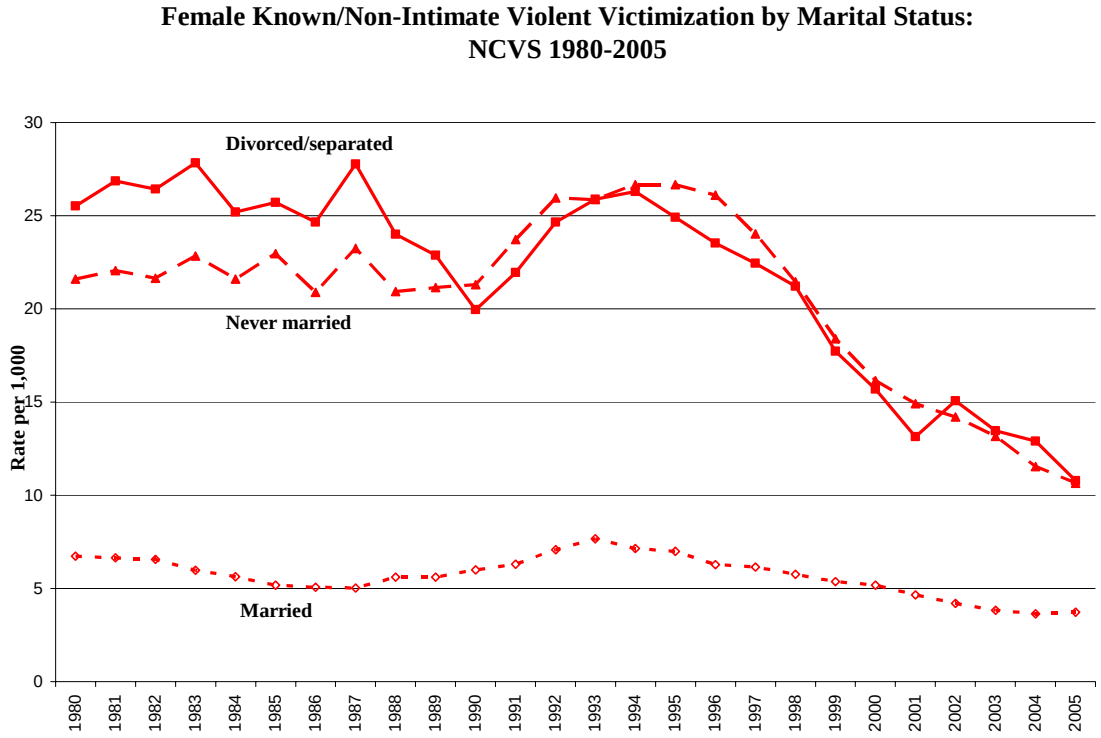
Figure 17 displays the rates of violence against females by intimate partners, disaggregated by race and ethnic group. There is little evidence of a clear race and ethnicity gap in levels of violence in this figure, owing in part, perhaps to sample size restrictions and thus "noise" in the trends for Latinas and non-Latina blacks. These fluctuations appear despite our use of three-year moving averages, therefore demonstrating the difficulties when the data are disaggregated by gender, subgroup, and victim-offender relationship in statistically rare forms of violence. Generally, clear patterns are difficult discern in this figure, save the downward trend in all three groups after the middle 1990s (although the peak year varies across group). Although race and ethnic differences are small in many years, there are periodic departures from the non-Latina white rates. Additional research is necessary to determine whether these differences are statistically significant and substantively meaningful.

Figure 18. Lauritsen and Heimer Female Total Stranger Violent Victimization by Marital Status (Ages 18 and Above): NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).



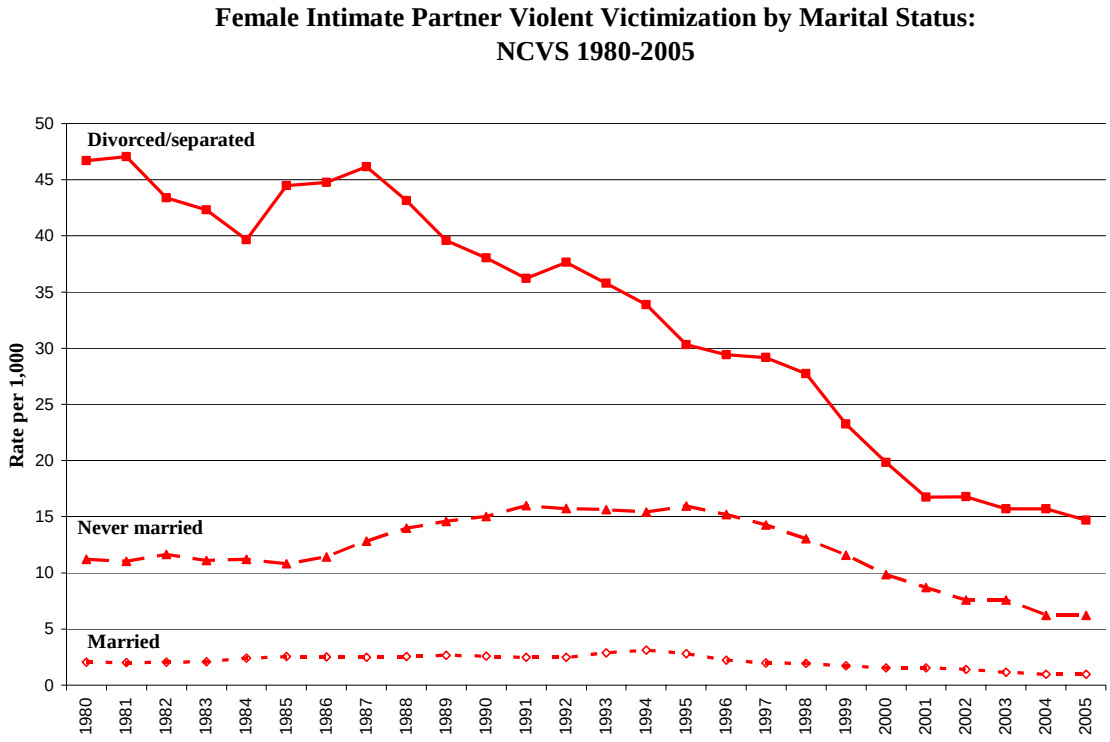
There are clear differences across marital status groups in levels of violence against females by strangers, as indicated in Figure 18. Adult women who have never been married are at the highest risk throughout the series, followed closely by divorced/separated women, with married women having much lower victimization rates. Each of the three groups show a downward trend between 1980 and 2005. The decrease is more substantial among never married and divorced/separated women. This produces some modest narrowing over time in the victimization gap between the married and other marital status groups. In 1980, never married women had rates that were about 3.7 times higher than married women's rates in 1980. By 2005, the rates of never married women were a little less than 3 times those of married women.

Figure 19. Lauritsen and Heimer Female Total Known/Non-Intimate Violent Victimization by Marital Status (Ages 18 and Above): NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).



As in the case of victimization by strangers, Figure 19 shows that married women have much lower rates of violent victimization by known/non-intimates than did never married and divorced/separated women. During the 1980s, divorced/separated women had somewhat higher rates of violent victimization than never married women. But by 1990, the rates of never married and divorced/separated women are not clearly distinguishable, and this persisted throughout the remainder of the series. Again the major pattern of change in all three groups is the decrease in rates after the middle 1990s (with peak years of victimization varying somewhat across groups). There is no clear evidence that the marital status gap in victimization has narrowed over time in Figure 19. Among never married women, the rate of victimization by known/non-intimates was close to 3 times the rate for married women in both 1980 and 2005.

Figure 20. Lauritsen and Heimer Female Total Intimate Partner Violent Victimization by Marital Status (Ages 18 and Above): NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).



There also are substantial differences across marital status groups in levels of violence against females by intimate partners. As Figure 20 shows, however, divorced/separated women had extremely high rates in the 1980s, when compared to the other two groups. In 1980, for example, divorced/separated women's rates of IPV were about 46 per 1000, whereas the corresponding figures for never married and married women were about 11 per 1000 and 2 per 1000, respectively. The patterns of rates also vary across groups: There was a downward trend in IPV rates across the entire series for divorced/separated women, whereas there was some increase in IPV among never married women in the later 1980s, followed by a decline beginning in 1995 that continued until the end of the series.

This figure also shows a narrowing in the gap of IPV across marital statuses. The rate of IPV among divorced/separated women was roughly 23 times the rate of IPV against married women in 1980. By 2005, that difference was about a factor of 15. This is still a very large gap in IPV across marital status, but the decrease in that gap over time is important and should be the topic of additional research.

Figure 21. Lauritsen and Heimer Female Total Stranger Violent Victimization by Type of Place: NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).

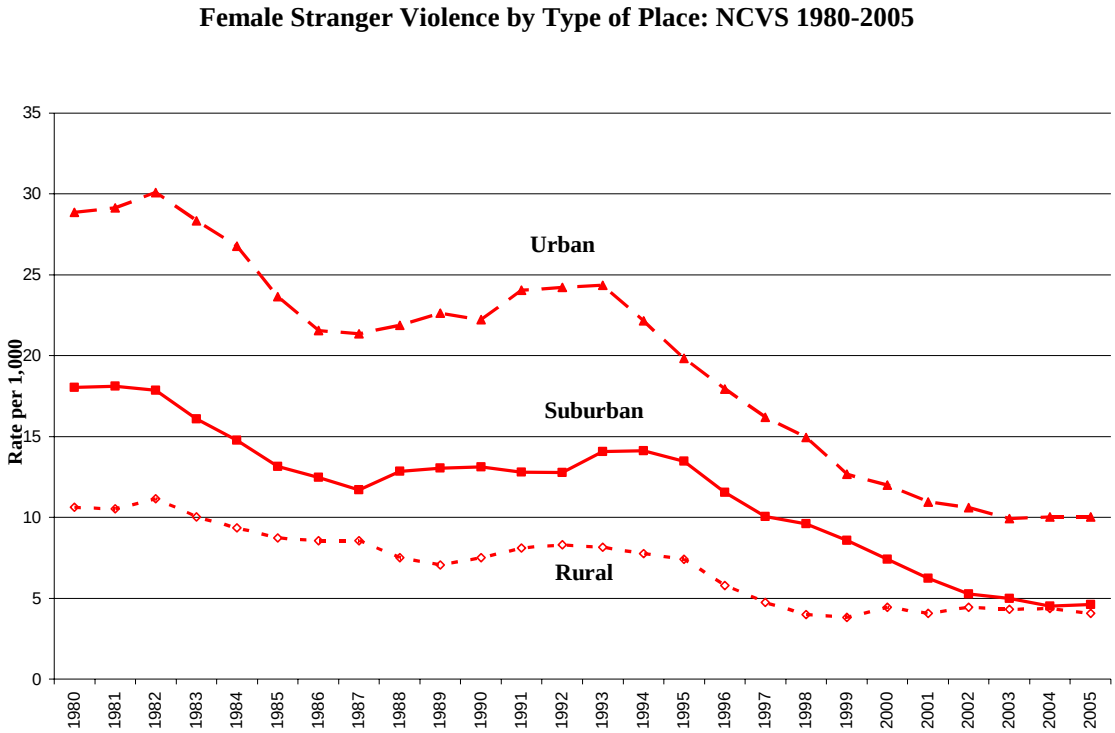
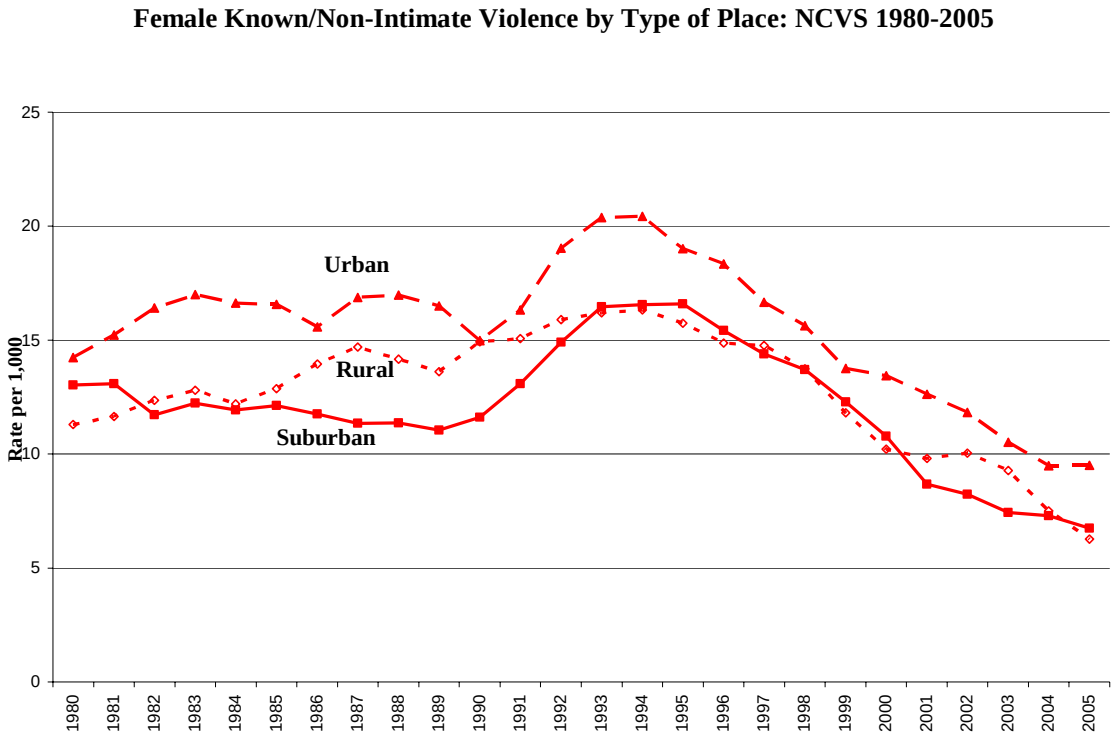


Figure 21 presents rates of stranger violence against females disaggregated by residence in urban, suburban, and rural areas. The figure shows that urban females have the highest rates of violent victimization by strangers, followed by suburban females, and finally, by rural females. All three of the trend lines show a general pattern of decreasing violence between 1980 and 2005 (with the exception of increases in the early 1990s). The decline following this increase was more accelerated than the previous decline for both urban and suburban females. Rates of victimization reach a plateau for both urban and suburban females from 2003 through 2005. The substantial decrease in suburban females' risk of stranger violence resulted in rates as low as those of rural females by the early years of the 21st century. The gap between urban and rural females had also decreased by this time, in comparison with earlier years.

Figure 22. Lauritsen and Heimer Female Total Known/Non-Intimate Violent Victimization by Type of Place: NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).



The differences between urban, suburban, and rural females are much smaller in this figure. Figure 22 shows that rural and suburban females have the same and similar rates of victimization by known/non-intimate others in many years, and that urban females experience levels that are only slightly higher. Moreover, the long-term decline seen in violence by strangers (Figure 21) did not appear here; rather there was an increase in all three groups over the course of the 1980s, which peaked in the middle 1990s and then declined fairly rapidly. The gap between urban and the other two groups remained fairly constant from 1980 to 2005.

Figure 23. Lauritsen and Heimer Female Total Intimate Partner Violent Victimization by Type of Place: NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).

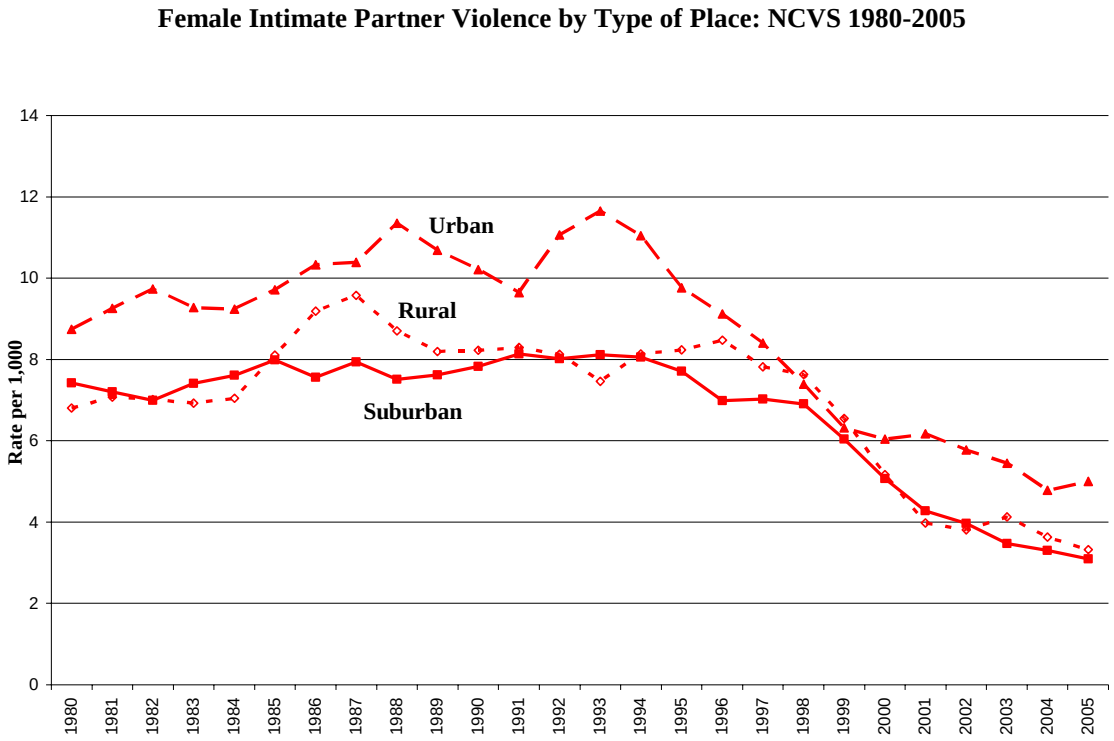
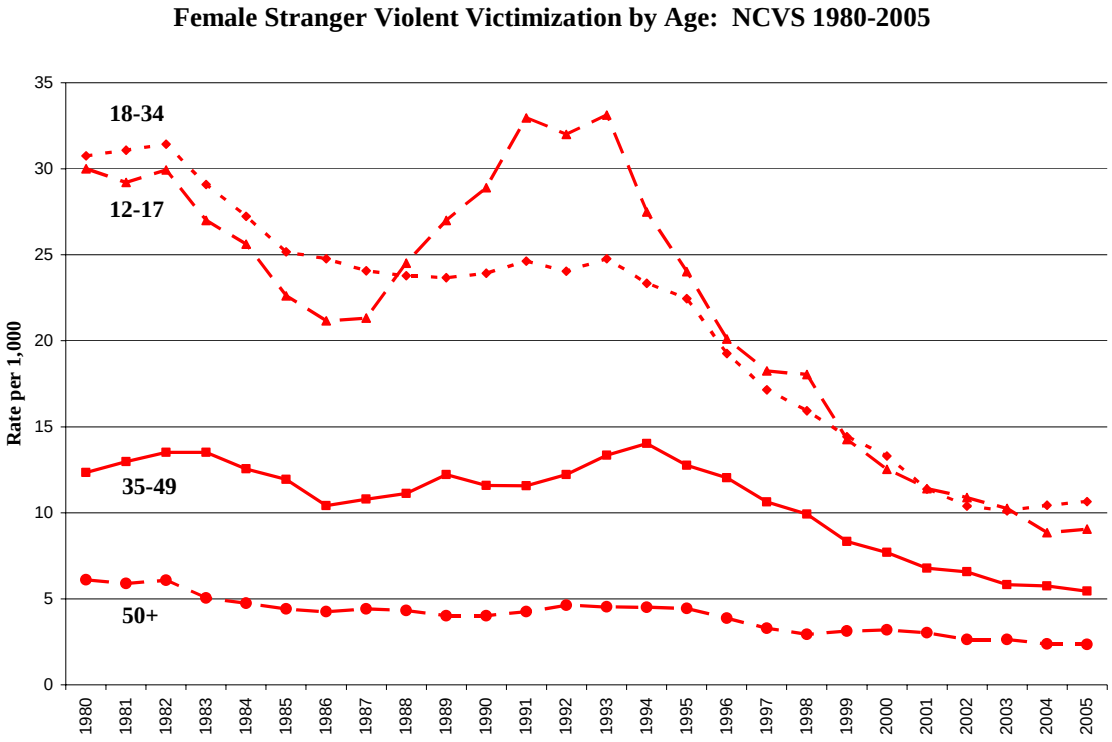


Figure 23 shows that differences in IPV victimization against urban, suburban, and rural females are less substantial than in the case of stranger victimization. In some ways, the trends in Figure 23 are similar to those in Figure 22. Rural and suburban females have similar rates in many years, while the rates of urban females are somewhat higher, particularly before the late 1990s. Interestingly, the familiar increase in violence in the early 1990s is only somewhat evident among urban females. The increase is smaller and occurred a few years later for rural women. The increase was very small for suburban women. Thus, although the overall trends are quite similar, future research is needed to determine what factors might account for these different short-term fluctuations across type of place.

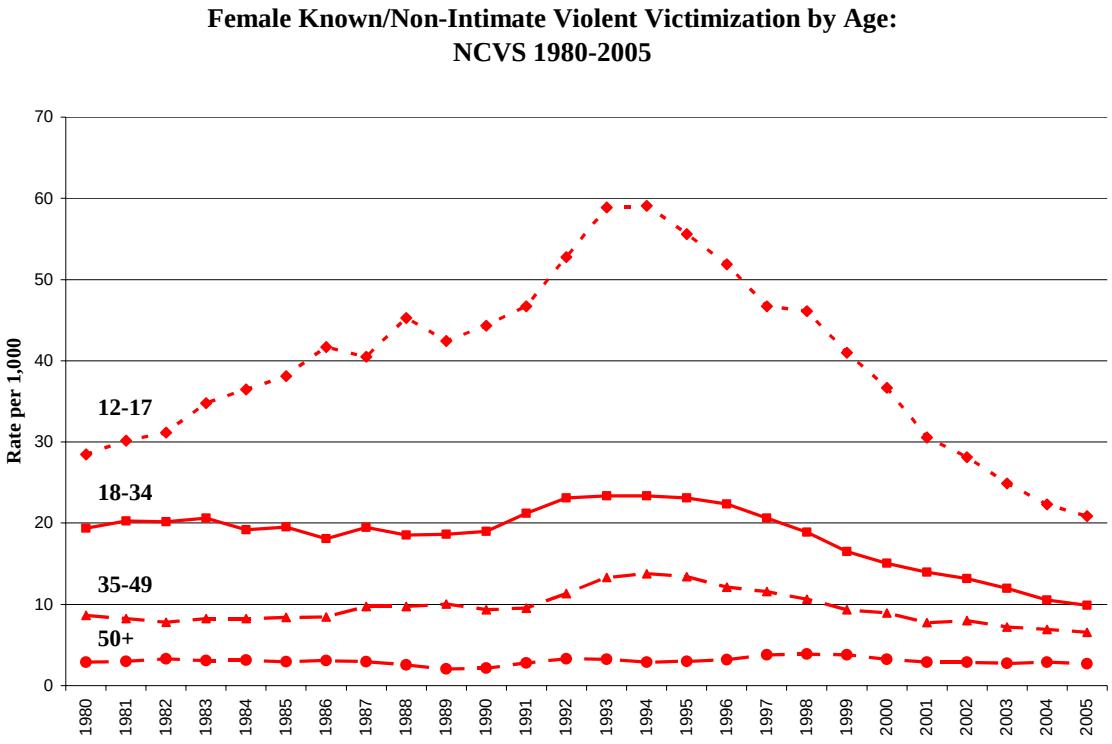
Figure 24. Lauritsen and Heimer Female Total Stranger Violent Victimization by Age: NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).



The disaggregation of stranger violence against females by age groups reveals departures in the familiar age patterning of victimization. Specifically, Figure 24 shows that the rates of violence against 12-17 year old females are very similar to the rates of violence against 18-34 years olds during the early and middle 1980s, and after 1995. From the late 1980s through the middle 1990s, the "crime boom" period, there was a sharp increase in stranger violence against 12-17 year old females, which is not paralleled in the 18-34 year old group. There were increases in violent victimization by strangers during the "crime boom" among 18-34 and 35-39 years olds, but these increases were dwarfed in magnitude when compared to the increases in the youngest age group. This suggests that, in terms of stranger violence, the youngest females experienced the brunt of the escalation in violence that occurred from the late 1980s through the early 1990s. The lowest rates of stranger violence were among 50+ women; there was a downward trend in stranger violence against 50-64 year old women through most of the series.

Beyond these patterns, Figure 24 shows some reduction in differences across age groups in stranger violence against women. In other words, the age gap in violence was smaller at the end than the start of the series.

Figure 25. Lauritsen and Heimer Female Total Known/Non-Intimate Violent Victimization by Age: NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).



The patterns of known/non-intimate female violent victimization across age groups shown in Figure 25 depart from the pattern observed for stranger violence in Figure 24.

Figure 25 shows that the youngest group experienced the highest rates of violence from known/non-intimate offenders. Indeed, this type of victimization risk is inversely related to age. The most striking feature of this graph is that the 12-17 year old group, once again, was most affected by the period of increase in violence from the late 1980s through middle 1990s, as well as the subsequent decline.

Figure 26. Lauritsen and Heimer Female Total Intimate Partner Violent Victimization by Age: NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).

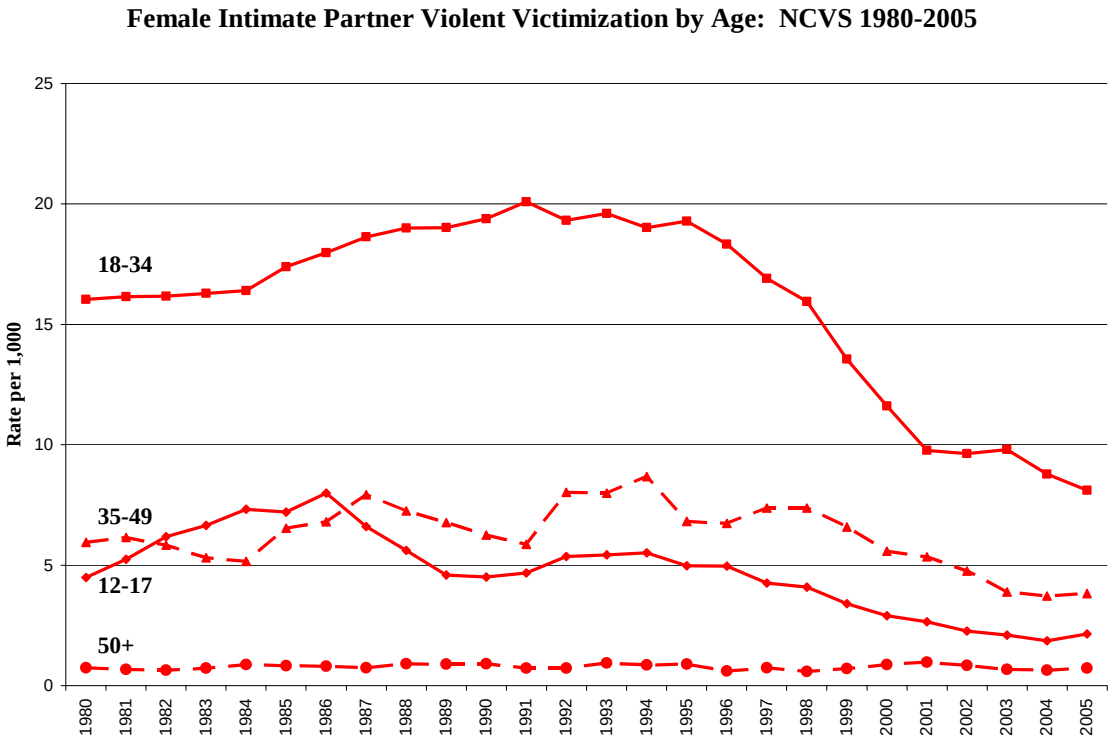
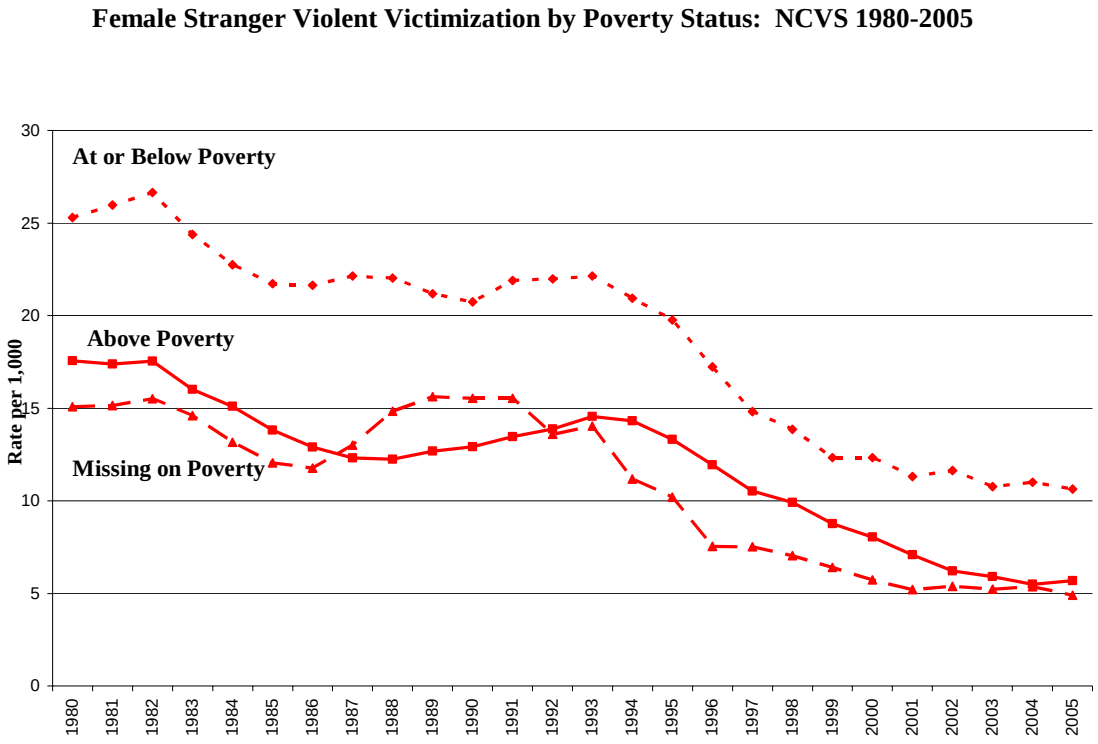


Figure 26 shows that intimate partner violent victimization also is generally higher among younger than older women, with the exception of girls 12-17, who are much less likely than other women to be involved in intimate partner relationships. The most interesting pattern over time occurred in the 18-34 year old group, for whom IPV increased in the late 1980s, and then decreased more substantially during the late 1990s-early 2000s. This change in the 18-34 year old group, with corresponding smaller changes in the other age groups, resulted in some narrowing the age gap in IPV over time. In 1980, for example, the IPV rate for women aged 18-34 was almost 3 times the rate for women aged 35-49. In 2005, the IPV rate for 18-34 year olds was about 2 times greater than the rate for 35-49 year olds.

Figure 27. Lauritsen and Heimer Female Total Stranger Violent Victimization by Poverty Status: NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).



Poor females clearly have higher rates of victimization by strangers than non-poor females throughout the period studied. In addition, Figure 27 shows that stranger violence against women declined for both poor and non-poor women between 1980 and 2005. There is evidence of some increase from the late 1980s through the middle 1990s, but the overall pattern across the entire series is one of decline. This pattern departs from that shown in Figure 10, where female victimization was not disaggregated by victim-offender relationship, and where the late 1980s-1990s increase and subsequent decline were pronounced. This, along with the following two figures, highlights the importance of disaggregating trends, and the need for further research on these patterns. Finally, Figure 27 shows no clear change over time in the size of the poverty gap, or difference between poor and non-poor women's victimization by strangers. Poor women were more likely than non-poor women to be victimized by strangers by a factor of about 1.5 in 1980 and 1.8 in 2005.

As we noted in our discussions of Figures 10 and 11, the respondents who were missing information on poverty status were much more similar to non-poor respondents. This is the case in Figures 28 and 29, as well.

Figure 28. Lauritsen and Heimer Female Total Known/Non-Intimate Violent Victimization by Poverty Status: NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).

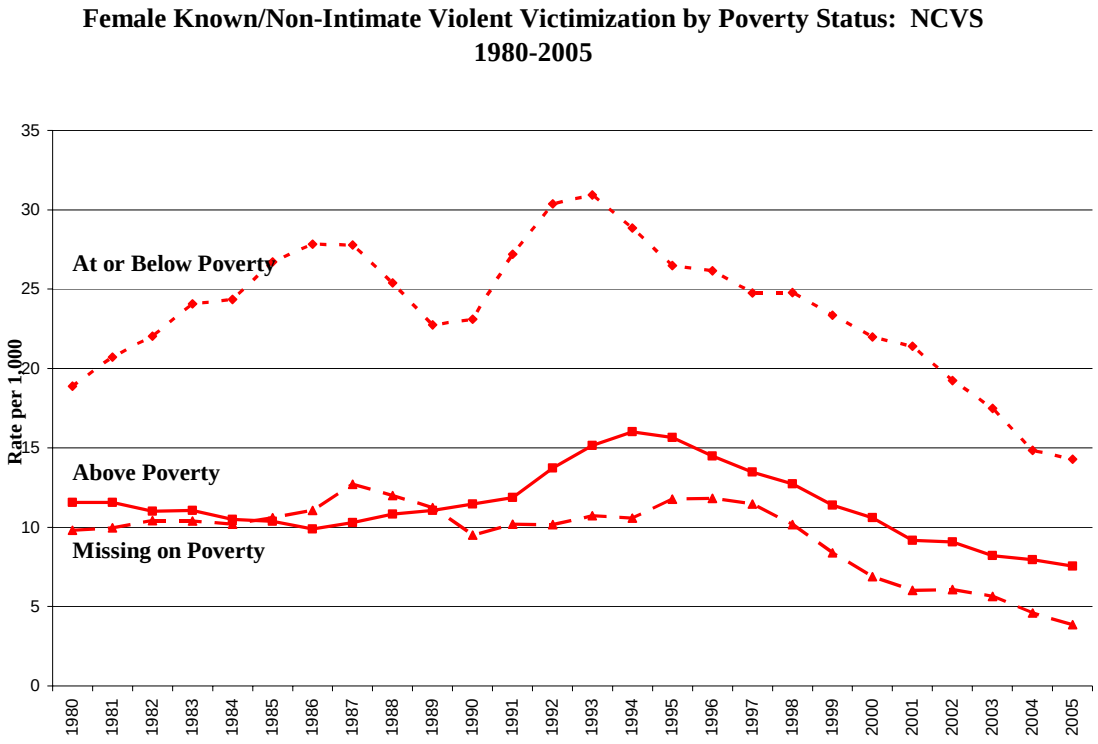
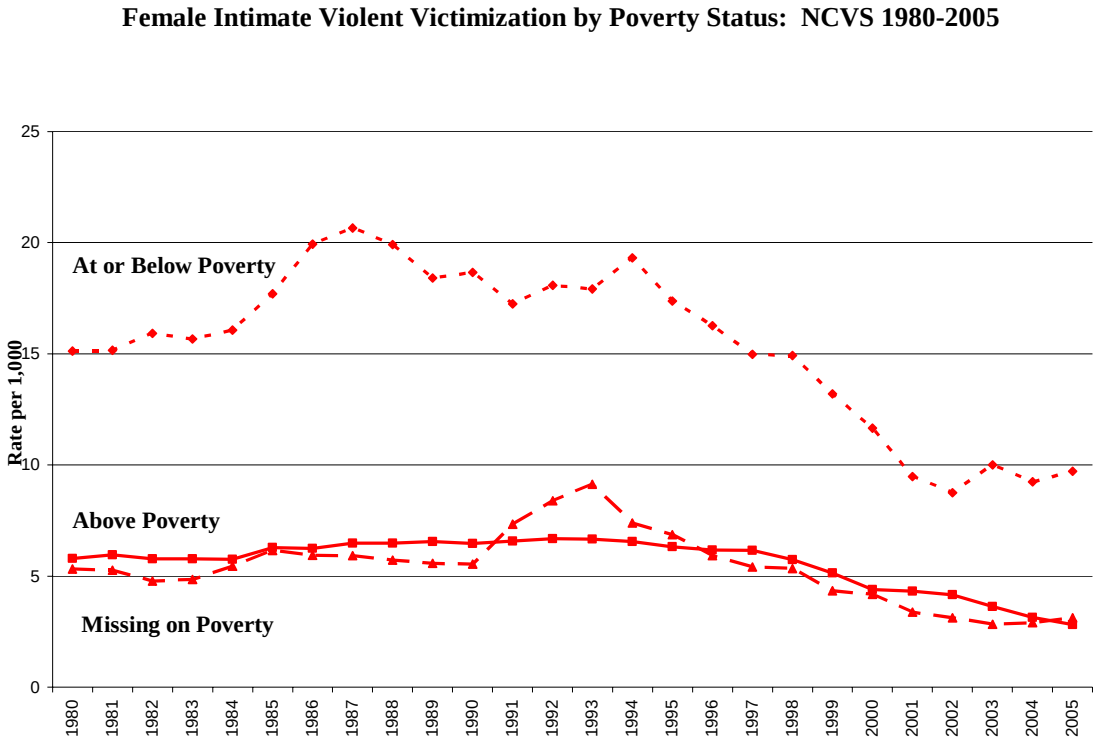


Figure 28 shows that poor females again have substantially higher rates of known/non-intimate victimization than non-poor females. The trends for poor and non-poor females show somewhat different patterns. Specifically, non-poor females experienced increases in victimization in the late 1980s, peaking in 1994, and followed by the familiar decline through the late 1990s and into the 2000s. Among poor females, victimization rates increased from the 1980s until 1987, then dipped downward, then increased to a series peak of about 31 per 1000 in 1994. It is unclear why this form of victimization appears to have decreased in the late 1980s for poor women, while it did not do the same for non-poor women. Again, as in Figure 27, there was no clear narrowing over time in the difference or gap between poor and non-poor females' rates of victimization by known/non-intimates.

Figure 29. Lauritsen and Heimer Female Total Intimate Partner Violent Victimization by Poverty Status: NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).



Poor women are also more likely than non-poor women to be victims of intimate partner violence. Figure 29 shows that this fact holds throughout the time period studied. In 1980, poor women's rates of IPV (15 per 1000) were 2.5 times higher than those of non-poor women (about 6 per 1000). In 2005, poor women's rates of IPV (almost 10 per 1000) were about 3.3 times higher than those of non-poor women (about 3 per 1000). This indicates that there may have been very modest growth in the poverty gap in IPV although this claims requires additional tests of statistical significance.

Beyond this, Figure 29 reveals that IPV against poor women increased during the early 1980s and reached a series peak in 1987. This was followed by a long term decline – with the exception of the increase in 1994. Also, there was some reversal of the downward trend in the final years of the series, 2003-2005. These patterns are interesting because they depart from the typical pattern of the crime "boom" then "bust" that characterizes many of the trends that we report. IPV against non-poor women was fairly stable from 1980 through the middle 1990s, after which time rates decreased. This figure highlights that disaggregating rates is necessary for illuminating important differences. Future work must explore the possible reasons for the somewhat unexpected patterns observed in IPV against poor women.

Figure 30. Lauritsen and Heimer Female Total Stranger Violent Victimization by Household Status (Youth 12-17): NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).

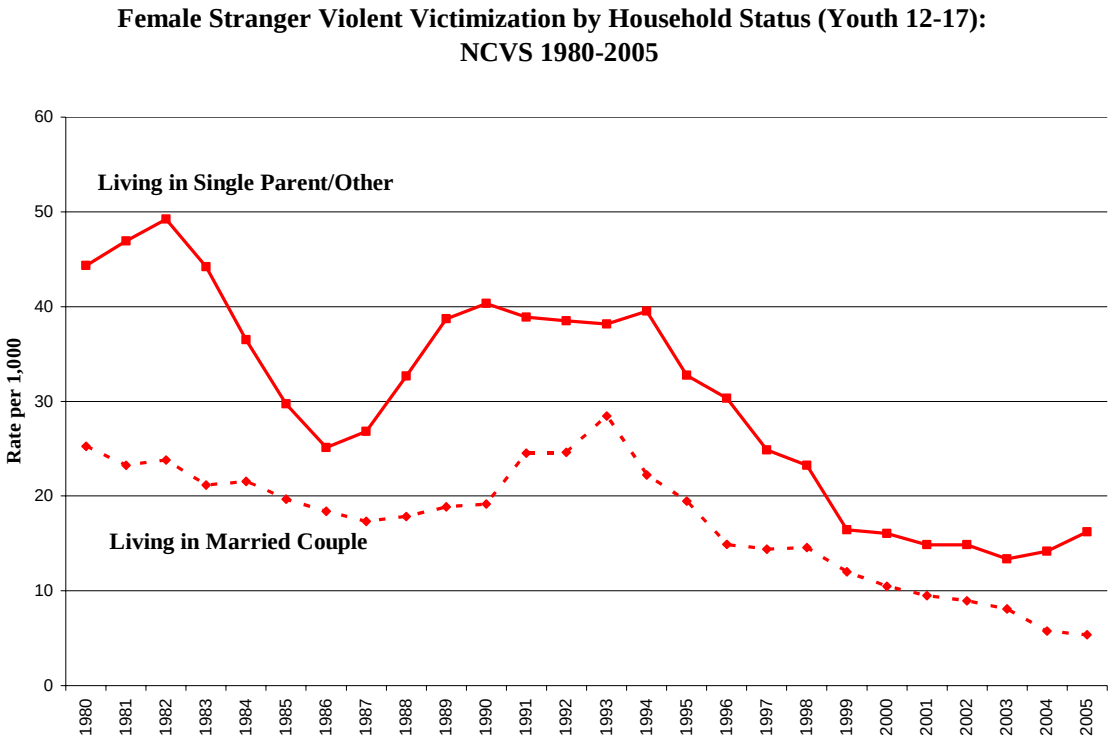
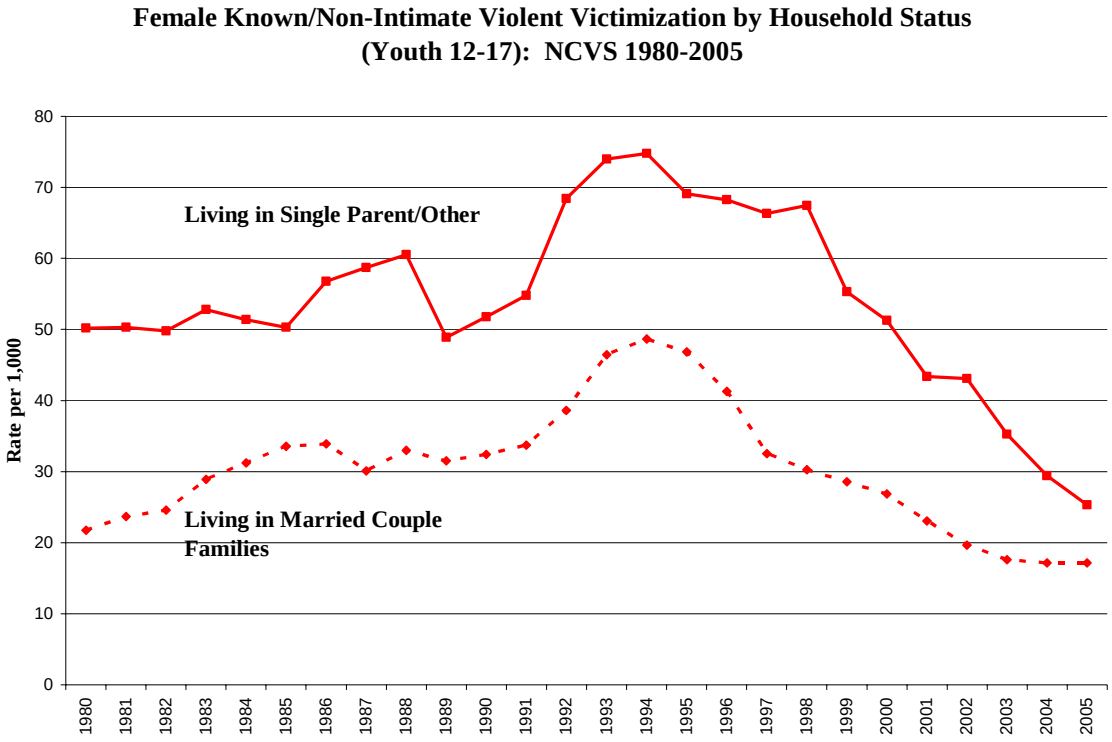


Figure 30 reveals that household structure is associated with 12-17 year old females' victimization by strangers, with girls living in single parent/other homes having higher rates than girls living in married couple households in each year of the series. Although there is more variability in the rates for girls in single parent/other households (perhaps in part due to smaller sample size), the two trend lines are fairly similar. Girls in both household categories experienced an increase in victimization by strangers in the late 1980s into the early 1990s, and a decline in victimization by strangers after the middle 1990s. Girls in married couple households show continued decline in risk throughout 2000 to 2005, while this is not the case for girls in single parent/other households.

Figure 31. Lauritsen and Heimer Female Total Known/Non-Intimate Violent Victimization by Household Status (Youth 12-17): NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).



Girls living in single parent/other households also experience higher rates of violence by known/non-intimate perpetrators than girls in married couple households. Figure 31 reveals that although there is a substantial difference across household types in levels, the patterns over time are quite similar across groups. For girls in both household types, there was an increase in rates through much of the 1980s, peaking in 1994, followed by a decrease in rates. The 1993 peak for girls in single parent/other households was close to a rate of 75 per 1000, whereas girls in married couple households had rates just below 50 per 1000. There does not appear to be a systematic change in the gap or difference in risk between girls living in the two household types over time.

Figure 32. Lauritsen and Heimer Female Total Intimate Partner Violent Victimization by Household Status (Youth 12-17): NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).

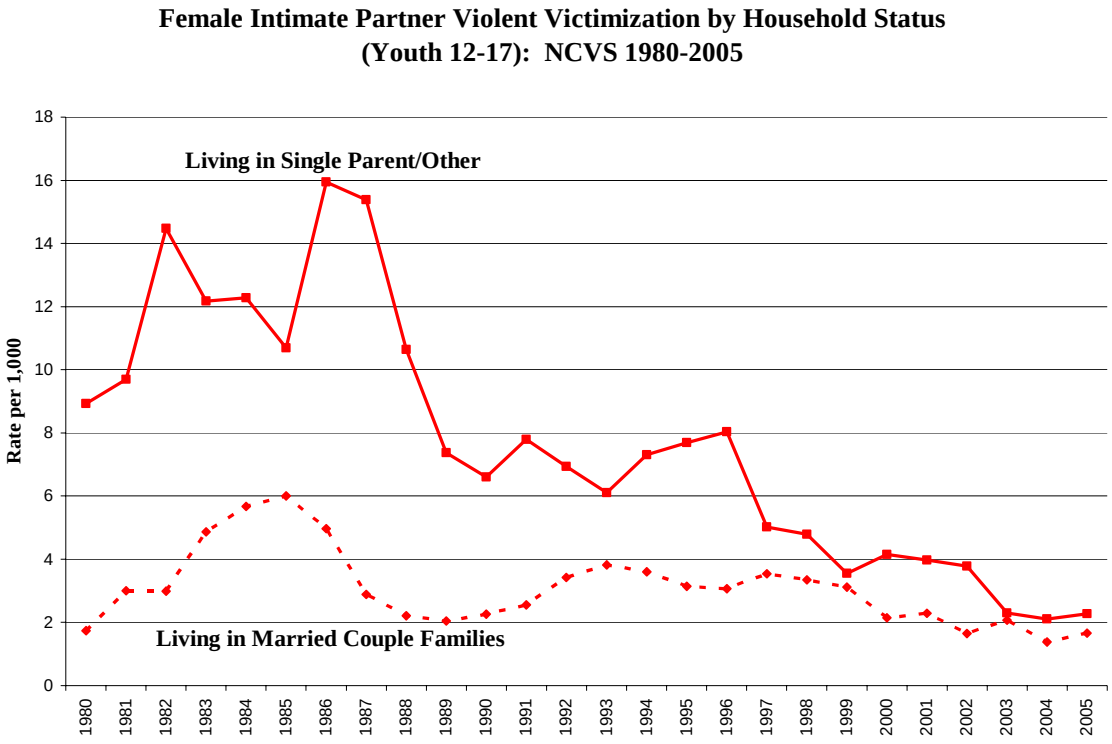


Figure 32 shows that intimate partner violence occurs at rates between 2 and 6 per 1000 among girls aged 12-17 living in married couple households. Girls living in single parent/other households had substantially higher rates of IPV throughout the 1980s, ranging between 7 and 16 per 1000. From 1986 onward, the pattern of IPV against girls living in single parent/other households generally declined, although there is variability in this trend. IPV against girls living in married couple households showed an increase in the middle 1980s, but after this time returned to former levels and then remained between 1.8 and 2 per 1000 for the remainder of the series. The relative stability in IPV against girls in married couple households, coupled with the decline among girls in single parent/other households, produced a narrowing of the gap or difference in IPV across the two household status groups. By the end of the series, rates of IPV against girls in both household groups were close to 2 per 1000.

SECTION 2. MALE VICTIMIZATION BY SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS AND VICTIM-OFFENDER RELATIONSHIP

Figure 33. Lauritsen and Heimer Male Total Violent Victimization by Victim-Offender Relationship: NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).

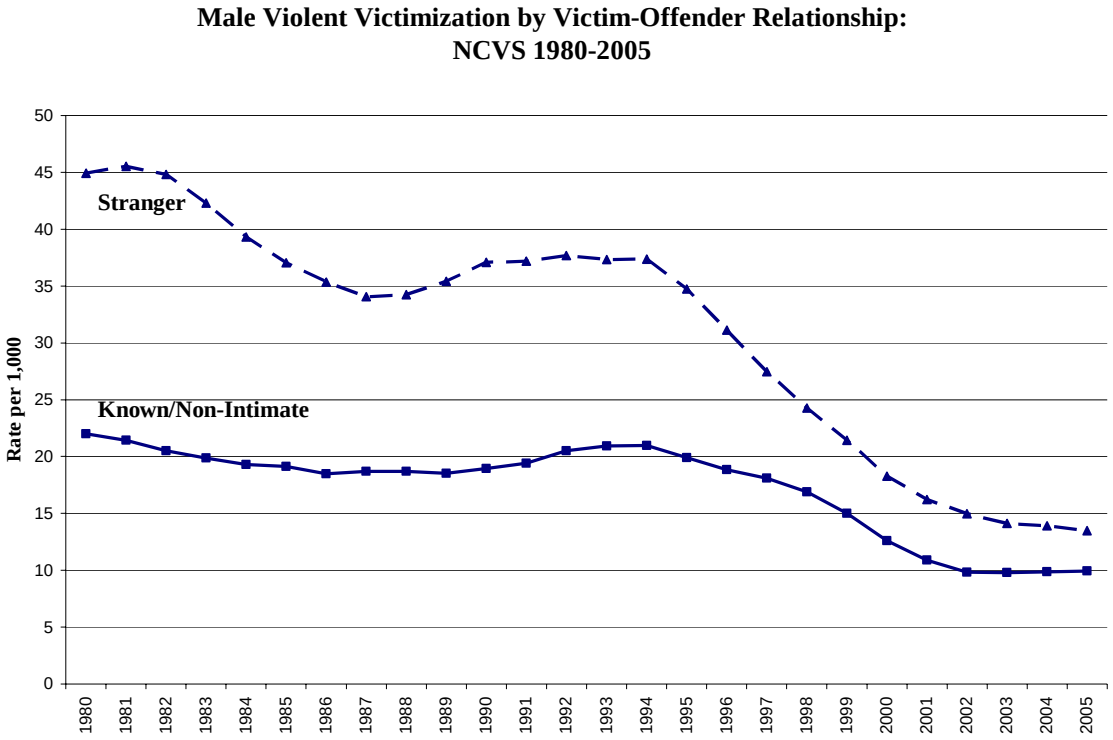


Figure 33 shows the violent the victimization of males, from 1980 through 2005, disaggregated by victim-offender relationship. As noted earlier in the text, trends in intimate partner violence against males are not provided because they occur at rates that are too low to be reliably estimated. This figure shows that violence by known/non-intimates against males occurred at lower rates than violence by strangers throughout the series. Both series decreased over time. There was a period of modest increase from the late 1980s through the early 1990s, followed by substantial declines in the late 1990s.

In addition, the gap or difference between these rates narrowed over time. In 1980, the rate of violence by strangers was over 2 times the rate of violence by known/non-intimates; by 2005, stranger violence was about 1.4 times the rate of known/non-intimates. This narrowing of the gap occurred in part because stranger violence against males decreased more than known/non-intimate violence during the early and middle 1980s, as well as in the middle 1990s.

Figure 34. Lauritsen and Heimer Male Total Stranger Violent Victimization by Race/Ethnicity: NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).

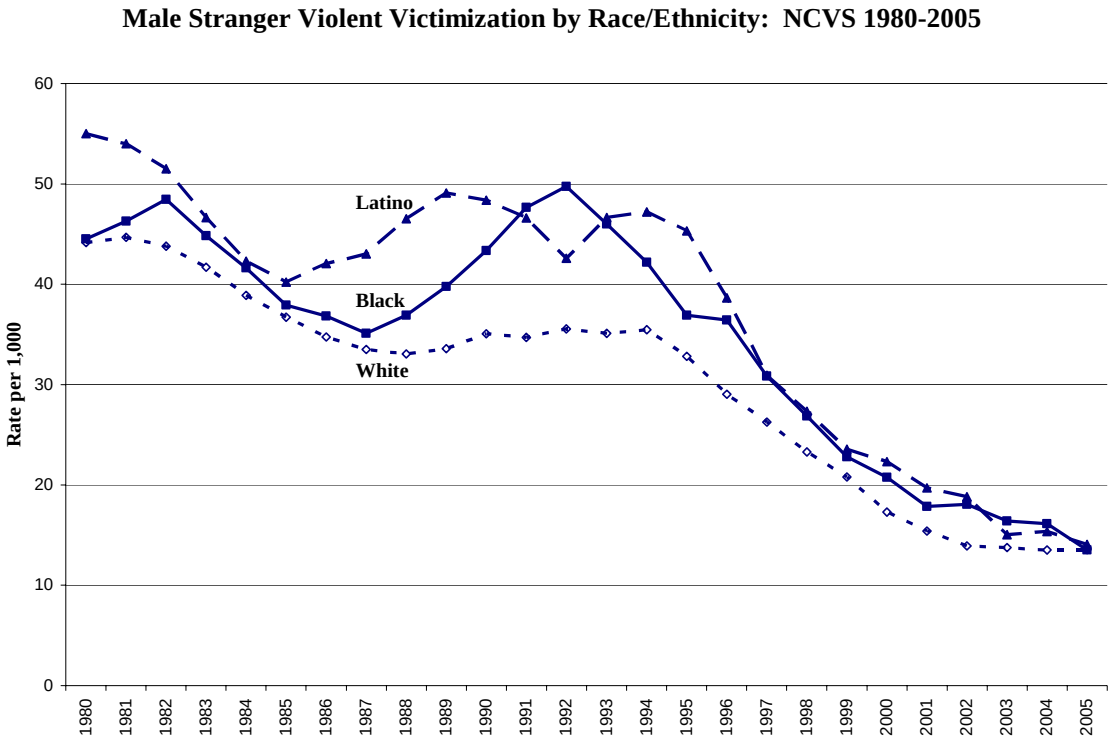


Figure 34 shows that rates of stranger violence are marginally higher among Latino and non-Latino black males than among non-Latino white males throughout the series. The differences across race and ethnic group in stranger violence were fairly small with the exception of the period spanning the late 1980s and the early-to-middle 1990s. During this period, the differences between non-Latino whites and the other groups were larger. This occurred because non-Latino black victimization by strangers increased sharply and peaked during the late 1980s and early 1990s before declining to levels closer to those of non-Latino whites once again. The same basic pattern occurred among Latinos, although the increase in stranger violence against Latino males began earlier and declined later than was the case for non-Latino black males.

Figure 35. Lauritsen and Heimer Male Total Known/Non-Intimate Violent Victimization by Race/Ethnicity: NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).

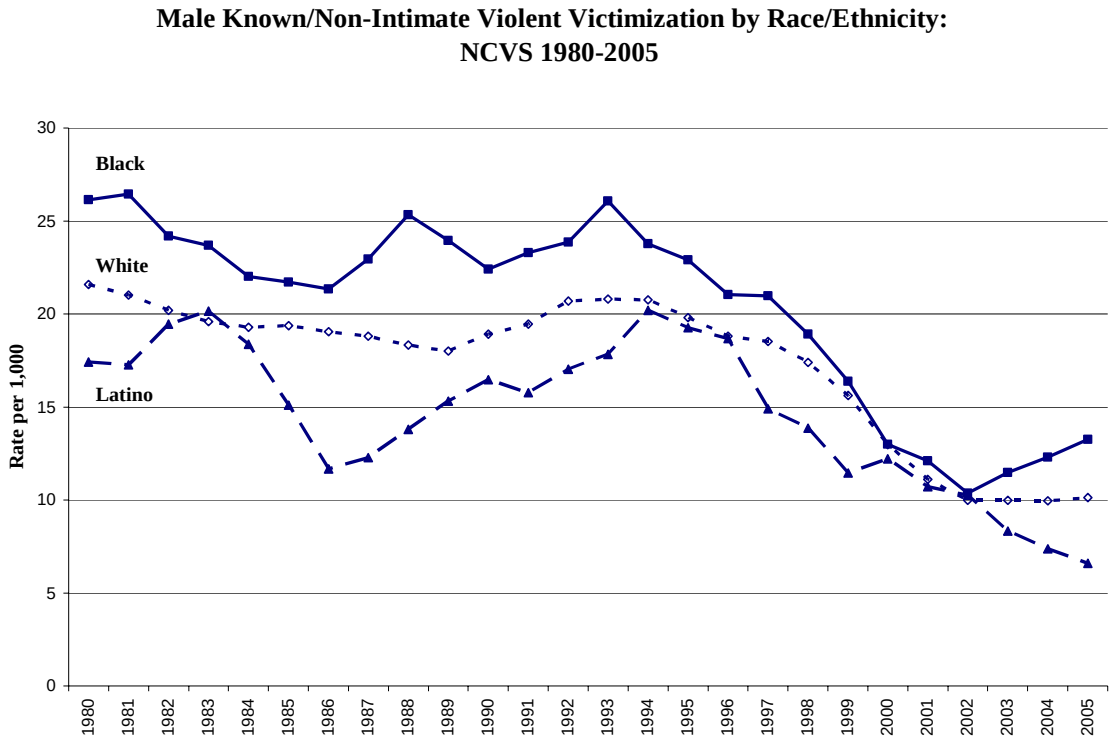


Figure 35 shows male violent victimization by known/non-intimates disaggregated by race and ethnicity. In this figure, the rates for Latino and non-Latino white males are lower than the rates of non-Latino blacks. Moreover, the rates for Latinos were lower than those of non-Latino whites for much of the series, approaching the non-Latino white rate at some points, but never surpassing the white rates. In all groups, the primary pattern shows that rates in 2005 are lower than those in 1980. It is interesting to note that non-Latino white male rates of known/non-intimate partner violence remained fairly constant from 2001 to 2005, while non-Latino black male rates increased and Latino rates declined.

Figure 36. Lauritsen and Heimer Male Total Stranger Violent Victimization by Marital Status (Ages 18 and Above): NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).

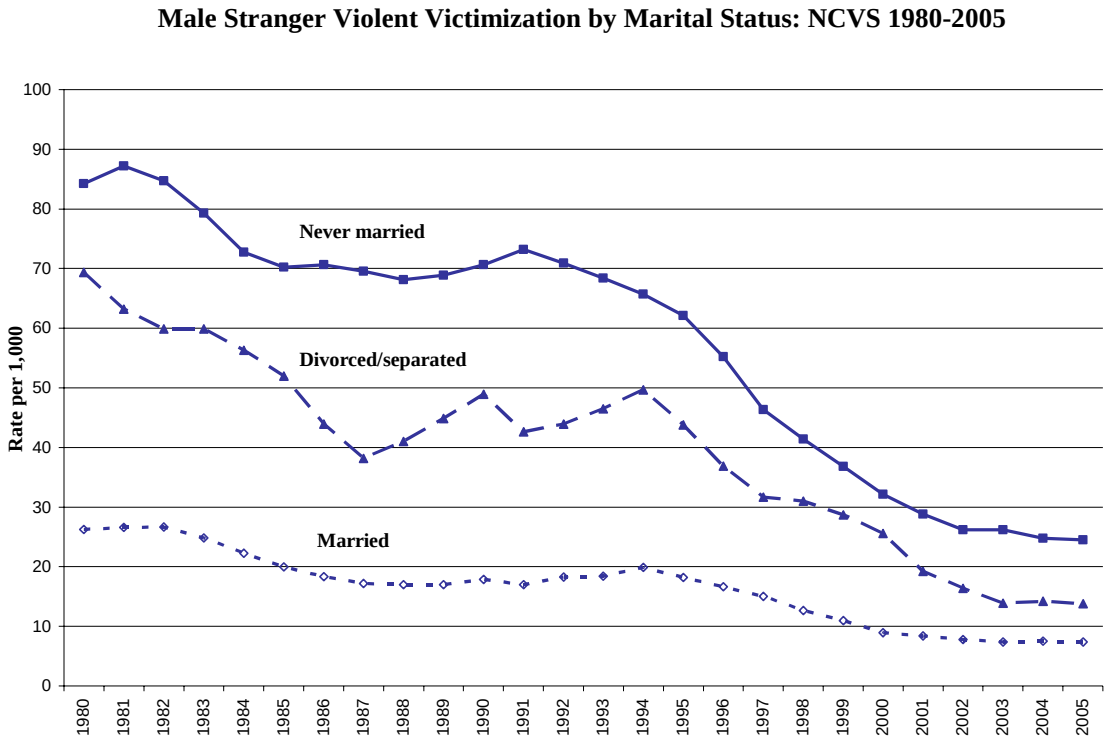
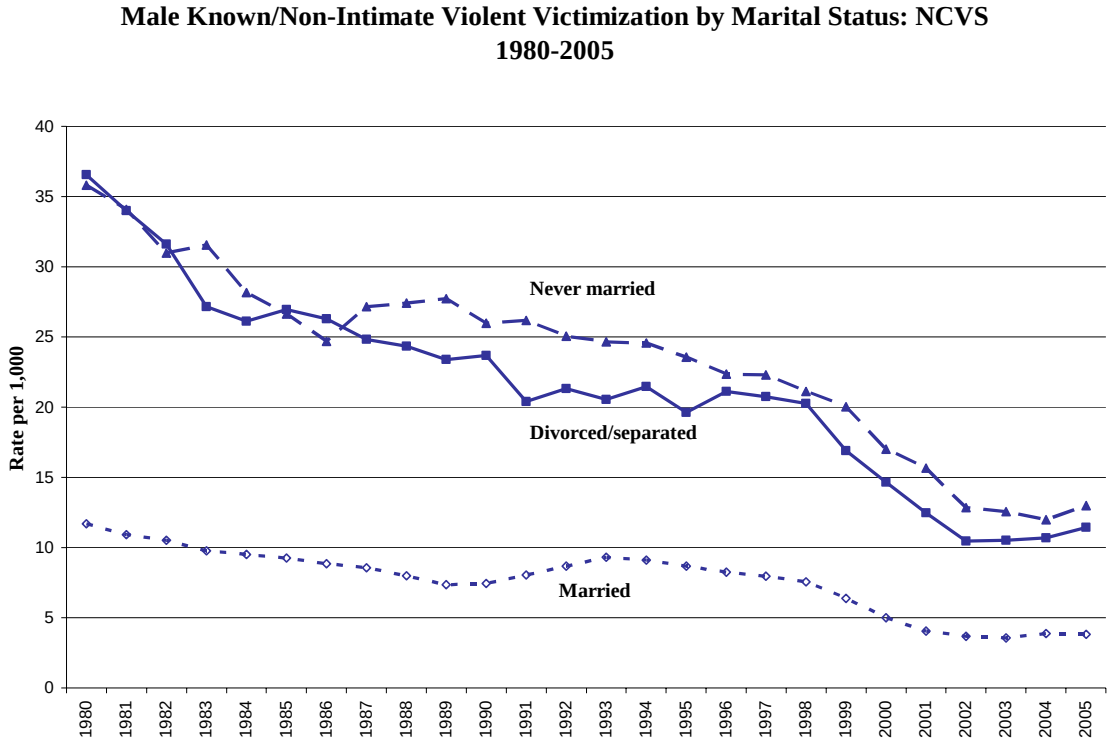


Figure 36 shows that, as in the case of females (depicted in Figure 18), there are clear differences across marital status groups in levels of violence against males by strangers. Never married men are at the highest risk, followed closely by divorced/separated men, with married men having lower victimization rates across the entire series. Each marital status group showed a downward trend between 1980 and 2005. Among never married men, violent victimization by strangers was roughly 3.5 times higher among never married than married men in 1980. By 2005, the rates of never married and married men differed by a factor of about 2.8. This suggests that there may have been a modest reduction in the differences across marital statuses in men's in victimization by strangers over time.

Figure 37. Lauritsen and Heimer Male Total Known/Non-Intimate Violent Victimization by Marital Status (Ages 18 and Above): NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).



As in the case of victimization by strangers, Figure 37 shows that married men have much lower rates of violent victimization by known/non-intimates than do never married and divorced/separated men. The rates of violence against never married and divorced/separated men are similar, and declined throughout the series. Violence against married men by known/non-intimates also showed a general pattern of decline throughout the series, but also increased somewhat in the late 1980s and early 1990s before declining once again. It does not appear that the marital status gap in victimization by known/non-intimates has narrowed much over time. The rate of violence against never married and divorced/separated men was slightly higher than 3 times the rate of married men's victimization in both 1980 and 2005.

Figure 38. Lauritsen and Heimer Male Total Stranger Violent Victimization by Type of Place: NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).

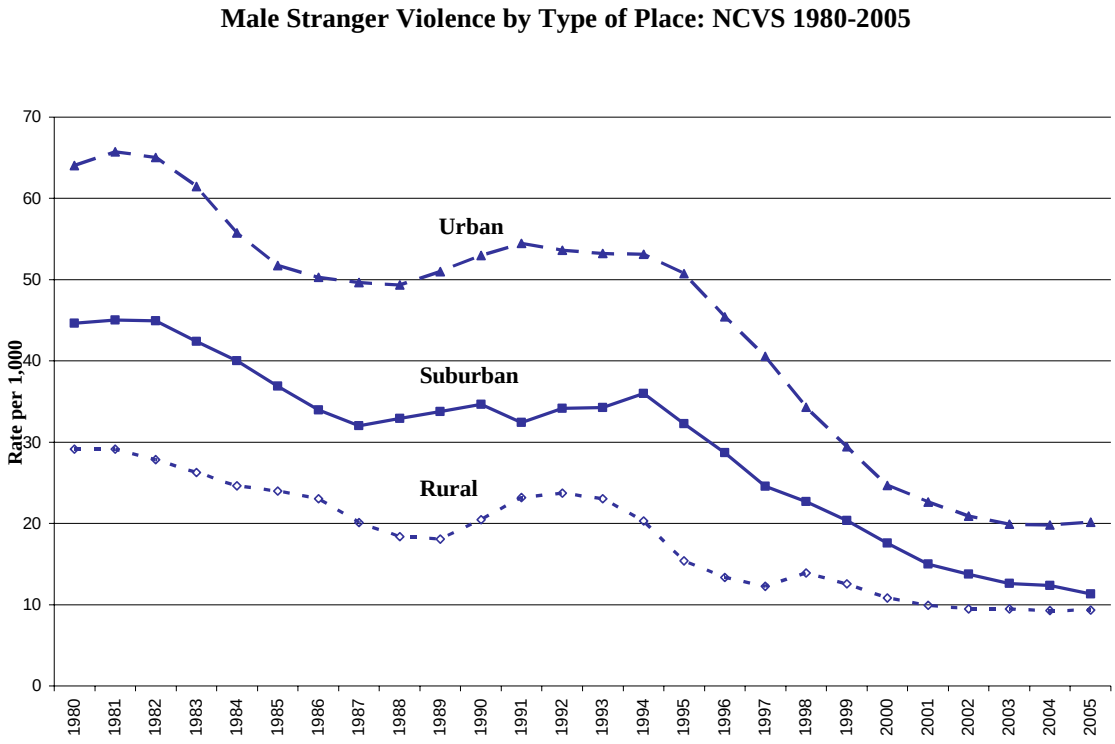
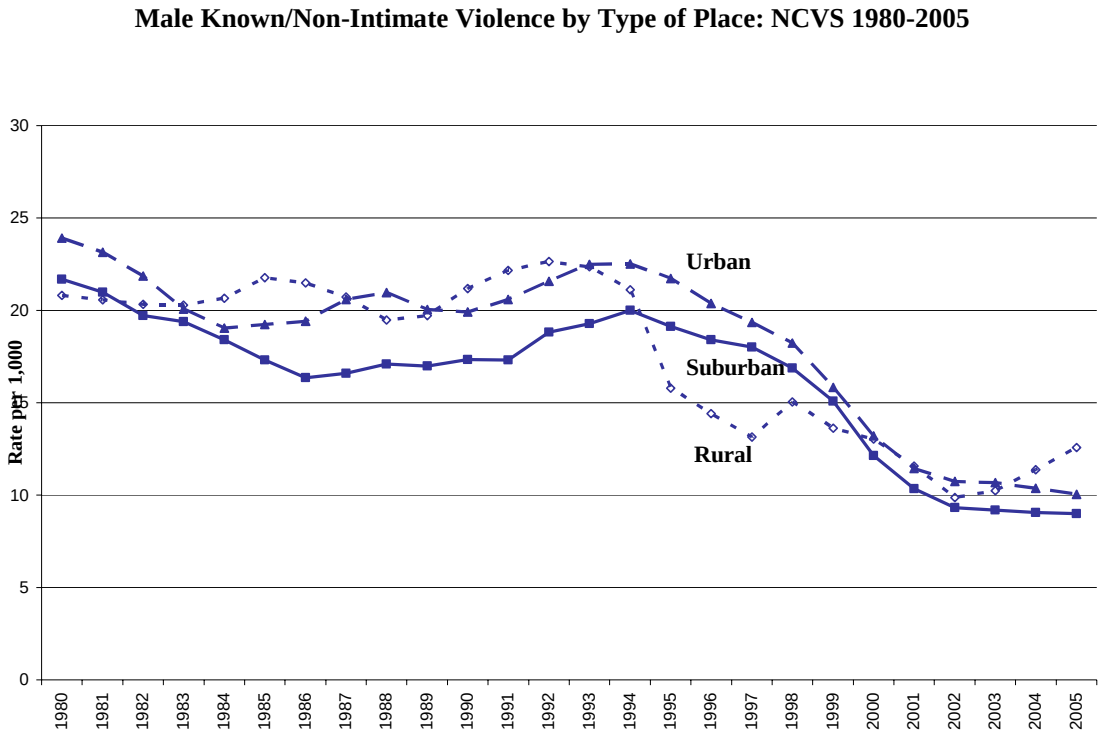


Figure 38 presents rates of stranger violence against males disaggregated by residence in urban, suburban, and rural areas. The figure shows that urban males have the highest rates of stranger victimization, followed by suburban males, and finally, by rural males. All three of the trend lines show a general pattern of decreasing violence between 1980 and 2005, with the exception of the familiar increase in the early 1990s. The decline following this increase was more accelerated than the previous decline for both urban and suburban males. The decrease in suburban males' risk of stranger violence resulted in rates that are not much higher than those of rural males by the early 2000s.

Figure 39. Lauritsen and Heimer Male Total Known/Non-Intimate Violent Victimization by Type of Place: NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).



The differences between urban, suburban, and rural rates of violence against men by known non-intimates were small over most of the series. Figure 39 shows that urban, suburban, and rural men have very similar rates of victimization by 2000. In many of the years prior, the rates of victimization of urban and rural men also were very similar, and the rates of suburban men were only slightly lower. The figure shows a more or less long-term decline across all three groups, with much of the decrease occurring after 1993.

Figure 40. Lauritsen and Heimer Male Total Stranger Violent Victimization by Age: NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).

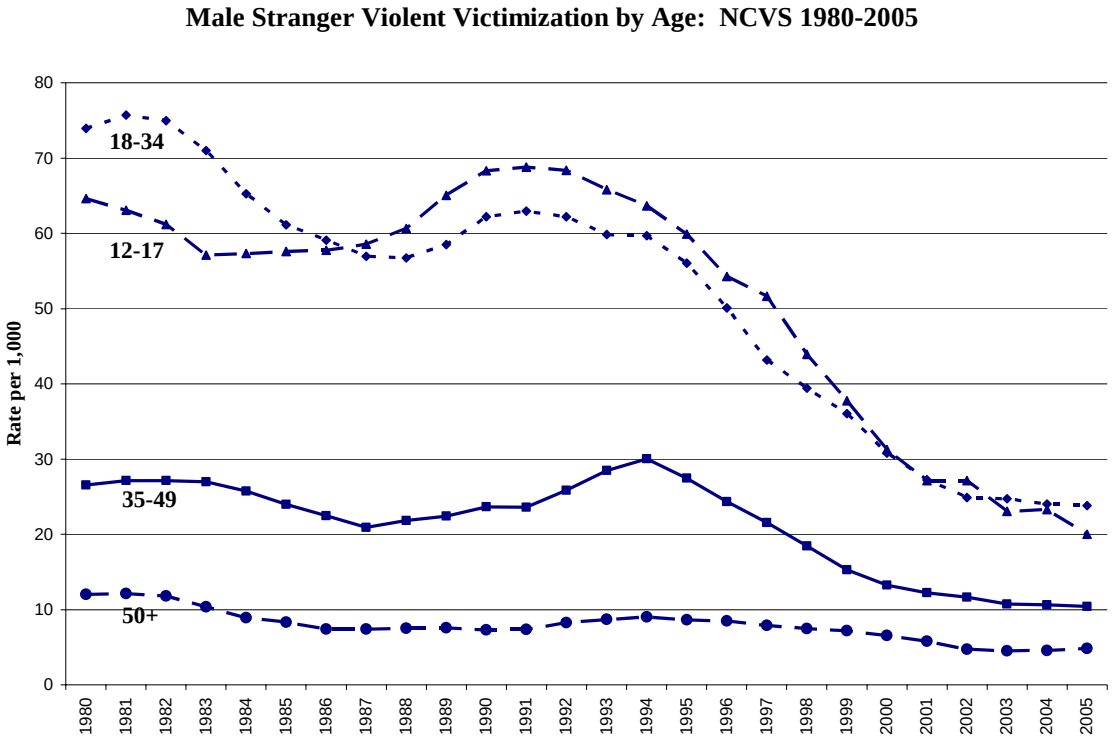
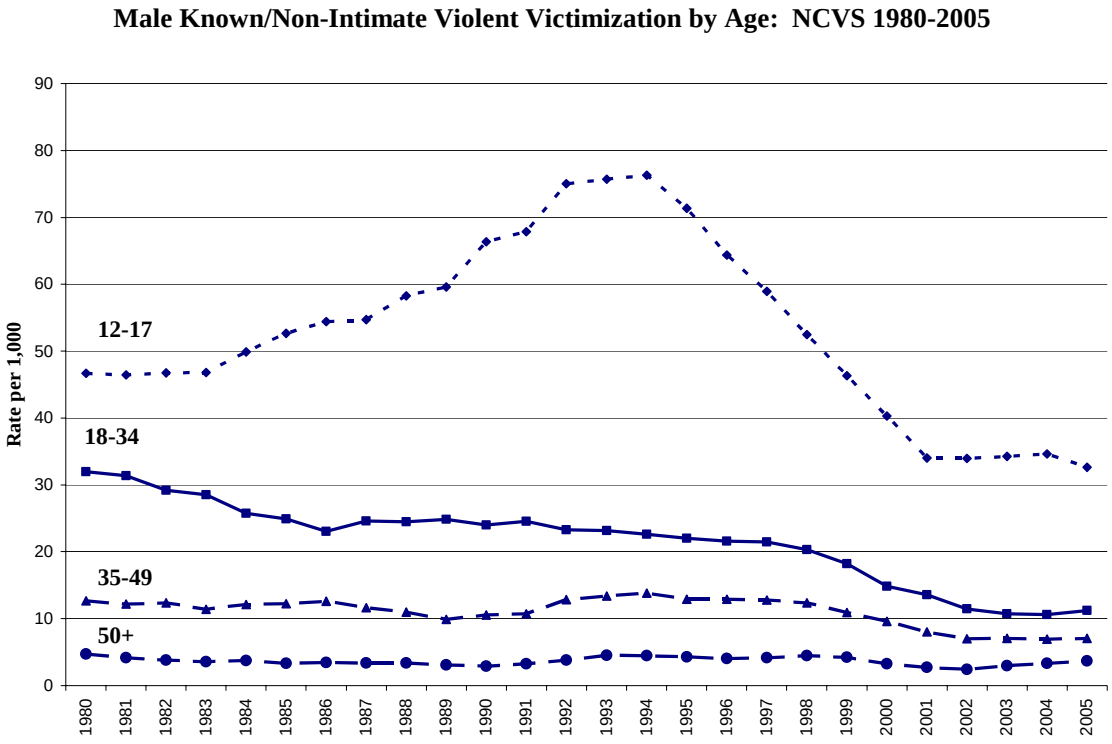


Figure 40 shows our disaggregation of stranger perpetrated violence against males by age groups. The figure reveals that males in the 12-17 and 18-34 year old groups experienced very similar rates of violent victimization by strangers, particularly after the late 1980s. Earlier in the 1980s, 12-17 year olds' rates were lower than those of the 18-34 year olds. But, in 1987, the 18-34 year old rate fell below the 12-17 year old rate for the first time in the series, and slightly remained lower than the 12-17 year old rate until 1999. However, these differences were small, and the two groups experienced victimization at quite similar levels through most of the series. Men aged 35-49 had the next highest levels of violence by strangers, and their rates showed the characteristic increase followed by decline during the late 1980s and 1990s. The lowest rates of stranger violence were among men ages 50 and above.

Figure 40 also shows some reduction in differences across some age groups in stranger violence against males. In other words, the age gap in violence was somewhat smaller at the end than the start of the series. For example, the rate of stranger violence against 18-34 year old males was almost 6 times the rate of stranger violence against 50+ year old men in 1980 and was 5 times the rate of stranger victimization in the 50+ group by 2005.

Figure 41. Lauritsen and Heimer Male Total Known/Non-Intimate Violent Victimization by Age: NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).



As Figure 41 shows, the youngest group of males is victimized by known/non-intimate perpetrators at the highest rates in all years in the series. Indeed, the rates of victimization are inversely associated with age throughout the series. The most striking feature of this graph is that the 12-17 year old group clearly was most affected by the period of increase in violence from the late 1980s through middle 1990s, as well as the subsequent decline. This general pattern was observed among females (Figure 25), as well, and will certainly require additional clarification and analysis in subsequent research.

Figure 42. Lauritsen and Heimer Male Total Stranger Violent Victimization by Poverty Status: NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).

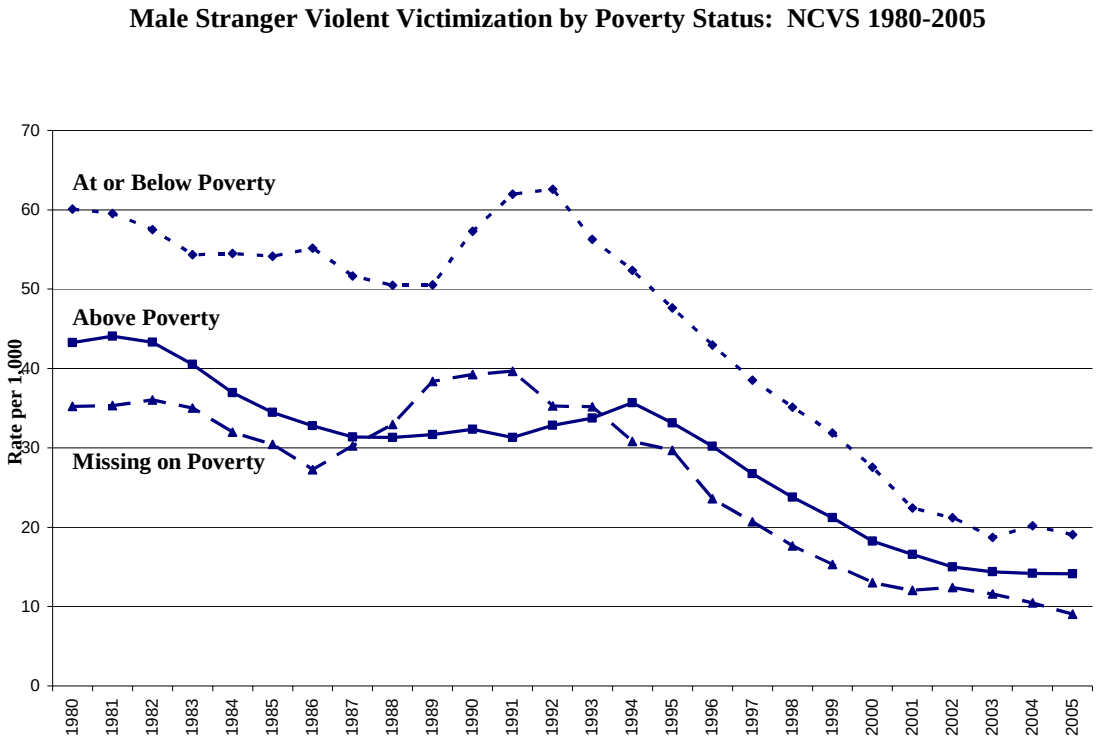
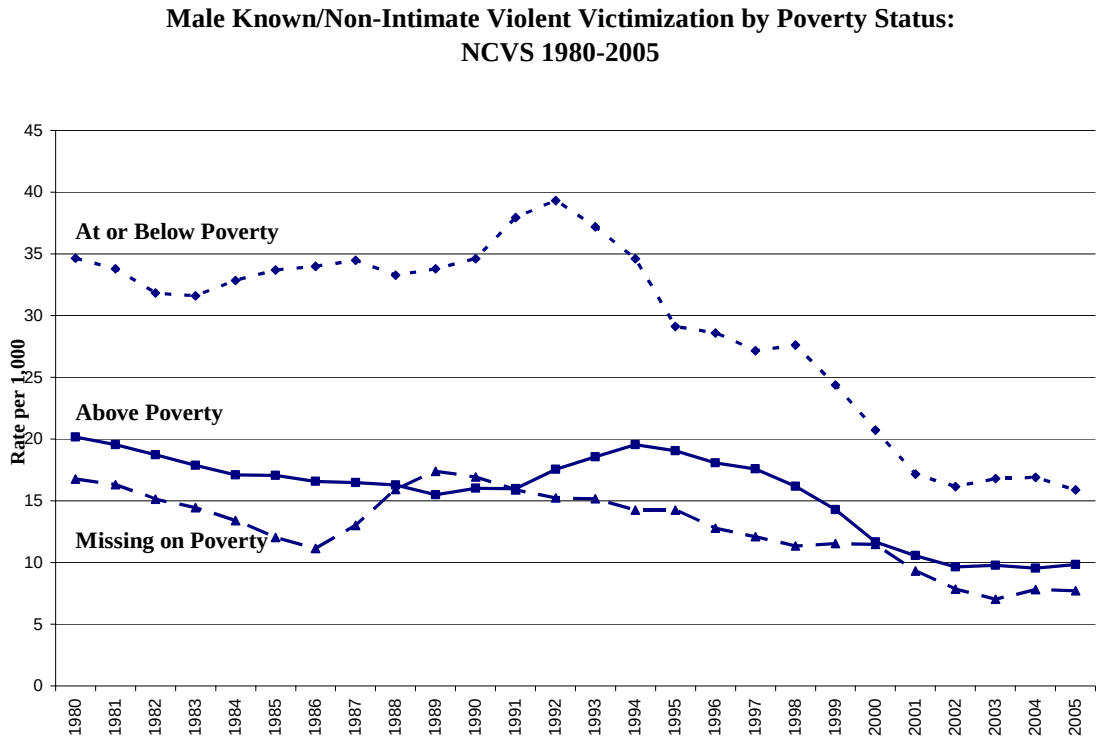


Figure 42 shows that poor males have higher rates of victimization by strangers than non-poor males throughout the series. In 1980, poor males were about 1.4 times more likely than non-poor males to be victimized by strangers; the figure for 2005 was 1.3. The figure shows that stranger violence declined for both poor and non-poor males between 1980 and 2005. Among both poor and non-poor males, rates decreased during the early 1980s, then increased in the later 1980s and into the 1990s. Stranger violence against poor males peaked in 1993 at about 62 per 1000; the peak for non-poor males occurred in 1994 at about 35 per 1000.

As we noted in our previous discussions of the trends for groups disaggregated by poverty status, respondents who were missing information on poverty status were much more similar to non-poor respondents. This is the case in Figure 43, as well.

Figure 43. Lauritsen and Heimer Male Total Known/Non-Intimate Violent Victimization by Poverty Status: NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).



There also is a substantial gap between poor and non-poor male victimization by known/non-intimate others. Figure 43 shows poor males are about 1.8 times more likely than non-poor males to be a victim of violence by known/non-intimates in 1980 and about 2 times more likely in 2005. The trends for poor and non-poor males show fairly similar patterns. Both poor and non-poor males experienced increases in victimization in the late 1980s, peaking in the early 1990s, and followed by the familiar decline through the late 1990s and into the 2000s. Among poor males, the peak occurred in 1992, while the peak was somewhat later (1994) for non-poor males.

Figure 44. Lauritsen and Heimer Male Total Stranger Violent Victimization by Household Status (Youth 12-17): NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).

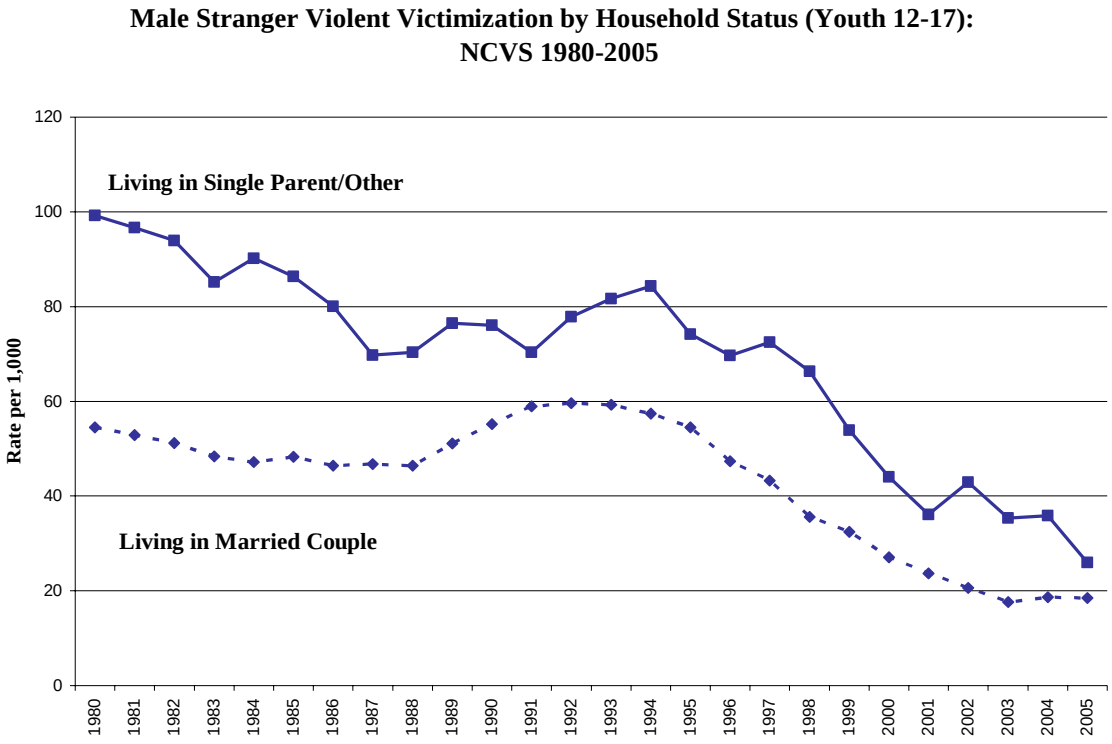


Figure 44 shows that 12-17 year old boys living in single-parent/other households are at greater risk for violence by strangers than boys in married couple households for all years in the series. There was a decline in stranger victimization in both groups over time. In 1980, the rate of stranger violence against boys in single parent/other households was almost 100 per 1000; by 2005, the rate was about 25 per 1000. The rate of stranger violence against boys in married couple households was about 55 per 1000 in 1980 and close to 20 per 1000 in 2005. The trend for boys in single parent/other households generally decreased over time, although there was variability about the trend. For boys living in married couple households, we can discern the familiar increase from the late 1980s into the 1990s, then a decrease through the late 1990s into the 2000s.

Figure 45. Lauritsen and Heimer Male Total Known/Non-Intimate Violent Victimization by Household Status (Youth 12-17): NCVS 1980-2005 (3 year moving averages).

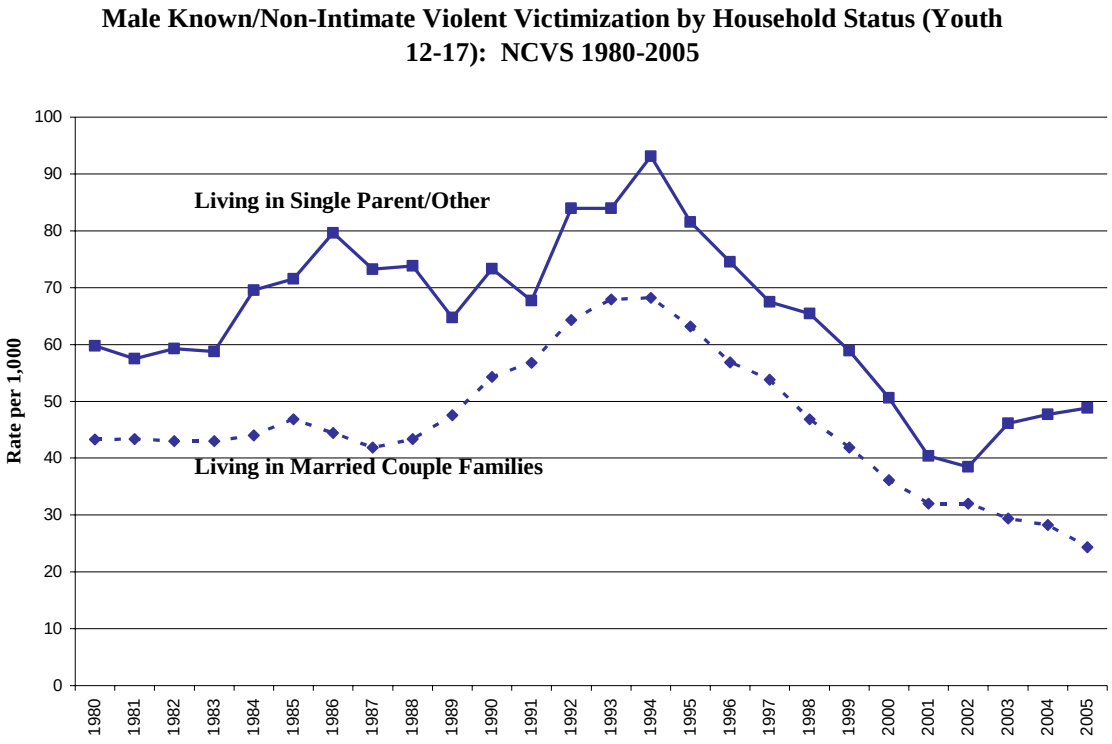


Figure 45 shows that boys living in single parent/other households were also at greater risk for violence by known/non-intimate others than were boys in married couple households. However, the shape of these two trends is more similar over time than in the case of violence by strangers (compare to Figure 44). For boys in both household family types, there was an increase in rates in the later 1980s, peaking in 1993-1994, then a decline in known/non-intimate violent victimization. The 1994 peak for boys in single parent/other households was over 90 per 1000, whereas the peak in 1993 and 1994 for boys in married couple households was just under 70 per 1000. The only major departure between the two trend lines occurs after 2002, when rates for boys in single parent/other households increased while rates for boys in married couple households decreased. Given the greater variability in the trend for boys in single parent/other households, it will be important to assess whether the upward trend continues in subsequent years.

CONCLUSIONS

We provide, with this report, custom estimates of rates of violent victimization for females and males, by the many socio-demographic and victim-offender relationship subgroups denoted above. These data allow for a variety of important research and policy questions to now be examined by subsequent research. First, research now can describe long term changes in violent victimization among women in high risk groups as compared to lower risk groups. It is often assumed by researchers and policy analysts that differences in risk associated with factors such as race and ethnicity, age, or marital status, etc. have remained constant over time. Many of the trends we produced challenge these assumptions. Second, the new trend data will allow research to compare trends in female victimization to those of males in the same socio-demographic groups. This is essential as the meaning of changes in violence against women depends on whether male victimization is shifting in similar or different ways. For example, research can examine whether female violent victimization was affected by increases in violence during the late 1980s and early 1990s to the same extent as was male victimization, and further, whether these similarities and differences were limited to specific subgroups such as race and ethnic minorities. Third, using the trends we have developed, studies can now isolate the extent to which overall patterns in female and male victimization for different socio-demographic groups are driven by changes in different types of violence such as stranger violence or intimate partner violence. This will allows researchers to answer basic questions about which groups experienced the greatest declines, for example, in stranger violence over the past few decades and which female subgroups have experienced the greatest changes in intimate partner violence over time. Fourth, long-term trend data can offer useful benchmarks for developing and assessing policies to address various forms of violent victimization. For example, to date, the

effect of domestic violence resources on intimate partner violence has been tested by analyzing homicide data only. Whether such resources have had similar effects on non-lethal violence is unknown. Related hypotheses can now also be tested, such as whether the trend in violence against women in rural areas (where domestic violence resources are often lacking) is similar to that for women in urban areas. It has been difficult to study these kinds of issues because of concerns about the quality of police-based data in rural areas.

Future Research Agenda

We have planned an extensive agenda of future substantive research that includes both description and substantive interpretation of these trends. Our first set of products has been based on the overall violent victimization trends by gender. We then focused our attention on the trends by race and ethnicity, in part because these subgroup estimates were done first, but also because the patterns were immediately interesting. They depict general long-term similarities in trends between race and ethnicity, but also differences in short-term fluctuations during certain historical periods which we believe are associated with national economic downturns. We have completed a paper analyzing the male trends by race and ethnicity, focusing primarily on serious violence which excludes simple assault victimization (forthcoming in *Criminology and Public Policy*). This was done to increase the comparability of our trends to UCR data. We also have a similar paper for female trends underway. We began with the substantive assessment of the male trends primarily because their trend patterning is less complicated than that of females. Assessment of female trends involves the additional need to pay additional close attention to intimate partner violence which requires covering an additional body of literature to develop explanations of the female trends. We have also begun to assess differences in the trends across type of place (urban, suburban, rural), as well as a paper on

gender differences in trends among youth and young adults (to be published in an edited volume developed as part of a Centers for Disease Control project). A list of our scholarly activity to date appears below:

Scholarly Products

We have made the following presentations based on the trends developed in association with this project:

- Lauritsen, Janet L. (2009) "What Can Victim Survey Data Tell Us About Violent Crime Trends in Rural, Suburban, and Urban Areas?" JRSA meetings, St. Louis, MO: October.
- Lauritsen, Janet L. and Karen Heimer (2009). "Long-term Trends in Serious Violence Among Youth," Centers for Disease Control, Atlanta, GA: July.
- Lauritsen, Janet L. (2009) "Economic Recession, Poverty, and Vulnerability to Violent Victimization by Race, Ethnicity, and Gender," National Institute of Justice, Washington DC: May.
- Lauritsen, Janet L. and Karen Heimer (2009). "Long-term Trends in Exposure to Serious Violent Crime by Race, Ethnicity, and Gender," American Association for the Advancement of Science meetings, Chicago, IL: February.
- Heimer, Karen and Janet L. Lauritsen (2008). "The Intersection of Gender, Race/Ethnicity, and Violent Victimization," American Society of Criminology meetings, St. Louis, MO: November.
- Lauritsen, Janet L. (2008). "The Relationship Between Race and Ethnicity and Violence Against Women: 1980-2005," Conference on Femicide, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, New York, NY: November.
- Lauritsen, Janet L. and Karen Heimer (2007). "Gender, Race, Ethnicity, and Violent Victimization Risk: 1973-2005," American Society of Criminology meetings, Atlanta, GA: November.
- Heimer, Karen and Janet L. Lauritsen (2007). "Gender and Violence in the United States: Violent Offending and Victimization Over Time," paper commissioned for the Semi-Annual meeting of the Committee on Law and Justice Workshop on Understanding Crime Trends, Washington DC, April.

- Lauritsen, Janet L. and Karen Heimer. (2007). "Gender, Violence, and Victimization: Female and Male Patterns Over Time," featured symposia at the American Association for the Advancement of Science meetings, San Francisco, CA, February.

The following publications are based on findings from the project:

- Heimer, Karen and Janet L. Lauritsen. (2008). "The Importance of Studying Trends in Violence Against Women," *The Criminologist*, Vol. 33, No. 4: 1-6.

- Lauritsen, Janet L. and Karen Heimer. (Forthcoming, 2010) "Economic Conditions and Violent Victimization Among Males: The Vulnerability of Race and Ethnic Minorities" *Criminology and Public Policy.*

- Lauritsen, Janet L., Ekaterina Gorislavsky, and Karen Heimer. (Forthcoming, date not yet available). "Youth Violent Victimization Trends: Guns, Violence, and Homicide 1973-2007).

The following publications were underway before the funded project began. However, they were informed by findings from the earliest stages of the project.

- Heimer, Karen and Janet L. Lauritsen. (2008). "Gender and Violence in the United States: Trends in Offending and Victimization," pp. 45-80 in Understanding Crime Trends:Workshop Report, Committee on Understanding Crime Trends, Committee on Law and Justice, National Research Council. Washington DC: National Academies Press.

- Lauritsen, Janet L. and Karen Heimer. (2008). "Gender and Violent Victimization, 1973-2004,"*Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, Vol. 24: 125-147.

The following publications were not covered under the scope of this project (victimization), however the process of becoming expert in developing long-term trends with the NCS and NCVS made it possible for us to also study long-term trends in female and male offending. Thus they are noted here:

- Lauritsen, Janet L., Karen Heimer, and James P. Lynch. (2009). "Trends in the Gender Gap in Violent Offending: New Evidence from the National Crime Victimization Survey," *Criminology*, Vol. 47:361-400.

- Heimer, Karen, Janet L. Lauritsen, and James P. Lynch (2009). "The National Crime Victimization Survey and the Gender Gap in Offending: Redux," *Criminology*, Vol. 47:427-438.

Future Research

It is evident from the variation in the trends presented above that there is a great deal of research that is needed to understand why some subgroups have experienced different trends in violent victimization over the past three and a half decades; why stranger, known/non-intimate, and intimate partner violence exhibit different trends; and why there are differences in levels and trends for stranger, known/non-intimate, and intimate partner violence for some of the factors considered here, but not others. For many of the factors we consider here, it is necessary to incorporate distinct bodies of existing research. Although it will certainly require addition time and research to understand the patterns we show above, it is our intention to use the trends we have generated to study a wide variety of issues.

The key purpose of this project was to develop the NCS and NCVS data to depict previously unknown trends in violence. Thus, we have also laid the foundation for other researchers to begin investigating a variety of important research hypotheses, including analyses that distinguish explanations of short- versus long-run changes in violence. Our manuscript forthcoming at *Criminology & Public Policy*, for example, shows that race and ethnic minorities share with whites a general long-term decline in victimization risk, but also greater sensitivity to short-term upswings that appear to be associated with economic downturns. (see Appendix B for abstract). In addition, the trend data also provide important historical and contextual information which can be used to help analyze the potential effects of various policies. Finally, the NCS-NCVS trend data also can reveal in much greater detail those violent crime problems that appear to be particularly resistant to change or more vulnerable to short-term increases, and which groups are in greatest need of victim services and resources.

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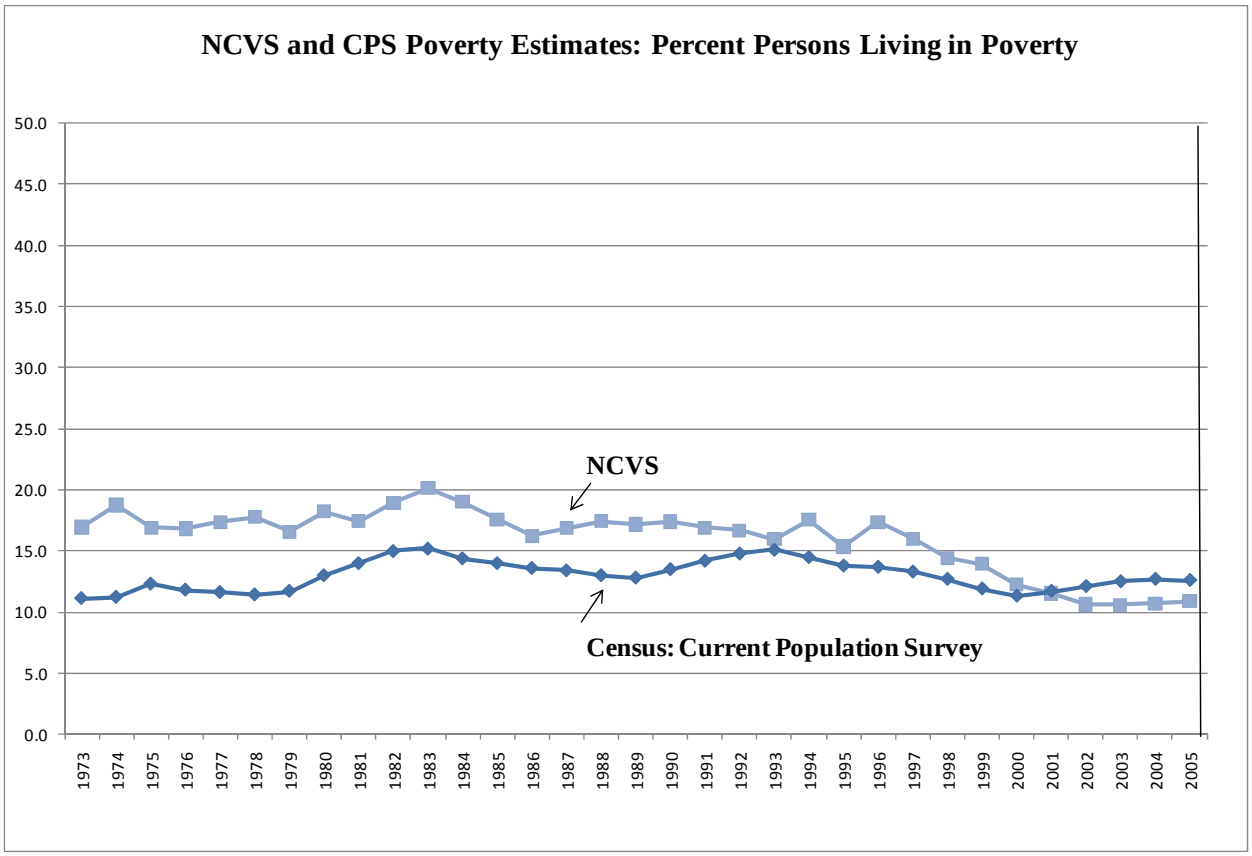
APPENDIX A. COMPARISON OF NATIONAL POVERTY ESTIMATES USING NCS/NCVS AND CPS DATA: 1973-2005



Note: NCS/NCVS estimates are for persons ages 12 and above. CPS estimates are for persons of all ages.

APPENDIX B. ABSTRACT FOR PAPER FORTHCOMING AT *CRIMINOLOGY & PUBLIC POLICY* USING NCS/NCVS TREND DATA

Economic Conditions and Violent Victimization Among Males: The Vulnerability of Race and Ethnic Minorities

Janet L. Lauritsen
Karen Heimer

ABSTRACT

Research Summary:
Past research has shown that blacks and Latinos have been more susceptible to increases in poverty and unemployment during economic downturns than non-Latino whites and that economic disadvantage is an important correlate of violence in cross-sectional analyses. If significant declines in the national economy contribute to increases in violence, crime trends disaggregated by race and ethnicity should show greater changes among minorities during periods of economic downturn. In this paper, we use data from the 1973 to 2005 National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) to estimate previously unknown trends in serious nonfatal violent victimization for Latino, non-Latino black, non-Latino white males in the United States. We find that trends for Latino and black males are similar and peak during or soon after economic recessions, and that their trends closely follow the national Index of Consumer Sentiment. In contrast, trends for white males display fewer increases coinciding with changes in economic conditions. Further disaggregation shows that these patterns appear in both robbery and aggravated assault, and primarily in stranger violence and not in violence by known offenders. The patterns also suggest that the association between changing economic conditions and victimization trends may have weakened in recent years.

Policy Implications:
The findings raise concerns about the potential impact of recent economic changes on the risk for serious victimization, particularly among blacks and Latinos. Policy analyses should use group specific measures to evaluate how race and ethnicity, changing economic conditions, and social and criminal justice policies are related to trends in violence. Future policy research should include an assessment of whether government policies to address poverty and unemployment have an impact on serious violent victimization among different race and ethnic groups.

Key Words: economic conditions, violence, trends, victimization, race, ethnicity, policy, poverty, recession