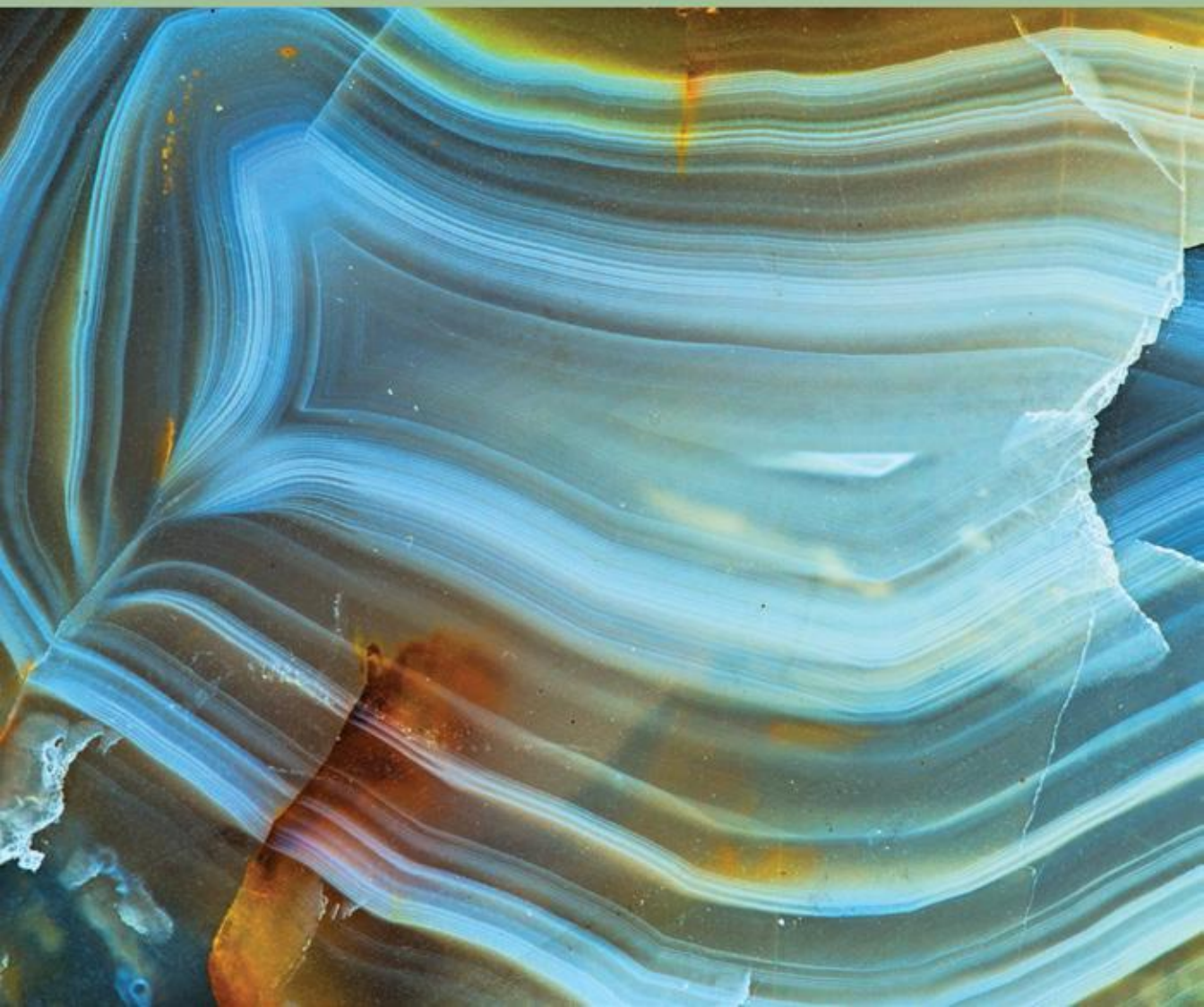


THIRD EDITION

Victimology

Theories and Applications

Ann Wolbert Burgess



THIRD EDITION

Victimology

Theories and Applications

Ann Wolbert Burgess, RN, DNSc, APRN, BC, FAAN

Professor of Psychiatric Nursing
William F. Connell School of Nursing
Boston College



JONES & BARTLETT
LEARNING

World Headquarters
Jones & Bartlett Learning
5 Wall Street
Burlington, MA 01803
978-443-5000
info@jblearning.com
www.jblearning.com

Jones & Bartlett Learning books and products are available through most bookstores and online booksellers. To contact Jones & Bartlett Learning directly, call 800-832-0034, fax 978-443-8000, or visit our website, www.jblearning.com.

Substantial discounts on bulk quantities of Jones & Bartlett Learning publications are available to corporations, professional associations, and other qualified organizations. For details and specific discount information, contact the special sales department at Jones & Bartlett Learning via the above contact information or send an email to specialsales@jblearning.com.

Copyright © 2019 by Jones & Bartlett Learning, LLC, an Ascend Learning Company

All rights reserved. No part of the material protected by this copyright may be reproduced or utilized in any form, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without written permission from the copyright owner.

The content, statements, views, and opinions herein are the sole expression of the respective authors and not that of Jones & Bartlett Learning, LLC. Reference herein to any specific commercial product, process, or service by trade name, trademark, manufacturer, or otherwise does not constitute or imply its endorsement or recommendation by Jones & Bartlett Learning, LLC and such reference shall not be used for advertising or product endorsement purposes. All trademarks displayed are the trademarks of the parties noted herein. *Victimology: Theories and Applications, Third Edition* is an independent publication and has not been authorized, sponsored, or otherwise approved by the owners of the trademarks or service marks referenced in this product.

There may be images in this book that feature models; these models do not necessarily endorse, represent, or participate in the activities represented in the images. Any screenshots in this product are for educational and instructive purposes only. Any individuals and scenarios featured in the case studies throughout this product may be real or fictitious, but are used for instructional purposes only.

09177-9

Production Credits

VP, Product Management: David D. Cella
Director of Product Management: Matthew Kane
Product Specialist: Audrey Schwinn
Product Assistant: Loren-Marie Durr
Senior Production Editor: Nancy Hitchcock
Marketing Manager: Lindsay White
Production Services Manager: Colleen Lamy
Manufacturing and Inventory Control Supervisor: Amy Bacus

Composition: SourceHOV LLC
Cover Design: Kristin Parker
Interior Design: Theresa Manley
Rights & Media Specialist: Thais Miller
Media Development Editor: Shannon Sheehan
Cover Image: © Peyker/Shutterstock
Printing and Binding: LSC Communications
Cover Printing: LSC Communications

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Burgess, Ann Wolbert, author.
Title: *Victimology : theories and applications* / Ann Wolbert Burgess.
Description: Third edition. | Burlington : Jones & Bartlett Learning, 2017. |
Revised edition of *Victimology*, c2013.
Identifiers: LCCN 2017045599 | ISBN 9781284130195 (paperback)
Subjects: LCSH: Victims of crimes. | BISAC: LAW / Criminal Procedure.
Classification: LCC HV6250.25 .B87 2017 | DDC 362.88--dc23
LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2017045599>

6048

Printed in the United States of America
21 20 19 18 17 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1



Brief Contents

© Peyker/Shutterstock.

1	Crime and Victimology	1
2	Measurement of Crime and Victimization	32
3	Theories of Victimization	69
4	Victim Rights and Services	102
5	Justice Systems	147
6	Child Abuse and Neglect	200
7	Child Abduction and Exploitation	240
8	School Violence	281
9	Intimate Partner Violence	315
10	Stalking Victims	357
11	Victims of Rape and Sexual Assault	393
12	Elder Abuse Victims	452
13	Homicide: Victims, Their Families, and the Community	486
14	Hate Crimes	533
15	Victims of Social Media	565
16	Victims of Cybercrime	591
17	Other Forms of Victimization	636
18	Forensic Victimology and Investigative Profiling	668



Contents

© Peyker/Shutterstock.

Preface	xvii
Acknowledgments	xx
About the Author	xxiii

CHAPTER 1

Crime and Victimology **1**

Introduction	3
Discipline of Victimology	5
Victims of Violent Crime in the Media	6
<i>Murdered Children</i>	7
<i>Professionals as Victims</i>	8
<i>Victims of Revenge</i>	9
<i>Victims of Workplace Violence</i>	10
Who Is a Victim?	10
<i>Defining the “Victim”</i>	11
<i>Victims of Personal and Property Crime</i>	13
<i>Beyond Criminal Victimization: Victims of “Noncriminal” Harms</i>	15
Trends in Crime and Victimization	17
Costs and Consequences of Crime	21
<i>Health-Related Costs</i>	23
<i>Direct Financial Costs</i>	25
<i>Intangible Costs</i>	25
<i>Criminal Justice Costs</i>	26

CHAPTER 2

Measurement of Crime and Victimization **32**

Introduction	34
Uniform Crime Reports	35
<i>UCR Data Collection</i>	37

National Incident-Based Reporting System	39
UCR Canada	41
Challenges in the Measurement of Crime	41
<i>Definitional Challenges</i>	42
<i>Reporting Challenges</i>	43
<i>Challenges Related to Policing Practices</i>	44
National Prisoner Statistics Program	45
<i>NPS Data Collection</i>	46
Adult Criminal Court Survey	47
Challenges in Measuring Crime with Prisoner Data	47
Victimization Surveys	48
<i>Victim Survey Methods</i>	49
<i>Generations of Victim Surveys</i>	50
National Crime Victimization Survey	52
<i>Data Collection for the NCVS</i>	52
<i>NCVS Summary Findings for 2015</i>	54
National Family Violence Survey	55
Canadian General Social Survey	56
British Crime Survey	57
International Crime Victims Survey	58
Challenges in Measuring Victimization	59
<i>Challenges Related to Sampling</i>	59
<i>Challenges Related to Victim Responses</i>	60
<i>Challenges Related to Interpretation of Data</i>	61

CHAPTER 3

Theories of Victimization.....69

Introduction	71
History of Victimology and Theory	
Development	72
Victim-Based Theories	77
Interactional Theories	85
Societal-Based Theories of Victimology	89
Ecological Theory	91
Case Analysis Using Victimology Theories	92
Analysis	94

CHAPTER 4

Victim Rights and Services102

Introduction	104
Victims' Rights Movement	106
Restitution	111
Victims' Compensation	111
<i>Eligibility for Compensation</i>	113
<i>Costs of Victim Compensation</i>	114
<i>Innovative Compensation Laws</i>	114
<i>9/11 U.S. Compensation Fund</i>	115
Restorative Justice	116
Victims' Rights and the Courts	117
<i>Victim Impact Statements</i>	117
<i>National Victim Information and Notification</i>	
<i>Everyday Program</i>	120
Services for Victims	121
<i>Women's Movement and Services for Rape Victims</i>	121
<i>Domestic Violence and Intimate Partner</i>	
<i>Violence Services</i>	124
<i>Comprehensive Continuum of Services for Crime</i>	
<i>Victims</i>	126
<i>Evaluating Victim Assistance Programs</i>	129
Code of Ethics for Victim Services	131
Psychological Response to Victimization	131
<i>Posttraumatic Stress Disorder</i>	132
Treatment Interventions	137
<i>Roberts's Crisis Intervention Model</i>	137
<i>Treatment Models</i>	138

CHAPTER 5

Justice Systems147

Introduction	148
Evolution of Laws	149
Historical Perspective	150
<i>Greek Mythology</i>	150
<i>Urukagina</i>	151
<i>Code of Ur-Nammu</i>	151

<i>Code of Hammurabi</i>	151
<i>Mosaic Law</i>	152
<i>Roman Law</i>	152
<i>Code of Justinian</i>	153
<i>Feudalism</i>	153
<i>English Common Law</i>	153
<i>Contemporary Codes and Laws</i>	154
Concepts Related to Justice and Alternative Forms of Justice	155
<i>Retributive Justice</i>	155
<i>Utilitarian Justice</i>	156
<i>Distributive Justice</i>	156
<i>Restorative Justice</i>	157
Criminal Law	158
<i>Levels of the U.S. Court System</i>	159
<i>Canadian Court System</i>	161
Entering the Criminal Justice System	162
<i>Reporting the Crime: Interactions with the Police</i>	162
<i>Pressing Charges</i>	165
<i>Pretrial</i>	166
<i>Preliminary Hearing</i>	167
<i>Grand Jury</i>	168
<i>Plea Bargain</i>	168
<i>Suppression Hearings and Change of Plea Hearings</i>	169
<i>Criminal Justice Trials</i>	170
<i>Civil Commitments for Sex Offenders</i>	173
<i>Other Postconviction Hearings</i>	173
<i>Casey Anthony's Trial and Acquittal</i>	174
<i>Sentencing</i>	177
<i>Correctional System</i>	178
<i>Impact of Trials on Juries</i>	179
<i>Restitution</i>	179
<i>Parole Hearings</i>	180
<i>O.J. Simpson's Parole Hearing</i>	182
Capital Punishment and Death Penalty Cases	182
<i>Early Roots of Capital Punishment</i>	182
<i>Capital Punishment in America</i>	183
<i>Death Penalty Case</i>	185
Critical Issues in the Criminal Justice System	186
<i>Period from Arrest to Pretrial Detention</i>	186

Reintegration of the Incarcerated into Society 186

Probation 186

Civil Justice System 187

Civil Procedures 187

Process for a Civil Claim 189

Third-Party Liability 191

Considerations for Pursuing Civil Justice 192

Statutes of Limitations 193

The Juvenile Justice System 193

CHAPTER 6

Child Abuse and Neglect200

 Introduction 202

 Scope of the Problem 204

National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System 205

National Incidence Study 206

Canadian Incidence Child Abuse Statistics 207

 Legislative Framework 208

Mandated Reporting 209

Role of Child Protective Services 210

Child Fatality Review Boards 210

 Typology of Child Maltreatment 210

Neglect 211

Physical Abuse 211

Child Sexual Abuse 213

Psychological Maltreatment 215

Fetal Death 216

 Theories of Child Maltreatment 217

Intergenerational Transmission of Violence 218

Social Learning Theory 218

Ecological Theory 219

Psychopathology 219

 Attention to Prevention 220

 Dynamics of Disclosure in Child Abuse 220

 Effects of Traumatic Events on Children 222

 Developmental Traumatology 222

Children with Developmental Disabilities 223

Epidemiological Approaches to the Study of Child Maltreatment 224

Complex Child Trauma	225
<i>Causes of Complex Trauma</i>	225
<i>Case of Complex Trauma</i>	225
<i>Diagnostic Considerations</i>	227
<i>Suicidal Impulses and Violence Against Others</i>	227
<i>Case of Matricide</i>	228
Treatment for Child Victims	229
<i>Crisis Intervention</i>	229
<i>Individual Treatment for Children</i>	229

CHAPTER 7

Child Abduction and Exploitation240

Introduction	243
Scope of the Problem	243
Legal Framework	247
<i>Child Abduction and Murder</i>	248
<i>Child Trafficking and Child Prostitution</i>	249
Infant Abduction	252
<i>Fetal Abduction</i>	253
<i>Infant Abduction</i>	253
Missing Children	256
<i>Family Abductions</i>	257
<i>Nonfamily Abduction</i>	258
<i>Throwaways/Runaways</i>	259
<i>Lost, Injured, or Otherwise Missing Children</i>	260
<i>AMBER Alert</i>	260
Child Labor	261
Child Trafficking	261
Child Prostitution	264
<i>Making of Teenage Prostitutes</i>	266
Typologies of Sex Offenders of Children	267
<i>Coerced Versus Forced</i>	268
<i>Situational Predators Versus Preferential Predators</i>	269
<i>High Contact Versus Low Contact Offenders</i>	271
<i>Case of a Preferential Child Molester/Spree Crime and Multiple Victims</i>	271

CHAPTER 8**School Violence.....281**

Introduction	283
Scope of the Problem	284
Legislation Addressing School Violence	285
Bullying	288
<i>Types of Bullying</i>	288
<i>Factors Contributing to Bullying</i>	288
<i>Cyberbullying</i>	290
<i>Effects of Bullying</i>	290
<i>Managing and Preventing Bullying</i>	292
<i>School Bullying Climate</i>	295
Gang Violence in Schools	295
<i>Youth Gang Participation</i>	296
<i>Gang Violence</i>	298
<i>Victims of Gang Violence</i>	299
<i>Addressing Gang Violence in Schools</i>	299
Teachers as Victims of School Violence	301
School Shootings	302
<i>Columbine</i>	302
<i>A Note on Frequency</i>	303
<i>Indications and Threats of Violence</i>	305
<i>Effects of School Shooting</i>	307

CHAPTER 9**Intimate Partner Violence.....315**

Introduction	317
Scope of the Problem	319
<i>Dating Violence</i>	322
Legal Responses to IPV	323
Effects of IPV on Victims	327
Barriers to Disclosing and Ending Abuse	329
IPV in LGBT Relationships	332
Child Witnesses of IPV	333
Continuum of Intimate Violence	335
Batterer Typologies	336

Intersections Between Batterer Typologies and the Continuum of Violence	338
<i>Partner Homicides</i>	342
<i>Honor Killings</i>	342
<i>Battered Woman Syndrome Defense</i>	344
Intervention Programs in IPV	346
<i>Interventions for Victims of IPV</i>	346
<i>Interventions for Child Witnesses</i>	347
<i>Interventions for Offenders</i>	348

CHAPTER 10

Stalking Victims357

Introduction	359
Scope of the Problem	363
Stalking Laws	364
Typology of Stalking	367
<i>Celebrity Stalkers</i>	369
<i>Erotomaniac Stalkers</i>	371
<i>Stalking as an Extension of Domestic Violence</i>	373
<i>Sexually Sadistic Stalkers</i>	375
Effects of Stalking on Victims	376
Safety Strategies for Victims	377
Court Appeals of Stalking Convictions	380
Threat Assessment of Stalkers	382
Treatment of Stalkers	384

CHAPTER 11

Victims of Rape and Sexual Assault.....393

Introduction	395
Scope of the Problem	396
<i>Subpopulations of Victims</i>	398
Legislative Framework	405
<i>Rape Shield Laws</i>	407
<i>Title IX</i>	410
Typologies of Rape and Sexual Assault	411
<i>Incest</i>	411
<i>Statutory Rape</i>	412

<i>Marital Rape</i>	413
<i>Acquaintance Rape</i>	413
<i>Sexual Homicide</i>	414
Rape Myths	415
Dynamics of Reporting Rape	417
<i>Nonreporting</i>	420
Typology of Sexual Trauma	426
<i>Rape: Sex Without the Victim's Consent</i>	426
<i>Pressured Sex: Inability to Consent</i>	428
<i>Sex Stress Situation: Sex with Initial Consent</i>	428
<i>Workplace Harassment</i>	429
Psychological Impact of Sexual Assault	429
<i>Posttraumatic Stress Disorder</i>	430
Classifying Rapists	431
<i>Early Research</i>	431
<i>Theory of Interpersonal Aggression</i>	432
<i>Exploitative Rape</i>	433
<i>Anger Rape</i>	434
<i>Sadistic Rape</i>	435
Sexual Predators in the Community	435
False Allegations of Rape	
and Sexual Assault	436
<i>Potential Consequences of a False Allegation</i>	436
<i>Difficulty of Measuring Rates of False</i>	
<i>Allegations of Rape</i>	437
<i>Reasons for False Allegations of Rape</i>	440
Care for Victims of Sexual Violence	441
<i>National Sexual Violence Resource Center</i>	441

CHAPTER 12

Elder Abuse Victims.....452

Introduction	453
Scope of the Problem	455
Elder Abuse Legislation	457
Types of Elder Abuse	459
<i>Physical Abuse</i>	460
<i>Neglect</i>	460
<i>Sexual Abuse</i>	460

<i>Psychological Abuse</i>	462
<i>Financial Abuse</i>	462
Categories of Abusive Situations	464
<i>Spousal Violence as Elder Abuse</i>	464
<i>Abuse by Adult Children and Relatives</i>	465
<i>Institutionally Based Abuse</i>	467
<i>Societal Neglect</i>	469
<i>Sexual Assault</i>	470
Assessment of Elder Abuse	472
Interventions	475
<i>Prevention Programs</i>	475
<i>Adult Protection Programs</i>	476
<i>Domestic Violence Programs</i>	477

CHAPTER 13

Homicide: Victims, Their Families, and the Community . . .486

Introduction	488
Scope of the Problem	488
Legislative Framework	490
<i>Penalties for Homicide</i>	490
<i>Recidivism</i>	491
<i>Civil Litigation</i>	492
Classification of Homicides	492
<i>Single Homicide</i>	493
<i>Double Homicide</i>	493
<i>Triple Homicide</i>	494
<i>Mass Murder</i>	495
<i>Spree Murder</i>	495
<i>Serial Murder</i>	496
Homicide-Suicide	497
Violent Death Data	500
Homicide Victimization Theories	500
Demographic Correlates and Homicide Offending	502
Homicide Offender Typologies	503
<i>Organized and Disorganized Offenders: Typology of Crime Scene Dynamics</i>	503
<i>Other Typologies Based on Crime Scene Dynamics</i>	510

Underclass Homicide Typology 513

Toward a New Homicide Typology 514

Covictims of Homicide 516

Covictim Response to Family Member Homicide 516

Death and Notification 519

Funeral Activities and the Immediate Aftermath 520

Post-Funeral Life 520

Intersections Between Grief and Trauma 521

Guilt and Blame 522

Stigma 522

Fears and Phobias 523

Supporting the Covictim 523

CHAPTER 14

Hate Crimes.....533

Introduction 534

Scope of the Problem 535

Hate Crime Legislation 538

Typology of Hate Crimes 542

Race 542

Religion 545

Disability 546

Gender 548

Sexual Orientation 549

Political 551

Typology of Offender Motivation 551

Suicide Bombers as Perpetrators
 of Hate Crimes 554

Impact of Hate Crimes on Victims 556

CHAPTER 15

Victims of Social Media565

Introduction 566

Social Media Structure 568

Types of Social Media Victimization 571

Self-Exploitation 572

Sexting Case: Protecting One’s Electronic Reputation 573

<i>Sexting Ring Case</i>	574
<i>Electronic Aggression</i>	575
<i>Dangerous Cases Using Social Media</i>	576
Legal Issues	576
<i>Sexting Laws</i>	576
<i>Internet Luring</i>	577
<i>Sextortion</i>	577
Mental Health Implications	578
<i>Internet Addiction</i>	578
<i>Signs and Symptoms of Internet Addiction</i>	580
<i>Case of Withdrawal Psychosis</i>	581
Interventions	581
<i>Prevention</i>	581
<i>Identifying Victims of Electronic Aggression</i>	583

CHAPTER 16

Victims of Cybercrime591

Introduction	592
Scope of the Problem	596
The Legal Context	597
Types of Internet Crime	601
<i>Hacking</i>	601
<i>Cyberterrorism</i>	603
<i>Cyberbullying</i>	605
<i>Child Sexual Exploitation on the Internet</i>	608
<i>Cyberstalking</i>	613
<i>Internet Fraud</i>	616
<i>Identity Theft</i>	620
<i>Internet Copyright Piracy</i>	624

CHAPTER 17

Other Forms of Victimization636

Introduction	638
Victims of Property-Related Crime	638
<i>Robbery</i>	639
<i>Burglary</i>	641

Home Invasion 642

Carjacking 644

Victims of Workplace Violence 645

Victims of Natural Disasters 648

Victims of Terrorism 649

Corporate Victimization 652

Victims of the Justice System 655

Victims of Wrongful Convictions 656

Victims of Racial Profiling and Disproportionate Penalties 659

CHAPTER 18

Forensic Victimology and Investigative Profiling.....668

Introduction 670

Forensic Victimology 670

911 Calls 670

First on the Scene: Police, Paramedics,
and Fire Personnel 672

Hospital Personnel as Healers and Detectives 673

Investigative Profiling 675

Crime Scene Analysis 677

Victimology 677

Crime Scene Indicators 678

Forensic Findings 679

Investigative Considerations 679

Outcome 679

Case Example 679

Case Featuring an Atypical Serial Killer 681

Case 1 681

Case 2 681

Case Analysis 683

Case 3 684

Case Analysis 685

Case 4 685

Case Analysis 686

Glossary.....691

Name Index704

Subject Index.....713



Preface

© Peyker/Shutterstock.

In the 19th century and early part of the 20th century, few scholars discussed or wrote about the victim's role in a criminal situation. It was not until the 1940s that interest in the victim developed. Von Hentig's paper titled "Remarks on the Interaction of Perpetrator and His Victim" (1941) and his book *The Criminal and His Victim* (1948); Mendelsohn's paper "New Bio-Psycho-Social Horizons: Victimology" (1947); and Ellenberger's study on the psychological relationship between the criminal and his victim (1954) brought clear scholarly focus to the plight of the victim.

The last quarter of the 20th century brought even more focus to the victim. The First International Symposium on Victimology held in Jerusalem in 1973 gave the discipline of victimology international recognition as a distinct focus separate from the discipline of criminology. The scholarly papers presented at the symposium were divided into five volumes that aimed to provide new data, theoretical inputs, and analyses to encourage the building of ideas and the development of intellectual dialogues in the field of victimology. In particular, the volumes sought to contribute to a discourse within the international community of scholars and to bring together scholars whose paths might not easily cross, despite their common interest.

At the opening ceremony of the symposium, Professor Israel Drapkin, chairman of the Organizing Committee, identified five purposes of the meeting:

1. To reach agreement on the scope of victimology
2. To establish a valid typology of victims as an indispensable tool for future developments
3. To analyze the role of the victim, both in juridical and judicial settings, to improve the current situation
4. To analyze the offender-victim relationship, particularly with regard to the main categories of criminal offense

5. To develop strategies to improve society's reaction toward victims, be it by means of compensation, insurance, prevention, or treatment

Although the science of victimology has expanded over the decades, it is upon this early scholarly and research foundation that this text on victimology has been conceptualized. This text provides an overview of issues related to people who become victims of a wide variety of crimes. At times, these crimes are specific to particular populations, such as children, the elderly, women, or individuals and groups of a specific race or religion. At times, these crimes are more general in who is targeted, such as in the case of Internet crime. We have focused on the incidence of each type of victimization, the impact of the crime on victims, the motivations of the perpetrators, strategies for intervention, laws that define the nature of the crime, and legal attempts to punish offenders and protect victims and society at large.

This third edition of the text includes chapter cases for discussion and expands the traditional academic concepts and theories of victimology to include an applied component for those students who will assess and/or treat victims or offenders. The text emphasizes data from North America regarding the scope of the problem, measurement of victimization, the typologies of victims and offenders, victim impact statements, policies, services, and future research areas. This text is written for students whose work or careers will bring them into contact with victims, offenders, and/or the justice system.

This third edition of the text includes updated information on opening chapter cases on Amanda Knox, Anders Behring Breivik, Kobe Bryant, Casey Anthony, Jaycee Dugard, Brandon McInerney, Rihanna and Chris Brown, Catherine Zeta-Jones, the St. Guillen's family, Mickey Rooney, David Russell Williams, and Brandon Piekarsky and Derrick Donchak. New chapters address social media, cybercrime, forensic victimology, and investigative profiling.

Two important trends have materialized in the five years since the last edition of this text. First, reporting rates on homicides in the United States increased in 2016, and the rate at which murders are cleared through arrest dropped to the lowest level on record. FBI statistics estimate that only 59.4% of homicides were cleared through arrest in 2016. This was the first time the national clearance rate dropped below 60% (Murder Accountability Project, 2017).

Second, mass shootings are increasing. In June 2016, a shooter, Omar Mateen, fired more than 50 rounds into patrons at the Pulse nightclub with an AR-15. He took hostages and shot at police. Forty-nine people died and dozens

were wounded. Authorities noted that Mateen had pledged his allegiance to the Islamic State in a 911 call just before the attack. He ultimately died in a gun battle with SWAT team members (Velasquez, 2016). In October 2017, another mass shooting occurred, with the shooter firing from the Mandalay Bay hotel in Las Vegas. It is considered the deadliest U.S. mass shooting committed by one person. The gunman, identified as Stephen Paddock, fired hundreds of rifle rounds into a concert crowd at the Route 91 Harvest Music Festival. Paddock fired from his suite on the 32nd floor of the Mandalay Bay. Fifty-eight victims were killed and hundreds injured. Paddock died from a self-inflicted gunshot wound. His motive remains unclear.

As crime and criminology in our society are ever-changing, the study of victims needs to keep pace and evolve to better serve both victims and the many professionals and practitioners who work with them. Whether a student is considering a career in the criminal justice system, health care, first responder services, social work, or academia, this text will guide the reader toward a deeper understanding of the multifaceted world of victimology and prepare them to better serve this complex population.

■ REFERENCES

- Hargrove, T. (2017). Murder Accountability Project. Retrieved from: <http://www.murderdata.org>
- Velasquez, M. (2016, June 12). 2016 Pulse nightclub shooting in Orlando, a look back at the worst mass shooting in history. *OCR Daily News*. Retrieved from: <http://www.ocreger.com/2017/06/11/2016-pulse-nightclub-shooting-in-orlando-a-look-back-at-the-worst-mass-shooting-in-us-history/>



Acknowledgments

© Peyker/Shutterstock.

The author would like to thank Stefan Treffers for his research additions to all three editions as well as the following for their contributions to the third edition of *Victimology: Theories and Applications*:

Paul Thomas Clements

Dr. Clements is a clinical professor at the College of Nursing and Health Sciences at Drexel University, where one of his online courses for Drexel's forensic health certificate is Victimology for Health Professionals. Dr. Clements has been a psychiatric forensic specialist for more than 20 years, specializing in intrapsychic sequela and behavioral manifestations following exposure to interpersonal violence, crime, and sudden traumatic death.

Grace Cummings

Grace Cummings, Morrissey College of Arts and Science, Boston College, Class of 2020, is one of three student workers who assisted with updates to Chapter 16.

Elizabeth S. Dillon

Elizabeth Dillon, Esq. is a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and of the Washington University School of Law in St. Louis. She is an associate attorney at Cetrulo, LLP in Boston, Massachusetts. Elizabeth focuses her practice primarily on employment, business, real estate, and probate litigation, as well as employment advice and counseling.

Elizabeth B. Dowdell

Elizabeth Burgess Dowdell is a professor of Pediatric Nursing in the College of Nursing at Villanova University. She is a graduate of Vanderbilt University, Boston College, and the University of Pennsylvania. Her program of research has focused on studying vulnerable populations such as high-risk adolescents,

grandmother caregivers, and infants who have been abducted from homes and hospitals. Dr. Dowdell is an expert in the area of forensic pediatric nursing and Internet safety.

Sarah B. Gregorian

Sarah B. Gregorian is a graduate of Northeastern University and the University of Pennsylvania. She has been a research associate at Boston College in the areas of victimology and has coauthored articles on elder abuse and fetal abduction. Her current research is on hate crimes and social justice.

James Hendren

James Hendren, Carroll School of Management, Boston College, Class of 2020, is one of three student workers who assisted with updates to Chapter 16.

Kevin R. Powers, J.D.

Kevin Powers is the founding director for the Master of Science in Cybersecurity Policy and Governance Program at Boston College and an assistant professor of the practice in Boston College's Carroll School of Management's Business Law and Society Department. With a combined 20 years of law enforcement, military, national security, business, higher education, and teaching experience, he has worked as an analyst and an attorney for the U.S. Department of Justice, the U.S. Navy, the U.S. Department of Defense, law firms in Boston and Washington, DC, and as the general counsel for an international software company based in Seattle, Washington. Along with his teaching at Boston College, Kevin has taught courses at the U.S. Naval Justice School and the U.S. Naval Academy, where he was also the deputy general counsel to the superintendent. Kevin regularly provides expert commentary regarding cybersecurity and national security issues for varying local, national, and international media outlets. He is a program lead for the Collegiate Working Group for the U.S. Department of Homeland Security's National Initiative for Cybersecurity Education (NICE), and he also serves as a board member for a regional bank and an international software company. Kevin received his J.D. from Suffolk University Law School and his B.A. in history from Salem State College.

Stefan Treffers

Stefan Treffers is a doctoral candidate in the sociology department at York University. His previous degrees include an M.A. in criminology at the University

of Windsor and a B.A. in health sciences at the University of Ottawa. Aside from studies in criminology and victimology, his interests include urban sociology, poverty, race and ethnicity, and urban governance. His current research focuses on austerity and municipal finance in the context of urban decline, including the effects of service withdrawal on residents in the city of Detroit.

Benjamin Twohig

Benjamin Twohig, Carroll School of Management, Boston College, Class of 2019, is one of three student workers who assisted with updates to Chapter 16.

In addition, the author would like to thank the following for their review of this edition and previous editions of *Victimology: Theories and Applications*:

Ashley G. Blackburn, University of Houston–Downtown

Audree Dallam-Murphy, Westfield State College

Aric Dutelle, University of Wisconsin–Oshkosh

Kathleen A. Fox, Sam Houston State University

Ray Greenwood, Retired Virginia Beach Police Captain, and Old Dominion University

J. Greg Gullion, Texas Wesleyan University

Susan C. Herrick, West Liberty University

Philip D. Holley, Southwestern Oklahoma State University

Liz Marie Marciniak, University of Pittsburgh at Greensburg

Raisa Martinez, Miami Dade College

Nancy J. Merritt, Front Range Community College, Larimer Campus

Finally, the author and publisher would like to thank Dr. Cheryl Regehr and Dr. Albert R. Roberts for their work and contributions as authors of the previous two editions of this text.



About the Author

© Peyker/Shutterstock.

Ann Wolbert Burgess, RN, DNSc, APRN, BC, FAAN, is a professor of Psychiatric Mental Health Nursing at Boston College's Connell School of Nursing. She received her bachelors and doctoral degrees from Boston University and her master's degree from the University of Maryland. She teaches five forensic courses: Victimology, Forensic Mental Health, Forensic Science, Forensic Science Lab, and Wounded Warriors in Transition. Together with Lynda Lytle Holmstrom (Boston College), she cofounded one of the first hospital-based crisis intervention programs for rape victims at Boston City Hospital. She is licensed as an advanced practice nurse in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, where she also maintains prescriptive authority. Dr. Burgess has testified as an expert witness in 31 states and has received grants and published articles on the topics of rape trauma, child sexual abuse, child pornography, serial offenders, crime classification, posttraumatic stress, elder abuse, and wounded warriors.

Dr. Burgess served as chair of the first Advisory Council to the National Center for the Prevention and Control of Rape of the National Institute of Mental Health, was a member of the 1984 U.S. Attorney General's Task Force on Family Violence, served on the planning committee for the 1985 Surgeon General's Symposium on Violence, and served on the National Institute of Health National Advisory Council for the Center for Nursing Research from 1986 to 1988. She was a member of the 1990 Adolescent Health Advisory Panel to the Congress of the United States Office of Technology Assessment and Chair of the National Institutes of Health AIDS and Related Research Study Section (ARRR 6) from 1992 to 1994. She was elected to the National Academy of Sciences Institute of Medicine in October 1994 and chaired the 1996 National Research Council's Task Force on Violence Against Women. She was inducted into the Sigma Theta Tau. Her current research is on patterns of murder-suicide and combat PTSD.



CHAPTER 1

© Peyker/Shutterstock.

Crime and Victimology

Stefan R. Treffers

OBJECTIVES

- To define victimology and criminology
- To describe victims of crime
- To describe trends in crime and victimization
- To outline the costs and consequences of criminal victimization

KEY TERMS

Cold case

Crime victim

Crime victims' rights

Criminology

Double victimization

National Crime Victimization
Survey (NCVS)

Repeat victimization

Victimology

CASE

The November 2, 2007 murder of British exchange student Meredith Kercher in Perugia, Italy, set into motion an investigation that resulted in the arrest, trial, and conviction of her roommate, Amanda Knox, an exchange student from Seattle, Washington. Knox's boyfriend, university student Raffaele Sollecito, and a neighbor of Kercher,

Rudy Guede, described as a drifter, were also convicted for the murder. The prosecution's theory was that the victim was forced to participate in a sex game, fueled by drugs, which spiraled out of control. Testimony focused on telephone records, text messages, DNA evidence, bloody fingerprints, and shoe prints. However, 23-year-old Knox, who



FIGURE 1-1 The Amanda Knox Case.

© Antonio Calanni/AP Photos.

served 4 years of a 26-year prison sentence, consistently denied any involvement in the murder (FIGURE 1-1). An appeal of Knox's conviction began in 2010. Independent experts claimed that the collection of evidence fell below international standards and that because of the errors made by police during the original investigation, the evidence against Knox and Sollecito should not be admissible (Vargas & Natanson, 2011).

This case raises three important points with respect to the field of victimology. First, who are the victims? Clearly, Meredith Kercher was a rape-murder victim. But what about the status of Knox and Sollecito, who denied the prosecution's theory and have steadfastly maintained their innocence? Second, forensic evidence, if present, is critical to link a person to a crime. Did the strength of the evidence in this case justify their conviction? Third, this case involved the trial of an American citizen in a foreign jurisdiction. How might differences between international justice procedures and American law procedures have influenced the case? The lack of physical evidence, specifically DNA, to implicate Knox and Sollecito in the murder was not the only problem with this case. Many complained of incompetent police work and

investigators inexperienced in working homicide cases. Knox and Sollecito both asked for attorneys but were denied counsel. The prosecution failed to establish motive or intent for the rape and murder. Knox could barely speak or read Italian. She was interrogated for 41 hours over 4 days, did not even realize that she was a suspect in the case, was pressured into signing a confession that wrongly accused her employer, and held a naive belief in the Italian justice system.

Both she and Sollecito continued to plead their innocence despite serving 4 years in prison. In October of 2011, the Idaho Innocence Project, a nonprofit focused on correcting and preventing wrongful convictions, helped to prove Knox and Sollecito's innocence via DNA testing. The appeal process for both Knox and Sollecito was favorable, and they were acquitted of the murder charges. The defense said the evidence unequivocally pointed to a single attacker, Guede, a drug dealer who fled to Germany after the murder. He was arrested there, brought back to Italy, and tried and convicted of the killing. His conviction was upheld on appeal, and he remains in prison.

After the acquittal, Amanda Knox returned to her home in Seattle, Washington. The case, one of the most-watched trials in Italy, tapped into an intense debate over Italy's justice system (Donadio & Povoledo, 2011).

Once back in Seattle, Knox continued her studies at the University of Washington where she majored in creative writing. Her days as a student did not last long however, as she was soon ordered back to the Italian court for the murder of Kercher. The court of appeal had overturned the previous acquittal and a new trial started in late September of 2013. A piece of evidence was found on a kitchen knife, which was believed to be the murder weapon—one

that allegedly contained a minuscule amount of Knox's DNA on the handle. Once again, the court concluded that she was guilty. As a result, she was sentenced to 28.5 years in prison, while Sollecito received 25 years.

In an interesting turn of events, Italy's Supreme Court again overturned the convictions in the spring of 2015. In September 2015, the delegate Supreme Judge, Court adviser made public the reasons for the absolution. First, the evidence did not demonstrate the presence of either Knox or Sollecito at the crime scene. Second, they could not have "materially participated in the homicide"

because there were no "biological traces that could be attributed to them in the room of the murder or on the body of the victim, where in contrast, numerous traces were found attributable to Guede" (Vargas & Natanson, 2011).

Since returning home for a second time, Knox, now 29, has shared much of her journey in her memoir, *Waiting to be Heard: A Memoir*, which has since become a best seller. She is working as a freelance journalist and has attended a number of Innocence Project events—the same organization that helped prove her own innocence (Carter, 2017).

Introduction

The unsettling reality regarding crime in the world today is that it is widespread, often violent in nature, and completely disregards all moral, legal, and geographic boundaries. No home, no community, and no region in North America can consider itself "safe" from the risk of criminal victimization. With recent estimates of the number of crime victims in the United States reaching as high as 22 million, including violent, personal, and property crime, it behooves all of us, both individually and collectively, to support emerging efforts aimed at two distinct but related areas: crime prevention and crime victim assistance. To be sure, averting criminal behavior and victimization through prevention is the more preferable of the two. However, this would likely necessitate substantial investments in crime prevention initiatives that not only aim to deter and alter criminal behavior, but also strive to address fundamental root causes of crime (Hastings, 2008). Although there has been increasing support for situational crime prevention since the 1970s (especially those programs oriented toward victims), rehabilitation of offenders and social investments to mitigate systemic inequalities have largely fallen out of political favor (Garland, 2001), further cementing the notion that crime is an inevitable fact of life. Given the reasonable assumption that not all crimes are preventable under these circumstances, it becomes all the more urgent to be prepared to assist those who are victimized. **TABLE 1-1** provides data on the numbers of victims of violent crime for the years 2005 and 2015.

TABLE 1-1 Violent Victimization in the United States (National Crime Victimization Survey), 2005 and 2015

	2005	Rate per 1,000 Persons (12 or older)	Percent of Violent Crime	2015	Rate per 1,000 Persons (12 or older)	Percent of Violent Crime	Percent Change 2005 to 2015
Total population (12 or older)	244,505,300			266,665,160			
Violent crime	6,947,800	28.4	100.00%	5,359,570	18.6	100.00%	−34.6%
Domestic violence	1,242,290	5.1	17.88%	1,109,880	4.1	22.04%	−19.6%
Rape/sexual assault	207,760	0.8	2.99%	284,350	1.6	8.60%	+100.0%
Robbery	769,150	3.1	11.07%	664,210	2.1	11.29%	−32.3%
Aggravated assault	1,281,490	5.2	18.44%	1,092,090	3.0	16.13%	−42.4%

Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2016. *Criminal Victimization, 2015*. Retrieved from <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv15.pdf>.

Despite the general trend of decreasing victimization rates over the past 10 years, a significant number of victims turn to victim assistance programs, mental health centers, domestic violence shelters, and victim compensation programs each year. Research, as well as experience, has shown that these individuals frequently suffer from significant emotional pain and trauma, physical injuries, and/or financial loss as a result of their victimization, while “secondary victims”—relatives and close friends of victims—may also endure both mental anguish and economic hardship. Emergency medical care, mental health counseling, social services, financial aid, victim compensation, and law enforcement protection must be readily available for those injured as a result of either violent or property-related offenses. Despite remarkable advances made in terms of our understanding of the nature of crime victimization and our awareness of the need for victim support, to date most victim assistance policies and programs are limited in their ability to service the diverse needs of all victims. This chapter presents victimology as a discipline as well as provides information on victims of crime, the costs of victimization, and trends in crime and victimization.

Discipline of Victimology

Criminology, defined as the scientific study of nonlegal aspects of crime, arose in the 18th century out of concerns about the use of what was perceived to be cruel and arbitrary means of justice. Through the use of scientific methods, criminologists sought to refocus approaches to crime on prevention of criminal activity and reformation of offenders. Edwin H. Sutherland defined the objectives of criminology as the development of general and verified principles and knowledge regarding the process of law, crime, and treatment (Sutherland & Cressey, 1973, p.3). The etiology of crime and the characteristics of the criminal became the focus of criminological study. Drawing on diverse fields such as sociology, psychology, economics, human geography, and statistics, present-day criminologists use a variety of research and analysis methods to better understand crime and criminal activity (DeFlem, 2006; *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, 2016).

In contrast, **victimology** is the study of the victim, including the offender and society. Victimology is a social-structural way of viewing crime, the law, the criminal, and the victim. Victimology, which Fattah (2000) characterized as a young and promising discipline as old as humanity itself, did not emerge as a scientific subject for study until after World War II. In the 1940s and 1950s, based on the research of Benjamin Mendelsohn and Hans Von Hentig, victimology began to emerge as a distinct and viable field of study (Schafer, 1968). Historically, victimology was a branch of criminology, and as such the early criminologists and victimologists focused their analyses and writings on typologies of crime victims, assessing the ways in which a victim may contribute, knowingly or unknowingly, to his or her own victimization. Von Hentig's work (1946) identified categories of individuals who were prone to becoming crime victims. Marvin Wolfgang's doctoral dissertation at the University of Pennsylvania in the 1950s built on Von Hentig's theories and led to Dr. Wolfgang's research conclusions that the majority of criminal homicides in the city of Philadelphia were victim precipitated because the victim either provoked the perpetrator or the victim was motivated by an unconscious desire to commit suicide (Wolfgang, 1958). As one might expect, such findings inevitably resulted in a gross misunderstanding of the plight of crime victims and a categorical dismissal of the validity of their rights and needs.

Because the victim component of crime represented a serious theoretical void, a struggle developed as to the independence of this new discipline in relationship to the established field of criminology. Many, including Fattah, continue to view victimology as an integral part of criminology, whereas others, especially those who work directly with victims, see the field as separate

and independent. Fattah (2000) argues that the study of crime victims and of criminal victimization has the potential of reshaping criminology and that it may be the paradigm shift that criminology needs. Recent developments in victimology have undergone a transformation through major achievements in the applied field. This remarkable phase in the evolution of victimology, continues Fattah, was one of consolidation, data gathering, theory formulation, victim legislation, and sustained efforts to improve victims' lot and alleviate their plight.

Advances in the various theoretical victimology models explain the variations in victimization risks, the clustering of victimization in certain areas and certain groups, and the phenomenon of repeat victimization. Many countries have passed victim bill of rights legislation, including the adoption of the U.N. Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power by the General Assembly of the United Nations (1985). State compensation programs for victims of violent crime have been created, the concept of restitution by offenders has reemerged, and numerous victim-offender mediation programs have been established. Victim therapy has become an acknowledged means of dealing with the traumatic aftereffects of victimization.

Fattah predicts that future developments in victimology will include an emphasis on scientific research, particularly qualitative research, and that the need for advocacy, partisanship, and therapy will decline. In its place will be the rise of the restorative justice paradigm with victimology developing into a scientific discipline with a truly humanistic practice (Fattah, 2000).

Victims of Violent Crime in the Media

People are fascinated by crime. Crimes and the legal proceedings that surround them excite the public's interest for a variety of reasons: some, according to Fletcher (1988), because they involve celebrities, some because they are gruesome, some because they raise important social or legal issues, some because of their racial character, some because of the bizarre behavior of the parties, and some because of the plight of the victim. The growing number of television dramas that depict criminal behavior and victimization, police and forensic work, and the prison system is a testament to crime's prominence in popular culture. However, it has been argued that attributing the fascination with crime media to entertainment and voyeurism alone limits our understanding of its other social functions; namely, that cultural representations of crime reflect (and propagate) social anxieties and fears associated with crime (Sparks, 1990; Young, 2008). Instances of violent crime, especially those that are unpredictable

or sporadic in nature and those perpetrated by strangers, often provoke a sense of fear that the mass media is quick to capitalize on. Cases that have received wide media attention for these reasons include murdered children, professionals as victims, victims of revenge, and victims of workplace violence.

Murdered Children

In 1996, almost 2,000 children were murdered in the United States, but none of those murders fascinated the American public and attracted the mass media like that of JonBenét Ramsey, a child beauty pageant contestant. Although the spotlight has dimmed over the years, the case has been reopened, and public bias regarding the parents as suspects, similar to the Caylee Anthony (a two-year-old girl who went missing in Florida in 2008) case, remains.

In the early morning of December 26, 1996, in Boulder, Colorado, Patsy Ramsey reportedly found a ransom note on the family's back staircase demanding \$118,000 for her 6-year-old daughter, JonBenét (see [FIGURE 1-2](#)). The Ramseys quickly realized that JonBenét was missing from her bedroom and called 911. Later that day, John Ramsey discovered JonBenét's body covered in her special white blanket in the wine cellar. She had been strangled with a garrote made from a piece of cord and the broken handle of a paintbrush; to add to the horror there was evidence of sexual assault. The official cause of death was asphyxiation due to strangulation associated with blunt force head trauma.



FIGURE 1-2 JonBenét Ramsey.

© ZUMA Wire/Alamy Images.

The early investigation focused on the three-page ransom note, and police took hair and blood samples from members of the Ramsey family. The district attorney's office strongly supported a family member theory to the murder, whereas a private investigator, Lou Smit, and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) profiler John Douglas, supported an intruder theory. A Boulder County grand jury was convened on September 16, 1998, and for a year heard testimony, forensic evidence, analysis of handwriting, DNA evidence, and hair and fiber evidence. No indictment was returned by the grand jury because of conflicting testimonies and theories.

In 2002, the Ramseys filed and defended a series of libel lawsuits against media outlets that tried to implicate them in their daughter's murder. In 2003, an Atlanta federal judge dismissed a civil lawsuit against John and Patsy Ramsey, stating there was no evidence showing the parents killed JonBenét and abundant evidence that an intruder killed the child. The judge criticized the police and the FBI for creating a media campaign designed to make the family look guilty. That same year, Mary Keenan, recently elected district attorney, agreed to look at all the evidence in the case, including foreign, male DNA that was found in JonBenét's underwear that had never been tested. In 2006, Patsy Ramsey died of a recurrence of ovarian cancer. Nevertheless, in February 2010, the Boulder Police Department took the case back from the district attorney to reopen the investigation.

Over the years, several theories have been raised regarding the death of JonBenét. One theory suggests that Patsy Ramsey injured her child in a burst of anger over bedwetting, proceeded to kill her either in rage or to cover up the original injury, and then wrote the ransom note. Another speculates that John Ramsey had been sexually assaulting his daughter and murdered her as a cover. Others look to the brother of JonBenét, who they say was jealous of his sister and murdered her. A final theory suggests that an intruder sexually assaulted and murdered the child. To complicate the family murder theory, DNA evidence did not match the mother, father, or brother and failed to find a match in the FBI CODIS database. This **cold case** remains focused on a forensic evidence match to JonBenét Ramsey or the crime scene and/or confession from the offender.

Professionals as Victims

Dr. George Tiller, age 67, was one of the few doctors who performed late-term abortions, raising concerns among citizens in Wichita, Kansas, that Dr. Tiller was contravening state law, public morality, and religious values. For more than 20 years, groups protested outside his offices, people signed petitions, and

individuals made death threats against him. On May 31, 2009, Tiller was shot in the head at point-blank range (despite wearing a bulletproof vest) by Scott Roeder, an antiabortion activist. Tiller was killed during a Sunday morning service at the Reformation Lutheran Church in Wichita, where he was serving as an usher. Tiller's killing has been labeled an act of domestic terrorism and an assassination.

Scott Roeder took the stand in his own defense on January 28, 2010. He admitted to killing Dr. Tiller, described his views on abortion, and defended his act as an attempt to save unborn children. On January 29, 2010, the jury returned a verdict of guilty on all three charges (one count of first-degree murder and two counts of aggravated assault) after less than 40 minutes of deliberation. On April 1, 2010, in Wichita, Kansas, Sedgwick County District Judge Warren Wilbert sentenced Roeder to the maximum time allowed in Kansas, known as a "hard 50," meaning he had no possibility of parole for 50 years.

Assassinations have been part of human history from early times. Victims who are killed for political reasons are sometimes aware of their danger, as in the case of Dr. Tiller, or sometimes totally unaware, as in the case of President Abraham Lincoln. In either case, such murders trigger great public outcry for the victims, their families, and their communities.

Victims of Revenge

On Christmas Eve, 2008, Bruce Jeffrey Pardo arrived at the home of Joseph and Alicia Ortega, the parents of his ex-wife, dressed in a Santa Claus suit. He opened fire and killed nine people inside the house, including his ex-wife Sylvia, three of their children, the elder Ortegas, two daughters-in-law, and a teenager working at a computer. Pardo had no criminal record and had no history of violence. Police speculate the motive of the attack was related to marital problems, as Pardo's wife of 1 year had settled for divorce the prior week. Pardo owed his wife \$10,000 as part of the divorce settlement, according to court documents, which detailed a bitter split. He also lost a dog he doted on and did not get back a valuable wedding ring. Pardo had also lost his job in July.

Pardo complained in a court declaration that Sylvia Pardo was living with her parents, not paying rent, and had spent lavishly on a luxury car, gambling trips to Las Vegas, meals at fine restaurants, massages, and golf lessons. Some speculated that the divorce may have been caused by Pardo concealing a child from a previous relationship. This child had been severely injured and disabled in a swimming pool accident. It was also revealed that Pardo planned to kill his own mother because she apparently displayed sympathy for Sylvia Pardo during the divorce.

Although there was no history of domestic conflict in the divorce papers, this mass murder might have had some warning signs, such as the rage and anger toward the in-laws and resentment of financial expenditures and revenge toward the distribution of marital property. Clearly, the victims were taken by surprise in a blitz attack and had no time to defend themselves.

Victims of Workplace Violence

“We’re now just trying to figure out who’s shot, who’s not accounted for,” said Brett Hollander, the director of marketing at Hartford Distributors (Martinez, 2010). This chilling statement was quoted in one of the initial press reports from the summer of 2010 shooting in a beer distribution company in Manchester, Connecticut. Approximately 60 people were in the warehouse at the 7:00 a.m. shift change when Omar Thornton fatally shot eight fellow employees and then himself. The shooting occurred minutes after Thornton was confronted by management with video evidence that he was stealing beer. He was given the option of quitting the job or being fired. Thornton did not deny the allegations, signed the release papers, and then withdrew a gun from his lunch box. Witnesses on the scene described Thornton as cool and calm as he proceeded to shoot those around him in the head.

During the past decade, newspapers rarely have missed an opportunity to report the latest murder, robbery, physical or sexual assault, or stalking incident occurring in the workplace. Of these incidents, the ones that receive the most attention are, not surprisingly, workplace shootings. In many cases, violent episodes in the workplace can be prevented. With this in mind, some companies have begun to provide employee assistance programs, stress management and anger control workshops, and fitness and exercise facilities. In addition, corporate security and human resource personnel often receive training in crisis intervention, psychological risk assessments, and critical incident debriefing. No office, business, or institution is immune to the threat of violence, and careful planning and program development are crucial to handling threats appropriately and containing and preventing future violent incidents.

Who Is a Victim?

The examples above depict several cases of victimization that have garnered significant media attention over the years. Important questions should be asked about why certain crimes become focal points of news, documentaries, television series, and other productions whereas others are largely ignored. Although the answers to these questions are complex, it is evident that the

mass media is drawn to crimes that are especially unpredictable and violent in nature. Because a great deal of peoples' perceptions and knowledge of crime and victimization are informed by sensationalized media accounts, ideas about victims are subject to considerable distortion. As a result, peoples' perceptions of the regularity or frequency of victimization, of who is most likely to become a victim, or what constitutes the most common forms of victimization can become considerably divorced from reality. Media accounts may also lead to an exceedingly narrow conception of what constitutes a victim, silencing accounts of harm that arise in cases that may seem more mundane, such as workplace injuries that result from corporate negligence or acute and chronic illness linked to environmental pollution. As a corrective, victimology can provide a more accurate picture of crime and victimization through data and trends as well as provide a more encompassing conceptualization of the victim that takes into account a wide range of crimes and harms. The following section details a brief definitional history of *victim*, describing the term's historical and contemporary usage.

Defining the “Victim”

The word *victim* is derived from the Latin *victima*, and originally included the concept of sacrifice. The sense of an offering to the temple is implied in the Bible (Leviticus 1.2, 1.14, 2.1, etc.), and though the word *victim* does not appear in the Bible, the notion of persons suffering from acts committed by an aggressor is found throughout. One of the most prominent cases of victimhood found in the holy text is the murder involving Adam and Eve's first- and second-born sons, in which in a fit of jealousy Cain murdered his brother because God had favored Abel's thanksgiving offerings over his (Genesis 4:9–10). The relationship between victim and sacrifice had similar resonance in ancient civilizations where individuals were sacrificed during religious ceremonies to appease the gods. In early Anglo-Saxon society, victims were perceived as persons suffering from injury at the hands of perpetrators, and laws typically enforced restitution and compensation paid to victims or their families by offending parties. While sanctions were initially enforced locally and through informal means, the emergence of a stronger sovereign state transformed the concept of victimhood by implicating the state in processes of justice. No longer was an offense solely viewed as a transgression against the victim, but was considered an offense against God and a breach of the king's peace, and as such, the state increasingly became an instigator of charges against offenders while the victim's role was reduced to that of a witness (Walklate, 2007). As this system of justice evolved, compensation by the offender became increasingly seen as a

debt owed to society (often paid in the form of fines), rather than to the individual victim. These arrangements bear some resemblance to the contemporary justice process whereby the prosecution team, as the state's representative, pursues a case against the accused. The role of the victim is limited to that of a witness who may give a testimony on behalf of the prosecution.

Contemporary ideas about what constitutes a victim have largely been shaped and influenced by criminal law. Federal law defines the term *victim* and outlines the rights of crime victims. A **crime victim** in a purely legal sense refers to a person, organization, or business that has been directly harmed (physically, emotionally, or financially) as a result of the commission of an offense. In general, crime victims' rights apply after charges have been filed by a U.S. Attorney's office. Some individuals are viewed to not have the capacity to exercise their own rights. Such individuals include victims of crime who are younger than 18 years of age, incompetent, incapacitated, or deceased. In these cases, the legal guardians of the crime victim or the representatives of the crime victim's estate, family members, or any other persons appointed as suitable by the court may assume the crime victims' rights. A person who is a defendant in the crime being investigated or prosecuted cannot act as a proxy for a victim. In the United States, **crime victims' rights** are the eight rights included in the Justice for All Act (2004), Section 3771 of Title 18 of the U.S. Code, Crimes and Criminal Procedure:

1. The right to be reasonably protected from the accused.
2. The right to reasonable, accurate, and timely notice of any public court proceeding, or any parole proceeding, involving the crime or any release or escape of the accused.
3. The right not to be excluded from any such public court proceeding, unless the court, after receiving clear and convincing evidence, determines that testimony by the victim would be materially altered if the victim heard other testimony at the proceeding.
4. The right to be reasonably heard at any public proceeding in the district court involving release, plea, [or] sentencing, or any parole proceeding.
5. The reasonable right to confer with the attorney for the government in the case.
6. The right to full and timely restitution as provided in law.
7. The right to proceedings free from unreasonable delay.
8. The right to be treated with fairness and with respect for the victim's dignity and privacy.

For purposes of these rights and services, victims are defined in specific ways in the federal law (FBI, 2011).

However, not all contemporary notions of the victim have emerged from within the confines of formal law. The term's first use as a scientific concept originated from the work of Benjamin Mendelsohn. In his scientific study of crime victims, Mendelsohn's (1976) concept of victimhood featured four fundamental criteria:

1. *The nature of the determinant that causes the suffering.* The suffering may be physical, psychological, or both, depending on the type of injurious act.
2. *The social character of the suffering.* This suffering originates in the victim's and others' reaction to the event.
3. *The importance of the social factor.* The social implications of the injurious act can have a greater impact, sometimes even more severe than the physical or psychological impact.
4. *The origin of the inferiority complex.* The term *inferiority complex*, suggested by Mendelsohn, manifests itself as a feeling of submission that may be followed by a feeling of revolt. The victim generally attributes his or her injury to the culpability of another person.

Mendelsohn would later become known for his typology of crime victims that focused on the extent to which victims played a role in their own victimization. However, he also acknowledged that human suffering extended beyond the confines of criminal victimization and proposed that victimology should incorporate causal factors of victimization derived from the self, technology, the social environment, and the natural environment, as well as from criminal offences (Mendelsohn, 1976). As such, the term *victim* has been greatly expanded to imply a wide range of circumstances of human suffering and to include victims of deliberate self-harm, victims of accidents, victims of war and political crises, victims of economic and social problems, victims of natural disasters, and victims of identity theft. The following sections briefly discuss victims of crime as well as victims of “noncriminal” harms.

Victims of Personal and Property Crime

Modern distinctions between what constitutes a crime and what does not are usually drawn from legal definitions inscribed in criminal codes. Additionally, victimization surveys provide us with measures of crime defined in particular ways, the legality of which is largely consistent with criminal law. The **National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS)** provides definitions of crimes resulting in victimization for the purposes of data collection and reporting.

This information includes the specific type of crime experienced, the location of the incident, whether the incident was reported to police or other officials, the type and value of the property involved, and the identity and personal characteristics of the victim. Personal crime as defined by the NCVS includes rape or sexual assault, robbery, aggravated or simple assault, and personal larceny. A violent crime includes rape or sexual assault, robbery, and aggravated or simple assault characterized by the “use or threat of force.” Property crime may involve theft or damage of personal property, but does not usually involve the presence of the victim. **TABLE 1-2** provides a summary of crimes resulting in victimization.

TABLE 1-2 Crimes Resulting in Victimization

Type of Crime	Definition
Burglary	The unlawful or forcible entry or attempted entry of a structure with the intent to commit an offense therein. This crime usually, but not always, involves theft. It is a property crime.
Larceny	The theft or attempted theft of property or cash without using force or illegal entry. An alternate label for this crime is <i>theft</i> . It is a property crime.
Personal crime	A criminal act affecting a specific person. Crimes against persons, as defined by NCVS, include rape, sexual assault, robbery, assault, and purse snatching/pocket picking. The victimization is personal either through the direct experience of force or threat of force or by theft directly from one’s person.
Personal larceny	Purse snatching and pocket picking. Personal larceny involves the theft or attempted theft of property or cash directly from the victim by stealth, but without force or threat of force. It is both a property crime and a personal crime.
Property crime	The illegal taking or damaging of property, including cash and personal belongings. Examples include burglary, theft, robbery, vandalism, and arson. In many instances, the offender acts furtively, and the victim is often not present when the crime occurs.
Robbery	The taking of property or cash directly from a person by force or threat of force. Robbery is both a property crime and a violent crime.
Vandalism	The willful or malicious destroying, defacing, or damaging of property without the consent of the owner. It is a property crime.
Violent crime	Rape, sexual assault, robbery, and assault, including both attempted and completed crimes. The defining element is the use of force or threat of force. Violent crimes involve contact between the victim and the offender. The NCVS definition of violent crime excludes murder.

Data from National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) and the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS).

Crime victims do not fit a standard profile. Persons of all ages, races, ethnicities, and socioeconomic backgrounds are subject to criminal victimization of one form or another. However, victimization statistics from the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics (2016) reveal that not all groups have an equal likelihood or probability of becoming a crime victim. Research indicates that young black males, 16 to 24 years of age and living in high-crime, urban areas, are the most likely to fall victim to serious violent crime due in large part to socioeconomic factors such as poverty and lack of adequate housing, education, and/or employment. In sharp contrast, elderly white females who live in low-crime areas and generally do not venture out at night are the least likely to become victimized. Lifestyle, location, and race appear to be the primary predictors of who is most likely to become a victim of crime. However, one of the best predictors of future victimization is past victimization. As with repeat offenders whose criminal activity constitutes a disproportionate amount of all crime, some individuals are involved in a similarly disproportionate amount of all victimization events (see Tseloni & Pease, 2004). This observation has been supported by a growing field of research on repeat victims of violent crime, including victims of sexual abuse, domestic abuse, bullying, assault, and hate crimes, as well as property crimes such as burglary and vandalism (Arata, 2002; Frank, Brantingham, & Farrell, 2012; Tseloni, Knuttson, & Laycock, 2005). A greater appreciation of patterns in victimization may shed light on which factors make these individuals susceptible to **repeat victimization** and may have further implications for crime prevention policy.

Beyond Criminal Victimization: Victims of “Noncriminal” Harms

In heeding Mendelsohn’s suggestion that there are victims outside the domain of crime, our definition of what it means to be a victim expands accordingly. One way in which the term becomes more accommodating is by considering victims who suffer from harmful activities that are not deemed by law to be criminal. It is widely acknowledged among critical criminologists that labeling processes involved in defining what is considered a criminal act cannot be divorced from questions of power and politics. It is not necessarily true that all harmful behaviors are criminalized, nor is it necessarily true that all criminals are pursued with equal intensity by the criminal justice system. Many criminologists and victimologists in the critical and radical traditions have increasingly challenged the stereotypical conception of offenders and victims that narrowly reduce problems of crime to problems associated with traditional “street” crime. For example, in 1939, Sutherland introduced the term *white-collar crime* to bring attention to

crimes committed by persons of high respectability and social status that tended to be ignored by law enforcement and society in general (Sutherland, 1949). Other scholars have followed Sutherland's lead, focusing on corporate and occupational crimes that escape criminal definition and tend to be treated with considerable impunity. It has been argued that even when codified in law some forms of corporate and white-collar crimes tend to be unregulated in practice or are prosecuted through administrative and informal channels. It is common in these cases for victims not to receive justice or compensation.

Indeed, some victimologists believe that our understandings of environmental, economic, social, and other forms of victimization cannot and should not be bound by criminal definition, but should rather be seen in terms of "social harms" (see Hillyard and Tombs, 2007). This perspective is especially important for understanding environmental victimization given the various environmentally harmful practices and activities that are regulated (and facilitated) but not prevented by law (White, 2015). Although a more encompassing notion of victimhood can bring a greater emphasis to the experiences of victims adversely affected by pollution, climate change, and other environmental hazards, challenging issues emerge regarding measurement and evidence of environmental harm, determining culpability for environmental harm, and agreeing on appropriate sanctions while providing redress to victims affected. Further complicating matters is the fact that environmental victims may not be aware that they have been victimized, may suffer from repeat exposure to environmental hazards over a long period of time, may not experience symptoms until long after exposure, and may be unsure about who or what is responsible for their victimization (Skinnider, 2011). Despite these challenges, victimologists are increasingly drawn to these matters as they continue to affect a growing number of people across the world.

Similarly, victimology has been concerned with conceptualizing state actions that violate national or international law while in pursuit of economic and political ends, but do not result in criminal sanction. Although this tradition derives from earlier global concerns regarding genocide, Nazi atrocities, and state-sanctioned apartheid, it has also had a more domestic relevance with regard to "victims of police force, the victims of war, the victims of the correctional system, the victims of state violence, the victims of oppression of any sort" (Quinney, 1972, p. 315). Although radical victimology and the study of state crime has yet to develop into a major subfield of criminological research (Kauzlarich, Matthews, & Miller, 2001), the current context of racialized violence and police shootings in the United States, which is not limited to this historical moment, demands a return to thinking about these forms of victimization.

Trends in Crime and Victimization

Among news reporters, historians, and criminologists who review and interpret these findings, there are predictable reactionary stances, including those of the alarmists, the skeptics, and the realists. Frequently, members of the press tend toward alarmism, singling out and sensationalizing specific violent cases of victimization. Such instances include cases like that of Lorena Bobbit, who in 1993, cut off half of her husband's penis while he lay sleeping; or of Lyle and Erik Menendez, who in 1993, murdered their parents; or the 2006 arrest of three Duke lacrosse players for rape. Some historians fall into the skeptic category, where a 5- or 20-year period of cyclical decline in most crime categories is viewed as temporary because history sometimes repeats itself. The realists are many of the academic scholars and criminologists who can examine a 10- or 25-year trend analysis and with reasonable certainty predict that 10, 20, or 25 years of overall declines in crime rates are not necessarily temporary, but coincide with a number of underlying, though complex, factors that remain a subject of debate (see Zimring, 2007). Their goals include understanding why crime rates fluctuate and determining which root causes may explain why people commit crime.

Crime in the United States is a significant criminal justice and public health problem, and the serious nature of homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, domestic violence, burglary, larceny/theft, carjacking, and motor vehicle theft impact millions of victims and their families each year. Repeated depictions of violent crime in the news and television dramas can give the impression that American society is more violent today than ever before and that violence is increasing. The facts are, however, much more complex, and simple generalizations can be misleading (Reiss & Roth, 1993).

Crime data collected by national surveys can help us construct a partial picture of crime and victimization longitudinally, allowing us to make sense of crime trends in a historical context. Generally, data on crime rates show a sharp rise in crime after 1963 until the early 1990s. A snapshot of violent crime trends reported by the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) Program for the year 1991, during which violent crime peaked, shows higher rates of violent crime during the summer months and in western states. Aggravated assault accounted for 57% of all reported violent crimes, followed by robberies (36%) and forcible rapes (6%). The number of violent crimes exceeded 1.9 million offenses (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1992). According to NCVS data, in 1991, violent victimization was highest among males, persons aged 20 to 24 years, persons identified as Black, and persons earning less than \$7,500 annually. In addition, those residing in a

central city were more likely than those residing in either a suburban or nonmetropolitan area to be victims of violent crime (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1993).

In the mid-1990s, overall rates of crime began to steadily decline. Rates of violent crime (i.e., crimes involving force or threat of force) are generally consistent with this trend. According to NCVS data, from 1993 to 2015, violent crime dropped from 79.8 to 18.6 violent victimizations per 1,000 persons over the age of 11. Nonfatal firearm violence also declined, falling from 7.3 victimizations per 1,000 persons in 1993 to 1.1 in 2015. Furthermore, the rate of property crime declined from 351.8 to 110.7 per 1,000 persons, with the decline in theft accounting for the majority of the overall fall in property crime (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2016).

In 2015, the most common type of violent crime recorded by the NCVS was simple assault, accounting for approximately 64% of all violent crimes, followed by aggravated assault (16%), robbery (11%), and rape/sexual assault (9%). In contrast to the previous year, females were more likely than males to be a victim of violent crime. Individuals were more likely to be victimized if they were between the ages of 12 and 17, followed by those aged 18 to 24. Those identifying as Black or Other (e.g., Aboriginal, Asian, and Biracial), as separated or divorced, or as having a household annual income of less than \$9,999 showed an elevated risk for violent victimization. When looking only at *serious* violent crime (rape or sexual assault, robbery, and aggravated assault), all the above-mentioned sociodemographic factors remain relevant risk factors, but those between the ages of 18 and 24 are the most at-risk demographic for serious violent victimization (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2016).

With regard to geography, victims residing in urban areas have been at the highest risk for both violent and property crime, while those living in rural areas have been at the lowest risk. This holds true for years 1996, 2005, and 2015. Regional rates of violent and property crimes have fluctuated over the years, but western states consistently show the highest rates of crime across all three reference years. **TABLE 1-3** provides data on violent crime and property crime by household location and region for the years 1996, 2005, and 2015.

The main source for murder rates in the United States is the FBI's UCR. In 2014, the murder rate hit a 51-year low at 4.5 murders per 100,000 inhabitants. In 2015, the murder rate increased slightly to 5 murders per 100,000 inhabitants, levels comparable to 2009. **TABLE 1-4** shows the steady decline in rates of murder and nonnegligent manslaughter from 1995 to 2014.

Although the overall murder rate has shown a general decline over the last few decades, the National Center for Victims of Crime (2015) reported that active shooter events, mass murders, and active shooter cases have increased over recent years.

TABLE 1-3 Rate of Violent Victimization by Household Location and Region Based per 1,000 (National Crime Victimization Survey), 1996, 2005, and 2015

Location of Residence	Violent Crime			Property Crime		
	1996	2005	2015	1996	2005	2015
Urban	78.9	37.2	22.7	361.3	202.5	135.4
Suburban	61.1	25.6	17.3	266.3	146.8	98.4
Rural	53.2	22.4	14.0	232.9	126.2	95.7
<i>Region*</i>						
Northeast	52.9	25.9	17.1	234.8	113.3	81.6
Midwest	66.3	34.6	19.6	266.7	165.9	105.0
South	57.9	23.4	16.9	286.8	148.8	107.6
West	85.1	32.0	21.3	371.9	209.3	144.7

*Midwest includes the 12 states of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. Northeast includes the nine states of Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont. South includes the District of Columbia and the 16 states of Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. West includes the 13 states of Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

Calculated from Bureau of Justice Statistics, Criminal Victimization, by Location of Residence and Region, 1993–2015.

Crime in Canada shows similar historical trends. According to Statistics Canada (2015), violent victimization rates for 2014 (76 per 1,000 persons aged 15 years and older) were 28% lower than those for 2004, with robbery declining by 39% and physical assault by 35%. However, sexual assault victimization rates have remained relatively stable since 1999. In terms of household victimization (which includes break-ins, motor vehicle theft, vandalism, and theft of household property), the 2014 rate of 143 incidents per 1,000 households was 42% lower than the rate in 2004. Key risk factors for violent crime included age, drug use and alcohol consumption, mental health problems, history of homelessness and/or child maltreatment, and residence in a neighborhood with low social cohesion (Statistics Canada, 2015).

TABLE 1-5 provides data on violent and property (household) victimization rates per 1,000 persons aged 15 years and older in Canada by type of offence for the years of 1999, 2004, 2009, and 2014.

TABLE 1-4 Murder Rates in the United States (Uniform Crime Reports) from 1995 to 2014

Rate: Number of Crimes per 100,000 Inhabitants						
by Population Group, 2015						
Population group	Violent crime		Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter		Number of agencies	2015 estimated population
	Number of offenses known	Rate	Number of offenses known	Rate		
TOTAL ALL AGENCIES:	1,154,081	385.9	14,856	5.0	15,010	299,091,598
TOTAL CITIES	922,794	454.1	11,571	5.7	10,645	203,209,630
GROUP I (250,000 and over)	436,315	734.2	5,990	10.1	79	59,428,247
1,000,000 and over (Group I subset)	188,291	687.1	2,231	8.1	11	27,404,679
500,000 to 999,999 (Group I subset)	138,863	836.0	2,081	12.5	23	16,609,970
250,000 to 499,999 (Group I subset)	109,161	708.2	1,678	10.9	45	15,413,598
GROUP II (100,000 to 249,999)	147,363	471.0	1,934	6.2	210	31,285,733
GROUP III (50,000 to 99,999)	111,334	337.9	1,231	3.7	474	32,952,951
GROUP IV (25,000 to 49,999)	85,566	293.8	980	3.4	841	29,124,007
GROUP V (10,000 to 24,999)	75,676	269.8	820	2.9	1,752	28,049,861
GROUP VI (under 10,000)	66,540	297.5	616	2.8	7,289	22,368,831
METROPOLITAN COUNTIES	185,490	258.4	2,424	3.4	1,954	71,792,662
NONMETROPOLITAN COUNTIES ¹	45,797	190.1	861	3.6	2,411	24,089,306
SUBURBAN AREA ²	323,651	249.2	3,822	2.9	8,263	129,863,798

Data from Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). 2015. Number of Crimes per 100,000 inhabitants.

¹ Includes state police agencies that report aggregately for the entire state.

² Suburban areas include law enforcement agencies in cities with less than 50,000 inhabitants and county law enforcement agencies that are within a Metropolitan Statistical Area. Suburban areas exclude all metropolitan agencies associated with a principal city. The agencies associated with suburban areas also appear in other groups within this table.

TABLE 1-5 Victimization Rates per 1,000 Persons Aged 15 Years and Older in Canada by Type of Offense (General Social Survey), 1999, 2004, 2009, and 2014

	1999	2004	2009	2014
<i>Total violent victimization</i>	111	106	118	76
Sexual assault	21	21	24	22
Robbery	9	11	13	6
Physical assault	80	75	80	48
<i>Total household victimization</i>	218	248	237	143
Break and enter	48	39	47	31
Motor vehicle/parts theft	41	44	34	18
Theft of household property	62	88	83	54
Vandalism	66	77	74	40

Data from Statistics Canada (2015). Table 1: Victimization incidents reported by Canadians, by type of Offense, 1999, 2004, 2009, and 2014.

Costs and Consequences of Crime

Many government agencies and independent organizations have been tasked with measuring crime rates and providing estimates of the costs of crime. While acknowledging that many of these agencies and organizations use distinct crime-costing methods, which inevitably leads to variation in cost estimations, it can be informative to go beyond the simplicity of crime rates by assessing the impact of crime in economic terms. A two-year multidisciplinary research effort, funded by the National Institute of Justice and published in 1996, estimated the costs and consequences of personal crime for Americans (Miller, Cohen, & Wiersema, 1996). The report estimated annual direct tangible costs to crime victims of \$105 billion in medical expenses, lost earnings, and public programs related to victim assistance. Pain, suffering, and reduced quality of life increased the cost to \$450 billion annually (Miller et al., 1996). Anderson (1999) estimated the total annual cost of criminal behavior in the United States, arguing that past research typically focused on particular costs, regions, or crime categories. Anderson estimated the direct

and indirect costs that extend over the expenses of the legal system to consider ancillary costs that had not yet been included into an overall formula for the cost of crime. These costs included victims', criminals', and prisoners' time; the fear of being victimized; and the cost of private deterrence. Anderson estimated the net annual burden of crime to exceed \$1 trillion. According to a systematic review of crime costs by Wickramasekera, Wright, Elsey, Murray, and Tubeuf (2015), the total costs of crime in the United States ranged from \$450 billion to \$3.2 trillion.

Canada has approximately one-tenth the population of the United States (Statistics Canada, 2016) and significantly lower levels of crime and victimization per capita. Zhang (2008) estimated that the total (tangible) social and economic costs of *Criminal Code* offenses in Canada were approximately \$31.4 billion annually. This amounted to a per capita cost of \$943 per year. However, Zhang pointed out that this was likely to be a conservative estimate due to the unavailability of data in many areas. Despite best efforts to account for all the financial impacts of crime, only a partial picture of the true range of costs is ever available. The costs identified are borne by the criminal justice system, victims of crimes, and third parties in general (Zhang, 2008). For instance, it is estimated that the Canadian criminal justice system cost \$15 billion in 2008. This includes policing, courts, prosecution, legal aid, correctional services, and mental health review boards. Individual victims, however, paid an estimated \$14.3 billion for crimes committed against them that same year. Their costs included medical attention, hospitalizations, lost wages, missed school days, and stolen/damaged property. Of the total costs, 47.0% represented lost wages and productivity and 42.9% lost or stolen property (Zhang, 2008). Indirect victims also bear costs due to grieving the loss of a loved one or caring for a victim. When all costs were taken into account, Zhang (2008) estimated total costs of crime for a 1-year period in Canada to be \$99.6 billion. A more recent study by Easton, Furness, and Brantingham (2014) estimated the overall costs of crime to be \$85.2 billion, the majority of which (\$47 billion) was borne by victims directly. Victim costs included the value of damaged or stolen property, pain and suffering, loss of income and productivity, and health services. The authors note that although the crime rate in Canada has fallen over the years, the cost of crime has risen due to increased criminal justice system expenditures such as police, courts, and correctional services, which comprise \$19.3 billion of the estimated total cost of crime. The remaining costs include those associated with private security, crime prevention services, and productivity and business losses.

A breakdown of the costs of crime can be organized into four main categories: health-related costs, direct financial costs, intangible costs, and criminal justice costs. Each category is detailed below.

Health-Related Costs

Tangible losses consisting of direct costs for damages and injuries as a result of victimization include medical and mental health expenses. Physical means of violence to a victim include a person's body (hands, fists, feet), instruments such as firearms and knives, flammable liquids and explosives, poisons, and animals (such as attack dogs); all of these can produce serious injuries.

Physical injury can range from minor harm, such as bruises and lacerations, to serious harm, such as broken bones and need for hospitalization, to lethal injury and death. Some violent crimes leave no visible sign of physical injury. This is true in some rape cases where there are no general body injuries or pelvic or genital injuries. Wallace and Roberson (2011) list four general classifications of physical injuries to victims.

First, *immediate injuries* include cuts, contusions, and/or broken bones that generally heal fairly quickly and are not viewed as serious by the victim. Immediate injuries can take longer to heal in persons who are elderly, have existing disabilities, are taking certain medications, or have an immune disorder. In a Nevada case, a 23-year-old man was hit over the head and robbed of his wallet by four men in a restaurant parking lot. At the hospital emergency room the physician stitching the victim's head remarked that the patient was lucky—that the last man who was attacked in that parking lot did not survive. The victim filed a civil lawsuit, the case went to trial, and the victim received a jury verdict of \$200,000. The restaurant was on notice that its parking lot was not secure, as there was no security surveillance system or security officers patrolling the lot.

Second, *some injuries leave visible scars*, such as facial scarring, loss of teeth or fingers, or loss of mobility. Victims who have been shot will have permanent scars that remind them daily of the crime. Child abuse victims or victims of domestic violence may have lasting scars from physical beatings. In a Florida case, a young woman was exiting her car at her apartment complex when she was forced at gunpoint back into the passenger side of the car and carjacked. After being forced to withdraw money from an ATM, the victim was ordered out of the car and instructed to keep on walking and not to look back. Despite her following instructions she was shot three times in the back. She managed to crawl to a porch and call for help. The three men were found and prosecuted. The victim won a jury award of \$1.3 million. Scars from the shootings have continued to remind the victim of her ordeal.

Third, *unknown long-term physical injuries* can cause a change in life activities. Rape victims, for example, may be exposed to a permanent sexually transmitted disease such as herpes virus or HIV/AIDS. In Pennsylvania, a student was working in a convenience store when a man forced her into a back room at gunpoint and raped her orally. Later she developed gonorrhea of the throat and experienced permanent voice changes due to scarring of her vocal cords.

Fourth, *long-term catastrophic injuries* can restrict a victim's mobility. In a Colorado rape case, the perpetrator intentionally broke a victim's neck, resulting in a paraplegic outcome. These severe injuries result in great stress on victims' families, who also need to alter their lifestyle to care for their loved ones. Such injuries may also reduce the victim's life span and alter quality of life.

The use of weapons, namely guns and knives, in incidents of interpersonal violence is considered an insidious public health danger. This violence causes strain to its victims, their families, community members, healthcare practitioners, and law enforcement officials. Gunshot wounds, sometimes called *ballistic trauma*, refer to the physical trauma caused by the discharge of a gun during a conflict. In terms of public health, it is estimated that over 500,000 injuries are sustained annually from the use of firearms. In terms of economic cost, estimates are that the expenditures of shootings and stabbings in the United States are greater than \$20 billion each year. In the state of Massachusetts alone, expenditures related to stabbings and shootings are estimated to be greater than \$18 million each year and do not account for the emotional impact of these events on victims and their families (Hume, McKenna, & McKeown, 2007).

Although insurance may cover partial or full restitution for such costs, victims can still be required to pay insurance deductibles and face higher premiums when renewing their insurance ("Statistics: Costs of Crime," 2002). Complications from injuries can cause functional, cognitive, and emotional disability as well as the presence of significant comorbid conditions and potential death.

Additionally, where physical manifestations of harm are absent, victims of violent crimes may show signs of significant psychological and emotional trauma endured during and after their victimization. Consequences of violence may be delayed or cumulative, and stress induced by violent acts, especially when repeated within a partner relationship, may culminate in severe emotional trauma or physical illness. Although these psychological consequences are difficult to measure in financial terms, they may manifest in more tangible costs associated with postvictimization counseling and rehabilitation, medication used to cope with resultant psychological trauma, as well as reduced productivity or lost days at work.

Direct Financial Costs

Financial costs for crime victims are staggering. In 2007, for crimes both reported and not reported in the United States, the total economic loss to victims was \$2 billion for violent crime and \$16 billion for property crime (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2008). Tangible economic costs include stolen or damaged property; loss of productivity in terms of wages and salary; and days lost from school, work, and other activities. An impaired capacity to work, to continue in school, or to maintain one's quality of life are less often recognized, but consequential, costs of violent victimization. In 2000, 36% of rape and sexual assault victims lost more than 10 days of work after their victimization, and property crimes cost victims more than \$11.8 billion (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2002). State compensation programs paid crime victims and their families \$370 million in benefits in the federal fiscal year 2001, which represents an increase of \$52 million from 2000 and an increase of \$120 million from 1998 (National Association of Crime Victim Compensation Boards [NACVCB], 2002). Vandalism costs totaled \$1.7 billion in damages to U.S. households in 2000 (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2000). Today, victim compensation funds provide nearly \$500 million to victims and survivors (NACVCB, 2016). According to the Office for Victims of Crime (2013), the largest sum paid out was to victims of assault (\$230 million), followed by homicide (\$59 billion), child abuse (\$28.4 billion), robbery (\$19.6 billion), and sexual assault (\$16 billion).

Intangible Costs

Intangible costs usually impact victims in a way that is difficult to measure, at least in a financial sense. However, they are arguably the most significant consequences of crime because they can impede healthy functioning and restrict the ability to carry out the normal functions in one's daily life. These costs include fear of crime, psychological distress, decreased quality of life, suffering, and stigma. In a study on the fear of crime in a sample of college students by Fox, Nobles, and Piquero (2009), it was found that particular types of prior victimization increased fear of crime, especially among females. They also noted that daytime fear was associated with stalking, sexual assault, and theft, whereas nighttime fear was only associated with sexual assault. With regard to psychological distress, victims can exhibit symptoms of a variety of different mental health issues as a result of the trauma experienced during and after their victimization. These may include posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), major depressive episode, agoraphobia, obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD), and other social phobias (Boudreaux, Kilpatrick, Resnick, Best, & Saunders,

1998). Furthermore, young children have been found to be especially vulnerable to mental health problems later in life as a result of victimization (Turner, Finkelhor, & Ormrod, 2006). In terms of overall well-being, Hanson, Sawyer, Begle, and Hubel (2010) found that victimization can indirectly influence life satisfaction by affecting parenting skills, occupational functioning, employment, and intimate relationships. And finally, victimization, particularly events related to child abuse, domestic abuse, and sexual assault, may lead to feelings of shame, self-blame, guilt, and/or self-imposed stigma (Ulman, Townsend, Filipas, & Starzynski, 2007). These resultant feelings are particularly troubling consequences not only for their substantial psychological impact, but also because they can serve as a barrier for reporting victimization events to police (see Sable, Danis, Mauzy, & Gallagher, 2006).

Criminal Justice Costs

Additional costs to society arise from the discretionary collective response to violent victimization. Law enforcement, adjudication, victim services, and correctional expenditures add thousands of dollars of cost to each criminal event. Although these costs may not be incurred by victims directly, they constitute a significant proportion of expenditures by the state that are financed by the collection of taxes. Additionally, the criminal justice system may impose additional costs on victims beyond those experienced from the criminal incident. The concept of **double victimization** suggests that victims can be revictimized by the criminal justice system in the form of time lost in interviews and completing paperwork, waiting in corridors for hearings and trials, and delays and postponements of the case. This is especially pertinent for victims of sexual assault or abuse who harbor feelings of guilt or shame that may be exacerbated during processes of justice. Several examples include when victims are required to recite the details of their victimization in front of a jury or law enforcement individuals who may doubt their accounts or when victims must come face to face with the accused.

■ Conclusion

The definition of *victim* dates back to early religious practice and sacrifices. Although victimology emerged as a branch of criminology, the tradition has evolved to become a discipline in its own right. As a corrective to the distortions of victimhood by mass media and culture, victimology vis-à-vis the study of victimization statistics can provide a more accurate picture of the “crime”

problem. Most notable is that victimization rates, including violent victimization, property victimization, and murder, have generally been decreasing since the mid-1990s. Despite these declines, the costs of victimization remain significant, including the various costs to victims and their families, as well as costs to society through the criminal justice system. The dynamics of victimization provide important information about the impact to the victim, and victimology is a critical component of investigating violent crime. However, the need exists to understand the experiences of victims who do not fall within the traditional sphere of *criminal* victimization.

■ Key Terms

Cold case: A criminal investigation that has not been solved for (generally) at least 1 year and, as a result, has been closed from further regular investigations.

Crime victim: A person who has been directly and proximately harmed (physically, emotionally, or financially) as a result of the commission of an offense.

Crime victims' rights: Eight rights included in Section 3771 of Title 18 of the U.S. Code, Crimes and Criminal Procedure.

Criminology: The study of the etiology of crime and the characteristics of the criminal.

Double (or secondary) victimization: The retraumatization of the victim or experience of other adverse consequences as a result of the justice process.

National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS): A series of surveys, previously called the National Crime Survey, that has collected data on personal and household victimization since 1973.

Repeat victimization: Repeated criminal offences committed against a victim who has experienced prior victimization.

Victimology: The study of the victim from a social-structural way of viewing crime and the law and the criminal and the victim.

■ Discussion Questions

1. Compare and contrast victimology and criminology.
2. How do you think the JonBenét Ramsey murder will be solved?
3. Are Amanda Knox and Raffaele Sollecito victims of the justice system?
4. How important was DNA evidence in the Meredith Kercher murder case?

5. Why might there be a disconnect between public and media perceptions of victimization and statistics that suggest crime has declined?
6. Can “noncriminal” forms of victimization or harms that are not currently defined by the criminal code be adequately addressed through criminal law?
7. What are the implications of repeat victimization? How can this phenomenon be helpful in understanding vulnerability and the social determinants of victimization?
8. Is thinking about victimization in terms of financial costs to victims and society helpful? Why is there a desire to think of victimization in terms of costs?

■ Resources

American Statistical Association Committee on Law and Justice Statistics <http://ww2.amstat.org/committees/commdetails.cfm?txtComm=CCNARS04>

Bureau of Justice Statistics <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/>

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention Division of Violence Prevention <http://www.cdc.gov/ncipc/dvp/dvp.htm>

Crimes Against Children Research Center <http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/>

National Center for Juvenile Justice <http://www.ncjj.org>

National Institute of Justice’s Data Resources Program <http://www.nij.gov/funding/data-resources-program/welcome.htm>

Office for Victims of Crime <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/ovc/>

Office of Justice Programs: Violence Against Women and Family Violence Program <http://www.nij.gov/topics/crime/violence-against-women/welcome.htm>

WISQARS™ (Web-based Injury Statistics Query and Reporting System) <https://www.cdc.gov/injury/wisqars/index.html>

■ References

- Anderson, D. (1999). The aggregate burden of crime. *The Journal of Law and Economics*, 42(2), 611–642.
- Arata, C. (2002). Child sexual abuse and sexual revictimization. *Clinical Psychology*, 9(2), 135–164.
- Boudreaux, E., Kilpatrick, D., Resnick, H., Best, C., & Saunders, B. (1998). Criminal victimization, posttraumatic stress disorder, and comorbid psychopathology among a community sample of women. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 11(4), 665–678.

- Bureau of Justice Statistics. (1992). *Crime in the United States, 1991*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice. Retrieved from <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/Digitization/138839NCJRS.pdf>
- Bureau of Justice Statistics. (1993). *A National Crime Victimization Survey report: Criminal victimization 1991*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice. Retrieved from <http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv91.pdf>
- Bureau of Justice Statistics. (2000). *Crime and the nation's households, 2000*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice.
- Bureau of Justice Statistics. (2002). *National crime victimization survey: Personal and property crimes, 2000*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice.
- Bureau of Justice Statistics. (2008). *Criminal victimization in the United States, 2008*. Retrieved from <http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv08.pdf>
- Bureau of Justice Statistics. (2016). *Violent victimization, 1993–2015*. Retrieved from <https://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=dcdetail&iid=245>
- Carter, B. (2017, July 22). What happened to Amanda Knox—what she's up to now? *The Gazette*. Retrieved from <http://gazettereview.com/2017/04/happened-amanda-knox-news-updates/>
- DeFlem, M. (2006). *Sociological theory and criminological research: Views from Europe and the United States*. New York: Elsevier/JAI Press.
- Donadio, R., & Povoledo, E. (2011, October 4). As Amanda Knox heads home, the debate is just getting started. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/05/world/europe/amanda-knox-freed-after-appeal-in-italian-court.html>
- Easton, S., Furness, H., & Brantingham, P. (2014). *Cost of crime in Canada: 2014 report*. Fraser Institute. Retrieved from <https://www.fraserinstitute.org/sites/default/files/cost-of-crime-in-canada.pdf>
- Fattah, E. (2000). Victimology, past, present, and future. *Criminologie*, 33(1), 17–46.
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). (2011). Victim rights. Retrieved from http://www.fbi.gov/stats-services/victim_assistance/victim_rights
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). (2015). Number of crimes per 100,000 inhabitants. Retrieved from <https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2015/crime-in-the-u.s.-2015/tables/table-16>
- Fletcher, G. P. (1990). *A crime of self-defense: Bernhard Goetz and the law on trial*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Fox, K., Nobles, M., & Piquero, A. (2009). Gender, crime victimization and fear of crime. *Security Journal*, 22(1), 24–39.
- Frank, R., Brantingham, P., & Farrell, G. (2012). Estimate the true rate of repeat victimization from police recorded crime data: A study of burglary in metro Vancouver. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 54(4), 481–494.
- Garland, D. (2001). *The culture of control: Crime and social order in contemporary society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hanson, R., Sawyer, G., Begle, A., & Hubel, G. (2010). The impact of crime victimization on quality of life. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 23(2), 189–197.

- Hastings, R. (2008). *Achieving crime prevention: Reducing crime and increasing security in an inclusive Canada*. Ottawa: Institute for the Prevention of Crime. Retrieved from <http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/lbrr/archives/cnmcs-plcng/cn35297-eng.pdf>
- Hillyard, P., & Tombs, S. (2007). From “crime” to social harm? *Crime, Law, and Social Change*, 48(1–2), 9–25.
- Hume, B., McKenna, M., & McKeown, L. (2007). *Injuries to Massachusetts residents 2004*. Boston: Department of Public Health.
- Justice for All Act. (2004). Office of Victims of Crime, Department of Justice, Washington, DC.
- Kauzlarich, D., Matthews, R., & Miller, W. (2001). Toward a victimology of state crime. *Critical Criminology*, 10(3), 173–194.
- Martinez, E. (2010, August 3). Hartford Distributors shooting: Angry employee allegedly kills multiple people. CBS News. Retrieved from http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-504083_162-20012503-504083.html
- Mendelsohn, B. (1976). Pioneers in victimology. *Victimology: An International Journal*, 1(2), 189–228.
- Miller, T. R., Cohen, M. A., & Wiersema, B. (1996). *Victim costs and consequences: A new look*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.
- Merriam-Webster Dictionary*. (2016). Criminology. Retrieved from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/concise/criminology>
- National Association of Crime Victim Compensation Boards (NACVCB). (2002). Compensation at record highs. *Victim Compensation Quarterly*, 3.
- National Association of Crime Victim Compensation Boards (NACVCB). (2016). Crime victim compensation: An overview. Retrieved from <http://www.nacvcb.org/index.asp?bid=14>
- National Center for Victims of Crime. (2015). Crime trends. Retrieved from http://victimsofcrime.org/docs/default-source/ncvrw2015/2015ncvrw_stats_crime_trends.pdf?sfvrsn=2
- Office for Victims of Crime. (2013). *Crime victims fund*. Washington, DC: Office for Victims of Crime, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice.
- Quinney, R. (1972). Who is the Victim? *Criminology*, 10(3), 314–323.
- Reiss, A. J., & Roth, J. A. (1993). *Understanding and preventing violence*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Sable, M., Danis, F., Mauzy, D., & Gallagher, S. (2010). Barriers to reporting sexual assault for women and men: Perspectives of college students. *Journal of American College Health*, 55(3), 157–162.
- Skinninger, E. (2011). *Victims of environmental crime: Mapping the issues*. Vancouver: International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy.
- Sparks, R. (1990). Dramatic power: Television, images of crime and law enforcement. In C. Sumner (Ed.), *Censure, politics, and criminal justice*. Philadelphia: Open University Press, Milton Keynes.
- “Statistics: Costs of Crime.” (2002). *Encyclopedia of crime and justice*. Retrieved from <http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-3403000253.html>