VICTIMOLOGY
A Comprehensive Approach

Leah E. Daigle | Lisa R. Muftić

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Second Edition

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PREFACE

Although offender behavior and the impact of crime have long been studied, how victimization shapes the lives of victims was not similarly studied until recently. Now, policymakers, practitioners, academics, and activists alike have recognized the importance of studying the other half of the crime–victim dyad. Indeed, it is an exciting time to study victimology—an academic field that is growing rapidly. Hence, this text fills a void in what is currently available in the market. As noted in the following, it is a text that includes brief chapters covering the essentials on victimology. Moreover, it uses a consistent framework throughout to orient the reader while addressing the latest topics within the field of victimology.

We have attempted to incorporate a general framework in each chapter—one that examines the causes and consequences of specific types of victimization and the responses to them. Our intent was to create a comprehensive yet accessible work that examines many types of victimization from a common framework so that similarities and differences can be easily identified.

Within this framework, we pay particular attention to identifying the characteristics of victims and incidents so that theory can be applied to understanding why some people are victims while others remain unscathed. Although the earliest forays into the study of victimology were focused on identifying victim typologies, theory development in this field has lagged behind that in criminology. Aside from routine activities and lifestyles theory, there are few theories that explicitly identify causes of victimization. This is not to say that the field of victimology is devoid of theory—it is just that the theories that have been applied to victimization are largely derived from other fields of study. We have included a chapter that discusses these theories. Furthermore, in each chapter about a specific type of victimization, we have identified the causes and how theory may apply. Knowing this is a critical first step in preventing victimization and revictimization.

We also wanted to include throughout the text emerging issues in the field of victimology. To this end, each chapter discusses current issues germane to its particular topic and the latest research. For example, same-sex intimate partner violence is covered in depth, as are cyberbullying, identity theft victimization, and human trafficking. Other chapters wholly address contemporary issues. Specifically, there is a chapter devoted to the victim–offender overlap, one to recurring victimization, one to victims of homicide, and one to victims who suffer from mental illness, victims who are incarcerated, and victims who have disabilities. We believe that the inclusion of the latest issues within the field of victimology will expose the reader to the topics likely to garner the most attention in the years to come. Throughout the text we include relevant information on victimology around the world. Doing so allows the reader to be exposed to how victimization is defined and measured in different countries and how victims are treated in countries beyond the United States.

This text covers these topics while highlighting empirical research that ties into an issue from each chapter. In addition, each chapter uses a "real-world" news example to connect

issues in victimology to current events. Finally, international issues are discussed within each chapter. As such, the book is appropriate for undergraduate students as a primary text and for graduate students as a supplement/resource or as a primary text. Its comprehensive nature will allow the instructor to focus on the issues that are most relevant to him or her and to his or her students. The book is appropriate for classes within criminal justice and criminology programs (e.g., victimology, crime victims, gender and crime) but is also relevant for women's studies, social work, psychology, and sociology courses.

The book contains 13 chapters that were selected because they address the topics typically covered in victimology courses and emerging topics. These chapters include the following:

Chapter 1. Introduction to Victimology

Chapter 2. Extent, Theories, and Factors of Victimization

Chapter 3. The Victim–Offender Overlap

Chapter 4. Consequences of Victimization

Chapter 5. Recurring Victimization

Chapter 6. Victims' Rights and Remedies

Chapter 7. Homicide Victimization

Chapter 8. Sexual Victimization

Chapter 9. Intimate Partner Violence

Chapter 10. Victimization at the Beginning and End of Life: Child and Elder Abuse

Chapter 11. Victimization of Special Populations

Chapter 12. Victimization at School and Work

Chapter 13. Contemporary Issues in Victimology: Victims of Hate Crimes, Human Trafficking, Terrorism, and Identity Theft

The text also includes a range of features to aid both professors and students:

- Each chapter is summarized in bullet points.
- Discussion questions are included at the end of each chapter.
- A list of key terms is included at the end of each chapter.
- Internet resources relevant for each chapter are provided.
- Each chapter includes graphics pertinent to the topic presented.
- The book has a glossary of key terms.

NEW TO THIS EDITION

In this edition, we have updated all statistics to the most recently available. In addition, we have added a section on trauma to the chapter on consequences to better situate victimization as a form of trauma. Furthermore, we have streamlined the text by removing

the chapter on comparative victimology and property and identity theft, while moving the section on identity theft to the chapter on contemporary issues and incorporating material from the comparative victimology chapter throughout the text. For each chapter on specific types of victimization, we also now include a separate section on prevention.

Bullying as a type of victimization and its link to offending has been added to Chapter 3. New to Chapter 6 is information on victim impact panels. An expanded discussion of restorative justice efforts pertaining to homicide, as well as homicides involving LGBQT persons have been added to Chapter 7. Chapter 8 now includes information on the AAU Campus Climate Survey on Sexual Assault and Sexual Misconduct. Also in that chapter, disclosure and tonic mobility are discussed. Sections on sexual victimization of LGBQT persons and how social media and the Internet shape sexual victimization have been introduced. Chapter 9 now has information on neighborhood context of intimate partner violence, court watch systems, victimization of LGBQT persons, and trauma-informed care. Prevention of both child abuse and elder abuse is more thoroughly discussed in Chapter 10, while prevention of victimization as it relates to special populations and contemporary issues is covered in Chapters 11 and 13. Finally, victims of state negligence and violence are presented in Chapter 13.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to thank the editorial and production staff at SAGE Publications for their assistance. Jessica Miller has provided valuable assistance throughout this project. Rebecca Lee, Jessica's editorial assistant, provided valuable assistance throughout this project. Thanks also to Terri Lee Paulsen for her copyediting work and to Jillian Ragusa for her work marketing the book.

We owe a great debt to a number of students at our respective universities who assisted us in various ways in preparing this text, including Davis Smith and Chrystina Hoffman at Georgia State University and Alex Updegrove at Sam Houston State University.

FROM LEAH DAIGLE

It has been my pleasure to work with Lisa Muftić on this project as a coauthor. She is not only a great collaborator but also a great friend. I miss you at work, but I will take writing together as a small consolation!

Leah E. Daigle
Georgia State University

FROM LISA MUFTIĆ

I am indebted to my coauthor and friend, Leah Daigle, who presented me with this wonderful opportunity so long ago—writing together is *almost* as good as working together!

Lisa R. Muftić
Western New England University

SAGE Publications and the authors gratefully acknowledge the following reviewers.

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Dr. Joseph A-Gyamfi, The University of Texas–Pan American

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Julie Hibdon, Southern Illinois University

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Lisa R. Muftić is a professor and chair in the Department of Criminal Justice and Sociology at Western New England University. She received her PhD in criminal justice from North Dakota State University in 2006. For the 2012–2013 academic year, she was appointed the U.S. Fulbright Scholar to Bosnia and Herzegovina, where she was a visiting faculty member with the Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences, Criminology and Security Studies at the University of Sarajevo. Dr. Muftić has extensive experience in the areas of violence against women, human trafficking, and international criminal justice issues, with special expertise regarding the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 2015 she was named the Faculty Researcher of the Year by the American Society of Criminology Division of Victimology. Her published scholarship has appeared in well-respected refereed journals including *Justice Quarterly, Crime & Delinquency, Journal of Research in Crime & Delinquency, Violence Against Women,* and *Journal of Interpersonal Violence.*

1 INTRODUCTION TO VICTIMOLOGY

WHAT IS VICTIMOLOGY?

The term *victimology* is not new. In fact, Benjamin Mendelsohn first used it in 1947 to describe the scientific study of crime victims. Victimology is often considered a subfield of criminology, and the two fields do share much in common. Just as criminology is the study of criminals—what they do, why they do it, and how the criminal justice system responds to them—victimology is the study of victims. **Victimology**, then, is the study of the etiology (or causes) of victimization, its consequences, how the criminal justice system accommodates and assists victims, and how other elements of society, such as the media, deal with crime victims. Victimology is a science; victimologists use the scientific method to answer questions about victims. For example, instead of simply wondering or hypothesizing why younger people are more likely to be victims than are older people, victimologists conduct research to attempt to identify the reasons why younger people seem more vulnerable.

THE HISTORY OF VICTIMOLOGY: BEFORE THE VICTIMS' RIGHTS MOVEMENT

As previously mentioned, the term victimology was coined in the mid-1900s. Crime was, of course, occurring prior to this time; thus, people were being victimized long before the scientific study of crime victims began. Even though they were not scientifically studied, victims were recognized as being harmed by crime, and their role in the criminal justice process has evolved over time.

Before and throughout the Middle Ages (about the 5th through the 16th century), the burden of the justice system, informal as it was, fell on the victim. When a person or property was harmed, it was up to the victim and the victim's family to seek justice. This was typically achieved via retaliation. The justice system operated under the principle of **lex talionis**, an eye for an eye. A criminal would be punished because he or she deserved it, and the punishment would be equal to the harm caused. Punishment based on these notions is consistent with **retribution**. During this period, a crime was considered a harm against the victim, not the state. The concepts of restitution and retribution governed action against criminals. Criminals were expected to pay back the victim through **restitution**; a criminal

who stole a person's cow likely would have to compensate the owner (the victim) by returning the stolen cow and also giving him or her another one.

Early criminal codes incorporated these principles. The **Code of Hammurabi** was the basis for order and certainty in Babylon. In the code, restoration of equity between the offender and victim was stressed. Notice that the early response to crime centered on the victim, not the state. This focus on the victim continued until the Industrial Revolution, when criminal law shifted to considering crimes as violations against the state rather than the victim. Once the victim ceased to be seen as the entity harmed by the crime, the victim became secondary. Although this shift most certainly benefited the state—by allowing it to collect fines and monies from these newly defined harms—the victim did not fare as well. Instead of being the focus, the crime victim was effectively excluded from the formal aspects of the justice system.

Since then, this state-centered system has largely remained in place, but attention—at least from researchers and activists—returned to the crime victim during the 1940s. Beginning in this time period, concern was shown for the crime victim, but this concern was not entirely sympathetic. Instead, scholars and others became preoccupied with how the crime victim contributes to his or her own victimization. Scholarly work during this period focused not on the needs of crime victims but on identifying to what extent victims could be held responsible for being victimized. In this way, the damage that offenders cause was ignored. Instead, the ideas of victim precipitation, victim facilitation, and victim provocation emerged.

VICTIMOLOGY ACROSS THE GLOBE

Considering that the birth of the field of victimology is often attributed to the early work of German criminologist Hans von Hentig and Romanian lawyer Benjamin Mendelsohn, two men from two different countries, it shouldn't be surprising that over the last three decades victimology has become a subject studied across the globe (Kirchhoff, 2010). The development of this field of study has not been evenly distributed (Fattah, 2010). For example, in some parts of the world, victimology is considered a subdiscipline of criminology, while in other parts it is its own distinct discipline and students can receive degrees in victimology and/or victim studies. Likewise, in some countries, victimization surveys are carried out and in other countries they are not. We discuss several of these surveys a little later in this book. It should also be noted that in some countries, victims benefit from well-developed and comprehensive victim assistance programs; in other countries, these types of programs are sorely lacking or do not exist (Lehner-Zimmerer, 2011).

The development of the field of victimology outside of the United States (and primarily in Europe) has been largely collaborative in nature and supported by the work of several key organizations including the World Society of Victimology, Max Planck Institute of Foreign and International Criminal Law, and International Victimology Institute Tilburg (INTERVICT). Each of these organizations and their contributions to the study of victimology is discussed briefly.

The **World Society of Victimology (WSV)** was conceived from the *First International Symposium on Victimology* in Israel in 1973. Since its inception, the symposium has been hosted by WSV every 3 years in locations all over the world with a mission of "advancing research, services, and awareness for victims" (WSV, 2018). According to the WSV website, the five goals of the organization are "(1) to promote research in victimology and on victim needs; (2) to provide services for victim service providers and victimologists; (3) to provide education and training; (4) to advance advocacy and rights; and (5) to provide member opportunities" (WSV, 2018).

The society boasts members from a variety of agencies and academic disciplines. The international nature of the WSV allows for active networking and collaboration with governmental agencies in many countries and the United Nations (UN). Through research and program development, the WSV has successfully advocated for reforms such as the Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power, which is essentially a victims' rights charter. Aside from the UN, the WSV has active projects through the Council of Europe, the National Organization for Victim Assistance in the United States, and Victim Support in the United Kingdom. As of 2014, the WSV was affiliated with agencies and governments worldwide, providing international advocacy and counseling and sponsoring a variety of training activities for policy-makers and practitioners.

Physically located in Germany, the **Max Planck Institute of Foreign and International Criminal Law** is made up of a department of criminal law and a department of criminology, both active in conducting research that brings about a diverse array of academics from across Europe. Historically, the original iteration of the institute came into existence in the late 1930s stemming from the work of Dr. Adolf Schönke (Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law, 2013). Originally titled Seminar for Foreign and International Criminal Law, in 1947 the institute was retitled as the Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law and shifted into a branch of the Max Planck Society (a research organization) in 1966.

While the primary focus of the institute is comparative law, since the early 1990s the institute has also been promoting victimological research, including examining the following:

- "What information is available on the type, extent and application of victim rights and on regulations governing compensation in the particular countries?

- What information exists on the attitudes of different parties involved in the criminal procedure (victims, judges, public prosecutors) towards the goals of the criminal procedure, the situation of the victim and regulations governing compensation?" (Würger, 2013)

Like the Max Planck Institute, the **International Victimology Institute Tilburg (INTERVICT)** engages in **comparative research**; however, unlike the Max Planck Institute, whose primary focus remains on criminal law, INTERVICT is dedicated solely to the study and advancement of victimology. Physically located at Tilburg University in

the Netherlands, the mission of INTERVICT is to "promote and execute interdisciplinary research that can contribute to a comprehensive, evidence-based body of knowledge on the empowerment and support of victims of crime and abuse of power" (International Victimology Institute Tilburg, 2014).

THE ROLE OF THE VICTIM IN CRIME: VICTIM PRECIPITATION, VICTIM FACILITATION, AND VICTIM PROVOCATION

Although the field of victimology has largely moved away from simply investigating how much a victim contributes to his or her own victimization, the first forays into the study of crime victims were centered on such investigations. In this way, the first studies of crime victims did not portray victims as innocents who were wronged at the hands of an offender. Rather, concepts such as victim precipitation, victim facilitation, and victim provocation developed from these investigations. **Victim precipitation** is defined as the extent to which a victim is responsible for his or her own victimization. The concept of victim precipitation is rooted in the notion that, although some victims are not at all responsible for their victimization, other victims are. In this way, victim precipitation acknowledges that crime victimization involves at least two people—an offender and a victim—and that both parties are acting and often reacting before, during, and after the incident. Identifying victim precipitation does not necessarily lead to negative outcomes. It is problematic, however, when it is used to blame the victim while ignoring the offender's role.

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Similar to victim precipitation is the concept of victim facilitation. **Victim facilitation** occurs when a victim unintentionally makes it easier for an offender to commit a crime. A victim may, in this way, be a catalyst for victimization. A woman who accidentally left her purse in plain view in her office while she went to the restroom and then had it stolen would be a victim who facilitated her own victimization. This woman is not blameworthy—the offender should not steal, regardless of whether the purse is in plain view or not. But the victim's actions certainly made her a likely target and made it easy for the offender to steal her purse. Unlike precipitation, facilitation helps understand why one person may be victimized over another but does not connote blame and responsibility.

Contrast victim facilitation with victim provocation. **Victim provocation** occurs when a person does something that incites another person to commit an illegal act. Provocation suggests that without the victim's behavior, the crime would not have occurred. Provocation, then, most certainly connotes blame. In fact, the offender is not at all responsible. An

example of victim provocation would be if a person attempted to mug a man who was walking home from work and the man, instead of willingly giving the offender his wallet, pulled out a gun and shot the mugger. The offender in this scenario ultimately is a victim, but he would not have been shot if not for attempting to mug the shooter. The distinctions between victim precipitation, facilitation, and provocation, as you probably noticed, are not always clear-cut. These terms were developed, described, studied, and used in somewhat different ways in the mid-1900s by several scholars.

Hans von Hentig

In his book *The Criminal and His Victim: Studies in the Sociobiology of Crime,* **Hans von Hentig** (1948) recognized the importance of investigating what factors underpin why certain people are victims, just as criminology attempts to identify those factors that produce criminality. He determined that some of the same characteristics that produce crime also produce victimization. We will return to this link between victims and offenders in Chapter 3, but for now, recognize that one of the first discussions of criminal victimization connected it to offending.

In studying victimization, von Hentig looked at the criminal–victim dyad, thus recognizing the importance of considering the victim and the criminal not in isolation but together. He attempted to identify the characteristics of a victim that may effectively serve to increase victimization risk. He considered that victims may provoke victimization—acting as agents or provocateurs—based on their characteristics. He argued that crime victims could be placed into one of 13 categories based on their propensity for victimization: (1) young, (2) females, (3) old, (4) immigrants, (5) depressed, (6) mentally defective/deranged, (7) the acquisitive, (8) dull normals, (9) minorities, (10) wanton, (11) the lonesome and heartbroken, (12) tormentor, and (13) the blocked, exempted, and fighting. All these victims are targeted and contribute to their own victimization because of their characteristics. For example, the young, the old, and females may be victimized because of their ignorance or risk taking or may be taken advantage of, such as when women are sexually assaulted. Immigrants, minorities, and dull normals are likely to be victimized due to their social status and inability to activate assistance in the community. The mentally defective or deranged may be victimized because they do not recognize or appropriately respond to threats in the environment. Those who are depressed, acquisitive, wanton, lonesome, or heartbroken may place themselves in situations in which they do not recognize danger because of their mental state, their sadness over a lost relationship, their desire for companionship, or their greed. Tormentors are people who provoke their own victimization via violence and aggression toward others. Finally, the blocked, exempted, and fighting victims are those who are enmeshed in poor decisions and unable to defend themselves or seek assistance if victimized. An example of such a victim is a person who is blackmailed because of his behavior, which places him in a precarious situation if he reports the blackmail to the police (Dupont-Morales, 2009).

On November 5, 2013, two armed robbers entered a Reading, Pennsylvania, convenience store and stole cash, cigarettes, and lottery tickets. They got more than they bargained for! After leaving the store with their loot, a friend of the owner of the store confronted them, and the two robbers then raised their gun at him. In response, the man then pulled out his own weapon and shot the robbers in the chest. Both of the robbers were pronounced dead at the scene. What do you think about this incident? Was the man justified in shooting the robbers? Was this victim facilitation? Precipitation? Provocation? What do you think about one of the friends of the robbers who said, "they should have thought about this before going"?

Benjamin Mendelsohn

Known as the "father of victimology," **Benjamin Mendelsohn** coined the term for this area of study in the mid-1940s. As an attorney, he became interested in the relationship between the victim and the criminal as he conducted interviews with victims and witnesses and realized that victims and offenders often knew each other and had some kind of existing relationship. He then created a classification of victims based on their culpability, or the degree of the victim's blame. His classification entailed the following:

1. *Completely innocent victim:* a victim who bears no responsibility at all for victimization; victimized simply because of his or her nature, such as being a child

2. *Victim with minor guilt:* a victim who is victimized due to ignorance; a victim who inadvertently places himself or herself in harm's way

3. *Victim as guilty as offender/voluntary victim:* a victim who bears as much responsibility as the offender; a person who, for example, enters into a suicide pact

4. *Victim more guilty than offender:* a victim who instigates or provokes his or her own victimization

5. *Most guilty victim:* a victim who is victimized during the perpetration of a crime or as a result of crime

6. *Simulating or imaginary victim:* a victim who is not victimized at all but, instead, fabricates a victimization event

Mendelsohn's classification emphasized degrees of culpability, recognizing that some victims bear no responsibility for their victimization, while others, based on their behaviors or actions, do.

Stephen Schafer

One of the earliest victimologists, **Stephen Schafer** (1968) wrote *The Victim and His Criminal: A Study in Functional Responsibility.* Much like von Hentig and Mendelsohn, Schafer also proposed a victim typology. Using both social characteristics and behaviors, his typology places victims in groups based on how responsible they are for their own victimization. In this way, it includes facets of von Hentig's typology based on personal characteristics and Mendelsohn's typology rooted in behavior. He argued that people have a functional responsibility not to provoke others into victimizing or harming them and that they also should actively attempt to prevent that from occurring. He identified seven categories and labeled their levels of responsibility as follows:

1. Unrelated victims—no responsibility
2. Provocative victims—share responsibility
3. Precipitative victims—some degree of responsibility
4. Biologically weak victims—no responsibility
5. Socially weak victims—no responsibility
6. Self-victimizing—total responsibility
7. Political victims—no responsibility

Marvin Wolfgang

The first person to empirically investigate victim precipitation was **Marvin Wolfgang** (1957) in his classic study of homicides occurring in Philadelphia from 1948 to 1952. He examined some 558 homicides to see to what extent victims precipitated their own deaths. In those instances in which the victim was the direct, positive precipitator in the homicide, Wolfgang labeled the incident as victim precipitated. For example, the victim in such an incident would be the first to brandish or use a weapon, the first to strike a blow, or the first to initiate physical violence. He found that 26% of all homicides in Philadelphia during this period were victim precipitated.

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PHOTO 1.2
Seen here is a bar fight in which the first person to aggress ends up being hit as well. The offender becomes a victim.

Beyond simply identifying the extent to which homicides were victim precipitated, Wolfgang also identified those factors that were common in such homicides. He determined that often in this kind of homicide, the victim and the offender knew each other. He also found that most victim-precipitated homicides involved male offenders and male victims and that the victim was likely to have a history of violent offending himself. Alcohol

was also likely to play a role in victim-precipitated homicides, which makes sense, especially considering that Wolfgang determined these homicides often started as minor altercations that escalated to murder.

Since Wolfgang's study of victim-precipitated homicide, others have expanded his definition to include felony-related homicide and subintentional homicide. **Subintentional homicide** occurs when the victim facilitates his or her own demise by using poor judgment, placing himself or herself at risk, living a risky lifestyle, or using alcohol or drugs. Perhaps not surprising, a study of subintentional homicide found that as many as three-fourths of victims were subintentional (N. Allen, 1980).

Menachem Amir

The crime of rape is not immune from victim-blaming today, and it certainly has not been in the past either. **Menachem Amir**, a student of Wolfgang's, conducted an empirical investigation into rape incidents that were reported to the police. Like Wolfgang, he conducted his study using data from Philadelphia, although he examined rapes that occurred from 1958 to 1960. He examined the extent to which victims precipitated their own rapes and also identified common attributes of victim-precipitated rape. Amir labeled almost 1 in 5 rapes as victim precipitated. He found that these rapes were likely to involve alcohol and that the victim was likely to engage in seductive behavior, likely to wear revealing clothing, likely to use risqué language, and likely had a bad reputation. What Amir also determined was that it is the offender's interpretation of actions that is important, rather than what the victim actually does. The offender may view the victim—her actions, words, and clothing—as going against what he considers appropriate female behavior. In this way, the victim may be viewed as being "bad" in terms of how women should behave sexually. He may then choose to rape her because of his misguided view of how women should act, because he thinks she deserves it, or because he thinks she has it coming to her. Amir's study was quite controversial—it was attacked for blaming victims, namely, women, for their own victimization. As you will learn in Chapter 8, rape and sexual assault victims today still must overcome this view that women (since such victims are usually female) are largely responsible for their own victimization.

FOCUS ON RESEARCH

Even though the first study examining victim precipitation and homicide was published in 1957, this phenomenon is being examined in contemporary times as well. In recent research examining 895 homicides that occurred in Dallas, Texas, Muftić and Hunt (2013) found that 48.9% (n = 438) were victim precipitated. They further found that homicides in which the victim had a previous history of offending were more likely to be victim precipitated than homicides in which the victim had no such history.

Source: Adapted from Muftić, L. R., & Hunt, D. E. (2013). Victim precipitation: Further understanding the linkage between victimization and offending in homicide. *Homicide Studies, 17*, 239–254.

THE HISTORY OF VICTIMOLOGY:
THE VICTIMS' RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Beyond the attention victims began to get based on how much they contributed to their own victimization, researchers and social organizations started to pay attention to victims and their plight during the mid-1900s. This marked a shift in how victims were viewed not only by the public but also by the criminal justice system. As noted, scholars began to examine the role of the victim in criminal events, but more sympathetic attention was also given to crime victims, largely as an outgrowth of other social movements.

During the 1960s, concern about crime was growing. This period saw a large increase in the amount of crime occurring in the United States. As crime rates soared, so too did the number of people directly and indirectly harmed by crime. In 1966, in response to the growing crime problem, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice was formed. One of the commission's responsibilities was to conduct the first-ever government-sponsored victimization survey, called the **National Crime Survey** (which later became the National Crime Victimization Survey). This survey is discussed in depth in Chapter 2. Importantly, it showed that although official crime rates were on the rise, they paled in comparison with the amount of victimization uncovered. This discrepancy was found because official data sources of crime rates are based on those crimes reported or otherwise made known to the police, whereas the National Crime Survey relied on victims to recall their own experiences. Further, victims were asked in the survey whether they reported their victimization to the police and, if not, why they chose not to report. For the first time, a picture of victimization emerged, and this picture was far different than previously depicted. Victimization was more extensive than originally thought, and the reluctance of victims to report was discovered. This initial data collection effort did not occur in a vacuum. Instead, several social movements were underway that further moved crime victims into the collective American consciousness.

The Women's Movement

One of the most influential movements for victims was the **women's movement**. In recognition that victimizations such as sexual assault and domestic violence were a by-product of sexism, traditional sex roles, emphasis on traditional family values, and economic subjugation of women, the women's movement took on as part of its mission helping female victims of crime. Feminists were, in part, concerned with how female victims were treated by the criminal justice system and pushed for victims of rape and domestic violence to receive special care and services. As a result, domestic violence shelters and rape crisis centers started appearing in the 1970s. Closely connected to the women's movement was the push toward giving children rights. Not before viewed as crime victims, children were also identified as being in need of services, as they could be victims of child abuse, could become runaways, and could be victimized in much the same ways as older people. The effects of victimization on children were, at this time, of particular concern.

Three critical developments arose from the recognition of women and children as victims and from the opening of victims' services devoted specifically to them. First, the

movement brought awareness that victimization often entails emotional and mental harm, even in the absence of physical injury. To address this harm, counseling for victims was advocated. Second, the criminal justice system was no longer relied on to provide victims with assistance in rebuilding their lives; thus, additional victimization by the criminal justice system could be lessened or avoided altogether. Third, because these shelters and centers relied largely on volunteers, services were able to run and stay open even without significant budgetary support (M. Young & Stein, 2004).

FOCUS ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

Even though the field of victimology has moved beyond the early typologies put forth by von Hentig and others, victimology still is concerned with victim precipitation, provocation, and facilitation. Consider the case of Ahmed Hassan, a 24-year-old man who was shot and killed at a Toronto, Canada, shopping mall on June 2, 2012. Christopher Husbands, aged 23, shot him and injured six others. Although the exact motives behind the murder are not known, it is believed that Husbands and Hassan were members of a gang, known as Sic Thugs. Husbands had previously been attacked by Hassan and other members of Sic Thugs. He was tied up with duct tape and tortured in a bathtub in an empty public-housing apartment. According to the typologies you have learned about, how did Hassan contribute, if at all, to his own victimization?

Adapted from Mertl, S. (2012, June 12). Toronto Eaton Centre shooting shines light on Canada's gang problem. *The Daily Brew.* Retrieved from http://ca.news.yahoo.com/blogs/dailybrew/toronto-eaton-centre-shooting-shines-light-canada-gang-202058661.html.

The Civil Rights Movement

Also integral to the development of victims' rights was the **civil rights movement**. This movement advocated against racism and discrimination, noting that all Americans have rights protected by the U.S. Constitution. The civil rights movement, as it created awareness of the mistreatment of minorities, served as a backdrop for the **victims' rights movement** in that it identified how minorities were mistreated by the criminal justice system, both as offenders and victims. The ideologies of the women's movement and the civil rights movement merged to create a victims' rights movement largely supported by females, minorities, and young persons who pushed forward a victims' agenda that concentrated on making procedural changes in the operation of the criminal justice system (B. L. Smith, Sloan, & Ward, 1990).

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE VICTIMS' RIGHTS MOVEMENT

We discuss the particulars of programs and services available for crime victims today in Chapter 6, but to understand the importance of the victims' rights movement, its contributions should be outlined.

Early Programs for Crime Victims

In the United States, the first crime victims' compensation program was started in California in 1965. Victim compensation programs allow for victims to be financially compensated for uncovered costs resulting from their victimization. Not long after, in 1972, the first three victim assistance programs in the nation, two of which were rape crisis centers, were founded by volunteers. The first prototypes for what today are victim/witness assistance programs housed in district attorneys' offices were funded in 1974 by the Federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. These programs were designed to notify victims of critical dates in their cases and to create separate waiting areas for victims. Some programs began to make social services referrals for victims, providing them with input on criminal justice decisions that involved them, such as bail and plea bargains, notifying them about critical points in their cases—not just court dates—and going to court with them. Victim/witness assistance programs continue to provide similar services today.

Development of Victim Organizations

With women and children victims and their needs at the forefront of the victims' rights movement, other crime victims found that special services were not readily available to them. One group of victims whose voices emerged during the 1970s was persons whose loved ones had been murdered—called secondary victims. After having a loved one become a victim of homicide, many survivors found that people around them did not know how to act or how to help them. As one woman whose son was murdered remarked, "I soon found that murder is a taboo subject in our society. I found, to my surprise, that nice people apparently just don't get killed" (quoted in M. Young & Stein, 2004, p. 5). In response to the particular needs of homicide survivors, Families and Friends of Missing Persons was organized in 1974 and Parents of Murdered Children was formed in 1978. Mothers Against Drunk Driving was formed in 1980. These groups provide support for their members and others but also advocate for laws and policy changes that reflect the groups' missions. The National Organization for Victim Assistance was developed in 1975 to consolidate the purposes of the victims' movement and eventually to hold national conferences and provide training for persons working with crime victims.

Legislation and Policy

In 1980, Wisconsin became the first state to pass a Victims' Bill of Rights. Also in 1980, the National Organization for Victim Assistance created a new policy platform that included the initiation of a National Campaign for Victim Rights, which included a National Victims' Rights Week, implemented by then-president Ronald Reagan. The attorney general at the time, William French Smith, created a Task Force on Violent Crime, which recommended that a President's Task Force on Victims of Crime be commissioned. President Reagan followed the recommendation. The President's Task Force held six hearings across the country from which 68 recommendations on how crime victims could be better assisted were made. Major initiatives were generated from these recommendations:

1. Federal legislation to fund state victim compensation programs and local victim assistance programs

2. Recommendations to criminal justice professionals and other professionals about how to better treat crime victims

3. Creation of a task force on violence within families

4. An amendment to the U.S. Constitution to provide crime victims' rights (yet to be passed)

As part of the first initiative, the Victims of Crime Act (1984) was passed and created the Office for Victims of Crime in the Department of Justice and established the Crime Victims Fund, which provides money to state victim compensation and local victim assistance programs. The Crime Victims Fund and victim compensation are discussed in detail in Chapter 6. The Victims of Crime Act was amended in 1988 to require victim compensation eligibility to include victims of domestic violence and drunk-driving accidents. It also expanded victim compensation coverage to nonresident commuters and visitors.

Legislation and policy continued to be implemented through the 1980s and 1990s. The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act, passed in 1994 by Congress, included the Violence Against Women Act. This law provides funding for research and for the development of professional partnerships to address the issues of violence against women. Annually, the attorney general reports to Congress the status of monies awarded under the act, including the amount of money awarded and the number of grants funded. The act also mandates that federal agencies engage in research specifically addressing violence against women.

In 1998, a publication called *New Directions From the Field: Victims' Rights and Services for the 21st Century* was released by then–attorney general Janet Reno and the Office for Victims of Crime. This publication reviewed the status of the recommendations and initiatives put forth by President Reagan's task force. It also identified some 250 new recommendations for victims' rights, victim advocacy, and services. Also integral, during the 1990s, the federal government and many states implemented victims' rights legislation that enumerated specific rights to be guaranteed to crime victims. These rights are discussed in detail in Chapter 6, but some basic rights typically afforded to victims include the right to be present at trial, to be provided a waiting area separate from the offender and people associated with the offender during stages of the criminal justice process, to be notified of key events in the criminal justice process, to testify at parole hearings, to be informed of rights, to be informed of compensation programs, and to be treated with dignity and respect. These rights continue to be implemented and expanded through various pieces of legislation, such as the Crime Victims' Rights Act, which is part of the Justice for All Act of 2004 signed into law by then-president George W. Bush. Despite this push among the various legislatures, a federal victims' rights constitutional amendment has not been passed. Some states have been successful in amending their constitutions to ensure that the rights of crime victims are protected, but the U.S. Constitution has not been similarly amended. Various rights afforded to crime victims through these amendments are outlined in Chapter 6.

VICTIMOLOGY TODAY

Today, the field of victimology covers a wide range of topics, including crime victims, causes of victimization, consequences of victimization, interaction of victims with the criminal justice system, interaction of victims with other social service agencies and programs, and prevention of victimization. Each of these topics is discussed throughout the text. As a prelude to the text, a brief treatment of the contents is provided in the following subsections.

The Crime Victim

To study victimization, one of the first things victimologists needed to know was who was victimized by crime. In order to determine who victims were, victimologists looked at official data sources—namely, the Uniform Crime Reports—but found them to be imperfect sources for victim information because they do not include detailed information on crime victims. As a result, victimization surveys were developed to determine the extent to which people were victimized, the typical characteristics of victims, and the characteristics of victimization incidents. The most widely cited and used victimization survey is the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), which is discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

From the NCVS and other victimization surveys, victimologists discovered that victimization is more prevalent than originally thought. Also, the "typical" victim was identified—a young male who lives in urban areas. This is not to say that other people are not victimized. In fact, children, women, and older people are all prone to victimization. These groups are discussed in detail in later chapters. In addition, victimologists have uncovered other vulnerable groups. Homeless individuals, persons with mental illness, disabled persons, and prisoners all have been recognized as deserving of special attention given their victimization rates. Special populations vulnerable to victimization are discussed in Chapter 11.

The Causes of Victimization

It is difficult to know why a person is singled out and victimized by crime. Is it something he did? Did an offender choose a particular individual because she seemed like an easy target? Or does victimization occur because somebody is simply in the wrong place at the wrong time? Perhaps there is an element of "bad luck" or chance involved, but victimologists have developed some theories to explain victimization. Theories are sets of propositions that explain phenomena. In relation to victimology, victimization theories explain why some people are more likely than others to be victimized. As you will read in Chapter 2, the most widely utilized theories of victimization are routine activities theory and lifestyle-exposure theory. In the past two decades, however, victimologists and criminologists alike have developed additional theories and identified other correlates of victimization both generally and to explain why particular types of victimization, such as child abuse, occur.

Costs of Victimization

Victimologists are particularly interested in studying victims of crime because of the mass costs they often incur. These **costs of crime/victimization** can be tangible, such as the cost

of stolen or damaged property or the costs of receiving treatment at the emergency room, but they can also be harder to quantify. Crime victims may experience mental anguish or other more serious mental health issues such as posttraumatic stress disorder. Costs also include monies spent by the criminal justice system preventing and responding to crime and monies spent to assist crime victims. An additional consequence of victimization is fear of being a victim. This fear may be tied to the actual risk of being a victim or, as you will read about in Chapter 4, with the other consequences of victimization.

Recurring Victimization

An additional significant cost of victimization is the real risk of being victimized again that many victims face. Unfortunately, some victims do not suffer only a single victimization event but, rather, are victimized again and, sometimes, again and again. In this way, a certain subset of victims appears to be particularly vulnerable to revictimization. Research has begun to describe which particular victims are at risk of recurring victimization. In addition, theoretical explanations of recurring victimization have been proffered. The two main theories used to explain recurring victimization are state dependence and risk heterogeneity. Recurring victimization is discussed in Chapter 5.

The Crime Victim and the Criminal Justice System

Another experience of crime victims that is important to understand is how they interact with the criminal justice system. As is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, many persons who are victimized by crime do not report their experiences to the police. The reasons victims choose to remain silent, at least in terms of not calling the police, are varied but often include an element of suspicion and distrust of the police. Some victims worry that police will not take them seriously or will not think what happened to them is worth the police's time. Others may be worried that calling the police will effectively invoke a system response that cannot be erased or stopped, even when the victim wishes not to have the system move forward. An example of such a victim is one who does not want to call the police after being hit by her partner because she fears the police will automatically and mandatorily arrest him. Whatever the reason, without a report, the victim will not activate the formal criminal justice system, which will preclude an arrest and may preclude the victim from receiving victim services explicitly tied to reporting.

When victims do report, they then enter the world of criminal justice, a world in which they are often seen as witnesses rather than victims, given that the U.S. criminal justice system recognizes crimes as harms against the state. This being the case, victims do not always find they are treated with dignity and respect, even though the victims' rights movement stresses the importance of doing so. The police are not the only ones with whom victims must contend. If an offender is apprehended and charged with a crime, the victim will also interact with the prosecutor and perhaps a judge. Fortunately, many police departments and prosecutors' offices offer victim assistance programs through which victims can receive information about available services. These programs also offer personal assistance and support, such as attending court sessions with the victim or helping submit a victim impact

statement. The experience of the crime victim after the system is put into motion is an area of research ripe for study by victimologists. It is important to understand how victims view their interactions with the criminal justice system so that victim satisfaction can be maximized and any additional harm caused to the victim can be minimized. The criminal justice response is discussed throughout this text, especially since different victim types have unique experiences with the police.

The Crime Victim and Social Services

The criminal justice system is not the only organization with which crime victims may come into contact. After being victimized, victims may need medical attention. As a result, emergency medical technicians, hospital and doctor's office staff, nurses, doctors, and clinicians may all be persons with whom victims interact. Although some of these professionals will have training or specialize in dealing with victims, others may not treat victims with the care and sensitivity they need. To combat this, sometimes victims will have persons from the police department or prosecutor's office with them at the hospital to serve as mediators and provide counsel. Also to aid victims, many hospitals and clinics now have sexual assault nurse examiners, who are specially trained in completing forensic and health exams for sexual assault victims.

In addition to medical professionals, mental health clinicians also often serve victims, as large numbers of victims seek mental health services after being victimized. Beyond mental health care, victims may use the services of social workers or other social service workers. But not all persons with whom victims interact as a consequence of being victimized are part of social service agencies accustomed to serving victims. Crime victims may seek assistance from insurance agents and repair and maintenance workers. Crime victims may need special accommodations from their employers or schools. In short, being victimized may touch multiple aspects of a person's life, and agencies, businesses, and organizations alike may find themselves in the position of dealing with the aftermath, one to which they may not be particularly attuned. The more knowledge people have about crime victimization and its impact on victims, the more likely victims will be satisfactorily treated.

Prevention

Knowing the extent to which people are victimized, who is likely targeted, and the reasons why people are victimized can help in the development of prevention efforts. To be effective, prevention programs and policies need to target the known causes of victimization. Although the offender is ultimately responsible for crime victimization, it is difficult to change offender behavior. Reliance on doing so limits complete prevention, since victimization involves at least two elements—the offender and the victim—that both need to be addressed to stop crime victimization. In addition, as noted by scholars, it is easier to reduce the opportunity than the motivation to offend (Clarke, 1980, 1982). Nonetheless, offenders should be discouraged from committing crimes, likely through informal mechanisms of social control. For example, colleges could provide crime awareness seminars directed at teaching leaders of student organizations how to dissuade their members from committing

acts of aggression, using drugs or alcohol, or engaging in other conduct that could lead to victimization.

In addition to discouraging offenders, potential victims also play a key role in preventing victimization. Factors that place victims at risk need to be addressed to the extent that victims can change them. For example, since routine activities and lifestyles theories identify daily routines and risky lifestyles as being key risk factors for victimization, people should attempt to reduce their risk by making changes they are able to make. Other theories and risk factors related to victimization should also be targeted (these are discussed in Chapter 2). Because different types of victimization have different risk factors—and, therefore, different risk-reduction strategies—prevention is discussed in each chapter that deals with a specific victim type.

As victimology today focuses on the victim, the causes of victimization, the consequences associated with victimization, and how the victim is treated within and outside the criminal justice system, this text addresses these issues for the various types of crime victims. In this way, each chapter that deals with specific types of victimization—such as sexual victimization and intimate partner violence—includes an overview of the extent to which people are victimized, who is victimized, why they are victimized, the outcomes of being victimized, and the services provided to and challenges faced by victims. The specific remedies in place for crime victims are discussed in each chapter and also in a stand-alone chapter.

- The field of victimology originated in the early to mid-1900s, with the first victimologists attempting to identify how victims contribute to their own victimization. To this end, the concepts of victim precipitation, victim facilitation, and victim provocation were examined.

- Hans von Hentig, Benjamin Mendelsohn, and Stephen Schafer each proposed victim typologies that were used to classify victims in terms of their responsibility or role in their own victimization.

- Victimology has expanded to a variety of different countries in the last 30 years; however, this line of research has not been equally distributed across all countries.

- Outside of the United States, victimology has been significantly influenced by the World Society of Victimology (WSV), the Max Planck Institute of Foreign and International Criminal Law, and the International Victimology Institute Tilburg (INTERVICT).

- Marvin Wolfgang and Menachem Amir conducted the first empirical examinations of victim precipitation. Wolfgang studied homicides in Philadelphia, and Amir focused on forcible rapes. Wolfgang found that 26% of homicides were victim precipitated. Amir concluded that 19% of forcible rapes were precipitated by the victim.

- The victims' rights movement gained momentum during the 1960s. It was spurred by the civil rights and women's movements. This period saw the recognition of children and women as victims of violence. The first victim services agencies were developed in the early 1970s.

- The victims' rights movement influenced the development of multiple advocacy groups, such as Mothers Against Drunk Driving, Families and Friends of Missing Persons, and Parents of Murdered Children.

- Important pieces of legislation came out of the victims' rights movement, including the Victims of Crime Act, the Violence Against Women Act, and the Crime Victims' Rights Act. Many states have victims' rights amendments and/or legislation that guarantee victim protections.

- Victimology today is concerned with the extent to which people are victimized, the different types of victimization they experience, the causes of victimization, the consequences associated with victimization, the criminal justice system's response to victims, and the response of other agencies and people. Victimology is a science—victimologists use the scientific method to study these areas.

- As victimologists become aware of who is likely to be victimized and the reasons for this, risk-reduction and prevention strategies can be developed. These should target not only offender behavior but also opportunity. In this way, victims can play an important role in reducing their likelihood of being victimized.

1. Aside from the three main areas of criminal justice systems across the majority of societies (law enforcement, courts, and corrections), should victim services/assistance be considered a fourth area? Should this be a mandatory part of the criminal justice system? Why or why not?

2. Compare and contrast victim precipitation, victim facilitation, and victim provocation.

3. Why do you think the first explorations into victimization in terms of explaining why people are victimized centered not on offender behavior but on victim behavior?

4. What are the reasons behind labeling crimes as acts against the state rather than against victims?

5. How does the victims' rights movement correspond to the treatment of offenders and rights afforded to offenders?

6. Does examining victim behavior when attempting to identify causes of victimization lead to victim blaming? Is it wrong to consider the role of the victim?

An Oral History of the Crime Victim Assistance Field Video and Audio Archive (http://vroh.uakron.edu/index.php)

This website contains information from the Victim Oral History Project, intended to capture the development and evolution of the crime victims' movement. You will find video clips of interviews with more than 50 persons critical to this movement, in which they discuss their contributions to and perspectives of the field.

Crime in the United States (http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/crime-in-the-u.s/2013/crime-in-the-u.s.-2013)

The Federal Bureau of Investigation compiles all the information for both the Uniform Crime Reports and National Incident-Based Reporting System. The information is then put into several annual publications, such as *Crime in the United States* and *Hate Crime Statistics.* The data for these statistics are provided by nearly 17,000 law enforcement agencies across the United States. This website provides the crime information for 2013.

Crime Prevention Tips (http://www.crimepreventiontips.org/)

This website provides many tips on how to reduce your chances of becoming a crime victim. There is also a section to help you determine whether you have been a crime victim. Some of the prevention tips specifically address how to be safer when you use public transportation and on college campuses.

The American Society of Victimology (https://www.facebook.com/AmSocVictimology/)

This organization advances the discipline of victimology by promoting evidence-based practices and providing leadership in research and education. The website contains information about victimology and victimologists. This organization looks at advancements in victimology through research, practice, and teaching.

International Victimology Institute Tilburg (INTERVICT; http://www.victimology.nl)

The International Victimology Institute Tilburg is one of the leading research institutions focused solely on victimological inquiry. Moreover, the institute concentrates on interdisciplinary efforts in the investigation of victimization based upon the multifaceted nature of victimology.

World Society of Victimology (WSV; http://www.worldsocietyofvictimology.org/ and www.world-society-victimology.de)

The World Society of Victimology is one of the leaders in international victimology. The society functions as a nongovernmental organization (that provides consultations and is associated with the United Nations) that promotes comparative victimological research and cooperation between nations to further the assistance of victims.

EXTENT, THEORIES, AND FACTORS OF VICTIMIZATION

It was not exactly a typical night for Polly. Instead of studying at the library as she normally did during the week, she decided to meet two of her friends at a local bar. They spent the evening catching up and drinking a few beers before they decided to head home. Since Polly lived within walking distance of the bar, she bid her friends good night and started on her journey home. It was dark out, but since she had never confronted trouble in the neighborhood before—even though it was in a fairly crime-ridden part of a large city—she felt relatively safe.

As Polly walked by an alley, two young men whom she had never seen before stepped out, and one of them grabbed her arm and demanded that she give them her school bag, in which she had her wallet, computer, keys, and phone. Since Polly refused, the other man shoved her while the first man grabbed her bag. Despite holding on as tightly as she could, the men were able to take her bag before running off into the night. Slightly stunned, Polly stood there trying to calm down. Without her bag, which held her phone and keys, she felt there was little she could do other than continue to walk home and hope her roommates were there to let her in. As she walked home, she wondered why she had such bad luck. Why was she targeted? Was she simply in "the wrong place at the wrong time," or did she do something to place herself in harm's way? Although it is hard to know why Polly was victimized, we can compare her to other victims to see how similar she is to them. To this end, a description of the "typical" crime victim is presented in this section. But what about why she was targeted? Fortunately, we can use the theories presented in this section to understand why Polly fell victim on that particular night.

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PHOTO 2.1
Polly, on her way home from the bar.

MEASURING VICTIMIZATION

Before we can begin to understand *why* some people are the victims of crime and others are not, we must first know how often victimization occurs. Also important is knowing who

the typical crime victim is. Luckily, these characteristics of victimization can be readily gleaned from existing data sources.

Uniform Crime Reports (UCRs)

Begun in 1929, **Uniform Crime Reports (UCRs)** show the amount of crime known to the police in a year. Police departments around the country submit to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) monthly law enforcement reports on crimes that are reported to them or that they otherwise know about. The FBI then compiles these data and each year publishes a report called *Crime in the United States,* which details the crime that occurred in the United States for the year. This report includes information on eight offenses, known as the Part I index offenses: murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson. Arrest data are also listed in the report on Part II offenses, which include an additional 21 crime categories.

Advantages and Disadvantages

The UCR is a valuable data source for learning about crime and victimization. Because more than 90% of the population is represented by agencies participating in the UCR program, it provides an approximation of the total amount of crime experienced by almost all Americans (FBI, 2006). It presents the number of crimes for regions, states, cities, towns, areas under tribal law enforcement, and colleges and universities. It does so annually so that crime trends can be determined for the country and for these geographical units. Another benefit of the UCR is that crime characteristics are also reported. It includes demographic information (age, sex, and race) on people who are arrested and some information on the crimes, such as location and time of occurrence.

Despite these advantages, it does not provide detailed information on crime victims. Also important to consider, the UCR includes information only on crimes that are reported to the police or of which the police are aware. In this way, all crimes that occur are not represented, especially since, as discussed in the following, crime victims often do not report their victimization to the police. Another limitation of the UCR as a crime data source is that the Part I index offenses do not cover the wide range of crimes that occur, such as simple assault and sexual assaults other than forcible rape, and federal crimes are not counted. Furthermore, the UCR uses the **hierarchy rule**. If more than one Part I offense occurs within the same incident report, the law enforcement agency counts only the highest offense in the reporting process (FBI, 2009). These exclusions also contribute to the UCR's underestimation of the extent of crime. Accuracy of the UCR data is also affected by law enforcement's willingness to participate in the program and to do so by reporting to the FBI all offenses of which they are aware.

Crime as Measured by the UCR

Nonetheless, the UCR can be used to paint a picture of crime in the United States. In 2012, the police became aware of 1,248,185 violent crimes and 7,919,035 property crimes. According to the UCR data, the most common offense is larceny-theft. Aggravated assaults are the most common violent crime, although they are outnumbered by larceny-thefts. The typical criminal is a young (less than 30 years old) white male (although young black males have the highest offending rates) (FBI, 2016a).

National Incident–Based Reporting System

As noted, the UCR includes little information about the characteristics of criminal incidents. To overcome this deficiency, the FBI began the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS), an expanded data collection effort that includes detailed information about crimes. Agencies participating in the NIBRS collect information on each crime incident and arrest in 22 different offense categories (Group A offenses) that encompass 46 specific crimes. Arrest data are reported for an additional 11 offenses (Group B offenses). Information about the offender, the victim, injury, location, property loss, and weapons is included (FBI, n.d.-a).

Although the NIBRS represents an advancement of the UCR program, not all law enforcement agencies participate in the system. As such, crime trends similar to those based on national data produced by the UCR are not yet available. As more agencies come online, the NIBRS data will likely be an even more valuable tool for understanding patterns and trends of crime victimization. Nonetheless, agencies contributing to the NIBRIS indicated that 5,237,106 incidents of crime occurred. These incidents involved 6,437,018 victims and 4,963,644 known offenders. Almost two thirds of offenses reported were property crimes, while about one fourth were violent offenses. According to NIBRIS data, 43% of offenders are between the ages of 16 and 30, most are male (63%), and more than half were white (57%) (FBI, 2017).

The National Crime Victimization Survey

As noted, the UCR and NIBRS have some limitations as crime data sources, particularly when information on victimization is of interest. To provide a picture of the extent to which individuals experience a range of crime victimizations, the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) began, in 1973, a national survey of U.S. households. Originally called the National Crime Survey, it provides a picture of crime incidents and victims. In 1993, the BJS redesigned the survey, making extensive methodological changes, and renamed it the **National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS)**.

The NCVS is administered by the U.S. Census Bureau to a nationally representative sample of 134,690 households in 2016 (R. Morgan & Kena, 2017). Each member of participating households who is 12 years old or older completes the survey, resulting in 224,520 persons being interviewed in 2012 (Truman, Langton, & Planty, 2013). Each household selected remains in the study for 3 years and completes seven interviews 6 months apart. Each interview serves a **bounding** purpose by giving respondents a concrete event to reference (i.e., since the last interview) when answering questions in the next interview. Bounding is used to improve recall. In general, the first interview is conducted in person, with subsequent interviews taking place either in person or over the phone (Truman et al., 2013).

The NCVS is conducted in two stages. In the first stage, individuals are asked if they experienced any of seven types of victimization during the previous 6 months. The victimizations that respondents are asked about are rape and sexual assault, robbery, aggravated and simple assault, personal theft, household burglary, motor vehicle theft, and theft. The initial questions asked in the first stage are known as **screen questions**, which are used to

cue respondents or jog their memories as to whether they experienced any of these criminal victimizations in the previous 6 months. An example of a screen question is shown in Table 2.1. In the second stage, if the respondent answers affirmatively to any of the screen questions, the respondent then completes an **incident report** for each victimization experienced. In this way, if an individual stated that he or she had experienced one theft and one aggravated assault, he or she would fill out two incident reports—one for the theft and a separate one for the aggravated assault. In the incident report, detailed questions are asked about the incident, such as where it happened, whether it was reported to the police and why the victim did or did not report it, who the offender was, and whether the victim did anything to protect himself or herself during the incident. Table 2.2 shows an example of a question from the incident report. As you can see, responses to the questions from the incident report can help reveal the context of victimization.

Another advantage of this two-stage procedure is that the incident report is used to determine what, if any, incident occurred. The incident report, as discussed, includes detailed questions about what happened, including questions that are used to classify an

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TABLE 2.1 ■ Example of Screen Question From NCVS

Other than any incidents already mentioned, has anyone attacked or threatened you in any of these ways (exclude telephone threats)?

> With any weapon, for instance, a gun or knife
>
> With anything like a baseball bat, frying pan, scissors, or stick
>
> By something thrown, such as a rock or bottle
>
> Include any grabbing, punching, or choking
>
> Any rape, attempted rape, or other type of sexual attack
>
> Any face-to-face threats

OR

> Any attack or threat or use of force by anyone at all? Please mention it even if you are not certain it was a crime.

Source: NCVS-1 Basic Screen Questionnaire. Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice. Washington, D.C.

TABLE 2.2 ■ Example of Question From Incident Report in NCVS

Did the offender have a weapon such as a gun or knife, or something to use as a weapon, such as a bottle or wrench?

Source: Crime Incident Report. National Crime Victimization Survey. Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice. Washington, D.C.

incident into its appropriate crime victimization type. For example, in order for a rape to be counted as such, the questions in the incident report that concern the elements of rape, which are discussed in Chapter 8 (force, penetration, and consent), must be answered affirmatively for the incident to be counted as rape in the NCVS. This process is fairly conservative in that all elements of the criminal victimization must have occurred for it to be included in the estimates of that type of crime victimization.

The NCVS has several advantages as a measure of crime victimization. First, it includes in its estimates of victimization several offenses that are not included in Part I of the UCR; for example, simple assault and sexual assault are both included in NCVS estimates of victimization. Second, the NCVS does not measure only crimes reported to the police as does the UCR. Third, the NCVS asks individuals to recall incidents that occurred only during the previous 6 months, which is a relatively short recall period. In addition, its two-stage measurement process allows for a more conservative way of estimating the amount of victimization that occurs each year in that incidents are counted only if they meet the criteria for inclusion.

Despite these advantages, the NCVS is not without its limitations. Estimates of crime victimization depend on the ability of respondents to accurately recall what happened to them during the previous 6 months. Even though the NCVS attempts to aid in recall by spanning a short period (6 months) and by providing bounding via the previous survey administration, it is still possible that individuals will not be completely accurate in recounting the particulars of an incident. Bounding and using a short recall period also do not combat against someone intentionally being misleading or lying or answering in a way meant to please the interviewer. Another possible limitation of the NCVS is its treatment of high-frequency repeat victimizations. Called **series victimizations**, these incidents are those in which a person experiences the same type of victimization during the 6-month recall period at such a high rate that he or she cannot recall specific details about each incident or even recall each incident. When this occurs, an incident report is only completed for the most recent incident, and incident counts are only included for up to 10 incidents (Truman et al., 2013). As such, estimates of victimization may be lower than the actual amount because the cap for counting series victimizations is 10. On the other hand, even without recalling specific detail, these incidents are included in estimates of victimization. Including series victimizations in this way reveals little effect on the trends in violence estimates (Truman et al., 2013). In addition, murder and "victimless" crimes such as prostitution and drug use are not included in NCVS estimates of crime victimization. Another limitation is that crime that occurs to commercial establishments is not included. Beyond recall issues, the NCVS sample is selected from U.S. households. This sample may not be truly representative, as it excludes individuals who are institutionalized, such as persons in prison, and does not include homeless people. Remember, too, that only those persons ages 12 and older are included. As a result, estimates about victimization of children cannot be determined.

Extent of Crime Victimization

Each year, the BJS publishes *Criminal Victimization in the United States,* which is a report about crime victimization as measured by the NCVS. From this report, we can see what the

most typical victimizations are and who is most likely to be victimized. In 2016, 21.6 million victimizations were experienced among the nation's households (R. Morgan & Kena, 2017). Property crimes were much more likely to be experienced compared with violent crimes; 5.5 million violent crime victimizations were experienced compared with 15.9 million property crime victimizations (R. Morgan & Kena, 2017). The most common type of property crime reported was theft, while simple assault was the most commonly occurring violent crime (see Figure 2.1).

The Typical Victimization and Victim

The typical crime victim can also be identified from the NCVS. For all violent victimizations except for rape and sexual assaults, males and females are equally likely to be victimized (R. E. Morgan & Kena, 2014). In 2016, there were no significant differences across racial groups in violent victimization rates, and persons of Hispanic origin had similar violent victimization rates as other racial groups (R. Morgan & Kena, 2017). Young people have the highest victimization rates, with those between the ages of 12 and 34 having the highest rates (R. Morgan & Kena, 2017). Characteristics of victimization incidents are also

FIGURE 2.1 ■ Number of Crimes Occurring in 2016, Comparison for UCR and NCVS

	Rape	Robbery	Aggravated Assault	Burglary	Larceny	Motor Vehicle Theft
UCR	130,603	332,198	803,007	1,515,096	5,638,455	765,484
NCVS	323,450*	500,680	1,084,340	3,291,490	12,040,440	585,500
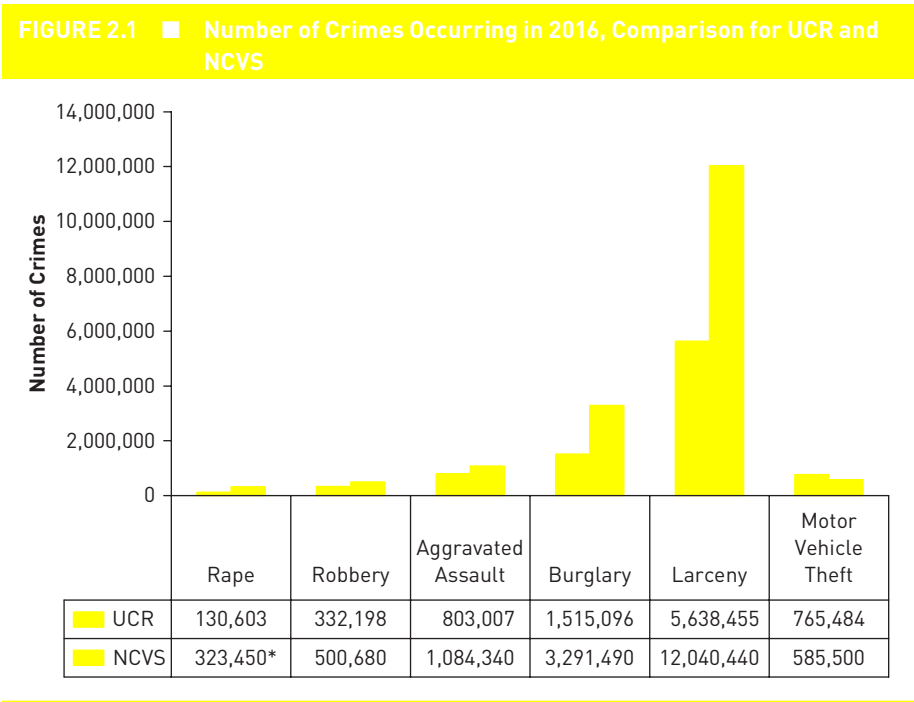
Source: U.S. Department of Justice.

Note: The UCR includes only forcible rape, while the NCVS includes both rape and sexual assault. The UCR measures only aggravated assault, while the NCVS includes both aggravated and simple assault.

*NCVS numbers for rape include rape and sexual assault.

evident. Less than half of all violent victimizations experienced by individuals in the NCVS are reported to the police. Property crimes are less likely to be reported than are violent crimes, with some crimes being much more likely to come to the attention of police than others. For example, rape and sexual assault are the least likely of all violent crimes to be reported, while serious violent crime involving a weapon is the most likely to be reported. Over three-fourths of motor vehicle thefts are reported to the police, but only about one in three of all thefts are (R. Morgan & Kena, 2017). This disjuncture in reporting is likely tied to features of the victimization and motivations for reporting. For example, the lack of reporting may be related in part to the fact that most victims of violent crime know their offender; most often, victims identified their attacker as a friend or acquaintance. Strangers perpetrated only about one-third of violent victimizations in the NCVS. Reporting, on the other hand, may be tied to wanting to get property back, especially a car! In addition, when a person has his or her car stolen, a police report is necessary for insurance purposes, so a person may be particularly motivated to report this type of victimization to the police. Returning now to incident characteristics, females are more likely than males to be victimized by an intimate partner. In only 1 in 5 incidents did the offender have a weapon, and about 1 in 4 of violent crimes resulted in the victim being physically injured (Truman et al., 2013). Now that you know the characteristics of the typical victimization and the typical crime victim, how do Polly and her victimization compare?

Measurement and Extent of Victimization Across the Globe

While victimology's roots are quite cosmopolitan, only fairly recently has victimological research been comparative in nature. According to Elder (1976), comparative research is "an approach to knowing social reality through the examination for similarities and differences between data gathered from more than one nation" (p. 210). Comparative victimological research, in the form of international crime victimization surveys, provides us with a tool for not only measuring but also understanding victimization across the globe.

As already discussed, victimization studies can take different forms. We will now highlight the forms victimization studies can take from a comparative perspective. **International victimization studies** utilize randomized samples from several countries that are representative of populations from which they are taken (H. Schneider, 2001). The **International Crime Victims Survey (ICVS)** and the **International Self Report Delinquency Study (ISRD)** are examples of international victimization studies that we discuss in this section. International victimization studies allow for comparisons across countries to be made. **National victimization studies** are similar to international victimization studies in that they, too, utilize representative random samples; however, a national victimization survey collects data in only one country. Such surveys are conducted in many countries annually, including Andalusia (Spain), Australia, England and Wales, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Scotland, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States (H. Schneider, 2001). Because of the differences in definitions and methodology employed, it is usually not possible to use national victimization surveys to make comparisons between countries. **Local victimization studies** involve surveys that are restricted to the population of a specific region or

city (H. Schneider, 2001). Finally, victimization studies may focus on a specific type of victimization, such as sexual violence or violence against women. Take, for example, the International Violence Against Women survey, which is designed to exclusively measure violence experienced by women at the hands of their male partners. These types of studies are referred to as **specialized victimization surveys** (H. Schneider, 2001).

The International Crime Victims Survey

As you may imagine, there are many other self-report victimization surveys that are used to understand more specific forms of victimization, such as sexual victimization and those that occur outside the United States. Many of these are discussed in later sections. One oft-cited survey of international victimization is the ICVS, which was created to provide a standardized survey to compare crime victims' experiences across countries (van Dijk, van Kesteren, & Smit, 2008). The first round of the survey was conducted in 1989 and was repeated in 1992, 1996, 2000, and 2004/2005. Collectively, more than 340,000 persons have been surveyed in more than 78 countries as part of the ICVS program (van Dijk et al., 2008). Respondents are asked about 10 different types of victimization that they could have experienced: car theft, theft from or out of a car, motorcycle theft, bicycle theft, attempted or completed burglary, sexual victimization (rapes and sexual assault), threats, assaults, robbery, and theft of personal property (van Dijk et al., 2008). If a person has experienced any of these offenses, he or she then answers follow-up questions about the incident. This survey has provided estimates of the extent of crime victimization in many countries and regions of the world. In addition, characteristics of crime victims and incidents have been produced from these surveys. Similar to the NCVS and the ICVS, the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) is conducted to measure the extent and characteristics of victimization in England and Wales. Read the Focus on International Issues box for more information about the CSEW.

International Self Report Delinquency Study

While initially designed to collect comparative data on juvenile delinquency among adolescents residing primarily in Europe, the ISRD has been expanded to include questions pertaining to victimization. The ISRD has undergone three waves of data collection. The first sweep of the ISRD (ISRD-1) was conducted in 1990–1991 among 12 European countries and the United States. The second sweep (ISRD-2) was conducted from 2006 through 2008 and included 31 countries. The third sweep of the ISRD has recently been completed with field work completed in the spring of 2014.

The ISRD is administered to adolescents in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grade via pencil-and-paper surveys or electronically via computers (I. Marshall & Maljevic, 2013). A total of 67,883 questionnaires were collected as part of the ISRD-2 study (Junger-Tas et al., 2010). While the ISRD-1 did not include questions on victimization, four questions were added to the ISRD-2 questionnaire. Students are asked to recall victimization experiences that happened to them in the past 12 months. Specifically, they are asked the following (see Table 2.3):

TABLE 2.3 ■ International Self Report Delinquency Study

Thinking back over the last 12 months, did any of the following happen to you . . .

Someone wanted you to give him/her money or something else (watch, shoes, mobile phone) and threatened you if you did not do it?

Someone hit you violently or hurt you so much that you needed to see a doctor?

Something was stolen from you (such as a book, money, mobile phone, sport equipment, bicycle)?

You were bullied at school (other students humiliated you or made fun of you, hit or kicked you, or excluded you from their group)?

Source: Reprinted from Gruszczynska, B., Lucia, S., & Killias, M. (2012). Juvenile victimization from an international perspective. *Many faces of youth crime* (pp. 95–116). New York, NY: Springer.

To see what the ISRD-2 found, read the Focus on Research box.

Building off the ISRD-2, seven questions pertaining to victimization were included in the ISRD-3 questionnaire. Of these questions, three are carryovers from the ISRD-2 questionnaire (Someone wanted you to give him/her money or something else; Someone hit you violently or hurt you; and Something was stolen from you), and four questions are new. These new questions are intended to measure hate crimes, cyberbullying/harassment, and child abuse. The questions include the following:

✓ Someone threatened you with violence or committed physical violence against you because of your religion, the language you speak, the color of your skin, your social or ethnic background, or for similar reasons?

✓ Has anyone made fun of you or teased you seriously in a hurtful way through e-mail, instant messaging, in a chat room, on a website, or through a text message sent to your mobile phone?

✓ Has your mother or father (or your stepmother or stepfather) ever hit, slapped, or shoved you?

✓ Has your mother or father (or your stepmother or stepfather) ever hit you with an object, punched or kicked you forcefully, or beat you up?

Results from the ISRD-3 are forthcoming.

Crime Survey for England and Wales

The CSEW is a victimization survey of persons aged 16 and over living in England and Wales. Beginning in 1982, the CSEW was conducted every 2 years until 2001, when it was changed to reflect victimizations during the previous 12 months. Beginning April 1, 2012, the CSEW changed its name to the Crime Survey for England and Wales. Using computer-assisted personal interviewing to aid in personal interviewing, it is a nationally

representative survey of about 35,000 adults and 3,000 children in the 10- to 15-year-old supplement. Persons are asked about victimizations that their households and themselves experienced. To get the sample, about 1,000 interviews are conducted in each police force area. If individuals answer "yes" to any screen question about victimization, they complete a victim module that includes detailed questions about the event. Findings from the CSEW for 2017 indicate that there were 10.6 million crimes against households and those 16 and older, with 1.2 million violent incidents (Crime in England and Wales, 2018).

THEORIES AND EXPLANATIONS OF VICTIMIZATION

Now that you have an idea about who the typical crime victim is, you are probably wondering *why* some people are more likely than others to find themselves victims of crime. Is it because those people provoke the victimization, as von Hentig and his contemporaries thought? Is it because crime victims are perceived by offenders to be more vulnerable than others? Is there some personality trait that influences victimization risk? All these factors may play at least some role in why victimization occurs to particular people. The following sections address these possibilities.

The Link Between Victimization and Offending

One facet about victimization that cannot be ignored is the link between offending and victimization and offenders and victims. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the first forays into the study of victims included a close look at how victims contribute to their own victimization. In this way, victims were not always assumed to be innocents; rather, some victims were seen as being at least partly responsible for causing their victimization—for instance, by being an offender who is victimized when the victim fights back. Although the field of victimology has moved from trying to place blame on victims, the recognition that offenders and victims are often linked—and often the same person—has aided in the understanding of why people are victimized.

Victim and Offender Characteristics

The typical victim and the typical offender have many commonalities. As mentioned before in our discussion of the NCVS, the groups with the highest rates of violent victimization are those who are young people. The UCR also provides information on offenders. The groups with the highest rates of violent offending are also young black males. The typical victim and the typical offender, then, share common demographics. In addition, both victims and offenders are likely to live in urban areas. Thus, individuals who spend time with people who have the characteristics of offenders are more likely to be victimized than others.

Explaining the Link Between Victimization and Offending

Some even argue that victims and offenders are often one and the same, with offenders being more likely to be victimized and vice versa. It is not hard to understand why this may

be the case. Offending can be viewed as part of a risky lifestyle. Individuals who engage in offending are exposed more frequently to people and contexts in which victimization is likely to occur (Lauritsen, Laub, & Sampson, 1992).

There also may be a link between victimization and offending that is part of a broader cultural belief in the acceptability and sometimes necessity of violence, known as the subculture of violence theory. This theory proposes that for certain subgroups of the population and in certain areas, violence is part of a value system that supports the use of violence, in response to disrespect in particular (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967). In this way, when a subculture that supports violence exists, victims will be likely to respond by retaliating. Offenders may initiate violence that leads to their victimization by, for example, getting into a physical fight to resolve a dispute. Recent research shows that the victim–offender overlap does indeed vary across neighborhoods and that this variation is related to the neighborhood's strength of attachment to the **"code of the streets"** and degree of structural deprivation (M. Berg & Loeber, 2011; M. Berg, Stewart, Schreck, & Simons, 2012).

Being victimized may be related to offending in ways that are not directly tied to retaliation. In fact, being victimized at one point in life may increase the likelihood that a person will engage in delinquency and crime later in life. This link has been found especially in individuals who are abused during childhood. As discussed in Chapter 10 on victimization at the beginning and end of life, those who are victimized as children are significantly more likely than those who do not experience child abuse to be arrested in adulthood (Widom, 2000) or to engage in violence and property offending (Menard, 2002).

The reasons why victimization may lead to participation in crime are not fully understood, but it may be that being victimized carries psychological consequences, such as depression, anxiety, or posttraumatic stress disorder, that can lead to coping through the use of alcohol or drugs. Victimization may also carry physical consequences, such as brain damage, that can further impede success later in life. Cognitive ability may also be tempered by maltreatment, particularly in childhood, which can hinder school performance. Behavior may also change as a result of being victimized. People may experience problems in their interpersonal relationships or become violent or aggressive. Whatever the reason, it is evident that victimization and offending are intimately intertwined.

Insomuch as victimization and offending are linked, it makes sense then, as you will see in the following sections, that the same influences on offending may also affect victimization and hence may explain the link between victimization and offending. This is not to say that the only explanations of victimization should be tied to or be an extension of explanations of offending—just remember that when you read about the research that has used criminological theories to explain victimization, it is largely because of the connection between victimization and offending. The link between victimization and offending is more thoroughly explored in Chapter 3.

Routine Activities and Lifestyles Theory

In the 1970s, two theoretical perspectives—**routine activities and lifestyles theory**—were put forth that both linked crime victimization risk to the fact that victims had to

come into contact with a potential offender. Before discussing these theories in detail, first, it is important to understand what a **victimization theory** is. A victimization theory is generally a set of testable propositions designed to explain why a person is victimized. Both routine activities and lifestyles theories propose that a person's victimization risk can best be understood by the extent to which the victim's routine activities or lifestyle creates opportunities for a motivated offender to commit crime.

In developing routine activities theory, Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson (1979) proposed that a person's routine activities, or daily routine patterns, impact risk of being a crime victim. Insomuch as a person's routine activities bring him or her into contact with **motivated offenders**, crime victimization risk abounds. Cohen and Felson thought that motivated offenders were plentiful and that their motivation to offend did not need to be explained. Rather, their selection of particular victims was more interesting. Cohen and Felson noted that there must be something about particular targets, both individuals and places, that encouraged selection by these motivated offenders. In fact, those individuals deemed to be **suitable targets** based on their attractiveness would be chosen by offenders. Attractiveness relates to qualities about the target, such as ease of transport, which is why a burglar may break into a home and leave with jewelry or a laptop computer rather than a couch. Attractiveness is further evident when the target does not have **capable guardianship**. Capable guardianship is conceived as means by which a person or target can be effectively guarded to prevent a victimization from occurring. Guardianship is typically considered to be *social,* when the presence of another person makes someone less attractive as a target. Guardianship can also be provided through *physical* means, such as a home with a burglar alarm or a person who carries a weapon for self-protection. A home with a burglar alarm and a person who carries a weapon are certainly less attractive crime targets! When these three elements—motivated offenders, suitable targets, and lack of capable guardianship—coalesce in time and space, victimization is likely to occur.

When Cohen and Felson (1979) originally developed their theory, they focused on predatory crimes—those that involve a target and offender making contact. They originally were interested in explaining changes in rates of these types of crime over time. In doing so, they argued that people's routines had shifted since World War II, taking them away from home and making their homes attractive targets. People began spending more time outside the home, in leisure activities and going to and from work and school. As people spent more time interacting with others, they were more likely to come into contact with motivated offenders. Capable guardianship was unlikely to be present; thus, the risk of criminal victimization increased. Cohen and Felson also linked the increase in crime to the production of durable goods. Electronics began to be produced in portable sizes, making them easier to steal. Similarly, cars and other expensive items that could be stolen, reused, and resold became targets. As Cohen and Felson saw it, prosperity of society could produce an increase in criminal victimization rather than a decline! Also important, they linked victimization to everyday activities rather than to social ills, such as poverty.

Michael Hindelang, Michael Gottfredson, and James Garofalo's (1978) lifestyles theory is a close relative of routine activities theory. Hindelang and colleagues posited that