The Essentials

THIRD EDITION

VICTIMOLOGY

LEAH E. DAIGLE

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3rd Edition

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PREFACE

Although offender behavior and the impacts 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. This 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.

I 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. My 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, I 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-exposure theories, 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. I have included a chapter that discusses these theories. Furthermore, in each chapter about a specific type of victimization, I have identified the causes and how theory may apply. Knowing this is a critical first step in preventing victimization and revictimization.

I 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 cybervictimization, identity theft victimization, and the victim–offender overlap. Other chapters wholly address contemporary issues. Specifically, there is a chapter devoted to victims of terrorism, hate crime, and human trafficking; one to recurring victimization; and one to victims who suffer from mental illness, victims who are incarcerated, and victims who have disabilities. I 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.

This text covers these topics without the "padding" often found in existing texts. As such, the book is appropriate for undergraduate students as a primary text and for graduate students as a supplement and resource or as a primary text. Given its short length, it will pair nicely with other supplemental readings and should work for classes taught

at accelerated paces (e.g., some online courses, on quarters). 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 14 chapters that were selected because they address the topics typically covered in victimology courses. These chapters are as follows:

- Introduction to Victimology

- Extent, Theories, and Factors of Victimization

- Consequences of Victimization

- Recurring Victimization

- Victims' Rights and Remedies

- Homicide Victimization

- Sexual Victimization

- Intimate Partner Violence

- Victimization at the Beginning and End of Life: Child and Elder Abuse

- Victimization at School and Work

- Property Victimization, Identity Theft Victimization, and Cybervictimization

- Victimization of Special Populations

- Victimology From a Comparative Perspective

- Contemporary Issues in Victimology: Victims of Hate Crimes, Human Trafficking, and Terrorism

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

- Learning objectives are provided at the beginning of the chapter.

- Each chapter is summarized in bullet points.

- Almost every chapter includes a Focus on Research box.

- 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.

- Multimedia resources such as videos and podcasts relevant for each chapter are provided.

- The book has a glossary of key terms.

NEW TO THIS EDITION

- *New section:* A new section on cybervictimization has been included in Chapter 11. The section covers technology-facilitated sexual violence, technology-based coercive control, revenge porn, and cyberbullying.

- *Focus on Research:* Updated Focus on Research boxes are included that highlight recent research to highlight the connection and influence research has had in the field of victimology.

- *Updated sections on prevention:* For chapters that did not have a separate section on prevention, they have been added and expanded in others. Information on prevention of child maltreatment, prevention of victimization of persons with disabilities, prevention of victimization of persons with mental illness, prevention of hate crime victimization, prevention of human trafficking, and prevention of terrorism are now discussed.

- *Updated statistics:* The latest data on victimization and types of victimization from the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) and the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) are used throughout the chapters, as well as current data on human trafficking, theft, household burglary, motor vehicle theft, identity theft, victims of hate crime, victimization of persons with disabilities and of those who are incarcerated, and victims of terrorism.

- *New and expanded topics:* The text examines victimization for people who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, queer, and transgender and how minority stress theory may account for their victimization; how victimization is a form of trauma and why it influences the brain; what consent is and the role it plays in sexual victimization; sexual victimizations perpetrated via technology and behaviors recently investigated as potential sexual victimization such as condom stealthing; and how biopsychosocial explanations can be used to explain victimization.

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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

Learning Objectives

After reading this chapter, students should be able to

1. Describe social movements that lead to the development of the study of crime victims

2. Differentiate the ways in which victims are thought to contribute to victimization

3. Apply victim typologies to understand why some people are victimized

4. Describe the history of the field of victimology

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 time, 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**. During this time, 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 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 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.

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.

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. 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.

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▶ **Photo 1.1**
A person left their keys in their car while they went shopping. By doing so, this person inadvertently made it easier for an offender to steal their car, thus facilitating their victimization, but this does not mean that they are to blame for it.

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 return to this link between victims and offenders in Chapter 2, but for now, recognize that one of the first discussions of criminal victimization connected it to offending.

In studying victimization, then, 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 agent 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).

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 themself 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 their 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, whereas 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, and the first to initiate physical violence. He found that 26% of all homicides in Philadelphia during this period were victim precipitated.

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. H. 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 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 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 what was then considered seductive behavior, such as wear revealing clothing, use risqué language, and have 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 7, rape and sexual assault victims today still must overcome this view that women (because such victims are usually female) are largely responsible for their own victimization.

Even though the first study examining victim precipitation and homicide was published in 1957, this phenomenon is being examined in contemporary times as well. And, according to Berg and Mulford (2017), further research is still needed to fully understand this phenomenon. In a review of 96 empirical studies, the researchers contend that there are gaps in the literature that must be explored. Berg and Mulford suggest reevaluating routine activities theory and other leading perspectives as explanations of the victim–offender overlap, improving empirical testing of the victim–offender overlap, and accounting for the contextual experiences of victim precipitators. Why do you think that individual experiences are relevant to untangling victim-precipitated crime?

Adapted from Berg, M. T., & Mulford, C. F. (2017). Reappraising and redirecting research on the victim–offender overlap. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse,* 21(1), 16–30.

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 under way 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, for 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. A. Young & Stein, 2004).

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 5, 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. A. 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 5. 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 5, 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 5.

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. To determine who victims were, victimologists looked at official data sources—namely, the Uniform Crime Report—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 12.

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 used theories of victimization are routine activities theory and lifestyles-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 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 post-traumatic 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 3, 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 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 4.

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 discussed in detail in Chapter 3, 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 because 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, for 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 because victimization involves at least two elements—the offender and the victim—both of which 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.

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▶ **Photo 1.2**
Some cities post signs warning people about potential criminal activity. What types of crime prevention efforts do you see in your neighborhood?

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, because routine activities and lifestyles-exposure 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.

Because 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 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 used to classify victims in terms of their responsibility or role in their own victimization.

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 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.

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

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?

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

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

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?

**http://www
.american-society-victimology.org**

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.

**https://ucr.fbi.gov/
crime-in-the-u.s/2015/crime-in-the-u.s.-2015**

The Federal Bureau of Investigation compiles all the information for both the Uniform Crime Report 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 2015.

**http://www.crimepreven
tiontips.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.

**http://vroh.uak
ron.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.

**Short Video—Victim Precipitation:
Definition & Theory**

https://study.com/academy/lesson/victim-
precipitation-definition-theory.html

**SAGE Knowledge—Leah Daigle Discusses
Victimology**

https://sk.sagepub.com/video/leah-daigle-
discusses-victimology

EXTENT, THEORIES, AND FACTORS OF VICTIMIZATION

Learning Objectives

After reading this chapter, students should be able to

1. Compare and contrast common ways to measure victimization

2. Describe who the "typical" crime victim is and what the "typical" victimization is

3. Explain what the victim–offender overlap is

4. Apply different theoretical perspectives to explain why a person is victimized

5. Identify the key propositions for lifestyle-exposure theory and for routine activities theory

6. Analyze how biology, sociology, and psychology explain crime victimization

It was not exactly a typical night for Brittany. 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. Because Brittany lived within walking distance of the bar, she bid her friends goodnight and started on her journey home. It was dark out, but because 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 Brittany 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. Because Brittany refused, the other man shoved her, causing her to hit her head on the wall, 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, Brittany 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 Brittany 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 chapter. But what about why she was targeted? Fortunately, we can use the theories presented in this chapter to understand why Brittany fell victim on that particular night.

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.

▶ **Photo 2.1**
Brittany, on her way home from the bar.

Uniform Crime Report

Begun in 1929, the **Uniform Crime Report (UCR)** shows 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, 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 97% 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 (Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI], 2014a). 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 because, as discussed shortly, 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 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 2018, the police became aware of 1,206,836 violent crimes and 7,196,045 property crimes (FBI, 2018a; FBI, 2018b). According to the UCR data shown in Figure 2.1 in this chapter, 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 who is arrested is a young (less than 30 years old) white male (although young Black males have highest offending rates) (FBI, 2018c).

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

Figure 2.1   Number of Crimes Occurring in 2018, Comparison for Uniform Crime Report (UCR) and National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS)

	Rape/Sexual Assault	Robbery	Aggravated Assault	Burglary	Simple Assault	Larceny-Theft
UCR	139,380	282,061	807,410	1,230,149		5,217,055
NCVS	734,630	573,100	1,058,040	1,724,720	4,019,750	10,329,210

Number of Crimes (y-axis: 0 to 12,000,000)
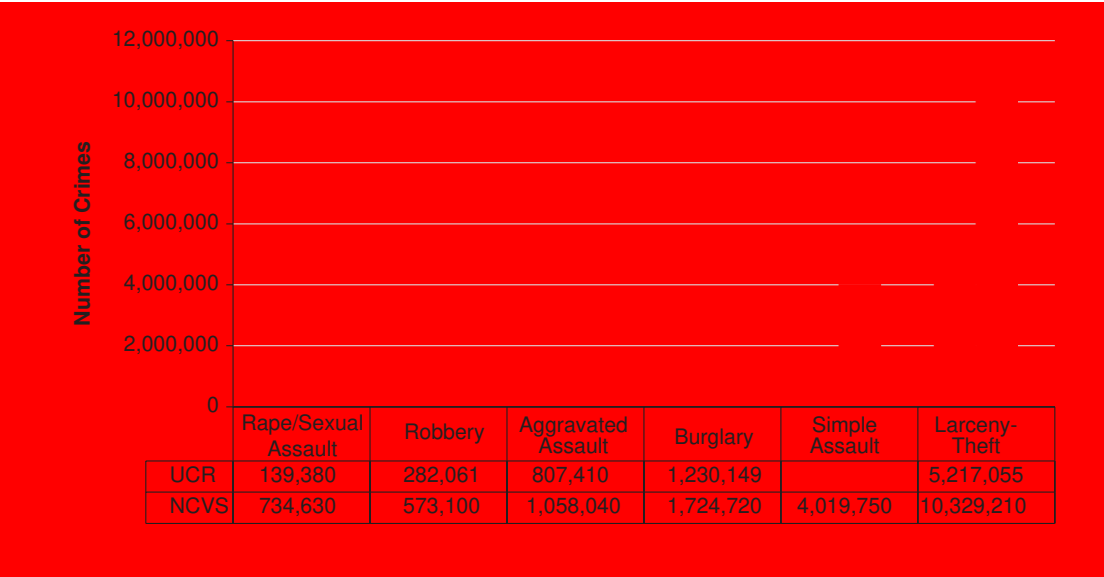
Source: Created by the author with U.S. Department of Justice data.

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

incident and arrest in 24 offense categories (Group A offenses) that encompass 52 specific crimes. Arrest data are reported for an additional 10 offenses (Group B offenses). Information about the offender, the victim, injury, location, property loss, and weapons is included (FBI, 2015a). Also of importance, NIBRS does not use the hierarchy rule when classifying or counting crimes (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.

With consideration of these limitations, at the end of the year in 2019, the 17,429 law enforcement agencies (43% of all law enforcement agencies) participating in NIBRS reported 6.6 million criminal offenses, almost 7 million victims (4.7 million individual victims), and 5.6 million known offenders. Of the offenses, 59.5% were property crimes, 24.1% were crimes against persons, and 16.4% were crimes against society (also referred to as victimless crimes) (FBI, 2018d). There were 3,480,625 arrests for offenses tracked in NIBRS in 2018 (FBI, 2018e).

NIBRS is also a source of information on crime victims and incidents. Slightly less than one-quarter of victims were between 21 and 30 years of age and 51% of victims were females. Almost 70% of victims were white, 21.6% were Black or African American, 1.9% were Asian, 0.7% were American Indian or Alaska Native, and less than 0.4% were Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (FBI, 2018f). In a slight majority of crimes against persons and robbery from the person (51.1%), the victim knew his or her offender but was not related to the offender, and in 10.7% of the crimes against persons, the perpetrator was a stranger (FBI, 2018g). Most crimes against the person occur at a victim's home (62.8%), whereas slightly more than 4 in 10 property crimes occur at a victim's home (although this was the most common location of property crime category) (FBI, 2018g).

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 about 151,000 households. Each member of participating households who is 12 years old or older completes the survey, resulting in about 243,000 persons being interviewed (Morgan & Oudekerk, 2019). Persons who live in military barracks and in institutional settings (e.g., prisons and hospitals) and those who are homeless are excluded from the NCVS. 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 & Morgan, 2016).

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 used to classify an 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 7 (force, penetration), 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

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)?
(a) With any weapon, for instance, a gun or knife
(b) With anything like a baseball bat, frying pan, scissors, or stick
(c) By something thrown, such as a rock or bottle
(d) Include any grabbing, punching, or choking
(e) Any rape, attempted rape, or other type of sexual attack
(f) Any face-to-face threats
OR
(g) 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: Bureau of Justice Statistics (2015a).

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: Bureau of Justice Statistics, National Crime Victimization Survey (2015b).

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 occurred 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 (Morgan & Oudekerk, 2019). 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 effects on the trends in violence estimates (Morgan & Oudekerk, 2019). 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, for 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 over 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*, 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 2018, more than 19,800,000 victimizations were experienced among the nation's households (Morgan & Oudekerk, 2019). Property crimes were much more likely to be experienced compared with violent crimes; 6.4 million violent crime victimizations were experienced compared with 13.5 million property crime victimizations. The most common type of property crime reported was theft, whereas 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. Persons who are Black and those under the age of 24 also have higher victim-ization rates than others. Characteristics of victimization incidents are also evident. Less than half of all 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 exam-ple, rape and sexual assault are the least likely of all violent crimes to be reported, whereas aggravated assault is the most likely to be reported. Almost 80% of motor vehicle thefts are reported to the police, but only about 30% of all thefts are (Morgan & Oudekerk, 2019). 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 (Morgan & Oudekerk, 2019). Reporting, on the other hand, may be tied to wanting to secure 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, previous findings from the NCVS show that females are more likely than males to be victimized by an intimate partner. In about 58% of incidents, the offender had a weapon, and about 55% of violent crimes resulted in the victim being physically injured (Truman, Langton, & Planty, 2013). Now that you know the charac-teristics of the typical victimization and the typical crime victim, how do Brittany and her victimization compare?

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 chapters. One oft-cited survey of international victimization is the International Crime Victims Survey (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. Col-lectively, 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 types of vic-timization 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.

Crime Survey for England and Wales

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. CSEW is a victimization survey of persons ages 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 (from the British Crime Survey). Using computer-assisted personal interviewing to aid in 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 they 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 year ending June 2019 indicate that there were 11.1 million crimes when including computer fraud and misuse against households and those 16 and older, with 1.3 million violent incidents (Office for National Statistics, 2019b).

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 chapters address these possibilities.

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 bringing on 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 group with the highest rate of violent victimization are young and Black persons. The UCR also provides information on offenders. Those with the highest rates of violent offending are also young and Black. 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. T. Berg & Loeber, 2012; M. T. 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 9 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, 2017) 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 post-traumatic 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.

Inasmuch as victimization and offending are linked, it makes sense, then, as you will see in the following chapters, 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.

Routine Activities and Lifestyles-Exposure Theories

In the 1970s, two theoretical perspectives—**routine activities and lifestyles-exposure theories**—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. L. E. 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 an iPad or laptop computer rather than a couch. Attractiveness is further evident when the target does not have **capable guardianship**. Capable guardianship is conceived as a 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 L. E. 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) lifestyle-exposure theory is a close relative of routine activities theory. Hindelang and colleagues posited that certain lifestyles or behaviors place people in situations in which victimization is likely to occur. Your lifestyle, such as going to bars or working late at night in relative seclusion, places you at more risk of being a crime victim than others. Although the authors of lifestyles-exposure theory did not specify how opportunity structures risk as

clearly as did the authors of routine activities theory, at its heart, lifestyles-exposure theory closely resembles routine activities theory and its propositions. As a person comes into contact—via lifestyle and behavior—with potential offenders, he or she is likely creating opportunities for crime victimization to occur. The lifestyle factors identified by Hindelang and his colleagues that create opportunities for victimization are the people with whom one associates, working outside the home, and engaging in leisure activities. In this way, a person who associates with criminals, works outside the home, and participates in activities—particularly at night, away from home, and with nonfamily members—is a more likely target for personal victimization than others. Hindelang and colleagues noted that a person's lifestyle is structured by social constraints and role expectations. That is, because of a person's demographic characteristics, he or she may be afforded less opportunity to engage in particular activities. Consider the fact that females are socialized differently from males. Females may be expected to be the caretaker of the home and, when younger, may be supervised more closely than males. Accordingly, females may spend more time at home and spend more time under the supervision of their parents or other guardians. Given these social constraints and role expectations, females may be less likely to engage in activities outside the home that would place them at risk for victimization, hence explaining why females are at lower risk for victimization than males.

Hindelang et al. (1978) further delineated why victimization risk is higher for some people than others using the **principle of homogamy**. According to this principle, the more frequently a person comes into contact with persons in demographic groups with likely offenders, the more likely it is the person will be victimized. This frequency may be a function of demographics or lifestyle. For example, males are more likely to be criminal offenders than females. Males, then, are at greater risk for victimization because they are more likely to spend time with other males. Now that you know about routine activities theory, do you think Brittany's routines or lifestyle placed her at risk for being victimized? Today, researchers largely treat routine activities theory and lifestyles theory interchangeably and often refer to them as the routine activities and lifestyles theory perspectives.

One of the reasons that routine activities and lifestyles-exposure theories have been the prevailing theories of victimization for more than 30 years is the wide empirical support researchers have found when testing them. It has been shown that a person's routine activities and lifestyle impact risk of being sexually victimized (Cass, 2007; B. S. Fisher, Daigle, & Cullen, 2010a, 2010b; Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999, 2007; Schwartz & Pitts, 1995). This perspective also has been used to explain auto theft (Rice & Smith, 2002), stalking (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999), cybercrime victimization (Holt & Bossler, 2009), adolescent violent victimization (Lauritsen et al., 1992), theft (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1998), victimization at work (Lynch, 1997), and street robbery (Groff, 2007).

Recent research on routines suggests that people may also alter them *after* being victimized. You may expect that a person who is victimized may engage in more protective behaviors such as installing a burglar alarm following a break-in at his or her house or avoiding walking alone at night after being mugged at night. Researchers have investigated whether such changes in behaviors occur. Some of the first works in this area showed that victims had greater use of defensive behaviors (things like avoiding certain areas or people), and that property crime victims engaged in higher use of household protective efforts such as installing lights and timers (Skogan, 1987). Victimization has also been linked to moving, which would certainly alter your routines (Dugan, 1999; Xie & McDowall, 2008). For

example, using data from the NCVS, Bunch, Clay-Warner, and McMahon-Howard (2014) found that while victims did change some of their behaviors after being victimized compared with nonvictims (such as going out at night more often!), these differences were not due to the victimization event but could be attributed to preexisting differences between victims and nonvictims that influence victimization risk.

Structural and Social Process Factors

In addition to routine activities and lifestyles theories, other factors also increase a person's risk of being victimized. Key components of life—such as **neighborhood context**, family, friends, and personal interaction—also play a role in victimization.

Neighborhood Context

We have already discussed how certain individuals are more at risk of becoming victims of crime than others. So far, we have tied this risk to factors related to the person's lifestyle. Where that person lives and spends time, however, may also place him or her at risk of victimization. Indeed, you are probably not surprised to learn that certain areas have higher rates of victimization than others. Some areas are so crime prone that they are considered to be **hot spots** for crime. Highlighted by Sherman, Gartin, and Buerger (1989), hot spots are areas that have a concentrated amount of crime. Sherman and colleagues found through examining police call data in Minneapolis that only 3% of all locations made up most calls to the police. A person living in or frequenting a hot spot will be putting himself or herself in danger. The features of these hot spots and other high-risk areas may create opportunities for victimization that, independent of a person's lifestyle or demographic characteristics, enhance chances of being victimized.

What is it about certain areas that relates them to victimization? A body of research has identified many features, particularly of neighborhoods (notice we are not discussing hot spots specifically). One factor related to victimization is **family structure**. Robert Sampson (1985), in his seminal piece on neighborhoods and crime, found that neighborhoods that have a large percentage of female-headed households have higher rates of theft and violent victimization. He also found that **structural density**, as measured by the percentage of units in structures of five or more units, is positively related to victimization. **Residential mobility**, or the percentage of persons 5 years and older living in a different house from 5 years before, also predicted victimization.

Beyond finding that the structure of a neighborhood influences victimization rates for that area, it also has been shown that neighborhood features influence personal risk. In this way, living in a neighborhood that is disadvantaged places individuals at risk of being victimized, even if they do not have risky lifestyles or other characteristics related to victimization (Browning & Erickson, 2009). For example, neighborhood disadvantage and neighborhood residential instability are related to experiencing violent victimization at the hands of an intimate partner (Benson, Fox, DeMaris, & Van Wyk, 2003). Using the notions of collective efficacy, it makes sense that neighborhoods that are disadvantaged are less able to mobilize effective sources of informal social control (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997). Informal social controls are often used as mechanisms to maintain order, stability, and safety in neighborhoods. When communities do

▶ **Photo 2.2**
This area may be a hot spot due to lots of people milling about at night.

not have strong informal mechanisms in place, violence and other deviancies are likely to abound. Such communities are less safe; hence, their residents are more likely to be victimized than residents of more socially organized areas.

Exposure to Delinquent Peers

The neighborhood context is but one factor related to risk of victimization. Social process factors, such as peers and family, are also important in understanding crime victimization. Generally, one of the strongest influences on youth is their peers. Peer pressure can lead people, especially juveniles, to act in ways they normally would not and to engage in behavior they otherwise would not. Having **delinquent peers** places youth not only at risk of engaging in delinquent behavior—juvenile delinquency does, after all, often take place in groups—but also of being victimized (Lauritsen, Sampson, & Laub, 1991; Schreck & Fisher, 2004). Spending time with delinquent peers places people at risk of being victimized because, as routine activities and lifestyles-exposure theories suggest, spending time in the presence of motivated offenders increases risk. Never mind that these would-be offenders are your friends! Another reason having delinquent peers may be related to victimization is that a person may find himself or herself in risky situations (such as being present for a fight) in which being harmed is not unlikely. In this situation, it may not be your friends per se who harm you, but others involved in the fight may attack you, or you may feel the need to come to the aid of your friends. T. J. Taylor, Peterson, Esbensen, and Freng (2007) note that being a member of a gang increases a young person's risk of experiencing violence.

Family

Especially during adolescence, the family also plays an important role in individual experiences. Having strong attachments to family members, particularly parents, is likely to insulate a person from many negative events, including being victimized. Not surprisingly, research has found that weak emotional attachment between family members is a strong predictor of victimization (Esbensen, Huizinga, & Menard, 1999; Lauritsen et al., 1992). This may be due to parents being unable and unwilling to exert control over the behavior of their children, such that they are more likely to end up in risky situations. Family units may also spend more time together when there is strong attachment, thus reducing exposure to motivated offenders. Youth may also be less likely to place themselves in risky situations because they do not want to disappoint their parents, for they place high value on the relationships they have with them. In these ways, emotional attachment to family members serves to reduce risky behavior. At this point, you may be noting that familial attachment may be related to routine activities and lifestyles-exposure theories—and you

would be right! Research investigating the link between familial attachment and victimization has found that the better a person feels about his or her family, the less likely they are to be victimized (Schreck & Fisher, 2004).

Social Learning Theory

According to social learning theory (Akers, 1973), criminal behavior is learned behavior. Specifically, it is learned through differential association (spending time with delinquent or criminal others) whereby imitation or modeling of behavior occurs. A person learns behavior as well as the definitions about behavior, such as whether it is acceptable to engage in crime. The likelihood that a behavior will persist depends on the degree of reward or punishment. In this way, behaviors are differentially reinforced, and people continue to engage in behaviors that are rewarded and cease to engage in behaviors that are punished. When a behavior is rewarded, the definitions favorable toward that act will eventually outweigh the definitions against that act. Although this social learning process was originally posited to explain delinquency, it has also been used to explain victimization, especially intimate partner violence in the sense that children who are exposed to violence between parents in the home are more likely to be victims of intimate partner violence than others later in life (see Chapter 8 for a more detailed discussion). Other research has linked social learning theory to stalking victimization (Fox, Nobles, & Akers, 2011).

Immigration and Victimization: Are They Related?

If you have been paying attention to the news, you may have heard people blame the crime problem in the United States on immigrants—legal or otherwise—who have come across our borders. This argument has been made all the more salient in the wake of mass shootings on our soil like the one that occurred in Orlando, Florida, on June 12, 2016, at Pulse nightclub that resulted in 49 deaths and 53 people injured. Even though the shooter was a U.S. citizen (and was even born here!), some people reinforced their calls for tighter security and reduced ability for people to enter the country. This concern is related to crime that may be committed by people coming to our country, but there is also concern that immigration is related to victimization. There are many reasons to be concerned about the victimization experiences of immigrants. In a study of criminal justice personnel throughout the nation, it was found that these individuals believe that recent immigrants are less likely than others to report their victimization experiences to the police because of language barriers, fear of retaliation, and lack of knowledge about the criminal justice system (R. C. Davis & Erez, 1998). Other research has found that increases in immigration are not linked to increases in crime victimization (this study examined immigration in western Europe) (Nunziata, 2015). At the individual level, some research has documented that immigrant youth are at particular risk for being bullied in schools, whereas other research has not found an elevated risk. Still other research has suggested that assimilation is the driving factor behind increased risks for victimization and that lifestyles and routines can help understand this relationship (Peguero, 2013). Immigration and being an immigrant need to be more fully studied to understand if they play a role in victimization risk.

Latino day laborers (LDLs), who are often undoc- umented migrants, are exposed to multiple forms of victimization and other deleterious outcomes due to a lack of social and health services, their illegal status, poverty, and dis- crimination. Negi et al. (2019) interviewed 25 LDLs living and working in Baltimore, Maryland, about victimization experiences and the effects of their lifestyle on their well-being. The partic- ipants described being affected by street-level assaults and robbery, along with workplace victimizations such as unpaid labor, verbal and physical abuse, and even abandonment at job sites. These experiences coupled with a lack of social support fostered feelings of isolation and desperation and participants reported increased alcohol abuse. How do you think communities and social support organizations should address the support issues of Latino day laborers to pre- vent their victimization?

Adapted from Negi, N. J., Siegel, J., Calderon, M., Thomas, E., & Valdez, A. (2019). "They dumped me like trash": The social and psychological toll of victimization on Latino day laborers' lives. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 65(3–4), 369–380.

Control-Balance Theory

A general theory of deviancy, **control-balance theory**, may also apply to victimization. Developed by Charles Tittle (1995, 1997), this theory proposes that the amount of control that people possess over others and the amount of control to which one is subject factor into their risk of engaging in deviancy. When considered together, a **control ratio** can be determined for individuals. Control-balance theory posits that when the control a person has exceeds the amount of control he or she is subject to, that person has a **control surplus**. When the amount of control a person exercises is outweighed by the control he or she is subject to, that person has a **control deficit**. When a person has a control surplus or deficit, he or she is likely to be predisposed toward deviant behavior. The type of deviant behavior to which a person will be predisposed depends on the control ratio. A control surplus is linked to autonomous forms of deviance such as exploitation of others. Control deficits, on the other hand, are linked to repressive forms of deviance such as defiance.

Although not expressly a theory of victimization, control-balance theory is used by Alex Piquero and Matthew Hickman (2003) to explain victimization. They proposed that having a control surplus or control deficit would increase victimization risk as compared with having a control balance. Individuals with a control surplus are used to having their needs and desires met and have a desire to extend their control. In short, they engage in risky behaviors (in terms of victimization) because there is little to restrain their actions. They may treat others who have control deficits with disrespect in such a way that those individuals act out and victimize them. Those with control deficits are at risk for victim- ization for different reasons. So used to having little control at their disposal, they lack the confidence or belief that they can protect themselves and are, thus, vulnerable targets. They may also try to overcome their control deficits by lashing out or victimizing those who exercise control over them. Piquero and Hickman tested control-balance's ability to predict victimization and found that both control deficits and control surpluses predicted general and theft victimization.