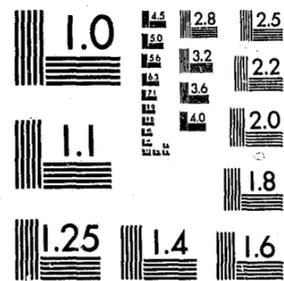


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Victimology Research Agenda Development

Volume III: Analysis and Recommendations

The MITRE Corporation
MTR-80W221 Vol. III

MITRE Technical Report
MTR-80W221 Vol. III

**Volume III:
Analysis and Recommendations**

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August 1980

Contract Sponsor: National Institute of Justice
Contract No.: 79-NI-AX-0135
Project No.: 12830
Dept.: W-22

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ABSTRACT

This document provides a summary and analysis of papers and proceedings from the Victimology Research Agenda Development Project conducted in support of the research program of the National Institute of Justice. The analysis is organized in terms of major topic areas in empirical victimology: antecedents and etiology; dynamics of victimization; victimization-related behavior; and the consequences of victimization. Based on this analysis, sets of research topics are outlined that would potentially contribute to theoretical and empirical advances in basic victimology.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are a number of individuals at the National Institute of Justice and at LEAA who provided valuable assistance to this project in planning the project activities, in the selection of topics and of authors and as participants in the workshop. These are Walter Burkhart, Director of the Office of Research Programs; Richard Barnes, Director of the Center for the Study of Crime Correlates and Criminal Behavior; Fred Heinzmann, Director of the Office of Community Crime Prevention; Bernard Auchter of the Office of Community Crime Prevention; and Jan Kirby, Program Manager of the LEAA Victim/Witness Unit. We would also like to thank Emilio Viano, Director of the National Victim/Witness Resource Center, who also contributed to the project. Finally, special thanks go to Bernard Gropper, the Program Manager, for his assistance in all these areas throughout the whole effort.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Since the pioneering work of Von Hentig and Mendelsohn in the forties, there has been a growing scientific and political concern for the victims of crime. Although relatively immature in the development of an integrated theory or systematic set of hypotheses, the multi-disciplinary field of victimology has emerged as a diverse set of related research topics, most involving the scientific study of victims and the victimization process. One of the most important features of the development of victimology as a discipline has been the adoption, in much of this research, of the victim's perspective and of a manifest concern and empathy for the victim's plight. In this sense, victimology has become a science of social concern as much as an empirical science of victims and the process of victimization.

In the general areas of criminology and criminal justice, victimology has resulted in a number of important new directions and foci. First, it complements criminology's basic focus on characteristics of the criminal by studying victim characteristics. Equally important, victimology has resulted in the more realistic characterization of the criminal act (or conversely the victimization incident) as a complex and dynamic social process involving the interactions of offender, victim, and setting. Victimology has helped draw attention to the plight of crime victims and, as such, has resulted in increased resources being devoted to victim services and to crime prevention efforts. Victimology has also emphasized the value of victims as an important source of information on crime and offenders. Finally, with its emphasis on causes and consequences, victimology has made temporal considerations more salient in the study of criminal events.

The growing significance and codification of victimology as a basic and applied discipline has been reflected in a number of major developments in the last few years including the creation of a professional society devoted to these issues. Related has been the establishment of a scientific journal for victimological research (International Journal of Victimology) and the conduct of several international symposia devoted to the subject. Numerous states have passed victim compensation and restitution legislation and, as part of a widespread victim rights/services movement, a variety of programs and projects are operated in localities across the nation designed to serve the needs of victims. Finally, the conduct of large-scale victimization surveys has resulted in new knowledge about the extent of unreported crime and other aspects of crime, victims, and offenders.

The last decade, however, has seen a shift from the basic concerns of the early victimologists with victim-offender relationships and processes (that is, with the criminal act itself), to more applied concerns such as addressing victims' needs and problems and facilitating their participation in the criminal justice system. This has been a national development based on the growing awareness of the crime victim's plight and the notion of a secondary victimization based on responses of apathy, indifference, and even hostility by society in general and the criminal justice system in particular. Contributing to this new sensitivity to crime victims has been important research drawing attention to crimes such as rape, wife-beating, and child abuse and the often devastating impact of these offenses.

During the last five years, as the victim has become a more salient public issue, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) have devoted increasing resources to the victim area. By and large, the research and programmatic efforts undertaken have been applied in nature--directed toward improving services to victims, enhancing the witness function, and addressing the specific problems of unique victim constituencies like rape or child abuse victims. Although relatively high priority has been afforded to victim service or assistance efforts, there has been relatively little support for basic victimological research oriented towards explicating the causes and nature of the victimization process or event.

With this background in mind, in 1979 the Office of Research Programs of the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) explored the possibilities of supporting a basic research program in victimology. A program of this type could provide a valuable complement to criminological research by expanding criminology's traditional focus on the offender, his characteristics and motives, to include the victim, his characteristics and motives, and the environment of victimization. Additionally, basic victimological research--by focusing on the antecedents and etiology of victimization, and the dynamics of the victimization process and its consequences--promises to provide the empirical findings necessary for the development of improved crime prevention and victim assistance efforts. Thus a program of basic victimological research would appear especially promising in terms of its potential contribution to the NIJ's goals of (1) improving knowledge of the correlates of crime and the determinants of criminal behavior, (2) developing better methods for the prediction of crime, and (3) increasing the capability to prevent and control crime.

As the first step in the development of this research program, a project was undertaken to develop a research agenda for the NIJ and its Center for the Study of Crime Correlates and

Criminal Behavior which would recommend research topics and areas in victimology that promise significant increments to our knowledge and understanding of crime and to our abilities to predict and prevent it. This project involved the conduct of three major tasks:

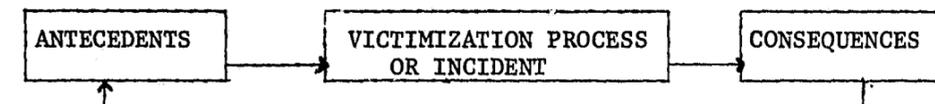
- the commissioning of state-of-the-art papers in selected areas of victimology;
- the conduct of a workshop directed toward the discussion of the papers and potential research topics; and
- the analysis of the papers and workshop proceedings in order to derive research issues and recommendations.

This report is the final volume in a series of three volumes devoted to the Victimology Research Agenda Development Project. The first two reports -- Victimology Research Agenda Development: Volume I - Invited Papers¹ and Volume II - Workshop Proceedings²-- are the source documents for the analysis and recommendations provided in this report.

1.2 Invited Papers and Workshop Proceedings

The selection of papers for the workshop followed a review of the victimological literature designed to: 1) identify basic victimological areas which had been addressed through empirical analysis, and 2) identify individuals engaged in ongoing research in empirical victimology. Topics were sought which went beyond the study of a single offense or victim type and which encompassed issues applicable to the general study of the victimization process. Likewise researchers were only considered as potential paper presenters if their research was not solely crime-specific and their perspective extended to considerations of theory and model building.

The final selection of topics and commissioned papers can be discussed in terms of a simplified model of elements of victimological research (see below). The three elements depicted



¹Dahmann, Judith and Joseph Sasfy (editors). Victimology Research Agenda Development: Volume I - Invited Papers, The MITRE Corporation, MTR-80W00221.

²Dahmann, Judith and Joseph Sasfy (editors). Victimology Research Agenda Development: Volume II - Workshop Proceedings, The MITRE Corporation, MTR-80W00221.

in this model correspond roughly to the before, during and after phases of victimization. Because a major purpose of the agenda development was to identify research areas which could contribute to our understanding of crime and criminal behavior, greater emphasis was placed on topics related to the antecedents or causes of victimization and the victimization process itself, rather than to their consequences. Likewise, topics related to the description and prediction of the victimization process were given greater emphasis than those related to crime prevention and control programs or victim assistance services.

Antecedents of victimization are those factors which precede victimization and are related to it or cause it (for example, characteristics of the victim, his behavior and relationships with others, and characteristics of various situations and environments). A number of the invited papers dealt with antecedents and the etiology of victimization. In "On the Etiology of Criminal Victimization," Michael Gottfredson presented a model of victimization that posits lifestyle/exposure factors as the mediating variables between individual characteristics, constraints, and adaptations and the likelihood of victimization. As a means of accounting for the phenomenon of multiple victimization in his paper "Multiple Victimization: Evidence, Theory, and Future Research," Richard Sparks offered six specific factors (embracing the actions, attributes and social situations of victims) contributing to victim "proneness" or the likelihood of victimization. Simon Singer's paper, "Homogeneous Victim-Offender Populations: A Review and Some Research Implications," pointed to the potential influence of experiences as an offender or a victim on the probability of subsequent offenses and/or victimizations.

Research topics concerned with the victimization process or incident itself include victim precipitation or provocation, the actual dynamics of victim-offender interactions, and the role of situational factors (including bystanders). One paper, Richard Block's "Victim-Offender Dynamics in Violent Crime," specifically examined evidence regarding the influence of various victim-offender interactions on victimization outcomes.

A wide variety of research topics are concerned with the consequences of victimization. These include short and long-term psychological and behavioral responses of victims, the nature of the harms incurred via victimization, and system responses to victims and victimization. James Garofalo's paper, "The Fear of Crime: Causes and Consequences," offered a model of the fear of crime that posits victimization and less direct experiences of crime as antecedents of the fear of crime

and then views this fear as resulting in a range of potential responses or adaptations.

One other paper, Wesley Skogan's "Assessing Behavior," also concerned itself with the relationships between victimization-related experience and individual and collective behavioral responses. As such, this paper views risk-reducing or crime prevention behaviors as both antecedents and consequences of victimization.

Finally, two of the papers--Ann Schneider's "Methodological Problems in Victim Surveys and Their Implications for Research in Victimology" and Albert Biderman's "Sources of Data for Victimology"--dealt with problems with existing data sources and methods and alternative sources and methods for victimological research. Because substantive, theoretical progress in scientific areas is integrally tied to the use of new data and methods, it was considered essential to introduce these methodological concerns directly into the workshop.

The Victimology Research Agenda Development Workshop including representatives from NIJ, BJS and LEAA was held on March 10-11, 1980. The meeting was shaped in terms of the presentation of the eight invited papers, and the use of specific discussants for each paper (see Appendix I for the agenda and listing of all Workshop participants). Additionally, two luncheon speakers were featured. Morton Bard's talk, "The Psychological Impact of Crime on the Victim," discussed the psychological and emotional experience of crime victims. Marvin Wolfgang's presentation, "Basic Concepts in Victimological Theory," introduced the concept of victim individualization and discussed its relevance to the law, penology, and research.

Despite the fact that the selection of paper topics was oriented toward basic research concerns in victimology, the discussions during the two-day workshop also extended to a host of more applied concerns. There was considerable interest in individual and social consequences of victimization (particularly the nature of harms incurred), and also in the implications of victimological research for crime prevention and control and victim assistance. In many respects, the distinction between "basic" and "applied" research concerns did not prove viable, as, for instance, the discussion of the causes of victimization would often lead to questions regarding the crime prevention or policy implications of this basic knowledge. Similarly, issues related to the harms or consequences associated with victimization inevitably raised questions regarding the appropriate societal or system responses to victimization.

During the two days of discussion, there was hardly a basic or applied research issue dealing with the antecedents or consequences of victimization, or its dynamics, that was not seen as worthy of investigation. In fact, the overall impression cast by the Workshop was that victimology, as an empirical and theoretical field, is in a fairly early and primitive stage of development. What theory and/or models have been developed represent more tentative or provocative attempts to initiate or provide a basis for research, rather than sophisticated integrations of existing research findings. In fact, time and time again during the Workshop, the participants pointed to methodological problems that raise serious doubts about the quality of empirical findings in victimology and the interpretations lent to these findings. Thus, there was considerably more acknowledgement of relative scientific ignorance regarding victimological topics as opposed to any sense of significant progress in the state-of-the-art.

Finally, despite the fact that the two-day Workshop generated numerous research suggestions in all of the selected topic areas and many outside these areas, there was little prioritization accorded these topics during the Workshop. For the most part, the participants offered few suggestions regarding which substantive topic was most deserving of attention because of a previous lack of empirical research or because of the potentially significant theoretical or policy implications of work in a particular area. Similarly, although numerous substantive research topics were generated and alternative methods or data sources mentioned, most topics or potential studies were dealt with in a cursory fashion, that is, the parameters of the research were left unspecified and the relevance of particular methods or sources to specific topics was undeveloped. If there was any consensus reached during the workshop, it was the informal conclusion that there remain serious problems with existing victimization surveys (and, in specific, the National Crime Survey) that are fundamental to much of the existing victimological research, although major efforts are now underway by the BJS toward systematically improving the NCJ in most of the areas discussed.

There were a number of important themes that emerged during the two-day workshop not specifically associated with any single research topic. As already mentioned, the limits of the National Crime Surveys (NCS), in terms of the selectivity of their data domain and the inadequacies of the data collected, were persistently mentioned, in part because these surveys have provided much of the existing data for victimological inquiry. A related theme was the need for alternative methods and data sources in

victimology, simply because no one source or method is likely to yield the diverse kinds of data demanded by victimological research.

Another important theme revolved around definitional problems inherent in victimology that evolve from the complex nature of much victimization. Problems with defining and measuring assaults or multiple victimization or corporate victimization were raised. The concept of relatively enduring states of victimization (for example, terrorism, extortion, persecution, etc.) was seen as particularly troublesome in terms of definition and measurement.

A number of other themes that were developed during the Workshop dealt with the nature of theory and research in victimology. Questions regarding the need for and value of deductive versus inductive theories and typological versus common explanatory mechanisms were raised. The level of generalizability needed in the measurement process (particularly with respect to behavioral measurement) was also singled out as an important issue bearing on the theoretical and policy utility of victimological research. Finally, for a number of victimological topics, the problem of inferring causality from existing data and the concomitant need for longitudinal research were raised.

The next section of this report (Section 2.0) provides a discussion of those research topics and issues that received the most attention in the invited papers and in the Workshop proceedings. The final section (Section 3.0) outlines a potential research agenda involving ten studies and provides descriptions of the basic parameters of each study.

2. RESEARCH TOPICS AND ISSUES

2.1 Antecedents and the Etiology of Victimization

2.1.1 The Lifestyle/Exposure Model

A number of the eight papers and a significant portion of the Workshop discussion concerned itself with the etiology (or causes) of victimization and the critical dimensions that a theory or model of victimization would possess. Gottfredson's lifestyle/exposure model³ represented one attempt to explicate the etiology of criminal victimology in some tentative theoretical fashion. As Schneider noted, Gottfredson's model is essentially inductive. Based on evidence from the NCS (and other research) indicating consistent relationships between certain demographic characteristics (e.g., age, race, marital status) and the probability of victimization, it is posited that probabilistic exposure and its antecedents, most importantly -- lifestyle, determine the likelihood of victimization.

As Gottfredson stated:

Variations in lifestyle are related differentially to probabilities of being in particular places at particular times and coming into contact with persons who have particular characteristics; because criminal victimization is not randomly distributed across time and space and because offenders are not representative of the general population -- but rather there are high-risk time, places, and people -- this implies that lifestyle differences are associated with differences in exposure to situations that have a high victimization risk.⁴

Thus, in terms of Gottfredson's model, the reason that single individuals would be more likely to be victimized than married individuals would be that the lifestyle of singles is more likely to place them with high risk times, places, and people. With respect to this model, empirical progress depends on identifying systematic relationships between various time-space-person coordinates and the probability of victimization, and,

³Volume I, p. 10 (Note: references to Volume I and Volume II refer to the invited papers and Workshop proceedings respectively.)

⁴Volume I, p. 11.

identifying those properties or characteristics of persons or objects that are predictive of these coordinates.

Some evidence⁵ for a lifestyle/exposure model has been provided which indicates systematic relationships between changes over time in patterns of routine activities (or lifestyle) and specific crime rates, and between personal characteristics, victim-offender relationships, and certain places and times and victimization rates. Hindelang et al.⁶ offered a series of propositions relating dimensions of lifestyle to the probability of exposure (and, thus, victimization). In essence, Gottfredson recommended that further research be conducted which more directly tests the hypothesized relationships between various characteristics and operationalized measures of lifestyle and exposure.

In order to advance work regarding the etiology of victimization, Gottfredson believes researchers will have to address a number of problems, including:

- the need for better, more refined indicators of lifestyle and exposure;
- the need for better incident indicators, including information descriptive of situational aspects of victimization and victim-offender dynamics; and
- the current dependence on cross-sectional data.

To address these problems, it would probably be necessary to employ smaller-scale victimization surveys designed to provide far more detail on the characteristics, behaviors, and relationships of victims, as well as the situational aspects of the victimization incident. The greater detail and complexity of a survey of this type would probably make its administration infeasible as part of the more traditional, large-scale surveys that are designed to, primarily, measure the extent of victimization

⁵See Cohen, L. and M. Felson. "Social Change and Crime Rate Trends: A Routine Activity Approach." American Sociological Review, 44:388 (1979); and Hindelang, M., M. Gottfredson, and J. Garofalo. Victims of Personal Crime: An Empirical Foundation for a Theory of Personal Victimization, Cambridge, MA: Ballinger (1978).

⁶Ibid.

in a population.⁷ In fact, on a number of occasions, the Workshop participants mentioned the inefficiency of the NCS with respect to its ability to produce in-depth information on victims and victimization, since so much time and resources are devoted to the screening function (that is, merely identifying victims). One informal conclusion that can be derived from the Workshop is that empirical and theoretical advances in basic victimology will probably depend on the development of specific methods and data sources (including victimization surveys) that complement and enrich the large pool of data generated by the NCS.

Because further research progress on the etiology of victimization would depend on developing data of far greater detail regarding the routine activities of individuals and on the situational antecedents of victimization, Gottfredson suggested that other methods may be needed to augment data produced by the present types of victimization surveys. With respect to lifestyle and activity patterns, the use of time-budgeting studies to track how people spend their time (and with whom) was mentioned as a potential method. In terms of the personal and social context of victimization and the incident itself, Gottfredson proposed the possibility of employing a "daily diary" approach and of soliciting the "stories" of both victim and offender. Finally, because of the serious problem of inferring causality from cross-sectional data, the need for longitudinal panel data in this area was indicated. There were numerous research topics discussed at the Workshop that focused on the relationships between victim-related experience and prior and subsequent victim behavior and, inevitably, the problems of isolating cause and effect were mentioned. For example, does a relationship between self-protective behavior and injury mean that the attempt at self-protection precipitated the injury or that the experience of injury precipitated an attempt at self-protection?

Much of the criticism of Gottfredson's lifestyle/exposure model revolved around the limits of the concept of "exposure" as a viable explanatory mechanism for all types of criminal victimization. As Gottfredson argued, any "causative factor is plausible precisely because its presence enhances and its absence decreases exposure to crime. They relate to the probability that the person will come into contact with a motivated offender and will be

⁷It should be noted that the Bureau of Justice Statistics is currently supporting a NCS redesign effort with a number of purposes. One of these is to enhance the utility and explanatory power of the survey by including new crimes and a wider range of crime-related variables.

seen to be a suitable target for the offense."⁸ Sparks argued, however, that the exposure model does not adequately account for non-personal victimization (e.g., households, commercial establishments, organizations, etc.). Further, he feels that the model is not even appropriate for many types of personal victimization, particularly non-stranger crimes involving, for instance, relationships between husband and wife, employer and employee, and so on. Sparks concludes, "...it is not merely a matter of exposure to risk in the sense that two people are physically contiguous for some period of time, but rather that they get angry with one another and hit each other over the head or whatever..."⁹

Both Sparks and Reiss noted that the exposure model seems more appropriate to situations where potential offenders and potential victims are circulating and intersect each other. Reiss pointed out that a general theory of victimization needs to account for at least three types of victim-offender interactions. First there is the situation in which offenders and victims are moving in space and intersect. Second is the case in which either victim or offender is stationary and the other comes to him. Finally, there are situations in which both victim and offender are stationary and the harm moves. In many types of social relationships, victim and offender are relatively stationary in terms of social space (e.g., child and parent). The victim, then, reduces his probability of victimization by increasing his movement or activities (at least insofar as they remove him from the presence of the offender). In Reiss' view a theory of victimization must account for these different types of interactions and whether intersection or movement increases or decreases the probability of victimization.

2.1.2 Multiple Victimization

The study of multiple victimization is important to the etiology of victimization because it focuses on the question of why some individuals tend to become victims and others don't and because, as Sparks noted the question may be easier to answer "if we look... in the vicinity of multiple, repeated or recurrent victimization than if we look where it is occasional, sporadic, or an egregious event."¹⁰ As Sparks' paper ("Multiple Victimization: Evidence, Theory, and Future Research") noted, the evidence on the phenomena of multiple victimization consistently supports the notion

⁸Volume I, pp. 15-16.

⁹Volume II, p. 14.

¹⁰Volume I, p. 103.

that the distribution of reported victimizations (from surveys) cannot be accounted for in terms of a Poisson process characterized by a constant transition rate. This suggests that the victimization process cannot be explained as being basically a random process governed by a constant probability of victimization among individuals. In other words, the multiple victim is not simply an individual with unusually bad luck.

Sparks offered a more realistic set of assumptions about the victimization process (that is, assumptions that, in model form, would allow a better fit with observed distributions of victimization) that characterizes individuals as having differing probabilities of victimization, or victimization proneness. Additionally, it is assumed that an individual's proneness may vary over time with changes in lifestyle or characteristics and that there is always some chance variation in victimization for any level of proneness.¹¹ Given these assumptions the central question for the etiology of victimization is what factors cause differing levels of victimization proneness in individuals. As already discussed, Gottfredson's lifestyle approach and Cohen's routine activities approach both depend, for the most part, on the single, explanatory concept of exposure. Alternatively, Sparks offered six explanatory or causal factors which he believes could usefully account for variations in proneness.

Before turning to Sparks' etiological concepts, it is important to examine some of the methodological problems hampering progress in this area. These problems, raised by Sparks in his paper and reiterated by the Workshop participants, are important because they plague many areas of basic victimological research, not just multiple victimization.

The first problem is that of measurement of the extent to which the variance in the phenomena being measured is characterized by error. As Schneider characterized it, "Of all the methodological problems confronted by the field of victimology, none is more critical than a proper determination of who has been (and who has not been) a victim of crime."¹² Of course, the study of multiple

¹¹ Sparks suggests that the addition of two other assumptions--first, that some individuals are totally immune from victimization and second, that some individuals' proneness decreases with each victimization--may allow even better modeling of the victimization data.

¹² Volume I, p. 128.

victimization demands not only the accurate determination of who has been victimized, but also how many times. Given there are more non-victims and multiple victims than would be predicted by a simple Poisson process, the question with respect to multiple victimization, then, is to what extent is this a function of response bias.

For example, is the distribution of victimizations biased by the responses of "lazy" or "productive" respondents. As Sparks commented, no one knows how many respondents may "mention one or two events and think, 'The hell with it; I'll be here all day if I say anything more.'"¹³ More broadly stated, the structure of the interview situation and schedule can have significant effects on how much victimization people can or care to recall. Albert Reiss mentioned that many of the methodological and substantive problems of victimology are secondary to what he called "the count problem,"¹⁴ and, thus, progress in basic victimology is integrally tied to fundamental improvements in the measurement (or counting) of victimization incidents.

A second major problem characterizing research on multiple victims revolves on definitional issues, including the treatment of "series" victimizations. Series victimization refers to situations in which respondents report that many victimization incidents occurred, but they can neither recall how many discrete victimizations took place or details of the incidents. Closely related is the whole issue of what constitutes a multiple victim; that is, how many times does an individual have to be victimized, and at what intervals or within what time frame, in order to be designated a multiple victim. For example, Sparks asked, "Are you a multiple victim if your house is broken into in 1956 and then again in 1980?"¹⁵ Skogan pointed out that, depending on our definition of multiple victimization and targeted crime, you can identify as many multiple victims as you want (e.g., by including victims of obscene phone calls or disorderly conduct).

The third problem that has hampered research in this area has been the dependence on cross-sectional survey data. Because of the time period involved in victimization surveys (typically,

¹³ Volume II, p. 108.

¹⁴ Volume II, p. 126.

¹⁵ Volume II, p. 99.

the previous six months in the NCS and the previous twelve months in other surveys) it is difficult to accurately order victimization incidents in terms of specific time periods. More importantly, the lack of longitudinal data means that multiple victimization cannot be studied over a long time period, as a possibly enduring phenomena or as one susceptible to changes in individual lifestyles and characteristics. Thus, again, cross-sectional data severely limits the possibilities for identifying causal relationships between victimization experiences and individual behaviors, attitudes, etc.

Despite these methodological problems, assuming that multiple victimization is a real phenomena dictated, in part, by the varying levels of victimization proneness in a population, the etiological question of what causes various degrees of proneness remains. Sparks suggests that there are six different concepts--embracing the behaviors, attributes, and social situations of victims--that can help account for differences in victimization rates. These are:

- precipitation, or cases in which the victim's behavior precipitates or induces, in some way, the offender's behavior;
- facilitation, or cases in which the offender's negligence or lack of reasonable precaution creates a special crime risk (e.g., leaving your wallet in an open place);
- vulnerability, or cases in which an individual's characteristics make them abnormally susceptible to certain offenses (e.g., children or mentally retarded or crippled);
- opportunity, which is closely related to Gottfredson's notion of exposure; opportunity is the logically dictated condition for crime (e.g., the individual who spends more time out of his house at night provides a greater opportunity for a robbery to occur);
- attractiveness, or the qualities of targets that enhance their selection by offenders (e.g., an obviously wealthy individual may be more likely to be robbed); and
- impunity, or characteristics of individuals that make it easy for offenders to get away with crime because the victim may be reluctant to use normal social control mechanisms (e.g., the blackmailing of homosexuals or victimization of criminals).

Sparks admitted that these concepts may not be exhaustive of all of the ways that people develop victimization proneness and that, although they are analytically distinct, they are not necessarily mutually exclusive or unrelated. Further, they need not be applied only to persons, but could be applied to property, situations, places, etc. A major victimization research task would involve operationalizing these concepts so they could be applied in etiological research and/or research on multiple victims.

Research, then, on multiple victimization will have to address a number of problems inherent in past studies. Because victimization is a rare event, and multiple victimization even rarer, the use of general population survey samples is likely to be costly and inefficient in terms of yielding information on multiple victims. Sparks advocated identifying victims or multiple victim samples from official data (e.g., police records). This, of course, avoids the inefficiencies of the survey screening process, but, as Schneider noted, "Research results based on these samples may not be generalizable to the full population of victims."¹⁶

Research on multiple victimization and its etiology will also depend on developing much more extensive information on the antecedents of victimization (social, personal, and situational variables) than has been available in the NCS. Sparks suggested that it may be necessary to employ less formal and less structured interviewing techniques if information is to be developed which would allow the exploration of etiological questions like: Was the offense precipitated? Was it a result of a special vulnerability? etc. There was a consensus at the Workshop that attempts should be made to learn more from offenders, to solicit their views regarding target selection and causes for the crime. Research regarding models of offender target selection and offender decision-making with reference to forsaking or halting a criminal opportunity was seen as a potentially significant complement to etiological research using victim data. Additionally, it was felt that victim surveys can obtain more information on the victim's view of why he thinks the offender chose him and why the crime occurred.

An important etiological question for research on multiple victimization is whether there are particular attributes or conditions that distinguish multiple victims from single-event victims. Ziegenhagen mentioned a study¹⁷ of emergency room admissions that

¹⁶ Volume I, p. 126.

¹⁷ Volume II, p. 105.

was able to make distinctions between these two classes of victims on the basis of prior criminal record; his own research has indicated attitudinal differences between these two groups. Skogan noted that, if you assume that people will try to adapt their behavior to avoid further victimization, multiple victims are likely to be those who are trapped by role constraints (e.g., battered wives) or environmental structuring (e.g., the elderly in high crime neighborhoods) in a way that prevents successful risk reduction. Thus, Skogan stated, "We might find quite a different kind of causal structure behind severe multiple victimization as contrasted to one time victimization."¹⁸ Reiss pointed out that varying causal accounts of multiple victimization have dramatically differing implications for policy interventions. In addition to the question of whether the multiple victimization is a result of an ongoing role relationship, there is the question of whether it is repeated by the same or different offenders. In some cases the incarceration of one offender can end a multiple victim's problem.

Another important focus of multiple victim research is the consequences of multiple victimization. Not only is it important to understand the crime prevention and risk reduction efforts (or lack of efforts) of multiple victims, little is known about the full range of behavioral and psychological consequences of multiple victimization. As Sparks pointed out, even if multiple victimization were the result of a random process, multiple victims would be an important research and treatment concern, since it is likely that the social meaning of crime and victimization would be different for multiple victims. Additionally, there is the question of whether multiple victimization is of sufficient severity and/or uniqueness to demand special treatment and assistance programs.

Even given more detailed information on the antecedents and consequences of multiple victimization, there are important research issues centering on the definition and measurement of multiple victimization. According to Sparks, some questions in need of study include:

- To what extent are multiple victims the victims of different crimes?
- What are the typical time intervals between victimizations for multiple victims?

¹⁸Volume II, p. 107.

- To what extent are "series" victimizations (as defined in NCS) incidents involving the same offender or offenders?
- To what extent are some cases of multiple victimization best understood as continuing states of victimization rather than discrete incidents?¹⁹

The concept of continuing or enduring states of victimization received considerable attention during the Workshop as a viable topic for research. Biderman noted that victimization surveys, with their incident focus, are not well designed for identifying and elucidating enduring states of victimization like persecution, extortion, or terrorization. Biderman²⁰ argued that these types of victimization often have much more serious consequences than Part I crimes, because they place individuals in continuing states of victimization. In this sense, he recommended that a better measure of these victimizations is prevalence over time rather than discrete incidents. Skogan attributed special significance to this class of crimes, because "where there is repeated contact between a victim and some class of offenders, and repeated instances of harm, (there may be) opportunities for intervention on the part of social agencies which are greater than for the vast bulk of crimes."²¹ Thus, the distinction between point-in-time victimization incidents (e.g., robbery) and series victimizations and conditions of victimization was seen as an important one by the Workshop participants in terms of etiology, consequences, and policy implications.

2.1.3 The Homogeneity of Victim-Offender Populations

The question of the homogeneity, or overlap, between victim and offender populations is important to the study of etiology, since a victim's exposure to offenders may reflect "a lifestyle that leads victims to alternate as offenders in the same social environment."²² As Singer points out in his paper, "Homogeneous Victim-Offender Populations: A Review and Some Research Implications," a shared social context amongst victims and offenders (which supports or facilitates violent interchange) suggests that these groups are not distinct, but rather exist in a subcultural

¹⁹Volume I, p. 118.

²⁰Volume I, pp. 178-180.

²¹Volume II, p. 136.

²²Volume I, p. 42.

context in which victim and offender roles may be interchangeable. These subcultural actors, of course, have little to do with the conventional public conception of innocent victims and predatory offenders.

Using data from a study of self-reported victimization (employing Wolfgang's birth cohort), Singer provided evidence that victims of violent assaults were more often involved in official and self-reported crime, and more often had committed a serious assault than non-victims. Significantly, 68 percent of the victims of a stabbing or shooting had committed a serious assault, in comparison to 27 percent of the non-victims. In this research the best predictor of having committed a serious assault was victim experience.

Although Singer's study provides no direct support for subcultural hypotheses, it does suggest that for certain crimes (in this study, serious assault), there is a need to go beyond concepts like exposure and opportunity to the study of the web of relationships that creates interchangeability among victim and offender experiences. This parallels Sparks' notion that exposure cannot sufficiently account for the nature of the specific relationships which are often the real causal context for victimization.

A first step in examining the homogeneity of victim and offender populations for specific crime types would be to employ the NCS data over time to examine similarities between the demographics of victims and perceived characteristics of offenders. There was some consensus at the Workshop, that, in many cases, victimization surveys or self-report studies of criminality could be expanded to include offense and victim data, respectively. At the present time, there is not much data available that includes offense and victimization data on the same groups and individuals.

A major research topic in this area involves questions of the temporal relationships between victim and offender experiences and the possible causal influences of one on another. As Schramm stated, we need to know "whether serious victimization increases the odds of finding a history of serious offenses, or whether a history of serious offenses increases the odds of serious victimization."²³ Singer's finding that juvenile victim status is highly predictive of adult offender status supports (but does not prove) the hypothesis that criminality can be learned through a negative association.

²³ Volume II, p. 46.

There is a need to know whether victimization experiences affect an individual's attitudes toward law and society in ways that could facilitate future criminality. Although we may discuss the characteristics of victims and offenders as though they belonged to distinctly different individuals, the roles of victim and offender may also coexist within the same individuals or groups and systematically reinforce each other. Some offenders may see themselves as having been victimized by some specific personal injustice or by generally discriminatory social and economic conditions. Their self-perceptions as victims can serve as strong motivations to commit retaliatory or compensatory crimes directed against the specific individuals or groups they feel have wronged them, or against other available targets in the general society. Moreover, such self-justifications by offender-victims can be very effective in sustaining deviant behaviors within a peer group, in justifying their offensive behaviors to the general society, and as court defenses when the offender's guilt and punishment are being judged.

A related research issue raised at the Workshop dealt with the question of simultaneity between victimization and the commission of an offense. In how many cases and for what crimes is victimization the result of offense behavior (e.g., a robber gets assaulted or, more commonly, an assaulter gets assaulted). This issue points to the more general problem of determining victim and offender in many assaults and of measuring this particular offense.

2.2 Victim-Offender Dynamics

Victim-offender dynamics concern the immediate situational aspects of the crime event and the interaction between victim(s) and offender(s). As Richard Block pointed out in his paper, "Victim-Offender Dynamics in Violent Crime," the study of victim-offender dynamics is central to attempts to understand the nature of violent crime and its outcomes (which affect the nature of the notification process and criminal justice system intervention).

One of the major findings of Block's studies of victim-offender dynamics in specific violent crimes is that, depending on whether one employs victimization survey data or police data (reported crimes), some dramatically different results are obtained. This is mostly a function of the different samples of victimization incidents represented in these two sources. For example, using data on reported robberies, Block found that victim resistance had little impact on completion of the robbery, while significantly increasing the likelihood of victim injury. Thus, resistance did

not seem to be a rational strategy in robbery situations. However, using survey data, Block found that resistance significantly lowered the probability of completion of the robbery.²⁴ This disparity in findings results in large part from the fact that crimes not completed are much less likely to be reported to the police.

Block's research on a number of violent crime types indicated important interrelationships between the use of threat (including weapons), resistance, injury, and completion of the crime. Again, current data sources do not allow clear causal attribution between these elements (e.g., does resistance cause injury or does injury lead to resistance?). The significance of victim-offender dynamics for understanding crime is suggested by Block's study of homicide which indicated that most homicides can be seen as the final step in the escalation of violence from either aggravated assault or robbery. Block labels homicides emanating from assault (usually involving non-strangers) as impulsive and those emanating from robbery (usually involving strangers) as instrumental. Finally, Block's research and other studies have indicated that the nature of victim-offender relationships and dynamics affects both the decision to notify the police and subsequent police and prosecutorial responses.

Research on victim-offender dynamics has been hampered by the limitations of both police and NCS data. As already mentioned, a critical problem with police data is that reported crimes represent a very selective sample of crime incidents. While NCS data is more representative for most crime types, like police data, the NCS does not provide sufficiently detailed information on situational factors or victim-offender interactions for any sophisticated study of dynamics. Block also noted, as other researchers have, the NCS is an extremely inefficient mode of data collection for specific research of this type, because of the large amount of resources devoted to the screening function.

Instead, Block recommended that, following NCS screening, samples of victims of different crime types be developed for more intensive interviewing. These crime-specific surveys should be directed towards developing extensive information on situational aspects of the crime event, including data regarding the presence or use of weapons and drugs, the presence and role of bystanders, and the psychological/emotional states of victim and offender. Information should be developed on the moves and

²⁴Volume I, p. 61.

counter-moves of victim and offender, and the role of various forms of resistance in the escalation or deescalation of violence. The Workshop participants strongly advised attempts to develop comparable information from offenders, where possible. The availability of victim and offender versions of the same incident could provide some important insights into the dynamics of crime.

Additionally, these same surveys could be used to collect information on the notification process and on the nature of the victim's treatment by the criminal justice system and the progress of his case through it. In this way it would be possible to more closely tie features of the victimization incident to the many and varied processing decisions of the criminal justice system.

2.3 Victimization-Related Behavior

There are a wide range of individual and collective behaviors related to the victimization process that are important to the study of the etiology and consequences of victim-related experiences. Skogan's paper, "Assessing Behavior," discussed three types of behaviors that shape and are shaped by victim-related experience. These are:

- precautionary or risk-reducing behaviors that are part of people's lifestyles and daily routines (e.g., not walking at night alone, staying out of certain parts of a city, etc.);
- dynamic behaviors that are part of a victimization and can shape the nature of the event and/or outcome (e.g., the victim's behavior during a rape or robbery); and
- crime-prevention behaviors (e.g., property marking or installing a burglar alarm).

Skogan argued that research on the origins and consequences of these behaviors would advance not only our understanding of crime and victimization, but related evaluation and policy concerns as well. Again, it was noted that with respect to research in this area, the NCS has not been useful because it collects very little data on individual behaviors and activities. Evaluation research, especially of various target-hardening and crime prevention activities and programs, has more actively developed behavioral indices and measures in order to study the adoption or implementation of various activities, and in some cases, their impact on crime. However, Skogan noted, "most studies of behavior are underconceptualized, employ inadequate measures, specify overly

simplistic analytic models, and are of uncertain aggregate (if not individual) significance."²⁵

There are four research areas identified by Skogan that need to be addressed more effectively than in the past, if research regarding victimization-related behavior is to advance. These are the need for more general, behavioral dimensions; the need for more valid and reliable indicators of these dimensions; the need for more realistic analytic models; and the need for more sophisticated study of the consequences of behavior. One of the central problems of this research has been the over-specification of behavior and the related lack of conceptual elaboration. What is needed, according to Skogan, are more general dimensions of victimization-related behavior that can embrace a range of distinct, but conceptually similar activities. For example, purchasing a watchdog or a burglar alarm are different activities with the same purpose and, thus, could be usefully categorized within one concept. Skogan offered a simple four-cell typology of behavior with two-dimensions--type of behavior ("risk avoidance" activities or "risk management" activities) and context (personal victimization or residential victimization)--as one example of an attempt to conceptualize victimization-related activities.

Skogan outlined three benefits that can be realized by better conceptualization of behavior (that is, through more abstraction and less specificity). First, the generality of the findings would be increased since broad behavioral domains would be involved rather than specific activities. Second, by using more abstract behavioral domains with multiple indicators, measurement error will be reduced. Finally, a more conceptual approach (i.e., one dealing with general categories) will allow the development and testing of theories such that knowledge regarding the origin and consequences of these behaviors could advance.

Following the development of useful behavior categories, a second problem arises--the problem of developing reliable and valid indicators or measures of these categories. Skogan noted some of the major obstacles to the accurate measurement of behavior, including memory failures; the low salience of some activities; the respondent's lack of knowledge of certain activities (especially in a household); and the difficulty in estimating high frequency behavior.

²⁵Volume I, p. 22

The use of multiple indicators within a measure provides one basis for calculating the internal consistency of the measure. Additionally, Skogan suggested the use of observations, call-backs, and record checks as ways of examining the reliability and validity of self-report behavioral data. The participants strongly recommended ethnographic approaches and, in particular, systematic social observation as potentially important methods of collecting data on victimization-related behaviors, lifestyle and routine activities. Reiss²⁶ noted that there was no reason observation could not be combined with interviewing in order to provide direct information on behavior, as well as to probe motives, attitudes, and so on. In any case, there was a consensus at the Workshop that systematic observation was a currently underutilized method that could be particularly useful in victimology research because of the need for much richer data on the microactivities of individuals.

Given the conceptual elaboration of various kinds of victimization-related behaviors, and given measures of those behaviors, there is a need for realistic models to guide analysis. Skogan recommended that whatever models are developed, they must represent the reciprocal relationships between behavior and experience over time. In this sense various behaviors (e.g., target hardening) can be antecedents of victimization (perhaps reducing exposure and the probability of victimization) or consequences of some experience (perhaps victimization or, less directly, hearing of a crime in the neighborhood). Again, the NCS is inadequate as a method for gathering data on these relationships, since the victimization data it collects are retrospective, while data on behavior and attitudes tend to be current.

This view of experience and behavior as dynamically related can be applied to individuals or collectives like a neighborhood or community. Individuals constantly modify and refine their behavior and activities in terms of relevant experience so that they reach some tolerable level of risk. In terms of a feedback system, then, stability in an individual or neighborhood is represented by negative feedback between crime and exposure (as controlled by adaptive activities). As Skogan put it, "When incidents occur which are 'out of range,' individual (and collective) action to reduce victimization affect the crime rate, and residents read the results of their caution in renewed community security."²⁷

²⁶Volume II, p. 33.

²⁷Volume I, p. 32.

A major research interest that emerged from the Workshop dealt with the nature of the precautionary behaviors that individuals and communities engage in. Many people are non-victims, and, just as the multiple victim becomes an important subject for etiological research, the non-victim could provide important data on successful approaches to reducing exposure and risk. Schmeidler suggested the examination of "the extent of distribution of protection, protective devices, and behaviors amongst the population, and the assessment of those in terms of benefits and costs they impose on people."²⁸ Skogan noted that analyses of these behaviors and the use of various crime prevention devices has been hampered by viewing their adoption as the result of independent invention, rather than diffusion. Given the visibility of many protective devices and strategies and entrepreneurial activity related to them, diffusion processes within communities are likely to occur. The study of these processes are important because they can help account for the prevalence of certain protective strategies or devices where crime or fear of crime do not seem to be relevant predictors.

In order to examine reciprocal relationships between experience and behavior, it is important to collect over-time panel data so that the causality can be directly examined rather than tentatively inferred (as with current cross-sectional data). Thus, Skogan recommended panel studies as the preferred method for studies of behavior and its consequences, since data on relevant measures can be collected at various points in time from the same individuals. Additionally, Skogan emphasized that the study of the consequences of various programs or activities should distinguish "crime reduction" consequences from "victimization prevention" consequences. The latter refers to outcomes whereby individuals, by adopting some strategy or technique, may reduce their individual probability of victimization. This is not synonymous with crime reduction, however, since crime may be displaced from a target population to other individuals, areas, or households.

2.4 Consequences of Victimization

Although not heavily emphasized in the development of the Workshop and selection of papers, the consequences of victimization received extensive attention in a number of the papers and during the Workshop. On numerous occasions, it was singled out by the Workshop participants as a high priority research

²⁸Volume II, p. 170.

topic. The treatment of the consequences ranged over the economic, physical and social consequences of victimization; the psychological/attitudinal impacts; and the variety of behavioral adaptations individuals take. Some of these consequences--particularly those related to crime prevention and risk reducing behavior--have already been discussed in the preceding section (2.3).

2.4.1 Fear of Crime

James Garofalo's paper, "The Fear of Crime: Causes and Consequences," presented a model of the fear of crime which depicts fear as a consequence not only of direct victimization, but also of a range of vicarious experiences that yield information on crime and victimization. Before developing his model, Garofalo outlined two distinctions he believes are useful and necessary. First, he defined fear (for the purposes of his model) "as the sense of danger and anxiety produced by the threat of physical harm,"²⁹ thus excluding reactions to possible property loss. Second, in the model itself Garofalo recognized a distinction between actual and anticipated fear, a distinction which Garofalo placed particular emphasis on because of possible differences in the consequences of these two types of fear.

In Garofalo's model fear of crime is viewed as a product of a complex risk assessment by individuals that includes their estimation of the prevalence, likelihood, and consequences of crime and of their individual vulnerability. This assessment represents the personalization of a more general image of crime largely shaped by information about crime from three sources: direct experience, interpersonal communication, and the mass media. Sparks added to this list the concept of "misinformation" and noted that, "Direct experience as a victim is of relatively little importance, but I think it's of some importance for us to try to find out what impact the other two informational components...have if a guy on the next block gets burgled, or somebody at work gets beaten up, and you hear about it."³⁰

Wolfgang also emphasized the potential for research on the effects of various kinds of information on the fear of crime, asking: "Does the existence or passage of the death penalty,

²⁹Volume I, p. 80.

³⁰Volume II, p. 90.

or increasing the number of crimes for the death penalty invoke a reduction of fear in the population?"³¹ He noted that, although we study the impact of various legislative and judicial anti-crime initiatives and policies on crime levels, we also need to examine their impact on the fear of crime. He also drew attention to the role of information networks in shaping fear of crime, especially the way these networks expand from childhood on such that, "Not only are there different media...involved in increasing our information loading about crime, but our personal acquaintanceships too, such as knowing someone down the block, or having a relative that was victimized. They all begin to have additive effects over time, and increase the fear."³²

Given the generation of some actual or anticipated level of fear via risk assessment, Garofalo then viewed individual responses to fear as mediated by a consideration of costs and options. That is, the specific adaptations of individuals to a fear of crime are shaped by their real-world possibilities and the costs associated with exercising any of these possibilities. As Garofalo stated, "The lack of necessary income may make it impossible to buy a car or use a taxi even though riding a subway produces fear..."³³ Garofalo outlines six categories of individual responses to fear, five from Dubow, *et al.*,³⁴--avoidance, protective behavior, insurance behavior, communicative behavior, and participation--and one of his own--information seeking.

Garofalo drew particularly attention to the feedback properties of individual responses to fear, that is, the way in which particular adaptations can affect an individual's position in social space, the crime-related information he's exposed to, his risk assessment and, thereby, dampen or exacerbate fears. Finally, Garofalo tied individual responses, especially avoidance and protective behavior, to broader social outcomes, especially emphasizing the ways in which these individual acts can contribute to negative or positive social cycles.

³¹Volume II, p. 93.

³²Volume II, p. 94.

³³Volume I, p. 86.

³⁴Dubow, Fred, Edward McCabe, and Gail Kaplan. Reactions to Crime: A Critical Review of the Literature. National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, November 1979.

Garofalo indicated two methodological concerns inherent in improving the quality of the research in this area--the need for better, more refined indicators of the concepts in his model and the need for longitudinal research. Additionally, he recommended a number of research topics, including the study of:

- the effects of fear and responses to fear on broader social outcomes (e.g., quality of life, community stability, etc.);
- the fear of crime in relation to fears generated by non-criminal events (accidents, natural disasters, etc.);
- differences in the nature (or components) of actual and anticipated fear and their antecedents and consequences;
- the feedback effects of individual behavior on risk assessment and fear; and
- the functionality/dysfunctionality of fear.

There was some criticism during the Workshop of Garofalo's model and its application. Although Schneider reinforced Garofalo's view of the individual as a rational, information processor (and, in turn, recommended more research on individual choice behavior and risk assessment), Biderman argued against the viability of models of rational behavior and choice. He pointed out that much behavior is neither rational or irrational, but is nonrational, often reflecting the force of habit rather than the rational assessment of the cost and benefits associated with particular behavior. Additionally, he stated, "Any model that is individualistic in its orientation is bound to tell us only a little bit about phenomena that by definition are social and not individual in orientation."³⁵ Instead Biderman recommended that the focus be on the sources or origins of the preferences exercised in terms of various risks and hazards. He noted that the responses to the many, relatively trivial criminal incidents that characterize society are really social responses to these incidents as manifestations of more general social conditions.

³⁵Volume II, p. 89.

Reiss objected to the model because it dealt exclusively with individuals as victims and not organizations. Reiss argued that organizations (like individuals) assess risks, make decisions, experience victimization, and play an extremely important role in providing information and cues to individuals about crime and in shaping individual responses. As examples, Reiss drew attention to the powerful role of environmental cues like gates and locks, barred windows, and other security devices in transmitting messages about the potential for crime and victimization.

2.4.2 Harmful Consequences

As already mentioned the nature and extent of harms incurred via victimization and the consequences of these harms were singled out by Workshop participants as a high priority research topic. Albert Biderman's paper, "Sources of Data for Victimology," dealt with a number of dimensions of research in this area and noted that, just as etiological concerns direct attention back in time from the crime event, "The concerns of victimology with the harms caused victims direct attention toward data forward in time, although research and statistics, useful for illuminating harmful consequences of victimization remain in their infancy."³⁶ Many harms unfold slowly over time and their full consequences can be extremely difficult to measure.

Despite the fact that the NCS collects a considerable amount of information on property loss and medical treatment related to victimization, Biderman noted that far more attention has been devoted to the study of psycho-emotional impacts of victimization and post-victimization adjustment. This research--in part based on in-depth interviewing of crime victims--has served "both to justify and to guide the counseling programs of the new but burgeoning victim assistance industry."³⁷ Of course, it was psychic consequences that were the focus of Bard's luncheon presentation, "The Psychological Impact of Crime on the Victim."

In terms of our current knowledge of physical harm, Biderman, stated, "We haven't the vaguest notion of how many people are this day lame, halt, blind, or in continuous pain because of

³⁶Volume I, p. 181.

³⁷Volume I, p. 185.

criminal victimization."³⁸ In this respect, Biderman strongly supported the broader use of current consequences surveys in which, for example, respondents in a random population are questioned about current injuries and, if present, the source or origin of the injuries (e.g., victimization, accident, etc.). Thus, in comparison to victimization surveys which yield measures of the incidence of crime, the current consequences survey yields measures of the prevalence of harmful effects due to crime.

Because the domain of a current consequences survey might be physical injury with crime being only one of many potential causes, this type of survey can provide information with broad social research and policy applications, imbedding criminal justice concerns within the larger sphere of social welfare, health, and safety. Biderman recommended the application of the current consequences approach to domains outside of physical harm or health (e.g., social relations, working life, psychological adjustments, etc.), possibly focusing on the origins and impacts of different types of severe life disruptions. Part of the value of a prevalence-of-harm orientation according to Biderman is that it can suggest avenues of both social and legal reform by providing data on the actual sufferings and harms of various populations and on the causes of their misery.

There was considerable attention devoted at the Workshop and in several papers to the need to examine the broader social implications and consequences of victimization and the individual harms incurred. Biderman discussed survey findings on the impact of criminal victimization on American life and provided some explanations for findings of limited impact. He suggested the³⁹ surveys "are not posing the right questions in the right way." It may be that it is the secondary effects of victimization--that is, what happens to other people and images of crime shaped by social interaction and media sources--that create the real consequences for people. Further, current surveys tend to isolate victimization and its consequences from the varied settings in which they are experienced, thus, resulting in undercounting. As Biderman stated, "the consequences of much of crime victimization have meaning for the victims only within and as part of the particular domains they affect."⁴⁰

³⁸Volume I, p. 185.

³⁹Volume I, p. 186.

⁴⁰Volume I, p. 188.

Additionally, Biderman pointed out that victimization surveys have an inherent bias insofar as they focus on the direct consequences of crime for the victim, rather than the moral seriousness or outrageousness of offenses, that is, the broader social consequences of offenses against the rule of law. He stated, "The harm that occurs from violations of rules are not only those to the immediate victims of the violation, but the threat that such violations in aggregate would pose to the viability of the rule..."⁴¹

Biderman emphasized that the most important consequences of crime are not individual, but have to do with the social meaning of a crime for the victim and the rest of society. Current methodologies like the victim survey provide little information on the "secondary victimization" represented by these social consequences. In this respect, Reiss recommended that research be conducted on the way in which social definitions of harm and their consequences come about. As Biderman stated, in support of the concept of the crime-distinctive significance of losses and harms, "it is my hypothesis that it is indeed very different to lose \$10 by having your pocket picked than to spend \$10 more because you misread an ad for an item and consequently lost it that way."⁴² Similarly, Wolfgang's presentation, based on the concept of victim individualization, presented extensive evidence indicating that social interpretations of the seriousness of various crimes and the harms inflicted (especially as represented in law) are based in part on the characteristics of the victims themselves.

As Ziegenhagen pointed out, the social meanings of victimization and secondary victimization have very much to do with the various formal and informal mechanisms of social control that operate in a community or culture. Victim retaliation is one example of an informal control or coping mechanism engendered by victimization. Biderman also provided an interesting example: "In military groups with which I served, not only was the principle upheld by the informal normative structure that losses to theft legitimized theft to replace the loss, it approached a moral imperative that one do so, so long as the secondary victimization was not within the primary group."⁴³ Reiss pointed out that,

⁴¹Volume I, p. 189.

⁴²Volume II, p. 163.

⁴³Volume I, p. 189.

again, the issues of victim coping and secondary victimization should also be examined in terms of organizational behavior (e.g., cases in which petty theft losses in retail establishments or fraud losses in insurance companies are passed on to consumers in the form of higher costs).

An important consequence of victimization is that social agencies or organizations are called to intervene and it is in the records of these agencies that much of the data on victimization and harms resides. The police have traditionally been the most frequently mobilized agency and the largest repository of data. However, numerous agencies and organizations have victim-relevant data including fire departments, schools, insurance companies, military services, and regulatory agencies. Biderman stated that the problems with data from any of these sources "are fundamentally problems of social organization. The remedies for the problems of data availability, if they exist at all, are remedies of social organization."⁴⁴ He outlined three basic types of solutions:

- reorganizing the character of an agency of action system (e.g., victim compensation systems);
- grafting data systems onto existing action systems (e.g., the UCR); and
- organizing new, independent systems specifically for data collection (e.g., the NCS).

In general, the Workshop participants felt wider use could be made of data from action agencies, particularly for the study of harms and consequences. Skogan suggested the possibility of a more comprehensive approach: "There has been no serious discussion that I know of a data-gathering organization which could effectively gather police, social agency, and survey data in some coherent fashion so that the resulting data could be used to make estimates of the incidents and the consequences of crimes on a national level."⁴⁵ Reiss noted that police departments have victim information but no victim files where the information is systematically compiled and used (for example, in the manner in which a fire department might follow repeated victimizations). Again, Skogan suggested it might be possible to develop a sample of police departments which would receive funding assistance in order to systematically record and compile victim data.

⁴⁴Volume I, p. 194.

⁴⁵Volume II, p. 137.

3. RESEARCH AGENDA RECOMMENDATIONS

As discussed at the outset of this paper, the primary purpose of this report is to utilize the papers and the Workshop proceedings to develop research agenda recommendations for the NIJ and its Center for the Study of Crime Correlates. Specifically, the project seeks to identify topic areas in basic victimology which offer high potential for increasing knowledge and understanding of criminal behavior and for improving capabilities for the prediction and prevention of crime.

In the papers and in the course of the Workshop, a large number of possible research topics were raised. Most were seen as having merit--in fact, only very rarely were research ideas rejected by members of the group. To be sure, Workshop discussions were replete with criticisms; however, more often than not, these generated calls for more research rather than rejection of possible research topics. Many topics were simply suggested with little elaboration and with limited discussion of particulars. Underlying the lack of detail of many of the suggested research topics, particularly some of the most conceptually provocative, was the implicit recognition that research on these topics would be problematic, costly, time-consuming, and/or simply infeasible. Thus a primary criterion guiding the selection of topics for this agenda is their feasibility.

Additionally, as noted earlier (see Section 1.2), there were certain themes that were sounded again and again in the invited papers and Workshop proceedings. Because these themes are so fundamental to the current state of basic victimological research, they are reiterated again here. The purpose is not mere redundancy, but rather to insure that the fundamental themes are recognized and integrated into research programs in this area.

First, considerable emphasis was given in both the papers and the Workshop to the issue of data. The National Crime Surveys (NCS) have served a valuable role in the development of empirical victimology. Many of the extant findings and much of the tentative theory in victimology are based on analyses of NCS data. The majority of the participating researchers utilized these data in the conduct of their research. Despite, or perhaps because of the central role that this one data source has played in recent victimological research, discussion of almost every topic area raised issues of data generally and of the NCS in particular. There was a general consensus that victimization surveys and the research they have permitted have generated many new and important ideas. However, methodological problems inherent in the surveys were generally recognized and some noted that significant

improvements in survey design and methods are likely to lead to revisions in substantive thinking about certain victimological issues (multiple victimization, for example).

Further, it was expressed that the emphasis of the survey on counting crimes, rather than on a detailed description of variables and circumstances related to and predictive of their occurrence, has resulted in the predominance of a macro-level research orientation. Consequently, many of the research recommendations discussed below suggest micro-analyses of victimization processes, in part to complement the currently prevailing macro-approach.

Most research topic discussions emphasized the need to develop alternative data sources, more sensitive to specific research issues (crime event dynamics, for instance), than is possible with the NCS. Victim surveys which include more detailed information about victims themselves and their circumstances were also called for.⁴⁶ Surveys of known victims were repeatedly suggested, as a way to overcome the inefficient screening process inherent in the NCS design, an approach which was seen as sufficiently advantageous in certain circumstances to offset problems of generalizability which often accompany such a design.⁴⁷

The need for non-survey approaches to data collection, such as ethnographic approaches, observational studies, personal daily diaries, administrative records, was also a recurrent theme. Finally, in the data methods area, concern over the inability to assess causal linkages with cross-sectional data was often expressed. Consequently, recommendations for more longitudinal research were made in a number of areas. As will be seen below, this expansion of data sources and methods for basic victimology is reflected in the suggested research studies.

Finally, a general view pervading the Workshop discussion was that the current understanding of victimology is indeed primitive and that much work and more integration is needed on a full range of related issues. Current approaches were felt to be under-conceptualized and, for the most part, theories of victimology per se have yet to be developed or tested.

⁴⁶See, for example, the research recommendations in papers by Gottfredson and Sparks in Volume I: Invited Papers.

⁴⁷See, for example, the research recommendations in papers by Sparks and Block in Volume I: Invited Papers.

Fundamental definitional issues are unresolved. Measures of victimization, in the larger sense, are very crude as are measures of many of the correlates of victimization, and the need for better indicators of variables of interest was a high priority. Much of the discussion suggested that not only are many of the current understandings of victimology limited, but that certain common conceptions and models may act to constrain our thinking about the phenomena rather than assist it. More conceptualization is needed about the varied phenomena of victimization and while empirical work is required, it must be accompanied by theoretical development.

Thus, whatever specific research topics or studies may be selected, it is important that a research program in basic victimology address the need for:

- alternative methods and data sources;
- better indicators of the phenomena being studied;
- longitudinal research which can explore reciprocal relationships between behavior and experience; and
- expanded theoretical conceptions regarding causes of victimization, its nature, and consequences.

Given the somewhat primitive state of basic victimology, the fragmentation and multiplicity of research ideas suggested in the papers and proceedings, and the lack of consensus on the prioritization of recommendations, an effort has been made to utilize the topic areas employed in Section 2 as a framework for organizing the major recommendations suggested by the group or implied in group discussion. The ideas presented below do not exhaust the research possibilities generated by the project; they do however reflect the major areas identified as offering good potential for future research activity within the goals of NIJ and its Center for the Study of Crime Correlates.

TOPIC 1

• ETIOLOGY OF VICTIMIZATION: LIFESTYLE AND EXPOSURE TO RISK⁴⁸

Goal: To test the viability of the concept of "exposure to risk" (and its antecedents) as an etiological account of variation in victimization.

Purposes:

- To develop indicators of "exposure to risk" via the operationalization of lifestyle/routine activities.
- To examine relationships between exposure to risk/lifestyle measures and demographic characteristics.
- To develop and test propositions relating "exposure to risk" (and its antecedents) to victimization.
- To examine of the applicability of the concept of "exposure to risk" to differing types of victimization.

Potential Activities/Methods:

- Conduct specially designed victimization survey to collect in-depth information on individual's lifestyles, activities, associations, etc. and on victimization experiences.
- Use observational methods or "daily diaries" to develop measures of lifestyles, activities, etc.
- Collect longitudinal data to examine changes in lifestyle/exposure measures over time and related changes in victimization.

⁴⁸ It is important to note that the scope of the research topics, purposes, and related activities presented in this report reflects the full discussions of the workshop participants. It is recognized that many of the research issues and needs summarized here are also being considered by other groups working in related areas, and that members of the BJS's ongoing NCS review and long-range redesign program team participated in these discussions. The inclusion of these items here is for purposes of conceptual clarity and completeness, and does not imply unawareness or unappreciation of those related efforts.

Discussion:

One of the currently most promising concepts for explaining variations in victimization rates of subgroups of individuals with different personal and social characteristics is the concept of exposure to risk. As the focus of the work of Gottfredson and his colleagues and of the "routine activities" work of Cohen and Felson, this exposure or "lifestyle" approach to understanding the etiology of victimization has been explored at both the individual and aggregate levels. As the papers, proceedings, and the above discussion (see Section 2.1.1) indicate, there are a number of outstanding issues concerning the utility and general applicability of this intuitively appealing conceptualization.

At the individual level, current analyses of "lifestyle" or exposure have depended on crude indicators, usually demographics, as indirect measures of exposure to risk. At a minimum, better, more sensitive indicators of the central theoretical concept of this approach need to be developed. Further, theoretical propositions, such as those suggested by Hindelang et al.⁴⁹ need to be developed which specify the nature of theoretical relationships between exposure elements and victimization. Finally, by operationalizing these propositions, an effort needs to be made to test the limits of the concept of exposure. To what types of offenses does the notion apply? Under what circumstances or conditions is exposure inadequate for explaining victimization probabilities, requiring other explanations (situational aspects of the crime event, for instance)?

A research effort of this type would likely involve a victim survey of a smaller scale than the NCS, and incorporating a wider range of behavioral data than is possible with the NCS. Additional approaches, such as observational studies or 'daily diaries' may also be utilized in measuring and identifying the linkages between "lifestyle," "routine activities," "exposure" and victimization. Central to this study is victimology's need to know much more about the specific patterns of individual activities in relation to the risk of victimization.

⁴⁹Hindelang, et al., supra note 5.

TOPIC 2

ETIOLOGY OF VICTIMIZATION: A TYPOLOGICAL APPROACH

Goal: To test the viability of a typology of social, behavioral, and psychological concepts as an etiological account of variation in victimization.

Purposes:

- To operationalize a set of etiological concepts defining victimization risk or proneness by developing specific indicators.
- To test the applicability of these operationalized concepts to a sample of victimization incidents.
- To test the reliability and predictive validity of the concepts.

Potential Activities/Methods:

- Collect detailed data on a wide variety of victimization incidents through in-depth victimization surveys including detailed interviewing on the aspects, factors, situations, characteristics related to the incident.
- Collect data from offender and/or bystander accounts of victimization incidents.
- Develop from this data a set of causal factors (and related indicators) which account for this data, including specification of the relevance of various factors to specific crime types.
- Using a new set of victimization data, test the reliability and validity of the concepts.

Discussion:

A major criticism of the lifestyle/exposure to risk approach to etiology of victimization is that the lifestyle or exposure concept is but one limited account of the likelihood of victimization and does not explain many types of victimization. Sparks describes six causal factors (precipitation, facilitation, vulnerability, opportunity, attractiveness, and impunity) which, he suggests, offer a better explanation for individual variation in victimization proneness or risk.

The purpose of this proposed research topic is to examine these and other concepts potentially accounting for variations in victim proneness. Using victimization data rich in details related to and/or accounting for the event, causal factors would be operationalized and behavioral indicators developed for each. Efforts would then be made to empirically examine the extent to which these factors can account for victimization. Possible methods would include the collection and analyses of detailed data about actual victimization incidents (their circumstances, characteristics of the victim and the offenders, etc.) from victims, offenders, and/or bystanders.

One set of data would be needed to develop the operationalized measures of the concepts and another to test their reliability and validity. It would be important to examine the relevance of various causal factors to various types of crime and victims.

TOPIC 3

MULTIPLE VICTIMIZATION

Goal: To improve our understanding of the nature of multiple victimization and multiple victims.

Purposes:

- To characterize the phenomena of multiple victimization (e.g., nature of the crimes, time intervals between crimes, continuing states or conditions) so as to make possible operational definitions.
- To examine the characteristics of multiple victims.
- To examine the causal structure of multiple victimization.
- To examine the attitudinal, behavioral, and psychological consequences of multiple victimization.

Potential Activities/Methods:

- Use police files, hospital records, etc. to define a sample of multiple victims.
- Employ an in-depth survey of multiple victims to collect data on nature of incidents and victims, antecedents, and consequences.

Discussion: Survey data indicate (see Sparks, among others) that there is a subpopulation of individuals who are disproportionately victimized and that their victimization is not due to random phenomena. Little is understood, however, about this multiple victim group: Who are they? What are the circumstances surrounding their victimization? What unique attitudes do they hold which either contribute to their status as multiple victims or which are produced by their multiple victimization? What are the time intervals between victimization? Are the same or different offenders involved?

An empirical analysis of the characteristics, causes, and consequences of multiple victimization might utilize as a data base a sample of known multiple victims, perhaps selected from police records or from a large scale victim survey. Using these preselection procedures a specialized multiple victim survey could be conducted specifically focusing on the identification of attributes and factors related to the phenomena of multiple victimization specifically and victimization in general.

An important issue here is the extent to which multiple victims differ from one-time victims or non-victims in personal characteristics, the conditions and nature of their lives, and their attitudes. It would be interesting, in this respect, to ask multiple victims why they think these incidents happen to them and, in turn, what the causal structure of their victimization suggests in terms of interventions.

TOPIC 4

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN VICTIM AND OFFENDER EXPERIENCES

Goal: To better understand the factors underlying homogeneous victim-offender populations.

Purposes:

- To collect data descriptive of the victim/offender experiences of the same individuals.
- To develop and test concepts which can account for the interrelationships among these experiences.
- To identify how direct or indirect victim experiences may relate to motivations for criminal behavior.

Potential Activities/Methods:

- Examine NCS data on overlap between victim-offender demographics.
- Collect longitudinal self-report data (on victim and offender experiences) of selected populations.
- Collect personal, social, psychological, and behavioral data that could help account for the development and interrelationship of victim and offender experience.
- Collect data on criminal justice system decision-making to examine how an offender's history as a victim could affect decisions regarding guilt or innocence, sentencing, etc.

Discussion: There is empirical evidence (Singer and others) that a subgroup of victims are also active offenders. Research is needed to improve our understanding of this relationship between victimization and criminal activity. What leads a victim to become an offender? Under what circumstances is an offender likely to be victimized? For what reasons? A range of relevant conceptualizations of this process have been suggested including subcultural factors, negative learning theory, motivations for direct or indirect retribution, and propinquity. Using available concepts in the area, efforts are needed to systematically elucidate and assess the relevance of these explanations. Of specific concern are the temporal relationships between victim and offender experiences, and the consequences of prior victimizations.

Analysis of available data, the NCS in particular, to specifically examine the relationships between victim and offender demographic characteristics is recommended as a possible first step. Additional data collection utilizing self report methods for both victims and offender populations and longitudinal study designs, are recommended to address temporal and conceptual issues.

TOPIC 5

DYNAMICS AND SITUATIONAL ASPECTS OF VICTIMIZATION

Goal: To improve our understanding of the nature of situational factors and dynamics in specific crime types (e.g., assault, robbery, homicide).

Purposes:

- To examine the presence and nature of situational factors (e.g., weapons, alcohol, drugs, bystanders, psychological states) in specific offender-victim transactions.
- To describe the nature of the dynamics or behavioral interchange between victim and offender for specific crime types.
- To explicate the contribution of situational factors and dynamics to the escalation or deescalation of a crime event and its outcome and consequences.
- To explore the crime prevention implications of this research.

Potential Activities/Methods:

- Develop a sample of crime events from police records or the NCS.
- Employ a variety of data sources--in-depth victimization survey, victim and offender reports, police and prosecutorial information, bystander reports--to develop a full characterization of situational factors and dynamics.

Discussion:

To date only limited attention has been devoted to understanding the dynamics of the crime event. What situational factors are important in determining the outcome of a potential victimization incident? Does the presence of a weapon, in and of itself, tend to lead to a criminal victimization? What about the use of drugs or alcohol? What role does the psychological state of the victim or offender play? How do potential crime events escalate or deescalate? These and other possible contributors to the outcome of potential crime encounters need to be explored in an effort to understand the dynamics of victimization.

Data from a number of different sources, beyond the victims or potential victims themselves, reflecting the perspectives of the different actors in the situation--the offender, witnesses, police--could be tapped in a research effort to understand the situation surrounding criminal victimization. Again, it would be important to use police records or the NCS to develop samples of the specific crime types to be studied.

One important dimension of this research would be its crime prevention aspects (particularly regarding crimes like rape and robbery). An important distinction that may be involved in this research is that of stranger-to-stranger crime versus crime events where the offender is known, or is a friend or relative. It may be that for various crime types, a set of typical victim-offender-situation scenarios are involved and can be developed. Perhaps, more than in any other area, the use of police and offenders as data sources is critical since the perceptions of the dynamics of any event are likely to vary in terms of the roles of the actors.

TOPIC 6

CRIME PREVENTION AND RISK-REDUCING BEHAVIOR

Goal: Improve our understanding of the actions taken by individuals and communities to prevent crime and reduce the risk of victimization.

Purposes:

- To develop conceptually useful measures of the range of crime prevention and risk reducing behaviors individuals and communities undertake.
- To describe the distribution of these behaviors for a given sample of communities and/or individuals.
- To assess the relationship between these behaviors and victim-related experience.
- To examine alternative explanations for undertaking these behaviors.

Potential Activities/Methods:

- Use existing literature and existing surveys to develop a typology of relevant and conceptually useful behavioral measures.
- Undertake longitudinal research that would examine victim-related experiences and the adoption of relevant behaviors.
- Collect data at the community level on anti-crime initiatives and the adoption and diffusion of specific strategies.

Discussion: Much of the research concerning risk reduction and crime prevention behavior has narrowly focused on the evaluation of specific crime reduction programs. Little has been done to examine the actions and behaviors themselves, what motivates them and what relationship they bear to victim-related experiences. For instance, do individuals or communities initiate crime prevention activities following personal experiences of victimization? Does a contagion model pertain, and, thus, does hearing or knowing of victimizations of others stimulate personal crime prevention actions? What role does entrepreneurial activity, the media, etc. play in encouraging adoption and diffusion?

Two major tasks would be involved in research in this area. First, a developmental effort in the area of measurement would be required focusing on the creation and testing of valid, reliable indicators of crime prevention and risk reduction behaviors. Measures would be needed at both the individual and community levels. Available measures such as those suggested by DuBow might be used, or new or additional indicators might be developed. Surveys of the things people do to protect themselves, their property or their communities would serve as the basis for this development activity, as would prior literature.

Using these indicators, a study could then be conducted to examine the relationship between community or individual actions to reduce risk or prevent crime and the actual victim or victim-related experiences of the individual or community. Because an understanding of the temporal ordering of these events is critical to attributing any causal relationships, a longitudinal study design would be necessary.

TOPIC 7

INFORMATION AND THE FEAR OF VICTIMIZATION

Goal: To improve our understanding of the impact of various kinds and sources of information on the fear of crime.

Purposes:

- To describe the nature and sources of information concerning crime and crime-related phenomena to which individuals are exposed.
- To assess the effects of various types of information on fear of victimization.

Potential Activities/Methods:

- Collect data on relevant media and other social sources of crime-related information.
- Conduct a longitudinal survey which systematically collects information on fear and information exposure (e.g., content, source, frequency).
- Conduct experimental or quasi-experimental research (possibly in conjunction with a crime-related media project) examining the impact of specific kinds of information on fear.

Discussion: As evidenced by much of the Workshop discussion, the role of individual reactions to and perceptions of victimization (including fear) in determining victim behavior was considered central to understanding the victimization process. As such this iterative aspect of victimization is integral to other topic areas (etiology, lifestyle/exposure, and risk reducing and crime prevention behavior, for instance). One unique aspect of this process which warrants particular attention is the relationship between information and the fear of victimization.

Individuals are continuously exposed to information on the general crime situation and crime-related efforts in their own communities, and the nation as a whole. They are informed about criminal justice policies and community actions to prevent and control it. Such information is provided by the media, by local community leaders, and through informal communication networks. The impact information of different types has on individuals with different characteristics is not well understood.

Research in this area might begin by identifying the range and variety of crime/victimization information encountered by individuals generally. An empirical examination could be conducted of the varying levels of exposure to such information among individuals with different demographic, social or psychological characteristics. Finally, the impact of this information on perception or fear (i.e., anxiety) of crime might be examined through a longitudinal survey of individuals which asks them to report their reactions to different types of information, perhaps comparing sample reports with different content from different sources. Alternatively, using crime-related media campaigns as natural experimental settings, the sources, content, and exposure to information could be systematically varied and effects on fear measured.

TOPIC 8

HARMFUL CONSEQUENCES OF VICTIMIZATION

Goal: To understand the nature of the harmful consequences experienced by individuals because of criminal victimization within the context of other sources of harm.

Purposes:

- To describe the extent and types of harmful consequences (physical, social, psychological, major life disruptions, etc.) experienced in a given population.
- To determine the prevalence of harms derived of criminal victimization in the context of other sources of harm.

Potential Activities/Methods:

- Conduct a current consequences survey.

Discussion: A general sense arising from the Workshop was that much of the work on criminal victimization has been too narrowly based, and that there is a need to understand the role of victimization and its impact on the victim from a larger perspective. Biderman's discussion of the current consequences survey approach suggests one method of doing this. By addressing the question of current harms and their consequences at the most general level, a context can be developed for evaluating the impact of victimization, as one source of harm.

A general population survey could be conducted. Individuals would be asked to report on their current physical, psychological and social state. Problems of life disruption would be investigated. For those respondents reporting they are currently suffering harmful consequences, the nature and source of that harm would be sought with a particular interest paid to those involving a criminal victimization incident.

In addition to imbedding criminal victimization in a broader social context, a study of this type could provide valuable information on the nature of harmful consequences (particularly physical) arising from victimization. Workshop participants stressed the need to know more about the nature of the harms and losses experienced as a result of victimization, especially as a function of characteristics of the individual and the crime event.

TOPIC 9

ORGANIZATIONS AS VICTIMS

Goal: To extend our understanding of victimization beyond individual victimization to the victimization of organizations or institutions.

Purposes:

- To assess the extent to which prevailing concepts of individual victimization pertain to organizations.
- To describe the nature and sources of organization victimization.
- To describe the ways in which organizations react to, or cope with, victimization and how they differ from individuals.

Potential Activities/Methods:

- Conduct case studies or surveys of selected types of organizations to collect data on nature, sources, and consequences of victimization.

Discussion: Most thinking and research in the area of victimization has concerned itself with the victimization of individuals, with some attention to aggregates of individuals (i.e., communities). Little or no attention has been devoted to victimization at an organizational or institutional level. Certain concepts developed for understanding individual victimization are likely to apply to organizational levels of analysis as well. Others may not be directly transferable. Finally, organizational victimization may involve unique issues and require new conceptualization.

An effort is needed to address these issues and to empirically examine the nature of organizational victimization. Specialized case studies of selected organizations could be conducted to explore the nature and dynamics of organizational victimizations. Potential reactions of organizations could be examined and the consequences for others (employees, consumers, local communities) be explored. Further, an organizational victim survey could be conducted to examine and compare the experiences of a number of organizations with different characteristics.

TOPIC 10

A NATIONAL VICTIM DATA ORGANIZATION

Goal: To assess the feasibility of creating a mode for the systematic collection of victim data from diverse sources.

Purposes:

- To explore the nature and quality of victim data routinely collected from police, hospitals, victim surveys, social agencies, private business, etc.
- To explore the feasibility of creating a method for systematically collecting and organizing such information on a national basis.
- To assess the potential contribution a national victim data bank could make to victimological research.

Potential Activities/Methods:

- Examine and assess current victim data residing in diverse organizational entities via a national field survey.

Discussion: There was some interest expressed at the Workshop in the possibility of creating a data-gathering organization that would systematically draw on all the diverse sources of victim data in our society. Attention was drawn to the fact that police routinely collect considerable data on victims and the consequences of victimization which remain unorganized and not readily usable for statistical or research purposes.

A feasibility study could be undertaken which would explore the viability of creating some agency or organization to serve as a national data-gathering entity for the victim data collected by police, social and health agencies, and private and public organizations. There are numerous questions surrounding this type of approach: What is the quality of the data? Is it accessible? At what cost? Are there significant privacy and confidentiality issues posed? Could samples of relevant organizations be employed and national estimates derived? What would be the best form and locus for a data-gathering entity?

Underlying this proposal is the recognition of the vast amount of victim data collected by organizations that remain unused for broader research and statistical purposes. It is possible that the systematic collection and analysis of this data could contribute substantially to our knowledge of the incidence and consequences of victimization.

APPENDIX I
VICTIMOLOGY RESEARCH AGENDA DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP

MARCH 10-11, 1980
MCLEAN, VIRGINIA

AGENDA

Monday, March 10

8:30 COFFEE

9:00 Welcome
Harry Bratt
National Institute of Justice

9:10 Overview
Walter Burkhardt
National Institute of Justice

9:20 Opening Remarks of the Chairman
Albert Reiss
Department of Sociology
Yale University

9:30 Research Papers

1. Victim Characteristics and Lifestyle
Michael Gottfredson
School of Criminal Justice
State University of New York at Albany
Specific Discussant: Richard Sparks
2. Exposure to Risk and Risk Management Behavior
Wesley Skogan
Center for Urban Affairs
Northwestern University
Specific Discussant: Robert Woodson
American Enterprise Institute
3. Victim-Offender Relationships
Simon Singer
Center for Studies in Criminology and Criminal Law
University of Pennsylvania
Specific Discussant: Donna Schramm
Urban Policy Research

12:30 LUNCH

The Psychological Impact of Crime on the Victim
Morton Bard
The Center for Social Research
City University of New York

2:00 Research Papers

4. Victim-Offender Dynamics in Violent Crime
Richard Block
Department of Sociology
Loyola University
Specific Discussant: Donna Schramm
5. Fear of Crime, Its Causes and Consequences
James Garofalo
National Council on Crime and Delinquency
Specific Discussant: Ann Schneider
6. Multiple Victimization
Richard Sparks
School of Criminal Justice
Rutgers University
Specific Discussant: Eduard Ziegenhagen
Center for Social Analysis
State University of New York
at Binghamton

Tuesday, March 11

9:00 COFFEE

9:30 Research Paper

7. Methodological Problems in Victim Surveys and
Their Implications for the Research in Victimology
Ann Schneider
Institute for Policy Analysis
Specific Discussant: James Garofalo
8. Data Sources for Victimology
Albert Biderman
Bureau of Social Science Research
Specific Discussant: Wesley Skogan

12:00 LUNCH

Basic Concepts in Victimological Theory
Marvin Wolfgang
Center for Studies of Criminology and Criminal Law
University of Pennsylvania

1:30 Summary and Research Recommendations - All Participants

3:00 Adjournment

MITRE Department
and Project Approval:

Walter P. King

END