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A VICTIMOLOGICAL STUDY AMONG  
COLOUREDS IN THE CAPE PENINSULA

DISSERTATION

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 THE DEVELOPMENT OF CRIMINOLOGY

Criminology developed as a reaction to the various revolutions that were occurring in the European countries during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In response to the turmoil and disorder of Western society criminologists attempted to discover the natural laws of society hoping to establish a stable social order. Crime was regarded as something that disturbed society and, therefore, had to be controlled or prevented. According to Quinney and Wildeman (1977) the development of criminology can be viewed as an ongoing attempt to explain crime in terms of established social order. They state that in the history of criminology there is, however, a lack of a clear accumulative theoretical growth and continue as follows: "No line of theoretical development can be found that leads to a well-developed body of knowledge. The study of crime is characterized by a number of divergent theoretical perspectives that exist in relative isolation from one another" (p.38). Quinney and Wildeman (1977) distinguish five theoretical perspectives in the development of criminology namely:

- (1) early and classical criminological thought,
- (2) nineteenth-century sociological criminology,
- (3) nineteenth-century biological criminology,
- (4) twentieth-century eclectic criminology, and
- (5) twentieth-century sociological criminology.

According to Quinney and Wildeman (1977) many social philosophers have made observations about crime over the centuries. Plato, for instance, stated in regard to crime causation that "man's gold has always been the cause of many crimes", while Aristotle noted that "poverty engenders rebellion and crime". Crime was also attributed to the influence of powers outside this world - demonological explanations in the words of Vold (1958). In the eighteenth century the writers of the Enlightenment held that the explanations of human behaviour were to be found in man himself and not in supernatural forces. Writers such as Montesquieu, Voltaire, Marat, Beccaria, Bentham and

Romilly devoted their attention to the relationship of citizens to the legal structure of the state. They reacted against contemporary legal practices, objected to the inconsistencies in the way criminal law was administered and proposed reforms that were more in keeping with their conception of human life (Quinney, 1975).

According to Bonger (1936) modern criminology began in the 1830's when crime was first studied as a social phenomenon. During the early and middle parts of the nineteenth century a number of scholars in Europe such as Von Oettingen and Quételet gathered and analyzed crime statistics. In England between 1830 and 1860 there was much interest in the ecological distribution of crime. Several English writers examined social problems, especially crime, that were brought about by industrialization and the growth of cities. Charles Booth, for instance, did a large study entitled Life and Labour of the people of London.

In the nineteenth-century American thought there was the tendency to equate crime with sin, pauperism and immorality and it was regarded as an ill that had no place in social life. Crime was, therefore, one of those conditions that fell within the domain of the reformism. Persons in positions of responsibility and authority realized the need for knowledge that would guide their endeavours and supply them with rational grounds for implementing reform, and the social science movement in the second half of the century was largely stimulated by this need. Crime was also studied by people engaged in prison and welfare work while several authors in the latter half of the century wrote about the urban crime problem.

Nineteenth-century biological criminology can largely be related to the work of the Italian physician Lombroso and his immediate followers Ferri and Garofalo. Lombroso presented and argued the thesis of the atavistic criminal - the criminal was born that way, a throwback to a more primitive and savage man. However, he later modified his thoughts on the born criminal and assumed that environmental factors were also causally related to criminal behaviour.

Although Ferri never rejected biological causation of crime, he emphasized the role of various kinds of interrelated factors. He divided these factors into individual or anthropological, physical or natural, and social (Quinney and Wildeman, 1977). Garofalo similarly placed emphasis on various related factors.

In contrast to the classical position, these Italian positivistic criminologists proposed a kind of responsibility which was based on the needs of society rather than on the free will and the moral guilt of the offender. According to them it was the individual's duty to adjust to the demands of the state. Both Ferri and Garofalo later adapted themselves to Mussolini's Fascist regime. According to Vold (1958) the general orientation of positivism is consistent with totalitarianism.

The writings of the Italian positivists were translated for use in the United States during the second decade of the twentieth century. Lombroso's ideas effected a number of works by American criminologists: Hooton (1939) for instance, undertook research on the assumed biological inferiority of criminals, Sheldon (1949) wrote on somatotypes and constitutional inferiority while the Gluecks (1956) paid attention to the physical characteristics of delinquents.

However, Lombroso's biological emphasis was gradually discarded, largely as a result of the research undertaken by Aschaffenburg in Germany and by Goring in England and this led to the use of the multiple-factor approach by criminologists. Quinney and Wildeman (1977) write as follows in this connection: "... it was in reaction to particularistic, that is, reductionist, theories, especially the biological theories, that many research scholars in the first half of the century insisted that criminal behavior was a product of a large variety of factors and that the many factors could never be organized into general propositions, that each criminal act was caused by a different set of factors" (p. 62).

One of the first empirical studies employing the multiple-

factor approach was William Healy's The Individual Delinquent (1915). Healy considered a large variety and combination of factors in this study. This particular approach was also used in Cyril Burt's The Young Delinquent (1925). Burt commented as follows on crime causation: "Crime is assignable to no single universal source, nor yet to two or three: it springs from a wide variety, and usually from a multiplicity, of alternative and converging influences" (p. 599).

The multiple-factor approach is also found in such works as Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck's Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency (1950) in which they compared five hundred delinquent boys and five hundred non-delinquent boys on a host of factors.

The sociological study of crime proceeded very slowly in the United States during the first part of the twentieth century. However, a truly sociological criminology was achieved during the twenties and thirties by sociologists at the University of Chicago under the guidance of Albion W. Small. The underlying theme of these sociologists was that criminal behaviour is similar to any other social behaviour. The early students of crime at the University of Chicago were influenced to a considerable extent by Park and Burgess (1925) who suggested the study of the spatial distribution of social phenomena within the city. Thrasher (1927), for example, studies 1 313 gangs in Chicago while Shaw and his collaborators (1929) in their study of the distribution of delinquency rates, found inter alia that delinquency was concentrated in deteriorated areas of the city. In a number of subsequent case studies such as Brothers in Crime (1938) Shaw shifted from physical factors in the environment to the cultural environment and social participation. He regarded slum youth as participating in a culture that encouraged or prescribed delinquent behaviour (Quinney, 1975).

By the late thirties, three different conceptions of crime had been developed according to Quinney (1975) and they were formulated into three theories, namely differential association, social structure and anomie and cultural conflict.

During 1939, Sutherland (1939) presented his theory of differential association in an attempt to offer an explanation of crime that would replace the multiple-factor approach and go beyond the simple enculturation explanation of crime.

Differential association theory views criminal behaviour as learned like all other behaviours in communication with others. This learning process includes the techniques for committing criminal acts as well as motives, rationalizations and attitudes necessary for entrance into criminal activity. The direction and content of attitudes and motives result from definitions of the legal codes, either favourable or unfavourable to violation of the law. A person becomes criminally involved when there is an excess of definitions favourable to breaking the law over definitions unfavourable to breaking the law.

During 1938, Robert Merton published his now famous article "Social structure and anomie". He sought to explain the kinds and amounts of deviation in a society by elaborating on Emile Durkheim's description of the emergence of aspiration and the breakdown in regulatory norms. According to his theory explanations of crime are to be sought in the social and cultural structure of society rather than in the individual. For Merton, the cultural system consists of common goals and prescribed means of achieving these goals. The social system consists of the way culturally prescribed means for achieving these goals are distributed to all segments of society. When all members of society share the same goals but the legitimate means for achieving these goals are not equally available to all segments, in other words there is a disjunction between the cultural and social structures, high rates of deviance may be expected (McIntosh, 1974; Frazier, 1976). Merton himself (1968, p. 217) explains as follows: "When the cultural and the social structure are malintegrated, the first calling for behavior and attitudes which the second precludes, there is a strain toward the breakdown of the norms, toward normlessness".

According to Merton, deviance can take a number of different forms, depending on the individual's position in the social

structure and include innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion.

Cloward and Ohlin (1960) made use of both anomie theory and differential association theory and formulated what they call "the theory of differential opportunity systems". According to them, working class youths are located structurally in both legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures. The availability of the illegitimate opportunity for the youth after the failure he experienced with legitimate opportunity is the innovative feature of their theory. Cloward and Ohlin suggested a typology of delinquent subcultures: the criminal, the conflict and the retreatist subcultures.

During 1938, Thorsten Sellin published a monograph in which he presented the case for the analysis of crime according to culture conflict. Sellin believed that culture conflict could arise in several ways, with each form being potentially related to crime. Conflict can develop in the growth of a civilization and can also result from the contact between the divergent cultural codes. Sellin reviewed research on criminal behaviour among immigrants, the foreign-born and second-generation immigrants, thereby giving support to his theory (Quinney and Wildeman, 1977).

Since World War II further theoretical developments have occurred and they will be discussed briefly.

Although a number of social scientists have used the concept of subculture in analyzing a wide variety of sociological phenomena, it has probably been most intensively employed in the areas of adult crime and juvenile delinquency.

Albert Cohen (1955) developed a comprehensive and systematic view of subculture as a causal factor in deviant social behaviour. He maintained that the most important question was not why a child would adopt the cultural pattern to which he was exposed but why a delinquent subculture existed in the first place. He argued that the delinquent subculture as it is presented in the literature of juvenile delinquency is typically non-utilitarian, malicious and negativistic. Al-

though Cohen did not claim that exposure to a delinquent subculture is the exclusive cause of juvenile crime, a belief in the central role of the delinquent subculture is evident in his book. As he puts it: "Every society is internally differentiated into numerous sub-groups, each with ways of thinking and doing that are in some respects peculiarly its own, that one can acquire only by participating in these sub-groups and that one can scarcely help acquiring if he is a full-fledged participant" (p. 12).

Cohen states that the patterns of socialization in the working-class family, the lack of influence and the discrimination by school teachers serve to reduce the working-class child's chances for getting ahead. He explains as follows: "... it may confidently be said that the working-class boy, particularly if his training and values be those we have here defined as working-class, is more likely than his middle-class peers to find himself at the bottom of the status hierarchy ... To the degree to which he values middle-class status, either because he values the good opinion of middle-class persons or because he has to some degree internalized middle-class standards himself, he faces a problem of adjustment and is in the market for a 'solution'" (p. 119).

The "solution" is the delinquent subculture - a set of norms and values holding forth standards of achievement within the reach of the working-class boy. Since he is unable or unwilling to attain middle-class values, he turns to the patterns of aggression, vandalism and theft where success is possible. The delinquent subculture is therefore created and maintained by working-class boys facing similar problems of adjustment. For them the subculture reopens the door to masculine self-respect.

In 1958, Miller published a theoretical statement on delinquency. He states that lower-class culture is a distinctive lifestyle which can be subsumed under a series of behaviours that he calls "focal concerns". The six general focal concerns are: trouble, toughness, smartness, excitement, fate and autonomy. In addition juveniles focus on belonging and status. Matza (1964)

has suggested several modifications to the subculture theories of Miller and Cohen.

In contrast to the theories discussed so far where the emphasis has been primarily on the causes of criminal behaviour, labeling theory poses the question not why a person becomes a criminal but why society labels some people as deviants. A number of sociologists such as Lemert (1951; 1972), Becker (1966), Douglas (1970; 1971), Erikson (1962), Kitsuse (1964), Lofland (1969), Scheff (1966), Schur (1971), Scott and Douglas (1972), Rubington and Weinberg (1973) and Gove (1975) have contributed to labeling theory. Erikson (1962) states that the proper subject matter for those interested in the study of deviance should be the social audience and not the individual person since deviance is the result of social judgements imposed on persons by the social audience. In this respect Becker (1966) explains as follows: "... social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labeling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender'. The deviant is one to whom that label has successfully been applied; deviant behavior is behavior that people so label" (p. 9).

It has been suggested that certain types of groups are more likely to be labelled deviant than others: groups that do not have political power, groups that are seen to threaten the persons in power and groups that have low social status. Visibility of crime may also be a factor in the process of labeling - people living in ghetto areas are more likely to be visible in committing a crime. Once a person is labelled deviant, he may be unable to act in any way different from the role ascribed to him and his response may become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Lastly, control theory should also be mentioned. The exponents of this theory start from the assumption that higher organisms require training if they are to behave socially. Human beings must, therefore, be socialized. Reckless (1967) and his associates claim that both external and internal con-

trols "contain" a person against the allure of crime. The outer containment consists of social pressures to obey the norms of one's group. These pressures are exerted through training in roles and through affiliation with a community and a tradition. However, no community can depend completely upon the constant control of individuals through social pressure and the self-control of the individual must therefore, be also developed. Reckless' interest in inner containment centres around five components of the self which give it strength to resist deviance. These components are:

- (1) a healthy self-concept
- (2) orientation towards socially approved goals
- (3) a realistic level of aspiration
- (4) the ability to tolerate frustration and
- (5) an identification with lawful norms.

Another contribution to control theory is Hirschi's Causes of Delinquency (1969). Hirschi emphasizes the bond to conventional society which constrains individuals to conform and identifies the following four elements of the bond, namely: attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief. When the elements of the bond are weak it is more probable that one will deviate than it is when they are strongly conventional.

## 1.2 THE RISE OF CRITICAL CRIMINOLOGY

During the 1960's sociology was attacked by a number of students and teachers. They argued that sociology was not value-free as was stated in most introductory textbooks, but that it was in fact still contaminated by the bias and subjectivity of particular interest groups in society. Gouldner (1962), for example, refers to the myth of the value-free sociology. These critics claimed that the social order was not determined by consensus, but represented the will of a small portion of society imposed on the whole. They argued that social problems were not flowing from individual pathologies - an argument that was functional for maintaining the status quo - but that the existing social system was at fault. Although this debate involved many of the specialized fields in sociology, it was particularly evident in the field of crimino-

logy. By the beginning of the 1970's, it became obvious that a new approach had entered criminology - especially in the United States, and that it was challenging many of the basic assumptions. This new approach has been termed "new criminology", for instance by Doleschal and Klapmuts (1973), Taylor, Walton and Young (1973), Krisberg (1975), Quinney (1975), Tift (1979) and Toby (1979); "critical criminology" by inter alia Sykes (1974, 1978), Taylor, Walton and Young (1974, 1975) and Quinney and Wildeman (1977); "radical criminology" for instance by Gordon (1973), Platt (1975), Gibbons (1977), Inciardi (1979), Empey (1978), and Carlen (1980) or "Marxist criminology" by inter alia Chambliss (1975), Milutinovic (1974), Quinney and Wildeman (1977), Quinney (1977, 1978, 1979), Klockars (1979) and Akers (1979).

Quinney and Wildeman (1977) regard this emergence of a critical Marxian criminology as the most significant development in criminology in recent years.

According to Sykes (1974, 1978) the following themes are involved in this new orientation: Firstly, individualistic theories of crime causation - biological and psychological theories as well as sociological theories referring to individual defects due to inadequate socialization or peer group pressures - are viewed with scepticism. As has already been pointed out, a number of criminologists have raised the question why certain people are singled out to be labelled as deviants rather than identifying the objectively determined characteristics that separate the criminal and the non-criminal.

Secondly, in critical criminology there is an obvious shift in the interpretation of motives behind the actions of the agencies and the public officials dealing with crime. Many criminologists such as Skolnick (1966) and Reasons and Kuykendall (1972) had, of course, been pointing out that persons who got labelled as criminals came from the ranks of those who lacked social power, including the poor, Blacks, lower-class individuals and transients and that the "criminal-processing system" was often harsh and unfair. Few were, however, willing to state that the system was inherently unjust.

Critical criminology takes a different view and claims that legal agencies deliberately use the law to maintain the status quo for those who hold the power in society. In the words of Douglas (1971a): "Criminal laws are specifically enacted by the middle and upper classes to place the poorer classes under the more direct control of the police" (p. xviii).

Quinney and Wildeman (1977) elaborate on this topic by arguing: "Critical criminology, following the Marxian conception of the state and the legal system, sees them as essentially the creation and tool of the dominant class of society. Criminal law ... remains the principal tool serving the interests of the capitalist class.... Modern capitalist society is thus founded on the control of one class by another with the state securing this arrangement.... For critical criminology, the state and its law, rather than serving all the people in an impartial manner, fracture the social solidarity of our society in the interest of the capitalist class.... The working-class, the class that must remain oppressed for the triumph of the dominant capitalist class, will continue to be the object of criminal law as long as the dominant class seeks to perpetuate itself" (p. 12).

Critical criminology also questions the position of criminologists - they are regarded as the ancillary agents of the State by providing the kinds of information that governing elites use to control those who threaten the system. In this respect, Herman and Julia Schwendinger (1975) remark as follows: " ... the legalistic definitions (of crime) cannot be justified as long as they make the activity of criminologists subservient to the State. It is suggested that an alternative solution can be developed ... In this process of redefining crime, criminologists will redefine themselves, no longer to be the defenders of order but rather the guardians of human rights" (p. 138).

The third theme deals with the rightfulness of the criminal law. Although certain aspects such as the death sentence and the prohibition of gambling had been scrutinized vigorously, the great bulk of the criminal law was taken as expressing a

widely shared set of values. However, critical criminology takes a different view: " ... the criminal law stands ready to repress, among other things, any conduct that threatens the state... The state could now act by means of the criminal law to protect its own interests and those of the dominant economic class that it served" (Quinney and Wildeman, 1977, p. 17).

Fourthly, critical criminology questions the accuracy of official crime statistics. Criminologists have, of course, long been sceptical of the accuracy of these statistics, realizing that there exists an unknown amount of criminality that never becomes a part of the public record. However, they nonetheless accepted these as a major source of data as these were the only national figures available.

Kitsuse and Cicourel (1963) state that official crime statistics may be viewed as the structural response to crime rather than as indicators of the actual incidence of deviancy while Bottomley (1973) holds the view that they provide a barometer of society's attitudes towards its deviant members rather than an objective measure of its social behaviour. Crime statistics are thus only reflections of the activities and the policies of the practitioners of the criminal justice system.

Taylor, Walton and Young (1974) evaluate official statistics as follows: " ... criminal statistics over the years can be read and used as evidence of the enthusiasm with which the ... ruling class is prosecuting individuals and groups under different sets of laws and for different sets of social behaviors" (p. 454).

Seidman and Couzens (1974) conclude that the Uniform Crime Reporting System in the USA is useless as a tool for evaluation of social policy whereas Quinney and Wildeman (1977) maintain that the use of official crime statistics as measures of the incidence of criminality is a questionable

practice.

Official crime statistics are like the tip of an iceberg and since many crimes are not reported to the police, these official statistics provide little knowledge about the size and shape of the iceberg. The gap between the actual amount of crime and the amount recorded by the police - this missing body of information - is called "the dark figure of crime". These limitations of official statistics have been pointed out by a number of authors such as McDonald (1969), Black (1970), Milakovich and Weiss (1975), Skogan (1975), Clinard (1978), Empey (1978), Winslow (1977) and Connodis (1979).

This criticism regarding the accuracy of official crime statistics has led to finding a new technique to measure the extent of crime as will be pointed out in the next section, and this has contributed to a great extent to the development of victimology.

### 1.3 THE ORIGIN, GROWTH AND SCOPE OF VICTIMOLOGY

Criminology, as a field of study, consists of four major components, viz: the criminal, the offence, the victim and the community in which crime occurs. However, as is evident from the foregoing discussion, the emphasis in the development of criminology was largely on the offender. Although some of the classical authors in criminology, for instance Lombroso, Garofalo, Ferri, Tarde and Von Liszt, made mention of the victims of crime and during the 19th and the first four decades of the 20th century a few scholars discussed the victim's role in a criminal situation, it was not until after World War II that the study of the victim acquired a more rigorous scientific nature.

Mendelsohn (1974a) claims that he originated the idea of victimology. During 1937 he published an article entitled Method to be used by Counsel for the defence in the researches made into the personality of the criminal.

He, as a practising attorney, requested his clients to complete a questionnaire containing more than 300 questions. His findings from this questionnaire led him to the conclusion that a "parallelity" appears between the "biopsychosocial" personality of the offender and that of the victim. Although this article was not a study of the victim, it led Mendelsohn to his "... gradual evolution towards the conception of Victimology" (p. 3). As one of the results of the application of this method, Mendelsohn published a study, Rape in Criminology, during 1940.

In 1946 Mendelsohn circulated a manuscript entitled New biopsychosocial horizons: victimology among the specialists of Bucharest, namely medico-legal experts, psychiatrists, psychoanalysts and barristers, and a decade later he published a study under the title of A new branch of biopsychosocial science: victimology. Schafer (1976) states that Mendelsohn proposed in this latter study terms such as "victimal" as the opposite of "criminal" and "victimity" as the opposite of "criminality" and also recommended the establishment of a "central institute of victimology", an "international institute for victimological researches in the United Nations", an "international society of victimology", and the publication of an "international review of victimology".

During 1941 Von Hentig published an article entitled Remarks on the interaction of perpetrator and victim and a few years later it was followed by his book The criminal and his victim (1948). Schafer (1976) regards Mendelsohn and Von Hentig as the two pioneers of victimology.

This theoretical attention generated an interest in discovering more about victims of crime and criminological researchers began to examine the role of the victim in criminal homicides (Wolfgang, 1958; Pokorny, 1965b; Morris and Blom-Cooper, 1964), justifiable homicides by the police (Robin, 1963), aggravated assault (Pitman and Handy, 1964;

Pokorny, 1965a, 1965b), theft (Fooner, 1967) and robbery (Normandeau, 1968). Other researchers such as Johnson (1941), Garfinkel (1949) and Bullock (1961) began examining characteristics of the victim-offender dyad (with particular reference to racial homogeneity or heterogeneity) associated with harsh sentences meted out to offenders.

On 23 July 1965 President Johnson, recognizing the urgency of the crime problem in the United States and the depth of ignorance surrounding it, established the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice by means of an executive order. The Commission dealt with topics such as the extent of unreported crime, the victims of crime, fear of crime, the ecology of crime and delinquency, riots and crime, the American system of criminal justice, and corrections.

The Commission gave attention to the deficiencies of the official statistics - one of the points raised by the critical criminologists - and reasoned that better crime prevention and control programmes depend upon a full and accurate knowledge about the amounts and kinds of crime. It then experimented with the development of public surveys of the victims of crime. The Commission came to the conclusion that these surveys could become a useful supplementary yardstick but stated that further development of the procedure was needed to improve the accuracy and reliability of the findings. However, the Commission found that the initial experiments had produced useful results justifying more intensive efforts to gather such information on a regular basis. (The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967).

The Commission sponsored the first three pilot surveys of victimization ever to be undertaken (Biderman, Johnson, McIntyre and Weir, 1967; Reiss, 1967 and Ennis, 1967). These surveys which will be discussed in a subsequent chapter, have undoubtedly contributed much towards the development of victimology.

Another factor that was instrumental in devoting attention to victims was the legislation passed in several countries to compensate victims of crime (Hindelang, 1976). This interest in the victims demanded a re-conceptualization of societal responsibility to victims of crime and also required information about characteristics of victims, the nature of the victim-offender relationship and the dynamics and consequences of the victimization event. For example, the consequences of victimization (extent of injury, death, hospitalization, loss of property or money, etc.) were essential to estimate the costs of various compensation plans proposed.

As the United States Supreme Court dealt with the rights of suspects in criminal cases a backlash concerning the neglect of the victim began to build up. This counterforce led to an interest in the victims and in the nature and consequences of the harm and injury they suffered.

Another important facet that has come under scrutiny is the attitudes and the responses of the practitioners of the criminal justice system to victims. Viano (1976) explains as follows: "Students and professionals in the criminal justice system have become increasingly aware that a victim of a criminal becomes - more often than not - also the victim of the criminal justice system. Once the victim reports his victimization to the police - the gateway to the criminal justice system - he or she is routinely faced by postponements, delays, reschedulings, and other abuses. All this means loss of earnings, waste of time, frustration, and the painful realization that the system does not live up to its ideals and does not serve its constituency, but instead serves itself and its underlings" (p.xv).

It must be remembered that the practitioners of the criminal justice system form part of the bureaucracy and in this respect Max Weber (1964) made some useful and relevant observations. He distinguished three pure types of legitimate

authority. The first type is called legal authority and the validity of its claim to legitimacy may be based on rational grounds - it rests on a belief in the "legality" of patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands. According to him, the purest type of exercise of legal authority is that which employs a bureaucratic administrative staff. Weber refers to the permanent character of the bureaucratic machine and elaborates as follows: "Once it is fully established, bureaucracy is among those social structures which are the hardest to destroy. ... where the bureaucratization of administration has been completely carried through, a form of power relation is established that is practically unshatterable. ... The ruled, for their part, cannot dispense with or replace the bureaucratic apparatus of authority once it exists " (Gerth and Mills, 1961, pp. 228-229).

Weber adds that the professional bureaucrat is in the great majority of cases a single cog in an ever-moving mechanism which prescribes to him an essentially fixed route of march. He performs his specialized tasks and normally he is not capable of putting the mechanism into motion or bringing it to a stop.

According to Weber the modern state is undergoing bureaucratization everywhere, but it is an open question whether the power of bureaucracy within the polity is universally increasing (Gerth and Mills, 1961).

In the light of these observations by Weber, the postponements, delays, reschedulings and other abuses mentioned by Viano can almost be regarded as inevitable.

Finally, the initiation of programmes to service victims of crime and the creation of rape crisis centres have focussed further attention on the victim. In South Africa there are three rape crisis centres, namely in Cape Town,

Johannesburg and Durban. According to a newspaper report, (The Star 28.06.78) the centre in Cape Town is operational 24 hours a day and doctors, councillors, psychologists and a female district surgeon render services. The centre in Durban organises self-defence classes and is also running a training programme for women who are interested in helping rape victims.

In the light of this exposition of the different aspects which are receiving attention one cannot but agree with Drapkin and Viano (1974a) who describe victimology as: " ... that branch of criminology which primarily studies the victim of crime and everything that is connected with such a victim" (p. 2).

The First International Symposium on Victimology was held in Jerusalem in 1973 and according to Drapkin and Viano (1974b) the area of victimology was thereby given international recognition as a distinct focus of inquiry within criminology. The aims of the Symposium were summarized as follows by Drapkin and Viano (1974b, p. x): "The principal aims of the Symposium were to facilitate the exchange of ideas and to stimulate more and improved research in victimology, the potential of which has not yet been well mined".

During the Symposium attention was given to subjects such as the concept of victimology and its place within criminology, victim typologies, the prevention and treatment of victims of crime, compensation and restitution to victims, problems relating to the treatment of the victim at the hands of the criminal justice system, victimization surveys, homicide, suicide, white-collar crime, sex offences and traffic offences.

During 1975 the International Study Institute of Victimology took place in Italy. About 50 persons representing all continents assessed the current status of victimology and developed an agenda for further work.

The Institute was designed and held with the aim of encoura-

ging efforts to be undertaken by groups of scholars across international and disciplinary boundaries. Attention was devoted to conceptual issues, research methodology and findings, the victim and the justice system, treatment and prevention and institutional victimization.

The Second International Symposium on Victimology was held during 1976 in Boston, Massachusetts, and dealt with a large variety of topics such as the concept and scope of victimology, victim typologies, victims of traffic offences, offences against the person, criminal-victim relationships and the police, compensation to victims and the victim and the mass media of communication.

The question has been raised whether victimology is part of criminology or whether it should be regarded as a separate science. In an article on the origin of the doctrine of victimology Mendelsohn (1974a) claims that victimology has no place within the bounds of criminology and that it should be a separate and autonomous science with its own institutions. During the First International Symposium on Victimology, Mendelsohn (1974b) voiced his contention again and had the following to say in this connection: "From what was discussed above it follows that the object of victimology is of a different nature than that of criminology. Briefly, criminology deals mainly with one of the factors that cause suffering, whereas victimology has to deal with the suffering factors themselves. . . . Questions of criminology should not be called victimology. . . . Criminology and victimology should not be confused any longer" (pp. 28-34). According to Schafer (1976) Mendelsohn's opinions were, however, not favourably received.

Separovic (1974) calls victimology a new approach in the social sciences. He states that if victims are only those who suffer from criminal acts or offences, victimology will be part of the crime problem and, therefore, a discipline "within criminology". His contention is, however, that

there are crime as well as non-crime victims and that it is necessary to distinguish between victimology in the narrower and victimology in the broader sense. He explains as follows: "In a narrower sense, victimology is the empirical, factual study of victims of crime and offenses, and as such is closely related to criminology, and thus may be regarded as a part of the general crime problem. But, what we want to make clear here is that victimology, as we shall use it, includes both, victims of crime and victims of accidents. So, in its broadest sense, victimology is the entire body of knowledge regarding victims, victimization, and the efforts of society to prevent victimization and to preserve the rights of the victim. Thus, it is composed of knowledge drawn from such fields as criminology, safety, law, medicine, psychology, social work, education, and public administration" (p. 21).

Nagel (1974) did not share Mendelsohn's opinion. He discussed the question whether victimology should be regarded as a science in its own right besides criminology and penology and came to the conclusion that in a modern criminology of relationships the victimological relationship is of such utmost importance that there is no longer a need for a separate victimology.

Hoefnagels (1973) regards victimology as a subfield of criminology and writes as follows: "Victimology ... has thrown light on 'the other side' of criminology, viz. some of the others - than - offenders. It is an additional demonstration that criminology must not remain exclusively 'criminal-centered', if the reality of relationships is to be preserved" (p. 64).

Victimology is called a new territory in criminology by Anttila (1974). She states that new perspectives are brought into criminology by victim-centered research and that this type of research will continue to be an essential part of criminology.

Drapkin and Viano (1974b) are of the opinion that the First International Symposium on Victimology which was held in Je-

Jerusalem in 1973 gave the area of victimology international recognition as a distinct focus of inquiry within criminology. (Underlining mine.) Silverman (1971) also expresses the opinion that victimology is not a separate discipline and has the following to say in this respect: "There is a coterie of social scientists who have called themselves 'victimologists'. They are dedicated to the study of victims of crime. . . . Some are so committed to this work that they have tried to establish 'victimology' as a discipline separate from sociology or criminology. Since their 'discipline' offers no unique methodology or theory apart from sociology or criminology there is no reason to assume that they should have been successful" (pp. 1-2).

The fact that the International Society of Criminology sponsored both the First International Symposium on Victimology (1973) and the Second International Symposium (1976) lends support to the view that victimology is not an independent discipline but a part of criminological studies.

According to Shafer (1977) Cornil in a paper presented to the First International Symposium on Victimology rightly asserted that victimology is a part of criminology and criminal law. (Underlining mine.) He adds that although it is not evident from the Conclusions and Recommendations of the Symposium, the great majority of the participants supported Cornil's views. Schafer himself states that it is questionable whether denoting victimology as a special doctrine or science is justified, or whether it should be considered as an integral part of the general crime problem.

During the International Study Institute on Victimology a task force prepared a section on theoretical perspectives and came to the following conclusion: "The narrowest definition of the scope of victimology attempts to understand it as a subdiscipline of criminology focusing on victims of crime. The broadest definition would reach out to embrace all forms of suffering or harm, irrespective of origin" (Viano, 1976, pp. 603-604).

A number of papers were presented at the Institute and scrutiny of these reveals that in at least 80 per cent of the papers the concepts victim, victimization and victimology were used in the narrow sense of the word, referring to victims of crimes.

The Third International Symposium on Victimology was held in the Federal Republic of Germany during September 1979. From the provisional programme it is obvious that the concept victimology was again used in the narrow sense of the word, for instance, attention was devoted to criminal victimization surveys, victims of various kinds of crime, victims in the crime causation and control process and the victim in the criminal justice system.

Criminology, as a field of study, consists of four major components, viz: the criminal, the offence, the victim and the community in which crime occurs. As has already been indicated, the criminal was for many years the main subject of study. The fact that criminologists are now also devoting attention to the victim - often regarded as being the stepchild of society - and the community<sup>+</sup> proves that the study of crime has acquired a more realistic and complete outlook. In the light of the foregoing, in this dissertation which deals with the victims of crime, victimology will be regarded as a branch of criminology.

#### 1.4 THE RELEVANCE OF VICTIMOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Research in the field of the social sciences - and thus also victimological research - must be methodologically relevant, theoretically relevant and must in the third place, also have societal relevance.

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<sup>+</sup>A variety of studies concerning the public's perception of various aspects of crime such as fear of crime, appropriateness of sentences, and the seriousness of individual crimes have already been conducted in overseas countries as well as in South Africa.

The methodological relevance of victimological research will be discussed at length in a subsequent chapter. At this stage it is sufficient to summarize by pointing out that it provides a new and much more accurate measure of deviant and criminal behaviour in that hidden crimes which are not reflected in official criminal statistics are also taken into account. The importance of this aspect for the field of criminology cannot be over-estimated.

Research also affords the scientist the opportunity to verify existing theories and to construct new theories. Denzin (1970) defines theory as follows: "A theory is a set of propositions that furnish an explanation by means of a deductive system. Theory is explanation" (p. 34). Bailey (1978) furnishes the following description: "Explanations and predictions are provided by theories. Theories attempt to answer the why and how questions. Theorizing can be defined as the process of providing explanations and predictions of social phenomena, generally by relating the subject of interest ... to some other phenomena" (pp. 32-33). He adds that theories must be testable, at least ultimately. Bearing these definitions in mind, the concept theory can be described as follows for the purposes of this dissertation: A theory can be regarded as a series of interdependent empirically verifiable propositions explaining a certain phenomenon. For the purposes of empirical research these propositions are formulated as hypotheses.

It must, however, be pointed out that this definition refers to a very high level of theory and since most of the current sociological-aetiological theories of deviancy and juvenile delinquency cannot claim to possess a series of interdependent empirically verifiable propositions "theory" can be described, for purposes of this contribution in imitation of Traub and Little (1975, pp. xi-xvi) as a suggested explanation of an event or phenomenon.

It is interesting to note that also in the field of the so-

ciology of the family the concept "theory" is used rather broadly. In this respect Hill (1966, p. 10) explains as follows: "This presentation uses the term 'theory' broadly and generically rather than narrowly and preciously. Here theory encompasses not just the body of laws which have been formulated from experimental science (so far as the author knows, there are none of this type about the family), but also generalizations of lesser explanatory power, including the information-packed descriptions in which our family literature is quite rich. Modifiers can be used to designate the kinds of theory under discussion".

Theory and empirical research are in constant interaction with each other - Wallace (1969) and Bailey (1978) present this as a perpetual circuit. A spiral image would, however, in all probability be more correct, since the level of the relevant theory is gradually enhanced by constant research. Dubin (1969) also refers to the interaction between theory and research and states that theory and research are separable as distinctive operations but inseparable as necessary complementary components of scientific endeavour.

Dubin (1969) says that "Theory Building" was chosen as title of his book since it symbolizes the always present goal of scientists' activities - their task is to build viable models of the empirical world that can be comprehended by the human mind. The construction of theories is, however, a perpetual process - the opportunity to build new models of the world as man sees it is never exhausted - and Dubin (1969, p. 231) has the following to say in this regard: "I choose the position that the explicit goal of science is to model the sensory world of man in terms of his perceptual skills and for the purposes he defines as his needs for practical knowledge or simply for comprehension to satisfy his current curiosities. This stance explicitly makes of science a never-ending process of data gathering and of reprocessing old data, of theory building in areas of curiosity where models had not previously existed, and of reconstructing old theories that

no longer encompass in their predictions the data they purport to model".

The construction of theories is not only a never-ending process, but is also a difficult process, especially in the human sciences as Torgerson (1967, pp. 1-8) has rightly pointed out. He states that in a well-developed science such as physics a theory can be accepted or rejected depending upon the agreement between the predicted and the observed data. In the social and behavioural sciences which are less well-developed the situation is, however, different. If the predictions agree with the observed data then the theorist has found evidence to support his theory. If disagreement is found, however, the theorist may conclude that the theory is incorrect or he may claim that the experiment was simply inappropriate and consequently conclude that the theory is still correct. This state of affairs may well be one of the reasons why Zetterberg (1965, p. 18) remarks as follows on sociological theories: "In spite of the fact that we have a few brilliant attempts toward grand theory and several examples of partial theories and recognize that the integration of the latter into a more inclusive theory is a possibility, the dominant impression in looking at the sociology of today is one of theoretical paucity".

Victimological research offers the opportunity to verify existing victimological theories and to construct new theories. Since existing theories pertaining to victimology will be dealt with in the next chapter, this aspect will not be discussed any further at this stage.

Victimological research can also contribute to subcultural theories of deviance. The most important general premises of these theories are that deviant behaviour:

1. is more prevalent among persons of low social status;
2. is generally a group phenomenon and
3. is largely a male phenomenon.

Short and Strodbeck (1974) write as follows on these premises: "The bases for conceptualizing delinquency as 'sub-cultural' are the familiar ecological and demographic findings - it is largely a male, working-class phenomenon, and it takes an organized and collective form" (p. 4).

Erickson (1973) has the following to say on the place which social class and group occupy in these major sociological theories: "Nearly all (of these) theories claim that delinquent acts are

1. predominantly a phenomenon of the lower class, and
2. group events to a large extent" (p. 41).

Other sociologists who refer to one or two of these three premises are, inter alia, Empey (1967), Lerman (1967), Spector (1970-71), Hindelang (1971), Caspáris and Vaz (1973), Mirande (1975) and Fox (1976).

At present confusion exists on the class premise of sub-cultural theories of deviance. According to Schurink (1977) this confusion is mainly due to the two types of data that are generally used, namely official crime statistics and unofficial data on criminal behaviour. Labelling theorists such as Kitsuse (1964), Erikson (1962) and Becker (1966) state that all crimes that are committed are not reported to the police, all criminals are not traced and even if they are traced not all of them are found guilty. They furthermore allege that the practitioners of criminal justice are more inclined to arrest and to try persons from the low than from the high social classes. These theorists, therefore, maintain that official crime statistics are deficient, misleading and one-sided.

In order to obviate the deficiencies of official statistics, researchers have started to make use of unofficial data on criminal conduct mostly obtained by means of self-report studies of delinquency. Schurink and Strijdom (1976) have, however, pointed out that this technique poses numerous problems and they aptly conclude: "The fact that self-report

studies of delinquency generally cast doubt on the relationship between social class and crime as revealed by official data but also arrive at conflicting findings with regard to the relationship between these two variables has further accentuated the current controversy on the class basis of subcultural theories of deviance and juvenile delinquency instead of solving it" (p. 3).

There is also confusion on the group premise of subcultural theories, although this is less explicit than in the case of the class premise. Virtually all available data used to support this premise have been obtained from official sources and must, therefore, in view of the previous discussion be regarded as deficient. A few self-report studies have been undertaken to establish whether juvenile delinquency occurs in the group context, but they have, however, produced divergent findings.

In contrast to the confusion on the class and group premises of subcultural theories, there is at present considerable unanimity among sociologists and criminologists on the validity of the male premise of these theories.

Victimological research affords the opportunity to test the validity of these three premises of subcultural theories with the aid of data produced by victimization surveys since the victims of crime are requested to furnish relevant information about their offenders if at all possible.

Thirdly, victimological research also has societal relevance in that it provides data which can be used to combat crime and to assess the effectiveness of criminal justice system programmes. Examples of these data are the reasons for the underreporting of crime, the time when and the place where the crime was committed and the consequences of the crime for the victim.

## 1.5 REASONS FOR CONDUCTING THE PRESENT STUDY

In the light of the important contribution that victimological studies can make to our knowledge of deviant and criminal behaviour, the South African Institute for Sociological, Demographic and Criminological Research of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) decided to undertake a series of these studies as part of its criminological research programme.

It was further decided to focus attention on the Coloured population in one of these studies for the following reasons.

(a) According to Midgley (1973) the Coloureds are disadvantageously ranked in the social structure of South African society. He explains as follows: "They are entirely Western in orientation and highly urbanized and therefore directly exposed to the Western success goal. Their standard of living, on the other hand, is low and they face deprivations of income, job opportunities and education. Through the actions of the polity, mobility between the race strata is effectively prevented. The actions of the polity, however, also retard mobility within the Coloured strata and the growth of opportunities for the realization of success goals through the acquisition of commodities defined as necessary for success" (p. 193). Because they have internalized the success goal but are disadvantageously located in the social structure, he expected high rates of crime and deviance among them. Midgley (1973) undertook research in Coloured neighbourhoods in Cape Town to test a number of hypotheses about crime, anomie and social structure; hypotheses which reflect the elements of Merton's theory. Conditions of anomie were found in 13 of the 15 neighbourhoods. These 13 neighbourhoods were labelled "working-class" whereas the two that had no evidence of anomie were labelled "middle-class". He also examined the incidence of crime in each of the neighbourhoods for a period of three months. The

"working-class" neighbourhoods had an extremely high incidence of crime compared to the "middle-class" neighbourhoods.

(b) Analyses of official South African crime statistics for the period July 1969 - June 1970 (Strijdom and Van der Colff, 1975 a ; 1975 b ) indicate that the crime rate for Coloureds is much higher than for any of the other population groups. In respect of Coloureds, 21 years or older, the rate amounts to 1 095 per 10 000 of the population compared to 284 (Blacks), 281 (Asiatics) and 183 (Whites). In respect of juvenile adults (persons in the age category 18-20 years) the same pattern emerges namely 1 528 per 10 000 of the population (Coloureds), 420 (Blacks), 299 (Asiatics) and 274 (Whites).

(c) It is likely that, especially among Non-Whites, the non-reporting of crime assumes enormous proportions (Strijdom and Van der Colff, 1975 b ).

#### 1.6 COMPOSITION OF THE DISSERTATION

The present chapter deals with the development of criminology, the rise of critical criminology, the origin, growth and scope of victimology, the relevance of victimological research and the reasons for the decision to conduct the present victimological study among the Coloured residents of the Cape Peninsula.

Theoretical perspectives in victimology are discussed in Chapter 2 whereas the attention in Chapter 3 is devoted to the methodology of victimological research. Chapter 4 contains an exposition of victim typologies while the design of the present study is outlined in the next chapter. The extent, the types and the rates of victimization are discussed in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 deals with the reporting of victimizations.

Characteristics of the offenders are discussed in Chapter 8. In Chapter 9 the attention is devoted to the victim - offender relationship. The next chapter examines the day and time of occurrence whereas the place of occurrence is explored in

in Chapter 11. The consequences of crime for the victim are considered in Chapter 12.

In the final chapter the most important findings will be summarised, crime will be related to other social problems, perspectives on social problems among the Coloureds will be discussed, and a particular approach to the study of primary victimization will be suggested.

## CHAPTER 2

### THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES IN VICTIMOLOGY

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, a theory was described as a suggested explanation of an event or a phenomenon. If this description is applied to victimology, theory suggests an explanation of the phenomenon of victimization. It endeavours to answer questions such as: "Why does a person become a victim of crime?", "Why can certain factors be regarded as functional for victimization?", and "Why are certain categories of people more prone to become victims than others?".

A researcher must study all the relevant theories pertaining to his field of study and must select one theory which in his opinion is the most suitable for his topic. This theory must then be made operational in the research process. If it appears from the data that this theory is in fact capable of explaining the phenomenon, this information is used to enhance the level of the particular theory. However, if this is not the case, the findings can be utilized to initiate, reformulate, deflect or clarify theory (Merton, 1968).

Victimology, being still in its infancy, lacks theories which could be utilized in research. Says Levine (1978): "... victimology is acutely deficient in synthesising frameworks ... Unless explanatory abstractions are developed internally or imported, victimology is destined to remain a depository of unorganized actuarial data on 'victims'" (p. 77). He attributes this state of affairs to epidemiological empiricism which is prominent in victimological research and adds that no general theories have, or could, emerge from this empiricism: "What is being suggested then, is not that epidemiology has no place in empirical research in the social sciences, but that its role cannot be as a device for the construction of theories. Theories cannot be induced from empirical data because they involve abstractions and idealized

inter-relationships which transcend what is observable". (p. 80). This last statement by Levine is questionable - although empirical data do not automatically lead to theories, this type of data is of key importance in the construction of theories by the researcher. Indeed, it may be argued that theory without empirical research can be no more than philosophy. In a later paragraph, an exposition will be given of how empirical data were used to develop a theory pertaining to victimology.

Smith and Weis (1976) also refer to this dearth of theoretical perspectives and remark as follows: "Victimology as presently constituted is not devoid of theoretical elements via the use of theories from other areas but does lack an integrating or common theoretical base and frame" (p. 43).

Bruinsma and Fiselier (1979) are of the opinion that victimology has a strong empirical and a-theoretical character. According to them, this can largely be attributed to the preference that victimologists give to case studies and to victimization surveys. They also offer another explanation, namely that victimologists seem to limit themselves to their own "discipline" and do not seem to be concerned with theoretical developments outside that could be of interest in the solution of their own problems. They submit that theoretical pluralism in victimology can be achieved if victimologists are to utilize knowledge obtained by other (social) sciences. Bruinsma and Fiselier (1979) state that there is virtually no construction of theory in victimology in spite of the large amount of factual knowledge. They add that with the exception of one of the theories that will be discussed in this chapter, there are no verifiable theories of victimization and that in victimization surveys one would be looking in vain for a theory which guided the researchers.

From the available literature it would appear that a few theoretical perspectives have been suggested for the purposes of utilization in victimological research and these will be discussed in the next paragraphs.

## 2.2 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

### 2.2.1 The general systems approach

This approach has been suggested by Buckley (1967). He viewed current theory as being based too heavily on the organic and the mechanical models of the past and attempted to utilize the dynamics of information transmission - the basis of the cybernetic approach - to develop a process-oriented view of social organization. His aim was to construct a more dynamic conceptual framework of the socio-cultural reality. Buckley applies systems theory to sociology and views society as a set of psychological and sociocultural subsystems founded on the process of information feedback and structured by the communication systems at the psychological and sociocultural levels as well as the processes of morphostasis and morphogenesis. These subsystems are adaptive and attempt to reach an optimum level of stability and flexibility. Like Parsons, Buckley sees society as a system consisting of subsystems, structure and process.

To Buckley, however, the underlying functions are cybernetic rather than biological and furthermore he views social organization as temporary and dynamic rather than static and stable.

Smith and Weis (1976) propose the use of the general systems approach in victimology and present a model of the areas of research and application in the field of victimology. Four areas are identified, namely:

1. The creation of definitions of victims by legal processes, everyday processes and scientific processes;
2. The application of these definitions by control agents, significant others, the community, behavioural and social scientists and the victim himself;
3. The victim's post-victimization behaviour such as seeking help, lodging complaints and reacting to the response of others; and

4. Societal response in the form of systems for dealing with victims such as crisis intervention, social service, police, prevention, medical and civil court.

Smith and Weis (1976) claim that this model attempts to convey the interplay and mutual feedback that characterize the dynamics of victimization. The model also demonstrates the possibility of an unlimited number of interactions between different stages of victimization and social response. According to them, the logical direction of studying the process of victimization is  $1 \rightarrow 2 \rightarrow 3 \rightarrow 4 \rightarrow 1$ . However, shortcuts and further feedbacks are possible, for instance  $1 \rightarrow 3$ ,  $2 \rightarrow 4$ ,  $4 \rightarrow 1$  and  $3 \rightarrow 2$ .

In conclusion, Smith and Weis (1976) state: "This model can be expanded or simplified depending on the needs of the individual scholar. As a model it does no more than point to certain of the important stages or strategic points of a complex process. Yet to the extent that it provides an overview which emphasizes the dynamics of victimization and encourages or generates research problems and application of new theory and methodology, the model seems justified" (p. 48).

The advantage of this approach is that it emphasizes the dynamics of victimization. It is, however, doubtful whether this approach can be utilized when conducting a victimization survey and consequently other approaches will have to be considered.

#### 2.2.2 The "synthesis" approach suggested by Fattah (1976)

According to Fattah (1976) criminal behaviour is dynamic and can, therefore, only be explained through a dynamic approach where the criminal, the act and the victim are inseparable elements of a total situation. He claims that his contribution is an attempt to integrate the motivational, interactionist and victimological approaches in order to better understand criminal and delinquent behaviour, but does not offer a description of these approaches.

Recent studies in victimology, for instance those by Smigel and Ross (1970) and Dynes and Quarantelli (1974) have shown that victims are mostly not chosen by mere chance or at random but that a selection process takes place and that certain targets are conceived as more preferable and appropriate for victimization than others. Fattah (1976) states that very few studies have made attempts to examine and to analyze the process and the patterns of selection and the rationale behind the choice of a particular victim as a target. The aim of his contribution is to establish why certain individuals or organizations are more popular targets than others and to devote attention to the role which is being played by the victim in the justification process and how it is often used by the criminal as a means of self-legitimization. He submits that in most cases of delinquency and deviance, the perpetrator feels the need to justify and to legitimize the act, to neutralize the inhibitory mechanisms, and to weaken the effectiveness of internal as well as external social controls and that the victim may, either consciously or unconsciously, play an important role in the neutralization and motivational processes.

In view of the foregoing, Fattah (1976) hypothesizes as follows: " ... that the potentiality of victimization is functional of the possibility of using the victim as an agent of self-legitimization, since the greater the possibility of victim - devaluation, the easier it is to victimize him without qualms and, since the easier it is to make the victim appear at fault, the less difficult it is to harm him without feelings of remorse or compunction.

Because empathy, compassion, emotional attachment, as well as rejection, hostility and emotional detachment are functional of social proximity, social distance and the degree of social interaction, ... that socially distant individuals and groups are likely to be more popular targets for victimization in rational crimes (crimes against property), while socially close individuals are likely to be more popular targets for victimization

in emotional crimes and crimes of passion (crimes against the person)" (pp. 108-109).

Fattah states that the degree of internal and external control varies from one person to another and that it varies for the same person according to the type of offence and type of victim. Acts that cause concrete and immediate harm to a specific and personalized victim are likely to experience stronger moral resistance than acts in which the victim is absent, anonymous or impersonal. In these cases, neutralization can be achieved by means of depersonalizing, deindividuating and reifying the victim as these techniques are likely to desensitize the perpetrator to the sufferings of the victim and to reduce any compassion he may feel for the victim. Acts committed against a consenting, willing or soliciting victim are likely to evoke less moral resistance than acts committed against non-consenting, unwilling or resisting victims. If the act is committed against a provoking or a precipitating victim, the perpetrator uses the provocation as a means of neutralization and it allows him to shift the blame.

It is submitted by Fattah (1976) that the strength and intensity of moral and social restraints pertaining to a certain crime are functional of the possibility of legitimizing the act and the extent to which it can be justified. He puts it as follows: "The more the act can be redefined to appear legitimate, and the more it is conceived as being justified or justifiable, the weaker will be the inner restraints likely to stop the individual from committing such an act" (p. 113). These processes of justification and neutralization take place before the act is committed and make the act possible in the first place.

According to Fattah (1976), the most systematic exposition of the process of self-legitimization was presented by Sykes and Matza (1957). They discuss five techniques called "techniques of neutralization". Of particular importance to vic-

timology are those techniques in which the victim is used as an agent of self-legitimization and those in terms of which the perpetrator conceives of himself as a victim and of his act as an act of justice.

The denial or the reification of the victim which is quite common among adolescent gangs is one of the most popular techniques of neutralization. In the case of rape, for instance, the girl is negated as an equal human being and is regarded as a sex object and in the case of crimes committed against old and helpless victims, old age is used as justification for denying the victim's existence and his right to live.

The devaluation and depreciation of the victim is another popular technique. Certain attributes of the victim are used to devalue him and to justify the act. Attacks on homosexuals and prostitutes are often legitimized in this way. For example, forcible rape of a prostitute is regarded as a legitimate act - because she sells her body to anybody who is willing to pay the price, she does not have the right to protest when somebody tries to possess her by force. The perceived dishonesty of the victim is also used to justify the act - the businessman is regarded as a dishonest person who cheats his customers and subsequently deserves to be victimized.

Another technique to rationalize the act is to deny that the victim will be injured. In cases of theft and vandalism against the government or large organizations, the perpetrator reasons that the victim is too rich and will not suffer. Similarly, auto theft is viewed as borrowing.

In certain cases the victim is blamed and the injury is defined as an act of justice. Fattah (1976) remarks that in most cases, the criminal is wholeheartedly convinced of the victim's guilt. He refers to the unwritten law in certain countries that permits a husband who is motivated by revenge to kill his wife's lover under certain circumstances. In

many cases, when a Black chooses a White victim, it is, according to Fattah, legitimized as a retaliatory act against the Whites for their exploitation and the injustices they have inflicted on the Blacks.

In the light of this discussion, Fattah (1976) concludes as follows: "It seems that the need for justification, and the possibility of using the victim as an agent of self-legitimization do influence the choice of the victim, and would explain why, in some cases, the criminal act was directed against a particular target rather than another" (p. 121). According to Sykes and Matza (1957) juvenile delinquents often draw a sharp line between those who can be victimized and those who cannot and Fattah notes that delinquents make distinctions between appropriate and inappropriate targets. Empirical studies have shown that adolescent gangs make a careful choice of their victims, taking the personal qualities of the victims into consideration and that certain gangs attack only a certain category of people, for instance, homosexuals, who are unlikely to report the offence. Sutherland (1937) has shown that professional thieves usually follow certain rules when choosing their victims whereas the government and large organizations are regarded as appropriate targets because of their wealth and since the government's money is considered to belong to everybody anyway.

Fattah (1976) holds the view that the majority of delinquents and criminals conceive of themselves more or less as victims and that the feelings of injustice and a sense of victimization seem to play an important part in the process of self-legitimization. He adds that nearly all thieves tend to justify their acts by social injustices and are inclined to contrast the disgraceful wealth of the upper social classes with their own poverty and misery. Davis (1974) in a recent study in the United States of how Black males view crime and the criminal law, found that the law is not seen as an instrument for justice, but simply as another instrument for upholding White supremacy and that little, if any, stigma

is attached to law violation. The core of the explanations which emerged had the feelings of injustice held by Black males as a central theme. Cressey (1953) found that in cases of embezzlement and trust violations, perceived injustice and the sense of victimization also played an important role.

Fattah (1976) summarises his contribution as follows: "Delinquent behaviour loses much of its enigmatic character when the distinctions delinquents make between appropriate and inappropriate targets for victimization are examined, and when the choice of the victim, the reasoning, the rationalization and auto-legitimization that precede the criminal act are carefully analyzed.... the study of the victim's role in the motivational and legitimization processes has not received adequate attention in criminological and victimological research.... very few studies have attempted to examine and analyze delinquents' attitudes toward actual and potential victims, and to determine the criteria for the selection of a particular victim as a victimization target.... findings of such research can have important theoretical and practical implications" (pp. 125-126).

This approach suggested by Fattah is highly relevant to victimological research since it endeavours to answer the question why certain targets are regarded as more appropriate for victimization than others. The explanation he offers is, however, only partial and too simplistic as there are, in addition to those techniques in which the victim is used as an agent of self-legitimization and those in terms of which the perpetrator conceives of himself more or less as a victim, other factors that are also important such as being in a particular place at a particular time or being associated with a particular person. Furthermore, it would be necessary to interview the perpetrator in order to determine his justifications. Since victimization surveys are mostly used in victimological research the question arises whether it would be possible to detect the perpetrator and to conduct an interview as it can be expected that a person who

has committed a crime is not likely to admit it even if he is assured that the information will be treated as confidential and not disclosed to the police. If only those perpetrators who have been detected by the police are involved in the study, the question may be raised whether the justifications put forward by them also apply to those who remain anonymous.

- 2.2.3 The lifestyle/exposure model of personal victimization proposed by Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978). The authors propose a grounded theoretical model - which they claim is compatible with victimization survey findings and general criminological literature on the common law personal crimes of rape, robbery, assault and larceny - to account for variations in risks and consequences of personal victimization. They state that this theoretical model is in its early stages of development - largely as a result of the recency of victimization data and the complexity of victimization experiences - and anticipate that it will have to be modified in due course. However, they regard it as quite useful as a summarizing and a deductive device.

Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978) postulate that role expectations and the social structure impose certain constraints and in order to function smoothly in society, persons must adapt to these constraints. The role expectations and the structural constraints depend on the individual person's constellation of demographic characteristics namely age, sex, race, income, marital status, education and occupation. For example, role expectations vary with the age of the person - what is expected of a child is generally not what is expected of an adult - and there are different role expectations for unmarried and married persons. The structural constraints are defined as: "... limitations on behavioral options that result from the particular arrangements existing within various institutional orders, such as the economic, familial, educational, and legal orders" (p. 242). To quote an example: economic factors limit the choices that a person has with regard to aspects such as area of residence, nature

of leisure activities and access to educational opportunities.

According to the authors, role expectations and structural constraints are reciprocally related and although one might argue that the two are indistinguishable, they are believed to be analytically distinct. The adaptations to role expectations and structural constraints occur on the individual and the group levels. In this process of adaptation certain skills and attitudes are acquired and attitudes and beliefs about crime including fear of crime are particularly relevant to personal victimization. The adaptations result in regularities in behavioral patterns including routine activities such as going to school, working outside of the home or pursuing leisure-time activities. Lifestyle consists of these routine activities. Differences in lifestyle may thus be attributed to differences in role expectations, structural constraints and adaptations on the individual and group levels. The authors then continue: "Variations in lifestyles 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 in personal crimes are not representative of the general population - but rather there are high-risk times, places, and people - this implies that lifestyle differences are associated with differences in exposure to situations that have a high victimization risk" (p. 245).

The major link between lifestyle and exposure to situations that have a high victimization risk is direct, but the authors state that there is also an indirect link operating through associations. Associations may be described as more or less sustained personal relationships evolving as a result of similar lifestyles. Since offenders disproportionately have certain characteristics, association with people possessing these characteristics will increase ex-

posure to personal victimization.

The final element in the model, personal victimization, follows probabilistically from exposure to situations that have a high victimization risk.

The authors subsequently discuss demographic variables that affect lifestyle viz. age, sex, marital status, family income and race. Role expectations vary as a function of age and structural constraints also differentially affect individuals in different age categories. For example, in infancy and early childhood, the child's existence is to a large extent structured according to parental expectations but as the child starts schooling he increasingly associates with people outside of the immediate family and parental control, therefore, becomes less influential. When the child moves into adolescence, there is increasing autonomy and during early adulthood, lifestyles become determined by adaptations to the constraints of educational and occupational structures.

Because of sex role differentiation, daily activities such as where time is spent and the likelihood of encountering strangers are affected by sex. Adult females, for example, are more likely than males to be responsible for household duties.

The lifestyles of married adults can be expected to differ from those who are not married - married persons, especially those with children, would be expected to spend relatively more time at home than would single persons. Whereas the likelihood of spending time with family members increases since marriage brings together two extended family networks, single persons are likely to spend their time outside the home, mostly unaccompanied or in the company of single persons.

Family income reflects one's position in the economic structure and as income increases, so does the flexibility to adjust one's lifestyle as one wishes, for instance to select

the suburb in which to live and the leisure-time pursuits. Patterns of association are also income-linked.

Race is another relevant variable and is, to a certain extent, associated with family income. Whites are, for example, more likely to attend private schools and to belong to private clubs than Blacks.

Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978) submit that several conditions must be met if a personal victimization is to take place. Firstly, an intersection both in time and space must occur between the victim and the offender. Secondly, some kind of dispute or claim must arise between those two actors in which the offender perceives the victim as an appropriate object of victimization. Thirdly, the offender must be prepared and capable of threatening or using force or stealth to achieve his purpose. Fourthly, the circumstances must be such that the offender regards it as an advantage to threaten or to use force or stealth. The probability that these conditions will be met is tied to the life circumstances of members.

In this theoretical model, lifestyle is the central component, due to its close relationship with exposure to situations that have a high victimization risk. Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978) elaborate as follows in this connection: "Victimization is not a phenomenon that is uniformly distributed; it occurs disproportionately in particular times and places; it occurs disproportionately by offenders with particular demographic characteristics; it occurs disproportionately under certain circumstances (e.g. according to whether or not the person is alone); it occurs disproportionately according to the prior relationship between the potential victim and the potential offender; and so forth. Because different lifestyles imply different probabilities that individuals will be in particular places, at particular times, under particular circumstances, interacting with particular kinds of persons, lifestyle affects the probability of victimization" (p. 251).

Subsequently the authors present a set of propositions which deals with lifestyle and victimization. These propositions are interdependent and predictions about victimization risks can be derived from a given proposition only when the other propositions are taken into account. These propositions are also empirically verifiable and in terms of the definition offered in the previous chapter it would appear that this theory of personal criminal victimization is indeed on a very high level.

Proposition 1: The probability of suffering a personal victimization is directly related to the amount of time that a person spends in public places (e.g. on the street, in parks, etc.), and particularly in public places at night.

According to research, the likelihood of a crime occurring is not uniformly distributed by time or place. For instance, Normandeau's (1968) study of Philadelphia robberies showed that 38 per cent of these occurred in the six-hour period from 8 p.m. to 2 a.m., Chappell and Singer (1973) found that 37 per cent of the rapes reported to the police in New York City occurred during the above-mentioned period and Hindelang (1976) found that 40 per cent of the total personal victimization in eight American cities, namely, Atlanta, Baltimore, Cleveland, Dallas, Denver, Newark, Portland (Oregon) and St. Louis occurred during the six-hour period from 6 p.m. to midnight. Late night and early morning therefore carry the greatest risk of personal victimization.

Regarding the place in which personal victimizations occur, researchers such as McClintock and Gibson (1961), Normandeau (1968), Pittman and Handy (1964) and Hindelang (1976) found that the greatest proportion of robberies and of assaults took place in the street or other public places. The authors then came to the conclusion that: "There is evidence, then, to support the notion that personal victimizations occur disproportionately at night and in public places" (p. 253).

Proposition 2: The probability of being in public places, particularly at night, varies as a function of lifestyle.

In the earlier discussion of lifestyles, it was suggested by the authors that particular demographic characteristics are predictive of differences in lifestyle. For instance, it was posited that males, younger persons and single persons are more likely to spend time outside of the home than females, older persons and married persons. It was also argued that the higher the family income the greater the likelihood that time will be spent in semiprivate or private environs. The risk of being victimized depends largely on these demographic characteristics and consequently on the particular lifestyle. Hindelang (1976) in his study of victimization in eight American cities found that rates of personal victimization are strongly related to demographic characteristics such as age, sex, marital status, vocation and family income. For example, males had a rate that was 50 per cent greater than the rate for females, those who were never married, divorced, or separated, had rates that were more than twice as large as the rates for those who were married or widowed and there was a tendency for rates to decrease as family income increased.

The authors point out that lifestyle does not only include activities structured in and around the workplace, the home and the school but also how leisure time is spent. Lifestyle is shaped by adaptations to the role expectations and the structural constraints and attitudes - particularly about crime - are a fundamental component of these adaptations. Research by inter alia Hindelang (1974) and Ennis (1967) indicates that fear of crime is associated with characteristics such as age and sex - older persons and females are more fearful than younger persons and males. It may be deduced that those who are fearful will try to avoid conditions such as being alone in public places at night and will therefore have a decreased exposure to victimization. In this respect analyses show that those with the highest level of fear have the lowest rates of personal victimization.

These findings confirm that personal attitudes shape lifestyle and therefore exposure to high victimization risk situations.

When simultaneously considering Propositions 1 and 2 the authors postulate: "... that lifestyles are related to the probability of being in places (streets, parks, and other public places) at times (especially nighttime) when victimizations are known to occur disproportionately" (p. 255). Lifestyle is, however, not only related to victimization because it correlates with place-time exposure, but there are other reasons as well and therefore the next proposition is postulated.

Proposition 3: Social contacts and interactions occur disproportionately among individuals who share similar lifestyles.

The demographic characteristics already mentioned that are predictive of lifestyle are indicative of stratification processes that pattern social interactions. For example, neighbourhoods are often segregated by race and income and apartment complexes by age and marital status. Laumann (1966) found that people who are employed are likely to interact with persons of similar socio-economic status - white-collar workers with white-collar workers and blue-collar workers with blue-collar workers. Within these groups patterns of interaction (formal, informal as well as relatively brief social interactions) are likely to be further segregated by race, sex and age. These demographically segregated social interactions occur in the school and work environs as well as during leisure hours. The social interactions during leisure hours tend towards demographic homogeneity because of role expectations and structural constraints and one of the consequences of this tendency is that offenders have a greater probability to interact with people who are demographically similar to themselves.

Proposition 4: An individual's chances of personal victimization are dependent upon the extent to which the individual shares demographic characteristics with offenders.

Official statistics show that individuals arrested in the USA for rape, robbery, assault and larceny are much more likely to be male, young and Black than female, old and White. Although the finding on race is often questioned - it is alleged that it reflects biases in the administration of justice - Hindelang (1978) found that Blacks are substantially overrepresented as offenders in relation to their representation in the general population. Data available from a variety of other sources indicate that offenders are also less likely to be married and more likely to come from lower status occupations and to have lower educational attainment than the general population. Hindelang (1976), using data in respect of victims and offenders, found that the majority of personal victimizations suffered by Blacks/others were committed by Blacks/others; victimizations suffered by males were committed by males and those suffered by younger persons were committed by younger persons. He also came to the conclusion that offenders with these characteristics were more likely to victimize persons with the same characteristics than those with other characteristics. Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978) summarize the findings as follows: "... offenders involved in the types of crimes of interest here are disproportionately male, young, urban residents, black, of lower socio-economic status, unemployed (and not in school) and unmarried. In our brief review of victim characteristics above, and in earlier chapters, it was seen that victims disproportionately share these characteristics. It is of particular importance to note that when these characteristics are considered simultaneously, they are especially predictive of both rates of offending and rates of victimization" (p. 259).

Proposition 5: The proportion of time that an individual spends among nonfamily members varies as a function of lifestyle. Individuals are insulated from contacts with nonfamily members by certain lifestyles. For instance, young children, old people, and those who are married - especially those with children - spend a smaller proportion of time with

nonfamily members than persons with other characteristics.

Proposition 6: The probability of personal victimization, particularly personal theft, increases as a function of the proportion of time that an individual spends among nonfamily members.

The statement about the general homogeneity of the victim-offender dyad does not of necessity mean that offenders and victims are likely to know each other. In this respect Hindelang's study (1976) showed that four out of five personal victimizations and about 70 per cent of rape victimizations were committed by strangers. Mc'Clintock and Gibson (1961) and Normandeau (1968), using official statistics found that more than four out of five robbery victimizations were committed by strangers.

It must, however, be remembered that the attention in this proposition is on non-family members and not on strangers but much of the literature does not report results in respect of family members. Amir's (1971) study showed that although 58 per cent of all offenders who committed rape were non-strangers, only 2,5 per cent of them were relatives of the victim. Mulvihill et al. (1969) found that although only 21 per cent of the victims of aggravated assault were strangers, only 14 per cent were relatives. Victimization survey results also show that a very small percentage of non-stranger offenders are in fact relatives of the victim. Hindelang (1976), for instance, found that only 7 per cent of lone offender assaultive victimizations in the eight cities were committed by family members.

Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978) come to the following conclusion: "Rates of personal victimization by age, race, and marital status are consistent with Propositions 5 and 6, jointly considered. In the eight cities, victimization rates increased through adolescence and decreased monotonically thereafter. Among the marital status categories, even when age was controlled, married persons consistently had rates of personal victimization that were about one-

half of the rates for those who were not married" (p. 262).

Proposition 7: Variations in lifestyle are associated with variations in the ability of individuals to isolate themselves from persons with offender characteristics.

In a previous paragraph it was indicated that family income is an important determinant of lifestyle: where one lives, how one lives, the flexibility to move to a more desirable location, to use different modes of transport and to live in homes with elaborate security measures - to name but a few examples - are all dependent upon income. The concomitants of higher income mentioned above all have the effect of isolating the individual from exposure to persons who display offender characteristics.

The nature of the vocational activity in which an individual is involved also affects the ability to isolate oneself from persons with offender characteristics. Persons whose vocational activities demand that they be in particular places at particular times have less freedom to isolate themselves than those in vocations that do not have definite time and place demands. Housewives and retired or unemployed persons have a large degree of freedom to decide whether and when to leave the security of their homes and to expose themselves to persons with offender characteristics. It is interesting to note that although unemployed persons who are disproportionately young, male, poor and urban have a large degree of freedom, ethnographic studies showed that a large part of their free time is spent on the street interacting with others with similar characteristics. It must be remembered that these particular characteristics are disproportionately shared by offenders.

Proposition 8: Variations in lifestyle are associated with variations in the convenience, the desirability, and vulnerability of the person as a target for personal victimizations.

In this proposition the emphasis is on the offender's perception of potential victims. In the discussion of lifestyle the importance of exposure to persons with offender characteristics - particularly non-family members - in public places during nighttime hours was emphasized. The reason for this was that from the offender's perspective, it is convenient to wait for a potential victim to come to a public place such as a street or a park where there is virtually no effective defensible space at a time when these places are less heavily travelled, thus minimizing the chances of observation or of intervention by somebody else on behalf of the victim.

Researchers such as Reiss (1967), Normandeau (1968), Turner (1969) and Amir (1971) found that offenders are inclined to commit their crimes within short distances of their residences and it follows then that persons who live in or frequent the areas in which those with offender characteristics reside, are convenient potential targets.

Not all individuals are regarded as equally desirable targets. In theft motivated offences the apparent affluence of the potential victim may be an important factor. In other situations the offender perceives of a person as a desirable target because he believes that this person is not likely to report the crime to the police since he (the potential victim) fears that illegal activities in which he has been involved, for example taking or purchasing drugs or visiting a prostitute might be revealed.

The authors submit that persons who are unaccompanied or under the influence of drugs or alcohol are to a large extent seen by the offender as being unable to offer resistance and are therefore relatively vincible. In this respect, Hindelang's study (1976) showed that when personal incidents occurred, about nine out of ten victims were alone whereas only one out of fifty was accompanied by two or more persons.

According to the authors, important expectations can be derived from the model for which data are not readily available.

It suggests that rates of victimization for males and females will tend to converge as sex role expectations become increasingly less differentiated and sex-linked structural barriers become less rigid. If cohabitation outside of marriage continues to increase, it may be expected that marital status will become less predictive of victimization - persons who are not married but who are cohabiting will to some extent have adopted life-styles that are normally associated with marriage. It is also suggested that if the trends toward age segregation in housing patterns increase, rates of personal victimization among age groups will diverge. The converse may also be expected. The authors state that a society that is fully integrated in terms of lifestyles, housing patterns and patterns of interaction regarding dimensions such as race, age, sex and socio-economic status is likely to be relatively homogeneous in respect of many social consequences, including victimization. However, if patterns of interaction occur more within certain clusters, rates of victimization for demographic subgroups can be expected to diverge if there are demographic correlates of offending behaviour.

Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978) also put forward suggestions for future research:

1. Although routine vocational and leisure activities are used to predict when, where and with whom people spend their time, direct measures of exposure to situations that have a high victimization risk would be invaluable.
2. In the research, broad categories such as "persons employed outside the home" were used. There are, however, variations within these categories that have major implications for life-style. To cite an example: Do people who work in private places have a lower victimization rate than those who work in public places?
3. More detailed information about the locales of victimization should be obtained. "Public places", for instance, are only general locales.

4. Data about factors that immediately preceded the victimization (for example, were the victim and the offender drinking together in a bar?) and more information about the victim-offender relationship (for instance, was the offender a co-worker or a rival gang member?) are needed, especially since it would help the researcher to understand the links between lifestyle and victimization.
5. Reference was made to attitudes such as fear of crime and it is suggested that in further research attention be given to how these adaptations are incorporated into individual lifestyles and how they effect the likelihood and nature of personal victimization.
6. Longitudinal research is needed with a view to testing many of the important linkages in the model.
7. By means of cross-cultural research varying sets of role expectations and structural constraints can be identified and the question can be raised whether the postulated mechanisms are applicable under all these circumstances.

Although this theoretical model deals with personal victimization, the authors believe that it has some applicability to household victimization, since lifestyles that disproportionately result in persons being in public places also seem to result disproportionately in leaving the households of those persons unoccupied and consequently more vulnerable to household victimization.

Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978) state that this lifestyle exposure model of personal victimization has evolved as a result of a grounded theoretical approach. Although such an approach has certain advantages, there are also certain shortcomings. The advantages include an intimate knowledge of the empirical patterns and an appreciation of some of the measurement limitations inherent in the data, whereas the greatest danger is that the theory may not achieve a sufficiently high level of abstraction and generality. However,

taking the advantages as well as the disadvantages into consideration the authors come to the following conclusion: "On balance, the advantages of a grounded theoretical approach seem to outweigh the disadvantages and such an approach has the greatest potential for advancing knowledge and explanations of social phenomena such as criminal victimization" (p. 272). They add: "The lifestyle/exposure model is but a preliminary step toward an adequate explanation of personal victimization. Our own research will focus on testing, reformulating, and refining this theoretical model. To the extent that the model stimulates additional empirical and theoretical work on the part of others, it will have served an important function" (p. 272).

When the present study was designed, none of these three theoretical perspectives had already appeared in print. The data obtained during the present study do, however, correspond to a certain extent with the data used by Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978) and it was, therefore, decided to use the theoretical model presented by them for the purposes of this study.

#### 2.2.4 The "routine activity" approach presented by Cohen and Felson (1979)

After it had already been decided to use the theoretical model proposed by Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978) the "routine activity" approach was presented by Cohen and Felson (1979). This approach is summarized as follows by Cohen and Cantor (1980): "Although all citizens are potential victims of crime, the circumstances under which many criminal violations occur are neither random nor accidental; rather, they are structurally significant phenomena. The likelihood that an individual will fall victim to an offense is viewed here as depending largely on the spatio-temporal organization of human activities. This study emphasizes that both the social characteristics of individuals and features of their lifestyles are related to role-structured behaviors,

which are, in turn, differentially associated with the risk of criminal victimization" (pp. 140-141). From this summary it is obvious that there is indeed very little difference between the lifestyle exposure model of personal criminal victimization proposed by Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978) and the routine activity approach explicated by Cohen and Felson (1979). In fact, the concept "routine activity" is one of the key concepts in the first-mentioned theoretical model; in the words of Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978): "... our emphasis is heavily on routine activities" (p. 245). Cohen and Cantor (1980, p. 146) aptly describe the theory of personal criminal victimization as: "... closely related ... to the routine activity approach".

Cohen and Cantor (1980) utilized this approach to study the differential risk of personal larceny victimization. They used the same characteristics of the victims namely age, race and income as well as the same activities namely working, keeping house and being unemployed that were used by Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978) and came to the following conclusion: "Differences in life style associated with differences in age, income, and race more often place particular individuals in particular locations at specific times when they are more or less likely to be in the proximity of potential offenders, and under circumstances in which it may be more or less difficult for them to guard their property effectively" (p. 146). This conclusion also remarkably resembles the contents of the lifestyle exposure model of personal criminal victimization.

The routine activity perspective has also been used to study the differential risk of residential burglary victimization (Cohen and Cantor, 1981).

Cohen and Cantor (1980) state that it is their aim to use the routine activity perspective as a base from which to develop a general theory of criminal victimization. However, in the light of the preceding discussion it is at this stage difficult to conceive in what respect(s) this proposed theory will differ from the theory of personal criminal victimization.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE METHODOLOGY OF VICTIMOLOGICAL RESEARCH

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the research process there are certain principles or rules which have to be taken into account by the researcher. These principles or rules can be described as methodology. Holt and Turner (1970) define methodology as follows: "The methodology of any science involves its rules of interpretation and criteria for admissible explanation, as well as the research designs, data-collecting techniques, and data-processing routines that have been developed from these rules and criteria" (p. 2). Denzin (1970) offers the following definition: "Methodology, ... represents the principal ways the sociologist acts on his environment; his methods, be they experiments, surveys, or life histories, lead to different features of this reality, and it is through his methods that he makes his research public and reproducible by others" (p. 5). Bailey (1978) writes as follows: "By "methodology" we mean the philosophy of the research process. This includes the assumptions and values that serve as a rationale for research and the standards or criteria the researcher uses for interpreting data and reaching conclusions. A researcher's methodology determines such factors as how he or she writes hypotheses and what level of evidence is necessary to make the decision whether or not to reject a hypothesis" (p. 26).

In short, methodology therefore deals with the whole logic of the scientific method, the research design, the research techniques and the validity and the credibility of social science data.

#### 3.2 THE METHODOLOGY OF VICTIMOLOGICAL RESEARCH

During the International Study Institute on Victimology (1975) a group of social science researchers from different countries listed the principal methods that are being used in victimological research and outlined broadly their advantages and

disadvantages (Viano, 1976). The five methods are: victimization surveys, archival data (police, hospital, court, and insurance records), experimental designs, quantitative observations in natural settings and non-quantitative observations such as case studies and participant observation. Viano (1976) states that in order to be useful in developing theory, guiding prevention or treatment and modifying the criminal justice system these methods must pass the criteria of confidence in causal relations and generalizability. Furthermore, there are also cost and ethical considerations. Each of these methods was rated as "high", "medium" or "low" in terms of how well they had been judged to pass these two criteria, their cost as well as the extent to which they raise ethical problems. Their uses and advantages were also summarized. Due to a lack of space it will not be possible to compare these methods with each other in respect of the five questions. However, suffice it to say that the study group did not pay any further attention to experimental designs, quantitative observations and non-quantitative observations but limited itself to the discussion of victimization surveys and archival data. The ratings and the opinions of the study group in respect of these two can be summarized as follows (Viano, 1976).

	<u>Victimization survey</u>	<u>Archival data</u>
Confidence in causal inferences	Low	Low
Ability to make generalizations	High	Medium
Cost <sup>+</sup>	High	Low
Ethical problems <sup>++</sup>	Low	Low
Uses and advantages	Extent of victimization and relationship between many variables	Make use of available data; comparisons between localities and across time

<sup>+</sup> In this respect the study group referred to financial costs which will be further discussed later in this chapter.

<sup>++</sup> The study group did not offer a description of what they meant by ethical problems.

Archival data from the police and from the courts are normally readily available for different localities and for countries as a whole and are being collected on a continuous basis. The disadvantages are, however, that only a certain percentage of victimizations is reported thereby leading to an incomplete picture of crime and that the police and court files very often contain little or insufficient information about the victims as these files are primarily used to apprehend and to charge offenders. An example of a study based on archival data is that of Silverman (1971). The victimization survey is probably the most important innovative research method associated with victims (Viano, 1976) and Sanders (1976) adds that the victimization survey is so simple that it is surprising that it took criminologists and sociologists so long to begin using it. According to Ennis (1967) the idea of a victimization survey was initially discussed by the staff of the National Opinion Research Centre of the University of Chicago in 1962. Sparks, Genn and Dodd (1977) state that this notion seems to have been first suggested in print by the Finnish criminologist, Inkeri Anttila during 1964 in a paper entitled The criminological significance of unregistered criminality.

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice which was established in the United States on July 23, 1965, sponsored the first three victimization surveys to be undertaken, namely in Washington, D.C. (Biderman, Johnson, McIntyre and Weir, 1967), in Boston, Chicago and Washington D.C. (Reiss, 1967) and a nation-wide survey in the United States (Ennis, 1967). Since then, further victimization surveys have been conducted in the United States, inter alia, by Richardson et al. (1972), Reynolds (1973), Kleinman and David (1973-1974), Feyerherm and Hindelang (1974), Fox (1975), Grisby, Inciardi and Conway (1974), Hindelang (1976), the Department of Justice of the USA (1974, 1975, 1976, 1977a, 1977b, and 1977c) and Savitz, Lalli and Rosen (1977). Victimization surveys have also been undertaken in various other countries such as Canada by, for example, Waller and Okihiro

(1974), Waller (1976) and Koëinig (1977); England by, inter alios, Durant, Thomas and Willcock (1972), Sparks, Genn and Dodd (1977) and Mawby (1979); the Federal Republic of Germany by, for example, Kirchoff and Thelen (1976) and Stephan (1977); Australia by, inter alios, Wilson and Brown (1973) and Braithwaite and Biles (1980); and South Africa by, for example, Strijdom and Schurink (1977) and Boshoff (1979).

In the first victimization survey (Biderman et al., 1967) residents of three Washington, D.C. police precincts were sampled. Using a list of residential addresses supplied by a District of Columbia government data bank, a probability sample of 707 occupied dwelling units was drawn. Within each unit one respondent was selected at random from the eligible respondents - household members 18 years or older - in the dwelling unit. A total number of 511 interviews were conducted in the spring and summer of 1966. Respondents were asked about victimizations that occurred since New Year's Day, 1965 and the reference period was thus 15 to 18 months. Each respondent was shown a series of cards, each of which dealt with a group of offences of which the respondent might have been a victim. Card A covered "Breaking and Entering - Burglary" and respondents were asked questions like the following: "Have you ever found a window forced open?"; "has something been taken or stolen from your home?"; and "has anyone tried to steal anything of yours from a locker or safe?".

A series of similar questions was asked about assault (e.g. "Beaten up?"), sex offences (e.g. "Rape or attempted rape?"), theft - stealing (e.g. "Car stolen?"), robbery, vandalism or arson, serious auto offences, frauds, forgeries or swindles, threats, and other crimes such as kidnapping.

Respondents were first asked about their own victimization during the reference period and then about victimizations suffered by any other member of the household. Respondents were also asked to describe the very worst crime ever suffered by themselves and the very worst crime ever suffered by anyone living with them at the time of the survey.

Each time a victimization was mentioned by the respondent the interviewer immediately asked details of the event such as a general description of the incident, whether the victimization had been reported to the police, what action was taken by the police, characteristics of the victim, known characteristics of the offender and the extent of injury or loss.

The research team discovered that incident reporting was being negatively affected by "motivational fatigue": when a respondent mentioned that he/she had been a victim of a particular crime, the interviewer immediately asked a number of questions in order to obtain details of that event. After the details were recorded, the interviewer returned to the "screen" questions and asked whether the respondent had been the victim of any of the remaining crimes. Some respondents who were not sufficiently motivated failed to report additional victimizations to the interviewer when they learned how many questions were asked about the first incident mentioned by them. In order to reduce this problem the researchers changed their procedure when surveying respondents in the fourth precinct - the interviewers were instructed to put all the screen questions first. After the checklist had been completed the respondent was asked about the details of each of the reported victimizations. This modified procedure led to a much higher rate of reported victimization than was the case when the original procedure was used during the survey of the first three precincts (Hindelang, 1976).

The purpose of the survey conducted by Reiss (1967) was to estimate the rate of crime against businesses and organizations in high crime rate areas of three cities, namely Boston, Chicago and Washington D.C. Business owners and managers were asked about victimizations (burglary, robbery and shoplifting) suffered by them during a period of 12 months. Households in Boston and Chicago were also surveyed using a modification of the procedures and instruments developed by Biderman et al. (1967).

The first in-depth, nation-wide survey of criminal victimization was conducted by the National Opinion Research Centre of the University of Chicago. A total number of 10 000 households were included using a probability sample. In every household a respondent - anybody 18 years or older or a younger married - was given a screening interview to determine whether anybody had been a victim of any crime during the previous 12 months. When a victim was traced, he/she was interviewed regarding the details of the event (Ennis, 1967). Although the screening interview was conducted first in order to avoid "motivational fatigue" the household respondent was not randomly selected as was the case in the studies conducted by Biderman et al. (1967) and Reiss (1967).

During the period 1969-1971 the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration of the U.S. Department of Justice introduced certain methodological improvements to victimization surveys. Firstly, as it was discovered that mailing screen questions to respondents elicited fewer victimizations than personal interviews, mailing was ruled out as an alternative way of collecting data. Secondly, as it was also discovered that using household respondents to answer the screen questions on behalf of all household members resulted in substantial underestimates of victimization it was considered essential to interview all the respondents personally. Thirdly, as a result of memory decay and forward telescoping respondents were found to be more precise in placing a crime within a specific period when use was made of a six-month reference period (Hindelang, 1976).

The LEAA/Census National Crime Survey (NCS) refers to two separate surveys. The first is a continuous, national survey whereas the second is a series of surveys conducted in 26 of the largest cities in the USA. During 1972 the national survey was started. A sample of approximately 10 000 households (about 25 000 individuals) and 1 500 businesses are surveyed each month. The respondents (members of 60 000 households and 9 000 businesses) are interviewed every six months for three years and the study is thus a panel design. At the end of

the three years, the first month's sample is rotated out and a new sample is rotated in. The procedure in respect of the businesses is similar, but the rotation period is longer.

The design of the city samples is less complex. Some of the 26 cities included are: Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Denver, Detroit, Los Angeles, Miami, Minneapolis, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, San Francisco and Washington, D.C. The total sample in each of the cities is about 10 000 households and 2 000 businesses. Surveying in these cities also began in 1972 and in respect of half of the cities samples of households and businesses were drawn with a view to a second phase of interviewing during 1975.

In the household survey three types of respondents, namely household respondents, self-respondents and proxy respondents are interviewed. The household respondent is usually the head of the household or the spouse of the head since they are familiar with the affairs of the household. This respondent is asked certain background questions, for instance the family income, as well as a series of screen questions in connection with crimes against the household such as burglary. A personal interview is conducted with each member of the household who is 14 years or older. Background information such as age, sex, race and educational level is obtained and a series of screen questions is asked to establish whether the person has been a victim of a survey crime during the reference period. It must, however, be remembered that the respondent is interviewed in his/her own home and his/her family may be present throughout the interview. At times the presence of the family can have an inhibiting influence on his/her responses, particularly in cases of domestic assault or other types of crime where a family member was the offender. Proxy respondents are used to obtain the same information in respect of household members who are twelve or thirteen years of age at the time of the interview, members who are mentally or physically unable to answer the questions and members who are temporarily absent.

In the survey of businesses owners or managers are interviewed to obtain background information about the business and to discover victimizations suffered by the business.

The survey crimes against the household include burglary and vehicle theft; rape, robbery and assault are examples of survey crimes against individual members of the household whereas survey crimes against businesses include robbery and burglary. Screen questions like the following are asked:

"Did anyone break into or somehow illegally get into your apartment, home or garage or another building on your property?"

"Did anyone beat you up, attack you or hit you with something such as a rock or a bottle?"

After the respondent has been asked all of the screen questions, a set of detailed incident questions is put to the respondent in respect of every screen question that is answered in the affirmative. The incident questions deal with aspects such as the number of offenders and victims involved, whether the incident was reported to the police, time and place of occurrence and the extent of injury or loss. In respect of the panel sample the reference period was the six months preceding the interview whereas the reference period in respect of the city sample was the preceding twelve months (Hindelang, 1976).

The procedure to conduct personal interviews with respondents has been followed in most victimization surveys. However, since victimization by crime is relatively rare and since many types of crime are not always salient events in the lives of respondents, large samples are required and this results in these surveys being very costly. In order to reduce the costs of victimization surveys two alternative ways of collecting information namely telephone interviewing and the use of mail surveys have been suggested.

Although very little research on the adequacy of telephone interviewing has been conducted so far, the few studies in which this alternative was examined have in general yielded encouraging results: Du Bow and Reed (1976) reported success in using the telephone to collect victimization data. A random sample of telephone numbers was drawn from a street directory of the Hyde Park area of Chicago and data were successfully obtained over the telephone on aspects such as the residents' victimization experiences and their familiarity with a programme to reduce street crime. Telephone interviewing was also successfully used by O'Neil (1976).

These studies indicate that fairly complex victimization data can be obtained by means of telephone interviews, but they do not show whether such data are of high quality and free of biases. Information on these matters have, however, been provided by Tuchfarber et al. (1976) and Evans and Leger (1979).

The study by Tuchfarber and his co-researchers was designed to compare the accuracy of telephone interviewing with the personal interviewing used by the National Crime Survey of the United States. They used random digit dialing (RDD) which can be described as: "... telephone interviewing coupled with the use of a sample of telephone numbers that has been generated at random" (Tuchfarber et al., 1976, p. 208). To obtain a sample, a list of telephone exchanges in the particular area was constructed, one of the exchanges was selected at random and four digit random numbers which constituted the phone numbers were selected until the desired quantity of numbers had been generated. A sample of residents of Cincinnati drawn in this way was interviewed by telephone and the data provided by them were compared to those obtained by means of the National Crime Survey which was carried out in that area at more or less the same time. No major differences were found between the two studies as far as the demographic characteristics and the attitudes of the respondents were concerned. However, telephone interviewing tended to elicit more victimization reports than personal in-

interviewing which suggests that people may be more willing to report crime victimizations over the telephone than during personal interviews.

Tuchfarber et al. (1976) point out that telephone interviewing has certain advantages such as that it increases the amount of supervisory control, it affords the interviewers much more safety especially if the addresses are located in areas which are regarded as unsafe or in which they may feel uncomfortable and that it has the ability to penetrate high security apartments. However, the most distinctive advantage is that it is much less costly than personal interviewing - they estimated that an RDD survey will cost a quarter to a third as much as a comparable in-person survey.

Tuchfarber et al. (1976) summarize their views on this technique as follows: "We contend that random digit dialing (RDD) telephone surveys provide an efficient, accurate and inexpensive alternative for most applications. ... While we do not advocate its universal and indiscriminate use, our experience demonstrates that RDD is more efficacious than conventional wisdom would lead one to believe" (p. 208).

Evans and Leger (1979) conducted a study in Edmonton, Canada. They used a reverse record check technique and selected a sample of known crime victims from police files. An equal number of these cases was then randomly assigned to each of the two data collection techniques, namely personal interviewing and telephone interviewing. At the same time a sample of other respondents was also selected to be interviewed by each of these techniques. Evans and Leger (1979) have the following to say in connection with their study: "Preliminary analysis of the Edmonton data support the conclusion that victimization data collected by telephone are as accurate as are those collected by personal interviews" (p. 178).

The Texas Crime Trend Survey was initiated during 1976. The sample is drawn at random from the computerized Texas Driver's Licence file. The survey is conducted by mail every six months

and a visually attractive booklet questionnaire illustrated with cartoons is used. The most serious shortcoming of mail surveys is the generally low response rate, but as a result of persistent follow-ups by mail response rates between 84 and 86 per cent have consistently been produced. St Louis (1978) compared data from the Texas Crime Trend Survey with published data from the National Crime Survey. He found that the pattern of unreported crime in both sets of data is very similar - theft is namely the most frequent unreported crime, followed by burglary, assault, auto theft and robbery. He then concludes: "This similarity of patterns indicates that the measurement of unreported crime is reasonably consistent, even when different methods of collection, mail and personal interview, are used.... This is ... simply an effort to illustrate the reliability of data collected by mail questionnaire" (p.132). He adds, however, that more research is necessary to determine which one of these two techniques is more likely to elicit data from particular categories of victims, for example victims of rape.

The major advantage of a mail survey is obviously its low cost. St Louis (1978) estimated the cost at \$3 per completed booklet used during the Texas Crime Trend Survey, as compared to the estimated cost of a telephone interview (\$30) and the estimated cost of a face-to-face interview (\$100). Reference has already been made to the generally low response rates from mail surveys that necessitate expensive personal interviews. However, if the topic is of interest to the public and persistent follow-ups by mail take place, the costs remain low.

### 3.3 EVALUATION OF VICTIMIZATION SURVEYS

In view of the fact that victimization surveys have been conducted in a large number of countries, the question arises what the advantages of this particular tool are and whether there are not any shortcomings.

1. The major advantage is that this instrument detects a substantial number of crimes that are not reported to the police, there-

by providing a more complete picture of the extent of crime. Viano (1976) explains as follows: "For a number of reasons victim surveys are considered to be superior to police statistics of recorded crime. Police statistics represent only the final stage in the process of producing crime rates. This process includes the perception of acts as crimes by victims; their definition of the acts as certain types of crime; the victim's decision to report the crimes to the police; redefinition of the events by the police; and the decision by the police to record the events as crime. At every stage in this process there is a non-random loss which eventually leads to a distorted picture of crime. Although much of this loss may be trivial, serious crimes such as sex offences and white collar crime are rarely reported and are thus excluded from the total picture of crime" (p. 607). This advantage of victimization surveys has also been mentioned by other researchers such as Inciardi (1976), Hindelang (1976), Du Bow and Reed (1976), Levine (1976), Singer (1978), Empey (1978), Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978) and Evans and Leger (1979).

2. Victimization surveys are capable of providing systematic and generally unavailable data on the consequences of criminal incidents for the victims. Data regarding the financial implications of crime such as loss, injury, hospitalization and loss of income are obviously essential for the planning and the administration of victim compensation programmes whereas information about the losses resulting from thefts and the extent of the recovery of stolen property may stimulate interest in crime insurance programmes. Another possible consequence of victimization is the enhancement of the level of fear of crime and in order to establish this the responses of victims and non-victims to questions designed to assess the level of fear of crime are compared.
3. The data provided by means of victimization surveys can be used to verify existing victimological theories and to construct new theories and the data regarding the characteristics of offenders enable the researcher to test the validity of three

premises of subcultural theories.

4. Information about the extent and nature of weapons used in criminal victimizations has implications for gun control legislation (Hindelang, 1976). In South Africa a licence must be obtained to possess a handgun (pistol or revolver). It would appear, however, that in the United States handguns may be sold to persons 21 years or older (except to convicted felons, fugitives from justice, or persons under indictment for crimes punishable by more than 1-year imprisonment) without registration or a licence (National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1973). In the light of the relative ease with which handguns may be purchased, the Commission stated that the private ownership of handguns on a per capita basis, is nowhere in the world as high as in the United States. The Commission also pointed out that although handguns constitute only one-fourth of all privately owned fire-arms in the United States, they account for more than three-fourths of all criminal gun violence.
5. Criminal victimization is - as was previously pointed out - not randomly distributed in the population: certain individuals are much more likely to be victimized than others. Victimization surveys can provide a wealth of information on the risk of victimization and this information can be used to answer questions such as the following: "What are the chances of being robbed, assaulted, or having one's house or business broken into?" "Who are the most likely victims of crimes - males or females, Blacks or Whites, the poor or the well-to-do, young people or old people?" "Do the victims of one type of crime differ from the victims of another?" These differential risks are essential for the planning of protective programmes.
6. By means of year-by-year victimization surveys it is possible to assess crime trends, in other words to determine whether crime rates are going up or down, and these regular surveys can also detect increases or decreases in the risks of being victimized.

7. In most victimization surveys victims are asked whether the police were notified of each criminal incident and if not, what the reasons for non-reporting were. As will be pointed out in a subsequent chapter, most of the surveys have found that a lack of confidence in the police was the major reason for non-reporting. Large percentages of victims also stated that they did not want to involve themselves with the procedures used by the police to collect information and to investigate a case. Those victims who did report victimizations are asked about their satisfaction with the performance of the police and if the cases were brought before court, their satisfaction with the way the court handled these cases is also measured. These indicators of the public's perceptions of the performance of the practitioners of the criminal justice system (especially the police and the courts) are valuable in identifying those areas of police behaviour which could be changed in order to improve the public's co-operation with and attitudes towards the police. Insights provided by the consumers — those served by the criminal justice system — can also be utilized in public education programmes, for example, the procedures followed by the police can be described to the public and they can be informed of the necessity of those procedures for a successful investigation of a criminal event.
8. Information about where and when victimizations occur can be used to make individuals aware of how to prevent or reduce their risk of victimization and also for the purposes of police patrol.
9. Victimization surveys have shown that victims often do not report crimes committed against them because of embarrassment over the personal nature of some crimes. Findings like these can make the police sensitive to the victims' emotional trauma and this may eventually lead to an increased willingness on the part of the victim to co-operate with the police.

The advantages of victimization surveys are, therefore, quite

rightly summarized by Sparks (1976) when he says: "The first objective of our research, then, was methodological: we were concerned to investigate the feasibility of using social survey methods to measure crime. But the victimization survey need not be - and in our view should not be - thought of merely as a measuring instrument. In addition, such surveys can be used to obtain a wide range of information relating crime and societal reaction to it, and to develop and test a variety of criminological theories" (p. 44). Biderman (1981) gives the following résumé of the advantages: "The potential virtues of the victimization survey approach for the study of victimology are not limited to remedying the selective recordings of events in official data. As the survey is an ad hoc device for the purpose of systematic knowledge, it develops information on victims, offenders, and relationships between them (including those of the critical events) of far greater scope and detail, and in more directly usable form, than is the case with data from official records. Unlike the official system, whose interest is not ordinarily in the victim qua victim, but rather as complainant or witness, the victim is the survey's unit and focus. Thus, the counting unit for victimization survey data is victimized persons or social units, while in police statistics for property offenses or multiple-victim crimes, information on the victimized social unit is often lacking" (pp. 810-811).

It would, however, be erroneous and naive to believe that victimization survey results tell us what the "true" extent of crime is, since these surveys are subject to certain shortcomings which will be discussed briefly.

Firstly, according to various researchers such as Maltz (1975), Singer (1978), Levine(1978a) and Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978) there is a possibility of the underreporting of crimes in victimization surveys. This could be due to the following:

- a. Memory decay - some respondents may have forgotten that they had been victimized during the reference period - or backward

telescoping - some respondents may have erroneously remembered that a victimization actually occurring during the reference period took place before the period. The results of reverse record check studies are extremely informative. In these studies persons known to be crime victims during a specific period on the basis of police offence reports were interviewed to establish if they would report the crime to survey interviewers. In one study (US Bureau of the Census, 1970) 14 per cent of the crimes occurring three months before the interview, 22 per cent of those occurring six months before the interview and 22 per cent of those occurring eleven months before the interview were not mentioned by the victims. In a subsequent study (US Department of Justice, 1972) it was found that of those known victims of assault, robbery, rape, burglary and larceny who were interviewed, 26 per cent did not report the incident to the interviewers. In respect of assault about half of the known victims failed to mention the victimization. It is important to know whether memory decay and backward telescoping are associated with characteristics of the victims or with characteristics of the criminal events. For instance, if older people tend to forget victimizations more often than younger people, then a survey finding that the former have lower rates of victimization than the latter will be dubious because of this age-linked bias. Gottfredson and Hindelang (1977) investigated the relationship between memory effects and respondents' characteristics such as age, race, sex, family income, employment status and educational attainment. Only a very weak association was found, and the researchers came to the conclusion that these memory effects are much less problematic for the use of victimization survey results than would otherwise be the case.

- b. Some victims may intentionally conceal crimes when interviewed because of shame (especially in the case of the victims of rape and those persons who were victimized by friends or relatives). It is believed that the higher the rapport between the interviewer and the respondent, the more likely the respondent is to disclose intimate information. The findings of the National

Crime Survey where there were unusual opportunities to establish rapport through repeated interviews were, however, that there were not higher reporting rates as the number of interviews increased (Lehnen and Reiss, 1978). This pattern could in all probability be ascribed to increased "fatigue" and resistance on the part of the respondents during their involvement with the Survey over a period of three years.

- c. Respondents may not always report all victimizations suffered by them - even if the screen questions are administered first - because they may be aware that extra time is required to complete the interview for each reported incident. Argana (1975) has indicated that approximately 10 minutes is needed in respect of each crime reported.
- d. Respondents may sometimes perceive a relevant victimization as not falling within the scope of the survey, for instance as in the case of some forms of domestic assault.
- e. In certain cases respondents were subject to series victimizations<sup>+</sup>: they had experienced a number of incidents of a particular type but could not give details of all the particular instances, often because they were simply too numerous to remember as in the case of a wife constantly being beaten up by a drunken husband. Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978) have, however, established that the proportion of persons who were victims of series offences was very small.

Secondly, there is a potential for crime overreporting in victimization surveys (Levine, 1976; Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo, 1978). This could be due to the following:

- a. Forward telescoping - a victimization that actually occurred prior to the reference period is erroneously reported as ha-

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<sup>+</sup>In the National Crime Survey, series victimizations are defined as three or more similar incidents that occur to the respondent during the reference period, for which he/she cannot recall details of the individual incidents well enough to report them separately to the interviewer (Hindelang, 1976).

ving occurred during the reference period. It is commonplace for people who have experienced some dreadful event to say that it seems "just like yesterday" when recalling this event. In one study (US Bureau of the Census, 1970) it was found that 17 per cent of the incidents that occurred before the six-month reference period, and 21 per cent of the incidents that occurred before the twelve-month reference period were telescoped forward into the reference period. In a study conducted in London (Genn, 1976) 18,5 per cent of the sample of victims selected from police records to test the effect of telescoping, incorrectly reported that the target incidents occurred later than they actually did, thus telescoping them forward into the reference period.

In respect of the National Crime Survey which consists of seven successive interviews, bounding is being used as a solution to the problem of forward telescoping. The initial interview is used for bounding purposes only, in other words to establish a time frame to control forward telescoping of events into the reference period. Each successive interview is then bounded by the previous one (Lehnen and Reiss, 1978). In this way, victimizations reported in the current reference period of six months but which were already reported in the previous reference period of six months can be excluded from counts of victimizations occurring in the current reference period. In other words, duplicate reports of victimizations are eliminated. That bounding is an extremely useful technique, is showed by the finding that persons who were asked to recall criminal events which had occurred since the interviewer's last visit reported, according to Skogan (1975), as few as half the number of victimizations recalled by those who were questioned about the same period but who had not been visited previously. Skogan (1975) then aptly remarks as follows: "Given the low salience of most crime events and their steep forgetting curve, victims require signposts to guide their recall" (p. 25).

This technique can of course only be used when respondents are interviewed more than once. However, in practically all victimization surveys only one interview is conducted and the result is that forward telescoping still remains an unsolved problem.

- b. Some respondents may feel obligated to "please" the interviewer and to give him what they think he is looking for — a showing of as much crime as possible — and this may lead to the deliberate fabrication of crimes that never occurred.
- c. Victims may sometimes erroneously believe that they were victimized when this was in fact not the case, for instance a respondent reporting a misplaced article as theft.
- d. In cases where respondents were subject to series victimizations there is a possibility of overcounting because the respondents are inclined to guess the number of victimizations.

Thirdly, all of the existing victimization surveys have used households as the sampling units and this leads to the exclusion of victimization experiences of non-residents such as visitors and commuters who are victimized while in the neighbourhood. In this respect it is important to note that according to Kasarda (1972) an average of 13 per cent of the daytime populations of core cities in the United States are commuters. In Chicago, for example, more than 400 000 workers leave the city at sundown.

Fourthly, residents are often questioned about personal victimization occurring within the neighbourhood — which is no doubt of great importance for the evaluation of a neighbourhood-specific crime programme — but victimizations occurring outside the neighbourhood are then left out of account.

Fifthly, victimization surveys are not capable of detecting the so-called "victimless crimes" such as drug abuse and prostitution.

Crimes committed against certain categories of persons, for in-

stance infants and young children are usually not taken into account.

Victimization surveys are also not capable of detecting crimes committed against bodies such as City Councils or the State for instance income tax offences, embezzlement, bribery, treason, malicious damage to property, and reckless driving of a motor vehicle.

Another shortcoming is that victimization surveys rely solely on the victim's version of the event since no information is gathered from bystanders, co-victims, offenders and the police. The question arises to what extent these persons would agree with the victim's version.

The pioneers of victimology devoted much attention to victim-offender interaction. Block (1981) states that with the development of victimization surveys the emphasis has, however, shifted from the criminal event in which the interaction occurs to the description of the incidence of victimization. Victimization surveys normally lack data on aspects of victim-offender interaction such as: the extent to which the victim generated his/her own victimization, the presence and use of a firearm by the offender, the use of threats by the offender, the use of force by the offender, and the victim's response to the victimization e.g. did he/she offer resistance?

Finally, victimization surveys do not explore the lifestyle of the victim. However, such information is essential in view of the lifestyle/exposure model of personal victimization proposed by Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978) and the "routine activity" approach explicated by Cohen and Felson (1979).

Because of a total absence of this kind of data, Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978) had to infer the lifestyles from the demographic attributes of the survey respondents such as age, sex, marital status and occupation (Skogan, 1981).

It must, however, be remembered that victimization surveying is only a decade and a half old and, therefore, still in its

infancy. The methodology is gradually advancing as a result of careful developmental work. Although the progress has been noteworthy, much more refinement is necessary.

Taking everything into consideration, victimization surveys can be regarded as an extremely valuable method for obtaining much needed information. In the words of Hindelang (1976): "Even with their current shortcomings, victimization survey results have begun to generate data that are fundamental to a comprehension of the nature and the extent of the crime problem. Historians of the future may well look back on the emergence of this technique as the beginning of a new era of understanding in criminology. Data of (this) kind ... provide vast stores of vital information, the scope and depth of which has not heretofore been available" (p. 417). Biderman (1981) endorses Hindelang's view when he says: "The victimization survey method, in theory, has such vast potential for meeting so many of all of the data needs of the field of victimology that it has tended to be a target of quite extravagant expectations. While it undoubtedly is the single most important recent development in criminological methodology, and while it already has had profound results in reorienting the conceptual structure and problem agendas of the pertinent disciplines, the revolutionary potential of the victim survey will not be realized for a considerable period of time" (p. 812).

## CHAPTER 4

### TYPOLOGIES OF VICTIMS

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

Since crime involves a heterogeneous collection of activities such as fraud, rape, theft, reckless driving of a motor vehicle, drug usage, arson, assault, culpable homicide and murder, criminologists have in recent years turned their attention to the study of particular types of crimes and criminals. This has led to the construction of typologies of crimes and criminals. A typology can be described as: "... any system of classification which results in groups defined so as to be mutually exclusive" (Hood and Sparks, 1970, p. 115).

The breaking down into more homogeneous units (crimes or criminals) facilitates the systematic study of the phenomenon with a view to:

1. the construction of theories in respect of the different types of crimes and criminals as no single theory can be uncovered to account for the diverse types of offences and offenders;
2. the development of efficacious treatment of offenders.

A typology can be derived from a general theory of a specified phenomenon. The relationship between theory and typology is set out as follows by Clinard and Quinney (1973): "There is, indeed, an interaction between theory construction and typology. While types may emerge from theory, they also are instrumental in the reformulation and expansion of theory. Typology and its relation to theory construction are essential to the further development of general theory" (p. 2).

According to Hood and Sparks (1970) and Gibbons (1975) a good typology has to satisfy the following requirements. Firstly, the typology should be as comprehensive as possible. In other words, all or most of the offences or of the population of actual offenders ought to be placed within one or another type or category. A second requirement is that the types or

categories should be mutually exclusive. Any crime or criminal ought to fit into only one category. Thirdly a typology must possess clarity and objectivity. The characteristics which are used for classifying the units must be clearly specified. When different observers classify the units, the outcome should only differ a little or not at all. Finally, a good typology should be parsimonious — if it consists of too many types it would be too unwieldy to be of much value.

As the concept "victim of crime" refers to a large variety of persons and establishments, a number of typologies of victims have been constructed in order to facilitate the study of the victim. Some of these typologies will subsequently be presented, whereafter they will be evaluated on the basis of the requirements already discussed.

#### 4.2 TYPOLOGIES OF VICTIMS

Mendelsohn — one of the pioneers of victimology — developed one of the first typologies of victims. As he was a defence lawyer, it is not surprising that his typology is legalistic in nature — it reflects the varying degrees of guilt of the victim. Schaffer (1976) has summarized Mendelsohn's typology as follows:

1. The completely innocent victim. Mendelsohn regards this as the ideal victim and refers to children and those who suffer victimization when they are unconscious.
2. The victim with minor guilt and the person victimized because of his own ignorance, for instance a woman who induces a miscarriage and as a result pays with her life.
3. The victim who is as guilty as the offender and the voluntary victim. This type includes victims of euthanasia and participants in suicide pacts.
4. The victim who is more guilty than the offender — one who provokes or induces someone to commit a crime.
5. The most guilty victim and the victim who alone is guilty, for instance the attacker who is killed by a person acting in self-

defence.

6. The simulating and the imaginary victim. Mendelsohn refers here to those who mislead the administration of justice in order to obtain a sentence against an accused.

Lamborn (1968) developed a typology which considerably resembles that of Mendelsohn. He considered a victim orientation and classified victims according to six levels of responsibility:

1. Invitation — the victim's knowing and unnecessary entry into a dangerous situation, the conscious creation of risk.
2. Facilitation — failure to take reasonable precautions to prevent the crime.
3. Provocation — active inducement, conduct in the nature of a dare.
4. Perpetration — victim's initiation of a crime against another. Differs from provocation in the culpability of the victim's intent.
5. Co-operation — victim's consent to the crime, so-called victimless crimes.
6. Instigation — active encouragement, the victim initiates the prescribed conduct.

Von Hentig (1948), the other pioneer in victimology, also constructed a typology of victims. However, he abandoned any legal criteria in favour of social, psychological and biological factors. He classified victims by "general classes" and by "psychological types". The eleven types in his scheme imply explanations why persons with those characteristics might be expected to be victimized disproportionately.

1. The young — they lack physical strength and experience and are the ideal prey.

2. The female — they lack physical strength and may be victimized by those of superior physical force.
3. The old — they may be wealthy but are physically weak and are ready prey for those who specialize in property crime.
4. The mentally defective and other mentally deranged — this type includes the feeble-minded, the insane, the drug addict and the alcoholic.
5. Immigrants, minorities and dull normals — an "artificial disadvantage" is imposed on these three groups of potential victims. The immigrant is likely to be poor and inexperienced in the ways of his new land, minority groups tend to trust members of their own group and become easy prey for swindlers and thieves.

In addition to these general classes, Von Hentig held that psychological states could effect the possibility of victimization and he therefore introduced six psychological types of victims:

6. The depressed — they are characterized by a disturbance of the instinct of self-preservation.
7. The acquisitive — they are greedy and are particularly good targets for confidence swindlers.
8. The wanton — this refers to cases of sexual assault or adultery where the female plays as much of a seducing role as the male.
9. The lonesome and heartbroken — their urge for companionship and the lack of protective group membership lead to their victimization. They may be victims of crimes ranging from murder to fraud.
10. The tormentor — provokes his killer to the act and is normally found in family tragedies.
11. Blocked, exempted and fighting victims. Blocked victims become so enmeshed in criminal situations that they cannot report victimizations without exposing themselves. Exempted victims are people whom offenders prefer not to victimize. Fighting victims

enrage the offender and may bring additional injuries on themselves if their resistance is not successful.

A detailed classification of victims has been developed by Fattah (1967). His typology also employs an underlying dimension indicative of the responsibility of the victim in the crime. He took two types of factors into account — the victim's personality and his attitude at the time of the offence. His typology consists of five major types and eleven subgroups.

1. Non-participating victims — no contribution to the offence. The victim may be passive (powerless, unconscious) or active (by resisting).
2. Latent or predisposed victims — they are more likely than others to become victims of certain types of offences because of particular predispositions, namely biological and physiological predispositions (age, sex, etc.), social predispositions (occupation, social status, economic condition, etc.), and moral and psychological predispositions (abnormal psychological traits such as greed, cupidity, vanity and stupidity or psycho-pathological conditions such as alcoholism, depression, paranoia and perversions).
3. Provocative victims — they incite the criminal or create a situation likely to lead to a crime. The victim may be passive (careless) or active (consenting or non-consenting).
4. Participating victims — they play their part while a crime is being committed. The victim may be passive (by hoping for, consenting to or submitting to the crime) or active (by contributing or collaborating to the crime).
5. False victims. This type consists of imaginary victims, either honest (they actually believe they are victims), or dishonest (trying to deceive somebody) and those who are victims of their own actions either honest (accidents) or dishonest (suicide, self-mutilation, false insurance claims, etc.) .

Sellin and Wolfgang (1964) constructed the following typology:

1. Primary victimization — refers to an individual victim who may be directly assaulted or injured in a vis-à-vis offence, who is threatened or suffers property loss or damage.
2. Secondary victimization — the victim is impersonal, commercial and collective such as department stores, railroads and theatres.
3. Tertiary victimization — extends to the community at large and includes offences against the public order, social harmony and the administration of government.
4. Mutual victimization — refers to cases in which the participants engage in mutually consensual acts that are violations of the law such as fornication, adultery or statutory rape.
5. No victimization — this category was used in the Sellin-Wolfgang delinquency study for offences that could not be committed by an adult.

Silverman (1971, 1974) modified the Sellin-Wolfgang typology by dividing primary victimization into two categories, namely face-to-face and non-face-to-face. Face-to-face indicates that the victim had at least visual contact with the offender during the event.

According to Silverman (1974) this category is the most important one from the public's point of view since the actions included in this category are those which cause the public to fear victimization most. Silverman (1974) explains as follows: "In some instances, having all of one's valuable goods stolen through burglary may not be as traumatic as having to confront a thief in a face-to-face encounter. The offenses in this category run the gamut from taking a victim's watch to taking his life. These are the actions which the urban dweller fears most because they impinge upon his privacy in a most personal way" (p. 61). Non-face-to-face primary victimization indicates that there is no visual or physical contact between offender and victim. In these events the victim does not see the of-

fender, but is likely to have property taken, damaged or both. According to Silverman (1974) both face-to-face and non-face-to-face primary victimization might be subdivided for the purposes of research.

Schafer (1977) proposed the following tentative typology, based on the idea of who is responsible for what and to what extent:

1. Unrelated victims — they have no relationship whatsoever with their criminal.
2. Provocative victims — they have done something against the offender who becomes roused or incited to victimize. In this case the responsibility should be heavily shared.
3. Precipitative victims — they have done nothing specifically against the offender, but their thoughtless behaviour such as walking alone at a dark, deserted place or wearing an overly revealing dress tempts, allures or instigates the offender to commit a crime against the enticing victim. The victimized person cannot be seen as entirely blameless and should carry some responsibility.
4. Biologically weak victims — children, the aged, females, the disabled and the mentally sick or deranged can be accommodated in this category. Their physical or mental characteristics develop in the offender the idea of crime against them. These victims carry no responsibility, it should be shared by the larger society who has failed to protect these defenceless victims.
5. Socially weak victims — for example immigrants, ethnic minorities and those affiliated with certain religions. They are usually not regarded by the larger society as full-fledged members. Socially weak victims are almost always blameless.
6. Self-victimizing victims — drug addiction, alcoholism, homosexuality and gambling are examples of offences where the victim victimizes himself or the interests of society. The re-

sponsibility is carried solely by the criminal-victim.

7. Political victims — those who suffer at the hands of their political opponents.

The six typologies will now be judged according to the requirements discussed in the first part of this chapter.

When applying the first criterion, it appears that all the typologies, except the one developed by Sellin and Wolfgang, lack comprehensiveness since all of them only make provision for personal victimizations. Although a large percentage of victimizations are directed against persons, it must be borne in mind that in many cases there is not a personal victim. At this stage it must be stated that Von Hentig (1948) admitted that other types of victims could be distinguished and that Fattah (1967) did not consider his typology a completed work.

Regarding the second requirement, it would seem that the types in the typologies presented by Mendelsohn, Lamborn, Fattah and Sellin and Wolfgang are mutually exclusive although tertiary victimization and mutual victimization in Sellin and Wolfgang's typology may overlap at times as in the case of prostitution. This is, however, not the case with Von Hentig's typology. For instance, a victim can simultaneously be old, female, mentally defective and an immigrant. In fact, of the five general classes of victims, only the old and the young are mutually exclusive. Furthermore, none of the six psychological types of victims seem to be mutually exclusive. Finally, any one of the five general classes could be paired with any one of the six psychological types. This criticism also applies to Schafer's typology. For instance, a victim could simultaneously be biologically weak (female), socially weak (an immigrant) and precipitative (wearing an overly revealing dress) or unrelated and precipitative (a person, walking alone at a dark deserted place is robbed by a person with whom he/she has no relationship).

If the third criterion is applied, it would seem that none of the typologies, excluding Sellin and Wolfgang's one, is clear and objective. To name a few examples: On what basis must a researcher decide whether a victim is completely innocent or has minor guilt (Mendelsohn's typology) or whether he co-operated with the offender or instigated the offence (Lamborn's typology)? Vague and ill-defined concepts such as "the acquisitive", "the wanton", "the lonesome" (Von Hentig's typology) and "greed", "cupidity" and "vanity" (Fattah's typology) are being used. Would a researcher be able to distinguish between a provocative victim and a precipitative victim (Schaffer's typology)?

Finally, it would seem that the typologies are fairly parsimonious, although Fattah's typology consists of five major groupings and ten subgroups which may limit its usefulness in research.

From the foregoing it is clear that of the six typologies that have been reviewed, Sellin and Wolfgang's typology meets the requirements best. This is in accordance with Silverman's (1974) opinion. After having reviewed the typologies constructed by Mendelsohn, Von Hentig, Fattah and Sellin and Wolfgang, he concludes: "Of the four typologies ... only the classification scheme suggested by Sellin and Wolfgang fit the criteria outlined earlier. The categories are both mutually exclusive and exhaustive" (p. 58).

Hindelang (1976) also considered various typologies and summarizes his findings as follows: "It is apparent that the typologies of Mendelsohn and Lamborn are legally-oriented; their primary underlying concern is criminal responsibility. For purposes of the law - sentencing offenders, making victim compensation determinations, etc. - they may be appropriate. However, for understanding the epidemiology and dynamics of victimization, such schemes are of limited utility at best.... It is important to note, ... that Fattah's typology - like the typologies of Mendelsohn and Lamborn before him - is non-empirical; rather, it seems to be essentially intuitive. The

lack of operational referents, or even adequate explication of the concepts used in his scheme, result in its being too murky for most purposes.

... Unfortunately - like Fattah's typology <sup>1</sup> many of Von Hentig's classes of victims are ill-defined and overlapping. Hence the heuristic value of the typology is not as great as it might otherwise have been. The classification of victims generated by Sellin and Wolfgang ... (is) grounded more solidly in empirical research than are the other typological schemes so far discussed. The Sellin-Wolfgang classification, which has been modified and expanded by Silverman (1974), served them well as a basis for indexing the seriousness of delinquency" (pp. 17-18).

The modified Sellin-Wolfgang typology was used by Silverman (1971) in a study of the victims of delinquency in Philadelphia, USA, and he remarks as follows about its utility:

" ... the use of the Sellin-Wolfgang typology has already been successful in empirical research. For use with hard data, it is well suited. Further and perhaps as important, we believe the typology is a flexible instrument that may be molded to specific research needs. Given interview data concerning offenders and victims of crimes, it offers many possibilities" (1974, p. 63).

As Sellin and Wolfgang's typology meets the requirements best, it was decided to use their typology for the purposes of this study.

## CHAPTER 5

### DESIGN OF THE PRESENT STUDY

#### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a brief outline of the way in which the present study was designed and conducted.

#### 5.2 DESIGN OF THE PRESENT STUDY

According to data obtained during the 1970 population census, the largest concentration of Coloureds in South Africa is found in the economic region known as the Cape Peninsula: 606 075 Coloureds or 29,6 per cent of the total Coloured population in the Republic of South Africa (2 050 699) were living in this economic region at the time of the census. The second largest concentration (12,6%) is found in the economic region known as the Boland which consists of 10 magisterial districts such as Ceres, Montagu, Paarl, Stellenbosch and Worcester followed by the economic region of Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage (5,8%). (Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, 1977 a ).

In view of the fact that the Cape Peninsula accommodates the largest concentration of Coloureds it was decided to conduct the victimization survey among Coloured residents of this area. The Cape Peninsula which consists of four magisterial districts, namely Bellville, Cape, Simonstown and Wynberg is also known as the Cape Town metropolitan area. A metropolitan area can be defined as an urban complex consisting of adjoining or closely situated areas which are urban in character and which are economically and socially linked to one another. The Cape Town metropolitan area includes the municipalities of Bellville, Durbanville, Goodwood, Kraaifontein, Milnerton, Parow, Cape Town and Simonstown as well as other urban areas such as Bishop Lavis, Elsies River and Grassy Park. The number and percentage of Coloureds resident in each of these nine areas at the time of the 1970 census is shown in Table 5.1 (Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, 1977b).

Since 89,9 per cent of the Coloureds in the Cape Town metropolitan area are resident in the municipal area of Cape Town and in the other urban areas, according to Table 5.1, it was decided to limit the study to Coloureds in these two areas.

TABLE 5.1

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF COLOURED RESIDENTS IN VARIOUS AREAS OF THE CAPE TOWN METROPOLITAN AREA

Area	Number	Percentage
<u>Municipality of:</u>		
Bellville	17 553	2,9
Durbanville	2 100	0,3
Goodwood	1 143	0,2
Kraaifontein	6 302	1,0
Milnerton	928	0,2
Parow	27 481	4,4
Cape Town	384 576	63,5
Simonstown	5 872	1,0
Other urban areas	160 120	26,4
TOTAL	606 075	100,0 <sup>(+)</sup>

These areas consist of about 100 residential areas (a large percentage of these are White residential areas) and for practical considerations, it was decided that only Coloured residential areas with at least 25 000 inhabitants should be included in the sample. The following seven residential areas therefore qualified for inclusion, namely Athlone, Bontheuwel, Manenberg, Retreat, Bishop Lavis, Elsies River and Grassy Park. Table 5.2 contains the number and percentage of persons in each of these seven areas.

The total number of residents in these seven areas (309 250) constitutes 51,0 per cent of the total Coloured population of the Cape Peninsula (606 075).

<sup>+</sup> Because of rounding, the totals do not always equal 100,0 per cent.

The immediate question now is whether these 309 250 persons are representative of the total population. The two groups are compared in Table 5.3 in respect of educational level and occupation. It is obvious that the residents of the areas concerned are representative of the total Coloured population of the Cape Peninsula.

TABLE 5.2

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF COLOUREDS  
IN CERTAIN RESIDENTIAL AREAS

<u>Residential Area</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Athlone	62 595	20,2
Bontheuwel	40 648	13,2
Manenberg	36 919	11,9
Retreat	39 627	12,8
Bishop Lavis	26 309	8,5
Elsies River	63 723	20,6
Grassy Park	39 429	12,8
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>309 250</b>	<b>100,0</b>

TABLE 5.3

COMPARISON BETWEEN RESIDENTS OF CERTAIN AREAS  
AND THE TOTAL COLOURED POPULATION OF THE CAPE PENINSULA  
IN RESPECT OF EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND OCCUPATION

Variables	Residents	Total po-
	of certain	pulation
	areas	areas
	Percentage	
<u>Educational level</u>		
None and unspecified	28,4	27,9
Lower than Std 6	49,3	47,6
Std 6 and 7	16,7	17,9
Std 8 and 9	4,1	4,8
Std 10	0,8	1,0
Bachelor's, Master's or Doctor's degree	- (+)	- (+)
Other qualifications	0,6	0,7
<u>Occupation</u>		
Professional	1,2	1,6(+)
Administrative	0,1	-
Clerical worker	3,0	3,2
Sales worker	1,5	1,6
Service worker	4,6	6,8
Farm and forestry worker	0,7	1,1
Production and transport worker	22,0	21,7
Not classifiable	2,5	2,4
Not economically active	64,4	61,6
TOTAL FOR EACH VARIABLE	100,0	100,0
NUMBER FOR EACH VARIABLE	309 250	606 075

For practical considerations it was decided to draw a sample of 1 500 persons, 18 years or older, from the residents of these seven areas. Because the age of 18 years was not used as a cutting point by the Department of Statistics, however, it was necessary to use the number of residents, 20 years or older, as a basis for the construction of the sample. The number as well as the percentage of persons in each of these different residential areas who satisfy this condition are indicated in Table 5.4.

(+) These percentages could not be calculated because the numbers were too small.

TABLE 5.4

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF COLOUREDS, 20 YEARS OR OLDER  
IN CERTAIN RESIDENTIAL AREAS

Residential Area	Number	Percentage
Athlone	29 599	22,5
Bontheuwel	15 464	11,8
Manenberg	15 008	11,4
Retreat	16 518	12,6
Bishop Lavis	10 412	7,9
Elsies River	27 599	21,0
Grassy Park	16 763	12,8
TOTAL	131 363	100,0

The distribution of the sample, based on the proportion of Coloureds, who were 20 years or older, in each of the different residential areas (Table 5.4) is shown in Table 5.5.

TABLE 5.5

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMPLE

Residential Area	Number
Athlone	337
Bontheuwel	177
Manenberg	171
Retreat	189
Bishop Lavis	119
Elsies River	315
Grassy Park	192
TOTAL	1 500

All the street blocks were numbered in each area. A number of these blocks were then chosen at random and again numbered chronologically. The statistician of the South African Institute for Sociological, Demographic and Criminological Research of the HSRC responsible for drawing the sample saw to it that the blocks that were chosen at random were also more or less evenly distributed over each of the different residential areas.

Sellin and Wolfgang's modified typology was selected because it had already proved itself extremely useful in the study of victims. It was decided however, to concentrate on primary victimization and to exclude the other four types for the following reasons:

Secondary victimization was excluded because only a limited number of commercial establishments such as small shops and cafes are found in the Coloured residential areas in the Cape Peninsula. Tertiary victimization was omitted because offences of this nature cannot be detected by means of victimization surveys.

Mutual victimization was excluded because it was believed that participants who had engaged in mutually consensual acts would not be prepared to disclose these victimizations.

The last category (no victimization) was also excluded because it was used by Sellin and Wolfgang to accommodate offences that can only be committed by a juvenile.

Information obtained from the South African Police indicated that common assault, aggravated assault, robbery, theft, house-breaking and rape (including attempted rape) are the primary victimizations most commonly encountered in the Coloured residential areas in the Cape Peninsula. The questionnaire that was subsequently designed made provision for the following five types of primary victimization<sup>+</sup> namely common assault<sup>++</sup>, aggravated assault<sup>+++</sup>, robbery, rape or attempted rape and theft.

The first step of the two officers of the South African Institute for Sociological, Demographic and Criminological Research of the HSRC responsible for the fieldwork, was to contact adult

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<sup>+</sup> It is important to note that these types of primary victimization are similar to the personal crimes in the victimization surveys of the US Department of Justice, namely rape, robbery, simple assault, aggravated assault and personal theft.

<sup>++</sup> This means that the offender assaulted the victim with his fists.

<sup>+++</sup> Aggravated assault refers to cases in which the offender threatened the victim with a knife or some other dangerous weapon, stabbed him with a knife or assaulted him with some other dangerous weapon.

Coloureds (men as well as women) in the Cape Peninsula who on previous occasions had conducted fieldwork for the HSRC and had rendered satisfactory services, with a view to re-employment as fieldworkers. These persons were mostly school teachers, clerks, nurses or housewives who had been previously employed as teachers or nurses. As some of them were not available for the duration of the fieldwork, those who were willing to act as fieldworkers for the present study were requested to recruit a few adult Coloureds whom they thought would be suitable fieldworkers.

On their arrival in Cape Town the two officers held interviews with each of the prospective "new" fieldworkers and selected the most suitable ones. The "new" fieldworkers were shown how to conduct interviews and thereafter all the fieldworkers were shown how to use the questionnaire. The officers dealt with each question separately and the fieldworkers were urged to ask questions if anything was not clear to them. The officers in turn constantly put questions to the fieldworkers during these training sessions to determine whether they were experiencing any problems with the questionnaire.

When the questionnaire had been dealt with, the fieldworkers were divided into groups of two. They had to interview each other and any problems that arose were dealt with by the officers. These formal training sessions lasted three days and the fourth day was spent on training in the field. The officers selected blocks in a residential area not included in the sample and each of the fieldworkers had to conduct at least two interviews and complete the questionnaires. This training in the field proved invaluable and problems encountered by the fieldworkers were discussed in depth and solved during a follow-up session.

The fieldwork began in earnest the next day. The fieldworkers were divided into two teams under the supervision of the two officers. The officers' task was to see to it that the fieldwork instructions were adhered to, the questionnaires were pro-

perly filled in and the test interviews were conducted to ensure that the correct information was obtained by the fieldworkers.

The fieldworkers started at Block 1, randomly chosen, in each of the seven areas, and visited every living unit in that particular block. Living units ranged from houses to garages and shacks. In certain areas more than one living unit was found on the same stand, for instance a house in front and one or more shacks in the backyard. The fieldworkers were specifically instructed not to exclude any living unit on a particular stand. One adult respondent had to be interviewed per living unit and to ensure that every occupant (18 years or older) of a living unit would have an equal chance of being interviewed, a grid was used. An interview was then conducted with the person who had been randomly selected by means of the grid. If this particular person was not at home at the time of the visit an appointment was made to interview him/her later. In cases where nobody was at home during the initial visit, the house was revisited, mostly the same afternoon or evening.

During the first part of the interview the respondent was asked to rate the seriousness of a number of crimes. He/she was then asked whether any occupant of the living unit, 10 years or older<sup>+</sup>, had during the preceding 12 months been a victim of at least one of the five types of primary victimization already mentioned. Care was taken to locate all victims as far as possible. For example, the initial respondents as well as the victims were ensured that this information would be treated confidentially and could, therefore, in no way be used to the detriment of the victim. An interview was subsequently conducted and a questionnaire completed for almost every victim who had been traced in this way. If a victim was

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<sup>+</sup>Ten years was taken as the minimum age, since it is highly improbable that a younger person would be the victim of one of the different kinds of primary victimization included in this study. In victimization surveys undertaken by the US Department of Justice, the minimum age is 12 years.

not available at the first visit, the fieldworker made an appointment to interview him/her as soon as possible, preferably the same day or the next day.

After a fieldworker had visited all the living units in Block 1, he/she proceeded to Block 2 and then to Block 3 and the next blocks until the prescribed number of living units had been covered. This procedure was followed for each of the seven areas. In some cases the fieldworkers visited more living units than the prescribed number, with the result that the sample eventually amounted to 1 534.

The interviews were conducted in the respondents' home language and the fieldworkers always had an ample supply of Afrikaans and English questionnaires.

A total of 527 victims (394 males and 133 females) were interviewed in the 1 534 living units. About 25 of the victims traced could not be interviewed because they either repeatedly failed to keep the appointments made on their behalf or they were temporarily out of town, as in the case of construction workers, for example.

The largest single percentage of these 527 victims (44,8%) were in the age category 18 to 29 years. A fifth (20,1%) were between 30 and 39 years old, 17,3 per cent between 40 and 49 years old, 7,2 per cent between 50 and 59 years old and 3,4 per cent 60 years or older. The remaining 7,2 per cent were in the age category 10 to 17 years.

The questionnaires were precoded and the data processed with the aid of a computer.

### 5.3 STATISTICAL TECHNIQUES

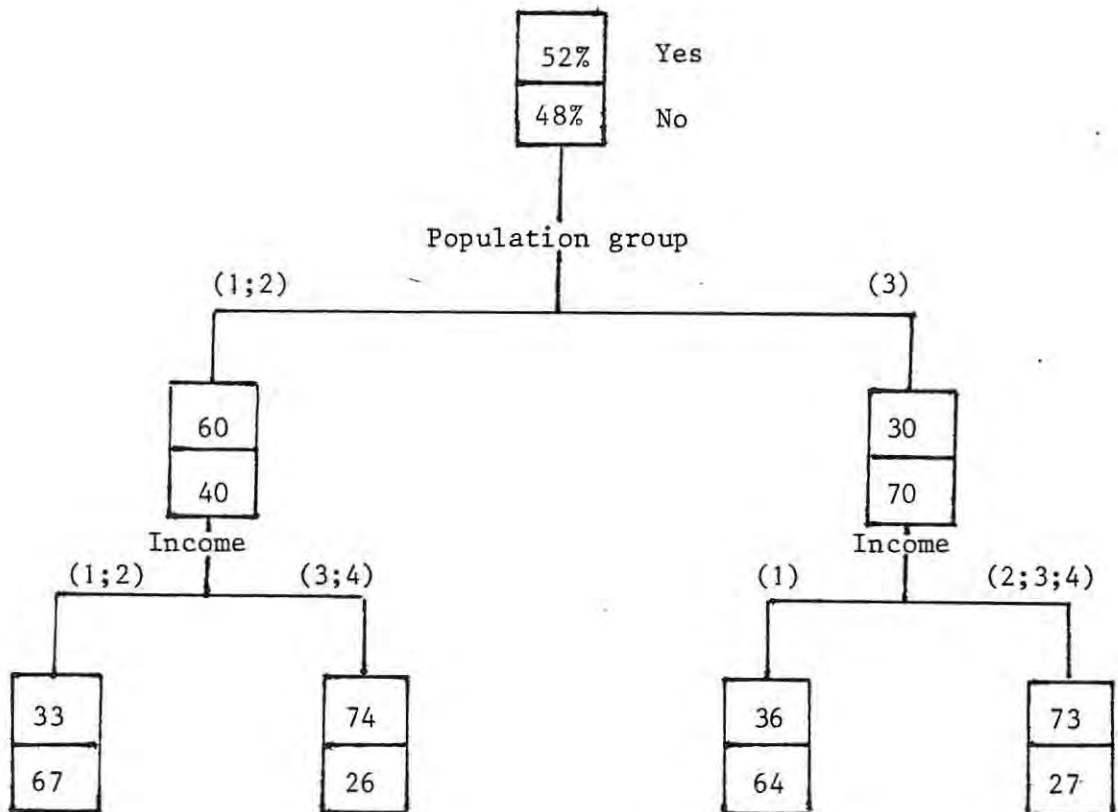
Chapters 6 to 12 will be mainly descriptive and the variables dealt with separately. However, as there is reason to believe that the variables are interrelated - to a certain extent at least - multivariate analyses will be applied in the final chapter and for this purpose use will be made of a computer

programme called CHAID.

The CHAID programme (1978 version) which was installed at the HSRC at the beginning of 1981, was developed by Prof. G.V. Kass of the Department of Applied Mathematics at the University of the Witwatersrand. CHAID is one of a number of so-called AID (Automatic Interaction Detection) procedures in terms of which interactions can be detected between predictors, also called independent variables or factors, in regression type data. To be more specific, if a researcher wants to predict the outcome of a dependent variable Y with the aid of p predictors, then the computer print-out of CHAID is used to construct a dendrogram from which the prediction is made possible. Figure 5.1 is an example of such a dendrogram.

FIGURE 5.1  
TYPICAL DENDROGRAM

Y (Dependent variable)



In Figure 5.1 the dependent variable (Y) consists of two categories. Population group is the most important predictor. This means that population group as a predictor explains more of the variation in Y than any other predictor used in the analysis. The CHAID programme combined population groups 1 and 2 since they form a more or less homogeneous group. The responses of the two classes or groups namely (1;2) and (3) differ in a statistically significant way.

Income is the second most important predictor and consists of four categories. In respect of population groups (1;2) income is split into two classes or groups, namely (1;2) and (3;4) while the split in respect of population group (3) is (1) and (2;3;4).

In this example, the contributions of further predictors such as home language, sex and age are not statistically significant and, therefore do not form part of the dendrogram.

The CHAID programme is used mainly for the following two reasons:

- i. as a preliminary analysis for determining a suitable model to which regression or variance analysis can be applied; and
- ii. as a final and complete analysis. This means the possible prediction of a Y value that corresponds with a particular category of a predictor by following the branch of the dendrogram from Y to that particular category of the predictor concerned. For example, according to Figure 5.1 36 per cent of the respondents of population group 3 who fall within the income group 1 is expected to answer "yes" to question Y, while 64 per cent is expected to answer "no".

In a CHAID analysis it is assumed that the predictors are categorical variables, in other words nominal or ordinal. Examples of nominal variables are sex (male, female), home language (English, Afrikaans) and marital status (Married, unmarried, divorced). The following are examples of ordinal varia-

bles: income (low, average, high) and educational qualifications (lower than Std 8, Std 8, Std 9, Std 10, higher than Std 10). Predictors such as age which are measurable on an interval scale can be converted into ordinal variables for the purposes of CHAID by categorizing the outcome of the particular predictor. Age, for example, which might range from 16 to 60 years, can be categorized as follows: 16-24, 25-40, 41-60, in other words, three categories.

As part of a CHAID input one must indicate whether the predictors are monotonic or free. A predictor is defined as monotonic if the relationship between the particular predictor and the dependent variable Y is in fact monotonic, in other words, if the values of Y only increase or decrease with an increase or a decrease in the values of the predictor. In terms of this definition all ordinal variables are, therefore, not necessarily monotonic — the relationship between the ordinal variable age (as predictor) and income (as dependent variable) may first show a rising and then a declining tendency. In this case, age is regarded as a free variable in a CHAID analysis. Predictors such as residential area, home language, population group and marital status are usually also regarded as free variables.

For a given dataset, CHAID will go through the following steps:

- a. The categories of a particular predictor are inspected and possibly regrouped into a number of groups or classes, for example k, which are each more or less homogeneous in respect of the Y values. Suppose the six categories of a predictor are indicated by the symbols A,B,C,D,E and F. These categories are then, for example, reduced to the following three classes, namely (A;D), (B) and (C ; E; F) in such a way that there are significant differences in respect of Y between the three classes but not between the categories within each class.
- b. Each of the predictors is subsequently analyzed in the above-mentioned way and the predictor which explains the most vari -

ation in the Y values is then used to split the data into k subsets.

Figure 5.1 shows that the predictor population group was regrouped to (1;2) and (3) in step (a) and was chosen in step (b) as the predictor which contributed most to the explanation of variation in the observed Y values.

- c. Each subset is now analyzed according to steps (a) and (b). This process is continued until no further split of the data in subsets in such a way that the split is still statistically significant, is possible.

The statistical criteria used in CHAID when splitting data are:

- i. the  $X^2$  statistic which is used in respect of (r x k) contingency tables where r indicates the number of categories of Y and k the number of categories of the predictor; and
- ii. Bonferonni intervals for the level of significance of the test. Suppose the original c categories of a predictor can be split in B different ways in k classes. A  $100(1-\alpha)\%$  Bonferonni interval is therefore calculated by determining the critical values of the particular test statistic at a level of significance of  $\alpha/B$ .

CHAID is not suitable for use in small datasets — a general guideline is to use only datasets with 500 or more observations in a CHAID analysis. A further limitation is that the number of categories of a particular predictor should not exceed 10.

In respect of the present analyses it was decided that:

- i. a group or class with less than 50 cases would not be analyzed; and
- ii. a split would be accepted only if the level of significance ( $X^2$  as well as Bonferonni) does not exceed 5,00 per cent.

## CHAPTER 6

### THE EXTENT, TYPES AND RATES OF VICTIMIZATION

#### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the extent of victimization among the respondents as well as the types of victimization will be discussed. This information, together with a personal characteristic of the victims will then be used to calculate victimization rates.

#### 6.2 THE EXTENT AND THE TYPES OF VICTIMIZATION

To determine the extent of victimization, each of the 527 victims was asked to indicate how many times each of the five types of primary victimization had been perpetrated against him/her during the 12 months preceding the fieldwork. The total number of victimizations committed against the respondents during this period, was 1 251. More than 95 per cent of these victimizations were committed in the areas where the victims were resident or while they were on their way to or from the particular areas.

The fact that the number of victimizations is much higher than the number of victims can be ascribed to multiple victimization — according to Table 6.1 more than one-third of the victims (35,2%) were subject to multiple victimization. Sixteen comma five per cent were victimized on two occasions, 4,7 per cent on three occasions and 14,0 per cent on four or more occasions. A victimization survey conducted among Blacks in Soweto (Strijdom and Schurink, 1977) revealed that 39,8 per cent of the 432 victims of the same five types of primary victimization as in the present study were victimized more than once. Sparks (1981) has the following to say in this regard: "Without exception, victimization surveys over the past fifteen years have found that the great majority of the surveyed population report that none of the incidents they were asked about had happened to them during the period covered; a minority report that they experienced one incident; and successively smaller proportions generally report

having experienced two, three ... n incidents" (p. 762). He adds that although multiple victims constitute a minority of all victims, they account for a disproportionate amount of all incidents not covered by most surveys.

Table 6.1 shows further that relatively more male (36,8%) than female (30,9%) victims were subject to multiple victimization.

The type of victimization committed most often was aggravated assault (31,4%), followed by common assault (24,3%) and robbery (23,8%). Eighteen comma two and 2,3 per cent of cases of theft and rape (including attempted rape) were encountered (Table 6.2).

More than three-quarters of these 1 251 victimizations (78,6%) were committed against males. A breakdown of the types of crime in respect of the two sexes

TABLE 6.1

NUMBER OF VICTIMIZATIONS IN TERMS OF SEX OF VICTIM

Number of victimizations	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
Percentage			
1	63,2	69,2	64,7
2	17,3	14,3	16,5
3	5,6	2,3	4,7
4 or more	13,9	14,3	14,0
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0
N	394	133	527

TABLE 6.2

TYPE OF VICTIMIZATION COMMITTED AGAINST  
MALE AND FEMALE VICTIMS

Type of victimization	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
	Percentage		
Robbery	25,9	15,7	23,8
Common assault	23,9	25,8	24,3
Aggravated assault	33,3	24,3	31,4
Rape and attempted rape	-	10,9	2,3
Theft	16,9	23,2	18,2
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0
N	984	267	1 251

is given in Table 6.2. Differences between the two sexes become apparent. For example, 25,9 per cent of the crimes committed against male victims were robberies compared to 15,7 per cent of those perpetrated against female victims. Theft, on the other hand was more common among crimes committed against female than against male victims. These differences can probably be attributed to the life-styles of the two sexes. Although the occupation of the victims was not established, it may be assumed that a larger percentage of male than female victims was economically active and males were, therefore, more exposed to robbery on their way home, especially on pay-days.

The largest single percentage of the 1 251 crimes (44,3%) was perpetrated against victims in the age category 18 to 29 years followed by those against victims in the categories 30 to 39 years (26,7%), 40 to 49 years (15,9%) and 50 to 59 years (7,7%). Three comma six per cent and 1,8 per cent were committed against victims in the categories 10 to 17 years and 60 years or older.

TABLE 6.3

## TYPE OF VICTIMIZATION COMMITTED AGAINST VICTIMS IN DIFFERENT AGE CATEGORIES

Type of victimization	Age categories						Total
	10-17 years	18-29 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	50-59 years	60 years or older	
	Percentage						
Robbery	31,1	18,8	26,6	28,6	24,0	43,5	23,8
Common assault	13,3	28,3	23,0	23,6	17,7	-	24,3
Aggravated assault	35,6	32,3	34,4	27,6	34,4	21,7	31,4
Rape and attempted rape	6,7	2,2	0,9	-	-	4,3	2,3
Theft	13,3	18,4	15,0	20,1	24,0	30,4	18,2
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
N.	45	554	334	199	96	23	1 251

The types of crime perpetrated against victims in the different age categories are reflected in Table 6.3. Certain differences can be observed. For instance, larger percentages of common assault were encountered among the crimes committed against victims in the age categories 18 to 29, 30 to 39 and 40 to 49 years than against victims in the other categories.

### 6.3 VICTIMIZATION RATES

In Chapter 5 it was shown that 74,8 per cent of the victims were males and according to a previous section of this chapter, 78,6 per cent of the total number of 1 251 crimes were committed against males. The question now arises whether males have in fact a higher victimization rate than females, in other words, do males run a higher risk of being victimized than females? To answer this question, the population at risk must be used as a basis for calculating victimization rates. It must also be borne in mind that a large percentage of the victims (35,2%) were subject to multiple victimization and when calculating rates it is therefore more correct to use the number of victimizations as a unit rather than the number of victims. Hindelang (1976) based his victimization rate tables on victimizations rather than incidents. In this respect, he points out that it is possible for an individual to be the victim of a certain crime or to be the victim of different crimes more than once during the twelve month period preceding a victimization survey.

In the present survey, the number of inhabitants, 10 years or older, in each living unit was unfortunately not determined, and it is therefore not possible to relate the total number of victimizations to the total number of potential victims in the 1 534 living units. In the absence of this information use will be made of other data, namely the total number of inhabitants, 10 years or older, in the seven residential areas concerned since these inhabitants also constitute a population at risk. Justification for using the total number of inhabitants in these areas as a basis for calculations is fivefold:

1. the distribution of the sample is based on the proportion of Coloureds, 20 years or older, in each of the different residential areas;
2. the street blocks containing the living units that had to be visited were chosen at random and an effort was also made to ensure that these blocks were more or less evenly distributed over each of the different areas;
3. every living unit in a block was visited and in cases where nobody was at home during the initial visit the living unit was revisited;
4. the initial interview (during which the seriousness of a number of crimes had to be rated) was conducted with a person randomly selected by means of a grid;
5. care was taken to locate all victims in a particular living unit as far as possible.

The 1 534 living units covered can therefore be regarded as representative of the living units in the seven areas, and the 527 victims traced can be regarded as representative of the victims in these areas.

At the time of the 1970 census a total number of 208 481 Coloured persons, 10 years or older (99 926 males and 108 555 females), were living in the seven residential areas (Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, 1977b). It may be accepted that the sex distribution of the population at the time of the census was largely maintained during the 12 months preceding the victimization survey, because noteworthy changes in the sex composition of a population such as the Coloureds resident in the seven areas concerned do not occur on the short term.

Victimization rates can be calculated if the number of victimizations suffered by victims of the two sexes are related to the total number of persons in the seven areas in each of the two sex categories. These rates are reflected in Table 6.4. The rates were calculated per 10 000 of the total population in the seven areas in each sex category. The figure for all

victimizations in respect of males is 98,5 and that for females, 24,6. One cannot deduce, however, that a Coloured male, 10 years or older, living in one of the areas concerned stands a chance of 98,5:10 000 in other words 1:101 of being victimized during a period of 12 months, because the total number of persons, 10 years or older, in the 1 534 living units is not known. These calculations merely indicate that males run a risk four times higher than females of being victimized. This finding that males run a higher risk of being victimized corresponds with that of Hindelang (1976). He found that for total personal victimizations as a whole (assaultive violence without theft, assaultive violence with theft and theft without injury) as well as for each of the subcategories, females had considerably lower rates of victimization than males. Among Whites, for example, the rate (total victimizations) for males was 77 compared with 45 for females. The respective rates among Blacks/others were 74 and 51.

On the strength of data generated by a victimization survey in San Francisco, the US Department of Justice (1977a) came to the conclusion that males had a much higher victimization rate than females in respect of personal crimes of violence. A victimization survey by the US Department of Justice in Houston (1977b) revealed that in personal crimes of violence the victimization rate for males was twice that for females, namely .72 as against .35.

TABLE 6.4

VICTIMIZATION RATES FOR MALE AND FEMALE  
VICTIMS ACCORDING TO TYPE OF VICTIMIZATION

Type of victimization	Male			Female		
	Number of victimizations	Size of the population, 10 years or older in the seven areas	Victimization rate	Number of victimizations	Size of the population, 10 years or older in the seven areas	Victimization rate
Robbery	255	99 926	25,5	42	108 555	3,9
Common assault	235	99 926	23,5	69	108 555	6,4
Aggravated assault	328	99 926	32,8	65	108 555	6,0
Rape and attempted rape	-	99 926	-	29	108 555	2,7
Theft	166	99 926	16,6	62	108 555	5,7
All victimizations	984	99 926	98,5	267	108 555	24,6

Using data uncovered by a victimization survey in Australia, Braithwaite and Biles (1980) found that men have higher victimization rates for breaking and entering, vehicle theft, theft, fraud, forgery, false pretences and assault. For assault, for example, the rate for males was four times higher than that for females, namely 3 775,4 compared with 847,9. It was only with regard to nuisance calls that the data showed a higher rate of victimization among women.

Strijdom and Schurink (1977) also found that among Blacks in Soweto, the risk of victimization was greater for men than for women.

One may also infer from the data in Table 6.4 that for theft and common assault the risk of victimization for males is less than four times higher than the risk for females, namely 2,9 and 3,7. The risk of aggravated assault and robbery, on the other hand, is more than four times higher, namely 4,8 and 6,5.

The differential victimization rates found among Coloureds in the Cape Peninsula may in all probability be ascribed to the different life-styles of the two sexes. Men who are relatively more economically active than women, have a greater probability of being in particular places at particular times under particular circumstances, interacting with particular kinds of persons and are, therefore, more exposed to victimization risk situations than women.

Researchers such as Hindelang (1976) and Braithwaite and Biles (1980) also calculated victimization rates for different age categories. Hindelang (1976) found that the rate of victimization is closely linked to the age of the victim — total personal victimizations peak in the age category 16 to 19 years and decline monotonically as age increases. The study by Braithwaite and Biles (1980), on the other hand, showed that in respect of most offences there is a curvilinear relationship between age and victimization — the youngest and oldest groups (15 to 19 years and 60 years and over) have the lowest victimization rates. In the present study however, it was not possible to compute victimi-

zation rates because the age categories in the report containing the census data in respect of the population at risk are not comparable to the age categories used in this study.

## CHAPTER 7

### THE REPORTING OF VICTIMIZATIONS

#### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

In the present chapter attention will be focussed on the question whether the victims reported to the police all the victimizations suffered by them during the reference period and if not, what factors influenced their decision.

#### 7.2 THE EXTENT OF REPORTING VICTIMIZATIONS

Some authors, such as Goldstein (1960) and La Fave (1965) argue that the police are the "gatekeepers" of the criminal justice system because they exercise the discretion of whether or not to make an arrest. It must, however, be borne in mind that crimes are normally reported to the police by victims and since the police can only act after a crime has been reported, the victim can rightly be regarded as playing a primary gatekeeping function. Reiss (1971), for instance, found that about 95 per cent of the criminal incidents known to the police in Chicago were brought to their attention by citizens, including victims. Victimization data in respect of eight American cities (Hindelang, 1976) show that only three per cent of the victimizations reported to the interviewers came to the attention of the police because they were on the scene of the crime. If the police had therefore not been contacted by the victim or a member of the victim's household, the criminal justice system would not have become involved in the remaining 97 per cent of the victimizations.

Many victims fail to report victimizations to the police however, and the official crime statistics are therefore deficient because they do not present a clear picture of the real extent of crime. How should this dilemma be dealt with? It has already been pointed out that the victimization survey is a valuable tool for detecting hidden criminalities — those criminal acts that never reach the attention of the practitioners of the criminal justice system.

Of the total number of 1 251 victimizations suffered by the victims during the reference period, only 31,7 per cent were reported to the police. Crime among Coloureds in the Cape Peninsula is therefore far more extensive and constitutes a far more serious problem than official statistics would suggest. A victimization survey conducted among Blacks in Soweto (Strijdom and Schurink, 1977) revealed that only 27,2 per cent of the crimes under discussion had been reported to the police. According to a similar survey undertaken among Coloureds in Eersterust, Pretoria, 40 per cent of the victimizations were reported (Boshoff, 1979). Using data obtained by means of countrywide multipurpose surveys, Strijdom and Boshoff (1980), found that the police had been informed of 48,7 per cent of the victimizations suffered by Whites, 48,7 per cent of those suffered by Coloureds and 62,4 per cent of those suffered by Indians.

This phenomenon of a considerable percentage of crimes never being reported also occurs overseas. During 1973, for example, roughly 14 million personal victimizations or about 70 per cent of those crimes measured by the National Crime Survey in the United States and nine million household victimizations (or 60 per cent), were never reported to law enforcement agencies (Dodge, Lentzner and Shenk, 1976). According to Hindelang (1976) the police were notified of 42 per cent of the personal victimizations suffered in Dallas, Texas. In a victimization survey carried out in London during 1973 (Sparks, 1976) respondents who had mentioned victimizations to the interviewers were asked whether they had reported those incidents to the police. On the basis of replies to this question it was estimated that the police had probably been notified of about 35 per cent of the incidents.

A victimization survey conducted in Australia (Wilson and Brown, 1973) showed that 47 per cent of the incidents involving residents in one suburb and 44 per cent involving residents in another had been reported to the police.

Victimization surveys were also carried out in several Scandinavian countries. According to Wolf and Hauge (1973), Aromaa (1971) and Hauge (1972) the notification rates<sup>+</sup> in respect of Sweden, Finland and Norway are less than 15. In Germany the notification rate in respect of respondents interviewed in Stuttgart is 46 (Stephan, 1977).

A victimization survey conducted in Haifa, Israel revealed that the police had been informed of 44 per cent of the victimizations (Fishman, 1979).

The US Department of Justice (1977b) found that 25 per cent of all personal victimizations in Houston had been reported to the police. The police were notified of 32 per cent of all personal victimizations in San Francisco (US Department of Justice, 1977a).

From these research results it is obvious that only a small percentage of victimizations are reported to the police and the official crime statistics do therefore not present a clear picture of the extent of crime and can to a large extent be regarded as misleading. This leads to an important question which should receive attention in further research, namely: "Are the present sociological-aetiological theories of deviant behaviour which are mainly based on official statistics indeed valid?"

The tendency that fewer victimizations are reported than are actually committed holds good for the various types of victimization, but according to Table 7.1 considerable differentiation is encountered. For example, as against 51,7 per cent of the cases of rape and attempted rape, 39,1 per cent of the robberies and 35,6 per cent of the aggravated assaults, only 15,5 per cent of the common assaults were reported to the police. It appears, therefore, that there is a tendency to re-

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<sup>+</sup>A notification rate is calculated per 100 victimizations committed against victims:

port serious crimes to the police more often than less serious crimes. The same tendency has been revealed by overseas studies. According to a victimization survey carried out by the US Department of Justice (1976), for example 64,8 per cent of the cases of rape and 56,4 per cent of the aggravated assaults as against 39,5 per cent of the common assaults and 31,4 per cent of the cases of theft were reported in New York. When analyzing data provided by the National Crime Survey in the USA, Dodge, Lentzner and Shenk (1976) came to the following conclusion: "Looking at personal crimes ... 53 per cent of all crimes of violence remained unreported, as compared with 76 per cent of all crimes of theft, the less harmful of the two. Furthermore, relative to their total, violent attacks resulting in victim injury produced a higher level of reporting than noninjurious acts" (p.22).

TABLE 7.1  
THE REPORTING OF VICTIMIZATIONS IN TERMS OF  
TYPE OF VICTIMIZATION

Type of victimization	Reporting of victimizations		Total	N
	Reported	Non-reported		
	Percentage			
Robbery	39,1	60,9	100,0	297
Common assault	15,5	84,5	100,0	304
Aggravated assault	35,6	64,4	100,0	393
Rape and attempted rape	51,7	48,3	100,0	29
Theft	34,6	65,4	100,0	228
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>31,7</b>	<b>68,3</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>1 251</b>

Skogan (1976) also used data obtained by means of the National Crime Survey in the USA to examine the impact of characteristics of victimizations upon their reporting probability. He found the seriousness of the offence to be of major significance in this respect and concludes as follows: "Crimes which threatened their person, violated their personal space, inflicted injury,

or cost them money were reported at relatively high rates" (p. 548).

### 7.3 FACTORS INFLUENCING A VICTIM'S DECISION TO REPORT A VICTIMIZATION

Of the total number of 527 victims, 219 (41,6%) mentioned that all the victimizations<sup>+</sup> suffered by them during the reference period had been reported to the police. The important question now is: "Why did such a large percentage of the victims — almost 60 per cent — fail to report all victimizations experienced by them to the police?" In this respect Hindelang (1976) aptly remarks as follows: "The victimization survey is the most practical vehicle available for analyzing factors associated with the decisions of victims regarding whether or not to call the police when they believe that they have been victimized. In fact, for individual victims ... victimization surveys seem to be uniquely suited to this purpose" (p. 358).

The 308 victims who did not notify the police of all the victimizations suffered by them were asked to advance the main reason for this. The reasons advanced by these victims are presented in Table 7.2. The largest single percentage of these victims (27,3%) stated that they were afraid of revenge, 19,2 per cent thought that the police would not be able to track down the offender(s), whereas 15,6 per cent did not want to become involved. Twelve comma three per cent did not consider the crime to be serious enough, 9,1 per cent thought that the police would not trouble to investigate the matter and 8,8 per cent thought that it was a private matter. Three comma two per cent advanced other reasons, while 4,5 per cent could not supply any reason. Table 7.2 further shows that the reasons given by the two sexes do not differ significantly, except that relatively more male than female victims (10,3 as against 4,6 per cent) did not report all the victimizations since they thought that the police would not trouble to in-

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<sup>+</sup>It should be borne in mind that, according to the data in Chapter 7, a large percentage of the victims (35,2%) were subject to multiple victimization.

investigate the matter.

TABLE 7.2

MOST IMPORTANT REASON ADVANCED FOR NOT REPORTING ALL  
VICTIMIZATIONS IN TERMS OF SEX OF VICTIM

Most important reason	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
	Percentage		
Did not consider the crime to be serious enough	12,3	12,3	12,3
Thought that the police would not trouble to investigate matter	10,3	4,6	9,1
Thought that the police would not be able to track down offender(s)	18,6	21,5	19,2
Thought that it was a private matter	7,8	12,3	8,8
Did not want to become involved	15,6	15,4	15,6
Was afraid of revenge	27,2	27,7	27,3
Do not know	4,9	3,1	4,5
Other reasons	3,2	3,1	3,2
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0
N	243	65	308

In Table 7.3 the most important reason given for not reporting all victimizations is analyzed in terms of the age of the victims. No clear pattern emerges however.

The reasons advanced by victims involved in this study as well as reasons given by victims involved in other studies will subsequently be used in an effort to suggest factors that influence the decision of victims whether or not to notify the police.

(a) The victim's perception of the seriousness of the crime

Twelve comma three per cent of the victims in the present study

TABLE 7.3  
MOST IMPORTANT REASON-ADVANCED FOR NOT REPORTING ALL  
VICTIMIZATIONS IN TERMS OF AGE OF VICTIM

Most important reason	Age					Total
	10-17 years	18-29 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	50 years or older	
	Percentage					
Did not consider the crime to be serious enough	33,3	9,6	12,3	10,9	13,6	12,3
Thought that the police would not trouble to investigate matter	14,3	8,1	9,6	9,1	9,1	9,1
Thought that the police would not be able to track down offender(s)	19,0	14,0	20,5	25,5	31,8	19,2
Thought that it was a private matter	9,5	14,7	-	5,5	9,1	8,8
Did not want to become involved	9,5	16,2	13,7	20,0	13,6	15,6
Was afraid of revenge	14,3	29,4	35,6	27,3	-	27,3
Do not know	-	5,9	4,1	1,8	9,1	4,5
Other reasons	-	2,2	4,1	-	13,6	3,2
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
N	21	136	73	55	23	308

who did not report all victimizations suffered by them advanced the reason "I did not consider the crime to be serious enough". The corresponding percentages in respect of non-reports in eight American cities (Hindelang, 1976) and in Houston (US Department of Justice, 1977b) were 29 and 27. The inference that the seriousness of a crime is an important consideration in the decision whether or not to report a crime is substantiated by other victimization data discussed in the previous section of this chapter, which showed that victims are more inclined to report serious crimes to the police.

The study by Hindelang (1976) also showed that whether or not a victimization is reported to the police is determined primarily by what happens to the victim (in other words how serious the crime is) rather than by who the victim is (p. 401).

Using data obtained during a victimization survey in the city of Haifa in Israel, Fishman (1979) came to the same conclusion, namely that notifying the police is a dynamic process which changes with the situation, in other words with the type of victimization suffered by the person rather than with his socio-economic status or the type of neighbourhood in which he lives.

(b) The victim's perception of the police

It has been argued that the victim initiates the criminal justice process by reporting a crime to the police, one of the components of the criminal justice system. It may, however, be accepted that the decision to notify the police will be influenced by the victim's perception of the police. It seems safe to assume that indirect sources such as reports in the press and television programmes about the police play a significant role in shaping these perceptions. In addition, actual contact with the police, for example as a suspect, a victim or a witness may also have some impact on the perceptions. Perceptions may, however, not always be based on fact. They are nevertheless important, for it is a basic sociological axiom that if people define situations as real, they are real in

their consequences. Therefore, if a victim regards the police as inefficient, unhelpful and unable to track down the offender it is quite likely that the crime will not be reported to the police. Information generated by victimization surveys proves that this is indeed the case. For instance, the reason "I thought that the police would not be able to track down the offender(s)" was advanced by 19,2 per cent of the non-reporting victims in the present study and "I thought that the police would not trouble to investigate the matter" was cited by 9,1 per cent of these victims. The corresponding percentages in respect of non-reporting victims in Soweto were 50,9 and 11,3 (Strijdom and Schurink, 1977). According to these two sets of data, non-reporting victims in Soweto have a far more negative perception of the police than non-reporting victims in the Cape Peninsula. This extremely negative perception of the police could have been brought about by factors such as their direct experience with the police as victims on a previous occasion(s), the experience(s) of family or friends who were victimized or reports in the press.

Fishman (1979) found that the modal reason for not notifying the police of crimes committed against persons was the belief that the police would not act or that they are inefficient in dealing with such matters. (Twenty-two per cent of all the non-reporting victims of crime against persons advanced a reason that placed the blame on the police).

(c) The victim-offender relationship

Victimization data also show that the relationship between the victim and the offender influences the decision to notify the police. The reason "I thought it was a private matter" was given by 8,8 per cent of the non-reporting victims involved in the present study and in respect of 7,6 per cent of the non-reporting victims in Soweto (Strijdom and Schurink, 1977). The corresponding percentage in the study by Hindelang (1976) was 13.

The fear of possible revenge by the offender may also inhibit the victim from reporting a victimization. Twenty-seven comma three per cent of the non-reporting victims in the current study stated that they had failed to report all the victimizations because they had feared revenge by the offender. The study by Fishman (1979) revealed that 13,8 per cent of all the non-reporting victims of crime against persons had advanced this reason.

It may be assumed that if a victim fails to report a victimization because it is regarded as a private matter or because of fear of possible revenge, then the two parties are in all probability known to each other, for example, acquaintances, friends, neighbours or even members of the same family. In this regard Dodge, Lentzner and Shenk (1976) found that the belief that an incident was a private matter was frequently cited in respect of unreported crimes of violence, particularly non-stranger victimizations.

(d) The perceived presence/absence of proof

Obviously victims who are of the opinion that there is enough proof are more likely to report crimes than those who feel there is a lack of proof. The importance of this consideration is illustrated by the finding of Hindelang (1976) namely that "Nothing could be done - lack of proof" was advanced in respect of as much as 36 per cent of the unreported personal victimizations in the eight American cities. In fact, this reason was most frequently advanced for not reporting victimizations in those cities. According to the US Department of Justice (1977a) this reason was cited in respect of 35 per cent of the unreported personal victimizations in San Francisco.

(e) Other factors

A variety of other considerations associated with a victim's decision have been revealed by victimization surveys. Three of these may be cited, namely "I did not want to become involved", "It was too inconvenient or time consuming", and "I

was too ashamed to report the crime to a male police officer" (especially in cases of sexual crimes such as rape).

According to researchers such as Skogan (1976), Hindelang (1976) and Fishman (1979), characteristics of the victims, for example age and socio-economic status, do not appear to have a significant effect on the victim's decision.

The fact that definite reasons could be advanced in respect of the great majority of unreported crimes<sup>+</sup> suggests that the decision to report or not to report is, in the words of Skogan (1976): "... a highly cognitive, reality-testing process" (p. 548).

Although victims are normally asked to furnish the most important reason for failure to report, there is reason to believe that victims also consider at least some of the other factors before making a final decision. For instance, a victim may not report a victimization because he is of the opinion that there is a lack of proof although he perceives the police to be efficient and capable of apprehending offenders.

Block (1974) is also of the opinion that notification of the police is far from an automatic decision. He applies the principles of exchange theory (Blau, 1967; Thibaut and Kelley, 1969), and submits that this decision is based on the victim's calculation of the benefits derived from notification and the costs incurred. He distinguishes three factors that have a bearing on a victim's decision, namely the perceived effectiveness/ineffectiveness of the police, the victim's social status and situational factors such as the relationship between the victim and the offender, the seriousness of the attack and whether or not the two parties were implicated in the attack. Two examples may be cited to explain his application of the

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<sup>+</sup>For example, only 4,5 per cent of the non-reporting victims in the present study could not advance a reason, and in only 6,1 per cent of the non-reports in Soweto no reason could be given (Strijdom and Schurink, 1977).

principles of exchange theory:

1. A wife is being beaten by her husband (a cost). She may decide to inform the police of the assault to protect herself from injury (a benefit). However, she may fail to contact the police for fear of future retribution or loss of social status (both costs) or because she believes the police will not do anything (no benefit).
2. A victim who believes that his testimony will be discounted by the police or that he is just as likely to be arrested as his attacker (both costs) is not likely to notify the police.

Block (1974) analyzed data generated by a victimization survey conducted in the United States. His findings were as follows: The closer the relationship between victim and offender, the less likely it is that the victim will notify the police; the greater the victim's involvement in an assault, the less likely the police will be notified; and the higher the victim's social class the less likely the police will be notified. He summarizes his findings as follows: "Variables which should rationally go into the victim's decision to notify the police of an attack are, in fact, related to the victim's decision... What this paper implies, therefore, is that notification of police is far from an automatic decision. Rather, the decision is one which is made on the possible rewards to be gained and the costs to be endured in notifying the police. If many victims do not notify the police, they probably have good reasons for their decision" (p. 568).

A study of this process and of all the "positive" and "negative" factors considered by the victim will no doubt throw valuable light on a major discretionary act.

## CHAPTER 8

### CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OFFENDERS

#### 8.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter a study will be made of certain characteristics of the offenders as perceived by the victims and this data will be used to test the validity of certain theories.

#### 8.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OFFENDERS RELATED TO SUBCULTURAL THEORIES

In the introductory chapter the statement was made that victimological research can most definitely contribute to subcultural theories of deviance. The main subcultural theories of crime and delinquency are Cohen's theory of the delinquent subculture (1955), Miller's lower class culture theory (1958), the theory by Cloward and Ohlin (1960) of juvenile delinquency and differential opportunity structures, Matza's drift theory (1964) and the group process theory of Short and Strodtbeck (1974). As Schurink (1978) rightly points out, the concept "subculture" only began to play an important role in theories of deviance and juvenile delinquency with the publication of Cohen's book: Delinquent boys: The culture of the gang in 1955. Thrasher (1927) never used this concept in his study of 1 313 gangs in Chicago but he may nevertheless also be regarded as a subcultural theorist since according to Short (1963) he anticipated this concept in his book, The gang. It was also pointed out that the most important general premises of these theories are that deviant behaviour is

1. more prevalent among persons of low social status;
2. is generally a group phenomenon; and
3. is largely a male phenomenon.

In the words of Short and Strodtbeck (1974): "The bases for conceptualizing delinquency as 'subcultural' are the familiar ecological and demographic findings - it is largely a male, working-class phenomenon, and it takes an organized and collective

form" (p. 4).

In view of the data generated by the present study, the two last mentioned premises, namely that deviant behaviour is generally a group phenomenon and largely a male phenomenon will be dealt with in this chapter.

Firstly, attention will be devoted to the male premise. Several researchers using official crime statistics have found that the crime rate for males is much higher than that for females. Strijdom and Van der Colff (1975a), for example, calculated sex specific crime rates for adults and came to the conclusion that for all four population groups in South Africa the rate for males greatly exceeds that for females. The ratio varies between 8:1 for Blacks and as much as 19:1 for Asians. Strijdom and Van der Colff (1975b) also analyzed crime statistics for juveniles (persons in the age category 7 to 17 years) and juvenile adults (persons in the age category 18 to 20 years) and found that the difference also holds good for juveniles and juvenile adults irrespective of the population group to which they belong. Using arrest statistics on offenders in the United States, Winslow (1977) found that males are arrested nearly seven times as frequently as females for certain offences and that the difference is even greater when all offences are taken into account. Cohen and Short (1976) have the following to say in this regard: "Crime and delinquency rates for males greatly exceed rates for females - in all nations, all communities within a nation, all age groups, all periods of history for which organized statistics are available, and for all types of crime (except for a few peculiar to women, such as prostitution)" (p. 61).

Certain other researchers such as Wise (1967), Gold (1970), Hindelang (1971a), Erickson and Smith (1974), and Jensen and Eve (1976) conducted self-report studies on offenders and also found that males commit far more crimes than females. Jensen and Eve (1976) remark as follows in this respect: "Few people find it surprising that male adolescents are several times more likely to make

their way into police and court records than are female adolescents and to many it makes such good 'common sense' that it generates little further interest" (pp. 427-428).

Other researchers used data generated by victimization surveys. Hindelang's study (1976) in eight American cities showed that according to the victims, for each category of personal victimization, only a very small percentage of lone offenders were females. For example, in respect of personal larceny only eight per cent of the offenders were perceived to be females. He adds that the data in respect of the sex of multiple offenders are virtually identical to those in respect of the sex of lone offenders. Hindelang (1976) then summarizes his findings as follows: "In sum, the data for lone and multiple offenders show clearly that both male and female victims are disproportionately victimized by offenders who are perceived to be male ..." (p. 178). Hindelang (1979) also examined national victimization survey data for the United States for the years 1972 to 1976. The results confirmed that male involvement in common-law crimes such as rape, robbery, assault, burglary and larceny is proportionately much greater than the involvement of females. Braithwaite and Biles (1980) found that by far the majority of victims included in their study fell prey to male offenders. To cite a few examples: for theft, the ratio of single male to single female offenders was 6:1 and for breaking and entering, it was 22:1. It is also interesting to note that none of the respondents had been victimized by a female robber who had acted on her own without the assistance of a male.

In the present study, respondents who were victimized only once during the reference period were asked what the sex of the offender(s) was. Those who were victimized more than once were asked about the sex of the offender(s) responsible for the last victimization. According to the responses, practically all the victimizations (93,2%) were committed by males and this finding, which corresponds with those of researchers already mentioned, suggests that the male premise of subcultural theories of crime and delinquency is indeed valid.

The group premise will be dealt with next. Researchers such as Eynon and Reckless (1961), Lerman (1967), Erickson (1971), Gold (1970) and Hindelang (1971 and 1976a) conducted self-report studies to determine whether juvenile delinquency is in fact a group phenomenon. The findings of these studies are, however, divergent. Eynon and Reckless (1961) and Gold (1970), for example, found that offences are usually committed in concert by several young persons while Lerman (1967) and Hindelang (1976a) found that in most cases young persons committed offences on their own.

Hindelang (1976) found that half of the personal victimizations uncovered by the victimization survey in the eight American cities were committed by multiple offenders. Single offenders predominated in only one category of personal incidents, namely assaultive violence without theft where 65 per cent of the incidents involved single offenders. However, since more than 50 per cent of the total personal incidents were cases of assaultive violence without theft, the percentage of personal victimizations committed by single offenders was as high as 50 per cent. In respect of assaultive violence with theft, 64 per cent of the incidents involved multiple offenders. The corresponding percentage in respect of robbery without injury was 59.

The study by Strijdom and Schurink (1977) showed that more than two-thirds (67,7%) of the personal victimizations dealt with in Soweto were committed by multiple offenders. Using data generated by the first Australian National Crime Victims Survey, Braithwaite and Biles (1980) found that certain crimes such as motor vehicle theft and robbery with violence were committed largely by multiple offenders (the percentages were 74 and 70 respectively). Single offenders, on the other hand, predominated in other crimes such as fraud, forgery and false pretence and rape and attempted rape (the percentages were 83 and 93 respectively).

In the present study, respondents who were victimized only once

during the reference period were asked to indicate - if at all possible - how many persons were responsible for the victimization. They were simultaneously asked whether in their opinion, the particular victimization was committed by a gang. Those who were victimized more than once during the reference period were asked the same questions in respect of the last victimization.

The gang as a social problem is not a new phenomenon. In this respect Short and Strodbeck (1974) write as follows: "The gang as a form of human association and a social problem, an object of curiosity and commentary is at once ancient and contemporary. Probably no generation has been without its detractors, and each younger generation's antics in collective form have been especially vulnerable in this respect. What is new, apparently, is the extent to which gang delinquency has become a problem of major proportions in many countries since World War II. Even this is not new in some countries, such as the United States, but here the forms of gang delinquency appear to have changed somewhat" (p. 1). Short and Strodbeck (1974) add that gang delinquency occurs in countries right across the globe - in Western Europe, the Far East, in Iron curtain countries, in Australia and in certain countries in Africa. Gang delinquency is, therefore, a world-wide phenomenon. These young people are known by various names: "Teddy boys" in England, "zoot-suiters" and "boppers" in the United States, "Halbstarke" in Germany, "bodgies" in Australia and New Zealand, "Mambo" boys and girls in Japan and "hooligans" in Poland and Russia (Short and Strodbeck, 1974). In South Africa the members of urban Black youth gangs are known as "tsotsis" (Brand, 1964).

Gang activities have been studied by various sociologists. Thrasher's (1927) study of 1 313 gangs in Chicago, for example, is without any doubt the classic work on American youth gangs. Although it was already published in the 1920s, it still remains the most comprehensive and detailed treatise on gangs and gang life ever written. Short and Strodbeck (1974) studies 16 gangs in Chicago, consisting of a total of 598 members. The gangs

ranged in size from 16 to 68 members.

Schurink (1979) conducted a study of gangs in Eersterust - a Coloured residential area near Pretoria. He found that five gangs operate in the residential area, namely the Mafias, Hangavas, Young Americans, Borselinos or young Mafias, and the Survivors or Mau-Maus. Lengthy interviews were held with members of the Hangavas and the young Americans while information about the Mafias was provided by an informant. The Hangavas consist of about 60 members, the Young Americans have about 11 members and the Mafias consist of at least 100 members. Schurink (1979) found that the Hangavas as well as the Young Americans do not have a leader or an organized structure.

The Mafias are involved in numerous criminal activities such as theft, malicious damage to property, rape, murder, assault, and dealing in dagga while robbery, assault, rape and the use of dagga represent the most important activities of the Hangavas. The Young Americans do not regard themselves as a violent group. They allege that they concentrate on economic crimes such as housebreaking and theft.

Le Roux (1951) studied 35 Coloured youth gangs in Cape Town over a period of several years. He found that they were responsible for a large variety of criminal activities such as robbery, theft and assault.

Up to date information on the extent of gang activities among Coloureds in the Cape Peninsula could not be traced, but during an International Conference on Crime, Law and the Community, held at the University of Cape Town during 1975, Mr George Gibbs, Director of BABS (Build a Better Society) at Athlone (a Coloured township in the Cape Peninsula) mentioned that according to a survey conducted by them, problems, in order of priority were: gangs, crime, gambling, shebeens, accessibility of liquor and dagga and so forth.

Further evidence of the activities of gangs is that four of the five members of the Coloured gang called Naughty Cats were

sentenced to death during December 1978 in the Cape Provincial Division of the Supreme Court after they had been found guilty on charges of murder, rape, robbery and attempted murder (Die Burger, 1978-12-14).

Bloch (1975a and 1975b) found that more than 70 per cent of the respondents in her study - Coloureds in the Cape Peninsula - were afraid of gangs operating in the areas where the respondents were resident.

Slabbert (1981) asked Coloured residents in the Cape Peninsula what they feared most in their neighbourhoods. Twenty-two comma five per cent indicated gang activity as main fear factor while forty-six comma five per cent indicated a combination of factors, for example, fear of gang activity and of getting injured or robbed. She concludes that only 31 per cent of the respondents do not fear gangs where they live.

These two studies clearly show that gangs are part and parcel of the problem of crime among Coloureds in the Cape Peninsula.

According to Table 8.1, 22,6 per cent of the victimizations suffered by the respondents involved a single offender. Twenty-four comma three per cent of the victimizations were committed by two or more persons but the victims did not regard them as a gang. In the opinion of the victims, gangs were responsible for 37,2 per cent of the victimizations. In respect of 15,9 per cent of the victimizations the victims could not indicate by how many offenders they had been victimized. These findings confirm that gangs play a very prominent role in the phenomenon of crime among Coloured residents of the Cape Peninsula.

TABLE 8.1  
NUMBER OF OFFENDERS IN TERMS OF  
TYPE OF VICTIMIZATION

Number of offenders	Type of victimization					Total
	Robbery	Common assault	Aggravated assault	Rape and attempted rape	Theft	
	Percentage					
One	12,1	39,5	25,8	47,6	16,7	22,6
Two or more but not a gang	25,0	23,7	21,7	23,8	30,9	24,3
A gang	32,9	34,2	44,3	23,8	28,6	37,2
Do not know	30,0	2,6	8,2	4,8	23,8	15,9
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>
<b>N</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>244</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>527</b>

Table 8.1 shows that 61,5 per cent of the victimizations involved multiple offenders as against 22,6 per cent which involved single offenders. This finding corresponds with those of certain other researchers and it would appear that the group premise of sub-cultural theories of crime and delinquency is also valid.

It can also be seen from Table 8.1 that the number of offenders varies according to the type of victimization: common assault and rape were to a much larger extent committed by single offenders than robbery, aggravated assault and theft. Although details about the victimizations are not available, it is safe to assume that at least some of the common assaults resulted from household quarrels, for example a wife who was beaten up by her husband after an argument. Variation in the number of offenders in terms of the type of victimization was also encountered by other researchers such as Strijdom and Schurink (1977) and Braithwaite and Biles (1980).

Analyses of the data generated by the present survey indicate that in respect of robbery and theft much larger percentages of the victims could not indicate by how many offenders they had been victimized than in the case of common assault, aggravated assault and rape. One should remember in this regard, however, that theft is a non-face-to-face primary victimization, in other words, there is usually no visual contact with the offender, and that robbery is often committed at nighttime under circumstances which make it very difficult to recognize the offender(s).

## CHAPTER 9

### THE VICTIM-OFFENDER RELATIONSHIP

#### 9.1 INTRODUCTION

The official South African crime statistics do not contain any information on the victim-offender relationship. In some overseas countries, such as the United States of America, information on both the offender and the victim is recorded but this information is not standardized from one police department to another. In fact, according to Hindelang (1976), substantial variability is often encountered in the same department.

Victimization surveys offer the opportunity to obtain data from the victim that will shed light on the relationship between the victim and the offender. This chapter discusses the question of whether the victim and the offender were known to each other prior to the victimization.

#### 9.2 THE VICTIM-OFFENDER RELATIONSHIP

During the interview victims were asked who had committed the crime. Those who were victimized only once during the reference period were asked to supply data in respect of that particular victimization and the victims who suffered more than one victimization were requested to furnish data pertaining to the last victimization. Respondents could choose from four possible answers, namely:

1. by a relative or relatives;
2. by a friend or friends;
3. by a stranger or strangers; and
4. "I do not know".

Almost 70 per cent of the victimizations were committed by a stranger/strangers, 18 per cent involved a relative/relatives or a friend/friends. In respect of 12 per cent of the victimizations, the victims could not furnish any information (Table 9.1). This finding, that by far the majority of victimizations

involved a stranger or strangers, corresponds with those of other researchers. Hindelang (1976), for example, found that 80 per cent of the 208 720 personal victimizations uncovered by the victimization survey in the eight impact cities were committed by strangers. The study by Strijdom and Schurink (1977) shows that 80,7 per cent of the primary victimizations suffered by a sample of Blacks in Soweto were committed by strangers. Using data obtained by means of the National Crime Survey in the United States, Dodge, Lentzner and Shenk (1976), also found that the percentage of stranger-to-stranger confrontations for four direct contact crimes was also very high, namely 96 for personal larceny, 86 for robbery, 79 for rape and 62 for aggravated assault.

TABLE 9.1

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VICTIM AND OFFENDER  
IN TERMS OF SEX OF VICTIM

Relationship	Sex		
	Male	Female	Total
	Percentage		
Relative(s)/friend(s)	16,7	23,3	18,4
Stranger(s)	71,6	63,9	69,6
Do not know who committed the crime	11,7	12,8	12,0
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0
N	394	133	527

Table 9.1 also shows that a larger percentage of males (71,6%) than females (63,9%) were victimized by a stranger or strangers while the converse holds true for victimizations committed by a relative(s) or friend(s).

Are certain types of victimization committed by strangers to a larger extent than other types? The data contained in Table

9.2 should throw light on this question. According to this data, aggravated assault, theft and robbery were committed by strangers to a greater extent than common assault and rape and attempted rape. In fact, a far larger percentage of common assaults than of any of the other types of victimization were committed by relative(s)/friend(s). This finding lends support to the explanation offered in the previous chapter, namely that at least some of these common assaults were cases where a victim was beaten up by a spouse after an argument. It is illuminating to note that in 22,9 per cent of the cases of robbery, 19,0 per cent of the rapes and attempted rapes and 16,7 per cent of the thefts compared with only 4,9 per cent of the aggravated assaults and 2,6 per cent of the common assaults, the victims did not know who had committed the crimes. Differentiation was also found in other studies. Strijdom and Schurink (1977) found for example, that larger percentages of rapes, thefts and robberies than of aggravated assaults and common assaults involved strangers.

Using data obtained by means of the first Australian National Crime Victims Survey, Braithwaite and Biles (1980) report that robbery with violence (84%) and nuisance calls (79%) were to a larger extent committed by persons not known to the victims than assault (55%), theft (44%) and rape and attempted rape (43%) for instance.

TABLE 9.2

## RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VICTIM AND OFFENDER IN TERMS OF TYPE OF VICTIMIZATION

Relationship	Type of victimization					Total
	Robbery	Common assault	Aggravated assault	Rape and attempted rape	Theft	
	Percentage					
Relative(s)/friend(s)	9,3	36,8	22,1	23,8	13,1	18,4
Stranger(s)	67,9	60,5	73,0	57,1	70,2	69,6
Do not know who committed the crime	22,9	2,6	4,9	19,0	16,7	12,0
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
N	140	38	244	21	84	527

In Table 9.3 the relationship between the victim and the offender is analyzed in terms of the age of the victim but no clear pattern emerges.

TABLE 9.3

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VICTIM AND OFFENDER IN TERMS  
OF AGE OF VICTIM

Relationship	Age of victim						Total
	10-17 years	18-29 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	50-59 years	60 years or older	
	Percentage						
Relative(s)/friend(s)	15,8	22,0	17,9	11,0	26,3	-	18,4
Stranger(s)	73,7	67,8	67,9	74,7	60,5	88,9	69,6
Do not know who committed the crime	10,5	10,2	14,2	14,3	13,2	11,1	12,0
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
N	38	236	106	91	38	18	527

## CHAPTER 10

### DAY AND TIME OF OCCURRENCE

#### 10.1 INTRODUCTION

It is believed that the risk of being victimized is greater at certain times. Is this belief not perhaps unfounded? Only the year and the month of occurrence of offences and not the day and time are recorded in detail in the official South African crime statistics. Victimization surveys, however, enable researchers to obtain detailed information. This data is also of great importance in the light of the life-style/exposure model of personal victimization proposed by Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978).

In this chapter the day and time of occurrence of victimizations will be discussed.

#### 10.2 DAY AND TIME OF OCCURRENCE

Two questions were put to the victims in this respect. Firstly, they had to indicate on what day of the week the particular crime referred to had occurred. Secondly, they had to indicate at what time of the day or night the crime had taken place. Here they could select from five possible answers, namely:

1. early in the morning;
2. during the day;
3. in the late afternoon;
4. early in the evening; and
5. late at night.

Table 10.1 shows that the largest single percentage of crimes (36,8%) occurred on Fridays. This finding corresponds with the statement made by Chang (1972) that crime in Western countries is closely related to payday. A somewhat smaller percentage of crimes (28,8%) were committed on Saturdays, 9,1 per cent on Sundays and smaller percentages on each of the other

days of the week.

The data collected show that 92,2 per cent of the crimes committed on Fridays were perpetrated late in the afternoon, early in the evening or late at night. If this is taken into consideration, it appears that 74 per cent of the crimes were committed from late Friday afternoon to late at night on Sunday. Crime among Coloureds in the Cape Peninsula can, therefore, be typified as a weekend phenomenon. Strijdom and Schurink (1977) came to the same conclusion about crime among Blacks in Soweto. With the aid of official data obtained from police files, Engelbrecht (1961) found that most crimes by juveniles in Johannesburg were committed during weekends. With regard to cities such as New York and Los Angeles, Lunden (1967) states that it was also found - by using official statistics - that there is a higher incidence of crime on Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays than on other days of the week. Lunden (1967) then makes the following deduction: "Regardless of areas, as long as people follow the 7-day cycle of little or no work from Friday through Sunday, crimes are always higher during this period" (p. 32).

TABLE 10.1

DAY OF OCCURRENCE IN TERMS OF TYPE OF VICTIMIZATION

Day of occurrence	Type of victimization					Total
	Robbery	Common assault	Aggravated assault	Rape and attempted rape	Theft	
	Percentage					
Monday	3,6	10,5	3,7	4,8	4,8	4,4
Tuesday	3,6	7,9	4,1	4,8	7,1	4,7
Wednesday	7,9	5,3	7,4	-	10,7	7,6
Thursday	7,1	-	8,2	28,6	10,7	8,5
Friday	49,3	39,5	32,4	33,3	28,6	36,8
Saturday	22,1	31,6	34,4	23,8	23,8	28,8
Sunday	6,4	5,3	9,8	4,8	14,3	9,1
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
N	140	38	244	21	84	527

Table 10.1 also reveals that proportionately more cases of robbery than of each of the other categories of crime occurred on Fridays. This could probably be ascribed to the fact that a large percentage of the economically active inhabitants of the Coloured residential areas in the Cape Peninsula are paid on Fridays. Aggravated assault and common assault reach a climax on Fridays and Saturdays. The reason for this may lie in the misuse of liquor which often results in fighting and assault.

In Table 10.2 the day of occurrence is related to the sex of the victims. No significant differences are found, except that relatively more males (30,5%) than females (24,1%) were victimized on Saturdays.

TABLE 10.2  
DAY OF OCCURRENCE IN TERMS  
OF SEX OF VICTIM

Day of occurrence	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
	Percentage		
Monday	3,3	7,5	4,4
Tuesday	3,6	8,3	4,7
Wednesday	7,6	7,5	7,6
Thursday	8,6	8,3	8,5
Friday	37,3	35,3	36,8
Saturday	30,5	24,1	28,8
Sunday	9,1	9,0	9,1
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0
N	394	133	527

In response to the question as to what time of the day or night the particular crime had taken place, the largest single percentage of the victims (43,5%) reported "early in the evening" (Table 10.3). Twenty-three comma seven per cent of the

crimes were committed late at night and 14,2 per cent in the late afternoon. Relatively small percentages of the crimes occurred early in the morning (8,0%) and during the day (10,6%). The fact that 81,4 per cent of the crimes were committed in the late afternoon, early in the evening or late at night shows that the victimization risk during these times is very high.

This finding supports the notion contained in proposition I of the theoretical model proposed by Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978) namely that personal victimizations occur disproportionately at night. This proposition, which also refers to the place of occurrence will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Hindelang (1976) found that 48 per cent of the personal incidents in the eight American cities occurred during daylight hours (06h00 - 18h00) and 40 per cent between 18h00 and midnight. He points out that while the percentages of personal incidents falling into these two time periods are more or less similar: "... it must be noted that since the first time period contains twice as many hours as the second time period, the number of incidents per hour during the second time period is almost twice that of the number of incidents per hour during the first time period" (p. 205).

The study by Strijdom and Schurink (1977) among victims of primary victimization in Soweto showed that 84,1 per cent of the victimizations were committed in the late afternoon, early evening or late at night.

TABLE 10.3

TIME OF OCCURRENCE IN TERMS OF TYPE OF VICTIMIZATION

Time of occurrence	Type of victimization					Total
	Robbery	Common assault	Aggravated assault	Rape and attempted rape	Theft	
	Percentage					
Early in the morning	8,6	5,3	4,5	4,8	19,0	8,0
During the day	10,0	15,8	9,8	4,8	13,1	10,6
In the late afternoon	17,9	15,8	13,9	4,8	10,7	14,2
Early in the evening	46,4	50,0	49,6	52,4	15,5	43,5
Late at night	17,1	13,2	22,1	33,3	41,7	23,7
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
N	140	38	244	21	84	527

Studies of robbery, assault and rape with the use of police data also demonstrate that the likelihood of these crimes occurring is not uniformly distributed by time. With regard to robbery in Philadelphia, Normandeau (1968) found that 38 per cent of the robberies covered in his study were committed in the six hours from 20h00 to 02h00. The President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia (1966) also found that robbery occurs disproportionately early in the evening and late at night.

With regard to assault, the studies by Pittman and Handy (1964), Pokorny (1965b) and the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia (1966) suggest that the majority of assaults occur during the six hours from 18h00 to 24h00.

With regard to rape, Mac Donald (1971) found that 53 per cent of the rapes reported in Denver were committed during the six hours between 22h00 and 04h00. The study by Amir (1971) showed that nearly 50 per cent of the rapes reported to the police in Philadelphia occurred between 20h00 and 02h00. According to the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia (1966) almost 60 per cent of the reported rapes took place between 18h00 and 03h00.

These studies based on official data, therefore clearly show that the risk of being robbed, assaulted or raped is the highest early in the evening or late at night.

Table 10.3 contains a breakdown of the time of occurrence in terms of the type of victimization. It shows that as against 64,3 per cent of the cases of robbery, 65,8 per cent of the cases of common assault, 63,5 per cent of the cases of aggravated assault, and 57,2 per cent of the cases of rape and attempted rape, only 26,2 per cent of the cases of theft occurred in the late afternoon or early in the evening. It appears, therefore, that there were proportionately many more cases of face-to-face primary victimization than of non-face-to-face primary victimization at those times when there is a high degree of physical interaction among inhabitants of the diffe-

rent residential areas. One should bear in mind in this respect that many economically active Coloureds return home from work in the late afternoon or early evening.

Differentiation was also found by other researchers. Hindelang (1976), for example, came to the following conclusion: "... those incidents involving assaultive violence or force without injury were more often 'nighttime' incidents, while those incidents involving personal larceny were more often 'daytime' incidents" (p. 205). In respect of personal victimizations in Houston, it was found (US Department of Justice, 1977b) that more personal crimes of violence took place at night than during the day while most personal crimes of theft occurred during the day. The study by Braithwaite and Biles (1980) showed that robbery with violence, motor vehicle theft and assault occurred mostly at night (the percentage in respect of robbery is as high as 83, for example) while breaking and entering, theft, rape and attempted rape and nuisance calls were more evenly distributed.

## CHAPTER 11

### PLACE OF OCCURRENCE

#### 11.1 INTRODUCTION

In terms of the theory of personal criminal victimization offered by Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978) victimizations occur disproportionately in particular places - the probability of suffering a personal victimization is directly related to the amount of time a person spends in public places. In this chapter attention will be focussed on the question of whether the data generated by the present victimization survey support the proposition formulated by these researchers in this regard.

#### 11.2 PLACE OF OCCURRENCE

The victims were asked to indicate where the particular victimization had occurred. Several possible places were mentioned in the questionnaire and during the interview the fieldworker had to mark the appropriate place on the questionnaire. For the purposes of comparison, some of the categories suggested by Hindelang (1976) will be used, because the findings of this study were utilized by Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978) in their theory of personal criminal victimization.

According to Table 11.1, by far the largest single percentage of victimizations (58,2%) occurred in outside public places, namely on the street (50,8%), in a park or an open (vacant) space for example between different residential areas or between a station and a residential area (7,4%). Twenty-nine comma four per cent of the victimizations took place in a private home, 3,6 per cent at a station or a bus stop, 2,1 per cent in a public conveyance (bus, train or taxi), 3,2 per cent at a shop or business centre while the remaining 3,4 per cent of the victimizations occurred elsewhere.

This finding that almost 60 per cent of the victimizations occurred in outside public places, together with the finding in the previous chapter that more than two-thirds of the victimizations (67,2%) took place at night (early in the evening or late at night) would seem to support proposition I. of the theoretical model postulated by Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978). This proposition reads as follows: "The probability of suffering a personal victimization is directly related to the amount of time that a person spends in public places (eg. on the street, in parks, etc.), and particularly in public places at night" (p. 251). The life-styles of the victims involved in the present study were not determined, however, and it is possible that some of the persons who were victimized in a public place at night, for example on the street early in the evening, were merely passing on their way home from work or from the nearest cafe, and were not actually spending time there as in the case of a person who is continually loitering in the streets at night. Therefore, in the absence of information on the life-styles of the victims, the data generated by the present study cannot be used to test this particular proposition.

Hindelang (1976) found that personal incidents in the eight American cities occurred far more frequently in outside public places (streets, parks, school grounds or fields) than in any other location such as inside a home, near a home or inside a non-residential building - 58 per cent of the total number of personal incidents took place in outside public places. As he puts it: "In fact, for each subcategory of personal incidents shown, the place of occurrence was more likely to be such a public place than all other categories combined" (p. 205). The next most likely place of occurrence was inside a non-residential building such as a store, office or factory or in a public conveyance - 12 per cent of the total number of personal incidents occurred in places falling into this category. About one-tenth of the victimizations occurred in the home of the victim.

TABLE 11.1

## PLACE OF OCCURRENCE IN TERMS OF TYPE OF VICTIMIZATION

Place of occurrence	Type of victimization					Total
	Robbery	Common assault	Aggravated assault	Rape and attempted rape	Theft	
	Percentage					
In a home	20,0	23,7	21,7	33,3	69,0	29,4
On the street	56,4	50,0	63,1	19,1	14,3	50,8
At a station/bus stop	5,0	5,3	3,3	9,5	-	3,6
In a bus	2,1	-	0,4	-	-	0,8
In a train	2,9	-	0,4	-	1,2	1,2
In a taxi	-	-	-	4,8	-	0,1
In an open space	7,1	10,5	6,6	28,6	3,6	7,4
At a shop or business centre	3,6	10,5	2,5	-	2,4	3,2
Some other place	2,9	-	2,0	4,8	9,5	3,4
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
N	140	38	244	21	84	527

Data uncovered by the National Crime Survey in the United States (Dodge, Lentzner and Shenk, 1976) show that by far the largest proportion (48 per cent) of three kinds of violent crimes, namely rape, assault and robbery occurred on the streets and in parks, playgrounds, school grounds and parking lots, in other words in outside public places. Fourteen per cent took place in non-residential buildings and 11 per cent inside the home.

According to a victimization survey conducted in San Fransisco by the US Department of Justice (1977a), 55 per cent of all personal crimes occurred in the outside public places already mentioned, 26 per cent inside non-residential buildings, six per cent inside or near the home of the person and 13 per cent elsewhere.

With regard to South Africa, Strijdom and Schurink (1977) found that by far the largest single percentage of victimizations among Blacks in Soweto (56,7%) occurred in outside public places, namely on the street (45,8%) and in an open space (10,9%).

According to the results of these victimization surveys - including the present one - the most likely place for a victimization to occur is therefore an outside public place. Official crime statistics are, however, also a source of information. Could these statistics not perhaps throw light on the question as to whether there are indeed high-risk places? The findings of a few studies based on official statistics will therefore subsequently be considered. With regard to robbery, it was found by inter alios the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia (1966), Normandeau (1968) and Mulvihill, Tumin and Curtis (1969) that by far the greatest proportion of robbery incidents recorded in police files took place on the street. In the case of assault similar findings have been reported by Pitman and Handy (1964) and Mulvihill, Tumin and Curtis (1969) for example, although public places as the location of a crime are

less dominant than in the case of robbery.

Table 11.1 also contains a breakdown of the place of occurrence in terms of the type of victimization. Differentiation is found, for example, as much as 69,0 per cent of the thefts as opposed to 20,0 per cent of the cases of robbery, 23,7 per cent of the common assaults, 21,7 per cent of the aggravated assaults and 33,3 per cent of the cases of rape and attempted rape took place in a private home, probably because a private home offers greater opportunity for theft. It would therefore seem that non-face-to-face primary victimization is more likely to occur in a private home than face-to-face primary victimization. The results in Table 11.1 also show that relatively more cases of robbery, common assault and aggravated assault than of rape and attempted rape and theft took place on the street.

Differentiation was also encountered by other researchers. Dodge, Lentzner and Shenk (1976), for example, found that rape occurred proportionately more often in the home than robbery or assault. Braithwaite and Biles (1980) found that while the majority of cases of rape and theft took place inside or near the home, the majority of cases of assault and robbery occurred in public places.

In Table 11.2 the place of occurrence is analyzed in terms of the sex of the victim. It is clear that proportionately more males than females were victimized on the street. A much larger percentage of females than males, on the other hand - 55,5 compared with 20,5 per cent - were victimized in a home. The reason for this difference is probably that proportionately more females than males - 39,9 as opposed to 13,2 per cent - were victims of theft and rape and attempted rape<sup>+</sup> and Table 11.1 has already revealed that these victimizations, especially theft, occurred more often in a private home than elsewhere.

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<sup>+</sup>Only females were victims of rape and attempted rape.

TABLE 11.2

PLACE OF OCCURRENCE IN TERMS OF SEX OF VICTIM

Place of occurrence	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
	Percentage		
In a home	20,5	55,5	29,4
On the street	58,8	27,1	50,8
At a station/bus stop	4,1	2,3	3,6
In a bus	0,8	0,8	0,8
In a train	1,3	0,8	1,2
In a taxi	-	0,8	0,1
In an open space	7,4	7,5	7,4
At a shop or business centre	3,6	2,3	3,2
Some other place	3,6	3,0	3,4
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0
N	394	133	527

## CHAPTER 12

### CONSEQUENCES OF CRIME FOR THE VICTIM

#### 12.1 INTRODUCTION

Crime harms the offender physically and mentally with a resultant loss of happiness, self-respect, idealism and labour potential. The dependants of the offender, especially the spouse and children, are in many cases plunged into misery.

Crime also causes considerable damage to the victim. Smale (1980) conducted a study dealing with the physical, financial, psychic and social effects of serious violent and economic crimes on victims. In order to determine the psychosocial impact of crime, 20 questions were put to the victims. For each question the victims had to indicate the frequency/intensity/duration of the particular consequence. It was found that all the victims had suffered psychosocial losses and that more than half of them had indicated the most serious category (quite often/quite strong/of quite long duration) at least once.

By means of factor analysis the 20 consequences were reduced to five main types. Factor I may be termed psychosomatic consequences such as difficulty in sleeping and the use of tranquillizers. Factor II refers to fear of repetition and fear of revenge and Factor III to feelings of insecurity. Factor IV may be termed decreased trust in unknown persons and the last factor refers to feelings of guilt.

Smale (1980) also found that violent crimes had more psychosocial consequences than economic crimes.

In the present study, however, attention is not focussed on the psychosocial consequences but on those consequences that can be measured more easily, namely physical injuries sustained, financial loss and loss of workdays. This chapter also contains a short discussion of victim compensation.

## 12.2 PHYSICAL INJURIES

The 527 respondents were asked whether they had sustained any physical injuries during the particular victimization and if so, to describe the kind of injuries. The extent of the injuries suffered is reflected in Table 12.1. Two-fifths of the victims (40,8%) did not suffer any injuries. Twenty one comma six per cent substained minor injuries which did not require medical treatment. More than a quarter (27,9%) suffered major injuries to such an extent that they had to receive treatment as out-patients in a hospital or at a doctor's surgery. The remaining 9,7 per cent were so badly injured that they had to be hospitalized.

The fact that 60 per cent of the victims suffered injuries of some kind and that just under 40 per cent sustained major injuries, shows clearly how serious the physical consequences of victimizations among Coloureds in the Cape Peninsula are. Data uncovered by victimization surveys conducted in eight American cities showed that 25 per cent of the victims of personal crime (rape, robbery, aggravated assault and larceny) sustained some form of injury (Gottfredson and Hindelang, 1976).

Table 12.1 also contains a breakdown of the nature of the physical injuries in terms of the type of victimization. The data shows - as can be expected - that considerably more of the victims of aggravated assault (65,6%) and rape and attempted rape (85,7%) as opposed to the other types of victimization sustained major injuries.

## 12.3 LOSS OF WORKDAYS

The victims were subsequently asked to indicate the total number of days they had had to stay away from work as a result of injuries sustained during all the victimizations suffered by them during the reference period. A total number of 391 victims - 74,2 per cent of the 527 victims - were not injured or did not have to stay away from work or were not economically active at the time of the victimization(s). Fourteen per cent

were forced to stay away from work for one week or less, 5,7 per cent stayed away for two weeks while the remaining six per cent were absent from work for at least three weeks.

More than 80 per cent of those victims who were forced to stay away from work were males. It may be assumed that a considerable percentage of these males were married with dependants and that their compulsory absence from work did therefore not only harm the victims financially but also their dependants.

TABLE 12.1

NATURE OF PHYSICAL INJURIES IN TERMS OF TYPE OF VICTIMIZATION

Nature of injuries	Type of victimization					Total
	Robbery	Common assault	Aggravated assault	Rape and attempted rape	Theft	
	Percentage					
No injuries	54,3	60,5	13,1	-	100,0	40,8
Minor injuries - no medical treatment required	35,0	26,3	21,3	14,3	-	21,6
Major injuries - treated as out-patient in hospital or at doctor's surgery	10,7	13,2	45,9	71,4	-	27,9
Major injuries - had to be hospitalized	-	-	19,7	14,3	-	9,7
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
N	140	38	244	21	84	527

#### 12.4 FINANCIAL LOSSES

Finally, the respondents were asked about the total value of the financial losses suffered by them as a result of victimization during the period under discussion. In a previous chapter it was revealed that 287 cases of robbery and 221 cases of theft were committed against the victims during the reference period. Respondents who suffered multiple victimizations had to consider all the different incidents. Just over half of the 527 victims (55,6%) did not suffer any financial losses. Eleven comma four per cent stated that the total amount was less than R20, and 10,2 per cent indicated that it was between R20 and R39. For 10,3 per cent of the victims the total value of the goods lost through theft and/or robbery was between R40 and R79. Twelve comma five per cent of the victims stated that the total value was at least R80.

The fact that 44 per cent of the victims suffered financial losses as a result of robberies and/or thefts committed against them and that these losses were substantial (at least R40) in the case of 23 per cent of the 527 victims, confirms that crime among the Coloured population of the Cape Peninsula undoubtedly has serious financial consequences.

#### 12.5 VICTIM COMPENSATION

Victim compensation may be described as state reimbursement of the victim of a violent crime for injuries sustained. According to Lamborn (1976), the idea of government compensation of victims of crime may have its origins in the Code of Hammurabi.

Doerner (1979) confirms that victim compensation is indeed an ancient concept - compensation remedies existed centuries ago in ancient Greece and Rome, Teutonic Germany and Saxon England, for example. It was not until the mid-1960s, however, that comprehensive programmes for the victims of crime were established. Margery Fry, the English reformer, is generally

regarded as the initiator of those programmes. In 1957 she published an article entitled "Justice for victims" in The Observer. She expressed concern about the inadequacy of traditional remedies for crime victims and stressed that victim compensation should be seen as part of an enlightened social policy as is the case with workers' compensation programmes. This article sparked a lively parliamentary debate in England. As a result of Margery Fry's interest and efforts the first modern victim compensation statute was approved in 1963 by New Zealand, Great Britain following suite in 1964 (Doerner and Silverman, 1981). Nowadays victim compensation programmes are also in operation in all Canadian provinces and 31 states in the USA (Doerner and Silverman, 1981) as well as in other geographical areas such as certain jurisdictions in Australia and Scandinavia (Doerner, 1979).

According to Doerner and Silverman (1981) compensation in Canada is handled by either a separately established board, a provincial judge or part of the existing workman's compensation apparatus. Victims are compensated for the direct cost of physical injury, funeral expenses and wages lost as a result of disability or the victim's death while most provinces also provide pain-and-suffering payments and make provision for other incidental expenses. The majority of provinces set minimum and maximum limits on claims while all compensation boards can allocate payments either as a lump sum or in instalments.

Austern et al. (1980) state that in the USA only a very small percentage of those victims who are eligible for compensation do in fact apply. They add: "Whether this is because the victims are not aware of their eligibility or, having become aware, decide for some other reason not to apply - is unknown. Nor should we conclude that this failure to apply for compensation is necessarily anyone's fault. What is clear is that the awards in the aggregate would be substantially higher if everyone who is eligible applied for compensation" (p. 71).

In South Africa the Hon. Mr Justice V.G. Hiemstra (1975) advocated the idea of compensation some years ago. He ended his plea as follows: "The idea of compensation for the victim of crime is not impractical. It is a sound suggestion, which should not end here" (p. 264). However, a compensation programme has not yet materialized in this country.

## CHAPTER 13

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

#### 13.1 INTRODUCTION

In this final chapter the most important findings will be summarised, crime will be related to other social problems, perspectives on social problems among the Coloureds will be discussed and a particular approach to the study of primary victimization will be suggested at the end of the chapter.

#### 13.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Interviews were conducted with 527 persons, 10 years or older, who had been victims of at least one of the following five types of primary victimization during the preceding twelve months: robbery, common assault, aggravated assault, rape and attempted rape, and theft.

The total number of victimizations committed against the 527 victims was 1 251. The fact that the number of victimizations is higher than the number of victims can be ascribed to multiple victimization - 35,2 per cent of the victims were subject to multiple victimization. The type of victimization most often committed, was aggravated assault (31,4%). The types that were next most common, were common assault (24,3%) and robbery (23,8%). Respectively 18,2 and 2,3 per cent of cases of theft and rape (including attempted rape) were encountered.

According to the victimization rates which were calculated, males have a risk four times higher than females of being victimized.

Only 31,7 per cent of the 1 251 victimizations were reported to the police. Crime among Coloureds in the Cape Peninsula is, therefore, much more extensive and a much more serious problem than official statistics would suggest. The 308 victims who did not notify the police of all the victimizations suffered by them were asked what the main reason for this was. The

largest single percentage of these non-reporting victims (27,3%) stated that they were afraid of revenge, 19,2 per cent thought that the police would not be able to track down the offender(s), whereas 15,6 per cent did not want to become involved. Twelve comma three per cent did not consider the crime to be serious enough, 9,1 per cent thought that the police would not trouble to investigate the matter and 8,8 per cent thought that it was a private matter. Three comma two per cent advanced other reasons whereas 4,5 per cent could not supply any reason.

These reasons suggest that factors such as the following influence the decision of victims whether or not to notify the police: the victim's perception of the seriousness of the crime, the victim's perception of the police, and the victim-offender relationship (fear of revenge and "I thought it was a private matter").

Persons who were victimized only once during the reference period were asked to supply data in respect of that particular victimization and those who suffered more than one victimization were requested to furnish data pertaining to the last victimization. Ninety-three per cent of these victimizations were committed by males and this finding suggests that the male premise of subcultural theories of crime and delinquency is indeed valid. Multiple offenders were responsible for 61 per cent of these victimizations and it would appear that the group premise of subcultural theories of crime and delinquency is also valid. Almost 70 per cent of these victimizations were committed by a stranger/strangers while only 18 per cent involved a relative/relatives or a friend/friends.

The largest single percentage of the victimizations under discussion (36,8%) occurred on Fridays, a somewhat smaller percentage (28,8%) were committed on Saturdays, 9,1 per cent on Sundays and smaller percentages on each of the other days of the week. The largest single percentage of the victimizations (43,5%) took place early in the evening, 23,7 per cent

were committed late at night and 14,2 per cent in the late afternoon. Relatively small percentages of the victimizations occurred early in the morning (8,0%) and during the day (10,6%). The fact that 81 per cent of the victimizations were committed in the late afternoon, early in the evening or late at night shows that the victimization risk during these times is very high. Seventy-four per cent of the victimizations occurred from late Friday afternoon to late at night on Sunday and crime among Coloureds in the Cape Peninsula can, therefore, be typified as a weekend phenomenon.

The largest single percentage of the victimizations (58,2%) occurred in outside public places, for example on the street, in a park or an open (vacant) space, 29,4 per cent took place in a private home while the remaining 12,4 per cent occurred elsewhere such as at a station or a bus stop or at a shop. This finding that almost 60 per cent of the victimizations occurred in outside public places, together with the finding that 67 per cent took place at night (early in the evening or late at night) would seem to support proposition I of the theoretical model postulated by Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978). This proposition reads as follows: "The probability of suffering a personal victimization is directly related to the amount of time that a person spends in public places (eg. on the street, in parks, etc.) and particularly in public places at night". However, as the lifestyles of the victims were not determined, the data generated by the present study cannot be used to test this proposition.

Forty comma eight per cent of the victims did not sustain any physical injuries during the particular victimization, 21,6 per cent sustained minor injuries which did not require medical treatment. More than a quarter (27,9%) suffered major injuries to such an extent that they had to receive treatment as out-patients in a hospital or at a doctor's surgery. The remaining 9,7 per cent were so badly injured that they had to be hospitalized. The fact that 60 per cent of the victims suffered injuries of some kind and that a little less than

40 per cent sustained major injuries, clearly shows how serious the physical consequences of victimization among Coloureds in the Cape Peninsula are.

In respect of the total number of days victims had to stay away from work as a result of injuries sustained during all victimizations suffered during the reference period, it was found that almost three quarters (74,2%) were not injured or did not have to stay away from work or were not economically active at the time of the victimization(s). Fourteen per cent were forced to be absent from work for one week or less, 5,7 per cent stayed away for two weeks and the remaining 6 per cent were absent from work for at least three weeks.

Just over half of the 527 victims (55,6%) did not suffer any financial losses as a result of thefts and/or robberies. Eleven comma four per cent stated that the total amount lost was less than R20 and 10,2 per cent indicated that it was between R20 and R39. For 10,3 per cent of the victims the total value of the goods lost through theft and/or robbery was between R40 and R79. Twelve comma five per cent of the victims stated that the total value was at least R80.

The fact that 44 per cent of the victims suffered financial losses and that these losses were substantial (at least R40) in the case of 23 per cent of the 527 victims, confirms that crime among the particular population group undoubtedly has serious financial consequences.

### 13.3 VICTIMOLOGY AND THE PHENOMENON OF CRIME

In Chapter One it was argued that victimology should be seen in its context. It was stated that victimology is regarded as a branch of criminology and that the study of the victims of crime eventually contributes to our knowledge of the phenomenon of crime. What information has the present study revealed which supplements the existing knowledge of crime among the Coloureds, particularly in the Cape Peninsula? This study has shown that

1. a considerable percentage of the victims were subject to multiple victimization during the reference period;
2. males have a much higher risk than females of being victimized;
3. only a small percentage of serious crimes - mostly violent crimes - is reported to the police;
4. various factors influence the decision of victims whether or not to notify the police;
5. virtually all the victimizations were committed by males;
6. multiple offenders (including gangs) were responsible for a large percentage of these victimizations;
7. by far the largest percentage of these victimizations were committed by a stranger/strangers;
8. the victimization risk is very high in the late afternoon, early in the evening or late at night and victimization among Coloureds in the Cape Peninsula can be typified as a weekend phenomenon;
9. a large percentage of the victimizations occurred in outside public places;
10. considerable percentages of the victims sustained major injuries, were forced to stay away from work or suffered financial losses.

Virtually all the victimizations were committed in the Coloured areas where the victims were resident or while they were on their way to or from the particular areas and it is therefore safe to assume that practically all these victimizations may be laid at the door of Coloured offenders.

In Chapter One it was pointed out that the crime rates for Coloureds - adults as well as juvenile adults - for the period July 1969 to June 1970 are much higher than for any of the other population groups. The Department of Statistics did not publish crime statistics for a number of years. The publication of these statistics has now been resumed, but the publications contain no information in respect of the different population groups and it is therefore impossible to calculate recent crime rates for Coloureds. As crime rates normally do

not change drastically over a period of a decade, it may be assumed that the crime rate for Coloureds - based on reported crimes - is still very high in comparison with the other population groups. Bearing in mind that less than one third of the serious victimizations dealt with in this study and which were virtually all committed by Coloureds were in fact reported to the police, it becomes obvious that crime among Coloureds has assumed appalling proportions.

#### 13.4 PERSPECTIVES ON CRIME AND OTHER SOCIAL PROBLEMS AMONG COLOUREDS

Crime as a social problem must, however, not be viewed in isolation, and the immediate question now is what the situation is with regard to other social problems among the Coloured population. The Commission of Enquiry into Matters concerning the Coloured Population Group (1976) which was appointed by the State President, gives much attention in its report - commonly known as the Erika Theron report - to various social problems, some of which will be mentioned briefly.

With regard to crime, the Commission refers to the alarmingly high incidence of crime, including juvenile delinquency, among the Coloured population.

Illegitimacy is another social problem mentioned by the Commission - 43 per cent of all Coloured children born in 1970 were illegitimate compared to only 3 per cent in respect of Whites. According to the most recent data published by the Department of Statistics (1981), the illegitimacy rate for Coloureds, calculated per 1 000 live births, was as much as 509,6 in 1980. (The corresponding rates for Whites and Indians were 46,0 and 124,5 respectively. No information is available for Blacks.) In other words, almost 51 per cent of all Coloured children born in 1980 were illegitimate. The Commission points out that a considerable percentage - more or less 20 per cent - of the illegitimate births in 1970 were in fact not illegitimate as these births took place in respect of Coloureds who were living together as husband and wife in a

relatively stable relationship, although not officially married. However, de Kock (1980) who studied illegitimacy among Coloureds in the Cape Peninsula found that in respect of only 9 per cent of a group of Coloured children born in the Cape Town Municipal area during July 1976 were the parents cohabitating.

The Commission (1976) also refers to the disrupted family life of the Coloureds. Welfare and church bodies testified that in respect of many Coloured families the family ties are extremely loose, the discipline is poor and the parents show no or very little responsibility in caring for their children. On the other hand, the Commission was deeply impressed by the many Coloured parents who succeed in creating a happy marriage and family life, often under difficult conditions.

The misuse of liquor as a serious social problem was mentioned by many witnesses. Alcoholism occurs among all levels of the Coloured population but especially Coloured men of the lower income groups tend to misuse liquor excessively and to smoke dagga (marijuana).

Witnesses, especially employers and welfare workers, made mention of the incidence of work-shyness among the Coloured population.

In view of the incidence of these social problems the Commission is of the opinion that many of the Coloureds in the lowest social class - it was estimated that about 40 per cent of the Coloureds fall into this category - live in a condition of chronic community poverty. They are not only poor people in the sense that they have little material possessions and a low income, but because this poverty has already left its imprint on their lifestyle and attitude they are in fact also poverty people.

The Commission (1976) states that the fact that the lowest social class is not capable of the success achievements in terms of the norms and standards of the larger community, has in all probability given rise to the development of a negative self-

image which often finds expression in aggressiveness and even criminal action against the privileged part of the population. The lowest group display a high degree of impulsiveness and they exercise little selfcontrol. Apparently they feel powerless against the normal course of events and reveal an inability and an unwillingness to influence or to change this course of events. They believe - and also have the experience - that it is useless to think about and plan and work for the future. They live only for today and are not worried about tomorrow. The persons in this group handle problems on an ad hoc and impulsive basis, from day to day and even from one moment to the next. They reveal a relative preparedness to become involved in physical violence, even under the slightest provocation.

Although it is not the purpose of this dissertation to go into the aetiology of chronic community poverty and its concomitant manifestations such as crime and illegitimacy in detail, it is nevertheless relevant to give attention to the different approaches to these phenomena.

#### The cultural approach

Oscar Lewis (1959, 1961 and 1964) presented the cultural approach with the formulation of the concept "culture of poverty". Prior to his formulation various writers, for example Henriques (1953) and Hyman (1953) had already pointed out that different classes have different value systems. The work by Lewis was supported by various writers such as Glazer and Moynihan (1963) and Ball (1968). Lewis (1964) describes the concept culture of poverty as follows: "... it has a structure, a rationale and defence mechanisms without which the poor could hardly carry on. In short, it is a way of life, remarkably stable and persistent, passed down from generation to generation along family lines. The culture of poverty has its own modalities and distinctive social and psychological consequences for its members. It is a dynamic factor which affects participation in the large national culture and becomes a subculture of its own" (p. 150).

According to Della Fave (1974) the basic premises of this approach are the following: " ... (1) there exists a set of values unique to the poor; (2) these values have arisen as a direct result of the experience of living in poverty; (3) the actual day-to-day behavior of the poor is heavily influenced by these values; (4) much of this behavior is deviant from the view of middle-class respectability; (5) much of this behavior is highly dysfunctional for the poor themselves in that it works against their rising up and out of poverty; (6) the values of the poor are passed on largely intact from one generation to the next; and (7) because of the self-perpetuating nature of their values, the poor will continually fail to take advantage of opportunities for upward mobility even if these were greatly expanded" (p. 610).

This approach has already been used to study phenomena such as poverty, crime and illegitimacy.

According to the Commission, the condition of chronic community poverty was already settled several generations ago in the Coloured community and it has since been transmitted and perpetuated by an internal process of socialization. The Commission concludes that there is a kind of closed circle according to which poverty and the poverty mentality are being transmitted from one generation to the next, and the disrupted family life plays an important role in this process (Terreblanche, 1977).

#### The structural approach

While the cultural approach submits that the different classes have different value systems, the contention of the structural approach is that this is indeed not the case and that the different classes in fact share a common value system. In the words of Merton (1968): "It is ... only because behavior is typically oriented toward the basic values of the society that we speak of a human aggregate as comprising a society. Unless there is a deposit of values shared by interacting individuals,

there exist social relations, if the disorderly interactions may be so called, but no society" (p.195 ). This difference between the two approaches has led to a fierce debate (see, for example, Valentine (1968) and Winter (1970)). The proponents of the structural approach such as Liebow (1967), Valentine (1968) and Rainwater (1970) place the emphasis on the structure of society and its substructures when studying phenomena like poverty, crime and illegitimacy. Goode (1961) for example used this approach in his study of illegitimacy.

Midgley (1975) utilized the structural approach in his study of crime and deviance among Coloureds in the Cape Peninsula. He states that the Coloureds are entirely Western in orientation and that they have internalized the success goals prescribed by the South African economy because of its capitalistic nature. However, the opportunities for the realization of these goals are not equally available because of the restrictive action of the polity. As a result of this disjunction of goals and means which represents an acute form of structural malintegration which in its turn produces conditions of anomie, high rates of crime and deviance may be expected among the Coloureds. Midgley (1975) concludes as follows: "Although the research indicates an association between the three components of the Mertonian model and suggests empirically that structural malintegration as described in anomie theory is causally relevant to the incidence of crime in the Cape Coloured community, it is necessary to treat these findings with some caution. The problem of measurement, data collection and sample size all place limitations on the study" (p. 35).

The Commission (1976) also deals with the structural factors and states that the relative unfavourable social position of the Coloured community is not of recent origin - already in the pioneer days of the small community at the Cape, people of mixed descent (the Coloureds<sup>+</sup>) were expected to know their

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<sup>+</sup>According to Cilliers (1975) the Coloureds derive from a process of biological and cultural amalgamation and assimilation over a period of more than 300 years between slaves of a heterogeneous origin, indigenous Hottentot and other Khoisan aboriginal elements, White Europeans and the indigenous Blacks.

"place" in life and this "place" was that of a proletariat with a modest standard of living. The Commission gives attention to structural factors such as:

1. The low educational level of the Coloureds. According to the 1970 Population Census, 23,5 per cent of all Coloureds, 6 years and older have not received any formal schooling compared with only 2,3 per cent of the White population.
2. The fact that in 1973 about 20 per cent of the economically active Coloured males were unemployed, semi-unemployed and underemployed. It was estimated that this percentage could rise to as much as 29 per cent during 1980.
3. The financial position of this population group. According to calculations, about a million Coloureds (38,3 per cent of the total population) belong to households which live below the Supplemented Living Level<sup>+</sup> in terms of income.
4. Poor and insufficient housing which is in the opinion of the Commission one of the most serious problems facing Coloured people. It is informative to note that in an opinion survey among urban Coloureds housing was rated as the most serious problem. The majority of Coloured people live in houses provided by the State in urban areas and townships. Thirty-nine per cent of the total number of urban families did not have adequate accommodation during 1975 and 46 per cent of this group lived in overcrowded conditions and another 40 per cent in slums. In 1975 the Department of Community Development estimated that there was, amongst the Coloured people, a shortage of 131 000 living units and that 336 000 urban Coloureds were in need of housing. However, the Commission took cognizance of the fact that extensive housing programmes that will wipe out the backlog - if suf-

<sup>+</sup>The Commission (1976) describes the SLL as follows: "The Supplemented Living Level makes provision for more items than the minimum living level. By present standards some of these items may be regarded as necessities and others as desirable amenities of life. The SLL is not a subsistence budget, nor is it a luxury budget. Perhaps it can best be described as an attempt at determining a modest low-level standard of living" (p. 49).

ficient funds are available - had already been launched by the Department of Community Development in collaboration with local authorities.

5. The lack of community facilities. In the majority of Coloured communities, there are, apart from one or more church buildings and schools, normally no facilities available where the community can relax and gather socially. The streets are normally untidy, there are no proper sidewalks, adequate street-lights are lacking and open spaces, earmarked for parks, are used for dumping rubbish. According to the Commission, most of these areas create a dismal impression.
6. The lack of effective participation in the political decision-making processes. When the limited bargaining power of the Coloured community is compared with the bargaining power of a large variety of well-organized, financially strong and completely institutionalized White pressure and interest groups, it is obvious that the Coloureds do not yet have sufficient political means and opportunities at their disposal to take the part of the Coloured community. The Commission states that in the present dispensation the Coloureds do not possess the necessary statutory and/or constitutional power or competence to maintain, to further or to enforce their own interests.

The Commission draws the conclusion that Coloureds are in an unfavourable position relative to the Whites as a result of these structural impediments: they are prevented from taking full part in the social and economic life and only have a limited say in the decision-making processes.

Another exponent of the structural approach is Cilliers (1975). He maintains that the high incidence of crime in the Coloured community can largely be explained in terms of their differentiated position in the economic, social and political structure of the South African society. He suggests that action such as the following should be taken when combating the high crime rate: A high rate of economic growth should be attained and maintained in order to deal with poverty more effectively, slum conditions

should be eliminated and adequate housing and public amenities and services such as street lighting, public transport and police protection should be provided, and a social and political order in which it will be possible for all members of society, irrespective of colour, to develop a sense of human worth and dignity, should be developed.

Grove (1973) who conducted a study into work-shyness among Coloured males in the Cape Peninsula refers to the marginal position of the Coloureds. According to Mann (1957) there are three prerequisites for the origin and development of a marginal position, namely:

1. There should be at least two groups of individuals that co-exist;
2. there should be definite advantages in belonging to one of these groups, viz. the so-called privileged group; and
3. there should be barriers which prevent passing into the privileged group.

In terms of these prerequisites it is clear that the Coloureds find themselves in a marginal position:

1. They co-exist with the Whites within the boundaries of the country;
2. the Whites are by far the more privileged group - it has already been pointed out that Coloureds are socio-economically and politically in an unfavourable position relative to the Whites - and belonging to the White population group is no doubt advantageous;
3. Coloureds are, however, by law prevented from passing into the privileged White group.

Mann (1957) remarks as follows on the marginality of the Coloureds: "If a marginal position is defined as non-membership or incomplete membership of a co-existing privileged group into which entry is barred, then the Coloureds can be said to be in a marginal position" (p. 40). Grove (1973) comes to a similar conclusion, namely: "... it would appear that the Coloured finds himself between two social substructures: one to which he formally be-

longs, but rejects (the Coloured group); the other which forms his own reference group but in whose ranks he is not accepted (the Whites). ... there is not doubt that the Coloureds of South Africa are in a marginal position" (p. 27). Grove (1973) adds that a marginal position is probably the most frustrating and excruciating position imaginable and that the marginal position of the Coloureds creates a climate that is conducive to nonconformist behaviour - work-shyness in his study, but it may well be applied to the other forms of deviance such as crime, alcoholism and illegitimacy.

Cilliers (1975) as well as the Commission (1976) also make mention of the marginality of the Coloureds.

#### The synthesis approach

The Commission (1976) is, however, of the opinion that both the cultural approach and the structural approach are one-sided as well as extreme and is in favour of an approach which points to the interaction between the cultural and the structural factors. The author endorses this view and submits that an approach which takes cognizance of both the cultural and the structural factors is much more comprehensive and complete.

The most well-known exponent of the synthesis approach is Rodman (1961, 1963, 1965, 1966, 1968a, 1968b, and 1971). In criticizing the structural approach as well as the cultural approach Rodman (1963) remarks as follows: "Those who hold that the basic values of the society are common to all classes are correct, because the members of the lower class do share these values with other members of society. Similarly, those who hold that the values differ from class to class are also correct, because the members of the lower class share values unique to themselves, in addition to sharing the general values of the society with others. The theories are both correct, both incomplete, and complementary to one another" (p. 210).

Rodman (1966) tries to bridge some of the contradictions between these two approaches by means of the concept of value stretch which he describes as follows: "By the value stretch I mean that the lower-class person, without abandoning the general values of the society, develops an alternative set of values. Without abandoning the values of marriage and legitimate childbirth he stretches these values so that a non-legal union and legally illegitimate children are also desirable. The result is that members of the lower class, in many areas, have a wider range of values than others within the society. They share the general values of the society with members of other classes, but in addition they have stretched these values, or developed alternative values, which help them to adjust to their deprived circumstances" (pp. 678-679).

Rodman used this synthesis approach in his studies of illegitimacy, especially in the Caribbean, and De Kock (1980) utilized it in his study of illegitimacy among Coloureds in the Cape Peninsula. De Kock (1980) found, inter alia, that although approximately 86 per cent of the respondents (303 unwed mothers) accept only marriage as normative, the values and norms of legitimacy are poorly institutionalized and internalized and hence poorly sanctioned, so that value stretch was identified in the case of approximately 14 per cent of the respondents.

The Commission remarks that the stretched or even alternative values make it easier for the lowest group in the Coloured community to adjust themselves to their unfavourable conditions. When this group avail themselves of these values, it means that the social sanctions in respect of, for example, crime and sexual licentiousness become blunted and that this kind of behaviour is accepted with understanding tolerance and even silently approved, but seldom explicitly justified.

From the preceding discussion it is obvious that cultural factors as well as structural factors should be borne in mind when dealing with social problems such as crime, illegi-

timacy and alcoholism among the Coloureds. An approach which emphasises the structural factors while excluding the cultural factors, or vice versa, is most decidedly one-sided and incomplete. The synthesis approach which takes cognizance of both the cultural and the structural factors is much more comprehensive and should, therefore, be seriously considered when studying social problems among this particular population group.

### 13.5 FEAR OF CRIME

If the findings of the present study are borne in mind, for example that considerable percentages of the victims sustained major injuries, were forced to be absent from work or suffered financial losses, as well as the inference that crime among Coloureds has assumed appalling proportions, then one would expect the inhabitants of the Coloured residential areas in the Cape Peninsula to show a considerable degree of fear of crime. Several researchers have found that this is indeed the case. The responses to item 2: "I can walk around in the streets late at night" and item 8: "I am afraid of these gangs" - both used by Bloch (1975a and 1975b) - clearly show that Coloured residents of the Cape Peninsula are afraid of crime and gangs. For example, more than 70 per cent of the respondents in her study indicated that they were afraid of gangs operating in the areas where the respondents were resident.

Schurink (1977a) questioned Coloureds in the Cape Peninsula about the probability of being assaulted, robbed, raped or threatened or stabbed with a knife during the next 12 months. The results indicate that 82 per cent of the respondents thought that this was probable or highly probable. He concludes that Coloureds in the Cape Peninsula manifest a considerable degree of fear of crime. Slabbert (1981) asked families in Peninsula townships about fear in those townships. Twenty-two comma five per cent indicated gang activity as main fear factor, while 46,5 per cent indicated a combination of

factors, for example, fear of getting injured or robbed as well as fear of gang activity. A total of 69 per cent of the families, therefore, feared crime.

At this stage it is fitting to note that according to Garofalo (1979) fear of crime is, however, not simply a function of the risk of being victimized, in other words the incidence of crime. He adds another four determinants, namely:

1. The actual experiences with victimization;
2. the content of the socialization processes connected with particular social roles - one would expect females and older people to express more fear than males and younger people;
3. the content of media presentations about crime and victimization; and
4. the perceived effectiveness of official barriers that are placed between potential offenders and victims, in other words the police.

The study by Garofalo (1979) also showed that fear of crime results in limiting one's behaviour - as much as 73 per cent of the respondents who felt very unsafe being out alone in the particular neighbourhood at night and who were, therefore, very fearful of crime, said that they had limited or changed their activities because of crime. This finding leads to the conclusion that fear of crime has a negative effect on the quality of life of people. In this respect Garofalo (1979) aptly remarks as follows: "Policies directed specifically at the fear of crime would seem to be justifiable simply in terms of improving the quality of life, especially for segments of the population such as the elderly" (p. 96).

#### 13.6 RELEVANCE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

In Chapter One it was argued that victimological research must be methodologically relevant, theoretically relevant and must

also have societal relevance. It is submitted that these requirements have been met in this study. The present research is methodologically relevant as the victimization survey which was used, uncovered a large number of victimizations which were not reported to the police, thereby providing a much more complete picture of the extent of crime. In respect of the theoretical relevance, the data provided by the victims enabled the researcher to test the validity of the group premise as well as the male premise of subcultural theories of crime and delinquency. Data about the life-styles of the victims were not gathered as the life-style/exposure model of personal criminal victimization was proposed by Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo only after the present study had been designed. It was, therefore, unfortunately not possible to test the validity of some of the propositions of this theoretical model. The fact that data were also obtained and analysed on aspects such as the time of occurrence, the place of occurrence and the consequences of the victimizations proves that this research also has societal relevance.

### 13.7 PRIMARY VICTIMIZATION - A MULTIVARIATE APPROACH

In the previous chapters the variables were dealt with separately. However, there is reason to believe that the three components of primary victimization, namely the victim, the offender and the victimization event cannot be regarded as three separate independent entities and that the variables in respect of each of these components are in fact interrelated. Multivariate analyses enable the researcher to determine these interrelationships and it was decided to apply the CHAID computer programme which was described in Chapter Five to the data generated by the present study.

The following variables were used:

1. Age of the victim
2. Sex of the victim
3. Physical injuries sustained by the victim

4. Extent of reporting of victimizations
5. Reasons for non-reporting
6. Victim-offender relationship
7. Number of offenders
8. Sex of offender
9. Type of victimization
10. Place of occurrence
11. Time of occurrence

Three CHAID analyses will subsequently be discussed to illustrate the interrelationships between the different variables. In the first analysis the nature of physical injury sustained by the victim (an attribute of the victim) is the dependent variable.

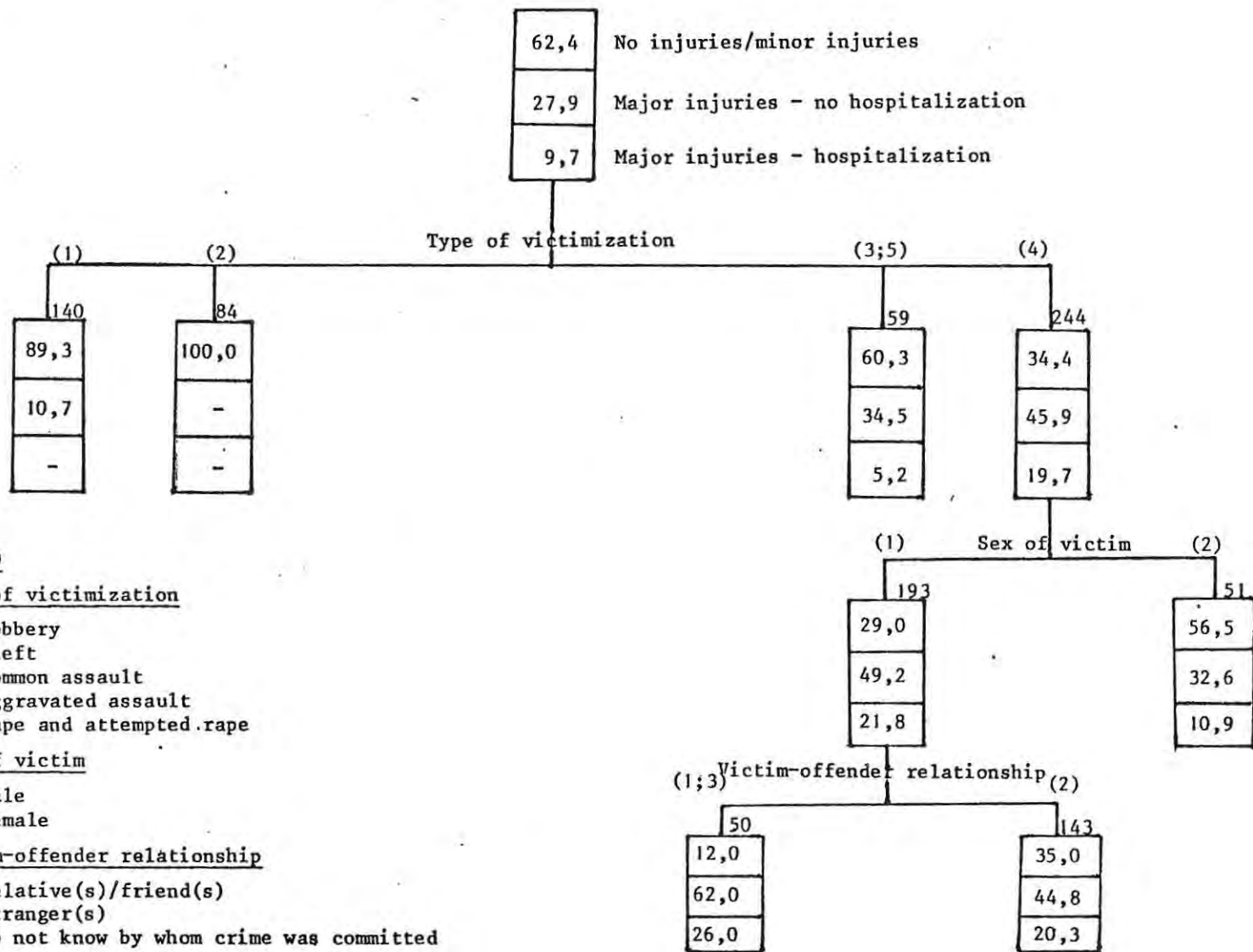
According to the dendrogram (Figure 13.1) the type of victimization is the most important predictor, in other words, the type of victimization explains more of the variation in the dependent variable than any of the remaining 9 variables<sup>+</sup>. Although type of victimization consists of five categories, the CHAID programme combined categories 3 and 5 since they form a more or less homogeneous group in respect of this particular dependent variable. The four classes or groups in respect of type of victimization, namely (1), (2), (3;5) and (4) differ statistically significantly from each other. No further predictions are possible in respect of groups (1), (2) and (3;5) but with regard to group (4) - aggravated assault - the sex of the victim is most predictive. No further prediction is possible in respect of group (2) - females who were victims of aggravated assault - but with regard to group (1) - males - the victim-offender relationship was indicated as the most important predictor. In other words, in respect of the subgroup males who were victims of aggravated assault, the victim-offender relationship is the most predictive of the nature of physical injuries.

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<sup>+</sup>In Chapter 12 the type of victimization was selected as independent variable when analysing the nature of physical injuries (Table 12.1) as the researcher believed that the nature of the injuries could, to a certain extent at least, be explained in terms of the type of victimization.

FIGURE 13.1

NATURE OF PHYSICAL INJURIES



LEGEND

Type of victimization

1. Robbery
2. Theft
3. Common assault
4. Aggravated assault
5. Rape and attempted rape

Sex of victim

1. Male
2. Female

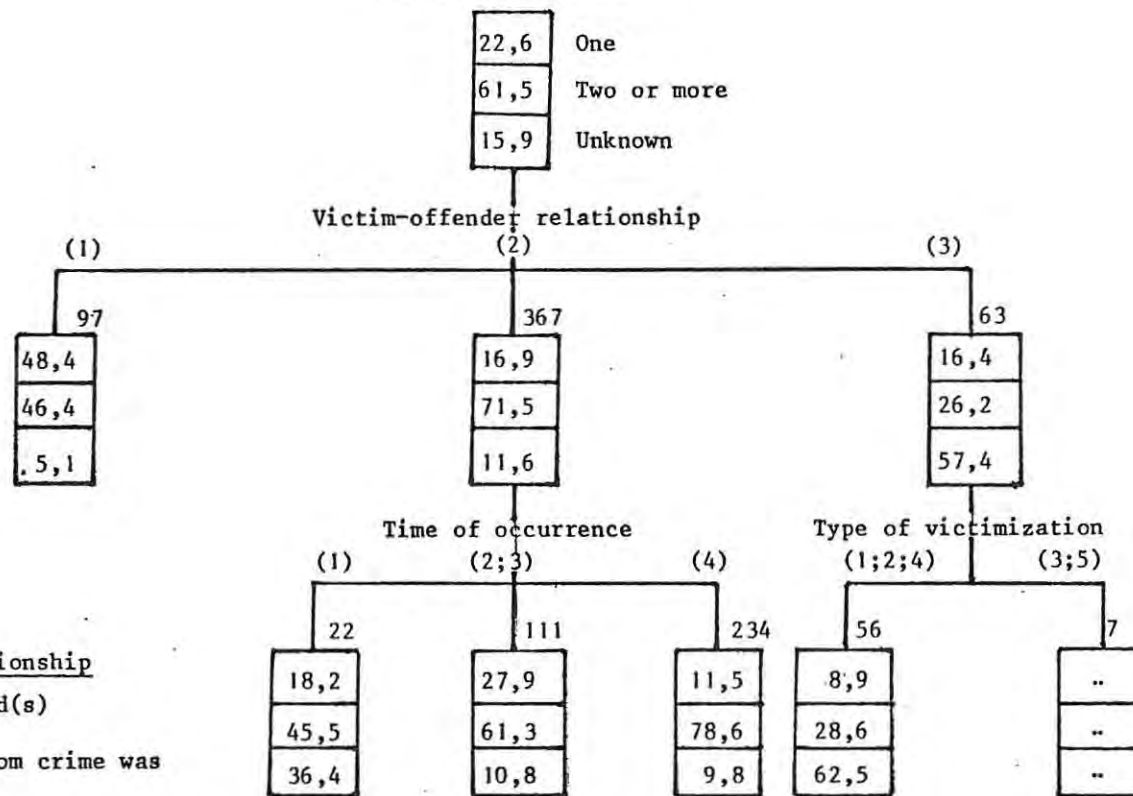
Victim-offender relationship

1. Relative(s)/friend(s)
2. Stranger(s)
3. Do not know by whom crime was committed

In the second analysis the number of offenders (an attribute of the offender) is the dependent variable. The dendrogram presented in Figure 13.2 shows that the victim-offender relationship is the most important predictor and that the three classes differ statistically significantly from each other. With regard to group (1) - relative(s)/friend(s) - none of the remaining predictors can make a statistically significant contribution and thus this branch of the dendrogram terminates. In respect of group (2) - stranger(s) - the CHAID analysis indicated the time of occurrence as the best predictor. It will be noticed that in this respect categories 2 and 3 were combined to form a more or less homogeneous group or class. The three groups, namely (1), (2;3) and (4) differ statistically significantly from each other in respect of the way in which each explains the variation in the dependent variable. With regard to group (3) of victim - offender relationship - "do not know by whom crime was committed" - the type of victimization is the best predictor. In this case the two groups are (1;2;4) and (3;5) but percentages could not be calculated in respect of the second group as N 15.

The time of occurrence (an attribute of the event) is the dependent variable in the third analysis and Figure 13.3 presents the dendrogram. Place of occurrence explains more of the variation in the dependent variable than any of the other variables and is, therefore, the most important predictor. With regard to group (2) - a private house - no further prediction is possible and consequently this branch of the dendrogram terminates. In respect of group (1;3) the sex of the offender is most predictive. At this level, group (3) cannot be analysed any further as this group contains less than 50 cases. In respect of group (1;2) the number of offenders is the best predictor and it can be seen that there are two groups, namely (1;3) and (2) which differ statistically significantly.

FIGURE 13.2  
NUMBER OF OFFENDERS



LEGEND

Victim-offender relationship

1. Relative(s)/friend(s)
2. Stranger(s)
3. Do not know by whom crime was committed

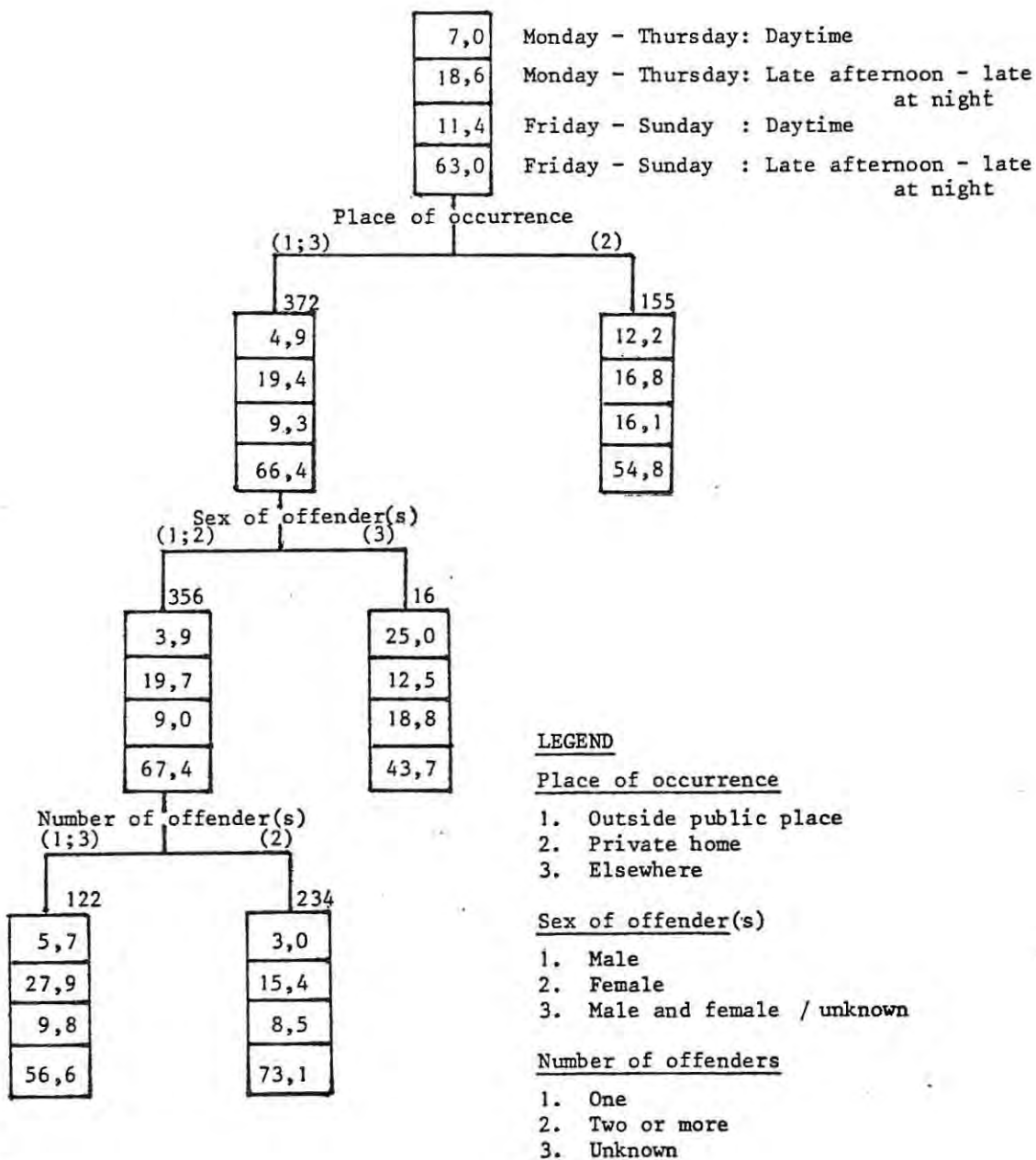
Time of occurrence

1. Monday - Thursday: Daytime
2. Monday - Thursday: Late afternoon - late at night
3. Friday - Sunday: Daytime
4. Friday - Sunday: Late afternoon - late at night

Type of victimization

1. Robbery
2. Theft
3. Common assault
4. Aggravated assault
5. Rape and attempted rape

**FIGURE 13.3**  
**TIME OF OCCURRENCE**



These three dendrograms clearly show how interrelated the different variables are and they suggest that victimization is indeed a very complex system. Cognizance of the outcome of the CHAID analyses should be taken by social scientists, especially when designing research and constructing theories. If CHAID analyses based on data generated by various studies show that certain variables do not figure as predictors then the researcher should seriously consider whether it is at all relevant to include these variables in the questionnaire. With regard to the second aspect, namely the construction of theories, it must be remembered, as was stated in Chapter One, that theories explain phenomena in terms of certain variables. When formulating propositions, researchers should bear in mind the outcome of the CHAID analyses with a view to selecting independent (explanatory) variables. In other words, if CHAID analyses based on different data sets show that independent variable A is the best predictor of dependent variable Y, then the researcher has sufficient reason to use variable A as the explanatory variable in the proposition.

The present study is, however, of a very limited scope as only 527 victims belonging to a particular population group and resident in a certain geographical area were involved and only a limited number of variables were included. It is suggested that future research should, among other things, include variables pertaining to the lifestyle of the victims in order to test the validity of the lifestyle/exposure model of personal victimization by means of multivariate analyses.

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