A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY INTO THE EFFECTS OF CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION BY ROBBERY ON COGNITIVE DIMENSIONALITY

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DONALD L. BLAZICEK

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This is to certify that the

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Donald L. Blazicek

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Peter K. Manning
Major professor

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ABSTRACT

A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY INTO THE EFFECTS OF CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION BY ROBBERY ON COGNITIVE DIMENSIONALITY

By

Donald L. Blazicek

This study investigated the relationship between on variable of cognitive complexity (cognitive dimensionality) and the participants (both offenders and victims) in the criminal offense of robbery. A total of 26 victims and 26 offenders selected from the records of the Detroit Recorder's Court and the Southern Michigan State Prison respectively were included in the analysis. The relationship was studied by comparing victim and offender responses which represented the victimization experience in cognitive space, as well as making within group comparisons. Also investigated was the relationship of the degree of cognitive dimensionality to select sociological background variables (age, race, sex, education, religion, income, and marital status).

Statistical analysis strongly supported the prediction that victims would be less dimensional then robbery offenders in representing the victimization experience in cognitive space. All sixteen measures of dimensionality confirmed victims to be

significantly less dimensional. Analysis of variance interaction effects were, however, found to be significant only on the ALPHA 55% factor analytic measure of dimensionality. These effects supported the hypothesis that victims would show a regression (i.e., react in a more cognitively simple manner) in representing the victimization experience in cognitive space when compared to a neutral cognitive domain of occupations.

Within group differences for both victims and offenders were not found to be statistically significant. Victims were categorized in terms of the robbery experience being perceived as a threat or crisis on three variables--crisis perception (CP), immediate psychophysical reaction (IPR), and post victimization emotion (PVE). The predicted inverse relationship of high threat or crisis perception and low cognitive dimensionality was not substantiated for each of these variables. Although not significant, the results did indicate trends supportive of previous research. The relationship of cognitive dimensionality to the offender's commitment to criminal behavior (CCB) and commitment to specific offense patterns (CSO) was found to be statistically non-significant.

Lapsed time since the victimization occurrence and the measure of cognitive dimensionality showed no significant effects for either victims or offenders. Furthermore, no regression effects in the victimization domain were found among victims, nor were offenders significantly more dimensional in that domain as a result of time.

Sociological background characteristics were shown to be generally unrelated to cognitive dimensionality. Sex of the victim was the only variable that showed consistent differences with females being more dimensional in both cognitive domains. The data provided significant regression effects in the victimization domain for victims' marital status. Offenders did not prove to be significantly more dimensional in that domain as compared to the neutral domain of occupations when classified by various background factors.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF TABLES vii

LIST OF FIGURES xi

LIST OF APPENDICES xii

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION 1

Background of the Research Problem 1
Theoretical Orientation of the Study 3
Statement of the Research Problem 6

II. OVERVIEW OF VICTIMOLOGICAL RESEARCH 9

Violent Personal Crimes 9
Property Crimes 21
Victim Surveys 25
Victim Precipitation 30
The Nonreporting Victim 34
The Focus of the Present Investigation 38

III. ACTORS AND ACTION: AN OVERVIEW OF THE ROBBERY EVENT . 40

Extent and Trend of Robbery 42
Legal and Behavioral Classification of Robbery . . 44
Perception of Opportunity 48
Victim Confrontation 50
Forced Compliance of the Victim 54
Violence Potential 57
Characteristics of Robbery Victims 61
Age, Race, and Sex Characteristics of Robbery Victims 62
Additional Social Characteristics of Robbery Victims 72
Characteristics of Robbery Offenders 76
Age, Race, and Sex Characteristics of Robbery Victims 77

Chapter Page

Victim Perception of Robbers 83
Past Arrest Histories of Robbers 85
Summary 87

IV. ROBBERY AND COGNITIVE DIMENSIONALITY 89

Theoretical Foundations 89
Conceptualization of Cognitive Dimensionality . . 91
Cognitive Dimensionality and the Robbery Event . . 97
The Robbery Victim 97
The Robbery Offender 99
The Measure of Cognitive Dimensionality 101
Summary 106

V. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGICAL ORIENTATION . . . 112

The Victim Sample 112
Locating the Contacting Victims 115
The Offender Sample 118
Data Collection 120
Specification of Variable Relationships 121
Operationalization of Variables and Statements of Hypotheses 123
Immediate Psychophysical Reaction 124
Post Victimization Emotion 124
The Robbery Offender 125
Commitment to Criminal Behavior 126
Commitment to Specific Offense Behavior 126
Supplemental Relationships 127
Data Analysis 129
Summary 130

VI. ANALYSIS OF RESULTS 132

Introduction 132
Victim--Victimizer Role Relationships 135
Victims: Crisis Perception and Victimization . . 141
Offenders: Commitment to Criminal Behavior and Specific Offense Behavior 144
Time Factors, Victimization, and Dimensionality . . 148
Supplemental Hypotheses 152
Sex and Cognitive Dimensionality 152
Race and Cognitive Dimensionality 155
Age and Cognitive Dimensionality 157
Educational Level and Cognitive Dimensionality . 163
Religion and Cognitive Dimensionality 168
Income and Cognitive Dimensionality 171
Marital Status and Cognitive Dimensionality . . 175
Summary 178

Chapter Page

VII. DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS . . . 184

Overview 184
Limitations 186
Discussion 190
Victims: Crisis Perception and Victimization . . 190
Offenders: Commitment to Criminal Behavior . . 193
Background Factors 195
Contributions of the Present Research 199
Implications for Victimology 199
Implications for Social Psychology 201
Methodological Considerations 203
Strategic Considerations for Future Research . . . 205
Conclusion 207

APPENDICES 209

BIBLIOGRAPHY 226

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.	Summary of Major Findings on Sex, Race, and Age of Offenders and Victims for Four Major Crimes . . .	14
2.	The Interpersonal Relationship between Victim and Offender, by Type of Crime, in Percent of Total . .	15
3.	The Place of Occurrence by Type of Crime in Percent of Total	17
4.	Motive of the Offender by Type of Crime in Percent of Total	19
5.	Means of Inflecting Injury by Type of Crime in Percent of Total	20
6.	Victims of Robbery, by Age, Race, and Sex, Detroit Study	63
7.	Victims of Robbery, by Race, as Noted in Different Studies	69
8.	Victims of Robbery, by Marital Status and Sex, as Noted in the Detroit Study and Syvrud	73
9.	Victims of Robbery, by Religion and Sex, as Noted in the Detroit Study and Syvrud	75
10.	Robbery Offenders, by Race and Age, Jackson Study . .	78
11.	Robbery Offenders, by Race, as Noted in Different Studies	80
12.	Intercorrelation Matrix of Cognitive Dimensionality Measures for Victims in the Victimization Domain . .	107
13.	Intercorrelation Matrix of Cognitive Dimensionality Measures for Victims in the Domain of Occupations .	108
14.	Intercorrelation Matrix of Cognitive Dimensionality Measures for Offenders in the Victimization Domain .	109

Table		Page
15.	Intercorrelation Matrix of Cognitive Dimensionality Measures for Offenders in the Domain of Occupations .	110
16.	Attrition Distribution of Detroit Robbery Victim Sample	116
17.	Attrition Distribution of Jackson Robbery Offender Sample	119
18.	Means and Standard Deviations for Victims and Offenders in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations for the Sixteen Dimensionality Measures	136
19.	Summary Results of the Two-Way Analysis of Variance for the Sixteen Measures of Cognitive Dimensionality	137
20.	Means, Standard Deviations, and t-test Results for Crisis Perception (CP), Immediate Psychophysical Reaction (IPR), and Post Victimization Emotion (PVE) Variables for Victims in the Victimization Domain	142
21.	Intercorrelation Matrix of Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures with Immediate Psychophysical Reaction (IPR), Post Victimization Emotion (PVE), and Crisis Perception (CP) Variables for Victims in the Victimization Domain	143
22.	Means, Standard Deviations, and t-test Results for Commitment to Criminal Behavior (CCB) for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures for Offenders in the Victimization Domain	145
23.	Means and Standard Deviations for Commitment to Specific Offenses (CSO) for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures for Offenders in the Victimization Domain	145
24.	Analysis of Variance Summary for Commitment to Specific Offenses (CSO) for Offenders in the Victimization Domain for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures	146
25.	Intercorrelation Matrix of Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures with Commitment to Criminal Behavior (CCB) and Commitment to Specific Offenses (CSO) Variables for Offenders in the Victimization Domain	146

Table | Page

26. Means and Standard Deviations for Victims by Lapsed Time for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations . 149

27. Analysis of Variance Summary for Victims by Lapsed Time in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures . 149

28. Means and Standard Deviations for Offenders by Lapsed Time for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations . 150

29. Analysis of Variance Summary for Offenders by Lapsed Time in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures . 150

30. Means, Standard Deviations, and t-test Results for Victims by Sex for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations 154

31. Means, Standard Deviations, and t-test Results for Victims and Offenders by Race for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations 156

32. Means and Standard Deviations for Victims by Age for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations 158

33. Means and Standard Deviations for Offenders by Age for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations . . . 159

34. Analysis of Variance Summary for Victims by Age in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures 160

35. Analysis of Variance Summary for Offenders by Age in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures . 161

36. Means and Standard Deviations for Victims by Educational Level for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations 164

37. Means and Standard Deviations for Offenders by Educational Level for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures

Table | Page

in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations 165

38. Analysis of Variance Summary for Victims by Educational Level in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures 166

39. Analysis of Variance Summary for Offenders by Educational Level in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures 167

40. Means and Standard Deviations for Victims by Religious Preference for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations 169

41. Analysis of Variance Summary for Victims by Religion in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures . 170

42. Means and Standard Deviations for Victims by Income for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations . . . 172

43. Analysis of Variance Summary for Victims by Income in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures . 173

44. Means and Standard Deviations for Victims by Marital Status for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations . 176

45. Analysis of Variance Summary for Victims by Marital Status in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures . 177

46. Intercorrelation Matrix of Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures with Sociological Background Variables for Victims in the Victimization Domain (V.D.) and the Domain of Occupations (O.D.) 180

47. Intercorrelation Matrix of Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures with Sociological Background Variables for Offenders in the Victimization Domain (V.D.) and the Domain of Occupations (O.D.) 181

48. Summary Table of Statistical Tests for Victims and Offenders on Sociological Background Factors . . . 182

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1.	Developmental Base of Current Victimology	30
2.	Two Dimensional Representation of a Portion of a Cognitive Space	93
3.	Mean Dimensionality Scores for Robbery Victims and Offenders for the Scott ALPHA, BETA, and Factor Analytic 55% ALPHA Measures	139

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix		Page
A.	Conceptual Elements and Attributes within the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations .	210
B.	Attribute Scale Groupings Used in Computing ALPHA and BETA Dimensionality Scores	212
C.	Letter of Request for Victim Interview	214
D.	Letter of Request for Offender Interview	216
E.	Victim Interview Schedule	218
F.	Offender Interview Schedule	222

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Research Problem

Criminological research has been characterized by a myopic focus on a single aspect of the total crime event, that is the criminal. Major attention has been given to theories of causation, classification of offenders, correctional institutions, and the rehabilitation process. In this sense, "criminology is mainly the study of doers, and the prevention, control, and treatment of their behavior" (Reckless, 1967: 137). Despite the voluminous literature on crime and delinquency, few studies have been exclusively concerned with the victims of crime.

The school of thought has developed, however, which maintains that the victim is not only an essential element in the criminal act, but often plays an important role in the commission of that act (Amir, 1967; Chapman, 1968: 153-166; Hentig, 1940; 1948; Wolfgang, 1957). While this conception has been advocated for over three decades, very little has been accomplished in terms of research design, theory construction, and the accumulation of substantive knowledge.

This concern with the victim's participation in the crime event has led to a new branch of learning in criminology. This

branch has been labeled "victimology," and one important focus of this orientation is the examination of the criminal-victim relationship. In the present study, victimology will refer to the study of criminal-victim relationships (Nagel, 1963; Schafer, 1968: 54-55) as opposed to the more general connotation of victimology as a separate and distinct discipline from criminology (Mendelsohn, 1963). Furthermore, the expansion of criminological thought to include specific analyses of the victim may aid in developing a more thorough understanding of the genesis of crime. As Schafer (1968: 39-40) states:

> That the victim is taken as one of the determinants, and that a nefarious symbiosis is often established between doer and sufferer, may seem paradoxical. The material gathered, however, indicates such a relation. If this relation can be confirmed, and if the criminal-victim interactions and personal relationships can be observed in the functional interplay of causative elements, crime can be seen and understood in a broader perspective.

To date, most empirical inquiries dealing with criminal-victim relationships have been associational in nature. These investigations set forth patterns of the crime event and describe relations among select variables as age, race, and sex characteristics of victims and offenders, spatial and temporal patterns of the crime, and the influence of alcohol in the crime event (Amir, 1971; Bohannan, 1960; Driver, 1961; Mulvihill, Tumin, and Curtis, 1969; Pittman and Handy, 1964; Pokorny, 1965; Schafer, 1968: 59-103; Voss and Hepburn, 1968; Wolfgang, 1958). Beyond these investigations, however, the victim-offender relationship offers rich material for the study of such encounters from other perspectives and orientations.

Theoretical Orientation of the Study

The present stage of theoretical development in victimology is embryonic. As Vold (1958: 4) succinctly states in another context (i.e., criminological theory), which, nonetheless, is most appropriate for victimological concerns: "No present scheme of theoretical concepts is entirely valid or entirely sufficient to account for the full range of complexity of human behavior." The appropriateness of this statement is fully appreciated, as victimology not only lacks theory and systematic statements of testable hypotheses, but is only initiating collection of useable empirical information.

The frame of reference employed in the present research derives from the symbolic interactionist school of thought, but most specifically from the interactional theory proposed by McCall and Simmons (1966). This role-identity model stresses the importance of perceptual and cognitive processes in interaction, and assumes that man has the ability to self-consciously direct his own activities. Furthermore, this orientation suggests that individual selves and identities emerge out of social structure and social situations.

From this perspective, it is clear that individual behavior in the presence of others is more than a simple stimulus and response action and reaction. Interactional encounters incorporate internal processes (i.e., perceptual and cognitive) which serve to establish governing mutual expectations for behavior in given social settings. The emergence of such a "working concensus"

is thus an important aspect of studying interpersonal behavior. Previous interactional research (Glaser and Strauss, 1964; Goffman, 1959; 1967; Gordon and Gergen, 1968; Rose, 1962) has been directed toward the specification of variables (e.g., awareness contexts, self presentation, self-concept, role-taking ability, etc.) associated with the development and maintenance of recurrent interactional relationships and encounters. Sociologists, nonetheless, have been hard pressed to formulate a theoretical account of those interactions which are non-recurrent, problematic, and consequential for the participants.

This general interaction perspective provides a useful framework for viewing the interactive nature of the criminal act. Since victim-offender encounters may be considered special instances of a more universal class of conflict situations, it is of interest to investigate certain social psychological dimensions involved in this interaction. The focal concern of the present research is with exploring the dyadic relationship of victim and offender in the robbery situation in terms of the experiential or cognitive saliency of that experience. In this respect, it was asserted that the victimization event begins with the entering into some sort of relationship between criminal(s) and victim(s). While individual victimizations are highly idiosyncratic, certain dimensions of the event may be assumed to be more universally distributed, and it is in this direction that the present research was cast.

The robbery victimization event being interactional in nature possesses some salient, although not entirely unique, characteristics generally not found in other social interactions, and the structural nature of this encounter cannot be ignored as an important variable. Denzin (1969) directs attention to the "situated aspects" of human conduct for interaction research. He (1969: 926) states:

> If behavior occurs within social situations and if the meaning attached to those situations influences subsequent behavior, then the situation becomes a dimension of analysis.

Denzin proceeds to identify four components of the situation as follows: (a) the interactants as objects, (b) the concrete setting, (c) the meanings brought into the situation, and (d) the time taken for the interaction. In light of these situated aspects, the victimization event in the case of robbery may be considered as a special type of interactional occurrence characterized by forced compliance on the part of the victim, and of a fleeting nature in that neither of the interactants desire to continue the relationship over any sustained period of time. The salient role orientations in the robbery encounter appear to be twofold as follows: (a) dominance of the offender over the victim and forced compliance by the victim, and (b) achievement-oriented and other-oriented, that is, the act is purposefully motivated on the part of the offender with the intent of monetary gain, and action is directed toward some person other than oneself.

Social psychological research (Biddle and Thomas, 1966; Gross and stone, 1963) has shown that an individual's "role

requirements" under varying conditions significantly influence his perception and behavior. Similar connotations may be advanced with regard to the robbery event. Thus, the victimizer is in a position of control and power, has planned his part in the interaction, and has purposefully initiated the action. Conversely, the victim is in a position of forced compliance, experiences an unexpected encounter, and faces potential threat and trauma.

Statement of the Research Problem

The purpose of the present research is to demonstrate the utility of a social psychological perspective for personal appraisals of life situations. The life situation here selected is criminal victimization by robbery. The assumption was made that the phenomena of criminal victimization is of a selective and differential nature. In accord with this assumption, it was suggested that personal reactions to robbery victimization encounters for both victims and offenders is relative not only to their location in the social structure, but also to their respective role relations in the victimization encounter. Refraining from the more global concerns of past research, the present study sought to concentrate on the experiential level of analysis through the examination of one property of cognitive structure. This property, termed cognitive dimensionality (specified in Chapter IV), is one variable of cognitive complexity and allows an examination of individual reactions and representations of specific events in semantic space. This level of analysis was selected because of the

impossibility of directly observing criminal-victim interactions and behaviors during robbery encounters. As such, it was necessary to move the data source to covert or experiential aspects of the situation in order to allow inferences from the data.

Concerned with this element of the victimization event and victim-offender relationships, the present research focused on the relationship among several sets of variables heretofore generally unmentioned, and certainly underinvestigated, in contemporary victimological research. First, consideration was given to those situated aspects of the encounter in terms of the specific role relations among the participants (i.e., the offender in a planned control position and the robbery victim in an impinged position of compliance to unexpected demands). Given this structural aspect of the event, it was suspected that differential responses would accrue among the interactants in representing the experience in semantic space. Secondly, consideration was directed to victim perception of the experience as stressful or threatening to self as an important variable in accounting for differential response patterns. Third, attention was given to suspected differences among robbery offenders as a result of their commitment to criminality. Finally, since the interactionist perspective suggests that individual identities emerge from social structure location and that as a result of these identities individuals bring differential meanings to specific situations, it was of interest to consider the relation of sociological background factors (i.e., age, race, sex, education, religion, income, and

marital status) and representations of the victimization experience in cognitive space.

The approach to these specific goals will begin by first examining the past research in victimology (Chapter II). Chapter III will consist of a general overview of the criminal offense of robbery. Chapter IV will introduce the concept of cognitive dimensionality as the major dependent variable in terms of its applicability and importance as an area of victimological concern. Chapter V will introduce, delineate, and specify the operationalization of variables and statements of hypotheses. Chapter VI will present the analysis of the results. The final chapter will provide a discussion of the results, as well as making suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER II

OVERVIEW OF VICTIMOLOGICAL RESEARCH

This chapter is a critique of various studies, wholly or partially, devoted to the examination of the victim in the criminal act. It is designed to provide the reader with a general overview of victimological research. The present chapter does not purport to be an exhaustive, nor a critical review of the literature. The major intent, rather, is to identify and systematize diverse lines of research which have led to the present state of knowledge in victimology, as well as to place the present investigation within that spectrum. In order to make the task manageable within the confines of this purpose, the chapter will be divided along the following conceptual and substantive considerations: (a) violent personal crimes, (b) property crimes, (c) victim surveys, (d) victim precipitation, (e) non-reporting victims, and (f) the present perspective.

Violent Personal Crimes

Interest in the victims of violent personal crimes became enlightened in the decade of the 1950's with a concern over sexual offenses. This interest was in part generated by extensive popular literature reinforcing the belief that:

> the present danger to women and children from serious sex crimes is large and is increasing more rapidly than any

> other crime; that most sex crimes are committed by "sexual degenerates," "sex fiends," or "sexual psychopaths" (Sutherland, 1950: 142).

Much of the concern here was with the arguments surrounding the establishment of various sexual psychopath laws. There is little need to reiterate these issues other than to mention that a base was established for incorporating the victim into criminological investigations.

Since this early attention, there has been increased interest in the victim of sexual offenses. Several discussions (Amir, 1971; Guc, 1961; Gebhard, et al., 1968; Gibbens and Prince, 1963; Henriques, 1961; LaFon, et al., 1961; MacDonald, 1971; Schultz, 1960; 1973) have focussed on criminal-victim relationships. In addition to these considerations, numerous studies have shown a concern for the impact of victimization on the part of the victim (Brunold, 1964; Gagnon, 1965; Halleck, 1965; Libai, 1969; Milliken, 1950; Reifen, 1958; Weiss, et al., 1955).

In addition to sexual offenses, violent personal crimes have attracted considerable investigation involving a victimological perspective. Of the voluminous number of studies on homicide, Wolfgang's (1958) appears to be the most provocative. This study examined 588 cases of criminal homicide occurring between 1948 and 1952 in Philadelphia. Wolfgang explicitly distinguished between victim and offender data in terms of age, race, and sex characteristics, as well as describing the patterns of the homicide event for such factors as method of inflicting death, time and place of occurrance, the presence and influence of alcohol, and previous

arrest records. In addition to these, Wolfgang reports the interpersonal relationships between victims and offenders.

Several later studies--Bensing and Schroeder (1960) in Cleveland, Pokorny (1965) in Houston, Schafer (1968) in Florida, Voss and Hepburn (1968) in Chicago--have sought to confirm some of Wolfgang's more general findings, and may be considered partial replications of his study. Wolfgang's investigation has also served as an impetus and point of departure for subsequent studies on personal crimes employing the same methodological designs in order to seek patterned criminal-victim relationships. Included among these investigations are Amir's (1971) study of forcible rape, Normandeau's (1968) inquiry of robbery, and Pittman and Handy's (1964) investigation of aggravated assault.

A comparison of the findings of these studies indicate striking similarities, not only across crimes, but also within the specific locales investigated. In general, it may be concluded that crimes of personal violence (i.e., homicide, assault, and rape) are: (a) intra-racial, (b) involving persons who are relatives, friends or acquaintances rather than strangers, (c) males and non-whites showing greater involvement--both as victims and offenders, and (d) high in propinquity in that these crimes tend to involve persons who live near to each other.

In addition to the Wolfgang replication line of investigation, several other studies of violent personal crime have contributed to the victimological perspective. Several investigations (Ennis, 1967; President's Commission, 1967b: 39-40;

Lanzkron, 1963; Morris and Blum-Cooper, 1964: 321-379; Nakata, 1963; Svalastoga, 1962) have consistently confirmed and substantiated the intricate personal interrelationships between offender and victim. Additional studies have provided further information on: (a) sex, age, and interpersonal patterns of criminal-victim relationships (Robin, 1963; Ueno and Ishiyama, 1963), (b) the psychology of the victim (MacDonald, 1961; 1971), and (c) the impact of victimization (Halleck, 1965; Kisker, 1964; Sutherland and Scherl, 1970).

The crime of robbery, when considered as a violent personal offense, tends to depart from these characteristics. While more specific detail will be given to this offense in the next chapter, some of the more noted differences are that robbery: (a) tends to be more interracial (Mulvihill, et al., 1969: 213), (b) appears to be more impersonal involving more stranger-to-stranger interactions (Mulvihill, et al., 1969: 222; Normandeau, 1969: 130), and (c) tends to be more spatially dislocated in the sense that distances between places of robbery occurrence and offender's and/or victim's residences are much greater than in other crimes of personal violence (Normandeau, 1968: 269-272).

Many of the aforementioned inquiries have been confined to particular offenses and particular cities or jurisdictions. In an attempt to rectify this situation, and to compile a more adequate picture of the various aspects of criminal-victim relationships and situational factors involved in crime occurrences, the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (Mulvihill, et al., 1969) prepared the first national survey of offender and

victim patterns for four major violent crimes. This investigation collected a ten percent random sample of 1967 offense and arrest reports from 17 large United States cities. Although the design and implementation of this survey possessed certain methodological problems, it does represent a fairly accurate profile of general patterns of victim-offender interactions. Additionally, it represents one of the only current sources of extensive data which can be compared to the previous investigations of individual locales.

Rather than engage in a detailed reiteration of the numerous findings of the survey, the present writer has prepared a summary table of major findings (Table 1) for the age, race, and sex of offenders and victims, as well as reproducing relevant data tables from the survey (Tables 2-5).

While many of these findings need to be scrutinized further, one general conclusion emerges. It is noted that in each of these offenses the criminal and his victim engage in a face-to-face interactional scheme, which is characterized by violence or at least the threat of violence. Given this similarity, significant variations become manifestly apparent. Consequently, any attempt to analyze the underlying dynamics of a particular offense must take account of the multitudinous factors that converge in the occurrence of that event. The results of this survey give the clear indication that the mere compilation of various characteristics of crimes of personal violence is indeed dubious. While certain general patterns do emerge, the results of this survey portray significant variations among major relevant variables previously

TABLE 1.--Summary of Major Findings on Sex, Race, and Age of Offenders and Victims for Four Major Crimes (From Mulvihill, Tumin, and Curtis, 1969: 208-215).

	Homicide	Aggravated Assault	Forcible Rape	Armed Robbery	Unarmed Robbery
Sex	generally intrasexual with M/M* in 62.3% cases	generally intrasexual with M/M in 56.6% cases		intrasexual with M/M in 84.5% cases	generally intrasexual with M/M in 68.9% cases
Race	generally intraracial with N/N in 65.7% cases	generally intraracial with N/N in 65.9% cases	generally intraracial with N/N in 59.9% cases	generally interracial with N/W in 46.7% cases and N/N in 38.4% cases	generally interracial with N/W in 43.9% cases and N/N in 37.1 cases
Age	generally same age category with 26+/26+ in 47.0% cases	generally same age category with 26+/26+ in 42.9% cases	no clear pattern	mixed pattern with 18-25/26+ in 36.8% cases	mixed pattern with generally younger offenders with 0-17/0-17 in 31.2% cases

*The slash (/) means "killed by," "assaulted by," "raped by," or "robbed by," M = male, W = whites, and N = non-whites.

TABLE 2.--The Interpersonal Relationship between Victim and Offender, by Type of Crime, in Percent of Total (From Mulvihill, Tumin, and Curtis, 1969: 217).

Location (More Violent Criminal Type)	Criminal Homicide	Aggravated Assault	Forcible Rape	Armed Robbery	Unarmed Robbery
Husband (v) Wife (legal)	6.3	1.9	0	0	0
Wife (v) Husband (0) (legal)	6.0	5.3	0	.6	0
Husband (v) Wife (0) (common)	1.5	.5	0	0	0
Wife (v) Husband (0) (common)	2.0	1.7	0	0	0
HUSBAND-WIFE	15.8	9.4	0	0.6	0
Parent (v) Child (0)	2.0	0.9	0.2	0	0
Child (v) Parent (0)	3.9	1.2	2.0	0	0.1
Brother-Sister (V or 0)	1.4	1.4	0.3	0	0
Other Family	1.6	1.0	4.4	0	0.4
OTHER FAMILY	8.9	4.5	6.9	0	0.5
Close Friend	5.6	3.6	1.6	0.1	0
Paramour	3.2	2.9	1.7	0.3	0.1
Homosexual Partner	0.2	0.2	0	0	0

TABLE 2.--Continued.

Location	More Violent Criminal Type	Criminal Homicide	Aggravated Assault	Forcible Rape	Armed Robbery	Unarmed Robbery
OTHER PRIMARY		9.0	6.7	3.3	0.4	0.1
Prostitute (V or O)		0.9	0.2	0	0.6	0.1
Acquaintance		15.4	16.0	28.5	8.8	8.0
Neighbor		3.1	3.8	3.3	0.5	2.6
Business Relation		1.9	1.3	0.1	0.9	0
Sex Rival or Enemy		6.8	3.0	0.7	1.4	0.2
Stranger		15.6	20.6	52.8	78.6	85.7
Felon or Police Officer (V or O)		1.7	10.1	0.3	0	0.2
NONPRIMARY		45.4	55.0	85.7	90.8	96.8
Any Other and Unknown		20.9	24.3	4.1	8.2	2.6
UNKNOWN		20.9	24.3	4.1	8.2	2.6
GRAND TOTAL		100.0 100.0 (668)	100.0 100.0 (1493)	100.0 100.0 (617)	100.0 100.0 (509)	100.0 100.0 (502)

TABLE 3.--The Place of Occurrence by Type of Crime in Percent of Total (From Mulvihill, Tumin, and Curtis, 1969: 221).

Location / Major Violent Crime Type	Willful Murder	Aggravated Assault	Forcible Rape	Armed Robbery	Unarmed Robbery
Bedroom	10.0	2.6	33.2	0.5	2.3
Kitchen	2.9	2.2	0.1	0.3	0
Living Room, Den, Study	11.8	15.9	9.1	2.0	2.4
Hall, Stair, Elevator	7.0	5.4	3.9	3.4	10.1
Basement, Garage	2.6	0.2	5.2	0	1.6
TOTAL, Home	34.3	26.3	51.5	6.2	16.4
Service Station	0.6	0.9	0	3.0	0.5
Chain Store	0	0.4	0	1.7	0
Bank	0	0	0	3.0	0
Other Commercial Establishment	2.8	3.1	1.4	20.4	3.5
Bar, Tavern, Taproom, Lounge	7.6	2.8	0.6	2.4	0.1
Place of Entertainment other than Bar, Tavern, Etc.	0.9	0.9	0.6	0	0
Any other Inside Location	14.2	11.2	11.3	3.5	5.1

TABLE 3.--Continued.

Location / Major Violent Crime Type	Willful Murder	Aggravated Assault	Forcible Rape	Armed Robbery	Unarmed Robbery
TOTAL OTHER INSIDE LOCATION	26.2	19.3	13.9	34.0	9.2
Immediate Area Around Residence	4.2	4.9	2.2	4.6	6.0
Street	24.9	39.1	4.8	37.6	48.8
Alley	1.0	1.2	6.1	2.1	1.9
Park	0.4	1.9	2.3	0.5	7.4
Lot	2.3	0.9	3.2	1.8	3.7
Private Transport Vehicle	2.1	1.1	11.0	3.5	3.6
Public Transport Vehicle	0.7	1.0	0	3.8	1.8
Any Other Outside Location	1.3	2.0	4.3	5.4	1.1
TOTAL OUTSIDE LOCATION	36.9	52.1	33.9	59.3	74.3
Unknown	2.5 2.5	2.2 2.2	0.7 0.7	0.4 0.4	0 0
GRAND TOTAL	100.0 100.0 (668)	100.0 100.0 (1493)	100.0 100.0 (617)	100.0 100.0 (509)	100.0 100.0 (502)

TABLE 4.--Motive of the Offender by Type of Crime in Percent of Total (From Mulvihill, Tumin, and Curtis, 1969: 230)

Motive	Major Violent Crime Type				
	Criminal Homicide	Aggravated Assault	Forcible Rape	Armed Robbery	Unarmed Robbery
Family Quarrel	7.7	5.8	0	0	0
Jealousy	4.4	3.0	0	0	0
Revenge	2.5	2.9	0	0.2	0.6
Altercation	35.7	29.6	0	0	0.2
Self-Defense	5.5	1.7	0	0	0
Halting Felon	0.3	0.2	0	0	0.5
Escaping Arrest	0.5	7.9	0	0	0
Robbery	8.8	2.3	0	98.5	96.0
Sexual	2.1	1.0	99.3	0.5	1.0
Riot	0	0	0	0	0
Psychopathic	0.9	1.0	0	0	0
Other	10.6	4.5	0	0.5	0.4
Unknown	21.0	40.1	0.7	0.2	1.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(668)	(1493)	(617)	(509)	(502)

TABLE 5.--Means of Inflicting Injury by Type of Crime in Percent of Total (From Mulvihill, Tumin, and Curtis, 1969: 235).

Injury Status and Means of Inflicting Injury	Major Violent Crime Type				
	Criminal Homicide	Aggravated Assault	Forcible Rape	Armed Robbery	Unarmed Robbery
Firearm	46.6	13.0	1.4	2.0	0
Knife or Other Sharp Instrument	29.2	25.9	0.7	1.2	0
Blunt Instrument	3.2	11.7	0.6	3.8	0
Posion	0.2	0.1	0	0	0
Body	10.8	22.4	17.7	3.7	26.7
Other	9.8	7.0	1.0	3.0	1.0
Total Injured	100.0	80.0	21.4	13.7	27.7
Total Not Injured	0	18.0	76.0	82.5	66.1
Total Unknown	0	1.9	2.6	3.8	6.2
Grand Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(668)	(1493)	(617)	(509)	(502)

thought to be constant for crimes of personal violence. These concomitant effects are crucial, and must be noted, in generalizing any substantive conclusions regarding violent personal crimes.

Property Crimes

While there has been considerable attention given to the role of the victim in personal crimes, little systematic research has been directed toward his part in property crimes. The available research covers a wide variety of offenses ranging from confidence swindles to gang vandalism. Furthermore, while it may appear questionable to consider some of the research as victimological, nevertheless, they do deal with victim-offender relationships, and are at least suggestive of the need for additional scientific attention.

One group of offenses which require not only confrontation with the victim, but also his cooperation is that of swindles and various confidence games. Not only is the victim's cooperation and his larcenous intent been declared essential for the success of the crime (Hentig, 1948; Mauer, 1940: 17; Sutherland, 1937), but also the exact nature of the offense virtually requires the criminal interactants to develop a relationship based on trust, acceptance, or dependence if the illegal act is to succeed. Furthermore, the criminal-victim relationship is afforded a recurrent interactional pattern in which various role requirements may evolve. Goffman (1952), for example, gives an excellent account of this when he distinguishes between the victim being "cooled-off" rather than "shaken-off." The shake off process is essentially

one of threat. That is, the victim is reminded that he may suffer penalty for his participation in the illegal act if he reports to the police. In the cooling off process, on the other hand, the victim rather than being forced to realize he was just another "easy mark" is instead consoled in a way that will make it easier for the victim to retain his self-respect.

The confidence team (i.e., there is usually more than one person in the confidence operation) is also relatively well-organized and expert in the selection and manipulation of the victim. Furthermore, the confidence team possesses the means for hiding their true identity, as well as the illegitimacy of the operation. This process is aptly described by Roebuck (1967: 183) who states:

> The proper build-up and subsequent trimming in the big-con game require weeks of planning and at least four contact positions. First in line is the steerer or roper, an operator who selects the victim, and introduces him to the scheme and leads him to the second contact, the build-up man. The latter gradually sounds out the victim regarding his resources, funds, and gullability. The third contact stimulates his confidence. When the victim is ripe, the fourth contact relieves him of his money and shakes him off.

The cooperation of the victim, as well as the teamwork involved in confidence games and swindles can be very intricate, and despite the fact that these dramaturgical aspects are well recognized, little systematic or empirical attention has been given them.

Mauer (1967) in his study of pickpockets also notes the intricacies of the criminal-victim interaction and the importance of the victim. These victims, he maintains, are of a different

nature in that they contribute to their victimization without "evil intent" as in the case of confidence games. That is to say, rather than direct cooperation on the part of the victim, he is manipulated, positioned, etc. for an "easy score."

The victim's behavior and/or his attributes have also been found to be influential in the commission or non-commission of the offense in other property crimes as well. In his now classic study on gang delinquency, Thrasher (1927) found that predatory activities of gang members discriminated among victims. He notes, for example, that a gang:

> . . . respects racial lines in jack-rolling, and to carry on such enterprises in some other gang's territory is likely to precipitate a war (Thrasher, 1927: 77).

In similar vein:

> When the boys want money and sport, however, their most common resort is the drunken man or the blind beggar. These unfortunates offer both a source of amusement and the possibility of providing large sums of money which they often have in their possession. . . . One of the interesting features of this practice of victimizing drunken men is the fact that race lines are always observed. Both Silver and Sammie maintained that the Black Handers never molested Jewish people. They hop the poor drunken Polish fellows. . . . They respect the Jews because they are most all Jews themselves (Thrasher, 1927: 219).

Sykes and Matza (1957) have also suggested that delinquents by learning various "techniques of neutralization" or rationalizations convince themselves that the behavior they are about to commit is not really a crime. One such technique, the "denial of the victim," allows the delinquent to justify violations and injury to the victim is not wrong because:

> the victim--due either to something he has done or something about him--deserves to be punished. Thus social pariahs such as homosexuals, or Jews, or Negroes may because of their social status be seen by delinquents as deserving of punishment. Or the delinquents may feel it was necessary to retaliate against an unfair teacher (McDonald, 1970: 60).

That the concept of victim is also applicable to units larger than the individual is suggested by the finding that certain "victim organizations" are differentially vulnerable to criminal attack (President's Commission, 1967a: 83-84; Smigel, 1956). In his study of armed robbery, Einstadter (1969: 78), for example, has indicated that:

> Related to the particular styles of the robber partnership is the choice of victim. Although among careerists there is a definite victim preference there is much divergence among the partnerships as to the type of victim preferred . . . nevertheless, careerists would consider banks, loan companies, supermarkets, drug stores, bars, liquor stores, gas stations, corner groceries, a fair ranking of victims in descending order of profit but not necessarily in terms of preference. . . . The victim is always viewed as part of a larger configuration; his profit-potential is never the sole consideration for the armed robber.

He further states (1969: 79):

> The potential take thus never is the single criterion of victim choice, but the contingencies as interpreted by each partnership, enter as important variables of victim selection.

Victim characteristics and associated behaviors have also been found to be associated with the commission of other property crimes. Fooner (1967a; 1971) in his report of a nationwide survey regarding the loss of money concluded that victim behavior is conducive to criminality, and further that economic affluence functions with the twofold effect of increased incentives to the thief and reduced prudence in the citizen. He further notes

(Fonner, 1966; 1967b) that even when not overtly acting to commit a crime, the property owner often tempts the offender and thus contributes to the crime through his own carelessness. Scarr, Pinsky, and Wyatt (1973: 9) have lent credence to this position by observing:

> . . . the burglar or potential burglar becomes aware of the ease with which entry can be made from clues left through the carelessness of potential victims. Thus, doors and windows are often left unlocked, or, even if locked, in many cases the locks used are obviously worthless and easily forced by a celluloid strip, or some other equally simple tool. The potential burglar is often clearly told of a victim's absence from premises by clues ranging from the obvious three-day accumulation of newspapers, to the more subtle lone living-room light shining brightly at three o'clock in the morning.

These aforementioned victimological writings dealing with property offenses are for the most part statements showing relationships among various factors to determine patterns of the criminal offense, or they are speculative suggestions not empirically grounded within any particular theoretical structure. They are, however, acutely concerned with the incorporation of victim attributes, behaviors, and characteristics within specific crime episodes, and are indicative of future lines of inquiry in victimology.

Victim Surveys

The most comprehensive investigations relating to the impact of victimization and victim attitudes are the various public surveys sponsored by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967a; 1967b). These surveys, along with several Field Studies (Biderman, et al., 1967; Ennis, 1967; Reiss, 1967), reported not only estimates of

crime, but also social characteristics of victims, and perception of crime and its relationship to victimization.

Although these surveys have disclosed estimates on the so-called "dark figure of crime" or "hidden crime," Biderman and Reiss (1967) have indicated that these surveys have also suffered from selectivity in reporting by categories of both respondent and crime. Despite such shortcomings, however, data of the type generated by these surveys are not only critical in planning and evaluation efforts which seek to reduce the crime problem, but also they provide insights on the nature of criminal phenomena which cannot be obtained from any other existing source.

One of the more curious findings of these surveys, which has relevance to the present study, was that the fear of crime was less closely associated with having been a victim than one would anticipate. While victims did express more of a concern for burglary and robbery, recent victimization did not increase behavior designed to protect one's house (President's Commission, 1967b: 51). Biderman, et al. (1967) also found that for most people there is no relationship between anxiety about crime and victimization. Similarly, Ennis (1967) concluded that attitudes toward crime and actual risk of crime are not always congruent. Women were found to have higher levels of concern then men despite reporting fewer incidents of victimization. Even when reported victimization was held constant, females displayed greater concern than males. Reiss (1967) showed that neither sex nor educational level were found to affect perception of safety in one's

neighborhood. Sex and education were, however, seen to affect perception of change in the amount of crime.

McIntyre (1967) in an interpretive analysis of Field Study data suggested that the lack of relationship between perception of crime and victimization was in part due to the role played by news media in the formation of attitudes toward crime. She (1967: 38) did note, however, that the higher levels of anxiety and concern about crime among blacks as compared to whites is "consistent with the risks of victimization suggested by police statistics." The results of these various investigations thus suggest that concern and fear of crime are of differential salience to different groups of people.

In a continuing effort to accumulate clear, accurate, and concise data on crime phenomena, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration in collaboration with the United States Bureau of Census has begun a large scale developmental survey in preparation for the National Crime Panel. Several small feasibility tests (Turner, 1972a) and two local area surveys conducted in Dayton, Ohio and San Jose, California (Kalish, 1974) provided a methodological base for the emergence of the National Crime Panel. The National Crime Panel is an:

> omnibus national probability sample of households and businesses which are interviewed to provide estimates of crime victimization and other related crime measures. Interviewing is conducted on a monthly basis . . . with each month's interviews constituting an independent, representative subsample of the total. After each six months of interviewing, the sample households and businesses are re-interviewed, again in monthly subsets so that a continuous measurement process is in motion. The National Crime Panel thus provides data

> data for the United States as a whole and a sub-national grouping of metropolitan areas by size (Turner, 1972b: 18-19).

In addition to this, supplemental sample surveys provide local area data on the five largest cities (Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, and Philadelphia), as well as the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration's High Impact cities (Atlanta, Baltimore, Cleveland, Dallas, Denver, Newark, Portland, and St. Louis).

These National Crime Panel surveys examine several facets of crime occurrences, and while only preliminary results (Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 1974a; 1974b) are available at present, some of the more interesting results disclose that:

> assaultive violence occurs between strangers only about 50 percent of the time; that incidents of person-to-person theft occur inside buildings including one's home with about the same frequency as they occur outside on the street, in playgrounds, parking lots, etc.; that daytime robberies account for about two-fifths of all robberies; and that one in six of the victims of robbery or assault during the course of a twelve month period can expect to be victimized at least one more time during that period.
>
> The stranger-to-stranger incidents show some interesting differences. The rate of victimization for criminal assault occurring between strangers is much higher for males than for females (the ratio is greater than 2.5 to 1). By age, this rate decreases as the population gets older. Young people 16-24 years old are victimized about 1.5 times more frequently than persons 25-39, who in turn are victimized over twice as frequently as 40-64 year olds; and the latter group is assailed about twice as often as the elderly--65 and over. A black person has more than a 50 percent higher probability of being held up by a robber than a white person has. On the other hand, robbery victimization cuts across educational levels indiscriminately, with no real differences to be found in the rates between persons who are college-trained and those with lesser educational attainment (Turner, 1972b: 2-3).

This brief synopsis displays the kind of information, the availability of which is long overdue, that may be obtained through

the systematic implementation of victim surveys. Furthermore, the information generated by National Crime Panel data possesses many useful and desired ends, including: (a) the capability to measure such phenomena of interpersonal violence, especially stranger-to-stranger confrontations which are superior to existing measurement modes, (b) the provision of measures of change for evaluation purposes, (c) the assessment of socio-economic and demographic factors surrounding violence and theft, (d) the compilation of information essential to planning and resource allocation, (e) the establishment of insights on the relationship between crime victimization and citizen reaction to crime, and (f) the allowance for valid comparisons between two or more cities or geographic locations heretofore inaccessible. While many of these uses have yet to be implemented, they do provide potentially important substantive contributions toward broadening our understanding of the context in which crime occurs.

These three preceding sections (violent personal crimes, property crimes, and victim surveys) have indicated the basic formulations of current research which allows for the incorporation of the victim into the analysis of crime events. This development is summarized in Figure 1. The current state of victimology is perhaps not much further developed than many of the earlier investigations, although the National Crime Panel data are aiding in the compilation of greater systematic information. Nevertheless, differences in research strategy, theoretical perspective,

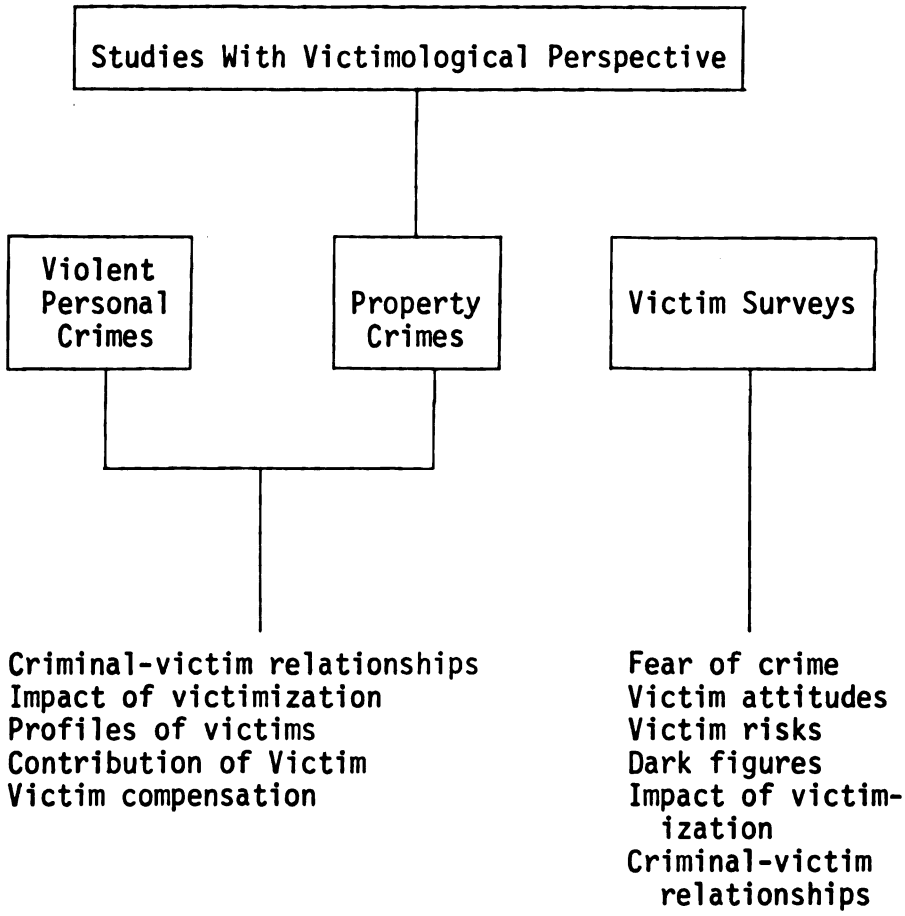

Figure 1.--Developmental base of current victimology.

conceptualization and definition of basic concepts, etc. have contributed to a vast proliferation of concern in contemporary victimology.

Victim Precipitation

The concept of victim precipitation or provocation as a factor in criminal offenses is certainly not a new idea. However, its implementation into systematic research is a recent occurrence, happening within the last fifteen years. Hentig (1948)

was perhaps the first individual to make explicit, although speculative, the notion that the victim may play more than a passive role in the crime event (i.e., his "duet frame of crime"). Furthermore, as Schultz (1968: 139) notes there is a distinct relationship between the victim and the motive for assaultive violence in that: "Some take sadistic delight in finding out the limits of the offender's 'cool' by teasing, baiting, tormenting, or overchallenging his manhood self-concept."

The research literature on victim precipitation has generally been limited to personal crimes; specifically homicide, assault, and rape. Wolfgang (1958: 254) found that over one-fourth (26%) of the 588 cases of homicide studied were victim precipitated. Wallace (1965: 47-48), while mainly concerned with third party intervention in cases of aggravated assault, implies the importance of the victim's behavior in the resulting violence. He notes that in approximately one-fourth of the cases the victims and aggressors were considered to be collaborators, and in about one-tenth of the cases the person actually charged was partially innocent. Amir (1971) reported that 122 (19%) of the 646 cases of forcible rape in his study were precipitated by the victim.

In regard to property offenses, the victim's contribution has also been noted. Since crime is not an isolated act, but rather a cumulative process consisting of many facets, there is for the most part few genuinely random victims. As Morris and Bloom-Cooper (1967: 66) state:

> The householder who is the victim of burglary has, as often as not, paid no heed to the state of his locks, left windows unfastened, or has gone away and advertised his absence. . . . The motorist who leaves a camera or briefcase on the seat in full view is asking to have them stolen. . . . Victims may suffer as a consequence of their own stupidity and foolishly entrust money to confidence men. . . .

This notion of victim-induced criminality is also salient in Barnes and Teeters' (1959: 595-596) conceptualization of the "negligent or careless" victim. This type refers to persons who have careless attitudes toward their belongings, thereby increasing their probable victimization. This issue tends to expand the concept of victim precipitation beyond Hentig's original formulation in that it alludes mainly to physical aspects of the situation (e.g., insecure locks, etc.) rather than the direct behavioral expressions on the part of the victim. It is plausibly related, however, in that the victim's lack of a precautionary repertoire increases his victimization risk.

Another relevant consideration, along these same lines, is the victim's contribution in the criminal situation in the offense of rape. As McDonald (1971: 78) indicates:

> Some women invite rape. By their seductive behavior in dress, bodily movements or suggestive remarks, they convey to men the impression that they are eager or at least willing to indulge in an illicit sexual relationship.

While McDonald's comment is consistent with the logic of victim induced criminality, it reinforces many misconceptions about assaultive sexual offenses as Gagnon (1972: 69) stresses in his recent review of the text.

The concept of victim precipitation refers to the behavioral commission or omission of acts on the part of the victim

that lead to his being victimized. Furthermore, the victim's participation in the crime event may be one of direct initiation of the criminal-victim interaction (e.g., as in the case of homicide, assault, or rape), or it may be one of indirect contribution (e.g., as in the case of property offenses). While many of the aforementioned statements may appear convincing, systematic research is limited, and evidence collected by the President's Crime Commission (Mulvihill, et al., 1969: 224-229) casts doubt on the actual extent or amount of victim precipitation for various crimes. This report suggested:

A. Victim precipitation may vary with different crimes. It was shown that precipitation had the following distribution--homicide 22%, aggravated assault 14.4%, forcible rape 4.4%, armed robbery 10.7%, and unarmed robbery 6.1%. Curtis (1974) also found a similar distribution of victim precipitation on various criminal offenses.

B. Victim precipitation has a different pattern according to race and sex. For example, in homicide regardless of race, males are more likely to precipitate than females. For assault:

> white males appear to invite attack considerably more than white females. Unlike homicide, the same differential was not clearly present between Negro males and females. Black females were more likely to precipitate an assault than white females (Mulvihill, et al., 1969: 227).

Additionally, only male victims appeared to precipitate armed robbery, and the Negro was higher than the white percentage. And

C. Victim inducement or precipitation varied according to the type of criminal-victim relationship (i.e., primary or

non-primary). For example, primary group relationships (other than family) appeared more associated in assaults and rape; whereas, non-primary relations prevailed in robbery situations.

It is difficult to assess these conclusions and offer explanations as to the reasons for these differentials, however, some suggestions may be advanced. First, certain methodological artifacts may be present. This is indicated in that "victim precipitation" was differentially defined for each of the crimes investigated. Second, it may well be that differential activity patterns among criminal-victim interactions are not accounted for by the data. For instance, with respect to armed robbery, Einstadter (1969) has suggested that in addition to varying career patterns among robbers, there is a definite differential in victim preference. This, however, may not be the case in homicide, assault, and rape as MacDonald (1971: 57) implies "many offenders select the scene for the rape rather than the victim for the rape." Finally, since the action of the victim varies among these offenses statistical, tabulation, judgmental, evaluative, and interpretive errors may accrue.

In summary, while the concept of victim precipitation is crucial to the development of victimology, it: (a) has not been systematically investigated, (b) lacks conceptual clarity, and consequently (c) is heuristically inadequate in its present form.

The Nonreporting Victim

Another line of research inquiry that is beginning to receive greater attention, but at present is quite underdeveloped,

is that of the nonreporting victim. In his discussion on the nonreporting victim, Reckless (1961: 24) maintains that the victim is unwilling to report because he fears the social consequences of doing so. In a later edition of his text, Reckless (1967: 77-78) cites four reasons as to the nonreporting of offenses, these being: (a) the offense may be known only to the person committing it, (b) relatives or friends of the offender may not report it, (c) fear of annoyance or publicity may prevent reporting, and (d) people are too indifferent or too ignorant to report. In carrying the argument further, Reckless (1967: 78) refers to Sellin (1937: 69-70) in specifying the reasons for nonreporting. Accordingly then, reasons for nonreporting are that:

1. Offense may be of a private nature (e.g., blackmail, sex, abortion),
2. The injured party may not wish the offense to be discovered,
3. The inconveniences of reporting to the police and testifying in court are too great,
4. Public opinion does not favor the enforcement of certain laws (e.g., gambling and prostitution),
5. Some offenses are of a nature hardly reportable by the offenders themselves (e.g., carrying concealed weapons, traffic violations, disorderly conduct, vagrancy, etc.), and
6. In times of crises, changes in public sentiment cause an increased or decreased reportability.

Although the reasons specified by Reckless and Sellin for the nonreporting of criminal offenses has not been directly investigated, some empirical support has been given to their ideas.

Data collected on criminal victimization by the National Opinion Research Center (Ennis, 1967) entertained the question--"If the right thing to do is to call the police when you have been a victim of a crime, and there is considerable normative pressure to do just that, why is it that half of the victimizations were not reported to the police?" (Ennis, 1967: 41). There are a multitude of reasons and rationales as to why the police are not notified, and in order to assess these reasons, the survey research team conducted interviews with victims who did not report incidents to the police. It was found that such reasons could be usefully categorized into four meaningful classifications, as follows:

1. The belief that the incident was not a police matter (i.e., respondents did not want the offender to be harmed by the police, or they felt that the incident was a private not a criminal affair). This reason accounted for 34% of the responses.

2. Fear of punishment (i.e., afraid of reprisal and fear of higher insurance rates or cancellation of insurance). This reason accounted for 2% of the responses.

3. Personal refusal (i.e., did not want to take the time, did not know how to or if the police should be notified, too confused or upset to notify the police. This reason accounted for 9% of the responses.

4. Police would not be effective (i.e., police could not do anything about the matter, the belief that the police would not want to be bothered, and the belief and uncertainty that the real offenders would not be apprehended). This accounted for 55% of the responses.

It was also indicated by these survey results that reporting of crime varied by the type of crime and the social characteristics of the victims. In general, it was found that:

> For serious crimes against the person, neither race nor income appears related to police notification, and for whites there

> does not appear to be any clear pattern related to income. Among Negroes the situation is more complex: It appears that, when victims of minor property crimes, they are more reluctant to call the police than are whites (Ennis, 1967: 45).

Upon closer examination of the data, it is also found that victim attitudes in terms of reporting or nonreporting of the offense and satisfaction with police action if the offense is reported vary considerably not only with seriousness of the crime, social class, and race of the victim, but additionally with region and degree of urbanization of residence (see Ennis, 1967: 45-51 for a discussion of the original NORC sample results, and Block, 1970 for a discussion of police treatment and victim attitudes).

In a secondary analysis of the original National Opinion Research Center data, Block (1974) explores an exchange model of victim notification of the police based on the victim's assessment of the costs and benefits derived from notification. The results of this examination show that:

> 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. The closer the relationship of victim and assailant the less likely notification will be. The greater the implication of the victim, the less likely he will notify the police. The higher the victim's social class the less likely will be notification.
>
> What this paper inplies, 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 (Block, 1974: 568).

The conclusions reached by Block are in accord with the original sample data and are not unexpected. They are, more importantly,

indicative of the continuing need for theoretically grounded research in this underdeveloped area of victimology.

The Focus of the Present Investigation

The foregoing sections of this chapter have examined a wide variety of substantive and conceptual concerns in contemporary victimology. This discussion has been expounded to provide not only an overview of dominant research lines in current victimology, but also to establish a general framework in which the present research is cast.

While the number of investigations with a victimological orientation is continually expanding, it is seen that relatively scant attention has been given to the victim's perception and evaluation of his experience with crime, as well as to attitudinal orientations of robbery offenders in terms of how they interpret their experience and present social condition. Perhaps this is a result of both theoretical and empirical shortcomings which abound in much of the past research.

The present investigation is an effort designed to implement a social psychological framework in identifying and describing attitudinal correlates of victimization experiences. The present study compliments previous research in that it will allow: (a) added information on the characteristics of victims and offenders for a specific criminal offense, (b) a greater understanding of victim reaction to crime, and (c) added evidence on victim and offender perception of the crime event.

In addition to the concern for these issues, the present study is a beginning exploration of a new and vast area of victimology. It is geared to an analysis of both victim and offender attitudes toward the robbery event, as well as to its representation in semantic space. Furthermore, it employs a conceptual orientation, derived from cognitive theory, which has proven to be a valid and reliable assessment of attitudinal structure. The expansion of such theoretically linked victimological research is crucial not only to broadening our understanding of crime events, but also as a prerequisite for the development of theoretical concepts and systematic statements of testable hypotheses.

CHAPTER III

ACTORS AND ACTION: AN OVERVIEW OF THE ROBBERY EVENT

Crime in the United States has reached such proportions that the warning has been given that:

> . . . city streets might become jungles. Crime on the streets has forced citizens to have night patrols on some streets, and on others it is considered unsafe to walk even during the day. Some women carry protective devices to ward off assailants. Police in urban areas frequently cannot cope with the rising tide of crime (Weinberg, 1970: 308).

Robbery, only one type of criminal offense and the primary focus of the present study is also a prevelant and frequent behavioral occurrence in contemporary society, and the incidence of this behavior has immense implications for society.

Stranger to stranger violence and street crime, of which robbery is most often included, has aroused such apprehension among citizens that they are acclaimed to be living in "cages of fear" (Rosenthal, 1969: 16-23). Recent surveys conducted by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (Biderman, et al., 1967: Ennis, 1967; President's Commission, 1967b: 51) have provided additional evidence substantiating citizen fear of crime and victimization. For example, it was found that there is a tendency to see the risk of victimization as being greater in neighborhoods other than one's own, even when the crime rate was actually higher in the respondent's

own neighborhood. The findings of these surveys also revealed that the fear of being victimized was in part responsible for changes in daily living patterns of many of the respondents. A substantial number of respondents also reported an increased fear and distrust of strangers, and that they stayed off the streets altogether at night (see also LeJeune and Alex, 1973 for further support on this aspect). It was concluded from these surveys that the fear of crime has reduced the level of sociability in today's society.

Despite public attention to the crime of robbery, this offense has been given relatively sparse and sporadic attention in the professional literature. Indeed, one standard criminology textbook (Bloch and Geis, 1970: 288) states:

> The best study of robbers in the United States is that undertaken by Julian Roebuck and Mervyn L. Cadwallader, although it confines itself to incarcerated Negro offenders. The thirty-two subjects who showed numerous arrests for armed robberies, differed significantly in many respects from the remaining Negro prison inmates.

While Bloch and Geis do mention the limitations and difficulties with the Roebuck and Cadwallader (1961) study, their conclusion that it is "the best study of robbers" is not only erroneous but such allegations do not contribute to our understanding of the crime of robbery and certainly reduce the scientific credibility of our knowledge of the event.

The present chapter is designed to examine various characteristics of the crime of robbery. The first section consists of an analysis of trends and patterns in robbery. Secondly, the

legal classification of robbery will be discussed, as well as the behavioral elements of the offense. The third and fourth sections comprise an analysis of the characteristics of robbery offenders and victims and how these compare to the present study.

Extent and Trend of Robbery

National statistics regarding the offense of robbery are fragmentory and possess insufficient detail to allow adequate generalizations and conclusions. The only readily available national data source is that reported by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in its annual Uniform Crime Reports. It is unnecessary for present purposes to provide a comprehensive review of the numerous limitations and criticisms leveled against the Uniform Crime Reports for several excellent critiques are available (Cressey, 1957; LeJins, 1966; Wolfgang, 1963). Realizing the dubious nature of conclusions drawn solely from the Uniform Crime Reports, the present section will briefly indicate general trends and patterns for the offense of robbery.

The extent of robbery in the United States has been on the increase annually. In 1973, there were an estimated 382,680 robberies as compared to 374,560 in 1972. One third of these occurred in the Northeastern states.[1] This numerical increase of 8,120 represents a one percent (1.3%) increase in the national robbery rate. The robbery rate in 1973 was 182.4 per 100,000

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[1]Northeastern states refers to the geographic division as established by the F.B.I. in the Uniform Crime Reports and include: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont.

population as compared to 179.9 in 1972. Robbery constitutes 4% of the total Index Crimes, and accounts for 44% of the violent crimes of murder, forcible rape and robbery.

While robbery continues to remain a large city crime, Federal Bureau of Investigation data do indicate a shift of this phenomena to the suburban areas. In 1973, large cities (over 250,000 population) while accounting for two thirds of all reported robberies showed a two percent decrease when compared to the reported volume in 1972. Suburban and rural areas, however, reported 10% and 6% increases respectively as compared to the previous year.

The pattern during previous years was that the upwardly mobile class fled the cities and, theoretically at least, left crime and violence behind. Crime, however, appears to be moving to the suburbs as indicated above. The likelihood is that this trend will continue since both suburban and rural areas as compared to large core cities showed sharper increases in all crime categories. Several reasons may account for these increases including: (1) the idea that suburban migration has also created an increased concentration of valuable property outside of the urban core, (2) increased affluence which has increased the opportunity for property crime (Gould, 1969) and suburban migration has led to conditions in which:

> . . . there is more around to steal and it is less well protected than was previously the case (Schur, 1969: 32),

and (3) manufactured increases due to additional personnel and professionalization of suburban police forces thus allowing more systematic and accurate crime reporting.

Arrest data on age, race, and sex in 1973 showed that robbery is committed by men 13 to 1 over females, that 63 out of 100 are Blacks, and that approximately 8 out of 10 (76%) were under the age of 25. Federal Bureau of Investigation statistics for 1973 also reveal that 7 out of 10 of the adults arrested for robbery were prosecuted with 46% being convicted of the substantive offense, 16% were convicted of a lesser charge, and the remainder having their case dismissed or being acquitted.

Legal and Behavioral Classification of Robbery

The criminal offense of robbery refers to larceny from another person by means of force, violence, or fear of injury. More specifically, it refers to:

> . . . the unlawful taking of personal property from the person or in the presence of another, against his will, by means of force or violence, or in fear of injury immediate or future to his person or property or the person or property of a relative or of anyone in his company at the time of the robbery (Nice, 1965: 172).

The Uniform Crime Reports (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1974: 15) defines robbery as a "vicious type of crime which takes place in the presence of the victim to obtain property or a thing of value from a person by force or threat of force." For their crime reporting purposes, both assaults to commit robbery and attempts are included. Furthermore, this offense is dichotomized

into armed robbery (where any weapon is used) and strong arm robbery (e.g., mugging, yolking, etc.).

Because the nature of the present study is localized to Michigan, it is desirable to define robbery according to the existing laws. The Michigan Penal Code (State of Michigan, 1970) sets forth the statutory definitions of robbery as follows:

750.529. Armed robbery.

> Any person who shall assault another, and shall feloniously rob, steal and take from his person, or in his presence, any money or other property, which may be the subject of larceny, such robber being armed with a dangerous weapon, or any article used or fashioned in a manner to lead the person so assaulted to reasonably believe it to be a dangerous weapon, shall be guilty of a felony, punishable by imprisonment in the state prison for life or for any term of years. If an aggravated assault or serious injury is inflicted by any person while committing an armed robbery as defined in this section, the sentence shall be not less than 2 years' imprisonment in the state prison.

750.530. Unarmed robbery.

> Any person who shall, by force and violence, or by assault or putting in fear, feloniously rob, steal and take from the person of another, or in his presence, any money or other property which may be the subject of larceny, such robber not being armed with a dangerous weapon, shall be guilty of a felony, punishable by imprisonment in the state prison not more than 15 years.

Several other specific statutes are related to the above formulations of robbery, and include: (1) assault with intent to rob and steal being armed, and (2) larceny from the person. Accordingly, these statutory definitions are:

750.88. Assault with intent to rob and setal being unarmed.

> Any person, not being armed with a dangerous weapon, who shall assault another with force and violence, and with intent to rob and steal, shall be guilty of a felony, punishable by imprisonment in the state prison not more than 15 years.

750.89. Assault with intent to rob and steal being armed.

> Any person, being armed with a dangerous weapon, or any article used or fashioned in a manner to lead a person so assaulted reasonably to believe it to be a dangerous weapon, who shall assault another with intent to rob and steal shall be guilty of a felony, punishable by imprisonment in the state prison for life, or for any term of years.

750.357. Larceny from the person.

> Any person who shall commit the offense of larceny by stealing from the person of another shall be guilty of a felony, punishable by imprisonment in the state prison not more than 10 years.

It is seen then that the act of robbery, while possessing discernible legal qualifications, may involve a variety of behavioral dimensions. For example, the multitude of episodes which may be classified as robbery range from the skid row derelict who is mugged to a well-planned and well-executed robbery of a commercial establishment. It is naive to conclude that such diverse acts as these incorporate identical behavioral repertoires. Wolfgang (1967: 151), while considering another context of broad legal definitions, has commented:

> very often the crude legal labels attached to many acts committed by juveniles give a false impression of the seriousness of their acts. For example, a highway robbery may be a $100 theft at the point of a gun and may result in the victim's being hospitalized from severe wounds. But commonly, juvenile acts that carry this label and are used for statistical compilation are more minor. Typical in the files of a recent study were cases involving two 9 year old boys, one of whom twisted the arm of the other on the school yard to obtain 25 cents of the latter's lunch money. This act was recorded and counted as highway robbery.

The criminal offense of robbery is unique from other types of crime in several respects. As Johnson (1974: 139-140) notes:

> It combines the elements of violence and an income producing activity, although most forms of economic crime avoid violence as an excessive risk. Second, as a corollary of the first point, robbery threatens both personal security and property of citizens. Weapons may be used for four reasons: to prop up the self-confidence of the criminal, to intimidate the victim without intention of using the weapon, to employ the weapon if thought necessary to handle the victim, and to ensure escape. All of these reasons raise the possibility of violence to varying degrees, but not all robbers are armed. Third, robbers differ in their degree of qualifications as professional criminals.

Robbery then is at once seen as a violent personal crime (and is classified as such by the Uniform Crime Reports) and a property crime in that it involves overt theft. Normandeau (1968) in an interesting response to the question of classifying robbery as a personal or a property crime performed a cross-analysis of trends among the rates of the seven index crimes for the years 1958 through 1966. An analysis of his correlation matrix indicated that:

> it is obvious that robbery is not more closely related to crimes of violence than to crimes against property, because all of the correlations of robbery with the other crimes, with the exception of homicide, are above 0.94 (Normandeau, 1968: 38).

For purposes of the present investigation, robbery will be considered as a crime against a person. This formulation is based upon the fact that this offense involves the direct confrontation of victim and offender, as well as the potential of violence in the interactional encounter. Consequently, while robbery may be considered a property crime, it is the individual because of his direct involvement in the act, who experiences that victimization.

As was indicated above, the act of robbery may take several different forms in accord with specific legal categorizations,

Nonetheless, there are important behavioral dimensions common to all forms of robbery. Robbing (i.e., the act of committing robbery) is itself behavior. Like all behavior, it involves needs to be met, opportunities to meet these needs, and reinforcement of the act to sustain that behavior. The act of robbery may be said to consist of at least four elements, including: (a) perceived opportunity on the part of the perpetrator, (b) direct interaction and confrontation with the victim, (c) forced compliance on the part of the victim, and (d) violence or potential violence in the encounter.

Perception of Opportunity

Robbery, to a large extent is a product of circumstance and opportunity, as this opportunity is reflected in the physical and social environment in which the robber interacts. While environmental changes have increased the opportunity for crime through increased affluence and potential victims (Gould, 1969), robbery, as is true of other theft crimes, involves a social psychological dimension of the offender's "perception" of opportunities for the commission of the offense.

In his exposition of interpersonal relationships, Heider (1958) discusses the nature of common sense psychology or in his words "the naive analysis of action." The significance of this orientation to the present discussion is that it presents the individual (i.e., the robber in this case) with modes of organizing his perceptual field allowing him to "know that another person is trying to do something, has the ability to do something, etc."

(Heider, 1958: 79). Skolnick (1966: 45), in his study of the police, exemplifies this perceptual process or "perceptual shorthand" particularly well. He states:

> The policeman because his work requires him to be occupied continually with potential violence develops a kind of perceptual shorthand to identify certain kinds of individuals as symbolic assailants, that is, as persons who use gestures, language, and attire that the policeman has come to recognize as a prelude to violence . . . the policeman responds to the vague indication of danger by appearance.

This conceptualization of perceptual shorthand is directly relevant to the present concern of perceived opportunities for crime commission, and a literal use of Skolnick's text may be utilized changed only by substitution of appropriate phrases:

> The robber because his task requires him to be occupied continually with potential risk or disclosure develops a kind of perceptual shorthand to identify certain kinds of individuals as probable victims, that is, as persons who use gestures, language, and attire the robber has come to recognize as a prelude to increased risk or disclosure . . . the robber responds to the vague indication of risk or disclosure by appearance.

The message received from this terminological substitution is twofold. First, it directs our attention to the fact that it is not merely the presence of opportunity that serves as a stimulus for robbery. Rather, there is a social psychological dimension on the part of the perpetrator in which he employs a decision-making process based on his social perception of the environment in which he interacts.

The nature of the perceptual process involved in victim selection and the identification of opportunities for the commission of robbery lack both conceptual specification and empirical

verification. It is beyond the scope of the present study to examine this pursuit further other than to identify this dynamic aspect of robbery. All robberies, regardless of degree of planning and type of offender committing the offense, incorporate at least some minimal evaluation of the victim-opportunity situation. In terms of a behavioristic-economic model (Homans, 1961; Thibaut and Kelly, 1959), robbery is a business oriented economic activity. Consistent with this view, and with the view presented in the above discussion, it has been hypothesized (Cobb, 1973: 19) that "the potential criminal evaluates all possibilities within the limits of all information which he possesses and choses that activity which maximizes his utility." No particular theoretical model is advocated by the present writer in this regard, however, it would appear advantageous for future inquiries to consider the contributions such social psychological perspectives may offer to our understanding of this phenomena.

Victim Confrontation

The decision to commit robbery over some alternative means to enhance financial gain is often based upon the belief that it offers the most expedicious way to accumulate money. Robbery is different from other theft crimes in that there is a direct confrontation with the victim. It differs most radically from the more passive crime of burglary in which the burglar deliberately attempts to avoid any form of contact with the victim. Scarr, Pinsky, and Wyatt (1973: 11) note four rationales for this passivity

among burglars, including: (a) the chances of apprehension after committing a crime in an unoccupied structure or dwelling are lower, (b) entering an unoccupied premise minimizes the risk of later identification by the victim when the crime is reported, (c) the penalties accompanying burglary are usually less severe, and (d) the burglar is usually fearful of encountering his victim realizing such interaction may both endanger his own life, as well as increase the risk of his apprehension and subsequent more severe punishment.

The nature of robbery is quite antithetical to these considerations. Robbery is an active crime, both in terms of the lack of sleuthness and the activities involving confrontation with the victim. Nonetheless, robbing is often justified by individuals committing this offense behavior, and we may abstract several such reasons as follows: (a) opportunities for robbery are not as concealed as those for burglary:

> since most people know that banks, grocery stores, and department stores usually have large sums of money on hand. The burglar is less likely to know if there is money or valuable property in a house, where it may be and when the occupants will be absent. The burglar is thus more in need of inside information than the robber (Conklin, 1972: 89),

(b) robbery has the advantage of providing the offender with liquid assets. Furthermore:

> a number of robbery offenders who had done burglaries claimed that it was a hassle or too much trouble to break into a house, search out valuable goods, carry them out of the house, and exchange them for cash with a fence (Conklin, 1972: 87),

and (c) since robbery is usually a stranger-to-stranger crime (Mulvihill, et al., 1969: 217, 220), the victim is less likely

to identify the offender to the police, thus minimizing the risk of arrest. It appears then, that among robbers, the actual confrontation with the victim, although possessing a risk, may be less important than other elements of the crime.

The interactional sequence that takes place between victim and offender is of a relatively short duration. Feeny and Weir (1973: 232) report that less than one-third (32.8%) of the victims, on whom information was available, were in contact with the robber for more than three minutes, and almost one-fourth (22.9%) stated they were in contact for less than thirty seconds. Interviews with robbery offenders in the present study reveal that the average robbery lasted approximately 6.31 minutes. While the figure is somewhat higher than that reported by Feeny and Weir, it should be noted that almost one-half (44%) of the robbers in the present investigation stated that robberies usually last less than five minutes, and another fourty-four percent (44%) stated that a robbery takes between 5 and 10 minutes. The range of responses in the present study was from 45 seconds to 25 minutes.

The time of contact between victim and offender also varies according to the type of robbery. For instance, the respondent who stated the offense took twenty-five minutes was involved in the robbery of a "dope house" in which the offenders raided the apartment of a drug seller and merely waited for customers to come for purchase of their goods. Feeny and Weir (1973: 232; 236) concluded:

> Almost one-half of the armed incidents took more than three minutes, and none took less than 30 seconds. All the known

> cases in the pursesnatch without force category were three minutes or less. Nearly 20 percent of the cases were estimated as involving more than three minutes and relatively few estimated as involving 30 seconds or less.

Another factor involved in the actual time period of a robbery revolves around the potential payload. For example, one robber interviewed in the present study stated that the time of the robbery would vary depending on whether one decided to take all the possible money available (i.e., change from the cash register, money from customers that may be in the store at the time of the robbery, etc.) or just paper monies.

A final factor which may influence the time of a robbery is the victim's behavior. Physical resistance, such as struggling, attempting to hit the robber, or holding on to money, clearly lengthens the time of the robber-victim interaction. Feeny and Weir (1973: 255) provide an interesting note with regard to resistance by the victim. They state:

> Somewhat surprising is the fact over half of the cases of resistance (37 of 62) resulted in no reaction by the offender. This included all types of resistance from hitting the offender to running away. Yelling or screaming clearly led to no reaction.

Conversely, robbery offender interviews conducted in the present study indicate a relatively low toleration of victim resistance. The majority of those interviewed stated they would not hesitate to use physical force against the victim. Their rationale for this was not one of a time consideration, but rather to maintain complete control of the situation.

An exact analysis of the nature of the interactions between victim and robber during the offense is inherently difficult. Some

important dimensions of the event can, however, be identified despite the lack of empirical documentation. The robbery episode may be viewed in terms of Goffman's (1969) conceptualization of "strategic interaction." That is to say, the face-to-face confrontation of victim and offender takes on calculative and gamelike qualities in which each participants' behavior becomes dependent on the others' as the interaction progresses.

Forced Compliance of the Victim

Robbery is an unexpected occurrence for the victim. Individuals do not leave their homes with the expectation that they will be robbed sometime during the course of their day. This assertion is at least partially documented by the fact that most robbery victims were engaged in some normal, everyday, routine behavior immediately prior to the victimization (Syvrud, 1967: 58).

The unexpected nature of this event may be cast in terms of a social psychological conceptualization of different types of social interactional settings and the participant's perception of the actions of other interactants in that particular setting. Argyle (1969: 145-147) has identified three distinct types of interaction in this regard: (a) non-reciprocal--where A's behavior does not affect B's and vice-versa, (b) reciprocal but asymmetrical--where A's responses depend on B's, but B's do not depend on A's, and (c) symmetrically reciprocal--where the course of the encounter is of a genuine two-way interaction. It is clearly seen that the second of the above mentioned interaction types may be characteristic of robber-victim interactions. In the reciprocal but

asymmentrical situation, the robber (A) may select a particular victim (B) on the basis of his (B's) behavior, but the victim is not acting in response to the robber until some action is directed toward him by the robber, Conversely, as Feeny and Weir (1973: 242, 245) conclude:

> Over half (22 of 42) of the victims who saw an offender just before the incident stated that they suspected he was going to rob them or something like that. . . . By far the most frequently stated basis for this belief was some suspicious movement on the part of the offender such as following the victim, walking toward the victim, waiting for the victim. . . . Also worthy of note is that three victims were suspicious of the offender because they had previously seen him engaged in criminal activity. Surprisingly, none of the 32 victims were suspicious because of the offender's physical appearance.

Once action is directed toward the victim, the offender is mandated to control that situation if the robbery is to be successful. The control of the robbery situation is governed by at least the following two criteria: (a) planning of the event, and (b) dominance of the offender over the victim.

Most robbers plan their crime if only to a limited degree. The point to be made in this regard is not that the typical robbery represents any intimate or detailed preparation for committing the offense. Rather, it accentuates the idea that robbers, regardless of degree of planning, evaluate various inherent contingencies (e.g., escape routes, handling bystanders who may interfere with the progress of the robbery, etc.) in that situation. To this degree, the robber has a plan of action, and possesses some strategy for alternative action. Conversely, the victim is unexpectedly

confronted by a threatening stranger who disrupts his normal routine, and forces him to engage in interaction which he did not wish or seek.

Dominance of the offender over the victim is usually accomplished by the use of force or threat of force, and often through the employment of a weapon. The victim, facing a threatening or crisis situation, yields to the demands of the robber. While in a majority of cases victims do not resist the robber in any manner (Feeny and Weir, 1973: 79), victims, nonetheless, develop strategies to cope with this interaction. The decision to passively cooperate with the robber is perhaps the most prudent strategy given his position in the encounter. Victims do, however, resist robbers, and the circumstances, rationales, and reasons for their doing so remain unknown. At present, we may only speculate about the underlying dynamics involved. We can assume, however, that such a decision represents a cognitive process on the part of the victim involving some assessment of the encounter (e.g., in terms of the robber's veracity in carrying out his threat, the victim's perception of overcoming that threat, and other dimensions of the situation which remain unspecifiable). In this regard, the victim can be said to develop some cognitive definition of the event, based in part on the robber's actions, and as a result of this evaluation manages to cope with it.

The face-to-face encounter between the victim and his robber represents a unique form of interpersonal interaction. Initially, the interaction is one of an asymmetrically reciprocal nature (Argyle, 1969). As the encounter evolves, the interaction

takes on a gamelike quality in which both the victim and the offender respond to the behaviors and actions of each other. The robber responds to the actions of the victim's compliance with his demands, and as was indicated, the victim's behavior, at least in terms of resistance, becomes an important factor in the implementation of physical force in the robbery. Similarly, the victim while responding to the demands of the robber simultaneously develops a strategy to protect himself from possible injury, and in some cases his property. It would be of interest in this regard to examine those situations of attempted robbery in which the victim, while faced with danger, managed to deter the robber. Unfortunately, no study to date, either exploratory, theoretical, or empirical, has attempted this endeavor. MacDonald (1971) has mentioned numerous tactics utilized by rape victims to ward off the offense, however, he made no attempt to classify or examine in detail these various strategies.

Violence Potential

While robbery is classified as a violent personal crime by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, violence is not present in all robberies. The innate nature of this offense, however, does possess elements which may increase the potential for violence. Two such considerations in this regard include: (a) the use of weapons, and (b) the behavior of the victim.

The use of weapons has been said to serve two fundamental functions (expressive and instrumental) in the robbery event (Conklin, 1972). Expressive functions refer to the notion that

weapons are used by the offender as a psychological prop which enhance feelings of masculinity and omnipotence. Most robbers interviewed in Conklin's study, however, considered the use of a weapon in a more instrumental fashion in that such usage: (a) allowed the creation of a buffer zone or barrier between victim and offender, particularly when a firearm was used, (b) enhanced intimidation of the victim and thus less resistance on the part of the victim, (c) provided a means to make good the threat of a robbery, and (d) insured escape.

In 1973, the Federal Bureau of Investigation reported that armed perpetrators were responsible for two-thirds of the robbery offenses. Feeny and Weir (1973: 191) reported that almost four-fifths (78.8%) of their sample used some kind of weapon in the commission of the offense. Of the total number of robberies studied, Feeny and Weir noted slightly over half (51.3%) were firearms. Similarly, Syvrud (1967: 59) found over eighty-five percent (85.7%) of his cases involving the use of weapons.

The exact relationship among the use of weapons, violence, and consequent injury to the victim shows significant variations among both victim and offender attributes. Normandeau (1968: 198; 200-201) shows that: (a) males are victimized more by firearms than females but females, as offenders, are more inclined to use firearms, (b) males are victimized by sharp and blunt instruments more than females but, as offenders, both males and females use them in the same respective proportions, (c) whites are victimized more by firearms than Negroes but not so by other

weapons, (d) both races, as offenders, use firearms and sharp instruments in the same frequency but not so in regard to blunt instruments, (e) females are injured much less than males and they are also less violent as offenders, and (f) Negroes are physically injured proportionately more than whites. Ironically, other available data suggest that the use of a weapon in the robbery decreases the use of physical force. Conklin (1972: 112) reports:

> The proportion of all incidents involving actual force declined from 52 percent in 1964 to 46 percent in 1968. Specifically, the decline occurred in the category of offenses in which victims were beaten, punched or struck with weapons by offenders. One possible explanation for this decline is that wider use of weapons effectively raised levels of intimidation, making victims less inclined to risk actual violence by resisting.

A second factor leading to increased violence in the robbery is resistant behavior on the part of the victim. Feeny and Weir (1973: 200) have reported that the most "common reason for the victim being hurt was resistance by the victim." They further conclude (1973: 252) that "physical resistance, such as trying to hit the robber, struggle, or hold on to property, led clearly to more injury." In addition to increasing injury, the victim's behavior or reaction to the robbery in terms of both passive resistance (i.e., the refusal to give money) and active resistance (i.e., struggling with or attempting to hit the robber) lead to increased use of physical force by the robber (Feeny and Weir, 1973: 70). Similarly, Conklin (1972: 117-118) states:

> If the victim resists, the offender is apt to use force in spite of the weapon he holds; if the victim does not resist, the offender is less likely to use force if he is carrying

> a knife than if he is unarmed, and even more unlikely to do so if he carries a firearm. This relationship can be seen by comparing three victim resistance situations for 1968 with three nonresistance situations for the same year. When he encounters resistance, the offender uses force in 89.5 percent of the unarmed robberies, 57.1 percent in robberies with knives, and 37.5 percent of robberies with firearms. If the victim does not resist, the comparable figures are 73.5 percent, 33.6 percent and 13.6 percent.

The incidence of violence (i.e., physical force or injury to the victim) is a relatively rare event in most robberies. As Normandeau (1972: 83), in comparing past arrest histories of robbers, concludes:

> Robbers . . . are primarily thieves who occasionally, though rarely, use force to achieve their objects. The display of violence in this context is on the whole an isolated episode. It is general persistence in crime, not a widespread specialization in crimes of violence, which is the main characteristic of robbers.

The presence of a weapon in the robbery situation, as well as victim resistance, nonetheless, increases, if only mathematically, the potential for violence. Thus while it is true that violence is not present in all robbery situations, the components of such interaction possess an increased probability for such eruption.

The preceding subsections have briefly identified several behavioral or interactional dimensions common to all forms of robbery. The analysis of the offense of robbery as an interactional sequence between individual victims and offenders is indeed complex. No attempt has been made to provide an exhaustive theoretical formulation for the investigation of robbery episodes. Robbery is a unique form of criminal behavior, and to date behavioral science research has overlooked social psychological

aspects and the dynamic quality of this offense. The present study is an attempt to accommodate this need by focusing on the social psychological level of the victimization event. The remainder of the present chapter will depict personal attributes and characteristics of both robbery offenders and victims as they relate to the present study.

Characteristics of Robbery Victims

Systematic information collected on the characteristics of the victims of criminal offenses is for all practical purposes a relatively recent phenomena. Previous investigations (Amir, 1971; Normandeau, 1968; Pittman and Handy, 1964; Wolfgang, 1958) have provided descriptive characteristics of victims for specific criminal offenses within specific locales and cities, and comparison among these is inherently difficult.

It was not until the initiation of victimization surveys in 1968, however, that more uniform information began to be gathered. It is appropriate to mention that while victim surveys do provide information on the characteristics of victims, their initial and most immediate purpose was an attempt to estimate the so-called "dark" or "hidden" figure of crime. Nevertheless, the implementation of these surveys established a framework for developing portraits of victims. At present there are no national figures regarding the personal characteristics of victims. The National Crime Panel, as previously mentioned (see Chapter II), instituted a nationwide program to survey victims of crime, however,

only preliminary results are available at present. The data that is available derives from several smaller investigations (Kalish, 1974; Turner, 1972a) which served as a series of methods test, validation studies, and pilot surveys to the preparation of the National Crime Panel.

The present section is intended to detail the personal characteristics of robbery victims of the present study, hereafter referred to as the Detroit Study, and to compare these victims to the characteristics of robbery victims noted in other investigations. The sample for the Detroit Study consisted of twenty-six victims of robbery who agreed to interviews regarding their experience with crime. The details of the sample selection, procedures, problems, and limitations will be provided in a subsequent chapter as they are not germane to the present discussion.

Age, Race, and Sex Characteristics of Robbery Victims

Table 6 presents the personal characteristics of the respondents in the Detroit Study in terms of age, race, and sex distributions. Of the 26 individuals who participated in the present study nineteen were males and seven were females. This three to one ratio of males to females is consistent with the sex distributions of victims noted in other investigations. In Normandeau's (1968: 148) findings in Philadelphia 73.2 percent were males, a ratio of almost 3 to 1. Conklin (1972: 200) found three-fourths of the victims to be men. The association between sex and robbery is also consistent with the findings of the National

TABLE 6.--Victims of Robbery, by Age, Race, and Sex, Detroit Study (in Percent).

	Black			White			Both		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Under 20	0	0	0	6.7 (1)	25.0 (1)	10.5 (2)	5.3 (1)	14.3 (1)	7.7 (2)
20-29	50.0 (2)	66.7 (2)	57.1 (4)	20.0 (3)	25.0 (1)	21.0 (4)	26.3 (5)	42.9 (3)	30.8 (8)
30-39	0	0	0	26.6 (4)	0	21.1 (4)	21.1 (4)	0	15.4 (4)
40-49	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
50-59	25.0 (1)	33.3 (1)	28.6 (2)	6.7 (1)	50.0 (2)	15.8 (3)	10.5 (2)	42.9 (3)	19.2 (5)
60-69	0	0	0	40.0 (6)	0	31.6 (6)	31.6 (6)	0	23.1 (6)
Over 70	25.0 (1)	0	14.3 (1)	0	0	0	5.3 (1)	0	3.8 (1)
	100.0 (4)	100.0 (3)	100.0 (7)	100.0 (15)	100.0 (4)	99.9 (19)	100.1 (19)	100.1 (7)	100.0 (26)

Crime Panel survey which reported "when males as a group were compared with females, the former exhibited higher rates of victimization for robbery with and without injury" (National Crime Panel, 1974: 3-4). The rates of victimization compiled by a recent national survey (Ennis, 1967: 34-35) also indicate that male rates are almost three times as great as those for females. However, robbery victimization rates tend to be more equal in the 20-39 year old age grouping with male rates tending to increase with increasing age.

The empirical consistency of a disproportionate number of male robbery victims is somewhat paradoxical to earlier theorizing on victim vulnerability. For instance, Hentig (1948: 406-407) attributed higher proportions of female victims to the fact that the female is relatively weaker, and is thus more likely to be overcome by the physical superiority of the male. He further notes the legal philosophy of the weakness of the female sex being uniformly recognized by law. Crimes against chastity and against family and children, for example, are designed and meant to serve as protective devices against the assumed superiority of the male sex.

A popular explanation for the lack of support of Hentig's speculation is that empirical findings are a reflection of the traditional and sheltered domestic role of the woman in contemporary society. This interpretation appears less valid and fruitful with the increasing liberalization of the female role in our

society. Furthermore, as Schafer (1968: 64), in commenting on the lower proportion of the female victims, states:

> In homicide, assault, burglary, and robbery cases males are victims of crime only about four times more often than females, a proportion significantly different from that when the two sexes are compared as offenders. To put it another way, females are more often the victims of violent crimes than of other kinds of crime (Schafer, 1968: 64).

An interesting note also in the lower involvement of females as victims is the offender's perception of potential victims. The victim selection process includes a multitude of dimensions including the potential amount of money available, the vulnerability of the victim, the risk the robber faces, and the likelihood of victim resistence. While systematic data are not available for analysis, one phase of the present investigation probed incarcerated robbery offenders on various aspects of victim preference. Several of the interviewees stated quite emphatically they would not rob females. Their underlying rationale was based on their perception of a lack of predictibility in the reaction of the female victim. Thus while it may be true that females are theoretically more susceptable, offender perception of controlling that interaction may lessen their actual victim potential. Furthermore, it is observed that different types of robbery offenders display differential victim preference. As Conklin (1972: 89-91) suggests, there is:

> a tendency of different types of robbery offenders to pick victims with varying characteristics. . . . The sex of the victim also determines the degree of his vulnerability. Data show that in 1964 and 1968 juveniles were more apt than adults to rob women, and that each year, blacks and whites were equally inclined to hold up female victims.

> The data thus show that those offenders who are more apt to be inexperienced opportunists, the juveniles and the blacks, are also more likely to rob victims whose age, sex or solitariness makes them especially vulnerable, even though such robberies rarely net much money. The opportunist is more concerned with the vulnerability of the victim than with the size of the score. In contrast, the professional has a much broader concept of what constitutes vulnerability. For him, a vulnerable victim is one he can rob after planning the crime, surveying the target and neutralizing various risks.

Age appears to be positively related not only to being a victim of robbery, but also with victimization in general. As noted in the National Crime Panel (1974: 4) data:

> . . . the general relationship between lower victimization rates and increasing age was evident. Because the rates often were quite low and the differences between them slight, however, it was not always possible to find true dissimilarities between specific age groups. Nonetheless, the survey showed that there were significantly more robbery victims under 25 years of age than in any of the older age categories.

The Detroit Study data are consistent with these findings with the exception of older age groupings. The Detroit data show that almost one-fourth (23.1%) of the respondents were under the age of 26, and almost one-half (46.2%) were under 36 years of age. The combined age categories of 36-45 and 46-55 accounted for slightly under one-fifth (19.2%) of the victims, and the remaining thirty-five percent (34.6%) were over 56 years of age.

There are innate difficulties in making tabular comparisons of age distributions found in other studies since the age divisions utilized are variable and suited to the needs to the individual investigator. Furthermore, studies which employ broad age categories render comparisons meaningless. The Detroit data appear to be relatively consistent with other investigations on robbery.

Syvrud (1967: 48) for example found slightly over one-fourth (28.4%) of the victims to be under age 30, with sixty-three percent (63.7%) under 50 years of age.

Beyond this similarity, victim age distributions become more dispersed. Conklin (1972: 90), for example, found almost one-half (45.2%) of his victim sample to be in the 40-59 age category. Feeny and Weir (1973: 260) showed significant sexual distributions in the age composition of their sample. Accordingly, one-half (51%) of the male victims were under the age of 50, whereas only twenty-three percent (23%) of the females were in this age bracket. Over half of the female victims (52%), however, were over age sixty-one. Normandeau (1968: 178) found the median age of his sample of victims to be 36.1 years old, however, significant differentials in rates of victimization among the various age groups were noted. For example, he (1968: 173) states that:

> victims in general have their highest rate (23.2) between ages 20 and 24 and their second highest rate (22.5) between ages 25 and 29. However, among offenders in general, the highest rate (29.0) appears between ages 15 and 19, while the second highest rate (27.2) appears in the age class 20-24. Offenders as a group, therefore, evidence highest incidence between five and ten years younger than victims. The same conclusion is observed when frequency distributions are analyzed. Noteworthy also is the fact that there is a gradient decrease of the rates as offenders get older, but victims' rates between 40 and 50 years of age are higher than between 30 and 40 years of age.

The reasons for these age discrepencies are difficult to determine. One factor that emerges, at least with respect to the higher involvement of older age categories, is the possible veracity of the assumption seemingly made by offenders about the higher

potential vulnerability (i.e., being physically weaker and less likely to resist) of these individuals. Younger age groupings have been said to have higher victimization involvement principally on the basis of their social interactional patterns which culminate in potentially vulnerable situations.

One of the most striking features in the comparison of racial distributions of robbery victims is the apparent extent to which whites exceed Blacks. In the Detroit Study almost three-fourths (73%) of the victims were white. This proportion is consistent with the racial distributions found in other studies. Syvrud (1967) and Conklin (1972), for example, both found over ninety percent of their robbery victim samples to be white. In similar vein, the National Violence Commission (Mulvihill, et al., 1969) in their 10% random sample of 1967 offense and arrest reports from 17 large United States cities reported slightly over on half (59.1%) of their armed robbery victims, and over sixty percent (61.8%) of their unarmed robbery victims to be white. Table 7 presents a further comparison of these and other studies.

An analysis of Table 7 shows that the disproportionate representation of white victims is not consistent among all investigations. The National Crime Panel (1974: 16), for example, reported robbery victimization rates to be twice as high for Blacks as for whites for both robbery with and without injury. Similarly, the President's Crime Commission (1967b: 40) indicates:

> A Negro man in Chicago runs the risk of being victimized nearly six times as often as a white man, and a Negro woman nearly eight times as often as a white woman.

ABLE 7.--Victims of Robbery, by Race, as Noted in Different Studies (in Percent).

	Black	White	Other	Total	(N)
etroit	27	73	0	100	(26)
yvrud[a]	3.2	93.1	3.7	100	(218)
onklin[b]	5.6	94.4	0	100	(90)
oward[c]	4.2	71.4	24.4	100	(262)
ulvihill[d]	40.1	59.9	0	100	(269)
ulvihill[e]	38.2	61.8	0	100	(251)
ormandeau[f]	61.6	38.4	0	100	(1785)

[a]Syvrud (1967: 48).

[b]Conklin (1972: 200).

[c]Howard (1974: 8).

[d]Mulvihill, Tumin, and Curtis (1969: 214) Armed Robbery.

[e]Mulvihill, Tumin, and Curtis (1969: 215) Unarmed Robbery.

[f]Normandeau (1968: 148).

It is difficult to provide an accurate explanation for these differentials. A possible reason which may account for the higher percentage of white victims in some studies is based on methodological considerations. That is, the Detroit Study, as well as the investigation by Conklin (1972) used court records as a data source, and it may be that whites have a higher likelihood of prosecuting a victimization thus resulting in a racial disproportion in the sample space. Similarly, Syvrud (1967) may have encountered a racial bias in victim respondents that returned his mailed questionnaire. Such an explanation is at least plausible, however, it does not appear to have empirical support, for as Ennis (1967: 45-47) notes:

> For serious crimes against the person, neither race nor income appear related to police notification and for whites there does not appear to be any clear pattern related to income. Among Negroes the situation is more complex: It appears that, when victims of minor property crimes, they are more reluctant to call the police than are whites. . . . That Negroes do not differ radically from whites in their extent of reporting crime is matched by the similarity of their reasons for doing so.

Another possible reason for the higher involvement of whites as victims is the assumed greater possession of valuables and property. Such an assumption is warranted when one considers the finding that robbery departs from the intraracial character of most personal crimes, and is generally an interracial event with Blacks robbing whites (Mulvihill, et al., 1969: 214). While it may be true that whites show a higher frequency of being a victim one must consider another dimension and that is the risk of victimization. A special tabulation made by the Chicago Police

Department indicated that over 85% of the crimes committed by Blacks between September, 1965 and March, 1966 involved Black victims (Haskell and Yablonsky, 1974: 257). This report does not indicate crime specific (i.e., robbery) victimization figures, there is, however, further evidence to suggest that Blacks have higher victimization rates than whites.

Recent researches (National Crime Panel, 1974: 3; Normandeau, 1968) have clearly indicated that Blacks possess a higher risk factor given their number in the total population. Not only do Blacks constitute a smaller proportion of the total population, they are also a group subject to continued discrimination. And as Quinney (1975: 129) maintains:

> . . . for conventional crimes, the victims are those who are already oppressed in the society. Except for auto theft, the victims of all the major conventional crimes are disproportionately in the lower income levels. . . . The lower class and blacks, in particular, are major victims of conventional crimes.

Normandeau (1968: 162) has provided an empirically supported base for Quinney's contention in that:

> A rank order of victimization exists in Philadelphia, then, such that Negro males should have the highest expectation that they will be victims of robbery, followed in order of risk by Negro females, white males, and white females.
>
> Thus, when comparing the rank order of offender race-specific victimization rates with the rank order of risk of victimization, it is apparent that for a member of the total population victimization by a Negro male is most probable and that it is the Negro male who is most likely to experience victimization.

The racial distribution of robbery victims is seen to contain numerous contingencies ranging from methodological artifacts

and sample selection biases to victimization risk differentials in terms of both the demographic composition and the political structure of the society. Consequently, the exact relationship between race and victimization remains an empirical question.

Additional Social Characteristics of Robbery Victims

Social characteristics of victims, besides age, race, and sex, are of definite interest to the criminologist in terms of a more fruitful understanding of victim participation and involvement in the crime event. Unfortunately, however, such additional social data is rarely available for systematic inspection. Few studies have endeavored to determine the relationship of other social characteristics to victimization. The present section will consider the relationship of marital status and religion to robbery victimization.

Sixty-one percent (61.5%) of the robbery victims in the Detroit Study were married. This distribution is consistent with the findings of Syvrud (1967: 48) who reported 61.5% of his respondents to be married. Table 8 presents a tabular comparison of these two samples as they relate to the various marital status categories.

It appears that being married and being victimized are related. One reasonable explanation for this consistency is that married males who were working at their regular occupation (i.e., as proprietors or clerks in liquor stores or other such commercial establishments, particularly in the Detroit Study) were more

TABLE 8.--Victims of Robbery, by Marital Status and Sex, as Noted in the Detroit Study and Syvrud (1967: 48).

	Detroit			Syvrud		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Single	31.6 (6)	14.3 (1)	26.9 (7)	20.4 (29)	15.8 (12)	18.8 (41)
Married	57.9 (11)	71.4 (5)	61.5 (16)	65.5 (93)	55.3 (42)	61.9 (135)
Separated or Divorced	10.5 (2)	14.3 (1)	11.5 (3)	9.1 (13)	18.4 (14)	12.4 (27)
Widowed	0	0	0	4.9 (7)	10.5 (8)	6.9 (15)
	100.0 (19)	100.0 (7)	99.9 (26)	99.9 (142)	100.0 (76)	100.0 (218)

susceptible to participation in robbery situations. A disparity does exist with these findings and the results of the National Crime Panel (1974: 4-5) which reported:

> Substantial differences in victimization appeared when the four major categories of marital status were examined. In aggregate terms for all personal crimes, persons who had never been married had the highest rate and those who were widowed the lowest, largely a reflection of the age structure of these two groups. Persons who were separated or divorced had high rates of victimization, not much lower than the rates of those who had never been married. Married persons had higher victimization rates than the widowed, but these were considerably lower than the rates among persons in the other two marital groups. This pattern also held true when males and females were considered separately . . . among women, those who were separated or divorced had the highest victimization rates for both robbery and assault. . . .

Religious preference is a variable found to be associated with numerous social phenomena. With regard to criminal victimization, however, there appears to be no consistent relationship. Table 9 presents a comparison of the Detroit Study sample and that of Syvrud (1967: 48). It is seen that in the Detroit Study Catholics appear to predominate, whereas, those of the Protestant faith, both males and females, prevail in Syvrud's sample. The Detroit Study notes a sex difference in religious preference in that almost one-half (47.4%) of the male victims are Catholic and over one-half (57.1%) of the female victims are Baptists. These differences were not found in the Syvrud study.

No definite conclusions may be drawn regarding the relationship between religion and victimization. National studies (i.e., the National Crime Panel and victimization surveys), as well as other localized studies (Conklin, 1972; Normandeau, 1968)

TABLE 9.--Victims of Robbery, by Religion and Sex, as Noted in the Detroit Study and Syvrud (1967: 48).

	Detroit			Syvrud		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Catholic	47.4 (9)	28.6 (2)	42.3 (11)	24.6 (35)	18.4 (14)	22.5 (49)
Jewish	10.5 (2)	0	7.7 (2)	4.9 (7)	2.6 (2)	4.1 (9)
Protestant	15.8 (3)	0	11.5 (3)	54.9 (78)	63.1 (48)	57.8 (126)
Baptist	10.5 (2)	57.1 (4)	23.1 (6)	0	0	0
Luthern	5.3 (1)	14.3 (1)	7.7 (2)	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	3.5 (5)	7.9 (6)	5.0 (11)
None	10.5 (2)	0	7.7 (2)	10.6 (15)	7.9 (6)	9.6 (21)
No Response	0	0	0	1.4 (2)	0	0.9 (2)
	100.0 (19)	100.0 (7)	100.0 (26)	99.9 (142)	99.9 (76)	99.9 (218)

have not included this variable in their analyses, and both the Detroit Study and the Syvrud investigation provide insufficient data to reach meaningful results.

Characteristics of Robbery Offenders

The act of robbery, as mentioned previously, is a unique offense in several respects. Despite the concern over robbery among the populace and enforcement agencies, relatively little is known about robbers. The information that is available characteristically depicts those who have been arrested and who have passed through the criminal justice system. Furthermore, as the Uniform Crime Reports (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1974) indicate, slightly over one-fourth (27%) of the robbery offenses reported were cleared by arrest. Thus, it is impossible to determine how representative those arrested are of actual robbers. It is quite possible that those arrested are younger, less experienced, or less adept at robbery than those who avoid arrest. A more direct possibility in assessing characteristics of robbery offenders as they actually appear is to utilize victim perceptions of their robbers. Data generated from this source is subject to error as it is derived from reports of events which have occurred quickly and under circumstances of duress.

This section will present background characteristics of robbery offenders in the present study, as well as making comparisons among other investigations. Again, the selection process and limitations of the present sample will be deferred and delineated in a subsequent chapter.

Age, Race, and Sex Characteristics of Robbery Victims

The sample of robbery offenders for the present investigation, hereafter referred to as the Jackson Study, consisted of 26 incarcerated male offenders who volunteered to participate in the research. Table 10 provides the age and racial distribution of offenders in the Jackson Study.

While the present research was confined to male offenders, it is observed that males predominate as offenders in other reports. The Uniform Crime Reports (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1974: 17; 131) show that in 1973 ninety-three percent (93.2%) of all individuals arrested for robbery were male. Similarly, the Violence Commission (Mulvihill, et al., 1969: 215) in its survey of seventeen cities reported ninety-five percent (95.1%) of the robbers were male. Individual and more localized investigations substantiate the preponderance of males in the commission of robbery. Normandeau (1968: 148) and Feeny and Weir (1973) both disclose only five percent (5.2%) and three percent (3.5%) respectively of their samples involved female robbers.

The overrepresentation of males in the commission of robbery is not unexpected given the nature of this offense (i.e., force and confrontation with the victim). Furthermore, it has been shown that certain socio-cultural conditions increase the likelihood of male involvement in that:

> Use of weapons is more likely to be learned by males as children, during military service or in the course of an adult occupation, than by females. Structurally determined differences in opportunities to commit the crime, although

TABLE 10.--Robbery Offenders, by Race and Age, Jackson Study (Percent of Total).

	Black	(N)	White	(N)	Both	(N)
Under 20	0		0		0	(0)
20-24	23.1	(6)	7.7	(2)	30.8	(8)
25-29	30.8	(8)	19.2	(5)	50.0	(13)
30-34	3.8	(1)	0		3.8	(1)
35-39	7.7	(2)	0		7.7	(2)
40-44	0		0		0	(0)
45-49	0		0		0	(0)
over 50	3.8	(1)	3.8	(1)	7.7	(2)
	69.2	(18)	30.7	(8)	100.0	(26)

> less important for this than many other offenses may be significant in terms of access to weapons or knowledge of places or persons that may be profitably robbed. Differential access to criminal subcultures and pressures toward criminal careers are decidedly more significant for males, both in terms of early socialization and possible prison experiences. Finally, the category itself is really a type of theft, separated from other categories of stealing by the particular way in which the crime is committed, a method that embodies more male than female role expectations (Hoffman-Bustamante, 1973: 118).

Additionally, it should be noted that while most figures indicate a disproportionate number of males:

> . . . many female robbers appear to be accomplices . . . drivers of getaway cars (who many times are out of sight of the victims and will thus not be described as accomplices) and decoys in prostitution-related robberies (Feeny and Weir, 1973: 101).

It has also been shown (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1974: 17) that the number of females arrested for robbery increased five percent in 1973 when compared to 1972. Thus, while females are underrepresented as perpetrators in robbery, it is seen that they may often play auxiliary role, may not be seen by victims, or brought to the attention of arresting agents. Their involvement in this offense appears to be on the increase, although not substantially, and it is clear that robbery remains primarily a male activity.

Table 11 presents an overview of the racial characteristics of robbery offenders noted in other investigations. The most obvious conclusion to be made is the disproportional representation of Blacks as offenders. There are several reasons which may account for this overrepresentation. First, Blacks have a higher "categoric risk" for being labelled criminal. Various studies have shown that

TABLE 11.--Robbery Offenders, by Race, as Noted in Different Studies (in Percent of Total).

	Black	White	Other	Total	(N)
Jackson	69.2	30.8	0	100	(26)
Conklin[a]	59.7	40.3	0	100	(27)
Mulvihill[b]	85.1	14.9	0	100	(269)
Mulvihill[c]	81.0	19.0	0	100	(251)
Normandeau[d]	85.1	14.9	0	100	(2482)
Syvrud[e]	20.6	70.2	9.3	100.1	(218)

[a]Conklin (1972: 61).

[b]Mulvihill, Tumin, and Curtis (1969: 214) Armed Robbery.

[c]Mulvihill, Tumin, and Curtis (1969: 215) Unarmed Robbery.

[d]Normandeau (1968: 148).

[e]Syvrud (1967: 60) Based on victim perceptions of offenders.

Blacks are more likely to be arrested, prosecuted, and convicted than are whites who commit the same offense (Banton, 1964: 173; Black and Reiss, 1967: 132-139; Green, 1970; Forslund, 1970; Johnson, 1941; Kephart, 1957: 88-93; President's Commission, 1967c: 146-148; Wolfgang, 1964). Furthermore, as Schur (1969: 45) observes:

> . . . in some communities, it has been found that the racial membership of the victim has also influenced intensity of law enforcement: Negro-white offenses were considered most serious, and then in descending order, white-white, Negro-Negro, and white-Negro. . . .

A second factor which may account for the higher involvement of Blacks in crime is that Black crime rates reflect the fact that Blacks are concentrated in those sectors of the population which show high crime rates for all races. That is, Blacks are highly concentrated in the lower socioeconomic and educational brackets and impoverished urban environments. Schur's (1969: 46) observation is important in this regard:

> We cannot be absolutely sure what Negro crime rates would be like if this population distribution were different, but it is highly probable that they would be substantially altered. In this connection it is noteworthy that such studies as we do have shown that there is a clear relationship between Negro education levels and crime rates. Thus not only are Negroes with more education less likely to commit crimes than their less well-educated brothers, but it has also been found that the crime rates for Negroes in the higher education categories are lower than those for poorly educated whites.

A biological explanation of racial differentials in robbery is not an implication of the present discussion. While available data suggest that race is an important variable in understanding robbery occurrences, one must consider the influence of political

and social realities, as well as structured inequalities operative in contemporary society that may account for the disproportionately high involvement of Blacks in robbery.

Robbers as a group are generally young. An analysis of the Federal Bureau of Investigation Uniform Crime Reports for the years 1963 through 1973 consistently show that slightly over one-third of the persons arrested were in the 15-19 age group, with another 25% located in the 20-24 year old category, and another 12% in the 25-29 age bracket. Direct comparison of age characteristics of robbery offenders among different studies is difficult as a result of the utilization of different age categories. On the whole, however, most investigations confirm the general results of the F.B.I., data.

The Jackson Study showed an average age of 28.65 years for robbery offenders. Exactly one-half of the subjects were in the 25-29 age category, with another thirty percent (30.8%) in the 20-24 year old group. Similarly, Normandeau (1968: 175) found the highest rates for robbery to be in the 15-19 age category (29.0), followed by the 20-24 and 25-29 age groups with rates of 27.2 and 23.9 per 10,000 population respectively. Mulvihill, et al. (1969: 214-215) reported 75.4% of the armed robbery offenders and 88.4% of the unarmed robbery offenders to be under 26 years of age.

Such an age distribution among robbery offenders is not unexpected. Several authors (Cavan, 1962: 25-29; Reckless, 1967: 101-103) have commented on the differential age distribution among

various types of criminal offenses, and it is generally accepted among criminologists that robbery is a crime of the young adult offender. This fact has also been confirmed on an international scale (United Nations, 1965: 9-11). Some theories have attributed this age ratio differential to biological traits such as physical strength, vigor, etc. (Sutherland and Cressey, 1974: 125). Robbery is an active crime which requires a certain amount of physical prowess. It is an offense which requires little skill with a potential for rapid financial gain to aid in support of a hedonistic life style.

In summary, available statistics (most of which are based on arrest data) on robbery offenders show distinct patterns and relationships among age, race, and sex characteristics. These physical characteristics, however, should not be interpreted as a direct causative factor in the commission of robbery. Rather, they may be considered as measures of an individual's position within the social order. As such, there are intricate interrelationships among socially structured interpersonal relationships and opportunities for goal attainment which may be more influential in crime commission.

Victim Perception of Robbers

As mentioned above, a possible alternative to the ultilization of official arrest data for describing robbery offenders is through the employment of victim perceptions of their offenders. Few studies have used this approach, however, those that have show general consistency with arrest data.

Robbers as perceived by their victims are almost always male. Syvrud (1967: 60), using a mailed survey of robbery victims listed in newspaper accounts, found that 214 (98.2%) of his victims said the robber was male. The Detroit data is consistent with this finding in that 24 (92.3%) of the victims perceived males as the perpetrators of the robbery.

Victim perceptions of robbers with respect to race display mixed findings. Syvrud (1967: 60) found seventy percent (70.2%) of his victims claiming the offender to be white. In the Detroit Study, 21 (80.8%) of the victims said their robbers were Black.

Age data based on victim perceptions is necessarily approximate, since it is difficult to determine age solely on the basis of physical appearance, and also because of the circumstances under which the robbery occurs (i.e., short duration, duress, etc.). Nonetheless, such age impressions are possible, and there is no inherent reason to assume that robbers would be more likely to be described as older or younger. Given the variance potential in age depiction, it was found that most victims perceive their robbers to be young. In the Detroit Study, age perceptions ranged from 18 to 35 with the mean age perception being 23.2 years. Syvrud (1967: 60) found similar results in his sample with 43.6% of the respondents estimating the age of their robber to be in the 21-29 year old age category.

An important consideration in examining victim perceptions of their offenders is the accuracy of their perception. It has been noted that stressful situations influence the reliability of

perception (Sargent and Williamson, 1966: 569). If the robbery experience is assumed to be stressful or trauma producing, one might question how victim perceptions of robbers are affected. The Detroit Study was able to examine the accuracy of victim perceptions of their offenders. Through utilization of court records, data on the age, race, and sex of the offender were obtained from the arrest warrants. Victims were subsequently asked, as part of the interview schedule, if they could describe their assailants. Analysis of such comparisons between perceived and actual characteristics produced almost identical results. In all 26 cases the victim correctly perceived the sex of the offender, in 25 of the 26 cases the offender's race was correctly identified. With respect to age, 18 (69.2%) of the victims correctly perceived the offender's age to within five years.

It appears then, at least with respect to age, race, and sex, that victims are fairly accurate in identifying their robbers. The trauma and stress of the robbery situation apparently has little affect on the accuracy of perception. It is important to note, however, that since the Detroit Study used cases which were prosecuted, the victims had a second opportunity to see the offender during the trial proceedings, and this fact alone may contribute greatly to increased perceptual accuracy.

Past Arrest Histories of Robbers

A high proportion of the robbers in the Jackson Study had prior arrest histories. An analysis of the type of previous

offenses committed by the offenders revealed that almost forty percent (38.5%) committed an offense against the person other than robbery. This finding lends some credence to the general conclusion that robbers are for the most part theives who sometimes employ violence in their act (Normandeau, 1972: 83). No racial differences were found in past arrest histories among offenders in the Jackson Study. Prior property arrests displayed a variety of offenses ranging from possession of stolen property to auto theft and grant larceny. Conklin (1972: 65-73) has also shown variation in theft behavior among different types of robbers both in terms of sophistication of the theft, as well as committment of theft as a form of livelihood. Feeny and Weir (1973: 123-127) in reporting on two studies conducted in New Jersey and New York have also concluded that there is no dominant pattern of violence in the histories of robbers.

Robbers, at least with respect to the present sample, appear to fit the role career orientation of the "semi-professional property criminal" as described by Gibbons (1973: 273-278). These individuals engage in robberies of commercial establishments by employing relatively simple and uncomplicated crime skills. They perceive themselves as criminals who have "few alternatives to criminal behavior and as a victim of a corrupt society in which everyone has a racket" (Gibbons, 1973: 273). Furthermore, because of the low skill level and high apprehension risk, many show a past history of arrest for a variety of theft behaviors.

Summary

The present chapter has provided a descriptive overview of the robbery situation and the participants in that event. It has been seen that while robbery may take different forms within legal categorizations, there are several dimensions common to all robberies. Robbery is a unique crime which combines the actual confrontation of victim and offender in the theft of property. It involves forced compliance of the victim with the robber's demands, as well as the potential for violence.

Data on the age, race, and sex of robbery victims for the Detroit Study showed that males are victimized 3 to 1 over females, that 73 out of 100 are white, and that approximately 3 out of 10 are under 26 years of age. Victims in the Detroit Study were found to be characteristic of victims noted in other studies in terms of age, race, and sex distributions. The offender sample in the present investigation showed that the typical robber was a young adult Black male with a past theft arrest history. This distribution was also found to be consistent with characteristics of robbers noted in other studies, as well as with national data on robbers.

The criminal offense of robbery and its various dimensions is underinvestigated. Yet, it is a crime that pervades public concern. Much of the past research has been directed to the establishment of patterns of robbery (Normandeau, 1968), as well as descriptive accounts of the robbery event (Conklin, 1972; Feeny and Weir, 1973). The present research is designed to move into an

innovative area of crime specific research. As such, it employs a cognitive orientation to the analysis of attitudinal dimensions of the robbery experience for both victims and offenders. The major trust of the present study is to examine how participants in the robbery episode conceptualize that experience in cognitive space.

CHAPTER IV

ROBBERY AND COGNITIVE DIMENSIONALITY

This chapter introduces the concept of cognitive dimensionality as it relates to the present investigation. The term "dimensionality" has been used in a variety of ways in the social psychological literature, however, with respect to the present study its usage was restricted to pertain to one variable of cognitive complexity. The application and extension of this concept to victim research fits two intersecting substantive contexts. First, as research in victimology, it is related to other victimological research undertaken for the purpose of understanding the involvement of participants in crime events. Second, exploration of cognitive dimensionality is related to the work of social psychologists who have developed theories of cognitive structure by expanding their principles to a new arena of inquiry. Such an innovative venture may prove both theoretically and pragmatically important to our understanding of crime and related phenomena.

Theoretical Foundations

The concept of cognitive dimensionality is represented in the present study as one variable of cognitive complexity. The theoretical basis for this concept emerges from a variety of

sources represented in the cognitive and developmental psychologies of Gestaltism, Kelly's personal construct theory, Lewinian field theory, Piaget's developmental psychology, and Osgood's dimensional analysis of meaning. Some of the major similarities and differences of these convergent, but nonetheless, distinct schools of thought is succinctly stated by Ausubel (1965: 5):

> Historically, the cognitive viewpoint is most closely identified with the theoretical position of Gestalt psychology insofar as it is nonmechanistic and focuses on organized and differentiated conscious experience. . . . All cognitive theorists, however, do not necessarily endorse the Gestalt doctrines of perceptual nativism, psychophysiological insomorphism, the insightful nature of all problem solving, and the perceptual dynamics underlying the trace theory of forgetting. And, similarly, although Kurt Lewin was an extremely influential "cognitive-field" psychologist, not all cognitive theorists necessarily subscribe to his concepts of life-space, and psychological tension, to his topological diagrams, and to his insistence on the contemporaneity and invariable purposiveness of behavior.

Implicit in this statement is the consensus that "no set of general principles is acceptable to all (or even most) cognitive theorists, nor is there general agreement regarding the classification of cognitive theorists" (Shaw and Costanzo, 1970: 172).

Nevertheless, the basic assumption underlying these theoretical orientations is the observation that man's behavior is governed by a set of organized categories in which stimulus inputs are sorted, given identity, and given more elaborated connotative meaning. In other words, the cognitive theory perspective views the individual as an active processor of information (i.e., he actively interprets and constructs meaning in order to evaluate external situations). Most of the past research

emanating from these perspectives has been directed toward the discovery and empirical explanation of the principles and laws which underlie this organization and structure.

One of the most important and empirically documented lines of cognitive structure research has been the investigation of cognitive differentiation and cognitive complexity. The concept of cognitive complexity has been defined as "the tendency to construe social behavior in a multidimensional way, such that a more cognitively complex individual has available a more versatile system for perceiving the behavior of others than does a less cognitively complex person" (Bieri, 1966: 14). The importance of this conceptualization is seen in the intricate relationship of cognitive complexity to the cognitive structure property of differentiation in that:

> . . . the definition of cognitive complexity has primary reference to the degree of differentiation in an individual's construct system. . . . Further the basis for this differentiation consists of the dimensional process assumed to underlie one's perception of others. A person who is able to evoke more dimensions of judgement in construing others is more cognitively complex than a person who invokes fewer dimensions of judgment. . . . Cognitive complexity refers to the degree of dimensionality or differentiation of the judge's system of personal constructs (Bieri, 1966: 18).

Conceptualization of Cognitive Dimensionality

The assumption that cognitive structures are somehow composed of interdependent parts or units which form an organized whole is no longer questioned. Different theories of cognitive organization, however, make different assumptions about these component parts and the ways in which they are interrelated. No

attempt will be made to review these assumptive bases of cognitive structure as several detailed reviews are available (Shaw and Costanzo, 1970: 171-187; Zajonc, 1968).

The present investigation was modeled after the strategy for conceptualizing and measuring properties of cognitive structure developed by Scott and his associates (Scott, 1962; 1963; 1969; 1974; Swanson, 1966) and sought to inspect one property of cognitive structure (i.e., dimensionality) as it relates to the experience of criminal victimization by robbery. Within this model the term cognitive structure refers to the complete cognitive world of the individual and his experiences with the environment. More specifically, as used by Scott (1962: 87), it refers to a relatively permanent characteristic of the individual, having all the characteristics of an individual difference factor, and portrays "the individual's phenomenological representation of himself and the world--the set of ideas maintained by him and relatively available to conscious awareness." Furthermore, the Scott model, hereafter referred to as the dimensional model (Phillips, 1974), stands in contrast to the hierarchical formulations of cognitive structure advanced by other contemporary theorists (Harvey, Hunt, and Schroeder, 1961; Schroeder, Driver, and Streufret, 1967). The dimensional model, as noted by Phillips (1974: 1):

> . . . represents cognized objects--unitarily apprehended concepts from the environment--as points in some multidimensional space. In addition to such objects, the model also presupposes a second set of entities which are called attributes. Attributes are represented in the model as partially segmented lines or vectors which penetrate the space. These attributes correspond to such psychological

> entities as degree of goodness-badness, bigness-smallness, blackness-whiteness. . . , in short, to any property or characteristic that the person attributes to objects.

Figure 2 presents a schematic representation of this model as developed by Scott. This Figure:

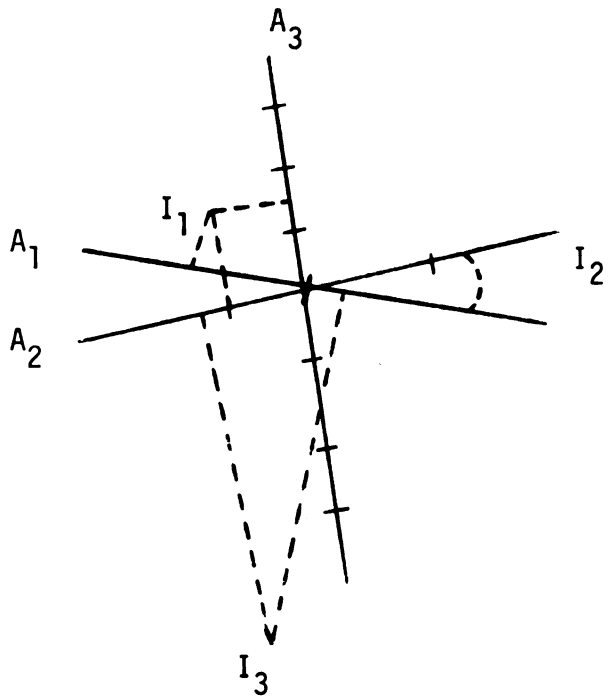

Figure 2.--Two dimensional representation of a portion of a cognitive space (Adapted from Scott, 1969: 262).

> portrays a portion of a cognitive space, consisting of three attributes and three images. Attribute 1 (A_1) is dichotomous, Attribute 2 (A_2) trichotomous, and Attribute 3 (A_3) divided into seven categories. Image 1 (I_1) is defined as low on A_1, intermediate on A_2, and at the second category of A_3, since normal projections from I_1 to the three lines intersect those segments. I_2 and I_3 are not defined on A_3, and are not distinguishable on A_1 (Scott, 1969: 262).

A brief example will serve to illustrate this point. If we conceive of Attribute 1 as Aggression, Attribute 2 as Detente, and

Attribute 3 as Power, it is seen for this portion of cognitive space the individual classified the United States within the domain of nations as follows:

> Aggression is dichotomous, Detente is trichotomous, and Power is divided into seven categories. The United States (i.e., Image 1) is defined as low in aggression, intermediate in detente, and in the second category with respect to power.

Thus, by adopting the dimensional model of cognitive structure, we move beyond the unilateral classification of an individual as being either cognitively simple or cognitively complex. Within the dimensional model, concepts of objects (i.e., images) are represented as points in multidimensional space, and the "structure of cognitions is conceptualized with respect to a single domain of concepts (i.e., a particular class of objects) without prejudging the generality of this structure to other domains" (Scott, 1969: 261). That is to say, an individual may be cognitively complex in certain domains and cognitively simple in others. For example, as Swanson (1966: 1) notes in discussing cognitive differentiation, ". . . an international diplomat may, by the nature of his occupation, have become well differentiated in the domain of nations, but remain totally undifferentiated in the domain of movie stars and the movie world." Thus, the dimensional model moves away from the assumption that cognitive styles operate similarly over all domains of cognition, and allows a domain specific examination of several properties of cognitive structure (see Scott, 1969 and Phillips, 1974 for greater details on this aspect).

The content of an individual's experiences (i.e., victimization in the present investigation) is believed to be organized

into more complex structural assemblies, and it is these structures that give meaning to specific experiences. Furthermore, as Shaw and Costanzo (1970: 173) note, these cognitive structures play a significant role in learning, perception and other psychological processes.

Cognitive structures are regarded as constituting various attributes and relationships among attributes, and it is desirable to identify the properties of these relationships prior to a discussion of cognitive dimensionality.[1] Scott's conceptualization of cognitive structure identifies two general properties: (a) differentiation and (b) integration. Differentiation is composed of both articulation and dimensionality. Articulation refers to the "fineness of distinction which a person is capable of for his average attribute" (Phillips, 1974: 6). Dimensionality, as a subproperty of cognitive differentiation, refers to the number of mutually orthogonal attributes utilized by an individual.

The second general property of cognitive structure is that of integration. Cognitive integration, within the dimensional model, refers to the manner in which images or concepts of objects are interrelated within particular cognitive domains. Scott (1974) has identified seven types of integrative styles as follows: (a) affective balance, (b) affective-evaluative consistency, (c) consonance, (d) centrality, (e) image comparability, (f) linear

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[1]Attributes within the dimensional model refer to characteristics or properties of elements or concepts, and are treated in the present study as bipolar adjective scales on the semantic differential (see Appendix A).

ordering, and (g) trait attribution. It is beyond the scope of the present study to evaluate these various styles of integration, and the reader is referred to other sources for critical comment (Phillips, 1974; Scott, 1974). The important point in discussing the dimensional model of cognitive structure is that implicity it is:

> a structure consisting of differentiated parts . . . which are related to one another in such a way that an integrated organization exists. It is this cognitive structure that enables the person to deal with a complex environment in a meaningful way (Shaw and Costanzo, 1970: 174).

The major contribution of the dimensional model in the investigation of cognitive complexity has been in the area of cognitive differentiation. The concept of cognitive complexity has generally been defined by reference to the degree of differentiation in an individual's construct system (Bieri, 1955; 1961). In other words, as Warr and Kanpper (1968: 200) state:

> A complex person is one who employs a wide variety of ways to process information about his world, whereas the cognitively simple person makes use of a limited set of processing techniques.

Consistent with the dimensional model, cognitive differentiation refers to two subproperties of cognitive structure (articulation and dimensionality) as previously identified. The present study sought to examine one of these properties (i.e., dimensionality) within two separate cognitive domains among two groups of participants (i.e., victims and offenders) in the robbery event. Dimensionality was selected as the property to be examined first because it is seen as a prerequisite to any

discussion of cognitive integration (Shaw and Costanzo, 1970: 174), and secondly, it provides a valid and established method for analyzing domain specific representations of individual experiences.

Cognitive Dimensionality and the Robbery Event

Dimensionality has been selected as the structural property to be examined because it is seen as a necessary consideration prior to any discussion of other structural properties, and because of its capability to provide a domain specific analysis of how victims and offenders represent the victimization event in cognitive space. The present investigation maintained that there are systematic differences between victims and offenders in dimensionality and placement of the victimization event in cognitive space as a result of their respective role relations in that encounter. The rationale underlying this contention was based on several assumptions relating to the structure of the robbery event.

The Robbery Victim

With regard to the victim of robbery, and as was detailed above (see Chapter III), it was assumed that participation in the robbery event represents a stressful situation in that the victim experiences an unexpected, and potentially dangerous, encounter with a stranger who forces him to comply with certain demands. Conversely, it was assumed that the robbery offender experiences little or no stress since he has decided to engage in a goal-oriented activity, and is in a superordinate position in that encounter.

The assumption that victimization by robbery is associated with certain psychological stress or trauma has been documented in recent inquiries dealing with the impact of victimization. The impact of victimization has been related to greater degrees of cognitive dissonance (Syvrud, 1967), as well as psychological trauma and changes in behavior (LeJeune and Alex, 1973; President's Commission, 1967a). Two analytical formulations address the question of how individuals may respond to experiences which are potentially threatening to self. When applied to criminal victimization, these formulations yield conflicting predictions.

First, the consideration emerges that as a result of this stress producing experience, victims will react in a more cognitively complex manner in terms of greater awareness and increased vigilance. For example, LeJeune and Alex (1973: 25) found that representative modes of adaption to victimization tended to involve increased vigilance and avoidance of strangers. Similarly, MacDonald (1970) found that bus drivers who had been robbed expressed greater concern for being victimized again. These conclusions have also been substantiated by recent victim surveys (Ennis, 1967: 79).

Support for these contentions may also be abstracted from the social psychological literature. Several investigations have found that more differentiation (i.e., dimensionality) was made among persons who evoked negative affect than among persons who evoked positive affect (Irwin, Tripodi, and Bieri, 1967; Miller and Bieri, 1965; Turner and Tripodi, 1968; Soucar, 1970). This finding has been interpreted as support of the vigilance hypothesis

which maintains that an individual tends to be more alert and wary of negative persons because they are threatening, and he thus tends to perceive them more prudently. Miller and Bieri (1965: 1204) point out that such greater differentiation serves as an adaptive strategy in terms of "facilitating greater flexibility in anticipating the behavior of this more remote and possible more threatening person."

A second formulation relating to victim responses to the victimization experience suggests that victims will show a regression effect, and will react in a more cognitively simple manner (i.e., they will be less dimensional). Evidence relating to victimization impact has shown that such an experience is usually profound, and often leaves deep psychological effects which can last for a considerable period (Csida and Csida, 1973: 172; 182; Schultz, 1973; Sutherland and Scherl, 1970). Although the vigilance hypothesis appears plausible, it has been found that while victims display an attitudinal concern for vigilance after victimization, it is not necessarily behaviorally manifested (MacDonald, 1970: 161; President's Commission, 1967a: 51) which would be expected if the vigilance hypothesis were accepted.

The Robbery Offender

Robbery offenders were expected to display greater dimensionality with regard to the victimization event than were victims. The underlying rationale for this prediction was based not only on their respective role relation in the victimization encounter, but

also on an assumed perceptual model of victim selection. It has been shown (Conklin, 1972: 87-101; Einstadter, 1969; Mulvihill, et al., 1969: 209) that robbery offenders display a more rational victimization pattern over other personal crimes indicating a differential victim preference. In this regard, it was postulated that the robbery offender invokes a decision-making process involving: (a) the decision that he must have more money than he presently has or can attain by legitimate means, (b) the selection of the victim, and (c) the planning of the crime which may range from elaborate preparation to more or less spontaneous enactment of the offense.

Once the initial decision to commit a robbery is made, the processual nature of victim selection and planning become apparent. Crucial to this process is the issue of interpersonal or social perception. Such a perceptual process allows the perpetrator to evaluate and define the situation in accord with his propensity for risk-taking (see Cohen, 1970). That is to say, the perpetrators of robbery will, in terms of both the selection of their victim and the planning of the offense, invoke some minimal evaluation of the victim-opportunity situation. This idea has been substantiated by Einstadter's (1969) study of robbery. Accordingly, ". . . the potential take thus never is the single criterion of victim choice, but contingencies . . . enter as important variables of victim selections" (Einstadter, 1969: 79).

These "contingencies" represent intervening variables (i.e., conditions sought or avoided in the crime setting) in the victim

selection process. Stated in another way, the individual is not perceived by the perpetrator solely on the basis of his (i.e., the victim's) characteristics, rather he is viewed as part of the larger configuration of the social situation.

Thus, since the robbery offender is in a position where he must evaluate subjective probabilities and risks, and there is some scrutiny of his potneital victim, greater cognitive dimensionality may be expected. While no study was located in the literature review which specifically dealt with these concerns, some minimal support for the substantive issue was abstracted from the social psychological literature. In a study by Tripodi and Bieri (1966), subjects were found to be more complex in judging role types of known people than in judging role types of imaginary people. Turner and Tripodi (1968) found subjects (student clinicians) to perceive clients in a more complex manner than significant others. The researchers explained these results in terms of the clinician's job requirement to make more articulate judgments regarding clients irrespective of their affective valence. In similar vein, it was expected that since the process of victim selection is one of information gathering and of knowing the other person in order to predict his actions, as well as planning and controlling the interaction, greater dimensionality will accrue.

The Measure of Cognitive Dimensionality

As indicated above, cognitive dimensionality refers to the degree to which attributes in one's cognitive space constitute

independent dimensions. Scott (1969) has developed several measures of cognitive dimensionality including: (a) Comparison of Paired Acquaintances, (b) Open Description, (c) Listing and Grouping, and (d) Rating of Objects (see Phillips, 1974: 10-13; Scott, 1969: 264-268 for detailed descriptions of these measures). Among these measures, Scott assessed dimensionality from two or more of the instruments in order to provide a multimethod convergence on this property of cognitive structure. Unfortunately, the convergent validity among these measures was rather weak. The total weighted mean correlation among each of the apirs of dimensionality measures was reported as 0.18 (Scott, 1969: 266). Swanson (1966) in an earlier attempt to refine the Scott instruments employed a correction technique to two of the measures (Rating of Objects and Listing and Grouping) found an increased tendency for these measures to intercorrelate. As a result of these procedures, Swanson concluded that these instruments are in effect measuring a common property of cognitive structure.

Of the various measures of cognitive dimensionality employed by Scott, the one that appears most justified by reference to the model is the Rating of Objects or interattribute measure (Phillips, 1974). On this measure, respondents rate domain objects on a set of semantic differential scales. This procedure thus allows for the computation of interattribute (i.e., interscale) correlations. The measure of cognitive dimensionality (D) is then defined as:

$$D = \frac{m^2}{m + 2\Sigma r^2}$$

where: m is the number of attributes with positive reliabilities
r^2 is the sum of the squared interattribute correlations

While Scott provides no justification for this measure, its plausibility within the model is noted by Phillips (1974: 12):

> If all m attributes are orthogonal, then the interattribute space will be of dimensionality m and all correlations will be zero. Substituting zero for Σr^2 in the formula yields $D = m$ as appropriate. Alternatively, if all m attributes are perfectly correlated, the interattribute space is of dimensionality one. But there are $m(m-1)$ correlation coefficients so the substitution of $m(m-1)$ for $2\Sigma r^2$ should $D = 1$ and it does.

Thus, the larger the interattribute intercorrelations, the fewer the number of independent dimensions are implied by the individual's rating and the lower his D score.

Additional research (LeBach and Scott, 1969) on the various measures of cognitive dimensionality has indicated that the Rating of Objects measure appears most appropriate. In their study, LeBach and Scott applied various measures of structural properties developed by Scott (1967; 1969) to two new cognitive domains--family and occupation. Their results indicated that the interattribute measure had the highest correlations among all the measures of cognitive dimensionality for both the family and occupation domains. They concluded (p. 17):

> Perhaps Rating did better because it was the easiest instrument for the subject to fill out. . . . All instruments are adequate for measuring dimensionality, the best being Rating.

Other measures of dimensionality have been employed by previous researchers, and it is desirable to mention these since certain comparisons will be made in the data analysis. One measure is that proposed by Ware (1958). The measure is obtained by factor analyzing the interscale correlation matrix of subject's semantic differential responses and utilizing the proportion of variance accounted for by the first factor as the measure of dimensionality. While this method has some merit with reference to the dimensional model, a far superior technique would be to enumerate the number of factors required to account for specified proportions of the variance. The logic of this later technique is seen by direct reference to the theoretical model. That is to say, if dimensionality is defined in terms of the number of independent dimensions or orthogonal factors, the principles of factor analysis are readily apparent.

Underlying the use of factor analysis is the notion that if we have a large number of intercorrelated variables (i.e., attributes or semantic differential scales in the present study), these interrelationships may be due to the presence of one or more underlying factors which are related to the attributes in varying degrees. Thus the more uncorrelated the attributes, the more factors are necessary to account for specific proportions of the variance, and therefore, the more dimensional that subject.

The present investigation employed three methods of measuring cognitive dimensionality: (a) the Scott measure, (b) the measure proposed by Ware, and (c) the factor analytic measure

for 50, 55, 60, 65, 70, and 75 percent of variance accountability. Robbery victims' and offenders' dimensionality was assessed through the use of these measures over two separate cognitive domains (domain of victimization and domain of occupations). Each domain consisted of nineteen objects or concepts with twenty attributes or scales per object (see Appendix A). The domain of occupations was construed as a neutral domain to allow an overall assessment of dimensionality among victims and offenders, and was treated as a repeated measure in the research design.

In order to compute dimensionality scores on each of these measures, the following procedure was used. First, since the dimensional model requires that there be more concepts than scales in order to compute D scores, the twenty attributes were randomly divided into four subsets of five scales (hereafter referred to as the ALPHA grouping). A second grouping, consisting of randomly dividing the twenty attributes into two subsets of ten scales (hereafter referred to as the BETA grouping), was also developed. Appendix B presents the specific scales used for each grouping.

Dimensionality scores were computed on each of the four subsets in the ALPHA grouping and on each of the two subsets in the BETA grouping within the victimization domain and the domain of occupations. From these scores, a mean ALPHA dimensionality score and a mean BETA dimensionality score was computed for every subject in each cognitive domain for each measure (i.e., Scott, Ware, and 6 factor analytic measures) of cognitive dimensionality. Thus, for each of the 26 victims and 26 offenders, 16 dimensionality

scores (i.e., 8 ALPHA scores and 8 BETA scores) were available for analysis for both cognitive domains. This procedure allowed a computation of dimensionality scores within the theoretic framework, as well as a reliability check on the data. Tables 12-15 present the intercorrelations among these measures for both victims and offenders in each of the cognitive domains. Furthermore, this procedure allowed a comparison of the heuristic value of several measures of cognitive dimensionality.

Summary

This chapter has introduced the concept of cognitive dimensionality as it relates to the present study. No attempt has been made to provide a complete or critical review of this concept. In terms of its usage in the present study, cognitive dimensionality refers to one variable of cognitive complexity. It was chosen as the major dependent variable for several theoretic and practical reasons. First, the measures employed allow a domain specific analysis of how individuals interpret various experiences. Secondly, it incorporates a theoretical model which is logically consistent with the derivation of the measures, and which suggests that an analysis of dimensionality is a prerequisite to discussions of other properties of cognitive structure. Finally, given the uniqueness of the subjects involved in this study, an instrument which requires ease of administration was necessary. The interattribute measure of cognitive dimensionality provided this practicality.

The implication of cognitive dimensionality measures for victims and offenders represents not only an expansion of theoretically

TABLE 12.--Intercorrelation Matrix of Cognitive Dimensionality Measures for Victims in the Victimization Domain.

ALPHA Grouping	ALPHA Grouping								BETA Grouping							
	Scott	75%	70%	65%	60%	55%	50%	Ware	Scott	75%	70%	65%	60%	55%	50%	Ware
Scott	1.000															
75%	.958	1.000														
70%	.948	.928	1.000													
65%	.974	.928	.938	1.000												
60%	.955	.896	.865	.956	1.000											
55%	.927	.842	.851	.875	.887	1.000										
50%	.929	.837	.831	.869	.879	.971	1.000									
Ware	-.992	-.969	-.961	-.972	-.935	-.894	-.886	1.000								
BETA Grouping																
Scott	.987	.923	.917	.951	.937	.935	.963	-.965	1.000							
75%	.973	.957	.952	.957	.957	.856	.850	-.979	.948	1.000						
70%	.966	.931	.914	.949	.930	.849	.863	-.961	.958	.968	1.000					
65%	.977	.932	.957	.954	.931	.894	.895	-.968	.966	.977	.956	1.000				
60%	.961	.897	.903	.940	.924	.875	.904	-.939	.969	.929	.941	.956	1.000			
55%	.948	.844	.858	.913	.931	.948	.947	-.915	.968	.893	.925	.894	.917	1.000		
50%	.915	.831	.815	.853	.861	.947	.990	-.869	.956	.834	.856	.878	.894	.945	1.000	
Ware	-.993	-.966	-.960	-.970	-.931	-.899	-.902	-.997	-.977	-.982	-.967	-.975	-.946	-.927	-.889	1.000

TABLE 13.--Intercorrelation Matrix of Cognitive Dimensionality Measures for Victims in the Domain of Occupations.

ALPHA Grouping	ALPHA Grouping								BETA Grouping							
	Scott	75%	70%	65%	60%	55%	50%	Ware	Scott	75%	70%	65%	60%	55%	50%	Ware
Scott	1.000															
75%	.951	1.000														
70%	.958	.944	1.000													
65%	.966	.908	.935	1.000												
60%	.955	.899	.884	.945	1.000											
55%	.919	.882	.828	.855	.889	1.000										
50%	.919	.839	.848	.850	.849	.864	1.000									
Ware	-.991	-.969	-.966	-.961	-.945	-.910	-.883	1.000								
BETA Grouping																
Scott	.987	.907	.926	.947	.933	.909	.941	-.964	1.000							
75%	.961	.951	.953	.919	.901	.886	.859	-.966	.949	1.000						
70%	.961	.957	.934	.944	.919	.899	.868	-.969	.946	.956	1.000					
65%	.982	.941	.942	.944	.930	.917	.903	-.979	.970	.971	.971	1.000				
60%	.956	.887	.897	.911	.930	.902	.916	-.934	.964	.927	.932	.941	1.000			
55%	.949	.855	.882	.912	.902	.913	.932	-.917	.961	.901	.898	.918	.967	1.000		
50%	.934	.826	.849	.871	.875	.897	.954	-.888	.967	.875	.873	.918	.923	.935	1.000	
Ware	-.984	-.945	-.950	-.955	-.927	-.888	-.905	.988	-.974	-.964	-.961	-.974	-.932	-.924	-.895	1.000

TABLE 14.--Intercorrelation Matrix of Cognitive Dimensionality Measures for Offenders in the Victimization Domain.

ALPHA Grouping	ALPHA Grouping								BETA Grouping							
	Scott	75%	70%	65%	60%	55%	50%	Ware	Scott	75%	70%	65%	60%	55%	50%	Ware
Scott	1.000															
75%	.935	1.000														
70%	.973	.919	1.000													
65%	.912	.848	.877	1.000												
60%	.923	.840	.856	.891	1.000											
55%	.918	.908	.845	.832	.868	1.000										
50%	.913	.844	.922	.799	.757	.819	1.000									
Ware	-.987	-.917	-.955	-.906	-.917	-.907	-.866	1.000								
BETA Grouping																
Scott	.913	.787	.867	.852	.848	.834	.813	-.891	1.000							
75%	.909	.872	.849	.889	.879	.869	.744	-.897		1.000						
70%	.928	.886	.898	.862	.805	.876	.847	-.912	.876	.907	1.000					
65%	.907	.879	.849	.868	.865	.869	.783	-.879	.867	.960	.879	1.000				
60%	.919	.811	.869	.851	.875	.857	.807	-.919	.871	.916	.907	.864	1.000			
55%	.948	.895	.907	.884	.889	.898	.871	-.902	.918	.912	.902	.933	.873	1.000		
50%	.888	.841	.845	.785	.805	.852	.848	-.867	.853	.824	.821	.878	.847	.879	1.000	
Ware	-.954	-.864	-.914	-.851	-.872	-.873	-.814	.976	-.897	-.899	-.911	-.864	-.936	-.866	-.856	1.000

TABLE 15.--Intercorrelation Matrix of Cognitive Dimensionality Measures for Offenders in the Domain of Occupations.

ALPHA Grouping	ALPHA Grouping								BETA Grouping							
	Scott	75%	70%	65%	60%	55%	50%	Ware	Scott	75%	70%	65%	60%	55%	50%	Ware
Scott	1.000															
75%	.936	1.000														
70%	.972	.920	1.000													
65%	.970	.889	.940	1.000												
60%	.972	.873	.930	.979	1.000											
55%	.956	.851	.913	.937	.947	1.000										
50%	.929	.817	.889	.872	.889	.946	1.000									
Ware	-.987	-.955	-.972	-.952	-.951	-.916	-.880	1.000								
BETA Grouping																
Scott	.965	.875	.912	.937	.948	.947	.953	-.928	1.000							
75%	.950	.871	.909	.947	.949	.933	.891	-.927	.969	1.000						
70%	.959	.879	.927	.956	.949	.924	.906	-.936	.974	.982	1.000					
65%	.936	.856	.898	.930	.934	.927	.911	-.902	.978	.979	.965	1.000				
60%	.957	.842	.913	.928	.954	.961	.961	-.917	.986	.965	.965	.971	1.000			
55%	.903	.782	.837	.894	.909	.905	.916	-.852	.974	.954	.950	.961	.967	1.000		
50%	.868	.762	.814	.842	.855	.868	.924	-.808	.945	.892	.898	.941	.937	.945	1.000	
Ware	-.986	-.951	-.969	-.957	-.953	-.910	-.882	.994	-.935	-.936	.947	-.906	-.919	-.864	-.814	1.000

derived social psychological principles to real life situations, but also it provides a new, and perhaps more comprehensive, approach to the understanding of the participants in robbery events.

CHAPTER V

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

The purpose of this study was essentially threefold: (1) to discover if any differences in cognitive dimensionality exist among the participants of the robbery event as a result of their role as victim or victimizer, (2) to examine any within group differences in cognitive dimensionality among these participants, and (3) to discover any relationships of cognitive dimensionality to select background variables among these participants. By way of orientation, this chapter will begin with a description of the victim and offender sample selection methods and their limitation. The discussion will then turn to a delineation of the procedure, operationalization of variables, and the specification of research hypotheses specific to the investigation.

The Victim Sample

Sampling victims of criminal offenses involves some unique difficulties in addition to the major problems confronting all behavioral science research. One such difficulty is noted by Syvrud (1967: 37-38):

> Initially the investigator contacted law enforcement agencies, i.e., community police forces, sheriff's departments, and a state crime commission, in an attempt to obtain information about the identity of robbery victims. It was found that these respective law enforcement agencies were generally reluctant

> to divulge information regarding the identity and location of robbery victims. In the event that the law enforcement agency did permit the investigator to obtain information from their files there was considerable concern expressed on the part of the police that there might be dissatisfaction on the part of the victims with the police organization if such information were released. . . . They did not want to take the chance of arousing protests from victims if their identities were revealed through the police agency.

As a result of this problem, Syvrud (1967) opted for a less complicated method, and utilized robbery victimizations as reported in newspaper accounts which detailed names and addresses.

In order to avoid difficulties inherent in Syvrud's method (e.g., incorrect and insufficient addresses, differential and selective crime reporting processes by newspaper, biasing effect of deliberate exclusion of relevant victim information by newspapers, etc.), the present study sought court statistics and records as its major source of identifying and locating victims.

The victim sample for the present study was generated from the records of the Detroit Recorder's Court. While gaining access to court records presented some initial problems as a result of agency cooperation, the actual compilation of victim lists was a relatively mechanical task. The compilation of a victim list from which the final sample was to be drawn was completed during the first week of November, 1974. This process consisted of first listing all armed robbery cases, noting the file number and the offender's name, from the court dockett book. This step was necessary in order to be able to locate and identify individual court records as they are filed by dockett number. Each individual court record was then inspected, and the name and address of each

victim was taken, specifically from the list of complaining witnesses contained in each record. Additional information gathered at this time included: (a) date of the offense, date the arrest warrant was issued, and date of the disposition of the case, and (b) name, age, race, and sex of the offender(s).

Two major criteria dictated the selection of cases to be incorporated within the scope of the sampling frame. First, all cases included for consideration would possess a court disposition such that each case would be closed and not under appeal. This decision was based primarily on the agency prerequisite as a condition of cooperation, and secondly, on the potentiality of legal liability on the part of the researcher (i.e., the potential of interview content and material interfering with the processing of a particular case). The second criteria for the selection of cases for inclusion in the final sample was the decision to control for the time lapse between the occurrence of the robbery and the victim interview. It was decided that a fifteen month lapse period (i.e., no case was considered in which the robbery was more than 15 months past) was sufficient to allow accurate recall of the robbery event. This decision was based upon recommendations of other investigations (Ennis, 1967: 94-100; Syvrud, 1967: 38; Turner, 1972b: 17), which attempted to control for "memory decay" and forgetting.

In accord with the closed case limitation and lapse time control decision, all cases of armed robbery processed by the Detroit Recorder's Court between December 1, 1973 and March 31, 1974 were selected for inclusion in the final sample. A total

of 230 cases appeared in the dockett books for this time period. The final sampling frame was reduced further by the decision to eliminate: (a) cases which were dismissed by the court because the complaining witness (i.e., the victim) either failed to appear or could not be located by the court at the time of the trial, and (b) records which were not available for inspection at the time the researcher generated the victim listing.

An analysis of Table 16 indicates one difficulty of victimological research employing this sampling technique. The most dramatic indication is that the attrition of potential subjects is considerably great. As a result of the aforementioned limiting factor, a total of 165 cases were then available for inclusion in the final sample, which represents a twenty-eight percent (28%) reduction from the total possible number of available cases. From this final sampling frame, an attempt was made to contact and conduct interviews with as many victims as possible. The final sample consisted of 26 robbery victims who voluntarily consented to interview requests. While this sample size is relatively small, it does represent a sixteen percent (16%) response return which is a reasonable expectation for this type of research, and which is comparable to return rates reported for other survey research (Miller, 1970: 76).

Locating and Contacting Victims

A two-fold procedure was employed to contact victims for interviews. First it was decided that the most expeditious means was to telephone potential respondents in order to arrange interview

TABLE 16.--Attrition Distribution of Detroit Robbery Victim Sample (December, 1973 - March, 1974).

	Total Cases Available	Not Available[1]	Dismissed and Active Cases[2]	Available for Inclusion in Final Sample Frame	Not Located	Refused	No Response	Final Sample
December	44	3	8	33	12	7	11	3
January	84	7	14	63	15	14	23	11
February	50	10	3	37	4	6	20	7
March	52	7	13	32	15	5	7	5
TOTAL	230	27	38	165	46	32	61	26

[1]Cases in this category were not considered for inclusion in the final sample frame because the court record was either lost, misplaced, or otherwise not available (e.g., in use by another agency) when the researcher generated the victim list.

[2]Cases in this category were not considered for inclusion in the final sample frame because they were dismissed by the court (i.e., the complaining witness either failed to appear or could not be located at the time of the trial) or the case was still active, usually under appeal.

appointments. In this regard, an attempt was made to obtain phone numbers for each of the individuals on the final sampling frame list by consulting city directaries, telephone directories, and directory assistance. Of the 165 available victims 59 were found to have currently listed telephone numbers. An attempt was made to contact each of these victims. Calls were made at various times during the day and if after four attempts no contact was made the subject was counted as a no response. The remaining victims either had (a) unlisted numbers which could not be obtained, (b) disconnected phones, or no phone, or (c) phone under another name which was unobtainable.

The second phase of the procedure for contacting victims consisted of mailing letters of request for interviews (see Appendix C). Letters were sent to all subjects who could not be located or contacted by phone. Approximately two weeks after the original request was mailed, a follow-up letter was sent to each of those who had not responded. An analysis of Table 16 indicates a fairly high no response rate. The reasons for the high no response can only be left to speculation. It is believed that some of the traditional reasons prevailing in social survey research are operative. In addition, however, there may be reasons more unique to victim research. For instance, it is plausible that many subjects did not respond because of the psychological threat of renewing or recalling unfortunate and unpleasant experiences. Another, and perhaps more plausible explanation may be due to the fact that individuals were highly suspicious of the nature and intent of the investigation.

Once victims were located, contacted, and agreed to cooperate with the interview request further difficulties emerged which contributed to the attrition rate. One of the serious problems in this context was the victim's failure to be available at the interview appointment time. Several subjects were lost simply because they were not present at the agreed time, or they reconsidered and refused cooperation subsequent to the investigator's follow-up of their absence.

The Offender Sample

The robbery offender sample was generated from incarcerated inmates at the State Prison of Southern Michigan (SPSM) who were currently sentenced for armed or unarmed robbery. The decision to expand the sample to include unarmed robbers was based on the low number of armed robbery offenders in the total sample frame (see Table 17). The investigator initially contacted the Office of Program Research of the Michigan Department of Corrections, and was provided a list of currently sentenced offenders. After securing permission from the Department of Corrections to conduct this phase of the research, the investigator then contacted the Warden's Office of SPSM in order to send out a call for interview volunteers. Letters of request (see Appendix D) for volunteers to participate in the research project were sent to each of the 62 individuals on the original list supplied by the Office of Program Research.

Two criteria dictated the selection of the final sample. First, only offenders sentenced between January 1, 1974 and

TABLE 17.--Attrition Distribution of Jackson Robbery Offender Sample (January, 1974 - October, 1974).

	Total Cases Available	Refused	No Response	Not Available	Final Sample Total
Armed	28	3	12	0	13
Unarmed	34	4	15	2	13
TOTAL	62	7	27	2	26

October 7, 1974 were included. This decision was made to control for the time-lapse period since the offence occurred, and also to make the data comparable to the victim sample with respect to this time variable. The second criteria or limiting factor was the institutional requirement to use only those offenders who voluntarily cooperated with interview requests.

Letters of request were sent during the week of January 13, 1975 through the Warden's Office of SPSM under the auspices of the M.S.U. Robbery Research Project, and individuals were asked to respond within ten days of receipt of the request. From the 62 total number of offenders on the original list, 28 individuals responded favorably to cooperate in an interview. The final sample, however, included only 26 subjects because one individual was in the prison infirmary at the time of the interview appointment, and the second refused to complete the semantic differential portion of the interview schedule and was thus eliminated from the analysis (see Table 17). While the offender sample is relatively

small, it does represent a forty-two percent (41.5%) return rate and is a fair expectation.

Again, as with the victim sample, the reasons for the high no response rate are open to question. It is believed, however, that some of the inmates were suspicious of the study and how the results would be used. This is evidenced by the following written comment from one inmate who refused:

> I was in the Governor's (Study Name Deleted) here. It was suppose to be confidential. The letters had confidential stamped on them. I got 2 letters that had been open. If they don't honor the Governor's offices I know they sure won't honor your word. Too bad, this study is very overdue. I don't trust ya. We all lose.

Appointments were arranged through the Warden's Office with each of the individuals during non-assignment hours (usually evenings). Each participant received a pack of cigarettes as reimbursement for his investment of time and cooperation.

Data Collection

Interviews were conducted with each of the 26 victims and 26 offenders who agreed to participate in the study. For the victim sample, interviews were conducted between November 15, 1974 and January 30, 1975. The offender sample was interviewed during the first two weeks of February, 1975. Each interview, including completion of the semantic differential, took approximately one hour and twenty minutes to complete ($\overline{X}$ = 1 hour and 21 minutes, range 49 minutes to 2 hours). Appendices E and F present the interview schedule for both the victim and offender groups respectively.

Offender interviews proceeded more efficiently. In this phase of the research, the investigator was able to have several respondents complete the semantic differential portion of the interview simultaneously. The procedure was to call respondents (usually three per evening) at 20 minute intervals. When the first respondent arrived, he was interviewed, presented with the semantic differential task, while the investigator interviewed the second respondent in separate quarters so as not to have the conversation overheard. Generally, by the time the second interview was completed, the first subject had completed the semantic differential. The third subject was then interviewed while the second respondent completed the semantic differential. Each subject was debriefed after completion of the semantic differential and was told that he would receive a pack of cigarettes, to be distributed by the institution, for his cooperation.

Victim interviews proceeded less efficiently primarily as a result of location and cooperation problems, as well as the high no response rate on the part of prospective subjects. These difficulties led to a very time-consuming and burdensome data collection effort.

Specification of Variable Relationships

This study was designed to examine the relationship among several sets of variables surrounding robbery encounters and their influence on cognitive dimensionality. The major prediction derived from the situated aspects of the robbery event and was

concerned specifically with the effects one's role relation as victim or victimizer would have on cognitive dimensionality. The robbery situation was conceived as being a structured interaction with the offender dominating the victim. As a result of this super-subordinate relationship, it was predicted that victims would display less dimensionality.

In addition to this main concern, attention was directed to two other sets of variables which had a possible influence on cognitive dimensionality. First, victims were assessed on three perceptual variables (crisis perception, immediate psychophysical reaction, and post victimization emotion). These variables were predicated on the principle that variations in cognitive dimensionality would arise from definitions ascribed to the victimization experience as a crisis or threat. It was predicted that an inverse relationship would exist between crisis perception and dimensionality. Second, offenders were evaluated on two variables dealing with the effect their commitment to criminality would have on cognitive dimensionality. It was predicted that the greater one's experience with crime and with specific offense patterns the greater the dimensionality.

A final phase of the research was designed to inspect the relationship of cognitive dimensionality and various sociological background variables. Thus, not only are the structural aspects of the situation, and the perceptual and experiential concerns represented as important variables, but it is also necessary to consider other characteristics of the participants in the robbery

encounter which may influence cognitive dimensionality. Our interest in exploring background variables was based on the sociological notion that individuals react to and base definitions of situations on both past experiences as well as individual status ensembles.

Operationalization of Variables and Statements of Hypotheses

The primary concern of this investigation was first to establish whether differences exist in cognitive dimensionality among the participants of the robbery encounter as a result of their role relation of victim or victimizer. The structural characteristics of this episode have been detailed above (Chapter IV) and need no further specification at this point. From this underlying rationale the following hypothesis was advanced:

> Hypothesis 1: Victims will show less dimensionality than offenders in representing the robbery experience in cognitive space as a result of their subordinate role relation in the robbery act.

The individual's cognitive representation (i.e., dimensionality) of the robbery event was also suspected to be influenced by his definition or evaluation of the encounter. Several researchers, especially from the symbolic interactionist perspective, have suggested that attention to such phenomenological factors as "definition of the situation" are important to understanding human behavior (Deutscher, 1966; Mills, 1967: 355-356). In accord with this orientation, the present study assessed the victim's evaluation of the robbery situation on the basis of its being threatening or

non-threatening to self as measured by their perception of the robbery event as a crisis. It was thus hypothesized:

> Hypothesis 2: The greater the victimization experience is perceived as a crisis the lower the cognitive dimensionality displayed by the victim.

Two supplemental measures of threat or crisis perception were employed in the present study. These indicators included: (a) immediate psychophysical reaction, and (b) post victimization emotion.

Immediate Psychophysical Reaction

In order to ascertain the nature and intensity of crisis perception produced by the robbery and defined by the victim, a series of items represented as descriptive terms was provided for the subject and he was asked to report the intensity of his reaction to each (Item 20 on Victim Interview Schedule--see Appendix E). Terms such as "schocked," "dazed," or "stunned" have been noted to be frequently used by victims of disaster (Wolfenstein, 1957: ix), as well as for criminal victimizations (LeJuene and Alex, 1973). Consistent with this line of argument, the following subhypothesis was proposed:

> Hypothesis 2a: The greater the intensity of the reaction to the victimization experience, the lower the dimensionality displayed by the victim.

Post Victimization Emotion

Psychophysical reactions to the robbery victimization, as discussed above, referred to the immediate reactions the individual may have at the time of the robbery occurrence. The present

indicator expanded this conception and made reference to subsequent difficulties the individual may have in adjusting to the victimization experience (Item 21 on Victim Interview Schedule--see Appendix E). In this regard, a second subhypothesis was proposed as follows:

> Hypothesis 2b: The greater the intensity of the post victimization emotion, the lower the cognitive dimensionality displayed by the victim.

Each of these two indicators of crisis perception were measured by presenting the subject with a modified Likert rating scale and asking him to indicate the intensity of his reactions and adjustment difficulties by responding to appropriate words and phrases. Each of the items on these two scales were scored in the traditional manner and mean scores were computed for each subject. The distribution of mean scores was then dichotomized at the median in order to place subjects in either high or low perception groups.

The Robbery Offender

It has been indicated above that underlying differentials in cognitive dimensionality result from the victim's evaluation of the robbery event as a crisis. Similarly, it was anticipated that robbery offenders would also display variations in dimensionality. Two measures were implemented in the present study to examine these concerns: (a) commitment to criminal behavior, and (b) commitment to specific offense behavior.

Commitment to Criminal Behavior

A well accepted contention in criminological thought is the notion that the longer one is involved in criminal activities, the more "hardened" he becomes to that behavior. Consistent with this view, it was hypothesized:

> Hypothesis 3: The greater the individual's commitment to criminal behavior, the greater the cognitive dimensionality will be displayed.

The measure of commitment to criminal behavior employed in the present investigation was the difference between the offender's present age and the age at the time of his first felony arrest. Classification of offenders solely on the basis of present age has little value for the determination of "hardness" of an offender, for as Clinard (1974: 286-287) succinctly states:

> An offender is "hardened" if he has definite antisocial attitudes toward laws, property, the police, professional knowledge of the techniques used to commit crimes and avoid prosecution, and a framework of rationalizations to support his conduct. These attitudes may be well developed in a boy of 17 and yet be absent in a "criminal" of 40.

The assumption underlying the age difference measure was that the number of years an individual has for acquiring criminalistic attitudes since his first involvement with crime, the greater the likelihood of his assimilation of these attitudes.

Commitment to Specific Offense Behavior

While one's commitment to crime varies with his attitude assimilation time, it is also true that differential opportunities exist for learning specific criminal techniques. As Haskell and Yablonsky (1974: 238) note, "A particular offender may be at the

same time a career criminal, a killer, a drug addict, or a racketeer, a psychopath, and a member of an organized crime syndicate."

The measure employed in this study for assessing the offender's commitment to specific offense behavior (i.e., robbery) was the proportion of his past theft arrests to his total past arrest history. It was thus hypothesized:

> Hypothesis 4: The greater the proportion of past theft arrest history, the greater the cognitive dimensionality will be displayed by the offender.

One final variable, derivable from the structural nature and perceptual evaluation of the robbery event, which was believed to influence the expressed level of cognitive dimensionality was the lapsed time since the offense occurred. It was hypothesized:

> Hypothesis 5: The longer the lapsed time from the offense occurrence, the lower the cognitive dimensionality displayed by both victims and offenders.

The substance of this hypothesis emerged from past victimological research (Syvrud, 1967; Ennis, 1967), as well as providing a check on the present data for memory decay effects.

Supplemental Relationships

In addition to the major hypotheses specified above, it was suspected that cognitive dimensionality may be related to other social variables. As such, analyses were conducted with select background variables to determine the strength of such relationships. Such ex post facto comparisons provided a means of elaboration for assaying the evidence within both cognitive domains.

Furthermore, with regard to such sociological variables as age, race, sex, religion, education, and social class which may influence the dependent variable, previous victimological research has shown mixed findings with respect to reporting victimizations, police actions, and perception of crime in one's community (Biderman, et al., 1967; Block, 1970; Klienman and David, 1973). While differences were expected among these background variables, previous empirical documentation is dubious as to the strength of such relationships. The testing for relationships of cognitive dimensionality to these variables thus provided an analytically relevant means for evaluating and identifying any persistent relationships which may lend credence to previous research. Additionally, such comparisons shed light on the variability of domain specific cognitive dimensionality on these variables which has not been previously expounded in the social psychological literature.

An additional ten subhypotheses were suggested, all of which were stated in the null form, as follows:

Hypothesis 6: There is no significant difference between the sex of robbery victims and cognitive dimensionality.

Hypothesis 7: There is no difference in cognitive dimensionality and race among robbery victims.

Hypothesis 7a: There is no difference in cognitive dimensionality and race among robbery offenders.

Hypothesis 8: There is no difference in cognitive dimensionality and age among robbery victims.

Hypothesis 8a: There is no difference in cognitive dimensionality and age among robbery offenders.

Hypothesis 9: There is no difference in cognitive dimensionality and education among robbery victims.

Hypothesis 9a: There is no difference in cognitive dimensionality and education among robbery offenders.

Education was operationalized in terms of reported number of years of formal schooling for the victim sample. For the offender sample the equivalent grade level score was used. This score was obtained from the offender's record, and is used as one crieteria for classification of residents in rehabilitation programs.

Hypothesis 10: There is no difference in cognitive dimensionality and religious preference among robbery victims.

Hypothesis 11: There is no difference in cognitive dimensionality and income among robbery victims.

Income was operationalized in terms of reported income by the respondent, and was then trichotomized into High, Middle, and Low categories for purposes of analysis.

Hypothesis 12: There is no difference in cognitive dimensionality and marital status among robbery victims.

Data Analysis

Computer analysis was used for computation of dimensionality scores, as outlined in Chapter IV, for both victim and offender groups for each of the cognitive domains of interest.

The hypotheses for this investigation were tested in the following manner. First, Hypothesis 1 was examined through the employment of an analysis of variance for mean dimensionality

scores as an appropriate statistical procedure. This analysis allowed a determination of whether differences exist between victims and offenders in both cognitive domains, as well as interaction effects among the domains.

Hypotheses 2 through 5 were concerned with within group differences in cognitive dimensionality. For purposes of analysis, these hypotheses were tested through the employment of t-tests for mean dimensionality scores for respective groupings.

The remaining hypotheses (subhypotheses 6-12) were subjected to correlational analysis, as well as t-tests or one way analysis of variance.

Summary

The focus of this study was to determine if differences exist among participants of the robbery event in cognitive dimensionality. Five major hypotheses were advanced on the basis of: (a) the individual participant's role as victim or victimizer in that encounter, (b) the victim's perception of the experience as threatening or non-threatening to self, and (c) the individual offender's commitment to criminal activity. In addition, several supplemental hypotheses were stated in the null form pertaining to select background variables.

Subjects were assessed over two separate cognitive domains by three separate interattribute measures of cognitive dimensionality as provided for in the dimensional model of cognitive structure outlined in Chapter IV.

The major dependent variable in this investigation was cognitive dimensionality. The dimensional model of cognitive structure as employed in this study allowed a domain specific analysis of individual experiences. Accordingly, it was predicted that victims would show a regression effect in the victimization domain, and as a result would be less dimensional than robbery offenders. Furthermore, those victims who perceived the experience as threatening to self were predicted to be less dimensional than victims who did not perceive the event as a crisis. Offenders who were more committed to criminal activity, and more committed to specific offense behavior were expected to be more dimensional than less committed offenders.

Chapter VI presents the results of these concerns, as well as the results of the various relationships among cognitive dimensionality and select background factors.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

Introduction

The purpose of this study was threefold: (1) to discover if any differences in cognitive dimensionality exist among the participants of the robbery event as a result of their role as victim or victimizer, (2) to examine any within group differences in cognitive dimensionality in terms of (a) the event being perceived as threatening or non-threatening to self for the victim group, and (b) the offender's level of commitment to criminal behavior, and (3) to discover any relationships which may exist among select background variables to cognitive dimensionality for these participants.

The procedures employed for data analysis are suggested not only by the nature of the data, but also by the overall intent and purpose of the investigation. While various statistical procedures were performed, it must be recognized that the uniqueness and exploratory nature of this investigation restricts and limits the generalizability of the results.

There are several cautions which the reader should be made aware of in drawing conclusions from the analysis. In the first place, the number of subjects is relatively small, thus limiting the extent of generalization. In this regard, one must not be as

concerned with whether statistical significance was achieved as much as whether the various relationships are operating in the predicted direction.

Secondly, caution should be taken in the sort of inferences one makes from these data given the nature of the research design employed. First of all, the subjects in this study are all legally defined victims or offenders. This alone places limitations on generalizing these results since non-reported and non-prosecuted victimizations, and non-apprehended offenders remain unaccounted. Secondly, each of the respondents, in both the victim and offender groups, volunteered to participate in the research, and their suspicions on the exact nature, purpose, and intent of the results may have affected or biased their responses. A subpoint in this regard is that the target population of this study is new to social psychological research. Victims and offenders are not university students, and as a consequence, some coaxing of these subjects by the investigator was necessary in order to encourage their completion of the semantic differential task. These practical problems in dealing with this population cannot be underestimated in viewing the results. Finally, because of the voluntary nature of the respondents, it is not possible, nor may it be possible to compare these results to the total population of robbery victims and offenders (i.e., data is not available on offenders sentenced on criminal charges other than robbery and the high number of individuals who refused cooperation). Consequently, in order to make inferences from this study, one would legitimately have to limit

the population to court disposed robbery cases for the victim sample, and apprehended, convicted, and sentenced robbery offenders. Even then, there is a potential lack of representativeness among these individuals which may lend inferences doubtful.

Furthermore, the sampling techniques utilized in this study technically prohibit the use of certain significance tests. The statistical analysis of these data do, however, provide for greater insight into the data and various relationships. Generalizability, however, was not the major intent of this study. The main goal of this investigation was to explore some fundamental relationships among important variables dealing with the participants of the robbery encounter. If this goal can be successfully attained, future research can attempt to isolate specific conditions within the victim-victimizer relationship which would facilitate theory development in this neglected area of victimological research.

With these introductorary comments in mind, we can proceed with the data analysis of the major and supplemental hypotheses. These hypotheses will be discussed in the order of their presentation in Chapter V. The major hypotheses (1-5) were tested at an alpha of .05. Each of the supplemental hypotheses (6-12) were non-directional, and an overall alpha level of .10 was used to determine the statistical significance of the relationship. These levels were chosen to maintain adequate power with a small sample size, thus compensating for the risk of making a Type II error. One final note with regard to the analysis is necessary in order to clarify the procedure. Because of the high correlations among

all the measures of cognitive dimensionality (see Tables 12-15 in Chapter IV), only Hypothesis 1 utilized all measures for comparison. The remaining hypotheses considered only the Scott ALPHA and BETA scores for purposes of describing relationships.

Victim--Victimizer Role Relationships

The first major hypothesis stated that victims of robbery would be less dimensional (i.e., respond in a more cognitively simple manner) than robbery offenders in representing the victimization experience in cognitive space as a result of their respective role allocation. Table 18 presents the means and standard deviations of the sixteen measures of dimensionality employed. An analysis of this table indicates that on all measures, victims were less dimensional than offenders in the victimization domain as predicted.

In order to test for the significance of this relationship, a 2 X 2 repeated measures design analysis of variance was computed for each of the measures. Table 19 presents the results of this analysis for both the main and interaction effects for each of the 16 measures.

Separate analysis of variance performed for each of the 16 dimensionality measures revealed that there were significant main effects between victims and offenders for each of the measures. Interaction effects were found to be significant (alpha < .05) only for the ALPHA factor analytic 55% variance accounted measure. While the Scott ALPHA and BETA measures did not achieve statistical significance, it is noted that the interaction effects are

TABLE 18.--Means and Standard Deviations for Victims and Offenders in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations for the Sixteen Dimensionality Measures.

	Victims				Offenders			
	Victimization Domain		Occupation Domain		Victimization Domain		Occupation Domain	
	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
ALPHA Grouping								
Scott	2.336	.779	2.392	.783	3.058	.604	2.709	.909
50%	1.163	.353	1.230	.360	1.567	.384	1.432	.517
55%	1.201	.380	1.362	.398	1.788	.404	1.557	.544
60%	1.384	.530	1.509	.540	1.923	.379	1.711	.586
65%	1.615	.579	1.625	.579	2.067	.415	1.817	.614
70%	1.846	.608	1.826	.594	2.365	.506	2.086	.703
75%	2.075	.609	2.038	.631	2.596	.534	2.317	.709
Ware	.631	.139	.620	.141	.498	.102	.562	.159
BETA Grouping								
Scott	2.901	1.529	3.007	1.503	3.935	1.167	3.536	1.804
50%	1.307	.693	1.403	.678	1.826	.528	1.615	.863
55%	1.461	.811	1.538	.747	2.076	.611	1.923	1.064
60%	1.692	.884	1.692	.861	2.500	.692	2.153	1.138
65%	1.903	.969	2.057	.972	2.769	.751	2.442	1.275
70%	2.307	1.068	2.269	1.041	3.230	.764	2.788	1.386
75%	2.730	1.185	2.653	1.239	3.615	.897	3.096	1.542
Ware	.595	.158	.577	.169	.450	.119	.522	.179

TABLE 19.--Summary Results of the Two-Way Analysis of Variance for the Sixteen Measures of Cognitive Dimensionality.

	Main Effects F	Significance Level	Interaction F	Significance Level
ALPHA Grouping				
Scott	7.1030	.013	2.2451	.138
50%	9.2105	.006	1.9347	.168
55%	16.7353	.0005	4.8923	.030
60%	8.1797	.008	3.5321	.064
65%	5.0522	.034	1.9075	.171
70%	5.8813	.023	1.6333	.205
75%	7.0377	.014	1.3963	.241
Ware	7.4070	.012	2.4401	.122
BETA Grouping				
Scott	4.2632	.049	0.9059	.344
50%	4.5306	.043	1.5374	.219
55%	6.7904	.020	0.6201	.433
60%	8.2700	.008	1.1496	.287
65%	10.1562	.023	1.9164	.170
70%	7.3223	.012	1.1013	.297
75%	4.6434	.041	1.0418	.311
Ware	6.5404	.017	2.5215	.117

consistent with the 55% factor analytic method, especially for the Scott ALPHA measure. The results of this interaction are presented in Figure 3.

An analysis of Figure 3 reveals three distinct conclusions as follows: (a) victims are less dimensional than offenders in both the victimization domain and the domain of occupations, (b) among offenders more dimensionality is displayed in the victimization domain, and (c) victims are less dimensional and show a regression effect (i.e., react in a more cognitively simple manner when compared to the neutral domain of occupations). These findings lead to several conclusions in support of the theoretical model.

First, the higher dimensionality found among offenders in the victimization domain suggests several interpretations consistent with both the offender's role allocation in the robbery encounter as previously discussed (see Chapters III and IV), as well as previous research on cognitive complexity. With respect to the victimization domain, it is considered that this domain represents a task- and achievement-oriented domain. As such, the individual offender will make salient and be more dimensional in those cognitive areas which are important to the accomplishment of the task. More simply, different cognitive domains will be salient for different individuals. Thus, if social perception is for interaction, and different interaction strategies are needed for different categories of people (i.e., victims or potential victims) then perception will be directed toward making this categorization and higher dimensionalism. One possible effect of being more dimensional

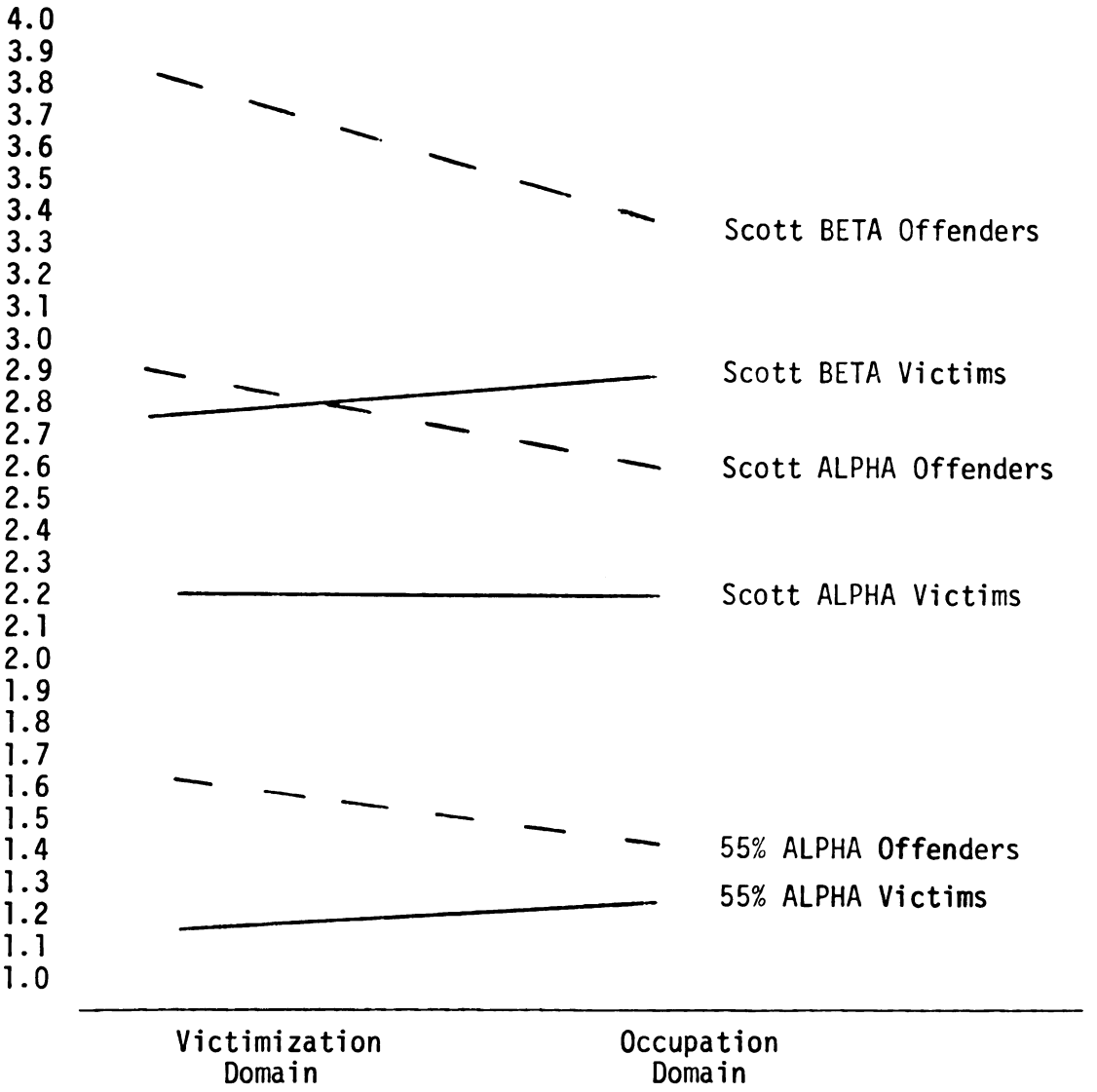

Figure 3.--Mean dimensionality scores for robbery victims and offenders for the Scott ALPHA, BETA, and Factor Analytic 55% ALPHA Measures.

in this domain is that offenders would also be expected to show lower scores on various cognitive integration measures as proposed by the Scott dimensional model, as well as displaying greater articulation within one's cognitive space (see Phillips, 1974: 7-10 for details on this aspect). These particular properties of cognitive structure were not a consideration of the present investigation, they are, however, suggestive of future inquiry.

Consistent with this line of reasoning, the offender's task requirement in the robbery situation leads to greater dimensionality in construing the actions and behaviors of others encountered in that context. Thus, if offenders are required to be more versatile in responding to and anticipating the behavior of their victims, the expectation that they will be more dimensional in this cognitive domain is theoretically reasonable.

A second conclusion to be drawn from these results is that the regression effect displayed by victims in the victimization domain casts doubt on the generality and applicability of the vigilance hypothesis. Recall that the vigilance hypothesis as discussed in Chapter IV, suggests that individuals will respond in a more cognitively complex manner when evaluating persons who evoke negative affect. Victim reaction to the experience of being robbed, as suggested by the present data, is apparently not one of increased vigilance and motivation toward resolving the difficulties associated with victimization. While the experience of being robbed may indeed be one of trauma and stress, the present data connote that victims react in a more cognitively simple

manner and perhaps view that encounter as one condition of living in a complex urban environment. It should be noted within this context that the present study does not provide information on victim behavioral change (i.e., no pre- and post-victimization data are available for comparison), thus it cannot be argued that this cognitive reaction leads to any behavioral impact.

Victims: Crisis Perception and Victimization

Hypotheses 2, 2a, and 2b were concerned with the relationship of cognitive dimensionality and the victim's perception of the robbery experience as a crisis and threat to self. Each of these hypotheses was directional in nature and postulated that the higher the threat or crisis perception the less dimensional the individual. Table 20 presents the means, standard deviations, and t-test results for each of the three variables (immediate psychophysical reaction--IPR, post victimization emotion--PVE, and crisis perception--CP) employed for the Scott ALPHA and BETA scores in the victimization domain. Contrary to predicted expectations, each of these hypotheses was found not to be statistically significant at the alpha < .10 level. The highest t-test score obtained was 0.7925 on the Scott ALPHA measure for the PVE variable. Table 21 presents the intercorrelations among these variables and both the Scott scores.

The results of this analysis suggest that while there may be differences in victims' evaluations of the victimization experience as a crisis (CP), or as threatening or non-threatening

TABLE 20.--Means, Standard Deviations, and t-test Results for Crisis Perception (CP), Immediate Psychophysical Reaction (IPR), and Post Victimization Emotion (PVE) Variables for Victims in the Victimization Domain.

	High		Low		
	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.	t
CP					
Scott ALPHA	2.4179	.8366	2.2538	.6748	0.5291
Scott BETA	3.0600	1.6651	2.7430	1.2935	0.5208
IPR					
Scott ALPHA	2.3657	.8715	2.3060	.6328	0.1915
Scott BETA	2.9941	1.7029	2.8088	1.2566	0.3033
PVE					
Scott ALPHA	2.4579	.8206	2.2138	.6824	0.7925
Scott BETA	3.1236	1.6388	2.6794	1.3084	0.7339

TABLE 21.--Intercorrelation Matrix of Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures with Immediate Psychophysical Reaction (IPR), Post Victimization Emotion (PVE), and Crisis Perception (CP) Variables for Victims in the Victimization Domain.

	ALPHA	BETA	IPR	PVE	CP
ALPHA	1.0000				
BETA	.9871	1.0000			
IPR	.2128	.2227	1.0000		
PVE	.2636	.2637	.5231	1.0000	
CP	.2624	.2706	.9202	.8142	1.0000

to self (IPR), these differences are not attitudinally reflected in terms of cognitive dimensionality. Furthermore, the aftermath of the robbery experience (PVE) does not appear to influence dimensionality.

Since regression effects in cognitive dimensionality do not appear to be a function of victim evaluation of the robbery experience, a possible alternate explanation is suggested by the data. Examination of the directionality of the absolute differences of the mean scores reveals that high CR, IPR, and PVE individuals are slightly more dimensional than low CR, IPR, and PVE subjects on all measures except the Scott ALPHA measure for CR and IPR. This finding, although not statistically significant, tends to lend meager support to the vigilance hypothesis advanced by previous researches dealing with victimization impact (LeJeune and Alex, 1973; Syvrud, 1967). While victims as a group show a

regression in dimensionality contrary to a vigilance formulation, within group differences expose a discriminating effect based on victim reaction and perception. Thus, victims who evaluated the experience as highly threatening are slightly more dimensional, and possibly more vigilant.

Offenders: Commitment to Criminal Behavior and Specific Offense Behavior

Hypotheses 3 and 4 were concerned with the robbery offender's commitment to criminal activity (CCB) and commitment to specific offense patterns (CSO). It was predicted that the higher the individual's commitment level, the more dimensional he would be in the victimization domain. Tables 22-24 indicate the means, standard deviations, t-test scores, and analysis of variance summary for each of the Scott dimensionality measures.

Contrary to predicted anticipations, both of these hypotheses were not substantiated by the data. Commitment to criminal behavior (Hypothesis 3) does not appear to influence cognitive dimensionality ($t = -1.1914$, df 24, n.s. for Scott ALPHA and $t = -1.1266$, df 24, n.s. for Scott BETA). Commitment to specific offense behavior also shows no significant influence on cognitive dimensionality ($F_{3,22} = 0.764$ for Scott ALPHA and $F_{2,23} = 0.453$ for Scott BETA). Interestingly, the present data reveal that low CCB and CSO robbery offenders, as conceptualized by the present indicators, are more dimensional. The negative correlations between these indicators and the Scott dimensionality scores confirm (see Table 25) this

TABLE 22.--Means, Standard Deviations, and t-test Results for Commitment to Criminal Behavior (CCB) for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures for Offenders in the Victimization Domain.

	ALPHA			BETA		
	Mean	s.d.	t	Mean	s.d.	t
High CCB	2.9178	.5771		3.6797	1.1042	
Low CCB	3.1985	.5747	-1.1914	4.1908	1.1266	-1.1266

TABLE 23.--Means and Standard Deviations for Commitment to Specific Offenses (CSO) for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures for Offenders in the Victimization Domain.

	ALPHA			BETA		
	High (n=11)	Medium (n=8)	Low (n=7)	High (n=11)	Medium (n=8)	Low (n=7)
Mean	2.898	3.110	3.250	3.675	4.139	4.110
s.d.	.489	.499	.853	.895	.893	1.787

TABLE 24.--Analysis of Variance Summary for Commitment to Specific Offenses (CSO) for Offenders in the Victimization Domain for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures.

	ALPHA				BETA			
Source	SS	df	MS	F	SS	df	MS	F
Between	0.567	2	0.283		1.291	2	0.645	
Within	8.527	23	0.370		32.746	23	1.423	
TOTAL	9.094	25		0.764	34.037	25		0.453

TABLE 25.--Intercorrelation Matrix of Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures with Commitment to Criminal Behavior (CCB) and Commitment to Specific Offenses (CSO) Variables for Offenders in the Victimization Domain.

	ALPHA	BETA	CCB	CSO
ALPHA	1.0000			
BETA	.9119	1.0000		
CCB	-.2242	-.1988	1.0000	
CSO	-.2593	-.2063	-.2202	1.0000

conclusion. These findings suggest several interpretations to the theoretical model.

First, it may be that the present indicator of criminality commitment (CCB) is not an adequate measurement device for this concept. The present measure was operationalized as the difference between the offender's present age and his age at the time of his first felony arrest. Thus, lower commitment levels as reflected in a lower absolute difference may indicate greater success rates in criminal activity. For example, a particular offender may have a lengthy history of actual crime commission, but he has never been apprehended, or officially processed, and thus his "true" commitment level is not tapped by the present indicator.

A second interpretation to these data involves the offender's contact with criminal justice agencies. That is, high CCB subjects (i.e., those with a high absolute age difference) are those who were most likely to be arrested early in their criminal career and who have a high degree of contact with law enforcement and other defining agents over sustained periods of time. This institutional involvement may suggest a restriction in the individual's cognitive assessment of elements within the victimization domain.

Third, the finding of high dimensionality among low CSO subjects suggests a consideration of criminal careers. This finding may be indicative of one phase of the process of career development. Crime career development has been said to constitute a sequential transition to specialization, learning the technology of crime, and developing a social and personal organization consistent with

that behavior (Clinard and Quinney, 1973). If this processual ordering is correct, it is plausible to reason that the initial aspects of career development require a more acute awareness, as well as information and knowledge seeking within this cognitive area, thus implying greater dimensionality. While this interpretation is justifiable, it remains inconsistent since a linear relationship (i.e., high CSO offenders are not high in dimensionality) is not supported by the data. An extension or modification of the theoretical model is implied in light of this inconsistency. Discussion of this modification will, however, be deferred until the next chapter.

Time Factors, Victimization, and Dimensionality

Hypothesis 5 predicted that the longer the lapsed time from the offense occurrence, the lower the cognitive dimensionality displayed by both victims and offenders in the victimization domain. This hypothesis was predicated on the assumption that there would be a memory decay effect. Contrary to predictions, no significant differences were found among either victims or offenders for this variable (see Tables 26-29 for summary statistics).

An analysis of Table 26 shows that among victims, higher lapsed time subjects (i.e., those in which the offense occurred 13-15 months prior to the interview) were slightly more dimensional than either medium-time (12 months) and low-time (9-12 months) individuals on both the Scott measures. Comparison of the mean dimensionality scores in the victimization domain and the neutral domain

TABLE 26.--Means and Standard Deviations for Victims by Lapsed Time for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations.

Source	ALPHA			BETA		
	High (n=4)	Medium (n=13)	Low (n=9)	High (n=4)	Medium (n=13)	Low (n=9)
Victimization Domain						
Mean	2.637	2.288	2.269	3.464	2.773	2.800
s.d.	.988	.731	.823	2.023	1.417	1.616
Occupation Domain						
Mean	2.662	2.510	2.132	3.607	3.111	2.589
s.d.	.946	.713	.800	1.921	1.333	1.621

TABLE 27.--Analysis of Variance Summary for Victims by Lapsed Time in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures.

Source	ALPHA				BETA			
	SS	df	MS	F	SS	df	MS	F
Victimization Domain								
Between	.431	2	.215		1.567	2	.783	
Within	14.755	23	.641		57.215	23	2.487	
TOTAL	15.186	25		0.335	58.782	25		0.314
Occupation Domain								
Between	1.075	2	.537		3.153	2	1.576	
Within	13.869	23	.603		53.368	23	2.320	
TOTAL	14.944	25		0.890	56.521	25		0.679

TABLE 28.--Means and Standard Deviations for Offenders by Lapsed Time for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations.

Source	ALPHA			BETA		
	High (n=8)	Medium (n=9)	Low (n=9)	High (n=8)	Medium (n=9)	Low (n=9)
Victimization Domain						
Mean	3.340	2.909	2.955	4.572	3.561	3.741
s.d.	.625	.527	.636	1.182	1.120	1.086
Occupation Domain						
Mean	2.867	2.526	2.750	4.041	3.144	3.591
s.d.	.963	.880	.965	2.333	1.425	1.792

TABLE 29.--Analysis of Variance Summary for Offenders by Lapsed Time in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures.

Source	ALPHA				BETA			
	SS	df	MS	F	SS	df	MS	F
Victimization Domain								
Between	.931	2	.465		4.834	2	2.417	
Within	8.190	23	.356		29.202	23	1.269	
TOTAL	9.121	25		1.306	34.036	25		1.904
Occupation Domain								
Between	.516	2	.258		3.416	2	1.708	
Within	20.136	23	.875		80.036	23	3.479	
TOTAL	20.652	25		0.294	83.452	25		0.490

of occupations indicates some interesting results. It is seen that high-time subjects are almost identical in dimensionality in both domains, suggesting a neutralization of the importance of the victimization domain within the individual's cognitive structure. Medium-time subjects show a regression effect in the victimization domain, although this difference is not significant ($t = -0.7844$, df 24, n.s. for Scott ALPHA and $t = -0.6265$, df 24, n.s. for Scott BETA). Low-time individuals display greater dimensionality in the victimization domain. This difference is, however, not significant ($t = 0.3586$, df 16, n.s. for Scott ALPHA and $t = 0.2769$, df 16, n.s. for Scott BETA).

While these findings were not shown to be statistically significant, time effects, nonetheless, may have a differential influence on cognitive dimensionality. It appears from the present data that the closer in time the dimensionality measure is taken to the victimization event, the more dimensional the individual is likely to be within that specific cognitive domain. As time passes, this domain becomes less important, and the individual reacts in a more cognitively simple manner.

The present data indicate that robbery offenders also show no statistically significant differences in cognitive dimensionality within the victimization domain as a result of time ($F_{2,23} = 1.306$, n.s. for Scott ALPHA and $F_{2,23} = 1.904$, n.s. for Scott BETA). A comparative analysis of both cognitive domains reveals that offenders are more, but not significantly more, dimensional in the victimization domain. An inspection of Table 28 discloses

high-lapsed-time offenders (i.e., those whose current arrest date was 12-15 months prior to the interview) are more dimensional in both domains than medium-time (10-11 months) or low-time (7-9 months) offenders on the Scott ALPHA and BETA measures respectively.

Secondly, low-time subjects are more dimensional than medium-time offenders in the victimization domain for Scott BETA, but they are identical for Scott ALPHA. One interpretation of this result of higher dimensionality among high-time and low-time offenders over medium-time subjects makes reference to the trial and conviction process. Low-time subjects, for example, having just completed the conviction process show no memory decay or decreased saliency of elements within this domain simply as a matter of temporal closeness. In corrollary manner, high-time subjects may show a rejuvenated acuteness or importance of elements within this cognitive domain as a result of active appellant involvement in one's case. Medium-time offenders are already past the initial experience of the conviction process and are indolently awaiting the appeal process. The present study has no data to support or refute this explanation. It is reasonable to assume, however, that increased importance and activity to specific cognitive domains tends to increase dimensionality.

Supplemental Hypotheses

Sex and Cognitive Dimensionality

Hypothesis 6 stated that males and females would show no difference in cognitive dimensionality. The means, standard

deviations, and t-test scores are presented in Table 30 for both the Scott ALPHA and BETA measures in both the victimization and occupation domains. An analysis of this table suggests that females are more dimensional in the victimization domain than are males. This higher dimensionality on the part of females is significant for both the Scott ALPHA scores ($t = 1.941$, df 24, $p<.10$) and the Scott BETA scores ($t = 1.988$, df 24, $p<.10$). Within the domain of occupations, it is also seen that females are significantly more dimensional than males ($t = 1.978$, df 24, $p<.10$ for Scott ALPHA and $t = 2.271$, df 24, $p<.05$ for Scott BETA).

Further analysis of Table 30 indicates that females tend to show a regression in dimensionality in the victimization domain, although this difference is not significant ($t = -0.169$, df 12, n.s. for Scott ALPHA and $t = -0.083$, df 12, n.s. for Scott BETA). Males, on the other hand, do not show any tendency to be more or less dimensional in the victimization domain as compared to the neutral domain of occupations.

The higher dimensionality scores on the part of females in both cognitive domains is not suggested by the theoretical model. This finding is, however, supportive of previous research which found females to be more cognitively complex over several cognitive domains (Irwin, Tripodi, Bieri, 1967; Shepherd, 1972; Lott, et al., 1970). The slight regression tendency found for females in the victimization domain is consistent with the theoretical model. The present theoretical formulation suggested that the experience of victimization by robbery represents a stressful situation, and

TABLE 30.--Means, Standard Deviations, and t-test Results for Victims by Sex for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations.

	ALPHA			
	Victimization Domain		Occupation Domain	
	Males (n=19)	Females (n=7)	Males (n=19)	Females (n=7)
Mean	2.107	2.957	2.181	3.052
s.d.	.454	1.040	.461	1.045
t	1.941		1.978	
	BETA			
Mean	2.530	4.195	2.495	4.399
s.d.	.870	2.139	.711	2.013
t	1.856		2.271	

as a result the victim would respond in a less dimensional manner. Consideration of the dynamics inherent in the robbery encounter, it is not unreasonable to expect females to perceive this experience as highly traumatic and to display this regression given their traditional subordinate role in society.

Race and Cognitive Dimensionality

Hypotheses 7 and 7a relating to no racial differences in cognitive dimensionality upheld by the present data. No significant differences were found in either the victimization domain or the domain of occupations for the Scott ALPHA and BETA measures. Table 31 indicates the means, standard deviations, and t-test scores for these measures in both cognitive domains for both victims and offenders.

Although significance was not achieved, an analysis of Table 31 shows that Black victims are generally more dimensional than whites in both the victimization and occupation domains for the two Scott measures. Also of interest is the finding that Black victims tend to show a regression effect in the victimization domain, whereas this effect is absent for white victims. This regression effect was, however, found not to be significant on either the Scott ALPHA ($t = -0.459$, df 12, n.s.) or the Scott BETA ($t = -0.523$, df 12, n.s.) measures.

The relationship of race and cognitive dimensionality among robbery offenders also showed no significant differences in either cognitive domain. White offenders did, however, tend to be more

TABLE 31.--Means, Standard Deviations, and t-test Results for Victims and Offenders by Race for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations.

	ALPHA							
	Victimization Domain				Occupation Domain			
	Victim		Offender		Victim		Offender	
	Black (n=7)	White (n=19)	Black (n=18)	White (n=8)	Black (n=7)	White (n=19)	Black (n=18)	White (n=8)
Mean	2.573	2.248	3.029	3.123	2.756	2.244	2.693	2.742
s.d.	.787	.736	.585	.603	.704	.736	.842	.995
t	0.888		-0.351		1.527		-0.115	
	BETA							
Mean	3.293	2.757	3.889	4.039	3.702	2.752	3.426	3.781
s.d.	1.570	1.446	1.129	1.171	1.353	1.434	1.506	2.233
t	0.738		-0.289		1.468		-0.386	

dimensional than Blacks in both domains. Furthermore, both Black and white offenders were more dimensional in the victimization domain, thus suggesting saliency in a task-oriented cognitive domain. This increased dimensionality in the victimization domain was not found to be statistically significant for either Black or white offenders.

Age and Cognitive Dimensionality

The relationship between age and cognitive dimensionality shows some interesting and unique findings even though overall significant differences were not found. Among offenders no significant differences among the various age groupings were located by the present data for either the victimization domain ($F_{2,23}$ = 1.461, n.s. for Scott ALPHA and $F_{2,23}$ = 1.081, n.s. for Scott BETA) or the domain of occupations ($F_{2,23}$ = 1.830, n.s. for Scott ALPHA and $F_{2,23}$ = 1.786, n.s. for Scott BETA). Robbery victims also show no differences within the domain of occupations ($F_{3,22}$ = 2.530, n.s. for Scott ALPHA and $F_{3,22}$ = 1.977, n.s. for Scott BETA). Within the victimization domain, however, significant differences were found among the various age categories ($F_{3,22}$ = 6.343, $p<.01$ for Scott ALPHA and $F_{3,22}$ = 4.779, $p<.05$ for Scott BETA). The summary data for these relationships are indicated in Tables 32-35.

A comparative analysis of the age groupings between the two cognitive domains indicates that offenders are more dimensional in the victimization domain regardless of age with the exception of young offenders (less than 25 years old) on the Scott BETA measure.

TABLE 32.--Means and Standard Deviations for Victims by Age for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations.

	ALPHA							
	Victimization Domain				Occupation Domain			
	Young (n=6)	Young Adult (n=6)	Middle Aged (n=5)	Elderly (n=9)	Young (n=6)	Young Adult (n=6)	Middle Aged (n=5)	Elderly (n=9)
Mean	2.495	3.163	1.725	2.015	2.393	2.941	1.740	2.385
s.d.	.872	.840	.383	.179	.886	1.028	.247	.497
	BETA							
Mean	3.242	4.388	1.867	2.256	3.055	3.974	1.880	2.956
s.d.	1.815	1.867	.466	.279	1.851	1.984	.305	.958

NOTE: Young: Less than 25 years of age.
Young Adult: 26-35 years of age.
Middle Aged: 36-55 years of age.
Elderly: 56 years of age and older.

TABLE 33.--Means and Standard Deviations for Offenders by Age for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations.

	ALPHA					
	Victimization Domain			Occupation Domain		
	Young (n=10)	Young Adult (n=11)	Adult (n=5)	Young (n=10)	Young Adult (n=11)	Adult (n=5)
Mean	3.295	2.855	3.020	3.121	2.407	2.545
s.d.	.632	.486	.722	.844	.850	.963
	BETA					
Mean	4.325	3.578	3.938	4.340	2.924	3.268
s.d.	1.273	.959	1.356	2.076	1.473	1.582

NOTE: Young: Less than 25 years of age.
Young Adult: 26-29 years of age.
Elderly: 30 years of age and older.

TABLE 34.--Analysis of Variance Summary for Victims by Age in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures.

	ALPHA							
	Victimization Domain				Occupation Domain			
Source	SS	df	MS	F	SS	df	MS	F
Between	7.043	3	2.347		3.933	3	1.311	
Within	8.143	22	.370		11.405	22	.518	
TOTAL	15.186	25		6.343	15.338	25		2.530
	BETA							
Between	23.055	3	7.685		12.000	3	4.000	
Within	35.386	22	1.608		44.521	22	2.023	
TOTAL	58.441	25		4.779	56.521	25		1.977

TABLE 35.--Analysis of Variance Summary for Offenders by Age in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures.

	ALPHA							
	Victimization Domain				Occupation Domain			
Source	SS	df	MS	F	SS	df	MS	F
Between	1.020	2	.510		2.835	2	1.417	
Within	8.039	23	.349		17.817	23	.774	
TOTAL	9.059	25		1.461	20.652	25		1.830
	BETA							
Between	2.925	2	1.462		10.946	2	5.473	
Within	31.111	23	1.352		70.466	23	3.063	
TOTAL	34.036	25		1.081	81.412	25		1.786

The increased dimensionality in this cognitive domain was shown to be most manifest for older offenders (i.e., those over 30 years of age), however, the difference did not prove to be significant ($t = 0.882$, df 8, n.s. for Scott ALPHA and $t = 0.719$, df 8, n.s. for Scott BETA).

Robbery victims display a more dispersed pattern when comparing the two cognitive domains. Younger victims (i.e., those in the under 25 years of age category and in the 25-35 age brackett) tend to show an increase in dimensionality in the victimization domain. Middle-aged victims (36-55 years old) show identical mean scores in both cognitive domains. Elderly victims (age 56 and over) showed a regression effect in the victimization domain. This effect was significant only for the Scott BETA measure ($t = -2.110$, df 16, $p<.10$).

The regression effect displayed by elderly victims is not surprising, since older persons often see themselves as particularly vulnerable to criminal victimization (Kalish, 1974: 21). If this self-perception, as well as the harmed social life (i.e., staying home at night, avoiding strangers, reduced interpersonal contacts, etc.) is indeed true among elderly victims, it may be concluded that the victimization experience is relatively more traumatic and stressful which lends itself to their reacting in a less dimensional manner.

Educational Level and Cognitive Dimensionality

Educational level and cognitive dimensionality are not significantly related among victims (Hypothesis 9) for either the victimization domain ($F_{2,23}$ = 0.598, n.s. for Scott ALPHA and $F_{2,23}$ = 0.920, n.s. for Scott BETA) or the domain of occupations ($F_{2,23}$ = 1.328, n.s. for Scott ALPHA and $F_{2,23}$ = 1.233, n.s. for Scott BETA).

Among robbery offenders (Hypothesis 9a) there are no significant differences within the domain of occupations ($F_{2,23}$ = 1.717, n.s. for Scott ALPHA and $F_{2,23}$ = 1.682, n.s. for Scott BETA). For the victimization domain, however, educational level among offenders shows significant effects ($F_{2,23}$ = 5.423, $p<.01$ for Scott ALPHA and $F_{2,23}$ = 3.756, $p<.05$ for Scott BETA). Tables 36-39 show the means, standard deviations, and analysis of variance summary for these relationships.

Several additional noteworthy findings emerge from the data. First, it is seen that offenders, regardless of educational level show an increase in dimensionality in the victimization domain. Within educational categories, however, no significant differences were obtained by the data. Second, robbery victims display differences, although not significant, among educational levels. It is noted that both medium (12 years of reported formal education) and low (less than 12 years of education) education category subjects show a regression effect in the victimization domain, while those in the high group (more than 12 years of

TABLE 36.--Means and Standard Deviations for Victims by Educational Level for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations.

	ALPHA					
	Victimization Domain			Occupation Domain		
	High (N=7)	Medium (n=13)	Low (n=6)	High (n=7)	Medium (n=13)	Low (n=6)
Mean	2.233	2.498	2.100	2.130	2.662	2.210
s.d.	.581	.994	.338	.561	.942	.533
	BETA					
Mean	2.645	3.295	2.345	2.525	3.465	2.575
s.d.	.954	1.994	.432	.915	1.879	.863

NOTE: High: More than 12 years of reported formal education.
Medium: 12 years of reported formal education.
Low: Less than 12 years of reported formal education.

TABLE 37.--Means and Standard Deviations for Offenders by Educational Level for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations.

	ALPHA					
	Victimization Domain			Occupation Domain		
	High (n=11)	Medium (n=9)	Low (n=6)	High (n=11)	Medium (n=9)	Low (n=6)
Mean	3.158	3.331	2.461	2.767	3.006	2.153
s.d.	.442	.554	.609	.661	1.107	.875
	BETA					
Mean	4.066	4.436	2.941	3.461	4.272	2.582
s.d.	1.078	1.099	.941	1.115	2.473	1.389

NOTE: High: More than 9 years equivalent grade level.
Medium: 6-9 years equivalent grade level.
Low: Less than 6 years equivalent grade level.

TABLE 38.--Analysis of Variance Summary for Victims by Educational Level in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures.

	ALPHA							
	Victimization Domain				Occupation Domain			
Source	SS	df	MS	F	SS	df	MS	F
Between	.750	2	.375		1.611	2	.805	
Within	14.436	23	.621		13.949	23	.606	
TOTAL	15.186	25		0.598	15.560	25		1.328
	BETA							
Between	4.331	2	2.165		5.476	2	2.738	
Within	54.110	23	2.352		51.065	23	2.220	
TOTAL	58.441	25		0.920	56.541	25		1.233

TABLE 39.--Analysis of Variance Summary for Offenders by Educational Level in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures.

	ALPHA							
	Victimization Domain				Occupation Domain			
Source	SS	df	MS	F	SS	df	MS	F
Between	2.911	2	1.459		2.683	2	1.341	
Within	6.202	23	.269		17.969	23	.781	
TOTAL	9.121	25		5.423	20.652	25		1.717
	BETA							
Between	8.377	2	4.188		10.387	2	5.193	
Within	25.659	23	1.115		71.007	23	3.087	
TOTAL	34.036	25		3.756	81.394	25		1.682

reported formal education) show increased dimensionality in that domain. A third important result is that there does not appear to be a linear relationship between educational level and cognitive dimensionality. For both offenders and victims, those in the medium educational category have higher mean dimensionality scores than either high or low education subjects in both the domain of occupations and the victimization domain.

Religion and Cognitive Dimensionality

Tables 40 and 41 indicate the means, standard deviations and analysis of variance results for the relationship of religious preference and cognitive dimensionality for robbery victims. Religious preference has no effect on cognitive dimensionality in the victimization domain ($F_{3,22}$ = 1.134, n.s. for Scott ALPHA and $F_{3,22}$ = 1.206, n.s. for Scott BETA). Within the domain of occupations, however, significant effects were found by the data ($F_{3,22}$ = 5.223, $p<.01$ for Scott ALPHA and $F_{3,22}$ = 5.140, $p<.01$ for Scott BETA).

An analysis of Table 40 reveals some additional findings on the effect of religion on dimensionality. It is seen that both Baptists and Protestants show a regression effect in the victimization domain. These differences were not found to be significant (t = 0.237, df 8, n.s. and t = 0.091, df 8, n.s. for Protestants on Scott ALPHA and BETA respectively, and t = 0.863, df 10, n.s. and t = 0.357, df 10, n.s. for Baptists on Scott ALPHA and BETA respectively). Catholics, however, show a slight increase

TABLE 40.--Means and Standard Deviations for Victims by Religious Preference for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations.

	ALPHA			
	Victimization Domain		Occupation Domain	
	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
Catholic (n=11)	2.109	.522	1.989	.479
Protestant (n=5)	2.291	.952	2.423	.925
Baptist (n=6)	2.827	1.054	3.248	.670
Other or None (n=4)	2.273	.649	2.172	.581
	BETA			
	Victimization Domain		Occupation Domain	
	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
Catholic (n=11)	2.429	.829	2.210	.663
Protestant (n=5)	2.953	2.041	3.185	1.972
Baptist (n=6)	3.867	2.169	4.608	1.391
Other or None (n=4)	2.682	1.026	2.571	1.105

TABLE 41.--Analysis of Variance Summary for Victims by Religion in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures.

	ALPHA							
	Victimization Domain				Occupation Domain			
Source	SS	df	MS	F	SS	df	MS	F
Between	2.033	3	.677		6.380	3	2.126	
Within	13.153	22	.597		8.958	22	.407	
TOTAL	15.186	25		1.134	15.338	25		5.223
	BETA							
Between	8.259	3	2.753		23.288	3	7.762	
Within	50.182	22	2.281		33.233	22	1.510	
TOTAL	58.441	25		1.206	56.521	25		5.140

in dimensionality within this cognitive domain. Statistical significance on this difference was not obtained by the data (t = 1.200, df 20, n.s. for Scott ALPHA and t = 0.887, df 20, n.s. for Scott BETA). The category of "other or none" included those individuals who were either Jewish or who claimed no religious preference. It is seen that this category also showed a slight, although not significant (t = 0.443, df 6, n.s. for Scott ALPHA and t = 0.138, df 6, n.s. for Scott BETA), increase in dimensionality in the victimization domain.

It is difficult to place much emphasis on the factor of religious affiliation alone in interpreting the above findings. For example, it is noted that all Baptists in the present study were also Black, and as indicated above, Blacks displayed a similar regression effect in the victimization domain. The contribution of the race variable however, does not explain the regression effect displayed by Protestants. The small sample size of the present investigation prohibited the effective utilization of control variables to explain certain relationships. With respect to religion, however, there appears to be no statistically or conceptually significant reason to elucidate these regression effects.

Income and Cognitive Dimensionality

Income is not significantly related to cognitive dimensionality in either the victimization domain or the domain of occupations (Hypothesis 11). The means, standard deviations, and analysis of variance summary is shown in Tables 42 and 43.

TABLE 42.--Means and Standard Deviations for Victims by Income for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations.

	ALPHA					
	Victimization Domain			Occupation Domain		
	High (n=8)	Medium (n=9)	Low (n=9)	High (n=8)	Medium (n=9)	Low (n=9)
Mean	2.407	2.161	2.445	2.346	2.186	2.363
s.d.	.841	.498	.989	.796	.501	.999
	BETA					
Mean	3.003	2.514	3.196	2.869	2.631	3.504
s.d.	1.596	.840	2.024	1.497	.959	1.933

NOTE: High: More than $11,000 reported annual income.
Medium: $9,000-$11,000 reported annual income.
Low: Less than $9,000 reported annual income.

TABLE 43.--Analysis of Variance Summary for Victims by Income in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures.

	ALPHA							
	Victimization Domain				Occupation Domain			
Source	SS	df	MS	F	SS	df	MS	F
Between	.423	2	.211		.934	2	.467	
Within	14.763	23	.641		14.404	23	.626	
TOTAL	15.186	25		0.329	15.338	25		0.746
	BETA							
Between	2.213	2	1.106		3.648	2	1.824	
Within	56.228	23	2.444		52.873	23	2.298	
TOTAL	58.441	25		0.452	56.521	25		0.793

Although significance among various income levels was not obtained, and analysis of Table 42 indicates that there are manifest differences in victim dimensionality scores when comparing the two cognitive domains of interest to the present investigation. It is seen that low income subjects (less than $9,000 reported annual income) show a regression effect in the victimization domain, whereas medium income individuals ($9,000-$11,000 reported annual income) are almost identical in dimensionality between the two domains, and high income victims (over $11,000 reported annual income) display increased dimensionality in the victimization domain. A difference of means test between dimensionality scores in the victimization domain and the domain of occupations for each of these income groupings provided no statistically significant results.

The dimensional model of cognitive structure as ascribed to in this investigation provides no theoretical rationale to explain these results. It may be that high income individuals are more vigilant and perceive themselves as more vulnerable for future victimization, and are thus more dimensional within the victimization domain. Low income individuals, on the other hand, may experience a greater personal loss thus resulting in the regressive trend in the victimization domain. This study was unable to assess these relative losses and perceptual apprehensions of future victim risk, and the exact nature of these relationships must be left for future investigation.

Marital Status and Cognitive Dimensionality

Marital status of robbery victims is not significantly related to cognitive dimensionality in either the victimization domain or the domain of occupations. A one-way analysis of variance failed to substantiate Hypothesis 12. Table 44 presents the means and standard deviations for each marital grouping for each cognitive domain. Table 45 indicates the analysis of variance summary for each Scott measure.

While significant differences were not found among the various groupings, it is noted the single persons are consistently more dimensional than married and separated or divorced individuals in the victimization domain. Separated and divorced persons showed the lowest dimensionality scores in this domain. With respect to the domain of occupations non-married (separated or divorced) subjects were more dimensional than married persons for both the Scott measures, and more dimensional than single persons on the Scott BETA measure.

What is perhaps more important than these descriptive relations is the regression effects in the victimization domain on the part of separated and divorced persons. For both the Scott measures, non-married individuals were significantly less dimensional in the victimization domain ($t = 6.220$, df 4 $p<.005$ for Scott ALPHA and one tailed test and $t = 2.676$, df 4, $p<.05$ for Scott BETA one tailed test). Single persons also displayed a regression in the victimization domain, however this difference was not

TABLE 44.--Means and Standard Deviations for Victims by Marital Status for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations.

	ALPHA					
	Victimization Domain			Occupation Domain		
	Single (n=7)	Married (n=16)	Divorced and Separated (n=3)	Single (n=7)	Married (n=16)	Divorced and Separated (n=3)
Mean	2.505	2.309	2.079	2.655	2.224	2.669
s.d.	.774	.863	.095	.745	.837	.412
	BETA					
Mean	3.229	2.541	2.392	3.458	2.705	3.563
s.d.	1.632	1.295	.186	1.603	1.545	.870

TABLE 45.--Analysis of Variance Summary for Victims by Marital Status in the Victimization Domain and the Domain of Occupations for the Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures.

	ALPHA							
	Victimization Domain				Occupation Domain			
Source	SS	df	MS	F	SS	df	MS	F
Between	.410	2	.205		1.166	2	.583	
Within	14.785	23	.643		14.172	23	.616	
TOTAL	15.195	25		0.319	15.338	25		0.946
	BETA							
Between	2.644	2	1.322		3.812	2	1.906	
Within	41.204	23	1.791		52.709	23	2.291	
TOTAL	43.847	25		0.738	56.521	25		0.831

significant (t = 0.486, df 12, n.s. for Scott ALPHA and t = 0.163, df 12, n.s. for Scott BETA). Another interesting finding is the apparent inconsistency among married persons on the Scott dimensionality measures. On the Scott BETA measure, married subjects show a regression effect in the victimization domain, however, on the Scott ALPHA measure they show a slight increase in dimensionality in this domain. These differences were, however, not significant in either case (t = -0.193, df 30, n.s. for Scott ALPHA and t = 0.225, df 30, n.s. for Scott BETA).

Summary

This chapter has presented the empirical data and the direct tests of the guiding hypotheses. In the first section, the relationships of each major variable in the theoretical scheme were presented. With regard to one's role in the robbery encounter as victim or victimizer, consistent trends in the predicted direction were found on all dimensionality measures. Victims were shown to be significantly less dimensional in representing the victimization experience in cognitive space than were offenders.

When within group classification variables were considered, however, these associations were not as strong. No significant differences were found between high and low crisis perception (CP), immediate psychophysical reaction (IPR), and postvictimization (PVE) victims. Similarly, no differences were located among offenders in terms of their commitment to criminal behavior (CCB) or commitment to specific offense patterns (CSO). Lapsed time

since the victimization and the measure of cognitive dimensionality also did not show significance.

The relationship of cognitive dimensionality to various sociological background factors was shown to be generally unrelated (see Tables 46-48). No significant differences were found with the exception of the following: (a) sex--with females being more dimensional than males in both cognitive domains, (b) age--with younger victims being more dimensional in the victimization domain, (c) education--with offenders in the medium age category displaying higher dimensionality scores in the victimization domain, and (d) religion--with Baptists being more dimensional in the domain of occupations. Only non-married (divorced or separated) victims showed significant regression effects in the victimization domain.

The limitations on the generalizability of these results has been previously noted. Nonetheless, while overall statistical significance was not attained, these findings are not tenuous. Upon closer examination of the patterns of the relationships among the variables certain linkages to social structural integration emerge. For example, it is seen that those status categories (i.e., males, older individuals, non-married persons, and persons with lower educations) most affected by robbery victimization (as indicated by lower cognitive dimensionality scores) are also those groupings which are potentially higher victim risks (Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 1975: 30-31). The interactional patterns traditionally ascribed to these status groups corroborates

TABLE 46.--Intercorrelation Matrix of Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures with Sociological Background Variables for Victims in the Victimization Domain (V.D.) and the Domain of Occupations (O.D.).

	ALPHA V.D.	BETA V.D.	ALPHA O.D.	BETA O.D.	Sex	Race	Age	Education	Religion	Income	Marital Status
ALPHA V.D.	1.000										
BETA V.D.	.987	1.000									
ALPHA O.D.	.987	.756	1.000								
BETA O.D.	.745	.789	.987	1.000							
Sex	.494	.524	.521	.573	1.000						
Race	-.188	-.158	-.318	-.286	-.218	1.000					
Age	-.443	-.436	-.229	-.224	-.123	.065	1.000				
Education	.016	.038	-.028	-.004	-.144	.144	-.186	1.000			
Religion	.199	.204	.592	.568	.261	-.339	.249	-.173	1.000		
Income	-.401	-.397	-.416	-.429	-.437	.189	.129	.405	-.534	1.000	
Marital Status	-.164	-.163	-.084	-.065	.155	-.299	.596	-.223	.186	.045	1.000

TABLE 47.--Intercorrelation Matrix of Scott ALPHA and BETA Measures with Sociological Background Variables for Offenders in the Victimization Domain (V.D.) and the Domain of Occupations (O.D.).

	ALPHA V.D.	ALPHA O.D.	BETA V.D.	BETA O.D.	Age	Race	Education
ALPHA V.D.	1.000						
ALPHA O.D.	.562	1.000					
BETA V.D.	.912	.601	1.000				
BETA O.D.	.575	.965	.602	1.000			
Age	-.217	-.226	-.171	-.193	1.000		
Race	-.069	-.025	.061	.092	.001	1.000	
Education	.255	.032	.188	-.053	.036	.089	1.000

TABLE 48.--Summary Table of Statistical Tests for Victims and Offenders on Sociological Background Factors.

	Victims		
	Within Victimization Domain	Within Domain of Occupations	Regression Effect in Victimization Domain
Sex	Females greater than Males	Females greater than Males	n.s.
Race	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Age	Young greatest Elderly least	n.s.	n.s.
Education	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Religion	n.s.	Baptists Greatest	n.s.
Income	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Marital Status	n.s.	n.s.	Non-married showed regression
	Offenders		
Race	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Age	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Education	Medium Greatest	n.s.	n.s.

such a conclusion. For example, the elderly being subjected to the socially conditioned tribulations of old age (e.g., social isolation, low mobility, etc.) would lead to the expectation that they would react more traumatically to the robbery experience. Similarly, the significant regression effect among divorced and separated victims is perhaps suggestive of low social integration levels commonly assumed for these groups (Durkheim, 1951). Thus, an analysis of such patterned, although low, relationships tend to show that the various classifications among the variables display substantive, if not statistical, significance for differences in cognitive dimensionality. Such differences have important theoretic, as well as conceptual implications in that inferential links to social structure may be realized.

CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS

Overview

This study investigated the relationship between one variable of cognitive complexity and the participants, both victims and offenders, in the criminal offense of robbery. A total of 26 victims and 26 offenders were selected from records of the Detroit Recorder's Court and the State Prison of Southern Michigan respectively were included in the analysis. Victimization events occurring within 15 months of the interview were considered for inclusion in the final sample in order to control for time effects. The relationship was studied by comparing victim and offender responses which represented the victimization experience in cognitive space in terms of cognitive dimensionality, as well as making within group comparisons. Also investigated was the relationship of cognitive dimensionality to select sociological background factors (sex, age, race, education, religion, income, and marital status).

The data was statistically analyzed to determine both the significance and strength of the various relationships. The main hypothesis of victim-offender differences was tested by a repeated measures design analysis of variance. Within group differences,

as well as hypotheses concerning background factors were tested through the use of a one-way analysis of variance or a difference of means test. Correlation analysis was provided to supplement, as well as to indicate trends in the data.

Within the limitations of the study, the following conclusions were made:

1. The prediction that victims would be less dimensional in representing the victimization experience in cognitive space was strongly supported. All sixteen measures of dimensionality confirmed victims to be significantly less dimensional than robbery offenders. Interaction effects were, however, found to be significant only on the ALPHA 55% factor analytic measure. These effects supported the contention that victims would show a regression (i.e., react in a more cognitively simple manner) in representing the victimization experience in cognitive space when compared to the neutral domain of occupations.

2. Within group differences for both victims and offenders were not found to be statistically significant. Victims were categorized in terms of the robbery experience being perceived as a crisis or a threat to self on three variables--crisis perception (CP), immediate psychophysical reaction (IPR), and post victimization emotion (PVE). Each of these variables was found to be unrelated to cognitive dimensionality. Although not significant, the results did indicate a trend in the data supportive of previous research.

The relationship of cognitive dimensionality to the offender's commitment to criminal behavior (CCB) and commitment to specific offense patterns (CSO) was found to be statistically non-significant.

3. Lapsed time since the victimization occurrence and the measure of cognitive dimensionality showed no significant effects for either victims or offenders. Furthermore, no regression effects in the victimization domain were found among victims, nor were offenders significantly more dimensional in that domain as a result of time.

4. Sociological background factors generally appear to be unrelated to cognitive dimensionality. Sex of the victim was the only variable that showed consistent differences with females being more dimensional than males in both cognitive domains. The data provided significant regression effects in the victimization domain for victims' marital status. Offenders did not prove to be significantly more dimensional in that domain when compared to the neutral domain of occupations when classified by various background factors.

Limitations

Before a discussion of the results and conclusions of this investigation can be undertaken, or its implications for future research be considered, a review of its limitations is necessary. This will be done to qualify inferences made from the results, and to alert the reader to those aspects of the study that need further attention in subsequent research.

Methodology in victim research suffers from the problem of inadequate theory development. Victimological theory, for the most part, has not sharply focused and directed the development of adequate methods. Furthermore, some aspects of victimological research pose difficult methodological problems. Among these are: (a) the pervasiveness of individual differences in reactions to victimizations, (b) cognitive appraisals of psychological stress associated with victimization, and (c) the myriad of temporal factors which may be involved in the victimization encounter. Above all these, however, there are practical and ethical limitations which inherently restrict the investigation of some of the more interesting aspects of victimization impact and reactions to this event.

The individual difference issue in victim research is seldom investigated. One aspect of this issue is the differential response and sensitivity (i.e., impact of the victimization) to the same inducing victimization conditions. The present study was limited in that most of the victimization encounters were of the commercial robbery type, and further, the small sample size disallowed any classification by robbery type. The question still remains, however, as to whether differences may exist in victim reaction by type of robbery (e.g., commercial, street, non-visible, residential, or vehicle robberies--see Ward, Ward, and Feeley (1975) for definitions of these distinctions).

Another important related issue arises in the consideration of personality correlates, as independent variables, in reaction

to victimization experiences. The present study made no attempt to control for personality factors as they may relate to cognitive dimensionality and victimization. The important concerns in this regard include what personality variables are deemed crucial, and how should they be conceptualized and measured. There is some tenable evidence that personal factors may influence repeated victimizations (Johnson, et al., 1973), and it is not unreasonable to suspect that personality variables may also affect reaction to the experience of being victimized.

A third limitation with respect to the individual difference issue is the nature of the criterion measure of victimization impact or stress, and the time of the measurement within the victimization impact sequence. That is to say, some victimization reactions are instantaneous and have rapid decay functions, others have relatively slow decay, while still others have a considerable time lag between the onset of the stress and its ultimate impact (see Sutherland and Scherl (1970) for a discussion of a processual adjustment sequence in rape victims). The present investigation utilized two variables, immediate psychophysical reaction (IPR) and post victimization emotion (PVE) based on victim perception of the victimization experience in consideration of this time factor. These variables were not found to be significantly related to cognitive dimensionality as provided by the data, and this result points to a further limitation in the measurement technology of stress perception. The present study provided a measurement scale of only ordinal strength at best. Reaction to victimization

encounters is not a unidimensional concept, and although the present measures did not attain significance, they did indicate trends in the data which are of heuristic value.

Cognitive appraisals (i.e., subjective perceptions and evaluations) of victimization experiences is both a theoretically and empirically pervasive theme, and represents a second limitation to the present investigation. This study focussed on three perceptual variables of threat and stress in the victimization encounter. No attempt was made to control for other variables (e.g., victim's perception of the credibility of the offender's threat to use violence in those respective cases, perceived danger level in the episode, etc.), although there is some evidence to suggest such issues may be important (Mogy and Pruitt, 1974). Similarly, robbery offenders were not controlled for such perceptual variables as victim selection procedures, responses to victim reaction, etc. There are indeed methodological difficulties in accounting for these variables, nontheless, they represent conceptually crucial issues in drawing inferences from the present study, and thus constitute a limitation.

A final limitation of the present research is the unknown impact of temporal factors in recall of the facts of victimization. Past researches on criminal victimization raise some temporal questions in terms of monthly, daily, and hourly variations in crime occurrences (Amir, 1971; Nomandeau, 1968; Wolfgang, 1958). The pertinance of temporal variables is not raised here solely with respect to these issues. Rather attention is directed to other

sets of time variables which may have an influence on cognitive dimensionality as one indicator of victimization impact. These time considerations might include: (a) duration of the stress or threat (i.e., time in contact with the offender), and (b) activity at the time of the robbery (i.e., the potentially stress-inducing conditions of victimization is a temporally localized event within an ongoing social-behavioral context, and the meaning, as well as responses to this experience partially depend on what had been going on immediately prior to its occurrance). The present study did not control for such conditions, primarily because of the small sample size, but also because most victims reported that they were engaged in "normal" daily activities at the time of the robbery. In light of this, a more adequate detailed categorization or classification of behavioral events is needed.

This section has briefly indicated some major limiting factors of the present research. The issues surrounding individual differences, cognitive appraisal variables, and temporal factors represent major sets of substantive and theoretical concerns for making inferences from the present data.

Discussion

Victims: Crisis Perception and Victimization

Victims of robbery in the present study were shown to be less dimensional, and to react to the victimization encounter in

a less cognitively complex manner than did robbery offenders. This finding substantiates the role allocation premise. Furthermore, as a result of the various factors surrounding this role, a regression effect was found within the victimization domain when compared to the neutral domain of occupations. This regression contrasts with the vigilance hypothesis as noted in other studies.

In order to examine this relationship more closely, three variables dealing with the victim's perception of the robbery experience were developed. These variables indicated that the influence of threat and stress on cognitive dimensionality as one indicator of victimization impact is a very complex phenomena. The predicted lower dimensionality among those subjects who perceived the experience as highly threatening (high CP and IPR subjects) was not supported by the data. Contrary to expectations, high threat and stress perception were more closely associated with high dimensionality within the victimization domain. This relationship was, however, not significant. The lack of significance is disappointing, but perhaps understandable given the nature of the sample and the time lapse since the victimization.

Nonetheless, while the evidence is relatively weak, these results seem to support a vigilance formulation. LeJuene and Alex (1973) have provided similar conclusions regarding post victimization reactions. They state (1973: 25):

> The major modes of adaptation to victimization that result from the mugging and the post-victimization interchange are however individualistic. In most cases they involve increased

> vigilance and avoidance, in a minority of cases they involve more active means, both legal and illegal, such as learning karate or carrying a weapon. . . .
>
> Mugging sets into motion social psychological forces which contribute to increasing the condition of social disorder in the urban community. The mugger's victim adapts to his misfortune by adopting modes of perception and attitudes congruent with a Hobbesian view of man. As a consequence of being a victim he sees the city as an urban jungle; as a situation where others, particularly strangers, are not to be trusted.

Such negative perception of one's environment is also consistent with social psychological research dealing with the vigilance hypothesis and its relationship to cognitive complexity. Numerous investigations (Irwin, Tripodi, and Bieri, 1967; Miller and Bieri, 1965; Soucar, 1970; Turner and Tripodi, 1968), as previously discussed (see Chapter IV), have supported the thesis that individuals perceive events more complexly when evaluating persons they dislike or whom are negatively perceived.

Extending this interpretation to the present results, it may be argued that the vigilance formulation is a special case of reaction to victimization as a function of the individual's definition or perception of the experience. Victims are apparently reacting to this experience not solely on the basis of their subordinate role in a crisis situation, but also in terms of a symbolic interpretation.

The process of reacting to robbery victimization experiences is complex and multifaceted. The present data have only begun to identify three perceptual variables (CP, IPR, and PVE) which appear to be influential in adapting to such experiences.

Future consideration must be given to refining these measures in terms of their theoretic and substantive importance.

Offenders: Commitment to Criminal Behavior

Commitment to criminal behavior (CCB) and to specific offense patterns (CSO) were not significantly related to cognitive dimensionality. Whereas high commitment offenders were expected to be more dimensional in the victimization domain, the data, although not significantly, supported the exact opposite. Mention has already been given (see Chapter VI) to the interpretation of these results in terms of: (a) inadequacy of the measures of commitment, (b) institutional involvement creating a restriction in dimensionality, and (c) criminal career development. Suggestion was also given to a possible extension of the theoretical model.

The finding that high CSO subjects are less dimensional than both low and medium CSO offenders suggests that the victimization domain is much more complex than assumed. It is conceivable that this domain may consist of one or more subdomains which may contain elements different from those defined by the present conceptualization of that domain. Such an interpretation is consistent with the position that dimensionality may be related to stages in criminal career development.

The development of a criminal career is a complex process culminating in behavioral and attitudinal changes, as well as changes in self-perception (Gibbons, 1973). Part of this process may also include a change in cognitive structure, whereby elements in the general domain of victimization (i.e., as conceptualized in

the present study) take on less importance than elements within a subdomain of criminality (i.e., offense and technique specialization, victim management, etc.). Thus, the professional criminal may be highly complex in the domain of theft, for example, but be relatively less dimensional in a general crime or victimization domain, whereas the converse of this may hold for the aspirant professional. This type of relation may also be present in Lemert's (1951; 1967) theorizing on the development of secondary deviance, whereby the individual reorganizes his social psychological characteristics (i.e., cognitive structure) around the criminal role.

The victimization domain, as conceived in the present study, was considered to be a task- or achievement-oriented domain for robbery offenders. Such conceptualization lends support to a relatively small, but growing, line of research which applies an occupational perspective to criminal behavior (David, 1974; Jackson, 1969; Letkemann, 1973; Polsky, 1967). This perspective borrows from the sociology of work literature, and emphasizes technical skills, as well as those perceptual and social skills essential to task performance. Thus:

> To view crime as work demands that we look at it in terms of its viability as an occupation: skills required, training opportunities, effects of technological change, financial returns, and costs and risks involved. . . . An occupational approach sensitizes us to see these issues, and, in addition, helps us to see crime within the wider context of work and success opportunities in our social structure (Letkemann, 1973: 163).

If crime is work as Letkemann claims, and job requirements are mandated, then attitudinal structures may also be assumed to be affected by such an orientation. The veracity of this assumption

must be left for future research, however, its linkage to the present data is clear. That is to say, those cognitive domains relevant and pertinent to this occupational line will be more highly structured, and it is suspected that those individuals more greatly committed to such occupational concerns will display even more complexity and dimensionality in those domains. The present study provides no clear data on career development or work involvement. The significant difference found between the victimization domain and the neutral domain of occupations is, however, important in this respect. The victimization domain represents only one of several possible cognitive domains dealing with crime events and criminal orientations of the individual offender. Subsequent research is needed to specify these other domains in order to determine not only their specific content, but also the complexity of their structure as it relates to an occupational perspective of criminal behavior. Such an interpretation is theoretically consistent with the dimensional model. It is suggestive of an extension, as well as a methodological question of how to identify and measure subdomain elements.

Background Factors

The findings of the relationship of cognitive dimensionality to sociological background factors (sex, race, age, education, religion, and marital status) are inconclusive. A brief recapitulation of the data showed the following significant relationships.

1. Within the victimization domain: (a) sex of the victim--with females more dimensional than males, (b) age of the

victim--with young adult victims (25-35) being most dimensional and elderly victims (age 56 and over) being least dimensional, and (c) offender's educational level--with those in the medium category ([6-8]years equivalent grade level) being most dimensional.

2. Within the domain of occupations: (a) sex of the victim--with females more dimensional than males, and (b) religion--with Baptists being most dimensional. And,

3. With regard to a regression effect in the victimization domain, only marital status--with non-married victims (separated or divorced) being less dimensional in the victimization domain as compared to the neutral domain of occupations.

The present study did not control for the various effects of these variables primarily because of the insufficient sample size. Nonetheless, if the total picture of the relationships are considered, certain definitive patterns emerge. For instance, it is seen that those individuals most affected (i.e., in terms of lower dimensionality scores as an indicator of victimization impact) by the robbery experience are males, whites, middle-aged and elderly persons, persons low in education, divorced and separated individuals, and high income persons. These findings are relatively consistent with victimization risks identified by the government victim surveys (Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 1975: 30-31) in that:

> The overall robbery rate for males (23) was roughly double that for females (11); it was higher for blacks (22) than for whites (14). Although the rate appeared to decline with each successively older age group, the evidence bearing out differences between rates from one group to the next generally lacked statistical significance. However, persons in the 12-15 and 16-19 age groups clearly registered rates (31 and 27 respectively) that were higher than average, whereas those in the age group 50 and over were lower. It also appeared that victimization rates generally declined as annual family income rose. . . .

It is seen from this cursory comparison that those individuals who have apparent higher risks of robbery victimization are also those who cognitively react in similar fashions.

The analysis of socio-cultural characteristics of robbery victims helps to locate these individuals in society. It also aids in understanding how different sectors of the population react to victimization encounters. The nature of the relationships among these variables on the dependent variable of cognitive dimensionality is multi-faceted and complex, and cannot be overlooked. The implications of these results are important. Indeed, the findings reported above indicate that socio-cultural or sociological background factors while exhibiting weak, albeit different magnitudes of influence on reactions to robbery victimizations in terms of cognitive dimensionality, are not necessarily unimportant determinants of victimization impact.

Although overall patterns are seemingly consistent with previous findings on victimization risks, the low intercorrelations of these variables with cognitive dimensionality scores need to be scrutinized further. The various inconsistencies found in the present data imply that reaction to robbery victimization may be predicated on variables other than these customary sociological concerns. From this, it may be concluded that certain other variables (i.e., variables pertinent to the behavioral and interpretive aspects of the victimization encounter) are at least as important, if not more important, determinants of victim reaction.

This is not to suggest that background characteristics are not important as classificatory variables in locating descriptive relations. However, given the present state of empirical and theoretical development in victimology, other factors would appear more crucial to establishing causal linkages of victimization impact. In this regard, we might well take Hirschi and Selvin's cautionary notes in their critical appraisal of delinquency research. In discussing "false criteria of causality," they (1967: 127) state:

> If a relation is observed between an independent variable and delinquency and if a psychological variable is suggested as intervening between these two variables then the original relation is not causal.

They (1967: 128) exemplify this as follows:

> The appropriate inference from the available data, on the basis of our present understanding of the nature of cause, is that whether poverty, broken homes, or working mothers are factors which cause delinquency depends upon the meaning the situation has for the child.
>
> It now appears that neither of these factors (the broken home and parental discipline) is so important in itself as is the child's reaction to them.

Such is precisely the case in the present context. That is, background characteristics, in themselves, are perhaps not necessarily important factors in determining the degree of victimization impact as is the victim's perception and evaluation, as well as the structural nature of the encounter. Furthermore, within this same context, the use of these variables does not take into account their changing nature. That is to say, it cannot be determined what effects changes in religious, family, and educational institutions, the female liberation movement, etc. have had on the classificatory value of these variables.

The present investigation is unique in attempting to relate cognitive dimensionality to these aforementioned background characteristics. First, no study was located in the social psychological literature, with the one exception of the subject's sex (Irwin, Tripodi, and Bieri, 1967; Lott, et al., 1970; Shepherd, 1972), which delt with these concerns. And secondly, those studies (Lejuene and Alex, 1973; Syvrud, 1967) dealing with victimization impact have failed to make such comparisons. The lack of previous research on these relationships makes it difficult to substantiate conclusions and inferences drawn from the present data. These findings, however, encourage the belief that the present investigation has made significant progress in grounding a theoretical model which warrants further empirical inquiry which may affirm or refute these results.

Contributions of the Present Research

The present study has focused on a new area in social psychology and victimology. As such, it raises unique questions and opens new avenues for future inquiry. At the same time, however, it has complimented previous research which identifies important implications for various substantive areas.

Implications for Victimology

This investigation has supported previous victim research in three major ways: (a) it has provided added information on the characteristics of victims and offenders for one specific criminal offense, (b) it added evidence on victim and offender perception

of the crime event, and (c) it provided a greater understanding of victim reaction to crime.

In addition to this, however, the present research has expanded the purely descriptive research, characteristic of contemporary victimological inquiry, by focusing on attitudinal and cognitive aspects of victimization experiences. Such expansion is crucial if we are to better understand the plight of crime victims. Furthermore, if victimization is a traumatic and stressful experience, information dealing with cognitive appraisals and evaluations of that event are invaluable for: (a) potential counseling of crime victims as advocated by recent developments and victimization projects (Grim, 1974), (b) the evaluation of potential compensation to victims, and (c) behavioral changes and adjustments made by individuals as a result of victimization.

The results of the present investigation, on the whole, tend to confirm the contention that being victimized is a stressful experience, and that there are differential responses to that experience. Such findings point to an urgent need for expanded research in these substantive areas.

The paucity of research dealing with offender attitudes and perceptions need not be debated. The present study represents one attempt to investigate and integrate these cognitive dimensions. The practical implications for can briefly be identified. First, interest is such issues as: (a) reason for commiting the offense, (b) evaluation of the victim prior to the offense, (c) willingness to compensate the victim, and (d) perception of guilt

have important theoretical value, as well as practical implications for crime prevention and control.

A second area of importance has implications for offender rehabilitation. A recent study (Chang, Zastrow, and Blazicek, 1975) reported that differential perceptions of various occupational groupings by incarcerated offenders might prove detrimental to rehabilitation. The thrust of this conclusion was based on the assumption that for rehabilitation to be successful inmate attitudinal sets must be changed. The present research compliments this conclusion in the sense that if offenders are highly dimensional in those cognitive domains pertinent to crime commitment, these domains will also be less amenable to change.

Implications for Social Psychology

Research dealing with cognitive complexity and cognitive dimensionality is an expanding area of social psychological inquiry. The multitude of investigations in this area are, however, restricted in that most are done experimentally usually with university students as subjects. The present investigation expanded this subject population to include known robbery victims and offenders. Such field research has the pragmatic implication of demonstrating the utility of the concept of cognitive dimensionality in "real life" situations and experiences. Furthermore, the testing of theoretically derived hypotheses in such expanded subject populations allows more valid generalizations of the theoretical model.

A second implication of the present study is that it has expanded the application of the dimensional model to new cognitive

domains. While the domain of occupations has been previously studied (LeBach and Scott, 1969), it is noted that the elements within this domain are different from the present investigation. In the present study, subjects made evaluative ratings of characteristics of various occupational groups, while in the LeBach and Scott research subjects rated situations related to their job. The victimization domain is an entirely new cognitive domain to which dimensionality measures were applied.

Third, the present investigation indicated that the number of scales used per concept in calculating the interattribute measure of cognitive dimensionality is of little consequence. The ALPHA and BETA groupings were shown to be highly intercorrelated on all measures of cognitive dimensionality (refer to Appendices A and B for these groupings and to Tables 12-15 for these intercorrelations). While the BETA grouping scores displayed generally higher variances, as expected because of the increased number of scales, the mean dimensionality scores were highly comparable (see Table 18). This finding is suggestive of a methodological tactic whereby an investigator may increase the number of concepts employed with fewer scales and not increase the task performance time for obtaining dimensionality scores. This type of strategy would appear to be most appropriate in those research settings, such as the present study, where the subject population views participation in the research project as a time burden, or in those contexts in which the researcher desires to obtain multiple measures for each subject.

Finally, this research has shown that the Scott (1969) and Phillips (1974) conceptualization and measure of cognitive dimensionality is highly correlated with other measures of cotnitive differentiation (e.g., factor analytic measures). Such measurement convergence is essential for theory development in cognitive complexity research.

Methodological Considerations

The present study is beset with certain methodological difficulties, as is the case with victimological research in general. There are, however, several major contributions this study has made to the advancement of victimological knowledge.

First, this investigation has tapped a new data source through the use of court records for sample selection. For the most part, previous research has utilized police records for generating descriptive data about victims (Amir, 1971; Bensing and Schroeder, 1960; MacDonald, 1971; Normandeau, 1968; Pittman and Handy, 1964; Pokorny, 1965; Voss and Hepburn, 1968; Wolfgang, 1958). These studies have used police records under the rationale and justification of moving the data source closer to the crime occurrence. Another source of victim statistics is the use of victimization surveys. While these surveys have added greatly to our knowledge on crime and crime occurrence, they possess problems of: (a) differential selectivity in reporting by categories of both respondents and crime (Biderman and Riess, 1967), and (b) memory decay and time telescoping (Ennis, 1967).

The use of court records, although having limitations (e.g., loss of cases through non-reporting or non-apprehension) represents a viable source for data. First it deals with "known" victims, thus eliminating the subjective responses of victim surveys. Secondly, it allows a control on the time since the victimization occurrence, thus eliminating time telescoping problems. Finally, it allows a comparison of other data sources which could demonstrate more precisely the adequacy of those sources, as well as learning more about those individuals who decide to invoke the prosecution process.

A second, and perhaps more important, contribution of the present investigation is that the interview data differ in some key respects from agency data and victim survey data. Not only is descriptive information provided, but such interviews with victims of specific offenses may give indications of the underlying dynamics of criminal events, as well as their impact on the individual. The present study represents a beginning step in this direction, since no study to data has utilized such a procedure for particular offenses.

A final methodological contribution of this study is that it has incorporated a theoretical model into the research design. The present stage of theory and method development in victimology is embryonic. The present research has taken the theoretically derived concept of cognitive dimensionality from social psychology, and applied it to an analysis of victim and offender perceptions and reaction to robbery. This research strategy serves as a useful

guide for future development in victimology. The results of this study can, if properly built upon, focus on more promising concepts and relationships.

Strategic Considerations for Future Research

One important aim accompanying this research effort was to identify issues crucial for future research on victimization encounters and their participants. This section will identify some important themes for further inquiry based upon a consideration of the results of this study. These recommendations for future research include:

1. Future research in this area should include larger samples which may provide more definitive results than the present study allows.

2. The population of this study consisted of legally defined robbery victims and offenders in which there was a court disposition and a conviction. It may prove beneficial for future research to expand this population and examine additional categories of victims and offenders (e.g., dismissed cases, non-reported victimizations, plea-bargined cases, etc.). Such research could provide a broader basis for formulating additional hypotheses contributive to theory development. The practical and methodological difficulties of conducting such research are, however, extremely problematic.

3. Further research should examine the nature of cognitive dimensionality on a population of female robbery offenders as opposed to the primarily male population utilized in this study.

Some differences in dimensionality may exist between these two groups, as well as providing the opportunity to learn more about female crime.

4. Future research on cognitive dimensionality and victimization impact should include an expansion to other criminal offenses, particularly those that involve interpersonal confrontation between victim and offender.

5. Subsequent research should incorporate additional variables within the context of the victimization encounter (e.g., injury to victim, amount of property or monetary loss, satisfaction with the prosecution process, etc.) as they relate to cognitive dimensionality and other variables of cognitive structure (e.g., integration), as well as to personal reaction and impact of the victimization.

6. Future research should be directed toward the area of "victim proneness." Hentig (1948) raised the question of proneness to victimization, and contended that there are various psychological types who unknowingly invite criminal victimization. It would be an appropriate research task to analyze the victims of various crimes in terms of psychological type, to identify the relationships among these various types, proneness to victimization, and cognitive dimensionality as one indicator of victimization impact.

7. Further research inquiry should be directed to the discovery of relationships among ecological differences within communities and rural-urban differences in terms of cognitive dimensionality and representation of the victimization experience in cognitive space.

8. Research in the future should consider the methodological strategy of matching victims and offenders in order to provide more detailed information about the subjective perspectives of the actors and the behavioral dimensions of the crime event.

9. Future research should consider the implementation of follow-up and longitudinal investigations in order to determine changes in cognitive dimensionality during victims' post offense adjustment periods and offenders' post institutional times.

10. Further research should be directed to the influence of various offender perceptual variables (e.g., victim selection procedures, victim management strategies, etc.) on cognitive dimensionality.

11. A more comprehensive study should be undertaken in the future that would include a replication of this study across comparable groups.

Conclusion

This study has attempted to discover and analyze the relationship of cognitive dimensionality to various attributes of the participants in the criminal offense of robbery. No previous study known to the author, either robbery specific research or victimological research in general, has analyzed victim and offender responses in the manner of the present research. Furthermore, several areas described in this investigation are either novel to robbery research, or are more comprehensively treated than previously.

These preliminary findings suggest that even greater success in victimological research lies ahead. However, as Frankel (1939: 688) in concluding his investigation of homicide, appropriately states:

> . . . much scientific work needs to be done and systematic inquiries will have to be made to give us more accurate knowledge. . . .

Victimology is a relatively new field, and the direct incorporation of social psychological theory and concepts, as done in the present study, is perhaps more novel. Discoveries and inquiries in this area may well-help define new furture directions in victimological research.

This investigation is a beginning step at this incorporation. One study cannot investigate all the issues; the multiplicity, depth and scope of the topics are far too expansive. The intent of the present research was to elicit general relationships with the anticipation that trends discovered could be expanded upon at a later time.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CONCEPTUAL ELEMENTS AND ATTRIBUTES WITHIN THE VICTIMIZATION DOMAIN AND THE DOMAIN OF OCCUPATIONS.

ELEMENTS

VICTIMIZATION DOMAIN

Going to Trial
Most Judges
Most Jurors
Most Defense Attorneys
Most Prosecuting Attorneys
Most Police
Most Robbers
Preliminary Investigation
The Place Where the Robbery Occurred
During the Robbery My Behavior
During the Robbery the Robber's Behavior*
Stealing
Strangers
Weapons
My Neighborhood
Fooling Other People
Money
Hurting Someone
Me

OCCUPATION DOMAIN

Medical Doctors
Politicians
Scientists
Prison Inmates
College Students
Priests and Ministers
Prison Security Guards
Businessmen
Truck Drivers
Pilots
Farmers
Football Players
Military Officers
Construction Workers
Secretaries
Teachers
Movie Actors
Firemen
Factory Workers

ATTRIBUTES OR SCALES

simple - complicated
sane - insane
relaxed - tense
careful - careless
strong - weak
hardworking - lazy
predictable - unpredictable
clean - dirty
educated - uneducated
trustworthy - untrustworthy
honest - dishonest
wise - foolish
safe - dangerous
dependable - undependable
warm - cold
sincere - unsincere
law-abiding - law-violating
healthy - sick
non-violent - violent
frank - sneaky

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*This concept was appropriately changed to read "During the Robbery the Victim's Behavior" for administration to the offender sample.

APPENDIX B

ATTRIBUTE SCALE GROUPINGS USED IN COMPUTING ALPHA AND BETA DIMENSIONALITY SCORES

ALPHA GROUPING

Subgroup A		Subgroup B	
careful	careless	simple	complicated
predictable	unpredictable	strong	weak
law-abiding	law-violating	trustworthy	untrustworthy
non-violent	violent	warm	cold
frank	sneaky	healthy	sick

Subgroup C		Subgroup D	
relaxed	tense	sane	insane
clean	dirty	hardworking	lazy
honest	dishonest	educated	uneducated
wise	foolish	safe	dangerous
sincere	insincere	dependable	undependable

Dimensionality scores (Scott, Factor Analytic, and Ware) were computed for each of these four subgroupings. From these four scores a mean dimensionality score was computed and used in the data analysis. This score was identified as the ALPHA score.

BETA GROUPING

Subgroup A		Subgroup B	
simple	complicated	sane	insane
careful	careless	relaxed	tense
strong	weak	hardworking	lazy
predictable	unpredictable	clean	dirty
educated	uneducated	trustworthy	untrustworthy
wise	foolish	honest	dishonest
dependable	undependable	safe	dangerous
sincere	insincere	warm	cold
healthy	unhealthy	law-abiding	law-violating
frank	sneaky	non-violent	violent

Dimensionality scores (Scott, Factor Analytic, and Ware) were computed for each of these two subgroupings. From these two scores a mean dimensionality score was computed and used in the data analysis. This score was identified as the BETA score.

APPENDIX C

LETTER OF REQUEST FOR VICTIM INTERVIEW

December 1, 1974

Dear Wayne County Resident:

Several years ago, the President appointed a commission to try to find ways to do something about the crime problem. President Ford is continuing in that effort.

The Victimological Research Institute in conjunction with the Department of Sociology at Michigan State University is currently conducting research on one of the most neglected aspects of crime--its victims. Our study is concerned with finding out the views of known crime victims and the criminal justice system.

Your name has been selected by scientific sampling procedures from court records to participate in our study. In this regard, we ask that you please return the enclosed form so we may arrange an interview with you at a convenient time. The interview will take approximately one hour. Please be assured that any information collected will be kept in strict confidence. We are not interested in individual cases, but rather grouped data.

Your cooperation and participation are essential to the success of our project.

Sincerely,

Donald L. Blazicek
Project Director

APPENDIX D

LETTER OF REQUEST FOR OFFENDER INTERVIEW

January 14, 1975

Dear Sir:

In cooperation with the Department of Sociology at Michigan State University a research project is being conducted on the crime of robbery.

All residents of Southern Michigan Prison, currently sentenced for robbery, are being asked to cooperate in this research study by participating in an interview.

This interview will take approximately one hour, and will be conducted during non-assignment hours. All responses and information gathered will be kept in strict confidence, and your participation in this research will in no way affect your case.

If you are interested and would like to participate in an interview, please complete the form below and return it in the enclosed envelop to the Warden's Office so we may arrange a convenient time. All volunteers will receive a pack of cigarettes as reimbursement for their investment of time and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Donald L. Blazicek
Project Director

APPENDIX E

VICTIM INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Code # _____

VICTIM INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

I am from Michigan State University. We are making a study of people who have recently been victims of crime. I am interested in finding out your opinions and feelings about your experience as a victim. Your name was selected from the court records to participate in this study, and I want to reassure you that all your answers will remain in strictest confidence. So I hope you will feel free to give your honest opinion.

1. What do you think is the major cause of crime today? _____

   _____

2. With regard to your being robbed do you hesitate to notify the police? NO___ YES___ If yes:

   2a. Reason for hesitation:_____

   2b. How long before notifying:_____

3. How do you feel the police handle the situation? VS S SS D VD
   Why do you feel this way? _____

4. How do you feel the prosecuting attorney handled the situation?
   VS S SS D VD
   Why do you feel this way? _____

5. How do you feel the court handled the situation? VS S SS D VD
   Why do you feel this way? _____

6. Do you know what happened to the offender in terms of sentencing?

   _____

7. What were you doing immediately before the robbery took place?

   _____

8. How often had you usually been in the area where the robbery occurred before it happened? Daily___/ More than once a week___/ Less than weekly ___/

9. How often are you now in the area where the robbery occurred? Daily ___/ More than once a week ___/ Less than weekly ___/

10. For what reason were you in the area prior to the robbery?
    Work ___/ Shopping ___/ Recreation ___/ Passing through ___/

    Other: _____

11. How safe did you feel in this area prior to the robbery?

12. How safe do you now feel in this area?

Prior	Now
VS	VS
SS	SS
SU	SU
VU	VU

13. Did you receive any injuries as a result of the robbery?
NO ___/ YES ___/
___ Minor injury--took care of self.
___ Injury requiring attention of doctor but not hospitalization.
___ Hospitalization less than one week.
___ Hospitalization more than one week.

14. Why do you think you were chosen as a victim? _____

_____

15. What things do you think the robber considered before robbing you?

_____

16. Has this experience changed your outlook on life in any way? ____

_____

17. Has this experience changed your behavior in any way? _____

_____

18. How would you describe your normal everyday living after the robbery? ED ___/ GD ___/ SD ___/ Not Disturbed ___/

19. If disturbed, how soon did you return to normal after the robbery? Almost immediately ___/ After a day or so ___/ After a week or so ___/ After a month or so ___/ Not yet back to normal ___/

20. How would you describe your first feelings and reactions when the robbery occurred?

	Extremely	Greatly	Slightly	Not at all
Shocked	___	___	___	___
Afraid	___	___	___	___
Surprised	___	___	___	___
Puzzled	___	___	___	___
Helpless	___	___	___	___
Perspiring	___	___	___	___
Heart Throbbing	___	___	___	___
Faint	___	___	___	___
Angry	___	___	___	___
Emotionally Upset	___	___	___	___
Nervous	___	___	___	___
Hateful	___	___	___	___

Code # _____

21. Since the robbery have you had any difficulty with each of the following?

	Extremely	Greatly	Slightly	None
Sleeping	___	___	___	___
Appetite	___	___	___	___
Bad Dreams	___	___	___	___
Relaxation	___	___	___	___
Nervousness	___	___	___	___
Talking to Strangers	___	___	___	___
Going out at night	___	___	___	___

22. How did the robbery affect:

	(22) Home Life	(23) Relationship Coworkers	(24) Friends
Disrupted permanently	___	___	___
Disrupted temporarily	___	___	___
Helped somewhat	___	___	___
Helped very much	___	___	___
No change	___	___	___

23. Did you talk to anyone about the robbery? NO___/ YES___/
If yes, to whom and what extent?

	Frequently	Some	Little	None
Spouse	___	___	___	___
Children	___	___	___	___
Relatives	___	___	___	___
Coworkers	___	___	___	___
Neighbors	___	___	___	___
Minister	___	___	___	___
Friends	___	___	___	___
Other _____	___	___	___	___

24. Looking back on the whole thing what would you say disturbed you most? _____

25. Birthdate: _____

26. Race: _____

27. Sex: _____

28. Occupation: _____

29. Income: _____

30. Education: _____

31. Religion: _____

32. Marital Status: _____

33. Years in community: _____

34. Family size: _____

35. Prior victimization: _____

36. Characteristics of Offender:
Age: _____ Sex: _____
Race: _____

Time IN: _____

Time OUT: _____

APPENDIX F

OFFENDER INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Code # _____

OFFENDER INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

I am from Michigan State University. We are making a study of persons who have been sentenced for robbery. I am interested in finding out your opinions and feelings about your experience with crime. Your name has been selected from prison records to participate in this study, and I want to assure you that all your answers will be kept in strict confidence and will not affect your case. So I hope that you will feel free to give your honest opinion.

1. What do you think is the major cause of crime today? _____

_____

2. Do you feel any special skills are needed to commit robbery?
YES___/ NO___/ If yes, specify: _____

3. Did you do any planning before you decided to commit the robbery?
YES___/ NO___/ If yes:

3a. Length of time in planning: _____

3b. What did you consider and how important was it:

	Importance	
___Casing target	___	Very important=5
___Escape routes	___	Important=4
___Neutralization of security	___	Somewhat important=3
___Division of labor	___	Somewhat unimportant=2
___Amount of money or take	___	Unimportant=1
___Intrusion alternatives	___	Not at all import.=0

4. What factors or characteristics of the victim did you consider in selecting your victim, and how important were they?

Importance	
___	____Race
___	____Sex
___	____Age
___	____Dress
___	____Demeanor
___	____Location
___	____Likelihood victim would resist
___	____Victim was alone
___	____Other _____

_____

Code # _____

5. Did you know the victim prior to the robbery? YES___/ NO___/
If yes, in what way:
___Employer ___Friend Other _____
___Work associate ___Relative _____

6. Do you think the victim was in any way responsible for his being robbed? YES___/ NO___/ If yes, in what ways: _____

_____

7. How familiar were you with the place where the robbery occurred?
Very familiar ___/ Slightly familiar ___/ Slightly unfamiliar ___/ Very unfamiliar ___/

8. How often were you in the area where the robbery took place?
Daily ___/ More than once a week ___/ Less than weekly ___/

9. How far from your home is this place? _____

10. Did you think about being caught by the police prior to the robbery? Very much ___/ Quite a lot ___/ Somewhat ___/ Hardly at all ___/ Not at all ___/

11. Did you think about being caught by the police during the robbery? Very much ___/ Quite a lot ___/ Somewhat ___/ Hardly at all ___/ Not at all ___/

12. Did you use any weapons or force in committing the robbery?
YES ___/ NO ___/ If yes:

12a. Type of weapon: _____

12b. Why this weapon and not some other kind: _____

12c. Reason for use: ___Intimidate victim
___Make good threat
___Insure escape
___To keep victim at distance
___Because victim resisted
___Other:_____

13. Did you threaten the victim in any way? YES ___/ NO ___/
If yes:

13a. How: _____

13b. Reason for doing so: _____

14. What did you do immediately after committing the robbery? _____

_____

Code # _____

15. What did you do between the time you committed the robbery and the time you were arrested? _____

15a. How long was this time? _____

16. What do you think the victim was thinking about during the robbery? _____

_____

17. Date of birth: _____

18. Race: _____

19. Education: _____

20. Religion: _____

21. Current arrest date: _____

22. First arrest date: _____

23. Total arrests: _____

24. Number of theft arrests: _____

25. Number of personal crime arrests: _____

26. Name: _____

27. File Number: _____

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