



Department of Justice
Canada

CRIME VICTIMS

Working Paper No. 5

THE ELDERLY AS VICTIMS OF CRIME

**Research and Statistics Section
Policy Planning and Development Branch**



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This study was carried out by C.H.S. Jayewardene, T. J. Juliani, and C. K. Talbot under a research contract with the Department of Justice. It should not be interpreted as Government of Canada policy. It is intended as a working paper to provide information to individuals and organizations concerned with this topic.

This working paper is one of a series of papers on victims of crime published by the federal government.

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MARCH 1983

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

This report has been prepared under a contract with the Department of Justice of Canada. In the preparation of it Ms Phyllis Doherty of the Ministry of the Solicitor General helped us with locating a considerable amount of bibliographical material. So did Mr Yvon Dandurand of the Department of Justice. Dr Alexander Himelfarb of the Ministry of the Solicitor General provided us with the preliminary findings, still unpublished, of a victimization survey undertaken by that Ministry. Dr Hilda Jayewardene, Research Consultant, Crimcare Inc. helped us in collecting and collating the data. To all these persons we are deeply grateful.

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I.

INTRODUCTION.

Most schools of thought purporting to explain the why are wherefore of criminal justice suggest that its origins were rooted in a desire to provide victims of crime with what may be considered an appropriate amount of redress. Early justice was apparently dependent on a primitive negotiation process. The breakdown of this process had resulted in long drawn out feuds involving the needless destruction of human life. The establishment of a formal negotiation process that would sufficiently recompense victims of crime was thought capable of preventing the development of this meaningless feuding [von Hentig, 1937]. Criminal justice, thus, had as its focus the victim, the harm that had been inflicted on him and his restoration to as near normal a situation as possible. In the subsequent development of the criminal justice system, however, the focus was moved from the victim to the offender. The societal imbalance caused by the crime has been sought to be restored not by adequately compensating the victim but by inflicting an appropriate amount of harm on the offender. The victim has been slowly pushed out of his central role, his suffering has been ignored [Becker, 1976; Graser, 1976; Mc Donald, 1976] and he had even been required to assist society in bringing the offender to book whatever may be the additional suffering he must endure in the process, with the failure to do so made a punishable offence [Laster, 1975].

In recent times there has been a renewed interest in

the victim. This renewed interest in the victim was generated by a belief that the victim was not necessarily the innocent, helpless individual that he was considered to be and that he did make a contribution to the crime [Fattah, 1971]. Following this line of thought, typologies of victims have been constructed based on the quantum of guilt that could be apportioned to the victim [Fattah, 1967]. However, with the passage of time and the increasing study of the victim of crime, the focus of the renewed interest has slowly shifted from the victim's contribution to the crime to the seemingly unjust suffering that has been inflicted on him. Apart from the criminal victimization, it has been found that the victim is subjected to a post crime victimization in that he is denied full access to justice through court delays and plea bargaining and through the administrative indifference of social agencies and their bureaucratic complications [Reiff, 1979].

The shift in focus has tended to create an interest in what may be called victim proneness - a sort of categoric risk that particular groups of people run of becoming victims [Manheim, 1967]. Studies on victim recidivism, especially of violence, suggest that there may exist personal and behavioural characteristics that might indicate their likelihood to repeated victimization [Dussich, 1972: Johnston, Kerper, Hayes and Killinger, 1973]. The concept of victim proneness, however, refers to groups of people with certain special characteristics that would make them more likely to be victims of crime than other groups of people. Thus, members

of particular occupations such as taxi drivers and prostitutes who are brought into close contact with strangers as well as people who have to handle large sums of money are high risk individuals. Also running a high risk of victimization are comparatively defenseless persons such as the young and the old, females and drunks [Manheim, 1967].

Social justice requires that some sort of effort be made by society to ensure that the physical, medical, financial and psychological needs created by victimization be met [Reiff, 1979]. While all victims are in need of such a service, those who are specially prone to victimization appear to be in greater need. In the organization of services and programs for victims, consequently, an issue that appears demanding consideration is whether the approach to their development should be categoric or generic - tailored to meet the specific needs of a specific group or designed to satisfy the more general needs of a more general group. As far as the elderly are concerned, an issue raised in legislatures and in governments is whether the aged should be singled out for special attention or whether they should be regarded only as a segment of a larger group and forced to compete for attention, programs and funds [Kerschner, 1977]. This report on the elderly as a victim of crime does not presuppose their special position. It seeks to examine the problem viewing it from five perspectives. The first deals with the involvement of the elderly in crime, both as offenders and victims, the second with the extent of their victimization,

the third with the impact of the victimization on the elderly,
the fourth with programs and services that have been designed
to minimize that impact and the fifth with the situation of
the elderly in Canada.

II.

CRIME AND THE ELDERLY.

Criminological interest and research in the victimization of the elderly began around the year 1970 [Cook and Cook, 1976]. At that time, the U.S. Congress appointed a special subcommittee on aging to investigate the special problems of the elderly. With the Congress investigation, the criminal victimization of the elderly received increasing attention from scholars, government officials and even journalists. A number of studies were undertaken to determine the exact extent and effect of the victimization. A number of programs were initiated to provide the elderly victim of crime with all sorts of services in order to prevent or to minimize both the possibility as well as the fear of victimization. In addition to this, there was a flurry of legislation seeking to increase the penalty on offenders who chose the elderly as their target [Geis, 1977]. Congresses and conferences on the criminal victimization of the elderly have been held to share and to disseminate the knowledge that has been increasingly accumulated [Goldsmith and Goldsmith, 1976].

Although prior to 1970 the elderly were not totally ignored as victims of crime, the focus tended to be not on the possibility of the elderly being victims of crime, but on the possibility of their being perpetrators of criminal activity. This interest appears to have been stimulated by the observation that the increase in the admission of prisoners in the older age groups was relatively greater than

the increase in the total admissions [Adams and Vedder, 1961]. During the period 1944 through 1955, the average age of prison admissions increased from 23.7 to 30.1 years. The absolute number of admissions of persons under 21 years old increased during this period, but, even with this increase, their proportion of the total admissions changed from 27% in 1944 to 17% in 1955.

The analysis of the offences for which individuals were incarcerated during the period 1944 - 1955 indicated that there was a difference in the pattern of criminality of the elderly and of the younger age groups. In the older age groups there was a slightly higher incidence of convictions for embezzlement, for forgery, for passing worthless cheques, for obtaining money or goods under false pretences, for receiving stolen property, for perjury, for gambling and for conducting lotteries. Convictions for crimes of violence such as manslaughter, homicide, murder and sex crimes of all sorts had an incidence in the older age group twice as that of the general prison population while the incidence of convictions for breaking and entering, for burglary, for robbery, for auto theft and for other larceny was much lower [Adams and Vedder, 1961]. The situation during the period 1964 - 1974 seems to be different though the difference between the older and younger age groups still existed. The analysis of arrest statistics for this later period indicated that the share of the elderly for all arrests had declined but that their share for index crimes such as aggravated assault and murder had increased, that arrests for burglary was not only low but had also declined, and that there

was a dramatic increase in what are called alcohol related crimes, especially the offence of drunken driving (Shichor and Kobrin, 1976; 1978).

Other studies, both in the United States of America as well as in other countries, also reveal the pattern of crime committed by the elderly to differ from the pattern of crime of the younger age groups but the differences in the pattern of criminal activity revealed in these other studies differed from the differences noted in the two studies to which reference has already been made. In the United States of America, the crimes committed by the elderly, these other studies indicate involve less physical violence, less caution and less skill. They show that the arrests of the elderly were mainly for alcohol associated crimes (Moberg, 1953; Epstein, Mills and Simon, 1970). In the Netherlands, the criminal activity involved simple theft, embezzlement, simple insult, lewd acts with unconscious persons or children, sex offences and vandalism (Allersma, 1970), while in Germany their criminal activity showed them to have higher rates than the rest of the population for insult, for fraud, for drunkenness and for sexual offences, almost similar rates for traffic offences and much lower rates for all other crimes (Ritzel, 1972). In Italy, the proportion of the elderly offenders was found to be small and their criminal involvement to comprise insult, arson, receiving stolen property, violation of public morals and sex offences, especially the corruption of minors (Bernocchi, 1974).

These studies make use of officially published statistics and, consequently, the pattern of criminality revealed in them is subject to errors inherent in the official recording and reporting process. Because all crimes are not reported and recorded, the decrease in the incidence of crime committed by the elderly is not as great as the studies indicate, and the increase in their incidence is apparently much greater than that noted on the basis of the official statistics [Jones, 1977]. This conclusion rests on the belief that there is considerable under reporting of crime, which is perhaps true, and presupposes a constancy in the rate of under reporting, for which there does not exist an empirical or even a theoretical base. Hence, no observation regarding the actual rate of change is possible. However, needed to be realized in this connection is the fact that the patterns of crime revealed in the analysis of official statistics represents more the result of public and police cognizance of the activity of the elderly rather than the activity per se.

The study of the criminality of the elderly had led to the realization that their criminal activity could be related to problems associated with the aging process. The increasing economic pressure on the older individual coupled with his inability to obtain the means to meet his needs legally could lead him to criminal activities such as embezzlement, forgery and the like, while mental deterioration could lead to the crimes of violence against the person [Adams and Vedder, 1961]. The mental deterioration could also be

responsible for crimes such as shoplifting [Mc Lay, 1977]. Even in the absence of discernible biological abnormalities, the elderly could have mental aberrations that could lead to criminality. A study of elderly parolees revealed them to be relatively active, self supporting and well adjusted individuals but with a basic loneliness which could have prompted their criminal activity [Hays and Witosky, 1969]. Studies of elderly inmates have shown their main problems to be a limited ability to cope with situational stress and a difficulty in personal adaptability and resourcefulness [Panton, 1976; Ham, 1976].

That the aging process is associated with special physical and mental disabilities is a recognized fact. It has been taken into account in the criminal codes of some countries such as China, where until the revolution of 1911, the law stipulated that women, the aged, the young and the infirm - those considered the weaker members of society - had to be treated in a special manner [Bodde, 1973]. It has also been taken into account in urban industrial countries of the world, where the elderly are required to withdraw from a number of social roles on the assumption that their active participation does not lend itself to maximum efficiency as the quality and quantity of one's work diminishes with age [Gubrium, 1978].

The current interest in the victimization of the elderly is sustained by the position in which the elderly find themselves. The main rationale appears to be that "...

because of so many factors within the elderly person himself, such as the physical, mental and emotional, and because of innumerable factors operating outside of the elderly person, but inherent in our competitive economic system and larger culture, it seems indisputable that the elderly are indeed especially vulnerable to predatory activities both against their person and their property" [Hahn, 1976]. First, the elderly are socially vulnerable. Their social status forces them to follow a pattern of life which theoretically makes it easy for potential offenders to plan their victimization [Skogan and Maxfield, 1980]. Then, the elderly are physically vulnerable. The decrease in physical strength that is associated with the aging process theoretically reduces their ability to defend themselves as well as their ability to move away rapidly from an undesirable situation [Skogan and Maxfield, 1980]. Finally, they are what could be called situationally vulnerable. Because they live in high crime areas, they are theoretically likely to be victimized.

The logic of this analysis had led people to believe at one time that the elderly were in fact an over victimized group [Gubrium, 1974]. Even if this were not the factual situation, it has been claimed that they should be treated as a special group because the physical, economic and environmental factors associated with aging magnify the impact of victimization [Coulie, 1978]. Newspaper reports of cases of victimization of the elderly illustrate the point well. The Syracuse Herald Journal, for example, carried the story of how

a 75 years old woman was so terrified after she was mugged that she refused to leave her apartment. The accumulated garbage, she systematically put in her rooms and sealed them off as they got filled. Whatever food she ate she got by throwing money to kids to get her candy bars from the corner store. They too ripped her off taking a substantial part of that money as a commission for their services. After a considerable period of time, when the memory of the first mugging had faded into oblivion, she managed to summon sufficient courage to leave her apartment to mail a letter. She was mugged again [Graham, 1977].

In a just society every individual has the right to expect as much protection as any other member of society. Does this mean that the protection that is given must be the same in the means that are employed or in the results that are achieved? When the goals of the criminal justice system are considered, the expectation of the people is for the quiet enjoyment of their lives - a protection that seems to stress more the achieved results rather than the employed means. Under these conditions, special attention should be paid to and special interest taken in the specially vulnerable. When the specially vulnerable group also happens to be one that has already made a contribution to the development of society, it is claimed, they should be afforded as much protection as possible [Geis, 1977].

Reference is sometimes made to the political pressure that the elderly could wield and to the increasing demands that

their sustenance could make of society as an added reason as to why special attention should be paid to their victimization [Hoyer, 1979]. Normally one expects the elderly to slowly withdraw from active interest in mundane affairs but there exists a growing body of evidence to indicate that this is now not the situation. Data on voter participation in national elections in the United States suggest an increased participation of the elderly [Cutler, 1977]. Through this participation they have been found capable of wielding an influence on the structure of society, on the laws in society and even on the moral values of society [Malinchak, 1980]. There is also evidence to suggest that the elderly are beginning to realize that they could become a viable political force. An organization of the elderly, known as the Gray Panthers, having its headquarters in Philadelphia has become sufficiently active and prominent to drive home the point that if it were to muster all its forces behind any political party or issue, it could greatly influence the chances of victory [Malinchak, 1980].

It is a fact of demography, not only in the United States but also in every country in the world that the elderly, as a group of people, are increasing not only in absolute numbers but also in the proportion that they constitute of the total population. In 1970, the total population of the U.S. was five times that in 1870, the middle aged were nine times and the elderly 17 times [Cutler, 1977]. Conservative projections of population growth in that country suggest that by the year 2000, the elderly would constitute 12% of the total

population. In 1975 they constituted only 10.5% [Malinchak, 1980]. The increase in their numbers together with their increasing militancy, it is claimed, has forced governments to take cognizance of their political potential and to fund victimization surveys, prevention programs and victim services for them [Dussich, 1979]. Those promoting the organization of special programs to prevent the victimization of the elderly and to assist the victims of crime, do not hesitate to cite the political potential of the elderly as an incentive for the implementation of such programs [Donovan, 1978].

In this connection it is interesting to note that the increase in some types of criminal activity of the elderly discovered in the United States during the period 1964 - 1974 has been attributed to the development of a group consciousness among the elderly and their increasing political power. There appears to be a link between the civic status of a group, which in the strictest sense is a function of political power, and the degree of criminal responsibility attributed to them for law breaking acts [Shichor and Kobrin, 1978]. If this were true it provides supportive evidence for the power hypothesis which attributes the increase in the interest in both the criminality and the victimization of the elderly to the increase in their political power rather than for the powerless hypothesis which attributes the increase in interest to the pitiful state in which they are found.

A third reason for the special interest in the victimization of the elderly lies in the recognition that the

welfare of the state as well as the individual's satisfaction with life in society derives from his active involvement and participation in society rather than from his segregation and alienation. The regard that people have for the human apparently demands that the attitude generated by life in a world where everything is used and then discarded be not extended to society's treatment of people. Were this attitude to be adopted the loss of utility involved in aging would promote a total unconcern for them and their fate. The mechanism involved has been described:

" A child is born and develops into a functioning human being. As the child advances into adulthood and becomes a productive member of society, a certain utility is attached to that person's functioning and purpose. Once that same human being becomes older and retires and is no longer a producer, he or she loses utility. When that occurs no one appears concerned. The elderly are neglected to a position of being isolated from the rest of society. They are discarded, as it were, to a place for old people. Their wisdom and their judgements are no longer solicited. No one cares for them and no one cares about them. They are lost in a new generation and they are alone." [Davis, 1977].

Should they be treated so is the question here.

III.

VICTIMIZATION OF THE ELDERLY.

The public awareness of the incidence of victimization is usually aroused by newspaper stories which bring together several incidents to highlight a particular feature. As far as the victimization of the elderly is concerned such stories have been published in the newspapers of almost every country. The Washington Post, for example, carried under the headline, "Youthful Gang Accused of Victimizing 112 Elderly" the story of how teams of young people, all members of gangs, stalked elderly people from shopping centres to their homes and robbed, assaulted and often injured them (Daniels, 1977). These stories, while conveying to the general public an indication of the existence of a problem as well as of its seriousness, do not convey any idea of its magnitude. Such an idea, however, comes from the analysis of statistical data.

The analysis of officially recorded police data on victimization of the elderly has been undertaken in the United States. There have been such analyses in Tucson (Arizona) with the data for March and April 1976 (Podewils and Stillwell, 1977), in Detroit (Michigan) with the data for the years 1971, 1972, and 1973 (U.S. Congress Subcommittee on Housing and Consumer Interests, 1977a), in Kansas City (Missouri) with data for the period September 1972 through April 1974 (Cunningham, 1976) in Charlottesville (Virginia) with data for the period September 1974 - September 1975 (Kania, 1978), in St Petersburg (Florida) with data for the years 1974 and 1975 (St Petersburg

Police Department, 1975].

Two basic methods have been used in these studies. The one, the more commonly used, has been to determine the proportion of the elderly (usually defined as those over 65 years of age) among the victims of particular types of crime and to compare these proportions with the proportion of the elderly in the total population to ascertain whether the elderly were being disproportionately victimized. The other has been to compute victimization rates for particular crimes for persons under 65 years of age and to compare these rates with those computed for persons over 65 years old. Most of these latter analyses have been conducted to obtain base data for the justification of special programs for the elderly.

The analysis of police data from New York City for 1975, the year that New York City police supposedly began to keep figures on crimes against the elderly, show that the elderly constituted 8% of all crime victims while constituting 17.6% of the total population. They, however, comprised 19% of the victims of robbery and of grand larceny [Grossman, 1977]. The analysis of the data for subsequent years show their victimization, especially in crimes such as robbery, to be decreasing and decreasing much faster than the victimization of other citizens [Japha, 1978]. The analyses of data in other studies, however, does not lead one to the same conclusion. In St Petersburg, the overall victimization of the elderly increased as did their victimization in such crimes as homicide, rape, robbery, pickpocketing, and purse snatching [St Petersburg

Police Department, 1975)]. This increase was between the years 1974 and 1975, and, in a city which has long been considered a haven for elderly citizens. In Detroit, the victimization of the elderly in robbery declined during the 3 year period 1971, 1972 and 1973, but their victimization in break and entering and in armed robbery increased [U.S. Congress Subcommittee on Housing and Consumer Interests, 1977a].

The conclusion that one is led to by these studies is that the victimization of the elderly is not as great as has been commonly believed, that the elderly do not constitute the age group that has the greatest risk of victimization, and that their victimization is almost exclusively limited to certain types of crime - mainly predatory. Most students of the victimization of the elderly, while accepting these conclusions as reflecting the official position, contend that the official police statistics reflect neither the factual situation of the actual extent of the victimization nor the impact that the victimization has on the lives of the elderly [Gubrium, 1974; Goldsmith and Goldsmith, 1975; Rifai, 1976]. As far as the latter is concerned, it is claimed, that the elderly are bound to suffer greater physical and mental stress than any other group from the victimization, are likely to be injured more often, to require hospitalization more often and to suffer long term deprivation more often. As far as the former is concerned, it is claimed that the elderly tend not to report crimes to the police more often than other age groups.

A third criticism that has been made of these studies

is that the elderly do not constitute a homogenous group and, consequently, the study of victimization with all the elderly lumped together leads to an erroneous conclusion. This claim points out that from the point of view of living conditions, there are two environments in which the elderly live - unprotected single family homes and protected multi-unit apartment buildings - and, that it is the elderly living in the non-protective environments that are likely to be victimized [Gubrium, 1974]. This claim has been subjected to empirical testing in the Albany - Troy District in New York with the type of environment identified as (a) age integrated, where the young and the old live side by side, (b) age segregated, where the elderly live concentrated in special areas, and (c) age segregated units in age integrated areas. The study revealed that victimization was greater in the age integrated environment [Sherman, Newman and Nelson, 1976]. A study conducted in Boston made a similar revelation. In this study the housing was categorised as (a) elderly housing projects, equivalent to the age segregated housing in the Albany - Troy study, (b) family housing projects and (c) private housing, both of which are equivalent to the age integrated housing of that study. Victimization of the elderly was greatest in the family housing projects. The victimization in the elderly housing projects was considerably lower than in the other two projects [Moran and Schafer, n.d.a; n.d.b].

That all crimes are not reported to the police is an accepted fact. Although attempts have been made to ascertain

the exact extent as well as the reasons for non-reporting, the large volume of studies on hidden criminality does not reveal whether the elderly have a special predisposition not to report crime committed against them. There are suggestions that this might be the situation and that, for a variety of reasons. However, surveys of the victimization of the elderly suggest that the extent to which crimes are reported by the elderly tend to vary from place to place and from time to time. In Texas, where one out of 13 elderly reported that they were victimized, 65% had reported the victimization to the police [Martin and Reban, 1976]. In Boston, on the other hand, 60% of the elderly victims claimed that they did not report the incident to the police [Moran and Schafer, n.d.a], and in Washington D.C. the situation was only slightly better - 50% of the victims reported their victimization [Payne, 1978]. Yet, the claim has been made, on the basis of the L.E.A.A. national surveys, that the elderly victims were more likely than younger victims to report the victimization to the law enforcement authorities [Hochstedler, 1981].

Investigation of the reasons for non-report indicated them to be [a] fear of reprisal; [b] the attitude of the police and their willingness or ability to do anything about it; [c] ignorance as to how they should proceed with reporting; and [d] a general feeling of futility of the reporting because of their inability to identify the offenders [Payne, 1978; Coulie, 1978], with the last being more or less the most potent reason. It is generally believed that the police

consider crimes such as pickpocketing and purse snatching as minor offences with which they would rather not be bothered (Bagget and Ernst, 1977; Richardson, 1976), and about which they do not display much enthusiasm so that there is really no point in a report being made. The attitude of the judiciary does not appear to be any different. Recently in Canada, the two month jail term imposed on a 20 year old High School student for purse snatching was reduced on appeal to the 11 days he had already spent in jail " as adequate in the circumstances". In this case, the victim was not an old woman, she was a young girl (Ottawa Citizen, 1982j).

In the General Social Surveys conducted by the National Opinion Research Council in the United States, the attitude of the people towards the legal system was measured by their expressed opinion on a variety of aspects. Analysis of the responses indicated that elderly persons considered the courts not harsh enough (Sengstock and Liang, 1979). A survey done in 1978 in two cities to assess the knowledge and opinion of the elderly's need for police services, the kinds of services the police provide them and the implications of these services and their delivery patterns for police operations revealed that the elderly had extremely favourable attitudes toward the police, being generally satisfied with the quality of police services they received, and that the police also had a generally positive image of the elderly, perceiving them as making proportionately fewer demands and fewer unnecessary requests for services than the non-elderly population. Analysis of the actual requests

made of the police by the elderly provided empirical support for the police perception [Schack, Grissom and Wax, 1980].

If the fear of reprisal is a factor influencing the reporting of crime, the possibility exists that the attitude of the elderly toward the police and their willingness to report crime would be a function of the area in which the elderly lived and the criminality of that area. To investigate this possibility a study was conducted hypothesizing that low income elderly living in areas perceived as criminally dangerous would be less supportive of the police than the more affluent elderly living in areas perceived to be less threatening. In this study 84 elderly persons from four communities in Southern California were randomly selected on an availability sample base at three senior citizen centres and interviewed. Also interviewed were 50 persons randomly selected from a planned retirement community outside Los Angeles. The data revealed that the urban group tended to evaluate the effectiveness of the police lower than the suburban group [Sundeen, 1979], supporting the hypothesis. Last the results of this study be considered contrary to the others which reveal the elderly as having a favourable attitude towards the police, it should be noted that this study canvassed the opinion of the elderly on the effectiveness of the police rather than on the satisfaction with the services rendered them.

A study made of police contacts with citizens by two observers riding with the police in two cities, systematically coding the reason for each encounter and its location, classifying

the content and emotion, and observing other basic characteristics, revealed that the pattern of police contact with the elderly did not differ significantly from that of other age groups. The study also revealed that the elderly sought non-crime related services from the police about twice as often as would be expected [Sykes, 1976], suggesting that the non-report of crime was not necessarily due to a negative attitude of the elderly towards the police. In a study conducted in Washington D.C. it was found that the police aid was sought because the other community resources were either unknown to the elderly or were not available [Brostoff, 1971]. However, before such an interpretation is placed on the elderly request for police services, it is necessary to consider the manner in which the information regarding the elderly's knowledge about community services was obtained. In a survey of elderly persons living in New York, in Milwaukee, in New Orleans and in Los Angeles, regarding their knowledge of available services, the large majority of the elderly were found not to recognise acronyms for local crime prevention and victim assistance programs but to recognise them when the specific service was described [Klecka and Bishop, 1978]. When the fancy names of programs are used it may be difficult not only for the elderly but for the non-elderly as well to recall what services they dispense though they may be fully aware of the existence of a program dispensing such services. If such were the situation the elderly could be actually displaying a preference for assistance from the police.

In a survey conducted in Portland [Oregon] it was

found that though the elderly were very supportive of the criminal justice system, they avoided contact with the police (Rifai, 1976). In Boston, where 60% of the elderly victims did not report the crime, 93% of them were found to hold positive or neutral attitudes towards the police (Moran and Schafer, n.d.a). The proclivity to reporting crime to the police appears to be unrelated to the individual's attitude towards or opinion of the police. A study specially designed to ascertain the causes of non-report by elderly victims, interviewing 466 residents over 55 years old in Dallas (Texas) found that differences in a sense of social responsibility, a sense of personal control, and a sense of participation in the police and judicial systems tended to distinguish crime reported from non-reporters. The non-reporter was the more lonely individual (Ernst, Jodry and Friedsam, 1976).

The studies on the contact that the elderly have with the police make some interesting revelations. First, the elderly have a favourable attitude towards the police. Then the pattern of police contact with the elderly was no different from that of other age groups. Finally, the elderly contacted the police more often to make requests for non-crime related services than to report crime. If these findings are considered within the context of the mechanism of crime reporting and recording, the possibility exists that the disproportionate request for non-crime related services by the elderly is really the result of a police interpretation of the contact. After all, what is recorded as a crime is not the incident that

is reported but the police interpretation and in this interpretation factors such as the possible interpretations of the legal definition of the act, the likelihood of the apprehension of the offender and the perceived attitude of the prosecutor and the judge play an important part. Official criminal statistics are more an index of the process of control of the State's machinery responsible for the repression of deviance than an index of the deviance itself (Robert and Faugerson, 1980).

In the belief that the deficiency created by non-report can be overcome by self reports, victim surveys of crime have been conducted. As far as the elderly are concerned there are three types of these surveys. First, there are the surveys that have been conducted to determine the parameters of the problem. Such surveys have been conducted in Boston (Moran and Schafer, n.d.a; Singer, 1974), in Houston (Texas) (Forston and Kitchens, 1974), in Chattanooga (Tennessee) (Venters and Thompson, 1978), in Texas (Martin and Reban, 1976), in Silver Springs (Maryland) (Burkhardt and Norton, 1977) in Miami Beach (Florida) (Tighe, 1977), in Davis and Sacramento (California) (Coulie, 1978) and in Tennessee (Dubose, 1977). In addition to these there have been national surveys. Data on criminal victimization has been collected by the U.S. Bureau of Census according to the specifications of L.E.A.A. in two surveys - one conducted in 1974 involving Boston, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Houston, Miami, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, New Orleans, Oakland, Pittsburg, San Diego, San Francisco and Washington and

the other conducted in 1975 involving Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Baltimore, Cleveland, Dallas, Denver, Newark, Portland and St Louis. The surveys were conducted with a stratified probability sample of 10,000 households in each city (Hochstedler, 1981). A national survey had also been conducted by the National Opinion Research Centre in 1966. Victimization surveys providing information on the victimization of the elderly have also been conducted in the Netherlands (Van Dijk and Steinmetz, 1979; Angenent and Steensma, 1976), in London (Sparks, Genn and Dodd, 1977) and in the Scandinavian countries (Hauge and Wolf, 1974; Aromaa, 1974).

The second type of survey study involve surveys undertaken to test specific hypotheses or to ascertain the factors associated with the victimization. Into this category would fall the studies conducted to determine the relationship between the environment in which the elderly live and their victimization (Sherman, Newman and Nelson, 1976; Moran and Schafer, n.d.a; n.d.b), the relationship between victimization and a number of social, economic and demographic factors such as the size of the community, the sex and social class of the victim, family income, marital status (Van Dijk and Vianen, 1977; Sengstock and Liang, 1979) as well as those studies undertaken to test the commonly held beliefs regarding the victimization of the elderly sometimes with data collected in other victimization surveys (Cook and Cook, 1976; Sicker, 1977; Cook, Skogan, Cook and Antunes, 1978, Ragan, 1977).

The third type of survey study comprises those surveys

undertaken to provide the base information necessary to facilitate the formulation or the implementation of programs of crime prevention or victim assistance for the elderly. Such studies have been conducted in the Multnomah County [Multnomah County Division of Public Safety, 1976], in Portland [Rifai, 1976], in New York [New York Crime Control Planning Board, n.d.] in Tampa [Florida] [Northside Community Mental Health Centre, n.d.] in Florida [Florida Bureau of Criminal Justice Planning and Assistance, 1978], in Omaha [Wolf, 1977] and in Kansas City [Missouri] [Midwest Research Institute, 1975].

As far as the actual victimization of the elderly is concerned, the findings in the large majority of these studies are strikingly similar. They tend to suggest that the elderly had the lowest rates of victimization when all crimes were considered together. The national victimization surveys in the United States of America as well as those conducted in the Netherlands reveal a decreasing victimization rate with increasing age suggesting that age is a risk decreasing factor [Hochstedler, 1981; U.S. Congress Subcommittee on Housing and Consumer Interests, 1977a; Van Dijk and Steinmetz, 1979]. The studies also indicate that the negative correlation between age and victimization holds not only for all crimes considered together but for most crimes considered individually [Fuselier, 1978]. Low rates of victimization among the elderly, much lower than that for any other age group has been found in the case of rape, robbery, aggravated assault and simple assault. These empirical findings suggest that the vulnerability of the elderly,

which has been so painstakingly demonstrated (Skogan and Maxfield, 1980) does not result in their actual victimization. This may be because, it has been suggested, the actual victimization depends not so much on a vulnerability of the individual depending on the interaction of social, physical and situational factors relating to him but on a vulnerability depending on the interaction of three other factors which would relate to him as well as to the crime. These factors are (a) attraction - the possession and display of valuables such as jewelry, antiques, expensive cars and the like; (b) proximity - the degree to which the potential offender is able to commit the offence because of the life style of the victim involving such details as time spent out of the home and time spent in public places; and (c) exposure - the opportunity afforded the potential offender through unlocked cars and unprotected or seldom occupied houses (Van Dijk and Steimetz, 1979).

The victimization survey studies also reveal that the elderly had the highest victimization rates for personal larceny with contact - such crimes as purse snatching and pocket picking as well as for burglary. In some studies it has been noted that the elderly had high rates of victimization for white collar crimes such as consumer fraud and swindling (Younger, 1976; Hahn, 1976) and in still other studies that the elderly were also more often than any other age groups the victims of vandalism and quasi criminal offences such as harassment, extortion and small scale con games (Rifai, 1976). This difference, of course, is due to the fact that the pattern of crime revealed in victim

surveys depends to some extent on the nature of the questions asked. In most of the surveys, the inquiry was limited to the common street crimes thus eliminating the likelihood of revelation of over-victimization in other crimes. In the Netherlands it has been found that the elderly were inordinately involved in fatal traffic accidents [Angenent and Steensma, 1976]. Victimization surveys cannot reveal this information. The operationalization of victimization implies at least three conceptual decisions concerning the nature of crime. These decisions see crime as being discrete events which are bounded in space and time, events that are knowable only as distinct individual incidents and events that can be understood apart from their social context [Skogan, 1981]. In consequence, these surveys do not measure the victimization for certain types of crimes [Fiselier, 1978].

A third finding that these survey studies revealed is that the victimization of the elderly was not increasing at a faster rate than that of any other group. The national surveys suggested that the increase in victimization was really much lower than that of the younger age groups [Cook and Cook, 1976]. The New York survey, however, showed that though this may have been the situation earlier, the data for the 3 years 1974 - 1977 indicated a reversal of the trend [New York Crime Control Planning Board, n.d.]. The same conclusion was drawn from data obtained in the Davis County Community Survey and the Sacramento Survey [Coulie, 1978].

Although the survey studies do not identify it, a

major concern as far as the victimization of the elderly is concerned should perhaps be the crime of fraud. Special studies seem to indicate that its occurrence is much more than what the statistical data would lead us to believe. Some studies have shown that " by far the most frequent and in terms of overall financial cost, the most expensive crime against the elderly is consumer fraud [Hahn, 1976] while others have demonstrated that billions of dollars are bilked from America's senior citizens each year in the sale of cures for various diseases, plots of land and pre-burial contracts and in the sale of various other products and services [Ducovny, 1969].

Detailed studies of fraud committed against the elderly [Butler, 1975; Glick and Newsome, 1974; Newman, 1977], have identified the types of fraud perpetrated usually on them. First, there are the mail order frauds to which the elderly appear to be specially susceptible because they are the ones that have the time to read the advertisements and the inclination to respond. Here the fraud involves failure to deliver and late delivery. Then, there were the health and medical frauds to which again the elderly appear specially susceptible because of the state of their health. Here the frauds involve health care quackery, inferior corrective products such as eye glasses, dentures and hearing aids, charging the state for services that are not delivered and mail order insurance schemes and contracts for care in exchange for their wealth at death. Third were the income corrective, income protection and investment frauds where the elderly are made to part with their money on the promise

of a greater income for the remainder of their lives. Fourth are what may be called the social psychological frauds where the elderly are offered special social activities such as dances and trips at exorbitant prices. Finally there were the con games such as the Bank Examiner Swindle, the Pigeon Drop, the Trinity Church Swindle, the Sir Francis Drake Game and Bless the Money to which the elderly woman appears specially likely to fall prey.

The analysis of the data from the survey studies suggest that the elderly are unlikely to be victims of violence unless theft is involved. Nevertheless, it appears to be the belief of professionals such as social workers, gerontologists and nurses that the physical abuse of the elderly in family situations is a relatively widespread phenomenon. A traditional rhyme:

rhyme: " When I was a laddie
I lived with my granny
And many a hiding ma granny di'ed me.
Now I am a man
And I live with my granny
And do to ma granny
What she did to me."

also tends to support this view. Anecdotal evidence of the physical abuse of the elderly is also appearing to support the position (Butler, 1975). However, special studies of what is now come to be considered the Battered Elderly Syndrome seems to indicate that straightforward attacks with instruments or even with fists and feet are indeed extremely rare events (Block and

Sinnot, 1979; Lau and Kosberg, 1978; Renvoize, 1978; Schreiber, 1971) and the position seems to be that children do care for their parents, responding to their present needs rather than to the past relations they had with them [Horowitz, 1978]. Yet, there are some who believe that the problem is pretty serious claiming that the battering of parents to get them to make up their minds or to change them with regards their wills is a growing phenomenon [Steinmetz, 1978]. It is perhaps interesting to note in this connection that the L.E.A.A. national surveys revealed that the increase in crimes of violence against the elderly person [persons over 65 years of age] - a 46% increase in 1974 over 1973 - was second only to the increase against 16 - 19 years old males - the age group most likely to get involved in crimes of violence [Malinchak and Wright, 1978].

It appears that there is some commonality in the conclusions regarding the victimization of the elderly arrived at in the statistical studies whether the statistics used are the police records or the victim reports. These studies seem to indicate that the elderly do not constitute a group that is likely to be victimized except for a few types of crimes. They also indicate that these types of crimes constitute almost exclusively burglary and personal larceny with contact. A third indication provided by the studies is that the focus of concern in the victimization of the elderly should be shifted from the street crimes to white collar crimes. Although it is possible for us to extract these common features from the studies, it must be remembered that there do exist studies

well planned and well executed, which provide contrary evidence so much so that it has been possible for some to claim that the elderly are more likely to be victimized than any other age group [Goldsmith and Tomas, 1974] and for others to contend that the information about the actual incidence of victimization among the older persons is conflicting [Brown and Rifai, 1976]. However, the contradiction in the findings are readily attributable to differences in the nature of the studies - the characteristics of the individuals who were surveyed and the crimes that were considered in the survey [Ernst, Jodry and Friedsam, 1976]. When the survey studies are considered it will be found that the individual is defined as an elderly person differently in the different studies. In some studies they constitute the group that is 65 years old and over. In other studies the lower limit is reduced to 55 years while in still other studies it is reduced even lower to 50 years old. Again, the area in which the surveys were conducted vary widely. Some have been conducted in the depressed sectors of the city, in ghettos and in slums, where the incidence of crime is normally high while others have been conducted in the more affluent suburban areas where the social climate is relatively peaceful. Finally the crimes that have been considered are usually the common street crimes for which the elderly do not frequently present themselves as attractive victims, and, in the effort to be comparable, the peculiar nature of the criminality of the area has been ignored.

When considering the findings of victimization surveys

it is essential to remember that they need not necessarily produce a more factual picture of the situation than do the police record of crime reports. Because of the relative infrequency of serious victimization, because of the skewed distribution of victimization in the city and because of the furtive nature of crime, the measurement of crime through victimization surveys can be inaccurate (Skogan, 1981). Pertinent here are the observations of the Milwaukee County Community Relations Social Development Council (1976). They believe that the victimization of the elderly does constitute a major social problem and claim that much of the doubt concerning the notion that the elderly are serious victims of crime stem from the data derived from the national panel surveys conducted under the auspices of the L.E.A.A. showing that the elderly have the lowest victimization rates. They point out that the general figures tend to mask certain crimes which effect the elderly and fail to indicate increase in elderly victimization, that the generality of the sample and data presented do not allow for the exploration of differences occurring within particular geographical areas, that the methodology used fails to include crimes which especially victimize the elderly and to address the question of possible under-reporting, that the special vulnerability of special segments of the elderly, such as the elderly poor, is not given consideration and that the fact that the fear of victimization is more prevalent than actual victimization is ignored.

With regards the characteristics of the elderly victims, the circumstances in which they are likely to be

victimized, and the offenders who victimize them, the data collected in the two L.E.A.A. national surveys point out:

(a) the victimization of the elderly females reflected the victimization pattern of all females but the victimization of the elderly male did not. This was mainly due to the relative absence of violence in the acts of victimization of the elderly;

(b) the elderly tended to be victimized during the day time, in public places, when they were alone rather than when they were with others;

and (c) the offenders who tended to victimize the elderly were often black youths who worked in pairs rather than alone or in gangs (Hochstedler, 1981).

Unfortunately this analysis is of aggregated data when peculiarities characterizing the victimization of particular groups, in particular areas, for particular crimes get blurred. It is, consequently, impossible to ascertain whether this is just the mean overall pattern or the common pattern that is invariably presented by all groups, in all areas, for all crimes. Reports of the victimization studies in the different cities in the United States which constitute the L.E.A.A data analysed here, do not provide separate information on the elderly though the relationship between certain types of crime and age could be discerned from the tables. These studies indicate that within the general pattern depicted in this analysis, not only did the rates vary, the trends also were different (U.S.Department of Justice, 1977a; 1977b; 1977c;

possible victims.

In an attempt to understand the victimization of the elderly in the broader context of criminological theory, it was found that the data on elderly victims of crime did not fit the social interaction model used in the conceptualization of victimization because they are victimized by persons who are younger than them and by persons whom they had not noticed. The data, it was also found, did not fit the victim precipitation model which postulates that the victim actually enticed the offender to commit the illegal act. Nor was it found that the data fitted the conflict model which postulates that the victimization was the result of a conflict engaged in by the victim and the offender over an extended period of time. The data was found to fit the available victim model which postulates that the victimization was the result of the offender becoming aware of a possible victim through observation over a period of time (Sengstock and Liang, 1979).

The available victim model, it should perhaps be pointed out, differs from the concept of vulnerability which has been used to support the claim for special interest in the victimization of the elderly. The concept of vulnerability depends on the idea that the victimization is a function of the characteristics of the elderly. In the available victim model the victim is chosen because he is observed to possess characteristics that would presumably make the victimization profitable. In the concept of vulnerability, the availability of the individual as a potential victim is dependent not on

characteristics that could make the victimization profitable, but on characteristics that promote the belief that the victimization could be successful (Singer, 1977), whatever the profit may be. In the one there is a specificity in the choice, in the other the choice is governed by generalities. In the one the victimization is a means to an end, in the other the victimization is an end in itself. The difference is particularly important when the organization of prevention programs are considered.

The criminal victimization of the elderly in the Netherlands has been found to be comparatively low. This low rate of victimization has been attributed to a comparatively large percentage of the elderly living in what may be called relatively screened off environments (Goedmakers, 1967). The safety of the environment in which an individual lives reduces his exposure to victimization. However, as the exposure is dependent as well on the individual's style of life, which involves such things as how much time is spent away from home and where and with whom that time is spent, such personal characteristics such as marital status, income, sex, race, and age, which influence life style play an important part (Hinderland, Gottfredson and Garafalo, 1977). What these observations suggest is that as important as the offender's motivation are the opportunity to victimize and the vulnerability of the victim (Smith, 1979) all interacting with each other rather than operating alone. Relevant here is the finding that the victimization of the elderly in an area does not necessarily

bear a constant relationship to the victimization of the other age groups (Singer, 1974). At some times the elderly are over-victimized and at other times they are under-victimized. The needs of the offenders interacting with the characteristics of the area determine the pattern of criminality in that area and the type of individual who would be chosen as a victim. Whatever his age or sex may be, whatever may be his race or class, it is only when he approximates the type of individual whom the pattern of criminality demands be chosen as a victim, will he be victimized.

IV.

THE IMPACT OF VICTIMIZATION.

When it was realized that the elderly may not be the group of people specially prone to victimization that they were once thought to be, it has been argued, as it has been pointed out earlier, that special attention should, nevertheless, be paid to the victimization of the elderly because of the impact that the victimization has on them [Gubrium, 1974; Goldsmith and Goldsmith, 1975; Rifai, 1976]. The Congressional report on the criminal victimization of the elderly went along with this claim concluding that the elderly tended to suffer disproportionately in qualitative measures of crime victimization [Cook, Skogan, Cook and Antunes, 1978]. The theoretical rationalization for this position consists of the claim that, because of the physical state of the elderly, they are much more likely to sustain injury during victimization and much more likely to sustain injuries that need expensive medical care than members of any other age group, and, because of their financial state, any loss of property or money and any additional expenditure that they may have to incur, imposes a much heavier financial burden on them than on others.

A third point that is often added to this argument is that, because of their mental state, they are much less likely than members of other age groups to obtain the redress that society makes available to its members. This last point is buttressed by the further claim that first, the police, because they do not appreciate the special problems of the

elderly, look upon the crimes that the elderly are prone to be victims of in the perspective of the general crime picture and relegate the victimization of the elderly to a position of low priority, in their investigative activities, second, that unfamiliarity with court procedures and handicaps with hearing and memory make them poor witnesses in court, and third, that bureaucratic procedures which call for the filing of an innumerable number of forms conforming to an equally innumerable number of rules and regulations prevent them from obtaining compensation or any other form of assistance.

Yet, the greatest impact of the victimization of the elderly has been thought to be not these immediate effects but a fear of crime that forces them to change drastically their mode of life and detracts from the quality of their lives (Rifai, 1976; Sicker, 1977; Dussich, 1979). The position has been well depicted by the Deputy Administrator for Policy Development of the L.E.A.A. in his testimony before the U.S. Congress Subcommittee on Housing and Consumer Interests Select Committee on Aging. He stated:

" As I noted earlier, Mr Chairman, these lower victimization rates in no way minimize the severity of the crime's effect upon older people. These statistics may cast a cold light on reality, but they do not measure the misery of fear, the apprehension, and perhaps the terror, which keeps many of the elderly in our cities virtual prisoners in their homes and apartments. More than one-half of

the older persons surveyed indicated that they had limited or changed their patterns of living in order to minimize their risk of victimization. Add to this the decreased activity and increased infirmity that often accompany aging, and we have a group of people who are rarely in high-risk crime situations. In the usual sense of the word, they may not be victimized, but such fragile safety exacts a high price by restricting their freedom to go about their normal activities, as well as affecting their peace of mind." (Mc Quade, 1977).

Most of the victimization surveys collected information on the effects that the criminal victimization had on the elderly. The findings are not consistent. A review of the literature has led to the conclusions that older people do suffer disproportionately in terms of physical, psychological and financial hardships. The literature also indicates that the elderly take longer to heal when injured and since they are more often than not on a fixed and very limited income, victimization has drastic effects on them making them become unable to pay for their necessities such as food, rent and medical bills (Main and Johnson, 1978). However, the data collected in the two L.E.A.A. national surveys indicated that the elderly were less likely than others to be attacked, more likely than others to be injured when attacked, less likely than others to suffer wounds and broken bones and teeth, and more likely than others to

suffer internal injuries and cuts and bruises. The analyses also indicated that the elderly were no more likely than others to require more costly medical or other care after an attack but that the cost of care did constitute a considerably larger proportion of their income [Cook, Skogan, Cook and Antunes, 1978; Hochstedler, 1981]. Other surveys also suggest that the elderly typically suffer monetary loss rather than physical injury [Burkhardt and Norton, 1977] and that the likelihood of their suffering physical injury was related to the resistance offered by the elderly victim. However, since quite a large proportion of elderly victims - more than half their number - offered some form of resistance, the elderly did run a sizeable risk of being injured during a victimization [Sengstock and Liang, 1979].

Surveys conducted in the United States seem to indicate that the fear of crime was the most serious concern for persons 65 years old and over [Erskine, 1974; Harris, 1975; Feyerham and Pope, 1976; Dubose, 1977; Kahara, Liang, Felton and Fairchild, 1977; Braungart, Hoyer and Braungart, 1979]. In addition to this it has been found that the fear of crime among the elderly was mounting noticeably and rising at a much higher rate than the fear in the other segments of the population [Erskine, 1974]. Not all surveys, however, have produced these results. In the survey conducted in Silver Springs, it was found that elderly fear of crime was low - only one sixth of the average for the area [Burkhardt and Norton, 1977] and in a survey conducted in Los Angeles,

it was found that older people did not perceive crime as one of their most serious problems [Ragan, 1977]. In the Silver Springs survey it was found that the elderly there felt relatively safe, much safer than the others and took no measures whatsoever to protect themselves against victimization until they had been actually victimized [Burkhardt and Norton, 1977].

The fear of crime has been described as "the perception of a pervasive external threat" [Berg and Johnson, 1979]. In most studies the fear of crime has been operationalized as a fear to walk at night around the block or in any area within the radius of a mile of the individual's home. This operationalization has been justified on the basis that the question deals directly with the fear rather than the mere concern about the rising incidence of crime [Toseland, 1982]. It has been claimed that there is a distinction between the two. The concern about crime denotes an individual's perception about the seriousness of the crime problem in a sort of abstract manner while the fear of crime deals with his assessment of his own risk of victimization in a very concrete way [Furstenberg, 1971]. Analysis of the Harris Poll data with this distinction in mind has shown them to be two independent factors [Rosenthal, 1969].

The fear of crime supposedly forces the individual to convert his home into a fortress and become a virtual prisoner there. Studies have shown that those who have expressed a fear of crime install locks and other security devices, buy theft insurance, obtain watchdogs and weapons for self protection,

use police property identification systems and take a number of other precautionary measures [Sundeen and Mathieu, 1976]. They have also been found to restrict their behaviour patterns by staying at home and avoiding strangers [Boston, 1977]. However, not all who have expressed the fear have reacted in this manner. Hence, at least from the impact point of view, what is considered the fear of crime appears to comprise a variety of mental states all of which have been grouped together and used to convey the impression of a condition that has a crippling effect. This crippling fear, of course, is one of the mental states, and is perhaps, the most serious. There is also what may be called a general concern about crime which makes the individual give the subject some thought but take no definitive action. In addition to this there appears to be a third state, a sort of heightened awareness of the crime situation which forces the individual to take some sort of precautionary measures against victimization but measures that do not drastically curtail his activities. A comprehension of the impact of criminal victimization needs necessarily consider these distinctions.

The fear of crime has been considered to be of particular significance and a greater problem than that of victimization itself because, capable of touching every one, it can have a negative effect on the behaviour and morale of all aged people rather than the few that the victimization touches [Patterson, 1978]. Survey studies reveal that the fear of crime does not effect all the elderly similarly. Most

studies seem to indicate, as did the analysis of the data from the L.E.A.A. national surveys, that the fear is greatest among women, among the blacks, among the less educated and among the poor [Clemente and Kleiman, 1976]. There are, of course, some studies that do not contribute to this general conclusion. In California, it has been found that sex, race, education and income had no relation whatsoever to the fear of crime [Sundeen, 1976b].

Data collected in the Netherlands showed that the fear of crime, not just of the elderly but of all potentially vulnerable was not correlated to the objective risk, the degree of urbanization of the area in which they lived, the criminality of that area or even previous victimization and knowledge about crime. The only variable that correlated with the fear of crime was sex [Fiselier, 1978]. A study of victimization conducted in the United States not limited to the elderly showed that the single most important correlate of the fear of crime was sex. This, however, was only one of twelve variables found significantly related to the fear of crime, all of which together explained 45.7% of the variance in the fear and were able to discriminate between the fearful and non-fearful in 84.2% of 1499 cases [Toseland, 1982]. In this study it was concluded that "Being a woman, living in a large urban area, advancing age, poor health and living alone are factors which increase the likelihood of experiencing fear." In both the Netherlands study and the U.S. study it was concluded that the fear of crime was due to a feeling of helplessness - an

inability to defend oneself. Other studies conducted in the United States, dealing with the fear of crime among the elderly, also provide evidence supportive of this hypothesis. These other studies reveal that those most fearful were those who felt least able to count on others in the neighbourhood for security and protection [Sundeen and Mathieu, 1976b]. Following this idea the Senior Citizens' Anti-crime Network (SCAN) has been developed to demonstrate that not only the victimization of the elderly but their fear of crime as well could be substantially reduced through a concerted effort of citizens of all ages in a community [Arnone, 1978].

A study of elderly persons involved in the criminal justice process in Milwaukee County seems to suggest the existence of a direct relationship between the fear of crime and the sensitivity and the response of criminal justice officials to victim and witness needs [Marquette University Centre for Criminal Justice and Social Policy, 1976]. On the basis of the results of a study of the life style of elderly Jews in an urban setting [Lawton and Kleban, 1971], the claim has been made that losses in the areas of biological, psychological, and social functioning limit the effectiveness of the older person's behaviour and affect his conception of the self and the environment making him feel vulnerable. This idea has been used to explore the relationship between the actual victimization of the elderly, their exposure to crime and their perceived threat of crime and it has led to the conclusion that it was the effect of the threat on coping behaviour - their attempt to

control exposure to potential victimization - that generated the fear. The perceived threat in the absence of really effective coping behaviour was the critical factor controlling their fear of crime. [Lawton, Nahemov, Yaffee and Feldman, 1976].

The data collected in the 1973 L.E.A.A. national survey has been used to study the relationship between age and reports of fear for various conditions of income, living arrangement, and size of place of residence [Lebowitz, 1975]. The analysis of the data has shown that there was no general age differential in reported fear. Females, those living alone, the poor, and those residing in large urban areas were more likely to be afraid and these effects were magnified for the aged. Data collected from the elderly living in non-public housing in Southern California in a central city neighbourhood, in an urban municipality and in a retirement community found the fear of crime related to their living environment [Sundeen and Mathieu, 1976a; 1976b]. The central city elderly perceived their environment as the most criminal and had the greatest fear of victimization, while the retirement group perceived their environment as the least criminal and had the least fear. A similar study conducted in Omaha [Wolf, 1977] produced similar results but a similar study conducted in the Albany-Troy District of New York [Nelson, Nelson and Van Buren, 1975] produced contrary results.

In the interpretation of these results a factor that has to be considered is that the Omaha study compared citizens living in city operated senior citizen high rise

apartments with senior citizens living in private residences while the Albany - Troy study compared elderly residents in three types of public housing arrangements. When this fact is taken into consideration it appears that the primary factor is not the type of housing but the financial status of the individual. In the Southern California study the environment in which the elderly lived was a function of their socio-economic class and the economic resources at their command. The centre city elderly had the fewest economic resources, the retirement group had the most. These studies lead us to the conclusion that the poor elderly are forced to live in highly criminal environments, perceive the environments as criminal and are most frightened by the possibility of victimization. The affluent elderly live in relatively crime free areas, perceive the environments as less criminal and are less afraid of crime. The three year study in Kansas City has provided empirical evidence supporting this position. The data collected in this study indicated that the older people with limited incomes, felt trapped in circumstances which made them vulnerable to crime [Cunningham, 1976].

Within this context social isolation appears to play a part in the generation of fear. The impoverished elderly were found to derive a sense of security by living together in age segregated housing [Sherman, Newman and Nelson, 1976] and the elderly living alone have been found to be more fearful than those living in a household with others [Lebowitz, 1975]. In the case of the affluent elderly, however, the

situation appeared to be just the opposite - the fear of crime has been found to be related to territorial behaviour. Those who felt that they had clearly demarcated their territory with territorial markers such as no trespassing or keep out signs, barriers like fences, personalizations such as welcome mats or initials on the chimney and external surveillance devices, and thus separated themselves, conceptually at least, from others were less fearful [Patterson, 1977; 1978]. However, when the analysis is performed with the area rather than the individual as the unit of analysis, the relationship between the fear of crime and social isolation disappeared [Rifai, 1976].

Most studies suggest an absence of any correlation between the fear of crime and the actual risk of victimization, and the fear has been thought to be greatly exaggerated [Fowler, 1974; Rifai, 1977; Dubose, 1977], with the exaggeration considered to be a function of aging [Braungart, Hoyer and Braungart, 1979]. A study in Kansas City, however, concluded that the elderly's fear of crime was justified by their level of victimization [Parks and Unger, 1977]. There are other studies also which demonstrate a positive relationship between the fear of crime and being victimized [Smith, 1976]. The differential distribution of fear among the different segments of the elderly, which has already been referred to, suggests that the fear, rather than being an irrational one, has a basis in fact. Supporting this hypothesis is the finding that the fear of crime that is experienced by the elderly is not of all crime. Studies that have investigated the fear in specific

rather than in general terms, indicate that the fear is of robbery and burglary and of being attacked on the streets [Feyerham and Pope, 1976: Jacksonville Office of Criminal Justice Planning, 1977], oddly enough those crimes that the victimization surveys revealed were the crimes to which the elderly were most likely to fall victim. In this connection it is perhaps interesting to recall that the fear of crime was greater in what were called dangerous environments, in the centre of the city and in age integrated housing. Also interesting is the finding in several studies that the elderly were no more fearful than the non-elderly in their homes [Jacksonville Office of Criminal Justice Planning, 1977].

There exists some evidence to indicate that the perceived risk of victimization as well as actual experiences with victimization are not the only factors associated with the fear of crime. Demographic, psychosocial and environmental variables may also have a significant impact on a person's fear of being victimized [Garafalo, 1979]. Attempts to understand and explain the fear of crime among the elderly has led to the examination of the relationship of the fear to [a] physical factors - the physical incapacity and the restriction of mobility; [b] social factors - the isolation and restricted social interaction as well as the attitude of the public that they may not be a worthy group; [c] psychological factors - a desperation that has turned inward and an orientation of impending demise; and [d] situational or environmental factors - an actual increase in the incidence of crime in their

neighbourhood and an increase in the publicity given crime by the press [Braungart, Hoyer and Braungart, 1979]. The results of this exploration has been the claim that the fear is due not to the aging process per se but to the factors associated with aging in the u.S.A. - poverty, isolation and physical fragility. Several others too have come to a similar conclusion on the analysis of the data collected in the L.E.A.A.national survey [Cook, Skogan, Cook and Antunes, 1978] as well as on a review of the literature [Main and Johnson, 1978].

A review of the literature on the elderly's fear of crime and its determinants points out that the literature contains an abundance of research on the relationship between the demographic characteristics and the residential locale of the individual on the one hand and the fear of crime on the other. There is, however, as has been pointed out earlier, a lack of uniformity in the operational definition of the fear of crime. There is also an absence of explanations concerning the variations of the fear among people with similar demographic characteristics and residential locale although attempts have been made to explain these variation in terms of the four social variables : [a] previous victimization experience; [b] interactions about crime; [c] extensiveness of social support systems; and [d] involvement in neighbourhood networks - all without any success [Yin, 1980].

There is, of course, the possibility that both crime and the fear of crime are multidimensional in nature and that this quality acts as an impediment to our efforts to understand

the phenomenon. Composite crime figures, as has been pointed out earlier, tend to mask differences in the rate of specific crimes. Likewise the sources of the social determinants of the fear, again as has been pointed out earlier, could disproportionately affect not only the elderly but certain segments among them. In a study of 210 persons, 60 - 94 years old in Detroit, the sources of fear identified by the respondents were found to fall into two broad categories: (a) sources located in the social environment such as having no future, the likelihood of riots and civil disturbances and a general insecurity of the neighbourhood, and (b) sources located within the individual such as being a burden on others, the possibility of being confined in a nursing home and of dying as well as poor health and financial worries. Persons who expressed no fear were found to attribute their feelings to being prepared for death, feeling healthy and/or solvent and believing in God (Gubrium, 1973). Hence, it is possible that the fear of crime is only one manifestation of an extensive psychological problem.

The fear of crime carries any meaning only to the extent that it causes significant behavioural changes which detract from the quality of life. In a study conducted in Omaha, 74% of the respondents said that their personal feelings on crime hampered their freedom of movement and activity (Wolf, 1977). The study conducted in Miami Beach (Florida), on the other hand, indicated that only 15% had changed their life style as a result of a real or feared crime (Tighe, 1977). The proportion of the elderly who have been forced by the fear of

crime to alter their way of life varies from study to study [Schack, Grisson and Wax, 1980] with almost all the studies indicating that the elderly have changed their activities in response to the increase in crime more often than younger people [Laster, 1981].

The reaction of the elderly to crime and its fear in the decrease of social activities apparently has a snowballing effect. The isolation that results from the decreased social activity has been found, oddly enough, to increase the probability of re-victimization [Sengstock and Liang, 1979]. The fear of crime, criminal victimization and the effect that they have on the social life of the individual appears to be linked to each other in a vicious circle [Gordon and Riger, 1979]. In Silver Springs, where incidently the elderly fear of crime was low, all persons who claimed that they experienced this fear did not take any steps to protect themselves nor did it alter their style of life. Their movements, either during the day or night, were not restricted. Neither was there any effort made to improve the security of their homes. Such steps were taken only by those who had been victimized [Burkhardt and Norton, 1979]. In Jacksonville too it was found that it was mainly those who had been victimized that took any precautionary measures. They had the security of their homes improved and remained at home at night [Jacksonville Office of Criminal Justice Planning, 1977].

The non-victimized fearful relied on the police for protection and felt that the chance of their victimization would

be much reduced if the penalties for crime were increased (Burkhardt and Norton, 1979). They took absolutely no steps to protect themselves. The possibility exists and the suggestion has sometimes been made that there is an increase in punitiveness with age. There are, however, studies that show that the punitiveness is a function of victimization rather than of age and that one of the results of an experience of criminal victimization was to heighten vindictiveness. Among the elderly, these studies suggest that there was a higher degree of vindictiveness among the victimized and that, in this group, the degree of vindictiveness was higher than among those who did not report the crime. The report of the crime and the subsequent action that followed tended to diffuse some of the anger generated by the victimization (Ernst, Freudiger and Friedsam, 1978).

The studies on the fear of crime seem to suggest that any effect on the style of life of the elderly was not produced by the fear of crime alone but by a fear of crime buttressed by a victimization that provides the justification for that fear. The crippling fear of crime that is so often referred to is a fear of re-victimization and appears to be entirely different from the fear of victimization which exists as a vague possibility to which the individual really does not react. It has been earlier hypothesized that there is a fear of crime which is no more than a general awareness of a possibility of victimization to which the individual does not react. A second type of fear of crime has been identified as a heightened

awareness which prompts the individual to take precautionary measures but not measures that affect his style of life.

Drastic steps are taken and dramatic alterations in the style of life are made as a reaction to the crippling fear of crime which is really the fear of re-victimization. Victimization elevates the heightened awareness to the crippling fear but what changes the general awareness to the heightened awareness is not known.

When dealing with the fear of crime mention should perhaps be made of an entirely different type of fear which supposedly occurs in the case of rape. The fear here is not of possible victimization again but the fear that other people may find out about the event. This fear, we are told, brings about a major alteration in the life style of the victim (Fletcher, 1977).

V.

PROGRAMS FOR THE ELDERLY.

In his evidence before the select committee on aging of the House Subcommittee on Housing and Consumer Interests, the Deputy Administrator for Policy Development of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration stated:

" L.E.A.A. has supported a large number of programs to assist State and local law enforcement and criminal justice agencies. To a certain extent the entire L.E.A.A. program benefits older citizens, for its goal is to enhance the safety of all the people. However, because of the special needs of senior citizens, L.E.A.A. is supporting a number of research and action projects which we hope will diminish the impact and fear of crime on older people " (Mc Quade, 1977).

The literature indicates that there are a multitude of programs in the United States organized to reduce the victimization of the elderly as well as their fear of crime. This does not mean that every one is agog with the idea. A survey conducted in the United States to ascertain the extent of police involvement in crime prevention and victim assistance programs for the elderly received only 180 (36%) responses from 500 police agencies approached. Presumably the others did not have any programs to report. Of those who responded 19 (10.6%) indicated that they has no such program. Thus, less than a third of the police agencies appear to be engaged in the activity (Gross, 1976).

The philosophical underpinnings of the criminal justice system suggest that the legislative prohibition to perform certain acts and the threat and imposition of severe punishment for those who do not heed this ban is the best technique to be utilized in the control of criminal activity. Following this idea the suggestion has been made and even followed that the penalty for offenders be substantially increased when the victim is an elderly individual [Geis, 1977a]. In addition to this the claim has been made that the existing laws and procedures for addressing the needs of specially vulnerable people such as the elderly are grossly inadequate and the suggestion has been made that the law be changed so as to subject the offender to psychiatric therapy at the first known act against a specially vulnerable person and that the judicial procedure be changed from the requirement of the plaintiff proving the guilt of the offender to the defendant proving his innocence [Forer, 1978]. These suggestions were initially made, it should perhaps be pointed out, in reference to the physical abuse of the elderly and not with regards to all their victimization. Nevertheless, there are some who believe that the extension of these provisions to all victimization would not be a bad idea [Geis, 1977a].

A third suggestion that has been made is that the elderly be treated as a special category of victims [Hahn, 1976]. As has been pointed out earlier, this suggestion has been made on the basis of the special vulnerability of the elderly to criminal victimization, the exaggeration of the physical,

emotional, and financial effects of victimization in the case of the elderly, the high incidence of certain types of crimes against the elderly and the widespread intense fear of victimization that has gripped the elderly [Hahn, 1975]. There is, however, opposition to this idea of making the elderly a special category of victims. Such a step, it is claimed will create problems within public service agencies since it implies allocation of special resources, designation of personnel to administer programs directed to it and the planning and budgeting for special activities, problems which the nature and extent of the victimization does not seem to warrant [Sicker, 1977]. This step, it is also claimed, serves to obscure less obvious but equally severe problems. This claim has been made in specific reference to the sentencing procedure that has been adopted in California that allows for the special handling of designated types of offenders including those who victimize the elder, the efforts made to have stricter punishments imposed for the victimization of the elderly and the automatic waiver to adult court of 16 and 17 year old youngsters charged with a crime against the elderly. The crisis mentality that such steps develop has been found to be extremely detrimental [Nicholson, 1977].

These claims notwithstanding, the elderly have become recognized within the criminal justice system as a special group that is particularly vulnerable to crime, suffers greater trauma from crime committed against them and is less economically able to absorb the effects of crime than the rest

of society [Sicker, 1977]. Yet, with regards social and legal policy there exists today a debate as to whether the aged should be singled out for special attention or be regarded as a segment of a larger group which should be required to compete for attention, programs and funds [Kerschner, 1977]. Legislation affecting the elderly in the United States, has up to now, followed the one idea at one time and the other idea at another resulting in a certain amount of chaos within the public policy process. [Kerschner, 1977].

The majority of crime prevention and victim assistance programs in the U.S.A. owe their existence to L.E.A.A. funding. One gets the impression that a large number of these programs exist only because the funds were available and not because there was a felt need for them. However, there are a number of programs that have been organized to meet the specific needs of the elderly people in the area in which they have been implemented. These programs are few and far between even though the steps to be adopted in organizing a crime prevention program for the elderly have been enumerated as including the identification of the community needs as well as the community resources and it has been made amply clear that the program be directed towards actually interfacing with the aged and reducing their fear and making them less likely to be victimized [Miller, 1977]. The majority of the programs have been based on what research has indicated are the needs of the elderly in a general rather than a specific sense and some of them are simple replications of what have been organized for other areas

sometimes without any consideration about the ability of these programs to have an impact on the problem in that particular area.

All programs, however innovative they may be considered to be, have been organized to fit into the philosophical base of criminal justice. Within this context, the programs can be seen as falling into four broad categories. The philosophical base of the criminal justice system focuses on the manipulation of offender motivation through alterations of the consequences of the crime and of the prerequisites for the commission of crime as central objects of crime control and crime prevention. Attempts to alter the consequences of crime to the offender directly by improving the apprehension, prosecution and conviction of offenders form the base of the first category of programs. Attempts to do so indirectly by improving the relations between the police and the elderly constitute the base of the second. The third category contains those programs which try to alter the prerequisites for the commission of crime by making it more difficult for offenders to commit their crimes while the fourth and final category contains those programs designed to aid victims and provide them with some form of succour.

To ensure the operation of deterrence theory and thereby reduce the incidence of crime it is necessary to improve the apprehension, the prosecution and conviction of offenders. Several police departments in the United States have instituted such programs designed specifically to reduce

the victimization of the elderly. The Bronx Area Senior Citizen's Robbery Unit in New York City is one such special program. This program concentrates on apprehending perpetrators, coordinating country wide intelligence. The program publishes a crime alert bulletin for senior citizens describing the methods of operation and the locations where the crimes are committed. When an elderly individual has been robbed, the suspect photo file is taken to the victim's home to save him the inconvenience of travelling to the precinct. The program has also established a telephone alert system with the cooperation of the District Attorney's Office whereby the plaintiff remains home on telephone alert to be brought to court only when an appearance is absolutely necessary. The program also contains two other components not related to the apprehension and conviction of the offender. Crime prevention lectures are delivered to senior citizens and the cooperation between the agencies dealing with the elderly are ensured by coordination of their services (Bouza, 1976; Schafer, 1977; Japha, 1978). This program has been cited as a very effective law enforcement onslaught on the robbery of senior citizens. After its institution, it has been claimed that the robberies of the elderly in New York City declined much faster than the robberies of the other citizens (Japha, 1978).

Deterrence theory also suggests that an increase in the severity of punishment threatened and inflicted has a salubrious effect. Legislative changes altering the punishment for the victimization of the elderly, as has already been pointed out, have been undertaken in an effort to reduce the victimization

of the elderly. In this connection, it is perhaps worthwhile recalling that the elderly themselves felt an increase in the threatened and inflicted punishment would minimize their risk of victimization [Burkhardt and Norton, 1979].

Studies in deterrence theory indicate that the potency of the severity of punishment is dependent to a large extent on the certainty and celerity of its infliction. Consequently, if the traditional technique of crime control is to have any effect, it is essential, first, that the police give priority in investigation to those offences where the elderly are victimized, second, that the elderly report all cases to the police, and third, that the elderly be willing to testify in court in such a manner as to secure a conviction. Studies exploring the link between the high rate of non-reporting among the elderly advocate a system of support for the elderly victim so as to increase his confidence in the criminal justice system [Greenstein, 1977]. The support system that has been recommended is a comprehensive one which includes crime prevention education and victim service components. Actual attempts to increase the confidence that the elderly have in the police or perhaps more correctly to convert the verbalized confidence they appear to have in them into its behavioural components have been made in more modest terms.

These attempts have sought to reduce the isolation and despair of the elderly and to get them involved in the criminal justice system. They have followed three basic strategies. The first attempts to show the elderly that the

police are genuinely concerned about them and their welfare. Two types of programs fall into this category. One is directed towards all elderly and provides daily police contact for elderly citizens who live alone. These citizens are required to call the police department by 10.00 a.m. each day using a special number. If no call is received by that time, a police officer calls the individual and if there is no response to this call, a patrol car is despatched to investigate. This type of program called Operation Lifeline and Operation Reassurance has been instituted in the police departments of Huntington [Virginia] [Huntington Police Department, 1975] and of Haworth [New Jersey] [Michell, 1974] respectively. The other type of program is directed towards elderly victims rather than all elderly persons. In this program a police officer is required, as his prime duty, to review crime reports, identify elderly victims and pay them a follow up visit. This type of program has been instituted in the Syracuse Police Department [Sardino, 1977].

The second strategy followed has been to get the elderly involved in different types of activity connected with the police and the criminal justice system. The Syracuse Police Department has a Senior Citizen Recognition Program which provides part time jobs for two senior citizens to provide valid identification cards for all Syracuse senior citizens [Sardino, 1977]. The Mansfield [Ohio] Police Department uses senior citizens as volunteers to aid the police in watching neighbourhoods for crime and suspicious activity in what is

called the Senior Power Neighbourhood Watch Program [Cairns, 1977]. Such programs have been instituted in several other police departments as well [Gross, 1976]. In addition to neighbourhood watching, senior citizens have been recruited to play a more active part. In the Mariposa County they form possés which help the Sheriff's Department [Blubaum, 1976], in San Diego they are used as data processors by the police [Bird, 1978] and in some rural areas they are used as voluntary probation officers for youthful probationers [Tate, 1971]. In these cases the youth are made as responsible for the welfare of the senior citizen as the senior citizen is for the youth. The youth shows a personal interest in the senior citizen, mows his lawn, shovels his snow and performs such other jobs that the elderly guardian might find difficult to perform. Programs which have involved the senior citizen in the criminal justice system such as the blockwatch program in Cleveland [Ohio], the summer patrol program in Nashville [Tennessee], it is claimed, have played a definite role in reducing both the incidence of crime and the elderly's fear of criminal victimization [U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1978].

The third strategy followed is an educational one. Into this category fall programs such as that started in Santa Monica [California] where the senior citizen watches court proceedings and familiarizes himself with what goes on [Meier, 1974]. Also falling into this category are training programs for the elderly designed to increase their awareness of their part in the criminal justice system and at correcting false

perceptions about the role of law enforcement. A third type of program falling into this category is directed towards the police officer. He is subjected to a two hour, in-service or recruit training package focussed on increasing the police officer's awareness of the special needs of older adults [Bagget and Earnst, 1977]. Special manuals for the training of and use by police officers have been produced [Sunderland, Mc Donald and Cox, 1977].

The Personal Security and Public Safety Committee of the Mid American Regional Council has made proposals concerning the crime related concerns of older persons based on the findings of a study conducted by the Midwest Research Institute for implementation in a five county area in Missouri. The goals of the program have been identified as: (a) relieving conditions contributing to the isolation of the area's elderly; (b) developing programs and activities to prevent crimes against the elderly through citizen and community involvement; and (c) developing model programs usable in other areas. Specifically what these proposals suggest is the organization of programs of (a) public education, (b) community crime prevention, (c) victim assistance, and (d) information and information assist systems [Mid America Regional Council Commission on Aging, 1976]. Several others have also made recommendations regarding programs for the prevention of the victimization of the elder. Some of these have been based on a review of the literature and what the vast majority of the studies indicate are their special problems [Jaoha, 1978; Hahn, 1977; Donovan, 1978; Adkins, 1975; Butler, 1975]. Others have

based their proposals on survey research undertaken specifically to assess the needs of the elderly in a particular area [Florida Bureau of Criminal Justice Planning and Assistance, 1978; 1980]. All these proposals are similar in broad outline. Some of the proposals, however, carry the added proposal that the police be given special training for dealing with the elderly, that special policing be undertaken in areas where the elderly live and that the services of the youth be requisitioned to help the elderly [Butler, 1975].

The main characteristic of these programs is that they are directed primarily towards making it more difficult for the offender to commit crime. The programs could be divided into four categories on the basis of the proposed strategies. First, there are those programs designed to educate the elderly regarding crime and criminal justice. Then there are the programs designed to harden the targets and foil the offenders. Third, there are the programs designed to aid the elderly to get about their daily business in such a way as to minimize their risk of victimization. Finally, there are the programs designed to relocate the elderly and place them in a relatively safe environment.

The educational programs consist mainly of providing information, generally in the form of a series of lectures and video tape presentations about the criminal court processing system and the victim services available, how to prevent becoming the victims of crimes such as purse snatching, mugging and rape, what precautions to take when leaving one's house and

what procedures to follow upon discovering an intruder at home (New York City Department for the Aging Senior Citizen Anti Crime Network, 1978; Grossman, 1977; Bradley, 1976; U.S. Congress, 1976; Payne, 1978; Kabella, 1977; Jones and Rott, 1977; Wallace, 1976; Lipstein, Riggin and Lee, 1976a; 1976b; 1976c; 1976d). In some programs the presentations are followed by audience discussion and a pre- and a post- presentation questionnaire test to assess the effectiveness of the program (Lipstein, Riggin and Lee, 1976a).

An evaluation of one such program - Project Awareness - which offers information on crime prevention techniques to the elderly through five lectures dealing with home security, street safety, consumer fraud, general crime resistance and property identification, comparing participants with non-participants, showed little or no difference between the two groups with regards going out after dark, feeling safe in their own homes, feeling safe on public transportation, their fear of being victimized and the precautions taken to avoid or prevent loss incurred in victimization. The only area in which a difference occurred was regarding a feeling that improved security measures were techniques that were necessary. While 27% of those who had not participated in the program believed this to be the situation, 43% of the participants felt it to be so (Payne, 1978).

Educational programs have been adopted with considerable success in the prevention of such crimes as buncoes and confidence games, medical quackery and consumer

fraud. In the case of these crimes, the program consists of providing information as to what exactly the crime is, how the crime is perpetrated, how to identify the moves that set them up as a victim and what are the protections that the law offers [Younger, 1976].

The modern crime prevention movement has two obvious branches and uses two types of strategies to foil the efforts of offenders [Stein, 1979]. Both these have been used in crime prevention programs for the elderly. The one strategy makes use of hardware and technology to secure homes. Programs falling into this category are design to help citizens take physical steps to secure their homes [D'Angelo, 1977], sometimes with volunteers visiting senior citizens at home to mark their property and to inspect their locks, windows and other security devices [Miller and Willis, 1976; Bradley, 1975; Kabella, 1977; Willis, 1976; Fox, 1977]. The other strategy constitutes community crime prevention efforts which seek to deter offenders by increasing the probability of their apprehension. Into this category fall the neighbourhood watch programs designed to keep a watch for strangers in the area and even children playing truant and becoming potential offenders [U.S. Congress Subcommittee on Housing and Consumer Interest, 1976a]

The Senior Citizen Aid Programs are designed to help the elderly to get around their usual business in such a way as not to get victimized. Escort companion programs to help the elderly to get to and from buses, churches, nutrition sites,

doctor's offices and the like, special transportation services for the elderly, special cheque cashing systems such as the Police Officers' Association using its bank funds once a month to cash social security and old age assistance cheques for residents in housings for the elderly or having the cheques mailed directly to the banks and having them deposited in their banks [U.S. Congress Subcommittee on Housing and Consumer Interests, 1976a; Sweizer, 1973; Bradley, 1976; Grossman, 1977; Kabella, 1977] are examples of programs falling into this category. Also falling into this category are programs designed to help the elderly to get assistance quickly when required. In Milwaukee, the Whistle Stop Program supplies elderly citizens with whistles to use in signalling trouble in the neighbourhood [Kabella, 1977]. In other places a buddy buzzer system which links elderly persons to their neighbours have been instituted [Grossman, 1977]. In Portsmouth [England] such a system comprised the installation of alarms in the homes of the elderly and the handicapped. The alarms are battery operated, activated by pulling a cord and rings either in a public place or in the neighbour's home. An evaluation of the program revealed that the majority of those in the 447 homes where such an alarm system had been installed were pleased with it and felt more secure but they were reluctant to set off the alarm because they were uncertain as to what would be a real emergency and who would respond [Social Science Research and Intelligence Unit, n.d.].

The relocation programs, more still a proposal than

a reality, have their base in the finding that the residential locale of the elderly is a factor influencing their victimization. It has been found that the elderly living in high crime areas are more likely to be victimized than those living in low crime areas and that those living in age segregated housing are less likely to be victimized than those living in age integrated housing. In this connection it has been claimed that relocation assistance out of high crime areas a greater crime prevention potential than movement out of age integrated housing and that even a greater potential lies in the relocation of the elderly within the same neighbourhood but out of buildings with vacant apartments and poor lighting into well lit, heavily travelled areas (Grossman, 1977). Such relocation does occur all over and all the while though not as a concerted effort at crime prevention. As an effort at crime prevention a relocation program had been implemented in the Southwark Plaza in Philadelphia. In this residential project which was providing age integrated high-rise housing, it was found that the younger residents were victimizing the elderly. In an attempt to reduce the victimization, one building was dedicated entirely to housing the elderly and architectural design changes were made in it (Leeds and Evans, 1976). In age integrated housing, it is possible for the young individuals who victimize the elderly to reach their target without rousing any suspicion. This cannot be done in the age segregated housing.

Victim assistance programs, which constitute the fourth category of programs, form apparently the largest single

group of programs designed for the elderly. The National District Attorneys' Association created a Commission on Victim Witness Assistance to organize programs to render help to victims and witnesses in the belief that while crime control itself may be a worthy long range effort, immediate improvements could be made to alleviate the impact of crime on victims and witnesses [Mc Kenna, 1976]. These programs are designed to serve all victims and witnesses and not only the elderly victim and witness [Dussich, 1979]. Programs specifically designed to deal with the elderly also exist [Northside Community Mental Health Centre, n.d.; Mc Gowan, 1977; Friedman, 1975; U.S.Congress Subcommittee on Housing and Consumer Interests, 1976c]. Some of these programs are simple referral services referring the elderly victim to the appropriate social service agency. Others carry the added component of providing services not provided by the agencies such as providing assistance to them in replacing critical items such as glasses and hearing aids, replacing stolen cheques and identity cards, and in obtaining the necessary health care. These programs also provide a victim advocacy service.

These programs appear to fall into two distinct groups depending on the goals that guide them. The one group is directed towards the provision of direct assistance to victims of crime regardless of whether a suspect is involved or not while the other is directed towards the improvement of the treatment of victims and witnesses by members of the

criminal justice system [Culp and Cavin, 1977]. There also exist two models for providing the services. The one, typified by the Kansas City program focuses on locating elderly victims of unreported crime and providing them with emergency assistance. The other, typified by the Alameda County program, emphasizes reinforcement of the victim's own support system through peer counselling by elderly persons who themselves have been victimized. The prototype of these victim assistance projects features a two person unit of volunteer victim advocates who are immediately available to police officers on duty when crime victims first contact police [Stein, 1979].

How effective are these programs? The answer to this question lies in the manner in which the evaluation is done and in the manner in which the term efficiency is defined. Program evaluation can take basically three forms. The first comprises investigation of the manner in which the program has been implemented - half heartedly or enthusiastically, in the way it was originally designed or in an altered fashion, in short these evaluations seek to determine whether the objectives of the programs - what was sought to be done - have been met. The second comprise investigation of both the short term and long term effects of the programs - whether the programs have had any discernible effect on the problem that it is designed to control. The third comprise the cost benefit analysis - whether the benefits that accrued from the implementation of the program was worth it in terms of the price that had to be paid, not only financially but in other

ways as well.

Though most programs have in them a research and evaluation component built in, apparently a requirement for funding, no serious attempt at evaluation has been made. So great appears to be the confidence in the logic behind the programs that there is an unswerving belief in their efficacy. However, warnings have been issued regarding two types of programs. The first has to deal with the increase in punishment for crimes where the elderly are victimized. Here, the point made is that an increase in the severity of the punishment threatened or even inflicted is unlikely to have any impact on the victimization of the elderly [Hahn, 1976]. The second deals with improving the security of one's home. Here the warning is that the indiscriminate use of all sorts of gadgetry to secure one's home rather than the judicious improvement of the perimeter security could make the elderly individual virtually a prisoner in his home - an eventuality that the programs were designed to obviate [Kerschner, 1977].

VI.

THE ELDERLY IN CANADA.

The elderly have not been neglected in Canada. The geriatric and gerontological literature on the subject is voluminous. Yet, in a report prepared by Environs Research Group Limited (1972) the claim is made that "when the absolute figure is rendered relative by examining it either in the light of the many times more massive volume of American and International literature on aging, or in the context of the many times more copious resource of Canadian literature on senescence's much touted obverse - adolescence, the accumulated wealth of Canadian contributions to the study of the aging is less spectacular". The report also goes on to point out that the Canadian interest in the aged was almost a post world war II phenomenon with an increase in the annual number of publications reaching a peak in 1964 - the year of the first Senate Special Committee on Aging. Since then the Canadian interest in the elderly appears to have been sustained. The first Canadian Conference on Aging was held in 1966, the first Ontario Select Committee on Aging was appointed in 1967, the first provincial conferences on aging were held in Alberta, in New Brunswick and in Nova Scotia in 1967 and in New Foundland in 1968. The Canadian Association on Gerontology was founded in 1971 (Environs Research Group Limited, 1972a).

The literature on the elderly in Canada comprise journalistic articles found in popular magazines and research oriented articles found in scientific journals. Books on the

subject also fall into one or the other of these categories. When the research oriented literature is considered, the report of Environs Research Group Limited [1972a] indicates that nearly 70% of the literature emanates from Ontario and Quebec. British Columbia is the third most prolific source with about one third the volume of Ontario or Quebec followed closely by the two western provinces of Alberta and Manitoba. Saskatchewan and Nova Scotia account for a small fraction while the contribution of New Brunswick, of Prince Edward Island and of New Foundland is relatively infinitesimal.

The methodology used by Environs Research Group Limited in the compilation of their reports comprised a library search and a mail survey. There was first a "manual scanning of card catalogues, Canadian dissertation indexes, Canadian periodical indexes, Canadian Social Science Abstracts, American as well as International sociological and psychological abstracts plus a systematic search of 60 Canadian journals and dozens of existing relevant bibliographies". The manual search was followed and supplemented by a "computer search carried out using key word procedure (aged, aging, Canada, geriatrics, gerontology, etc) and the bibliographical information retrieval service of the National Science Library as well as the National Research Council's Information Exchange Centre". The mail survey "intended to assure that sources not uncovered by either the manual or the computer searches [ie unpublished materials, recent publications and on-going research] would be included in the bibliography" took the form of letters to more

than 500 resource people - known authors in the field, heads of relevant departments at Canadian Universities, directors of Research Institutes and provincial libraries, and officials representing foundations, associations, societies and both public and voluntary agencies serving the aged requesting descriptive information on works either completed or in progress (Environs Research Group Limited, 1972a).

The bibliography contains a total of 1209 listings of which 833 are classified as gerontological which is identified as "literature treating the aging social individual in relation to his environment" and 376 as geriatric - "literature accenting the aging physical organism in relation to biological processes". As the bibliography was prepared for the Central Housing and Mortgage Corporation, the focus is on housing. Nevertheless, considerable effort has been exercised to make the bibliography as exhaustive as possible. Listings that are seemingly unconnected with housing are not annotated.

An interesting feature that this compilation reveals is the total absence of any interest in victimization of the elderly. Judging from the available American literature where the concern about housing for the elderly also included consideration of the possibility of victimization, one would expect at least some studies to include this aspect in their investigation, especially when the study involved the various types of housing available. Characteristically, these studies have concentrated on providing socio-economic, demographic, economic, health, recreational and housing profiles of senior

citizens and the community services that are available to them [Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and the District, 1965; Schwenger and Sayes, 1969; James, 1964; Mc Niel, 1970]. Even when the interest was on the social problems of the elderly [Cunnings, 1968], crime and victimization were aspects that were conspicuous by their absence.

The possibility exists that criminal activity by and criminal victimization of the elderly in Canada are such rare events that public, political and academic notice is never taken of them. That this is not the situation is obvious. Officially published statistics on crime, either on a national scale or a local one, do not contain information on the age of either the offender or the victim. However, a report on Correctional Services in Canada [National Work Group on Justice Information and Statistics (1981)] reveals that about 5% of the penitentiary population on a single day is over 50 years of age and that during any year about 6% of the persons admitted to provincial institutions on sentence or remand fell into that age group. Canadian studies on homicide [Jayewardene, 1975; Reed, Bleszynski and Gaucher, 1976] indicate that the elderly do get involved in criminal activity not only as offenders but as victims as well. During the period 1964 - 1971, 7.8% of the male victims and 5.9% of the female victims of homicide were over 60 years old. When we consider the fact that about 7.5% of the Canadian population is over the age of 55 years old, the proportion of the elderly who are either victims or offenders are not inordinately small. There is a likelihood that the elderly

do get involved in other types of crime as well both as offenders and as victims. Data on the subject, however, are not available. Studies on these other types of crime even when they have had their focus on the victim [Waller and Okihiro, 1978] have not thought it useful or pertinent to indicate the age distribution.

The Edmonton Police Department state in their final report of their Victim Services Unit that "while all crime victims suffer some degree of trauma, the elderly appear to suffer the most and require the greatest amount of attention and crime preventing counselling". They go on to state further " This conclusion was reached soon after our program began, therefore we sought out the elderly victims to provide them with necessary assistance". This provides a good reason for interest in the victimization of the elderly even if the frequency is low.

Official interest in victimization, not just of the elderly but of all people, is a phenomenon of recent development in Canada. The Ministry of the Solicitor General conducted a pilot victimization study in Vancouver in 1979. The data collected in this survey have been analysed but the results have not been published as yet. In January 1982, the same Ministry launched an ambitious National Victimization Survey of seven cities. The data have been collected but not analysed as yet. In April 1982, the Department of Justice of Canada undertook a study of the Informational Needs of Victims. The data for this study too have been collected and the analysis completed but the results have not been published as yet. When

the reports of these studies are published we would perhaps know much more about the victimization of the elderly in Canada. A special report expected to be released shortly by the Ministry of the Solicitor General deals with the Victimization of the Elderly. This report, hopefully, would enhance our knowledge considerably.

The preliminary findings about the victimization of the Greater Vancouver Victimization Survey suggest that the characteristics of the victimization of the elderly in Canada are no different from that of their victimization in the United States. The elderly had a very low risk of being victimized, there was a sharp decline in victimization rates with age, showing the inverse correlation noted in the studies in the U.S and in Europe. The victimization of the youngest age group, 16 - 17 years old, was fourteen times that of the oldest - 60 years and over. The survey also showed that household victimization paralleled personal victimization, that the sex distribution of elderly victims was the same as that in the rest of the population, that the elderly evaluated the police more positively than other age groups and that despite their fear of crime, which was greater than that of other age groups, they seldom took special precautions to prevent it. Contrary to the findings of other studies, the Vancouver survey indicated that the likelihood of victimization was less for the unmarried elderly than for the married and for those living alone than for those living in households with others. (Ministry of Solicitor General, 1982).

During the one year period ending 30th June 1982, the Ottawa Citizen carried 20 news items concerned with crime and the elderly. Nine of these items were about incidents in foreign countries, mainly in the United States, and all but one involved violence which proved fatal. In eight of them the elderly individual was a victim [Ottawa Citizen, 1981d; 1981e; 1981f; 1981i; 1981k; 1981l; 1981m; 1982d] and in two he was an offender [Ottawa Citizen, 1981h; 1981j]. One case where an elderly nun had been raped, beaten and strangled in Amarillo [Texas], the story was carried twice [Ottawa Citizen, 1981e; 1981i]. One case which involved the mercy killing of a 72 years old man by his 69 years old brother by the emptying of five shots into his semi-comatosed body [Ottawa Citizen, 1981j] had an elderly individual as the victim as well as the offender.

Of the Canadian incidents only four involved violence. The first mentioned that a charge of common assault had been laid against an elderly gentleman for kicking a motorist involved in a minor two car accident [Ottawa Citizen, 1981a]. The second dealt with the senseless murder of a 75 years old owner of a holiday lodge and his 79 years old wife as well as the 67 years old mother of one of the offenders on an earlier occasion [Ottawa Citizen, 1981b]. The third told of the injuring by shooting of a policeman by a 67 years old man [Ottawa Citizen, 1982g] while the fourth bemoaned the excessive use of force by an Aylmer constable in the injuring of a 84 pound, fragile, 76 years old, ex-Mayor of Aylmer, who did not obey the policeman's orders to move with sufficient celerity [Ottawa

Citizen, 1982k).

Two of the incidents involved robbery - one in the home of a 61 years old lawyer [Ottawa Citizen, 1982a] and the other the mugging of a 69 years old woman [Ottawa Citizen, 1982f]. Two incidents involved fraud. One reported a fraud committed by a 59 years old priest and the other how an 85 years old woman was bilked out of \$ 2,500 by a con woman [Marleau, 1981]. This latter report recounted how a 70 years old woman was nearly duped into parting with \$ 3,500 by two con women in June and how two years earlier two con women from the United States had fleeced \$ 20,000 from the elderly in Ottawa. Three incidents involved drunken driving [Ottawa Citizen, 1981c; 1982c; 1982i]. One of the incidents involved the death of an elderly woman [Ottawa Citizen, 1981c] while the other two the impaired driving by elderly individuals [Ottawa Citizen, 1982c; 1982i]:

The plight of the elderly has been indicated in three items. One [Ottawa Citizen, 1982h] dealt with the forced retirement of a fire chief at age 60, the second with the disappearance of a confused 56 year old woman who got herself dropped off at 2.30 a.m. in front of a discotheque in Hull on her way to see her 79 years old, partially paralysed father, who had fallen and cut his head [Ottawa Citizen, 1982b] and the third with the story of a 69 years old recluse whose mangled body was found presumably eaten by her 13 dogs [Ottawa Citizen, 1981i].

Feature articles on the elderly have also been carried in the Ottawa Citizen. One article dealt with a crime

fighting program organized by the elderly in Sandy Hill (Ottawa Citizen, 1982e), and another with the activities of the Ottawa Victim/ Witness Assistance Project highlighting the story of how an 84 years old woman whose purse had been snatched on Halloween night as she reached her front door was visited and assisted by a volunteer from the program (Mc Queen, 1981). A third feature article appeared after the Conference on Family Violence at the University of New Hampshire. This article drew attention to the fact that there was very research on the abuse of the elderly in Canada and quoted several social workers as claiming that it was a definite problem though we did not have a handle on its magnitude. It also carried the claim of Lawrence Crawford, Senior Consultant on Gerontology to the Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services, that the physical abuse of the elderly was not a widespread problem. During his travels across Ontario and Western Canada over two years, in which he asked experts about the frequency of abuse, he came "across only two documented cases" (Sabiston, 1981).

On November 12th 1981, the Ottawa Citizen carried the report of the proceedings of the Canadian American Gerontological Associations. This report highlighted the abuse of the elderly with reports of studies conducted by Poertner in Illinois and Sengstock in the Detroit area. It also reported a study made by Lise Belanger of Montreal's Social Service Centre for the Government of Quebec. In this study she questioned 140 doctors, nurses and social workers as to their knowledge of abuse and found that 80 of them had knowledge of at least one case.

Abuse in this study was given a very broad definition. It included being shouted at, abandoned, forced into a nursing home, defrauded, tied to beds or chairs, and not allowed to keep personal belongings. A survey of 974 cases in Quebec showed that 43.1% of them took place in institutions [Harrington, 1981].

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (1977) has prepared a bibliography on victimology containing approximately 1400 references arranged under 25 headings. The material is mainly what has been published in the United States, in Canada, and in England, between the years 1960 and 1976. The only section devoted to the elderly is entitled "Cruelty to the Aged". In the other sections, however, there is some listed material which deals with the elderly. There is no material dealing with the victimization of the elderly in Canada. Presumably none exists.

A study of the services to victims and witnesses of crime in Canada found that there were no services whose sole purpose was to respond to the needs of the elderly victim but that many organizations working with or representing senior citizens undertook initiatives focusing on crime prevention, on lessening the impact of victimization and on the role of senior citizens in the criminal justice system [Norquay and Weiler, 1981]. This study points out that as far as the elderly were concerned the principal concern was not the number of elderly citizens victimized but rather the degree of trauma that results when victimization occurs. This, it will be appreciated, is in line with the experience of the Victim

Service Unit of the Edmonton Police Department [1980]. The study of the services to victims and witnesses also points out that the representatives of social development agencies, hospitals and police departments reported an increased incidence of parental abuse observing that "this disquieting trend appears to result from the emotional, physical and financial stress experienced by families when forced with long term dependency of an aged parent in the home".

What is the situation in Canada with regards the victimization of the elderly? There is absolutely no data to make even an informed guess. There is, however, a growing belief that the elderly are being increasingly abused physically. However, whatever evidence exists seems to suggest that unlike the situation in the United States, the elderly in Canada are not victimized because they are considered fair targets by frustrated youths. The situation could, however, be changing. In July 1982, a 75 years old Point Gatineau woman was injured in a robbery attempt of her smoke shop in which she was alone at the time by a masked youth armed with a handgun (Ottawa Citizen 1982) and a 70 years old woman in Vanier had her jaw fractured when she was bound and beaten by armed persons robbing her home (Adami, 1982)- cases that are strongly reminiscent of what is happening in the U.S. Perhaps when the economic and social conditions of the country alter and approach the condition prevalent in the States, the situation here would be no different from the situation there.

VII.

CONCLUSIONS.

At the 9th International Congress of Gerontology, held in Kiev in 1972, Marshall (1972), referring to a study of the elderly in Canada, claimed: "Most aging people in the retirement village studied do not wish to live as many additional years as they anticipated living. Death is thus seen as appropriate or perhaps arriving too late". The advances made by medicine have added years to the lives of people. When at the turn of the century the average expectancy of life at birth was below 40 years, it is now well above the God-given three score and ten in many countries. It has oftimes been claimed that what medical advances have done is to merely add years to life without adding life to those years. What the interest in criminal victimization has sought to do is to demonstrate that these relatively lifeless years have been effectively stripped of whatever life there was in them by showing that the fear of victimization had tended to make the elderly virtually prisoners in their homes, alter their style of life and rob them of whatever little joy they may get from those years.

Most programs designed to deal with the criminal victimization of the elderly have been designed to give assistance to the elderly victims of crime so as to restore the victimized individual, injured, frightened and confused, as a result of the victimization, to as near normal as possible. There are, of course, in addition to these programs, other programs that have a crime prevention orientation and an

educational orientation, both designed to prevent victimization. Educating people about crime and the criminal justice system, adopting measures that would prevent victimization and providing some form of assistance to the victims of crime have been identified as constituting the basic components of any crime victim service program (Friedman, 1975). Logically, it does appear that this format constitutes the best mode of attack to prevent or to minimize the problems created by criminal victimization. However, in the case of the elderly, as the studies on victimization indicate that the actual victimization of the elderly is a relatively rare event, considering their victimization as a special problem could be considered offering society a totally unrealistic challenge and one that would create more problems than it solves.

The problem that faces society today in this connection is not the factual victimization of the elderly but the morbid fear that the elderly have of victimization. Though some studies indicate that this fear is unrelated to the factual risk of victimization that the elderly run and other studies suggesting that the fear is justified by the level of victimization, there is sufficient data to lead us to the conclusion that the fear, which exists initially only as a vague awareness of a remote possibility, assumes the crippling proportions that make it the morbid fear only when it is confirmed by a victimization. Consequently, the prevention of victimization appears to be a worthwhile endeavour. However, there also exists evidence that suggests

that the change in the nature of the fear as well as its original form is influenced by a number of factors both inside and outside the elderly individual, so that the problem calls for different types of solutions as well.

The vulnerability of the elderly to crime has been considered to lie in the physical and social isolation of the elderly, their residence in low income housing units and neighbourhoods with high crime rates, lack of physical strength to defend against attack, visibility of physical weakness, observable patterns of life associated with the cashing of social security cheques, and emotional and mental weakness (Hahn, 1977). The fear of criminal victimization, on the other hand, appears to stem more from a feeling of helplessness to resist victimization and to repair its effects and from a feeling of uselessness and rejection by the rest of society which engenders the idea that they constitute fair game for criminals (Braungart, Hoyer and Braungart, 1979; Cook, Skogan, Cook and Antunes, 1978; Main and Johnston, 1978). The possible effects of criminal victimization to the elderly comprise physical damage and suffering and financial losses that cannot be borne, in addition, of course, to emotional trauma (Hahn, 1977). It can be readily seen, then, how it could be concluded that the conditions that make the elderly specially vulnerable to victimization in combination with the possible devastating effects that victimization could have, could produce, even in the absence of an actual threat, the psychological stance that generates the debilitating fear.

In this complex the basic factors are the biological processes associated with aging and the social processes which demands the withdrawal of the elderly from an increasing number of social roles. As these basic factors appear to be immutable, programs dealing with the victimization of the elderly have sought, somehow or other, to reduce the isolation or segregation that are associated with them and promote a feeling of belongingness in the community. One suggestion that has been made in this connection is to provide age segregated housing for the elderly so that they could live together and develop a sense of community [Van Buren, 1976]. Involving the elderly in community crime prevention programs as well as in rehabilitation programs for deviant youth has also been considered a successful strategy [Etzler, 1977]. An alternative to these programs, though not focused on victimization, are programs that seek to alleviate the inevitable effects of the biological and social processes. Pension plans and social security schemes are some such. These plans and schemes are designed to provide the elderly with a regular income in the latter days of their lives. Nursing homes and special hospitals to take care of the incapacitated and not so incapacitated elderly are another facility socially designed to cater to the special needs of the elderly.

Interpersonal interactions in the world today can be understood in terms of the social exchange model which views individuals as interacting with each other in a social setting to fulfil their needs. This model sees the interaction as one

in which people expect their rewards to be proportional to their costs and equivalent to the rewards received by others. However, different people view the rewards and rank them differently and there are available to people various strategies that could be used to increase their power, gain the upper hand and avoid the dependency and the compliance that the system spells and promotes. The less powerful and the less prestigious in society are at a distinct disadvantage and are liable to be victimized socially by having whatever advantages and benefits that might be designed for them utilized by those who do not fall into that category as mechanism to place them in a more advantageous position [Rifai and Ames, 1977]. Particularly pertinent in this connection is the observation that the elderly have been effectively prevented from gaining the full benefits of the special programs designed to alleviate the hardships that the biological and social processes connected with age confer on them.

As far as the financial arrangements are concerned, investigations have revealed that some private pension plans are governed by such rules and regulations and requirements that make it difficult for the individual to collect and that the social security schemes effectively prevent the elderly individuals from engaging in any part time or other remunerated employment by reducing the benefits when incomes above a certain amount are earned [Jones, 1977]. The administrative arrangements of other programs also prevent the elderly from getting the benefits that are designed for them. The study of the victim

compensation programs in the United States has revealed that compensation laws and regulations as well as day to day claims processing problems, while affecting all victims, are particularly troublesome for the infirm, the poor, the inarticulate and the socially isolate and that a substantial number of elderly victims fell into these categories (Hofritchter, 1979).

With regards nursing homes, the staff of the U.S. Congress Committee on Aging concluded from their own studies and from transcripts of evidence presented at the hearings that there was a considerable amount of abuse of these facilities. The drug bill of the average nursing home resident came to about \$ 300 a year, nearly four times that of the bill for a senior citizen who was not institutionalized. The drugs were indiscriminately prescribed and inefficiently distributed resulting in a high incidence of adverse reactions. There was theft of drugs and pharmacist kickbacks to the nursing home operators for the privilege of providing the drugs (Special Committee on Aging, 1975). Others describe more abuses pointing out that the problem here is one of a lack of regulations (Mendelsohn, 1974). Government aid without governmental control had converted the nursing home industry into a giant profit making one attracting thousands of small time hustlers as well as big money manipulators. Several studies exist to indicate how nursing homes, a facility designed for the benefit of the elderly could be converted into one operating to their detriment (Fontana, 1978).

The attribution of the situation to the lack of governmental control seems to indicate the enactment of regulatory laws as the solution. Such laws have been enacted to deal with commercial transactions which could result in fraud. These laws contain a number of provisions to prevent the perpetration of fraud and to protect victims especially the elderly [Newman and Strauss, 1977]. Despite the fact that these laws are strict, they have been relatively ineffective, because, unfortunately, the effect that a law has is dependent on the extent to which the law is enforced and enforceable. With regards the nursing homes, though the Federal Government in the United States has codified the rights of long term care facility patients into legal requirements, there exists little facility to implement them [Hacker, 1977]. The situation seems to be the same with regards other laws [Schmall, Ames, Weaver and Holcomb, 1977]. If the laws are problematic and/or are not enforced and if the people legally protected lack legal representation and therefore access to courts, the legal provisions can be of no help whatsoever. This appears to be the plight of the elderly [Rifai and Ames, 1977].

The expansion of government programs for the elderly, both preventive and corrective, have increased the number of age related laws and tended to increase the elderly component of lawyer's clientele [Schmall, Ames, Weaver and Holcomb, 1977]. Even so there are many among the elderly who are unable to obtain the redress that the law offers. Even if they were able financially to afford a lawyer, attitudinal problems of the

legal profession seem to stand in the way [Schmall, Ames, Weaver and Holcomb, 1977]. As a corrective to this situation, in the United States, a federally funded legal corporation operates 800 offices in about 500 districts in addition to 100 specialized legal service programs. This activity is funded through Title 3 of the Older Americans Act, Revenue Sharing Monies, Title 20 of the Social Security Act and the Comprehensive Employment Training Act [Nathanson, 1977]. Title 3 of the Older Americans Act provides for funding of legal services to the elderly. Envisaging the possible inadequacy of funding to cover all needed services, the Act implies that priorities should be established when circumstances prevent provision of legal services to all elderly. Though not mandated, a means test is applied to establish eligibility for services and to exclude a certain segment of the population [Rowse, 1978]. Thus, the magnitude of the program and the constraints that must necessarily be placed on it can effectively limit its value. In the organization of programs, consequently, the feasibility of implementation in addition to the desirability of the program is a factor that should be taken into consideration.

Another factor that has to be considered in this connection is the nature of program. Here the question is whether the program should be corrective of the conditions in which the elderly find themselves or corrective of the social processes that produced those conditions. Documents prepared for the United Nations World Assembly on Aging scheduled to

meet in Vienna, July 25th - August 8th, to start " an action program to guarantee social and economic security to older people" stress that societal programs should not confine themselves to "guaranteeing social and economic security to older adults" but should attempt to provide them with the opportunity to participate and share in economic development. The increasing number of the elderly- it is estimated that the very old alone, those over 80 years old, will have increased to 57 million in 2025 from 13 million in 1975 - as well as the increase in their proportion in the population, demands, not only for their benefit but for the benefit of other segments of the population as well, that programs should be designed to do more than maintain the elderly in the passive roles into which they have been pushed.

The rigid assumptions underlying America's concept of aging are used to justify laws and social standards that relegate the elderly into roles which ensure many of them a life of poverty and uselessness [Rifai, 1977]. These same assumptions can and have been used to convert the biological process which makes the elderly individual different from the non-elderly into a social process which makes the difference "becoming less of something" [Reiman, 1976]. Such being the situation, it is possible that the programs organized for them could permit forcible intervention into their lives, altering drastically their style of life, ignoring their psychological and emotional needs, producing a form of social victimization which deprives them of what may be

considered their just dues or basic rights and/or subjecting them to unnecessary and unwarranted restraints. What goes on in a nursing home appears to be a perfect example [Fontana, 1978]. Thus, a third aspect that has to be considered in the organization of programs for the elderly is the possible adverse effects that the programs can have on some other aspect of their lives.

The commitment to science and the scientific method that humanity appears to have made, demands that the programs organized for the elderly be logical, rational and meaningful from a means end perspective. When their formulation is considered it is possible to divide these programs into three categories. First, are those programs that have been formulated taking into consideration the body of accumulated knowledge. These programs consider the problems associated with the elderly, generally one aspect, identify the causal elements as well as the undesired effects, and set out to devise in a very logical manner a program that appears to somehow or other break the inexorable chain of cause and effect. Second, there are those programs that have been formulated taking into consideration the specific needs of the elderly in a particular geographical area. In these programs, the problems of the elderly are not derived from what is generally known or thought, but are empirically determined for a particular time and place. Following this determination, the procedure is the same - devise in a very logical manner a program that appears to somehow or other break that inexorable chain of cause and effect. Third,

there are those programs that are formulated taking into consideration what has been done elsewhere. In these programs the specific goal to be attained is decided upon and programs of activity designed for other segments of the population for the achievement of that goal or similar goals are located to provide the blue print for the program that is being formulated.

Looked at analytically, the programs present themselves as very efficient ones, whatever may be the methodology adopted. Evaluated empirically they fall short both in the number of people effected and the effect that they have on the people serviced, depending, of course, on the criteria of success utilized in the evaluation and the methodology adopted. The degree of success of plans designed to implement social change depends on a variety of factors, most important of which is consumer acceptance. A fourth possible strategy for formulating programs, consequently, exists in getting the elderly themselves to formulate the program. This strategy ensures the crucial factor of consumer acceptance, brings into the planning important subjective insights that the objective study of the problem fails to unravel and removes the stereotypical picture of the elderly on which the logic of the logical process depends. It is a procedure that has been seldom used. But when it has been used, it is a procedure that has ensured success (Shapiro, 1970).

As a part of our contract with the Department of Justice of Canada, we are presently engaged in a study

seeking to formulate programs for the elderly to minimise the effects that criminal victimization in all its forms and ramifications have on the elderly. In this study, an attempt is being made to ascertain the feasibility of adopting the fourth strategy. Utilizing the technique of focus group research, which has been used with relative success in marketing research, we are conducting three sets of group interviews with elderly citizens in Ottawa. The first would seek to have the parameters of the problem defined. The second would hopefully generate hypotheses explaining the causal mechanisms involved. The third would define, in the light of what had already been determined, what corrective action should be taken. All, in the opinion of the elderly, not aggregated and expressed as a mean that has no real meaning, but converted into a consensus by the expression and exposition of different and divergent sentiments. Once the views of the elderly are known, an attempt would be made to obtain the opinion of policemen, also in a group interview, as to the feasibility of the proposals. The report of this study should be ready by October 31st, 1982.

ADMINISTRATIVE SUMMARY.

Though the initial goal of the criminal justice system was to obtain for the victim some just redress, in its development the victim has been forgotten. There has, however, been recently a renewed interest in the victim focusing first on his possible contribution to the crime and later on the seeming injustice done him. This renewed interest has raised the question of the vulnerability of special groups and the propriety of paying special attention to these groups. The elderly constitute one of these groups [pp 1-4].

The criminal victimization of the elderly became a subject of criminological interest around the year 1970 when the U.S. Congress appointed a special committee to investigate the special position of the elderly in society. Prior to this the interest was in their crime committing potential with the studies undertaken in this connection indicating variations in both the frequency and the pattern of involvement, possessing though, distinctive characteristics which made them differ from the criminality of other age groups [pp 5-8].

It has been suggested that the criminality of the aged could be due to the problems associated with the process of aging. The criminal victimization of the elderly have also been attributed to these same problems and it is apparently this that sustains the current interest in their victimization. The physical, mental, social and economic disadvantages that the elderly are subject to, their vulnerability and the exaggeration of the normal consequences of criminal victimization in their

case, has led to the belief that the elderly are an over-victimized group [pp 9-11]. In a just society every citizen should be afforded equal protection and the plight of the elderly is one reason why society should specially interest itself in their victimization. With the increasing size of the elderly group, their political potential has been proffered as a second reason. A third reason lies in the inhumanity that savours from their neglect [pp 11-14].

Attempts to focus public attention on the problem has resulted in newspaper publicity of anecdotal material suggesting the existence of a problem that is not only grave but also widespread. Analysis of officially recorded police data comparing the proportion of elderly victims of crime with their proportion in the total population or comparing victimization rates for the elderly with the rates for the non-elderly, however, indicates that the victimization of the elderly is not as great as one is led to believe. Actually, the conclusion to which one is forced by these studies is that their victimization is a rare phenomenon except perhaps in connection with certain minor forms of predatory crimes [pp 15-17].

Acceptance of this situation as a possible motivation to the continued neglect of the phenomenon has been opposed by two considerations. The first points out that what matters is really not the extent of the victimization but rather its impact while the second claims that because of the disinclination of the elderly to report crimes committed against them and the techniques of recording crime adopted by the police, officially.

recorded crime statistics are not a true measure of the extent of the problem. A third objection also exists in that the elderly have been treated as a homogenous group. Among those considered old, it is claimed, there are groups, depending on the environment in which they live, who are prone to over-victimization [pp 17-18]

There is considerable controversy regarding the extent of crime reporting by the elderly. The elderly appear to have a positive attitude towards all segments of the criminal justice system but tend to avoid contact with the police not for non-criminal assistance but for assistance with criminal victimization. A possible explanation for this reluctance to involve the police could exist in the attitude of the police and the courts to crime that are usually committed against the elderly. The reluctance could also be a function of the personality of the elderly individual. It has been found that the lonely tend not to report. To be also considered here is the role that the police play in the interpretation of the contact that the elderly makes with them [pp 18-24].

Attempts have been made to evaluate the extent of victimization with data obtained through victimization surveys. Such surveys have been undertaken to (a) assess the extant problem, (b) test commonly held beliefs, and (c) provide base information for the formulation and implementation of programs of crime prevention and victim assistance. The results of the majority of these surveys, whether they have been conducted in the U.S.A. or in Europe, parochially or on a national scale, are strikingly similar. The elderly are not the most victimized group. Actually

they are the least victimized with age acting as a veritable risk decreasing factor. Nonetheless, they are particularly prone to fall victim to burglary, larceny with contact, fraud, harassment and vandalism. (pp 24-30). There is also a growing feeling among professionals, in spite of empirical evidence to the contrary, that the elderly are becoming particularly liable to physical abuse especially in the family situation (pp 30-31).

How valid are these survey findings? Seemingly contradictory findings stem from the fact that the surveys have defined the elderly in different ways, surveyed them in different settings and considered only a particular set of crimes. It is possible that the methodology adopted in these surveys masks the real nature of the problem (pp 31-33). In the light of existing research, however, one must necessarily conclude that the victimization of the elderly is not a function of their characteristics but a function of the place and time in which they live. The elderly are victimized because they are available victims in the sense that they approximate the type of individual who would become a victim to the prevalent pattern of crime (pp 33-38).

Though the elderly may not be a highly victimized group, the impact of victimization, it is claimed, is great on them. They are more likely to be injured during a victimization, more likely to sustain serious injury and the financial loss is likely to be much greater in proportion to their income. Hence special attention should be paid to their victimization. Data on the impact of victimization collected in different surveys

yield contradictory findings. Some support the theoretical conceptualization of the effect of victimization while others show it to be grossly incorrect. The general conclusion that one could reach from these findings is that the financial loss is indeed great and the likelihood of being physically injured depends on the resistance that the elderly victim offers to his victimization [pp 39-42].

The fear of crime has been found to be the greatest concern of the elderly. However, some surveys have found that this fear is not as great as the fear of the other age groups and that it is not experienced by all elderly alike. Most studies indicate that the fearful are the women, the blacks, the less educated and the poor, the weaker members society leading to the hypothesis that the fear of crime among the elderly as well as the non-elderly was due to a feeling of helplessness - an inability to defend oneself. The manner in which the fear of crime has been operationalized in most studies requires a distinction to be made between concern about crime - the individual's perception about the seriousness of the crime problem - and the fear of crime - the individual's assessment of his risk of victimization. Such distinction, however, has not been made [pp 42-45].

Investigation of the relationship between the fear of crime and the locale of residence suggests that the financial status of the individual plays the crucial role. Because of the financial status, most of the elderly are forced to live in high crime areas. These elderly perceive the area as

such and become frightened by the possibility of being victimized [pp 45-49].

Most studies point out to the absence of a correlation between the fear of crime and the risk of victimization suggesting that the fear of crime is an irrational one and is a function of the aging process. But the data collected in these studies do indicate the existence of a factual base for the fear. The fear is meaningful only when it causes behavioural changes. While some studies indicate such an impact others do not. There is, however, more or less conclusive evidence that those who were victimized did alter their way of life to prevent a second victimization. The crippling fear of crime experienced by the elderly appears to be a fear of re-victimization and different from the fear of victimization which is usually a vague uneasiness to which the individual does not react specifically [pp 49-55].

Following the philosophical underpinnings of the criminal justice system, the suggestion has been made that the elderly be treated as a special group and that the punishment for crimes where the elderly are victims be enhanced. It has also been suggested that the criminal procedure in these cases be altered to the defendant proving his innocence. Needless to say, there is opposition to these proposals on the ground that they would do nothing to reduce the victimization of the elderly [pp 56-59].

There are a number of programs dealing with the crime concerns of the elderly. A few have been designed to meet the

needs of the elderly in the area in which they are implemented. Others have been based on what is generally known about the criminal victimization of the elderly. Still others have been simple replications of programs already operational giving the impression that the programs exist because funds were available and not because there was a felt need. The programs fall into four categories: (a) designed to improve the apprehension, prosecution and conviction of offenders victimizing the elderly; (b) designed to improve the relations between the police and the elderly; (c) designed to make it difficult for the offender to commit his crime; and (d) designed to provide assistance to the victim [pp 59-60].

Programs to improve the apprehension and conviction of the offender comprise an information service informing senior citizens as to how and where the crimes are currently committed, and inducing their cooperation by reducing the inconvenience that is generally associated with criminal justice processing [pp 60-61]. Attempts to improve the relations between the police and the elderly have taken three forms: (a) the police display of an interest in the elderly through a system of daily contact as well as a follow up of elderly victims; (b) involvement of the elderly in the activities of the police and the criminal justice system; and (c) educational programs for the elderly to acquaint them with the operation of the criminal justice system as well as for the police to acquaint them with the special problems of the elderly [pp 61-65].

There are several programs designed to make it difficult

to commit crime. There are four types of such programs: (a) educational programs to acquaint the elderly regarding crime and criminal justice; (b) use of hardware and technology for target hardening to foil offenders; (c) aid to the elderly to get about their normal day to day business in such a way as to minimise risk of victimization; and (d) relocation programs to place the elderly in safe environments [pp 66-70].

The single largest group of programs are victim assistance programs. Some have been specifically designed for the elderly while others are for all victims. Some of them are simple referral services but some take on other tasks rendering help that is not otherwise available [pp 70-72]. There is a belief that the programs would be effective, hence no serious attempt at evaluation has been made [pp 72-73].

There is a considerable volume of literature on the elderly in Canada but little or nothing on their criminal victimization [pp 74-77]. Officially published criminal statistics do not report the ages of offenders or victims. Special studies on incarcerated individuals and on homicide indicate that the elderly are offenders as well as victims of crime [pp 77-78]. The results of victimization surveys conducted in Canada have yet to be published but preliminary results available unofficially indicate that the victimization of the elderly is a relatively rare event with age acting as a risk decreasing factor [pp 78-79]. Newspaper accounts of the victimization of the elderly point towards an use of physical violence against them. This is also the sentiment

expressed by social workers, nurses, doctors and the police [pp 80-84].

Medical advances have added years to the life of people but not only have these years been relatively lifeless, they have been stripped of whatever life they had by a number of social forces. Programs dealing with the elderly's concern for crime seek to restore the victim to as near normal a situation as possible and also to prevent the elderly being victimized. However, the problem with the elderly is not the victimization but the fear of it. Victimization aggravates the fear but the fear and the victimization promoted aggravation of that fear are influenced by factors inside and outside the elderly individual [pp 85-87].

When the vulnerability of the elderly individual and the possible effects of victimization are considered, it is readily understood how a debilitating fear can be thought to ensue even in the absence of an actual threat. As the basic biological and social processes at work cannot be altered, programs are designed to correct the resulting isolation and segregation and to promote a feeling of belongingness in the community. An alternative strategy is the alleviation of the primary effects of the biological and social processes. Programs using this strategy too have been implemented in pension schemes, nursing homes and the like. Their full impact, however, have been hampered either by too many regulations or too little supervision. They have in addition promoted a form of social victimization [pp 88-91].

In this context in the organization of programs for the elderly, there are three factors to be considered:

(a) what is the feasibility of implementation;

(b) do the programs merely help maintain the elderly in the passive roles to which they have been socially relegated; and
(c) what effect do the programs have on other aspects of their lives [pp 91-94].

In the formulation of programs a scientific approach has been adopted. The success of programs depend on consumer acceptance. The scientific approach that is now adopted has left the consumer out, considering him a sort of inanimate object that could be studied from the outside. An approach which involves the elderly in the planning process may be worth considering. Such a study is underway [pp 94-96].

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RESUME

Au cours des dernières années, un nouvel intérêt s'est manifesté envers le sort qui est réservé aux victimes d'actes criminels à l'intérieur du système pénal. Cet intérêt ne pouvait faire autrement que d'attirer l'attention des responsables de ce système sur la vulnérabilité particulière de certains groupes de victimes. La question de la victimisation des personnes âgées s'est vite placée au coeur de ces préoccupations.

Les désavantages physiques, sociaux et économiques que les personnes âgées doivent subir ont souvent amené les gens à conclure que les personnes âgées étaient plus vulnérables que les autres et qu'elles étaient, du fait même, plus souvent susceptibles de devenir victimes d'actes criminels. L'on croit très souvent que les personnes âgées sont plus souvent victimes d'actes criminels que les autres groupes de la société.

Une analyse des statistiques criminelles officielles, en comparant le taux de victimisation des personnes âgées à celui des autres groupes, indique pourtant que la victimisation des personnes âgées n'est peut-être pas aussi dramatique que l'on pourrait être porté à le supposer. En effet, la seule conclusion que l'on puisse vraiment tirer de ce genre de comparaison, c'est que la victimisation des personnes âgées demeure un phénomène proportionnellement rare, exception faites de certains délits mineurs de nature surtout acquisitive.

Il n'en existe pas moins d'importantes controverses à l'égard de la question de l'étendue exacte du phénomène de victimisation des personnes âgées à l'intérieur de notre société. Par conséquent, de nombreuses tentatives ont été faites pour évaluer avec plus

d'exactitude l'étendue de cette victimisation, notamment en se servant des résultats d'enquêtes de victimisation. Ces enquêtes furent menées pour la plupart dans le but soit de mesurer l'étendue de cette victimisation, soit pour vérifier l'exactitude de certaines croyances fort répandues concernant le phénomène de la victimisation, soit pour vérifier l'exactitude de certaines croyances fort répandues concernant le phénomène de la victimisation des personnes âgées victimes d'actes criminels. Les résultats de ces nombreuses études, au Canada, aux Etats-Unis ou en Europe, semblent tous confirmer le fait que les personnes âgées ne forment pas le groupe le plus fréquemment ou le plus sérieusement victimisé dans notre société. De fait, ce groupe est, relativement parlant, l'un des plus faiblement victimisé.

Ceci étant dit, il reste que ces mêmes études démontrent également que les personnes âgées sont victimes de crimes, ces crimes ont tendances à être, plus souvent que ce n'est le cas pour d'autres groupes, des crimes tels que le cambriolage, le vandalisme, les vols simples, les fraudes ou le harcèlement.

Par ailleurs, plusieurs auteurs ont souvent prétendu que, même si les personnes âgées ne formaient pas un groupe plus victimisé que d'autres, il ne fallait pas perdre de vue que les conséquences de cette victimisation pouvaient s'avérer plus fâcheuses ou plus pénibles pour les personnes âgées en raison de leur situation sociale-propre. Par exemple, il semble que les personnes âgées soit plus susceptibles que d'autres de subir une blessure grave au cours de la perpétration d'un délit, ou encore que le préjudice matériel subi ait des conséquences plus graves proportionnellement à leurs revenus. Ces faits ont été confirmés par les résultats de recherche. Il semble aussi que ce caractérise davantage la victimisation des personnes âgées, c'est le fait qu'elle soit particulièrement vulnérable, en raison de leur situation propre, a des formes particulières de crimes. Ce qui indique que des efforts particuliers en matière de prévention du crime devraient être investis à ce niveau.

La peur du crime se révèle être un des soucis les plus importants des personnes âgées. Toutefois, des enquêtes ont démontré que cette peur n'est pas nécessairement plus présente chez les personnes âgées que chez d'autres groupes, et qu'elle n'est évidemment pas vécue de la même façon par toutes les personnes âgées. Ces mêmes enquêtes indiquent que la peur du crime est plus particulièrement répandue chez les personnes démunies, pauvres, moins éduquées ou plus isolées. Ce qui suggère que cette peur est davantage reliée à une sorte de sentiment d'impuissance ou d'isolement qu'au fait d'être âgé. D'autres études suggèrent que la crainte de la victimisation chez les personnes âgées est fortement reliée au fait d'avoir déjà, au cours de sa vie, été victime d'un acte criminel.

Il existe plusieurs programmes cherchant à répondre aux besoins des victimes âgées. Certains de ces programmes s'adressent aux besoins exprimés par les victimes elles-mêmes à l'intérieur de la région desservie par eux. D'autres ont été conçus sur la base des résultats d'enquêtes de victimisation. D'autres encores apparaissent simplement comme des répliques de programmes déjà existant et donnent l'impression d'avoir surtout été créés parce que des fonds étaient disponibles, plutôt qu'à la suite de l'identification de besoins réels.

Ces divers programmes semblent être de quatre types: (1) conçus dans le but de faciliter la détection des crimes, l'arrestation, la poursuite et la condamnation du délinquant ayant victimisé une personne âgée; (2) conçus pour améliorer les relations entre la police et les personnes âgées (victimisées ou non); (3) conçus pour augmenter pour le délinquant potentiel la difficulté de commettre un crime ou, à tout le moins, de s'en prendre à une personne âgée; et, (4) conçus pour offrir une aide pratique, ou de l'information aux personnes âgées qui ont déjà été victimisées. Les programmes de ce quatrième type sont les plus fréquents, semble-t-il.

Après avoir passé en revue l'information disponible sur les programmes existants, il est apparu que trois facteurs importants devraient toujours être considérés au moment de la mise sur pied d'un programme destiné à venir en aide aux personnes âgées face au phénomène criminel. Ces aspects sont les suivants: (1) la faisabilité de l'implantation d'un tel programme, étant donné les ressources existantes; (2) la nécessité de concevoir les programmes de telle sorte que les personnes âgées puisse y jouer un rôle important et non pas être reléguées à la passivité et contribuer ainsi à leur sentiment d'être sans moyens d'agir; (3) la nécessité d'examiner soigneusement les conséquences possible du programme envisagé sur les autres aspects de la vie des personnes âgées (par exemple, leur peur d'être victimisée sera-t-elle alimentée par la mise sur pied du programme).

Dans tous les cas, il apparaît clairement qu'il est important que les personnes âgées soient elles-mêmes consultées directement au cours de la mise sur pied d'un programme d'aide aux victimes âgées et qu'elles aient l'occasion de s'y impliquer activement si elles le désirent.

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