CANADIAN URBAN VICTIMIZATION SURVEY

USER REPORT #1

WHO ARE THE VICTIMS?

MINISTRY OF THE SOLICITOR GENERAL

RESEARCH AND STATISTICS GROUP

Canada

PREFACE

This is the first in a series of User Reports on the Canadian Urban Victimization Survey. The User Reports are designed to respond to specific information requests, and to meet the needs of specialized audiences.

In addition, a series of Bulletins on topics of general interest will be published and disseminated more broadly.

The User Reports and Bulletins, as opposed to a single comprehensive report, should assure that the Canadian Urban Victimization Survey results are easily accessible and useful to a wide variety of audiences.

Further reports from the Canadian Urban Victimization Survey will deal in more depth with the costs of crime; measurement of crime and victimization; elderly victims; victims of violence by intimates and violence by strangers; break and entry offences; motor vehicle thefts; vandalism; perceptions of crime and the criminal justice system; and social, environmental and seasonal factors which are related to risk of victimization in the seven Canadian cities.

WHO ARE THE VICTIMS AND WHAT ARE THEIR NEEDS?

I. Who are the Victims?

Modern methods of responding to crime are premised upon the belief that breaches of the criminal law are offences against society, not simply against individual victims. We no longer tolerate personal vendettas or demands for retribution precisely because we have come to believe that the need to preserve public order, and the need to restore or reaffirm belief in the validity of our community's legal and moral order must take precedence over individual grievances. Given this premise it would seem to follow that we are all therefore the victims of any crimes committed, and for some types of crimes (such as corporate crimes, white collar and commercial crimes), one might even determine that we all share the costs and risks of victimization equally.

The "problem of crime" generally evokes images of violent street crimes committed by young, generally poor "criminals". Our fear of crime is nurtured by these images so often dramatized in the media, and in the extensive news coverage violent crimes receive. This focus, however, has often meant scant attention to corporate crimes, often invisible, but profoundly consequential for all citizens. As corporations increase in size, as multinationals raise new problems of international law, as corporate technology becomes more sophisticated and powerful, Canadians are becoming more concerned about the consequences of corporate illegal activity, and the difficulties in identifying and controlling such activity. In a very real sense, all citizens are the victims of illegal mergers, political "contributions", bribery and payoffs. We are all victims of corporate pollution of the environment and as consumers, of the manufacture and sale of dangerous goods. The particular difficulties of detecting and enforcing such crimes often means that the victims are powerless and have few, if any, avenues of redress. This report cannot hope to address these issues which go beyond the Task Force mandate.

Nevertheless, the extent of the victimization, its serious human consequences, and the complexities of the issues demand that the victims of corporate crimes receive special and separate attention in the near future.

Similarly, the victims of the criminal justice system who are not the victims of crime, the victims of police abuse of power and violence, the victims of false arrest and prosecution, however rare, may feel themselves to be in double jeopardy situation, with no options, no avenues for redress. While the Task Force Report cannot address the needs of this special category of victims, again we urge separate attention to these issues.

Other crimes have more direct, identifiable victims, however, and it is out of concern for the suffering of these victims that the present report is written. For the victims of sexual assault, robbery, break and enter or theft, for example, two issues are of importance: how can they be helped, materially and emotionally, to regain their "pre-victimization" status, and, perhaps most importantly, how can they regain or maintain their sense of personal dignity and integrity in the face of both the victimization they have suffered, and of the demands imposed upon them by the criminal justice system itself? In attempting to meet the collective needs (for justice, public reaffirmation of legal and moral values etc.), the direct victims have come to be viewed primarily as servants of the system. Not surprisingly, many victims caught up in this process feel that they are mere cogs in the wheels of the criminal justice system, or that they themselves are on trial, to be judged as more or less credible complainants, or as good or poor witnesses.

Clearly, the criminal justice system has been inadequate in its response to victims, and when we ask "who are the victims?" we are asking not only who are most vulnerable to criminal victimization, but also who are most vulnerable to secondary victimization by the criminal justice system.

I.1 Extent and Distribution of Criminal Victimization: Findings of the Canadian Urban Victimization Survey

Until recently, little could be said with confidence about which Canadians were most likely to be victimized by crime or even how many were victimized. Official crime statistics such as the Uniform Crime Reports give virtually no information on the victims of crime nor on the incidence of crimes not reported to the police.

Recently, however, the Ministry of the Solicitor General with the assistance of Statistics Canada conducted a victimization survey in seven major urban centres: Greater Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal, Halifax-Dartmouth, and St. John's. This random sample of over 60,000 Canadians provides us with the most extensive Canadian information yet produced concerning the extent of reported and non-reported crime during 1981, the impact of criminal victimization, public perceptions of crime and the criminal justice system and victims' perceptions of their experiences. At the same time, a number of information and local needs assessment surveys are beginning to provide the first systematic data on victims' needs.

As Table I indicates, there were a large number of victims of crime in the seven cities surveyed. For the year 1981, there were more than 700,000 personal victimizations (sexual assault, robbery, assault, and theft of personal property), and almost 900,000 households victimizations (break and enter, motor vehicle theft, household theft and vandalism). Fewer than 42% of these incidents had been reported to the police. Quite simply, a large number of Canadians had been victimized, many more than official crime statistics would indicate.

Most of these incidents, it should be noted, did not involve those offences which evoke our greatest fears. There were relatively few sexual assaults or robberies, for example. Far more frequent were personal thefts (without contact) and assaults. Similarly,

household theft was the most frequent of household offences followed by break and enter and vandalism with relatively few motor vehicle thefts.

While in the public consciousness crime is generally equated with violence, in the experience of Canadians, crime is rarely violent. Canadians are far more likely to be victims of crimes against property than crimes against the person.

This is not to suggest that the experience of victimization is therefore typically a painless one with little lasting effect. A good deal of research, for example, has shown that the victims of break and enter in particular may experience a sense of invasion beyond the suffering caused by their actual material loss. This invasion of one's home often produces a heightened concern about and fear of crime more generally.

I.2 Risk of Victimization

When incidents are divided into the two general categories of personal offences and household offences it is possible to calculate rates per thousand population or per thousand households[1]. Table 2 shows that 70.3 incidents of personal theft per thousand population occurred in the seven cities studied, and that the more serious the type of incident, the less likely it was to occur. Sex differences are considerable for each category. Not surprisingly, women are seven times more likely than men to be victims of sexual assault (including rape, attempted rape, sexual molesting and attempted sexual molesting), but they are also more likely than men to be victims of personal theft. Men are almost twice as likely as women to be victims of robbery or assault (see Table 2).

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1 Due to low numbers of incidents in some categories, caution must be increased in comparing rates marked with one asterisk (*). Rates marked with two asterisks (**) are based on 10 or fewer sample cases and are consequently statistically unreliable. They are given here for illustrative purposes only, and should not be quoted.

Risk of victimization is closely tied to age. Contrary to popular belief, however, elderly people are relatively unlikely to be victimized by crime. Those under 25 had the highest rate of victimization in all categories of personal offences, and these high rates decline rapidly with increasing age after this point (Table 3).

The relationship between income and victimization is more complex. As one might expect, the higher the family income of urban residents the more likely they will experience some form of household victimization or personal theft. Furthermore, there may be differences among income groups in their levels of tolerance for and awareness of some types of incidents. For example, higher income residents may be more sensitive to and angered by incidents of vandalism than are lower income residents. For a variety of reasons, some quite obvious, higher income residents are more likely to be victimized by crimes against property (for example, it is no surprise that those most likely to own valuable automobiles are also most likely to have their autos stolen). However, lower income individuals are as likely or more likely than others to suffer a personal violent victimization - sexual assault, robbery or assault (Figures 1 and 2; Tables 4 and 5).

Lifestyle is also an important component of overall risk of victimization. One measure of lifestyle which is strongly related to risk is number of evenings spent outside the home each month. As Figures 3 and 4 (Tables 6 and 7) show, there is a strong relationship between number of nights out and rates of assault, robbery, personal theft, household theft and vandalism, and a less dramatic, but still positive relationship shown for rates of sexual assault, break and enter and motor vehicle theft.

When we examine the categories of people most likely to be victimized, many of the popular myths are exploded. Using the victimization data we can draw a profile of the victim of crime against the person: young unmarried male, living alone, probably looking for

work or a student, and with an active social life -- not very different from the profile we might draw of the offender. Significantly, the young male victim expresses little concern about or fear of crime even after he has been victimized.

Although only 5% of the residents in the seven urban centres felt unsafe walking alone in their neighbourhood during the day, and 40% felt unsafe after dark, women and the elderly were far more likely to express fears about their safety. Fifty-six percent of women said they felt unsafe walking alone in their own neighbourhoods after dark (compared to 18% of the men), and even more significantly, 89% of the elderly (males and females combined) felt unsafe after dark.

Fear of sexual assault no doubt feeds much of the more general fear women express. A full 65% of those who had been victims of such assault in the past year felt unsafe walking alone after dark, and 11% even felt unsafe during the day. While the rates of sexual assault were relatively low when compared to other offences (5.8 per 1,000 females), the nature and consequences of such an offence merit special attention.

I.3 Reported and Unreported Crimes

As mentioned previously, more than half of the incidents described to interviewers (58.5%) were never brought to the attention of the police. Montreal had the lowest overall proportion of unreported incidents (55.0%), and Vancouver had the highest proportion (61.9%). Table 8 gives the percentage of unreported incidents in each city and for the seven cities combined by offence category, and also gives the overall percentage of unreported incidents in each of the cities. The 7% difference between the city with lowest overall rate of unreported incidents (Montreal = 55.0%), and the city with the highest rate (Vancouver = 61.9%) is relatively low, and is in fact smaller than the difference in rates within cities by offence categories.

Combining results from the seven cities we find that the crime least likely to be unreported was theft or attempted theft of a motor vehicle (30% unreported), and the crime most likely to remained unreported was theft of personal property (71% of unreported). The seven-city averages mask considerable differences between the cities. There is little apparent consistency in the rank ordering of cities by tendency to report incidents, for example, four of the seven cities ranked both highest and lowest in unreported incidents for different offences (Table 8).[2]

Females had a higher reporting rate than males for sexual assault, robbery and assault (Table 9), and generally speaking those 65 and over were also more likely to report incidents than younger victims.

The most common reasons given for failure to report an offence were that the incident was "too minor" (mentioned in two-thirds of the incidents in which no report was made); that "police could do nothing about it anyway" (61%); and that "it was too inconvenient" to make a report or victims "did not want to take the time" (24%) (Table 10)[3]. For many, it would appear, the criminal justice system seems too complex or confusing and perhaps the prospect of becoming part of the process - as a witness for example, seems intimidating, potentially costly in time and money and inconvenient more generally. But the problems go beyond financial cost and inconvenience.

When reasons for non-report are analysed by offence category it becomes clear that the pattern of reasons given by sexual assault victims varied from the average in some important respects (Tables 10 and 11). The most common reason given by sexual assault victims for failure to report was that police could not do anything about it

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2 These percentages may be modified by 1 or 2% after further analyses.

3 Percentages do not add to 100 since victims could give more than one reason for failure to report any one incident.

(52%), but this was closely followed by 43% who cited concern about the attitude of police or courts towards this type of incident. Overall, this reason for failure to report was given by only 8% of victims.

Fear of revenge by the offender was also exceptionally common among victims of sexual assault. One third cited this as a reason for non-report. Overall, considering all offences, only 4% of non-reporting victims gave this as a reason for their inaction. For female victims of assault, fear of revenge by the offender was mentioned by 21% of those who failed to report the incident (Tables 10 and 11).

Predictably the majority of unreported incidents were those we might classify as less serious - involving no injury and little material loss. Indeed most victims cited the minor nature of the incident as reason for non-reporting. Nevertheless, a significant amount of serious crime - even incidents which resulted in psysical injury - is also unreported. For example, two thirds of the women who had been raped failed to report the incident to the police.[4] Here, concern about the attitudes of those within the criminal justice system is a major inhibiting factor. Similarly, women assaulted - particularly by intimates - are likely to report fear of revenge as a reason for failure to report.

All of this indicates that many direct vicims, in need of help and services, never come into contact with the criminal justice system. With greater sensitivy in handling cases more will no doubt report incidents. But criminal justice system reform itself will not help those who fear revenge or reprisal by the offender or who seek

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[4] In fact, women were somewhat more likely to report attempted rapes than completed rapes. The moral stigma many rape victims fear (and experience) may not apply to the same extent to victims of attempted rape. Reporting may therefore be less stressful for attempted rape victims than for victims of completed rape.

to protect their security or the security of their children by protecting offenders who are also husbands and fathers. Transition homes, emergency shelters, rape crisis support services may not simply give victims alternative sources of aid, they may also give them protection and support to seek more traditional criminal justice remedies.

Finally, the data reveal that victims are most likely to report incidents which resulted in significant financial loss - rather than those which resulted in pain, injury and fear. For many, reporting crimes is less an act of justice (or even revenge) than a far more utilitarian act - seeking redress, recompense or recovery. Perhaps if more were aware of the availability of criminal injuries compensation, more would report violent offences. Fewer than 5% of victims who suffer injury inquire as to their eligibility for such compensation. Similarly, if the criminal justice system was seen as offering practical and emotional information and a place of dignity for the victim, more victims would see utility in reporting crimes.

I.4 Victims as Crimimal Justice System Clients: user information needs, expectations and satisfaction

It should be pointed out that those victims who did report incidents to the police were typically positive in their appraisals of police promptness, courtesy and overall case handling. Young victims were far less likely than older victims to make such positive evaluations. Least likely to be satisfied were the victims of sexual assault and robbery.

The Department of Justice recently conducted a survey of victims' legal information needs in seven Canadian cities: Victoria, Calgary, Prince Albert, Hamilton-Wentworth, London, Longueuil, and Beloeil. For this study a quota sample of 880 victims of selected offences was compiled from police occurrence reports filed on

specified dates. Victims were interviewed by telephone in February, 1982, and were asked about their information needs, and whether this information was sought or obtained from the crimnal justice system.

The majority of victims surveyed (56%) said they needed more information about the workings of the criminal justice system, especially regarding their own role as victim/witnesses in the criminal justice process. Victims who attended court said they would have found it useful to have information on the following topics:

Their rights and obligations	79%
The nature of the charges	74%
The accused's plea	62%
Court rules and practices	70%
The trial process	67%
The testimony	72%
Their role as a witness	72%
The sentence given	60%

When asked how they would like to receive such information, most victims favoured television and a victim information service, as opposed to pamphlets or films at the police station or court house.

Police have a crucial role to play in information management for victims' services as well. The information needs survey has shown that although 86% of victims made no inquiry about services which might be available to serve them, those who did inquire did so through the police. Over 80% of all victims who inquired about victim assistance at the first point of contact did so by asking the police. Only 10% of all victims who inquired about victim assistance contacted an insurance company, and less than 2% of all victims who inquired about assistance did so by contacting a social service agency. Health services (e.g. hospitals, doctors) were not contacted by victims.

More generally, victims were least satisfied with the extent to which police kept them informed of case progress. In fact, about one half of the victims who had contacted the police rated them as "poor" in their efforts to keep the victim informed. It may be significant that those who appeared in court regarding their victimization were least likely to be satisfied with the overall handling of their cases.

I.5 The Cost of Victimization

(a) Financial Costs

The gross financial costs to victims of crime in the seven cities surveyed are rather imposing for a single year: $211,500,000 in unrecovered property and cash; $41,900,000 in damage to property; and an additional $7,000,000 in associated medical expenses and lost wages. The victims reported an additional $170,000,000+ paid out to them through private insurance. Taken together then, these figures give us a total real cost of crime in excess of $431,000,000 in the seven cities for a single year.

Clearly the financial costs to victims of crime are real. The gross figures, however, may be somewhat misleading. The mean net loss per incident (exclusive of medical expenses and lost wages) came to slightly more than $167 (see Tables 12-16; Figures 5-7).

The actual dollar figures should not blind us to the suffering that financial loss can mean. The impact of similar financial loss will be experienced differently depending on the income of victims, their ability to recover through private insurance or otherwise and so on. Obviously, the financial impact of victimization falls most heavily on those with lower or fixed

incomes. Lower income families are less likely to be able to recover their losses and, even if they do make some recovery, the waiting period is likely to produce significant hardship.

A variety of local victim needs assessment studies conducted by the Ministry of the Solicitor General and by the Department of Justice indicate that many victims of property crimes need immediate practical advice on remedies available to them, on procedures for claiming compensation and insurance, on reporting stolen credit cards and identification and on procedures for replacement of such important documents. Victims also express a need for information on strategies which may prevent a recurrence of their loss.

Financial costs represent only one small measure of the impact of victimization. The physical and emotional costs are of even greater importance in many instances.

(b) Physical Costs

Of the approximately 1,600,000 victimization incidents reported in the seven cities, fewer than 350,000 could be classified as involving personal contact with the offender. Nevertheless, these resulted in 50,500 nights in hospital and 405,700 days lost due to some form of incapacitation. About 10% of those who were victims of assault, robbery or sexual assault had to seek some form of medical or dental attention. While serious injury was relatively rare, again the costs of victimization fall more heavily on some than on others, on those who have only basic medical coverage and of course on those who are physically frail and vulnerable.

We know that the victims of some offences are more likely than others to be seriously injured. Victims of sexual assault, in particular, were more likely to be injured and when injured were

more likely to require medical attention (see Table 17). We know too that the costs of such offences run far deeper than the physical or financial.

(c) Emotional Costs

Unfortunately, researchers have only recently begun to collect information on the emotional damage caused by victimization. We do know that the fear produced by some forms of victimization can become crippling and can turn victims inward closing them off from social support when they most need it. We are being made increasingly aware of the insidious and emotionally crippling effects of certain kinds of offences - sexual assaults, child abuse, wife battering and other domestic violence - not only on the victims but on the victims' families and not only in the short term but long after the offender has been dealt with by the criminal justice system. And the victims' emotional suffering may be made more acute by their experiences with the criminal justice system.

In the Urban Victimization Survey, about one quarter of the victims said that victims of their type of crime should have emotional or psychological counselling available to them. This includes victims of property crimes and other offences we generally consider less serious.

The Local Victim Needs Assessment surveys confirm that victims of both personal and property crimes express an immediate need for someone to talk almost about the incident - someone to provide a sympathetic ear. These local surveys also uncovered and expressed the need for reassurance of personal safety. Victims of both personal and (to a lesser extent) property crimes indicated that their levels of fear and stress would have been reduced immediately after the crime if they had a

"companion for security" - someone to stay with them for a few days. The general emotional/psychological impact of specific offences is presented in Figure 8.

(d) Secondary Victimization

Certain material and emotional needs result from victims' contact with the criminal justice system itself. Victims often complain feel that, in carrying out their routine information - gathering activities, police are insensitive to their suffering and their needs. This is not to say that the policy are discourteous, but a lack of awareness, knowledge or training may inhibit police from offering the kind of help victims seek.

Police and prosecutors appear to make decisions which are only rarely communicated or explained to victims. If a decision is taken to proceed with the case, the victim is transformed into a witness whose role is to serve the legal process. Victims may view this transformation in their role and function as a denial of their special status and needs. The victim's experience of powerlessness once a case has passed into the hands of criminal justice system officials has found expression through various vocal victim groups.

Many victims will encounter inconvenience and difficulties in making the necessary arrangements to attend court, and many too will suffer significant costs which very low witness fees do not begin to address. Complex domestic arrangements made to enable a victim to attend court or appear as a witness may have to be disrupted at the last moment as court schedules are revised without warning. In the Canadian Urban Victimization Survey, 17% of victims who had to appear in court said they had difficulties making arrangements to appear. Over 20% said the court date was inconvenient or that cancellations or postponements created difficulties for them.

When they do attend court, victims frequently share waiting room facilities with the offender, which may well rekindle their fears and aggravate their emotional suffering. Few victims will understand their role in court, and many will feel intimidated by the formality and solemnity of the court setting and by the adversarial procedures. They will feel affronted that their complaint or accusation has not been taken at face value, nor are there any court officials assigned the task of alleviating their fears or explaining court procedures.

Finally, few victims will know, or at least understand, the final disposition of their case - and only in very rare cases will they benefit directly from the disposition made. Victims will often feel not only that they have been denied a service, but that they have been challenged when they are most vulnerable.

II. Special Victims

Finally, an understanding of victims' needs and how best to meet these needs must focus on the issue of vulnerability. We must ask which categories of victims - either because of the type of victimization they have suffered or because of the social characteristics they share - are most vulnerable to the impact of victimization and least able to find remedies within the criminal justice system. In the following section, then, we are less concerned with the distribution of victimization than with the distribution of suffering and remedies for this suffering.

II.1 Elderly Victims

As indicated previously, while elderly people are more likely than others to fear crime they are relatively infrequently victimized. While we can only speculate, these apparently contradictory

findings may simply reflect the reduced exposure of those elderly people who have become "disengaged" from the normal round of activities of work and family. In this context, we can understand the finding that elderly people who were retired were least likely to have been victimized.

Clearly the solitary, retired, elderly person is more able to minimize activities which would expose him or her to risk of criminal victimization. That so many elderly people do live alone, in multiple dwelling residences and are retired may help account for their low rate of victimization. At the same time, this disengagement may accentuate the suffering and make more difficult the search for remedies.

Are elderly victims more likely to be injured? The survey results show that elderly people have a comparatively low occurrence of injury. Slightly fewer than 17% of elderly victims of violent personal crimes suffered some injury as a result of the victimization, compared to an injury rate of 29% of younger victims. However, when victims reported suffering some degree of injury, those 65 and over were more likely to require medical or dental treatment than any other age groups.

The average reported material loss for elderly people was also higher than the mean loss. Thus, although elderly people were victimized much less often than young people, the impact of their victimization was greater (Figures 5-7).

Economic loss is even more serious for elderly people in that they generally have reduced incomes. The National Survey data indicate that elderly people should be considered a special group, not only because they are more frail or vulnerable, but also because of their lower incomes. As Table 16 reveals, elderly victims' losses represent a much larger proportion of their income than is the case for younger victims. What may represent an insignificant loss to many represents a substantial loss to elderly victims.

Indeed many because of their frailty or low incomes are dependant on others for support. Obviously when they are victimized at the hands of these others, they will often be unable to seek help or even make their victimization known. Their frailty and low income also present difficulties for them in their involvement with the criminal justice system.

II.2 Children as Victims

The particular vulnerability of the child victim resides in his or her lack of physical strength, and social and physical dependance. In the past decade the public has become increasingly aware of the special vulnerability of children to neglect, to physical, sexual and emotional abuse, and to exploitation in the production of "kiddy porn" for adult consumers. This awareness and concern has been answered to some extent by legislation and administration initiatives in all provinces and in the Yukon Territory, to encourage or require citizens and professionals to report suspected cases of abuse to child protection authorities, and for such authorities to provide central registries to identify, evaluate and monitor abuse victims and suspected offenders in the community (Robertshaw, 1981: 9-17).

These programs have served to increase public and professional sensitivity to child abuse, and have also increased the number of cases coming to official attention. Whether an actual increase in incidence is occurring is problematic, at the moment, but there has been an increase in number of cases reported. Robertshaw has estimated that the number of abused children reported nationwide increased from 5,879 in 1977 to 7,329 in 1978.

Because child abuse most often occurs within the family setting, identification of cases is difficult, and the consequences of intervention are sometimes as traumatic and damaging as is the original abuse. In the case of physical assault, the victim is usually a male child, and the offender is the victim's mother. Child victims

of sexual assault are predominantly pre-adolescent girls, and the offender is most likely to be the victim's father or step-father. Abuse of both kinds tends to be ongoing rather than limited to a particular occasion, and it has frequently been determined that more than one child in the family has been victimized. What this may well mean is that children who are abused less frequently, or only episodically are far less likely to come to attention of welfare officials than are chronic victims of sexual or physical abuse.

Although it is probably true that increased societal intervention in cases of abuse has been beneficial to the best interests of children in general, it is not always the case that the best interests of individual children are assured in the process. Abused children may be in a special double-jeopardy situation, suffering from primary victimization when neglected, and from a kind of "secondary" victimization as a result of societal intervention in the lives of their families.

Special mechanisms are needed to enable children to invoke intervention on their own behalf, to place their evidence and their needs before the courts in an effective way, and to protect them from manipulation and from trauma or humiliation if they must appear as complainants and witnesses. Urgent consideration must be given to alternative processes and procedures which will guarantee the dignity and integrity of child victims and witnesses.

II.3 Assaulted Wives

We can only guess at the numbers of wives who have been assaulted by spouses or ex-spouses. Just as these victims have often been "invisible" to the criminal justice system, they have been "invisible" to social researchers. Most specialists estimate that about one in ten wives are likely to experience assault at the hands of their spouses. Some put their estimates even higher. The Canadian Urban Victimization Survey is likely to underestimate the

incidence to the extent that the interviewed women themselves do not define the assault as criminal. According to the survey data, the rate of assault for women is approximately half that of men (39 per 1,000 as compared to 79 per 1,000), but in a full 10% of the incidents experienced by women the offender was a spouse or ex-spouse, and in a further 10% the offender was another relative or friend. What gives cause for even more concern is the fact that many domestic assaults are chronic, rather than occasional occurrences. Almost one-quarter of the violent incidents between spouses or ex-spouses (sexual assaults, assaults and robbery) were so-called "series" crimes[5]. Interestingly, no one reported two, three or four spousal incidents, - it was either one incident during the previous calendar year, or a series.

This area has been particularly problematic for those who work in the criminal justice system. Police and Prosecutors are often reluctant to press forward with such cases, in part because of the reluctance of criminal justice officials to joepardize the sanctity of the home, in part because victims are often reluctant to become witnesses, and more generally because our awareness of the importance and consequences of such crime has been relatively slow to develop. We all now recognize that attempts to preserve the family unit should not overshadow the equally important task of treating these criminal incidents as criminal thereby offering protection to the victim.

The area has been a difficult one for social researchers as well because of the relative invisibility of the offence and its aftermath. Battered women, afraid of reprisals and embarrassed about their plight, often choose to remain invisible. Recent research also indicates that the cyclical nature of battering leads many of its victims to believe that it will not recur. This hope, often combined with economic dependence, means that victims often seek to solve or cope with their problems without outside help.

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5 "Series" crimes are similar incidents which occurred five or more times within the previous year. Incidents are recorded as series crimes only if the victim is unable to recall the details of each episode.

Not much more is known about women who go so far as to seek police intervention. Hodgins and Larouche (1980), after trying to trace and interview women who called the police for help ten months previously, concluded that the women they failed to contact were hiding in order to protect themselves. Over the period of their study, over 800 women had requested accommodation in five (of six) transition houses in Montreal, but only about 60% could be accommodated, because of lack of space and resources. Those who agreed to be interviewed "had been able to protect themselves from further violence. Even so, one of them had been seriously threatened" (Hodgins and Larouche, 1980:121).

Even with our rudimentary emperical knowledge about this offence, we can conclude that wife battering produces, beyond the obvious physical damage (which can be quite severe), long-term emotional damage which seriously diminishes the lives of those victimized. The damage may require long treatment. We know too that the children who are made witnesses to battering are themselves likely to experience emotional damage, even into their adult lives, and often perpetuate the cycle.

Better law enforcement in itself is not the answer, nor will harsher treatment of the offender necessarily lead battered wives to report incidents to police or seek help elsewhere. Victims services must address not only the immediate physical and material needs and long-term emotional needs of the victims of family violence, but also the needs of the children exposed to such violence and the offenders as well.

II.4 Sexual Assault Victims

Sexual assault is at once the most rare and the most serious offence examined in the victimization survey - whether we measure seriousness in terms of physical injuries or long-term emotional

effects. Women are more likely than not to fight back when attacked, and when they do fight back, they are likely to be injured by their attackers, sometimes seriously.

The impact and trauma experienced by sexual assault victims must be a cause for concern both within the criminal justice system and without. Victims of sexual assault may experience a range of intense psychological/emotional reactions including complete loss of control, intense fear, and psychological crisis reactions such as hysteria, paralysis, etc. (Baril, 1980; Burgess, et al., 1964). The first stage is often followed by feelings of helplessness, guilt and shame, withdrawal from social contacts and interactions, and decrease in self-esteem. Involvement with criminal justice system officials may accentuate those reactions (Halpern, 1978) particularly if the officials are insensitive to these crisis reactions. Even long after the incident, victims may experience avoidance behavior, anxiety, depression and suspicion toward others (Holmstrom et al., 1978). Sexual assault victims were more likely than any others to agree that counselling services should be available for all victims of this type of crime.

Seventy-two percent of sexual assault victims feel unsafe walking alone at night, (compared to 54 percent of the women who have not been victimized in the past year). More sexual assault victims felt unsafe at night than any other victims.

These victims face the same problems as battered wives in terms of self-denigration, emotional damage and disrupted relationships. The similarity of the cycle of perpetual abuse is most apparent for the significant minority of women who are sexually assaulted by intimates (spouses, ex-spouses, relatives or friends). But for all victims of sexual assaults, traditional sources of support within the family may be unavailable to them, or inadequate to their needs.

Only about one in three female victims of sexual assault report their victimization to the police. Fear of revenge by offenders (35%), and concern about the attitude of public and courts to this type of crime (47%) figure significantly in their failure to invoke police action. When they did report incidents to the police, sexual assault victims were less satisfied with police performance on all measures used than any other groups of victims. One quarter gave the police a "poor" rating on promptness of response and on courtesy. Half of the sexual assault victims who reported the incident said police did a poor job in keeping them informed on the progress of their case, and 37% gave them a poor rating in "overall case handling".

There is no doubt that this particular offence demands great police sensitivity towards victims. It may also be that the victim has been so abused, so frightened and feels so degraded that it is impossible to respond "satisfactorily". Certainly, improvements in police (and other criminal justice system officials') performance will alleviate some of these feelings, but other resources and support systems are obviously required to meet both the immediate and the more long-term emotional needs of these victims.

II.5 Break and Enter Victims

More than 227,000 break and entry incidents occurred in the seven cities during 1981. Of the very large number of households affected by this type of crime (93.8 per thousand households) about 67% suffer some financial loss (Table 15). In those incidents where some loss did occur, the average gross loss (through theft or damage) was about $1,142. After recovery through police and private insurance, net loss for victims was $655.00. Most recovery was through private insurance.

Relatively little is directly recovered through the police (offenders are rarely caught). Further, when stolen goods are found they may be held by the police as evidence for pending trials, exacerbating the sense of loss and leading, no doubt, to further feelings of frustration. Recent initiatives to speed up the return of stolen property should have a positive impact upon the satisfaction of victims with the workings of the criminal justice system. But actual material recovery will not help alleviate the increased fear, sense of invasion and sometimes long-term stress associated with this offence.

Recent studies also tend to demonstrate that victims of break and enter may experienced crisis reactions which we generally assume to arise only with more violent crimes. Often these reactions will occur some time after the incident. The violation of the home seems often to produce feelings of anger, fear, surprise, deceit. If vandalism occurs as well, the perceived irrationality of such behavior aggravates such reaction. Again criminal justice officials may often be unaware of and therefore be insensitive to such reactions.

II.6 Rural Victims

There is an unfortunate but pervasive urban bias in our understanding of crime and the consequences of crime for victims. Although crimes may occur less frequently in rural areas than in urban settings, we have no reason to suspect that the financial and emotional impact on rural victims is in any way less serious.

Rural victims may be seriously affected by the distance from and difficult access to police departments and medical facilities, legal services or social agencies which might help them cope with criminal incidents. Further, it would be a serious error to assume that informal helping relationships among rural neighbours, in them-

selves, can meet the complex needs of victims (Lucas, 1971). We should in any case be uneasy about relying upon such sources of support and protection for victims of violent personal crimes, especially those which involve non-strangers. The plight of the rural victim of sexual assault, child abuse (either physical or sexual) or spousal violence is even more serious than that of similar victims in urban settings. Options for these victims are seriously limited, and will not be improved greatly by simple "consciousness-raising" in police ranks. Financial dependance, physical isolation, lack of access to legal advice or social agencies, and a complete absence of "safe" (transition) houses may well conspire to keep rural victims of violent offfences silent, and to make them vulnerable to recurrent incidents. A great deal of ingenuity and commitment will be required to develop service delivery models and techniques capable of providing effective and continuous services and programs to victims in small, often scattered and isolated populations.

II.7 Native Victims

The National Victimization Survey could not address the case of victimization in native or other minority groups, and there is as yet no other comprehensive information available in Canada on native victims. Some USA findings indicate that victimization rates are disproportionately high on reserves, that natives are more likely than non-natives to suffer from assaults, homicides and all kinds of family violence, and that these incidents are often alcohol related. It may well be that these findings reflect the Canadian situation equally well.

We do know that there are few, if any, resources available for native victims on reserves, and that natives are reluctant to use non-native services. High rates of migration from reserves to urban centres - (and usually to the areas of those centres which have the highest crime rates), should lead us to expect high and increasing

rates of victimization in this group. Special attention must therefore be given to the needs of these victims to ensure that they receive an adequate level of culturally appropriate service from the criminal justice system and from other community support networks. Natives appear to have particular problems with a criminal justice system based in a totally different language and, indeed, fundamentally different definitions of crime and justice. Added to this is our growing awareness that Natives have been and continue to be socially and economically disadvantaged by whatever measure we might choose. Cultural differences, structural inequality and a history of distrust of "white man's law" are the context for understanding the special needs of native victims.

II.8 Traffic Victims

The mainspring for this report has been the growing recognition that the victim of crime has been the forgotten actor in the criminal justice system. In many ways, however, this has not been the case for the victims of traffic crimes. The concern for traffic victims (whether the accident was caused by an offence or not) preceeded the concern for victims of other crimes. In fact, the compensation received by traffic victims seems to be higher and certainly more widespread than for other victims.

Most provinces had an Unsatisfied Judgement Fund for motor vehicle accidents long before they had a Criminal Injuries Compensation Board. In the last 10 years, most provinces have been plugging gaps in their coverage, and simplifying the process. To give just two examples of the many changes that have been made, Manitoba, in 1971, abolished the necessity of going to court, obtaining a judgement against an uninsured driver, and then making a claim to the Unsatisfied Judgement Fund. It is now sufficient to make a regular claim, and the government legistated insurance will pay as if the driver had been insured for $100,000 for personal injury. The com-

plications of going to court, and even the complications of identifying the driver are eliminated. British Columbia already had very extensive coverage with their "Unsatisfied Judgement Fund", including the possibility that a judgement could be made against an unidentified driver for personal injury, even before adding coverage (in 1973) for property damage caused by an unidentified driver.

Existing compensation schemes for traffic victims do vary slightly from province to province, and not all provinces have complete coverage. (For example, damage by unidentified drivers and uninsured drivers is not always covered.) No doubt the number and general distribution of traffic victimizations accounts for the relatively advanced state of financial victim services for them. Perhaps the unquestioned commitment to providing compensation for these victims can stand as something of a model for our approach to crime victims more generally.

Best estimates would lead us to conclude that about one half of these accidents were the result of a traffic offences. Recent research has demonstrated that impaired drivers are 14 times as likely to be killed on the road as non-impaired drivers, indicating that much traffic victimization is preventable.

Certainly the numbers of victims of traffic accidents make them a significant category. In 1980, 5,132 people were killed in traffic accidents in Canada, over 10 times the number of first and second degree murders committed in the same year. A further 233,299 people were injured as a result of traffic accidents, again significantly more than were injured through crimes of violence. In addition to the accidents which resulted in death or injury, a further 671,385 accidents resulted in property damage of at least $200.

Best estimates would lead us to conclude that about one half of these accidents were the result of traffic offences. Recent research has demonstrated that impaired drivers are 14 times as

likely to be killed on the road as non-impaired drivers, indicating that much traffic victimization is preventable. It is in recognition of this fact, and in recognition of the profound emotional, psychological and physical suffering of many traffic victims and their families that a number of groups have recently made demands for more stringent enforcement of drunken driving laws. It is partly through the efforts of the groups such as Mothers Against Drunken Driving (MADD), Parent to Reduce Impaired Driving Everywhere (PRIDE) and Citizens Against Impaired Driving (CAID), that traffic offences are increasingly being viewed as "criminal".

Given that reasonably comprehensive compensations schemes are now generally available to cover the monetary losses suffered by traffic victims, it may now be possible to focus attention upon the need to recognize and to alleviate the emotional and physical sufferend caused by such "accidents - costs which can never be met by simple cash payment of insurance claims. Allocating blame through the criminal justice system may help to clarify the true nature and impact of traffic victimization, which in turn may provide the incentive required for the establishment of comprehensive, effective prevention programs.

II.9 Families of Victims of Violence

The intense emotional and financial impact which follows on the violent death of family members who are victims of crime merits special attention by the criminal justice system. Families of such victims should rightly be considered as victims in their own right - albeit secondary victims who are at one removed from the actual events.

Although victim deaths are relatively rate, general procedures and practices for dealing with close relatives could usefully be developed and adopted by officials and volunteers throughout the country, and should include provision of emergency financial and/or

transportation assistance, direct information sharing concerning case progress, and the provision of general emotional support or therapeutic counselling when necessary.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Canadian Urban Victimization Survey has confirmed the fact that property crimes occur much more frequently than crimes of violence, and that most of these offences result in low financial loss. Most incidents are never reported to police, mainly because victims themselves define these incidents as being too trivial to warrant police intervention. Crimes of violence are more rare, and when they do occur, rarely result in injuries.

These general statistical trends may provide some reassurance about the general level of safety and security in our society (particularly as compared with popular media representatives of everyday life), but they should not blind us to the distress which crime inflicts on some in our midst - directly as the result of their primary victimization, and indirectly because of the (unintended) loss of dignity, of social status or of emotional well-being which may result from societal recognition of their plight. It is now evident that many very serious crimes (such as sexual assault and assault) never come to official attention, first, because victims are unsure about legal definitions of the incident (i.e. whether it is in fact a crime or not), and secondly because they fear the consequence of making a report more than they fear a recurrence of the incident. Figure 9 summarizes the major impacts of crime.

It has been our premise that victims have two primary needs: the need (or right) to regain their pre-victimization status, both materially and emotionally, and the need (or right) to maintain a sense of personal dignity and integrity in their dealings with the criminal justice system. Within this general framework, priorities

for action and for programs should be set on the basis of greatest need and/or vulnerability of the victim group. To this end there is a need for more sharply focussed research on selected aspects of the impact of crime, particularly among the most vulnerable victim groups.

The need to preserve or regain a sense of personal dignity seems best to be served by consciousness-raising among Criminal Justice System officials at all levels, and by the provision of timely, accurate, accessible information to the victim regarding his legal rights, C.J.S. expectations of him, C.J.S. procedures, and the progress of his own case. According to the victims needs studies, information needs are of the highest priority and remain largely unresolved.

The need for support services - social/emotional counselling, financial aid and practical assistance - is evident at two stages - the period of crisis at the time of an incident, and for some victims, over the long term. Support services such as rape crisis centres and transition houses help victims define their legal rights, offer practical support and sometimes needed shelter and protection and they should be supported financially in these efforts.

Other needed support services include practical assistance with immediate problems (such as repairs, or lost identification etc.) and broadened compensation, insurance and/or restitution programs to include material and financial losses.

Victims' needs vary with the social and demographic characteristics of victims and the nature and impact of particular offences. Figure 9 reviews the general needs of victims of crime.

TABLE 1

Seven Cities

NUMBER OF INCIDENTS OF SELECTED TYPES AND PROPORTION NOT REPORTED TO POLICE

Type of Incident	Number of Incidents	Percent of All Incidents	Percent Unreported
Sexual Assault	17,217	1.1	61.5
Robbery	49,327	3.1	55.1
Assault	285,739	17.8	65.5
Break & Enter	227,447	14.2	36.0
Motor Vehicle Theft	40,645	2.5	29.6
Personal Theft	349,893	21.9	70.6
Household Theft	417,274	26.1	55.5
Vandalism	213,089	13.3	65.3
TOTAL	1,600,675	100.0	58.5

Seven Cities

TABLE 2

INCIDENT RATES

Personal Offences

Total population in seven cities = 4,975,904

Type of Incident	N	Rates per 1000 Population			Range
		Total	Males	Females	Total
All personal incidents	702,221	141.1	154.5	128.6	(124.7 - 191.7)
All violent incidents	352,328	70.8	90.2	53.2	(57.5 - 100.4)
Sexual Assaults	17,217	3.5	0.8	5.8	(1.5 - 4.3)
Robbery	49,372	10.0	13.3	7.2	(5.9 - 13.3)
Assault	285,739	57.4	79.1	39.3	(44.9 - 84.6)
Personal Theft	349,893	70.3	66.5	74.0	(61.0 - 91.3)

Household Offences

Total households in seven cities = 2,424,902

Type of Incident	N	Rate per 1000 Households	Range
All household incidents	898,455	370.5	(277.6 - 462.8)
Break and Enter	227,447	93.8	(54.5 - 121.9)
M.V. Theft	40,645	16.8	(8.4 - 23.3)
Household Theft	417,274	172.1	(132.2 - 242.8)
Vandalism	213,089	87.9	(67.6 - 122.2)

TABLE 3

Seven Cities

INCIDENT RATES PER THOUSAND POPULATION BY AGE CATEGORY

	16-17	18-20	21-24	25-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-64	65+
Sexual Assault	6.2*	14.4	6.4	3.3	2.7	0.6**	0.8**	1.1**	0.2**
Robbery	23.8	22.1	19.0	11.3	7.4	5.0	3.8	7.7*	3.9
Assault	130.6	141.8	107.4	78.9	49.8	25.8	13.9	16.1	7.5
Personal Theft	156.2	138.9	122.1	85.8	64.2	48.0	30.5	27.3	13.2

_____ Highest rate for each offence category.

* Low sample numbers in this category mean that caution should be exercised when interpreting this rate.

** Rates are based on 10 or fewer sample cases and are consequently statistically unreliable. They are given here for illustrative purposes only, and should not be quoted.

TABLE 4

INCIDENT RATE BY FAMILY INCOME
RATES PER 1,000 POPULATION

Annual Family Income	Sexual Assault	Robbery	Assault	Personal Theft
Less than $9,000	7.2	12.9	61.2	60.6
$9,000 - 14,999	4.2	14.8	78.5	70.5
$15,000 - 19,999	4.0	13.7	60.3	71.8
$20,000 - 24,999	2.7	8.7	56.9	77.0
$25,000 - 29,999	1.1	7.3	52.5	65.5
$30,000 - 39,999	3.2	6.0	61.8	79.6
$40,000 or more	2.3	12.1	68.9	94.3

TABLE 5

INCIDENT RATE BY FAMILY INCOME
RATES PER 1,000 HOUSEHOLD

Annual Family Income	Break & Enter	Motor Vehicle Theft	Household Theft	Vandalism
Less than $9,000	82.6	7.9	98.8	41.1
$9,000 - 14,999	103.9	15.5	149.7	70.7
$15,000 - 19,999	103.0	19.0	175.8	90.5
$20,000 - 24,999	99.4	23.3	224.8	108.3
$25,000 - 29,999	99.1	22.7	208.0	122.7
$30,000 - 39,999	103.1	21.9	228.9	120.3
$40,000 or more	113.0	20.3	241.1	128.5

TABLE 6

INCIDENT RATES BY NUMBER OF EVENINGS OUT PER MONTH
RATES PER 1,000 POPULATION

Evenings Out	Sexual Assault	Robbery	Assault	Personal Theft
1 - 9	2.1	5.3	20.7	34.5
10 - 19	3.3	5.7	38.3	54.5
20 - 29	4.1	9.8	59.0	88.3
30 or more	5.0	19.7	118.9	118.1

TABLE 7

INCIDENT RATES BY NUMBER OF EVENINGS OUT PER MONTH
RATES PER 1,000 HOUSEHOLD

Evenings Out	Break & Enter	Motor Vehicle Theft	Household Theft	Vandalism
1 - 9	64.0	11.0	111.7	52.1
10 - 19	89.6	16.1	161.2	81.9
20 - 29	105.8	17.4	199.8	105.2
30 or more	130.5	25.5	255.2	132.6

TABLE 8

PROPORTION OF UNREPORTED INCIDENTS BY TYPE OF CRIME IN SEVEN CITIES

	Vancouver	Edmonton	Winnipeg	Toronto	Montreal	Halifax	St. John's	Seven Cities	Range	% Diff.
Sexual Assault	68.1 (5)[1]	85.2 (7)	66.9 (4)	59.6 (2)	50.4 (1)	71.4 (6)	60.0 (3)	61.5	(50.4 - 85.2)	34.8
Robbery	56.8 (6)	53.5 (1)	57.8 (7)	53.7 (2)	54.9 (3)	55.1 (4)	56.5 (5)	55.1	(53.5 - 57.8)	4.3
Assault	65.7 (4)	68.4 (6)	76.6 (7)	64.3 (2)	61.4 (1)	65.1 (3)	67.3 (5)	65.5	(61.4 - 76.7)	15.3
Break & Enter	38.7 (7)	38.0 (5)	37.7 (4)	35.2 (3)	33.9 (2)	38.6 (6)	32.0 (1)	36.0	(32.0 - 38.7)	6.7
Motor Vehicle Theft	28.9 (6)	23.1 (1)	27.2 (4)	28.2 (5)	33.1 (7)	26.3 (3)	25.5 (2)	29.6	(23.1 - 33.1)	10.0
Personal Theft	71.1 (4)	70.2 (3)	74.9 (7)	70.0 (2)	69.3 (1)	71.9 (5)	74.2 (6)	70.6	(69.3 - 74.9)	5.6
Household Theft	60.7 (7)	53.9 (4)	53.4 (3)	54.0 (5)	54.2 (6)	51.7 (1)	52.0 (2)	55.5	(51.7 - 60.7)	9.0
Vandalism	70.9 (6)	61.4 (2)	62.4 (3)	63.2 (4)	64.1 (5)	59.9 (1)	73.4 (7)	65.3	(59.9 - 73.4)	22.5
Total	61.9 (7)	58.4 (4)	59.6 (5)	58.3 (3)	55.0 (1)	58.1 (2)	61.1 (6)	58.5	(55.0 - 61.9)	6.9

[1] Numbers in brackets indicate the rank-ordering of cities within offence categories. A "1" indicates the city with the lowest percentage of unreported incidents, and a "7" the city with the highest percentage.

TABLE 9

Seven Cities

PROPORTION OF UNREPORTED INCIDENTS BY TYPE OF CRIME AND BY SEX OF VICTIM

	MALES			FEMALES				
	Incidents	% Offence Type	% Unrep.	Incidents	% Offence Type	% Unrep.	TOTAL INCIDENTS	% Unrep.
Sexual Assault	1,770	10.3	65.9	15,447	89.7	61.0	17,217	61.5
Robbery	30,276	61.3	64.0	19,080	38.6	41.1	49,372	55.1
Assault	180,492	63.8	69.6	104,783	36.7	58.4	285,684	65.5
Personal Theft	151,679	43.4	72.1	197,458	56.4	69.5	349,835	70.6
TOTAL Incidents	364,217	51.9	70.2	336,768	48.0	64.0	700,985	67.3

TABLE 10

REASONS GIVEN FOR FAILURE TO REPORT INCIDENTS TO THE POLICE BY OFFENCE CATEGORY

	Sexual Assault	Robbery	Assault	B&E	Theft M.V.	H.H. Theft	Per. Theft	Vanda-lism	Total	%
Nothing Taken	33.2	47.1	27.8	42.2	51.3	7.9	6.2	28.0	179,000	19.4
Police Couldn't Do Anything	52.0	54.5	50.9	57.5	57.2	64.5	63.7	69.1	564,000	61.1
Fear Revenge	33.2	10.3	11.4	3.0	0.3	1.4	1.8	2.0	40,000	4.4
Protect Offender	15.8	9.2	15.7	5.2	0.9	2.8	5.1	2.7	60,000	6.5
Too Minor	26.2	56.4	63.2	64.8	55.7	70.9	62.2	73.3	606,000	65.7
Inconvenience	11.3	32.6	24.2	19.8	18.6	25.9	23.8	25.0	224,000	24.2
Personal Matter	27.2	21.7	28.8	8.1	4.2	6.7	12.6	5.5	123,000	13.3
Reported to Another Official	8.8	6.6	7.1	7.4	3.3	7.2	26.6	4.3	109,000	11.8
Negative Attitude of Police	42.7	14.3	11.8	7.4	4.9	7.1	5.1	6.5	75,000	8.1
Overall % Unreported	61.5	55.1	65.5	36.0	29.7	55.5	70.6	65.3		
Number Unreported	11,000	27,000	185,000	81,000	12,000	227,000	243,000	136,000	921,000	58.5

Columns do no add to 100% since respondents could indicate more than one reason for failure to report any one incident. Numbers may not add to totals due to rounding.

TABLE 11

REASONS GIVEN FOR FAILURE TO REPORT PERSONAL VIOLENT INCIDENTS BY TYPE OF INCIDENT AND BY SEX OF VICTIM

	Sexual Assault	Robbery	Assault
	%	%	%
Fear of Revenge			
All	33.2	10.3	11.4
Males	18.9	10.6	6.8
Females	35.0	9.7	20.7
Attitude of Police, etc.			
All	42.7	14.3	11.8
Males	6.0	12.4	11.4
Females	47.2	18.8	12.9
TOTAL Incidents	17,200	49,400	285,700
Incidents Not Reported	11,000	27,000	185,000
% Not Reported	61.5	55.1	65.5

TABLE 12

ECONOMIC LOSS FOR ALL INCIDENTS BY SEX OF VICTIM

Sex	Mean Gross Loss	Mean Recovery	Mean Net Loss
Male	358	174	184
Female	283	130	153
Overall	318	150	167

TABLE 13

ECONOMIC LOSS AND RECOVERY FOR INCIDENTS INVOLVING LOSS BY SEX OF VICTIM

Sex	Percent Incidents with Dollar Loss	Mean Gross Loss	Mean Recovery	Mean Net Loss
Male	70	514	248	266
Female	70	403	186	217
Overall	70	454	215	240

TABLE 14

ECONOMIC LOSS AND RECOVERY FOR ALL INCIDENTS BY TYPE OF CRIME

Type of Crime	Mean Gross Loss	Mean Recovery	Mean Net Loss
Personal Crimes			
Sexual Assault	92	8	84
Robbery	322	146	176
Assault	48	7	41
Personal Theft	211	62	149
Household Crimes			
Break & Enter	770	329	441
Motor Vehicle Theft	2,521	2,192	329
Household Theft	232	106	126
Vandalism	164	71	93

TABLE 15

ECONOMIC LOSS AND RECOVERY FOR INCIDENTS INVOLVING LOSS BY TYPE OF CRIME

Type of Crime	Percent Incidents with Dollar Loss	Mean Gross Loss	Mean Recovery	Mean Net Loss
Personal Crimes				
Sexual Assault	32	291	25	266
Robbery	56	576	261	315
Assault	18	261	37	224
Personal Theft	94	225	65	160
Household Crimes				
Break & Enter	67	1,142	487	655
Motor Vehicle Theft	72	3,512	3,053	459
Household Theft	88	264	120	144
Vandalism	73	224	92	132

TABLE 16

LOSS AS A PERCENTAGE OF FAMILY INCOME FOR ALL INCIDENTS BY AGE GROUP

Age Group	Mean Family Income	Mean Gross Loss	% Income	Mean $ Recovery	% Income	Mean Net Loss	% Income
16-17	27,173	168	0.6	62	0.2	106	0.4
18-20	24,984	178	0.7	97	0.4	81	0.3
21-24	23,415	261	1.1	120	0.5	141	0.6
25-29	25,949	359	1.4	191	0.7	168	0.6
30-39	28,624	394	1.4	182	0.6	212	0.7
40-49	29,810	419	1.4	228	0.8	191	0.6
50-59	26,989	435	1.6	217	0.8	218	0.8
60-64	21,098	285	1.4	136	0.6	149	0.7
65 and over	12,611	320	2.5	143	1.1	177	1.4

TABLE 17

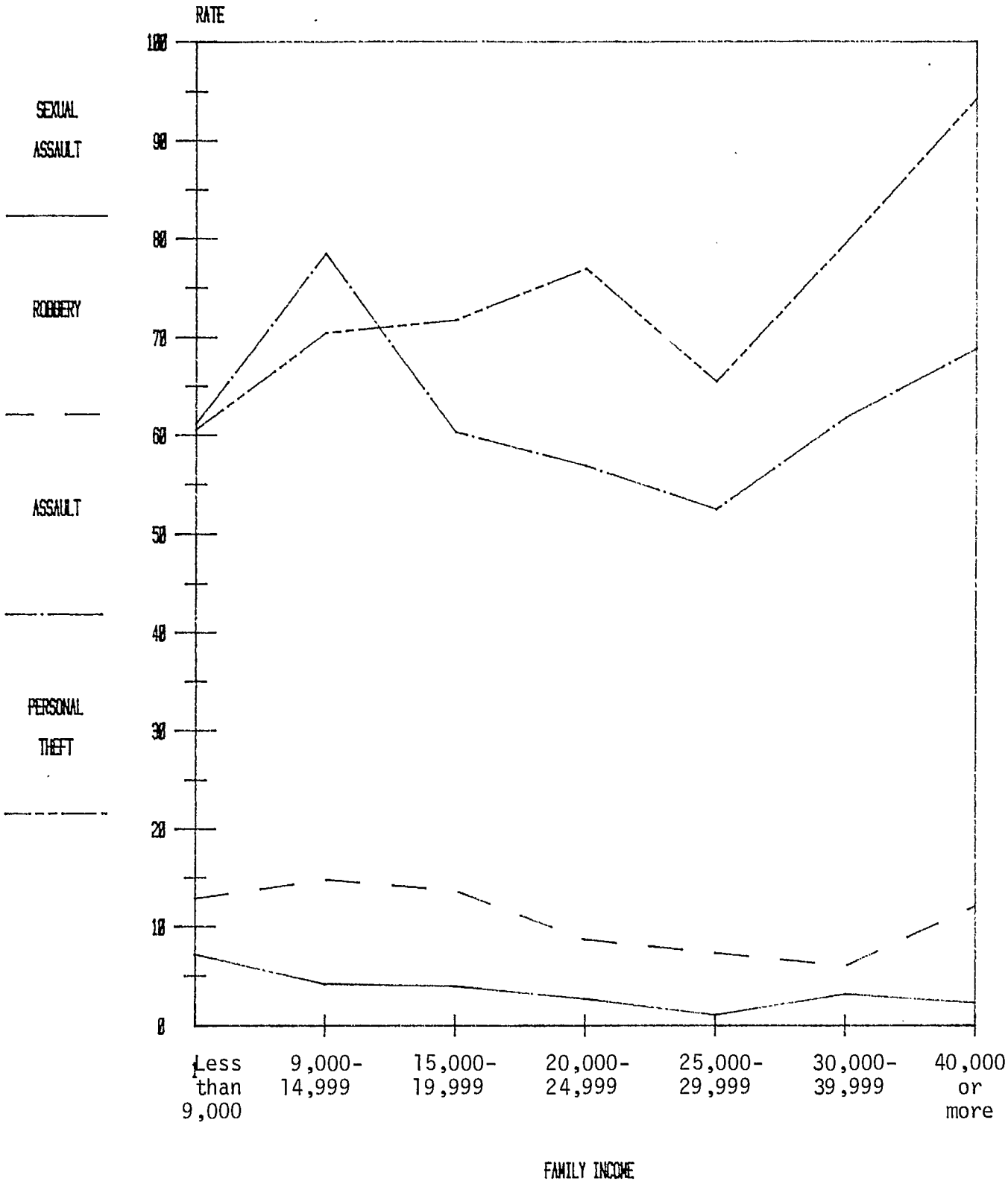
PERCENTAGE OF ATTACKED[1] VICTIMS REQUIRING TREATMENT FOR INJURIES BY TYPE OF OFFENCE

	Percentage of Attacked Victims		
	Sexual Assault	Robbery	Assault
	%	%	%
Medical or Dental Treatment Received	20	12	16
Hospital Treatment Received	13	8	11
Overnight or Longer Stay in Hospital	4	2	2

1 This table only includes victims who were physically attacked. Incidents involving only threatened violence are encluded.

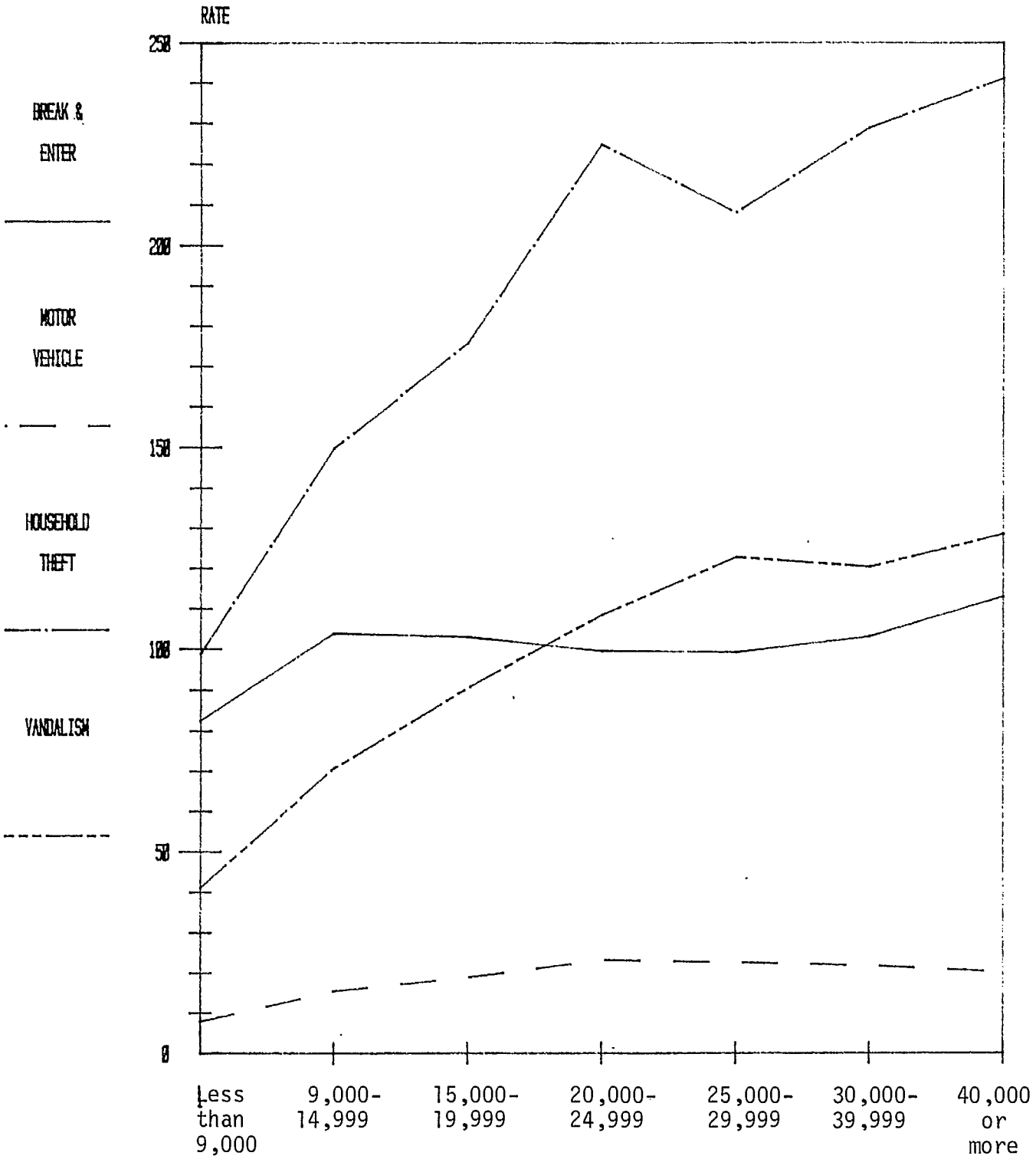
INCIDENT RATES BY FAMILY INCOME

RATES PER 1,000 Population

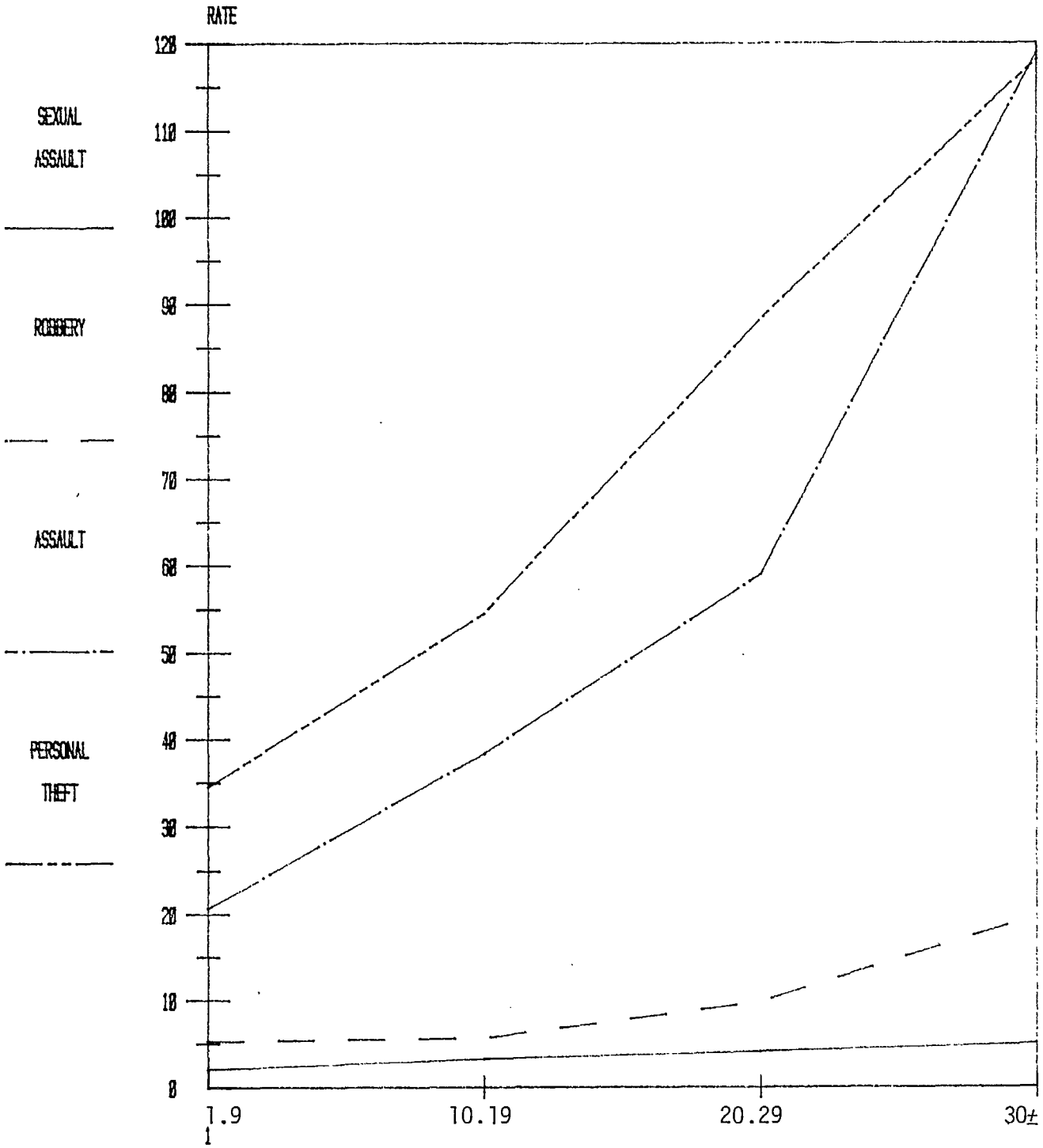


INCIDENT RATES BY FAMILY INCOME

RATES PER 1,000 HOUSEHOLD



INCIDENT RATES BY NUMBER OF EVENINGS OUT
PER MONTH
RATES PER 1,000 Population



INCIDENT RATES BY NUMBER OF EVENINGS OUT

PER MONTH

RATES PER 1,000 HOUSEHOLD

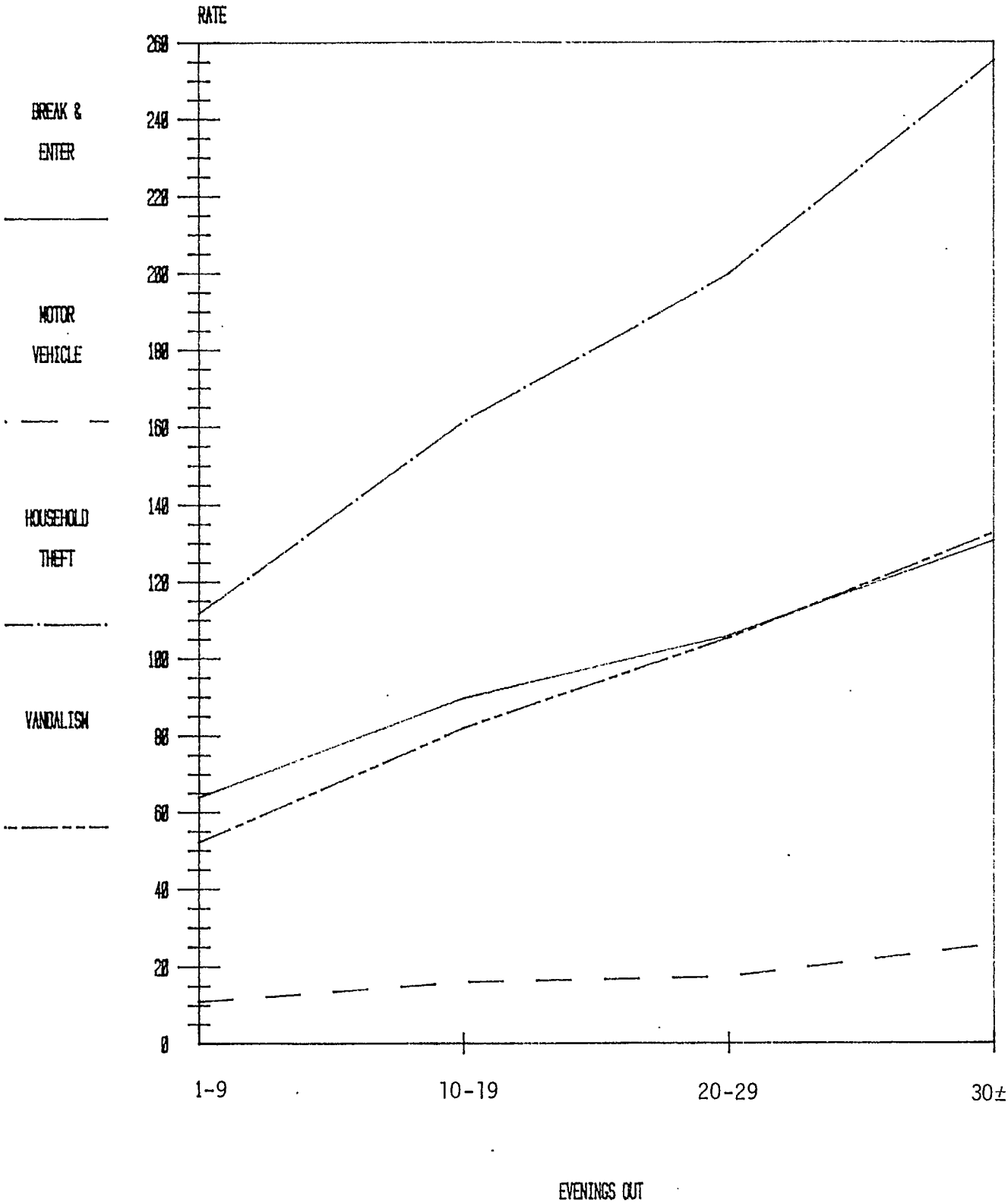


FIGURE 5

ECONOMIC LOSS AND RECOVERY BY AGE

FOR ALL INCIDENTS

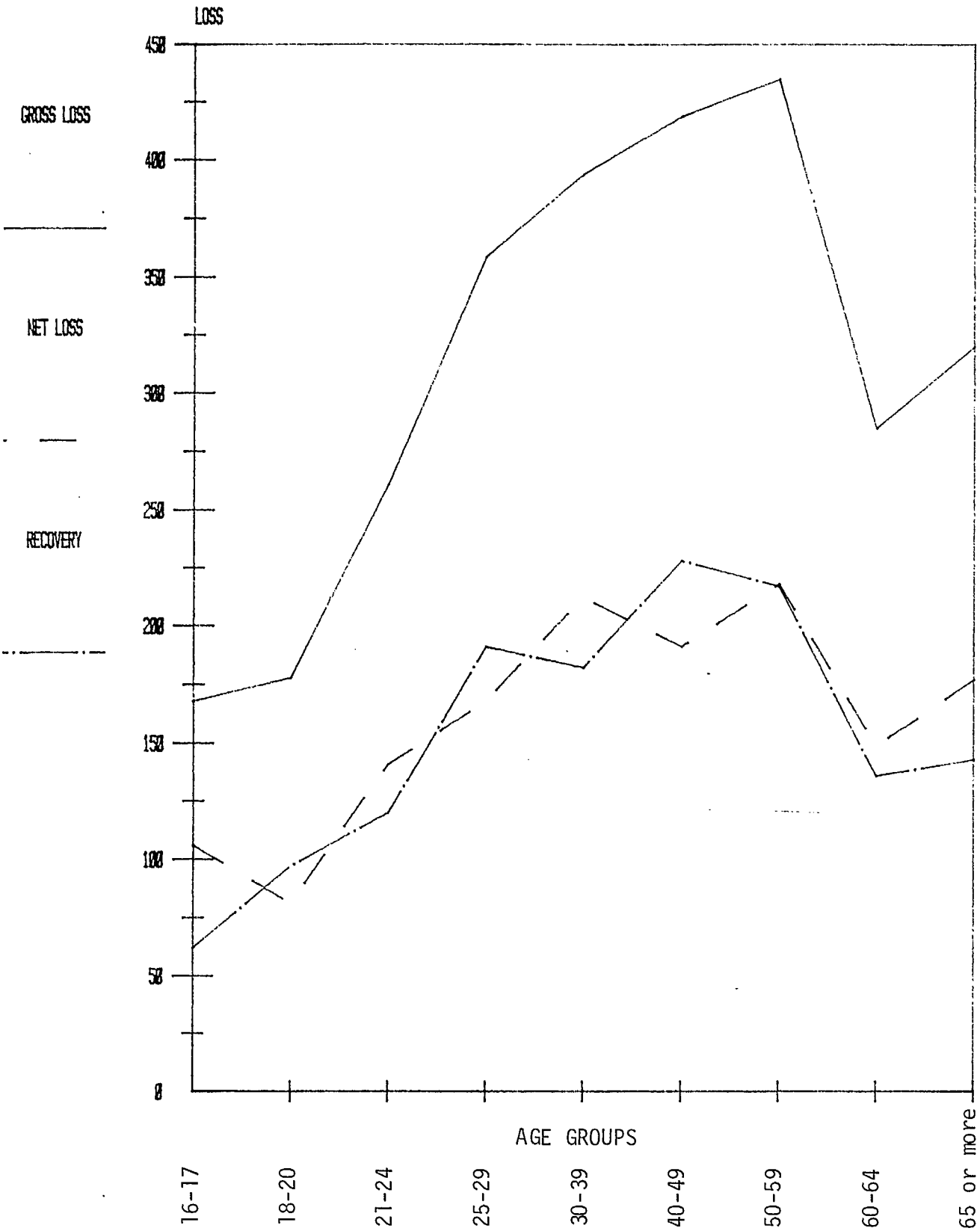


FIGURE 6

ECONOMIC LOSS AND RECOVERY BY AGE

FOR INCIDENTS WITH ANY ECONOMIC LOSS

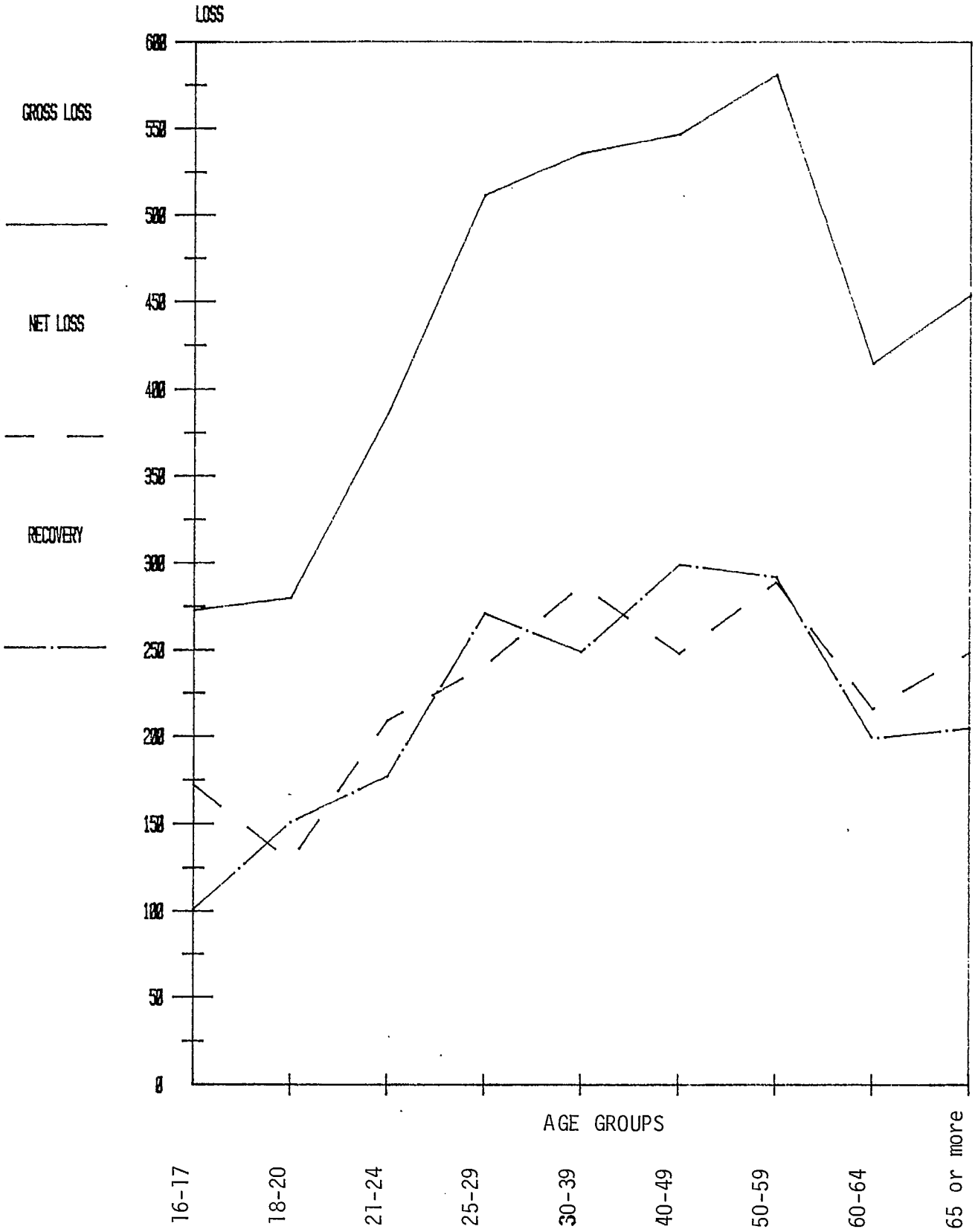


FIGURE 7

$ LOSS AS % FAMILY INCOME

FOR ALL INCIDENTS

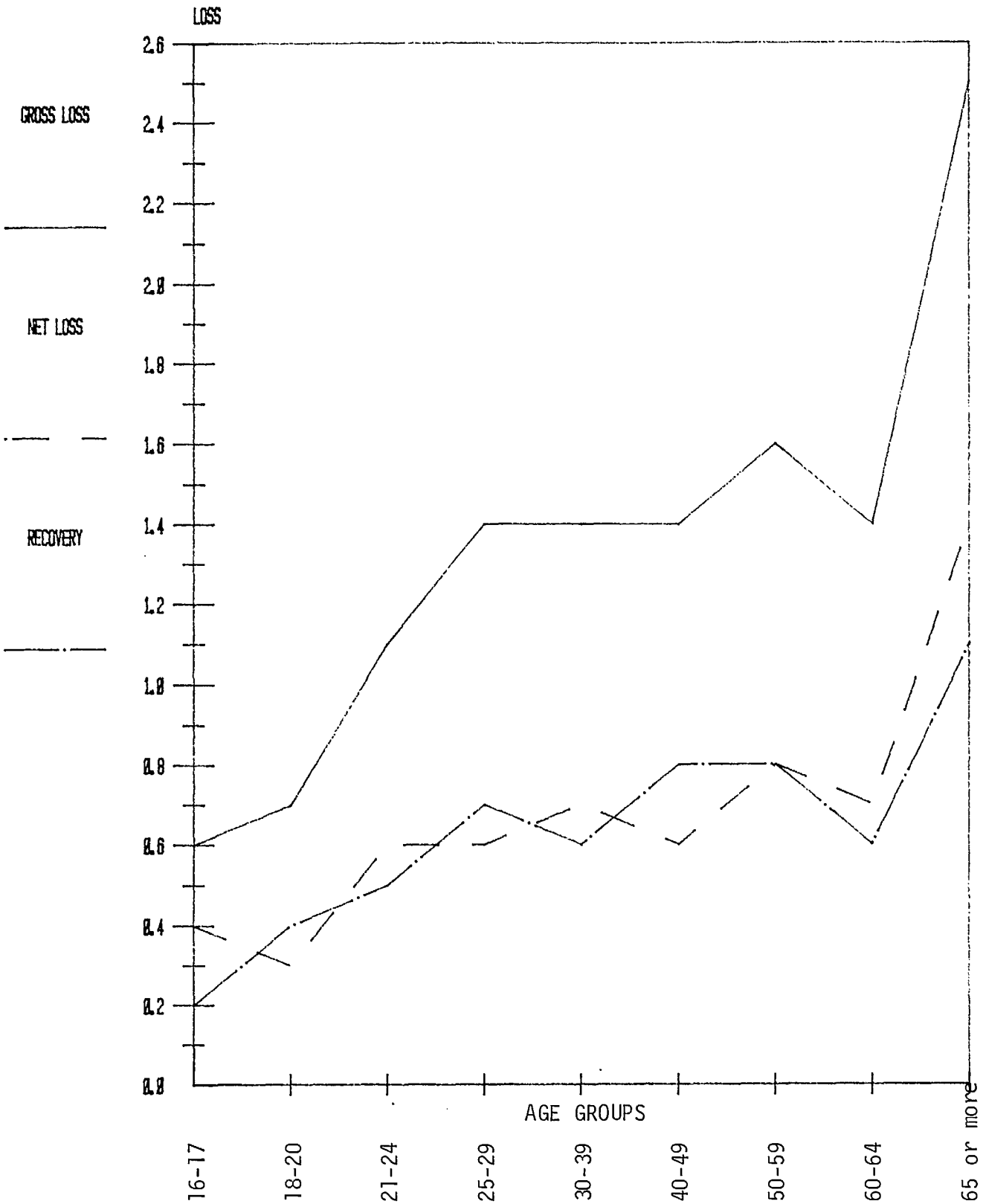


FIGURE 8

CRIMES AGAINST PEOPLE

Pocket Picking Purse Snatching	Auto Theft	Burglary	Robbery	Robbery With Assault	Assault	Homicide
Violation of extension of self: property	Violation of extension of self: property		Violation of extension of self: personal possessions	Violation of extension of self: personal possessions	Violation of extension of self: clothing	Ultimate violation of self: the destruction of the person
Loss of trust	Loss of trust		Loss of trust	Loss of trust	Loss of trust	
Threat of autonomy	Threat of autonomy		Loss of autonomy	Loss of autonomy	Loss of autonomy	
			Threat to survival	Threat to survival	Threat to survival	
				Physical injury to the external self	Physical injury to the external self	
					Violation of internal self	

Source: Morton Bard and Dawn Sangrey, The Crime Victim's Book.

FIGURE 9

	Emotional Trauma	Economic Loss	Physical Injury	Dysfuntion in Support Group	Inconvenience
SYMPTOMS	. fear . suspicion . desire to move . nausea . sleeplessness . guilt	. property loss . property damage . loss of income . uninsured medical costs	. bruises . wounds . disabilities	. marital break-down . fear . suspicion . financial loss	. recovering property . claiming insurance . seeking hospital care . attenting court . information on police investigation
NOTES	. sentimental loss creates pain	. poor experience specific dollar loss more severely than rich	. worse for old than young	. critical for persons with limited support group	
INDICATORS USA	800,000 rapes 2.2 million serious trauma from residential burglary	5 million lose more than $250 2 million lose time from work	1.9 million are injured .5 million use hospital care	15,000 marriages broke up within a year of a rape	

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Who are the victims?