

**VIOLENT CRIME PERPETRATED AGAINST THE  
ELDERLY IN THE CITY OF DALLAS,  
OCTOBER 1974-SEPTEMBER 1975\***

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**ABSTRACT**

This study involved cases of assault, robbery, murder and rape that were reported as having been committed against persons age fifty and older in the City of Dallas, Texas during the time period October 1974-September 1975. Spatial distributions of crime and violence may be examined on a micro and/or macro locational level. By micro we mean structural location. Divisions here include single family dwellings, garages, yards, parks, etc. All in all, a total of forty-eight locations were listed in this study. Macro categories refer to politico-judicial locations; these being federal census tracts, police report areas, and police beats. Macro categories were not examined in this study. This study utilized City of Dallas Police Department Suspect Data as well as Meteorological data provided by the U.S. Weather Service Offices in the Dallas-Fort Worth, Texas SMSA. These "non-spatial" variables are of particular interest, since they will allow for the comparison of the dynamics of violent crime committed against older citizens in Dallas to national, state, regional, and other municipal violent crime trends for all age groups as reported by the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, or the Federal Bureau of Investigation's *Crime in America: The Uniform Crime Report*.

\* City of Dallas Police Department Suspect Data for the time period October 1974-1975. Dallas police sources furnished us with additional data on violent crime against the elderly which occurred during September, 1975.

## An Overview

The issue of violent crime perpetrated against the elderly is an important one, one that conjures an image of the aged, the weak, and the infirm being brutalized by savage young men. Our goals as urban social geographers involved in the study of crime and violence are to examine the nature and extent of this violence and to explore the spatial manifestation of these acts of forcible rape, robbery, murder, and assault. One should note that the occurrence of violent crime perpetrated against the elderly in the city of Dallas has not reached plague proportions; i.e., there were only 914 reported incidents of violent crime perpetrated against individuals age fifty and older out of a total of more than 6000 acts of criminal violence during the period from October 1974-September 1975.<sup>1</sup> In brief, less than sixteen per cent of the violent crime incidents perpetrated in Dallas were against persons aged fifty or older. Nonetheless, the elderly apparently fear criminal violence and the general populace of Dallas is relatively unfamiliar with the extent of the victimization of elderly Dallasites.

Our goal was not a simple one. It was to examine the spatial manifestation of robbery, forcible rape, assault (both simple and aggravated) and murder (criminal homicide) perpetrated against Dallasites aged fifty and older. We attempted to explore the relationship between the victimization of the elderly and the type of location in which it took place (e.g., in an apartment, in a store, etc.), the day of the week, the month, the time of the day or night, the victim's race and sex, the victim's age, the relationship of the suspect to the victim (i.e., did they or did they not have prior knowledge of one another), the weapon used, the suspect's sex, the suspect's race, and the estimated age of the subject (made by the victim or a witness). In short, we attempted to examine both the spatial and social interactional aspects of the victimization of the elderly by means of cross tabulations (further research will use correlation and regression techniques in the exploration of the relation between the violence and the socio-economic characteristics of the location of the incidents). One should also note that this study is a victim-suspect study, not a study of victim and criminal.

<sup>1</sup> Dallas police records list a total of 6068 incidents of criminal violence (i.e., forcible rape, robbery, murder and assault), perpetrated during the time period from October 1974-August 1975. Dallas police sources furnished us with additional data on violent crime against the elderly which occurred during September, 1975. However, we do not at this time have additional information on criminal violence perpetrated against the general population of Dallas during the month of September 1975.

Thus, one incident might list two or more suspects, when only one suspect was actually involved. The police data was presented in such a manner that it was not possible to determine a one-to-one correlation between a suspect or group of suspects when more than one suspect was listed. Nonetheless, I believe that this study in its present form is an important one because it does give an accurate account of a given crime and certain pertinent information concerning individuals under investigation for having possibly committed that crime.

### Crime-By-Location

#### ROBBERY

*The most common violent crime*—Robbery is the most common violent crime perpetrated against the elderly; i.e., 588 robberies or 64.3 per cent of the violent crimes perpetrated against the elderly (there were 914 recorded violent crimes perpetrated against the elderly). The next most common violent crime was assault; 244 incidents were recorded (26.7% of the violent crimes). This was followed by forty-nine murder incidents (5.4% of the violent crimes). Only thirty-three rape incidents were recorded for 3.6 per cent of the incidents, see Table 1.

*Beware of the street incident*—Forty-four per cent of the robberies (259 robberies) took place on the street. The second most common location was the parking lot, where eighty-six incidents, or 14.6 per cent of the robbery incidents took place. This was followed closely by single family dwellings where seventy-eight incidents or 13.3 per cent of the robberies took place. The only other locations recording more than 5 per cent of the robbery incidents were private yards with forty-four incidents (7.5%) and apartments with thirty-three (5.6%) of the robbery incidents, see Table 1.<sup>2</sup>

The tendency for robbery to occur in the street or parking lot is a logical corollary to the fact that most robberies are stranger-to-stranger crimes. Perhaps the most significant finding here, however, is the element of danger surrounding the single-family dwelling and the private yard. The popular image of the single-family dwelling and accompanying yard is that of a zone of relative safety; in fact, the old cliché insists that a “man’s home is his castle.” However,

<sup>2</sup> Table 2, entitled *Robbery by Location* is available upon request.

Table 1. Violent Crime Against the Elderly by Location

<i>Count</i>					
<i>Row PCT</i>					
<i>Col PCT</i>					
<i>Tot PCT</i>	<i>Robbery</i>	<i>Assault</i>	<i>Murder</i>	<i>Rape</i>	<i>Column Total</i>
Not Given	2	1	0	0	3
	0.3	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.3
	66.7	33.3	0.0	0.0	
	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	
Parking	86	15	0	0	101
	14.6	6.1	0.0	0.0	11.1
	85.1	14.9	0.0	0.0	
	9.4	1.6	0.0	0.0	
Apartment	33	30	4	8	75
	5.6	12.3	8.2	24.2	8.2
	44.0	40.0	5.3	10.7	
	3.6	3.3	0.4	0.9	
Yard	44	16	1	2	63
	7.5	6.6	2.0	6.1	6.9
	69.8	25.4	1.6	3.2	
	4.8	1.8	0.1	0.2	
Street	259	59	25	4	347
	44.0	24.2	51.0	12.1	38.0
	74.6	17.0	7.2	1.2	
	28.3	6.5	2.7	0.4	
Single Family	78	77	11	16	182
	13.3	31.6	31.6	48.5	19.9
	42.9	42.3	42.3	8.8	
	8.5	8.4	8.4	1.8	
Misc.	9	6	1	0	16
	1.5	2.5	2.0	0.0	1.8
	56.3	37.5	6.3	0.0	
	1.0	0.7	0.1	0.0	
Bar	2	12	1	0	15
	0.3	4.9	2.0	0.0	1.6
	13.3	80.0	6.7	0.0	
	0.2	1.3	0.1	0.0	
Pool Hall	0	2	0	0	2
	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.2
	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.0		0.0	0.0	
Laundry	2	3	0	0	5
	0.3	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
	40.0	60.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	
Row Total	588	244	49	33	914
	64.3	26.7	5.4	3.6	100.0

Table 1. (Cont.)

<i>Count</i> <i>Row PCT</i> <i>Col PCT</i> <i>Tot PCT</i>	<i>Robbery</i>	<i>Assault</i>	<i>Murder</i>	<i>Rape</i>	<i>Column Total</i>
Misc. Office	1	1	0	0	2
	0.2	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.2
	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	
Parking Pay	4	0	1	0	5
	0.7	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.5
	80.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	
	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.0	
Music	1	0	0	0	1
	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Gas	4	3	1	0	8
	0.7	1.2	2.0	0.0	0.9
	50.0	37.5	12.5	0.0	
	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.0	
Hotel	1	1	0	0	2
	0.2	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.2
	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	
Shine Parlor	0	1	0	0	1
	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.1
	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	
Rooming	2	0	0	0	2
	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Lot Shop Center	19	0	0	0	19
	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1
	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Book	0	1	0	0	1
	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.1
	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	
Cab Driver	1	1	1	0	3
	0.2	0.4	2.0	0.0	0.3
	33.3	33.3	33.3	0.0	
	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	
Row Total	588	244	49	33	914
	64.3	26.7	5.4	3.6	100.0

Table 1. (Cont.)

<i>Count</i> <i>Row PCT</i> <i>Col PCT</i> <i>Tot PCT</i>	<i>Robbery</i>	<i>Assault</i>	<i>Murder</i>	<i>Rape</i>	<i>Column Total</i>
Police Bldg.	1	0	0	0	1
	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Dept.	0	1	1	0	2
	0.0	0.4	2.0	0.0	0.2
	0.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	
	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	
Vacant Lot	1	1	1	1	4
	0.2	0.4	2.0	3.0	0.4
	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0	
	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	
Travel	1	0	0	0	1
	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Bank	1	0	0	0	1
	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Constr. Site	1	1	0	0	2
	0.2	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.2
	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	
Park	5	1	0	0	6
	0.9	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.7
	83.3	16.7	0.0	0.0	
	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.0	
Motel	7	0	0	0	7
	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8
	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Church	2	0	0	0	2
	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Dup.	1	1	0	1	3
	0.2	0.4	0.0	3.0	0.3
	33.3	33.3	0.0	33.3	
	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	
Row Total	588	244	49	33	914
	64.3	26.7	5.4	3.6	100.0

Table 1. (Cont.)

<i>Count</i> <i>Row PCT</i> <i>Col PCT</i> <i>Tot PCT</i>	<i>Robbery</i>	<i>Assault</i>	<i>Murder</i>	<i>Rape</i>	<i>Column Total</i>
Garage	1	0	0	0	1
	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Market Super	5	0	0	0	5
	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	
City Govt.	0	1	0	0	1
	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.1
	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	
School	0	0	1	0	1
	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.1
	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	
	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	
New Car	1	0	0	0	1
	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Market Small	2	1	0	0	3
	0.3	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.3
	66.7	33.3	0.0	0.0	
	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	
Liquor	1	1	0	0	2
	0.2	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.2
	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	
Car Wash	3	0	0	0	3
	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Hospital	0	1	0	0	1
	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.1
	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	
Restaurant	2	2	0	0	4
	0.3	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.4
	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	
		0.2	0.0	0.0	
Row Total	588	244	49	33	914
	64.3	26.7	5.4	3.6	100.0

Table 1. (Cont.)

<i>Count</i> <i>Row PCT</i> <i>Col PCT</i> <i>Tot PCT</i>	<i>Robbery</i>	<i>Assault</i>	<i>Murder</i>	<i>Rape</i>	<i>Column Total</i>
Auto Repair	1	1	0	0	2
	0.2	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.2
	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	
Market Drive	1	0	0	0	1
	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Vacant Bldg.	1	0	0	0	1
	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Federal Govt.	0	1	0	0	1
	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.1
	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	
Used Car	0	1	0	0	1
	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.1
	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	
Warehouse	1	0	0	0	1
	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Building	0	0	0	1	1
	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	0.1
	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	
Shoe	0	1	0	0	1
	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.1
	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	
Not Known	1	0	0	0	1
	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Row	588	244	49	33	914
Total	64.3	26.7	5.4	3.6	100.0



Table 2. Robbery by Location<sup>a</sup>

	<i>Count</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Not Given	2	0.3
Parking	86	14.6
Apartment	33	5.6
Yard	44	7.5
Street	259	44.0
Single Family Dwelling	78	13.3
Misc.	9	1.5
Bar	2	0.3
Pool Hall	0	0.0
Laundry	2	0.3
Misc. Office	1	0.2
Parking Pay	4	0.7
Music	1	0.2
Gas	4	0.7
Hotel	1	0.2
Shoe Shine Parlor	0	0.0
Rooming	2	0.3
Lot Shop Center	19	3.2
Book	0	0.0
Cab Driver	1	0.2
Garage	1	0.2
Market Super	5	0.9
City Govt.	0	0.0
School	0	0.0
New Car	1	0.2
Market Small	2	0.3
Liquor	1	0.2
Car Wash	3	0.5
Hospital	0	0.0
Restaurant	2	0.3
Police Bldg.	1	0.2
Dept.	0	0.0
Vacant Lot	1	0.2
Travel	1	0.2
Bank	1	0.2
Constr. Site	1	0.2
Park	5	0.9
Motel	7	1.2
Church	2	0.3
Duplex	1	0.2

Table 2. (Cont.)

	<i>Count</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Auto Repair	1	0.2
Market Drive	1	0.2
Vacant Bldg.	1	0.2
Federal Govt.	0	0.0
Used Car	0	0.0
Warehouse	1	0.2
Bowling	0	0.0
Shoe	0	0.0
Not Given	1	0.2

<sup>a</sup> 588 reported robbery incidents which comprise 64.3 per cent of all violent crime for the time period October 1974-September 1975.

the home and yard appear to be "prime" areas for robbery of the elderly, perhaps because they stand as isolated, "self-contained" units inhabited by relatively weak, isolated individuals. Perhaps the higher population density of an apartment house accounts for its relatively low incidence rate by acting as a deterrent.

The least common locations were pool halls, shoe shine parlors, bookstores, department stores, city government installations, schools, hospitals, federal government structures, used car dealers, bowling alleys, and shoe stores, all of which recorded zero incidents.<sup>3</sup> It is of interest to note that all of these locations are very public and that the "openness" or high visibility of the locations might deter robberies.

## ASSAULT

*Beware of the single-family dwelling unit*—The most common location for assaults was the single-family dwelling unit, where seventy-seven out of 244 reported assault incidents took place, (i.e., 31.6% of the reported assaults). The next most common location was the street where 59 or 24.2 per cent of the assaults took place. This was followed by apartments, thirty incidents (12.3%); followed by yards, sixteen incidents (6.6%); parking lots, fifteen incidents (6.1%); and bars, twelve incidents (4.9%), see Table 1.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> These were listed because other violent crimes against the elderly took place in such locations—according to Dallas police records.

<sup>4</sup> Table 3, entitled *Assault by Location*, is available upon request.

Table 3. Assault by Location<sup>a</sup>

	<i>Count</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Not Given	1	0.4
Parking	15	6.1
Apartment	30	12.3
Yard	16	6.6
Street	59	24.2
Single Family Dwelling	77	31.6
Misc.	6	2.5
Bar	12	4.9
Pool Hall	2	0.8
Laundry	3	1.2
Misc. Office	1	0.4
Parking Pay	0	0.0
Music	0	0.0
Gas	3	1.2
Hotel	1	0.4
Shine Parlor	1	0.4
Rooming	0	0.0
Lot Shop Ctr.	0	0.0
Book	1	0.4
Cab Driver	1	0.4
Garage	0	0.0
Market Super	0	0.0
City Govt.	1	0.4
School	0	0.0
New Car	0	0.0
Market Small	1	0.4
Liquor	1	0.4
Car Wash	0	0.0
Hospital	1	0.4
Rest	2	0.8
Police Bldg.	0	0.0
Dept.	1	0.4
Vacant Lot	1	0.4
Travel	0	0.0
Bank	0	0.0
Constr. Site	1	0.4
Park	1	0.4
Motel	0	0.0
Church	0	0.0
Dup.	1	0.4

Table 3. (Cont.)

	<i>Count</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Auto Repair	1	0.4
Market Drive	0	0.0
Vacant Bldg.	0	0.0
Federal Govt.	1	0.4
Used Car	1	0.4
Warehouse	0	0.0
Bowling	0	0.0
Shoe	1	0.4
Not Given	0	0.0

<sup>a</sup> 244 reported assault incidents which comprise 26.7 per cent of all violent crime for the time period October 1974-September 1975.

The finding that assaults commonly take place in the home is not startling when one recalls that the victim-offender survey conducted by the National Commission on the causes and prevention of violence indicated that

. . . homicide and assault usually occur between relatives, friends or acquaintances (about two-thirds to three-fourths of the cases in which the relationship is known) and that they occur in the home or other indoor locations about 50-60 per cent of the time [1, p. 25].

If we totalled the incidents which took place in the single-family dwelling unit, the apartment and the yard, we could account for 50.5 per cent of all assaults. Again it is of interest to note that these locations probably are not thought of as "high crime" areas by the victims. Yet it is also true that these areas provide some degree of privacy or seclusion thus increasing its appeal as "target areas" for would be robberies; i.e., yards, on rectangular blocks, are often fenced, and even more often, located behind single-family dwellings, while the vulnerability of the single-family dwelling has already been noted. The apartment's high density can be a deterrent to robbery, but once the would be robber enters the structure the hallways and stairwells do provide seclusion, as do the compartmentalized apartment units.

## MURDER

*Beware of the street*—There were only four locations which recorded more than one murder incident: the most common location

was the street with twenty-five incidents (51.0% of the incidents), followed by the single family dwelling unit with eleven incidents (22.4% of the incidents), followed by apartments with four incidents (8.2% of the incidents), see Table 1.<sup>5</sup> The tendency for murder to occur in the street conflicted with one of the basic findings reported in the *Final Report* of the NCCPV; i.e., "that homicide occurs in the home or other indoor locations about 50-60 per cent of the time." I have no good explanation for this deviation from the norm, but one might speculate that the elderly often have considerable amounts of free time and either watch television and frequent movies or stroll the streets aimlessly, taking pause in pocket parks, on street corners, stoops, etc., and thus become easy victims of the street merchants of violence and mayhem or of their own quarrels and conflicts.<sup>6</sup>

## RAPE

*A women's home is not her castle—beware of the home*—The single family dwelling unit appeared to be the most common location for rape. Sixteen incidents, or 48.5 per cent of the rape incidents, were reported to have occurred in the single family dwelling unit. The next most common location for rape was the apartment with eight incidents (24.2%) followed by the street with four incidents, or 12.1 per cent. The only other location which listed more than one incident was the yard which had a total of two incidents or 6.1 per cent of the total rape incidents, see Table 1.<sup>7</sup>

The fact that the home was the site for rape in 72.7 per cent of the cases is indeed a significant finding, although it is not startling when we recall the *Final Report's* statement that rape occurs in the home or other indoor location about two-thirds of the time. Nonetheless, this finding is indeed tragic when one realizes that for many elderly people the home is their universe, their entire social interaction-space.

The street appears to be by far the most dangerous location for the elderly to venture to or through. Out of a total of 914 violent crimes, 347 or 38.0 per cent of the incidents took place on the street, while the home was an unhealthy but distant second with nearly one-fifth of all the violent crimes occurring in the single

<sup>5</sup> Table 4, entitled *Murder by Location*, is available upon request.

<sup>6</sup> Elderly people sitting alone in groups of two or more are a common sight on the streets of Dallas.

<sup>7</sup> Table 5, entitled *Rape by Location*, is available upon request.

Table 4. Murder by Location<sup>a</sup>

	<i>Count</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Not Given	0	0.0
Parking	0	0.0
Apartment	4	8.2
Yard	1	2.0
Street	25	51.0
Single Family Dwelling	11	22.4
Misc.	1	2.0
Bar	1	2.0
Pool Hall	0	0.0
Laundry	0	0.0
Misc. Office	0	0.0
Parking Pay	1	2.0
Music	0	0.0
Gas	1	2.0
Hotel	0	0.0
Shine Parlor	0	0.0
Rooming	0	0.0
Lot Shop Ctr.	0	0.0
Book	0	0.0
Cab Driver	1	2.0
Garage	0	0.0
Market Super	0	0.0
City Govt.	0	0.0
School	1	2.0
New Car	0	0.0
Market Small	0	0.0
Liquor	0	0.0
Car Wash	0	0.0
Hospital	0	0.0
Restaurant	0	0.0
Police Bldg.	0	0.0
Dept.	1	2.0
Vacant Lot	1	2.0
Travel	0	0.0
Bank	0	0.0
Constr. Site	0	0.0
Park	0	0.0
Motel	0	0.0
Church	0	0.0
Dup.	0	0.0

Table 4. (Cont.)

	<i>Count</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Auto Repair	0	0.0
Market Drive	0	0.0
Vacant Bldg.	0	0.0
Federal Govt.	0	0.0
Used Car	0	0.0
Warehouse	0	0.0
Bowling	0	0.0
Shoe	0	0.0
Not Given	0	0.0

<sup>a</sup> 49 reported murder incidents which comprise 5.4 per cent of all violent crime for the time period October 1974-September 1975.

Table 5. Rape by Location<sup>a</sup>

	<i>Count</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Not Given	0	0.0
Parking	0	0.0
Apartment	8	24.2
Yard	2	6.1
Street	4	12.1
Single Family Dwelling	16	48.5
Misc.	0	0.0
Bar	0	0.0
Pool Hall	0	0.0
Laundry	0	0.0
Misc. Office	0	0.0
Parking Pay	0	0.0
Music	0	0.0
Gas	0	0.0
Hotel	0	0.0
Shine Parlor	0	0.0
Rooming	0	0.0
Lot Shop Ctr.	0	0.0
Book	0	0.0
Cab Driver	0	0.0
Garage	0	0.0
Market Super	0	0.0
City Govt.	0	0.0
School	0	0.0

Table 5. (Cont.)

	<i>Count</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
New Car	0	0.0
Market Small	0	0.0
Liquor	0	0.0
Car Wash	0	0.0
Hospital	0	0.0
Restaurant	0	0.0
Police Bldg.	0	0.0
Dept.	0	0.0
Vacant Lot	1	3.0
Travel	0	0.0
Bank	0	0.0
Constr. Site	0	0.0
Park	0	0.0
Motel	0	0.0
Church	0	0.0
Duplex	1	3.0
Auto Repair	0	0.0
Market Drive	0	0.0
Vacant Bldg.	0	0.0
Federal Govt.	0	0.0
Used Car	0	0.0
Warehouse	0	0.0
Bowling	1	3.0
Shoe	0	0.0
Not Given	0	0.0

<sup>a</sup> 33 reported rape incidents which comprise 3.6 per cent of all violent crime for the time period October 1974-1975.

family dwelling unit; i.e., 182 incidents for 19.9 per cent of the total. Parking lots appeared to present an element of danger with 101 incidents (11.1% of the total) occurring there. Seventy-five incidents, or 8.2 per cent were reported to have occurred in apartments and sixty-three, or 6.9 per cent, were reported to have occurred in the yard.

What is especially important is the duality of the crime location factor; i.e., robbery and murder most commonly occurred in the street, while assault and rape occurred most frequently in the single family dwelling unit. But perhaps the most significant finding is that there is no safe haven for the elderly, for the merchants of violence and mayhem walk the streets and frequent their homes as well.



Table 6. The Most Popular Months for Violent Crime Against the Elderly

<i>Month</i>	<i>Number of incidents</i>	<i>Per cent of total</i>
January	93	10.2
July	87	9.5
May	84	9.2
October	80	8.8

### Crime-By-Month

#### JANUARY

*Things heat up*—January was the most “popular” month for violent crimes against the elderly, with ninety-three incidents or 10.2 per cent of the total. The next most “popular” months were July, May, and October; see Table 6.

If we divide the calendar year into seasons we note the following, see Table 7.<sup>8</sup>

One should note that the weather for the Dallas/Fort Worth Metroplex is moderate year round, see the meteorological data presented in Table 8.<sup>8</sup> Winter cold fronts are infrequent and short lived. The average daily winter temperature is often in the fifties with evening lows seldom below freezing. Snow and ice are unusual in the metroplex cities and disappear quickly. August is the hottest month with daily highs near 95 degrees. The annual average temperature is around 66 degrees. Approximately 32 inches of rain falls annually, with showers occurring most often in the spring months. In brief, the metroplex climate would not deter individuals from leaving their homes during most of the year, although summer is significantly hotter than the other three seasons.

A cursory review of the preceding data on the seasonal manifestation of violent crime reveals that violence peaked in the summer

Table 7. Number of Incidents by Season

<i>Season</i>	<i>Number of incidents</i>	<i>Per cent of total</i>
Winter	229	25.10
Spring	227	24.80
Summer	243	26.50
Fall	215	23.50

<sup>8</sup> Meteorological data provided by the U.S. Weather Service Offices in the Dallas-Fort Worth, Texas SMSA. Table 8, entitled *Meteorological Data*, is available upon request.

Table 8. Meteorological Data

<i>Month</i>	<i>Maximum</i>	<i>Minimum</i>	<i>Humidity noon</i>	<i>Precipitation total</i>
January	55.9	35.4	61	1.83
February	59.4	38.1	57	1.99
March	68.0	45.8	58	2.29
April	75.8	54.5	60	3.97
May	82.6	62.8	64	4.61
June	91.0	70.8	56	3.01
July	94.6	74.2	49	2.16
August	95.2	74.1	50	2.16
September	88.3	76.5	57	2.80
October	78.6	56.9	50	2.67
November	66.7	45.6	56	2.33
December	57.5	55.3	56	31.77
Annual Average	76.1	55.3	56	31.77

season, but also that the winter season (the polar opposite of summer) had the second highest violent crime incidence rate.<sup>9</sup> The variance in average temperatures between these two seasons is considerable, although one can easily walk about in a light sweater or jacket (or shirt sleeves) during the daylight hours for most of the winter. Thus, one cannot assume that the temperature during any given season acts as a real deterrent to outdoor activity. The temperature difference between the spring and fall seasons was insignificant, but there were more incidents during the spring, the cooler of the two seasons.<sup>10</sup> If we make a closer examination of our crime data by category and month of year the following findings can be noted.<sup>11</sup>

*Robbery*—The incidence of robbery in January far exceeded any other month. January had sixty-seven incidents or 11.4 per cent of the total; followed by July with fifty-four incidents or 9.2 per cent of the total; followed by October, December, and November with

<sup>9</sup> The seasonal average temperatures for the summer and winter seasons were 83.3° and 47.3° F, respectively.

<sup>10</sup> The seasonal average temperatures for the spring and fall seasons were 64.9° F and 68.8° F, respectively.

<sup>11</sup> Other factors not examined in this paper, may include culturally related seasonal phenomena such as Christmas holidays, political elections, summer vacations, "spring fever," etc. The social, economic, and emotional overtones of these seasonally related institutions undoubtedly play some role in the seasonal variations of incidence figures for violent crimes.

Table 9. Violent Crime by Months of the Year

<i>Count Per cent</i>	<i>Robbery</i>	<i>Assault</i>	<i>Murder</i>	<i>Rape</i>
January	67 11.4	19 7.8	4 8.2	3 9.1
February	38 6.5	17 7.0	2 4.1	2 6.1
March	41 7.0	22 9.0	1 2.0	2 6.1
April	48 8.2	21 8.6	4 8.2	4 12.1
May	50 8.5	26 10.7	6 12.2	2 6.1
June	48 8.2	19 7.8	7 14.3	3 9.1
July	54 9.2	23 9.4	9 18.4	1 3.0
August	42 7.1	24 9.8	7 14.3	6 18.2
September	44 7.5	11 4.5	2 4.1	0 0.0
October	53 9.0	23 9.4	2 4.1	2 6.1
November	51 8.7	20 8.2	1 2.0	6 18.2
December	52 8.8	19 7.8	4 8.2	2 6.1

fifty-three, fifty-two, and fifty-one incidents or 9.0 per cent, 8.3 per cent and 8.7 per cent of the total, respectively. The only other month with fifty or more robbery incidents was May which had fifty incidents, 8.5 per cent of the total, see Table 9.

There is no good explanation for the high incidence of robberies in January. Robbery was a street crime in more than 66 per cent of our cases and yet it occurred most frequently during January, the coldest month of the year (although one must recall that the weather is not a real deterrent to outdoors activity during any given season or month). One should also remember that robbery unlike rape,<sup>1,2</sup> assault, or murder is not a true crime of "passion" but a calculated act of violence unaffected by temperature related irritability.

<sup>1,2</sup> There are some social scientists and social control figures who would consider rape a "quasi" act of passion since planning is often involved.

It is interesting to note that February and March had the lowest incidence levels with thirty-eight incidents (6.5% of the total) and forty-one incidents (7.0% of the total), respectively. This would lead us again to conclude that robbery was not positively correlated with high temperatures and increased outdoor activity. In summary these data suggest that the incidence of robbery may be unrelated to the climatic changes of the seasons.

## MAY

*Assault*—May appeared to be the most “popular” month for assaults, with twenty-six incidents or 10.7 per cent of the total. August was second with twenty-four incidents or 9.8 per cent of the total. We had two months with twenty-three incidents; i.e., July and October with 9.4 per cent of the total, each. These were followed by March, April, and November with incidence rates of twenty-two, twenty-one, and twenty (9.0, 8.6, and 8.2% of the Total), respectively. The least common month for assault was September with only eleven incidents for 4.5 per cent of the total, see Table 9.

One should recall that nearly 50 per cent of all assaults take place in three indoor locations, (the single-family dwelling unit, the apartment and the bedroom) and that “ostensible motives in homicide and assault are often relatively trivial, usually involving spontaneous altercations, family quarrels, jealous rapes, and the like [1, p. 25].” Keeping the preceding in mind, one is not surprised to find that May, a rather mild but wet month (wet by North Texas standards), should have a large number of assaults. Wet weather would, of course, foster indoor activity and increase population density, thus increasing the likelihood of interpersonal interaction, quarrels, and resulting assaults. It is of interest to note that spring, a relatively mild and wet season, led the year in assaults, followed by the summer, a season in which heat related irritability is an inescapable reality; see Table 10 for a seasonal breakdown of the occurrence of assault.

One must, however, be cautious before concluding that there was a positive correlation between high temperatures and assault, for the preceding table revealed that the occurrence of assault during the winter and fall seasons was roughly comparable. Similarly, one should note that winter is by far the driest season in a relatively dry climate, but also that its assault rate was comparable to that of the fall season. Again, one cannot make a strong argument for a positive correlation between a climatic factor and the crime of assault.

Table 10. Violent Crime by Season

<i>Count</i> <i>Per cent</i>	<i>Season</i>			
	<i>Winter</i>	<i>Spring</i>	<i>Summer</i>	<i>Fall</i>
Robbery	157 26.7	139 23.7	144 24.5	148 25.2
Assault	55 22.6	69 28.3	66 27.0	54 22.1
Murder	10 20.5	11 22.4	23 47.0	5 10.2
Rape	7 21.3	8 24.3	10 30.0	8 24.3

## JULY

*Murder*—Murder occurred more frequently in July than in any other month; there were nine incidents for 18.4 per cent of the total. June and August tied for the second most “popular” month for murder with seven murders occurring each month for 14.3 per cent of the total each. Six murders were recorded during May (12.2% of the total) while April, January and December each had four murder incidents (8.2% of the total each). The least common month for murder was March with only one incident, or 2.0 per cent of the total, see Table 9.

A review of the number of murders each month would lead us to conclude that murder increases dramatically during the hotter months. A seasonal breakdown revealed that nearly 50 per cent of the murders took place during the summer season (a very significant finding) while approximately 79 per cent of the murders took place during the three hottest seasons. In brief, there appears to be a positive correlation between high seasonal temperatures and murder (although one must note that we had more murders during the winter than during the fall season). One might surmise that during winter the cooler weather might increase indoor activity and consequently population density, social inter-action and the possibility of disagreements and quarrels which resulted in death, see Table 10; while temperature related irritability during the summer months might have increased the occurrence of assaults which resulted in death.

## AUGUST AND NOVEMBER

*Rape*—August and November tied for the most rape incidents, i.e., each month had six rape incidents or 18.2 per cent of the total. April was the second most popular month for rape with four incidents or 12.1 per cent of the total. Two months, January and June, had three rape incidents for 9.1 per cent of the total each, while, five months (February, March, May, October and December) had two rape incidents for 6.1 per cent of the total. July had one incident and September had zero incidents (3.0 and 0% of the total, respectively), see Table 9.

A cursory review of our rape data by month reveals very little. However, if we examine the rape data by season we are able to note a couple of trends, see Table 10.

Table 10 indicates that rape occurred most frequently during the hottest seasons and that the summer season had more rape incidents than any of the other three seasons. Spring and fall tied with eight incidents. One must be extremely careful when interpreting this data, since the rape of the elderly is apparently a rather unusual crime. What is important, nonetheless, is the fear element; i.e., many elderly women fear being victimized in this manner.

The limited number of rape incidents yield dramatic percentage differences when a seasonal analysis is made. The fall and spring seasons each had eight incidents while the winter season had seven, yet the respective percentage totals were 24.3 and 21.3. We can, however, conclude that rapes apparently occurred most frequently in the hottest months. Again, there was no good explanation for this tendency, since the life style of the elderly is usually quite sedate throughout the year. Thus, one would probably not conclude that the increased rape incidence rate was due to the "inflamed passions" of male suiters, friends or strangers. Warm temperatures might, however, lead to increased social interaction, thus increasing the likelihood of attack by familiars as well as by strangers. In warm weather, the elderly are more likely to venture outdoors and sit in parks or lounge about the yard thus increasing their vulnerability. When the temperature peaks, the elderly probably "retire" to the comfort of an air conditioned room, perhaps inviting a male acquaintance to share in the comfort.

### Crime-By-Day of Week

If we examine the occurrence of the four violent crimes by the day of the week, we note the following, see Table 11.

Table 11. Crimes by the Day of the Week

<i>Count</i>							
<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Sunday</i>	<i>Monday</i>	<i>Tuesday</i>	<i>Wednesday</i>	<i>Thursday</i>	<i>Friday</i>	<i>Saturday</i>
Robbery	65	84	85	83	80	107	84
	11.1	14.2	14.5	14.1	13.6	18.2	14.3
	588 reported cases—64% of violent crime						
Assault	24	27	27	28	22	40	76
	9.8	11.1	11.1	11.5	9.0	16.4	31.1
	244 reported cases—26.7% of violent crime						
Murder	10	2	6	4	5	7	15
	20.4	4.1	12.2	8.2	10.2	14.3	30.6
	49 reported cases—5.4% of violent crime						
Rape	2	6	5	7	5	3	5
	6.1	18.2	15.2	21.2	15.2	9.1	15.2
	33 reported cases—3.6% of violent crime						

The end of the week was accompanied by a significant increase in the occurrence of violent crime; i.e., Friday and Saturday had 157 and 180 incidents, or 17.2 and 19.7 per cent of the total incidents, respectively. Sunday appeared to be a day of "rest" in that only 101 incidents or 11.1 per cent of the violence occurred on that day. Violence during the middle of the week was quite constant with a steady increase from Monday through Wednesday followed by a drop on Thursday, only to increase dramatically on Friday, note Table 11.

The tendency for violent crime to peak during the weekend is not surprising, since the weekend is the traditional period for visitation, general relaxation and social encounters. Thus, the increased interaction should increase the likelihood of quarrels and passionate encounters. One should also recall the black ghetto saying "that the eagle flies on Friday, and on Saturday we go out and play." Friday, of course, is pay day, a reality for many of the employed Dallasites age fifty and older, and a reality that muggers and robbers never forget. Thursday and Sunday were slow days for violent crimes. By Sunday, potential victims may be staying home to rest for the "trials and tribulations" of the forthcoming week. Thursday is a day when money is short and one has the time to put his house in order before the traditional time for "play" which we refer to as the weekend.

## ROBBERY

*Friday is a very dangerous day*—Friday appeared to be the most dangerous day for robbery; i.e., 107 robberies occurred for 18.2 per cent of the total. Sunday, the traditional “day of rest,” was the least dangerous with only sixty-five incidents or 11.1 per cent of the total. The rest of the week did not show a major trend; i.e., robberies ranged in number from eighty incidents on Thursday to eighty-five incidents on Tuesday, for 13.6 per cent and 14.5 per cent of the total respectively, see Table 11.

As previously mentioned, Friday is pay day and the beginning of the weekend, a time for relaxation and visitation, a time for travel, a time for the robber to go to work. Sunday, the day of “rest,” is truly a day of rest in the “Bible-Belt.” Those who are not recovering from Saturday night are often beckoned to and held by church from 8:00 a.m.—8:00 p.m. (by means of four services). The “eagle” is missing on Thursday, but waiting to be set free on Friday.

## ASSAULT

*The weekend is extremely dangerous*—The weekend, Friday and Saturday, was extremely dangerous. Friday had forty incidents or 16.4 per cent of the total, while Saturday had a monumental seventy-six incidents, or 31.1 per cent of the total. Again, we note that there was no strong trend for the rest of the week. Thursday had the fewest incidents with only twenty-two, or 9.0 per cent of the total, while Sunday had twenty-four incidents, or 9.8 per cent of the total, see Table 11.

We offer the same explanation for the increased number of assaults during the weekend that we offered for robbery; i.e., the weekend is the traditional period of leisure, of visitation, and social interaction of all types resulting in altercations and assaults as well as good times.

## MURDER

*Saturday, bloody Saturday*—Saturday led the week for murder with fifteen incidents for 30.6 per cent of the total. Sunday was second with ten incidents for 20.4 per cent of the total, while Monday had the fewest incidents with two, or 4.1 per cent of the total. Again, no significant trend emerged from the murder data for the rest of the week, see Table 11.

The fact that Saturday led the week is no surprise when we



recall that the “eagle flies on Friday and on Saturday we go out to play.” The paycheck for the working elderly was probably cashed late Friday evening or early Friday night and plans were made for a “good old time” on Saturday. What is more interesting is the fact that Sunday had the highest total of murders. This may be accounted for by the fact that Sunday (after Church) is often a time for relaxing with intimates or leisurely strolls (often in fairly deserted areas), both of which can result in disagreements, robbery, assaults and murder.

## RAPE

*Monday and Wednesday largest number*—The finding that Monday and Wednesday had the largest number of rapes was extremely interesting. Monday had six incidents while Wednesday had seven (18.6% and 21.2% of the total respectively). Sunday, again, had the fewest incidents with only two (6.1% of the total), while Friday and Saturday were relatively peaceful with three and five incidents (9.1 and 15.2% of the total respectively), see Table 11.

The peaking of the rape incidents, a fairly unusual crime perpetrated against the elderly on Monday and Wednesday, was difficult to explain. The most reasonable interpretation might be the return of the elderly to the routine of everyday existence once the weekend is over and the money is again “short.” Thus, both the working and retired elderly return to their homes, or other indoor locations where isolated encounters might occur. Finally, one must be prudent in interpreting the significance of the occurrence of rape peaking on one day, rather than another, since rape occurs so infrequently.

## Crime-By-Time

### RAPE

We note that 69.7 per cent of the rapes occurred during the hours of darkness if we consider the hours of darkness to be from 7:00 p.m.—7:00 a.m. throughout the year, see Table 12. This finding leads us to conclude that the protective cloak of darkness is positively correlated with the act of rape perpetrated against the elderly. This “protective cloak” probably functions in a number of ways: it provides “shelter” for the rapist lurking in the street or by structures such as the single-family dwelling unit, and it provides solitude for the act of violence, be it in the street or the home of

Table 12. Violent Crime by Time

<i>Count</i>					
<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Rape</i>	<i>Murder</i>	<i>Assault</i>	<i>Robbery</i>	
1	0	0	0	2	Not Given
3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	
2	3	15	31		12:01 a.m.—1:00 a.m.
6.1	6.1	6.1	5.3		
2	5	14	22		1:01 a.m.—2:00 a.m.
6.1	10.2	5.7	3.7		
2	2	8	16		2:01 a.m.—3:00 a.m.
6.1	4.1	3.3	2.7		
3	0	2	12		3:01 a.m.—4:00 a.m.
9.1	0.0	0.8	2.0		
2	0	2	2		4:01 a.m.—5:00 a.m.
6.1	0.0	0.8	0.3		
1	1	4	6		5:01 a.m.—6:00 a.m.
3.0	2.0	1.6	1.0		
1	0	6	7		6:01 a.m.—7:00 a.m.
3.0	0.0	2.5	1.2		
0	2	0	10		7:01 a.m.—8:00 a.m.
0.0	4.1	0.0	1.7		
0	2	3	6		8:01 a.m.—9:00 a.m.
0.0	4.1	1.2	1.0		
0	2	1	10		9:01 a.m.—10:00 a.m.
0.0	4.1	0.4	1.7		
3	0	8	19		10:01 a.m.—11:00 a.m.
9.1	0.0	3.3	3.2		
2	1	9	23		11:01 a.m.—12:00 p.m.
6.1	2.0	3.7	3.9		
2	2	8	29		12:01 p.m.—1:00 p.m.
6.1	4.1	3.3	4.9		
0	2	7	30		1:01 p.m.—2:00 p.m.
0.0	4.1	2.9	5.1		
1	2	7	38		2:01 p.m.—3:00 p.m.
3.0	4.1	2.9	6.5		
0	1	11	33		3:01 p.m.—4:00 p.m.
0.0	2.0	4.5	5.6		
0	3	20	40		4:01 p.m.—5:00 p.m.
0.0	6.1	8.2	6.8		
2	3	14	16		5:01 p.m.—6:00 p.m.
6.1	6.1	5.7	2.7		
1	5	20	37		6:01 p.m.—7:00 p.m.
3.0	10.2	8.2	6.3		
1	4	18	41		7:01 p.m.—8:00 p.m.
3.0	8.2	7.4	7.0		

Table 12. (Cont.)

<i>Count</i>					
<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Rape</i>	<i>Murder</i>	<i>Assault</i>	<i>Robbery</i>	
1	1	18	45	8:01 p.m.—9:00 p.m.	
3.0	2.0	7.4	7.7		
1	5	17	43	9:01 p.m.—10:00 p.m.	
3.0	10.2	7.0	7.3		
2	2	18	46	10:01 p.m.—11:00 p.m.	
6.1	4.1	7.4	7.8		
3	1	14	24	11:01 p.m.—12:00 a.m.	
9.1	2.0	5.7	4.1		

an intimate or acquaintance. (One must remember that many rapes occur between people who have prior knowledge of each other, the site of the attack is often in the home or apartment, and that most social interaction takes place during the “evening hour.”) The “evening hour” is also a time for consuming alcohol and discarding ones inhibitions, thus, increasing the potential for an act of rape.

#### MURDER

Our data revealed that 59.1 per cent of the murders took place during the hours of darkness, see Table 12. Our study also revealed that 51 per cent of the murders took place in the street, while 30.6 per cent took place in the home. As with rape, the cloak of darkness with its relative solitude appears to be positively correlated with murder. During the evening hours, visitations and social interaction are common. Thus, violent behavior may have resulted from the social contact or the violence may have occurred in the street when the individual or individuals were en route to their planned encounter.

#### ASSAULT

63.9 per cent of the assaults occurred during the hours of darkness, see Table 12. I would again speculate that the increased frequency of social interactions during the evening hour resulted in quarrels and subsequent assaults either in the home or going to or from the home.

#### ROBBERY

The findings for this category were indeed surprising; i.e., that only 56.4 per cent of the robberies took place during the cover of

Table 13. Crime by Race of Victim

<i>Count</i> <i>Per cent</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>	<i>Indian</i>
Robbery	446 75.9	141 24.0	1 0.2
588 reported cases, 64.3% of violent crime			
Assault	132 54.1	112 45.9	0 0.0
244 reported cases, 26.7% of violent crime			
Murder	30 61.2	19 38.8	0 0.0
49 reported cases, 5.4% of violent crime			
Rape	27 81.8	6 18.2	0 0.0
33 reported cases, 3.6% of violent crime			

darkness, see Table 12. Thus, although a slight positive correlation with darkness did exist, one is forced to look elsewhere for possible explanations. We are currently correlating crime by relationship of victim and suspect (i.e., Did the victim have prior knowledge of the suspect?). If the victim and suspect did have prior knowledge of each other and were intimates, the significance of positive correlation between darkness and robbery could be weakened since the contact may have been more extended and the robbery could have been committed as easily during the day as at night.

### Crime-By-Race of Victim

#### WHITES ARE MOST OFTEN VICTIMIZED

Table 13 reveals that there were 914 victimizations and that 635 victims were white, 278 were black and one victim was American Indian for per cent totals of 69.5, 30.4 and .1 respectively. This reveals that there were twice as many white victims as blacks, while Indians either were not victimized frequently or they opted not to report the victimizations. This last factor might also have affected the total of reported black victimizations; i.e., blacks might have chosen not to report their victimizations. It is also obvious that Latins did not report their victimization.

The general finding of the extensive victimization of whites runs counter to the general crime statistics presented by the *Final Report of the NCCPV* which mentioned victimization is usually highest for blacks, males, youths and poor persons. Unfortunately, data is lacking in regard to the victimization of the elderly on a national basis; thus, it is impossible for us to generalize about how the Dallas statistics differ from the national picture (this shortcoming also applies when we attempt to generalize from any of the specific crime categories; i.e., forcible rape, robbery, assault, and murder).

### ROBBERY

64.3 per cent (i.e., 588 robberies) of the violent crime against the elderly consisted of robberies. Of these 588 robberies, 75.9 per cent, or 446 had white victims, 24.1 per cent or 141 had black victims, and .2 per cent or one had an American Indian victim, see Table 13.

The *Final Report of the NCCPV* stated that "in three-fifths (or 60%) of all robberies the victim is white and nearly two-thirds of the time he or she is age twenty-six or over [1, p. 25]." Our findings reveal that in nearly 76 per cent of all cases the victim is white. The findings of these two studies do not necessarily conflict since the NCCPV did not restrict its victimization study to individuals age forty-nine or older.

### ASSAULT

Our study indicated that 26.7 per cent (i.e., 244) of the violent crimes against the elderly consisted of assaults. Of these 244 assaults, 54.1 per cent or 132 had white victims, 45.9 or 112 had black victims while no victims were recorded as Latin, Indian or other, see Table 13. The *Final Report of the NCCPV* stated that in two-thirds of the aggravated assaults in the city the victim was a Negro. The discrepancy between the findings of these two studies might be based upon the fact that the NCCPV studied the victim-offender characteristics of aggravated assault in seventeen cities while our study looked at the victim-suspect characteristics in incidents of unspecified assault; i.e., our study examined incidents of common and aggravated assault. Another factor which might help account for the difference could be the stage of temporary integration which Dallas is currently experiencing as it undergoes the process of invasion and succession within the incorporated city and white flight to the suburbs and surrounding municipalities.

## MURDER

5.4 per cent of the violent crimes against the elderly consisted of murders.<sup>13</sup> Of these forty-nine murders, 61.2 per cent or thirty incidents had white victims and 38.8 per cent or nineteen incidents had black victims. Again, none of the victims were recorded as Latin, Indian or other, see Table 13. The NCCPV stated that in two-thirds of the homicides in the city the victim was a Negro. Our study showed that whites were more often victimized than blacks. There are, of course, numerous possible explanations for the discrepancy between the findings of these two studies; however, I believe that the same explanations offered for assault apply here as well.

## RAPE

3.6 per cent (i.e., 33 rapes) of the violent crime against the elderly consisted of rapes. Of these thirty-three rapes, 81.8 per cent, or twenty-seven incidents, had white victims, and 18.2 per cent, or seven incidents, had black victims, again no victims were recorded as Indian, Latin or other, see Table 13. The NCCPV stated that in three-fifths of the rapes, the victim was a Negro; again, our findings were strikingly different from those of the NCCPV. Again, I would offer the same explanations offered in the sections on the "Crime of Robbery by Race of Victim" and "Crime of Assault by Race of Victim." One must also remember that blacks often refuse to report violent crime to the police because they believe that the police do not vigorously pursue cases which involve the victimization of blacks or other minorities.

### Victim/Suspect Race: Intra-racial or Interracial

The Final Report of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence entitled *To Establish Justice, To Insure Domestic Tranquility* stated that:

. . . the victims of assaultive violence in the cities generally have the same characteristics as the offenders: victimization rates are generally highest for males, youths, poor persons, and blacks. Robbery victims, however, are very often older whites . . . 90 per cent of urban homicide, aggravated assaults and rapes involve victims and offenders of the same race . . . Robbery, on the other hand, is the one major violent crime in the city with a high inter-racial component: although about 38 per cent

<sup>13</sup> There were forty-nine murders.

Table 14. Victim/Suspect Race: When There Was One Suspect<sup>a</sup>

<i>Count</i> <i>ROW PCT</i> <i>COL PCT</i> <i>TOT PCT</i>	<i>Suspect</i>					<i>Row Total</i>
	<i>Not given</i> <i>Not known</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Latin</i>	<i>Other</i>	
Victim						
White	124	182	97	13	5	421
	29.5	43.2	23.0	3.1	1.2	68.3
	69.7	58.1	94.2	92.9	62.5	
	20.1	29.5	15.7	2.1	0.8	
Black	54	130	6	1	3	194
	27.8	67.0	3.1	0.5	1.5	31.5
	30.3	41.5	5.8	7.1	37.5	
	8.8	21.1	1.0	0.2	0.5	
Indian	0	1	0	0	0	1
	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Column	178	313	103	14	8	616
Total	28.9	50.8	16.7	0.3	1.3	100.0

<sup>a</sup> There were 616 incidents with one suspect.

of robberies in the Survey involve Negro offenders and victims, 45 per cent involve Negroes robbing whites . . . In three-fifths of all robberies, the victim is white [1, p. 24].

Our task was to determine whether or not this "national" trend had a similar expression in Dallas.

#### WHEN ONLY ONE SUSPECT

There were 616 incidents which involved one victim and one suspect. Our analysis reveals that 421 or 68.3 per cent of the victims are white and that 194 or 31.5 per cent of the victims were black and that one, or .2 per cent of the victims were listed as Indian; none of the victims were listed as Latin or other, see Table 14. Police records did not include racial-ethnic data for 178 suspects (i.e., 28.9 per cent). A cursory review of the data reveals that 313 suspects or 50.8 per cent were black, 103 or 16.7 per cent were white, fourteen or 2.3 per cent were Latin, and that none of the suspects were Indian, and eight suspects or 1.3 per cent were listed as other.

A more detailed perusal of the racial-ethnic composition of the incidents involving white victims reveals the following: in 43.2 per cent of the incidents, the suspect was black; in 23.0 per cent of the incidents, the suspect was white; in 3.1 per cent of the incidents, the suspect was Latin; in 1.2 per cent of the incidents, the suspect was listed as other; and in 29.5 per cent of the incidents, the suspect was unidentified as to race or ethnicity (see Table 14).

The first thing one should note is that whites were victimized more frequently than blacks, Latins, Indians, and/or others. This is, of course, contrary to the national crime statistic trend which documents the disproportionate and excessive victimization of blacks. This may be accounted for in a number of ways:

1. The possibility of transitory integration during the invasion-succession process of social ecological change in neighborhood racial/ethnic composition;
2. The fact that robbery accounted for 64.3 per cent of the violent crime perpetrated against the elderly and that whites are always highly represented as robbery victims; and
3. Blacks and other minorities apparently fear and mistrust the police and often refuse to report their victimization.

The second finding is not surprising; i.e., that blacks constituted the largest racial/ethnic category in the suspect listings. What is of equal interest is the intra/inter-racial findings when we look at incidents by number of suspects for the various racial/ethnic groups represented in the victim category.

The *Final Report of the NCCPV* stated that their survey revealed:

1. that most assaultive crimes involved white offenders and white victims or black offenders and black victims,
2. that 90 per cent of urban homicide, aggravated assaults and rapes involved victims and offenders of the same race; and
3. that robbery was the one major violent crime in the city with a high interracial component, with 45 per cent involving Negroes robbing whites.

Our data on violent crime involving one suspect when a white was victimized revealed that in 43.2 per cent of the incidents the suspect was black (although 29.5% of the incidents left the suspect unidentified). We can, however, state that the black victimization of whites was a reality and that if only half of the unidentified suspects were black the white elderly stood better than a 50 per cent change of being victimized by a black (no doubt an ever present fear harbored by many elderly whites). One should,



however, remember that most people do not travel great distances in order to victimize an individual and that they tend to victimize individuals with whom they are acquainted. Thus, they tend to brutalize those people who live either with them or near them. Dallas, like most cities, exhibits extreme racial residential segregation.<sup>14</sup> Thus, with the continued de facto segregation of blacks and whites in Dallas one might expect the black victimization of whites to decrease in frequency as the zones of ethnic/racial dominance consolidate.

#### WHEN TWO SUSPECTS ARE INVOLVED

There were 207 incidents which involved two suspects, see Table 15. If the victim was white, we note that 203 of the suspects (or 67%) were black, seventy-four of the suspects (24%) were white, nineteen of the suspects (6%) were Latin, four of the suspects (1%) were Indian and four of the suspects (1%) were listed as other.<sup>15</sup>

If the victim was black, we note that ninety-nine of the suspects (91%) were black, seven of the suspects (6%) were white, none of the suspects were Latin or Indian, and three of the suspects (3%) were listed as other.<sup>16</sup>

Before we attempt an analysis of this data you should note that when we say that there were two or more suspects, we are not saying that these two or more suspects acted in concert, but that the police listed at least that given number of suspects. The police data was presented in such a manner that we could not determine whether the suspects acted in concert.

The preceding data reveals that in cases where the victim was white and there were two suspects, blacks were more than twice as likely to be the suspects as whites; i.e., 67 per cent of the suspects were black while only 24 per cent were white. This, again, suggests that white fear of black victimization is not totally unfounded and that blacks were often suspected of victimizing whites, while the victimization of blacks by whites was rather unusual (the data reveals that only 6 per cent of the suspects were white).

<sup>14</sup> Karl and Alma Taeuber's work entitled *Negroes in Cities*, published in 1965, revealed that Dallas had a segregation index of 94.6 and that it had experienced a 6.2 per cent change for the time period 1950-1960 (various local newscasts presently claim that Dallas is the second most racially segregated major city in American with 98.6 per cent segregation index).

<sup>15</sup> There were 305 suspects who were involved in a violent attack upon a white victim.

<sup>16</sup> There were 109 suspects who were involved in a violent attack upon a black victim.

Table 15. Victim Race/Suspect Race, When There Were Two Suspects

		<i>Suspect One</i>					
<i>Count</i>							
<i>ROW PCT</i>							
<i>COL PCT</i>							
<i>TOT PCT</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Latin</i>	<i>Indian</i>	<i>Other</i>		<i>Row Total</i>
<i>Victim</i>							
White	101	36	9	3	3		152
	66.4	23.7	5.9	2.0	2.0		73.4
	66.4	94.7	100.0	100.0	100.0		
	48.8	17.4	4.3	1.4	1.4		
Black	51	2	0	0	2		55
	92.7	3.6	0.0	0.0	3.6		26.6
	33.6	5.3	0.0	0.0	40.0		
	24.6	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.0		
Column	152	38	9	3	5		207
Total	73.4	18.4	4.3	1.4	2.4		100.0
		<i>Suspect Two</i>					
<i>Count</i>							
<i>ROW PCT</i>							
<i>COL PCT</i>	<i>Not known</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Latin</i>	<i>Indian</i>	<i>Other</i>	
<i>TOT PCT</i>	<i>Not given</i>						<i>Row Total</i>
<i>Victim</i>							
White	0	102	38	10	1	1	152
	0.0	67.1	25.0	6.6	0.7	0.7	73.4
	0.0	68.0	88.4	100.0	100.0	50.0	
	0.0	49.3	18.4	4.8	0.5	0.5	
Black	1	48	5	0	0	1	55
	1.8	87.3	9.1	0.0	0.0	1.8	26.6
	100.0	32.0	11.6	0.0	0.0	50.0	
	0.5	23.2	2.4	0.0	0.0	0.5	
Column	1	150	43	10	1	2	207
Total	0.5	72.5	20.8	4.8	0.5	1.0	100.0

Table 15. (Cont.)

*Composite Table for Two Suspects*

<i>Count</i> <i>ROW PCT</i> <i>COL PCT</i> <i>TOT PCT</i>	<i>Not known</i> <i>Not given</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Latin</i>	<i>Indian</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Row</i> <i>Total</i>
Victim							
White	0	203	74	19	4	4	304
	0	66.8	24.3	6.3	1.3	1.3	
	0	67.2	91.4	1	1	57.1	
Black	1	99	7	0	0	3	110
	0	90	6.4	0	0	2.7	
	0	32.8	8.6	0	0	42.9	
Column	1	302	81	19	4	7	207
	0.2	72.9	19.6	4.6	1.0	1.7	

#### WHEN THREE SUSPECTS ARE INVOLVED

There were eighty-eight incidents which involved three suspects, see Table 16. If the victim was white, we note that 125 of the suspects (69%) were black, thirty-nine of the suspects (22%) were white, fifteen of the suspects (8%) were Latin, none were identified as Indian or other, and one of the suspects (or less than 1%) was not identified as to race or ethnicity.<sup>17</sup>

If the victim was black, we note that eighty of the suspects (95%) were black, none were white, Indian or other, three of the suspects (4%) were identified as Latin, and one (1%) was not identified as to race or ethnicity.<sup>18</sup>

The above data on violent crime again suggests that blacks are suspected of victimizing whites much more frequently than whites are sought for victimizing blacks and that the inter-racial factor in violent crime is a very real possibility. In fact, the first three

<sup>17</sup> There were 180 suspects who were involved in a violent attack upon a white victim.

<sup>18</sup> There were eighty-four suspects who were involved in a violent attack upon a black victim. Again, it is important to note that before any analysis of this data is attempted one should remember that when we say that there are multiple suspects, we are not necessarily saying that they acted in concert, but that the police listed at least that given number of suspects in such a manner that we could not determine whether the suspects acted in concert.

Table 16. Victim Race/Suspect Race: When There Were Three Suspects<sup>a</sup>

<i>Count</i> <i>ROW PCT</i> <i>COL PCT</i> <i>TOT PCT</i>	<i>Suspect</i>				<i>Row Total</i>
	<i>Not given</i> <i>Not known</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Latin</i>	
Victim					
White	1 1.7 50.0 1.1	41 68.3 61.2 46.6	12 20.0 100.0 13.6	6 10.0 85.7 6.8	60 68.2
Black	1 3.6 50.0 1.1	26 92.9 38.8 29.5	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	1 3.6 14.3 1.1	28 31.8
Column	2	67	12	7	88
Total	2.3	76.1	13.6	8.0	100.0

<i>Count</i> <i>ROW PCT</i> <i>COL PCT</i> <i>TOT PCT</i>	<i>Suspect</i>			<i>Row Total</i>
	<i>Black</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Latin</i>	
Victim				
White	43 71.7 61.4 48.9	13 21.7 100.0 14.8	4 6.7 80.0 4.5	60 68.2
Black	27 96.4 38.6 30.7	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	1 3.6 20.0 1.0	28 31.8
Column	70	13	5	88
Total	79.5	14.8	5.7	100.0

categories (those involving 1, 2 and 3 suspects) suggests that as the number of suspects involved in a victimization of a white increases so does the percentage of black suspects, while the opposite trend

Table 16. (Cont.)

<i>Suspect</i>				
<i>Count</i>				
<i>ROW PCT</i>				
<i>COL PCT</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Latin</i>	<i>Row Total</i>
<i>TOT PCT</i>				
Victim				
White	41	14	5	60
	68.3	23.3	8.3	68.2
	60.3	100.0	83.3	
	46.6	15.9	5.7	
Black	27	0	1	28
	96.4	0.0	3.6	31.8
	39.7	0.0	16.7	
	30.7	0.0	1.0	
Column Total	68	14	8	88
	77.3	15.9	6.8	100.0

<i>Suspect</i>					
<i>Count</i>					
<i>ROW PCT</i>					
<i>COL PCT</i>	<i>Not known</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Latin</i>	<i>Row Total</i>
<i>TOT PCT</i>					
Victim					
White	1	125	39	15	180
	0.6	69.4	21.7	8.3	
	50	61.0	1.0	83.3	
Black	1	80	0	3	84
	1.2	95.2	0	3.6	
	50.0	39.0	0	16.7	
Column Total	2	205	39	18	88
	.7	77.7	14.8	6.8	

<sup>a</sup> There were eighty-eight cases with three suspects.

is shown for the white victimization of blacks; i.e., as the number of suspects involved in the victimization of a black increases, the percentage of the suspects being white decreases.

**WHEN FOUR SUSPECTS ARE INVOLVED**

This is not a significant category as there were only two incidents which involved four suspects, see Table 17. The victims were both white and there were four black suspects and four white suspects.<sup>19</sup>

**WHEN FIVE SUSPECTS ARE INVOLVED**

This was not a significant category either, as there was only one incident which involved five suspects.<sup>20</sup> The victim was black and all five suspects were black (Table 18 is available upon request).<sup>21</sup>

**Victim/Suspect Relationship**

Examination of suspect relation to victim clearly shows that in all categories except murder and robbery most suspects were known by the victim prior to the crime.

**MURDER**

Victim/suspect relationships for murder showed highest frequencies in the "not given" category; i.e., 53.1 per cent. The suspect was reported as known to the victim in 42.9 per cent of the cases. Cases involving murder by a stranger comprised only 2.0 per cent of all murders reported.

It is highly probable that many more suspects were known by the victim than was indicated by our data. Crime reports are taken immediately after the crime is investigated by the police. Due to the nature of murder and a general shortage of witnesses, many suspect characteristics are impossible to ascertain.

**ASSAULT**

Examination shows 187 (76.6%) of the 244 assault suspects were known by the victim. Only fourteen cases; i.e., 5.7 per cent of assault suspects were reported as a stranger to the victim (having no prior knowledge of). In forty-two cases (17.2%) of reported assault the victim/suspect relationship was listed as "unknown" or "identity not known."

<sup>19</sup> Here again, we do not know if the suspects acted in concert due to the form of the police data.

<sup>20</sup> Again, we do not know if the five suspects acted in concert or not.

<sup>21</sup> Table 18 provides statistical data on crime by the race of the suspect.

Table 17. Victim Race/Suspect Race, When There Were Four Suspects<sup>a</sup>

<i>Count</i> <i>ROW PCT</i> <i>COL PCT</i> <i>TOT PCT</i>	<i>Suspect</i>			<i>Count</i> <i>ROW PCT</i> <i>COL PCT</i> <i>TOT PCT</i>	<i>Suspect</i>		
	<i>Black</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Row Total</i>		<i>Black</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Row Total</i>
Victim White	1 50.0 100.0 50.0	1 50.0 100.0 50.0	2 100.0	Victim White	1 50.0 100.0 50.0	1 50.0 100.0 50.0	2 100.0
Column Total	1 50.0	1 50.0	2 100.0	Column Total	1 50.0	1 50.0	2 100.0

<i>Count</i> <i>ROW PCT</i> <i>COL PCT</i> <i>TOT PCT</i>	<i>Suspect</i>			<i>Count</i> <i>ROW PCT</i> <i>COL PCT</i> <i>TOT PCT</i>	<i>Suspect</i>		
	<i>Black</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Row Total</i>		<i>Black</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Row Total</i>
Victim White	1 50.0 100.0 50.0	1 50.0 100.0 50.0	2 100.0	Victim White	1 50.0 100.0 50.0	1 50.0 100.0 50.0	2 100.0
Column Total	1 50.0	1 50.0	2 100.0	Column Total	1 50.0	1 50.0	2 100.0

*Composite Table for Four Suspects*

<i>Count</i> <i>ROW PCT</i> <i>COL PCT</i> <i>TOT PCT</i>	<i>Suspect</i>		<i>Row Total</i>
	<i>Black</i>	<i>White</i>	
Victim White	4 50.0 1	4 50.0 1	8
Column Total	4 50.0	4 50.0	2

<sup>a</sup> There were two cases with four suspects.

Table 18. Crime by Race of Suspect

<i>Col %</i> <i>Row %</i>	<i>Unk</i>	<i>Neg</i>	<i>Wht</i>	<i>Lat</i>	<i>Ind</i>	<i>Oth</i>	
Robbery	87 45.8 9.3	646 77.9 69.1	160 70.5 17.1	30 76.9 3.2	2 50.0 .2	10 90.9 1.1	935
Assault	67 35.3 24.2	153 18.5 55.2	53 23.6 19.1	6 15.4 2.2	— — —	— — —	279
Murder	32 16.8 62.7	9 1.2 17.6	6 2.6 11.8	3 7.7 5.9	— — —	1 9.1 1.9	51
Rape	4 2.1 11.4	21 2.5 60.0	8 3.5 22.8	— — —	2 50.0 5.7	— — —	35
Total	190	829	227	39	4	11	1300

### ROBBERY

As with murder and assault a relatively high percentage (43.9%) of the robbery suspects were known by the victim. 32.1 per cent of the robbery suspects were reported as strangers by the victim. "Not given" and "identity now known" categories accounted for 23.7 per cent of total reported robberies.

Although this "prior knowledge" data is fairly consistent with the data presented for the two previously mentioned crimes, these figures differ greatly from the national average; i.e., according to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, more than 80 per cent of all robberies are committed by strangers. This indicates that the elderly in Dallas are being robbed by acquaintances twice as often as their non-Dallas counterpart in the national population.<sup>22</sup>

### RAPE

Relationship frequencies for rape also differ greatly from national averages. The National Commission reports that rape "is more

<sup>22</sup> The difference might also, in part, be due to the fact that this is a victim/suspect study, while the NCCPV's study was a victim/arrestee study. The other factor is, of course, the age factor in our study; i.e., our study was limited to persons aged fifty or older, while the NCCPV dealt with the general population.



likely to be perpetrated by a stranger,” with actual figures being slightly higher than 50 per cent. Our figures show that the suspect was reportedly a stranger in only 9.1 per cent of the rape cases listed. Conversely, an astounding 78.8 per cent of listed rape suspects were known by the victim.

## OVERVIEW

Victim/suspect relationship for murder and assault frequencies seemed to follow national averages with victims tending to know suspects in both cases.

Rape, on the other hand, deviated greatly from national figures in that most suspects were also known by the victim.

If we compare characteristics of the crimes, a possible explanation for this discrepancy may be found. Several sources argue that assault and homicide are acts of passion which result many times from petty, spur-of-the-moment arguments. Robbery and rape, on the other hand, result from other motives and depend greatly on the victims' location, time of day, etc. For these reasons, the elderly are much more vulnerable to these crimes by acquaintances than are younger people. Their limited social space, very predictable life and close peer group structure make premeditated victimization by a stranger much less likely. An acquaintance is much more likely to know the financial situation and social habits of an intended victim and therefore plan an appropriate course of action.

### Crime-By-Suspect Age

There were twenty-two age identifiable categories, see Table 19. The ages of robbery suspects were overwhelmingly concentrated in the eighteen through twenty year age categories. Ages of assault suspects tended to be somewhat higher (22, 23, 24). Surprisingly, the specific category of age fifty to fifty-four contained the highest percentage (5.9) of suspects when the suspects' age was known; i.e., 5.9 per cent of all age identifiable suspects were contained within this category. Ages of known murder suspects were overwhelmingly concentrated in the over forty age categories; i.e., 10 per cent of the suspects. These figures, though surprising, cannot be taken at face value since the “over forty” age categories had over 70 per cent of their murder suspects listed as unknown. Ages twenty-five to thirty-four and thirty-one to thirty-four had equal numbers of rape suspects (14.3%). It is interesting to note here that 17.2 per cent of all rape suspects were over fifty years of age.

Table 19. Crime by Suspect Age

<i>Col % Row %</i>	<i>Robbery</i>	<i>Assault</i>	<i>Murder</i>	<i>Rape</i>	
Unk	272	84	36	7	399
	68.1	21.0	9.0	1.8	
	29.1	30.1	70.9	20.0	
0-10	10	0	1	—	11
	9.2	—	9.1	—	
	1.1	—	1.9	—	
11-12	12	0	1	—	13
	9.2	—	0.8	—	
	1.3	—	1.9	—	
13-14	36	10	—	—	46
	78.3	21.7	—	—	
	3.8	3.6	—	—	
15	40	4	—	—	44
	90.9	10.7	—	—	
	4.3	1.4	—	—	
16	34	6	2	1	43
	79.1	14.0	4.7	0.4	
	3.6	2.1	3.9	2.8	
17	54	6	1	—	61
	88.5	9.8	1.6	—	
	5.8	2.1	1.9	—	
18	61	10	0	0	71
	85.9	14.1	—	—	
	6.5	6.5	—	—	
19	12	19	0	2	31
	38.7	61.3	—	6.4	
	1.9	6.8	—	5.7	
20	183	1	1	3	188
	97.3	0.5	0.5	1.6	
	19.6	0.4	2.0	8.6	
21	17	4	0	0	21
	80.9	19.1	—	—	
	1.8	1.4	—	—	
22	11	7	0	1	19
	57.9	26.8	—	5.3	
	1.2	2.5	—	2.9	
23	14	3	0	2	19
	73.7	15.8	—	10.5	
	1.5	1.1	—	5.7	
24	6	23	0	0	29
	20.7	79.3	—	—	
	0.6	8.2	—	—	

Table 19. (Cont.)

<i>Col % Row %</i>	<i>Robbery</i>	<i>Assault</i>	<i>Murder</i>	<i>Rape</i>	
25-29	84 77.1 8.9	19 17.4 6.8	1 0.9 2.0	5 4.6 14.3	109
30-34	58 75.3 6.2	13 16.9 4.7	1 1.3 2.0	5 6.5 14.3	77
35-39	20 55.6 2.1	14 38.9 5.0	1 2.8 2.0	1 2.9 2.8	36
40-44	3 13.6 .3	15 68.2 5.4	2 9.1 3.9	2 9.1 5.7	22
45-49	2 8.3 .2	19 79.2 6.8	2 8.3 3.9	1 4.2 2.9	24
50-54	7 33.3 .7	9 42.9 3.2	3 14.3 5.9	2 9.5 5.7	21
55-59	5 31.2 .5	8 50.0 2.9	0 — —	3 18.7 8.6	16
60-64	1 14.3 .1	5 71.4 1.8	0 — —	1 14.3 2.9	7
Total					1300

## OVERVIEW

Ages for robbery (the most common crime) suspects tended, for the most part, to be at least three to six years younger than known assault suspects. Rape suspects were highly concentrated in the age group of twenty-five to thirty-four while there also existed a relatively high concentration of suspects over fifty years of age. Murder saw a shift from younger suspects to those over forty, but these figures are questionable since over 70 per cent of all murder suspects were unknown. These findings, although of interest, are not really very startling.

One should expect to find a disproportionate number of suspects in the under thirty age categories, and we do; i.e., 705 (78%) of the 901 age identifiable suspects were under the age of thirty. One

Table 20. Crime by Suspect  
Thirty or Younger and Forty-Nine or Younger

<i>Crime</i>	<i>Number of suspects age 29 or younger</i>	<i>Percentage of suspects age 29 or younger</i>	<i>Number of suspects age 49 or younger</i>	<i>Percentage of suspects age 49 or younger</i>
Robbery	574	87.0	657	99.0
Assault	112	57.0	173	89.0
Murder	7	47.0	13	87.0
Rape	14	50.0	20	71.0

should also expect to find a disproportionate number of robbery suspects in the under thirty age categories, and we do; i.e., 87 per cent of the age identifiable suspects were found in these categories. One would also expect to find a disproportionate number of robbery suspects in the under fifty age groupings since 32.1 per cent of the suspects were identified as "strangers," and it is reasonable to assume that the peer group structures utilized by elderly victims were also similar in regard to age.

In brief, one might expect the perpetration of violent crimes to be disproportionately representative of youthful suspects age thirty or younger. However, one would also expect this youth orientation to be mitigated by the existence of the "closed world" in which many elderly persons exist; i.e., their friends and acquaintances should be similar to them in regard to age. This mitigating factor should be especially strong in those crime categories in which the suspect is likely to be known by the victim; e.g., rape, assault and murder, see Table 20. And that is exactly what we find when we examine Table 20.

### Race of Suspect by Weapon<sup>2 3</sup>

#### NEGRO

60.2 per cent of the weapons used by Negro suspects were listed as "not given." Handguns were used by 9.5 per cent of the black suspects, revolvers by 6.3 per cent, and automatics by 1.5 per cent. If a third category, pistols, is formed by collapsing the three divisions listed above, it is found that 17.3 per cent of all black suspects used some type of pistol. This figure represents nearly half of all known weapons which were listed. These divisions have

<sup>2 3</sup> Table 21, entitled *Race of Suspect by Weapon*, is available upon request.

little meaning since the "handgun" category probably contains those pistols which were unidentifiable by the suspects. Knives and/or cutting devices (pocket knives, other knives, other cutting devices, ice picks, and butcher knives) were used in 5.9 per cent of the reported crimes involving black suspects; while knives and cutting devices comprised 10 per cent of all known weapons used by blacks. Table 21 reveals that force was the most common weapon utilized by blacks; i.e., force was used 11.5 per cent of the time when the weapon was known. However, when blacks used a weapon, it was a pistol in 80 per cent of the incidents.

#### **WHITE**

60.4 per cent of the weapons used by white suspects were listed as "not given." Force, used by 15.9 per cent of our suspects, again had a higher frequency; of usage than any other single category. However, if the three handgun categories are collapsed, we find that 19.3 per cent of the white suspects used pistols; while pistols made up approximately 45 per cent of all known weapons used by white suspects. White suspects used knives and/or cutting devices in 5.5 per cent of incidents in which they were involved. This represents around 12 per cent of all known weapons used by white suspects. White suspects utilized rifles and shot guns (5.7% of the time) slightly more often than they did the various cutting devices. Clubs were used in 2.6 per cent of all crimes in which white suspects were involved; i.e., 6 per cent of the known weapons used by whites.

#### **LATIN**

76.9 per cent of all weapons used by Latin suspects were listed as "not given." Butcher and other knives seemed to be the most popular weapons used by Latin suspects. These devices made up only 10.2 per cent of all weapons listed. However, butcher and other knives were listed in 40 per cent of the cases involving Latins in which the weapon was known. Pistols (handguns and revolvers) made up only 5.2 per cent of all weapons listed (20% of all known weapons).

#### **INDIAN**

Indians were listed as suspects in four crimes against the elderly in Dallas during 1975. Fifty per cent of the weapons used were pocket knives and the remainder was listed as force.

Table 21. Race of Suspect by Weapon

<i>Col % Row %</i>	<i>Not-giv</i>	<i>Neg</i>	<i>Wht</i>	<i>Lat</i>	<i>Ind</i>	<i>Oth</i>	<i>Total</i>
Not giv	180 94.7	499 60.2	192 60.4	30 76.9	— —	6 54.5	902
	19.9	55.3	15.2	3.3	—	0.7	
Poc kni	—	22 2.6	2 0.9	1 2.6	2 50.0	1 9.1	26
	—	84.6	7.7	3.8	0.2	3.8	
Force	5 2.6	95 11.5	36 15.9	2 5.1	2 50.0	1 9.1	141
	3.6	67.4	25.5	1.4	1.4	0.7	
Oth kni	1 0.5	18 2.2	8 3.5	3 7.7	— —	1 9.1	31
	3.2	58.1	25.8	9.7	—	3.2	
Handgun	—	79 9.5	12 5.3	1 2.6	— —	1 9.1	93
	—	84.9	12.9	1.1	—	1.1	
Shotgun	3 1.6	14 1.7	1 4.4	1 2.6	— —	1 9.1	20
	1.5	70.0	5.0	5.0	—	5.0	
Rev	—	52 6.3	23 10.1	1 2.6	— —	— —	76
	—	68.4	30.3	1.3	—	—	
Auto	1 0.5	12 1.5	9 3.9	— —	— —	— —	22
	4.6	54.6	40.9	—	—	—	
Club	—	19 2.3	6 2.6	— —	— —	— —	25
	—	76.0	24.0	—	—	—	
Oth-cut	—	3 0.4	2 0.9	— —	— —	— —	5
	—	60.0	40.0	—	—	—	
Threats	—	3 0.4	— —	— —	— —	— —	3
	—	100.0	—	—	—	—	
Ice-pk	—	1 0.1	— —	— —	— —	— —	1
	—	100.0	—	—	—	—	
Rifle	—	6 0.7	3 1.3	— —	— —	— —	9
	—	66.7	33.3	—	—	—	
Veh	—	1 0.1	— —	— —	— —	— —	1
	—	100.0	—	—	—	—	

Table 21. (Cont.)

<i>Col % Row %</i>	<i>Not-giv</i>	<i>Neg</i>	<i>Wht</i>	<i>Lat</i>	<i>Ind</i>	<i>Oth</i>	<i>Total</i>
Butcher	—	5	—	1	—	—	6
	—	0.6	—	2.5	—	—	
	—	83.3	—	16.7	—	—	
Bottle	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
	—	0.1	—	—	—	—	
	—	100.0	—	—	—	—	
	190	829	227	39	4	11	

## OVERVIEW

A high percentage of weapons was listed as "not given" for blacks, whites, and Latins. Blacks used all sixteen weapons listed by the Dallas Police Department more often than any other ethnic/racial group.

Weapon preference trends for white and black suspects were similar with both groups leaning toward the use of pistols when weapons were used. Force was the next most frequent weapon chosen by white and black suspects, with other devices being used occasionally. Latins, on the other hand, used knives (other knives and butcher) more frequently than any other weapon, with the pistol being utilized quite infrequently.

I can think of only one good explanation for the weapon trends and preferences manifested by these ethnic/racial suspect groupings; that of socialization; i.e., culture. The gun is more common in some cultures (e.g., the black and anglo cultures), while the use of the knife as a weapon is more common in the hispanic culture.

### **Sex (Suspect)-By-Crime** *The Taming of the Shrew??*

At the risk of sounding sexist, no surprises were turned up by the totals of this cross-tabulation. Male suspects outnumbered female suspects eight to one (976 males to 122 females). The robbery category contained the largest number of both male and female suspects. Vast differences, however, begin to appear, as we noted the sex of the suspect by the various crime categories. Assault made up 16.5 per cent of all crimes which involved male suspects. On the other hand, assaults made up 36.9 per cent of all crimes

Table 22. Sex by Crime

<i>Col %</i>				
<i>Row %</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	
Robbery	93	771	71	935
	46.0	79.0	58.2	
	10.0	82.6	7.6	
Assault	73	161	45	279
	36.1	16.5	36.9	
	26.1	57.7	16.3	
Murder	32	13	6	51
	15.8	1.3	4.9	
	62.7	25.5	11.76	
Rape	4	31	—	35
	1.9	3.2	—	
	11.4	88.6	—	
Total	202	976	122	1300

which involved female suspects. Murder frequencies showed similar trends with 1.3 per cent of all listed male suspects involved with murder as compared to a 4.9 per cent suspect rate for females (see Table 22).<sup>2,4</sup> Rape is, of course, a crime limited by state statute to male suspects and female victims (a blatant act of male chauvanism).

To summarize, one might facetiously state that if one is confronted with a prospective male criminal, chances are he'll only take your money. If you are confronted by a female, it is almost even money that you'll be assaulted or killed, as opposed to being robbed. In all seriousness, males made up a disproportionate share of our suspect category, and this was true of all of the crime categories. Nonetheless, it was also true that women suspects were well represented in the assault, murder, and robbery categories.

### Conclusion

Historically, concepts concerning the geographic (spatial) manifestation of crime and violence have been polarized in one of two schools of thought, urban geography or social ecology. Despite tradition, in 1921, Ernest Burgess and Robert Park postulated an intimate congruity between social order and physical space [3]. It was this supposition along with those posited in their 1925 work

<sup>2,4</sup> Table 22 entitled *Sex by Crime* is available upon request.



with Roderick D. McKenzie [4], and later embellished by Louis Wirth in 1928 [5] and Park in 1952 [6] that gave rise to multi-faceted science known as Social Urban Geography. Our study falls within this hybrid discipline since spatial aspects of violent crime, as well as victim/suspect characteristics, are examined. Specifically, this study involved cases of assault, robbery, murder and rape that were reported as having been committed against persons age fifty and older.

Spatial distributions of crime and violence may be examined on a micro- as well as a macro-locational level. By micro we mean structural location. Divisions here include single-family dwellings, garages, yards, parks, etc. All in all, a total of forty-eight micro-locational targets were listed and noted by the authors. One might nonetheless have examined the spatial occurrence of these same crimes by means of a macro approach, taking cognizance of such politico-judicial boundaries (locations) as federal census tracts, police report areas, and police beats.

It is the authors' belief that the analysis of these spatial and non-spatial variables in the manner employed in this study will shed some light upon the dynamics of the exploitation of the elderly in the City of Dallas while allowing for comparison of these specific dynamics with other data obtained on a municipal, state, regional or national level.

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