

Robert J. Meadows

Seventh Edition

Understanding Violence & Victimization



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UNDERSTANDING VIOLENCE AND VICTIMIZATION

Robert J. Meadows

California Lutheran University



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PREFACE

NEW TO THIS EDITION

- A new chapter has been added on firearms and victimization (Chapter 9).
- All chapters are updated.
- A victimization checklist has been added in Appendix C.
- In Chapter 10, a table is presented listing key federal victims' rights legislation from 1974 to 2015.
- All chapters include updated statistics and web sources.
- The art program has been streamlined, with outdated content deleted.
- The text design has been refreshed to make the text more reader-friendly.

Violence and the resulting victimization have a serious impact on individuals and society. It is difficult to predict when or where they will occur. In writing this book, I have been interested in exploring selected types of violence, particularly the types that capture media and public attention because of their seriousness, callousness, and, in some cases, randomness. Therefore, I choose not to write about nonviolent victimization, such as property crimes and frauds. It is not my intention to downplay the importance of these crimes, but to focus more on the crimes of violence that we fear most.

This book combines theories on violence and victimization with applied responses to victimization. It is written for the person studying victimization and violence, as well as for those employed in crime prevention and victim service programs. My purpose is to discuss offender–victim relationships, provide data, and explore situational factors and responses to victims. Also discussed are some precursors of violence such as stalking and harassment. Throughout the book are case studies called *Focuses* that enhance points and can be used to generate discussion. A constant theme in this book is that the experience of violence, whether at home, in the community, or as the result of personal assault or abuse, has a devastating effect. Many criminals who commit violence on others have mental disease or abusive or dysfunctional backgrounds, leading to targeting others for personal gain, thrill, recognition, or hate. Sometimes violence perpetrated by these predators is planned, committed in the course of completing other crimes, or simply a random act. Other forms of violence such as terrorism are the result of political or religious convictions.

In the first chapter, some causes of violence as well as data on violent crime measures and the impact that fear of violence has on others are presented. Chapter 2 addresses theories of victimization. It introduces criminal victimization, discussing how and why some people are victimized. Chapter 3 covers intimate victimizations, such as domestic violence, child abuse, elder abuse, rape, dating violence, and stalking. My intent in this chapter is to address legal and social issues of intimate violence as well as preventive measures. Chapter 4 addresses nonfamilial violence and victimization. Two of the most prevalent types of this violence are murder and robbery. The chapter focuses on the situations in which people become victims of violence by strangers, including terrorists, and what can be done to prevent these occurrences. There is also a discussion of serial killers, their motives, and their victims. Chapter 5 focuses on workplace violence and victimization, including the problem of harassment. These are important

topics because of the stresses of the work environment and attacks on coworkers by disgruntled employees or by third parties. Research conducted on the sources of and responses to workplace violence is covered. The purpose is to offer suggestions on what can be done to reduce the potential for violence.

Chapter 6 addresses school violence and victimization. Because of recent acts of violence on our nation's campuses, I felt compelled to discuss some possible explanations and responses. After all, schools are microcosms of society, as are some workplaces and communities. Chapter 7 discusses how the criminal justice system, through its decision-making capacities, causes victimization, either intentionally or inadvertently. Why is it that the police overstep their authority, or why are some persons convicted of crimes they never committed? Are laws designed to address violent crime being applied fairly? Chapter 8 addresses human trafficking and victimization. In this chapter, the differences between sex trafficking and labor trafficking are discussed. Various laws and responses on trafficking are also addressed. Chapter 9 addresses firearms and victimization. A discussion of firearm laws of both federal and selected states is presented along with tables and graphs. The use of guns is explored as a means of victimization, and as a measure in preventing victimization. Chapter 10 addresses the selective proactive and reactive crime response measures. The chapter concludes with a presentation of measures to aid victims through victim compensation programs and laws. In some instances, victims seek relief from the courts in the form of personal damages from property owners. Victims criminally assaulted at work or on private property, for instance, may have a civil case against a property owner or manager. Thus litigation has an impact on organizational business policy and operations.

I would like to offer a disclaimer. Throughout the book, I refer to a number of legal cases and crime response procedures. They are offered as a general guide. I recognize that laws, statistics, and procedures may change or may not apply in some situations. By the time this edition is published, new laws or amendments to existing ones may be instituted. To address this problem, I have included in Appendix A information on retrieving current information relative to victimization. Appendix B is a source for workplace and school violence issues. Appendix C is a victimization checklist students may use to survey crime and victimization in their community. The survey provides an opportunity to learn about victimization, and to discuss why some crimes are not reported to law enforcement. Students are advised to consult with local law enforcement or other authorities for information on changes or new programs relevant to victimology.

INSTRUCTOR SUPPLEMENTS

Instructor's Manual with Test Bank. Includes content outlines for classroom discussion, teaching suggestions, and answers to selected end-of-chapter questions from the text. This also contains a Word document version of the test bank.

TestGen. This computerized test generation system gives you maximum flexibility in creating and administering tests on paper, electronically, or online. It provides state-of-the-art features for viewing and editing test bank questions, dragging a selected question into a test you are creating, and printing sleek, formatted tests in a variety of layouts. Select test items from test banks included with TestGen for quick test creation, or write your own questions from scratch. TestGen's random generator provides the option to display different text or calculated number values each time questions are used.

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eBooks. This text is also available in multiple eBook formats. These are an exciting new choice for students looking to save money. As an alternative to purchasing the printed textbook, students can purchase an electronic version of the same content. With an eTextbook, students can search the text, make notes online, print out reading assignments that incorporate lecture notes, and bookmark important passages for later review. For more information, visit your favorite online eBook reseller or visit www.mypearsonstore.com.

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Measuring and Understanding Violence

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying this chapter, you will:

1. Be able to explain the meaning of violent crime
2. Learn about reported and unreported crime
3. Understand the impact of violent crime
4. Learn about the fear of crime
5. Become familiar with some general reasons for violent behavior
6. Understand the dynamics of violence

Victims
Emotion

Jurisdiction Murder Weapons
Guns Offenders Force Cartels
Drugs **VIOLENT** Police
Harm **CRIME** Rapists
Robbery Felony Homicide
Prison Increase Injury Cities
Kidnapping Statistics Courts
Malfeasance Rape Terrorists
Assault Manslaughter Extortion

Robert Wilson/123RF

INTRODUCTION

Interpersonal violence is committed every day in our homes, schools, businesses, and on the streets. These nonsanctioned acts such as murder, assault, and robbery are committed for profit, revenge, jealousy, political or religious motives (terrorists), or simply for pleasure. There is no shortage of motives in explaining violence, and there certainly is an ample supply of candidates seeking to impose violence on others for whatever reason. A number of factors, such as dysfunctional families and communities, drug addiction, mental illness, learning disabilities, or other conditions, are associated with violent crime.

Violent offenders are not always disenfranchised street criminals or predatory gang members. Numerous examples exist of violent criminals reared in so-called stable middle-class families, with no criminal history, and who have achieved high social status. Education and social status are no barriers to violence. Consider the physician who kills his ex-wife to avoid expensive alimony payments, the stockbroker who kills his entire family and himself to save them embarrassment from poor investments, or the wealthy, privileged high school students who kill a classmate just to experience the thrill of killing. This chapter begins with a discussion on the fear of crime, followed by an overview of crime data, and concludes with some general explanations of criminal violence in American society.

THE FEAR OF VIOLENT CRIME

We look forward to a world founded upon four essential freedoms. First is the freedom of speech and expression. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way. The third is freedom from want. ... The fourth is freedom from fear.

—Franklin D. Roosevelt, speech to Congress, January 6, 1941

In January 2017, 26-year-old Esteban Santiago killed five people and wounded several others at the baggage claim area at the Ft. Lauderdale airport. He traveled to Ft. Lauderdale from Alaska with a firearm retrieved from his checked baggage. During the early morning hours of June 12, 2016, Omar Mateen, reportedly a radicalized Islamist terrorist, entered a nightclub in Orlando, Florida, armed with an assault rifle. He killed 49 people and wounded 49 others. Other than the attacks on September 11, 2001, the shooting is the deadliest mass killing by one assailant in American history. Prior to the Orlando shooting, the Virginia Tech massacre on April 16, 2007, by a disgruntled mentally distraught Virginia Tech student, was the most prominent mass killing. In the Virginia Tech shooting, 32 fellow students, faculty, and staff were killed, and about 30 others were injured in the rampage.

The murdered victims in each of the preceding situations had no warning and in some cases did not know the killers. Who would expect this type of violence in a nightclub, an airport, or on a college campus? We constantly read about gang and youth violence, racial and hate crimes, terrorism, and domestic violence, including child and elder abuse. As a nation, we rank first of all developed nations in the world in

the number of homicides. The recent surge of school shootings, although rare, is not restricted to crime-ridden schools but also occurs in middle-class communities. And, we will never forget the calculated attacks of September 11, 2001, when Islamic extremists killed thousands of innocent people. In addressing violent criminal acts, we need to understand the definition of violent crime. Violent crime, for the purposes of this book, is defined as those acts committed against another in violation of a prescribed law. Examples of these offenses are murder, terrorist attacks, sexual assault, robbery, weapons crimes, or crimes involving bodily harm.

Fear and Effect of Violent Crime

In many communities, the right to be free from fear has been replaced by the knowledge that most of us will be victims of violence at some time in our lives, or at least direct witnesses. The fear of violence results from past victimizations, media accounts of violent crime, and interactions with people who are knowledgeable about or have witnessed crime.

According to recent Gallop polls, Americans' level of concern about crime and violence is at its highest point in 15 years. Fifty-three percent of U.S. adults say they personally worry "a great deal" about crime and violence, an increase of 14 percentage points since 2014. This figure is the highest Gallup has measured since March 2001 (Davis, 2016). Lower educational attainment and income suggest that people with these disadvantages tend to express higher levels of fear, and part of this pattern might be explained by their perceived vulnerability (Scarborough et al., 2010). In short, those in lower social class settings feel less in control of their environment translating to increased fears and vulnerability especially crime and violence.

Americans' fear of crime victimization relates strongly to two distinct factors: household income and sex. Adults living in low-income households are roughly twice as likely as those living in high-income households to be afraid, 48% versus 23%. Women are more than twice as likely as men to say they are afraid to walk alone at night near their home, 50% versus 22%. Additionally, women are more fearful than men at every income level. This confirms that the higher fear among women is not solely a function of their somewhat lower socioeconomic status compared with that of men (Saad, 2010).

It is common to find acts of violence, such as gang attacks and robberies, reported in the news. These reports fuel the notion that crime is pervasive and thus ignite fears in the public. Part of the reason for increased fear is the expansion of the middle-aged population. As a group, they are more likely to own a gun, install burglar alarms or special locks, and practice security procedures. Those who are more fearful tend to be more likely to carry self-protection devices or participate in self-defense classes. However, many people who are fearful of violent crime really have no reason to be. Yet, perceptions are powerful indicators of behavior.

Studies have concluded that residents who witnessed what they thought were drug and gang behaviors were more likely to believe that all types of criminal and disorderly activities were present. In other words, residents who saw such activity believed crime, as well as moral decay, was higher in their community. These perceptions also affected their feelings of personal safety (Crank, Giacomazzi, and Heck, 2003).

Although studies have found that women and the elderly report higher levels of fear of crime than do men and younger people, these two groups are much less likely

to be victimized by crime. Those who are most fearful actually report the fewest victimizations. The concept of who is fearful and who should be fearful of victimization is referred to as the **fear–victimization paradox**. The effects of crime have had consequences on mental health and sociability, such as depression and anxiety, resulting from living in a high crime area. According to an English study by Stafford, Chandola, and Marmot (2007), longitudinal data from 2002 to 2004 of more than 10,000 London civil servants aged 35 to 55 years revealed the negative effects of crime. The study found that the fear of crime was associated with “poorer mental health, reduced physical functioning and lower quality of life.” Participants reporting greater fear were more likely to suffer from depression than those reporting lower fear of crime.

Those fearful exercised less and participated in fewer social activities. The study concluded that fear of crime may be a “barrier to participation in health-promoting physical and social activities” (Strafford, Chandola, and Marmot, 2007). But what are the reasons for violence and how does one become violent? We examine here some reasons for violence.

CRIME DATA

Sources of Data on Victimization

Information on violent and nonviolent crime is available from two major sources: the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s *Uniform Crime Reports (UCR)* and the Bureau of Justice Statistics’ *National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS)*, both published by the Department of Justice. The focus of this discussion is on the *UCR* and *NCVS*. Additional sources are listed in Appendix A.

THE UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS (UCR). Begun in 1930 and published annually, the *Uniform Crime Reports (UCR)* includes offenses reported to law enforcement agencies at the city, county, and state levels. State universities and colleges are required to report in the *UCR* offenses committed on their campuses. The purpose of the *UCR* is to enable law enforcement agencies to exchange information about reported crime and to assist in future crime planning and control. The *UCR* is a nationwide reporting program, a cooperative effort of more than 16,000 city, county, and state law enforcement agencies voluntarily reporting data on crime and arrests. Indexed crimes are categorized as property and personal offenses and include murder, forcible rape, arson, burglary, robbery, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, and aggravated assault. As an example, the FBI reported that violent crime offenses increased in 2015. In 2015, an estimated 1,197,704 violent crimes occurred nationwide, an increase of 3.9% from 2014 (see Figure 1–1).

The *UCR* is valuable to law enforcement, but it has some limitations. First, it details only reported crime. Thus, the so-called **dark figure of crime**, or unreported crime, is not included. Second, the *UCR* primarily concerns arrests and offender demographics; it does not include information on victims. It is also subject to manipulation of information, or **false reporting**, by an agency. That is, some law enforcement agencies alter reports to reduce the negative image that may accompany high crime activity in their communities (McCleary, Nienstedt, and Erven, 1982).

There has been some sharp criticism in recent years of the *UCR* reporting process. Criminal justice experts warn that crime statistics are unreliable (Sherman, 1998).

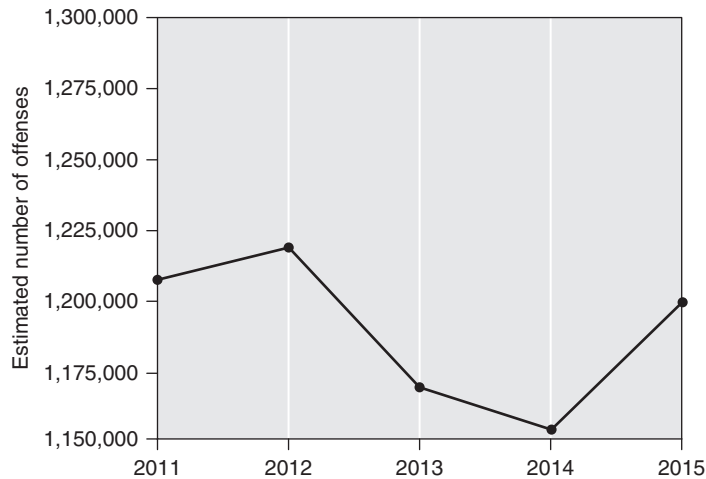


FIGURE 1-1 Estimated Number of Violent Crime Offenses over a Five-Year Period

Source: FBI Uniform Crime Reports, 2014

For example, the FBI dropped Philadelphia from its national crime-reporting program because of egregious errors in crime reporting. The city had to draw its crime figures from the *UCR* system for 1996, 1997, and at least the first half of 1998 because of underreporting and general sloppiness. The problems resulted when the police failed to take written reports of all crimes, downgraded reports to less serious offenses, or failed to take these reports very seriously (Butterfield, 1998). These errors in one city raise questions regarding the validity of the decrease in violent crime rates reported in other jurisdictions in recent years.

As mentioned, the dark figure of crime exists because some people are reluctant to report crimes of violence to authorities because they fear retaliation, embarrassment, or view the offenses as a private matter. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics report in 2008, of the nearly 3 million personal crimes unreported, the most common reason given for not reporting was it was a private or personal matter (19%). Also, a number of victims may be crime participants who will not report their victimization for fear of arrest. Encounters with prostitutes or drug dealers may result in victimization of the client (robbery, assault, etc.), making it less likely that that person will file an official report. In addition, co-conspirators, such as drug dealers, robbers, and other criminal types, who disagree over the division of their illegal profits may victimize one another.

Violent Crime Reporting and Statistics

The decision to report a crime is a calculated one, often based on the seriousness of the offense, the probability of financial redress, the perception that the criminal justice system will take action to aid the victim, the degree of the victim's participation in the crime, the degree to which the victim is embarrassed by the crime, and the fear of personal harm if the crime is reported. The *UCR* does provide data on the nature and extent of reported crime rates in a given community. Without these reports, police are at a disadvantage in their efforts to control crime.

Crime rates relate the incidence of crime to the population. The **determination of crime rates** uses the following formula:

$$\text{Crime rate} = \left(\frac{\text{Number of reported crimes}}{\text{Population of a city}} \right) \times \text{Rate}$$

To determine the rate of robbery in a city with a population of less than 100,000, for example, the total number of reported robberies for a given year is divided by the population of the city or jurisdiction, which is then multiplied by 10,000. If the city's population is more than 100,000, multiply by 100,000. To compare the crime rates of two cities, one with a population of more than 100,000 and the other less than 100,000 (e.g., 50,000), 10,000 is used. Likewise, when comparing two cities with populations of, for example, 25,000 and 6,000, multiply by 1,000.

The crime rate within a city can be determined using the same formula. Many cities are divided into geographical reporting districts or areas, and the police record reported crime in each district or area. A researcher can determine the crime rate of a specific area of a city versus another by using population and crime data. The type of crime and the crime rate of each district or area vary by such factors as population density and socioeconomic status. Many state and local law enforcement agencies compile crime statistics to assess crime patterns in particular communities. The data gathering procedures are referred to as **crime analysis**. Such statistics assist in determining crime trends, deployment, and law enforcement patrol needs.

Compiling national violent crime statistics is one of the primary roles of the Department of Justice, specifically the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Violent crime reporting basically consists of compiling data on murder or nonnegligent homicide, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault (see crime in the United States Department of Justice, 2014).

As for murder, there was a rate of 4.5 murders per 100,000 people in the United States in 2014, 21.6 forcible rapes, 232 aggravated assaults, and 104 robberies the same year. Of course, some cities are more crime prone than others. In addressing specific cities with a population of over 100,000 we find varying rates. The leading city for murder or nonnegligent homicide is Newark, New Jersey, with 49 murders per 100,000. Anchorage, Alaska, reported 130 rapes per 100,000, Oakland, California, led the list on reported robberies at 849 per 100,000, and Detroit, Michigan, had 1,342 aggravated assaults per 100,000 in 2014. In 2016, during Memorial Day weekend in Chicago, at least 60 people were shot and six fatally injured. And, by the end of 2016, Chicago recorded 762 homicides which averages to two murders per day, the most killings in the city for two decades and more than New York and Los Angeles combined.

Information collected regarding types of weapons used in violent crime showed that firearms were used in 69% of the nation's murders, 40% of robberies, and 21.6% of aggravated assaults. Most murders were intraracial. From 1980 through 2008, 84% of white homicide victims were murdered by whites and 93% of black victims were murdered by blacks. During this same period, blacks were disproportionately represented among homicide victims and offenders. Blacks were six times more likely than whites to be homicide victims and seven times more likely than whites to commit homicide (crime in the United States Department of Justice, 2014).

National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC)

Associated with traditional crime reporting are data centers operated by the FBI. The primary mission of the **National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC)** is to provide behavioral-based investigative support to the FBI, national security agencies, and other federal, state, local, and international law enforcement involved in the investigation of unusual or repetitive violent crimes. NCAVC is comprised of FBI agents and agents from other federal agencies, including the U.S. Capitol Police, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF), and the Naval Criminal Investigative Service (NCIS). The NCAVC staff provide operational support for a range of cases such as domestic and international terrorism; threats of targeted violence (e.g., active shooters in schools, workplaces, and public areas or buildings); cybercrime; public corruption; cases involving child victims (child abduction or mysterious disappearances, child homicides, and victimization of children); cases involving adult victims (e.g., serial, spree, mass, and other murders); serial rape; extortion; kidnapping; product tampering; arson and bombing; and weapons of mass destruction (FBI, 2016).

Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (VICAP)

In addition to the services offered by NCAVC, the FBI tracks and compiles violent crime statistics known as VICAP. The **Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (VICAP)** is a nationwide data center designed to collect, collate, and analyze information about crimes of violence—specifically murder. It examines the following types of cases:

- Solved or unsolved homicides or attempted homicides, especially those that involve an abduction; that are apparently random, motiveless, or sexually oriented; or that are known or suspected to be part of a series
- Missing persons, especially when the circumstances indicate a strong possibility of foul play and the victim is still missing
- Unidentified dead bodies when the manner of death is known or suspected to be homicide

VICAP assists law enforcement agencies by coordinating a multiagency investigative force. Multiagency cooperation becomes especially important when the suspect or suspects have traveled between states and across jurisdictions. Especially valuable is the coordination of activities, such as obtaining search warrants, interviewing, and testing.

In most violent crimes, murder rates differ based on victim characteristics, but the relationship between victim characteristics and incidence of homicide tends to remain the same as in past years. Some demographic characteristics of homicide are presented here (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2011):

THE NATIONAL CRIME VICTIMIZATION SURVEY (NCVS). The *National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS)* is another source of victimization data. The *NCVS*, begun in 1972 to complement the *UCR*, recognizes incidents not reported to the police and includes a detailed report of crime incidents, victims involved, and trends affecting victims. Unlike the *UCR*, which collects data on the crime, the *NCVS* seeks detailed

information on the victim. It tracks the crimes of rape, robbery, assault, burglary, personal and household larceny, and motor vehicle theft; it does not track murder, kidnapping, so-called victimless crimes, or commercial robbery and burglary.

Perhaps the most important contribution of the *NCVS* is its data about the dark figure of crime, those crimes not reported to the police. Data published by the *NCVS* are gathered from household surveys conducted by trained U.S. Census Bureau interviewers. The *NCVS* reports the following information:

- Crime records
- Profiles of crime victims
- Methods that victims of violent crime use to protect themselves
- The relationship of the victim to the offender
- The amount of crime that occurs in schools
- The extent to which weapons are involved in crimes
- Data concerning whether crimes are reported to the police

Unfortunately, not all crimes are reported to law enforcement. The data for rape as reported by the *UCR* and the *NCVS* are quite different, suggesting that for various reasons, many rapes go unreported. The most common reason given by victims of violent crime (including rape) for not reporting a crime was that it was a private or personal matter. Nonreporting is also attributed to fear of reprisal, embarrassment, or the belief that the victim may not be believed. The questionnaire in Appendix C is designed to assess victimization and official reporting.

Law Enforcement Officers Killed or Assaulted on Duty

Police officers are also victimized by violent crime. In 1972, the FBI began to produce two reports annually, the Law Enforcement Officers Killed Summary and the Analysis of Assaults on Federal Officers. These two reports were combined in 1982 to create the annual publication *Law Enforcement Officers Killed and Assaulted (LEOKA)*. In looking at data collected by the FBI, 96 law enforcement officers were killed in line-of-duty incidents in 2014. Of these, 51 law enforcement officers died as a result of felonious acts, and 45 officers died in accidents. In addition, 48,315 officers were victims of line-of-duty assaults. The circumstances surrounding the 51 officer deaths resulted from 11 killed while answering disturbance calls, 9 were conducting traffic pursuits/stops, 7 were ambushed, 7 were investigating suspicious persons or circumstances, 5 were conducting investigative activities (such as surveillances, searches, or interviews), 4 were killed in arrest situations, 4 were involved in tactical situations, and 3 were handling persons with mental illnesses. One officer was killed in an unprovoked attack (FBI, *LEOKA*, 2014).

The statistics are worse for 2016 where 63 law enforcement officers died in firearms-related incidents, marking a 68% increase since 2015 (NLEO, 2016). The worst single attack occurred on July 7, 2016, when five Dallas police officers were killed and seven others wounded by a sniper who ambushed officers during a police use-of-force protest rally. It was the highest number of police officers killed during one incident since September 1, 2001. Since the Dallas police shootings, there are movements to expand hate crime legislation to include law enforcement officers. However, there is some doubt that this will pass since hate crime laws generally pertain to specific demographics such as gender, race, and religion, not occupation.

Understanding Violence

Crime statistics provide us with demographic factors associated with violence, but the underlying reasons are not included. There is no shortage of theories explaining the causes of human violence. However, it is not the intention of this book to critically examine all theories of violence, nor to advance any one theory or cause over another. Suffice to say, violence is often situational and difficult to predict or plan against it. Yet, violence pervades our culture in many ways. Americans not only engage in violence, they are entertained by it as evidenced by violence portrayed in films and video games (Kozy, 2015). In major cities, Americans often witness violence in their communities every day. The election of Donald Trump in 2016, while popular for many, also incited discontent for others. A number of demonstrations in our cities evolved into property destruction and violence. This is a form of situational violence, where social or political events spawned violence although the intention was peaceful protest.

Most theories addressing violence are grouped into trait theories: biosocial, psychological, sociological learning theories, and so forth (see generally: Pratt et al., 2010; Ferrell, 2004; Ferri, 2003; Robbins, Monahan, and Silver, 2003; Williams, 2004; Wilson, 1985). In general, unsanctioned violence is the result of a number of personal and social factors, including mental illness, childhood abuse and neglect, brain injuries, retaliation (e.g., street gang warfare), drug use, jealousy, twisted political or religious beliefs, and so forth. Others take the approach that antisocial behavior results from a series of evolutionary stages. In other words, people become violent through a process called **violentization**, which involves four stages: brutalization and subjugation, belligerency, violent coaching, and criminal activity (virulency). It begins when a person is a victim of violence and feels powerless to avoid it. Then the victim is taught how and when to become violent and to profit from it, and then acts out on the violence. If a person from a violent environment does not become violent, it is because some part of the process is missing (Athens, 1992).

Violent acts may be reactionary or planned or committed in the furtherance of other crimes, such as robbery, or they may be committed to advance a particular cause (**terrorism**) or to conceal the commission of other crimes. Some turn to violence because of sudden changes in lifestyle (e.g., divorce, sudden loss of employment), for thrill, or the need for instant gratification. And, we cannot ignore the fact that the infliction of violence in some cases is a matter of **rational choice** (Earls and Reiss, 1994). Despite the seductions or other influences of crime, crime is rewarding for some, and many offenders easily justify their crimes through perverse rationalizations. Robbing another is rationalized by the criminals' needs or wants due to their own disenfranchisement and feelings of hopelessness.

INFLUENCES OF VIOLENCE

For the purposes of this discussion, the study of violence encompasses a three-level social-ecological model. This model (Figure 1–2) considers the interplay between **individual**, **familial**, and **community influences** experienced by a person. In addressing the sources of violence, we can look to these three influences, although the individual and **familial influences** are viewed as the most prominent contributors. According to the office of Juvenile Justice Programs (Loeber, 2003),