History and the Theoretical Developments in Victimology

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The Scope of Victimization

- Every crime has at least one victim
- NCVS (2012):
 - 6,842,593 violent victimizations

– 19,622,977 household victimizations

- Victimization: events that harm individuals, households, businesses, communities, or institutions
 - Criminal victimization: harm is suffered as a result of a violation of the criminal law

Purposes of Victimology

- The study of crime victims and the circumstances surrounding their victimization
- Ensuring victims are provided with services and advocates
- Identifying risk factors for different types of victimization

Victimological Research

- Estimating the *extent* of different types of victimization
- Explaining:
 - Why victimization occurs
 - To whom it occurs
 - Where it occurs
- Understanding the consequences of victimization
- Victims' rights and remedies
- Victims' roles in the criminal justice (CJ) system

Victimology and Criminology

- Complementary areas of study
- Criminology considers crime from the offender's perspective
- Victimology considers crime from the victim's perspective
- Opinions differ as to whether victimology is a subfield of criminology, a separate field, or a distinct field with overlapping focus

Academic Origins of Victimology

- "First-generation" victimologists
- First theory of victimization: victim precipitation
- Victims contribute to the crime event through:
 Victim facilitation
 - Victims often set in motion the events that result in their own victimization

– Victim provocation

Victims can overtly act in ways that result in their victimization

Hans von Hentig

- 1887–1974, Germany
- The Criminal and His Victim (1948)
- First to consider the role of the victim in a crime
- Typology of victimization dividing victims into general classes and psychological types



von Hentig's Typology

General Classes of Victims

- 1. The young
- 2. The female
- 3. The old
- 4. The mentally defective and other mentally deranged
- 5. Immigrants, minorities, and dull normals

Psychological Types of Victims

- 6. The depressed
- 7. The acquisitive (Ponzi schemes)
- 8. The wanton
- 9. The lonesome and the heartbroken
- 10. The tormentor
- 11. Blocked, exempted, and fighting victims (drug dealer robbery)

Beniamin Mendelsohn

- 1990–1998
- Israeli defense attorney
- "Father of Victimology"
 - Coined term "victimology"
 - Advocated the study of victims to be separate from criminology
- Typology categorizing victims according to their *degree of responsibility*

Mendelsohn's Typology

- 1. The completely innocent victim
 - Example: children
- 2. The victim with minor guilt (also known as "victims due to ignorance")
 - Example: robbery
- 3. The victim who is as guilty as the offender (also known as "voluntary victims")
 - Example: fistfight
- 4. The victim who is more guilty than the offender
 - Example: attacking abuser
- 5. The most guilty victim (also known as "victims who are guilty alone")
 - Example: self-defense
- 6. The imaginary victim (also known as "simulating victims")
 - Example: senile person

Stephen Schafer

- 1911–1976, b. Hungary
- Victimology: The Victim and His Criminal (1977)
- Much victimization is a result of the victim–offender relationship
- Typology based on concept of functional responsibility
 - Victims are responsible for not provoking offenders and for actively preventing their own victimization



Schafer's Typology

- 1. Unrelated victims
- 2. Provocative victims
- 3. Precipitative victims
- 4. Biologically weak victims
- 5. Socially weak victims
- 6. Self-victimizing victims
- 7. Political victims

(bank robbery)

(insults)

(unprotected valuables)

(children)

(minorities)

(drug addicts)

(McCarthyism)

Marvin E. Wolfgang

- 1924–1998
- Patterns in Criminal Homicide (1957)
 - Examined victim-precipitated homicide
 - First to use official data



Marvin Wolfgang

- Philadelphia Police Dept. homicides from 1948 to 1952
- 588 homicide victims, 26% victim precipitated

Sellin and Wolfgang's Typology

1. Primary victimization

- Individuals personally victimized by offenders
- Robbery
- 2. Secondary victimization
 - Impersonal targets
 - Shoplifting
- 3. Tertiary victimization
 - Public or society at large
- 4. Mutual victimization
 - Victim consents and is also an offender
 - Assisted suicide
- 5. No victimization
 - No victim or offense is minor and unrecognizable

Menachim Amir

- Born 1930
- Graduate student of Wolfgang
- Patterns in Forcible Rape (1971)



- Examined victim precipitation in forcible rape
- Typology based on *continuum of responsibility*
 - Some victims have no responsibility; others are active participants

Amir's Continuum of Victim Precipitation in Forcible Rape

- 1. Unsoliciting victims
 - Purely accidental
- 2. Precipitative victims
 - Placed himself or herself in risky situation
 - Bears some responsibility
- 3. Seductive victims
 - Provocative language, dress, or manner
 - Either a *conscious* (intentional) or an *unconscious* (because of victim proneness) participant

Criticisms of Amir's Typology

- Implies that some victims have a psychological, unconscious desire to be raped
- Based on rapist's perception of behavior
- Victim blaming
 - Led to rejection of Amir's work, as well as stopping the progression of victim precipitation as an explanation for victimization

Grass-roots Origins of Victimology

- Social forces also driving development of the field of victimology
 - Civil rights movement
 - Women's movement
 - Children's movement
- Separately working toward shared goals:
 - Highlighting plight of crime victims
 - Advocating for changes in treatment of victims by society and CJ system

Civil Rights Movement

- 1950s and 1960s
- Focused on ending many forms of discrimination, including in CJ system
- Furthered causes of victims by highlighting unequal treatment of African American victims and offenders:
 - Police brutality
 - Legal representation in the courts
 - Disparate sentences

Women's Movement

- 1960s and 1970s
- Especially influential in two CJ areas:
 - Sexual victimization
 - Repeal of marital exemption laws
 - Legally impossible for wife to pursue rape charges against husband
 - Spousal abuse
 - Poor response by CJ system shows women have subservient place in society
- Development of victim services, shelters, and legal actions

Children's Movement

- 1960s: first time children were recognized as a group of victims with special needs
- 1962: Dr. Henry H. Kempe drew attention to the issue of child abuse
 - "Battered-child syndrome"
 - Occurs when a young child suffers repeated physical abuse by parents or other caregivers
 - Called on medical community to report suspected cases
 - Advocates pushed for expanded rights and services for child crime victims

Political Origins of Victimology

- Efforts of academic interest and grass-roots movements coalesced
- United States began to address, politically, the plight of crime victims
- Change largely driven by:
 - "Law and Order" movement
 - President's Commission on Law Enforcement
 - Federal legislation

"Law and Order" Movement

- 1960s and 1970s
- Based on particular crime-control philosophy
 - Swift justice
 - Harsh punishments
 - CJ efficiency
- Support for victims' rights
- Victims' changing roles in CJ process

President's Commission on Law Enforcement

- 1960s
- Law Enforcement Assistance Act (LEAA)
 1965
- Office of Law Enforcement Assistance
- The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society
 - 1967
 - Recommendation for CJ response to victims, among other issues addressed

Federal Legislation

- 1980s and 1990s
- Many federal laws passed
- For example:
 - Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act, 1975
 - Victims of Crime Act, 1984
 - Violence against Women Act, 1994
 - "Megan's Law," 1996

Summary of Origins of Victimology

- First-generation academic origins
 - Assessed degree to which victims contribute to criminal events through *precipitation*, *facilitation*, and *provocation*
 - Development of typologies, early empirical research
- Grass-roots origins
 - Separate social justice movements
 - Aimed at improving lives of marginalized groups, including crime victims
- Political origins
 - Changes in policy and law related to victims