

Special Report to the Legislature on Senate Resolution 18



Crimes Committed Against

Homeless Persons



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- Collect, analyze, and report data which provide valid measures of crime and the criminal justice process.
- Examine these data on an ongoing basis to better describe crime and the criminal justice system.
- Promote the responsible presentation and use of crime statistics.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study was performed in response to Senate Resolution 18 (SR 18) introduced by Senator Burton in August 2001. The resolution requests the Attorney General to assess the extent of crimes committed against homeless persons and to develop a plan to improve prevention, reporting, apprehension, and prosecution of these crimes. SR 18 requests the Attorney General to consult homeless persons and their advocates, law enforcement agencies, and the Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training in developing the plan. The resolution also requests the Attorney General to make a recommendation whether the definition of hate crimes should be expanded to include crimes committed in whole or in part because the victim is perceived to be homeless.

The study consisted of a comprehensive literature review and interviews with 162 participants (105 homeless persons, 25 advocates of homeless persons, 17 law enforcement officers, and 15 prosecutors) from seven Northern California cities (Marysville, Sacramento, Stockton, Vacaville, Berkeley, Oakland, and San Francisco). Participants were queried on the aspects of homeless victimization that are outlined in SR 18 (prevalence, prevention, reporting, apprehension, prosecution, and hate crime). The development of the questionnaires used for the interviews was based on literature indications and comments from homeless persons and professionals who had experience with homeless persons and/or homeless victimization.

What is the Prevalence of Crimes Committed Against Homeless Persons?

A review of recent literature indicates current estimates of homeless persons in California

municipalities to be approximately 100,000 on any given night. Larger cities within California such as San Francisco and Los Angeles (including Beverly Hills, Pasadena, and Santa Monica) account for the largest portion of the homeless population (over 14,000 and 77,000, respectively).

Two common findings across the few existing studies on the victimization of homeless persons are that they tend to be victimized more than the general domiciled population and tend to have disproportionately higher incarceration rates than the general domiciled population. Past research on homeless persons also indicates a link between vulnerability of victimization and the tendency toward offending, which may be a function of sociodemographic characteristics, influential environmental factors of street life, or that an individual on one given occasion is a victim and on another given occasion is a perpetrator.

Data from the present study indicated that 66% percent of homeless participants stated that they were victimized in 2001. Of these, 72% said they were victimized more than once and 31% said they were victimized more than five times. The majority of victims were either assaulted or robbed¹ (75% indicated assault, 74% indicated robbery, 12% indicated forced crime participation, and 23% indicated rape). Of those who were assaulted, 79% said that it occurred two or more times. Of those who were robbed, 76% said that it happened more than once. These findings suggest that assault and robbery victimization are risk factors for subsequent assault and robbery victimization, respectively.

¹Eight percent of the indicated robberies were actually thefts but were included in the robbery category due to similarity of offense (money and/or property taken) and relatively low frequency of occurrence.

Homeless persons and their advocates indicated higher frequencies of homeless victimization than did law enforcement officers and prosecutors. In many cases, homeless victimization was reported to advocates but not to law enforcement officers. Consequently, law enforcement agencies did not receive homeless victimization cases to submit to prosecutors.

What Do We Know About Prevention, Reporting, Apprehension, and Prosecution of Crimes Committed Against Homeless Persons?

A review of recent literature revealed that prevention, reporting, apprehension, and prosecution strategies specific to the homeless community have not been empirically investigated. Additionally, there were no homeless programs found in recent literature that have crime prevention as an expressed goal.

Past research has indicated, however, several commonalities among homeless victims and perpetrators of crimes against homeless victims. First, a few studies on victim-offender relationships in homeless victimization have indicated that both offenders and victims tend to be young, unemployed, single, and male. Second, homeless adults perceive that there are few legitimate means of survival. Therefore, they adopt subsistence strategies which often involve deviant or risky behaviors such as panhandling, shoplifting, selling drugs, theft, or selling sexual acts. Third, in the general domiciled population, 38% of assault and 70% of robbery perpetrators are strangers to the victim. In contrast, the present study showed that only 16% of homeless victims said they were victimized by a stranger. These findings suggest that homelessness increases the risk for victimization by an acquaintance. Fourth, the pattern of victimizations among homeless populations tends to result in misdemeanor convictions resulting in jail stays for perpetrators. Finally, causal effects of homelessness on victimization for which there are empirical evidence include being present at an opportune time and place to be a crime victim, encountering

motivated offenders, being a suitable target, and living without guardianship.

Data from the present study indicated that the majority of homeless participants abused alcohol and/or illicit drugs, suffered from a mental disorder(s), and were not employed at the time of the survey. Most of the homeless victims in the study said that victimization occurred most often outdoors, at night, when they were alone, and by an acquaintance (77% of victims [53 out of 69] could identify the perpetrator on one or more occasions).²

Seventy-five percent of homeless participants who said they were victimized also said they had been a victim of a crime(s) that they did not report. Victims who did report victimization(s) to a law enforcement officer also said there were occasions when they perceived that the law enforcement officer did not believe them and/or the law enforcement officer did not care about the victimization report. It is important to note that indications of belief and/or caring attitude on the part of law enforcement officers are perceptions of homeless participants as opposed to statements of fact. Most law enforcement officers agreed with the general perspective of prosecutors that substance abuse on the part of victims hinders the reporting process and therefore apprehension and prosecutorial efforts. Most law enforcement officers and prosecutors also indicated that current apprehension and prosecutorial strategies are effective irrespective of housing status.

Homeless persons and their advocates indicated that an increase in the number and type of social services made available to homeless persons would be effective crime prevention measures. It was also reported that increased surveillance by law enforcement in the homeless community and problem-oriented policing programs (special problem-police teams working in conjunction with social service departments trained to focus on issues affecting homeless victimization) would strengthen apprehension and prosecutorial efforts.

²Seven percent (5 out of 69) did not see the perpetrator (i.e., awakened to find evidence of assault such as bruises or were raped at night without being able to see the offender).

Should the Definition of Hate Crime be Expanded?

Results of the present study do not support the expansion of the definition of hate crimes to include crimes committed in whole or in part because the victim is homeless or is perceived to be homeless. One out of four data groups (advocates) indicated that crimes motivated by the victim's housing status do occur in the homeless community. Three data groups (law enforcement officers, prosecutors, and homeless persons)³ indicated that crimes motivated by the victim's housing status do not occur in the homeless community.

Specifically, reports from advocates in five of the seven cities indicated that crimes motivated by the victim's housing status against homeless persons occur with regularity (advocates based the frequency of crimes motivated by the victim's housing status against homeless persons on reports from homeless persons, homeless shelter personnel, and newspaper articles). One-hundred percent of law enforcement officers and prosecutors stated that they had no knowledge of crimes motivated by the victim's housing status in the homeless community. Seventy percent of homeless participants (48 out of 69) perceived they were victimized on one or more occasions because they were homeless; however, there were no indications of expressed bias-motivation on the part of the perpetrator. On one or more occasions 61% (42 out of 69) perceived that the perpetrator was also homeless and 77% of homeless participants said that they were victimized by an acquaintance.

Plan for Improving Prevention and Reporting

As noted, information gleaned from current literature revealed no empirically based reports of past or present crime prevention strategies specific

³The majority of homeless persons who perceived being victimized because of their housing status also stated that the offender was a homeless acquaintance. Victims also said that victimizations occurred while both the victim and the offender were inebriated.

to the homeless community. Also, there were no homeless programs found in the cities selected for this study that have crime prevention as an expressed goal. Accordingly, information useful for developing prevention strategies must be identified, accumulated, and analyzed.

A first step in this process is to track the frequency and type of crimes that are committed against homeless persons. The extent and nature of homeless victimization in California has not been systematically tracked and therefore quantified because of the lack of reporting by homeless victims and because there is no centralized data-collection system in place which identifies victims as being homeless.

Approximately two-thirds of homeless participants in this study stated they were victimized in 2001, suggesting an estimate of over 66,000 homeless persons victimized in California in 2001. A centralized statewide data-collection system in conjunction with a comprehensive research study would allow the frequency and type of homeless victimizations to be tracked, leading to both an increased understanding of the extent and nature of crimes committed against homeless persons, as well as more effective prevention strategies for these crimes.

Plan for Improving Apprehension and Prosecution

Apprehension and prosecution can be enhanced by improving the mechanism by which crimes against homeless persons are reported. Specifically, increasing the accessibility of law enforcement to the homeless community and implementing procedures to change current perceptions of some homeless victims – that there is a lack of follow through on homeless victimization reports by law enforcement officers – could increase the frequency of reports of homeless victimization to law enforcement. If homeless victims have the perception that a system is in place to prosecute perpetrators of crimes committed against them, they will be more likely to report these crimes.

*Legislative Recommendations**Prevention and Reporting*

- Provide funding to the California Department of Justice (DOJ) to establish and maintain a statewide reporting system to track the frequency and types of crimes committed against homeless persons that are reported to law enforcement agencies and to obtain information on arrests, dispositions, and perpetrators from existing DOJ databases. The system would be comprised of a DOJ database, an annual report, and a 2-year investigative study employed for the purposes of refining the system and gaining knowledge of effective preventive strategies. The statewide reporting system would cost an estimated \$650,000 for the first year, \$400,000 the second year, and \$230,000 each year thereafter.

Apprehension and Prosecution

- Provide funding for the inclusion in the Peace Officer Standards and Training (POST) curriculum the following information that addresses the improvement of reporting

homeless victimization: (1) increasing the accessibility of law enforcement to homeless victims and (2) extending reporting follow-up procedures to include notification to homeless victims of a place and time where they can obtain information regarding the status of reported crime(s). Estimates for additions to the POST curriculum would be determined by POST. The current cost to develop a 2-hour POST training course is typically \$75,000.

Expansion of Hate Crime Definition

- Data obtained from the seven Northern California cities indicated that there is not sufficient evidence to recommend the expansion of the definition of hate crimes to include crimes committed in whole or in part because the victim is homeless or is perceived to be homeless.
- A subsequent study which includes a larger sample of cities from all regions of California would allow a recommendation to be made based on statewide data.

More 

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INTRODUCTION

Purpose

The purpose of the present study is to respond to the requests outlined in Senate Resolution 18 which was introduced by Senator Burton in August 2001. The resolution requests the Attorney General to assess the extent of the problem of crimes against homeless persons and to develop a plan to improve prevention, reporting, apprehension, and prosecution. The resolution also requests the Attorney General to submit a report of the findings, recommendations for any legislation necessary to carry out the plan, and a recommendation whether to include housing status as a hate crime category to the legislature by December 2002. The legislative mandate reads as follows:

Resolved by the Senate of California, That the Senate requests the Attorney General to do each of the following:

(a) Assess the extent of the problem of crimes against homeless persons and to develop a plan to prevent and report these crimes and to apprehend and prosecute the perpetrators of these crimes. The Senate requests that, in developing the assessment and plan, the Attorney General consult homeless persons and their advocates, law enforcement agencies experienced with antihomeless crime, and the Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training.

(b) Make an initial report to the legislature by January 7, 2002, and a final report by December 1, 2002. The Senate requests that the report include recommendations for any legislation necessary to carry out the plan, and a recommendation on whether to expand the definition of hate crime to include crimes committed in whole or in part because the victim is homeless or is perceived to be homeless.

Accordingly, no primary hypothesis has been formulated. The objective of the present investigative analysis is the process itself, which was designed to uncover specific patterns in existing interview data and current literature indications in order to develop an explanatory theoretical framework.

Funding Limitations

No funding was provided for this study. Therefore, the following restrictions were applied: (1) mode of travel, (2) number of interviewers, (3) location and number of cities, and (4) sample size. Specifically, the location of cities was limited to those that could be driven to within three hours or less from the California Department of Justice in Sacramento. The number of cities, and therefore the sample size, was limited to the number of participants who could be interviewed by one individual.

Operational Definitions of Concepts

Homelessness. According to the Stewart B. McKinney Act, 42 U.S.C. §11301, et seq. (1994), persons are considered homeless who lack a fixed, regular, and adequate night-time residence and persons whose night-time residence is: (1) a supervised publicly or privately operated shelter designed to provide temporary living accommodations, (2) an institution that provides a temporary residence for individuals intended to be institutionalized, or (3) a public or private place not designed for, or ordinarily used as, a regular sleeping accommodation for human beings, 42 U.S.C. §11302(a), U.S.C. §11302(c).

The McKinney definition usually refers to persons in large, urban communities who are literally homeless (living on the streets or in

shelters; Breakey, Fischer, Kramer, Nestadt, Romanoski, Ross, Royall, and Stine, 1989) or those who face imminent eviction (within a 7-day period) from a private dwelling or institution with no viable subsequent plans for housing (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development). Persons experiencing homelessness in rural areas are less likely to live on the street or in a shelter and more likely to live with relatives in overcrowded or substandard housing (U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1996).

Prevalence of Homelessness. Adults are homeless for a multiplicity of reasons (Bassuk and Rosenberg, 1988; Weitzman, Knickman, and Shin, 1990). Episodic (typically a function of a short-term, non-recurring financial setback or acute crisis), cyclical (usually precipitated by a temporary physical illness, accident, or income reduction), and chronic homelessness (usually due to permanent job loss, eviction, mental illness and/or substance abuse problems, protracted health issues or disability, or domestic violence) continues to rise in and around both large metropolitan cities and rural areas. Since 1970, the U.S. has been faced with a simultaneous increase in the number of indigent persons and a decrease in places for them to live (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1994; National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty, 1999; National Coalition for the Homeless, 2000). The U.S. Conference of Mayors annual Report on Status of Hunger and Homeless in American Cities indicates a consistent rise in homeless populations across the nation's cities since 1999.

Current national estimates of homeless persons vary widely from 600,000 (Department of Urban Development) to three million (National Coalition on Homelessness). This variation appears to be a function of several logistical challenges faced by Census Bureau enumerators including mobility of the homeless population, timing of observations

(late arrival or early departure to selected sites), and knowledge of the esoteric nature of homeless camping sites (U.S. Census Bureau, 1992; Martin, Laska, Hopper, Meisner, Wanderling, 1997).

Based on figures from a report issued by the National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty, conservative estimates for the current number of homeless persons in California municipalities indicate upwards of 100,000 on any given night. Larger cities within California such as San Francisco and Los Angeles (including Beverly Hills, Pasadena, and Santa Monica) account for the largest portion of the homeless population (over 14,000 and 77,000, respectively).

Demographic Characteristics Associated with Homeless Victimization. Contrary to the stereotypical image of homeless persons being single adult males panhandling in and around large cities, past research indicates that demographic profiles of this marginal population is dynamic and much more complex. The new face of the homeless community is one of a diverse group that not only includes individual adults, but is also made up of youth and families (Baxter and Hopper, 1984; Committee on Health Care for Homeless People, 1988). In fact, families with children constitute approximately 40% of people who have become homeless (Bassuk, Rubin, and Lauriat, 1986; Shimm and Weitzman, 1996). Findings from the U.S. Conference of Mayors survey in 1998 indicated that families comprised 38% of the homeless population.

Studies comparing urban and rural homeless communities illustrate this trend. Homeless adults in rural areas are now more likely to be employed married females with children, many of whom are battered women living in poverty (National Coalition for the Homeless, 2000; Vissing, 1996). Of 777 homeless parents interviewed in ten U.S. cities, 22% said they had left their last place of residence because of domestic violence (Homes for the Homeless, 1998). Forty percent of the

cities surveyed by the U.S. Conference of Mayors (1998) identified domestic violence as a primary cause of homelessness.

Another large segment of the homeless population is comprised of those with mental illness (Robertson, 1992; and Tuprin and Tate, 1997). Most of what is known about mentally ill homeless people is based on descriptive statistics from several studies conducted in various parts of the U.S.

Belcher (1989), in his study of 132 discharged mental patients from the Midwest, found that those who became homeless were more likely to be involved with law enforcement than those who were domiciled. Gelberg, Linn, and Leake (1988) surveyed 529 adults in Los Angeles for arrest and conviction rates and history of psychiatric illness. Results indicated that homeless individuals with a history of psychiatric hospitalization were more likely to have self-reported arrest and felony convictions from age 18. Pruett (1989) found that undomiciled male detainees in Chicago had the highest rates of serious mental disorders. Finally, in his survey of 137 perpetrators in New York City's primary forensic treatment facility, Martell (1991) found that 50% of the patients were undomiciled.

Many homeless persons with mental illness are also experiencing substance abuse disorders (Robertson, 1992; and Tuprin and Tate, 1997). An estimated 25% of the homeless community suffers from mental illness (Koegel, 1996) and also possess exceedingly high rates of addiction disorders (National Coalition for the Homeless, 1997).

Recent epidemiologic research, for example, has identified alcohol use as the single most common health problem for homeless adults (Fischer and Breakey, 1991; Institute of Medicine, 1998). While estimates of prevalence of alcohol use among homeless persons vary, they are consistently more than twice those of the general

domiciled population at any one point in time (Fischer, 1991). Additionally, there is an over-representation of homeless adults among clients of public alcohol treatment programs (Speigman, 1989).

A substantial portion of homeless persons with either mental or substance abuse disorders are U.S. Veterans. Research indicates that 40% of homeless adult males have served in the armed forces, compared to 34% of the general adult male population (Rosenheck, 1996). The U.S. Conference of Mayors survey (1998) found that 22% of the urban homeless population were veterans.

Other demographic commonalities of homeless persons include isolation from social support networks (Belcher, 1998; and Walsh and Bricout, 1996), tendencies toward depression (Feital, Chamas, and Lipman, 1992; Kufeldt and Nimmo, 1987; and Whitbeck, Hoyt, and Ackley, 1997), poor general health (Bunston and Breton, 1990; Northern California Council for the Community, 1998; Wojtusik and White, 1997), extreme poverty (Lubrin, 1990), and chronic interpersonal challenges (Fischer, Shapiro, Breakey, Anthony, and Kramer, 1986). Experiencing any one of these conditions singularly, or living with the cumulative effects of two or more of them, results in increased vulnerability to victimization.

Current Literature and Past Research Indications

Prevalence of Crimes Against Homeless Persons. Homelessness is not a new phenomenon (Hopper and Hamberg, 1986; Momeni, 1989); it has been researched widely with respect to its nature and prevalence. However, very few studies have investigated the frequency and type of criminal activities that often accompany the experience of being homeless. Moreover, the studies that have focused on homeless victimization were conducted in varying locations across the country and provide conflicting evidence about the relationship between homelessness and crime.

There are relatively few but longstanding findings suggesting that sociodemographic characteristics associated with homeless persons causes them to view criminal activity as a viable means of survival (Benda 1979; Glueck and Glueck, 1937, 1943; Johnson, 1987; Toch, 1969; Wooten, 1959). The overriding thesis of these studies is that current afflictions among homeless persons are related to a history of problems and are not solely the result of being homeless (Bachrach, 1984).

Conversely, results of other studies have indicated a reversed causal relationship, meaning that street experience precipitates criminal activity by the individual as opposed to characteristics of the individual causing criminal activity in the streets. These findings illustrate the opportunity model of predatory victimization (Cohen and Felson, 1979; and Cohen, Kluegel, and Land, 1981), which suggests that certain ecological conditions (the presence of motivated offenders, suitable targets, and the absence of capable guardians) increase the likelihood of victimization (Sampson, 1985; Stafford and Galle, 1984).

Because the perception among homeless adults is that there are few legitimate means of survival, subsistence strategies often involve deviant or risky behaviors such as panhandling, shoplifting, selling drugs, theft, or selling sexual acts (Hersch, 1988; Janus, McCormack, Burgess, and Hartman, 1987; Simons and Whitbeck, 1991). For homeless youth, spending time on the streets increases the risk of victimization by increasing the likelihood of affiliation with defiant peers who may serve both to socialize antisocial behaviors and to directly exploit one another (Whitbeck and Simons, 1990). The general theory here is that the very nature of the homeless experience fosters involvement in deviant subsistence strategies (Hagan and McCarthy, 1992, 1997; Whitbeck and Simmons, 1990; Whitbeck, Hoyt, and Ackley, 1997).

Several theories have emerged attempting to explain the causal effect of homelessness on victimization. The routine activity theory (convergence of time and place, motivated offenders, suitable targets and absence of guardianship; Cohen and Felson, 1979), lifestyle theory (variation in victimization patterns as a function of differing levels of exposure to criminal opportunities; Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garofalo, 1978), and structural-choice theory (a synthesis of the routine activity and lifestyle theories; Miethe and Meier, 1990) have been applied to the study of victimization, with emphasis on causal influences. With minor variation across these three perspectives, higher rates of victimization have been associated with proximity to potential offenders, exposure to high risk situations, target attractiveness of the potential victim, and low levels of guardianship (Miethe and Meier, 1990).

Two consistent findings across homeless victimization studies indicate that homeless persons tend to be victimized more than the general domiciled population (Cohen and Sokolovsky, 1986; D'Ercole and Struening, 1990) and tend to have disproportionately higher incarceration rates relative to persons with housing (Rossi, 1989; and Momeni, 1989).

For example, in a comparative analysis of arrest rates for homeless and non-homeless males in Austin, Texas, Snow, Baker, and Anderson (1989) provide evidence of higher arrest rates for the homeless. Specifically, the report shows that homeless males had significantly higher rates of arrest for car theft, burglary, petty theft, trespassing, and substance-related offenses (but not for assault, murder, and rape) than non-homeless males. Similarly, Gelberg, Lin, and Leake (1988) reported a disproportionate arrest and conviction rate for 529 homeless adults interviewed in Los Angeles. In a survey of

mission users in Eastern Baltimore, Fischer, Shapiro, Breakey, Anthony, and Kramer (1986) found that homeless adult males were more than twice as likely to have been arrested (58%) than domiciled men (24%), were more likely to have experienced multiple arrests (97% vs. 38%), and were more likely to report felony convictions (16% vs. 5%).

Preventing and Reporting Crimes Against Homeless Persons. The goal of preventing crimes committed against homeless persons is to make various types of offenses more difficult to commit (situational prevention; targeting the situation and location of the crime) and to reduce the supply of motivated offenders (social prevention; targeting the offender and risk factors associated with offending). As has been the case with homeless victimization in general, there is a dearth of research on the prevention and reporting of crimes committed against homeless persons (Whitbeck and Simons, 1990). Consequently, empirical evidence for the situational and social factors specific to the homeless community are unknown and therefore not reported, measured, and analyzed.

Programs throughout various municipalities in the state of California, while not expressly stating crime prevention as their goal, have served to effectively target both the situational and social aspects of crime prevention in the homeless community. For example, the Matrix program, implemented in San Francisco in 1993, was a joint effort between law enforcement officers and the city's social service workers to restore order and to help get homeless persons off the street.

The program dictated enforcement of existing ordinances covering such offenses as public inebriation, public urination and defecation, trespassing, street sales of narcotics, dumping of refuse, graffiti, camping and lodging in public parks, and obstructing walkways. The Matrix program also provided social service outreach to

homeless persons. While not without criticism, the program has served to decrease the number of persons living on the street and consequently the number of complaints from domiciled San Franciscans, business owners, and tourists.

State homeless programs, the objectives of which mirror those governed by cities, are multidisciplinary efforts administered by several state departments including the Departments of Aging, Alcohol and Drug Programs, Economic Opportunity, Education, General Services, Health Services, Housing and Community Development, Mental Health, Veteran Affairs, Social Services, Employment Development, and the Office of Criminal Justice Planning.

Apprehending and Prosecuting Perpetrators of Crimes Against Homeless Persons. Apprehension efforts by law enforcement for those crimes that are not prevented, and subsequent prosecutorial efforts, are hampered by low reporting rates, irrespective of the victim's housing status. The absence of a standardized and centralized reporting system for homeless victims makes it difficult, if not insurmountable, to analyze the distribution of victimization and to explore factors that impact reporting rates for homeless victimization across California cities. Where attempts have been made to classify crimes that have been reported, findings support the idea that the pattern of victimizations among homeless populations tends towards misdemeanor offenses resulting in jail stays (Fischer, 1988; Snow *et al.*, 1988).

Hate Crime. As defined in California Penal Code §13023, a hate crime is any criminal act or attempted criminal act motivated by hatred based on race, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation, or disability. Aspects of these crimes currently reported to the Department of Justice by all California Law Enforcement Agencies include bias motivation, type of crime, location of crime, number of victims, and number of known alleged perpetrators.

Hate crimes are typically called bias-motivated crimes (of violence and/or intimidation), referring to the bias of the perpetrator against the victim's real or perceived affiliation or circumstance. A requisite for legislatively including a class of citizens as a protected group is the ability to prove bias-motivation.

Federal hate crime legislation has existed in broad form since the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which designated racial, religious, and nationality groups as protected classes. Subsequent expansions have occurred to include sexual orientation, gender, and disability.

There have been efforts on the part of advocates of homeless persons, both at the state and federal level, to include housing status as a

hate crime category. In California in 1994, AB 2521, which sought to include homeless people and immigration status among protected groups, passed both houses of the California legislature but was not signed into law.

For the past several years, an advocate group for homeless persons (National Coalition for Homeless Persons) has reported statistics on crime motivated by the victim's housing status (based on data from news reports and homeless shelters) from around the country. Based on this report, there were approximately 78 reported anti-homeless crimes committed against homeless persons in the U.S. in 2001, five of which were reported to have occurred in California.

More 

METHOD

Participants

Characteristics. The total sample of 162 participants was comprised of 105 homeless persons from seven municipalities including Marysville, Sacramento, Stockton, Vacaville, Berkeley, Oakland, and San Francisco, and 57 professionals from the same cities who were experienced with homeless victimization or had knowledge of factors involved in homeless victimization. There were 53 homeless men and 52 homeless women ranging in age from 19 to 61 (Mean = 40, Sd = 10). The sample included 47% White, 37% Black, 5% Hispanic, 5% Multi-Racial, 3% Asian/Pacific Islander, and 3% American Indian/Alaskan Native. Education levels included 32% that did not graduate from high school, 42% with a high school diploma, 22% with 1 to 2 years of college, and 4% with a college degree.

The remaining 57 participants included 25 advocates of homeless persons, 17 law enforcement officers, and 15 prosecutors. Table 1 contains the number of participants per city for each data group.

Participation in this study was voluntary. Homeless participants were recruited from a pool of homeless persons residing at shelters or utilizing day service programs. Advocates of homeless persons, law enforcement officers, and prosecutors were recruited from a pool of like professionals employed by public and private organizations, agencies, and departments. Participants were not compensated for their participation.

Sampling Strategy. Due to the potentially fluid and unstable nature of the characteristics associated with homeless persons (outlined in the introduction section of this report) and the relatively small number of professionals who have experience with homeless victimization or knowledge of factors involved in homeless victimization, typical random sampling techniques based on estimations of population composition and size was not possible. Accordingly, a sampling technique often employed in field research of little known or hard to reach subjects, termed snowball technique (Hagan, 1993; Inciardi, Pottieger, Forney, Chitwood, and McBride, 1991; and Maxfield and Babbie, 1995), was used in the present study. This process begins with a single or

Table 1
Number of Participants Per City for Each Data Group

City	Homeless Persons	Advocates	Law Enforcement	Prosecutors
Marysville	15	3	1	1
Sacramento	15	5	3	3
Stockton	15	2	2	2
Vacaville	15	3	2	1
Berkeley	15	2	3	2
Oakland	15	6	3	3
San Francisco	15	4	3	3
Total	105	25	17	15

Note: n = 162.

small group of eligible participants who are then asked to identify, recruit, or provide additional contact information for other persons who meet the eligibility requirements of the study.

Participant Eligibility. Eligibility for homeless participants was based on geographical location, housing status in 2001, and willingness to participate in the study on a volunteer basis. Eligibility for the remaining participants was based on geographical location, occupation status in 2001, and willingness to participate in the study on a volunteer basis.

Site Selection. Funding limitations restricted the number (no more than seven) and location (within a few hours driving distance from the Department of Justice in Sacramento) of sites. The seven Northern California cities that were selected included Marysville, Sacramento, Stockton, Vacaville, Berkeley, Oakland, and San Francisco. The group of selected cities varied in size and total number of homeless citizens.

Instrumentation

Development of Questionnaire Used to Interview Homeless Persons. The questionnaire used to interview homeless participants (Appendix A) was preceded by a 20-item demographic inventory (Appendix B). The goal of the questionnaire was to obtain first-hand knowledge on the aspects of homeless victimization that were investigated in this study including prevalence, prevention, reporting, apprehension, prosecution, and categorization as a hate crime.

The development of the 20-item questionnaire was typical of most self-report items in that they were based on a literature review. Commentary from homeless persons and various professionals who had experience with homeless persons and/or homeless victimization were also used during the process of formulating items. Individual items were chosen randomly from item sorts. Items were languaged and sequenced such that potentially

threatening items were positioned strategically among potentially less threatening items.

Pilot Testing. Questionnaire items were pilot-tested on 21 homeless persons from two shelters located in Northern California cities (11 in Davis and 10 in Woodland). Revisions to the measure (rephrasing and repositioning of items) and the administration process (changes in strategies employed to elicit specific information) were made accordingly.

Validity of the Homeless Participant Questionnaire. A Principal Components Factor Analysis with Varimax extraction was performed on the questionnaire (using pilot data) used to interview homeless persons with SAS, version 8. Results yielded four unrotated factors with eigenvalues of 1.00. Following examination of the number of items that loaded on each factor (with a loading criterion of .40), item content, explained variance, and reliability coefficients, the determination was made that a unidimensional structure underlies the measure in its current form. A subsequent single-factor and reliability analyses accounted for 75% of the total variance and yielded an alpha of .55. Alpha levels between .50 and .60 are generally interpreted as moderate.

Some of the questionnaire items were of an obtrusive nature and therefore had the potential to adversely effect the willingness of participants to be forthcoming. Assurances from homeless shelter and day-service facility administrators and program directors indicated that responses to questionnaire items from homeless participants were in keeping with what they knew to be valid information.

Development of Surveys used to Consult with Advocates of Homeless Persons, Law Enforcement Officers, and Prosecutors. The goal of the questionnaires (Appendices C, D, and E, respectively) used to consult with advocates of homeless persons, law enforcement personnel, and prosecutors was to obtain first-hand knowledge of

the aspects of homeless victimization that were investigated in this study including prevalence, prevention, reporting, apprehension, prosecution, and categorization as a hate crime. Items selected for inclusion in the measure were also based on a literature review. The final item on all questionnaires was open-ended and provided an opportunity for participants to add information of their choosing.

Procedure

Research Session for Homeless Persons.

Several minutes were used at the outset of each interview to establish rapport with each participant. Information provided at the beginning of the interview included the name and professional affiliation of the researcher and the purpose of the study. Participants were also advised of the types of questions contained in the questionnaire, that no personal identifying information would be recorded or otherwise utilized, and that participation was on a voluntary basis and could be stopped at any time during the interview. The same information was also provided in a written consent form (Appendix F) that each participant was asked to sign as a requisite for participation in the study.

Each participant was then queried on 20 demographic items and 20 items pertaining to victimization during individual, face-to-face interviews of approximately 20 minutes in length. Flexibility was exercised in wording and sequencing of items in an effort to facilitate rapport when necessary. At the close of each interview, participants were verbally debriefed (Appendix G) on the location and number of participants being interviewed, what the information gleaned from the interviews would be used for, and how they could access a copy of the final report.

Research Sessions for Advocates of Homeless Persons, Law Enforcement Officers, and Prosecutors. Semi-structured consultation interviews were conducted with advocates of homeless persons, law enforcement personnel, and prosecutors. Information provided prior to each interview included the name and professional affiliation of the researcher and the purpose of the study. Participants were also advised of the types of questions contained in the questionnaire, that their statements would remain confidential, and that participation was on a voluntary basis.

Participants were queried on the aspects of homeless victimization that were investigated for the purposes of this study including prevalence, prevention, reporting, apprehension, prosecution, and hate crime during individual, face-to-face interviews of approximately 30 minutes in length. At the close of each interview, participants were verbally debriefed on the location and number of participants being interviewed, what the information gleaned from the interviews would be used for, and that they would be sent a copy of the final report.

Analysis

Research Design. Data derived from an investigative field study, in conjunction with current literature indications, was used in a qualitative analysis designed to better understand the prevalence and nature of homeless victimization. The analysis was performed using Grounded Theory processes. Grounded Theory uses set procedures for analysis (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) which provide a “procedure for developing categories of information, interconnecting the categories, building a ‘story’ that connects the categories, and ending with a discursive set of theoretical propositions” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). The resulting propositions provide the basis for responses to the research

questions outlined in Senate Resolution 18.

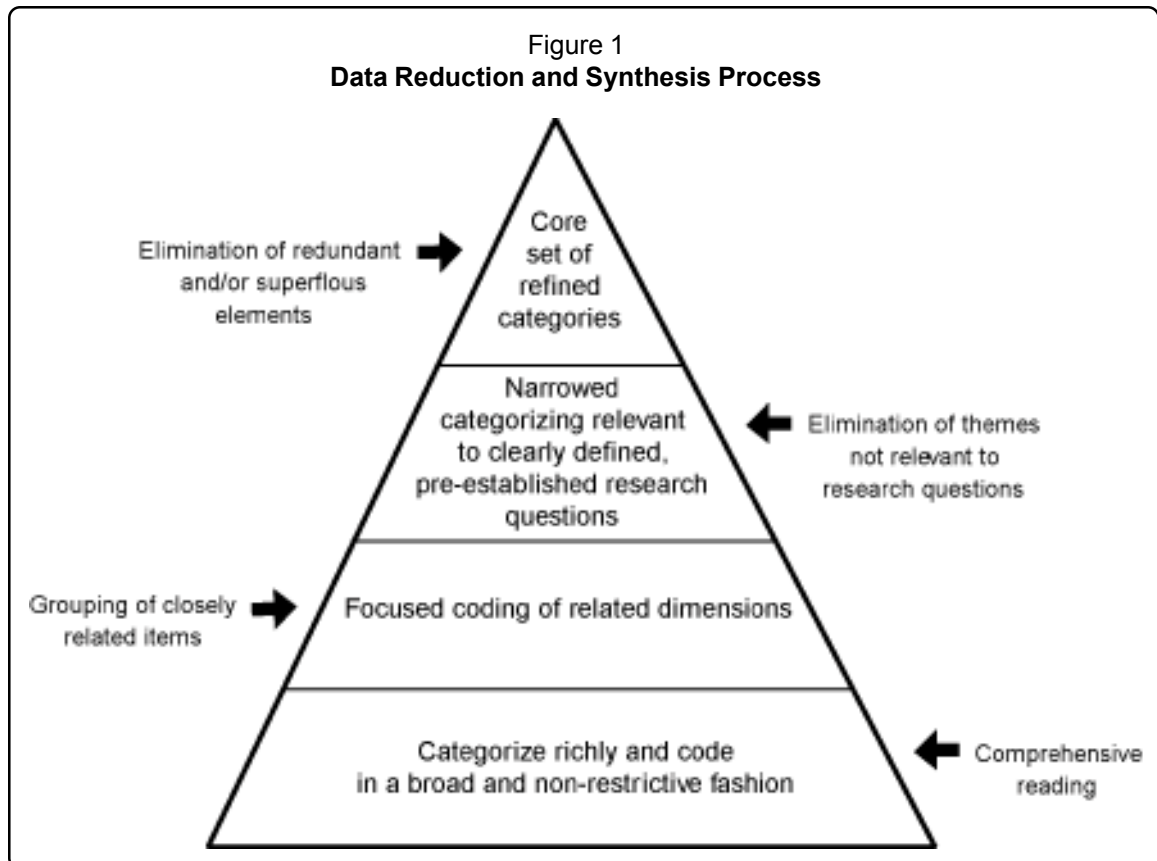
Approach. The approach used for reduction and synthesis of interview data involves a progressive focusing of data implications aimed at the formulation of a core set of refined categories of phenomena. The process begins with a comprehensive reading of all data. This is followed by categorizing and coding the data in a broad and non-restrictive fashion. A second reading allows grouping of related dimensions (closely related items). A third reading is conducted in which irrelevant themes to the research question are removed. A final reading, eliminating redundant or superfluous elements, yields a core set of refined categories. This progressive focus process is illustrated in Figure 1.

Categories of phenomena for each data group (homeless persons, advocates of homeless persons, law enforcement officers, and prosecutors) were

examined for relationships and patterns within and across those groups. Categories of phenomena represented by the data for each city (Marysville, Sacramento, Stockton, Vacaville, Berkeley, Oakland, and San Francisco) were examined for relationships and patterns within and across each city.

Relationships and patterns within a particular group or city provide information useful for identifying and implementing strategies for preventing crimes against homeless persons, and improving reporting, apprehension, and prosecution of those crimes which do occur, within a specific group or city. Commonalities across groups and cities increase generalizability of the results.

Research Limitations. Logistical limitations of the present study included subjectivity involved in qualitative analysis of retrospective; self-report;



anonymous data; restricted length of the investigation period; restricted geographical location of the subject pool; the use of a female researcher to interview homeless males about intimate aspects of their victimization experiences (sexual assault and sexual abuse); and prohibitive characteristics of some homeless participants (mental illness and alcohol and drug abuse).

A conceptual limitation was the inability to compare and contrast all aspects of data implications. This was due to lack of recall on the part of some homeless participants who verbally indicated they were, or appeared to be, under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol and/or suffering from a physical or mental disorder(s). Additionally, the analysis was further restricted by the inability to quantify the total number of victimizations. Accordingly, the number of victims and the number of indicated victimization(s) within a data

group or offense category (as opposed to the total number of victimizations) were analyzed.

Suggestions for future research should incorporate a wider geographical spread and a longer investigation period into the research design. Additionally, homeless individuals could be selected for participation in the study based on ability to recall, quantify, and report victimization experiences within a specified period of time in order that quantitative analysis can be performed.

Future work should be carried out using a multivariate approach to elicit possible interactions between various aspects of homeless victimization. Specifically, multiple regression analysis could be used to examine the relationship between victim characteristics and victimization. Discriminant analysis could be used to compare and contrast homeless victims with homeless non-victims.

More 

RESULTS

Variability Within Data Groups

Tables 2 through 9 summarize data variability for homeless participants. The mean for the dichotomous sociodemographic variables associated with homeless victimization were calculated for each of the 105 homeless persons who participated in the study. Table 2 summarizes the demographic profiles.

Results indicated that the majority of participants abused alcohol and illicit drugs, suffered from a mental disorder(s), and were not employed at the time of the survey.

Victimization frequency has been shown to be related to differences in individual characteristics in the domiciled population (Lurigio, 1987), but appear to be neutralized by the condition of homelessness in the present sample. Increased victimization appears to be associated with factors related to the opportunity model of predatory victimization including employment status, whether the victim receives benefits, mental health status, and drug use. Homeless persons who work or receive benefits are attractive targets of robbery and petty theft, while homeless persons with

mental health and drug abuse problems have been associated with reduced ability to protect and defend themselves.

Table 3 summarizes the distribution of the quantity of various types of victimizations indicated by homeless participants during the interview sessions. Types of victimizations included physical assaults, robberies, forced crime participation, and rape. It is important to note that 8% of the indicated robberies were actually thefts but were included in the robbery category due to the similarity of offense (money and/or property was taken) and the relatively low frequency of occurrence. Also, forced crime participation (which included sexual abuse of a minor, petty theft, robbery decoy, and drug dealing activities), while not a specific crime classification, was used as a category of victimization for the purposes of this study. Sixty-six percent of the participants (69 out of 105) were victimized in 2001. Of those who were victimized, 72% reported more than one victimization and 31% reported more than five victimizations.

Table 2
The Mean of the Dichotomous Sociodemographic Variables
Associated with Homeless Victimization for the
Total Sample of Homeless Participants

Questionnaire Item	Proportion Responding Yes
Are you employed?	0.21
Do you receive benefits?	0.50
Are you suffering from a mental disorder?	0.55
Do you abuse alcohol or illicit drugs?	0.67

Note: n = 105.

Table 3
Distribution of the Number of Homeless Victims Reporting Frequency and Type of Victimization in 2001

Type of Offense	Number of Victimization						Total Persons ¹
	1	2	3	4	5	>5	
Assault	11	5	14	4	3	15	52
Robbery ²	12	9	0	4	3	23	51
Forced Crime	4	2	0	0	1	1	8
Rape	8	5	1	0	2	0	16
Totals	35	21	15	8	9	39	127

Note: n = 69. Responses that were general statements but indicated >5 occurrences were coded as >5. More than 5 victimizations = between 6 and 365. Forced crimes included sexual abuse of a minor, petty theft, robbery decoy, and drug dealing activities. Total victimizations >69 due to victimizations of the same participant in more than one type of offense.

¹ Total number of persons indicating victimizations for offense type category.

² Eight percent of the indicated robberies were actually thefts but were included in the robbery category due to the similarity of offense (money and/or property was taken) and the relatively low frequency of occurrence.

Disaggregated results indicated that the majority of victims were either assaulted or robbed (75% of victims were assaulted, 74% were robbed, 12% were forced to participate in a crime, and 23% were raped). Of those indicating assault, 79% were assaulted two or more times. Of those who were robbed, 76% indicated multiple offenses. These findings suggest that assault and robbery victimization are risk factors for subsequent assault and robbery victimization, respectively.

Tables 4 through 7 present data for participants who were able to respond to situational items (location, time, companionship status, and victim-offender relationship). The number of victims for each offense type that are not equal to the number of occurrences for the situational variables for each offense type are due to qualitative, generalized responses to questionnaire items (i.e., ‘most of the time...’, ‘happens a lot that way...’, and the like), multiple victimizations of the same participant (the same victim represented in one or more offense type categories or multiple times in the same offense type category), and in some cases the victims lack of circumstantial recall of the victimization.

Table 4 illustrates the location of homeless victimization for each type of crime. The majority of crime took place on the street in places such as camping sites, outside of commercial buildings, and in and around relatively small circumscribed areas surrounding homeless shelters and day-service facilities. Two or more times as many incidents of all offenses occurred outdoors as occurred indoors.

Table 5 illustrates the time of day of homeless victimization for each type of crime. More assaults, robberies, and rapes occurred at night for each offense type than occurred during the day.

Table 4
Location of Homeless Victimization in 2001

Type of Offense	Location of Victimization	
	Indoors	Outdoors
Assault	19	42
Robbery	21	45
Forced Crime	3	6
Rape	5	11

Note: n = 69. Forced crimes included sexual abuse of a minor, petty theft, robbery decoy, and drug dealing activities. Number of victimizations differs from total types of offenses experienced by participants (127) because some participants had more than one victimization per offense type category.

**Table 5
Time of Day of Homeless
Victimizations in 2001**

Type of Offense	Time of Victimization	
	Daytime	Nighttime
Assault	26	38
Robbery	23	38
Forced Crime	4	4
Rape	7	14

Note: n = 69. Forced crimes included sexual abuse of a minor, petty theft, robbery decoy, and drug dealing activities. Number of victimizations differs from total types of offenses experienced by participants (127) because some participants had more than one victimization per offense type category.

There was no time of day difference for those who were victims of forced crime participation.

Table 6 contains the number of homeless participants who were alone at the time of victimization. More victimizations occurred when the victim was alone than when the victim was with someone else for each offense type. More than three times as many victims reported being alone when raped as reported not being alone when raped.

Table 7 contains victim-offender relationship status. Unseen victimizations included victims who reported being raped by someone at night and

**Table 6
Number of Homeless Victims
Who Were Alone at the
Time of Victimization**

Type of Offense	Alone	Not Alone
Assault	30	15
Robbery	31	17
Forced Crime	4	3
Rape	10	3

Note: n = 69. Forced crimes included sexual abuse of a minor, petty theft, robbery decoy, and drug dealing activities. Number of victimizations differs from total types of offenses experienced by participants (127) because some participants had more than one victimization per offense type category. One participant reported not being able to remember whether they were alone at the time of victimization. Sixteen participants were robbed while belongings were left unattended.

not being able to see the offender, and victims who reported awakening to find bruises and other indications of physical assault. Results indicated that more offenders were acquaintances than were strangers for each offense type.

In the general domiciled population, victims of theft often cannot provide much information about their relationship to the perpetrator because time has passed before the realization occurs that a theft has taken place, by which time the perpetrator has escaped undetected (Koenig, 1996). However, in the majority of homeless victimizations, victims in the present sample could identify and, in many cases (77% of reported victimizations), name the perpetrator. This includes 80% of assault victimizations, 67% of robbery victimizations, and 100% of forced crime and rape.

In the general domiciled population, 38% of assault and 70% of robbery perpetrators are strangers to the victim (Gartner and Doob, 1994). In contrast, this study showed that only 16% of reported victimizations of homeless participants involved a stranger. These findings suggest that homelessness increases the risk of victimization by an acquaintance.

Table 8 summarizes victim responses to questionnaire items pertaining to reporting. Of the 23 victims who reported crime(s), there were 20 occasions when victims perceived that they were

**Table 7
Victim-Offender Relationship**

Type of Offense	Relationship to Perpetrator			Total
	Stranger	Acquaintance	Unseen	
Assault	10	43	1	54
Robbery	13	45	9	67
Forced Crime	0	7	0	7
Rape	0	16	0	16

Note: n = 69. Forced crimes included sexual abuse of a minor, petty theft, robbery decoy, and drug dealing activities. Number of victimizations differs from total types of offenses experienced by participants (127) because some participants had more than one victimization per offense type category.

believed by the law enforcement officer and 12 occasions when victims thought that the law enforcement officer cared. Seventy-five percent of the total number of homeless participants (52 out of 69) who indicated victimization also indicated incidents of unreported victimization.

Table 9 summarizes the responses to survey items pertaining to victim perception of motivation and housing status of the perpetrator. Victims were asked whether they thought the crime committed against them was because they were homeless, and whether they thought the offender was also homeless. It should be noted that victim perception of offender motivation and housing status are analyzed as perceptions only. In none of the instances was there factual confirmation of the crime being committed against them because they were homeless. The housing status of the perpetrators was known in instances when they were acquaintances of victims. On one or more occasions, 70% of participants who reported victimization (48 out of 69) indicated the perception that they were victimized because they were homeless and 61% (42 out of 69) indicated the perception that the perpetrator was homeless.

Variability Across Data Groups

Tables 10 through 12 summarize data variability across three participant groups

Questionnaire Item	Participant Response		
	Yes	No	N/A
Reported the crime	23	53	37
Law enforcement officer believed you	20	9	76
Law enforcement officer cared	12	18	75

Note: n = 69. Number of victimizations differs from total types of offenses experienced by participants (127) because some participants had more than one victimization per offense type category. N/A = homeless participant was not victimized, did not report the victimization(s), or was unable to recall due to mental illness, substance abuse, or vague memory.

interviewed for this study: advocates of homeless persons, law enforcement officers, and prosecutors. Findings presented in each table are aggregated by four aspects of homeless victimization investigated in this study (prevalence, prevention and reporting, apprehension and prosecution, and hate crime) and are contrasted with data from homeless persons in the narration.

Prevalence. Homeless persons and advocates of homeless persons indicated that victimization of homeless persons occurs with regularity and, in many cases, on a daily basis. Overall findings from law enforcement officers indicated that victimization of homeless persons does not occur with great frequency. Prosecutors indicated no experience with cases involving homeless victims.

Questionnaire Item	Participant Response			
	Yes	No	Not Certain	N/A
<i>Perception of Offender Motivation</i> Victimized because of housing status?	48	17	9	31
<i>Perception of Offender Housing Status</i> Was the perpetrator homeless?	42	24	11	28

Note: n = 69. Number of victimizations differs from total types of offenses experienced by participants (127) because some participants had more than one victimization per offense type category. N/A = homeless participant was not victimized, did not report the victimization(s), or was unable to recall due to mental illness, substance abuse, or vague memory.

Reporting and Prevention. Homeless persons perceived that their reports of victimizations are not treated in the same manner as those of domiciled victims. This perception was indicated as the reason for not reporting victimizations. Participants across all selected cities perceived that law enforcement officers do not follow through on victimization reports made by homeless victims.

Homeless persons and their advocates indicated that an increase in the number and type of social services made available to homeless persons would be effective crime prevention measures. Specifically, it was reported that providing centralized, essential social services would expedite the dispensing of benefits to homeless persons, thereby reducing circumstances (lack of shelter, mental health disorders, and substance abuse disorders) that have been found to increase vulnerability to victimization. Second, establishing homeless programs that have crime prevention as a stated goal would focus attention on and therefore serve to reduce the number of homeless victimizations in the homeless community. Third, implementing transitional programs for homeless parolees and homeless youth who have recently exited the foster care system would reduce the likelihood of their victimizing other homeless persons. Fourth, implementing preventive measures at publicly supported facilities such as storage lockers (prevention of petty theft) and alcohol free zones (prevention of alcohol induced violence in shelters) in homeless shelters and day-service facilities. Finally, providing sensitivity training for public hospital staff members and police academies and departments on how to effectively and humanely interact with homeless persons and public hospital based advocacy, which provides support and social service information to homeless persons, would serve to create an environment in which homeless persons would be more likely to report their victimization.

Law enforcement officers indicated that the reporting process is hindered by lack of victim recall due to alcohol use. Prosecutors reported that enforcement of existing prevention measures would serve to decrease the number of homeless victimizations.

Apprehension and Prosecution. Homeless persons and advocates of homeless persons indicated that increased law enforcement involvement is needed for apprehension and prosecution of perpetrators of crimes against homeless persons.

Specifically, it was indicated that problem-oriented policing programs designed for the purpose of enhancing apprehension and prosecutorial efforts should be established. These special problem police teams would work in conjunction with social service departments that are trained to focus on the issues affecting victimization of homeless persons and the apprehension and prosecution of perpetrators of crimes committed against homeless persons. Such programs currently in existence (in the cities selected for this study) focus on the homeless mentally ill and help homeless persons access various social services including mental health treatment, medical care, financial aid, substance-abuse counseling, shelter, and transportation to locales where they might be better served.

It was also reported that increased surveillance by law enforcement in the homeless community would serve to prevent crimes from occurring as well as strengthen apprehension and prosecutorial efforts. For example, some homeless participants, their advocates, and law enforcement indicated that the number of robberies, in which homeless offenders are taking money from homeless victims, increase at the beginning of each month when some homeless persons are known to have received benefit checks of some type (i.e., Social Security Insurance, General Assistance, and the like). An increased law enforcement presence in

the homeless community would enable law enforcement officers to know who potential victims, victims, and offenders are and to have increased knowledge of the circumstances in which such robberies occur and therefore how to best prevent them.

Both law enforcement officers and prosecutors also reported that alcohol use on the part of victims and witnesses, as well as the lack of a means of contacting or being contacted by victims and witnesses, makes the logistics of prosecution of crimes against homeless persons more difficult than it is with domiciled victims in the general population.

Hate Crime. Homeless persons and advocates of homeless persons perceived there being occasions when homeless persons were victimized because they were homeless and, in many cases, that the perpetrators were also homeless. Homeless persons, advocates of homeless persons, and law enforcement officers indicated that the majority of crimes committed against homeless persons were committed by homeless perpetrators. Prosecutors indicated no experience with cases involving homeless victims.

Table 10	
Summarized Statements of Survey Responses from Advocates of Homeless Persons	
Aspects of Victimizations	Summarized Response Statements
Prevalence	Occurs frequently.
Reporting and Prevention	More programs, shelters, and social services needed.
Apprehension and Prosecution	Increased law enforcement and prosecutorial action.
Anti-homeless Crime	Occurs with regularity.

Note: n = 25.

Table 11	
Summarized Statements of Survey Responses from Law Enforcement Officers	
Aspects of Victimizations	Summarized Response Statements
Prevalence	Occurs with regularity.
Reporting and Prevention	Reporting hindered by victim substance abuse issues.
Apprehension and Prosecution	Need credible victims and/or witnesses to prosecute.
Anti-homeless Crime	Majority of crimes committed by homeless persons.

Note: n = 17.

Table 12	
Table of Summarized Statements of Survey Responses from Prosecutors	
Aspects of Victimizations	Summarized Response Statements
Prevalence	No cases involving crimes against homeless persons.
Reporting and Prevention	Enforcement of existing laws.
Apprehension and Prosecution	Homeless victims treated the same as other victim types.
Anti-homeless Crime	No experience with anti-homeless crime in homeless community.

Note: n = 15.

Variability Within Cities

Tables 13 through 19 summarize data variability within each city for the number of victimizations, location of victimization (indoors or outdoors), time of victimization (day or night), companionship status (whether the victim was alone at the time of the victimization), victim-offender relationship, reporting (response frequencies of questionnaire items pertaining to reporting), and hate crime (victim perception of the motivation and housing status of the perpetrator) questionnaire items. Findings are presented on these variables for each city and are disaggregated by offense type.

Due to factors outlined in the method section of this report, the total number of victimizations and the total number of reports of factors describing these victimizations are unknown. Therefore, there are unequal numbers of responses for questionnaire items that in some cases exceed the total number of victims indicated for the situational variables (location, time, companion status, victim-offender relationship, and reporting).

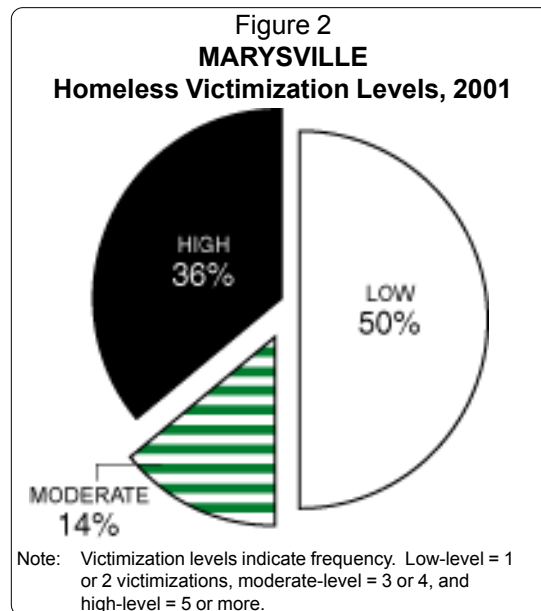
Values in Tables 13 and 19 represent the number of victims out of the total sample of 105 homeless participants (15 in each of 7 cities). Values in Tables 14 through 18 represent the number of victimizations indicated by participants who were able to respond to questionnaire items that are enumerated in each table (some participants either verbally indicated or appeared to be under the influence of alcohol or drugs, suffering from a mental disorder(s), or not able to recall the circumstances involved in the victimization). Incidents of victimization in each offense category will be based on these totals, summarized and categorized as low-level (1 or 2 victimizations), moderate-level (3 or 4 victimizations), and high-level (5 or more victimizations) of victimization.

With regard to Table 17, it should also be noted that while participants were queried on their

perception of the perpetrator’s housing status, 77% of victimizations were perpetrated by an acquaintance, resulting in the majority of victims having first-hand knowledge of the perpetrator’s housing status.

Data representing the most salient aspects of the views of advocates of homeless persons, law enforcement personnel, and prosecutors is summarized in Tables 20, 21, and 22, respectively. Based on several prohibitive characteristics of homeless persons (outlined in the introduction section of the report), larger sample sizes were used for homeless participants in each city than were used for participants in each professional category (see table notes). There is no standardized tracking mechanism for crimes committed against homeless persons currently in place in the cities included in this study which would have allowed exact frequency totals of homeless victimization to be reported and contrasted.

Marysville. Figure 2 illustrates the percentages of victimization levels in Marysville. Seven participants reported victimization one or more times in one or more offense type category.⁴ The sum of the number of offense categories



⁴Some participants were victimized in more than one offense type category.

experienced by each victim in Marysville was 14, including 7 low-level (50%), 2 moderate-level (14%), and 5 high-level (36%) reports. There was very little difference in whether the victimization occurred in or outdoors. However, those who were victimized outdoors reported less mental illness than those who were victimized indoors. Victimization occurred more frequently at night, when the victim was not alone, and by an acquaintance of the victim.

None of the 14 victimizations in Marysville were reported to law enforcement. In three (21%) incidents the victims perceived they were victimized because they were homeless. Three (21%) also perceived that the perpetrator was homeless.

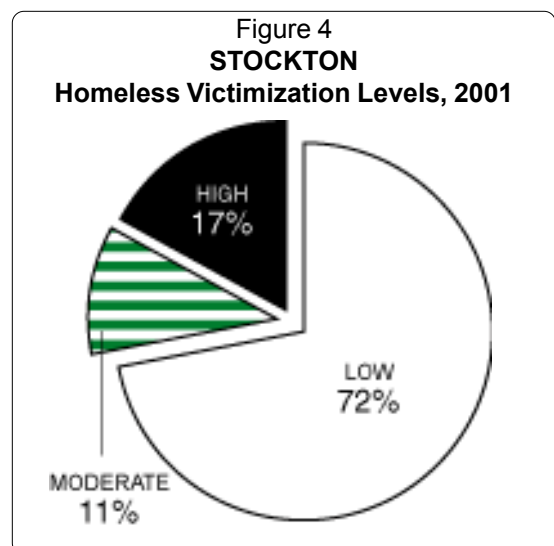
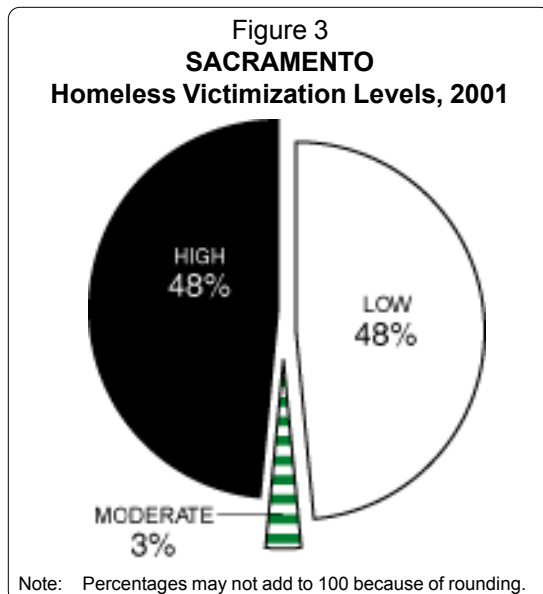
Sacramento. Figure 3 illustrates the percent of victimization levels in Sacramento. Fourteen participants reported victimization one or more times in one or more offense type category. The sum of the number of offense categories experienced by each victim in Sacramento was 29, including 14 low-level (48%), 1 moderate-level (3%), and 14 high-level (48%) reports. There were over three times more outdoor robberies than

indoor robberies. Victimization by an acquaintance occurred five times more than victimization by a stranger, more frequently when the victim was alone, and more frequently at night. More than three times as many assaults and four times as many robberies occurred at night than occurred during the day.

Three (10%) victimizations in Sacramento were reported to law enforcement. Of the three persons who made a formal report, one thought he was believed by the law enforcement officer and none felt the law enforcement officer cared.

In 12 (41%) incidents the victim perceived they were victimized because they were homeless. In 11 (38%) incidents, the victim perceived that the perpetrator was homeless.

Stockton. Figure 4 illustrates the percent of victimization levels in Stockton. Eleven participants reported victimization one or more times in one or more offense type category. The sum of the number of offense categories experienced by each victim in Stockton was 18, including 13 low-level (72%), 2 moderate-level (11%), and 3 high-level (17%) reports. Assaults occurred more than twice as often outdoors as indoors, there were twice as many assaults and five



times as many robberies at night than during the day, and all but one of the 14 victimizations occurred when the victim was alone.

Victimizations by an acquaintance transpired six times more frequently than victimizations by a stranger.

Four (22%) victimizations in Stockton were reported to law enforcement. Of the four persons who made a formal report, all four thought they were believed and two felt that the law enforcement officer cared.

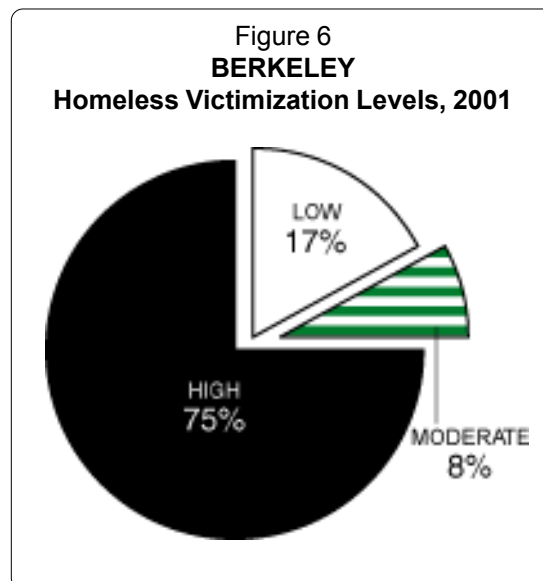
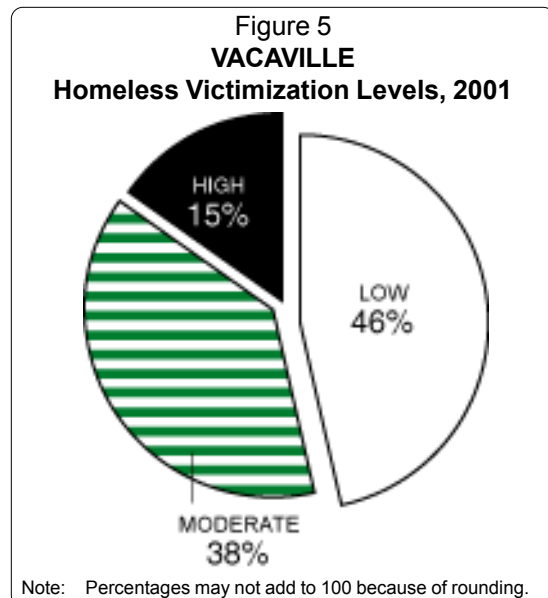
In eight (44%) incidents the victim perceived they were victimized because they were homeless. In nine (50%) incidents, the victim perceived that the perpetrator was homeless.

Vacaville. Figure 5 illustrates the percent of victimization levels in Vacaville. Six participants reported victimization one or more times in one or more offense type category. The sum of the number of offense categories experienced by each victim in Vacaville was 13, including 6 low-level (46%), 5 moderate-level (38%), and 2 high-level (15%) reports. There was very little reported difference in location of the victimization. The same number of assaults occurred when the victim

was alone than occurred when the victim was not alone. Twice as many assaults occurred at night than occurred during the day. Four times as many victimizations were perpetrated by an acquaintance than by a stranger. Two (15%) victimizations in Vacaville were reported to law enforcement. Of the two persons who made a formal report, both thought they were believed yet neither felt that the law enforcement officer cared.

In four (31%) incidents the victim perceived they were victimized because they were homeless. In two (15%) incidents, the victim perceived that the perpetrator was homeless.

Berkeley. Figure 6 illustrates the percent of victimization levels in Berkeley. Nine participants reported victimization one or more times in one or more offense type category. The sum of the number of offense categories experienced by each victim in Berkeley was 12, including 2 low-level (17%), 1 moderate-level (8%), and 9 high-level (75%) reports. Twenty of the 21 victimizations occurred outdoors. There was no time of day difference for forced crimes and rape. Three times as many robberies occurred while the victim was alone than when not alone. Five times as many victimizations were perpetrated by an



acquaintance than were perpetrated by a stranger.

Five (42%) victimizations in Berkeley were reported to law enforcement. Of the five persons who made a formal report, two thought they were believed and two felt that the law enforcement officer cared.

In one (8%) incident the victim perceived they were victimized because they were homeless. In two (17%) incidents the victim perceived that the perpetrator was homeless.

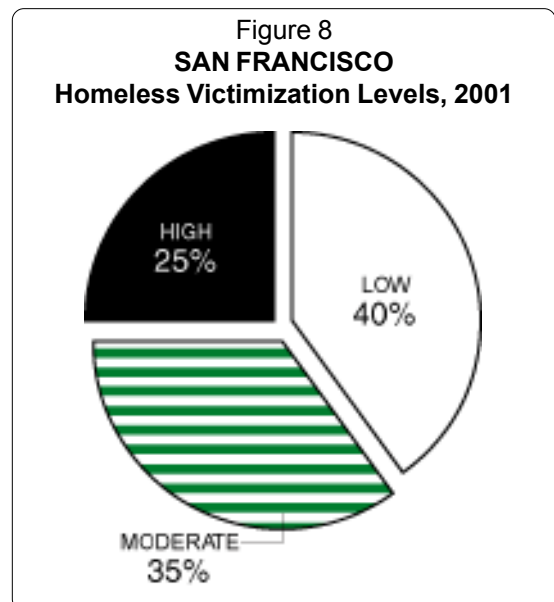
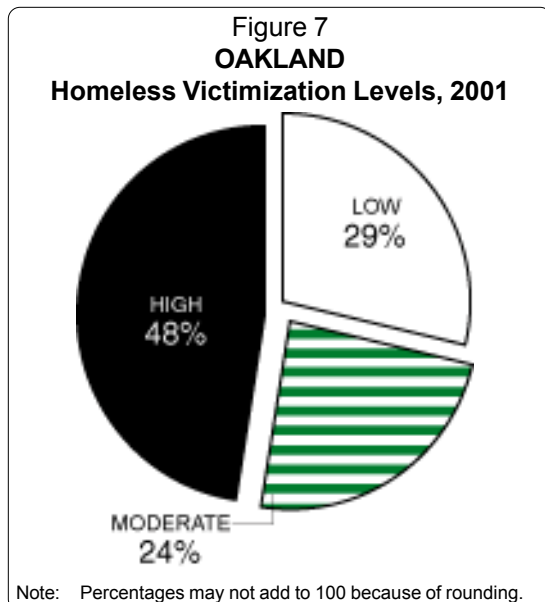
Oakland. Figure 7 illustrates the percent of victimization levels in Oakland. Eleven participants reported victimization one or more times in one or more offense type category. The sum of the number of offense categories experienced by each victim in Oakland was 21, including 6 low-level (29%), 5 moderate-level (24%), and 10 high-level (48%) reports. More victimizations occurred outdoors than occurred indoors. Those who reported outdoor victimization also reported more mental illness and more drug abuse than those who reported indoor victimizations. Three and a half times as many crimes occurred when the victim was alone than occurred when the victim was not alone. Over five times as many victimizations

were perpetrated by an acquaintance than were perpetrated by a stranger.

Five (24%) victimizations in Oakland were reported to law enforcement. Of the five persons who made a formal report(s), there were seven occasions when they thought they were believed by the law enforcement officer and six occasions when they thought that the law enforcement officer cared.

In nine (43%) incidents the victim perceived they were victimized because they were homeless. In five (24%) incidents the victim perceived that the perpetrator was homeless.

San Francisco. Figure 8 illustrates the percent of victimization levels in San Francisco. Eleven participants reported victimization one or more times in one or more offense type category. The sum of the number of offense categories experienced by each victim in San Francisco was 20, including 8 low-level (40%), 7 moderate-level (35%), and 5 high-level (25%) reports. More than twice as many assaults and four times as many robberies occurred outdoors than indoors. More than twice as many victimizations took place when the victim was alone as opposed to not alone.



Over five times as many victimizations were perpetrated by an acquaintance than were perpetrated by a stranger.

Four (20%) victimizations in San Francisco were reported to law enforcement. Of the four persons who made a formal report, four thought they were believed and two felt that the law enforcement officer cared.

In 11 (55%) incidents the victim perceived they were victimized because they were homeless. In 10 (50%) incidents the victim perceived that the perpetrator was homeless.

Variability Across Cities

Frequency of Victimization. The city with the largest number of participants indicating victimization was Sacramento (14 out of 15). The city yielding the lowest number of victims was Vacaville (6 out of 15). The frequency of victimizations was greater at the lower (1 or 2) and higher (5 or more) levels than at the moderate (3 or 4) levels. Those who reported low levels of crime also indicated shorter periods of time spent homeless in 2001.

Participants in Sacramento, Oakland, and San Francisco indicated greater frequency of victimizations. Five of the 11 assault victims in Sacramento indicated that they were assaulted more than five times in 2001. Eight of the 10 robbery victims in Oakland indicated being a victim of robbery on more than five occasions in 2001. Four of the 10 robbery victims in San Francisco indicated being assaulted more than five times in 2001.

Participants in Berkeley and Vacaville reported the fewest number of victimizations. However, six out of seven assault victims in Berkeley indicated being assaulted more than five times in 2001. There were no reported forced crimes in San Francisco.

Location of Victimization. Outdoor victimizations occurred more frequently than indoor victimizations for all cities included in the

study. Berkeley participants indicated the highest frequency of outdoor victimizations, including all ten of the reported assaults and seven out of the eight reported robberies.

Time of Day of Victimization. Victimization occurred more frequently at night than during the day for cities included in the study except Oakland and San Francisco. Sacramento participants indicated the highest frequency of victimization at night including 10 of the 13 reported assaults and 12 out of 15 reported robberies.

Companionship Status at Time of Victimization. More crimes were committed when the victim was alone than when not alone for the cities included in the study except Marysville and Vacaville. Stockton indicated the largest ratio of victimizations that occurred when the victim was alone relative to when the victim was not alone.

Victim-Offender Relationship. More crimes were perpetrated by an acquaintance of the victim than were perpetrated by a stranger for all cities included in the study. Stockton indicated the largest ratio of victimizations that were perpetrated by an acquaintance relative to those perpetrated by a stranger.

Responses to Questionnaire Items Pertaining to Reporting. Berkeley and Oakland indicated the highest percentages of participants who reported their victimization to law enforcement, 56% and 45%, respectively. Sacramento and Marysville had the lowest percentages of participants who reported their victimization to law enforcement, 21% and 0%, respectively.

Responses to Questionnaire Items Pertaining to Hate Crime. Victims across all selected cities perceived that they were victimized because they were homeless and that the perpetrator was also homeless. Participants in San Francisco indicated the highest frequency of these perceptions and participants in Berkeley the lowest for both questionnaire items pertaining to crimes motivated by the victim's housing status.

Table 13
Distribution of the Number of Homeless Victims Reporting Frequency and Type of Victimization in 2001

Type of Offense By Selected City	Number of Victimizations						Total Persons ¹
	1	2	3	4	5	>5	
Marysville							
Assault	1	0	2	0	0	1	4
Robbery	0	2	0	0	26	2	
Forced Crime	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
Rape	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Sacramento							
Assault	2	0	1	0	3	5	11
Robbery	3	4	0	0	0	6	13
Forced Crime	0	0	0	0	00	0	
Rape	4	1	0	0	05	0	
Stockton							
Assault	4	3	1	0	0	0	8
Robbery	3	0	0	1	06	2	
Forced Crime	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Rape	2	1	0	0	03	0	
Vacaville							
Assault	0	2	3	1	0	0	6
Robbery	1	2	0	1	05	1	
Forced Crime	1	0	0	0	01	0	
Rape	0	0	0	0	11	0	
Berkeley							
Assault	0	0	0	1	0	6	7
Robbery	0	0	0	0	11	0	
Forced Crime	1	1	0	0	13	0	
Rape	0	0	0	0	11	0	
Oakland							
Assault	2	0	3	2	0	2	9
Robbery	1	1	0	0	0	8	10
Forced Crime	1	0	0	0	01	0	
Rape	1	0	0	0	01	0	
San Francisco							
Assault	2	0	4	0	0	1	7
Robbery	4	0	0	2	0	4	10
Forced Crime	0	0	0	0	00	0	
Rape	1	1	1	0	03	0	

Note: n (number of homeless victims) = 7 in Marysville, n = 14 in Sacramento, n = 11 in Stockton, n = 6 in Vacaville, n = 9 in Berkeley, n = 11 in Oakland, n = 11 in San Francisco. >5 = between 6 and 365. Forced crimes included sexual assault of a minor, petty theft, robbery decoy, and participation in drug dealing activities. The total number of victimizations (127) exceeds the total number of victims (69) due to victimization of the same participant in more than one offense type.

¹ Total number of persons indicating victimizations for offense type category.

Table 14
Location of Homeless Victimization in 2001

Type of Offense By Selected City	Location of Victimization	
	Indoors	Outdoors
Marysville		
Assault	2	2
Robbery	4	5
Forced Crime	1	1
Rape	1	1
Sacramento		
Assault	4	8
Robbery	3	10
Forced Crime	0	0
Rape	1	4
Stockton		
Assault	4	9
Robbery	4	4
Forced Crime	1	1
Rape	2	3
Vacaville		
Assault	4	4
Robbery	3	5
Forced Crime	1	1
Rape	1	1
Berkeley		
Assault	0	10
Robbery	1	7
Forced Crime	0	2
Rape	0	1
Oakland		
Assault	3	4
Robbery	4	6
Forced Crime	0	1
Rape	0	1
San Francisco		
Assault	2	5
Robbery	2	8
Forced Crime	0	0
Rape	0	0

Note: n (number of homeless victims) = 7 in Marysville, n = 14 in Sacramento, n = 11 in Stockton, n = 6 in Vacaville, n = 9 in Berkeley, n = 11 in Oakland, n = 11 in San Francisco. Total victimizations in a city which are unequal to the number of homeless victims are due to victimizations of the same participant in more than one offense type. Forced crimes included sexual assault of a minor, petty theft, robbery decoy, and participation in drug dealing activities.

Table 15
Time of Day of Homeless Victimization in 2001

Type of Offense By Selected City	Time of Victimization	
	Day	Night
Marysville		
Assault	3	3
Robbery	4	6
Forced Crime	1	1
Rape	1	2
Sacramento		
Assault	3	10
Robbery	3	12
Forced Crime	0	0
Rape	1	5
Stockton		
Assault	3	6
Robbery	1	5
Forced Crime	0	1
Rape	0	3
Vacaville		
Assault	2	4
Robbery	3	4
Forced Crime	1	1
Rape	1	1
Berkeley		
Assault	5	8
Robbery	1	0
Forced Crime	1	1
Rape	1	1
Oakland		
Assault	4	3
Robbery	4	5
Forced Crime	1	0
Rape	1	0
San Francisco		
Assault	6	4
Robbery	7	6
Forced Crime	0	0
Rape	2	2

Note: n (number of homeless victims) = 7 in Marysville, n = 14 in Sacramento, n = 11 in Stockton, n = 6 in Vacaville, n = 9 in Berkeley, n = 11 in Oakland, n = 11 in San Francisco. Total victimizations in a city which are unequal to the number of homeless victims are due to victimizations of the same participant in more than one offense type. Forced crimes included sexual assault of a minor, petty theft, robbery decoy, and participation in drug dealing activities.

Table 16
**Number of Homeless Persons Reporting That They Were Alone
at the Time of Victimization in 2001**

Type of Offense By Selected City	Alone	Not Alone	Left Belongings Unattended ¹
Marysville			
Assault	2	3	-
Robbery	2	4	4
Forced Crime	1	1	-
Rape	1	1	-
Sacramento			
Assault	7	3	-
Robbery	7	3	3
Forced Crime	0	0	-
Rape	5	0	-
Stockton			
Assault	7	0	-
Robbery	3	1	2
Forced Crime	0	0	-
Rape	3	0	-
Vacaville			
Assault	2	2	-
Robbery	2	3	0
Forced Crime	0	1	-
Rape	0	1	-
Berkeley			
Assault	5	4	-
Robbery	6	2	0
Forced Crime	1	1	-
Rape	0	1	-
Oakland			
Assault	4	2	-
Robbery	7	2	0
Forced Crime	2	0	-
Rape	1	0	-
San Francisco			
Assault	3	1	-
Robbery	4	2	0
Forced Crime	0	0	-
Rape	0	0	-

Note: n (number of homeless victims) = 7 in Marysville, n = 14 in Sacramento, n = 11 in Stockton, n = 6 in Vacaville, n = 9 in Berkeley, n = 11 in Oakland, n = 11 in San Francisco. Total victimizations in a city which are unequal to the number of homeless victims are due to victimizations of the same participant in more than one offense type. Forced crimes included sexual assault of a minor, petty theft, robbery decoy, and participation in drug dealing activities.

¹These are thefts.

Table 17
Victim-Offender Relationship for Homeless Victimization in 2001

Type of Offense By Selected City	Relationship to Perpetrator		
	Stranger	Acquaintance	Unseen
Marysville			
Assault	1	3	0
Robbery	3	5	4
Forced Crime	0	2	0
Rape	0	2	0
Sacramento			
Assault	2	10	0
Robbery	3	10	3
Forced Crime	0	0	0
Rape	0	5	0
Stockton			
Assault	2	8	0
Robbery	1	6	2
Forced Crime	0	1	0
Rape	0	3	0
Vacaville			
Assault	1	3	0
Robbery	1	3	0
Forced Crime	0	1	0
Rape	0	1	0
Berkeley			
Assault	1	7	1
Robbery	2	5	0
Forced Crime	0	2	0
Rape	0	1	0
Oakland			
Assault	2	6	0
Robbery	1	8	0
Forced Crime	0	1	0
Rape	0	1	0
San Francisco			
Assault	1	6	0
Robbery	2	8	0
Forced Crime	0	0	0
Rape	0	3	0

Note: n (number of homeless victims) = 7 in Marysville, n = 14 in Sacramento, n = 11 in Stockton, n = 6 in Vacaville, n = 9 in Berkeley, n = 11 in Oakland, n = 11 in San Francisco. Total victimizations in a city which are unequal to the number of homeless victims are due to victimizations of the same participant in more than one offense type. Forced crimes included sexual assault of a minor, petty theft, robbery decoy, and participation in drug dealing activities.

**Table 18
Responses by Homeless Persons to Questionnaire Items Pertaining to Reporting**

Questionnaire Item By Selected City	Participant Response		
	Yes	No	N/A
Marysville			
Reported the crime(s)	0	9	8
Thought law enforcement officer believed you	0	0	15
Thought law enforcement officer cared	0	0	15
Sacramento			
Reported the crime(s)	3	12	1
Thought law enforcement officer believed you	1	2	12
Thought law enforcement officer cared	0	3	12
Stockton			
Reported the crime(s)	4	10	4
Thought law enforcement officer believed you	4	0	11
Thought law enforcement officer cared	2	2	11
Vacaville			
Reported the crime(s)	2	3	10
Thought law enforcement officer believed you	2	0	13
Thought law enforcement officer cared	0	2	13
Berkeley			
Reported the crime(s)	5	5	6
Thought law enforcement officer believed you	2	3	10
Thought law enforcement officer cared	2	3	10
Oakland			
Reported the crime(s)	5	6	4
Thought law enforcement officer believed you	7	3	5
Thought law enforcement officer cared	6	4	5
San Francisco			
Reported the crime(s)	4	8	4
Thought law enforcement officer believed you	4	1	10
Thought law enforcement officer cared	2	4	9

Note: n (number of homeless victims) = 7 in Marysville, n = 14 in Sacramento, n = 11 in Stockton, n = 6 in Vacaville, n = 9 in Berkeley, n = 11 in Oakland, n = 11 in San Francisco. Total victimizations in a city which are unequal to the number of homeless victims are due to victimizations of the same participant in more than one offense type. N/A = homeless participant was not victimized, did not report the victimization(s), or was unable to recall due to mental illness, substance abuse, or vague memory.

**Table 19
Responses by Homeless Persons to Questionnaire Items
Pertaining to Anti-Homeless Crime**

Questionnaire Item By Selected City	Participant Response			
	Yes	No	Unsure	N/A
Marysville				
Victimized because of housing status?	3	5	1	6
Was the perpetrator homeless?	3	5	3	4
Sacramento				
Victimized because of housing status?	12	0	3	0
Was the perpetrator homeless?	11	1	3	0
Stockton				
Victimized because of housing status?	8	2	0	5
Was the perpetrator homeless?	9	5	0	1
Vacaville				
Victimized because of housing status?	4	0	1	10
Was the perpetrator homeless?	2	3	0	10
Berkeley				
Victimized because of housing status?	1	7	3	4
Was the perpetrator homeless?	2	5	2	6
Oakland				
Victimized because of housing status?	9	3	1	2
Was the perpetrator homeless?	5	4	3	3
San Francisco				
Victimized because of housing status?	11	0	0	4
Was the perpetrator homeless?	10	1	0	4

Note: n (number of homeless victims) = 7 in Marysville, n = 14 in Sacramento, n = 11 in Stockton, n = 6 in Vacaville, n = 9 in Berkeley, n = 11 in Oakland, n = 11 in San Francisco. Total victimizations in a city which are unequal to the number of homeless victims are due to multiple victimizations of the same participant. N/A = homeless participant was not victimized, did not report the victimization(s), or was unable to recall due to mental illness, substance abuse, or vague memory.

Table 20
**Summarized Statements of Survey Responses for
 Advocates of Homeless Persons in Each City**

Homeless Victimization Issue By Selected City	Summarized Response Statement
Marysville	
Prevalence	Victimization of homeless people occurs frequently.
Prevention and Reporting	Funding needed for programs for homeless persons.
Apprehension and Prosecution	Increased police involvement needed.
Anti-homeless Crime	No knowledge of anti-homeless crime in homeless population.
Sacramento	
Prevalence	Victimization of homeless people occurs daily.
Prevention and Reporting	Implementation of preventative measures at shelters needed.
Apprehension and Prosecution	Crimes against homeless persons are not prosecuted.
Anti-homeless Crime	Anti-homeless crime perpetrated primarily by teenagers.
Stockton	
Prevalence	Victimization of homeless people occurs daily.
Prevention and Reporting	Issues of substance abuse and mental illness should be addressed.
Apprehension and Prosecution	Increased police involvement needed.
Anti-homeless Crime	Frequently receives reports of anti-homeless crime.
Vacaville	
Prevalence	Victimization of homeless people occurs with regularity but not on a daily basis.
Prevention and Reporting	Need separate shelters for single men and women and families.
Apprehension and Prosecution	More police involvement needed.
Anti-homeless Crime	Frequently occurs.
Berkeley	
Prevalence	Victimization of homeless people occurs with regularity, but not as much as other California cities.
Prevention and Reporting	More practical services needed.
Apprehension and Prosecution	Crimes against homeless persons are not prosecuted.
Anti-homeless Crime	No knowledge of anti-homeless crime in homeless community.
Oakland	
Prevalence	Victimization of homeless people occurs daily.
Prevention and Reporting	More social services should be made available.
Apprehension and Prosecution	Crimes against homeless persons are not prosecuted.
Anti-homeless Crime	Frequently occurs.
San Francisco	
Prevalence	Victimization of homeless people occurs daily.
Prevention and Reporting	More social services should be made available.
Apprehension and Prosecution	Crimes against homeless persons are not prosecuted.
Anti-homeless Crime	Frequently occurs.

Note: n (number of advocates of homeless persons) = 3 in Marysville, n = 5 in Sacramento, n = 2 in Stockton, n = 3 in Vacaville, n = 2 in Berkeley, n = 6 in Oakland, n = 4 in San Francisco.

Table 21
**Summarized Survey Responses for
 Law Enforcement Officers in Each City**

Homeless Victimization Issue By Selected City	Summarized Response Statement
Marysville	
Prevalence	Homeless victimization occurs frequently.
Prevention and Reporting	Victims not reporting because of substance abuse issues.
Apprehension and Prosecution	Difficult without credible victim and/or witness.
Anti-homeless Crime	Majority of perpetrators are homeless.
Sacramento	
Prevalence	Homeless victimization occurs frequently.
Prevention and Reporting	Victims not reporting because of substance abuse issues.
Apprehension and Prosecution	Difficult without means for contacting victim and/or witness.
Anti-homeless Crime	Majority of perpetrators are homeless.
Stockton	
Prevalence	Homeless victimization occurs frequently.
Prevention and Reporting	Victims not reporting because of substance abuse issues.
Apprehension and Prosecution	Difficult without means for contacting victim and/or witness.
Anti-homeless Crime	Majority of perpetrators are homeless.
Vacaville	
Prevalence	Homeless victimization occurs with regularity, not frequently. Not many homeless citizens.
Prevention and Reporting	Victims not reporting because of substance abuse issues.
Apprehension and Prosecution	Difficult without credible victim and/or witness.
Anti-homeless Crime	Majority of perpetrators are homeless.
Berkeley	
Prevalence	Homeless victimization occurs with regularity, but not frequently.
Prevention and Reporting	Reported but not tracked.
Apprehension and Prosecution	Treated the same as other types of victimization.
Anti-homeless Crime	Majority of perpetrators are homeless.
Oakland	
Prevalence	Homeless victimization occurs frequently.
Prevention and Reporting	Issues of homelessness need to be addressed.
Apprehension and Prosecution	Prosecuted the same as other crimes.
Anti-homeless Crime	Majority of perpetrators are homeless.
San Francisco	
Prevalence	Homeless victimization occurs frequently.
Prevention and Reporting	Issues of homelessness need to be addressed.
Apprehension and Prosecution	Treated the same as other victimizations.
Anti-homeless Crime	Majority of perpetrators are homeless.

Note: n (number of law enforcement officers) = 1 in Marysville, n = 3 in Sacramento, n = 2 in Stockton, n = 2 in Vacaville, n = 3 in Berkeley, n = 3 in Oakland, n = 3 in San Francisco.

Table 22
**Summarized Survey Responses for
 Prosecutors in Each City**

Homeless Victimization Issue
 By Selected City

Summarized Response Statement

Marysville

Prevalence
 Prevention and Reporting
 Apprehension and Prosecution
 Anti-homeless Crime

No occasion to prosecute a crime against a homeless person.
 Strengthen existing prevention and reporting measures.
 Need credible victim and/or witness to prosecute.
 No experience with anti-homeless crime in homeless population.

Sacramento

Prevalence
 Prevention and Reporting
 Apprehension and Prosecution
 Anti-homeless Crime

Not aware of any cases involving a homeless victim.
 Enforcement of existing laws.
 No differences between homeless and domiciled victims.
 No knowledge of anti-homeless crime in homeless population.

Stockton

Prevalence
 Prevention and Reporting
 Apprehension and Prosecution
 Anti-homeless Crime

Not aware of any cases involving a homeless victim.
 Enforcement of existing laws.
 Homeless victim treated the same as any other victim type.
 No knowledge of anti-homeless crime in homeless population.

Vacaville

Prevalence
 Prevention and Reporting
 Apprehension and Prosecution
 Anti-homeless Crime

No occasion to prosecute a crime against a homeless person.
 Lack of reporting due to substance abuse and mental illness.
 Difficult to locate and communicate with victims.
 No knowledge of anti-homeless crime in homeless population.

Berkeley

Prevalence
 Prevention and Reporting
 Apprehension and Prosecution
 Anti-homeless Crime

No occasion to prosecute a crime against a homeless person.
 Lack of reporting due to substance abuse and mental illness.
 Difficult to locate and communicate with victims.
 No knowledge of anti-homeless crime in homeless population.

Oakland

Prevalence
 Prevention and Reporting
 Apprehension and Prosecution
 Anti-homeless Crime

No cases involving crimes against homeless persons.
 Lack of reporting due to substance abuse and mental illness.
 Difficult to locate and communicate with victims.
 No knowledge of anti-homeless crime in homeless population.

San Francisco

Prevalence
 Prevention and Reporting
 Apprehension and Prosecution
 Anti-homeless Crime

No cases involving crimes against homeless persons.
 Enforcement of existing laws.
 Need credible victim and/or witness to prosecute.
 No knowledge of anti-homeless crime in homeless population.

Note: n (number of prosecutors) = 1 in Marysville, n = 3 in Sacramento, n = 2 in Stockton, n = 1 in Vacaville, n = 2 in Berkeley, n = 3 in Oakland, n = 3 in San Francisco.



DISCUSSION

Prevalence of Crimes Committed Against Homeless Persons

Overall Findings. Overall findings indicated that two-thirds of the participants in the present study were victims of one or more crimes in 2001. However, homeless victimization remains grossly underresearched relative to victimization in the general domiciled population. The lack of investigative research in this area may be a function of the differences between these two populations. In the general domiciled population, victimization is often noted as a significant life event affecting psychological health (Lurigio, 1987; Resick, 1987). Conversely, while not inconsequential to homeless persons, victimization is often outweighed by the effects of less temporary and in many cases chronic devastations of the general experience of homelessness, such as chronic hunger, substance abuse, and mental disorders. Accordingly, victimization of domiciled persons is more likely to be researched than victimization of homeless persons.

The findings of the present study regarding the extent of the problem of crimes committed against homeless persons support past research indications that the rate of victimization is higher in the homeless community relative to the general domiciled population. Past research also indicates a higher rate of perpetrators of crimes in the homeless community. These two parallel findings suggest that either the situational effects on victimization and criminal behaviors neutralize individual sociodemographic characteristics (Kennedy and Baron, 1993; Sampson and Lauritson, 1990; and Lauritson, Sampson, and Laub, 1991) or there is some degree of overlap in the individual sociodemographic characteristics of homeless victims and perpetrators. Stated

differently, either the condition of homelessness causes some individuals to be either victims or perpetrators irrespective of individual characteristics or victims and perpetrators share some of the same characteristics.

The present study provides evidence linking victimization and offending in that some homeless victims are also perpetrators of crimes against homeless persons. Interview data from the present study indicated that the majority of assault crimes occurred as a result of arguments that took place while both parties were inebriated. Victims of these types of assaults at any one given time also reported being perpetrators of assault against former victims at another given time. Present findings also indicated that the overwhelming majority of offenders were acquaintances of the victim.

Past research has demonstrated that the link between vulnerability of victimization and the tendency towards offending is a function of shared sociodemographic characteristics. For example, a clear association has been established between mental illness and criminal behavior (Benda, 1987; Richman, Convit, and Martell, 1992) and between mental illness and victimization (La Gory, Ritchey, and Mullis, 1990; and Lin, Dean, and Ensel, 1986).

There is little empirical research that has examined the victim-offender relationship in homeless crimes (Kennedy and Baron, 1993; Sampson and Lauritson, 1990; Lauritson *et al*, 1991). The few studies that have been conducted in this area indicate that both offenders and victims tend to be young, unemployed, single, and male (Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garofalo, 1978; and Sampson and Lauritson, 1990), leading some researchers to conclude that offenders and victims

are not necessarily mutually exclusive individuals, but are in many cases one in the same person (Kennedy and Baron, 1993; Lauritsen *et al*, 1990; and Singer, 1986, 1981).

Results of the present study also indicated that victims experienced more robberies or thefts and assaults than forced criminal participation and rape. This finding supports the opportunity model of victimization. For example, there were more robbery victims⁵ who received monthly financial benefits than did not. Both homeless participants and law enforcement officers indicated that robbery offenders make it a point to find out who receives benefits and who does not. One apparent conclusion here, and the basis for the theory that underlies the opportunity model, is that individuals with regular incomes are attractive targets.

Differences Among Data Groups. Exploration of homeless victimization experiences among data groups with regard to prevalence of homeless victimization indicated one striking difference: frequency levels varied across groups in a bi-modal fashion. Specifically, homeless persons and advocates of homeless persons indicated higher frequency levels of homeless victimization than did law enforcement officers and prosecutors. The manner in which the frequency levels varied suggests that this difference is due to the lack of reporting of crimes to law enforcement on the part of homeless victims. In general, homeless victims are aware of crimes that they have experienced. In many cases, these crimes are reported to advocates of homeless persons but not to law enforcement officers. Consequently, law enforcement officers do not have homeless victimization cases to submit to prosecutors.

Differences Among Municipalities. There were homeless participants in all cities who indicated one or more victimization experiences, the

⁵Eight percent of the indicated robberies were actually thefts but were included in the robbery category due to the similarity of offense (money or property was taken) and the relatively low frequency of occurrence.

majority of which were unreported to law enforcement (52 out of 69 participants that indicated victimization also indicated not reporting the incident[s] to law enforcement). Sacramento (93%), Stockton (73%), Oakland (73%), and San Francisco (73%) indicated the highest percentages of victims while Marysville (47%) and Vacaville (40%) had the lowest. It should be noted that cities with lower victim rates also have smaller homeless populations relative to larger cities. For example, San Francisco currently has upwards of 14,000 homeless persons, while Vacaville has approximately 1,200.

Prevention, Reporting, Apprehension, and Prosecution

Overall Findings. As noted in the introduction section of this report, factors involved in homeless victimization have not been thoroughly studied. As a result, there are no empirically based critical analyses of past and present strategies for prevention, reporting, apprehension, and prosecution to compare and contrast.

Additionally, there were no homeless programs found in cities selected for this study which have crime prevention as an expressed objective.

The realization of the dearth of research on homeless victimization, however, is a significant finding in and of itself in that it illuminates several notable points. First, as previously mentioned, it supports the contention that the effect of homeless victimization is not as pressing as what appear to be more urgent protracted stressors such as hunger, mental disorders, and substance abuse. Second, it encourages investigative research in this area. Third, knowledge gleaned from future studies on factors involved in homeless victimization can be used to shape policy considerations and legislation.

Differences Among Data Groups. Results of the present study indicate that homeless persons and advocates of homeless persons had much the

same perspective on prevention, reporting, apprehension, and prosecution. Both groups reported that preventive measures should include an increase in the number and type of homeless programs and social services. Both groups also perceived that law enforcement did not follow through on homeless victimization reports, which in turn adversely impacted apprehension and prosecution efforts.

Law enforcement officers and prosecutors suggest that addressing the overall issue of homelessness is the most effective way to effect homeless victimization. Most law enforcement officers agreed with the general perspective of prosecutors in that substance abuse on the part of victims hinders the reporting process and therefore apprehension and prosecutorial efforts.

Reconciling these views with what is known about crime prevention strategies in the general domiciled population indicates a need for increased awareness of situational factors (targeting situations that precipitate crime) and social factors (targeting factors that increase the supply of motivated offenders) that are specific to the homeless community. This can be achieved through empirical research endeavors.

A first step in this process would be to investigate subgroups of homeless persons who experience victimization and then compare the findings with those of investigations of like subgroups in the domiciled population. For example, the nature and extent of crimes committed against homeless victims with mental disorders could be compared and contrasted with the nature and extent of crimes committed against victims with mental disorders in the domiciled population. A comprehensive study of this type would be designed to uncover situational and social victimization factors that need to be addressed in order to prevent crimes against homeless persons and to improve reporting, apprehension, and prosecution.

Expansion of the Definition of Hate Crime

Overall results of the present study with respect to anti-homeless crimes do not support the expansion of the definition of hate crimes to include crimes committed in whole or part because the victim is homeless or is perceived to be homeless. One out of four data groups (advocates) indicated that crimes motivated by the victim's housing status do occur in the homeless community. Three data groups (law enforcement officers, prosecutors, and homeless persons)⁶ indicated that crimes motivated by the victim's housing status do not occur in the homeless community.

Specifically, reports from advocates in five out of the seven cities indicated that crimes motivated by the victim's housing status against homeless persons occur with regularity. Reports of such crimes against homeless persons to advocates were based on reports from newspapers and homeless shelters.

One-hundred percent of the law enforcement officers and prosecutors indicated no knowledge of crimes motivated by the victim's housing status occurring in the homeless community. Increased reporting of homeless victimization would aid in determining whether this finding is a result of a total absence of such crime in the homeless community or a lack of reporting these crimes in the homeless community.

On one or more occasions, 70% of homeless participants indicated a perception that they were victimized because they were homeless (there were no expressions of bias-motivation on the part of perpetrators), 61% indicated a perception that the perpetrator was also homeless, and 77% indicated that they were victimized by an acquaintance.

⁶The majority of homeless persons who perceived being victimized because of their housing status also indicated that the offender was homeless and an acquaintance. Victims also indicated that the victimization occurred while both the victim and offender were inebriated. No expressions of bias motivation by offenders were reported by homeless victims.

These indications, that the offender was an acquaintance of the victim and that the offender was also homeless, make it impossible to discern conclusively whether the crimes were committed because of opportunity, passion, alcohol induced diminished impulse control, or more remotely, bias due to self-loathing. Furthermore, the following two general commonalities of hate crime offenders against victims currently in a protected class are at odds with these findings: Perpetrators of hate crimes against a protected group (1) have not been members of that group and (2) have expressed bias against that protected group. Further research is needed in order to make a definitive conclusion about the motivation of offenders.

Recommended Plan: Priorities for Strategic Direction

Prevention and Reporting

Researching and Tracking the Type and Frequency of Crimes Committed Against Homeless Persons

As noted, information gleaned from current literature and interview data revealed no empirically based reports of past or present crime prevention strategies specific to the homeless community. Also, there are no homeless programs currently in existence that have crime prevention as an expressed goal. Accordingly, information useful for developing prevention strategies must be identified, accumulated, and analyzed.

A first step in this process is to track the frequency and type of crimes that are committed against homeless persons. The extent and nature of the problem of crimes committed against homeless persons in California have not been determined due to lack of reporting on the part of homeless victims and because there is no centralized data-collection system in place which identifies homeless victims. Results of the present study indicate that approximately two-thirds of homeless participants were victimized in 2001, suggesting an estimate of over 66,000 homeless

persons victimized in 2001. A centralized statewide data-collection system, in conjunction with a comprehensive research study, would allow the frequency and type of homeless victimizations to be tracked and lead to an increased understanding of the extent and nature of crimes committed against homeless persons, as well as effective prevention strategies for these crimes.

Apprehension and Prosecution

Improving Apprehension and Prosecution by Enhancement of Reporting Procedures

Apprehension and prosecution can be enhanced by improving the mechanism by which crimes against homeless persons are reported. Specifically, increasing the accessibility of law enforcement to the homeless community and implementing procedures to change current perceptions of some homeless victims – that there is a lack of follow through on homeless victimization reports by law enforcement officers – could increase the frequency of reports of homeless victimization to law enforcement. If homeless victims have the perception that a system is in place to prosecute perpetrators of crimes committed against them, they will be more likely to report these crimes.

Legislative Recommendations

Identification of priorities for strategic direction in implementing a plan for preventing crimes against homeless persons and for improving reporting, apprehension, and prosecution of those crimes that do occur were based on information gleaned from the results of the present study. The following is a list of legislative recommendations necessary to carry out the plan and whether to expand the definition of hate crimes to include crimes committed in whole or in part because the victim is homeless or is perceived to be homeless:

Prevention and Reporting

- Provide funding to the California Department of Justice (DOJ) to establish and maintain a

statewide reporting system in order to track the frequency and type of crimes committed against homeless persons that are reported to law enforcement agencies and to obtain information on arrests, dispositions, and perpetrators from existing DOJ databases. The system would be comprised of a DOJ database, an annual report, and a 2-year investigative statewide study employed for the purposes of refining the system. The statewide reporting system would cost an estimated \$650,000 for the first year (includes staff, computer systems development, and first year of 2-year statewide study), \$400,000 the second year (includes staff, systems maintenance, second year of 2-year statewide study, and report publication and distribution costs), and \$230,000 each year thereafter (includes staff, systems maintenance, and report publication and distribution costs).

Apprehension and Prosecution

- Provide funding to include the following reporting process improvements in various levels of the Peace Officer Standards and

Training curriculum: Training to (1) increase accessibility of law enforcement to homeless victims and (2) extend reporting follow-up procedures to include notification to homeless victims of a place and times where they can obtain information regarding the status of reported crime(s). Estimates for additions to the POST curriculum would be determined by POST. The current cost to develop a 2-hour POST training course is typically \$75,000.

Expansion of Hate Crime Definition

- Data obtained from the seven Northern California cities indicated that there is not sufficient evidence to recommend the expansion of the hate crime definition to include crimes committed in whole or in part because the victim is homeless or is perceived to be homeless.
- A subsequent study which includes a larger sample of cities from all regions of California would allow a recommendation to be made based on statewide data.

More 

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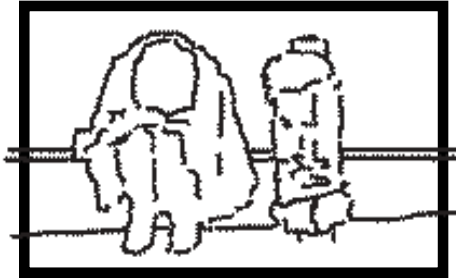
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More 

**Special Report to the Legislature
on Senate Resolution 18**



**Crimes Committed Against
Homeless Persons**

APPENDICES

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APPENDIX A**QUESTIONNAIRE I
HOMELESS PERSONS****Prevalence of Crimes Against Homeless Persons**

1. Have you ever been beaten-up? How often?
2. Have you ever had something stolen from you? How often?
3. Have you ever been forced to participate in a crime? What type? How often?
4. Have you ever been sexually assaulted or raped? How often?
5. How often have you been a victim of crime? What types?

Prevention

6. Where were you at the time of the crime?
7. What time of day did the crime take place?
8. Were you alone at the time of the crime?

Reporting

9. Did you tell someone about the crime?
10. Did you report the crime to someone in authority or someone whom you thought could help you?
11. Do you think the person whom you reported the crime to believed you?
12. Do you think the person whom you reported the crime to cared?
13. Have you ever been a victim of a crime that you did not report?

Apprehension / Prosecution

14. Were you able to remember any details about the crime?
15. Did you see the person who committed the crime against you?
16. Did you give the person whom you reported the crime to all of the information that you remembered about the crime?
17. Were you ever afraid to report a crime that was committed against you?

Expansion of Hate Crime Definition

18. Do you think that a crime was committed against you because of your living condition?
19. Do you think that the person who committed the crime against you was homeless?

Open-Ended

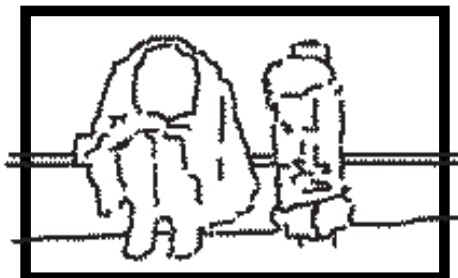
20. What do you want me to know about your experience with crime?

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE II DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY

Several minutes were used at the outset of each interview with homeless participants to establish rapport. Information provided at the beginning of the interview included the name and professional affiliation of the researcher and the purpose of the study. Participants were also advised of the types of questions contained in the questionnaire, that no personal identifying information would be recorded or otherwise utilized, and that participation was on a voluntary basis and could be stopped at any time during the interview.

1. What is your age?
2. What is your sex?
3. What is your ethnicity?
4. What is your marital status?
5. How many children do you have?
6. What is your education level?
7. Are you employed?
8. Do you receive benefits?
9. Have you ever been in the military?
10. Where do you sleep?
11. How long have you been without housing?
12. Have you ever been homeless before? How many times?
13. Do you travel to different cities? How often?
14. Have you ever been hospitalized? How many times?
15. Have you ever been arrested? How many times?
16. Do you suffer from a mental disorder?
17. Do you abuse drugs or alcohol? What substance(s)?
18. Do you own a weapon? What type?
19. Have you ever used a weapon? How many times?
20. Do you know a lot of other homeless people? How many?



APPENDIX C**QUESTIONNAIRE III
ADVOCATES OF HOMELESS PERSONS****Prevalence of Crimes Against Homeless Persons**

1. What are the types and frequency of crimes that are being committed against homeless persons?
2. What information have you been given from homeless persons about prevalence of crimes committed against homeless persons?

Prevention

3. Where are the crimes taking place (in or outdoors)?
4. What time of day are the crimes taking place (day or night)?
5. Are the victims alone or in groups when victimized?
6. What can be done to prevent crimes against homeless persons?

Reporting

7. Are crimes reported? Why or why not?
8. What can be done to improve reporting?

Apprehension / Prosecution

9. Are perpetrators apprehended and successfully prosecuted? Why or why not?
10. Do they know or are they able to describe the person that victimized them?
11. Are you aware of any victims who have been afraid to report crimes that have been committed against them?
12. What can be done to improve apprehension and prosecution?

Expansion of Hate Crime Definition

13. Are you aware of any crimes motivated by the victim's housing status in the homeless community?
14. What information have you been given from homeless persons about the prevalence of crimes motivated by the victim's housing status in their community?

Open-Ended

15. General perspective of advocates: What measures should be implemented to help homeless persons with respect to prevention, reporting, apprehension, and prosecution?

APPENDIX D**QUESTIONNAIRE IV
LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS****Prevalence of Crimes Against Homeless Persons**

1. What are the types and frequency of crimes that are being committed against homeless persons?
2. What information have you been given from homeless persons about prevalence of crimes committed against homeless persons?

Prevention

3. Where are the crimes taking place (in or outdoors)?
4. What time of day are the crimes taking place (day or night)?
5. Are the victims alone or in groups when victimized?
6. What can be done to prevent crimes against homeless persons?

Reporting

7. Given the likelihood of mental disorders, substance abuse, and the like, are victimization reports by homeless persons taken and processed in the same manner as domiciled victims?
8. What can be done to improve reporting?

Apprehension / Prosecution

9. Are victims reporting details of the crimes that have been committed against them?
10. Do they know or are they able to describe the person that victimized them?
11. Are you aware of any victims who have been afraid to report crimes that have been committed against them?
12. What can be done to improve apprehension and prosecution?

Expansion of Hate Crime Definition

13. Are you aware of any crimes motivated by the victim's housing status in the homeless community?
14. What information have you been given from homeless persons about the prevalence of crimes motivated by the victim's housing status in their community?

Open-Ended

15. General perspective of law enforcement officers: What measures should be implemented to help homeless persons with respect to prevention, reporting, apprehension, and prosecution?

APPENDIX E**QUESTIONNAIRE V
PROSECUTORS****Prevalence of Crimes Against Homeless Persons**

1. What are the types and frequency of crimes that are being committed against homeless persons?
2. What information have you been given from homeless persons about prevalence of crimes committed against homeless persons?

Prevention

3. Where are the crimes taking place (in or outdoors)?
4. What time of day are the crimes taking place (day or night)?
5. Are the victims alone or in groups when victimized?
6. What can be done to prevent crimes against homeless persons?

Reporting

7. How many homeless victimizations cases have been reported to you by law enforcement?
8. What can be done to improve reporting?

Apprehension / Prosecution

9. Are victims reporting details of the crimes that have been committed against them?
10. Do they know or are they able to describe the person who victimized them?
11. Are you aware of any victims who have been afraid to report crimes that have been committed against them?
12. What can be done to improve apprehension and prosecution?

Expansion of Hate Crime Definition

13. Are you aware of any crimes motivated by the victim's housing status in the homeless community?
14. What information have you been given from homeless persons about the prevalence of crimes motivated by the victim's housing status in their community?

Open-Ended

15. General perspective of prosecutors: What measures should be implemented to help homeless persons with respect to prevention, reporting, apprehension, and prosecution?

APPENDIX F

CONSENT FORM

CONSENT FORM

Purpose

The California Department of Justice is conducting a research study in an effort to determine the extent of the problem of crimes against homeless persons and to develop a plan to improve prevention, reporting, apprehension, and prosecution. The researcher facilitating this study is Pamela R. Mallory.

Privacy

You will not be asked to provide any identifying information. Your identity will remain totally anonymous.

Procedure

Each research session will consist of verbal presentation of questions that you will be asked to respond to. There is not any foreseeable risk to participants. The research session will be approximately 20 minutes. Each participant will be asked the same series of questions.

Withdrawal

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You are not obligated to answer any question(s) that you do not feel comfortable with. You are free to end the research session at any time.

Signature _____ Date _____

APPENDIX G

DEBRIEFING STATEMENT

At the close of each interview, homeless participants were verbally debriefed on the location and number of participants being interviewed, what the information gleaned from the interviews would be used for, and how they could access a copy of the final report.

“ That is the last item on the survey. If you have any questions about the study feel free to ask. I will be talking to a lot of people living without housing in seven different cities and using the information from the interviews to prepare a report. If you are interested in the outcome, I will be giving the administrator here (homeless shelter or housing facility) a summary of the findings at the end of the year. ”

CJSC* PUBLICATIONS

Annual Publications

Concealable Firearms Charges in California, Fiscal Year 2000/2001 (December 2001)**
Crime and Delinquency in California**
Crime and Delinquency in California, Advance Release**
Crime as Reported by Selected California Agencies, January through September**
Criminal Justice Profile - A Supplement to C&D (statewide and individual counties)**
Hate Crime in California**
Homicide in California**
Preliminary Report, Crime (January through June and January through December)**

BCS Foci and Forums

The California Experience in American Juvenile Justice: Some Historical Perspectives (December 1988)
Controlling Plea Bargaining in California (September 1985)
Coordinating Justice in California: "There ought to be a law about it" (December 1988)
Crime Control and the Criminal Career (December 1992)
The Development of California Drunk Driving Legislation (December 1988)
Employment and Crime (February 1989)
The Impact of California's "Prior Felony Conviction" Law (September 1987)
The Origins and Development of Penalties for Drunk Drivers in California (August 1988)
A Policy Role for Focus Groups: Community Corrections (September 1991)
The Prevalence and Incidence of Arrests Among Adult Males in California (August 1988)
The Social Structure of Street Drug Dealing (December 1988)

BCS Outlooks

Adult Felony Arrest Dispositions in California (1982-1984, 1986-1989)
Crime in Urban and Rural California (November 1984 and December 1997)**

Felony Drug Arrests in California, 1985 (December 1986)
Juvenile Justice in California, 1983 (June 1984)
Motor Vehicle Theft in California (December 1987)
Motor Vehicle Theft Recovery Data, 1983-1989 (October 1990)
Women in Crime: The Sentencing of Female Defendants (April 1988)

BCS Reports

Adult Felony Arrest Dispositions in California (April 1992)
Crime in California and the United States, (1983, 1990, 2000)**
Effectiveness of Statutory Requirements for the Registration of Sex Offenders - A Report to the California State Legislature
Executive Summary of the Final Report - Blue Ribbon Commission on Inmate Population Management (January 1990)
The Juvenile Justice System in California: An Overview (April 1989)
Parolees Returned to Prison and the California Prison Population (January 1988)
Target Hardening: A Literature Review (October 1989)

CJSC Report Series

Report on Arrests for Burglary in California, 1998**
Report on Arrests for Domestic Violence in California, 1998**
Report on Arrests for Driving Under the Influence in California, 1997**
Report on Drug Arrests in California, From 1990 to 1999 (December 2000)**
Report on Juvenile Felony Arrests in California, 1998 (March 2000)**
Report on Violent Crimes Committed Against Senior Citizens in California, 1998**

CJSC Research Series

Why Did the Crime Rate Decrease Through 1999? (And Why Might it Decrease or Increase in 2000 and Beyond?) (December 2000)**

Monograph Series

Conspicuous Depredation: Automobile Theft in Los Angeles, 1904 to 1987 (March 1990)
Controlling Felony Plea Bargaining in California: The Impact of the Victim's Bill of Rights (1986)
Development of a White Collar Crime Index (December 1992)
Incapacitation Strategies and the Career Criminal (December 1992)
Measuring White Collar Crime in Depository Institutions (December 1993)
Prosecutors' Response to Parental Child Stealing: A Statewide Study (April 1995)
Race & Delinquency in Los Angeles Juvenile Court, 1950 (December 1990)
Survey Report: "The Expansion of the Criminal Justice and Penal System in California - Is greater coordination required?" (December 1988)

Miscellaneous

California Criminal Justice Time Line, 1822-2000 (June 2001)**
Crime in California (April 2001)**
Gang Organization and Migration/Drugs, Gangs & Law Enforcement
Proceedings of the Attorney General's Crime Conference 85 (September 1985)
Proceedings of Symposium 87: White Collar/Institutional Crime - Its Measurement and Analysis
Special Report to the Legislature on Senate Bill 1608 (July 2002)

*Prior to 1991, the Criminal Justice Statistics Center (CJSC) was known as the Bureau of Criminal Statistics (BCS).

**Available on the Internet.

For your convenience, 1999-2001 annual publications are also available on CD-ROM, including data tables in the Excel spreadsheet format. Contact the Special Requests Unit to obtain a disc.

If you need a publication or assistance in obtaining statistical information or a customized statistical report, please contact the CJSC's Special Requests Unit at the:

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