

Volume 10, 1985
Nos., 1-4

VICTIMOLOGY:

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

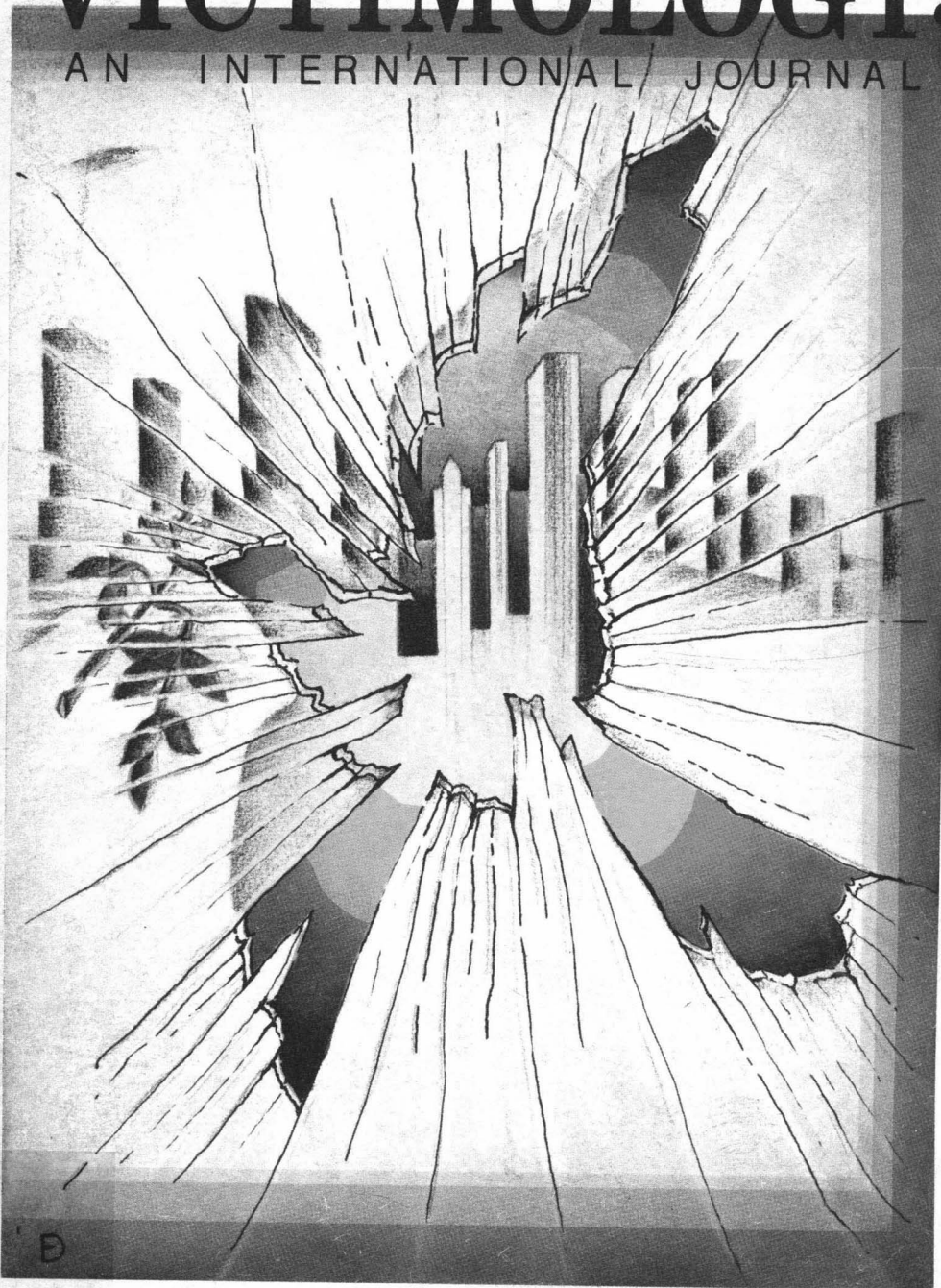


Proceedings
Of the
Lisbon Institute

Volume 10, 1985
Nos., 1-4

VICTIMOLOGY:

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL



Proceedings
Of the
Lisbon Institute

Victimology

An International Journal

GENERAL INFORMATION

SUBMISSION OF CONTRIBUTIONS

Manuscripts (typed doublespaced and in triplicate), books for review, and all editorial correspondence should be sent to the Editor-in-Chief: Emilio Viano, P.O. Box 39045, Washington, D.C. 20016 USA.

Instructions for preparing submissions to VICTIMOLOGY appear at the end of this issue.

FREQUENCY OF PUBLICATION

Victimology: An International Journal is published quarterly.

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

Subscription price:

Institutions and Libraries

Individual

One Year \$85.00

One Year \$45.00

Mail your order form together with your payment to:

VICTIMOLOGY INC., 2333 North Vernon St.
Arlington, VA 22207 U.S.A.

Make checks payable to Victimology Inc. Subscriptions are entered only on a volume basis.

Individual subscriptions must be accompanied by payment in full.

Institutional checks are acceptable as payment for institutional and library subscriptions only.

Back volumes available, while supply lasts, at \$100.00. Multiple back volumes, 25% off.

Change of address: Six weeks advance notice to the publisher, and old address as well as new, are necessary.

Claims for undelivered copies must be made within 90 days from the date of issue. Missing copies will be supplied when losses have been sustained in transit and when the reserve stock will permit.

Advertising rates: full page \$175; half page \$100; consecutive 2 pages \$296 (both); full page, 4 issues \$131 per page; cover 4 \$250; cover 3 \$200.

Classified advertising \$0.90 per word with a \$9.00 minimum.

BUSINESS CORRESPONDENCE

All correspondence concerning advertising, change of address, subscriptions, and permissions requests should be sent to Victimology Inc.

COPYRIGHT INFORMATION

Copyright Notice: It is a condition of publication that manuscripts submitted to this journal have not been published and will not be simultaneously submitted or published elsewhere. By submitting a manuscript, the authors agree that the copyright for their article is transferred to the publisher if and when the article is accepted for publication. The copyright covers the exclusive rights to publish, use, reproduce, and distribute the article, including reprints, photographic reproductions, microform or any other reproductions of similar nature and translations. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, electrostatic, magnetic tape, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without permission in writing from the copyright holder.

US Copyright Law applicable to Users in the USA: Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use, or for the internal or personal use of specific clients, is granted by Victimology Inc. for libraries and other users registered with the Copyright Clearance Center (CCC) Transactional Reporting Service, provided that the base fee of \$1.00 per copy, plus \$0.10 per page is paid directly to CCC, 21 Congress St., Salem, MA 01970. 0361-5170/85 \$1.00 + .10. The copyright owner's authorization does not extend to copying for general distribution, for promotion, for creating new works or for resale. Specific written permission must be obtained from the publisher for such copying. In case of doubt please contact Victimology Inc.

Victimology
An International Journal
Emilio Viano, Editor-in-Chief

INTERNATIONAL EDITORIAL BOARD

Helen Agathonos, Athens, Greece
Tolani Asuni, United Nations, Rome
Peter Burns, University of British Columbia
Elaine Hilberman Carmen, University of North Carolina
William Clifford, Australia
James P. Comer, Yale University
J. M. van Dijk, Ministry of Justice, Holland
Susan S. M. Edwards, Polytechnic of Central London
Lenke Fehér, Hungarian Academy of Sciences
Richard Gelles, University of Rhode Island
David Gil, Brandeis University
Abraham S. Goldstein, Yale University
Guglielmo Gulotta, University of Milano
Seymour L. Halleck, University of North Carolina
Alfred Kadushin, University of Wisconsin
Gunther Kaiser, Max-Planck-Institut, Freiburg i.B.
Fumie Kumagai, International University of Japan

Berl Kutchinsky, University of Copenhagen
Elizabeth F. Loftus, University of Washington
Jacquelin Soetenhorst-de Savornin Lohman, University of Amsterdam
Hilda Marchiori, Servicio Penitenciario, Cordoba, Argentina
Eli H. Newberger, Children's Hospital, Boston
Nwokocha K. U. Nkpa, University of Nigeria
Laercio Pellegrino, Rio de Janeiro
Teuvo Peltoniemi, Helsinki
Norman A. Polansky, University of Georgia
Alvin F. Poussaint, Harvard Medical School
Joanna Shapland, University of Oxford
Aglaia Tsitsoura, Council of Europe
Wesley G. Skogan, Northwestern University
Lenore E. Walker, Denver
Lubor Zigo, Psychiatric Clinic, Bratislava, Czechoslovakia
Alexander Yakovlev, Academy of Sciences, USSR

EDITORIAL OFFICE:

Emilio Viano
P.O. Box 39045
Washington, D.C. 20016 USA
(703) 528-8872

BUSINESS OFFICE:

Victimology Inc.
2333 N. Vernon Street
Arlington, VA 22207 USA
(703) 528-8872

Published by Victimology Inc. Copyright © Victimology Inc. 1985

ISSN 0361-5170

Cover illustration by **Donald France**

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE ON VICTIMOLOGY

Proceedings of the Third International Institute on Victimology held in Lisbon/Estoril, Portugal, November 11–17, 1984 and sponsored by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and by **Victimology: An International Journal**.

The organizer and director of the Institute, Emilio Viano, and the Institute participants gratefully acknowledge the generous financial support provided by the Scientific Affairs Committee of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** under its program of grants for international collaboration in research. Points of view or opinions expressed in these proceedings are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the sponsoring organizations.

VICTIMOLOGY

An International Journal

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL
INSTITUTE ON VICTIMOLOGY
LISBON, PORTUGAL, NOVEMBER 11-17, 1984

CONTENTS

From the Editor: The Third International Institute on Victimology	1
----------------------------------------------------------------------------	---

I. CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

Transcending Our Social Reality of Victimization: Toward a New Victimology of Human Rights <i>Robert Elias</i>	6
Themes in Social Vulnerability: Research Avenues in Victimology <i>Jacqueline Scherer</i>	26
Trends in the Victims' Rights Movement and Implications for Future Research <i>Brent L. Smith</i>	34
La Victimologie: Developpement d'une Nouvelle Perspective <i>Emilio C. Viano</i>	44

II. CHILD PHYSICAL AND SEXUAL ABUSE

Child Abuse—Family Victimology <i>Irving Kaufman</i>	62
Social Incompetence as a Precipitant to and Consequence of Child Maltreatment <i>Robert L. Burgess</i>	72
Identifying Cases of Child Abuse: A Social Psychological Phenomenon <i>Sharon Herzberger</i>	87
Empirical and Theoretical Findings Concerning Child and Adolescent Sexual Abuse: Implications for the Next Generation of Studies <i>Raymond A. Eve</i>	97
The Effects of Sexual Abuse on Children: A Critique and Suggestions for Future Research <i>Jon R. Conte</i>	110
A Collaborative Approach to Prevention of Child Sexual Abuse <i>Marlys Olson</i>	131
Responses to Child Abuse in World Perspective <i>Charles L. McGehee</i>	140

III. ADULT PHYSICAL AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Social Etiology of Crimes Against Women	<i>Kathleen Barry</i>	164
Beating of Wives: A Cross-Cultural Perspective	<i>Jacquelyn C. Campbell</i>	174
A Socio-Legal Evaluation of Gender Ideologies in Domestic Violence Assault and Spousal Homicides	<i>Susan S. M. Edwards</i>	186
"Venerable Bedfellows": Women's Liberation and Women's Victimization	<i>Nanci Koser Wilson</i>	206
"Don't Hit Your Wife . . . Unless . . .": Preliminary Findings on Normative Support for the Use of Physical Force by Husbands	<i>Cathy Stein Greenblat</i>	221
The Dark Side of Love: Blue and White Collar Wife Abuse	<i>Richard N. Harris and Roslyn Wallach Bologh</i>	242
Wife Abuse: Women's Duties—Men's Rights	<i>Salina Szechtman</i>	253
Mandatory Arrest: A Means of Primary and Secondary Prevention of Abuse of Female Partners	<i>Janice C. Humphreys and William O. Humphreys</i>	267
Psychological Impact of the Criminalization of Domestic Violence on Victims	<i>Lenore E. Walker</i>	281
A Multiyear Study of Ohio Urban, Suburban, and Rural Police Dispositions of Domestic Disputes	<i>Daniel J. Bell</i>	301
Anger and Oppression in Men who Batter: Empiricist and Feminist Perspectives and their Implications for Research	<i>Edward W. Gondolf</i>	311
Rape, Robbery, and Burglary: Responses to Actual and Feared Criminal Victimization, with Special Focus on Women and the Elderly	<i>Martha R. Burt and Bonnie L. Katz</i>	325
A Multi-Factor Model of Deviant Sexuality	<i>Steven C. Wolf</i>	359

IV. THE ELDERLY VICTIM

Victimization of the Elderly: Causation and Prevention	<i>Jordan I. Kosberg</i>	376
Criminal Victimization and Fear of Crime Among the Non-Institutionalized Elderly in the United States: A Critique of the Empirical Research Literature	<i>Susan Brown Eve</i>	397

V. WITNESSES AND BYSTANDERS

Crime Victims as Witnesses: Their Accuracy and Credibility	<i>R. Barry Ruback and Martin S. Greenberg</i>	410
Eyewitness Recall and Recognition by the Elderly	<i>Howard W. Timm</i>	425

Bystanders of Crime: Some Results from a National Survey <i>Carl H. D. Steinmetz</i>	441
Bystander Responses to the Victims of Crime: Is the Good Samaritan Alive and Well? <i>R. I. Mawby</i>	461

VI. THE AFTERMATH OF CRIME

Psychiatric Studies in Victimology in Norway: Main Findings and Recent Developments <i>Lars Weisaeth</i>	478
The Impact of Victimization: Findings from the British Crime Survey <i>Mike Hough</i>	488
Criminal vs. Non-Criminal Victimization: Victims' Reactions <i>Ronnie Janoff-Bulman</i>	498
Somatic and Psychological Symptoms after the Experience of Life Threatening Events: A Profile Analysis <i>Heinz Leymann</i>	512
Victims' Needs and Victim Services: Indications from Research <i>Mike Maguire</i>	539
Response to Victims: Are the Institutional Mandates of Police and Medicine Sufficient? <i>Catherine Begnoche Smith</i>	560

VII. THE VICTIM AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

Criminal Justice Responses to Victimization <i>Aglaia Tsitsoura</i>	574
The Criminal Justice System and the Victim <i>Joanna Shapland</i>	585
A Model of Crime Victim Decision Making <i>Martin S. Greenberg and R. Barry Ruback</i>	600
Victim Participation in the Penal—Corrective Process <i>Burt Galaway</i>	617
The Impact of Victim/Offender Mediation on the Victim <i>Martin Wright</i>	631

VIII. SOCIETY'S RESPONSIBILITY TO THE VICTIM

Some Criminal Justice Responses to Crime Victim Needs <i>Peter Burns</i>	646
The Provision of Compensation for Victims of Violent Crime in Europe <i>David R. Miers</i>	662
Victim Compensation Schemes and Practices: A Comparative Approach <i>Michel Boland and Daniel Martin</i>	672
Victims Support Schemes: The United Kingdom Model <i>Helen Reeves</i>	679
The Victim Issue in the Political Agenda of The Netherlands <i>Jacqueline Soetenhorst de Savornin Lohman</i>	687

IX. INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

An Appraisal of Victimological Perspectives in International Law	<i>Luisella de Cataldo Neuburger</i>	700
Collective Victimization	<i>Guglielmo Gulotta</i>	710
Victims of Organized Crime in Italy	<i>Franco Saponaro</i>	724

X. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Theoretical Issues and Practical Concerns for Future Research in Victimology	<i>Emilio C. Viano</i>	736
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------	-----

From the Editor: The Third International Institute on Victimology

Violence and aggressive behavior have been present throughout human history and have been recorded prominently from the scriptures to today's tabloids. Aggression is found in the simplest and in the most complex forms of life. All the approaches to the understanding and explanation of human personality underline the aggressive component.

Similarly, the concept of victim appears among the most ancient ones of humanity. Inextricably connected with the idea and practice of sacrifice, the notion of victim belongs to all cultures. Most religions, for example, are fundamentally sacrificial. Early religious literature from all regions of the world offers abundant clues to the study of sacrifice and its victims. The epics and mythological sources provide ample evidence pointing to the existence of the different types of sacrifice and victims, and contain a wealth of symbolic elements connected to those rituals and practices.

Today, notwithstanding all the various efforts, violence, killings, and aggression are still poorly controlled, not very well understood, and on the increase. Crime continues to be an enormous problem for American society. Almost 23 million households were touched by crime in 1984. Thus, 26% of the nation's households felt, in varying degrees, the pain, economic loss, sense of violation and frustration that accompany crime victimization. The high visibility of terrorism and of strife in several regions of the world have also greatly enhanced people's awareness and concern about violence and crime.

This real life violence is magnified even more in television programming. Millions of Americans see more violence during one evening of prime time TV than they will experience, in person, in a lifetime. The study *Prime Time Crime* (L. Lichter and S. R. Lichter, 1983) shows that prime time TV programs distort reality by portraying life as far more violent and crime-ridden than, according to FBI statistics, it actually is. For example, prime time entertainment TV averages 1.7 crimes per show. Also, TV crime is 100 times more likely to involve murder than is real-life crime. Of course, it is also true that FBI statistics are only an approximation of the real rates of crime.

Thus, on the one hand our society is fascinated and entertained by violence and aggression while on the other it is paralyzed and frozen by fear.

Fantasy and defense mechanisms lead most people to associate crime and violence with the lower class, uneducated, and unsocialized segments of the population. Stereotypes dominate the beliefs that

many have about violence and those practicing it. That many acts of violence instead take place in the households of respected and professional citizens escapes or is vehemently denied by most people.

The historical fluctuations associated with defining what is violent behavior and who are legitimate victims show that the definition of an act as violent, its evaluation as socially tolerable or not, indeed its very surfacing in the consciousness of the population depend on a complex interplay of several factors. Whether or not an act is violent and whether or not that violence is appropriate or inappropriate depends, for example, on who the actor is, the reasons and circumstances prompting the act, who the recipient of the violence is, and degree of harm inflicted. Thus, the act of hitting a child is perceived quite differently if it is done by a stranger in an unprovoked situation, or instead by the child's parent driving home the point that one should not run onto the street without first checking the traffic.

When it comes to the agent, if he or she is regarded as legitimate, then the violent act will also be regarded as such. It is accepted that certain individuals in society have the right to use force to make others act in a certain way. Parents, police, and teachers may be included in such a category of legitimate agents of violence.

Who the victim is, is also crucial in determining whether or not violence is appropriate. Generally, throughout the ages and cross-culturally, the higher the status of the victim, the less tolerated has been any violence against him or her. In the Middle Ages, for example, a serf attacking a knight would be dealt with much more severely than the opposite situation would have entailed. A teenage child attacking a parent, a pupil attacking a teacher, a citizen attacking a Supreme Court Justice would today be condemned by most. In our society, the classic high-status person is the white middle- or upper-class male. Violence directed at such a person is strictly tabu. When violence instead affects victims of lesser status—women, children, the poor, minorities—then it is perceived, in different degrees, to be less censurable. Thus, while the physical act is the same, many would judge a sexual assault quite differently depending on who the victim is: a prostitute, a respected matron, a child, an experienced woman, a woman captured in a war zone, a divorcee, a nun, a seductively dressed barhopper . . . Similarly, when it came to minorities, when they were slaves, violence against them was seen as quite appropriate. Now, although racism still exists, violence against middle- and upper-class minorities would be seen as quite wrong.

The situation in which violence takes place also colors society's perception of its legitimacy. Self-defense is a clear case in point. Police charging and shooting on peaceful demonstrators would be judged quite differently than if the victims were armed and dangerous criminals. In the case of sexual assault, if the assailant is known or unknown to the victim can make a substantial difference in the outcome of a court case.

What has unmistakably emerged in recent years is a keen realization of the victim as an integral part of the crime situation. Impor-

tant developments in the study, research, and intervention activities focusing on the victim/witness of crime have recently taken place.

First, criminologists began to examine the role of the victim in criminal homicide and other crimes of violence. Second, other researchers interested in the processing of criminal defendants began examining the characteristics of the victim-offender dyad. Third, theorists began to consider the role played by victims of crimes. Fourth, legislatures began passing statutes designed to compensate victims of crime or to make restitution to the victim as an alternative to incarceration. Fifth, victimization surveys were conducted first in the United States to generate independent information on victims of crime, thus departing from the previous exclusive reliance on official police statistics. Besides the United States, victimization surveys have now been conducted in the Netherlands, Great Britain, Canada, Israel, and Sweden. Finally, several initiatives have been undertaken in the United States and several other countries beginning in the 1970s to provide for the needs of the victims, to seek legal reforms, and to institute a system that recognizes the vital role the victim/witness plays in the accomplishment of the aims of justice.

As it often happens after an initial period of rapid expansion, there is now a need to structure the field, to give it a firmer foundation, to channel growth along truly promising paths, to solidify what has been learned to date; to reach some consensus on where the discipline is and on where it should be going; and to compare in a systematic way the information generated in various countries so that we can generate international and comparative knowledge about criminal victimization and also develop an international agenda for collaborative future action and research.

The Third International Institute on Victimology was organized and held in Lisbon, Portugal during November, 1984 to respond to these needs and to provide the appropriate international forum for the continuation of the ongoing dialogue and of the concerted effort to address victimological concerns worldwide.

The First International Institute was held in Bellagio, Italy in July 1975 and was very successful in initiating this process and in gaining international visibility and recognition for victimology. (The proceedings of the First Institute were published in the volume *Victims and Society* edited by Emilio Viano (Visage Press, 1976; second printing, 1981) and partially also in *Victimology: An International Journal*, 1 (1976) 1.) The Second International Institute was also held in Bellagio, Italy in July 1982 and was instrumental in ensuring the continuation of this high level scientific dialogue and exchange directing and clarifying the development of the discipline. (The proceedings of the Second Institute were published in *Victimology: An International Journal* 8 (1983) 3-4.)

The specific goals of the Lisbon Institute were to:

- conduct an overall review of the state-of-the art in victimology utilizing historical, philosophical, social science and cultural perspectives
- clarify the place and importance that a concern for the victim of crime

should have among the competing goals, values and needs of contemporary society

- explore how research on the characteristics of victims and on victim-offender interactions in the dynamics of criminal behaviors can enhance our understanding of the causes and correlates of crime and provide support for preventive and victim-related efforts
- develop a comprehensive research strategy and agenda for the future, identifying research topics and areas of inquiry that promise a significant increase in our knowledge and understanding of crime, victimization, and in our ability to predict and prevent them
- lay the foundations for the development of policy, legislation, and programs that truly serve the victims while also strengthening the fabric of society
- strengthen international communications among scholars and professionals in the field leading to faster and better utilization of existing knowledge, cooperation and coordination of efforts, and the development of appropriate policies and programs.

Thus, the central concern of the conference was:

- what we have learned to date from research and intervention about victims and the victimization process
- what we can do for victims at the international level on the basis of that knowledge
- what fruitful directions of research and intervention scholars and professionals should pursue in concert in the future.

The Institute was held in Lisbon/Estoril, Portugal. It was sponsored and funded by the Scientific Affairs Committee of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and by *Victimology: An International Journal*.

This issue of *Victimology* is an outgrowth of the Institute. The contributions published here were all prepared for and/or presented at the Institute.

My appreciation, as organizer and director of the Institute and as editor of its proceedings, is first of all extended to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and to *Victimology: An International Journal* for sponsoring it and for providing the resources to plan and organize it, and to publish its proceedings.

I also want to thank all those who attended the Institute for their vigorous and intensive participation in its proceedings and those who contributed articles in this volume for sharing their knowledge and insight with the international community of scholars, professionals, and practitioners.

Emilio Viano

Part I

Conceptual Issues

Transcending Our Social Reality of Victimization: Toward a New Victimology of Human Rights

ROBERT ELIAS

Tufts University

Historically, victimology has largely confined itself to studying *crime* victims and *criminal* victimization, usually accepting official or criminological definitions that may, in fact, do victims a disservice. Recently, some have ventured beyond these boundaries, to again pursue victimology's original objective: the study of *all* victims. Our reluctance to more extensively transcend victimology's criminological framework stems from having devised no alternative, scientific structure. A framework using universal human rights standards could help create a "new" victimology that encompasses victims of both crime and oppression.

Well, my dear, you know the law *is* necessary, and what's necessary and indispensable is *good*, and everything that's good is nice. And it really is very nice indeed to be a good, law-abiding citizen and do one's duty and have a clear conscience

Eugene Ionesco, *Victims of Duty*

For many years, we victimologists have analyzed almost every aspect of victims and victimization. We have developed elaborate methodologies, applied them, and produced a considerable and valuable body of knowledge. And we have pursued a process of interdisciplinary inquiry that may well be the envy of many other, more specialized fields. Although we have much yet to accomplish, we have recently reached some level of maturity as a scientific discipline.

Nevertheless, in many ways, our inquiries have been very insular. Victimology has almost exclusively pursued a micro analysis, largely ignoring broader, more macro questions. We have wisely and extensively examined those issues, questions and problems internal to our field, yet we rarely examine how we have defined and bounded it in the first place.

How we define victimology profoundly affects victims, victimizers, officials and us as scientists and advocates. In particular, as impartial as we may want or pretend to be, how we bound our inquiries and the assumptions it produces, have significant political consequences. As Emilio Viano (1983) has suggested:

The problems researched, the way in which the research is conducted, and the strategies devised to reach a solution tend either to support and reinforce society's status quo or undermine it. In this sense, social research is inescapably

political, although usually (and ironically) only the research aimed at changing the system is so labelled.

Unwittingly or not, victimological science may perform political functions that we rarely consider and that we may not willingly accept. As "good citizens," we victimologists may do victims a disservice.

Besides their political implications, current definitions of crime, criminals, victims and victimization may unnecessarily constrain victimology's scope and usefulness, and promote a limited "social reality" of victimization which ignores considerable misery, suffering, and even "crimes." Instead, we might well reevaluate victimology's scope and impact, and consider new definitions and directions. In fact, by exploring the relationship between victimology and human rights, we might chart new boundaries for our science and our advocacy, and promote, ultimately, a "new" victimology of human rights (Elias, in press).

OUR SOCIAL REALITY OF VICTIMIZATION

The year 1984 seems an appropriate time to assess and evaluate a science that purports to study and advocate victims. Of the many strands of victimological research and theories, the question of "victim selection" holds no apparent special importance at first glance. If by "victim selection" we mean the traits and circumstances by which offenders "select" some people as targets, then we describe merely one of many significant areas of inquiry. But, if by "victim selection" we refer to how citizens and we as victimologists "select" those people to whom we direct our sympathies, support, recognition, and science, then we describe a most fundamental victimological question: how do we define and bound our scientific inquiry and our popular conceptions about victims and victimization?

The definitions we have chosen, or at least accepted, represent neither "natural" nor "scientific" nor "popular" boundaries. As Viano has suggested, they are political by definition. But, intentionally or not, they may be even more political than that: they may perform political functions that may have little to do with victim interests, and may even be counterproductive to them. If so, then we must confront that politics, recognize its affect on our science, and consider new definitions and directions.

For some time now, some criminologists and other observers have argued that both social scientists and the general public have absorbed a limited crime conception which excludes much serious wrongdoing that produces much greater harm than acts we do formally define as criminal (Reiman, 1979; Quinney, 1970). We in victimology, however, have rarely considered its implications for victims. If we experience only a limited social reality of *crime*, then it also limits our social reality of *victimization*. We may ignore not only serious offenders, but (more importantly for our purposes) seriously harmed victims. We rarely consider the victims of acts not formally defined as criminal, and thus remain trapped within narrow, and not necessarily neutrally

defined, boundaries. Besides ignoring many victims to whom we victimologists should perhaps be paying considerable attention, we usually fail to consider and question the official definitions to which we often so readily respond.

Defining Victimization and Victimology

If the criminal legislation process most directly establishes criminal definitions, and thus our (as citizens and social scientists) prevailing concepts of crime, criminals, victims and victimization, they are significantly reinforced and intensified by enforcement patterns, official crime statistics, the state's criminal justice role, victim programs, and media coverage.

The Criminal Law. We routinely conceptualize victimization from definitions provided by the criminal law. Typically, we assume that the legislative process which produces that law responds democratically to public preferences. Yet, we may well question this assumption (Young-Rifai, 1982). In the United States, for example, although formally we have a political democracy, in practice many believe it works imperfectly. Research suggests that in most cases, public preferences and opinions affect legislation minimally. Public interest groups have also done little to counteract this general unresponsiveness (Scheingold, 1974, Neier, 1982). Much greater legislative influence comes from various government bureaucracies, such as police departments and prosecutor's offices (Duster, 1970, Silver, 1972). But, a relatively few, economically powerful, special interest groups may exert the greatest influence of all by predominantly setting the political and legislative agenda, and then the content and substance of our most important legislation (Chambliss, 1976).

This hardly suggests a monolithic conspiracy of identically minded interests who invariably get their way, but rather only the predominant influence of narrow groups who wield considerable political and economic power which often secures policies that support their goals and activities (Miliband, 1969; Page, 1983; Parenti, 1982; Greenberg, 1974; Viano, 1983). Thus, in criminal legislation, we should not be surprised if we rarely get criminal laws which seriously restrict or punish the wrongdoing or victimization produced by those interests (Reiman, 1979), even if the public may view some of those acts as seriously as traditional crimes (Schrager and Short, 1980).

But, the criminal law may do much more than merely formally define crime and victimization. It helps promote particular ideologies. As Ivan Illych (1972) suggests:

The law is used to impose a given mind set on all participants. The resulting content of the law embodies the ideologies of lawmakers and judges. How they experience the ideology inherent in a culture become established mythology in the laws they make and apply.

Similarly, Stanley Aronowitz (1971) argues that:

The hidden hand of the law is embodied in moral codes, administrative rules,