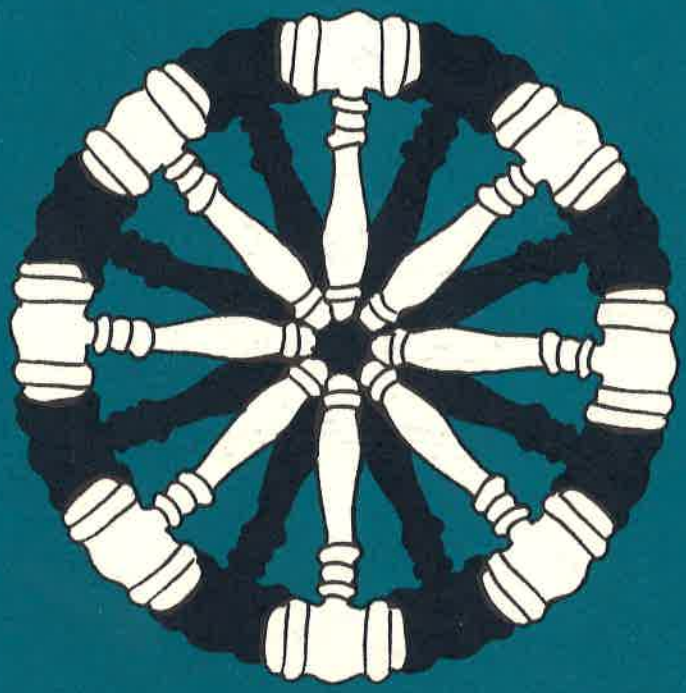
ASSESSMENT OF CRIME AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM IN NORTH CAROLINA



STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
GOVERNOR'S COMMITTEE ON LAW AND ORDER
RALEIGH
June, 1969

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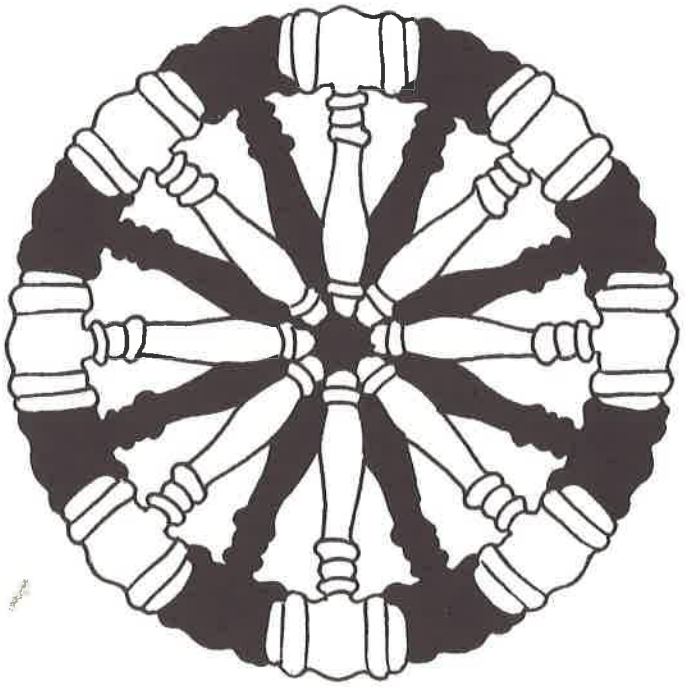

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
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CHAPTER 1

THE CHALLENGE OF CRIME IN NORTH CAROLINA

Citizens of North Carolina are apprehensive about crime and violence. Crime is increasingly affecting our lives, our families, and our communities. Assuming this is an average day, law enforcement officers in North Carolina will be informed of the murder of at least one person, the forcible rape of one or two women, the robbery of 4 people, the serious aggravated assault of 36 citizens, the theft of 18 cars, the occurrence of 45 major thefts, and the commission of 66 burglaries.[1] This is almost twice the number of such serious crimes reported on an average day in our State in 1960.*

But these statistics on the amount of reported crime like those cited above do not convey the magnitude of actual crime suffered by North Carolinians. A nationwide survey conducted in 1966 for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice[2] revealed that far more crime is committed than is reported. In this survey 10,000 households were asked whether anyone in the household was a victim of crime in the last year, whether the crime was reported, and if it was not reported, why it was not. The results illustrated in Figure 1, on the assumption that national trends apply in this State, show the disparities, often great, between the number of reported

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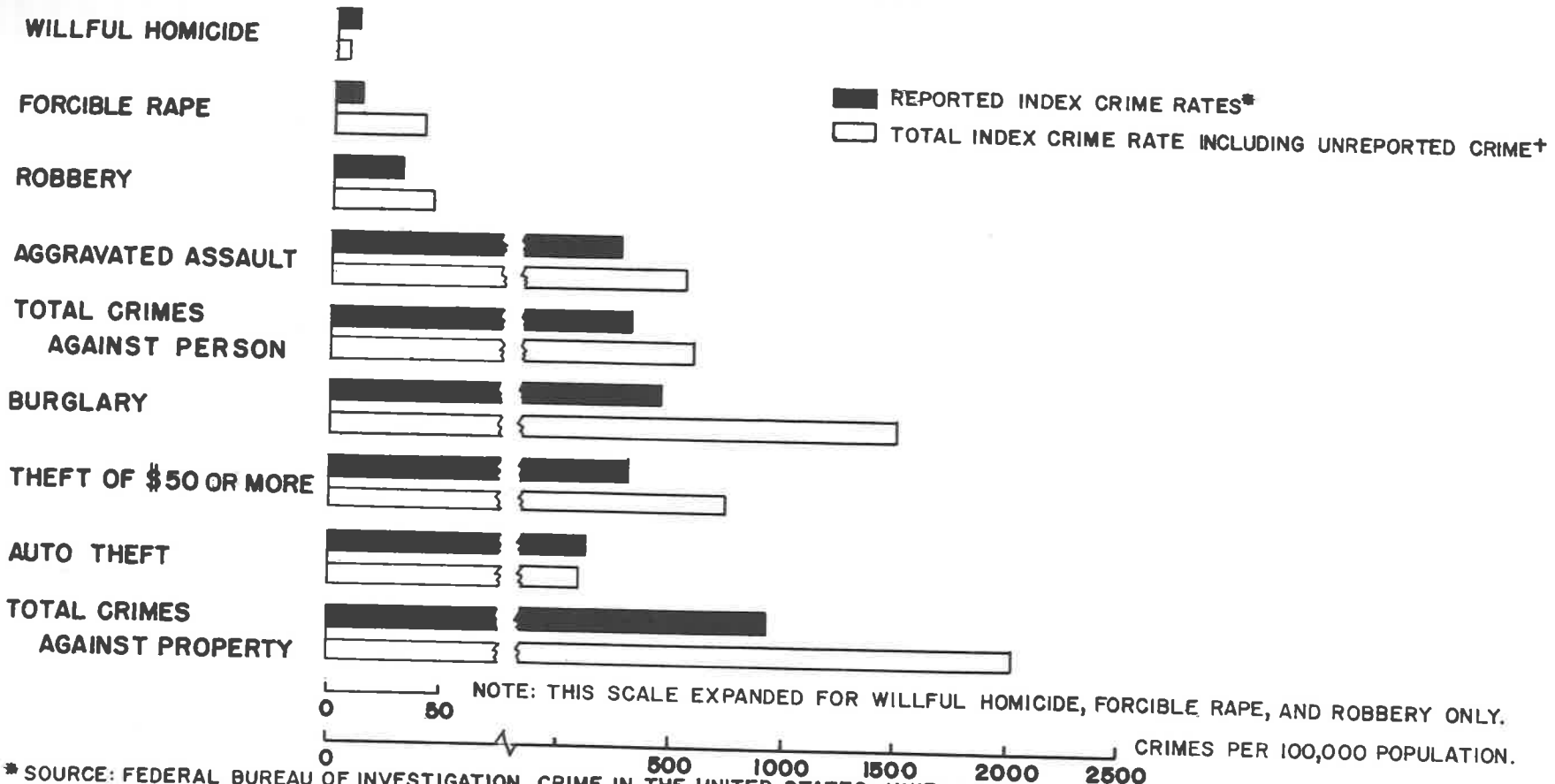
*Statistics collected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation from 1960 through 1961 on reported crimes in North Carolina are reproduced in the Addendum at the end of this report.

FIGURE 1
REPORTED AND ESTIMATED RATES OF INDEX CRIMES COMMITTED IN NORTH CAROLINA IN 1967



* SOURCE: FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES, UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS, 1967, PAGE 75.

† BASED ON NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER SURVEY FOR THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON LAW ENFORCEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE REPORTED IN THE CHALLENGE OF CRIME IN A FREE SOCIETY, TABLE 4, PAGE 21.

NOTE: REPORTED AND TOTAL CRIME RATES INCLUDE INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS. SOURCE STATISTICS ARE REPRODUCED IN THE ADDENDUM.

and unreported crimes actually committed for each 100,000 citizens in North Carolina and measured by so-called crime rates. These data are for calendar year 1967, the most recent year for which crime statistics are completely published. They show that forcible rapes occur at more than three-and-a-half times the reported rate, aggravated assaults at twice, and robberies at one-and-a-half times. This means that the rate of serious violent crime against the person obtained from the national survey* is almost twice as great as the reported rate. (Among violent crimes, only willful homicide showed a rate of occurrence in the survey at less than the reported rates. This statistic is not surprising, since it is very unlikely that any one would admit an unreported murder in the household.) Similar results were obtained for crimes against property; this survey* gives a rate of occurrence of serious property crimes that is more than twice the reported rate. The statistics show that burglaries occur at more than three times and thefts of property worth $50 or more at more than twice the reported rate. Among property crimes only auto theft showed a rate of occurrence in the survey at less than the reported rate. (This statistic was attributed to the fact that the great majority of stolen autos are insured against theft which provides a great incentive to report this crime.)

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*"Even these rates probably understate the actual amounts of crime. The national survey was a survey of the victim experience of every member of a household based on interviews of one member. If the results are tabulated only for the family member who was interviewed, the amount of unreported victimization for some offenses is considerably higher. Apparently, the person interviewed remembered more of his own victimization than that of other memories of his family." President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., February, 1967, p. 21.

It can be inferred from this nationwide survey that North Carolina suffers from much more crime than is reported. Similar surveys conducted for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice in Washington, Boston and Chicago show that the number of unreported crimes may even be from three to ten times the number of reported crimes.

Although many crimes are committed in our State, our population is exposed generally to less crime on the average than the citizens of the United States as a whole and of other southern states. In fact, the number of crimes of willful homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, theft of $50 or more, and auto theft per 100,000 population in North Carolina measured by the report crime rates are generally lower than in the majority of states. According to figures on reported crimes in the 1967 Uniform Crime Reports[1] North Carolina ranks 36th in the total rate of occurrence of these seven serious crimes and 38th in the rate of these three serious property crimes. It is surprising, however, that North Carolina ranks sixth in the rate of occurrence of these four serious violent crimes against the person (primarily because the rate of aggravated assaults reported for the State is the highest in the nation). North Carolina's overall serious reported crime rate per 100,000 population is comparable to that of Wyoming, South Carolina, Montana, and Alabama.[1] Our serious reported property crime rate is similar to that in Iowa, Pennsylvania, Nebraska, and Idaho. Only California, Florida, Illinois, Maryland, and New York have higher rates of serious violent crimes.

Compared to the nation as a whole, North Carolina's serious crime rate is about 65 percent of the national average and about 76 percent of the average for the South.* North Carolina's rates of murder and non-negligent manslaughter and forcible rape are very close to the southern states' average, while the robbery rate is 40 percent of the southern average. But the aggravated assault rate is 160 percent of the southern states' average rate. Because of this high aggravated assault rate, the rate of serious violent crime against person for North Carolina is more than 119 percent of the average violent crime rate for the southern states. However, the rate of serious property crime rate in our State is about 67 percent of the southern average. The North Carolina burglary rate is 68 percent of the southern average; the major theft rate ($50 and over) is 75 percent of this average; and the auto theft rate is 55 percent of the southern average.[1]

As shown in Figure 2, the reported total serious reported crime rate in North Carolina in 1967 was lower than in any of our neighboring states. Our total reported serious crime rate was 82 percent of the rates in South Carolina and Tennessee, 88 percent of the rate in Virginia, and 91 percent of the rate in Georgia. The reported rate of serious property crimes for our State was also lower than in any of our neighboring states. Our reported serious property crime rate was 71 percent of the rate in Tennessee, 76 percent of the rate in Virginia, 80 percent of

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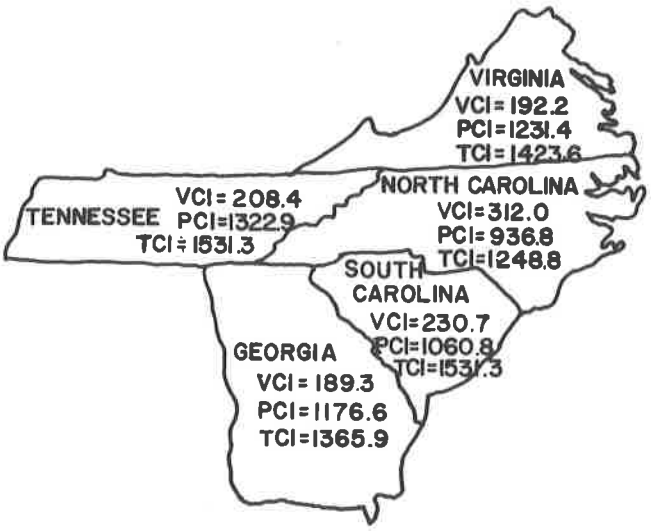
*The FBI includes Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia in a geographic division called the "South."

FIGURE 2
REPORTED CRIME RATES IN NORTH CAROLINA AND BORDERING STATES IN 1967

NOTES: VCI = VIOLENT CRIME INDEX RATE, THE NUMBER OF VIOLENT CRIMES OF HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY AND AGGRAVATED ASSAULT REPORTED PER 100,000 POPULATION.

PCI = PROPERTY CRIME INDEX RATE, THE NUMBER OF PROPERTY CRIMES OF BURGLARY, LARCENY OF $50 OR MORE, AND AUTO THEFT REPORTED PER 100,000 POPULATION.

TCI = TOTAL CRIME INDEX RATE = VCI + PCI.



SOURCE: FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES, UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS; 1967, TABLE 4. SOURCE STATISTICS ARE REPRODUCED IN THE ADDENDUM.

the rate in Georgia, and 88 percent of the rate in South Carolina. The reported serious violent crime rate in our State, however, is higher than in any of our neighboring states again because of our disporportionate rate of reported aggravated assaults. Our reported serious violent crime rate was 135 percent of the rate in South Carolina, 150 percent of the rate in Tennessee, 162 percent of the rate in Virginia, and 165 percent of the rate in Georgia.

Statistics on reported crimes not only understate the magnitude of crime, but also fail to convey the enormous scope of crime. A wide variety of acts comprise the "crime problem" in North Carolina.

Crime in our State is not just the burglary of an affluent home, the rape of a young girl, the robbery in the corner store. It is also the teenager taking a car for a joy ride and the professional thief stealing cars on order. Our criminals include not only the dope peddler, the prostitute, and the bookie, but also the student who smokes marijuana for "kicks," the public drunk, and the businessman who conspires with competitors to keep prices high.

Crime in North Carolina--as in the United States--is not a single simple phenomenon that can be examined, analyzed, and described in one piece. It occurs in every part of our State and in every stratum of society. It can be as shockingly visible as a violent rape. But it can also be as invisible as the manufacture of bootleg whiskey. Its practitioners and its victims are people of all ages, incomes, and backgrounds. Its impact includes the destructive effects of fear in a community, as well as the obvious physical injuries and property losses. Its trends are

difficult to ascertain, its causes legion. Its cures are speculative and controversial. An examination of any kind of crime--let alone all crime in North Carolina--raises a myriad of issues of the utmost complexity:

- How much crime occurs in our State? When and where does it happen? What kinds of crime make up our "crime problem"?
- How much is crime in North Carolina increasing from year to year? What do the crime statistics mean? What factors affect them?
- Who are the victims of crime in our State? What is the impact of crime on North Carolina?
- Who are the criminals? What makes them turn to criminality? How can potential criminals be deterred and convicted offenders be rehabilitated?
- Why does crime happen? What "causes" crime to occur in our State? How can crime be prevented?
- Is our criminal justice system doing its job of controlling crime? Is it effective? Is it fair? How can it be improved?
- What can the public do about crime?

To answer these questions and to meet the challenge of crime in North Carolina we must focus, first, on the facts of crime in our State and develop clear insight into its dimensions. At present many of the facts are lacking and many insights are unclear. Because our knowledge of crime and criminal justice is based mainly on published statistics, it

suffers from many deficiencies. Experts agree that statistics describing crime and criminal justice are meager and inadequate.[2] As this report shows, in many instances we have no information about some kinds of crime, about some characteristics of criminals, and about some aspects of law enforcement and the administration of justice. In other cases, we have national data but no data particular to North Carolina. In still other instances, we have data for North Carolina but they are insufficiently detailed. Thus, this report is only a first assessment of the status of crime and criminal justice in North Carolina.

CHAPTER 2

THE STATUS OF CRIME IN NORTH CAROLINA

Today, criminal behavior is as complex as modern society. The public drunk, the price fixer, the highway speeder, the embezzler, and the possessor of narcotics are all offenders who are handled by our criminal justice system, together with the murderer, the rapist, the robber, the assaulter, the burglar, and the thief. These many types of crime can no more be lumped together for analysis than can polio and a broken ankle. As with disease, so with crime. If causes are to be understood, if risks are to be evaluated, and if preventive or remedial actions are to be taken, each type of crime must be examined separately.

Types and Amounts of Crime

Visible Crime

Public concern about crime is largely focused on serious injurious offenses against person and property. Since 1930, the Federal Bureau of Investigation has collected statistics from local police and county sheriff's departments on seven serious offenses, the so-called index crimes: willful homicide, including murder and non-negligent manslaughter; forcible rape; aggravated assault; robbery; burglary; theft of $50 or more; and motor-vehicle theft. These statistics, compiled annually in Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports[1] (UCR) are the principal source of statistical information about the volume of crime committed in our

State.* Figure 3 shows the number of reported crimes of each index type committed in North Carolina in 1967. However, from the viewpoint of evaluating public safety in North Carolina, the absolute number of crimes fails to reflect accurately the probability of being a crime victim. If the number of crimes committed increases in proportion to population increase, then the probability of being victimized does not change. The crime rate statistics for North Carolina--the number of crimes per 100,000 population shown in Figure 1--measures victimization much more accurately.

Clearly statistics on crime in North Carolina like those cited above do not suffice to assess all serious crime problems in the State. Therefore, the concern of the Committee has gone beyond documenting the amount of crime in North Carolina. We believe that North Carolinians want to know what crime means to them now, how it threatens their safety, what its impact is on their lives. We believe that North Carolinians must be fully informed about crime to participate fully in controlling crime. We believe that it is necessary to determine who the criminals are, what the nature of their acts is, when they strike, where they offend, and how they offend. These are the questions addressed

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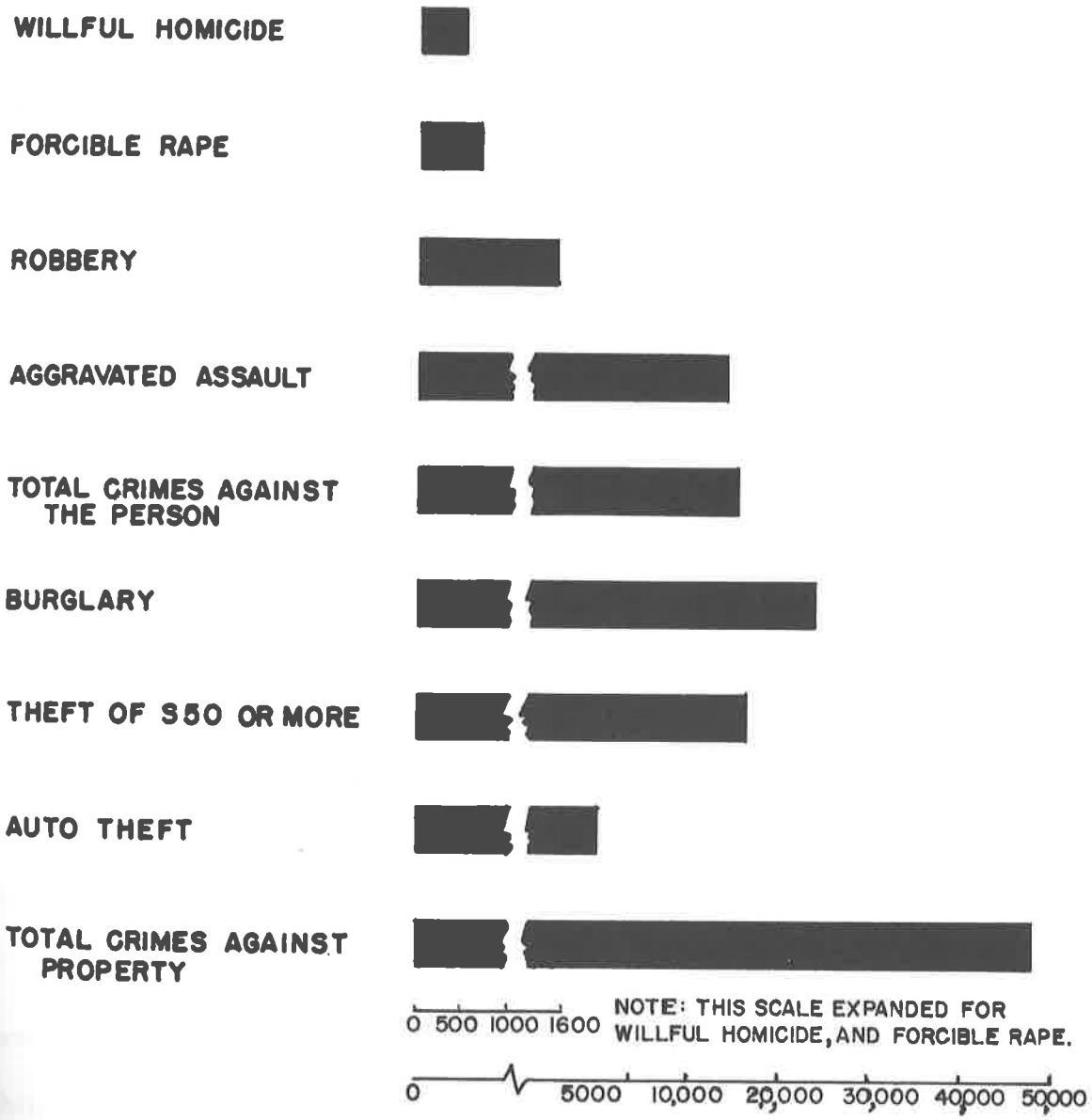
*Only 73.9% of the State's population was covered by police and sheriffs' departments which reported to the FBI in 1967. However, the FBI scales the reported data to obtain estimated totals for the State as a whole and for three geographical divisions. All cited statistics from Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports are the totals estimated by the FBI for 100% of the reporting area.

FIGURE 3
NUMBER OF INDEX CRIMES REPORTED IN NORTH CAROLINA IN 1967



SOURCE: FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES, UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS; 1967, PAGE 75. SOURCE STATISTICS REPRODUCED IN THE ADDENDUM.

by this assessment of the status of crime in the State--the problems today and the prospects for tomorrow.

Crimes Against the Person

The most serious forms of visible crimes are the crimes of violence or threats of violence against the person--homicide, rape, robbery, assault. At their worst, they involve serious injury and even death.

Crimes against the person include the index crimes of homicide, forcible rape, aggravated assault, and robbery. These crimes represented 13 percent of the crime index for 1967 nationally and 25 percent in North Carolina in 1967; in fact, 312 crimes against the person were committed for every 100,000 North Carolina residents.[1]

In 1967, 471 non-negligent killings were reported in North Carolina--9.4 homicides for every 100,000 persons. Except for vital statistics, these FBI figures are the only information on homicide in the State. However, data for the nation provided further insights. About 15 percent of all homicides in the nation occurred during the commission of another crime[3]; firearms were the means of inflicting death in 63 percent of the homicides; about 29 percent were committed within the family, while more than 41 percent resulted from an argument, usually between prior acquaintances; and, except for December, which has the highest monthly murder rate, murders occurred most often during the summer.[1] Across the nation in 1967, 76 policemen were killed, 71 of these by firearms. Later in this report, the location and trends of the crime, and victim-offender relationships are described.

In every 100,000 North Carolina residents of both sexes, 11.0 women were raped* in 1967.[1] Nationwide statistics suggest that one-third of these crimes were attempted rapes. In about one of four cases the rapist was armed, and about 3 percent of forcible rapes terminated in a homicide.[3]

A third crime against the person is aggravated assault, defined by the FBI as assault with intent to kill or for the purpose of inflicting severe bodily injury or an attempt to do so. The 1967 rate of reported aggravated assaults in North Carolina was 261.5 offenses per 100,000 inhabitants[1] which was the highest rate for this crime in the nation, as mentioned previously. Although a knife was the most frequently used weapon in these offenses nationally (33 percent), a firearm was used in about one out of five cases (21 percent).[1]

Robbery is the fourth offense included in the index of crimes. It is defined by the FBI to include any crime in which something of value is taken from a person by use of threat of force. It blends the elements of threat to person and loss of property.[1] Thus, the North Carolina figure of 30.2 reported robberies per 100,000 residents in 1967 includes the crimes of attempted armed robbery and strongarm robbery (including muggings and yokings). According to the Uniform Crime Reports, the average robbery caused a $261 property loss, usually in largely unrecoverable jewelry and money.[1] One study found that nationally some

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*Forcible rape, according to the definition used in Uniform Crime Reports, includes actual or attempted rapes in which force or threat of force was used.

personal injury was inflicted in 25 percent of all robberies.[3] The figure is not surprising since, nationally, 58 percent of all robberies were committed with weapons.[1]

The FBI has chosen these four crimes--homicide, rape, aggravated assault, and robbery--as an index of violent crimes in our society. As a general indicator of the risk of harm, this index is reliable. However, the use of such data has important limitations.

First, this data includes only those offenses reported to the police. As explained previously, a substantial disparity usually exists between the numbers of reported and actual offenses.

Second, the system of scoring offenses used in Uniform Crime Reporting classifies every criminal event in terms of just one offense, often obscuring the more complex nature of the occurrence. An example of this limitation appears in the Uniform Crime Reporting Handbook (1960),[4] which gives examples on how to classify an offense:

> A holdup man forces a husband and his wife to get out of their automobile. He shoots the husband, gun whips and rapes the wife and leaves in the automobile after taking money from the husband. The husband dies as a result of the shooting.

The instruction is to score this sequence as a single offense--murder. However, this one criminal event is a multiple offense not adequately described by simplifying it into one legal category and the arrested suspect in such case might be booked and charged with the crimes of murder, rape, aggravated assault, robbery, and auto theft.

Clearly, there are degrees of physical injury that can occur when a crime is committed, ranging from death, to major injury requiring

hospitalization, to minor injuries, to the emotional distress involved in an attempted offense. People react differently to these levels of harm but, except in the case of murder, our reporting system cannot differentiate between them. The forcible rape where the woman is also slashed with a knife is noted in the same manner as an attempted forcible rape involving no injury. But the former is certainly a more serious crime against the person than the latter. If our crime reporting system is to describe the harm to society, it should specify the nature of the damage committed, as well as the legal categorization of the offense. A project to design a more descriptive reporting system is under study by the Governor's Committee on Law and Order.

In particular, since the public is very sensitive to the threat of physical harm, especially in evaluating their safety from crime in the streets, an index describing the risk of bodily injury should represent the seriousness of all offenses against the person. The offense of robbery is a good example since it includes both personal and property damage. One survey[5] (in Philadelphia) found that whereas the UCR robbery rate remained stable over a 6-year period, the physical harm inflicted had much increased and the property value lost had stayed about constant. Thus, the nature and danger of being robbed had changed, although the present system did not reflect this fact. An improved reporting system should alleviate such distortions.

A corollary of this second limitation in the reporting system is that several crimes presenting a threat of personal injury are not reported in the crime index; arson, simple assault and kidnapping are examples.

Yet, one study in Philadelphia found that, of all bodily injury offenses in a sample of delinquency cases, 62 percent occurred in the categories for offenses which would not appear in an index based on the Part I crimes against the person. The author of the study also concluded,

> It is significant that as many as 28 percent of the bodily injury cases, classified by the UCR as simple assaults, were as serious or more serious in terms of resultant harm than 76 percent of those cases classified as aggravated assaults.[6]

Simple assault, which is usually without a dangerous weapon, is not included in the crime index. (It is defined as a Part II offense in the Uniform Crime Reports, defined in Table 1.) Although the number of simple assaults in North Carolina is unknown, 12,103 arrests for this crime were made in North Carolina in 1967; this is almost 1.7 times the number of arrests for aggravated assault.

Crimes Against Property

The property crimes of burglary, larceny, theft of $50 or more, and auto theft comprise 87 percent of the index crime offenses nationally, and 75 percent within North Carolina, for 1967.[1] Clearly then, their number very greatly influences the index of crime, which is the total of the seven offenses. Two indices of serious crime should probably be considered--one against the person, and one against property. In 1967, 936.8 crimes against property were reported for every 100,000 North Carolina residents, as shown in Figure 1.

As can be seen from Figure 3, burglary was the most frequently occurring index crime offense against property. There were more than

24,000 burglaries in 1967 or 477.8 per 100,000 North Carolinians.[1] As defined by the FBI, burglary involves the unlawful entry of a structure to commit a felony or theft, whether or not force is used; thus, attempted forcible entries are included within the above totals. However, some personal danger is also presented to the citizen victimized by burglars. When an unlawful entry results in a violent confrontation with the occupant, the offense is counted as a robbery rather than a burglary in Uniform Crime Reporting. Nationally, such confrontations occur in about 2.5 percent of all burglaries, and these account for nearly 10 percent of all robberies.[3] Nationally, one-half of all reported burglaries occur in residences and more than half of these happen at night. The average loss per burglary in homes and commercial establishments in 1967 was $273.[1]

The second most frequently occurring major reported crime in North Carolina is theft (larceny) involving property worth $50 or more, representing 26 percent of the index offenses. This crime is defined by the FBI as the unlawful taking of an article of value without force, violence, or fraud. In 1967, there were 328 such thefts reported for every 100,000 citizens in North Carolina.[1] Nationally, the average value lost in each of these crimes in 1967 was $95. Of these thefts, including both those under $50 as well as those $50 and over, 18 percent were from automobiles, 20 percent were of auto accessories, 17 percent were from buildings and 16 percent were bicycles.[1]

Since about 86 percent of all automobiles stolen in the nation are recovered,[1] auto theft is unique among property offenses. North Carolinians suffered about 6,500 motor-vehicle thefts in 1967 or 131.1 vehicles

per 100,000 population.[1] Nationally, the average value per stolen vehicle was $1,017.[1] Auto theft is primarily a crime of opportunity committed by young offenders who take easily stolen cars. Almost two-thirds of all cars stolen nationally and almost 43 percent of those stolen in North Carolina were taken by offenders under 18 years of age,* often for the purpose of joy riding.

These averages and figures for crimes against property do not provide much insight into the nature and quality of property crime. Looking at the UCR statistics, we cannot distinguish incidental from professional criminality. The burglary of a transistor radio influences the statistics equally with the burglary of a diamond ring. The $50 larceny is inseparable from the $500,000 theft of cargo. The theft of a car which is recovered undamaged is reported the same as the theft of a car which is recovered damaged or not recovered at all; the crime reporting system indicates seriousness of property crimes only in terms of whether the loss was over or under $50.

Index Crimes Cleared by Arrest

On a national basis, approximately 22 percent of the seven index crimes reported were solved by arrest of a suspect in 1967.[1] As shown in Figure 4, the clearance rate for crimes against the person is considerably greater than for crimes against property, which is unsurprising

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*Refer to Tables 5 and 6.

considering the extent of victim-offender acquaintance. For the four index crimes of violence, 88 percent of the murders, 61 percent of the forcible rapes, 30 percent of the robberies, and 69 percent of the aggravated assaults were solved. For the three property index crimes, only 20 percent of the burglaries, 13 percent of the thefts of $50 or more, and 20 percent of the motor-vehicle thefts were solved.[1]

Similar data for North Carolina are not presently available. However, data in the 1967 Uniform Crime Reports show that clearance rates for the South Atlantic states (which includes North Carolina) are very similar to those of the United States as a whole except for murder and manslaughter which together have a higher (91 percent) clearance rate and robbery which has a lower (25 percent) clearance rate.

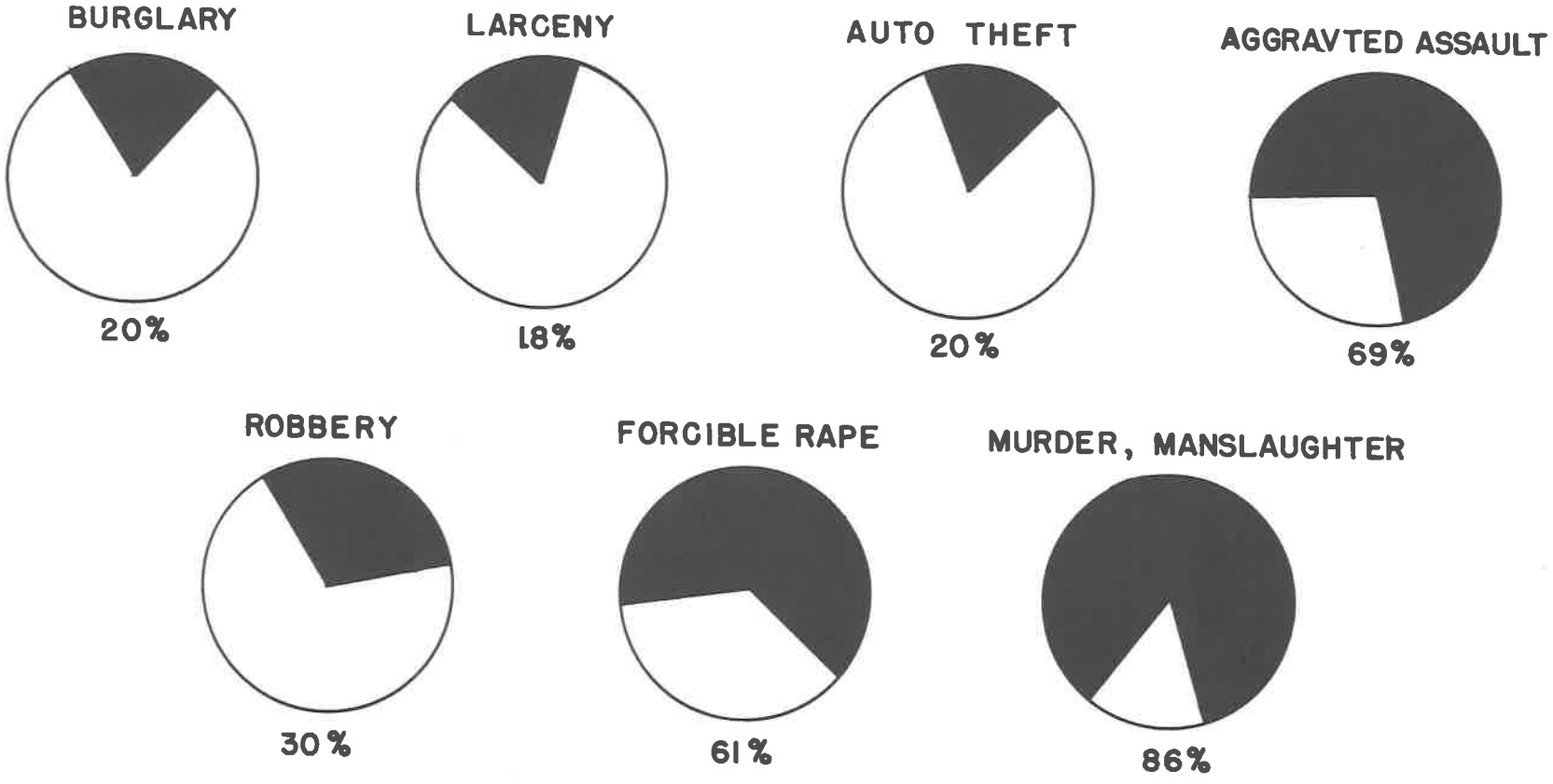
Low Visibility Crime

Low visibility crimes include the vice crimes, white-collar crimes and professional crimes. These crimes are designed not to attract attention. Fraud, by its very definition, is committed by the unawareness of the victim. And the professional criminal derives his professional status from his ability to continue to commit crimes without being detected. The key to understanding invisible crime is not the actual crime committed but the criminal committing it. These people commit crime to make it pay as one would operate a business to make a profit.

Professional Crime

What are the threats of professional criminality? The professional criminal is a danger because he can steal more goods, more

FIGURE 4
TYPICAL CRIME CLEARANCE RATES



SOURCE: FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES, UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS, U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, WASHINGTON, D. C., 1967.

often, with the victim having a lesser chance of recovering anything. The professional criminal is a career criminal who usually commits crimes of theft. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice reported that the successful professional criminal will have an annual income of over $100,000.[3] Such a symbol of success provides a strong temptation for the youth with an impoverished background to pursue a career in crime. The path to a legitimate, lawful function in society will seem to involve a more difficult struggle because the opportunities are so often blocked and offer fewer financial rewards. Professional crime can be depicted as the antisocial illegitimate means to the widely accepted American goal of material wealth.

The professional criminal also hits much harder than the incidental criminal in terms of the economic loss he imposes on society. One theft by a professional usually nets as much as several thefts by amateurs.[3] However, the professional criminal does not always receive attention from the public, the penal code, the police, and the courts proportional to the economic impact of expensive crime that he commits.

White Collar Crime

The dangers of white collar crime are more subtle, yet just as severe. Offenses like embezzlement, consumer fraud, tax evasion, and price-fixing take a little from many, rather than much from a few, as is true with professional crime. White collar criminals usually have backgrounds of good opportunity, higher education, and emotional stability. They wear the cloaks of respectability and affluence.[3] White collar crime

presents two threats, one social, one financial. The financial threat is an indicator of the scope of the problem.

From the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, the following illustrative estimates of the national costs of white collar crimes can be made: taxable income that is not reported to the tax authorities amounts to $25 to $40 billion per year; $500 million is spent annually on worthless or extravagantly misrepresented drugs and therapeutic devices; fraudulent practices in automobile repairing cost the public $100 million annually; fraudulent and deceptive practices in home repair and improvement cost the public $500 million to $1 billion every year.[3] Although statistics on losses due to these offenses and practices are not available for North Carolina, the State does not escape their impact.

Illegal Goods and Services: Vice Crimes

The threats posed by vice crimes of prostitution, gambling, and narcotics possession are difficult to assess. Since the victim is also the criminal offender, these offenses are rarely reported in proportion to the number actually committed.

Other Offenses

Visible crimes against the person and property and invisible offenses against property and morals cover only a few of the crimes punishable by imprisonment in our State. Of the remaining offenses, three categories are of particular interest, since they constitute a vast majority of the crimes for which the police make arrests:

drunkenness and narcotics offenses, traffic offenses, and the so-called Part II offenses.

Drunkenness and Narcotics Offenses and Disorderly Conduct

More than one in every three arrests for a nontraffic criminal offense are for the offenses of public drunkenness and disorderly conduct. This is true in the United States as a whole and also in North Carolina. In North Carolina in 1967, 58,538 arrests were made for drunkenness and 6,693 arrests for disorderly conduct.* (Table 1). This volume of arrests places a heavy load on the operations of police, court, and correctional agencies. They burden the police, clog the lower criminal courts, and crowd jails and penal institutions. Yet, such drunk and disorderly offenses are crimes in which the only victim is the offender. Furthermore, 3,965 arrests were made in North Carolina in 1967 for liquor-law violations (Table 1). Thus, more than 44 percent of the arrests for nontraffic criminal offenses made in the State last year were related to the abuses of alcohol.

Offenses related to narcotics and drug abuse also have the offender as their primary victim. But, as any reader of the daily newspapers knows, the social and economic damage of drugs is not limited to the

*Many police departments in North Carolina report a single offense called "drunk and disorderly," but the FBI divides these acts into two crime categories.

TABLE 1

1967 Arrest Statistics for North Carolina

Offense Charged	Number of Persons Arrested[a]
Principal Crimes Against Person	
Criminal Homicide	
Murder and Non-negligent Manslaughter	264
Manslaughter by Negligence	77
Forcible Rape	255
Robbery	618
Aggravated Assault	7,143
Other Assaults	12,103
Arson	94
Other Sex Offenses	755
Total Principal Crimes Against Person	21,309
Principal Property Crimes	
Stolen Property; Buying, Receiving, Possessing	310
Burglary - Breaking or Entering	4,612
Theft	8,948
Motor-Vehicle Theft	1,868
Total Principal Property Crimes	15,738
Principal White-Collar Crimes	
Forgery and Counterfeiting	1,043
Fraud	4,644
Embezzlement	744
Total Principal White-Collar Crimes	6,431
Principal Vice Crimes	
Prostitution and Commercialized Vice	181
Total Narcotic and Drug Laws	145
Total Gambling	543
Total Principal Vice Crimes	869

TABLE 1 (continued)

Offense Charged	Number of Persons Arrested[a]
Abuse of Alcohol Offenses	
Drunkenness	58,538
Disorderly Conduct	6,693
Driving Under the Influence	7,878
Liquor Laws	3,965
Total Abuse of Alcohol Offenses	77,074
Family Offenses	
Offenses Against Family and Children	5,237
Runaways	535
Total Family Offenses	5,772
Public-Nuisance Offenses	
Vandalism	2,192
Vagrancy	1,019
Curfew and Loitering	81
Total Public-Nuisance Offenses	3,292
Miscellaneous Offenses	
Weapons; Carrying, Possessing, etc.	1,718
Suspicion	1,152
All other Offenses (except traffic)	23,672
Total Miscellaneous Offenses	26,542
GRAND TOTAL	157,027

SOURCE: Federal Bureau of Investigation, Tabulation of Arrest Statistics for North Carolina compiled in Uniform Crime Reporting.

[a]Data is based on a population sample of 2,400,000 reported by 81 police and sheriffs agencies or approximately 48 percent of the estimated total population of 5,029,000 in North Carolina in 1967. Each arrest of an offender is counted regardless of the number of crimes he commits; similarly, when more than one person is arrested for the same crime, each arrest is counted.

waste of the thousands of human lives of drug addicts. As the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice noted,

> Organized criminals engaged in drug traffic were making high profits. Drug addicts, to support their habits, were stealing millions of dollars worth of property every year and contributing to the public's fear of robbery and burglary. The police, the courts, the jails and prisons, and social-service agencies of all kinds were devoting great amounts of time, money and manpower to attempts to control drug abuse.[2]

Although the facts about the problems of narcotics use are not known at the present time, a bill is now pending in the North Carolina General Assembly to establish a Study Commission on the Use of Illegal and Harmful Drugs in the State.

Traffic Offenses

More arrests are made for traffic offenses in North Carolina than for all other criminal offenses combined: 236,372 were made by the State Highway Patrol alone in 1967. Furthermore, 101,615 reported automobile accidents injured 54,433 persons and killed 1,744.[8] Assuming every violent crime caused personal injury (of which only about two-thirds do, nationally)[3], more than 2.2 times as many injuries, and 3.6 times as many deaths, were caused by motor-vehicle accidents as by all crimes of violence combined.

UCR Part II Offenses

A variety of other criminal offenses exist in addition to those previously discussed; these crimes, termed UCR Part II offenses, consist of the following:

Assaults other than aggravated

Arson

Forgery and counterfeiting

Fraud

Embezzlement

Stolen property; buying, receiving, possessing

Valdalism

Weapons; carrying, possessing, etc.

Prostitution and commercialized vice

Sex offenses (except forcible rape and prostitution)

Narcotic drug laws

Gambling

Offenses against family and children

Driving under the influence

Liquor laws

Drunkenness

Disorderly conduct

Vagrancy

All other offenses (except traffic)

Suspicion

Curfew and loitering law violations

Runaways

Most of these crimes are not recorded statistically except in the arrest figures given in Table 1. It is assumed that one reported crime is committed for each arrest noted in the table. Of course, for most of the

crime categories shown in Table 1, it is very likely that many more crimes are committed than are reported.

Riots and Civil Disorders

Recurring riots and civil disturbances in American cities have provided a most striking and visible example of crime in the streets. All but a few Americans have been affected by these outbursts of violence and disorder. North Carolinians have also witnessed the tragedy of riots.

On November 2, 1967, rioting erupted in Winston-Salem, following the funeral services for James Eller, a Negro, who died as a result of cranial injuries sustained while resisting arrest. Since this disorder has been extensively documented by the City Manager, it can be described in greater factual detail than many subsequent disturbances for which only press accounts are available. From 5:33 p.m. on November 2, 1967, when the overt disturbance started, to 6:14 a.m. on November 6, 1969, 142 fire alarms were answered with property damage estimated at $616,551. No estimate of property damage, other than by fire, is available. However, those responsible for the civil disorder broke windows in cars, overturned vehicles, set fires, broke plate glass windows in shops and stores, looted those establishments, and damaged buildings through many means. Throughout the four days of disturbance, less than 50 injuries occurred, but no one was critically or seriously injured. Of the 8 police officers injured, 3 were admitted to the hospital and the other 5 were treated at the hospital and released. Although responsible for little or no damage and no personal injuries, snipers created problems for police, firemen,

National Guardsmen, and Highway Patrolmen. Of the 192 persons arrested on 221 charges selected as being those related to the violence, 78 had previous local records amounting to 2,165 arrests which resulted in 1,503 convictions and 265 cases referred to Domestic Relations Court yet to be compiled. Further, 69 suspects had previous FBI records, and 44 other cities also had records on these persons; altogether these 69 had served 81 prison sentences. The average age of these violators was 25.4 years and the median age was 24.5 years; two percent were under 16 years of age. Approximately 2 percent of those arrested were white and 98 percent Negro. Females accounted for about 7 percent of the total arrests and males for 93 percent. Sixty-five percent of the 192 suspects were employed, 10 percent were students, and 25 percent were unemployed.[9a]

Following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, on April 4, 1968, 48 North Carolina cities and towns reported a state of crisis for varying lengths of time between April 1 and April 14, according to a report prepared for Governor Dan K. Moore. Three serious injuries were reported in the State, and two of these involved public officials; sixty-one minor injuries were reported including 29 to police, firemen, and other governmental employees and 32 to private citizens. Of the 151 fires reported, 28 were considered to be major with damage of more than $1,000. In all, property damage during these disorders totalled $1,041,000. Of this amount, $188,960 was damage to public property. A total of 1,791 arrests were recorded. These included: 1,304 arrests for curfew violations, divided almost equally among whites and negroes; 22 for looting; one for sniping; 16 for arson; 65 for property damage; and 383 for other offenses,

including disorderly conduct, intoxication, rowdiness, etc. Eight cities were unable to handle the situation with local law enforcement forces and were assisted by the State Highway Patrol in restoring order; the National Guard was also utilized in six of these cities. [9b]

The civil disorders of April, 1968, exposed the lack of an adequate legal framework in North Carolina for dealing with riots and other disturbances. In an effort to fill the need, Governor Dan K. Moore requested the Governor's Committee on Law and Order to consider appropriate legislation. To assist the Committee, he appointed an Advisory Committee composed of citizens of North Carolina whose experience made them especially sensitive to legal needs for dealing with massive or widespread civil disorders.

The Advisory Committee was appointed following the April disorders and met at least monthly. Its efforts were devoted largely to defining legislative needs and reviewing specific responses to those needs proposed by its drafting subcommittee. The resulting legislative recommendations and the accompanying report and commentary have been approved by the Governor's Committee on Law and Order. The proposed legislation is now pending in the General Assembly.

Since the April, 1968, disturbances and civil disorders have continued in our State. During the past year turmoil on college and university campuses and in our high schools has been widespread throughout the State. Most recently, in May, 1969, a disorder at Burlington High School resulted indirectly in the death of one Negro student. A three-day violent disorder at North Carolina A & T State University at Greensboro

resulted in injuries to 7 persons, including 5 policemen, one National Guardsman, and one student, and the death of one Negro student.

These figures indicate the reality and degree of violence and destruction. The more important consideration is what were the riots all about. Governor Robert W. Scott, in an interview in Charlotte on May 23 quoted in The Raleigh News and Observer, said that

> ...the trouble at A & T University in Greensboro has shown state officials they may no longer anticipate which issues will boil over into violence.
>
> As in the case of A & T, a small group of militants used a frivolous issue--that of a high school election--to seek out and find confrontation.
>
> ... Later in the Charlotte interview, Scott said there have been many signs of the stepup and organization of activist groups that are bent on confrontation in high schools.
>
> One such sign, he said, is the growing number of underground periodicals ostensibly published by students but in fact "produced by older persons."
>
> The governor added that he would not call the high school and college disruptions part of a conspiracy but that there seems to be a pattern of organization.
>
> ... Scott, in his speech to the C & D Board, called for North Carolinians to "reject extremes at both ends of the spectrum and to work hard for racial harmony in all sectors."
>
> Put aside hot passion for the warm spirit of cooperation, Scott said. Join me in a search for reason and justice--join me in a desire for a cool and calm summer.
>
> The governor added this spirit of cooperation cannot be accomplished through violence... a town resembling a military encampment....
>
> "I do not promise miracles overnight. I pledge my best efforts to achieve social justice...."

Geographical Distributions of Reported Index Crimes

All crimes reflect the complex interaction and influence of many different persons and conditions. To understand and control crimes we need to know a great deal about different aspects of the situations within which crimes typically occur.

Citizens and law-enforcement officers alike would like to be able to predict where crimes will occur. Unfortunately, there is little detailed knowledge of the distinguishing characteristics of locales where crimes have occurred in North Carolina. However, some general information is available comparing the rates of crime in metropolitan areas with those in non-metropolitan cities and rural areas.

Nationally, large metropolitan areas* are the most crime-prone: 68 percent of the United States population suffers about 85 percent of the index crimes in a given year. The remaining 15 percent of the reported index crimes are committed almost equally in small cities** and rural areas. Thus, 13 percent of the population in other U. S. cities suffers about 7.5 percent of the index crimes, as does the 19 percent of the population in rural areas.[1] Crime in North Carolina does not follow a similar

---

*Generally defined as those cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants, technically known as Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's) and defined by the U. S. Bureau of the Census as a county or group of counties having at least one core city of 50,000 or more inhabitants. In North Carolina, the areas labelled SMSA's are: Asheville, Charlotte, Durham, Fayetteville, Greensboro-High Point, Raleigh, Wilmington, and Winston-Salem.[10]

**Non-SMSA cities.[1]

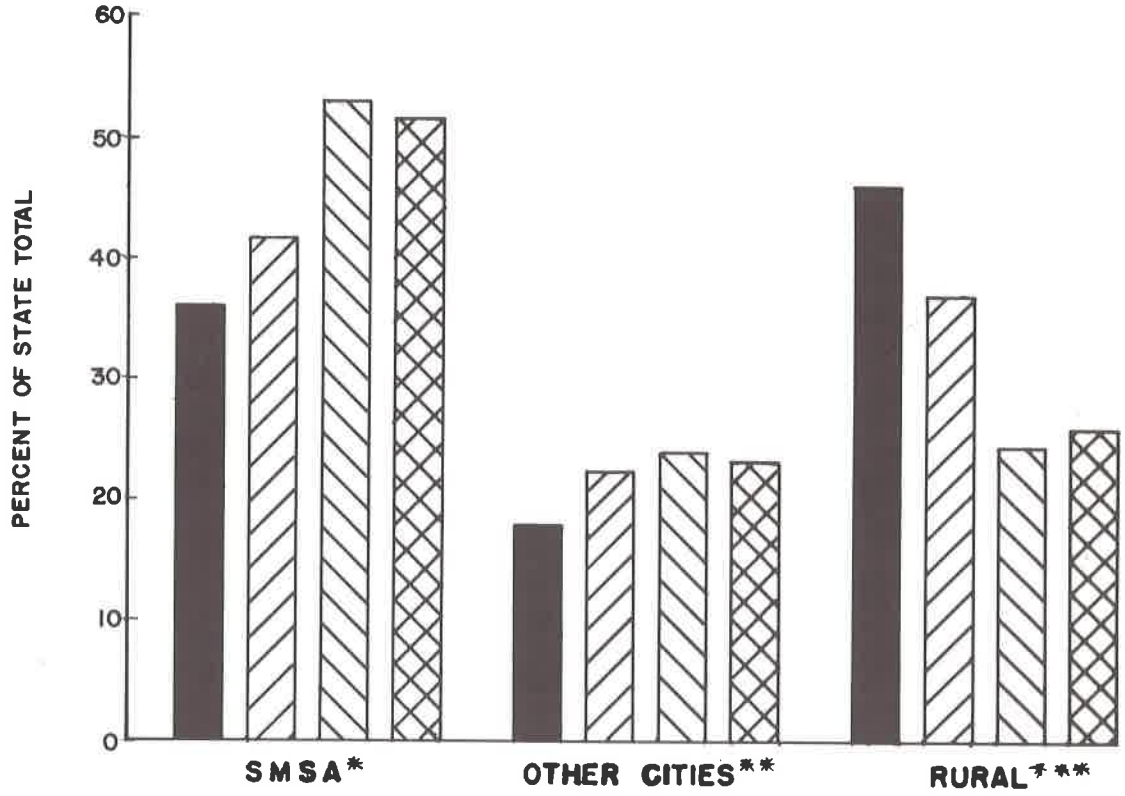
geographical pattern, since our State is less urbanized than the nation as a whole.

Figure 5 compares the population of each type of area with the percentage of crimes against persons and property that occur within each area of North Carolina. The more urbanized metropolitan areas have more than their share of both types of crime: 36 percent of the population suffers about 42 percent of the violent crime, about 53 percent of the property crime, and about 52 percent of total crimes.[1]

Statistics on rates of reported index crimes in the United States, given in Table 2, indicate that the total index crime rate in metropolitan areas is almost twice that in other, non-metropolitan (small) cities and more than three times that in rural areas. The total rate of index crime reported in North Carolina's metropolitan areas is not quite 1.2 times that of the other cities but is more than two and one-half times that of rural areas, as shown in Table 3. Further, the rate of violent crimes against the person is slightly higher in small cities than in metropolitan areas, because these cities have the highest aggravated assault rate. However, as in the United States, North Carolinians are exposed to the lowest crime rates in rural areas for all of the index crimes.

The really significant difference among rates for different types of crime are between the metropolitan areas and the rural areas. In our State almost three times as many robberies, and one-and-a-half times as many auto thefts per 100,000 North Carolinians occur in metropolitan than in rural areas. In sum, the risk of harm or loss from index crimes is less in a small-city or rural setting than in metropolitan areas except

FIGURE 5
GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF INDEX CRIMES REPORTED IN NORTH CAROLINA IN 1967



NOTES:
- POPULATION
- REPORTED INDEX CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON (WILLFUL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT)
- REPORTED INDEX CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY (BURGLARY, THEFT OF $50 OR MORE, AND AUTO THEFT)
- TOTAL REPORTED INDEX CRIMES (SUM OF CRIMES AGAINST PERSON AND PROPERTY)

SOURCE: FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES, UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS; 1967, PAGES 60 AND 70. SOURCE STATISTICS ARE REPRODUCED IN THE ADDENDUM.

* SMSA = STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREA DEFINED BY THE U. S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS AS A COUNTY OR GROUP OF COUNTIES HAVING AT LEAST ONE CORE CITY OF 50,000 OR MORE POPULATION.

** OTHER CITIES = URBAN PLACES OUTSIDE SMSA's WITH 2,500 OR MORE POPULATION.

*** RURAL AREAS = UNINCORPORATED PORTIONS OF COUNTIES OUTSIDE OF URBAN PLACES AND SMSA's.

TABLE 2

Reported Crime Rates in the United States by Geographical Division, 1967

Type of Crime	Crime Rate (offenses per 100,000 inhabitants) U.S.	SMSA[a]	Other Cities[a]	Rural[a]
Crimes Against Person				
Willful Homicide	6.1	6.6	3.9	5.9
Forcible Rape	13.7	16.5	6.2	8.6
Robbery	102.1	142.8	22.2	10.9
Aggravated Assault	128.0	147.9	96.0	79.0
Total[b]	249.9	313.7	128.3	104.4
Crimes Against Property				
Burglary	811.5	994.8	530.8	348.6
Theft of $50 or More	529.2	649.0	395.0	194.7
Motor-Vehicle Theft	331.0	439.8	155.9	61.5
Total[b]	1,671.8	2,083.6	1,081.7	604.8
All Crimes				
Total[b]	1,921.7	2,397.3	1,210.0	709.2

SOURCE: Federal Bureau of Investigation, Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports, 1967, p. 60.

[a]A Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA) consists of an entire county or counties having at least one core city of 50,000 or more inhabitants; such areas included 68 percent of the 1967 United States population. Other cities are urban places outside SMSA's, with 2,500 or more inhabitants, most of which are incorporated; 13 percent of the 1967 United States population lived in other cities. Rural areas are unincorporated portions of counties outside of urban places and SMSA; 19 percent of the population resided in rural areas.

[b]Totals do not equal sum of the rates for each offense type because of rounding.

TABLE 3

Reported Crime Rates in North Carolina by Geographical Division, 1967

Type of Crime	Crime Rate (offenses per 100,000 inhabitants) N. C.	SMSA[a]	Other Cities[b]	Rural[c]
Crimes Against Person				
Willful Homicide	9.4	9.3	13.3	7.8
Forcible Rape	11.0	13.5	12.0	8.6
Robbery	30.2	57.0	26.7	10.7
Aggravated Assault	261.5	284.4	317.9	221.6
Total[d]	312.0	364.2	370.2	248.7
Crimes Against Property				
Burglary	477.8	729.7	729.7	248.5
Theft of $50 or More	328.0	507.1	422.0	152.2
Motor-Vehicle Theft	131.1	206.6	187.7	50.2
Total[d]	936.8	1,443.3	1,173.6	450.9
All Crimes				
Total[d]	1,248.8	1,807.6	1,543.7	699.5

SOURCE: Federal Bureau of Investigation, Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports, 1967, p. 76.

[a]Included 35.7 percent of the 1967 North Carolina population.

[b]Included 18.1 percent of North Carolina's 1967 residents.

[c]Included 46.2 percent of North Carolina's population.

[d]In some instances, totals do not equal sum of the rates for each offense type because of rounding.

for aggravated assault which is most prevalent in small cities. As shown in Table 3, the rate of violent crime in rural areas is close to two-thirds of the metropolitan-area rate; but the rate in small cities is slightly greater than the metropolitan-area rate primarily because of the higher aggravated assault rate. The rate of property crime in rural areas is less than one-third of the metropolitan area, while the small-city rate is about five-sixths of the rate in metropolitan areas. Of course, some crimes are not so heavily concentrated in urban areas as the index crimes. Nationally, vandalism, liquor-law violations, driving while intoxicated, and fraud are much more evenly spread over cities of all sizes and rural areas. On the other hand, narcotics violations, gambling, drunkenness, vagrancy, and disorderly conduct crimes generally follow the same pattern as index offenses.[3]

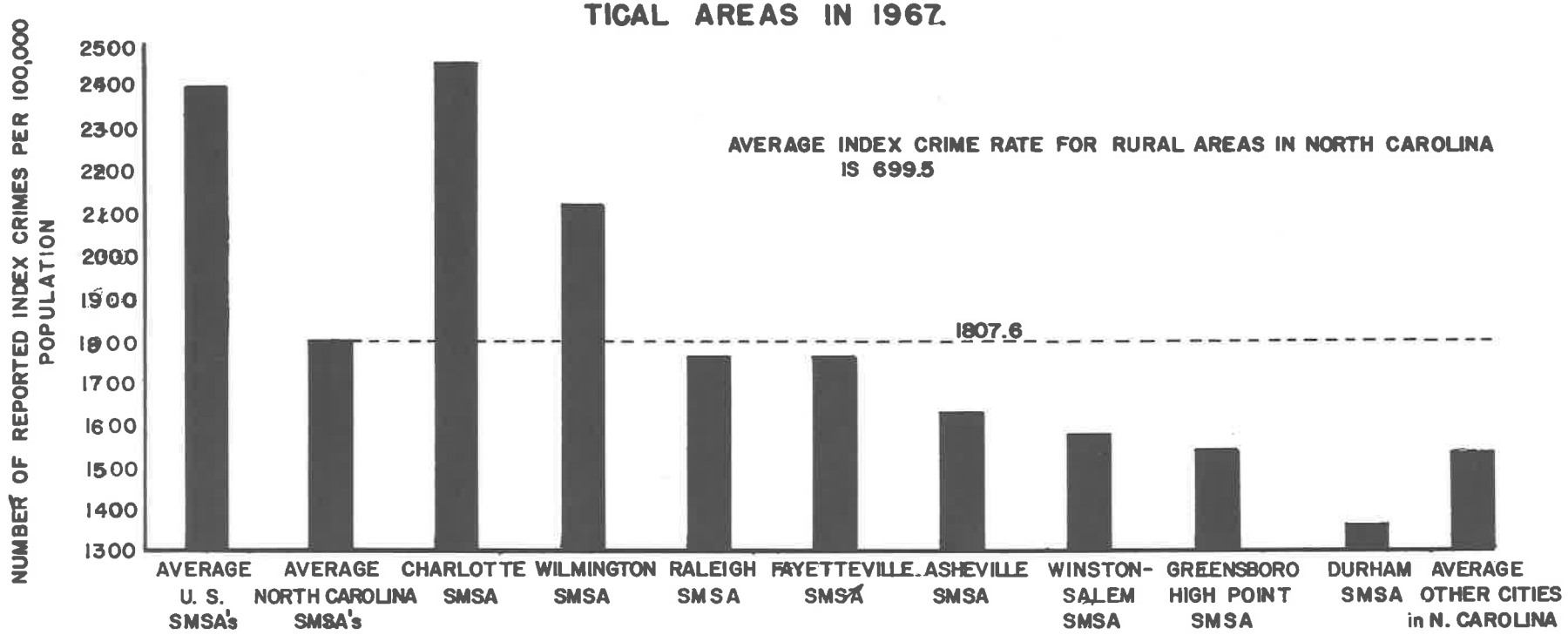
Just as the reported index crime rates differ, sometimes greatly, among metropolitan areas, smaller city areas, and rural areas in our State, so do the metropolitan areas show wide disparities among their reported index crime rates as shown in Figure 6. Because of the many factors which can tend to inflate or deflate crime rate statistics, this Figure must be intrepreted with care. Similarly, the comparative index crime rates for North Carolina's cities and towns given in Table 4 may or may not be significant.

The fact that metropolitan areas are known to have the highest crime rates is of little help in devising action programs to combat crime because the areas are too diverse. They include not only densely populated central cities, but industrialized regions, residential suburbs, and

FIGURE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF THE RATES OF REPORTED INDEX CRIMES AMONG NORTH CAROLINA'S STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS IN 1967.

6A- REPORTED RATES OF TOTAL INDEX CRIMES FOR NORTH CAROLINA STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS IN 1967.

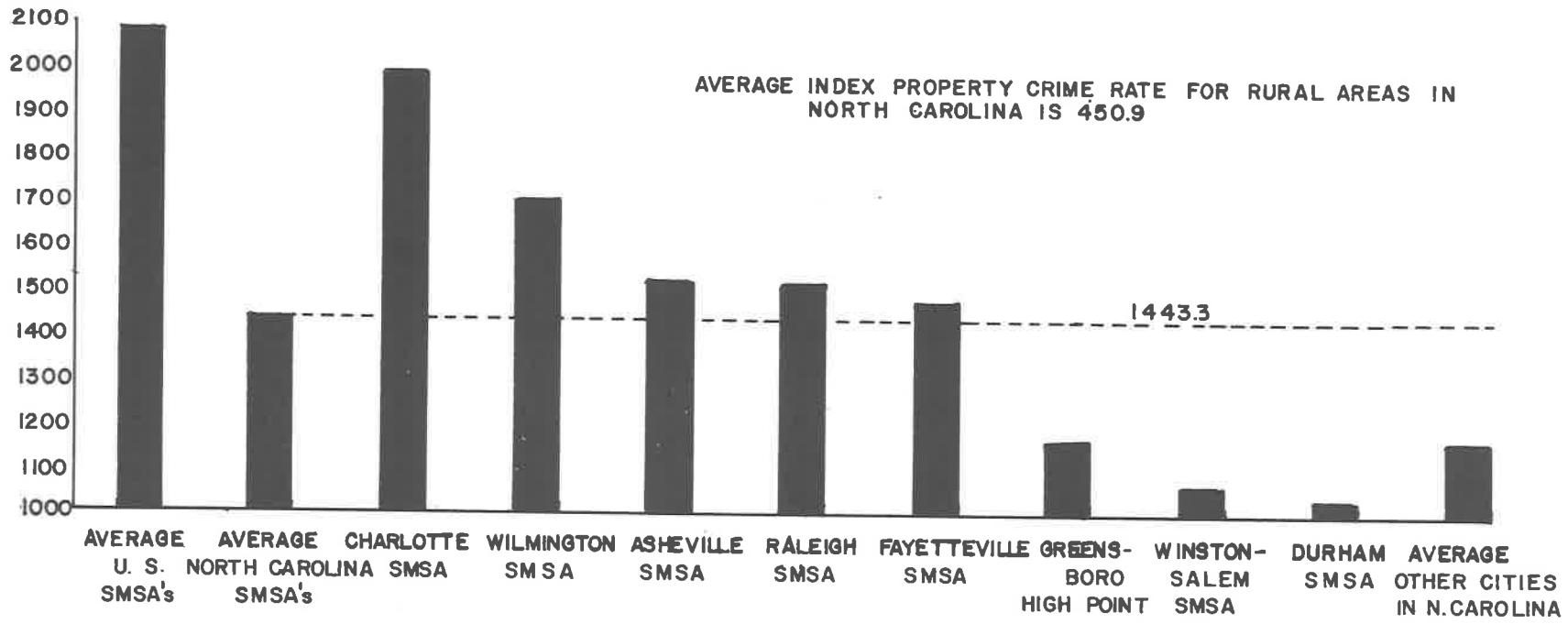


NOTE: CHARLOTTE SMSA INCLUDES UNION AND MECKLONBURG COUNTIES, WILMINGTON SMSA INCLUDES BRUNSWICK AND NEW HANOVER COUNTIES. RALEIGH SMSA INCLUDES WAKE COUNTY. FAYETTEVILLE SMSA INCLUDES CUMBERLAND COUNTY. ASHEVILLE SMSA INCLUDES BUNCOMBE COUNTY. WINSTON-SALEM SMSA INCLUDES FORSYTH COUNTY. GREENSBORO AND HIGH POINT SMSA INCLUDES GUILFORD COUNTY. DURHAM SMSA INCLUDES DURHAM COUNTY.

NOTE: INDEX CRIMES INCLUDE WILLFUL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, BURGLARY, THEFT OF $50 OR MORE, AND AUTO THEFT.

FIGURE 6 CONT'D

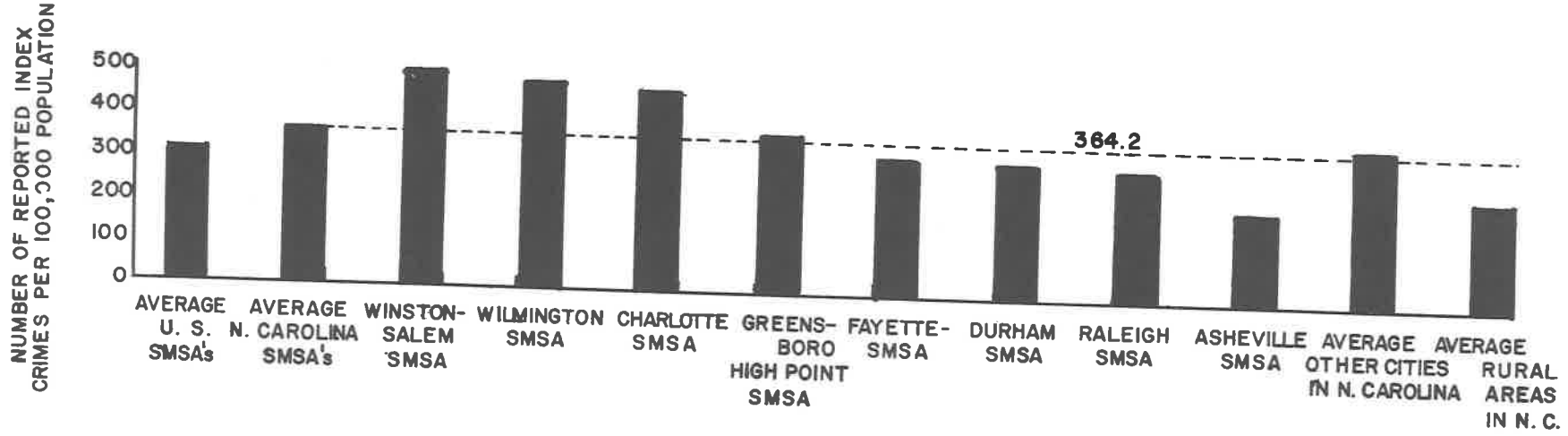
6B - RATES OF REPORTED INDEX CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY FOR NORTH CAROLINA STANDARD METROPOLITAN STASTISTICAL AREAS IN 1967.



NOTE: INDEX PROPERTY CRIMES ARE BURGLARY, THEFT OF $50 OR MORE AND AUTO THEFT.

FIGURE 6 CONT'D

6C - RATES OF REPORTED INDEX CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON FOR NORTH CAROLINA STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS IN 1967.



NOTE: INDEX CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON INCLUDE WILLFUL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY AND AGGRAVATED ASSAULT.

SOURCE: FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES, UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS, 1967, PAGE 60, TABLE 5, AND PAGE 75. SOURCE STATISTICS ARE REPRODUCED IN THE ADDENDUM.

"STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREA" IS DEFINED BY THE U. S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS AS A COUNTY OR GROUP OF COUNTIES HAVING AT LEAST ONE CORE CITY OF 50,000 OR MORE POPULATION.

"OTHER CITIES" ARE URBAN PLACES OUTSIDE SMSA's WITH 2,500 OR MORE INHABITANTS.

"RURAL AREAS" ARE THE UNINCORPORATED PORTIONS OF COUNTIES OUTSIDE SMSA's AND OTHER CITIES.

TABLE 4

Crime Rates Reported for North Carolina Cities and Towns in 1967

Rank	City/Town	Crime Rate
1[a]	Fayetteville[b]	3,931.3
2	Blowing Rock	3,380.3
3	Wilmington[b]	2,932.7
4[a]	Charlotte[b]	2,923.6
5	Smithfield	2,696.8
6	Gastonia	2,657.4
7	Lumberton	2,623.8
8	New Bern	2,620.8
9	Winston-Salem[b]	2,611.7
10	Clayton	2,571.0
11	Raleigh[b]	2,555.8
12	Greensboro[b]	2,469.6
13	Lowell	2,436.6
14	Asheville[b]	2,369.8
15	Edenton	2,354.0
16	Jacksonville	2,230.4
17	Concord	2,159.4
18	Rocky Mount	2,146.3
19	North Wilkesboro	2,135.1
20	Monroe[b]	2,056.9
21	Beaufort	2,039.4
22	Mecklenburg[b]	1,922.4
23	Vance	1,835.1
24	Goldsboro	1,830.5
25	Hamlet	1,811.4
26	Greenville	1,801.8
27	Elkin	1,752.0
28	Shelby	1,742.2
29	Laurinburg	1,710.1
30	Hendersonville	1,698.1
31	Mount Airy	1,680.6
32	Durham[b]	1,671.7
33	New Hanover[b]	1,656.0
34	Enfield	1,637.1
35	Elizabeth City	1,619.9
36	Gaston	1,583.6
37	Washington	1,582.4
38	Asheboro[b]	1,570.0
39	Wilson	1,560.8
40	Burlington	1,545.8

TABLE 4 (continued)

Rank	City/Town	Crime Rate
41	Louisburg	1,544.4
42	Lexington	1,501.1
43	Morganton	1,483.6
44	Brevard	1,476.3
45	Graham	1,457.6
46	Thomasville	1,441.0
47	High Point[b]	1,431.0
48	Durham[b]	1,421.1
49	Lincolnton	1,415.3
50	Sanford	1,354.8
51	Kinston	1,344.7
52	Caldwell	1,338.8
53	Henderson	1,314.1
54[a]	Reidsville	1,308.7
55	Wake Forest[b]	1,292.5
56	Murfreesboro	1,280.4
57	Nash	1,204.8
58	Mount Holly	1,199.0
59	Belhaven	1,157.5
60	Roanoke Rapids	1,101.9
61	Scotland	1,042.5
62	Lenoir	998.4
63	Buncombe[b]	974.9
64	Red Springs	973.0
65	Garner[b]	971.1
66	Cabarrus	969.8
67	Cleveland	965.7
68	Williamston	948.0
69	Statesville	946.5
70	Tarboro	926.3
71	Kannapolis	904.6
72	Cumberland[b]	877.3
73	Dare	866.1
74	Clinton	863.8
75	Albemarle	825.3
76	Mooresville	741.8
77	Martin	735.8
78	Forest City	732.1
79	Ayden	730.8
80	Salisbury	717.3
81	Valdese	708.1
82	Lenoir	701.5
83	Wake[b]	671.7
84	Camden	665.4

TABLE 4 (continued)

Rank	City/Town	Crime Rate
85	Watauga	663.0
86	Lincoln	659.6
87	Granite Falls	650.2
88	Guilford[b]	647.6
89	Lake Waccamaw	621.9
90	Swain	617.6
91	Onslow	611.2
92	Iredell	588.7
93	Davidson	564.4
94	McDowell	556.1
95	Sampson	534.8
96	Forsyth[b]	532.3
97	Union[b]	510.4
98	Rutherford	503.4
99	Greene	500.6
100	Wayne	492.4
101	Havelock	478.7
102	Clay	471.8
103	Marion	442.1
104	Stanly	428.1
105	Bertie	415.1
106	Boone	399.2
107	Orange[b]	379.9
108	Fuquay Springs[b]	376.4
109	Siler City	337.1
110	Waynesville	329.9
111	Alleghany	328.9
112	Macon	320.3
113	Wilkes	314.2
114	Spring Lake[b]	307.5
115	Scotland Neck	252.9
116	Mount Olive	251.2
117	Tyrrell	189.0
118	Person	185.7
119	Davidson[b]	185.5
120	Jackson	181.3
121	Randolph[b]	144.6
122	Yadkin[b]	134.3
123	Jones	115.4

SOURCE: Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reporting Tabulation. Unpublished.

[a]Indicates out of trend for Cities and Towns of comparable size.

[b]Indicates part of SMSA.

even sparsely populated rural areas within their limits. Thus, the analysis of the location of crime in North Carolina is incomplete--some parts of our cities are much more dangerous than others, although the reporting system does not show this.

Many explanations have been offered for the rates of crime being higher in urban than in rural areas. Cities are usually thought to offer a larger number of criminal opportunities, a greater likelihood of associating with individuals who are already criminals, a more impersonal life offering greater freedom and anonymity, and, in many cases, the harsher conditions of slum life--often in sharp and visible contrast to the affluence of nearby areas. The few studies that have investigated these relationships suggest that the relationship between the rate of crime and the degree of urbanization is very complicated and cannot be accounted for by any single factor, such as urbanization, industrialization, or standard of living.[3]

Trends in Crime

Contemporary historians in every era have noted that there has been too much crime. However, this fact does not mean that the amount of crime committed never changes. It changes constantly from hour to hour, day to day, month to month, year to year, and place to place.

Unfortunately, tracing these changes is presently very difficult--if not impossible. If it is true, as surveys have shown, that the United States has not yet found fully reliable methods for measuring the <u>volume</u> of crime, it is even more true that it has failed to find methods for measuring the <u>trend</u> of crime.[3]

National crime statistics have been maintained only since 1930 so that crime trends over very long periods cannot be determined. Furthermore, not until 1958 was the reporting of rural crimes sufficient to allow a total national estimate of crime without special adjustments. In addition, the techniques for adjusting the population base used in calculating crime rates since 1960 are inconsistent with the techniques used before 1960. Because of these problems, the only statistically reliable trends must be estimated starting with 1960 data.

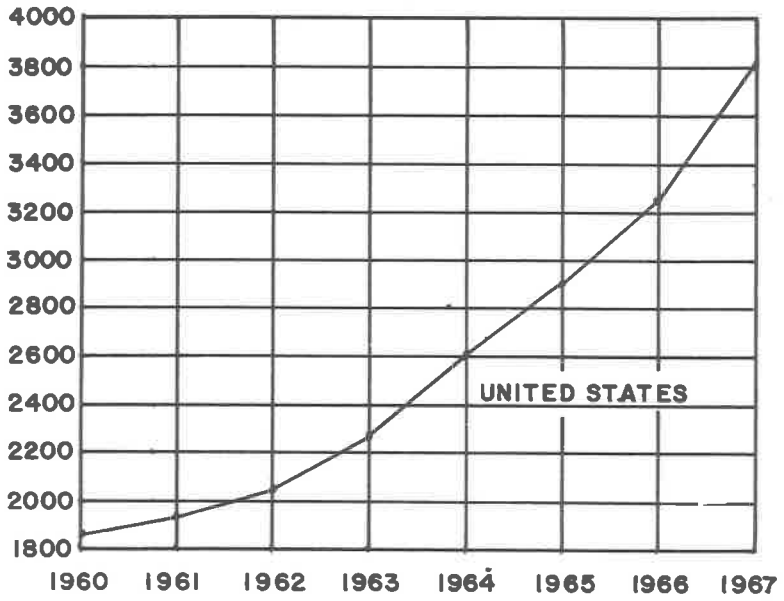
Trends in Number of Reported Index Crimes, 1960 through 1967

As Figure 7 clearly illustrates, the total number of reported index offenses is increasing both in the United States, in the South, and in North Carolina. Since 1960, the number reported of index crimes against the person in the United States has increased by 99 percent, the number of reported index property crimes by 104 percent, and the total number of reported index crimes by 104 percent. Comparable statistics for the South show an increase of 256 percent in the number of reported index crimes against the person, 313 percent in the number of reported index property crimes, and 303 percent in the total number of reported index crimes.* In North Carolina for the same period, the number of violent crimes increased by 58 percent, the number of property crimes

*The disparity between the increase in reported crimes in the South and in the United States between 1960 and 1967 may be partially attributable to the changes in reporting practices discussed subsequently.

FIGURE 7

TRENDS IN THE NUMBER OF INDEX CRIMES REPORTED IN THE UNITED STATES, IN THE SOUTH AND IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1960 THROUGH 1967



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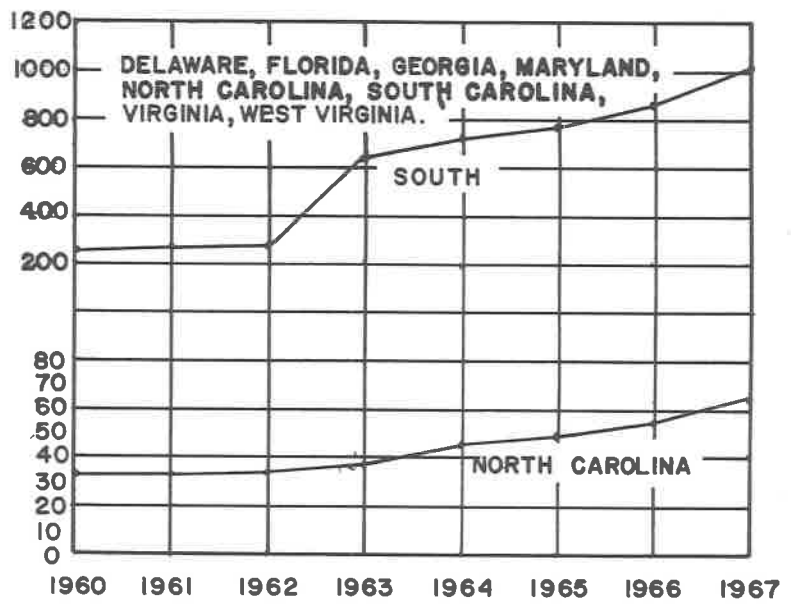


NOTE: INDEX CRIMES INCLUDE WILLFUL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVTED ASSAULT, BURGLARY, THEFT OF $50 AND OVER, AND AUTO THEFT.

SOURCE: FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES, UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS, 1960 THROUGH 1967. SOURCE STATISTICS REPRODUCED IN APPENDIX A.

by 117 percent, and the total number of index crimes by 98 percent.[1] However, the amount of increase in crime in relation to the amount of increase in population (the rate) is of special concern since it more accurately measures the risk of crime to our citizens.

Trends in Rates of Reported Index Crimes, 1960 through 1967

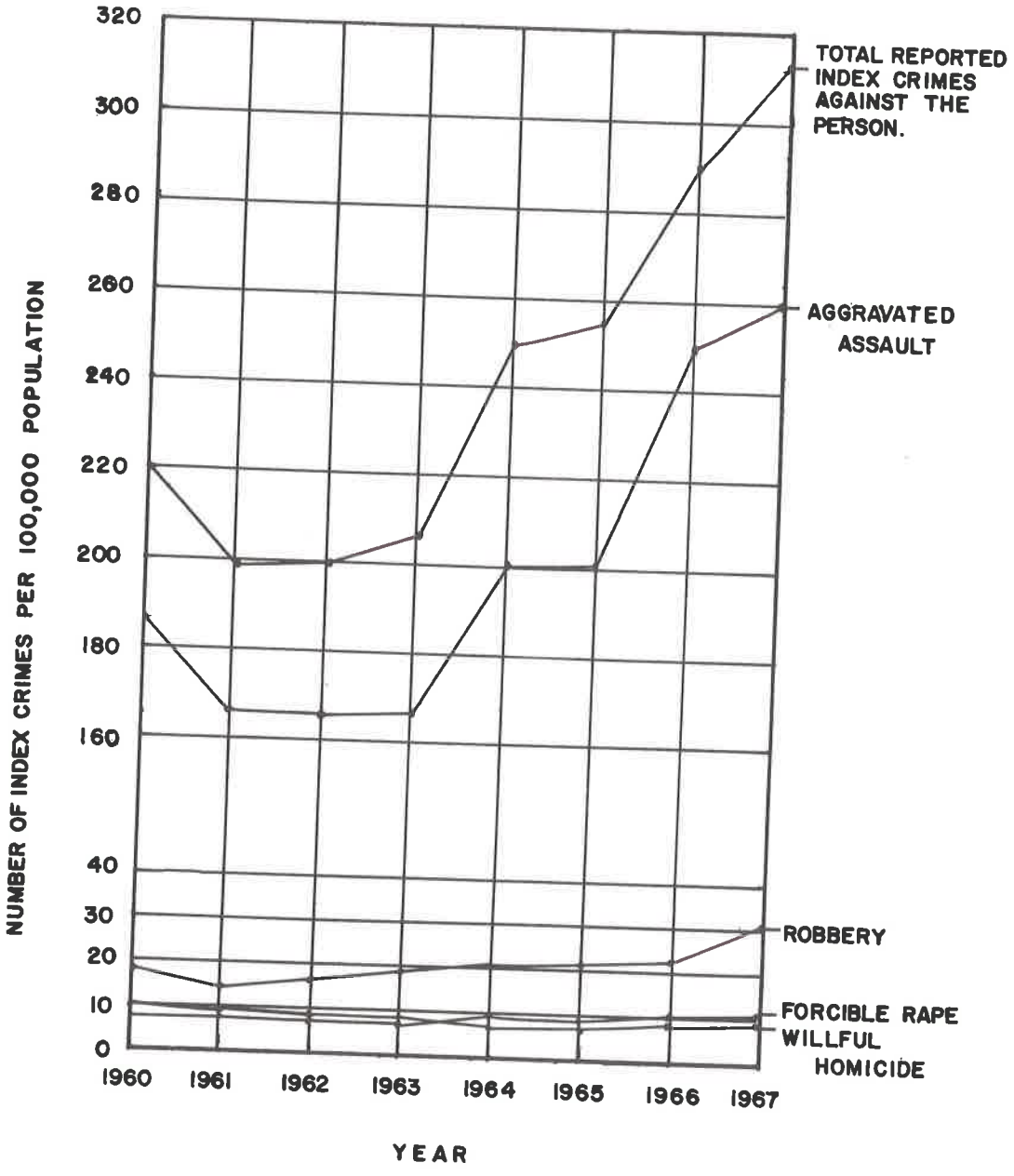
Reported rates for the four index crimes of violence against the person (willful homicide, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault) show sharply divergent trends in North Carolina, as shown in Figure 8. Since 1960, the number of offenses per 100,000 population has decreased by 6 percent for willful homicide, but increased by 45 percent for forcible rape, by 78 percent for robbery, and by 42 percent for aggravated assault.[1]

Property crime rates, shown in Figure 9, are generally up more sharply than the violent crime rates. The rate for theft of property worth $50 or more shows the greatest gain of all index offenses, an increase of 134 percent since 1960. The rate for burglary shows an increase of 66 percent since 1960 and the auto theft shows an increase of 68 percent.[1]

While these figures indicate large increases in the risk of crime to our population, the increase in reported index crime rates against the person in North Carolina has been much less than the increase in United States index crime rates against the person in the same period. From 1960 to 1967, the total reported index crime rate for the United States increased by 85 percent, while the rate of violent crime increased by 80 percent, and the rate of property crime increased by 69 percent, as shown

FIGURE 8

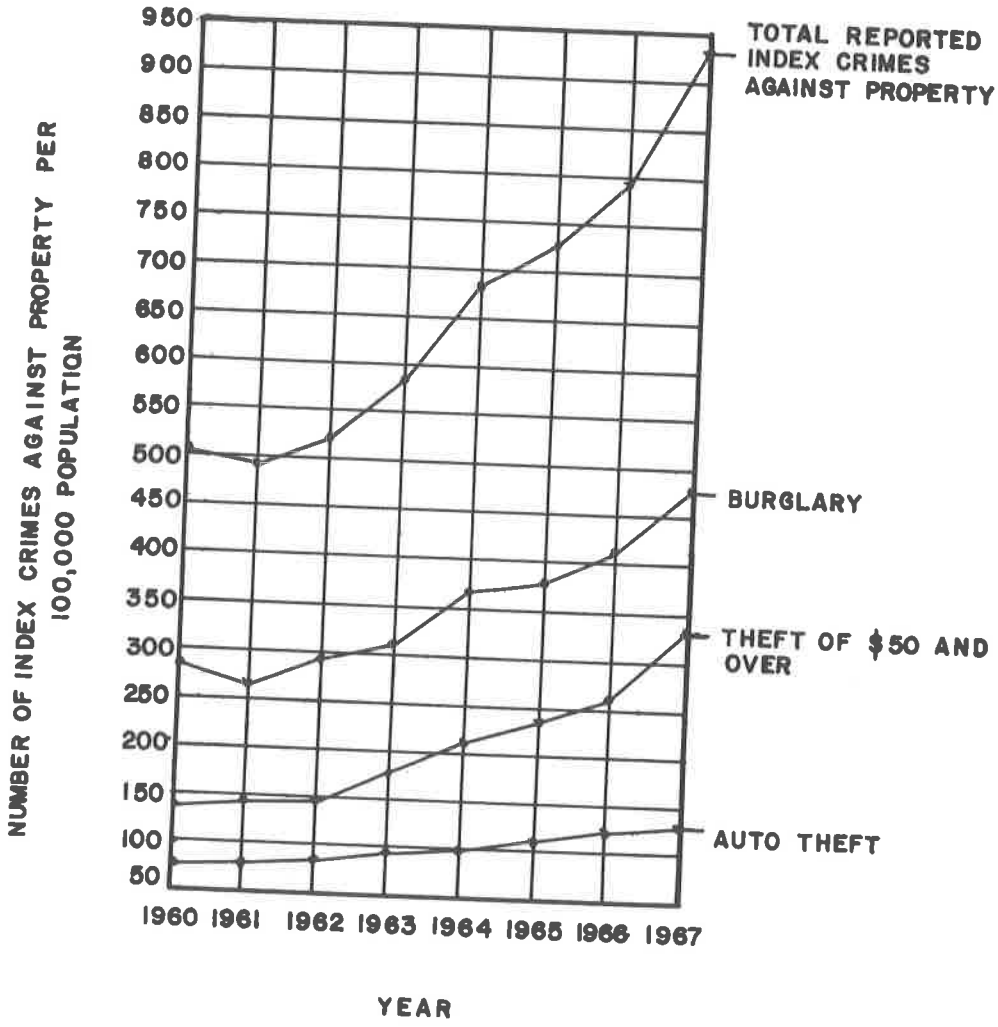
TRENDS IN THE RATE OF INDEX CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON REPORTED IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1960 THROUGH 1967.



SOURCE: FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES, UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS, 1960 THROUGH 1967. SOURCE STATISTICS REPRODUCED IN APPENDIX A.

FIGURE 9

TRENDS IN THE RATES OF INDEX CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY REPORTED IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1960 THROUGH 1967.



SOURCE: FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES, UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS, 1960 THROUGH 1967. SOURCE STATISTICS REPRODUCED IN APPENDIX A.

in Figure 10. In the same period, North Carolina's overall reported index crime rate increased by 79 percent, while the reported index crime rate against the person increased by 42 percent and the reported index property crime rate by 85 percent. These changes are generally slightly greater than similar changes for the South during this period which had an increase in the total reported index crime rate of 70 percent, an increase in the reported index crime rate against the person of 51 percent, and an increase in the reported index property crime rate of 75 percent, as shown in Figure 10.[1]

Trends in Rates and Geographical Distribution of Reported Index Crimes, 1960 through 1967

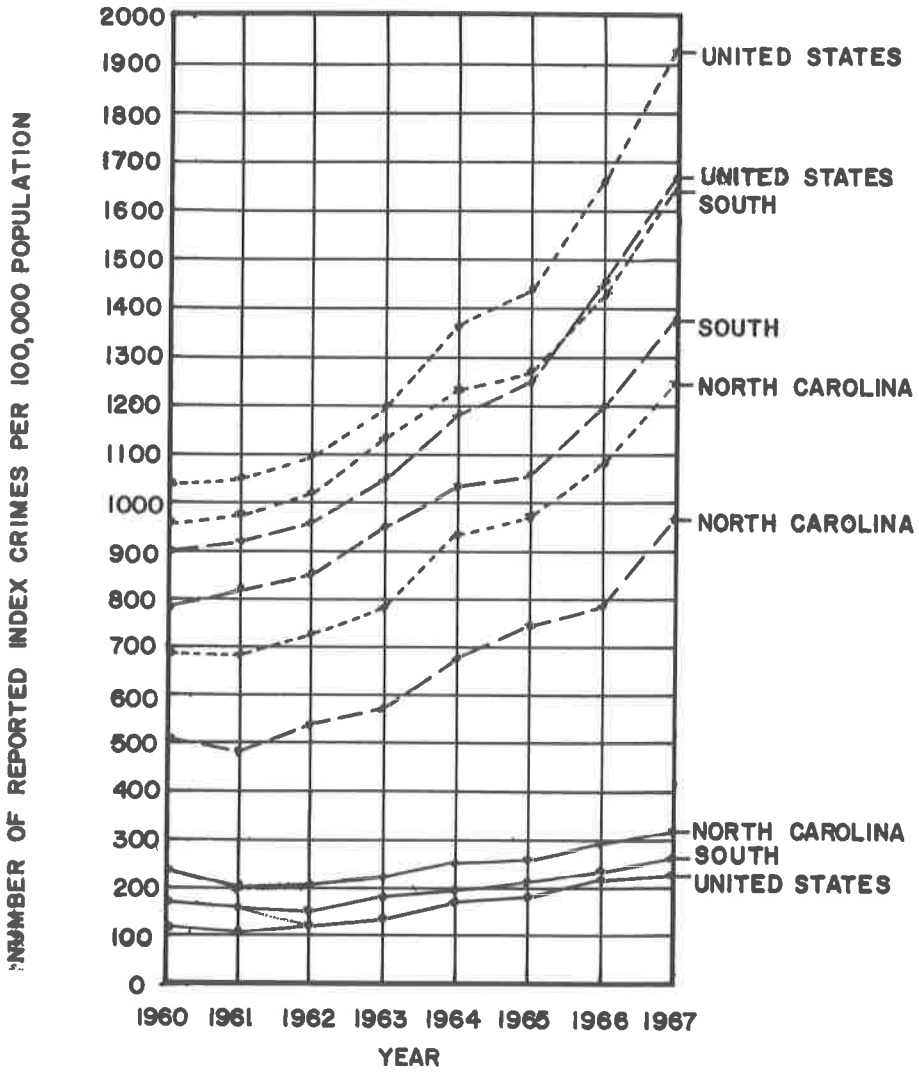
Statistics on the geographical distribution of trends from 1960 through 1967[1] in the rates of reported index crimes in the United States indicate that the total index crime rate in metropolitan areas is generally almost twice that in other (small) cities and more than three times that in rural areas as shown in Figure 11. During this period, the metropolitan area population is estimated to have increased nationally by more than 18 percent, but the number of index crimes reported in these areas is estimated* to have increased by more than 113 percent. Again considering the 1960-1967 time frame, the population for other non-metropolitan (small) cities is estimated to have increased by more than 5 percent, but

---

*Estimates of the number of reported index crimes are found by scaling from the number actually reported and the percent of the population group reporting. Estimated crime rates are then based on these estimated numbers of reported crimes.

FIGURE 10

TRENDS IN THE RATES OF INDEX CRIMES REPORTED IN THE UNITED STATES, THE SOUTH AND NORTH CAROLINA, 1960 THROUGH 1967.



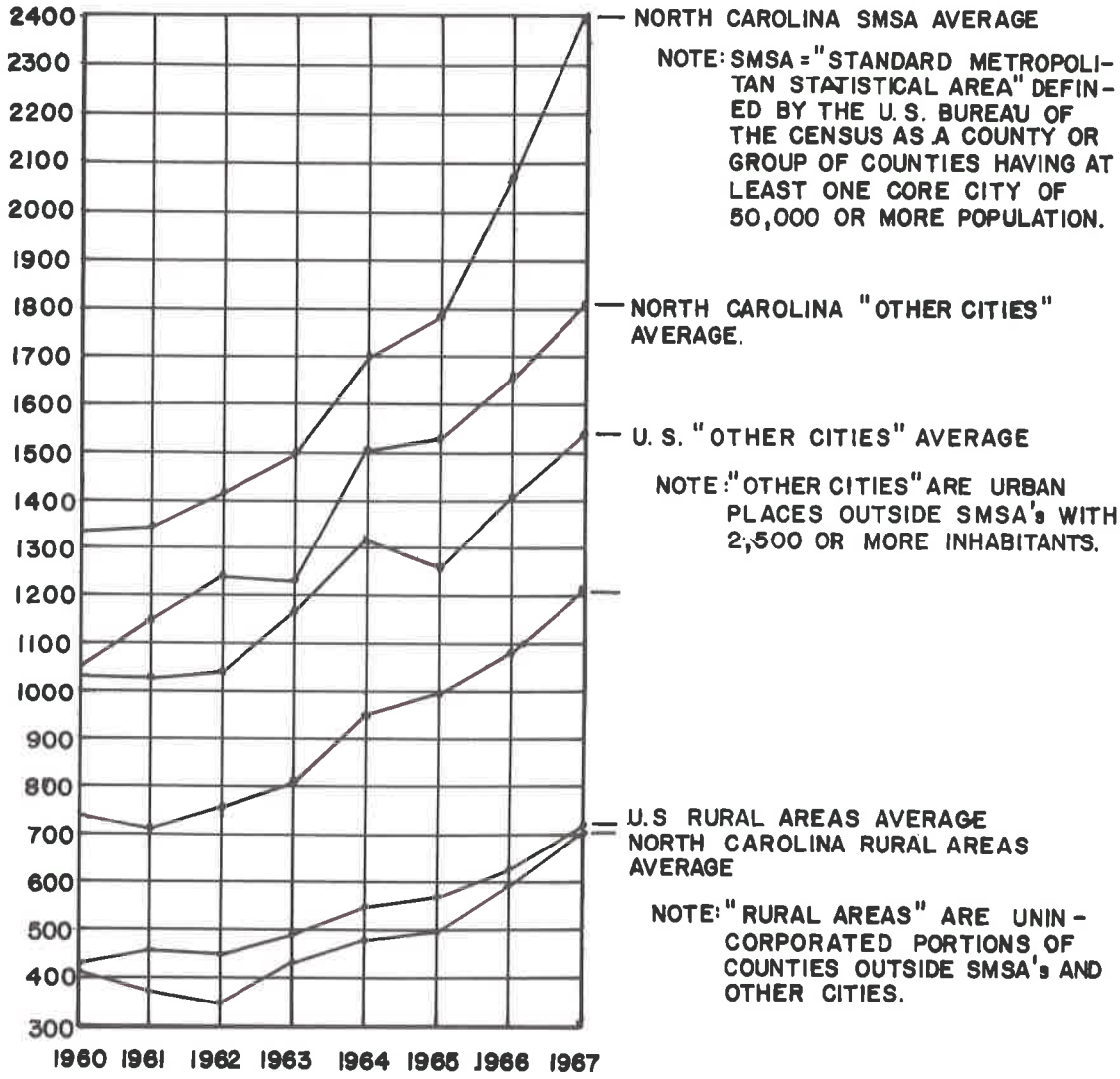
NOTES____ REPORTED INDEX CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON (WILLFUL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT.

_ _ _ REPORTED INDEX CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY (BURGLARY, THEFT OF $50 AND OVER, AND AUTO THEFT.)

SOURCE: FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES, UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS, 1960 THROUGH 1967. "SOUTH" INCLUDES DELAWAE, FLORIDA, GEORGIA, MARYLAND, NORTH CAROLINA, SOUTH CAROLINA, VIRGINIA, WEST VIRGINIA. SOURCE STATISTICS REPRODUCED IN APPENDIX A.

FIGURE II

TRENDS IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE RATES OF INDEX CRIMES REPORTED AMONG STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, OTHER CITIES, AND RURAL AREAS IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1960 THROUGH 1967.



NOTE: INDEX CRIMES INCLUDE WILLFUL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, BURGLARY, THEFT $50 OR MORE, AND AUTO THEFT.

SOURCE: FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATON, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES, UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS, 1960 THROUGH 1967, TABLES I AND 4. THE CRIME RATES SHOWN ARE BASED ON ESTIMATED INDEX CRIME REPORTS SCALED FROM THE ACTUAL NUMBER REPORTED AND THE PERCENT OF THE POPULATION GROUP REPORTING. SOURCE STATISTICS REPRODUCED IN APPENDIX. A.

the number of index crimes reported for these cities is estimated to have increased by almost 74 percent. Similarly, during this time period the United States rural population is estimated to have declined by about 6 percent, but the number of index crimes reported for rural areas is estimated to have increased by almost 55 percent. Thus, because of these disparities between population growth and the increase in the number of index crimes reported in the United States, it is not surprising to find that the reported metropolitan area index crime rate per 100,000 population has increased by more than 80 percent, that the reported index crime rate in other cities has increased by about 66 percent, and that the reported rural area index crime rate has increased by about 68 percent.

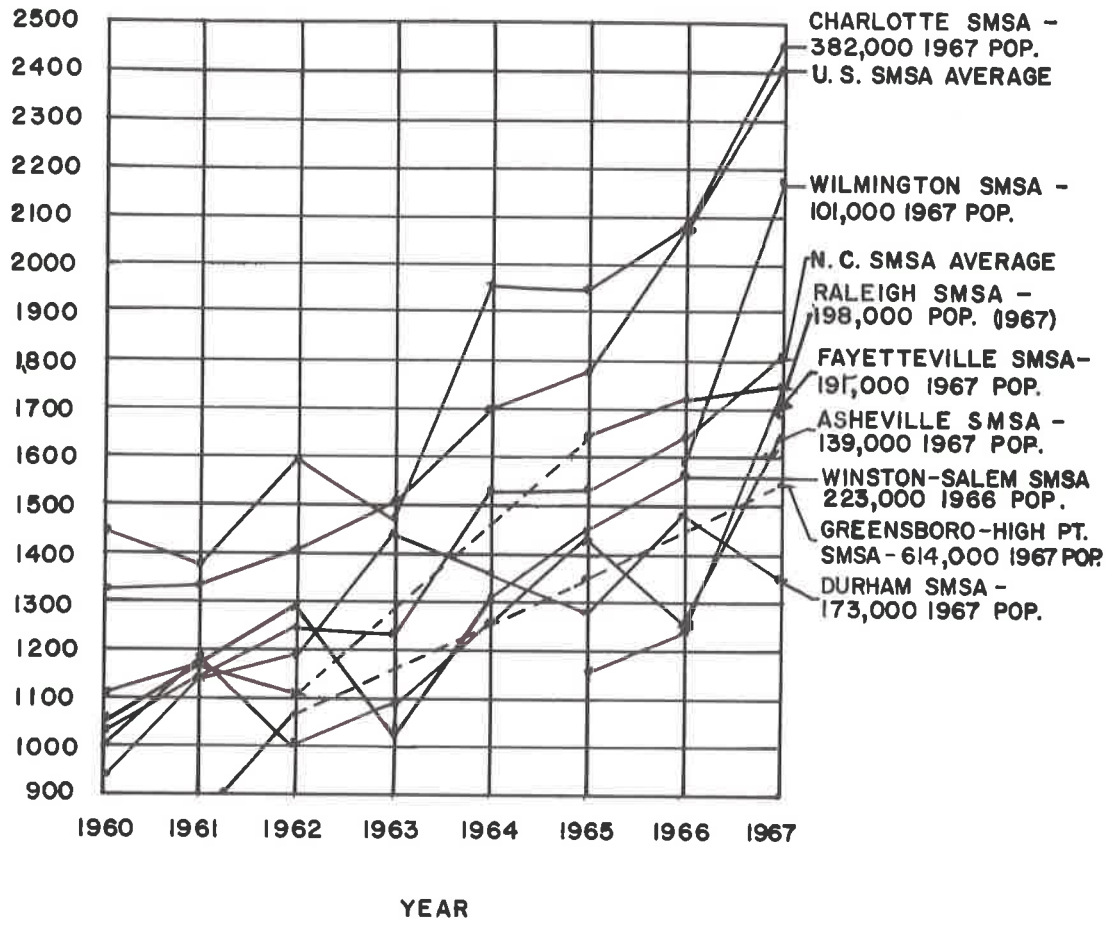
As noted previously, North Carolina's population is distributed very differently from the United States' population and has also shown a different pattern of growth. From 1960 through 1967[1], North Carolina's metropolitan area population is estimated to have increased by more than 60 percent, while the number of index crimes reported in these areas is estimated to have increased by almost 175 percent. In the same time period, the population of other, non-metropolitan (small) cities in North Carolina is estimated to have increased by less than 3 percent, but the number of index crimes reported in these other cities is estimated to have increased by more than 45 percent. The population of North Carolina's rural areas is estimated to have declined by almost 8 percent, while the number of index crimes reported in rural areas is estimated to have increased by more than 61 percent. The resulting changes in the

rate of reported index crimes per 100,000 population in North Carolina from 1960 through 1967 are shown in Figure 11. This Figure shows that the reported metropolitan area index crime rate has increased by more than 71 percent, the reported index crime rate in other cities has increased by almost 50 percent, and the reported rural area index crime rate has increased by more than 73 percent. The Figure also shows that during this time period the metropolitan area reported index crime rate in North Carolina has changed from being within a few percent of the index crime rate reported in other cities to being almost 1.2 times the other city reported index crime rate in 1967, while the other city reported index crime rate is more consistently about two and one-half times the rural area rate. Nevertheless, the citizens of North Carolina are generally exposed to lower rates of reported index crime than their counterparts in similar areas in the United States: our average metropolitan area reported index crime rate is about three-fourths that of the United States metropolitan area average index crime rate; and our average reported index crime rate in other, non-metropolitan cities is about four-fifths that of the average rate for other cities in the nation; but our rural area reported index crime rate is increasingly close to that of rural areas in the United States as a whole.

Comparative statistics on index crime rates reported for North Carolina's metropolitan areas from 1960 through 1967[1] are shown in Figure 12. However, it is likely that differences in reporting practices may account for some of the changes in the rates shown for an area and

FIGURE 12

TRENDS IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE RATES OF REPORTED INDEX CRIMES STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS IN NORTH CAROLINA COMPARED TO THE UNITED STATES AVERAGE, 1960 THROUGH 1967



NOTE: INDEX CRIMES INCLUDE WILLFUL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, BURGLARY, LARCENY OF $50 OR MORE, AND AUTO THEFT.

NOTE: SMSA= STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREA DEFINED BY THE U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS AS A COUNTY OR GROUP OF COUNTIES HAVING AT LEAST ONE CORE CITY OF 50,000 OR MORE POPULATION. POPULATION FIGURES ARE U. S. CENSUS ESTIMATES FOR THE F. B. I.

NOTE: WILMINGTON SMSA INCLUDES BRUNSWICK AND NEW HANOVER COUNTIES. RALEIGH SMSA INCLUDES WAKE COUNTY. FAYETTEVILLE SMSA INCLUDES CUMBERLAND COUNTY. ASHEVILLE SMSA INCLUDES BUNCOMBE COUNTY. WINSTON-SALEM SMSA INCLUDES FORSYTH COUNTY. GREENSBORO-HIGH POINT SMSA INCLUDES GUILFORD COUNTY. DURHAM SMSA INCLUDES DURHAM COUNTY. CHARLOTTE SMSA INCLUDES UNION AND MECKLENBURG COUNTIES.

SOURCE: FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES, UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS, 1960 THROUGH 1967, TABLE 1 AND 4. SOURCE STATISTICS REPRODUCED IN APPENDIX A.

also for the differences among areas. It will also be noted that data for several years is missing for several cities.

Trends in Arrests

Because arrest data covers a much larger number of crime types than crime reports, trends in arrest rates would provide measures of the trends in these crimes. Regrettably, historic data for North Carolina were not available at the time of this writing.

Factors Affecting Statistics

Reported and Unreported Crime

The validity of calculations of changes in reported crime rates depends on the consistency of the relationship between reported and unreported crime. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the few surveys that have been performed (for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice) indicate that the actual amount of crime committed is several times that reported to the police.[2] This large margin of unreported crime raises the possibility that small changes in the way crime is reported by the public to the police or classified and recorded by the police could significantly distort the trend of reported crime. There are strong reasons to believe that such changes have taken place within recent years.

First, studies for the President's Commission[2] indicate that crimes in slum areas that were once unknown to the police or ignored when complaints were received are now much more likely to be reported and recorded as a matter of standard procedure.

Second, the increasing professionalization of police forces has spurred a strong trend toward more formal actions, more formal records, and less informal disposition of individual cases, especially juvenile cases. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice documented a number of such changes and noted that

> The cities that have significantly changed their reporting systems since 1959 account for nearly 25 percent of all reported index crimes against the person and about 16 percent of all reported index property crimes. The real question is not the method of estimation, but whether the yardstick at the present time is too changeable to allow significant trend comparisons to be made at the national level.[3]

Insurance

A sizable increase in the insurance coverage against theft has doubtless increased the amount of reporting of property crimes. As the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice noted,

> Another factor that probably increases the amount of reporting for some crimes is the sizable increase in insurance coverage against theft. It is difficult to evaluate this factor. However, because many persons believe that they must report a criminal event to the police in order to collect insurance, more reporting seems likely.[3]

Inflation

Since theft crimes are reported in two categories, $50 and over in value and under $50, inflation has obviously affected the reporting of these crimes.

Factors Indicating An Increase in Crime

Many factors affect crime trends. The Uniform Crime Reports of the FBI notes 11 such factors that must be taken into account in interpreting changes in crime rates and in the amount and type of crime that occurs from place to place:

> Density and size of the community population and the metropolitan area of which it is a part.
> Composition of the population with reference particularly to age, sex, and race.
> Economic status and mores of the population.
> Relative stability of population, including commuters, seasonal, and other transient types.
> Climate, including seasonal weather conditions.
> Educational, recreational, and religious characteristics.
> Effective strength of the police force.
> Standards governing appointments to the police force.
> Policies of the prosecuting officials and the courts.
> Attitude of the public toward law enforcement problems.
> The administrative and investigative efficiency of the local law enforcement agency.[1]

Several of these factors have been changing in ways that would tend to increase the commission of certain types of crime. Three of these factors are specifically discussed below: increases in population, in urbanization, and affluence.

Population Increase and Changing Age Composition

One of the most significant factors affecting crime rates is the age composition of the population. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice analyzed the influence of this factor on crime trends and reached the following conclusions:

> Because of the unusual birth rate in the postwar years, the youthful high-risk group--those in their teens and early twenties--has been increasing much faster than other groups in the population. Beginning in 1961 nearly 1 million more

> youths have reached the ages of maximum risk each year than did so in the prior year. Thus the volume of crime and the overall crime rate could be expected to grow whether the rate for any given age increased or not.
>
> Commission studies based on 1960 arrest rates indicate that between 1960 and 1965 about 40 to 50 percent of the total increase in the arrests reported by UCR could have been expected as the result of increases in population and changes in the age composition of the population. [3]

This trend in the population's growing younger faster than it is growing larger is coming to an end. Recent decreases in the live birth rate both in the United States and in North Carolina* will start to decrease the high crime-prone over-10 age group in about 5 years. This may or may not decrease the crime rates.

Increasing Urbanization

We have shown that crime rates are highest in the cities and lowest in rural areas. Since there has been a steady increase in the urban population for a number of years, accompanied by a decline in the population of rural areas and small cities in the United States, urbanization is another factor that has tended to increase national index crime rates. As the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice stated,

> Because of the higher crime rates in and around the larger cities, this trend toward urbanization has a considerable effect on the national rate for most index crimes. Commission studies show that if metropolitan small city, and rural crime rates for 1960 had remained

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*See birth rate data compiled by the U. S. Bureau of the Census and North Carolina Board of Health, North Carolina Vital Statistics 1967 Population-Births-Deaths-Marriages-Divorces.

> constant through 1965, the increase that could have been expected due to urbanization would have been about 7 to 8 percent of the increase reported by the UCR.
>
> It would obviously tell us a great deal about the trend of crime if we could analyze all together the changes that have been taking place in urbanization, age composition of the population, number of slum dwellers, and other factors such as sex, race, and level of income. The Commission has spent a considerable amount of time trying to make this kind of analysis. However, it was unable to analyze satisfactorily more than one or two factors in conjunction with each other on the basis of present information. As more factors were brought into the analysis the results differed in some instances substantially from those obtained when only one factor was analyzed. It also seemed clear that as the number of factors was increased, a more accurate picture of the effect of changing conditions on the rate of crime emerged.
>
> On the basis of its study, the Commission estimates that the total expected increase in crime from 1960 to 1965 from these kinds of changes would be at least half, and possible a great deal more, of the total increase in crime rates actually observed. The Commission's study clearly indicates the need for fuller reporting of arrest information and for the development of more compatibility between police statistics and information collected by other statistical agencies. The FBI has already made substantial progress in this direction in recent years but further steps are still needed. [3]

Although Bureau of Census annual population estimates for North Carolina show a steady increase in the population of the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas in North Carolina amounting to more than 50 percent from 1960 through 1967, the population of rural areas and small cities in the State has both increased and declined in this decade. The overall population decrease in non-SMSA cities and rural areas amounts to less than 5 percent between 1960 through 1967. Thus, the trend toward

urbanization probably exerts a lesser effect on crime rates in North Carolina than it does nationally.

Increased Affluence

Another change that may result in more crime is increased affluence. There are more goods to be stolen--more cars, more radios, more television sets. Furthermore, property may be less well protected now than formerly. It has been reported nationally that

> More than 40 percent of all auto thefts involve cars with the keys inside or the switch left open. A substantial percentage of residential burglaries occur in unlocked houses. Bicycles, whose theft constitutes 15 percent of all reported larcenies, are frequently left lying around. Larceny of goods and accessories from cars accounts for another 40 percent of all reported larceny.[3]

CHAPTER 3

THE IMPACT OF CRIME IN NORTH CAROLINA

The total impact of crime on our lives is immeasurable. The costs of lost and damaged lives, of fear and suffering, and of the erosion of public order can never be counted. However, since the greatest concern of the individual citizen is the likelihood of being attacked, the Committee has attempted to define the risks of personal victimization. Furthermore, knowledge of the measurable impacts of each type of crime - the economic losses - will help identify important issues for public concern and guide officials in making judgments about expenditures for control. The Committee has, therefore, explored the scarce knowledge and derived admittedly speculative estimates for our State of the economic losses from the major categories of crime.

Personal Victimization

Statistics on reported index-crime occurrences suggest that the likelihood of a serious personal attack on any American in a given year is about 1 in 400 nationally. Together with studies conducted for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice cited earlier, they also suggest that the risk of serious attack from spouses, family members, friends, or acquaintances is almost twice as great as it is from strangers on the street.[3] However, the risks of personal harm are spread very unevenly. The risk for slum dwellers is considerably more; for most Americans it is

considerably less. As the President's Commission noted

> The risk of victimization is highest among the lower income groups for all Index offenses except homicide larceny, and vehicle theft; it weighs most heavily on the non-whites for all Index offenses except larceny, it is borne by men more often than women, except, of course, for forcible rape; and the risk is greatest for the age category 20 to 29, except for larceny against women, and burglary, larceny, and vehicle theft against men.[2]

In North Carolina, the odds of serious personal attack in a given year are somewhat worse than for the United States as a whole. The risk for a North Carolinian of being the victim of a serious violent crime are about 1 in 320 based on reported crimes only.* However, the risks are by no means evenly distributed over the State. These statistics show that the risk of being a victim of an index crime against the person during any year is about 1 in 270 in metropolitan areas; 1 in 270 in other cities, and 1 in 400 in rural areas** based on reported crime statistics.[1]

The risk of death from willful homicide is about 1 in 16,000 nationally and about 1 in 11,000 in North Carolina. However, limited studies indicated that while some injury may occur in two-thirds of all personal attacks, the risk of any degree of hospitalization for any individual is about one-fifth to one-sixth in all such crimes,[3] or about 1 in 2,200 on the average of a nationwide basis and about 1 in 1,500 in North Carolina.

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*These odds are based on the assumption that each reported index crime against the person involves only one victim; some crimes may involve more than one victim but this is not shown in the statistics.

**cf. Table 2 and Figure 6 which were used to make these estimates.

The risks of being a personal victim in a property crime are much higher than the risks of being a victim of violent crime, since many more crimes against property are committed than crimes against the person. However, these odds are difficult to assess since many property crimes are against commercial establishments and other publicly organized victims, such as utilities, schools, and churches. Based on national statistics which show that about 48 percent of all burglaries are residential,[1] we can assess the risk of being a victim of a residential burglary in North Carolina as almost 1 in 50,* while the risk of having a car stolen is 1 in 370.**

The Economic Impact of Crime

While most North Carolinians are victimized by the fear that crime causes, all North Carolinians are victimized by the economic impact of crime. Crime in North Carolina today imposes an economic burden on both the State as a whole and on individual citizens.

Following the lead of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, this Committee would like to be able to summarize the available information on the economic impact of each type of crime. This knowledge of the economic impact of each major type of crime would help identify important problems for public concern and guide officials in making judgments about

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*Based on 1,204,715 housing units reported in North Carolina in 1960.[10]

**Based on 2,402,363 auto registrations in North Carolina in 1967 reported by the Department of Motor Vehicles.[11]

expenditures. Unfortunately, no specific data is available on the economic impact of crime in our State.

In the absence of specific data, national data* forms a basis for estimating very crudely the economic impact of crime in North Carolina. $84.04 million is estimated to be expended for law enforcement and criminal justice agencies during 1968-69. Knowing that private protection costs for prevention services and equipment, insurance, and private counsel, bail, and witnesses expenses are 45 percent of the public law enforcement bill nationally, we use this percentage to estimate these costs to be $37.82 million for North Carolina.

The $7.3 million cost of crimes against the person in North Carolina in 1967 was computed using the percentage of the national number reported index crimes against the person committed in North Carolina in 1967 (.9 percent) and multiplying times the national cost of $815 million for these crimes and other assault crimes.

The percentage of the reported national index crimes against property committed in North Carolina (1.4 percent) and the $606 million national cost for those crimes was used to compute a cost of $8.5 million for these crimes in North Carolina in 1967. The fact that the cost of unreported commercial theft is about 2 1/3 times the cost of reported index crimes against property nationally led to a cost estimate of $19.5 million for these crimes in North Carolina. Similarly,

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*Reported reference 3, pp. 44.

a national cost for embezzlement of about one-third that of index property crimes led to a cost estimate of $2.5 million for this crime in North Carolina. Nationally, fraud costs 2 1/4 times all index property crimes and forgery costs about 1 1/3 which leads to an estimate of $19.1 million for fraud and $11 million for forgery in North Carolina. Destruction of property by arson and vandalism in the nation costs about 1/2 as much as index property crimes, or of $4.25 million in North Carolina if this relationship is valid for our State. On the basis of these crude estimates, the total bill for crimes against property in North Carolina comes to $64.85 million.

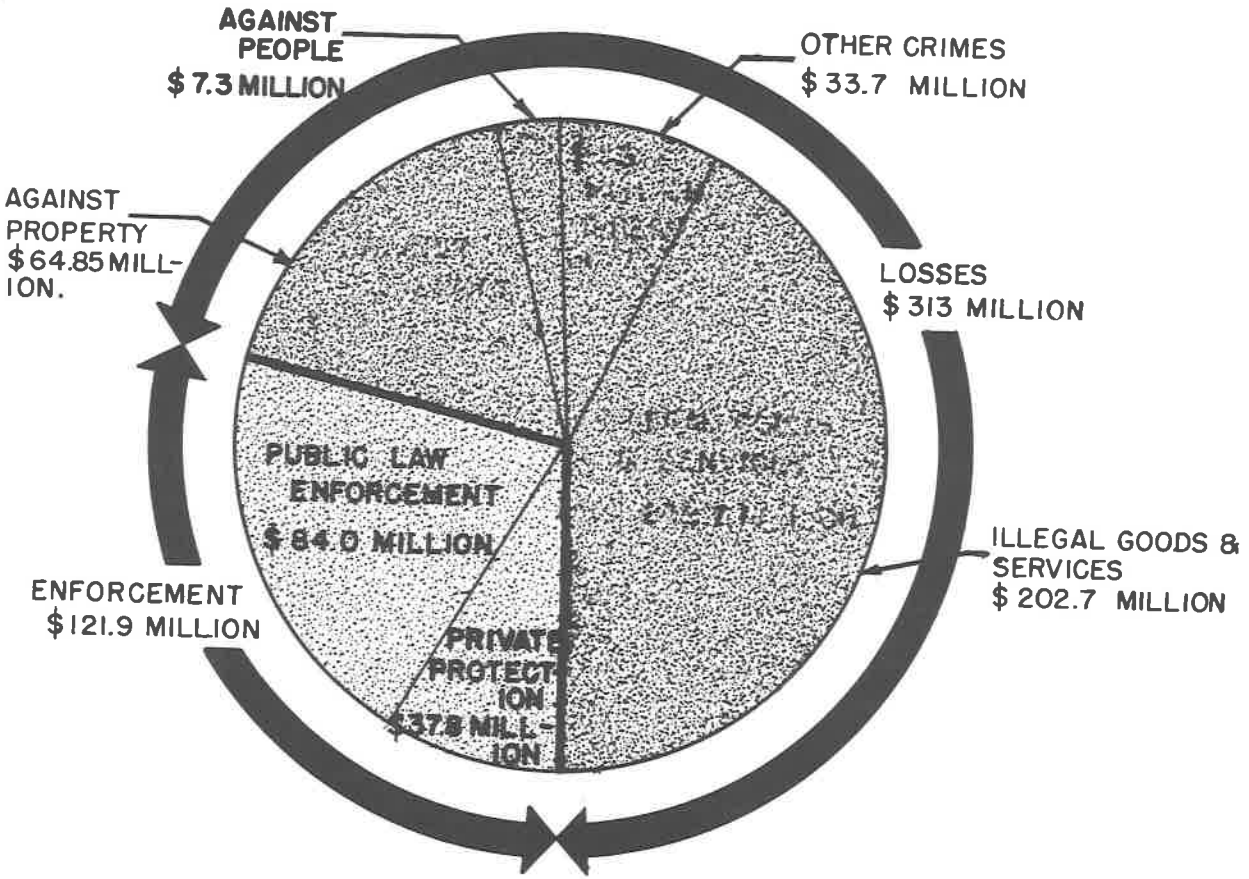
Nationally, the costs of "other" crimes--driving under the influence, tax fraud, and abortion--comes to about 52 percent of the costs of crimes against property. If this relationship holds in North Carolina, then these crimes cost our State about $33.7 million in 1967.

The costs of illegal goods and services in the United States--narcotics, loan-sharking, prostitution, alcohol, and gambling--is almost ten times the costs of crimes against the person and more than twice the costs of crimes against property. Because North Carolina is not known to have an organized crime core group member residing in the State and because organized crime promotes these illegal activities, these percentages may not be at all valid in our State. However, assuming these percentages are valid, the cost of illegal goods and services in our State is estimated to be $202.7 million.

All of these crudely estimated costs are shown in Figure 13 which illustrates the magnitude of North Carolina's crime bill in 1967 as being on the order of several hundreds of millions of dollars.

FIGURE 13

A CRUDE ESTIMATE OF THE CRIME BILL IN NORTH CAROLINA IN 1967



SOURCE: SCALED FROM NATIONAL DATA REPORTED IN THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON LAW ENFORCEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE, TASK FORCE REPORT, CRIME AND IT'S IMPACT--AN ASSESSMENT.

What all of this cost analysis based on national trends tells us is that a list of the seven crimes* with the greatest economic impact includes only two, willful homicide and larceny of $50 and over, of the offenses included in the crime index. Crimes such as employee theft, embezzlement, and other forms of crime appear relatively small in the police statistics loom very large in dollar volume and make up the bulk of the amount which business annually loses in crimes for which losses can be estimated. They also tell us that fraud is another offense whose impact is not well conveyed by police statistics. Just one conspiracy involving the collapse of a fraudulent salad oil empire in 1964; for example, created nationwide losses of $125 to $175 million.

Cost analysis also places the crimes that appear so frequently in police statistics--robbery, burglary, larceny, and auto theft--in somewhat different perspective. The number of reported offenses for these crimes accounts for less than one-sixth of the estimated total dollar loss for all property crimes. If there were any accurate way of estimating the large sums involved in extortion, blackmail, and other property crimes, it would consitiute an even lower percentage.

The ultimate economic costs to society of crime are more than the losses cited above. Criminal acts causing property damage and personal injury not only cause serious losses to the victims and their families but also result in the withdrawal of wealth and productive

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*Gambling, driving while intoxicated, fraud, willful homicide, loansharking, narcotics, and larceny.

capacity from the economy as a whole. While theft and the purchase of illegal services merely transfer wealth from the victim to the thief or the purveyor of criminal services, they leave less wealth available for legitimate business and social uses.

Public Concern About Crime

Crimes against the person often inflicts grievous and irreparable injury on our citizenry; yet, the most damaging effect of violent crime is fear. While crime strikes hardest at the local level, the fear of crime affects everyone. Fear is the essence of today's crisis in crime. Studies conducted for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice indicated how fear of crime has eroded the quality of life of many Americans[2]: 43 percent of the individuals surveyed said they stayed off the streets at night because of their fear of crime; 35 percent said they did not speak to strangers anymore because of their fear of crime; 21 percent said they used cars and cabs at night because of their fear of crime; 20 percent said they would like to move to a better neighborhood because of their fear of crime.

A dangerous byproduct of this fear is that the citizen begins to sterotype violent crime as the indicator of crime in general. This impedes law enforcement, because knowledge of the complex variations of crime is the forerunner of effective action against all crime. The over-emphasis on violent crime in the mind of the public is likely to become greater because reported rates of serious crimes

against persons and property will probably continue their rise. As mentioned previsouly, social forces, such as urbanization, the increasing youthfulness of our population, and the spread of affluence all tend to push the crime rate upwards, especially crime rates against property. However, a better-informed citizenry could determine whether such a rise in crime really involves a decline in personal safety and thus avoid unnecessary fear.

Although the high incidence of crimes of violence is frightening, the amount of physical injury that crime causes is a minute fraction of the injuries North Carolinians suffer accidentially every year. For example, more than three times as many motor accident fatalities occurred on North Carolina highways in 1967 as did willful homicides.[8] The total accidental death rate in North Carolina in 1967 was more than seven times the rate of willful homicide.[13] In fact, the risk of being attacked and injured by a stranger is far less than the number of violent crimes might lead one to believe. According to the Uniform Crime Reports and other studies[2, 3] about 70 percent of all willful killings, nearly two-thirds of all aggravated assaults, and more than half of all forcible rapes are committed by family members, friends, or other persons previously known to their victims. Only robbery usually does not involve a prior victim-offender relationship, and this crime represents the principal source of violence from strangers -- about 1 chance in 3,300 in North Carolina during 1967,[1] if only reported crimes are

counted, and 1 chance in 2,200 if unreported crimes occur at the national survey rate in North Carolina.[3]

CHAPTER 4

CHARACTERISTICS OF CRIMINAL OFFENDERS

Many persons commonly believe that the American population consists of a large group of law-abiding citizens and a small number of "criminals." This view is inaccurate for two reasons. First, most people, when asked, remember having committed offenses for which they might have received jail or prison sentences, if apprehended. In a study conducted for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 91 percent of the individuals surveyed admitted they had committed such crimes.[2] Second, if the amount of criminality can be measured by arrest statistics, then criminal behavior is widespread in society. In the United States today one boy in six is referred to the juvenile court.[2] Another study for the President's Commission suggested that about 40 percent of all male children now living in the United States will be arrested for a nontraffic offense during their lives.[14]

Of the so-called "hidden offenders" who at one time or another violate the criminal law, but who are not apprehended, very little is known. What is known today about offenders is confined almost wholly to those who have been arrested, tried, and convicted. This information, in turn, can be relied on only as being descriptive of those offenders who were caught. It is entirely conceivable that the information inaccurately describes those who were never apprehended for offenses, and it is even possible that differences in characteristics may account for the "success" of those not apprehended.

Age

One of the most significant factors affecting crime rates is the age composition of the population. For as long as national crime statistics have been compiled, they have shown that males between the ages of 15 and 24 are the most crime-prone group in the population. As indicated in Table 5, nationally more than 55 percent of all persons arrested for the violent crimes of murder, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assaults and more than 80 percent of those arrested for the property crimes of burglary, larceny, and auto theft are under 25 years old. Furthermore, 55.6 percent of those arrested for these property crimes were under 18.[15]

Generally, the age composition of those arrested in North Carolina for property crimes is similar to the national trend. More than 46 percent of all people arrested for property crimes in our State are under 18, while more than 75 percent are under 25. However, for the violent crimes, far fewer young people are arrested in North Carolina than in the nation: less than 8 percent of those arrested for violent offenses in North Carolina are under 18 as compared with almost 22 percent on a national level and less than 33 percent are under 25 as compared with almost 55 percent nationally. In sum, nearly 25 percent of all arrested suspects in North Carolina are under 18 and over 50 percent are under 25.[15]

Figure 14 emphatically shows that in North Carolina youth are arrested much more frequently for the commission of serious crime. The age group of 17 to 18 years old accounted for more arrests for index

TABLE 5

Percentages of Arrested Persone Under 18 and Under 25 Year of Age in the United States and in North Carolina in 1967

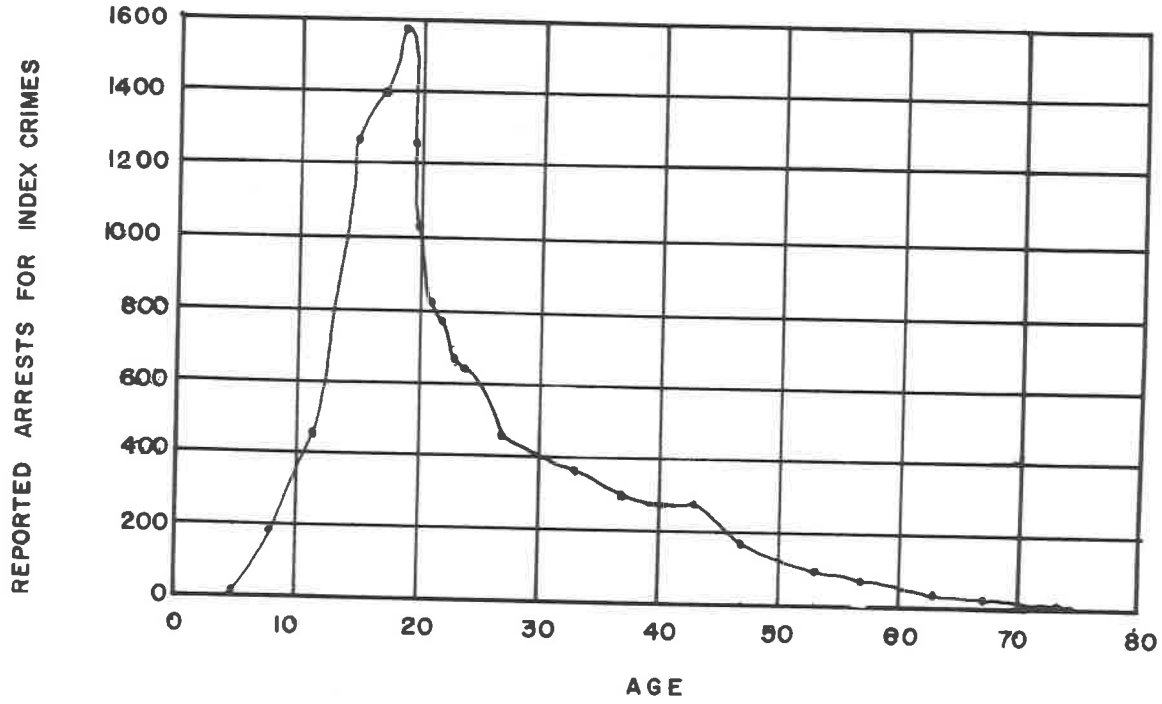
Offense Charged	United States*		North Carolina+	
	Under 18	Under 25	Under 18	Under 25
	Violent Crimes			
Murder & Non Negligent Manslaughter	9.1	37.3	3.8	25.8
Forcible Rape	19.9	64.2	14.0	58.0
Robbery	31.6	73.2	20.2	58.9
Aggravated Assault	17.1	44.3	6.0	32.8
All Violent Crimes	21.7	54.9	7.3	32.9
	Property Crimes			
Burglary	53.5	82.1	47.2	77.3
Theft (Larceny)	55.0	77.1	46.7	73.9
Auto Theft	61.8	88.7	42.1	77.7
All Property Crimes	55.6	80.2	46.3	75.3
Total	49.0	75.3	32.7	61.4

* SOURCE: Federal Bureau of Investigation, Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports, 1967, p.123.

\+ SOURCE: Arrest data collected by the FBI from North Carolina agencies representing 2,400,000 persons, or 48 percent of the State's 1967 population; it is assumed that the data is typical of the entire State.

FIGURE 14

NUMBER OF REPORTED ARRESTS FOR INDEX CRIMES IN NORTH CAROLINA IN 1967 VERSUS AGE OF ARRESTEES.



NOTE: INDEX CRIMES INCLUDE WILLFUL HOMICIDE, FORCIBLE RAPE, ROBBERY, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, BURGLARY, THEFT OF $50 OR MORE, AND AUTO THEFT.

SOURCE: ARREST STATISTICS COLLECTED BY THE FBI FROM NORTH CAROLINA LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES REPRESENTING 2,430,085 PERSONS OR 48% OF THE STATE'S 1967 POPULATION; IT IS ASSUMED THAT THE DATA IS TYPICAL OF THE STATE AS A WHOLE.

crimes than any other age group, while persons over 35 accounted for about 15 percent of the total arrests for index offenses. The comparative arrest rates for various age categories suggest that the rate per individual of committing serious crime is many times greater among the young than among the old.[3] However, since the national figures for offenses cleared by arrest show that about 80 percent of burglaries, larcenies, and auto thefts and 70 percent of robberies are unsolved, older persons may be committing a much larger share of the crimes not cleared. (This possibility is supported by the plausible hypothesis that their age and experience would give them great success at evading arrest. If it is true that the young are more easily caught and the older criminals remain free, the figures on the age composition of arrestees may not accurately mirror the age of all offenders including those not arrested.)

Regardless of the precise percentage of crime that the young actually do commit, they are the people being arrested and brought into the criminal-justice system. In North Carolina in 1967, more than 16 percent of the total number of all criminal arrests for offenses other than drunkenness were of persons under 18, as shown in Figure 14. In addition, some juveniles are probably taken into custody and referred to some agency, such as the county welfare department, other than the court.

Sex

Females in any age group nationally are much less likely to be arrested for all offenses than males by a factor of 7. In 1967, the national arrest rate was 6,579 per 100,000 males and 926 per 100,000 females,

based on arrest data in the Uniform Crime Reports and population distributions in the Statistical Abstracts of the United States.[1] Similar rates are not presently available for North Carolina, but the preponderance of male arrests is so universal everywhere statistics are kept that it can be expected to exist in North Carolina. However, in the nation as a whole and perhaps in North Carolina these differences are diminishing, due to the greatly increased arrest rate of women for larcenies.

Race

The factor of race is almost as important nationally as that of sex in calculating the likelihood that a person will be arrested and imprisoned for an offense. Although more than twice as many whites as blacks are arrested annually, black people have a significantly higher rate of arrest in almost every offense category. In general, the disparity of rates is much greater for crimes of violence than the differences in the rates for property offenses. In addition, black children under 18 are arrested about three times as often as white children, and black adults over 18 about five times as often as white adults.[3]

All of the many studies which have examined these differences in arrest rates between whites and blacks have found that the differences in arrest rates become very small when comparisons are made for whites and blacks living under similar conditions.[3]

Economic and Social Background

Information about factors other than age, sex, and race is usually available only for a group of offenders even less representative of all offenders than those arrested--those who have been placed on probation or imprisoned. It is important to recognize that the criminal justice system of police, courts, probation, corrections, and parole is a screening system: at each stage the agencies of law enforcement and justice try to sort out individuals who can be returned to the population with a low risk of repeating criminal offenses. Thus, the further along in the process a sample of offenders is selected, the greater the likelihood that they will have been convicted of relatively serious offenses and show major social and personal problems. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice summarized this tendency as follows:

> From arrest records, probation reports, and prison statistics a portrait of the offender emerges that progressively highlights the disadvantaged character of his life. The offender at the end of the road in prison is likely to be a member of the lowest social and economic groups in the country, poorly educated and unemployed, unmarried, reared in a broken home, and to have a prior criminal record. This formidable list of personal and social problems must be overcome in order to restore offenders to law-abiding existence. Not all offenders, of course, fit this composite profile, as a more detailed examination of the arrest, probation, and prison data reveals.[3]

A recent series on "North Carolina's Prisons" in The Charlotte Observer shows that the portrait of the prisoner in North Carolina is similar to the national picture:

> Statistically the prisoner in North Carolina today is a white man (barely) who is 27 years old with a below normal IQ of 85.

> The chances are good that he grew up in a broken home in the lowest economic level of society.
>
> He dropped out of school after the seventh grade and probably got into trouble with the law soon after dropping out. He might have served time previously in a reform school, but he is currently serving his first term in the state's prison system.
>
> He is a single man, an unskilled laborer, likely a thief, and an urban thief at that.
>
> He will serve less than a year in prison because he is there for committing a misdemeanor. But the man in another cell will serve three years because he is a felon.
>
> If he is a black man he is serving a sentence that is about two years longer than that of the white man convicted of the same offense, according to a recent Southwide survey.
>
> If he is a Negro and his crime was committed against a white man his sentence will be about seven years longer than it would have been if he had committed the crime against a Negro, and about eight years longer than the sentence of the white man who committed the same crime against a Negro.
>
> The odds are two-to-one that he will serve time again after he completes his present sentence whatever the color of his skin.[16]

Recidivism

The single most striking fact about offenders who have been convicted of serious crimes of violence and theft is that a large proportion of them continue committing serious offenses. As the President's Commission concluded,

> A review of a number of such (recidivism) studies in the various States and in the Federal prison system leads to the conclusion that despite considerable variation among jurisdictions, roughly a third of the offenders released from prison will be reimprisoned, usually for committing new

> offenses, within a 5-year period. The most frequent recidivists are those who commit such property crimes as burglary, auto theft, forgery, or larceny, but robbers and narcotics offenders also repeat frequently. Those who are least likely to commit new crimes after release are persons convicted of serious crimes of violence--murder, rape, and aggravated assault.
>
> These findings are based on the crimes of released offenders that officials learn about. Undoubtedly many new offenses are not discovered.[3]

Furthermore, many released offenders continue to come to the attention of the police, even though they are not always charged or convicted for new offenses. Various studies estimate that the average number of arrests for male offenders convicted at least once will be about eight. They also suggest that these rearrests will be for more serious crimes.[14]

In summary, the findings of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice are applicable:

> Studies made of the careers of adult offenders regularly show the importance of juvenile delinquency as a forerunner of adult crime. They support the conclusions that the earlier a juvenile is arrested or brought to court for an offense, the more likely he is to carry on criminal activity into adult life; that the more likely he is to continue to commit serious crimes, especially in the case of major crimes against property; and that the more frequently and extensively a juvenile is processed by the police, court, and correctional system, the more likely he is to be arrested, charged, convicted, and imprisoned as an adult. These studies also show that the most frequent pattern among adult offenders is one that starts with petty stealing and progresses to much more serious property offenses.[3]

CHAPTER 5

"CAUSES" OF CRIME

The most natural and frequent question people ask about crime is, "Why?" Why does a man rob a bank and in the process, with cold calculation, kill the bank employees one by one? Why does a woman of means become a prostitute? Why does a boy knife his parents to death while they sleep and then go to the theatre? Why does a girl shoplift unneeded, even unwanted, items? What reasons account for a man's embezzling funds, a woman's neglecting her children, a boy's shooting out windows with an air rifle, a girl's truanting? In every instance, these questions are almost impossible to answer.

The answers to the engulfing social problem of crime lie within the individual--it is the individual who picks the pocket or pulls the trigger. Each crime is an individual response to a specific situation by a person with an infinitely complicated psychological and emotional make-up who is subjected to infinitely complicated external pressures. Crime as a whole is the sum of the millions of these individual responses. To seek the "causes" of crime is to seek to explain individual human motivation.

Some crimes are so irrational, so unpredictable, so explosive that they defy understanding: a sniper runs amuck and kills 14 bystanders; a boy kills four women and one child in a beauty parlor; a bomb blows up an airplane in flight.

At the opposite end of the spectrum are the carefully planned acts of professional criminals: an armored car is looted of a million dollars; informants are gunned down by La Cosa Nostra informers. These crimes are so deliberate, so calculated, and so rational that understanding the motivation of the criminals who commit them does not show us how to prevent their occurrence.

The Meaning of "Causes"

The foregoing examples suggest that the meaning of the term "causes of crime" is not always clear. In its broadest sense, a cause of crime is anything which, if removed, would result in the nonoccurrence of some crime that would otherwise have occurred. Thus, it might be said that Henry Ford is a "cause" of crime since without the automobile much of the mobility and opportunity necessary for the commission of crime would not exist. Similarly, the presence of adolescents might be regarded as a cause of crime since without them there almost certainly would be less crime. But it is not very helpful even to spend time considering these "causes" of crime.

Therefore, this broad meaning of the term "causes of crime" probably does not fall within common usage. Instead, when people talk about the causes of crime they probably are expressing interest in those particular causes of crime (in the broadest sense) about which something might be done.

Any single crime might have any number of causes, but the removal of any one of those causes might prevent the crime. An

automobile theft, for example, might be said to be "caused" by the lack of sufficient risk to the thief to deter him from crime, by the leaving of the keys in the car by the owner, by the thief's poor upbringing which did not turn him against crime, by his lack of a good job which would have permitted him to buy a car, and by the failure to have kept him in prison during this time following his most recent conviction. Had the thief been more afraid of the consequences or had the keys not been in the car or had the thief been in prison, and so on, the crime might not have occurred.

Thus, the causes of crime are complex and often intertwined. What is a cause of one crime might not be a cause of another, apparently identical crime. The real problem is to isolate the causes of crime that can be most effectively attacked. In a very real sense, then, the question of what causes crime is probably a way of asking the question: "What can be done to reduce crime most effectively?" For example, the question "What caused a young girl to shoplift unneeded items?" could probably be more usefully asked in this way: "What can be done to prevent it from happening again?"

One of the greatest difficulties in talking about the causes of crime is distinguishing between a cause of crime and a factor which is only associated statistically with crime. For example, it might turn out that people who lived in one part of a city commit more crime than those living in another part. This does not necessarily mean, however, that living in that part of the city causes crime; if all other factors remained the same and that neighborhood were moved to another part of the city, the crime rate might not change.

Thus, a recognition of the causes of crime raises two fundamental questions: (1) What factors, if removed, would result in the non-occurrence of crime that would otherwise have occurred; and (2) Which of those factors can be removed.

The following paragraphs discuss in a little greater detail some of the factors which usually are included in a consideration of "causes" of crime.

Victim-Caused Crime

We can say that many crimes are "caused" by their victims. Often the victim of an assault is the person who started the fight, the victim of an auto theft is a person who left his keys in the car, the victim of the confidence man is the person who thought he could get rich quick. Many crimes might never have been committed if their victims had understood the risks they were taking. The President's Crime Commission reported:

> It is evident that, without significant inconvenience to themselves, citizens can take several commonsense measures that will reduce the threat of crime to their persons or property. For example, the number of crimes that involve negligence on the part of their victims is needlessly high. Departing homeowners act sensibly when they lock their doors and windows securely; leave automatically activated night lights burning during lengthy absences; lock the garage doors and cancel milk and newspaper deliveries; and alert the neighbors or police to their absence. A survey of housebreakings in the District of Columbia in 1965 revealed that almost three-quarters of all intrusions were made while the owner was gone, 20 percent of them through unlocked windows or doors. The kind of property most commonly stolen from homeowners is radios, TV's, tape recorders, cameras, and other salable items. Many homeowners

wisely choose to record the serial numbers of goods for later tracing by the police in case of theft or burglary.

Individuals can also maintain a reasonable awareness of danger in other facets of their daily lives. This includes maintaining a healthy alertness in encounters with strangers at the door or on the streets and avoidance of situations which leave the potential victim defenseless to personal attack or powerless to summon aid. These are normal, not hysterical, responses to modern urban life. Similarly, children can be matter-of-factly warned of the dangers of advances from strangers in a way that does not frighten or confuse them.

Simple precautions are particularly important in preventing auto thefts. Car owners should remove the keys from the ignition and lock their cars when they park. The District of Columbia crime survey showed 50 percent of stolen cars in 1 month were unlocked; 19 percent of the owners had left the keys in the ignition. And a national survey in 1965 showed an even greater degree of owner negligence; 42 percent of the stolen cars had the ignition unlocked or the keys visible!

Storeowners and businesses have an even greater responsibility to make the task of the potential theft, robbery or burglary a more difficult one. They can do so by keeping a minimum amount of cash on hand, varying routines for taking money to the bank, balancing cash registers away from checkout counters, locating safes in well-lighted spots highly visible from the outside of the building, and using two-man teams to open and close the stores.[2]

Relation of Crime to Social and Economic Conditions

In a sense, social and economic conditions also "cause" crime. Crime flourishes in city slums where overcrowding, poverty, social disruption, and racial discrimination are native. Crime flourishes in an affluent society when material goods are much desired and easily acquired illegally. Crime increases when the population includes many restless, rebellious, and relatively footloose young people.

The discovery of relatively stable and systematic variations in the distribution of crime rates among the geographical areas of cities has lead to a search for the distinctive and economic characteristics of the high as compared to the low crime areas. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice noted the following:

> ...a major part of the research effort concerning the distribution of crime rates within cities has tried to establish the relation between these rates and other features of urban areas. The studies in Chicago found a high degree of relationship between delinquency rates and the existence of other social problems in urban areas, such as school truancy (0.89), infant mortality (0.64), tuberculosis (0.93), and mental disorder (0.72). In addition to showing that areas having high rates of crime also show high rates for other social or health problems, indicators were developed on the physical and economic status of these areas and the composition of the population. The concentration of delinquency in or adjacent to areas of heavy industry and commerce has already been noted. In addition, high crime rate areas tend to show the following characteristics: decreasing population (a correlation of 0.52 for one series of rates and 0.69 with another), a high percentage of families on relief (0.89), low monthly rents (-0.61), low rates of home ownership (-0.49), and a high percentage of foreign-born or Negro heads of family (0.60).
>
> These findings were based on studies in Chicago, and studies in other cities have not only generally confirmed these relationships but have often identified additional variables, such as: in Philadelphia high rates of demolition or residences (0.72); in Indianapolis a high percentage of land used for business purposes (0.56) and low per capita contributions to the Community Fund (-0.60); and in Baltimore a low average education (-0.51), low proportion of owner-occupied dewlling units (-0.80), high proportion of non-whites (0.70), and a high proportion of overcrowded and substandard dwelling units (0.73).[3]

All the studies cited above have not concluded that the factors associated with crime and delinquency rates are causative. Instead, they are regarded simply as indicators with spatial variations in urban areas similar to those shown by the crime rates. However, the studies invite the assumption that crime and other social problems are being produced by certain social, economic, physical, and demographic features of high-crime-rate areas that are not present or do not interact the same way in the low-rate areas. To the extent that living conditions are so disadvantageous that it becomes difficult for the family to assert and maintain its authority in rearing children, or for the schools to teach effectively, or for the employment system to recruit and sustain motivations toward conventional careers, higher rates of all social problems--including delinquency and crime--will occur.

The Failure of the Public

From another viewpoint, crime is "caused" by public tolerance and apathy. Corporate and business crime--"white-collar" crime--is closely associated with the belief that anything goes in making money. Reluctance to report crimes to the police, often based on the recognition that the likelihood of a successful prosecution is negligible, encourages criminal acts. When citizens do not get involved, criminals can act with relative impunity.

The Failure of the Criminal Justice System

Another "cause" of crime can be said to be the failure of the criminal justice system to operate as effectively as it might. Otherwise preventable crimes will occur if the agencies of law enforcement and justice and social service do not perform effectively. If the police are inefficient or undermanned, preventable acts of delinquency and crime will not be forestalled; if they are overzealous, people better left alone will be drawn into criminal careers. If the guilty are not convicted in the courts, they will be turned loose to continue their depredations. If the administration of justice is not dispensed with reasonable certainty, promptness, and fairness, deterrence of crime will be blunted. If correctional programs do not correct, a core of hardened criminals will continue to plague the community. Thus, it can be argued that changes could be made in the way that the formal criminal justice process works that would result in the occurrence of less crime.

This formal criminal justice process is usually regarded as tending to reduce the occurrence of crime in a variety of ways--it prevents the return to crime of offenders through treatment and through incapacitation and it operates to prevent the general public from turning to crime in the first place through deterrence and the reinforcement of moral values. If any of these effects is not occurring as it might, then the operation of the criminal justice system might be regarded as a "cause" of crime. As is so often the case, however,

little can be definitely said about the extent to which these effects presently occur and what, if any, changes would increase the effects.

Preventing Offenders from Returning to Crime

Two broad approaches can be taken to prevent the return to crime by previous offenders--changing the offender or his circumstances to reduce his tendencies to commit crime or maintaining a degree of control over him that reduces the likelihood of his exercising those tendencies.

The return to crime by previous offenders accounts for a substantial portion of crime. Limited data, applying nationwide and not particularly to North Carolina, suggest that roughly one person in three released from prison will return,[2] and, again on data not drawn from North Carolina and so incomplete as to be only suggestive, it can be roughly estimated that 70 percent of all annual arrests for index and other serious crimes are of offenders who previously have been convicted of a felony or serious misdemeanor, and that 46 percent had not only been convicted but imprisoned for 90 days or more.[1]

And these figures give some indication of only the extent of return to crime of those who have been convicted. It has been estimated that in the nation as a whole over 70 percent of those who have been arrested and convicted once will be rearrested, and a reasonable estimate is that more than 80 percent of arrests in a given year are of persons previously arrested for a non-traffic offense.[1,14] Very little additional is known about the repetition of offenses by those who have

committed crimes but are acquitted, released without adjudication, or never apprehended in the first place. It is clear, however, that to the extent that any of those people could have been turned from repeated crime by treatment or incapacitation, failure in one of the earlier stages of the criminal process substantially forecloses that possibility. In short, the success of efforts aimed at preventing the return to crime by offenders depends on two factors: (1) the effectiveness of the treatment or incapacitation of the offender, and (2) the ability to place the offender in circumstances in which he can be treated or incapacitated. The impact on the crime rate of highly effective treatment and incapacitation of repeated offenders will be insignificant if it is applied to only a handful of those who deserve such treatment; the apprehension and conviction of a great majority of those whose return to crime could be prevented by effective treatment or incapacitation will have little positive effect if the treatment or incapacitation is ineffective.

Treatment

The ideal of treatment is to decrease the offender's incentive to crime and to increase his alternatives to crime. Following treatment he should be less attracted, for a variety of reasons, to committing crime and should be able to meet the needs which crime met for him in more socially acceptable ways. These effects can occur through impressing upon him the reality of the threat which the criminal process poses (increasing his susceptibility to the deterrent effect of the

criminal process), through the cure of psychiatric and physical difficulties underlying previous criminality, and through the provision of legitimate skills that make possible a noncriminal life.

The statistics previously recited, that 70 percent of all index crimes may be committed by persons who are previously convicted offenders (based on arrest statistics), and that at least one-third of all imprisoned offenders will be imprisoned again, suggests that this ideal falls considerably short of attainment.

How close this ideal can come to attainment is unknown, as is the best way of increasing the effectiveness of treatment. The relative effectiveness of probation, parole, and imprisonment is not presently known, and the relative effectiveness of different tactics and approaches within those broad categories also is not known.

Incapacitation

Incapacitation is the removal of individuals from places where they might commit further crimes or their subjection to supervision that makes difficult the commission of crime. Imprisonment is probably the most obvious example of incapacitation; close parole supervision also serves an incapacitating purpose as would such hypothesized devices as special identifying marks on the hands of convicted offenders.

Since only a small percentage of perpetrators of crime are sentenced to prison (about 25 percent of index crimes are cleared by arrest; less than 10 percent of those arrested are sentenced to prison, and then for a period that averages less than two years)[14], only a

small percentage of possible crimes that could be prevented are avoided by imprisonment. Thus (assuming for the moment that the imprisonment has no deterrent or rehabilitative effect), the amount of crime apparently would increase only slightly if there were no imprisonment at all, and, even if all of the active sentences which presently are imposed were doubled, it would result in about a 5 percent decrease in the amount of index crime reported (again assuming no change in deterrent or rehabilitative effect), based on one speculative estimate.[17]

Probation and parole supervision may also serve to some extent to incapacitate, but how much they do is clearly hard to measure and no data on their restraining effects exist at present.

Preventing the General Public from Turning to Crime

It is estimated, as was mentioned earlier, that roughly 70 percent of the annual index crimes are committed by previously convicted offenders. Thus, 30 percent of all index crimes are committed by persons who have never been convicted of an offense (although, of course, they could have committed previous crime and previously been arrested but not convicted). It also has been estimated that around 8 percent of the annual reported crimes are committed by people who have never previously been arrested (although, of course, they could have committed a crime).[14]

All of these people have not been directly affected by the formal criminal process--there has been no opportunity for them to have been treated or incapacitated. To the extent that the operation of the formal

criminal process can affect the commission of crime by those who have never before been entangled in the process, it must be by general deterrence or by the reinforcement of moral values.

General Deterrence

The operation of the criminal justice system is generally assumed to have a deterrent effect on the public at large, an effect whose existence has been fairly well documented in at least some circumstances. The deterrent effect is thought to occur through a perception by a possible criminal of the threat of apprehension and consequent penalties, leading to a choice to avoid crime since the risks are greater than possible benefits.

But although the existence of a general deterrent effect is clear, it is not clear whether that effect can be enhanced, what points of the criminal process are most susceptible to change which will influence the perception of risk by possible criminals, and which kinds of possible criminals are most susceptible to its effect. If some potential criminals do not feel that the risk of the crime outweighs the benefits, it could be because they feel that the likelihood of apprehension is low, because they feel that even if apprehended they will not be convicted, or because they feel that even if convicted the sentence will not constitute a sufficient risk. And if all or any of these factors are important, it is not clear what steps will affect the possible criminal's perception of them. Any of these factors or a combination of them could be a cause of a less effective general deterrent than is possible.

Further, controlling violent crime presents a number of distinct problems. Most murders and rapes and many assaults occur on private premises[1] and are therefore not susceptible to deterrence by police patrol. Furthermore, to the extent that many such crimes are the passionate culmination of quarrels between acquaintances and relatives,[3] little can be done to increase the deterrent effect of the threat of punishment. While almost 90 percent of all murders are solved and a high percentage of suspects are convicted, murders continue to recur at an increasing rate year after year. In addition, almost one-fifth of all robberies in North Carolina are committed by juveniles and are, therefore, one aspect of the enormously complicated and increasing problem of juvenile delinquency. Still other robberies are committed by drug addicts. Further, some rapes are committed by sexually pathological men or boys. To date, no effective treatment exists for these diseases. Finally, as long as gun-control legislation is ineffective, use of firearms in violent crimes--nationally in more than one-half of the willful homicides and armed robberies and in one-fifth of the aggravated assaults[1]--will be difficult to reduce.

Reinforcement of Morals

Another effect which the operation of the criminal process is assumed to have is that it reinforces moral values which reject the acceptability of crime among the majority of citizens. The criminal process operates, according to this theory, as a public affirmation that society as a whole accepts and encourages those individual values which hold that crime is immoral.

Again, although the effect is not generally disputed, little is known about the extent to which it operates or about any critical factors in its operation--the importance of public visibility of the criminal process, of the particular crimes with which the process deals, and the manner with which they are dealt.

CHAPTER 6

NORTH CAROLINA'S SYSTEM OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

The system of criminal justice which North Carolina uses to deal with those crimes it cannot prevent and those criminals it cannot deter, incapacitate, or rehabilitate consists of five separately organized parts shown in Figure 15 police, courts, probation, corrections, and parole.

Police functions are administered locally in 370 municipalities of the State, by the sheriffs in each of North Carolina's 100 counties, and by local Alcoholic Beverage Control Officers. They are administered at the State level by the State Bureau of Investigation under the authority of the Attorney General of North Carolina and the State Highway Patrol under the jurisdiction of the North Carolina Motor Vehicle Department; other State agencies charged by statute with specialized law enforcement powers include Alcoholic Beverage Control Officers, Wildlife Protection Division Personnel, Officers of the Department of Correction, the Insurance Department, designated employees of the Department of Archives and History, and designated officers of the License and Safety Inspection Division of the Department of Motor Vehicles.[12]

According to the unified court system adopted in 1965, justice is (or will be*) administered in North Carolina by three Divisions of

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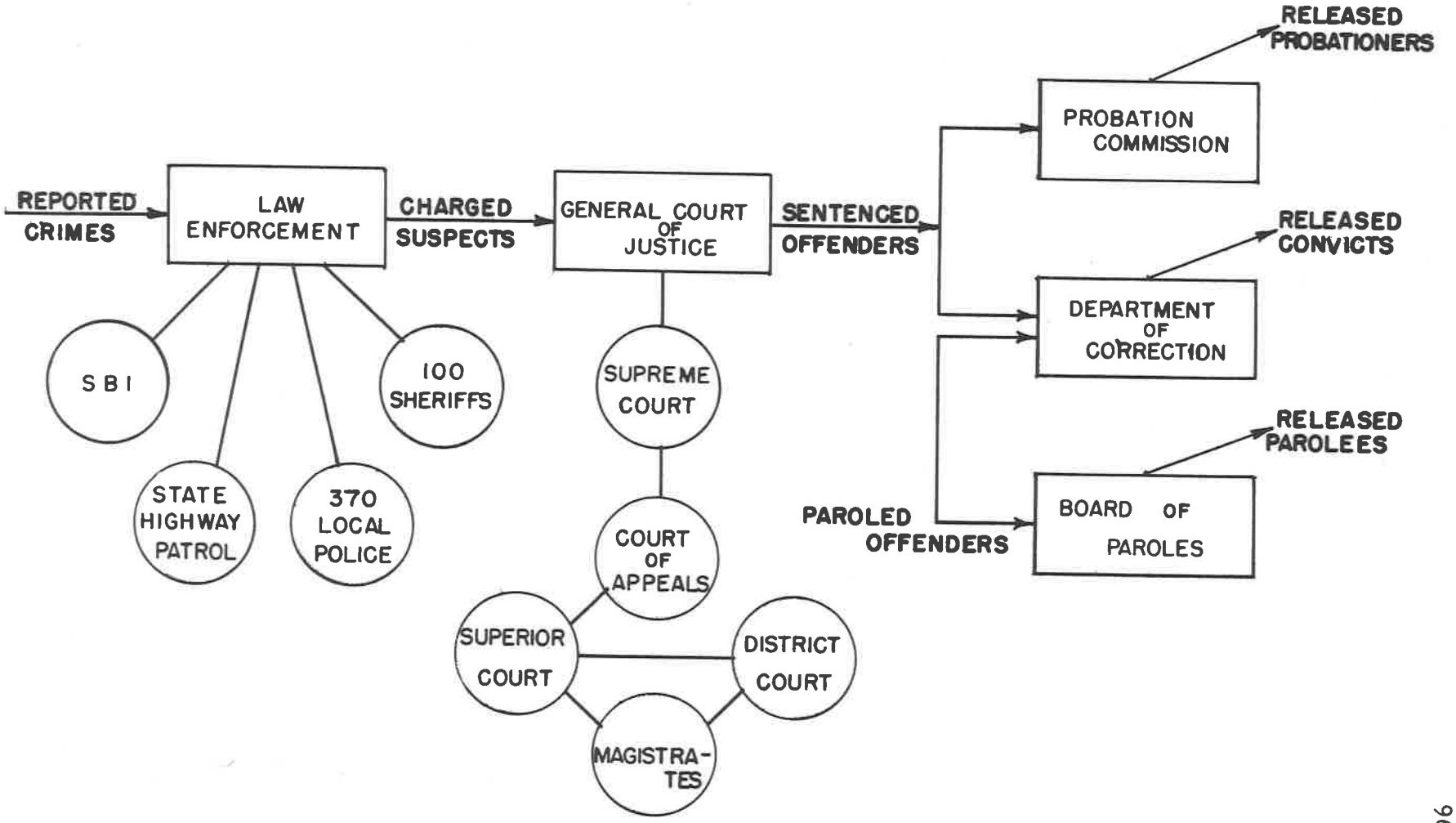
*The court re-organization has been completed in 83 counties and is scheduled to be completed in the remaining 17 counties in 1970.

FIGURE 15

THE COMPONENT PARTS OF NORTH CAROLINA'S CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM



the General Court of Justice, the District Court Division, the Superior Court Division, and the Appellate Division consisting of the Supreme Court and the Court of Appeals, and magistrates for each county. All courts are (or will be) administered on a Statewide basis by the Administrative Office of the Courts responsible to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.[12]

Probation is likewise a Statewide function in North Carolina of the State Probation Commission. The correctional function is administered locally through the 100 county jails operated by the sheriffs and by the State Department of Correction supervised by the State Correction Commission. Parole is administered on a Statewide basis by the State Board of Paroles.[12]

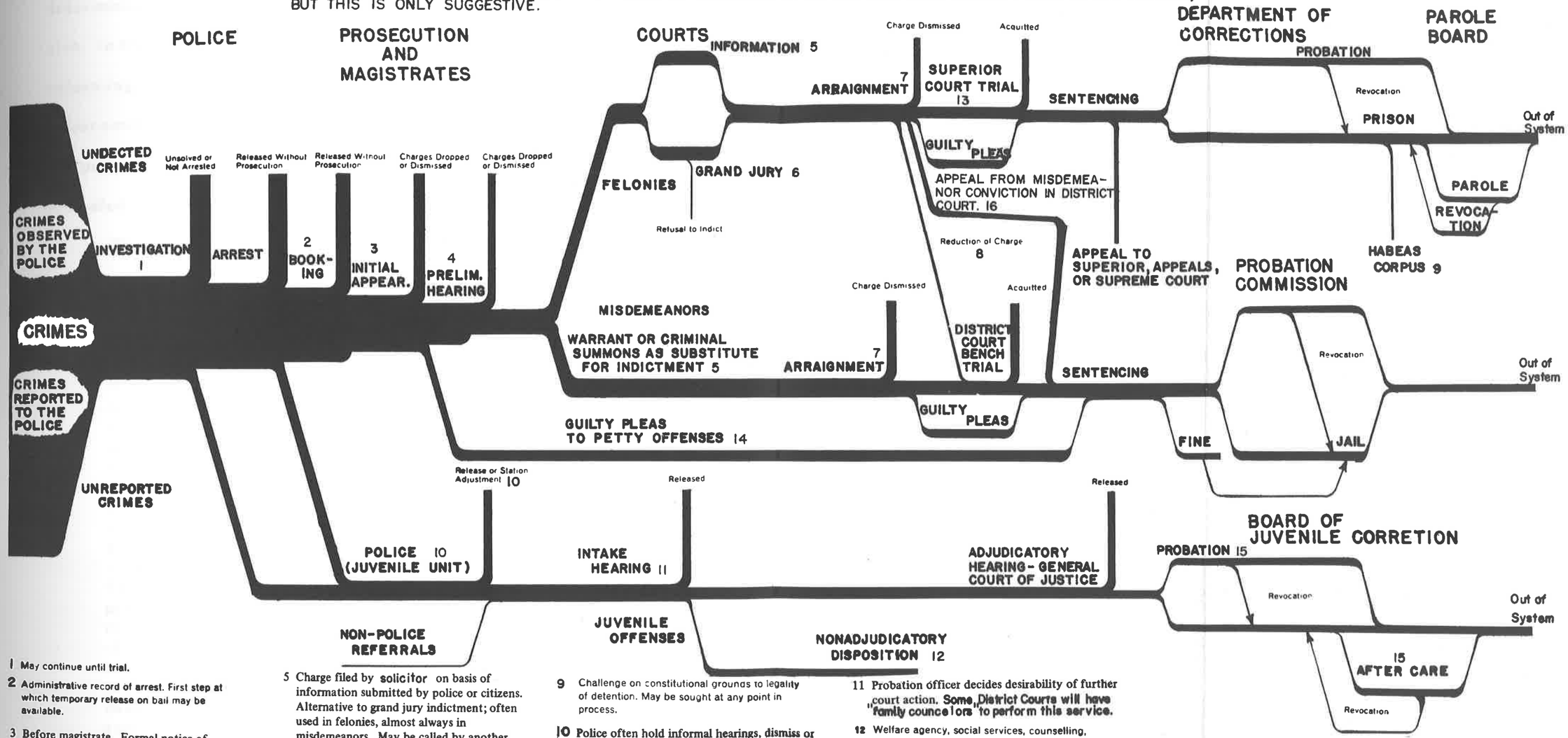
The Criminal Justice Process in Theory and Practice

Although each of the five parts of North Carolina's law enforcement system has distinct tasks, they are by no means independent of each other. What each one does and how it does it has a direct effect on the work of the others. The chart in Figure 16 which shows the process by which criminal justice is administered in the State illustrates this point. As shown, the courts must deal and can only deal with those individuals whom the police arrest. Corrections and probations must and can only handle those individuals selected for background investigation or sentenced by the courts. Corrections must deliver convicts to the institutions selected by the courts. Parole can treat only those convicts sentenced to correctional institutions. How successfully

FIGURE 16

A GENERAL VIEW OF NORTH CAROLINA'S CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

THIS CHART SEEKS TO PRESENT A SIMPLE YET COMPREHENSIVE VIEW OF THE MOVEMENT OF CASES THROUGH THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM. PROCEDURES IN INDIVIDUAL JURISDICTIONS MAY VARY FROM THE PATTERN SHOWN HERE. THE DIFFERING WEIGHTS OF LINE INDICATE THE RELATIVE VOLUMES OF CASES DISPOSED OF AT VARIOUS POINTS IN THE SYSTEM, BUT THIS IS ONLY SUGGESTIVE.



1 May continue until trial.

2 Administrative record of arrest. First step at which temporary release on bail may be available.

3 Before magistrate. Formal notice of charge, advice of rights. Bail set. Summary trials for petty offenses usually conducted here without further processing.

4 Preliminary testing of evidence against defendant. Charge may be reduced. No separate preliminary hearing for misdemeanors. Preliminary hearing in District Court for felony cases.

5 Charge filed by solicitor on basis of information submitted by police or citizens. Alternative to grand jury indictment; often used in felonies, almost always in misdemeanors. May be called by another name.

6 Reviews whether Government evidence sufficient to justify trial.

7 Appearance for plea; defendant elects trial by judge or jury (if available); counsel for indigent usually appointed here in felonies. Often not at all in other cases.

8 Charge may be reduced at any time prior to trial in return for plea of guilty or for other reasons.

9 Challenge on constitutional grounds to legality of detention. May be sought at any point in process.

10 Police often hold informal hearings, dismiss or adjust many cases without further processing; the subsequent course of processing juveniles is in the General Court of Justice with felony suspects tried in Superior court and misdemeanants and petty offenders in District Court. Only a few of the larger urban police departments have separate juvenile units.

11 Probation officer decides desirability of further court action. Some District Courts will have "family counselors" to perform this service.

12 Welfare agency, social services, counselling, medical care, etc., for cases where adjudicatory handling not needed.

13 Superior Court trial in some instances, such as capital cases.

14 Guilty pleas to misdemeanors with punishment of $50 or 30 days or less and certain traffic offenses may be taken by Magistrate.

15 County Department of Public Welfare.

16. Appeal from misdemeaner conviction in District Court is by trial de novo in Superior Court. No further indictment is necessary.

probation, corrections, and parole are in rehabilitating offenders determines whether they will once again become police business; it also, in theory, influences the sentences passed by the courts. Thus, reforming or improving any part or procedure of North Carolina's law enforcement system will change other parts or procedures. Programs and projects for improvement must, therefore, be designed in a co-ordinated manner.

The popular or even the lawbook theory of everyday criminal process oversimplifies in some respects and overcomplicates in others how the criminal justice system operates. That theory is as follows:

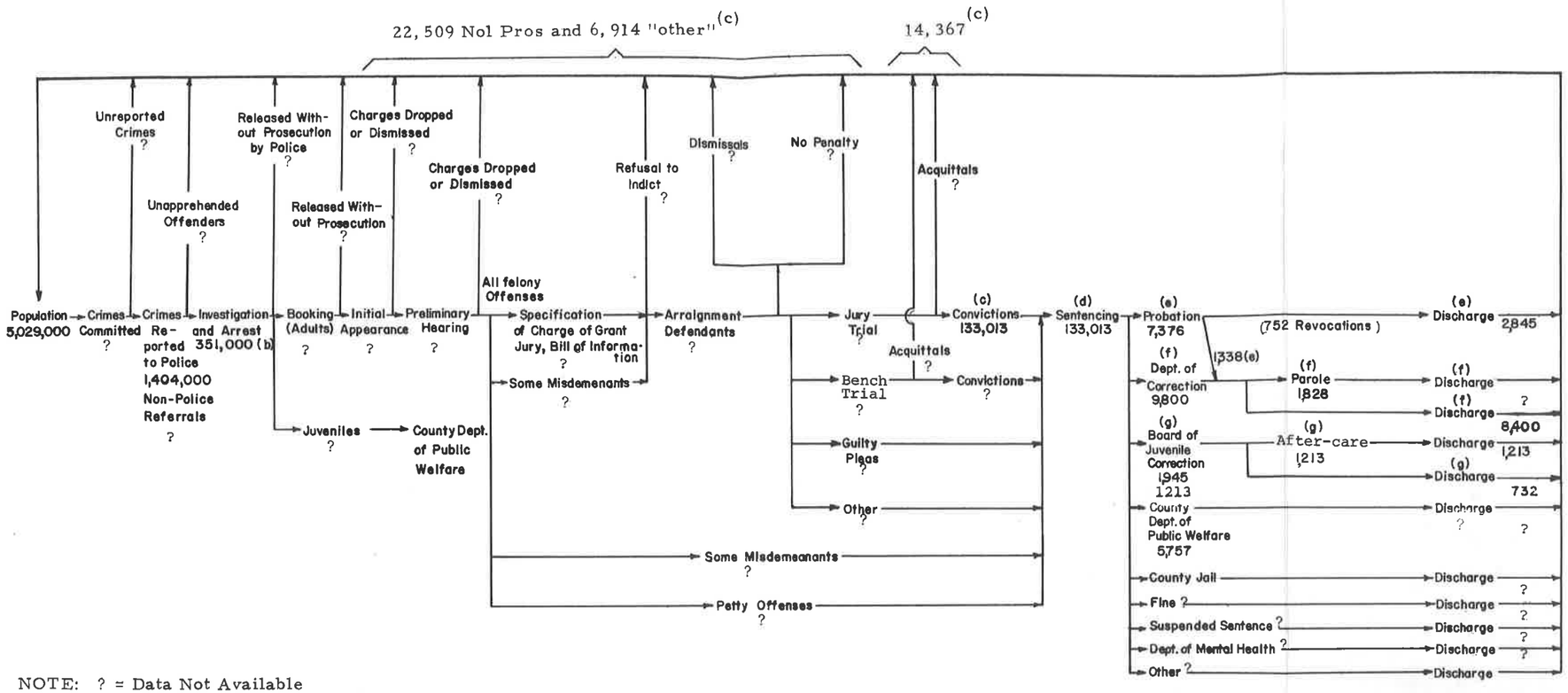
> When a law is violated, a policeman finds the suspect, if he can, and arrests him. He is then booked by the police for the law violation and brought promptly before a magistrate for an initial appearance. If the offense is minor, the magistrate disposes of it forthwith; if it is serious, he holds the defendant for further action and admits him to bail, releases him on his own recognizance, or orders him detained in jail. The case then is turned over to a District Court Prosecutor, if the offense is a misdemeanor, or to a Superior Court Solicitor, if the offense is a felony, who charges the defendant with a specific statutory crime. This charge is subject to review by a magistrate at a preliminary hearing of the evidence and, if the offense charged is a felony, by a grand jury that can dismiss the charge or affirm it by delivering it to a judge in the form of an indictment. If the defendant pleads "not guilty" to the charge, he comes to trial in court; the facts of his case are marshaled by prosecuting and defense attorneys and presented, under the supervision of a judge, through witnesses, to a jury or to a judge in a bench trial. If the defendant is found guilty, he is sentenced by the judge to a term in prison, where a systematic attempt to convert him into a law-abiding citizen is made, or to a term of probation, under which he is permitted to live in the community as long as he behaves himself, or to a jail term where he is held in custody for one month or less.

While some criminal cases in North Carolina do proceed very much like that, especially major crimes of violence and thefts of valuable property, not all major cases follow this course, as illustrated in Figure 17.

To begin with, the total number of crimes committed is unknown. Many of these go unreported or undetected, particularly the large number of low-visibility crimes committed. For those crimes reported to the police, investigations by the police lead to a smaller number of arrests--nationally about one-fourth of all crimes result in arrest. The speculative estimate shown in Figure 16 is that approximately 1,404,000 offenses were reported in North Carolina in 1967: based on the assumption of one arrest for every four crimes and the arrest statistics cited below. Data collected by the FBI show 157,027 arrests in 1967 (excluding arrests for minor traffic offenses) by police and sheriffs' departments covering 47.7 percent of the population; scaling these reports to 100 percent of the population leads to an estimated 351,300 arrests for the whole State in 1967 (excluding arrests for minor traffic offenses); of these arrests almost 16 percent were estimated to be juveniles, again based on the reported sample. At this stage, the accused criminal has entered our criminal-justice system, and statistics now deal with criminals rather than with crimes.

Suspected offenders are booked and given an initial appearance followed by a preliminary hearing. After this stage, they are segregated according to the classification of the offense charged. Felonious

FIGURE 17
SIMPLIFIED FLOW OF CRIMES AND OFFENDERS THROUGH NORTH CAROLINA'S SYSTEM OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN 1967



NOTE: ? = Data Not Available

SOURCE:

a. Speculative estimate based on arrest statistics and an assumption of 1 arrest for every 4 reported crimes.

b. Scaled from reports from law enforcement agencies to the FBI covering 48 percent of the State's population.

c. The number of acquittals, convictions, nol processes and other dispositions for 1967 was computed by addition from data given in the Biennial Report of the Attorney General of the State of North Carolina, Volume 39, 1966-68.

d. The number of convictions is assumed equal to the total number of offenders sentences.

e. The number of dispositions to probation and the revocations of and discharges from probation were taken from the yearly average for the 1965-67 biennium given in the Biennial Report, 1965-1967, Uniform Statewide Adult Probation Service, North Carolina Probation Commission.

f. The number of dispositions to correction and the number of convicts placed on parole from State Correctional institutions and discharged from State correctional institutions was estimated from an average 1968 monthly figure given in the State Correction Statistical Abstract for September, 1968.

g. The number of dispositions to the Board of Juvenile Correction and from Board training schools to after-care was given by the North Carolina Council on Crime and Delinquency.

h. The number of parole revocations was estimated from a memorandum of Marvin R. Wooten, August 13, 1968.

offenders appear before a grand jury where the State, represented by the Superior Court Solicitor, produces evidence to justify a trial unless the defendant, on advice of counsel, waives grand jury indictment in non-capital cases in which case the Solicitor specifies the charge in a Bill of Information. Misdemeanor offenders usually have a summary proceeding in which the charge will be filed by a District Court Prosecutor. The petty or summary offender generally proceeds directly to the sentencing. Of course, throughout the prosecution phase, many defendants will leave the system as charges are dropped or ruled insufficient to justify a trial. The amazing fact about published criminal statistics in North Carolina is that none exist that describe what happens to the adult offender from the moment of arrest until the time of disposition; yet the estimated 351,300 offenders who were arrested in North Carolina in 1967 for non-traffic offenses had been reduced to 176,803 criminal cases[18] at the time of disposition. However, the method of disposition--by jury trial, bench trial, or guilty plea--is not available. Of these dispositions, 14,367 were acquittals (excluding minor traffic offenses), 133,013 were convictions, 22,509 were nol prossed, and 6,914 were disposed of by other means.

There are also no records of the sentences passed on the 133,013 offenders convicted in 1967.[18] Based on data for the 1965-67 biennium, it is estimated that 7,376 new probationers were received by Probation Commission in 1967; of these, 57.8 percent are estimated to have been white, split between 86.6 percent males and 13.4 percent females, and 42.2 percent to have been non-white, split between 85.7 percent male

and 14.3 percent female.[19] It is also estimated that about 9,800 new admissions were received by the State Department of Correction* and 1,945 students by the Board of Juvenile Correction.[21] Presumably, the remaining 116,901 convicted offenders received suspended sentences or were sentenced to jail, fined, or committed to a mental institution.

Of the 16,347 probationers under supervision in 1967,[19] 4,794 were discharged during that year after serving their term.[19] Additionally, 1,338 probationers (about 8 percent) were removed and placed on active sentence.[19]

Of the 17,000-18,000 prisoners who flow through North Carolina's prison system annually, 1,828 were paroled in 1967 and 5,153 were discharged after serving their sentences.* This meant that a total of 3,035 parolees were receiving treatment in 1967.[22] Additionally, it is estimated from 1968 statistics[23] that 752 paroles were revoked in 1967.

Although statistics describing our criminal justice system are lacking, a description of system operations based on the reports of experienced observers does show how theory and practice differ.

The Police

Before the criminal-justice process begins, something happens that is infrequently discussed in textbooks and seldom recognized by the public: law enforcement policy is made by the policeman and sheriff. As

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*Based on average monthly figure multiplied by 12.[20]

the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice noted,

> "...policemen cannot and do not arrest all the offenders they encounter. It is doubtful that they arrest most of them. A criminal code, in practice, is not a set of specific instructions to policemen but a more or less rough map of the territory in which policemen work. How an individual policeman moves around that territory depends largely on his personal discretion.
>
> That a policeman's duties compel him to exercise personal discretion many times every day is evident. Crime does not look the same on the street as it does in a legislative chamber. How much noise or profanity makes conduct 'disorderly' within the meaning of the law? When must a quarrel be treated as a criminal assault: at the first threat or at the first shove or at the first blow, or after blood is drawn, or when a serious injury is inflicted? How suspicious must conduct be before there is 'probable cause,' the constitutional basis for an arrest? Every policeman, however complete or sketchy his education, is an interpreter of the law."[2]

The Magistrate

In direct contrast to the policeman, the magistrate before whom a suspect is first brought usually exercises less discretion than the law allows him. He is entitled to inquire into the facts of the case, for example, into whether there are grounds for holding the accused. He seldom can. The more promptly an arrested suspect is brought before a magistrate, the less information is available. Other than the arresting officer's statement, little is known about the arrest. Moreover, many magistrates have such congested calendars that it is impossible for them to subject any cases but extraordinary ones to prolonged scrutiny.

In practice, the most important things, by far, that a magistrate does are to allow the suspect back into the community by bail or release

on recognizance procedures or detain him in jail during the course of further prosecution. Too seldom do any of these actions get the careful attention they deserve.

Bail is a device to free an untried defendant who can safely remain in the community and at the same time make sure he appears for trial. Yet, at the time the amount of bail is set, the magistrate will have no official records of a suspect's past criminal history. In fact, such records scarcely exist in North Carolina. It is therefore not surprising that more magistrates than not set bail according to standard rates: so and so many dollars for such and such an offense. It is also not surprising that many indigent suspects not represented by counsel and are not granted or cannot make bail, while many dangerous offenders experienced with court operations and represented by counsel are granted and do make bail and are released into the community to renew their criminal behavior.

The Solicitor/Prosecutor

The District Court Prosecutor or Superior Court Solicitor, depending on the case, is the key administrative officer in the processing of cases. Theoretically, the examination of the evidence against a defendant by a magistrate at a preliminary hearing and its reexamination by a grand jury are important safeguards in the criminal-justice process. Practically, they seldom are significant because a Prosecutor or Solicitor rarely has any difficulty in making a prima facie case against a defendant. In fact, many defendants waive their rights to

preliminary hearings and much more often than not grand juries indict precisely as requested by Solicitors. The Prosecutor or Solicitor wields almost undisputed sway over the pretrial progress of most cases: he decides whether to press a case or drop it; he determines the specific charge against a defendant; when the charge is reduced, as it is in many cases, the Prosecutor or Solicitor is usually the official who reduces it.

The prevalent yet little-known practice of "plea bargaining" illustrates the power of the Prosecutor/Solicitor. In plea bargaining, the Prosecutor/Solicitor and defense attorney decide how much the Prosecutor/Solicitor will reduce his original charge or how lenient a sentence he will recommend in return for a plea of guilty. There is no way of judging how many bargains reflect the prosecuting attorney's belief that a lesser charge or sentence is justified and how many result from the fact that many more cases may be pending than there are prosecutors or judges or courtrooms to handle them, should every one come to trial.

The General Court of Justice

As Figure 17 shows, the general assumption by the public that most police arrests end in trials is probably manifestly incorrect. Only about 42 percent of the 351,300 arrests resulted in a disposition by acquittal or conviction and not all of these were by trial. (If national experience reported by the President's Crime Commission[2] is true in North Carolina, 90 percent of all dispositions are a result of a plea of

guilty by the defendant and no trial takes place in 159,000 of the 176,800 cases disposed of in 1967.)

Probation, Corrections, and Parole

On any given day in North Carolina in 1967, about 10,000 inmates were held in State correctional institutions[20] and an unknown number of inmates were imprisoned in county jails. Yet, many of these institutions have virtually nothing but custodial and administrative personnel. Furthermore, many of the prisoners in local jails are defendants who have not been able to furnish bail and are, therefore, not considered by the law to be appropriate objects of rehabilitation because it has not yet been determined that they are criminals who need it. Thus, the most striking fact about North Carolina's correctional apparatus is that--although rehabilitation of criminals is its stated major purpose--its major task is actually the custody of criminals. In practice, this emphasis on custody means that the enormous potential of corrections for making creative decisions about its treatment of convicts is largely unfulfilled. This is true not only of offenders in our State correctional institutions and jails but also to some extent of offenders on probation and parole. On any given day in North Carolina, in 1967, about 16,347 offenders were under supervision by 159 probation officers (excluding supervisors),[19] and about 3,100 offenders were under supervision by 54 parole officers.[22] The fact is that the caseloads of probation officers are so heavy (almost 103 cases per officer) that a sentence of probation means releasing an offender into the community with little supervision.

Parole services are also overloaded (56 cases per officer) and understaffed, but not quite so severely as probation services. Thus, the defendant who cannot make bail is detained in jail until he can be tried, although he is presumed innocent until adjudged guilty in court. But the convicted offender who is sentenced to probation or placed on parole is released into the community with little supervision or treatment, although he has been labelled a criminal by due process.

Resources of North Carolina's Criminal Justice System

In sum, North Carolina's system of criminal justice does not always work the way citizens think it does or wish it would. That it manages to function at all is surprising, considering the number of problems and people with which it is burdened and the resources available for treating them. Table 6 shows the resources of North Carolina's criminal justice system based on available data for the 1967-1969 biennium.[16] Based on crude estimates of local police and sheriff's department expenditures and the expenditures for "other" State law enforcement officers and recommended budgets for the State Bureau of Investigation and the State Highway Patrol, the police, which handle all of the burden of dealing with reported crime and apprehending criminal offenders, received about 56 percent of all criminal justice system expenditures for Fiscal Year 1969 (July 1, 1968 to July 1, 1969)* But this $47.4

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*Exclusive of expenditures by private citizens for defense counsel, expenditures for county jails not covered in the sheriff's department costs and the expenditures of county departments of Public Welfare to provide juvenile probation and after care services.

TABLE 5

Existing Information on Budgets, Workloads, and Personnel in North Carolina's Criminal Justice Agencies

Agency	1967-68 Budget[a] (dollars)	1968-69 Budget[a] (dollars)	1967 Workload	1967 Personnel
Local Police Agencies (370)	28,015,000[b]	28,015,000[b]	N/A	4,310 officers[12]
County Sheriffs (100)	7,332,000[b]	7,332,000[b]	N/A	1,128 officers[12]
Sub-Total Local Police	35,347,000[c]	35,347,000[c]	N/A	5,438 officers
State Highway Patrol	9,390,703	9,854,115	N/A	877 officers (947 employees)[a]
State Bureau of Investigation	623,003	624,260	N/A	60 investigators (65 employees)[a]
Other State Law Enforcement Officers	1,612,000[b]	1,612,000[b]	N/A	248 (Peace Officer Powers)[12]
Sub-Total State Supported Police	1,625,106	12,090,375	N/A	1,185 officers
Total Police	46,972,706	47,437,375	1,404,000 estimated reported crimes;[g] 351,000 estimated arrests[f]	6,623 officers

TABLE 5 continued)

Agency	1967-68 Budget[a] (dollars)	1968-69 Budget[a] (dollars)	1967 Workload	1967 Personnel
County Jails	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Magistrates				
District Court Division			101,745[h]	
Superior Court Division			33,338[h]	
Court of Appeals				
Supreme Court			180[h]	
Administrative Office of the Courts				
Total Judicial Department (Civil and Criminal)	4,980,500[d]	11,162,456[d]	176,803 dispositions[18]	383 officials in 1967-68; 413 officials in 1968-69[a]
Judicial Council	1,165	1,165		N/A
Counsel for Indigent Defendants	697,245	766,125	N/A	N/A
Attorney Generals Office (Civil and Criminal)	236,287	239,838		35[a]
Total Court	5,915,197[d]	12,169,584[d]		

General Court of Justice

TABLE 5 continued)

Agency	1967-68 Budget[a] (dollars)	1968-69 Budget[a] (dollars)	1967 Workload	1967 Personnel
Probation Commission	2,035,068	2,022,525	16,347 adult probationers[19]	167 probation officers (219 employees)[a]
County Departments of Public Welfare (Juvenile Probation and After-care Services	1,708,980[e]	1,820,189[e]	6,970 juveniles on probation and after-care[21]	49.5 workers[a]
Board of Juvenile Correction	5,065,125	5,274,055	1,945 juveniles in training schools[21]	674.5 employees in 1967-68; 682.5 employees in 1968-69
Department of Correction	13,935,414	14,486,771	17,000-18,000 prisoners[20]	2,377 employees[a]
Parole Board	816,298	833,620	3,035 parolees[20]	54 parole officers,[23] 101 employees[a]
Total Correction	23,560,895	24,437,160		
Grand Total	76,487,798	84,044,119		

TABLE 5 (continued)

SOURCES:

[a]All figures from the recommended "A" and "B" budgets, State of North Carolina, The Budget for the Biennium 1967-1969, except where noted.

[b]Based on an estimated average of $6,500 per year which includes salary and all prorated support costs. A more precise estimate will be derived from the responses to the North Carolina Law Enforcement Inventory.

[c]Estimated from line item budget figures for the Department of Motor Vehicles recommended "A" and "B" budgets.

[d]Includes costs of State-supported courts in 83 counties; excludes the costs of local courts in 17 counties which will be brought under the General Court of Justice in 1970.

[e]Includes all items in Child Welfare and Day Care recommended budget; this provides an estimate of the State expenditures only.

[f]Based on reports of 157,027 arrests in 1967 (excluding minor traffic offenses) reported to the FBI by North Carolina law enforcement agencies covering 48 percent of the population and scaled to 100 percent of the population.

[g]Based on an assumed 4 reported offenses per arrest.

[h]The Judicial Department State of North Carolina. Annual Report of the Administrative Office of the Courts, 1967.

million comes to about $7,162 per year per police officer, and results in a cost of less than $9.43 per citizen for full-time police protection.

The courts and prosecution which dispose of 176,800 cases received about 15 percent of the criminal justice system expenditures in Fiscal 1968-1969, but the system costs and court costs excluded the costs of those courts still administered on the local level. The costs of the estimated 136,000 criminal cases tried in the unified court system (excluding cases in the court of Appeals) came to about $91 per case in 1967 if it is assumed that half of the General Court of Justice costs are pro-rated to civil cases and half to criminal cases. The correctional apparatus, including probation, parole, and juvenile and adult institutions, received the remaining 29 percent of the criminal justice system expenditures.*

Juvenile Justice in North Carolina

Although juvenile criminals may account for as much as one-third of the crime committed in North Carolina, based on arrest statistics previously cited, the State does not have a specialized criminal justice system to deal with the specialized problems which these offenders pose.

Law Enforcement Services for Children

In only a few of the larger municipalities in the State are there special juvenile or youth bureaus staffed by personnel with specialized training who work with delinquents and other children's cases. In most

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*Ibid.

law enforcement agencies, there is neither the desire nor the manpower to develop such specialization. Frequently, police officers have turned to juvenile probation officers for assistance in dealing with apprehended juveniles.

Juvenile Detention Homes

There are no State-supported detention homes for delinquent children in North Carolina. Seven counties,* each located in an urban area, have juvenile detention homes supported entirely with county tax funds. Juvenile detention care in other sections of the State can be supplied in two ways: (1) use of the local jail, often in violation of State law; (2) purchase of care from the closest detention home for children and transportation of the child to that county which is frequently done in some areas of the State.

Although the development of a State-supported juvenile detention care program, perhaps on a regional basis, is often advocated, at present, the role of the State is limited to setting standards, consulting on programs, and training of detention personnel through the State Department of Public Welfare.

Juvenile Court

Legislation enacted in 1919 established a separate juvenile court for children under the age of 16, with the Clerk of Superior Court in each county serving as juvenile judge. In the 1950's, separate domestic

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*Durham, Buncombe, Mecklenburg, Forsyth, Guilford, Wake and Gaston counties.

relations and juvenile courts were established in seven urban counties which have jurisdiction of certain matters affecting the family unit. The juvenile court is now in a third transitional period since it is being absorbed into the newly-created District Court.

As of December, 1968, the location of the juvenile jurisdiction in the court system depends upon geography; there are county-supported domestic relations and juvenile courts; the District Court has absorbed juvenile jurisdiction in 83 counties; and the Clerk of Superior Court continues to serve as part-time juvenile judge in 15 counties. The juvenile jurisdiction will be completely absorbed into the State-supported District Court in December, 1970.

With the District Court system, specialized courts to deal with juvenile and family matters, such as the seven domestic relations and juvenile courts, are formally terminated, although in a few urban counties, one District Court judge may be designated as the judge to specialize in domestic relations and juvenile cases. Many new judges assuming juvenile jurisdiction on a part-time basis, however, will have no background in juvenile court administration.

Juvenile Probation Services

Juvenile probation services in North Carolina have traditionally been provided through the department of public welfare in each county. Although the seven domestic relations and juvenile courts had separate probation staffs provided under county financial support, the new District Court system uses State-supported "family counselors" for juvenile

probation services in urban counties. The new State law provides that the State-supported family counselor program is available in any judicial district which contains a county with a population in excess of 85,000. Thus, the family counselor program will serve fifteen counties as of December, 1968. These personnel will be appointed by the Chief District Judge of the Courts.

The county department of public welfare will continue to provide juvenile probation services in 85 counties where the juvenile probation caseloads are usually part of the larger caseloads including public assistance or child welfare cases.

In 1966, juvenile services were supplied to 93 counties by the Division of Child Welfare of the State Department of Public Welfare. These services are reported to have treated 150 juveniles per month on probation,[24] but a total of 3,370 boys and 908 girls for a total of 4,278 adjudicated delinquent cases are also reported. In addition, a reading of "unofficial cases" (now discontinued) listed 1,136 boys and 343 girls for a total of 1,479 juveniles in this category who were treated. Neither money nor staff time spent on juvenile delinquent cases can be cited, because all public welfare caseloads are mixed juvenile and adult and no separate statistics are kept on juvenile caseloads.

The quality of juvenile probation services available is not uniform throughout the State. Juvenile judges frequently place children on probation without specifying conditions of probation, leaving considerable discreation with the juvenile probation officer. Juvenile intake procedures also vary frequently, with differences occurring in the frequency of

pre-hearing studies and in the use of juvenile probation staff by judges exercising juvenile jurisdiction. As expected impact of the State's new involvement in juvenile court matters through the District Court is greater uniformity in procedures and in use of juvenile probation services.

Child Placement Services (other than training schools)

Frequently, the juvenile court judge finds that delinquent behavior is related to parental neglect, lack of effective supervision, or other problems in the family life of the child. The court sometimes concludes that the child should temporarily be placed in a foster home or child-care institution. The county departments of public welfare maintain licensed foster homes and have limited funds available to pay for foster care.

Training Schools

Training schools for delinquent children are completely State-supported in the amount of $9,667,345 during the current 1967-1969 biennium. Eight correctional institutions are operated by the North Carolina Board of Juvenile Correction, where delinquent children may be committed by a judge exercising juvenile jurisdiction. The jurisdiction of the court over a child is terminated if the child is committed to a training school. In 1966-1967, 1,945 children were in these institutions.

Children tend to remain in a training school for one year. The schools are not experimenting with shorter periods of custody. The program is geared to provide education and vocational training, with

limited resources for diagnosis and treatment of behavior problems. The age of the students varies from 10 to 18 years.

After-Care

A child returned to the community after a period in a training school remains on conditional release under the supervision of a juvenile probation officer in the community for a period of one year. In 1966, after-care caseloads carried 940 boys and 273 girls for a total of 1,213 cases. A weakness of the present system is the lack of adequate planning for the return of children to the community and the lack of supervision and help to the child and his family during the period of readjustment.

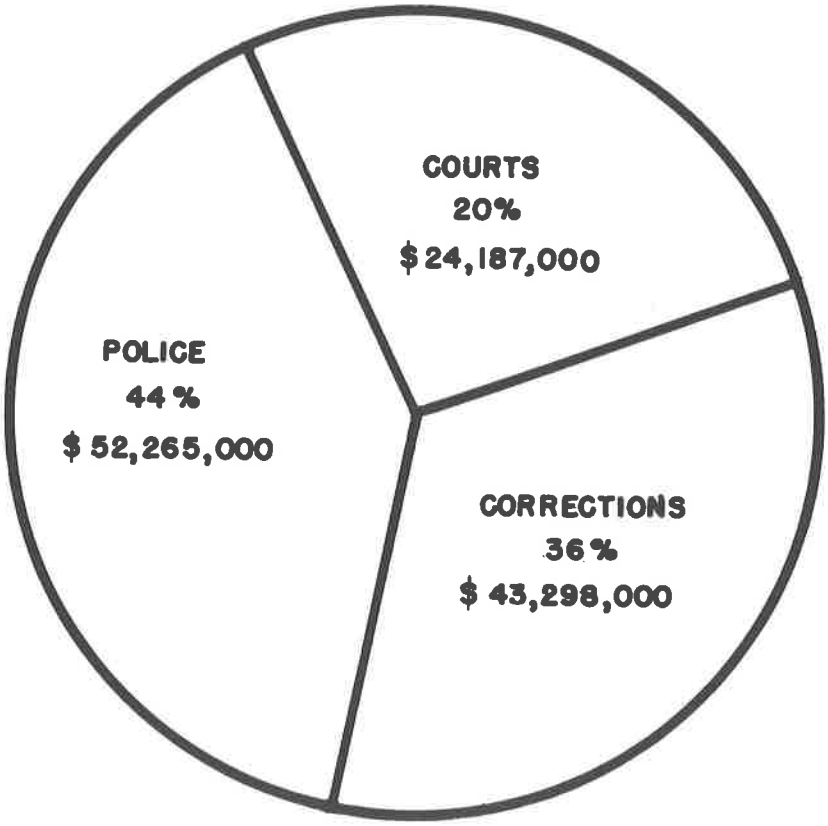
Criminal Justice Expenditures

It is of interest to estimate how criminal justice system expenditures* will be split among police, courts, and corrections when the entire State will be under the new unified General Court of Justice after December, 1970. As shown in Figure 18, the police expenditures of $52,265,000 are estimated to be 44 percent of the total criminal justice system expenditures based on the police costs from Table 7 assuming a 10 percent increase in local police expenditures ($38,881,700) and "other" State law enforcement officer expenditures ($1,773,200) by Fiscal 1970-1971 and using recommended budget figures for the State

*Exclusive of expenditures of private citizens for defense counsel, and expenditures for county jails not covered in the sheriff's department costs, and expenditures by county Departments of Public Welfare to provide juvenile probation and after-care services.

FIGURE 18

ESTIMATED BREAKDOWN OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM EXPENDITURES IN NORTH CAROLINA UNDER THE UNIFIED COURT SYSTEM



Bureau of Investigation ($795,712) and the State Highway Patrol ($10,814,162). Court expenditures of $24,187,000 will be 20 percent of the system expenditures, based on recommended budget figures for the General Court of Justice ($22,692,887), the Judicial Council ($1,165), and the office of the Attorney General ($566,405) and assuming a 4 percent per year increase in expenditures for counsel for indigent defendants ($1,773,200) (which was typical of the change from 1967-1968 to 1968-1969). Correctional expenditures of $43,298,000 will be 36 percent of the system expenditures and will be divided into $3,175,545 for the Probation Commission; $4,374,929 for State support of Child Welfare and Day Care programs; $28,077,925 for the State Department of Correction; $6,767,486 for the Board of Juvenile Corrections, and $901,744 for the Parole Board.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This report has attempted to present facts about crime and criminal justice in North Carolina as the statistics show them and experts view them. It is clear that many facts needed to design more effective programs for crime control and improvements in the operations of our criminal justice system are unknown.

A major limitation of available data is that they are compiled according to categories which are not necessarily relevant to many important questions concerning crime control. There are serious problems in using a available statistics for the study of police and corrections operations. With current information the marauding assault is indistinguishable from the family argument that got out of hand, the professional auto theft is indistinguishable from the joy ride. This data problem is severe. To remedy it, more information is needed about crime, describing not only the legal categories of crime but also the following: location of the crime (by type, such as name of victim, private building, public place); the time of the crime; the nature of the victim (for example, stranger, acquaintance, relation, organization, society generally, consenting party, provoker, accomplice) plus age, sex, economic status, and other personal qualities; the loss suffered by the victim (for example, death, major injury requiring hospitalization, minor injury, psychological trauma plus the permanence of the injury, and the amount of property loss or damage

and whether or not it was recovered); the nature of the offender, if known (individual or conspiracy) plus age, sex, economic status, and other personal qualities; the apparent purpose of the crime (for example, harm, gratification, economic gain, temporary use of property); the nature of force involved (for example, weapon and type, physical force against the person, forced entry into premises, and threat).

Merely improving the quality of information reported today, however, is not going to be sufficient for analyzing the problems of crime. Much too little is known about how the actions of the criminal justice system affect the number and types of crimes committed by different classes of offenders. The quantitative effect upon crime of administrative changes in the criminal law, in police operations, in prosecutorial policies, in court practices and in correctional methods is largely unknown. Indeed, statistics describing police practices, prosecutorial policies, court practices, and correctional methods are meager and inadequate.

To remedy this situation, data are needed on recidivism (for example, re-arrest rate and re-conviction rate) by type of crime and treatment accorded individuals by the criminal justice system. It is important to know how recidivism varies with the distance a person travels through the criminal process (released after arrest, prosecution dropped, dismissed or acquitted at various stages in court proceedings, put on probation, paroled, discharged from a correctional institution). Re-arrest rates are needed at each such point, as a

function of age and other relevant demographic variables, as are related data that describe the switching to other kinds of crime by persons who exit from the system after an arrest for one kind of crime.

Ideally, this information would be obtained by prospective studies of the criminal histories of samples of children born today. But the crime problem will not wait for that information. Retrospective studies are needed in the meantime. These would use samples of arrested persons matched by criminal career attributes, such as number of arrests for crimes of given types, number of convictions, numbers of times probation has been granted, number of incarcerations, and such personal attributes as age, race, sex, and economic status. Although a number of small studies have been undertaken to develop data for various hypotheses, much larger scale and more exhaustive efforts are needed. In addition, more information is needed about the operations of law enforcement and criminal justice agencies including accurate and complete data on all law enforcement and criminal justice events shown in Figure 15 from the report of a crime to the police through the release of an offender from a correctional institution or parole. Moreover, each event in police, court, and correctional operations should be related to the number and characteristics of the offenders involved in it: data should be collected on the number of arrests and charges processed by the police and the number of offenders arrested and charged; similar

data should be collected on the number of cases at each state in court proceedings and the numbers of defendants in these cases.

Although the design of improved reporting procedures and the implementation of better information systems will not be accomplished overnight, this report is a first step in a continuing program to assess the status of crime and criminal justice in North Carolina

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