

1-1-2016

# The Effect Of Gendered Spaces On The Gender Gap In Victimization: Implications For Private And Public Security

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**THE EFFECT OF GENDERED SPACES ON THE GENDER GAP IN  
VICTIMIZATION: IMPLICATIONS FOR PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SECURITY**

by

**DENNIS M. SAVARD**

**DISSERTATION**

Submitted to the Graduate School

of Wayne State University,

Detroit, Michigan

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

2016

MAJOR: SOCIOLOGY

Approved By:

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Advisor

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Date

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## DEDICATION

Nobody is awarded a doctoral degree and writes a dissertation without receiving support from somebody. My wife, Danielle, was always there for me, no matter what, during this process. She always believed in me when I didn't believe in myself, and encouraged me to keep on pursuing this degree when I wanted to give up. Her love and support are beyond measure. But for her I would not be where I am today. You make me want to be a better man. You have made me a better man.

To my unborn daughter, Josephine, I truly hope this degree will show you that all things are possible through hard work and dedication.

Brenda, my mother, you have always been there for me. If not for your love and support, I would not be where I am today as well. Lynann and Marcie, my older sisters, what more could a brother ask for. I love you so.

Dr. David M. Merolla, one of the most caring professors I have ever had the privilege of being taught and mentored by, was always there for me. He truly is a great and righteous man.

The remaining members of my dissertation committee, Dr. Heather Dillaway, Dr. Khari Brown, and Dr. Thomas Kelley, thank you for all that you have done for me over the years. You all know that I appreciate you beyond measure as well. Thank you also to Dr. Zachary Brewster for his indispensable help and encouragement.

Dr. Daniel B. Kennedy, my professor, mentor, employer, and friend, I can't begin to explain how much I value my friendship with you. You have helped me out in so many ways throughout the years and played a big role in this wild ride of getting a doctoral degree. Shirley Kennedy, thank you for your support and friendship over the years.

Finally, to my new colleagues in the Department of Criminal Justice at Saginaw Valley State University, thank you for the trust and confidence you saw in me. I look forward to working with all of you.

D.M.S

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## **CHAPTER 1 THE GENDERED NATURE OF CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION**

### **Introduction**

It was a day much like any other day for Lori Bresnahan; after seeing to the many obligations throughout her day, Lori went to pick up her 10-year-old daughter from an evening gymnastics class located at a large regional shopping center in central New York. Unfortunately for Lori and her young daughter, she had no idea how her day would end on that dreadful night. After walking through the parking lot to retrieve her car, Lori and her daughter were approached by 29-year-old David Renz. Only two months prior, Renz had been charged for being in possession of child pornography and released under electronic supervision by a federal judge. Brandishing what appeared to be a pistol, Renz forced his way into Lori's vehicle and demanded that Lori drive to a desolate parking area behind the shopping center. Subsequently, Renz bound both Lori and her daughter and forced Lori's daughter to strip off her clothing and put on a pair of pantyhose that Renz had in his possession. After cutting a hole in the pantyhose, Renz brutally raped the young girl. After the sexual assault, Renz drove Lori's vehicle to an area a short distance away from the shopping center. It is here that Lori was murdered by Renz by being stabbed multiple times, but only after her young daughter was able to escape. Unfortunately, this scenario is but one among many instances of crime perpetrated against women (Patterson, 2013). Stranger perpetrated violence of women in public locations calls for serious considerations of examining gender-differentiated victimization, and the social and situational contexts surrounding it.

It is a truism that men suffer more violent victimizations than women. Consequently, social scientists have neglected gender as a variable of importance in the study of violent crime (Zimring, 2007). The result has been criminological and victimological research taking on an androcentric tone that placed particular importance on men and overlooked crime against women (Hannon &

Resnick Dufour, 1998). However, more recent research (Lauritsen & Rezey, 2013) acknowledges the gendered nature of victimization (Gartner, 1990; Marvell & Moody, 1999; Smith & Brewer, 1992; Smith & Brewer, 1995). Specifically, recent studies have been conducted on the long-term trends of male and female homicide victimization (Batton, 2004; Brewer & Smith, 1995; Browne & Williams, 1993; Pizarro, DeJong, & McGarrell, 2010; Pridemore & Freilich, 2005) as well as non-lethal victimization. To date, most studies that have examined the gender gap in crime have focused on the long-term trends in male and female victimization (Truman & Langton, 2014). Indeed, this important body of work has showed that the gender gap in crime is closing, most notably for aggravated and simple assaults (Lauritsen & Heimer 2008). This research seeks to build on these studies by examining the gender dynamics of criminal victimization more closely. Specifically, this research is interested in examining how gendered spaces in society are created and shaped through socially constructed ideas of gender, and how victimization experiences within these spaces are different for women and men based on vulnerability to victimization.

This research will fill in the gap of past research that examined the trends in victimization of men and women. Specifically, this research will use the theoretical idea of gendered spaces as a means to explain how gendered spaces in society shape criminal victimization differently for men and women in terms of vulnerability to victimization. The research project will be based on 2012 data from the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS), and will test two primary explanations of violent victimization: routine activities and gendered spaces. Drawing on the feminist and routine activities perspectives, this study will explore how the gender gap in violent victimizations varies based on location, crime type, and the relationships between the perpetrator of violence and the victim. It is important to examine these factors to understand how gendered spaces influence vulnerability to violent victimizations. Specifically, I investigate the following



research questions, Are women more likely than men to be victimized in gendered spaces that are characterized as feminine in nature? If so, are they more likely than men to be victimized by both a known and unknown offender? Are men more likely than women to be victimized in gendered spaces that are characterized as masculine in nature? If so, are they more likely than women to be victimized by both a known and unknown offender?

## CHAPTER 2 DEFINING GENDERED SPACES

Socialization has a profound impact on our self-conception and influences our behaviors and attitudes. West and Zimmerman (1987) introduced the concept “doing gender,” indicating that women and men’s attitudes and behaviors about what it means to be a “woman” and “man” are inculcated in us through the various processes of socialization. Consequently, feminine qualities of womanhood and masculine qualities of manhood are not biologically determined but instead are socially constructed through mundane social interaction. For example, when a woman and man approach a door at the same time, our gender socialization and gendered ways of acting and behaving teach us that the man is expected to open the door for the woman because this is considered appropriate. Our behaviors and attitudes regarding gendered behaviors are constantly being molded as we move through the life course, starting with the family and extending to peers and mass media. In the family, boys and girls are given toys designated appropriate for their gender where boys receive masculine toys and girls receive feminine toys, such as GI Joe and Barbie. As boys and girls move away from the family, the gendered messages they receive come from peers and the mass media.

Gender is intimately tied to society and has a profound impact on how males and females act in particular social contexts. As mentioned above, gender is a social definition of expected behavior and is learned and created. Gender also refers to a society’s notions of masculinity and femininity and how individuals construct their gender identity within these constraints. These meanings determine proper behaviors and individuals are expected to act appropriately for their sex category. Sex makes us male or female and gender makes us masculine or feminine. We “do gender” in our everyday lives (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Doing gender is a constant ongoing process of routine accomplishments that takes place between men and women.

Unlike sex, gender is not an innate characteristic that differentiates men from women, it is a social construction. Men and women produce gender when they interact with one another. The ways in which we do gender are as diverse as we behave. We do gender in our jobs, relationships, ways of dressing, and ways of presenting ourselves in public. The idea of doing gender is important to the idea of gendered spaces and crime. By focusing on gendered spaces and gender as a social construction I can assess whether particular social conditions are associated with different types of victimization based on vulnerability and whether these conditions have differing implications for women and men.

As people go about their routine activities throughout the day, they travel to and visit places which are designated spaces for men and women. A trip to the local gym where one dresses and showers in a locker room would qualify as such a space. Bathrooms, dressing rooms, and the like in public locales are other gendered spaces which are designated for men and women. No doubt, spaces such as these in society are part of our everyday lives and are often taken-for-granted in that people expect to shower or dress with others of the same gender. However, besides these obvious gendered spaces, there are additional gendered spaces in society that are less obvious. For instance, I argue that banks, bars, shopping centers, and grocery stores can also qualify as gendered spaces. With this in mind, the former gendered spaces can be referred to as manifest gendered spaces, whereas the latter can be called latent gendered spaces.

The gendered nature of places in society such as banks, shopping centers, grocery stores, and bars could play a role in explaining the gender gap in crime. Banks, for example, are gendered spaces where women occupy certain positions relative to men, even though this has not always been the case. Before World Wars I and II, men were the dominant holders of bank teller positions. However, during the wars, women took over these positions for the outgoing men whom were sent

to fight. When the wars finally came to a conclusion, men sought more promising employment that came with higher prestige and pay, and over time, women came to hold bank teller positions at higher rates than men (Padavic & Reskin, 2002). According to a 2014 U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics report, the total number of individuals who were employed as bank tellers was 369,000 and women accounted for 84.3 percent of these workers. The reciprocity of macro-historical events and how women and men come to occupy certain spaces in society can explain how victimization is place based and translates into potential dangerous spaces. Specifically, women occupy these spaces because of structural forces and historical influences, and consequently may be at a particular risk of criminal victimization in such spaces. However, the increased risk of victimization is not linked to the behaviors being performed in each respective gendered space; rather, it may be that women are more vulnerable to victimization based on perpetrators' perceptions of women being a "suitable target." Therefore, the coupling of gendered spaces with the preponderance of women and men who occupy such spaces based on ideas of femininity and masculinity place them at an increased risk of victimization based on vulnerability.

Societal expectations as they relate to gender heavily influence individuals' routine activities. In turn, broad social structural patterns influence violent victimization. Therefore, victimization research that examines differences between men and women should start to identify how spaces in society shape victimization. "Gendered spaces" could provide a theoretical explanation of the how specific locations in society shape the victimization experiences of men and women based on vulnerability (Spain, 1992). Using gendered spaces as an explanation for gendered victimization dynamics moves beyond the assertion that gender shapes victimization just because women occupy certain gendered spaces more than men. Certainly, the number of women and men who occupy any one location needs to be considered when examining the situational

contexts of criminal victimization, but perceived vulnerabilities from the perspective of the perpetrator coupled with the theoretical idea of gendered spaces can start to explain why women may be more likely to be victimized in feminine gendered spaces.

Doing gender also offers a theoretical lens through which research can be viewed when studying gender-differentiated behaviors as it relates to shopping and the workplace. Advertisers, for example, realize that women and men respond differently to advertisements based on gender differences (Zeithaml, 1988) and women spend more time in stores when shopping for goods (Fischer & Arnold, 1994). Hu and Jasper (2004) found that women spend 29 minutes longer at shopping malls compared to men, and report that they enjoy the shopping mall experience more than men. In 2010, the International Council of Shopping Centers found that females made up two thirds of shoppers at shopping malls and spent approximately 10 minutes longer on each visit to the mall compared to men. As a gendered space, shopping centers can be seen as catering to women because financially motivated shopping malls realize that women represent the most lucrative customers in terms of their bottom line. For example, shopping malls tend to cater to women by having more female-oriented stores rather than male-oriented stores (Hu & Jasper, 2004). However, research has focused on demographic characteristics such as marital status and found that men married to working women engage in more shopping behaviors (Fischer & Arnold, 1994).

Compared to past periods, research is revealing that women and men are starting to engage in co-grocery shopping behaviors (Levy & Weitz, 2001). In fact, Fetto (2002) found that men were the primary purchasers of groceries and children's clothing in 21 percent of households in 2001 compared to 13 percent of households in 1985. In 2014, the NPD Group found that out of 40 million households men represented the primary grocery shoppers in 1 out of 10 households in

the United States. It is important to mention that 16 percent of these households were comprised of one person. Changes in grocery shopping behaviors for men may be influenced by the number of single men and divorced men, and the essential nature and function of shopping for groceries. Research that examines shopping behaviors can help explain how gendered spaces in society are socially constructed and malleable to societal expectations as it relates to gender expectations.

As was explained above, grocery stores may not represent a gendered space as much as they did in the past. Indeed, traditional heterosexual relationships have changed and taken on an egalitarian tone but research has shown that married working women take on a “second shift” at the home by performing more domestic duties (e.g, childcare) compared to their working husbands (Hochschild, 1989). Shopping behaviors as it relates to malls and grocery stores qualify as so-called domestic duties, but this seems to only hold true for shopping malls as opposed to grocery stores. Research on shopping behaviors has even taken on a functionalist approach by arguing that women engage in expressive shopping and men engage in instrumental shopping (Campbell, 1997). Therefore, the shopping behaviors of women are thought to be laden with emotion whereas men’s shopping behaviors are goal oriented. In other words, women’s shopping is thought of as more hedonic compared to the more utilitarian undertones associated with men’s motives for shopping (Wolin & Korgaonkar, 2003).

This explanation of shopping behaviors is an extension of Parsons and Bales’ (1955) idea the men perform the instrumental tasks of providing for the family and the women perform the expressive tasks of caring for the home. Therefore, gender roles regarding what is appropriate behavior for women and men both inside and outside of the family can be extended beyond the home and consequently influence what spaces they occupy based of these supposed expressive and instrumental tasks. Gender expectations and the femininity and masculinity attached to gender

help produce the creation of gendered spaces such as the workplace and community (Spain, 1992). Gender expectations can influence who occupies these spaces at higher rates.

The workplace as a gendered space sees women and men being segregated according to their specific job titles. For example, it was appropriate for women to be elementary school teachers and work in domestic services because they were separated from men, but women were kept from working in factories because this brought them into contact with men (Spain, 1992). This type of segregation can be observed in banks where women make up the majority of bank tellers. The feminization of bank tellers began in earnest as the financial industry started to become more specialized with complex accounting and financial policies. Overtime, the banking industry was pushing for the hiring of young, highly educated men to meet the demands that this new, complex banking world required. Consequently, men started to bypass bank teller positions and gravitate towards more prestigious positions such as loan officers. The status that these positions afforded men also came with higher salaries and concomitantly the social and financial status once associated with bank teller positions declined (Prather, 1971). Banks can represent gendered organizations where individual's gender is identified with their jobs. In other words, the jobs people perform have a gender character that rubs off on them.

From a gendered institutions perspective, Joan Acker (1990) explains that "advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine." A gendered institutions approach emphasizes factors that are external to individuals, such as the social structure and social institutions that reward women and men differently. Therefore, women who are employed as bank tellers receive lower status and pay and men who are employed as loan officers and financial analysts receive higher status and pay. The external factors that create these

social facts play a role in transforming banks as a form of gendered space. Men who once occupied the masculine space of bank lobbies have been replaced with women thereby transforming this location into a feminine space.

However, gendered spaces are places where distinctly female and male behaviors occur. A gendered space is considered feminine or masculine based on the types of behaviors that occur there. It's not so much a gendered space by its very nature as it is considered a gendered space based on the feminine and masculine behaviors performed by women and men. In other words, behaviors at banks, bars, grocery stores, and shopping malls are influenced by ideas of femininity and masculinity and what it means to be a woman or man. Performing banking activities, going to the bar for a drink, and shopping for clothes or groceries have feminine and masculine qualities attached to them.

Therefore, gendered spaces are dependent upon what society says is appropriate behavior for women and men and this determines if the behaviors performed at each respective location are considered feminine or masculine. This does not mean that women will occupy certain locations at higher rates compared to men; rather, gender identities and gender roles influence what kind of space it is and what types of behaviors occur there and whether or not they are considered feminine or masculine in nature. Of course, men engage in feminine behaviors such as shopping for clothes or cleaning up the house and women engage in masculine behaviors such as having a beer at the local watering hole, but the point is that each of these behaviors have feminine and masculine qualities, no matter who is performing them.



### **CHAPTER 3 BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW**

In addition to gendered spaces, this research will utilize routine activities theory as a way to explain gender-differentiated criminal victimization. The coalescing of these two theoretical perspectives will provide a framework when understanding how socially constructed notions of gender influence the routine, everyday activities of people and how this consequently produces gendered spaces in society. Routine activities theory (RAT) is an influential perspective criminologists and sociologists use to study what makes it possible for a criminal event to occur (Cohen and Eckert, 2016). Cohen and Felson (1979) explain that there are three necessary conditions of a crime to occur. Specifically, crimes occur when a motivated offender, a suitable target, and the lack of a capable guardian come together in time and space. For instance, a motivated offender patrolling a desolate part of a shopping mall parking lot where no capable guardian is present may discover a person he or she views as being a suitable target. This includes any number of situations but a likely scenario could be a robber driving in a parking lot looking for an unsuspecting women with a purse around her shoulder.

The term “suitable target” was purposefully chosen by Cohen and Felson rather than “victim” because they wanted to include property as targets of crime, in addition to people. The term “capable guardian” was chosen over police because informal guardians such as family members and members of the general public can also provide guardianship. In fact, it is unlikely that a police officer or a security guard will be present at a location where a criminal event is taking place. Therefore, bystanders who happen to be around when the crime is being committed can be more effective capable guardians than the police, insofar as they are present when the crime takes place. The importance of informal guardians was supported by the work of Cromwell, Dunham, Akers, and Lanza-Kaduce (1995) in the aftermath of Hurricane Andrew that devastated

neighborhoods in Florida. These researchers found that crime in neighborhoods actually decreased during their more vulnerable periods of criminal victimization when government law enforcement agencies did not have a strong presence. The reduction in crime was largely due to citizens taking patrol measures into their own hands and providing security for their own property and others' property.

An important aspect of RAT regards the convergence of the three concepts described above in time and space. For Cohen and Felson, this convergence occurs in the routine activities of people as they go about their lives. Therefore, the majority of crime is a mundane phenomenon that occurs in the course of everyday life, rather than in exciting and abnormal circumstances. Implicit in this thinking is that crime is a product of the "normal organization" of society and not due to "pathological features" of society (Cohen & Felson, 1979). The point that crime rates are influenced by the everyday activities of people is also a criticism of RAT because researchers have pointed out that it has ignored larger macro explanations of the causes of crime, such as inequality. Therefore, RAT tends to take a more pragmatic look at crime.

A major premise that grew out of RAT is concerned with the prevention of crime by decreasing the opportunities to commit crime. As a consequence, efforts to decrease crime will hopefully result in lower crime rates. Emphasizing crime reduction through situational measures, such as Closed-Circuit Television, locks, and alarms, places a particular focus on the environment rather than issues of inequality as it relates to gender and race. However, Maume (1989) used RAT to study how inequality had an effect on the rates of rape in a metropolitan area. This research showed that blacks were at greater risks of rape victimization because of the environment they live in and reductions of guardianship that help prevent crime. He concluded inequality is a latent consequence that in essence forces people to live risky lifestyles because they are surrounded by

crime and social problems. Earlier research performed by Jensen and Brownfield (1986) made the point that research studies that utilize RAT fail to take into account one's vulnerability to victimization by engaging in acts deemed as deviant or non-deviant. This study found that adolescents were more likely to be victimized when their routine activities were concerned with deviant activities, but less likely to be victimized when their routine activities conformed to societal norms. Indeed, people are placing themselves at risk of victimization when patronizing "rough" bars where the likelihood of a violent fight is high.

Garofalo (1987) used victimization surveys and found that people who lived riskier lifestyles were more likely to come into contact with motivated offenders through the course of their routine activities. This study coupled RAT with lifestyle theory which suggests people are put at greater risk of victimization when they engage in a high-risk lifestyle. A problem with using RAT with lifestyle theory is that researchers run the risk of blaming the victim for his or her victimization, particularly in cases of rape. With respect to the work of Maume described above, to avoid the pitfalls of victim blaming a researcher could instead combine RAT with deviant place theory. This theory explains that it is not the victim who encourages crime but places replete with crime and social disorganization place people at greater risks of victimization. The probability of an individual being criminally victimized increases if he or she visits or lives in locations that are dangerous places.

Neighborhood characteristics rather than individual characteristics are then thought to determine an individual's chances for criminal victimization (Siegel, 2007). Cao and Maume (1993) used a similar approach and found that people who lived in urban environments that were experiencing social problems driven by inequality had higher risks of robbery victimization because of the disorganized environment they found themselves in. Interestingly, Wittebrodd and

Nieuwbeerta (2000) found that people who chose lifestyles that reduce their susceptibility to danger, such as living in a rural area, having children, and getting married, can in turn reduce their risk of becoming a victim of a crime.

Cohen and Felson (1979) argued that predatory type crimes were increasing in the United States in post-World War II because people were venturing out of the household more, and leaving property unattended, unlike in past time periods. For example, homes were likely to be unoccupied during the day and therefore vulnerable to be burgled because a capable guardian wasn't present. Also, changes in the economic environment with the construction of mass private properties, such as shopping malls, provided a potential pool of suitable targets to be victimized. Shopping centers are often times patronized each day by thousands of customers and because they are connected to the broader "socio-circulatory system," motivated offenders are able to access their permeable borders with ease (Felson, 1987). The roads and highways that connect shopping centers to the broader infrastructure allow potential criminals to pass freely on and off properties without being deterred by security barriers.

Applying the concepts of RAT, Sherman, Gartin, and Buerger (1989) conducted research in Minneapolis that focused on the "criminology of place" by examining calls for service to police. The authors were interested in identifying concentrations or "hot spots" of crime in the city. Their research uncovered some interesting findings as it relates to the idea that crime pools in one place. For example, they showed that major crimes were concentrated to specific locations in the city. The authors concluded that crime concentration is related to the three converging concepts of RAT. Notwithstanding these findings, the reliability and validity of this study can be as it relates to the data used in the study. It is important to note that police incident reports may provide a clearer picture about the nature and types of crime occurring in a city compared to police calls for service.

For example, police incident reports provide both quantitative and qualitative information. This information provides the researcher with a better understanding of a criminal incident compared to information from a call for service that normally only provides a quantitative understanding of a crime incident.

RAT is also important for studies that examine the victimization rates of women and men. For example, Sampson (1987) found that males were more likely to suffer a victimization by a stranger than females and that the strongest predictor of stranger violence was age in that younger persons were more likely to be victimized compared to older persons. Similarly, Wolf Harlow (1991) examined data from the former National Crime Survey and found that between 1979-1987 women were more likely to suffer a violent victimization by an intimate partner and men were more likely to suffer a violent victimization by a stranger. This research reinforces the often taken-for-granted assumption that the risks of intimate partner violence are greater for women and risks of stranger violence are greater for men. Although only examining women, Smith (1987) found that 28% of women were robbery victims in 1973 and this number increased to 37% in 1982. However, no significant increases of women suffering a simple or aggravated assault were found. Conversely, Smith and Kuchta (1993) found no significant difference in the robbery victimization rate for women in the early part of the 1970s compared to latter parts of the 1980s, but increases in the percentage of female simple and aggravated assault victimizations were discovered. Unfortunately, the researchers did not examine the nature of the relationship between the perpetrator and victim, although it is likely that intimate partner violence was a driver behind these increases. An important caveat to this finding is that women were not necessarily experiencing increases in violent victimization as men were experiencing sharper declines in violent victimization.

Similar findings on the long-term trends of victimization were found by Lauritsen and Heimer (2008). This research found that the gender gap in crime with respect to aggravated and simple assaults closed between men and women. These same authors also disaggregated the data according to stranger and non-stranger violence, and found the gender gap to lessen for stranger and non-stranger aggravated assaults and non-stranger simple assaults. Again, the narrowing gender gap in violent victimization was largely due to the decreases in male victimization. In other words, females were not necessarily more likely to suffer an assault as it was males' victimization exponentially decreasing.

**Figure 1: Theoretical Understanding of Gender, Gendered Spaces, Routine Activities, and Victimization**

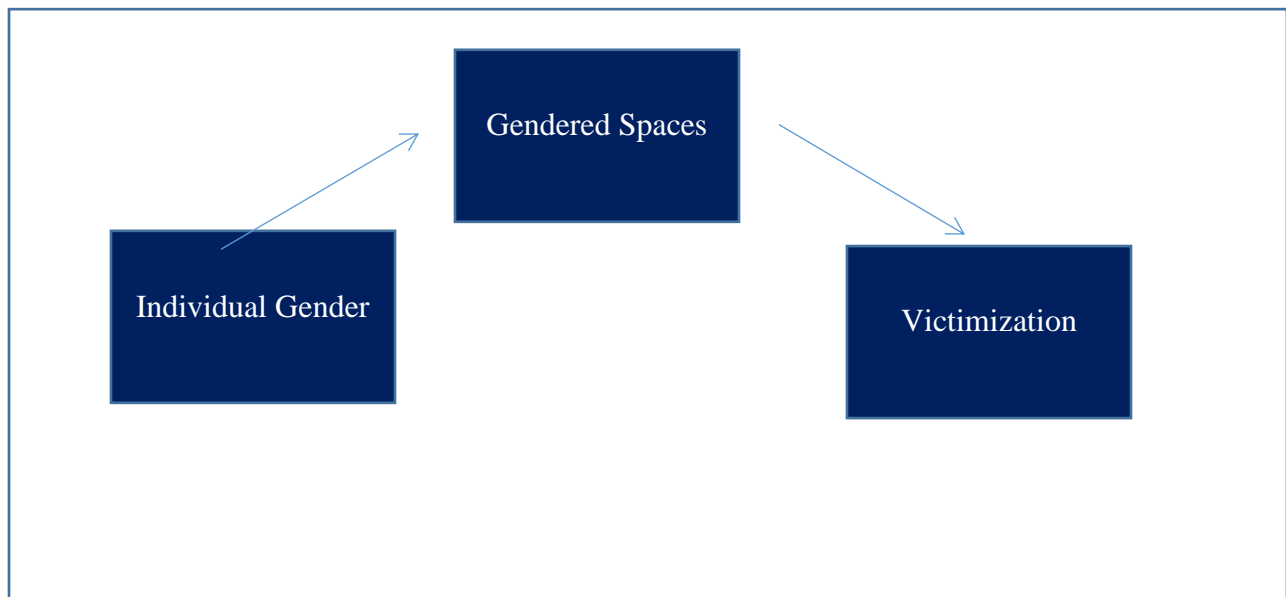


Figure 1 above is a visual representation of the theoretical idea of how individual gender influences routine activities and how this plays a role in the creation of gendered spaces. Consequently, these two processes provide the necessary elements of victimization based on perceived vulnerabilities an offender has of a victim. Gender is a socially constructed concept that dictates how people go about their daily lives in terms of how they think, behave, and interact with

others. Our everyday, routine activities are influenced by ideas of gender and the places we visit in the public sphere. The routine accomplishments that take place as people go about their day play a role in the construction of gendered spaces based on ideas of femininity and masculinity. Therefore, what society says is appropriate behaviors for women and men based on ideas of gender and the subsequent creation of gendered spaces has an impact on the victimization experiences of women and men. Specifically, gender influences peoples' patronage of bars and shopping centers which in turn brings them into contact with motivated offenders who perceive them as vulnerable suitable targets where there is a lack of capable guardians to protect them from being victimized.

One's lifestyle, proximity to offenders, and exposure to dangerous places can help in understanding why women can be expected to have higher victimization rates in feminine gendered spaces (Rogers and Roberts, 1995). A young person's age influences their everyday activities and lifestyle and will expose them to greater risks of victimization compared to older individuals. Younger women, for example, are more active than older women and venture outside of the home more to attend school, go to work, and shop at large regional shopping centers. For example, research has shown that women between the ages of 20 and 24 are at greater risk of victimization because of how age influences their lifestyles (Bachman, 1994). Income also can determine a person's a lifestyle and the types of activities they engage in on a daily basis. RAT assumes that people with higher incomes are going to present as more attractive targets to potential offenders. Having a higher income, for example, allows people with more opportunities to leave their household and go out into the public sphere to purchase and consume goods. However, research conducted by Miethe, et al. (1987) found that individuals with lower incomes were more likely to suffer violent victimizations, whereas people with higher incomes were more likely to have their property stolen. It could be that people with lower incomes reside in dangerous areas

that increase their risk of violent victimizations and people with higher incomes reside in safer areas which serve as a protective factor from violent victimizations, even though their personal property is still at risk of being stolen.

Proximity to potential offenders can increase a person's chances that he or she is going to suffer a victimization. People living in high crime areas coupled with low socioeconomic status are at greater risks of victimization (Miethe and Meier, 1990). Women and men who visit feminine gendered spaces such as grocery stores and masculine gendered spaces such as bars located in economically depressed areas may come together in time and space with potential offenders where criminal opportunities abound. Facilitators such as guns and drugs in high crime, urban environments are readily available which can serve as a means to rob people at shopping centers. Not surprisingly, urban dwellers who live in high crime areas are more likely to suffer victimizations compared to rural dwellers who live in low crime areas. However, lifestyle can also control a person's proximity to criminals because it brings them into contact with them, whether they live in urban or rural areas (Miethe and Meier, 1994).

No doubt, there are "rough" bars located in rural areas that increase a person's likelihood of being victimized if he or she patronizes such places. These types of establishments are crime generators in that the types of activities and people they produce and attract make it a criminogenic environment. However, grocery stores, shopping centers, and banks that are located in urban and rural areas would be considered crime attractors where offenders are attracted to them because they know there will be a pool of suitable targets. Large shopping centers with higher volumes of patrons tend to attract more crime compared to smaller shopping centers because there are more potential victims, but the individual's risk of becoming a crime victim does not necessarily increase. Shopping centers that experience drug-related activities may generate crime because of



a drug-crime nexus as it relates to psychopharmacological, economic, and systemic violence (Goldstein, 1985). An associated idea is that some legitimate businesses at a shopping center will pollute the social environment and contribute to problems of crime, such as bars or clubs that sell cheap alcohol or otherwise attract a 'rough crowd' (Farrell and Pease, 2006). As true as this may be, Lee *et al.* (1999) found that crime at shopping centers seemed to be more connected to 'problematic patrons', such as loitering juveniles, gangs, and people waiting for public transportation, than 'problematic tenants', such as bars, movie theaters, and video arcades. Moreover, problematic patrons may be attracted to problematic tenants. It may be that each of these variables contributes to problems of crime, albeit in their own way (Savard & Kennedy, 2013). Certainly, not all feminine gendered spaces are equal and some may be more dangerous than others, but the point is that social constructed ideas of gender influence the creation of gendered spaces which brings women into contact with motivated offenders who view them as vulnerable and suitable targets. Female robbers, for example, have been found to purposely target female victims because they view them as more vulnerable and least likely to resist (Miller, 1998).

Generally speaking, the environment of feminine gendered spaces are not necessarily dangerous places in that they generate crime, but rather attract crime because motivated offenders know that they can find a pool of vulnerable suitable targets that a relatively unprotected by capable guardians. Certainly, some shopping centers and grocery stores are going to be more dangerous than others because of their location in certain communities, but again these types of locations are more likely to attract crime rather than produce crime. Therefore, it is important to keep in mind that feminine and masculine gendered spaces can be unique in terms of anticipating crime. For example, for an individual the odds of becoming a robbery victim at a mall or grocery store are small given the large number of annual visitors. One could conclude that a criminal attack at a

feminine gendered space is foreseeable, but this would be due in large part to the number of visitors, and not reflective of a given individual's statistical risk of victimization. However, it also can be due to the gendered nature of the space and who is likely to occupy it coupled with the relative vulnerability individuals have to victimization based on a perpetrator's perception. The larger point to be made is that some feminine gendered spaces are going to be more dangerous than others based architectural design, tenant mix, and location within a certain neighborhood compared to other feminine gendered spaces in higher-end neighborhoods with a well-thoughtout, security-conscious architectural design, and 'high-end' tenant mix. A 'one size fits all' security approach cannot be used for all properties (Kennedy, 2006; Savard & Kennedy, 2013).

Feminine gendered spaces such as shopping centers are considered soft targets because their permeable perimeters allow for people to freely enter and exit with little to no interaction with security personnel. In contrast, high-rise buildings located in large downtown areas provide for more effective management by security. In particular, target hardening and access control efforts in high-rise buildings are more easily accomplished because of the nature of businesses and tenants located in the building. Therefore, feminine gender spaces face the dilemma of incursions by people who have intentions of committing criminal acts, while at the same time facilitating entry for legitimate customers. Shopping centers and grocery stores, for example, must perform a sensitive balancing act between providing an aesthetically pleasing and inviting environment for customers while simultaneously providing security mechanisms that protect patrons and employees.

Certainly, shopping center and grocery store management are hesitant to offset an inviting environment with security features that create a fortress-like effect. The very design of feminine gendered spaces and the way in which they are operated contribute to the vulnerability and risk of

victimization women face in these spaces. Therefore, women are not to be blamed for their victimization based on social constructed ideas of gender and how this influences their lifestyles; rather, economic forces are in play that heighten their vulnerability to victimization at shopping centers and grocery stores. Undoubtedly, economic factors drive shopping centers and grocery stores to attract people to their properties to spend money, and feminine gendered spaces that are heavily guarded against may prevent people from doing that (Savard & Kennedy, 2013).

Cesare Beccaria's work, *On Crimes and Punishment*, in 1764 explained that crime is a rational action. Beccaria disagreed with the barbaric and violent punishments for crime that were common in his era, which he viewed as an ineffective way to distribute punishment. Beccaria posited the following eight step argument that he believed would be more effective in carrying out punishment: (1) crimes should be defined by the polity as well as define specific punishments for them; (2) judges should have the ability to determine guilt insofar that they follow the law; (3) the harm that a crime inflicts on society should be determined by the seriousness of the crime; (4) punishments should be proportionate to a crimes seriousness so as to deter crime; (5) punishment is considered unjust if its severity exceeds what is necessary to deter crime; (6) excessive punishment actually increases crime and fails to deter it; (7) punishments should be prompt; and (8) punishments should be certain (Bernard, Snipes, & Gerould, 2010). Out of this influential work grew the idea that criminals are rational thinkers and weigh the costs and benefits of committing crime. In other words, rational criminal only commits a violent act when the benefits of the crime outweigh the potential costs. Rational criminals may purposely choose shopping malls and grocery stores to commit crimes.

However, a criminal may not purposely choose a shopping mall because he or she is cognizant of the gendered nature of the space; rather, this space may be chosen in a rational manner

because the criminal knows women and men can be found here in potentially vulnerable situations that make them suitable targets. Therefore, gendered spaces can be seen as crime generators in that they generate crime not because of any inherent criminogenic nature, but because they afford criminals with a large pool of victims where ample opportunities for committing crime exist. A motivated offender may choose to rob a woman talking on a cellphone and walking into a large regional shopping mall, for example, because she presents as a suitable target. Because women spend longer amounts of time at shopping malls and the gendered nature of shopping behaviors, women may be at a greater risk of victimization compared to men. Even though large shopping malls tend to attract more crime than smaller shopping malls, a woman's risk of being victimized does not necessarily increase (Savard & Kennedy, 2014).

Crime at shopping malls may represent a small percentage of total crime that occurs in the United States, but the point is that women may be at greater risks of victimization compared to men because of the gendered nature of this space. A major impetus behind gendered spaces is not so much that they are gendered in and of themselves and exclusively a women's location; indeed, men can be found in these spaces as well. Gender identities and gender roles have implications on ideas of femininity and masculinity that in turn determine attitudes and behaviors which influence who is going to do the shopping, perform banking obligations, and work in certain jobs.

Robbers may rationally choose to commit a robbery at a specific business because they know the presence and exchange of money occurs here on a consistent basis. Also, robbers may purposely choose to rob during a particular time of year so as to maximize their profits. It comes as no surprise that robbery rates increase during the winter months and particularly around the Christmas shopping season (Van Koppen & Jansen, 1999). Therefore, shopping malls that are bustling with eager shoppers during the holiday season seems not to escape the attention of

criminals in that they know there is a readily available pool of suitable targets walking to and from their cars in parking lots. Because of the feminine nature of shopping centers and criminals surmising that women are more suitable targets in terms of their vulnerability, women may be at a particular risk of robbery victimization during the height of the holiday shopping season. It's also important to keep in mind that robbers' "awareness space" plays a role in their decision making process when choosing an area to rob people (Smith et al., 2000). Generally speaking, robbers tend to commit robberies in places that fall within their routine travels and are close to their homes. The idea is that robbers are not only more comfortable with operating in places they routinely travel, but they may be aware of security measures meant to stop them before a robbery is committed or apprehend them after a robbery is committed. Therefore, not only will robbers rationally chose to prey upon women because of their perceived vulnerable state, but will rationally pick an area close to their home because this increases their chances of successfully victimizing women and decreases their chances of being caught.

The various characteristics associated with rapists may also play a factor in their decision making process of when and where to rape their victims. Research has shown that older and more experienced rapists travel further distances to commit their crimes, whereas more inexperienced, younger rapists stay closer to their homes (Warren et al., 1998). Either way, when women are raped in public locations such as shopping centers, they potentially are at risk of being victimized by an experienced or inexperienced rapist. The only difference is that the likelihood of apprehension may be greater for the inexperienced rapist than the experienced rapist because of the propinquity to where the rape occurred. It is important to keep in mind that some criminals may be easier to deter than others. It may seem paradoxical to suggest that deterring a serial rapist who carefully chooses his victim based on ease of access and physical characteristics, compared

to a drug-induced criminal looking to rob an individual, is easier to accomplish (Savard & Kennedy, 2014). Whatever motivations any one criminal has and the way in which they rationalize their decision making processes, women may be at a greater risk of victimization in feminine gendered spaces because they are not only seen as suitable targets but more vulnerable as well.

Rational choice theory is not without its critics, and because RAT is closely related to rational choice it can be subjected to the same criticisms. For example, the routine activities perspective is more suitable to what criminologists refer to as instrumental crimes, as opposed to expressive crimes which can be fueled by emotional rage and is usually committed with no foresight and planning. Instrumental crimes are goal oriented and often involve planning, notwithstanding any consequences that may result for an offender. Certainly, any one crime can be considered both an instrumental crime and expressive crime, depending on the context of the situation. The crime of murder is one such incident. In one context a man may carefully plan to hire a contract killer to murder his wife so he can collect an insurance policy and run off with his mistress, but in a different context a man may kill his wife in a fit of rage after he catches her in bed with her lover. The routine activities perspective could explain the former instance of murder; however, the latter case is less in line with this perspective's assumptions about the etiology of violent crime. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that individuals who occupy gendered spaces may be particularly vulnerable to goal-oriented crimes such as robbery.

RAT assumes that the perpetrator is a "reasoning criminal" who weighs the costs and benefits of committing a crime. This reasoning criminal will also take into account the surrounding environment in which he or she chooses to commit his or her crime. The context of gendered spaces and crime is particularly important because a criminal may reason that these spaces afford them certain opportunities to prey on vulnerable victims. Crime can be considered offense-specific

and offender-specific according to this perspective where the latter explains that the offender will balance the pros versus the cons of committing a crime and the former explains that the offender will evaluate his or her skills relative to the crime to be committed. If crime can be considered a rational act and an offender will therefore rationale prior to committing a crime, then efforts can be made to prevent crime from occurring by implementing security measures.

Scholars have criticized RAT and rational choice approaches on other fronts as well. For example, alcohol and drugs are involved in a significant number of crimes, and an offender's cognitive ability to rationally decide whether to engage in criminal behavior is likely compromised if he or she is under the influence of alcohol and/or drugs. If this is the case, the usefulness of rational choice theory and its theoretical premise of rational crime prevention can be questioned. Nevertheless, studies have found that burglars carefully consider their actions when planning and making decisions to burglarize a household or business. Individuals arrested for crime of burglary have indicated in interviews that they are cognizant of lighting levels, locks on doors and windows, security alarms, and potentially being seen by neighbors (Bennett, 1986; Bennett & Wright, 1984; Reppetto, 1976).

Important to rational choice theory is another perspective called situational crime prevention that researchers will utilize, along with RAT. In addition to being used by researchers, situational crime prevention is a tool adopted by security practitioners to prevent crime from occurring on a property (e.g., shopping mall or bank). The goal of situational crime prevention methods is to make it harder for a potential criminal to commit the act. This can be done in any number of ways, such as closed circuit television, lighting, roving security guards, and fencing. If the crime is instrumental in nature, it is hoped that the potential criminal will take these security measures into consideration before choosing to commit his or her crime. Clarke (1983) introduced

proposed a sort of typology that included three intervention approaches: (1) surveillance; (2) target hardening; and (3) environmental management. Surveillance can include natural surveillance such as utilizing the natural environment to prevent crime and formal surveillance by utilizing security guards to prevent crime. It is through this surveillance that increases of being observed will prevent a criminal from committing his or her crime. Target hardening refers to efforts of making it harder to commit a crime by implementing locks, fences, safes, lightning, and bars on windows. Environmental management can include paying employees with a check instead of cash so as to prevent the occurrence of robbery in a parking lot.

Situational crime prevention has also be criticized on serval fronts as well. For example, it had been argued that it is too simplistic and atheoretical. However, situational crime prevention is grounded in social psychology and influenced by the routine activity, crime pattern, and rational choice perspectives. Another criticism of situational crime prevention is that studies have not shown it to work and efforts at preventing crime make it worse because crime is displaced. This means that successful efforts at preventing a crime at one location may have the consequence of displacing it to an adjacent location. In other words, instead of a crime occurring in shopping mall parking lot, successful efforts at preventing it from occurring will only displace it to an adjacent property that is in close proximity to the shopping mall, such as an apartment complex.

There are a number of ways crime can be displaced, such as functional, territorial, tactical, temporal, and target displacement. Functional displacement can refer to a burglar who may switch their crime to a street robbery. Territorial displacement would involve an individual who chooses a different neighborhood to commit their crime. Temporal displacement would include an individual who decides to commit a crime at a different time of day or night. Target displacement involves criminals choosing a different property to target based on the greater opportunity it



presents (Repetto, 1976). Research performed by Forrester, Frenz, and Pease (1988) found that crime prevention efforts aimed at curbing burglary was offset by a 25 percent increase in burglary in adjacent areas. However, there have many studies performed that show situational crime prevention does indeed reduce crime, with no to little displacement. For example, a Scottish study found that the implementation of CCTV in two cities did not produce territorial displacement to nearby areas (Ditton & Short, 1999). Indeed, crime prevention measures coupled with RAT as a theoretical orientation need to consider the possible ethical issues associated with the crime displacement phenomenon. However, there's also something known as diffusion of benefits where crime prevention measures are diffused to nearby properties. Therefore, properties that do not have security measures in place may benefit from a nearby property that does.

As important as crime displacement may seem, it has been challenged through various research studies. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) explain that crime may not be worth the effort from the offender's point of view because trying to find alternative suitable targets could be costly in terms of time and effort and getting apprehended by law enforcement. Researches have also questioned situational crime prevention because they believe it draws attention away from the root causes of crime. However, criminologists have argued that situational crime prevention provides many benefits because of its successes in reducing crime. Other criticisms have suggested that this perspective creates an Orwellian or Big Brother atmosphere that tramples on individuals' civil liberties. Crime prevention efforts such as CCTV have been said to violate privacy while people going about their daily lives in public. Also, the efficacy of CCTV as a crime deterrent seem to bolsters claims by critics that CCTV is a violation of privacy. However, CCTV as an ex post facto criminal investigative tool and the willingness of some to people to give up certain liberties in the name of public safety assuage the dangers of an overzealous governmental state. Furthermore,

critics have claimed that situational crime prevention has a tendency to blame the victim, but proponents argue that it empowers people by informing them of the dangers of criminal victimization (Clarke, 2005).

Another related perspective associated with RAT is Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED). The tenets of CPTED can be implemented in gendered spaces, such as shopping malls and grocery stores, in an effort to prevent and deter crime from occurring. This perspective assumes that there is a symbiotic relationship between the environment and human behavior, and any alters to the environment will also alter human behavior (Newman, 1973). Newman's work on 'defensible space' served as a catalyst for future developments in CPTED. Newman explained that some environments are intrinsically criminogenic by way of their design and can be controlled by restructuring the symbiotic relationship between the built environment and human behavior (Kennedy, 1992; Muncie, 2006; Savard & Kennedy, 2013). Newman explained that there are four elements that make up defensible space: (1) territoriality; (2) natural surveillance; (3) image; and (4) milieu. Territoriality refers to the sense of ownership that individuals have for their property. In essence, if individuals have strong ties and a "psychological ownership" to their property, they are more likely to act when they see something wrong. If individuals feel this sense of psychological ownership in gendered spaces, it is hoped crime can be prevented.

Natural surveillance consists of designing the natural environment to allow people to freely overlook a property, for example, and have clear sightlines to potentially observe criminal activity. For example, a convenience store with windows that are covered with posters can prevent people on the outside, such as informal and formal guardians, from seeing within the store. Image refers to creating an atmosphere in a neighborhood that reflects an environment that is well cared for.

Natural surveillance implemented in shopping mall parking lots, for example, can potentially protect women from experiencing criminal victimization. Similar to the broken windows theory, the goal is to send a message to potential criminals that residents care about their neighborhood by addressing quality of life issues that could precipitate criminal activity. Milieu refers to placing a shopping center, for example, in an area with a low crime rate. The point is that the property will be in an environment where the three former concepts come into play to provide a defensible space. For example, in shopping mall parking lots where people encounter one another on consistent basis at all hours of the day, efficient designs of parking lots can go a long way in helping to prevent crimes. Oftentimes, large regional shopping centers have enormous parking lots to accommodate the thousands of people who patronize it every day, and consequently the design of these parking lots can create desolate environments. Even though there isn't an absolute solution to rid of such environs at large shopping malls, paying attention to landscaping, lighting, and the possible implementation of patrolling security guards can help with altering human behavior and ultimately prevent crime in a gendered space such as this.

The ideas of prospect, refuge, and escape proposed by Fisher and Nasar (1992) and critical intensity (Angel, 1968) can help with the design of parking lots and protecting visitors who occupy such spaces. As it relates to the victim, prospect refers to being able to scan a space without obstruction, refuge refers to being able to identify safe spaces in the event of a criminal attack, and escape refers to being able to exit a space in the event of a criminal attack. These concepts can easily be applied to the perpetrator of crime, especially if a victim's safety is diminished through poor parking lot design, in that prospecting allows him or her to scan a space for potential victims, refuge provides for hiding places and the element of surprise, and easy escape routes offer a means of fleeing an area uninhibited and avoiding capture. These concepts have implications for parking

lot security because if a victim is able to freely overlook a parking lot, take refuge if threatened, and ultimately flee an area, the proper implementation of security measures can aid in each one of these steps. Critical intensity tells us that when there are enough potential victims to attract a criminal but not enough potential victims or witnesses to deter a potential criminal, crime is more likely to occur (Savard and Kennedy, 2014). Indeed, understanding these concepts in the context of gendered spaces can have potential crime prevention benefits in terms of protecting patrons at malls and/or grocery stores.

Gendered spaces, such as shopping centers, can provide for the coming together of a motivated offender, suitable target and lack of a capable of guardian where the motivated offender may not be deterred because of his or her rationalizations of the number of victims and the likelihood of not be apprehended for lack of guardians. Gendered spaces can also serve as crime generators and crime attractors (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1995). Crime generators are spaces that people are attracted to, but do not have an inherent criminogenic characteristics that serve to attract people to their environs. Crime attractors are spaces that are understood to be spaces where nefarious activities occur and criminal opportunities abound. Crime generators fits well into the gendered spaces and RAT perspective because it brings people together to occupy time and space.

Strongly motivated offenders are aware of this and consequently attracted to these types of environments, such as areas that have a robust drug and prostitution market. Understanding these concepts and applying them to RAT, can go a long way in efforts of target hardening parking lots through varies security measures. Applying RAT and these concepts to the unique characteristics that some gendered spaces present in relation to predatory attacks is important for understanding crime and gendered spaces. Some gendered spaces will be more dangerous than others due to their location, history, users, and how security measures are perceived (Savard & Kennedy, 2013). For

example parking lots that attract a lot of people will include some who are criminally motivated (Brantingham et al., 1990). On any given day, it has been estimated that approximately 350 million pedestrian trips are made through parking lots. This large number coupled with poor design may contribute to criminal attacks (Crowe, 1991; Smith, 1996). Fayard (2008) conducted a study that looked at the number of workplace homicides in parking lots from 1993 to 2002. Of the workplace fatalities attributed to homicide, 9 percent took place in a parking lot. The point is that security measures implemented in a shopping center parking lot or garage can deter crime because of the situational and relationship dynamic between perpetrator and victim who are unknown to each other. However, it is important to keep in mind that some criminals may be easier to deter than others. For example, deterring a serial rapist who carefully chooses his victim based on ease of access and physical characteristics, compared to a drug-induced criminal looking to rob an individual, may be easier to accomplish (Savard & Kennedy, 2014). There are also potential issues associated with RAT and situational crime prevention, besides not being able to prevent a criminal who's not in a state of mind to rationalize before committing a crime.

Security guards at shopping centers must concern themselves with many duties, such as watching for pedophiles around arcades and fights in the food court, assisting merchants detaining a shoplifter, providing extra-duty services for special events, recognizing problems generated by late night movie theaters, and handling young loiterers. Fire protection and slip and fall safety concerns are within the purview of corporate security responsibilities too. In recent years, the scope of security efforts at shopping centers has moved beyond preventing ordinary crimes.

Since the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, security efforts have been expanding to prevent, respond, and address concerns about terrorism (LaTourrette et al., 2006; Rigakos et al., 2009). A British study found that 61 % of shoppers entertained the possibility of a terrorist attack,

38 % stated they were concerned about a bomb exploding while shopping, and an additional 12 % stated they altered their shopping behavior fearing a terrorist attack (Beck and Willis, 1993). Even though this study was performed 12 years prior to the July 7, 2005 coordinated bombings of London's public transportation system, shoppers still feared terrorist attacks in spaces frequented by the public.

Reliable research that addresses shopping center crime is scant, but there are a handful of studies focusing on these issues. For example, a British study found the reported victimization rate at shopping centers was much less than respondents' fear of victimization. Ramsay (1990) found 2 percent of shoppers indicated they were assaulted and 3 % indicated they had been robbed. However, 50 % of respondents feared being assaulted and 59 % feared being robbed. Another British study by Phillips and Cochran (1988) found that during a four week period, security personnel recorded 68 incidents that were categorized as criminal offenses. There were 44 incidents of theft, such as shoplifting and vehicle burglaries. There were also 11 incidents of vandalism, six incidents of indecency, four incidents of fraud, two of robbery, and one assault. In another British study, Poole (1991) interviewed 255 woman shoppers at shopping center and city-center locations and found that approximately 10 % had personal property stolen and 9 percent had their vehicle broken into or stolen. An additional 9 % of woman shoppers stated they carried a protective device, which indicates they had a fear of potential criminal victimization. In a North American study, Poole (1994) found that security personnel were mostly concerned with shoplifting.

## **CHAPTER 4 PUBLIC LOCATIONS, CIVIL LIABILITY, AND VICTIMS OF CRIME**

Crime occurring in the public sphere not only has implications for the victims, but also for merchants that control the property on which the crime took place. Premises liability for negligent security claims have increased in numbers and is now one of the leading civil claims being brought by plaintiff attorneys in effort to seek recourse for victims (Kaminsky, 2001). With the influx of mass private properties being operated and managed by large corporate entities, more people than ever are congregating together in areas in large numbers with the potential for violence being a reality. In recent years, the United States has seen its share of violence occurring at mass private properties such as the destructive and devastating 1993 and 2001 attacks on New York City's World Trade Center towers to the mass shooting of innocents at a movie theater in Aurora, Colorado. Violence in the workplace and other public locations such as banks and shopping centers have also served as sites where women's and men's victimization rates approach equal rates rather than diverging from one another (Savard & Kennedy, 2013; Savard & Kennedy, 2014). Notwithstanding the tragic loss of life and casualties involved in events such as these, a consequence of such violence has led to civil torts being brought against those responsible for safeguarding each respective property. Premises liability for negligent security coupled with the explosion of mass private properties have made private security a relevant issue of study in criminology, criminal justice, and law studies as it relates to public safety. Given that women are starting to become a greater portion of crime victims, security managers need to recognize that properties they manage may be considered gendered spaces where women are vulnerable to criminal attack.

For the most part, sociologists and criminologists have until quite recently paid very little attention to the field of private and corporate security. Most of the research activity has focused

on public justice and public police (Shearing & Stenning, 1987). Commensurately, they have done very little evaluation research into what constitutes effective private security measures (Sherman, 1984). Therefore, if a given security practice seems only superficially valid on its face, it will often become a standard against which juries will be asked to measure a landowner's security efforts, even if there is no empirical scientific evidence to prove that the practice is an effective crime deterrent.

In fact, that research which actually is conducted suggests that some "common sense" security measures can often be "non-sense" security measures. In other words, some security practices which experts argue should have been in place in order to prevent a crime may not really have made a difference. This is not to say that the security measures to be discussed herein are useless and do not work most of the time. As the defendant in premises liability for negligent security litigation, the landowner is generally charged with failure to implement security measures which should have been in place given the level of foreseeability of criminal attack. Some of the more common crime preventive measures include lighting, closed-circuit television (CCTV), and security officer patrols. Within reason, the implementation of these security measures in gendered spaces could play a role in deterring crime.

The average citizen tends to think light is a good thing. If a neighborhood seems scary at night, the city should put up more streetlights. If crimes have occurred in a dark parking lot, lighting levels must be doubled. In short, there is a general belief that lighting deters crime. Unfortunately, controlled empirical research does not conclusively support the notion that lighting deters crime. Common sense also tells us that many crimes occur in broad daylight. A review of 103 street lighting projects by Tien, O'Donnell, Barnett, and Mirchandani (1979) show that lighting sometimes reduces crime in a neighborhood, and sometimes it does not. Sometimes just



property crimes are reduced; sometimes only crimes against the person are reduced. At other times, neither type of crime is reduced. Perhaps the real answer lies in the notion of observability. It is probable the criminal does not care so much about lighting levels per se but cares more about if you can be seen, identified, and caught. All the lighting in the world may not deter criminals if they believe there is no way this lighting can be utilized against them. If nobody could see them anyway, as a matter of light shines upon their face? This isn't a suggestion that there be a call for darkness, only that light is not the panacea. Remember, too, that aside from costs, many communities have ordinances against light trespass or spillover. Even if many properties wanted to maximize their lighting levels, they may be unable to do so politically, if not economically.

The explosion of modern technology has made CCTV both familiar and available to most landowners and the police for public safety measures. CCTV has been widely adopted for security purposes and is a familiar sight at many banks, shopping centers, grocery stores, and bars. As with lighting, the assumption is that criminals do not want to be seen, much less recorded, and will avoid committing their crimes under the surveillance of a CCTV system. As with lighting, however, the corresponding reality may be somewhat different. In a study of 236 banks, Hannan (1982) found no evidence that the installation of cameras had any value as a deterrent to bank robbery. In another study, 181 armed robbers in five state prisons were interviewed to determine what makes a target attractive or unattractive to rob. Robbers attached little deterrent effect to security hardware. Cameras, alarms, and video systems were ranked as the least important factors to robbers in selecting targets. The amount of money available and the existence of an escape route were much more important (Crow, Erickson, & Scott, 1987). Aside from considering the studies questioning the absolute value of CCTV, the security manager and law enforcement has other problems with the use of CCTV. Unless the monitors are regularly watched, of course, CCTV

loses some of its value. Viewers may have a tendency to be distracted or fall asleep and should be rotated every two hours or so. Viewing CCTV monitors can prove operationally difficult, particularly for a security precaution whose efficacy has been challenged as in the above studies. Security management must also consider the privacy concerns of their guests and customers. As is true with other security measures, however, CCTV is not to be considered a panacea for crime.

Random, visible, preventive patrol has been a mainstay of American policing for many years. Police chiefs and citizens alike have believed that a continuing police presence in a community will either deter a crime from occurring or allow for immediate police intervention if a crime is being committed. These assumptions about the value of preventive patrol were put to the test during 1972-1973. In a classic police foundation study conducted in Kansas City, Missouri, various parts of the city were assigned to one of three patrol categories. In one category, neighborhoods received standard patrol coverage. In the second category, neighborhoods received virtually no patrol coverage. In the third category of cities, patrol coverage was doubled. Statistical evaluation at the end of the year revealed that crime levels and citizen fear of crime remained about the same for all three patrol categories. In other words, please patrol levels had no impact on crime or citizen attitudes (Kelling, Pate, Dieckman, & Brown, 1974).

Even if a neighborhood is patrolled on an hourly basis, officers may only be visible to a stationary criminal for one out of 60 minutes. If a robbery or burglary can be committed within two or three minutes, the odds are against a patrolling police officer being within the line of sight at the time of commission. In actuality, police officers are involved in "on view" crimes in only about 10% of their law enforcement activities (Reiss, 1971). In almost 90% of their cases, they are called to the scene of a crime by concerned citizens. They do not "just happen" upon these crimes as a function of random, preventive patrol. All things being equal, it is difficult to argue

that the patrolling security officer would have been present in any given area and thus able to stop a crime from being committed.

The use of lighting, CCTV, and security officer patrols for crime prevention purposes is widespread in modern America. Although “common sense” may suggest to the average citizen that such precautions are universally effective, empirical research does not always support these assumptions. In fact, the limited research data available suggest that, under certain conditions, common crime prevention precautions may have done little to prevent criminal attack. The key for criminal justice and private security practitioners is to identify each expected benefit realistically to be derived from any crime prevention measure given the particular situation. Under increased scrutiny, it is possible that several of these security measures can be improved for protecting women and men in gendered spaces.

Just as gendered spaces vary, so too do their security operations. A small strip mall may offer little more than a clean, crisp, well-maintained physical environment to display a strong managerial interest in safe, peaceful operations. A large regional mall, however, may maintain a fully staffed in-house or contract contingent of security personnel supported by marked vehicles, CCTV, moonlighting sworn police officers, electronic guard tour recording systems, and more. The point here is that in-house or contract security programs must be tailored to fit unique requirements of each property. Shopping centers and grocery stores may draw customers from different socioeconomic populations, be located in diverse neighborhoods, have a different overall tenant mix and have previously experienced various security and safety incidents. Accordingly, potential measures used to secure these properties will vary. Nevertheless, some general observations about elements commonly encountered at regional malls and grocery stores, which

probably constitute the sort of facility most shoppers think of when contemplating “a day at the mall” or places where people generally shop for food.

Once again, a given mall’s security program should be designed for the unique needs of governing through corporate security at that particular mall. Mall management is responsible for all common areas, up to the merchant’s lease line. Individual retailers are responsible for security and safety within their own walls and leave the security of all corridors, service hallways, and parking areas to the mall’s security department. Mall security may be proprietary in nature (direct employees of the mall itself) or may consist mostly of contracted private security guards. The backbone of any security program, however, is the mall security officer who patrols common area corridors and parking facilities.

The security officer is expected to respond to shopper inquiries and needs, respond to security incidents, and watch for safety issues such as spills that could lead to ‘slip and fall’ conditions. Mall security may also respond to security incidents within a retailer’s premises, although many large retailers or anchor stores in malls have their own security personnel. Mall security officers (in the US) are licensed and trained according to state law; however, many security personnel have undergone advanced and in-service training that generally exceeds state requirements.

Although no widely applicable standards require enclosed malls or grocery stores to deploy CCTV, more and more properties use cameras to record incidents, monitor problem and accident-prone areas and capture emergency situations once they become known to command center operators. The effectiveness of CCTV in deterring crime is by no means established (Taylor, 2010). While there is no doubt security officers can effectively diffuse or otherwise deal with crime and conflict situations, their ability to deter crime by random patrol alone remains unsubstantiated,

a situation which, unfortunately, is true for the public police in the community surrounding the mall itself too (Lee et al., 1999; Telep and Weisburd, 2012; Savard and Kennedy, 2014).

Notwithstanding the challenges described above, security measures such as lighting, CCTV, and security patrols can help in preventing crime in gendered spaces. CCTV that is built into the security plan at a bank can help identify a suspect who robbed a female bank teller. It is important to understand that the likely utility of CCTV is in its ability to apprehend a suspect after the fact. In other words, it's not so much that CCTV is going to prevent a person from robbing a woman at a bank, but rather help assist police and security in their investigations. Proper lighting in parking lots and garages connected to gendered spaces can create a sense of safety and signal to potential offenders that they may risk being observed while committing a crime. Security guards who conduct random patrols of gendered spaces can act as a crime deterrent, but it also must be kept in mind that their ability to deter crime has not been substantiated through empirical research.

### **Summary**

Annually, eclectic crowds of hundreds of millions of patrons are attracted to gendered spaces such as shopping centers and grocery stores. The location and structure of a gendered space and the patrons that it serves can also attract a diverse grouping of potential criminals. With the creation and growth of gendered spaces, crime at these locales has unfortunately started to become more common. Adding to the complex nature of this problem is the existence of different types of gendered spaces noted earlier. With these different gendered spaces, security personnel are challenged in ways that have to evolve in line with the ever changing characteristics of gendered spaces. Depending on a gendered spaces' tenants, clientele, and surrounding area, security managers have had to tailor security planning needs. Given the changing nature of civil liability over past decades, large retail corporations responsible for safeguarding gendered spaces have had

to refine their management styles to include proprietary, contract, and hybrid security. Notwithstanding the implementation of such security services, corporations are frequently held accountable for criminal incidents on their properties. Responsible landholders should adopt prevention techniques responsive to crime foreseeability at a given property and implement standard security practices designed to reduce crime risks to customers and employees in gendered spaces (Savard & Kennedy, 2013). In order to better understand how the gendered nature of locations in society shapes criminal victimization dynamics for men and women this research investigates the following four research questions. Are women more likely than men to be victimized in gendered spaces that are characterized as feminine in nature? If so, are they more likely than men to be victimized by both a known and unknown offender? Are men more likely than women to be victimized in gendered spaces that are characterized as masculine in nature? If so, are they more likely than women to be victimized by both a known and unknown offender?

## **CHAPTER 5 DATA AND RESEARCH METHODS**

The present study will use data from the NIBRS for the year 2012 obtained from the National Archive of Criminal Justice Data. NIBRS extract files consist of the six merged segment levels: (1) administrative data; (2) offense data; (3) property data; (4) victim data; (5) offender data; and (6) arrestee data. NIBRS data consists of crime data collected by various law enforcement agencies across the United States, and is ultimately collated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Unlike the Uniform Crime Reporting System (UCR) which collects data at the aggregate level, the NIBRS collects incident-level data. Furthermore, the NIBRS expands the level of collection by including 46 Group A Offenses, whereas the level of collection by the UCR only includes eight Index offenses (Addington, 2007). A major advantage of the NIBRS is that the victim type is identified (i.e., individual or business) and victims' demographic information is also collected. The location of where the incident occurred is also collected in the NIBRS. For example, one can determine if the incident occurred at a bank, shopping center, grocery store, or residential home. The NIBRS system improves upon the UCR because it eliminates the hierarchy rule where only the most serious offense is counted when multiple offenses occur in a single incident because a total of ten offenses are collected for one incident. However, this will not be relevant in my study because I will only be looking at single incidents.

The NIBRS is not without its limitations because it provides limited coverage and consequently is not representative of all police departments across the United States. As of 2012, 6,115 law enforcement agencies submitted their crime data using the NIBRS, and the population covered was 90,290,162. Therefore, 30 percent of the population in the United States was covered by the NIBRS (FBI, 2012). Even though all issues associated with generalizability will not be able to be solved, the Bureau of Justice Statistics has encouraged law enforcement agencies to shift

their crime collection and reporting to the NIBRS by providing both technical and financial support, but smaller policing agencies as opposed to larger ones have been more willing and able to shift their crime reporting practices (Maxfield & Babbie, 2005). For example, large police agencies like the New York City Police Department that already have well-developed crime management systems might have a more difficult time meeting the requirements for participating in the NIBRS.

Therefore, NIBRS data has been criticized for having a “small agency bias” (Addington, 2009). Furthermore, it was mentioned above that the NIBRS improves upon the UCR by eliminating the Hierarchy Rule, but problems associated with unreported crime or the “dark figure of crime” remain an issue for the NIBRS. Indeed, crime is brought to the attention of the police in two ways, either they observe it themselves or it is brought to their attention by the citizenry. Consequently, issues of validity and reliability can pose as a problem for crime data that is relied on being reported by law enforcement agencies. Even with these limitations, researchers are starting to utilize and analyze NIBRS data in their research (Tillyer & Tillyer, 2014). In fact, the entire June 1999 issue of the *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* was devoted to the use and examination of NIBRS data. The NIBRS is an ideal dataset for this research project because it allows for the examination of data at the incident-level such as the occurrence of specific crimes in specific locations. Because a major unit of analysis in this research project is location, NIBRS data allows for the identification of locations that can be deemed gendered spaces in society.

The purpose for conducting this project is to analyze data of simple assaults, aggravated assaults, robberies, sexual assaults, and kidnappings that occur in gendered locations. A major goal of this study is to examine if the gendered locations are related to the gender gap in crime. For example, there were 585,432 simple assaults, 128,766 aggravated assaults, 53,471 robberies,



65,307 sexual assaults, and 11,395 kidnappings reported in the 2012 NIBRS data. Of these numbers, females represented 62.7% of simple assault victims, 43.6% of aggravated assault victims, 30.1% of robbery victims, 86% of sexual assault victims, and 80.4% of kidnapping victims. Notwithstanding simple assaults sexual assaults, and kidnappings, more men than women were aggravated assault and robbery victims. This research project will hypothesize that the gender gap we see in the above crimes will decrease when examined in the context of gendered spaces. Gendered spaces are spaces in society that are designated for men and women.

## **Measures**

### *Dependent Variable*

All of the variables in the study will include a series of dummy variables. The data in this study are at the incident level and each case represents a criminal incident. Gender will represent the one dependent variable in this study. Gender will be coded as a dummy variable where 0 equals an individual that was not a female and 1 equals an individual that was a female. 52.2 percent of sample consists of female victims and males make up 47.8 percent of the sample who have been victimized.

### *Independent Variables*

Target suitability will be operationalized using the victim's age and time of day. An offender who is searching for a suitable target may select his or her target based upon the perceived age of the potential victim. However, it may not be that an offender chooses his or her target based on vulnerability, but rather availability because individuals between the ages of 15-55 are exposed to greater risks because of their routine activities (Messner & Tardiff, 1985; Pizarro, Zgoba, & Jennings, 2011). Research has shown that individuals between the ages of 15 and 55 are more likely to travel outside of their home and consequently increase their likelihood of criminal

victimization (Messner & Tardiff, 1985). I am using age as a dichotomous variable to operationalize target suitability because other studies have focused on the mobility of potential victims between the ages of 15-55 (Drawve, Thomas, & Walker, 2014). Therefore, individuals between ages 15-55 are coded as 1 and all other ages will be coded as 0. Victims between the ages of 15 to 17 were included in the sample because it is conceivable that this group is likely to visit shopping centers. Of course, this age group will not represent victims in banks and bars because they are under legal working age and drinking age, but they were deemed important enough to include in the sample because they also represent an age group that patronizes shopping centers. Nicholls, Li, Kranendonk, and Roslow (2002) report that the average shopper at a shopping mall is more likely to be a woman who is 35 years of age and younger. 56 percent of the sample is made up of victims who are between the ages of 15 and 55. Furthermore, individuals in this age range are more likely to venture outside of their home environment and travel to both familiar and unfamiliar locations that increase their risk of victimization, such as parking lots located at shopping malls. Understanding the unique characteristics that some parking lots present in relation to predatory attacks is important when considering the routine activities of individuals. Some parking lots will be more dangerous than others due to their location, history, users, and how security measures are perceived (Kennedy, 2013); regardless of these characteristics, a parking lot that attracts a lot of people will include some who are criminally motivated (Brantingham et al., 1990).

Time of day was coded into two separate dummy variables: 7 a.m. to 3 p.m. and 4 p.m. to 11 p.m. The reference category will be 12 a.m. to 6 a.m. Time and the types of routine activities that occur in particular locations are connected in such a way that time of day and victimization may provide as a good indicator of target suitability (Drawve, Thomas, & Walker, 2014). For

example, it can be assumed crimes that occur at banks and shopping centers will take place during working hours and the evening because these are times in which people work at either location or patronize them for the services they provide. People are generally outside of their homes during these hours and more active in public spaces. However, because people tend to occupy public spaces more at this time of the day and evening, there should be more capable guardians in place to reduce the target suitability of a potential victim. Indeed, informal guardians in mall parking lots may be a more effective guardians than a security guard because of the sheer number of people who walk in and out of malls during the day and evening hours. 24.7 percent of the robberies occurred between 7 a.m. and 3 p.m. Approximately 43 percent of the sexual assaults occurred between 7 a.m. and 3 p.m. Approximately .2 percent of the kidnappings occurred between 7 a.m. and 3 p.m. 27 percent of the aggravated assaults occurred between 7 a.m. and 3 p.m. 32 percent of the simple assaults occurred between 7 a.m. and 3 p.m. Approximately 50 percent of the robberies occurred between 4 p.m. and 11 p.m. Approximately 33 percent of the sexual assaults occurred between 4 p.m. and 11 p.m. .3 percent of the kidnappings occurred between 4 p.m. and 11 p.m. Approximately 47 percent of the aggravated assaults occurred between 4 p.m. and 11 p.m. 46.5 percent of the simple assaults occurred between 4 p.m. and 11 p.m.

Perceptions that a victim or a law enforcement officer have regarding if an offender was using alcohol and/or drugs will be used to operationalize offender motivation. Alcohol and/or drugs that are used by an offender may limit any rational thinking in terms of deciding whether to rob an individual in a mall parking lot in the presence of formal and informal guardians. Even though empirical studies have questioned the efficacy of CCTV in terms of deterring crime (Welsh & Farrington, 2003; Ratcliffe, 2006), inebriated offenders' situational awareness may be diminished because of the psycho-pharmacological effects alcohol or drugs have on their ability

to notice security measures put in place to observe their acts (Goldstein, 1985). For example, robbers identified as either professional robbers, opportunistic robbers, addict robbers, or alcoholic robbers in terms of their state of mind and motivation to rob can have consequences on their evaluations of choosing suitable targets. It might be expected that addict robbers and alcoholic robbers would be more likely to commit their crimes in mall and grocery store parking lots and locations immediately adjacent to bars. Banks, on the other hand, may be targeted by professional and opportunistic robbers because robbing banks takes some planning, however crudely, and rational thinking when committing the robbery. Nevertheless, it is predicted that offenders who are under the influence of alcohol or drugs will be more likely to commit crimes against women. It may be that an offender's ability to evaluate security measures in public locations (e.g., shopping malls, grocery stores, banks, and bars) is compromised by his or her inebriated state, thus resulting in miscalculations of target suitability and guardianship. There are two indicators in NIBRS that show if an offender was using alcohol or drugs at the time of the offense, but I will follow the lead of Drawve, Thomas, and Walker (2014) and combine the two. The offender was reported to have been using alcohol and/or drugs in 11 percent of the incidents.

Guardianship will be operationalized using one indicator, where the incident took place. NIBRS provides a comprehensive list of locations where criminal events took place. These data include a variety of locations such as parking lots or garages, street, field, places of worship, high schools, and government buildings. However, not all of the locations in NIBRS can be readily operationalized as gendered spaces. There were five locations identified in the data as gendered spaces: grocery stores, shopping centers, banks, and bars. It is predicted that women will be more likely to be victimized at grocery stores, shopping centers, and banks because of the gendered nature of these locations. Conversely, men will be more likely to be victimized at bars. Location

will include five dummy variables: bank (0 = No, 1 = Yes), grocery store (0 = No, 1 = Yes), shopping center (0 = No, 1 = Yes), and bar (0 = No, 1 = Yes). As was mentioned above, a gendered space is considered feminine or masculine based on the types of behaviors that occur there. It was determined that the types of behaviors that occur at each of these locations fit into either feminine or masculine behaviors. Bars, for example, are often filled with a high number of young males who are drinking, and challenges to masculinity can result in disputes and fights. Because of the masculine nature of behaviors that occur in bars, young men engaging in fights and trying to win the attention of young women qualifies as a masculine space. Alcohol often relaxes inhibitions and inebriated males will often engage in aggressive behaviors they otherwise would not engage in. A young man may try to restore justice by pushing or hitting another young man who made a pass at his girlfriend. And yet another young man might try to “save face” or self-image in a similar circumstance. Bars are also places in which large groups of young males congregate. This can present as a problem because groups of different males can clash with one another because of perceived rivalries or fighting for the attention of female patrons. Again, certain spaces are gendered based on the types of behaviors occurring there, but this does not preclude women from patronizing bars. However, feminine behaviors expressed by women may be neutralized by masculine behaviors performed by males and the masculine atmosphere of bars. An inequality may exist between masculine behaviors and feminine behaviors performed in bars where masculine behaviors are deemed more important, especially when it comes to fighting. This inequality is present when groups of young men fight over women. For example, one group may have access to more resources in the form of fighters compared to another group and exploit this advantage to gain access to women. Secondly, the masculine behaviors that were used to gain access to the women may be viewed as superior to any feminine behaviors exhibited by the young

women during the conflict, thereby giving the young men a sense of ownership over them. This hegemonic masculinity explains how men's social position in bars as it relates to their masculine behaviors relegates women to a subordinate social position as it relates to their feminine behaviors (Connell, 2005). Furthermore, the heteronormativity associated with masculine behaviors exhibited by young men in bars promotes heterosexuality as "normal" compared to homosexuality. Consequently, men can justify exhibiting power and control over women because of their heteronormative beliefs regarding their own sexual orientation and how it is considered superior to differing sexual orientations and identities. Finally, the gendered nature of domestic duties in the home and the extension of these duties to grocery stores, shopping malls, and banks make it more likely women will be victimized at higher rates in these locations compared to men.

There will be a number of control variables in the study, along with a number of interactions. The victim's race will be a control measure by using two dummy variables, black and other race, with white victims serving as the reference category. Blacks represented 31 percent and whites made up 68 percent of the victims in the data. The relationship that the victim has with the perpetrator will include three dummy variables: stranger, intimate partner, and other known. The reference category will be other family. The offender's characteristics will be measured by using three dummy variables: male offender, black offender, and other offender. The reference category will be white offender. There will be a total of five crimes that will be examined in this study: simple assault (0 = No, 1 = Yes), aggravated assault (0 = No, 1 = Yes), robbery (0 = No, 1 = Yes), sexual assault (0 = No, 1 = Yes), and kidnapping (0 = No, 1 = Yes). There were a total of four values that will be used to constitute the sexual assault variable. These four values will include "Forcible Rape," "Forcible Sodomy," "Sexual Assault With An Object," and "Forcible Fondling." Finally, there will be a number of interaction terms that will include an interaction between each

of the location variables and each of the crime types. In addition to this, interaction effects will also be examined for location, crime type, and the relationship between the victim and perpetrator (e.g., stranger and intimate partner).

The hypotheses in this study will primarily be based on the following variables: location, crime type, and relationship to offender, and offender gender. Specifically I test the following hypotheses:

H1a-c: Females will be more likely to be victimized in a) bank b) shopping center c) grocery store compared to a bar.

H2a-c: Females will be more likely to be victimized in a) bank b) shopping center c) grocery store compared to another location.

H3a-c: Females will be more likely to be the victim of a sexual assault in a) bank b) shopping center c) grocery store compared to a bar.

H4a-c: Females will be more likely to be the victim of a sexual assault in a) bank b) shopping center c) grocery store compared to another location.

H5a-c: Females will be more likely to be the victim of a kidnapping in a) bank b) shopping center c) grocery store compared to a bar.

H6a-c: Females will be more likely to be the victim of a kidnapping in a) bank b) shopping center c) grocery store compared to another location.

H7a-c: Females will be more likely to be the victim of a simple assault in a) bank b) shopping center c) grocery store compared to a bar.

H8a-c: Females will be more likely to be the victim of a simple assault in a) bank b) shopping center c) grocery store compared to another location.

H9a-c: Females will be more likely to be the victim of an aggravated assault in a) bank b) shopping center c) grocery store compared to a bar.

H10a-c: Females will be more likely to be the victim of an aggravated assault in a) bank b) shopping center c) grocery store compared to another location.

H11a-c: Females will be more likely to be the victim of a robbery in a) bank b) shopping center c) grocery store compared to a bar.

H12a-c: Females will be more likely to be the victim of a robbery in a) bank b) shopping center c) grocery store compared to another location.

H13a-c: Females will be more likely to be the victim of a stranger in a) bank b) shopping center c) grocery store compared to a bar.

H14a-c: Females will be more likely to be the victim of a stranger in a) bank b) shopping center c) grocery store compared to another location.

H15a-c: Females will be more likely to be the victim of an intimate partner in a) bank b) shopping center c) grocery store compared to a bar.

H16a-c: Females will be more likely to be the victim of an intimate partner in a) bank b) shopping center c) grocery store compared to another location.

H17a-c: Females will be more likely to be the victim of an other known in a) bank b) shopping center c) grocery store compared to a bar.



H18a-c: Females will be more likely to be the victim of an other known in a) bank b) shopping center c) grocery store compared to another location.

H19a-c: Females will be more likely to be the victim of a male offender in a) bank b) shopping center c) grocery store compared to a bar.

H20a-c: Females will be more likely to be the victim of a male offender crimes in a) bank b) shopping center c) grocery store compared to another location.

Logistic regression will be the statistical technique utilized in the research project. According to DeMaris (1995), logistic regression is the preferred statistical technique when dependent variables are categorical in nature. As was described above, the dependent variable in this study is dichotomous. Because the dependent variable is comprised of two categories, the quantitative data will be analyzed using logistic regression. In general, logistic regression is a more appropriate statistical technique to use when the dependent variable is dichotomous. On the other hand, the ordinary least-squares (OLS) regression statistical technique is more appropriate to use when the dependent variable is continuous. Using OLS to predict probabilities of a dichotomous or binary variable can be problematic because predicted probabilities in the OLS model can result in values that are less than 0 and greater than 1. Therefore, because probabilities are “bounded” by 0 and 1.0 and can never be less than 0 or greater than 1.0, the OLS model would be inappropriate to use when dealing with categorical or binary variables.

## CHAPTER 6 FINDINGS

Table 1: Means and Standard Deviations for All Study Variables

	Percentage	N
<b>Dependent Variable</b>		
Female	51%	243,096
<b>Independent Variables</b>		
<i>Target Suitability</i>		
15-55 (victim age) <sup>a</sup>	83%	243,096
7 a.m. to 3 p.m. (time of day) <sup>b</sup>	40%	243,096
4 p.m. to 11 p.m. (time of day) <sup>b</sup>	41%	243,096
<i>Offender Motivation</i>		
Alcohol and drug use <sup>c</sup>	11%	243,096
<i>Guardianship</i>		
Bank <sup>d</sup>	.30%	243,096
Shopping center <sup>d</sup>	1.80%	243,096
Grocery store <sup>d</sup>	1.02%	243,096
Bar <sup>d</sup>	5.30%	243,096
<b>Controls</b>		
Simple assault	58%	243,096
Aggravated assault	13%	243,096
Sexual assault	4%	243,096
Robbery	7%	243,096
Kidnapping	1%	243,096
White victim	68%	243,096
Black victim	31%	243,096
Intimate partner	19%	243,096
Other known	33%	243,096
Stranger	23%	243,096
Male offender	76%	243,096
White offender	57%	243,096
Black offender	41%	243,096

a: Reference Category is >55 years old; b: Reference category is 11:01 p.m. to 6:59 a.m.; c: Reference Category is non-alcohol and drug use; d: Reference Category is other location

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics for the study variables. Interestingly, over half of the crime victims in the study were women. It might be expected that men would have a higher percentage of criminal victimization in the dataset based on ideas of victimization and who is more likely to be victimized, but the 2012 NIBRS reports that more women than men are victims of crime. However, it is important to point out that men are still more likely to suffer violent acts of crime, such as robbery and aggravated assaults. Another possible reason for this disparity in crime victimization rates is that the NIBRS is a different measure of crime in that it reports on more different types of crime when compared to the UCR, so this might serve as an explanation as to more women are victims of crime in the 2012 NIBRS. In other words, the NIBRS reports crimes such as purse snatchings and because one might expect women to suffer purse snatchings at higher rates when compared to men, crime victim disparity rates in the NIBRS might also be expected.

The variables measuring target suitability includes victim's age, the time of day in which the crime occurred, and if the offender was perceived to have been under the influence of alcohol and/or drugs. A not insignificant number of crimes were perpetrated against individuals between the ages of 15-55. Specifically, 83% of crime victims were between 18-55 years of age. This is not a surprising finding because this age category is more likely to visit places outside of the home when compared to other age categories. Also, it may be that people 15-55 years of age are more likely to travel outside of the home alone when they visit places such as grocery stores and banks. In other words, because they are away from the home and can find themselves alone in parking lots and garages that are connected to large regional shopping malls, criminals may view them as suitability targets because there is nobody to protect them from criminal victimization. Also, criminals may view women particularly as suitable targets not just because they are alone when visiting places outside of the home, but because they are seen as more vulnerable and therefore

unable to thwart any predatory attacks, such as a sexual assault. 40% of the crime victimizations occurred from 7 a.m. to 3 p.m. and 4 p.m. to 11 p.m., respectively. In general, people tend to be more active during these hours and accomplish their routine and leisure daily and nightly activities during these hours. Therefore, there may be more suitable targets available to criminals during these hours compared to other time periods; especially at places of business, such as shopping malls, grocery stores, and banks.

When considering the motivation of the offender, a relatively small percentage of offenders were perceived to have been under the influence of alcohol and/or drugs. Because criminals can be viewed as weighing the benefits of committing a crime relative to the consequences, offenders may reason that being intoxicated when perpetrating a crime will inhibit their ability to successfully perpetrate the crime and consequently increase their chances of apprehension. Also, when engaging in instrumental crimes such as robbery in public locations where security measures may be present in the form of security guards and CCTV, criminals may reason that being high and/or drunk during a robbery will hamper their ability to accomplish the goal of the crime which is to acquire ill-gotten gains. When considering the nexus between drugs and crime, the economic benefits outweigh the psychopharmacological effects. In other words, robbing an individual while not intoxicated to acquire drugs rather than robbing someone simply because of the psychological effects of drugs is the likely outcome for offenders when trying to score their next fix.

The locations used in the present study to measure guardianship had a relatively low base rate. Starting from lowest to highest, .30% of crimes occurred at banks, 1.02% of crimes occurred at grocery stores, 1.80% of crimes occurred at shopping malls, and 5.30% of crimes occurred at bars. The low base rate of crimes at banks, grocery stores, and shopping malls may partly be explained in that these locations are considered crime attractors. In other words, offenders are

attracted to them to commit crime because they know there is a pool of suitable targets available. However, as is shown above, this does not mean these types of locations are susceptible to high rates of crime. The nature of these locations may attract crime but they do not generate crime because they are places of business where inherently risky behaviors are not performed. Bars, on the other hand, accounted for 5.30% of crimes. Notwithstanding this low base rate of crime, bars are locations that can be considered crime generators because the behaviors that occur therein may be inherently criminogenic. Drinking coupled with fighting and otherwise rowdy behavior can create a toxic environment conducive for fighting. Certainly, not all bars are the same where some are more dangerous than others, but the same risks associated with drinking are omnipresent no matter if a bar is considered “high class” or “low class.” Furthermore, conjectures can be made about bars by describing them as risky facilities as it relates to confrontations violent in nature and drunken behaviors which occur in and around them.

There are a number of control variables in the study, such as crime type, victim’s race, relationship between victim and perpetrator, and offender’s gender and race. Five crime types were chosen to be included in the study. Murder, however, was not included in the study because so few murders occurred in the public locations, such as shopping malls and grocery stores. Therefore, when murder was initially included in the various statistical models, odds ratios in the thousands were produced for murder. This is obviously very problematic so it was decided to omit murder from the study variables. The first crime type, simple assault, consisted of 58% of the total amount of crime. 13% of the sample included aggravated assaults, 7% of the sample included robberies, 4% of the sample included sexual assaults, and kidnapping made up only 1% of the sample. When looking at victim’s race, 68% of the crime victims in the study were white and 31% of the sample consisted of black victims. Regarding the nature of the relationship between the

victim and perpetrator, 33% of the sample were victimized by an other known (e.g., acquaintance), 23% were victimized by a stranger, and 19% were victimized by an intimate partner. Finally, 76% of the sample were male offenders, 57% were white offenders, and 41% were black offenders.

Table 2: Odds Ratios of Logistic Regression Predicting Female Victimization

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
<i>Age of Victim (0 = 56+)</i>				
15-55	1.48*	1.48*	1.48*	1.46*
	(.046)	(.012)	(.012)	(.012)
<i>Time of Crime (0 = 12 a.m. to 6 a.m.)</i>				
7 a.m. to 3 p.m.	1.05*	1.05*	1.05*	1.06*
	(.014)	(.014)	(.014)	(.014)
4 p.m. to 11 p.m.	1.01	1.01	1.01	1.01
	(.013)	(.013)	(.013)	(.013)
<i>Offender Alcohol and Drug Use (0 = no drug and alcohol use)</i>				
Alcohol and drug use	.879*	.878*	.879*	.878*
	(.016)	(.016)	(.016)	(.016)
<i>Location of Crime (0 = other location)</i>				
Bank	2.36*	2.67*	2.04*	1.67*
	(.084)	(.147)	(.171)	(.184)
Shopping Center	1.60*	1.74*	1.46*	1.79*
	(.035)	(.064)	(.066)	(.063)
Grocery Store	1.29*	1.26*	1.13	1.28*
	(.045)	(.081)	(.088)	(.087)
Bar	.980	.841*	1.01	1.83*
	(.022)	(.071)	(.047)	(.040)
<i>Race of Victim (0 = other race)</i>				
White	.874*	.874*	.876*	.873*
	(.037)	(.037)	(.037)	(.037)
Black	.925*	.926*	.928*	.925*
	(.038)	(.038)	(.038)	(.038)

*Victim/Offender Relationship (0 = other family)*

Intimate partner	5.06*	5.06*	5.14*	5.05*
	(.015)	(.015)	(.016)	(.015)
Other known	.885*	.885*	.877*	.883*
	(.011)	(.011)	(.012)	(.011)
Stranger	.544*	.543*	.542*	.544*
	(.014)	(.014)	(.014)	(.014)

*Gender of Offender (0 = female offender)*

Male offender	.423*	.423*	.424*	.446*
	(.011)	(.011)	(.011)	(.011)

*Race of Offender (0 = other race)*

White offender	.962	.961	.963	.967
	(.036)	(.036)	(.036)	(.036)
Black offender	1.37*	1.37*	1.37*	1.38*
	(.036)	(.036)	(.036)	(.036)

*Crime Type (0 = other crime)*

Simple assault	.726*	.729*	.725*	.725*
	(.012)	(.013)	(.012)	(.012)
Aggravated assault	.393*	.391*	.392*	.393*
	(.017)	(.018)	(.017)	(.017)
Sexual assault	9.23*	8.99*	9.23*	9.18*
	(.033)	(.033)	(.033)	(.033)
Robbery	.514*	.501*	.509*	.509*
	(.021)	(.022)	(.021)	(.021)
Kidnapping	3.26*	3.27*	3.25*	3.24*
	(.053)	(.054)	(.054)	(.053)

*Location by Crime Type*

Bank*simple assault	.464*
	(.210)
Bank*aggravated assault	.537
	(.365)
Bank*sexual assault	.544
	(1.07)
Bank*robbery	1.76*
	(.211)
Bank*kidnapping	.094*
	(.727)
Shopping center*simple assault	.825*
	(.079)

Shopping center*aggravated assault	1.00 (.147)
Shopping center*sexual assault	.750 (.269)
Shopping center*robbery	1.49* (.140)
Shopping center*kidnapping	.718 (.540)
Grocery store*simple assault	.924 (.101)
Grocery store*aggravated assault	1.08 (.180)
Grocery store*sexual assault	1.82 (.530)
Grocery store*robbery	1.95* (.174)
Grocery store*kidnapping	3.92 (1.06)
Bar*simple assault	1.14 (.074)
Bar*aggravated assault	1.26* (.087)
Bar*sexual assault	5.53* (.347)
Bar*robbery	1.12 (.186)
Bar*kidnapping	1.66 (.491)
<i>Location by Victim/Offender Relationship</i>	
Bank*stranger	1.72* (.207)
Shopping center*stranger	1.40* (.088)
Grocery store*stranger	1.51* (.116)
Bar*stranger	.836* (.059)
Bank*intimate partner	.647 (.317)



Shopping center*intimate partner	.754*	
	(.123)	
Grocery store*intimate partner	.948	
	(.157)	
Bar*intimate partner	.749*	
	(.076)	
Bank*other known	.581*	
	(.256)	
Shopping center*other known	1.01	
	(.0992)	
Grocery store*other known	1.00	
	(.118)	
Bar*other known	1.17*	
	(.057)	
<i>Location by Male Offender</i>		
Bank*male offender		1.53*
		(.206)
Shopping center*male offender		.861*
		(.076)
Grocery store*male offender		1.01
		(.101)
Bar*male offender		.417*
		(.046)

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Note: Standard errors in parentheses

\*p < .05

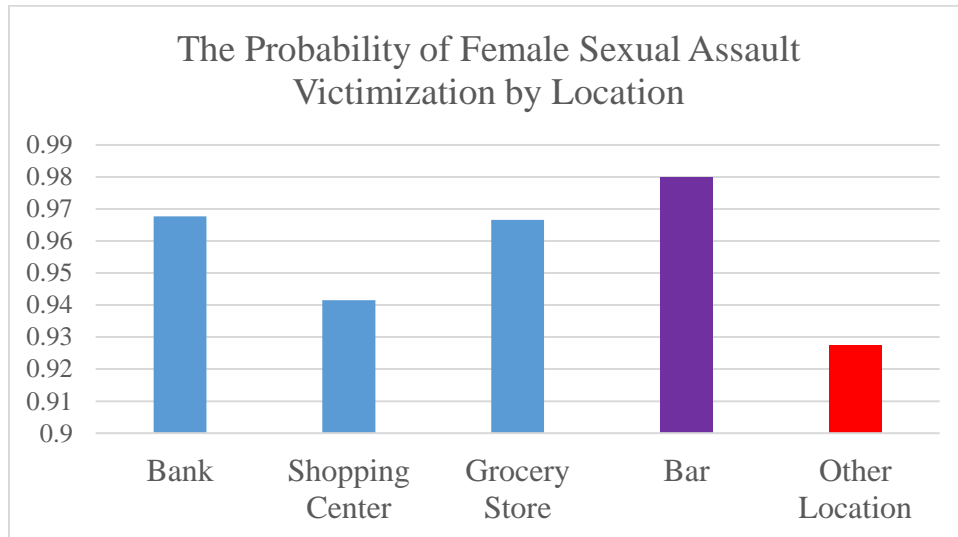
The result of the logistic regression analysis models predicting variation in the likelihood that women will suffer victimization in feminine gendered spaces is presented in Table 2. First, it was predicted that the indicators of target suitability (time of day and victim's age) would be significantly and positively associated with the likelihood that women would be victimized. In other words and according to RAT, it would be expected that women would be more likely to be victimized during the morning, afternoon, and evening hours. Furthermore, it would be expected that women between the ages of 15-55 would be more likely to be victimized compared to other age groups. According to Model 1, women aged 15-55 are 47.5 % more likely to be victimized

and this victimization is 5.7 % more likely to occur between 7 a.m. and 3 p.m. However, no significant findings for 4 p.m. to 11 p.m. were discovered. The last indicator used to measure target suitability was if the offender was perceived to be under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol. The results indicate that women are 12.2 % less likely to be victimized by an offender who was perceived to be under the influence of alcohol and/or drugs. If women are more likely to be victimized in public locations where the incident can be observed by witnesses, offenders may choose to commit their crimes while not under the influence because they do not want their facilities to be inhibited by alcohol or drugs.

Location of the crime was the one indicator used to measure guardianship. Specifically, it was predicted that women would be more likely to suffer a victimization in a feminine gendered space compared to a masculine gendered space. Hypothesis 1 A-C predicts that women would be more likely to be victimized at a bank, shopping center, and grocery store compared to a bar. According to Model 1, women are 2 times more likely to be victimized at a bank, 1.60 times more likely to be victimized at a shopping center, and 1.29 times more likely to be victimized at a grocery store. No significant findings were discovered for bars. Therefore, Hypothesis 1 A-C was supported because the odds of women being victimized in banks, shopping centers, and grocery stores (feminine spaces) are greater than women being victimized in bars (masculine spaces). This finding supports the theoretical idea that gendered spaces shape the victimization experiences of women when the situational contexts are taken into consideration. Hypothesis 2 A-C predicts that women will be more likely to be victimized in feminine gendered spaces compared to other locations. According to Model 1, women are more likely to be victimized at a bank, more likely to be victimized at a shopping center, and more likely to be victimized at a grocery store compared

to other locations. These results support the hypothesis and the idea that feminine gendered spaces shape the victimization experiences of women and men.

**Figure 2**

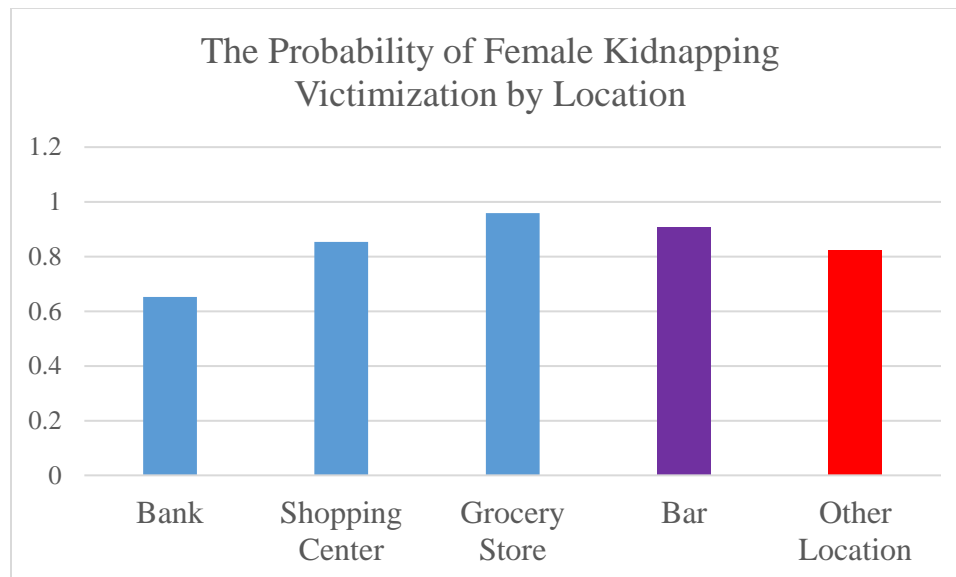


Hypothesis 3 A-C predicts that women will be more likely to suffer a sexual assault in feminine gendered spaces compared to masculine gendered spaces. Hypothesis 3 A-C was tested using the figure above. Figure 2 presents the probability of female sexual assault victimization graphically and compares the feminine spaces indicated in blue to masculine spaces indicated in purple and neutral spaces indicated in red. From this graph, it is clear that women actually have a higher probability of suffering a sexual assault in a bar compared to the feminine gendered spaces. In other words, women are more likely to be sexually assaulted in bars than banks, shopping centers, and grocery stores. Therefore, Hypothesis 3 A-C was not supported.

Hypothesis 4 A-C predicts that women will be more likely to a suffer sexual assault in feminine gendered spaces compared to other locations. Hypothesis 4 A-C was tested using Model 2 from the logistic regression and the interaction terms for crime type by location. The only significant interaction term for sexual assault by location was for bar. This finding indicates that

there is a significant positive finding, meaning women are 53.2 % more likely to suffer a sexual assault at a bar. Therefore, Hypothesis 4 A-C was not supported because no significant findings were found for women suffering sexual assaults in banks, shopping centers, or grocery stores. However, it is worth noting that women are approximately 9 times more likely to suffer a sexual assault but this decreases to 5 times more likely in the context of bars. Compared to other locations that are more private in nature such as the home, the guardianship available in public locations decreases the likelihood that women will be sexually assaulted in bars, but not for the other locations. Nevertheless, women are much more likely to be sexually assaulted but this cannot be explained according to the theoretical idea of gendered spaces.

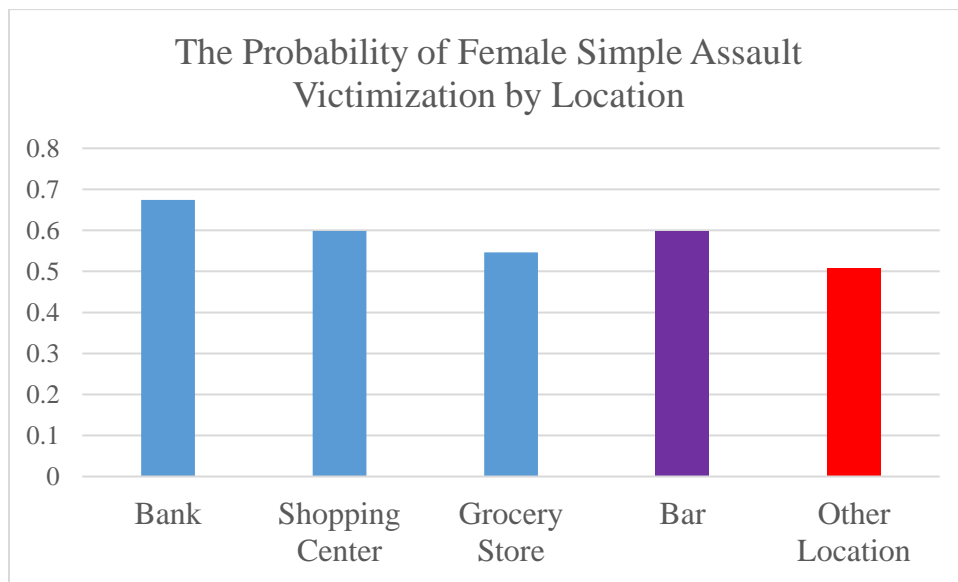
**Figure 3**



Hypothesis 5 A-C predicts that women will be more likely to be kidnapped in feminine gendered spaces compared to masculine gendered spaces. Hypothesis 5 A-C also will be examined graphically according to Figure 3. It is clear that women have a higher probability of being kidnapped in the feminine gendered spaces, but this is not the case when banks and shopping centers are compared to the masculine gendered space indicated in red. For example, women

actually have a lower probability of kidnapping victimization in banks and shopping centers compared to bars. Therefore, Hypothesis 5-A and Hypothesis 5-B were not supported. However, Hypothesis 5-C was supported because women do have a higher probability of kidnapping victimization in grocery stores when compared to bars. Likewise, Hypothesis 6 A-C was not supported because no positive significant interactions in Model 2 for kidnapping and the three respective feminine gendered spaces (bank, shopping center, grocery store) were discovered. It is worth noting that there is a negative significant finding in Model 2 for the interaction between bank and kidnapping. In other words, this result indicates that women are 90.6 % less likely to be kidnapped from a bank compared to other locations. Since a bank is considered a feminine space in this study, the result would not support to the idea that women would be more likely to be victimized in feminine gendered spaces when compared to masculine gendered spaces.

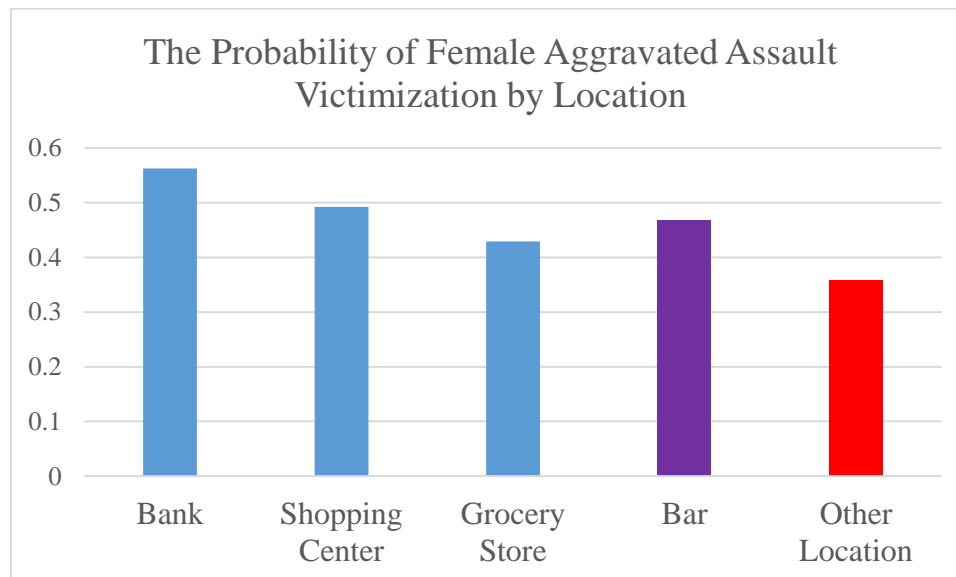
**Figure 4**



Hypothesis 7 A-C predicts that women will be more likely to suffer a simple assault in feminine gendered spaces compared to masculine gendered spaces. Hypothesis 7 A-C was tested using the probabilities located in Figure 4. According to Figure 4, women have a slightly higher

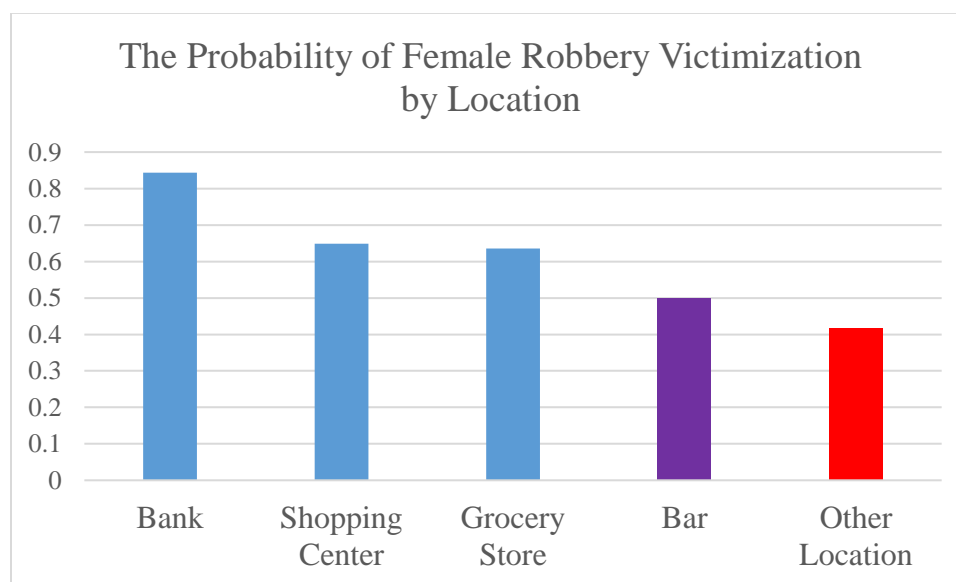
probability of suffering a simple assault in banks, but this is not the case in shopping centers and grocery stores. In fact, the probability of a women suffering a simple assault is equal in both shopping centers and bars and slightly lower for grocery stores. Therefore, Hypothesis 7-A was supported but Hypothesis B-C was not supported because women do not have a higher probability of being the victim of a simple assault in shopping centers and grocery stores when compared to bars. Hypothesis 8 A-C were tested using the interaction effects for crime type by location from Model 2 in the logistic regression table. The interaction terms for bank by simple assault and shopping center by simple assault show that women are 53.6 % less likely to suffer a simple assault in banks and 17.5 % less likely to suffer a simple assault in shopping centers compared to other locations. These results indicate that Hypothesis A-B cannot be supported. In fact, these results indicate the exact opposite in that men are more likely to suffer a simple assault in these locations even though they are considered feminine in nature.

**Figure 5**



Hypothesis 9 A-C that predicts female aggravated assault victimization in feminine gendered spaces compared to bars was tested using the graphics located in Figure 5. Bank is the only feminine gendered space in which there is a marked difference from bars in terms of women having a higher probability of being assaulted in an aggravated manner. Women only have a slightly higher probability of suffering an aggravated assault at shopping centers when compared to bars, but this is not the case for grocery stores. Therefore, Hypothesis 9 A-B was supported but Hypothesis 9-C was not. In Model 2, the only significant interaction effect for location by aggravated assault was bar and this finding was positive, meaning women are 1.3 times more likely to suffer an aggravated assault in a bar. Again, this finding does not support the idea that women are less likely to be victimized in masculine gendered spaces. As was true for sexual assaults, this finding shows that women are actually at an increased risk for aggravated assault victimization in bars. It could be that the masculine gendered space of bars places women and not men in vulnerable states where they are viewed as suitable targets. Therefore, Hypothesis 10 A-C was not supported.

**Figure 6**



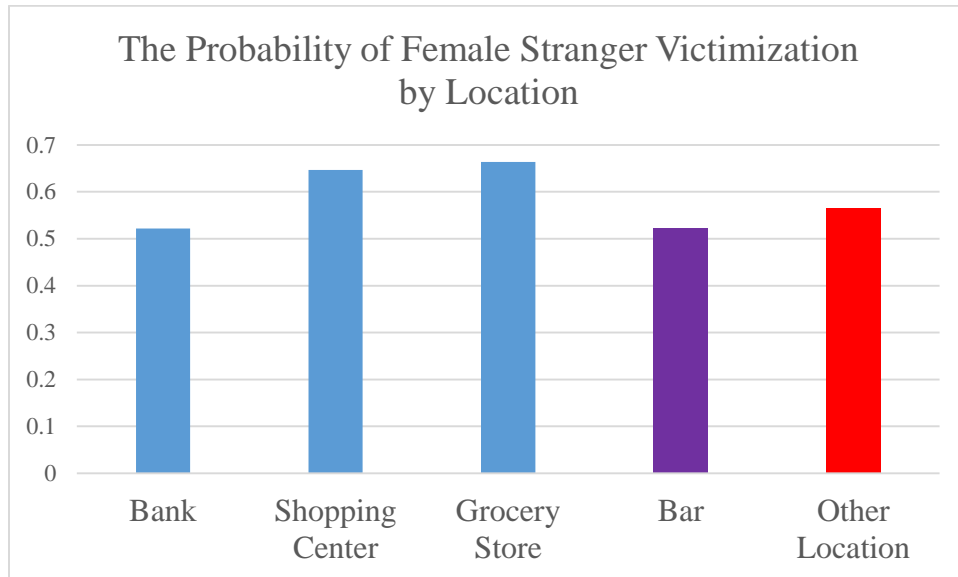
The hypotheses that compare female robbery victimization in feminine gendered spaces compared to bars will be examined using Figure 6. For all of the feminine gendered spaces which are indicated in blue, women have a higher probability of suffering a robbery at a bank, shopping center, and grocery store compared to bars. Therefore, Hypothesis 11 A-C was supported. With respect to the crime of robbery, this finding supports the study's theoretical claim that gendered spaces are going to shape the victimization experiences of women and men. When examining Hypothesis 12 A-C with Model 2 from the logistic regression table, some interesting findings can be observed. First, women are 49.9 % less likely to suffer a robbery victimization but when you combine location with robbery as an interaction term, women start becoming more likely to be robbery victims. For example, women are 1.7 times more likely to be robbed at banks, 1.5 times more likely to be robbed at shopping centers, and 2 times more likely to be robbed at grocery stores. As expected, the study predicted that women would have a greater likelihood of suffering a robbery victimization in feminine gendered spaces. Clearly, support for using gendered spaces as a theoretical explanation of how women and men's victimization experiences are shaped is observed in robbery victimization.

Furthermore, the temporal and spatial aspects of robberies in feminine gendered spaces are important elements in this crime because robbery locations can serve as "hot spots." For example, it's not uncommon for robberies to occur in locales that have a high population turnover and banks, shopping centers, grocery stores qualify as such places. Generally speaking, the locations to rob are not picked at random and perpetrators choose the locations to rob their victims based on how familiar they are with a location and how comfortable they are operating therein, the amount of guardianship, and attractiveness of the target (Miethe and McCorkle, 1998). Therefore, women



walking in parking lots with low guardianship located in feminine gendered spaces may be viewed as vulnerable and attractive targets according to the rational thinking robber.

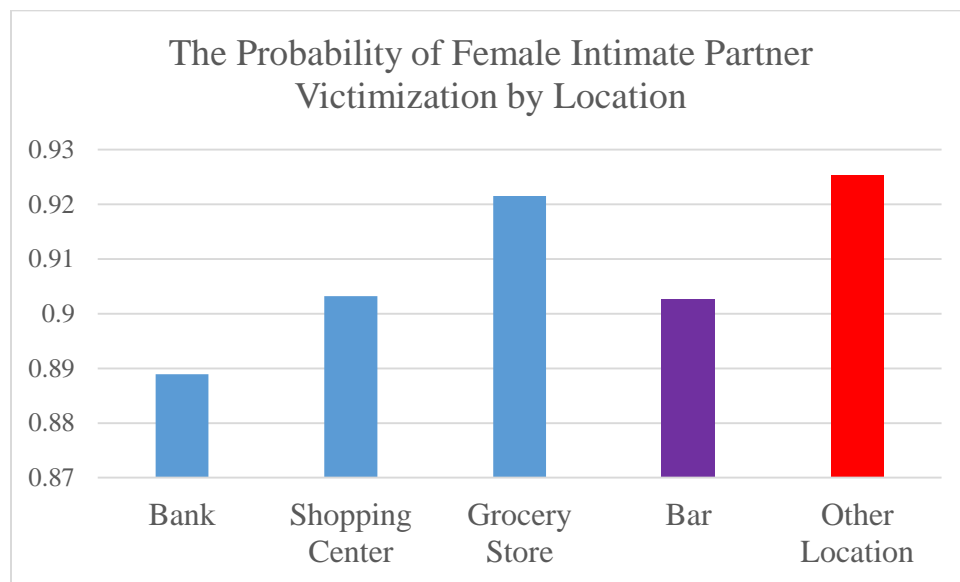
**Figure 7**



Hypothesis 13 A-C predicts that women will be more likely to suffer a stranger victimization in feminine gendered spaces when compared to masculine gendered spaces. From Figure 7 above, women have a higher probability of being victimized by a stranger in shopping centers and grocery stores, but women have a virtually equal probability of being victimized in a bank and bar by a stranger. Therefore, Hypothesis 13 B-C was supported and Hypothesis 13 A was not. Hypothesis 14 A-C was tested using Model 3 from the logistic regression table. As was predicted, women have a higher likelihood of being victimized in feminine gendered spaces by a stranger compared to other locations. For example, women are 1.72 times more likely of being victimized by a stranger in banks, 1.40 more likely of being victimized by a stranger in shopping centers, and 1.51 times more likely of being victimized by a stranger in grocery stores. It is also important to point out that women are 45.8 % less likely to be victimized by strangers, but this

likelihood changes when location is included as an interaction term for all of the gendered spaces. Hypothesis 14 A-C was supported thereby supporting the study's claim gendered spaces can be used as an explanation of how women and men differently experience victimization based on socially constructed ideas of gender and how this creates gendered spaces in society. Furthermore, the perpetration of violent crimes, such as robbery, by strangers and the fact that women are more vulnerable to stranger crime in feminine gendered spaces is an important finding because these types of crimes often involve the use of weapons and a higher likelihood that the victim will be seriously injured.

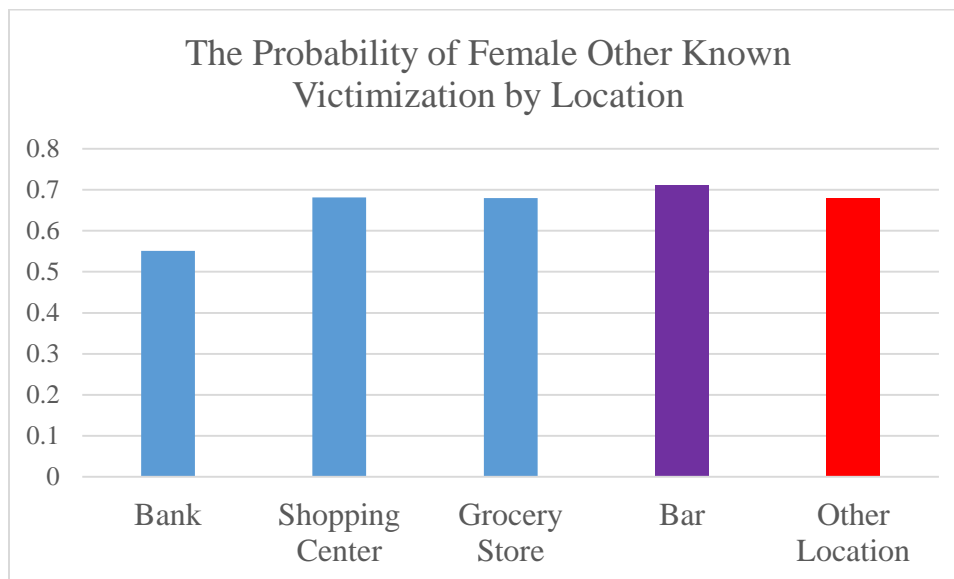
**Figure 8**



Hypothesis 15 A-C predicts that women will be more likely to be victimized by an intimate partner in feminine gendered spaces than masculine gendered spaces. According to Figure 8, women only have a higher probability of intimate partner victimization in grocery stores when compared to bars and an equal (shopping center) and lower (bank) probability in the remaining feminine gendered spaces. Therefore, Hypothesis A-B was not supported but Hypothesis C was

supported. Hypothesis 16 A-C was tested using Model 3 from the logistic regression table. According to Model 3, women surprisingly are 24.6 % less likely to be victimized by an intimate partner when at a shopping center. Therefore, Hypothesis 16 A-C was not supported. It is interesting to point out that women are 5 times more likely to be victimized by an intimate partner, but this likelihood is the exact opposite in the context of shopping centers. These findings are similar to the results associated with stranger violence in that women were less likely to be victimized by a stranger, but in the context of gendered spaces women were more likely to be victimized by a stranger. It could be that the gendered nature of shopping centers is somehow placing women at an increased risk of stranger violence, but also protecting them from intimate partner violence.

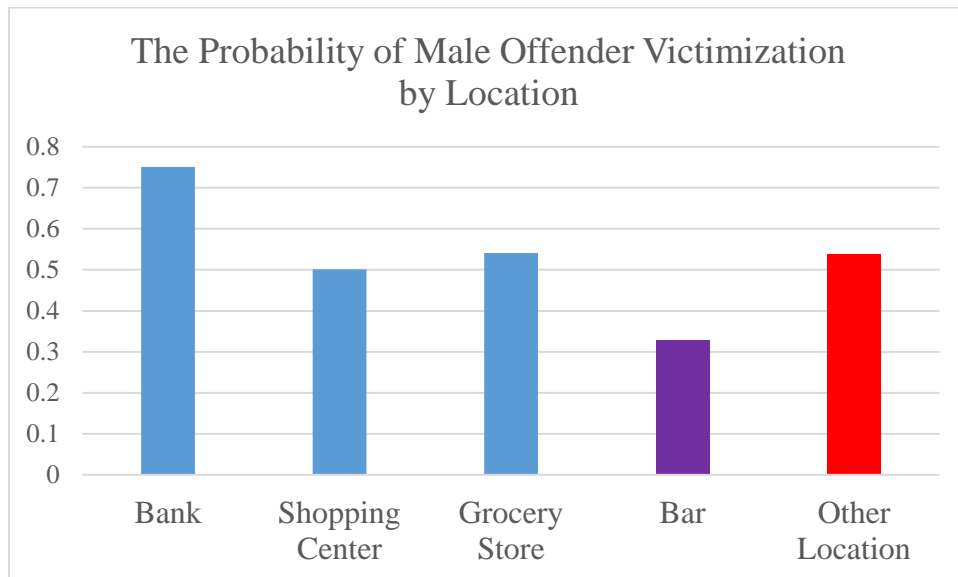
**Figure 9**



Hypothesis 17 A-C predicts that women will be more likely to suffer an other known victimization, such as being victimized an acquaintance. These hypotheses will be tested using Figure 9. The graphs in Figure 9 indicate that women have a higher probability of other known victimization in bars compared to the three feminine gendered spaces. Therefore, Hypothesis 17

A-C was not supported. With respect to Hypothesis 18 A-C, Model 3 from Table 2 indicates that women are 42 % less likely to be victimized by an other known offender in a bank. Because this finding was negative in nature and no other significant findings were discovered, Hypothesis 18 A-C was not supported. It is also important to note that women are 12.3 % less likely to be victimized by an other known offender. Unlike the results of stranger violence that indicate women are more likely to suffer stranger violence in the context of feminine gendered spaces but less likely to suffer stranger violence in general, women are both less likely to suffer other known victimization in the context of banks and in general. Therefore, the idea that gendered spaces shape the victimization experiences of men and women is not supported when examining other known victimization.

**Figure 10**



Hypothesis 19 A-C predicts that women will be more likely to be victimized by a male offender in banks, shopping centers, and grocery stores compared to bars. According to Figure 10, women have a higher probability of being victimized by a male offender in all of the feminine

gendered spaces when compared to bars. Therefore, Hypothesis 19 A-C was supported. However, when we examine the likelihood of women being victimized by a male offender compared to other locations, the results from Model 4 in Table 2 yield some interesting findings. For example, it was predicted that women would have a higher likelihood of being victimized by a male offender at shopping centers compared to other locations, but the results show the opposite in that women are 13.9 % less likely to be victimized by a male offender. The pattern in these results aren't quite the same as was observed in the findings when examining intimate partner victimization in the context of feminine gendered spaces, but we do see that women are less likely to be victimized by a male offender in feminine gendered spaces just as they were by intimate partners. It's also important to note that women have are 55.4 % less likely to be victimized by male offender. Indeed, the feminine nature of spaces is having an effect on men's and women's victimization experiences but not in the direction one would expect when examining certain elements of the nature of the relationship between the victim and perpetrator. Therefore, Hypothesis 20 A-C was not supported. However, other elements of the way in which men and women are victimized is supported when examining these victimization experiences in the context of the theoretical idea of feminine and masculine gendered spaces.

## CHAPTER 7 DISCUSSION

The gender gap in crime explains that men and women experience criminal victimization differently. Crime statistics, particularly those from governmental sources, consistently show that men outnumber women as suffering violent acts of crime. The one exception to this is that women are much more likely to suffer rapes. Men, on the other hand, are more likely to suffer aggravated assaults, robberies, and murder. This is important because these types of crimes are more likely to result in the victim suffering seriously bodily injury or death. It's also important to examine the nature of the relationship between the victim and perpetrator when talking about the gender gap in crime. Just as men are more likely to be the victim of violent crimes, they are also more likely to be victimized by a stranger. Women, however, are more likely to be victimized by an intimate partner or someone they know. This is particularly true for the crime of rape and crimes in general. Researchers have studied trends in the gender gap in crime and observed that this crime gap is starting to close. However, the closing of this gap is the result of men's victimization rates dropping and women's victimization rates remaining stable over time (Lauritsen & Heimer 2008). Up to this point, research studies have neglected to consider situational dynamics and socially constructed ideas of gender and how this shapes the victimization experiences of women and men. It is ideas like these that will help advance our understandings of a diverse criminological and victimological phenomena (Drawvwe, Thomas, & Walker, 2014). The current study investigated this gap in the research by attempting to use the ideas of routine activity theory (RAT) and gendered spaces (GS) to understand how men and women experience victimization in different situational contexts. The application of RAT and GS advances our understanding of how men and women are more vulnerable to criminal victimization in certain locations that they otherwise would not

be. The study analyzed data from the 2012 NIBRS to accomplish this task by examining incident, victim, and offender characteristics.

Drawing upon insights from Cohen and Felson (1979) and coalescing these ideas with that of Spain (1992), criminal victimization can be explained as occurring during individuals' routine activities as they got about their day, and can further be shaped by certain spaces in society that are designated for men and women based on social constructed ideas of gender. The idea is that women will be more vulnerable in these spaces because offenders view them as suitable targets. The study predicted that situational dynamics would shape the victimization experiences of men and women where the odds of women being victimized in feminine gendered spaces would be greater than men and the odds of men being victimized in masculine gendered spaces would be greater than women. Using data from the 2012 NIBRS, three feminine spaces (banks, grocery stores, and shopping centers) and one masculine space (bars) were identified. Specifically, the study predicted that women would be more likely to suffer a simple assault, aggravated assault, sexual assault, robbery, and kidnapping in feminine spaces. Consistent with the ideas of RAT and gendered spaces, the study found that women were more likely to be victimized in banks, shopping centers, and grocery stores. The direction of these associations between the likelihood of victimization in feminine gendered spaces are consistent with the predictions developed from the insights of RAT and GS.

Several indicators were used in the study to measure the three concepts associated with routine activity theory: suitable target, motivated offender, and lack of a capable guardian. Target suitability was measured using time of day and victim's age. Because individuals' routine activities generally take place in the morning to late evening hours, it was predicted that women would have a higher likelihood of being victimized from 7 a.m. to 3 p.m. and 4 p.m. and 11 p.m.

The results indicate that women were more likely to be victimized from 7 a.m. to 3 p.m., but no significant findings were observed for 4 p.m. to 11 p.m. Furthermore, individuals who are younger are more likely to go outside of the home and visit public locations, such as shopping malls. The results indicate that women between the ages 15-55 were more likely to suffer a victimization. Women between these ages could be placed at a higher risk of victimization because they are employed, go to school, and engage in more leisure activities like going to the local mall or bar.

It is believed that there is a convergence between target suitability and guardianship because younger women are more likely to visit public locations during these times. Therefore, the routine activities of performing traditional banking, visiting the mall, and buying groceries places younger women at a greater risk of victimization because these activities place them in precarious situations where offenders view them as vulnerable because there are no capable guardians to protect them from victimization. In other words, it's not the behaviors that are increasing their chances of victimization; rather, it's the offender's perceptions of them as suitable targets when they happen to be performing behaviors that can be considered feminine in nature. As such, the association between when a crime occurs coupled with victim's age and the likelihood of victimization is attributed to the decreased level of guardianship available in public locations.

The indicator used to measure offender motivation was if the offender was perceived by law enforcement to be under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol. It was predicted that women would be more likely to be victimized by an offender who was using drugs/and or alcohol during the criminal incident. Specifically, an offender's ability to evaluate and be aware of security measures in public locations will be compromised because of his or her inebriated state. Therefore, what may seem like a suitable target where no capable guardians are available for protection is driven by an offender's drug induced psychological state. In essence, an offender may be motivated



to commit a crime in a shopping mall parking lot because he or she is unaware of security measures and people who represent capable guardians. A sort of artificial motivation is presence in an individual who is looking to victimization a person in a public location. Furthermore, criminal behavior driven by drugs are more impulsive and risky in nature which can result in thinking errors when perceiving the suitability and vulnerability of a person in a public location. The results support the study's claim that women are more likely to be victimized by an offender who was under the influence of alcohol and/or drugs.

The location of where the crime occurred was the final indicator used to measure guardianship. The odds of victimization occurring in feminine gendered spaces was associated with the predicted direction. For example, women had higher odds of being victimized in banks, grocery stores, and shopping centers. Speaking from the RAT perspective, visiting gendered spaces occur during the routine, mundane activities that women and men engage in on an everyday basis. However, crime occurring in banks, grocery stores, and shopping centers is not only related to these routine activities but is also associated with the gendered nature of these spaces. It is, however, important to emphasize that women being victimized in specific gendered spaces isn't because of the behaviors they are engaging in, but do to the perception of offenders viewing women as both suitable and vulnerable targets. These findings are consistent with the RAT and gendered spaces perspective in that women are more likely to suffer victimizations in feminine gendered spaces.

The ideas of the RAT and gendered spaces perspective were used to examine specific crime type victimizations in both feminine and masculine gendered spaces. It was found that women actually have a higher likelihood of suffering a sexual assault in bars. This finding is contrary to the idea that women will have a lower likelihood of sexual assault victimization in masculine

gendered spaces. However, this finding is not surprising when considering that women are more likely to suffer sexual assaults compared to men. Also, it could be that the masculine nature of bars is playing a role in terms of women being sexually assaulted therein. Feminist scholars view rape as a criminal act where power and control are used by men to perpetrate the patriarchal norms of society (Brownmiller, 1975). Therefore, the masculine nature of bars and rape could explain why women have a higher likelihood of suffering sexual assaults in masculine gendered spaces. While the data used in this study does not support the prediction of sexual assaults in feminine and masculine spaces, there are limitations to official crime data that comes directly from law enforcement agencies. There is a “dark figure of crime” when it comes to women reporting instances of rape to criminal justice officials. Women do not report that they have been victims of rape for a variety of reasons, such as being ashamed a rape occurred, not knowing or believing a crime occurred, fear of reprisal from the perpetrator, fear of being judged by family or friends, and fear of dealing with a criminal justice system that is insensitive to their needs as a rape victim. Having access to alternative crime statistics, such as the National Crime Victimization Survey, that do not rely upon law enforcement agencies may provide a more valid and reliable look at incidents of rape in public locations.

The RAT and gendered spaces perspective were also tested by looking at the likelihood of kidnapping victimization in feminine and masculine gendered spaces. The results indicate that women have a lower likelihood of being a kidnapping victim in banks. Considering that banks were defined as feminine in nature, this finding is contrary to the study’s prediction that women would have higher odds of kidnapping victimization. This finding is similar to the findings of rape in bars, but differ only in that men have higher odds of kidnappings in banks (feminine space) and women have higher odds of sexual assaults in bars (masculine space). Interestingly, women are

actually more likely to be kidnapped but when considered in the context of banks, men are more likely to be kidnapped. However, when the crime of robbery is examined, the results indicate that women have higher odds of robbery victimization in all of the feminine gendered spaces. Women were less likely to suffer robbery victimizations in general, but when looking at the situational dynamics of the crime, women are more likely to be robbed in banks, grocery stores, and shopping centers. Robbers can be rational thinkers when committing their crimes because prior research has found that they target victims who seem vulnerable and do not pose any threats (Felson and Messner, 1996). The females in this study who were robbed in feminine gendered spaces may have been viewed as more vulnerable, thus representing to motivated offenders as suitable targets. Therefore, robbery victimizations occurred in the study's predicted direction but kidnapping victimizations occurred opposite to the study's predicted direction. When these results are situated in the RAT and gendered spaces perspective, the results for robbery victimization support the theoretical idea of gendered spaces but this is not the case for kidnapping victimizations. Future research should look at the gender differences of suffering certain crime type victimizations in banks.

Findings concerning simple assault and aggravated assault victimization in both feminine and masculine gendered spaces were not consistent with the theoretical idea of gendered spaces. For example, women had lower odds of suffering a simple assault in banks and shopping centers. However, women had higher odds of aggravated assault victimization in bars. In general, women also had lower odds of simple assault and aggravated assault victimization. At least for simple assaults, these findings suggests that the gendered nature of a location is not going to increase the risks of victimization for women. However, the gendered nature of bars is increasing the risks that women will suffer an aggravated assault victimization. It is not uncommon for fights to occur in

bars because of competition between men who are seeking the attention of women. It is further not uncommon for men to fight in bars because one of the men made a rude or sexually suggestive comment to the other's girlfriend. Women certainly could be subjected to violence either indirectly or directly during fights such as these. Assaults in bars are mostly expressive crimes where rage, frustration, and anger is a consequence of situations described above. These assaults are exacerbated when alcohol and drugs are included in the equation because they help fuel violent situations (Nash Parker, 1995). The simple assaults that occurred in banks and shopping centers could have been due to women not being as likely as men to fight back in particular situations, such as heated arguments either with a stranger or acquaintance. In other words, men tend to be more aggressive than women when it comes to fighting so this could have contributed to the lower odds of women suffering simple assaults in feminine gendered spaces. However, this does not explain why women have a higher likelihood of suffering an aggravated assault in bars. It might be due to an inebriated state a woman finds herself when having arguments with a significant other in a bar or being bolder when a stranger makes a rude or sexually suggestive comment. This isn't to suggest that women should be blamed for their victimization; rather, a precarious situation between a male and female who have been drinking may arise to an assault that otherwise would not have occurred because of their inebriated state.

The nature of the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim and where the crime occurred was not consistent with the theoretical idea of gendered spaces. There were some surprising results which showed women had lower odds of being victimized at shopping centers by an intimate partner. Generally speaking, women were much more likely to suffer intimate partner violence but the gendered nature of shopping centers had an opposite effect on the predicted direction of this relationship. As was shown above, these findings are similar to the

results associated with stranger violence in that women were less likely to be victimized by a stranger, but in the context of gendered spaces women were more likely to be victimized by a stranger. However, the opposite is true for intimate partner violence in that women are more likely to be victimized by an intimate partner, but less likely to be victimized by an intimate partner in banks and shopping centers. Women are also less likely to suffer an other known (e.g., acquaintance) victimization in banks, but more likely in bars. Even though these results do not support the theoretical idea of gendered spaces, they nevertheless provide for some interesting findings. For example, women were less likely to be victimized by an intimate partner in bars but more likely to be victimized by an acquaintance (other known). Future research on bar violence should focus on these relationship dynamics by examining why men and women have different risks of victimization from intimate partners and acquaintances.

It could be that the gendered nature of banks and shopping centers is somehow placing women at an increased risk of stranger violence, but also protecting them from intimate partner and acquaintance violence. It is also important to point out that women are less likely to be victimized by an intimate partner in bars. Again, this finding supports the expected direction of the study's prediction of victimization in masculine spaces. Even though a bar is considered a masculine space and men engage in more criminal behavior than women, the gendered nature of this location is somehow serving as a protective factor for women in terms of intimate partner violence. A "masculinity hypothesis" which explains why women are participating in criminal behavior more than in earlier periods because of changes in traditional sex roles and increases in female labor might be used as a theoretical explanation when examining these results (Alder, 1975).

The study's predicted direction of stranger victimization in feminine gendered spaces was consistent with the theoretical ideas of gendered spaces. Women had a higher likelihood of being victimized by a stranger in all of the feminine gendered spaces, but in general women had a lower likelihood of stranger violence. These results are also consistent with the insights from RAT because people are more likely to come into contact with strangers as they go about their routine activities outside of the home. Before deciding to commit a crime, rationally motivated offenders who are unknown to their victims may evaluate a variety of choices when determining whether or not a victim is a suitable target. The situational contexts of a criminal event is also important in these decision making processes in that rationally motivated offenders will determine the efficacy of successfully committing a crime by being aware of capable guardians who can potentially thwart the criminal act.

The crime selection type of an offender can be critical in terms of preventing crime in gendered spaces. For example, robbery is generally not a crime type selected at random by an offender. The rational robber will be careful to look for escape routes when evaluating the suitability of a target and guardians who can offer protection. However, assaults tend to be crimes driven by emotion where any rational thinking is lost in the heat of the moment. Therefore, the study's findings that show women are more likely to suffer robbery victimizations in gendered spaces and by strangers may partially be explained by rational thought processes an offender makes before he or she chooses to commit the robbery. Likewise, findings associated with simple and aggravated that are contrary to the study's theoretical orientation can be explained by their expressive nature. It may be that women are more susceptible to instrumental crimes in gendered spaces rather than expressive crimes. Future research should study the situational dynamics at

play when examining gender differences in risks of victimization based on expressive and instrumental crimes.

Lastly, the study's predictions about the gender of the offender and victimization experiences of men and women in gendered spaces yielded some interesting albeit contrary findings to the theoretical perspective utilized in this paper. It was discovered that women were less likely to be victimized by a male offender in shopping centers and bars. Just as feminine gendered spaces shape the victimization experiences of women for some crimes and relationship dynamics, these same spaces seem to be shaping offending patterns but not in the direction one might expect. It could be that female offenders' choices to commit crimes in feminine gendered spaces are being shaped by socially constructed notions of gender and gendered spaces much like how these same ideas and concepts are contributing to female victimization. Therefore, it might be more reasonable to hypothesize that women are more likely to be victimized by a female offender in feminine gendered spaces. Results from the study also indicated that women are less likely to be victimized by a male offender in bars. Considering the masculine nature of bars, this finding is somewhat puzzling. However, prior research on assaultive behaviors in bars found that women were more likely to assault members of the same gender and men were more likely to assault fellow men (Krienert and Vandiver, 2009). The insights of RAT and gendered spaces were not consistent with the study's expected direction of the offender's gender in the context of feminine and masculine gendered spaces.

## CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSION

It is generally accepted among criminological and victimological researchers that men outnumber women as being victims of crime, particularly violent crime. Researchers have started to challenge this generalized thinking by examining the gender differentiated trends in victimization. Research to date has discovered that the gender gap in crime has closed between men and women for some crimes, such as aggravated assault, but this closing is largely due to decreases in male victimization while at the same time female victimization has remained relatively stable from year-to-year. The current study agrees with this generalized understanding of how men and women experience crime, but argues researchers should study gender differences in crime in the context of gendered spaces. The study also argues that this line of thinking has the potential to allow for a better understanding of the situational dynamics of criminal victimization among the genders. This study took a novel approach by coalescing routine activity theory with gendered spaces theory. The combining of these perspectives provides a theoretical lens through which the gender gap in crime can be viewed. Integrating these two theoretical ideas allows for examining how socially constructed ideas of gender influence the everyday, routine, mundane activities of people. When gender is viewed in this light, insights from RAT can be used to explain how gendered spaces are formed in society based on ideas of femininity and masculinity. These two perspectives formed the study's research questions which are mainly concerned with how the gender gap in crime is impacted by routine activities and feminine and masculine spaces in society.

The first research question asked: are women more likely than men to be victimized in gendered spaces that are characterized as feminine in nature? If so, are they more likely than men to be victimized by both a known and unknown offender? It was found that women are more likely to be victimized in banks, grocery stores, and shopping centers compared to other locations.



Patronizing business such as those mentioned above fall within the routine activities that women and men engage in almost on a daily basis. When talking about crime occurring in these locations, the study argued that the behaviors and attitudes of men and women are influenced by socially constructed ideas of gender. It's these ideas of gender which help in creating gendered spaces where men and women visit them in the course of their routine activities. Consequently, when crime occurs in these gendered spaces, we see that the gender gap in crime begins to diminish and even flip in the opposite direction where women start becoming more likely to suffer victimizations they otherwise would not in different situational contexts. However, the study argues that these differences are due to offenders rationally reviewing their options to victimize and viewing women as not only suitable targets, but also as vulnerable.

It was also found in the study that women were more likely to be robbed in feminine gendered spaces compared to other locations. This was an interesting finding in that women in general were less likely to be robbed, but when this crime is placed in the context of feminine gendered spaces, women start becoming more likely to suffer robbery victimizations. Notwithstanding the low base rate of robberies in gendered spaces, the majority of robberies occur outside of the home and in public spaces, such as street robberies, thereby suggesting that people are more likely to be robbed during the course of engaging in everyday activities. It is true that if one is going to be the victim of a crime, chances are he or she is going to know their perpetrator and it's going to occur in an environment familiar to both the offender and victim. In other words, if a woman or for that matter, a man, is the victim of a crime, it's probably not going to occur at a bank, grocery store, shopping center, or bar. However, when predatory crimes do occur in these locations, such as robbery, women are more likely to be the victims of crime.

A variety of results were found in the study that were contrary to the predicted direction of the study's hypotheses. Women were less likely to be kidnapped from banks, less likely to suffer simple assault victimizations at banks and shopping centers, and more likely to suffer aggravated assault victimizations at bars. Given that banks and shopping centers were defined as feminine gendered spaces and bars as masculine gendered spaces, it was expected that women would be more likely to be victimized in feminine spaces and less likely in masculine spaces. Therefore, the findings associated with robbery suggest that the insights from RAT and gendered spaces theory are capable of advancing our understanding of how routine activities based on ideas of gender and gendered spaces shape the victimization experiences of men and women.

The second research question asked: are men more likely than women to be victimized in gendered spaces that are characterized as masculine in nature? If so, are they more likely than women to be victimized by both a known and unknown offender? It was discovered in the study that women were more likely to be victimized by strangers in feminine gendered spaces compared to other locations. Just as was the case for robbery, women in general were less likely be victimized by strangers but when stranger victimization was examined in the context of feminine gendered spaces, it was found that the gender gap in this type of victimization flipped where women were now more likely to suffer predations by strangers. However, it was also discovered that women had lower odds of suffering a victimization by an intimate partner in shopping centers. Again, this is contrary to the study's hypotheses and do not support the theoretical orientation of the study. It could be that the feminine nature of shopping centers is somehow shaping the victimization experiences of women when it comes to intimate partner violence. Women were also less likely to be victimized by an other known (e.g., acquaintance) in a bank, but more likely to be victimized by an other known in a bar. In one instance, women are protected by intimate

partner and acquaintance violence in feminine gendered spaces, but are placed at a higher risk of acquaintance violence in a masculine gendered space.

The exponential growth of mass private properties in the form of shopping centers has led to private security being progressively adopted by mass private property owners to police their premises (Shearing and Stenning, 1983). The proliferation of shopping centers has further led to the direct intersection of a wide variety of people from many walks of life. While seeking the multitude of shopping, entertainment, and social amenities shopping centers have to offer, diverse groupings of strangers of differing ages and ethnicities come into direct contact and every so often the inevitability of conflict is present. Consequently, issues of liability are present in these conflicts because they are occurring on private properties often owned by ‘deep pockets’ landowners (Swirsky, 2009).

In earlier periods, shopping activities took place in the public sphere where smaller merchants sold their goods to visitors. Because shopping occurred in a more public setting, there often was no clearly identifiable landlord who could be held liable in the event that a visitor was subject to criminal victimization. In more modern times large corporate entities often control the common areas of shopping centers which allow “for third-party lawsuits for tortious injuries” (Kennedy, 2013, p. 237). In fact, it has been said that premises liability for negligent security lawsuits are on track to hold the number two spot of most common type of negligence claim (Kaminsky, 2001).

Mall ownership as well as security managers of large shopping centers must be aware of liability issues as they relate to negligent security and tort law. A tort is a civil wrong in which a plaintiff seeks to receive compensation because a defendant’s actions caused an injury. A plaintiff must establish by a preponderance of evidence the following four elements: (1) the defendant owed

a duty to protect the plaintiff from injury; (2) the defendant breached this duty; (3) the defendant's breach of duty was a proximate cause of the injury; and (4) actual damages. However, before the defendant owes a duty to protect the plaintiff from injury, a special relationship and crime foreseeability must be established. A special relationship exists between the two parties in the form of merchant-invitee, landlord-tenant, or innkeeper-guest, for example. In instances where a forensic security expert or security manager are involved in examining cases of premises liability for negligent security, the determination of a special relationship is a matter that is generally beyond the purview of his or her duties and is often decided by a judge applying a jurisdiction's particular law. However, the examination of crime foreseeability by a security manager is particularly important and is something that falls within his or her duties and expertise. In a legal sense, crime foreseeability can be both elusive and abstract in its definitional language and meaning. For example, some jurisdictions define crime foreseeability as 'reasonably likely to occur', 'reasonable cause to anticipate', or 'appreciable chance'. These definitions can help the security manager gain an appreciation of the meaning of crime foreseeability, but to better understand how courts may determine crime risk, having knowledge of 'tests' of foreseeability that courts may employ will better orient the in-house or contract security manager as to how a court may apply crime foreseeability to the facts of a particular case (Kennedy, 2006). The tests most commonly encountered are as follows: (1) imminent or specific harm test; (2) prior similar acts test; (3) totality of the circumstances test; and (4) balancing test.

The imminent or specific harm test holds that a plaintiff must show that a merchant was aware of a specific harm to an individual. When considering the sheer size of some shopping centers, this test of foreseeability is one of the more difficult tests for plaintiffs because it is highly unlikely that a business owner is going to be aware of or present during the commission of a crime

in the parking lot. Because of the difficult task plaintiffs face regarding this test of foreseeability, jurisdictions will instead resort to one of the three other tests of foreseeability. For a duty to be imposed upon a business owner to protect a business invitee, the plaintiff must show that prior similar incidents occurred on the property which put the business owner on notice that a criminal incident was foreseeable. When investigating the criminal history of a specific property, it is important to triangulate sources by examining the shopping center's own incident reports, in-house or contracted security incident reports, and public law enforcement records. One important note is that police incident reports may provide a clearer picture as to the nature and types of crime occurring on a property compared to police calls for service. The latter can be a double-edged sword in that they may both over and undercount crime (Klinger and Bridges, 1997), whereas police incident reports may be more valid and contextually rich by providing actual crime known to police and a qualitative understanding of a particular incident. This is not to say calls for service are an invalid measurement; certainly, law enforcement and victimization data, such as the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports and the National Victimization survey, suffer from issues of measurement quality as well. Another important factor when examining foreseeability is the timeframe in which to examine a property's criminal history. For example, both the International Association of Professional Security Consultants and the American Society for Industrial Security's General Security Risk Assessment suggest a three to five year period for examining data sources, such as local police crime statistics, that will provide an understanding of a property's criminal history. Many liability experts, however, prefer to examine a two to three year period. Other important guides include a case from Texas where the court stated in *Timberwalk Apartments, Partners, Inc. et al. v. Cain* that five factors must be considered when determining if a crime was foreseeable: (1) proximity; (2) recency; (3) frequency; (4) similarity; and (5) publicity.<sup>1</sup> Courts, however, have

in some instances looked negatively upon this test because it is more advantageous to subsequent victims compared to an initial victim (Donohue, 2002). In *Helen Eichenbaum v. Rossland Real Estate, Ltd.*, a woman was injured during an armed robbery at a shopping center.<sup>2</sup> The plaintiff claimed that the defendant owed a duty to provide adequate security because the defendant was aware of prior similar acts occurring on the property. However, a trial court disagreed with plaintiff's claim and stated the defendant did not owe a duty because the prior similar acts did not occur at the exact location of the incident where the plaintiff was attacked. This ruling was reversed by an appellate court which stated that plaintiff does not need to prove prior similar acts occurred at the exact location of the concerned criminal incident.

The totality of the circumstances test determines foreseeability by examining a broad range of factors, such as crime in the surrounding neighborhood, prior crimes on the property, the nature of the business itself, and the presence and effectiveness of security. In *Doe v. Montgomery Mall Ltd. Ptrship.*, a young waitress was raped after her shift ended while walking to her vehicle that was located in a desolate employee-designated parking area of a parking garage.<sup>3</sup> Not only did the plaintiff claim that the shopping center failed to warn guests and employees of prior criminal incidents, it was also claimed the shopping center did not provide adequate security and take reasonable steps to maintain the property. A district court declined to dismiss the case because the facts showed there was a genuine concern regarding the effectiveness of security at the shopping center. In this case, the court looked beyond prior similar acts and considered peripheral circumstances, such as adequate security. The balancing test views duty as a malleable concept in that foreseeability of harm is balanced against the burden of duty to protect. Therefore, if foreseeability is not satisfactorily established, landlords or merchants should not be expected to take burdensome security precautions (Kennedy, 2006).

As early as the 1920s, the consequences of social disorganization as it relates to crime in urban areas had been reported in such seminal works as Shaw and McKay (1972). In almost any major city, businesses and dwellers of urban areas have to contend with many social issues from a lack of jobs and chronic unemployment to poverty and crime. These social problems can have devastating repercussions for the surrounding ecological environment through manifestations of urban decay such as graffiti, trash, neglected properties, and vacant and burnt out homes. As a response to the social and physical plights of urban environments, governments and businesses have adopted Business Improvement Districts (BIDs). For example, the State of Michigan enacted BIDs legislation that was primarily driven by efforts to revitalize the City of Detroit (Stefan, 2003). BIDs are a collaborative effort between governments and businesses that attempt to revitalize depressed business areas and make them economically viable by focusing on quality of life issues. It is hoped that improving the area will attract customers who would have otherwise stayed away from the area because of graffiti, garbage, and crime. Taxes are collected from businesses and are generally controlled by a Business Improvement Association (BIA). Because BIDs are often located in cities that suffer from severe budget deficits, businesses in the area cannot always rely on the city to provide services, such as regular police patrols of an area. Therefore, BIDs will not only distribute funds for clean up, they will also hire contracted security to patrol their districts. Furthermore, BIDs may also implement CCTV in hopes of providing further security for the district (Lippert, 2012; Walby and Hier, 2013). A major goal of BIAs is to make their areas more desirable and more conducive for shoppers to patronize their businesses. To accomplish this, BIAs will sponsor street fairs and a variety of other special events (Stefan, 2003). Efforts at providing security in these communal areas can present special issues. For example, in cases of premises liability for negligent security, a legal dilemma may present itself because there may be no readily

identifiable party who owed a duty to protect a patron from harm who is walking on a public sidewalk within a BIA (Savard and Kennedy, 2013). In addition, the applicability of shopping center security standards and practices may not necessarily be easily transferrable to BIAs. Hundreds of BIAs are in operation in Canada and the United States and may increase in numbers as more large urban cities experience serious budgetary issues and can no longer provide effective basic services from trash pick up to policing services (McCrie, 2006). Therefore, it can only be expected that BIAs will resort to hiring contract security to provide for the protection and safety of their businesses and patrons. Future research should attempt to elucidate the challenges faced by in-house or contract security that provides for the security and safety of BIDs. Again, the efficacy of security standards in public environments which were primarily designed for private environments may prove difficult to establish.

In addition to BIAs, cities are attempting to attract foot traffic to downtown areas by creating entertainment districts which include bars, restaurants, nightclubs, and movie theaters. However, the nature of these businesses can both attract and produce problems that make it difficult to provide for the safety of the area as a whole (Bromley and Cochran, 2002; Berkley and Thayer, 2000). Furthermore, problematic entertainment districts can have the opposite effect in that they can produce fears of victimization and therefore prevent people from visiting the area (Cochran *et al.*, 2000). Because entertainment districts are heavily populated with businesses that serve alcohol, a primary concern includes acts of violence involving intoxicated individuals who come together on the streets (Scott and Dedel, 2006). A reactive response to these types of issues by entertainment districts and municipalities in which the districts are located involves the installation of CCTV. However, empirical research has questioned the deterrent value CCTV has on crime (Ratcliffe, 2006; Welsh and Farrington, 2003). Even if it was proven that CCTV was an



effective tool at preventing crime, it is doubtful that two highly intoxicated, aggressive males fighting on a sidewalk would be deterred from engaging in such activity because of the presence of a security camera on the side of a building; however, if the fight is being observed in real time by a CCTV operator, resources to stop the fight can be deployed and captured footage can be used as an ex post facto investigative tool. Furthermore, there are issues of privacy rights that surround the clandestine recordings of people in public (Hier and Walby, 2011).

Recommendations for future research may include what types of effective proactive steps can be taken by entertainment districts and to prevent crime and acts of violence. Specifically, research that examines the relationship between the density of drinking establishments in an area and acts of violence could prove to be instrumental in providing effective in-house or contract security (Graham and Homel, 2008). From a security perspective, it is important to note that as business and economic activities evolve in form and function, in-house or contract security programs will need to adapt accordingly.

**Notes**

1 6972 S.W.2d 749(Tex. 1998).

2 7502 So.2d 1333 (Fla. 1987).

3 962 F. Supp. 58 (U.S. Dist. 1997).

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**ABSTRACT****THE EFFECT OF GENDERED SPACES ON THE GENDER GAP IN  
VICTIMIZATION: IMPLICATIONS FOR PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SECURITY**

by

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This research examines the gender gap in crime and how gendered spaces play a role in decreasing this gap. The gender gap in crime explains that men and women experience victimization at different rates. Gendered spaces are spaces in society that are designated for men and women. Routine activity theory and gendered spaces are two theoretical perspectives used in the study to examine how gender influences the routine activities of people and how this in turn creates gendered spaces and subsequent victimization based on perceptions an offender has of a woman or man. This study utilizes secondary data from the 2012 National Incident-Based Reporting System. The sample size in the study consisted of 243,096 crime victims. Routine activity theory and gendered spaces partially explains the victimization experiences of men and women. Women were more likely to be victimized in feminine gendered spaces (e.g., banks, grocery stores, and shopping centers) compared to other locations. Women were also more likely to suffering a robbery victimization in these feminine spaces compared to other locations. Women were also more likely to be victimized by a stranger in feminine gendered spaces compared to other locations.

**AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT**

Dennis 'Denny' Savard received his BA in political science from Adrian College and MA degrees in criminal justice and sociology from the University of Detroit Mercy and Wayne State University, respectively. While working on his Ph.D., he has published in *Security Journal* and has a chapter on shopping center security in *Corporate Security in the 21st Century: Theory and Practice in International Perspective*. In addition to his scholarly activities, Denny is Director of Research for Forensic Criminology Associates. Denny has accepted a tenure track faculty position in the Department of Criminal Justice at Saginaw Valley State University.