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Evidence-Based Security Practices

RISKY BEHAVIORS AND VIOLENT VICTIMIZATION

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INTRODUCTION

In 2020, Anthony Chamberlain called a prostitute to visit him at a motel where he was a guest. The prostitute, along with her boyfriend, arrived at the motel where they robbed and killed Chamberlain in his motel room. In 2021, Miguel Gomez met his longtime drug dealer in the parking lot of an expensive, high rise apartment building. Unlike the many other times when they met at other locations, this time a dispute ensued, and the drug dealer shot and killed Gomez. In 2022, gang member Jamil Wright went to a mall to buy a suit for a friend's funeral. The friend had been murdered by a rival gang resulting from a long-term dispute over territory. While walking in the shopping mall, Wright passed a member of the rival gang. The rival gang member went to his car, retrieved a handgun, and killed Wright in the mall's food court.¹ Each of the victims above were engaged in a *risky behavior*. Chamberlain was engaged in illicit sexual activities. Gomez was buying illegal narcotics. Wright was a self-identified gang member.

From a prevention perspective, it is useful to understand the factors that increase one's risk of violent victimization and how *Handlers* (discussed below) can help at-risk individuals reduce their risks. Research studies, including those summarized in the Appendix, largely focus attention on the factors associated with increased risk of victimization. These studies have consistently found that engaging in risky behaviors increases one's chance of becoming a victim of violence.

The most prominent theoretical developments in the area of victimization are the Routine Activity Theory² and the Lifestyle Perspective.³ Both theories address how context or situation influences vulnerability to violence.⁴

¹ Names were changed to preserve the anonymity of the victims.

² Cohen, L. E., & Felson, M. (1979). Social Change and crime rate trends: A routine activity approach. *American Sociological Review*, 44(4), 588.

³ Gottfredson, M. R., Hirschi, T., Hindelang, M. J., & Garofalo, J. (1987). Reassessing the Lifestyle Model of Criminal Victimization. In *Positive criminology* (pp. 23–42). essay, Sage Publications; Hindelang, M. J., Gottfredson, M. R., & Garofalo, J. (1978). *Victims of personal crime: An empirical foundation for a theory of personal victimization: An Empirical Foundation for a theory of personal victimization*. Ballinger.

⁴ Schreck, C. J., Wright, R. A., & Miller, J. M. (2002). A study of individual and situational antecedents of violent victimization. *Justice Quarterly*, 19(1), 159–180.

Routine Activity Theory describes how victimization is associated with everyday patterns of social interaction, that is, when *victims* intersect with *offenders* at a *place*. Routine activities are defined as, “any recurrent or prevalent activities which provide for basic population and individual needs.”⁵ These activities range from formal work to leisure pursuits to the methods that people utilize to acquire food, shelter, education and other basic needs.⁶ For some, routine activities can also include risky behaviors.

Routine Activity Theory is useful for explaining the basic components of crime. It posits that for a crime to occur, three necessary elements must converge in time: motivated offenders, targets/victims lacking guardianship, and a place.⁷ This is illustrated in the inner triangle of the Problem Analysis Triangle below.



While the inner triangle shows the necessary components that need to converge in time for a crime to occur, the outer triangle shows *Controllers*. Controllers can influence crime prevention. Controllers may have a direct impact on the crime, but more often have an indirect role in crime. There are three types of Controllers: Handlers, Guardians, and Place Managers.

⁵ Cohen, L. E., & Felson, M. (1979). Social Change and crime rate trends: A routine activity approach. *American Sociological Review*, 44, pg.593

⁶ Arnold, R., Keane, C., & Baron, S. (2005). Assessing the risk of victimization through epidemiological concepts: An alternative analytic strategy applied to routine activities theory. *Canadian Review of Sociology*, 42(3), 345-364, pg.346

⁷ Cohen, L. E., & Felson, M. (1979). Social Change and crime rate trends: A routine activity approach. *American Sociological Review*, 44(4), 588.

Handlers (e.g. parents, probation officers, society, etc.) influence *Offenders*. *Managers* (e.g. homeowner, property manager, etc.) control *Places*. *Guardians* (e.g. oneself, bystanders, neighbors, etc.) protect *Victims/Targets*. People that engage in risky behaviors have insufficient *Guardianship*. Most guardianship is self-guardianship, that is, people taking action to protect themselves.⁸ This implies that people engaged in risky behaviors are not taking actions to protect themselves, rather they intentionally or accidentally engage in behaviors that reduce their own guardianship.

The Lifestyle Perspective also considers routine and risky behaviors. “Risky lifestyle” is defined as frequently engaging in activities that have a high risk of criminal victimization.⁹ Within the Lifestyle Perspective, the concept of “lifestyle” is based on an individual’s daily activities, both vocational and leisure. Driving long distances in urban environments on a daily basis increases one’s chance of a car accident. Similarly, one’s daily activities may lead to increased exposure to situations that have a high risk of criminal victimization. While not a guarantee of victimization, individuals who engage in dangerous daily activities, such as drug use or gang association, have higher risks of victimization.¹⁰ As most parents teach their children, individuals can also reduce their risk of harm by engaging in less risky activities.

Both Routine Activity Theory and the Lifestyle Perspective are based on two underlying assumptions.¹¹ First, routine activities and lifestyle patterns are assumed to create a criminal opportunity structure when they increase contact between potential offenders and victims. Second, the subjective value of a target and its level of guardianship are assumed to determine the offender’s choice of a particular target or crime victim, particularly for predatory violence. These assumptions imply that behaviors associated with various demographic and social groups are essential aspects that expand our knowledge of victimization.¹²

⁸ Sampson, R., Eck, J. & Dunham, J. Super controllers and crime prevention: A routine activity explanation of crime prevention success and failure. *Secur J* 23, 37–51 (2010).

⁹ Childs, K. K., Cochran, J. K., & Gibson, C. L. (2009). Self-control, gang membership, and victimization: An integrated approach. *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 32(1), 35–60, pg.39

¹⁰ Pratt, T. C., & Turanovic, J. J. (2016). Lifestyle and routine activity theories revisited: The importance of “risk” to the study of victimization. *Victims & Offenders*, 11(3), 335–354, pg.336

¹¹ Miethe, T. D., & Meier, R. F. (1990). Opportunity, choice, and criminal victimization: A test of a theoretical model. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 27(3), 243–266; Wittebrood, K., & Nieuwbeerta, P. (2000). Criminal victimization during one's life course: The effects of previous victimization and patterns of routine activities. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 37(1), 91–122.

¹² Koo, D., Chitwood, D., & Sanchez, J. (2008). Violent victimizations and the routine activities/lifestyle of drug users. *Journal of Drug Issues*, 38(4), 1105-1138, pg.1107

Researchers argue that individuals who are frequently involved in deviant lifestyles significantly increase their probability of victimization because they are in close proximity to potential offenders and are involved in similar deviant behaviors.¹³ In other words, victims may also be offenders. Indeed, one of the most consistent findings regarding victims of crime is that victims and offenders share overwhelming similarities in demographic characteristics.¹⁴ Individuals who engage in risky lifestyles are also more likely to be exposed to high-risk situations which increase the potential for violent victimization. Anthony Chamberlain, Miguel Gomez, and Jamil Wright were victims of violence. They were also offenders.

TYPES OF VIOLENCE

There are three types of violence. Predatory violence is the first type. In predatory violent crimes, violence is instrumental to another goal. Violence is not the goal. Predatory offenders are motivated by the end goal of obtaining something, be it money, sex or some other thing the victim possesses. Predatory violence is more reliant on *Place* because the victim is non-specific. Dispute-related violence is the second type of violence. Dispute-related violence has two sub-types: Retaliatory Violence (including violent retaliatory disputes) and Non-Stranger Violence. In general, dispute-related violence occurs as the result of a perceived insult or wrongdoing. The third type of violence is targeted violence. Targeted violence refers to situations in which a perpetrator poses a threat of violence to a particular individual or group.¹⁵ Dispute-related violence and targeted violence are more common among people engaged in risky behaviors.

Targeted violence and *violent retaliatory disputes* are sometimes the result of the victim-offender overlap. A violent retaliatory dispute is:

- an interaction involving conflict

¹³ Jensen, G. F., & Brownfield, D. (1986). Gender, lifestyles, and victimization: Beyond routine activity. *Violence and Victims*, 1(2), 85–99.

¹⁴ Sampson, R. J., & Lauritsen, J. L. (1990). Deviant lifestyles, proximity to crime, and the offender-victim link in personal violence. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 27(2), 110–139.

¹⁵ Fein, R. A., Vossekuil, B., Holden, G. A. (1995). Threat Assessment: An Approach to Prevent Targeted Violence. United States: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice.

- over a period of time
- between two or more individuals and/or people associated with them
- marked by two or more events involving confrontation or intimidation
- in which at least some of those events involve violent acts or credible threats of violence.¹⁶

Researchers have found that violent retaliatory disputes and targeted violence show a clear preference for a specific victim.¹⁷ Violent retaliatory disputes and targeted violence are less reliant on *Place* because the victim is a specific person or a specific group. The opportunity for violence results from the victim/target, not the place. As such, targeted violence and violent retaliatory disputes are more difficult to prevent through traditional crime prevention measures deployed at *Places*. Preventing targeted violence and violent retaliatory disputes relies more on *Guardianship* (including self-guardianship) and effective *Handlers* than *Place Managers*.

RISKY BEHAVIORS

Within the evidence base, the most prevalent risky behaviors studied include gang affiliation, drug and alcohol use, drug dealing, and the victim-offender overlap. Gang affiliation has been shown to increase an individual's risk of victimization; however, studies vary on the extent of the increase and whether the increase is due to causation or correlation. The empirical literature provides strong evidence that gang members participate in risky behaviors at a substantially higher rate than non-gang members.¹⁸ These risky behaviors include self-reported delinquency, substance use, drug sales, gambling, time spent with delinquent

¹⁶ Klofas, John; Irshad Altheimer, and Nicholas Petitti (2019). Retaliatory Violent Disputes. ASU Center for Problem-Oriented Policing, Guide No. 74

¹⁷ Army, Christine, & Vellani, Karim H. (2021). Violent Crime Typology and Continuum. CrimRxiv.; Klofas, John; Irshad Altheimer, and Nicholas Petitti (2019). Retaliatory Violent Disputes. ASU Center for Problem-Oriented Policing, Guide No. 74

¹⁸ Curry, G., & Spergel, I. (1992). Gang involvement and delinquency among Hispanic and African-American adolescent males. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 29(3), 273–291.; Battin, S. R., Hill, K. G., Abbott, R. D., Catalano, R. F., & Hawkins, J. (1998). The contribution of gang membership to Delinquency Beyond Delinquent Friends*. *Criminology*, 36(1), 93–116 Hill, K. G., Howell, J. C., Hawkins, J., & Battin-Pearson, S. R. (1999). Childhood risk factors for adolescent gang membership: Results from the Seattle Social Development Project. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 36(3), 300–322.; Curry, G. D. (2000). Self-reported gang involvement and officially recorded delinquency. *Criminology*, 38(4), 1253–1274.

friends, and gun ownership.¹⁹ Gang members also commit violent offenses, such as aggravated assault, sexual assault, intimate partner violence, and robbery, more frequently.²⁰ One study found that gang affiliation increases the odds of sexual assault by 266%. Gang affiliation increased the odds of violent dating victimization by 253%. Gang affiliation increased the odds of serious injuries from fighting by 284%.²¹ Another study found that 70% of gang-affiliated youth reported being the victim of violent victimization compared to 46% among those people not affiliated with gangs.²²

Drug and alcohol use is another risky behavior often linked with an increased risk of violent victimization. In many instances, substance abusers lack capable guardians who could serve as deterrents to victimization. Intoxication can attract potential offenders because the judgement and reflexes of the substance abusers are impaired, making resistance to motivated offenders from physical attack and from deception difficult.²³ Drug users are suitable targets for victimization because they often refrain from reporting their victimization to authorities, especially when the victim is using or in the act of buying or selling drugs.²⁴

¹⁹ Curry, G., & Spergel, I. (1992). Gang involvement and delinquency among Hispanic and African-American adolescent males. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 29(3), 273–291; Esbensen, F., & Huizinga, D. (1993). Gangs, drugs, and delinquency in a survey of Urban Youth*. *Criminology*, 31(4), 565–589; Bjerregaard, B., & Lizotte, A. J. (1995). Gun ownership and gang membership. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* (1973-), 86(1), 37; Battin, S. R., Hill, K. G., Abbott, R. D., Catalano, R. F., & Hawkins, J. (1998). The contribution of gang membership to Delinquency Beyond Delinquent Friends*. *Criminology*, 36(1), 93–116; Esbensen, F., & Winfree, L. T. (1998). Race and gender differences between gang and Nongang Youths: Results from a multisite survey. *Justice Quarterly*, 15(3), 505–526; Hill, K. G., Howell, J. C., Hawkins, J., & Battin-Pearson, S. R. (1999). Childhood risk factors for adolescent gang membership: Results from the Seattle Social Development Project. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 36(3), 300–322; Curry, G. D. (2000). Self-reported gang involvement and officially recorded delinquency. *Criminology*, 38(4), 1253–1274; Hope, T., & Damphousse, K. (2002). Applying self-control theory to gang membership in a nonurban setting. *Journal of Gang Research*, 9(2), 41–61.

²⁰ Battin, S. R., Hill, K. G., Abbott, R. D., Catalano, R. F., & Hawkins, J. (1998). The contribution of gang membership to Delinquency Beyond Delinquent Friends*. *Criminology*, 36(1), 93–116; Hope, T., & Damphousse, K. (2002). Applying self-control theory to gang membership in a nonurban setting. *Journal of Gang Research*, 9(2), 41–61.

²¹ Gover, A. R., Jennings, W. G., & Tewksbury, R. (2009). Adolescent male and female gang members' experiences with violent victimization, dating violence, and sexual assault. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 34(1-2), 103–115

²² Taylor, T. J., Peterson, D., Esbensen, F., & Freng, A. (2007). Gang membership as a risk factor for adolescent violent victimization. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 44(4), 351–380

²³ Goldstein 198 Goldstein, P. J. (1985). The drugs/violence nexus: A Tripartite Conceptual Framework. *Journal of Drug Issues*, 15(4), 493–506.

²⁴ Goldstein, P. J. (1985). The drugs/violence nexus: A Tripartite Conceptual Framework. *Journal of Drug Issues*, 15(4), 493–506



Active drug users may also live in volatile environments where violence and victimization are integral parts of the everyday street lifestyle. Substance abusers may find themselves involved in disagreements over sharing drugs; disputes among competing distributors; theft of drugs or money; property crimes committed to raise drug money; disputes over drug quality or failure to pay; attacks on informants, witnesses and, at times, police; and the unwanted intrusion into well-established drug markets by other drug dealers.²⁵ In a study on alcohol consumption and the risk of physical and sexual assault victimization, it was found that the frequency of drinking alcohol is strongly related to risk of victimization while drinking vs. victimization while sober. Those who rarely drink (1 to 3 days a month) have no greater risk than those who don't consume alcohol. Those who drink once or twice a week or more are at much greater risk.²⁶ However, studies indicate that there is a slight decline in risk for the most frequent drinkers, that is, those who drink every day. Researchers also found that the odds of victimization while drinking are almost three times greater for men than for women.

Similar to substance abuse, drug dealing is also predictive of an increased risk of violent victimization. Drug dealers make “good victims” because they carry cash, valuable contraband, and when victimized, are reluctant to contact legal authorities.²⁷ In fact, research shows that the sale of illicit drugs in urban street markets significantly increases risk for serious victimization.²⁸ However, drug dealers, and in many instances individuals who partake in other risky lifestyles (gang members, drug users, delinquents, etc.) are also likely to be violent offenders themselves. Research suggests a strong relationship between offending and personal victimization being direct and possibly reciprocal. Offending may induce revenge or protective behaviors on the part of the victim or bystanders, leading to the initial offender becoming a victim. From the reverse perspective, a person who is victimized may easily become an offender if he or she engages in retribution against the initial perpetrator.²⁹ It has

²⁵ Koo, D., Chitwood, D., & Sanchez, J. (2008). Violent victimizations and the routine activities/lifestyle of drug users. *Journal of Drug Issues*, 38(4), 1105-1138, pg.1111

²⁶ Felson, R. B., & Burchfield, K. B. (2004). Alcohol and the risk of physical and sexual assault victimization*. *Criminology*, 42(4), 837-860

²⁷ Jacobs, B. (2001). Robbing drug dealers: Violence beyond the law. *The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*, 28(4).

²⁸ Berg, M. T., & Loeber, R. (2015). Violent conduct and victimization risk in the urban illicit drug economy: A prospective examination. *Justice Quarterly*, 32(1), 32-55, pg.33

²⁹ Averdijk, M., & Bernasco, W. (2014). Testing the situational explanation of victimization among adolescents. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 52(2), 151-180, pg.22

been argued that criminal routines are perhaps the most victimogenic lifestyle routines.³⁰ Furthermore, researchers contend that offenders are attractive criminal targets because they have reduced or limited access to the formal institutions of social control such as the police.³¹

In researching the relationship between offending and victimization (victim-offender overlap), almost half of the personal victimization incidents (30 of the 63) took place during the same hour that the respondent was involved in offending.³² Similarly, research shows that criminal offenders have much higher homicide rates than the nonoffender population.³³ The victim-offender overlap is viewed as more than a product of convergence of potential offenders and victims in time and space, but rather a causal relationship between the two. This suggests that victimization or offending itself can cause subsequent offending or victimization and is more prominent when offenders and victims are engaged in an on-going dispute.³⁴

CONCLUSION

People who engage in risky behaviors often experience negative consequences. The increased likelihood of violent victimization is one of the most well-documented outcomes associated with participation in risky behaviors. In addition to the general risk of violent victimization, victims may be targeted or victimized as a result of violent retaliatory disputes. This type of victimization often occurs regardless of the crime prevention measures at the place of victimization.

Anthony Chamberlain was targeted by his killer. Miguel Gomez and Jamil Wright were involved in disputes with their killers. All three men were engaged in risky behaviors that belied self-guardianship and led to their deaths.

³⁰ Jensen, G. F., & Brownfield, D. (1986). Gender, lifestyles, and victimization: Beyond routine activity. *Violence and Victims*, 1(2), 85–99

³¹ Sparks, R. F. (1982). In *Research on victims of crime: Accomplishments, issues, and New Directions*. essay, U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services, Public Health Service, Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration.

³² Averdijk, M., & Bernasco, W. (2014). Testing the situational explanation of victimization among adolescents. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 52(2), 151–180.

³³ Ezell, M. E., & Tanner-Smith, E. E. (2009). Examining the role of lifestyle and criminal history variables on the risk of homicide victimization. *Homicide Studies*, 13(2), 144–173.

³⁴ Wittebrood, K. (2007). *Slachtoffers van Criminaliteit: Een inleiding in de victimologie*. Boom Juridische uitgevers.

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APPENDIX: RESEARCH SUMMARY TABLE

Risky Behaviors and Violent Victimization Research Summary Table

Study	Crime Type	Risky Behavior Type	Person Engaging in Risky Behavior Was Offender, Victim, or Both	Do Risky Behaviors Increase Victimization?	Finding(s)
Arnold, R., Keane, C., & Baron, S. (2008). Assessing risk of victimization through epidemiological concepts: An alternative analytic strategy applied to routine activities theory*. Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue Canadienne De Sociologie, 42(3), 345–364. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1755-618x.2005.tb00844.x	Violence, Theft of Personal Property, Household Crime, Vehicle Theft	Multi (work nights, go to bars, sporting events, shop, alcohol consumption, etc.)	Victim	Yes	44% of the population risk for violent crime, 29% for theft of personal property, 22% for vehicle theft, and 19% for household crime, can be attributed to evening leisure activities. A reduction of evening leisure activities by 20% could result in large decreases in victimization on a yearly basis. (Evening leisure activities include the following: a) work nights, attend night classes, go to meetings or do volunteer work; b) go to restaurants or bars; c) go out for sports, exercise or recreational activities; d) shop; e) visit relatives or friends; and f) other activities.)
Averdijk, M., & Bernasco, W. (2014). Testing the situational explanation of victimization among adolescents. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 52(2), 151–180. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022427814546197	Theft, Vandalism, Assault, Threat	Multi (Delinquency, use of alcohol, use of cannabis, peers present, authority figures present, public space at various times)	Victim	Yes	The most remarkable finding is...the link between offending and personal victimization...Almost half of the personal victimization incidents (30 of 63) took place during the same hour that the respondent was involved in offending. Almost all of these were violent incidents, typically among peers... We also found strong evidence for the other hypothesized situational causes, including the use of alcohol, the presence of peers, the absence of authority figures, and the action taking place in public places, in particular during dark.

Risky Behaviors and Violent Victimization Research Summary Table

Study	Crime Type	Risky Behavior Type	Person Engaging in Risky Behavior Was Offender, Victim, or Both	Do Risky Behaviors Increase Victimization?	Finding(s)
Berg, M. T., & Loeber, R. (2015). Violent conduct and victimization risk in the urban illicit drug economy: A prospective examination. Justice Quarterly, 32(1), 32–55. https://doi.org/10.1080/07418825.2012.724079	Violent victimization	Illicit drug marketplace	Both	Yes	Drug dealing has a significant positive effect on violent victimization, controlling for an array of non-observed and observed factors. Moreover, the results also showed that violent offending is positively related to violent victimization...However, also found is among "very active" drug dealers that a "high violence" disposition protects against victimization. Whether a violent disposition influences a merchants risk for victimization depends on how active they are in the marketplace.
Bountress, K., Aggen, S. H., & Kliewer, W. (2021). Is delinquency associated with subsequent victimization by Community Violence in adolescents? A test of the risky behavior model in a primarily African American sample. Psychology of Violence, 11(3), 234–243. https://doi.org/10.1037/vio0000364	Chased by gangs, Asked to sell drugs, Asked to use drugs, Threatened with physical harm, Slapped, hit or punched, Beaten up or mugged	Adolescent Delinquency	Both	Yes	In general, we found support for the risky behavior model. Specifically, at two of the three time lags, youth with higher levels of delinquency and youth with greater reported changes in delinquency experienced more victimization by community violence.
Burrow, J. D., & Apel, R. (2008). Youth behavior, school structure, and student risk of victimization. Justice Quarterly, 25(2), 349–380. https://doi.org/10.1080/07418820802025181	Assault, Larceny	Basic student demographics	Victim	Yes	When we examine the school-related predictors, we see that youths at higher risk for assault are those who are underperforming scholastically, who participate in school-based extracurricular activities, who have a long commute to school, who have skipped classes, and who have gotten into fights at school.

Risky Behaviors and Violent Victimization Research Summary Table

Study	Crime Type	Risky Behavior Type	Person Engaging in Risky Behavior Was Offender, Victim, or Both	Do Risky Behaviors Increase Victimization?	Finding(s)
Chen, X. (2009). The linkage between deviant lifestyles and victimization. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 24(7), 1083–1110. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260508322190	Threatened with a knife/gun, Shot/stabbed, "Jumped"	Delinquency (time hanging out with friends and staying out at night without parent's permission)	Both	Yes	6.7% of adolescents who had no delinquent behavior in the last 12 months were threatened; this percentage was about 2 times higher for those who committed one type of delinquency, about 3 times for those with two to three types of delinquency, and about 5 times for those who committed four or more types of delinquent behavior.
Engström, A. (2021). Conceptualizing lifestyle and routine activities in the early 21st Century: A systematic review of self-report measures in studies on direct-contact offenses in young populations. Crime & Delinquency, 67(5), 737–782. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011128720937640	Violent and non violent offenses	Substance use, Unstructured and peer-oriented leisure activities, Problem behaviors,	Both	Yes	Illegal activities are the most common predictors, followed by substance use. This indicates that these presumably high-risk activities constitute the most frequently used indicators in L-RQAT research on victimization.
Ezell, M. E., & Tanner-Smith, E. E. (2009). Examining the role of lifestyle and criminal history variables on the risk of homicide victimization. Homicide Studies, 13(2), 144–173. https://doi.org/10.1177/1088767908330493	Homicide	Gang membership, the period after release from incarceration, violent arrest history, alcohol and drug abuse	Both	Yes	Criminal offenders, from an aggregate viewpoint, have much higher homicide rates than the nonoffender population....The variables in the bivariate models that were significant predictors of the hazard rate of homicide victimization included the sample indicator variables, race and ethnicity, county of commitment, family criminality, gang activity, released from incarceration, and violent offenses.

Risky Behaviors and Violent Victimization Research Summary Table

Study	Crime Type	Risky Behavior Type	Person Engaging in Risky Behavior Was Offender, Victim, or Both	Do Risky Behaviors Increase Victimization?	Finding(s)
Felson, R. B., & Burchfield, K. B. (2006). Alcohol and the risk of physical and sexual assault victimization*. Criminology, 42(4), 837–860. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.2004.tb00538.x	Physical and Sexual Assault	Alcohol consumption	Victim	Yes	The results show that the frequency of drinking is strongly related to risk of victimization while drinking vs. victimization while sober. Those who rarely drink (1 to 3 days a month) have no greater risk than the teetotalers. Those who drink once or twice a week or more are at much greater risk. However, there papers to be a slight decline in risk for the most frequent drinkers, that is those who drink everyday... The odds of victimization while drinking are almost three times greater for men than for women.
Felson, R. B., Savolainen, J., Berg, M. T., & Ellonen, N. (2012). Does spending time in public settings contribute to the adolescent risk of violent victimization? Journal of Quantitative Criminology, 29(2), 273–293. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10940-012-9179-5	Assault, Robbery	Alcohol consumption, active night life	Victim	Yes	1) an active night life (any time after 6pm) has a strong effect on victimization for boys, whereas much of the association between night life and victimization is spurious for girls; 2) after-school activity is not a risk factor; 3) adolescents who frequent public places at night increase their risk of victimization by people they know as well as strangers and 4) much of the risk of night time activity in public settings is alcohol-related.

Risky Behaviors and Violent Victimization Research Summary Table

Study	Crime Type	Risky Behavior Type	Person Engaging in Risky Behavior Was Offender, Victim, or Both	Do Risky Behaviors Increase Victimization?	Finding(s)
Gover, A. R. (2004). Risky lifestyles and dating violence: A theoretical test of violent victimization. <i>Journal of Criminal Justice</i> , 32(2), 171–180. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2003.12.007	Dating violence	Drug abuse, alcohol abuse, driving under the influence, sexual promiscuity	Victim	Yes	Consistent with theoretical predictions, the risk-taking activities of illicit drug use, drinking and driving under the influence of alcohol, and promiscuous sexual behaviors are significantly related to dating violence. In terms of odds ratios, for example, a unit increase in drug use increases an adolescent's odds of dating victimization by 24%. In addition, a unit increase in sexual behavior increases an adolescent's odds of dating violence by 32%. Drinking and driving under the influence of alcohol also increase odds by 75%. ("An odds ratio of 1 serves as the baseline for comparison and indicates that there is no association between the response and the predictor." So for every 1 unit increase the odds of being victimized is multiplied)
Gover, A. R., Jennings, W. G., & Tewksbury, R. (2009). Adolescent male and female gang members' experiences with violent victimization, dating violence, and sexual assault. <i>American Journal of Criminal Justice</i> , 34(1-2), 103–115. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12103-008-9053-z	Violence, Dating Violence, Sexual Assault	Gang membership	Victim	Yes	The results from all of the full models indicate that gang membership is significantly related to a higher risk of violent victimization. Self-reported membership in gangs increases the odds of sexual assault by 266%. Gang membership increased the odds of violent dating victimization by 253%. In terms of serious injuries from fighting, gang membership increased the odds by 284%.

Risky Behaviors and Violent Victimization Research Summary Table

Study	Crime Type	Risky Behavior Type	Person Engaging in Risky Behavior Was Offender, Victim, or Both	Do Risky Behaviors Increase Victimization?	Finding(s)
Koo, D. J., Chitwood, D. D., & Sánchez, J. (2008). Violent victimization and the routine activities/lifestyle of active drug users. <i>Journal of Drug Issues</i> , 38(4), 1105–1137. https://doi.org/10.1177/002204260803800409	Robbery, Gun violence, Assault	Drug use	Victim	Yes	Respondents whose peer networks were comprised of more than 50% drug users were more likely than those with a less dense network of drug users to be victimized. Having multiple sex partners and having injection sex partner also increased the likelihood of victimization. Multiple substances from the drug use domain were significantly associated with violent victimization...All six variables within the street business domain (drug trade involvement, property crime, prostitution, con games, steal drugs, and carrying gun over 50% of the time) were positively associated with violent victimization.
Nofziger, S. (2008). Deviant lifestyles and violent victimization at school. <i>Journal of Interpersonal Violence</i> , 24(9), 1494–1517. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260508323667	Witnessing violence, Sexual assault, Physical assault	Delinquent peers, alcohol use, drug use, truancy	Victim	Yes	The theoretically important finding in this model is that the combined measure of a deviant lifestyle does significantly increase the risk of indirect victimization at school. A respondent who has a deviant lifestyle only one standard deviation above the mean has 49% greater odds for witnessing violence. ... Each increase in the deviant lifestyle of the respondent increases the odds of being the victim of a sexual assault by 67% and of a physical assault by 31%.

Risky Behaviors and Violent Victimization Research Summary Table

Study	Crime Type	Risky Behavior Type	Person Engaging in Risky Behavior Was Offender, Victim, or Both	Do Risky Behaviors Increase Victimization?	Finding(s)
Peterson, D., Taylor, T. J., & Esbensen, F.-A. (2004). Gang membership and violent victimization. <i>Justice Quarterly</i> , 21(4), 793–815. https://doi.org/10.1080/07418820400095991	Assault, Robbery, Aggravated Assault	Gang membership	Victim	Yes	...findings reveal that gang members reported more extensive victimization experiences than nongang youths for measures of assault, robbery, aggravated assault, and total victimization. The magnitude of these differences, however, varies substantially with the type of victimization examined. For example, while a majority of all youths reported having experienced some type of victimization in their lives, only 9% and 7% of nongang members reported ever having been the victim of aggravated assault and robbery, respectively. In comparison, 43% of gang members reported having been the victim of aggravated assault and 25% reported having been the victim of robbery. Smaller differences were found between the two groups in terms of simple assault (48% nongang, 66% gang) and total violent victimization (51% nongang and 75% gang).
PolICASTRO, C., & Daigle, L. E. (2019). A gendered analysis of the effects of social ties and risky behavior on intimate partner violence victimization. <i>Journal of Interpersonal Violence</i> , 34(8), 1657–1682. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260516652271	Intimate partner violence	Drug use, IPV perpetration, excessive alcohol use, risky sexual behavior	Victim	Yes	All of the risky behavior variables, with the exception of excessive alcohol use, were positively and significantly associated with intimate partner violence.

Risky Behaviors and Violent Victimization Research Summary Table

Study	Crime Type	Risky Behavior Type	Person Engaging in Risky Behavior Was Offender, Victim, or Both	Do Risky Behaviors Increase Victimization?	Finding(s)
Schreck, C. J., Stewart, E. A., & Fisher, B. S. (2006). Self-control, victimization, and their influence on risky lifestyles: A longitudinal analysis using panel data. <i>Journal of Quantitative Criminology</i> , 22(4), 319–340. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10940-006-9014-y	Physical assault, Robbery, Theft	Self-control, delinquent peers	Victim	Yes	Low self-control can predict future victimization
Schreck, C. J., Wright, R. A., & Miller, J. M. (2002). A study of individual and situational antecedents of violent victimization. <i>Justice Quarterly</i> , 19(1), 159–180. https://doi.org/10.1080/07418820200095201	Simple assault, Robbery, Aggravated assault	Delinquent peers, Spending time in unstructured and unsupervised social activities	Victim	Yes	Self-control has the largest effect size on victimization of any of the variables in the analysis...Individuals who spend a lot of time driving around with friends or looking for someone to hang out with at night tend to have a higher risk, regardless of their level of self-control... The respondents who have many close friends with arrest records also tended to share higher risks, supporting the belief that the delinquent peer group victimizes fellow members and/or draws retaliation because of delinquent activities against others.
Stewart, E. A., Elifson, K. W., & Sterk, C. E. (2004). Integrating the general theory of crime into an explanation of violent victimization among female offenders. <i>Justice Quarterly</i> , 21(1), 159–181. https://doi.org/10.1080/07418820400095771	Physical assault	Drug use, drug dealing, alcohol abuse, prostitution, associating with drug-using or drug-dealing friends.	Both	Yes	Low self-control is significantly and positively associated with violent victimization ($r=.21$). As expected, risky lifestyle behaviors are also significantly and positively associated with violent victimization. For example, risky lifestyles ($r=.26$) property offending ($r=.16$), and violent offending ($r=.34$) are significantly associated with violent victimization.

Risky Behaviors and Violent Victimization Research Summary Table

Study	Crime Type	Risky Behavior Type	Person Engaging in Risky Behavior Was Offender, Victim, or Both	Do Risky Behaviors Increase Victimization?	Finding(s)
Stewart, E. A., Schreck, C. J., & Simons, R. L. (2006). "I ain't gonna let no one disrespect me." Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 43(4), 427-458. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022427806292338	Physical assault	Neighborhood characteristics, Adopting the street code	Victim	Yes	Adopting the street code was significantly and positively associated with violent victimization. Moreover and as expected, prior victimization, associating with violent friends, engaging in violent delinquency, living in an urban neighborhood, living in the southern United States, and living in a neighborhood characterized by violence were significantly and positively associated with violent victimization.
Taylor, T. J., Freng, A., Esbensen, F.-A., & Peterson, D. (2008). Youth gang membership and serious violent victimization: The importance of lifestyles and routine activities. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 23(10), 1441-1464. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260508314306	Theft, Simple assault, Aggravated assault, Robbery	Gang membership	Victim	Yes	The odds of experiencing one or more serious violent victimizations are more than 2 1/2 times greater for gang members than for similarly situated non-gang members.... Two of these measures-availability of drugs and/or alcohol and involvement in delinquent activities-are found to be significantly related to serious violent victimization, net other factors.
Taylor, T. J., Peterson, D., Esbensen, F.-A., & Freng, A. (2007). Gang membership as a risk factor for adolescent violent victimization. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 44(4), 351-380. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022427807305845	Simple assault, Aggravated assault, Robbery	Gang membership, peer factors, drug/alcohol	Victim	Yes	Results show that gang members were significantly more likely to be violently victimized during the past year, as well as to experience a significantly greater number of victimizations, than nongang members. 70% of gang youth reported being the victim of general violent victimization compared to 46% nongang.

Risky Behaviors and Violent Victimization Research Summary Table

Study	Crime Type	Risky Behavior Type	Person Engaging in Risky Behavior Was Offender, Victim, or Both	Do Risky Behaviors Increase Victimization?	Finding(s)
Torok, M., Darke, S., Kaye, S., & Ross, J. (2011). Conduct disorder as a risk factor for violent victimization and offending among regular illicit drug users. <i>Journal of Drug Issues</i> , 41(1), 25-43. https://doi.org/10.1177/002204261104100102	Assault, Property crime, Theft, Armed robbery, Sexual assault, Homicide	Drug use	Both	Yes	The CD (conduct disorder) group was significantly more likely to have ever, and recently, been a victim of a violent crime, to have more frequently been assaulted, and from a significantly younger age ... Significant predictors of violent victimization were...recent drug dealing
Turanovic, J. J., & Pratt, T. C. (2014). "Can't stop, won't stop": Self-control, risky lifestyles, and repeat victimization. <i>Journal of Quantitative Criminology</i> , 30(1), 29-56. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10940-012-9188-4	Assault, Robbery, Assault with a weapon	Risky socializing, substance use, violent behavior, violent peers	Victim	Yes	Self-control significantly influences whether victims make changes to their risky lifestyles post-victimization, and these changes in risky lifestyles determine whether victims are repeatedly victimized.
Turanovic, J. J., Pratt, T. C., & Piquero, A. R. (2018). Structural constraints, risky lifestyles, and repeat victimization. <i>Journal of Quantitative Criminology</i> , 34(1), 251-274. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10940-016-9334-5	Assault, Sexual Assault, Robbery	Offending, illicit drug use, alcohol use	Victim	Yes	Victims who engage in aggressive offending, income offending, use of illicit drugs, and get drunk more often, are at an increased risk of experiencing repeat victimization.

Risky Behaviors and Violent Victimization Research Summary Table

Study	Crime Type	Risky Behavior Type	Person Engaging in Risky Behavior Was Offender, Victim, or Both	Do Risky Behaviors Increase Victimization?	Finding(s)
Turanovic, J. J., Reisig, M. D., & Pratt, T. C. (2014). Risky lifestyles, low self-control, and violent victimization across gendered pathways to crime. <i>Journal of Quantitative Criminology</i> , 31(2), 183–206. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10940-014-9230-9	Assault with a weapon, Assault, Robbery	Self-control, drug abuse, violent offending, prior victimization	Victim	Yes	Two risky behavior variables- violent offending and drug dealing- are also significant predictors of violent victimization. The only predictor variable that does not yield an increase in violent victimization is substance abuse.
Wells, W., & Chermak, S. (2011). Individual-level risk factors for gun victimization in a sample of probationers. <i>Journal of Interpersonal Violence</i> , 26(11), 2143–2164. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260510383022	Gun victimization	Gang involvement, recent arrest experiences, being arrested for or self-reporting involvement in violent, drug, property or gun crimes as an offender	Both	Yes	Probationers who were recently arrested, committed a personal or firearms offense, and thought they were at risk of contact with the criminal justice system were significantly more likely to be victimized by gun...however gang members were not significantly more likely to be gun victims....probationers recently arrested, involved in drug offenses, and involved in illegal firearm possession or carrying were all more likely to be gun victims than non-gun crime victims.
Whitbeck, L. B., Hoyt, D. R., Yoder, K. A., Cauce, A. M., & Paradise, M. (2001). Deviant behavior and victimization among homeless and runaway adolescents. <i>Journal of Interpersonal Violence</i> , 16(11), 1175–1204. https://doi.org/10.1177/088626001016011005	Physical and Sexual Assault	Stole money, Breaking and entering, Drug dealing, Shoplifting, Sexual delinquency, drug and alcohol use, deviant peers,	Both	Yes	Results indicated that when controlling for all other factors, including histories of physical and sexual maltreatment in families of origin, street behaviors, sexual orientation, and informal support systems, engaging in nonsexual deviant subsistence strategies increased the likelihood of physical victimization more than two times. Engaging in sexual deviant subsistence strategies increased the likelihood of sexual victimization almost four times.

Risky Behaviors and Violent Victimization Research Summary Table

Study	Crime Type	Risky Behavior Type	Person Engaging in Risky Behavior Was Offender, Victim, or Both	Do Risky Behaviors Increase Victimization?	Finding(s)
Wu, J., & Pyrooz, D. C. (2016). Uncovering the pathways between gang membership and violent victimization. <i>Journal of Quantitative Criminology</i> , 32(4), 531–559. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10940-015-9266-5	Assault, Robbery, Assault with a weapon	Gang membership	Victim	Yes	The results indicate that 27% of the contemporaneous effects of gang membership on victimization is attributable to selection, with the remaining 73% endogenous to gang membership.
Zavala, E., & Spohn, R. E. (2012). The role of vicarious and anticipated strain on the overlap of violent perpetration and victimization: A test of general strain theory. <i>American Journal of Criminal Justice</i> , 38(1), 119–140. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12103-012-9163-5	Assault, Assault with a weapon	Perpetration/offending	Both	Yes	General confirmation that offending behaviors predict violent victimization
Zaykowski, H., & Gunter, W. D. (2013). Gender differences in victimization risk: Exploring the role of deviant lifestyles. <i>Violence and Victims</i> , 28(2), 341–356. https://doi.org/10.1891/0886-6708.vv-d-12-00019	Assault	Deviant behavior, substance use, violent behavior (burglary, stealing, vandalism, assault, etc.)	Both	Yes	Males who threaten or assault others are themselves more likely to be assaulted...The more often a male college student binge drinks, the greater his odds of being assaulted.

Risky Behaviors and Violent Victimization Research Summary Table

Study	Crime Type	Risky Behavior Type	Person Engaging in Risky Behavior Was Offender, Victim, or Both	Do Risky Behaviors Increase Victimization?	Finding(s)
Zhang, L., Welte, J. W., & Wieczorek, W. F. (2001). Deviant lifestyle and crime victimization. Journal of Criminal Justice, 29(2), 133–143. https://doi.org/10.1016/s0047-2352(00)00089-1	Violent victimization, Property victimization	Alcohol use, drug use, and delinquency	Victim	Yes	The present study found that deviant lifestyles had a significant lagged effect and a significant synchronous effect on crime victimization...Adolescents who engage in deviant lifestyles, such as drinking heavily, using drugs, and committing delinquent acts, are more likely to be victimized than those who do not engage in deviant lifestyles.
Baron, S. W., Forde, D. R., & Kennedy, L. W. (2007). Disputatiousness, aggressiveness, and victimization among street youths. Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice, 5(4), 411–425. https://doi.org/10.1177/1541204077299582	Physical force, Attacked with a weapon	Multi (Homelessness, alcohol, violent peers, drug use, acted themselves as offenders)	Both	Not shown	Contrary to expectations we do not see a significant association between aggression and victimization. Instead, it appears that the link between aggression and victimization is indirect through its association with offending that in turn is related to the respondents' vulnerability for victimization. Finally, those who used alcohol more regularly also reported less victimization. Furthermore, those conflicts that involved greater intensity were associated with lower levels of victimization.
Jacobs, B. (2001). Robbing Drug Dealers: Violence Beyond the Law. The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare, 28(4).	Robbery	Drug Dealing	Both	Not shown	
Matthews, R. (2015). Female prostitution and victimization. International Review of Victimology, 21(1), 85–100. https://doi.org/10.1177/0269758014547994	General victimization	Female prostitution	Victim	No study conducted	

Risky Behaviors and Violent Victimization Research Summary Table

Study	Crime Type	Risky Behavior Type	Person Engaging in Risky Behavior Was Offender, Victim, or Both	Do Risky Behaviors Increase Victimization?	Finding(s)
Pratt, T. C., & Turanovic, J. J. (2016). Lifestyle and routine activity theories revisited: The importance of “risk” to the study of victimization. <i>Victims & Offenders</i> , 11(3), 335–354. https://doi.org/10.1080/15564886.2015.1057351	General victimization	non-specific	Victim	No study conducted	
Pratt, T. C., Turanovic, J. J., Fox, K. A., & Wright, K. A. (2013). Self-control and victimization: A meta-analysis. <i>Criminology</i> , 52(1), 87–116. https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-9125.12030	General victimization	Self-control	Victim	No study conducted	
Baron, S. W. (2003). Street youth violence and victimization. <i>Trauma, Violence, & Abuse</i> , 4(1), 22–44. https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838002238944	Sexual and Physical Victimization	Youth violence/delinquency (deviant peers, violent activities, alcohol consumption, etc.)	Both	N/A	

Risky Behaviors and Violent Victimization Research Summary Table

Study	Crime Type	Risky Behavior Type	Person Engaging in Risky Behavior Was Offender, Victim, or Both	Do Risky Behaviors Increase Victimization?	Finding(s)
Spano, R., & Bolland, J. (2010). Disentangling the effects of violent victimization, violent behavior, and gun carrying for minority inner-city youth living in extreme poverty. <i>Crime & Delinquency</i> , 59(2), 191-213. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011128710372196	Knife violence, Shot	Violent behavior, gun carrying, gang membership, drug and alcohol use	Both	N/A	Discussed the premise that victimization leads to gun carrying more so than whether gun carrying leads to victimization
Childs, K. (2005). Self-control, gang membership, and victimization: An integrated approach to the risk factors of violent victimization (dissertation). University of South Florida, Tampa, FL.	Robbed, Attacked with a weapon,	Gang involvement, self control,	Both	Mixed	It was assumed that gang membership would have an effect on both the prevalence and frequency of violent victimization. The prevalence of "attacked with a weapon" was the only victimization item to provide support for this hypothesis.
Cops, D., & Pleysier, S. (2014). Usual suspects, ideal victims and vice versa: The relationship between youth offending and victimization and the mediating influence of Risky Lifestyles. <i>European Journal of Criminology</i> , 11(3), 361-378. https://doi.org/10.1177/1477370813500886	Vandalism, Theft, Physical attack, Threatened with a weapon, Extortion on the street	Engaging in offending, location of leisure activities, delinquent peers	Both	Mixed	The separate integration of risky lifestyle and offending suggest that both variables are directly and significantly linked to victimization. However, in a full model, the initial direct effect of risky lifestyle disappears, whereas the effect of offending remains stable, which suggests that the effect of risky lifestyle on victimization is indirect and mediated by offending.

Risky Behaviors and Violent Victimization Research Summary Table

Study	Crime Type	Risky Behavior Type	Person Engaging in Risky Behavior Was Offender, Victim, or Both	Do Risky Behaviors Increase Victimization?	Finding(s)
Katz, C. M., Webb, V. J., Fox, K., & Shaffer, J. N. (2011). Understanding the relationship between violent victimization and gang membership. <i>Journal of Criminal Justice</i> , 39(1), 48–59. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2010.10.004	Gun victimization, Non-gun weapon victimization, assault	Gang membership	Victim	Mixed	The prevalence of violent victimization was highest among gang members, followed by former gang members, gang associates, and non-gang members. After controlling for involvement in gang crime, however, gang membership per se did not significantly influence the juveniles' risk of serious violent victimization.
Pauwels, L. J., & Svensson, R. (2011). Exploring the relationship between offending and victimization: What is the role of risky lifestyles and low self-control? A test in two urban samples. <i>European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research</i> , 17(3), 163–177. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10610-011-9150-2	General victimization	Alcohol use, delinquent friends, night activities, low self-control	Both	Mixed	Both lifestyle risk and low self-control have significant independent effects on victimization... Although individual differences in lifestyles originally were used to explain victimization, we could demonstrate that lifestyles explain offending much better than victimization.

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Ruback, R. B., Clark, V. A., & Warner, C. (2014). Why are crime victims at risk of being victimized again? substance use, depression, and offending as mediators of the victimization–revictimization link. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 29(1), 157–185. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260513504626	Knife violence, Shot, Stabbed, Jumped	Drug use, depression, and offending	Both	Mixed	..Only the measure of violent offending predicts future victimization for male respondents.