

Issue no. 12

March 2000

ROBBERY IN A DWELLING
OR
HOME INVASION?

Analysis of 1998 Police Incident Reports

Nichole Hunter
and
Jayne Marshall

Data Extraction by Carol Castle

This Information Bulletin:

- *Uses incident report narratives to categorise robbery in the home incidents into four types ranging from 'classic' through to 'unlikely' home invasions.*
 - *Details the individual characteristics of the robbery incidents*
-

INTRODUCTION

In August 1999, the Office of Crime Statistics released an Information Bulletin entitled *Home Invasion in South Australia*. That Bulletin described the varying definitions of 'home invasion' used by police, victims and the media. While there was no legal definition available at that stage¹, it was found that 'home invasion' was generally understood as an incident involving unlawful entry into a house with intent to commit a crime, when the occupants were at home. Most references to 'home invasion' also included one or both of the following elements:

- some type of confrontation between offender(s) and occupant(s), possibly involving violence (or the threat of violence) against the occupant(s); and
- removal (or attempted removal) of property from the home.

Given the lack of a legal definition of 'home invasion', it was not possible to provide a single authoritative count of the number of such incidents recorded by police in South Australia. However, using the two elements of unlawful entry into the home and some type of confrontation between offender and occupant as a conceptual guide, it was decided that all incidents of *armed or unarmed robbery* which took place in a dwelling would have a high probability of being a 'home invasion' type incident. It was also recognised that some 'home invasion' type incidents may be recorded as a *burglary/break and enter dwelling*, in association with an *offence against the person* such as *assault*. However, because it is likely that many of the incidents relating to these type of offence combinations are not home invasions (eg they may possibly relate to a domestic violence incident) they were considered to be 'possible' home invasions only. The August 1999 Bulletin identified the frequency of these incidents in 1997 and 1998 and provided summary information regarding the age and sex of the victims.

The current Bulletin aims to provide further insight into the frequency and nature of home invasion incidents through the detailed analysis of the incidents identified as 'probable' home invasions in the August 1999 Bulletin. For this current Bulletin, Police Incident Reports relating to *armed/unarmed robbery in a dwelling* reported during 1998 were extracted and analysed. In particular, the 'narratives' or description of the events included in each report were examined in detail.

METHODOLOGY

Extraction and analysis of Police Incident Reports

The starting point for the analysis was to determine how many of the 1998 'probable' home invasion incidents identified in the August 1999 Bulletin could be classified as 'actual' home invasions. To this end, Police Incident Reports were extracted from the police database if they

met each of the following criteria:

- the report included an offence of *armed or unarmed robbery* committed against an individual (specifically, *robbery with a firearm*, *robbery with other weapon*, *unarmed robbery with violence* and *unarmed robbery- no violence*);
- the location of the offence was recorded as a dwelling, flat or unit; and
- the incident report was filed during 1998.

The attending officer fills in a Police Incident Report (PIR) for every victim of a criminal incident. If a single incident has more than one victim, a separate report is completed for each victim. Hence, the number of reports is likely to be greater than the actual number of discrete incidents. Each report contains statistics

¹ Since that Bulletin, new legislation, the *Criminal Law (Sentencing) (Sentencing Principles) Amendment Act 1999* and *Criminal Law Consolidation (Serious Criminal Trespass) Amendment Act 1999*, have been enacted. While not defining 'home invasion', this legislation does recognise that "A primary policy of the criminal law is to protect the security of the lawful occupants of the home from intruders." In line with this, the legislation has replaced the previous burglary, break/enter offences with that of serious criminal trespass. A maximum penalty of life imprisonment applies to an offence of *serious criminal trespass in a place of residence* if a person enters a dwelling with the intent to commit an offence when "another person is lawfully present in the place and the person knows of the other's presence or is reckless about whether anyone is in the place" (s.170(2)(c) *Criminal Law Consolidation (Serious Criminal Trespass) Amendment Act 1999*). The legislation has also introduced a new offence of *criminal trespass in a place of residence* which provides for a maximum penalty of three years for a person "who trespasses in a place of residence when they know another person is present or are reckless about whether anyone is in that place". *Serious criminal trespass in a place of residence* differs from *criminal trespass* in that it involves intent to commit an offence.

in relation to the victim (such as sex and age) and the offence (including date, type of offence(s), type of weapon used (if any) and the relationship between victim and offender). In addition, each report includes a 'narrative', or a short description of the incident. The narratives provide a much greater understanding of the circumstances of the incident than can be gained from an analysis of the statistics alone.

However, these incident reports have some limitations. The information in the PIRs is based upon the victim's account of events and it is possible victims may be mistaken about some details, or have motives for providing inaccurate information. In addition, the information varies considerably depending upon the level of detail recorded by police, and how information provided by victims is interpreted. The fact that a particular detail is not included in the report (for example that an offender may have demanded drugs) does not necessarily mean that this did not occur.

Using both the statistics and the narratives included in each report, information was obtained on a number of key variables, including:

- ***Incident details:***
 - Number of victims per incident
 - Number of intruders/offenders per incident
 - Month
 - Day of week
 - Time of day
 - Number of offences per incident
 - Type of offences recorded
 - Use of weapons
 - Type of weapons used
 - Type of dwelling
 - Entry point
 - Entry method
 - Type of property stolen
 - Value of property stolen
 - Clear up status
 - Involvement of drugs

- ***Victim details***
 - Age
 - Sex

Home invasion profile

A profile of a typical 'home invasion' incident was developed by identifying the common characteristics of incidents frequently described as a 'home invasion' by police, victims and the media. Five indicators were identified, as follows:

- ***Relationship between victim and offender:*** Offender is unknown to the victim.
- ***Type of entry:*** Entry is unauthorised.
- ***Confrontation with occupants:*** The offenders deliberately seek out the occupants of the dwelling.
- ***Motive:*** To acquire the money or property of another person by using violence or the threat of violence.
- ***Location:*** Confrontation between the victim and the offender takes place inside a dwelling at some point during the course of the incident.

Other elements relating to the victim (such as the age, sex and number of victims), offender (such as masked, armed, and number of intruders) and offence (such as time of day, level of violence and point of entry) also varied for different robbery incidents. However, these characteristics did not have any impact upon whether an incident was perceived as a home invasion. In other words, when considered in isolation these factors were not significant in determining how an incident should be categorised. Instead these elements helped to describe the nature of the incident and were examined as part of a more detailed analysis of all robbery cases.

Each of the 132 discrete incidents of *robbery in a dwelling* recorded in 1998 were assessed against the indicators identified in the profile. The original intention of the study was to classify each incident as either 'home invasion' or 'not home invasion'. However, it soon became clear that this was not practical. In many cases the details provided in the narratives were limited. While some incidents fell clearly into one or other of these two categories, there were a number that exhibited most or some of the necessary elements but not all. In other cases information regarding some of the crucial identifiers was missing, and so it was not clear whether they were 'home invasions' or not. To accommodate these situations, four categories were developed, as follows:

Type A:

Incidents which exhibited all of the identifiers used to characterise a home invasion.

Type B:

Incidents with most of these identifiers.

Type C:

Incidents where some of the identifiers were present, but there was not enough information regarding other identifiers to reach any firm conclusions about their 'home invasion' status.

Type D:

Incidents where some of the identifiers were present, but additional information contained in the report suggested that the incident was a different type of offence from 'home invasion'.

'Likely' and 'unlikely' home invasion incident types

Incident Types A, B and C were considered to be 'likely' home invasions. Type A incidents were obviously included in this group because these incidents had all the elements of the home invasion profile. Types B and C were included because they exhibited most or some of these elements and there was no information to suggest that they did not fit the profile. Type D incidents were considered to be 'unlikely' home invasions because they differed in a significant way from the home invasion profile.

The findings of this study are presented in two parts. Using examples from the narratives, the first section describes the incident types in more detail. The second section details the individual characteristics of the robbery incidents.

PART ONE: DESCRIPTION OF INCIDENT TYPES

The following section examines each of the incident types A, B, C and D in greater detail. A summary of the incident types is provided in Table 1.

Type A – ‘Classic’ home invasion

While there is no consensus regarding a definition of home invasion there is some agreement that these incidents generally exhibit a number of common elements. For the purposes of this research the elements considered to fit within a generally accepted understanding of a ‘classic’ home invasion are:

- i. *Relationship between offender(s) and occupant(s)*: stranger;
- ii. *Method of entry*: unlawful;
- iii. *Motive*: theft of property;
- iv. *Confrontation*: deliberate and involving violence or the threat of violence; and
- v. *Location*: inside the dwelling.

The following section provides a more detailed explanation of the elements constituting ‘Type A’ home invasion.

i) Relationship between offender and victim

The first element considered to be important was the relationship between the victim and offender. In ‘Type A’ cases the offenders were unknown to the victims as highlighted in the following examples:

The victim was at home when unknown males entered the house through the rear door.²

One Type A incident differed slightly from the others in that, while the majority of intruders were unknown to the victim, these men were accompanied by an acquaintance of the victims. This case was still considered to be consistent with a Type A home invasion:

The victims were at home asleep when one heard a knock at the front door. One victim opened the door and found an acquaintance accompanied by other unknown persons.

ii) Method of entry

Type A involved intruders entering unlawfully. In a number of cases this was clearly evident, as the following examples illustrate:

The offender entered the house after punching out the rear window screen and unlocking the door latch.

The offenders knocked at the front door of the victim’s house. The victim ignored the knocking and the offenders smashed through the front glass in the doorframe and entered the house.

² All examples from the PIRs cited in this Information Bulletin are not verbatim transcripts. Where necessary, words and phrases have been changed to preserve the anonymity of the victims.

Table 1: Summary of Incident Types

IDENTIFIERS	TYPE A 'Classic'	TYPE B 'Assumed'	TYPE C 'Ambiguous'	TYPE D 'Unlikely'
	All characteristics listed below.	Most characteristics as per Type A, but may differ on one or two as identified below.	Some of the characteristics of A or B, but may differ on some aspects as listed below. Generally characterised by lack of information.	Some characteristics as per A, B or C, but with one or more elements as listed below suggesting another type of offence is involved.
Relationship between victim and offender	Stranger	Majority of offenders are strangers or Some uncertainty	Acquaintance or friend or Unclear	Family member or other close relationship.
Method of entry	Unlawful	Some uncertainty	Unclear	Offender invited into occupant's home.
Motive	Theft of property	Primarily theft of property but possible secondary motive	Primary motive unclear	Primary motive assault or removal of contested property.
Confrontation	Offender deliberately confronts victim	Confrontation may have been unintentional. However, once confronted, offender is violent or threatens violence.	Events leading to confrontation uncertain. Offender may have been discovered by victim or may have been avoiding confrontation.	Deliberate confrontation based on another motive (eg domestic violence) or Offender may have avoided confrontation with occupant.
Location	Inside dwelling	Inside dwelling at some point or attempts to gain entry during confrontation with victim.	Unclear. Events may have taken place in a yard or shed.	Not inside dwelling at any time (eg driveway).

In other Type A incidents offenders knocked, the door was answered and the intruders then pushed past the occupant into the home:

The victim was at home alone when the offenders knocked on the front door. When the victim answered the door the offenders forced their way into the flat.

The offenders forced entry into the house after a door was partially opened.

Other offender(s) walked through unlocked front or rear doors, or observed the occupants outside the house and then followed (or forced) them inside:

The offenders entered through the front screen door, which was closed but not locked at the time.

The front door to the premises was open. The offenders entered through the door as the victim was walking along the hall.

In summary then, any form of unauthorised entry was deemed to be consistent with Type A.

iii) Motive

To remain consistent with a Type A definition, the offender's primary motive had to be to obtain property, regardless of whether they were successful. Those cases in which robbery was not the primary motive were not included in Type A. In other cases motive was difficult to establish from the small amount of information provided in the incident narrative about the actions and/or demands of the offender. Cases where there was significant uncertainty about motive were not classified as Type A. Type A included the following scenarios:

The victim was at home when the intruders gained entry through the front door. One of the offenders pointed a knife at the victim and demanded money. There was a struggle between the victim and one of the offenders and then both offenders left, without taking any property.

The victim walked into the kitchen and observed the offender, who was armed with a knife. The offender looked at the victim and said 'money'.

The offenders forced their way into the flat. One of them intruders was armed with a knife and demanded money.

iv) Confrontation

Central to 'Type A' home invasion is the notion of a deliberate confrontation between the offender(s) and occupant(s) involving some form of violence. However, whether the intent to confront the victim was deliberate on the part of the offender was sometimes difficult to establish from the incident narratives. In some instances intent seemed clear, such as where the victim answered a knock at the door and was then pushed back inside by the intruder. In these instances it was apparent that the offender knew the premises to be occupied when they decided to enter. For example:

The victim was at home in the bedroom when there was a knock at the door. The victim, who had been expecting a visitor, opened the door without checking who was outside. Once the door was opened the offenders forced their way inside by pushing the victim to the ground.

The offender(s) knocked on the door of the victim's flat. When the victim answered the door they forced their way into the flat, attacking the victim.

The offender knocked at the front door of the victim's house. The intruder gained entry and produced a knife, threatening the victim "if I don't get your video recorder and all of your CDs I'm going to slit your throat from ear to ear."

The victim was at home and heard banging at the front door. The victim went to the door and, looking through the side window, observed the offenders. One offender seemed to be armed. One of the offenders yelled, "Open the door you ***** bitch". They then kicked in the front door.

Situations where the victim surprised the offender, who, in an attempt to flee, pushed the victim out of the way, were not considered to fit within Type A. These situations implied a desire on the part of the intruder to escape rather than confront the victim.

While 'Type A' home invasion required some indication that the offender's confrontation with the victim was deliberate, the violence displayed by the offender did not have to be severe or result in serious physical injury to the victim. In the incidents examined within Type A, as well as in the other categories, the degree of violence involved in the confrontation ranged from verbal threats, to tying up the victim(s), to physical assault, as the following examples illustrate:

The offenders threatened the victim with a knife.

An offender, who was masked and armed, confronted the victim. The offender attacked the victim, who was hit in the forehead and kicked in the face and ribs. The victim also sustained a wound to the chest consistent with being stabbed with a knife but the victim couldn't remember this occurring. The victim and the other occupant of the house were then tied up and held hostage until they escaped by smashing their way out of the house through the bedroom window.

In summary, Type A involved a deliberate confrontation with the victim, but not necessarily the use of overt force on the part of the offender.

v) Location

It was not considered a requirement of Type A that the invaded dwelling be the home of the victim. However, it was deemed necessary that the offender be inside the dwelling at some stage during the incident. It was therefore important to determine the definition of a 'dwelling'. For the purposes of this research 'dwelling' was considered to include the residence as well as other buildings on the property (such as a shed), but not the front or rear yard. The following examples were all considered to be within the definition of Type A:

Armed offenders forced their way into the house and threatened the victim and another occupant.

The offender entered the premises via a rear door while another person waited outside.

Summary of Type A

The following case provides a typical example of a Type A incident. In this case the intruders were unknown to the victim, entry was unauthorised, the motive was to obtain money, the confrontation with the victim was deliberate and the location was inside the victim's home. Because it contained all of these identifiers, this incident was considered to be a 'classic' home invasion:

While watching television, the victim heard glass smashing and on going to the front door to investigate, saw the offenders, one of whom was trying to get inside through the smashed window. Another offender pushed through the front door and wrestled with the victim. The offender forced the victim to lie on the floor and pulled the victim's jumper over his head. The offender then kicked the victim in the leg demanding money. The victim told the offender the wallet was in the kitchen. The offender got the wallet and asked if there was any more money. The victim did not know where the other offender was at this stage. Both offenders then left the house.

Type B – ‘Assumed’ home invasion

While Type B contained most of the elements found in Type A, some components were lacking or unclear. Incidents in Type B exhibited the following characteristics:

- i. *Relationship between offender(s) and occupant(s)*: either all or the majority of offenders, were strangers; or there was some uncertainty about the degree of relationship;
- ii. *Method of entry*: unauthorised, although not necessarily involving the use of force; or not clearly specified;
- iii. *Motive*: primarily removal of property, but possibly with a secondary motive;
- iv. *Confrontation*: involving violence or the threat of violence and, in cases where the offender was surprised by the victim, confrontation was not avoided; and
- v. *Location*: inside the dwelling, or attempting to enter.

The following discussion highlights the elements that differentiate Type B from the other categories.

i) Relationship between offender and victim

The relationship between the offender and victim was not necessarily that of stranger, but in those cases where the victim ‘knew’ the offender, the relationship was not a close one. Type B also included incidents where victims indicated the offenders were unknown but there was some suggestion of ‘insider knowledge’, as illustrated in the following examples:

The victim was at home and expecting her ex-husband to arrive. She answered the front door, asking ‘who is there?’ A male gave the first name of her ex-husband. Believing it was her ex-husband the victim unlocked the door, leaving it slightly ajar.

The offenders knocked at the door and asked for one of the victims by a nickname, although the victim did not know them.

ii) Method of entry

Like Type A home invasions, in Type B incidents entry was unauthorised and varied in the amount of force exhibited, from smashing through windows to entering through open doors. In some cases entry seems to have been unauthorised, but its exact nature was unclear; for example, where offenders were described as ‘entering’ the home:

The victim opened the front door and was approached by the offenders who entered the house.

iii) Motive

In Type B the motive was primarily robbery related, but in some cases it was uncertain whether this was the main motivation. Some incidents seemed to involve a combination of motives, such as assault and robbery, making it difficult to ascertain the primary motive:

The offender entered the victim’s house and started abusing and threatening the victim and a housemate. The offender then started searching through the house collecting property belonging to the victim and the housemate.

Persons unknown to the victim asked the victim for money for cigarettes. They then became violent toward the victim, whom they punched, head-butted, kneed and elbowed. When the victim fell to the floor the offenders jumped on and kicked the victim.

Cases that exhibited elements of Type A, but where there was a possibility that the primary motive was not robbery, were classified as Type B.

iv) Confrontation

Confrontation between the offender(s) and victim(s) may have been deliberate on the part of the offender, but Type B also included situations where the victim encountered the offender and this resulted in violence. In Type B incidents there was some suggestion that the offender did not deliberately seek out the victim in the first

instance but once confronted, behaved in a threatening manner, rather than avoiding confrontation by leaving the premises. For example:

The victim heard noises from the rear shed and decided to investigate. Opening the door, the victim found a person standing inside the shed. The offender, who also threw petrol in the face of the victim, struck the victim over the head with an iron bar.

v) Location

The offender did not have to be inside the house to fit within Type B if it was clear there had been an attempt to enter. This was different from Type A where offenders had to be inside the dwelling at some point. For example:

The offender demanded entry to the house and tore a screen off a window. He demanded marijuana plants, which the victim then handed to the offender through the window. A second offender who was armed placed his weapon through the window, before withdrawing it and taking some plants. Both offenders then left.

Summary of Type B

The following case illustrates a Type B scenario. This incident accorded with Type A in that the offenders were unknown to the victim and the motive seemed to have been robbery. But this case was not considered to be Type A because, although entry was unauthorised, if the victim had not gone outside it is uncertain whether the men would have entered. In other words, it seems that the confrontation arose in part, as a result of the victim disturbing the offenders. In relation to location, whilst beginning outside the home, the offenders did follow the victim into the house. In summary, Type B incidents contained many of the elements found in Type A home invasion, but not to the same degree, or there was some uncertainty in relation to certain issues. Therefore these cases were 'assumed' to be home invasion, but not of a 'classic' nature.

The victim was woken by a noise in the rear yard. The victim opened the back door and saw the offenders, some of whom were armed with knives. They approached the victim, who backed into the house. The offenders entered the house and searched through the premises asking, "Where's the marijuana and money?" They also smashed windows in the house as well as in the victim's car. They took a wallet and some other items.

Type C – 'Ambiguous' home invasion

While containing some of the elements found in the previous two categories, Type C cases either did not have all of the crucial identifiers or there was not enough information to determine whether they were present. While these cases could not be discounted as home invasion incidents the lack of detail meant that they could not be clearly identified as such. Type C cases highlight the difficulties in defining the boundaries of a 'home invasion'. Typically the characteristics of these cases included:

- i. *Relationship between offender(s) and occupant(s)*: stranger, acquaintance, friend or unclear;
- ii. *Method of entry*: unauthorised, or not specified in the police narrative;
- iii. *Motive*: removal of property and/or other motives, including those of a 'domestic' nature;
- iv. *Confrontation*: possibly as a result of being discovered by the victim or the events leading up to the confrontation were uncertain.
- v. *Location*: inside the dwelling at some stage, or in the yard/shed and attempting to enter the house, or unclear.

The elements that constitute a Type C incident are examined in further detail in the following section.

i) Relationship between offender and victim

In Type C incidents the relationship between the victim(s) and offender(s) was sometimes unspecified or, if the offender was known, the degree of relationship was unclear. The possibility of a relationship between the victim(s) and offender(s) had implications for the other elements. For example, entry was more likely to have

been by invitation and motive could relate to some kind of insider knowledge. The following are examples of the types of relationship that could exist in Type C cases:

While in the bedroom the victim heard the offenders (who were neighbours) at the front door/bedroom window.

The victim was at home with friends when a group of men and the victim's ex-girlfriend came to the house.

ii) Method of entry

In Type C cases, as in the previous two categories, the offender lacked a valid reason for being on the premises, but had not necessarily used force to enter. However, in some Type C cases the narrative did not provide details about the entry method. Therefore, the method of entry was often uncertain, particularly where the victim knew the person. For example:

The offenders (acquaintances of the victim) entered the flat through the front door.

The victim was at home when some acquaintances knocked on the door. The victim let these people in.

iii) Motive

In 'Type C' incidents, as well as intending to rob the victim, offenders sometimes appeared to have alternative motives, including personal motives. In some cases the robbery seemed opportunistic rather than the main motivation for entering the property:

The suspects attended the victim's home and assaulted him. The men punched, kicked and attacked the victim with a metal pole.

The victim was at home when two offenders came to the door wanting to purchase cannabis.

The victim stated that some acquaintances entered the home and began damaging property by throwing it around.

The offender assaulted the victim, holding a knife to his throat and punching him in the jaw, knocking him to the ground.

iv) Confrontation

In Type C cases confrontation was sometimes the result of an occupant surprising an intruder and the intruder then retaliating. The victim may not have been at home when the intruder first entered the premises, but may have arrived home and surprised the person. Some narratives noted that the victim was assaulted but the events leading up to the assault were not clear. In other incidents it appeared that the offender had avoided confrontation, as the following examples suggest:

The occupant of the house had just finished having a shower when he went into the hallway and saw the intruder. The offender produced a knife and then ran out of the back door.

The victim was at home alone when she disturbed an intruder. The offender pushed the victim to make room to escape then ran down the hallway, grabbing the victim's handbag as he went.

v) Location

As in the previous two categories, to fall within Type C the offender must have entered the home at some stage or have been attempting to enter the premises. In some cases the offender apparently intended to enter the house (for example, by breaking a window) but did not actually move inside. It was sometimes difficult to distinguish property damage from an attempt to enter:

The victim was awoken by torchlight at the bedroom window. The victim called out to the offenders “what do you want?” The offenders replied that they were after cannabis plants. The victim went to the rear of the house and saw the offenders coming down the side of the house. The victim was confronted by one of the offenders and threatened with a knife. The victim ran inside and rang the police. The offenders stole three cannabis plants and smashed windows in the rear laundry and bedroom.

Events occurring in the driveway or yard, where offenders made no attempt to enter the house, were not considered to be a ‘home invasion’ and so were not included in this category. Less clear were events occurring on porches, which blurred the boundaries of ‘home’. The following example was considered to be a Type C incident, rather than a Type A or B because of this uncertainty:

The victim heard noises in the backyard. Upon opening the back door, the victim saw the offenders removing two cannabis plants from the porch. Another offender pushed the door into the victim’s face, causing minor injury. The victim managed to slam the door on the offenders before they could enter and they left over a side fence.

Summary of Type C

The following case highlights some of the difficulties in determining what constitutes a home invasion scenario. In this case the offender was possibly known to the victim and had been admitted into the home by this victim. The intruder was initially masked, implying a threat, but the method of entry and nature of the relationship were sufficiently uncertain to result in a Type C classification. Other elements, such as motive, confrontation and location, all appear to be consistent with a ‘home invasion’.

The occupant of the flat answered the door to a masked offender. The victim admitted this person who then removed the mask. At this stage the victim thought he recognised the offender as an acquaintance, but was not completely certain. The offender threatened the victim with a pistol, pushing the victim to the ground and stealing money from the victim’s bag. The offender then left.

The following case was also classified as a Type C incident and highlights the ambiguity that is typical of these incidents. This case was classified as Type C because of the implication of a relationship between the victim and at least two of the intruders, the lack of detail about the method of entry, and the uncertainty about whether robbery was the primary motive.

The victim was at home when two known persons came into the house with an unknown person. Two of the offenders then held down the victim while the third punched the victim in the face several times, causing serious injury. They also took money from the victim’s pockets and a wallet.

In summary, Type C cases are characterised by uncertainty and lack of information. However, while considered ‘ambiguous’ they remain within the scope of incidents which are ‘likely’ home invasions.

Type D – ‘Unlikely’ Home Invasion

The Type D classification contained those cases which, while having some of the identifiers of a ‘likely’ home invasion, contained other aspects that made them offences other than home invasion. Cases were considered to fall within Type D if they contained some of the following characteristics:

- i. *Relationship between offender(s) and occupant(s)*: family member or other close relationship;
- ii. *Method of entry*: the offender had a legitimate initial purpose for being on the premises or was invited inside;
- iii. *Motive*: primary motives other than robbery;
- iv. *Confrontation*: avoided by the offender, or based upon another motive; and
- v. *Location*: not in the dwelling at any point.

These elements are described in further detail below.

i) Relationship between offender and victim

In Type D incidents, the offender(s) often had a close relationship with the victim. This included cases where the offender was a current or former defacto, partner or spouse of the victim, a child or grandchild, or otherwise well known to the victim.

The victim was at home alone when a close relative arrived. The relative demanded sports equipment, which the victim refused to give him. The offender then pushed the victim, which she said made her fearful. She tried to stop the offender from taking the equipment but could not.

The victim's son stole money from her wallet and pushed her on to the bed and choked her.

ii) Method of entry

In those cases where entry was invited, or the offender was already in the dwelling for other reasons, or had a legitimate initial purpose for being there (for example, was a housemate) the case was classified as Type D.

The victim's boarder, who was intoxicated, yelled and prodded the victim with a piece of iron. The offender also used the iron rod to damage items in the house. The offender then took the stereo, CDs and a vehicle and left. The vehicle was later located with the suspect inside. The victim had apparently owed the suspect money.

The victim was at home when he invited the offenders into his house for a drink. Sometime later the offenders assaulted the victim by hitting him on the head.

The victim answered a knock at the rear door to find a person he had met some months ago standing there. He let this person in.

iii) Motive

Cases where the primary motive was other than robbery were also included in Type D. This included domestic violence incidents, property disputes and other assault offences. To illustrate:

The victim's ex de-facto entered the house drunk. He swore at the victim and asked her for a keycard. The victim refused to give him the keycard and the offender threatened her. The victim feared she would be assaulted and ran away. The offender chased her, threatening her with violence and holding a stick above his head. The victim ran next door for help and the offender left.

The victim had a restraining order against her ex-husband. He attended the house without the victim's permission and assaulted her.

In other narratives examined, property disputes arose when offenders claimed the victim owed them money or had property belonging to them:

The offender entered the premises and indicated to the victim that he was taking certain items. The incident was part of a dispute over stolen property.

The offenders talked the victim into letting them into the house. They demanded money from the victim that they said he owed them. The victim did not have the money and allowed them to take a television under duress. The television was not his, having been loaned to the victim by a friend. The offenders later returned and gave the victim a pawnbroker's receipt for the television.

iv) Confrontation

Cases were classified as Type D if the offender either deliberately avoided confrontation, or, in those circumstances where the offender sought out the victim, the motive was solely to assault the person, possibly to settle a personal dispute. However, during this confrontation, money or property was also taken:

The victim was sitting in the lounge room when the offenders walked into the room. Both threatened the victim with violence if the charges pending against one of the offenders were not dropped.

v) Location

Cases were included in Type D if the intruder was not in the house at any point. The following cases are examples of incidents which, although violent robberies, were not considered to be 'likely' home invasions for this reason:

The victim was sitting outside the front of the house holding a friend's bag. A group of individuals entered the yard armed with a brick and wooden stick. The victim was told to hand over the bag. The victim says one of the perpetrators then threw a brick at him, which missed him. The victim handed over the bag and the offenders left.

Summary of Type D

Rather than providing examples of 'typical' Type D cases the following extracts reveal the wide range of incidents charged as *robbery in a dwelling* that were, for a variety of reasons, considered to be 'unlikely' home invasions. As found in Types A to C, the level of violence varied significantly and had no direct bearing on the classification.

The victim was parked in a car park where he met the offenders, who were also parked. After a while the offenders agreed to go to the victim's house. They all went in the victim's car. At the victim's home the victim volunteered to be tied up. Once bound the offenders armed themselves with items from the victim's home. They demanded the victim's bankcard and pin number, hitting the victim in the head with a steel bar. They then put the victim in the boot of the car and drove to a rediteller. There they found only a small amount of money in the victim's account. They dumped the victim in the street.

The victim walked out his front door and went to his car that was parked in the driveway. He saw the offenders crouched behind the vehicle and asked what they were doing. The offenders attacked the victim, also stealing the victim's wallet. The victim had been leaving home to open his business and regularly had cash on him to do this. The cash was in the boot of his car, but it seems assault was the primary motive as there were no demands for money and the offenders only took the victim's wallet.

The victim received a phone call from a known person (A) to meet him at the victim's address in relation to payment for some goods. The victim returned home and was confronted by A on the doorstep. The victim and some of his friends then had a fight with A and A's friends who were also present. The victim was punched in the head and face. The victim went with A and a second offender to retrieve the goods from his car boot. An unknown person hit him over the head. He then realised the goods were missing and later noticed that his phone had been smashed and some cash stolen.

Conclusion

The initial intention in undertaking a more detailed analysis of *robbery in a dwelling* incidents was to identify those that were home invasions and those that were not. However, in practice, from the information contained in incident narratives, this proved a difficult task. The four types described above can be understood as existing on a continuum from 'classic' home invasion to 'unlikely' home invasion. Although each type exhibits characteristics that distinguish it from the other types, in many cases it was not possible to determine whether an incident was definitely a home invasion or not. Instead Types A, B and C were considered to represent 'likely'

home invasions and Type D 'unlikely' home invasions. In developing the four categories it was not intended to downplay the severity of those incidents which were not classified as 'classic' home invasions (Type A). Cases found within all four categories could involve violence and all of the incidents considered were undoubtedly traumatic experiences for the victims. The classifications used were designed to provide a better understanding of one type of criminal activity, namely home invasions. There is no implication that 'unlikely' home invasions are less serious forms of crime.

PART TWO: ANALYSIS OF INCIDENT CHARACTERISTICS

The following section details the results of the analysis of the information contained on those Police Incident Reports relating to *robbery in a dwelling* which were filed in 1998. Where practical, the results have been compared between the four incident types (Types A to D). For some analyses the four incident types were grouped into 'likely' home invasions (Types A to C) and 'unlikely' home invasions (Type D).

Overall, there were 157 reports that met the criteria for the analysis. In other words, police recorded 157 victims of armed or unarmed robbery in the home in 1998. An initial examination of these reports found that the 157 victims were involved in 132 discrete incidents, out of which arose 210 offences.

Incident type

Of the 132 separate incidents of *robbery in a dwelling*, 42 (31.8%) were classified as Type A or 'classic' home invasion offences. Type B home invasion incidents accounted for 23 incidents (17.4%) while there were 35 (26.5%) Type C incidents. Type D or 'unlikely' home invasion incidents, where the available information suggested that the incident did not fit the pattern of 'home invasion', accounted for 32 (24.2%) of the sample.

Overall, 100 of the 132 (or 75.8%) of all robberies in the home that were reported to police in 1998 could be considered a 'likely' home invasion (Types A, B and C combined), while 24.2% of the 132 were 'unlikely' to be home invasions (Type D).

Number of victims per incident

Just under 90.0% of the 132 incidents (89.4%) had only one victim. Two victims were recorded in 11 incidents (8.3% of cases) while one incident had five victims and two had six victims.

However, it should be noted that the number of victims per incident does not necessarily equate to the number of occupants within the house or flat at the time of the incident. In some cases more than one person was present in the house or flat at the time but not all were the subject of an offence. In approximately 70.0% of incidents the victim was the only person present at the time of the offence.

A higher proportion of 'likely' home invasions (Types A to C) involved more than one victim (12.0% of the 100 such cases identified) compared with incidents classified as 'unlikely' (Type D) home invasions (6.3% of such incidents).

Number of 'intruders' per incident

In determining the number of 'intruders', all persons who attended the premises were counted, irrespective of whether they were directly or only indirectly involved in the incident. Therefore, the number of 'intruders' does not necessarily equate to the number of offenders, as some 'intruders' may not have committed any offence. For example, in one case a female friend of the victim arrived at his house accompanied by a male who was unknown to the victim. In this incident the number of 'intruders' was counted as two. However, the role of the female friend was not clear, and she may not have been considered by police to be an offender.

Just under two-thirds of the *robbery in a dwelling* incidents involved more than one 'intruder' (85 or 64.4%). This was consistent across all incident types. However, a higher percentage of Type A cases involved more than one 'intruder' (71.4% of cases compared with between 56.5% and 62.9% for Types B to D). The highest number of 'intruders' for a single incident was ten (in a Type C incident).

Month

Figures 1a and 1b show the number of robbery incidents in the home in 1998 by month of offence and by 'likely' or 'unlikely' home invasion incident type respectively. No clear pattern is evident for either of the categories shown. For 'likely' home invasions, the month with the highest total reported in 1998 was August (12) followed by February, March, June and November (each with 10) and April with nine. The months with the lowest number of 'likely' home invasions were July (3) and May (5).

Figure 1a
Month of incident –
'likely' home invasions

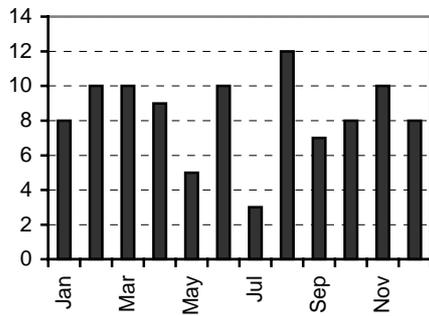
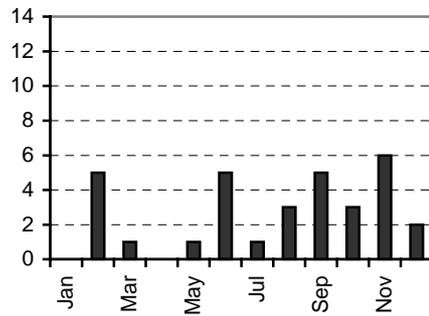


Figure 1b
Month of incident –
'unlikely' home invasions



Day of week

As shown in Figure 2a, the highest number of 'likely' home invasions occurred on a Saturday and the lowest number occurred on a Sunday (19 and 11 respectively compared with between 13 and 15 on other days of the week). In contrast, as shown in Figure 2b, the highest number of 'unlikely' home invasions occurred on a Sunday and the lowest on a Monday (seven and two respectively compared with between three and six for the other days).

Figure 2a
Day of week of incident –
'likely' home invasions

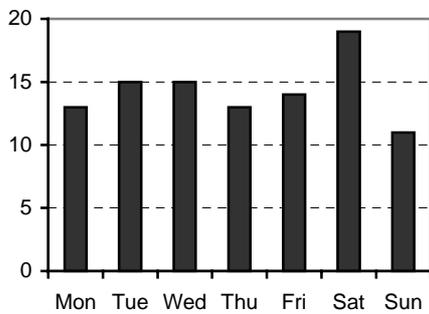
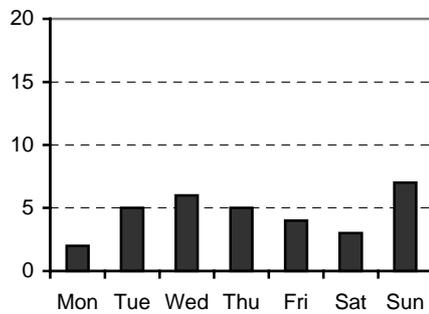


Figure 2b
Day of week of incident –
'unlikely' home invasions



Time of offence

Table 2a shows the time of the incident by 'likely' or 'unlikely' home invasion incident type. Time was grouped into eight periods of three hours each.

As shown, of the total of 128 *armed/unarmed robbery* in the home incidents which had a specified offence time recorded, the time period with the highest number of incidents was 9pm to midnight (35 or 27.3%), followed by midnight to 3am (24 or 18.8%) and 6pm to 9pm (22 or 17.2%). Overall, 75.0% of the incidents analysed occurred between 6pm and 6am.

A higher percentage of incidents classified as 'likely' home invasions occurred between 9pm to midnight than 'unlikely' home invasions (29.3% compared with 20.7%). Only 15.2% of 'likely' home invasions occurred between 6pm and 9pm, compared with 24.1% of 'unlikely' home invasions.

Table 2a

Time of incident by 'likely' or 'unlikely' incident type

Time period	'Likely' home invasion (Types A, B & C)		'Unlikely' home invasion (Type D)		All robberies in the home reported in 1998*	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	Midnight –3am	18	18.2	6	20.7	24
3am-6am	14	14.1	1	3.4	15	11.7
6am-9am	3	3.0	1	3.4	4	3.1
9am-noon	6	6.1	1	3.4	7	5.5
Noon-3pm	7	7.1	3	10.3	10	7.8
3pm-6pm	7	7.1	4	13.8	11	8.6
6pm-9pm	15	15.2	7	24.1	22	17.2
9pm-midnight	29	29.3	6	20.7	35	27.3
Total	99	100.0	29	100.0	128	100.0

* Time of incident was not recorded for four incidents.

Table 2b shows the time of the offence by specific Type (A to D). For Types A to C, the highest number of incidents occurred in the 9pm to midnight time period (between 25.7% and 34.8%), while the highest number of Type D incidents (24.1%) took place in the 6pm to 9pm time period. However, caution should be used when comparing percentage differences between Types, due to the small numbers involved in some categories.

Table 2b

Time of incident by Type A to D incident type

Time Period	Type A		Type B		Type C		Type D	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
12-3am	9	22.0	4	17.4	5	14.3	6	18.8
3-6am	6	14.6	2	8.7	6	17.1	1	11.7
6-9am	0	0	2	8.7	1	2.9	1	3.1
9-12pm	1	2.4	1	4.3	4	11.4	1	5.5
12-3pm	3	7.3	3	13.0	1	2.9	3	7.8
3-6pm	2	4.9	1	4.3	4	11.4	4	8.6
6-9pm	8	19.5	2	8.7	5	14.3	7	17.2
9-12pm	12	29.3	8	34.8	9	25.7	6	27.3
Total	41	100.0	23	100.0	35	100.0	29	100.0

Note: Time of incident was not recorded for four incidents.

Number of offences reported per incident

As indicated earlier, a total of 210 offences were recorded for the 132 robbery incidents. For the majority of incidents (86 or 65.2%) only one offence was reported. In 34 incidents (25.8%) two offences were reported and four incidents (3.0%) had three offences. There were eight incidents (6.0%) with four or more offences, including one with seven offences and one with nine.

There were no substantial differences between ‘likely’ and ‘unlikely’ home invasion types in the number of offences reported. Just under two-thirds of the incidents in both categories resulted in a report for a single offence. However, Type A incidents were slightly more likely than Types B to D to involve more than one reported offence (42.9% compared with between 34.8% and 25.7% for Types B to D).

It is acknowledged that the number of offences arising from a single incident is likely to be closely related to the number of occupants within the dwelling and the number of offenders involved.

Type of offence recorded – robbery offences

Table 3a shows a breakdown of the type of robbery offence recorded, by the total number of robbery offences and the number of incidents involved. Because of the criteria used to select the sample of Incident Reports (ie. all *robberies in a dwelling* reported to police in 1998), each incident report inevitably included at least one *armed* or *unarmed robbery* offence. Overall, the 132 incidents involved 157 robbery offences, giving an average of 1.19 offences per incident. The majority of incidents (118) involved only one robbery offence. Of the 14 incidents involving more than one robbery offence, in all but one, the same type of robbery offence was recorded. There was one incident which involved one *armed robbery with other weapon* offence and one *unarmed robbery with violence* offence.

Table 3a
Number of robbery offences

Robbery offence type	Total number of offences	Number of incidents involved	Number of offences per incident per robbery offence type
Armed robbery with firearm	14	8	6 incidents with 1 offence 1 incident with 2 offences 1 incident with 6 offences
Armed robbery with other weapon	65	53	48 incidents with 1 offence 3 incidents with 2 offences 1 incident with 5 offences 1 incident with 6 offences
Unarmed robbery with violence	54	50	46 incidents with 1 offence 4 incidents with 2 offences
Unarmed robbery – no violence	22	20	18 incidents with 1 offence 2 incidents with 2 offences
Armed robbery with other weapon and 2 unarmed robbery with violence	2	1	1 incident with 1 of each offence
Total	157	132	

Of the 157 robbery offences, 80 (51.0%) were armed robberies and 77 (49.0%) unarmed robberies. *Armed robbery with other weapon* was the most common robbery offence recorded, accounting for 66 (or 42.0%) of the total 157 robbery offences listed and 82.5% of all armed robbery offences. *Unarmed robbery with violence* accounted for the majority of unarmed robbery offences (71.4%).

The 65 *armed robbery with other weapon* offences stemmed from 53 separate incidents. Most of these incidents involved only one offence of this type (48 incidents). Three incidents recorded two such offences, while one incident recorded five and one involved six offences of this type.

The second most common offence recorded from the 132 incidents was *unarmed robbery with violence*, with 54 such offences arising from 50 incidents. Of these, 46 incidents had only one such offence, while four incidents involved two offences of this type. *Unarmed robbery – no violence* accounted for 22 offences stemming from 20 incidents. The majority of these incidents (18) involved only one offence of this type. There were 14 *armed robbery with firearm* offences recorded from eight separate incidents. While six of the eight incidents involved only one offence of this type, one incident was associated with two offences and one incident involved six offences. There were two incidents with two *unarmed robbery – no violence* offences.

Type of offence recorded – offences other than robbery

In addition to at least one robbery offence, 40 incidents also involved at least one other type of offence. Of these 40, 32 involved one ‘other’ offence only, while eight incidents involved more than one type of ‘other’ offence. Of the eight, six incidents had two types (eg *assault occasioning actual bodily harm* and *burglary, break and enter*) and two incidents involved three types of ‘other’ offence. Table 3b shows the number of ‘other’ offences reported and the number of incidents involved per offence type.

The most common offence other than robbery arising from the 132 incidents was *burglary, break and enter* (20 offences) followed by *assault occasioning* (seven offences), *other assault* (five offences) and *kidnapping/abduction* (five offences). Most incidents that included an offence other than robbery had only a single record of that offence. The exceptions were *assault occasioning* (seven offences from six incidents) and *kidnapping/abduction* (five offences from three incidents).

Table 3b

Number of offences other than robbery

Offence type	Total number of offences	Number of incidents involved
Assault occasioning actual or grievous bodily harm	7	6
Indecent assault	1	1
Other assault	5	5
Kidnapping/abduction	5	3
Threaten life or injury	3	3
Breach restraining order	1	1
Extortion	1	1
Burglary, break and enter	20	20
Illegal use of a motor vehicle	1	1
Other larceny	1	1
Damage property	7	7
Trespass	1	1
	53 offences	40* incidents

*These categories are not mutually exclusive. If one incident involved an *assault occasioning* and a *burglary, break and enter*, each would be listed separately on this table.

Type of offence by type of incident

Robbery offences

As shown in Table 4, a higher percentage of Type A incidents (ie the ‘classic’ home invasion category) involved *armed robbery with firearm* (11.9% compared with 8.7% and 2.9% for Types B and C and none for D) and *armed robbery with other weapon* (47.6% compared with 43.5%, 31.4% and 37.5% for Types B to D respectively). Conversely, a lower percentage of Type A incidents involved *unarmed robbery with violence* (28.6% compared with 47.8%, 40.0% and 43.7% for Types B to D respectively) and *unarmed robbery – no*

violence (11.9% compared with 25.7% of Type C incidents and 18.8% of Type D incidents). Overall, five of the eight incidents involving *armed robbery with firearm* were in the 'Type A' home invasion category.

Table 4
Robbery offence type by Type A to D incident type

Robbery offence type	Home Invasion Incident Type							
	Type A incidents		Type B incidents		Type C incidents		Type D incidents	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Armed robbery with firearm	5	11.9	2	8.7	1	2.9	0	0
Armed robbery with other weapon	20	47.6	10	43.5	11	31.4	12	37.5
Unarmed robbery with violence	12	28.6	11	47.8	13	40.0	14	43.7
Unarmed robbery – no violence	5	11.9	0	0	9	25.7	6	18.8
Armed robbery with other weapon & unarmed robbery with violence	0	0	0	0	1	2.9	0	0
Total	42	100.0	23	100.0	35	100.0	32	100.0

Offences other than robbery

The number of reported offences other than robbery was relatively small. Of the five incidents that involved an *assault occasioning* offence, four were classified as 'likely' home invasions (ie Types A to C combined). Of these, two were Type A incidents, one was a Type B and one was a Type C incident. The majority of the 20 incidents involving a *burglary, break and enter* offence were in the 'likely' home invasion category (19 or 95.0%). Of these, 10 incidents were classified as Type A, four as Type B and five as Type C.

There were no significant differences between the four incident types in relation to the offence type of *damage property*. Numbers were too small for the remaining offences to make any conclusions about their relationship with 'likely' or 'unlikely' home invasion types.

Weapons

Table 5a shows the number and percentage of incidents that involved at least one weapon by incident type. Overall, at least one weapon was involved in half of all the incidents analysed (66 or 50.0%). Incidents that were classified as 'likely' home invasions (Types A to C combined) were more likely to involve a weapon than were 'unlikely' (Type D) home invasion incidents (54 out of 100 or 54.0% compared with 13 out of 32 or 40.6% respectively). Type A or 'classic' home invasion incidents were more likely to involve the use of a weapon (69.0% compared with between 37.1% and 52.2% for Types B to D).

Table 5a
Use of weapon by Type A to D incident type

	Type A		Type B		Type C		Type D		All incidents	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Any weapon	29	69.0	12	52.2	13	37.1	13	40.6	66	50.0
No weapon	13	31.0	11	47.8	22	62.9	19	59.4	66	50.0
Total	42	100.0	23	100.0	35	100.0	32	100.0	132	100.0

Table 5b shows the number of incidents that involved at least one weapon by weapon type and incident type. It should be noted that the categories are not mutually exclusive. While the majority (58 or 87.9%) of incidents with a weapon involved only one type of weapon seven incidents involved two types (including three knife and club) and one incident involved three (knife, club and other weapon). It was not possible to determine if a single offender was carrying more than one weapon, or whether there was more than one armed offender involved in the one incident.

Table 5b

Type of weapon involved by Type A to D incident type

Weapon type	Type A		Type B		Type C		Type D		All incidents	
	No.	% of armed incid.	No.	% of armed incid.						
Firearm	5	17.2	2	18.2	1	7.7	0		8	12.1
Knife	10	34.5	5	45.5	7	53.8	6	46.2	28	42.4
Tool	5	17.2	0		2	15.4	1	7.7	8	12.1
Club, bat or bar	10	34.5	4	36.4	2	15.4	6	46.2	22	33.3
Other weapon	6	20.7	1	4.3	1	7.7	1	7.7	9	13.6

As shown in Table 5b, the most commonly used weapon was a knife (accounting for 28 or 42.4% of incidents involving at least one weapon). A club, bat or bar featured in a further 22 incidents (or 33.3% of the total). Other weapons (eg rock, chemicals) were used in nine incidents (13.6%), while tools and firearms were each used in eight incidents (12.1%).

For most weapon types, a higher percentage of 'likely' home invasion incidents (Types A to C combined) involved a weapon than 'unlikely' incidents (firearms - 8.0% of all 'likely' incidents compared with none for unlikely incidents: knives - 21.0% compared with 18.8%: tools and other weapons - 7.0% compared with 3.1% respectively). The only exception was club, bat or bar, which were involved in 16.0% of 'likely' incidents and a slightly higher 18.8% of 'unlikely' incidents.

Masked offenders

In 17 incidents the offender(s) was masked. This included 13 incidents where the offender(s) was wearing a balaclava, two incidents with offenders wearing stockings over their heads and one incident where the offender had a shirt over his head. In another incident the offender was described only as 'masked'.

The majority of incidents where offenders were masked were classified as 'likely' home invasions (16 incidents). There was only one Type D incident, an incident which occurred in the driveway of the victim's house, and where the primary motive appeared to have been assault.

Type of Dwelling

The majority (106 or 80.3%) of the 132 incidents took place in a house, while 24 (18.2%) occurred in a flat. The type of dwelling was uncertain for two incidents, being listed as a 'hut' and a 'squat'.

There were no substantial differences in the type of dwelling according to 'likely' or 'unlikely' home invasion type, with 81.0% of 'likely' and 78.1% of 'unlikely' home invasion incidents occurring within a house. Types A and B incidents were slightly more likely to have occurred in a house (83.3% and 82.6% compared with 77.1% and 78.1% for Types C and D respectively).

The majority (112 or 85.5%) of the incidents occurred within the metropolitan area.

Entry Point

In 78 or 59.1% of the 132 incidents analysed, the entry point for the offender(s) was a door. Of these, the front door accounted for 58 (43.9%) and a back door for 17 (12.9%). In three cases the location of the door was not specified. A further ten cases involved entry through a window, while in 30 cases information on the entry point was not available. In 14 cases the entry point was not applicable because there was no entry into the dwelling or the offenders were already inside the dwelling for another purpose.

Although the figures suggest that the majority of offenders enter through the front or back door, a slightly lower proportion of intruders in Type D entered through a door than was the case for Type A offenders (52.1% compared to 73.2% respectively). However, these figures should be interpreted with caution due to the high

number of incidents where the entry point was not specified. All incidents where the window was listed as the entry point were classified as 'likely' home invasions.

Entry method

As shown in Table 6, in 48 incidents the method of entry was not specified. Of the remaining 84 incidents, nine did not involve entry (ie took place in the yard or driveway) and five involved offenders already inside the dwelling for another purpose. In approximately one quarter (32 or 24.2%) of incidents the method of entry was a 'break-in' (through a door or a window) and 18 (13.6%) involved the offenders knocking on the door and, when the victim opened the door, forcing their way in or pushing past the victim. In eight incidents (6.1%) the offenders entered through an unlocked door.

A higher percentage of incidents classified as 'likely' home invasions involved a 'break-in' or 'push through opened door' method of entry (15.0% and 31.0% for 'likely' compared with 9.4% and 3.1% for 'unlikely' incidents). In contrast, in a higher percentage of 'unlikely' incidents the offender(s) was already there, was admitted, or there was no entry because the incident took place outside the dwelling. However, as indicated above, these results should be viewed with caution due to the high number of incidents where the method of entry was not specified.

Table 6

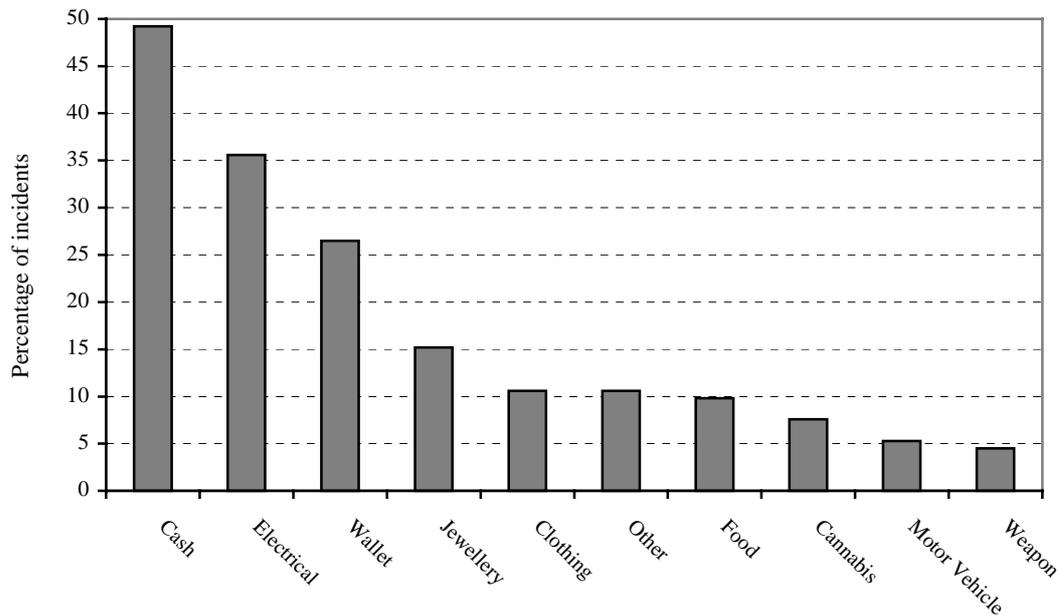
Entry method by 'likely' or 'unlikely' incident type

Entry method	'Likely' home invasion		'Unlikely' home invasion		All robberies in the home reported in 1998	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Admitted	8	8.0	4	12.5	12	9.1
Unlocked door or window	8	8.0	0	0	8	6.1
Forced entry after door is opened	15	15.0	3	9.4	18	13.6
Break in	31	31.0	1	3.1	32	24.2
Already there	0	0	5	15.6	5	3.8
No entry	5	5.0	4	12.5	9	6.8
Unspecified	33	33.0	15	46.9	48	36.4
Total	100	100.0	32	100.0	132	100.0

Type of property stolen

Figure 3 summarises the type of property stolen in the 132 incidents. Cash was the most common item stolen. It was listed in half of all incidents (65 or 49.2%). The next most common items stolen were electrical goods (such as stereos, VCRs, and phones). These items were listed as stolen in 47 incidents (35.6%). A wallet or purse was taken in 35 incidents (26.5%), while jewellery was removed in 20 cases (15.2%). Clothing and food/drink were taken in 14 (10.6%) and 13 (9.8%) cases respectively, while cannabis (plants and or equipment) was stolen in 10 (7.6%) incidents.

Figure 3
Types of property stolen in all robberies.



As shown in Table 7, in over one half (54.5%) of all robbery cases examined only one type of property was stolen. In 24.0% of cases two different property types were stolen while six different property types were taken in 3.3% of cases. In Type D cases 64.5% of thefts involved only one type of item being taken, compared with 51.1% from Types A to C combined. In contrast, 6.7% of ‘likely’ home invasion cases and 3.2% of ‘unlikely’ home invasion cases involved thefts of items from five or six different categories.

Table 7
Number of different item types stolen by ‘likely’ or ‘unlikely’ incident type

No. items	‘Likely’ home invasion		‘Unlikely’ home invasion		Total incidents*	
	no	%	no	%	no	%
1	46	51.1	20	64.5	66	54.5
2	24	26.7	5	16.1	29	24.0
3	7	7.8	4	12.9	11	9.1
4	7	7.8	1	3.2	8	6.6
5	3	3.3	0	0	3	2.5
6	3	3.3	1	3.2	4	3.3
Total	90	100.0	31	100.0	121	100.0

* This information was missing in 11 incidents.

Table 8 shows the number of property types stolen by type of property. In cases involving the theft of cannabis this was generally the only item taken (8 out of 10 incidents involving cannabis). However, for all other property types, the majority of incidents involved the theft of additional goods. For example, in 64.6% of incidents where money was stolen this was not the only item taken. This suggests that while some thieves may be looking solely for money, others are more opportunistic and take additional goods, which need to be disposed of. In the 41 incidents where electrical goods were stolen two thirds involved the theft of additional items. Food and clothing were even more likely to be taken as part of a broader haul, with more of these items being taken in conjunction with a range of other goods.

Table 8

Number of item types stolen by property type

Property type	Number of item types stolen			
	One property type only		Two or more property types	
	No. of incidents	%	No. of incidents	%
Cannabis	8	80.0	2	20.0
Cash	23	35.4	42	64.6
Clothing	1	7.1	13	92.9
Electrical	17	36.2	30	63.8
Food	2	15.4	11	84.6
Jewellery	3	15.0	17	85.0
Motor Vehicle	2	28.6	5	71.4
Other	4	28.6	10	71.4
Wallet	5	14.3	30	85.7
Weapon	1	16.7	5	83.3

Of the 20 cases where jewellery was stolen, 19 were from incidents considered to be ‘likely’ home invasion scenarios. In comparison, cash thefts were spread across all four ‘home invasion’ typologies. More specifically, 36.9% of the 65 incidents involving theft of money were from Type A, 18.5% from Type B, 18.5% from Type C and 26.2% from Type D.

Value of property stolen

The minimum value of property stolen from an **individual** victim was \$4 in cash. This was taken in a incident involving two victims, with the thief allegedly stealing \$4 from one person and \$16 from the other. The minimum amount stolen in one **incident** was \$6.20. In comparison, \$170,000 was the highest amount taken in one incident.

Table 9 summarises the value of property stolen for all incidents. In just over one-quarter of incidents (25.7%), the property stolen had a value in the range \$201 to \$500, while approximately 20.0% of incidents involved property valued at \$100 or less.

There was no obvious difference in the amount taken in ‘likely’ home invasion incidents compared to ‘unlikely’ home invasion cases. For the ‘likely’ home invasion incidents (Types A to C combined) the value of property/cash stolen ranged from \$6.20 to \$170,000, with nine cases involving thefts of less than \$50. The value of property stolen in the ‘unlikely’ Type D incidents ranged from \$10 up to \$17,580. Five out of the six incidents involving thefts of less than \$10, and 9 out of the 11 incidents involving thefts of less than \$50 were categorised as ‘likely’ home invasion incidents.

In interpreting these figures it should be remembered that the property values listed are based upon victim estimates. In some instances the value of property stolen was entered as unknown and so the total value of goods taken is likely to be underestimated.

Table 9
Value of property stolen in all robberies

Value (\$)	No. of incidents	% of incidents
1-10	6	5.5
11-50	5	4.6
51-100	10	9.2
101-200	14	12.8
201-500	28	25.7
501-1000	12	11.0
1001-2000	16	14.7
2001-5000	14	12.8
5001-10000	2	1.8
10001-20000	1	.9
20001+	1	.9
Total*	109	100.0

*In 23 incidents nothing was stolen or the value of the property stolen was unknown.

Clear up status

At the time of the study, the majority (86 or 65.2%) of incidents had not resulted in the apprehension of an offender. Conversely, at least one arrest or report was made in 46 (34.8%) of the incidents in the sample. A higher percentage of incidents described as 'unlikely' home invasions had resulted in at least one arrest or report (14 or 43.8% compared with 32 or 32.0% of 'likely' incidents). Type A or 'classic' home invasion incidents were less likely to have had an arrest/report than the other types (26.2% compared with between 34.8% and 43.8% for Types B to C). This is possibly a reflection of the criteria used to classify the home invasion types. It is to be expected that more apprehensions will result from incidents where the victim knows the offender. As explained previously, Type D incidents (and to some extent Type C) are more likely to involve a known offender than Type A and B incidents.

Victim Characteristics

Sex

There were 157 victims involved in the 132 robbery incidents examined. Of the 157 victims, 48 (30.6%) were female and 109 (69.4%) male. Males predominated across all four typologies, but this group accounted for a slightly greater proportion of victims of 'likely' (Types A, B and C) home invasion incidents (71.5%) than was the case for 'unlikely' (Type D) incidents where 61.8% of victims were male. The greater representation of women in Type D reflects the number of domestic violence incidents within this category.

Table 10
Sex of robbery victims by 'likely' or 'unlikely' incident type

Sex	'Likely' home invasion		'Unlikely' home invasion		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Female	35	28.5	13	38.2	48	30.6
Male	88	71.5	21	61.8	109	69.4
Total	123	100.0	34	100.0	157	100.0

Age

Overall, 56.1% of the 157 robbery victims were aged under 35 years while 14.6% were aged 65 years or over. The majority of victims in all four incident Types were aged less than 35 years. However, while a relatively small proportion of total 'robbery in dwelling' victims were elderly, this situation changed somewhat when only Types A to C ('likely') incidents were analysed. Of the 58 victims of incidents defined as Type A, 20.7% were aged 65 and over. As shown in Table 11, as the degree of adherence to the Type A or 'classic' home invasion characteristics diminishes, so the proportion involving elderly victims also diminishes, to the point where only one Type D incident involved an elderly person. Stated differently, of the 23 persons aged 65 years and over who, in 1998, were recorded as victims of a robbery in a dwelling, only one was involved in a Type D incident (an incident involving the grandson of the victim).

Table 11
Age of robbery victims by Type A to D incident type

Age group (in years)	Type A	Type B	Type C	Type D	Total
Less than 25	15 25.9%	10 34.5%	12 33.3%	8 23.5%	45 28.7%
25-34	16 27.6%	8 27.6%	7 19.4%	12 35.3%	43 27.4%
35-44	9 15.5%	3 10.3%	7 19.4%	7 20.6%	26 16.6%
45-54	5 8.6%	2 6.9%	3 11.8%	4 11.8%	14 8.9%
55-64	1 1.7%	1 3.4%	2 5.6%	2 5.9%	6 3.8%
65 or more	12 20.7%	5 17.2%	5 13.9%	1 2.9%	23 14.6%
Total	58 100.0%	29 100.0%	36 100.0%	34 100.0%	157 100.0%

Drug involvement

Considerable attention has recently been given to the issue of drug related crime. More specifically, there has been speculation about the link between home invasion and drug use (*The Advertiser* 19/8/1998). In view of this, the incident reports and case narratives were examined for any evidence of a link with drugs. Several different types of involvement were identified and are detailed below. However, this discussion is only intended to give a broad indication of the issues involved and does not provide any conclusive evidence about the prevalence or nature of the association between drug involvement and home invasion, given the limitations in the information contained in incident reports detailed previously.

Drug demands or thefts

There were only 18 incidents where, according to the police narrative, offenders either stole drugs or indicated to the victim that they were looking for drugs. The 18 incidents included: eight cases where the offender(s) demanded, but did not steal, any drugs; three where they demanded and took drugs; and seven where it was unclear whether they demanded drugs, but they took cannabis. The term 'drug' is used to refer to a range of substances and in some case narratives the drug involved was not specified. However, in the incidents examined it seemed that cannabis was the main drug sought and it was the only substance recorded as being stolen. In one incident the offender demanded methadone and at least one other offender wanted heroin. The following case extracts indicate the types of demands made by offenders:

...ran inside yelling "where's the pot, where's the pot?"

The offenders entered the house and searched through the premises asking, "where's the marijuana and money?"

In the ten cases where cannabis was stolen, the amount involved ranged from one to three plants, and in one incident, hydroponic equipment was removed. In eight of the ten cases cannabis was the only item taken. In the other two incidents the offenders also took cash and electrical equipment (1 case) and a wallet and 'other' item (1 case).

In three of the 11 incidents where the offenders indicated they wanted drugs, cannabis was taken. Of those offenders whose demands were not met, one took cash, one took a wallet and jewellery, while in a third case the offender removed electrical equipment. In the remaining five incidents the offender(s) appeared not to have taken anything (although it is possible something was taken but not recorded). This suggests that in many

situations offenders looking for drugs are, if unsuccessful in that respect, not taking other items, as illustrated by the following:

The offender entered the house.... Inside the premises he threatened the victim demanding drugs. He looked in the bedrooms and spare room, but did not disturb or remove anything.

Looking for drugs

As well as the 18 incidents detailed above, a further two victims reported to police that they thought the offenders wanted drugs (although in both cases the offenders actually took other property items). These victims concluded that the intruders had targeted the wrong house:

During the break-in one of the offenders spoke with the victim, who was at home at the time. From their conversation the victim concluded the intruders were after drugs and had got the wrong house.

Other drug links

In one case the victim was accused of 'ripping off' a dope crop which the offender was growing. This incident appeared to be distinct from all the other drug-related incidents. In another case the offender demanded cash 'to score' and stole a wallet from the victim:

The offender pushed the victim and smashed his head against the wall a number of times demanding cash 'to score'.

Drug users

In a further six incidents there was mention of a possible 'drug link' in a different context. In these cases it was suggested that the offenders were drug users (4 cases) or the victims dealt in, or had on the premises, some form of drug (2 cases). These incidents have been considered separately as suggestions that the offenders used drugs are based upon victim descriptions (often the offenders were acquaintances of the victims) and are therefore not conclusive. Further, where it was suggested the victims had drugs on the premises, which the offender did not take, it cannot be concluded that this had any relationship to the crime. In both circumstances there is only a vague suggestion that the robbery was drug related.

Summary

In total, there were 28 incidents where there was a possibility that the robbery was drug related, although this number should be treated with caution. There could also be additional cases which were not identified because the victims were reluctant to give details of a crime, especially if they were growing more plants than three plants ("Adelaide: Cannabis Capital" *Radio National's Background Briefing* 28/11/99).³ The following case is an example of an incident where the victim, for whatever reason, was reluctant to provide information:

A number of men banged on the front door of the victim's house with baseball bats. They gained entry to the house and stole cannabis plants. The victim refused to give more details of the incident, did not give a statement and did not want to police to take any action.

While in one incident an offender asked for money 'to score', it is possible that other incidents involving theft or demands for money or other items could also have been motivated by the need to support a drug habit. For these reasons it is possible that the number of drug related robberies has been under-estimated.

The following cases are examples of incidents that were considered to have a drug link.

³ Under South Australian law a system of on-the-spot fines (Cannabis Expiation Notices) avoids a court appearance for those caught possessing an amount of cannabis considered consistent with personal use. When this partial decriminalisation was initially introduced in 1987 the limit for personal use was ten plants. More recently, this has been reduced to three plants.

The victim was at home when several offenders came to the door wanting to purchase cannabis. The victim said he did not sell cannabis, but the offenders did not believe him and threatened him. They said they wanted to go into the backyard. The victim said they could not. When another person present in the house called the police the offenders agreed to leave if given some cigarettes. The victim did so and the offenders left. Shortly after the victim found the men in his rear yard. He asked them to leave. One tried to take a bicycle, but gave it up when challenged by the victim. The men left without stealing anything, except for the cigarettes.

The victim was asleep when several offenders broke into the premises by forcing open the rear door. They demanded that the victim tell them where 'it' was. The victim presumed this to mean drugs and believed it was a case of mistaken identity. The offenders tied the victim's hands and searched the premises. They stole some bottles of beer and left.

According to the typology developed, incidents that were drug related could fit into any category. In other words, if the motive was robbery, regardless of whether the item concerned was cannabis, and the incident contained the other identifiers of home invasion, it could fit into Type A. In practice, drug incidents sometimes contained other elements that made them unlikely or ambiguous home invasions; for example, they occurred outside, or the victim knew the offender. In a number of drug cases all, or part of, the incident occurred in the backyard.

The victim said the intruder entered the house by opening the rear door without permission. The offender threatened the victim and demanded drugs saying, 'where's the dope?' The offender then left by the rear door. A second suspect, not seen by the victim, was observed shining a torch near the rear fence.

CONCLUSION

This Bulletin has provided a detailed analysis of 132 incidents recorded in 1998 as *robbery in a dwelling*. All incidents were compared against a profile of key 'home invasion' characteristics in order to identify the prevalence of these types of incidents. However, classification of the incidents was problematic and it was not possible to determine, in all cases, whether a 'home invasion' was involved or not. Based on the profile developed, it was concluded that 100 of the 132 incidents examined were 'likely' home invasions. These included 42 Type A or 'classic' home invasion incidents, 23 Type B or 'assumed' incidents and 35 Type C or 'ambiguous' incidents. There were 32 incidents that did not fit the profile and were therefore considered to be offences other than home invasion.

In the next stage of its ongoing research into home invasion, the Office of Crime Statistics will undertake an analysis of those apprehension reports emanating from the 132 robbery incidents examined in this Bulletin and where possible, describe the characteristics of the offender(s) and, for those cases which have already proceeded to court, the outcomes and penalties involved.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks are extended to SAPOL, in particular Commander Geoff Edwards for his constructive comments on an earlier draft of this paper. The guidance provided by Joy Wundersitz, Director, Office of Crime Statistics throughout this research project is also acknowledged.