3   Florida tourists' vulnerability to crime

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Foreign embassies routinely issue safety advisories or warnings for residents traveling abroad. The list changes fairly often, but some countries such as Lebanon, Colombia and Afghanistan consistently remain on it (Lunberg and Lunberg, 1993). Third World nations have generally been considered more dangerous than developed nations as travel destinations. However, a new trend has emerged whereby developed nations are also listed among the places where travelers are vulnerable to criminal victimization.

Tourism is generally acknowledged as an industry that only thrives under peaceful conditions. Additionally, the need for safety is a well-recognized innate trait of human nature (Maslow, 1954). Consequently, concern about personal safety has been shown dramatically to restrain travel to hostile destinations (Edgell, 1990). Egypt, for example, lost an estimated $1 billion in tourism revenues due to the publicity surrounding the murder of three and wounding of a dozen foreign tourists by Muslim extremists over a 12-month period (Associated Press, 1993). The 1992 Los Angeles riots are estimated to have cost that city between $1 billion and $2 billion in lost travel revenues (Crystal, 1993). Highly publicized crimes against tourists have been shown to cause destination shifts to safer locales. For example, the *Achille Lauro* ship hijacking caused a sharp drop in cruise travel to the Mediterranean but was attributed to increased cruise bookings for the Caribbean and Alaska lines *[Advertising Age,* 1986). In fact, according to a recent Cruise Line International Association (CLIA) study, cruise travel is still the fastest growing vacation category in North America *(Gainesville Sun,* 1994). Perhaps one factor partially accounting for this growth trend is the issue of safety.

A favorite complaint among travel destination marketers is that the media can take relatively few crime incidents against tourists and through sensationalist reporting create an hysterical overreaction out of proportion to the real level of risk (Crystal, 1993). For example, the tragic murders of a pregnant German mother in Miami and a male English tourist near Tallahassee, followed by a string of other incidents of random violence throughout the remainder of the state, generated considerable national and international media attention suggesting that crime against Florida's tourists was rampant and on the increase. During the same period, however, official state tourist crime statistics told another story. As can be seen in Figure 3.1, the number of reported crimes against non-
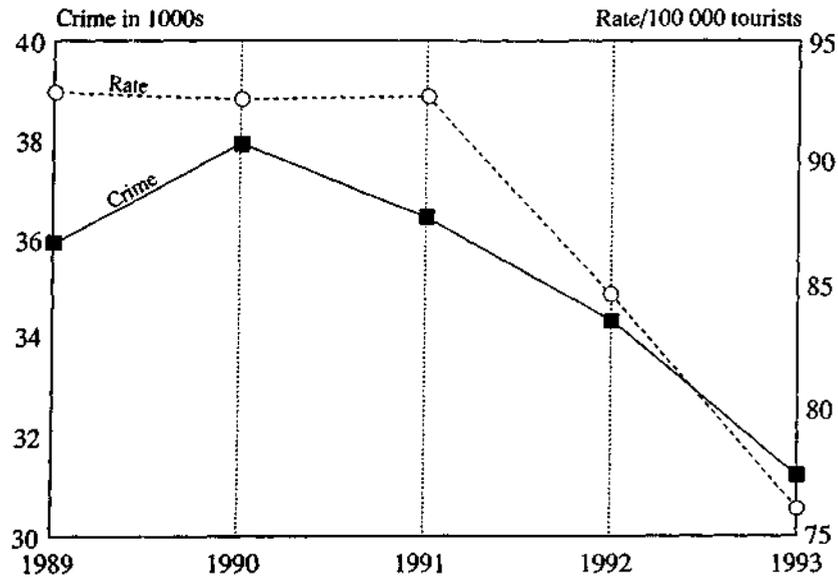
Figure 3.1 Crimes against Florida tourists, 1989–93

residents had declined from a high in 1990 of 37 949 to 31 299 in 1993 (Florida Department of Law Enforcement, 1993). Unfortunately, "perception becomes reality" in the travel business, and these official statistics have done little to calm the apprehensions of those at risk as indicated by the decline in Florida tourism during 1994.

Reliable statistics about crimes against tourists are in short supply. Tourist crime victimization data, if produced at all, are closely guarded by many tourism-reliant destinations (Ambinder, 1992). Obviously, however, if we are to understand the scope of the problem collecting reliable and comparable incidence data is the logical first step. To our knowledge there have been only a few isolated attempts to report scientifically valid tourist crime statistics which could be used for comparison purposes (Jones, 1993; Demos, 1992; Chesney-Lind and Lind, 1986).

Therefore, the purpose of this study is twofold. First, we will report on the prevalence of crimes against tourists in the most popular destinations in Florida during 1993. Specifically, serious crime incidents against those short-term visitors who do not maintain part-time residences in Florida (eg, second homes, condominiums etc.) will be examined since they most closely represent the typical definition of "tourists." Second, we will attempt to identify some of the underlying social and environmental factors correlated with the criminal victimization of tourists using two of the most popular ecologically based theories of crime causation.

The existence of crimes perpetrated against tourists is a topic that few tourism marketing professionals like to discuss. The fact remains, however, that few major tourist destinations in the world today are immune to the problem. Findings of this study will hopefully provide insights to other states and communities regarding more effective approaches to this dilemma.

Human ecology and theories of criminal activity

Previous research attempting to understand the variations of community crime rates historically has drawn from Hawley's (1950) ecological theory of human structures. Hawley viewed a community as an organization of niches and functional roles based upon the principles of symbiotic and commensalistic relationships. The principles of symbiosis connote a mutual dependence among individuals characterized by their functional differences. Predatory crime, as a special case of symbiosis, involves an interdependent relationship between predator and victim in their efforts to adapt to and gain subsistence from the environment. Alternatively, commensalism refers to the relationship among individuals based upon their functional similarities (Hawley, 1950).The criminologists, Felson and Cohen (1980), noted similarities between Hawley's commensalism and Durkheim's (1966) earlier concept of mechanical solidarity, in that societal groups evolve naturally from associations of functionally homogeneous individuals (eg neighborhood, church, school, professions etc). The community, therefore, provides the structure for the symbiotic and commensalistic relationships in which individuals seek subsistence and the satisfaction of needs. It would appear, then, that a human ecology paradigm provides a useful framework in exploring why some community structures seem to generate a greater number of criminal acts than do others. Presently, the two most popular criminological theories based upon human ecology principles are the Routine Activities and the Hot Spots approach.

Routine activities approach

Felson and Cohen (1980) draw heavily from Hawley's human ecology theory in the development of their "routine activities approach" model of criminal acts. Felson and Cohen argued that criminals gain sustenance or satisfy human needs by taking something of value from their victims. In other words, criminal acts can be construed as routine activities which feed upon the routine activities of others. For a criminal act to occur, three required elements must converge in both time and place. According to Felson and Cohen, the minimal elements necessary for a direct predatory crime to happen are: (1) a suitable target or victim, (2) a motivated offender and (3) the inadequacy of effective guardians capable of preventing the interaction between offender and victim. The absence of any one of these three elements is sufficient to prevent a crime from occurring (Cohen and Felson, 1979).

The *suitable targets* element is perhaps the easiest to operationalize. Typically the researcher simply counts the absolute number of potential targets or victims currently at risk to criminal activity. Second, the presence of a *motivated offender* — individuals with both the criminal inclination and the ability to act on their propensity — is also implicit in the nexus of criminality. And third, the most common measure of *capable guardians* focuses on the proximity of persons to deter the criminal act from occurring, usually operationalized by the deployed number of law enforcement officers available in the particular jurisdiction. While the presence of municipal police represents a major component of capable guardians available to tourists, they are by no means the only guardians capable of deterring a crime. Currently in the United States, private security guards greatly outnumber public law enforcement personnel.

Hot spots theory

Routine activities is not the only ecologically based crime causation theory that is concerned with the locus of the offense. According to advocates of what has come to be called "hot spots theory," the research focuses on the relatively few places in each community that are associated with grossly disproportionate levels of crime. These places, or "hot spots," are unique physical locations which provide convergent opportunities in which predatory crimes can occur. For example, Sherman et al. (1989) tracked calls summoning police for a one-year period in Minneapolis and found that over half of all police cars for predatory crimes were dispatched to only 3.3 per cent of the addresses in the metropolitan area. Furthermore, 90 per cent of all robberies were located along only seven main avenues. Sherman et al. (1989) contend that although these hot spots cluster in particular geographical areas, it is the type of place which concentrates opportunities for predatory crime.

Similarly, in a study of the clustering of crimes in Cleveland, Roncek and Maier (1991) found that city blocks with taverns and cocktail lounges had a higher incidence of property and violent crimes as opposed to those city blocks with no such establishments. Moreover, the city block with the highest crime rate was found in a large public-housing complex.

In summary, drawing from the evidence associated with hot spots theory, it can be expected that crimes against tourists will most likely cluster in particular types of physical locations. These particular places are characterized by the fact that they each provide the convergence of potential victims and offenders maximizing the opportunities for predatory crime such as hotels, motels, airports, parking lots, bars, restaurants, tourist attractions, beaches and convenience stores (Roncek and Maier, 1991; Miethe et al. 1987). According to Ryan, tourist destinations create

> . . .centres of populations where visitors are obvious by their dress and the areas they visit. They also carry easily disposed of items of wealth such as cameras, cash and credit cards. They are temporary visitors, and as such are unable to place much pressure on the law enforcement agencies to take action against criminals, or indeed, if the criminals are caught and taken to court, are unlikely to appear as a prosecution witness. Tourist zones (therefore) are areas of criminal opportunity (1993: 14).

Although similar in basic assumptions about the role of the environment in crime causation, hot spots theory differs from the routine activities approach in the types of variables examined. With routine activities' theory one looks at the combined effect of suitable targets, motivated offenders and the absence of capable guardians on the rates of criminality in a given community. The hot spots' explanation determines instead the particular types of physical locations which put victims and offenders in greatest proximity to each other, thereby allowing the opportunity for crime to occur. We will examine both of these theories to evaluate their individual explanatory utility regarding the problem in question, namely, crimes against tourists.

Methodology

As we have stated earlier, the purpose of this study was to examine the incidence, location and types of crimes perpetrated against tourists in the 10 most visited counties in Florida

during 1993 and to explore the underlying causal influences of tourist criminal victimization. To achieve this end, quantitative data from a variety of secondary sources were utilized to measure the study's dependent and independent variables. Limiting the focus to only 10 of Florida's 67 counties was made to insure that the subsequent analysis would not be biased by the state's many rural counties that receive only a small proportion of the overall annual tourist volume.

Dependent variable: crimes against tourists

In order to measure annual tourist criminal victimization levels, data were acquired from the Florida Department of Law Enforcement (1993). Federal law requires that local law enforcement agencies collect and regularly report crime to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. To insure the accuracy and completeness of these data for the state, the Florida Department of Law Enforcement (FDLE) coordinates the collection of data among the various state, county and local municipal police agencies. Therefore, the FDLE crime reports provide a uniform and reasonably accurate depiction of the nature, volume and location of crimes reported to the police in each of the state's 67 counties. Unfortunately, no separate category exists in the FDLE report which delineates criminal incidents where the victim was a "tourist." Therefore, for purposes of generating a dependent variable for this study, we defined a tourist as a non-resident of Florida who does not maintain a permanent residence in the state.

Since the risk of criminal victimization is a function of the ratio of the available number of offenders to potential victims, in studies of this nature it is common to convert raw crime incidence data into standardized crime rates (eg, the number of crimes per 100 000 persons). Crime rates effectively control for varying size differences among communities and represent a standardized level of victimization. In Table 3.1 we present the "tourist crime rate" for the top 10 visited counties in Florida during 1993. This statistic was created by dividing the total number of reported crimes against Florida non-residents in 1993 by the estimated number of tourists visiting a given county in the same year. As Table 3.1 indicates, tourist crime rates ranged from a high of 150 per 100 000 visitors in Dade County to a low of 13 per 100 000 in Hillsborough County.

Independent variables

We employed a number of different variables with which to measure the three necessary elements included in the Routine Activities Approach theory.

Suitable targets As our empirical measure of suitable targets, the total number of tourists visiting each of the 10 counties was estimated from the Florida Division of Tourism's annual visitor intercept studies. Approximately 10 000 highway and 10 000 airport interviews are annually conducted with non-resident visitors prior to their departure from the state, employing a random cluster sampling technique. During the interview, subjects are asked to name each city or county in Florida they visited. If, for example, 10 per cent of auto visitors indicated that they visited Dade County, then 10 per cent of non-resident highway visitors to the state (produced through telemetry counters

Table 3.1 Descriptive characteristics of counties

Study Variables	County Name									
	Brevard	Broward	Dade	Duval	Hillsborough	Orange	Palm Beach	Pinellas	Sarasota	Volusia
Tourist Crime Rates**	33.73	77.18	150.35	82.92	12.97	40.52	40.82	28.36	26.40	62.67
Visitor total estimates (in 100 000s)	15.97	43.74	58.13	15.82	18.41	76.86	29.56	25.27	11.87	25.39
Crime rate**	6132	8971	13 268	9956	10 117	8819	8765	6690	6082	6055
Population density* (per sq. km)	151	401	385	336	306	288	164	1173	188	129
% Population white (European origin)	89.8	81.7	72.9	72.8	82.8	79.6	84.8	90.5	94.6	88.6
% Population ages 15-24	12.1	11.3	14.0	15.1	14.5	16.3	10.4	10.4	8.8	12.7
Per capita income (in $1000 US)	15.1	16.9	13.7	13.9	14.2	14.6	19.99	15.7	18.4	13.3
Median income (in $1000 US)	30.5	30.6	26.9	28.5	28.5	30.2	32.5	26.3	29.9	24.8
% Population with income above $100 000*	2.8	4.7	4.9	2.9	3.5	3.5	7.2	3.4	5.2	2.4
% Population below federal poverty level*	9.1	10.2	17.9	12.8	13.3	11.2	9.3	9.5	6.9	12.1
Income inequality	6.3	5.5	13.0	9.9	9.8	7.7	23.1	6.1	1.7	9.7
Number of Law Enforcement Officers (F/T)**	873	3602	5450	1477	1955	811	2518	2000	610	984
Number of security guards***	1260	7175	18 795	3943	4642	3420	56 298	2866	739	1326
Capable guardians' rate	536	858	1252	805	790	772	905	571	485	623

*1990 US Census
**Florida Department of Law Enforcement
***Florida Department of Professional Regulation

and observations) would become the estimate of auto visitors to Dade County. A similar approach was used to estimate, for each of the counties, the number of visitors who arrived on domestic airlines and who arrived from overseas locations using the Florida division of Tourism's Airport Intercept Survey and the US Travel and Tourism Administration's "Inflight Survey" respectively (Crotts, 1993).

Motivated offenders   The measurement of the required motivated offender element of the routine activities model was not nearly as straightforward as simply counting numbers of tourists. A variety of statistics was assembled to serve as proxy measures of the number of motivated offenders present in each of the counties of interest. First, the rate of crimes known to the police calculated as a rate per 100 000 residents was generated for each county. Both violent and property Part 1 UCR offences were included in this statistic. As proxy measures of other potential coerrelates of tourist criminality, Table 3.1 also presents a group of environmental and social economic characteristics of the 10 counties derived from the 1990 Census of US Population and Households. In the criminological literature a number of factors have long been associated with disproportionately higher levels of criminals in a particular community. We have operationalized eight of these crime indicators for each of our counties, namely: (1) population density, (2) per cent of the population that is racially white, (3) per cent of the population that is aged 15 to 24, (4) mean per capita income, (5) median household income, (6) per cent of the population with household incomes over $100 000 per year, (7) per cent of the population with household incomes below the federal poverty level and (8) the relative degree of household income disparity. All of these measures are self-explanatory with the exception of the last. Income disparity, or the range of income difference between the upper and lower income categories of residents, was approximated by subtracting the per cent of households earning over $100 000 per year from the per cent of households living below the poverty level. The greater the residual proportion of people living at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder after subtracting out the very wealthy should yield a proxy pleasure of incpnie disparity for each county.

Capable guardians   Measuring the number of capable guardians was accomplished by using trie Florida Department of Law Enforcement's 1993 count of municipal and county law enforcement qfficers in combination with the Florida Department of Licensing annual count of private security.officers for each county. Given the vastly different population sizes of the particular counties in question, the number of full time law enforcement officers was combined with the number of private security guards, the sum of which was then divided by each county's estimated number of visitors in order to generate a standardized "capable guardian rate."

Results

Routine activities approach

As can be seen in Table 3.2 the routine activities approach variables yielded mixed results in predicting levels of tourist crime. Since only 10 counties are included in this analysis, the small N precluded the use of rnultivariate statistical techniques. Instead, Table 3.2 presents both the Pearson's R (interval level) and Kendall's Tau (ordinal level)

Table 3.2 Pearson correlation and Kendall's Tau coefficients with tourist crime rate for all independent variables

Independent Variable	Pearson's R	Kendall's Tau-b
Visitors	0.44	0.33
FDLE/UCR county crime rate	0.72*	0.33
Pop. density (/sq. km)	-0.03	0.07
% Population white	-0.73*	-0.56
% Population 15-24	0.29	0.27
Mean per capita $ income	-0.32	-0.29
Median household income	-0.24	0.00
% Population household income over $100 K/yr	0.12	0.00
% Households below poverty level	0.74*	0.42
Relative inequality measure	0.58	0.38
# Law enforcement	0.79*	0.38
# Security guards	0.86**	0.47
Capable guardian rate	0.80*	0.51

•Significant at the p s 0.01 level
••Significant at the/> < 0.001 level

correlation coefficients for each of the independent variables with the Tourist Crime Rate statistic.

Our suitable targets measure, the estimated number of visitors to each of the 10 counties, was positively related to the rate of tourist crime but was not statistically significant. Similarly, a number of our motivated offender measures were related to the dependent variable in the predicted direction but were not statistically significant. For example, the strongest of these was the degree of inequality measure which was moderately related to tourist crime at nearly the .60 level. Five of the other demographic characteristics of the community which we predicted should be good proxy indicators of the number of motivated offenders also were found not to be statistically significant. Specifically, county population density, per cent between 15 and 24 years of age, per capita annual income, median household and per cent of the population earning over $100K were found to be unrelated to the level of tourist crime in the counties studied.

Only three of the community-level proxy measures of motivated offenders were found to be highly related to tourist crime levels, namely, FDLE/UCR county crime rates, per cent white (in the expected negative direction) and per cent of the population living under the federal poverty level. Since the latter two factors are known to be strong predictors of conventional criminality, it is not surprising that they should also be related to a specific sub-category of offenses like crime against tourists.

Finally, when we examined our capable guardian measures we discovered the strongest set of statistical relationships. All three of our measures, namely, number of police officers, number of private security guards and the composite guardian per visitor rate, were strongly related to the rate of tourist crime. However, correlation coefficients for all three were in the positive direction. Even though the routine activities approach predicts that capable guardians will have a depressant effect on crime rates, research results often demonstrate just the opposite finding. This does not mean that the increased presence of the police and guards is causing more crime. Rather, this result is commonly attributed

to the reactive nature of police and guard hirings. In other words, numbers of police officers and guards are increased in response to higher levels of crime. And conversely, in communities where crime is not such a problem there is usually found a much lower police and guard presence. This means that crime is bringing about more police, not vice versa.

Although this finding is an apparent contradiction to the routine activities theoretical approach, it is nevertheless a common finding in crime research. We simply do not have sophisticated enough measures of the capable guardian component to be able to examine the marginal deterrent effects on the crime rate from small increases in the numbers of police and private security forces.

Hot spots theory

Our principal objective was simultaneously to examine two theoretical models, both of which emphasize ecological effects on criminality. As we have discussed earlier, the second of these ecological approaches is called "hot spots" theory. Table 3.3 is a tabulation of violent crimes perpetrated against Florida tourists in the 31 UCR physical location categories.

Two major conclusions can be drawn from Table 3.3. First, a high degree of conformity exists between the counties in terms of the types of locations in which violent crimes against tourists are perpetrated. Specifically, these data revealed that only three of the 31 types of locations accounted for the majority of violent crimes against tourists. Among the overall incidents, nearly 43 per cent of violent crimes against tourists were perpetrated along high way /roadways, followed by 16 per cent at parking lots/garages and 12 per cent at hotels/motels. Only in Brevard County did we find violent crime against tourists to be less of a problem at hotel/motel locations but more of a problem at parks, waterways and in motor vehicles.

Although violent crime is viewed as the more serious problem, statistically there were more than six property crimes committed for every violent crime reported against a Florida tourist in 1993. Though property crime locations were somewhat more evenly distributed across all of the 31 UCR categories than was the case for violent crime, Table 3.4 shows that hotels/motels accounted for 28 per cent of all incidents, followed by parking lots/garages at nearly 21 per cent and highway/roadways at almost 12 per cent. Property crimes involving motor vehicles were particularly prevalent (26 per cent) for visitors in Brevard County, while 29 per cent of Hillsborough County's property crimes against visitors were perpetrated at the airport.

Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to introduce two contemporary criminological theories — Routine Activities Approach and Hot Spots Theory — to a topic of criminality previously devoid of theoretical grounding. Given the limited sample size, this analysis should not be considered a definitive empirical test of either theory. Nevertheless, this exploratory

Table 3.3 Location of violent crimes by county (in percentages)

Location Type	County Name											
	Brevard	Broward	Dade	Duval	Hillsborough	Orange	Palm Beach	Pinellas	Sarasota	Volusia	Row Totals	Ranking
Residence — Single	0.139	0.069	0.072	0.079	0.120	0.034	0.042	0.034	0.167	0.023	0.067	4
Apt/Condo	0.083	0.033	0.020	0.070	0.000	0.017	0.017	0.052	0.100	0.047	0.028	6
Residence — Other	0.000	0.009	0.010	0.000	0.040	0.010	0.025	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.009	13
Hotel/Motel	0.028	0.113	0.017	0.154	0.120	0.345	0.084	0.241	0.100	0.217	0.120	3
Convenience Store	0.000	0.003	0.002	0.005	0.000	0.007	0.008	0.017	0.000	0.000	0.003	
Gas Station	0.000	0.015	0.082	0.037	0.040	0.003	0.025	0.017	0.067	0.008	0.055	5
Liquor Store	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.033	0.000	0.000	
Bar/Nightclub	0.000	0.018	0.002	0.042	0.040	0.021	0.050	0.017	0.033	0.031	0.013	10
Supermarket	0.000	0.000	0.002	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.001	
Specialty Store	0.000	0.006	0.011	0.005	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.007	14
Drug Store/Hospital	0.028	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.001	
Bank	0.000	0.009	0.002	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.002	
Office Bldg	0.000	0.018	0.004	0.000	0.000	0.041	0.017	0.017	0.000	0.031	0.011	11
Manufacturing Site	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.009	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	
Storage	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	
Govt/Public Bldg	0.028	0.003	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.003	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.008	0.002	
School/University	0.000	0.000	0.002	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.017	0.000	0.000	0.001	
Jail/Prison	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.009	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.001	
Religious Bldg	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	
Airport	0.000	0.000	0.003	0.000	0.040	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.002	
Bus Terminal	0.000	0.09	0.004	0.009	0.000	0.003	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.004	15
Construction Site	0.000	0.000	0.002	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.004	15
Other Structure	0.028	0.006	0.004	0.014	0.000	0.000	0.008	0.017	0.000	0.000	0.001	
Parking Lot/Garage	0.139	0.31	0.116	0.181	0.240	0.150	0.328	0.293	0.067	0.093	0.159	2
Highway/Roadway	0.194	0.313	0.508	0.270	0.20	0.317	0.345	0.259	0.433	0.465	0.429	1
Park/Woodlands/Field	0.083	0.015	0.012	0.033	0.040	0.008	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.008	0.014	9
Lake/Waterway	0.111	0.003	0.013	0.005	0.040	0.003	0.017	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.011	11
Motor Vehicle	0.111	0.021	0.023	0.047	0.040	0.034	0.025	0.000	0.000	0.015	0.026	7
Other Mobile	0.028	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.008	0.001	
Other	0.000	0.024	0.026	0.019	0.040	0.003	0.000	0.017	0.000	0.039	0.018	8
Column Totals*	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	
(*May not sum up to 100% due to rounding error)												
Total Number Incidences	36	336	1658	215	25	293	119	58	30	129	2899	

Table 3.4 Location of property crimes by county (in percentages)

Location Type		County Name										
	Brevard	Broward	Dade	Duval	Hillsborough	Orange	Palm Beach	Pinellas	Sarasota	Volusia	Row Totals	Ranking
Residence — Single	0.082	0.070	0.032	0.128	0.070	0.037	0.083	0.065	0.226	0.033	0.053	5
Apt/Condo	0.046	0.053	0.028	0.051	0.042	0.017	0.049	0.059	0.053	0.025	0.035	7
Residence — Other	0.006	0.010	0.004	0.013	0.000	0.002	0.006	0.012	0.025	0.002	0.006	
Hotel/Motel	0.195	0.290	0.236	0.205	0.154	0.419	0.124	0.367	0.145	0.462	0.281	1
Convenience Store	0.000	0.002	0.002	0.005	0.000	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.003	0.002	0.002	
Gas Station	0.004	0.006	0.018	0.010	0.000	0.000	0.005	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.009	
Liquor Store	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.033	0.000	0.000	
Bar/Nightclub	0.012	0.011	0.010	0.004	0.014	0.007	0.018	0.021	0.014	0.016	0.011	15
Supermarket	0.000	0.004	0.003	0.004	0.005	0.003	0.005	0.001	0.003	0.000	0.003	
Specialty Store	0.010	0.016	0.021	0.010	0.000	0.017	0.010	0.005	0.018	0.005	0.016	10
Drug Store/Hospital	0.006	0.001	0.001	0.006	0.005	0.001	0.002	0.005	0.000	0.001	0.002	
Bank	0.000	0.001	0.002	0.000	1.000	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.001	
Office Bldg	0.014	0.018	0.013	0.009	0.009	0.072	0.017	0.009	0.003	0.008	0.022	9
Manufacturing Site	0.004	0.001	0.002	0.003	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.001	
Storage	0.010	0.005	0.001	0.005	0.000	0.003	0.003	0.003	0.003	0.002	0.003	
Govt/Public Bldg	0.008	0.003	0.004	0.000	0.000	0.003	0.001	0.000	0.003	0.002	0.003	
School/University	0.000	0.001	0.002	0.005	0.005	0.001	0.002	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.001	
Jail/Prison	0.000	0.006	0.000	0.009	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.001	
Religious Bldg	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.001	0.005	0.001	0.000	0.003	0.003	0.000	0.001	
Airport	0.000	0.004	0.081	0.001	0.294	0.066	0.031	0.000	0.003	0.001	0.048	6
Bus Terminal	0.002	0.001	0.001	0.012	0.014	0.002	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.003	
Construction Site	0.002	0.001	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.001	0.003	0.000	0.002	
Other Structure	0.008	0.023	0.010	0.045	0.033	0.014	0.006	0.005	0.014	0.003	0.014	13
Parking Lot/Garage	0.195	0.239	0.209	0.155	0.154	0.207	0.352	0.123	0.226	0.122	0.209	2
Highway/Roadway	0.936	0.062	0.191	0.049	0.084	0.034	0.168	0.047	0.064	0.122	0.117	3
Park/Woodlands/Field	0.003	0.009	0.010	0.006	0.014	0.015	0.028	0.012	0.042	0.166	0.013	14
Lake/Waterway	0.041	0.019	0.023	0.005	0.000	0.002	0.012	0.005	0.011	0.001	0.015	11
Motor Vehicle	0.264	0.077	0.028	0.221	0.107	0.047	0.028	0.172	0.042	0.166	0.073	4
Other Mobile	0.008	0.004	0.001	0.004	0.000	0.000	0.008	0.001	0.003	0.000	0.002	
Other	0.016	0.047	0.039	0.027	0.028	0.019	0.012	0.073	0.078	0.013	0.034	8
Column Totals*	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	
(*May not sum up to 100% Sue to rounding error)												
Total Number Incidences	503	3032	7083	1097	214	2821	1086	656	283	1027	17 982	

effort provides several provocative findings which beg future research involving larger samples.

While no single statistic by itself provides a full understanding of the factors contributing to tourists being criminally victimized, several interesting conclusions can be drawn from these results. First, crimes against tourists are more likely to occur in those counties that already are experiencing a disproportionately high level of conventional crime. Put another way, introducing higher rates of tourism in a low crime rate county will not automatically lead to higher rates of tourist victimization. However, increasing the numbers of tourists in an already high crime county does have a significant effect on the rates of crime committed against tourists.

From years of criminological analysis, we know that the highest levels of conventional crime are traditionally found in urban communities populated with disproportionately large numbers of impoverished people many of whom come from non-white racial groups. Not surprisingly, these counties are also where most tourist crime is likely to be found. Even with sizable forces of capable guardians, like police officers and private security guards, crime continues to thrive. Introducing large numbers of unsuspecting tourists into these communities will inevitably result in their becoming victimized at levels similar to those experienced by the year-long resident members of the community. In short, tourism safety does not coexist well with ecological conditions conducive to high levels of criminality.

The above may help explain why Dade County was such a particularly dangerous place for tourists to visit in 1993. A close second to Orange County for the state's most popular tourist destination title, Dade County also is noted for 39 per cent of all reported property crimes and 57 per cent of violent crimes perpetrated in 1993 against tourists. Dade County's 150.35 per 100 000 tourist victimization rate was by far the highest among all the counties analyzed and was almost twice that of the closest second, Duval County, which experienced 83 victimizations per 100 000 tourists. Both violent and property crimes tended to concentrate around Dade County's tourist- and transportation-intensive loci such as hotels/motels, highways, parking lots/garages and motor vehicles.

Therefore, the situation which poses the greatest threat to the safety of the tourist is the convergence of suitable visitor targets in those places where they are most likely to come in contact with indigenous offenders who are already involved in high levels of criminality. If we can assume that predatory crimes against tourists are rational acts, our preventative energies should be invested in exploring ways in which we can make hotels/ motels, parking lots and garages safer for tourists, particularly in those communities which already have a disproportionately high level of non-tourist victimization. In addition, policy makers may wish to devise methods to minimize the exposure of tourists to the risk of being criminally victimized by physically isolating tourist zones from those economically depressed areas where we know the overall crime rate is high. For example, public transportation systems for visitors' use should be encouraged over rental cars and personal vehicles, in order to minimize the unintentional exposure of tourists to high crime neighborhoods.

Furthermore, the physical characteristics of tourist accommodations will likely play a part in limiting risk in high crime areas. Older-style motel rooms that open directly onto dimly lit parking lots should be avoided in favor of hotels and resorts where room access by outsiders is limited through design of physical structures and monitored by private security officers. According to CPTED (Crime Prevention Through Environmental

Design) principles, potential criminals are likely to perceive detection chances greater and opportunities of escape more limited in those properties that are purposely designed with prevention in mind.

Lastly, tourists should not be lulled into a false sense of security due to the mere presence of capable guardians present at the facility. Without simultaneously reducing the number of motivated offenders from the area, simply adding security personnel may not yield the intended deterrent effect. For example, these data showed clearly that levels of capable guardians deployed appeared to be more of a reactive rather than a proactive response to tourist criminal victimization. Law enforcement and private security personnel are obviously important to deterring crime against visitors. However, at the aggregate level we simply do not yet understand the nature of the relationship between the rate of capable guardian deployment and criminal offenses in order to bring about an actual lowering of the rate of tourist victimization. This question will obviously require further research inquiry.

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