



Australian Government

Australian Institute of Criminology

# **Armed robbery in Australia: 2004 National Armed Robbery Monitoring Program annual report**

**Maria Borzycki**

Research and Public Policy Series

**No. 69**

# **Armed robbery in Australia: 2004 National Armed Robbery Monitoring Program annual report**

---

Maria Borzycki

Research and Public Policy Series

**No. 69**



**Australian Government**

---

**Australian Institute of Criminology**

© Australian Institute of Criminology 2006

ISSN 1326-6004  
ISBN 1 921185 03 1

Apart from any fair dealing for the purpose of private study, research, criticism or review, as permitted under the *Copyright Act 1968* (Cth), no part of this publication may in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, microcopying, photocopying, recording or otherwise) be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted without prior written permission. Inquiries should be addressed to the publisher.

Project no. 0003  
Ethics approval no. PO44  
Dataset no. 0021

Published by the Australian Institute of Criminology  
GPO Box 2944  
Canberra ACT 2601  
Tel: (02) 6260 9221  
Fax: (02) 6260 9201  
Email: [front.desk@aic.gov.au](mailto:front.desk@aic.gov.au)  
Website: <http://www.aic.gov.au>

Please note: minor revisions are occasionally made to publications after release.  
The online versions available on the AIC website will always include any revisions.

Edited and typeset by Australian Institute of Criminology

A full list of publications in the Research and Public Policy Series can be found on the Australian Institute of Criminology website at <http://www.aic.gov.au>

---

## Foreword

Armed robbery affects both individuals and property, and the threatened or actual violence associated with it can leave victims with lasting psychological trauma. The development of strategies to reduce the incidence of armed robbery relies on the collection and use of data to identify and monitor its changing trends. The National Armed Robbery Monitoring Program (NARMP) began such a collection in 2003, with the commitment of police forces in all Australian jurisdictions and the aim of providing insight into the factors driving trends in armed robbery. This report uses information drawn from the second year of information collection and analysis, 1 January 2004 to 31 December 2004.

The 2004 report shows an overall decrease in the number of armed robberies, but pays particular attention to a perceived increase in the number of armed robberies targeting licensed premises such as clubs and hotels. In only its second year of reporting, the NARMP has not yet gathered sufficient data to determine whether the trend of targeting licensed premises is anything more than perception, or whether the reported incidents conform to a particular pattern. Importantly the data suggest that armed robberies in clubs and hotels have different characteristics from other types of armed robberies. Most noticeably they are more likely to involve older offenders in groups with firearms, often handguns, in the early hours of the morning.

This report builds on information gathered as part of the NARMP since 2003, and continues the work done by the Australian Institute of Criminology and other organisations in tracking patterns in armed robbery. It shows a slight drop in the number of offences involving firearms from those reported in the 2003 NARMP annual report and in *Crime facts info no. 95: Weapon use in armed robbery*, along with a drop in the Other weapons category and a rise in offences committed using knives and syringes.

An important change in the information gathered by the 2004 report from that in the 2003 report is that the dataset is now incident-based rather than victim-based. Additional detail has also been collected, including more comprehensive information for existing variables. Because of these changes it has taken some time to compile this new and more detailed dataset. With continued monitoring and improvements in data quality, the value of the NARMP will be more evident as the collection grows. The Institute thanks the police forces in each jurisdiction for continued commitment to the program. It is hoped that the collection will ultimately provide the sort of detailed findings that have emerged from the National Homicide Monitoring Program which began in 1990 and is highly regarded by homicide squads across Australia.

**Toni Makkai**  
**Director**  
**Australian Institute of Criminology**

---

## Acknowledgments

The National Armed Robbery Monitoring Program continues because of the ongoing cooperation of police services in Australian states and territories. The invaluable assistance provided by those police staff who compile data for the program and provide feedback on its products is greatly appreciated. The author is also grateful to AIC colleagues, in particular Jenny Mouzos and Judy Putt, for their input into drafts of this report.

---

## Contents

Foreword	iii
Acknowledgments	iv
Abbreviations	viii
Executive summary	ix

## Introduction 1

Background	2
Definitions	2
Data collection	4
Report format	5

## Key findings 6

Victims of armed robbery	7
Weapons used against armed robbery victims	7
Locations in which victims were robbed	9
Individual victims of armed robbery	11
Organisational victims of armed robbery	16
Offenders involved in the armed robbery of individual and organisational victims	17
Armed robbery incidents	19
Locations where armed robberies occurred	20
Temporal aspects of armed robbery	22
Weapons used in armed robbery	24
Property taken in armed robbery incidents	27
Armed robbery offenders	34
Conclusions	38

## Case study: armed robbery of licensed premises 39

## References 47

---

## Technical appendix

49

NARMP methodology	50
NARMP data limitations	57
Jurisdictional consistency in the NARMP	57
Representativeness of victim and offender records in the NARMP	57
Weapons, property, offenders and victim-offender relationships in the NARMP	58

## List of tables

Table 1: Weapons used to threaten robbery victims, 2004	8
Table 2: Age and gender of victims as a percentage of gender, and rate of victimisation by age and gender, 2004	12
Table 3: Locations where males and females of different ages were victimised, as a percentage of age group for gender, 2004	13
Table 4: Weapons used against male and female victims of different ages, as a percentage of age group for gender, 2004	14
Table 5: Weapons used against individual victims with supplied injury information in two jurisdictions, as a percentage of weapon type, 2004	15
Table 6: Organisational victims of armed robbery by weapon use and location, as a percentage of weapon type, 2004	16
Table 7: Number of offenders involved in the armed robbery of individual and organisational victims, as a percentage of victim type, 2004	18
Table 8: Relationships between individual victims and offenders, 2004	18
Table 9: Status of investigation by victim type, percentage, 2004	19
Table 10: Types of victims involved in armed robbery incidents, 2004	20
Table 11: Locations in which different victim types were robbed, as a percentage of victim type, 2004	21
Table 12: Time of the day when robberies occurred in various locations, as a percentage of location, 2004	23
Table 13: Day of the week and time of day of armed robberies, as a percentage of day of the week, 2004	24
Table 14: Weapon combinations used against different victim types, as a percentage of victim type, 2004	26

---

Table 15: Most serious weapon used in various locations, as a percentage of location, 2004	27
Table 16: Type and count of property taken in armed robbery incidents, as a percentage of count, 2004	29
Table 17: Types of property taken in incidents in various locations, as a percentage of location, 2004	31
Table 18: Average total dollar value of property stolen in robberies using various weapons, in various locations, 2004	33
Table 19: Number of offenders involved in robberies of different victim types, as a percentage of victim type, 2004	34
Table 20: Number of offenders and weapons involved in robberies, as a percentage of offender count, 2004	35
Table 21: Age and gender of offenders, as a percentage of gender, 2004	36
Table 22: Average offender age in years for each location, by number of offenders involved in incident, 2004	37
Table 23: Count of weapon combinations used in the armed robbery of various types of licensed premises, 2004	41
Table 24: Weapons used in robberies occurring in, and property stolen from, licensed premises, as a percentage of weapon, 2004	43
Table 25: Number of offenders involved in robberies of different licensed premises, as a percentage of offender count, 2004	44
Table 26: Time of day of armed robberies in licensed locations, as a percentage of location, 2004	45
Table T1: Variables and valid cases in the 2004 NARMP victim dataset	50

## List of figures

Figure 1: Individual and organisational victims of armed robbery, by location type, 2004	10
--	----



---

## Abbreviations

ABS Australian Bureau of Statistics

AIC Australian Institute of Criminology

NARMP National Armed Robbery Monitoring Program

RCV *Recorded crime, victims, Australia*

---

## Executive summary

Data collection for the National Armed Robbery Monitoring Program (NARMP) began in 2003, following a commitment from all police services in all Australian states and territories to provide information that would permit the detailed, national-level exploration of armed robbery. The program was established to:

- monitor trends in armed robbery, specifically trends in weapon use
- identify changes in trends
- provide insight into the factors underpinning these trends.

This report details findings from analyses of the second year of data collected, on all armed robberies reported from 1 January 2004 to 31 December 2004. This report and future publications based on the NARMP will make use of additional information to that employed in the 2003 annual report (Borzycki, Sakurai & Mouzos 2004).

Analyses of the 2004 victim-based NARMP dataset suggest:

- a decrease in the number of armed robbery victims compared with 2003, consistent with other recorded crime data (e.g. ABS 2005)
- knives made up half of the weapons listed as involved in victimisations, and firearms made up a smaller proportion of weapons compared with 2003 armed robberies
- boys and men made up nearly three-quarters of all individuals victimised, and around two-thirds of male victims were aged less than 30 years of age
- organisational victims were most frequently robbed in unspecified retail settings
- the majority of both organisational and individual victims were robbed by lone offenders
- less than 10 percent of victims had any prior relationships with offenders.

Additional data in the 2004 NARMP dataset allowed an examination of armed robbery incidents. Analyses suggest:

- single individual victims were robbed in six of every 10 incidents
- over one-quarter of robberies occurred in the street or in an unspecified retail setting
- sixty percent of robberies occurred overnight (6.00 pm to 6.00 am) and the majority of armed robberies in licensed premises, service stations, and corner stores, takeaways and supermarkets occurred during the night hours. In contrast, most robberies in unspecified retail sites occurred during daylight hours (6.00 am to 6.00 pm)
- over half of all robberies involved a knife (with or without other weapons), 15 percent a firearm, and one in five, some other weapon, but this pattern varied depending on victim type: incidents involving a single organisational victim were subject to a higher proportion of firearm robberies
- over one-third of incidents in which stolen property information was also provided recorded that offenders did not successfully gain any property from the robbery

- 
- cash (with or without other types of property) was taken in over one-fifth of incidents and the most common combination of stolen property was cash and electrical equipment (which includes mobile phones), taken in nine percent of armed robberies
  - the average value of property stolen in an incident was \$1660, although half of the incidents with property value information netted less than \$210 in cash and/or goods
  - firearm robbery resulted in the highest average stolen property dollar value
  - the highest average value robberies occurred in licensed premises and financial settings
  - seventy percent of robberies involved only a single armed robber, although over half of robberies in which multiple individuals were victimised involved more than one offender
  - offenders were predominantly male (90%), and the majority, regardless of gender, were aged less than 40 years
  - when offenders committed armed robbery in groups, they tended to co-offend with similarly aged peers.

These findings are indicative of broad trends in armed robbery, its victims, and those who commit this crime. However, a lack of equivalence in data coding schemes across jurisdictions, missing data, and other issues mean the trends discussed do not necessarily reflect all armed robberies that occurred in Australia in 2004. Nonetheless, findings from these current analyses are in keeping with conclusions from the 2003 annual report, which suggested that robberies can be seen as either:

- low-yield, unplanned and essentially opportunistic, especially in terms of weapons, as in the majority of street robberies, and in locations such as service stations; or
- high-gain, employing more difficult to obtain weapons, as seen in certain retail sites.

Data from the current analyses also suggest that some residential armed robberies – home invasions – and a small subset of street robberies may fall into the latter category. Armed robberies in licensed premises appear different from robberies in other retail locations. Relative to other armed robberies, incidents in hotels/pubs tend to:

- involve firearms, especially handguns
- involve offender groups rather than lone armed robbers
- be committed by older offenders, and
- take place during the evening/early morning (between 9.00 pm and 6.00 am).

These factors in combination suggest that this location type may be the target of more organised armed robbers who seek high gains and who intimidate their victims through hard to obtain and dangerous weapons like handguns, and through offender numbers. It is unclear if pub robbery is a new phenomenon, or if this location now is simply being targeted by offenders using a more intimidating modus operandi. The accumulation of NARMP data will enable this possibly emerging trend to be monitored, assisting law enforcement and those responsible for security in pubs and other licensed venues to base crime reduction and prevention decisions on evidence.

## Introduction

---

---

## Background

Armed robbery is both a property crime and a crime of violence. The threat or actual violence associated with armed robbery can have long-term effects on victims. Endeavours to more fully understand the nature of this crime, such as developing a detailed typology of *modi operandi*, may assist potential victims to develop strategies for minimising their risk of attack. Data collection for the National Armed Robbery Monitoring Program (NARMP) began in 2003, following a commitment from police services in all Australian states and territories to provide information that would permit the detailed, national-level exploration of armed robbery (see Mouzos & Borzycki 2003 regarding the establishment of the NARMP). The program was established to:

- monitor trends in armed robbery, specifically trends in weapon use
- identify changes in trends
- provide insight into the factors underpinning these trends.

This report details findings from analyses of the second year of data collection involving all armed robberies reported from 1 January 2004 to 31 December 2004. This report and future publications based on the NARMP will make use of additional information to that employed in the 2003 annual report (Borzycki, Sakurai & Mouzos 2004) because jurisdictions now compile and forward additional data, where available, for inclusion in the NARMP. States and territories agreed to this expansion of the NARMP following consultation with relevant statistical staff in a roundtable discussion in September 2004 and in follow-up correspondence.

The technical appendix outlines the information analysed for this report. It also describes the procedure employed in the compilation of NARMP.

## Definitions

According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), robbery involves:

...the unlawful taking of property, with intent to permanently deprive the owner of the property, from the immediate possession of a person, or an organisation, or control, custody or care of a person, accompanied by the use, and/or threatened use of immediate force or violence. Robbery victims can therefore be persons or organisations. (ABS 2005: 42)

In compiling recorded crime statistics, the ABS further differentiates between armed robbery (involving a weapon) and unarmed robbery (no weapon used).

---

Actual offences which can be classified as armed robbery differ between Australian jurisdictions because of differing criminal codes. The coding scheme employed by the ABS, the *Australian standard offence classification* (ASOC: ABS 1997), allows varying offences to be grouped into categories. Those categories of relevance to the NARMP are aggravated robbery, non-aggravated robbery, and robbery not further defined. Generally, victim records were included in the NARMP if actual offences were subsumed by any of these categories and some form of weapon use was also recorded, although there were some exceptions. Victim records were excluded if offences were classified as:

- aggravated robbery but weapon information showed no weapon use or not applicable (the use of a weapon in the commission of a robbery is considered one, although not the only, aggravating circumstance, hence all offences involving weapons could technically be considered 'aggravated').
- robbery not further defined or non-aggravated robbery, recording no weapon use, or where weapon information was not supplied or was annotated as missing (a minority of victim records classified as non-aggravated robbery or robbery not further defined also recorded use of a weapon, and these were retained in analyses).

Weapon use is central to establishing which offences are included in the NARMP. For the purposes of the NARMP, a weapon is defined in accordance with the ABS,

...as any object used to cause injury or fear of injury. It also includes imitation weapons and implied weapons (e.g. where a weapon is not seen by the victim but the offender claims to possess one). Parts of the body such as fists or feet are not included. (ABS 2005: 42)

Also consistent with the ABS, a robbery victim

...may be either an individual person or an organisation. Where the robbery involves an organisation or business, the element of property ownership is the key to determining the number and type of robbery victims. If the robbery only involves property belonging to an organisation, then one victim (i.e. the organisation) is counted regardless of the number of employees from which the property is taken. However, if robbery of an organisation also involves personal property in an employee's custody, then both the organisation and employee(s) are counted as victims. (ABS 2005: 42)

A person traumatised by or witness to a robbery whose property is not targeted, although a victim in the broader, common sense use of the term, is not a victim for the purposes of the NARMP. In addition, the term *victim* is used throughout this report to refer to the person(s) or organisation(s) victimised in an alleged armed robbery, regardless of whether related offences were later proven. Similarly, the terms *offender* and *armed robber* have been used interchangeably throughout this report to refer to alleged perpetrators of armed robbery offences, even if those individuals have not been convicted of those offences.

---

## Data collection

Like the 2003 annual report, this report examines the three aspects of armed robbery: the victim, the incident itself, and the offender, with a particular focus upon the weapons used in the crime. The NARMP was initially established as a victim-based dataset. That is, each record within the dataset referred to a single victim of an armed robbery. Because armed robbery can involve multiple victims, a single armed robbery incident can give rise to multiple victim records. For instance, an armed robbery of a service station may involve the theft of property belonging to the service station (an organisation), plus personal property stolen from an employee and a customer (both individuals). This single robbery would result in three victims in the NARMP dataset.

As noted, an important variable in the collection is weapon type, and a consequence of the victim-based format is that the weapon(s) employed in a single armed robbery will be counted multiple times if there are multiple victims. In this example, a handgun employed by the offender would be recorded three times in the dataset. A more accurate picture of the number of weapons employed would arise from an incident-based dataset. This type of format for data collection treats each armed robbery incident as a single record. Using the above example, the service station robbery would result in a single record, involving the use of a single handgun and resulting in three victims.

Additional detail was collected for 2004 data, including greater detail specified for existing variables (e.g. providing raw information, rather than pre-coded categories, about weapons employed and incident location). In some instances, jurisdictions were able to supply additional variables. Most noteworthy of these was an incident identifier – a unique code allocated to incidents that permits victim records to be linked and viewed as a single incident.

One factor affecting the degree with which NARMP data can be seen as reflecting all armed robberies reported to police in 2004 concerns missing data, and should be considered by the reader from the outset. Not all records contain data on all variables. Some analyses employ only records for which valid data on relevant variables were available, resulting in different total numbers from which proportions and summary statistics have been calculated. All statements regarding findings, therefore, are based on the total number of valid cases examined for that analysis, and not necessarily on all records. Limitations associated with the dataset are discussed in greater detail throughout the report and in the technical appendix.

---

## Report format

The following analyses of the 2004 NARMP dataset begin with a discussion of armed robbery victims, to permit broad-brush comparisons with victim-based data presented in the 2003 annual report. This is followed by an examination of aspects of armed robbery incidents, and of those offenders who perpetrate armed robberies. Unlike the earlier report, the current work utilised incident-based analyses when examining incidents and offenders in detail.

After a discussion of victims, incidents and the offenders involved in those incidents, armed robbery occurring in licensed premises is explored in detail. This in-depth exploration of the armed robbery of licensed premises is in response to media reports in recent years which have highlighted attacks on this type of location: consider the headlines 'Gunmen targeting pubs and clubs' (*Sun Herald* 3 October 2004: 34), 'Patrons lay low as bullets fly' (*Herald Sun* 20 November 2004), and 'Workers tied up as armed men rob hotel' (*The Advertiser* 7 June 2005). Police services have responded operationally to attacks against licensed premises, as illustrated in the headline 'Forensic focus on hotel gangs: ten extra officers to target pub robberies' (*Daily Telegraph* 13 September 2004:14).

An *apparent* increase in armed robberies in this location – reliable data to indicate national trends in the robbery of licensed premises are not yet available – may be due to the large takings potentially available to robbers because of the high cash turnover in these venues, and/or the lack of security relative to more traditional high gain targets such as banks. It is not clear if armed robberies in licensed venues tend to conform to a certain *modus operandi*, and in turn, if this differs from the mode of attack in other locations. However newspaper reports concerning this type of robbery do suggest that attacks may be more professional than, for instance, street muggings (earlier research into armed robberies suggested that there may be at least three types of armed robbery, spanning a continuum from more planned and professional, to unplanned and opportunistic attacks; see Mouzos & Borzycki 2003). By examining this subset of incidents in detail and potentially identifying the 'typical' licensed premises armed robbery, more appropriate security responses may be developed.



## Key findings

---

---

## Victims of armed robbery

The number of victim records contained in the 2004 NARMP dataset, 6646, is 25 percent lower than the 2003 dataset total. This conforms to a trend observed in ABS RCV, where a 16 percent decrease in the number of armed robbery victims in Australia was recorded over the same timeframe. This equates to a drop in the rate of victimisation from 36 persons per 100,000 to around 30 persons (ABS 2005). The rate of armed and unarmed robbery victimisation in NSW, Australia's largest jurisdiction, has also dropped in recent years (see Moffatt & Poynton 2006). Although generally similar in downward trends, the NARMP victim count differs from that reported by the ABS and this appears to be due to slightly different data selection and extraction rules applied by the various police services when producing the two datasets. The discrepancy in victim number between the two crime data sources means that the rate of victimisation is also slightly discrepant: 33.1 victims of armed robbery per 100,000 of population based on NARMP data, versus 29.8 derived from ABS statistics.

## Weapons used against armed robbery victims

A victim-based format can lead to the multiple counting of weapons used in armed robberies, as noted above. However, a count of all the weapons associated with victims is provided in Table 1 to provide context to later analyses exploring weapons used in incidents. As shown, and consistent with the RCV (ABS 2005), knives were the most commonly used weapon, constituting half of all weapons recorded as being used against armed robbery victims in Australia in 2004. Firearms accounted for 15 percent of all recorded weapons, with handguns making up the majority of these.

The relative proportions of weapon types used against victims differ slightly from those recorded in the previous annual report. Most noteworthy, there was a larger proportion of firearms used in 2003 (22%), although in both years, handguns made up around 10 percent of all listed weapons. Twenty-four percent of weapons recorded in 2003 were other weapons (2% more than in the current year), with correspondingly smaller proportions of knives (48% in 2003) and syringes (4% in earlier data; see Borzycki, Sakurai & Mouzos 2004).

**Table 1: Weapons used to threaten robbery victims, 2004**

Weapon	Number	%
<b>Firearms</b>		
Firearm (with no further detail)	163	2
Shotgun	84	1
Rifle, airgun	60	1
Handgun	668	9
Sawn off longarm	9	< 1
Replica firearm	9	< 1
Other firearm (not classified elsewhere)	71	1
Total	(1064)	15
<b>Knives</b>		
Knife (with no further detail)	3529	49
Screwdriver	18	< 1
Other knife (not classified elsewhere)	56	1
Total	(3603)	50
<b>Syringes</b>		
Syringe	370	5
Total	(370)	5
<b>Other weapons</b>		
Other weapon (with no further detail)	425	6
Club, baton or stick	248	3
Rock, stone or brick	54	1
Tool	192	3
Blunt instrument (not classified elsewhere)	32	< 1
Bottle, broken glass	158	2
Chemical spray	8	< 1
Explosive, bomb	1	< 1
Machete, axe	11	< 1
Sledgehammer	10	< 1
Crowbar, metal pipe	404	6
Bow, spear, speargun <sup>(a)</sup>	2	< 1
Vehicle	5	< 1
Other weapon (not classified elsewhere)	14	< 1
Total	(1564)	22

**Table 1 continued**

Weapon	Number	%
Weapon used (with no further detail)	4	< 1
No weapon used <sup>(b)</sup>	308	4
Unknown	298	4
Total	(610)	8
<b>Grand total</b>	<b>(7211)</b>	<b>100</b>

(a) This new weapon category was subsumed by the Other weapon with no further detail category in 2003 data.

(b) The apparently high count of the category of No weapon used arose because jurisdictions who were able to supply information concerning up to three weapons may have noted the absence of a second or third weapon.

Note: Multiple weapon types were listed for some victims therefore number refers to the total number of weapon types listed not the number of victim records. Excludes victims with weapon codes of missing, not applicable or variable not supplied. Percentages do not necessarily total 100 because of rounding.

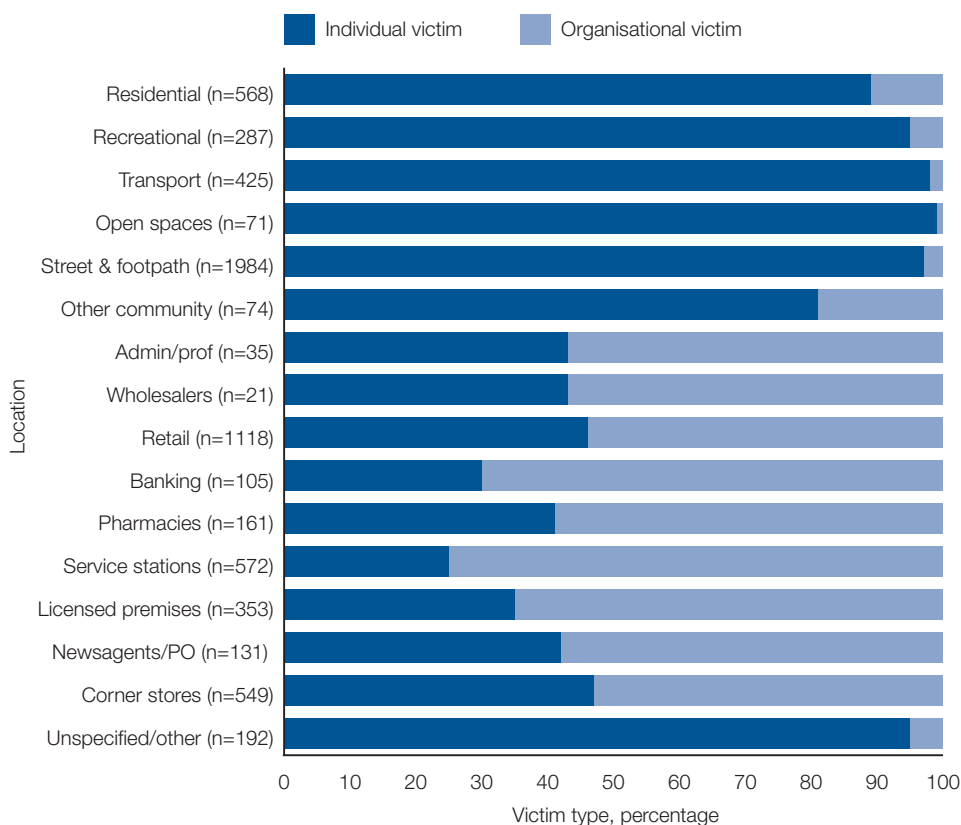
Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]

## Locations in which victims were robbed

Armed robbery victims, those whose property is the target of the armed robbery, can be individual persons or they can be organisations, such as the service station referred to in the example provided in the background discussion concerning dataset formats (see also the technical appendix). Seventy-one percent of reported victims of armed robbery in 2004 were individuals (n=4657), with the remainder being organisations. The locations in which individuals and organisations were victimised is summarised in Figure 1 overleaf.

The most common location in which victims were robbed was on the street or footpath (30% of all victims; n=1984), and 97 percent of victimisations in this location were of individual persons. As would be expected, individual victims were in the majority – over 80 percent of victims – in residential settings and in locations that are public, community spaces such as: recreational, transport related settings, in open spaces, on the street, and in educational, justice, health and religious settings (i.e. other community settings). There were also proportionally more individual victims in locations which were not specified or could not be otherwise categorised, reflecting the composition of this category, which includes settings such as crown land, public toilets, and building sites in addition to locations which were not described in any detail. Organisational victims made up over half of the totals in all other location types. These settings are best classified as business premises but some individual victims (over 40 percent of victimisations) were also robbed of property in these sites: in corner stores, newsagents and post offices, pharmacies, and unspecified retailers. It is likely that the individuals in these locations were not the main target for offenders, but merely staff, customers or bystanders robbed by opportunistic offenders who exploited all potential targets.

**Figure 1: Individual and organisational victims of armed robbery, by location type, 2004**



Note: Transport includes all transport related settings. Open spaces excludes street and footpath. Other community captures health, religious, justice and other community settings. Wholesalers includes warehouses, manufacturers and agricultural settings. Retail includes retailers with no further detail supplied. Licensed premises includes pubs, clubs, nightclubs and bottle shops. Corner stores also includes supermarkets and takeaways. Newsagents/PO and Corner stores, supermarkets and takeaways were subsumed by the Retail with no further detail category in 2003 data.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]

When considering the broadest possible location types (such as all retail settings, or open public spaces) the proportions of victims robbed in various locations did not differ markedly from those recorded in 2003 (Borzycki, Sakurai & Mouzos 2004). For example, 47 percent of all victims in 2003 were robbed in retail settings, and the equivalent proportion in 2004 was 45 percent. Forty-two percent of victims recorded in both 2003 and 2004 were robbed in open public settings (i.e. recreational, transport, open spaces, and the street and footpath). Less than five percent of victims in either timeframe were robbed in other community settings (including wholesalers, and administrative and professional settings).

---

Discrepancies between the two data reporting years did arise when considering location in detail, but this is largely due to the greater detail provided in the 2004 dataset. For example, the unspecified retail location captured 31 percent of 2003 victims, whereas the figure for 2004 was 17 percent. As noted above, the proportion of armed robberies occurring in *all* retail settings was virtually identical across years. The 2004 dataset simply included new retail locations (newsagents and post offices, and corner stores, supermarkets and takeaways) which accounted for 10 percent of victimisations. The percentage of victims captured by the licensed premises category increased from one to five percent of all records from 2003 to 2004.

### **Individual victims of armed robbery**

Around three-quarters of all individual victims were male (73%; n=3406). The average age of victims was 30.4 years, although victims' ages ranged from 89 years to less than one year (infant victims). Regardless of gender, the highest rate of victimisation was among young adults aged 18 to 19 years (83.2 per 100,000; see Table 2). Young men constituted the majority of individual victims for whom age and gender information was available, with 65 percent of male victims aged less than 30 years (similar to proportions reported in 2003). The rate of armed robbery victimisation was also highest among young men (e.g. 127.7 per 100,000 for males aged 18 to 19 years).

The risk of armed robbery victimisation for males and females of different ages varied with location. Around 40 percent of all individual victims were robbed in the street, with high proportions of boys and men aged less than 35 years victimised here (Table 3). Two-thirds of males aged less than 18 years were robbed in public open spaces (i.e. street and footpath, other open spaces, transport related settings). A little under one-third of men over 60 years were robbed in the street, open spaces or in transport settings, but nearly three in 10 robberies of this group occurred in residential locations. Around one-fifth each of women aged between 35 and 59 years and from 18 to 34 years were robbed in unspecified retail sites. Analyses of 2003 data revealed similar patterns, and as noted in the earlier report, this may reflect the different lifestyles of victims. Young males may frequent open public spaces more often than women, and so are more likely to be subject to attacks in these locations.

**Table 2: Age and gender of victims as a percentage of gender, and rate of victimisation<sup>(a)</sup> by age and gender, 2004**

Age group	Male		Female		Total		
	%	Rate	%	Rate	%	Rate	Number
< 15 yrs	6	10.2	3	2.1	5	6.3	(250)
15 to 17 yrs	14	114.5	7	20.7	12	68.7	(564)
18 to 19 yrs	11	127.7	8	36.7	10	83.2	(468)
20 to 24 yrs	21	96.5	18	32.0	20	65.0	(914)
25 to 29 yrs	12	60.9	12	21.7	12	41.4	(562)
30 to 34 yrs	8	36.5	12	18.3	9	27.3	(415)
35 to 39 yrs	6	29.0	8	13.2	7	21.0	(307)
40 to 44 yrs	6	26.6	9	13.6	7	20.1	(309)
45 to 49 yrs	4	20.3	8	13.9	5	17.0	(244)
50 to 54 yrs	4	19.2	6	10.4	4	14.8	(195)
55 to 59 yrs	3	16.7	4	7.9	3	12.3	(148)
60 to 64 yrs	2	13.1	2	5.8	2	9.5	(86)
65 yrs & over	2	6.0	3	2.2	2	3.9	(102)
<b>Total</b>	<b>(n=3357)</b>	<b>33.6</b>	<b>(n=1207)</b>	<b>11.9</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>22.7</b>	<b>(4564)</b>

(a) Rate of victimisation per 100,000 population.

Note: Percentages do not necessarily total 100 because of rounding. Excludes individual victim records with missing age and/or gender data.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]

**Table 3: Locations where males and females of different ages were victimised, as a percentage of age group for gender, 2004**

Location	Males				Females				Total number
	<18	18–34	35–59	60+	<18	18–34	35–59	60+	
Residential	5	10	12	28	13	11	16	19	(498)
Recreational	11	6	4	2	10	4	2	0	(270)
Transport related	13	9	8	9	15	7	6	10	(410)
Open spaces (excluding street & footpath)	3	2	< 1	1	3	1	< 1	0	(70)
Street & footpath	50	49	35	22	33	38	23	29	(1889)
Educational, health, religious, justice & other community	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	(59)
Administrative & professional	0	< 1	1	1	2	< 1	< 1	0	(15)
Wholesalers, warehouses, manufacturing & agricultural	0	< 1	< 1	1	0	< 1	1	0	(8)
Retail with no further detail	7	7	12	16	10	19	23	14	(506)
Banking & financial	< 1	< 1	1	1	0	1	2	2	(31)
Pharmacies & chemists	0	< 1	2	2	2	3	4	12	(63)
Service stations	1	4	4	2	0	3	2	2	(142)
Licensed premises	0	3	4	4	0	4	3	2	(121)
Newsagents & post offices <sup>(a)</sup>	0	< 1	3	4	0	1	3	3	(51)
Corner stores, supermarkets & takeaways <sup>(a)</sup>	1	5	9	5	6	4	11	5	(251)
Unspecified & other	6	3	4	3	4	4	3	0	(180)
<b>(Total number)</b>	<b>(690)</b>	<b>(1752)</b>	<b>(785)</b>	<b>(130)</b>	<b>(124)</b>	<b>(607)</b>	<b>(418)</b>	<b>(58)</b>	<b>(4564)</b>

(a) These new location categories were subsumed by the Retail with no further detail category in 2003 data.

Note: Percentages do not necessarily total 100 because of rounding. Excludes individual victim records with missing age and/or gender data.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]



**Table 4: Weapons used against male and female victims of different ages, as a percentage of age group for gender, 2004**

Age group	Males					Females				
	Firearm	Knife	Syringe	Other weapon	Total number	Firearm	Knife	Syringe	Other weapon	Total number
< 15 yrs	3	65	3	30	(199)	15	63	15	8	(40)
15 to 17 yrs	7	59	3	31	(461)	20	45	7	29	(76)
18 to 19 yrs	9	60	3	28	(343)	16	56	8	20	(95)
20 to 24 yrs	10	58	5	27	(661)	14	59	13	14	(208)
25 to 29 yrs	15	56	6	23	(387)	13	57	9	21	(141)
30 to 34 yrs	16	51	7	26	(250)	16	56	8	20	(133)
35 to 39 yrs	19	46	6	29	(191)	17	47	9	27	(88)
40 to 44 yrs	15	55	3	26	(193)	23	48	7	21	(98)
45 to 49 yrs	17	53	3	28	(139)	14	63	8	16	(96)
50 to 54 yrs	14	45	10	31	(125)	15	62	8	15	(66)
55 to 59 yrs	15	50	3	32	(92)	15	60	0	25	(40)
60 to 64 yrs	10	52	3	34	(58)	9	41	14	36	(22)
65 yrs & over	15	38	5	42	(65)	12	56	16	16	(25)
<b>Total %</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100</b>

Note: Excludes individual victim records with missing age and/or gender data, and with weapon types of unknown, not applicable or not stated. Based on first listed weapon for victim. Percentages do not necessarily total 100 because of rounding.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]

Given that knives were the most commonly recorded weapon used against victims, it is not surprising that knives made up the largest proportion of weapons used against both males and females in all age groups (see Table 4). However, the relative proportions of weapons used against victims in each age-for-gender group varied. For instance, only three percent of boys less than 15 years of age were subject to firearm robbery, compared with 19 percent of 35 to 39 year old men. Again, this may be linked to the occupations and lifestyles of victims. Later analyses (see Table 15) show that a high proportion of armed robberies in licensed premises involved firearms but only a small percentage occurring in open public spaces were firearm robberies. Minors typically do not frequent licensed premises but do use open public spaces, hence are subject to threats with the types of weapons that are most often used in those locations.

**Table 5: Weapons used against individual victims with supplied injury information in two jurisdictions, as a percentage of weapon type, 2004**

Injury	Weapon				Total %
	Firearm	Knife	Syringe	Other weapon	
No injury	10	18	3	22	17
Minor injury	11	22	20	46	27
Serious injury	3	3	0	11	5
Emotional trauma	76	57	77	21	50
<b>(Total number)</b>	<b>(63)</b>	<b>(336)</b>	<b>(35)</b>	<b>(164)</b>	<b>(598)</b>

Note: Based on first listed weapon for victim. Serious injury refers to that requiring immediate emergency medical treatment. Excludes victim records with unspecified weapon type, or weapon types of unknown, not applicable, or not stated. Percentages do not necessarily total 100 because of rounding.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]

Two jurisdictions were able to supply information relating to victim injury: the following therefore should not be over-interpreted as indicative of *all* armed robberies in Australia. Table 5 summarises weapons used and victim injury. Half of all victims reported emotional trauma, with around one in 20 reporting serious injury. Analysis showed that proportions of injury type varied with weapon. Data suggest that victims were more traumatised by threats with firearms and syringes than knives and other weapons, but that a sizeable proportion of injuries recorded (18 of the 31 serious injuries and 76 of the 174 minor injuries) actually arose from incidents involving other weapons.

## Organisational victims of armed robbery

**Table 6: Organisational victims of armed robbery by weapon use and location, as a percentage of weapon type, 2004**

Location	Weapon				Total number
	Firearm	Knife	Syringe	Other weapon	
Residential	3	3	3	3	(59)
Recreational	1	1	1	1	(12)
Transport related	< 1	< 1	3	1	(10)
Open spaces (excluding street & footpath)	0	< 1	0	0	(1)
Street & footpath	2	3	1	4	(50)
Educational, health, religious, justice & other community	1	1	0	1	(13)
Administrative & professional	2	1	1	0	(15)
Wholesalers, warehouses, manufacturing & agricultural	1	< 1	1	< 1	(12)
Retail with no further detail	31	31	44	25	(569)
Banking & financial	8	1	2	7	(71)
Pharmacies & chemists	7	3	9	4	(82)
Service stations	8	27	15	28	(408)
Licensed premises	22	7	2	11	(204)
Newsagents & post offices <sup>(a)</sup>	5	4	3	1	(67)
Corner stores, supermarkets & takeaways <sup>(a)</sup>	9	18	12	13	(272)
Unspecified & other	1	< 1	4	< 1	(10)
<b>(Total number)</b>	<b>(430)</b>	<b>(978)</b>	<b>(105)</b>	<b>(342)</b>	<b>(1855)</b>

(a) These new location categories were subsumed by the Retail with no further detail category in 2003 data.

Note: Based on first listed weapon for victim. Excludes victim records with unspecified weapon type, or weapon types of unknown, not applicable, or not stated. Percentages do not necessarily total 100 because of rounding.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]

Thirty percent (n=1989) of victims of armed robbery in 2004 were coded as organisations. As highlighted in Figure 1, the largest proportion of organisational victims was robbed in unspecified retail settings. Table 6 shows that 31 percent of victims whose records included weapon information were robbed in this location, and unspecified retail locations also accounted for the largest proportion of all weapon types except other weapons.

---

However, the proportions of weapon types varied with location. For example, over one-fifth of all organisational victimisations where a firearm was used took place in licensed premises and over one-quarter of knife robbery victims were threatened in service stations.

## **Offenders involved in the armed robbery of individual and organisational victims**

Information relating to up to five offenders could be supplied, although this was not possible in all jurisdictions, thus data do not accurately reflect *all* armed robbery offenders (see also technical appendix). Offender information is typically only provided when an offender has been proceeded against, but data concerning the final adjudication of cases arising from the armed robberies described in the NARMP are not available. The term offender, therefore, is used to describe the alleged perpetrator of an armed robbery, regardless of whether their involvement in this crime was later proven.

Of those victims for whom offender information was available (n=1820), an average of 1.5 offenders were recorded as involved in their victimisation. The average was slightly higher for individual victims (1.6 offenders) than organisations (1.3 offenders). Table 7 summarises the relative offender counts for both types of victims. As the averages suggest, a slightly higher proportion of organisational victims were robbed in incidents linked to single offenders relative to offender groups, than were individual victims. Analyses of 2003 armed robberies similarly suggested that organisational victims tended to be robbed by lone offenders, although as noted in the earlier work (Borzycki, Sakurai & Mouzos 2004) limitations associated with offender data may lie behind this finding.

Information regarding the relationship between victims and the armed robbery offenders who targeted them was available for 1676 victims. Of these, 108 victim records also contained information describing relationships between victims and second and subsequent offenders. These data were collapsed across the five relationship variables and are summarised in Table 8. Because of the high number of victim records without relationship information, this variable has been examined only once in this report. As shown, all but eight percent of offenders were unknown to victims. Of the 120 victim records with data describing pre-existing relationships, 47 (39%) were robbed in residential settings. This is to be expected, as it is unlikely that offenders would randomly target residences: prior knowledge of the possible gains and risks associated with home invasion would seem important for all but the most opportunistic of armed robbers. Interestingly, 23 percent of victims who had pre-existing relationships noted were robbed on the street or footpath. Stated differently, around one percent of victims of street robberies knew their assailants. This location is perhaps most commonly thought of as the site of anonymous muggings but these data show that not all street robberies are perpetrated by strangers.

**Table 7: Offenders involved in the armed robbery of individual and organisational victims, as a percentage of victim type, 2004**

Offender count	Victim type		Total number
	Individuals	Organisations	
Nil/unsolved <sup>(a)</sup>	74	69	(4826)
One	16	24	(1232)
Two	6	5	(362)
Three	2	2	(145)
Four	1	< 1	(61)
Five	< 1	< 1	(20)
<b>(Total number)</b>	<b>(4657)</b>	<b>(1989)</b>	<b>(6646)</b>

(a) Includes victim records which were unsolved or with an outcome where no offender was proceeded against, or where offender information could not be supplied, therefore producing an offender count of 0.

Note: Dataset contains a maximum of 5 offenders therefore victimisations involving more than 5 offenders will record up to only 5 offenders. Percentages do not necessarily total 100 because of rounding.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]

**Table 8: Relationships between individual victims and offenders, 2004**

Relationship	Number	%
Offender(s) known to victim	(144)	8
Offender(s) unknown to victim	(1085)	59
No offender identified, relationship unknown	(618)	33
<b>Total</b>	<b>(1847)</b>	<b>100</b>

Note: Multiple offender-victim relationships were listed for some victims therefore number refers to the total number of relationship types listed, not the number of victim records. Excludes victim records with relationship coding of missing, not applicable or variable not supplied. Percentages do not necessarily total 100 because of rounding.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]

Information relating to the state of the robbery investigation was not available for all records within the 2004 dataset (missing n=2634), limiting the interpretability of any analyses and comparability with other recorded crime data. Because of missing data, this variable has been examined only with respect to victims (see Table 9) in order to provide a summary of obtained data. It has not been employed in any other analysis.

**Table 9: Status of investigation<sup>(a)</sup> by victim type, percentage, 2004**

Relationship	Individuals	Organisations
Investigation not finalised	49	45
Investigation finalised, no offender proceeded against	22	10
Investigation finalised, offender proceeded against	29	45
Other outcome	< 1	0
<b>(Total number)</b>	<b>(2807)</b>	<b>(1205)</b>

(a) Refers to the outcome at data extraction or to outcome at 180 days for jurisdictions which were unable to supply outcome at data extraction.

Note: Excludes victim records in which investigative outcome was missing or not supplied. Percentages may not total 100 because of rounding.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]

Higher proportions of victims had armed robbery matters finalised in 2003 NARMP data (65%; Borzycki, Sakurai & Mouzos 2004) and in 2004 RCV (79%; ABS 2005). Apparent inconsistencies are likely to have arisen in part because of differing variable definitions (e.g. the ABS employs outcome at 30 days following offence report), and in part because of missing data in the 2004 victim file. If missing data are assumed to relate to matters which were not finalised at the time of data extraction, the proportions of investigative outcomes in the NARMP are in keeping with other recorded crime data sources:

- 68% not finalised
- 11% finalised with no offender proceeded against
- 20% finalised with offender(s) proceeded against.

## Armed robbery incidents

In the preceding discussion, the unit of analysis, a record, was a single *victim*; in the following, a single record refers to a single armed robbery *incident*. As noted in the introduction, 2004 armed robbery data contained information which permitted armed robbery incidents to be explored. These incidents do not capture all victims described in the 2004 victim dataset and so cannot describe *all* armed robbery incidents that were reported to police (see also technical appendix). They do, nonetheless, permit the features of armed robberies to be explored, complementing information contained in victim-based recorded crime datasets. Together, these data sources will increase our understanding of armed robberies, potentially assisting in the development of appropriate responses to a variety of armed robbery situations.

A total of 5467 unique incidents were identified in the 2004 NARMP data. The majority of examined incidents (91% or 4978) had only a single associated victim, seven percent had two victims, and the remainder had up to nine separate victims. Victim information was used to create a new variable describing the types of victims involved in incidents, although the validity of this variable is limited (see technical appendix). Table 10 summarises this variable, and illustrates that single individuals were the victims in almost 60 percent of incidents.

**Table 10: Types of victims involved in armed robbery incidents, 2004**

Victim type	Number	%
One individual	(3208)	59
One organisation	(1770)	32
Multiple individuals	(450)	8
Multiple organisations	(13)	< 1
One organisation & one individual	(21)	< 1
One organisation & multiple individuals	(4)	< 1
Multiple organisations & multiple individuals	(1)	< 1
<b>Total</b>	<b>(5467)</b>	<b>100</b>

Note: Percentages do not necessarily total 100 because of rounding.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]

## Locations where armed robberies occurred

The types of locations in which incidents occurred are shown in Table 11. Three in every 10 incidents examined occurred on the street or footpath, with retail locations accounting for a further 17 percent. Nearly half of all armed robberies of lone individuals took place in the street, although a high proportion of those involving multiple individuals (35%) also occurred there. In contrast, only four, two and one percent of armed robberies against people on their own occurred in service stations, licensed premises, and newsagents and post offices, respectively.

While only around one in 10 robberies involving single or multiple individuals were in unspecified retail locations, one quarter of those in which individual(s) were robbed in addition to organisations took place in this site. This indicates that although the primary target for robbers is probably the takings or goods associated with the business conducted in that location, robbers nonetheless took advantage of staff and/or customers and also stole their private property.

One quarter of robberies in 2004 involving one organisational and one individual victim occurred in service stations, but none involving an organisational plus multiple individual victims took place there. Earlier research examining robberies against service stations and

pharmacies in Australia found that four-fifths of robberies occurring in service stations occurred when only one staff member was on duty (Taylor 2002). Offenders presumably rob certain locations at times when they are likely to encounter a minimum of potential witnesses (e.g. only a single staff member on site). Unlike most retailers, service stations often operate on a 24-hour basis, or at least have extended opening hours, and the 'slow' period overnight when minimal staff are on duty would be the most opportune time for offenders to attack this location.

**Table 11: Locations in which different victim types were robbed, as a percentage of victim type, 2004**

Location	Victim type							Total number
	single individual	single organisation	>1 individual	>1 organisation	1 organisation + 1 individual	1 organisation + >1 individual	>1 organisation + >1 individual	
Residential	9	3	14	0	10	0	0	(397)
Recreational	4	1	9	0	5	0	0	(194)
Transport related	10	< 1	6	0	0	0	0	(346)
Open spaces (excluding street & footpath)	1	< 1	2	0	0	0	0	(56)
Street & footpath	46	2	35	15	14	25	0	(1663)
Educational, health, religious, justice & other community	1	1	1	0	5	25	0	(55)
Administrative & professional	< 1	1	< 1	0	0	0	0	(30)
Wholesalers, warehouses, manufacturing & agricultural	< 1	1	< 1	0	0	0	0	(19)
Retail with no further detail	11	29	10	15	24	25	100	(912)
Banking & financial	1	4	< 1	8	5	0	0	(85)
Pharmacies & chemists	1	4	3	8	0	0	0	(115)
Service stations	4	21	2	23	24	0	0	(513)
Licensed premises	2	12	4	15	5	25	0	(309)
Newsagents & post offices <sup>(a)</sup>	1	4	3	15	5	0	0	(111)
Corner stores, supermarkets & takeaways <sup>(a)</sup>	6	16	6	0	5	0	0	(514)
Unspecified & other	4	1	5	0	0	0	0	(148)

(a) These new location categories were subsumed by the Retail with no further detail category in 2003 data.

Note: Percentages do not necessarily total 100 because of rounding.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]



---

## Temporal aspects of armed robbery

Consistent with earlier research which reported nearly three-quarters of service station armed robberies occurring between 6.00 pm and 6.00 am (Taylor 2002), 84 percent of service station robberies in 2004 occurred then (see Table 12). Other businesses that tend to operate outside standard hours (licensed premises, and corner stores, supermarkets and takeaways) recorded the majority of armed robberies during night hours, a pattern in keeping with the overall proportions observed regardless of location: 60 percent of armed robberies reported occurred during these night hours. Robberies in community public spaces and residential premises were also more frequently recorded as occurring during the night. Whether this reflects planning (e.g. prior reconnaissance) on the part of offenders, or whether it is simply opportunistic robbery of premises when they are observed to be relatively free of potential witnesses cannot be disentangled in the current data. In contrast, 58 percent of unspecified retail armed robberies occurred between 6.00 am and 6.00 pm and this is presumably linked to the regular opening hours of most retailers.

Data show that the time of day when armed robberies tended to occur varied slightly across the week, although armed robberies were evenly distributed over each day of the week. For example, more than 30 percent of weekend robberies (i.e. Saturday and Sunday) occurred between midnight and 6.00 am, but the equivalent proportion on each weekday was a quarter or less (see Table 13).

**Table 12: Time of the day when robberies occurred in various locations, as a percentage of location, 2004**

Location	Time category							
	Midnight to 2.59 am	3.00 am to 5.59 am	6.00 am to 8.59 am	9.00 am to 11.59 am	Noon to 2.59 pm	3.00 pm to 5.59 pm	6.00 pm to 8.59 pm	9.00 pm to 11.59 pm
Residential	15	7	6	8	9	11	19	24
Recreational	13	6	3	6	15	17	17	24
Transport related	11	6	6	10	12	18	17	20
Open spaces (excluding street & footpath)	20	2	2	5	13	16	18	25
Street & footpath	20	7	4	6	10	11	18	25
Educational, health, religious, justice & other community	7	7	7	15	29	15	9	11
Administrative & professional	7	3	3	17	40	20	7	3
Wholesalers, warehouses, manufacturing & agricultural	11	5	16	11	11	26	16	5
Retail with no further detail	5	3	6	12	18	22	21	13
Banking & financial	1	2	5	31	24	29	7	1
Pharmacies & chemists	0	1	2	12	26	30	21	8
Service stations	25	15	4	3	4	5	21	24
Licensed premises	17	8	3	7	9	11	23	22
Newsagents & post offices <sup>(a)</sup>	3	16	18	9	25	26	3	0
Corner stores, supermarkets & takeaways <sup>(a)</sup>	14	7	6	5	10	16	24	18
Unspecified & other	10	7	4	10	19	18	16	16
<b>Total number</b>	<b>(785)</b>	<b>(382)</b>	<b>(264)</b>	<b>(425)</b>	<b>(682)</b>	<b>(809)</b>	<b>(1042)</b>	<b>(1078)</b>

(a) These new location categories were subsumed by the Retail with no further detail category in 2003 data.

Note: Percentages do not necessarily total 100 because of rounding.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]

**Table 13: Day of the week and time of day of armed robberies, as a percentage of day of the week, 2004**

Time category	Day of the week						
	Sun	Mon	Tues	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat
Midnight to 2.59 am	20	12	12	13	11	14	19
3.00 am to 5.59 am	10	6	7	5	8	6	8
6.00 am to 8.59 am	5	5	5	5	5	5	4
9.00 am to 11.59 am	5	9	9	9	9	7	7
Noon to 2.59 pm	10	15	12	15	12	12	11
3.00 pm to 5.59 pm	14	16	16	14	15	16	13
6.00 pm to 8.59 pm	18	19	20	19	17	21	18
9.00 pm to 11.59 pm	18	17	19	20	23	20	21
<b>(Total number)</b>	<b>(803)</b>	<b>(793)</b>	<b>(747)</b>	<b>(728)</b>	<b>(771)</b>	<b>(802)</b>	<b>(823)</b>

Note: Percentages do not necessarily total 100 because of rounding.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]

## Weapons used in armed robbery

Weapon combinations used in the incidents contained in the 2004 NARMP as a function of the types of victims they were used against, are summarised in Table 14. Analysis indicates that:

- over half the incidents involved a knife as the most serious weapon employed, and one in five involved some other weapon. Fifteen percent of armed robberies were with firearms (either alone or in combination with other weapons). Only around one in 20 involved a syringe, and no incidents involved the use of multiple syringes
- very few incidents involved multiple weapon use, with the most common combination being a knife and some other weapon (n=99)
- the relative proportions of weapons used in incidents were similar to proportions seen in the victim-based analysis (see Table 1), but weapons use patterns were not identical across types of victims. Higher proportions of incidents involving only organisational victims involved firearms than incidents involving only lone individuals. No incidents where both organisational and individual victims were robbed involved syringes.

A variable capturing the most serious weapon employed in an incident was created because of the small number of multi-weapon combinations employed. This has been used in the analysis of the types of weapons used in incidents in various locations. The analysis shown in Table 6 examined whether each of the weapon types was distributed evenly amongst the various locations where organisational victims were robbed. This analysis, shown in Table

---

15, addresses a slightly different question: what was the pattern of weapon use in incidents in each location?

As shown, knives were the most serious weapon used in the majority of robberies in most settings but there were exceptions. For example, firearms were used in at least four out of every 10 armed robberies in financial settings and in licensed premises, and in around one-quarter of robberies against newsagents and post offices. Pharmacy robberies differed slightly insofar as around one-third of incidents involved firearms, around one-third knives, and 13 percent syringes.

**Table 14: Weapon combinations used against different victim types, as a percentage of victim type, 2004**

Weapon combinations	Victim type <sup>(a)</sup>						Total	
	single individual	single organisation	>1 individual	>1 organisation	1 organisation + 1 individual	1 organisation + >1 individuals	number	%
<b>Firearms</b>								
single firearm	9	20	16	38	14	75	717	13
multiple firearms	< 1	< 1	< 1	0	0	0	12	< 1
firearm & knife	1	2	1	0	0	0	56	1
firearm & syringe	< 1	0	0	0	0	0	1	< 1
firearm & other weapon	< 1	1	< 1	8	0	0	29	1
firearm, knife & other weapon	< 1	< 1	< 1	0	0	0	3	< 1
Total number	(323)	(399)	(84)	(6)	(3)	(3)	(818)	15
<b>Knives</b>								
single knife	55	49	48	31	71	0	2853	52
multiple knives	< 1	0	0	0	0	0	13	< 1
knife & syringe	< 1	< 1	< 1	0	0	0	16	< 1
knife & other weapon	2	2	3	0	0	0	99	2
knife, syringe & other weapon	< 1	0	0	0	0	0	1	< 1
Total number	(1827)	(908)	(228)	(4)	(15)	(0)	(2982)	55
<b>Syringes</b>								
single syringe	6	5	3	15	0	0	310	6
multiple syringes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
syringe & other weapon	< 1	< 1	< 1	0	0	0	3	< 1
Total number	(201)	(95)	(15)	(2)	(0)	(0)	(313)	6
<b>Other weapons</b>								
single other weapon	21	14	21	8	10	25	1009	18
multiple other weapons	< 1	< 1	< 1	0	0	0	24	< 1
Total number	(684)	(248)	(97)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(1033)	19
No specific weapon types/missing	5	7	6	0	5	0	320	6
(Total number)	(173)	(120)	(26)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(320)	
<b>(Grand total number)</b>	<b>(3208)</b>	<b>(1770)</b>	<b>(450)</b>	<b>(13)</b>	<b>(21)</b>	<b>(4)</b>	<b>(5466)</b>	

(a) Excludes the single record for multiple organisations plus multiple individual victims, which involved a single knife.

Note: Weapon combination derived from the up the three weapon types listed. Percentages do not necessarily total 100 because of rounding.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]

**Table 15: Most serious weapon used in various locations, as a percentage of location, 2004**

Location	Weapon					Total number
	Firearm	Knife	Syringe	Other weapon	Non specific or missing	
Residential	20	50	3	23	5	(397)
Recreational	5	54	5	31	6	(194)
Transport related	8	58	8	20	5	(346)
Open spaces (excluding street & footpath)	11	55	4	21	9	(56)
Street & footpath	7	59	5	24	5	(1663)
Educational, health, religious, justice & other community	7	58	4	27	4	(55)
Administrative & professional	27	43	3	3	23	(30)
Wholesalers, warehouses, manufacturing & agricultural	42	32	5	16	5	(19)
Retail with no further detail	20	53	10	12	6	(912)
Banking & financial	41	27	4	24	5	(85)
Pharmacies & chemists	31	32	13	9	15	(115)
Service stations	9	65	4	18	4	(513)
Licensed premises	44	31	1	14	9	(309)
Newsagents & post offices <sup>(a)</sup>	24	54	3	11	8	(111)
Corner stores, supermarkets & takeaways <sup>(a)</sup>	16	63	4	11	6	(514)
Unspecified & other	12	51	7	27	3	(148)
<b>Total %</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>6</b>	

(a) These new location categories were subsumed by the Retail with no further detail category in 2003 data.

Note: Based on the most serious weapon listed in the derived weapon combination, assuming an order of seriousness of firearm, knife, syringe, and other weapon. Percentages do not necessarily total 100 because of rounding.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]

## Property taken in armed robbery incidents

The types of weapons used in robberies are not randomly selected by offenders. Prior research into robbery indicates that factors such as weapon availability and the offender's ability to access available weapons, perceived security in targeted locations, a weapon's potential to scare or injure victims, and the type of goods found in different locations (and

---

the type of security this then necessitates), may influence what weapons are used in robberies (Mouzos & Borzycki forthcoming). As was the case with earlier analyses, current data cannot indicate whether offenders deliberately targeted certain types of property, or opportunistically stole all that was accessible during the event, but the types of items taken when viewed in conjunction with other variables can assist in developing an understanding of ‘typical’ robberies in various locations.

Table 16 shows the types of goods stolen during the incidents examined. Although not all jurisdictions were able to supply this, up to five types of stolen property could be listed for each incident record, therefore categories describe property *combinations*. The categories are hierarchical, insofar as the first category, cash, refers to all possible property combinations in which cash was listed. The second, negotiable documents (which includes credit cards and ATM cards), refers to all possible combinations including this property type but excluding cash. The third, to all combinations with identity documents but excluding cash and negotiable documents, and so on. Detailed analyses of stolen property combinations (not shown here) were also conducted. When considering all property analyses, data indicate that:

- thirty-seven percent of incidents with property information involved no theft of property, indicating that offenders were not successful – at least in terms of financial gain – in a relatively high proportion of incidents
- forty percent of incidents with property information resulted in the theft of cash, and 10 percent in the theft of electrical equipment (which includes mobile phones) but not cash
- combinatorial analyses show that only cash (i.e. no other property type) was taken in 22 percent of incidents. Electrical equipment alone was taken in nine percent of incidents, and the most common combination of stolen items was cash and electrical equipment, either with or without some other property type (9%)
- forty-one percent of incidents (n=1687) had a single type of stolen property listed
- cash was taken in around 80 percent of incidents in which more than one property type was listed.

**Table 16: Type and count of property taken in armed robbery incidents, as a percentage of count, 2004**

Property type	Count of stolen property types					Total %
	1	2	3	4	5	
Cash	53	78	87	94	97	40
Negotiable documents	1	2	3	3	3	1
Identity documents	< 1	< 1	1	2	0	< 1
Luggage	5	4	5	1	0	3
Electrical equipment	21	12	3	0	0	10
Jewellery	2	< 1	< 1	0	0	1
Alcohol & other drugs	3	1	1	0	0	2
Weapons	1	0	0	0	0	< 1
Personal items not classified elsewhere	4	2	0	0	0	2
Conveyances & accessories	2	0	0	0	0	1
Other property not classified elsewhere	7	0	0	0	0	3
No property stolen	0	0	0	0	0	37
<b>(Total number)<sup>(a)</sup></b>	<b>(1687)</b>	<b>(502)</b>	<b>(239)</b>	<b>(135)</b>	<b>(31)</b>	<b>(4087)</b>

(a) The total number includes records annotated as No property stolen.

Note: Derived from the first listed victim for that incident because in the majority of victim records property information was not linked to individual victims but to the incident itself; therefore information should be identical across victims from those jurisdictions. Property type categories are hierarchical: the first category captures all possible property combinations in which cash was listed; the second captures all possible combinations including negotiable documents but excluding cash, and so on. Electrical equipment includes mobile phones and accessories. Percentages do not necessarily total 100 because of rounding.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]

Not surprisingly, the types of property stolen differed with location types, reflecting the types of activities that tend to occur in those locations (see Table 17; this analysis used the same hierarchical category scheme as employed above). Property combinations which included cash made up the largest proportion of property taken from all locations, although in financial settings, licensed premises, newsagents and post offices, and corner stores – settings with a cash turnover – cash combinations were listed for at least eight in 10 robberies for which property data were available. Robberies in pharmacies resulted in the theft of cash (either with or without other property), but one in five resulted in the theft of alcohol and/or drugs excluding cash.

Over one in five robberies in residential, recreational, transport, educational, street, and other open settings involved the theft of electrical equipment (which incorporates mobile phones) excluding cash. Weapons but not cash were taken in a small number of financial institution (n=2) and unspecified retail (n=5) robberies. Data do not allow the differentiation between



---

electrical equipment and weapons as the primary property targeted by offenders. The absence of cash takings hints that offenders may have opportunistically stolen any accessible valuable items; in these instances, weaponry or electrical equipment like mobile phones.

Some jurisdictions were able to supply information regarding the value of stolen items, and data suggest that the average robbery was not lucrative for offenders. Of those incidents for which these data were available (n=1595), the average value of stolen property was \$1660. However, the median value was \$210, indicating half of robberies with value information netted less than this amount. Eighty-one percent of robberies netted offenders less than \$100.

**Table 17: Types of property taken in incidents in various locations, as a percentage of location, 2004**

Location	Property type											Total number
	Cash	Negotiable documents	ID documents	Luggage	Electrical equip	Jewellery	Alcohol & drugs	Weapons	Personal items nec	Conveyances	Other nec	
Residential	62	2	0	4	21	2	1	0	3	1	4	(180)
Recreational	46	3	1	13	27	3	1	1	2	2	2	(107)
Transport related	58	1	1	8	22	0	1	0	4	2	3	(157)
Open spaces (excl street & footpath)	36	0	0	6	45	0	6	0	6	0	0	(33)
Street & footpath	55	3	1	8	23	2	< 1	< 1	4	2	3	(915)
Educational, health, religious, justice & other community	64	0	0	8	20	0	0	0	4	4	0	(25)
Administrative & professional	69	8	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	8	0	(13)
Wholesalers, warehouses, manufacturing & agricultural	71	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	14	(7)
Retail with no further detail	71	1	< 1	2	10	3	2	1	1	< 1	7	(411)
Banking & financial	90	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	5	(40)
Pharmacies & chemists	60	2	0	0	7	0	20	0	4	0	7	(45)
Service stations	74	2	0	1	6	0	7	0	2	< 1	8	(227)
Licensed premises	81	1	0	2	4	1	6	0	1	0	3	(134)
Newsagents & post offices <sup>(a)</sup>	85	0	0	0	3	0	5	0	5	0	3	(39)
Corner stores, supermarkets & takeaways <sup>(a)</sup>	80	0	0	0	6	1	7	0	2	0	5	(194)
Unspecified & other	49	1	1	1	28	4	1	0	1	3	7	(67)
<b>(Total number)</b>	<b>(1655)</b>	<b>(45)</b>	<b>(10)</b>	<b>(123)</b>	<b>(427)</b>	<b>(39)</b>	<b>(67)</b>	<b>(9)</b>	<b>(72)</b>	<b>(33)</b>	<b>(114)</b>	<b>(2594)</b>

(a) These new location categories were subsumed by the Retail with no further detail category in 2003 data.

Note: 'nec' refers to not elsewhere classified. Excludes records with missing property information or where incident recorded no property stolen. Percentages do not necessarily total 100 because of rounding.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]

---

A further examination of the average total value of stolen property, as a function of the most serious type of weapon employed shows that the highest value gains to offenders were in robberies with firearms (\$4805; see Table 18). The average values of stolen property in incidents in which knives or syringes were the most serious weapon employed were lower, each at around \$900. This pattern was not consistent in all locations however: firearm robberies in corner stores, supermarkets and takeaways, and in pharmacies resulted in lower average value takings than the overall mean value for these locations. This may be a function of low value turnover or deliberate cash reduction practices in these locations. In contrast, firearm robbery in residential settings resulted in an average property value of almost \$18,000. Firearm robbery on the street too resulted in a higher average value (\$6754) than that for all robberies in this location (\$1080). As noted earlier, these robberies have proportionally higher non-stranger victim-offender relationships. It is likely that rather than there being large amounts of cash or other high value items in *all* residential settings or with *all* victims on the street, certain individuals in private residences or on the street have been targeted with highly intimidating weapons because offenders knew these targets to be in possession of high value items.

The same table shows that the highest average value robberies – regardless of weapon type – occurred in settings known to hold large cash supplies: licensed premises (\$5278) and banking and financial settings (\$4424). Robberies with syringes in licensed premises resulted in the highest average property loss to victims (\$18,320), although only two incidents contributed to this average, of which one netted offenders less than \$750.

**Table 18: Average total dollar value of property stolen in robberies using various weapons, in various locations, 2004**

Location	Weapon				Total \$
	Firearm \$	Knife \$	Syringe \$	Other weapon \$	
Residential (n)	17,959 (14)	1,574 (60)	50 (3)	3,151 (20)	4,217 (97)
Recreational (n)	6,000 (1)	305 (30)	20 (2)	444 (13)	456 (46)
Transport related (n)	2,292 (17)	1,246 (84)	613 (13)	1,930 (40)	1,486 (154)
Open spaces (excluding street & footpath) (n)	– (0)	402 (7)	300 (1)	300 (2)	372 (10)
Street & footpath (n)	6,754 (25)	623 (258)	673 (35)	991 (109)	1,080 (427)
Educational, health, religious, justice & other community (n)	6,000 (1)	347 (5)	– (0)	663 (4)	1,039 (10)
Administrative & professional (n)	2,465 (2)	0 (2)	2,750 (1)	– (0)	1,536 (5)
Wholesalers, warehouses, manufacturing & agricultural (n)	– (0)	5,000 (1)	– (0)	– (0)	5,000 (1)
Retail with no further detail (n)	3,948 (53)	1,075 (155)	543 (33)	1,015 (19)	1,588 (260)
Banking & financial (n)	5,734 (15)	3,723 (4)	480 (1)	121 (3)	4,424 (23)
Pharmacies & chemists (n)	800 (5)	2,355 (14)	800 (2)	1,200 (1)	1,808 (22)
Service stations (n)	757 (17)	614 (94)	229 (9)	545 (13)	599 (133)
Licensed premises (n)	6,494 (24)	4,117 (13)	18,320 (2)	1,628 (11)	5,278 (50)
Newsagents & post offices <sup>(a)</sup> (n)	1,693 (8)	1,576 (5)	– (0)	1,000 (1)	1,602 (14)
Corner stores, supermarkets & takeaways <sup>(a)</sup> (n)	323 (20)	384 (120)	343 (3)	464 (12)	381 (155)
Unspecified & other (n)	6,110 (5)	1,496 (16)	160 (1)	473 (11)	1,813 (33)
<b>Total average dollars (n)</b>	<b>4,805 (207)</b>	<b>901 (868)</b>	<b>893 (106)</b>	<b>1,216 (259)</b>	<b>1,518 (1,440)</b>

(a) These new location categories were subsumed by the Retail with no further detail category in 2003 data.

Note: Based on the most serious weapon listed in the derived weapon combination, assuming an order of seriousness of firearm, knife, syringe, and other weapon. Excludes records where weapon type was unknown and/or where property values were not supplied.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]

## Armed robbery offenders

Offender data were available for only 1467 incidents. As already noted, not all armed robberies will result in the apprehension of an offender. In some cases the offender avoids detection, and other robberies may be finalised without any offender being proceeded against. Armed robberies can involve multiple offenders, although as noted elsewhere, not all jurisdictions are able to supply information on multiple offenders, and the NARMP records details of up to only five offenders. This dataset therefore cannot indicate if more than five offenders were involved in an armed robbery incident. The reader should be mindful of these caveats when considering the following analyses.

In order for an offender to successfully complete an armed robbery – to escape with property – he or she must be able to effectively control the robbery situation. Control derives from victim intimidation, which itself can derive from weaponry or from offender numbers. In attempting to intimidate multiple individuals, presumably greater offender numbers and/or more intimidating weapons are required than would be the case with a lone target.

Data hint that compared with lone individuals, multiple individuals are targeted (or at least victimised, when they are in a targeted location) by offender groups. The average robbery of multiple individuals involved 1.9 offenders, whereas those against lone individuals involved, on average, 1.5 offenders and those against lone organisations, 1.3 offenders. The count of offenders involved in the robbery of the various victim types is shown in Table 19. Overall, 70 percent of all incidents for which offender information was available involved only a single offender (n=1031). Around seven in 10 robberies of lone individuals or of single organisations were carried out by a single offender. However, around half the robberies in which multiple individuals were victimised were carried out by more than one armed robber.

**Table 19: Number of offenders involved in robberies of different victim types, as a percentage of victim type, 2004**

Victim type	Offender count					Total number
	1	2	3	4	5	
One individual	69	19	8	2	1	(793)
One organisation	77	16	6	1	< 1	(535)
Multiple individuals	49	29	10	9	3	(121)
Multiple organisations	80	20	0	0	0	(5)
One organisation & one individual	60	20	0	20	0	(10)
One organisation & multiple individuals	67	0	33	0	0	(3)
<b>Total %</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>(1467)</b>

Note: Excludes records in which offender information was not included. No data were available for the category of multiple organisations plus multiple individual victims hence this has been excluded. Based on offender information for first listed victim in incident. Percentages do not necessarily total 100 because of rounding.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]

Of those robberies with both offender count and most serious weapon information, 55 percent involved knives (either with or without syringes and other weapons), and just under one-fifth involved only other weapons. Similar proportions of weapon use were seen across incidents involving lone offenders and offender pairs, but robberies by groups of three and four offenders showed proportionally greater firearms and other weapons use (see Table 20). Although only a small number of incidents, robberies by offender groups of five appeared different again: six of their 10 robberies involved knives, and less than one in 10 involved a firearm. Among the small number of incidents examined, therefore, there does not appear to be any interpretable association between the size of an offender group and the type of weapons they tend to employ.

**Table 20: Number of offenders and weapons involved in robberies, as a percentage of offender count, 2004**

Weapon	Offender count					Total %
	1	2	3	4	5	
Firearm	14	13	20	20	8	14
Knife	57	53	48	49	62	55
Syringe	8	5	1	0	0	7
Other weapon	17	21	26	31	23	19
Non specific or missing	5	8	5	0	8	5
<b>(Total number)</b>	<b>(1031)</b>	<b>(278)</b>	<b>(110)</b>	<b>(35)</b>	<b>(13)</b>	<b>(1467)</b>

Note: Based on the most serious weapon listed in the derived weapon combination, assuming an order of seriousness of firearm, knife, syringe, and other weapon. Based on offender information for first listed victim in incident and excludes records in which offender information was not included. Percentages do not necessarily total 100 because of rounding.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]

Table 21 details the age and gender of all offenders reported in the NARMP incident file. As with victims, the overwhelming majority of offenders tended to be male (90 percent of offenders with available age and gender information) and young: 94 percent were aged less than 40 years and half were aged 18 to 29 years. The average age across the offenders involved in each of the examined incidents was 24 years, but this average varied with the number of offenders involved and with the location where the robberies occurred (see Table 22). For example, younger offenders tended to operate in larger groups: offenders who robbed on their own were aged 27 years on average, whereas those committing offences in groups of five had an average age of 18 years. On average, older offenders targeted pharmacies and financial locations (mean age=30 years), with younger offenders (mean=20 years) involved in armed robberies in recreational settings.

**Table 21: Age and gender of offenders, as a percentage of gender, 2004**

Age group	Gender		Total %
	Male	Female	
< 15 yrs	6	8	6
15 to 17 yrs	24	18	24
18 to 19 yrs	15	14	15
20 to 24 yrs	21	20	21
25 to 29 yrs	14	17	14
30 to 34 yrs	8	9	8
35 to 39 yrs	6	6	6
40 to 44 yrs	4	4	4
45 to 49 yrs	1	2	1
50 to 54 yrs	< 1	1	1
55 to 59 yrs	< 1	< 1	< 1
60 to 64 yrs	< 1	< 1	< 1
65 yrs & over	< 1	0	< 1
<b>(Total number)</b>	<b>(1909)</b>	<b>(212)</b>	<b>(2121)</b>

Note: Excludes one offender record with missing gender data. Derived from information concerning up to 5 listed offenders, for first listed victim in incident. Percentages do not necessarily total 100 because of rounding.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]

Lastly, offenders tended to co-offend with those similarly aged. Of the 436 incidents involving multiple offenders, 39 percent involved offenders in the same age group (using the age group scheme seen in Table 21), and 38 percent recorded co-offenders with ages in two consecutive age groups. Thirteen percent of these incidents involved offenders whose ages were separated by only one age group (for example, one offender was 15 to 17 years of age, and the other 20 to 24 years).

**Table 22: Average offender age in years for each location, by number of offenders involved in incident, 2004**

Location	Offender count					Overall	
	1	2	3	4	5	Avg	n
Residential	28	26	26	22	17	26	(156)
Recreational	21	19	17	–	18	20	(37)
Transport related	23	20	20	17	–	21	(106)
Open spaces (excluding street & footpath)	26	22	22	–	–	22	(16)
Street & footpath	23	21	19	17	18	21	(280)
Educational, health, religious, justice & other community	23	17	18	–	–	21	(23)
Administrative & professional	31	20	–	–	–	25	(9)
Wholesalers, warehouses, manufacturing & agricultural	23	–	–	–	–	23	(2)
Retail with no further detail	27	22	22	23	20	25	(288)
Banking & financial	32	25	27	–	–	30	(35)
Pharmacies & chemists	32	29	22	–	–	30	(41)
Service stations	28	21	20	21	19	26	(208)
Licensed premises	30	25	23	20	–	27	(66)
Newsagents & post offices <sup>(a)</sup>	27	23	24	20	–	24	(35)
Corner stores, supermarkets & takeaways <sup>(a)</sup>	26	22	20	20	17	24	(129)
Unspecified & other	28	22	20	–	–	26	(36)
<b>Average for count</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>(1467)</b>

(a) These new location categories were subsumed by the Retail with no further detail category in 2003 data.

Note: – indicates no records in subcategory. Average derived from information concerning up to 5 listed offenders, for first listed victim in incident.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]



---

## Conclusions

Findings from these analyses are generally in keeping with conclusions from the 2003 annual report. Fewer victim records were contained in the 2004 dataset, and a smaller proportion of weapons used in victimisations were firearms, but in general, the features of armed robbery victims in Australia over the two years were similar. Additional incident-based analyses were conducted on 2004 data, and when viewed in conjunction with victim-based analyses, suggest that armed robberies in Australia span a continuum from highly opportunistic, to relatively planned. At one extreme, there are low-yield, unplanned and essentially opportunistic armed robberies, especially in terms of weapons used, such as is the case in the majority of street robberies, and those in locations such as service stations. The other extreme appears to be those that result in high gains, employing more difficult to obtain weapons, and involving some form of planning or reconnaissance by offenders, such as armed robberies occurring in certain retail sites like banks and other financial settings. Data from the current analyses also suggest that some residential armed robberies – home invasions – and a small subset of street robberies may also fall into this category, as do robberies against licensed premises, which are explored in detail in the following case study.

**Case study:**  
**armed robbery of licensed premises**

---

---

The incident-based analyses discussed above suggest that licensed premises are not like other retail or recreational locations in terms of several variables, for example, weapons used and financial gains to offenders. The NARMP 2004 dataset contains detailed location information which has allowed the armed robbery of licensed premises to be isolated and examined. It is likely that not all licensed premises robberies have been captured though, because not all jurisdictions were able to supply equivalent detail in location descriptions, and some armed robberies occurring in licensed premises may have been captured by the Retail with no further detail or the Recreational categories and may not have been isolated for this case study. Additionally, not all jurisdictions who were able to flag licensed premises included equivalent levels of detail, hence the 'other' type of licensed premise and some records showing only higher level weapon information (e.g. other weapon).

Detailed information concerning the weapons used in licensed premises is summarised in Table 23. Almost half of all robberies in licensed premises involved firearms, over one-third being robbed with handguns (either alone or in combination with other firearms or weapons). Nearly four in 10 robberies in licensed premises were recorded as occurring in hotels or taverns (pubs), and 56 percent of these pub robberies involved firearms, whereas only 15 percent involved knives. Liquor store (bottle shop) robberies accounted for one-fifth of examined incidents, but patterns of weapon use resembled those seen in other non-licensed retailers: lower levels of firearm use (37%) but higher levels of knife use (47%) than pubs. Hotel/pub robberies also showed higher counts of multiple weapon use, especially combinations involving a firearm.

Although an earlier analysis indicated that firearm robberies, on average, resulted in higher value gains for offenders and this was particularly true of licensed premises robberies (Table 18), these weapons did not consistently result in high value takings for offenders. Table 24 highlights that six in every 10 firearm robberies in licensed premises were annotated as having no property stolen, compared with four in 10 knife robberies. Given that cash, alcohol and tobacco are the only valuable commodities usually found on these premises (excluding individuals' private property), the finding that the largest proportion of property taken was cash either with or without other types of goods (80% of listed stolen property types), is to be expected.

**Table 23: Count of weapon combinations used in the armed robbery of various types of licensed premises, 2004**

Location	Licensed premise					Total	
	Nightclub	Liquor store (bottle shop)	Hotel or tavern (pub)	Other retail, licensed	Other location	Number	%
<b>Firearms</b>							
handgun only	1	20	40	20	1	82	27
handguns + rifle	–	–	–	1	–	1	< 1
handgun + rifle	–	–	–	2	–	2	1
handgun + shotgun	–	–	1	–	–	1	< 1
handgun + shotgun + knife	–	–	1	–	–	1	< 1
handgun + shotgun + crowbar	–	–	1	–	–	1	< 1
handgun + knife	–	2	3	1	–	6	2
handgun + knife + crowbar	–	–	1	–	–	1	< 1
handgun + knife + tool	–	–	1	–	–	1	< 1
handgun + other weapon	–	–	1	–	–	1	< 1
handgun+ crowbar	1	–	1	–	–	2	1
handgun + crowbar + tool	–	–	1	–	–	1	< 1
handgun + tool	–	–	2	–	–	2	1
handgun + club	–	–	–	1	–	1	< 1
rifle only	–	–	2	1	–	3	1
rifle + club	–	–	–	1	–	1	< 1
shotgun only	–	–	5	6	–	11	4
shotgun + knife	–	–	1	–	–	1	< 1
other firearm only	–	–	1	11	–	12	4
other firearm + knife	–	1	1	1	–	3	1
other firearm + knife + tool	–	–	1	–	–	1	< 1
other firearm + other weapon	–	–	–	1	–	1	< 1
replica firearm only	–	–	2	1	–	3	1
Total n	(2)	(23)	(66)	(47)	(1)	(139)	45

Table 23 continued

Location	Licensed premise					Total	
	Nightclub	Liquor store (bottle shop)	Hotel or tavern (pub)	Other retail, licensed	Other location	Number	%
<b>Knives</b>							
knife only	1	28	17	46	–	92	30
knife + crowbar	–	1	1	–	–	2	1
knife + other weapon	–	–	–	1	–	1	< 1
Total n	(1)	(29)	(18)	(47)	(0)	(95)	31
<b>Syringes</b>							
Syringe only	–	1	1	1	–	3	1
Total n	(0)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(3)	1
<b>Other weapons</b>							
other weapon only	1	–	2	4	–	7	2
crowbar only	–	2	8	4	–	14	5
crowbar + bottle	–	–	–	1	–	1	< 1
crowbar + other weapon	–	–	2	–	–	2	1
tool only	–	–	6	2	–	8	3
bottle only	–	2	1	3	–	6	2
club only	–	–	–	6	–	6	2
Total n	(1)	(4)	(19)	(20)	(0)	(44)	14
Unknown or missing n	(0)	(5)	(13)	(10)	(0)	(28)	9
<b>Total %</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>&lt; 1</b>	<b>(309)</b>	<b>100</b>

Note: – indicates no records in subcategory. Percentages do not necessarily total 100 because of rounding.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]

**Table 24: Weapons used in robberies occurring in, and property stolen from, licensed premises, as a percentage of weapon, 2004**

Property	Weapon				Total %
	Firearm	Knife	Syringe	Other weapon	
Cash	34	52	33	33	41
Negotiable documents	–	–	–	–	–
Identity documents	–	–	–	–	–
Luggage	1	1	–	3	1
Electrical equipment	3	2	–	3	2
Jewellery	–	–	–	3	< 1
Alcohol & other drugs	–	2	–	18	3
Weapons	–	–	–	–	–
Personal items not classified elsewhere	1	1	–	–	1
Conveyances & accessories	–	–	–	–	–
Other property not classified elsewhere	1	2	–	3	2
<i>No property stolen</i>	60	39	67	36	49
<b>(Total number)</b>	<b>(116)</b>	<b>(89)</b>	<b>(3)</b>	<b>(33)</b>	<b>(241)</b>

Note: Property type categories are hierarchical: the first category captures all possible property combinations in which cash was listed; the second captures all possible combinations including negotiable documents but excluding cash, and so on. Based on the most serious weapon listed in the derived weapon combination, assuming an order of seriousness of firearm, knife, syringe, and other weapon. Excludes records where weapon type was unknown. Percentages do not necessarily total 100 because of rounding.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]

Armed robberies in licensed premises also exhibit a different pattern from armed robberies overall with respect to the types of victims involved. Unlike the pattern observed for all incidents (see Table 10), the majority of licensed premises robberies (72%) involved a single organisational victim, with only 22 percent linked to a lone individual. Nearly six percent (n=17) recorded the involvement of multiple individuals. Only two incidents involved both organisational and individual victims.

The type of offenders targeting these premises differs from the ‘average’ armed robber described for all NARMP incidents. As shown in Table 22, the average age of offenders targeting licensed premises was 27 years, three years older than the overall average. Detailed examination of age information shows that offenders targeting hotels tended to be younger than those targeting bottle shops: average offender age for pub robberies was 26 years (median=23) versus an average of 29 years for liquor store robberies (median=31). Seven percent of the 87 linked offenders for whom gender information was available were female, in keeping with observed gender breakdowns over all armed robberies.

**Table 25: Number of offenders involved in robberies of different licensed premises, as a percentage of offender count, 2004**

Location	Offender count				Total number
	1	2	3	4	
Liquor store (bottle shop)	86	7	7	0	(14)
Hotel or tavern (pub)	62	23	15	0	(13)
Other retailer, licensed	82	10	5	3	(39)
<b>Total %</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>(66)</b>

Note: Based on offender information for first listed victim in incident and excludes records in which offender information was not included. There were no records containing offender information for the locations of Nightclub & Other location, nor were there any incidents involving 5 offenders. Percentages do not necessarily total 100 because of rounding.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]

Earlier incident analysis (Table 19) shows that over three-quarters of incidents with one organisational victim were robbed by lone offenders. Because the majority of licensed premises robberies were against one organisational victim, it is not surprising that the majority of these incidents (79%) were attacks by lone robbers. However, data suggest that pub robberies may be more often carried out by a group. Single offenders accounted for only 62 percent of pub robberies but 86 percent of bottle shop robberies (Table 25). Average offender numbers also suggest that hotel robberies amongst the incidents examined were carried out by larger groups (1.5 for pubs versus 1.2 for liquor stores).

Seven in every 10 examined robberies of licensed premises took place between 6.00 pm and 6.00 am (see Table 26). Of these, almost 90 percent occurred between 6.00 pm and 3.00 am. This pattern was not identical for pubs and bottle shops: three quarters of hotel robberies reportedly occurred between 9.00 pm and 6.00 am compared with the 90 percent of liquor store robberies that took place between noon and 9.00 pm.

**Table 26: Time of day of armed robberies in licensed locations, as a percentage of location, 2004**

Time category	Licensed premises					Total %
	Night-club	Liquor store (bottle shop)	Hotel or tavern (pub)	Other retail, licensed	Other location	
Midnight to 2.59 am	25	2	36	6	0	17
3.00 am to 5.59 am	50	0	13	5	100	8
6.00 am to 8.59 am	0	0	4	4	0	3
9.00 am to 11.59 am	0	6	7	9	0	7
Noon to 2.59 pm	0	21	2	10	0	9
3.00 pm to 5.59 pm	0	21	5	11	0	11
6.00 pm to 8.59 pm	25	48	8	24	0	23
9.00 pm to 11.59 pm	0	2	26	30	0	22
<b>(Total number)</b>	<b>(4)</b>	<b>(62)</b>	<b>(117)</b>	<b>(125)</b>	<b>(1)</b>	<b>(309)</b>

Note: Percentages do not necessarily total 100 because of rounding.

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]

These data describing licensed premises are limited because of the small number of incidents examined and the relatively high number without detail concerning the precise nature of the business conducted at that location. They nonetheless suggest that licensed premises robberies are different from the overall picture of robbery to emerge from *all* NARMP incidents. Further, the difference appears in part due to hotel/pub robberies, which can be characterised differently from other retail robberies (with the possible exception of bank robbery) and even from other licensed premises robberies, such as those taking place in bottle shops. Relative to other armed robberies, incidents in hotels/pubs tend to:

- involve firearms, especially handguns
- involve offender groups rather than lone armed robbers
- be targeted by older offenders
- take place during the evening/early morning (between 9.00 pm and 6.00 am).

These factors in combination suggest that this location may be the target of more organised armed robbers who seek high gains and who intimidate their victims through hard to obtain and dangerous weapons like handguns, and through offender numbers. It is unclear if pub robbery is a new phenomenon, or if this location is simply now being targeted by offenders



---

using a more intimidating *modus operandi*. The accumulation of NARMP data will enable this potentially emergent trend to be monitored, assisting law enforcement and those responsible for security in pubs and other licensed venues to base crime reduction and prevention decisions on evidence.

## References

---

---

## References

All URLs were correct at June 2006

Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2005. *Recorded crime, victims, Australia*.

ABS cat. no. 4510.0. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics

<http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/cat/4510.0>

Australian Bureau of Statistics 1997. *Australian standard offence classification*.

ABS cat. no. 1234.0. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics

<http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/cat/1234.0>

Australian Bureau of Statistics. National Crime Statistics Unit (ABS NCSU) 2005.

*Differences in recorded crime statistics*. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics

Borzycki M, Sakurai Y & Mouzos J 2004. *Armed robbery in Australia: 2003 National Armed Robbery Monitoring Program annual report*. Research and public policy series no. 62.

Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology

<http://www.aic.gov.au/publications/rpp/62/>

Moffatt S & Poynton S 2006. Long-term trends in property and violent crime in New South Wales: 1990–2004. *Crime and justice bulletin no. 90*. Sydney: NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research

[http://www.agd.nsw.gov.au/lawlink/bocsar/ll\\_bocsar.nsf/vwFiles/CJB90.pdf/\\$file/CJB90.pdf](http://www.agd.nsw.gov.au/lawlink/bocsar/ll_bocsar.nsf/vwFiles/CJB90.pdf/$file/CJB90.pdf)

Mouzos J & Borzycki M (forthcoming). *Weapon use in violent crime*. Research and public policy series. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology

Mouzos J & Borzycki M 2003. *An exploratory analysis of armed robbery in Australia*.

Technical and background paper no. 7. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology

<http://www.aic.gov.au/publications/tbp/tbp007.html>

Taylor N 2002. Robbery against service stations and pharmacies: recent trends.

*Trends & issues in crime and criminal justice* no. 223

<http://www.aic.gov.au/publications/tandi/tandi223.html>

## Technical appendix

---

# NARMP methodology

The various police services extract unit record data relating to victims of armed robberies reported during the reference period. Electronic data files from each of the jurisdictions are forwarded to the AIC, where they are reformatted and recoded as necessary to achieve, as far as is possible, a uniform national victim dataset. The final dataset is contained and analysed within STATA, a proprietorial statistical software package.

Jurisdictions cannot extract identical variables in all instances, nor can they always extract equivalent levels of detail or equivalent values for those variables that are produced in common. Raw data undergo considerable recoding and reformatting, and the creation of new variables from supplied raw data where necessary, before being submitted to analyses. Table T1 details the core variables, the number of valid records for each, and where relevant, the categories within each variable employed in the victim analyses conducted for this report.

Table T1: Variables and valid cases in the 2004 NARMP victim dataset		
Variable description	Valid records	Values <sup>(a)</sup>
Unique victim reference number	6009	
Offence code	6646	Aggravated robbery Non-aggravated robbery Robbery not further defined
Victim age at incident	4568	
Victim gender	4657	
Victim date of birth	4191	
Relationship of first listed offender to victim	1676	Known to victim Unknown to victim No offender identified
Relationship of second listed offender to victim	108	Known to victim Unknown to victim No offender identified
Relationship of third listed offender to victim	44	Known to victim Unknown to victim No offender identified
Relationship of fourth listed offender to victim	15	Known to victim Unknown to victim No offender identified
Relationship of fifth listed offender to victim	4	Known to victim Unknown to victim No offender identified

**Table T1 continued**

Variable description	Valid records	Values <sup>(a)</sup>
Injury to victim	673	No injury noted Minor injury Major injury Injury not further defined Death Emotional trauma
Organisation identifier flag	6646	Individual Organisation
Unique incident reference number	6163	
Date incident occurred	6163	
Month incident occurred	6646	
Year incident occurred	6646	
Day of the week on which incident occurred	6646	
Time of the day when incident occurred/ started	6646	
Date incident ended	4758	
Time incident ended	4755	
Date incident reported	6144	
Jurisdiction	6646	

**Table T1 continued**

Variable description	Valid records	Values <sup>(a)</sup>
Location where armed robbery occurred	6646	Residential settings Recreational settings (excluding licensed premises) Transport related settings Open spaces (excluding street & footpath) Street & footpath Educational, health, religious, justice & other community settings Administrative & professional settings Wholesalers, warehouses, manufacturing & agricultural settings Retail with no further detail Banking & financial Pharmacies & chemists Service stations Licensed premises Newsagents & post offices Corner stores, supermarkets & takeaways Unspecified & other locations not elsewhere classified
First listed weapon used in incident	6526	Firearm Knife Syringe Other weapon
Second listed weapon used in incident	616	Firearm Knife Syringe Other weapon
Third listed weapon used in incident	77	Firearm Knife Syringe Other weapon
Date of incident clearance	1918	
Investigation outcome at 30 days	1358	Not finalised Finalised, no offender proceeded against Finalised, offender proceeded against Other outcome

**Table T1 continued**

Variable description	Valid records	Values <sup>(a)</sup>
Investigation outcome at 90 days	1358	Not finalised Finalised, no offender proceeded against Finalised, offender proceeded against Other outcome
Investigation outcome at 180 days	1358	Not finalised Finalised, no offender proceeded against Finalised, offender proceeded against Other outcome
Investigation outcomes at data extraction	2673	Not finalised Finalised, no offender proceeded against Finalised, offender proceeded against Other outcome
Type of property taken in incident, first type listed	4715	Cash Negotiable documents Identity documents Luggage Personal electrical equipment Jewellery Alcohol & drugs Weapons Personal items not elsewhere classified Conveyances Other property not elsewhere classified
Type of property taken in incident, second type listed	1142	Cash Negotiable documents Identity documents Luggage Personal electrical equipment Jewellery Alcohol & drugs Weapons Personal items not elsewhere classified Conveyances Other property not elsewhere classified



**Table T1 continued**

Variable description	Valid records	Values <sup>(a)</sup>
Type of property taken in incident, third type listed	606	Cash Negotiable documents Identity documents Luggage Personal electrical equipment Jewellery Alcohol & drugs Weapons Personal items not elsewhere classified Conveyances Other property not elsewhere classified
Type of property taken in incident, fourth type listed	323	Cash Negotiable documents Identity documents Luggage Personal electrical equipment Jewellery Alcohol & drugs Weapons Personal items not elsewhere classified Conveyances Other property not elsewhere classified
Type of property taken in incident, fifth type listed	170	Cash Negotiable documents Identity documents Luggage Personal electrical equipment Jewellery Alcohol & drugs Weapons Personal items not elsewhere classified Conveyances Other property not elsewhere classified
Value of property taken in incident, first type listed	1127	
Value of property taken in incident, second type listed	213	
Value of property taken in incident, third type listed	128	

**Table T1 continued**

Variable description	Valid records	Values <sup>(a)</sup>
Value of property taken in incident, fourth type listed	83	
Value of property taken in incident, fifth type listed	51	
Total value of property stolen in incident	1676	
Unique reference number for first listed offender	1176	
Unique reference number for second listed offender	377	
Unique reference number for third listed offender	137	
Unique reference number for fourth listed offender	39	
Unique reference number for fifth listed offender	7	
Age of first listed offender at time of incident	1820	
Age of second listed offender at time of incident	588	
Age of third listed offender at time of incident	226	
Age of fourth listed offender at time of incident	81	
Age of fifth listed offender at time of incident	20	
Date of birth of first listed offender	1676	
Date of birth of second listed offender	530	
Date of birth of third listed offender	203	
Date of birth of fourth listed offender	72	
Date of birth of fifth listed offender	18	
Gender of first listed offender	1820	
Gender of second listed offender	588	
Gender of third listed offender	226	
Gender of fourth listed offender	81	
Gender of fifth listed offender	20	

(a) Listed categories are those appropriate for the level of detail available in all records for which non-missing data were supplied. Some jurisdictions were able to supply greater detail thus resulting in more detailed variable categories (e.g. weapons used or incident location).

Source: AIC NARMP 2004 [computer file]

---

The incident-based data file was created using all victim records that contained an incident identifier. This variable could not be supplied by all jurisdictions therefore only 6163 victim records were submitted to this process. Information related to incidents such as location, weapon use, and incident time and date did not agree among all the victims associated with an incident in a small minority of cases (n=31). When victim information differed on only a single variable, the relevant variable in victim records was amended to show consistent information (e.g. incident time amended to show the earliest incident time).

In compiling RCV, the ABS notes that:

- a criminal incident consists of one or more offences (and their related victims and offenders) which are grouped into the same unique occurrence if they are committed by the same person or group of persons and if:
  - they are part of actions committed simultaneously or in sequence over a short period of time at the same place
  - they are part of interrelated actions; that is, where one action leads to the other or where one is the consequence of the other(s)
  - they involve the same action(s) repeated over a long period of time against the same victim(s) and come to the attention of the police at one point in time. (ABS 2005: 40)

in addition to noting that:

- where a victim is subjected to multiple offences of the same type within a distinct criminal incident, e.g. in the case of robbery this may be due to attacks by several offenders, the victim is counted only once (ABS 2005: 33).

The same broad definition of an incident was adopted in the creation of the incident-based NARMP file. However, some records which had been classified as single incidents by police (n=21) were disaggregated into separate incidents. These previously single incidents each resulted in multiple incidents for the purposes of the NARMP. Previously single incidents which were later separated involved:

- incidents where different victims (sometimes threatened with different weapons or in different locations) were robbed by the same offender(s) within a short period of time, or
- repeat victimisations of the same individual(s) or organisation(s) by the same offender(s), with long periods intervening between the armed robberies.

After processing, there were 5467 incident records in the incident-based file examined for this report.

---

## NARMP data limitations

### Jurisdictional consistency in the NARMP

What constitutes a single reported crime victim is not uniform across jurisdictions.

With respect to the ABS RCV, it has been noted that:

- some jurisdictions almost always record a reported criminal incident on their crime recording system, whereas other jurisdictions apply a threshold test prior to a record being made (e.g. whether the victim wishes to proceed against the offender, or the seriousness of the incident). These thresholds vary across jurisdictions and are not currently guided by national standards. (ABS 2005: 31)

Similarly, there are differences in the way reported crimes are processed and recorded on police systems, and the way those systems generate information to be employed in examinations of reported crime (for a detailed discussion of these issues, see ABS NCSU 2005). Given that NARMP data are extracted by police services using similar protocols to those employed for the RCV (ABS 2005), issues raised concerning the RCV are directly relevant to the compilation of the NARMP.

As noted at the outset, the overarching ASOC (ABS 1997) scheme allows the grouping of disparate offences across Australian jurisdictions. Nonetheless, offences are not defined identically in all states and territories. Other variables are also inconsistently defined (e.g. raw values relating to relationships between victims and offenders) and so while they can be collapsed into higher-level categories as employed in the RCV, these categories do not necessarily convey all the information available.

Given all factors, jurisdictional comparisons are not made in this report but jurisdictional information is available to relevant police staff within jurisdictions via a secure internet website.

### Representativeness of victim and offender records in the NARMP

Not all crime events that take place are reported to or detected by police; thus the NARMP cannot describe armed robberies and armed robbery victims that do not come to police attention. Not all armed robberies will result in the apprehension of offenders and logically, police data can only include information regarding offenders who have been apprehended and will exclude those who have, for whatever reason, avoided detection. Systematic factors may influence a victim's decision not to report crime; recorded crime as reported to police generally underestimates the level of victimisation compared with that reported in victim surveys. However there does not appear to be substantial jurisdictional variation in the size of this difference with respect to robbery data (ABS NCSU 2005). Systematic factors may

---

also influence whether offenders avoid apprehension, or if apprehended, are not proceeded against. These systematic factors are important in our understanding of armed robbery but are well beyond the scope of the NARMP.

Victim counts do not tally with those provided in RCV. Discrepancies between the data sources indicate that slightly different selection criteria were applied when police services extracted victim records for the two datasets. In one jurisdiction, protocol differences meant considerably more NARMP victim records were extracted. As noted previously, for the purposes of the NARMP and RCV, robbery victims are those persons or organisations whose property was the target of an attack. A person traumatised by or witness to a robbery whose property is not targeted, although a victim in the broader, common use of the term, is not a victim for recorded crime purposes. By definition, organisations can only be involved in a robbery through property ownership. It appears that some individual persons who were witness to and/or traumatised (but not actually the owners of targeted property) in the robberies of organisations may have been incorporated in the dataset. To overcome this, all individual victims reported as additionally involved in an incident in which an organisation was robbed of property in this jurisdiction were excluded from the 2004 dataset for the purposes of this report. A number of these exclusions may be valid victims who did have property removed, but as no means were available to distinguish this, the conservative rule described above was applied.

Some jurisdictions were able to supply information regarding whether included victims were subject to completed or attempted robberies. As these data were not available for all records, this variable was not examined for this report. Some aspects of robbery, victim or offender may differentiate completed from attempted robberies, but these are not explored in this report.

Because of the above, the analyses presented in this annual report should be considered as, at best, only broadly indicative of all attempted and completed armed robberies, all armed robbery offenders, and all armed robbery victims.

## **Weapons, property, offenders and victim-offender relationships in the NARMP**

Where possible and relevant, jurisdictions supply information concerning up to three weapons used against victims, up to five involved offenders, up to five relationships between victim and offenders, and up to five stolen property types and values. These do add to our knowledge of armed robbery by providing greater detail about the crime but should not be seen as definitive regarding every reported instance of armed robbery. Some jurisdictions cannot supply information concerning more than one of each of these elements, and

---

records which may involve more than the maximum number of each of these elements are not flagged as such in the national dataset.

Variables relating the type and dollar value of stolen items could not be supplied by all jurisdictions. These variables are not mandatory fields for police officers when recording offence reports. Further, their accuracy is not necessarily later validated by police. Data do not, therefore, accurately describe the types and value of all property taken in all examined incidents. This caveat is especially important when considering certain subcategories of robbery (e.g. firearm robbery in educational settings), for which only single or a very small number of records were examined.

# Research and Public Policy Series

## No. 69

This annual report summarises information derived from the second year of the National Armed Robbery Monitoring Program in 2004. There were fewer than 7000 reported cases of armed robbery victimisation in Australia for that year and they are examined in terms of the incident, the victim and the offender. Aspects of this crime that have not previously been closely examined, such as the type of property stolen from victims, are included and add detail to our understanding of armed robbery. This picture can then assist law enforcement and those responsible for the development of crime-reduction initiatives.