

EDITORS' INTRODUCTORY NOTES

This volume presents the proceedings of the International Conference on Understanding Crime: Experiences of Crime and Crime Control. It was organised by the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI) in co-operation with the Italian Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Justice of the Netherlands.

The Conference itself is the result of a long preparatory process which involved two main activities. First, the organisation and carrying out of the International Crime (Victim) Survey¹. The second activity consisted in structuring the International Conference. For this the international Working Group (Jan van Dijk, Patricia Mayhew, Ugljesa Zvekcic) and the Project Officer (Anna Alvazzi del Frate) prepared an outline which was discussed by the Organisational Committee in a meeting held in Rome on 17 and 18 March 1992. This preparatory phase was then followed by soliciting material from the selected contributors and by making public this event. The final phase of preparation consisted in the organisation of this International Conference. We would like to express our gratitude to the members of the Organisational Committee as well as to the members of the Organisational Secretariat.

Three were the main objectives of the International Conference. First, to present the main results of the 1992 International Crime (Victim) Survey carried out in some 30 countries/cities all over the world (Parts One and Five of this volume). Overviews of the key findings for industrialised, developing, and Eastern and Central European countries are presented in Chapters 1, 2 and 3. Chapters 1 and 2 also provide historical and organisational accounts of the International Surveys. For summaries of the key findings at the national/city levels the reader should consult Part Five of the volume. The whole data set will be available, and can be purchased upon request, in 1994. Parts One and Five therefore contain a wealth of empirical data for country/city and comparative level analyses. Indeed, we encourage further use of this data set.

The second objective of the Conference was to discuss a selected number of issues related to research (mainly methodological and to some extent theoretical) and policy potentials and use of the (international) victim surveys. Contributions presented in Part Two of this volume were solicited for these purposes. The Discussion Session of the Conference, and correspondingly Part Three of the volume, go beyond the solicited contributions and expands on issues presented in the preceding sessions. A number of contributions relate to research and policy issues, particularly for certain countries, or discuss dimensions of victimisation/criminal justice processes in a comparative manner. This part also presents several attempts at secondary data level analysis based on the results of both the 1989 and 1992 International Surveys.

¹ It should be noted that the terms "International Crime" and "International Victim" Survey are used interchangeably. This is due to the fact that the first survey, carried out in 1989, was coined the Crime Survey and in the second sweep (1992) in industrialised and some Eastern and Central European countries it was again referred to as the Crime Survey. However, in developing countries, UNICRI referred to it as the International Victim Survey in order to avoid confusion with the quinquennial United Nations Survey of Crime Trends and Operations of the Criminal Justice Systems.

The third objective of the Conference was to bring together research and policy making/administration communities in order to promote an exchange of views and experiences. In particular it was felt important to discuss respective expectations, potentials and limits. These are related to research on the one hand and, on the other, to policy implications and implementations of the results of research. Both research and policy possess certain expectations; e.g. policy expects research to provide for understanding and, at least, to outline possible and feasible suggestions as to what to do, how to do it, and what will be the likely results. Research, on the other hand, expects policy to fund it, support it, consult it, listen to it and subject itself to research-based critical evaluation. At the same time each should be aware of its own potentials and limits and those of the other.

The possibility for an exchange of views between the two communities was first of all provided by the structure of the participants (see the List of Participants). Almost all the countries participating in this Conference were represented by at least one researcher and one criminal justice policy maker and/or administrator. Secondly, this possibility was provided at the discussion period following each session of the Conference, as well as during the informal meetings and social events organised in conjunction with the Conference. Only part of this rich process of exchange of views is presented in this volume, in Part Three and in particular during the Round Table: "Citizens and Criminal Justice", with the participation of high level representatives of the criminal justice system from several countries, from the United Nations and INTERPOL (Part Four). The Round Table in particular discussed various forms of relations between citizens and criminal justice and, in addition to issues linked to conventional victimisation, it focussed on citizens as victims of organised and environmental crime and the need for citizen participation in facing and reacting to these serious, often transboundary crimes.

Part Four is entitled *Rounding Up*. It attempts to present the main issues and results discussed and presented at the Conference and therefore consists of three main Session Reports and a General Report. While providing summaries, they also advance further research and policy agenda.

It is our hope that this volume will contribute to the advancement of national and international comparative research for the understanding of victimisation, crime and criminal justice and to the promotion of international comparative data bases, as well as to the advancement of policy reflecting, and targeted to the needs of the community. It will, we hope, further co-operation between research and policy, to the benefit of each and for the advancement of sound crime prevention and control strategies.

In closing these Introductory Notes we would like to express our gratitude to the participants, the contributors, the Session Rapporteurs and the technical support staff. Arrivederci at the next international conference about the next sweep of the International Crime (Victim) Survey.

Rome, The Hague
June 1993

Anna Alvazzi del Frate
Ugljesa Zvekic
Jan J.M. van Dijk

**MESSAGE OF BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI,
SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

I send my greetings and good wishes to the criminal justice officials and researchers who are attending this Conference.

I see this Conference as contributing to understanding between practitioners in the criminal justice system of a number of Member States and the academic community; and also as providing a valuable opportunity for cross-national dialogue and debate on crime and criminal justice issues.

Crime and victimisation are of increasing concern to the international community. The International Victimization Survey has great potential for informing and reforming policies relating to crime, its effects, and justice. The United Nations Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power is an example of the positive outcome of the use and analysis of victim surveys.

The international exchange of data, analysis and policy viewpoints in the crime and criminal justice fields, mediated by institutions such as UNICRI and conferences such as this, have an important contribution to make to the realisation of the social goals of the Charter of the United Nations, and the attainment of "Social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

**ADDRESS BY NICOLA MANCINO,
MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR, ITALY**

I am particularly honoured to address the opening of this International Conference which, given the theme under discussion and the scientific authority of the participants, is of such great importance.

I wholly support both the programme and the objectives of the Conference; not only the substantive aspects which provide a new contribution to the further understanding of the phenomenon of crime, but also the innovative methodological aspects and their particular significance in the light of the organisational and managerial involvement of the United Nations in this endeavour.

Given its high level of authority, its neutrality with respect to the particular interests of each single country, and its noble aims, the United Nations undoubtedly provides the most suitable forum for the objective analysis and evaluation of the phenomenon of crime, even at an international comparative level.

By its involvement - through the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Institute (UNICRI) - in this initiative, Italy has made available its own data and experiences to the international community, for analysis and evaluation together with the results of the other 30 European and non-European countries involved in the survey. The common aim of this initiative is to promote a greater awareness of the reality of crime, so as to enable governments to identify and focalise on the necessary crime prevention measures.

It has often been claimed by authorities, even of international level, that highly industrialised countries tend to have higher crime rates. From this it can be deduced, therefore, that a cause-effect relationship exists between economic development and increased violence, although I am not personally in total agreement with this current of thought.

In fact, highly developed countries with low levels of criminality also exist, as do socially and economically depressed countries with very high crime rates.

As far as Italy is concerned, the frequent episodes of criminal brutality can be attributed to various causes and forms of behaviour which are easy to identify but difficult to understand and diagnose.

During the last few years it has often been asserted that the correct functioning, impartiality and efficiency of administrative action must be ensured if the obstacles to social development and civil recovery are to be removed. These obstacles pollute the human environment and pose heavy limits to any legitimate legal action.

There is an element of truth in this claim. Nor should one underestimate the fact that the degradation of social life has its origin in the debasement of those values which used to be part of collective and individual conscience.

In fact, respect for the human being has withered away and often, in order to encourage and justify behaviour that is antagonistic to public order, new anti-state ideologies have been advanced.

The public is certainly more aware of crime nowadays than in the past and the violent expansion of some criminal phenomena has led to a strong demand on the part of society for a more firm response by the state.

A marked decrease in criminality has been registered during the last few years. In fact, compared to the same period in 1991, between 1 January and 30

September of this year a decrease was recorded in homicides (1,105 compared to 1,937 in 1991 -20.90%); serious robberies (8,845 compared to 11,747 -24.72%); and pickpocketing (43,287 compared to 57,835 - 25.15%).

The decrease in petty crime can be linked to tougher policies in the fight against organised crime. They involve a differentiated legislation, borrowed from the positive experience of the fight against terrorism, which has been introduced into the legal system. In other words, substantial penal law foresees different sanctions and different application procedures depending on whether petty or organised crime is being dealt with.

New measures were introduced in the latest provisions of August 1992 which have proved particularly effective for the action of the law enforcement agencies.

For example, patrimonial prevention measures require people to account for the origin of certain valuable goods; they thus strike at those people who own valuable goods that are above their actual economic capacity.

In the field of investigative activities, new important measures have been introduced which aim to encourage the so-called repentant offenders, even those in detention, to collaborate with the justice.

There is no doubt that, recently, the law enforcement agencies have inflicted heavy blows on criminal associations. Without attaching too much weight to them, the following operations should certainly be mentioned: the arrest of Madonia and Alfieri; the extradition from Caracas of the Cuntrera Brothers; The Green Ice Operation and the latest so-called "Leopard" Operations. These are operations of vast dimensions, which were made possible thanks to the revelations of collaborators with the justice.

Very recently, public attention has focussed on the phenomenon of extorsions, following the tragic episodes of Gela and Foggia. The dimensions and trend of the phenomenon of extortion are not, in fact, easy to describe both because of the various forms they can assume and the growing gap between the number of extorsions that are reported to the police and those that are actually put into practice.

It should, in fact, be highlighted that the phenomenon takes on a more serious and complex dimension if the criminal actions preceding the request for money - intimidations, dynamite or fire attacks - are taken into consideration.

The victim is often afraid to collaborate with the law enforcement agencies or the magistrates. It is, however, this very attitude that has to change since the only effective way to combat this abject phenomenon is by reporting it to the authorities, either individually or in groups (trade associations could - and in fact do - play a valid role in these cases).

For this reason public opinion must be mobilised as much as possible, so as to create an atmosphere of collaboration between the community and the institutions, and conditions of moral deterrence.

Predictions on possible targets are often made: it would also be useful to conduct a comparative study of the persons at risk, to intensify protective measures and to carry out intelligence activities.

It is now part of the law enforcement agencies' routine work to study the level of risk. Organised crime uses different logics, strategies and objectives.

Whereas the clans were initially in competition with one another, nowadays it is possible to identify a criminal organisation of much vaster and sophisticated

proportions and with a very high level of efficiency. Whether or not the "cupola" actually exists, it is impossible to deny the existence of a hierarchy that uses well targeted actions with a ferocious determination.

From an analysis of recent trends, it is possible to identify the development of forms of delinquency, in the light of rapid mobility; the use of data processing systems; access to the international banking systems; the possibility to use capital even on the world financial markets, and a high capacity to invest illegal profits.

The expansion of this type of economy seriously disrupts the socio-economic order, by threatening the correct functioning of the market and by inhibiting growth, especially in the south of Italy where the presence of criminality suffocates any initiatives and obstructs any attempts to set up external enterprises in the area.

A new law is being finalised which will place a tighter control on the sale/purchase of commercial enterprises and land, as well as on the transfer of the title of companies from one person to another, especially those with limited responsibility.

Despite several indisputable successes, the old axiom whereby delinquency can only be beaten by the police, must be abandoned. It is essential, instead, to aim towards a new social and legal moral awareness, so that people will overcome fear and indifference and start collaborating with the state: the greater the collaboration, the more powerful will be the state's offensive against crime.

Lack of involvement by the public, and lack of interest on the part of those who hold responsible positions and carry out important functions have also contributed towards the proliferation of crime.

The spirit of tolerance, fear, and sometimes of conditioning or even collusion on the part of the elected public authorities make it even more difficult to fight criminality.

As can be imagined, the problem of values and morality invests the political and administrative life of the country, the transparency and correctness of the "general good" and the ethics of those who have taken it upon themselves to produce the "common good".

It was with this aim that the Parliament approved Law 221, which foresees the dissolution of provincial and town councils that are implicated with, or infiltrated by the Mafia.

It is not enough to aspire towards the honest behaviour of each citizen; those in power must also exhibit a transparent morality, and the state should not simply represent a repressive organ.

In order to achieve this, a social and political order must be established in which the individual is the means and the end; in other words, a society which does not base its values on its level of well-being but also on its capacity to create justice and human growth.

Only in this way will it be possible to construct a state which has a "monopoly of the law". By this we mean a state which, by means of its legality, is able to construct conditions based on the law which permits social dialogue, and in which individuals and groups can exercise their initiative and potential to the full.

Even this is not always sufficient: the state also has the inexorable duty to care for the victims of criminal activity, and this is the theme of this meeting.

In this respect, international organisations have made increasing and authoritative demands for the protection of victims of crime and of those people who are considered at greatest risk.

As I have already mentioned, during the last few years Italian legislation has given priority to these problems. In fact, the state should keep in mind that the citizen is the principal subject of politics and, as such must participate in social life.

This type of state action would not only produce greater moral results and ensure the protection of human rights; I am convinced that it would also produce side effects in at least two other areas of great interest, from both a practical point of view and for the positive development of civil society.

In the first place, victim surveys represent an alternative tool for the analysis of crime and its effects on society. In particular, through the collection of information, even of an anonymous type, it is possible to comprehend the reaction of citizens who have been victims of criminal acts. Even in those cases where the incidents are not reported to the police or to the magistrature, an understanding of the reasons for non-reporting allows for an analysis of the conditions of life and of the environment which is useful for crime prevention and repression activities.

Secondly, a study of that large indeterminate area, known as the "dark figure" permits scholars and people working in the justice field to become acquainted with all those aspects related to the offences, the people involved and their local and family environments.

A global vision of criminality, and hence not simply of those aspects related to its prevention and repression, will facilitate an evaluation of the effects of the operations carried out, and of the adopted policies. This in turn will enable the law enforcement agencies and the government to refine their techniques and strategies, and hence to create more efficient and scientific intervention policies.

A greater interest in the victims on the part of the State could lead to greater awareness and involvement of the citizens, as well as to their stronger moral and civil commitment. Italy also needs to intensify its commitment in this direction.

Since the seventies our country has witnessed the parallel diffusion of serious crime - most of which was produced by the direct action of organised crime - but also of minor offences, such as theft, bag-snatching, and assaults, which are closely linked to drug pushing.

The recent offensive of the state has upset consolidated criminal equilibria and has brought to light new and more fragmented groups, which have, and still are attempting to raise the level of confrontation. The state has for some time now been able to provide an adequate response to each attempt at escalation.

The present situation presents positive elements and it is comforting to note that, according to data from international sources, Italy has more or less average victimisation rates when measured against other comparable European countries.

These discoveries strengthen my intention to develop further those actions aimed at stimulating and controlling the rules of good administration. This action should be based on an awareness of the deep roots of malaise and criminal infiltration in the nerve of society. It should also be based on the certainty that the problem of organised crime cannot be solved by the use of police instruments alone.

I am sure that new ideas will be presented by those participating in this Conference. The definition of crime prevention policies are the precondition for a professionally trained and updated police force.

**ADDRESS BY UGO LEONE,
DIRECTOR, UNICRI**

It is my privilege on behalf of the United Nations and the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute to welcome you to this International Conference on Understanding Crime: Experiences of Crime and Crime Control. I would like to extend a special welcome to the Right Honourable Nicola Mancino, Minister of the Interior of Italy, Dato Steenhuis, Procurator General of the Netherlands, and Herman Woltring, Officer-in-Charge of the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Division at the United Nations Office at Vienna.

Our sincere thanks go to the Ministry of the Interior of Italy and the Ministry of Justice of the Netherlands whose generosity and support have made this important event possible.

There is no doubt that poverty, peace, environment, drugs and crime represent the major problems facing mankind and society at present, and that they will continue to do so in the decades to come.

Crime has a direct effect on the quality of life, economic development and the progress that can be achieved by a civilised society. Traditionally, its study has been restricted to the points of view of the protection of society, control by the state, or the behaviour and characteristics of those perpetrating criminal acts. Now, however, an effort is being made to enrich comprehension of the phenomenon through the development of the science of victimology, i.e. crime as perceived by the victim, including the very important question of compensation.

A fundamental requirement of this new approach is the availability of extensive and reliable data, which unfortunately is not always to be found in either industrialised, or to an even greater extent, developing countries. The latter are often confronted with major, urgent problems which until only a few years ago diverted attention and resources from the carrying out of this sort of research, which might erroneously appear highly sophisticated.

From their initiation, victim surveys were mainly confined to the developed countries, where their diffusion was relatively rapid, becoming more focused and regular, while their presence in the developing world was very meagre. Experiences gained with the national and local surveys led to the First International Survey (1989) in 14 developed countries. Co-operation between the Ministry of Justice of the Netherlands and UNICRI enabled the second (1992) survey to include 12 developing countries, only two less than the total number of developed countries covered by the first survey.

The 1992 survey covered almost thirty countries: developed, developing, and Eastern and Central European. This obviously makes the survey an important instrument for the creation of the international comparative crime and criminal justice data base, which is in line with the priorities of the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programme. UNICRI for its part will continue in its efforts to enrich and differentiate the strategies and sources employed in the development of the international crime and criminal justice data base.

Our involvement in the survey in developing countries may be seen as a form of technical co-operation through research, also prioritised by the Crime and Criminal Justice Programme. In this particular case, its added value lies in the co-operation

offered by two highly-developed donor countries, Italy and the Netherlands, the United Nations and the developing countries. This model has proven highly successful and we look forward to further developing it with the countries already involved, and hopefully some additional ones in the future. Our gratitude goes to the governments of Italy and the Netherlands, and all of those from the participating countries who enabled or at least took a favourable position towards this endeavour.

I would like to underscore the fact that technical co-operation, even in our case, does not consist only in research activities. One of the main purposes of the project in developing countries was to sensitise the policy-makers and criminal justice administrators to the utility of the victim surveys for the evaluation of policy and in particular to the possible means of policy formulation and implementation that would really meet the needs and expectations of the community, and protect the rights of the victim in particular. In this respect our main reference point was, and still is, the United Nations Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power adopted by the General Assembly on 29 November 1985.

This Conference is intended to provide a forum for the presentation of the main results of the 1992 Survey, and discussion of the key research and policy issues related to the main topic. That is why the participants come from the two institutional structures that should work closely together: research on the one hand, and policy making/administration on the other. In order that the participants appreciate the position of the respondent, our colleagues from the Dutch-based survey company "The Interview" will demonstrate the use of the computer assisted personal interview technique and I would kindly request your co-operation in this demonstration project.

The programme of the Conference has been designed to comply with its objectives, dividing the works into several sessions each chaired by highly-qualified experts and policy makers.

The first session will be devoted to the presentation of the main comparative findings. The second session will focus on selected research issues, in particular those related to: data collection and validity, risk assessment and secondary analysis. The third session will discuss policy utility and implications of the victims surveys: their types, level and area of coverage, use for policy monitoring and evaluation with respect to the law enforcement agencies and the programmes and schemes designed to meet the needs of the victims. These sessions will be followed by discussion periods which I hope will prove to be interesting and fruitful.

The discussion period will conclude with a Round Table devoted to a topic of general concern: Citizens and Criminal Justice. The participants will be high-level policy makers from several countries and the United Nations system.

Our last day will be used to summarise the achievements of the Conference. We will hear the results of the demonstration project: victimisation experience and attitudes of the participants of this Conference. Three specially appointed rapporteurs, Ms. Patricia Mayhew, Mr. Dato Steenhuis and Professor Francesco Bruno, will present the reports dealing with various subjects discussed in the course of the proceedings. The synthesis report will be prepared by the General Rapporteurs: Drs. Jan van Dijk from the Dutch Ministry of Justice, and Ugljesa Zvekic, Research Co-ordinator at UNICRI.

The International Conference on Understanding Crime: Experiences of Crime and Crime Control provides, in short, a unique opportunity to look at crime on national and international levels from the victim and community perspectives, and to promote the further development of policy-relevant research, hand in hand with crime prevention and control policy targeted at the needs of the community and the rights of the victim.

We believe that both the 1992 International Survey and this Conference merit regular follow-up activities. These may consist in the further promotion of surveys across the world and their increased use in research, policy formulation, monitoring and evaluation. The Acts of the Conference will be published and widely disseminated, and at least three additional publications will be presented for world readership: an overall comparative volume, a volume on criminal victimisation in the industrialised world, and an UNICRI volume on victimisation in the developing world.

As has been the Institute's experience in relation to endeavours in other sectors, it is possible, and indeed very much hoped, that the work achieved here in the next three days will give rise to prospects for the development of activities in this important area of crime control. Stimulating ideas in this direction will be highly welcomed by UNICRI, particularly those that, within the limits of the Institute's mandate and resources, might contribute in some way to an improvement in the quality of life of mankind.

PART ONE

Main findings
of
the 1992 International Survey

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SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

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The international exchange of data, analysis and policy viewpoints in the crime and criminal justice fields, mediated by institutions such as UNICRI and conferences such as this, have an important contribution to make to the realisation of the social goals of the Charter of the United Nations, and the attainment of "Social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

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In fact, respect for the human being has withered away and often, in order to encourage and justify behaviour that is antagonistic to public order, new anti-state ideologies have been advanced.

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September of this year a decrease was recorded in homicides (1,105 compared to 1,937 in 1991 -20.90%); serious robberies (8,845 compared to 11,747 -24.72%); and pickpocketing (43,287 compared to 57,835 - 25.15%).

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For example, patrimonial prevention measures require people to account for the origin of certain valuable goods; they thus strike at those people who own valuable goods that are above their actual economic capacity.

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Only in this way will it be possible to construct a state which has a "monopoly of the law". By this we mean a state which, by means of its legality, is able to construct conditions based on the law which permits social dialogue, and in which individuals and groups can exercise their initiative and potential to the full.

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This type of state action would not only produce greater moral results and ensure the protection of human rights; I am convinced that it would also produce side effects in at least two other areas of great interest, from both a practical point of view and for the positive development of civil society.

In the first place, victim surveys represent an alternative tool for the analysis of crime and its effects on society. In particular, through the collection of information, even of an anonymous type, it is possible to comprehend the reaction of citizens who have been victims of criminal acts. Even in those cases where the incidents are not reported to the police or to the magistrature, an understanding of the reasons for non-reporting allows for an analysis of the conditions of life and of the environment which is useful for crime prevention and repression activities.

Secondly, a study of that large indeterminate area, known as the "dark figure" permits scholars and people working in the justice field to become acquainted with all those aspects related to the offences, the people involved and their local and family environments.

A global vision of criminality, and hence not simply of those aspects related to its prevention and repression, will facilitate an evaluation of the effects of the operations carried out, and of the adopted policies. This in turn will enable the law enforcement agencies and the government to refine their techniques and strategies, and hence to create more efficient and scientific intervention policies.

A greater interest in the victims on the part of the State could lead to greater awareness and involvement of the citizens, as well as to their stronger moral and civil commitment. Italy also needs to intensify its commitment in this direction.

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The recent offensive of the state has upset consolidated criminal equilibria and has brought to light new and more fragmented groups, which have, and still are attempting to raise the level of confrontation. The state has for some time now been able to provide an adequate response to each attempt at escalation.

The present situation presents positive elements and it is comforting to note that, according to data from international sources, Italy has more or less average victimisation rates when measured against other comparable European countries.

These discoveries strengthen my intention to develop further those actions aimed at stimulating and controlling the rules of good administration. This action should be based on an awareness of the deep roots of malaise and criminal infiltration in the nerve of society. It should also be based on the certainty that the problem of organised crime cannot be solved by the use of police instruments alone.

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This Conference is intended to provide a forum for the presentation of the main results of the 1992 Survey, and discussion of the key research and policy issues related to the main topic. That is why the participants come from the two institutional structures that should work closely together: research on the one hand, and policy making/administration on the other. In order that the participants appreciate the position of the respondent, our colleagues from the Dutch-based survey company "The Interview" will demonstrate the use of the computer assisted personal interview technique and I would kindly request your co-operation in this demonstration project.

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We believe that both the 1992 International Survey and this Conference merit regular follow-up activities. These may consist in the further promotion of surveys across the world and their increased use in research, policy formulation, monitoring and evaluation. The Acts of the Conference will be published and widely disseminated, and at least three additional publications will be presented for world readership: an overall comparative volume, a volume on criminal victimisation in the industrialised world, and an UNICRI volume on victimisation in the developing world.

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PART ONE

Main findings
of
the 1992 International Survey

**MESSAGE OF BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI,
SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

I send my greetings and good wishes to the criminal justice officials and researchers who are attending this Conference.

I see this Conference as contributing to understanding between practitioners in the criminal justice system of a number of Member States and the academic community; and also as providing a valuable opportunity for cross-national dialogue and debate on crime and criminal justice issues.

Crime and victimisation are of increasing concern to the international community. The International Victimization Survey has great potential for informing and reforming policies relating to crime, its effects, and justice. The United Nations Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power is an example of the positive outcome of the use and analysis of victim surveys.

The international exchange of data, analysis and policy viewpoints in the crime and criminal justice fields, mediated by institutions such as UNICRI and conferences such as this, have an important contribution to make to the realisation of the social goals of the Charter of the United Nations, and the attainment of "Social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

**ADDRESS BY NICOLA MANCINO,
MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR, ITALY**

I am particularly honoured to address the opening of this International Conference which, given the theme under discussion and the scientific authority of the participants, is of such great importance.

I wholly support both the programme and the objectives of the Conference; not only the substantive aspects which provide a new contribution to the further understanding of the phenomenon of crime, but also the innovative methodological aspects and their particular significance in the light of the organisational and managerial involvement of the United Nations in this endeavour.

Given its high level of authority, its neutrality with respect to the particular interests of each single country, and its noble aims, the United Nations undoubtedly provides the most suitable forum for the objective analysis and evaluation of the phenomenon of crime, even at an international comparative level.

By its involvement - through the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Institute (UNICRI) - in this initiative, Italy has made available its own data and experiences to the international community, for analysis and evaluation together with the results of the other 30 European and non-European countries involved in the survey. The common aim of this initiative is to promote a greater awareness of the reality of crime, so as to enable governments to identify and focalise on the necessary crime prevention measures.

It has often been claimed by authorities, even of international level, that highly industrialised countries tend to have higher crime rates. From this it can be deduced, therefore, that a cause-effect relationship exists between economic development and increased violence, although I am not personally in total agreement with this current of thought.

In fact, highly developed countries with low levels of criminality also exist, as do socially and economically depressed countries with very high crime rates.

As far as Italy is concerned, the frequent episodes of criminal brutality can be attributed to various causes and forms of behaviour which are easy to identify but difficult to understand and diagnose.

During the last few years it has often been asserted that the correct functioning, impartiality and efficiency of administrative action must be ensured if the obstacles to social development and civil recovery are to be removed. These obstacles pollute the human environment and pose heavy limits to any legitimate legal action.

There is an element of truth in this claim. Nor should one underestimate the fact that the degradation of social life has its origin in the debasement of those values which used to be part of collective and individual conscience.

In fact, respect for the human being has withered away and often, in order to encourage and justify behaviour that is antagonistic to public order, new anti-state ideologies have been advanced.

The public is certainly more aware of crime nowadays than in the past and the violent expansion of some criminal phenomena has led to a strong demand on the part of society for a more firm response by the state.

A marked decrease in criminality has been registered during the last few years. In fact, compared to the same period in 1991, between 1 January and 30

September of this year a decrease was recorded in homicides (1,105 compared to 1,937 in 1991 -20.90%); serious robberies (8,845 compared to 11,747 -24.72%); and pickpocketing (43,287 compared to 57,835 - 25.15%).

The decrease in petty crime can be linked to tougher policies in the fight against organised crime. They involve a differentiated legislation, borrowed from the positive experience of the fight against terrorism, which has been introduced into the legal system. In other words, substantial penal law foresees different sanctions and different application procedures depending on whether petty or organised crime is being dealt with.

New measures were introduced in the latest provisions of August 1992 which have proved particularly effective for the action of the law enforcement agencies.

For example, patrimonial prevention measures require people to account for the origin of certain valuable goods; they thus strike at those people who own valuable goods that are above their actual economic capacity.

In the field of investigative activities, new important measures have been introduced which aim to encourage the so-called repentant offenders, even those in detention, to collaborate with the justice.

There is no doubt that, recently, the law enforcement agencies have inflicted heavy blows on criminal associations. Without attaching too much weight to them, the following operations should certainly be mentioned: the arrest of Madonia and Alfieri; the extradition from Caracas of the Cuntrera Brothers; The Green Ice Operation and the latest so-called "Leopard" Operations. These are operations of vast dimensions, which were made possible thanks to the revelations of collaborators with the justice.

Very recently, public attention has focussed on the phenomenon of extorsions, following the tragic episodes of Gela and Foggia. The dimensions and trend of the phenomenon of extortion are not, in fact, easy to describe both because of the various forms they can assume and the growing gap between the number of extorsions that are reported to the police and those that are actually put into practice.

It should, in fact, be highlighted that the phenomenon takes on a more serious and complex dimension if the criminal actions preceding the request for money - intimidations, dynamite or fire attacks - are taken into consideration.

The victim is often afraid to collaborate with the law enforcement agencies or the magistrates. It is, however, this very attitude that has to change since the only effective way to combat this abject phenomenon is by reporting it to the authorities, either individually or in groups (trade associations could - and in fact do - play a valid role in these cases).

For this reason public opinion must be mobilised as much as possible, so as to create an atmosphere of collaboration between the community and the institutions, and conditions of moral deterrence.

Predictions on possible targets are often made: it would also be useful to conduct a comparative study of the persons at risk, to intensify protective measures and to carry out intelligence activities.

It is now part of the law enforcement agencies' routine work to study the level of risk. Organised crime uses different logics, strategies and objectives.

Whereas the clans were initially in competition with one another, nowadays it is possible to identify a criminal organisation of much vaster and sophisticated

proportions and with a very high level of efficiency. Whether or not the "cupola" actually exists, it is impossible to deny the existence of a hierarchy that uses well targetted actions with a ferocious determination.

From an analysis of recent trends, it is possible to identify the development of forms of delinquency, in the light of rapid mobility; the use of data processing systems; access to the international banking systems; the possibility to use capital even on the world financial markets, and a high capacity to invest illegal profits.

The expansion of this type of economy seriously disrupts the socio-economic order, by threatening the correct functioning of the market and by inhibiting growth, especially in the south of Italy where the presence of criminality suffocates any initiatives and obstructs any attempts to set up external enterprises in the area.

A new law is being finalised which will place a tighter control on the sale/purchase of commercial enterprises and land, as well as on the transfer of the title of companies from one person to another, especially those with limited responsibility.

Despite several indisputable successes, the old axiom whereby delinquency can only be beaten by the police, must be abandoned. It is essential, instead, to aim towards a new social and legal moral awareness, so that people will overcome fear and indifference and start collaborating with the state: the greater the collaboration, the more powerful will be the state's offensive against crime.

Lack of involvement by the public, and lack of interest on the part of those who hold responsible positions and carry out important functions have also contributed towards the proliferation of crime.

The spirit of tolerance, fear, and sometimes of conditioning or even collusion on the part of the elected public authorities make it even more difficult to fight criminality.

As can be imagined, the problem of values and morality invests the political and administrative life of the country, the transparency and correctness of the "general good" and the ethics of those who have taken it upon themselves to produce the "common good".

It was with this aim that the Parliament approved Law 221, which foresees the dissolution of provincial and town councils that are implicated with, or infiltrated by the Mafia.

It is not enough to aspire towards the honest behaviour of each citizen; those in power must also exhibit a transparent morality, and the state should not simply represent a repressive organ.

In order to achieve this, a social and political order must be established in which the individual is the means and the end; in other words, a society which does not base its values on its level of well-being but also on its capacity to create justice and human growth.

Only in this way will it be possible to construct a state which has a "monopoly of the law". By this we mean a state which, by means of its legality, is able to construct conditions based on the law which permits social dialogue, and in which individuals and groups can exercise their initiative and potential to the full.

Even this is not always sufficient: the state also has the inexorable duty to care for the victims of criminal activity, and this is the theme of this meeting.

In this respect, international organisations have made increasing and authoritative demands for the protection of victims of crime and of those people who are considered at greatest risk.

As I have already mentioned, during the last few years Italian legislation has given priority to these problems. In fact, the state should keep in mind that the citizen is the principal subject of politics and, as such must participate in social life.

This type of state action would not only produce greater moral results and ensure the protection of human rights; I am convinced that it would also produce side effects in at least two other areas of great interest, from both a practical point of view and for the positive development of civil society.

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We believe that both the 1992 International Survey and this Conference merit regular follow-up activities. These may consist in the further promotion of surveys across the world and their increased use in research, policy formulation, monitoring and evaluation. The Acts of the Conference will be published and widely disseminated, and at least three additional publications will be presented for world readership: an overall comparative volume, a volume on criminal victimisation in the industrialised world, and an UNICRI volume on victimisation in the developing world.

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PART ONE

Main findings
of
the 1992 International Survey

**CRIMINAL VICTIMISATION IN THE INDUSTRIALISED WORLD:
KEY FINDINGS OF THE 1989 AND 1992
INTERNATIONAL CRIME SURVEYS¹**

Jan J.M. van Dijk and Patricia Mayhew²

Introduction

Background to the International Crime Survey

According to police statistics, crime rates have increased markedly in almost every major industrialised country except Japan in the past three decades. For the public, being a victim of crime has become a common feature of life in most urban settings, and opinion polls show crime to be a major concern. As a result, governments and criminal justice practitioners have re-examined conventional law enforcement strategies to detect and sanction offenders, and have sought to supplement these with social and physical crime prevention efforts of various sorts. Not surprisingly, they have also sought indicators of their own performance, and solace perhaps from the possibility that everyone else is "in the same boat".

Those for whom national crime problems were pressing were impatient with the answer that few sound indicators about other countries' problems were available since the most readily accessible information - offences recorded by the police (or "police figures") - could not be readily compared. This is, first, because the vast majority of incidents that become known to the police come from reports by victims, and any differences in the propensity of the public to notify the police in different countries seriously jeopardise comparisons of the police figures. Second, the comparability of police figures is severely undermined by differences in legal definitions, and by technical factors to do with how offences are classified and counted.

For the purpose of assessing national crime problems, several countries resorted to an alternative way of measuring crime through crime or "victimisation" surveys. Such surveys ask representative samples of the population about selected offences they have experienced over a given time, and whether or not they reported them to the police. As such they provide an independent index of crime, giving both a more realistic count of how many people are affected by crime, as well as - if the surveys are repeated - a measure of trends in crime uncontaminated by changes in victims' reporting behaviour, or administrative changes as regards recording crime. Typically, such surveys have also asked opinions about policing, fear of crime, and so on.

¹ Copyright 1993: Stafafdeling Informatievoorziening - Directorate for Crime Prevention, Ministry of Justice, the Netherlands.

² Jan van Dijk is Head of the Crime Prevention Directorate, Ministry of Justice, the Netherlands; Patricia Mayhew is Senior Principal Research Officer, Research and Planning Unit, Home Office, London, United Kingdom.

The potential of victimisation surveys for comparative purposes did not go unnoticed. However, by no means all countries had conducted them, and those that had done so had used different methods which made their results extremely difficult to compare. It was inevitable that as more was understood about the value of survey information, and about the effect that methodology can have on how much and what is counted, a case would be made for a standardised survey in different countries. This would ask the same questions, use similar methods of sample selection, and employ the same methods of data handling.

In 1987 a Working Group was set up to take forward a collaborative survey. Fourteen countries eventually took part in the first sweep of the International Crime Survey (ICS), which took place in 1989. In addition, Japan conducted a survey based on the ICS questionnaire, though with some small question changes and differences in sampling. At the same time, small surveys using the ICS questionnaire were also done on a city basis in Warsaw (Poland) and Surabaya (Indonesia)

In the majority of countries taking part in the 1989 survey, 2,000 respondents were interviewed by telephone. They were asked about eleven main forms of victimisation. Respondents who mentioned that they had experienced one or more of the offences covered were asked short questions about where it had occurred; its material consequences; whether the police were involved (and if not why not); satisfaction with the police response; and any victim assistance given. In addition, some basic socio-demographic data were collected, and some information on people's social life. Other questions were asked about: fear of crime; satisfaction with local policing; crime prevention behaviour; and the preferred sentence for a 21-year old recidivist burglar. Results from the first sweep of the ICS have been presented principally in "Experiences of Crime across the World"³.

The 1992 International Crime Survey

In 1990 participants in the first ICS and a number of other countries were invited to participate in a second round in 1992 in order to:

- a) enlarge the scope for comparisons by increasing the number of industrialised countries covered;
- b) in particular provide East European countries with the opportunity of improving their understanding of problems of crime and law enforcement; and
- c) implement some improvements in the methodology of the survey;

³ van Dijk, J.J.M., P. Mayhew and M. Killias (1990) *Experiences of crime across the world: key findings of the 1989 International Crime Survey*, Kluwer, Deventer, Netherlands; for other publications on the survey see also: van Dijk, J.J.M. (1991) *The International Crime Survey: some organisational and methodological issues and results*, Criminological Institute, Leiden University, Leiden; Takasugi, F. (1991) "The present and future of Japan's crime: from a structural analysis of victimization rates" in Kaiser, G., H. Kury and H.J. Albrecht (eds.) *Victims and criminal justice: victimological research: stocktaking and prospects*, Max-Planck-Institut, Freiburg; Walker, J., P. Wilson, D. Chappell and D. Weatherburn (1990) "A comparison of crime in Australia and other countries" *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice* 23; Northern Ireland Office (1990) "International Victimisation Survey: a Northern Ireland perspective" *Research Review* 1, Northern Ireland Office Statistics Branch, Belfast; Mayhew, P. (1990) "Experiences of crime across the world in 1988" *Home Office Research and Statistics Department Research Bulletin* 28:4-13.

For the 1992 survey, as was the case in 1989, each participating country was expected to meet their own interviewing costs.

In tandem, UNICRI (United Nations Interregional Criminal Justice Research Institute) in Rome pursued the possibility of carrying out similar surveys in cities in a selection of developing countries. The main purpose was to sensitise local governments to the dimensions and extent of crime in their urban areas. It was also felt that the collection of credible data about criminal victimisation in developing countries - so far completely unavailable - would give a boost to comparative criminological research and theory. Pilot work was conducted in 1991.

Oversight of this work was in the hands of a newly formed Working Group, consisting of J.J.M. van Dijk (Ministry of Justice/University of Leiden, the Netherlands; overall co-ordinator), P. Mayhew (Home Office, United Kingdom), and U. Zvekic (UNICRI).

Table 1 shows the countries which took part in the 1989 and 1992 surveys, on which results in this report are based⁴. These comprise twenty countries in seventeen of which the surveys were done under the direction of the Working Group. Results for these countries are the most rigorously standardised. Three other countries are covered in the report - Japan, Poland and Czechoslovakia - since results were available at national level, their crime profile was thought to be particularly interesting, and there was reasonable confidence that the surveys had been conducted in ways that made their results largely comparable with the other seventeen surveys⁵. All told, this report is based on interviews with just over 55,000 respondents.

The ICS questionnaire, however, has been used in several other countries. Some surveys have made small adaptations to the questionnaire, and there have possibly been changes to some features of the survey methodology (eg. in sampling). All told, the ICS questionnaire has been used at national or city level in over 40 countries.

Methodology

Coverage of the survey

The present survey has many features of other independently organised crime surveys with respect to the types of crime it covers, and how well (or poorly) it measures these. It is based on only a sample of the population, so that results are subject to sampling error, which is a limitation especially for rarer offences. (Sampling error is taken up again below.) The survey is confined to counting crime against clearly identifiable individuals, excluding children. (Crime surveys cannot easily cover organisational victims, or victimless crimes such as drug abuse.) Even

⁴ Some countries which participated in the 1989 survey declined the invitation to join in 1992, in most instances because the time interval was deemed too short to justify a replication. In particular, some countries with comparatively low rates of crime according to the 1989 survey, such as Switzerland, Norway and Northern Ireland, preferred a longer time interval.

⁵ The national data files were integrated and processed by John van Kesteren of the Criminological Institute, Faculty of Law of the University of Leiden in the Netherlands.

discounting crime unreported to the police, the survey will take a broader and probably more value-free count of incidents than police statistics, which filter out incidents which could be punished, but which the police do not regard should occupy the attention of the criminal justice system. In many ways this broader count of crime is itself a strength of the survey.

Adequate representation of the population is always problematic in sample surveys, and those who are and who are not contacted may differ from each other - a point returned to. It is also well established that respondents fail to report, in interview, all relevant incidents in the "recall period"; that they "telescope in" incidents outside this period⁶ and that they may under-report various offences, for instance involving people they know, and sexual offences. There is also evidence that certain groups (eg. the better educated) are more adept at answering victimisation questions, and that thresholds for defining deviant behaviour as criminal can differ across groups.

Table 1: Countries covered in the 1989 and 1992 International Crime Survey

	1989	1992	Both surveys
Australia	*	*	*
Belgium	*	*	*
Canada	*	*	*
England/Wales	*	*	*
West Germany	*		
Finland	*	*	*
France	*		
Italy		*	
Netherlands	*	*	*
New Zealand		*	
Northern Ireland	*		
Norway	*		
Scotland	*		
Spain	*		
Sweden		*	
Switzerland	*		
USA	*	*	*
Czechoslovakia ¹		*	
Japan	*	*	*
Poland		*	

1. Presently Czech Republic and Slovak Republic

⁶ According to a study in the Netherlands, based on a check of victimisation survey data against police data (a forward record check), respondents tend to "telescope in" incidents into the last year reference period which have actually taken place in the previous year (van Dijk, J.J.M. (1991) "On the uses of national and international crime surveys" in Kaiser et al., Victims..., op. cit.). In the International Crime Survey the initial screening question reference period of five years is meant to reduce the forward time telescoping that can occur when respondents are asked about the last year.

An important issue for the ICS is whether these response biases are constant across country. There is little way of knowing. The tendency to forget more trivial incidents is probably a relatively universal phenomenon, and some types of differential "response productivity" may also be constant - at least within the industrialised world. Respondents' understanding of and willingness to talk about most types of crime (eg. burglary and car theft) will be fairly universal. For some offences, however, it is less certain how far results will be affected by different cultural thresholds for defining certain behaviours as crime, and for wanting to talk to interviewers about these. This may apply particularly to sexual incidents and to some forms of assault. Neither can it be ruled out that victimisation levels as measured in the surveys are influenced by the performance of survey companies and their interviewers⁷.

Sample sizes

To encourage as full participation as possible, both the 1989 and 1992 surveys were kept relatively modest. Samples of 2,000 or 1,500 interviews were recommended. It is acknowledged that this produces relatively large sampling error, and restricts the scope for detailed analysis of issues on which a small proportion of the sample would have provided information.

Field work

Field work for the surveys in most countries started in January of the survey year and lasted six to seven weeks. Field work in a few countries (Spain, Northern Ireland and the USA in 1989, and New Zealand in 1992) started somewhat later. An average interview lasted about 15 minutes depending mainly on the extent of victimisation experience reported.

Computer assisted telephone interviewing

Cost was one consideration in deciding to interview by telephone where possible, using the technique of computer assisted telephone interviewing (CATI). More important, however, was that CATI provides much tighter standardisation of questionnaire administration. It also enables a sample to be drawn which is geographically unclustered, and based on full coverage of telephone owners, including those with unlisted numbers.

Telephone interviewing, and in some instances CATI, has been used for some time in victimisation surveys in Canada, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the USA, for example. Methodological work has shown that, in general, victimisation counts from telephone interviews are similar to those obtained in face-to-face ones given

⁷ Biderman, A.D., D. Cantor, J.P. Lynch and E. Martin (1986) Final report of the research and development for the redesign of the National Crime Survey, Bureau of Social Science Research, Washington, D.C.; Killias, M., A. Kuhn and C. Chevalier (1987) "Nouvelles perspectives methodologiques en matiere de sondages de victimisation: l'experience des enquetes Suisses" *Deviance et Societe* 34:330.

the same standards of field work. This, together with standardisation advantages, and the cost-effectiveness of random digit dialling, suggests that high quality CATI interviewing is a sound technique for crime surveys in western countries in which comparability is paramount. In other countries with low telephone penetration, personal interviews will be needed, although there is no a priori reason why the results of the latter studies, if carried out well, will be badly out of line with those using telephone interviews.

It was acknowledged that those with a telephone in the home might differ from those without. However, in all countries where only CATI was used at least 80% of households had telephones, and in most countries the figure was 90% or higher. In Spain in 1989, telephone penetration was too low outside urban areas, so most interviews were done face-to-face. In Northern Ireland, Poland and Czechoslovakia, where national telephone penetration was estimated to be under 70%, all interviews were personal.

Elsewhere we have discussed in more detail whether any bias has been introduced into results on account of interviewing mainly those with telephones⁸. Briefly, the conclusion drawn was that the 1989 ICS results were unlikely to have been greatly distorted on this account. Telephone ownership did not relate to the experience of different crimes in any consistent way, and there was little evidence to suggest that victimisation counts were lower than if fuller representation of the population had been possible. Because of this it was considered inappropriate to weight the data from either sweep of the ICS to take account of differential telephone ownership.

Survey companies

Inter/View (a Dutch company) were appointed for both the 1989 and 1992 surveys as overall contractor. They were used by sixteen of the participating countries⁹. Field work was sub-contracted by Inter/View to companies abroad.

Sampling

Telephone number sampling frames differ somewhat across county, and precise techniques for sampling varied on this account. However, in all countries using CATI, a regionally well-spread selection of households was sampled with some variant of random digit dialling techniques. Within each household contacted by telephone, a procedure was used to select randomly a respondent of 16 years of age or older, based on the composition of the household (the Troidahl-Carter method). No substitution of the selected respondent was allowed¹⁰.

⁸ van Dijk et al., op. cit., Experiences... p. 104.

⁹ The 1992 Finnish study was carried out independently but using the same methods as in 1989, when work was sub-contracted through Inter/View. Japan, Poland and Czechoslovakia conducted field work independently.

¹⁰ Face-to-face interviews in Northern Ireland and Spain in 1989 applied standard national quota sampling procedures; this was because of the considerable cost savings over other methods of probability sampling which strictly give a more representative population sample. Japan used stratified random sampling based on Census data.

Response rates

In the 1989 survey in particular, response rates were variable, and in some cases rather low. In 1989, the average response rate of the 13 countries using CATI was 41% (i.e. completed interviews with the household members selected for interview out of eligible households that were contacted; data weighted to take account of country size).

To improve response, pilot work was carried out in 1991 to test whether people who initially refused to co-operate could be persuaded to participate when approached for a second time after two to three weeks. In a second phase of field work, all initial refusals, plus the "no answers", "busy" and "respondent not available" were called back. In the three pilot studies, refusal rates in the second phase were of the same order as in the first phase, with the result that the overall response rate was substantially increased (by 10-22 percent points).

In a replication of the ICS in Germany (old and new states) in 1990, an advance notice was sent to those selected in the initial sample. This produced a much higher response rate¹¹. The technique was also applied in the 1992 Finnish study (for which the sampling frame was the Central Population Register, not a listing of telephone numbers). The improved results in these countries provide a case for considering the same technique elsewhere when there are reasons to think response may be low. The technique has some drawbacks however. It precludes the use of random digit dialling, and - if the sample is drawn from telephone listings - excludes households with unlisted numbers (a rapidly growing group in many countries). The exposure of the respondents to an advance notice may also differ across population groups - eg. younger family members may not read them - and thereby introduce bias in results. On account of the promising pilot results on call-backs, and because different sample selection and mailing of letters would have substantially increased costs, a decision was made to retain for the 1992 survey the method of directly contacting respondents by phone.

Table 2: Response rates: 1989 and 1992 International Crime Survey

	% interviewed of eligible contacts	
	1989	1992
Australia	46	57
Belgium	37	44
Canada	43	65
England/Wales	43	38
West Germany	30	
Finland	70	86
France	52	
Italy		61

¹¹ Kury, H. (1991) "Victims of crime: results of a representative telephone survey of 5000 citizens of the former Federal Republic of Germany" in Kaiser, G., H. Kury and H.J. Albrecht (eds.) Victims and criminal justice: victimological research: stocktaking and prospects, Max-Planck-Institut, Freiburg.

Netherlands	65	66
New Zealand		65
Northern Ireland ¹	n.a.	
Norway	71	
Scotland	41	
Spain	33	
Sweden		77
Switzerland	68	
USA	37	51
Czechoslovakia		92
Japan	80	79
Poland		>95
Total ²	41	61

1. As the Northern Ireland sample was a quota sample (interviewed face-to-face), response rates are not available. The response rate for Spain relates to CATI interviews.
2. For 1989, figures exclude face-to-face interviews in Spain, Northern Ireland and Japan. For 1992, they exclude Poland, Czechoslovakia and Japan. The total figures are weighted to take account of country size.

In the 1992 survey, the average response rate was 61%, as against 41% in 1989 (data weighted to represent country size). In virtually all countries which participated in both surveys of the ICS, the 1992 response rates were better than the previous ones, as was expected. This was particularly so in Canada, Finland, Australia, and the USA. In England and Wales, however, the professional body of survey companies advise against calling back on refusals. The 1992 response rate in England and Wales was somewhat lower than in 1989 (38.5% instead of 42.5%). A summary of response rates achieved in the 1989 and 1992 studies is given in Table 2.

It is unclear why response rates vary as they do across country. Quite probably, it has more to do with the social acceptability of being interviewed on the telephone than with the performance of survey companies, although this cannot be ruled out. In any event, the question of whether results are influenced by the variable response rates is a complex one. One argument about low response is that victims will "have more to say" and will thus be over-represented. This would have the effect of overestimating victimisation risks in countries where response was poorer¹². A contrary argument is that with low response rates, people are omitted with whom it is harder to achieve an interview: people who may be more liable to victimisation because they are residentially more unstable, if not simply away from home more¹³.

Data from the present survey does not support either position unequivocally¹⁴. In the 1989 ICS, victimisation risks were high in three countries with the highest non-response (eg. the USA, Spain, West Germany). On the face of it, this would appear to support the first argument that victims were over-represented and that risks in low response countries were correspondingly overstated¹⁵. The argument is not wholly persuasive however. Risks in Holland were shown to be very high, though non-response was comparatively very low; in Belgium, non-response was high but risks low. It would also seem surprising if risks in the US according to the 1989 survey were actually lower than indicated, which would be the case according to this position.

12 Some early research in the Netherlands on the basis of a mail questionnaire and in Switzerland lends support to this; see Fiselier, J.P.S. (1978) *Slachtoffers van delicten. Een onderzoek naar verborgen criminaliteit*, Ars Aequi Libri, Utrecht; Killias, M. (1989) *Les Suisses face au crime*, Ruegger, Grusch (Switzerland). Both studies showed that victimisation rates were slightly higher among respondents than among non-respondents - though the differences were small.

13 There is some evidence bearing on this from non-response studies outside the victimisation field, which suggest that non-responders register higher on "negative" social indicators, such as ill-health, for example in: Groves, R.M. and L. Lyberg (1988) "An overview of nonresponse issues in telephone surveys" in Groves, R.M., P. Biemer, L. Lyberg, W.L. Nicholls and J. Waksberg (1988) *Telephone survey methodology*, John Wiley, New York. In line with this, Aromaa assumes that the 1992 Finnish sample may include more violence-prone persons than the 1988 sample due to the higher response rate; see the chapter by K. Aromaa on the Results of the International Victimisation Survey in Finland.

14 van Dijk et al., *Experiences...*, op cit.; Bruinsma, G.J.N., H.G. Van De Bunt and J.P.S. Fiselier (1991). "Hoe onveilig is Nederland?: enkele theoretische en methodische kanttekeningen bij een internationaal vergelijkend victimologisch onderzoek" *Tijdschrift voor Criminologie* 32: 138-155.

15 In an independently organised victimisation survey carried out in Germany in 1990, non-response was lower than in the 1989 ICS. The overall victimisation rate was lower than the 1988 rate as well; see Kury, *Victims...*, op. cit. This indicates that rates for West Germany from the first sweep may have been inflated due to the low response rate.

As said, response rates in the 1992 study were generally higher. So too were overall victimisation risks for 1991. What this says about the effect of response rates on victimisation counts is difficult to assess, since "real" changes in risks may have occurred. However, it is notable that in the 1992 survey, several countries with relatively good response yielded higher than average victimisation rates, particularly Poland, Canada and New Zealand.

In sum, then, there is inconclusive evidence on the effects of non-response, which may suggest it has not biased results to any great degree¹⁶. However, it is not ruled out that there could possibly be counterbalancing effects operating, such that the survey picked up a proportion of over-victimised respondents, but lost others for different reasons. Nor can it be ruled out, of course, that the effects of non-response worked differently in different countries.

Weighting

Results presented throughout this report are based on data which have been weighted to make the samples as representative as possible of actual national populations aged 16 or more in terms of gender, regional population distribution, age, and household composition. Data from Czechoslovakia are weighted in terms of gender, regional population distribution and age only because information about household composition was not available. The data from Japan are unweighted, although the sample distribution accords well with the national population profile.

Coverage of the questionnaire

Twelve main forms of victimisation were covered in the 1992 survey, as shown below. For three crimes, sub-divisions are possible. Household crimes are those which can be seen as affecting the household at large, and respondents reported on all incidents known to them. For personal crimes, they reported on what happened to them personally.

Victimisation rates

The indicators

Risks of victimisation can be expressed in various ways. The risks presented here are personal prevalence rates: i.e. the percentage of those aged 16 or more who experienced a specific form of crime once or more¹⁷. Prevalence rates do not reflect the number of times people are victimised. Rather, they show how many of the population are afflicted by crime at all, either individually as a victim of a personal crime, or as a member of a household subject to a household crime. (In

¹⁶ The correlation between non-response rates and overall victimisation rates, based on 35 surveys was not statistically significant ($r = -0.096$; ns).

¹⁷ Incidence rates - a common alternative - express the number of individual crimes experienced by the sample as a whole, counting all incidents against victims. Incidence rates allow a calculation of the overall number of crimes committed in a country (derived by multiplying incidence rates estimated by the survey to the total population). However, with the present sample size this is hazardous.

the ICS, personal crimes are: robbery, theft of personal property, sexual incidents, and assault/threats; household crimes are vehicle theft and damage, bicycle theft, burglary and break-ins to garages, etc.)

The ICS allows estimates for both the calendar year preceding the survey, and for the last five years¹⁸. Findings about the last year will be most accurate, because less serious incidents which took place some time ago tend to be forgotten. This memory loss explains the fact that victimisation rates over five years are much less than five times higher than calendar year rates: five year rates are on average about three times higher.

For countries which took part in both the 1989 and 1992 surveys, the two annual counts are averaged in the following presentation of results. This is to enable better comparisons with countries for which only a 1988 or 1991 count is available. Also, combining figures for two years increases reliability because of increased sample size. Some mention is made later of trends in crime in countries which have conducted two surveys.

West Germany took part in the 1989 survey before unification. It is referred to still as West Germany to avoid misunderstanding as to which states were covered. England and Wales are referred to as England. The Czech and Slovak Republics are still referred to as Czechoslovakia.

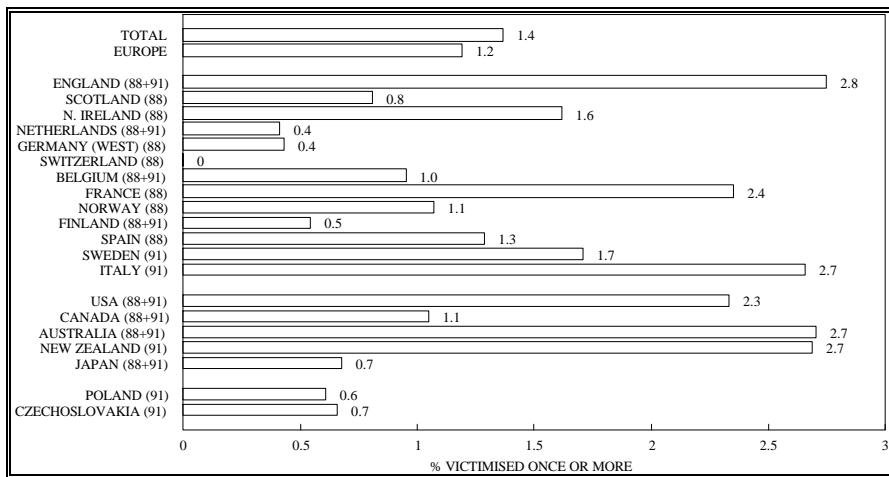
Data in graphics are based on fuller figures than those shown; the bars therefore may not always precisely reflect the prevalence percentages (shown to one decimal place only). The "Total" figures are based on a simple average of data for the twenty countries covered (or those for which data are available). The "Europe" figure is the average excluding the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Japan.

Theft of cars/joyriding

The interview opened with an inventory of the motor vehicles and bicycles owned by the respondent's household. Next the question was put to car owners whether any of the household cars (including trucks and vans) had been stolen. Cars taken away for the purpose of "joyriding" are covered by the question. Figure 1 shows the one-year prevalence rates for car theft.

Figure 1: One-year victimisation rates for theft of cars

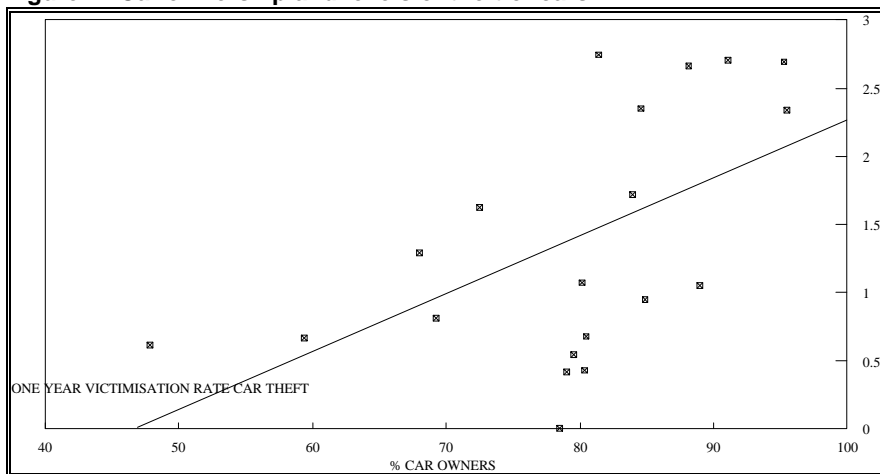
¹⁸ Respondents are asked in the initial "screening" questions about their experience over the past five years. Later follow-up questions deal with the timing of the incidents - eg. whether what happened had been in the current year, or last year (in 1988 or in 1991 respectively), or longer ago. Details are also asked about what happened in the "last incident" if there had been more than one of a particular type.



Risks of car theft vary greatly among the participating countries. In Switzerland, no respondent experienced a theft in 1988. Other countries with low rates are the Netherlands (0.4% of respondents reported a theft), West Germany (0.4%), Finland and Poland (both 0.6%), and Czechoslovakia and Japan (both 0.7%). The prevalence rate for car theft was highest in England (2.8%), Italy, Australia, New Zealand (2.7%), France (2.4%), and the USA (2.3%).

In both survey years, about three-quarters of stolen cars were eventually recovered (taking a measure from the countries at large). Rates of recovery were relatively low in Italy (42% in 1991), West Germany (56% in 1988) and the Netherlands (64%) - indicating that cars may less often be stolen for the temporary purpose of joyriding. Recovery rates were higher in England, Scotland, the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, suggesting that the relatively high rates of car theft in these countries may be more influenced by higher levels of joyriding. In the participating countries, Italians appear to face by far the highest risk of having a car stolen which is not recovered.

Figure 2: Car ownership and levels of theft of cars



Ownership rates and vehicle crime

The level of car ownership varies considerably. It is lowest in Poland (only 48% of respondents said there was one or more household car), Czechoslovakia (59%) and Spain (68% in 1988); it is highest in Australia (91%) and the USA (95%)¹⁹. As discussed elsewhere, prevalence rates for vehicle-related crimes correspond to national ownership levels - an indicator of the supply of available targets²⁰. A

¹⁹ The US survey in 1992 used an abridged version of the 1989 questionnaire for cost reasons. The core questions about victimisation and reporting to the police were retained. Among the questions omitted were those on vehicle ownership. Owner-based rates have been constructed from 1989 results.

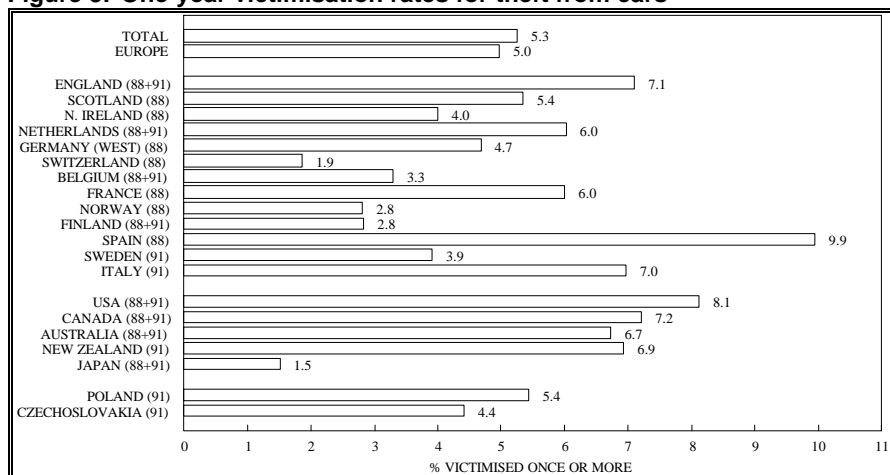
²⁰ van Dijk, Experiences..., op. cit., pp. 47-57.

plentiful supply of vehicles seems to generate more crime - rather than, as might be imagined, criminal demand for vehicles being higher when targets are in shorter supply. Figure 2 shows the association between car ownership rates and levels of theft of cars. (The correlation between the two is $r=0.54$; $p>0.02$; $n=20$).

In general, of course, prevalence rates are higher among owners than among the public at large (because of the smaller base of potential victims). There is good reason, then, to consider victimisation rates for owners specifically. Risks of car theft for owners are the highest in England (3.3%), Italy, Australia (both 3.0%), New Zealand and France (both 2.8%). The owner prevalence rates in Poland and Czechoslovakia are relatively low (1.2% in both countries) but about double the population prevalence rates (0.6% and 0.7% respectively).

The relatively high rates of car theft evident in North America and Australia should be interpreted in relation to high levels of car ownership (and of second and third household cars in particular). The relatively low theft rates in Poland and Czechoslovakia for the population in general may reflect the limited supply of "suitable targets" for theft, in particular more desirable cars. Since the opening of the borders with Eastern Europe, the demand for second-hand cars in the East may well have constituted a pull factor for car theft in the West. According to some police reports, an increasing number of cars stolen in Western Europe are exported East²¹. The association between theft of cars and bicycle ownership and bicycle theft is taken up below.

Figure 3: One-year victimisation rates for theft from cars



Theft from cars

²¹ Ministry of Justice (October 1992) "De Politie en de Muur" in SEC, Tijdschrift over Samenleving en Criminaliteitspreventie. Vol. 6, Ministry of Justice, The Hague.

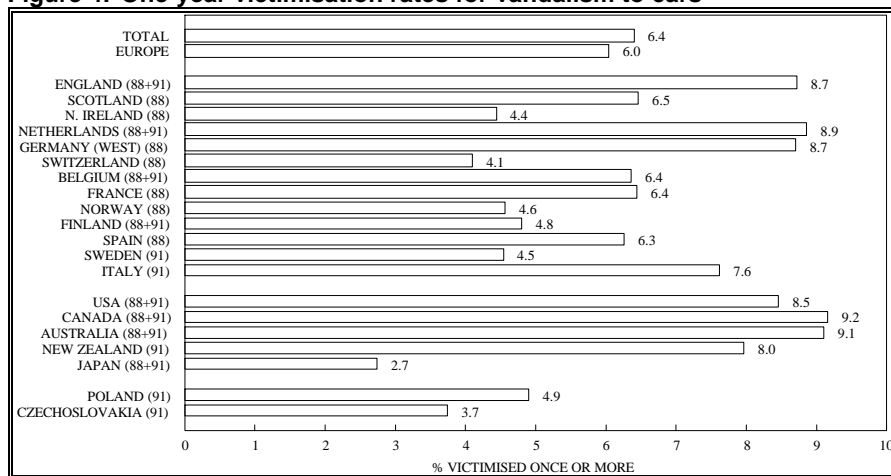
The second form of crime asked about was theft from a car, covering both items left in the car and parts taken off the car, such as wing mirrors and badges.

Some 9.9% of respondents had experienced a theft from a car in Spain, 8.1% in the USA, 7.2% in Canada, 7.1% in England, and 7.0% in Italy (Figure 3). Countries with low levels of thefts from cars are Japan, Switzerland, Finland and Norway -the last three countries at least being characterised by a relatively large part of the population living in small towns and villages.

Ownership rates

The ranking of countries on the basis of ownership rates is largely the same as the ranking on the basis of population rates. The exceptions, however, are Poland and Czechoslovakia, where owners face strikingly higher risks - perhaps propelled by an acute shortage of spare parts in Eastern European countries²². Car owners in Spain and Poland run the highest risk of becoming victim of a theft from or out of a car.

Figure 4: One-year victimisation rates for vandalism to cars



Vandalism to cars

Another question dealt with malicious damage (vandalism) to cars. As previous questions on car theft had not covered incidents of attempted theft of, or from cars, it is possible that the car vandalism question picked up some cases of unsuccessful attempts (for which the evidence was likely to be damage to door handles, or broken windows for instance).

²² The national rates for thefts from cars are not significantly related to national car ownership rates. See the chapter by S. Timoshenko on the International Crime Survey in Moscow.

The highest rates of car vandalism are in Canada (9.2%) and Australia (9.1%), the Netherlands (8.9%), England and West Germany (8.7%), and the USA (8.5%).

The ranking of countries on the basis of car vandalism rates for owners does not deviate much from the ranking on population rates. However, owner rates in Poland are at the top end of the scale.

Theft of motorcycles/mopeds/scooters

The one-year prevalence rates for theft of motorcycle (i.e. motorcycles, mopeds and scooters) are below one percent in all participating countries, except Japan (1.8%), Italy (1.6%) and Switzerland (1.2%). Figure 5 shows details.

Figure 5: One-year victimisation rates for theft of motorcycles

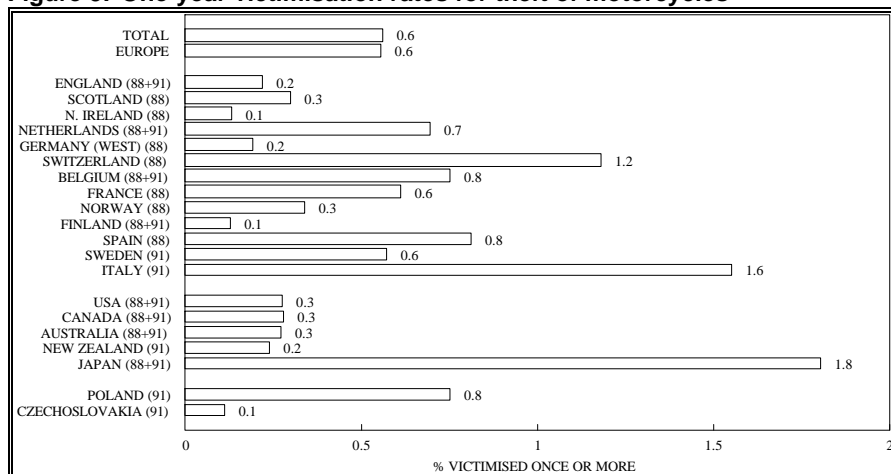
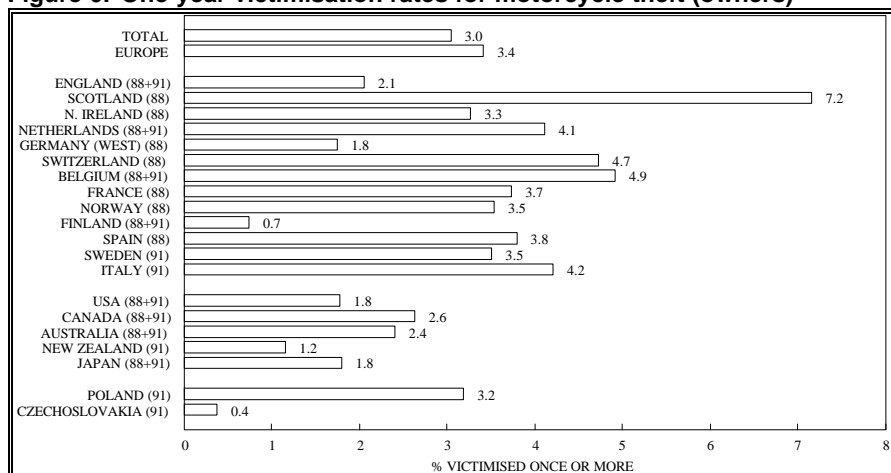


Figure 6: One-year victimisation rates for motorcycle theft (owners)



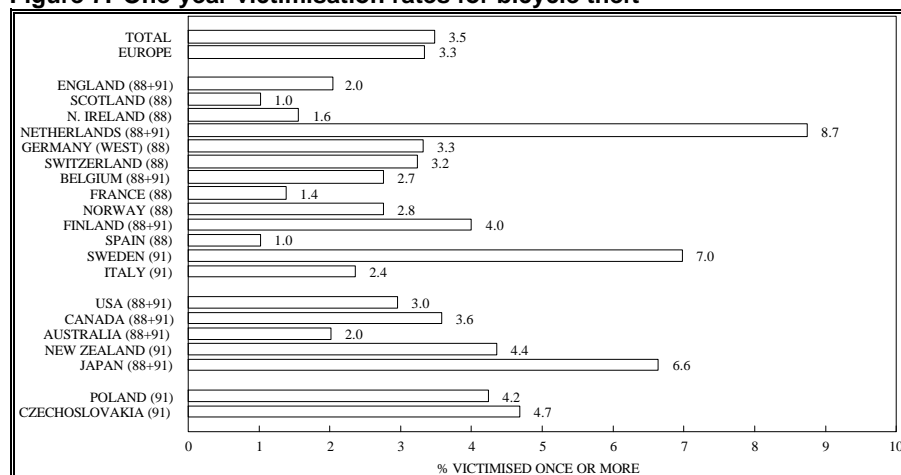
There are very differing levels of ownership of motorcycles, with highest ownership in Italy (37% with motorcycles), Japan (35%), Poland (24%) and Czechoslovakia (29%). Elsewhere, less than one in five respondents said they owned motorcycles. Reflecting the small owner base, owner theft rates are substantially higher than the population rates. They also show a somewhat different ranking, as can be seen from Figure 6.

The highest risks of theft were faced by owners in Scotland (though numbers are small), Belgium, Switzerland, Italy and the Netherlands. Only in Italy and Switzerland were ownership rates high.

Bicycle theft

One-year victimisation rates are by far the highest in the Netherlands (8.7% respondents reporting a theft). Other countries with high rates are Sweden (7.0%), Japan (6.7%), Czechoslovakia (4.7%), New Zealand (4.4%), Poland (4.3%) and Finland (4.0%). The relative risks are shown in Figure 7.

Figure 7: One-year victimisation rates for bicycle theft

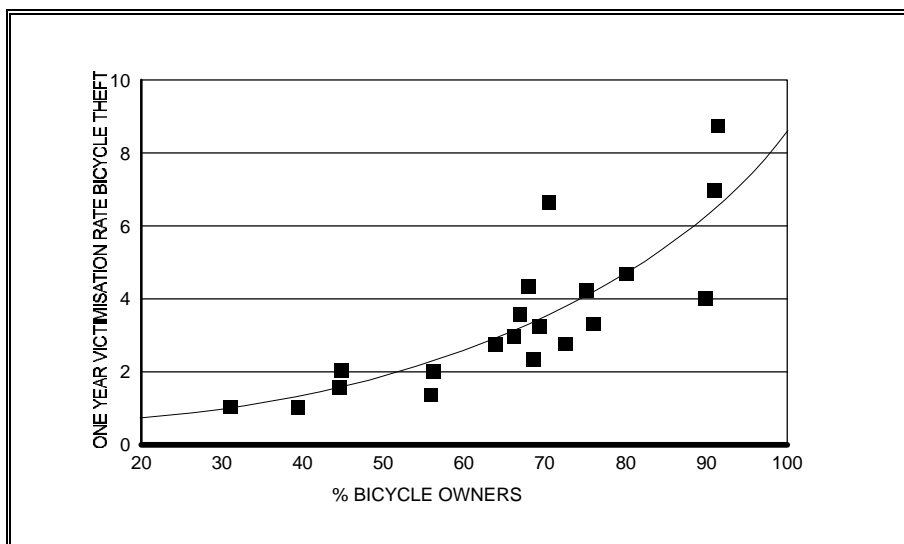


Ownership levels vary between 31% in Scotland to over 90% in the Netherlands and Sweden. Owner prevalence rates for theft show less variation across countries than the population prevalence rates, with the result that the ranking of countries is largely the same on both bases. Again, highest owner rates are found in the Netherlands (9.6%), Sweden (7.7%), Japan (7.3%), and New Zealand (6.4%).

Previous analysis has shown that national bicycle theft rates and bicycle ownership have a strong positive correlation: i.e. thefts are high where ownership is high. The linear correlation coefficient is 0.80 (n=20). An exponential correlation coefficient is stronger (r=0.89), suggesting that for a given increase in the number of

bicycles there is a disproportionate increase in theft. Figure 8 depicts the curvilinear relationship between ownership levels and theft.

Figure 8: One-year victimisation rates of bicycle theft by national bicycle ownership



Car theft and bicycle theft

On the basis of 1989 ICS results, national car theft rates were inversely related to both levels of ownership of bicycles, and levels of bicycle thefts themselves - an association that remains in multivariate analysis which takes account of urbanisation, wealth, and levels of other crime for instance²³. Thus, in countries where bicycles are particularly common, stealing cars less often occurs and bicycle theft is commoner²⁴. This applies notably to Switzerland, the Netherlands, Finland, Sweden and West Germany - where in each there are three or more bicycles owned for each car.

Explanations for the inverse relationship between car theft and bicycle theft are not obvious, though on the face of it the results suggest that when there are plenty of bicycles around, some thieves will make do with two wheels rather than four. This hints at a degree of "target switch" among thieves who want a means of temporary transportation, or a means of making money from what they have stolen. At the same time, the relationship may reflect interacting factors which result in particular countries having particular "cultures" of vehicle theft. In England, then, the culture is one of stealing cars; in some other countries (notably the Netherlands), the culture seems to be one of stealing bicycles. These theft cultures may be underpinned by a

²³ van Dijk, Experiences..., op. cit.

²⁴ On 1989 and 1992 data combined, the correlation between bicycle ownership and theft of cars is -0.35 (n=20;ns).

number of things: for instance, the absolute supply of different targets; the types, accessibility and security of targets available; or aspects of youth culture (youngsters brought up in a bicycle- or moped-oriented environment may possibly be less inclined to steal cars for joyriding in their teens, partly because they have less experience of driving cars). With regard to bicycle theft in particular, it may be that well developed "fencing" operations arise when theft is common, and/or that wide availability could itself set up a process of opportunist thieving. It has even been suggested that some people who have their own bikes frequently stolen compensate their losses by stealing bicycles themselves²⁵.

Burglary

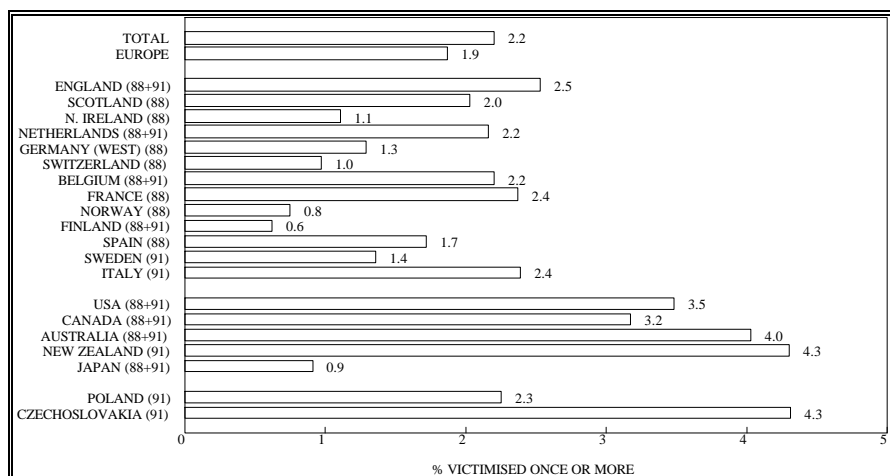
The 1989 survey had two measures of burglary: (i) incidents in which a burglar entered the home ("burglary with entry"); and (ii) incidents of attempted burglary. The 1992 survey included a third measure of break-ins to other household "outbuildings" (i.e. garages, sheds and lock-ups), which had been specifically excluded in the 1989 questions about burglary.

Burglary with entry

Burglars get into people's homes most frequently in non-European countries. Some 4.3% of respondents in New Zealand and Czechoslovakia had been burgled; 4.0% in Australia; 3.5% in the USA, and 3.2% in Canada (Figure 9). Within Western Europe, burglary rates vary in a narrow range - between just under one percent to just over two percent of households having been targeted. Comparatively low rates are found in more rural countries such as Switzerland (1.0%), Norway (0.8%), Finland (0.6%) and Northern Ireland (1.1%). Burglary rates in Japan are also low (0.9%).

Figure 9: One-year victimisation rates for burglary with entry

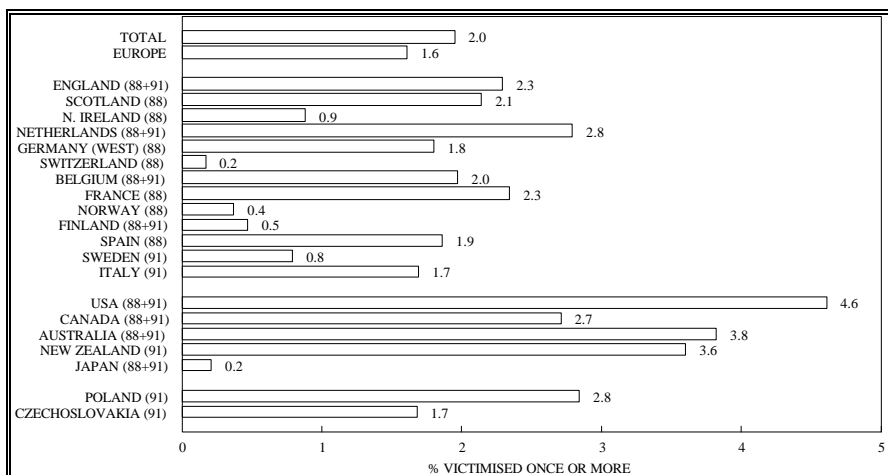
²⁵ van Dijk, J.J.M. (1986) "Responding to crime: reflections on the reactions of victims and non-victims to the increase in petty crime" in Fattah, E. (ed.) Reorientating the justice system, Macmillan, London.



Analysis of 1989 ICS results (at the individual level), showed that, combining data from all countries, those in semi-detached and detached houses had rather higher risks than those in terraced houses and flats/maisonettes, although different types of dwelling varied in their vulnerability according to country - no doubt because of different housing patterns. (For instance, flat-dwellers were most at risk in the USA, England, Northern Ireland, France and Finland; in other countries, those in semi-detached and detached houses were more vulnerable). On the basis of both 1989 and 1992 data, national level analysis now shows a statistically significant positive relationship between the proportion of semi-detached and detached houses each country has and national burglary rates ($r=0.53$; $p<0.05$; $n=19$). This is consistent with research which shows that many burglars opt for semi-detached and detached houses as their preferred targets, probably because of easier access²⁶.

Figure 10: One-year victimisation rates for attempted burglary

²⁶ For a summary, see Shover, N. (1991) "Burglary" in Tonry, M. and N. Morris (eds.) *Crime and Justice: An Annual Review of Research*, Vol 14, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.



Attempted burglary

Rates for attempted burglaries are similar to those for completed burglaries in most countries. By and large, then, people in countries where burglars are successful in gaining entry also experience more attempted burglaries. Figure 10 shows risks of attempted burglary.

Break-ins to garages, sheds, lock-ups

The rates for break-ins to "outbuildings" (garages, sheds and lock-ups) varied considerably across the limited number of countries in which the new 1992 ICS question was used. Fewest people were victim in Belgium (0.9%), Italy (1.5%), and the Netherlands (2.1%); rather more were victim in Poland (6.2%), New Zealand (4.8%), Australia (4.2%) and the USA (4.0%). No information is available about which households in different countries are more or less likely to have "outbuildings" around their home - though it might well be assumed that those living in detached or semi-detached houses have more such premises²⁷. The highest proportions of those in detached or semi-detached houses were in Australia (81%), New Zealand (80%), and the USA (77%); the lowest were in the Netherlands (35%), and Italy (28%). Being a victim of outbuilding break-ins, then, is very much a consequence of owning vulnerable structures²⁸.

Robbery

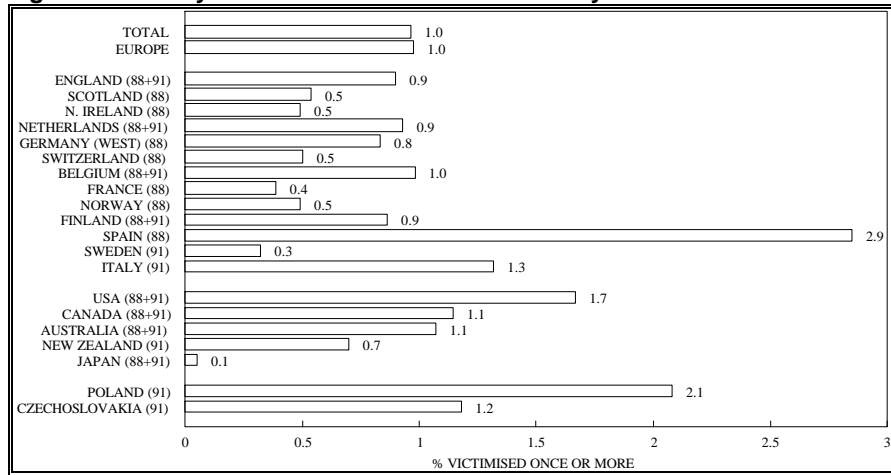
²⁷ The 1992 survey asked about private garaging facilities for cars, but covers a limited number of countries, and says nothing about other premises on or near the home which might be targets of theft.

²⁸ The correlation between the proportion of those in detached and semi-detached houses and break-in rates was 0.63 ($p < 0.02$; $n = 12$)

The one-year victimisation rates for robbery were highest in Spain (2.9% in 1988), Poland (1.9% in 1991), the USA (a combined measure of 1.7% for 1988 and 1991). Rates in Italy (1.3%, 1991) were also relatively high (Figure 11).

In about 40% of the incidents of robbery, the perpetrator(s) used a weapon during the incident. In 20% a knife was used, and in 10% a gun. Deviations from this pattern were the high percentages of robberies with knives in Spain (40% in 1988) and with guns in Italy (17%) and the USA (28% in 1988)²⁹.

Figure 11: One-year victimisation rates for robbery



Other personal theft

The questionnaire gathered information about a broad range of thefts of personal property: pickpocketing, theft of a purse, wallet, clothing, jewelry, sports equipment (either at school, or in the pub, at the beach or in the street). Figure 12 shows the one-year prevalence rates.

The national rates for "other personal thefts" are difficult to interpret because of their heterogeneous composition. Rates were highest in the two participating East European countries, Poland (7.9%) and Czechoslovakia (6.7%). Other countries with high rates are Australia (5.7%), Canada (5.5%), New Zealand (5.3%), Spain (5.0%), and the USA (4.9%). The rate in Japan is very low set against other countries (0.7%). In general, rates for personal thefts tend to be higher in countries with higher rates of other crimes.

Figure 12: One-year victimisation rates for other personal theft

²⁹ The question about use of weapons in robberies was not asked in the USA in the 1992 survey.

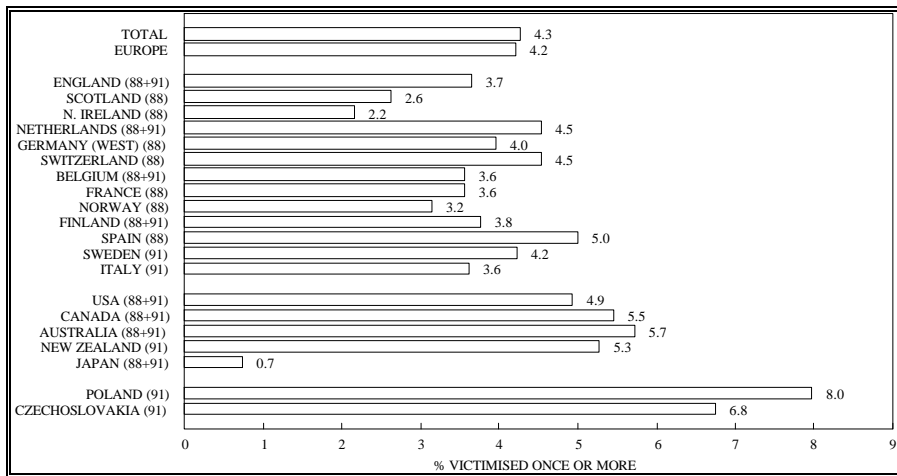
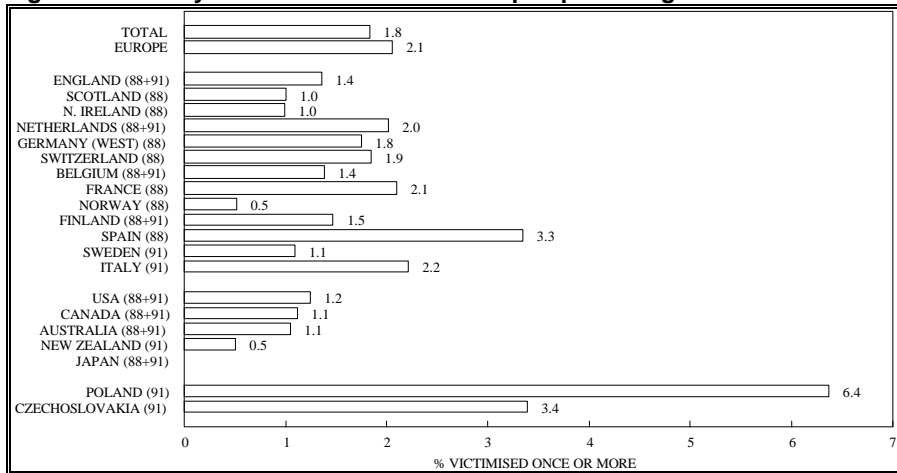


Figure 13: One-year victimisation rates for pickpocketing



Pickpocketing

Most thefts of personal property involved no contact between victim and offender. But in roughly one-third of all cases the victims said they were carrying or holding what was stolen (making it for present purposes a case of "pickpocketing")³⁰. Figure 13 presents estimated pickpocketing rates.

Pickpocketing appears most common in Poland (6.4% of respondents were victimised in 1991), Czechoslovakia (3.4% in 1991), Spain (3.3% in 1988), Italy (2.2% in 1991), France (2.1% in 1988) and the Netherlands (2.0% in 1991). The lowest rates are in New Zealand, Norway, Australia, Sweden, Canada and the United Kingdom. By and large, then, pickpocketing seems more common in Europe, though with variation in levels within European countries.

Sexual incidents

The question put to female respondents to examine their experience of sexual crimes and offensive sexual behaviour is shown below. In the 1991 questionnaire the verb "assault" was added to include more serious incidents.

"Firstly, a rather personal question. People sometimes grab, touch or assault others for sexual reasons in a really offensive way. This can happen either inside one's house or elsewhere, for instance in a pub, the street, at school, on public transport, in cinemas, on the beach, or at one's workplace. Over the past five years has anyone done this to you? Please take your time to think about this."

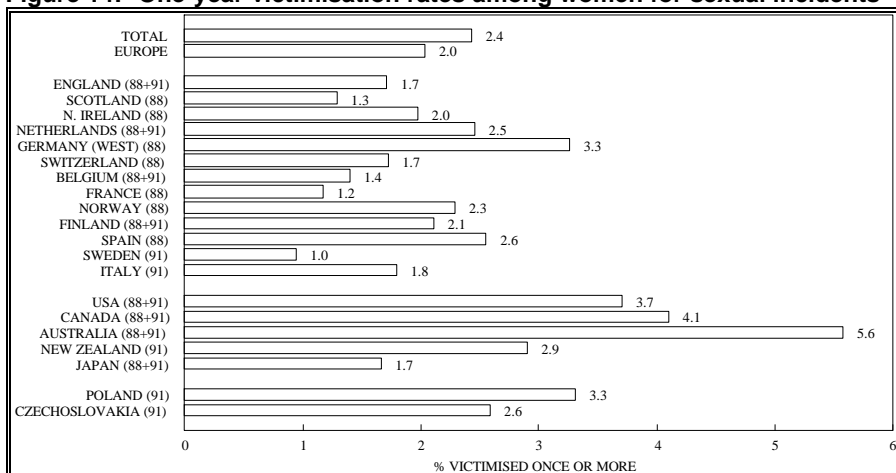
Measuring sexual offences is extremely difficult in victimisation surveys, since both definitions of sexual incidents and readiness to report them to an interviewer may differ across groups, and across countries. Answers may also be influenced by the communicative skills of the interviewers; or their gender (though present analysis showed no systematic relationship between the proportion of female interviewers and national rates of sexual incidents). The ICS measure of sexual offences must be interpreted with great care, then, though results are presented here again, albeit with the additional perspective provided by two follow-up questions designed to assess better the nature of what happened (see below).

The question asked allows two broad types of sexual incidents to be distinguished: (i) sexual assaults (rape, attempted rape, and indecent assault); and (ii) offensive sexual behaviour. Figure 14, first, presents the rates for all sexual

³⁰ Rates of pickpocketing in 1988 were based on the subset of respondents for whom the "last incident" fell in that year. The rates were derived as follows: first, the number of respondents was calculated whose last incident in 1988 was a case of pickpocketing; next, an estimate was made of the number of "double" victims whose last incident was not a case of pickpocketing, but whose first incident was - done by applying the overall percentage of pickpocketing cases. In roughly the same fashion, the number of pickpocketing victims among triple and other multiple victims was estimated. These estimated numbers were added to those for single victims to give an overall pickpocketing rate. The same procedure is applied to sexual assaults as a sub-set of sexual incidents, and to assaults with force as a sub-set of assaults/threats. On receipt of 1992 ICS results, the procedures for estimating offence sub-categories (such as pickpocketing) were applied more rigorously to both the new data and that from the 1989 survey. Some figures for 1988, therefore, differ marginally from those previously published.

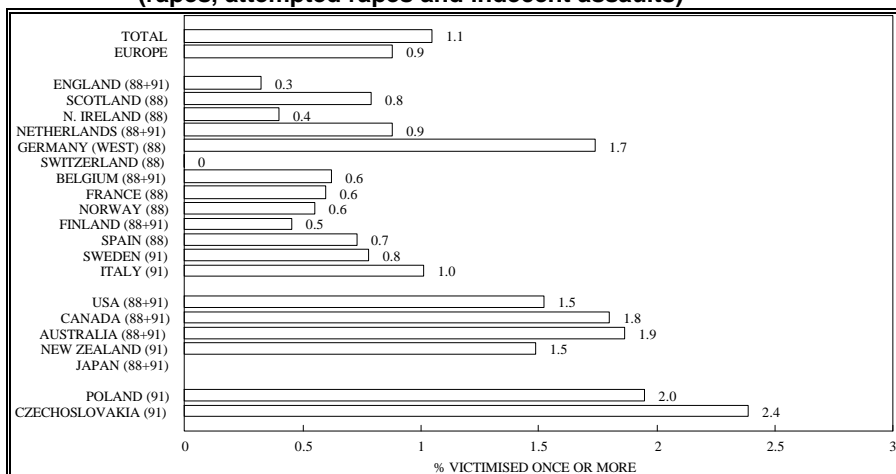
incidents taken together. The one-year rates were highest in Australia (5.6%), Canada (4.1%), the USA (3.7%), West Germany (3.3%) and Poland (3.2%).

Figure 14: One-year victimisation rates among women for sexual incidents



A third of the incidents were seen as sexual assaults (a rape, an attempted rape, an indecent assault) - the proportion not differing greatly across countries. Figure 15 shows one-year risks among women of sexual assaults (rapes, attempted rapes and indecent assaults). Rates for sexual assaults were highest in Czechoslovakia (2.4%), Poland (2.0%), Australia (1.9%), Canada (1.8%) and West Germany (1.7%).

Figure 15: One-year victimisation rates among women for sexual assaults (rapes, attempted rapes and indecent assaults)



To repeat, these results must be viewed cautiously. However, that the proportion of incidents seen as sexual assaults is roughly similar across country lends some credibility to the differences in risk. On the face of it, there is little ground for believing that where high figures for sexual incidents emerge, these are boosted by a higher sensitivity among women in some countries to more minor sexual harassments.

In the 1992 survey, all respondents who mentioned a sexual incident were asked whether, taken everything into account, they considered the incident "very serious", "fairly serious" or "not very serious". On average, 40% of victims considered the incident "very serious"; and 75% "very" or "fairly" serious³¹.

Victims of offensive sexual behaviour were also asked whether they regarded the incident as a crime. In the seven countries for which data are available, more women in Sweden, England, Belgium and Italy felt it was (in excess of 50%), whereas there were lower figures for the USA, Canada and Australia (around 45%), and the lowest of all for the Netherlands (15%). Very tentatively then, in countries which might be seen as more permissive in their attitudes towards sexuality, women are sensitive to offensive sexual behaviour but seem less inclined to label it as criminal.

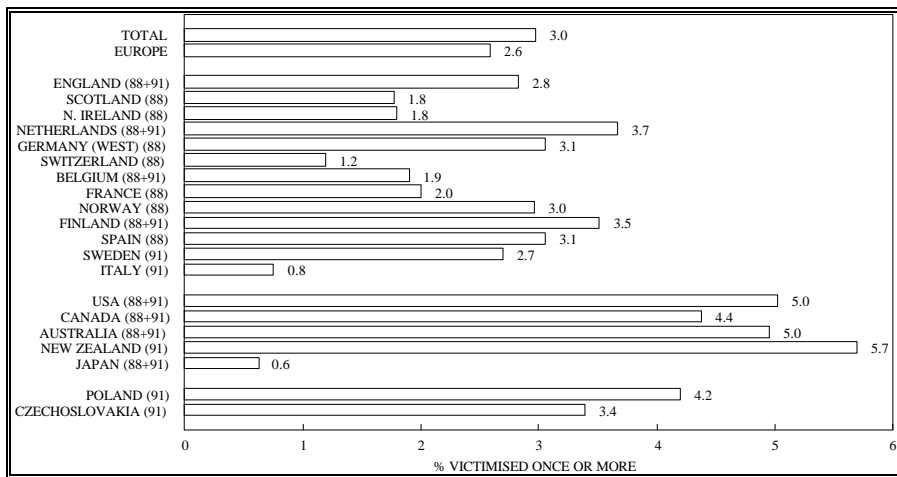
Assaults/threats

The question asked of respondents was:

"Have you been personally attacked or threatened by someone in a way that really frightened you, either at home, or elsewhere, such as in a pub, in the street, at school, on public transport, on the beach, or at your workplace?"

Figure 16: One-year victimisation rates for assault/threats

³¹ In the Netherlands and Sweden, the percentage thinking what had happened was "very serious" was lower than average (29% and 31% respectively); in Italy it was higher (61%). However, this was in line with answers about the seriousness of other offences. Those in Italy were consistently more likely to view offences as more serious, whereas those in Sweden and the Netherlands leaned the other way.

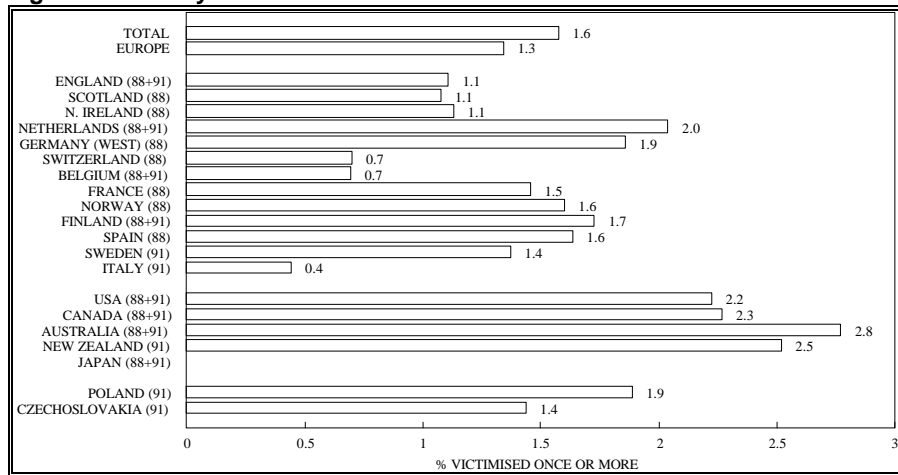


Risks of assault/threats were relatively high in New Zealand (5.7% in 1991), the USA (5.0%), Australia (5.0%) and Canada (4.4%). Countries with assault rates of around four percent are Poland (4.0%), the Netherlands (3.7%), Finland (3.5%) and Czechoslovakia (3.4%). The lowest rates were measured in Japan (0.6%) Italy (0.8%), and Switzerland (1.2%). Figure 16 shows details.

In 40% of the incidents, the offender actually used force, as opposed to threatening behaviour. Figure 17 presents national rates for assaults with force. One-year risks were highest in Australia (2.8%), New Zealand (2.5%), Canada (2.3%) and the USA (2.2%). The lowest rates were in Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, and Japan (see Figure 17).

Victims of assaults were asked several other follow-up questions about what happened. In 16% of the threats a weapon was used as intimidation. Those who experienced assaults with force, were asked whether they were shot, stabbed or otherwise assaulted with a weapon. About ten percent of such assaults involved a weapon. Overall, half of those assaulted had actually suffered injury; a quarter saw a doctor as a result. The national figures do not deviate greatly from the overall pattern, broadly indicating that the seriousness of the incidents reported in interview is similar much across country. Countries in which more people mention threats are also those in which more mention is made of assaults with force too.

Figure 17: One-year victimisation rates for assault with force



ICS rates of assaultive behaviour are only a rough guide to national levels of interpersonal violence. For one, they are only weakly related to the homicide rates according to World Health Organisation (WHO) statistics. Thus, for instance, within Europe, the Netherlands has a high ICS rate of assault, but a low homicide rate (1 per 100,000). The homicide rate of the USA is greatly in excess of European rates (9 per 100,000), although the ICS indicator of assault for the USA is by no means

as disproportionately high. Killias³² has cogently argued, on the basis of 1989 ICS results about gun ownership and WHO data on levels of homicide with guns, that homicide rates are likely to reflect levels of gun ownership rather than underlying aggressive behaviour: countries with high gun ownership simply have more gun deaths³³. The ICS data show that ownership rates of hand guns are the highest in the USA (27%), Switzerland (13%; mainly army weapons), Finland (7%), West Germany (7%), Belgium (7%), France (6%) and Italy (6%).

Overall, 30% of victims knew the offender by name, and 12% by sight. This pattern holds across countries, although more victims in Scotland (52%) and Canada (50%) knew their attackers by name than elsewhere. In Canada at least, national campaigns to raise women's awareness about the criminal nature of domestic violence may have played a part in prompting more admissions to interviewers.

Victims were asked finally to assess the seriousness of the incident ("taken everything into account, how serious was the incident for you? Was it very serious, fairly serious, or not very serious?"). Forty percent of victims considered the incident very serious and 30% as fairly serious. National figures do not deviate much, with the exception of Italy where a higher percentage considered the incident very serious (60%). The general similarity of responses suggests that the incidents mentioned by respondents in various countries possess roughly similar characteristics.

It is notable that national rates for assaults/threats and sexual incidents closely correspond. Countries with the highest levels of aggressive criminality are Australia, the USA, New Zealand, Canada and Poland, while other countries with relatively high levels are West Germany, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands and Finland. In all these, the consumption of beer per capita is relatively high with the exception of Poland (a country with a high per capita consumption of spirits). The lowest levels of "aggressive" crime are in Japan, Italy, Switzerland, Scotland and France - most of them countries where the consumption of wine is high³⁴. Clearly, drinking patterns will be only one factor in explaining differences in aggressive behaviour, but given Field's finding that in England growth in beer consumption (rather than alcohol consumption per se) is strongly related to growth in violent crime, the ICS results will merit further examination with multivariate analysis³⁵.

Overall prevalence rates

Various publications reporting results from the 1989 ICS have shown overall prevalence rates (i.e. the percentage of the public victimised by any of the crimes

³² Killias, M.A. (1990) "Gun ownership and violent crime: the Swiss experience in international perspective" *Security Journal* 1:169-174.

³³ Cook, P.J. (1983) "The influence of gun availability on violent crime patterns" in Tonry, M. and N. Morris (eds.) *Crime and Justice: An Annual Review of Research*, Vol 4, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

³⁴ National beer consumption rates and national rates for assault/threats are weakly but positively correlated with each other (rank correlation 0.434; $p < .10$; $n = 18$).

³⁵ Field, S. (1990) Trends in crime and their interpretation: a study of recorded crime in post-war England and Wales, Home Office Research Study No. 119, HMSO, London.

covered in the past year). It is acknowledged that this is a fairly crude indicator of annual risk since:

- (i) it conceals the extent to which people may have experienced more than one type of crime;
- (ii) it says nothing about the number of times they have been victimised;
- (iii) differences in the degree of seriousness of what happened are ignored (for instance, being the victim once only, but of a very serious assault may count for more than experience of a number of "petty" thefts of items from work).

This said, the overall annual crime prevalence measure from the two sweeps of the ICS is a readily understandable indicator of proneness to victimisation in different countries - and it is worth reporting on this account. Future publications will give more sophisticated indices of proneness to crime, taking into account, for instance, multiple victimisation and the degree of seriousness accorded by victims to what happened to them.

Taking the average of counts from countries participating in both the 1989 and 1992 ICS, alongside the "last year" counts from countries participating in 1989 or 1992 alone showed that countries with relatively high overall prevalence rates (above 25%) are New Zealand, the Netherlands, Canada, Australia, the USA and Poland. Countries with moderately high levels (20-25%) are England, Czechoslovakia, Spain, Italy, West Germany and Sweden. Countries with rates below 20% are France, Scotland, Belgium, Finland, Norway, Switzerland, Northern Ireland and Japan. Table 3 shows details. It should be stressed that within the victimisation bands the rates in different countries are usually statistically indistinguishable. In other words, the differences could be explained by sampling error. Moreover, since the overall rates are based on an average of two years for those countries taking part in the survey twice, they are not necessarily comparing "like with like" in terms of time.

Table 3: Overall victimisation rates for all crimes.¹ Percent victim of any crime over the past year

27.5% - 30.0%	New Zealand	Netherlands	Canada	Australia	USA
25.0% - 27.4%	Poland				
22.5% - 24.9%	England&Wales	Czechoslovakia	Italy	Spain	
20.0% - 22.4%	TOTAL	West Germany	Sweden	EUROPE	
17.5% - 19.9%	France	Scotland	Belgium	Finland	
15.0% - 17.4%	Norway	Switzerland			
12.5% - 14.9%	Northern Ireland				
Under 12.4%	Japan				

1. Based on eleven crimes comparable over the 1989 and 1992 surveys. Average values are taken for countries taking part in both surveys.

Overall prevalence rates are positively related to degree of urbanisation. Due to the greater supply of suitable targets and perhaps less informal social control, "city

air" seems to breed crime in most countries - though Japan is a notable exception to the rule.

An overview of crime specific rates

Theft of cars

Rates for car theft/joyriding are the highest in countries with both high car ownership levels - which excludes East European countries - and low levels of bicycle owners - which excludes the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries, West Germany, Switzerland, Canada and Japan. Consequently, countries with the highest rates are the USA, Australia, England, Britain, Italy and France.

Thefts from cars

Rates here are partly dependent upon levels of car ownership. In line with this, Poland and Czechoslovakia show moderately low levels. The highest levels are in Spain, the USA, Canada, England, Australia, Italy and the Netherlands. In relation to only moderately high national car ownership theft rates are remarkably high in Spain and, to a lesser extent, in the Netherlands. The rates in Belgium, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries and Japan are lower than might be expected on the basis of car ownership.

Bicycle theft

The highest rates for bicycle theft are in the countries with high ownership levels of bicycles: the Netherlands and Sweden in particular. Rates of theft are also high in Japan, in correspondence with a high ownership rate and in contrast to a low overall crime rate.

Motorcycle theft

Rates of motorcycle (or moped or scooter) theft are highest in countries such as Japan, Italy and Switzerland where such vehicles are more common, though some countries with lower ownership also have higher than average rates.

Burglary

Burglaries and break-ins are commoner in countries with the highest proportion of people living in semi-detached and detached homes, such as Australia, the USA, Poland, Czechoslovakia and England.

Personal thefts and pickpocketing

Rates are highest in Poland, Czechoslovakia, North America, New Zealand, Australia and Spain.

Pickpocketing

By and large, pickpocketing is more common within Europe, though there are variations between European countries. Risks are highest for those in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Spain, Italy, France and the Netherlands.

Robbery

Rates for robbery (theft with force) are the highest in Spain, Poland, the USA and Italy. In Italy this is largely due to high rates of bag snatching (a scippo).

Aggressive crime

The highest rates of aggressive crime are in North America, Australia and Poland. Low levels of violence are found in Switzerland, Italy, France, Belgium and Japan. With the exception of Japan, wine is the most popular alcoholic drink in these countries, rather than beer - though alcohol consumption patterns will of course reflect other national characteristics which are likely to impinge on crime.

Trends between 1988 and 1991

The ICS has been carried out twice in eight countries and so potentially allows an assessment of crime trends between 1988 and 1991. An overview of trends is given below - though some important caveats need to be borne in mind:

- the percentage increases in crime given below are based on prevalence victimisation rates in the two survey years (i.e. the proportion of people victimised once or more). These rates are subject to sampling error so the extent of the percentage increase in crime is only indicative;
- there may have been changes between the two surveys in the performance of interviewing companies, affecting the amount of victimisation measured;
- small changes in methodology (of which the Working Group may not always be aware) could also influence the counts. It is known, for instance, that procedures in Japan changed between the two surveys, which makes its trend data unreliable.

It also goes without saying that from this limited sample it is hazardous to draw firm conclusions about trends in crime in industrialised countries.

With these caveats in mind, for seven of the eight countries participating in the first and second sweeps of the ICS, Table 4 presents changes in the overall prevalence rates in 1988 and 1991 (i.e. the percentage of respondents who reported a victimisation of some type or other over the year). The indications are that prevalence risks have generally increased, in particular in England. Risks decreased in the USA - not out of line with other indicators (see below). Overall risks stayed very stable in Australia, Canada and Belgium.

Table 4: Overall prevalence of crime, 1988 and 1991

	% of respondents victim of one or more crime, once or more ²		% change ¹
	1988	1991	1988-1991
England & Wales	19.5	30.2	56
Netherlands	26.8	31.3	17
Belgium	17.7	19.3	9
Finland	15.9	20.7	26
USA	28.9	26.1	-13
Canada	28.1	28.4	1
Australia	27.8	28.6	3

1. Percentage changes based on more precise figures.
2. Based on eleven offences comparable across both surveys.

The information from the ICS on trends in crime between 1988 and 1991 can be set against other indicators of changes in risks: firstly, data from other victimisation surveys; and secondly, from offences recorded by the police. For many reasons, though, there are limits to these comparisons. The only countries for which there is an alternative measure from national-level victimisation surveys are: the Netherlands (the Dutch National Crime Survey); England and Wales (the British Crime Survey); and the USA (the National Crime Victimization Survey). More important, counts from these independently organised surveys are difficult to compare with the ICS, and with each other. Comparability will be influenced by differences in survey design and even small differences in offence classification can seriously affect counts³⁶.

Comparing trends on the basis of figures recorded by the police is also difficult. Definitions of offences used by the police will differ, so that if the underlying trend in an offence category combining residential and non-residential burglaries, for example, is different from residential burglary alone, this will compromise comparisons. More important is that police figures could reflect changes in recording practice over time, and a change in the readiness of victims to report offences to the police.

A finer-grained picture of trends is presented in Table 5 which shows percentage increases in individual ICS offences between 1988 and 1991. Also shown are increases according to:

- (i) available figures of offences recorded by the police, taking the best available "match" and using in the main the most accessible three-year trend figures for 1987-1990; and
- (ii) results from national victimisation surveys for the Netherlands, England and the USA.

For reasons given, the comparisons are tentative, and more should be made of the general direction of trends, than of precise differences in increases or decreases. Motorcycle thefts are omitted because of small numbers³⁷. So too are risks for thefts of personal property as there were generally few differences between the 1988 and 1991 rates and comparisons with other indicators are difficult³⁸. Neither are figures for Japan shown because trend data are undermined by changes in methodology³⁹.

Theft of cars

³⁶ van Dijk Experiences..., op. cit., p. 107.

³⁷ On the face of it, risks of motorcycle theft have increased since 1988 in England and Wales, the Netherlands, Belgium and the USA.

³⁸ There are no significant differences between the 1988 and 1991 rates for pickpocketing specifically, with the exception of those in Canada (where - on small numbers - risk fell from 1.4% to 0.8%).

³⁹ Risks increased for most offences in Japan, but this is most likely to have been due to changes in how respondents were questioned. In the 1992 Japanese survey, respondents were not asked about five year risks. This may have had the effect of some less recent incidents being "telescoped" into the reference period. While this change compromises comparisons of crime in Japan in 1988 and 1991, it does little to alter the conclusion that risks of most crimes in Japan are low compared to other countries. Risks of bicycle theft and motorcycle theft seem exceptions.

In all countries, thefts of cars have increased according to the ICS. In five countries - England, the Netherlands, Finland, Canada, and Australia - the increases were of 25% or more, and fall outside the range explained by sampling error. In spite of economic recession, car ownership has increased since 1988, though to a less marked degree than the upward trend in thefts, which in any case is probably little influenced by year-on-year changes in the absolute number of cars on the road after a certain level of ownership. To what extent the opening of the borders with East European countries has increased the demand for stolen cars is impossible to say, though - as said - some police sources believe it may have a part to play.

Table 5: Trends in crime, 1988-1991: percentage increases in (i) ICS risks; (ii) offences recorded by the police⁹; and (iii) national crime surveys estimates

	England & Wales	Netherlands	Belgium	Finland	USA	Canada	Australia ⁴
Theft of cars							
ICS	98	83	16	79	23	59	37
Recorded offences ²	59	27	46	67	16	31	1
National surveys ³	41	67			27		
Theft from cars							
ICS	53	30	41	10	-24	2	-5
Recorded offences ²	47	-5		47			
National surveys ³	9	-3			-5 ⁵		
Car vandalism							
ICS ¹	57	16	-6	40	-9	-13	8
Recorded offences	38						
National surveys ³	21	10					
Bicycle thefts							
ICS ¹	205	32	1	57	-7	9	8
Recorded offences	95	10					
National surveys ³	35	-2					
Burglary⁶							
ICS ¹	52	-5	-5	37	-25	5	-7
Recorded offences	42	-12		58	-2	4	-7
National surveys ³	11	-17			5		
Robbery							
ICS ¹	57	24	-8	28	-21	5	46
Recorded offences ³	44	30	14	71	27	25	1
National surveys ³	33				5	6	
Sexual incidents							
ICS ¹	78	-15	11	U/R ⁸	-49	-6	-52
Recorded offences ³	20	2	-9	17	15 ⁷	24	18
National surveys ³	U/R ⁸				-8 ⁷		
Assaults/threats							
ICS ¹	98	19	-14	40	-14	21	-8
Recorded offences	20	10	1	24	20	19	11
National surveys ³	13	5			-6		

1. Percentage increases in risks (ICS) refer to prevalence risks. Figures for vehicle crimes, and bicycle theft are based on population rates.
2. For all countries, recorded offences for "theft of cars" and "theft from cars" will actually relate to thefts for all types of vehicles (eg. including commercial vehicles and motorcycles).
3. Figures for the Netherlands are based on the Dutch National Survey, 1988-1990. (1991 figures are not available). Figures for England and Wales are based on the British Crime Survey, 1987-1991. To match ICS results better, data have been weighted on an adult base for household crime rather than, as is normal BCS practice, on a household base. Also,

BCS data has been re-analysed in other ways to improve comparability with the ICS. For instance, vehicle thefts usually include motorcycles, which have been excluded here; car vandalism and attempted thefts of and from cars have also been combined.

Figures for the USA based on the National Crime Victimization Survey, 1987-1990 (households touched by crime).

4. Only data on the change in recorded crime between 1987-1988 were available for Australia.
5. Based on figures for total household larceny; thefts from vehicles are not distinguished.
6. Burglary with entry and attempts combined.
7. Rape only.
8. "U/R" indicates the trend data is unreliable for various reasons.
9. Police figures relate to 1987-1990 for Belgium, Finland and Canada. Figures for England, the US and the Netherlands are for 1988-1991. Only the change in recorded crime between 1987-1988 is available for Australia.

Offences of vehicle theft recorded by the police (and vehicle theft is a generally well-reported offence) have also shown increases since 1988, though the magnitude of change is not always as pronounced as appears from the ICS. Where national crime survey estimates are available, they also point to an upward turn, though for England rather less so than the ICS.

Theft from cars

ICS rates for theft from cars have gone up in England, the Netherlands and Belgium to a degree not explained by sampling error. They went down, however in the USA - and marginally in Australia. There was relatively little change in Finland and Canada. The ICS picture is not particularly in line with that from recorded offences for the Netherlands, and it shows more change than from the three national surveys.

Car vandalism

According to the ICS, car vandalism did not change very greatly between 1988 and 1991, except in England and Finland, where risks increased to a statistically significant degree. Few police figures are available on car vandalism, and the English ones relate to criminal damage of all kinds. The Dutch and British national crime surveys show increases in prevalence risks, though rather smaller than the ICS.

Bicycle theft

ICS results show that bicycle theft risks have gone up appreciably in England. Risks have also increased in the Netherlands and Finland. There are few other comparative indicators, and they fail to confirm the ICS picture particularly well.

Burglary

ICS risks of burglary (burglary with entry and attempted burglary) have increased in England beyond the degree that would be explained by sampling error. Risks in Finland have also increased, but sampling error cannot be discounted. Risks in the Netherlands, Belgium, the USA and Australia went down, though the decreases are not necessarily statistically reliable. Taken in the round, the data seem to suggest that the upward trend of household burglaries since the seventies may have been stemmed in some countries over the past few years. The degree to which this is due to more household security precautions can only be guessed at.

Robbery

Robbery is a rare offence for which survey estimates based on relatively small samples are prone to error. For those countries with two measures, the increase in 1991 risks - while appearing generally higher - is not statistically reliable. However, police figures for robbery (which include robberies committed against commercial institutions) increased in many countries over the period.

Sexual crime

Rates of sexual incidents according to the ICS changed markedly between 1988 and 1991 in several countries, with rates more often decreasing than increasing. One explanation is that the inclusion of the verb "assault" in the definition affected the answers in some countries in the sense that minor incidents were less often mentioned in interview. (It is unclear why this did not happen in England or Belgium, and arguments are likely to be tenuous). Information from offences recorded by the police and national crime surveys do not add much comment to the picture from the ICS.

Assault

The ICS rate of assaults/threats has gone up in England and Finland beyond the degree that would be explained by sampling error. Elsewhere changes in rates are not statistically reliable. The ICS picture for England is not in particularly good accord with the other indicators, but the broad similarity between British Crime Surveys levels of risks in 1991 and 1991 ICS risks suggests that the 1988 assault count may have been understated⁴⁰.

In sum, then, although the 1992 survey was not mounted to provide for those countries who had participated in 1988 any solid indicator of trends in crime, the data asks for inspection. Tables 2 and 3 indicate that risks have generally increased in the European countries concerned, particular in England. Risks for many crimes in the USA have either not increased significantly, or have shown a decline. Risks in Canada and Australia in 1991 have also decreased or shown only moderate increases for many offences (theft of cars is an exception, and assaults in Canada). That this picture is largely endorsed by other indicators adds some credibility to the ICS results. So too does the fact that comparisons of ICS prevalence rates for 1991 match fairly well with those from national surveys where available (author's computations).

Within Europe, the most consistent ICS increases have been in thefts of and from cars - increases largely borne out by other indicators. The firmest indication is that burglary has increased most in England and Finland.

Reporting crime and the police

Reporting to the police

The frequency with which victims (or their relatives and friends) report offences to the police is strongly related to the type of offence involved. In most countries, almost all incidents in which cars or motorcycles are stolen are reported, as are burglaries with entry. About half of all thefts from a car, bicycle thefts, and robberies are reported, but on average only about a third of all cases of personal theft, car vandalism and threats/assaults are, and only a tenth of the sexual incidents mentioned to interviewers. For the ten crimes covered in the 1989 and 1992 survey,

⁴⁰ See the chapter on England and Wales" by Patricia Mayhew.

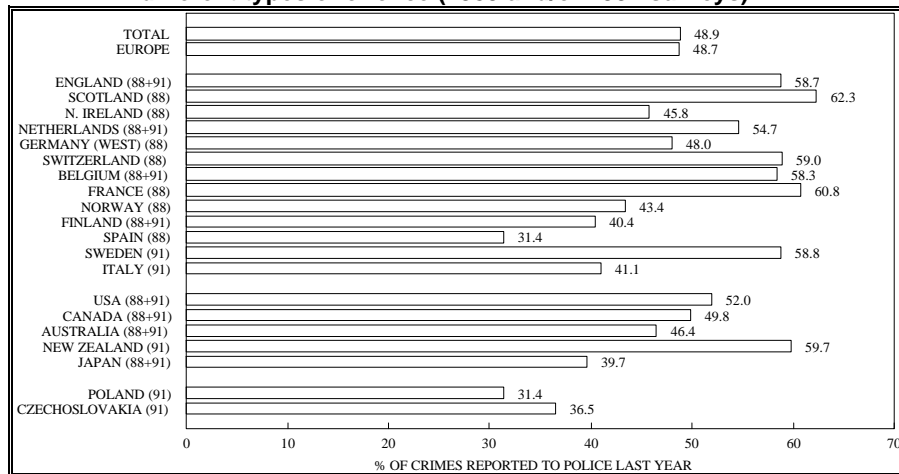
about which reporting to the police was asked, Figure 18 shows the overall percentage made known to the police.

Reporting levels are lowest in Poland (31%) and Spain (31%); they are a little higher in Czechoslovakia (37%), Japan (40%), Finland (40%), Italy (41%), Norway (43%) and Northern Ireland (46%). Countries with the highest reporting rates are Scotland, France, New Zealand, Switzerland, Sweden, England and Belgium.

Differences in reporting will be partly accounted for by the different profile of crimes experienced, and fuller analysis is needed, by crime type, to confirm different propensities to report. Nonetheless, the extent of insurance cover may also play a part: this is low in Spain and East European countries for instance. Additionally, low reporting rates in some countries may indicate a lack of confidence in the public (see later), or local tradition. Japan, for example, is noted for community intervention in incidents in which a known offender is involved.

Table 6 shows, for all countries combined, the reasons for not reporting in relation to the various types of crime.

Figure 18: Percentage of crimes reported to the police: overall figure for ten different types of offence (1989 and/or 1992 surveys)



That the incident was "not serious enough", that there was "no loss", or that the "police could do nothing" were the most frequent reasons for non-reporting. Only a small minority expressed lack of confidence in the police ("police won't do anything", "dislike of police", "didn't dare") - though dislike of the police and fear of reprisals were more often given in the case of unreported crimes of violence. That the incident was "inappropriate for the police" or that it was "solved myself" were also more often given as reasons for non-reporting by victims of personal crimes.

Reasons for not notifying the police did not vary a great deal across country. However, non-reporters in Czechoslovakia (20%), Poland (21%) and Spain (18%)

more often said that "the police wouldn't do anything about it". This may relate to the public's general appreciation of the police, and this is dealt with later.

Victim's satisfaction with the police response

All respondents who had reported a crime to the police over the last five years were asked whether they were satisfied with the way the police dealt with their last report (Figure 19).

Table 6: Reasons for not reporting to the police (% of reasons mentioned): (1989 and/or 1992 surveys; 19 countries)¹

	Theft of car	Theft from car	Car vandalism	Theft of motorcycle	Theft of bicycle	Burglary
Not serious enough	18	48	53	21	33	32
Solved it myself	19	3	4	17	10	16
Inappropriate for police	8	7	8	2	5	6
Other authorities	9	2	2	13	2	4
No insurance	0	2	1	7	5	2
Police could do nothing	7	20	23	11	21	20
Police won't do anything	4	13	10	9	15	10
Fear/dislike police	2	1	<1	1	1	2
Didn't dare	1	1	<1	0	1	1
Other reasons	29	12	9	12	17	16
Don't know	10	4	3	6	4	4

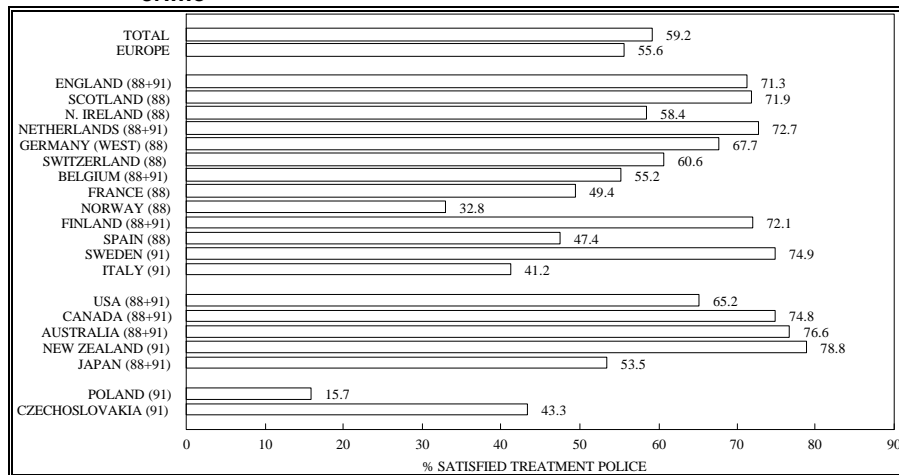
	Attempted burglary	Outbdg. break-ins	Robbery	Personal theft	Sexual incidents	Assault/threat
Not serious enough	49	59	36	34	37	34
Solved it myself	9	10	14	18	20	18
Inappropriate for police	11	7	7	11	8	11
Other authorities	2	2	2	5	4	5
No insurance	<1	<1	<1	<1	<1	<1
Police could do nothing	19	16	15	12	12	12
Police won't do anything	7	6	12	9	7	9
Fear/dislike police	<1	<1	3	3	3	3
Didn't dare	<1	<1	4	5	5	5
Other reasons	11	8	16	14	17	14
Don't know	3	3	4	4	3	4

1. If data from both surveys were available, the data for 1991 were used. Data on attempted burglary are from the 1992 survey only. Japan excluded.

Having reported an offence, satisfaction with the police response was lowest in Poland, Norway, Italy, Czechoslovakia and Spain. It was the highest in New

Zealand, Australia, Canada, Sweden, Finland, the Netherlands, Scotland, and England. The main reasons for dissatisfaction are that the police "did not do enough" (42%), "were not interested" (40%), "did not find the offender" (15%), "did not recover my property" (18%), "did not keep me properly informed" (13%), or "did not treat me correctly" (11%)⁴¹. Though broader-based attitudes to police performance may underlie these results to a degree, it is worth remarking that in those countries where reporters are most pleased with how they were treated by the police, there has been some emphasis on initiatives to improve the service given to crime victims.

Figure 19: Percentage of victims satisfied with the police after reporting crime



Victim assistance

In the 1989 survey, victims were specifically asked whether they had received support from a specialised victim support agency. With the exception of the USA, very few victims had received such help. For this reason (and with a view to the social realities of developing countries), this area of questioning was widened to include other forms of support. The changes mean that comparability with the 1989 survey has been compromised⁴².

The 1992 results indicate that among victims who reported an offence to the police, the most common providers of help were relatives/friends/neighbours, and

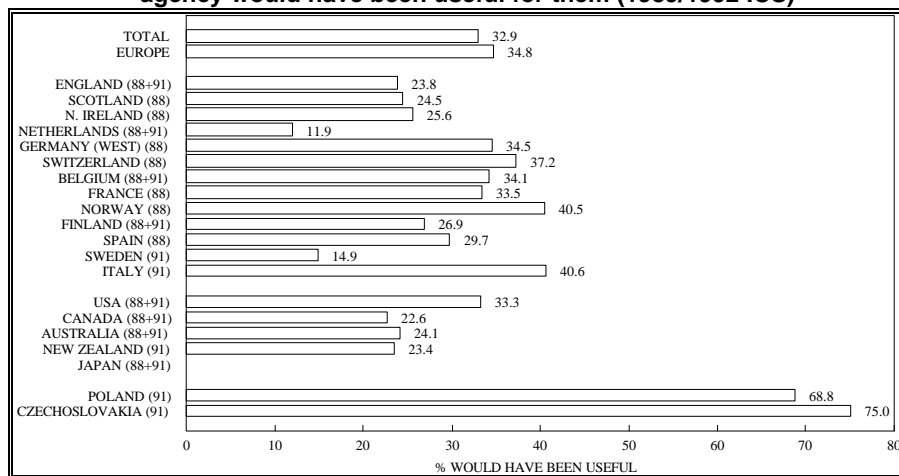
⁴¹ Of the Japanese respondents 43% said they were dissatisfied because the police did not find the offender.

⁴² In 1989, victims were asked about whether they had received any assistance from a specialised agency for any crime they had experienced over the last year. In 1992, the questions about support were focused on the "last crime" over the five year reference period.

the police themselves. Other agencies were less frequently involved. The number of those receiving help from a specialised victim support agency was highest in England (4.8%), New Zealand (4.4%), Canada (4.3%), and the Netherlands (2.7%)⁴³. Among victims of more serious crimes, however, the proportion receiving help was higher, as one would expect.

Victims who had not received help from a victim support agency were asked whether they would have appreciated help (in getting information, or practical or emotional support). Figure 20 shows that on average, about a third of victims would have welcomed more help. Levels of demand were much higher in Czechoslovakia and Poland, perhaps because the economic consequences of crime are more serious - or police help less forthcoming. In Czechoslovakia there is no infrastructure for voluntary aid since under the communist regime the state was supposed to provide all necessary services. In Italy, Norway and Switzerland the need expressed for victim support was also relatively high. Few victims mentioned the need for help in the Netherlands (12% in 1991) and Sweden (15%). Whether this is because help is more readily available from other sources is difficult to say; it may equally well reflect the relatively large proportion of minor victimisations experienced.

Figure 20: Percentage of victims who said the services of a victim support agency would have been useful for them (1989/1992 ICS)



Satisfaction with police presence

⁴³ The question on help from a specialised victim support agency was preceded by one concerning help from voluntary organisations. It is likely that some respondents helped by a victim support agency will have categorised this as voluntary help (since in many countries this work is voluntary). The answers, therefore, have been combined.

In the 1992 survey, all respondents were asked how often the police passed by in their street, either on foot or in a car (a new question). Police visibility seemed highest in Italy (64% said the police passed by at least once a week), Canada (63%), Belgium (52%) and Finland (50%). It was lowest in Sweden (35%), Czechoslovakia and New Zealand (36%).

Overall, about 40% of respondents said they wanted the police to pass by more often than they did. The demand for more police presence was greatest in Poland (67%), Czechoslovakia (65%), England (57%), and Italy (51%). While infrequent police surveillance may explain the demand for more policing in some countries, in others - where police visibility already appears high - it may be that improved policing leads only to higher expectations, at least when crime is seen to be rising.

Although numbers are small, the demand for more police surveillance is positively related at country level to fear of street crime ($r=0.79$; $p<0.01$; $n=12$). This can be interpreted in two ways. Fear of crime may generate demand for more police visibility; or, the (perceived) sufficiency of existing police presence may prevent feelings of fear. In any event, field experiments have shown that foot patrols go some way in helping reduce feelings of fear⁴⁴.

General satisfaction with the police

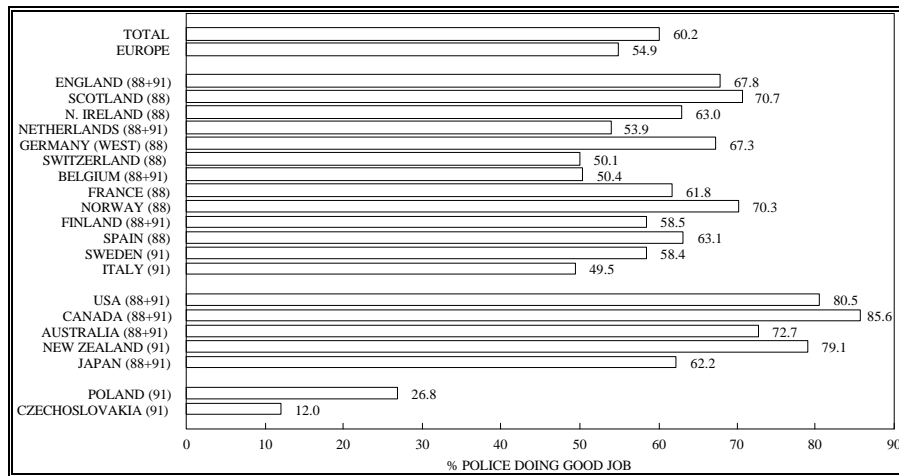
All respondents were asked to give a judgement on the overall performance of the police. The question asked was:

"Taking everything into account, how good do you think the police in your area is in controlling crime. Do you think they do a good job or not?"

General judgement of the police was most favourable in Canada, the USA, New Zealand, Australia, Scotland, Norway, England and West Germany (see Figure 21).

Figure 21: Percentage thinking the police do a good job in controlling crime in their area (1989 and/or 1992 ICS)

⁴⁴ van Dijk, J.J.M. (1984) "Police burglary prevention experiments in the Netherlands" in Clarke, R. and E. Hope (eds.) *Coping with burglary*, Kluwer-Nijhoff, Boston.



Opinion was least favourable in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Italy, the Netherlands (1991), Finland (1991), Switzerland⁴⁵ and Spain. In several countries, assessments of police performance had declined: notably in the Netherlands (58% favourable judgements in 1989, 50% in 1992), Finland (64% in 1989 and 53% in 1992) and Canada (89% in 1989 and 82% in 1992). There was a smaller drop in satisfaction in England (70% in 1989, as against 66% in 1992)

Overall judgements of the police are more negative in countries where more people feel the need to take precautions against street crime at night ($r=0.47$; $p<0.05$; $n=19$). Less favourable judgements are also found in countries where victims who report crimes are dissatisfied with their treatment by the police ($r=0.61$; $p<0.01$; $n=19$) - though of course one may to an extent drive the other. Broadly interpreted, these relationships suggest that by increasing presence in residential areas and by improving treatment of crime victims, the police may improve their standing in the public's eyes, help counter anxiety about crime, and increase willingness to report crimes. Police initiatives on these fronts should not be readily discounted.

Reactions to crime

Fear of burglars

Fear of crime is generally seen as an important element of the social costs of crime, and recent crime prevention policies are geared both towards reducing crime as well as anxiety and worry about it. In some instances, the reduction of fear requires special initiatives, for instance to redesign urban environments and provide better lighting, which can have direct effects of feelings of safety. Field studies have

⁴⁵ The low percentage of Swiss respondents who said the police do a good job conceals a very high percentage of "don't know" answers (39%).

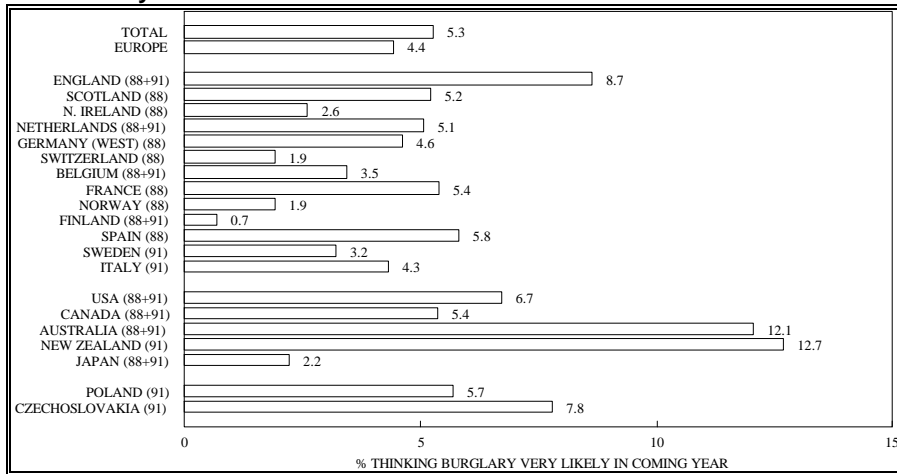
also shown that police presence on foot is an effective method of reducing fear, regardless of its impact upon actual crime levels.

In the 1989 ICS, respondents were asked both how they rated their chance of being burgled over the next year, and - to tap fear of street crime - whether they avoided certain areas or people when they last went out in the evening. In the 1992 survey, a widely-used question was added about how safe (or unsafe) respondents felt when walking alone in their area after dark.

Figure 22 presents the percentage of people who were concerned about burglary. The feeling that a burglary was very likely to happen in the next year was highest among those in New Zealand, Australia, England, Czechoslovakia, and the USA. Least concerned were those in Finland, Norway and Switzerland. In England concern about burglary had increased somewhat since 1989, along with actual burglary risks.

Perceptions of risk at national level are strongly related to actual risks of burglary (Figure 23). Countries where a high proportion thought they would be very likely to be a victim tended to be those in which vulnerability to burglary was highest. The correlation between national burglary rates and fear of burglary is very strong ($r=0.87$; $p<0.001$; $n=19$).

Figure 22: Percentage thinking a burglary very likely to happen in the coming year



Fear of street crime

Figure 24 shows the percentage of respondents who said they had taken precautions the last time they went out in the evening, either by avoiding risky areas, or by staying clear of certain people.

Figure 23: Experience of burglary (with entry) in the last year, by percentage who thought burglary very likely in the next year (19 countries)

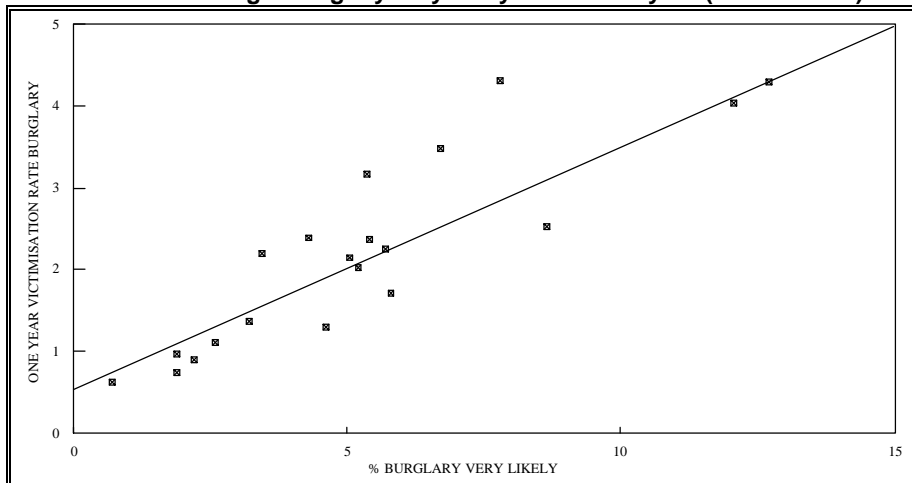


Figure 24: Fear of street crime (1989 and/or 1991). Percentage of people who take care when going out in the evening

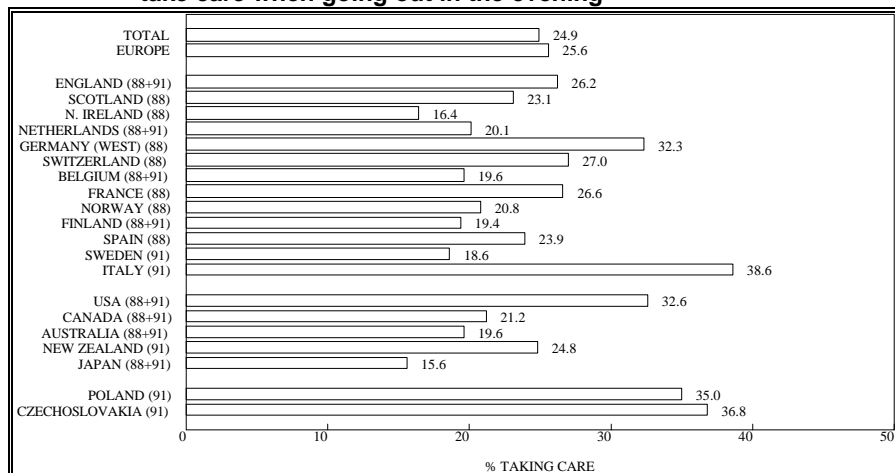
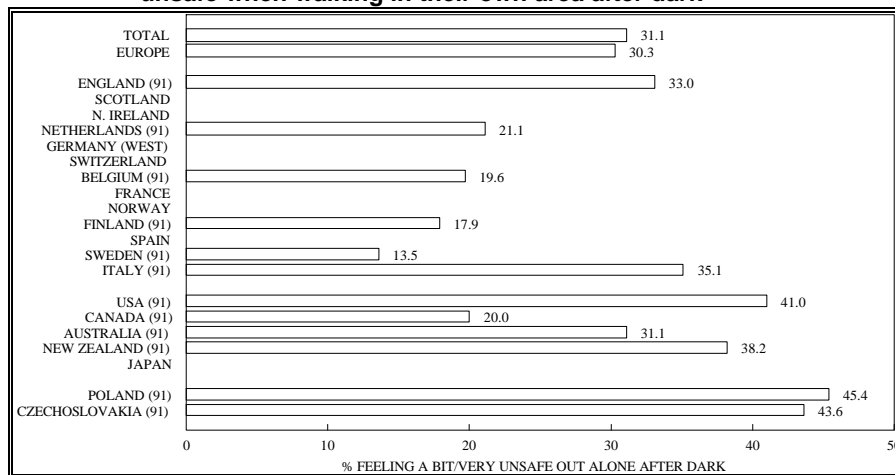


Figure 25: Fear of street crime; percentage of the public feeling a bit or very unsafe when walking in their own area after dark



Evasive action was most common in Italy (39%), Czechoslovakia (37%), Poland (35%), the USA (33% in 1988), West Germany (32% in 1988) and England (27%). Those in Japan, Northern Ireland and in the Scandinavian countries were less concerned. Evasive action is much commoner among women than men in all countries.

Data are available for some countries from the 1992 survey on how safe (or unsafe) respondents said they felt when walking alone in the local area alone after dark. (Information is not available for Japan.) On average, roughly a third felt a bit or very unsafe (see Figure 25).

Those in Poland and Czechoslovakia were most anxious (above 40% felt a bit or very unsafe.) Those in New Zealand (38%), Italy (35%), England (33%) and Australia (31%) were also more fearful than elsewhere. The question was not asked in the USA in the 1992 survey, but replies in another survey in 1990 showed 41% feeling a bit or very unsafe. Both ICS measures of fear of street crime are highly interrelated.

In contrast to the picture for burglary, fear of street crime is not consistently related at national level to risks of violent crime (assaults, sexual incidents and robbery)⁴⁶. In Italy and West Germany, for instance, anxiety is relatively high, but risks are lower than in the Netherlands and Canada, where anxiety is less marked. Similarly, those in Poland and Czechoslovakia show levels of anxiety disproportionate to national risks of violence.

What this poor association indicates is, first, that the relationship between risk and fear is better measured on an individual basis - taking account of people's specific feelings of vulnerability which will be affected by previous victimisation and the type of area in which they live, for instance. It also suggests that fear of street crime may be determined by specific "cultural" pressures. For example, media coverage of mafia killings or terrorist activity may increase fear, while in Eastern Europe recent exposure to sensational media stories about crime after the lifting of censorship may have heightened anxiety. Fear of street crime could also be related, in some countries at least, to confidence in the police).

Crime prevention

Four questions were asked in the 1989 survey about precautions against household crime, but following analysis of results and new pilot work these were rethought. In both the 1989 and 1992 surveys, however, information was gathered about how many of those living in semi-detached, detached or terraced houses owned burglar alarms, and about the presence of caretakers or security guards for those in apartments/flats. Figure 26 shows levels of burglar alarm ownership. The figures are often high, and it cannot be ruled out that some people claimed they had an alarm on account of residual mistrust about the credentials of the survey. Other indicators of alarm ownership in England, for instance, show lower levels of ownership.

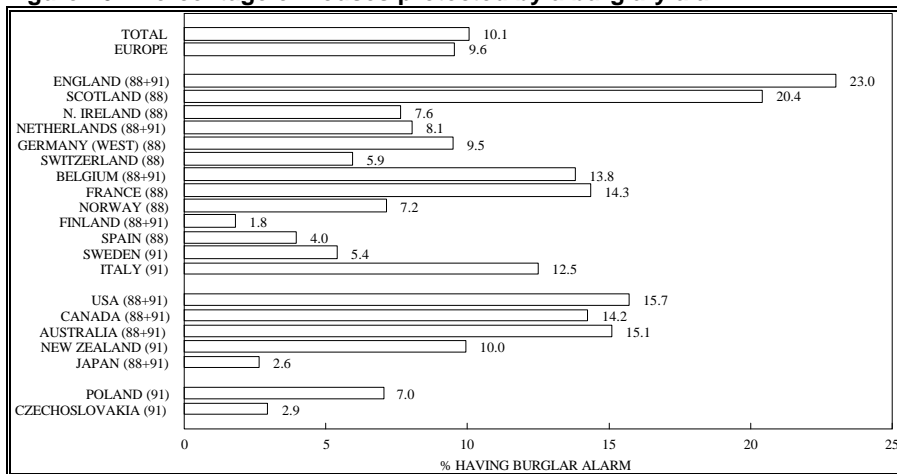
Ownership of alarms nonetheless varies greatly across country. Alarms appear to be most often installed in England, Scotland, the USA, Australia, and Canada, though rarely in Finland, Japan, Czechoslovakia or Spain (less 5%). The penetration of alarms at national level was positively related to national burglary risks: i.e. those in countries facing higher risks appear more likely to install alarms (or say they do; $r=0.39$; $p<0.10$; $n=20$). At the level of neighbourhoods, in contrast, high alarm ownership has been found to be negatively related to burglary rates -

⁴⁶ For example, the correlations between robbery, assaults/threats, and sexual incidents and the ICS measure of "avoiding places" are all low ($r=0.21$; $r=0.01$; $r=0.15$; all ns).

consistent with the idea that alarms can offer local protection if at the cost of sending burglars into less-well-protected areas. In any event, the level of alarm ownership in most countries may not yet have reached the level at which burglary rates are affected. One might conjecture that the USA - where burglary rates have declined over recent years - exemplifies a situation where there are sufficient numbers of sophisticated alarm systems⁴⁷ (and perhaps enough caretakers/security guards in apartment buildings) to influence overall burglary rates.

In several countries, the employment of caretakers is currently being promoted as a crime prevention measure on the grounds that they will usually improve surveillance and informal social control, notwithstanding their maintenance functions⁴⁸. The ICS results give no very clear picture as to whether risks for those in accommodation overseen by caretakers are more protected against burglary⁴⁹. This is no doubt because of interactions between levels of local risks and the type of accommodation in which people live in particular areas, and because caretaking levels are unlikely to match to risk levels.

Figure 26: Percentage of houses protected by a burglary alarm



In the 1992 survey, a series of other questions about home protection were asked. The most common response of householders in all countries was to install special door locks. On average, half of the households had used these. The

⁴⁷ Studies among burglars have shown that the deterrent value of alarms linked to a private or public alarm centre is higher than that of lower budget "standalone" alarms which are more common in Great Britain; see Figgie Report (1988) *The business of crime: the criminal perspective*, Part VI, Figgie International Inc., Richmond.

⁴⁸ See, for example, Hesseling, R. (1989) *Evaluation of caretakers program: results of the first survey among residents (in Dutch)*, Research and Documentation Centre, Ministry of Justice, The Hague.

⁴⁹ van Dijk, *Experiences...*, op. cit, p. 86.

percentage is much lower in Poland (16%), Finland (20%) and Belgium (25%). Other common measures were special grilles on windows or doors, and keeping a dog to deter burglars: both more common in England, North America, Australia and Poland, but quite uncommon in Sweden and Finland. In Belgium, Sweden and Italy almost half of households said they had not taken any of the six listed security measures.

Attitudes to punishment

One question was put to respondents about their opinions on sentencing. They were asked which of the five types of sentences they considered the most appropriate for a recidivist burglar - a man aged 21 who is found guilty of burglary for the second time, having stolen a colour television. Table 7 shows the percentage of respondents opting for either a fine, prison or a community service order. (The answers are from the 1992 survey for those countries with two counts.)

Table 7: Percentage in favour of a fine, a prison sentence, or community service order for a young recidivist burglar

	Fine	Prison sentence	Community service order
England & Wales ¹	8.9	37.3	40.2
Scotland ²	14.4	39.0	33.5
Northern Ireland ²	9.0	45.4	30.2
Netherlands ¹	9.4	25.9	47.6
West Germany ²	8.8	13.0	60.0
Switzerland ²	11.6	8.6	56.7
Belgium ¹	12.0	18.7	55.2
France ²	10.3	12.8	53.0
Norway ²	23.0	13.8	47.0
Finland ¹	13.2	13.9	54.9
Spain ²	23.4	27.0	23.4
Sweden ¹	14.1	26.2	47.4
Italy ¹	9.6	22.4	46.5
USA ²	8.2	52.7	29.6
Canada ¹	9.6	38.9	30.3
Australia ¹	7.7	34.0	48.0
New Zealand ¹	9.6	24.4	50.6
Japan ²	12.6	29.5	-. ³
Poland ¹	12.3	29.3	45.6
Czechoslovakia ¹	10.3	62.5	16.2

1. 1992 survey.

2. 1989 survey.

3. In 1989, 15.2% of the Japanese sample said that the perpetrator was guilty but did not have to go to court. Twenty-three percent said the defendant should be given a non-custodial sentence.

In contrast with the stereotypical image of public demand for imprisonment, community service orders are seen in most countries as the most suitable punishment. (Interestingly, the percentage opting for a community service order in Finland - where such orders were recently introduced on a larger scale - had

increased since the first ICS)⁵⁰. Support for imprisonment is most widespread in Czechoslovakia (63%), the USA (53%), the United Kingdom (England/Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland: approximately, 40%), Canada (39% in 1992) and Australia (34% in 1992). The popularity of imprisonment in "anglophone" countries suggests a special "British" tradition of punishing burglars and other offenders by means of imprisonment. New Zealand, however, is an exception (only 24% of respondents opted for imprisonment).

Respondents who favoured imprisonment were asked for how long the burglar should go to prison. The mean length of the recommended sentence was the highest in Poland (159 months), USA (39 months), Spain (32 months), Japan (27 months) and Belgium (26 months). Much less severe prison sentences were recommended by those favouring a prison sentence in Switzerland (7 months), Norway (11 months), France (12 months), West Germany (12 months) and Sweden (12 months).

Popular support for imprisonment is generally higher in countries with relatively high burglary rates. Demand for tough punishment, then, seems in part a response to higher actual risks - though half those in Belgium, West Germany, New Zealand and the Netherlands preferred community service orders in spite of comparatively high national burglary risks⁵¹.

Previous analysis has suggested that actual per capita imprisonment rates tend to be higher in countries where there is more public support for imprisonment for a recidivist burglar (eg. in the USA, the United Kingdom, and the ex-communist countries)⁵². This association can be interpreted in two ways. Either sentencing policies follow popular attitudes; or, public attitudes follow established sentencing traditions. In any event, the experience in Finland indicates that the public may become more supportive of alternatives to imprisonment after their formal adoption as a sentencing option.

Discussion

The ICS in perspective

This report presents results from two sweeps of the International Crime Survey (ICS), carried out in 1989 and 1992 to provide a measure of predominantly "ordinary" crime against household members and their property in each of the previous years. Results here come from twenty countries, eight of which participated in both sweeps, another seven in 1989 and another five in 1992. As well as measuring people's experience of crime, the survey also documents some other aspects of national reactions to crime.

The results were obtained from surveys of adults. The samples were chosen to ensure adequate representativeness, and additional statistical weighting of results was done to correct some remaining imbalances in sampling. Interviews in sixteen

⁵⁰ In 1989 36.8% of the Finnish sample favoured a cso (54.9% in 1992).

⁵¹ The correlation between the national burglary rates and the national percentages of those favouring imprisonment is 0.45 ($p < 0.05$; $n = 19$).

⁵² van Dijk, *Experiences...*, op. cit., p. 83.

of the twenty countries were conducted by telephone through variants of random digit dialling, using Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI), which allows interview methods to be more tightly standardised. (In three countries face-to-face interviews were used, and in one a mixture of face-to-face and telephone interviews.)

The distinctive feature of the ICS lies in its standardisation - the use of the same questionnaire, similar methods of sampling, and co-ordination of data analysis. Though the survey has limitations - returned to below - it nonetheless gives an alternative comparative perspective to statistics of offences recorded by the police, which will reflect the amount of crime victims drawn to the attention of the police, and differences in police procedures as regards what offences are counted, and how. It also offers better comparative material than results from independently organised national victimisation surveys, where differences in design seriously compromise comparisons.

The limits of the ICS should be recognised however⁵³. First, to maximise participation, the samples interviewed were relatively small (usually 2,000 in each survey), with the result that all estimates are subject to sampling error. Second, it is well-established that crime surveys are prone to other forms of response error, mainly to do with the frailty of respondents' memories, their reticence to talk about their experiences as victims, and their failure to realise an incident may be relevant to the survey. These factors probably mean, on balance, that the ICS undercounts crime; it certainly means that the survey measures public perceptions of crime as expressed to interviewers, rather than "real" experience. The critical issue here, of course, is whether response errors are constant across country. Many may be, though it cannot be ruled out that there are different thresholds for defining certain behaviours as crimes, and for wanting to talk to interviewers about these. Third, although survey administration was centrally organised, survey company performance could have differed across country, affecting what respondents were (and were not) prepared to tell interviewers. Fourth, response rates were variable, and low in some surveys. This may have unknown effects on results, although on the face of it measured victimisation levels do not relate in any clear way to response rates. Fifth, respondents were interviewed by telephone in most countries, and although methodological work suggests that this mode of interviewing is unlikely to distort results greatly, some differences across country due to differences in the acceptability of being questioned by phone cannot entirely be discounted. Finally, although for seventeen of the twenty countries covered here there was central co-ordination of survey administration and data analysis, the surveys in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Japan were independently organised, and some changes to ICS methods may have been made. In sum, then, sceptics have room for argument about the quality of data from the ICS, and these cannot be readily dismissed. However, the ICS programme was very much a case of "nothing ventured nothing gained", and we would argue that gain is indisputable.

This chapter gives only an overview of key results from the 1989 and 1992 surveys, and the results of some very preliminary explanatory analysis. The coverage of the section on victimisation rates, moreover, puts emphasis on what

⁵³ See the chapter by Richard Block on "Measuring victimisation: the effects of methodology, sampling, and fielding".

are conventionally called "league tables". Though points about reliability of survey estimates need to be borne in mind, we make only a modest apology for this. Criminologists tend to take the stance that comparative research should be for high-minded theoretical purposes, rather than to fuel simple curiosity in the quality of life in other countries. Criminal justice administrators however - often the sponsors of the ICS - think rather differently and usually welcome whatever information may be available as indicators of their own performance.

The value of the ICS data will, in any case, be more fully realised with secondary analysis, which must go well beyond league tables⁵⁴. Risk analysis will be of obvious interest: for instance, looking at patterns of crime in a fuller range of cultural contexts; analysis of more serious crime (using respondents' answers about the seriousness of incidents); assessment of ICS risks in terms of social indicators assembled from other data sets; and risk analysis that controls for individual and local area characteristics in looking for any "nation" effect (bearing in mind that differences in national victimisation rates will reflect differences in the socio-demographic profile of the population). But there is other information in the survey which will also merit secondary analysis. Victims' preparedness to report crime to the police, for example (a question central to the ICS), can be more fully examined in multivariate analysis which simultaneously takes into account crime seriousness, relationships with the police, and alternative social supports.

Some analysis of this type has already been done on the basis of results from the 1989 survey. For instance, van Dijk has shown that in all participating countries the risk of crime was increased by higher socio-economic status, younger age, and living in a larger city independently of each other⁵⁵. The similarity of results was more notable than the few variations - eg. that age had less effect on car theft risks in the USA, Germany and France; that bicycle theft was more of a risk for higher-income groups in countries like Switzerland and the USA, where (racing) bicycles are used more as luxury good; and that women were comparatively less at risk in Switzerland, the Netherlands and Northern Ireland - countries where labour force participation is lowest among women. In the same study, van Dijk took "country of residence" as a variable in its own right to see whether particular countries are more or less crime-inducing than others when socio-demographic structure is taken into account. The results suggest that the comparatively high victimisation risks in the USA, Australia and Canada are explained in the main by population structure; in contrast, there is somewhat greater risk than would be expected in Northern Ireland, Spain, Belgium and France.

Understanding national crime rates

A tentative interpretation of the findings from the 1989 and 1992 ICS is that property crime rates seem partly determined by crime-specific opportunity structures. Thus, the results suggest that one determinant of the amount of vehicle crime is the availability of targets to steal. In countries where vehicles are common, the demand for targets is higher. Vehicle crime seems to be sustained by plentiful

⁵⁴ See the chapter by James Lynch on "Secondary analysis of International Crime Survey data".

⁵⁵ van Dijk, *The International...*, op. cit.

targets, rather than caused by few vehicles being available to the population generally. The greater accessibility that semi-detached and detached houses provide to thieves also seems to affect risks of burglary and outbuilding break-ins. Partly on account of opportunity factors, property crime rates appear to rise with increasing levels of affluence. Thus, the comparatively high rates in North America, Australia, New Zealand, the Netherlands, England, Sweden, Italy and West Germany might be seen as the downside of economic prosperity. However, set against affluence levels, property crime seems high in Spain, Poland and Czechoslovakia; and low in Switzerland, Norway, Belgium, Finland and Japan. In the latter countries, relatively low levels of urbanisation will play a part - though Japan is a clear exception. New Zealand appears an example of an only moderately urbanised country with high property crime rates nonetheless.

Some property crimes seem to be more culturally specific. By and large, pickpocketing is more common in Europe, though there are variations within European countries. Robbery appears particularly characteristic of Spain, the USA, Poland and Italy.

The indications are that aggressive crime is more prevalent in North America, Australia, New Zealand and Poland than in Western Europe and Japan. Within Western Europe, it seems more of a problem in West Germany, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, and Finland - i.e. the more northerly countries. Speculatively, it could be said that aggressive criminality is a feature of beer drinking countries, though drinking patterns may be only one factor.

Policy implications

The results of the ICS indicate that crime currently impinges on many people's lives with, for instance, over one in five of those in twelve of the twenty countries covered here having experienced in the last year at least one incident of theft or damage to their property, or some form of aggressive behaviour. No doubt political or commercial capital has been, and will continue to be made by exaggerating the problem of crime, but levels of actual risk are far from negligible, whether or not these are softened by insurance premiums or social support.

At the same time, the ICS results help put local crime problems in perspective. In many Western countries, the public view is probably that crime is a "national plague" for which lax parenting, government inaction, inadequate leisure provision (or whatever) is to be blamed. There may well be little awareness that other countries with different family infrastructures, or different politically-oriented governments face similar problems. The ICS data clearly dismiss the notion of high crime rates as unique to just one or two countries. With the most obvious exceptions of Japan and Switzerland, all industrialised countries suffer from an appreciable level of property and aggressive crime, particularly in more urbanised areas. Put bluntly, this seems to be the price to be paid for living in an affluent, urbanised and democratic society.

The ICS suggests that two ex-communist countries (Poland and Czechoslovakia) have much higher levels of crime than indicated by police-recorded crime figures, which may well show an undercount of crime, due at least to victims' reluctance to report crimes. Quite possibly too, many East European countries are

currently experiencing a rise in crime⁵⁶. The positive relationship between vehicle ownership levels and "victimisation" (this being highly likely to involve a vehicle as target) suggests that the public's vulnerability will continue to increase during planned economic recovery. Again, ICS data may provide perspective to any post-communist "crime boom". Local communities may feel this is an unwelcome price to pay, but "moral panic" in Eastern Europe would be unjustified on account of levels of crime which have become the norm in most other European countries. Even less justified would be any proposal to decelerate the modernisation process in Eastern Europe in order to curb rising crime.

Against the background of these observations, some other broad policy implications of the results are drawn out below:

- In order to assess national risks for different types of crime, international comparisons are valuable, but should not be taken entirely at face value. For one, crime can vary as much within countries as between them, with overall levels concealing broad variation in local risks. Also, levels of crime will reflect degree of urbanisation, such that comparisons of risk for those in large cities may be illuminating. The ICS data become somewhat stretched in this regard, but preliminary analysis based on answers given by those in cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants nonetheless provides some pointers. In Australia, for instance, about three-quarters of residents live in cities, which increases national rates; city risks in Australia appear much less out of step with those in European cities than risks in Australia overall. Within Scandinavia, Swedish national risks appear higher than those in Norway or Finland, though the Norwegian, Finnish and Swedish city risks are markedly similar. Risks in US cities appear generally higher than elsewhere (though there are exceptions for some crimes), while risks in cities in Canada and Western Europe are broadly in line.
- Given the importance of urbanisation as a crime-inducing factor, there is scope for more crime prevention attention to be given to the way in which urban centres are planned and designed, as well as to the infrastructure of central and local government support to local communities, particularly in any new urban developments.
- It may be that technical measures to reduce opportunities for crime will affect overall levels of risk only if applied collectively above certain critical levels. Householders may or may not have the inclination and financial resources to provide themselves with better protection, but central and local government can take matters forward, for instance by ensuring that residential dwellings comply with minimum security standards, analogous to existing ones for safety. In East European countries in particular, technical (and social) crime prevention measures should be actively promoted at this important juncture.
- That car-related incidents make up a substantial proportion of crime, and appear to be still increasing, should induce governments to negotiate urgently with

⁵⁶ Kury, H. (1992) "Victim surveys in Germany" paper prepared for the Preparatory Seminar of the International Conference on Understanding Crime: Experiences of Crime and Crime Control", UNICRI, Rome, 17-18 March 1992; Dashko, G.V. (1992) "Quantitative and qualitative changes in crime in the USSR" *British Journal of Criminology* 32:160-166.

vehicle manufacturers regarding better security standards for cars⁵⁷. At the same time, there may be a case for including the economic costs of car-related crime in analyses of the costs and benefits of maintaining (or improving) provision for cars and bicycles on the one hand, and public transport on the other.

- Further analysis of the relationship between violence and levels and types of alcohol consumption seems worthwhile to assess whether some governments should reassess fiscal policy with a view to discouraging the consumption of beer.
- Analysis of ICS results on firearm ownership has shown this to be related to levels of gun suicide and homicide, and robbery with firearms⁵⁸. This suggests the need for a critical look at legislation concerning the possession of firearms (guns in particular). At the very least, the enforcement of possession about regulations of firearms should be given due priority.
- Police forces which do poorly in satisfying victims when they report crime should make efforts to improve service, independent of traditional objectives of criminal investigations. A better response to victims may improve the public's general appreciation of policing⁵⁹ and in the longer-term help curb feelings of anxiety about crime, and improve reporting to the police. Government will also have a part to play - in collaboration with the police, the judiciary, and the voluntary sector - in establishing special support agencies for crime victims in urban centres.
- Government and the judiciary in some countries should take heed of the broad-based level of public support for non-custodial sanctions such as community service orders in preference to imprisonment. The case for custodial sentences cannot necessarily be endorsed in terms of public backing.
- In countries with high levels of petty theft and vandalism, there may be room for governments to open public debate about styles of parenting with a view to increasing social awareness and responsibility amongst adolescents. The Japanese culture is frequently studied for its capacity for efficient economic production; it may offer lessons too as regards maintaining a high level of social integration in an affluent, urban environment.

⁵⁷ Clarke, R.V. and P.M. Harris (1992) "Auto theft and its prevention" in Tonry, M. (ed.) *Crime and Justice* Vol. 16, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

⁵⁸ Killias, Gun ownership..., op. cit.

⁵⁹ Winkel, F.W. (1991) "Police, victims and crime prevention: some research-based recommendations on victim-oriented interventions" *British Journal of Criminology* 31:250-265; Wemmers, J.M. and M. Zeilstra (1991) "Victim services in the Netherlands", *Dutch penal law and policy*, Bulletin No 3.

**VICTIMISATION IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD: AN OVERVIEW
PRELIMINARY KEY FINDINGS FROM
THE 1992 INTERNATIONAL VICTIM SURVEY**

Ugljesa Zvekic and Anna Alvazzi del Frate¹

History of the project

To a great extent the historical development of victimisation surveys is confined to developed countries. Since their initiation in the USA in the 60s, victimisation surveys have extended to Europe and other parts of the developed world. They were initially used as an alternative way of "looking at", measuring and analysing crime in view of the well recognised limited reliability and utility of administratively-produced official statistics. Experiences with national and local surveys in developed countries, the growing concern with victim issues at national and international levels, and a growing need for the creation of international crime and criminal justice database, all contributed to the launching of the First International Survey in 1989. The survey comprised fourteen developed countries and two city surveys: one in Surabaya (Indonesia) and the other in Warsaw (Poland). The results of the survey were published in 1990², widely discussed and reviewed, and the experience gained underscored the importance of a continued effort to collect and analyse comparable data. Throughout 1991 preparations continued for a second round of the International Survey in view of involving more countries, bettering the data collection instrument and improving on analysis.

It appears that developing countries were only slightly affected by the growth of victimisation surveys in the developed world. A few victimisation surveys had been carried out in some developing countries; the first International Survey, as already mentioned, included only one city in one developing country (Surabaya, Indonesia).

Parallel to the preparations for the second round of the International Survey, UNICRI organised an expert meeting to discuss further development of the United Nations criminal justice information activities³, and the Statement adopted by the meeting called *inter alia* for the inclusion of victim surveys among the main sources and strategies for obtaining crime and criminal justice information both at national and international levels. Particular emphasis was placed on technical assistance to developing countries in improving their information-gathering and research/analytical capacities.

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² van Dijk, J.J.M., P. Mayhew and M. Killias (1990) Experiences of crime across the world: key findings of the 1989 International Crime Survey (second edition 1991), Kluwer, Deventer.

³ The meeting was organised in pursuance of the recommendations of the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (Havana, Cuba, 27 August - 7 September 1990) related in particular to Resolution 10 on development of United Nations criminal justice statistical surveys. The meeting was held in Rome, 3-4 June 1991.

A few months earlier consultations between UNICRI and the Ministry of Justice of the Netherlands initiated and resulted in an agreement whereby the two parties agreed to work together to promote the use of victimisation surveys in developing countries in the belief that such surveys could give impetus to continuous efforts to improve national and international crime and criminal justice data bases, and to stimulate the utilisation of targeted and tailored research and policy tools. The Ministry also agreed to provide financial support for this endeavour.

It is within the above-mentioned terms that in 1991 UNICRI and the Ministry of Justice of the Netherlands co-ordinated the pilot projects in seven developing countries (Brazil, Costa Rica, Egypt, India, the Philippines, Tanzania and Uganda). A meeting with national co-ordinators was held at UNICRI (March 1991) to adapt the questionnaire for application in the selected developing countries for face-to-face interviewing, and to discuss other research issues. The modified instrument was translated into the relevant languages for a preliminary testing of its cultural applicability and pilots were conducted in Bombay, Manila, Cairo, Dar Es Salaam, Kampala, San Jose and Rio de Janeiro. The experience of the pilots in developing countries was discussed at the second meeting of national co-ordinators, and at the International Working Group, held at UNICRI in November 1991. Suggestions emerging from the three pilots in developed countries (Belgium, Italy and the USA) and the seven pilots in developing countries, as well as those coming from individual experts, were evaluated and processed into the new structure of the questionnaire. Two versions of the questionnaire were designed for the computer-assisted telephone interviewing and the face-to-face interviewing, and sampling criteria were adopted for city surveys in developing countries.

Following an evaluation of the pilot studies in developing countries, The Ministry of Justice of the Netherlands and UNICRI agreed to co-finance the implementation of the full-fledged victim surveys in the seven selected developing countries. During 1992 five other countries joined the survey, namely: Argentina, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, Tunisia and South Africa (in Tunisia and South Africa only pilot studies were carried out). Therefore, the 1992 International Victimisation Survey was carried out in the following developing countries/cities: Argentina (Buenos Aires), Brazil (Rio de Janeiro), Costa Rica, Egypt (Cairo), India (Bombay), Indonesia (Jakarta, Surabaya, Medan, Palembang, Pontianak, Ujung Pandang, Manado and Ambon), the Philippines (Manila), Papua New Guinea, Tunisia (Tunis), Tanzania (Dar Es Salaam), Uganda (Kampala) and South Africa (The Greater Pretoria).

Objectives

The original title of the UNICRI/Ministry of Justice of the Netherlands project document was: Promotion of Victimisation Surveys in Developing Countries. Therefore, the primary aim of the project was promotional and technical assistance-oriented, that is to say, to assist a number of developing countries to develop and implement victimisation surveys as an important research and policy tool. It was intended to introduce this tool and to highlight its research and policy potentials in developing countries with the expected result that it would develop from the "one-shot experience" into a more regular and accepted research and policy endeavour. An important aspect of the project consisted in sensitising both the researchers and

policy makers/administrators to the significance, potentials and limits of the survey. Needless to say, the survey shared other well-known objectives of national level victimisation surveys in terms of information gathering on experiences with crime and its level, victimisation risk, propensity to report to the police, attitudes about police and punishment, crime prevention, and policy evaluation based on the results of the survey. It was also expected that the experience with the International Survey would stimulate the development and implementation of national and local-level surveys.

Victim surveys in developing countries are also an integral part of the 1992 International Survey. In this respect it aims at broadening internationally comparable crime and criminal justice data base. Therefore, for the first time this data base includes comparable information from 12 developing countries/cities. The mere fact that the Second International Survey includes from among developing countries only two less than the total number of countries participating in the First International Survey (and those were exclusively developed countries) clearly highlights its value in terms of the development of international comparative crime and criminal justice data base. Taking into account the difficulties in international comparisons based on official statistics provided by INTERPOL and the United Nations Survey of Crime and the Operations of the Criminal Justice Systems⁴, with a noted lack of complete and reliable information from a number of developing countries, the creation of this new international data base is a noteworthy endeavour.

The International Victim Survey provides a wealth of empirical data for testing a number of theories in a cross-cultural comparative perspective. In this perspective it is possible to assess differences in national and local crime and victim profiles, and relate them to social, economic and cultural circumstances. It can assist in the search for regional patterns and confront them with those identified on the basis of administratively-produced measures of crime and operations of the criminal justice system. Thus, a significant base is created for comparative secondary analysis into patterns of victimisation and management of crime. This empirical base created through the International Victim Survey needs to be enriched by information regarding the socio-economic developmental and criminal justice profile and context of each unit of analysis.

UNICRI intends to prepare a publication on the experience and results of the Victimization Survey in developing countries⁵ and to continue with the promotion of victim surveys in developing countries.

⁴ The United Nations carried out three such surveys: 1970-1975; 1975-1980; 1980-1985. The Fourth United Nations Survey is presently underway and covers the period between 1986 and 1990. Data from the three surveys are available through the United Nations Criminal Justice Information Network (UNCJIN).

Requests for information should be addressed to: Graeme Newman, UNCJIN Co-ordinator, School of Criminal Justice, State University of New York at Albany, 135 Western Avenue, Albany, New York, 12222, USA. Telephone: 518-4425223. Fax: 518-4425603. Bitnet: GRN92@ALBANY1VX.UNCJIN: 141:TCN4017. Reports of the United Nations Survey are available from: Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch, Center for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs, United Nations Office at New York.

⁵ UNICRI (forthcoming) Criminal victimization in the developing world: main findings of the 1992 International Victim Survey. The volume will contain a comparative overview and country reports.

Methodology: issues and problems

Organisation of the survey

The organisation and implementation of the Victim Survey in developing countries consisted in a number of steps which were deemed important, taking into account the pioneering character of the endeavour.

The International Working Group (J.J.M van Dijk, P. Mayhew and UNICRI) first selected the participating countries, taking into account mainly two criteria: geographical representation and available expertise on a country level. In terms of the geographical representation it was initially decided to include three countries from each of the developing regions of the world: India, the Philippines and Indonesia from Asia; Argentina, Brazil and Costa Rica from Latin America, and Egypt, Uganda and Tanzania from Africa. However, due to funding problems, the 1991 pilot studies (on average 100 respondents) were carried out in seven countries (India, the Philippines, Brazil, Costa Rica, Egypt, Tanzania and Uganda). It should be noted that a local survey (600 respondents) was carried out in Indonesia (Surabaya) in 1989. At a later stage of the full-fledged study additional funds were found and Argentina and Indonesia joined the group of participating developing countries. In addition to these, Papua New Guinea joined in a full-fledged study and South Africa and Tunisia in a pilot study through self-financing⁶. National co-ordinators were appointed by UNICRI on the basis of their expertise and involvement in previous UNICRI projects and consultations with the regional institutes affiliated with the United Nations⁷. As already mentioned, two meetings were held at UNICRI (in March and November 1991) with the national co-ordinators to prepare and then evaluate the results of the pilot study, as well as to develop the methodology for the implementation of the full-fledged survey. The experience gained through the pilot study was of paramount importance in redesigning the data collection instrument, planning, organisation and implementation of the full-fledged survey. The International Working Group prepared data entry format and instructions, as well as the data analysis plan and the outline of the structure of the final report. Throughout both the pilot study and, later, the implementation of the full-fledged survey the International Working Group was constantly in contact with the national co-ordinators, assisting them in solving some unexpected problems and providing technical assistance in data analysis. This was not always an easy task due to a number of difficulties in communicating with some of the participating countries.

In most of the participating developing countries the national co-ordinator created a research team to develop the sample and to train the interviewers. The national co-ordinator was also entrusted with the administrative management of the project at the local level, the co-ordination of the research team, data analysis and preparation of the final report. Particular importance was given to the selection,

⁶ It is expected that full-fledged victim surveys will be carried out in South Africa and Tunisia in 1993.

⁷ National co-ordinators for Uganda and Tanzania were appointed upon the recommendation of the African Institute for Crime Prevention and the Treatment of Offenders, affiliated with the United Nations (UNAFRI), while the Institute for Crime Prevention and the Treatment of Offenders for Latin America and the Caribbean, affiliated with the United Nations (ILANUD) carried out a study in Costa Rica.

training and monitoring of the interviewers. In some countries it was deemed necessary to pay special attention to the age and gender of the interviewers depending on the corresponding characteristics of the respondents. The above-mentioned organisational, selection, training and monitoring activities proved of utmost importance for the successful completion of the survey.

Data collection

The International Victim Survey in developing countries utilised the standard questionnaire administered by the interviewers in a face-to-face interviewing of a sample of respondents. As already mentioned, this questionnaire is a revised version of the one utilised for the first International Survey. It was based on the experience gained from the first survey and a number of pilot studies in seven developing and three developed countries. Needless to say, there are a number of limits inherent to the standard international instrument. Standardisation offers notable advantages for comparison; yet, at the same time it sets serious limits to the peculiarities of each social reality under observation. Another complication stems from the process of translation into languages in which the questionnaire was administered. As a result there were certain slight variations in the questionnaires for developing countries but it was felt that these would not impair the coherence and comparability of the instrument and the results.

The questionnaire was prepared in English and translated and administered as follows: India (English and Hindi); the Philippines (English and Filipino); Egypt and Tunisia (Arabic); Brazil (Portuguese); Costa Rica and Argentina (Spanish); Indonesia (Bahasa Indonesia); South Africa (English and Afrikaans), Uganda (English and Luganda), and Tanzania (Swahili).

Certain difficulties with data collection were reported due to a particular sensitivity to some issues in certain cultural settings (sexual incidents; gun ownership; crime prevention devices, etc.). Problems were also encountered with respect to income, either because the respondents did not want to disclose this information or because they were not able to provide it. In some countries it was difficult to contact the respondents in the high income/residence bracket because of rigid security measures surrounding their dwellings; in others, in order to facilitate the access to slums (in which residents developed a system of tight control against potential penetration by the police or hostile gangs) prior contacts were established with local leaders, the neighbourhood associations, church, etc. National coordinators reported that in two countries refusal to respond was related to the fact that the survey was carried out on behalf of the United Nations, which in the opinion of some respondents was biased towards their own or neighbouring country⁸.

In all participating developing countries face-to-face interviewing was used to collect data. Field work in most countries was carried out in the period between April and June 1992, with the exception of Indonesia, South Africa and Tunisia where it was carried out during the summer/autumn of 1992. Special teams of interviewers were created and trained for this purpose; only in Costa Rica were the services of a specialised opinion-poll company used.

⁸ It is reported that in one country up to 40% of the contacted respondents refused to co-operate because of their negative attitude towards the United Nations' sanctions applied to a neighbouring country.

Sampling

One of the most serious problems faced in carrying out the survey in developing countries was related to sampling. First of all, it should be pointed out that it was decided to carry out surveys on a city level. A host of factors influenced this decision. In particular it was felt that a lack of systematic information needed for drawing a national sample was somewhat easier to overcome on a city level. It was also assumed that cities in the developing world share certain structural characteristics to a larger extent than countries to which they belong⁹. Restricted financial means also played an important role in making this decision, particularly with respect to the transportation costs involved in a field survey. City surveys were carried out in Bombay, Buenos Aires, Cairo, Dar Es Salaam, Kampala, Manila, Rio de Janeiro and Tunis. In Indonesia the survey covered the main cities of major islands; in Costa Rica, the central region of the country comprising the main urban area (Metropolitan) and a mixed urban/rural area; the Greater Pretoria region in the Transvaal was covered by the pilot study in South Africa.

Full-fledged city surveys and the survey in Costa Rica were carried out on an average sample of 1,000 respondents, while in Indonesia the total sample was 3,750 respondents. The sample size was mainly determined on the basis of preliminary costing and the available budget. The probability of sampling error is quite high due to the sample size. The main parameters for sampling consisted in: residential area status, gender and age. While in some countries the sample was drawn on the basis of available census data, in others they were "corrected" on the basis of information drawn from sociological studies and the experience of the research team¹⁰. It should be noted that in some developing countries a random stratified sample was drawn through a random walk procedure.

Table 1: Sample size

	City Sample	National Sample	Pilot
Argentina	Buenos Aires 1,000		
Brazil	Rio de Janeiro 1,017		
Costa Rica		963	
Egypt	Cairo 1,000		

⁹ Developing countries participating in the survey, in terms of their population size, range from Costa Rica and Papua New Guinea (3,190,000 and 4,056,000 respectively) to Brazil and India which, with populations of 154 and 880 million respectively, rank as the fifth and second largest countries in the world. Cities participating in the survey also differ along a number of indicators, such as size, rate of growth, etc. Although the participating countries belong to the developing world they also differ substantially on a number of developmental indicators of economic performance, urbanisation, human development index, etc. Differences between the participating countries are illustrated in Annex II using two measures of development: Human Development Index and GNP per capita.

¹⁰ For details see the Summary of the Results for each participating country/city.

India	Bombay 1,040		
Indonesia	3750 *		
Papua New Guinea	n.a.		
The Philippines	Manila 1,503		
South Africa			200
Tanzania	Dar Es Salaam 1,004		
Tunisia			150
Uganda	Kampala 1,023		

* Jakarta 1,000, Surabaya 750, Medan 500, Palembang 400, Pontianak 300, Ujung Pandang 300, Manado 300, Ambon 200.

Main findings

This report presents an overview of the selected main findings of the 1992 International Survey in developing countries. It is of a preliminary character and based on non-validated data; it should be used with great caution. It is purely descriptive and limited to a selected portion of information¹¹. No attempt at a secondary and/or truly comparative analysis was made; nor was there an attempt to confront victim survey data with police data¹². As already mentioned, a full-fledged report will be presented in the forthcoming UNICRI publication.

The report presents data which were made available to UNICRI by the beginning of November; therefore, only data from the following countries/cities are reported:

Buenos Aires (Argentina)
Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)
Cairo (Egypt)
Bombay (India)
Manila (The Philippines)
Dar Es Salaam (Tanzania)
Jakarta (Indonesia)
Kampala (Uganda)
Costa Rica

Pilots

¹¹ We are grateful to Professor Angelo Saporiti, UNICRI consultant, for the assistance he provided in data elaboration and presentation.

¹² Comparison with police data is fraught with difficulties. However, it should be noted that some comparison can be made on the basis of incidence rates (the number of single crimes experienced by the sample), which are a better comparative measure than prevalence rates since they enable the calculation of the total number of crimes committed in a unit of observation. Yet, with the sample size and the applied sampling procedure this might be highly questionable.

The Greater Pretoria (South Africa)
Tunis (Tunisia)

Victimisation rates

Information presented below refer to prevalence rates: the percentage of the respondents aged 16 or more who reported they were victims of crime once or more, either individually or as members of a household. The time span covers the calendar year preceding the survey (1991) and the last five years.

- *Corruption and consumer fraud*

Criminal victimisation in developing countries appears to be highly pronounced in the public and tertiary sectors. Citizens are markedly running the risk of being victimised either by government officials and/or in the services sector. Both victimisations indicate much more than the sheer sphere of conventional crime; they speak about development itself, of the citizens' position vis-a-vis government and commercial/service activities, the lack of consumer/client and citizen protection, and the ways in which people go about, or are made to go about, in satisfying their needs and rights. It is evident that special surveys and studies are needed with respect to these forms of citizens' victimisation.

Table 2: Percentage of population victimised by any crime in developing countries - 1991

	Egypt Cairo	Uganda Kampala	Tanzania Dar Es Salaam	South Africa	Tunisia Tunis
Theft of car	1.2	2.6	3.5	5.5	0.5
Theft from car	4.8	7.0	14.4	10.5	6.0
Car vandalism	2.4	1.6	9.0	5.5	5.5
Theft of motorcycle	0.5	1.0	1.8	0.0	3.5
Theft of bicycle	1.0	3.3	4.2	7.5	3.5
Owners:					
Theft of car	3.4	6.6	7.0	7.3	3.5
Theft from car	13.5	17.7	28.9	13.9	30.0
Car vandalism	6.8	3.9	18.0	7.3	26.5
Theft of motorcycle	5.0	7.2	11.5	0.0	27.5
Theft of bicycle	3.7	7.5	12.3	13.9	22.5
Burglary with entry	3.0	14.1	21.2	9.0	3.5
Attempted burglary	3.8	12.9	14.7	7.0	7.5
Robbery	2.2	6.8	8.3	5.0	3.5
Personal theft	9.6	23.2	18.6	9.0	8.5
Sexual incident	7.8	7.2	10.8	7.5	12.0
Assault/threat	2.6	7.0	6.6	4.5	4.0
Consumer fraud	48.3	70.1	29.9	23.5	71.5
Corruption	31.9	40.8	n.a.	n.a.	6.5

	Costa Rica	Brazil Rio de Janeiro	Argentina Buenos Aires	Philippines Manila	India Bombay	Indonesia Jakarta
Theft of car	0.4	1.4	5.0	0.3	0.7	0.6
Theft from car	5.5	4.4	10.4	1.8	2.3	5.0
Car vandalism	3.3	4.0	3.6	0.9	0.7	2.8
Theft of motorcycle	0.3	0.6	2.1	0.1	1.9	0.6
Theft of bicycle	4.6	2.7	3.6	2.4	0.6	1.0
Owners:						
Theft of car	1.1	3.4	6.6	2.0	4.0	1.3
Theft from car	14.7	11.0	14.1	10.5	13.7	10.7
Car vandalism	8.7	10.0	4.6	5.1	4.0	6.0
Theft of motorcycle	2.4	5.5	7.0	1.5	3.3	1.9
Theft of bicycle	6.9	5.0	5.0	9.5	1.4	1.9
Burglary with entry	4.4	1.5	2.9	2.9	1.3	3.0
Attempted burglary	6.1	2.5	3.8	2.1	1.5	1.4
Robbery	1.1	9.0	4.6	2.7	0.6	1.4
Personal theft	6.4	7.5	7.8	9.1	3.9	7.5
Sexual incident	5.2	2.9	4.6	1.6	0.6	4.5
Assault/threat	2.5	4.6	4.5	1.6	1.6	1.6
Consumer fraud	17.4	27.0	34.4	23.6	38.7	25.6
Corruption	9.1	18.8	32.8	11.6	6.7	36.5

Victimisation data highlight the well recognised existence of corruption in developing countries, and its consequences in terms of the functioning of the economy, government, and citizens' confidence in the political and control systems¹³. One might even speak about a plight of corruption in the developing

¹³ The survey on perceived crime and criminal justice issues in developing countries revealed that corruption presents the main concern of the criminal justice system and people in the majority of developing countries. See Zvekcic, U. and A. Mattei (1987) Research and international co-operation in

world. On average, in all developing sites, it is the second most frequently reported victimisation experience in 1991¹⁴. As a matter of fact, it ranks first in Jakarta; second in Kampala (41%), Buenos Aires (33%), Cairo (32%), Manila (12%) and Rio de Janeiro (19%); and third in Costa Rica (9%).

Figure 1: Corruption - selected developing countries (%)

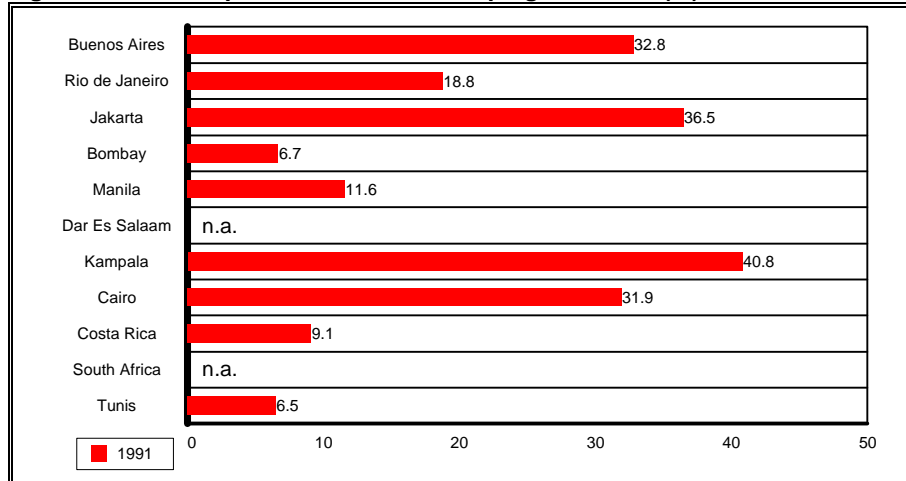
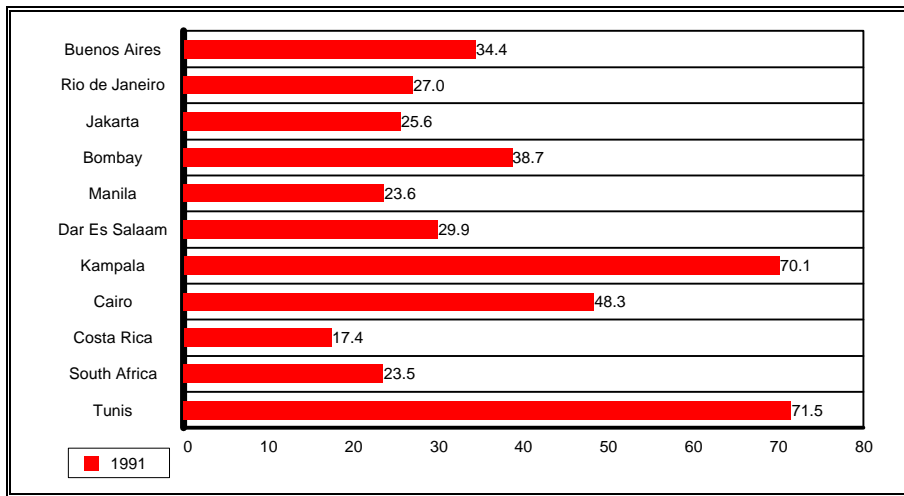


Figure 2: Victims of consumer fraud - selected developing countries (%)

criminal justice: survey on needs and priorities of developing countries, UNSDRI. For Latin America: de Castro, L.A. (ed.) (1990) *Criminologia en America Latina*, UNICRI. For Africa: Mushanga T.M. (ed.) (1992) *Criminology in Africa*, UNICRI.

¹⁴ Respondents were asked the following question: "In some areas there is a problem of corruption among government officials. During 1991, has any government official, for instance a customs officer, police officer or inspector in your own country, asked you to pay a bribe for his service?"

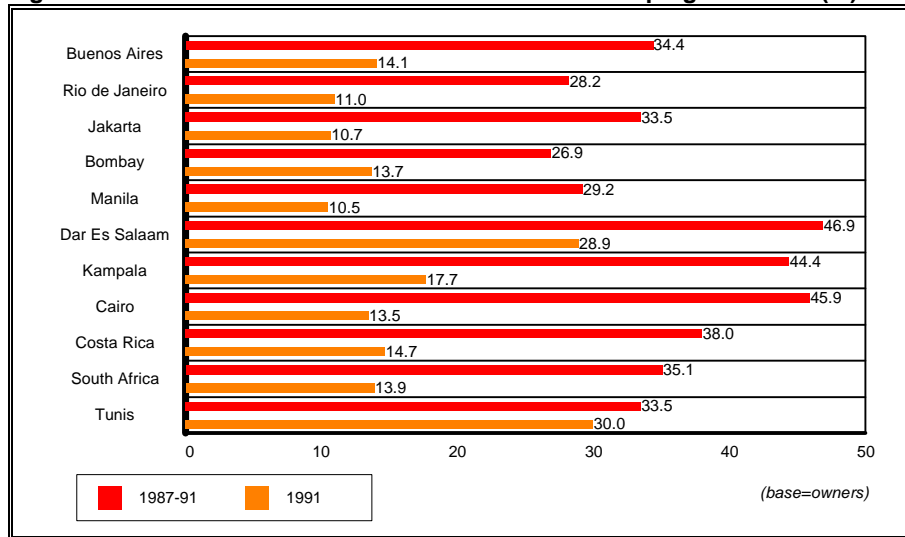


The malfunctioning of the public government sector is accompanied by the malfunctioning of the tertiary sector: consumer fraud is highly diffused in developing countries¹⁵. With the exception of Jakarta, consumer fraud shows the highest rates in all sites. In two African cities (Tunis and Kampala) more than 70% of the respondents reported being subjected to fraud. Very high rates were also registered in Cairo (48%), Bombay (39%), Buenos Aires (34%) and Dar Es Salaam (30%). With the exception of Costa Rica (17%), in other countries fraud affected about one-quarter of the sample in 1991.

- *Property-related crimes*

Contrary to the prevailing image based on official criminal justice data, according to which developing countries show higher rates of violence and inversely lower rates of property-related crimes, results of the Victim Survey clearly reveal the higher risk of victimisation for some form of property. This is well represented for theft from car, burglary/attempted burglary and personal theft.

Figure 3: Victims of theft from car - selected developing countries (%)



The highest five-year rates for theft from a car were registered in Dar Es Salaam, Cairo and Kampala. Very high rates were also found in Costa Rica,

¹⁵ The respondents were asked the following question: "Last year (1991), were you the victim of a consumer fraud? I mean, has someone when selling something to you or delivering a service cheated on you in terms of the quantity or quality of the goods/services?". The places in which fraud might have taken place were listed as follows: construction or repair work; work done by garage; a hotel, restaurant or pub, some other.

Buenos Aires and the two pilots. In Kampala and the pilot in Tunis, almost one-third of the respondents had something stolen from their car in 1991. Looking at one-year rates, it is also evident that car owners in African cities are at the highest risk, but so are those from Costa Rica, Bombay and Buenos Aires.

Figure 4: Victims of burglary with entry - selected developing countries (%)

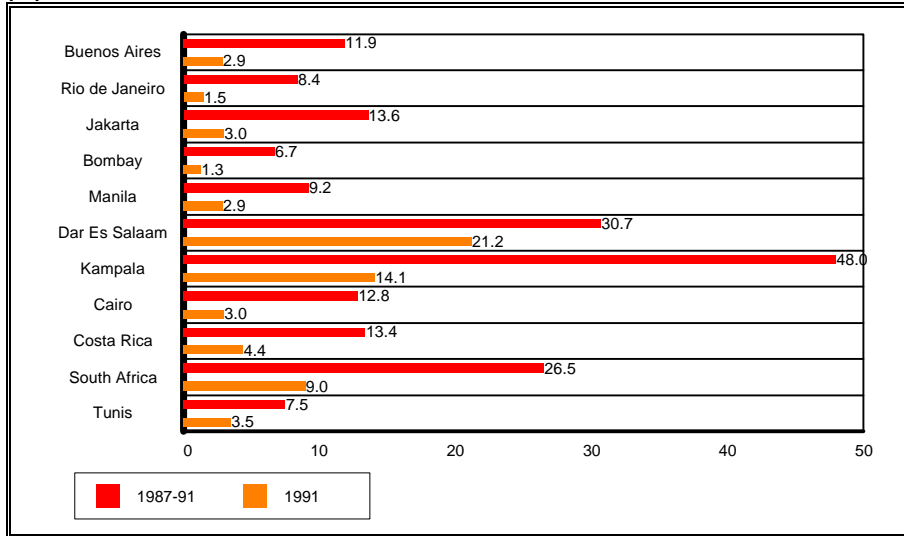


Figure 5: Victims of attempted burglary - selected developing countries (%)

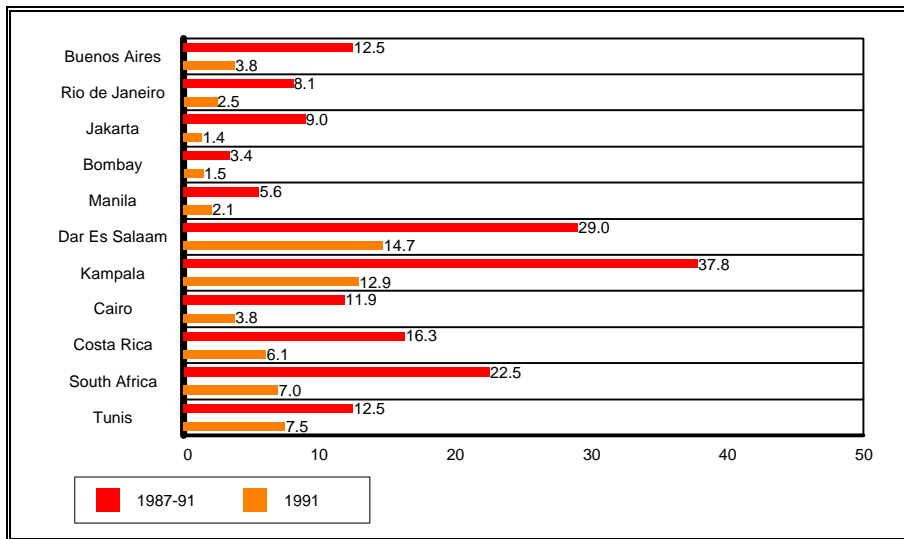
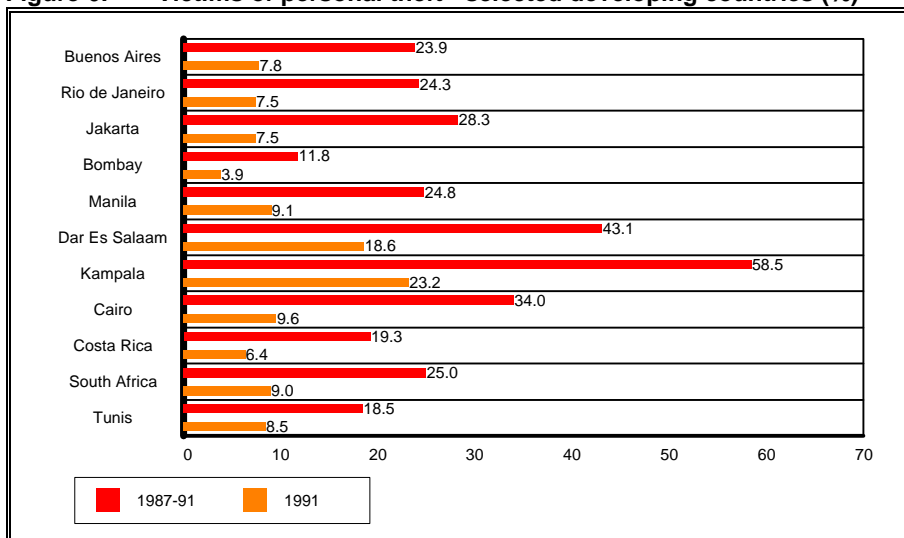
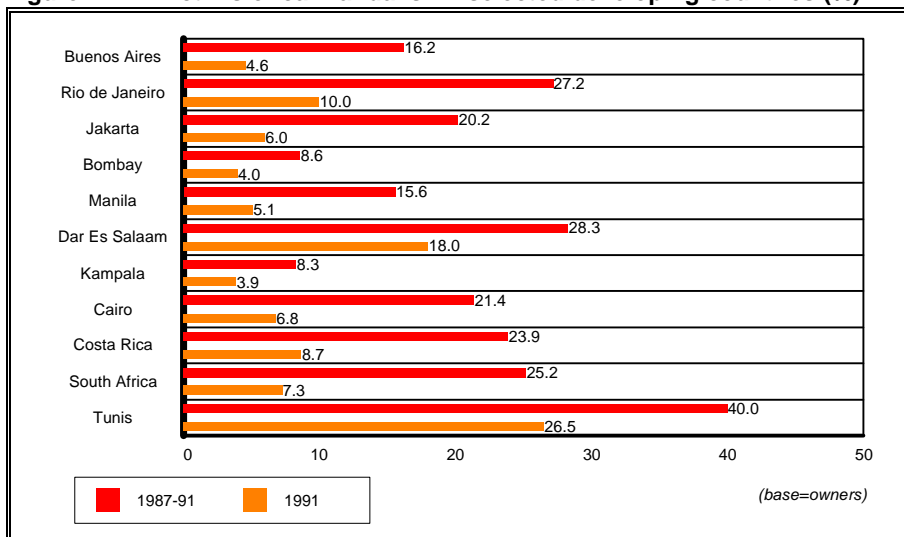


Figure 6: Victims of personal theft - selected developing countries (%)



From among these three representatives of the property-related crimes the highest rates are revealed for personal theft. Dar Es Salaam, Cairo and Kampala have the highest five-year victimisation rates and correspondingly high one-year victimisation rates.

Figure 7: Victims of car vandalism - selected developing countries (%)



Citizens in Dar Es Salaam and Kampala run a high risk of being burglarised or exposed to attempted burglary. As a matter of fact the difference between these two cities and all others, both for the five and one year periods, is quite substantial. The same applies to personal theft. The safest city appears to be Bombay for all three types of property-related crimes.

Figure 8: Victims of robbery - selected developing countries (%)

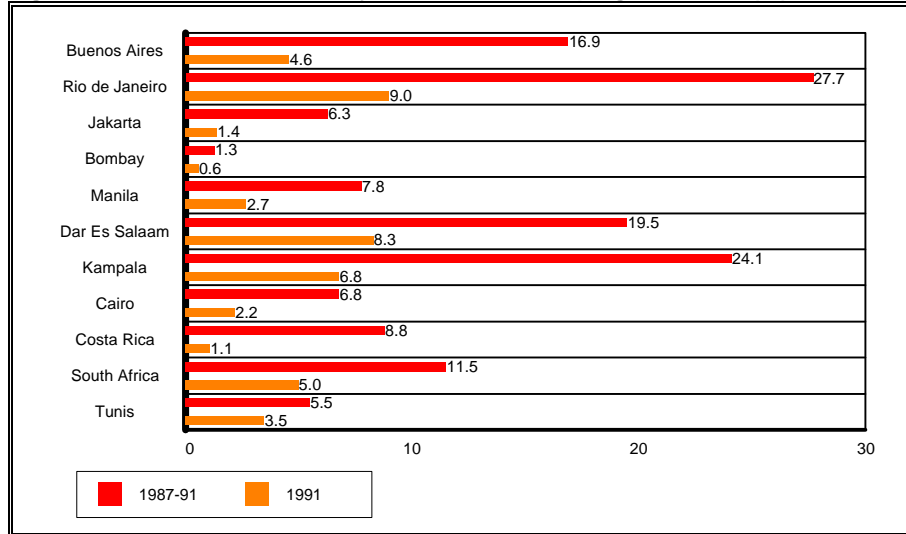
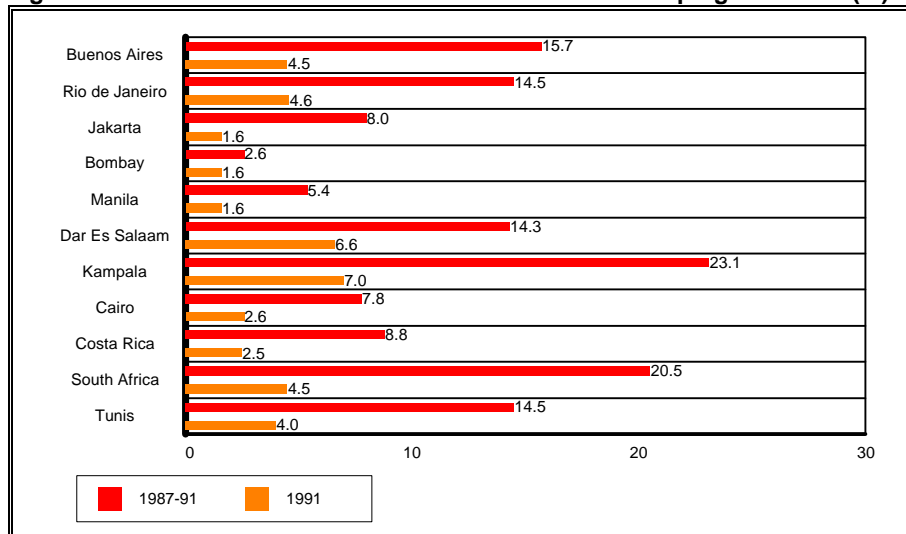


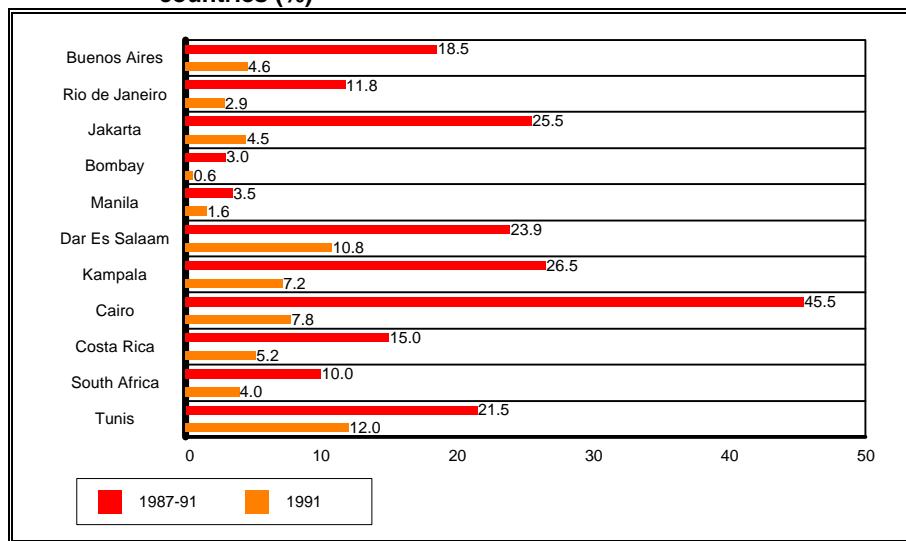
Figure 9: Victims of assault or threat - selected developing countries (%)



A different pattern is found with car vandalism. Car owners in Dar Es Salaam and Rio de Janeiro (also Tunis and The Greater Pretoria) were more exposed to their car being damaged. It can be noted that Manila, Cairo, Bombay and Jakarta display a similar pattern with respect to car vandalism as with other property and violence-related crimes. An exception to the established general pattern regards Costa Rica (with high rates), on the one hand, and Kampala (with low rates), on the other.

Among the cities in developing countries the victimisation experience with robbery and assault/threat is high in Rio de Janeiro, Dar Es Salaam, Kampala and Buenos Aires. Again, for both crimes and in both reference periods, Bombay shows the lowest rate. Citizens of Manila were to a larger extent victims of robbery than of assault, while the Costa Ricans experienced the inverse pattern of violence-related victimisation. In general it appears that cities of Latin America and Africa are at a higher risk for violent crimes than is the case with the Asian urban settings.

Figure 10: Women victims of sexual incidents - selected developing countries (%)



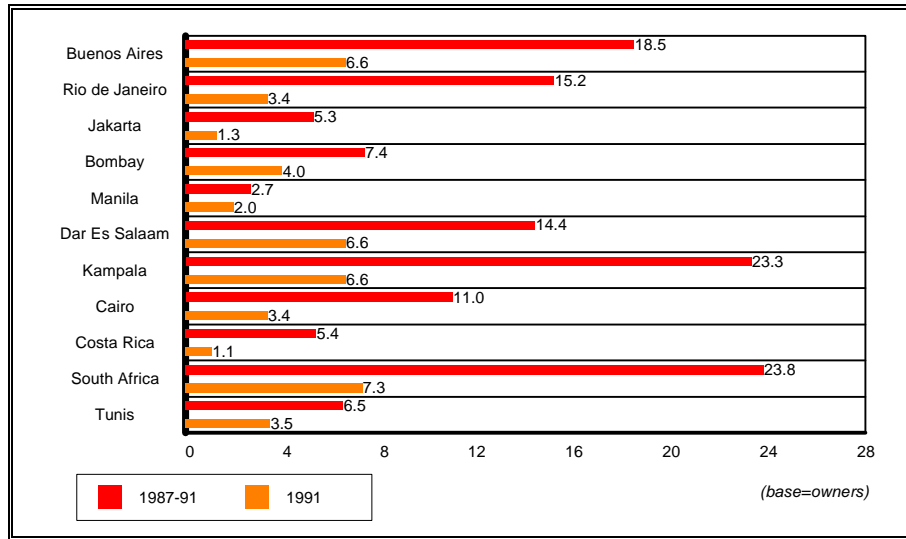
It was noted by some national co-ordinators that the issue of female sexual victimisation was considered highly sensitive in certain cultural settings. An additional complication in comparative terms results from different cultural perceptions regarding sexually offensive behaviour. Data presented here refer to various incidents that the female respondents considered as acts committed "for sexual reasons in a really offensive way". The highest five-year rate is for Cairo, followed by Kampala, Jakarta and Dar Es Salaam, a pattern confirmed (though in a somewhat different order) for a one-year experience. Women in Bombay and Manila were exposed to sexually offensive acts to a substantially lesser extent, while 3 to

5% of female respondents in Latin American cities/countries (and The Greater Pretoria-pilot) reported being grabbed, touched or sexually assaulted in the most recent referred-to period.

- *Vehicle theft*

Three categories of vehicle were listed as targets of theft: car, motorcycle and bicycle. In some countries targets included local types of vehicle, e.g. tricycle, pedicab.

Figure 11: Victims of theft of car - selected developing countries (%)

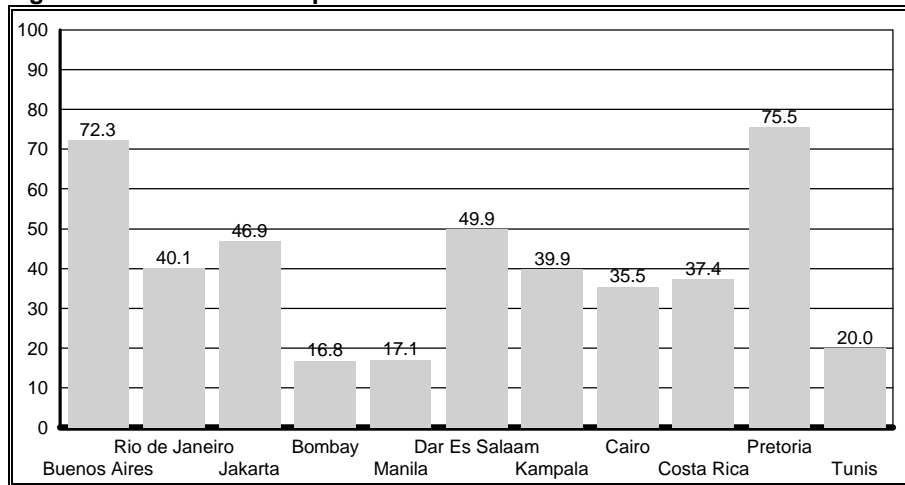


In 1991 victimisation rates for car theft ranged from 1% in Costa Rica to 7% in Buenos Aires, Dar Es Salaam and Kampala (and The Greater Pretoria-pilot). The five-year rates were similarly ranked with the exception of a high rank for Rio de Janeiro (a one year rate is of a middle value). It is assumed, and to a certain extent verified, that there is a relationship between the car ownership rate and car theft, at least in developed countries. The target-availability aspect of the opportunity theory appears to sit well with empirical data based on victimisation surveys carried out in developed countries. In general, it seems that in developing countries a similar pattern exists: the higher the ownership rate, the higher the risk of owners having their car stolen.

There are, however, certain variations and exceptions to this. This linear explanation appears to hold well for Buenos Aires, Dar Es Salaam and Kampala (and The Greater Pretoria-pilot); yet it should be noted that a substantially higher ownership rate in Buenos Aires (and The Greater Pretoria) - 72% and 75%

respectively - result in almost the same level of car theft rate as that of Dar Es Salaam and Kampala. In addition, in Jakarta, Rio de Janeiro, Cairo, Costa Rica and Kampala with similar car ownership rates, owners are at a much higher risk in Kampala and at a much lower risk in others, and in particular in Jakarta and Costa Rica (the lowest car theft rate)¹⁶. On the other hand, Manila, Bombay and Tunis have similar ownership rates but they differ in terms of the car theft rates: Manila being next to Costa Rica and Jakarta, while Bombay and Tunis have higher rates than those of Rio de Janeiro and Cairo, which have more than twice higher ownership rates. This pattern, with some variations, is also found for five-year rates. In general, it is repeated for the whole sample (owners and non-owners) for a one-year period as reported in Table 2 above.

Figure 12: Car ownership



Rates for the theft of bicycles are somewhat higher than those related to the theft of motorcycles for the five and one-year periods. As regards the theft of bicycles, higher rates are found in Dar Es Salaam, Manila, Kampala, Costa Rica and the two urban areas in which the pilots were carried out (Tunis and The Greater Pretoria). It was reported that in all these sites the use of two-wheel vehicles is quite widespread. Bombay has the lowest victimisation rate and, it appears, scarcely diffused man-peddled two-wheelers. Dar Es Salaam, Kampala, and Buenos Aires (as well as Tunis) exhibit motorcycle theft rates between 7 and 11% (for the pilot: 27%). While in most developing sites the 1991 rates of theft of bicycles and motorcycles almost level, in four sites the difference between the two rates is marked. Theft of motorcycles is less diffused than bicycle theft in Manila (1.5% : 9.5%) and Costa Rica (2.4% : 6.9%); the inverse is the case with Cairo and

¹⁶ It should be noted that the sample in Costa Rica covered a metropolitan area and mixed urban/rural area. Yet, three-quarters of the Costa Rican sample resides in urban areas.

Bombay. It seems that the relationship between ownership and victimisation risk holds well for the "two-wheelers" as well.

Figure 13: Victims of theft of motorcycle - selected developing countries (%)

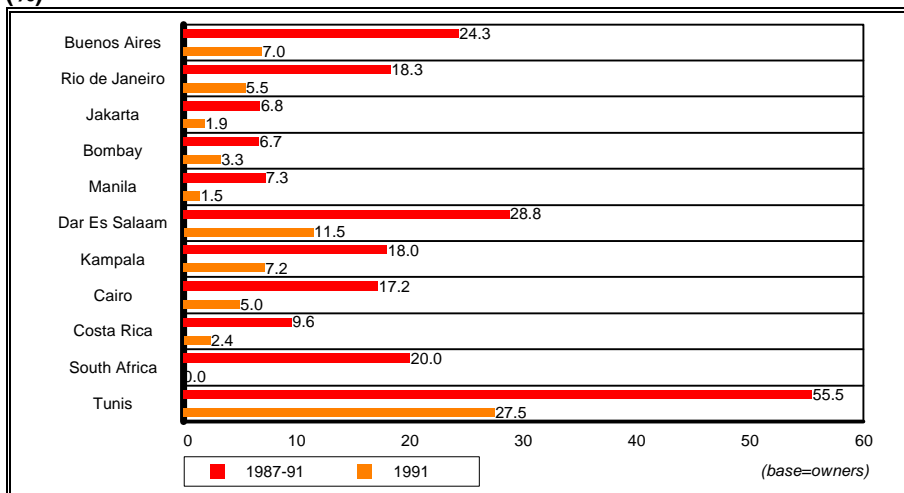
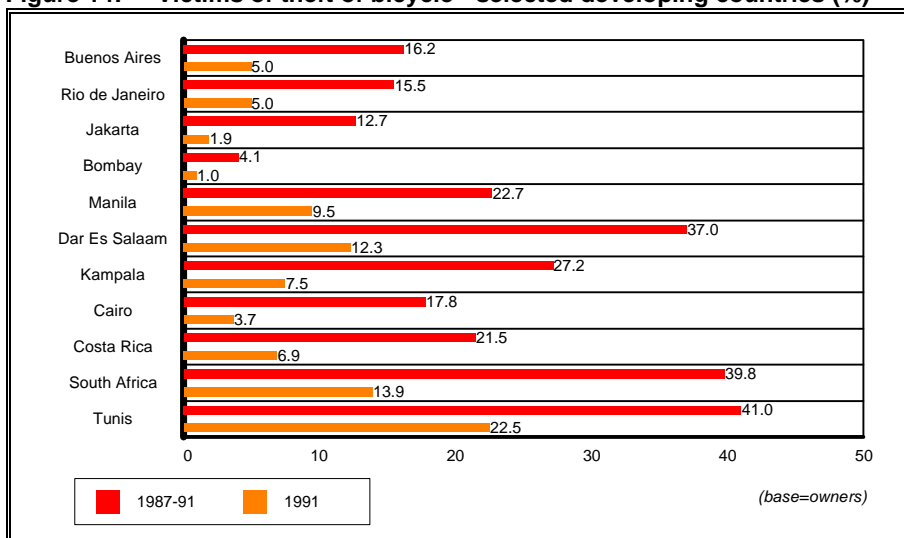


Figure 14: Victims of theft of bicycle - selected developing countries (%)



Police activities, citizens' experience and attitudes

- *Reporting to the police*

To a large extent it is expected that the higher the value attached to the target of criminal activity (whether tangible or intangible), the higher the propensity to report to the police. However, this expected propensity to report is influenced by a number of factors, including those pertaining to the domain of past personal and/or otherwise acquired experience with the police, through those pertaining to the sphere of expectations, to those more closely related to some special properties of the victimisation experience. Some are related to the relationship between the police and the citizens (personal or stereotypical esteem and confidence); others to the existence of alternative ways and means to deal with crime and victimisation; still others with the nature and perceived seriousness of the victimisation, the relationship with the offender, or the "privacy" of the issue at hand.

Figures 15 to 24 (Annex I) present reporting rates by selected types of victimisation (crimes). As expected, the highest number of reported cases is related to car theft and the lowest to personal theft. In eight participating sites more than 85% of car theft victims reported to the police the last time their car was stolen; this was the case with 70% of victims in Cairo and Costa Rica; Bombay, with 54% of reported car thefts confirmed its position of a city with an average lowest reporting rate for any type of victimisation. Reporting rates for theft of motorcycles and bicycles are much lower; it is however interesting to note that owners of motorcycles in Manila reported all cases of stolen motorcycles, a somewhat surprising finding taking into account a low-reporting practice for other vehicle and vehicle-related thefts.

Two urban areas covered by the pilots (Tunis and The Greater Pretoria) show the same reporting pattern for burglary and personal theft: the highest among the participating developing sites. Victims of burglary in Dar Es Salaam, Buenos Aires, Cairo and Costa Rica report in the range between 50 and 74%. For personal theft, within the countries/cities in which the full-fledged survey was carried out, Jakarta ranks first (38.5%), followed by Dar Es Salaam (28.4%).

Victims of some form of criminal violence on average report 20 to 30% of the cases (last incident), with Dar Es Salaam exceptionally high (66%), accompanied by The Greater Pretoria with respect to robbery but not assaults, and Tunis with respect to assaults (70%) but average on robbery reporting (30%).

Both types of reporting of sexual incidents (in the victim surveys and to the police) seem to reflect certain particularities of a cultural nature related to the women's position, awareness, freedom, the concept of privacy, and the gender-oriented police culture as well as its real ability to act properly. From a comparison of the two reporting practices two discernible patterns are found. On the one hand, there are sites in which both victimisation and reporting are high (Dar Es Salaam and The Greater Pretoria) and, on the other, those in which both are low (Bombay and Manila). In Buenos Aires a middle-level rate of sexual victimisation is contrasted with a high reporting rate to the police, while in Jakarta to a similar level of victimisation corresponds a much lower level of reporting. Women in Cairo, according to self-reported sexual victimisation, are at the highest risk (7.8% in 1991), and yet they are the least willing to report to the police (or perhaps they are most "dissuaded" from reporting).

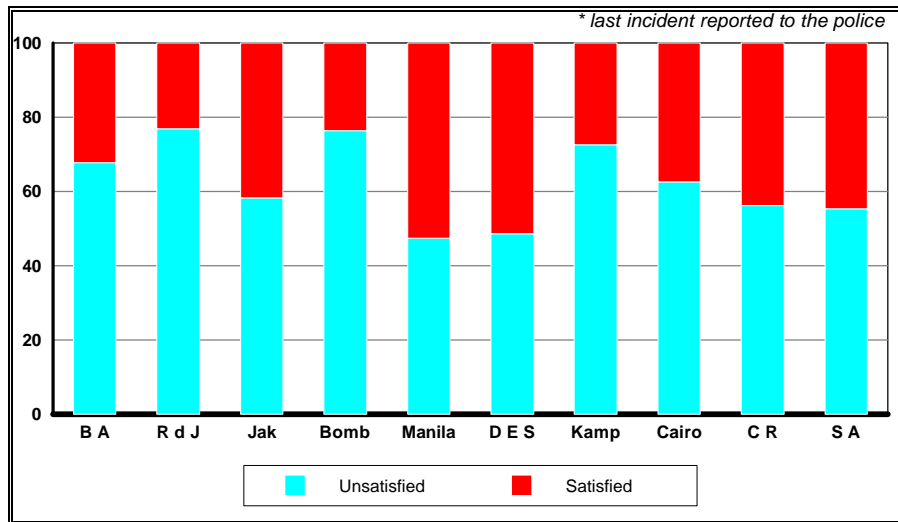
- *Citizen's experience and satisfaction with police*

Within the ambit of multiple factors influencing the reporting of victimisation to law enforcement bodies, particular attention is given to reasons for not reporting. Within these reasons, in turn, attention is given to the citizens' satisfaction with the way the police handles their reports and consequently acts (or does not act). While reasons for not reporting differ from crime to crime it is still possible to decode the existence of certain clusters. The reasons for not reporting can be broadly differentiated in those related to the "weight" of the event itself (seriousness of crime, lack of evidence and inappropriateness of police activity), access to solutions away from law enforcement (solved myself, family support), and negative attitudes (experience/belief) towards police (could do nothing, would do nothing, fear/dislike)¹⁷. In general, the most common reason for not reporting regards the event itself, and most often its relatively low level of seriousness. This category is followed by an experienced or assumed attitude expressing the lack of effectiveness on the part of law enforcement. Self-help and/or that of the family, friends or other institutions ranks third in this general picture of factors influencing non-reporting.

There are also two distinct regional patterns. "Lack of effectiveness" on the part of the police prevails over the other two categories in Latin America; in Cairo, Bombay and Manila it is second to that connected with the "weight" of the event. Only in Kampala, solutions not requiring police activity (solved myself, family, etc.) stand next to the "weight" of the event itself, followed by "fear/dislike of police". These patterns are partly substantiated in Figure 26 which presents data on satisfaction with the ways in which the police dealt with a "particular (reported) offense".

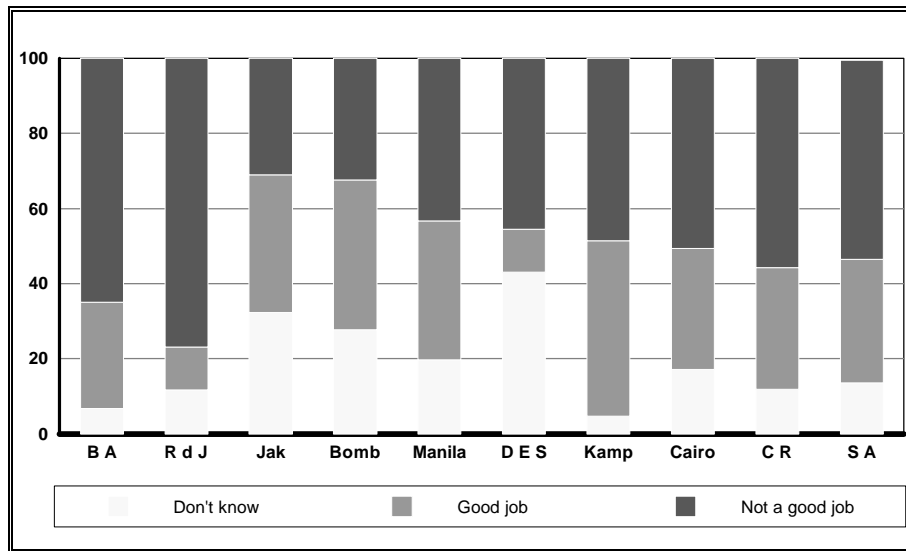
Figure 26: Satisfaction with police treatment of crime reporting* - selected developing countries (%)

¹⁷ Possible answers included "other reasons". It was noted that often these reasons were related to past experience with the police or belief that the police are not willing to, not interested in, or not capable of satisfying the needs and/or expectations of the victim.



Out of ten developing sites, only the citizens of Manila and Dar Es Salaam are more satisfied than dissatisfied with police treatment of crime reporting (the last reported incident); although the difference between "favourables" and "unfavourables" is about 3%. In all the other sites there are more victims who are dissatisfied than those who are satisfied (with a substantial difference between the two groups in Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Bombay and Kampala, and less so in The Greater Pretoria, Jakarta and Cairo). Generally speaking, citizens in developing countries are dissatisfied with the ways in which the police handle reported cases of victimisation, at least in comparison with the developed world.

Figure 27: Satisfaction with police performance; tackling crime -selected developing countries (%)



Not are the citizens satisfied with the way the police are controlling crime in their area of residence. There are more "dissatisfied" than "satisfied" particularly in Latin America (Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro and Costa Rica), followed by The Greater Pretoria, Kampala, Cairo and Dar Es Salaam (Africa)¹⁸; only in Bombay and Jakarta are there more citizens who consider that the police are doing "a good job" (40% : 32% and 37% : 31%). In Manila the amount of difference is the same as in Bombay but inverse (37% : 43%)¹⁹. Similarly to (dis)satisfaction with the way the police handle reported cases, the citizens in the developing world are less satisfied than the citizens in industrialised countries with police performance in controlling crime²⁰.

¹⁸ It should be noted that among the African sites there is an extremely high percentage of the "don't knows" in Dar Es Salaam (43%) and Cairo (17%). No explanation was provided for this at the writing of the report.

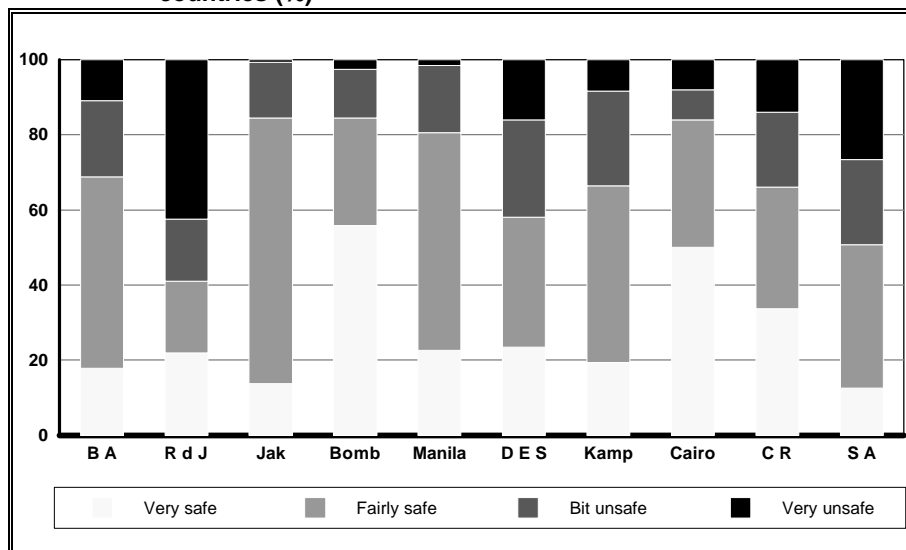
¹⁹ As in the case of Dar Es Salaam and Cairo, the "don't knows" are also high in Bombay and Manila (28% and 20% respectively).

²⁰ van Dijk, *Experiences...*, op. cit., pp. 271-72.

Citizens' responses to crime: fear, crime prevention measures and attitudes to punishment

In this report the ways citizens react to crime, aside of reporting it (or doing nothing about it), are presented with two sets of information: attitudinal and factual. The attitudinal set refers to the two measures of fear of crime²¹, and to the attitudes towards punishment. The factual relates to a variety of crime prevention measures (devices) installed or employed in a household.

Figure 28: Going out after dark; fear for safety - selected developing countries (%)



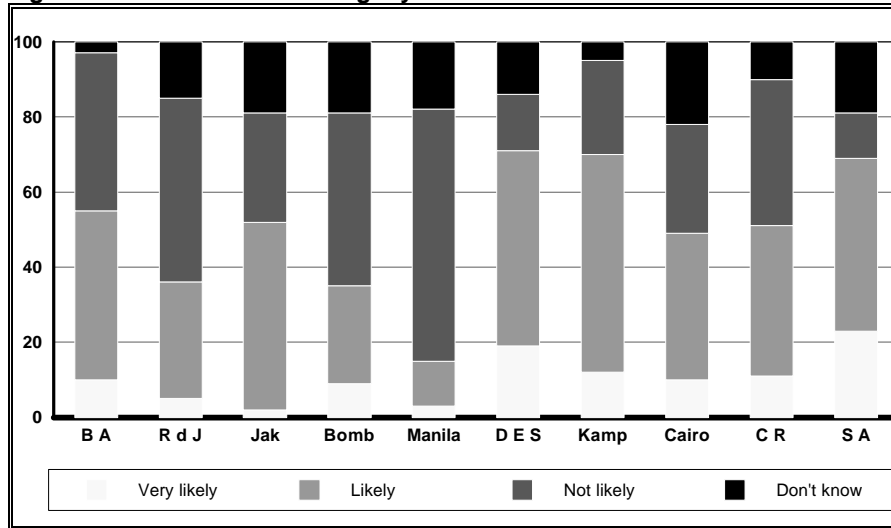
As regards fear for safety, Rio de Janeiro appears to be the least safe for walking about after dark, followed by three African sites: The Greater Pretoria, Dar Es Salaam and Kampala, and Costa Rica²². When confronted with victimisation rates for violent crimes (robbery and assaults, see Figures 8 and 9) it appears that there are at least two clear configurations and a mixed one (these configurations are more evident for victimisation through robbery than that related to assaults/threats). The first includes sites with low violent victimisation rates and low fear for safety (Costa Rica, Manila, Cairo, Jakarta and Bombay). The second configuration reflects

²¹ The first measure is the fear for safety when walking alone in the area of residence after dark. The second is of a predictive nature and refers to the likelihood of having the premises broken into over the next twelve months.

²² Costa Rica is somewhat safer than Kampala since 34% of the respondents reported they feel "very safe" while in Kampala this was the case with 19%.

high violent victimisation rates and high fear for safety (Rio de Janeiro and The Greater Pretoria). Finally, the mixed configuration comprises three cities: Buenos Aires (middle-high victimisation rate and more than 50% of citizens with low fear for safety, with the predominance of feeling "fairly safe"); Dar Es Salaam and Kampala, both with high levels of victimisation and a middle-level of fear for safety.

Figure 29: Likelihood of burglary



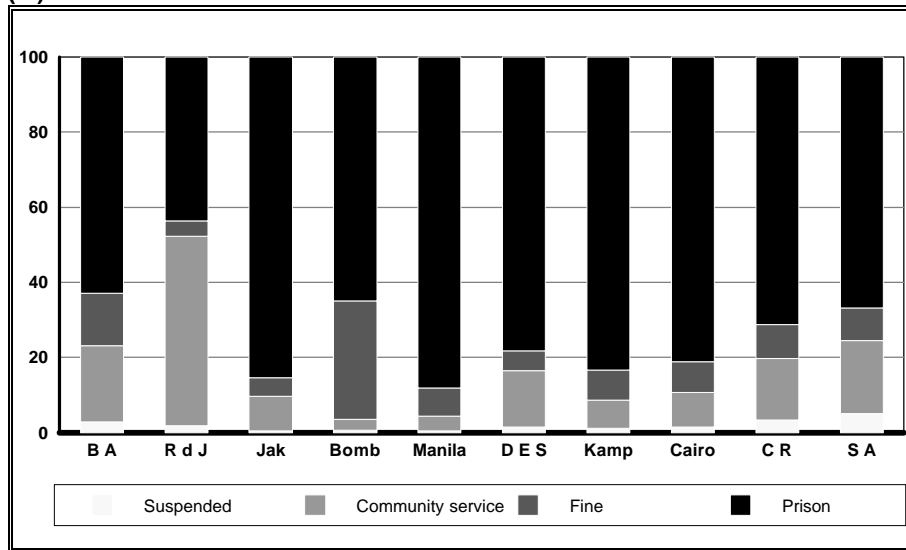
When confronted with the victimisation rates for burglary and attempted burglary (Figures 4 and 5) it appears that there are two distinct configurations. On the one hand there are sites, such as Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Manila, Bombay, Jakarta and Costa Rica (Latin America and Asia) in which there is a certain correspondence between lower victimisation rates and a lesser likelihood of having one's premises broken into over the next twelve months. An inverse correspondence is found for Kampala, Dar Es Salaam and the Greater Pretoria, where the prediction concerning burglary goes hand in hand with past victimisation experience (both being high).

In order to relate the prediction concerning burglary in the future (an attitudinal measure of the fear of crime) with factually implemented crime prevention devices, an aggregate index of crime prevention measures has been created based on data reported in Figure 25 (Annex I)²³. Taking into account the victimisation rates, the following descriptive clusters appeared:

²³ The aggregate index of household crime prevention measures was constructed on the basis of the mean of the presence of each singular crime prevention measures in each unit of observation. It ranges from 12.4 to 39.8. The index is used purely for descriptive purposes. Further analysis utilising secondary information is needed for interpretative purposes, in addition to a further refinement of the index itself.

- Low victimisation, less likelihood, low score on the crime prevention index: Bombay and Cairo
 - Low victimisation, less likelihood, high score on the crime prevention index: Manila and Costa Rica
 - High victimisation, high likelihood, high score on the crime prevention index: Dar Es Salaam and The Greater Pretoria
 - High victimisation, middle-high likelihood, low score on the crime prevention index: Kampala.
- *Attitudes to punishment*

Figure 30: Attitudes towards punishment - selected developing countries (%)

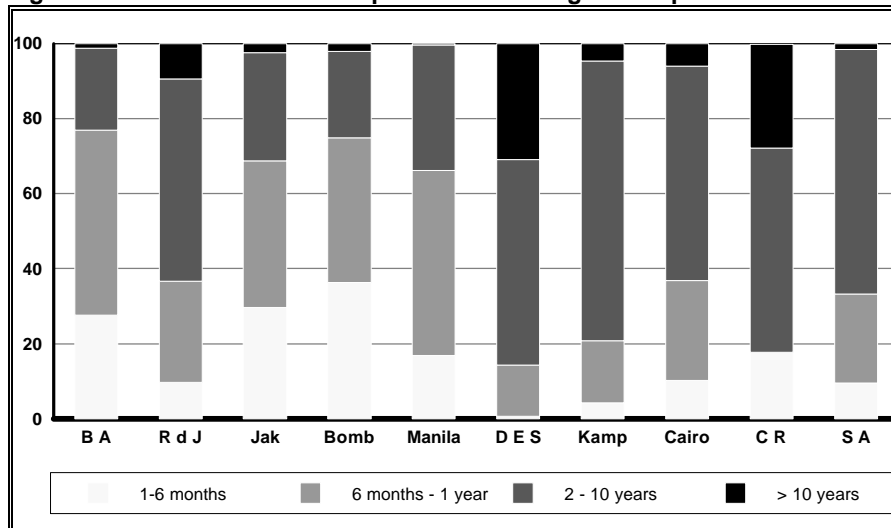


Opinions on sentencing also present an important measure of citizens' reactions to crime which might be related to victimisation experience, although only further analysis can show whether it holds true and for which types of crimes and sentences in developing countries²⁴. The question referred to five types of sentences considered most appropriate for a recidivist burglar (a man of 21 years of age who has stolen a colour TV) followed by a specification of the length of imprisonment should this sentence be chosen by the respondent. Imprisonment is

²⁴ Data from the 1989 International Survey for developed countries show that preferences for imprisonment were slightly stronger among victims of burglary and the countries with the highest burglary risks were more likely to recommend imprisonment for the burglar. van Dijk, Experiences..., op. cit., pp. 81-84.

the most frequently chosen sentence, ranging from 44% in Rio de Janeiro to 88% in Manila. The punitive orientation (more than 10 years of imprisonment) was markedly expressed among the respondents from Dar Es Salaam (31%) and Costa Rica (28%), followed by 75% in Kampala, 65% in The Greater Pretoria, and between 50 and 60% in Rio de Janeiro, Cairo, Dar Es Salaam and Costa Rica, with a preference for 2 to 10 years imprisonment. The most punitive orientation is held by citizens of Dar Es Salaam, Costa Rica, The Greater Pretoria, Rio de Janeiro and Cairo. In some countries corporal punishment, the life sentence and even the death penalty were suggested, though less frequently than imprisonment to term.

Figure 31: Attitudes towards punishment - length of imprisonment



Fining was more often selected as the most appropriate sentence in Bombay (31%) and Buenos Aires (14%). It appears that the community service has greater support in Latin America, particularly in Rio de Janeiro (50%), Buenos Aires (20%) and Costa Rica (16%), as well as in The Greater Pretoria (19%). Excluding imprisonment, non-custodial sanctions have more support in Latin America in general, and in Bombay and the Greater Pretoria.

Concluding remarks: summary comparative notes

This report presented some key preliminary findings of the 1992 International Victim Survey carried out in developing countries. The report is descriptive and selective and should be used with caution due to its preliminary character and the non-validated information on which it was based. While twelve developing sites participated in the survey, this report describes, and to a lesser extent discusses, information provided by the eleven participating countries. UNICRI intends to

proceed with sample verification, data validation, data elaboration and analysis which will cover all sectors of information provided through the survey. Secondary data and secondary analysis will hopefully provide better foundations for interpretation and comparison. Therefore, what follows is just an attempt to summarise comparative notes regarding certain patterns within the developing regions covered by the survey. This attempt is thus highly limited and at great risk for unsubstantiated oversweeping generalisations (inferences). However, the survey provides for the first time unique comparative information about experiences with crime, law enforcement and crime prevention. It gives an important measure of victimisation and attitudes (fears, satisfaction, punishment) "away" from the administratively-produced criminal justice statistics and a few national/local surveys which were carried out in the developing world.

The report presented information from three world regions including eleven developing sites:

Africa:

Cairo (Egypt); Kampala (Uganda); Dar Es Salaam (Tanzania); Tunis (Tunisia); The Greater Pretoria (South Africa)

Asia:

Bombay (India); Manila (the Philippines); Jakarta (Indonesia)

Latin America:

Buenos Aires (Argentina); Rio de Janeiro (Brazil); Costa Rica

Needless to say, these sites differ greatly in many respects. Nor can they be taken as representative of the regional realities or, for that fact, of either national or urban realities. The comparative notes presented herewith are limited only to data provided through the survey. These notes regard victimisation and related experiences as reported by the selected sample of respondents in each site; they are thus inevitably subject to sampling error.

It appears that Dar Es Salaam, Kampala and The Greater Pretoria exhibit the highest victimisation rates for almost all types of crimes. These three African sites are followed by Latin America: Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires and Costa Rica. The citizens of two of the Asian urban areas - Bombay and Manila - are, relatively speaking, at lower victimisation risk. The victimisation experience of the citizens of Cairo and Jakarta is somewhere between the African and Latin American cities.

There are, of course, notable variations in the regional-level victimisation experience by different types of criminal activities. The only true exceptions to the above-mentioned variations regard corruption and consumer fraud: a sad and highly shared experience by almost all cities in the developing world irrespective of their regional location. The inhabitants of all cities are highly exposed to cheating when purchasing goods, bad quality service when repairing their property or "enjoying meals and drinks", and apparently low levels of consumer/client protection.

Similarly, there is no distinct regional differentiation with respect to theft from cars. It is the highest vehicle/property-related crime in almost all the participating sites, although on average somewhat higher in Africa (and Latin America).

A certain pattern of clustering by regions appears with respect to "victimisation" of personal and/or household property. For example, citizens in African cities are at a notably higher victimisation risk for their personal property than their counterparts in Latin America, Jakarta and Manila (only the citizens of Bombay are less exposed to personal theft). A similar regional differentiation exists for burglary, although the difference between the victimisation risks for the inhabitants of African cities and the rest is somewhat accentuated.

It is evident that owners of motor vehicles in Dar Es Salaam, Kampala, The Greater Pretoria (Africa) are, together with the owners from Buenos Aires, more subject to theft than in other cities. Thus, while there is no clear overall regional differentiation, it appears that proneness to steal a motor vehicle is more evident for African cities. A similar situation appears with respect to bicycle theft, although it appears that tricycles and pedicabs are attractive targets in Manila (but not so in the other Asian cities - Bombay and Jakarta).

It appears that the populations of African and Latin American cities live in a more violent environment (robberies and assaults/threats) than those in Asian cities. The difference in victimisation risks through violence between the African/Latin American group, on the one hand, and Jakarta, Manila and Bombay (Asia), on the other, is substantial. Analogously, this regional differentiation was expected for sexual incidents. Indeed, women are at a higher risk of being sexually victimised in African and Latin American cities, rather than in Bombay and Manila. On the other hand, Jakarta shows a risk which is similar to Latin America cities.

Reporting to police shows no clear regional differentiation. Yet there appears to be a somewhat higher propensity to report for property crimes in Africa and Latin America; and slightly so for violence in Africa. As regards sexual victimisation two patterns appeared: on the one hand there are cities in which both victimisation and reporting are high (e.g. Africa), and those in which both are low (Asia). There is also a third (non-regional) pattern (which merits interpretation in terms of the general and specific police culture): high sexual victimisation and low reporting to the police (Cairo), and lower victimisation and high reporting to the police (Buenos Aires).

Regional differences are also not very pronounced when it comes to citizens' satisfaction with the performance of law enforcement agencies: on average citizens' dissatisfaction prevails over satisfaction (particularly in Latin America and Africa). Furthermore, a belief that the police force "lacks in effectiveness" is more shared by the respondents in Latin America, but it is a second factor contributing to the non-reporting also in Asia and some African cities.

Fear for safety on the street is a common denominator for all cities irrespective of their regional location, although it is higher in Latin American and African cities. A certain correspondence exists between the risk of victimisation through some form of violence and fear for safety. In this respect Bombay, Manila, Jakarta and Cairo appear safer (and are perceived as being safer by their own inhabitants) than, for example, Rio de Janeiro and the Greater Pretoria. In terms of safety from property crimes, there appears a somewhat different regional configuration based on a correspondence between the past and expected victimisation of property: there are African cities whose inhabitants run a high risk of property victimisation (and feel unsafe), and, inversely, the population of Asian and Latin American cities.

It appears that the use of household crime prevention measures has much more to do with the income and residential status of the victim (past or potential) than

with the regional location of the city in which the respondent lives. Furthermore, it also appears that there is a weak association between the socio-economic status of the country and the household use of crime prevention measures. However, present data allowed for the decoding of several configurations linking the victimisation rates, fear for safety in the future, and the presence of various crime prevention measures. For example, in some African cities there appears to be a certain level of parallelism between high victimisation rates, markedly expressed fear for safety and the solid presence of crime prevention devices in the households. An opposite configuration is found in Cairo and Manila. There are also mixed configurations characterising cities belonging to different world regions.

A punitive orientation seems to prevail in the developing world as measured by sanctioning options for a recidivist burglar. The choice of sanctions is skewed towards imprisonment, and within that option towards lengthy stays in prison (more than two, and even more than ten years). A punitive orientation was also illustrated by choices of corporal punishment, life sentence and even the death penalty (although substantially less than imprisonment to term). There are no clear regional patterns as regards the most severe sanctioning option: imprisonment. Only citizens of Latin American sites give relatively more support to non-custodial sanctions, such as fines and community service.

The wealth of the material collected through the International Victim Surveys merit further analysis, including the testing of a number of criminological theories²⁵. For developing countries it is of crucial importance to continue the work on data validation and collection of both secondary statistical material and culturally relevant information in order to move further in the analysis and interpretation. National, city and local level information is of paramount importance for comparative analysis, if it truly intends to aim at furthering comparative thinking and understanding. Only in this way will this rich empirical material serve its purpose as a solid base for further theorizing, promotion of national and comparative levels of understanding of the criminal question, improvement in the organised responses to crime, and promotion of international co-operation in crime prevention and criminal justice. Being of a preliminary nature, this report fell short in the exploration of many open avenues; we only hope it did not close any.

²⁵ The UNICRI 1993 Work Programme envisages a project "International Victimization Data and Theory Testing".

1992 INTERNATIONAL VICTIM SURVEY

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

National co-ordinators

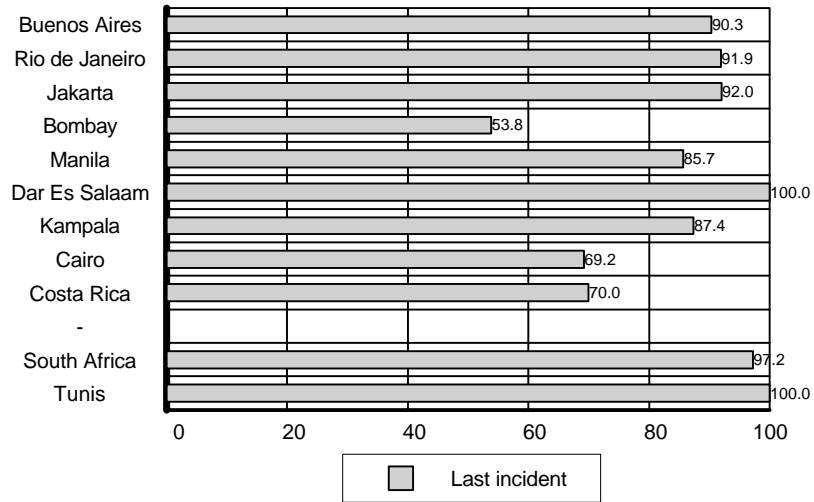
Carlos Corvo	Professor, Faculty of Law, Buenos Aires, Argentina
Jose Arthur Rios	Professor, Faculty of Law, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
Luis Lachner	Senior Researcher, Institute of Crime Prevention and the Treatment of Offenders for Latin America and the Caribbean, affiliated with the United Nations (ILANUD), San Jose, Costa Rica
Ahmed El-Magdoub	Chief, Criminal Policy Department, The National Center for Social and Criminological Research, Cairo, Egypt
D.R. Singh	Professor, Head, Department of Criminology and Correctional Administration, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, India
J.E. Sahetapy	Professor, Department of Criminology, University of Surabaya, Indonesia
Ken Egan	Director, Foundation for Law, Order and Justice, Boroko, Papua New Guinea
Celia Leones	Director, Crime Prevention and Co-ordination Branch, National Police Commission, Manila, The Philippines
C.M.B. Naude	Professor, Department of Criminology, University of South Africa, Pretoria, South Africa
Joseph Safari	Senior Lecturer, Faculty of Arts and Social Science, University of Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania
Hatem Kotrane	Professor, Director, National Institute of Labour and Social Research, Tunis, Tunisia

Mathias Ssamula

Lecturer, Department of Sociology, Makerere
University, Kampala, Uganda

ANNEX I

**Figure 15: Victims of theft of car who reported the incident to the police.
Selected developing countries (%)**



**Figure 16: Victims of theft from car who reported the incident to the police.
Selected developing countries (%)**

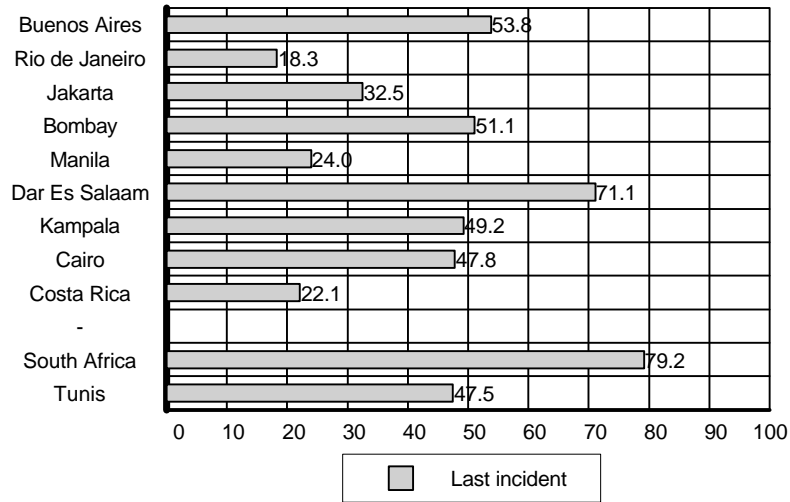


Figure 17: Victims of car vandalism who reported the incident to the police. Selected developing countries (%)

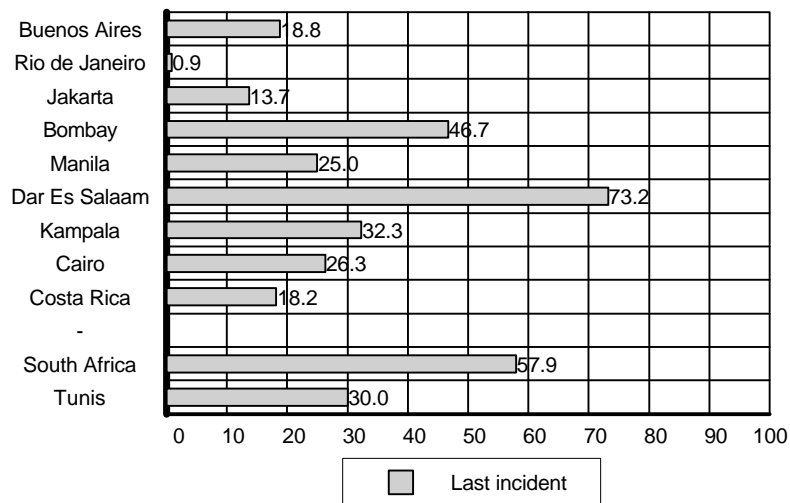


Figure 18: Victims of theft of motorcycle who reported the incident to the police. Selected developing countries (%)

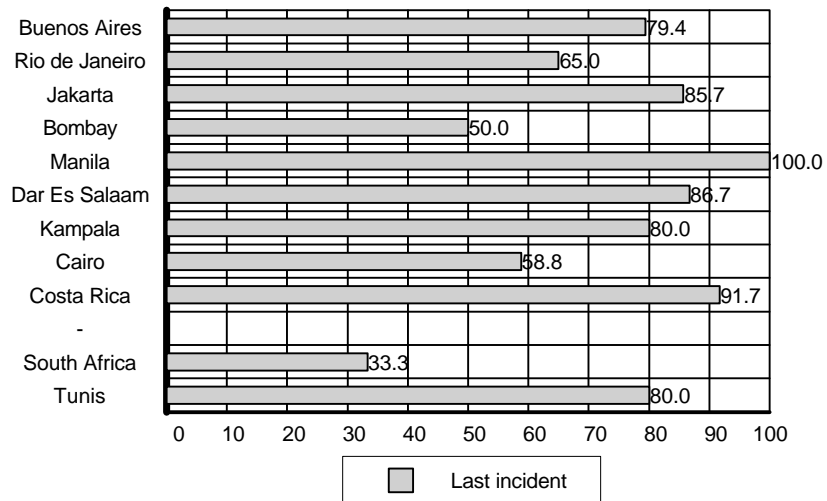


Figure 19: Victims of theft of bicycle who reported the incident to the police. Selected developing countries (%)

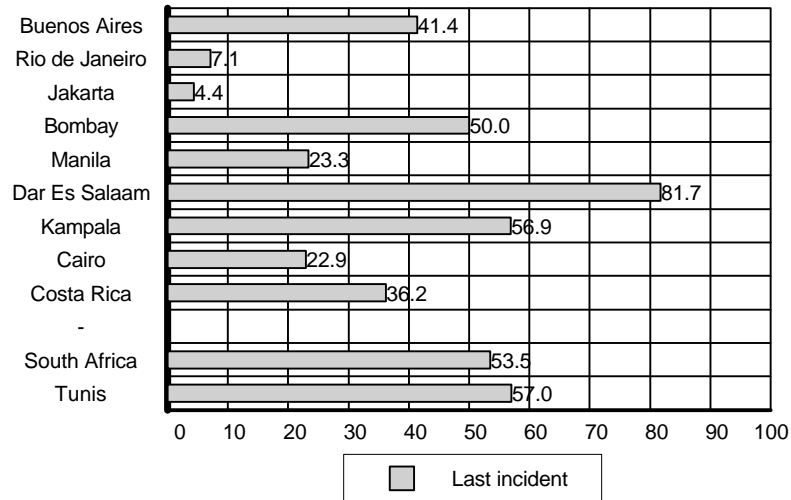
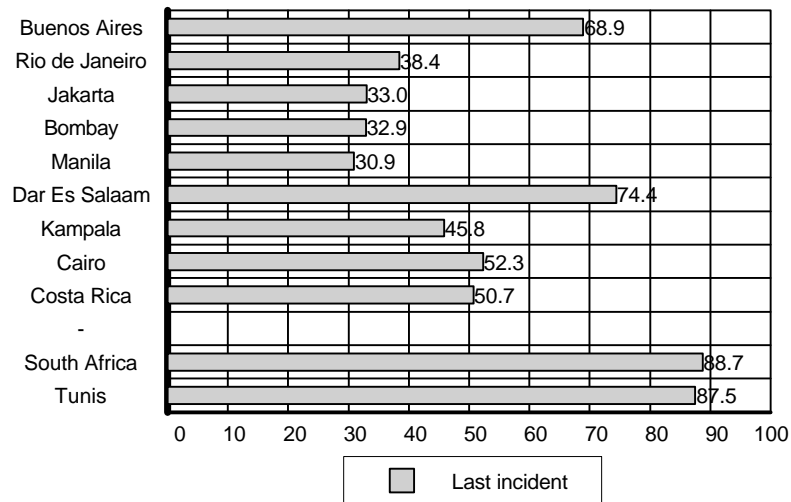
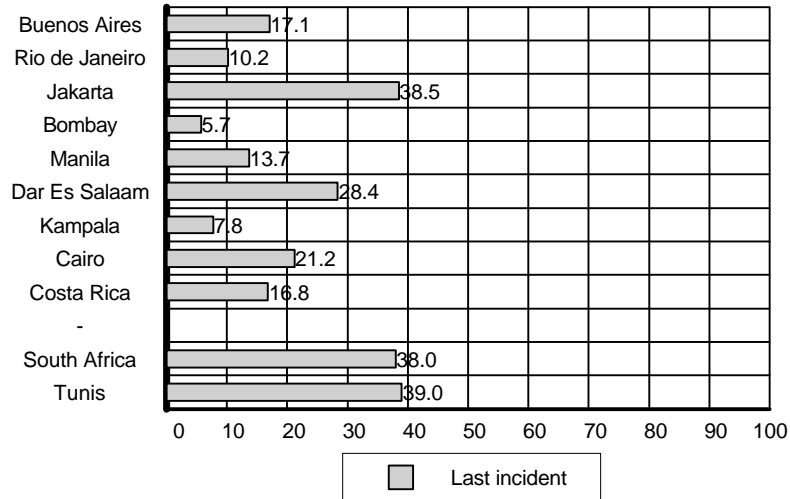


Figure 20: Victims of burglary with entry who reported the incident to the police. Selected developing countries (%)



**Figure 21: Victims of personal theft who reported the incident to the police.
Selected developing countries (%)**



**Figure 22: Victims of robbery who reported the incident to the police.
Selected developing countries (%)**

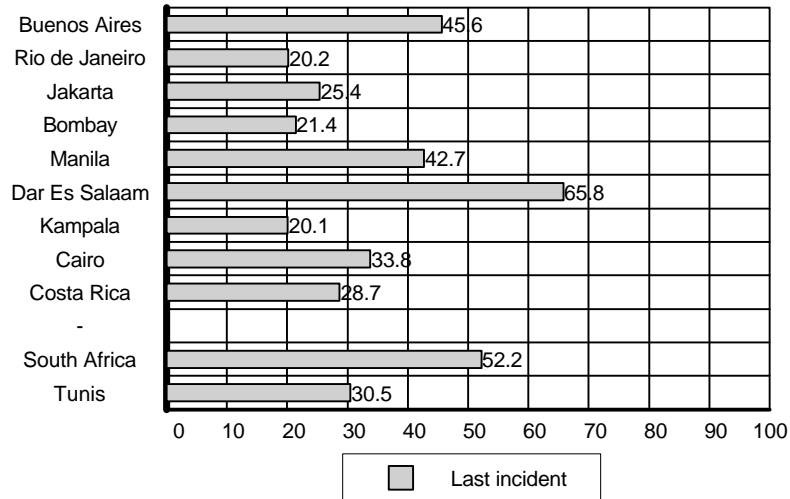


Figure 23: Victims of assault or threat who reported the incident to the police. Selected developing countries (%)



Figure 24: Women who reported sexual incidents to the police. Selected developing countries (%)

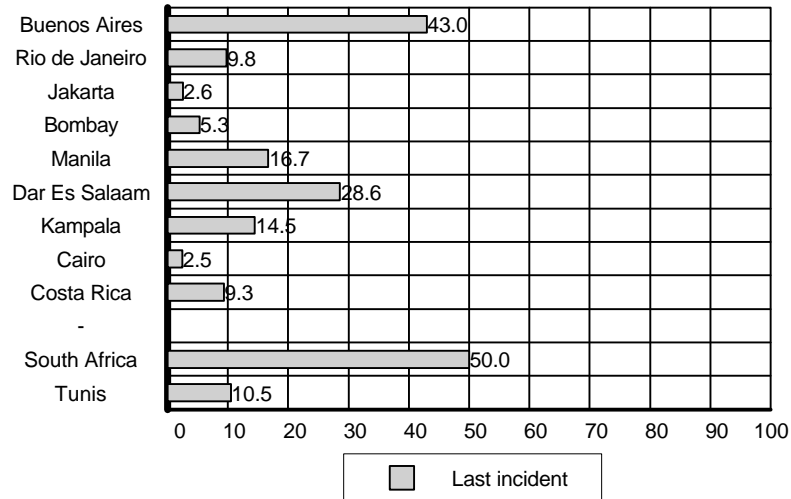
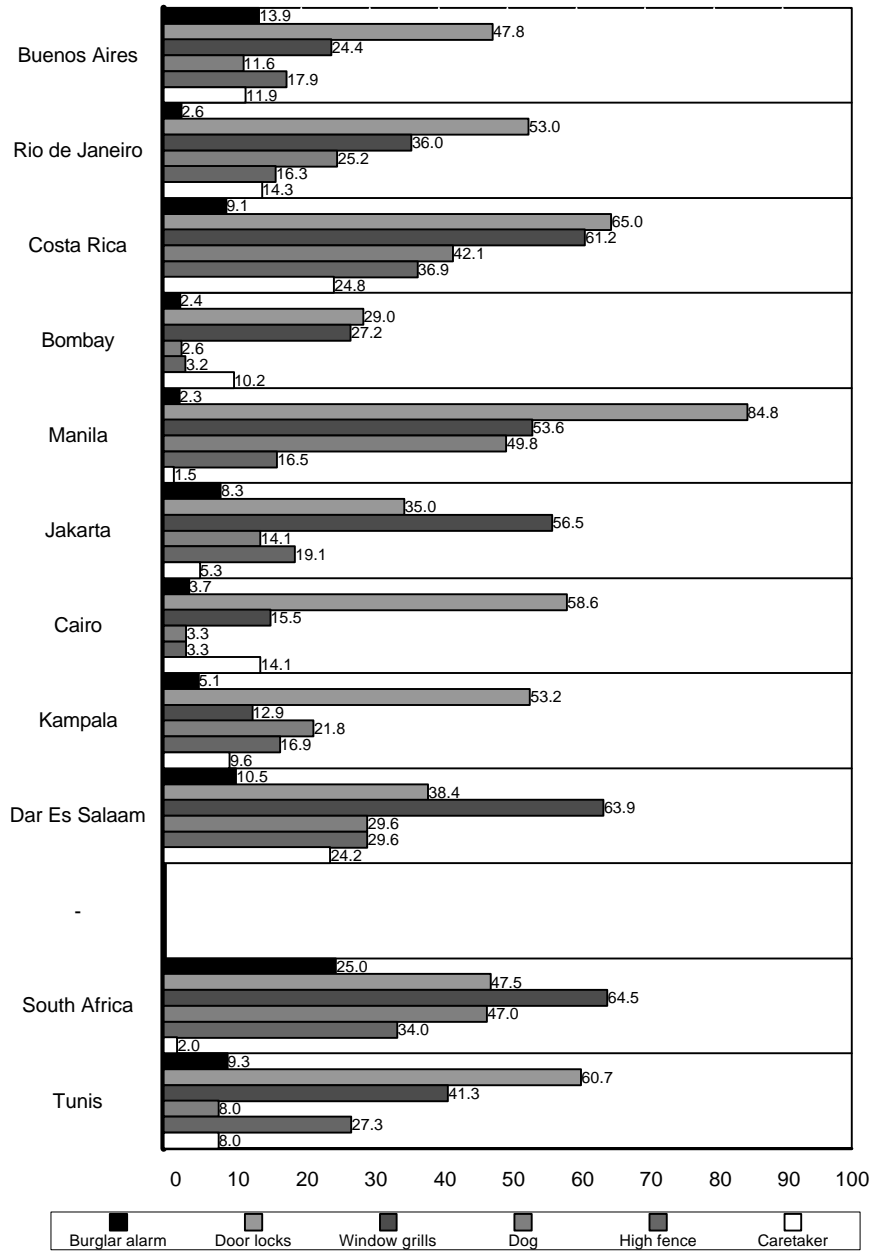
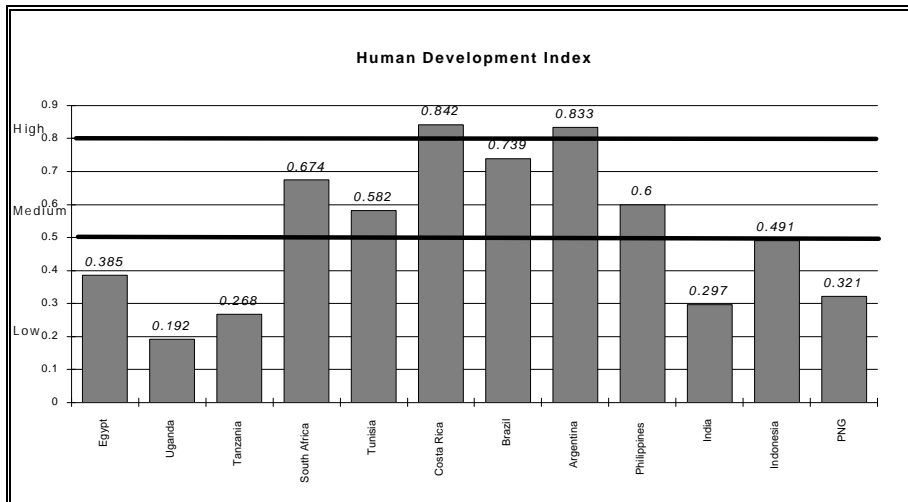
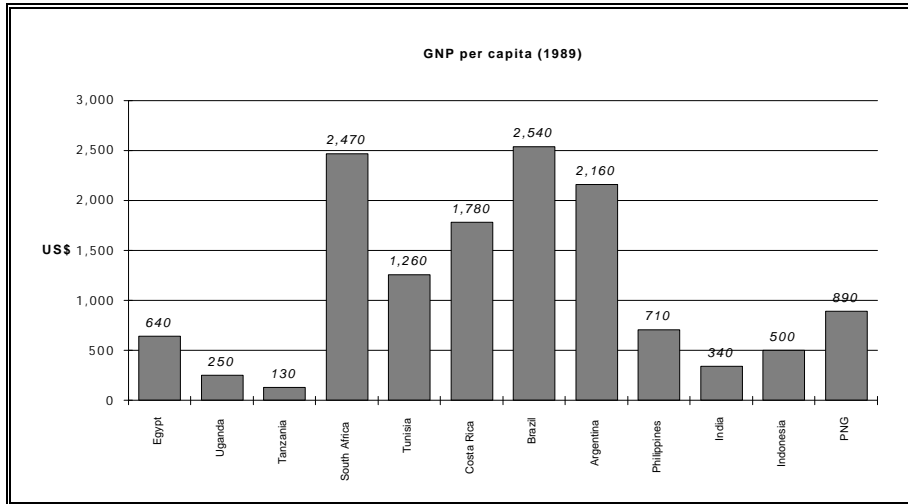


Figure 25: Crime prevention measures. Selected developing countries (%)



ANNEX II



CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN VICTIMISATION RATES: TO COMPARE OR NOT TO COMPARE?

Andrzej Siemaszko¹

It seems pertinent, before attempting to compare the results of the 1992 International Crime Survey in the countries of Eastern Europe, to state the reasons why such an analysis might present some formidable, if not insurmountable difficulties.

Firstly, the comparisons are being made between units (a term which I shall continue to use since Moscow and Ljubljana are not countries) at different stages of social and economic development. The process of market-oriented reforms, for instance, is well advanced in Poland, much less so in Czechoslovakia and Slovenia, and has practically not yet been initiated in the territories of the former Soviet Union covered by the present study. The Polish experience clearly shows, however, that the process of political and economic transformation is always accompanied by an unprecedented growth in the crime rate.

Secondly, the regions under comparison differ widely with respect to both the ethnic and cultural homogeneity of their populations. The units range from Poland and Czechoslovakia with populations of 40 million and 16 million respectively, to Moscow with 10 million, Georgia with as little as 4 million and Slovenia - a very small country of 2 million inhabitants. The population of Poland is very homogeneous: ethnic minorities constitute an insignificant proportion of the society. In Czechoslovakia - besides the two main Czech and Slovak nationalities - there are the inhabitants of Moravia, the 700,000 strong Hungarian minority and a sizeable Gypsy community. Georgia is a melting pot of nationalities and ethnic groups, and Moscow, as the capital city, used to attract people from all the republics making up the Soviet Union.

Thirdly, there are major differences in the GNP per capita, in the development of infrastructure and industry and in the general level of social advancement. In this respect, Czechoslovakia and Slovenia are almost comparable with the poorest countries of the EEC, Poland is slightly less advanced, and the regions under survey of the former Soviet Union would have to be classified, with respect to the basic economic indicators, as belonging to the so-called Third World Countries.

Fourthly, we are dealing with both countries and cities, and all of different sizes. At the one end of the spectrum there is Moscow which - with its 10 million citizens - is a large metropolis, and at the other end we have Ljubljana, a middle-sized city of 350,000 inhabitants.

Moreover, the prevailing political situation varies greatly across the units analysed in the present study. Georgia is a country torn by civil war and by a tangle of acute ethnic and political tensions. Moscow, formerly the capital city of the Empire, then the USSR, and presently of Russia, provides a natural focal point for all political, social and economic tensions and, as a result, finds itself on the brink of

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chaos. Czechoslovakia, in turn, is on the eve of a break-up which also adversely affects the political and social situation. Slovenia is still feeling the shockwaves of Yugoslavia's disintegration and the raging war in Bosnia and Croatia contributes to the social and political destabilisation of the country. Against this background, Poland appears almost an oasis of tranquillity, although, of course, the country also has its share of social and political conflicts.

Lastly, even the survey samples were different. In Poland the survey was done on the basis of a big, nationwide simple random sample, in Georgia a stratified and multi-stage one was employed, and in Moscow a quota sample was used. Moreover, Poland was the only country in which the research was conducted in keeping with the study guidelines, i.e. in January 1992, which makes the results even less comparable.

In view of all this perhaps no comparative analysis should be attempted at all, since such a study not only inevitably violates all the basic principles of methodology but also of common sense. In fact, the only thing the countries seem to have in common is that most of them were part, in the past - and in one form or another - of the Soviet Empire.

Having mentioned all these necessary caveats and explanations let us now try to compare the incomparable, a task which might just prove to have some perverse appeal.

Starting with the first comparison, it becomes immediately evident just how hazardous it is to effect a comparative analysis of Eastern European regions. It appears that while 1.5%, 3.9% and 3.5% of car owners in Ljubljana, Poland and Czechoslovakia respectively had a car stolen during the five years covered by the survey, these figures rose to almost 5% for Moscow and as high as 14.4% for Georgia. The impact of civil war on the rate of car thefts in Georgia is even more clearly illustrated by the data for 1991. While car theft victim rates for Poland, Czechoslovakia, Ljubljana and Moscow ranged from 0.4% to 2.3%, the rate in Georgia was 5.6%.

Although the percentage of car theft victims who reported the incident to the police was generally high, there were nevertheless some differences. 94% of car theft cases were reported in Poland, but only 86% in Moscow. Interestingly, the reporting rate does not seem to mirror judgements on the seriousness of the incident; although Poland had the highest reporting rate, at the same time it had the least number of victims who considered car theft to be a serious incident (55%). The reverse is true of Moscow: with the lowest number of people reporting the theft, the largest percentage (66%) of these victims judged it as a serious incident. In Ljubljana 91.7% of car theft victims reported the incident to the police. Exactly the same number judged it to be a serious incident. Unfortunately, at the moment of writing no data are available on the reporting rate in Georgia.

Interestingly, however, Moscow - and not Georgia - ranked first in the number of victims of thefts from cars (48% over the five-year period and 22% within the last twelve months). Georgia ranked second (28% and 10% respectively), just ahead of Poland (24% and 11%) and Ljubljana (24.6% and 7.3%). Car owners in Czechoslovakia were least often robbed in this way - the corresponding figures being 20% and 7.5%.

Thefts from cars were most often reported in Ljubljana (58%) and Poland (51%), and least often in Czechoslovakia (32%). The most frequent reason given for not

reporting thefts from cars in Poland, Ljubljana and Czechoslovakia was that the incident was not judged serious enough. In Moscow, on the other hand, the dominant motive seemed to be lack of faith in police effectiveness. (No relevant data for Georgia are available.) Somewhat unexpectedly, of all the units, car vandalism was most widespread in Czechoslovakia. Almost 44% of car owners had a car damaged within the five years under survey, but only 7% of the incidents occurred in the last year. In Ljubljana, over the five-year timespan, 34% of car owners were victims of car vandalism, while 9% of the incidents occurred in 1991.

The reverse situation was registered in Georgia: only 12% of car owners considered themselves victims of car vandalism, but as many as 32% of the incidents took place in the last year. Contrary to what might be expected, Moscow did not have the highest car vandalism rate - 32% over the five-year period and 16% during the last year. Throughout the five-year period the car vandalism rate in Poland was only slightly higher than that in Georgia (19%), with 1991 accounting for 10% of car damage incidents. However, the percentage of victims reporting the damage was highest in Poland (28%), slightly lower in Moscow (22%) and Ljubljana (20%), and by far the lowest in Czechoslovakia (11%). None of the victims of car vandalism in Moscow who had reported the incident to the police described the damage as not serious, whereas 41% in Poland and 49% in Czechoslovakia judged the incident as such. In all units, the main reason given for not reporting was lack of faith in police effectiveness.

Over the five-year timespan moped thefts occurred most frequently in Ljubljana (13%) and Moscow (11%). During the last year under survey, most thefts were committed in Moscow (11%) and Poland (5%), and the least in Ljubljana (2%) and Czechoslovakia (only 0.3%).

An important finding is made when we compare the proportion of respondents who reported a moped theft. It appears that in Moscow - despite the lack of faith in police work - 100% of such thefts were reported. A very high proportion (96%) of moped theft victims also reported the offence to the police in Ljubljana. In Poland, on the other hand, motorcycle and moped thefts were reported by 88% of the victims, and in Czechoslovakia by as few as 39%. It might be assumed that the figures mirror to some extent the relative affluence of the respective societies and consequently also the subjective perception of the severity of the loss.

As regards bicycle theft, Georgia had the lowest rate for the five-year period (8%) and for 1991 (1.4%). Bicycle theft victim rates in Poland, Moscow, Ljubljana and Czechoslovakia for the five-year period were very similar - 19%, 19%, 18% and 16% respectively. In 1991 the lowest theft rate was recorded in Ljubljana (4.4%). The level of bicycle theft was slightly higher in Czechoslovakia, Moscow, and Poland (5.8%, 6.4% and 6.5% respectively). Although bicycle thefts were least frequent in Ljubljana and Czechoslovakia, the two units had the highest reporting rate: over half the victims reported the incident to the police. The reporting rate in Poland was slightly lower (47.5%), while that in Moscow was by far the lowest of all (25.6%). Lack of faith in police work was the main reason for not reporting and, as before, was the dominant motive in Moscow.

While the burglary victim rates were very similar for the five-year period (from 6.2% in Moscow to 10.9% in Czechoslovakia), the results for the last year range between 1.8% for Ljubljana and 4.3% for Czechoslovakia. A similar pattern emerges with attempted burglaries, with Moscow showing a victimisation rate of 4%

in the five years, Poland (3%), Georgia (2.5%), Ljubljana (2.4%) and Czechoslovakia (1.5%).

The highest percentage of persons reporting a burglary to the police was recorded in Ljubljana (68%). This kind of offence was less frequently reported in Moscow (56%), in Poland (53%) and in Czechoslovakia (50%). The most common reason given for not reporting in Czechoslovakia was that the offence was not considered serious enough, whereas in Poland and Ljubljana it was the conviction that the police could do nothing about it. In Moscow, besides the by now common lack of faith in police effectiveness, a new and most frequently given reason appeared: the victims decided to solve the case themselves. Burglaries were judged as least serious in Czechoslovakia: only 8% of the victims described the incident as very serious, compared to as many as 66% in Ljubljana and over 50% in Georgia.

Robbery victim rates for the five-year period did not differ very much: 7.7% in Moscow, 5.6% in Georgia, 4% in Poland and 3% in Czechoslovakia. The lowest robbery victim rate in the five years covered by the survey was recorded in Ljubljana (1.6%). Also by 1991 the robbery rates for the surveyed territories of the former Soviet Union (Georgia 1.6% and Moscow 3.4%) are higher than those recorded in Czechoslovakia and Ljubljana (1.1% and 0.2% respectively), while Poland is somewhere in the middle with 2.2%. The percentage of victims in Moscow that reported the crime to the police was less than half of that in Poland (34.2%) and Czechoslovakia (33.3%), where only 18 people did not report the incident to the police. In Moscow and in Poland, similarly to the previous offences, failure to report was most often ascribed to lack of faith in police work. It is interesting to note that in Moscow only 11.7% of robbery victims considered it a very serious incident, whereas over 30% judged it as such in Poland and in Georgia, and six times more in Ljubljana (68%).

Bearing in mind the present situation in Georgia, it is extremely difficult to construe the data relating to assault victim rates. It would appear, on the basis of the information provided, that the assault victim rate in Georgia for the five years was 4.6%, whereas in the relatively tranquil Czechoslovakia the figure was twice as high. In contrast to other rates, the data for the last year would also indicate that the assault victim rate - in spite of the civil war - is extremely low in that country (only 0.5%). Unless this is simply a mistake, we will have to assume that the relevant question was wrongly worded in the questionnaire. The emphasis is on assault or threat that evokes a feeling of fear. It might be that cultural differences as to what is considered to be fear-evoking were not taken into account, or that the Georgian culture does not allow for an admission of fear. In any case, this surprising result should be methodologically analysed and factually verified by further research. This does not, however, exhaust all the surprises in the distribution of answers to the assault and threat questions. While the results for the five-year period are roughly in agreement with theoretical expectations, i.e. the largest number of assault victims was recorded in Moscow (12.8%), followed by Czechoslovakia (9.4%) and Ljubljana (8.5%) and lastly - with relatively few cases - in Poland (7.8%), the rates for the last year provide a different picture. It appears that the number of assaults in Moscow (5%) and that in Poland (4.1%) was the highest, and that, besides the already mentioned case of Georgia, the lowest assault victim rates were recorded in Ljubljana (1.8%). This result could also be explained by the differences in various cultures in labelling a given act as really threatening.

Reporting rates were also unexpectedly low: 19.5% in Moscow, 22.5% in Czechoslovakia, 26.9% in Poland and 29.4% in Ljubljana. Among the reasons for not reporting, the most frequently stated motive in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Moscow was not lack of faith in police effectiveness, but the unserious nature of the offence. This could be taken to mean that although assaults and threats were not infrequent, they were seldom of a serious nature. This seems to be confirmed by the distribution of answers to the question about the seriousness of the incident.

As could have been predicted, thefts of personal property over the five year timespan were most frequent in Moscow (26%). What might come as a surprise, however, is the small difference in theft rates between Moscow and the other units. Personal property theft rates were 22% in Czechoslovakia, 20% in Poland, and as low as 14% in Georgia and 13.6% in Ljubljana. In 1991 Moscow ranked first with a rate of personal property theft at 11%. Poland ranked second with 8% and Czechoslovakia third with 7%. The least number of thefts of personal property were committed in Ljubljana (3.8%) and Georgia (3.5%).

There were no great differences in the proportion of people who reported personal property thefts to the police: in Moscow, Poland and Czechoslovakia the rates were 20%, 21% and 28% respectively. The highest proportion (36%) of people reporting the thefts to the police was recorded in Ljubljana. In every unit police ineffectiveness was most frequently mentioned as the reason for not reporting. Personal property thefts were most often judged as being serious by Slovenian respondents (42%), and least often by Czechoslovakian respondents (less than 10%).

Results related to sexual offences were also fairly uniform across the units. The Moscow, Ljubljana and Czechoslovakian rates for the five years under survey were almost identical (9.8%, 9.5% and 9% respectively), with a slightly lower rate recorded in Poland (almost 5%), and the lowest in Georgia (3%). The comparison of 1991 data reveals that in this instance Poland and Moscow drew level with the same sexual offence victim rate of 3.5%, ahead of Ljubljana (3.2%) and Czechoslovakia with the lowest rate of 2.6% (unfortunately, no data are available for Georgia). It is perhaps surprising that the level of sexual offences in Moscow was almost the same as in Poland, Ljubljana and Czechoslovakia. It would have been reasonable to expect the Moscow rate to be much higher.

Sexual incident reporting rates were also similar (7-8%), but substantial dissimilarities were revealed in the reasons for not reporting unlawful sexual advances. While in Moscow and Czechoslovakia the most frequently stated reason for not reporting the offence was that the victim solved the case herself, in Poland and Ljubljana the prime motive was the light nature of the offence. Also, fear of reprisal by the offender appeared for the first time as a reason for not reporting. In Moscow, Czechoslovakia and Poland, failing to report was justified in this way by about 10% of the victims. Sexual aggression was most often judged as something serious in Poland (over 30%), and least often in Czechoslovakia (under 20%).

There were, however, big differences in consumer fraud victim rates. In the surveyed regions of the former Soviet Union the victim rates were several times higher (Georgia 65%, Moscow over 50%) than in Poland or Czechoslovakia (11% and 14% respectively), with Ljubljana coming somewhere in between with a moderate rate of 24%.

As regards corruption, the unparalleled leaders were Georgia (21%) and Moscow (12%). Poland, with a 5% rate, came before Ljubljana which recorded the lowest rate for this kind of crime (0.6%). Unfortunately, no data are available for Czechoslovakia.

What conclusions can be drawn from the above analysis? As regards the more representative - in this particular case - five-year data, it is difficult to discern any clear-cut trends. As was expected, the victimisation rate was highest in Moscow (although with some exceptions), but the differences in the numbers of victims of various crimes between Moscow and the other units were smaller than might have been expected on purely theoretical grounds. Over the five-year period under scrutiny, the Moscovites fell victim slightly more often to violent crimes (including robberies), but less often to burglaries (although not attempted burglaries). The greatest differences between Moscow on the one hand, and the three states and Ljubljana on the other, appeared with respect to car thefts: the victim rate in Moscow was almost twice as high as that in Georgia, which took second place.

Except for a few minor differences, the crime patterns in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Ljubljana were on the whole very similar over the five-year period; the incidence of car vandalism and sexual offences was higher in Czechoslovakia and Ljubljana.

It should be noted that in the five-year timespan none of the five surveyed countries/cities registered a consistently highest or lowest victimisation rate.

EXPERIENCES, FEAR AND ATTITUDES OF VICTIMS OF CRIME IN ITALY

Ernesto U. Savona¹

The aims of the survey

How many victims of crime are there in Italy? Is the number higher or lower than in other countries? Do victims in Italy have a greater or lesser tendency to report the crimes they have suffered than victims in other countries? And again, which crimes produce more victims in Italy and which factors generate a greater risk of falling victim to a crime? Which crimes are not reported to the police and why? How do Italians rate the work of the police? Do they feel safe as they go about their everyday lives? What steps do they take to defend themselves from crime and what kind of punishment would they prefer for criminals?

These questions, together with others, are discussed in this report on the experience of victims in Italy. This is the first wide-range research study conducted in Italy that deals with the other side of crime, that of the victims². The research in Italy was conducted by UNICRI with the assistance of the Department of Public Security of the Italian Ministry of the Interior, and is part of the international project on the condition of victims by the Ministry of Justice of the Netherlands and the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute³. The research began in October 1991 with the adaptation of the international questionnaire and its translation into Italian. The data were gathered between February and April 1992, and elaborated and analysed between July and October 1992. The aim of the study was to interview people who, at least once between 1988 and 1992, had been the victim of at least one of the crimes considered to be part of what is commonly known as microcrime. The investigation was taken further by analysing the risk of becoming a victim, in other words by the identification of any factors relating to the victims which result in a greater or lesser exposure to this risk. The real number of victims was then used to analyse the dark figure of crime, a figure which allows us, in the light of these results, to estimate the difference between crimes committed and crimes reported. Any decision not to report a crime was also given close attention with a view to pinpointing, for each crime, the reasons underlying it and the factors influencing it. Such information is useful when considering the relationship between the public and the police, and explaining why the victims of

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² Research studies into the experience of victims in Italy have existed before this present one. They were usually conducted on samples limited to a small area or have been studies like the ISTAT multipurpose study on families which includes a questionnaire on crime covering a sample of 30,000 families and addressing just a few aspects of the problem.

³ The author would like to thank the staff of UNICRI for their assistance. In particular, thanks go to Angelo Saporiti, Assistant Professor of Class and Social Group Analysis at the University of Molise and UNICRI Consultant, for his help in the elaboration and analysis of the data.

microcrime in Italy report so few of the crimes suffered to the police. The aspect of collaboration between the public and the police is a delicate one in which we need to invest in the future in order to enable the police to act effectively for the prevention and control of crime, certainly one of the main ways of improving the conditions of legality in our country.

About the report

This report aims to illustrate and describe the condition of victims and their attitudes towards crime and the institutions in Italy. The analysis of the characteristics of the victims is geared towards identifying the risk of becoming a victim. The combination of different variables can be used to outline the profile of the person at risk. For the purposes of this report, all the theoretical aspects linked to the working hypotheses which guided the empirical study and the subsequent analysis of the results in relation to these hypotheses have been excluded to avoid needlessly weighing down the discussion. The data are presented in graphic form and tables are rarely used to allow a ready grasp of the phenomena described.

After a brief description of the characteristics of the sample and the method of data acquisition and analysis, the report compares the situation of victims in Italy with that of other countries with similar socio-economic features and levels of development.

The situation of victims in Italy is then analysed crime by crime. For each crime the percentage of victims in the population as a whole is calculated and in certain cases the dynamics of the crime are examined. Again for each crime, the risk of becoming a victim is calculated on the basis of the characteristics of the victims which are significant in generating such a risk. And again for each crime, the magnitude of the dark figure is calculated, and an indication is given of the reasons declared by the victims for not reporting the crime to the police and the factors which may have prevented them from doing so.

Finally, the report concludes with a series of issues that have been empirically studied, such as the victims' evaluation of the work of the police, fear, prevention measures adopted by the victims and attitudes towards the punishment of criminals.

The methodology of the survey and the sample selected

The study was aimed at a representative, randomly selected sample of the Italian population aged 16 years or more. The CATI (Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing) method used necessarily eliminated from the sample selection all those who had no telephone at the time of the study. For Italy, where the possession of a telephone is no longer an indicator of any social or economic significance, this factor is of little relevance.

An initial selection based on the telephone numbers of the entire country enabled the identification of 5,150 families living in cities of different dimensions in every region of Italy. 1,829 families were withdrawn from this sample as they were not significant for the purposes of the final selection. 3,321 families were thus identified who were contacted by interviewers specially trained in telephone interviewing. Of these, 2,024 completed the answers after one or more contacts.

The remainder refused to answer or failed to complete the questionnaire. The 61% response rate is quite high for protracted studies of this kind which touch upon delicate subjects that are sometimes of a personal nature. In each family interviewed the Troidahl-Carter method was used to make a random selection of the members of the family aged sixteen or over to whom the questions were to be addressed.

The composition of the specially "weighted" sample, required for the international comparison, is presented in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1: Geographical area and size of cities (thousand inhabitants)

Size of city	North-West	North-East	Centre	Southern Islands	Total
<10,000	201	154	94	217	666
10-50,000	41	102	118	242	602
50-100,000	50	26	38	87	202
100-500,000	29	108	50	95	281
500,000-1,000,000	21	-	100	23	44
>1,000,000	102	-	91	36	229
Total	544	390	391	699	2,024

Table 2: Age and gender

Age group	16-29	30-54	55+	Total
Male	282	406	296	984
Female	270	433	337	1,040
Total	552	839	633	2,024

The questionnaire

A structured questionnaire comprising 300 questions with set answers was used. The version used for the international study was translated into Italian and adapted to the needs of the research in Italy with the addition of a number of questions. Particular care was taken to ensure that it was easy to understand and any imprecisions which, in the Italian language, could give rise to ambiguity in comprehension and hence to possibly irrelevant answers were eliminated. A specialised team of interviewers were trained for this study by a simulation of the interviews co-ordinated by the author of this report who, together with UNICRI, directed the conduction of the entire study, from the planning phase to the collection and analysis of data.

Victims in Italy and the other countries

An initial analysis which helps to provide an insight into the dimensions of the problem examined by this report derives from the comparison of the victims in Italy according to the type of crime and those in other countries at different latitudes. Because they were already definite by the time this report began to be written, data were included for European countries such as Belgium, the Netherlands, the United

Kingdom and Sweden, as well as for the American continent, Canada, and Australia. The graphs reproduced in Figures 1 to 12 represent, in decreasing order, the percentages of victims for each crime considered. The position of Italy varies according to the crime, as does that of the other countries. More specifically, Italy occupies a medium-high position on the scale for vehicle thefts, medium for car vandalism, low for home burglary and attempted burglary and even lower for robbery and pick-pocketing. Italy is at the centre of the scale for indecent assault and rape and in last place for non-sexual assault, while it is in the highest position for commercial fraud.

Crimes reported in Italy and the other countries

The percentages of victims provide some idea of the differences in the crimes committed in the countries under survey. On the whole, the figures show that Italy's average position is similar to that of other countries with sufficiently similar rates of development.

One alarming point which will be further examined in the analysis of the Italian data concerns the position of Italy compared with the other countries in terms of the percentage of people who are victims of one of the crimes considered and have reported it to the police. This figure gives an idea of the discrepancy that exists between the number of crimes committed and the number of crimes reported or, in other words, reflected in the official crime statistics. Figures 13 to 24 represent in decreasing order the percentage of people who, in the various countries, have reported the crime of which they have been victim.

With the exception of car theft, for which the dark number is almost inexistent since it is in everyone's interest to report the theft to avoid consequences in terms of liability, Italy is always in last position. The only exception is for home burglaries, in which Italy is surpassed by Sweden, and for the theft of personal possessions and pick-pocketing, in which Italy is outrivalled in the number of unreported offences by Australia and Canada.

Victims in Italy. Methods used to calculate and analyse the risk of becoming a victim and the dark figure

Although, with the exception of rape, the crimes considered in this research belong to a homogeneous area of microcrime, their diversity prevents us from establishing the real number of victims. This summary indicator used for international comparisons is too much of an aggregation to be of any significance in explaining the Italian situation. Even within such broad categories of crimes as theft, robbery and assault, the different ranges of situations outlined by the questionnaire, if aggregated, do not allow for a convincing explanation of the phenomenon. It was therefore decided that an analysis should be made of each individual crime to identify the individual factors which play a role in generating a greater or lesser risk of becoming a victim. From the analysis of these factors and their random or repeated impact on the risk of becoming a victim it will then be possible to make a number of deductions in the course of the theoretical discussion.

In order to detect those variables which play a greater part in generating the risk of becoming a victim, the answers were analysed using a log-linear technique. This allows the relationship between any individual independent variable (for instance, income) and the dependent variable (in this case, becoming a victim) to be ignored, and every combination of the different variables (sex, age, frequency of evening outings, income, size of city in terms of population, geographical location and status of area of residence), instead, to be considered separately, so that the possibility of a significant relationship with the dependent variable can be examined. In this way, once the equal probability of becoming or not becoming the victim of a given crime was established as being equal to 1 for each variable, the risk of becoming a victim was determined. The further this value is below 1, the lower is the risk of becoming

a victim associated with that variable; in the same way, the further the value is above 1, the higher is the risk of becoming a victim.

An initial elaboration of the data reviewed all the variables under consideration. From this first analysis those variables were selected which in some way are significant in terms of the risk of falling victim to the crime considered. It was found, during this elaboration, that for certain crimes sex and age had no impact on the risk of becoming a victim, whereas for others they are indeed relevant. Conversely, other variables, such as frequency of evening outings, earning capacity, area of residence, size of population in a city, were associated in various ways with the risk of falling victim to all the crimes considered.

A second elaboration which yielded the graphs in Figures 25 to 36 considered the variables that were found to be of some significance; the figures permit an immediate understanding of their relevance.

A further problem considered is the calculation of the dark figure, namely the difference between the number of victims reporting and not reporting a given crime. One particular question in the questionnaire asked respondents who had been victims of a crime if they had reported it to the police, and those who had not done so were invited to explain why. Figure 37 represents the frequency of crimes reported/not reported and the differences for each individual crime. Figures 38 to 48 represent the reasons given by the victims of each crime for not having reported it. For those who did not report the crime an analysis was then made of the factors which presumably influenced this behaviour. Again, a log-linear technique was used, with 1 being taken as the point where the number of crimes not reported is equal to the number reported in order to determine the weight of each variable. The further the values of each variable are below 1, the lower is the number of victims not reporting a crime compared to the number reporting it; the further these values are above 1, the higher the number of those who did not report is compared to those who reported.

Victims of car theft

After establishing the number of car owners in the sample, the respondents were asked if they or anyone in the immediate family had been the victim of car theft in the last five years (between 1987 and 1991).

Taking as a basis for the analysis the car owners surveyed by the study, it was found that 7.6% had been the victim of at least one theft during the surveyed period. Of these, about 40% declared that the theft or thefts had taken place in 1991, 56% in the preceding years and the remaining 4% in 1992. For 54% of the victims the theft occurred close to their home.

The risk of becoming a victim

From a glance at Figure 25, which represents the factors that generate a greater or lesser risk of becoming a victim of car theft, it can be observed that this risk is greater for victims living in the southern regions of Italy. As far as the size of the cities is concerned, this variable is associated with the risk of becoming a victim only in the larger cities (with more than 500,000 inhabitants). The other factors

considered, such as frequency of evening outings, income and area of residence, did not prove to produce a particularly significant impact.

The dark figure

Car theft is one crime which is always or almost always reported in order to avoid problems of liability should use of the car by the thief produce penal consequences, or for insurance reasons. This is why only 4.4% of the car owners did not report this crime. Of these 6 persons, 29% failed to report the crime due to lack of confidence in the police, and a further 29% because they knew the thief (29%). On the whole, these reasons are not significant given the very low dark figure (see Figures 37 and 38).

Victims of the theft of car parts

In the five years under survey, 440 persons (i.e. 25% of the car owning victims) experienced this kind of theft. Of these, 32% of the thefts took place in 1991, and in 43% of the cases they occurred near the victims' home.

The risk of becoming a victim

For this crime, the risk of becoming a victim is increased by a higher frequency of evening outings, above average income (i.e. above the income earned by half of the Italian population), residence in large cities and in an area of southern Italy or on the islands (see Figure 26).

The dark figure

This crime was not reported by 58.6% of the victims (247 persons), whose reasons for not reporting were: the insignificance of the damage (47%), the lack of evidence with which to enable the police to act effectively (23%) and lack of confidence in the police (11%) (Figures 37 and 39).

Victims of motorcycle and bicycle thefts

In the five years under survey, this type of theft was experienced by 10% of the victims owning motorcycles (72 persons), and 11% of the bicycle owners (155 persons). Six percent of the motorcycle thefts, and 5% of the bicycle thefts took place in 1991.

The risk of becoming a victim

The higher risk of becoming a victim follows a different pattern for each of these two crimes. In the case of motorcycle theft, the higher risk is associated with more frequent evening outings, above average income, residence in a large city, and in southern Italy or on the islands (see Figures 27 and 28).

The dark figure

Motorcycle thefts were not reported by 16 persons, 23.6% of the victims of this crime. The reasons given are the insignificance of the damage (44%), lack of

evidence (25%) and knowing the offender (19%). With regard to bicycle thefts, 108 persons (72.2% of the victims of this crime) did not report the offence. In this case too, the insignificance of the damage and lack of proof were the main reasons for not reporting (see Figures 37, 41 and 42).

Victims of car vandalism

Twenty-one percent of the respondents suffered this type of crime in the five years considered. Of these, 13% had their car damaged in 1991. In 46% of the cases the crime was committed outside the respondents' home and in 37% of the cases in the city where they live (Figure 29).

The risk of becoming a victim

The risk of becoming a victim of this crime is greater for those who go out frequently at night, live in a high status residential area and in cities with between 50,000 and 100,000 inhabitants (Figure 29).

The dark figure

Vandalism was not reported by 314 persons, i.e. 84.8% of the victims of this offence. The reasons given were the insignificance of the damage (58%), lack of evidence (25%) and lack of confidence in the police (7%). On the whole, those who did not report the crime live in central and northern Italy (see Figures 37 and 40).

Victims of home burglary or attempted burglary

In the five years considered, 8.6% of the respondents had their homes burgled at least once. 6.7% of the sample were victims of attempted burglary. Of those who were victims of a burglary, 4.6% occurred in 1991, while 6.4% were victims of an attempted burglary in 1991. With regard to the value of the goods stolen, this amounted to between 2 million and 50 million lire for 31.8% of the victims, and in 40% of the cases the home and its furnishings were also damaged.

The risk of becoming a victim

In the cases of both burglary and attempted burglary, the risk of becoming a victim is greater for those who live in a high status residential area, in cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants in central and northern Italy, and who often go out in the evening (Figures 30 and 31).

The dark figure

Home burglary was not reported by 59 respondents, i.e. 34.1% of the victims of this crime. The reasons given are lack of evidence (32%), the insignificance of the damage (26%), lack of confidence in the police (9%). The variable which most influenced the decision not to report is below average income. With regard to attempted burglary, 105 (78.8% of the victims of this crime) did not report the crime

and declared, as the reasons for this, the insignificance of the damage (54%), lack of evidence (22%) and lack of confidence in the police (86%) (see Figures 37, 43 and 44).

Victims of robbery, bag-snatching, and the dynamics of the crime

In the five years under consideration, 1.5% of the respondents had been the victim of at least one robbery, and 3.2% of at least one bag-snatching incident. 27.5% of these crimes were committed in 1991. In 46% of the cases, the robbery or bag-snatching took place near home, 36% in the city of residence and 16.3% in another Italian city. In 41.5% of the cases, two offenders were involved, in 34% only one and in 22% three or more. 80% of the victims declared that they did not know the person who committed the robbery or bag-snatching. 63.5% of the victims stated that the robber was unarmed; however, 33% declared that the robbery had been carried out under the threat of a weapon. When asked which weapon was used, 62.2% responded a gun, 28.9% a knife and 6.2% the needle of a syringe. In 81% of the cases the robbery resulted in the loss of some item for the victim.

The risk of becoming a victim

The risk of becoming a victim of robbery or bag-snatching is higher for women who go out frequently in the evening, live in a high status residential area, and increases with the size of the city (the larger the city population, the greater the risk of becoming a victim), mainly in southern Italy and on the islands (Figure 32).

The dark figure

Robbery or bag-snatching was not reported by 57 persons, i.e. 57.4% of the victims of this crime. The main reasons provided by the victims for not reporting were lack of evidence (35%), minor nature of the damage caused (23%), the offender was known to them (9%) and lack of confidence in the police (9%). The variables which most influenced the decision not to report are below average income and residence in a city with more than 500,000 inhabitants (Figures 37 and 45).

Victims of petty theft and pickpocketing

In the five years covered by the survey, 9.8% of the respondents were the victim, at least once, of petty theft or pick-pocketing. 5.7% of these offences were committed in 1991 and 58% of the offences were committed in the city of residence, 22% in Italy, 14.5% near home and 4.1% abroad.

The risk of becoming a victim

The risk of becoming a victim of pick-pocketing is higher for women living in low status residential areas in cities with 500,000 inhabitants or more (Figure 32).

The dark figure

Pick-pocketing was not reported by 113 persons, i.e. 56.1% of the victims of this crime. The reasons given for this were mainly the insignificance of the crime (40%), lack of evidence (25%), knowing the offender (10%) and lack of confidence in the police (7%) (Figures 37 and 46).

Victims of indecent assault and rape, and dynamics of the crime

In the five years covered by the study, 67 women (i.e. 6.4% of the respondents) experienced at least one indecent assault or rape. More specifically, of the 67 incidents, 9.1% were cases of rape, 28.6% indecent assault, 62.3% offensive conduct. Of all the women who were victims of offensive conduct, 52.2% considered it to be a crime. 13.2% of all the victims of one of these crimes experienced the offence in 1991. In 53.8% of the cases, the rape or assault took place in the city of residence, in 30% near the home, and in 13.2% in a city of Italy. In two cases (3.1%) the rape or assault was committed in the victim's own home. In 94.5% of the cases there was only one offender and in 34% the victim knew him only by sight or by name. Those who said they knew the name of the offender were asked further questions. Of the twelve cases considered, one was the partner, one a relative, and in two cases a close friend. In the other eight cases the person who committed the crime, although known by name to the victim, did not belong to any of the above-mentioned categories.

The risk of becoming a victim

The risk of becoming a victim of indecent assault and rape is higher for women aged between 16 and 29 years who go out more frequently at night and live in one of the regions of central-northern Italy (Figure 34).

The dark figure

Of the 67 victims of indecent assault or rape, 64 (95.7%) did not report the crime to the police. The reasons declared were that it was not a serious matter or in any event was of little significance (32.8%), that the victim knew the person who committed the assault or rape (23.8%), that due to lack of evidence, the police would not have been able to do anything (15.5%), as well as fear of retaliation (6.7%) and lack of confidence in the work of the police (4.9%) (Figures 37 and 47).

Victims of violent assault and dynamics of the crime

In the five years considered by the study 69 persons were the victim of at least one form of violent assault (3.4% of the nationwide sample) and, of these, 22% took place in 1991. In 7.6% of the cases the assault occurred in the victims' home, and in 32.6% near the victims' home. For 38% "elsewhere" was always in the city of residence. On the whole, these assaults were carried out by one person only (57.6%) or two persons (22.7%). A "gang" assault by three or more persons took place for 16% of the victims. 63.3% of the victims did not know their assailant, 10.3% knew him by sight and 17.9% by name. Among those who knew their assailant by name (a total of 12 victims), it was mainly a close friend (8 cases), a partner (in one case), or a relative. As regards the dynamics of the assault, 73.2% of the victims were threatened and force was used in 23.4% of the cases. In 21% of the 51 assaults conducted under threat, a weapon was used. In 42.5% of the cases in which violence was used, the victim was wounded, and in 65.2% of these cases the intervention of a doctor was required.

The risk of becoming a victim

The risk of becoming a victim of violent assault or rape is greater for men aged between 16 and 29 who live in a high status residential area in cities with between 50,000 and 100,000 inhabitants, mainly in southern Italy and on the islands (Figure 35).

The dark figure

Violent assault was not reported by 53 persons, i.e. 74.6% of the victims of this crime. The reasons for not reporting are the insignificance of the damage (35%), knowing the assailant (19%), lack of confidence in the police (12%), lack of evidence (10%) (Figures 37 and 48).

Victims of consumer fraud

214 respondents were victims of fraud at least once during the five years under consideration. 5% of the cases were fraud related to home repairs, 4% were fraud by car mechanics, 3.7% were fraud in a hotel or restaurant, and 61.4% were frauds in shops when purchasing goods.

The risk of becoming a victim

For this crime, the risk of becoming a victim does not seem to be related to a particular extent to the variables considered. Those factors which, more than others, may have an impact on becoming a victim of this crime are: being aged between 16 and 29, and living in a high status area in a city with between 10,000 and 500,000 inhabitants (see Figure 36).

The dark figure

Fraud is the crime for which the research registered the highest dark figure. The frauds considered, in fact, had not been reported by 96% of the victims.

Victims' evaluation of the damage caused by the experienced offence

One important aspect covered by this research concerns the victims' evaluation of the damage caused by an experienced offence. This evaluation is often not related to the personal characteristics of the victim and is based more on the type of crime and the way in which it is committed. A distinction is made between violent acts, such as robbery and rape, on the one hand, and crimes of an economic nature, such as the various types of theft, on the other. In the first case, most of the victims evaluated the criminal acts as extremely serious, whereas in the second case the evaluation was based more on the total amount of the damage suffered, which was generally slight in economic terms and was thus judged as not particularly serious.

Assistance received by the victims

A number of questions in the questionnaire asked if the victims, after experiencing the crime, had received any form of assistance and from whom. This question is particularly important in establishing whether and how assistance is provided for victims of crime in Italy. Table 3 gives an indication of the support received by the 1,107 people in the sample who were victims of at least one crime in the course of the five years considered by the study.

Table 3: Type of assistance received by victims

Assistance/support received from	%
Relatives/friends/neighbours	38.3
Police	14.1
Social welfare organisations	0.6
Religious organisations	0.8
Voluntary associations	0.4
Specialised victim support associations	0.1
Other people or organisations	1.7

These figures reveal the lack of attention paid to the problem of victims of crime by the institutions in Italy. When a crime occurs the victim turns mainly to the private circuit of relatives, friends, neighbours, and as far as the public institutions are concerned, the police. This attitude is probably due to the absence of specialised institutions, on the one hand, and the culture itself on the other. Although there is a lack of specialised institutions, there is also a widespread attitude which tends to "privatise" efforts to resolve problems associated with crime victims, and this is manifested by the private solidarity circuits in our country. For this reason, the demand for support expressed by victims is contradictory. In fact, when the victims of one of the crimes described were asked whether they considered specialised victim support agencies to be useful, the answer was positive in 44%, negative in 44%, and uncertain in 15% of the cases. From a comparison of this figure with the answers to the same question formulated in other countries in which support agencies for crime victims have been set up some time ago, it emerges that the Italian victims believe more in the agencies than the victims of the other countries. Indeed, only 15% of the victims consider them to be of use in Sweden, 11% in the Netherlands, 21% in Canada, and 25% in the United Kingdom.

The victims' evaluation of the work of the police

It has already been shown that a substantial lack of confidence in the police often leads victims not to report the crime suffered. This fact calls for reflection and has led to the search for ways to re-establish a relationship of trust between the public and the police, which is the necessary basis of effective police action against crime. In the course of the research, those who had been the victim of a crime and had reported it to the police were asked if they were satisfied with the way in which

the police had dealt with the report. 41.2% of the victims declared they were satisfied, 50.7% were dissatisfied and 8.1% uncertain. Comparing these answers with the equivalent answers formulated in other countries, on the basis of the same questionnaire, it can be noted that victims in Italy express a lower level of satisfaction than those in other countries. In fact, satisfaction was expressed by 68.8% of the victims in all the other countries considered at the time of writing⁴. From an analysis of the aggregation of data by continent, it can be observed that satisfaction is expressed by 66.4% of the victims in the European countries, by 75.5% in the Americas (Canada), and by 75.2% in Australia.

This figure is confirmed by the replies to another question which asked for a brief evaluation of the ability of the police to control the area in which the victim lived. 49.5% of the sample replied that the police do a good job (an overall average of 60.7% for the countries considered, including Italy). A negative judgment was expressed by 40.3% of the Italians and by an overall average of 22.2% in the countries considered.

The respondents were also asked whether they thought the police sufficiently controlled their area of residence. 40.8% of the Italians gave a positive answer (an average of 52% for all the countries).

Fear of crime

Microcrime generates fear, thus modifying people's behaviour in relation to their perception of themselves as potential victims of one type of crime or another. The resulting psychological costs and loss of opportunities are considerable. Although it is difficult to quantify these losses, it is possible to note every day how people's behaviour is modified by the existence of crime; how much freedom they deny themselves due to cautiousness and how many restrictions they impose upon themselves because of fear! People go out less often in the evening, accept the "necessary" company of other people, take taxis rather than use public transport, and make many other sacrifices, great and small, which have a deep impact on the quality of their lives. If one were to sit down at a desk and try to imagine life without crime, it would be realised that by abolishing all the fears and sacrifices which have now become more or less normal, one's behaviour in both significant and apparently insignificant situations would change substantially for the better.

It is difficult to measure crime since it involves a mixture of perceptions and attitudes that are not easy to evaluate. An attempt was made to do so by asking the whole sample two questions that are aimed precisely at quantifying fear. First, the respondent was asked how safe he/she felt when out walking at night. 27.7% of the respondents felt very safe, 37.2% safe enough, 21.5% felt slightly unsafe, and 13.5% felt very unsafe. The second question asked the respondents to recall whether the last time they were out at night in their area of residence they had deliberately kept away from streets, places or persons for safety reasons. 38.6% replied that they had and 50.7% that they had not. These figures indicate that the greater part of the Italian sample shows no particular signs of any fear of crime. However, comparatively speaking, the fear expressed is greater than in the other

⁴ Sweden, United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, Canada, Australia.

countries. The Italian figure for "safe on the whole" (65.4%) is below the average for all the countries, including Italy (74.9%); similarly, more Italians avoid places or persons for safety reasons (38.6%) than the overall average for the other countries (23.5%).

Prevention measures adopted by the victims

A series of questions raised the issue of prevention measures. Table 4 compares the prevention measures adopted by Italians with the overall average situation for all the countries, including Italy, considered by the study.

Table 4: Prevention measures adopted by the victims

Prevention measures	Italy (%)	Overall average for all countries (%)
Alarm	12.5	12.5
Reinforced door or special shutters	35.9	47.5
Window grills or bars	10.9	17.1
Guard dog	12.3	20.2
High fence	3.8	13.6
Security guard	5.4	4.3
Refuse to answer	1.5	3.2
None of these	45.0	31.3

It emerges from these data that Italians adopt fewer prevention measures than the average in the countries considered. And this does not only apply to prevention methods since, if we consider the answers to the question of whether they had asked anyone, a guard or a neighbour, to keep an eye on their home while they were away for a couple of days, it can be noted that an affirmative answer was given by 33.4% of the respondents (compared to an overall average of 54.7% for all the countries).

With respect to the possession of firearms in the respondent's family, the figures for Italy are similar to the averages in the other countries.

Table 5: The possession of firearms

Possession of firearms in the home (%)	Italy	Overall average in all countries (%)
No weapon	82.4	84.4
Hand gun	5.5	3.0
Rifle	1.8	6.2
Shotgun	10.7	8.5

When those possessing firearms were asked whether this weapon was kept as a means of protection from crime, an affirmative answer was given by 23.4% of the sample (compared to an overall average of 16.4% for all the countries).

Briefly, the profile of the Italians can be characterised as follows: they are afraid, adopt fewer personal prevention measures, but make greater use of firearms.

The attitudes of victims towards the punishment of criminals

The questionnaire outlined the case of a 21-year-old youth found guilty of theft for the second time. On this occasion he had stolen a colour television set. The respondents were asked to indicate which sentence was most appropriate. Table 6 shows that the degree of severity among Italians (expressed through the preference for a prison sentence) is slightly below the overall average of the countries under survey.

Table 6: Attitudes of victims towards punishment

Appropriate punishment	Italy (%)	Overall average for all countries (%)
Fine	9.6	10.2
Prison sentence	22.4	29.1
Community service or other alternatives to prison	46.5	45.0
Conditional discharge	3.6	5.8
Other sentence	5.4	4.3

Concluding remarks

Although it is possible to reason in aggregate terms for different types of crime, it can be stated, on the basis of the results of this research, that the variables which most frequently produce a greater risk of becoming a victim are the following: residence in a southern region or on an island; in a large city; in a high status residential area; high income and frequent evening outings. This is the characteristic profile of an affluent victim who is logically more exposed to the type of microcrime aimed at producing income.

This victim profile confirms the theory of criminal opportunities which holds that the risk of becoming a victim is dependent on the supply of affluence produced in a certain sense by the potential victim. The greater the opportunities, the more numerous the victims. This figure can be decreased, however, by the intervention of the prevention variable. In fact, greater use is made of private prevention by people with a high income, a university-level education, and who live in large cities.

A further aspect is the geographical variable, in other words the concentration of victims of certain crimes in southern areas, where there are wider inequalities in the distribution of income and where a greater demand for crime is ascertained by the criminal statistics. In fact, from a comparison of the percentage of crimes reported in terms of the offender's place of birth and the place where the crime was committed, in the criminal statistics for various years it is noted that the southern regions show a negative balance and the northern regions a positive balance. In other words, the number of people born in the southern regions who are involved in crime is greater than the number of crimes committed in those regions, while the number of people born in the northern regions who turn to crime is lower than the number of crimes committed there. This figure reflects the effects of migratory flows in terms of crime.

The geographical variable exercises a contradictory effect on the risk of becoming a victim, and is an aspect that needs further examination if we are to understand whether inequalities in income, which are more pronounced in the

southern regions, generate an increased risk of becoming a victim. In fact, the difference between the income (high) of the victims and hence the opportunities for creating victims, and the income (low) of potential criminals, resulting in an increased demand for crime, could be the factor which increases the opportunities for creating victims of such crimes as theft of cars, car parts, motorcycles, and robbery, in southern Italy and the islands.

In conclusion, however, we can observe that variations in the real number of victims are produced by the interweaving of the opportunity (supply of potential victims) and the demand for crime (demand for potential victims), although it is difficult to distinguish which of the two components is greater. A subsequent analysis of the data collected during this research will allow clearer answers to be given to this question.

FIGURES

Figure 1: Victims of theft of car. Italy and other countries (1987-1991)

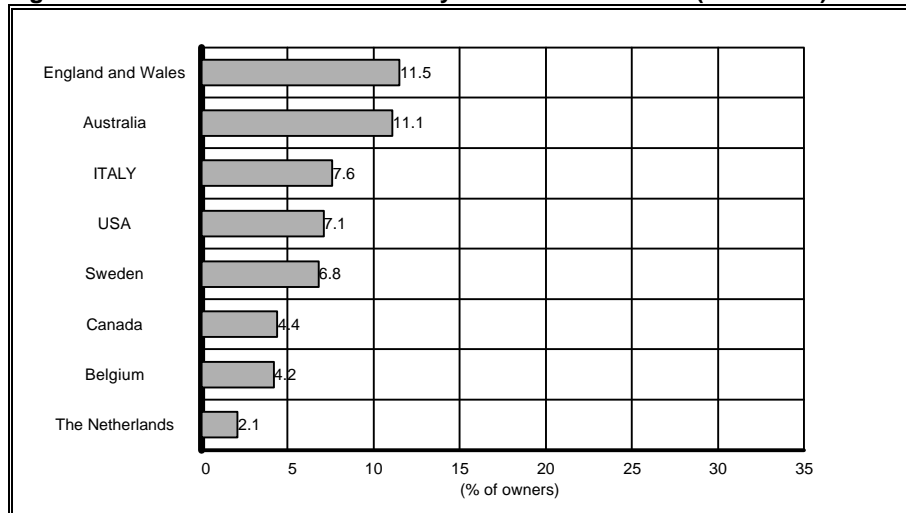


Figure 2: Victims of theft from car. Italy and other countries (1987-1991)

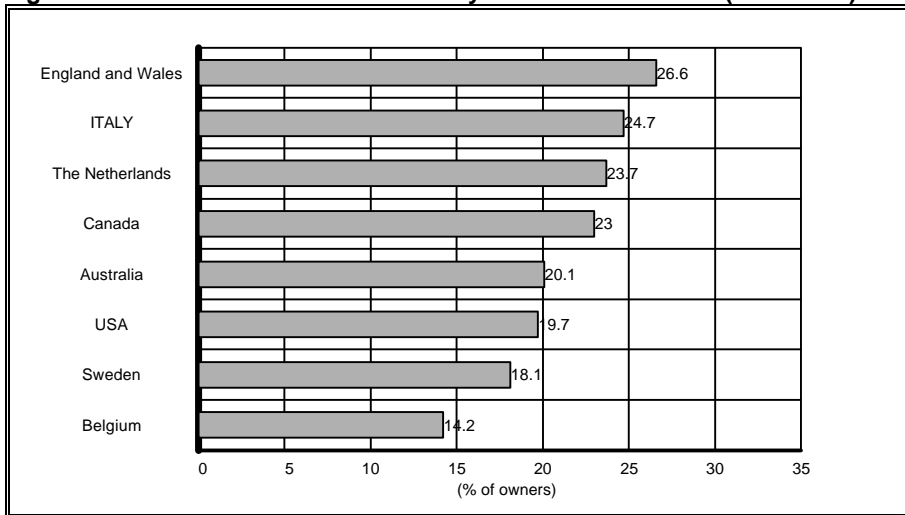


Figure 3: Victims of theft of motorcycle. Italy and other countries (1987-1991)

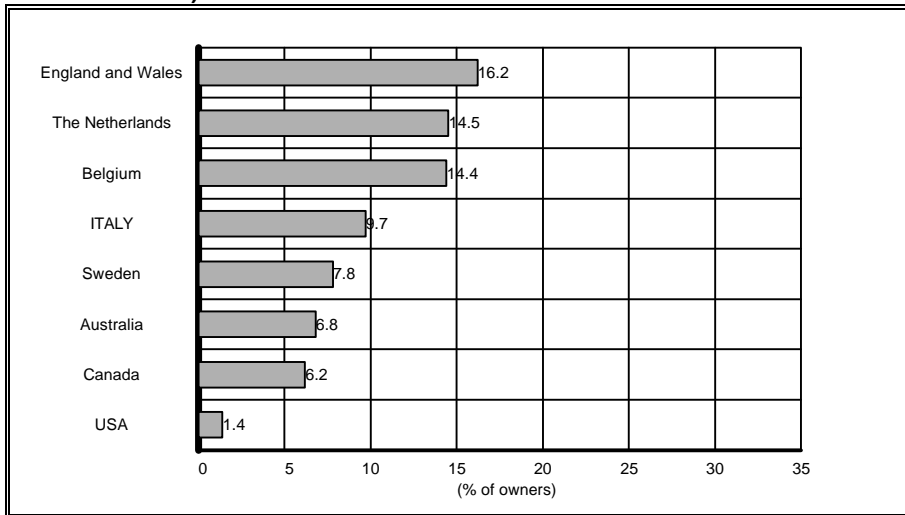


Figure 4: Victims of theft of bicycle. Italy and other countries (1987-1991)

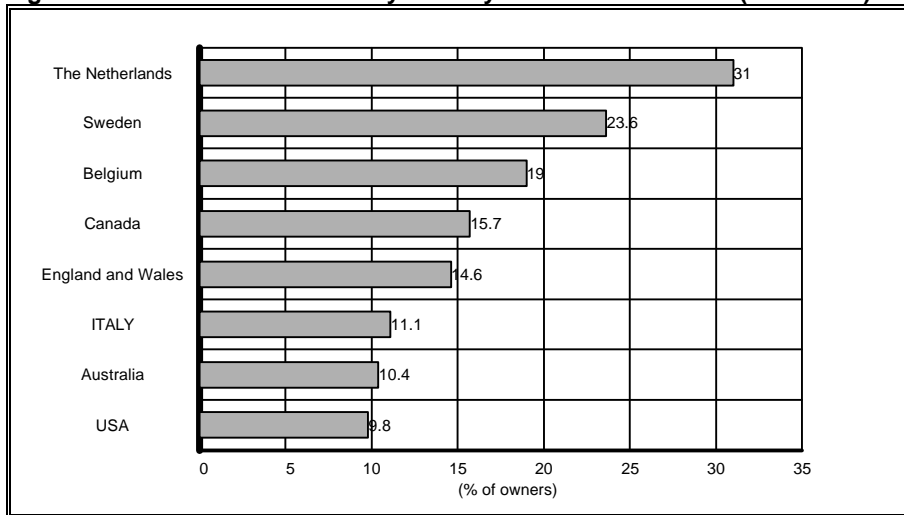


Figure 5: Victims of car vandalism. Italy and other countries (1987-1991)

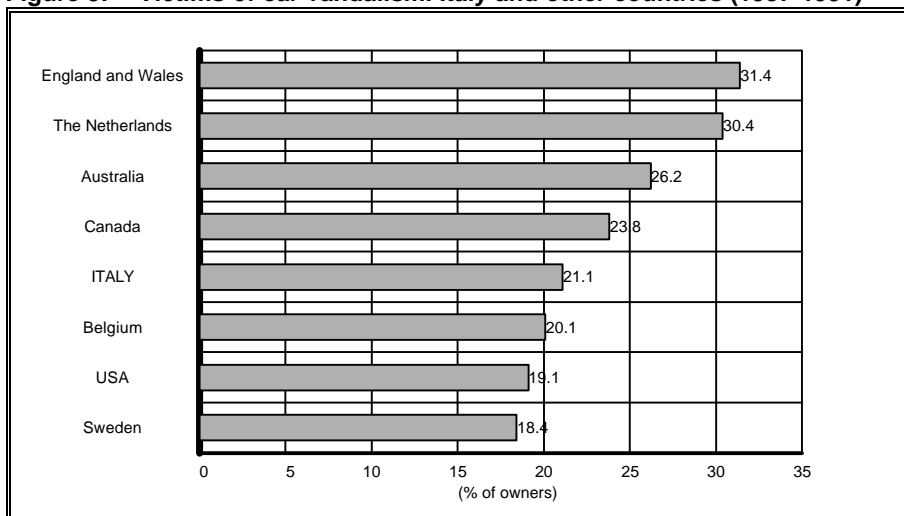


Figure 6: Victims of burglary with entry. Italy and other countries (1987-1991)

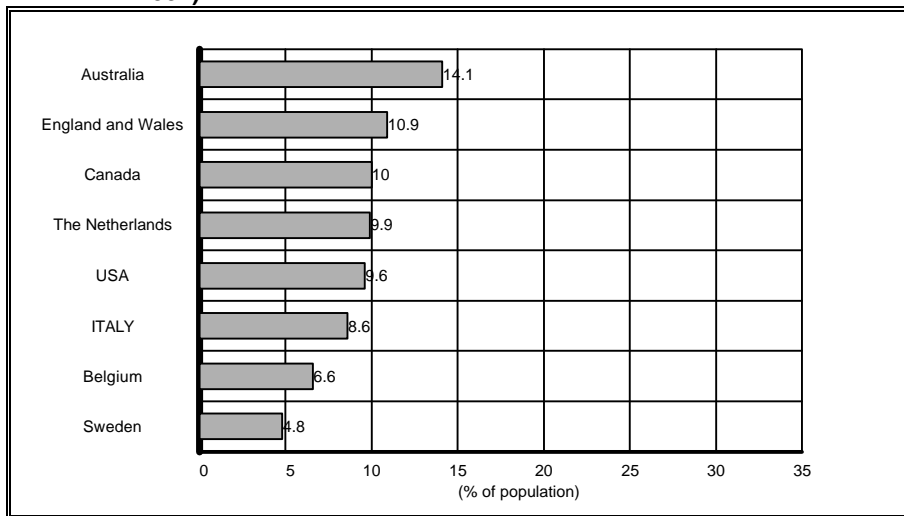


Figure 7: Victims of attempted burglary. Italy and other countries (1987-1991)

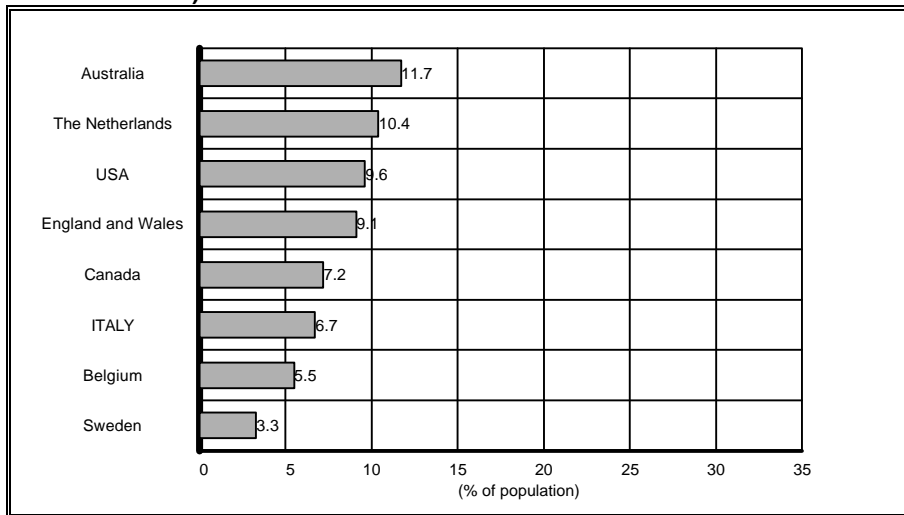


Figure 8: Victims of robbery. Italy and other countries (1987-1991)

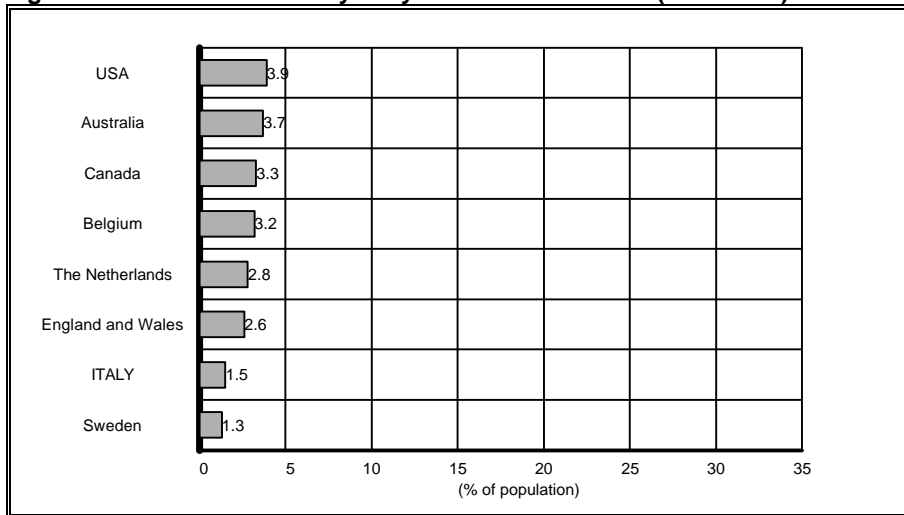


Figure 9: Victims of personal theft and pickpocketing. Italy and other countries (1987-1991)

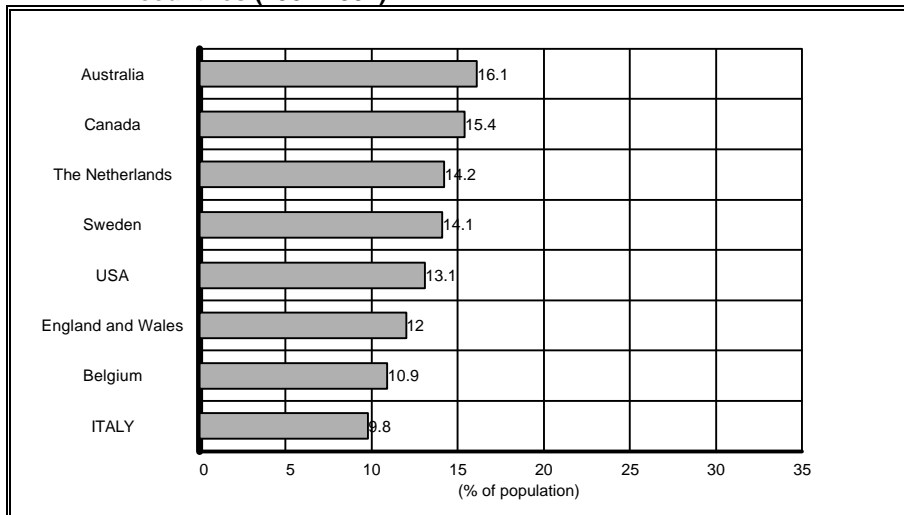


Figure 10: Women victims of sexual incidents. Italy and other countries (1987-1991)

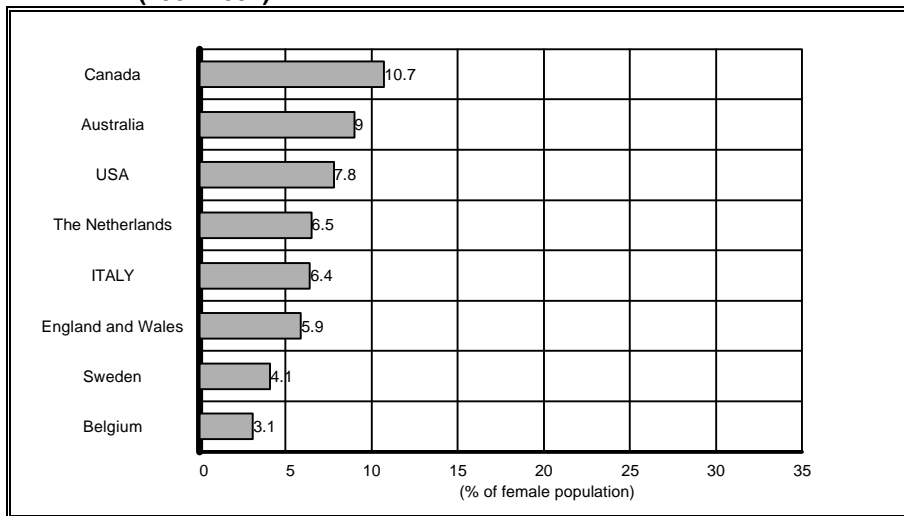


Figure 11: Victims of assaults. Italy and other countries (1987-1991)

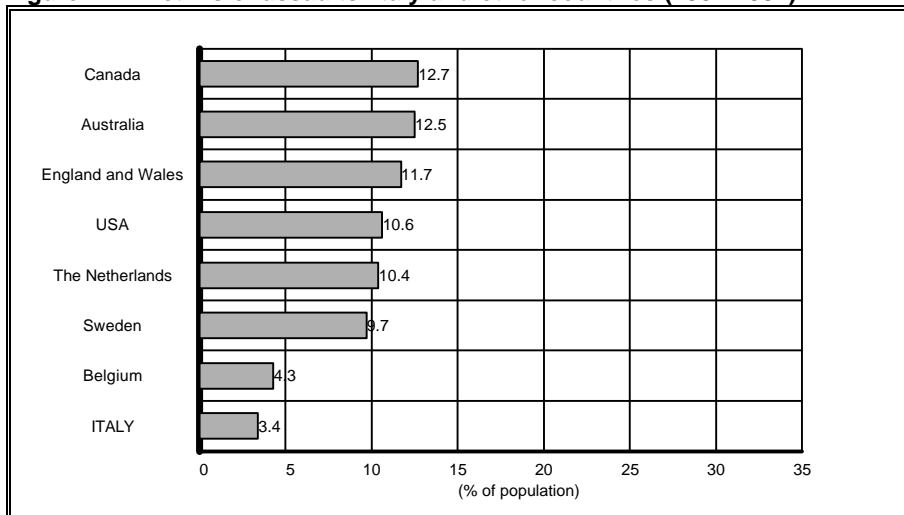


Figure 12: Victims of fraud. Italy and other countries (1987-1991)

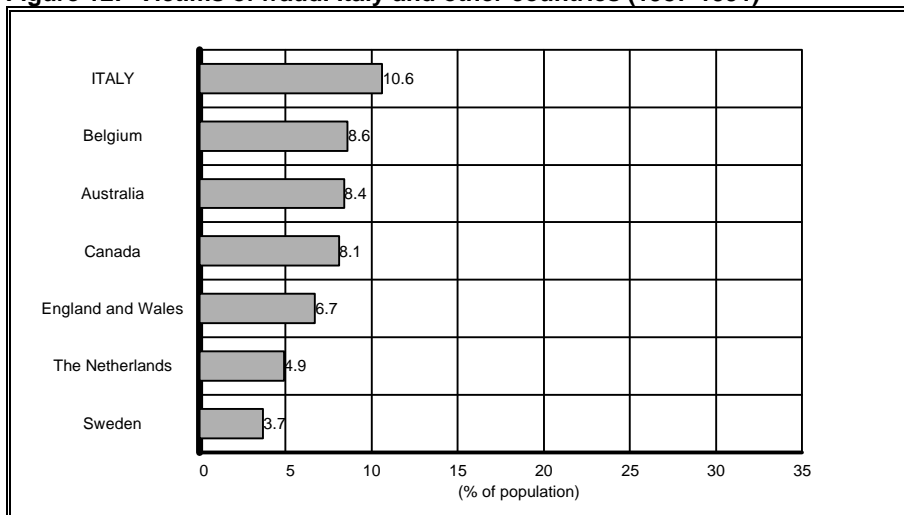


Figure 13: Reported cases of theft of car. Italy and other countries (1991)

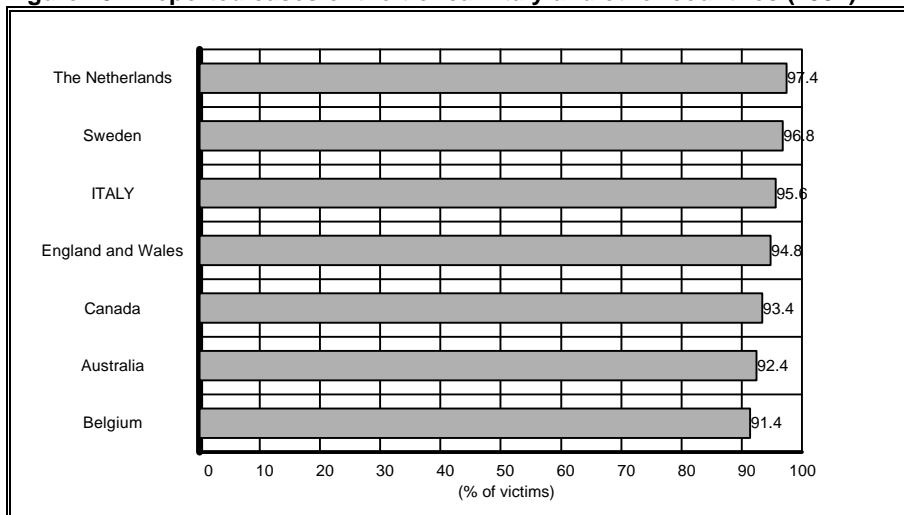


Figure 14: Reported cases of theft from car. Italy and other countries (1991)

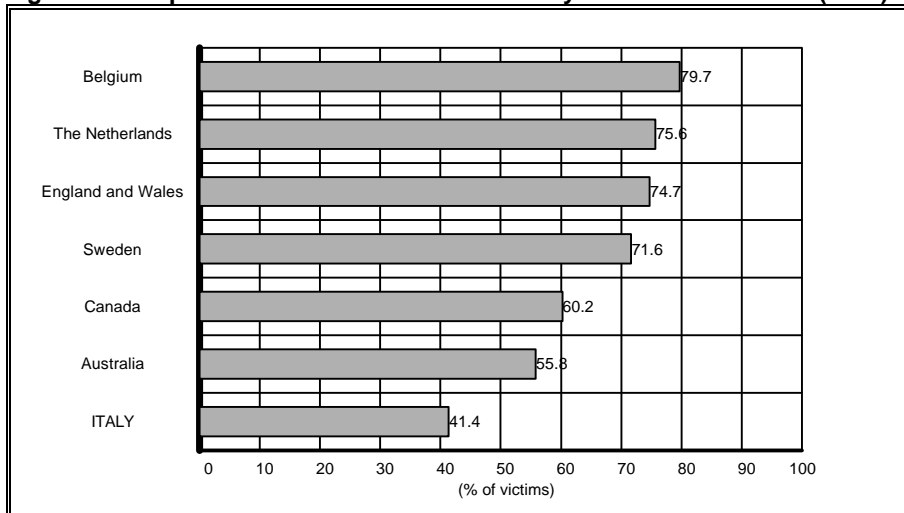


Figure 15: Reported cases of motorcycle theft. Italy and other countries (1991)

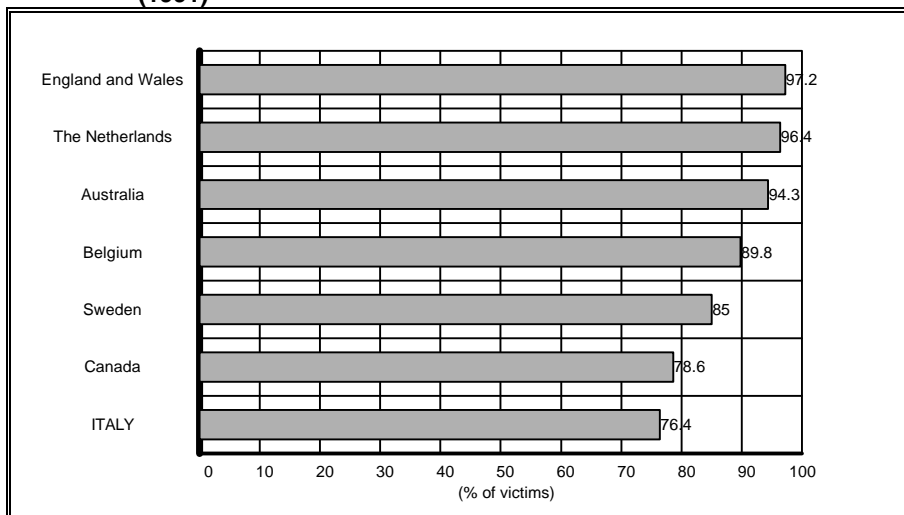


Figure 16: Reported cases of bicycle theft. Italy and other countries (1991)

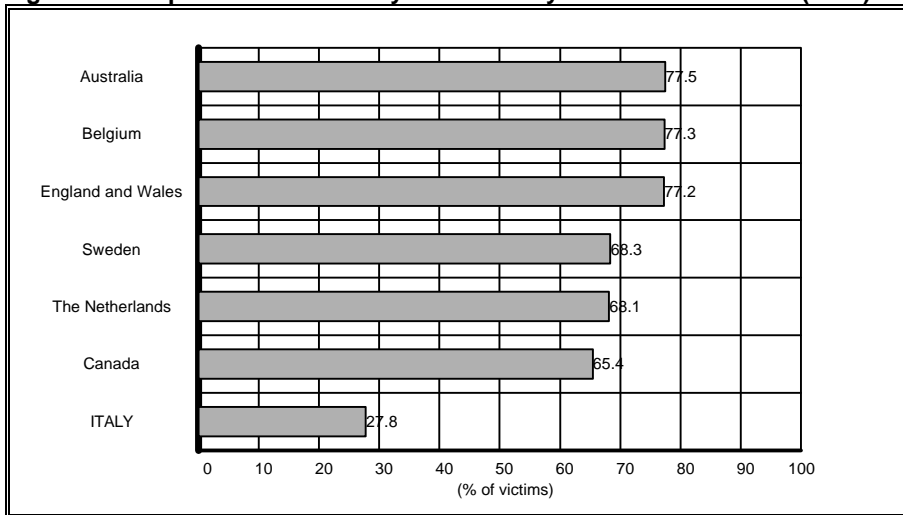


Figure 17: Reported acts of car vandalism. Italy and other countries (1991)

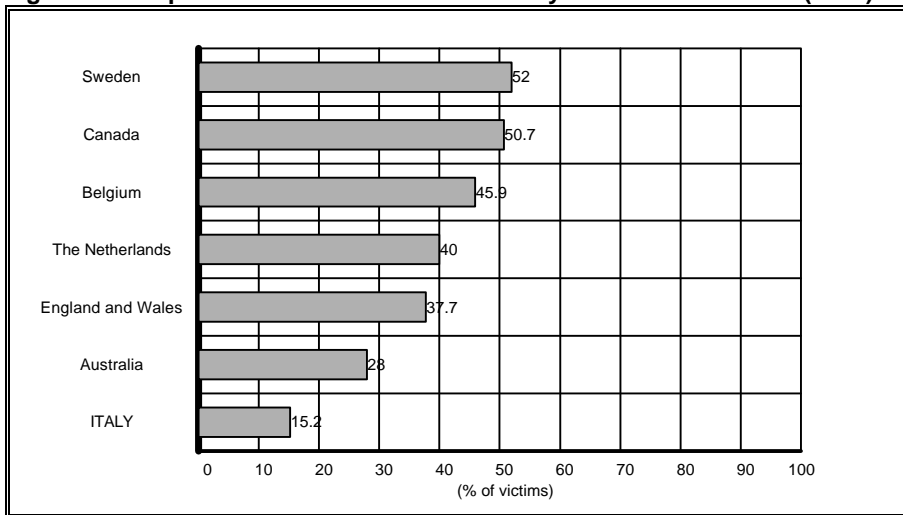


Figure 18: Reported cases of burglary with entry. Italy and other countries (1991)

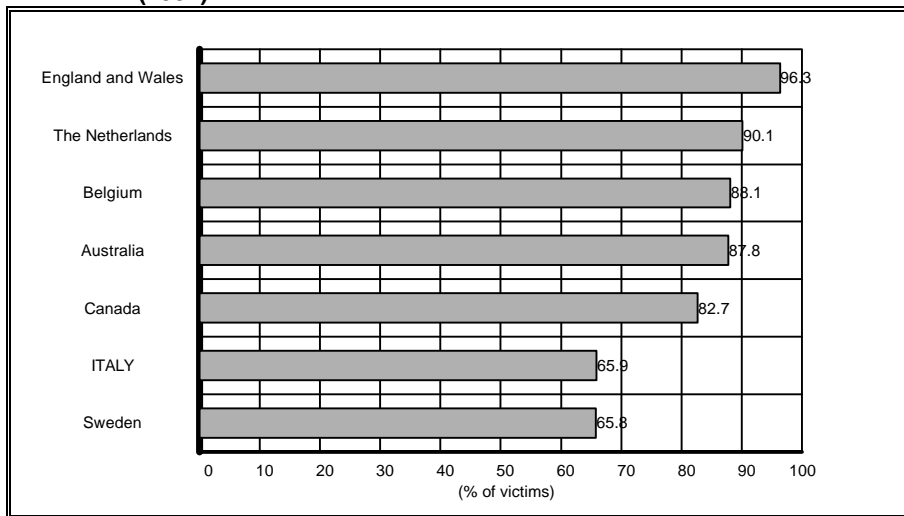


Figure 19: Reported cases of attempted burglary. Italy and other countries (1991)

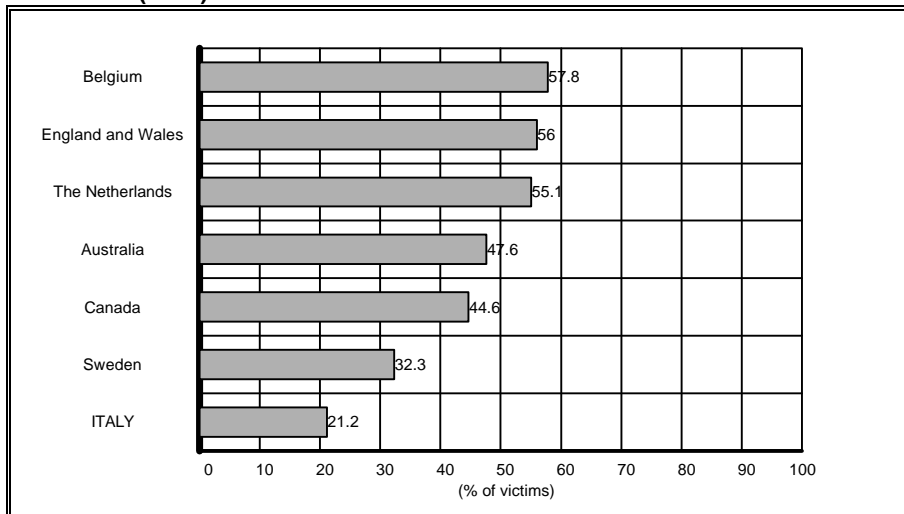


Figure 20: Reported cases of robbery. Italy and other countries (1991)

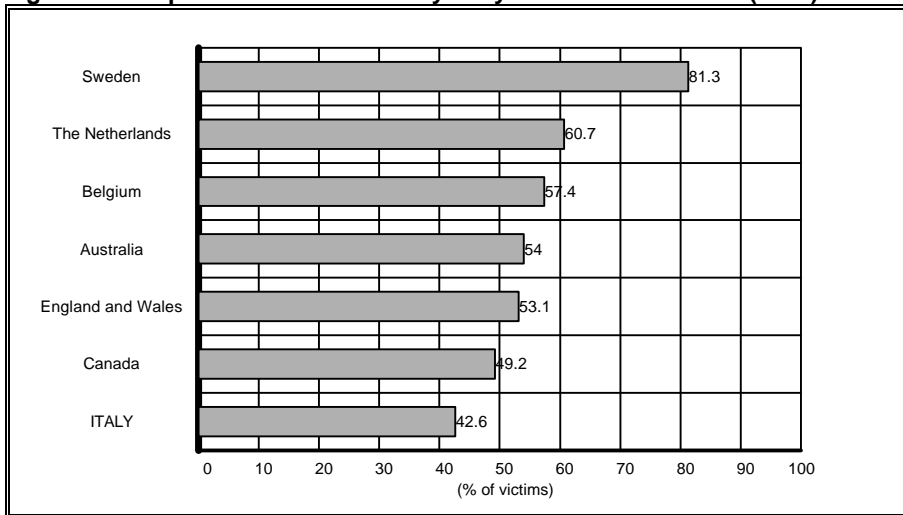


Figure 21: Reported cases of personal theft and pickpocketing. Italy and other countries (1991)

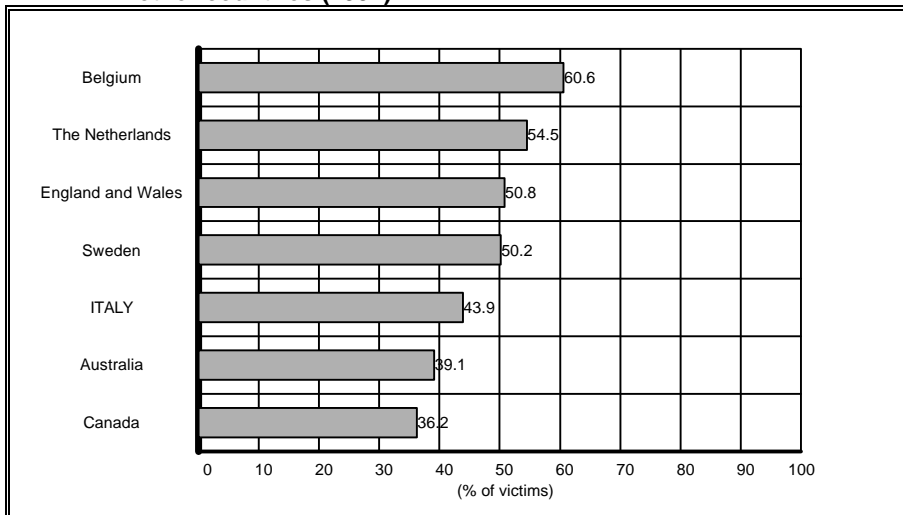


Figure 22: Reported cases of sexual incidents against women. Italy and other countries (1991)

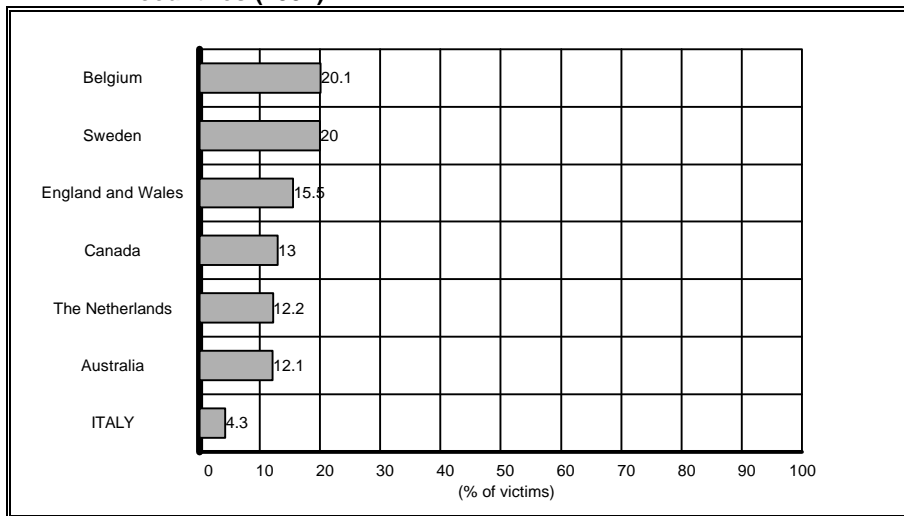


Figure 23: Reported cases of assaults. Italy and other countries (1991)

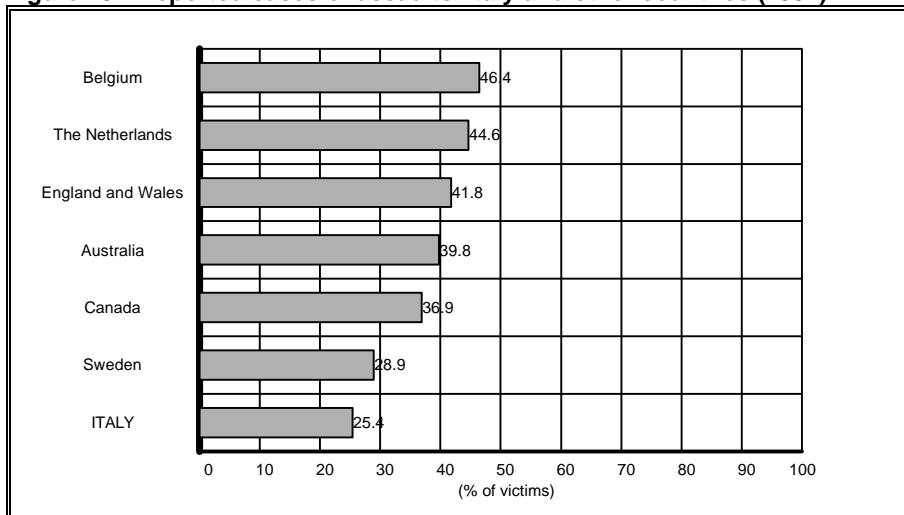


Figure 24: Reported cases of fraud. Italy and other countries (1991)

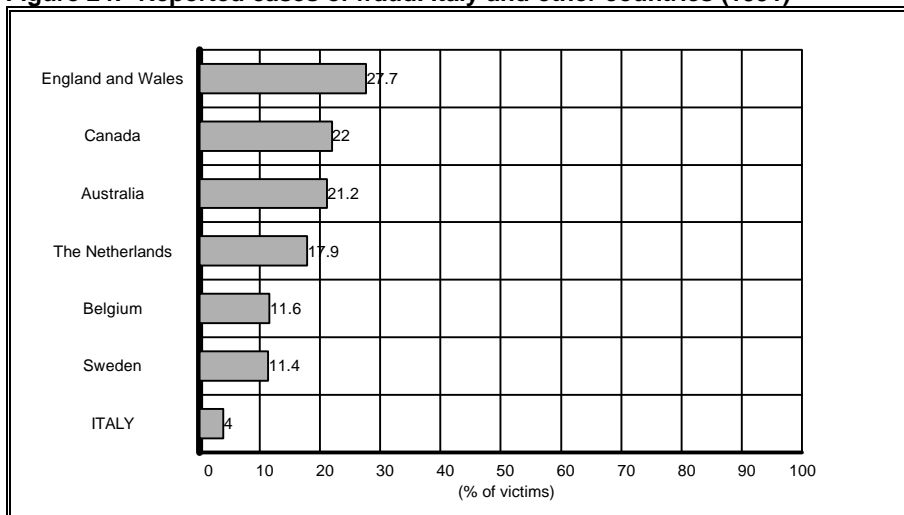


Figure 25: Victimization risk for car theft. Italy (1987-1991)

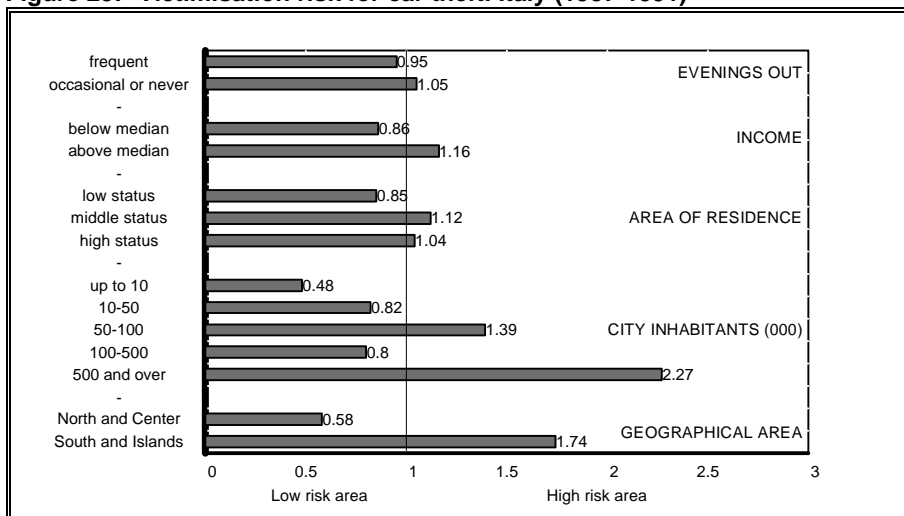


Figure 26: Victimisation risk for theft from car. Italy (1987-1991)

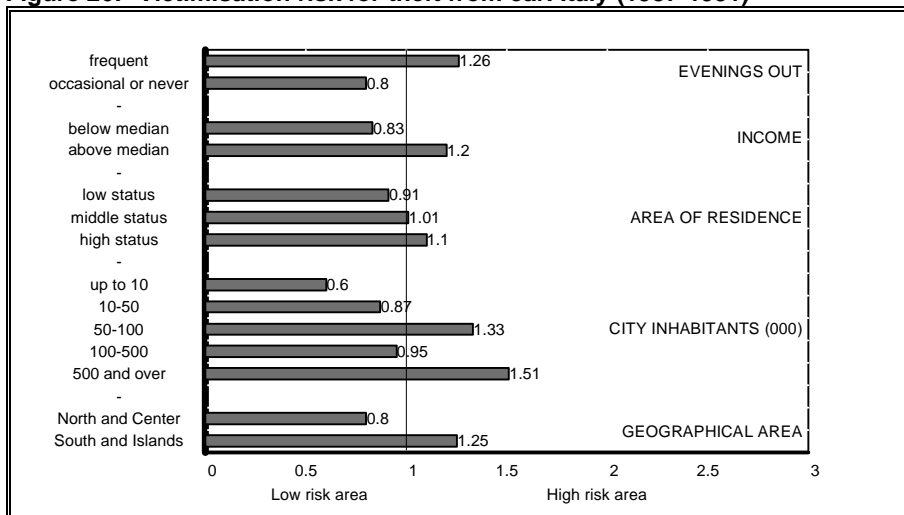


Figure 27: Victimisation risk for theft of motorcycle. Italy (1987-1991)

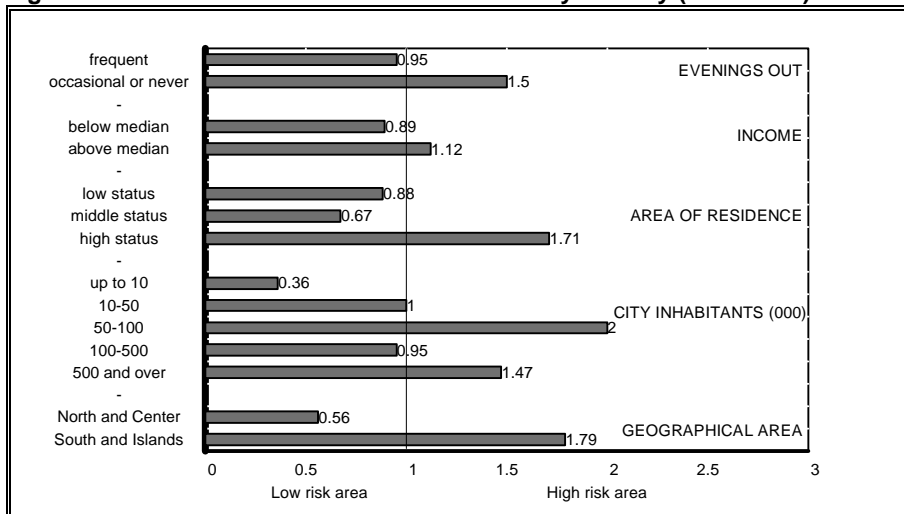


Figure 28: Victimisation risk for theft of bicycle. Italy (1987-1991)

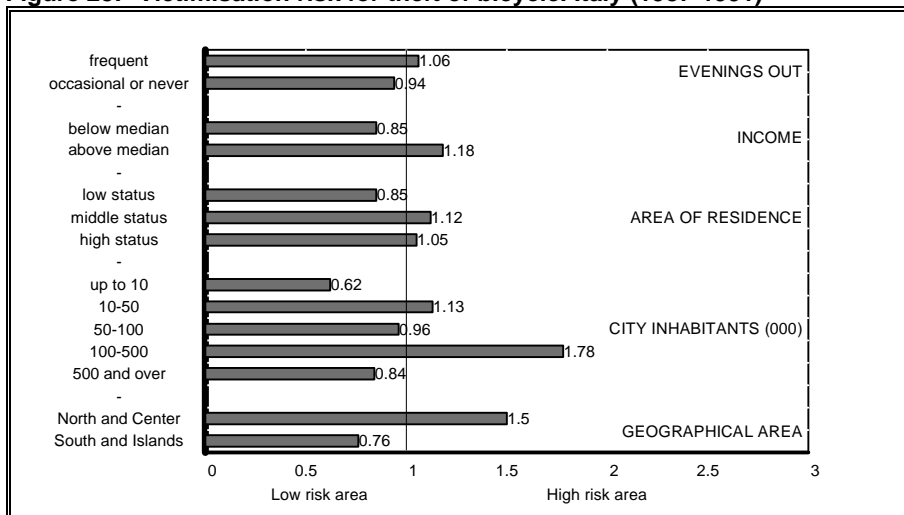


Figure 29: Victimisation risk for acts of vandalism. Italy (1987-1991)

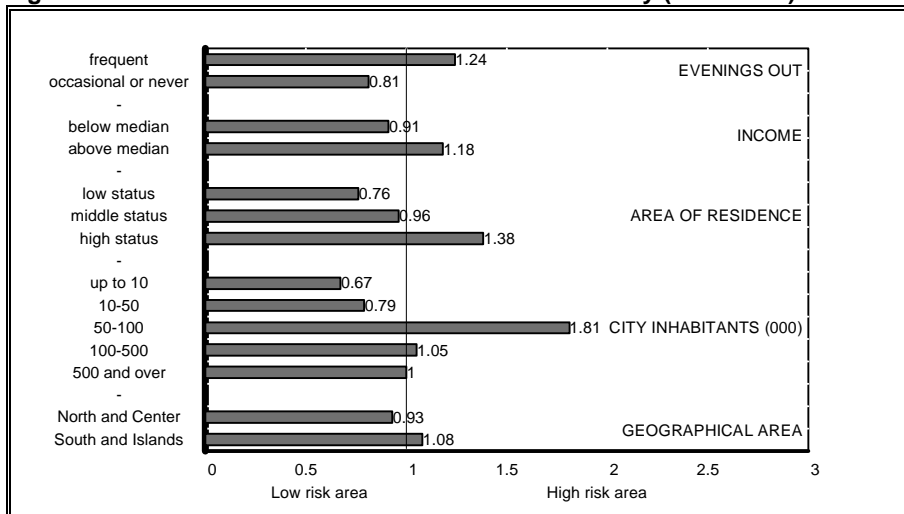


Figure 30: Victimisation risk for burglary with entry. Italy (1987-1991)

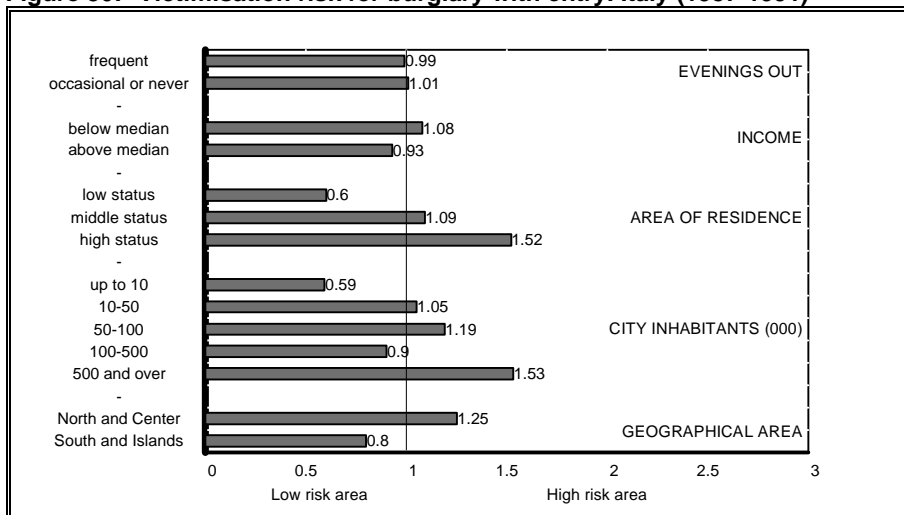


Figure 31: Victimisation risk for attempted burglary. Italy (1987-1991)

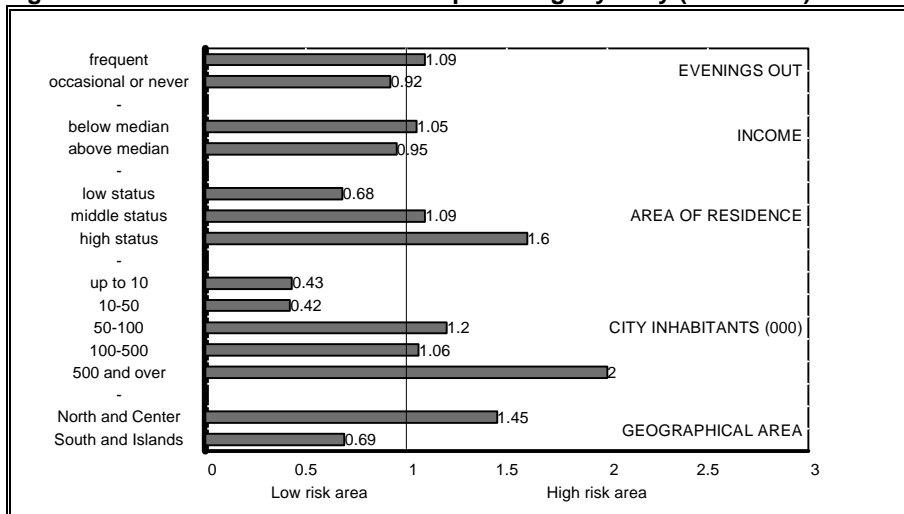


Figure 32: Victimisation risk for robbery. Italy (1987-1991)

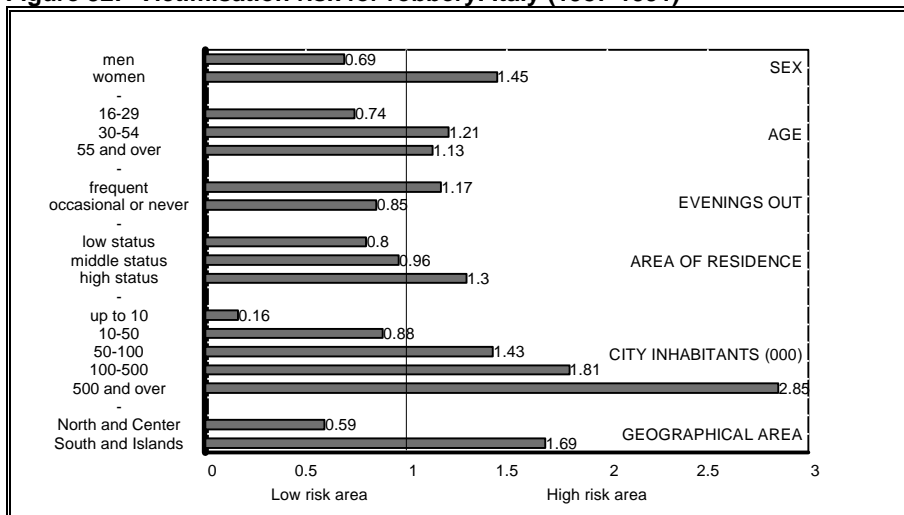


Figure 33: Victimisation risk for personal theft and pickpocketing. Italy (1987-1991)

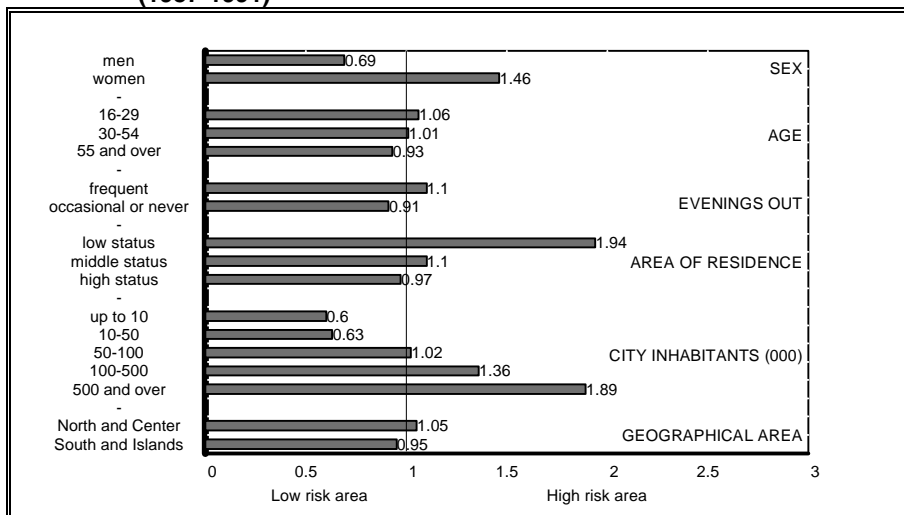


Figure 34: Victimisation risk for sexual incidents - women only. Italy (1987-1991)

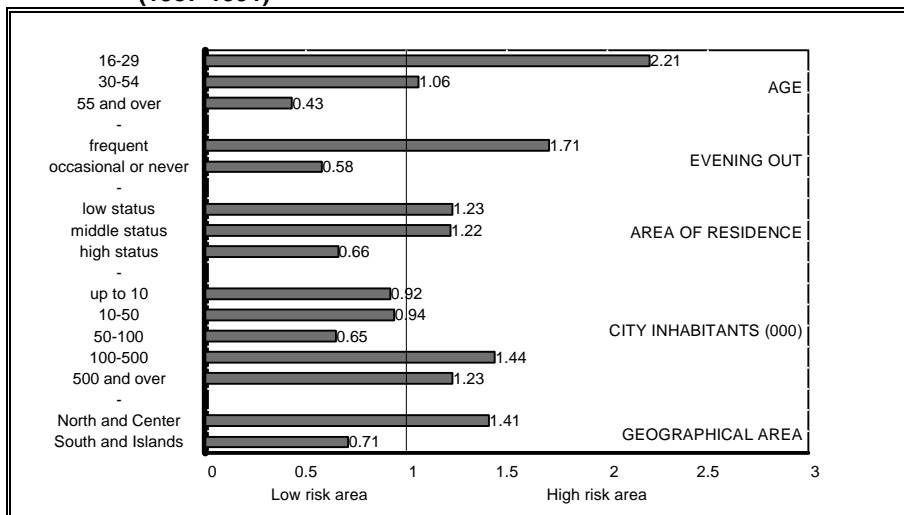


Figure 35: Victimisation risk for assaults. Italy (1987-1991)

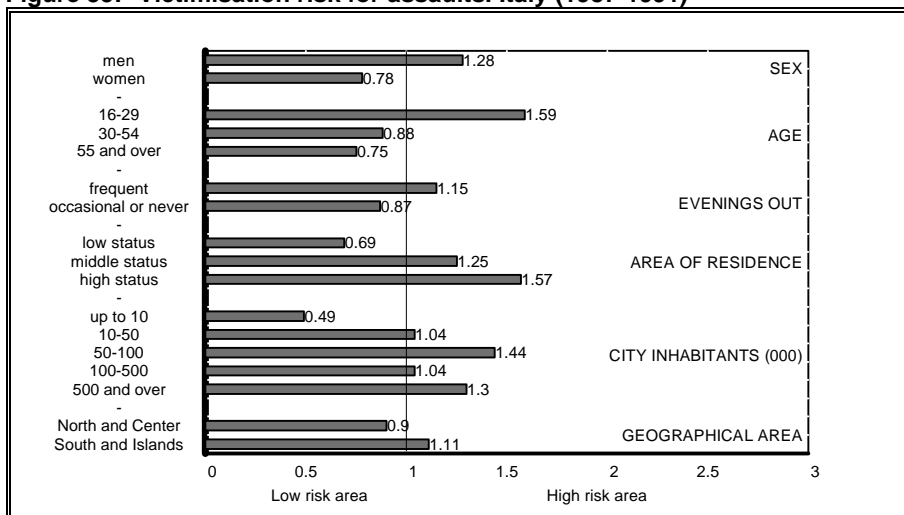


Figure 36: Victimisation risk for fraud. Italy (1987-1991)

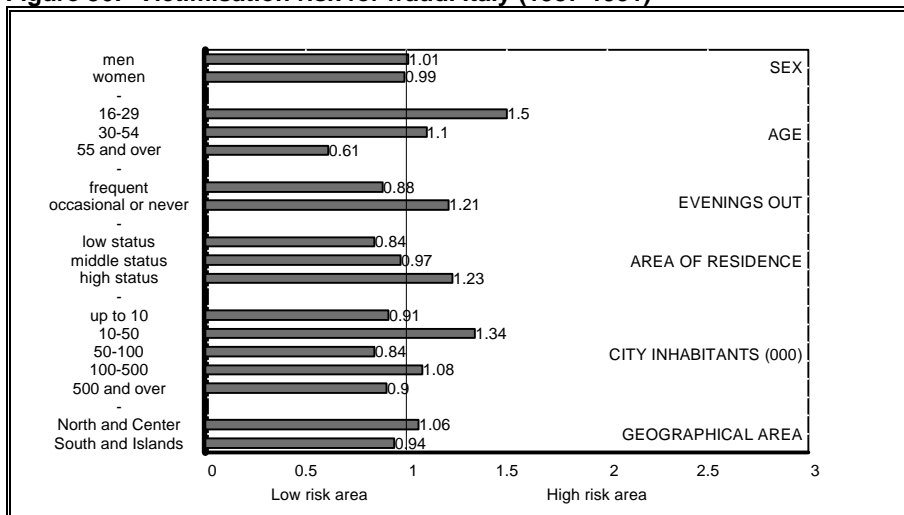


Figure 37: The "dark" figure of crime - reported and unreported cases according to type of offence (last incident). Italy (%)

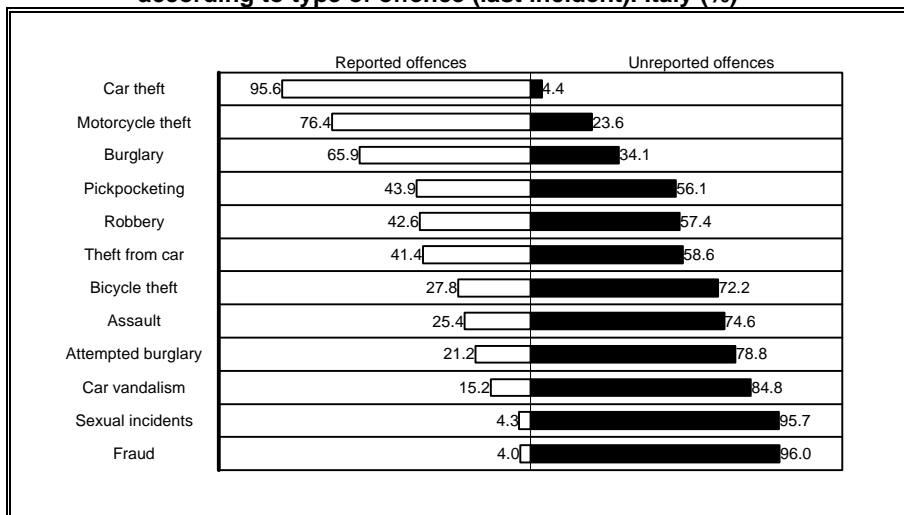


Figure 38: Car theft - unreported cases (a.v.) and reasons for not reporting (% of total answers)

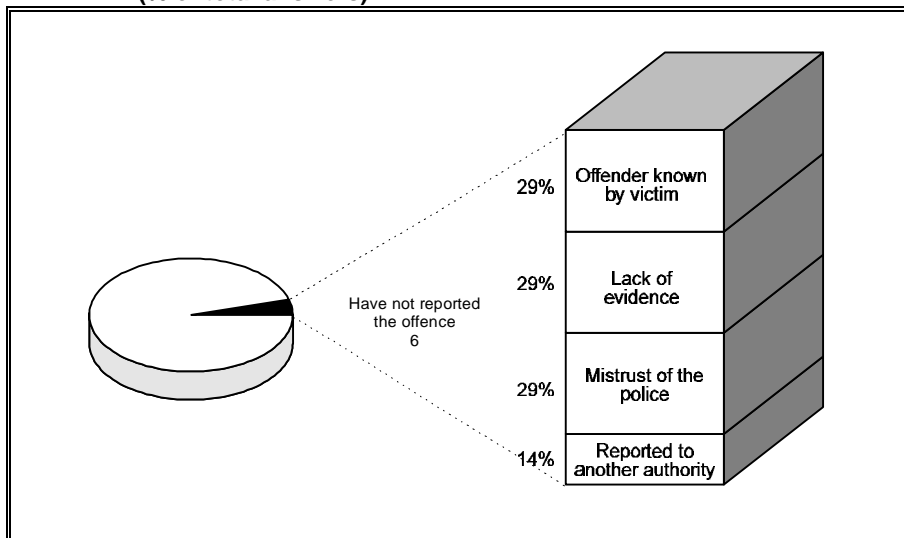


Figure 39: Theft from car - unreported cases (a.v.) and reasons for not reporting (% of total answers)

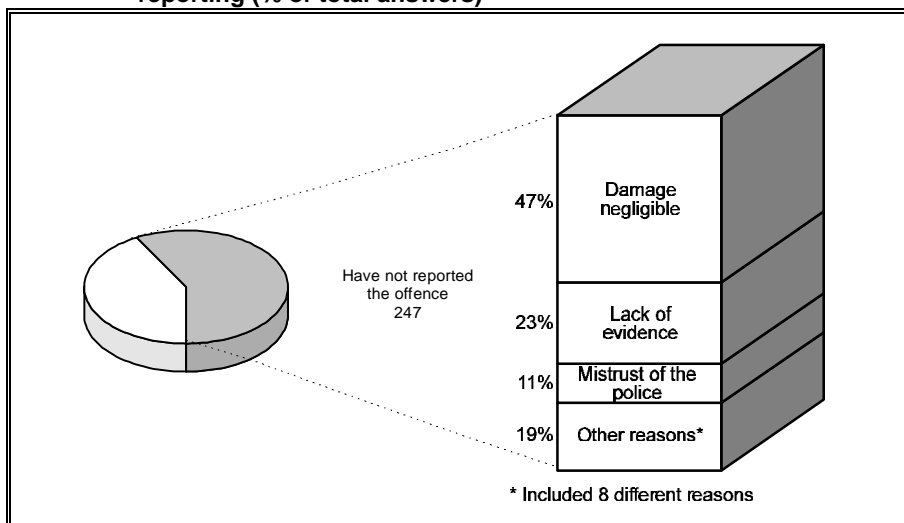


Figure 40: Car vandalism - unreported cases (a.v.) and reasons for not reporting (% of total answers)

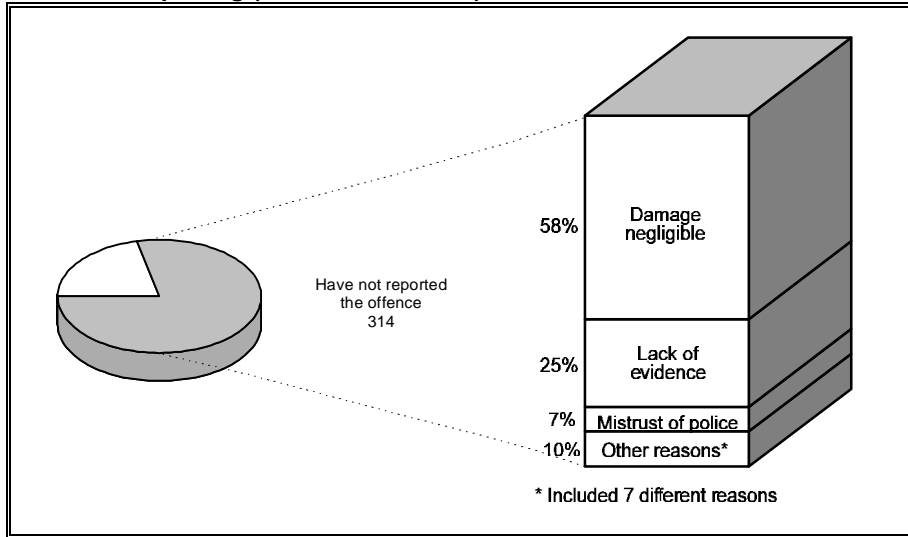


Figure 41: Motorcycle theft - unreported cases (a.v.) and reasons for not reporting (% of total answers)

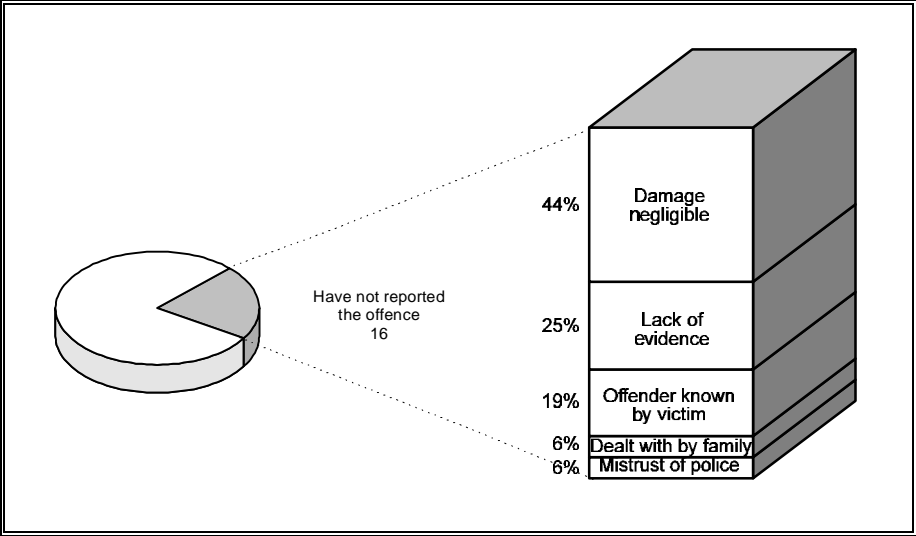


Figure 42: Bicycle theft - unreported cases (a.v.) and reasons for not reporting (% of total answers)

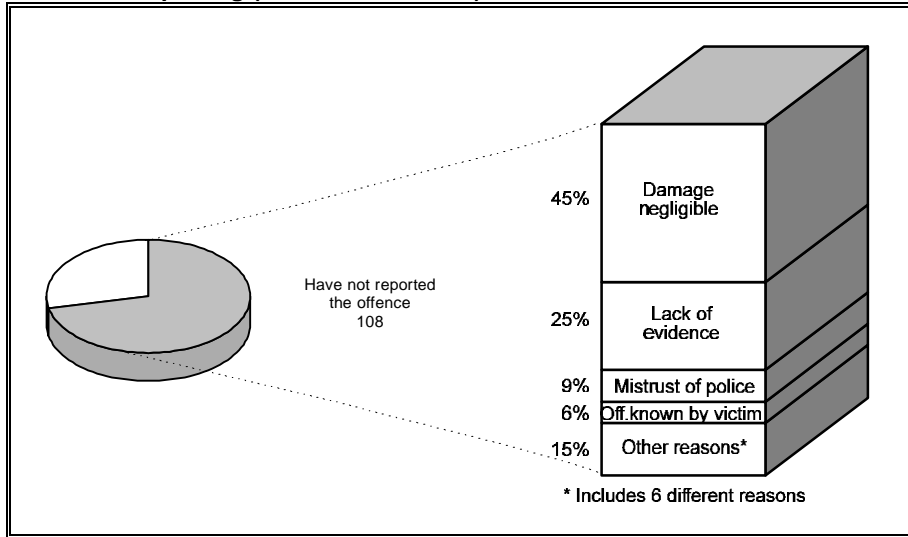


Figure 43: Burglary - unreported cases (a.v.) and reasons for not reporting (% of total answers)

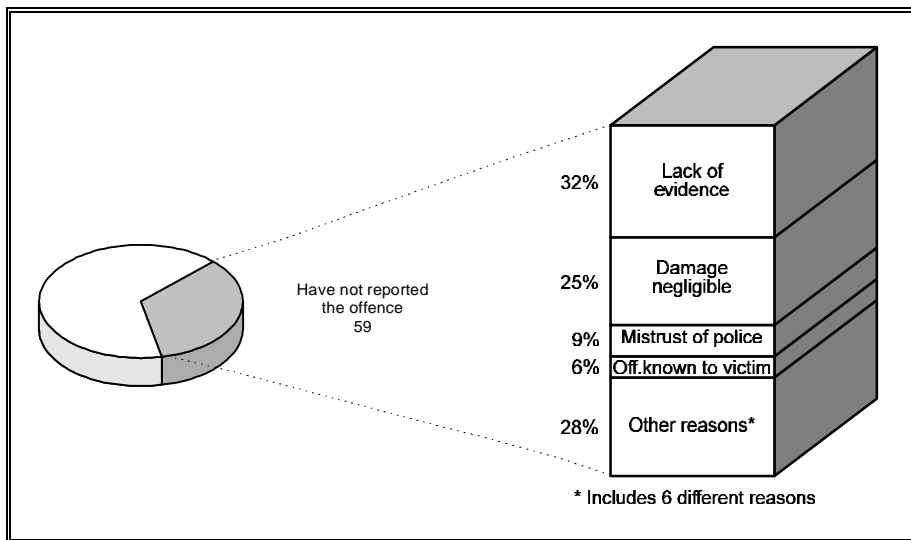


Figure 44: Attempted burglary - unreported cases (a.v.) and reasons for not reporting (% of total answers)

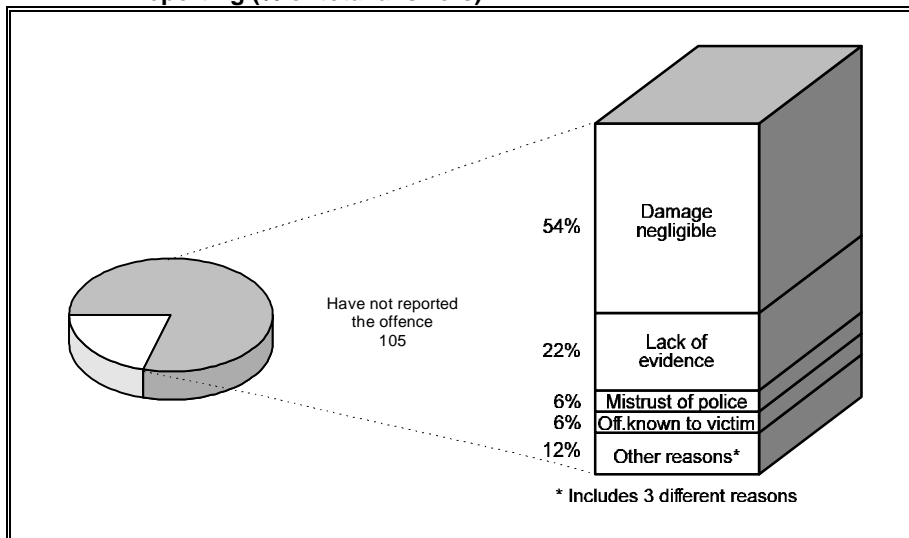


Figure 45: Robbery - unreported cases (a.v.) and reasons for not reporting (% of total answers)

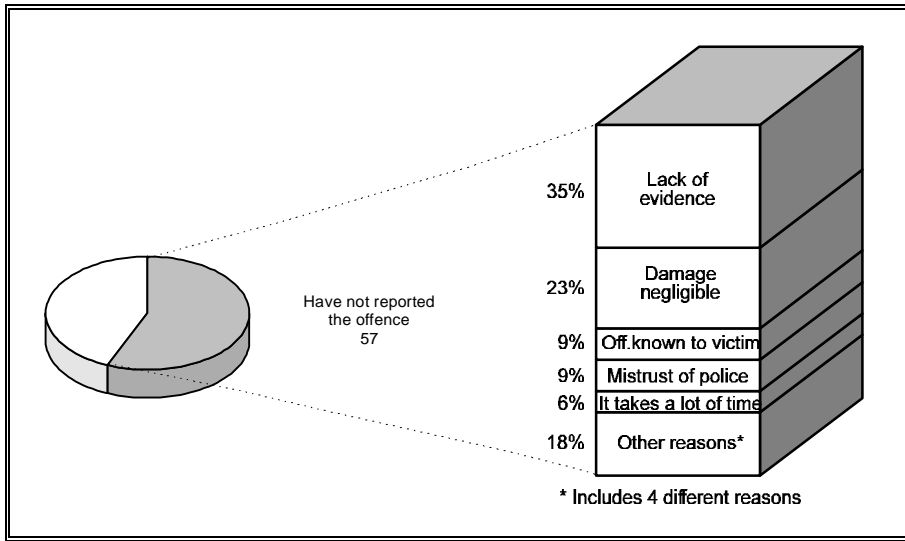


Figure 46: Pickpocketing - unreported cases (a.v.) and reasons for not reporting (% of total answers)

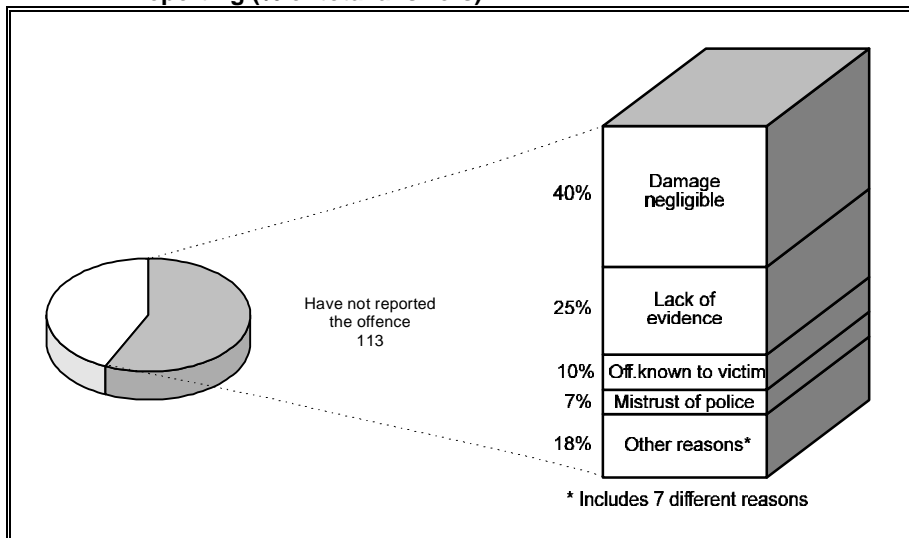


Figure 47: Women victims of sexual incidents - unreported cases (a.v.) and reasons for not reporting (% of total answers)

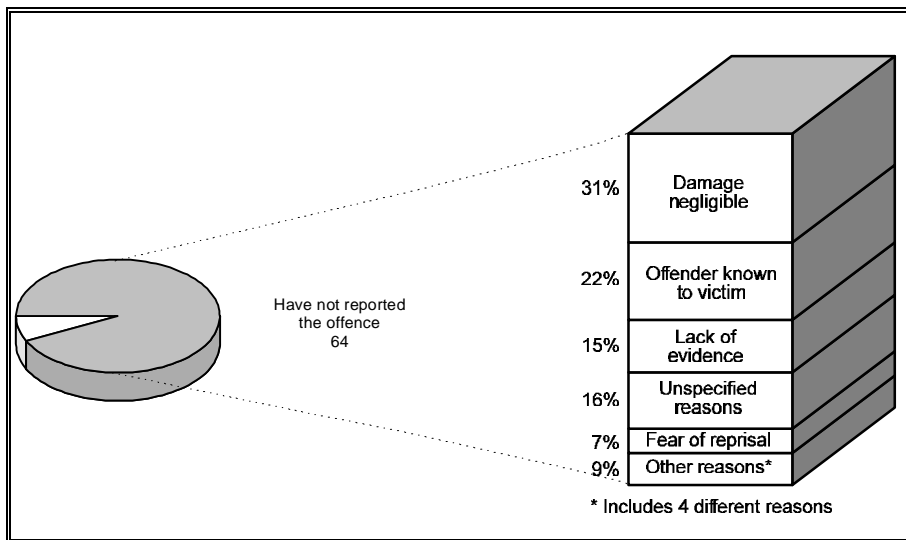
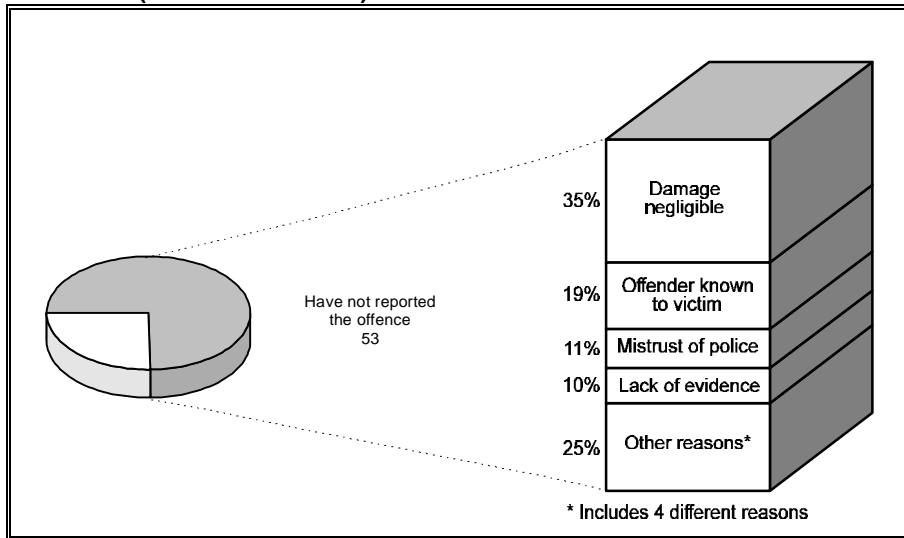


Figure 48: Assaults - unreported cases (a.v.) and reasons for not reporting (% of total answers)



PART TWO

Research and Policy Issues

Research Issues

THE INFLUENCE OF THE TYPE OF DATA COLLECTION METHOD ON THE RESULTS OF THE VICTIM SURVEYS A German Research Project

Helmut Kury and Michael Würger¹

Introduction

The introduction of opinion polls and the gradual development of differentiated methods of survey-based research in the first half of this century had a fundamental impact on the subject matter and methodology of empirical social research. Understandably, the rapid advances in survey-based research also influenced the field of criminology and particularly the continuously expanding field of victimology. Since the seventies several large-scale victim studies have been conducted in the Federal Republic of Germany which were based primarily on oral interviews, survey questionnaires distributed by mail, and, more recently, telephone interviews. The first nationwide victimisation study (covering the old federal Länder) which dates back to 1990 was performed by the telephone interview technique². This telephone-based victim survey was part of the first International Crime Survey³. The first national victim survey covering the old as well as the new federal Länder, however, was based on personal interviews⁴. Thus far, no general agreement has been reached as to the respective advantages and drawbacks of the three data collection methods applied in victim studies.

On the basis of available research results which were obtained in the USA there is reason to assume that the data collection procedure has an influence on the derived results. Especially the factor of "social desirability" can be assumed to differ in the three data collection methods. In the following, several studies that have investigated the influence of the data collection procedure on the survey results shall be presented. Subsequently, an empirical study aimed at assessing the influence of the data collection procedure on the results of a survey which was carried out by the present author (oral interview versus mail survey) will be introduced in detail.

Comparative studies of the influence of the data collection method on survey results

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- ¹ Max-Planck-Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law, Freiburg im Breisgau, Germany.
 - ² Kury, H. (1991) "Victims of crime: results of a representative telephone survey of 5,000 citizens of the former Federal Republic of Germany" in Kaiser, G., H. Kury and H.J. Albrecht (eds.) *Victims and criminal justice*, Vol. 50, pp. 265-304, Eigenverlag Max-Planck-Institut für Ausländisches und Internationales Strafrecht, Freiburg.
 - ³ van Dijk, J.J.M., P. Mayhew and M. Killias (1990) *Experiences of crime across the world: key findings of the 1989 International Crime Survey*, Kluwer, Deventer, Boston.
 - ⁴ Kury, H., U. Dormann, H. Richter and M. Würger (1992) "Opfererfahrungen und Meinungen zur Inneren Sicherheit in Deutschland", *BKA-Forschungsreihe*, Vol. 25, BKA, Wiesbaden.

The choice of the survey method implemented in a social-scientific empirical investigation is generally influenced by the following four factors: 1) the costs invested in data collection; 2) the time required for answering questions and conducting the survey; 3) the expected response rate; and 4) the expected biases. Wiseman correctly points out that: "Typically, more weight is placed on the first three factors and, as a result, adequate attention has not been given to the latter consideration"⁵. In the last few years an increasing number of studies were conducted particularly in the Anglo-American parts of the world, which investigated the influence of the data collection method on the results of an investigation. According to Dillman and Tarnai, however, such studies primarily compared face-to-face interview techniques with telephone survey methods⁶. As far as the comparison between telephone and face-to-face interviews is concerned, the reporting authors found differences in quite a number of studies, which on the whole, however, remained fairly insignificant. More substantial discrepancies, on the other hand, can be expected to emerge between the two types of oral data collection procedures (personal interviews and telephone interviews) and written surveys (in particular mail surveys).

The greater part of comparative studies on written and oral data collection procedures found significant - though in some respects relatively minor - differences indicating that mail surveys are less affected by the factor of social desirability. Thus, in a written survey Ellis found a greater number of self-accusing statements than in personal interviews⁷. Nederhof reported that a greater number of altruistic replies are given in personal interviews than in mail surveys⁸. Hochstim who conducted one of the first comparative studies on the three essential data collection methods found pronounced divergencies in the answers given depending on the method of data collection⁹. It became apparent that sensitive questions are answered more openly in the case of written data surveys. Siematycki reports the findings of a comparable study which was also based on all three data collection methods¹⁰. Health affairs were the object of investigation of a representative sample. In the latter case there were also clear indications that the data which were compiled orally (particularly by phone) were falsified in the sense of social desirability. Intimate questions concerning personal health conditions were answered more openly and honestly in written surveys than in telephone interviews.

⁵ Wiseman, F. (1972) "Methodological bias in public opinion surveys" *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36:105.

⁶ Dillman, D.A. and J. Tarnai (1988) "Administrative issues in mixed mode surveys" in Groves, R.M., P.P. Biemer, L.E. Lyberg, J.T. Massey, W.L. Nicholls II and J. Waksberg (eds.) *Telephone survey methodology*, p. 520, Wiley, New York.

⁷ Ellis, A. (1947) "Questionnaire versus interview methods in the study of human love relationships" *American Sociological Review* 12:541-552.

⁸ Nederhof, A.J. (1984) "Visibility of response as a mediating factor in equity research" *Journal of Social Psychology* 122:211-215.

⁹ Hochstim, J.R. (1967) "A critical comparison of three strategies of collecting data from households" *American Sociological Review* 12:541-553.

¹⁰ Siematycki, J. (1979) "A comparison of mail, telephone, and home interview strategies for household health surveys" *American Journal of Public Health* 69:238-245.

Leeuw provided an extensive meta-analysis comparing the influence of the data collection method (mail, telephone, personal) on the results obtained and reported the results of one of his own studies¹¹. His study was based on an earlier meta-analysis of investigations that had evaluated the quality of the data obtained from telephone and personal interviews¹². In their meta-analysis Leeuw & Zouwencover cover studies dating from 1952 to 1986. A total number of 28 studies comparing telephone and personal interviews were included in the analysis. Eighty-one per cent of these studies were performed in the USA. As a result the authors found the response rate to be higher for personal interviews (75%) than for telephone interviews (69%). As far as the influence of social desirability is concerned, however, the two data collection methods exhibited only a few differences. Nonetheless, the personal interview rated slightly better.

Leeuw expanded the meta-analysis by incorporating supplementary surveys, including written surveys as well¹³. The following points were to be probed by the analysis: 1) do systematic differences between the various data collection methods exist, and 2) of what magnitude are the determined effects. In all, 52 studies were included in the analysis, 81% of which were conducted in the USA. No studies have been reported in the Federal Republic of Germany. Distinct differences were noted between the three types of interview approaches with respect to the response rate: personal interviews = 75%, telephone interviews = 71%, and written questionnaires = 68%. These differences have a high statistical significance. Only minor differences were found to exist between personal interviews and telephone interviews, when the quality of the acquired data was compared. In the case of personal interviews the number of unanswered items was low, but had a substantially lower statistical significance. If the year of publication of the study was taken into account, the following notable effect was observed: in the nine assessed studies published before 1980 a statistically significant - but nonetheless minor - effect of social desirability was verified; in the five studies published after 1980 this was no longer the case. More pronounced differences were found to exist between written surveys and personal interviews. The written surveys achieved better results regarding the influence of social desirability. When sensitive items were concerned, written surveys showed less susceptibility to social desirability than personal interviews. Written surveys also yielded better results in this respect than telephone surveys. Personal interviews offered better overall results when individual items were left unanswered. Here the proportion of unanswered items remained lower than in written surveys. In the case of written surveys the respondents refused to answer certain items or even the entire questionnaire somewhat more frequently than in the case of personal interviews. "But when the questions are answered in mail surveys, the resulting data are of higher quality, and well-known response effects are less influential"¹⁴. Furthermore, the author reports on the implementation

¹¹ de Leeuw, E.D. (1992) Data quality in mail, telephone and face to face surveys, Amsterdam.

¹² de Leeuw, E.D. and J. van der Zouwen (1988) "Data quality in telephone and face to face surveys: a comparative meta-analysis" in Groves et al., Telephone..., op. cit., pp.283-299.

¹³ de Leeuw, Data..., op. cit., p. 21 et seqq.

¹⁴ de Leeuw, Data..., op. cit., p. 32.

and results of her own field experiment in which all three types of data collection methods were applied. The category of telephone interview methods was further subdivided into phone interviews in which answers were either recorded by conventional means, i.e. paper and pencil, or by Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI). Statistically significant differences concerning response rates were noted here as well: mail interviews = 68%, personal interviews = 51%, telephone interviews with pencil and paper = 66%, and CATI = 71%. Surprisingly, the personal interviewing method received the lowest rating here. The univariate data analysis procedure essentially confirmed the results of the meta-analysis: in the case of mail surveys more unanswered items were noted, yet a lower degree of social desirability concerning items with a sensitive content. In this domain it was more difficult to persuade those persons interviewed by mail to take part in the projects. On the other hand, once they were willing to participate, they answered more openly, and their replies were more reliable and showed more consistency¹⁵. But still, the differences are also quite small here. The multivariate data analysis showed, however, that the calculated degrees of correspondence tend to vary depending on the applied data collection method.

In the field of criminology - including victimology - in which a growing number of large-scale surveys are being conducted in the Federal Republic of Germany in particular, hardly any systematic attempts have been made to fathom the influence of the data collection method on the data collected, for example, in victim studies. Within the framework of a study on self-reported delinquency Kreuzer et al. compared whether differences appear in the dark-figure questionnaire, when the new first-term college students screened by the study were interviewed in a group environment or by mail¹⁶. In the opinion of the authors the interview situation has no noticeable effect on the response behaviour¹⁷. At the same time, however, the authors report one exception: "The participants in the mail survey admitted - with a significantly higher rate - having been sentenced for the commission of an offence already once before (13.1% as opposed to 4.1%; $p \leq 0.005$ "). This result again points in the same direction found repeatedly: in written surveys respondents exhibit less social desirability.

A first experimental study aiming to determine the influence of all three data collection procedures (personal interview, mail and telephone surveys) on criminological, viz. victimological, data was carried out by our team as a preliminary investigation precedent to the more extensive comparative study described below¹⁸. The internationally established findings were exactly reproduced by this preliminary study that comprised interviews with 195 persons.

¹⁵ de Leeuw, Data..., op. cit., p. 118.

¹⁶ Kreuzer, A., Th. Gorgen, R. Romer-Klees and H. Schneider (1992) "Auswirkungen unterschiedlicher methodischer Vorgehensweisen auf die Ergebnisse selbstberichteter delinquenz" *Monatschrift für Kriminologie und Strafrechtsreform* 75:91-104.

¹⁷ Kreuzer et al., Auswirkungen..., op. cit., p. 92.

¹⁸ Wiebel, N. (1991) *Methodenvergleich dreier Befragungsarten anhand einer Einstellungsuntersuchung zum Thema Kriminalität*, Diplomarbeit, Freiburg.

Our own study¹⁹

On account of the above research findings we must proceed on the assumption that the data collection procedure has an influence on the derived research results. Differences are above all to be expected between the written (mail) and the oral (mainly personal and to a lesser degree also telephone) survey method. Thus far, at least in the field of criminology, no systematic research has been conducted in Germany into the influence of the applied data collection method, e.g. on the survey findings. Within the framework of our own large-scale victimological survey, conducted by the Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law in Freiburg in cooperation with the Faculty of Law at the University of Jena as part of a large victimological research project of the MPI, we examined *inter alia* the influence of the data collection procedure on the derived research results. Following the first national victim study, carried out by the MPI in cooperation with the Federal Office of Criminal Investigation (Bundeskriminalamt, BKA) in Wiesbaden, a follow-up victim survey was planned which was conducted merely in the cities of Jena and Freiburg as well as in surrounding rural towns²⁰. In order to determine the influence of the data collection method on the findings derived from this investigation, the data were - only in Jena, however, - collected both postally (the respondents received the questionnaire by mail) and via oral interviews. On account of international research findings we based the design of the survey on the following hypotheses regarding the influence of the data collection procedure on the obtained findings:

- H1: In a victim survey, the oral (face-to-face) and written (mailed questionnaire) data collection procedures differ to the effect that the answers given by orally interviewed persons to sensitive items are more in line with social desirability than those gained by way of a mail survey. These differences are statistically significant, though relatively minor.
- H2: With respect to the individual items the two data collection procedures (written and oral) exhibit age- and sex-specific differences.
- H3: The replies given in oral victimological surveys to sensitive items exhibit less age- and sex-specific effects than those recorded in written surveys.
- H4: The values in a standardised personality questionnaire are influenced by the method of data collection. The answers given in a written survey are less in line with social desirability than the statements made in oral interviews.
- H5: More victimisation incidents are reported in mail surveys than in oral interviews due to smaller effects of forgetting.

Design and implementation of the survey

In the city of Jena, the drawing of the sample was carried out in 1991 by extracting a random sample of $n = 4,000$ persons aged 14 and above from

¹⁹ Our thanks in this connection go to Prof. Dr. Kraupl and also Prof. Dr. Ludwig from the Criminological-Criminalistic Institute of the University of Jena.

²⁰ Kury et al., *Opfererfahrungen...*, op. cit.

community census files. In a second step this sample was divided into two subgroups of $n = 3,000$ persons who received the survey instrument, i.e. a fully standardised questionnaire, by mail and $n = 1,000$ persons who were interviewed personally within the same period of time by interviewers who had been trained specially for this purpose. For financial reasons the sample for the personal interviews was kept as small as possible, but was chosen large enough to render possible statistical calculations and reliable statements. The entire survey was conducted between October 1991 and February 1992. The respondents screened by mail received a first reminder after about 3 weeks and a second one after 3 more weeks, if they had not answered in the meantime. If a person who was to be interviewed personally had not been at home the first time, the interviewer tried to get in touch with him or her again twice. The questionnaire essentially monitors the following issues: financial and job situation of the respondent or his/her household, working conditions in case of professional activity, living situation, contacts, problems in city district, significance of goals in life, variables referring to the field of anomy, attitudes towards and experiences gathered in connection with alcohol and drugs, causes of and attitudes towards crime, living habits, fear of crime, victimisation in 11 crime categories (suffered by the respondent or by another member of his or her household), attitudes towards criminal sanctions and criminal prosecution, attitudes towards the police and demographic personal data. In addition, the screened persons were asked to fill in a fully standardised psychological personality questionnaire (Freiburg Personality Inventory FPI-R). The personality inventory makes a survey of 12 personality dimensions, the latter two of which are not independent of the first 10 scales mathematically (see Table 3).

After the completion of our data collection the response rate totalled 48.9% for the written survey and 57.8% for the oral interviews. Our calculations are hence based on $n = 1,420$ mailed questionnaires and $n = 542$ questionnaires filled in via oral interviews (see Table 1).

Results

Before performing the data analysis we selected from the extensive questionnaire, which comprised a total of 81 items (not including FPI-R), those items for our investigation that we considered to be sensitive to the influence of social desirability. The following group of variables are involved here: views on one's fellow-man and morals, anomy, issues concerning foreign residents, neighbourhood affairs, fear of crime, appreciation of police performance, district attorneys and courts, assumed causes of crime, criminal prosecution, restitution, offenders and victims, and the death penalty (see Table 2). In addition, we performed this comparison for the 11 monitored offences which were split up into three categories, though, according to the seriousness of the committed offence: offences without personal contact (theft of, or from an automobile, damage to automobiles, motorbike or bicycle theft and theft of personal property not directly carried or worn by the victim), burglary (including attempted burglary), as well as offences with personal contact (robbery and attempted robbery, theft of personal property carried or worn by the victim, sexual harrasment and sexually motivated assault, and bodily assault or threat)²¹. Finally, the comparison of data collection methods also bore reference to the 12 rating scales of the FPI-R personality questionnaire. The results are presented in Tables 2-4. In each case the mean values and also the standard deviations were calculated separately for written and oral data collection procedures. The significance calculations were performed by multivariate analysis. The variables of family status and educational degree were filtered out in order to exclude any possible influence of these variables on the derived results. Further control of other demographic variables was not required, because a trial run had shown that the two groups (written survey -oral method) did not differ. As a supplement to the respective overall random samples the differences in mean values and significances existing between the data collection methods were calculated for both sexes, and also for the age groups above and below the age of 40. In a final data evaluation step we treated the written and oral investigations as two separate victim studies differing only in the chosen method of data collection. In this light we tested to what extent sex and age differences show up in the variables of written surveys and oral surveys, respectively. Tables 2-4 also show the results of the significance calculations, indicated by asterisks in the columns between the male and female mean values and the two age groups \leq and $>$ 40.

The results obtained are listed below.

In reference to H1: before evaluating the data we selected from the entire questionnaire 25 items which we considered to be relevant for the influence of social desirability. Accordingly, 25 significance tests concerning mean deviations between mail-based and face-to-face data collection methods were carried out for the overall group of interviewed persons. Out of these 25 significance tests no less than 21 showed a statistically significant deviation of the mean between the written and oral form of data collection. In a total of 12 cases, i.e. in virtually half of the cases, an error probability $\leq 0.001\%$ was obtained. Four times the error probability was $\leq 1\%$ and five times $\leq 5\%$. Without exception, the significant differences all aimed in

²¹ For comprehensive information see Kury et al., *Opfererfahrungen...*, op. cit.

the expected direction. Hypothesis No. 1 which contends that the respondents of oral interviews give answers which are in line with social desirability more often than respondents of mail surveys can thus be confirmed in this point. Hence, written-survey respondents lean more towards the view that most people do not care about others (item 1), that moral principles are no more valid nowadays (2), they show a greater understanding for people who "beat" foreigners out of the country (3), they are more strongly in favour of curbing the influx of foreigners (4), they are more dissatisfied with their neighbourhood (5) and are of the opinion that the feeling of neighbourly solidarity has deteriorated since the reunification of East and West Germany (6). Moreover, they express a greater fear of crime (7, 8 and 9); in comparison to respondents of oral interviews they rate police performance as being poorer before the turn of events leading to reunification (10); they consider the police to be altogether quite unfriendly at the present time - and also during the period before reunification (11, 12), and they are to a greater degree of the opinion that the courts and district attorneys do not, and did not, adequately fulfil their responsibilities - neither before nor after the political swing towards German reunification (13, 14). Accordingly, a greater proportion of the written-survey respondents consider the leniency of the courts (15) as well as the hesitancy of the police to take a harder line of action (16) to be a major cause of crime. As expected, we were also able to confirm distinct statistical differences concerning views on criminal sanctions: especially respondents of the written survey consider it important that the offender is determined (17) and that the state attends to the needs of the victim (22). At the same time, questionnaire respondents feel it is less important that the offence is discussed with the offender and that he is induced to provide compensation for inflicted damage (23) and further that institutions give assistance to the offender (24). In this context it comes as no surprise that written-survey respondents advocate the death penalty more strongly (25).

The correlation coefficients (Pearson-r) which are also included in Table 2 and the magnitude of the observed differences in mean values indicate that the influence of the data collection method on the obtained results should not be overestimated. Such an influence clearly exists, although in general it is not particularly prominent, especially as far as the differences in mean values and the magnitude of the correlation coefficients are concerned. The correlation coefficients exceed a value of $r = 0.12$ only in a low number of cases.

In reference to H2: the differences in mean values calculated for the overall group were additionally determined for both sex and age groups. The distinction between sex and age can provide indications as to the sex- and age-specific effect of the type of data collection method on the results of an investigation. Already the varying number of significant mean deviations between the two groups points towards such a sex- and age-dependent effect. Out of the total of 25 performed comparisons, the following rates of significant differences were found at an error probability level of at least $p \leq 5\%$: 17 in the case of males, 13 for females, 10 for the younger age group and 17 for the elder age group. These findings indicate that the data collection method on the one hand affects specifically the group of males in particular and on the other hand the age group above 40, i.e. elder respondents. From this one can conclude that males and elder respondents are more inclined to answer surveys in the sense of social desirability and that this tendency largely disappears for these two groups in the case of written surveys.

In reference to H3: we infer that social desirability blurs actually existing sex- or age-related differences. This should reflect in our results in the following manner: statistically significant sex- and age-specific differences should be verifiable to a lesser degree in written surveys than in oral interviews. Distinct divergencies are noted if the determined number of significant mean differences between age and sex is analysed separately for both types of data collection methods: whereas 28 significant differences were found in written surveys (sex: 12 ; age: 16), this number dropped to a mere 17 in the case of oral surveys (sex: 6; age: 9). The number of statistically relevant differences amount to a little over 60% of the values determined for written surveys. If we assume that the data derived from written surveys are more valid - as indicated by the above findings - it can be inferred that actually existing sex- and age-specific differences are not revealed by oral surveys due to the falsifying influence of social desirability. This differing proportion of significant differences in mean values cannot be explained on the basis of the different size of the random samples used in written and oral data collection procedures. Hypothesis No. 3 can thus be considered as validated.

In reference to H4: the empirical US-American investigations have demonstrated that the type of data collection method also influences the results of questionnaires used in standardised psychological personality tests. This implies that the magnitudes of different personality dimensions determined by such questionnaires depend on the method of collecting data. In fact, the influence of the person managing the experiment on the results derived from psychological test studies has been intensely debated, especially within the field of psychodiagnostics²². Since personality test forms are being used recurrently in criminological investigations, we additionally tested the dependence of the results produced by such studies on the type of data collection method chosen. The Freiburg Personality Inventory Form (FPI) represents a personality questionnaire developed along the lines of an American prototype which is very commonly applied in criminological practice in the German-speaking parts of Europe. We used the revised version designated as FPI-R²³. We assumed that written surveys - as opposed to oral data collection methods - would yield higher values in the categories of inhibitions (FPI-R4), excitability (5), aggressiveness (6), openness (10) and emotionality (N) on account of the influence of social desirability. Lower values were expected in written surveys for the following categories: satisfaction with one's life (1), social orientation (2), performance orientation (3), stress (7), physical complaints (8), health problems (9), and extrovertedness (E).

Understandably, the FPI-R10 "openness" rating scale is of particular importance in this context, since it was developed in the direction of the "lie-detection scales" and is thus correspondingly significant. The authors of the test system themselves point out that respondents with low values on the scale are intent on creating a good impression, in order to, for example, "deny patterns of behaviour which are looked upon as being socially unacceptable"²⁴.

²² Rosenthal, R. and R.L. Rosnow (1969) *Artifact in behavioral research*, Academic Press, New York.

²³ Fahrenberg, J., H. Selg and R. Hampel (1984) *Freiburger Persönlichkeitsinventar (FPI-R)*, Hogrefe, Göttingen.

²⁴ Fahrenberg et al., *Freiburger...*, op. cit., p. 41.

The results found by our group are listed in Table 4. With the exception of the categories of excitability (5), aggressiveness (6), physical complaints (8) and emotionality (N), the anticipated differences were confirmed to a statistically significant degree. With the exception of the category of aggressiveness (6) the observed differences headed in the expected direction also in the case of the non-significant rating scales. Mail-survey respondents thus gave socially less desirable answers than respondents in oral interviews in the Freiburg Personality Inventory as well. In contrast to the orally interviewed group those persons screened by mail rate themselves as more dissatisfied with their present and past living conditions, their partnership situation and jobs; they express the view more strongly that they are unable to fully develop their personal potential, that they often brood over their lives, that they are fed up with everything; they have a greater inclination to fall into sombre, depressed moods (FPI-R1). They place more emphasis on individual responsibility for one's living circumstances, whereas on the other hand they consider the state to be responsible for social welfare and are, in their own words, less involved in charitable causes (2); according to their own description they are less ambitious and competitive, less achievement-oriented, and rate professional success as less important (3); at the same time they describe themselves as being more inhibited in their social environment and acting more as background figures in social functions. They report themselves as being more easily embarrassed and more timid (4). Furthermore, they depict themselves more frequently as being less stressed and less overworked; they claim to a greater degree that they are capable of handling the tasks and achieving the standards of performance demanded of them (7); they describe themselves as having less worries about their health, being more easy-going and more robust (9), but more reserved and less sociable in their contact with others (E). As far as the most important dimension of this comparative study is concerned, i.e. "openness" (10), the persons interviewed by mail display more self-criticism and admit more minor weaknesses and faults; they also admit deviations from the norm more frankly and with fewer reservations. In comparison, the respondents of oral interviews are more inclined to create a good impression and obviously tend to deny patterns of behaviour that are considered socially undesirable. These findings, and in particular the results pertaining to the openness scale, clearly complement the findings presented above, that is, that falsifications in the sense of socially desirable answers can also be expected in personality questionnaires. Virtually no differences in the overall picture - with regard to the mean differences between the age and sex groups - are found for either of the data collection methods. Hypothesis No. 4 was thus also essentially confirmed.

In reference to H5: in our previous comparisons between written and oral data collection methods our starting point was the assumption that influences on the results of such surveys exist which result from the respondents of written surveys giving answers less strongly according to social desirability, i.e. more openly and honestly. The aspect of social desirability should not significantly affect data on events of victimisation suffered by respondents. However, in victim studies in which victimisation events are screened which lie relatively far back in time it was repeatedly shown that the effect of forgetting can introduce an element of falsification in the description of an experienced victimisation incident. In our victim study victimisation events were screened which occurred during the last year. It can be assumed that a part of the victimisation events were not reported by the victims

because they had been forgotten, even during this - as far as the general time scale of victim studies is concerned - relatively short period of time. Since the respondents have more time to think over their answers and are under less pressure in written surveys, the factor of forgetting should play a less significant role here than in the case of oral data collection techniques. At the same time, more serious cases of victimisation should be remembered more distinctly than minor incidents. One is therefore justified in assuming that more victimisation events of a minor nature are reported in written surveys than in orally conducted interviews. No differences between the data collection methods should be expected in the case of serious victimisation, because such serious events are remembered more vividly and are therefore accessible to oral interview methods. If cases of victimisation involving other members of a household are probed, differences should become observable independent of the seriousness of the victimisation event. Since the respondent was himself not victimised, he should be more prone to forget any serious victimisation incident experienced by another member of his household, and in consequence should specify a lower number of victimisation events in oral interviews than in written surveys.

We have conducted comparisons of the three combined categories of offences described above: offences without victim-offender contact, burglary and offences with victim-offender contact. The results are presented in Table 4. They essentially confirm our hypothesis. Statistically highly significant differences heading in the expected direction were found for the category of (relatively minor) offences without personal contact both in the case of personal victimisation and victimisation of another member of the household. More criminal acts, viz. victimisation incidents, were reported in written surveys than in orally conducted surveys. When the respondents are under less time pressure as in written surveys, they apparently remember a larger number of relevant incidents. Our results also confirmed the assumption that the type of data collection method plays a less significant role in cases of personal victimisation involving serious victimisation events. Statistically significant differences are found neither for burglary nor for offences with personal contact. The only assumption that could not be corroborated by our study was that an effect of the data collection method also results in the case of serious offences, when the respondent is asked to specify situations in which another member of the household was victimised. A difference aiming in the expected direction was observed, however the corresponding value was only slightly above the significance level ($p = 0.06$).

Discussion of the results

Since the seventies, large-scale victim studies have also been conducted in the Federal Republic of Germany. In the field of victimological and dark field research the methodology with respect to data interpretation has been refined and improved under the influence of social scientists. Research is still in its infancy as far as the data validity with respect to distortions occurring in connection with data collection is concerned. No such specific studies have thus far been conducted in the criminological-victimological field. An overview of empirical comparative investigations which have so far been carried out mainly in the USA essentially reveals a clearly significant, though moderate influence of the data collection

procedure on the research findings to the effect that the oral (face-to-face and telephone) procedure is more susceptible to effects of social desirability than the written (particularly postal) method, where no or almost no such influence takes effect.

In order to determine to what extent these findings also apply to the Federal Republic of Germany we conducted an experimental study within the framework of a victimological research project, the data being collected by means of both a written (mail) and an oral (personal interview) survey. The representatively chosen sample consisted of citizens of the city of Jena above the age of 14. The respondents were randomly assigned to the two types of survey groups (written and oral). The results largely confirmed our starting hypotheses. To a high extent, a preliminary data analysis of those items selected for the comparison of the two data collection procedures revealed statistically significant differences between written and oral data collection in the expected direction. Without exception, the answers given in the written survey were less in line with social desirability. The replies were more frank and less in agreement with general (assumed) social expectations than the results derived from the oral interviews. It is to be assumed that the results of the mail survey reflect the unfalsified attitudes of the screened persons to a higher degree and that their replies are hence more honest, open and valid. For example, the respondents screened by mail are slightly more opposed to foreign residents and to a further admission of foreigners, they express a greater fear of crime, they are more critical of the police, the public prosecutor and the courts, they are more in favour of more severe punishment and less in favour of victim-offender-mediation and restitution and speak more in favour of capital punishment.

In addition, we were able to show that the applied data collection procedure clearly influences sex- and age-related differences. Clearly less sex and age effects were noted for the oral than for the written collection method, i.e. they obviously become blurred under the influence of social desirability. The collection procedure not only influences the items which are sensitive in regard to social desirability, but also the findings derived from a standardised personality inventory. Those screened by mail describe themselves as being more dissatisfied with their life-style, as less socially minded and performance-oriented, more self-conscious in social situations, less strained, less worried about their health, and more introverted and reserved. Above all, however, on a given "openness" rating scale ("lie-detection" scale) they rated themselves as more honest and open, painting, on the whole, a picture of themselves which is less oriented by social desirability.

The differences between written and oral data collection noted for the monitored victimisation categories meet our hypothetical expectations to a large extent. The respondents screened by mail reported more incidents of victimisation than those interviewed orally, at least as far as less severe types of victimisation are concerned. This might be explained by the fact that the respondents screened by mail recollect more victimisations, as they are less pressed for time while filling in the questionnaire. This finding also indicates a greater validity of the results derived from a written survey.

On the whole the results yielded by our experimental survey distinctly differ according to data collection procedure in that the data collected by mail can be expected to be more valid and expressive than those compiled in oral interviews, as the statements made in the former are less in line with social desirability and as the

effect of forgetting is lower in the case of questions referring to past personal experience (earlier victimisation incidents). The effects we determined are statistically significant or highly significant to a large extent, though not very large. The latter result marks a further important finding, as the significance of a finding not only depends on whether the difference established is statistically significant, but also on its magnitude.

Summary

We explained the importance of research into the influence of the data collection method on the research findings and gave a short description of the most important empirical investigations into this issue. On the whole they established an influence of the collection procedure to the effect that a stronger trend towards socially desirable behaviour is to be expected in the case of oral as opposed to written surveys. We outlined our own experimental investigation into this issue, i.e. a victimological survey, where the same questionnaire had been presented to 3,000 postally screened and 1,000 orally interviewed persons in the city of Jena. Both the selection of respondents and their assignment to the two types of survey groups had been carried out randomly. The results largely confirm the starting hypotheses. In the case of postal data collection, as opposed to oral interviews, the answers are less in line with social desirability. This not only applies to the questionnaire developed by us, but also to a standardised personality inventory. With respect to questions monitoring victimisation (incidents of victimisation suffered within the year preceding the survey) the respondents screened by mail report more petty incidents of victimisation than the orally interviewed group. As a rule, the findings we determined are highly significant statistically, though not very large. This indicates a clear, though moderate influence of the data collection procedure (written vs. oral) on the survey findings, including results derived from victimological surveys.

Table 1: Record of contact

	Jena mailed		Jena interview	
	n	%	n	%
Gross sample	3,000	100.0	1,000	100.0
Non-relevant/missing*	99	3.3	62	6.2
Relevant contacts	2,901	100.0	938	100.0
Missing	1,481	51.1	396	42.2
Response rate	1,420	48.9	542	57.8

* For mailed questionnaire "undeliverable as removed or deceased", for interview "deceased or removed".

Table 2: Influence of data collection procedure: variables referring to attitudes, anomy, social desirability, fear of crime, performance of police and legal authorities, and criminal sanctions.

Variables	n		Mean		Stand.dev.		F value ²	P	Pearson r
	Mailed	Interv	Mailed	Interv	Mailed	Interv			
Total	1,399	539	3.19	3.06	0.81	0.94	9.88	.002	-.067**

1) Most people don't care about others	Male	629	248	3.19	3.13	0.79	0.87	1.52	.218	-.037
	Female	761	290	3.19	3.01	0.83	0.99	9.70	.002	-.091**
	<= 40ys	695	258	3.21	3.08	0.77	0.91	5.93	.015	-.072**
	> 40ys	680	279	3.17	3.04	0.85	0.97	4.10	.043	-.064*
	Total	1,375	537	2.86	2.67	0.93	1.03	13.37	.000	-.086**
2) Moral principles are not valid anymore nowadays	Male	621	248	2.89	2.75	0.91	0.99	3.59	.059	-.066
	Female	745	288	2.83	2.60	0.95	1.06	11.33	.001	-.104**
	<= 40ys	686	256	2.76***3	2.64	0.89	1.00	2.89	.089	-.059
	> 40ys	665	279	2.96***3	2.70	0.95	1.06	15.22	.000	-.121**
	Total	1,392	535	1.45	1.39	0.85	0.78	4.30	.038	-.034
3) Understanding for people who "beat" foreigners out of the country	Male	627	246	1.57***	1.52***	0.95	0.90	1.28	.258	-.026
	Female	757	288	1.35***	1.28***	0.74	0.65	3.59	.058	-.042
	<= 40ys	696	256	1.55***	1.46	0.92	0.82	2.99	.084	-.046
	> 40ys	673	277	1.35***	1.33	0.75	0.75	0.70	.403	-.011
	Total	1,389	531	2.32	2.13	1.08	1.07	15.89	.000	-.076**
4) No further admission of foreigners	Male	627	245	2.44***	2.18	1.10	1.07	13.06	.000	-.105**
	Female	753	285	2.21***	2.09	1.05	1.07	4.46	.035	-.049
	<= 40ys	694	254	2.33	2.17	1.09	1.09	5.87	.016	-.064*
	> 40ys	671	275	2.30	2.09	1.07	1.05	10.71	.001	-.087**

Table 2 (Contd.)

Variables	n		Mean		Stand.dev.		F value ²	P	Pearson r	
	Mailed	Interv	Mailed	Interv	Mailed	Interv				
5) Satisfaction with neighbourhood	Total	1,407	534	2.90	3.09	0.81	0.84	20.54	.000	.103**
	Male	632	247	2.88	3.02	0.78	0.83	5.33	.021	.080*
	Female	766	286	2.92	3.15	0.83	0.85	16.14	.000	.123**
	<= 40ys	698	257	2.84**	3.00**	0.79	0.83	7.52	.006	.088**
> 40ys	686	275	2.97**	3.19**	0.82	0.84	11.59	.001	.117**	
6) Feeling of solidarity in the neighbourhood since Nov 1989	Total	1,403	526	1.80	1.86	.047	0.46	6.62	.010	.057*
	Male	627	247	1.76**	1.85	0.48	0.45	7.58	.006	.091**
	Female	767	278	1.83**	1.86	0.45	.047	0.92	.337	.028
	<= 40ys	692	250	1.78	1.83	0.48	0.50	2.92	.088	.050
> 40ys	688	274	1.81	1.88	.046	.043	3.17	.075	.064*	
7) Fear of being alone at home at night	Total	1,416	540	1.62	1.54	0.76	0.81	5.35	.021	-.048*
	Male	635	249	1.30***	1.21***	0.56	0.47	5.63	.018	-.077*
	Female	772	290	1.88***	1.82***	0.80	0.93	1.43	.233	-.032
	<= 40ys	701	258	1.62	1.58	.073	0.81	0.70	.402	-.027
> 40ys	691	280	1.62	1.50	0.80	0.82	6.10	.014	-.066*	
8) Feeling of safety in the dark in residential areas	Total	1,410	537	2.12	2.21	0.75	0.84	5.35	.021	.054*
	Male	630	249	2.41***	2.58***	0.71	0.79	8.69	.003	.102**
	Female	771	287	1.88***	1.90***	0.70	0.76	0.04	.835	.009
	<= 40ys	697	258	2.15	2.29*	0.78	0.84	4.75	.030	.077*
> 40ys	689	277	2.08	2.14*	0.72	0.84	1.90	.169	.034	
9) Probability of being victimised	Total	1,309	537	2.46	2.25	0.85	0.84	17.08	.000	-.100**
	Male	581	247	2.30***	2.15*	0.89	0.90	3.96	.047	-.074*
	Female	719	289	2.59***	2.33*	0.97	0.97	14.16	.000	-.120**
	<= 40ys	673	257	2.51*	2.38*	0.93	0.92	3.10	.079	-.066*
> 40ys	614	278	2.40*	2.14*	0.96	0.95	13.72	.000	-.125**	
10) Assessment of police performance before Nov 1989	Total	1,383	521	2.44	2.64	0.93	0.96	14.41	.000	.091**
	Male	621	243	2.45	2.65	0.91	0.91	7.24	.007	.097**
	Female	753	277	2.44	2.63	0.95	0.99	7.36	.007	.087**
	<= 40ys	683	249	2.38*	2.50**	0.91	0.91	2.63	.105	.058
> 40ys	676	270	2.50*	2.76**	0.95	0.99	12.18	.001	.12**	
11) Police officers are friendly and understanding nowadays	Total	1,357	503	2.84	2.97	0.56	0.56	24.72	.000	.107**
	Male	599	240	2.83	2.97	0.57	0.60	9.85	.002	.107**
	Female	749	262	2.84	2.98	0.56	0.53	14.44	.000	.107**
	<= 40ys	683	238	2.74***	2.84***	0.56	0.57	6.88	.009	.076*
> 40ys	652	263	2.94***	3.10***	0.55	0.52	15.32	.000	.131**	
12) Before Nov 1989 police were friendly and understanding	Total	1,387	516	2.16	2.37	0.80	0.78	25.15	.000	.115**
	Male	619	244	2.14	2.23***	0.78	0.77	2.62	.106	.052
	Female	759	271	2.18	2.49***	0.81	0.77	28.48	.000	.171**
	<= 40ys	687	244	2.07***	2.26**	0.77	0.79	9.63	.002	.104**
> 40ys	676	270	2.26***	2.47**	0.81	0.77	12.65	.000	.120**	
13) Police and courts master their tasks adequately nowadays	Total	1,334	496	1.84	2.04	0.78	0.91	16.08	.000	.112**
	Male	603	231	1.83	1.99	0.74	0.83	4.76	.029	.091**
	Female	723	264	1.84	2.09	0.81	0.96	12.01	.001	.129**
	<= 40ys	668	244	1.90**	2.09	0.79	0.88	5.82	.016	.102**
> 40ys	644	250	1.77**	2.00	0.76	0.93	12.03	.001	.125**	
14) Before Autumn 1989 courts and public prosec. mastered their tasks adequately	Total	1,340	489	2.25	2.44	0.93	0.96	13.16	.000	.088**
	Male	606	230	2.22	2.44	0.91	0.95	9.34	.002	.105**
	Female	726	258	2.28	2.44	0.94	0.97	4.54	.033	.074*
	<= 40ys	673	239	2.24	2.49	0.89	0.90	14.01	.000	.124**
> 40ys	644	248	2.27	2.39	0.97	1.02	2.32	.128	.056	
15) Cause of crime: leniency of courts	Total	1,261	511	2.51	2.32	1.17	1.20	8.05	.005	-.073**
	Male	584	232	2.64***	2.43	1.13	1.23	5.34	.021	-.084*
	Female	670	278	2.39***	2.23	1.19	1.17	2.97	.085	-.061
	<= 40ys	655	244	2.26***	2.11***	1.13	1.12	2.65	.104	-.058
> 40ys	586	265	2.78***	2.50***	1.15	1.25	12.23	.000	-.110**	
16) Cause of crime: hesitancy of police in taking harder line of action	Total	1,379	525	3.57	3.43	0.71	0.83	9.40	.002	-.081**
	Male	624	239	3.61*	3.50	0.67	0.77	3.35	.068	-.071*
	Female	746	285	3.53*	3.38	0.75	0.87	5.81	.016	-.085**
	<= 40ys	690	250	3.47***	3.38	0.76	0.85	2.14	.144	-.055
> 40ys	665	273	3.66***	3.48	0.65	0.81	10.24	.001	-.122**	
17) Importance of offender being determined	Total	1,387	530	3.90	3.85	0.36	0.44	4.76	.029	-.051*
	Male	628	244	3.89	3.81*	0.37	0.49	7.18	.008	-.092**
	Female	750	285	3.90	3.89*	0.34	0.39	0.11	.743	-.013

<= 40ys	694	252	3.89	3.83	0.37	0.45	3.60	.058	-.067*
> 40ys	671	276	3.91	3.88	0.34	0.43	2.00	.158	-.042

Table 2 (Contd.)

Variables	n		Mean		Stand.dev.		F value ²	P	Pearson r	
	Mailed	Interv	Mailed	Interv	Mailed	Interv				
18) Importance of offender being tried and convicted	Total	1,376	528	3.81	3.80	0.47	0.53	0.13	.719	-.009
	Male	624	244	3.78	3.71**	0.51	0.63	3.02	.083	-.058
	Female	743	283	3.83	3.87**	0.43	0.41	2.11	.147	.042
	<= 40ys	692	251	3.77**	3.74*	0.52	0.57	0.49	.486	-.027
	> 40ys	662	275	3.84**	3.85*	0.42	0.48	0.03	.867	.005
19) Importance of severe punishment	Total	1,361	522	3.53	3.46	0.74	0.78	3.81	.051	-.042
	Male	618	243	3.51	3.35**	0.74	0.85	7.83	.005	-.090**
	Female	734	278	3.54	3.54**	0.73	0.70	0.01	.922	.001
	<= 40ys	689	248	3.46**	3.38*	0.76	0.81	1.60	.207	-.047
	> 40ys	650	272	3.60**	3.53*	0.70	0.75	4.17	.041	-.048
20) Importance of payment for damages by offender	Total	1,372	527	3.77	3.75	0.52	0.52	0.54	.462	-.015
	Male	623	243	3.78	3.75	0.49	0.52	1.30	.255	-.027
	Female	740	283	3.75	3.74	0.55	0.53	0.00	.996	-.007
	<= 40ys	692	251	3.71***	3.72	0.58	0.54	0.02	.889	.006
	> 40ys	658	274	3.83***	3.77	0.45	0.51	3.86	.050	-.055
21) Importance of apology on the part of offender	Total	1,347	521	2.38	2.49	1.12	1.15	2.05	.152	.042
	Male	618	241	2.25***	2.41	1.10	1.13	2.67	.103	.062
	Female	721	279	2.50***	2.56	1.12	1.16	0.24	.624	.024
	<= 40ys	690	249	2.40	2.42	1.10	1.10	0.00	.962	.009
	> 40ys	636	270	2.37	2.56	1.14	1.19	3.61	.058	.073*
22) Importance of victim support by govt agencies	Total	1,372	528	3.57	3.50	0.71	0.77	4.02	.045	-.047*
	Male	624	243	3.60	3.50	0.68	0.75	4.36	.037	-.068*
	Female	739	284	3.54	3.49	0.75	0.80	0.71	.399	-.029
	<= 40ys	695	250	3.53*	3.45	0.73	0.80	1.94	.164	-.046
	> 40ys	656	276	3.61	3.53	0.70	0.75	2.85	.092	-.052
23) Imp. of discussing offence with offender and inducing him to provide compensation for damage	Total	1,349	528	2.14	2.33	1.03	1.09	11.47	.001	.084**
	Male	618	244	2.08	2.45*	1.00	1.07	22.64	.000	.162**
	Female	722	283	2.18	2.22*	1.05	1.10	0.08	.779	.019
	<= 40ys	692	251	2.15	2.29	1.01	1.04	2.22	.137	.061
	> 40ys	636	275	2.13	2.37	1.05	1.14	10.22	.001	.104**
24) Importance of offender support agencies	Total	1,362	528	3.08	3.26	0.95	0.93	16.53	.000	.085**
	Male	618	244	3.02*	3.27	0.95	0.91	13.13	.000	.118**
	Female	735	283	3.13*	3.25	0.94	0.96	5.28	.022	.057
	<= 40ys	692	250	3.02*	3.21	0.95	0.91	8.26	.004	.088**
	> 40ys	649	276	3.14*	3.30	0.94	0.95	7.21	.007	.074*
25) Support of capital punishment	Total	1,381	536	1.39	1.51	0.49	0.50	23.02	.000	.106**
	Male	618	247	1.34**	1.47	0.48	0.50	11.44	.001	.113**
	Female	754	288	1.43**	1.55	0.50	0.50	12.40	.000	.105**
	<= 40ys	682	257	1.42*	1.52	0.50	0.50	7.98	.005	.093**
	> 40ys	675	277	1.36*	1.49	0.48	0.50	16.19	.000	.122**

1. Means regarding the following min. and/or max. of the variables:

- 1) - 4) 1 "disagree" ... 4 "agree"
- 5) 1 "very dissatisfied" ... 4 "very satisfied"
- 6) 1 "has decreased" ... 3 "has increased"
- 7) 1 "never" ... 4 "always"
- 8) 1 "very unsafe" ... 4 "very safe"
- 9) 1 "never" ... 4 "very often"
- 10) 1 "poor" ... 4 "good"
- 11) - 14) 1 "don't agree at all" ... 4 "agree completely"
- 15) - 16) 1 "is of no importance" ... 4 "is of importance"
- 17) - 24) 1 "unimportant" ... 4 "important"
- 25) 1 "yes" ... 2 "no".

2. Analysis of variance by filtering out the variables "marital status" and "educational degree".

3. Significant t-test- or Chi²-values between sex- and age-specific differences: *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001.

Table 3: Influence of data collect. proc.: Freiburg Personality Inventory (FPI-R)

Variables		n		Mean ¹		Stand.dev.		F value ²	P	Pearson r
		Mailed	Interv	Mailed	Interv	Mailed	Interv			
26) FPI-R 1 satisfaction with one's life	Total	1,186	530	7.16	7.64	2.73	2.51	16.18	.000	.083**
	Male	530	242	7.26	7.92*3	2.60	2.41	13.06	.000	.120**
	Female	649	287	7.07	7.41*3	2.82	2.58	5.17	.023	0.58
	<= 40ys	585	252	6.95*	7.21***	2.73	2.57	2.63	.105	.045
	> 40ys	581	276	7.35*	8.06***	2.72	2.38	15.88	.000	.125**
27) FPI-R 2 social orientation	Total	1,194	529	7.22	7.84	2.50	2.31	31.52	.000	.117**
	Male	531	241	6.68***	7.30***	2.57	2.44	12.86	.000	.113**
	Female	657	287	7.65***	8.30***	2.35	2.10	22.53	.000	.130**
	<= 40ys	589	251	6.96**	7.64	2.62	2.38	15.66	.000	.121**
	> 40ys	586	276	7.46**	8.03	2.36	2.23	15.15	.000	.114**
28) FPI-R 3 performance orientation	Total	1,191	528	7.30	7.52	2.66	2.68	4.49	.034	.037
	Male	531	243	7.48*	7.82	2.64	2.68	3.69	.055	.060
	Female	653	284	7.15*	7.26	2.65	2.66	1.22	.269	.018
	<= 40ys	590	253	7.09*	7.40	2.56	2.47	3.61	.058	.055
	> 40ys	581	273	7.49*	7.63	2.73	2.87	1.28	.259	.023
29) FPI-R 4 inhibitions	Total	1,175	520	5.83	5.56	2.78	2.61	4.76	.029	-.045
	Male	518	240	5.63*	5.16**	2.77	2.59	5.46	.020	-.081*
	Female	650	279	5.99*	5.91**	2.78	2.59	0.46	.496	-.014
	<= 40ys	576	247	5.92	5.19**	2.81	2.55	12.48	.000	-.120**
	> 40ys	579	271	5.78	5.89**	2.74	2.64	0.01	.906	.019
30) FPI-R 5 excitability	Total	1,173	517	5.92	5.70	2.90	2.81	1.62	.203	-.036
	Male	517	235	5.28***	5.22***	2.66	2.69	0.10	.753	-.012
	Female	649	281	6.43***	6.09***	3.00	2.85	1.61	.205	-.053
	<= 40ys	575	243	6.08	6.07**	2.94	2.85	0.10	.751	-.000
	> 40ys	579	272	5.75	5.37**	2.87	2.74	3.06	.080	-.062
31) FPI-R 6 aggressiveness	Total	1,121	513	4.23	4.28	2.39	2.41	0.14	.706	.010
	Male	497	236	4.46**	4.38	2.53	2.55	1.04	.308	-.015
	Female	617	276	4.05**	4.20	2.27	2.29	0.15	.701	.029
	<= 40ys	558	243	4.62***	4.74***	2.57	2.47	0.00	.953	.022
	> 40ys	543	268	3.85***	3.87***	2.14	2.28	0.00	.955	.005
32) FPI-R 7 stress	Total	1,152	504	6.02	6.34	3.15	3.02	4.75	.029	.047
	Male	509	228	5.36***	5.84***	2.91	2.88	4.54	.033	.076*
	Female	636	275	6.53***	6.75***	3.25	3.08	1.79	.181	.031
	<= 40ys	572	243	6.06	6.42	3.08	2.74	3.36	.058	.056
	> 40ys	560	259	5.99	6.26	3.24	3.24	1.48	.224	.039
33) FPI-R 8 physical complaints	Total	1,077	466	3.86	3.96	2.35	2.43	0.13	.719	.018
	Male	454	203	3.17***	3.20***	2.02	2.04	0.03	.865	.008
	Female	617	262	4.37***	4.55***	2.43	2.55	0.32	.575	.033
	<= 40ys	516	212	3.57***	3.52***	2.23	2.28	0.30	.585	-.009
	> 40ys	543	252	4.13***	4.32***	2.43	2.51	0.38	.539	.037
34) FPI-R 9 health problems	Total	1,187	520	6.08	6.45	2.83	2.90	5.88	.015	.060*
	Male	528	233	5.70***	5.90***	2.80	2.88	0.89	.345	.033
	Female	652	286	6.41***	6.98***	2.81	2.85	5.67	.017	.078*
	<= 40ys	585	244	5.32***	5.29***	2.55	2.59	0.00	.971	-.005
	> 40ys	582	275	6.85***	7.49***	2.89	2.77	5.79	.016	.104**
35) FPI-R 10 openness	Total	1,174	523	6.01	5.76	2.77	2.71	5.30	.021	-.042
	Male	527	241	6.38***	6.20**	2.70	2.72	2.38	.123	-.031
	Female	640	281	5.72***	5.38**	2.78	2.65	3.46	.063	-.057
	<= 40ys	587	251	6.80***	6.65***	2.71	2.62	2.04	.153	-.026
	> 40ys	567	270	5.20***	4.93***	2.59	2.54	1.15	.284	-.049
36) FPI-R E extrovertedness	Total	1,181	522	6.25	6.88	3.07	3.01	13.06	.000	.095**
	Male	526	240	6.29	6.99	3.10	2.93	6.59	.010	.016**
	Female	648	281	6.21	6.78	3.06	3.08	6.30	.012	.085**
	<= 40ys	590	252	6.71***	7.64***	3.15	2.94	12.27	.000	.137**
	> 40ys	571	268	5.73***	6.19***	2.89	2.91	5.94	.015	.074*
37) FPI-R N emotionality	Total	1,153	512	6.41	6.28	3.27	3.21	1.04	.308	-.018
	Male	508	230	5.64***	5.41***	3.16	2.85	1.07	.301	-.035
	Female	638	281	7.02***	7.00***	3.24	3.32	0.09	.760	-.003
	<= 40ys	575	242	6.43	6.39	3.31	3.19	0.05	.816	-.006
	> 40ys	558	268	6.44	6.18	3.24	3.23	2.39	.122	-.038

1. Means with regard to the following max. and/or min. of variables:

- 26) - 37) 1 minimum performance ... 9 maximum performance.
2. Analysis of variance by filtering out the variables "marital status" and "educational degree".
 3. Significant t-test-values between sex- and age-specific differences * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Table 4: Influence of data collection procedure: victimisation experience

Variables	n		Mean ¹		Stand.dev.		F value ²	P	Pearson r	
	Mailed	Interv	Mailed	Interv	Mailed	Interv				
38) Victim of contact offences (personal victimisation)	Total	1,420	542	0.35	0.26	0.48	0.44	10.12	.000	-.081**
	Male	636	250	0.41***2	0.28	0.49	0.45	11.07	.001	-.117**
	Female	775	291	0.30***2	0.24	0.46	0.43	1.76	.185	-.055
	<= 40ys	701	260	0.36	0.28	0.48	0.45	3.35	.067	-.074*
> 40ys	695	280	0.33	0.25	0.47	0.43	4.79	.029	-.079*	
39) victim of breaking and entering (personal victimisation)	Total	1,420	542	0.06	0.05	0.23	0.23	0.01	.926	-.008
	Male	636	250	0.07	0.06	0.25	0.23	0.27	.601	-.024
	Female	775	291	0.05	0.05	0.21	0.22	0.20	.654	.008
	<= 40ys	701	260	0.04*	0.04	0.21	0.19	0.05	.823	-.013
> 40ys	695	280	0.07*	0.07	0.26	0.25	0.00	.953	-.007	
40) victim of contact offences (personal victimisation)	Total	1,420	542	0.10	0.10	0.30	0.30	0.00	.984	.005
	Male	636	250	0.09	0.09	0.28	0.29	0.01	.935	.006
	Female	775	291	0.10	0.11	0.30	0.31	0.00	.947	.011
	<= 40ys	701	260	0.12**	0.14**	0.33	0.35	0.41	.521	.026
> 40ys	695	280	0.07**	0.06**	.025	0.23	0.70	.405	-.022	
41) victim of non-contact offence (household victimisation)	Total	1,420	542	0.22	0.14	0.42	0.34	16.80	.000	-.095**
	Male	636	250	0.20	0.09**	0.40	0.28	17.19	.000	-.136**
	Female	775	291	0.23	0.18**	0.42	0.38	3.28	.070	-.063*
	<= 40ys	701	260	0.26**	0.18**	0.44	0.39	5.32	.021	-.078*
> 40ys	695	280	0.18**	0.10**	0.39	0.30	10.42	.001	1.109**	
42) victim of contact offences (household victimisation)	Total	1,420	542	0.08	0.06	0.28	0.23	3.50	.062	-.046*
	Male	636	250	0.09	0.06	0.28	0.25	1.30	.255	-.040
	Female	775	291	0.08	0.05	0.27	0.22	2.05	.152	-.049
	<= 40ys	701	260	0.11**	0.07	0.31	0.26	2.22	.137	-.049
> 40ys	695	280	0.06**	0.04	0.24	0.20	0.66	.418	-.037	

- Means regarding the following max. and/or min. of the variables:
38) - 42) 0 "non-victim" 1 "victim"
- Analysis of variance by filtering out the variables "marital status" and "educational degree".
- Significant Chi² -values between sex- and age-specific differences: *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001.

ASPECTS OF RELIABILITY: THE 1:5 YEAR RATIO

Aad van der Veen¹

Summary

To a certain extent, victims of crimes tend to misplace their victimisation in time. In general the result is an over-reporting of recent crimes in victimisation studies. In this paper a first attempt is made to find a correlation between the extent of this over-reporting of recent crimes and the factual growth or decline in the crimes studied in the International Crime (Victim) Surveys of 1992 and 1989. For some crimes acceptable correlations are found, but much work still has to be done to develop an acceptable instrument for indicating growth or decline in crimes in a single victimisation survey.

About this paper

In this paper the problem is dealt with as follows. After an introduction to the problems of retrospective surveys, the concept of the "unequal 1:5 year ratio" is described. This is followed by several theoretical explanations of this ratio. Next, an analysis of data is presented with the aim of developing an instrument in which use can be made of this ratio to predict growth or decline in crimes in single victimisation surveys.

Introduction

Inter/View, a Dutch marketing research company with a strong focus on international research, in which it has ample experience, has twice conducted and supervised research for the International Crime (Victim) Survey (ICS) in the industrialised countries. Fourteen countries participated in the 1989 ICS, and nine in the 1992 ICS. Six of these were also included in the previous wave. The author of this paper was involved with the technical and methodological aspects of both waves.

This paper is about a phenomenon which could be of interest to all those researchers who make use of what are called "retrospective surveys". Retrospective surveys are surveys in which information is gathered about past experiences based on the respondent's memory. The ICS is a good example of this type of survey. One aspect of the results of the first wave required attention because it suggested in a very pronounced way, the apparently invalid character of answers to retrospective questions. This aspect is what I would like to call the unequal 1:5 year ratio in

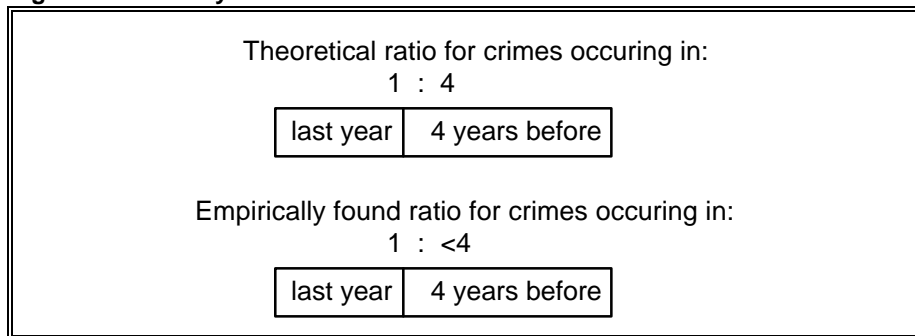
¹ The author, who is Head of Department, Public Opinion and Policy Studies, Inter/View Netherlands B.V., Amsterdam, the Netherlands, is greatly indebted to his colleagues at Inter/View for their comments on an earlier draft of the presentation, and especially to Dr. Hans Van Grastek and Dr. Harold de Bock for their constructive comments. Furthermore, he would like to thank Dr. Hans van der Brug for his comments on his first ideas for this paper.

reported victimisation rates. When people are asked about the date of a crime they have experienced, they tend to give answers which seem to be unrealistic. Respondents answering positively to the question as to whether they had suffered a specific crime "during the past five years", tend to place this (last) crime in the previous year far more often than would be expected. This results in relatively higher victimisation rates for the last year, compared with the "5 year rates". Figure 1 illustrates this.

When crimes occur with roughly the same frequency over the years and respondents have an accurate memory, one would theoretically expect that crimes mentioned by the respondents would be spread equally over the whole five-year period; consequently the crimes committed over the last year would have a 20 percent share of the total number of crimes experienced in the last five years (see the top box in Figure 1).

However, there is an over-representation of the crimes of the last year in proportion to those of the preceding four years (see the bottom box in Figure 1). This is true in all countries and for all crimes. According to our respondents, not one-fifth, but about one-third of the crimes took place in the last year. This ratio differs for each crime.

Figure 1: The 1:5 year ratio



This raises several questions. Firstly, the rather straightforward question: why does this uneven 1:5 year ratio exist? Secondly, does it reflect overall invalid answering on retrospective questions? And thirdly, is it possible to use the uneven 1:5 year ratio for estimating growth or decline in the crimes under survey? This paper focuses on the third question.

Purpose of analysis

The purpose of our analysis is to use the information that is incorporated in different 1:5 year ratios to estimate growth or decline. In other words, the purpose is to infer knowledge about the dynamics of a crime from the observed 1:5 year ratio in one survey. In other words, to try to ascertain whether the ratio of crimes with a strong growth differ from that of crimes which are declining. If meaningful

deductions are arrived at, it makes sense to apply this knowledge: for instance, it would enable researchers to make decisions about the best intervals for repeat waves in longitudinal studies based on time dynamics.

To make use of the information incorporated in the 1:5 year ratio, several aspects which can explain the ratio must first be isolated.

Explanations

Several explanations are given in the literature for the unequal 1:5 ratio. Briefly, the following will be discussed:

- 1) telescoping effects;
- 2) forgetting;
- 3) multiple victimisation (within 5 years);
- 4) actual growth or decline of the phenomenon.

Each of these explanations has a different influence on the 1:5 ratio. The effects are summarised in Table 2.

The effects can be illustrated with the results of the International Victim Survey in the nine countries in which it was last carried out (1992), using CATI methodology. These countries are Australia, Belgium, Canada, England & Wales, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden and the USA, with samples varying between 1,500 and 2,000 per wave per country. The questionnaire contained the following main questions on victimisation:

- theft of car;
- theft from car;
- car vandalism;
- theft of motorcycle;
- theft of bicycle;
- burglary with entry;
- attempted burglary;
- theft from garages and sheds (1992 only);
- robbery;
- personal theft;
- sexual incidents;
- assault.

Respondents were asked about the first eight crimes at the household level, and about the last four at the personal level.

The following information per crime is available:

- victimisation (last 5 years and last year);
- number of incidents in the last year (multiple victims);
- crime reported to police;
- seriousness of crime (1992 only);
- other details (place, damage, etc).

Possible explanations for the unequal 1:5 year ratio now follow.

Telescoping

Respondents to the questionnaire were asked if they had been the victim of a particular crime within the previous five years. In this respect, a recently published

study by Dr. van Dijk² reports on a so-called "record check" for a number of different crimes. The incidents which, according to respondents in a Dutch crime survey, had been reported to the police in the previous year, were checked with police records. The main conclusion arrived at was the verification of an overall telescoping effect of 25%. Thus, 25% of the answers reported as a "last year incident" were misplaced in time. Most of these victimisations occurred within the six months timespan which preceded the "last year". Similar results were found in an American survey³. This type of telescoping is called internal telescoping, because the telescoping effect occurs within the specified five-year timespan. The consequence of this internal telescoping effect is a substantial over-estimation of recent events, when the responses are taken at face value. In addition to this internal telescoping effect (within the five year period), external telescoping must also be mentioned here. Respondents tend to telescope into the five-year period incidents that occurred before this period⁴. The magnitude of the effect of external telescoping on victimisation surveys is not yet well known. Obviously it will lead to an over-representation of the crimes in the five-year period, but it probably does not greatly affect the "last year" period.

Forgetting

The second explanation for the unequal 1:5 year ratio is forgetting. Although much is still unknown about the functioning of the human memory, memory decay over time is a well documented phenomenon in cognitive psychology. In general this means that crimes which occurred in the more distant past tend to be more easily forgotten. This is expected to be especially true for less serious crimes⁵. Thus, this explanation would predict that crimes which the respondents situated in the last year will contain a lower proportion of "very serious" crimes than will be the case with more distant crimes. Figure 2 shows that this is the case with the current International Crime Survey.

The percentages of respondents evaluating a crime as very serious are shown in the figure. The blank bar displays crimes that occurred in 1991, while the shaded bar shows crimes experienced earlier.

Burglary is seen as the most serious crime and vandalism to cars as the least serious. For some crimes, the earlier experiences were more serious: theft of a car, sexual offences, assault and theft. This supports the explanation of forgetting less serious crimes. However, for the other crimes and for crime in general, this is not the case.

Influence of the act of reporting

² van Dijk, J.J.M. (1992) *Als de dag van gisteren: over de betrouwbaarheid van het slachtofferverhaal*, Justitiële Verkenningen 3, April, Kluwer, Deventer, the Netherlands.

³ van Dijk, *Als de dag...*, op.cit.

⁴ See Richard Block's chapter on Measuring victimisation risk: the effects of methodology, sampling and fielding.

⁵ Biderman A.D. and J.P. Lynch (1981) "Recency in data on self-reported victimization" in 1981 Proceedings of the Social Statistics Section of the American Statistical Association, p.38, Washington.

Going to the police could have a substantial impact on remembering the crime. Figure 3 is again based on the last survey. The length of the bars indicates the percentage of the crimes reported to the police. Theft of cars and motorbikes and burglaries are the most reported crimes from the set, but no striking differences are found between the percentages reported in 1991 and those before 1991. This also applies to differences per crime in reporting in and before 1991.

Figure 2: Seriousness of recent and older crimes

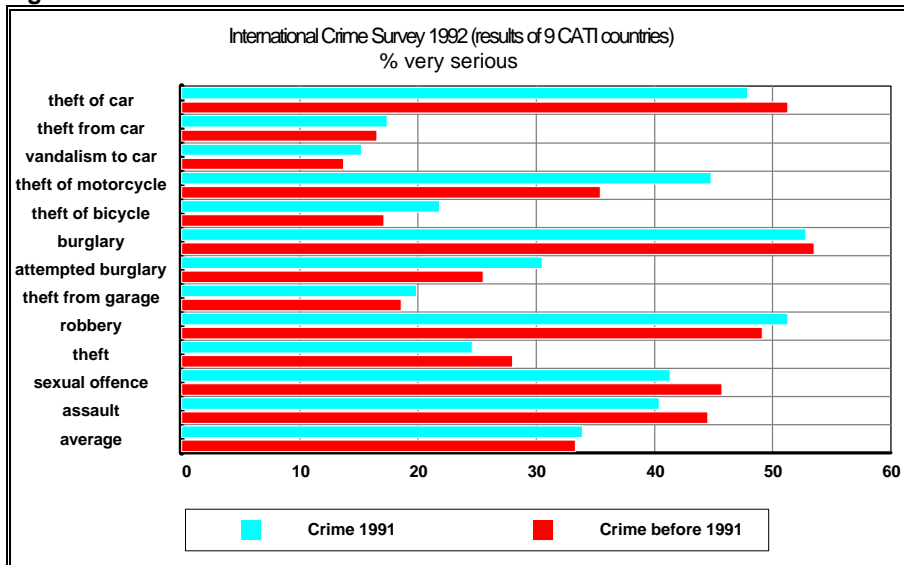
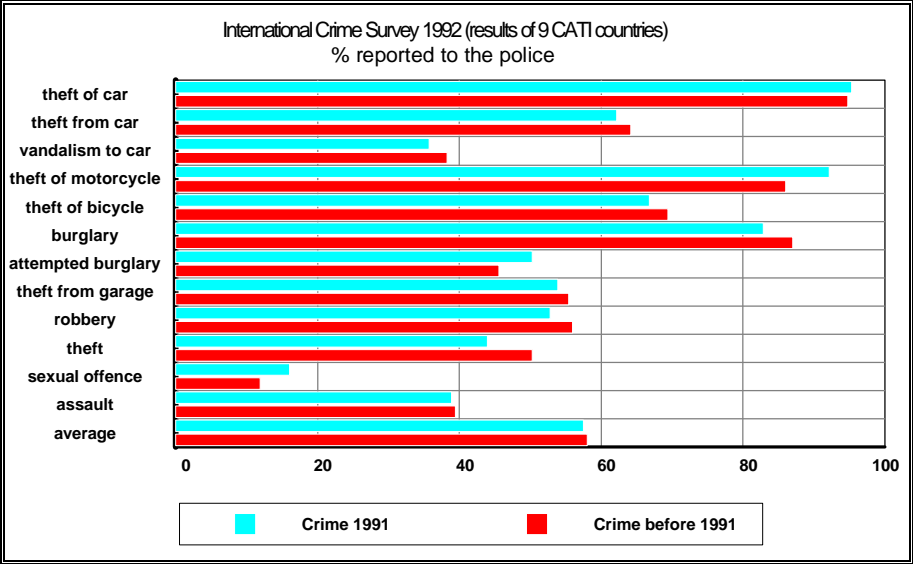


Figure 3: Reporting recent and older crimes to the police



Unlike telescoping and selective memory, in the current survey multiple victimisation (third explanation) is not measured in the five-year period: that is to say, when a victimisation took place in the last year, previous incidents are not recorded. This measurement artefact has an effect on the theoretically expected 1:5 year ratio, which can be quantified in a statistical formula, as we shall see.

On the basis of the observed "last year" victimisation rate, the expected population victimisation rate for the five-year period can be calculated when:

- 1) the level of victimisation is constant over the 5 years;
- 2) all respondents have equal chances of becoming a victim⁶.

The example in Table 1 illustrates this calculation. The example uses an observed "last year" victimisation risk of 10% and a sample of n=1000.

Table 1: Calculation example: 5 year victimisation

Year of victimisation	Total non-victims left in sample	Total victims (10% chance)
1991	1000	100
1990	900	90
1989	810	81
1988	729	73
1987	656	66
Totals	590 (59%)	410 (41%)

Thus, as can be seen, the theoretical chance of becoming a victim at least once in the last five years, when the victimisation rate in the last year is 10%, will not equal 50% (5 years x 10%) but 41%.

The theoretical chance of becoming a victim in the total 5 year period ('87 - '91), when the victimisation rate for the last year is known, can be expressed as follows:

$$\text{Expected } P_{\text{victim '87-'91}} = 1 - (1 - \text{Observed } P_{\text{victim '91}})^5.^7$$

This statistical formula reduces the 1:5 ratio to about 1:4 or less. It could even be 1:3, depending on the incidence rate found in 1991.

The last explanation to be mentioned here is the growth or decline of the phenomenon in real life. If the previous year's incidence rate increases, the ratio is of course affected. Table 2 summarises the possible consequences of the explanatory effects on the expected 1:5 year ratio.

The magnitude of the influence of the first aspects in Table 2 (telescoping and forgetting) on the 1:5 year ratio will differ per crime type. Knowing this, the question

⁶ In fact, risks are not equally distributed amongst all population categories. The implications of this are of interest for further research.

⁷ van Dijk, Als de dag..., op.cit.

arises as to how to infer knowledge about growth or decline from differences in the 1:5 year ratio. In the following analysis an attempt is made to do this.

Table 2: Consequences of possible explanatory effects

Effect on the expected 1:5 year ratio	Crimes 'last year'	Crimes 'four years before'
Internal telescoping	+	-
External telescoping		+
Forgetting		
- in general	-	--
- less serious crimes	-- (?)	--- (?)
- crimes not reported to the police	-- (?)	--- (?)
Multiple victimisation (within 5 years)	+	-
Actual growth of the phenomenon	+	
Actual decline of the phenomenon	-	

Analysis

How did we proceed with the analysis? Six of the nine countries included in the 1992 International Crime Survey were also involved in the 1989 ICS, with standard questionnaires and CATI-methodology, and with samples varying between 1,500 and 2,000 per wave per country. These countries are Australia, Belgium, Canada, England & Wales, the Netherlands and the USA. The 1989 questionnaire contained similar questions on eleven of the twelve above-mentioned crimes for both waves (theft from garages was not included in the 1989 ICS).

On the basis of a comparison of the results per crime for the two waves, a growth index was calculated for each crime, for each country. This was done for the total five-year period and for the last year as well. An index of 100 means no growth, above 100 means growth, and less than 100 means a decline as regards the crime concerned. With the help of the previously mentioned statistical formula applied in correcting multiple victims on the expected 1:5 year ratios, 5-year risks were calculated for each crime in the 1992 ICS, for each country. Finally, a per crime per country calculation was made of the percentage of the expected 1:5 ratio observed in the data. Table 3 shows the average scores per crime for each of the variables constructed. (Appendix 1 gives a full description of the calculations).

The individual results per country were put in a data-matrix which served as input for a regression analysis, in which an effort was made to find the relation between the percentage realised of the 1:5 ratio for 1991 and the actual one-year or five-year growth indexes. In fact six cases were used for each crime (each country being a case).

Results

The resulting percentages in Table 3 explained the variance in growth indicators (R^2 s).

The predictor sign is also placed next to the figures. A positive sign means that more growth correlated positively with a higher percentage obtained in the 1:5 ratio. This means that more crimes were found to have been committed further back in time in cases where actual growth happened. In this case the result is in the opposite direction from that expected. In general the percentages are not very high. In 6 cases, a R² has to reach a level of .53 or more to be significant at a 95% level. The only crime that reached this level is assault. For motorcycle theft and personal theft, substantial percentages for explained variance are also found. For all other crimes, no significant levels were reached.

Table 3: Results of the prediction of growth/decline with unequal 1:5 year ratio as predictor

Crime	R ² growth index 5 years	R ² growth index 1 year
Theft of car	.23 (-)	.04 (-)
Theft from car	.02 (+)	.06 (+)
Car vandalism	.14 (+)	.12 (+)
Theft of motorcycle	.45 (+)	n.a.
Theft of bicycle	.04 (-)	.30 (-)
Burglary with entry	.29 (+)	.05 (+)
Attempted burglary	.11 (+)	.07 (+)
Robbery	.07 (-)	.15 (-)
Personal theft	.15 (-)	.47 (-)
Sexual incidents	.03 (+)	.03 (+)
Assault	.88 (+)	.63 (+)

Discussion

The first attempt to use the unequal 1:5 year ratio to provide more information about the dynamics of crime has been only partly successful, mostly because of the limited number of countries involved in this analysis and the fact that the variation in growth/decline was not very high: most crimes showed moderate or strong growth.

Further work needs to be done to develop this instrument to enable researchers and policy-makers in the future to decide upon the frequency of repeat waves in multi-wave victim studies and to give additional interpretations to the underlying dynamics of the results of the first wave. Special care should be taken over differences in household crimes and personal crimes and on the effect of unequal victimisation chances between sub-groups in the population.

The fact that several crimes with correlations in the right direction were found in such a small sample gives hope that in the future it will be possible to derive additional information from the observed 1:5 year ratios based on one survey only.

Appendix 1

Calculation Example

Example 'Car theft'	Netherlands	England & Wales	Belgium	Canada	USA	Australia
A. % Victims last year (ICS'92)	.5	3.7	1	1.3	2.6	3.1
B. % Victims Expected in 5 years (ICS'92) according to formula	2.5	17.2	4.9	6.3	12.3	14.6
C. % Victims Observed 5 years (ICS'92)	2.1	9.8	3.7	3.9	7	10.4
D. Realised 1:5 year ratio (100* C/B)	85	57	75	62	57	71
E. % Victims last year (ICS'89)	.3	1.8	.8	.8	2.1	2.3
F. % Victims Observed 5 years (ICS'89)	1.8	6.6	4	2.8	6.3	8
G. Index 1 year growth (100*A/E)	167	206	125	163	124	135
H. Index 5 year growth (100*C/F)	117	148	93	139	111	130

MEASURING VICTIMISATIONS RISK: THE EFFECTS OF METHODOLOGY, SAMPLING, AND FIELDING

Richard Block¹

Introduction

As a resident of Chicago, I have suffered many criminal incidents. My raincoat was stolen on a wet afternoon, I was threatened while riding rapid transit, or a policeman asked me for a bribe to forget a traffic violation. All of these incidents occurred in the last five years. None was reported to the police. They are part of the "dark figure" of crime, those crimes that are never officially recorded as "crimes known to the police". Even when the police are notified, they may fail for political or administrative reasons to record all crimes that they know of. On the other hand, paradoxically, a successful police program to reduce crime may increase the official crime rate by increasing citizen notification or trust in the police.

The United States National Crime Victim Survey (NCVS) began in 1972 as a policy relevant complement to official statistics. With this project, the United States became a pioneer in surveying a population sample to derive a measure of victimisation that was independent of police reports. Each quarter year, a random sample of US households is surveyed about victimisation in the previous six months. The NCVS is one of the largest, longest and costliest continuing social surveys ever undertaken. In a typical year, 100,000 respondents in 50,000 households are interviewed. However, the size and cost of the survey and its complex fielding methodology limits its usefulness as a policy tool and make it unfeasible in other countries or in an international survey.

Still, many countries have followed the US lead, using methodologies and questions that are derived from the NCVS model. Each survey queries a random sample of the population asking if they have been a victim of crime over a specified time period. Victimisation questions have been especially similar in these surveys because of the common need in all of them to convert legal concepts into everyday ideas of criminal acts. Surveys of crime have been completed in many countries and several - the Netherlands, England/Wales, Israel, and Hong Kong - have fielded a series of surveys.²

In early 1989, the International Crime Survey (ICS) was completed in 14 countries of Europe, North America and Australia. Sample sizes were small and questions were limited to assessment of risk, notification of the police and a few attitudinal and behavioural responses. The survey's completion demonstrated the usefulness of a limited, inexpensive survey in assessing victimisation risk.

A second survey using the same sampling and fielding methods including a slightly altered questionnaire was administered in nine countries (six of the original

¹ Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Loyola University Chicago, Illinois, USA.

² Block, R.L. (1992) "Comparing national surveys of victims of crime" *International Journal of Victimology*, pp. 1-20.

countries) in 1992. In addition, the basic International Crime Survey Questionnaire was adopted under United Nations sponsorship for use as a template for surveys in other countries. The diversity of countries and the quality of work under this uniform guide, but often in difficult conditions, is quite remarkable. The completion of this study in many developed and developing countries clearly demonstrates the widespread acceptance, validity, and usefulness of this project.

While the International Crime Survey is a useful and feasible complement to official statistics in many countries, its limits for measurement of victimisation risk must be recognised. The general problems of survey research - sampling and fielding techniques, non-response and selective response - limit the survey's usefulness for measuring and comparing risk of victimisation. However, assessment of risk is also limited by problems specific to retrospective surveys, problems specific to victimisation surveys, and problems unique to the ICS itself.

What is measured? Prevalence and incidence

Victim surveys are not an alternative but a complement to police records of crime. Even if victims reported every incident to the police, crime surveys and official reports would not measure the same thing. Even for the same crime, the coverage of incidents of victim surveys and police reports differ. Surveys (including the ICS) typically incorporate only individuals and households. Police reports include businesses and governments. Victim surveys are residence based. Police records are based on incidents. It is sometimes assumed that police reports are a random sample of all occurrences of victimisation. As I have shown elsewhere, they are not.³ In the United States, less serious and attempted crimes are much less likely to result in police notification than more serious or completed crimes. Many domestic assaults reported to the police go unreported in victim surveys. Many assaults reported in victim surveys are not reported to the police.

The International Crime Survey measures the prevalence and incidence of eleven types of victimisation and three sub types in the last year. The prevalence of these crimes is estimated over the past five years. Prevalence is the percentage of respondents or households that were victimised at least once in a time period. Thus, for example, 2.1% of all households in the 1989 wave of the ICS were victims of burglary with entry in 1988.⁴ Some households were burglarised more than once in 1988. The incidence rates measures multiple occurrences of the same crime. The incidence rate is the (number of incidents/number of households) * 100. It is usually higher than the prevalence rate (2.2 for burglary in 1988).

For some crimes such as burglary or car theft, there is little difference between incidence and prevalence. However, for personal violence, the difference between incidence and prevalence is large. Overall 2.5% of women were victims of at least one sexual incident in 1988 (Figure 1), but there were 4.9 sexual incidents per 100

³ Block, R.L. and C.R. Block (1980) "Decision and data: the transformation of robbery incidents into official robbery statistics" *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* (Winter), 71:622-636.

⁴ van Dijk, J.J.M., P. Mayhew and M. Killias (1990) Experiences of crime across the world: key findings of the 1989 International Crime Survey, p.174, Kluwer Law and Taxation Publishers, Deventer, the Netherlands.

female respondents in the survey. Many women were victims of more than one sexual incident in 1988.

As illustrated in Figure 2, the difference between incidence and prevalence of personal violence is not constant across countries. In general, countries in which many respondents were assaulted or threatened at least once are countries where the differences between incidence and prevalence are highest (Australia, Canada, and the USA). For other countries there is no clear pattern of differences.

While the difference between prevalence and incidence for burglary is smaller than that for assault and threat, the pattern of cross national differences is the same (Figure 3). Countries with the highest prevalence level also have the greatest difference between prevalence and incidence. Official police statistics are typically based on incidents. A comparison of these to prevalence would be incorrect especially for crimes of personal violence.

In the ICS, incidence rates are only calculable for the last year. Prevalence rates are calculable for the last year, and for the last five years. We know the percentage of households that were burglarised in the last five years. We cannot calculate how many burglaries occurred.

General problems of survey research and the International Crime Survey

Sampling & fielding

The closer a survey approaches the random sampling ideal that everyone in the population has an equal and known chance of inclusion, the closer the survey will be to a true measure of the population. Surveys are always a compromise between costs and sampling adequacy. In countries with good telephone coverage, the ICS utilises random digit dialing plus weighting of some respondents to represent the nation. If respondents who lack a telephone are at greater risk than those with a phone, then this survey technique under represents victimisation risk. In the United States, both phone ownership and victimisation risk are inversely related to poverty.

In those countries in which fewer people have telephones, a variety of sampling techniques are used. The effect of lack of randomness in choosing a convenience sample of persons who happen to be in a particular place at a specific time or who are part of a quota sample of middle aged males on victimisation assessment is not known. It seems likely that deviations from randomness may result in an increase in measured victimisation risk because those persons who choose to participate may have a crime story to tell.

Non-response

The International Crime Survey has been plagued by vastly different rates of non-response. Response rates in the 1989 survey varied from 30% to 70% (41% overall). Response rates for the 1992 survey were generally higher, varying from 38% to near 100%, and an unknown percent in countries with no clear sampling frame. Killias has hypothesized that a low response rate will be associated with a high crime rate; only those respondents will agree to participate who have

something to report.⁵ However, he notes that the 1989 ICS did not confirm his hypothesis.⁶

Non-response is a difficult problem in the assessment of victimisation risk. In 1989, the US response rate was 37% and the prevalence rate for personal violence was higher than for any other country. In 1992, the United States had a fifty percent response rate, but rates of personal violence fell to levels comparable to other countries. Levels of personal violence both in the NCVS and in police statistics reached record levels in 1991. It is likely that the declining levels of the ICS are more a result of sampling changes than a measure of the prevalence of victimisation.

In countries with highly developed telephone networks, the ICS utilises CATI (Computer Aided Telephone Interviewing) techniques and Random Digit Dialing. In many countries face-to-face interviews are used. For the short surveys with relatively simple questions, the responses to a telephone interview are very similar to those in person questions. The NCVS has increasingly adopted telephone interviewing as a cost cutting measure. Experiments prior to the adoption of the less expensive method demonstrated little effect on the assessment of risk.⁷

Management of fielding is a key to the reliability of survey research. While all field work for the 1989 ICS was supervised by the same research firm, fielding management was not uniformly careful. Telephone interviewing can be more stringently supervised than in person interviewing, however, part of the widely differing levels of non-response in this project may have resulted from lack of adequate supervision. Sampling within a household may be affected by fielding supervision. If the person answering the telephone is interviewed rather than a randomly selected respondent, then the respondent is more likely to be female than male and less likely to be outside the house for work or recreation. These characteristics are all associated with risk of victimisation.

Internal and external telescoping and memory decay

In preparation for the National Crime Survey two important methodological problems, memory decay and telescoping were recognised as problems of retrospective surveys and especially crucial to assessment of victimisation risk.⁸ These problems essentially defined the methodology of the NCVS.

The NCVS solution to these problems is to create a panel of addresses, an absolute bound to reduce telescoping⁹, and a compromise recall period of six

⁵ Killias, M. (1987) "New methodological perspectives for victimisation surveys: lessons from Switzerland, National Crime Survey", The American Society of Criminology 39th Annual Meeting, (November 1987), Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

⁶ van Dijk et al., Experiences..., op. cit.

⁷ Roman, A.M. and G.A. Sliwa (1982) Final report on the study examining the increased use of telephone interviewing in the National Crime Survey (NCS), (Memorandum dated August 9, 1982), Bureau of Census, Washington D.C.

⁸ Biderman, A.D. and J.P. Lynch (1981) "Regency bias in data in self-reported victimization" Proceedings of the Social Statistics Section, American Statistical Association, pp. 31-40.

⁹ The difference between bounded and unbounded household is not absolute. A household is considered bounded if the address is bounded. However, over 3 1/2 years, occupants of many addresses change.

months.¹⁰ An address is maintained in the interview panel for 3 and 1/2 years. The first interview is used only for bounding. Interviews two through seven are referenced on the immediately preceding interview for crimes occurring in the last six months. Depending on the seriousness of the victimisation, prevalence rates of victimisation are 1.5 to 2.5 times as high for the first time NCVS respondent than a second time respondent. While the NCVS bounding technique rigorously addresses the known problems of retrospective surveys, it is extremely expensive, has its own problems, and represents a long term commitment that would be impractical for use in the ICS.¹¹

The designers of the ICS recognised the bounding problem. It is difficult to differentiate and count a series of crimes occurring over a long time period. In order to bound the survey, the respondent is first asked about victimisations in the past five years and then in more detail about more recent victimisation. Long term victimisation serves as a memory bound for crimes occurring in the last year. The ICS requires the respondent to remember events that occurred in the last five years and in the last year, and therefore problems of external and internal telescoping and memory decay place limits on the ICS method to assess risk.

- *External telescoping*

Victimisations occurring outside a time period are incorporated into the time period. The longer the recall period the less the chance of external telescoping. If respondents are asked about crimes occurring in their life time, external telescoping is impossible. If respondents are asked about crimes occurring in the last month, the likelihood of external telescoping is very high.

In the ICS, the respondent's recall of victimisations occurring in the last year or five years is bounded only by his/her memory. In the US, the NCVS treat similar questionnaires as unbounded and does not use them for making victimisation estimates.

Surveys in many countries question respondents in January or February about occurrences in the last year or last five years. Most external telescoping will occur at the earliest point of the recall period. Therefore in these surveys and in the ICS, respondents will bring incidents that occurred before the time period into it. In addition, crimes occurring after the reference period may also be brought into it. For example, respondents may include post New Year crimes as crimes occurring in the previous year.

- *Internal telescoping*

The surveys of new residents are considered to be bounded although they in fact are not as clearly indicated by the much higher levels of victimisation reported by these respondents in their first interview.

¹⁰ Murphy, L.R. and C.D. Cowan (1976) "Effects of bounding on telescoping in the National Crime Survey" in *The National Crime Survey: working papers (volume II: Methodological Studies)*; Cantor, D. (1985) "Operational and substantive differences in changing the NCVS reference period" Proceedings of the Social Statistical Section, American Statistical Association, pp. 128-137.

¹¹ Panel bias: the reduction in reported crimes with each re-interview was an unexpected problem created by the NCVS technique. Either behavioural changes or conditioning to the survey results in the number of crimes reported declining with each re-interview.

Just as respondents tend to telescope events occurring outside the five year time frame of the ICS into the most recent five years, they will also tend to remember crimes occurring more recently than they really did. Internal telescoping is the tendency in retrospective surveys to move events from the more distant past to the more recent past.

In a survey administered in January, respondents will tend to remember crimes committed in September or August as having occurred in October or November. Internal telescoping has no net effect on the five year estimate of victimisation risk in the ICS. However, it is likely that some victimisations occurring in the first four years covered by the questionnaire will be remembered as occurring in the most recent year.

Thus, the combination of external and internal telescoping in the ICS will tend to bring more victimisations than occurred into the five year span of the survey and within the span of the survey, victimisations that occurred in the earlier four years will be telescoped into the most recent year.

- *Recency bias (memory decay)*

A problem of all retrospective surveys is that more distant events tend to be forgotten. Recalled events will tend to cluster toward those most recent in time. More contemporary crimes are easily remembered, but those occurring even a few months earlier are often overlooked. The greater the length of a recall period, the greater the problem of recency bias. The less serious the crime, the more quickly it is forgotten. As a result, the longer the span of recall of a victimisation survey, the greater the recency bias (or memory decay) especially for less serious crimes. As Bushery has shown in the United States, more crimes will be reported in a three month recall than in a six month recall, and more in a six month recall than a one year recall period.¹² If Bushery's findings are correct for other surveys, then memory decay is a very significant problem in assessment of risk in the ICS.

It is impossible to separate a real upward trend in victimisation from recency bias and internal telescoping in the ICS. Memory decay, internal telescoping, and a real increase in levels of victimisation all have the same effect - to increase the proportion of crimes occurring in the most recent time period. The ICS methodology almost certainly results in a higher level of crime risk for the most recent year than actually occurred.

The joint effect of internal telescoping and memory decay and a real increase in victimisation are illustrated in Figures 4, 5, and 6. All three charts ask the same question: what percentage of those respondents who stated that they were victimised in the last five years were victimised in the last year. If all victimised respondents were victimised only once in the last five years and victimisation were stable, then we would expect that only 20% of victims would report an occurrence in the last year. However, some respondents who were victimised in the most recent year were also victimised earlier and the real rate of victimisation may have

¹² Bushery, J.M. (1981) "Recall bias for different reference periods in the National Crime Survey" Proceedings of the Section on Survey Research Methods, American Statistical Association, pp. 238-243.

changed. Thus, the actual percentage of respondents who report an occurrence in the most recent year should be higher than 20%.¹³

For victims from the six countries that were included in both waves of the survey, nearly forty-eight percent of the respondents who reported vandalism of a car from 1987-1991 reported at least one victimisation in 1991 (Figure 4). Similarly, forty-five percent of respondents who reported car vandalism from 1984-1988 reported being victimised in 1988. While some respondents may have been victimised repeatedly, it is unlikely that the over-representation of the most recent year is derived only from multiple victimisation and the increasing overall level of victimisation. It may also result from the forgetting of earlier crimes and from the internal telescoping of crimes from earlier years into the most recent year.

More serious crimes tend to be remembered more accurately. The proportion of victims of auto theft who report an incident occurring in the last year is much lower - 34% in 1991 and 27% in 1988. This more serious crime occurs less frequently and is probably more accurately placed in time than vandalism.

Figure 4 also demonstrates that the combined effects of memory decay, telescoping, and repeat victimisation tend to be about the same for specific crimes over time. For example, the one year proportion is high for sexual incidents both in 1988 and 1991 but low for burglary in both years. The proportion of victims reporting incidents in the last year increased for all crimes except theft from a car. If the tendency toward memory decay and telescoping change little over short time periods, it is likely that the actual risk of victimisation increased for most crimes between the two waves of the survey.

There is little reason to believe that telescoping and memory decay should have different effects in different countries. Figures 5 and 6 indicate that this is generally true. The proportion of respondents who indicate that a crime occurred in the last year is generally higher for assault and threat than burglary and within crimes and years this proportion does not vary greatly between countries. Thus, while these methodological problems may affect assessment of one year risk of victimisation, they probably do not effect comparison of the same crime between countries or over time.

Assessment problems unique to the International Crime Survey

The International Crime Survey has an ambitious mission. Its goal is to measure the impact of crime independently from police statistics in both developed and developing countries. The survey was designed to be policy oriented, inexpensive, timely, and comparative¹⁴. I believe it has largely accomplished its goals. However, the mission itself places limits on the survey's validity and reliability. Victimisation is a rare event. To accurately measure it, a large random sample of willing and trusting respondents is required.

¹³ The ICS does not ask respondents who were victimised in the most recent year, whether or not they were victimised in the previous four years. Therefore, we cannot differentiate between those respondents who were victimised only in the most recent year from those who were victimised in the most recent year and in earlier years.

¹⁴ The goals and limitations of the survey are clearly stated in the Introduction to the book by van Dijk et al., *Experiences...*, op. cit.

The requirements that the ICS be inexpensive, policy oriented, and timely required compromises in its design. The ICS goal of 1,500 randomly selected respondents per country is large enough for an accurate estimate of candidate popularity in a US political poll. However, it is low for a survey of an event so rare as burglary. In order to estimate the likelihood of victimisation for specific crimes that may occur to only one or two percent of the population (15 to 30 respondents), the closer the sample approaches randomness the better. For example, the ICS estimates that 2.4% of Dutch households suffered a burglary with entry in 1988. Two thousand respondents answered the survey, a sixty-five percent response rate. Of the 2,000 households, forty-six reported a burglary. A random change of eleven respondents would increase the burglary prevalence rate to 2.9% or decrease it to 1.8%. The random error of the estimate is high and effected in unknown ways by non-response. Therefore, the estimate can be accurate only in a broad range. Cross national comparisons must be made very cautiously.

The developers of the ICS hoped to be able to use uniform sampling and fielding techniques in all countries. They have not been able to achieve this goal. In many less developed countries, the sample is far from random. Several surveys utilise quota samples to represent the proportion of particular demographic groups but the quota of each demographic group may fail to represent the population in other ways. Others utilise a random walk methodology. Both of these techniques have been abandoned in more developed countries except for marketing research.

As a cross national survey, difficulties in sampling and fielding reflect the cultural and political situation in each country in which it is used. The subject matter of the ICS, victimisation and crime prevention, demand that the survey's sponsor be credible. Crime effects the everyday life of respondents. Many victims had earlier decided against police notification of their victimisation. Therefore, sponsorship must be credible enough to result in respondents describing events that they were earlier reluctant to notify the police about. In the first wave of the ICS, lack of credibility may have been responsible for some respondents refusing to participate. In some developing countries, respect for the government or the United Nations is low. Sponsorship by the government or the United Nations may hurt rather than promote credibility and reduce response rates.

In many developing countries, surveying is not so well matured as in the industrialised nations. For some respondents, the questionnaire format is so unusual that responses may be very inaccurate. The respondent is not well acquainted with the simple question response format of surveys. Respondents are asked to give short declarative answers to questions that usually require a long answer or a story rather than a check mark. On the other hand, in the West, survey research may be over-developed. Refusal rates are high because of over-saturation of surveys. Both over-saturation and inexperience with survey research reduce the accuracy of risk assessment in the ICS.

In order for the ICS to be completed at low cost with a relatively large number of respondents, the survey itself must be relatively short. The survey instrument is well designed to accomplish its goals in the shortest time possible. However, the ICS requires respondents to answer potentially embarrassing or revealing questions soon after the survey begins. The surveyors in several countries were hesitant to ask women about sexual incidents. Higher social class respondents often hesitated

to discuss security measures. The credibility built up by a somewhat longer survey might aid in responses to these questions.

The International Crime Survey as a risk assessment tool

The citizens of most developed, developing and Eastern European countries are enduring an increase in crime. Because many crimes go unreported to the police, their impact on the everyday life of most people is not measured. Even when police statistics are kept, they are often perceived to be unreliable or politically biased. Because of differences in police procedure and crime definitions, it is rarely possible to compare the impact of crime cross nationally. The ICS permits these comparisons.

The ICS is designed to measure victimisation and its impact on the citizens of a country. Yet the impact of victimisation at an individual level is almost unmeasured. It could be measured relatively inexpensively. Victimisation is a rare event, therefore the cost of finding each victim is high, the additional cost of questioning the victim about these rare occurrences is relatively low. This opportunity is wasted in the ICS. In future waves of the ICS, when a victim of robbery, burglary, or sexual assault is found, he/she should be questioned in more detail about the incident and its impact than the ICS allows.

The international acceptance of the ICS and the quality of the research that has been undertaken in many countries following its model are measures of its viability. The ICS provides a reasonable, cost effective, policy useful measure of crime's impact, and it allows for cross national comparison. As surveyors in developing nations acquire more experience in modern fielding and sampling technique, the ICS will come even closer to achieving its goals. However, the limits of the ICS for assessment of risk of victimisation should be recognised. It is a relatively small, retrospective survey, of rare events occurring over a long period of time. It is subject to the same problems of internal and external telescoping and memory decay as any retrospective survey. It has the comparison problems of any cross national survey, and it has estimation problems based upon small sample sizes. Its estimates of victimisation risk are accurate only within a broad range and comparisons across waves or nations must be made very cautiously.

Figure 1: Prevalence and incidents (1989 International Crime Survey)

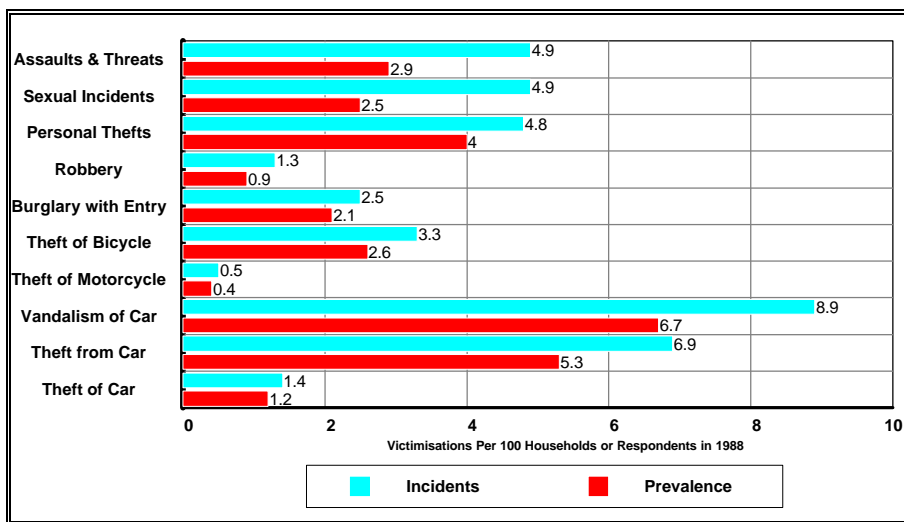


Figure 2: Prevalence and incidents - assault and threat (1989 International Crime Survey)

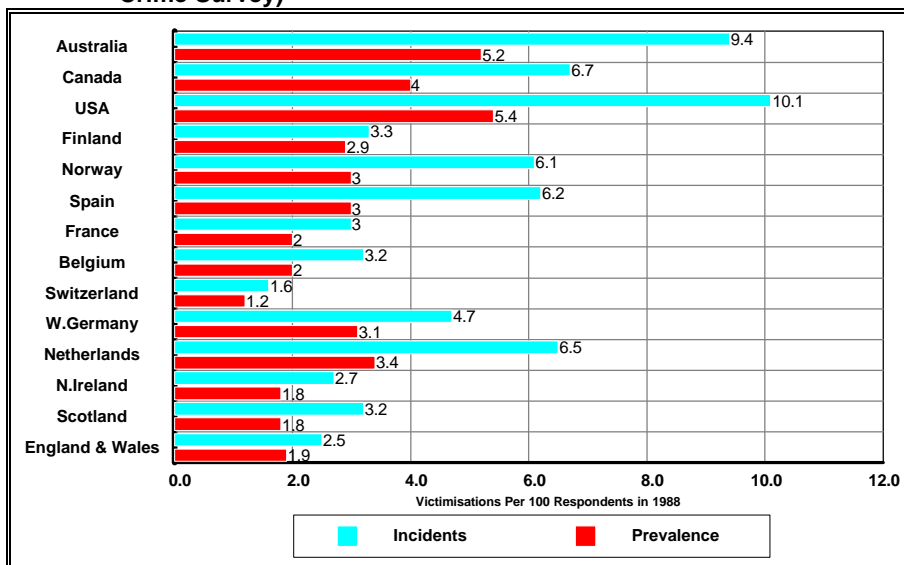


Figure 3: Prevalence and incidents - burglary with entry (1989 International Crime Survey)

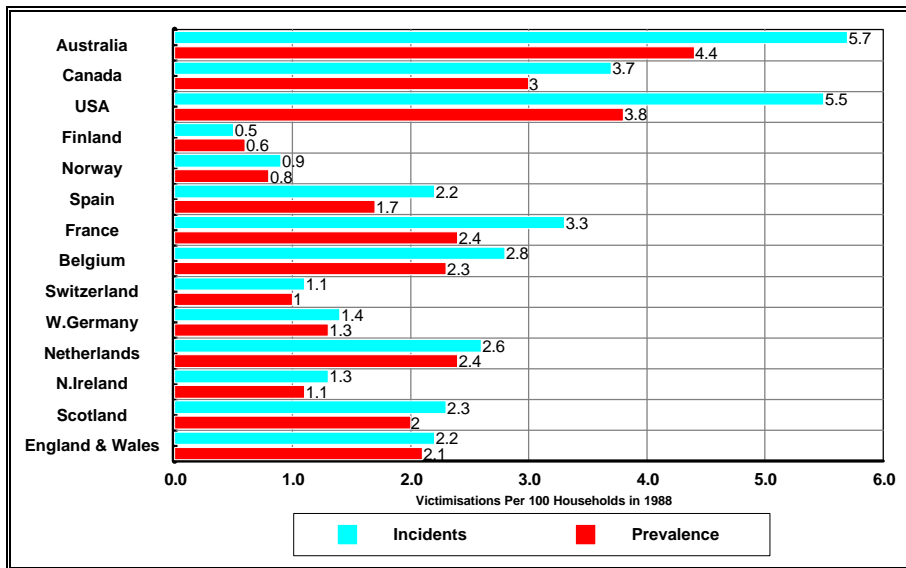


Figure 4: Memory decay, telescoping and repeat victimisation (International Crime Surveys 1989, 1992)

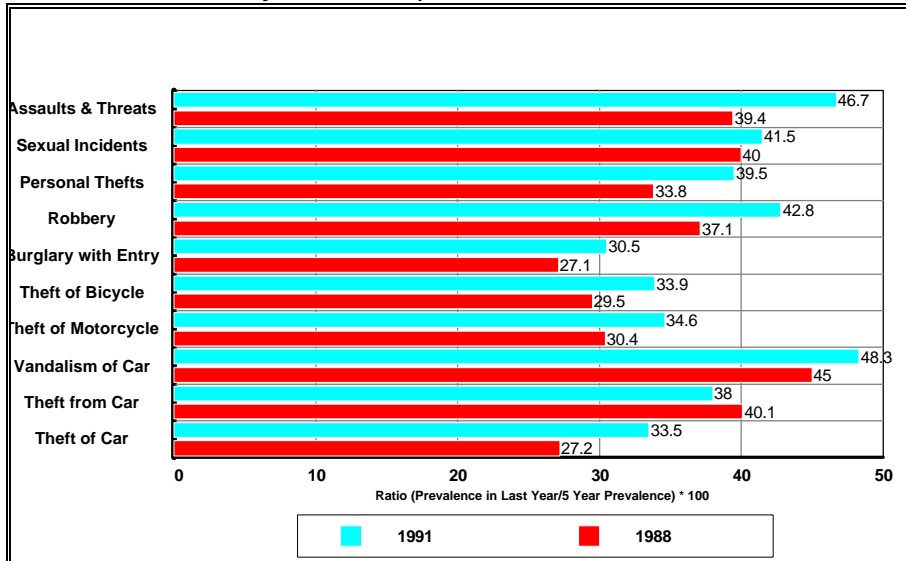


Figure 5: Memory decay, telescoping and repeat victimisation - assault and threat (International Crime Surveys 1989, 1992)

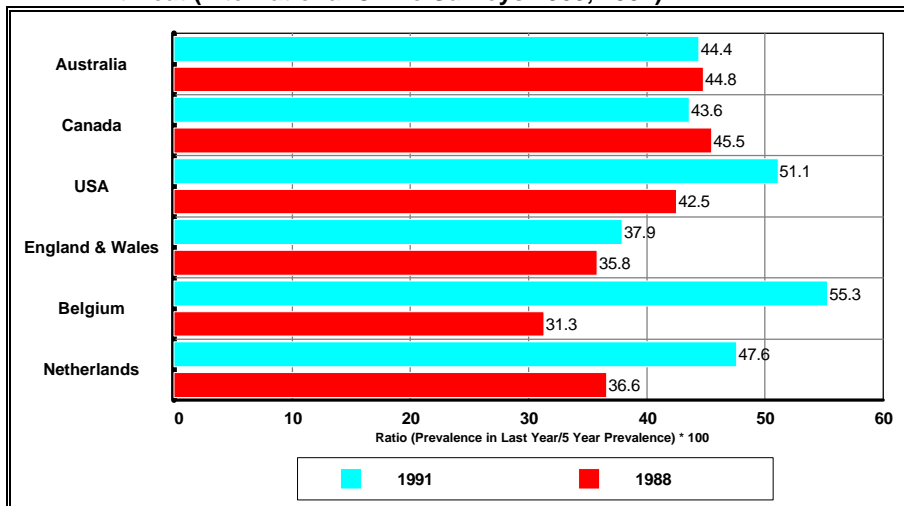
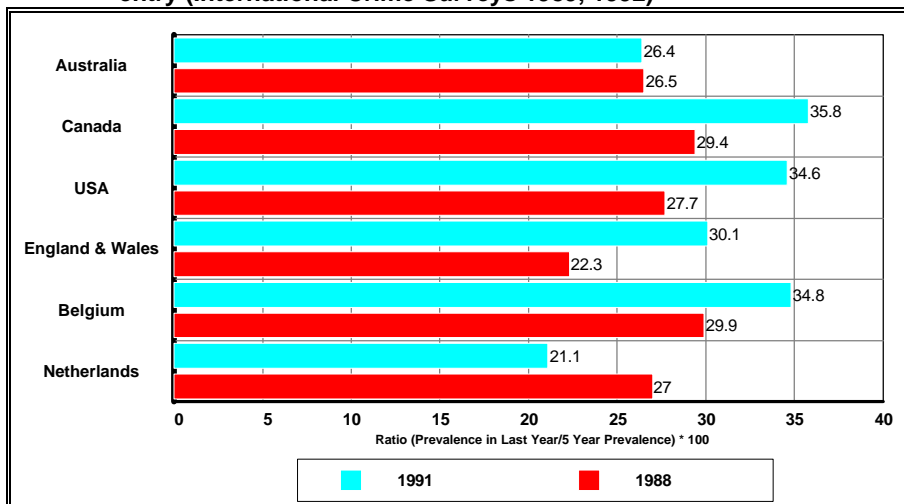


Figure 6: Memory decay, telescoping and repeat victimisation - burglary with entry (International Crime Surveys 1989, 1992)



SECONDARY ANALYSIS OF INTERNATIONAL CRIME SURVEY DATA

James P. Lynch¹

The International Crime Survey constitutes a quantum leap in international statistics on crime and justice issues. While there are other long standing statistical series pertaining to crime and criminal justice internationally, none have so directly addressed the questions of crime incidence, the social context of crime, and public attitudes toward crime and criminal justice. The survey fills a substantial gap in the information that we need to understand crime and to formulate responses to it. Moreover, the survey offers this information in a more highly desegregated form than pre-existing statistical systems. As a result, these data can be presented and analysed in many more informative ways than simple national crime rates or age-specific rates for a nation as a whole. Finally, the International Crime Survey offers the advantage of being a more self-conscious and, therefore, self-critical system than the administrative series systems that we have relied upon heretofore. The sole purpose of the survey is to provide data on crime and victims. In contrast, administrative series data systems obtain their information from record systems that document the service provided by police or correctional agencies. These record systems are necessarily subservient to the service delivery system. Consequently, scrutiny of how the data are collected is not a high priority, and it may even be discouraged. Moreover, change to improve these data systems is difficult. In theory, at least, it should be easier in the ICS than in pre-existing data series to know the error structure of the data, to account for error in our analyses and, ultimately, to reduce these errors. For all of these reasons, the ICS is a tremendous step forward in international statistics on crime and criminal justice.

This paper suggests some ways in which this new and valuable data might be used to increase our understanding of crime and crime control. More specifically, it discusses the secondary analysis of the International Crime Survey (ICS). In this context, secondary analysis means the use of these data for purposes other than the principal reason for its collection - the production of annual national estimates of crime and victimisation. In highlighting particular analyses of the survey data, an attempt has been made to emphasise the unique features of the survey described in the foregoing paragraph - the new information that it brings, the ability to disaggregate that information and the opportunity afforded for methodological improvement. Finally, the joint use of the ICS and other data series in secondary analyses will also be discussed.

The specific analyses recommended here are highlighted because they are important for understanding crime and our responses to it. They are also analyses for which victim survey data, and particularly the ICS data, are especially appropriate. In some cases, the current survey cannot support the specific analyses suggested. These analyses could be accommodated in the victim survey method more generally, however, and it is useful to note these uses of the data so that the appropriate information may be included in future versions of the ICS.

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Exploiting the new information in the ICS

The information collected in the ICS can be new in two respects. First, it may be the first time that such information on crime and victims has ever been collected in any victimisation survey. Second, the information may have been collected, but never in such a comparable way in such a large number of nations. In the first case, previous empirical work will offer little guidance as to the form and content of the analysis, but we can be assured that almost any analysis will be informative. In the second case, previous work will offer some guidance and the major contributions of the work will lie in testing the generalisability of previous knowledge. The "newness" of most of the data in the ICS is of the latter type, and so, enlightenment will come from cross national comparisons of these data. Some of the issues that can be informed by this type of analysis are described below.

Traditionally, the secondary analysis of data from single-nation victimisation surveys have been used to address the following issues:

- 1) the effects of macro-social changes, e.g. changes in the female labour force participation, on national victimisation rates;
- 2) describing and explaining the differential risk of victimisations across individuals;
- 3) describing and explaining the durable and non-durable repercussions of victimisation including fear;
- 4) describing and explaining responses to victimisation with special emphasis on the use of police services.

Less frequently, these surveys have been used to:

- 5) assess public attitudes toward crime and criminal justice policy.

The ICS can shed new light on most of these issues. The specific potential contributions of the survey for each issue will be described in the following sections. For reasons that will be presented more completely in the discussion of methodological research, it will be argued that the survey is more appropriately used for some of these purposes than others.

Exploring the effects of macro-social changes

One of the greatest impediments to the study of crime and justice issues cross nationally has been the limited availability of data that is independent of the justice system. For many years, police data were the only widely available source of data on crime and the public response to crime.² The problem with police data is that, for many well known reasons, they cannot be used as an indicator of the volume of crime in a society.³ For analyses that tried to determine the effects of public policy

² Bennet, R. and P. Lynch (1990) "Does a difference make a difference? Comparing cross-national crime indicators" *Criminology* 28 (1):153-182.

³ Biderman, A.D. and A. Reiss, Jr. (1967) "On exploring the dark figure of crime" *The Annals* 374:1-15.

on crime or vice versa, the lack of a crime indicator independent of public policy was crippling.

Victimisation surveys provide estimates of the volume of crime that are independent of police and other criminal justice agencies. The fact that the ICS now includes some thirty nations means that more adequate analyses of public policy can be conducted at the level of nation-state.

The fact that the ICS data are collected at the incident or person level is also a tremendous advantage for analyses that use the nation as the unit of analysis. Most national level data provided in statistical compendia provide aggregated data such as a mean or a median for each country. These aggregate measures are often produced by data systems that simply accumulate counts of the events of interest, e.g. crimes, immigrants, etc. Once these data are collected they cannot be disaggregated or reaggregated to the national level in a different way. This is not true for the ICS. The incident-based nature of the system permits aggregation and disaggregation in a number of ways. This is useful for national level analyses because the range of national estimates derived from the ICS that can be included in statistical compendia is larger than most other statistical systems. Rather than simply including an estimate for the total number of victimisations, the survey can (within the limits of its sample) provide estimates for each type of crime identifiable in the survey as well as for sub-populations of crime victims, e.g. women, teenagers, minority group members, etc. This is a tremendous advantage for nation level analyses because very often a single indicator of crime or crime data for the total population is not specific enough for the analysis envisaged.

The benefit of the ICS for these types of analyses will be realised when the ICS data are included in statistical compendia for general use. Use of these data would be further facilitated if the information is merged with other sources of cross national data on crime and social indicators that are maintained in machine readable form. Likely candidates include the Correlates of Crime (COC) data set that Richard Bennett has assembled as well as the United Nations Survey data set. The advantage of the COC data set is that it includes a large number of social indicators for each nation other than those collected under the auspices of criminal justice agencies. This information is valuable for finding predictor variables in models of crime and justice policies cross nationally. The UN survey data has the advantage of including a great deal of detailed information on aspects of criminal justice policy available nowhere else. Criminologists, hopefully with the support of international scientific foundations, should explore the possibility of merging these various data files into one. Prior to doing that, however, the nation-level statistics should be determined that would be of most use in nation-level analyses of these data. These indicators could be estimated for each nation and offered for inclusion in the merged data set alluded to above.

This action should not be given first priority in plans to facilitate secondary analysis. There are many unanswered questions about the accuracy and comparability of ICS nation-level victimisation rate estimates across nations. Addressing these issues should precede the merging of the ICS data with other international data on crime and justice. The specifics of addressing these accuracy and comparability issues are discussed below.

Describing and explaining differential risk of victimisation

The victim survey method has been instrumental in rejuvenating criminology by providing data for the testing of opportunity models of victimisation risk. These models emphasise the opportunities to commit crime that are afforded by the social context in which the victims live and by their routine activities.⁴

The detailed data on victims and their social environment provided by victimisation surveys engaged the empirically-minded and thereby drew much more attention to this useful theory. As the body of empirical work on opportunity theory grows larger, it has become clear that adequate explanations of the differential risk of victimisation are layered. Factors affecting risk operate at the city-level, the community, the neighbourhood, the block, the household and the individual level.⁵ Models that do not take this into account are at best incomplete and possibly misleading. The ICS provides another piece of this puzzle - the nation-state. The survey offers the potential of assessing the effect of nation-state on the risk of victimisation while holding individual and city-level characteristics constant. Cross national comparisons of victim survey data have been made in the past, but never for the range of nations offered by the survey and never with the same degree of comparability of procedures offered here.⁶

Including nation-state in analyses of victimisation risk is important for several reasons. First, although nation is a salient unit for public policy, it is not entirely clear that it is a useful unit for understanding risk of victimisation. There may be much more variation in risk within nation-states than there is between nation-states. Many of the differences in victimisation rates across countries may be due to differences in crime prone populations in those countries. Therefore, it may be more appropriate to compare urban populations across nations rather than simple aggregate victimisation rates. By including nation-state as a variable in models of individual risk, we would obtain an estimate of the importance of nation-state relative to other factors in the prediction of risk. If nation-state does not predict individual level risk net of other factors, perhaps we can overcome our obsession with nation-state to focus on other factors including sub-national units of geography that may serve us better. Second, if nation-state has an effect on risk, then we must begin to explore why that is the case and this will be an extremely fertile area. It may well be that the effect of nation on risk is not due to its criminal justice

⁴ Mayhew, P., R.V.G. Clarke, A. Sturman and J.M. Hough (1975) *Crime as opportunity*, Home Office Report No. 34, HMSO, London; Cohen, L. and M. Felson (1979) "Social change and crime rate trends: a routine activity approach" *American Sociological Review* 44:588-608; Hindelang, M., M. Gottfredson and J. Garafalo (1978) *Victims of personal crime: an empirical formulation for a theory of personal victimization*, Ballinger Publishing Company, Cambridge, Mass.

⁵ Lynch, J.P. and D. Cantor (1992) "Ecological and behavioral influences on property victimization at home: implications for opportunity theory" *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 29 (3):335-362; Sampson, R.A. and J.D. Wooldredge (1987) "Linking the micro and macro-level dimensions of lifestyle, routine activity and opportunity models of predatory victimization", unpublished report, US Bureau of the Census; Smith, D. and G.R. Janjoura (1980) "Household characteristics, neighborhood composition and victimization risk" *Social Forces* 68 (2):621-640; McDowell, D., C. Loftin and B. Wersima (1989) "Multi-level risk factors for burglary victimization", paper presented at the Annual meetings of the American Society of Criminology, (November), Reno, Nevada.

⁶ LaFree, G. and C. Birkbeck (1991) "The neglected situation: a cross-national study of the situational characteristics of crime" *Criminology* 29 (1):73-98.

practices per se, but to other aspects of its social structure such as its immigration policy or industrial policy that affect the stability and homogeneity of communities and neighbourhoods. If this is the case, then it will mean a very different role for criminal justice policy and criminal justice agencies in the formation of national crime-control policy. Rather than focusing on criminal justice, these agencies could become advocates for changes in other aspects of national policy that contribute to personal safety. The survey, coupled with other data systems, provides an opportunity to explore how the nation-state can affect individual risk of victimisation, if at all.

Some of the more interesting multi-level analyses that can be done with the ICS will be precluded because of small sample sizes within countries. In countries where the survey has been conducted more than once, the cases from each administration could be pooled (if the instrumentation is sufficiently similar) to provide more cases for analysis. Another approach would involve pooling cases across countries that are similar on important characteristics. This would require building a typology of nations. Nation types would be developed based upon important cultural, social structural and policy attributes. The resulting types could be tested using social indicator data on these various attributes and cluster analysis. If the resulting clusters are sufficiently homogeneous, then the ICS data for these nations could be pooled without losing crucial information.

The current ICS is not well suited to the estimation of multi-level models of victimisation risk largely because of the limited amount of information on sub-national units within countries. The interview includes information on the size of the jurisdiction in which the respondent resides. While the urban versus rural or large versus small place distinctions have been shown to be useful for the analysis of differential risk it is not sufficient.⁷ Single nation analyses have shown that crime varies tremendously across small units of geography such that the risk within cities, for example, may be much greater than the differences between cities and more rural areas.⁸ Communities, neighbourhoods and even blocks may be better units for the study of differential risk than larger aggregates such as region or city. The ICS, like all national victimisation surveys, needs better information on these sub-national units.

The difficulties in collecting information on small, sub-national units in national victim surveys are well known. Clustering observations to obtain better data on sub-national units reduces the efficiency of samples for national estimate purposes. This precludes obtaining representative samples of victims from these smaller geographical areas. An alternative approach is to draw the sample for national purposes but to include more descriptors of the neighbourhoods and blocks in which respondents reside. These descriptions can be used to define neighbourhood or block types that can be used to estimate the effects of living in certain areas on

⁷ van Dijk, J.J.M., P. Mayhew and M. Killias (1991) "The social correlates of criminal victimizations at micro and macro levels: a further analysis of the 1989 International Crime Survey", paper presented at the British Criminology Conference (July 24-27), York.

⁸ Lynch and Cantor, *Ecological...*, op. cit.

victim risk.⁹ For these purposes, reasonably high quality information on small areas can be collected using interviewer observation. Unfortunately, many of the ICS interviews are administered by telephone. This precludes interviewer observation. In telephone interviews, we must rely upon one of two strategies - asking the respondent to characterise the area or identifying the area in which the respondent lives in such a manner that attributes of that area can be appended to the interview data. These approaches have been used to characterise neighbourhoods and communities in other national surveys with some success.¹⁰ Including such information in the ICS would make the data more useful for estimating multi-level models.

Effects and repercussions of victimisation

In the secondary analysis of victim survey data less attention has been given to understanding the repercussions or potential repercussions of crime events than to the prediction of victimisation risk. Some non-durable outcomes such as fear have been the subject of substantial study, while durable outcomes such as injury or property loss have received less attention.¹¹ The question of what predicts the extent of injury or loss, given that you are selected as a target for victimisation would benefit from more study. The ICS can be used to inform these issues, especially in the context of multi-level analyses discussed in the foregoing section.

Predicting durable outcomes

Of the two most prominent durable outcomes of victimisation - injury and property loss - the ICS is more suitable for the investigation of loss. Sample sizes in each nation are small and injury is a very rare event. Consequently, there will not be enough incidents of injury to support extensive study. Judicious pooling of data on violent crimes across nations may allow for multi-level analyses that would include the effects of national peculiarities in policy or social structure.

Analyses of loss could focus on factors predicting 1) the successful completion of the act as opposed to simply the attempt, and 2) the amount of loss given successful completion. It may be useful to think of victimisation as a process rather than a point in time event.¹² The process involves at least two steps: 1) target selection; and 2) execution or completion of the act. The factors that affect one stage of the process may not affect the other. Consequently, when the two stages are not distinguished, the effects of independent variables, such as the use of

⁹ Hough, M. (1987) "Offenders' choice of targets: findings from the Victims Survey" *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 3:355-369.

¹⁰ Cantor, D. and J.P. Lynch (1988) Empirical test of opportunity theories of victimization: multi-level and domain-specific models, draft final report submitted to National Institute of Justice, Washington D.C.; Lynch and Cantor, *Ecological...*, op. cit.; Sampson and Wooldredge, *Linking...*, op. cit.

¹¹ Skogan, W. and M. Maxfield (1981) *Coping with crime*, Sage Publications, Beverly Hills, California.

¹² Bennet, T. and R. Wright (1984) *Burglars on burglary: prevention and the offender*, Gower Publishing Company, Aldershot.

burglar alarms, may be hidden because they affect completion and not target selection. Modelling completion separately may be informative.

Studies of the amount of loss may not be as interesting as studies of completion. There are no theories concerning the amount of loss, given victimisation, while completion can be informed by opportunity theories. Loss could be driven by the socio-economic status of the victim following the logic that wealthier persons have more valuable property. Alternatively, loss could be determined to a large extent by motor vehicle crime, since cars are usually the most expensive items taken or damaged.¹³ The determinants of loss may differ substantially across countries. The lack of attention given to loss generally makes this an interesting area for exploratory analysis.

One problem with using the ICS to study loss is the absence of information on the role of insurance in recovery. The pain attendant to loss will differ considerably according to the method and facility of recovery. Differential rates of recovery from insurance as opposed to self-help would make for very different approaches to securing and safeguarding property. It would be useful in future versions of the survey to differentiate the total value of stolen items and the amount recovered from insurance as opposed to self-help.

Predicting non-durable outcomes

Many criminologists have noted that fear of crime may be more pernicious than crime itself. A substantial amount of work has been done to understand the sources of fear of crime and particularly the role of criminal victimisation in the generation of fear. We know from preliminary analyses of the 1989 International Crime Survey that fear varies considerably across nations.¹⁴ As with the risk of victimisation, it would be interesting to see what the effect of nation is on the level of fear of individuals when demographic characteristics of the victim, prior victimisation experience, self-protective practices and type of residential area are held constant. This type of analysis will help us understand why nations differ in terms of their level of fear. It may well be that fear is driven by the recent experience of victimisation. If that is the case then crime reduction policy will be the best fear reduction policy. If victimisation risk is unrelated to fear, then perhaps crime-control policy is not the best approach to fear reduction. If risk of victimisation is unrelated to crime in some nations, but highly related in others then we will be obliged to investigate why that occurs. The ICS includes the data necessary to conduct these types of analyses and they should be done.

Responses to victimisation

Calling the police

¹³ Lynch, J.P. and A.D. Biderman (1984) "Cars, crime and crime classification: what the UCR does not tell us that it should", paper delivered at the Annual Meetings of the American Society of Criminology, (November), Cincinnati, Ohio.

¹⁴ Van Dijk et al., *Experiences...*, op. cit.

One of the major reasons for the growth and development of the victimisation surveys is the uneasiness that the public had over the fact that data on crime was almost totally controlled by the police. Once they were instituted, the surveys confirmed our suspicions about a sizable "dark figure".¹⁵ Surveys have been less useful in increasing our understanding of why people report crimes to the police and why they do not. Most of the substantial analysis done to date on this issue has found that the seriousness of the crime drives reporting to the police.¹⁶ Seriousness in this instance refers to the degree of injury or property loss. It is argued that this view of reporting to the police has arisen largely because of the tendency for sample surveys to focus on the individual and not larger aggregates - in other words, the absence of multi-level models at both the conceptual and empirical levels. If this is the case, then the ICS has the potential to substantially increase our understanding of the decision to involve the police.

Models of reporting to the police have emphasized the attributes of crime incidents and not the social context of crime and victims. The degree of injury and the amount of loss seem to determine whether the police will be called or not. To some extent, the degree of relationship between the offender and the victim has been shown to affect reporting behaviour. There are other findings that suggest the importance of larger social contexts, but these have not been explored systematically. The fact that incidents occurring in school have the lowest reporting levels raises questions about the adequacy of a pure seriousness model. The low reporting rates in schools could occur because the crimes are of a minor nature. They may be the result of the fact that students have the school authorities as an alternative to the police for reporting the incident. If the availability of alternatives affects reporting in schools, it could affect reporting of events that occur elsewhere. Most victim surveys have not collected data on the availability of alternatives to the police. The ICS includes such data and they should be used to examine the effect of social context.

Public opinions about the police and about public institutions more generally can influence the decision to call the police. These data have not often been included in models of reporting to the police because they have been omitted from national level victim surveys. The ICS includes such data.

At a more general level, police organs might negotiate their role with the people that they serve. The police are given cues about public demand for service by the calls they receive. Citizens are given cues by the service they receive in response to their calls. This negotiation will produce "cultures" within jurisdiction that will influence what gets reported to the police and what does not. This "culture" may not affect the reporting of incidents with serious injury or large losses, but it does affect the reporting of lesser incidents. National surveys of victimisation are not well suited to identifying these "cultures" because of the nature of their samples and the confidentiality restrictions that generally adhere in such surveys. The ICS has 30 identified jurisdictions that can be used for this purpose and they should be.

¹⁵ Biderman and Reiss, *On exploring...*, op. cit.

¹⁶ Schneider, A., A. Burcart and L.A. Wilson (1976) "The role of attitudes in the decision to report crimes to the police" in McDonald, W.F. (ed.) *Criminal justice and the victim*, Sage Publications, Beverly Hills, California.

The ICS includes much more information on the social context of reporting to the police than has been available in most previous national victim surveys. By including this information in models predicting reporting to the police, we may find that a pure seriousness model is not adequate for explaining the activation of the police. Other factors more amenable to manipulation through policy such as the availability of alternatives to the police or public confidence in the police and other institutions may be found to influence the decision to report to the police.

Calling others

The decision to seek help from sources other than the police is another area that has not received a great deal of attention, largely because of the absence of data on these alternatives in large scale victim surveys. This decision is related to the decision to seek help from the police, but it could benefit from separate analysis. Studies of the decision to call the police contrast: persons who call the police, with those who call no one, and those who seek help from persons other than the police. The latter two groups may be quite distinct and should be so treated. The ICS offers this opportunity and we should take it. By understanding why people use alternatives to the police, we may be able to expand use of these alternatives. The ICS may not be as well suited to explore this issue as it is to investigate reporting to the police, but some exploratory analysis is in order.

Recovery

Another aspect of response to victimisation that merits attention is the recovery of stolen property. Obviously, police data and insurance data would be better for analysing most aspects of this issue because they should include much more detail than the survey. To the best of our knowledge, however, police data has not been used for this purpose and insurance data are largely proprietary. Moreover, neither of these other sources includes recovery by the victim or some party other than the insurance company or the police. It would be informative to see a distribution of recovery by source (police, insurance and other) by nation. If large differences appear in the extent and source of recovery, then this issue should be explored further.

It is unclear from the instrumentation examined whether the survey includes information on time to recovery. If these data are available for a substantial number of nations, then this should be analysed in addition to simply whether items were recovered or not.

Public attitudes toward and participation in crime-control

Perhaps the greatest strength of the ICS is the amount of information that it contains on public attitudes toward and participation in crime-control policy. This information is tremendously useful both for characterising crime-control policy cross nationally and for understanding public attitudes toward crime-control policies.

Characterising crime-control policy

Criminologists and policy makers in criminal justice often think of crime-control policy as the actions and intentions of official government agencies. It may be more accurate and useful to think of crime-control policy as the combined actions of the government and the citizenry. Policy may be a negotiated division of labour in which the government agrees to perform certain functions while citizens perform others. This division of labour may differ dramatically across nations. To some extent studies of calls for police service have taken this approach, but the role of the public in social control is much more extensive than simply calling the police. The ICS provides the information on public attitudes and behaviour necessary to more fully describe the division of labour between citizens and the government.

It would be useful to describe and classify nations according to the division of labour in crime-control policy. This has been done in a fashion by van Dijk, Mayhew and Killias when they examined various behaviours and attitudes of citizens such as calling the police, whether they had insurance, the type of self-protective measures they have taken, their attitudes toward punishment, etc. These comparisons, however, involved only one attitude or behaviour at a time. It is argued that it would be more informative to examine these behaviours and attitudes simultaneously because they are interconnected and interdependent. Public self-protection, for example, will be more extensive in places where government intervention in crime-control is less extensive. Public demands for punishment will be greater in societies where public self-protection is more prevalent. A multi-variate typology of national crime-control policies could be developed using the ICS. This typology could include dimensions such as the relative level of public and private effort in crime-control, the severity in the public's demand for legal punishment, public support for crime-control agencies, etc.

This type of multi-variate approach to the definition of crime-control policy may help us better understand differences in single aspects of crime-control policy that made no sense when examined individually. Constructing such a typology may also be of use in some of the multi-level analyses suggested above. Classifying nations by type of crime-control policy provides one logic for pooling data from various nations. It would increase sample size at the individual level without masking important differences at the nation level.

Understanding public choices for crime-control

While it is useful to characterise crime-control policy in a holistic manner, it is also important to understand why the public holds specific attitudes or engages in specific behaviours. If public officials choose to lead, then they must understand the preferences of the citizenry so that they may change them. If public officials choose to follow, then they must understand the basis of public preferences to distinguish those that are appropriately followed and those that are not. There are a number of attitudes and behaviours worthy of attention including:

- 1) *Public demands for punishment.* The ICS includes questions on public preferences for punishment for specific crimes. Earlier work by van Dijk, Mayhew and Killias suggests that nations differ dramatically in terms of preferences for punishment. It is important to understand what drives these preferences. Are cross national differences in the demand for punishment

due to the demographic composition of the population or to previous crime experience? Do effects of nation on preferences for punishment persist even when characteristics of individuals are held constant? If so, do characteristics of the nation, such as its position in the crime-control typology explain these nation effects?

- 2) *Public satisfaction with police service.* Policing simply cannot be done without widespread public support, yet we understand very little about how that support is engendered and maintained. Is public support affected by the level of service that they receive? Does the public hold the police accountable for levels of fear or victimisation risk? Are the police the victim or beneficiary of the public's general support for governmental institutions at the local or national level? The ICS includes the information necessary to investigate these issues.
- 3) *The decision to insure.* In some nations, insurance companies are the largest victim service agency by far. They compensate many more victims of crime than are ever serviced by the police. Yet we know very little about why citizens seek insurance protection. Some nations have laws that require insurance for certain objects, but not others. Do these national policies affect the general level of insurance coverage in a society? Does experience as a victimisation affect the decision to insure? What about stage of the life cycle such that persons with families are more likely to insure than those without? What role does the sheer volume of possessions play in the decision to insure? Do specific groups fail to insure at higher rates than others? Could the distribution of insurance coverage be due to exclusive practices on the part of insurance companies? Again the ICS offers some data that can inform these questions.

Methodological issues

The ICS, like any statistical system, is subject to error. It is important for the use and the future of the survey that its error structure be acknowledged and identified. Improvements in and intelligent use of the survey are dependent on information about errors. Statistical systems that fail to acknowledge and confront the question of errors run the risk of losing credibility both among criminologists and the public.

The ICS has a number of advantages relative to aggregated, administrative series in addressing the issue of error. First, there is a large and growing body of theory concerning measurement and sampling error in retrospective surveys and specifically victim surveys. Second, the highly disaggregated nature of the ICS data facilitates secondary analyses that can isolate the magnitude and direction of errors. Third, documentation of procedures used in the survey is abundant. These advantages of the ICS should be used to identify the error structure of the survey. This information can then be used to guide the use of the data. More specifically, information on errors can be used to determine which of the many uses of the data outlined in previous sections should be pursued first and with least concern for error.

Theory in retrospective surveys and likely errors in the ICS

Of all the objectives of the ICS that of providing estimates of the annual incidence and prevalence of victimisation is the most difficult. Crime is a rare event so sampling error is an important factor. Further victimisation is highly clustered in the population among groups that are highly mobile and subject to non-response. Experience from the United States' National Crime Victim Survey and the National Crime Survey Redesign suggest that victim surveys are subject to substantial measurement error. Survey procedures such as mode,¹⁷ reference period length,¹⁸ cuing strategy in the screening interview,¹⁹ the use of proxy respondents,²⁰ and

¹⁷ Lynch, J.P. (forthcoming) "The effects of survey design on reporting in victimization surveys" in Bilsky, W., C. Pfeiffer and P. Wetzels (eds.) Criminal victimization and fear of crime among the elderly: survey research, past, present and future, Enke Verlag, Stuttgart; Roman, A.M. and G.E. Sliwa (1982) Final report on the study examining the increased use of telephone interviewing in the National Crime Survey, unpublished report, US Bureau of the Census; Bushery, J.M., C.D. Cowan and L.R. Murphy (1978) "Experiments in telephone-personal visit survey", paper presented at the American Statistical Association Meetings, 4 August.

¹⁸ Bushery, J.M. (1981) "Results of the NCS reference period research experiments", memorandum, Bureau of the Census, Washington D.C.; Biderman, A. and J.P. Lynch (1991) Understanding crime incidence statistics: why the UCR diverges from the NCS, Springer Verlag, New York.

¹⁹ Hubble, D.L. and B.E. Wilder (1988) "Preliminary results from the National Crime Survey (NCS) CATI experiment" Proceedings of the American Statistical Association, (22-25 August), Section on Survey Methods Research, New Orleans, LA.; Lynch, The effects..., op. cit.; Biderman, A.D. and J.C. Moore (1980) Report on the workshop on applying cognitive psychology to recall problems in the National Crime Survey, Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc., Washington D.C.; Biderman, A.D., D. Cantor, J.P. Lynch and E. Martin (1986) Final report of research and development for the redesign of the National Crime Survey, Manuscript, Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc. Washington D.C.

²⁰ Reiss, A.J. Jr. (1982) Victimization productivity in proxy interviews, Institute for Social and Policy Studies, Yale University, New Haven CT; Biderman A.D., D. Cantor and A.J. Reiss Jr. (1982) "A quasi-experimental analysis of personal victimization by household respondents in the national crime survey"

bounding procedures,²¹ have been shown to affect level estimates and, in some cases, the distribution of victimisation rates across sub groups of the population. Although the NCVS is quite different in structure from the ICS, the findings from this work cannot be ignored. Some of these sources of error undoubtedly affect level estimates produced by the ICS, others may affect the analytical uses of the data discussed above. This is especially likely when survey procedures differ across nations.

Uses of the survey data that do not involve estimates of the incidence or prevalence of victimisation are probably not as susceptible to error as those that do. Public opinions about crime, fear of crime, or routine self-protective activity are neither rare nor clustered, so sampling variability is not as great as it would be for victimisation. Often it is not essential that the respondent accurately report the details of some "objective" event, but their perceptions of same. In this case, the cognitive task is less demanding, and therefore, less subject to measurement error.

Existing evidence on error in victim surveys can serve as a guide to methodological research on the survey and to intelligent use of the data in secondary analysis. The prior work on the NCVS and other surveys can suggest where the likely large errors are and what can be safely ignored. The major sources of error likely to affect the ICS include:

- 1) *Sampling error*. The fact that the surveys interview a sample of residents in each nation means that the resulting estimates will be affected by sampling error;
- 2) *Non-response*. The level of non-response in the ICS is quite high and it varies across nations. High levels of non-response can result in biased estimates of victimisation rates and can affect the distribution of victimisation across the levels of independent variables;
- 3) *Failures of recall*. Events more proximate to the interview are reported in greater proportion than those more distant from the interview. The most common explanation for this recency bias is the failure of respondents to recall and recount events as time passes. This "forgetting" results in under estimates of victimisation rates;
- 4) *Telescoping*. There is a pronounced tendency in retrospective surveys for respondents to report events as occurring within the reference period of the survey, when these incidents have happened prior to the reference period. This reporting on events not occurring in the reference year leads to over-estimates of victimisation;
- 5) *Mode effects*. The evidence on the effect of telephone interviewing is mixed. Some studies report no effect on the reporting of victims, while others indicate that telephone interviewing depresses the reporting of victimisation;
- 6) *Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI)*. There is good evidence from the NCVS that CATI increases the reporting of victimisation. The most

Proceedings of the American Statistical Association, Section on Survey Methods, pp. 516-521, Washington D.C. American Statistical Association.

²¹ Biderman, A.D. and D. Cantor (1984) "A longitudinal analysis of bounding, respondent conditioning and mobility as sources of panel bias in the National Crime Survey" Proceedings of the American Statistical Association (August), Philadelphia.

common explanation for this effect is that this method increases the control over interviewers. This, in turn, ensures that procedures are followed and higher reporting results.²²

These potential sources of error have been found to exist in victim surveys and are, therefore, likely to affect the ICS. The particular design of the ICS would make some of these sources of error more troubling than others. The importance of recency bias or recall problems is a function of the reference period used in the survey. If respondents are asked to recall and report events for short periods of time, e.g. one-month, the recall problems will not be severe. The ICS employs reference periods of one and five years. With such long periods, recall problems will be substantial. The problem of "telescoping" also differs according to the design. Surveys that attempt to bound the reference period with a previous interview, or in some other way, are much less affected by "telescoping". The ICS, however, does not employ a bounding procedure. Consequently, a large number of out-of-scope incidents will be reported in the survey leading to an over estimate of victimisation.

The import of likely sources of error to analyses of the ICS

The importance of these likely sources of error depends to some extent on the uses to which the data are put. It is unlikely that the incidence or prevalence estimates produced by the ICS are accurate reflections of the level of victimisation in a society. The use of long reference periods and unbounded interviews may have the fortuitous effect of producing equal and off-setting errors, but this is too much to hope for. Even if we did have such good luck, the nature of the victims captured by the survey would not be representative of the population of victimisation events. The types of events reported to the police will be over-represented. Much of the "dark figure" will remain obscured.

Estimates of change in the level of victimisation within a given nation may not be as much affected by the errors in the survey. As long as procedures (including the survey organ) remain the same across administrations, then change estimates should be usable.

The effects of sources of error on the analytical use of the data are less clear. Analyses of the risk of victimisation within a nation, for example, may be biased by the use of long reference periods in the ICS. Studies of the different reference period lengths in the NCS younger respondents, minority respondents and males report significantly more victimisation when shorter reference periods are used.²³ The long reference periods used in the ICS may lead to increasing or decreasing the effect of independent variables in the model. There is no similar evidence on the effect of bounding across values of independent variables.

Analyses of the data from multiple countries that include nation as a variable in the model are not only susceptible to the errors that affect single nation studies, but also errors resulting from the different procedures and response rates across

²² Hubble and Wilder, Preliminary..., op. cit.

²³ Kibilarcik, E., C.H. Alexander, R.P. Singh and G.M. Shapiro (1983) "Alternative reference periods for the national crime survey" Proceedings of the American Statistical Association, pp. 196-201.

nations. Since these differences in response rates and procedures are correlated with a variable in the model - nation - then we must be particularly concerned about their potential effects on the model.

Methodological Studies

There are a number of studies that can be done to suggest whether these concerns about error are warranted. First, further analyses of data collected for methodological purposes in the NCVS can be analysed to estimate the import of errors for level estimates and analytical uses of the data. Second, analyses of the ICS should be undertaken to determine the effects of survey procedures on reporting in the survey. Third, comparisons should be made between the ICS and other sources of data to determine the possible effects of the sources of error discussed above.

Much of the methodological work undertaken in support of the NCVS examined only the effects of survey procedures on estimates of the level of victimisation in a given time period. Much less is known about the effects of these procedures on the analytical uses of the data. We know, for example, that longer reference periods produce lower estimates of victimisation than shorter reference periods. We do not know, however, if models of victimisation risk estimated with data from surveys with a one-year reference period would differ substantially from those employing a six-month reference period. The same is true for bounded as opposed to unbounded interviews. These types of analyses should be undertaken using the NCVS, the City Survey data from the NCVS or specially data sets collected for methodological purposes. If such analyses demonstrated that survey procedures do not substantially effect the models estimated, then we could use the ICS data for analytical purposes with greater confidence.

The ICS data themselves can be used to shed light on the potential errors in the survey. One such analysis could compare models using data from the five year reference period with those using the data from the one year reference period employed in the survey. If the models differ substantially, it will suggest that reference period length is affecting the analytical uses of the survey. A second analysis could be done at the level of nation-state. Models could be run predicting annual victimisation rates for nations using the survey design features employed in each nation as predictors. If degrees of freedom permitted, population characteristics could be entered as control variables. If design features were strong predictors of annual estimates, then we must continue to investigate the question of the comparability of the data cross nationally. Similar analyses could be done at the level of the individual respondent in those countries where survey procedures varied, e.g. CATI for one component of the sample and in-person interviews for others.

Useful studies could be done comparing nation level data obtained from the ICS with that obtained for other sources. Specifically, the issue of non-response could be addressed by comparing the demographic data from the survey in each nation with census data or other survey data from that country. With somewhat less precision, comparisons can be made between estimates from the ICS and those from other victim surveys in countries where these surveys exist. These comparisons should not be made on the basis of level estimates because these will

surely differ across surveys with very different procedures. Perhaps the rank order of nations based upon other surveys could be compared to the rank order of nations from the ICS. In some cases adjustments could be applied to estimates from surveys with very different procedures.²⁴ This kind of comparison will be neither precise or simple, but it will tell us if estimates of victimisation rates are more or less sensitive to procedural differences in victim surveys. These surveys may be more robust than existing theory would lead us to believe.

The use of police and victimisation survey data

Although this paragraph ought to say something about how police and survey data may be used to increase our understanding of crime, it has less to say about how they should be used than how they should not be used. These two data sources should not be used primarily to produce comparable estimates of the level and trend in crime. The methods used to produce victim surveys and police statistics are radically different. The estimates that they produce are virtually irreconcilable, and we should not expend a great deal of energy making them comparable.²⁵ Police data and victim survey data tap very different components of the crime problem. They capture very different information on the crime events included in each. We should spend less time making the estimates from the two methods consistent, and more on determining what each can do best. For example, we know that victim surveys will under-estimate the level of violence that results in very serious injury. Police and hospital records are much better sources of information on these matters. Victim surveys should not be designed primarily to address this sub-class of crimes. Victim surveys are much better sources of data on property crimes and lesser assaults than are police data. Each method should be allowed to describe that which it describes best. Inconsistencies between police data and victim survey data should be seen as interesting topics for investigation rather than embarrassing anomalies that threaten the legitimacy of one or the other method. The major threat to the legitimacy of the methods is the wrong-headed and simplistic expectation that the two should produce readily comparable estimates of crime.

Conclusion

Some of the secondary analyses described above are more urgent or more feasible than others. Top priority should be given to the investigation of methodological issues in order to address questions about the accuracy of annual estimates of victimisation rates cross nationally. Unless these issues are dealt with, many of the most interesting analyses of the ICS data will be suspect. Second priority should be afforded to analyses of the data that are not much affected by the error structure of the survey. These include analyses of public attitudes toward crime and crime-control policy, the character of crime-control policy in terms of the

²⁴ For a good start on this process see Block, R. (1989) A cross-national comparison of victims of crime: victim surveys in eleven countries, unpublished paper, Loyola University of Chicago.

²⁵ Biderman and Lynch, Understanding..., op. cit.

mix of public and private activity involved, and responses to crime (with special emphasis on calling the police). Third priority should be given to analyses that are likely to be affected by errors in the survey. These analyses are those that rely upon incidence or prevalence estimates of victimisation at the national and perhaps the individual level. Clearly, analyses that emphasise the comparisons of national level estimates of crime and victimisation should await more work on troubling methodological issues that affect accuracy and comparability. At minimum, if such analyses are done, variables should be included in the model to account for suspected sources of error and non-comparability across nations. Analyses of risk at the individual level that include nation-level variables are arguably less affected by known sources of error in the survey. Nonetheless, confidence in these analyses would be greater if methodological work were done first to demonstrate that known sources of error are unlikely to bias these analyses.

Policy Issues

POLICY IMPLICATIONS: RELATED TO NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SURVEYS

Irvin Waller¹

Introduction

An essential objective of criminal policy is to increase the safety and security of persons and property. National and comparative victimisation surveys provide a major indicator of the extent to which policies are achieving this objective. Moreover, they provide a largely untapped source of information on the explanations of crime, that must become a key strategic tool in reversing the global trend from deteriorating safety and security.

In the first section, crime rates are compared for selected countries together with a discussion of the extent to which criminal justice is adequate to control them.

In the second section, the results of victimisation surveys are put in the context of other studies of how opportunities contribute to crime. This identifies programmes that are likely to reduce crime, particularly against property, by increasing the effort and the risk, while reducing the reward, but using more of the knowledge from victimisation surveys.

In the third section, the variations in victimisation rates are contrasted with social factors identified primarily from longitudinal studies as being the factors that engender crime. This identifies the need to focus efforts to reduce crime on these social factors, particularly to reduce violence on the street, in schools and in homes.

The fourth section discusses ways to make use of these data and victimisation surveys nationally and internationally, if we are to see significant gains in safety and security for persons and property.

In the introduction, the paradigm shift within the United Nations towards prevention is mentioned along with the growing realisations that linear approaches to solving crime problems must be replaced with more holistic strategies.

United Nations priorities stress prevention and use of data

For most industrialised countries, police statistics show crime to have risen by at least 200% from the 1960s to the 1990s. For developing countries the statistics are less systematically available but the figures suggest even more dramatic rises in crime. The United Nations Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice - UNCCPPJ² - points to increases in crime from police data "at a global average of 5 per cent per annum, well beyond the rise in population growth".

The UNCCPPJ stresses that the high level of crime and criminal justice costs inhibits social and economic development. The proportion of total governmental

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² United Nations Economic and Social Council (1992) Report of the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice on its first session, supplement #10, E/1992/30, 8 June.

budgets devoted to police, criminal justice and correctional systems are 2-3% in industrialised countries and 9-14% for developing countries. This takes resources away from vital social and economic expenditures.

It is not just the aggravation of the crime and criminal justice problem that must challenge national and international policy makers, but also this failure relative to the dramatic improvements in the quality of life relating to such issues as life expectancy, education, and access to consumer products at least in the industrialised world.

ECOSOC has adopted the recommendations of the UNCCPPJ to deal with crime and criminal justice in part through international efforts that should be more strategic. For the period 1992-96, the UNCCPPJ will have three priority themes to guide its work - transnational crime, crime prevention and criminal justice. The precise wording is as follows:

- a) *Transnational crime*: national and transnational crime, organised crime, economic crime, including money laundering, and the role of criminal law in the protection of the environment;
- b) *Crime prevention*: crime prevention in urban areas, juvenile and violent criminality;
- c) *Criminal justice*: efficiency, fairness and improvement in the management and administration of criminal justice and related systems, with due emphasis on the strengthening of national agencies in developing countries for the regular collection, collation, analysis and utilisation of data in the development and implementation of appropriate policies.

This paper examines the policy implications related to international and national surveys in the context of strategic approaches. It focusses particularly on the use of data from the criminal justice priority that will achieve the crime prevention priority.

Paradigm shift from linear responses to community towards community responses to isolation

There is a "paradigm shift" occurring in local, national and international policies relating to crime.

The United Nations emphasis on crime prevention is part of a broader movement in the health and environment areas to focus on prevention. In part, crime policies took new directions in the 18th century with the creation of public police agencies and the establishment of the ministries of justice. These were linear solutions to problems that were occurring in holistic communities where there was some integration of relationships and extended families.

Today the failure of linear and vertical approaches to health and the environment have lead to many significant successes in improving health and protecting the environment. For instance, doctors treating patients one by one have not made as significant inroads into health promotion as the success of municipal water improvements and mass immunisation programmes. So there is a World Health Organization movement to create holistic "healthy communities" responses and break down the vertical ministry approach; this is mostly because communities have broken down to become more individualistic and linear.

In the crime area, the same is happening. Recently, central governments have been promoting some relatively modest investments in crime prevention and agencies such as the police have been promoting greater involvement of citizens in crime prevention. In the 1960s and 1970s, the USA encouraged some pilot crime prevention projects as part of its efforts to transfer resources from the Federal to other levels of government as "Assistance" to "Law Enforcement". As a result, projects such as the Seattle Community Crime Prevention Program demonstrated a 50% reduction in residential burglaries due to their intervention³. However these have not been adopted universally.

An experiment in intensive preschool care for children at risk in the USA in the 1960s - which does not provide universal child care for children in need - showed fifteen years later that for every US\$ 1.00 invested in care for children in need, US\$ 5.00 will be saved in welfare and policing costs⁴.

Sweden, the Netherlands and the British government have now established identifiable crime prevention initiatives. Belgium has its own crime prevention council with substantial police involvement. France has stimulated over 700 municipal crime prevention councils. New Zealand, South Australia and Victoria have established major crime prevention initiatives influenced by the French approach. Canada has a new urban safety and crime prevention programme run by its Federation of Canadian Municipalities. Quebec has established a Round Table on Crime Prevention with 50 agencies from all major sectors of society to work on concrete proposals for crime prevention.

In most countries, these budgets for crime prevention are a tiny fraction of expenditures and mostly too little too late, though the expenditures on private security are large. In contrast, crime rates have continued to increase. So this paper will sketch some of the areas where knowledge related to national and international victimisation surveys can be used within this growing inter-agency approach to achieve greater safety and security for persons and property.

Trends in crime and criminal justice

Crime rate differences suggest policies in some countries work better

Wide variations in the levels of crime between different countries suggest that policies in some countries work better than in others.

The data from the 1988 survey can be used to show how rates of violent crime per 1,000 for the USA are 50% higher than those for Canada whose rates are 50% higher than the European rate. Europe has rates that vary from country to country, but the average is 50% higher than those for Japan. Figure 1 illustrates the

³ Waller, I. (1982) "What reduces residential burglary: action and research in Seattle and Toronto" in Schneider, H.J. (ed.) Victim in international perspective, HV6250.2.I57 1979 \$LMO, De Gruyter, New York; Waller, I. (1989) Crime prevention in a community policing context: working with citizens and community agencies, Solicitor General, Ottawa.

⁴ Eisenhower Foundation (1990) Investment in effective crime policy, Washington D.C.

"prevalence victimisation rate by country for the offenses of robbery, sexual incident, assault and robbery" using the data from the world victimisation survey⁵.

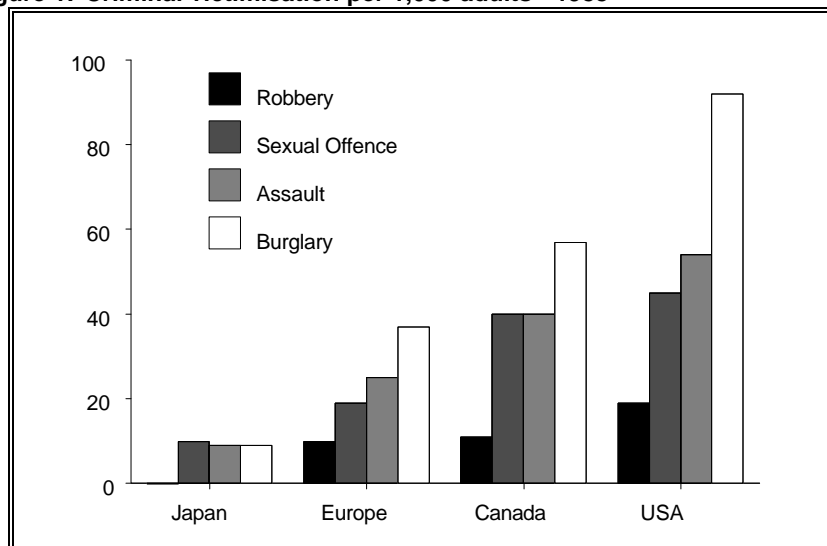
One in ten adults in the USA were victims of an assault or had their house burglarised in 1988. One in fifty adults living in Europe were victims of the same offences. One in five adults in the USA and Canada were victims of thefts, such as theft of or from cars, motorcycles, bicycles, or vandalism. One in seven in Europe were victims of the same offences. Within Europe, there is a tendency for the rate of assaults to be higher in Spain with less violence occurring in England and Wales⁶.

For developing countries the rates of property crime are substantially less than for the developed world. However, levels of violence may be higher.

⁵ Waller, I. (1992) revised from van Dijk, J.J.M., P. Mayhew and M. Killias (1990) Experiences of crime across the world: key findings of the 1989 International Crime Survey, p. 174, Kluwer, Boston.

⁶ van Dijk et al., Experiences..., op.cit., p.174.

Figure 1: Criminal victimisation per 1,000 adults - 1988



Police recorded crime suggests need for action

In the last three decades, the police agencies of most industrialised countries have reported substantial increases in common crimes, such as robberies, burglaries, thefts and assaults. Although the rates of property offences have steadied in the 1980s in North America, the rates remain dramatically higher than in the 1960s. In contrast Japan maintained levels of common crime similar to the 1950s⁷. For an average example, England and Wales had one offence recorded by the police for every 100 persons in the 1950s, which had risen to 5 per 100 in the 1970s and 7.4 per 100 in 1989⁸.

The trends in the national crime indices in the 1980s have varied between countries (though the directions of the trends can be compared, the absolute levels cannot be compared accurately between countries). In the USA for instance their index rose from 13.8 million in 1980, dropping to a low of 11.8 million in 1984, then rising steadily to 14.5 million in 1990 thus going above the 1981 peak. France peaked in 1984 at 3.7 million, dropping back to 3.1 million in 1988, rising to 3.5 million in 1990, which did not exceed the previous peak. England and Wales saw its rate grow steadily through the 1980s from 2.5 million in 1980 to 3.7 million in 1989.

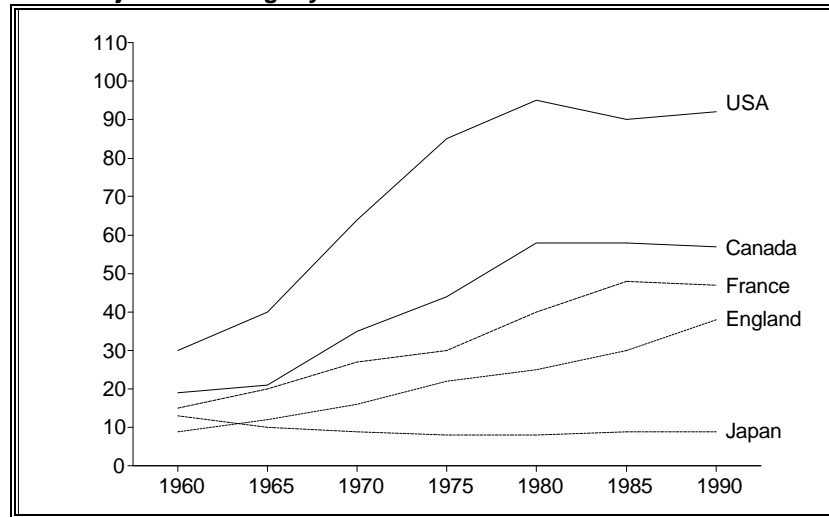
Figure 2 illustrates these trends artistically by using the national police indicators that reflect in majority the trends in property crimes such as theft. To make the comparison, the chart sets the 1990 Police Crime Index equal to the victimisation

⁷ Canada (1982) The criminal law in Canadian society, Supply and Services, Justice, Ottawa.

⁸ Home Office (1991) A digest of information on the criminal justice system, p. 7, Research and Statistics Department, London.

prevalence rate for combined burglaries and attempted burglaries from the world victimisation survey; then the rates for earlier periods are calculated proportionately from the rates of police recorded occurrences of crime.

Figure 2: Trends in national occurrence rates of crime - police statistics adjusted to burglary victimisation



Over time, violent crimes in the USA grew faster than the general index from 1.3 million in 1980 to 1.8 million in 1990 - a rise in the rate per capita of 23%. The rate of murders is small compared to other offences. However, the individual loss is major. There are important differences in these rates between countries. The rank order of the rates is similar to those shown in the comparative victimisation survey. The US rate of 1 murder for every 10,000 population is approximately four times that of Canada, which is twice that of England, France, Germany or Japan. In the United States of America, the number of murders peaked in 1980, but was exceeded again in 1990 as part of an upsurge of illicit drug use and violence in cities.

In Europe there has been a major rise in theft of and from cars. Over the 30 year period, there has been a major increase in offences relating to motor vehicles, including drunk driving and negligence. Generally the rate of residential burglary recorded by the police has doubled or trebled since the early 1960s, though in recent years it has fallen slightly.

The effect of mega shifts in prison use does not produce mega changes in safety and security

One of the most significant debates on policy is occurring around the relationship between the "mega" shift in prison use in the USA and their crime trends. Most of the debate centres around national crime survey data⁹, which show a decline in victimisation rates during the time period from 1976 including from 1981 to 1988. Police recorded data show a flattening out of murders but increases in violent crime per 100,000 during that time period. In contrast, the victimisation surveys in England & Wales confirm that from 1981 to 1988, there was a 30% rise in overall crime - mainly property offences - and an 8% rise in wounding, robbery and assault¹⁰. Police data showed much more dramatic rises.

The decreases in the US national crime survey rates of crime may be due to three technical factors that could be clarified using the victimisation survey data.

Firstly, changes in the data collection technique of the National Crime Survey could account for this. According to senior officials in the US Bureau of Statistics, there was a change from in person to telephone interviews in the National Crime Survey in the 1980s (no reports on this change have been located). However, Kury reports that 41% of persons interviewed in person reported being victims of crime, compared to 28% in the comparable telephone survey¹¹. So the unknown change in methodology may more than account for the change in crime trends.

Secondly, the calculation of crime rates per household could result in an apparent decrease in crime, because the number of households has been increasing faster than the population, as people can afford to live alone and delay marriage.

Thirdly, there may be a decrease in petty crime rather than serious crime. The major reason for not reporting crime recorded in the National Crime Survey is that it was not serious enough (35%)¹². So much of the decline in crime could be due to less serious crime. This could be resolved by using the data on the impact of crime on the victim to distinguish the more serious offences from the less serious.

However, the mega shift in prison use in the USA has not made a significant difference to the relative amount of crime in the USA compared to other industrialised countries. The level of crime in the USA remains substantially higher as confirmed in the international victimisation survey.

At best the mega shift has had some marginal effect on crime levels. Based on murder statistics or on general police data, the trends in crime levels in the USA and Canada have followed similar trajectories, though the USA remains at a much higher rate.

More likely the crime levels and prison use are the result of other trends in US society. One of these is the rate of relative child poverty that has increased some 10% in the USA in the 1980s. The figure shows a striking pattern between countries in relative child poverty, crime rates as measured in the earlier section from the international crime survey, and in prison use.

⁹ US Department of Justice (1988) Report to the nation on crime and justice, p. 13, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Washington D.C.

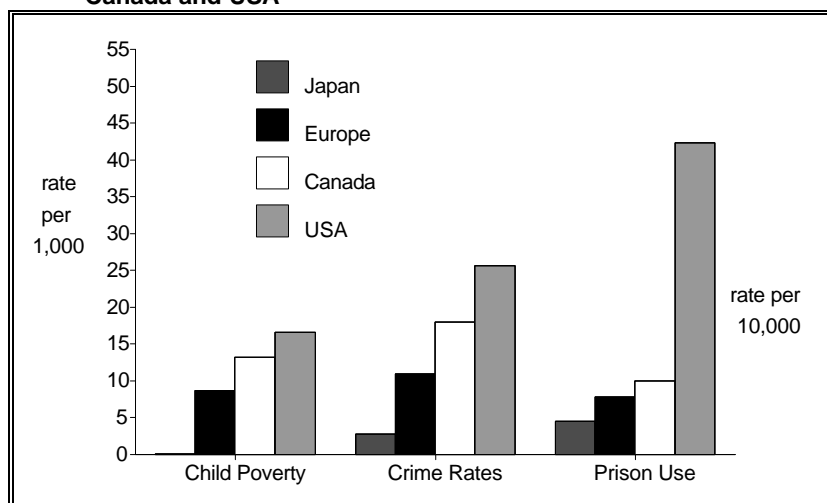
¹⁰ Mayhew, P., D. Elliott and L. Dodds (1989) The 1988 British Crime Survey, Home Office Research Studies 111, HMSO, London.

¹¹ See the chapter by Helmut Kury and Michael Wurger in Part II.

¹² US Department of Justice, Report..., op. cit., p. 35.

Over time, rates of persons held in prisons for adults per capita were relatively stable from 1960 to 1980 in the industrialised world. Marginal increases occurred in the 1980s with two exceptions. The Netherlands increased its rate in the 1980s, though they are still 50% below the average range of one prisoner for every 1,000 inhabitants. However, the USA doubled its rate - building on a 50% increase from the 1970s - reaching an all time high for any country of over 4 per 1,000. This rate far exceeds any incarceration for any other country for which statistics are available in the last 100 years.

Figure 3: Child poverty, crime and prison use - rates for Japan, Europe, Canada and USA



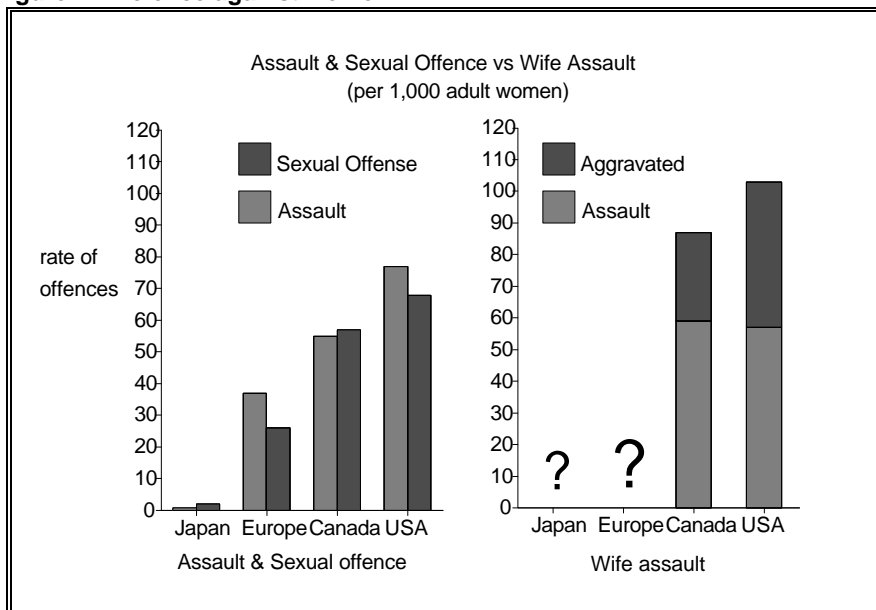
In the USA, nearly half of all these prisoners are black reflecting men who come from situations of relative poverty with a lower level of education, and who are probably unemployed. These inmates have often been incarcerated several times previously. The rate of black per black incarcerated in the USA is 32 per 1,000, which compares to a white per white rate in many countries of 1 per 1,000, a rate of 10 per 1,000 for aboriginal peoples in Canada and 7 per 1,000 for blacks in South Africa.

Crime against women and children

Much of the crime reported to the police or measured in government surveys is committed against young men. However, crime has a major impact on women, whose quality of life is threatened because they do not feel safe going out in many of their own cities. More importantly, there is extensive assault and sexual assault against women and children within their own homes.

Many of the limits of the effectiveness of criminal justice come from its inability to consistently increase the risks of criminal acts to a level where the deterrent effect works. So for the average offence, less than 5% of offenders will be convicted¹³. This attrition has been shown by victimisation surveys to be in the order of 50% between victimisation and police being informed.

Figure 4: Violence against women



For offences that occur within the privacy of the home, this attrition is likely to be much greater at every stage.

Several national surveys have now been undertaken in the USA of the number of women and children who are victims of these assaults¹⁴. In Canada, some partial surveys have been undertaken. Unfortunately, European countries have not undertaken such major surveys.

Using the Canadian and US data, the rates of violence against wives within the home exceed the level of violence against women out of the home. Violence experienced by victims on a continuing basis in a situation in which they have to live regularly is much more traumatic than in situations that can be avoided in the future.

¹³ Home Office, A Digest..., op. cit., p. 31.

¹⁴ Straus, M. and R.J. Gelles (1990) Physical violence in American families: risk factors and adaptations to violence in 8,145 families, Transaction, New Brunswick.

There is a need for future surveys to include questions such as those from the Conflict Tactics Scale to focus more on violence against women¹⁵.

The extent of the problem and the limits on criminal justice's ability to deal with it raise the need for policy makers to look at more effective ways of tackling the problem. Among these will be the continuation of public policy statements on the criminal nature of these acts, but we will need to look more closely at the factors that engender the behaviour in order to tackle them.

¹⁵ Straus and Gelles, *Physical...*, op. cit.

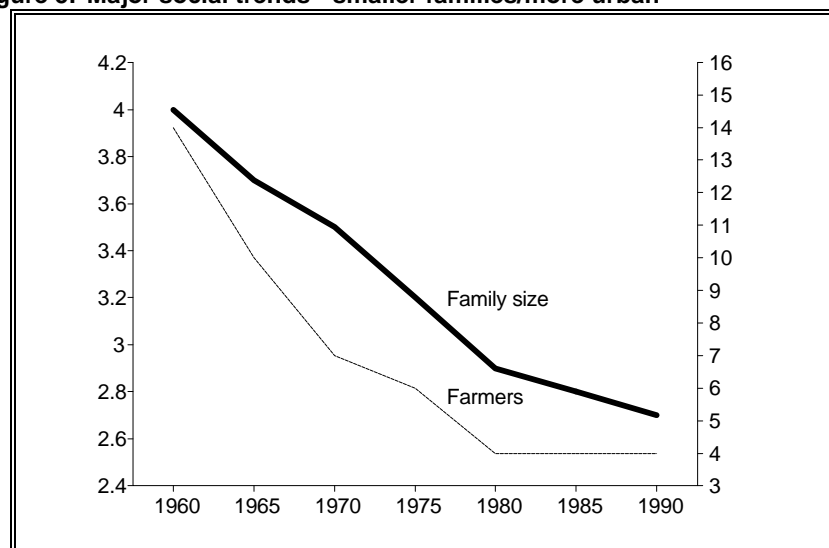
Victimisation surveys confirm that policy must address the opportunities that generate crime

There are life style trends over the last few decades for more desirable goods to be available and accessible in cars and residences where people are more often absent. So increased opportunities for crime have lead to increased rates of property crime. More murders occur where there are more guns, particularly handguns¹⁶.

Surveillance and impression of human presence to be encouraged

The trends for households to become smaller has an effect on the opportunities for crime. So residences are more often empty because the households are smaller and the residents are more likely to be at work.

Figure 5: Major social trends - smaller families/more urban



For instance, in 1961, 9% of households in Canada and 15% in the USA consisted of one person compared to 23% and 25% respectively in 1981.

We also use more private space, take more holidays and eat out more which leaves residences unattended and so more likely to be broken into.

In public arenas such as streets and parking lots, cars and bicycles are more likely to be left where there is no one supervising them.

¹⁶ van Dijk et al., Experiences..., op. cit.

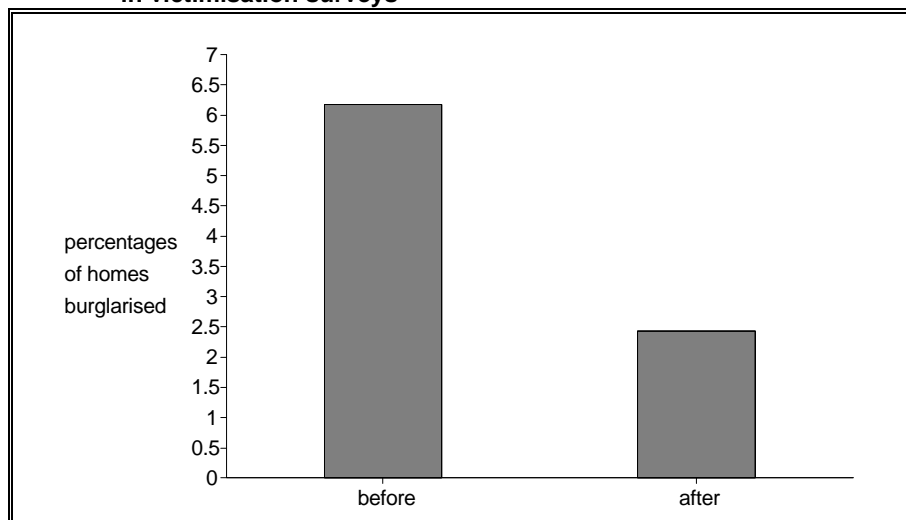
For apartment buildings, the concierge system is disappearing and so it is easier for an occasional offender to approach the building without being asked any questions.

Clarke¹⁷ develops a theory of situational prevention that groups ways of reducing opportunities of crime into the categories of "increasing the effort, increasing the risks and reducing the rewards". Most of the analysis is based on proposed prevention strategies that were developed without recourse to major empirical research, though the evaluations are based on such methods.

For occasional offenders, the opportunity may create the crime. If one can remove the opportunity, then occasional offenders will not be tempted into offending (but persistent offenders will look for another target).

For instance, occasional offenders will not break into a residence where they are unable to find many objects to steal and if they are likely to confront somebody or be seen. Indeed the research confirms that the rates of break-ins are lower where the household income is lower, the house is rarely left unattended, and where the entrances are easy to see¹⁸.

Figure 6: Seattle community crime prevention programme - reductions shown in victimisation surveys



The evaluations of the Seattle Community Crime Prevention Program from the early 1970s confirm that making houses looked lived in and increasing neighbour surveillance can lead to substantial reductions in burglaries.

¹⁷ Clarke, R.V. (1992) *Situational crime prevention: successful case studies*, Harrow & Heston, New York.

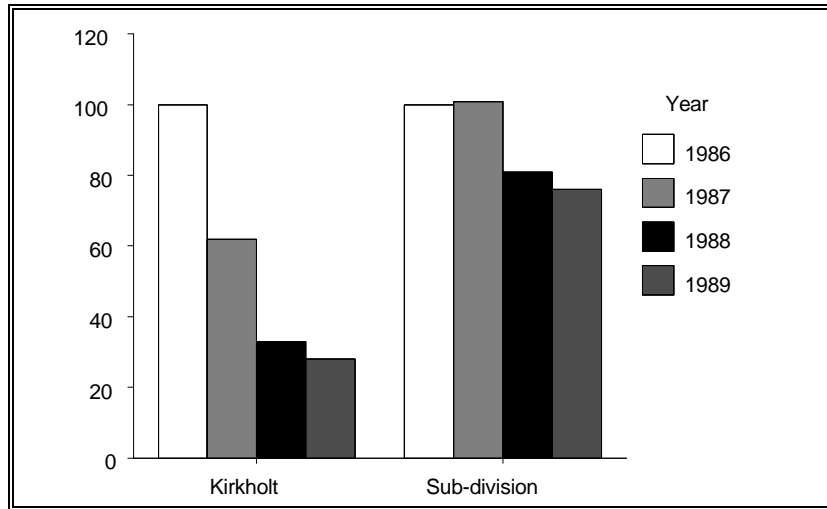
¹⁸ Waller, What..., *op. cit.*; Waller, I. and N. Okihiro (1978) *Burglary: the victim and the public*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

More recently the evaluations of the Kirkholt project¹⁹ have confirmed that the same methods of micro-groups focussing on making residences seem lived in with informal surveillance can lead to substantial reductions in burglaries.

Together, these experiments show that crime can be reduced through the use of these types of method rather than only being displaced.

¹⁹ Clarke, Situational..., op. cit.

Figure 7: Burglary prevention in Kirkholt - comparison of % reduction with area

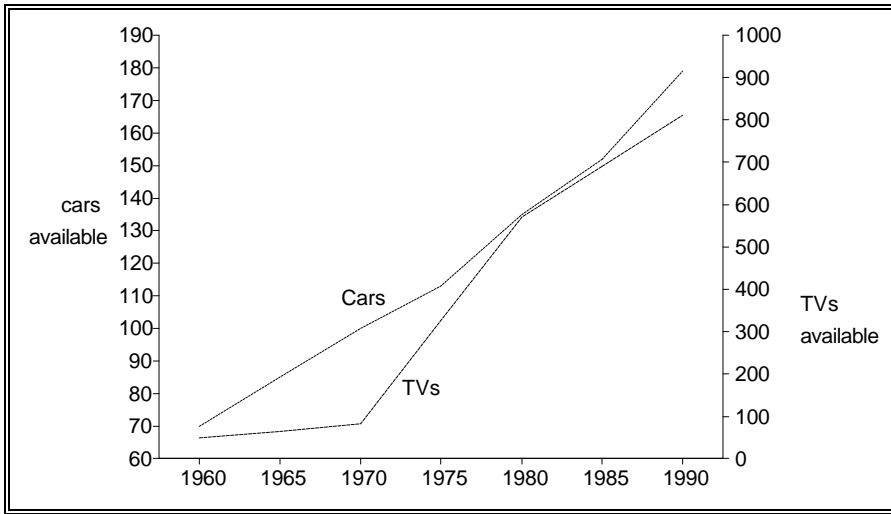


Make consumer goods less attractive, more fortified (or more available)

Probably, the most important societal changes for opportunities for theft have been the increase in the number of persons who own one or more cars²⁰ and the ease of transportability of recent electronic gadgets in the home.

Figure 8: Major economic trends - cars and TVs available in the USA

²⁰ van Dijk et al., Experiences..., op. cit.



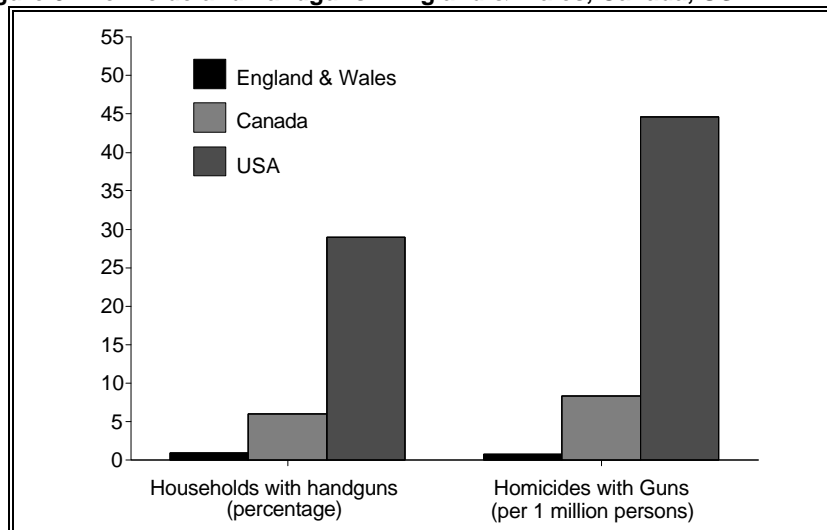
The rates of offences were higher in countries with more persons living in cities with populations over 100,000, except Japan. Offences relating to cars tend to be higher where there are more cars per capita. Alarms were more common in countries with higher burglary rates; indeed, twice as many burglary victims had alarms as those who did not²¹.

For occasional offenders, the opportunities for crime increase the amount of crime. So as societies had more televisions, tape recorders, personal computers, cameras and cars, so the amount of crime increased.

The media play an important role in increasing the desire of some offenders to acquire goods to gain some happiness. Some advertisements even use phrases making a parallel to theft as a way of encouraging consumers to buy.

The policy implications of these conclusions are less clear. On the one hand, one can make the product appear less attractive but it is questionable whether this can be done while maintaining sufficient economic activity for the general quality of life of the community. Certainly one can fortify goods, for instance, by designing theft proof cars and making electronic goods inoperable without some special password. But this fortification might simply displace the crime to other more violent forms of crime or interfere too much with the quality of life of the users. One final option is to make the goods more widely available, but it is not realistic in the short term.

Figure 9: Homicide and handguns - England & Wales, Canada, USA



Handguns to be less available

²¹ van Dijk et al., Experiences..., op. cit.

The most striking explanation of variations in murder rates is associated with the differential availability of handguns. In the USA thirty per cent of households own a handgun, compared to an estimated six per cent in Canada and two per cent in England and Wales. Figure 9 shows the associated variations in murder rates adapted from Killias²².

Private security guards and technology displaces more than reduces

Concern with safety from crime has lead private companies, governments and the rich to hire a growing number of private security guards. Some countries now have twice as many persons employed by private security agencies as by the public police.

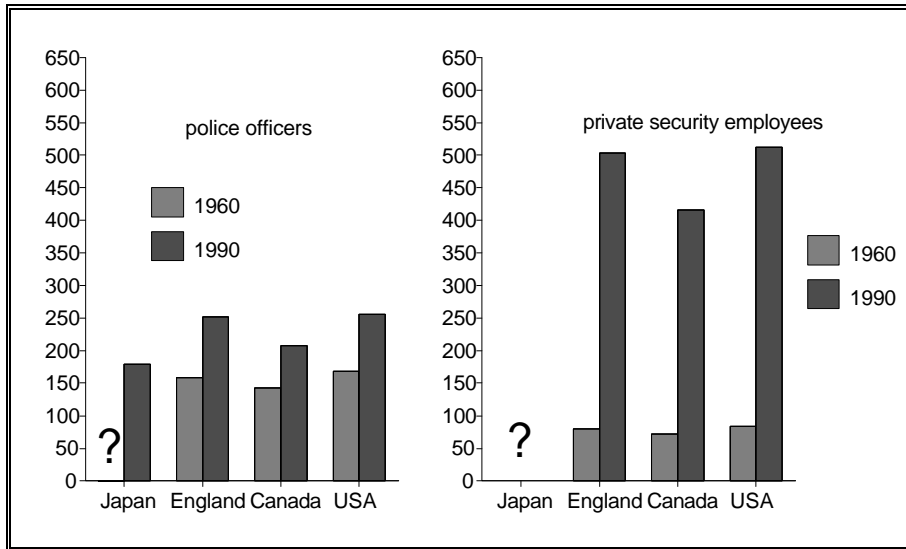
Business entrepreneurs are marketing new devices for protecting individual citizens. There is also a growing use of alarm systems and insurance. England and Wales spent \$3 million in 1988. France spent \$400 million in 1987 on systems of alarm.

Linking longitudinal studies and victimisation suggests social development remedies

There are many reasons to suppose that social development factors are important contributors to crime. So opportunity factors that can be directly measured in victimisation surveys only provide a partial explanation of the variations found in the international crime survey.

Figure 10: Trends in police and private security - rates of officers per 100,000 for 1960 and 1990

²² Killias, M. (1990) "Gun ownership and violent crime: the Swiss experience in international perspective", *Security Journal* 1.3:169-174.



The longitudinal studies that follow samples of young persons from their early childhood experiences to the peak of their involvement with inter-personal crime show that there is a group of young persons who are disproportionately involved in crime - 7% of a sample account for 70% of the offending. This group comes disproportionately from families below the poverty line with inconsistent and uncaring parenting and with problems in school²³.

There are social trends in industrialised countries for young people to be more isolated, for more children to be brought up in relative poverty, for schools to leave some pupils rejected, and for visible minorities such as blacks to have limited opportunities. These would leave more young men likely to drift into a period of persistent offending than 30 years ago. These trends are stronger in the USA and so may explain the higher levels of violence.

Many of the commentators looking at crime talk about the underclass or the "société à deux vitesses". The United Nations and the Council of Europe, as well as individual commentators, ascribe both the rise in crime and the variations between countries to social problems and changes in society.

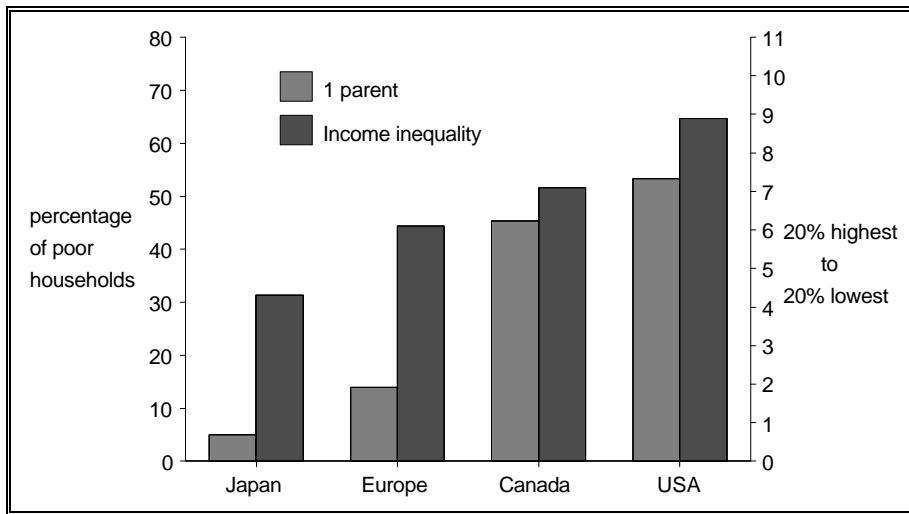
There have been major changes in these key factors over the last thirty years. Indeed there are many differences between countries on these factors, which are consistent with the different trends in police recorded crime levels.

Reducing effects of relative child poverty will reduce violence

The results of longitudinal studies suggest that countries that have more child poverty and do not provide universal child care or other programmes to reduce inequalities before the child enters the school system will have more crime. This is indeed the case.

Figure 11: Children in relative poverty

²³ Rutter, M. and H. Giller (1983) *Juvenile delinquency: trends and perspectives*, Penguin, Markham.



The incidence of child poverty varies widely between different countries. The rates of child poverty in the USA were double those of countries such as England and Wales, France or Germany in the mid-1980s. The rate for Canada is mid-way between the USA and the European countries. These rates remained constant in the 1980s for most countries, but doubled in the United Kingdom and increased by 10% in the USA.

In part, child poverty is the result of changes in family structure. For lone parents - usually women - who are unable to earn an adequate income, family break-down puts the children into relative poverty.

Child care is an important palliative to these situations, because it provides a consistent caring situation for the child before he or she goes into the universal education system. It also enables the mother to earn money, and the fact that she is paid appropriately will lift the family out of poverty.

Social policies vary widely between different countries. For instance, France has widespread access to child care from an early age and pays a family allowance to the mother, thus providing a minimal amount of financial support; whereas the USA and Canada have limited access to child care and pay only token allowances to disadvantaged mothers. Comparatively few North American children are lifted out of poverty by income transfers and too few are assisted by child care paid for by the community.

Moreover, the rapid increase in child poverty in England in the 1980s may explain part of the reason for the continuing rise in crime when other countries were experiencing a slowdown in crime. The increases are likely to result in further acceleration in their crime rate in the 1990s.

Rediscovering interpersonal links may reduce violence

The trend to move from rural communities and extended family networks to life in anonymous urban areas without any family network is usually thought to have increased crime. This is not synonymous with urbanisation, as Japan has often managed to maintain the family ties even though it has become very urbanised.

However, in Europe and even more extensively in North America prosperity has bought more privacy. As a result more persons live alone, which may contribute to violence. This creates a situation in which people have to deal with stress on their own thus leading to pent up anger. It is also linked with a general trend for vulnerable members of the population such as children, women and the elderly to be left alone with a stronger male and therefore less able to defend themselves.

This sense of isolation is exacerbated by the arrival of television in our communities that often substitutes for time that used to be spent sharing problems.

There has been a movement to promote better mental health, where all are encouraged to avoid high stress, particularly by changing diets away from caffeine, red meats, and sugar and encouraging those in high stress situations to change their life style and exercise. Some programmes have been instituted to help persons who batter their wives, though little is known on their overall success.

Involving the 15-18 year olds who face blocked life opportunities will reduce crime

The peak age for the persistent offender to be offending is between 15 and 18 years. As the proportion of the population in this age range increases, relative to the overall population increase, so the rate of crime per total population will increase.

This was assumed to be an important factor in the increase in crime rates during the 1970s and may be a partial factor in the slowdown in the overall rates of crime in the early 1980s. From 1960 to 1978 for instance, the proportion of the Japanese population aged 15-24 dropped from 9.4 to 7.1, whereas the other industrialised countries had increases from about 7 to 9.

These changes have occurred as a result of two important phenomena. Firstly, the rate of child birth among the residents of the countries has diminished substantially. Secondly, the immigrants to these countries bring with them small children. In countries such as Canada and Australia this immigration brings children who will be able to survive successfully in the new country, whereas in other countries many of the migrants are socially disadvantaged.

As disadvantaged families have more children more quickly than their advantaged counterparts, some of the increase in crime in the 1980s may be due to more disadvantaged families having more children in the 1970s. This would be consistent with the growth of crime in England, Canada, and the USA in the late 1980s. Some commentators see this as a major determinant of rising crime rates that are expected in the 1990s.

Though national unemployment rates do not show any link with crime rates, youth unemployment rates and those for young visible minorities probably would. Persons who are prone to delinquency are more likely to commit offences if they are unemployed.

A number of studies in England and Wales have shown a link between delinquency and the extent to which pupils feel at ease in the school. In addition, those who commit truant and drop out from school are much more likely to be involved in delinquency.

Often for visible minority youth and for disadvantaged youth, unemployment is the culmination of a series of rejections that started when they first entered the school system and was reinforced over time. So they often play truant and then drop out of school.

Consistent with this, a disproportionate number of blacks and hispanics in the USA, aboriginal peoples in Australia and Canada, North African migrants into France, Afro-caribbean and Indian migrants in England and Wales end up poor, become involved in crime and are arrested.

Research does show a direct effect of the economic cycle on crime. When the amount that the average person in a country spends is growing, then the rate of property crime slows down. However, when a recession forces people to spend less, property crime increases.

Many of the same factors that precipitate persistent involvement in persistent fights, excessive alcohol use, or theft from cars, also precipitate illicit drug use. Like most of the crime discussed in this report, the most effective way to reduce the persistent use of drugs is through tackling the social situations that generate the persistent users - relative child poverty, failure in school, lack of job possibilities, etc. However, illicit drug use pushes persistent offenders both to additional violent crime involved in fights over trafficking and to crime to pay for the drugs.

The glorification of violence by the media is known to exacerbate the tendency for a person to become a persistent offender. It may also contribute to a tolerance of violence by occasional offenders. However, the media can be a powerful communicator of positive parenting images and of values that a society wishes to support.

Making use of data about crime to prevent it

Structure crime prevention to tackle situations engendering crime

Crime prevention involves a series of measures that prevent crime from occurring. They are often divided into those that reduce the opportunities for occasional offenders to commit crime - opportunity reduction - and those that reduce the social and economic situations that generate persistent offenders - social development. Some include programmes designed to educate people on what is acceptable or not.

In turn, the social development and opportunity reduction measures are often divided into primary, secondary or tertiary levels. Primary measures are those that national governments can achieve through the general policies of ministries such as housing, employment, social services, education and health. Secondary measures can also be implemented by national ministries, but increasingly countries are promoting responsibility for these measures at the level of cities, particularly through partnerships. Tertiary measures tend to be those that could be achieved or at least promoted by police, courts or the correctional institutions. Again, countries are promoting greater responsibility for these measures in cities.

Primary prevention is achieved through general social, economic or public policies, where the reduction in crime is a side benefit. Therefore, if a government chooses to reduce relative child poverty because it wants to do more for children, this would be a primary prevention policy, as we know that it would have a significant impact on crime prevention. If a telephone company chooses to substitute credit cards for cash in public telephone booths because it will increase long distance phone calls, this would also be primary prevention because we know that theft of cash from telephone booths would decrease.

Secondary prevention is achieved through policies that target those persons or situations that are more at risk to crime. If a city chose to establish intensive child care programmes for families whose children are more likely to become persistent offenders, this would be secondary prevention. If a city determined those areas in which residential burglary was higher and then promoted community crime prevention measures to reduce burglary in those areas, this would also be secondary prevention.

Tertiary prevention is achieved by policies that intervene after the crime has occurred in an effort to prevent it from occurring again. If a judge sentences a man who has battered his wife to an intensive programme to cure violent men, this would be tertiary prevention. If a police officer assists a victim of residential burglary by involving him/her in a programme that provides a person to supervise the victim's residence, then that is tertiary prevention.

The United Nations resolution on the Prevention of Urban Crime stated that:

"municipalities are strategically based to bring together those who can change the conditions that generate crime, but other levels of government must provide financial and technical support; comprehensive crime prevention must give priority to partnerships that find better solutions to problems of child poverty, youth, schooling, housing, policing and justice; and crime prevention must involve long term action that is responsive to short term needs²⁴."

The Paris Conference²⁵ demonstrated clearly that effective models for action are available from governments which have national crime prevention structures, from cities which have established municipal crime prevention structures, and from individual projects, which have reduced various types of criminal activity.

It called for seven steps, of which the first five are:

- 1) governments must invest now to meet socio-economic and urban needs, particularly the needs of alienated groups such as young persons at risk;
- 2) governments must establish national crime prevention structures to recommend improved national policies, undertake research and development, and foster the implementation of effective crime prevention programs, particularly by cities;
- 3) municipalities must establish crime prevention structures to mobilise the local officials who control policies relating to housing, schooling, youth, families, social services, policing and justice;
- 4) the public must be encouraged by local, regional, and national governments, international agencies and non-governmental groups to participate in comprehensive crime prevention and to understand the importance to urban development of implementing effective ways of making communities safer from crime;
- 5) developed countries should support the creation of an International Centre for the Prevention of Crime, consistent with the objectives of the United Nations and which might become affiliated with it.

Use data to guide and later evaluate crime prevention activities

In order to tackle the situations that engender crime crime prevention must use the results of research to identify those social and opportunity related situations. In both the cases of Seattle and Kirkholt discussed above, deliberate efforts were made to identify the causes before coming up with the remedies.

Figure 12 shows the four steps that must be used if crime prevention is to be successful.

Protect 5% of expenditures from criminal justice for safety and security prevention

²⁴ United Nations Assembly (1990) "Prevention of urban crime" Resolution of the 8th United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, A/CONF.144/28.5 October.

²⁵ European Forum for Local Authorities on Urban Safety (1992) Safe cities: prevention of crime and drugs, Paris.

Governments are unlikely to reduce national levels of crime until they spend substantially more on prevention.

The combined expenditures on police, courts and correctional institutions in the USA exceeds 70 billion US dollars; in England and Wales, it exceeds 7 billion pounds; in Canada, it exceeds 7 billion Canadian dollars; in France, it exceeds 35 billion French francs. These represent approximately 3 per cent of total government expenditures.

Figure 12: Crime prevention planning model

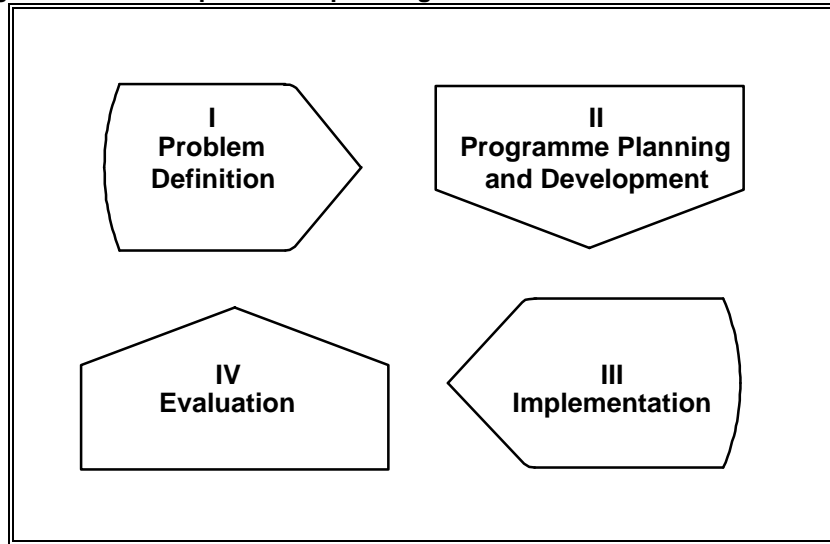
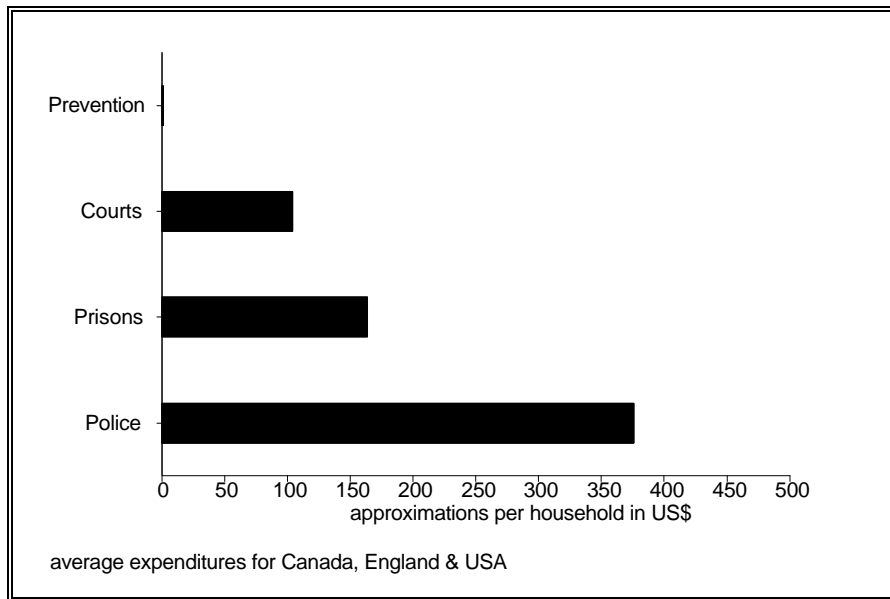


Figure 13: Expenditures on police, courts and prisons



Approximately three fifths of this expenditure goes to policing, one fifth to the courts and one fifth to prisons. Less than one percent goes to prevention.

It now costs between \$50,000 and \$100,000 to add one police officer and between \$100,000 and \$200,000 to add one prison cell. In these countries, the average household will spend close to \$500 on policing, \$200 on criminal courts and justice, and \$250 on prisons. In addition, there are substantial expenditures on private security and insurance, which are difficult to compare between countries.

Thus, policy makers could take a small portion of these funds and protect it for use in crime prevention.

Conclusions

The world crime survey points to wide variations in levels of crime between countries. The traditional police data show dramatic rises in crime in affluent countries. The continuing high levels of crime in the USA relative to other industrialised countries raise questions about continued expansion of criminal justice as a way to achieve safety and security from crime.

The victimisation surveys at the national and international level confirm that opportunities play an important role in determining national crime rates. When combined with the results of evaluated programmes such as those of Seattle and Kirkholt, the victimisation surveys suggest that structured surveillance within a community and use of simple ways to give an impression of human presence can cut property crime rates by major amounts for relatively low costs.

The increased availability of goods also leads to crime, but for consumer goods the solutions to reducing theft are more difficult. However, reducing the availability of handguns can be expected to have a significant impact on violence.

Investment in situational crime prevention will sometimes produce real reductions in crime levels as in the case of Seattle and Kirkholt, but the mega expansion in security guards and devices will have led to displacement more than overall reduction.

Linking the knowledge from longitudinal studies to the result of victimisation surveys suggests that significant improvements in safety and security could be achieved through reductions in relative child poverty and targeting ways to help young persons feel more included. Programmes that encourage community links between people can be expected to reduce crime.

For these policy implications to be realised, crime prevention structures must be created at the national and municipal level. However, these structures will need to have access to victimisation data as well as have an ability to develop programmes from the data.

These require an allocation of funds to the safety and security of personal objectives.

LOCAL VICTIMISATION SURVEYS AND CRIMINAL POLICIES

Renée Zauberman¹

Introduction

It may seem somewhat paradoxical to address an international group, and a Conference substantially devoted to the scrutiny of the results and implications of the International Crime Survey, on the subject of local victimisation surveys.

This should not be viewed simply as a sign of the specific French approach to issues of criminal justice policy - and a plea was made for this specificity in the discussions during the Seminar on Understanding Crime held in Rome in March 1992 - but more basically, as a felt need, given the current flood of surveys, to take a look at the articulation between the different levels at which they have been conducted over more than a quarter of a century.

It is a fact that we now dispose of large amounts of apparently quite heterogeneous data, collected either on a local or a national scale, and more recently on the international scale, with no effort to co-ordinate these various undertakings. There is nothing surprising about that: following the pioneering American research, a number of countries have jumped more or less rapidly into the vast field of victimisation surveys, with extremely variable resources, ambitions, needs, and in fact even conceptual frameworks and methods.

The great innovation of recent times is of course the international survey, which aims at overcoming disparities both in official statistics and in national victimisation surveys, for comparative purposes. Even supposing that the specific methodological difficulties it raises could be solved, this does not imply the intention for the international survey to replace the other levels at which surveys are conducted. The more countries are embraced by the comparison, the greater is the necessity to disregard national peculiarities, and therefore to simplify the data collected. Furthermore, budgetary and practical constraints make it impossible to examine, for each country, all of the questions which might be included in a national survey.

On the other hand, its very existence may foster reflections on the coherence of the different levels at which data are collected and analysed. Indeed, there cannot be any abstract comparison of the advantages and drawbacks of local, national and international surveys: they are not interchangeable. Each has its own value, depending on the use to which the results are to be put: a telescope and a magnifying glass are not used to look at the same objects.

What, then, is the position of local surveys in this respect, and what may their function be, in comparison with other survey levels, and particularly in the perspective of criminal policy? These two questions will be addressed here.

Various uses of local surveys: a tentative typology

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Local victimisation surveys have existed since this scientific movement began, but they vary considerably. They may be divided into two categories, depending on the role played by the decision to investigate a geographically limited area in the conception of the survey. In the first case, the worker must resign him/herself to the local nature of the survey; conversely, in the second, he/she chooses to investigate a local situation, but with a number of possible objectives.

Local surveys out of necessity

Many surveys are local out of necessity : their local character is secondary and anecdotal, and we will discuss them succinctly. These may be of two types: test research and "poor" research.

- *Test research*

Test research is probably the most ordinary and least visible type of local survey. In its simplest form, it aims at testing a questionnaire on a small sample. This ritual phase of the implementation of a quantitative technique is not necessarily published.

In more elaborate instances, the strategy is more ambitious and aims at testing the entire project, including the survey instrument itself: the sampling and data collection techniques. Here again, the local features have no significant effect on the conception of the research itself, nor on the interpretation of findings. A typical example of this is the Dayton-San Jose Pilot Survey of Victimization, one of the test surveys of the National Crime Survey, which claims:

The purpose of the Dayton-San Jose Pilot Survey was to provide, in two different metropolitan settings, a full field test of methods and techniques as well as of the survey instrument itself. Because of the experimental nature of the Dayton-San Jose Pilot survey, the data collected were to some extent a by-product of the operation. In fact, the quality of the data was intentionally jeopardized to provide a rigorous test of different interviewing procedures².

- *"Poor" research*

Local research has frequently been a last resort to which scholars resigned themselves due to a lack of the resources necessary for a more ambitious survey. The scope of such research varies considerably, however, since poverty is a very relative notion³: all that the monograph prepared by an isolated researcher for a thesis⁴ and the *Stuttgarter Opferbefragung*⁵ have in common, is the regret at not

² LEAA (1974) Crimes and victims. A report on the Dayton-San-Jose survey of victimization, pp. 1-2, US Department of Justice, Washington.

³ The notion of "poverty" in no way implies a judgment as to the quality of the actual work.

⁴ Morange, E.R. (1979) La criminalité réelle à Aix-en-Provence, Thèse de doctorat de 3eme cycle en droit, Aix-en-Provence.

having conducted a national survey and the hope that the findings be projected on a broader geographic unit. Stephan⁶, for instance, believes that the structural similarity of crime in Stuttgart, in the Bade-Wurtemberg and in West Germany as a whole makes the generalisation of his local findings legitimate.

⁵ Stephan, E. (1976) Die Stuttgarte Opferbefragung, BKA Forschungreihe, Wiesbaden.

⁶ Stephan, Die Stuttgarte..., op. cit., p. 52.

Local surveys out of choice

The situation is quite different for surveys in which the choice of a local field is clearly deliberate. In this case, a restricted geographic location is sought because some questions may be investigated extensively and in depth. Also in this case, these can be of two types, depending on whether the main concern is methodological or whether the real interest is a specifically local situation.

- *The local experimental survey*

This is the case when the local survey aims at exploring several theoretical and/or methodological issues: although financial considerations may of course contribute to this choice, the local monograph is preferred because the parameters of the situation seem to be more easily controlled.

The survey done in Grenoble by Lagrange and Roche⁷ is a good example of local research for theoretical purposes. Their underlying hypothesis is that the feeling of insecurity⁸ is closely linked to the type of interpersonal sociability. Modern urban sociability is characterised by unconnected relations, varying according to the different social roles of individuals, resulting in a proliferating network which protects people from a feeling of insecurity. Conversely, the less diversified forms of sociability that typify rural society, in which the various spheres of everyday life are more integrated, tend to feed the development of feelings of insecurity. This hypothesis places the geographic variable at the heart of the research strategy, and obviously requires the selection of a matching diversity of places. Similarly, when Tuck and Southgate attempted to determine the differences between Whites and West Indians concerning the victimisations they experienced and their relationship with the police, they chose a Manchester neighbourhood inhabited by the two groups, thus controlling the key variable, the surrounding environment.

The case of the local experimental survey for methodological reasons may be illustrated by the research done in London by Sparks *et al*.⁹ The purpose of this research was to check on the ability of different social groups to produce the judgements required by questionnaire-based victimisation surveys. The reliability of victimisation surveys rests not only on the supposition that the various social groups have a sufficiently uniform ability to verbalise and to remember, but also on the existence of sufficient consensus as to their representation of the phenomenon that is being measured through their statements. Hence the choice of an experimental approach, based on the investigation of areas that are extremely

⁷ Lagrange, H. and S. Roche (1987) *Baby alone in Baylone. Deux perspectives d'analyse du sentiment d'insécurité: Système d'attitudes et formes de sociabilité en milieu urbain*, Vol. I, CERAT, Saint Martin d'Hères; Lagrange, H. and S. Roche (1988) *Baby alone in Baylone. Le sentiment d'insécurité en milieu urbain et semi rural: les exemples de Grenoble et de Tullins-Fures*, Vol. II, CERAT, Saint Martin d'Hères.

⁸ The French commonly used syntagm *sentiment d'insécurité* widely embraces the Anglo-saxon notions of fear of and concern about crime.

⁹ Sparks, R.F., H.G. Genn and D.J. Dodd (1977) *Surveying victims. A study of the measurement of criminal victimization*, Wiley & Sons, Chichester, New York.

different socially and ethnically, but which share the same urban setting (London), and therefore, have some major features in common¹⁰.

In the last analysis, the similarity of these two types of research resides less in their intrinsic interest in local situations than in the heuristic value of such situations as a variable. This differentiates them from the other type, which will now be discussed.

- *Policy-oriented local surveys*

These are surveys in which concern with a specific local situation is effectively the main motive, for operational purposes of crime prevention and control. Interest in theoretical or methodological experimentation is put aside, and the effort concentrates on providing policy-makers with a routinised tool for diagnosis and/or evaluation. But when a study is action-oriented there is no way around consideration of the political stakes involved in the issues of crime and safety from crime.

Diagnosis:

At first, surveys of victims were developed as an instrument for measuring crime, in replacement of administrative statistics. However, since citizens have now been approached directly for an evaluation of this problem, other aspects of the phenomenon could also be measured, such as fear of and concern about crime (possibly generated by it) and victims' relations with the agencies in charge of dealing with crime. They are, therefore, a "natural" diagnostic tool, so to speak, and quite logically, the desire arose to put them to a more precise use. For instance, in the 1970s, the LEAA used the National Crime Survey as an instrument to conduct a series of victimisation surveys in the major cities in the United States of America¹¹.

More recently, victimisation surveys have become a part of broader projects combining a number of approaches and aimed at establishing a complete assessment, a sort of check-up of the local situation. This is illustrated by an interesting example: the Policy Studies Institute survey¹².

The Policy Studies Institute survey, *Police and People in London*, was an attempt to study relations between the Metropolitan Police and the community it serves¹³. Its commissioning by the London police department itself, prior to the riots of the early 80s, is indicative of the concern within that institution which - aware of the fact that in order to control crime they relied on the participation of the population - feared a loss of its indispensable support, at least within some groups. An accurate diagnosis was needed of the extent of the problem and its causes, as well as some proposals for solutions. The research project was four-

¹⁰ Sparks et al., *Surveying...*, op. cit., p. 20.

¹¹ LEAA (1975) *Criminal victimization surveys in 13 American cities*, US Department of Justice, Washington; LEAA (1977) *Criminal victimization surveys in Boston, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Houston, Miami, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, New-Orleans, Oakland, Pittsburgh, San Diego, San Francisco, Washington, D.C.: a national crime survey report*, (13 volumes), US Department of Justice, Washington.

¹² Smith, D.J. and J. Gray (1985) "Police and people in London" The PSI report, Gower, London.

¹³ Smith and Gray, *Police...*, op. cit., p. 1.

sided: a survey of the London population regarding its contacts with the police; a participant-observer survey of a group of young blacks whose relations with the police were notoriously bad; a questionnaire survey of policemen; and finally, a field survey on police organisation and practices.

The survey on the London population aimed at describing all of citizens' interactions with the police: identity verification, crowd control, arrests, complaints, or any other occasional contact. The victimisation survey was, therefore, only one of the many aspects covered by the London survey and the crime rates presented were only a by-product.

Skogan's colossal assessment of some forty-odd problem neighbourhoods throughout the United States is rooted in the question that has periodically preoccupied researchers and policy-makers since the many local community crime control and prevention programmes were launched under the incentive and with the support of the LEAA: what must be done to improve the effectiveness of programmes requiring citizen involvement? This series of documentary and population surveys is predicated on the very broad hypothesis of a negative link between crime/incivility and the degree of social integration within the neighbourhood. It is grounded on several questions as to what triggers the spiralling deterioration resulting in the gradual disintegration of socially acceptable behaviour and social control.

For this investigation, the victimisation survey (to which many questions on incivility were added) is only one aspect of an inquiry aimed at diagnosing the seriousness of the local situation. The inhabitants' relationship with their neighbourhood is another important facet.

Evaluation:

Victimisation surveys are often used for the evaluation of local programmes following a diagnosis.

The Netherlands have a longstanding practice of including evaluative research when planning programmes on crime prevention to determine their effectiveness.

This has been the case for the policing programmes set up since 1976¹⁴. The implementation of a criminal policy programme - Crime and Society - was the highlight of the latter half of the 1980s: it emphasised the development of local prevention policies. Twenty-five million dollars were spent by the ministries of justice and of the interior to finance local projects, provided they be scientifically evaluated by independent research agencies supervised by the WODC. A "meta-evaluation" of 200 prevention projects was done in 1991¹⁵.

¹⁴ Spickenheuer, J.L.P. (1983) Foot patrols and crime prevention instruction in Amsterdam-Osdorp, RDC, The Hague; Fijnaut, C., E.G.M. Nuijten-Edelbroek and J.L.P. Spickenheuer (1985) Politie Misdaadbestrijding, WODC, 's-Gravenhage; Fijnaut, C.J.C.F., E.G.M. Nuijten-Edelbroek and J.L.P. Spickenheuer (1987) La lutte contre la criminalité par la police. Les résultats de vingt ans de recherches, *Déviante et Société* XI, 2:163-179.

¹⁵ RDC (1991) RDC research programme 1991/92, RDC, The Hague; Polder, W. and F.J.C. Vlaardingen (1992) Preventiestrategieën in de praktijk, een metaevaluatie van de criminaliteitspreventieprojecten, WODC, Gouda Quint, Arnhem.

In Rosenbaum's collection¹⁶ of studies on community crime prevention programmes, victimisation surveys also appear as a routine tool for measuring the effects of programmes, including changes in the frequency of certain offences, the intensity of fear of crime, trends in reporting, the state of relations between the police and the public, and so on.

- *The political stakes of local surveys*

The fact of preferring the local level in approaching the issues of safety from crime, places responsibility for these policies in the hands of the local authorities. However, this responsibility is more or less "natural"; it depends on the country's political/administrative organisation, how centralised it is and how much autonomous power its local officials have.

American publications in no way indicate that the definition and implementation of such set-ups may cause political conflict either at the local level or between the different levels of government.

Conversely, the European example is eloquent on how politically loaded this issue may be at the local level. At least two examples may be cited: one British, the other Spanish.

The Islington Crime Survey was commissioned by the Labour City Council of the London Borough of Islington¹⁷ to assess the extent of crime affecting this particularly under-privileged population, determine people's expectations with respect to the police, and examine police practices. National surveys were inappropriate for this use, since their findings could not be broken down to the municipal level.

The political purpose of this step is obvious: not to leave to the Tories the monopoly of the "law and order" issue, at a time when the left was in power in virtually every inner-city high crime area in Britain¹⁸. Taking the exact opposite tack of the prevailing Thatcherism, the authors favoured a policy aimed at protecting the most vulnerable groups: women, ethnic minorities, workers... And surprisingly enough for the continental left, they explicitly rooted their victimisation surveys in the tradition of the American Democratic presidencies of the 1960s, which initiated the first victim surveys and used them in their war against crime and poverty.

The Spanish case - or rather, the case of Barcelona - is less explicitly ideological, but is a more clear-cut expression of power conflicts. It expresses the will of a municipal government to play an active part in safety-related policies by asserting its autonomy with respect to the regional and national governments dominated by other political parties.

Since 1984, the Council for Urban Safety, followed by the executive agency for prevention programmes, developed a comprehensive prevention policy which attempted both to co-ordinate the work of the many social actors involved and to control, besides the local police, the local operations of the regional and, above all,

¹⁶ Rosenbaum, D.P. (ed.) (1986) *Community crime prevention: does it work?* (2nd edition 1988), Beverly Hills, London, New Delhi.

¹⁷ Jones, T., B. Maclean and J. Young (1986) *The Islington crime survey. Crime, victimization and policing in inner-city London*, Gower, Aldershot.

¹⁸ Jones et al., *The Islington...*, op. cit., p. 6.

national police departments. The victimisation surveys conducted since 1984 were initially justified as, paradoxically, the only way of obtaining information on crime to which municipal political officials could have access; the other sources (police and judicial statistics) were not easily accessible and usually were not broken down to the municipal level. Without accurate data on the spatio-temporal distribution of crime, city government would have been unable to tailor its management of urban safety¹⁹ and, in particular, this would clearly have been a crucial problem for the forthcoming 1992 Olympic games²⁰.

The victimisation survey was consequently portrayed as an eminently appropriate local instrument, particularly valued because it was the only one Barcelona officials were able to produce. In fact, the national police, whose duties are more clearly directed at repression, definitely perceived the attitude of the Barcelona mayor's office as challenging its own competency, since it quickly set up its own prevention programme in that city, which apparently consisted mainly of stricter patrolling²¹. Barcelona thus became the advocate of urban victimisation surveys. The recommendation that these be extended to all European cities was formulated following the meeting of the Permanent Assembly of local governments of the Council of Europe in that city in 1987.

In both cases, a local authority tends to set itself up against the higher spheres of government, the action of which is judged inadequate or inappropriate. Victimisation surveys are clearly a politically strong move: in the English case, to correct a conservative policy considered unfair; in the Barcelona case, to set up a prevention policy with the non-negligible advantage of giving the town hall control over all police forces. Conflicts of this type are probably relatively frequent, as are conflicts between local political groups. If an analysis has been carried out on this aspect of the problem, it is possible it could be found among the publications of political scientists.

This outline of the various uses to which local surveys are put shows that, over and beyond their use as a test or experimental instrument, they are increasingly often used by local communities as a routinised tool for evaluating local situations and programmes. France is no exception to this rule, as we shall see, although some difficulty is experienced in moving from theory to practice.

Toward systematic use of the magnifying glass: are French projects a model?

The French "model" for prevention

For the past decade or so there has been a growing tendency in France to hand over responsibility for prevention policies to the local, département and commune authorities. This movement is part of an overall arrangement in which responsibilities are decentralised and decision-making deconcentrated - from the

¹⁹ Alabert, A., J.M. Aragay and J. Sabate (1991) Encuestas de victimización políticas municipales de prevención de la delincuencia, in Instrumentos y metodología para el conocimiento del fenómeno delictivo, Institut d'Estudis Metropolitans de Barcelona, Barcelona.

²⁰ Larrauri, E. (1992) Prevention in Spain, Contribution to the GERN Seminar on new forms of crime prevention, Gent, Paris.

²¹ Larrauri, Prevention..., op. cit.

central level to the local level - and which, in turn, is the outcome of complex social and political processes. This tendency of prevention policies to "go local" is, among others, tied to the fact that the middle-class wage-earning categories, often working in the fields of education, health, urban development, and the arts, gained access to power, along with the Socialist Party, at the local and central levels. Their social and professional ethics place a high value on the daily life environment: the city and the neighbourhood, as the meeting grounds of the private and the public spheres²².

The unambiguous objective of transferring social policy-making to the local political echelons is to cut across the traditional administrative lines that define the action of different ministries. It is based on the theory of "comprehensive social action" developed in the early 70s. For this purpose, the leadership and co-ordination of social policies has been entrusted to a variety of interministerial-type agencies over the past 10 years. These were creatures of the moment and involved the participation of the pertinent governmental agencies as well as that of representatives of local communities and of citizens' movements.

The sphere of crime and safety was no exception. The crime prevention policy based on specialised prevention programmes, which dated back to the 1960s, had met its limits with the economic effects of the first oil crisis: the ensuing unemployment and social problems complicated the integration of at-risk groups such as youth and immigrants. Real estate speculation further compounded segregation by relegating the most vulnerable groups to under-developed suburban areas.

When the Socialist Party came into power in 1981 (for the first time in 25 years), the government saw the encouragement of local initiative as a way of "depoliticizing" this issue, which had tended to become an important element in left/right-wing controversy since the end of the 1980s. This policy was spurred by the report issued by the Commission des Maires sur la Sécurité²³, better known as the Rapport Bonnemaïson, named after the president of this committee and main spokesman for this policy. As Chevalier²⁴ points out, by giving the more pragmatic and locally-elected officials responsibility for policy decisions, endless discussion on the causes of crime were avoided, and mayors belonging to the opposition were drawn into devising consensus-based solutions.

At first (1983-1988), this policy was mainly in the hands of the Comité National de Prévention de la Délinquance (CNPD), headed until 1986 by Gilbert Bonnemaïson. Two other similar institutional set-ups completed this comprehensive social prevention policy: one in charge of the social and occupational integration of youth problem, the other involved in renovating dilapidated neighbourhoods²⁵. At the end of the right-wing government interlude (1986-88), the entire social prevention system was rewrought into a single structure, the Délégation

²² Chevalier, G. (1988) "L'intérêt central pour le local. Analyse des politiques socio-préventives en France entre 1981 et 1986" *Déviance et Société* XII, 3:237-267.

²³ Commission des Maires sur la Sécurité (1982) *Face à la délinquance: prévention, répression, solidarité*; rapport au Premier Ministre, La Documentation Française, Paris.

²⁴ Chevalier, L'intérêt..., op. cit., p. 262.

²⁵ Chevalier, L'intérêt..., op. cit.; Robert, Ph. and J.M. Renouard (1991) "Bilan des connaissances en France" in Robert, Ph. (ed.), *Les politiques de prévention de la délinquance à l'aune de la recherche. Un bilan international*, pp. 191-205, L'Harmattan, Paris.

Interministerielle à la Ville (DIV), whose very title is clearly indicative of the new emphasis on urban and suburban problems.

It was up to the CNPD, and later to the DIV, to foster the creation of, and activate a network of local, departmental and communal committees. Through the participation at the local level of a series of partners - belonging or not to public agencies, but concerned about crime prevention policies - these committees were to be a forum for dialogue and policy development. Although no systematic evaluation has been made of the existing 700 old communal committees²⁶, it is estimated that only one-third of them actually function.

Policy-making aids

One weakness of the French prevention set-up is the absence, so far, of reliable diagnosis and evaluation tools through which local policy-makers can choose programmes and measure their effects.

To begin with, policy-makers are poorly equipped for the collection and analysis of information which is both scattered and relatively inaccessible because non-public and frequently inappropriate. Statistical categories, like geographic boundaries, are designed to fulfill the needs of the agencies that produce them, and are not necessarily relevant to peculiar local situations. Hence a first requirement: the collection and interconnection of existing data in order to detect and fill existing gaps²⁷.

Concern with the evaluation of public policies - which have developed recently in France - has led to the creation of a specific structure called "observatory", in which information pertaining to a given problem or territory is collected and analysed. One offshoot of this is the "local observatory on safety", and the proposal, by a working group convened by the DIV, that a local safety diagnosis be established through comparison of the public sector of safety with the population's demand for it²⁸.

- *The local victimisation survey within the local diagnosis of safety*

It is only one facet of this overall diagnosis. Since cities dispose of limited amounts of money to devote to this type of investigation (even if they receive state aid), surveys cannot aim at establishing a crime count because they are usually confined to a small sample. Conversely, local victim surveys can make a certain amount of information available to policy-makers:

- 1) the impact experienced by people who have suffered a certain number of victimisations; this also includes incivilities: those tiny encroachments on everyday life which are not necessarily legally incriminated, but which can make life quite uncomfortable, like littering, vandalism against public facilities such as

²⁶ France, it should be recalled, is composed of 36,000 *communes* located in 100 *départments*, which in turn form 22 *regions*.

²⁷ Robert, Ph. (1992) "L'avenir des enquêtes locales" La prévention de la criminalité urbaine, Presses universitaires d'Aix-Marseille.

²⁸ Donzelot, J., Ph. Estebe, H. Lagrange, D. Monjardet and R. Zauberman (1990) Diagnostic local de sécurité. Eléments de cahiers des charges, DIV, Paris.

'phone booths, letter boxes, elevators, basements, etc. and which, by exasperating people, contribute as much as actual crime to feelings of insecurity;

- 2) for those confronted with a crime or incivility problem:
 - what type of resource is seen as possible or desirable;
 - what type of resource is resorted to;
 - which are the expectations with regard to those solutions;
 - what evaluation do victims make of the available resources;
- 3) concerning the two latter points, the diversity of expectations and evaluations that can be found in a population must be stressed. For example, victims of a burglary who file a complaint with the police and are told they are the thirteenth case in the week and that, anyway, nothing can be done, may react very differently:
 - take the case very calmly, with detachment, knowing they are going through a formality aimed, at least, at providing them with a certificate for their insurance company, they actually mind very little about police inertness; or else
 - view the case as of the utmost importance: some victims are much concerned with police action, are anxious to see the criminal justice institutions function effectively, and express punitive expectations when reporting offences.

Safety expectations cannot be the same for shop-owners in a shopping mall and jobless youngsters who gather daily in that mall.

Victim surveys can provide, at the local level, a more accurate picture of the diversity of behaviours, expectations and evaluations and, thus, break up the overly legal uniformity of the notion of "victim". But this series of information is insufficient in itself to devise a local prevention policy and should be confronted with other information such as:

- 1) measures of police efficiency through the clearance rate;
- 2) the system of constraints in which crime prevention has to be devised and implemented:
 - a) the state of the local labour market, with indications on the:
 - performance of the educational and training system, especially about their exclusion mechanisms;
 - chances of access to a stable job, with its consequences for young people with no specialised training;
 - b) the state of the land market, with its consequences on urban integration or segregation;
 - c) public attitudes and policies towards migrants; in other words, racism.

The idea is to collect and confront otherwise dispersed data, and even further to examine them against the background of a larger set of demographic or sanitary statistical surveys.

- *A test and a project*

In this perspective, the DIV thought it would be useful to develop a sort of "toolbox" for local policy-makers, containing a number of reliable, standardised decision-making aids.

This originally led to the development, by the CESDIP in 1989, of a highly simplified version of its national victimisation survey questionnaire. This tool was tested twice, in two different fields: a town in suburban Paris, and a regional metropolis²⁹. A report on these was presented last March in order to place in perspective the ICS findings for France.

Following this, DIV asked a working group to prepare a complete design for a local observatory on safety³⁰. Two instruments were developed:

- 1) a series of 7 information cards, to be completed by municipalities, and covering the following points:
 - police: police statistics on different property and personal offences and infringement on various administrative regulations; data on local police resources, their distributions in time and space; data on private security guards;
 - justice: resources available and case-load;
 - social services: resources available and case-load, especially for drug abuse;
 - educational system: data on the integration of juveniles in the school system;
 - housing and housing authorities: data on the management of existing subsidised housing (population, maintenance, rehabilitation);
 - municipal services: data on complaints filed with the city for social problems, insecurity and incivility; data on public transportation (fraud, vandalism);
 - socio-demography and employment: data on unemployment and unemployment benefits;
- 2) a questionnaire survey: this is the above-mentioned test questionnaire, to which questions on incivilities and feelings of insecurity have been added.

This project is valuable in that it combines different approaches to the issue of safety from crime: while it closely scrutinises crime, its occurrence and treatment by the population and the competent agencies, it also considers the local socio-economic context.

A first experimental phase is planned, in a limited number of places (probably 5, of different sizes). In each location, a local team will be in charge of collecting data and analysing them in accordance with the needs expressed by the local crime prevention committee.

In addition, a team in the area of the DIV will be in charge of providing technical assistance to the local teams, making sure the surveys are conducted properly and, above all, proceeding with a systematic and thorough exploitation of the local data. Furthermore, it will be responsible for conducting national victimisation survey using an instrument very similar to the one used in the local surveys, and the results of which should put the local situations within a national perspective.

²⁹ Robert, Ph., R. Zauberman and P. Lew-Fai (1991) *Enquêtes locales de victimisation: deux tests en milieu urbain*, CESDIP, Paris.

³⁰ Lagrange, H., Ph. Robert, S. Roche and R. Zauberman (1992) *Note méthodologique sur les observatoires locaux de sécurité*, CESDIP, Paris.

Finally, a mixed group of DIV representatives, locally elected officials and researchers will draw conclusions from this experience and devise a model dossier for local observatories on safety. All communal crime prevention committees may then be provided with a standardised decision aid tool.

It is still too early to say whether the DIV will succeed in setting up a system for diagnosis and evaluation. We cannot overlook the fragility of the structure on which this ambitious project is based. The DIV (and the CNPD before it) designed to promote innovative approaches is placed alongside traditional governmental agencies which, furthermore, provide material and human resources. In such a position it faces two obstacles, the most obvious of which is the agency's vulnerability to political change: since it does not have the inertia of traditional government agencies, it can be eliminated or placed in suspended animation at any time.

The second obstacle, which is less visible but nonetheless threatens its day-to-day functioning, is that an institution of this type, composed of individuals chosen for their strong motivation, with no routine operations and procedures and often with no clearcut hierarchical organisation, is extremely sensitive to changes in personnel. The departure of a key figure may well disorganise the entire sector he/she was in charge of, disrupt patiently established ties with outside partners, and prevent any follow-up of previous action.

In other words, this type of institution has its advantages and its shortcomings, when compared with traditional government agencies: its innovative spirit, flexibility and lightness is offset by its fragility, improvisation and lack of administrative rigour.

Conclusion

We have attempted, in the present communication, to show that while local victimisation surveys are not new, they are now used in a way which makes them a peculiar part of the range of research instruments: further, they are increasingly often integrated in a comprehensive set-up for the diagnosis and evaluation of local situations and programmes. This new function is the outcome of emerging awareness of the importance of local communities in controlling crime and safety problems, illustrated by the present enthusiasm for community policing.

The importance of the local level should not be over-emphasised; in fact, the very definition of that level is problematic. What, actually, is the relevant level of social organisation for analysing and influencing the problems with which we are concerned? In France, prevention policies first concentrated on the neighbourhood; but many points raised by these interventions could not be solved at that scale: where employment, housing, education, safe public transportation or culture are involved, it is very often necessary to move up to the level of metropolitan area, or even of department³¹.

Excessive concentration on the local level may tend to prompt the anarchic multiplication of initiatives and the wasting of necessarily limited resources, with no gain for the community. A recent review of British prevention programmes notes the scattered nature of those initiatives that are not federated by the Home Office or

³¹ Donzelot et al., *Diagnostic...*, op. cit., p.4

some powerful organisation such as the NACRO: since they are ill-defined, poorly standardised, little known - because rarely published and made available to the community - they lose much of their social impact³². In fact, many communes do not have the proper tools or competent people on the spot for the analysis and evaluation of their problems. Hence the value of a central agency capable of co-ordinating initiatives and providing the skilled help needed. France is not the only country in which this type of set-up is based on collaboration between the local and the central levels. This is also the case in Great Britain and in the Netherlands, where the Home Office and the WODC, respectively, play this essential role of furthering, co-ordinating and evaluating local crime prevention programmes, which makes for a true national policy³³.

Hence, too, the value of combining local and national victimisation surveys. The functions of national surveys is two-fold:

- 1) fundamental research with no direct operational concerns: their design depends above all on the questions raised, as well as on the global state of knowledge and methods;
- 2) a more operational function, aimed at serving as a standard, or background, for regional or local surveys:
 - they enable local policy-makers to situate the peculiar juncture in which they operate in a broader perspective, and to weigh its portent;
 - they provide policy-makers at the higher institutional level with an overview of the situation, so that operations may be co-ordinated.

If this system is to be efficient, the national instrument and its local counterparts must be quite similar, to ensure the best possible comparability (the French project, as we have seen, is predicated on this axiom).

At a different level international surveys play a similar role by corroborating, for instance, the correlation between victimisation and urban development in a great many countries, or by validating the theory of criminal opportunities (on the basis of bicycle thefts, for instance), they yield a background for knowledge but have limited use in operational terms. Perceptions necessarily lose in refinement what they gain by embracing a wider geographic field (unless the financial investment is enormous), and there is less and less real grasp of specific situations. At most, they furbish the arguments of national policy-makers for their internecine political controversies over the choice of a particular policy by showing the seriousness of the nation's crime problem in comparison with other countries. The wheel then comes a full circle and it is up to them to make these policies operational at the local level.

³² Johnston, V. and J. Shapland (1992) The United Kingdom and the new prevention, Contribution to the Gern Seminar on new forms of crime prevention, Gent, Paris.

³³ Johnston and Shapland, The United..., op. cit.; RDC (1991) RDC research programme 1991/92, RDC, The Hague.

POLICY DEVELOPMENT IN THE POLICE ORGANISATION: THE ROLE OF THE CITIZEN SURVEYS

Kees van der Vijver¹

Introduction

Over the last few decades victim surveys have played an important role in improving knowledge on the phenomenon of crime. However, far less attention has been paid to the ways in which victim surveys can be used as a means to improve policy making in the field of criminal justice, especially within the police. In this paper, the issue is addressed by discussing three topics:

- the need to use this kind of research (section 2);
- the kind of information offered by surveys (section 3);
- implementation of the results (section 4).

However, before setting out, two preliminary remarks must be made. In the first place the introduction will not be limited to crime as such, but will encompass the broader topic of social safety problems in general: public order, traffic safety, problems in the neighbourhood and feelings of unsafety amongst the population are also important topics. Secondly, as a consequence, discussion cannot be restricted to victim surveys and it is thus preferable to talk about citizen surveys. Not only victims, but all citizens may have information that is important for policy makers.

The need to use citizen surveys

Since World War II, there has been an increase in social safety problems in western society. Many countries have experienced rising rates for various types of crime, feelings of unsafety and, often in a wave-like movement, problems concerning public order. In the same period society has taken on a more critical attitude towards the government and, in particular, the police. Among western societies the United States have had the doubtful honour of being in the lead. The report of the President's Commission on Crime and Law Enforcement of 1967, entitled "Task Force Report: The Police", pointed to new ways of overcoming those problems. One of results of this report was a wave of empirical research. On the one hand, these studies were empirical, i.e. directed towards gaining more knowledge about the police. Empirical research consisted mostly of participant-

¹ Commissioner, Amsterdam Municipal Police, the Netherlands.

observation studies² or pointed to new ways of developing theoretical frameworks for policing³.

On the other hand, research was policy-oriented, aimed at improving the effectiveness and quality of policing. Examples of well-known projects are the Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment, which attempted to determine the effectiveness of preventive patrolling activities⁴, studies to improve the effectiveness of reactive patrolling⁵, and many projects aimed at improving effectiveness in traffic safety and crime control⁶. Policy-oriented research was not only carried out in the USA, but was followed by other countries like Canada, the UK, Sweden and the Netherlands, and for the first time in this kind of research, citizen surveys were used on a substantial scale.

As far as the author can judge, the impact of this wave of research was limited and results modest. The impact on policy making was relatively low. As a result, the use of surveys for policy purposes became less attractive. Although it is difficult to estimate how many police forces in the USA and Canada are currently using surveys as an instrument for policy making on a regular basis, it is quite certain that in Europe they are used on a limited scale. In England, for example, the Audit Commission for Local Authorities and the National Health Service complained that "forces have been slow to adopt market research to gather views of the public"⁷. The use of citizen surveys for policy purposes in the Netherlands also had a slow start: things did not get under way until the early eighties. Since then there has been growing attention for this method of gathering information. Some police forces have used citizen surveys as a means of evaluating processes of change; others use it on a regular basis to monitor developments; and also the central government has carried out a first nationwide study for policy purposes. Standards for questionnaires have been developed by both the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of the Interior.

² Skolnick, J. (1966) *Justice without trial*, John Wiley & Sons, New York; Reiss, A.J. (1971) *The police and the public*, Yale University Press, New Haven; Manning, P.K. (1979) *Police work. The social organization of policing*, The MIT-Press, Cambridge (Mass.).

³ Wilson, J.Q. (1986) *Varieties of police behaviour*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.); Bittner, E. (1974) "A theory of the police" in Jacob, H. (ed.) *The potential of reform of criminal justice*, Sage, London; Goldstein, H. (1977) *Policing a free society*, Ballinger, Cambridge (Mass.); Cain, M. (1973) *Society and the policeman's role*, Routledge Kegan Paul, London.

⁴ Kelling, G.E., T. Pate, D. Dieckman and G.E. Brown (1974) *The Kansas City preventive patrol experiment*, The Police Foundation, Washington D.C.

⁵ Pate, T., A. Ferrara, R.A. Bowers and J. Lorence (1976) *Police response time, its determinants and effects*, The Police Foundation, Washington D.C.; Kansas City Police (1977) *Response time analysis*, (2 vols).

⁶ Overviews of the results are to be found in Chaiken, J. (1976) *What's known about deterrent effects of police activities*, The Rand Corporation, Santa Monica; van der Vijver, C.D. and W. Broer (1978) "Politie-onderzoek, problemen en mogelijkheden" *Sociologische Gids*, pp. 465-486; Fijnaut, C., E.G.M. Nuijten-Edelbroek and J.L.P. Spickenheuer (1985) *Politiële misdaadbestrijding. De ontwikkeling van het Amerikaanse, Engelse en Nederlandse onderzoek aangaande politieële misdaadbestrijding sedert de jaren '60*, Staatsuitgeverij, The Hague.

⁷ Audit Commission for Local Authorities and the National Health Service in England and Wales (1990) "Effective policing - performance review in police forces" *Police papers* 8:2, December.

What is the reason for this sudden interest? Factors on two different levels seem to have played an important role. On a local level, many police forces have implemented fundamental changes in their organisation since the beginning of the eighties. This development was strongly advocated by so-called reform chiefs with an academic background; who wanted an objective indication of the results of their organisational efforts. One study, the evaluation of an overhaul in one of the bigger police forces, proved quite successful. This prompted others to start using surveys as well.

At the national level, a debate began on the effectiveness of policing. This stimulated, among other things, policy making on the basis of the so-called "rational policy-model"; a model in which measuring effectiveness is very important.

This does not mean that all forces are carrying out surveys. Nor does it mean those forces that are carrying them out are actually using the results of surveys in their daily practice: it is a well known fact that research and the implementation of its results can be worlds apart. Changing policy is very difficult in itself, but changing the behaviour of the policemen and women who are at the basis of the organisation is even more compelling (this will be discussed in the section related to the implementation of the results). While some forces are enthusiastic, others are cynical. Opinions are divided on this point. Nevertheless, surveys will undoubtedly play an even more important role in the future, for two reasons. The first is related to developments in the field of insecurity, the second to the relationship between the police and the environment in which they operate.

One of the main problems facing police management is related to the identification of expected developments in the field of crime or - better - in the field of social insecurity, and the police's response to them. These questions are among others addressed by prognostic research, a field of growing interest. In Canada for instance, a future model of policing has been developed⁸. In the Netherlands, the Dutch Police and Society Foundation asked McKinsey & Company to study future trends in public insecurity. The results of their study⁹ are summarised in Table 1.

Table 1: Expected trends in public insecurity (1990-2000)

	Optimistic scenario	Pessimistic scenario
Massive petty crimes:		
- vandalism	=	=
- shoplifting	=	+
Massive serious crimes		
- burglary	-	++
Violent crimes		
- assault	-	+
- robbery/mugging	+	++

⁸ Normandeau, A. and B. Leighton (1990) Police-challenge 2000: A vision of the future of policing in Canada, The Solicitor-General of Canada.

⁹ Veiligheid en Politie: een beheersbare zaak. Aanzet tot beleid van veiligheidszorg, gericht op ontwikkelingen tot de eeuwwisseling (1991) rapport Stuurgroep Politie 2000, Gouda Quint, Arnhem.

Crime against society - environmental crime - EC subsidy fraud	++ ++	++ ++
Organised crime - drugtrafficking	+	++
Public order disturbances - small scale - large scale	+ = =	++ ++ ++
Unsafe traffic	--	--
Feelings of insecurity	+	++

++ increase > 15%
+ increase > 5% - < 15%
= constant > -5% - < 5%
- decrease > -15% - < -5%
-- decrease < -15%

Source: Veiligheid en Politie

Debate in the Netherlands show that, in spite of considerable methodological criticism, these trends are generally thought to be correct: the problem of public insecurity is expected to grow, with the sole exception of unsafe traffic: the number of people killed or injured in an accident will show a downward trend. The problem of public security will grow in importance for policy makers; not just the police or the criminal justice authorities, but also many governmental and non-governmental organisations. Politicians at both national and local levels will pay more attention to the problem of public security, and will undoubtedly try to increase their influence in their attempts to solve it. These developments are likely to put increased pressure on the police management to find adequate ways of dealing with the problems involved. The pressure will come from various levels, such as from politicians, the government, the business sector, or even the general public.

In the sixties and seventies, politicians provided a rather simple response to growing crime rates: the more crime increased the more had to be invested to counteract it. However, given the present economic situation in most countries and the acquired awareness that an increase in police personnel does not always mean more safety, both local and national governments have become more critical and less willing to provide the police with more financial assistance upon the simple request of the latter. It is generally expected that, in the future, government agencies will only provide the police force with financial assistance if they are convinced of the worthiness and effectiveness of its proposed solutions. It is already possible to observe, for instance, that governments are only willing to pay (extra) money to those organisations that most need it, determining this on the basis of objective standards. In England, for example, the Audit Commission for Local Authorities and the National Health Service is working on a system of output indicators and target standards of service, in order to set objectives and develop monitoring and review systems¹⁰. Studies have been carried out in order to ascertain if this approach is

¹⁰ Audit Commission, *Effective...*, op. cit.

feasible¹¹. In the Netherlands, where the police is funded entirely by the central government, government agencies are working on a system in which funds will be awarded at least partially according to output indicators. Extra funds are only allotted when police chiefs co-operate towards the development of a system of output indicators, or if they are able to prove that the money is in fact used to help solve safety problems. Citizen surveys are used as a means to determine whether those goals are reached. Thus, surveys will probably be used as a new bureaucratic system of government control.

On the other hand, there is a strong tendency in police management to improve the quality of policing by adjusting it to the needs of the community. Examples are neighbourhood team policing, neighbourhood watch programmes, and other structural changes, such as developing planning systems aimed at local needs, improving management systems, stimulating the external orientation of the police organisation, stressing the importance of effectiveness and quality¹². What is important, is that the police should not concentrate on improving the output (clearance rate, arrest rate, patrol rate, response time), but rather on improving the outcomes of the organisation: lowering the victimisation rate, improvement of perceived safety and the level of safety problems experienced by the population, prevention of public order problems such as conflicts between different social groups, improved confidence in the police.

The author, taking the police's point of view, strongly disapproves with the management approach according to which output indicators are considered the most important aspect of management. Since the relationship between output and outcomes is a rather weak one, there is a great danger that an excessive focus on output indicators will encourage the police to perform activities that do not contribute towards the outcome. Therefore, the police should focus on outcomes and not on the output. This means the police have to concentrate on at least two aspects:

- 1) the need to adjust to the needs and requirements of the community;
- 2) the need to improve their knowledge on the outcomes, i.e. the effectiveness of policing.

The next section will deal with the role citizen surveys can play in improving the knowledge of policing, and the implication this has on policy making. Obviously, surveys cannot play a role in all areas of safety problems. Policy making in the field of organised crime, fraud, environmental crime - in short, all those aspects that are not visible or tangible - cannot be supported by surveys. The need for police activities in these fields and the evaluation of the results have to be determined in a different way. However, surveys can play a major role in all those aspects that are of vital importance to the residents of a certain area, such as "ordinary" crime, unsafe traffic, feelings of insecurity, public order disturbances, problems people

¹¹ Horton, Chr. and D. Smith (1988) Evaluating police work, an action research project, Policy Study Institute, London.

¹² McConville, M. and D. Shepherd (1992) Watching police, watching communities, Routledge, London/New York.

experience within their neighbourhood, and - last but not least - their judgement of the police. The elements listed in Table 2 may play a role:

Table 2: Elements in citizen surveys

Actual level of victimisation
Fear of being victimised
Perceived risk of victimisation
Reporting behaviour
Concern about crime
Neighbourhood problems
Priorities required from the police
Attitudes towards the police
Contacts between citizens and police
Judgement of police work

Each item in this list is important for police managers at different levels, including police constables performing their duties on the streets who, as professionals, take almost every decision without supervision. The information required at the various levels may, however, differ substantially. Top level management typically needs information of a highly abstract nature, the lower level groups need information concerning the specific problems in their area and information which can help them determine concrete goals.

Citizen surveys can play an important role in describing problems more accurately and determining priorities. They offer insights into the development of problems at both the top and grassroot levels of the organisation. Moreover, the results usually differ from the ideas that prevail in the police organisation itself. When a manager only listens to the voices within the force, there is a fair chance that the problems considered important by the police are different to those considered to be important by the public. Apart from that, results in the past have shown that the way in which problems are experienced by the public may differ substantially from one neighbourhood and the next. Surveys enable the police to take action in a more specific, problem-oriented way.

Although an abundance of information exists in this field, it will be limited here to some examples of the items mentioned in Table 2, in order to give an idea of what this kind of information may look like. Unless otherwise indicated, the information presented is taken from the citizen surveys carried out by the Amsterdam police on a regular basis since 1985¹³.

Surveys and policy information

There are two major fields in which citizen surveys can play a role:

¹³ Hoenson, L.F.H. and R.H. Lofers Adema (1992) *Amsterdammers over misdaad en politie in 1991*, Amsterdam.

- 1) they can help to identify the problems in a certain area, formulate the goals of the organisation (the effectiveness) and improve quality (the ways the goals are reached);
- 2) they can help to evaluate the way the police are functioning;

Describing the problems and formulating the goals

- *General developments*

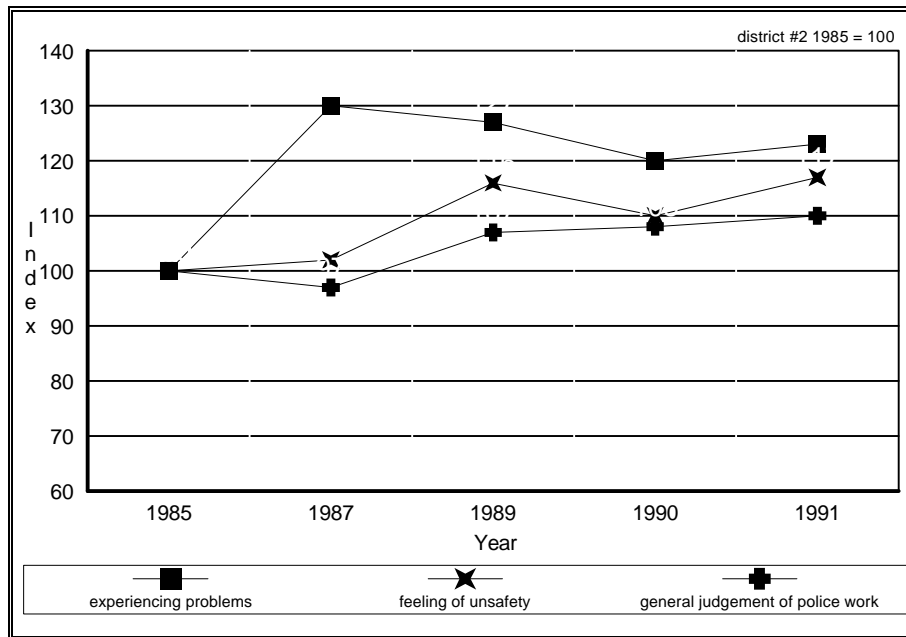
The identification of problems and the formulation of the goals of an organisation take place at different levels of abstraction. Top level policy makers are mainly concerned with one or two basic questions: where do they stand at this point in time? What is the general direction of developments: is there an upward or a downward trend? They require a "barometer of unsafety", a time series analysis of different types of scales. This "barometer" presents information at a very high level of aggregation, for instance concerning:

- developments in problems, such as fear of victimisation, the problems people are experiencing;
- development of the victimisation rate and public reporting behaviour;
- development of the judgement of the police by the population.

Different proposals for such a barometer have been developed. One example is the barometer used in Amsterdam, developed after five surveys carried out between 1985 and 1991. It offers an insight into trends and a basis for fundamental policy decisions.

The extent to which citizens in this district experience problems increased substantially in 1987 as compared to 1985. After 1987 it slowly declined, but until 1991 it remained approximately 20% higher than in 1985. Over the last four years the people's judgement of the police, after a short decline, showed a constant rise, as did feelings of unsafety. Apart from interesting theoretical questions that may arise when studying these graphs, the relevance for policy makers is obvious.

Figure 1: Barometer of unsafety and judgement of police in a police district in Amsterdam (1985-1991)



Victimisation: burglary

As an example of the information concerning victimisation, Figure 2 shows the percentage of citizens that became victims of burglary, both in Amsterdam as a whole and in the different police districts.

The average figure for the city as a whole is relatively constant, but this kind of information is hardly relevant for management. The differences between the districts and developments within each district are, however, great. More specifically the second and third districts (D2 and D3, both in the city centre) show a substantial decline. It is, of course, impossible to prove that police action caused this change. In any case, from a management point of view there is considerably less need to pay as much attention to this problem now as there was in 1985/1987.

Naturally critics might ask whether it is necessary to carry out surveys in order to obtain this kind of information and whether the same data might not be derived from the burglaries reported to the police? The answer to that question is a clear-cut no: that it is impossible because there is no information concerning reporting behaviour. To clearly point out what can go wrong, Figure 3 elucidates the results of the evaluation of a series of innovations in another police force. In an area of the city concerned, a new way of community policing (neighbourhood team policing) was introduced, including an attempt to introduce problem-oriented policing. The rest of the city was used as a "control area". After one year findings indicated that in both the team area and the control area the number of burglaries reported to the police had risen. The citizen survey, however, showed that in the team area the

level of victimisation had remained the same, while reporting had risen; whereas in the control area the level of reporting behaviour had remained unchanged and the level of victimisation had risen.

Figure 2: Victimization rates for burglary

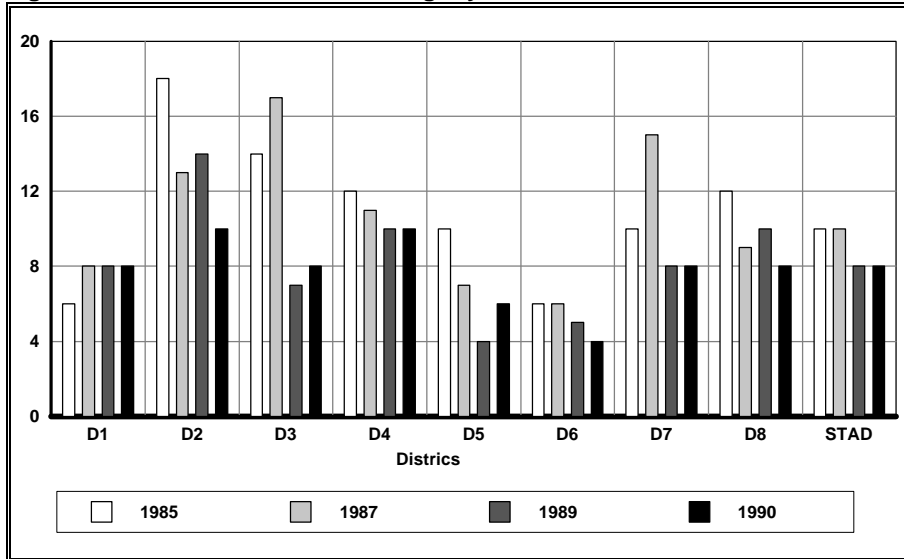


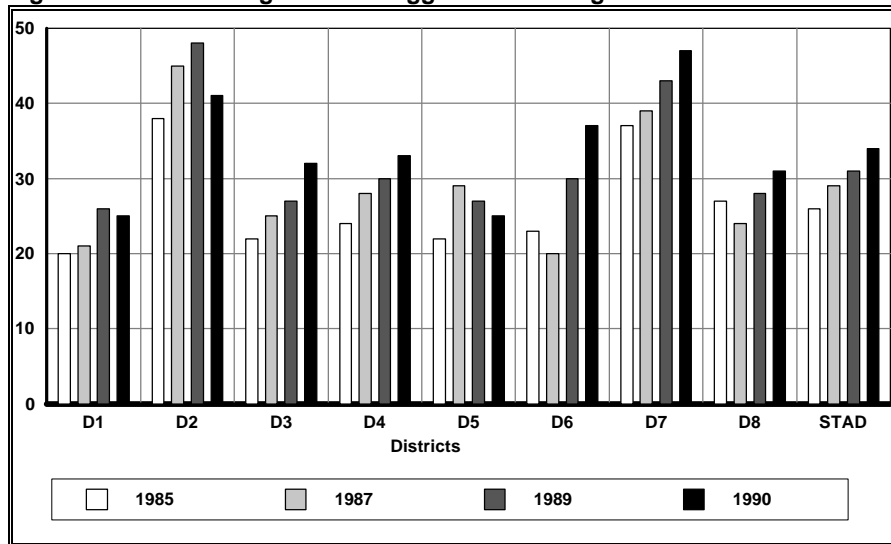
Figure 3: Relation between victimisation and reporting

	Recorded by police	Victimization by survey	Reporting by survey
Team Area	↑	==	↑
Team Control	↑	↑	==

Feelings of unsafety

The following section concerns perceived feelings of unsafety, which is a much debated topic in the literature. The general debate will not be discussed here, but emphasis will be placed on those aspects concerning feelings of unsafety that are of major concern for policy makers. Several aspects can play a role in this sense: fear of being victimised, fear of being alone at home at night, fear to walk in the streets at night or in the daytime, fear of being robbed or mugged in the street. An example of the latter is included in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Fear of being robbed/mugged in own neighbourhood



Unfortunately, citizen surveys do not always show pleasant things. As is obvious from Figure 4, fear is constantly rising, with the exception of the second district - the centre of Amsterdam - where a tremendous effort has been made to control insecurity. In the same period, there was also a rise in the actual rate of victimisation. One can wonder, however, if the fear of being robbed is really linked to the actual victimisation rate, since often there is a great difference between the problem itself and perceived feelings of fear. The trend presented in Figure 4 may be caused by the great interest shown by the press in this subject; a lot of media attention often produces a greater impact than the real level of victimisation. In any case, one thing is clear: there is still a lot of work to be done.

Table 3: Sources of feelings of unsafety

Traffic accident	47%
Burglary	33%
Robbery	20%
Sexual assault	15%

Source: Veiligheid en Politie, 1991

Since citizen surveys have been carried out predominantly by criminologists, they have concentrated on the fear of crime. This, however, appears to be only part of the problem. The fear of unsafe traffic also causes great concern to a lot of people. Table 3 shows the risk perception by the public. The figures presented

indicate the percentage of the population that sometimes feels unsafe or worried about themselves or their relatives.

Experiencing problems

When asked in general terms what kind of problems the police should address, citizens tend to mention a very broad range of crimes, mainly traditional violent crime (rape, assault, murder). Similar replies are given in different types of neighbourhoods. However, when asked what kind of problems citizens have to deal with personally, results are quite different. A number of relatively small, but irritating phenomena, such as vandalism, nuisance or harassment caused by youth, are usually mentioned. The kinds of answers may differ substantially between neighbourhoods. Questions in surveys concerning the problems people consider relevant for the police, should therefore always concentrate on the problems in their own neighbourhoods. An example of the kinds of answers given in two different neighbourhoods in Amsterdam are shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Problems experienced by citizens in two areas

Area I	Area II
1. Burglary	Drugs
2. Nuisance by youth	Parking
3. Vandalism	Theft of bicycle
4. Theft of bicycle	Burglary
5. Traffic safety	Serious crimes

Contacts between citizens and the police

Information concerning contacts is very important for several reasons. In the first place, to a large extent, many citizens base their judgement of the quality of policing on the results of their contacts with the latter. Moreover, the quality of contacts can be influenced by management. In this field we do not have any problems with "causal relations", as in the field of the outcomes of policing.

Table 5: Reasons for negative contacts

Behaviour of the police	58%
Negative result	23%
No/insufficient action	19%

Usually 70-80% of the population give a positive opinion with regard to their contacts with the police. Two interesting observations can be made in this respect. Firstly, it appears that citizens who have had "negative" contacts with the police (e.g. those who just receive a fine for a traffic offence) are usually just as critical

towards the police as the victims who reported a crime or citizens who witnessed one. Secondly, it is interesting to note that the main reason why people complain about the police is not to do with police effectiveness in fighting crime but, in the majority of cases, concerns the behaviour of the police.

General judgements of the police

When asked to provide a general judgement of the police, the public tends to rate police performance relatively high: "75% of the population thinks the police are doing an excellent job" is one of the well-known results. Even if residents do not have the slightest idea of what the police are doing, they often have a positive opinion of them. This kind of result should not be trusted by managers. A high rating on a general satisfaction scale says very little about quality: even in areas with great problems and high tension the general rating is invariably high. However, when the research asks more specific questions, the results become more negative¹⁴. Citizen surveys tend to create an image that is more positive than do, for example, participant observation, in-depth interviews or laboratory research. The answers given in surveys are probably not primarily a judgement on police performance, but an indication that "an organisation to perform social control duties is really necessary".

Evaluation of police performance

When citizen surveys are used as a means of evaluation, they usually address the same topics mentioned above. The only difference is that surveys are carried out several times in order to determine if a project (e.g. to decrease a specific problem), or a process of change (e.g. the organisational structure, implementing new strategies of policing) has brought about the originally intended results.

This kind of evaluation research is known to be very difficult. One of the most obvious problems in this kind of study is related to causality: how can you prove that changes in the environment are caused by different policing methods? It is the problem of the black box: one changes the structure of the organisation and then takes it for granted that all changes in the outcomes of the organisation have been caused by the original, structural change. This, of course, is nonsense. For instance, after the development of a plan for restructuring the organisation, there is a long causal chain:

- does the restructuring really take place?
- do the policing methods really change?
- does the citizenry (or special target groups) notice that the police are behaving differently?
- does this affect their behaviour?
- does the change of behaviour have any effect on the problems that originally prompted the plans to change the organisation?

¹⁴ Smith, D.J. (1983) *Police and the people in London* (4 volumes), Policy Studies Institute, London.

Evaluations of "change projects" in the sixties/seventies often proved to be without any substantial effect. Researchers regularly concluded that different ways of policing did not have any effect on social problems like crime, traffic safety, public order disturbances, etc. Unfortunately, however, most of these evaluations did not study the effect of different policing methods, but the incapability of the organisation to really implement change processes. A change in the organisation does not automatically produce changes in the behaviour of policemen and women on the beat. In order to monitor real developments, the use of citizen surveys only as a means of evaluation is often insufficient. There is a relatively large "gap" between the decision to change the organisation and possible changes of outcomes. One possible way of overcoming this problem is to choose different kinds of evaluation. In the Netherlands one fundamental change process of a police force has been evaluated through three types of research:

- 1) an internal evaluation amongst police personnel, through both surveys and interviews (unfortunately it was impossible to use observation as a means of gathering information). Such a study reveals how police personnel themselves judge the differences in their behaviour;
- 2) in-depth interviews with key-persons in the local community. These are people who, by virtue of their jobs or social position, have a more than average knowledge of the quality of police services. They can see if something is really changing in the behaviour of the police and related consequences;
- 3) A citizen survey, including all topics mentioned in Table 2.

The advantage of using different types of research is that it offers more insight into the "causal chain". No type of research is preferable to another; each has its own strengths and weaknesses. Together they offer more knowledge.

Some research projects carried out over the past ten years proved to be more promising than those conducted in the seventies. Recent research has shown that changing the strategies of policing can produce a positive effect on the level of victimisation, the fear of crime, the level of problems, and the judgement of the police¹⁵. A better understanding of the nature of policing, improved management systems and a better research methodology have played an important role.

When using surveys for evaluation purposes, one should always realise that changes in the results of surveys may be caused by either differences in the way the police functions or by differences in public opinion. One always measures people's judgement of reality, and this judgement is influenced by the level of their expectations, on the one hand, and by their experience of actual behaviour, on the other. When expectations are low, it is relatively easy to obtain positive results from surveys and to proclaim the successful results of the endeavour. Rising expectations make it very difficult to measure positive effects. When, for instance, the mayor or the chief constable promises in the newspapers that "he is definitely going to solve this or that problem" and the public does not experience an

¹⁵ Skolnick, J.H. and D.H. Bayley (1986) *The new blue line - police innovation in six American cities*, The Free Press/Collier Macmillan, New York/London; Broer, W., C.C. Schreuder and C.D. van der Vijver (1987) *Eindbalans organisatieverandering politie Haarlem. Resultaten na drie jaar werken met wijkteams*, Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken, The Hague.

improvement, this may negatively influence their opinion on the effectiveness of the police, even if the police are doing a far better job than they did previously. It is, therefore, important to keep expectations at a low level and performance at a high level. Given the conflicting external roles of policy makers (such as a mayor and a chief constable) who have to convince politicians on the seriousness of their problems, this will always remain a difficult problem to solve.

Implementation of the results

Traditionally, the goals of the police in social terms, its effects, and the relation between costs and results were not considered important by management. Output criteria and formal aspects, like the quality of the reports in legal terms, were considered to be more important. Management focused more on internal rather than external aspects and the exchange of information for policy reasons with the environment - the public - was limited. Scanning the environment, marketing, measuring effectiveness, evaluation research were considered to be of little or no importance. The criminal justice system (including the police) considered itself a service, a facility which was in existence because it had always existed. It had tasks to perform, not goals to reach; and these tasks were mainly aimed at fighting crime or, better, catching criminals. This position is now changing, however, and the police are looking for new role definitions, are adopting new strategies and, as a result, are adopting a more business-like approach in their behaviour. If this trend continues, and this seems the case, this will produce greater pressure to prove that the criminal justice system has an important role to play. This does not mean that those changes are easy to implement in the organisation. It is not just the culture that has to change, it is a real paradigm-shift, and everyone knows that such a development process is difficult and requires very many years.

Citizen surveys have been conducted in Amsterdam for seven years. There has been a growth in the number of policemen and women using the results (often in a very informal way: for example, teasing a colleague when the results in his or her neighbourhood are below average), but still many members of the organisation have hardly any knowledge of the results.

If this situation is to change, the only solution is for the constables to do the research themselves. They should interview key-persons, citizens who have had contacts with the police, or a sample of residents. Of course, results cannot be expected to meet scientific standards, but the impact on the organisation would be greater. About 50% of the neighbourhood teams in Amsterdam already have some experience, and the results are better than the expectations, and in any case, far better than the results of the surveys carried out for the force as a whole.

Police personnel have also interviewed, with remarkable results, a very special group of "clients": people who have been taken into custody. This pleased not only the prisoners but also the policemen who work in the prisons.

In addition to influencing police work, surveys have also been used for other policy problems, e.g. to solve allocation problems. In most western countries the costs for the police and the judiciary are borne by the central government. Obviously, one of the key issues is how much money each police force should receive. The same problem occurs within the forces; for example in the allocation of personnel in the police districts of a town. Many, often very complex formulas, have been developed over the years, but none of them have proved satisfactory. Can citizen surveys solve this allocation problem by offering more objective standards? Is it possible, for instance, to develop an objective "scale of problems" as a criterion for allocation? In the Netherlands this has been attempted on both a national and local scale, but both attempts failed miserably. Surveys are just not the right instrument to match the need for police-presence and related problems.

In more general terms, it is difficult to use the results of surveys as a means of comparing cities or jurisdictions. It is impossible to tell whether differences in the results of the study are caused by differences in policing, or by differences in the way the population judges policing. For instance, if the citizens of Amsterdam and those of Rotterdam are asked highly abstract questions, the people of Amsterdam will be far more critical towards their police than those of Rotterdam; their general judgement is considerably lower. The reason for this could be either differences in policing, or the fact that people in Amsterdam have always been far more critical in general than those in Rotterdam. Rotterdam is a city where people work and do not talk, Amsterdam has a much more intellectual, left-wing, critical culture, and its inhabitants do not easily accept any kind of authority. There are strong indications that these cultural differences play an important role. If, for instance, the differences in specific interactions between police and citizens are studied, the results for both cities are more or less the same.

MONITORING VICTIM NEEDS AND VICTIM PROGRAMMES

Joanna Shapland¹

In the 1970s and early 1980s, the development of victimisation surveys was dominated by the national victimisation surveys, starting with the National Crime Survey in the USA in the late 1960s. With some initial hesitation, but with growing enthusiasm, national governments established national victimisation surveys to run in parallel with the official criminal statistics from the police, prosecution and/or courts. In some countries, the role of official statistics as an index of the social health of the country has now essentially been displaced by the national victimisation survey, leaving the official statistics to be regarded as a set of performance and workload measures for the criminal justice system.

Today, victimisation surveys have become far more varied in their scope and purposes. They range from the international, comparative survey typified by the International Victimisation Survey², to city surveys, to small-scale surveys of individual residential neighbourhoods, or industrial and commercial estates. Their users and the policies for which they are adopted have also multiplied. Yet it will be argued that the parameters of victimisation surveys are still dominated by those set by national surveys - to the detriment of their use in monitoring and evaluating victim services.

In this paper, an evaluation of the development of national surveys will be made to assess and monitor victim needs and victim programmes, followed by the more recently developed surveys at the local level. Finally, the potential of victimisation surveys to assess, monitor and evaluate victim programmes will be speculated upon in an attempt to set out their limitations and their place in an evaluation strategy.

In all of this, victim services are taken to have a very broad remit. Some will be direct services to those who have become victims, including victim support and assistance, compensation and financial redress, medical services, police services and procedures, crime prevention advice to victims and so forth. Others include the policies and programmes adopted by national and local government, statutory and voluntary agencies, and the commercial and industrial sector in regard to crime awareness campaigns and advice to victims and potential victims, community development and design/architectural programmes for local areas, risk management policies for companies, and the role of insurance. They include the whole of the victim-oriented crime prevention measures set out by van Dijk³, as well as much of what is taught in security, risk management and good auditing practice in business management schools.

¹ Senior Lecturer, Centre for Criminological and Legal Research, University of Sheffield, United Kingdom.

² van Dijk, J.J.M., P. Mayhew and M. Killias (1990) *Experiences of crime across the world; key experiences of the 1989 International Crime Survey*, Kluwer, Deventer, the Netherlands.

³ van Dijk, J.J.M. (1990) "Future perspectives regarding crime and criminal justice" Report to the fourth conference on crime policy, Council of Europe, 9-11 May 1990, Strasbourg.

There is one major problem in attempting to survey current developments and future possibilities over this area. It is that, although national and international survey results are reasonably easily available for many parts of the world, descriptions of initiatives at more local levels are often not published and, if they are, these are very difficult to obtain. The development of victim services, as shall be seen, has suffered as much from the lack of dissemination of good practice (stemming from a corresponding lack of evaluation in many instances), as it has from any intrinsic difficulties in the kinds of programmes being envisaged. Reinventing the wheel, for local development projects, and for commercial risk management, is commonplace.

It is therefore necessary to concentrate largely here upon developments in Western Europe, and in particular in the United Kingdom. The author is well aware that the speed of development of different kinds of victim services varies widely throughout the world, and also suspects that many kinds of services are far better developed elsewhere - or have taken different forms. However, it is believed that some of the difficulties of using victimisation surveys are universal, so, although the examples presented here show a definite Anglo-Saxon bias, hopefully what they highlight will be of wider application.

National surveys - purposes and uses

The original purpose of national victimisation surveys was clearly to count crime⁴. Policy makers - politicians and civil servants - were interested in how much crime there was, where it was, and what kinds of people became victims, in order to work out how to develop a better policy for combatting crime. Victims were the means by which criminal incidents could be explored and policy produced. They were not objects of interest in their own right. This is clearly shown by the base units used in the presentation of results from such national surveys (and although the examples from the British Crime Survey - the national victimisation survey of England and Wales - will be cited here, it is true of all national victimisation surveys).

The major findings from the most recent published sweep of the British Crime Survey⁵ are given in terms of numbers of crimes of each type surveyed that have been revealed by the survey to have occurred over that time period (one year). They hence do not reveal the experience of victims over that time period, including multiple victimisation, and the likelihood (and effects) of being the victim of several different kinds of crime. Where risks of victimisation are given, they are in terms of prevalence of victimisation - the likelihood of becoming a victim for the initial time that year. In other words, current national victimisation surveys atomise the experience of victims by type of crime, and by limited time periods.

Moreover, national victimisation surveys, in general, concentrate upon certain types of crime (personal and household crimes) and certain types of victim

⁴ Shapland, J. (1987) "Victimisation surveys: towards the future", *Urban renaissance in Europe*, in *Local strategies for the reduction of urban insecurity in Europe* No. 35, Council of Europe, Strasbourg.

⁵ Mayhew, P., D. Elliott and L. Dowds (1989) *The 1988 British Crime Survey*, Home Office Research Study No. 11, HMSO, London.

(residents). Unlike the tendency towards atomisation, this is not a consequence of their main purpose. Rather, it seems to reflect the state of criminology at the time at which these surveys were started and the concentration then upon the major legal categories of personal and residential crime with which the criminal justice system was concerned. Since then, local victimisation surveys have included the more recently dominant issues of domestic and sexual assault, and crimes against public and commercial property⁶ - but the need to retain previous definitions of crime in the national survey in order to be able to give trend data has made it difficult to change national surveys.

Through using victims to count crimes, in fact, those organising and using national surveys fairly quickly became attuned to the potential of such surveys to do more than just count. The more recent purposes for national surveys have in fact tended to eclipse the counting function. They are, first, to obtain the views and experiences of those who have become victims (and indeed the general population) in relation to the effects of the offence, the precautions they took (and will take), and, secondly, to conduct a consumer survey in relation to the agents of the criminal justice system victims encountered as a result of being victimised⁷. The advent of victimisation surveys meant that, for the first time, a means was available to policy makers to find out what consumers and the general public thought about criminal justice policy. No longer did policy have to be produced only using professional groups, the media and experts (such as criminologists). The consumerist ideology had reached criminal policy.

Strangely, however, the consumerist questions included in the surveys, although directed at victims, rarely concerned the needs of victims. Instead, victims were asked to pronounce on the police, the courts, sentencing, crime prevention, safety at work, etc. - in other words, on the policy preoccupations of national policy makers at that time. Again, this is a consequence of the way in which such questionnaires are formulated and, particularly, of the fact that national victimisation surveys are extremely expensive. Almost all such surveys have been done using face-to-face methods (since postal questionnaires have low response rates, and telephone ones are only slightly cheaper). The considerable resource implications mean that space in the questionnaire is limited, has to reflect the major policy preoccupations of the funder (i.e. for national surveys, the government), and that the surveys are only undertaken sporadically (annually, or less often), so that only one set of questions is used.

Essentially, a number of factors have combined to ensure that, although the second and third purposes of national surveys are now the major ones (tapping victim experiences, and consumerism), the corollary - that they might be used as primary tools to explore victim needs and the potential for victim services - has rarely happened.

⁶ Jones, T., B. Maclean and J. Young (1986) *The Islington Crime Survey*, Gower, London; Johnston, V., M. Leek, J. Shapland and P. Wiles (forthcoming) *Crime and other problems on industrial estates*, Crime Prevention Unit Paper, Home Office, London (also currently available Stages 2 and 3 Report from Faculty of Law, Sheffield University); Hibberd, M. and J. Shapland (1993) *Violent crime and disorder in small shops*, Police Foundation, London.

⁷ Shapland, *Victimisation...*, op. cit.

The potential of national surveys to reveal victim needs and guide victim services

In what ways could national surveys be used to reveal victim needs? The Council of Europe Recommendation on Victim Assistance⁸ suggested that victim surveys could be the prime means by which the scope and nature of victim services might be planned. Through their counting crime function (but modified to count numbers of victims and overall victimisation) they could indicate the population which might be in need of such services. Through looking at major demographic variables (urbanisation, sex, socio-economic status, regionalisation), it would be possible to specify the likely maximum take-up rate of such services. Through fine-tuning this through questions on the type of effects people suffer and their likely sources of help, it will be possible to plan how the service should be delivered. Through repeating the questions after the service has started, likely growth rates can be estimated.

For example, take the case of residential burglary and compare it with robbery. The numbers of residential burglary victims and robbery victims can be estimated from the survey. Their concentration in different parts of the country, cities, rural areas etc. can also be ascertained. Through asking questions about effects of the offence, the proportion of victims suffering emotional, financial and practical difficulties over different periods of time can be estimated. It will be found that burglary victims are relatively numerous and, although concentrated in urban areas, are sufficiently prevalent in rural areas that it may be sensible to set up services all over the country. On the other hand, the effects of the offence are less serious and long-lasting than those on robbery victims (who are smaller in number and, until recently in Britain, were concentrated in urban areas). A city-based service of automatic referral with more professional input may be needed for robbery victims (together with liaison with employers, since many are victimised at work), whereas a more generalist service, employing volunteers and reaching out to inform the proportion of burglary victims that would benefit, may be more suitable for burglary victims.

This direct use of national victimisation surveys to inform policy development for victim services is relatively rare, though Maguire and Corbett's evaluation of victim needs and victim support schemes used questions in the British Crime Survey⁹.

More common is the use of victimisation surveys to inform policy makers about the general parameters of victimisation and so indirectly influence the setting-up of victim services. In fact, much victim service development has stemmed directly from this kind of expose research, though victimisation surveys have, to date, been less influential than more targeted studies involving interviews. However, the extent of racially motivated crime, and the astonishing amount of crime at work where individuals are victims has been demonstrated by the British Crime Survey¹⁰. The

⁸ Council of Europe (1987) Recommendation No. R (87) 21 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on Assistance to Victims and the Prevention of Victimisation, Council of Europe, Strasbourg.

⁹ Maguire, M. and C. Corbett (1987) *The effects of crime and the work of victim support schemes*, Gower, Aldershot.

¹⁰ Mayhew et al., *The 1988...*, op. cit.

only national victimisation survey for business crime has been done in the Netherlands¹¹, which found that around 50% of the costs of crime was falling on business.

More localised surveys

In contrast to the national picture, there has been a recent explosion of victimisation surveys at a more localised level, most specifically designed to inform policy making on victim services. We can distinguish three major purposes for such surveys (though most such studies are not quite so clear about why they are using them!):

- to provide information about the extent of the problem in general in order to consider whether there should be any policy started;
- to provide information in order to assist the setting up of the service;
- to evaluate a service which has already commenced.

This can be allied to what has been found to be the most effective model of service delivery for services to the public. It can be expressed colloquially as aim - ready - fire. The first element, aim, involves realising that such a service is needed, and then (ideally, though often this does not happen) researching the need for the service, and formulating its goals so that clear, need-related aims are established, the performance of which can be measured. The second, ready, encompasses working out exactly how those aims can be realised, including how it is possible to evaluate what is happening, to see whether the aims have been achieved, and to document how the service was set up, so that it can be replicated elsewhere if successful. The third, fire, is the process of actually making the service occur (project management), including (again ideally, and often not in practice) carrying out the evaluation and periodically reviewing the usefulness of what has been done.

All too often, those instituting services have jumbled up these stages, moving straight from realising there is a problem to instituting something - anything - to try to help. The aims of the service have never been formulated precisely and no evaluation occurs, so that when, sometime later, the service hits some crisis (funding changes or dries up, the nature of the need changes, the service needs to undertake a major territorial or organisational expansion), it is extremely difficult for the service (and its funders) to know what it has done or where it is going. This process, unfortunately typical in the victim services field (including crime prevention and community development generally) can be described as aim - fire - ready!

To assess the need for a service

Many agencies have used small, local victimisation surveys to assess the need for a particular service they offer. So, for example, community development and crime prevention/community safety agencies have used victimisation surveys to find out what kinds of crime affect the area in which they are thinking of working, and to

¹¹ van Dijk, J.J.M. and P. van Soomeron (1988) *Bedrijfsleven en criminaliteit*, WODC, Ministry of Justice, The Hague.

help them to draw up their action plan. The government-financed Safer Cities Programme and Priority Estates Programme in Great Britain have, as part of their recommended structure for developing work in each city, the need to carry out a small victimisation survey in the area. The major evaluations of each of these programmes (which will include the initial victimisation survey data) are yet to be published. NACRO, however, has used small victimisation surveys, together with discussion groups, on several of its projects, for example in Leicester, when presenting to the project's steering group the information necessary for that multi-agency group to decide what to do about the difficulties of the area¹². This type of enquiry, of which this is a typical example (though better written up and presented than many), involved questioning 216 people living in a small area of some 2,808 households as to their views of the problems of the area, their worry about crime, their experience of crime, their views on policing, their views on local agencies, their ideas of measures to reduce crime and their own demographic characteristics (age, employment, etc.).

¹² NACRO (1988) Leicester Spinney Hill Crime Survey: report to the steering committee, NACRO Inner Cities Community Safety Unit, London.

- *Local surveys: difficulties and solutions*

The major difficulties of using victimisation surveys in local crime reduction/community development projects are their cost and the skills that those designing, administering and analysing them need to have. It is necessary to survey a minimum of at least four to five households per road to illustrate street-level and design-based variation in crime, and total samples must be sufficient to produce enough victims to establish victimisation rates for the crimes being surveyed. Hence, in Great Britain, it is necessary to survey around 400 households to obtain reliable data on residential burglary rates. The problem becomes worse if the survey is to be used in a before-and-after evaluation of the success of the measures taken, when one is attempting to show changes in crime rates¹³.

As far as very localised services are concerned (for example, many victim support services and those delivering crime prevention advice to victims), the numbers problem reaches a critical level. Essentially, it is impossible to gain an adequate count of victimisation by sampling the population, because it is so small, and the only way is to look at victimisation over long-term periods. Here victimisation surveys may not be so useful as police or other records to count crime - because people's memories will not be reliable that far back, or because it is a mobile, rapidly changing population. However, victimisation surveys still have their place - but now their primary purpose must be as means of fleshing out the bare numerical crime/victimisation data provided by other sources. They are still essential to consider how victimisation took place, who is being affected and what effects there were, who is thought to have been responsible, and what reactions there will be to different solutions. If they are being used for these means, however, the numbers of people sampled can be smaller - just enough to provide this qualitative input for each street or population group important to the proposed service. It may be best to mix these geographically-determined samples with interviews of those in crucial positions in the community. As far as community safety plans are concerned, pilot studies to discover the most useful methods have been undertaken by Shapland et al. on targeted crime reduction and Skogan and Lurigio on community antidrug initiatives¹⁴.

Even having solved the numbers and financing problems, victimisation surveys remain a problematic method for many local groups because of the skills required to do them. Designing and analysing surveys of samples beyond 100 people requires some training and access to computers - both of which are not often prevalent amongst local groups and agencies. One solution attempted in several countries is to mount one demonstration project, for which the national agency/government provides the funding for a professional researcher/evaluator, and then to write this up fully so that other groups can use that experience. This obviously helps considerably with the major questions of whether there is any need for such a service at all, and whether the mode adopted is at all beneficial - but it

¹³ For a discussion on these methodological factors see: Bennett, T. (1987) An evaluation of two neighbourhood watch schemes in London, Institute of Criminology, Cambridge.

¹⁴ Shapland, J., P. Wiles and P. Wilcox (forthcoming) "Targetted crime reduction for local areas" *Crime Prevention Unit Paper*, Home Office, London; Skogan, W. and A. Lurigio (1992) "The correlates of community antidrug activism" *Crime and Delinquency* 38:510-21.

does not solve the problem for the local group of how to analyse their own local conditions and how to modify the demonstration project to cater for them. It is wishful thinking to suppose that finance will be available to provide trained help to all worthy local groups, even supposing that enough trained researchers/evaluators (i.e. action researchers) exist in the country.

It is now essential to set up a structure to enable local groups to gain sufficient skills to be able to use small-scale victimisation surveys themselves. This would involve the construction of "how to do it" packs, including sample questionnaires of different types (for the most common victim services), and hot-line support from national/sub-national centres of expertise on sample selection and analysis (including low-cost training workshops)¹⁵. Local groups need to be empowered to use victimisation surveys, rather than holding the mystique solely within professional research groups. Yet it is also necessary for the professional researchers to develop the technique and to consider its effectiveness for different topics - to continue to develop standards. This development of structures is necessary both at the stage of assessing the need for victim services and at the stage of evaluating them (see below).

- *Finding out about new victim needs*

The other major use of victimisation surveys at the stage of researching the need for the service is when an entirely new problem has arisen and its size and characteristics must be ascertained. This is a relatively common use of victimisation surveys - not surprisingly, given that if the problem affects the public, the public will probably have useful information as to its nature and what they are already doing to try to combat it (and what their expectations of official action are).

These studies are usually specially designed for this purpose and are carried out by professional researchers (often funded by governments). They are, therefore, usually published and relatively available - indeed they are part of the process of thinking about and informing solutions, motivating agencies to consider what they should do.

There are many examples, of which space permits only one major one (though others would be the effect of architectural design on victimisation, arson, crime in schools, effects of drugs and drug-related crime). In Britain, for instance, the whole question of victimisation of companies, victimisation of employees at work, and the health and safety issues surrounding violence at work has recently been opened up by victimisation surveys. The Home Office Standing Conference on Crime Prevention's Working Group on the Costs of Crime pioneered the issue through a survey of the 114 large companies listed as the major stocks in the financial markets, together with a number of public utilities, to find out the cost of crime to them¹⁶. A number of trade unions have undertaken surveys of their members as to

¹⁵ Shapland et al., *Targetted...*, op. cit.

¹⁶ Home Office (1988) *Standing conference on crime prevention: report of the working group on the costs of crime*, Home Office, London.

the amount of violence at work¹⁷. A major survey of crime on industrial estates funded partly by government, partly by a major landlord, showed the high extent of victimisation through burglary of such industrial premises (higher per unit than the figures for residential burglary per household), though also the very low rate of violent crime in manufacturing and wholesaling, as opposed to retail, premises¹⁸. Another survey showed the extremely high rates of robbery, till-snatches and threatening behaviour towards employees in small retail premises¹⁹. Similar work has been done in the Netherlands. Taken together, these surveys have started to reveal our astonishing ignorance of the extent of crime committed in commercial and industrial premises, its economic costs, and the effects on people in their working lives (as opposed to our much greater understanding of their experiences of crime in their domestic lives).

- *Working out the type of service to be offered*

Victimisation surveys have rarely been used specifically at the design stage of victim services, although often a preliminary survey, the major aim of which is to consider the need, contains some questions to inform the choice of the type of service. Community development projects are perhaps the best at realising the need for such questions, since they have learned that unless the service caters for the needs of residents as they experience them, and meets their priorities, then it may well be rejected. In other words, they have learned that there needs to be consultation with the potential users of the service. Unfortunately, it is the local groups who are most likely to realise the need for consultation who are most afflicted by financial difficulties and lack of skill in carrying out such a survey (as discussed above). Therefore, not many published examples exist of surveys used in designing services.

It is now, however, becoming more common for national programmes to realise that it is wise to take into account potential users' expectations before setting up new services (or making major changes). Though the political timescale between realising the need (aim!) and instituting the service (fire!) is still extremely short, there is sometimes enough time to put into place some element of design including a survey (ready!), at least before the whole national programme is irretrievably under way and fixed in one form. More often, however, surveys occur at the re-design stage, after an evaluation has shown some lack in the current service being provided (low take-up, or aims not achieved). This is currently taking place in Britain in several police forces, for example, in relation to Neighbourhood Watch. Neighbourhood Watch is the formal setting up of residents' groups in a neighbourhood, allied to police input, to encourage residents to report to the police suspicious activities by potential burglars. Although a very large number of schemes have been set up and the public is well aware of its existence and supports it (as shown in British Crime Survey results), the amount of police resources needed to

¹⁷ USDAW (1989) Violence to staff: report of a survey by the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers, USDAW Legal Services, Manchester.

¹⁸ Johnston et al., Crime..., op. cit.

¹⁹ Hibberd and Shapland, Violent crime..., op. cit.

support it and the lack of measurable results in a number of evaluations of crime rates and public levels of fear of crime²⁰ have resulted in new surveys and activity to work out what is the best way to proceed. The difficulty lies in encouraging and directing it in the most effective way in the high crime areas, without allowing lower crime areas to demand too much from scarce police resources (and without really annoying those areas by withdrawing police support completely).

Evaluation of victim services

Local services have rarely evaluated the service they offer - and have even more rarely used victimisation surveys. This is part of the general culture which, in Britain and in many other countries, has produced a gulf between practitioners running such services and academics/researchers capable of doing the evaluations. In Britain, through major governmental pressure for "value for money" and "effectiveness and efficiency", the culture is now changing relatively rapidly. Agencies now have to evaluate themselves and their services in order to justify further funds in many instances, and are beginning to feel that evaluation might be of benefit in any event. Academics/researchers are becoming more interested in taking on such work. The impression is that this is culture change is not confined to Britain (though it may be taking a more extreme form there). At this point in time, however, it is often still not "the done thing" for agencies to publish their own evaluations - and so there are almost no published examples. Moreover, due to the skills/finance gaps identified above, the trend in evaluation is to use performance indicators, rather than user surveys (the use of user surveys as a performance indicator is now being identified by the police, but few have been carried out and published²¹).

Evaluations of specimen or national programmes which use surveys are also beginning to appear. An early example was Maguire and Corbett's evaluation of the service being offered by Victim Support to individual victims²². This provided powerful evidence of the perceived benefit to individual victims, though it found it much more difficult to quantify the extent to which victim support improved the "recovery" time of victims. It also evaluated different methods of service delivery, finding that outreach personal visits to people's houses were the best method to overcome the diffidence victims felt in bothering someone else with their problems, and any misapprehensions they had. Telephone calls could be resented, whereas letters had a much lower take-up.

More recently, Maguire and Corbett have also evaluated users' (victims') perceptions of the police complaints system, finding widespread disenchantment with both the delays (as they experienced it) in processing complaints and the lack of information about what was happening, and the result²³.

²⁰ Bennett, An evaluation..., op. cit.

²¹ Joint Consultative Committee (1990) Operational policing review, Police Federation, Surbiton; Shapland, J., P. Wiles and M. Leek (1990) Policing in Sussex: a public survey, Faculty of Law, Sheffield.

²² Maguire and Corbett, The effects..., op. cit.

²³ Maguire and Corbett, The effects..., op. cit.

Shapland et al. and Newburn and de Peyrecave have evaluated the methods for compensating victims, including compensation orders from offenders, ordered as part of the offender's sentence by the court and the state Criminal Injuries Compensation Scheme²⁴. Victims were generally positive about both methods at the time, though compensation orders were found by Shapland et al. to be perceived as being more appropriate and preferred, as indicating the offender's responsibility for the injury/loss caused. In both cases, there was a perceived lack of information from the official agencies, which, combined with some bureaucratic procedures, caused dismay and concern.

The first results from the community safety project, Priority Estates, which incorporates design and management changes for high crime run-down housing estates, have been provided by Hope and Foster²⁵. They show how such changes, which are appreciated by residents, can have complicated effects on the patterns of crime and victimisation on the local area. They can cause changes in population such that the improved areas become more stable (and have lower crime rates and happier residents), whereas the "next-door" unimproved areas can acquire more labile, criminogenic populations, and a more criminal culture (and higher crime rates, though not necessarily, overall, a more unhappy population).

There are many other examples of victimisation surveys being used as essential tools in evaluating victim service programmes. The surveys go far beyond simply monitoring take-up rates; they indicate the effects of programmes and the ways in which their clients/users see them as operating. Indeed, unless they are seen as two-way communication and as having the potential for modification of the programme, it is increasingly unlikely that the sophisticated and empowered consumers of the 1990s will agree to participate in them. Victimisation surveys are one of the most powerful tools for evaluating victim services - but they also allow the voice of the user to be heard. And, once expressed, that voice can usually not be silenced - it has to be answered. If victimisation surveys are used, then services can no longer be designed or managed by governments, practitioners or experts alone: the user is a partner too. No one has yet fully explored or realised the ramifications of this on the nature and design of victim services.

²⁴ Shapland, J., J. Wilmore and P. Duff (1985) Victims in the criminal justice system, Gower, Aldershot; Newburn, T. and H. de Payrecave (1988) "Victims attitudes to courts and compensation" *Home Office Research Bulletin* 25:18-21.

²⁵ Hope, T. and J. Foster (1992) "Conflicting forces: changing the dynamics of crime and community on a 'problem' estate" *British Journal of Criminology* 32:4.

PART THREE

Discussion

**INTERNATIONAL VICTIM SURVEY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE
UNITED NATIONS CRIME PREVENTION AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE
PROGRAMME: REFLECTIONS ON FUTURE AGENDA**

Herman Woltring¹

The 1992 International Victim Survey is a most impressive exercise that has built on the pioneering work undertaken in 1989 and on pilot projects carried out before. It is particularly gratifying to note such a representative and wide coverage, including both developed and developing countries in various parts of the world. A debt of gratitude is owed to the Italian and Dutch Governments and to UNICRI for sponsoring this key initiative, and to the International Working Group (Jan van Dijk, Pat Mayhew and Ugljesa Zvekic) and the national team leaders for their productive work. Some years ago, when the possibility of a comparative international victimisation survey was first mentioned, it seemed an overambitious goal. There had, of course, been some studies involving a few countries, but nothing of this scope. That this comprehensive undertaking has become a reality is cause for satisfaction for us all, and particularly the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programme that views this kind of collaborative empirical research as crucial for more informed and more appropriate policy-making, at both the national and international levels.

It is in line with recommendations of the Ministerial Meeting held last year at Versailles, endorsed by the General Assembly, which emphasised empirical evidence, including research findings and other information on the nature, extent and trends of crime, as an essential criterion in the determination of priorities. It is also consonant with the call of the new Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice for the regular collection, collation, analysis and utilisation of data in the improved management of criminal justice and related systems, and to more frequent world surveys of the patterns and dynamics of crime, including its transnational forms and criminal justice operations. The international victimisation survey will provide invaluable complementary input for the biennial reports to be published regularly, starting with 1994-95.

While the United Nations surveys include much detailed information on criminal justice policy aspects and possible crime correlates, they have some of the known limitations of official crime statistics. Estimates of the "dark figure" of crime, for certain conventional offences in target countries, can give a more complete picture, including further information for the development of social indicators and for decision-making, particularly on the incidence of offences, circumstances, impact, their victims and their reactions to the police, that can be used to improve service delivery in line with public expectations.

The United Nations General Assembly, in adopting the Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power, endorsed by the

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Seventh UN Congress, held in 1985 in Milan (Res. 40/34), recommended *inter alia* that collaborative research be conducted at the international and regional levels on ways in which victimisation can be reduced and victims aided, and to promote information exchanges on the most effective means of so doing. The Declaration includes provisions designed to increase access to justice and fair treatment for victims, including the police, and other assistance and redress. The international victimisation survey's results can help to increase the sensitivity of criminal justice systems to victim needs, and the participation and co-operation of victims. Indeed, this is a continuing UN concern, and we hope to take it further at a meeting on victims, to be convened under the auspices of the International Scientific and Professional Advisory Council, in Oñati, Spain, next spring.

Criminal justice systems are all too often non-systems without a comprehensive framework, whose parts are not well-coordinated and sometimes operate at cross-purposes. The victim can provide a leitmotif running through the "system", complementary to its traditional focus on the offenders, and perhaps increasing its coherence. The survey can also help to elucidate the effect of government policies on victimisation risk, especially across urban populations, including differential policy effects on personal safety in both objective and subjective terms.

The results can thus foster more integrated approaches and help to operationalise the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programme, as the new Commission and other United Nations fora have urged. The inclusion of developing countries is not only consonant with the goal of expanding the geographical coverage of the surveys, but also constitutes a useful form of technical co-operation, and of both national and international capacity-building. Other countries may want to join in future surveys, and technical assistance for this purpose by the United Nations, willing governments and experts, should be forthcoming.

The assembled data will also provide important input for the United Nations Crime and Justice Information Network and supplement the country profiles to be included in UNBIS (the UN Bibliographical Information Service). It opens up new possibilities in our common quest to learn more about crime and its victims so that we can adopt scientifically based policies that will reduce them both.

Among the further advantages of the survey are the diverse uses of its data. The disaggregated data can be presented in many more informative ways than simple national crime rates or age-specific rates included in most surveys. Most statistical series have not so directly addressed questions of the contextual factors of crime incidence. Secondary analysis of the data - as one distinguished expert has suggested - can shed light on the effects of socio-economic changes on victimisation rates, durable and non-durable repercussions of victimisation, including fear, prevailing attitudes and official responses. It has also been suggested that more work should be done to refine the methodology so as to increase the accuracy and comparability of the victimisation rate estimates across countries, and bases for finding predictor variables on models of crime and justice policies cross-nationally. Another approach would be to pool cases across countries with important common characteristics, and developing nation-types. Other elements of multilevel analyses might be prediction of the extent of crime-related loss, role of insurance in recovery, public demand for punishment, persistence of fear and factors involved in the decision to call the police.

Considering the laudable, meticulous work done, it is somewhat unfair to ask for more. But it is precisely because of what has been achieved that one can dare to suggest some further directions that might be followed in this work in the years to come.

The need for precise definitions and manageability of concepts, especially in the comparative perspective, and for the availability of information is fully appreciated. But it might be necessary to venture, in future victimisation surveys, beyond traditional, so-called "street" crime. Some initiatives have been taken in this respect but much remains to be done, especially internationally. More elusive offences might be included, such as fraud, corruption (bribery), other types of economic crime, environmental offences, certain kinds of organised crime, etc. This may require various kinds of indicators and contingency measures where direct information is not available.

Some of these crimes involve organisations as victims, or collective victims where the harm is spread over many persons who may not even know that they have been victimised. The ICS suggests that victimisation should not be regarded as a point but rather as a process. Problems of multiple or continuing victimisation may also call for comparative longitudinal studies not only of individuals but also of communities whose deterioration over time reflects the cumulative effect of victimisation upon the quality of life. By not restricting the field to offences of which the individual has direct knowledge and which constitute discrete events, the charges of bias in the choice of the criminality measured by most victimisation surveys could be counteracted and criminal phenomena, as well as criminal victimisation, viewed in a more comprehensive perspective.

The full impact of victimisation needs also to be assessed, including not only loss but also the harm suffered, which is less easily ascertained. Countries that compile *inter alia* crime damage statistics could integrate this information in multivariate analyses. These could include measures of "whole community harm", developed in some countries, which have also used indices of anxiety or fear indicating the safety level to be enhanced by police activity. Assessments of vulnerability to crime of various population groups, ecological areas, residential mixes, etc. can help in risk management which is becoming a science in itself.

These suggestions should not be misunderstood: if these possibilities are raised and their consideration in a cross-national context suggested, it is not to detract from the accomplishments - indeed, it is because they are so impressive that one dares to pose this further challenge. The scientific competence and ingenuity so abundant in the distinguished gathering of the Conference, and the impressive survey results, are an encouragement to look further still. It is certain that with the valuable help of all those present an ever new knowledge can be developed and a proper scientific footing given to the curtailment of victimisation and the prevention and control of crime.

REACTIONS TO CRIME IN CROSS-NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Wesley G. Skogan¹

This paper examines popular reactions to the threat of crime. People vary in the extent to which crime has an impact on their lives. Some pay little attention to crime, while others regularly take precautions to protect themselves and their families from harm. This partly reflects differences in the risks they face in their daily lives. Some people live in highly threatening circumstances, while others face a relatively slight risk of being victimised. Past research has found that the public's fear of crime is strongly related to both their direct experience with victimisation and with the general risk that comes from conditions in their immediate neighbourhood. However, in addition to the measurable risks they face, other factors intervene which determine how people react to the threat of possible victimisation. For example, some live cautious lives because they judge that the consequences of being victimised, if that should happen, are greater than the expense and inconvenience of taking continued precautions. Others feel that they are particularly likely candidates for victimisation, and thus act as if their objective risks were much higher than they actually are.

Unlike a great deal of research on popular reactions to crime, this paper does not dwell on people's fears or perceptions. Rather, it focuses on what they do as a reaction to the threat of crime. It examines three distinctive clusters of crime-related behaviours: the precautions that people take to insulate themselves from personal attack, the things they do to protect the place where they live, and gun ownership. There is a somewhat different pattern of adoption of these three tactics, reflecting differences in the circumstances in which people live, the kinds of crime at which they are directed and the kind of people that are involved.

This paper examines these issues across the 14 nations included in the 1989 sweep of the International Crime Survey (ICS)². Slightly over 28,000 persons were interviewed in the survey, most of them by telephone. In the analyses reported here, the data were weighted slightly so that respondents to the survey resemble the populations of each of the 14 nations involved. Because not everyone answered each question (there are inevitably people who respond "don't know" to almost any question), most of the analyses presented here are based upon about 24,000 respondents.

In addition to describing the ways in which the public reacts to the threat of crime, this paper has a second purpose: to illustrate an approach to cross-national survey research. A unique feature of the ICS is the large number of countries involved. This invites both "micro" and "macro" questions. The latter involve propositions about nations - which are then the unit of analysis. These propositions might refer to institutions, policies, or other features of the national units. For example, one might reasonably hypothesize that in democratic political systems (like those enjoyed by ICS countries), the harshness of criminal sentencing policy reflects the extent of punitive attitudes among politically involved segments of the populace. Many scholars doubtless will use published reports and the original ICS data to examine such issues.

1 Professor of Political Science and Urban Affairs, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, USA.
2 van Dijk, J.J.M., P. Mayhew and M. Killias (1990) *Experiences of crime across the world: key findings of the 1989 International Crime Survey*, Kluwer Law and Taxation Publishers, Deventer and Boston.

This paper, on the other hand, examines micro-level questions about the behaviour of individuals who are situated in various social, economic, and spatial contexts. Here "nation" takes on a much more limited role, that of being but one of several contexts in which individuals find themselves. Moreover, it is a context which should play no explanatory role, for nation of residence is a nominal category rather than a variable³. Just as people are not victimised "because they are French", so that is also not an explanation for their behaviour. Instead, the role of social research is to pose and test variable-based explanatory models. As a result, although the ICS is a cross-national enterprise, national differences should be explained by a properly specified model of individual behaviour. National differences that persist may form a useful basis for further theorizing about missing elements in that model, but they should be taken as a measure of how much further it has to go, rather than what has been discovered⁴.

This paper illustrates this approach by first examining the individual-level determinants of behaviour. These include people's experiences with crime, their vulnerability as individuals and households, and the character of the place where they live. It then turns to the context in which they find themselves, examining the impact of the aggregate rate of victimisation on individual behaviour. This societal-level variable accounts for most differences between nations in the extent of crime-related behaviour, leaving relatively little between-nation variance to be accounted for.

Reactions to crime

The ICS examined a number of specific ways in which people react to crime. Responses to these questions were used to form multiple-item indices of the extent of crime-related behaviour. First, there were two indicators of the personal precautions that people can take to protect themselves against the threat of personal crime. One question asked if people stayed away from certain streets or areas to avoid crime on the last occasion they went out after dark, and if on that occasion someone else went with them "to avoid crime". The survey also asked about household prevention measures that people may have taken to protect the security of the place where they live. These included questions about asking neighbours or caretakers to watch their home when they were last away, if they had a burglar alarm, and if they leave lights on at home while they are away. Finally, the survey also asked if the respondent or someone in the household owned a gun.

The survey indicates that, across 14 nations, the most common reactions to crime involved asking neighbours to help (71 percent reported having done so) and leaving lights on at home (54 percent). Twenty-six percent of those who were interviewed recalled that they avoided dangerous places the last time they were out, and 21 percent took someone with them. About half as many respondents reported having a burglar alarm (10 percent), while 17 percent of respondents indicated that they or someone in their household owned a gun.

While the frequency with which people took each of these self-protective measures varied considerably, they formed three distinct clusters. Responses to the two forms of personal precaution (avoiding places and taking an escort) went

3 Przeworski, A. and H. Teune (1970) *The logic of comparative social inquiry*, Wiley, New York.

4 For a further discussion of approaches to cross-national research, see Oyden, E. (1990) "The imperfection of comparisons" in Oyden, E. (ed.) *Comparative methodology*, Sage Publications, Newbury Park, California; Ragin, C. (1987) *The comparative method*, University of California Press, Berkeley.

together tightly ($r=+.44$), but were not strongly linked to gun ownership or household protective measures. The household measures (alarms; lights; neighbours) were moderately related to one another (an average r of $+.13$), but they were clearly independent of the other actions. Many of the statistical analyses which follow, therefore, employ summary indices of personal precaution and household protection, which were formed by adding together responses to the appropriate items. Gun ownership, on the other hand, stood by itself. This was evident in its social distribution, which runs quite the opposite of the other measures (for example, gun ownership is most common in smaller towns and not in big cities). As a result, it will be examined separately from the others.

Correlates of self-protection

This section deals with the social and economic distribution of popular reactions to crime. The measures that people take to protect themselves turn out to reflect the conditions in which they live, their direct experiences with crime, and their personal vulnerability to crime. The next section will connect these with some national-level factors (principally rates of crime) that contribute further to our understanding of how people respond to the threat of crime.

Victimisation

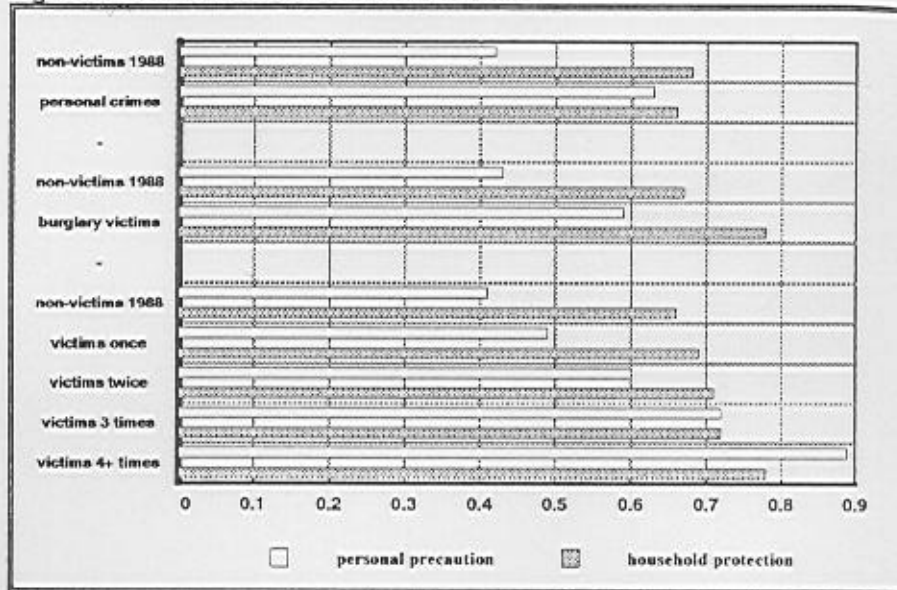
The most obvious factor shaping people's adjustment to the threat of crime was personal experience. Victims were more likely than non-victims to adopt all of the self-protective measures examined here. Victimisation was measured in the ICS by a series of questions about incidents in which respondents might have been involved during the past five years. They were asked if they were threatened, robbed, assaulted, or sexually harassed during that period, if they had their purse or wallet stolen, and if their household had been burglarised. (They were also asked about bicycle and scooter theft, and about a variety of crimes that could happen to or around their cars, but responses to those questions were not very fear-provoking and will not be examined here). Victims were then asked to differentiate between incidents which occurred in the more distant past and those which took place in 1988 or early 1989, a period close to the time of the survey. An analysis of all this data indicates that it was the most recent events which most shaped people's behaviour, so only those are considered in this paper.

Figure 1 depicts the relationship between three measures of recent victimisation and the self-protective measures taken by ICS respondents. The patterns described in Figure 1 reflect the threats posed by different kinds of crime. Note in the lower half of Figure 1 that there were few differences between personal crime victims and non-victims in the extent to which they adopted household protective measures. However, victims were more likely to report taking precautions against personal crime, as depicted in the upper half of Figure 1. Burglar victims were more likely than non-victims to adopt tactics to protect both their person and their household. Burglary involves an intrusion which potentially threatens household residents as well as their property, and its widespread and enduring consequences have been documented in other research on victims.

Figure 1 also examines the effects of multiple, repeated victimisation by dividing respondents into categories based on the number of incidents in which they were involved during the 12 months immediately preceding the interview. It indicates that

the extent of household protection rose only marginally, but that the adoption of personal precautions went up sharply as people's experiences with crime multiplied.

Figure 1: Victimization and reactions to crime



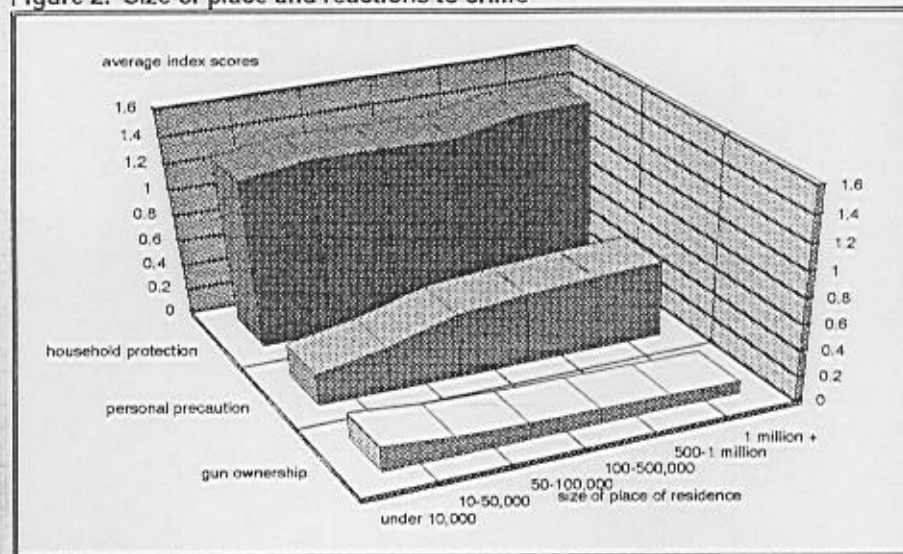
Although it is not shown in Figure 1, gun ownership also displayed a tendency to rise with multiple victimisation. It was particularly frequent (reaching almost 25 percent of victims) among those who had been victimised three times or more during the months preceding the survey. There were similar effects of victimisation by both personal crime and burglary on gun ownership.

Figure 1 documents some systematic behavioural consequences of victimisation, effects that persist when other features of people's lives are also taken into account (see below). Recent, direct experience with crime had consequences for the lives of ICS respondents. However, the most notable feature of the crimes measured in the ICS is their infrequency. Only about 1.2 percent of those who were interviewed recalled being robbed during the recent past, and the numbers were not much higher for either physical or sexual assault (3 percent each) and purse or wallet theft (4 percent). Even when combined together only about 8 percent of ICS respondents were recent victims of personal crime. Another 4 percent indicated that their household had been burglarised during the recent period; they overlapped a bit with victims of personal crimes, so in all about 11 percent of all ICS respondents fell into the recent victim category. As a result, recent victimisation cannot explain very much, for many more people were fearful than were victimised. This indicates that we need to look elsewhere for the factors that shape popular reactions to crime.

City living

City living provided another source of disquiet among ICS respondents. In the ICS, people were asked to characterise "how many people live in your village or town or city?". Their responses fell into six categories, ranging from small towns (under 10,000 inhabitants) to large cities (of more than one million people). Not surprisingly, city living proved to be one of the most consistent correlates of precautions against personal crime, and was also related to adopting household protective measures. This is illustrated in Figure 2, which documents the (average) distribution of personal precautions, household protection and gun ownership, by size of place. Both precautions and household protection rise with city size, but the gradient is much steeper for precautions against personal crime. As noted above, gun ownership actually decreased with city size.

Figure 2: Size of place and reactions to crime

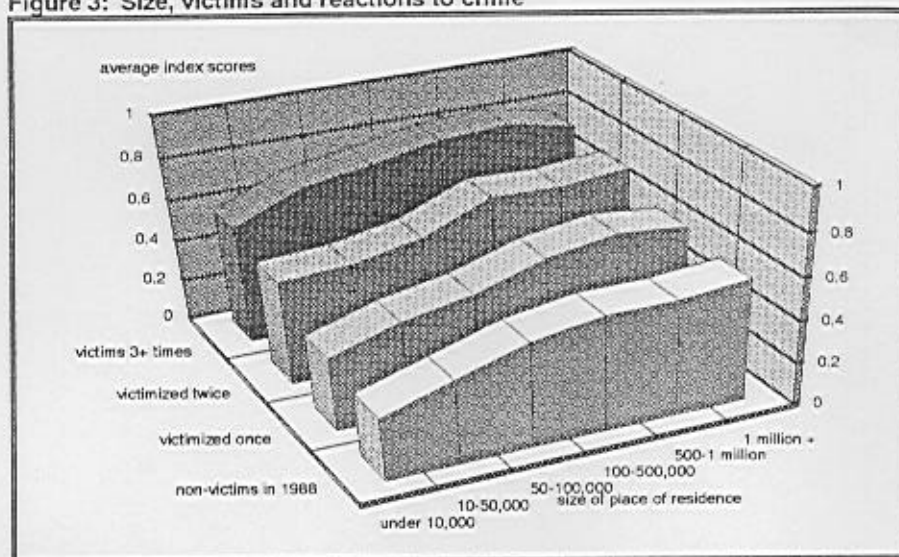


As seen, both victimisation and city living were linked to higher levels of self-protection among ICS respondents. These two factors are not independent, however. City size was linked with victimisation, for residents of big cities were also more likely to report being victimised. This was particularly true for robbery, personal thefts like pickpocketing and purse snatching, and household burglary. This raises the question of whether the effects of either city size or crime are being confused for the effects of the other. This issue is addressed in Figure 3, which plots the relationship between size of place and the index of personal precautions, for various groups of victims.

Two points are illustrated by Figure 3. First, both victimisation and city living mattered; levels of precaution were higher at the high end of each category. (As we consider the influence of yet more factors on the adoption of self-protective

measures, it will be impossible to duplicate the analysis presented in Figure 3, but statistical controls can be used to identify similarly independent effects). The second point illustrated by Figure 3 is that victimisation mattered more than city size, in the sense that city size was most clearly related to self-protection only among those who had been victimised once or not at all. Both personal precautions and household protection (which is not shown in Figure 3) were already so common among multiple victims that city living did not make much of a difference for them. This can be seen in Figure 3; the increasing rate of precaution-taking with city size is stronger among those who were victimised less frequently, while that increase is somewhat "flatter" among frequent victims. This is an example of an "interaction effect", which also can be identified using statistical controls. More interactions will be evident in other aspects of the ICS survey.

Figure 3: Size, victims and reactions to crime



Vulnerability

The third set of factors that are linked to self-protection reflect the potential vulnerability to crime of segments of the population. Skogan and Maxfield identified two dimensions of vulnerability, one physical and the other social⁵. Physical vulnerability means openness to attack, powerlessness to resist attack, and exposure to more traumatic physical consequences if attacked. In past research, higher levels of fear among women and the elderly have been attributed to their greater physical vulnerability to crime⁶. People are socially vulnerable when they are

5 Skogan, W.G. and M.M. Maxfield (1981) *Coping with crime*, Sage Publications, Newbury Park, California.

6 Killias, M. (1990) "Vulnerability: towards a better understanding of a key variable in the genesis of fear of crime" *Violence and Victims* 5:97-108.

exposed to more frequent victimisation because of their personal characteristics or household organisation, or when the consequences of victimisation weigh more heavily upon them for the same reasons. Some studies have explained higher levels of fear among US racial minorities and poor people by alluding to their frequent residential proximity to areas with high rates of crime and their more limited resources for dealing with the consequences of crime⁷. Along both dimensions, more vulnerable people should feel more fearful, not because of what has happened to them, but because of what might happen to them.

The ICS included several measures of social and physical vulnerability. Figure 4 charts the relationship between three social vulnerability factors and self-protective measures that people reported taking. All of the results are congruent with past research on fear of crime. For example, home ownership implies a greater extent of control over one's immediate environment. Numerous studies report that home owners are more likely than renters to invest in physical security arrangements and make defensive modifications to their homes. As Figure 4 indicates, there was a big difference as well between owners and renters in the ICS survey - the latter were much more likely to employ household protective measures. On the other hand, home owners were only slightly more likely to report taking precautions to protect themselves from personal crime. Figure 4 also examines the influence of whether ICS respondents lived in multiple-unit apartment buildings ("flats") rather than in smaller row houses, detached homes, or (as a few did) in institutions, boats, and other kinds of quarters. While apartment dwellers were more likely than their counterparts to take precautions against personal crime, they were far less likely to engage in household protective measures.

Of course, home ownership and types of dwelling units go together, as did crime and city living. The effects of both differences were statistically significant, however. In the case of personal precautions, the effect of living in a flat was about three times that of home ownership; for household protection, being a home owner was almost four times as important as living in a flat. (The effects of the two were almost identical when it came to having a gun at home, but they were in the opposite direction - home owners were more likely to have guns, while flat dwellers were less so). Living arrangements even mediated the impact of victimisation and city living. Only people who lived in smaller buildings or detached homes were more likely to take protective measures when they were victimised, and the effects of city size were largely confined to home owners. (And the decline of gun ownership in larger cities was greater among home owners than renters, and lesser among flat dwellers than everyone else).

Another indicator of social vulnerability presented in Figure 4 is whether or not ICS respondents lived in a family setting. Several measures pointed to the importance of protecting the family in explaining the adoption of household protective measures. ICS respondents living with other adults were more likely to do so than those who lived alone, a relationship which is presented in Figure 4. In addition, respondents with children were also more likely to do things to protect their households. Isolating family households (couples with children) revealed that victimisation had a significantly greater effect on household protection among families, and multivariate analyses also revealed that the effects of city living were much greater among families than among single or childless respondents. There

7 Fattah, E.A. and V.F. Sacco (1989) *Crime and victimization of the elderly*, Springer-Verlag, New York.

were no family-related differences in patterns of either gun ownership or precautions against personal crime, however.

Figure 4: Vulnerability and reactions to crime

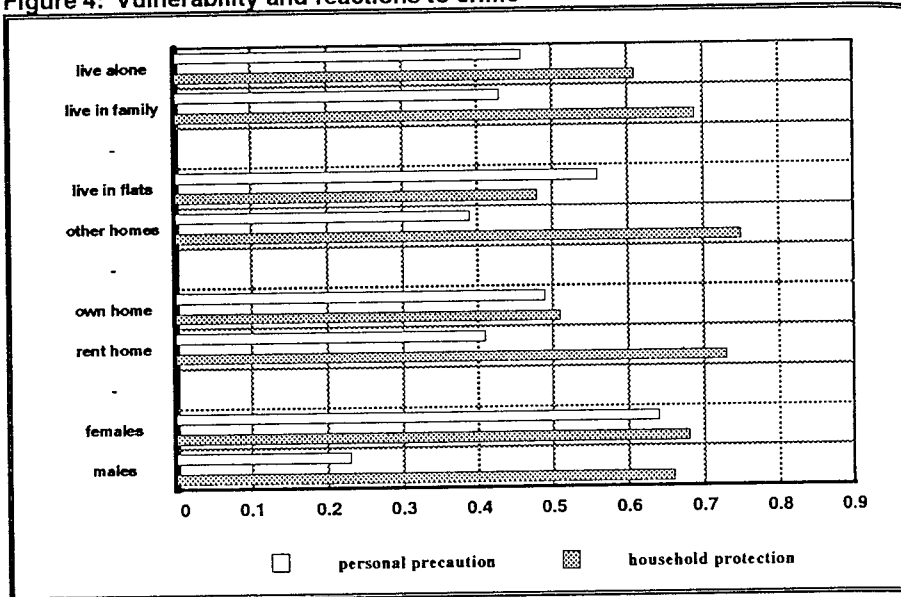


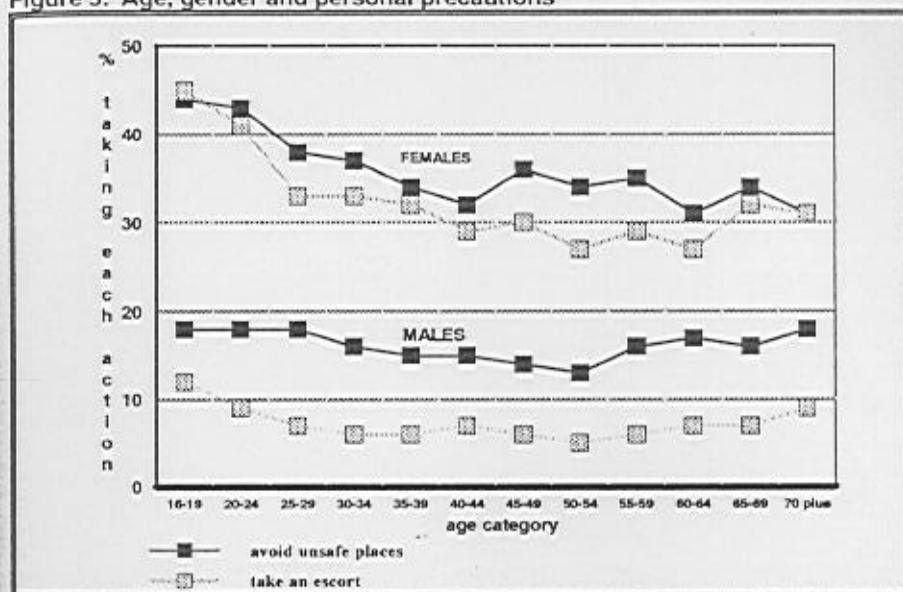
Figure 4 also depicts the relationship between gender and self-protection. This link usually is attributed to the greater physical vulnerability of women to predators, who usually are young males and who often act in groups. When asked in surveys to recommend ways of avoiding personal crime, women are much more likely than men to pick strategies like going out with an escort or avoiding strangers, rather than indicating they might fight back or carry some sort of weapon. Women are also much less likely to feel that they can successfully defend themselves from attack⁸. There was almost no difference in the extent of household protection reported by male and female respondents in the ICS, for gender was evenly distributed across income groups, housing type, and other indicators of living arrangements. However, Figure 4 describes a very large gulf between men and women in the extent to which they took precautions against personal crime - the average index score for females was almost three times that for males. This parallels other findings based on attitudinal indices of fear of crime; women typically are four times more likely than men to indicate they would fear places or situations they might confront alone after dark.

The final indicator of individual vulnerability to be considered here is age. Many studies of fear of crime have documented the distinctive and widespread concern over the threat of personal crime expressed by older persons. They often are not

⁸ Gordon, M.T. and S. Riger (1989) *The female fear*, Free Press, New York; Skogan and Maxfield, *Coping...*, op. cit.

very agile, and may more easily fall victim to younger predators. They also may be subject to more extreme consequences of victimisation, especially physical injury, and their capacity to recover fully from serious harm during their lifetime may be more limited. As a result, the findings of the ICS with respect to the self defence strategies of various age groups are somewhat surprising. Figure 5 illustrates the relationship between age and two measures of personal precaution, the kind of self-defensive behaviour which was most clearly linked to age. Figure 5 indicates that personal precautions were not particularly characteristic of the elderly across the 14 nations involved in the survey. Instead, avoiding unsafe places and going out with an escort was more commonly reported by younger females, at rates which declined steadily among women in their late 20s and 30s. Precautionary measures were essentially unrelated to age among males, and as a result the elderly as a group were the least likely to report taking defensive actions, and differences between males and females were the smallest at the upper end of the age distribution.

Figure 5: Age, gender and personal precautions



The most obvious explanation for the pattern of self-protection depicted by Figure 5 is that older people less often report taking defensive measures due to large differences in the extent to which their lifestyles place them at risk of victimisation. These differences are illustrated by responses to a question in the ICS about the frequency with which people go out in the evening for recreational purposes (including going to a pub, restaurant, cinema, or to visit friends). This question is often used as an indicator of exposure to risk in studies of victimisation. Among those 60 years of age and older, more than 50 percent indicated that they made such trips less than once a month; the comparable figure for everyone under 60 was

23 percent. On the other hand, 57 percent of respondents under 60 reported that they went out in this fashion at least once a week; the comparable figure for older people was 32 percent. However, the pattern depicted in Figure 5 persists even when this measure of exposure to risk is taken into account. Within every category of night-time activity, elderly respondents were less likely than others to report taking precautionary measures. In fact, the largest difference between the elderly and non-elderly was among those who reported going out "almost every day". More complex multi-variate analyses controlling for several determinants of precautionary activity also documented that this form of self protection generally declines with age.

There also was a tendency for the effects of city living to be greater among the elderly than those under sixty. In smaller towns, the elderly were somewhat less likely than others to report taking personal precautions, but that pattern was reversed in big cities.

Rates of crime

Until this point consideration has only been given to the relationship of self-defence measures to the attributes of individuals, including their social backgrounds, the circumstances under which they live, and their personal experiences with crime. In addition, people must be expected to be fearful - and to adapt to their perceptions of the risks they face - even if they have not themselves been victimised. The impact of neighbourhood rates of crime on fear of crime has been well documented. Fear mounts steadily with levels of personal crime and serious property offences⁹. Skogan and Maxfield found that, compared to those who felt "very safe", neighbourhood robbery rates were twice as high among Chicagoans who reported that they felt "very unsafe" near their home after dark¹⁰. Area burglary rates, on the other hand, were about one third higher among those in the most fearful group. This section examines an analogous question; that of the impact of societal rates of crime on behavioural measures of fear. It tests the proposition that people who live in higher crime countries are more fearful, net of the effects of other measured variables.

The ICS was designed to produce national rates of victimisation, and cannot be used to make estimates of local crime rates parallel to those which have been employed in neighbourhood studies of crime and fear. However, there was considerable variation in levels of crime across the 14 nations involved in the ICS, variation that could be at least weakly reflected in the self-protective measures taken by residents of the various countries. Residents of the United States were four-and-a-half times as likely as the Swiss to be victimised by assaultive violence, and Australians were burglarised at seven times the rate of residents of Finland. The effects of these national levels of crime were examined by first calculating the "expected" level of defensive action for each ICS respondent, based on their personal background and experiences with crime¹¹. Deviations from this prediction -

9 Maxfield, M. (1984) "The limits of vulnerability and victimization at work" *Journals of Quantitative Criminology* 3:283-300.

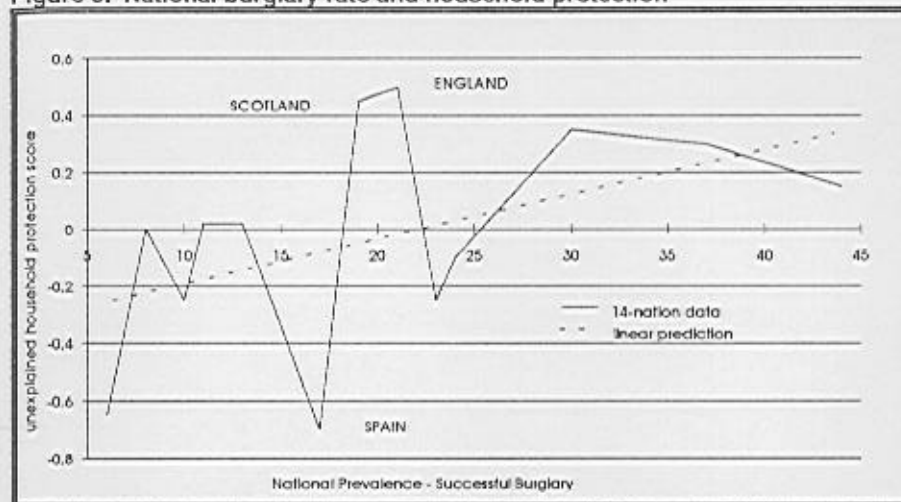
10 Skogan and Maxfield, *Coping...*, op. cit.

11 These expected levels of behaviour were estimated using multiple regression. The explanatory variables and interaction terms included all of those discussed above in the text, plus education, whether each respondent had an automobile, and if each had a job. These also had consistent but weak effects on two or more of the dependent variables.

the "unexplained" level of defensive effort - were then plotted against appropriate rates of crime for the 14 nations¹².

The results of this analysis are illustrated in Figure 6. It charts the relationship between national burglary rates and whether people reported higher or lower levels of household protection than predicted by their individual circumstances. The two measures went together in fairly clear fashion, with the bulk of unexpectedly low-protection respondents residing in lower-burglary nations, and many unexpectedly high-protection people living in high-burglary places. (The correlation between the two measures is +.46). Figure 6 also identifies three of the most obviously deviant nations: Spain (where household protection was lower than anticipated given the burglary rate), and England and Wales (labeled "England" in Figure 6), where household protection was unexpectedly high.

Figure 6: National burglary rate and household protection



Parallel analyses for gun ownership pointed to similar conclusions; it was significantly "unexpectedly" high in high-burglary and high personal-crime places. On the other hand, there was no clear patterning of personal precaution - there was variation in how unexpectedly high or low it was in various nations, but those differences were not linked to national levels of personal crime.

National differences

The final question to be addressed by this paper is, are there still "national" differences in fear? The argument at the outset was that the goal of social research is to avoid reliance on the use of "nation" as an explanatory concept, because in an

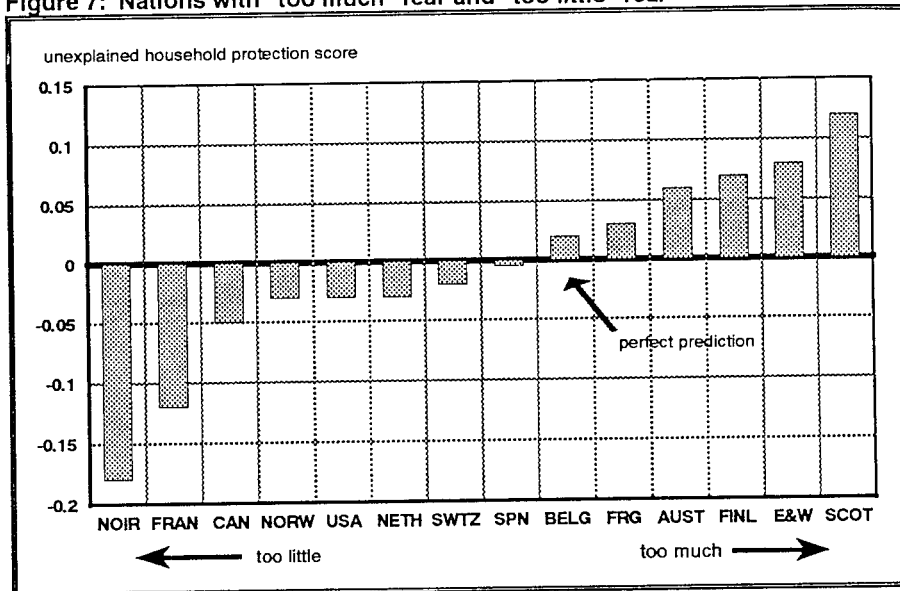
¹² The aggregate-level crime rates are technically measures of the "prevalence" of victimisation - the percent of ICS respondents who recalled being victimised in 1988 in major crime categories. They were taken from Table E-1 of van Dijk et al., *Experiences...*, op. cit.

important sense it provides no explanation at all. National differences are instead descriptions of phenomena that cannot be accounted for in a truly explanatory fashion.

To isolate remaining, unexplained levels of defensive behaviour, more measures were added to the multivariate analyses described above. The personal characteristics and multiple measures of the victimisation experiences of each ICS respondent were entered into analysis. They were joined by measures of national-level crime rates, resulting in a model of fear of crime combining individual and contextual effects. These variables then were used to predict in statistical fashion the extent of personal precaution, household protection, and gun ownership across the 14 nations. What then remained was the level of defensive behaviour that was ultimately "unexplained" by personal factors, individual experiences, and contextual measures of the general risk of victimisation.

Figure 7 illustrates the results of this analysis, relating unexplained levels of household protection to the national association of each ICS respondent. It arrays this unexplained behaviour so that nations where respondents reported "too little" household protection lie to the left, and nations where respondents reported "too much" household protection lie to the right. (If the analytic measures had predicted all of the variation in behaviour, all of respondents would lie at the "zero" line, which is almost exactly where Spain falls).

Figure 7: Nations with "too much" fear and "too little" fear



As in Figure 6, respondents in two of the surveys in the United Kingdom reported more fear than the various individual and contextual factors included in the analysis

would predict. On the other hand, respondents from Northern Ireland were by far the most likely to report "too little" household protection, followed by those from France.

While there remain unexplained national differences in behaviour like those depicted in Figure 7, they are relatively small in magnitude. Table 1 presents a summary of the importance of remaining national-level differences, relative to the explanatory power of the individual and contextual effects examined here. It divides the explained variance of each behaviour measure into the components attributable to individual or contextual factors and the fraction clearly still linked to nation of residence. A third component labeled "multicollinearity" summarises the relative contribution of effects which cannot be parsed between them.

Table 1 suggests that "nation" plays a relatively weak role in explaining the extent of personal precaution and household protection, once people's background, experiences, and the threats they face are taken into account. This should not be surprising, in light of the sample of nations included in the ICS. They are all pluralist social and political systems characterised by considerable internal diversity. It has been suggested that such systems generally provide a weak context for explaining differences among individuals because there often can be greater diversity within them than between them¹³. Table 1 documents that there is indeed more explainable variation within these nations than across them, on two of three measures. The exception is gun ownership, which has a relatively strong "national" component. This could well reflect national variation in weapons policies, including both how difficult firearms are to obtain and the legal penalties associated with their use.

Table 1: Decomposition of individual and unexplained national level effects

	Personal precaution	Household protection	Gun ownership
Explained variance attributable to individuals and national crime rates	13.5%	5.8%	4.7%
Attributable to country of residence	0.2%	0.6%	5.9%
Multi-collinearity	1.4%	19.6%	6.0%
Total explained	15.1%	26.0%	16.6%

Conclusions

There are, of course, a number of limitations to the analysis presented here. First, the analytic model obviously did not include all of the factors that are known to affect levels of fear. One prominent omission is a collection of neighbourhood factors known as "disorders"¹⁴. Disorders are activities that run counter to the standards that people hold for behaviour in public places (including public drinking and street harassment), and physical conditions (such as vandalism and building abandonment) which signal that an area is in decline. The ICS also could not capture the extent to which work-related factors structure people's behaviour patterns,

13 Scheuch, E.K. (1990) 'The development of comparative research: towards causal explanations' in Oyserman, D. (ed.) *Comparative... op. cit.*

14 Skogan, W.G. (1990) *Disorder and decline: crime and the spiral decay in American cities*, Free Press, New York.

perhaps by exposing them to risks which they would prefer not to face¹⁵. People's activities might also be affected by exaggerated levels of crime coverage by mass media, although the bulk of the empirical evidence is that levels of fear are not directly influenced by newspapers or television¹⁶. Finally, there were no good measures of the extent to which ICS respondents were embedded in social networks, which might provide assurance and alleviate fear. And in addition to the known causal factors that are omitted, there is doubtless a long list of unknown causes of fear that also were omitted from the list. Together, these known and unknown omissions constitute an "omitted variable bias" which challenges the empirical inferences that can be made from the analyses reported here.

In addition to the omission of important factors from the analysis, there are also methodological reasons why the individual and contextual model employed to generate Figure 7 falls short of explaining all apparent national differences in behaviour. The most important is measurement error. Single-question measures of such complex issues as "taking an escort" undoubtedly fall far short of capturing the various and complex tactics that individuals adopt to protect themselves from crime. In addition, respondents were asked to characterise "the last time" they left home, which may not capture the regular and routine habits of many individuals. Despite these shortcomings, however, it is apparent that individual and contextual factors accounted for most national differences in behaviour.

15 Mayhew, P., D. Elliot and L. Dowds (1989) *The 1988 British Crime Survey*, HMSO, London; Lynch, J.P. (1987) "Routine activity and victimization at Work" *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 3:283-300.

16 For a review, see Fattah and Sacco, *Crime...*, op. cit.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS PUNISHMENT

André Kuhn¹

Introduction

Attitudes towards punishment can be considered at two levels. The first, macro sociological level, considers objective attitudes towards punishment, i.e. a social characteristic such as the severity of the sentences imposed by the judges on the offenders. The second, somewhat micro sociological level, considers subjective attitudes towards punishment as being a characteristic of public opinion, i.e. the attitude of the persons who live in a given society and their desire to see sentences becoming more - or less - severe. It is within the frame of this second perspective that the present research takes place, since by attitudes towards punishment is intended the more or less repressive attitude of the interviewees towards the perpetrator of a crime.

For the determination of this variable, the interviewees submitted to the respondents of the fourteen countries participating in the First International Victimization Survey, the case of a 21 year old young man who, having stolen a colour television, is found guilty of a burglary for the second time. Interviewees were asked to determine the sentence which, according to them, would be the most appropriate for such a case².

The options offered to respondents range from a fine to a life sentence, through community service, suspended sentence and imprisonment with a variable length. This approach permitted the creation of a scale of attitudes towards punishment. The respondents who would give the house-breaker a prison sentence of more than six months were considered to have a very punitive attitude; those who would condemn him to prison for six months or less, a medium punitive attitude; and those who considered a non-custodial sentence appropriate, a low punitive attitude. Of course, the severity of the sentence to be imposed on a given offender is not the only way³ to operationalise the variable on "attitudes towards punishment"; it has, nevertheless, been utilised on various occasions and has provided positive results

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² The question was the following: "People have different ideas about the sentences which should be given to offenders. Take for instance the case of a man 21 years old who is found guilty of a burglary for the second time. This time he stole a colour TV. Which of the following sentences do you consider the most appropriate for such a case: fine, prison, community service, suspended sentence or any other sentence?". If the interviewee opted for imprisonment, he was asked to specify the length (see questions 291 and 292).

³ For instance, in a victimisation survey carried out in Switzerland, attitude towards punishment was intended as a repressive attitude aimed at solving the problem of crime through increased repression. Three indicators had been chosen, i.e. the standpoint of the interviewees on the living conditions in penal institutions, the increase in severity of the sentence imposed on offenders and the reintroduction of the death penalty. Killias, M. (1989) *Les Suisses face au crime*, Editions Ruegger, Grösch.

in many research studies.⁴ The following hypothesis was used to carry out the analysis:

- attitudes towards punishment vary according to a number of demographic variables, such as age, gender or educational level;
- attitudes towards punishment increase in severity following a victimisation experience. Victims tend to be more punitive than non-victims;
- attitudes towards punishment vary according to the level of the fear of crime. Persons who admit to a sense of insecurity would be more punitive than those who do not;
- in addition to the influence of demographic variables and victimisation rates, the difference in attitudes towards punishment in the various countries participating in the survey could be explained - at least in part - by the difference in the sentences imposed in various countries.

Attitudes towards punishment in the different countries

Table 1 shows the various attitudes towards punishment in the fourteen countries that participated in the International Victimisation Survey.

Table 1: Attitudes towards punishment in the different countries

	Attitudes towards punishment		
	Non-custodial sanctions	Imprisonment of six months or less	Imprisonment of six months or more
Germany	87.6	7.5	4.9
England & Wales	60.8	15.5	23.7
Australia	63.8	16.8	19.4
Belgium	74.1	15.2	10.7
Canada	66.9	16.4	16.8
Scotland	59.3	19.2	21.5
Spain	68.6	16.9	14.5
USA	44.7	12.8	42.5
Finland	85.3	9.2	5.6
France	86.8	10.6	2.6
The Netherlands	73.3	15.1	11.6
Northern Ireland	51.7	17.8	30.5
Norway	87.6	7.9	4.5
Switzerland	91.6	7.3	1.2

⁴ See for example Quimet, M. (1989) Tracking down penal judgment: a study of decision-making among the public and court practitioners, Newark, New Jersey: Quimet, M. and M. Cusson (1990) "La sévérité des sentences: une comparaison entre la France et la Québec" *Revue Internationale de Criminologie et de Police Technique* 43/1:26-34.

This table shows that attitudes towards punishment differ greatly among the various countries. In fact, if 92% of the Swiss, 88% of the German and Norwegians, 87% of the French and 85% of the Finns would give a non-custodial sentence to the burglar who stole a television set, 55% of Americans would impose a prison sentence (3/4 of which more than 6 months). Is the concept of the neutralising role of prison⁵ more widespread in Anglo-Saxon countries, particularly in the United States?

⁵ Neutralisation (or incapacitation) is the act of utilising imprisonment to prevent a criminal from committing other offences. See, on this matter, van Dine, S., J.P. Conrad and S. Dinitz (1979) *Restraining the wicked. The incapacitation of the dangerous criminal*, Lexington Books, Lexington, Mass./Toronto; Cohen, J. (1983) "Incapacitation as a strategy for crime control: possibilities and pitfalls" in Tonry, M. and N. Morris (eds.) *Crime and Justice* 5:193:1-84, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago; Shannon, L.W. (1985) "Risk assessment vs. real prediction: the prediction problem and public trust" *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 1/2:159-189; Haapanen, R.A. (1990) *Selective incapacitation and the serious offender*, Springer-Verlag, New York and Berlin.

Attitudes towards punishment and demographic variables

Gender

The intention is to establish whether gender has any bearing on attitudes towards punishment. In others words, an attempt will be made to ascertain whether males are more punitive than females or vice-versa.

Table 2: Gender and attitudes towards punishment (without distinguishing between countries)

Attitudes towards punishment	Males (%)	Females (%)
Non-custodial sanctions	69.0	73.5
Imprisonment of 6 months or less	14.7	12.0
Imprisonment of more than 6 months	16.2	14.4

G=-.10 Chi²=63.4 99.9% (N=11218) Df=2 Z=5.05 99.9% (N=13300) p≤.000

Males are slightly more punitive than females. Moreover, this orientation is present in all countries with correlations (Gamma) of between .01 (Belgium) and .24 (Norway). Nevertheless, not all these correlations are significant.⁶

Age

The problem here is to determine whether the age of interviewees has an influence on attitudes towards punishment.

Table 3 shows that the connection is non-significant⁷. However, it should be noted that this insignificant tendency varies from country to country. Thus, in the Netherlands, Switzerland, Belgium, France, the USA, Canada, Australia and Spain young people tend to be slightly more punitive than older people, whereas in England and Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, Germany, Finland and Norway, young people are less punitive.

⁶ The results are not significant at the 5% level in the following countries: Scotland, Belgium, France, Finland, Australia and Spain.

⁷ The Chi2 (significant) indicates only whether the distribution of the cases in the table cells have an aleatory character or not and the Z (non-significant) verifies whether an increasing or decreasing trend appears in the table.

Table 3: Age and attitudes towards punishment (without distinguishing between countries)

Attitudes towards punishment	Age (%)			
	16-24	25-39	40-64	over 64
Non-custodial sanctions	68.8	71.6	73.4	69.3
Imprisonment of 6 months or less	13.9	13.1	13.0	13.8
Imprisonment of more than 6 months	17.2	15.3	13.5	17.0

G=-.02 Chi²=45.6 99.9% (N=3607) 100% (N=8631) 99.9% (N=8699) 100.1% (N=3404)
Df=6 p≤.000 Z=1.34 N.S.

As can be observed above, gender has more than a negligible effect on attitudes towards punishment;⁸ therefore, it was pertinent to ascertain whether the effect of age on attitudes towards punishment varies according to gender. The results obtained are very interesting. Whereas young men are less punitive than older men ($G=.04$; $P \leq .05$), young women are, for their part, more punitive than older women ($G=-.07$; $p \leq .001$). These trends were found in almost all the countries taking part in the International Victimisation Survey⁹.

Thus, age can also play a certain (although very small) role in determining the various attitudes towards punishment, and this in an opposite direction for the two genders.

Educational level

Since it is not possible to compare different, or even similar, educational levels in different countries, the interviewees were asked to indicate how old they were when they completed their full time education¹⁰. On the basis of the answers given to this question, it was subjectively estimated possible to divide the interviewees into four categories, corresponding to four different educational levels: very high (education completed after 20 years), high (17-19 years), average (15-16 years) and mediocre (less than 15 years). At this point what had to be clarified was whether the educational level - as defined above - had an influence on the various attitudes towards punishment.

⁸ See the section on gender.

⁹ For males, national results are non-significant and - except for the Netherlands, Switzerland, Canada and Spain - follow the general trend (i.e. that young people are less punitive than older people). For females, England and Wales, Scotland, Finland and Norway show opposite trends (but widely non-significant) to the general trend, whereas the Netherlands, Germany, France, Australia and Spain have significant trends, identical with the general trend (i.e. that young females are more punitive than older females).

¹⁰ Question No. 316 was as follows: "How old were you when you completed your full-time education at school, college or elsewhere?"

Research studies carried out in the past¹¹ showed that the educational level plays a key-part in matters of attitudes towards punishment. Table 4 shows also that the more a person is educated, the less punitive is his/her attitude. Except for the USA where there is a valueless and non-significant effect, this assertion can be made for all the countries participating in the survey, even if for some of them this trend is not significant at the 5% level¹². The result is the same for all age groups¹³ and for both sexes.¹⁴

Table 4: Educational level and attitudes towards punishment (without distinguishing between countries)

Attitudes towards punishment	Educational level (%)			
	Mediocre	Average	High	Very high
Non-custodial sanctions	68.0	68.6	72.3	76.3
Imprisonment of 6 months or less	15.8	14.8	12.6	10.9
Imprisonment of more than 6 months	16.2	16.6	15.2	12.8

G=-.10 Chi²=121.1 100% (N=3794) 100% (N=6314) 100.1% (N=6820) 100% (N=5574)
Df=6 Z=6.25 p≤.000

The particular method of measuring education used here has made it impossible to establish a strong relationship between educational level and the various attitudes towards punishment observed in most surveys carried out so far. As a matter of fact, in national surveys the answers provided better reflect the real educational level since the interviewees are asked which was the last school they attended (primary, secondary, technical school, gymnasium, college, university). Thus, the question is whether the measure of the standard of education used in the International Survey is really valid.

Since the educational level is generally considered as being directly related with the income - or more precisely, the income depends on the educational level - it would be reasonable to expect that the result obtained above would be the same if the independent variable "educational level" was replaced with the variable income of the interviewees. Nevertheless, a number of research studies¹⁵ revealed a difference in the relationship between attitudes towards punishment and educational level and that between attitudes towards punishment and income. This appears to

¹¹ Brillon, Y. (1983) "La peur du crime et les tendances répressives du public envers les criminels" *Revue Internationale de Criminologie et de Police Technique* 36/4:12-23; Killias, Les Suisses..., op. cit.

¹² This concerns Switzerland, Finland, Norway, Canada and Spain.

¹³ -.09≤G≤-.15, p≤.002.

¹⁴ Males: G=-.12, p≤.000; Females: G=-.09, p≤.000.

¹⁵ See, for example, Killias, M. (1984) "Strafvollzug und Punitivität" *Bulletin de Criminologie* 10/2:5.26, and texts mentioned in it.

arise from a lack of recognition of the socio-economic status, i.e. a shortfall in education in relation to income. This last hypothesis was tested using data provided by the International Victimization Survey for which such lack of recognition has not been observed. As a matter of fact, the relationship existing between income and attitudes towards punishment ($G=-.07$, $p \leq .000$) is very close to that between attitudes towards punishment and educational level ($G=-.10$, $p \leq .000$). This finding seems to confirm the first hypothesis, i.e. that the income depends directly on the educational level. Furthermore, this is confirmed by the relatively strong correlation existing between these two variables ($r=.36$, $p \leq .000$).

Since considerable differences have been encountered in this area between the various countries participating in the International Survey, the issue of recognition of socio-economic status deserves further study.

Attitudes towards punishment and victimisation

It would be important to know whether, as a consequence of an experience of victimisation, the attitudes towards punishment tend to increase. In other words, determining whether victims are perceptibly more punitive than non-victims.

Table 5: Victims and non-victims of one of the offences taken into consideration over the five years preceding the survey and attitudes towards punishment (without distinguishing between countries)

Attitudes towards punishment	Victims (%)	Non-victims (%)
Non-custodial sanctions	72.3	70.7
Imprisonment of 6 months or less	12.7	13.8
Imprisonment of more than 6 months	15.0	15.5

$G=.03$ $Chi^2=.8.5$ 100% (N=12293) 100% (N=12225) $Df=2$ $Z=1.68$ $p \leq .05$

Table 5 shows that, contrary to expectations, it is not the victims that are more punitive but the non-victims. Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind that the correlation observed is low (.03); thus, one might wonder whether this correlation would be different if it was verified by gender or age. It is not. As a matter of fact, for males ($G=.06$; $p \leq .02$) and females ($G=.01$; NS) and for all age groups ($.004 \leq G \leq .04$; NS) the direction is the same: non-victims are slightly more punitive than victims.

The question then arose whether this result, contrary to the initial hypothesis, was constant in the various countries that participated in the survey, or whether it was due to a strong deviation in one of the participating countries in relation to the others. With the exception of Northern Ireland, Spain, USA and Canada, for all the other countries the victims were less punitive than non-victims. All the national results observed are non-significant, irrespective of the direction. Thus, there is no

real difference between victims and non-victims as far as attitudes towards punishment are concerned.

Is this conclusion, which is valid for victimisation in general, also valid for different types of victimisation? In order to answer this question, the offences covered by the survey have been subdivided into three categories¹⁶:

- all vehicle-related offences, i.e. theft of car, theft from car, car vandalism, theft of motorcycle and theft of bicycle;

¹⁶ This subdivision is the one used by the Interview Netherlands B.V., Marketing & Sale Information in the "International Crime Survey 1988 Tabulations Report 14 Countries", June 1989, Table 10.

- property crime, i.e. burglary with entry, attempted burglary and larceny;
- personal crime, i.e. robbery, sexual assaults and bodily injuries,

Table 6 shows that victims of personal crime cannot be distinguished in any way from non-victims; that victims of a vehicle-related offence are slightly less punitive than non-victims; and that victims of property crime are slightly more punitive than non-victims¹⁷. This last finding can be explained by the fact that the indicator of attitudes towards punishment relates to property crime and that a person who experienced such an offence over the five years preceding the survey is not able to dissociate his victimisation from the fictitious case presented to him.¹⁸

Table 6: Victims and non-victims of one of the three categories of crimes over the five years preceding the survey and attitudes towards punishment (without distinguishing between countries).

Attitudes towards punishment	Offences related to cars		Property crime		Personal crime	
	Victims	Non-victims	Victims	Non-victims	Victims	Non-victims
Non-custodial sanctions	73.2	70.5	70.2	71.9	71.6	71.5
Imprisonment of 6 months or less	12.7	13.6	13.0	13.3	12.8	13.3
Imprisonment of more than 6 months	14.1	15.9	16.8	14.8	15.6	15.2

(N=8726) (N=15792) (N=5518) (N=19000) (N=3192) (N=21326)
 G=.06 p≤.001 G=.04 p≤.03 G=-.00 N.S.

Thus, a reasonable question would be whether the same statement could be made for all the countries or whether important divergences could be found between them. For offences related to vehicles, the greater part of the trends is not significant¹⁹ and goes in the same direction than the one observed above, i.e. that victims are less punitive than non-victims²⁰. For property crime, instead, none of the national results are significant but most of them confirm the affirmation that victims are slightly more punitive than non-victims²¹. For personal crime, none of the national results are significant²².

¹⁷ van Dijk, J.J.M., P. Mayhew and M. Killias (1990) Experiences of crime across the world: key findings of the 1989 International Crime Survey, Kluwer, Deventer.

¹⁸ See the Introduction.

¹⁹ Except for England & Wales and Scotland, where victims are significantly less punitive (p≤.05) than non-victims of offences related to vehicles (G=.11 in both cases).

²⁰ Except for the Netherlands and Canada where the trend is inverted, but very clearly non-significant.

²¹ Except for Belgium, France, Finland and Norway for which non-victims of property crime are more punitive than victims (non-significant trends).

²² In England & Wales (G=.09), Scotland (G=.04), the Netherlands (G=.04), Germany (G=.04), France (G=.16) and Australia (G=.03), the non-victims are slightly more punitive than the victims, whereas in Northern Ireland (G=-.14), Switzerland (G=-.07), Belgium (G=-.00), Finland (G=-.04), Norway (G=-.11), USA (G=-.04), Canada (G=-.08) and Spain (G=-.04), the victims are slightly more punitive than the non-victims.

It would also appear from the analysis based on gender and age that the observed trends are valid for both males and females, as well as for all age groups.

Thus, the conclusion can be drawn from these analyses that the influence of victimisation on the various attitudes towards punishment is very close to zero. This conclusion must, however, be interpreted very carefully, as the international victimisation survey is not a chronological study and cannot take into account the development of the phenomena over the years.

Attitudes towards punishment and fear of crime

According to an hypothesis, which is as plausible as it is popular²³, fear of crime increases punitive attitudes towards punishment. We will put this hypothesis to the test here using the figures of the International Victimisation Survey.

Within the frame of this survey the fear of crime was represented by two variables. The first was related to the fear of frequenting certain streets or areas at night²⁴ and the second dealt with the fear of going out at night unaccompanied²⁵. Since the correlation between these two variables was very high ($G=.80$; $p \leq .000$)²⁶ but not perfect, it was decided that the respondents²⁷ could be divided into three categories according to their degree of fear of crime on the basis of the work carried out by the authors of the International Survey. The first category, people with no fear, includes all the respondents who answered "no" to the two questions; the second, those with some fear, includes all those who replied "yes" to one of the two questions and who gave a different reply to the other; the third category, those with a high level of fear, includes all respondents who answered "yes" to the two questions²⁸.

Table 7: Fear of crime and attitudes towards punishment (without distinguishing between countries)

Attitudes towards punishment	Fear of crime (%)		
	Not afraid	Afraid	Very afraid
Non-custodial sanctions	71.5	72.9	70.4

²³ See, for example, Kunz, K.L. (1983) "Die Verbrechensfurcht als Gegenstand der Kriminologie und als Faktor der Kriminalpolitik" *Monatsschrift für Kriminologie und Strafrechtsreform* 66/3:162-174; and Schneider, H.J. (1987), *Kriminologie*, pp. 727 et seq., Berlin/New York.

²⁴ Question No. 252 was as follows: "Please try to remember the last time you went out after dark in your area for whatever reason. Did you stay away from certain streets or areas to avoid crime?".

²⁵ Question No. 253 was as follows: "The last time you went out, did you go with someone else to avoid crime?".

²⁶ At a national level, this correlation is situated, for all countries, between .74 (Belgium) and .92 (Norway), all these trends being highly significant ($p \leq .000$).

²⁷ van Dijk et al., *Experiences...*, op. cit., pp. 77 et seq.

²⁸ We can wonder whether this way of measuring the feeling of non-safety is valid and really operationalises the "fear of crime" variable. The reason why we utilised, as it was, the method of doing of the authors of the survey is that no other question covered better the fear of crime in the questionnaire.

Imprisonment of 6 months or less	13.6	12.7	12.5
Imprisonm. of more than 6 months	14.9	14.4	17.1
	100% (N=14923)	100% (N=5164)	(N=2940)
G=.003	Chi ² =15.1	Df=4	p≤.005
			Z=0.16
			N.S.

Table 7 shows that the relationship between the fear of crime and attitudes towards punishment is very weak (G=.003) and non-significant²⁹. When carrying out a similar analysis for each of the countries in the International Victimization Survey, again non-significant trends are obtained everywhere. If gender is considered in the relationship between fear and attitudes towards punishment, a non-significant trend for both males and females can again be observed. Age has no effect on the relationship between fear and attitudes towards punishment. It should be noted, however, that in view of the transverse nature of this victimisation survey, it is not possible to take into account the development of phenomena over time; thus these results must be interpreted with care.

Since the measure of punishment relates to an act of burglary³⁰, it was thought it would be interesting to carry out the same analyses with another indicator of the fear of crime, i.e. whether the respondent feels he is unlikely or very likely to be the victim of a burglary during the year following the survey³¹. Table 8 shows that the results obtained are very similar (G=.001, N.S.) with this second indicator of insecurity.

Table 8: Chances of experiencing a burglary in the coming year and attitudes towards punishment (without distinguishing between countries)

Attitudes towards punishment	Probability of experiencing a burglary (%)		
Non-custodial sanctions	71.3	73.7	63.4
Imprisonment of 6 months or less	13.4	12.6	15.5
Imprisonm. of more than 6 months	15.2	13.7	21.1
	99.9% (N13939)	100% (N=7703)	(N=1311)
G=.001	Chi ² =63.1	Df=4	p≤.000
			Z=.04
			N.S.

²⁹ The Chi2 (significant) indicates the aleatory character or not of the distribution of the cases in the table cells, whereas Z (non-significant) verifies whether a trend towards an increase or a decrease appears in the table.

³⁰ See the Introduction.

³¹ Question No. 254 was as follows: "What would you say are the chances that over the next twelve months someone will try to break into your home? Do you think this is very likely, likely or not likely?".

It should be noted again how the two variables used in Table 8 to represent the feeling of insecurity are strongly influenced by factors of vulnerability³². Thus, they concern the estimation of individual risks rather than collective risks.

Attitudes towards punishment and satisfaction with the police response

The question here is whether attitude towards punishment is relative to respondents' satisfaction with the work of the police. To measure this, the respondents were asked whether they thought the police in their area did a very good job, a fairly good job, a fairly bad job or a really bad job³³.

Table 9: Estimation of the work done by the police in general and attitudes towards punishment (without distinguishing between countries)

Attitudes towards punishment	Work done by the police (%)			
	Very good	Fairly good	Fairly bad	Very bad
Non-custodial sanctions	66.5	72.7	70.0	64.5
Imprisonment of 6 months or less	14.8	13.3	13.5	13.3
Imprisonment of more than 6 months	18.7	14.0	16.5	22.2

G=-.03 Chi²=100.7 100% (N=5163) 100% (N=10963) 100% (N=3638) 100% (N=890)
Df=6 Z=1.76 p≤.04

Table 9 shows that the more punitive the individual the more he/she is satisfied with the police response. It should be noted, however, that although this is an opinion that anybody could have come up with - since a punitive criminal policy can only be applied with the assistance of an effective police force - it should be noted that the statistical relationship (Gamma) between these two variables is really very slight. Furthermore, in each of the countries where this relationship is significant to the threshold of 5%³⁴ the correlation is reversed and it is those who are less punitive who have the more positive attitude towards the police. These various elements allow us to consider whether, if there is a relationship between the work done by the police and the attitude towards punishment this is very slight and not stable geographically, to the point that it can be considered as almost non-existent.

³² See on this matter Killias, M. (1990) "Vulnerability: towards a better understanding of a key variable in the genesis of fear of crime" *Violence and Victims* 5/2:97-108, as well as the chapter by W.G. Skogan in this volume.

³³ Questions No. 276 to 278 were as follows: "Taking everything into account, how good do you think the police in your area are in controlling crime? Do you think they do a very good job, a fairly good job, a fairly bad job or a really bad job?".

³⁴ This concerns England & Wales (G=.09), Scotland (G=.05), the Netherlands (G=.11) and Finland (G=.15).

This finding is confirmed by the non-existence of significant relationships between the degree of satisfaction expressed by victims with regard to the work done by the police in cases which involve them personally and victims' attitude towards punishment³⁵.

Attitudes towards punishment at country level

As noted earlier,³⁶ there are strong differences in the attitudes towards punishment among the various countries participating in the International Victimization Survey. An attempt will be made here to determine the reasons for these geographical differences.

Attitudes towards punishment and victimisation rates

The first step is to determine whether attitudes towards punishment relate to rates of victimisation. To do this, the victimisation rate with the percentage of respondents who favoured imprisonment for a recidivist burglar who stole a colour television will be compared for each of the fourteen countries participating in the survey.

Figure 1: Percentage of respondents who favoured imprisonment and victimisation rates over the five years preceding the survey.

³⁵ $G=.009$, N.S. See questions 272-274.

³⁶ See the section on attitudes towards punishment in different countries.

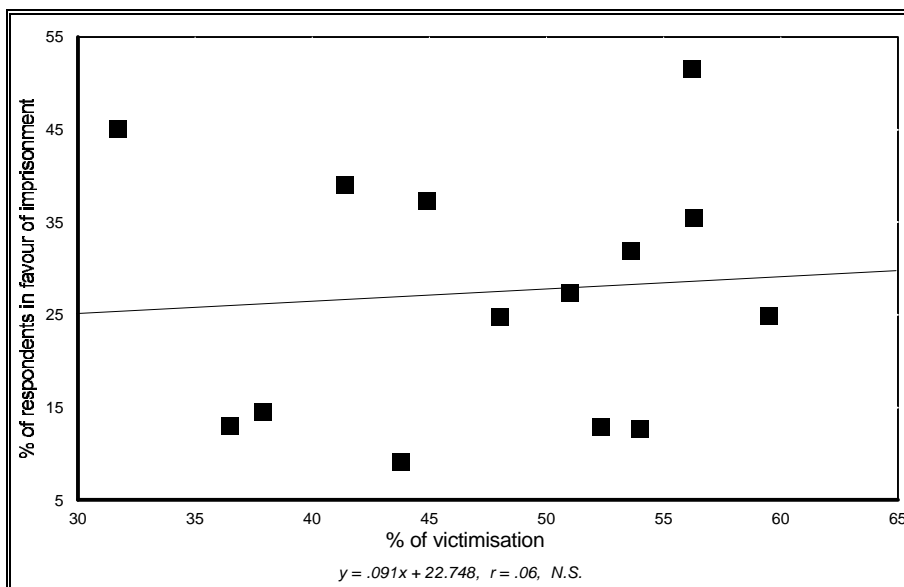


Figure 1 shows that the correlation between the percentage of respondents in favour of a prison sentence and the national rate of victimisation is minimal and, in addition, non-significant to a threshold of 5%. This result is not too surprising since we saw in earlier that the victims of a crime are not more punitive than non-victims and thus that victimisation does not contribute to an increase in punitive attitudes. It should, however, be noted that if, rather than taking into account general victimisation, the fact of having been the victim of the offence which is the object of the question on punitiveness (i.e. burglary)³⁷ is looked into, this correlation increases to .58.

Attitudes towards punishment and detention rate

Is the relationship between attitudes towards punishment and the percentage of detainees in the different countries similar to the relationship between attitudes towards imprisonment and the victimisation rate?

Figure 2: Percentage of respondents who favoured imprisonment and percentage of victims who experienced a burglary over the five years preceding the survey

³⁷ See the Introduction, as well as van Dijk et al., *Experiences...*, op. cit., p. 82.

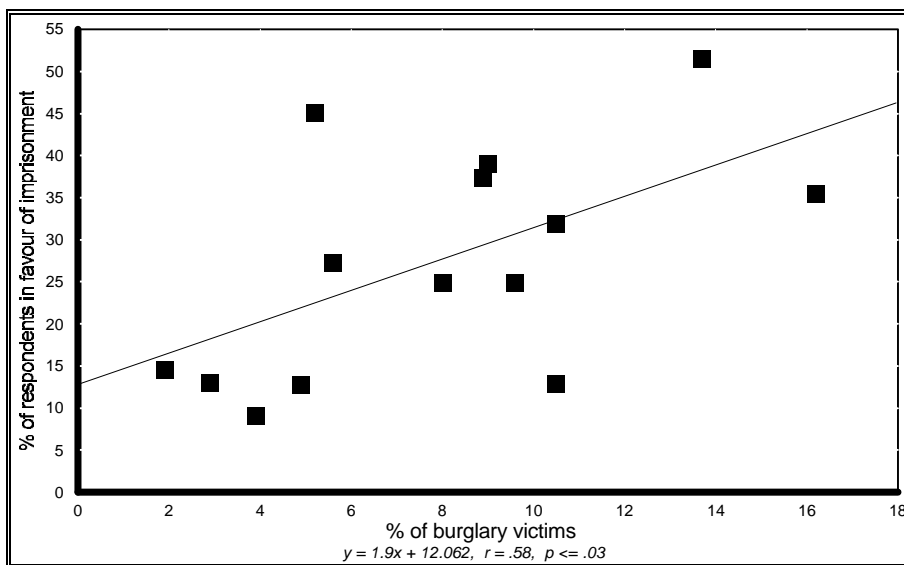


Figure 3 shows clearly that the link between the percentage of detainees per 100,000 inhabitants and the percentage of interviewees who favoured imprisonment is very strong and, by the same token, significant³⁸. However, this finding does not allow us to determine the direction of the causality: is it because the population of a given country is very punitive that there is a large number of persons in prison, or is it because there are a lot of people in prison that the prison sentence is considered justifiable and, therefore, favoured by the respondents? Due to the transverse nature of a victimisation survey we are not in a position to answer this question.

The same applies to the relationship between the average length of the sentence proposed by the respondents in favour of imprisonment and the number of persons in detention per 100,000 inhabitants. Figure 4 is interesting as it confirms the existence of a close relationship between the number of detainees - and thus, indirectly, the frequency and the length of prison sentences pronounced by national judges - and the attraction of prison sentences for the population³⁹.

³⁸ It should be noted that if a recalculation of the same correlation is done excluding the marginal case of the USA, the result obtained is completely identical: $r = .62, p \leq .03$.

³⁹ It should be noted anyway that if the same calculation is made excluding the marginal case represented by the USA, we obtain a lower and non-significant correlation: $r = .26, N.S.$

Figure 3: Percentage of respondents who favoured imprisonment and detention rate per 100,000 inhabitants⁴⁰

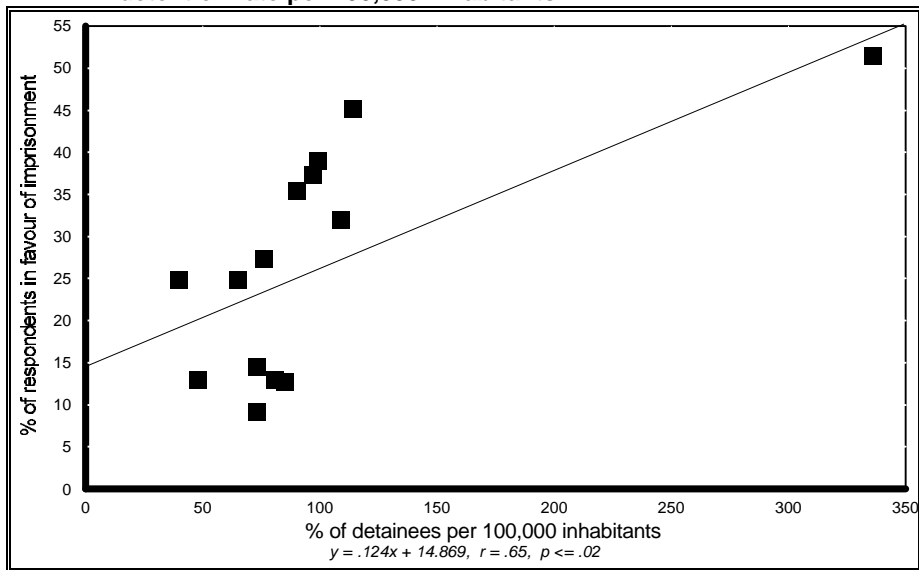
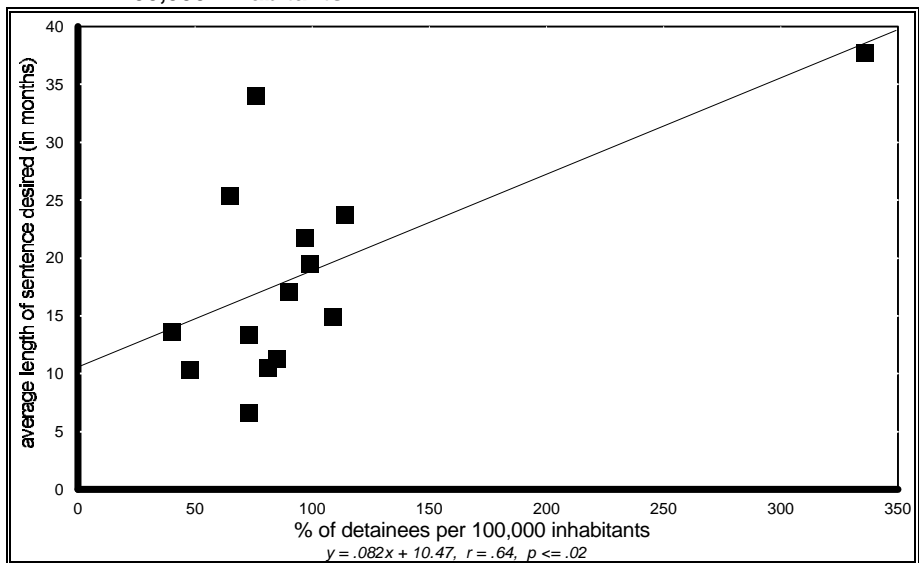


Figure 4: Average length of sentence desired and percentage of detainees per 100,000 inhabitants.



⁴⁰ From van Dijk et al., Experiences..., op. cit., Fig. 41, p. 83.

Community service

Table 10 shows the existence of important differences between the various countries participating in the survey as regards the popularity of community service.

Table 10: Percentage of respondents who favoured community service in the different countries⁴¹

	Community service (%)	Any other service (%)
Germany	62.5	37.5
England & Wales	40.3	59.7
Australia	47.6	52.4
Belgium	43.3	56.7
Canada	40.2	59.8
Scotland	36.3	63.7
Spain	28.5	71.5
USA	31.2	68.8
Finland	38.1	61.9
France	56.5	43.5
The Netherlands	49.3	50.7
Northern Ireland	32.4	67.6
Norway	50.8	49.2
Switzerland	58.9	41.1

In this report community service is understood to be an alternative to a prison sentence which involves asking the delinquent to perform a specific task or a certain number of hours' work to the benefit of the community. But is this definition what the respondents understand by the term "community service"?

The author attended the institute responsible for the survey when the Swiss interviews were being carried out. He had the opportunity to note that a great number of Swiss respondents thought that community service was a means of ensuring that offenders worked under supervision, so that they are too busy and tired to commit any further offences. In other words, an important proportion of the respondents were confusing community service with forced labour. This perception of community service denotes high punitiveness; respondents who confused community service with forced labour were not to appear as persons with low punitive attitude.⁴²

⁴¹ The difference of the absolute numbers existing between Tables 1 and 8 originate from the fact that the respondents who answered "any other sentence" to question No. 291 (see Note 2) are not taken into account in Table 1 and are taken into account in Table 8.

⁴² It should be noted that, in the framework of this study, persons with a weak punitive attitude were those who did not favour imprisonment for a recidivist burglar found guilty of having stolen a colour television set, including those who favoured community service (see the Introduction).

One would expect that the populations of the countries that do not practice community service would not really be aware of what it actually involves and confuse it with forced labour, whereas residents of countries in which this sentence is often applied would be more familiar with it.

In order to confirm this theory we will start from a finding of the authors of the survey⁴³, according to which, in most countries respondents with a high standard of education were in favour of community service significantly more often than respondents with an average education.

Table 11: Educational level and percentage of respondents who favoured community service (without distinguishing between countries)

	Educational level			
	Low	Middle	High	Very high
Favourable to community service	38.8%	43.3%	48.2%	51.6%
Favourable to another sentence	61.2%	56.7%	51.8%	48.4%

$G = -.13$ $Chi^2 = 195.1$ 100% (N=4211) 100% (6720) 100% (7249) 100% (N=5962)
 DF=3 Z=9.06 $p \leq .000$

This trend is confirmed again for both males ($G = -.13$; $p \leq .000$) and females ($G = -.14$; $p \leq .000$), as well as for all age groups ($-.23 \leq G \leq -.10$; $p \leq .001$). The same trend is observed for England & Wales ($G = -.24$; $p \leq .000$), Scotland ($G = -.29$; $p \leq .000$), Northern Ireland ($G = -.13$; $p \leq .02$), Belgium ($G = -.31$; $p \leq .000$), France ($G = -.27$; $p \leq .000$), Finland ($G = -.21$; $p \leq .004$), Norway ($G = -.17$; $p \leq .02$), Australia ($G = -.11$; $p \leq .03$) and Spain ($G = -.18$; $p \leq .007$). For the countries that participated in the International Victimization Survey, i.e. the Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, USA and Canada, the trend is identical but not significant⁴⁴.

If in these five countries the correlation between the educational level and the percentage of respondents who favoured community service is very low and not significant, this means that as far as their opinion of community service is concerned, the respondents with a low educational level do not differ greatly from those with a higher educational level. This, however, is contrary to the general finding drawn from Table 11.

As noted before⁴⁵, people with a lower educational level are also those who are more punitive. It is quite possible that in the countries where community service is not well known, respondents thought of it as being similar to forced labour. Thus, if it became apparent that the countries deviating from the general trend of Table 11 are also those in which the sentence of community service is less known, an explanation would have been found in the fact that the people with a mediocre

⁴³ See van Dijk et al., Experiences..., op. cit., p. 84.

⁴⁴ The correlations between the educational level and the percentage of respondents who favoured community service in these five country vary between $-.004$ (The Netherlands) and $-.09$ (Switzerland).

⁴⁵ See the paragraph on educational level.

education do not differ from the others as far as their opinion on community service is concerned.

The five countries deviating from the general trend are Germany, Canada, USA, the Netherlands and Switzerland. These are the countries where community service is not well known. As a matter of fact, in Switzerland this sentence exists only in juvenile criminal law and is, furthermore, rarely applied; in Germany, it has recently become possible to replace imprisonment for debt with the recovery of fines and it is now possible to order a suspension of sentence probation in the form of community service⁴⁶ but, so far, these options have only been rarely used; in the United States the prison sentence is so widespread that it is hard to imagine that it is possible to impose a punishment other than confinement; in Canada, community service has been introduced in the national penal system but is still only rarely applied⁴⁷, in the Netherlands the experimental phase of community service in adult criminal law has just come to an end and such sentences are still not widely known.⁴⁸

On the contrary, in the United Kingdom, where the "Community Service Order" was introduced as long ago as 1972 as a complete penal sentence⁴⁹, the relationship existing between the standard of education and the attraction for community service is relatively strong. In fact - as opposed to what happens in the countries where community service is not well known - the English have integrated community service into their general conceptions of life and criminal policy; in other words they have integrated it into their "Weltanschauung" (philosophy of life).

These few findings allow us to conclude that, in conformity with our theory, the differences recorded with regard to attitude towards punishment in the different countries depend for a great part on the knowledge the general public has of the sentences and, therefore, indirectly of the sentences imposed by the national courts.

Multivariate analysis

The foregoing led us to think that to the role of socio-demographic variables is, perhaps, not as strong as that of socio-cultural variables, such as the national level of imprisonment and belonging to an Anglo-Saxon, Latin or other culture.

⁴⁶ Kerner, H.J. and O. Kästner (1986) *Gemeinnützige Arbeit in der Strafrechtspflege*, Bonn; Sessar, K. (1989) "Substituts aux peines d'emprisonnement en République Fédérale d'Allemagne" *Revue de Science Criminelle et de Droit Pénal Comparé* 4:699-709.

⁴⁷ Albrecht, H.J. (1985) "Ansätze und Perspektiven der Gemeinnützigen Arbeit im Strafrecht" *Bewährungshilfe* 32:121-134; Albrecht, H.J. and W. Schädler (1986) *Community service, Gemeinnützige Arbeit, Dienstverlening, Travail d'intérêt général. A new option in punishing offenders in Europe*, Freiburg i.Br.

⁴⁸ Albrecht, H.J. (1990) "Un travail d'intérêt général comme peine de substitution aux peines privatives de liberté" in *Un travail d'intérêt général, une peine nouvelle*, Compte-rendu 1/90:41-55, Caritas Suisse; Tak, P. (1990) "Holländische Erfahrungen mit der gemeinnützige Arbeit" in *Gemeinnützige Arbeit - Eine Alternative zur Freiheitsstrafe*, Compte rendu 1/90:39-46, Caritas Suisse.

⁴⁹ Albrecht, *Un travail...*, op. cit.; Huber, B. (1990) "Die Praxis der gemeinnützigen Arbeit in England" in *Gemeinnützige Arbeit - Eine Alternative zur Freiheitsstrafe*, Compte rendu 1/90:31.38, Caritas Suisse; Huber, B. (1980) "Community service order als Alternative zur Freiheitsstrafe" *Juristenzeitung* 35:638-643.

This theory has been confirmed by multiple regression analysis in which the number of respondents in favour of imprisonment - with respect to the average length of sentence desired by the respondents advocating a prison sentence - was considered to be a dependent variable, for the fourteen countries covered by the survey. Two types of independent variables are taken into consideration:

- a) the "individual" variables referring to the actual character of the respondent (sex, age, standard of education) or their perceptions (fear of crime);
- b) the "contextual" variables linked to the culture of the country (whether or not a person belongs to an Anglo-Saxon or Latin culture).

The two models made up of the "individual" variables - i.e. where the dependent variable is the number of respondents in favour of imprisonment, with respect to the average desired length of the sentence - show that these independent variables do not significantly explain part of the variance of the dependent variables. On the other hand, when considering the two models made up of the "contextual" variables, an important and significant explanatory weighting in belonging to the Anglo-Saxon culture⁵⁰ and a lesser weighting to belonging to the Latin culture⁵¹ can be noted. These four models highlight that the inter-cultural differences are more important than demographic differences in explaining attitudes towards punishment, at least where the sentences under consideration are generally less disputed (this is certainly the case for imprisonment, as opposed, perhaps, to capital punishment).

Nevertheless, it appears that the "contextual" variables play a much more important role in the choice between prison sentence and another type of sentence (71% explained variance)⁵² than on the choice of the length of prison sentence (12% explained variance)⁵³. As mentioned above⁵⁴ the length of the sentence appears, therefore, to be more linked to the level of imprisonment.

The findings that have been made do not allow us, however, to confirm whether a punitive nature is a negative characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon culture. Actually, both the indicators of the attitudes towards punishment⁵⁵ and the belonging of a country to this culture ($r=.53$, $p\leq.05$) have a strong correlation with the level of detention. We are not in a position to say whether the intervening variable of the level of detention in the various countries results from any cultural belonging. In other words, it is not possible to determine whether the fact that a country is Anglo-Saxon leads to a higher rate of detention or whether the level of detention is higher

⁵⁰ $R^2=.745$, adjusted to $R^2=.724$, Standardised Beta Weight =.897, $p\leq.001$ if the percentage of respondents who favoured imprisonment is considered as a dependent variable; $R^2=.147$, adjusted to $R^2=.076$, Standardised beta Weight =.507, $p\leq.10$ if the average length of the sentence imposed is considered as a dependent variable (given that the number of countries is low, it has been considered that the significance level of .10 does not make this result fully significant).

⁵¹ Standardised Beta Weight =.097, N.S. if the percentage of respondents who favoured imprisonment considered as a dependent variable; Standardised Beta Weight =.35, N.S. if the average length of the sentence imposed is considered as a dependent variable.

⁵² $R^2=.753$, adjusted to $R^2=.807$, $p\leq.001$.

⁵³ $R^2=.254$, adjusted $R^2=.118$, N.S.

⁵⁴ See Figure No. 4.

⁵⁵ See the section on Attitudes towards punishment and detention rates.

due to other reasons. The fact that the correlation existing between belonging to the Anglo-Saxon culture and attitudes towards punishment is higher than that which exists between the latter and the level of detention (when attitudes towards punishment are described by the number of respondents in favour of imprisonment⁵⁶), is the only indication leading to believe that this belonging may involve a harsher attitude towards punishment.

Placing a value on socio-cultural (or "contextual") variables and the importance of their role in explaining the various attitudes towards punishment is certainly one of the most interesting results of this research, since only an international survey allows such comparative analysis between countries.

Conclusion

In the area of relationships between demographic variables and the degree of punitiveness, the International Victimization Survey corroborates the results of other studies. As a matter of fact, it can be observed that males are slightly more punitive than females, that age has a certain effect on the various attitudes towards punishment when the two sexes are considered separately, and, finally, that the standard of education plays a considerable role in the field of punitiveness, even though certain caveats must be mentioned with regard to the validity of the measure of the standard of education⁵⁷.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that the demographic differences (concerning the degree of punitiveness) observed in numerous national studies appear less significant in the International Survey. As a matter of fact, the role of sex, age and standard of education is much less than that of the socio-cultural variables such as the level of imprisonment and cultural belonging. This finding has been confirmed by multiple regression analysis which has shown that inter-cultural differences are much more important than demographic or structural differences in explaining the various attitudes towards punishment.

Since only an international survey allows such comparisons between different countries and, therefore, various cultures, this evaluation of socio-cultural variables is certainly one of the most interesting results of the present research.

Another important result of this research is the confirmation that the attitude towards punishment is very rarely influenced by the fear of crime or by crime itself. In other words, the attitude towards punishment essentially depends on an individual's "Weltanschauung" (philosophy of life) and certain variables that influence it, such as the standard of education, but remains largely insensitive to demonstrations of the object of suppression, i.e. crime. Nevertheless it should be noted once again that the International Victimization Survey is only a photograph of the situation in a given moment and does not allow for consideration of the evolution of the phenomena over time. It is possible that victims of crime were less punitive than average before the experienced victimisation but became average after having experienced a crime; this sort of development of the attitudes towards punishment would, of course, escape the International Victimization Survey. The

⁵⁶ .87 against .65.

⁵⁷ See the paragraph on educational level.

same applies to the relationship between victimisation and the fear of crime⁵⁸. It is possible that more confident people take less precautions, run a greater risk and, therefore, fall victim more often than those who are frightened; the fact that the former do not differ from the other respondents may mean that their fear has increased after victimisation to stabilise at the same level as that of the other respondents⁵⁹. Furthermore, fear of crime certainly depends on a variety of personal characteristics which cannot be controlled here. A certain amount of prudence is, therefore, needed when interpreting results. Prudence is especially needed as the attitudes towards punishment and fear of crime are described in the International Survey by a very limited number of variables.

⁵⁸ Skogan, W.G. (1987) "The impact of victimization on fear" *Crime and Delinquency* 12, 33/1:135-154, who studied the evolution of victimisation and fear of crime through a longitudinal study on a panel of 1,738 people. This research showed an important impact of victimisation on fear.

⁵⁹ Hindelang, M.J., M.R. Gottfredson and J. Garofalo (1978) *Victims of personal crime: an empirical foundation for a theory of personal victimization*, pp. 189, 200 et seq., Baillinger, Cambridge, Mass.; Kellens, G. (1982) "Victimisations, insécurité et système pénale" *Journal des tribunaux* 101:537-542, Brussels; Maxfield, M. (1987) *Explaining fear of crime: evidence from the 1984 British Crime Survey*, p. 46, HMSO, London; Killias, Les Suisses..., op. cit., p. 151; Killias, M. (1991) *Précis de criminologie*, Section 906, Editions Staempfli & Cie SA, Berne.

GUN OWNERSHIP, SUICIDE AND HOMICIDE: AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Martin Killias¹

During the 1989 and 1992 International Crime Surveys² data on gun ownership in eighteen countries have been collected on which WHO data on suicide and homicide committed with guns and other means are also available. The results presented in a previous paper³ based on the fourteen countries surveyed during the first ICS and on rank correlations (Spearman's rho), suggested that gun ownership may increase suicides and homicides using firearms, while it may not reduce suicides and homicides with other means. In the present analysis, four additional countries covered by the 1992 ICS only have been included, and Pearson's correlation coefficients r have been used. The results confirm those presented in the previous study. Several possible interpretations will be considered, and special attention will be devoted to possible displacement effects.

Introduction

Among the situational factors which favour violent acts, gun ownership has been mentioned for some time⁴. Earlier research, however, has provided rather weak and inconsistent support for increased efforts at gun control⁵, although more recent time-series evaluations suggest more convincingly some effect of restricting access to guns on homicide⁶. So far, research has focused on cross-sectional analyses across the United States⁷, or on evaluations over time of specific gun control measures in American states or countries⁸, i.e. on American data which show extremely high gun ownership rates throughout the USA, with relatively little variance across space and time.

Given the lack of variation in American data, international comparisons may be an interesting way out of this dilemma. So far, cross-national research has received

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 - 2 van Dijk, J.J.M., P. Mayhew and M. Killias (1992) Experiences of crime across the world: key findings of the 1989 International Crime Survey, (2nd edition), Kluwer, Deventer(NL)/Boston.
 - 3 Killias, M. (1993) "International correlations between gun ownership and rates of homicide and suicide", accepted for publication in *Canadian Medical Association Journal*.
 - 4 Clarke, R.V.G. and P. Mayhew (1980), *Designing out crime*, p. 6, HMSO, London.
 - 5 Wright, J.D., P.H. Rossi and K. Daly (1983) *Under the gun: weapons, crime, and violence in America*, Aldine, New York.
 - 6 Loftin, C., D. McDowall, B. Wiersema and T.J. Cottey (1991) "Effects of restricting licensing of handguns on homicide and suicide in the district of Colombia" *The England Journal of Medicine* 325/23:1615-1620.
 - 7 Zimring, F.E. and G. Hawkins (1987) *The citizen's guide to gun control*, Macmillan, New York.
 - 8 Cook, P.J. (1983) "The influence of gun availability on violent crime patterns" *Crime and Justice* 4:49-89.

rather limited attention⁹. Most of the few studies which exist are based on comparisons of two countries or cities only, thus leaving their conclusions open to many criticisms¹⁰, and they do not use direct measures of gun ownership¹¹. Using the proportion of suicides committed with guns and the accidental firearm death rate rather than survey data as (indirect) indicators of private gun ownership, Lester¹² found substantial correlations with the homicide rate by firearms in a sample of 16 European nations ($r=.42$ and $.59$, respectively). In a paper based on data from 14 countries surveyed in 1989, i.e. on survey data concerning gun ownership, even stronger correlations have been observed¹³. Thus, there are a few international studies suggesting some impact of the availability of guns in private households on homicide and suicide by firearms. It remains to be seen however, whether these obligations will be confirmed when the analysis is extended, as in the present study, to a larger sample of countries.

Research design

Hypothesis

Drawing from earlier studies on the impact of situational variables on crime in general¹⁴, and particularly from studies concerning the possible role of guns in the genesis of violent acts, the central hypothesis underlying this research is that the availability of guns increases the risks of homicides and suicides committed with guns; it is understood that guns are not merely a substitute to other lethal weapons.

Specifically, this hypothesis presupposes the following testable propositions:

- a) in countries with higher rates of households owning firearms, a higher percentage of homicides and suicides will be committed using firearms;
- b) countries with higher rates of households owning firearms will face higher rates of homicides and suicides committed with guns;
- c) countries with higher firearm ownership levels will not experience lower rates of homicides and suicides committed with other means than firearms;
- d) countries with higher firearm ownership levels will face higher overall rates of homicide and suicide.

Given the cross-sectional design of this research, the study of eventual displacement effects (proposition c) will be somewhat more complicated. The

⁹ Robin, G.D. (1991) Violent crime and gun control, Anderson, Cincinnati (Ohio).

¹⁰ Kopel, D.B. (1992) Gun control in Great Britain: saving lives or constricting liberties?, pp. 83-84, University of Illinois Press, Chicago.

¹¹ Clarke, R.V.G. and P. Mayhew (1988) "British gas suicide story & its criminological implications" *Crime and Justice* 10:107; Sloan, J.J., A.L. Kellermann, D.T. Reay et al. (1988) "Handgun regulations, crime, assaults, & homicide. A tale of two cities" *The New England Journal of Medicine* 319/19:1256-1262.

¹² Lester, D. (1991) "Crime as opportunity: a test of the hypothesis with European homicide rates" *British Journal of Criminology* 12, 31/4:186-188.

¹³ Killias, International..., op. cit.

¹⁴ Clarke and Mayhew, Designing..., op. cit.

resulting difficulties of interpretation will be discussed in a later section of this chapter. On the other hand, a cross-sectional design allows to see very substantial variations in the dependent and independent variables, whereas studies on changes in gun control policies over time frequently suffer from a lack in variation of the independent variable (i.e. gun ownership levels).

The data

- *Gun ownership rates in eighteen countries*

So far, international research on the impact of gun ownership on homicide and violent crime has suffered from the unavailability of data on gun ownership. The first International Crime Survey (ICS), conducted in 1989 in 14 countries (United States, Canada, Australia, United Kingdom, with independent surveys being conducted in England & Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, Switzerland, Norway and Finland) by telephone (computer-assisted telephone interviews), provides some relevant data in this connection. A second international crime survey was conducted in 1992, using largely the same methodology, in 13 countries (England, the Netherlands, Belgium, Finland, Sweden, Italy, USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Poland and Czechoslovakia) and in a large number of large cities throughout the world. From these two surveys, the data on gun ownership could be used for the purposes of this analysis. With the exception of four countries which had not participated in the 1989 survey but which had done so in the 1992 survey (CSSR, Italy, New Zealand, Sweden) all the data on gun ownership used here are from the first ICS; since the data concerning the dependent variables could be obtained for past years only, it seems logical to use the earliest available figures on gun ownership.

Unfortunately, the Japanese questionnaire did not include the questions on gun ownership, and from Poland no data on suicide and homicide with guns could be obtained. Not included here are the surveys conducted at the city level, since data on the dependent variables are available at the national level only. Since the methodology and other features of these surveys have been presented elsewhere¹⁵, we shall restrict our explanations in this chapter to the items related to gun ownership.

Respondents were asked whether there are any firearms (except air rifles) in their household. If so, they were asked whether it was a handgun, a rifle, or a shotgun. (In the 1989 survey, rifles and shotguns were combined into one response category.) In order to account for Switzerland's particular militia system¹⁶, Swiss respondents were asked whether it was a private or a military gun. In Table 1, the percentages of private households owning at least one firearm are given for the 18 countries which participated in at least one of the two international crime surveys, by type of firearm and year. (Note that the total rate of each country is different from the sums of the rates per firearms type. Many gun owners may have more than one

¹⁵ van Dijk et al., *Experiences...*, op. cit.

¹⁶ Killias, M. (1990) "Gun ownership and violent crime: the Swiss experience in international perspective" *Security Journal* 1/3:169-174.

type of gun; in some cases, the respondent was unable or unwilling to specify the type of firearm owned.)

Within the present surveys, it has not been possible to validate the information given by respondents, but studies which specifically addressed this issue by matching survey responses about gun ownership with official records found a high correspondence of the two measures¹⁷. Comparison of the gun ownership rates in 1989 and in 1992 - in six countries data on this variable have been collected in both surveys - shows rather small differences, suggesting that the survey measures of gun ownership might be satisfactory. (Some of the differences observed might be due to weighting effects, the 1992 data being unweighted.) Even if this is not taken for granted, minor inaccuracies of ICS measures of gun ownership would only marginally affect the results of correlational analyses, given that gun ownership varies so strongly across the eighteen countries considered here.

¹⁷ Kellermann, A.L., F.P. Rivara, J. Banton et al. (1992) "Validating survey responses about gun ownership among owners of registered handguns" *The New England Journal of Medicine* 1/3:169-174.

Table 1: Percentage of households owning firearms in 1989 and 1992

Country	1989		1992		With handgun		With any kind of firearm	
	rifle & shotgun	rifle	shotgun	1989	1992	1989	1992	
England & Wales	4.1	0.6	3.1	0.4	0.6	4.7	4.4	
Scotland	4.3			0.3		4.7		
Northern Ireland	7.0			1.4		8.4		
Netherlands	1.2	0.7	0.0	0.9	1.4	1.9	1.9	
Germany	3.0			6.7		8.9		
Switzerland	17.0			12.2		27.2		
Belgium	10.5	5.0	7.7	6.9	6.7	16.6	16.5	
France	18.7			5.5		22.6		
Finland	20.8	14.6	18.4	6.1	6.3	23.2	25.2	
Norway	29.0			3.8		32.0		
USA	38.4			28.4		48.0		
Canada	27.3	19.3	15.4	4.8	3.9	29.1	24.2	
Australia	17.7	12.5	6.9	1.5	1.6	19.6	15.1	
Spain	11.0			2.1		13.1		
CSSR		1.2	3.0		1.8		5.2	
Italy		10.7	1.8		5.5		16.0	
New Zealand		18.2	14.0		1.6		22.3	
Sweden		10.8	8.3		1.5		15.1	

- *Rates of homicide and suicide using firearms*

Through correspondence with experts in several countries, an attempt was made to gather data from WHO mortality statistics on homicide and suicide committed with guns (codes E955 and E965 of the WHO classification). The data on homicide and suicide concern the average number of fatalities by all sorts of firearms for the years 1983 to 1986, with the exception of Italy and New Zealand (where data for 1986 to 1989 have been used) as well as Czechoslovakia and Sweden (where the data pertain to 1987-1990).

The codes E955 and E965, as defined by the WHO classification manual of 1977, include suicides and homicides, respectively, committed with any kind of firearm or with explosives. Unfortunately, for many countries no detailed data are available on suicides/homicides by type of firearm, i.e. with handguns (codes E955.0, E965.0) vs. hunting rifles/shotguns (codes E955.1-2, E965.1-2), military weapons (E.955.3, E.965.3) or other firearms (E955.4, E965.4). Therefore, only global data on firearm suicides and homicides could be used here. This seems justified, however, also in view of the substantial proportion of suicides and homicides which are committed with rifles and shotguns, according to the detailed data from the few countries where they are available. In Sweden, for example, there were (in 1987-1990) 3.7 suicides and 3.4 homicides committed with a rifle/shotgun for every handgun suicide/homicide; for 1986 to 1990, the corresponding figures are 34.4 and 19.5 for New Zealand, 12.4 and 14.9 for France, 1.3 and 0.8 for Northern Ireland, and 0.5 and 0.25 for Italy which is the only one of these five countries where killings with handguns consistently outnumber those with rifles/shotguns. In all countries except Northern Ireland, killings with explosives are included in the figures used here. They make up for less than 2 percent of killings included in the codes E955 and E965, respectively, in all of these five countries except in Italy (where 2.2% of suicides are committed with explosives), in Sweden in connection

with homicide (4.2%), and in Northern Ireland where about one homicide in three is committed with explosives. Thus, the proportion of suicides/homicides committed with explosives can be neglected in all countries except Northern Ireland where they have been excluded for the present analysis.

Table 2: Homicides and suicides committed with a gun, in the 18 ICS-countries

Country	Homicide per 1 million		Suicide per 1 million	
	Total (E 960-969)	With a gun (E 965)	Total (E 950-959)	With a gun (E 955)
England & Wales	6.7	0.8	86.1	3.8
Scotland	16.3	1.1	105.1	6.9
Northern Ireland	43.3	21.3	82.7	11.8
Netherlands	11.8	2.7	117.2	2.8
Germany	12.1	2.0	203.7	13.8
Switzerland	11.7	4.0	244.5	57.4
Belgium	18.5	8.7	231.5	24.5
France	12.5	5.5	223.0	49.3
Finland	29.6	7.4	253.5	54.3
Norway	12.1	3.0	142.7	38.7
USA	75.9	44.6	124.0	72.8
Canada	26.0	8.4	139.4	44.4
Australia	19.5	6.6	115.8	34.2
Spain	13.7	3.8	64.5	4.5
CSSR	13.5	2.6	177.8	9.5
Italy	17.4	13.1	78.1	10.9
New Zealand	20.2	4.7	137.7	24.1
Sweden	13.3	2.0	182.4	21.2

Table 2 gives the total and the firearm suicide and homicide rates for the 18 countries considered here. There is a huge variation across countries in firearm and total homicide and suicide rates, thus providing ideal conditions for studying the correlations with gun ownership rates which, as has been noted above, vary about as widely among the countries included.

Results

Overall impact of gun availability

Before looking at the impact of gun availability specifically on suicide and homicide, it might be useful to start with the overall trends as they are summarised in Table 3.

Correlational and regression analyses, as least-square techniques in general, are extremely sensitive to extreme cases ("outliers") whenever the sample is rather small¹⁸. In the present case, two such outliers are identified by the data shown in Tables 1 and 2, namely the USA (with respect to gun ownership, homicide, and

¹⁸ Blalock, H.M. (1979) Social statistics, p. 402, McGraw-Hill, New York.

suicide without firearms) and Northern Ireland (with respect to homicide, the extreme scores being obviously the result of the civil war situation). In order to eliminate this problem, Spearman's rank-order correlation coefficient (ρ) has been used in previous publications on this research¹⁹. However, given the larger sample, due to the inclusion of four additional countries surveyed during the second International Crime Survey, the use of Pearson's correlation coefficient (r) seems justified in the present context. But, as a precaution, the following analyses have been conducted with and without the USA and Northern Ireland, and differences in results between the two procedures will be given due consideration in the text. Spearman's rank order correlation coefficient (ρ) will also be indicated wherever appropriate. Given its insensitivity to extreme scores, it has been computed for all the 18 countries.

Table 3: Simple correlations (Pearson's r , 16 countries without USA and Northern Ireland) and rank order correlations (Spearman's ρ , 18 countries) between:
a) percent households owning firearms; and
b) four dependent variables measuring the impact of guns (propositions A, B, C and D)

Dependent variable	Suicides		Homicides	
	r	ρ	r	ρ
Percent suicides/homicides committed with firearms (proposition A)	.912 $p < .0001$	.922 $p < .0001$	.418 $p < .054$	.543 $p < .025$
Rate of suicides/homicides committed with firearms, per 1 million population (proposition B)	.858 $p < .0001$	.922 $p < .0001$	.476 $p < .031$	.542 $p < .021$
Rate of suicides/homicides committed without firearms, per 1 million population (proposition C)	.107 $p < .347$	.020 $p < .936$	.212 $p < .215$	.211 $p < .385$
Overall rate of suicide/homicide, per 1 million population (proposition D)	.353 $p < .09$	.430 $p < .077$	.441 $p < .044$	.354 $p < .144$

In the following sections, the results given in Table 3 will be commented in detail before looking also at some alternative measures of gun ownership.

Suicide and gun availability

As has been known from earlier work, the percentage of suicides committed with a firearm increases dramatically with increasing gun ownership levels ($r = .912$, and $.933$ when the USA and Northern Ireland are included). Increases in the number of suicide using firearms per 1 million population increases at almost the same rate ($r = .858$, and $.902$ respectively). Figure 1 reveals no outliers in the general distribution. Thus, the overall correlation is not contingent upon a few countries with

¹⁹ Killias, International..., op. cit.

extreme scores on the dependent and independent variable, and propositions A and B are confirmed independently of the inclusion or exclusion of the USA and Northern Ireland.

Does the increase in suicide using a firearm go along with a decrease in suicides committed with other means? In other words, is there a displacement process at work? Figure 2 and correlations observed (.107 and -.104 respectively, when all 18 countries are included) suggest that this is not the case.

Figure 1: Relationship between gun ownership (in 18 countries) and rates of suicides using firearms per 1 million population

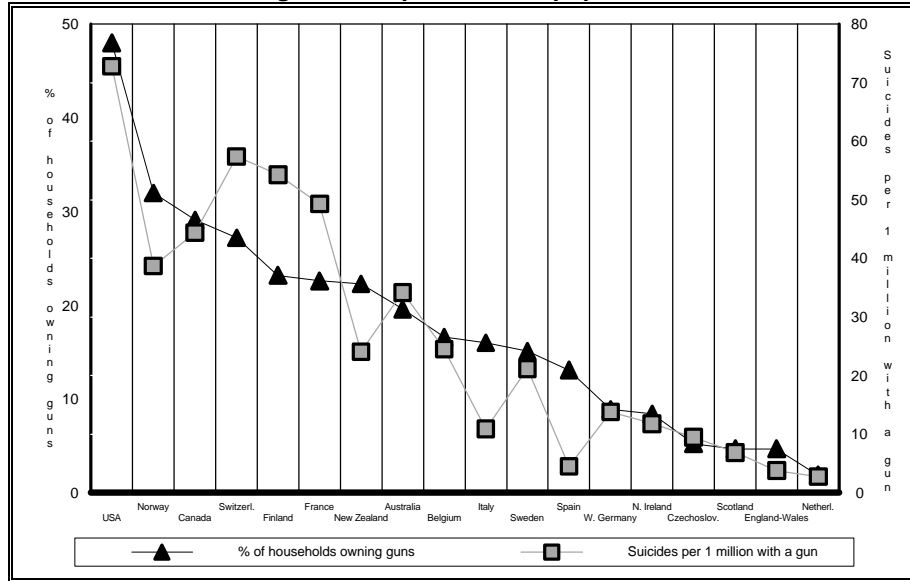
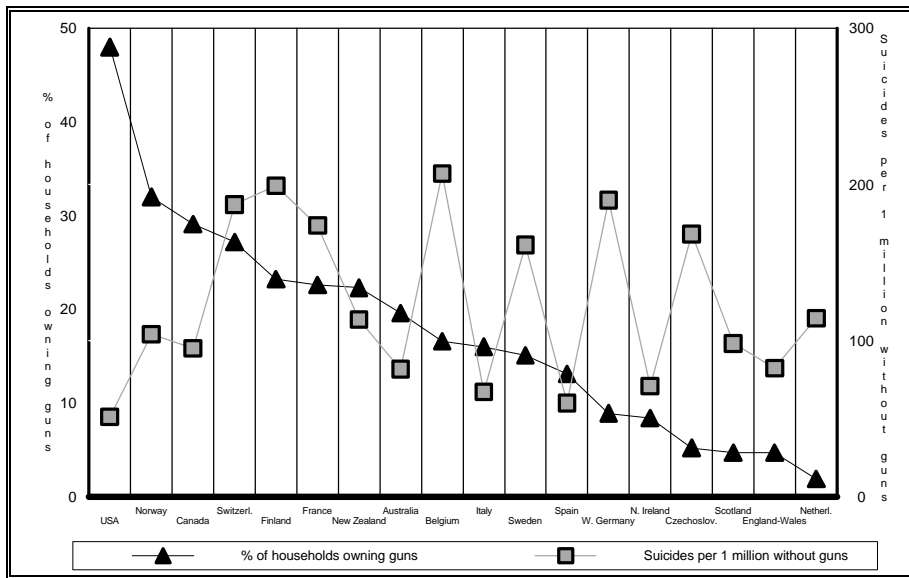


Figure 2: Relationship between gun ownership (in 18 countries) and rates of non-gun suicides



Thus, as suggested by proposition C and in line with previous research on displacement effects in connection with suicide²⁰, countries with widespread gun ownership do not experience less suicides with other means.

Interestingly, the strong correlation between gun ownership levels and suicides by firearms and the absence of any displacement effect do result in only moderately increased overall suicide rates (proposition D). Without the USA and Northern Ireland, the correlation is .353 and significant only at the .10 level; when Northern Ireland is added, the correlation becomes slightly stronger (.392) but when the USA (with its extremely low rate of non-gun suicides, see Table 2) is also included, it drops to .229 and becomes non-significant. The reason for the low impact of gun ownership on total suicide rates probably is the generally modest proportion of suicides which are committed with a firearm, the percentage ranging in the 18 countries from 2.4% in the Netherlands to 31.9% in Canada, with the USA (58.7%) being an outlier. Therefore, even a massive increase in suicides using firearms will result in only a moderate increase in overall suicide rates. Given the small sample size, any increase would need to be very large in order to reach statistical significance.

The correlation between gun ownership levels and suicide using firearms is stronger (.858 vs. .716) when, in the case of Swiss respondents, military firearms are included, instead of considering the impact of private firearms only. (No data are available on the number of victims specifically of military weapons in Switzerland.) We might conclude from this that, in the case of suicide at least, the mere presence of a lethal weapon shapes the outcome of an acute crisis, whatever the legal status or the technical characteristics of that weapon may be.

All these findings are confirmed by Spearman's rho.

Gun ownership and homicide

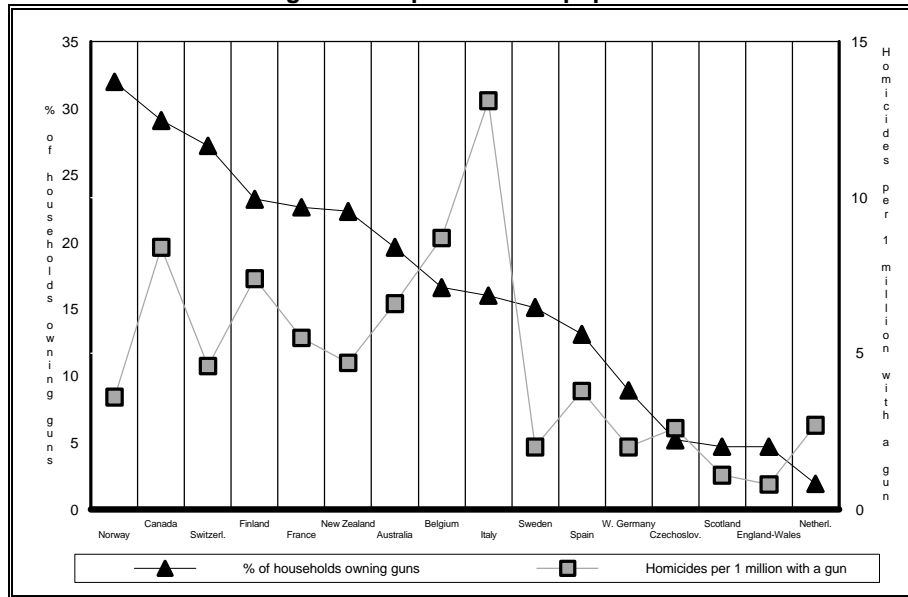
The correlation coefficients indicated in Table 3 show for homicide a somewhat similar pattern as for suicide, though the coefficients are different in size. The strongest correlation has been found between gun ownership and homicide rates (.476). This correlation becomes stronger when the USA and Northern Ireland are included (.610). Figure 3 allows to locate the 16 countries on both variables. The correlation is obviously reduced by the odd positions of Italy and Belgium.

The correlations given in Table 3, as well as in Figure 3, take into account all categories of firearms (handguns, rifles/shotguns, military guns). Given the predominance of homicides committed with rifles and shotguns over those committed with handguns, according to the data from five countries on which detailed information is available (see the above section on rates of homicide/suicide using firearms), it does not seem reasonable to conduct this analysis specifically for handgun ownership only. When, in the case of Switzerland, military guns are excluded from the present analysis, three out of four correlations become somewhat stronger (.369, .506, .313, and .539, instead of .418, .476, .212 and .441); however, since the number of victims killed with military weapons is not known for

²⁰ Clarke, R.V.G. and P.R. Jones (1989) "Suicide and increased availability of handguns in the United States" *Social Science & Medicine* 28/8:805-809; Clarke and Mayhew, Designing..., op. cit.

Switzerland, it is impossible to decide whether military weapons should be included or not in the present context.

Figure 3: Relationship between gun ownership (in 16 countries) and rates of homicide using firearms per 1 million population

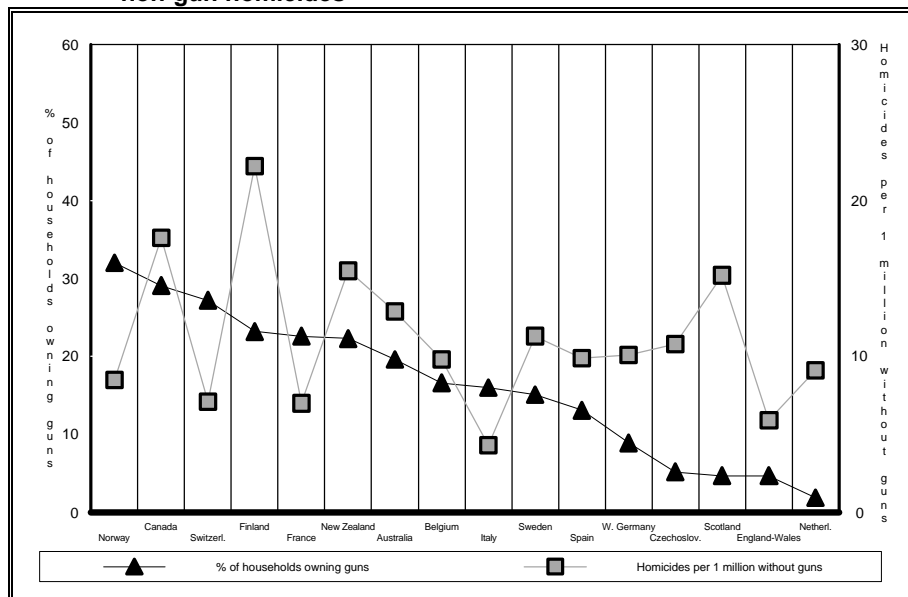


In sum, the safest way may be to take the overall gun ownership rate as the independent variable, and to restrict the analysis to the 16 countries without extreme scores on either variable. When these adjustments are made, the correlations are reasonably strong (Table 3) and support propositions A and B also for homicide.

Do increasing gun ownership rates and increasing rates of homicide using firearms go along with lower rates of other sorts of homicide, as suggested by the so-called displacement hypothesis? As the correlation given in Table 3 (.212) suggests, this may not be the case; proposition C is thus confirmed. As in the case of suicide, there is no indication that countries with high gun ownership rates and any gun-related homicides experience less homicides of other kinds. However, when - despite their extreme scores and the problems this implies in correlational analyses with small samples - the USA and Northern Ireland are included, this correlation becomes considerably stronger (.473) and significant ($p < .024$), though not as strong as the one between gun ownership and gun-related homicide (.610). One may conclude from this that the correlation between gun ownership and homicide with guns is stronger than the one with homicide with other means, suggesting that guns may increase homicide rates beyond a country's "natural" propensity to killings. However, the difference between the two correlations (.610 vs. .473, or .476 vs. .212 in the sample of the 16 countries) is not so strong as to rule out the possibility of an underlying third variable which might simultaneously increase gun ownership and (gun as well as non-gun) homicide. We shall return to this question in the discussion.

Figure 4 illustrates the position of the 16 countries without extreme scores regarding gun ownership and homicide with other means than a gun.

Figure 4: Relationship between gun ownership (in 16 countries) and rates of non-gun homicides



As suggested by proposition D, higher gun ownership rates seem to result in higher overall homicide rates. The tendency is even stronger than in the case of suicide ($r=.441$ vs. $.353$ respectively $.593$ vs. $.229$, when all 18 countries are included). This may be due to the generally higher proportion of homicides committed with firearms (see Table 2), which increases the chance that any change in homicides using firearms will affect the overall rate of homicides. However, Spearman's rho does not confirm proposition D, probably because certain countries with very similar scores have rather unexpected ranks. With this exception, Spearman's rho confirms all the other propositions (A,B,C).

In sum, the data concerning the relationship between gun ownership and homicide present many similarities with what has been observed for suicide; however, there are also some marked differences in the size of the correlations concerning suicide and homicide. We shall return to the questions raised by these findings in the discussion.

Alternative measures of gun availability

As Cook, Lester and others have argued,²¹ the percentage of suicides using firearms can be considered a valid proxy measure of gun ownership, either in itself

²¹ Cook, P.J. (1991) "The technology of personal violence: a review of the evidence concerning the importance of gun availability and use in violent crime, self defense, and suicide" *Crime and Justice* 14:1-

or in combination with other proxy measures. The present data tend to confirm this, since the correlation between that measure and the ICS measure of gun ownership is .912 (Table 3), a result which underlines the validity of both measures of gun availability in private households. When the percentage of suicides committed with firearms is used instead of the ICS measure, most of the correlations are almost identical with those shown in Table 3.

Table 4: Two different measures of gun ownership (percentage of suicides by firearms, ICS) and their correlations with different measures of homicide (16 countries, without USA and Northern Ireland)

	Percentage of suicides committed with firearms	ICS (direct question concerning presence of any guns in the household)
1. Percent homicides committed with firearms	.410	.418
2. Rate of homicides using firearms per 1 million population	.474	.476
3. Overall rate of homicides per 1 million population	.508	.441

The correlations shown in Table 4 suggest that the differences between the two measures of gun ownership are not large, and that either one will allow reasonably valid analyses.

The relatively weak correlation between the ICS measure of gun ownership and percentage of homicides using firearms (.418) illustrates how problematic this latter measure is when it is used as an indicator of gun ownership, as in the study by Sloan et al. and in several studies reviewed by Cook²². Whereas the percentage suicides using firearms may measure gun ownership as validly as direct questions (like those in the ICS), the percentage of homicides, robberies and perhaps also other violent crimes committed with firearms should no longer be used as indicators of gun ownership in cross-sectional analyses, whenever other measures (such as those used in the ICS) are available.

Discussion

Given the low number of countries considered, as well as some difficult problems of a temporal (i.e. causal) order, we prefer to insist on the preliminary and qualitative character of the present research. On the one hand, and for obvious reasons, the homicide and suicide rates had to be collected for past years; on the other hand, the data on gun ownership concern the time of data collection, i.e. the situation in 1989 and 1992, respectively. Even if we assume stability over time of

71; Lester, D. (1992) Gun control in Great Britain: saving lives or constricting liberties?, University of Illinois Press, Chicago.

²² Sloan et al., Handgun..., op. cit.; Cook, J. (1991) "The technology of personal violence: a review of the evidence concerning the importance of gun availability and use in violent crime, self defense and suicide" *Crime and Justice* 14:1-71.

cross-country variations in the relevant variables, it remains to be seen whether gun ownership rates affect crime rates, or whether the opposite is true. In general and contrary to time-series analyses, cross-sectional research does not allow the assessment of the causal order of the phenomena observed. Sometimes, however, it may be possible to rule out a concurring interpretation on the base of common sense. In the present case, suicide may be such an instance. It does indeed make sense that gun availability affects the proportion of suicides committed with guns, but one can hardly see how a high rate of suicides committed with guns should motivate people to buy guns. If one accepts this reasoning, one may infer from the role of guns in connection with suicide that high gun ownership rates increase gun homicides - and not the other way round.

But even if this is taken for granted, there still remains the possibility of eventual third variables which have not been considered here and which indeed might account for high scores on the independent and the dependent variables, rendering the correlations between gun ownership and gun-related events (suicides, homicides) spurious. In connection with homicide, one might consider the possibility that some cultural or structural variable, such as for example a general acceptance of violent solutions of conflicts in a given country, might be responsible for a high gun ownership rate as well as for a high rate of homicide using firearms²³. One might, for example, see the American West as a "gun culture" where the general acceptance of guns increases their presence as well as their use in violent encounters. Since, in all countries considered except the USA, Italy and Northern Ireland, only a minority of homicides are committed using firearms (see Table 2), one should expect, however, that a culture of general acceptance of violent solutions goes along with higher non-gun homicide rates, too. There is indeed a positive correlation between gun ownership rates and non-gun homicide rates (.212 and .473 respectively, in Table 3, when the two countries with extreme scores are included), but it is not as strong as the correlations found between gun ownership and homicide with guns, and neither is it significant (in the sample of 16 countries). The hypothetical third variable would, in order to render the correlation between gun ownership and homicide with guns spurious, need to produce high gun ownership levels and high homicide rates using firearms, but only marginally increase homicides through other means. Our data do not rule out the possibility that such a variable may exist, but one can hardly imagine what it might look like.

In the case of suicide, the problem is theoretically the same, but with a correlation close to zero (.107) between gun ownership and non-gun suicide, and with almost perfect correlations between gun ownership on one hand and percent suicides using firearms (.912) and gun suicide rates (.858) on the other hand, the chances are small that any third variable could render them spurious in a multivariate analysis. In the case of suicide, it might be even more difficult than in the case of homicide to imagine a hypothetical third variable which could account for high gun ownership rates as well as for widespread use of these weapons in suicides, and which would leave unaffected the rates of suicide committed with other means. To the extent that such intervening variables have been discussed in the literature, they are intuitively not very plausible; this may be true, for example,

²³ Kleck, G. (1991) Point blank, guns and violence in America, Aldine de Gruyter, Hawthorne, New York.

for depression as a cultural characteristic which Kleck²⁴ supposes to be responsible not only for high suicide rates, but also for strong reliance on self-defence and, concomitantly, widespread gun ownership.

Overall, therefore, it might be plausible to interpret the correlations between gun ownership and gun-related fatal events as a consequence of the formers' presence on the latter. In this connection, it is noteworthy that our data do not lend any support to the displacement hypothesis: whatever the outcome measure (suicide, homicide) considered, a high presence of guns does not go along with less non-gun events. Thus, there is no indication that people will, in the absence of guns, turn to knives or other lethal instruments. It is unclear, however, whether countries with high gun ownership rates experience higher (gun-related and total) suicide and homicide rates because guns increase the propensity of individuals to turn to violent solutions²⁵, or whether the risk of a fatal outcome is increased whenever a gun is involved, as studies reviewed by Cook and Rand, as well as a more recently published study suggest²⁶. WHO statistics count actual fatalities only, and police statistics are notoriously invalid in the present context since the use of a gun increases the probability that an incident will be recorded as an attempted murder rather than as an assault²⁷. Thus, the data used here or otherwise available at national levels do not allow to compare actual and attempted homicides concerning the relative involvement of guns.

It has been noted that the effects of gun ownership on suicide and homicide are similar, although they seem to be somewhat stronger concerning suicide. This difference may be a matter of the setting where these events occur, i.e. in a home (where guns may ordinarily be kept) or outdoors. Contrary to the USA where homicide most of the time occurs between strangers²⁸, it has remained in most European countries a crime involving predominantly intimates and close acquaintances²⁹; thus, homicide may occur in many cases in a setting not too different from suicide, though a smaller fraction of such acts is committed at home. This also highlights the importance of the availability (and not only of ownership) of

²⁴ Kleck, Point..., op. cit. p. 188.

²⁵ As de Fazio et al., drawing on earlier work by Berkowitz on the "weapons effect", hypothesizes; see de Fazio, F., S. Luberto and I. Galliani (1985) "Il ruolo criminogenetico e criminodinamico delle armi da fuoco nell'omicidio" in Canepa, G. (ed.) *Fenomenologia dell'omicidio*, Giuffrè, Milan, Italy.

²⁶ Cook, *The technology...*, op. cit.; Rand, M.R. (1990) *Handgun crime victims*, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Washington D.C.; Saltzman, L.E., J.A. Mercy, P.W. O'Carroll, et al. (1992) "Weapon involvement and injury outcomes in family and intimate assaults" *Journal of American Medical Association* 267/22:3043-3047.

²⁷ Bandini, T., U. Gatti and G.B. Traverso (1983) *Omicidio e controllo sociale*, Franco Angeli Editore, Milan, Italy; Sessar, K. (1981) *Rechtliche und soziale Prozesse einer Definition der Tötungskriminalität*, Freiburg, Germany.

²⁸ Rand, M.R. (1990) *Handgun crime victims*, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Washington D.C.; Maxfield, M.G. (1989) "Circumstances in supplementary homicide reports: variety and validity" *Criminology* 27/4:671-695.

²⁹ Massonet, G., R. Wagner and A. Kuhn (1990) "Etude des homicides dans les cantons de Zurich et de Vaud, en considérant plus particulièrement la relation victime-agresseur" *Bulletin de criminologie* 16/1-2:75-103; Bandini et al., *Omicidio...*, op. cit.; Sessar, *Rechtliche...*, op. cit.

guns. As Cook suggests,³⁰ future measures of the presence of guns in private households (such as any future ICS) should try to assess to whom guns are available, at what time, under what circumstances, and in what setting.

Conclusions

The present study, based on a sample of eighteen countries, confirms the results of previous work based on the 14 countries surveyed during the first International Crime Survey.³¹ Substantial correlations were found between gun ownership and gun-related as well as total suicide and homicide rates. Widespread gun ownership has not been found to reduce the likelihood of fatal events committed with other means. Thus, people do not turn to knives and other potentially lethal instruments less often when more guns are available, but more guns usually means more victims of suicide and homicide.

Since the present analysis is based on a cross-sectional design, the interpretation of the correlations observed is complicated by the ambiguity of the causal order and the presence of eventual third variables. Although we have seen above that alternative interpretations are intuitively not very plausible, the ultimate answer is that they cannot be ruled out. However, it seems not reasonable to trust that any such - theoretically possible, though yet unknown - intervening variable will be responsible for the correlations observed. What we know is that guns do not reduce fatal events due to other means, but that they go along with more shootings. Although we do not know why exactly this is so, we have a good reason to suspect guns to play a - fatal - role in this.

Where should we go from here? In terms of the research agenda, an increase in the number of countries participating in the next ICS would allow a more robust test of the hypothesis at stake. The questions on the type and number of weapons owned and the way they are kept would also need to become more detailed, as discussed earlier. In the longer run, one could also try to evaluate the impact of eventual policy changes on the relevant dependent variables by using a longitudinal design. Finally, more detailed information on the exact circumstances of gun-related and other homicides would be desirable, such as, for example, the kind of relationship between the author and victim by weapon type.

In terms of the political agenda, the main question is whether measures to stop the ever increasing trend in gun ownership will be judged unacceptable as long as available research and knowledge does not allow to rule out the eventuality that guns are not as dangerous and fatal as common sense, as the observed correlations seem to suggest. Waiting for more convincing evidence risks jeopardizing the potential benefits from more rigorous approaches to gun control, since, as the American example illustrates, reducing the number of guns in the hands of the private citizen may become a hopeless task beyond a certain point. The crucial policy question is, then, how much time may we allow ourselves to wait for more convincing research before we take any steps to curb gun ownership rates.

³⁰ Cook, *The technology...*, op. cit.

³¹ Killias, *International...*, op. cit.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CRIME SURVEY

Ezzat A. Fattah¹

It is by now well known that international victimisation surveys have as their goal to provide an indication of the level of crime in different countries that is independent of conventional police statistics which, by their very nature, are limited to crimes that are reported to law enforcement agencies. While this has been, until now, the main purpose of the International Crime Survey, there are many other purposes for which the survey could be used. Here, two potential contributions of the ICS will simply be mentioned and a couple of suggestions made as to how to maximise the value of the information being collected.

Improving survey methodology

International crime surveys can contribute significantly to the refinement of the methodology of victimisation surveys in general. It would be naive to assume that the same technique works equally well in different cultures and it is only by testing various techniques in different cultural settings that one can learn about their strengths and weaknesses. Ultimately, it might prove possible to figure out which technique or techniques work better or best in any given culture. This, of course, raises the problem of comparability of data obtained through the use of different techniques and may even be counter to the original idea of using a standardised technique in all the countries where the survey is conducted. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that insights gained through the international survey are bound to lead to considerable improvements in the techniques currently used nationally and internationally. One need only remember how superior the present techniques are to the rather primitive ones employed in the early surveys to realise how the methodology used can and will benefit from the international experience being acquired from conducting the survey in a large number of countries with very different social, cultural, political, and economic characteristics.

Testing criminological theories

Cross-cultural surveys can be used effectively to test and validate criminological and victimological theories. For example, the findings of the International Survey provide support for the opportunity theory, and lend credence to several elements for the life style or routine activity models. But there are many other theories and theoretical models that could be tested using reliable cross-cultural victimisation data. Environmental theories of crime, as well as theories of target selection, are among the obvious candidates for such validation, but they are not the only ones.

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The rapidly changing conditions in the countries of Eastern Europe provide a unique context for testing several explanations of crime and criminal victimisation.

Testing the theories will require, however, certain modifications to the instrument and the addition of certain questions designed specifically to gauge the validity of certain theoretical postulates and hypotheses.

The need for qualitative data

Victimisation surveys, whether national or international, are essentially measures of the incidence and prevalence of certain types of crime. They also provide information on responses to crime, fear of crime, attitudes towards the police as well as information on victim services and so forth. At present, they do not shed much light on the nature of the victimisation experiences. Understanding of those experiences would be greatly enhanced were the surveys to be complemented by comparative, cross-cultural, qualitative studies of the existentialist aspects of victimisation, what may be called in French, "la victimisation vecue". The qualitative study of the victimisation experiences of street kids in Ethiopia and the Sudan, outlined in the chapter by Prof. Max Taylor *et al.*, is a good example of the valuable insights that could be gained through such qualitative studies. They are the ones that inject some life in the rather lifeless numbers and percentages revealed by victimisation surveys. What makes this study of street kids particularly informative is the fact that children are currently excluded from victimisation surveys. Another example of the qualitative studies is the study conducted by Prof. Tony Peters in Belgium. In it he explores in detail and in depth the victimisation experiences of a small group of victims.

Through these qualitative studies it is possible to learn a great deal about the contexts in which certain victimisations take place, about the dynamics of victimisation, and particularly about the differential impact of victimisation. Studying the impact of certain victimisations on those subjected to them in different cultures can be very enlightening and can help us identify the social and cultural factors that enhance or alleviate the traumatic effects of victimisation. It can shed light on the different cultural attitudes and the varying levels of tolerance to the same types of victimisation.

Cross-cultural surveys can also indicate whether the needs of crime victims are universal or culture-specific. It is likely that the needs do vary, sometimes quite dramatically, from one culture to the other and it is only through these cross-cultural investigations that those needs and how to best satisfy them can be better understood. Last but not least, qualitative studies are indispensable for explaining whatever differences in the rates of victimisation are revealed by the international surveys. Establishing the differences, while in itself a very worthy piece of information, must be taken a step further to the next stage, the stage of explanation.

Exploring the relationship between victimisation and offending

One of the most important findings of national victimisation surveys, such as the British and Dutch Crime Surveys, is the close link that exists between victimisation and offending. The surveys revealed that those who engage in deviant, delinquent, or criminal activities have a much higher chance of being victimised than those who

do not. They showed as well that those who are victimised (and particularly those who are frequently victimised) have substantial delinquent involvement. The considerable overlap between the victim and offender populations is, in the author's humble opinion, one of the most interesting and most significant findings of national victimisation surveys. There is a lot to be learned and gained by including questions about offending and deviance in international surveys. It is necessary to know whether this link and this overlap also exist in cultures other than the western cultures. It is essential to know how violent victimisation or even property victimisation is retaliatory in nature. For example, it has been stated that many Dutch victims of bicycle thefts do themselves justice by simply stealing other people's bicycles. But this is only one example of many. There are strong reasons to believe that victimisation is, in many instances, an antecedent to offending and is a significant contributor to delinquency. There is some conclusive evidence of this emanating from birth cohort research, from retrospective and prospective studies. The implications of this relationship between victimisation and offending for responses to crime and crime prevention policies are enormous.

It is true that the cross-sectional nature of the data currently collected in victimisation surveys makes it difficult to establish the time sequence of victimisation and offending and to determine which occurred first. However, what is important is to view offending and victimisation not as two separate, distinct, or opposing phenomena but as the two sides of the same coin, as two interconnected experiences in the life of many individuals that need to be examined within the same survey if the links between the two experiences are to be understood.

These are just a few, brief, personal thoughts about the potential contributions and the possible directions that the international survey (as well as national surveys) can take. The really important question is whether counting victimisation should continue to be the main or the sole purpose of the surveys or whether the objectives should be broadened. Since there are still some formidable methodological problems in the way of getting an accurate count or a reliable measurement of the victimisations that are taking place, a rethinking of the goals and a redefinition of the objectives might be in order.

THE INTERNATIONAL CRIME SURVEY IN FRANCE: GAINING PERSPECTIVE

Renée Zauberman¹

Comparison of the International Crime Survey (ICS) findings with other empirical information on crime in France is a worthwhile but hazardous enterprise.

It is definitely worthwhile since there have been few opportunities to obtain French victimisation data on a national scale: the 1985-86 investigation conducted by the CESDIP² and the sample surveys conducted by the Institut Francais d'Opinion Publique³ themselves require comparison with other studies to determine the validity of their conclusions.

Comparing ICS findings is hazardous as well, since such comparisons are extremely difficult for a number of reasons: methodological choices often imply basic underlying options, and differences in method may in some cases open yawning chasms between the results of different research projects in which victims are approached. One anecdotal but significant illustration of these diverging approaches may be seen in the project titles: the international survey calls itself a "crime survey", whereas the French surveys obstinately retain the term of "victims" or "victimisation" in their title.

Several difficulties - more or less interrelated - will be evident from these differing positions. The ICS is, first of all, intent on studying "crime" in order to count it. This justifies the breakdown of victimisations into as many narrow, homogeneous categories as possible, with a broad spectrum of types of theft, in particular; as a result, the annual victimisation rate obtained may be (albeit crudely) compared to police statistics. The difficulty arises from the size of the sample; the fact that crime is statistically rare makes the absolute number of cases found for the sample of 1,500 people questioned in France extremely sensitive to fluctuations in sampling. A large margin of doubt then seems to surround the 36 car thefts, 96 thefts from cars, 9 thefts of motorcycles, 21 bicycle thefts, 5 thefts involving violence and 54 robberies, as well as the 101 instances of car vandalism, 12 burglaries, 9 sexual assaults and 32 instances of violence mentioned for 1988⁴. The instability of such findings seems all the more probable in view of the age distribution of the sample: despite statistical weighting, this variable shows considerable divergences for the distribution of the national population (see Table 1).

A procedure in the ICS to alleviate the problems of estimating annual victimisation with small samples was to extend the reference period to five years.

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² Zauberman, R., Ph. Robert, R. Levy and C. Perez-Diaz (1990) *Les victimes: comportements et attitudes. Enquete nationale de victimisation*, Vol. 2, CESDIP, Paris.

³ IFOP (1987) *Les victimes d'infractions*, April and October, Paris.

⁴ Interview (1989) *Crime survey 1988 - tabulations report France*, Amsterdam.

Actually, memories of often relatively unimportant incidents that occurred 5 years previously are quite unreliable: when victimisation levels for the year 1988 are examined along with those obtained for the past 5 years, the ratio found rarely approximates the theoretically predictable 1 to 5 ratio and comparisons between recent urban surveys in France⁵ show the highly erratic nature of these fluctuations (Table 2).

Table 1: Comparison of the age distribution of the ICS sample and of the overall French population.

	ICS sample France age ≥16* %	French population ≥16 on 1/1/1989** %
Under 25 years	14.5	17.6
25-34 years	23.9	19.3
35-49 years	32.5	25.2
50-64 years	17.3	20.3
65 or over	11.4	17.9
No answer	0.4	

* Source: Interview (1989) Table 322

** Source: INSEE (1989) Table B. 01-4

Table 2: Ratio of N victimisations over 5 years, over N victimisations for last year of reference period (1988 for ICS; 1989 for cities)

	ICS	SOFRES-DIV E.	SOFRES-DIV Ta.
Car theft	3	5.5	3.1
Theft from car	3.5	3.9	2.7
Burglary	4.5	5	3.1
"Ordinary" violence	3.6	3.7	2.7
Sexual assault	3.9	3.2	2.7

Clearly, in most cases there were never five times as many victimisations over a 5 year period as for the year immediately previous to the survey. The explanations for this are well known: either minor incidents are forgotten with time, or there is a telescoping of some incidents which occurred at an earlier date but which people are intent on mentioning, thus unduly swelling the figures for the previous year. Or again, the victimisation rate actually increases with time, making the last year more

⁵ More specifically, these surveys were conducted in two cities: E., a Parisian suburb, and Ta., one of the ten largest cities in the country. They were commissioned by the *Délégation Interministérielle à la Ville et au Développement Social Urbain (DIV)*, and conducted by the SOFRES using a tool developed by the CESDIP (*Centre de Recherches Sociologiques sur le Droit et les Institutions Pénales*). See Zauberman et al. *Les victimes...*, op. cit.

consequential than earlier ones. Be this as it may, the variations in the ratio, depending on the type of victimisation, or the urban or national scale in which it is observed, confirms the difficulty inherent in working on longer reference periods in attempts to estimate the extent of victimisation.

The reliability of the ICS findings must therefore be evaluated by other means: a national victimisation survey for 1987⁶ and the two aforementioned urban surveys yield material for certain comparisons: however, these may only be partial and adjusted to specific situations, since none of these surveys investigated exactly the same offences and the same variables as the ICS.

Frequency of victimisations

A first point is the remarkable homogeneity for figures for violent incidents be they of a sexual or assaultive nature: between 0.5% and 1% for the former, and between 2 and slightly under 3% for the latter.

The fact that this order of magnitude, studied over a two-year period in the CESDIP study, is quite similar to that found for one year in the other survey should not thwart analysis: the instructions were formulated much more concisely in this study - only marginally concerned with the calculation of victimisation rates - than in the others. Furthermore, the significance of these rates lies less in their intrinsic value than in comparison with those for property offences.

Table 3: Annual victimisation rate (%)

	SOFRES-DIV E. 1989	SOFRES-DIV Ta. 1989	ICS 1988	IFOP 1987		CESDIP 1984-1985
Car theft	1.6	4.4	2.4		To this one-to-one comparison, may be added other data obtained by the CESDIP survey covering a two-year reference period and including a very broad category of thefts, like the IFOP survey	
Theft from car	9	15.7	6.4	6.9		8.8
Burglary	3.3 ¹	5.6 ¹	2.3	3.6 ¹		6.3
Sexual assault	0.9	0.9	0.6 ²	0.9		0.4
Other violence	2.2	2.7	2.1	2.7		2.6

1. These rates include burglaries in business premises and vacation homes, which conversely were excluded from the international survey.
2. Whereas the question was only addressed to women, the rate has been calculated for the sample as a whole, so that it could be compared with the other figures; the low number of positive responses to this question when it was put to men in the other surveys indicates that the magnitude of the rates would have been very much the same, had the question not been put to women only.

Thefts are undoubtedly of a greater magnitude as a whole. This latter restriction is commanded by the low proportion of car thefts, particularly in the International Survey and in E. However, the high proportion of thefts from cars, in those cases when they are differentiated, accounts for the considerable difference between thefts in general and violence. It should be recalled that comparison with other European

⁶ IFOP, Les victimes..., op. cit.; Zauberman et al., Les victimes..., op. cit., chap. 2.

countries and with the English-speaking countries participating in the survey showed France to be in a leading position for automobile-related thefts.

The case of burglary is more complex. Comparison of the surveys is complicated by a number of disparities. The first of these is difference in definition: the ICS only considers burglary in main homes, whereas all of the others also include burglary of business premises and of vacation homes. Secondly, differences in sampling techniques: it has been shown that the drop in burglary rates (and, to a lesser extent, in thefts) between the CESDIP survey and the IFOP surveys is attributable to the under-representation of inhabitants of the Paris area and of other large cities in the IFOP investigation, rather than to the difference in the reference periods (why indeed would it affect this category of offence exclusively?)⁷. A one-to-one comparison is therefore more risky here than elsewhere. It may be said that when theft is studied overall, burglary is in an intermediate position, somewhere between theft and violence. In those surveys where automobile-related thefts are differentiated, the proportion of burglaries is located somewhere between the figures for thefts from cars and those for violence.

One last remark on Table 3: the only two surveys that are strictly comparable, because they used the same tool and the same scale - the city - are the SOFRES Ta. and E. studies. Although the ratio of violence to property offences are broken down, the victimisation figures are systematically higher in Ta., a large provincial city, than in E., a Paris suburb. The uncovering of such diversity suggests the need to increase the collection of data on a local scale. Although their comparison with nationwide data remains essential, if they are to be kept in perspective, they alone are concrete enough to make the implementation of locally appropriate prevention policies feasible. Conversely, they also indicate certain limits of these: 83-84% of victims of thefts from car and car thefts questioned in the ICS claimed that the incident occurred in the district in which they reside. This high overall rate conceals major inconsistencies: the Ta. figures are nearly the same (78 and 86% respectively), whereas in E. they are quite different: only 61% victims of thefts from cars and 59% of victims of car thefts were affected in their home district.

The size and functions of the districts involved should be taken into account in interpreting this difference: whether they are business or commuter suburbs, for instance. The smaller the district the greater are the individual's chance of leaving it when going anywhere. In addition, since a great many districts, particularly in the suburbs of large cities, do not house all of the urban functions (housing, work, leisure activities, stores), their inhabitants are forced into increased mobility. It is not surprising, then, that people living in big cities claim to have been victimised within their home district more often than suburbanites. In other words, taken separately, local policy decisions in outlying districts can only have limited effects with respect to offences linked to their inhabitants' movements.

Circumstances

All the investigations mentioned so far are concerned with the more or less detailed description of the circumstances surrounding victimisations, and their

⁷ Zauberman et al., *Les victimes...*, op. cit., pp. 55-57.

immediate consequences. However, directly comparable data are rare, and differ with the type of victimisation.

Such comparisons further underline one remarkably uniform finding: these surveys show that 7 to 8 out of 10 victims were aggressed by strangers. This unanimously high figure provides an indirect indication of what victims mean by "aggression, assault, threat,...". Indeed, irrespective of whether violence by an intimate is explicitly excluded (as in the CESDIP survey), or not (as in the other surveys), the proportion of personally known offenders hardly varies. This means that violence between people who are intimate is spontaneously excluded from this category by victims. In fact, when questioned on the identity of the offender, few or very few mentioned intimates: 0.1% of the ICS sample, 0.3% in E., 0.6% in Ta. And yet, the relative frequency of such occurrences is well documented⁸; the CESDIP investigation like the IFOP surveys, in which the question was put directly, actually find a rate of 1.3% which, although low, is nonetheless considerably higher than the above-mentioned figures and, more importantly, represents half of the rates for ordinary violence found in the same surveys.

Slightly over one-third of victims of violence (exclusive of victims of sexual abuse) studied in the French investigations were assaulted with weapons. The ICS shows a comparable figure (34%), but for theft-related violence only. In the latter case the city surveys show weapons to be wielded more frequently: 42.1% of thefts aggravated by violence in E. and 46.2% in Ta.

It is difficult to compare the physical aftermaths of these assaults in the different surveys, since the available information never deals with exactly the same types of victimisation. The CESDIP national survey includes thefts with violence, whereas the local surveys include sexual violence in the same category. With these reservations, and with sometimes considerable variations, physical injury is far from the rule, and injuries requiring treatment even less so (Table 4).

Table 4: Physical injury resulting from violence (% of victims)

	ICS n = 114 %	SOFRES-DIV E. n = 198 %	SOFRES-DIV Ta. n = 154 %	CESDIP Violence n = 164 %	CESDIP Domestic violence n = 41 %
Physical injury	13.1	23	27	45.7	68.3
Injury requiring treatment	8.7	11.1	15.6	41.4	63.4

In fact, as shown by the only study in France to concentrate on this point⁹ it is the most private violent assaults - domestic, family related violence - that cause the greatest physical injury: in 45% of cases hospitalisation was required, as against 34.7% in ordinary violence; 43.9% of victims suffered sequelae as opposed to 13.4% of victims of ordinary violence.

⁸ Smith, L.J.F. (1989) Domestic violence, HMSO, London.

⁹ Zauberman et al., Les victimes..., op. cit., p. 84.

Comparable information on property offences is even more fragmented. Furthermore, contrary to the ICS, which asked the victims to estimate their losses, the other surveys simply questioned them on their sentiments as to the extent of loss. In an attempt to make some sort of comparison, the ICS figures have been divided into two categories, based on the premise that losses exceeding the mean are major. This is only an estimation, however, since the number of cases located on either side of the mean could not be calculated sufficiently accurately.

In the French surveys, slightly less than half (47-48%) of burglary victims report major losses. Above-average losses in the ICS survey represent 37% but this figure only includes the value of stolen goods, omitting the cost of damage suffered in connection with the burglary, which are evidenced in 45% of cases.

An examination of thefts from cars again shows relatively similar figures for "major" losses - ranging around 40% - in both the local surveys and the International Survey.

Data from the city survey indicates that claims of major losses are most frequent among victims of car thefts (over 60%), and this is apparently true irrespective of whether or not the vehicle is recovered. Recovery occurs in three-quarters of cases, according to the ICS, but this figure masks considerable disparities, since it is corroborated in Ta., but not in E., where only 57% of victims recovered their car. The rate of recovery of stolen objects is very small for all other types of theft, except for motorcycle theft (32.4% according to the ICS).

The consequences of victimisation are not, of course, limited to financial losses. There is also an emotional dimension, whose relationship with the material aspects must be understood if the impact of victimisation is to be entirely comprehended. The various French studies show that certain victims - especially burglary victims - are greatly affected although the material value of the goods stolen may be minimal. Even more than the sensitivity to physical injury, this extreme sensitivity to assaults on property is one expression of the anxiety-ridden, conservative Weltanschauung that constitutes one pole of the French debate on law and order.

Reporting to the police

The ICS shows that France as a whole ranks first, with Great Britain, as regards frequency of reporting crime to the police¹⁰. The rate of reporting varies with the type of victimisation, and as shown in Table 5, there is considerable agreement between the different investigations on this point.

Table 5: Reporting rate (% of victims)

	ICS ² %	SOFRES DIV E. %	SOFRES DIV Ta. %	CESDIP %
Car theft	96.5	97	98	72.6
Theft from car	68.1	59	64	
Burglary	82	82 ¹	80 ¹	76.2 ¹
Sexual assault	17.1	25	35	26.3

¹⁰ van Dijk, J.J.M., P. Mayhew and M. Killias (1990) Experiences of crime across the world: key findings of the 1989 International Crime Survey, p. 69, Kluwer, Deventer, the Netherlands.

Other violence	37.7	41.9	42.9	43.3 ³
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1. Same remark as under Table 3.
2. The question put was: reporting by "you or someone else", whereas only the person interviewed was motivated in the other surveys.
3. Thefts with violence are included here.

Not only are the magnitudes relatively similar, but the offences are ranked in the same order in the different surveys. The reporting rate is highest for property offences, with car thefts ranking highest, followed closely by burglaries, and then by thefts from car. Reporting of violent offences is much less frequent.

The rate of reporting property offences apparently closely parallels the frequency of insurance contracts, inasmuch as companies require that a complaint be filed before compensating for losses. Automobile insurance is compulsory in France, and most contracts cover car thefts. In addition, the necessity of disclaiming one's liability to avoid being accused in case the car is involved in an accident explains why the report rate for this offence is one of the highest in the ICS. Insurance contracts provide little protection in case of thefts inside cars, on the other hand. They often exclude certain objects (car radios) and/or define franchises or even penalties, so that reporting is not worthwhile unless loss is considerable.

The agreement is striking in the case of burglaries: 82.6% of the ICS sample claimed to be insured for this risk, as did 82.6% of burglary victims in the Zauberman et al. study¹¹. Nonetheless, this reporting rate is in no way exceptional, since it is about average for all countries investigated in the International Survey.

For comparative purposes, the definition of different types of violence raises more problems than that of different types of theft. It is perhaps justifiable, however, to retain one unchanging point. With the exception of rapes, reporting of sexual offences as a whole is consistently less frequent than reporting of other types of assault: 17.1% versus 37.5% for violence and 47.7% for thefts with violence, according to the ICS¹². The same difference is seen for all countries participating in this survey: a 12% average for reporting of sexual violence, as compared to one third for other types of violence¹³.

The reasons most frequently alleged for not informing the police of the affair were very much the same in the different surveys. Between one-third and one-half of the victims interviewed in the ICS and the city surveys claim it was not serious enough; this proportion ranges from one-half to two-thirds in the CESDIP survey. This figure is similar to ICS findings for other countries¹⁴. It is difficult to push this comparison much further, since the varying length of the multiple choice list of causes results in variable scattering of responses, aggravated by the possibility of choosing several reasons in some surveys. Two other types of responses come to the forefront, however, albeit to varying extents depending on the victimisation and the surveys. They indicate the sentiment that the nature of the affair is too private

¹¹ Zauberman et al., *Les victimes...*, op. cit., p. 96.

¹² Interview, *Crime...*, op. cit., Tables 216, 236 and 249.

¹³ van Dijk et al., *Experiences...*, op. cit., pp. 35 and 39.

¹⁴ van Dijk et al., *Experiences...*, op. cit., p. 69.

for police involvement (in the study by Zauberman et al., this reason ranks second among reasons for non-reporting), or that the police could do nothing: this explanation ranked first or second in the city surveys.

When a person refrains from reporting an offence because of doubts about police efficacy, the implications for victim-police relations are not at all the same as when the reason given is that the incident was not serious enough. Such scepticism has rational grounds, given what victims know about the efficiency of the police. According to victims, clearance rates - that is, the arrest of a suspect - ranges from 1 case out of 10 (for car thefts in Ta., for instance) to 1 out of 20 (all thefts¹⁵). These rates are far lower than those shown in police statistics, where 13% of car thefts, 8.4% of thefts from car, 11.4% of burglaries of main homes and 75% of violences and threats are elucidated¹⁶. Some explanations may of course be offered for these discrepancies: there can be little control over the way in which victims define incidents. Further, there is no reason to believe that they are necessarily informed of all of the cases cleared up claimed by the police;¹⁷ the different surveys conducted in France indicate that victims tend not to be informed of follow-up of cases: at most, in 1 out of 2 cases of car theft, 1 out of 3 cases of violence, 1 out of 5 burglaries, 1 out of 8 thefts from car¹⁸. In addition, police tallies are based on the number of offences, whereas the basis of calculation of the above-mentioned clearance rate is the number of victims. The fact remains though that there is often a change in magnitude between the two levels of observation.

Table 6: Percentage of victims stating reason for non-reporting*

	ICS**				
	Car theft	Theft from car	Burglary	Sexual assault	Other violence
	n= 3	n= 106	n= 26	n= 29	n= 71
Not serious enough	33.3	46.2	30.8	34.5	33.8
Victim prefers to deal with it personally	0	2.8	23.1	3.4	9.8
Innapropriate for police	0	1.9	0	6.8	4.2
Police could nothing	66.7	22.6	7.7	20.7	16.9

¹⁵ Zauberman et al., *Les victimes...*, op. cit., p. 91.

¹⁶ Intérieur (1980) *Aspects de la criminalité et de la délinquance constatées en France en 1988 par les services de police et de gendarmerie, d'après les statistiques de police judiciaire*, La Documentation Française, Paris.

¹⁷ In corroboration of this see: Burrows, J. (1986) *Investigating burglary: the measurement of police performance*, HORPU, London.

¹⁸ SOFRES-DIV (1989) *Enquête Victimation à E": principaux résultats*, SemaGroup, Montrouge; Zauberman et al. (1990) *op. cit.*

	CESDIP**			
	Theft	Burglary	Sexual assault	Other violence
	n=109	n=67	n=14	n=93
Not serious enough	62.4	64.2	50	59.1
Victim prefers to deal with it personally	35.8	34.3	42.9	35.5
Innapropriate for police	30.3	13.4	21.4	33.3
Police could nothing				

	SOFRES - DIV**							
	Car theft		Theft from car		Burglary		Assault	
	E n=5	Ta. n=3	E n=270	Ta. n=242	E n=54	Ta n=53	E n=124	Ta n=91
Not serious enough	20	0	35.9	40.1	40.7	42.6	34.7	38.4
Victim prefers to deal with it personally								
Innapropriate for police	0	0	1.5	1.6	5.5	7.5	3.2	2.2
Police could nothing	0	33.3	52.6	52.9	29.6	35.8	48.4	38.4

* All the reasons mentioned are not included in the table.

** The ICS and CESDIP surveys allowed multiple answers, the SOFRES-DIV survey only accepted a single response.

In short, from the victim's point of view, no action is taken: rarely for violence, never for thefts; there is an enormous gap between the propensity to call in the police and the actual service provided. Other earlier research based on the analysis of police statistics has shown that cases treated successfully by the latter were not those involving private citizens as victims¹⁹.

There is nothing surprising, then, in the ambiguous satisfaction expressed by victims with respect to police efficiency. While 60.5% of the individuals questioned by the ICS feel that police control of criminality is satisfactory in their home area - ranking France a mediocre 10th among the countries participating in the survey - only 48.8% are satisfied with the way in which the police treated the last case reported by them, placing France 12th out of 14²⁰; the most frequently mentioned reason for dissatisfaction is the indifference shown by the police.

¹⁹ Robert, Ph. (1985) *Les comptes du crime: les délinquances en France et leurs mesures*, Sycomore, Paris; Levy, R. and F. Ocqueteau (1987) "Police performance and fear of crime, the experience of the left in France between 1981 and 1986" *International Journal of the Sociology of Law* 15:259-280.

²⁰ van Dijk et al., *Experiences...*, op. cit., pp. 70 and 72.

Table 7: Percentage satisfied among victims reporting cases to police

	CESDIP	SOFRES - DIV E.	SOFRES - DIV Ta.
All thefts	34.5		
Car theft		47.6	45.2
Theft from car		22.6	23.2
Burglary	34.8	38.9	37.6
Violence	37.4	37.7 ¹	39.7 ¹

1. Sexual violence included.

Table 7 shows that the police are only awarded a better score for car thefts. It should be recalled that car thefts are the category in which the victims' fate is most acceptable, since half of them are kept informed of the outcome of their case and up to three-quarters of them finally recover their property. Victims of thefts from car, on the other hand, are in the opposite situation: they are practically never informed, never recover anything, and express the lowest rate of satisfaction.

Given the low clearance rate, even lower scores might have been expected: however, as shown in the case of car thefts, arrest of a suspect is probably not the only criterion for satisfaction, nor the main reason for turning to the police. When asked why they reported the event, victims of property offences in E. and Ta. emphasized the desire to recover their property or to receive compensation from their insurance company. Punishment of the offender only ranks first among the expectations of victims of physical violence, and to a lesser extent, for certain victims of burglaries. In both cities, such repressive tendencies are expressed mostly by elderly people with modest incomes - of varying social status however, since they include workers as well as farmers and trade and craftspeople - with conservative opinions. These findings are similar to those uncovered by Zauberman *et al.* in their national survey, which showed that retired people, housewives and the self-employed have a stronger tendency than other victims of burglary to demand punishment²¹.

In addition, this study brought out the widespread feeling, among French victims, that it is a civic duty to report offences to the police: the 80 to 90% of victims who gave this answer have no equivalent in the other countries studied. A relation may be seen between this finding and the high rate of trust (over 80%) expressed by the French population in the ability of the police forces to "solve the problem of insecurity" according to a recent opinion survey²².

Other forms of recourse

Do victims have any other sort of recourse aside from the police and "gendarmerie"? The International Survey only questioned victims on a single other institution, victim assistance services. Actually, the only reason for mentioning these is the emphasis placed on them by current criminal justice policies. The CESDIP survey found 0 to 2% victims using this type of recourse, with a peak of 5% for

²¹ Zauberman et al., *Les victimes...*, op. cit., p. 270.

²² Percheron, A., P. Perrineau, D. Boy and N. Mayer (1990) "Attitudes des Français à l'égard des problèmes de sécurité" *Cahiers de la Sécurité Intérieure* 1:17-52.

domestic violence, for which the small number of victims involved greatly tempered the validity of the figure. It is true that these findings date back to 1986, and there was a possibility that the publicizing of the increasingly numerous services available would enhance the rate of utilisation. Subsequent studies show that this did not materialise; in E. and Ta., they were hardly visible in late 1989 - early 1990: 7 to 8 out of 10 victims questioned were unaware of the existence of this service within their district. 20% of victims in E. and 11% in Ta. were informed of it. Figures for utilisation are ridiculously low: in 1988, 4 out of 296 victims questioned by the ICS claimed to have used it. The rates range from 1 to 3%, depending on the type of victimisation, in the city surveys.

The CESDIP study explored a series of other types of recourse from their diversity. Two patterns finally emerge, for thefts of all sorts and violence, which in fact correspond to different logics of offender/victim acquaintanceship. The question of a link between acquaintanceship and reporting to police is definitely debatable: in his broad compilation, Skogan does not find it to be demonstrated for any given offence²³. On an overall level, however, for each type of offence, there is unquestionably a link between rate of acquaintanceship and rate of reporting, in our opinion:

- when the offender is always or almost always anonymous, as in thefts and burglaries, people resort massively to the police and to insurance companies, sometimes completing the picture by repairmen and the purchasing of various kinds of equipment;
- as soon as the offender and the victim are acquainted, recourse to the police loses its importance: for physical violence it only occurs in 3 or 4 out of 10 cases, and attempts at direct settlement are seen.

Some attitude-related issues

Fear of Crime, feeling of insecurity

There have been two phases in the development of the theme of insecurity in France. A first phase, in the early 70s, was a legacy of the great fear of political violence generated by May 1968. Insecurity was conceived only in the form of physical violence, perhaps because fear of the latter, broadly shared by the population at large²⁴, provided a simple, common language. From the 1977 Peyrefitte report entitled "Responses to violence" to the Security and Freedom (Sécurité et Liberté) law of 1981²⁵, the issue of insecurity was addressed, in both political speech and action, in terms of violence. This conception subsided during the second phase, to be replaced by concern with the security of property -

²³ Skogan, W.G. (1984) "Reporting crimes to the police: the status of the world research" *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* XXI, 2:126.

²⁴ Robert, Ph. and C. Faugeron (1980) *Les forces cachées de la justice: la crise de la justice pénale*, p. 188, Centurion, Paris.

²⁵ Lazerges-Rothe, Ch. (1982) "L'objection dans le droit pénal moderne, a propos de la loi Sécurité et Liberté" *Deviance et Société* VI, 3:227-258.

something like a property-holders fear - quite possibly related to the fact that the reins of power were then in the hands of the left. Petty property offences, especially burglaries, then became the focal point for public discourse on insecurity and fear of crime.

Is there any empirical evidence of a more marked fear of attacks on property at present? The ICS findings apparently do not record any noteworthy difference in apprehension of the two sorts of victimisation. Provided the comparison of a question evaluating the risk of being burglarised with two questions measuring precautions taken when going out at night is viewed as legitimate, the magnitude of fears is seen to be comparable: approximately one third of the sample²⁶. The local surveys, which questioned victims only on this point, did not find any noteworthy differences between fears of burglary and of physical assault (frequency of fear of burglary 40%; of violence 41% in E., 39 and 49% respectively in Ta). The fact that victims express a slightly higher level of fear than the population at large is not overly important: first of all, because there can be no one-to-one comparison of these investigations, given the variety of questions asked; secondly, it has been observed that victims always claim to be slightly more frightened of the particular victimisation that they have just discussed in detail²⁷.

This similarity in the frequency of fears requires some discussion. It is a long known fact that fear of victimisation cannot be reduced to the anxiety caused by a threat of physical harm: there is the fantasized sudden encounter with one's burglar; the intense emotion experienced by the victim by intrusion into his or her private territory, likened to physical intimacy, whence the metaphorical assimilation with rape; the fusion, in certain social groups, of the object possessed with the possessor... actually, the property attacked quite frequently is viewed as part and parcel of the person's individual.

In another line of thought, it has been shown that the fear of public places expressed by the fear of being aggressed is constitutively linked with the enclosure of social life in private spaces.

As a whole, the feeling of insecurity owing to crime may be measured by the place occupied in the individual's social life by the domestic sphere: the more one leaves it, the less one is frightened, whereas the objective risk of being aggressed increases; the less one leaves it, the greater is the investment in the protective cocoon represented by the home, and the greater the fear of crime, which would be susceptible of endangering it. Fear of physical violence and fear of burglary may, then, be seen as the two faces of the same apprehension. This would explain their similar frequencies.

²⁶ Interview, Crime..., op. cit., Tables 252 and 254.

²⁷ Zauberman et al., Les victimes..., op. cit.

Punitiveness

For the second time, a 21 year old man is found guilty of burglary: this time he stole a colour TV set. 14.5% of the sample would grant him a suspended sentence, 10.2% would fine him, 53.8% would sentence him to community service work and 12.7% to a prison term. Those who gave the latter answer were asked how long a sentence they recommended²⁸. It is difficult to discuss these responses, since the fact that the interviewees were only asked to judge a single act lends an absolute character to the range of solutions proposed, whereas it would be preferable to dispose of elements for the analysis of their options in a relative fashion; relatively to the punishment they would advocate for other acts, and within a given context of severe or lenient punishment. The sense of sentencing a burglar to a one year prison term is not the same for the individual who would send all law-breakers to prison for long years, and for another who would only apply severe prison sentences to a business executive responsible for the dumping of toxic wastes in a river. In other words, the analyst has no frame of reference.

No "punitiveness" question of this type is put in the French surveys. However, several studies do apply criminality index techniques, but they interpret them in terms of preferred priorities for repression. The most recent²⁹ study shows a general consensus on the seriousness of assaults on physical integrity, and quite deep disagreements as to the rest; however, there is a remarkable strong rise in concern with the protection of private property over the last 12 years, along with rising concern with some community interests such as environmental conservation.

Another term of comparison for these questions may be found in the answers given by interviewees in other countries: the disinclination of the French to send people to prison - close to the German position - contrasts with the attitudes seen in Great Britain. In this respect, it should be recalled that in France as in Germany, it is essentially the length of time spent in prison rather than the number of entries that conditions overcrowding. As in Germany again, there is a strong preference for sentences to community service work rather than to fines: but in France, there is a marked contrast between these opinions and the facts, since sentencing to community service work is extremely rare³⁰.

Conclusion

The types of victimisations measured in the ICS correspond to 60% of the cases recorded in police statistics. They are characterised by two features:

- they tend to be recorded following reporting by victims rather than on police initiative;
- they represent types of cases which are rarely cleared up.

²⁸ Interview, Crime..., op. cit., Tables 291 and 292.

²⁹ Ocqueteau, F. and C. Perez-Diaz (1990) "Comment les Français reprovent-ils le crime aujourd'hui?" *Déviance et Société* XIV,3.,253-273.

³⁰ Aubusson de Cavarlay, B. (1990) "Du parquet au jugement: la sélection des affaires des personnes poursuivies" *Données Sociales 1990*, p. 432, Paris.

Victimisation surveys generally corroborate these two features, but their added value definitely resides in a better differentiation of the types of behaviour involved in reporting. They show - and this is particularly true of the ICS - the categories in which it is systematic, the majority, a minority or even rare.

Conversely, it would be illusory to present the results of these surveys as portraying criminality, or as the best portrayal of it. At most, they represent a collection of information relative to incidents that self-designated victims judge important to present to interviewers as relevant to crime. Forty percent of the cases recorded by the police are composed of offences not covered by this survey. To these, one might add the 18 million-odd traffic offences, as well as cases dealt with by other agencies (eg. internal revenue, customs), all of which are similarly outside of the purview of a survey of this nature.

Can it be said, at least, that these data provide the best picture of criminality involving direct, individual victims? Even this is not clear: the national survey conducted by the CESDIP included several other types of victimisation such as consumer-related offences, which reached significant scores.

In other words, the image of criminality yielded by these surveys depends entirely on the range of offences chosen for exploration. Their essential value resides elsewhere: in the refining of understanding of victims' behaviour and expectations, and of the diversity of these. This has been illustrated in the example of the variety of reporting practices. Others may be found: for instance, two opposite patterns may be seen among victims of thefts and burglaries: it is not so much the incidents themselves or the steps taken afterward that differentiate them, as the more or less dramatised reactions to them. Everyone, or almost everyone, files a complaint, but this procedure takes on a very different meaning, depending on whether the affair is taken calmly, with detachment, or is viewed as of the utmost importance. Some victims feel that they are going through a formality aimed, at best, at providing them with a certificate for their insurance company; they actually care little about police inaction. Others are much more concerned with police action, are anxious to see the criminal justice institutions function effectively, and they in particular clearly express punitive intentions when reporting offences³¹.

Will public policies succeed in adjusting to this multiplicity of expectations? This is clearly what is at stake at present. Centralised policy making cannot be expected to show this ability to adjust; the necessity for victimisation surveys to confine themselves to a city or an urban centre is increasingly cogent. It is at this scale that information may be obtained and be used in the closest possible adequation with local needs.

³¹ Zauberman et al., *Les victimes...*, op. cit.

RECENT TRENDS OF CRIME IN ITALY

Antonio Cortese¹

Introduction

During the last few years the phenomenon of crime has received increasing priority in the framework of national emergencies. Nevertheless, the administrators of criminal justice have not always been able to provide an adequate and timely response to the increase in crime, while a subculture is developing in a worrying way, especially in particular "at risk" contexts. This illegality is favoured by the attraction of easy gain and possible impunity.

This fact has created a sense of unease within public opinion which, fuelled also by the wide coverage of the phenomenon by the mass media, has led to a stronger reaction to this type of problem with respect to other social problems.

The quantity of crime is defined through official statistical surveys which, however, only record those acts that violate the penal code that come to the attention of the social control agencies.

It is obvious that, as far as data interpretation is concerned, the reporting rate is linked to the level of efficiency of the police forces and of the judiciary in their crime prevention and repression activity, as well as to the type of penal laws in effect at a given time.

Statistical sources

Data related to the spatial and geographical study of crime are usually taken from the National Statistical Institute's (ISTAT) monthly survey, which is based on reported offences against which the judicial authorities have taken legal action.

The survey, known as the crime statistics survey, covers violations of the penal laws, with the exception of fines, and the people responsible for such violations.

According to the present penal code, which was introduced on 24 October 1989, in those cases where the perpetrator is known, criminal proceedings commence when the public prosecutor formulates the charge, in accordance with Art. 405 c.p.p. In those cases where the perpetrator is unknown criminal proceedings are considered active when the crime is registered in the special "Register of unknown perpetrators".

Another source of statistical information in the field is the survey on criminality carried out by ISTAT in collaboration with the Ministry of the Interior and with the assistance of the police force. This survey covers reports of criminal acts that are transmitted to the judicial authorities by the state police, the Carabinieri, and the Revenue Guard Corps. Unlike the crime statistics survey, it does not cover offences that are directly reported to the judicial authorities, but those that have been reported but which do not result in criminal proceedings.

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Within the penal sector, ISTAT also deals with statistics related to prisoners who have received an irrevocable sentence. These provide interesting information of a social character about the defendants as well as statistics on the number of prisoners who enter and leave the correctional institutions, and the number of detainees in prison at the end of each month.

In December 1987 ISTAT also implemented a new type of sample survey among families: the so-called "multi-scope" survey. This provides for an analysis of certain types of victimisation and for an evaluation (albeit partial) of the extent of hidden crime.

The last sweep of this survey, which was carried out between December 1989 and May 1990, produced the following results: 69.9% of attempted theft, 72.5% of threats, 53.7% of robbery with violence, 55% of damage, and 38.4% of thefts were not reported by the respondents, amounting to an average of 38.4%. Furthermore, 55.7% of all cases were reported by the respondents, 43.4% were not, while 0.9% of the respondents did not answer the question.

During the previous sweep of this survey, conducted between December 1987 and May 1988, non-reported offences amounted to approximately 42.7% and mainly involved attempted theft (70.4%), threats (67.9%) and robberies (55.8%).

The main reason for not reporting an offence is related to mistrust: "very little can be done in these cases" (65.9%) or to "lack of interest on the part of the authorities for this type of offence" (20.9%). In this context, the high number of crimes committed by unknown perpetrators (81.5% of the total of reported crimes in 1991), represents a denied justice. In particular, the high percentage of unreported cases of theft (94.6%) indicates, unfortunately, a decriminalisation of the offence. All this creates a sense of deep mistrust in the criminal justice system, that may even induce many victims not to report criminal acts, at least in cases of minor offences and those that are not covered by an insurance.

Long-term trends

A long-term retrospective analysis of crime, starting in the fifties, allows particular phases of the crime phenomenon in Italy to be identified.

In fact, taking as an indicative parameter the number of reported offences per 100,000 inhabitants, it is possible to note a first phase which went from 1950 to the end of the sixties, characterised by a gradual and relatively modest increase in crime; with crime coefficients at around 1,500-1,800 reported offences per 100,000 inhabitants.

The seventies represented a second phase characterised by a rapid increase in the number of reported offences; in 1976 related coefficients exceeded 3,800 offences per 100,000 inhabitants. During these years the socio-cultural transformation of the country became even more intense as a result of such phenomena as youth contestation and the emergence of new consumption models and needs that were usually beyond the actual economic capacity of the individual. This was also the period in which two new phenomena appeared in the field of crime in Italy: terrorism and drug trafficking, to which were linked the rapid expansion of organised crime.

The first half of the seventies, which registered a significant increase in crime, was followed by a decade of relative stability, although, in general, the levels of

crime remained high (approximately 3,500 offences per 100,000 inhabitants). This continued until towards the end of the eighties when a further strong increase was registered, which in 1991 reached almost 5,000 offences per 100,000 inhabitants.

During the whole period under consideration, with the exception of attempted or committed murder which actually increased, a drop in the number of offences against the person (blows, wounds, threats, etc.) was registered. On the other hand, a general increase was recorded for the other types of crime and in particular for robbery, burglaries and economic crimes, including those connected with drugs.

The most recent developments

One worrying aspect nowadays is the increase in criminal behaviour which has become more and more associated with the aggressive use of available resources (huge amounts of capital, violence, etc.). These have given rise to a deep sense of unease and alarm, that call for the urgent need to adopt the appropriate preventive and social defence measures.

In fact, alongside the development of a delinquency which has similar characteristics in most countries of the world, (theft, robbery, criminal gangs, etc.), it is possible to identify the development of a transnational delinquency. The activities of this type of delinquency transcend the barriers of each single country and represent, without doubt, the most dangerous form of crime in that it is less easily controlled by the national states and has its main implications in currency crimes (laundering), arms dealings and the drug market.

From this point of view, the phenomenon should be observed by means of an analysis of the serious damage caused to the country by criminal organisations and the expansion of the "mafiosa" culture, from both a political and socio-economic point of view, and in terms of its effects on the correct functioning of the local institutions and other public organs.

An analysis of the annual data on offences reported by the police forces to the judicial authorities during the last three years (1989, 1990, 1991) immediately shows a conspicuous increase in crime; in 1991 a total of 2,647,741 offences were reported against 2,501,640 in 1990 and 2,053,522 in 1989. However, the increase between 1990 and 1991 was 5.8% and therefore much less than the 21.8% increase registered between 1989 and 1990.

Furthermore, an analysis of the disaggregated data for certain types of offences (homicide, robbery, theft, etc.) shows a drop in the rate of increase. This could be a sign of an inversion of trends which seems to be confirmed by the provisional data on offences reported between January and September 1992, which show a consistent decrease compared to the same period in 1991.

During the period under consideration a significant decrease was registered in murders (-24.9%); robbery (-18.9%); and theft (-12.8%) while, on the whole, the number of reported crimes decreased by 9.8%. On the contrary, according to Criminalpol data, the number of reported offenders increased by 11.5% and the number of arrested persons by 20.6%, which is an indication of the improved efficiency of the police force.

Furthermore, the eighties witnessed a new phenomenon: the massive presence of foreigners in the criminal sphere which mainly took the form of a low paid work force.

The progressive involvement of foreigners in the sphere of crime is confirmed by the data related to reported foreigners, which in 1991 amounted to 21,307, i.e. 4.2% of the total. The number of foreigners in prison is even more consistent: in 1991 13,000, i.e. 16.2% of the total prison population was composed of foreigners, and in December of the same year 5,365 of the total prison population of 35,485 detainees were foreigners. The picture does not change much during the first half of 1992: 6,466 of the 46,414 new prisoners were foreigners. Furthermore, on 30 June 1992, 7,884 of the total prison population of 45,577 were of foreign origin.

The burning actuality of the phenomena of drugs, organised crime and migrant deviance should not divert attention from those illegal behaviours that also cause social panic. Particular reference is made, as far as the quantitative dimension of the phenomenon is concerned, to simple and aggravated larceny which, in 1991, represented more than 64% of the total crimes reported by the police; it is important to note that approximately 95% of the perpetrators of these offences are still unknown.

At a geographical level, the phenomenon of crime is diversified according to the different degree of urban concentration as well as between one region and another. As far as the first aspect is concerned, the crime coefficients of the ten chief towns of the large Italian provinces (Turin, Milan, Genoa, Bologna, Florence, Rome, Naples, Bari, Palermo, Catania) for different years, have been compared with those of the main towns of the remaining provinces as well as with their corresponding communes. This has enabled a relatively reliable classification to be made whereby the provincial capitals rank in top position, followed by the other main provincial towns, and finally by the remaining communes.

On the other hand, an analysis of the coefficients of criminality at the regional level highlight a very interesting aspect. This is the concentration in four southern regions (Campania, Puglia, Calabria and Sicily) of the most serious and socially alarming offences such as murder, robbery, criminal gangs, extortion and bomb attacks.

From an analysis of 1991 data related to the most serious offences, it is possible to observe that 1,255 wilful murders were reported in these four southern regions put together, compared to 557 in the rest of Italy (with coefficients per 100,000 inhabitants of 7.3 and 1.4 respectively). Furthermore, 22,282 cases of robbery were reported in the four regions against 16,924 in the rest of Italy (with coefficients of 128.8 and 41.8); 417 cases of criminal gangs compared to 407 in the rest of Italy (with coefficients of 2.4 and 1.0); 169 reported cases of Mafia associations compared to 32 in the rest of Italy (with coefficients of 1.0 and 0.1); and 1,926 cases of bomb and/or incendiary attacks against 674 in the rest of Italy (with coefficients of 11.1 and 1.7).

On the other hand, when considering criminality as a whole, it can be noted that the total number of offences, amounting to 754,803, is remarkably lower in the four southern regions than in the rest of Italy where it amounts to 1,892,938 (with coefficients of 4,362 and 4,677 respectively).

Conclusions

The aim of this report was to present a general overview of the surveys that can be used to examine crime in Italy, on the one hand; and on the other, to outline, on the basis of these sources, the most recent trends of the phenomenon.

With respect to the latter, it might be interesting to point out that statistical analysis should produce more precise elements of judgment in order to better orientate intervention policies.

To do this it will be necessary first to improve the quality of the collected data, and second to develop the use of the most appropriate statistical techniques. At present ISTAT is very much involved in this endeavour (for example, great attention is being paid to criminal acts within the framework of a multi-scope survey on families) with the aim also of making up for delays accumulated in the past. In fact, in the field of these so-called judicial statistics, the large amount of traditionally available data has not always been matched by a corresponding amount of research work.

VICTIMS AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN SPAIN

Manuel Reverte Montagud¹

Definition

Victimisation is the direct or indirect effect of the harm resulting from a criminal act. Victimisation assumes that a person, group or social sector is or was damaged or injured as a result of a crime or misdemeanor.

Victimology is directly and mainly concerned with persons affected by a criminal act; in this connection, it also looks into aspects related to prevention and bio-psycho-sociological treatment.

Victimology aims at studying the damage suffered by people and caused by a criminal act, excluding those resulting from physical agents not dependent on an individual's will.

By enhancing communication between citizens and the legal system, as well as by improving criminal proceedings and policing, victimology contributes towards restoring social equity and justice.

Analysis of victimology

In Spanish society there is a strong belief that "delinquents have more rights than victims"; this leads to an excessive focus on the delinquent, to the neglect of the victim. Nevertheless, the victim has a leading role in the political/criminal justice system. In fact, most crimes become known because they are reported by the victim. Victims, therefore, hold the key with which to set the legal system in motion.

Victims' behaviour is not always homogeneous. The possible reactions are: either the victim reports the criminal event or chooses to be silent.

Behavioural factors which lead the victim to report a crime, including his collaboration in clarifying the criminal events and arresting the responsible parties, differ considerably. The main factors that encourage a victim to collaborate with the law include the following:

- desire for revenge;
- economic compensation or recovery of the goods lost;
- to avoid a repetition of the event;
- moral imperative to co-operate with the law enforcement agencies and criminal justice system.

On the other hand, the various factors which discourage the victim of a criminal act from reporting to the authorities include:

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- psychological impact caused by the criminal act on the victim (fear, depression, self-accusation mechanisms, etc.);
- feeling of impotence or vulnerability, mistrust of the criminal justice system, etc.;
- avoidance of further damages (the so-called "second victimisation": economic and work-related damage, feeling of humiliation especially in the case of rape, possible retaliations, etc.).

Having identified the factors which lead to citizens' non-participation and lack of co-operation with the criminal justice system, it is necessary to obtain a higher level of participation by either removing or soothing the negative effect of the above-mentioned factors.

First of all, the system's infrastructure - that is to say, the means available in terms of personnel and equipment - should be taken into consideration. There should be a sufficient number of police officers to counteract existing criminality, and they should be geographically distributed over the territory in an operative manner and equipped with material means in accordance with the circumstances.

Second, it would be necessary to change and improve the operational action not only of the police, but also of each component of the criminal justice system. As regards the police forces, an improved and greater, albeit still insufficient, commitment can be observed.

Finally, specific programmes of prevention, assistance, rehabilitation and treatment of the victim should be formulated. In brief, the following programmes could be developed:

- assistance to the victims, providing them with services which meet both their physical and psychological needs;
- compensation or refund on the part of the offender. These procedures are largely adopted in the USA;
- compensation to the victim, based on social solidarity toward the victim on the one hand and, on the other, on the government's need to refund costs resulting from a crime that was not prevented;
- assistance to the victim/witness: this is related in particular to the victim who has to act as a witness in the criminal proceedings.

Present trends

Historical/judicial perspective

At one time it was left to the victim or his relatives to take the law into their own hands against the offender, his family or patrimony. This was carried out in the manner and for the duration considered appropriate by the offended party.

This stage of absolute private revenge was followed by another stage which was also private but of a proportional character, represented by the so-called "Law of Retaliation": "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth". This was a juridical expression which put an end to any excessive action provoked by an unreasonable feeling of revenge, by establishing a sort of proportionality between the injury suffered and its compensation.

Gradually, as a result of the development and civilisation of human society, the various governmental structures, through their power network, have enlisted the rights of the victim, thus building up a compendium of juridical rules which is reflected in the lawsuit, in order to rationalise and humanise the response to the criminal act and the punishment procedures.

This reduction in the power of the victim reached its historical peak with the enforcement of "ius puniendi" by the modern state, which thus assumed the exclusive right of judging and punishing, as well as the undisputable duty of protecting and defending each and every member of society.

Throughout this continued process of juridical integration, some legal bodies emerged either as a reflection of, or as forerunners to, the individual's right to his personal defence and to punish for the injury suffered. Some of these legal institutions that are worth mentioning include:

- legal assistance; this consists in providing information on the offended party's right to legal assistance in court proceedings, and as to whether or not to refuse reparation for the loss or injury incurred and compensation for the damage caused by the punishable event;
- the hearing; the offended party can, either personally or through a third-party, follow the progress of the proceedings;
- private prosecution: this provides the victim with private legal assistance at his own expense, and is carried out parallel with the public prosecution represented by the Public Prosecutor;
- people's action: This, in the case of private prosecution, does not really represent the victim but an undefined group of citizens who claim justice together with, or separately from, both the private prosecutor's action or that of the Public Prosecutor.

Social perspective

The normal procedure for the indictment and punishment of the offender aims to protect him from public wrath, such as lynching, and from private revenge, such as the settlement of accounts. This form of protection consists of a long list of rights and resources granted to the offender to strengthen his position and counterbalance the power of the state.

Nevertheless, during this process, due to the natural course of events, the position of the victim has gradually become weaker since most victims relinquished their rights by entrusting the state with their defence, thus reaching the point of confrontation between the state and the delinquent. The victim's role has therefore been limited to that of a mere onlooker which is considered as an excuse to justify the punishment given for the damage caused by the criminal act.

Due to this procrastination by the legal system and to social lethargy, new popular movements have arisen which claim for a greater presence of the citizen during the trials. People who are dissatisfied with the present situation react by forming associations which aim to make society more sensitive to the problems which affect them, or to fight against them.

Among these social movements, the following two groups should be mentioned:

- a) legal associations: groups of people who use the law to defend their own interests or that of society, namely:
- Association of the victims of terrorism;
 - Association of raped women;
 - Association of abused women;
 - Association for the fight against drugs;
 - Associations in support of or against abortion.
- b) self-defence movements: in order to make up for what is considered to be the state, in some districts voluntary associations have arisen to deal with social problems (drugs, delinquency, community unsafety, etc.), or to fight against social groups such as drug addicts, prostitutes, gypsies, immigrants, etc., thus provoking outbursts of violence and public unsafety. Examples of such district movements are listed below:
- nightwatchmen;
 - bodies of armed civilians;
 - defence committees;
 - groups for community safety.

Institutional perspective

Public institutions that are aware of the pressing need of the victim to defend and protect his rights, are taking the necessary measures to stem the problem as far as possible.

Thus, initiatives of a financial nature have been taken to subsidise various private associations, to compensate victims of terrorism, as well as those who suffered from judicial errors, and from damages caused either by the authorities or by public institutions in their official capacities.

In addition to the above-mentioned initiatives, actions in support of victims have been taken by municipal and governmental institutions. For example, piloting projects such as the Offices for the Assistance to the Victims of Crime have been developed in various Spanish cities (Valencia and Bilbao). These offices are responsible for providing legal, practical, health and psychological assistance to those people who were victims of a criminal event.

Although still at the stage of research and discussion, there is an intention to introduce legislation which provides for the right of victims of violent crimes to claim for financial compensation from the state.

Finally, within the framework of the legislative system, reforms in procedures have just been initiated which aim at speeding up and simplifying the proceedings for an immediate and effective counteraction to the criminal event. As a result, the victim should no longer have to wait to satisfy his need for justice and be bothered by the present protracted law procedures.

Police perspective

In addition to giving thorough and special attention to the victim of crime - which is the legal duty and the basic principle of the police forces' activities - special police services have been created within the police force with the aim of providing

appropriate solutions to social problems. Among these services, mention should be made of the Centre for the Assistance to Women, which provides support to women who were victims of sexual or physical assault, as well as of the Groups in Support of Juveniles, which take care of juveniles both as victims and authors of crimes.

It is also worth mentioning other kinds of assistance to the victims of crime, although of a general nature, such as that of the architectural character. For instance, in the police offices, reception areas for reporting have been created - or restructured - so as to separate these areas from that where the author of the crime is kept.

Finally, the creation in each police station of the post of an Inspector who is responsible for contacts with the citizenship - that is to say, to gather the requests and suggestions of his district citizens - is also an effective way of doing more justice to both the real and possible needs of the victims of crime.

POLICY IN THE FIELD OF LATENT CRIME REDUCTION

Konstantin K. Goryainov¹

Introduction

In the course towards democracy, alongside the obligations and responsibilities of citizens, greater emphasis should be placed on the promotion of their rights and freedom. This is the main strategy for both crime prevention and the reduction of latent crime.

The behaviour of any individual presupposes that his/her behaviour is permitted by law and law-determined, and that he/she does not remain indifferent towards illegal acts on the part of other persons. If the conditions enabling this kind of behaviour are insufficient or lacking, and if the state institutions' response to criminal behaviour is insufficient or absent, this can result in an indifferent attitude towards crime on the part of those who witness or fall victim to an offence. Action will be replaced by passiveness and the individual's legal position will become distorted; instead of actively counteracting crime, he/she will tend not to interfere and fall victim to despair. A growing sense of fear and uncertainty in society for the safety of one's person and property produce negative political, economic, socio-psychological and criminological consequences. As the harmful effects of offences and crimes on society become more apparent, so the law enforcement agencies becomes more aware of the phenomenon.

The reduction in latent crime diminishes, to a considerable extent, the potential of crime and its reproduction.

It is impossible to eliminate latent crime in contemporary society. State interference in a citizen's private life without his/her consent or interest is restricted to a few specific, legally permitted cases. This is equally true for citizens' right to react, in one way or another, to those events that threaten their interests. However, the state must create the necessary conditions for such freedom of choice. Law enforcement agencies representing the state should be interested in punctually receiving as many reports as possible of potential or actually committed crimes. A greater degree of awareness increases the likelihood of crime prevention and clearance. This, in turn, creates the prerequisites for strengthening the citizens' confidence in the state and in its ability to ensure their protection against criminal infringement.

This can be achieved through: the creation of measures aimed at humanising criminal justice policy and criminal and procedural laws; the development of victim support institutions; improved crime detection activities and response by law enforcement agencies to reported offences; and enhanced relationships between the police and the community.

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Criminal policy

Negative trends in crime growth lead to feelings of panic in society and in the legislative and executive structures, and hence to the temptation to use punitive measures as a response to all types of crime. However, as the history of such methods in Russia and other countries has shown, a non-differentiated increase in the use of punitive policies might only deter crime in the short term.

In the author's opinion, even in present conditions criminal policy should only use harsh measures in cases of serious offences; serious crimes should receive a harsh form of punishment whereas alternative sanctions should be applied for crimes of a less serious nature or which do not represent a major social threat. With respect to the latter group of offences the following general rule could be established: although criminal prosecution should be initiated whenever a victim reports an offence, it should be possible to terminate this at any stage of the process, if so requested by the victim following a reconciliation with the defendant or other form of restoration of the damages. In exceptional cases criminal prosecution may be initiated without a victim's request, for example if the case is of special social significance, if the state's interests have been threatened or if the victim is unable, for specific reasons, to defend his/her own interests.

Russian criminal legislation provides alternatives to criminal proceedings for crimes that do not present a main social threat. Thus, the procedural law allows for the termination of criminal prosecution by taking civil action against the guilty person or by allowing him/her to bail in the working collective; or by transferring the case to a Peers' Court or to a Commission on Juvenile Offenders. According to Article 10 of the Procedural Code, documents related to cases without criminal prosecution may be forwarded to a Peers' Court, or to a Commission on Juvenile Offenders, with the aim of taking measures of a social character, i.e. that go beyond the limits of criminal procedures. However, the reasons for terminating criminal cases and for refusing criminal prosecution provided for by the Procedural Code do not take into account the victim's interests, his/her consent or lack of consent. Nor does it provide alternative procedures for the restitution of the legal rights that have been violated by the offence. Obviously, when applying alternative sanctions, the appropriateness of using these sanctions rather than the correctional measures should be taken into consideration, as well as the victim's interests.

In this respect it is necessary, on the one hand, to put into effect and improve the activities of the peers' courts, community assemblies in rural areas, assemblies of work collectives and other forms of conciliatory procedures in responding to crimes of a minor social threat. On the other hand, the protection, rights and interests of the victims should be guaranteed when developing these alternative forms of social control.

This also applies to witnesses and other persons who are aware of the offence. The existing legislation, with its 31 types of *corpus delicti* stipulating criminal liability for not reporting crimes, does not encourage witnesses or other persons to report crimes and has not proved viable. In our opinion, policy and legislative practice should aim towards: ensuring the support and protection of witnesses; simplifying their involvement in investigative and court proceedings; and morally and materially encourage their socially active behaviour.

Assistance and restitution to victims of crime

Although Russian procedural law regulates issues of civil action when deciding on criminal cases, in effect, even if the plaintiff actually wins the case, actual restitution is often not made or only after several years. The recognition of the inefficiency of such practice has led to the elaboration of a special draft law on restitution to victims of crime which should be adopted in the very near future.

Given the characteristic features of Russia, such development might, in general terms, take the form of a combination of restitution and compensation. In this case restitution would fulfil the function of amending for the damage caused to the victim and would also act as a substitute or supplementary element to the sentence. Compensation means granting financial and other assistance to the victims, especially when restitution from the offender is not possible or in cases when the victims find themselves in a disastrous situation, which corresponds to the major provisions of the European Convention on the Compensation to Victims of Violent Crimes (1983).

These provisions should contribute to the improvement of crime reporting, since restitution and compensation presuppose the need to report crimes, as well as co-operation with the law enforcement system. This should increase control over "the passage" of reports of crimes through the system. Moreover, the state should pay greater attention to crime prevention measures as a means of reducing compensation expenditures.

The actual implementation of the compensation policy might be carried out by victim assistance associations, provided they receive the necessary support from the state and commercial structures, in particular through the establishment of a foundation of assistance to victims of crime.

At the same time we should take into account frequent cases of criminal events which are connected with the so-called "guilt" of the victims; i.e. provocative behaviour, failure to take elementary measures of personal property protection etc. In this connection it is appropriate to discuss the elaboration of minimum rules for ensuring personal and property safety and of liability for their non-observance (i.e. reprimand on behalf of the state, loss of the right to compensation and similar measures).

Improving the police-community relationship

Appeals to the community to co-operate with the police will only be effective if accompanied by specific factors and mechanisms which encourage such co-operation.

One such factor is the degree of the community's access to the police. Unfortunately, in Russia, some organisational decisions made in the past, as well as certain present trends, have tended to widen the gap between the police and the community rather than close it. Thus, the centralisation process which has given rise to bureaucracy has placed increasing barriers between the police and the community. This has led to an increased tendency of the police to work towards solving the tasks of the administrative authorities and in their own interest rather in the interests of the community. Police activities are mainly assessed according to the criterion of internal efficiency, and not external criteria such as guaranteeing

citizens' personal and property safety, and law enforcement. In other words, the social formations which were effectively involved in the process of law enforcement have disintegrated. The increase in crime and the shortage of police personnel have resulted in a steadily decreasing clearance rate, which in turn has led to a drop in the population's confidence in the police.

The development of law enforcement agencies (i.e. manpower, premises and their location, organisational facilities, etc.) should aim towards improving their function of serving the community within the limits of the competence stipulated by the law. Thus, for example, they should be located in areas that are easily reached on foot (the radius of the operative area being 2-3 km), as in the case of other daily service centres. It would be appropriate to decentralise certain police services or their structural units. Although this might create some complications in terms of management, it would make the police more accessible to the community and, consequently, they would be more informed about potential or committed crimes.

Police awareness of offences and crimes are also vital in the context of private commercial enterprises, which often prefer to deal with criminal events themselves without addressing the law enforcement agencies. These enterprises have often established their own security services, leading to the development of a system of private detective and security co-operatives. Nowadays around 300 companies and entities exist that specialise in such activities (and these do not include the companies' own security services and protection system). The decree of the Government of Russia, dated 14 August 1992, provides a minimum list of those entities that must use state protection, whereas a part of the state-owned enterprises, and all private enterprises, resort to private security services to guarantee the protection of their property. The rational and operational procedures of these private firms are regulated by the Law of the Russian Federation on "The Private Detective and Security Activities in the Russian Federation" (adopted in 1992). However, problems related to the reporting to the police agencies of offences that have become known to these private services have usually been solved in an informal way. It is evident therefore that some form of supplementary by-laws must be introduced in this field, as well as new forms of co-operation.

Recording and registration

According to Article 10 of the Law of the Russian Federation "On the Militia" the militia bodies should receive and record reports, messages and other relevant information about crimes, administrative offences and events which pose a threat to personal safety or social security. At present, even in the interior bodies, the records of criminal events are largely unco-ordinated (and decentralised). The recording of information referring to *corpus delicti* received from the detective and investigative agencies depend totally, in fact, on the discretion of officials of the interior bodies.

We believe that all data reported to the interior bodies should be reported and registered in a single service, according to a uniform procedure and using unified forms. This should include reports of a criminal character submitted to the prosecution office and to the courts.

A similar procedure should be established, in a uniform system, for integrating reports and other crime-related data existing in medical institutions, social insurance companies, private detective agencies and other entities. By this we

mean the uniform procedure of recording all data related to crimes whether or not the militia decide to take action against them.

Responding to reports of criminal events

A person's decision as to whether or not to report an offence is influenced by several factors. These include the seriousness of the effects of the action, the victim's behaviour during the act, gender, age, social status, etc. For some people addressing the police authorities is no more than a formal act, for example to obtain a document confirming the occurrence of the offence, which is needed for insurance purposes. Whether or not the guilty person is punished is of minor importance to them. Others, on the contrary, insist on criminal prosecution and punishment of the offender despite the minor character of the offence. In both cases the plaintiff should be satisfied. The yearly increase in the number of complaints against the militia for not reacting to reports submitted to the Ministry of the Interior, to the regional departments of the Ministry of the Interior and to other authorities is, to a considerable extent, an indication of victims' dissatisfaction with the efficiency of the police.

Police agencies should be able to provide victims with as much information as possible on how to get in contact with victim assistance agencies and should develop close ties with those bodies and entities which provide social services to citizens apart from criminal proceedings. If the victims' needs are provided for they will be more sympathetic towards decisions to refuse criminal prosecution.

The accomplishment of these recommendations might contribute towards a reduction in latent crime and consequently to an improvement in the criminological situation. It would guarantee the citizens' safety, as well as respect of their rights and legal interests.

CRIME VICTIMS: NEEDS AND SERVICES IN FOUR EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Rob Mawby¹

In recent years, the position of the victim in the criminal justice process has been considerably enhanced, and a number of studies have identified the emergence of victim services both in the UK and other Western societies, such as the US and Canada². Developments in Europe, particularly in the west but also in Eastern Europe have also been noted and accelerated through Council of Europe and United Nations initiatives as well as groups specifically created to promote international co-operation, such as the European Forum for Victim Services³.

A number of studies have indicated that victims have very clear ideas about police performance, and in many cases see the police as failing to address their own priorities vis a vis the crime situation⁴, and in England and Wales the 1988 British Crime Survey (BCS) provides recent evidence of growing public dissatisfaction with the police, albeit among a minority of victims⁵. Yet, with the notable exception of the Netherlands⁶, we know very little about alternative models of service provision by the police in other societies outside the Anglo-Saxon/North American experiences. It is difficult, therefore, to assess how far alternative police systems may be better adapted to providing services that the public appreciate. In particular, little is known of victims' perspectives in Continental police systems, in both Eastern and Western Europe.

The last 30 years has also seen the development in the UK of a range of victim services, including criminal injuries compensations, compensation orders, rape

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² Maguire, M. and C. Corbett (1987) *The effects of crime and the work of victim support schemes*, Gower, Aldershot; Mawby, R.I. and M.L. Gill (1987) *Crime victims: needs, services and the voluntary sector*, Tavistock, London; Rock, P. (1986) *A view from the shadows*, Clarendon Press, Oxford; Rock, P. (1990) *Helping victims of crime*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

³ First European Conference of Victim Support Workers (1989) *Guidelines for victim support in Europe*, VLOS, Utrecht, the Netherlands; HEUNI (1989) *Changing victim policy: the United Nations Declaration and recent developments in Europe*, HEUNI, Helsinki, Finland; Joutsen, M. (1987) *The role of the victim of crime in European criminal justice systems*, HEUNI, Helsinki, Finland; Waller, I. (1988) "International standards, national trail blazing and the next steps" in Maguire, M. and J. Pointing (eds.) *Victims of crime*, Open University Press 7, Buckingham.

⁴ Maguire, M. (1982) *Burglary in a dwelling*, Heineman, London; Shapland, J., J. Willmore and P. Duff (1985) *Victims in the criminal justice system*, Gower, Aldershot.

⁵ Mayhew, P., D. Elliott and L. Dowds (1989) *The 1988 British Crime Survey, Home Office Research Study*, 111, HMSO, London; Skogan, W.G. (1990) *The police and the public in England and Wales*, HMSO, London.

⁶ Hauber, A.R. and J. Wemmers (1987) "An experiment of victim assistance in police stations in the Hague" *WSV Newsletter* 6, 2:68-70; Wemmers, J.M. and M.I. Zeilstra (1991) "Victims services in the Netherlands" *Dutch Penal Law and Policy* 3; Winkel, F. (1989) "Response to criminal victimisation: evaluating the impact of a police assistance program and some social psychological characteristics" *Police Studies* 12, 1:59-72.

crisis centres, refuges for battered women, and victim support schemes⁷. Similar, but not identical, developments have occurred in North America⁸ and elsewhere⁹. However, whilst much of the literature provides a general outline of such policies and tends to stress the broad similarities, as yet no focussed comparative analysis has taken place to assess and explain the precise variations in victims' experiences. For example: how far do different social structures and cultures influence the impact of crime on victims, and the ready availability of informal help; how do different legal and welfare systems influence the structure of services on a formal level; and how are political changes affecting future developments? Such questions are of particular salience in the context of the transformation of political and social structures in Eastern Europe.

The dramatic changes in Eastern Europe have impacts upon law and order in at least four ways. First, widespread public unrest has led to a challenge to legal authorities in an explicit fashion, something that would not have been contemplated two or three years ago. Second, changes to the political structure have made the problem of crime more of an issue than in the past, whether because of an actual increase in crime, a more open review of the extent of crime, or a mixture of both¹⁰. Third, these political changes have implications for the criminal justice system and its organisation; for example, with major reviews of the operation and functioning of the police. Finally, shifts away from state monopolies towards a market economy raise a number of questions about the adequacy of welfare policies and the role of the state, private sector, voluntary sector and local community in meeting needs, in the context of the criminal justice vis a vis victim services. At the same time, the implications of 1992 for countries within the European Community have raised questions about international co-operation between agencies, centralisation and co-ordination of service planning and delivery, and equality of provision between countries, in areas such as policing and victim services¹¹, an issue of wider concern if Eastern European countries subsequently join the EC.

The recent international victim survey¹² provides a welcome initiative in comparative analyses in this area. However, as well as being largely focussed on Western capitalist societies, the very breadth of the survey means that it is limited in many respects and should be seen as providing the backcloth for more detailed and specific future studies rather than as a definitive study. Thus, because it covers a large number of countries, the range of questions, and indeed areas covered, is

⁷ Mawby et al., *Crime...*, op. cit.; Rock, P. (1990) *Helping victims of crime*, Clarendon Press, Oxford; Shapland et al., *Victims...*, op. cit.

⁸ Lurigio, A.J., W.G. Skogan and R.C. Davis (eds.) (1990) *Victims of crime: problems, policies and programs*, Sage, Newbury Park, Calif; Mawby et al., *Victims...*, op. cit.; Rock, *A view...*, op. cit.

⁹ First European Conference of Victim Support Workers, *Guidelines...*, op. cit.; HEUNI, *Changing...*, op. cit.; Joutsen, *The role...*, op. cit.

¹⁰ Mawby, R.I. (1990) *Comparative policing issues: the British and American experience in international perspective*, Unwin Hyman, London.

¹¹ Cannings, D. (1991) *Policing in Europe: towards 1992*, Devon and Cornwall Constabulary, Exeter; Kattau, T.F. (1990) "1992 - Europe without frontiers", paper to Conference on Crime and policing: 1992 a global perspective, Islington.

¹² van, Dijk J.J.M., P. Mayhew and M. Killias (1990) *Experiences of crime across the world: key findings of the 1989 International Crime Survey*, Kluwer, Deventer, the Netherlands.

limited, and there is little detail on victims' needs or specific services. Similarly, as with other victim surveys, such as the BCS, since only a minority of crimes are reported to the police or known to other official agencies, there is for practical purposes a limit to the number of questions that can be included on the response of such agencies towards victims.

Following our own specific interests, and reflecting the conclusions of a recent conference ¹³ this proposal aims to address these issues through a comparative analysis of services and "clients' needs", focussing on a quite specific issue within a small number of cities in Eastern Europe, Western Continental Europe and England. By focussing down in this way we aim to maximise the degree of comparability while using the specific research areas as case studies through which to illustrate and explain wider areas of policy and practices within the criminal justice system.

Essentially, we propose to focus on a number of medium-large size cities and within them on samples of burglary victims (200 in each) who have reported their crimes to the police within a predefined time period. Using a standardised sampling method and questionnaire, victims will be interviewed concerning their crimes, the response of different people (family, neighbours, community) and agencies (such as the police, welfare agencies, victim services, insurance companies, courts etc.) and their perceptions of the relationship between needs and the services provided. To gain some impression of the level of unreported crime and the reasons behind non-reporting, victims will also be asked about previous burglaries and burglaries against friends and neighbours. Using this snowballing technique a sample of victims of non-reported burglaries will then be interviewed. The crimes included in the sample will then be used as a base for widening the analysis to assess the organisation and provision of relevant services, and ultimately the extent to which changes in these are currently being proposed or enacted. This can be illustrated if we take two simple examples. First, with regard to the police: victims will be asked about their contact with specific sections within the police and their impressions of police behaviour; this will provide a basis for deeper analysis of the police organisational structure, specialist units, policies vis a vis levels of investigation etc., and outcomes in terms of victim satisfaction and detection; finally, this will be assessed in the context of ongoing discussions within and outside the police on the organisation of the police, personnel issues, prioritisation etc., and the possibility of future change. Second, and similarly, with regard to the wider services available to crime victims: victims will be asked about the impact of the crime on them and their families and the involvement of outside agencies; this will provide the basis for wider review of the availability and appropriateness of different victim services and victims' awareness of these services; this analysis will be used to inform assessment of the prospect of new service provision, and the appropriateness of alternative forms of provision.

The project, therefore, hinges on the deployment of a range of research methods. Recorded data will provide a background for the study and the original sampling frame; victims will then be interviewed using a structured questionnaire;

¹³ Eastern-Western European Conference on Victimology, March 1991, Warsaw.

finally, observation and semi-structured interviews will be used to contextualise the experiences of the sample within the wider operation of the system.

It is proposed that the research be conducted in three cities in Eastern Europe: Warsaw, the capital and one other smaller city in Poland, and Miskolc, the second largest city in Hungary: and two contrasting cities in England, Liverpool and Plymouth. For wider comparison we shall also include Monchengladback in Germany (formally FRG).

The countries and cities chosen reflect the good contacts that the proposers have with police and other agencies in these areas.

More important though, Poland and Hungary have been selected because they, within the Eastern bloc, have evidenced a more concerted interest in victimisation and victim policies than have other Eastern European countries¹⁴, and are thus better placed to invite consideration of the place of the victim within their criminal justice systems.

The research will be co-ordinated jointly by the team¹⁵. One data set will be available for analysis by the research team in each country; one will be available for analysis by the group as a collaborative venture.

The research aims to identify the different situations facing victims in various countries, and the extent to which the availability and nature of service affects their well-being. The results, which thus have a practical focus, will be fed back through conventional channels (articles, conferences etc.), through the active co-operation of those involved in the research in the four countries, and through direct links with agencies such as the European Forum for Victim Services, HEUNI, and the Council of Europe.

¹⁴ Bienkowska, E. (1991) "Victimology in Eastern European countries: the outline of development", paper to Eastern-Western European Conference on Victimology, Warsaw.

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VICTIMISATION AMONGST STREET CHILDREN IN SUDAN AND ETHIOPIA: A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

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The phenomenon of street children has become an integral feature of the urban landscape in many parts of the world. In most third world cities, they are the shadowy presence that fill the background of daily life, doing odd jobs, scavenging for food, begging and stealing.

The term "street child" is too broad to embrace the varieties of children who throng the streets of the cities in the developing world (and cities in the developed world as well). The UNICEF typology of street children is a broadly accepted categorising system which identifies three types of street children. The first is children on the street; these children are economically engaged in street life, but have regular and continuing links with their families. Indeed, they are frequently major contributors to their family income. They are often found working in the street during the day, returning to their family home at night. The second category, children of the street, live, eat and sleep in the street. Such children are not only economically engaged in street life, but are also socially centred on the street. The street may be regarded as their main home. The third category is the abandoned child. This child lives and works on the street and has absolutely no supporter or provider beyond him or herself. Contrary to popular opinion, this category of child has generally been found over a wide variety of locations to account for only a very small percentage of the street child population.

Street children are perhaps the most vulnerable group in any society. They have few advocates, can wield no political strength, and regardless of official views, are generally regarded by low level officials at best as nuisances to be tolerated, and at the worst as little more than vermin. The general public is also likely to have a low opinion of street children due to the latter's perceived laziness and involvement in crime. The excesses in the treatment of street children in some Latin American countries, which have included murder and systematic torture and assaults, bear horrific testimony to this. Children in general are regarded as being in need of protection from abuse, but the nature of the lives of street children exposes them to an almost unimaginable potential for exploitation, often by agents of the state who are in positions of authority. They are often a source of embarrassment to governments seeking to portray a modern image, their very presence acting as a reminder of disintegrating social conditions. Working children exist on the fringes of the economy. They work for long hours for the bare minimum pay, often in dangerous conditions. The very vulnerability and marginality of the lives of street children magnifies the effects of any form of victimisation. In a situation where

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achieving a subsistence income is a daily struggle, any diminution of that income, or any circumstances that diminishes the potential to earn an income, must be viewed with extreme gravity. Whilst, therefore, the amounts involved in theft for example from a street child may be trivial in the particular context of a marginal life on the street, the effects of theft may be little short of catastrophic.

This paper describes research conducted in 1990 in Khartoum, Sudan and in 1992 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The work reported here is preliminary and descriptive in character. It is preliminary in the sense that it is still on-going, being an element of a larger project looking at the causes of child displacement and street children, and the nature of their lives. It is descriptive because the issue of victimisation is itself an element of the broader process that characterises the street child's life.

The data from Sudan reported here is from a larger study in Khartoum which involved an extensive series of in-depth interviews with 80 street children, usually on the street, or in drop in centres in Khartoum. Whilst addressing more general issues, questions were also included which addressed the nature and extent of victimisation; these questions were open ended, allowing children to describe their experiences, and yielded essentially qualitative rather than quantitative data. The work reported from Ethiopia is drawn from a survey of 1,000 street children, which investigated their migrational, familial, economic and socio-demographic history and circumstances of initiation into street life in the capital city, Addis Ababa and three regional towns -Nazareth, Mekele and Bahir Dar. This study has collected extensive qualitative and quantitative data about the nature of street life, and the experiences of street children. A section of this study focussed on issues related to victimisation. A sub sample of 60 children (28 male, 32 female) in Addis Ababa are reported here who have been interviewed in greater depth about their experience of victimisation, with a view to the construction of a case study series. In both Sudan and Ethiopia, interviews were conducted through interpreters.

Collecting information from street children is not easy. They are highly suspicious of adults, and the nature of their lives, being essentially public, makes the gathering of any kind of sensitive information difficult. Structured sampling techniques, or other forms of methodological sophistication are difficult if not impossible to organise given the chaotic lives of the children. We have taken the view that it is more important to establish a sense of trust between the children and the researchers, and to spend time being seen by them as not threatening, rather than to develop what may in reality be spuriously sophisticated sampling procedures. The nature of work of this kind makes data collection an essentially emergent process, yielding reliable qualitative information from extensive interview and case study material. More quantitative data has been collected, but is of doubtful utility when dealing with potentially sensitive issues. The involvement of Europeans in this work has, in our opinion, made the children more open and willing to talk than they might have been in the presence of only a national. The presence of a European is taken as an indication that assurances of confidentiality will be kept, and that there is no hidden official involvement in the work. The development of a trusting rapport between interviewer and interviewee is of crucial importance. When dealing with sensitive issues such as rape, prostitution, assault and theft, very little information will be forthcoming from the child unless he or she trusts that

this will have no adverse consequences for him/her. We were careful at all times to try and maximise such a degree of trust.

The street children in Khartoum are almost exclusively boys. The model age range from our data is from 12 - 14, with an average age of 13.07 years. Eighty-five percent of Sudanese street children were born outside of Khartoum, and over 50 percent had travelled to Khartoum unaccompanied by family from rural areas. In contrast, boys and girls are present amongst Ethiopian street children in a ratio of about 70:30. The age range of Ethiopian children interviewed is from 10 to 17, with an average of 14.1. Most children were born in Addis Ababa, or came from urban backgrounds in Ethiopia, in contrast to the rural backgrounds of the Sudanese boys. Related to this, whilst many Sudanese street children can be described as children of the street, most Ethiopian street children are children on the street, living with their families.

Below we look at the summaries of the data collected in the main areas of victimisation of street children in Sudan and Ethiopia under a number of headings.

Sexual assault

As mentioned already, the street children in Khartoum are almost exclusively boys. Nevertheless, the fear of sexual assault (mainly by other street boys) is very real, particularly among younger boys. The collection of quantitative data on the incidence or nature of sexual assaults amongst these boys is both very difficult and problematic. Any reference to this problem, given the present strongly Islamic regime in Sudan, may reinforce existing negative stereotypes and lead to even greater victimisation of these children by the authorities. The childrens' own accounts, however, are rich sources of information about this sensitive issue and do give grounds for concern. By contrast, in Ethiopia, there is no evidence of sexual victimisation of street boys by older boys or by anyone else. This may be due to the widespread incidence and acceptance of heterosexual prostitution which provides a more conventional outlet for sexual gratification. However, widespread evidence does emerge of sexual victimisation of street girls in Ethiopia, mainly by street boys. Of the 32 interviewed, 21 girls had been sexually attacked. Those girls who were not attacked were either too young (that is, not sexually mature), already pregnant or had a child with them. Thus, one can conclude that sexually mature street girls are subject to a high risk of sexual attack.

Of the 21 girls who were sexually attacked 21 (or 37.5 percent of the total sample) reported having been raped. For many girls, this had occurred a number of times, the perpetrators usually being a group of drunken street boys. The average age of the girls' first experience of rape is 14.25 years.

Of the total of 32 girls, 7 had been pregnant. One of these was due to rape, one was due to prostitution, two to legitimate marriages (traditional type early marriages) and three were due to relationships where the girl was taken in as "wife" by an older boy. In all three of these latter cases, the boy severed contact with the girl when she became pregnant. The average age for these seven girls becoming pregnant is 15.8 years.

Sexual solicitation occurs widely. Twenty-two of the 32 girls had been asked to act as prostitutes either by bar owners (most bars in Addis Ababa employ a number of girls to work for them as "bar ladies". Their function is to serve, to encourage

customers to drink and to be prostitutes at the convenience of the customers willing to pay), or by private individuals requesting their services. The 10 girls not solicited were either sexually immature or had a child.

Within the context of the hardships of street life, prostitution is in our view a form of victimisation. On the basis of the interviews reported here, an estimated 40 - 50 percent of street girls resort to prostitution at some point. Protection is rarely taken against AIDS, other sexually transmitted diseases or pregnancy.

The result of such experiences is that the greatest expressed fear of street girls is rape. Once a girl becomes sexually mature, she is subject to the threat of rape. The risk increases greatly at night, and to avoid this they must be in some form of shelter by nightfall, which effectively imposes a nightfall curfew on sexually mature street girls.

Theft

Theft is an ever present feature of street life. Of the 64 children interviewed in depth in Ethiopia asked about theft, 44 (or 69 percent) reported having had things stolen from them. For the younger, more vulnerable, children this seems to be a regular (daily) occurrence. The risk of theft is such that children develop strategies to avoid carrying money on their person. They may pay rent in advance (many street children, particularly girls, sleep in the relative security and comfort of rooms or houses which are let for a small fee), or leave their money with someone they trust. The most likely offender is an older street person. There is another sense in which street children may be robbed - through non-payment of work done. The majority of the children interviewed in depth in Addis Ababa reported having been cheated out of earnings. Most children to whom this had happened reported it happening "frequently". Typical work carried out by street children is working on taxis (shouting for customers and collecting fares), shining shoes, washing or minding cars, carrying goods. From the above, it is clear that there is widespread exploitation of working children. They are the most vulnerable sector of the labour force and this fact is frequently abused by those making use of their services. In the face of this abuse the children are, largely, helpless (the exception being the widespread practice of tyre-slashing and window-slashing by taxi boys who have been cheated). The Sudanese situation appears to be broadly comparable.

Beatings

Not only are the street children subject to robbery on the street. They are also subject to assaults and beatings. Few children escape beatings. In Addis Ababa, 26 of the 28 boys reported having been beaten on the street. For girls, the most likely cause of a beating is when they refuse sex to boys. Another common reason is for resisting when people (usually older street boys) demand money from them. For boys, the beatings are a regular occurrence, happening a number of times a week for 15 of the 26 boys interviewed in depth in Addis Ababa. These beatings are often very serious. Broken bones and stabbings are very common, even in this relatively small sample. No less than 7 of the 28 boys interviewed had been stabbed. The most common reasons for beatings amongst street boys are: a) while being robbed; b) during fighting between gangs; c) by police.

As in many countries, the police are often responsible for the beatings which street children receive. In Ethiopia, the police of the previous regime (the Derg, ousted in May 1991) were responsible for savage and brutal treatment of street children. The almost universal hatred and fear of police of the Derg regime among Ethiopian street children is fuelled by experiences of rape, beatings, theft and the practice of "rounding up" vagrants to work on state farms. Amongst the relatively small number of interviews reported here, there are a number of explicit examples of torture. These include beatings with sticks, resulting in lost teeth, severe bruising, fractured skull, stabbings, electric shocks applied to the feet.

During the early life of the present regime, harsh methods were adopted to control crime by the victorious Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). In an effort to establish civil order and control crime, the EPRDF shot thieves on sight, for example, and their bodies were left on display. Anecdotal accounts suggest that it is reasonable to assume that some street children were shot in this way. The situation has now stabilised considerably, however, and the Ethiopian authorities are introducing a civilian police force to take over duties from the army. There is much less evidence of ill treatment now from the EPRDF: indeed, most street girls report that they can count on protection from the soldiers. It is too early to tell for the police force. In contrast many Sudanese street boys report very favourable contact with the Sudanese police, and there are a number of accounts of the police acting in a very positive manner towards street children. They appear to provide a measure of protection for street children, and this is evidenced by the fact that children choose to sleep outside police stations.

Security

Perhaps a most fundamental quality of street childrens' vulnerability (and, thus, victimisation), relates to their being outside of adult or family protection. They lack security and support. It might be imagined that a fundamental requirement of a sense of security and psychological well-being relates to safety of night shelter. Sudanese children were asked how safe they thought their place of sleeping was - some 41 percent judged their sleeping place unsafe. Children in Ethiopia experience similar feelings of insecurity. Amongst girls in particular, there is widespread fear of being out after dark. A large number of boys interviewed also had cause to fear the night time or moving outside the area of the city they knew; that is, there exists a widespread and generalised fear of theft and assault. Perhaps more than anything else, this infringement on feelings of safety and security amongst street children illustrates their vulnerability and the harshness of the life they lead.

To conclude, the lives of street children are, therefore, at one level bleak. Theft and assault are the principle direct forms of victimisation street children suffer. Sexual assault and, therefore, pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases, are a perennial source of worry for Ethiopian street girls. In the main, the principle agents of victimisation are older children, mainly boys, who exploit the vulnerabilities of age, situation and sex and this presumably reflects opportunity. However, to survive on the street, the children must be resilient, and in contrast to the negative account of street life which a focus on victimisation inevitably gives, the street also offers children positive qualities. One is the opportunity to improve their condition by their own efforts, through earning an income, however small. Furthermore, sometimes

that income is used not only to buy food and necessities, but also to pay school fees to buy education. Another important quality of street life is the sense of freedom the child has. Rehabilitation initiatives to help children often place constraints on this freedom, rather than approaching children in their own terms, which is one important reason for their limited success.

NEW SANCTIONING PROSPECTS FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE VICTIM IN PENAL LAW

Adelmo Manna¹

Recently published data furnished by the statistical service of Criminalpol and relating to the first six months of 1992, show a general and tendential reduction of the crime rate in Italy². These figures are, however, liable to being interpreted in slightly different ways, depending on the theme of interest.

This is particularly the case with some of the crime figures, even of a certain importance, for which the table of Italian Institute of Statistics (ISTAT) with data relative to the same period in 1992 shows a net increase in percentage terms³. As a general rule it is possible to affirm that we are witnessing a success in controlling crime, but it is a positive trend which is inevitably and dramatically bound to further enlarge the ranks of the present prison population of around 48,000. Certain situations of total degradation in prison living conditions, which have already proved to be particularly dangerous for the maintenance of public order⁴, may be seen as the other side of the coin to the successes referred to, since they can lead to grave problems in the long, if not indeed in the short term.

Is it not then possible to reduce recourse to the prison solution - effective only in the short term - by means of the introduction of alternative sanctions which do not limit personal freedom? Taking account of the interesting cues to be found in the comparative field, the Italian legislator, perhaps taking advantage of the reform taking place in the criminal code, could attempt to guarantee the protection of the rights of the victim through the use of instruments provided by the systems of alternative sanctions, as well as those to be found in the present penal system⁵.

All of this would permit, primarily, the proper articulation of the timing of the intervention itself, in the sense of not prejudicing the successes, or outcomes so reputed, in the immediate term.

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² According to the document, murders decreased by 24% as compared with the same period in the previous year, while serious robberies, bag-snatchings, thefts and assaults show a level of decline that go from 5% to 25%; see Arlacchi, P. (1992) "Sorpresa, si uccide di meno" *L'Espresso* 25 October, pp. 45-48.

³ This is the case with associations of a "mafia-like" nature (49.5% increase), or criminal association (+31.5%), extortion (+40.3%), rape (+12.1%); a summary of and comments of these figures can be found in "Criminalità, il '92 sotto il segno del calo" *La Repubblica* 25 October 1992, p. 20; for more general information on this matter see the chapter by Antonio Cortese.

⁴ See "Detenuti in forte aumento dietro le sbarre un terzo in più", *La Repubblica*, 4 November 1992, p. 20. This might also explain the recent address by the Prime Minister of Italy, Mr. Giuliano Amato in relation to the introduction of norms which should, as far as possible, avoid imprisonment for drug-addicts. It is well known that drug-addicts represent a large proportion of the total number of inmates.

⁵ Paliero, C.E. (1992) "Metodologie de lege ferenda: per una riforma non improbabile del sistema sanzionatorio" in *Rivista Italiana di Diritto e Procedura Penale* 12, pp. 510 et seq. and p. 542.

Given the substantial failure, in practice, of alternative and substitutive measures which represent efficient substitutional instruments to detention, and the expected inefficiency of pecuniary sanctions where these are not brought within the structure of "day fine" or even better "in installments", the jurist's analysis focusses on the compensation for damage incurred.

Following a general crisis of the retributive function of the penal sanction⁶, and the related growing need for both general and specific deterrence⁷, penal jurisprudence has over the last few years opened-up to adapted forms of sanction taken from other branches of the system. The experience with decriminalisation of administrative offences, although not completely positive, has certainly reinforced the belief in the possibility of introducing alternative sanctions from other branches of the law. This aspect has, for a long time, been considered in civil jurisprudence with reference to compensation⁸.

When applied in the penal sector, compensation can perform an important role in reducing the number of cases going through the criminal justice system. This reduction can be particularly effective when it concerns crimes against body and limb, for which a pecuniary assessment of the loss is more difficult to establish and, therefore, the punitive aspects are more evident⁹. Compensation as an alternative to imprisonment can also have a significant function within the criminal justice system.

Projects dealing with the decriminalisation of shoplifting and other misdemeanors committed within the working environment¹⁰ ("Alternativen-Professoren") - have not been received with enthusiasm, notwithstanding the fact that they probably represented the most important and concrete proposal (fully shared by the author) for the use of compensation as a decriminalisation tool. Therefore, compensation gets some recognition in the international debate only as an independent alternative sanction, and this is true both *de jure condito* and *de jure condendo*.

The British experience with compensation orders is certainly important. It consists of a series of norms which are particularly sensitive towards the protection of victims' rights. Compensation orders envisage the possibility for the court to impose the offender's restitution/compensation to the victim. Although this practice

⁶ The shift from independent functions to mere internal regulation criterion in which only the necessary principle of proportion between crime and punishment is maintained; in this respect see Bricola, F. (1984) "Tecniche di tutela penale e tecniche alternative di tutela" Funzioni e limiti del diritto penale, pp. 3 et seq. and 43 et seq., Cedam, Padova. It enhances the need for proportion as a guarantee of the retributive concept; see Gallo, M. (1976) "Conclusioni" Orientamenti per una riforma del diritto penale, pp. 93-95, Jovene, Naples.

⁷ See Romano, M. and F. Stella (eds.) (1980) Teoria e prassi della prevenzione generale dei reati, Zanichelli, Bologna.

⁸ Compensation has been defined "private sanction" by Grossfeld, (1961) Die Privatstrafe, Frankfurt a.M., (reprint in 1990: Müller, Heidelberg). In the penal literature, on this topic see Bricola, F. (1985) "La riscoperta delle 'pene private' nell'ottica del penalista" *Foro Italiano* 12, V:6 et seq.

⁹ In this respect, see Manna, A. (1989) Beni della personalità e limiti della protezione penale, pp. 702 et seq., Cedam, Padova; Musco, E. (1979) "Onore formale ed onore reale come oggetto di tutela" Tutela dell'onore e mezzi di comunicazione di massa, pp. 97 et seq., Feltrinelli, Milan.

¹⁰ On this issue, as regards Italy, see Paliero, C.E. (1985) "Minima non curat praetor" Iperprotezione del diritto penale e decriminalizzazione dei reati bagatellari, pp. 596 et seq., Cedam, Padova.

has obtained valid results, it does not appear to have the capacity to solve the problems (even of constitutional character) related to the imposed - and not freely chosen - nature of restitution¹¹.

Also through the so-called *taetige Reue*, a sort of "working repentance" envisaged by Paragraph 167 öStGB in the Austrian penal code, compensation assumes an imperative nature, almost a "third way". This sanction is certainly valid in practice, but it would appear that its limitations lie in the very small number of offences for which it is applicable¹². Compensation as an independent sanction appears also in some projects regarding new penal provisions, such as the Swiss *Vorentwurf Schultz* (*Pre-project of the Penal Code prepared by Professor Schultz*), in which article 55 deals with *Wiedergutmachung* (*reparation*), or the interesting Dutch project of the *Terwee Commission*; although the latter appears to be too extreme since it classifies compensation as a criminal sanction *stricto sensu*, and thus difficult to fully concur with¹³.

In concluding this comparative overview on compensation as a "third way",¹⁴ mention must be made of the German experience which has become even more significant following the recent publication of the complete *Alternativ-Entwurf* (alternative projects) on *Wiedergutmachung*.

The use of compensation in criminal law has a relatively long tradition in the German literature, which has now developed in two main directions.

The first one, which is linked to the above-mentioned "Alternative Projects" on shoplifting and misdemeanors in the working environment was oriented towards a process of decriminalisation through the introduction of a sectorial-type justice characterised by the application of strictly civil sanctions¹⁵. Following the failure of these projects¹⁶ this procedure was abandoned and it was, therefore, possible to move on to the second direction oriented towards the integration of compensation as an independent penal sanction in itself¹⁷.

¹¹ As regards "compensation orders" in the Italian literature, see Gambini Musso, R. (1988) "Discrezionalità del giudice penale e tutela della vittima nei "compensation orders" *Indice penale*, pp. 699 et seq. (with additional bibliographical references).

¹² See Roxin, C. (1990) "Neue Wege der Wiedergutmachung im Strafrecht-Schulssbericht" in Eser, A., G. Kaiser and L. Madlener (eds.) *Neue Wege der Wiedergutmachung im Strafrecht*, pp. 367 et seq., Max-Planck-Institut, Freiburg.

¹³ This is because it appears extremely difficult to consider compensation as a real form of punishment; in so doing there is a risk of devaluing the civil origin of the sanction. For further information in this respect, also with reference to the above-mentioned projects, see Manna, Beni..., op. cit., pp. 696 et seq.

¹⁴ For example, as a third model for penal sanctions, beyond punishment *stricto sensu* and preventive measures, see Roxin, C. (1987) "Risarcimento del danno e fini della pena" *Rivista italiana di diritto processuale e penale*, pp. 3 et seq.; by the same author, see also (1992) "Zur Wiedergutmachung als einer 'dritten Spur' im Sanktionensystem" *Festschrift für Baumann*.

¹⁵ On this topic, see Paliero, Minima..., op. cit.

¹⁶ In particular, the *Alternativ-Entwurf* on shoplifting was the object of deep discussion within the penal section of the 21st *Juristentag*, which took place in Stuttgart in 1976. The project was not received with favour by the vast majority of the German jurists: as many as 128 voted against, while only 18 voted against, and 8 abstained. Criticism expressed by W. Nauke in *Gutachten* was, therefore, accepted.

¹⁷ See (1992) *Alternativ-Entwurf Wiedergutmachung* (AE-WGM), pp.1 et seq., Beck, Munich.

This orientation of compensation has not only an attenuating function, but it also represents an alternative to imprisonment. This increases the already strengthening power of the victim in the context of the criminal trial produced by the *Opferschutzgesetz* (law for the protection of the victim) in 1987¹⁸. However, it should be noted that the scant results obtained through the application of the procedural law led to the many contradictions highlighted in recent research¹⁹. In addition, from a substantive point of view, other contradictions concerning this particular use of compensation have been underscored by those who have individualised in it a substantial change in the nature of penal law²⁰.

What is particularly criticised is the undefined boundaries between penal and civil law and the difficulty of placing the victim in the midst of the traditional punitive relation between the state and the offender which characterises the criminal trial. These are, however, extreme objections which do not take sufficient account of the need to support the victim in the criminal process; a fact that entails important functions both as general and specific deterrence²¹. This, however, has not hindered the recently completed Alternative Project on compensation of which an extremely summarised version of its most significant aspects is presented below.

Paragraph 4 deals with Wiedergutmachung, establishing its applicability for all those cases in which the court deems unnecessary the infliction of a sanction; for example, when compensation is sufficient to restore the *pax juridica* (Paragraph 1). However, this clause is not well defined, thus imposing on the court a difficult settlement with the risk of turning it into "case by case justice".

Another disposition in Paragraph 4 makes the substitutive sanction compulsory in the case of a sentence to imprisonment that does not exceed one year, thus establishing a link with Paragraph 7, which allows the court to decide whether or not to suspend under two-year sentences to imprisonment if the offender pays compensation for damages.

In order to counterbalance the generic formulation of the principle, the law envisages some specific sanctions which contribute towards greater certainty when applying compensation instead of imprisonment.

Other norms that could be mentioned are to be found in Paragraph 5, which regulates the hypothesis of the mere attenuating effect of Wiedergutmachung; in Paragraph 16, which envisages a real legal process for compensation; and in the

¹⁸ On this topic, see Weigend, T. (1989) *Deliktsoffer und Strafverfahren*, pp. 377 et seq., Duncker & Humblot, Berlin.

¹⁹ See Kaiser, M. (1992), *Die Stellung des Verletzten im Strafverfahren*, Max-Planck-Institut, Freiburg, who notes, in the context of an empirical survey carried out by Max-Planck-Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law, how law provisions to protect the victim in the penal process has been better accepted by defenders than by court judges. It appears that most of the latter are still of the opinion that a penal trial involves two parts only: the State and the offender. The effects of the *Appellfunktion*, meant to reinforce the victim's position, have so far been modest. This law needs more diffusion, especially among lay persons.

²⁰ In connection with this interpretation, in particular, see Hirsch, H.J. (1991) "Il risarcimento del danno nell'ambito del diritto penale sostanziale" *Studi in memoria di Pietro Nuvolone* 1, l:275 et seq., Milan.

²¹ See Frehsee, D. (1987) *Schadenwiedergutmachung als Instrument strafrechtlicher Sozialkontrolle*, Duncker & Humblot, Berlin.

final paragraphs where consideration is given to some executive norms that regard "offender-victim compensation" .

It is, of course, too early to assess reactions to the project, although many authoritative adherents have already expressed appreciation with regard to the use of compensation in the framework of a new "law for social intervention". It would represent the ultimate model to aim at in the effort to modernise criminal law by taking into account resocialisation and by using some existing tools, such as "prevention councils"²². It is also too early to affirm that "something better than criminal law" has been achieved - which has already been proposed by Radbruch - although the impression is that there is something that has not yet been defined which somehow recalls abolitionist models of the early 80s²³. It is, above all, evident - especially when dealing with restitution of damage - that the new proposals do not make a clear distinction between the different branches of the law; this, instead, could be much better obtained through a courageous decriminalisation action that would also include the field of civil offences²⁴.

The Italian legislator, possibly stimulated by the wide international action in the area of compensation, appears to begin to show signs of an opening towards the possibility of adopting compensation as an independent penal sanction. This new position of the Italian legislator has been made clear mainly through the recent law dealing with bank cheques²⁵.

Compensation has traditionally been used as an additional sanction to imprisonment. In fact, the recent widening of its role by Italian legislators in matters regarding cheques, was prompted by the trend towards the independent use of compensation as a criminal sanction. It is, therefore, clear that there was no intention to decriminalise such an offence, as was effectively accomplished by the French legislator²⁶.

Nevertheless, this does not appear to be very negative because, even if the new law does not exclude penal responsibility, payment of compensation has, in practice, the effect of avoiding access to a penal trial. The final effect of this is deflation in the number of trials dealing with cheques that have not been honoured.

Undoubtedly, this law has the merit of supporting the most recent indications proposed by international legislative policy; in addition, it could also constitute an interesting "pilot-experiment".

²² In this respect, see Lüderssen, K. (1992) "Perdita di legittimazione del diritto penale", paper presented at the seminar on "Modernizzazione del diritto penale?", 30 October - 1 November 1992, and Hassemer, W. (forthcoming) "Perdita di legittimazione del diritto penale" presented at the same seminar.

²³ Some effective criticism to such models has been expressed by Marinucci, G. (1981) "L'abbandono del codice Rocco: tra rassegnazione ed utopia" *La questione criminale*, pp. 297 et seq.

²⁴ This would consent a drastic reduction in penal law intervention, which appears to be the only situation that would restore a real, and not only symbolic, effectiveness to criminal law. See Musco, E. (1993) "A proposito del diritto penale comunque 'ridotto'" in Pepino, C. (ed.) *La riforma del diritto penale - garanzia ed effettività della tutela*, pp. 173 et seq., Franco Angeli Editore, Milan.

²⁵ See Fiorella, A. and A. Sereni (1992) "Prime riflessioni sulla nuova disciplina dell'assegno bancario", *Rivista trimestrale di diritto penale dell'economia*, pp. 37 et seq.

²⁶ For a comparative overview on this matter, see Dolcini, E. (1991) "La tutela penale dell'assegno bancario: modelli attuali e prospettive di riforma" *Studi in memoria di Pietro Nuvolone (op. cit.)* II:513 et seq.

It would appear that the proposal that compensation be foreseen as an independent sanction in the formulation of a future criminal code has been accepted, albeit partially, by the draft law for the reform of the penal code. Although the only explicit reference is to offences against a person's reputation, article 80 envisages compensation of damage as a substitutive sanction according to the modalities contained in Paragraph 7²⁷. The same approach can be found in article 51, in which at Paragraph 4, compulsory compensation is envisaged "even in the absence of action on the part of the victim". Compulsory compensation is envisaged even when the victim of the offence is not identified; in this case payment is made to a solidarity fund in favour of the victim of the offence²⁸.

All these aspects, therefore, are testimony of a trend towards giving more attention to victim protection, in addition to the presence of some clues regarding compensation as a "third way", which do not, however, consent the dismissal of some criticism to the draft law because it does not operate an adequate regulation of the relation between fine and compensation of damage. Both sanctions appear to have many structural similarities, mainly in the phase of execution which, in particular, weighs upon non-patrimonial damages²⁹. In spite of the similarities, these sanctions have very different roles. The fine does not appear to go beyond the limits of the traditional "intimidatory" and deterrence functions, while compensation can also assist in providing some guidance to the parties involved, including important pedagogical effects³⁰, at least as regards "offender-victim compensation".

The main difference rests with the function of victim protection that both sanctions can perform, keeping in mind that only compensation can offer immediate satisfaction to the victim.

The absence of a clause clearly establishing that compensation prevails over the fine is, therefore, worrying and not having been reposed in the final version of the *AE-WGM*, gives a negative connotation to all other legal systems, both at the level of existing codes and at the project level.

Having highlighted the crisis which other alternative measures to imprisonment have undergone, the conclusion of our short overview, conducted mostly from a victimological perspective, is clearly in favour of compensation of damage.

This outcome conforms with the most recent orientation in international criminal law and, at least as a trend, the Italian legislator has started to fall in line with it. Compensation is starting to be seen as a possible "third way" which might work satisfactorily, especially in the area of crimes against property or, with a decriminalising function, for crimes against the so-called personality rights.

All of this is especially important at a time when the trend is towards the recognition of a more general need for the effective protection of victims, and when the draft law on the adoption of the *extrema ratio* principle as a pre-condition for

²⁷ See the draft law published in *Documenti Giustizia*, op. cit., p. 356.

²⁸ *Documenti Giustizia*, op. cit., p. 356.

²⁹ For a deeper analysis of the relationship between fine and compensation, see Manna, Beni..., op. cit., pp. 633 et seq.

³⁰ On offender-victim compensation and comparative perspective of its effects, see Dünkel, F. and D. Rössner, (1987) "Täter-Opfer-Ausgleich in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Österreich und Schweiz" in *ZStW* 99:845 et seq.

imprisonment³¹ is being introduced as one of the inspiring principles of the penal code, or even as the centre of gravity of the entire system³².

This policy clearly states that "functions and limits of punishment should be submitted to the need of protection of juridical rights"³³, with the aim of restituting "the supremacy of legality to a matter strongly dominated by praxis"³⁴.

While asserting such a principle, - with which, in theory, the author agrees - a practical doubt cannot be avoided concerning the modalities through which the criminal policy expressed by the new code can be harmonised with the one in act at present. There is a suspicion that the Italian legislator has been moving too fast and will encounter many problems in the application of the new code. Will it be possible for the new criminal code - the way it has been formulated - to find application in the Italian society which has usually privileged repressive issues?

Has the reference to *extrema ratio* been the consequence of a real need, or is it only a very civil, but abstract slogan?

In fact, it would appear that this matter lacks the necessary link with empirical data. This is an essential aspect if in the future only choices of ideological or symbolical nature³⁵ are to be avoided. This would increase the risk of presenting a law reform which is doomed to remain *lettera morta* since it is not supported by a social system which is ready for it.

The gap between the present policy and that which presumably will replace it in the future, leads us to the conclusion that it probably would have been better to avoid making statements while still in a project phase. Instead of this, it would have been advisable to move on to determining in detail concrete examples of offences in which the *extrema ratio* for imprisonment is applicable. More effectiveness would, no doubt, have been guaranteed with the punctual regulation of the offences punishable with pecuniary fines and, when possible, with the adoption of compensation as a substitutive sanction.

The above-mentioned doubts, the requirement of effectiveness, and the need to guarantee real protection to the victim, all lead to a request for further and much broader use of compensation. It is earnestly hoped that this will also be possible in Italy, even within the narrow limits of the draft.

³¹ Thus defined in the report of the project; on this see Ardizzone, S. (1992) "In tema di discrezionalità penale", paper presented at the ISISC Seminar on prospettive di nuovo codice penale. I - La parte generale, Siracusa, 15-18 October 1992.

³² *Documenti Giustizia*, op.cit., p. 328.

³³ See Article 2.2 of the draft law; on this see Ardizzone, In tema..., op. cit., p. 4.

³⁴ Ardizzone, In tema..., op. cit., p. 9 (our translation).

³⁵ The same criticism on the regulation of sanctioning emerging from the draft law was expressed by Larizza in her intervention at the 3° *Congresso Nazionale del Diritto Penale*, Cagliari, 17-20 December 1992. In it she highlights the fact that despite assertions of principle, there is a risk that imprisonment remains *prima ratio*, because no clear limits have been foreseen for conditional suspended sentences.

CRIME PREVENTION AND CONTROL IN TANZANIA

Joseph Masanche¹

Tanzania gained independence in 1961 and counts today a total population of 25,000,000 inhabitants. The country (881,289 km²) comprises Mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar. Zanzibar, in turn, is composed of two islands - Unguja and Pemba. The population of Unguja and Pemba totals 640,578 inhabitants (1988 census).

As in many other countries in the developing world, in Tanzania the rate of crime is increasing, as the following data show:

Year	Cases filed in court
1962	35,699
1963	33,436
1964	32,463
1965	32,375
1966	34,103
1967	33,173
1968	34,298
1969	36,510
1970	34,950
1971	37,206
1972	35,967
1973	39,056
1974	34,170

Two factors that have contributed to this upward trend are population rise (as mentioned earlier) and a decrease in moral values. As a result of the introduction of Universal Primary Education (UPE), every school-age child (7 years) now attends primary school to start formal education. Primary and secondary school education in Tanzania are free of charge. To date, the same can be said of university education, where students either receive full government *bursary* or are sponsored by non-governmental organisations.

Absorbing the out-flux of jobless youths - mainly primary school students - has placed a heavy burden on the community. It is estimated that every year 450,000 youths join the unemployed workforce in Tanzania Mainland and the Island of Zanzibar.

This unemployed workforce now appears to be the reason behind the rampage of youths in urban centres. Of late the authorities have had to deal with groups of youths who terrorise the population by committing a series of crimes, including larceny, rape and even fraud. These groups of unruly youths give themselves

¹ Judge, High Court of Tanzania.

strange names: "Senti tano haigawanyiki" (Five cents is indivisible); "Wabaharia wa nchi kavu" (Dry land seamen); "Tukale wapi" (Where do we eat?).

At Mwanza, where the author of this paper is based, a random look at the criminal register of the District Court revealed that for 1988, out of 790 persons sent to court, 400 were implicated in theft-related offences. For the year 1989, of approximately 850 persons sent to court, 480 were involved in theft charges. Figures for 1991 show that out of a total of 600 persons sent to court, 444 were charged with larceny offences. This investigation was carried out on 8 October 1992, by which date 368 persons had been charged with larceny in the District Court of Mwanza.

Crime control

A number of crime control measures are being taken, some of them quite innovative. Tanzanians have reached the conclusion that it is time for the population itself to become involved in combating crime; thus, Sungusungu vigilante groups have been formed. A Tanzanian judge describes Sungusungu as "a spontaneous self-defence impulse in villagers, paying serious obedience to the saying, as it goes, - that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance." The vigilante groups patrol mainly at night. They have been given the power to arrest suspects and refer them immediately to the police. It is believed that these groups have solved many problems.

Nevertheless, experience has shown that if these groups are not supervised they are likely to abuse their powers. There have been a few instances where suspects have been over-beaten. However, in such cases, the courts have not been reluctant to inflict severe punishment.

The ballot box

The ballot box is also presumed to be a somewhat innovative idea. By this method people are asked to jot down names of suspects in their localities, following which the police carries out confidential investigation on the persons listed. "Voters" are requested to provide their full address in case the police wishes to make a cross-check. Nobody has been molested as a result of this procedure.

Corollary to the above method, the government has adopted the policy of "tipping" informers: 10% of the value of a recovered property or money is assigned to the informer.

Conventional methods of crime control, such as police, people's militia, and courts are also operative in Tanzania. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the police alone cannot succeed in controlling crime. The country has only 23,000 police officers, which is roughly one policeman to one-thousand persons (France has one policeman to 271 persons).

The 1972 Minimum Sentences Act imposes, for specific offences, the minimum sentence a court must inflict if conviction results. For example, a person charged and convicted of stealing cattle must be sentenced to five years imprisonment; a person found guilty of stealing by a public servant is peremptorily sentenced to three years imprisonment; a person convicted for robbery with violence - where a

gun or pistol was used - would now (Act No. 10/89) be sentenced to 30 (thirty) years imprisonment.

Some members of the Bench in Tanzania (including the author of this paper) do not see a rationale behind these long prison sentences. The feeling among some judges is that, if anything, they only add to the congestion of inmates in prison. In fact, more people would be going into prison than coming out. In addition, fixing minimum sentences also reveals a loss of confidence in the Judiciary. The Executive should know and appreciate that judges perceive themselves as part and parcel of the society; no judge acts in a vacuum.

Mr. Justice Hilberry of the Court of Criminal Appeal, England, (Case: Kenneth John Ball, 1951, 35 cr. App.R. 146) said on punishment:

"In deciding the appropriate sentence a court should always be guided by certain considerations, and first and foremost is the public interest. The Criminal Law is publicly enforced not only with the object of punishing crime, but also in the hope of preventing it. A proper sentence passed in public serves the public interest in two ways: it may deter others who might be tempted to try crime as something to offer easy money on the supposition that if the offender is caught and brought to justice the punishment will be negligible: such a sentence may also deter a particular criminal from committing a crime again, or induce him to turn from a criminal to an honest life. The public interest is indeed served, and best served, if the offender is induced to turn from criminal ways to honest living. Our law does not, therefore, fit the sentence to a particular crime, but fixes a maximum sentence and leaves it to the court to decide what is, within that maximum, the appropriate sentence for each criminal in the particular circumstance of each case: not only in fact to each crime, but in fact to each criminal, the court has the right and the duty to decide whether to be lenient or severe. It is for these reasons and with these purposes in view that, before passing sentence, the court hears evidence of the antecedents and the character of every convicted person."

As Mr. Justice Hilberry advises, the Executive and the Legislature should leave the task of sentencing to the trial judge.

PART FOUR

Rounding Up

General Report

GENERAL REPORT

Surveying Crime in the Global Village: Assumptions, Experiences and Ultimate Goals

Jan J.M. van Dijk¹
Ugljesa Zvekic²

This report will not try to summarise the presentations and ensuing discussions but instead make a few observations about some of the Conference's main themes. We firstly will make some comments about the background of the survey and about its methodology. Subsequently we will discuss some of its key results and their theoretical and policy implications.

Background

Traditionally, court statistics and police statistics were the main sources of information about the state of crime. Quetelet's classical work on the social correlates of crime was largely based on the analysis of court statistics. In the twentieth century police forces across the western world started to collect statistics of crimes known to the police. These statistics opened new avenues for comparative analyses of local and national crime rates. Quite rapidly, however, old and new official statistics became discredited as sources of comparative information about crime. Both the legal definitions reporting patterns of the public and the recording practices of the police were found to vary greatly over time and space. Among criminologists a broad consensus emerged that "police figures" could not be used for comparative purposes. Since no alternative measures were available, comparative criminology got into a rut. In spite of improved opportunities for international communication, the criminology of the sixties, seventies and eighties seemed more parochial than that of the beginning of the century when, for instance, W. Bonger published his internationally oriented study of economic conditions and crime. Although some researchers continued to try and exploit police statistics to pursue questions of theory, they more often than not fell over their apologies for the data. Certainly, the work done had a minimal impact on policy-makers.

In the absence of credible indicators, public opinion is informed about crime more by crime reporters than by criminologists. Consequently, the debate about national crime problems in most countries is determined by media hype about recently committed heinous crimes rather than by a rational analysis of crime as a social phenomenon. Partly for this reason policy discourse is often heavily charged with emotion. Rising crime rates can also easily be politically exploited, since exaggerated claims cannot be refuted authoritatively. Credible, comparative measures of crime are indispensable for building a political platform for a more rational crime policy.

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According to opinion polls urban crime is amongst the most pressing concerns of the public in many industrialised countries. In many parts of the world the problems of internal security are presently viewed as more serious than those of the economy or of international affairs. Against this background it is even more striking that criminologists are unable to answer the straightforward question of policy-makers as to how their countries' crime rates compare with those of others. Many criminologists do not seem to bother. And, of course, much valuable criminological work can be done within a strictly national setting. Studies on "labelling" and on the effectiveness of penal sanctions can be carried out nationally. But for policy purposes some basic knowledge about the relative state of crime in one's country seems essential. It is hard to conceive of an influential policy adviser on economic affairs who denies any knowledge of his country's performance in an international perspective. Knowledge of international standards and trends has undoubtedly added to the credibility of economists as policy advisers. Perhaps the relatively small policy impact of the criminological community in many countries³ is not totally unrelated to its incapacity to assess national crime rates in a comparative perspective.

The absence of comparative crime data cannot be remedied by a harmonisation of police statistics about registered crime. Such a harmonisation would require a measure of standardisation of legal definitions and police practices across countries which is quite unrealistic. The official legal definitions of even the most common categories of crime defy standardisation. Even the fairly harmonised Scandinavian countries, for example, have given up on the standardisation of their police statistics. What is obviously needed is an alternative count of crime independent of the official agencies and their idiosyncratic legal definitions.

Briefly, the ultimate goal of the International Crime (Victim) Survey (ICS)⁴ is to provide such a measure. If the ICS succeeds, its results may help to improve the standing of criminology, both academically and within the political and bureaucratic community.

Methodological issues

The assumption of universality

The single most important question raised about the methodology of the ICS is whether the public's non-legal concepts of crime are sufficiently universal to allow a cross-cultural application. In the present climate of postmodern relativism such universality cannot be uncritically assumed⁵. The realities of crime, even more than other social realities, are socially constructed and, therefore, probably defined by a variety of culture-bound concepts. The question, then, is whether there is a kernel of common concepts in the public's definitions of crime, as assumed for example by

³ Petersilia, J. (1991) "Policy relevance and the future of criminology: the American Society of Criminology, 1990 Presidential Address" *Criminology* 29,1:1-15.

⁴ See Editors' Introductory Notes.

⁵ Cohen, S. (1990) Intellectual skepticism and political commitment: the case of radical criminology, Strichting W.A. Bongers-Lezingen, Amsterdam.

Newman and Braithwaite⁶, or not. Rather than to philosophize about this "universality assumption", we have put it to an empirical test by actually designing and piloting a questionnaire covering the common element in crime experiences of the public in all corners of the industrialised world. The first test of this initiative was whether researchers from a variety of Western countries could agree on the contents of a common questionnaire, to be translated and used in their own language. Although drafting sessions were long and exhausting, we did not come across vital concepts of crime in the English or Dutch language which could not be transposed into other national cultures. The bulk of conventional crimes to which ordinary citizens are exposed, appears to be defined fairly universally across Western cultures. In fact, insiders may have noticed that the resulting questionnaire bears the signs of those previously used in the USA, the Netherlands, the UK, Switzerland, France and Finland among others. The ICS questionnaire can fairly be described as the common denominator of the existing national crime survey questionnaires used in Western countries. This feature by itself testifies to the existence of a fairly large measure of communality in the public's experiences of ordinary crimes.

The ICS questionnaire was carefully piloted in several languages and eventually applied across the industrialised world in 1989. Interviewers were closely monitored and instructed to report any problems with questions not readily understood by the respondents. The experiences of the data collection have not brought to the surface any major problems of interpretation of the questionnaire's core items. In no countries did particular concepts prove to be incomprehensible to the interviewers or respondents. Neither did subsequent data analysis reveal any major inconsistencies suggesting serious problems of interpretation. The core questions of the 1988 survey could be retained for the second sweep of the survey with only some minor modifications.

We cannot, of course, rule out the possibility that some questions were interpreted somewhat differently across countries. The questions about sexual incidents in particular may have been affected by culture-bound perceptions and sensitivities. By and large, however, the collective experience of some twenty dedicated criminologists in successfully completing the survey in their own countries goes some way to confirming our basic assumption that certain concepts of crime are fairly universal.

In the first sweep the ICS was carried out in developed countries only. For the sake of curiosity one small pilot study was carried out in Indonesia. Somewhat to our surprise, the national co-ordinator did not meet with any insolvable problems with the ICS instruments in his home town, Surabaya, although some adjustments had to be made. This experience raised the question whether the prevailing skepticism about the applicability of Western questionnaires in developing countries was fully justified. Perhaps the image of developing countries in social science circles is unduly influenced by anthropological studies of social life in remote villages. In reality large parts of the population in developing countries live in "megacities". Just as elsewhere, life in such urban environments is characterised by

⁶ Newman, G.R. (1976) *Comparative deviance*, Elsevier, New York; Braithwaite, J. (1989) "The state of criminology: theoretical decay of renaissance" *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology* 22:129-135, September.

a high level of anonymity and by stark contrasts between the rich and poor. In addition, the citizens of these cities are exposed to the same daily television menu of American soap operas and video clips as their counterparts in North America and Europe. Urban dwellers across the world may nowadays suffer from quite similar social problems and may perceive them similarly too⁷. The concepts of vehicle theft, robbery, burglary and assault may indeed be shared by those in all urban centres of the world.

In the preparatory phase of the second sweep, experts from several developing countries joined our drafting sessions. It proved feasible to preserve most of the core questions of the survey. Although the application of the ICS in developing countries is still at an experimental stage, the experiences so far have been encouraging. Perhaps, then, there is even globally much more universality in the public's key moral concepts than in the legal definitions of governments. Perhaps crime in the global village has indeed to some extent become a fairly universal phenomenon.

Other issues

During the Conference several specific questions were raised about the accuracy and comparability of the ICS crime estimates. A plea was made for the construction of the ICS's "error structure". Some elements of the error structure will hopefully be remedied in future sweeps of the survey. In many areas, such as sampling and the handling of refusals, there is definitely scope for further improvement. Other elements of the error structure of the ICS will prove to be intrinsic to a survey of this type. Considerations of costs will preclude the introduction of desirable improvements such as the use of larger samples and of bounded interviews. A list of specific caveats will have to become part of the survey users' instructions.

At this point three aspects of the survey's methodology that are not always duly acknowledged should be stressed. According to Killias et al.⁸, the accuracy of crime survey data is less dependent on the methods of interviewing than on the quality of the interviewees themselves. This observation is probably true in many other respects as well. A survey's methodological quality is determined by factors such as sampling design, the design of the questionnaire and the method of data collection. However, at the end of the day much depends on the quality of the human interactions which make up the actual interviewing. Interviewers need to possess the intellectual and social skills and, most important of all, the determination to get sincere and accurate answers from their respondents. The interviewers' job motivation may well be the most important success factor of crime surveys generally. This human factor in crime surveying needs more attention than is usually given in textbooks. The control of the human factor in data collecting is one of the essential responsibilities of the national co-ordinators of the surveys. In future

⁷ Bottoms, A.E. (1992) "Concluding reflections" in Heather, S. and J. Vernon (eds.) *International trends in crime: East meets West*, pp. 163-179, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

⁸ Killias, M. et al. (1987) "Nouvelles perspectives methodologiques en matière de sondages de victimisation l'expérience de enquêtes Suisses" *Deviance et société* II, 3: 311-330.

work the selection, briefing and monitoring of interviewers needs to be given even greater attention. Without the dedicated co-operation of our national partners the methodological integrity of the ICS will be at stake.

The second point deals with the dynamic character of surveying crime. Over the years social and technological changes will permanently change the contingencies of data collection. For example, in many countries the high levels of fear of crime constitute a serious problem for face-to-face interviewing. Interviewers are unwilling to enter dangerous neighbourhoods in the evening and some respondents are unwilling to open the door to strangers. On the other hand, state-of-the-art computer technology opens a range of new possibilities. Since the researchers' challenges and tools are constantly changing, the idea of a perfect methodology is a mirage. The methodology of crime surveys will need to be permanently monitored and modified. Surveying crime cross-nationally will never become a technical affair to be left safely in the hands of a commercial polling agency. A project like the ICS needs methodological maintenance. This requires a consistent input from committed experts from all participating countries. For this reason too the forging of an international community of dedicated partners is the essence for the methodological integrity of the ICS. Conferences such as the present one are an indispensable means to this end.

One common point of criticism levelled against the ICS is that victimisation rates per capita misrepresent the realities of crime by not taking into account differences in national rates of car or bicycle ownership or levels of urbanisation. In our view rates per capita are the purest measures of "national" crime in the sense that they offer information on the costs of crime borne by the public and on the case load of the criminal justice system. Specific rates such as owners' victimisation rates or urban area rates are of great interest but should not substitute per capita rates. Both per capita and specific rates have their distinct place and their use depends on the purpose of analysis and the level of comparability. Thus, an attempt towards comparison presented below is based on city and urban area rates.

Table 1: Overview of participation in the International Crime Survey (1988 - 1992)

	First survey	Sample size	Standardised ¹	Method	Second survey	Sample size	Standardised ¹	Method
Australia	1988	2012	Y	CATI	1992	2006	Y	CATI
Belgium	1988	2060	Y	CATI	1992	1485	Y	CATI
Canada	1988	2074	Y	CATI	1992	2152	Y	CATI
England & Wales	1988	2006	Y	CATI	1992	2001	Y	CATI
West Germany	1988	5274	Y	CATI			Y	
Finland	1988	1025	Y	CATI	1992	1620	N	CATI
France	1988	1502	Y	CATI			Y	
Netherlands	1988	2000	Y	CATI	1992	2000	Y	CATI
Northern Ireland	1988	2000	Y	F/F			Y	
Norway	1988	1009	Y	CATI			Y	
Scotland	1988	2007	Y	CATI			Y	
Spain ²	1988	2014	Y	CATI/F /F			Y	
Switzerland	1988	1000	Y	CATI			Y	
USA	1988	1996	Y	CATI	1992	1501	Y	CATI
Japan ³	1988	2411	N	F/F	1992	2382	N	F/F
Czechoslovakia					1992	1841	N	F/F
Italy					1992	2024	Y	CATI
New Zealand					1992	2048	Y	CATI
Poland					1992	2033	N	F/F
Sweden					1992	1707	Y	CATI
Warsaw (Poland)	1988	500	N	F/F				
Surabaya (Indonesia)	1988	600	N	F/F				

Surveys organised by UNICRI

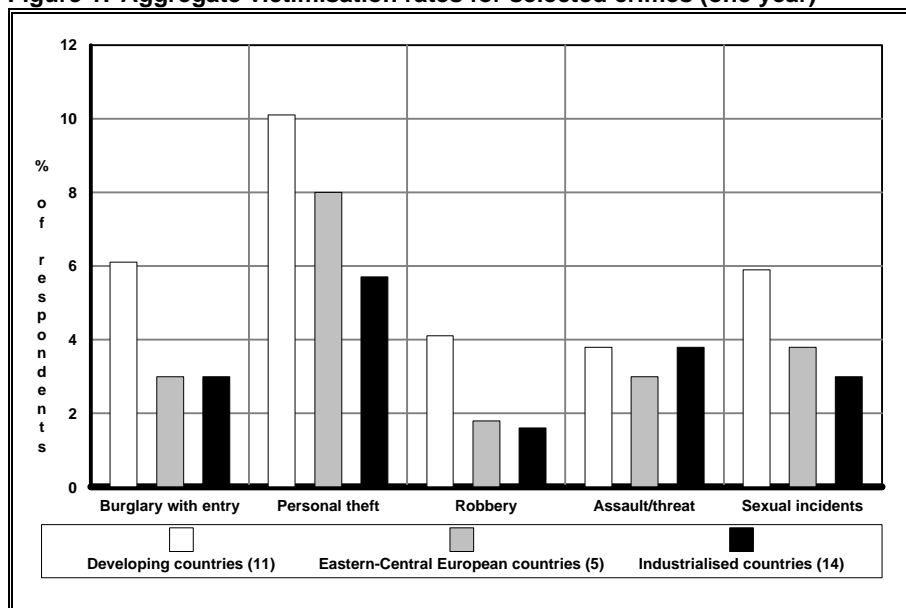
Buenos Aires (Argentina)					1992	1000	(Y)	F/F
Bombay (India)					1992	1040	(Y)	F/F
Cairo (Egypt)					1992	1000	(Y)	F/F
Costa Rica					1992	963	(Y)	F/F
Dar Es Sajaam (Tanzania)					1992	1004	(Y)	F/F
Indonesia ⁴					1992	3750	(Y)	F/F
Kampala (Uganda)					1992	1023	(Y)	F/F
Manila (Philippines)					1992	1503	(Y)	F/F
Papua New Guinea					1992	n.a.	(?)	F/F
Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)					1992	1017	(Y)	F/F
Greater Pretoria (South Africa)					1992	200	(Y)	F/F
Tunis (Tunisia)					1992	150	(Y)	F/F
Other city and national surveys, independently organised								
Athens (Greece)	1990	345	N	F/F				
Germany (New States)	1990	4999	N	F/F				
Germany (Old States)	1990	2027	N	F/F				
Hungary	1990	5000	N	F/F				
Ljubljana (Slovenia)					1992	2000	N	CATI ⁵
Moscow (Russia)					1992	1000	N	F/F
Republic of Georgia					1992	(1100)	N	F/F
Seoul (South Korea)	1991	1000	N	F/F				

- Standardised surveys are those supervised by the Working Group and/or InterView, or UNICRI. Data from the standardised surveys have been analysed using similar procedures. Most countries counted as having standardised surveys used survey companies contracted by InterView.
- Spain: number of face-to-face interviews: 1179; number of telephone interviews: 862.
- In the 1992 survey in Japan, respondents were only asked about crime over the last year. In 1988 only those aged 21 or more were interviewed.
- Jakarta 1 000, Surabaya 750, Medan 500, Palembang 400, Pontianak 300, Ujung Pandang 300, Manado 300, Ambon 200.
- Interviews in Slovenia were done through computer-assisted personal interviews (i.e. face-to-face interviews with interviewers using laptop computer programmed as for the CATI interviews).

Towards a comparative perspective

The ICS has so far been carried out in more than thirty countries covering all the major geographical areas of the world (Table 1). At the Conference, the results from the industrialised, developing and Eastern and Central European countries were presented separately. At this juncture, a truly global comparison is fraught with many difficulties particularly related to methods of data collection and sampling designs. In industrialised countries the survey was carried out on a national sample using Random Digit Dialing and computer-assisted telephone interviewing. In many developing countries population surveys cannot easily be carried out on a national scale. In these countries, as well as in Russia and Slovenia, the ICS was carried out amongst the inhabitants of one major city only using face-to-face interviewing. The ensuing differences in methodology used preclude straightforward comparison. The survey was based on a population sample of, on average, between 1,000 and 2,000 respondents in each area surveyed.

Figure 1: Aggregate victimisation rates for selected crimes (one year)



In view of the great theoretical and policy relevance of comparing data from different countries we will present an attempt towards global comparison. In order to increase the comparability of data from industrialised countries with those from city surveys, special victimisation rates were calculated for the urban areas in industrialised and Eastern and Central European countries (urban areas with more than 100,000 inhabitants). Although sampling designs were not geared towards

urban areas in particular, in all relevant countries the urban area rates for 1988 and 1992 were based on samples of at least 200 respondents. Since victimisation rates in "megacities" are expected to be higher than in statistically defined urban configurations with a larger than 100,000 population, the urban area rates are not valid equivalents of the city rates. In the present situation of limited sample size, a comparison of city rates from developing countries (as well as Russia and Slovenia) with urban rates from other countries is the best possible option for a global comparative overview. Obviously, the results of this comparison must be interpreted with caution.

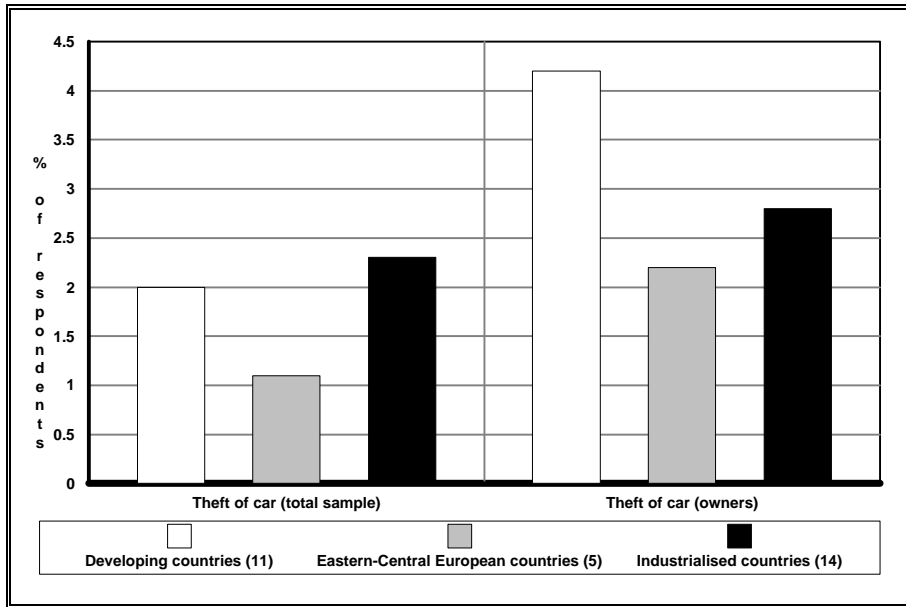
Figure 1 depicts the aggregated rates for selected crimes from industrialised, developing, and Eastern and Central European countries. These are calculated by averaging the available city or urban area rates.

It is apparent that developing countries have higher victimisation rates for most selected types of crime, except assault/threats. Urban areas in industrialised countries appear to be at lower risk in comparison to both developing and Eastern/Central European urban sites for theft of personal property and sexual incidents. Eastern and Central European and industrialised countries exhibit almost identical levels of victimisation risk for burglary and robbery. The smallest difference between the groups of countries relates to assault/threat, for which developing and industrialised countries exhibit equivalent risks.

Vehicle-related crimes

Concerning vehicle-related crimes, comparison is further complicated by drastically different ownership rates and structure. There is a certain correlation between risk of car theft and levels of car ownership. It is apparent that industrialised countries have higher per capita car theft rates in conjunction with higher ownership

Figure 2: Aggregate victimisation rates for car theft (one year)



levels (on average above 80%). However, in developing and Eastern and Central European countries (with an average ownership rate of less than 50%) the probability of car owners being victims is higher because of the unequal ownership structure and scarcity. Other factors will influence the owners' risks (e.g. quality of cars, usage of security devices, workings of the criminal justice apparatus, etc.). Thus, for example, in Eastern and Central European countries local cars may be less attractive targets for car theft than Western cars. The demand for stolen cars is partly redirected at owners in the West with the consequence of increasing car thefts both in the West and East. Moreover, stolen car recovery rates appear to indicate different usage of stolen cars: a high rate implies a prevalence of theft for the purpose of joy-riding, while few cars recovered may indicate further marketing of stolen cars. The latter, in turn, may also indicate a presence of organised crime involved in trafficking cars both in the domestic market and across the borders. In general, higher car ownership levels per country seem to result in reduced risks for individual owners but in higher overall rates of car theft. Certainly, the dynamics of car theft merit further analysis in terms of demand and supply.

In industrialised countries, the risk of having a car stolen was highest in England and Wales, Australia, New Zealand and Italy. In Eastern and Central European countries somewhat lower rates were found, with the exception of Georgia, where a civil war was raging at the time of fieldwork. In the developing countries, ownership rates are more informative than per capita rates. Car owners in Buenos Aires, Dar es Salaam, Kampala and The Greater Pretoria run the highest risk of theft among developing cities.

The per capita rates for theft from cars (covering both theft of car parts and of items left inside the car) were highest in Dar es Salaam, The Greater Pretoria, and Buenos Aires, as well as in the urban areas of the Netherlands, England, Canada and the USA; the highest per capita rate for former socialist countries was found in Poland. Owners' exposure to theft from car were highest in Dar es Salaam, Tunis, Moscow, Kampala and the urban areas of Spain and the Netherlands.

Rates of bicycle and motorcycle theft are also positively correlated to national ownership rates. National ownership rates of two wheelers vary even more than those of cars. Rates of bicycle theft are the highest in places where cycling is a common means of transport such as the urban areas in the Netherlands, Sweden, Japan, Canada, New Zealand, England, Finland and South Africa. In these countries the risks for bicycle owners are relatively high, too. They are also high in Manila, Dar es Salaam, Kampala and Tunis. In the case of bicycle theft, the owners' risks are not reduced in an environment where such vehicles abound as is the case with cars. As a consequence the correlation between national ownership rates and bicycle theft rates is particularly strong.

Rates of motorcycle theft are the highest in Japan, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands; as well as in Tunis, Buenos Aires, Bombay and Dar es Salaam. In these places the ownership of such vehicles is rather common, and the ownership victimisation rates are also high. These are relatively high in some places where motorcycles are not so common, notably in Moscow and Kampala.

Other property crimes

Burglaries from homes were reported most often in African cities (> 10% in Kampala and Dar es Salaam) as well as in the urban areas of former Czechoslovakia, England, New Zealand, France, the USA, Canada and Australia.

Citizens of Ljubljana, Bombay, Sweden, France, Czechoslovakia and Slovenia were the least likely to fall victim to robbery, which is among the most serious crimes covered in the survey. At the other extreme, residents of Rio de Janeiro, Dar es Salaam, Kampala, Pretoria, Buenos Aires and the urban areas of Spain run the highest risks for this type of crime.

Two African cities (Kampala and Dar es Salaam), Moscow and urban Poland showed the highest rates of victimisation for simple theft of personal property including pickpocketing. All urban areas in industrialised countries had significantly lower rates.

Assault/threats and sexual incidents

Risk of assaults and frightening threats were highest in Kampala, Dar es Salaam and Moscow, as well as in urban areas of New Zealand, the Netherlands, Canada, the USA and Australia. The safest places in these terms were, among cities, Bombay, Manila, Jakarta and Ljubljana, and urban areas of Belgium, Italy and Japan.

Women were also asked about their experience with sexual victimisation. It should be noted, however, that this issue is highly sensitive in some cultural settings. An additional complication results from different cultural perceptions of sexually offensive behaviour, and the propensity both to report it for the survey, as well as to the authorities. Therefore, the effects of over- and under-reporting should not be disregarded. Women in urban Canada, Finland, Germany, Poland, the Netherlands and Australia, and particularly in African cities, reported the highest levels of risk. The majority of women consider their victimisation to be serious or very serious.

Corruption and consumer fraud

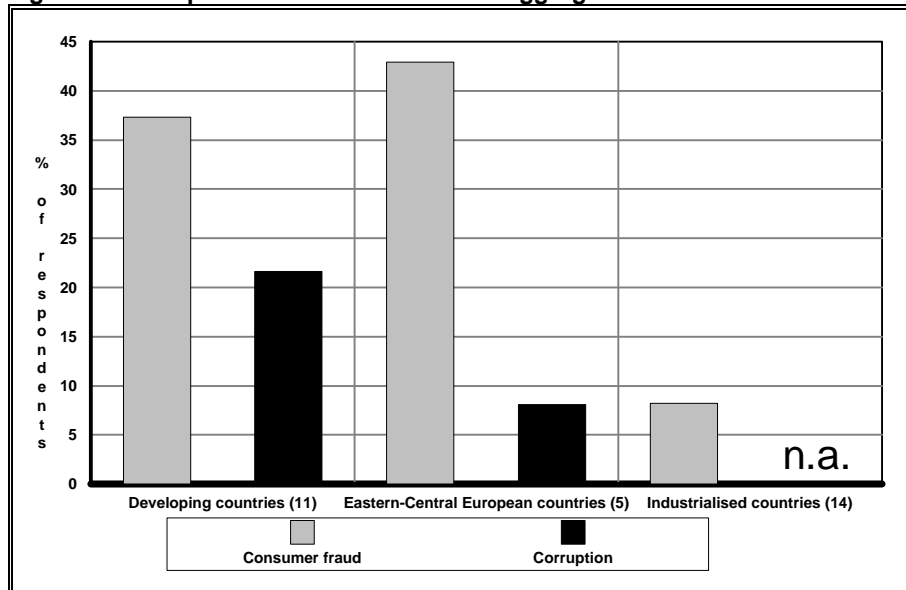
Corruption is an ubiquitous problem, although, in the 1992 survey corruption was dealt with only in developing and Eastern and Central European countries. The question was related to personal experience with public officials asking for or accepting bribes. There was a plight of corruption in the developing world in particular, in which it is one of the commonest forms of citizen victimisation. It is also frequently reported in Georgia and Moscow. This form of victimisation appears to indicate the ways in which people go about, or are made to go about, in satisfying their needs and accomplishing their rights.

Consumers are cheated and badly treated in particular in Dar es Salaam, Tunis, Georgia, former Czechoslovakia and Moscow. In industrialised countries substantially fewer respondents expressed such complaints. Most likely, vendors and shopkeepers in unstable markets have less incentive to establish and maintain a favourable and durable reputation among their clients than their counterparts operating in more regular and competitive markets. Retailers in some developing and former socialist countries seem to be particularly prone to sharp business practices.

Fear of Crime

Fear for safety is generally seen as an important element of the social cost of crime and crime prevention policies are geared not only towards reducing and controlling crime and crime-generating opportunities, but also anxiety and feeling of insecurity. Rio de Janeiro and the African cities are perceived to be the least safe to walk around after dark; similarly, cities in Australia, Italy, England, Poland, former Czechoslovakia and the USA. The perceived likelihood of falling victim to burglary in the near future was highest in Australia, England, former Czechoslovakia, and the African cities. By and large, perceptions of risks and feelings of insecurity seem to correspond to actual risks per country, although there are some notable deviations.

Figure 3: Corruption and consumer fraud. Aggregated data for 1991.



Citizens' experience and satisfaction with police

The frequency of reporting to the police differs according to the perceived seriousness of the event, which in general is linked to the type of crime (thus, for example, the higher percentage of car thefts reported as compared with pickpocketing), as well as to many factors related to the actual or expected police behaviour. Therefore, on average, crimes are not reported because they are deemed "not serious enough". Frequently, in the majority of developing and Eastern and Central European countries, it is a belief in the lack of effectiveness of the police which figures prominently. In general, people in industrialised countries report

a much higher satisfaction with police performance than in developing and Eastern and Central European countries. In these countries, the majority of respondents were not satisfied with the police and showed a marked lack of confidence in law enforcement capacities, capabilities and willingness to serve the community. While the relationship between the police and citizenry is a very complex one, there is a need for further efforts to improve police/community relations, including training and education of the police personnel. The United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programme can assist in this task.

Attitudes towards punishment

A question was put to respondents about their opinions on sentencing. In contrast with the stereotypical image of public demand for imprisonment, community service is seen in most of the industrialised world as the most suitable punishment for a recidivist burglar aged 21. This was particularly evident for Germany, Belgium and France. Support for imprisonment was highest in the USA, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and conspicuously so in all developing, Eastern and Central European countries.

Substantive issues

Theory

The core products of the ICS are alternative estimates of crime, fear of crime and attitudes towards crime prevention and control. As such, the survey serves primarily descriptive purposes. At the same time information is assembled about the social context of crime and crime-related attitudes. The ICS, thereby, opens new avenues for theories about crime at the level of individuals, national regions and nations⁹. During the Conference several suggestions were made for further analyses. In the first sweep, items were included concerning some of the key factors inherent in criminal opportunity theory. Hypotheses about the relationships between vehicle ownership and vehicle crime, and between detached houses and burglary were largely confirmed at different levels of aggregation. In the 1992 sweep of the ICS some new questions were added about income satisfaction and social integration with a view to testing other current theoretical perspectives. These factors may well prove to be particularly relevant for analysis of crime rates in the less affluent countries. As suggested, the available data seem to ask for an analytical model which combines factors determining opportunities to offend ("supply factors") with factors relevant for the inclination to offend ("demand factors"). The current perspectives of routine activity, opportunity theory and situational crime prevention must be reconciled with the theoretical heritage of Bonger, Merton et al¹⁰. The development of such an integrated model is one of the major challenges set by the ICS datafile. In order to enable other criminologists to work with us on these and other theoretical questions, we will make available the full dataset for secondary analyses in due time.

Policy

⁹ Fattah, E.A. (1991) *Understanding criminal victimization: an introduction to theoretical victimology*, Prentice-Hall Canada, Scarborough (Ontario); Shelley, L. (1981) *Crime and modernization: the impact of industrialization and urbanization on crime*, Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale; Bennett, R.R. (1991) "Development and crime: a cross-national, time series analysis of competing models" *Sociological Quarterly* 32,3:343-363.

¹⁰ van Dijk, J.J.M (1991) *Criminaliteit als keerzijde: een theoretische en empirische verkenning van de relaties tussen welvaart en criminaliteit*, (in Dutch), Gouda Quint, Arnhem.

For the policy-makers in high-crime countries the ICS results may cause embarrassment in the short term. In 1989 the high position on the international crime list of some countries were widely and somewhat sensationally reported by the mass media. Bad news of this sort is usually not welcomed by governments. But in this respect the ICS results are no different from other social or economic indicators. In the long term governments will come to terms with the reality reflected by the indicators and try to address it with new policies.

As mentioned in the report on the industrialised countries, the key results of the ICS may be disturbing for some governments but reassuring for others. Some governments will be satisfied that their country's crime problems are minor compared to those of others. For other governments it is reassuring to know that, on an annual basis, in nearly all societies with large urban concentrations roughly one in every four or five citizens is hit by crime. Most countries show a unique crime profile, determined by special opportunity structures, social problems and cultural traditions. A high level of conventional property crime, however, appears to be a common feature of today's urban centres across the world. With the exception of some Asian countries, such as Japan and Indonesia, the overall national crime rates do not vary much. The newly established democracies in Eastern Europe may be reassured by the knowledge that countries with peaceable reputations such as New Zealand and the Netherlands fare no better in terms of conventional crime.

The less reassuring message given out by the ICS is that the extent of victimisation by crime in many countries has reached a level which the public finds unacceptable. In many countries fear of burglary and street violence is high among important segments of the public. In the same countries confidence in the police is gradually eroded. In the more affluent societies the middle classes have, for sound reasons, started to invest heavily in their own protection against crime. In most countries the current boom of crime prevention measures is inspired by the self-interest of individual citizens and businesses, and is neither planned nor guided by government. There are reasons to doubt the effectiveness of such personal initiatives in actually reducing crime. Extreme forms of self-protection such as vigilantism may even be counterproductive and constitute a threat to the rule of law. National and local governments, as well as the business sector, need to introduce integrated crime control policies¹¹.

Attention should be drawn to the questions in the ICS about the aftermath of a criminal victimisation, satisfaction with the police and the need for specialised aid. In many countries thirty or more percent of crime victims expressed dissatisfaction with the way the police dealt with their reports. In all countries many victims would have welcomed more specialised support than they actually got. These results are a reminder that in most parts of the world crime victims are still a forgotten group whose special needs are not sufficiently catered for by either the helping professions or the criminal justice system¹². Victim support is still widely regarded as a luxury

¹¹ van Dijk, J.J.M (1991) "More than a matter of security: trends in crime prevention in Europe" in Heidensohn, F. and M. Farrell (eds.) *Crime in Europe*, pp. 27-42, Routledge, London; Clarke, R.V. (ed.) (1992) *Situational crime prevention: successful case studies*, Harrow and Heston, New York.

¹² van Dijk, J.J.M. (1988) "Ideological trends within the victims movement: an international perspective" in Maguire, M. and J. Pointing (eds.) *Victims of crime: a new deal?*, pp. 115-226, Open University Press, Milton Keynes; van Dijk, J.J.M. (1989) "The United Nations Declaration on Crime Victims: priorities for

which overloaded criminal justice systems can ill afford. The point is neglected that a person's readiness to assist law enforcement agencies and to obey the law is eroded by negative experiences with the system¹³. Even in a crime control perspective, a better deal for crime victims is of the highest importance.

Interviewing the public about criminal victimisations is primarily a means of measuring crime levels independently of the police. Enhancing of our understanding of crime is in itself a worthy goal. In addition, the ICS is meant to sensitise the public and governments to the practical and emotional realities of crime victims. Through the questions on satisfaction with the system, the ICS gives victims an opportunity to voice their criticism. It is this additional goal of the ICS which lifts it above an interesting comparative statistical exercise on crime levels alone. The potential use of the ICS as a vehicle for the international victims movement will hopefully be an additional incentive for our partners in the ICS to continue their co-operation in the years to come. It may also persuade others to join us in our efforts.

policy makers" in Cherif Bassiouni, M. (ed.) *International protection of victims*, pp. 117-127, International Association of Penal Law, Pau; Ben David, S. and G. F. Kirchoff (eds.) (1992) *International faces of victimology*, World Society of Victimology, Monchengladbach.

¹³ Tyler, T.R. (1990) *Why people obey the law*, Yale University Press, New Haven.

Session Reports

RESEARCH ISSUES

Patricia Mayhew¹

My task is to bring together some remarks on research issues, in particular in the light of the discussion over the last two days, and the papers in the session on Wednesday.

James Lynch remarked that the credibility of the International Crime Survey (ICS) results will ultimately depend on the degree to which they can be defended with a sufficient degree of confidence. He also said that a priority for secondary analysis was early examination of the reliability of results. I want to take up these points about reliability, and also later - and very briefly - address a few broader points about research methods in the context of the ICS.

Let me start with three remarks.

- 1) Firstly, the reason we went ahead with the ICS was to get underway an exercise for which there had been criminological demand, if not enough criminological energy to provide the supply. We saw the survey as a case of "nothing ventured nothing gained".
- 2) Secondly, the essence of the ICS, in our view, lay in its standardisation. If the same questions were asked, in roughly the same way, then any inherent deficiencies of measurement would at least be equalised. In my view, this point has not been adequately emphasised at this Conference. We were aware that any type of survey would be imperfect - it would have one leg shorter than the other, but at least everyone in the field would have one leg shorter than the other. This is not quite the whole story of course, and I shall have to return to this.
- 3) Thirdly, there were pragmatic considerations with regard to the design of the ICS. This explains many of the features of the survey. Thus, first, sample sizes were dictated by costs. It was simply unrealistic to think that there would be an adequate number of countries represented if costs were set too high. Second, the choice of telephone interviewing offered reduced costs, and the promise of greater standardisation of survey administration.

Reliability issues

Three of the main methodological issues which have attracted attention both at this Conference, and more generally in the way the ICS has been received are:

- 1) the accuracy of victimisation risks;
- 2) the effect of mode of interview;
- 3) the effect of response rates.

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I do not want to go into any of these issues in any great detail, but it is nonetheless important to try and "lay a few ghosts to rest".

Victimisation risks

The point estimates of victimisation risks in different countries should not be seen as the most important information the ICS offers; far from it. But ironically, the figures which inevitably attract most attention at this stage in the ICS programme are those which purport to show how much crime there is of different types, in different countries. These figures, of course, are subject to sampling error, and the dimensions of this error can, and should, be specified. However, potentially more important, is the degree to which the figures are subject to response bias. Many people may assume that risk estimates are fragile because people in different countries may differ in their preparedness to tell interviewers about what had happened to them, and/or as regards how well they perform the interview "exam". In my view, these worries have not been firmly substantiated - though I speak more in terms of industrialised countries. I would not rule out some differential response effect operating in relation to sexual incidents for instance, but there is no *prima facie* reason to believe that in industrialised countries, people differ much in their ability to remember incidents for instance. As I have said earlier, to the extent that respondents are bad respondents, they may well be bad everywhere.

Richard Block raised the point with regard to response bias that forward telescoping was likely to mean that the annual ICS rates were overestimates. I am not entirely sure I agree with this. It may be true of more serious crime, but there is also much methodological evidence to suggest that survey undercounts crime - because of deliberate under-reporting to interviewers of certain types of offences, and because victimisations simply get forgotten. More offences may fall out of the interview than are telescoped into the recall period.

I think a further point needs making in relation to victimisation risks - and surprisingly it is not one that has been emphasized much here. It is about the usefulness of national risks. There is of course likely to be as much variation within countries as between them, and this should not be forgotten. Jan van Dijk has already mentioned that national risks reflect degree of urbanisation, such that comparisons of city risks do not always paint the same picture as national risks. (In Australia, for instance, about three-quarters of residents live in cities; Australian city risks appear much less out of step with those in European cities than in risks in Australia overall.)

The point about area differences also applies to comparison between surveys in developing cities and those in the industrialised countries. The developing cities themselves differ in relation to size and it is difficult to see what "size of place" unit from the industrialised countries will be the best one to take for comparisons - if indeed these comparisons should be made at all.

Telephone interviewing

The second methodological issue is telephone interviewing. I believe that on balance the choice of CATI was justified - because of costs and standardisation

considerations, as I have said, and because the surveys in the industrialised countries were done where telephone ownership was at a sufficiently high enough level for gross bias in sample representativeness to be avoided.

The underlying conclusion of methodology work is that telephone interviews can give similar results to face-to-face ones, given a similar quality of fieldwork. Methodological work under the ICS programme also supports this. This is not to say that no problems have occurred. The acceptability of telephone interviews varies by country and in England and Wales, for instance, the telephone mode undoubtedly caused problems (it seems to have done so, too, in New Zealand). Also, it was not possible to conduct interviews by telephone in all countries. In a few countries, face-to-face interviews were chosen (by Japan for instance), or were not feasible (in Northern Ireland and some parts of Spain). There is scope for further work here to test whether response bias due to mixed-mode interviewing is something we should be concerned about in the context of the ICS questionnaire.

Response rates

The third methodological point relates to response rates - something which has not got much attention here, but which is no doubt in the back of many people's minds. The level of response is one issue, though to my mind it may be the variability of response which is potentially more difficult.

There are two arguments about low response: first, that those with something to say - i.e. more heavily victimised - are disproportionately over-represented; and, second, that those who are easiest to reach by telephone are over-represented - i.e. the residentially most stable and less victimised. On balance, the first view has more supporters. I believe a strong argument could be mounted that non-response in telephone interviews may have less to do with the representativeness of who is contacted than simply the realities of people's lives. The power to halt, or refuse, a call is in the hands of the respondent. Calls are made predominantly in the early evening, when the potatoes, rice, pasta are coming up to the boil, or are about to be put on the table. Refusal could just as well reflect meal times, television programmes, keep-fit classes as any particular bias as regard victimisation. I would like to see a methodological test of response rates in which calls were deliberately made at the time of peak-viewing TV programmes - Coronation Street, the Bill Cosby Show, Il Prezzo è Giusto, or Neighbours. I would not be surprised if the attractions of such programmes lowered response considerably.

ICS methodological work has not ignored the non-response issue in any case. The result of the work done is that the victimisation rate among those who initially refused but accepted after a second call was no different from that among a sample of those who accepted the first time round.

Other research issues

Let me finish by briefly considering a few other research issues regarding the future design and analyses of the ICS.

Design

A problem with victimisation surveys is that their designers inevitably get locked into questions and survey administration decisions that were made at the beginning of the programme in order to maintain (a) consistency over time and (b) consistency for countries who may enter the survey at different points. To this extent, the ICS survey instrument we have at the moment is one which cannot be radically redesigned. This needs to be accepted.

This said, future design decisions could take on board some changes. For example:

- a) one might consider oversampling particular people - e.g. those in cities - to increase the "take" of victims. It would not, in my view, be particularly feasible to interview children. The ICS questionnaire is not appropriate, and there could be difficulties as regards obtaining parental permission;
- b) one might certainly decide to expand some questions (e.g. on the police), though in practice this may well be at the cost of cutting others.

Again, some of the points that have been raised at this Conference have, in fact, been taken up in ICS methodological work. For instance, as Jan van Dijk mentioned, we tried out - with no great success - some self-reported offending questions. We have also tested the usefulness of advance letters, and the effect of different types of introductory statements at the beginning of the survey.

Analysis

James Lynch's paper focused on the best ways to analyse the ICS data, and the priority that needs to be given to different tasks. His comprehensive discussion leaves little else to add that would not go over the same ground. What I would say, though, is that more secondary analysis of the ICS results has been done than is probably widely known. It was our intention initially to publish a secondary analysis book which would have brought results more to the fore. For various reasons (of the familiar human kind), this fell by the wayside, though hopefully some of the work will be retrieved. The sort of analysis that was done was important mainly in showing the uses to which ICS data could be put, aside from league tables. One example is Jan van Dijk's analysis of how constant the correlates of risk are across country. In all participating countries, risks were increased by higher socio-economic status, younger age, and living in a large city - independent of each other. The similarity of results was more notable than the few variations.

In sum, then, it should not be thought that those most closely involved in the ICS were, or are, ignorant of the important problems surrounding the reliability of the ICS. However, we were concerned not to let the perfect be the enemy of the good. A fair amount of methodological work has already been done on the critical issues of mode effects and response bias, and further work will continue in the future. Finally, we believe the potential of the ICS will be more clearly apparent when more secondary analysis, that strays beyond the confines of league tables, has been completed.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Dato Steenhuis¹

There is little I can add on policy implications to what was presented yesterday on this issue which, in my opinion, was of outstanding quality.

There is a link between my topic of discussion and that dealt with by Pat Mayhew. I remember that some time ago a Dutch research showed that even the worst methodology applied in carrying out research work has an impact on policy-making. From that point of view, then, we should not be too concerned about the topic we have been dealing with because the impact will be there anyway.

We have seen that victim surveys can be used for various purposes: to generate discussions about organised crime - with which they, obviously, have very little to do since in most cases of organised crime there is no individual victim (and as we know, these surveys are based entirely on individual victims); to generate attitudes that favour the introduction of a crime policy directed more towards social development than crime-repression strategies (as Irwin Waller mentioned); as well as to promote policies to reduce the availability of hand-guns (also discussed by Irwin Waller). I think, therefore, that one can conclude that the direct policy implications of victim surveys are rather limited.

The publication of the results of the survey may only have direct policy implications if something occurs similar to what once happened in Holland. The Minister of Justice (who at the time was 7,000 miles away) felt impelled to take positive action after learning that Holland was reported in one of the most popular Dutch newspapers, as being a leading nation in crime.

However, nothing is likely to happen simply from the presentation of the results of a victim survey. It would be more effective to compare them with other data, or to convince authorities (in or outside the criminal justice system), to indeed do something about these results.

From the papers presented yesterday, I got the general impression that there are a number of main issues that need to be considered: what is the function of a survey, what is its actual aim, and what does it actually show us.

This depends very much on the questionnaire that is used; the more questions it has, the more purposes the survey will serve. However, as pointed out by Joanna Shapland, we might be using the survey for too many purposes and, as a result, the original aim of the survey may consequently become somewhat blurred.

Generally speaking, I would say that a victim survey has three main functions. Firstly, it informs us as to the "counting of crime" (as Joanna Shapland called it); in other words, by citing different crime-related events experienced by individuals it shows to what extent the public is afflicted by crime. Secondly, it provides information as to the selectiveness of the criminal justice system in dealing with crime. This information can be taken from police and court figures, and by comparing them with survey results on the satisfaction of the public and of the

¹ Procurator General, Court of Appeal, Leuwaarden, the Netherlands.

victims of crime. Finally, it can also have the function of a general consumers' survey. In this sense, it could be considered as the major marketing instrument of the criminal justice system since the results can be used not only in the criminal justice system, but also (as Irwin Waller pointed out) in assisting social development.

A victim survey not only provides information about victims (as pointed out by Joanna Shapland), it also informs about the general public, or rather the law-abiding citizens. Joanna Shapland makes a very good point when she asserts that the survey could also be used to evaluate crime policy or social policy; unfortunately this happens very rarely. The order in which she presented and promoted the "aim - ready - fire" model of service delivery is often somehow reversed to "aim - fire - ready".

Personally, I think that the real policy implications of victim surveys will only come about if we, the scientific experts, are able to convince policy-makers that the results of the survey have something useful to offer them, and that they can base a sound and rational crime policy or social policy on those figures. As Mr. Kendall already pointed out, this may well be the most challenging task for the future, because the horizon of policy-makers does not extend as far as that of the scientific world.

From that point of view, I believe the survey is, in a way, at a cross-road because, as Renée Zauberman pointed out, on the one hand we are sitting here at this Conference talking about an international survey, whereas, in my opinion, the real future of the crime survey is on a local level, where it would probably be easier to deal not only with policy-makers, but also, for example, with criminal justice or social authorities in order to implement the results of the victims survey. The examples given by Renée Zauberman and Kees Van Der Vijver show us that this, in fact, would be possible.

One could argue that policemen could also be convinced as to the need and usefulness of a rational crime policy, and Mr. Kees Van Der Vijver is a living example of this. Unfortunately, not all policemen are as easily convinced, and the same applies to police in the Netherlands; nevertheless, I do not think there is a total absence of hope with regards to this situation. The French example, as presented by Renée Zauberman, emphasizes once again that this would be the best way to implement the results of the victim survey at the local level.

The policy implications for the development of the survey seem to point in three directions: it would be really worthwhile a) to have a remake of the survey in developing countries which so far have not participated; b) to repeat it in those countries in which problems were encountered when carrying it out; and c) the same in relation to some Eastern and Central European countries.

However, the real future of the survey should be an increased attention to the local level, by means of setting up various kinds of local projects (as is being done in France and in the Netherlands by the Amsterdam police), and thus try to make the most of this valuable instrument.

POLICE PERFORMANCE AND NEEDS ASSESSMENT

Francesco Bruno¹

First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to the organisers, for the invitation to attend this important Conference, and for identifying the issue on which I was invited to report.

I think that the role of the police in a modern and democratic society is changing and developing, especially at present, as the world is experiencing many critical changes that will influence the future of criminology and crime prevention. In fact, as I have already been able to see and confirm, the society in which we live appears increasingly more complex and interdependent. Societies are continuously evolving and becoming more and more interdependent.

Every societal complex is made up of simple systems that are interrelated and connected through dynamics representing diverse structural and functional components of the social composite. In this sort of society the criminal tends to organise himself systematically, and the police can also be represented as a system.

Although the characteristics of police may vary from country to country according to political institutions and legal cultures, it is possible to isolate some common elements in the general structure of the system of police. It can be said that the police represents a human system (composed of human beings), arranged in a complicated organisation that is imbued with authority (deriving from the law), and which possesses several instruments, including arms, at its disposal. This organisation acts within the society with the aim of preventing and counteracting criminality, and maintaining, safeguarding and strengthening the security of the citizens. The function of the police system is presented in Figure 1.

The dynamic relationship of the police system with society can be divided into three main phases.

The first, or input phase, is characterised by the composition of the police, how it selects its personnel, trains and assimilates them into the organisation, according to specific legal provisions.

The second phase is the organisation of the police and its true functioning and action. During this phase, the activities aimed at hitting institutional targets must be implemented with efficiency.

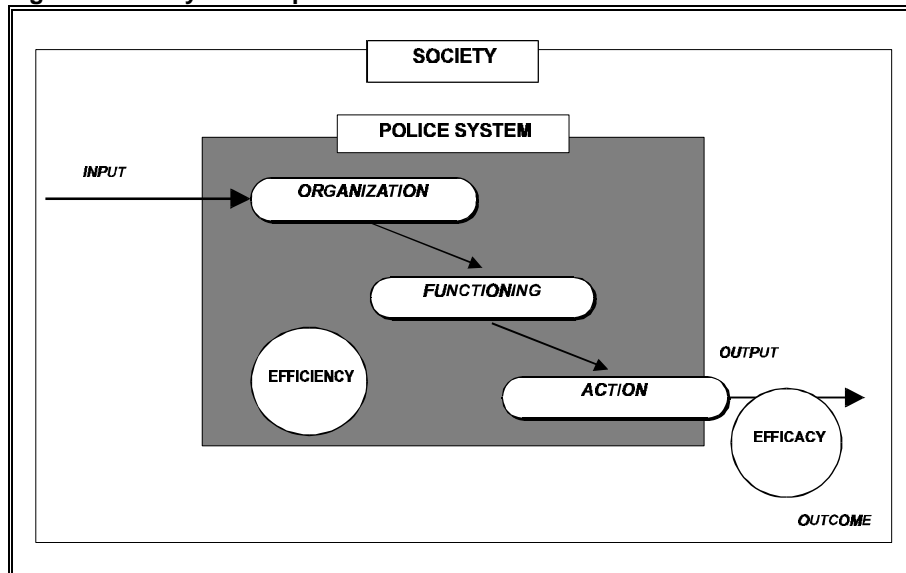
The third phase consists of the output component. During this phase, the police interacts with society in order to attain its objectives and also to establish relationships with other social entities.

The ability of the police to achieve its objectives may be defined as efficacy. In other words, in the output phase, two different ways of achieving the objectives can be distinguished: the first is the effectiveness (i.e. the capability to produce affects "output" in the social dynamic); the second is the ability to achieve the outcome of their initiatives.

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Considered as a system, the police can be identified, modified and directed by scientific instruments through heuristic or applied sciences. Various scientific disciplines, in particular those coming from applied human sciences and the natural sciences, deal with each phase and activity of the police system. The list of such disciplines is lengthy but we will limit ourselves to considering the contribution that can be made from criminology and specifically from the adoption of victimological instruments with the aim of assessing the performance and needs of the police.

Figure 1: The system of police



During the last few days the usefulness of victimisation surveys has been debated in great depth, with reference to the results of the International Survey as well as the problems of methodology and political-judicial policies. Therefore, I will not go into these issues again here, but will attempt to concentrate solely on those aspects that are directly related to the theme of this report. In particular, with regard to this theme, victimisation surveys can be considered as a fundamental tool of advancement in understanding the phenomenon of crime and its effects on society. Moreover, the carrying out of victimisation surveys on a systematic basis and at various levels can produce several advantages: firstly, by increasing our quantitative knowledge of the number of crimes that make up the "dark" figure of crime; secondly, by sharpening our qualitative knowledge of the other face of the criminal act, i.e. of those aspects that characterise the actual criminal act, but also the effects of the act on those persons, places and family relationships involved with the offence or offender.

The phenomenon of crime can be described as a complex social problem that occurs at a given moment, but which is preceded by a long preparatory phase and by several diverse and lengthy phases that deal with different entities. At present only one recognised aspect of this complex phenomenon has been understood. In the seventies, we began to recognise the other side of the coin; thanks to the progress in victimology, we can now understand the other component of the criminal act.

For many years, in fact, the attention of criminologists was directed solely towards the criminal, and towards the most suitable type of punishment or incarceration. No attention was given to evaluating the behaviour of real or potential victims. In other words, for a long time, and to a large extent even today, it is commonly held that the "clients" of the justice system are real or potential criminals and not the real or potential victims. In particular, it is believed that the "citizen" only becomes involved with law enforcement in the role of a criminal or victim, or in other roles that are related in one way or another to the legal process.

Nowadays, on the contrary, it has been recognised that the phenomenon of crime produces a profound and widespread effect on society. As a result, each citizen is either directly or indirectly affected by this phenomenon and reacts to it in many different ways.

For this reason it is necessary to consider each citizen as playing different roles to that of a client of the criminal justice system. For the same reason, in order to function efficiently, the criminal justice system must establish a close relationship with citizens and obtain their full support. In fact, victims can make several contributions to the criminal justice system: first, they can contribute to the credibility of truth and to the arrest of the perpetrator of the criminal act, although their contribution must be strategically directed and evaluated by the police. Secondly, the victims can react and demand that their needs be satisfied. As a result, if strategically monitored, citizens can guarantee a more effective and widespread social control and develop a legal culture that represents a strong societal legal defence mechanism. Finally, the citizens can monitor the work of the police force, by identifying any of its defects.

All this, however, does not come about spontaneously, but must be stimulated by the correct and adequate state action, as well as by the proper operational know-how. The crucial element of this mechanism is represented by the feeling of security experienced by the citizens. In fact, in order to accept the authority of the state, the citizen must feel protected by the state; he/she must feel supported by the state in order to support, in turn, the state institutions.

The question that this report poses, therefore, is if and how victimisation surveys can be useful in assessing the performance and needs of the police.

According to Joanna Shapland, it can be claimed that nowadays victimisation surveys are far more varied in both scope and purpose, (their uses and the policies for which they have been adopted, have multiplied). In particular, whereas previously surveys were used to count crime, nowadays they are used to measure victim needs and guide victim services. This statement holds true especially in the case of local surveys that can provide information about the extent of the problem in general, and information with which to assist the setting up of services. I agree with this opinion on the use of victimisation surveys although I am also aware of the numerous biases presented by victimisation surveys from the methodological

perspective. In particular, I share the remarks of James Lynch who highlights the major sources of error that affect these kinds of services:

- 1) sampling error;
- 2) non-response rate;
- 3) failures of re-contact and altered recollections as time passes;
- 4) telescoping effects;
- 5) mode effects (differences between the interviewing methods);
- 6) computer-assisted telephone interviewing.

For these reasons, I believe that the real and most significant output of victimisation surveys is not to be found at the level of quantitative analysis, but of qualitative study. Professor Lynch indicates as a priority, the analysis of the data that are not greatly affected by the error structure of the survey: "analysis of public attitudes towards crime and crime control policy, the characterisation of crime control policy in terms of the mix of public and private activity involved, and responses to crime (with special emphasis on calling the police)."

I believe that Irving Waller is right when he says that: "an essential objective of criminal policy is to increase the safety and security of persons and property. National and comparative victimisation surveys provide a major indicator of the extent to which policies are achieving this objective. Moreover they provide a largely untapped source of information on the explanations of crime that must become a key strategic tool in reversing the global trend from deteriorating safety and security".

Mr. van der Vijver dealt in depth with the subject of this report, by studying in detail policy development in the police organisation and the role of citizen surveys. First of all, he states that he prefers the term "citizen surveys" because it entails not only victims but all citizens. He believes that the research should be policy oriented in order to improve the effectiveness and quality of policing and, although he is aware that changing policy is very difficult, he hopes that it will be possible to modify the behaviour of the police - a much more compelling need. He suggests that the police themselves could carry out these surveys.

Mr. van der Vijver underlines that the problem of public safety will increase in the future and that there is a strong tendency in police management to improve the quality of policing by turning its attention to the needs of the community. Figure 2 presents a list of the items that, according to Mr. van der Vijver, could be included in these citizen surveys.

Figure 2: Elements in citizen survey

- | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| - Actual level of victimisation | - Problems in neighbourhood |
| - Fear of being victimised | - Priorities required from the police |
| - Risk perception of victimisation | - Attitudes towards the police |
| - Reporting behaviour | - Contacts between citizens and police |
| - Concern about crime | - Judgment of policework |

One role that these surveys could play might consist of an identification of the problems in certain areas in order to formulate the goals of the organisation, and thereby improve the evaluation and quality of police performance. The systematic use of these surveys could also allow for an assessment of the developments of: fear of victimisation; victimisation rates; and the citizen's opinion of the police.

Different people experience problems in very different ways and their accounts can vary according to the phrases and questions used during interviews. What is important with respect to people's opinion of the police, is the nature of the contacts established and maintained between the public and the authorities. The quality of such contacts is strongly influenced by the management and the organisation of the police. Mr. van der Vijver is convinced that victimisation surveys are factors that can cause the police to modify their reaction. There is a relatively wide gap between a decision to bring about organisational changes and the actual changes that occur. For this reason he suggests that citizen surveys should be associated with internal evaluation studies of the police personnel, and interviews with key figures in the local community.

Mr. van der Vijver also makes many other interesting points in his report, on which I agree in general. In particular, he stresses the differences between decisions related to the police system and their outcome. In Figure 3, I have tried to represent the components and the dynamic relationships of the different phases of the function of police in society.

As can be seen, outcomes are defined by decreased crime rates, and victimisation indicators are defined by crime prevention, perceived safety, security and public order, adjustment in the social context, confidence in the police, the perception of the role of the police, the supervision, evaluation and monitoring of the activities and, finally, by the planning of future activities. The level of achievement of these outcomes can be modified by a feedback mechanism, the phase of input and functioning and the dynamic development from the output to the outcome.

In other words, in order to assess the performance and needs of the police, it is necessary to evaluate the qualitative aspects of the outcomes, taking into account that such outcomes depend not only on the police activities, but also on various other factors. These factors include the role of public opinion through the mass media, the role of expectations of the people, social and cultural characteristics, and last but not least, the role of the operational model within the framework.

I agree with Mr. van der Vijver when he says that: "the goals of the police in social terms, its effects, the relations between costs and results were not considered

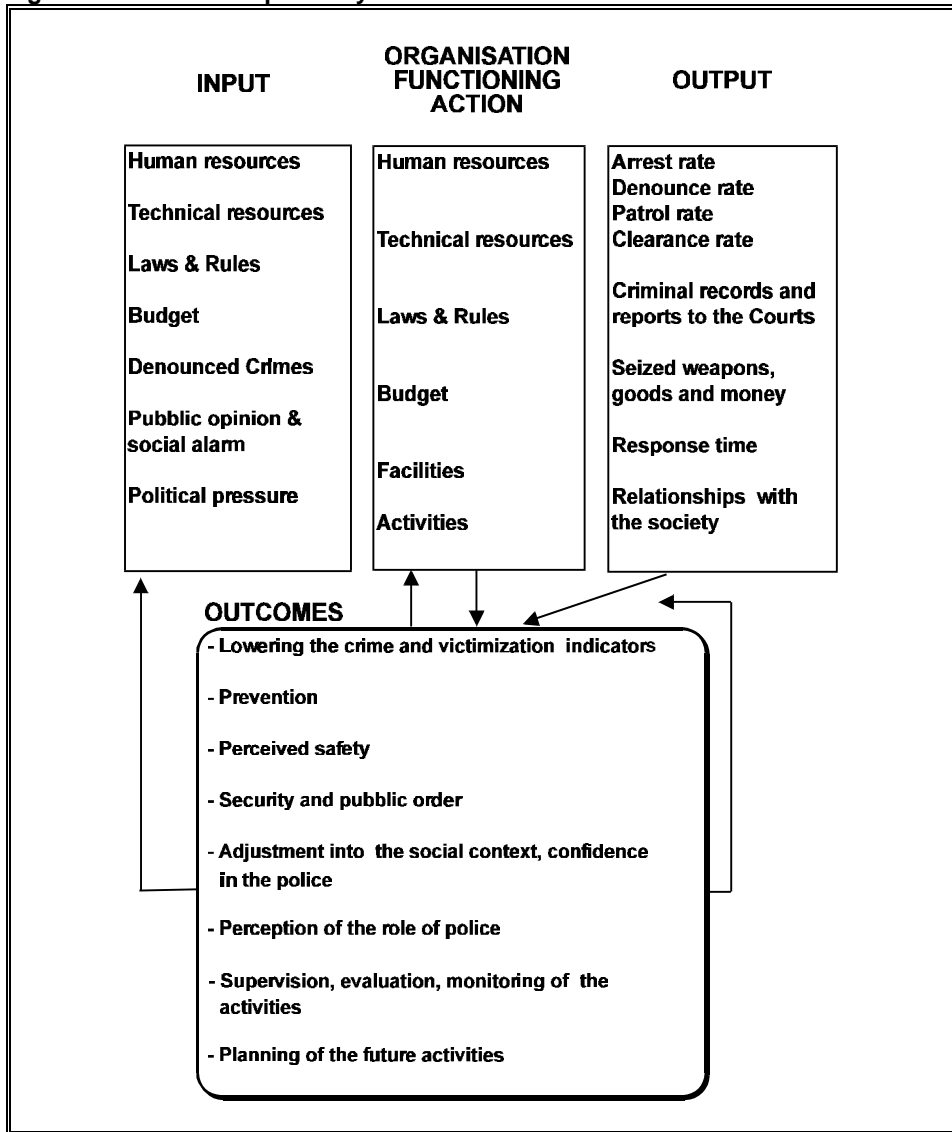
important by management. Output criteria and formal aspects, like the quality of the reports in legal terms were considered to be more important."

In developed societies, moreover, the prevailing model of functioning is the business model, based on the balance between costs and benefits, with the people judging the police according to this model.

In conclusion, I believe that the systematic use of instruments at various levels, such as the victimisation survey, focused on the people's perception of what they expect from the police and how they feel with respect to personal security and fear of crime, as well as how they can describe their experiences of victimisation, can be of invaluable use in the monitoring and assessment of the activities of the police.

I would like to conclude this report by thanking once again the Department of Public Security of the Italian Ministry of the Interior for its vital support in this initiative, and I would also like to believe that in the near future the Department will allow such an initiative to be put into practice.

Figure 3: Elements of police system



PARTICIPANTS' VICTIM SURVEY

Hans van Grasstek¹

Preface

The author of this article works at the market research agency Inter/View, located in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. He is responsible for the co-ordination and execution of the fieldwork in all countries participating in the 1992 International Crime (Victim) Survey (ICS).

Dr. Jan van Dijk, a member of the Working Group that initiated the ICS, invited Inter/View to participate in the Conference, partly to present a methodological paper (elsewhere in this issue), and partly to conduct a mini survey among the participants in the Conference.

The main aim of this participants' survey was to deepen the understanding of the ICS. Most of the participants are familiar with the theoretical aspects of the questionnaire. Some have monitored actual fieldwork. None of the participants know what it is like to "sit on the other side": to apply the ICS questionnaire to their own situation.

For this purpose, Inter/View transformed the CATI² version of the questionnaire into a self-completion version³; questions are prompted by computer, answers are typed in by the interviewee himself. The questionnaire is worded in English. Consequently, only English-speaking participants took part.

Transcript of the presentation

For two days now you have been invited to participate in a survey among the Conference attendants. First of all I would like to thank you for leaving the Conference room and taking the time to fill in the questionnaire.

The main aim of this project is to have you experience the feeling of what it is like to respond to a victim survey. How does the questionnaire apply to your own situation? Our day-to-day market research experience has taught us that the best way to test a questionnaire is through pilot interviews. Answering the questions yourself deepens your knowledge of the survey even more: what impact is the questionnaire likely to have on the respondents?

The questionnaire has been developed for CATI, and conducted by well-trained interviewers. Acknowledging the fact that you are pretty much involved, it was decided to let you answer the questionnaire yourself. Some slight amendments to the questionnaire were made in this respect: the introduction was changed, dummy questions were included to explain the different question types that occur in the questionnaire, etc.

¹ Director, Department of International Research, InterView B.V., Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

² Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing

³ In research terminology: CASI, Computer Assisted Self-completion Interviewing

I am about to present the results of the strangest survey I have ever performed in my market research career. One in which the fieldwork itself was more important than the results! On average you invested 18 minutes of your time, filling in the questionnaire, so the least I can do is share some of the results with you.

Results

The response was better than we would dare to dream of in a normal setting. Not a single respondent refused to participate, or was "unavailable during the fieldwork period". In total 61 persons took part, of whom:

- 54% came from industrialised countries,
- 30% from developing countries and
- 16% from Eastern and Central European countries

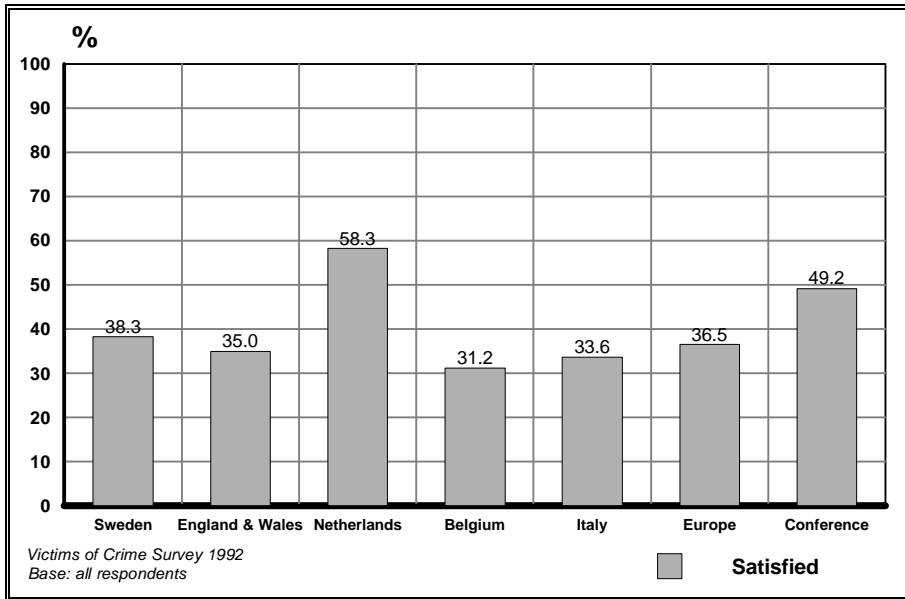
Overall you are to be pitied: in 1991 you were the victim of, on average, 2.8 crimes. The ICS average was 0.5.

How can we describe the average participant in this Conference? You are predominantly male (only 18% female) and slightly middle-aged; 47 years, whereas we found an average age of 44 in the ICS. You turn out to be "slow students"⁴. In the questionnaire, the educational level was measured with the question: "At what age did you finish your full time education?" Fifty-three percent of you fall into the 25 years and over category. In the ICS only 16% took more than 25 years to complete their full time education.

One of the questions in the survey is about the level of satisfaction with your income. I am proud to conclude that the Dutch are, in this respect, satisfied people.

Figure 1: Satisfaction with income

⁴ The presentation of the findings was informal.

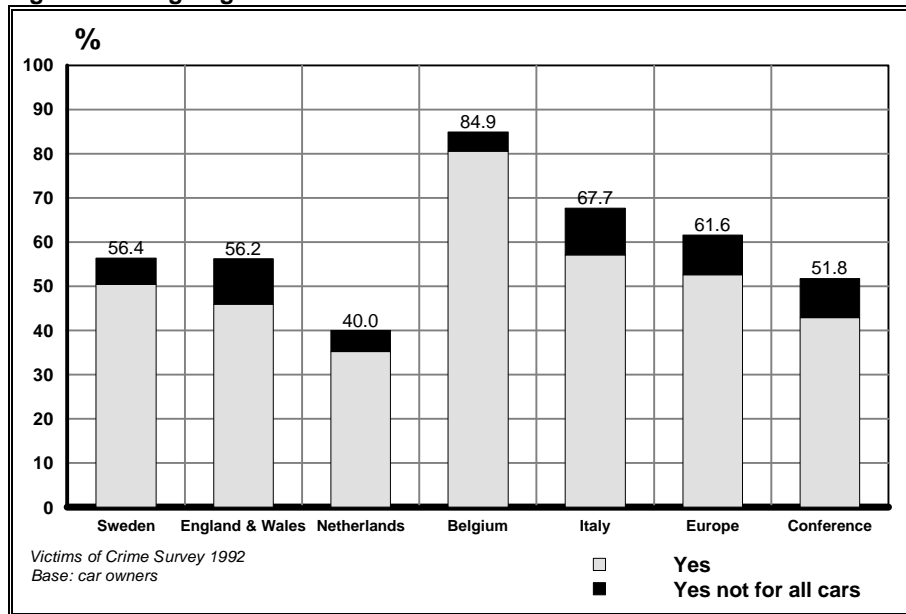


The first 6 bars in the figures refer to the results of the ICS. They serve as a bench mark for the results of the participants' survey, which are shown in the right-most bar. You seem to be pretty satisfied with yourselves. This may be caused by either the (high) level of your income, or a tendency to produce socially desirable answers on your part.

Please bear in mind that from a methodological point of view it is not correct to simply compare the outcomes of the various ICS countries with the results of the participants' survey. The former sample is representative on a number of aspects; region, income, sex, etc. The latter sample is rather distorted on these dimensions.

The country results are weighted to the population figures, people of 16 years or older. The Europe bar is corrected for country size. Larger countries have a higher impact on this overall score.

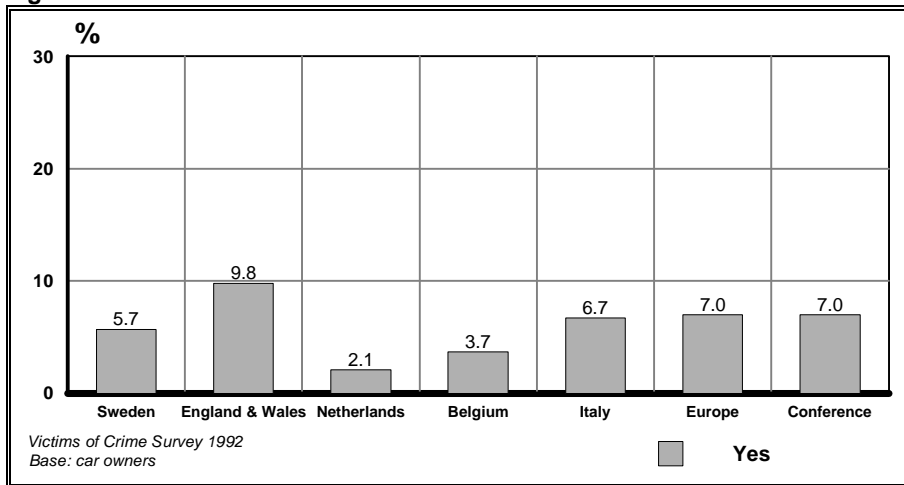
Figure 2: Car garage



The Dutch are satisfied with their income, but apparently they do not have enough money to build a garage. Looking at Figure 2 we see that they do not need a garage to protect their car against theft. Protection against the bad weather would be a better reason to park a car inside.

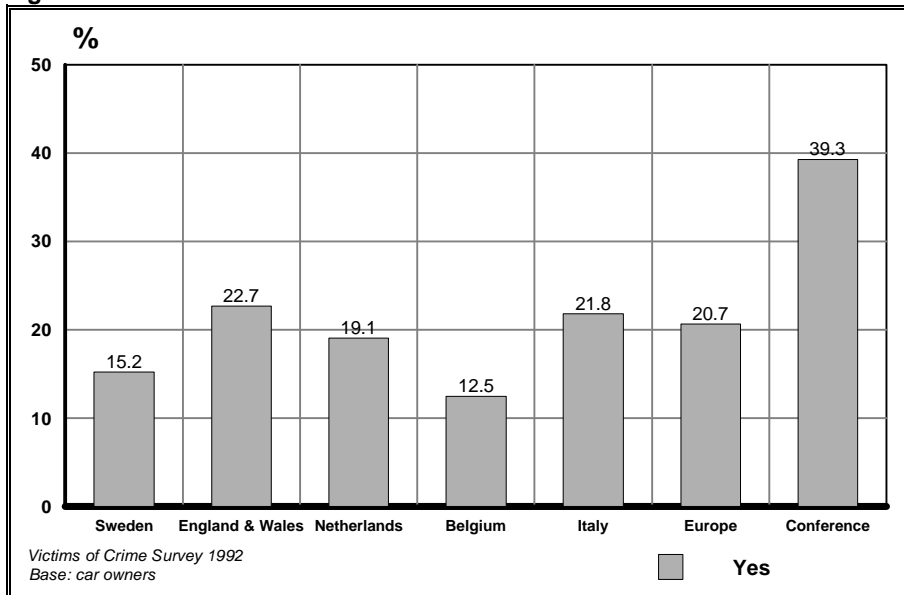
The next figures deal with the victimisation rates.

Figure 3: Theft of cars



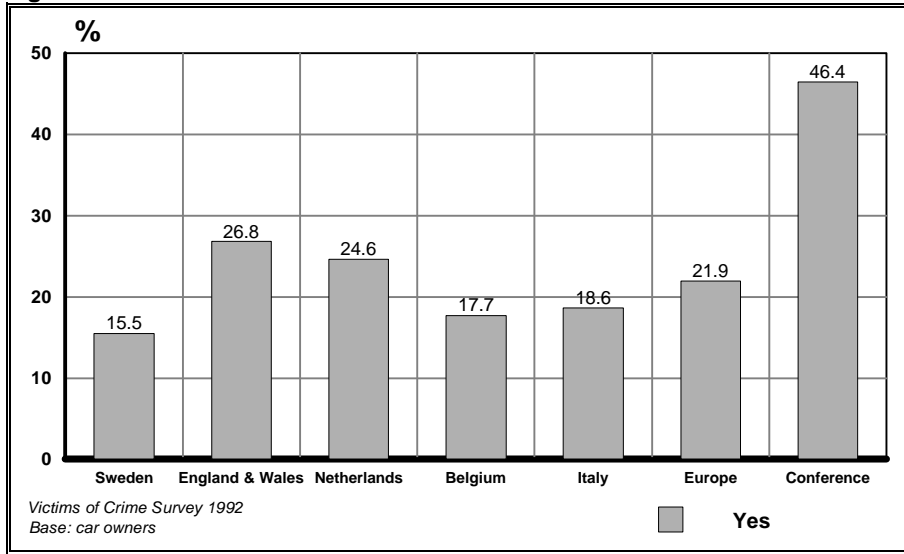
For *theft of cars*, the ICS crime rate is comparable with the outcome of the participants' survey.

Figure 4: Theft from cars



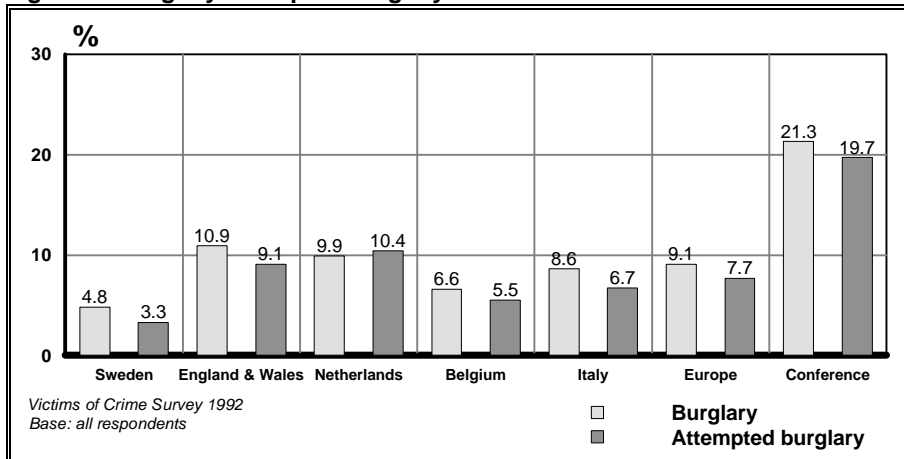
Theft from car rates are much higher for you. Probably you drive more expensive cars, with more gadgets that are attractive to steal.

Figure 5: Vandalism to cars



Higher vandalism rates are found as well. It could be that unsuccessful theft-attempts raise this figure.

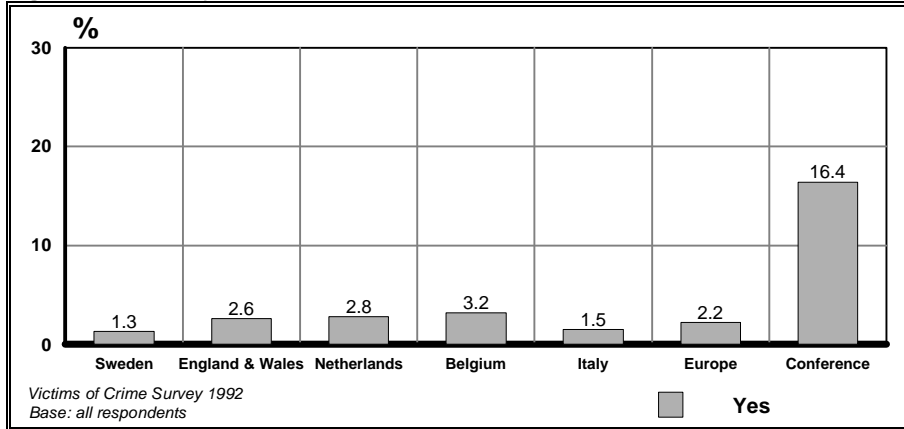
Figure 6: Burglary/attempted burglary



The Netherlands is the only country where there are more attempted burglaries than successful ones. Perhaps our burglars lack proper training. Your rates are above the average, probably due to the fact that your houses are more attractive looking.

Apparently, you yourselves look quite attractive as well, as robbery targets:

Figure 7: Robbery



And you are surrounded by collectors items:

Figure 8: Personal thefts

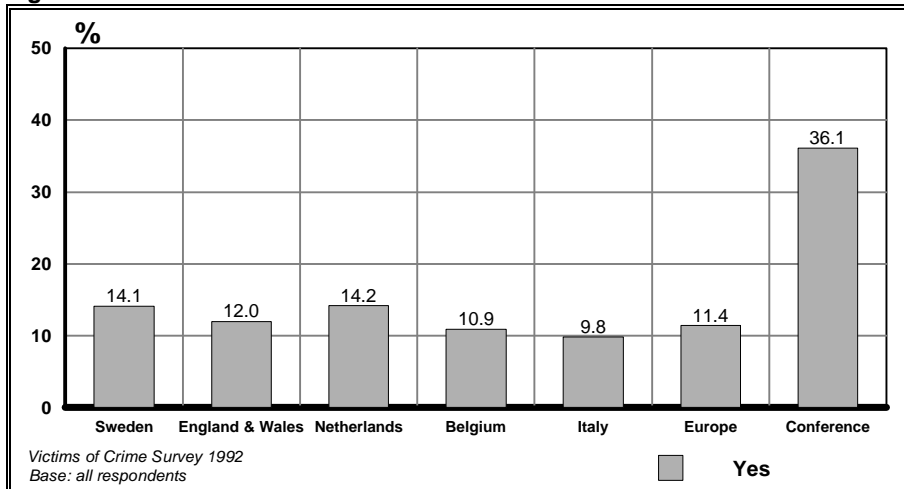
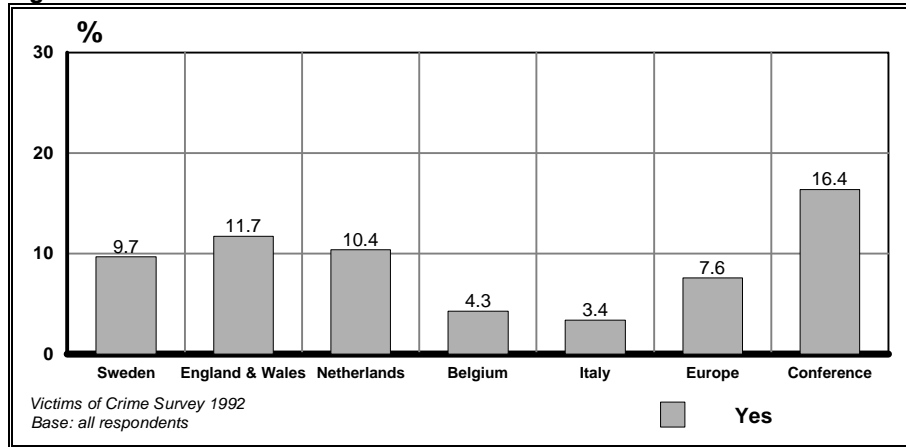


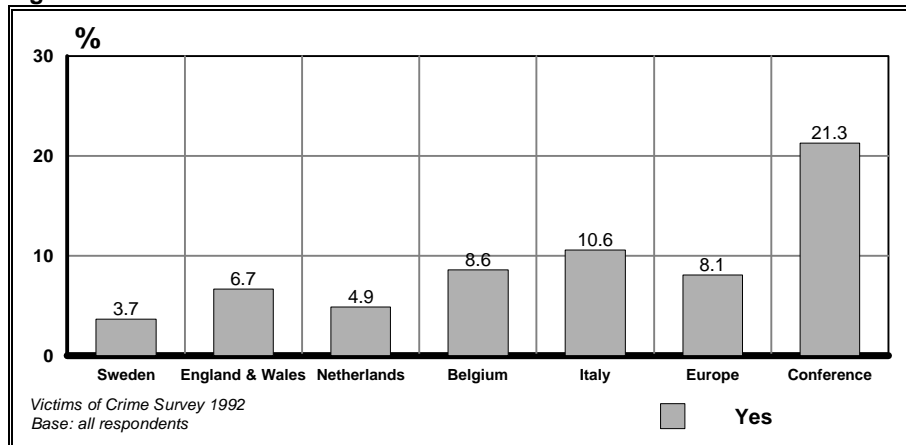
Figure 9: Assaults/threats



Compared with the European results, you have been assaulted twice as often. However, the difference is less striking, as compared with property-related crimes.

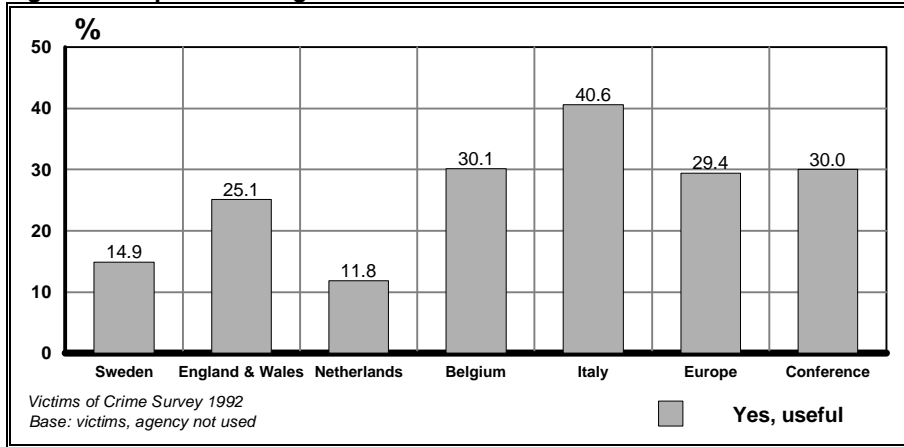
The so-called "education effect" might be an explanation here: people with a higher educational level have a better ability to formulate what has happened. Unpleasant experiences are more readily evaluated in terms of a crime, in this case an assault. To put it more bluntly: for those with less education, an assault is considered as being part of life.

Figure 10: Consumer fraud



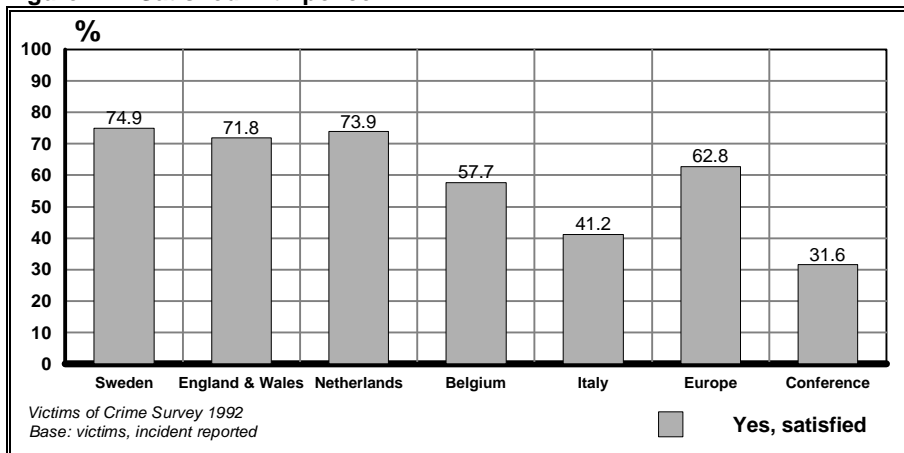
Here as well the high rates could be explained by the effect of education. Another explanation could be what I would like to call a "Robin Hood effect": suppliers are inclined to act fraudulently when dealing with the more affluent clients. The less well-off are served without a swindle.

Figure 11: Specialised agencies useful



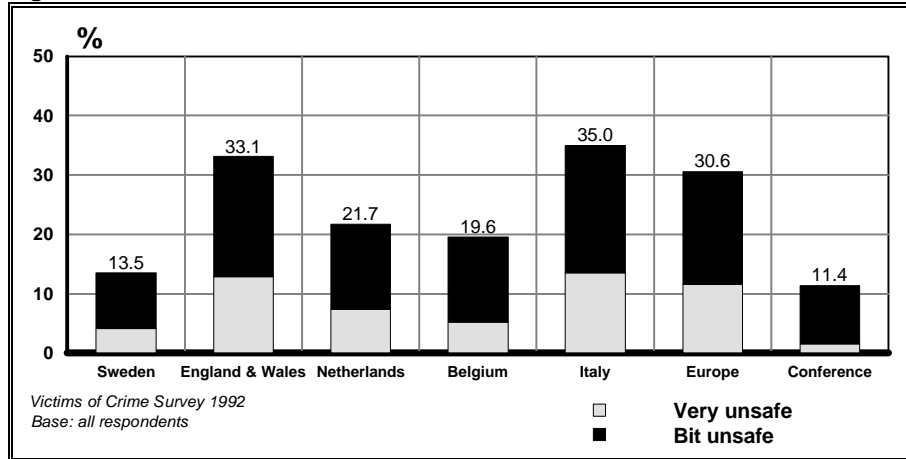
What about agencies for victim support? The Swedes and the Dutch are more of a "cut out the nonsense" kind. They tend to solve the problems without professional help. You find these specialised agencies as useful as the average ICS respondent.

Figure 12: Satisfied with police



The question about satisfaction with the police is only asked of those who reported a crime to the police (In the participants' survey only 19 persons). The choice is between satisfied or dissatisfied. You are less satisfied than the average European. Could it be that your expectations are too high?

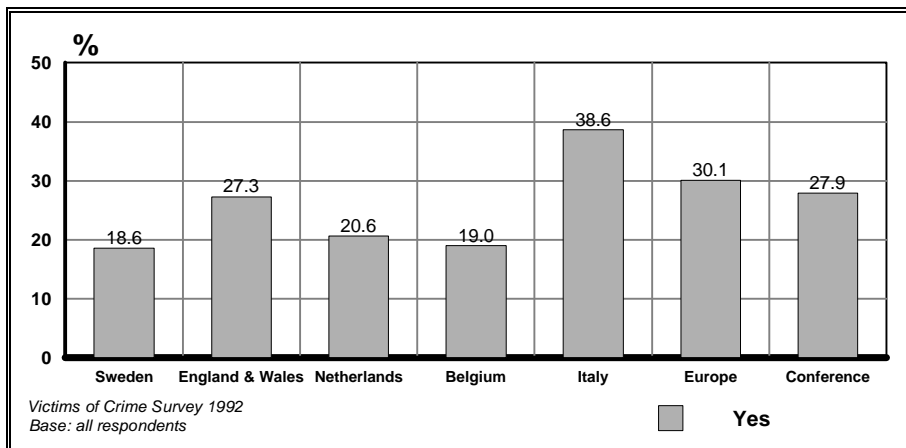
Figure 13: Feel unsafe after dark



How safe do you feel? Pretty safe, when you look at Figure 13. Either you are highly protected, you live in a safe area, or you are less affected by worrying stories in the Sunday papers.

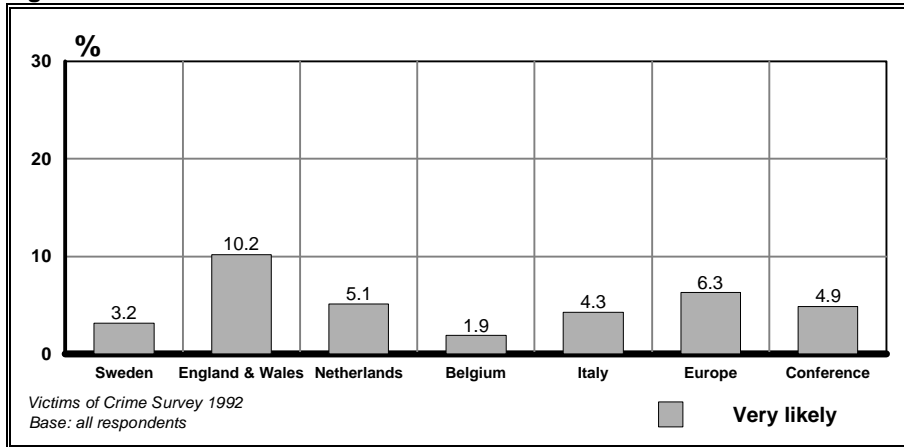
But this is not translated into actual behaviour when going out, as Figure 14 shows.

Figure 14: Avoid certain places



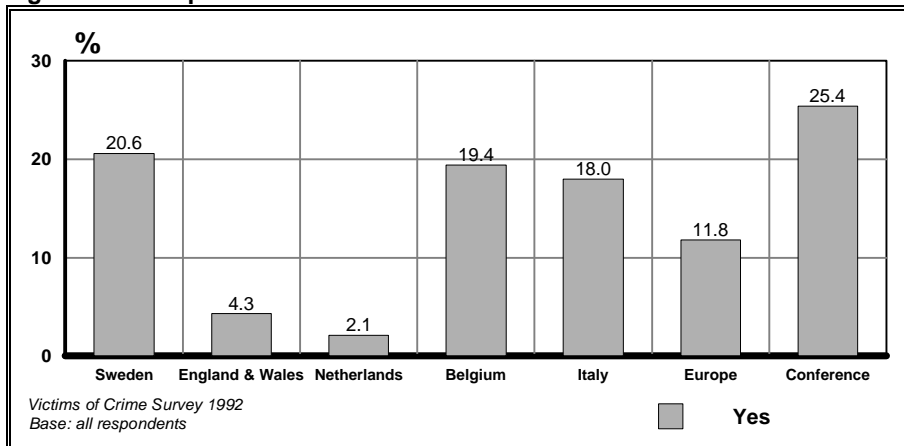
Here the question was: "Please try to remember the last time you went out after dark in your area for whatever reason. Did you stay away from certain streets or places for reasons of safety, or avoid certain people?"

Figure 15: Break-in chances



The break-in chances you mention compare with the overall results for Europe, although your burglary rates are higher!!

Figure 16: Weapon in household



The prevalence of guns in your households is much higher, but in Europe the guns penetration is relatively low, compared to the US for instance.

Figure 17: House not protected

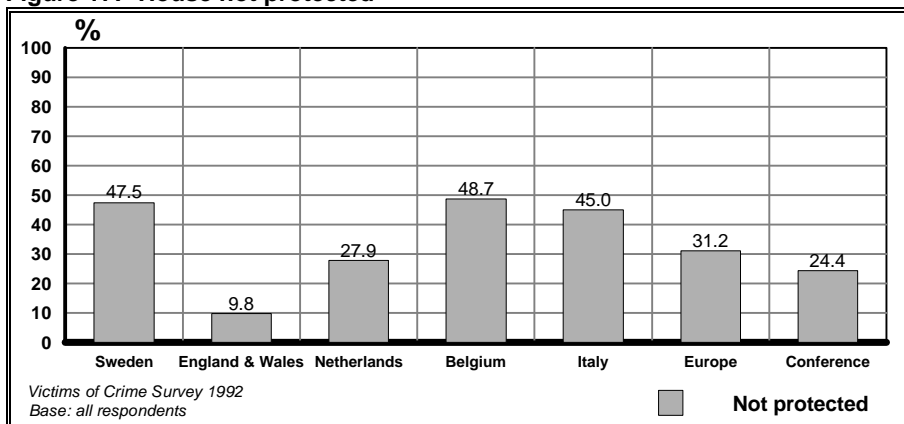


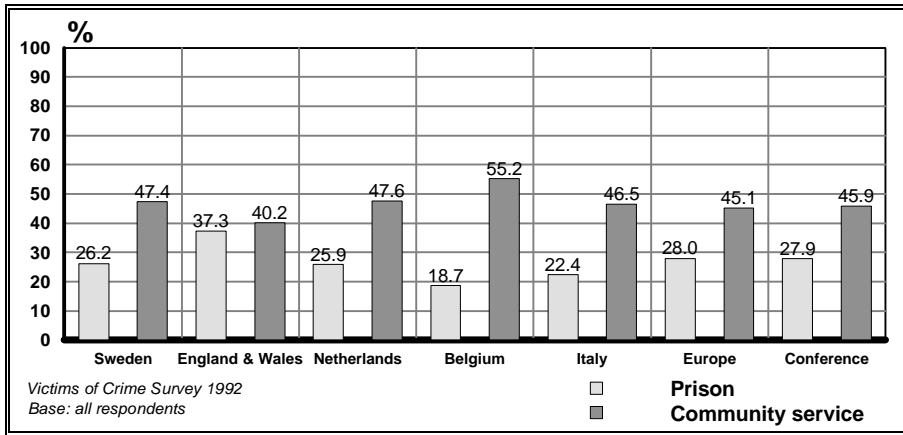
Figure 17 gives the percentages of households not protected.

Previously we saw that England & Wales have the highest burglary rates, the highest break-in chances and the highest proportion of protected houses.

In the participants' survey, 3 out of 4 respondents have a house that is protected by at least one of the following measures:

- 1) a burglar alarm
- 2) special door locks
- 3) special window/door grilles
- 4) a dog that would deter a burglar
- 5) a high fence
- 6) a caretaker or security guard

Figure 18: Sentence appropriate



Apparently the British are fed up with burglary: burglars should be put in jail. In other countries, community service is much more advocated.

Verbatims

We have added an extra question at the end of the participants' questionnaire, allowing you to enter your comments and suggestions. The scope of your remarks ranges from heart-warming compliments about the set-up of the participants' survey to suggestions about future improvements on the content and logic of the questionnaire. Most of the issues raised have been previously discussed in sessions of the Working Group, anticipating this second wave of the ICS. The main reasons for not implementing these ideas were comparability with previous research or budget constraints. A reconsideration might be appropriate for a subsequent wave.

Conclusion

Judging from the comments you made when filling in the questionnaire, we may conclude that the participants' survey proved its worth. Not only did it serve as an eye-opener in the sense of showing "how the questionnaire performs in a live setting", it also proves a useful extension of the theoretical knowledge about the survey and criminological questionnaires in general.

Respondents in the participants' survey have a high victimisation rate on a number of items:

- car-related crimes
- burglary
- robbery
- personal thefts
- consumer fraud

Did these high rates raise your interest in the field of criminology or is there a causal effect in the opposite direction?

Round Table:
Citizens and Criminal Justice

Presentation of the Round Table

It is a great pleasure for us to host this Round Table on Citizens and Criminal Justice. Present here with us are a number of very distinguished participants, some of whom you have met before and others who are new to you.

It is my pleasure to welcome the following:

Senator Luciano Violante, President of the Parliamentary Anti-Mafia Commission in Italy; Ambassador Giorgio Giacomelli, Under-Secretary-General, Director-General of the United Nations Office at Vienna; Mr. Manuel Montagud, General Commissioner of the Spanish Judicial Police; Mr. Denis Joubert, Head of Prevention Central Directory of the National Police, Ministry of the Interior, France; Mr. Raimond Kendall, Secretary General of Interpol; Mr. Dato Steenhuis, Procurator General of the Court of Appeal of Leeuwarden, the Netherlands; Mr. Uwe Dormann, Head of the Crime Analysis/Crime Statistics of the Bundeskriminalamt, Germany; and Mr. Vincenzo Parisi, Chief of Police, Ministry of the Interior, Italy.

A citizen's contact with the criminal justice system varies according to his/her position vis-a-vis the system or any of its components. It has been historically, sociologically and juridically proved that public participation is indispensable. In general terms the citizen can, and should, accomplish participation by adhering to the social contract - hence, in accordance with the law - by being available to involvement and by involving the police and the criminal system both as a victim and as a free and responsible citizen.

As we have seen from the papers presented, one of the crucial elements on which the citizen evaluates the criminal justice system is based on his/her contacts with the system when applying the law. In fact, the certainty of the efficacy or inadequacy of both the criminal justice system and the police is an irreplaceable element when evaluating the levels of real and concrete application of the law.

On the other hand, for an efficient response of the criminal justice system to the various types of crime, it is of the utmost importance that citizens provide the necessary information and actively support police and magistrates in the application of prevention and control strategies.

As often pointed out in the reports presented yesterday and this morning, in particularly sensitive areas such as organised crime, economic crime, crimes against the environment, as well as possibly the most private one of them all - domestic violence, citizen's participation is fundamental. In addition, access to the criminal justice system should be encouraged and in many cases adequate guarantees provided to those who collaborate with the police and magistrates.

No less important is the role of individuals and the community at large in the application of some types of alternative sanctions (other than detention) that require the voluntary collaboration of the citizen, as well as the favourable attitude of the community. The objective of this Round Table is, therefore, to discuss these and

¹ Director, UNICRI.

other topics that reflect national and international problems that concern the participants. I feel confident that this occasion will bear a series of stimuli conducive, among other, to the formulation and application of United Nations policies.

Giorgio Giacomelli²

It is with great pleasure that I accepted the invitation of UNICRI to participate in this Round Table, which convenes so many eminent policy-makers, scholars and administrators. Mainly because, in my opinion, this initiative takes place at a time which is extremely particular and appropriate.

We are living a fundamental cultural change. Humanity has always moved in the direction of greater integration and greater complexity - on the other hand, this is the trend of all that exists and is alive, be it simple or complex - but we have reached, with the acceleration of history, a critical moment. A moment that lasts over fifty years, as far as the United Nations is concerned, and which has implied the passage to an integration of the institutions, an integration of nations and Member States. An exhausting road along which headway has been made, but now we have arrived at an even more critical moment.

Having experienced several working hypotheses and various forms of collaboration in all the fields of international co-operation, the need is now felt to place man at the centre of the scene. This we perceive in the most dissimilar sectors: in that of development - in the broadest sense of the word - in which reference is not made to the development of the countries in anticipation of the "trickling down" which should then benefit everybody. But looking ahead we see the hypotheses of a Summit on Social Development for 1995, which by now, I should say, is acquired even if there is still controversy as to what it should be. There is evident uneasiness in the world as regards the shock of its institutional structure, but there is no doubt that this is the direction in which we are moving.

Lets talk about drugs for a moment. As you know I am here myself with a double hat. Drugs is a classical example; we have conducted an international battle against drugs mainly thinking of the substance - the white powder, the syringe or the addict. It is now considered increasingly necessary to conduct a battle on all fronts (this is the new philosophy that is emerging in this gestation period which led to the birth of the programme that I was requested to set up less than two years ago) - that is a balanced and global approach to meet all the various aspects: supply, demand, trafficking. But in reality the problem is that of moving from the symptomatological cure to the search for deep causes.

Now, to proceed with what occupies and preoccupies us today, in the world of crime something similar is happening; that is to say there is an awareness that even if the original intention is basically always the same (there is nothing new under the sun), in reality the world of crime and of reaction - defence, therefore - of society with respect to crime, have resulted in shifting the attention towards structural paths to, again, identify the symptom, that is to say, the criminal, the "habeas corpus". This has placed, for example, experts and magistrates in an extremely uncomfortable situation - that in which a syndrome has developed on the basis of which the humanity with whom they had most contact was the world of crime.

Now instead, in order to be able to face this subject in its deep causes, the concept has developed whereby there is a need to place oneself at an optic of 180

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Under-Secretary General, Director-General of the United Nations Office at Vienna.

degrees, that of the defence of society - the optic of the victim and of the potential victims.

In other words, we are moving towards - to use a fashionable term (yet not that recently discovered) - a new "social ecology". It is necessary that institutions are aided in eliminating the weight of an ungrateful role because there is no doubt that, in the eye of a potential victim, the aggressor and the protector are very often seen with almost the same fear. If we see and are daily afflicted by television films (i.e. "Police Academy 1, 2, 3, 4"), this is not propaganda to project a certain image, but the expression on the part of the media and the world of artistic production, of the existing urgency to create a different relationship between society and those who society must defend, becoming aware and controlling the increasingly serious, turbulent and transnational causes of social diseases.

My interest in this event relates to the two functions that I occupy at present - Executive Director of the new Programme for Drug Abuse Control, and Director-General, dealing with the Social Programme of the United Nations, including crime prevention activities.

I have always considered it a positive development that (due to the Secretary-General's decision to entrust me with both posts), the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programme and the Drug Control Programme have been brought closer together. The General Assembly decided that they should be two separate institutions, but it is obvious that one cannot deal with several aspects of drug abuse control and of crime prevention in separation and isolation.

Whatever the future structure of the social sector of the Secretary will be, you may rest assured that I will always support strong pragmatic ties between, and the physical vicinity of, these two entities. However, I also see a number of advantages in the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice activities to be close to the social work of the Organization for a number of reasons that I have already mentioned.

UNICRI's efforts, coupled with the general support of our colleagues and friends from the Netherlands and from Italy, are an excellent example of fruitful international co-operation in pursuing specific goals, such as improving information on the real scope and dynamics of crime.

The International Conference has shown that it is possible to obtain systematic and comprehensive information on crime in various developing and developed countries. Victimization surveys and in particular the survey discussed at this Conference, deliver concrete evidence of the true extent of crime, evidence that naturally can still be refined and counter-checked. But even in its present form it informs us about the realities of crime and the great exigencies of the criminal justice system.

In particular, findings on unrecorded and otherwise unreported crimes help to offer advice on the issues that are most relevant to public safety and security. Answers to questions such as which groups of people are most frequently victims of crime, when crime is committed and why it is under-reported, provide a base for the development of versatile and dynamic crime prevention and criminal justice policies.

This type of information is of course indispensable to criminal justice decision-makers. At the same time, it can be of crucial importance to make it available to the public in order to build a broad base and share experiences of criminal justice and crime prevention policies. In this way, a relationship between citizens and criminal

justice administration can be formed and a higher level of social cohesion maintained.

I should emphasize, however, that in the area of crime prevention and control, as in many other areas, the way in which information is provided to members of the public is important. Information that is not analysed and disseminated, can produce negative effects and, therefore, do more harm than good. It may be difficult to envisage this issue in the light of aggregated statistical data, but it can be seen clearly in the context of particular types of crime.

A specific example would be drug-related crime. There are at least three separate categories of criminal activities for which this term could be used: the offence of actually consuming the substance; the illegal conversion of money gained by the traffickers into illicit assets ("money laundering"); and its criminal acquisition, often involving violence against people in order to finance the purchase of the illegal substance.

I wish to draw your attention to the fact that two of these three categories are not victimless crimes, a term often used in the discussion of drug-related crimes. The victims in the third case are obvious, and will be represented in a victims survey, such as the one which is the centrepiece of our agenda. The victims in the second instance are the financial institutions, which at times may be on the side of the victim, and at others on the side of the culprit. But however difficult it is to identify the victim, it is clear that all citizens are victims of a pollution of the financial environment. These are true victims, but they show up very rarely in exercises such as those presented at the Conference.

Whether to classify substance abusers as victims is, to some extent, a matter of terminological preference, but whatever label we choose, they will not appear in most victims surveys. It is, therefore, necessary to be precise in reporting what is meant by the term "drug crime" or "drug-related crime", and it is also necessary, of course, to take care not to stimulate such activities by providing, as I mentioned, models which may be followed. In summary, the category of drug-related offences is of particular concern to me, in my United Nations role, and is one that has a complex but important relationship with victim surveys in general.

Returning to the victimisation survey, I wish to emphasize the important contribution it makes to the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programme. It relates in particular to one of its priorities, as determined by both the Economic and Social Council, and the first session of the Commission of Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice earlier this year. This priority involves the intensification of clearing house functions of the Programme, to provide a comprehensive and versatile collection and dissemination of crime-related information; in other words, strengthening information activities for the international criminal justice community, as well as for victims, both actual and potential.

The 1992 International Victim Survey added a new dimension to the current programme of surveys carried out in Vienna. These include collection and analysis of data related to illicit drug-trafficking, carried out by UNDCP in pursuance of the international drug treaties. I must also refer to the periodical United Nations Surveys of Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems, the last one of which, conceptually, originated with considerable assistance from UNICRI. They have been carried out regularly by the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch since 1977.

These surveys on crime-related data, recorded by criminal justice agencies, offer a wealth of information on officially-known criminality. At this moment, the Branch is receiving replies to the fourth survey of this kind, covering the years 1986-90. Since the first survey covered the period 1970-75, information on global trends in crime over the twenty-years' period (1970-90) will soon be available to the international criminal justice community. Some portions of the data have already been widely analysed and publicised, and I am sure that my colleagues at UNICRI will provide you with additional information about this, if requested.

I wish to stress that information activities in the broadest sense, and certainly those relevant to citizens and criminal justice, would not have been, and will not be, possible without the support of the government, international governmental and non-governmental organisations. Not only because governments are the main providers of information for international surveys, but also because governments and other entities express their needs in the United Nations forum as to the kind of information required and, therefore, to be collected and disseminated.

In this context, I would like to refer to two very positive developments which were encouraged and supported by the government and the non-governmental organisations. Firstly, the computerised United Nations Criminal Justice Information Network - an electronic mail and substantive data-base system operated by the Crime Prevention Branch in Vienna, and of which UNICRI is a member. The United States Government, through its Bureau of Justice Statistics of the Department of Justice, is currently funding the network, but we hope to find the necessary resources to incorporate the Network into the next United Nations Programme budget. The Network currently has some 260 members worldwide, and the number is increasing.

Secondly, the United Nations is preparing the first global Report on Crime and Justice, which will be using the results of various crime-related surveys, including the 1992 International Victim Survey. Again, government support is crucial in launching the project and its in 1994.

We are counting on the support of all interested parties and experts for this project. Both projects will hopefully contribute to a better understanding of crime and a better relationship between citizens and criminal justice systems and their administrators.

With so much attention being focused on organised crime, from a glimpse of the list of speakers much more attention will be dedicated to that topic during the course of this Round Table.

However, I thought it might be interesting to shift our attention towards what could be called "ordinary" crime. There is no doubt that organised crime is a very important topic also in the Netherlands, but I wish to approach the topic of this Round Table from a different angle. This probably has something to do with the controversial role that the Netherlands - being a small country in this big world - likes to play in the international society.

For decades the criminal justice system has been concentrating on the offender, considering him/her as its main client. The activities of the various agencies in the system are all more or less directed towards the offender, and even the support systems used to be directed more towards the needs of the offender than towards the victim of the crime.

It took a few decades to realise that the victim, the law-abiding citizen in general, is probably a much more important customer of the system because if he/she remains unsatisfied with the system's performance, he/she might eventually become an offender himself/herself. Of course, this would not happen overnight and it would occur at a different pace for each type of crime.

There has been a very rapid spread in bicycle theft (which is, quantitatively speaking, the main crime problem in the Netherlands) and recent research in the Netherlands discovered that 50% of the population in the Hague admitted that it was easy for them to buy stolen goods in a bar or a cafe. These two types of crime were given very little attention by the police over the last fifteen years, and the danger in these facts is plain to see.

Therefore, the victim and the law-abiding citizen should be taken care of in order to prevent them from becoming potential offenders or, as our Prime Minister once put it, from becoming calculating citizens who, when considering costs and benefits, may find that the latter outnumbers the former - and therefore decide to become offenders.

Now that we have become aware of this problem, another one has arisen, and that is the struggle for the limited resources of the criminal justice system. These resources will always be limited. No matter how many police officers, prosecutors, judges and prison cells there may be, they will never be enough. Because of limited resources, the various agencies of the criminal justice system have to try to safeguard their fair share of police.

In the Netherlands, the Minister of Transport claimed recently that he would like stronger surveillance over speed limits on the motorways in Holland; the Minister of the Environment demanded more attention towards the investigation and prosecution of environmental crime; the Minister of Finance wanted more effort to be put into fraud reduction; and finally, the government as a whole is very keen to

³ Procurator General of the Court of Appeal of Leeuwarden, the Netherlands.

fight organised crime. These are, of course, all jobs that have to be carried out by the police, and the prosecutors of the system.

There is no doubt that these are very worthy goals, but the problem that obstructs them is, as I mentioned before and as has been discussed during this Conference, that the attention of the criminal justice system has gradually shifted away from the problems faced by the individual citizen, in particular that of the victim. Although the citizen is indirectly a victim of organised crime, fraud, environmental crime, etc., in the majority of cases no direct individual victimisation is involved. Therefore, the victim will, for the time being, be less interested in fighting these types of crime.

What citizens are primarily interested in, as is evident from the main reports presented at the Conference, is police attention towards victimisation, even though they are fully aware that the police cannot do much about crime. They do not expect the police to solve the offences, or to bring back stolen property. And may I remind you once again, that 90% of crime in the industrialised world is property crime.

The system, therefore, must accept the fact that there is a greater demand for attention for its limited resources and try to deal with them by paying more attention to the afore-mentioned crimes: environmental crime, fraud, organised crime, etc.

It is doubtful that a citizen who is dissatisfied, as far as his/her individual victimisation is concerned, would be willing to co-operate with the system in fighting against these types of crime. Furthermore, I believe that the solution to this dilemma and the establishment of a reasonable balance between the two types of crime may well be the most challenging task for the criminal justice system in the years to come.

In my opinion the fundamental problem faced by the criminal justice system today is that which in synthesis can be defined as "to guarantee the honest citizen". That is to say, to provide guarantees, on the one hand, to the victim of the crime, and on the other, to those who collaborate with the justice authorities as witnesses or in any other capacity.

I cannot tell whether all penal systems today are in a position to accomplish this objective. A singular and interesting test was carried out in Paris a few days ago. The same case was contemporaneously tried, if I remember rightly, by six countries according to each of their systems. It was interesting to note the difference in the final results obtained considering the fact that the geographic area covered by the participants was, in general, very homogeneous as regards consumer goods, guiding ideologies and fundamental values.

In a European system like the one we are moving towards it is essential, not only that citizens are guaranteed through homogeneous procedures, but also that an attempt be made to render these as similar as possible in order to avoid unbalance in the guarantees provided by one country and another.

From this point of view it would be extremely useful to start giving serious thought in Europe to the creation of a European judicial area for some forms of crime. I intend ultimately to reflect for a moment on this matter which I consider to be of particular relevance - mainly as a result of the experience and responsibility which I have assumed over the last period.

Serious crime is by now serious international crime. It is no longer national crime nor a sum of national crimes. Criminal organisations are international criminal organisations. As regards Italy in particular, the internationalisation of crime has developed along the line of hard narcotic drugs.

Such a market is typically an international market; the place where the substance is consumed is different from that where it is produced and, generally speaking, it is paid for in still a third place. It is rather significant, in fact, that as compared with the remarkable results obtained in confiscating supplies of narcotic drugs, parallel results have not been achieved as regards seizing the large quantities of money that are being paid for its supply. This evidently means that in this market there is a marked divergence between the time of delivery and actual payment for the substance; in addition, it is very likely that payment involves territorial areas different from that where the substance is actually delivered. The message that stems from the narcotic drugs traffic, but which is applicable to so many other criminal markets, is that internationalised counter action is, at this point, the appropriate strategy.

By internationalised counter action I do not mean only international collaboration which, especially among the police forces of the various states, has reached an acceptable stage. The need is felt, instead, for the removal of national barriers when dealing with certain types of crime. Major organised crime has by now broken through national barriers; nowadays these function as filters only for the legal

⁴ President, Anti-Mafia Commission, Parliament of the Republic of Italy.

authorities. My query is, therefore, in relation to crimes which in Italy are considered to be of a "mafia" origin, would it not be the case to work towards the possibility of removing national barriers in order to facilitate direct collaboration between police, judicial and bank authorities (the emphasis is on bank authorities) without the mediation of other authorities?

A second step should be the identification of a restricted number of proceedings that can acquire the value of evidence within the judicial context, for example, the interrogation of a defendant who is free, has a legal representative and is interrogated by an outside judge (third party). I also refer here to a report on search and confiscation carried out by a judicial police authority and confirmed by a third judicial authority.

In my opinion, these two types of proceedings would be sufficient for the present; the accomplishment of this task would mean a step forward. In short, the legal world must acquire competitiveness vis-a-vis the illegal world. National barriers today hinder this competitiveness. The point is how to go about overcoming these barriers. Quite frankly, I do not believe in the possibility of constituting a court with powers that go beyond national borders, as I have heard is being proposed (I do not really know what crimes this court should judge), and the number of crimes related to organised crime are so many that I do not believe any court alone could adjudicate them all.

The matter in question is, therefore, the creation of an area in which the single police forces, the single magistrature and the single bank vigilance authority can move with a certain amount of freedom, such, in fact, that would allow them to compete with the world of crime. In my opinion this could be promised to the present and future generations, in order to manifest our will to help those who in the world of tomorrow, could be more harmed by organised crime than we are harmed today by the absence of an adequate response to the international dimensions that organised crime has acquired over the last few years.

The world is changing; in Europe and in the whole world the last few months have been full of events that will be reported in history and engraved in peoples' memory.

Despite the balances that a society must create to ensure the protection of human rights and fundamental liberties, the different effects of exclusion and marginalisation are taking the lead in a very preoccupying manner. Delinquency, prostitution, drug abuse, and to a certain extent, AIDS, are expanding on the grounds of too many exclusions engendered by our society - the first victim of which is often the youth.

Nowadays the majority of human beings live in towns, and the young people's future is to be found there. Now, we must admit that urban civilisation is not yet a reality and that it remains for us to build a town space capable of producing an authentic citizenship.

Our towns, and especially the great urban centres, the metropolises and megalopolises are perceived as an assembly of parts or a sum of functions that represent an obstacle to the formation of the social link necessary to create solidarity and favour cumulative processes of exclusion and inequalities.

A rapid survey of the relationship between population and aggregate delinquency shows that the great majority of countries with a high level of urbanisation experience an increase in crime and that the young people naturally appear among the categories at the highest risk.

Nowadays, the problem of delinquency has become a political challenge in industrialised countries. The deterioration of the urban social fabric provides the backdrop for the phenomenon of delinquency, as well as being the cause of the endemic explosions of group violence in the most turbulent districts.

Studies carried out throughout Europe, in the world and, particularly, in France over the last twelve years have revealed the need to deal globally, efficiently and according to an accurate diagnosis when searching for the causes of the social disease of the youth.

Everyone knows that it is not possible to study the phenomenon of delinquency without taking into account the underlying causes which are linked to development models, poverty, illiteracy, school failure, unemployment, weakening of the traditional values and those of the family.

These are all causes that, when put together, lead globally to a certain loss of identity among our citizens - and not only among the most disadvantaged or the victims of national or international migration - and favour the turn towards drugs and violence. The one certain thing is that in these circumstances it is no longer possible to base delinquency and crime control policy on repression alone, and that the institutions called to provide for it - police, justice - would not be able to satisfy requirements and would wear themselves out in so doing.

Nevertheless, society's acknowledgment of collective responsibilities in the growth of delinquency must not lead to a decrease in the severity of attitudes in

⁵ Head of Prevention, Central Directorate of the National Police, Ministry of the Interior, France.

relation to the author of an offence, nor to the abandonment of sanctions and repression, which, if necessary, should be very firm.

The institutions, whether acting in a singular capacity or in the framework of a partnership, provide or try to provide as satisfactory an answer as possible to this problem. The method chosen by the national police force in France is the creation of a "proximity police" based on the development or reinforcement of a number of techniques. I will mention three of them: the improvement of the quality of the reception service in police stations, concomitant with the reaffirmation of the presence and efficiency of the public utility in the districts; the extension of the "ilotage" (i.e. the supervision of a block of houses), and the participation of the police in carrying out the youth aid initiative. We are convinced that the policeman has a role to play in these processes. This is not to say that the policeman is a "super social actor" but, more simply a kind of "social sentry", useful for dealing with the problems encountered in the towns and districts. In his/her position of privileged observer of life in the cities, the policeman must necessarily be involved in the process of urban social development and, at a central level, it is essential for the police to be present in the debate on the city policy.

Therefore, I would like to point out immediately that, for us, it is not a matter of carrying out "who knows what" kind of infiltration, particularly among the young people we meet during districts animation programmes; this is not at all our objective. We have established a very simple fact: in a certain number of districts we are witnessing progressive social desertion, the social workers encounter the greatest difficulties in carrying out their work correctly.

As a result, the police is forced to intervene at the peak of a discussion on any incident, however trivial. Thus very often having to bear the citizens' violent manifestations of rebellion against those who represent public power, i.e. the three or four unfortunate policemen who attempt, when called upon, to play the role of mediators. These circumstances very often lead to conflicts that can take a dramatic turn.

Programmes for young people in these problem areas have thus been created with the aim of progressively establishing the public service and creating a new relationship between police and youth, in order to make them understand that the policemen have a public service mission and a social control role.

Of course, the complexity of the problems that affect all the aspects of social life require the close and continuous collaboration of all the intervening parties involved: citizen's representatives, police, justice, those responsible for education, health, housing, extra-curricular activities, sport and social associations, and social workers. In this respect, the exchange of knowledge, experience and know-how at an international level is proving increasingly necessary.

It is clearly at the level of local organisations, in the frame of a territorialisation of the interventions and a careful consideration of the specificity of the different local context, that we have the best chances to tackle not only delinquency, but also the numerous problems that arise among the citizens.

However, this difficult problem cannot be treated on the basis of improvisation and it is essential to develop a methodology that allows for the establishment of a diagnosis of local situations and provide adequate answers, certainly repressive and complementary, such as alternatives to imprisonment, judicial mediation, socio-educational judicial review, community service, etc.

France has opted for this method in a determined way. As for the Ministry of the Interior and Public Safety, an action plan for safety was presented last May. This plan aims at mobilizing the forces to prevent the development of delinquency and to improve everyday safety. These measures are prioritarily directed towards the 27 more urbanised departments where prefects are in charge of the elaboration of local safety projects together with the local authorities responsible for safety matters. These projects identify definite objectives and establish common priorities of action in several fields: safety in the surroundings of educational establishments, safety of elderly persons, fight against drug abuse, safety in the town centres with a high commercial density, safety in the "grands ensembles" (large blocks of important buildings situated in urban areas), safety in public transport, etc.

The conventions agreed upon between the state, local organisations and their partners are, in most cases, based on a local diagnosis of safety made jointly by the delinquency prevention communal councils. These councils are usually entrusted with a task of follow-up and evaluation through local observation stations on safety that are progressively created in France on the basis of victimisation surveys currently being carried out in our country (see Zauberman's contribution to this volume). In future, the safety measures defined within the frame of the partnership established between the state and the local actors could be integrated in the whole proceedings of the city policy and become part of the next five-year plan which will come into force on 1 January 1994.

These are the current orientations of everyday prevention and fight against delinquency adopted by the National French Police Force.

Manuel Montagud⁶

There is no doubt that in most societies citizens feel or are under the impression that they are unprotected or helpless; indeed, in many cases they feel that the delinquent benefits or disposes of broader juridical or penal protection than they do. The consequence of this, in our opinion, is that when directly involved in a criminal act, victims experience a feeling of inhibition when having to report or co-operate with penal justice organisations in the process of preventing or punishing a criminal act. Penal administration and police in Spain believe that the answer to this issue is educating citizens - starting from the basic elements and applying the quickest methods aiming at informing on available procedures in the most comprehensive way - in order to be in a position of collaborating directly for the solution of the problem. What are these procedures? In our opinion a juridical or penal procedure does exist. This consists in conveying to citizens the perception and total awareness that personal participation is important and not simply wait for police officials to take a penal action against the delinquent, as is usually the case. Instead, the citizen should know that he/she can also exercise private action, including from an associative point of view, collective action. Needless to say, this can only be achieved through mechanisms that would allow for a more agile performance of justice and judicial procedures capable of responding to the needs of a citizen.

Another procedure is making the citizen aware of the fact that, under certain circumstances, the penal administration is responsible for damages and injuries incurred. In Spain there are specific delinquent figures for which the penal administration is obliged to compensate the citizen for damages, such as in cases of terrorism. For certain crimes, such as crimes against public health and some crimes of negligence, the administration is obliged to compensate for the damage caused.

Another procedure which is considered significant towards citizens' active participation in this responsibility is of a social nature. By social nature is meant participation in civilian or neighbourhood associations which, in a way, stimulate juridical or penal mechanisms to respond to these situations. It goes without saying that the citizen's confidence in his/her strong position vis-a-vis the police forces is fundamental and basic. This can only be achieved by a daily and practical task which in Spain has led to the creation of specific groups within the judicial police to give support to citizens in certain criminal areas, such as aid to minors and assistance to females in relation to crimes related with cases of maltreatment and rape. A new police figure has been instituted in all police stations with the task of acting as mediator between neighbourhood associations, and before whom these associations present all their cases and problems. This officer is authorized to then channel these cases for police, penal or administrative action.

⁶ General Commissioner of the Spanish Judicial Police, Spain.

The Bundeskriminalamt could be compared with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (USA), but since Germany is a small country, the Bundeskriminalamt is much smaller. As far as the prevention and repression of crime are concerned, the German Government stresses especially increasing drug misuse, combined with the increased border-crossing of organised crime. In the last few years, the borders in Europe have opened up more and more; therefore, international co-operation in the fight against organised crime is of major importance.

However, returning to the main topic of this Conference, the extremely high level of petty crimes, such as theft, is just as important, as it seems to be an indicator of diminishing common values in our society. Petty crimes against individual citizens, such as theft or assault, are measured more efficiently through victim surveys than through official statistics. Prevention means developing better educational and social strategies - this is one of the main issues of German criminal policy.

The prevention work of the German police consists in reducing crime opportunities, and supplying the population with information as to how to better protect themselves. Ironically, there was an unplanned success in crime prevention in Germany. Several years ago, when motorcyclists were obliged by law to wear helmets, there was an astounding decrease in motorcycle theft. This is because potential thieves would not normally carry a helmet with them, and would risk being stopped by the police if driving a motorcycle when not wearing one.

Social and crime problems are found mostly in the larger cities, and I believe that crime prevention should be carried out first in these areas. Comparison between cities throughout Europe, via victim surveys, would be less expensive, methodologically better controlled, and would offer more relevant results for crime prevention than national level surveys. In fact, the majority of German victimisation studies have been carried out on a city level; with further geographical differentiation, offering better possibilities to compare the survey data with police data and with demographic, housing or social structure data for prevention purposes.

The various papers and reports that were presented yesterday and today offer many interesting considerations that should be further and very carefully examined.

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Head of the Crime Analysis/Crime Statistics of the Bundeskriminalamt, Germany.

Raymond Kendall⁸

I will confine my brief remarks to some of the issues brought up during this Round Table. What interests me as a practitioner is how we can link the excellent results of the academic studies, and the follow-up action. I believe that certain remarks made by Irvin Waller this morning and this afternoon are a key factor.

We have seen the results of research, and we have also seen some possible, and even probable, solutions. In many cases we have seen the results of the studies confirming and telling us certain things which we already knew, and I think we must be careful that the over-emphasis on the studies does not detract from the follow-up action; I have various explanations for this, but obviously not entire solutions.

The fact is that where things seem to break down is between the academic results of studies, with their suggestions of probable and possible solutions, and the arrival at the implementation of action. What I believe is an absolute necessity between the examination of the solutions and the putting into action, is a firm political will. In my opinion, where things seem to be going wrong is in some sort of direction *or misdirection between the results of the studies and the application of the action.

The reason for this, I believe, is that there are certain incompatibilities between the logical action that should follow the studies and what may be political expediency. I think that this comes out very clearly if we look at the efforts that have been made and the resources that are put into prevention programmes, social programmes and demand-reduction programmes, in relation to drug-addiction.

Of course, we all know that however much we say that these things are multi-disciplinary, the tendency is always to insist on the law-enforcement side. The reason for our doing this is because it is the solution of facility for the politicians. If you are a policeman, you will arrest more people, and you will seize more drugs, very quickly; but you will do absolutely nothing about dealing with the problem that you are really faced with.

We all know that the prevention programmes, social programmes and demand-reduction programmes will probably not show a result - if they are effective - for at least ten years. Politicians cannot wait that long. Most of them will not be around to see the results anyway.

So what I am suggesting (I am not sure how it can be done, and I am wondering whether there is not some way that it can be built into the academic studies) is the possibility of showing (and I know how difficult this is) how much crime is really costing to society; how much the finance of my organisation costs, for example, which spends 60% of its efforts dealing with the illicit traffic in drugs; and in some way showing the real cost-effectiveness of a really successful crime prevention programme.

These are the sort of things that will "speak", as far as politicians are concerned; how much money can we save? How can we avoid doing what we usually do (in political terms)? That is to say: wait until the disaster happens before we intervene. What I am trying to say - and I am being rather provocative about this - is that there

⁸ Secretary General of Interpol.

is a breakdown between the solutions that to all of us seem to be fairly obvious, and the actual effective application of these solutions.

The other point I would like to make, and it rather links with the point made by Dato Steenhuis, is that because the serious crime problems are rather "sexy" in the media terms, we tend to concentrate our efforts, also in police terms, on dealing with these serious crimes, which most members of the public are not directly affected by. I have a feeling that if we were to solve the problems of street and property crime and security in general, the public would feel more secure, they would have confidence in the system and they would be more co-operative. As a result, we would be able to concentrate our efforts much more on them rather than only emphasising the really serious crimes.

The last point I want to make is just a point of information for those people who this afternoon raised their concern about offences committed against minors. For the last three years we have been looking seriously at this problem; we presented a report (which is a sort of mini-victimisation study as a result of consultation with our member countries) to our General Assembly last week and we have set up a permanent-standing working party to examine the whole issue of crimes against minors.

Vincenzo Parisi⁹

I would like to bring to your attention some data - resulting from analyses - which, to me, appear to be fundamental. We are faced with the generalised phenomenon of the expansion of crime which is evidence of the marked decline of the values of legality in all the states.

Interpol data for 1991 place Italy in eighth place with 4,612 crimes per 100,000 inhabitants, preceded by Sweden and the United Kingdom with more than double the number of crimes, Luxembourg, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Austria and Switzerland. In Switzerland, where conditions are better, the index increases each year by 1,000 crimes per 100,000 inhabitants. The position of Belgium, Greece, Spain and Portugal follows that of Italy. Thus, a worrying picture.

As far as Italy is concerned, this has determined the commitment of the institutions and improved collaboration. In addition, the improved investigative tools assigned to magistrates and the police force has determined an indicative and significant decrease in the crime index between last year and the current one. This has allowed us to register a generous 10% decrease in crimes as overall data.

Concurrent with the 20% decrease in homicides - which will hopefully make us loose the unenviable primacy registered last year - and a decrease of approximately 360 homicides, as well as the 25% reduction in robberies and bag-snatching, an increase is registered in reported extortion, which evidently reveals an improvement in the attitudes of trust between the state and the victims of this crime.

We are convinced that in spite of this progress, other significant facts must be estimated in order to acquire data which is sufficiently reliable in relation to the vastness of the phenomenon. This phenomenon has increased enormously and become broader following the crisis in the Balkans, whereby, because of its geographic location, Italy is rather central in the trafficking of narcotic drugs.

Undoubtedly drug trafficking has shifted towards other countries. Two are the fundamental consequences of this: the improvement of the internal situation, and the relenting of some criminal structures faced with problems of reduction of potentiality and lack of provisions. It must be recognised that the problems which criminal structures now confront are also to be attributed to the improved attitude between the victims of crime and the state.

Incentives, forms of encouragement, attention on the part of the police and the judicial and administrative authorities have brought about evident forms of collaboration. Over 200 collaborators have registered with the penal authorities; a fact without precedents in the history of organised crime. A collateral phenomenon has been observed: the emigration of criminal groups. At this point I would like to stress the need to attract, from wherever possible, instruments for social defence in order to stop the pervasive criminal phenomenon from invading in a destabilising manner other realities.

An improvement has also been recorded in the approach towards prevention, in investigative capabilities and in the overall capacity of responding to crime. In this respect, according to the relative data, by the end of the year we expect to have

⁹ Chief of Police, Ministry of the Interior, Italy.

effected 300,000 arrests and recorded over 500,000 persons reported without arrest. In our case, these are record data, considering also the traditional mistrust towards the institutions.

We estimate that the Mafia today faces greater difficulty in operating in Italy (both in Sicily and elsewhere) than in areas where it is less known and where there is access to greater resources than in Italy. In relation to the massacres, where three well known magistrates and eight state policemen were killed, we have been able to certify that these were linked to operational difficulties (Cosa Nostra intended to intimidate the institutions to arrest the process of improvement in competence).

Subsequent data inform us that the murderers of Judge Livatino who had been arrested in Germany, were sentenced yesterday. Our gratitude goes to the German police for their collaboration.

Significant interaction between Italian criminality and that abroad was ascertained when carrying out the "Green Ice" operation. In this circumstance satisfaction was shared between Italian and North American authorities. Collaboration has been established with police authorities in Venezuela following the repatriation of the Cuntrera brothers. Gratitude was expressed to the Chief of the Venezuelan Police two days ago here in Rome.

The recent arrest of Madonia which took place in Vicenza has revealed that this criminal, Number Three of the Sicilian Cupola, carried with him the equivalent of fifty million lire in German marks and was on his way to Germany. In carrying out his activity, Justice Borsellino's last mission was, in fact, to Germany. Today - this afternoon, as a matter of fact - an Italian gangster was arrested in Frankfurt upon the indication of the German Liaison Officer of the German police. He was identified in Ivrea by the Carabinieri while he was about to transfer to Germany after having robbed one-hundred million lire from the Bank of Ivrea. All these are signs of the internationalisation of crime.

I agree with all that has been said by the previous speakers and with Senator Violante in particular, that is to say, the issue of the honest person's easy access to justice, in whatever capacity. Criminality and, as regards Italy, even that of the Mafia is becoming a peripheral phenomenon. Crime is acquiring a new geographic profile. The Mafia itself has altered its geographic features.

It is no longer located in Sicily; it has branches and hinges that originate in Sicily, but which expand like tentacles over other regions and over other cities (not only Italian). There is a suspicion that organised crime is tempted to shift to regions where there is a greater concentration of wealth, where the dynamics of narcotic drugs present even higher possibilities regarding the investment of capital and where they are covered by bank secrecy or by the financial system.

A series of extremely alarming data which we have acquired demonstrate how, in fact, the Mafia has secured a position of strength in its spreading towards other horizons. Nevertheless, this has also determined a cause of weakness. The framework which was originally monolithic, has to contend today with the consequences of congestion of the traditional areas. And this applies not only to the Mafia, but also to other rather dangerous forms of Italian criminality.

Naturally, there is a relenting, a decongestion in the larger areas of the criminal world and the consequent weakening of the original ties between these groups and the original nucleus, where the temptation of becoming independent is evident; profiting from the fact of not being well known, of being able to live in an

environment that ignores certain phenomena, and in a condition in which the information system is not punctual enough - for the mere reason of not being in a position to understand the extra-geographic reality.

Senator Violante's statement in connection with the need to guarantee victims, defendants and collaborators is a fact. It is encouraging that among those who collaborate, in Italy, there is a young twenty-year old woman, Rosetta Cerminara from Calabria who has provided a precious contribution with regard to a double homicide. It is also reassuring that the judges were able to pass sentence for the Vattino murder on the testimony of a commercial agent.

There are, in fact, a number of cases of citizen collaboration outside their own personal judicial concern for which a rewarding formula or solution must be found. As evidence of the efficacy of these external connections we can observe how, with the help of the French police, Matteo Bove (famous Sardinian criminal who also participated in the kidnapping of young Farouk Kassan) was recently arrested in Corsica.

I agree that an extra-national court would only relatively respond to our needs - in addition, such a proposal may not even be feasible. Nevertheless, collaboration - mainly regarding information - must be consolidated and corroborated. This could be improved by employing a larger number of liaison officers (only part of these have so far been appointed), each one of whom must endeavour to understand the realities that are threatening.

As regards the Italian administration, I am persuaded of being able to give the maximum encouragement towards the advancement of this collaboration; we are entirely available to accomplish the results, and at the same time to satisfy all requirements regarding information flow.

Crime is, by now, a phenomenon that threatens all mankind. But let us not forget what has been said earlier: a sort of world-wide revolution has taken place; similar to what happened after the fall of the Wall of Berlin, and which is symptomatic of a search for something new which has not yet been identified. It certainly leads us to consider the need to defend ourselves from the danger that these groups propagate and determine a carcinogenic phenomenon that could, in fact, hinder future progress in each one of our countries, as well as in those countries where freedom is a recent acquisition.

PART FIVE

Summaries of Country/City Surveys

AUSTRALIA

John Walker¹

Description of sample

2,006 respondents from throughout Australia were selected according to known regional and demographic characteristics. Australia is a very highly urbanised nation, and over sixty per cent of the sample was obtained from its five largest cities, which range in size from around 1½ million to over 4 million persons. As Australia is a socially homogeneous nation, however, while the city-country split is indicative of differences in opportunities for crime, it appears to be virtually unrelated to social class.

Data collection technique

Data collection was conducted, in English, by the well known Roy Morgan Research Company using the same CATI technique as had been employed for the 1989 survey. Interviewers, some of whom were familiar with the previous survey, were given specific training on the contents of the questionnaire, and were warned about the sensitive nature of the topics. The survey took place in the last week of January 1992, with supplementary calls being made three weeks later to bring the sample up to 2,006 interviews. It is probably important to note that the end of January in Australia is mid summer, and is, according to police statistics, also the peak period for recorded statistics on a range of crimes including burglary, personal thefts and assaults. Most other countries' surveys will have taken place during the northern hemisphere winter.

Only two problems were encountered. These were a very poor overall response rate in the two major cities, Sydney and Melbourne, and some respondent suspicion particularly in Perth. The Perth problem was related to an incident in that city shortly before the survey took place, where the media had reported that a person, purporting to be conducting a survey on crime, had made indecent suggestions to females. The telephone number provided for respondents to check the authenticity of the survey was much used.

Response rate and recontacting

The initial sample of 3,508 produced 1,789 interviews (51%) including up to 12 call backs and call back of "Weak Refusals". A further 471 sample was required to complete the final 2,006 interviews. The distribution of respondents was 55% female and 45% male (Census data 51% female and 49% male for persons aged 16 and over). Table 1 gives a breakdown of call results.

¹ Senior Criminologist, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra, Australia.

Victimisation rates

Tables 2 and 3 present the prevalence victimisation rates for the five and one-year period under survey, respectively. The results from the 1992 survey appear to be similar in most respects to those of the 1989 survey. The increased five-year rates for car theft, car damage and robbery all accord with official statistics on trends in crimes reported to the police, and all appear to be statistically significant. Police statistics, however, also show increases in other offences, such as assaults and burglaries, which do not show up in the two surveys. The significant fall in survey figures from 13.5% to 8.9% for sexual incidents runs counter to trends in official statistics for serious sexual assaults.

The most significantly different response in the one-year rates of victimisation is the much lower 1992 figure for sexual incidents (3.5% compared to 7.3% in 1989). This figure is much more in line with other countries' results from 1989. The fall suggested by the survey results does not, however, agree with figures for crimes reported to the police over the same period, which increased significantly. The sensitisation of the Australian population to the issue of sexual harassment during the 1980s, and the increased sensitivity with which it is now treated by Australian police services, may account for these changes. The inclusion of the new question "Was it a crime?" may also have influenced the results downwards.

Other offences - car theft and personal theft - were significantly higher in 1992 than 1989 in the one-year victimisation rates, in accordance with official police figures.

The comparatively high consumer fraud victimisation rate gives much food for thought for future surveys.

Reporting to the police

Again, the results were very similar to those of 1989. The offence types with low reporting rates - for example, car vandalism and sexual incidents - also tend to have a high ratio of one-year victimisation rate to five-year victimisation rate, which may suggest that many such incidents are minor, not worth reporting, and easily forgotten (see Table 4).

Reasons for not reporting to the police

The point made about minor incidents is reinforced by the figures on reasons for not reporting (Table 5). In virtually every offence type, at least one-third of unreported incidents were "not serious enough". Only car theft escapes this pattern, with only a sixth being "not serious enough", which is not surprising considering the nature of the offence. There appears to be a realistic level of awareness that in many cases there is nothing the police can do.

Quite low percentages of victims thought that "the police wouldn't do anything", or didn't report because of "fear/dislike of police", or "didn't dare". The violent offences of robbery, sexual incidents and non-sexual assaults were exceptions here, and these crimes also produced high percentages in the categories of "solved it myself" and "inappropriate for police", suggesting perhaps that the victims were well acquainted with the offender(s).

Crime seriousness

There is an interesting relationship between crime seriousness, as measured by this question (see Table 6), and the percentages not reported to the police. For the offences of car theft, burglary, thefts from cars and thefts of bicycles, the percentage "not reported" was less than the percentage "not serious". Some of these offences are therefore reported to the police despite the fact that they are not serious incidents - presumably they are reported only because of insurance policy implications. For offences of car vandalism and personal theft the percentage not reported was greater than the percentage "not serious", but not greater than the total of "not serious" plus "fairly serious", suggesting that some of these offences are not reported in spite of being "fairly serious" - these are also offences with high percentages that are not reported because the police "could do nothing". Finally, the three categories involving violence - robbery, sexual incidents and assaults - all have percentages "not reported" exceeding the total of "not serious" and "fairly serious", indicating that some incidents described as "very serious" are not reported to the police. As mentioned previously, the relationship between victim and offender may be an important factor here inhibiting the reporting of even serious events.

Victim support

As Table 7 demonstrates, most support for the role of specialised victims agencies came, not surprisingly, from victims of sexual incidents, but also from victims of robbery in spite of the fact that the police were usually called to such incidents. Victims of violence in general found support from the family, friends and neighbours - possibly the result of the intensity of care required for such victims, which the police are unable to provide.

Satisfaction with the police

Table 8 indicates the level of satisfaction with the police, as expressed by the respondents, for each crime category. Only the victims of reported sexual incidents were generally dissatisfied with the police response, with three-quarters of the victims of these offences being dissatisfied. Their reasons for dissatisfaction ranged across the spectrum, but were most likely to be that the police didn't do enough or that they treated them with lack of courtesy. Victims of other violent crimes were also inclined to be dissatisfied, but they were not the majority of victims. Victims of property crimes were overwhelmingly satisfied.

Overall, 69.4% of the respondents thought the local police did a good job controlling crime, and only 16.0% thought they did a poor job. Again, victims of violent offences were least likely to approve of the police (excluding the "theft of motorcycle" category, where small numbers make those results meaningless).

Fear of crime

About a third of the respondents felt at least "a bit unsafe" when walking the streets after dark. Victimisation in terms of robbery or sexual incidents increased that proportion, but interestingly non-sexual assaults/threats did not. Avoiding

places, and (in the case of victims of sexual incidents) even avoiding going out at all, followed similar trends. Over half of all the respondents thought it likely that they would be burgled during the coming year, with those who had experienced the theft of a bicycle being much less pessimistic, possibly having parents with young families at home all day to deter burglars (see Table 9).

Crime prevention measures

Table 10 lists the crime prevention measures taken by the respondents. With a high proportion of two-income households, Australians have in recent years taken a keen interest in effective door locking mechanisms, such as double deadlocks. Almost two-thirds of the survey respondents had special door locks. Neighbours and watchdogs are also frequently relied upon to deter burglars. Other special crime prevention measures were much less used. Only one in six households possesses firearms as a form of crime prevention - this figure appears somewhat lower than that produced in the 1989 survey (20.7%) and may have been affected by a range of tougher gun licencing laws passed recently in several parts of Australia.

Attitudes towards punishment

As in the 1989 survey, around one-third of the respondents thought the offender should go to prison, with a median sentence length of 6-12 months. The most favoured treatment for the offender was some form of community service, suggesting that the respondents are less interested in retribution than they are in rehabilitative restitution. Fines and suspended sentences were thought inappropriate by most respondents for this type of offender (see Table 11).

TABLES

Table 1: Call result summary

Total sample	3,979
Complete interviews	2,006 (50%)
Appointments for call back	47 (1%)
Number busy/engaged tone	14 (0%)
No answer	153 (4%)
Strong refusal	859 (22%)
Weak refusal	192 (5%)
Respondent terminated mid-interview	31 (1%)
Hearing problem	59 (1%)
Foreign/no English	177 (4%)
No adults in household	6 (0%)
Disconnected number	187 (5%)
Business/facsimile number	107 (3%)
Number incomplete (not enough digits)	29 (1%)

Other reasons for termination of call	112 (3%)
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Table 2: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years)*

	Victimisation rate %
Theft of car	9.7
Theft from car	17.6
Car vandalism	23.2
Theft of motorcycle	0.7
Theft of bicycle	5.7
(Owners)	
Theft of car	10.7
Theft from car	19.5
Car vandalism	25.5
Theft of motorcycle	6.1
Theft of bicycle	9.9
Percentage of total respondents:	
Burglary with entry	14.3
Attempted burglary	11.9
Robbery	3.5
Personal theft	15.4
Sexual incidents (females only)	8.9
Assault/threat	11.6

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 3: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year)*

	Victimisation rate %
Theft of car	3.0
Theft from car	6.2
Car vandalism	9.1
Theft of motorcycle	0.2
Theft of bicycle	1.8
(Owners)	
Theft of car	3.3
Theft from car	6.8
Car vandalism	10.0
Theft of motorcycle	2.0
Theft of bicycle	3.1
Percentage of total respondents:	
Burglary with entry	4.1
Attempted burglary	4.0
Robbery	1.2
Personal theft	6.2
Sexual incidents (females only)	3.5
Assault/threat	4.4
Consumer fraud	8.3

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 4: Reported crimes

	%
Theft of car	93.8
Theft from car	52.8
Car vandalism	26.2
Theft of motorcycle	93.3
Theft of bicycle	74.8
Burglary with entry	88.5
Attempted burglary	49.2
Robbery	51.4
Personal theft	41.4
Sexual incidents (females only)	13.3
Assault/threat	40.8
Consumer fraud	22.3*

* 2.4% to police; 19.9% to other agency.

Table 5: Reasons for not reporting*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Percentage not reported	6.2	47.2	73.8	6.7	25.2	11.5	48.6	58.6	86.7	59.2
Not serious enough	16.7	69.1	74.0	100.0	46.2	39.4	32.4	50.8	41.7	37.5
Solved it myself	33.3	3.7	1.2	0.0	19.2	27.3	14.7	5.6	14.3	11.0
Innapropr. for police	25.0	11.7	13.2	0.0	3.8	6.1	14.7	16.2	16.7	19.9
Other authorities	16.7	1.9	1.2	0.0	0.0	3.0	5.9	15.1	7.1	10.3
My family solved it	0.0	0.6	0.9	0.0	0.0	9.1	2.9	0.0	0.0	2.9
No insurance	0.0	1.9	0.3	0.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0
Police could do nothing	8.3	15.4	19.5	0.0	19.2	9.1	20.6	19.6	20.2	14.0
Police won't do anything	0.0	9.3	5.1	0.0	3.8	9.1	5.9	5.0	4.8	7.4
Fear/dislike police	0.0	0.6	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.8	0.6	1.2	2.9
Didn't dare	0.0	0.6	0.3	0.0	3.8	6.1	5.9	0.0	7.1	9.6
Other reasons	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know	8.3	1.2	0.6	0.0	7.7	3.0	5.9	1.1	2.4	3.7

* Percentage of incidents not reported - multiple answers possible. Percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police.

Table 6: Crime seriousness*

	Theft of car	Theft from car	Car vandalism	Theft of motor-cycle	Theft of bicycle	Burglary with entry	Robbery	Personal theft	Sexual incidents	Assault/ threat
Very serious	55.4	16.7	14.8	60.0	27.0	59.9	55.7	30.7	42.9	47.4
Fairly serious	30.3	33.9	24.5	13.3	37.4	25.1	21.4	30.4	25.5	30.9
Not serious	14.4	49.4	60.6	26.7	35.7	15.0	22.9	38.8	31.6	19.7

* Percentages of all incidents.

Table 7: Victim support (in percentages)

	Theft of car	Theft from car	Car vandalism	Theft of motor-cycle	Theft of bicycle	Burglary with entry	Robbery	Personal theft	Sexual incidents	Assault/ threat
Support obtained from:										
Family, friends, neighbours	47.8	34.9	31.1	50.0	27.3	51.7	46.2	47.4	63.6	64.4
Police	37.0	10.7	3.8	25.0	20.5	38.3	7.7	15.1	12.1	9.1
Others	1.1	.0	.4	.0	4.5	.7	23.1	3.9	12.1	7.6
Specialised agency useful?										
No	69.6	81.7	81.9	75.0	72.7	67.1	38.5	77.0	51.5	62.1
Yes	26.1	14.8	13.9	25.0	22.7	27.5	53.8	20.4	45.5	31.1
Don't know	4.3	3.6	4.2	.0	4.5	5.4	7.7	2.6	3.0	4.5

Table 8: Satisfaction with police

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motor-cycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/ threat %
Was most recent crime reported to police? (percentages of incidents where police contacted)										
Yes	90.2	53.3	18.9	100.0	77.3	89.3	69.2	41.4	12.1	37.9
No	9.8	46.2	79.0	.0	20.5	10.7	30.8	58.6	84.8	62.1
Were you satisfied with police response? (percentages of incidents where police contacted)										
Yes	80.7	72.2	79.9	50.0	79.4	79.6	66.6	79.5	24.8	62.0
No	14.4	24.4	13.2	50.0	17.6	18.0	33.4	19.1	75.2	38.0
Don't know	4.8	3.4	6.9	.0	3.0	2.2	.0	1.7	.0	.0
Reason for dissatisfaction (percentages of incidents where police response unsatisfactory - multiple answers possible)										
Didn't do enough	33.3	40.9	50.0	100.0	50.0	29.2	33.3	33.3	66.7	52.6
Lack of interest	50.0	50.0	33.3	.0	50.0	29.2	66.7	41.7	33.3	42.1
Lack of success	41.7	31.8	50.0	.0	.0	41.7	66.7	25.0	33.3	15.8
Lack of courtesy	33.3	31.8	33.3	.0	16.7	62.5	33.3	66.7	66.7	42.1
Local police control of crime (percentages of all respondents)										
They do a good job	78.3	66.3	70.6	25.0	72.7	66.4	61.5	70.4	63.6	64.4
Not a good job	6.5	17.8	15.1	75.0	9.1	16.1	15.4	14.5	18.2	22.0
Don't know	15.2	16.0	14.3	.0	18.2	17.4	23.1	15.1	18.2	13.6

Table 9: Fear of crime

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Walking alone after dark										
Very safe	21.7	26.0	26.5	50.0	31.8	30.2	15.4	23.0	12.1	28.0
Fairly safe	44.6	38.5	46.2	25.0	45.5	35.6	38.5	37.5	33.3	41.7
A bit unsafe	16.3	20.7	16.4	.0	11.4	14.1	23.1	21.7	21.2	13.6
Very unsafe	17.4	14.8	10.9	25.0	11.4	20.1	23.1	17.8	33.3	16.7
Avoidance of areas/people										
I avoid places/people	21.7	24.3	21.4	25.0	13.6	16.1	46.2	30.9	33.3	24.2
No, I don't worry	63.0	69.8	65.5	75.0	79.5	72.5	53.8	55.9	48.5	63.3
Don't know	3.3	1.8	2.9	.0	2.3	2.0	.0	1.3	.0	1.5
I never go out	12.0	4.1	10.1	.0	4.5	9.4	.0	11.8	18.2	10.6
Chances of burglary this year										
Very likely	17.4	18.3	14.7	50.0	4.5	16.1	23.1	18.4	18.2	12.1
Likely	42.4	36.1	34.9	.0	40.9	45.6	15.4	34.9	45.5	35.6
Not likely	31.5	42.0	46.6	25.0	52.3	32.2	53.8	41.4	36.4	43.9
Don't know	8.7	3.6	3.8	25.0	2.3	6.0	7.7	5.3	.0	8.3

Table 10: Crime prevention measures*

	%
Installed burglar alarm	13.8
Installed door locks	60.5
Installed window/door grills	33.3
Maintain watchdogs	36.0
Have a high fence around the property	23.9
Have a caretaker	3.6
None of these	14.7
Asked somebody to watch house when away	64.4
Have neighbours who watch anyway	14.0
Possess firearms	16.5

* Percentages based on total sample of respondents - multiple answers possible.

Table 11: Attitudes towards punishment*

	%
Preferred sentence for recidivist TV thief	
Fine	7.7
Community service order	48.0
Suspended sentence	4.0
Prison sentence	34.0
- Median sentence length	6-12 months
Any other sentence	6.4

* Percentages based on total sample of respondents.

BELGIUM

Tony Peters and Jacques Van Kerckvoorde¹

Introduction

This report presents the preliminary results of the Belgian component of the second International Crime Survey, which was carried out upon the initiative of Jan van Dijk (Ministry of Justice of the Netherlands), Patricia Mayhew (Home Office, United Kingdom) and Martin Killias (University of Lausanne, Switzerland).

A number of comments on the Belgian part of the first survey are published in a separate book². This report is limited to the second survey which was carried out in Belgium in early 1992.

The sample

Due to financial constraints, the survey had to be modest in cost terms and resulted in a gross nationwide sample of 4,909 telephone subscribers being called, which represented a reduction of 47.8% compared to the 1989 survey. Fortunately, on this occasion there was a smaller proportion of non-relevant contacts (33% instead of 41.2%). Also, the percentage of relevant but unsuccessful contacts (such as refusals and prematurely terminated contacts) dropped from 62.6% in 1989 to 54.9% in 1992 (Table 1).

In our comments on the results of the first International Crime Survey, we deplored the extremely low response rate. Compared to the very low percentage in 1989 (37.2%) a considerable increase of successful contacts were made in 1992, increasing to 45.1%. In the northern, Dutch-speaking part of the country the response rate was 46.6% against 41.9% in the French-speaking southern part. This increase in the rate may be the result of the introduction, in 1992, of a two-stage field work procedure, whereby all those respondents who, during the first stage, had refused to co-operate or ended the interview prematurely, as well as all "no answers", "busy calls" and "respondents not available", were called again three weeks later. Despite this new method, however, the response rate still proved to be far too low. Furthermore, the size of the group of respondents (N=1,485) was rather modest, and therefore insufficient to meet the requirements for a statistical elaboration with which to obtain a further differentiation.

Data collection technique

Interviewing was carried out using the computer assisted telephone interviewing (CATI) technique. Field work was sub-contracted by Inter/View BV, a Dutch

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² Kellens, G., T. Peters and J. Van Kerckvoorde (forthcoming) A Belgian commentary on the International Crime Survey.

company appointed for the survey, to the interviewing company Marketing Unit. The interviewers all received (in groups) an oral briefing on the background and purposes of the survey, and in some cases these were also attended by a country representative (i.e. researcher). Before the interviewing commenced, the interviewers and their supervisor went through the entire questionnaire on a screen. Problems and difficulties were discussed and each interviewer received a written set of instructions on the use of the questionnaire. The first two interviews were also attended by the supervisor and subsequently evaluated.

Any problems, questions and comments were reported to the survey company supervisor and, whenever necessary, to the country representatives.

The field work started on 4 February 1992 and data collection was terminated on 5 May 1992. The questionnaire was administered in Dutch (58% of the completed interviews) and in French (42%), which reflects almost exactly the importance of each language group.

Some of the contacted people were suspicious of the research itself, others were worried about questions concerning their lifestyle (going out) and the possession of a burglar alarm. Some of them contacted a university representative before being interviewed, in order to gain reassurance about the *bona fide* of the survey. Unfortunately, some months before the interviewing began, newspaper articles and radio and television broadcasts had warned the public against the activities of an alleged *mala fide* marketing company, which interviewed people about their lifestyle with the corrupt aim of identifying the best moment for a successful burglary.

Data collection

The interviewing phase coincided with a period of mass media alarm over a crime wave resulting from the publication of some police statistics released at the end of January 1992. Furthermore, a case that received wide coverage by the media on the disappearance of two girls and their suspected sexual abuse and murder, provoked extreme sensitivity towards criminality as well as animated discussion on social reaction towards crime. At the end of 1991, national elections resulted in a marked loss of votes for the traditional political parties. This was interpreted as a sign of distrust and loosened ties between the population and its political leaders. Some of the results (e.g. attitude towards the police, fear of crime, attitudes towards punishment) may have been negatively influenced by these events and developments.

The least we can say is that interviewing for the second victim survey was carried out in a period characterised by sharp growing concern over the increase of crime and its control by an allegedly inadequate crime prevention policy and criminal justice system.

The prevalence of victimisation

The following paragraphs present a number of preliminary findings for the Belgian component of the International Crime Survey. It is important to note that for data elaboration purposes the results were weighted for the following variables: age and gender of the respondents, family size and regional distribution.

Victimisation rates in 1987-1991

First of all, the respondents were asked if they had been a victim of one of the crimes listed in the questionnaire, at least once during the last five years (between 1987 and 1991). This was not the case in 51.6% of the interviews. Of those who had experienced a victimisation, more than half (i.e. 55.4%) had been victimised once, whereas for 26.2% it had happened twice. Table 2 presents the different findings according to the type of crime.

As usual in this type of survey, car vandalism and ordinary types of theft (theft of bicycle, theft from car and personal theft) rank top on the list. When the analysis of crimes of theft is limited to the group of "owners only", the high percentage of theft of motorcycles is evident.

Crimes involving direct contact between the offender and victim (such as assault, robbery and most of the sexual offences), or which often entail an emotional shock (burglary), register relatively low scores. Comments and reservations concerning results in victim surveys related to sexual offences and to crime committed within the family are expressed elsewhere in the report³.

Victimisation in 1991

Table 2 also includes a separate column for all 1991 reported crimes. The total number of respondents remains the same as for the five-year (1987-1991) period (N=1,485). Although the percentages are of course lower, no fundamental changes were registered in ranking.

The number of cases of consumer fraud is an exception because the measurement of that type of victimisation is limited to one year (1991). Almost 9% of the respondents reported being a victim of this type of crime, which immediately brought it to the top of the victimisation list.

Compared with the European 1988 averages the 1991 figures generally place Belgium in a middle-range position for all crimes, with the exception of theft of motorcycle, which is well above average.

Given the limited number of moments of measurement, the rather small samples and the differences in weighting factors, it was not feasible to look for a pattern and therefore it will suffice to say that percentages remained more or less stable. Lower scores were clearly found for burglary, attempted burglary and personal theft whereas scores were higher for theft of car, theft from car and theft of motorcycle.

The increasing numbers of car theft correspond completely with figures provided by police data which are especially valid for this type of crime. On the other hand, the increase in the number of robberies registered by police statistics was by no means confirmed by the International Crime Survey.

The reporting of victimisation

³ Kellens et al., A Belgian..., op. cit.

Taking into account the different types of victimisation, respondents were asked whether they reported the last incident to the police. Table 3 shows the percentage of reported cases in decreasing order.

As usual the percentage of cases that are reported to the police varies greatly according to the type of victimisation. In general reporting to the police is strongly dependent on the seriousness of the incident. Theft of valuable goods and incidents that produce a strong emotional impact, such as burglary with entry, show a high reporting rate.

The lower percentage of reports of robbery requires further analysis since direct contact between offender and victim, as well as the possible implication of violence, would lead one to expect a much higher percentage. The reporting rate for violent and sexual offences is again very low. One reason for this may be the rather trivial nature of some of the incidents; another may be related to the direct relationship (partner, colleague, friend, member of the family) between the victim and the offender. This will be discussed in greater detail in a subsequent paragraph.

Reasons for not reporting

Table 4 shows that a rather high number of the victims of sexual offences did not judge the incident as being serious enough to be reported to the police. They very often felt that this type of incident was not the kind of problem to be dealt with by the police. In several cases other authorities or services were contacted, although it was not possible, in interview, to identify such authorities or services (which might include the family doctor or other medical services).

Great care must, of course, be taken in analysing reported crimes since the clusters of replies concerning reasons for not reporting are often too small to enable for a comparison of the percentages. In fact, some 400 reasons for not reporting to the police were provided (multiple answers were possible).

46.5% of the respondents referred to the limited seriousness of the incident as the reason for not reporting; 16.3% referred to the inability of the police to be able to do anything and in 7.8% of the cases it was stated that the police would not even want to do anything. In 6.5% of the cases the victim did not report the incident because it was felt inappropriate for police intervention.

Car vandalism in particular had a high non-reporting score that was related to the limited seriousness of the incident, whereas in the case of personal theft 18.5% of the reasons for not reporting referred to the inappropriateness of the case for police intervention.

Especially in cases of theft of bicycles, non-reporting was related to the fact that the police is considered unable (25.2%) or unwilling (18.1%) to act. Those incidents with a low non-reporting rate, such as car or motorcycle theft, were too limited to allow for further quantitative analysis.

The general attitude of respondents towards the police will be discussed later in the report.

Crime seriousness

Table 5 provides an overview of the respondents' evaluation of the seriousness of the last victimisation. In more than one-third of the cases (38%) the victim did not

consider the incident serious enough to be reported, whereas one out of four (26.6%) victims judged it to be very serious.

In cases of car vandalism the incident was often considered as not serious. This confirms the above-mentioned reasons for the higher non-reporting rates for such incidents. As may be expected, bicycle theft was also judged as not serious.

Victims of burglaries were particularly upset about the incident, and in fact 54.9% of them classified it as very serious. The classification of "very serious" is used twice as often for this offence than for the other incidents in general. Both sexual offences and theft of car are also frequently described as very serious, but especially in the cases of sexual offences, the total number of incidents is too low to allow for the use of percentages.

Contrary to expectations based on Table 3, theft of motorcycle does not belong to the group of incidents described as "very serious". Most of the victims (60.1%) of this type of crime (taking into account that the total number of victims was only 36) described it as fairly serious.

Victim support

718 of the 1,485 respondents mentioned that they had been victimised at least once within the last five years. This group of victims were asked whether they had received any help and/or support during the last experience of victimisation. Before analysing the replies it is important to recall some of the figures which explain the relativity of the question concerning help and/or support received by the victim.

Victimisation concerned 18.9% of cases of car damage or vandalism, 17.2% of cases of theft from car and 15.0% of cases of theft of personal property without force.

It is obvious, from the figures in Table 6, that only half of the victims received some form of support from a third person. This does not seem to present a problem in cases of less serious criminal incidents. Any help or support that was received came mainly from a member of the family, friends and/or neighbours: in fact this category was mentioned by 28.9% of the victims. The police were mentioned as a form of support by one out of five victims. Other possible help/supportive agencies were rarely mentioned, and social welfare institutions appear to be almost completely absent in this area.

In Table 7 a further differentiation of the information is provided according to the following variables: gender, age, family income, level of education, number of inhabitants of the village or city and ownership or not of the home.

In too many cases no information was provided about the family income, and therefore this variable was omitted from the analysis. The differentiation according to the number of inhabitants of the area of residence has only been partially used.

As was already mentioned in the comments on the former International Crime Survey, there remains the problem of placing the inhabitants of Brussels into the right category, given the fact that the larger Brussels metropolitan area with some 1,000,000 inhabitants contains 19 independent communities of very different sizes and with wide variations in the numbers of inhabitants⁴. Only responses from

⁴ Kellens et al., A Belgian..., op. cit.

communities with less than 10,000 inhabitants were not affected by this complicating factor. As long as the non-response rate did not differ too much between the different categories in relation to numbers of inhabitants, this variable can be partially used.

The analysis based on those variables which allow for useful and acceptable differentiations show that receiving help/support was especially mentioned by women, by respondents with a lower level of income and by people aged 55 years or more, whereas the opposite was true for people with a higher level of education and for men.

Women received help/support mostly from a third person in their own milieu whereas people over 55 relied mainly on the police.

Although youngsters tended to refer to help/support agencies rather than to the police, the latter were still only mentioned on a few occasions and almost never by the other social groups.

Referring to their last victimisation, a majority of the respondents (60.9%) answered that they did not need help/support from a victim assistance organisation, 9% of them expressed no opinion, and 30.1% answered that they would have welcomed assistance. This is almost 10% less than the 40% of the former International Crime Survey.

However, these figures are significant given the low number of victims who actually received some form of assistance. Unfortunately it is not clear from the interview what type of assistance the victims were thinking about, nor was an explanation requested for the absence of much assistance in the past.

Gender, age and the other above-mentioned variables do not differentiate percentages. Only for men is the percentage (27.5%) of those who think that assistance would have been helpful a bit lower.

Attitudes towards the police

A major piece of information in victim surveys is the reporting rate of victimisation to the police. The average figure for this survey was 61.6%, although it was somewhat higher for: people over 55 years of age (73.4%); people with a secondary school level of education (66.5%), owners of homes (65.6%) and the lower income group (65.6%).

Lower reporting rates can clearly be found among victims who rent their home (50.1%), live in rural areas (smaller towns and villages) (53.9%) and belong to the younger age groups (54.3%).

The reasons for lower reporting rates in rural areas require further analysis. Although the absence of a permanent police service during the night and at weekends could be a possible explanation, other explanations must nevertheless also be taken into consideration. People in rural areas might tend to receive greater assistance from family, friends and/or neighbours.

When asked to express their degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the way they were treated by the police when reporting the crime, 57.7% of the victims claimed to be satisfied, 31.4% were dissatisfied and 10.9% did not express an opinion. The over 55 age group (69.9%) and, to a lesser extent, female victims (61%) expressed greater satisfaction, whereas victims who rent their residence tended to express greater dissatisfaction (36%).

What do such findings reveal? In general it can be said that, according to the former International Victim Survey⁵, the degree of victims' dissatisfaction with the police when reporting a crime is relatively high in Belgium. That this is confirmed in a second consecutive survey could be taken as an incentive to concentrate on this subject in future research and pilot projects. Although this problem has been discussed from a victimological point of view⁶, few initiatives have been taken to date to improve the contacts between police services and victims of crime.

The main reasons for dissatisfaction were almost identical to those expressed during the former International Crime Survey (see Table 8), i.e. that the police "didn't do enough" (41.9%) and that the police "was not interested" (39.6%). A less frequent complaint was that police "didn't recover the property" (18.5%) and that the police "didn't find or apprehend the offender" (15.8%).

In general, 54.8% of the respondents were satisfied with the presence of the police in the areas in which they live. Nevertheless, 30.1% thought that the presence of the police in their neighbourhood was unsatisfactory, and only 0.7% thought the police should be less present.

People living in smaller towns and villages and with a lower level of education were relatively more satisfied with the presence of the police.

In general, 47.5% of the respondents thought that the police do a good job in controlling crime, 25.3% thought that they are not doing a good job and 27.2% did not express an opinion.

The percentage of people who expressed favourable views on the quality of police work was above average among people with lower incomes (54.3%), with a lower level of education and who lived in rural areas.

Dissatisfaction was especially expressed by people with higher incomes (31.3%), by men (28.7%), youngsters (28.3%) and people with a higher level of education (28.2%). Women in particular did not express an opinion (30.6%).

Fear of crime and related topics

Respondents were asked whether they felt safe when walking alone in their area after dark. Table 9 presents the four possible replies according to different variables.

80.4% of the respondents felt very (38.1%) or fairly (42.3%) safe, whereas 14.4% felt a bit and 5.2% very unsafe. Men in particular (87.9%) felt safe or very safe whereas women felt a bit (18.8%) or very unsafe (8.1%).

Relatively more people aged over 55 felt unsafe (22.5%). Although questions were formulated in a somewhat different way, it is possible to refer to the results of

⁵ van Dijk, J.J.M., P. Mayhew and M. Killias (1990) Experiences of crime across the world: key findings of the 1989 International Crime Survey, p. 188, Kluwer, Deventer.

⁶ Peters, T. (1991) "The relation between the police, the victim and victim assistance: problems and recommendations" in Viano, E. (ed.) Victims' rights and legal reforms, pp. 269-277, Onati; Christiansen, S. and W. Meyvis (1990) "Slachtofferzorg, een politiezorg? Verkenning en omschrijving van een politietaak" *Panopticon* 2:96-124.

a local victim survey in the city of Gent, where women and senior citizens expressed an above average fear of leaving the house after dark⁷.

6.5% of the respondents declared that they never left the house after dark. This figure was much higher among people over 55 (13.3%), among women (10.9%), among the lower educated (9.3%), and the lower income group (8.8%). In particular, men, young, middle-aged and higher educated people do go out.

20.3% of the respondents said that they avoided certain areas or people when going out after dark for safety reasons. This figure was especially high among women (25.8%) and among people who rented their residence (23.8%).

1.9% of the respondents estimated the likelihood of their house being burgled within the next 12 months as being very high, whereas 29.5% thought that there was a real chance of someone trying to break into their house. Put together these two figures total 31.4%. This percentage is higher among middle-aged people (37.1%), respondents aged 55 or more (48.2%) and respondents with a lower level of education. On the contrary, 46.1% estimated the risk of a burglary as being rather low.

A local victim survey in some areas of the city of Gent showed comparable results. 20% and 25% of the respondents from two working class neighbourhoods, estimated the risk of a burglary as fairly and very likely. The same type of evaluation was made by 29% of the respondents coming from middle class neighbourhoods and by 56% of respondents living in residential areas⁸.

It is clear that the risk of burglary is overestimated. Although in the recent International Crime Survey one out of three respondents estimated the likelihood of a burglary within a year as (very) probable, only one out of fifty (2.1% burglary with entry) actually experienced such an incident during the last year.

Although relatively few respondents thought they lived in a neighbourhood where people usually help one another, 47.6% of them thought that people in general tend to help each other; while 35.5% thought that the opposite is true and that people tend to go their own way. One out of seven did not have a clear opinion on the matter. People aged 55 or over tended to express more optimistic views in this respect (54.5%), whereas young respondents (40%) and people living in rented homes (44.7%) expressed a more typically negative view.

Crime prevention

Table 10 shows the crime prevention measures used by respondents to protect their homes. Multiple answers were possible. First of all the more permanent protection or crime prevention measures were listed: 7.5% of the respondents refused to answer this question. Secondly, the respondents were asked whether they requested someone to look after their house when going away for a couple of days. A final point of interest concerning protection is related to the possession of a gun or firearm.

⁷ Hebberecht, P., H. Hofman, K. Philippeth, P. en Colle, B. m.m.v. Caudron, P. De Decker and K. De Duytsche (1992) "Buurt en criminaliteit" *De politie en de veiligheid van de burger*, No. 14, p. 260, Vanden Broele, Brugge.

⁸ Hebberecht et al., Buurt..., op. cit.

Quite a few houses (48.7%) were not protected by one of the listed crime prevention measures. At most the usual lock devices were used. This is an extraordinary finding given the high estimation of the risks of a burglary.

The absence of special measures is high among the lower educated categories (54.7%), young people (54.6%) and among respondents who rent their residence (54%). 25.1% of the respondents had installed special door locks, 15.5% owned a guard dog, while 12.3% had installed a burglar alarm.

Among respondents who left the house empty for a short period, 42.7% asked someone to keep an eye on the house. In 22% of the cases the respondents confirmed that neighbours watched the house anyway. 78.4% of the respondents did not own a gun, 1.2% did not know and 4.8% refused to answer the question. The remaining 15.6% owned at least one weapon⁹.

Attitudes towards punishment

When asked about the most appropriate sentence for a 21 year old man who was found guilty of burglary for a second time and who had stolen a colour television set, the respondents tended to provide rather tolerant replies.

12% of them preferred a fine to a sentence, 18.7% thought that a prison sentence should be imposed, but a clear majority (55.2%) thought that the best solution would be a community service order.

The general pattern did not differ very much from the results of the former International Crime Survey. Nevertheless, a more tolerant approach can be deduced from the changes in numbers of respondents who expressed the preference for a community service order (55.2% compared to 37.7% in 1988). A prison sentence was indicated by 25.5% of the respondents in 1988 compared to 18.7% in the recent survey.

Prison sentences seem more popular among young people (23.7%) whereas middle-aged people have a much more negative attitude towards the use of imprisonment (13.8%) and are particularly in favour of a community service (62.2%).

From a glance at the relationship between income and the level of education and attitudes towards punishment, favourable attitudes towards community service can be noted, especially among higher income groups (60.3%) and higher educated respondents (63.7%).

These figures correspond very closely to the results of comparable research. Even in research where the measurement of attitudes is restricted to interviewing real victims of crime, a combination of community service and restitution, or restitution alone, was considered by the respondents as the most appropriate sentence¹⁰.

However, it was found in the same research that especially victims of violent crimes (55%) and victims of burglary (63%) were in favour of a more punitive

⁹ The higher percentage shown in Table 10 is due to the fact that some respondents claimed to own more than one type of firearm.

¹⁰ Sessar, K. (1990) "Tertiary victimization. A case of the politically abused crime victims" in Galaway, B. and J. Hudson (eds.) *Criminal justice, restitution and reconciliation*, pp. 37-45.

response. In such cases the victim was very much concerned with the fact that something has to be done to stop the criminal.

In such cases, the victims were much more concerned with the way the criminal justice system (police, prosecutor and court) handles the case. Indifference and the casual way with which the latter carry out their work caused greater frustration among the victims.

Some concluding remarks

As far as the technical and methodological aspects of the second International Crime Survey are concerned, a striking similarity appears between the results of this and the former survey.

The type of survey, the questions posed and the data collection technique did not change. Although the sample was greatly reduced, this was compensated by the higher number of relevant contacts (response rate). Unfortunately, the totals were often too limited to allow for a further differentiation of the total population.

The comments on the International Crime Survey concerning the too narrow concept of criminality adopted, the representativeness of the sample, and the interviewing instrument used, remain valid since no major changes have been introduced in the research concept.

With respect to victimisation figures, it is important to note that the survey does not confirm the increase in street robbery which has been registered by national police statistics during the past three years.

As for the seriousness of crime, it should be stressed that the findings, according to which 45.9% of the victims of burglary with entry consider it to be "very serious", coincide with research carried out in Belgium¹¹.

In particular, although analysis shows that shock, anger, anxiety and fear are usually only immediate psychological reactions to crime, the fact that it can also produce real traumatic, long-lasting effects on some victims highlights the need for a more qualitative type of research into the effects of such deep rooted victimisation experiences. This type of research has been carried out recently and further applications into a pilot action project are now under way¹².

TABLES

Table 1: Response information

¹¹ Goethals, J. and T. Peters (1991) "Victims of violence. A descriptive analysis of street crime and burglary in Belgium" in Kaiser, G., H. Kury and H.J. Albrecht (eds.) *Victims and criminal justice*, pp. 611-653, Max Planck Institut, Freiburg i Br.

¹² Aertsen, I. and K. Vander Zande (1991) *Slachtoffers van geweld en geestelijke gezondheidszorg*, (Eindrapport april), p. 179, (promotoren Goethals, J., F. Hutsebaut and T. Peters), K.U., Leuven.

	1992			1989
	North f	South f	Total f	Total f
A Gross sample	2,586	2,323	4,909	9,407
B Non relevant contacts	773	845	1,618	3,872
C Relevant contacts	1,813	1,478	3,291	5,535
<u>D Not interviewed: refusal/terminated</u>	398	478	876	2,802
E Not interviewed: other	549	381	930	665
F Completed	866	619	1,485	2,068
	%	%	%	%
Non relevant contacts (B/A)	29.9	36.4	33.0	41.2
Relevant, but refusal/terminated (D/C)	22.0	32.3	26.6	50.6
Relevant, but other reasons/terminated (E/C)	30.3	25.8	28.3	12.0
Response rate final valid sample/relevant contacts	46.6	41.9	45.1	37.2

Table 2: Prevalence victimisation rates (for one and five years)*

Total sample of respondents	Respondents	1987-1991		1991	
		No. of persons victimised	% respondents victimised	No. persons victimised	% respondents victimised
Theft of car	1,485	55	3.7	16	1.1
Theft from car	1,485	186	12.7	17	3.8
Car vandalism	1,485	263	17.7	91	6.1
Theft of motorcycle	1,485	36	2.4	17	1.1
Theft of bicycle	1,485	194	13.1	41	2.8
Burglary with entry	1,485	98	6.6	31	2.1
Attempted burglary	1,485	82	5.5	24	1.6
Robbery	1,485	47	3.2	14	0.9
Personal theft	1,485	162	10.9	46	3.1
Assault/threat	1,485	64	4.3	26	1.8
Consumer fraud	1,485	**	**	128	8.6
Sexual incidents (women only)	759	23	3.1	11	1.4
(Owners only)					
Theft of car	1,308	55	4.2	16	1.2
Theft from car	1,308	186	14.2	57	4.4
Car vandalism	1,308	263	20.1	91	7.0
Theft of motorcycle	251	36	14.4	17	6.8
Theft of bicycle	1,024	194	19.0	41	4.0

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

** Questions limited to 1991.

Table 3: Reported crimes (percentage of respondents who reported last incident during five year period)

	% reported	No. of respondents that have been victimised
Theft of car	91.4	55
Theft of motorcycle	89.8	194
Burglary with entry	88.1	98
Theft of bicycle	76.7	36
Theft from car	76.5	186
Personal theft	60.1	162
Attempted burglary	57.5	82
Robbery	55.0	47
Car vandalism	45.4	263
Assault/threat	45.0	64
Sexual incidents	20.1	23

Table 4: Reasons for not reporting*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %	Total %
Not serious enough	18.6	48.1	59.1	49.9	38.9	29.0	51.8	44.8	50.9	44.2	46.5
Solved it myself	7.5	2.8	2.8	31.2	4.2	16.2	17.9	8.2	12.6	6.9	5.5
Inappropriate for police	21.1	6.1	3.4		10.4		2.0	18.5	18.1	9.5	6.5
Other authorities		1.4	1.1					0.7	8.0	4.3	1.0
My family solved it			3.1		3.5						1.5
No insurance			1.4		2.3			1.8			1.0
Police could do nothing	10.8	4.9	17.9	23.1	25.2	34.5	14.3	12.2		19.7	16.3
Police won't do anything		14.4	8.5	18.9	18.1		5.2	4.8		3.0	7.8
Fear/dislike police										1.4	0.3
Didn't dare											
Other reasons	32.0	24.0	8.4		9.8	20.3	10.7	12.7	10.4	11.1	11.1
Don't know	9.5	7.3	3.8		0.8			2.9			2.5
N =	5	39	154	5	49	12	19	67	19	33	
	100.0	108.9	109.6	123.1	113.2	100.0	102.0	106.7	100.0	100.0	100

* Multiple answers possible - percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police.

Table 5: Crime seriousness*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Very serious	41.6	18.1	19.2	24.6	19.4	54.9	29.8	27.7	43.9	37.7
Fairly serious	40.4	43.4	29.3	60.1	37.2	23.6	28.7	40.5	23.7	28.5
Not serious	18.0	38.5	51.5	15.3	43.2	21.5	41.7	31.9	32.4	33.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	55	186	263	36	194	98	47	162	23	64

* Percentage based on victims of specific crimes.

Table 6: Means of support to cope with latest crime experienced

	%
Relatives, friends, neighbours	28.9
Police	21.1
Social welfare agencies	0.5
Religious organisations	0.6
Voluntary organisations	0.2
Specialised agency to help crime victims	0.4
Any other person or agency	1.5
N	718

Table 7: Means of support in dealing with latest crime experienced (percentages, according to several variables)

Support from	Gender		Age			Education completed at			House rental		Town size
	Male	Female	16-34	35-54	55+	<15 yrs	16-19 yrs	>20 yrs	Owned	Rented	<10,000 inh.
Relatives, friends, neighbours	24.2	34.5	30.7	28.6	25.8	35.8	31.5	23.5	29.6	28.3	24.2
Police	18.3	24.5	16.4	20.1	31.8	23.5	24.4	17.1	21.9	19.6	16.3
Social welfare agencies	0.2	0.9	1.2	0	0	0	0.4	1.1	0.5	0.6	0
Religious organisations	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.9	0	0	0.4	1.1	0.8	0.0	0.6
Voluntary organisations	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.7
Specialised agencies	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.0
Others	1.4	1.5	2.5	0.7	0.6	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.3	2.2	1.3
N	390	328	317	238	162	141	296	252	529	179	178

Table 8: Reasons for dissatisfaction with the way the police dealt with the incident

	f	%
Did not do enough	58	41.9
Were not interested	55	39.6
Did not find or apprehend the offender	22	15.8
Did not recover my property	26	18.5
Did not keep me properly informed	9	6.7
Did not treat me correctly	18	13.0
Were slow to arrive	7	5.2
Other reason	14	9.9

N victims dissatisfied: 139

N reasons for dissatisfaction: 209

Table 9: Degree of feeling safe when walking alone in area after dark

	All		Gender		Age			Education completed at			House	
	f	%	Male	Female	16-34	35-54	55+	<15 yrs	16-19 yrs	>20 yrs	Owned	Rented
			f	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very safe	565	38.1	48.8	27.8	38.5	40.8	34.9	36.7	35.6	42.0	39.6	34.1
Fairly safe	628	42.3	39.1	45.3	43.8	40.1	42.7	41.7	44.6	39.4	41.7	43.1
Bit unsafe	214	14.4	14.4	18.8	14.5	13.4	15.3	16.2	14.3	14.4	14.1	15.6
Very unsafe	78	5.2	5.2	8.1	3.1	5.6	7.2	5.4	5.4	4.3	4.7	7.2
N	1,485		726	759	533	472	480	356	606	441	1,122	344

%		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Mean		1.87	1.66	2.07	1.82	1.84	1.95	1.90	1.90	1.81	1.84	1.96

Table 10: Crime prevention measures*

	%
Installed burglar alarm	12.3
Installed door locks	25.1
Installed window/door grills	4.0
Maintain watchdogs	15.5
High fence	4.5
House has a caretaker	2.1
None of these	48.7
Ask somebody to watch home	42.7
Neighbours watch anyway	22.0
Possession of firearms	18.7
Refused to reply	7.5

* Percentage based on total sample of respondents - multiple answers possible.

Table 11: Attitudes towards punishment (percentages on total sample and according to several variables)

Appropriate sentence	Total	Age			Income			Education		
		16-34	35-54	55+	below average	above average	unknown	< 15 yrs	16-19 yrs	> 20 yrs
Fine	12	13.3	9.3	13.3	14.9	11.1	10.3	14.9	11.2	9.7
Prison	18.7	23.7	13.8	18.0	19.5	18.5	18.1	20.8	21.2	15.2
Community service	55.2	52.8	62.2	50.9	48.3	60.3	53.0	44.3	56.9	63.7
Suspended sentence	3.8	4.4	3.5	3.6	5.3	2.9	4.1	6.5	2.9	2.3
Other sentence	3.3	2.4	3.6	3.9	3.8	2.7	3.6	2.7	2.6	3.4
"Don't know"	7	3.5	7.5	10.4	8.1	4.6	10.9	10.8	5.2	5.7
N	1,485	533	472	480	439	724	322	356	606	441

BOMBAY (INDIA)

D.R. Singh¹

Introduction

Crime has existed within the community from time immemorial. Yet, it has never been possible to know the true index of crime because the crime statistics published by the different governments are considered to be the records of the criminal justice system activities. According to Antilla² "all the crimes committed are not reported to the police, all the reported crimes are not recorded, and all the recorded offences are not processed". It is, therefore, undisputable that there are dark figures of crime. What is the extent of unregistered crimes? It has been difficult to estimate the real figures of crime as this varies from one period to the next, and from area to area and crime to crime.

Initially the criminal was considered the best source of information in the quest to identify the true extent of crime. This approach has not provided the desired results. Therefore, a new method based on the criminal incidents experienced by the community was thought of: this method is now known as a victimisation survey. For this study, a representative sample of the community was approached to give their experience of crime. These surveys are expected to provide information on the victims' experience of criminal offences in relation to his/her reporting of an offence to the police, adequacy of police, community's support to the victims, measures taken to prevent certain offences, etc.

To understand the crime phenomenon from the victim's viewpoint, a German criminologist, Von Hentig, focussed the world's attention on the role of victims in crime. It was, perhaps, the failure of offender-oriented research which attracted the attention of Mr. Von Hentig. He elaborated his ideas on the role of victims in his pioneering book *The Criminal and his Victim*³. It may be pointed out here that turning attention on the victim was not aimed at finding an explanation for the criminal behaviour.

Decades of empirical research have strengthened the victimological concepts and have opened doors for the measurement of crime in the community through victimisation surveys. It has already been pointed out that there is a gulf between the number of crimes committed and the offences reported to the police. Therefore, there is a dire need for victimisation surveys all over the world.

The present study

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² Antilla, I. (1973) "Victimology - a new territory in criminology", paper presented at the 1st International Symposium on Victimology, Jerusalem.

³ Von Hentig, H. (1948) *The criminal and his victim*, Archon Books, Handen, Conn.

The present study is part of the victimisation survey being undertaken in developing countries. It is expected that these studies will provide direction for the new policy thrust for better crime prevention and control. In India, the city of Bombay has been chosen for the study.

The objectives

The multifaceted objective-oriented study focuses on certain pertinent issues for a more accurate understanding of the extent of crime in the country. The main objectives of the study are the following:

- 1) to obtain a more accurate understanding of the extent of crime;
- 2) to understand the nature and extent of victimisation in the country;
- 3) to understand the functioning of the police and other law enforcement agencies connected with it;
- 4) to identify the most affected population among the three groups under study; and
- 5) to look into the shortcomings which enhance the chances of higher rates of victimisation in a particular area.

Methodology

Universe

As part of a more extensive study, India has been included among the developing countries undertaking the survey. Bombay is one of the metropolises of the country; the others are Delhi, Calcutta and Madras.

Population

The metropolis of Bombay is also known as Greater Bombay. It spreads over an area of 632 square kilometres. It has a population density of 13,760 per square kilometre. According to the 1991 census, the population of Bombay is 9,909,547 (approximately 10 million). There has been a 20.2% increase in the population over the 1981 census. There are 5,449,057 males and 4,460,490 females. The breakup of the population in the areas under study is available from the 1981 census. The population of Malabar Hill is 85,380; Matunga 63,294; and Cheeta Camp 308,919.

Gender ratio

The gender ratio according to the 1991 census of Bombay is 1,000 males to 829 females. In the three areas under study, according to the 1981 census, there are 1,000 males to 832 females in the Malabar Hill area; 1,000 males to 772 females in the Matunga area and 1,000 males to 784 females in the Cheeta Camp area.

Distribution according to religion

Bombay is a metropolitan city, the citizens of which belong to different religious groups. The distribution of the population according to religion is, in decreasing order, as follows: Hindus 69.3%; Muslims 14.8%; Buddhists 5.7%; Christians 4.8%; Jains 4.1%; others 0.6%; Sikhs 0.6%; and unstated religions.

Literacy

The literacy rate in the city of Bombay, according to the 1991 census, is 68.2% which is higher than the state average (63.1%) and the national average (52.1%). Genderwise, literacy in the metropolis is higher in the case of males (74.8%) than females (60.5%). In the state of Maharashtra, Bombay occupies first place in literacy. Female literacy is particularly high in Bombay (above 60%). The distribution of literacy rate in the three areas is: 1) Malabar Hill with 77%; 2) Matunga with 85.1%; and 3) Cheeta Camp with 54.3%.

Households

Bombay has 1,662,014 households and 1,612,315 occupied residential houses. It may be mentioned here that in slum areas it is very difficult to pinpoint the number of occupied living quarters; in these areas, most of them are hutments and not houses.

Occupational patterns

Both industrial and agricultural enterprises are to be found in the city of Bombay, which has a total of 2,405,651 workers. The majority of the workers are males (2,093,300) though quite a few are female (312,351).

Sampling

A sample of 1,000 respondents was taken from the city of Bombay keeping in mind the income group and locality. Three areas in Bombay were carefully selected so as to represent a) (affluent locality) high income group; b) (middle class locality) middle income group; 3) (slum locality) low income group. These areas are known as i) Malabar Hill (85,380 population); ii) Matunga (63,294); and iii) Cheeta Camp (308,919). The sample selection was based on the random walk technique. The individual respondent within a household was selected according to date of birth. In this process an adult (above 16 years of age), whose birthday falls next in a particular household was selected as the respondent for the purpose. In the lower socio-economic strata areas, where none of the members of the family had been to school or had records of exact or approximate dates of birth, some difficulty was encountered in determining this data.

Tools

The questionnaire adopted for the pilot survey was based on the survey conducted by the 17 European countries. It was further modified and adapted for

the victimisation survey in developing countries. The questionnaire was translated into Hindi to meet local requirements.

Data collection

Data was collected through personal interviews with the respondents. An *ad hoc* interviewing team was created. The team was composed mainly of individuals with a social science background, preferably with some experience in the collection of data. Nevertheless, the team was given a one-week training in this skill. This was done step by step in order to teach the individuals how to approach the respondents: self introduction, introduction to the survey, the organisations involved in the survey, recording of the responses and termination of the interviews. Prior to going into the field, the interviewers were provided with a demonstration of how to collect data.

The major problem encountered during data collection was the respondents' suspicion of the interviewers. The respondents were assured that the information collected would be used only for research purposes. This problem was found to become more acute when interviewing the middle and higher income groups. The interviewees in these two areas felt that if the security measures used became known to criminals, their houses could have been broken into even when they were present.

The data were collected between 1 April and 10 June 1992. Most of the interviews took place during the morning and in the evening, as a large number of people go out to work early in the morning. In several cases the interviewers had to visit the houses more than once. As a rule, responses were recorded on the spot.

The questionnaire was administered in two languages: English and Hindi. The Hindi questionnaire was usually utilised in the Cheeta Camp area (the largest group in the sample) owing to the low educational level of the local population. In the middle class localities both Hindi and English questionnaires were administered. For the affluent community, instead, only the English questionnaire was used.

Response rate and re-contacting

A target of 1,100 interviews was set for the city of Bombay. Earlier experiences had indicated that there would be refusals; these came to approximately 5%. Most of the refusals came from respondents belonging to the higher and middle income groups. Re-contacting for information was done in 8.5% of the cases. Again, re-contacting was mostly required among the affluent community, followed by the middle income groups. In the case of respondents in the lower income group, refusals were few. Finally, information was collected from 1,044 respondents.

The experience of crime

The experience of crime may vary from place to place, in type of crime and according to the socio-economic status of the person. Taking these factors into consideration, an attempt has been made to analyse the experience with crime incidents of the people in the community. The information provided here focusses mainly on victimisation rates over five years, followed by one year, on the extent of

reported crimes, reasons for not reporting, seriousness of crimes and measures taken to prevent crimes.

Victimisation rates (5 years)

At the outset it should be mentioned that Bombay city has well-knit rail, road, air and sea routes for transportation. Consequently, the need for private means of transport is limited - few people use it. The middle and lower class population use mostly public transport. Data provided in Table 1 shows that only 1.4% (15) of the sample have been victims of a car theft in the last five years, which cannot on any account be considered high. However, thefts from cars have been quite high (4.5%) which may be the result of a lack of proper precautions to prevent this type of offence. Car vandalism, instead, is quite low. Theft of motorcycles (0.6%) and bicycles (0.6%) is also significantly low.

When compared on an ownership basis - except in the case of theft from a car (26.9%) - the percentage does not show a high rate of victimisation. The situation is not much different when we look at the values for offences of burglary, attempted burglary, robbery and personal thefts. Sexual incidents and assaults are quite low. This could be explained in terms of social and cultural situations in the city.

Prevalence of victimisation rates (1 year)

When taking into account victimisation rates over 1 year, it is important to keep in mind that memory is very selective and that in many cases people may not remember incidents which took place at an earlier time. The data presented in Table 2 show that the percentage of victimisation is a little higher for the one year cases in almost all areas. This percentage can be compared with the overall percentage. Besides, the percentage for consumer frauds and corruption show a distinct increase in the total cases for one year. Respondents are mostly affected by theft from the car, theft of motorcycles, theft of personal property, consumer frauds and corruption.

Reported crimes

In recapitulating, it can be stated that all the offences committed are not reported, and that not all the reported offences are recorded. Therefore, there is a gap between the official and actual number of offences recorded. Table 3 provides information on the number of cases reported to the police. It would appear from the data provided that there is no uniformity in the reporting of offences such as: theft from a car, car vandalism, theft of motorcycles, bicycle and burglary. Percentages are low in the case of personal thefts, sexual assaults and theft of car.

Reasons for not reporting

The reasons for not reporting an offence to the police may be several. As the data in Table 4 show, a large number of people did not report offences to the police "because they felt that the offence was not serious enough" - this was the response for all types of offences - followed by the response "inappropriate for the police". A

large number of the victims felt that the "police could do nothing" and "police won't do anything". Furthermore, some respondents either dislike or are afraid of the police. This, in fact, shows that it is mostly people's opinion of the police which has played an important role in not reporting offences.

Seriousness of crime

Describing an offence as very serious, fairly serious and not serious by the individuals who have either experienced crime personally or who have a member of the family who has had such an experience, will depend much on his/her own perception of the offence and its nature. The data presented in Table 5 show that burglary with entry (57.1%), threatened assault (37.0%), and sexual assault (35%) have been considered very serious by more than half and one-third of the victims respectively. Indeed, fairly serious has been the response given by a large number of victims of crime. Only some respondents made mention to the effect of an offence not being serious. It is, therefore, acknowledged by most of the respondent victims that offences are both very serious and fairly serious. This indicates that people are concerned about crime.

Crime prevention measures

Though everyone is preoccupied about the incidents of crime, yet the attention paid to its prevention does not show any significance in terms of deterrence. The data presented in Table 6 show that informal requests to somebody to watch the house when going out were quite high (91.8%). However, installing door locks (29.3%) and window/door grills (27.4%) has been done in a considerable number of cases. Keeping a house caretaker has also been, to some extent, prevalent; this, of course, mainly in the areas with higher economic status. The percentage of respondents that possess firearms was also quite low. Again, house insurance is not very prevalent in the country. The overall impression obtained regarding measures taken to prevent crime was not satisfactory.

Conclusions

In conclusion, it can be said that the percentage of crime experiences for the one-year period is higher than the average annual percentage of crime experiences for the whole five-year period. Thefts from car show a higher rate than that for other offences. Cases of corruption and consumer frauds are higher in the city. The offences that most affect victims are theft from car, theft of motorcycles and theft of personal property. Reporting of offences to the police show better percentages when related to theft from car, car vandalism, theft of motorcycles and bicycles, and for burglary. Reasons for not reporting have been mainly: that the offence was not serious enough, inappropriate for the police, police could do nothing and police won't do anything. As regards seriousness of the offence, most of the victims are of the opinion that offences are serious and fairly serious. Measures taken to protect against victimisation were largely inadequate in all respects.

TABLES

Table 1: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	1.4
Theft from car	4.5
Car vandalism	1.4
Theft of motorcycle	0.6
Theft of bicycle	0.6
(Owners)	
Theft of car	8.6
Theft from car	26.9
Car vandalism	8.6
Theft of motorcycle	10.0
Theft of bicycle	6.2
Burglary with entry	6.7
Attempted burglary	3.4
Robbery	1.3
Personal theft	11.8
Sexual incidents	1.9
Assault/threat	2.6

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 2: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	0.7
Theft from car	2.3
Car vandalism	0.7
Theft of motorcycle	1.9
Theft of bicycle	0.6
(Owners)	
Theft of car	4.0
Theft from car	13.7
Car vandalism	4.0
Theft of motorcycle	33.3
Theft of bicycle	14.4
Burglary with entry	1.3
Attempted burglary	1.5
Robbery	0.6
Personal theft	3.9
Sexual incidents	0.6
Assault/threat	1.6
Consumer fraud	38.7

Corruption	6.7
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* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 3: Reported crimes

	%
Theft of car	4.6
Theft from car	53.2
Car vandalism	31.9
Theft of motorcycle	33.6
Theft of bicycle	50.0
Burglary with entry	34.3
Attempted burglary	20.0
Robbery	21.4
Personal theft	0.8
Sexual incidents	15.0
Assault/threat	29.6

Table 4: Reasons for not reporting*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Not serious enough	33.3	29.4	14.3	25.0	50.0	30.0	55.5	19.0	26.3	12.5
Solved it myself	33.3		42.9	25.0		25.0	11.1	4.0		
Inappropriate for police	33.3	17.6	28.6	25.0		5.0	22.2	6.0	10.5	18.8
Other authorities				25.0		10.0				
My family solved it			14.3	25.0		12.5		4.0	5.3	6.3
No insurance		5.8		25.0						
Police could do nothing		23.5	14.3	25.0	50.0	35.0		41.0	15.8	37.5
Police won't do anything		23.5		25.0		5.0	33.3	17.0	15.8	6.3
Fear/dislike police		17.6		25.0	100.0	15.0	33.3	9.0	47.4	12.5
Didn't dare				25.0	50.0	45.0	100.0	5.0	5.3	18.8
Other reasons				25.0			100.0			
Don't know				25.0						

* Percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police - multiple answers possible.

Table 5: Crime seriousness*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Very serious	26.7	27.7	6.7	6.7		57.1	28.6	27.6	35.0	37.0
Fairly serious	26.7	51.1	53.3	66.7	83.3	25.7	50.0	46.3	30.0	44.4

Not serious		4.3	4.3			7.1	14.3	13.8	35.0	7.4
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* Percentage based on victims of specific crimes.

Table 6: Crime prevention measures*

	%
Installed burglar alarm	2.4
Installed door locks	29.3
Installed window/door grills	27.4
Maintain watchdogs	2.6
High fence	3.1
House has a caretaker	10.3
None of these	
Others	1.1
Ask somebody to watch home	91.8
Neighbours watch anyway	1.6
Possession of firearms	1.3
House is insured against burglary	4.9

* Percentages based on total sample of respondents - multiple answers possible.

BUENOS AIRES (ARGENTINA)

Carlos Corvo¹

The data collected refer to Buenos Aires, capital city of Argentina, situated on the right hand margin of the River Plate, covering an extension of 200 square kilometres². Its 2,962,403 inhabitants (1,621,362 females and 1,341,041 males) can be grouped as follows:

	Female	Male
0-14 years	279,227	286,557 (19.1%)
15-64 years	1,034,002	882,023 (64.6%)
65 and over	308,133	172,461 (16.3%)

The percentage referring to the third group shows that the population of this city has grown old; this is usually assumed when the percentage of 65 year old citizens exceeds 10%. On the other hand, the enormous difference between the number of female and males in this bracket indicates a significant male mortality rate.

It is important to note that 50.6% of the migrants from neighbouring countries are over 65, and only 5.3% are under 15 years of age.

In addition, the information provided by a survey on population and households carried out in 1991³, indicates a population density of 14,827.02 inhabitants per sq. km.

With regard to dwellings, the census quantified a total of 1,200,076 houses distributed as follows:

- 221,746 collective residences (elderly peoples' homes, orphanages, religious communities, boarding schools, barracks, hospitals and hotels); and
- 978,330 family residences (houses, apartments, tenant houses, hovels, etc.).

The questionnaire covered a sample of 1,000 households for a total of 3,196 people. An effort was made to keep a balanced percentage between the high and low status residential areas (14.1% and 12.9% respectively); the middle class residential area - which, in fact, constitutes the bulk of the urban horizon - completed the total with 73%. At the same time, in order to analyse the median income of the group, official figures were taken from the report of the Economic Statistical Institute for Latin America and Argentina (IIERAL)⁴, which has ascertained that the monthly median income *per capita* for the Federal Capital,

¹ Lawyer, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

² Data provided by the Military Geographic Institute.

³ This survey was conducted by the National Institute for Statistics and Surveys (INDEC), Series B, No. 1.

⁴ Prepared by the Mediterranean Foundation on the basis of data provided by the Argentine Federal Investment Council and by the World Bank.

minus tax, is US\$ 840 (September 1991). These values show that the income of 16% of the families is under the zzz limit and that of 37.5% is above the yyy limit.

The band between the upper and bottom 25% limits represents 48%.

General Paz Avenue marks the boundary between the Federal Capital and "el Gran Buenos Aires" (the suburbs). This segmented avenue runs from the northwest margin of the River Plate to the Riachuelo tributary in the southwest of the city. In order to represent all sectors of the Federal Capital, the existing municipal land division was sub-divided into 12 areas - 6 each for South and North - and one central area comprising the "City" (where Government, Parliament and Court activities evolve independently). These thirteen areas, representing "regions" with a homogeneous constitution, cover the whole city.

Field work commenced on 1 June and lasted approximately two months. The members of a dedicated and responsible group of university students of law and political science, trained by Mr. Manuel Leiras in field work and interviewing skills, had to pass an exam before being admitted to the team of interviewers. Data preparation and analysis were conducted by Ms. Brenda Bockett-Pugh.

Once the team was organised, the questionnaire was studied and the team required for the assignment established. Consideration was also given to the need of avoiding the risk of an interviewee's negative reaction when reminded of an offence, which could result in a refusal to co-operate or withdrawal from the interview.

It was therefore decided that during the first contact with the respondents questions would be carefully explained, (for approximately 15 to 27 minutes). In the case of contradictory responses, interviewers were instructed not to force a correct or specific response, but to accept the interviewee's spontaneous response. Consequently, no refusals or re-visits were registered. Refusal rate was high but, as decided at the outset, in such cases, another family was interviewed instead.

At this point it is important to mention that Buenos Aires citizens have rarely been exposed to surveys of such proportion and, therefore, are not familiar with such endeavours or proposals for the sole purpose of participating in the first Victimization Survey in Argentina.

To conclude, data obtained regarding religious affiliation provides the following figures: Catholic 682, Jewish 67, Evangelist 11, Protestant 1; Muslim 1; no religion 232.

Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years)

Data on the total sample in Table 1 reveals that over the last five years theft from cars is the first and most common offence with 24.9%. When related to responses of owners of cars, trucks or vans for private use, this value rises to 34.5%. On the other hand, motorcycle and bicycle thefts do not appear to be significant (7.9% and 11.4% respectively), but the percentages rise (to 24.6% and 16.6% respectively) and become more significant when based on responses related to the owners of motorcycles and bicycles.

It is also interesting to note that based on a total of 538 female respondents, sexual offences represent 19.1%. A slight tendency to avoid reporting the incident to the police was observed.

Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year)

From among the offences listed it would appear that, as in the case of Table 1 (prevalence victimisation - 5 years), vehicle-related crimes are also the most common offences during 1991, as well as being those showing the highest increase over that period.

Consumer fraud and corruption have been incorporated in Table 2. These offences are accountable for over one-third of the victims (34.4% and 32.8% respectively). The high rates of these two components clearly demonstrate the need to determine what induces such behaviours and, hence, to be in a position to combat the negative elements in this society.

Reported crimes

The high number of reported cases of theft of car (92.6%) and motorcycle (82.4%) contrasts with the number of reported cases of theft from the car (51.8%) if we observe that this was one of the most common offences in Tables 1 and 2, already commented on. In third place is burglary with 70.2%, which is a very high percentage when compared to burglary cases in Tables 1 and 2. Moreover, while attempted burglary maintains its relation to previous values, the percentage of reported cases drops almost to half. Sexual offences are not reported in the proportion that this crime occurs. This may be due to a number of reasons such as: inadequate education, prejudice, incomprehension on the part of society, or the lack of assistance and institutions to report to. It is also apparent that reported offences are not commented by the victims. Therefore, it is assumed that the value obtained is not real, and that it is, in fact, an element closely related to the "dark figures of crime". A prompt in-depth national investigation would be of crucial importance, in order to adopt a pertinent criminal policy that will provide for better prevention and suitable assistance to victims.

Reasons for not reporting

A brief comment concerning the police is called for when looking at the very high values presented in Table 4 concerning those cases in which the persons do not report the incident because: the police could do nothing/ lack of proof, or the police won't do anything about it. These values reflect the need for a study on this point.

A prevention policy, developed in other countries when their governments decided to actively intervene in this field, is being implemented by the local authorities with the active participation of citizens and the involvement of police.

Crime seriousness

On the one hand, theft of cars and motorcycles are considered to be the most serious, together with burglary and robbery. This was also the opinion of 76.9% of the female victims of sexual offences and of 55% of the victims of assault/threat. On the other hand, 41.8% of the victims of theft from car (which is the most common offence) did not consider this crime to be very serious, the reason for this being that, generally speaking, the stolen item could be replaced at not too high a

cost. During 1988-1991 an alarming number of thefts of cassette-players from cars parked in the street or in parking lots were reported daily.

Since car vandalism does not entail personal danger, 50.4% of the respondents did not consider it to be very serious. The same opinion was expressed with regard to theft of bicycle (57%) and personal theft (carried objects including "pick pocketing").

Crime prevention measures

Percentages presented in Table 6 show that, generally speaking, most of the population living in Buenos Aires do not take any measures against burglary. Only 25% declared to have their houses insured against burglary, and less than half of this percentage have had special door locks installed.

308 cases entrusted their houses either to security guards/caretakers or a neighbour (when absent for a couple of days or so). Two hundred and twelve respondents said that their neighbours kept watch anyway.

Regarding firearms, 26.4% gave an affirmative answer; out of these, 53% declared that the reason for possessing firearms was protection against crime.

TABLES

Table 1: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	13.6
Theft from car	24.9
Car vandalism	11.7
Theft of motorcycle	7.9
Theft of bicycle	11.4
(Owners)	
Theft of car	18.8
Theft from car	34.5
Car vandalism	16.2
Theft of motorcycle	24.6
Theft of bicycle	16.6
Burglary with entry	12.1
Attempted burglary	12.6
Robbery	16.9
Personal theft	23.8
Sexual incidents	19.1
Assault/threat	15.8

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 2: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	5.0
Theft from car	10.4
Car vandalism	3.6
Theft of motorcycle	2.1
Theft of bicycle	3.6
(Owners)	
Theft of car	6.9
Theft from car	14.2
Car vandalism	4.8
Theft of motorcycle	7.0
Theft of bicycle	5.2
Burglary with entry	3.1
Attempted burglary	3.8
Robbery	4.6
Personal theft	7.7
Sexual incidents	5.0
Assault/threat	4.6
Consumer fraud	34.4
Corruption	32.8

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 3: Reported crimes

	%
Theft of car	92.6
Theft from car	51.8
Car vandalism	20.5
Theft of motorcycle	82.4
Theft of bicycle	41.2
Burglary with entry	70.2
Attempted burglary	37.3
Robbery	43.1
Personal theft	15.5
Sexual incidents	45.6
Assault/threat	40.5

Table 4: Reasons for not reporting*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/ threat %
Not serious enough		18.5	29.5	20.0	14.9	16.0	21.0	23.9	4.0	13.9
Solved it myself	33.3	2.7	3.4		2.9		5.26	3.1	2.0	5.3
Inappropriate for police		6.4	9.0		2.9	4.0	1.7	7.9	12.2	2.1
Other authorities		4.6	3.4	10.0				1.0	2.0	2.1
My family solved it		0.9	1.1		2.9	8.0	2.6	5.8	4.0	1.0
No insurance		22.2	20.4	40.0	13.4	12.0	4.3	9.5		
Police could do nothing	66.6	37.0	19.3	30.0	32.8	20.0	38.5	41.4	28.5	31.1
Police won't do anything	33.3	38.8	29.5	30.0	41.7	44.0	31.5	32.4	34.6	27.9
Fear/dislike police		1.8	2.2		2.9	8.0	7.0	2.6	14.2	12.9
Didn't dare							0.8	4.7		
Other reasons		1.8				12.0	5.2	1.5	22.4	5.3
Don't know			3.4				0.8		4.0	2.1

* Percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police - multiple answers possible.

Table 5: Crime seriousness*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/ threat %
Very serious	67.0	21.7	14.6	66.2	8.8	65.2	49.1	16.9	76.7	55.0
Fairly serious	18.3	33.4	30.0	16.2	29.9	13.1	37.2	26.9	12.7	27.8
Not serious	12.6	41.8	50.4	13.6	57.0	9.0	15.2	42.9	8.8	19.0

* Percentage based on victims of specific crimes.

Table 6: Crime prevention measures*

	%
Installed burglar alarm	13.9
Installed door locks	47.8
Installed window/door grills	24.4
Maintain watchdogs	11.6
High fence	17.9
House has a caretaker	11.9
None of these	
Others	77.8
Ask somebody to watch home	30.8
Neighbours watch anyway	21.2
Possession of firearms	26.4
House is insured against burglary	20.9

* Percentages based on total sample of respondents.

CAIRO (EGYPT)

Ahmed El-Magdoub¹

The sample

In 1992 Cairo's population totalled 8 million inhabitants compared to 6,068,695 in 1986 (according to the last census), and the number of families amounted to 1,350,821 distributed among 21 districts. It was, therefore, very difficult to choose 1,000 households as a representative sample. Until a very short time ago "in the fiftieth of this century" it was possible to depend upon class differentiation between the districts to obtain a sample of the three classes: upper, middle and lower. Yet the social and economic changes which have taken place in Egypt, especially in the seventies and eighties, have clearly influenced the class character of these districts.

The emigration of a great number of Egyptians to petroleum-producing Arab countries to earn very high wages - Egypt's open-door economic policy - in addition to a housing crisis, have led to social mobility, at least as far as housing is concerned. As a result of this, many lower class people moved first to middle and then to upper class areas or directly to upper class districts without having reached the necessary standards of the higher class, such as level of education and traditions. What happened was that they just chose to live in the upper status areas, or in areas which were once advanced areas before becoming dependent on the new affluent inhabitants.

Consequently, these areas lost much of their prestige and declined to middle, or even lower class standards. At the same time, many of the members of the upper class, having lost everything, including their distinguished economic position, to the new class of "Rich people of open door and petroleum", were obliged to live in middle and lower class areas.

The housing crisis led to the loss of freedom to choose not only a dwelling place, but also its social standard. In order to face life requirements, many families in the upper class bracket were obliged to let their furnished houses for very high rents, and move to lower class areas.

Although three districts in Cairo were chosen, each one representing one of the three classes, due to their extension, difference, and the changes which took place as a result of the afore-mentioned considerations, it was very difficult to classify an area as belonging to a specific class. It is not unusual to find within a region, one or more streets that are "very highly developed" and one or more which are underdeveloped. The external appearance of a district or individual is not sufficient evidence of class belonging. Therefore, it was hard to ensure that the sample represented the class of all the inhabitants, and this was particularly so in the case of those members of the middle class who border on the limits of the upper or lower classes.

¹ Chief, Criminal Policy Department, The National Center for Social and Criminological Research, Cairo, Egypt.

In order to have a complete sample that included the three economic levels, three sections of Cairo City were chosen, each one representing one of the three levels: Misr el Gadida (higher class), Misr el Qadima (middle class) and Boulac (lower class).

For the purpose of distributing the sample (1,000 households) among the three mentioned sections, a comparison was made between the number of families in each section and the total number of families in the three sections; the percentage distribution was as follows: Misr el Gadida district - 24.9%; Misr el Qadima district - 33.7%; and Boulac district - 42.2%.

When the interviews had been completed, the distribution had changed to read: 30% higher level, 52% middle level, and 18% lower level.

Data collection

All interviews were conducted using the face-to-face technique. The interviewers were free to choose the households in which to apply the questionnaires and any member of the household over 16 years of age could act as respondent (random sample). Twenty interviewers (of which 10 male and 10 female) received specific training once a week during the months of February and March 1992.

Some particular problems were encountered, one of which was the United Nations Security Council's Resolution against Libya, which aroused the fury of Egyptian public opinion and led to disapproval with the United Nations or any related project. This resulted in a refusal on the part of the people to dialogue with the interviewers because the word "United Nations" appeared in the title of the questionnaire.

This situation did not improve very much even when the cover page was removed, since well-educated persons soon detected references to the United Nations in the text, particularly in the section which presented the interviewer. For this reason, the interviewers were compelled to take a new sample on more than one occasion.

Field work started in March 1992 and lasted for three months. An average interview lasted approximately 25-35 minutes, depending mainly on the seriousness of the victimisation experience reported. The questionnaire was administered in Arabic.

Response rate and re-contacting

Given the people's attitude towards the United Nations, the response rate was 60%; the remaining 40% refused to co-operate with the interviewers. Re-contacting involved 5% of the interviewees who were substituted after a second refusal, thus partially modifying the sample.

TABLES

Table 1: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	3.9
Theft from car	16.3
Car vandalism	7.6
Theft of motorcycle	1.7
Theft of bicycle	4.8
(Owners)	
Theft of car	35.5
Theft from car	45.9
Car vandalism	21.4
Theft of motorcycle	17.2
Theft of bicycle	17.8
Burglary with entry	12.8
Attempted burglary	11.9
Robbery	6.8
Personal theft	34.0
Sexual incidents	45.5
Assault/threat	7.8

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 2: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	1.2
Theft from car	4.8
Car vandalism	2.4
Theft of motorcycle	0.5
Theft of bicycle	1.0
(Owners)	
Theft of car	3.4
Theft from car	13.5
Car vandalism	6.8
Theft of motorcycle	5.1
Theft of bicycle	3.7
Burglary with entry	3.0
Attempted burglary	3.8
Robbery	2.2
Personal theft	9.6
Sexual incidents	10.1
Assault/threat	2.6
Consumer fraud	48.3

Corruption	31.9
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* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 3: Reported crimes

	%
Theft of car	69.2
Theft from car	47.9
Car vandalism	26.3
Theft of motorcycle	58.8
Theft of bicycle	22.9
Burglary with entry	13.3
Attempted burglary	22.7
Robbery	33.8
Personal theft	21.2
Sexual incidents	2.5
Assault/threat	16.7

Table 4: Reasons for not reporting*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Not serious enough		34.0	29.4	27.3	28.9	21.3	25.5	30.5	19.9	20.5
Solved it myself		8.5	10.3	18.2	15.6	13.3	18.2	5.9	18.7	24.4
Inappropriate for police		13.2	8.8		11.1	12.0	7.3	5.9	15.7	9.0
Other authorities						1.3		2.2	0.4	
My family solved it		6.6	4.4	9.1	2.2	9.3		2.2		6.4
No insurance		2.8	8.8	9.1	2.2	4.0		0.3		
Police could do nothing	30.0	19.8	14.7	27.3	31.1	21.3	21.8	30.2	17.7	17.9
Police won't do anything		8.5	14.7		8.9	9.3	21.8	15.3	16.5	11.5
Fear/dislike police								0.7	0.7	1.3
Didn't dare				9.1		3.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	6.4
Other reasons	30.0	2.8	5.9			6.7	1.8	6.5	9.0	1.3
Don't know	10.0	3.8	2.9					0.3	0.7	1.3

* Percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police - multiple answers possible.

Table 5: Crime seriousness*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Very serious	59.0	30.7	34.2	41.2	29.2	59.4	66.2	3.0	60.6	56.4
Fairly serious	23.1	42.3	39.5	58.8	47.9	28.1	25.0	4.0	28.8	32.1

Not serious	17.9	27.0	26.3		22.9	12.5	8.8	19.4	10.6	11.5
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* Percentage based on victims of specific crimes.

Table 6: Crime prevention measures*

	%
Installed burglar alarm	3.7
Installed door locks	59.6
Installed window/door grills	15.8
Maintain watchdogs	3.4
High fence	3.3
House has a caretaker	14.3
None of these	
Others	
Ask somebody to watch home	38.1
Neighbours watch anyway	24.7
Possession of firearms	9.1
House is insured against burglary	3.1

* Percentages based on total sample of respondents.

CANADA

Tony Dittenhoffer and Kwing Hung¹

Introduction

This report provides a summary of the Canadian component of the 1992 International Crime Survey. It was prepared for the conference sponsored by the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI) entitled, "Understanding Crime: Experiences of Crime and Crime Control". This report was organised according to specific guidelines that were provided by UNICRI.

It should be noted that data are "preliminary", and that final analyses will be contained in a full report that is being prepared by the International Crime Survey Working Group.

The Department of Justice Canada co-ordinated and partially funded the Canadian survey, and technical assistance and partial funding was received from the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. These government departments and the Canadian public are indebted to the Ministry of Justice, the Netherlands, for initiating and co-ordinating this international endeavour.

Description of sample

The universe for this survey was defined as all individuals residing in Canada who were 16 years of age and older. In total, 2,152 persons across the country were randomly selected and interviewed.

In terms of composition, 51% were female and 49% male. Approximately 39% of respondents were aged 16 to 34; 35% were 35 to 54 years of age; and 26% were aged 55 and over².

Forty-two percent of the respondents reported that their households earned a below average income (Canadian \$ 35,000), and 48% reported an above average income. Forty-six percent reported that they were aged 16 to 19 years-old upon their final year of full-time education; 31% were 20 years of age or older; and 11% reported that they were less than sixteen years of age.

Forty percent indicated that they lived in an urban centre with a population greater than 50,000; 15% lived in an urban area of 10,000 to 50,000 population; and 30% lived in a community of less than 10,000, which includes rural areas. Seventy-one percent owned their residence and 27% lived in a rented dwelling.

Data collection technique

¹ Research and Development Directorate, Department of Justice, Canada.

² The proportions in the original sample differed slightly from Canadian census data, and as such, the sample was made representative through statistical weighting procedures.

The survey firm, Canadian Facts, was subcontracted by the central survey company in Amsterdam, Inter/View, to administer the survey. All interviews were conducted by telephone, using the Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) method. Interviewers in ten locations across the country were given training by the firm, and in addition to the specific directions contained on the computer screens, each interviewer received an instruction guide. The language of the interview was either English or French, depending upon the region of the interview and the language choice of the respondent. All initial and follow-up interviews were completed from January 29 to March 7, 1992.

The sample was allocated according to population size within different regions. Telephone numbers were randomly selected from up-to-date telephone directories, and by randomly altering the last digit of telephone numbers, unlisted households were included in the sample. Individuals within households with more than one occupant were randomly selected for interviews, and substitutes were not permitted.

Few problems were encountered during the course of the survey. Within the pretest, it was found that some respondents became suspicious of the survey when asked questions related to crime prevention (e.g. whether their house contains a burglar alarm), and some respondents abruptly terminated the interview. It was decided to move these questions to the end of the interview, and to provide a brief introduction which reminded respondents that their answers would be treated confidentially and that they had the option of not responding to specific questions. This appeared to remedy the problem.

The installation of a toll-free line, as recommended by the Working Group, was an effective method for both ensuring a high response rate and allaying the concerns of survey respondents. The line was staffed for the full duration of the survey (a handicapped person was trained and enabled to answer calls from her own residence), and altogether, 121 calls were received. Of the 27% who had called prior to consenting to the interview, the majority were satisfied that the survey was sponsored by the Federal Government. Forty-six percent had called after the interview, seeking assurance that the survey was legitimate.

For those citizens who preferred to trust their local police department more than the interviewers and staff on the toll-free line, advance notice of the survey was sent to all police agencies. In many instances, it was clear that survey respondents had contacted police, and police officers' prior knowledge of the survey served to alleviate the concerns of both survey respondents and police alike.

Response rate and recontacting

In total, there were 3,170 eligible telephone numbers for the survey - this excludes numbers that were not-in-service, non-residential, etc. With a total of 2,152 completed interviews, the survey response rate for Canada was 67.8%.

Altogether, 671 eligible survey respondents (21%) had refused to participate in the survey - the remaining 11% of non-responses were due to a language barrier, the respondent not being available, etc. Seventy-one (2%) provided stern refusals, such that they were not contacted more than once. According to survey procedures, the remainder of initial refusals were re-contacted after a two week period, and second refusals were followed-up one week later. At the time of writing, data were

not available on the number of initial refusals that eventually became completed interviews.

Victimisation rates

Although a fuller analytical context will be available once data are compared with the results of other countries, in general terms, data were found to be generally consistent with the results of the 1989 International Crime Survey and other Canadian victimisation surveys.

Table 1 presents the prevalence of victimisation among Canadians for the five years previous to the survey (1987 to 1991). It can be seen that crimes involving automobiles rank highest, with 21.1% of the sample reporting car vandalism, and 20.4% reporting theft from their car. Eleven percent of the sample reported theft of their bicycle. When property crimes are based upon a subsample of "owners" of individual property items, there is a about a 5% increase in the prevalence of both motorcycle theft and bicycle theft.

Within personal crimes, Table 1 also shows that 15.4% of survey respondents experienced personal theft, and 12.7% were victims of assault or threat of assault. In total, 10.8% of female respondents reported sexual incidents, although only a small proportion involved an actual assault.

Table 2 presents the prevalence of crime among Canadians for the most recent year only (1991). The rank ordering of the different crimes remains generally the same, though the rates of prevalence for one year are generally one-third the rates for five years shown in Table 1. The fact that rates are one-third as opposed to one-fifth, which would be the case if crimes were equally distributed across the five years, suggests the following possibilities: that crimes have increased over the last year, that some respondents were victimised in more than one year or, more likely, that respondents have difficulty in recalling crimes over five years.

Reasons for not reporting

Table 3 illustrates the percentage of respondents who were victimised and who reported the incident to the police. In total, 53.4% of victims who had been victimised at least once in the previous five years reported the crime to the police. The table shows that figures range from a high of 91.6% (theft of car) to a low of 12.9% (sexual incident) and, clearly, there was a greater likelihood that property crimes would be reported to the police than personal crimes. As generally found in the research literature, it is expected that insurance claims are frequently a motive for reporting certain property crimes to the police.

For respondents who were victimised but chose not to report the crime to the police, a variety of reasons are presented in Table 4. The most frequent answer was that the crime was not serious enough, though this reason was more likely to be given for property crimes than personal crimes. Other frequent responses were that the police could not do anything, or that the victim had already solved the crime on his or her own.

Some of the reasons given for failure to report to the police were somewhat disturbing. Of robbery victims, 8.3% indicated that they did not report the crime because they believed that the police would not do anything, and 11.1% said that it

was because they fear or dislike the police. Also, 9.9% of victims of a sexual incident and 6.5% of victims of assault or threat of assault did not report the crime because of their fear of reprisal.

Crime seriousness

Table 5 presents respondents' rating of the seriousness of each type of crime they had experienced. The majority of crimes were rated by more than one-half of victims as either serious or very serious - except theft from a car, car vandalism, and theft from a garage, which were more often rated as not serious. The crimes that were most often rated as very serious include: robbery (47.9%), burglary with entry (46.7%), car theft (45.8%), motorcycle theft (41.2%), sexual incident (38.8%), and assault or threat of assault (37.0%).

Victim support

Respondents were asked whether they received assistance from different sources to cope with the effects of their victimisation. Forty-one percent of respondents indicated that they received support from relatives, friends or neighbours, and 31.6% received support by the police. Other possibilities, including social welfare agencies, religious organisations, voluntary organisations, and specialised victims agencies were all indicated as sources of support by less than 2% of the respondents.

When asked whether the services of a specialised victims agency would have been helpful, 20.9% replied affirmatively. Although it is evident that the majority (78.1%) have no need for victims services, it also appears that many more victims would have actually used such services, if programmes were available and if victims were aware of them.

Attitudes towards the police

It generally appears that Canadians have favourable attitudes toward their police. In general terms, 82% of respondents felt that the police do a good job in controlling crime in their area - only 11.6% felt that they do not do a good job. 58.3% felt that the police pass by their street a sufficient number of times, though 32.9% thought that the police should pass by more often.

The survey also contained questions on respondents' direct experience with the police. As indicated earlier, 53.4% of respondents who had been victimised in the previous 5 years had reported the crime to the police. Of this group, 75.5% were satisfied by the way in which the police dealt with their report.

Of 22.1% of victims who were dissatisfied with the police, a variety of reasons were given: 33.3% of respondents felt that the police did not do enough; 31.6% believed that the police were not interested; and 22% said that the police failed to keep them sufficiently informed about their case. Some survey respondents were also dissatisfied because, in their view, the police did not show adequate results. 19.3% of respondents stated that the police did not recover their stolen goods, and 17.4% were dissatisfied because the police failed to apprehend the offender.

Fear of crime

In responding to the question of how safe respondents feel when walking alone in their area after dark, 41.1% felt very safe, 37.2% felt fairly safe, 12.8% felt a bit unsafe, and 7.4% felt very unsafe. This fear of crime is higher among women; for female respondents alone, 24.6% felt very safe, 40.9% felt fairly safe, 18.9% felt a bit unsafe, and 13.5% felt very unsafe. The differences in fear of crime among persons aged 55 and over, and persons who live in large urban areas, were not as distinct as among females.

The last time that respondents walked alone in their area after dark, 21.4% reported that they stayed away from certain streets, places or people for reasons of safety. 71.1% replied that they made no effort to avoid certain places or people. Again, more women (32.7%) reported that they took these preventative measures.

When asked about the likelihood that someone would try to break into their residence over the next year, 62.8% said that it was not very likely, 27.5% felt that it was likely, and 5.9% felt that it was very likely.

Crime prevention

Table 6 shows the crime prevention measures that are most often taken by Canadians. It can be seen that two-thirds of respondents rely upon their neighbours to watch their household while they are away. Forty-two percent of respondents have installed special door locks; 25% have installed window locks or grills; and 24.7% have a dog which would deter a burglar. Although it is indicated that 26% of respondents own a firearm, less than 10% claim that they have it for protection against crime.

Attitudes towards punishment

The survey showed mixed views among Canadians regarding the appropriate form of punishment for a particular case. Respondents were asked what sentence would be suitable for a 21 year-old man who was found guilty of burglary a second time. The following responses were given: fine - 9.6%; prison - 38.9%; community service - 30.3%; suspended sentence - 9.8%; other - 6.9%; and don't know - 4.5%. This distribution of responses did not appear to vary according to the demographic statistics (i.e. gender, age, income, education, etc.).

Those respondents that selected prison as the appropriate penalty were subsequently asked how long the offender should go to prison. Again, a variety of sentence lengths were chosen: less than 1 month - 7.6%; 2 to 6 months - 36.5%; 6 months to 1 year - 7.9%; 1 year - 20.2%; 2 years - 15.6%; and more than two years - 8.8%. The median sentence was ten months.

Conclusion

These data on crime levels and public attitudes are highly informative and their implications for criminal justice policy in Canada will be considered. However, the true value of the 1992 International Crime Survey will only become apparent once data from other countries become available, and representatives from the

Department of Justice Canada and the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics look forward to further analyses and discussion.

TABLES

Table 1: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	3.9
Theft from car	20.4
Car vandalism	21.1
Theft of motorcycle	0.8
Theft of bicycle	11.0
(Owners)	
Theft of car	4.3
Theft from car	22.9
Car vandalism	23.8
Theft of motorcycle	6.3
Theft of bicycle	15.7
Burglary with entry	9.9
Attempted burglary	7.2
Robbery	3.3
Personal theft	15.4
Sexual incidents	10.8
Assault/threat	12.7
Theft from garage	9.2

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 2: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	1.3
Theft from car	7.3
Car vandalism	8.5
Theft of motorcycle	0.2
Theft of bicycle	3.7
(Owners)	
Theft of car	1.5
Theft from car	8.3
Car vandalism	9.6
Theft of motorcycle	1.9
Theft of bicycle	5.3
Burglary with entry	3.3
Attempted burglary	2.7
Robbery	1.2
Personal theft	5.5
Sexual incidents	3.8
Assault/threat	4.8
Theft from garage	3.5
Consumer fraud	8.1
Corruption**	

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

** Data regarding corruption were not collected within the Canadian survey.

Table 3: Reported crimes

	%
Theft of car	91.6
Theft from car	59.7
Car vandalism	49.9
Theft of motorcycle	70.6
Theft of bicycle	64.6
Burglary with entry	82.2
Attempted burglary	44.2
Robbery	47.9
Personal theft	35.6
Sexual incidents	12.9
Assault/threat	36.3
Theft from garage	53.8

Table 4: Reasons for not reporting*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Attempted burglary %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Theft from garage %	Assault/threat %
Not serious enough	20.0	61.8	63.8	0.0	38.3	25.0	41.2	25.0	40.7	28.7	28.0	56.2
Solved it myself	0.0	4.0	3.2	0.0	8.6	16.7	8.2	16.7	9.6	14.9	20.8	14.6
Inappropriate for police	0.0	12.1	11.8	0.0	9.9	8.3	5.9	8.3	11.0	9.9	12.5	7.9
Other authorities	0.0	1.2	2.7	0.0	2.5	2.8	1.2	0.0	15.3	7.9	9.5	3.4
My family solved it	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	2.5	8.3	1.2	0.0	2.9	3.0	1.2	0.0
No insurance	0.0	3.5	0.5	33.3	6.2	5.6	1.2	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Police could do nothing	0.0	11.6	13.6	0.0	16.0	8.3	15.3	8.3	13.9	12.9	7.7	13.5
Police won't do anything	0.0	5.8	5.9	0.0	7.4	8.3	11.8	8.3	10.5	5.0	4.8	2.2
Fear/dislike police	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	1.2	5.6	0.0	11.1	1.0	6.9	3.0	1.1
Didn't dare	0.0	0.6	0.5	0.0	0.0	2.8	0.0	2.8	1.0	9.9	6.5	1.1
Other reasons	80.0	11.0	10.9	66.7	19.8	30.6	16.5	33.3	10.0	18.8	19.0	12.4
Don't know	0.0	1.7	1.8	0.0	2.5	0.0	3.5	2.8	1.9	1.0	2.4	1.1

* Percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police - multiple answers possible.

Table 5: Crime seriousness*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Attempted burglary %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %	Theft from garage %
Very serious	45.8	15.3	12.7	41.2	23.2	46.7	29.5	47.9	23.3	38.8	37.0	19.3
Fairly serious	34.9	28.5	29.9	29.4	34.2	36.4	28.8	28.2	36.9	37.9	34.4	30.5
Not serious	16.9	55.8	56.5	17.6	40.9	15.4	39.1	21.1	38.4	22.4	26.4	49.2
Don't know	2.4	0.5	0.7	5.9	1.7	1.4	2.6	2.8	1.5	0.9	1.8	1.0

* Percentage based on victims of specific crimes.

Table 6: Crime prevention measures*

Measures	%
Installed burglary alarm	13.0
Installed door locks	41.6
Installed window/door grills	25.0
Maintain watchdog	24.7
High fence	13.9
House has a caretaker	8.6
None of these	26.3
Others	0.0
Ask somebody to watch home	57.1
Neighbours watch anyway	10.5
Possession of firearms	26.0
House insured against burglary**	

* Percentages based on total sample of respondents.

** Data regarding "insurance against burglary" were not collected within the Canadian survey.

COSTA RICA

Luis Lachner¹

Sample description

Available data for 1992 place population figures at 3,160,408 inhabitants. According to MIDEPLAN and CELADE in 1992 the population over 16 years of age will make up 62.4% of the country's total population. This indicates that over half the national population is composed of the target group of this investigation.

Of the adult population, 66.7% resides in the central region of the country. This region is the country's most developed zone; it is divided into two sub-regions: Metropolitan (57.8%) and the Rest of the Valley (42.2%).

These areas are defined with the purpose of grouping residential zones with similar characteristics, as well as with the intention of guaranteeing a sufficient number of cases within the sample. This will allow for a specific analysis within each region.

The Metropolitan sub-region includes the main urban nuclei of San José (capital), and the principal towns of the Alajuela, Heredia and Cartago provinces.

The sub-region referred to as the Rest of the Central Valley includes the "cantones" located in the Central Valley, in a circle made up of Turrialba, Alfaró Ruiz, San Ramón, Atenas, Puriscal and the rural districts of Desamparados. This sub-region is characterised by small urban centres grouped within the central districts of each "cantón", as well as a considerable proportion of concentrated rural areas².

The sample was chosen using information provided by the National Population and Housing Census of 1984. This census was up-dated by the Office of Statistics and Census (Dirección General de Estadística y Censos). An adequate stratification of the chosen areas was guaranteed by using a Social Development Index (SDI)³, of the country's administrative districts, which enables their classification according to a series of socio-economic variables. The sample has an error margin of + 3%, with a 95% confidence level.

The survey was carried out in the Central Valley, the sample distribution of which is presented in Tables 1, 2 and 3.

Gathering of data

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- 1 Senior Researcher, Institute of Crime Prevention and the Treatment of Offenders for Latin America and the Caribbean, affiliated with the United Nations (ILANUD), San Jose', Costa Rica.
 - 2 This type of segment is characterised by: a) the land is occupied by activities that are not related to agriculture and cattle: b) there are 50 or more houses grouped together: c) basic services are available (water, electricity, etc.).
 - 3 Constructed by the Ministry of Planning and Economic Policies (Ministerio de Planificación Nacional y Política Económica).

Data gathering, processing and interpretation were done by Demoscopia S.A., a Costa Rican enterprise dedicated to social, political and economic investigation, at national and international levels.

A total of 15 pollsters, with vast experience in field work, were trained in the use and application of the instrument, and given information dealing with the investigation.

The polling was done using face-to-face interviews. This technique created a climate of trust and acceptance on the part of those interviewed. Respondents were also informed that the study was sponsored by ILANUD (United Nations Latin American Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders). No major problems were encountered, only those obstacles often present in any investigation of this nature.

Field work was completed between 8 April and 2 May 1992. Although a total of 1,000 interviews were originally planned, only 983 were actually completed. This represents 98.3% of the sample, with a loss rate of 1.7%. Most of the forms which were not processed were put into the unfinished category (discontinued interviews).

Victimisation rate

As shown in Table 6, car owners are frequent victims of theft from car, as well as vandalism. A high rate of bicycle theft victims is reported. A large number of Costa Ricans have been victims of personal thefts and attempted robbery.

It is important to mention that, according to the results, 15.0% of the women living in the country's Great Metropolitan Area have experienced some kind of sexual offence.

The victimisation rate for 1991 tends to be considerably higher than that for the previous years. This is particularly evident among the victims of theft from the car, vandalism, attempted burglary and sexual incidents. Frequency for 1991 is shown in Table 7.

Reasons for not reporting the incident

Respondents who were victims of car and motorcycle thefts are the ones that most often indicated having reported to the police. Table 8 shows that the least reported crimes were sexual incidents (9.3%) and personal thefts (18.2%).

Those who omitted reporting any of the crimes endured indicated that the two main reasons for not resorting to the police were that the police could not have done anything; and that the police would not have done anything (see Table 9).

It must be added that these types of answers are closely related to responses provided in other national studies undertaken by the same enterprise that gathered the data for this survey, in which the feeling was shared of police "lack of effectiveness".

It is also very important to point out that none of the victims indicated not having reported the crime for fear of retaliation. This increases the importance of the lack of trust factor.

Crime seriousness (Table 10)

In general, victims of the various crimes considered the criminal incident to be very serious or moderately serious. Car owners who were victims of car vandalism were more inclined to consider that the crime was not that serious. The victims of theft from car and those of theft of bicycles tended to consider the crime as fairly serious.

Aid to the victims

The respondents who were victims of some type of crime stated that they did not receive support or collaboration from social or governmental organisations or institutions to alleviate the effects of the crime.

Victims received aid from close relatives in 54.3% of the cases. In other cases the collaborators were their friends (36.9%). Responses permit the assumption that social and governmental institutions do not feel concerned about citizen's plights. This attitude is confirmed by the 58.5% of the affected citizens who consider that it would have been a great help if they had received the services of an institution specialised in the treatment of such cases.

Attitudes towards the police

As previously mentioned, "lack of effectiveness" is the image interviewees have of the country's police authorities. It is not surprising that only 23.5% of the victims had reported the incident to the police. Those who reported the incident to the police (54.6%) were not satisfied with the way the report was treated. The main reasons for feeling dissatisfied with police performance were:

They did not do enough	52.1%
They did not recover the property	34.2%
They were not interested	26.2%
They were slow in arriving	26.0%

Respondents considered that the police within their residential area, do not carry out an effective enough job; 55.7% sustained that they do not do a good job. Respondents request more frequent police patrols within their neighbourhoods (78.5%).

Fear of being a victim of crime

66.1% of the interviewees declared they feel fairly safe or very safe when walking in their neighbourhood at night; 13.9% declared feeling very unsafe.

For safety reasons, 54.7% of the people interviewed keep away from certain streets or areas within their residential zone. However, they are not in the habit of going out with other people as a safety measure (57.0%).

The majority of the respondents thought it is likely that someone will try to break into their homes over the next few months.

Crime prevention

The main measures taken by the public in order to prevent criminal actions are: the installment of special locks on doors, and of grating or metallic gates on doors and windows (see Table 11).

It is quite customary among the respondents to ask neighbours to watch their homes while they are out (62.7%).

Opinions as to sentencing offenders

Interviewees were presented with a hypothetical situation, in which an individual committed theft a second time. They were consulted as to what would be the appropriate sentence for this individual: 63.2% considered that the adequate punishment would be imprisonment. 17.9% of those who agree on imprisonment considered that a one-year term should be the time spent in prison. Another group (13.2%) considered that a two-year term for this type of crime would be adequate.

In spite of the fact that 22.9% of the answers favoured sentences of less than twelve months imprisonment, it should be pointed out that a group of interviewees (24.9%) supported sentences of five years or more in jail for this type of crime.

TABLES

Table 1: Sample distribution by region

Region	%	Sample	Segments
Metropolitan	57.8	578	58
Rest of Valley	42.2	422	42
Total	100.0	1,000	100

Table 2: Sample distribution by socio-economic status

Socio-economic level	Sample	Study
High	11.0	11.7
Middle	52.0	52.0
Low	37.0	36.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 3: Sample distribution by gender

Gender	Sample	Study
Masculine	50.0%	49.2%
Feminine	50.0%	50.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4: Urban/rural distribution of sample

Region	Sample
Urban	74.0%
Rural	26.0%

Total	100.0%
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Table 5: Temporal distribution of crimes

	1992 %	1991 %	Before %	Can't remember %
Theft of car	5.0	20.0	70.0	5.0
Theft from car	23.0	38.6	31.4	6.4
Car vandalism	31.8	36.4	30.7	1.1
Theft of motorcycle		25.0	75.0	
Theft of bicycle	11.3	31.9	51.1	5.7
Burglary with entry	23.5	32.6	40.9	3.0
Attempted burglary	28.8	37.5	30.0	3.8
Robbery	27.6	23.0	40.2	9.2
Personal thefts	23.2	33.2	39.5	4.2
Sexual incidents	29.3	33.3	34.7	2.7
Assault/threat	29.9	28.7	36.8	4.6

Table 6: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	2.0
Theft from car	14.2
Car vandalism	9.0
Theft of motorcycle	1.2
Theft of bicycle	14.3
(Owners)	
Theft of car	5.4
Theft from car	38.0
Car vandalism	23.9
Theft of motorcycle	9.6
Theft of bicycle	21.5
Burglary with entry	13.4
Attempted burglary	16.3
Robbery	8.9
Personal theft	19.3
Sexual incidents	15.0
Assault/threat	8.9

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 7: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	0.4
Theft from car	5.5
Car vandalism	3.3
Theft of motorcycle	0.3
Theft of bicycle	4.6
(Owners)	
Theft of car	20.0
Theft from car	38.6
Car vandalism	36.4
Theft of motorcycle	25.0
Theft of bicycle	31.9
Burglary with entry	4.4
Attempted burglary	6.1
Robbery	2.0
Personal theft	6.4
Sexual incidents	5.0
Assault/threat	2.5
Consumer fraud	17.4
Corruption	9.1

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 8: Reported crimes

	%
Theft of car	70.0
Theft from car	22.1
Car vandalism	18.2
Theft of motorcycle	91.7
Theft of bicycle	36.2
Burglary with entry	50.8
Attempted burglary	23.8
Robbery	27.6
Personal theft	18.4
Sexual incidents	9.3
Assault/threat	29.9

Table 9: Reasons for not reporting*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/ threat %
Not serious enough	25.0	16.7	16.7		10.8	16.7	28.1	16.3	9.7	15.1
Solved it myself	25.0	4.9	3.0		6.8	28.3	5.3	8.1	12.9	11.3
Inappropriate for police		2.9	19.7		6.8	13.3	8.8	8.9	21.0	11.3
Other authorities		2.9	3.0		1.4	3.3	1.8	5.9	1.6	
My family solved it	25.0	3.9	6.1		10.8	10.0	1.8	4.4	4.8	9.4
No insurance		1.0						7.0		
Police could do nothing	25.0	35.3	30.3		35.1	16.7	35.1	32.6	35.5	35.8
Police won't do anything		39.2	43.9	100.0	54.1	26.7	28.1	33.3	33.9	35.8
Fear/dislike police		2.0			4.1	3.3	10.5	5.2	12.9	15.1
Didn't dare										
Other reasons		7.8	3.0		1.4	6.7		6.7		
Don't know		2.9	3.0		1.4			4.4		

* Percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police - multiple answers possible.

Table 10: Crime seriousness*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/ threat %
Very serious	65.0	25.0	20.5	83.3	29.8	45.5	54.0	40.0	48.0	47.1
Fairly serious	30.0	41.4	34.1	16.7	36.2	32.6	29.9	30.0	32.0	20.7
Not serious	5.0	30.7	39.8		30.5	16.7	16.1	29.5	17.3	27.6

* Percentage based on victims of specific crimes.

Table 11: Crime prevention measures*

	%
Installed burglar alarm	9.2
Installed door locks	65.0
Installed window/door grills	61.2
Maintain watchdogs	42.1
High fence	36.9
House has a caretaker	24.8
None of these	
Others	
Ask somebody to watch home	62.7
Neighbours watch anyway	9.2
Possession of firearms	19.1
House is insured against burglary	10.7

* Percentages based on total sample of respondents.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Jana Valkova¹

The International Victimization Survey was carried out in Czechoslovakia in 1992, the data being collected between 6 and 18 June. The survey was implemented by the Institute of Criminology and Social Prevention in Prague, which ensured its organisational preparation, an evaluation of the results and their interpretation. Specifically trained professional interviewers were hired for data collection; they personally contacted the respondents at their households and interviewed them according to the pre-prepared questionnaire.

One hundred and seventy interviewers questioned a total of 1,346 respondents in the Czech Republic and 109 interviewers contacted 654 selected persons in the Slovak Republic. The respondents were selected according to the quota technique, that is to say on the basis of their age, gender, and socio-professional qualifications as well as according to the area of residence, regional distribution and size of the population. The interviews were carried out in the Czech and Slovak languages.

Data collection proved somewhat difficult since it was carried out during the pre-election period in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, when the interviewers were very overworked and people were "fed up" with public opinion surveys and with elections in general. Despite this, the number of questionnaires returned by the interviewers was very high. According to the interviewers' report, the survey had been generally well accepted by the respondents, who had expressed the view that this was the most interesting research implemented by the Demoscopic Research Center to date. The reason for this positive reaction was closely related to the fact (among others) that the interviewees themselves considered crime to be a very current, and often the most serious, social problem. When asked: "What was the respondents' reaction to the Survey topic?", the interviewers replied that 28.7% had considered it very positive; 55.8% positive; 2.3% negative; and 13.2% did not know.

Sincere public concern over the problem of crime corresponded with the respondents' willingness to collaborate with the interviewers (52.2% answered the questions "absolutely spontaneously, without timidity and willingly"; 43.3% "relatively without timidity but not so spontaneously" and 4.5% "with significant timidity and unwillingly"). No respondent was encountered who was unwilling or too timid to answer the questions.

Both interviewers and interviewees found the questionnaire very intelligible. A few problems arose regarding an estimation of the value of the stolen (or damaged) property. These difficulties were caused by the rapidly changing prices in the society at the time.

Data collection was carried out successfully and without any complications. Some difficulties concerning the elaboration of the coding sheets were caused by the postal system. It sometimes took these sheets more than 14 days to reach Prague after they had been mailed. However, the greatest difficulties and problems

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arose during the transfer of data onto a diskette. The required method of transfer was completely atypical, complicated and lengthy compared to the procedure normally used in Czechoslovakia.

The research sample covered 2,000 persons and 1,821 fully completed questionnaires were returned (91.0%). The sample consisted of 882 (49.3%) men and 908 (50.7%) women (frequency missing - 31 persons). 51.6% of the respondents were aged between 35 and 64 years, 36% between 16 and 34, and 12.2% were aged 65 or over. 18.9% of the respondents were single, 60.3% married, 1.5% living with another person as a couple, 7.9% divorced or separated and 11.4% widowed. 1.9% of the respondents had received no education and 20.0% primary-level education; 34.9% consisted of skilled workers who had not passed a school-leaving examination and 8.5% of skilled workers who had passed a school-leaving exam; 25.9% had a secondary-level, and 8.9% a university-level education.

42.2% of the interviewees lived in a flat, 49.1% in a house, 1.4% in an institution and 7.2% used other types of dwellings. Seventeen percent of the respondents lived in an upper status residential area, 69.9% in a middle status, and 13.1% in a lower status area. 6.5% of them lived in either the Czech capital (Prague) or the Slovak capital (Bratislava), 8.9% lived in a regional capital, 28.0% in another town and 37.0% in a village. 68.1% of the interviewees lived in the Czech Republic and the rest in the Slovak Republic.

64.5% of the respondents' households had below-average net incomes, 20% above-average net incomes, and the rest did not know.

A total of 423 respondents (23.2%) had been victims of one or more offences during the five years covered by the survey.

Tables 1 and 2 present prevalence victimisation rates for a five-year and one-year period respectively. As can be seen from the tables, car thefts were not frequent among the respondents, and this fact is connected with the relatively low level of car ownership in Czechoslovakia compared to developed countries. However, the number of thefts from cars and especially of car vandalism was significantly high. Other frequent offences included bicycle theft and personal theft, and a relatively high level of sexual offences towards women was alarming. One out of six respondents had been the victim of a robbery (or attempted robbery), and one out of ten had been assaulted or threatened.

If a respondent had become the victim of any offence covered by the survey, this had occurred significantly often in 1991 (with the exception of motorcycle theft and car vandalism). This is proof of a rapid increase in criminality following the social changes which began in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic in 1989 and which continue to the present day. Most of the respondents had been victimised once or twice in 1991.

As Table 3 shows, a well-known fact related to crime reporting has been confirmed: the most frequently reported offences are car theft and burglary. Furthermore, approximately one-third of thefts from a car, attempted burglaries, bicycle thefts, robbery and personal thefts were reported to the police. Those offences that the police learnt the least about were related to sexual incidents (only one out of every twelve cases).

Table 4 lists reasons for not reporting, which differ from case to case. In general, it is possible to conclude that this occurred because the respondent did not consider the incident serious enough. Other reasons were related to the interviewee's view on

police effectiveness. In this case two types of replies were given: "police could do nothing" and "police won't do anything". A number of the incidents were solved by the interviewees themselves.

The respondents also provided different judgements on the seriousness of the crime (see Table 5) and this depended on the type of crime committed (the offence that was mostly considered to be very serious for the respondents and their household was car theft).

The victims received most support from their relatives (59.2%) or friends (49.2%), but also mentioned the help of neighbours (21.9%) and the police (17.6%). Only a very small percentage of the victims had received assistance from social welfare agencies, religious organisations, specialised agencies, or from another person (1.6%, 1.9%, 1.0% and 5.1% respectively).

Two-fifths of the victims felt that a specialised agency to help victims would have been useful, 17.7% thought that it would not have been useful and 41.8% did not know.

These results lead to the conclusion that the Czech and Slovak society is not sufficiently prepared to ensure the provision of a concrete form of assistance to victims of crime. This kind of agency activity does not have roots here and therefore its creation must start from scratch. As a result, given the high level of crime in Czechoslovakia, victims find themselves in unenviable circumstances, and in order to find a rapid solution to the problem, an analysis of their position and possibilities of assistance is necessary.

36.1% of the respondents were satisfied with the way the police dealt with the reported crime, 55.4% were unsatisfied and 8.5% did not know. Thus, dissatisfaction with police activities prevailed, the main reasons for which were that the police "did not find the offender"; "did not do enough"; "were not interested" and "did not recover my property" (Table 6).

Nor was the work of the police in patrolling the streets where the respondents resided positively judged. 32.4% of the interviewees thought policemen do a bad job; 55.4% could not provide a judgement and only 12.2% evaluated their job as a good one.

18.5% of the respondents stated that a police officer passed along their street, either by car or on foot, at least once a day; 18.1% stated that this occurred at least once a week; 8.6% at least once a month and 12.5% did not know. At the same time, two-thirds of the respondents believed that the police should pass more often and only 14.1% were satisfied with the level of street control (the rest did not know).

Critical attitudes towards the work of the police were related, among other things, with the negative role of the police before the 1989 Revolution, when they supported the Communist Regime. Citizens do not trust the police very much. Despite the fact that some positive changes have been introduced within the framework of the Ministry of the Interior and the Police Force, these are not yet reflected in the citizens' attitudes towards the police. The changes, therefore, have not contributed very much in increasing the prestige of the police in the eyes of the public. A further reason for this unsatisfactory situation could be related to the fact that a rapid increase of the crime rate after 1989, coupled with a low clearing rate, has led to an increase in the fear of crime among people. The citizens blame the police for this situation; they accuse police officers of passive behaviour and consider policemen incapable of solving crime-related problems.

Fear of crime was also confirmed by data collected during the survey. Only 15.8% of the respondents felt very safe when walking alone in their area after dark; 40.3% felt fairly safe; 33.4% a bit unsafe and 10.5% very unsafe. 5.3% of the respondents deliberately avoided certain streets or areas, or walking in their own area after dark for safety reasons (36.9% gave a negative answer; 49.3% could not remember and 8.5% stated that they never went out).

The chances of someone trying to break into a respondent's home within the next months were considered real by more than two-fifths of the interviewees (very likely for 7.8% and likely for 34.7%). Only 31.5% did not admit to this likelihood and the rest did not answer.

Table 7 indicates the crime prevention measures taken by the respondents. Although most interviewees try to secure their property against a burglary, they usually use rather simple preventive measures (such as safety locks on the door, high fences or a guard dog) which do not stop the offenders from committing the offence. In most houses a caretaker is not employed although it has been proven that they play an important role in crime prevention.

Citizens do not take enough care to secure their property although they are well aware of the unfavourable conditions in the field of crime. The public must be made more aware, by providing more information and through the use of publicity campaigns, on the use of crime prevention measures.

Most respondents (62.9%) would pass an unconditional prison sentence on a recidivist burglar who stole a colour TV; the majority opted for a period of 2 to 6 months (14.4%); 6 months to 1 year (14.8%), or 1 year (12.2%). A suspended sentence and a fine were suggested by 16.5% and 10.3% respectively of the respondents, and 5.8% of the respondents would pass another sentence, mainly compensation for the damage (often exceeding the amount of the damage caused). One alarming suggestion was to impose a physical punishment on the offender by cutting off his/her hand.

These data point to the sensitivity of the citizens towards the theft of private property. This was also confirmed in previous public opinion surveys, when the interviewees judged this type of theft more severely than the theft of state property.

We can conclude that crime is a serious problem and therefore must be tackled in a very responsible way by society as a whole. No significant improvements can be expected without the creation of a really effective preventive system.

TABLES

Table 1: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	4.1
Theft from car	21.9
Car vandalism	48.8
Theft of motorcycle	3.5
Theft of bicycle	16.4
(Owners)	
Theft of car	6.7
Theft from car	35.9
Car vandalism	80.0
Theft of motorcycle	11.4
Theft of bicycle	20.0
Burglary with entry	11.5
Attempted burglary	5.5
Robbery	3.4
Personal theft	22.6
Sexual incidents	15.2
Assault/threat	10.4

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 2: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	1.3
Theft from car	4.9
Car vandalism	4.7
Theft of motorcycle	0.2
Theft of bicycle	5.1
(Owners)	
Theft of car	2.2
Theft from car	8.4
Car vandalism	8.0
Theft of motorcycle	0.8
Theft of bicycle	6.4
Burglary with entry	6.7
Attempted burglary	2.2
Robbery	1.7
Personal theft	7.3
Sexual incidents	4.1
Assault/threat	4.1
Consumer fraud	46.3

Corruption	2.4
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* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 3: Reported crimes

	%
Theft of car	88.4
Theft from car	36.9
Car vandalism	10.8
Theft of motorcycle	20.0
Theft of bicycle	32.3
Burglary with entry	51.5
Attempted burglary	35.1
Robbery	32.2
Personal theft	30.5
Sexual incidents	8.2
Assault/threat	22.9

Table 4: Reasons for not reporting*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Not serious enough	80.0	52.8	51.1	25.0	30.3	47.5	20.0	30.8	34.5	30.3
Solved it myself	60.0	14.2	7.9	25.0	22.5	16.9	46.7	10.8	54.5	39.3
Inappropriate for police		4.7	3.6	12.5	1.1		6.7	2.6	1.8	3.4
Other authorities		2.8	2.2		6.7			5.6	3.6	5.6
My family solved it	20.0	5.6	7.2	25.0	4.5	8.5	6.7	3.1	7.3	1.1
No insurance	20.0	4.7	9.4	37.5	16.9	6.8		7.2		2.2
Police could do nothing		24.5	22.3	25.0	21.3	15.3	13.3	30.8	20.0	10.1
Police won't do anything		19.8	25.9		23.6	18.6	26.7	28.7	16.4	10.1
Fear/dislike police	20.0	0.9	2.2		3.4	1.7		1.5	1.8	
Didn't dare	40.0	3.8	1.4	37.5	9.0	5.1	6.7	0.5	7.3	5.6
Other reasons										
Don't know										

* Percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police - multiple answers possible.

Table 5: Crime seriousness*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Very serious	62.5	7.4	4.4	10.5	12.2	13.7	25.6	12.8	25.0	22.1
Fairly serious	22.9	30.7	32.4	31.6	55.9	42.9	37.2	43.3	34.2	44.9

Not serious	14.6	61.9	63.2	57.9	24.2	43.5	37.2	43.9	40.8	33.1
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* Percentage based on victims of specific crimes.

Table 6: Reasons for dissatisfaction with the way the police dealt with the incident

	%
Did not do enough	17.5
Were not interested	15.4
Did not find or apprehend the offender	24.3
Did not recover my property	13.7
Did not keep me properly informed	2.4
Did not treat me correctly	1.7
Were slow to arrive	3.3
Other reason	0.5
Did not know	0.9

Table 7: Crime prevention measures*

	%
Installed burglar alarm	3.2
Installed door locks	40.5
Installed window/door grills	3.4
Maintain watchdogs	31.9
High fence	16.4
House has a caretaker	3.3
None of these	
Others	0.6
Ask somebody to watch home	34.7
Neighbours watch anyway	17.1
Possession of firearms	7.1
House is insured against burglary	59.0

* Percentages based on total sample of respondents.

DAR ES SALAAM (TANZANIA)

Joseph Safari¹

The International Victimisation Survey in Tanzania was carried out in Dar es Salaam - the largest cosmopolitan city in the country with a population exceeding 1.6 million inhabitants (according to the National Population Census). The study, which is the second in the UNICRI sponsored series, covered all the socio-economic sectors of the burgeoning city in that it included areas deemed to be of high, middle and low residential status. The high status residential areas are exemplified by the areas of Oysterbay and Msasani which are inhabited by the top echelons of the state and ruling party (CCM) as well as by diplomats from foreign missions and other senior technocrats of external NGOs. The middle status residential areas are exemplified by the Regent Estate, Kurasini and Makongo North, while Msewe, Mabibo, Manzese, Buguruni, Kipawa and Kiwalani are examples of lower income areas canvassed in this study. These general differences are reflected in the crime data. The crimes identified include: theft of property, cars, motorcycles, bicycles, etc.; vandalism; sexual harassment; assaults and threats; corruption, etc.

A total of 1,004 questionnaires were completed. Despite a *de facto* identification of high, middle and low income residential areas, individual households that did not fit into the given socio-economic category of each area were nevertheless found.

Figures related to motorcycle and bicycle theft show that almost 30% of all motorcycles and 37% of all bicycles were reported stolen in the period 1987-91. According to the collected data, urban property theft crimes in the surveyed area are not confined to valuable property such as cars, motorcycles and bicycles. Household goods are also targeted by thieves and vandals. The data presented in Tables 1 show that a large proportion of interviewees had experienced a burglary; almost one-fifth of the respondents had experienced a robbery; and about half of them had experienced a personal theft. Protection of property and the recovery of lost property have both been found to be seriously lacking.

In conclusion, it must be stated that the survey has provided us with rich information and has often confirmed assumed information on crime and crime statistics. The general belief that all victims of a crime usually report the offence to the police has been discredited by the results of the survey, which have shown that this is not the case and that not all crimes are brought to the attention of the authorities. Furthermore, for various reasons which cannot be explained here, some of the respondents who had been victims of a crime did not hold a favourable view of the effectiveness of the police force in curbing crime. This single factor makes a statistical difference between reported and unreported crimes. It also makes a difference between those crimes that are solved and those that do not receive any attention on the part of the law enforcement agencies. Indeed, although all the respondents agreed that crime is obviously a menace to urban society in general,

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and expressed a wish not to become a victim of a crime, there was no unanimous agreement about how to behave if such a situation did occur. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that some members of the public called for tighter sentences than those implemented by the state and applied by the courts.

The task of making the urban city a safer place for all its inhabitants is a difficult one, not only for the police, the government and other state authorities, but also at the community and grass roots level. Among other things, the expedited jurisdiction of criminal cases would prove advantageous to all. In Tanzania, the first capital city citizen-level organisation is firmly rooted for the deployment of all interested parties, much more so state and state controlled organisations which endeavour to make life in the city worth living.

The police force will definitely be handicapped if it has to deal with criminal activity and the criminal population alone. In order to make the force more efficient, the agents need not only better and more adequate equipment, but also community assistance and solidarity. In order to work fairly and in a more efficient way the police must be kept better informed. Furthermore, they need to be trained in order to make them more aware of the current economic predicament of society. The opposite is also true, however, and the general public needs to be sensitised not only about the role of police in society and what the community's reciprocal role should be, but also about the current economic crisis of society at large and how each individual can help to alleviate this unfortunate situation.

The city's ecological and spatial organisation does not allow for fast access by the police in rescuing victims or pursuing the aggressors. However, the general depressed economic situation, including unemployment and poor purchasing power, are factors which are strongly conducive towards crimes and criminal acts of theft. It is our conviction, that a reversal of the depressed economic performance will bring about an improvement in the situation in general. An economic miracle of such magnitude would indeed be welcome everywhere on the Continent.

TABLES

Table 1: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	7.2
Theft from car	23.4
Car vandalism	14.1
Theft of motorcycle	4.5
Theft of bicycle	7.1
(Owners)	
Theft of car	14.4
Theft from car	46.9
Car vandalism	28.3
Theft of motorcycle	28.8
Theft of bicycle	37.0

Burglary with entry	30.7
Attempted burglary	29.0
Robbery	19.5
Personal theft	43.1
Sexual incidents	23.9
Assault/threat	14.3

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 2: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	3.5
Theft from car	14.4
Car vandalism	9.0
Theft of motorcycle	1.8
Theft of bicycle	4.2
(Owners)	
Theft of car	7.0
Theft from car	28.9
Car vandalism	18.0
Theft of motorcycle	11.5
Theft of bicycle	12.3
Burglary with entry	21.2
Attempted burglary	14.7
Robbery	8.3
Personal theft	18.6
Sexual incidents	8.9
Assault/threat	6.6
Consumer fraud	29.9
Corruption	n.a.

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 3: Reported crimes

	%
Theft of car	100.0
Theft from car	71.1
Car vandalism	73.2
Theft of motorcycle	86.7
Theft of bicycle	81.7
Burglary with entry	74.3
Attempted burglary	53.3
Robbery	65.8
Personal theft	28.4
Sexual incidents	28.6
Assault/threat	66.0

Table 4: Crime seriousness*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Very serious	78.9	73.2	70.2	56.9	59.8	80.9	82.1	74.9	75.0	80.0
Fairly serious	17.8	20.8	28.5	41.2	40.2	14.3	17.3	24.1	16.7	14.9

Not serious	3.3	1.3	1.3	2.0		4.8		1.0	8.3	5.2
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* Percentage based on victims of specific crimes.

Table 5: Crime prevention measures*

	%
Installed burglar alarm	10.5
Installed door locks	38.0
installed window/door grills	63.9
Maintain watchdogs	29.6
High fence	32.9
House has a caretaker	24.2
None of these	
Others	
Ask somebody to watch home	52.6
Neighbours watch anyway	18.5
Possession of firearms	10.5
House is insured against burglary	

* Percentages based on total sample of respondents.

ENGLAND AND WALES

Patricia Mayhew¹

England and Wales (England hereafter) took part in both the 1989 and 1992 sweeps of the International Crime Survey (ICS). In 1989, Scotland and Northern Ireland also participated, but did not join the 1992 sweep².

Composition of the 1992 sample

Details of the sample are shown in Table 1, based on data weighted to maximise the representativeness of the sample in terms of household size, age, gender and regional distribution. Most respondents described their area as being "middle status"; 11% placed themselves in a "higher status" area - lower than the proportions in the Netherlands, Belgium, Canada and Sweden. Only those in Italy (28%) were more likely to describe their area as lower status than those in England (11%).

The conduct of the 1992 survey in England

Field work was conducted by the same survey company as was involved in 1989 (Burke Marketing Research Limited) though with a different management team. Interviews took place mainly between January and the end of February 1992. All interviews were conducted by computed-assisted telephone interviewing (telephone ownership in England in 1992 is estimated to be 88%)³. The sample was designed to be nationally representative of those aged 16 or more.

The standard 1992 ICS questionnaire was used, with two small deviations. One was the addition of some extra phrases to reassure respondents preceding the questions on crime prevention precautions. The other was the offer of a letter from the Home Office verifying the credentials of the survey (see below). The interviewing language was English, with no translation for ethnic minorities. Interviewers were briefed by the national co-ordinator (Patricia Mayhew), who also attended some interviewing sessions.

Field work in 1989 indicated that English respondents were wary of being telephoned to answer questions about crime, and were particularly suspicious of being asked what security precautions they take. An unusually large number of respondents had called the Home Office to verify the credentials of the survey. To

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 2. On 1989 results, risks in Scotland were broadly similar to those in England for most crimes, though risks of assaults with force were rather higher, and women in Scotland appeared to face a higher risk of sexual assaults. Risks in Northern Ireland were generally much lower than on the mainland, and indeed than in most other countries. This is no doubt because Northern Ireland is not a highly urbanised country, and - religious strife apart - social communities are likely to be closely knit.
 3. A listing of known numbers was used as the sampling frame, with the last digit replaced by a randomly generated number - in effect giving a "random digit dialling" procedure, which would cover unlisted numbers.

try and avoid this problem, respondents in 1992 were offered - both at the beginning and end of the interview - the chance of receiving a letter from the Home Office. An appreciable number of respondents took up this offer, many of whom still telephoned the Home Office as well. In all, about 75 respondents telephoned, a proportion of these also phoning their local police station⁴.

Response rates

The acceptability of telephone interviews seems to be a matter of national temperament, and it is fairly well-established that achieving high response rates in England is difficult. The ICS response rate in 1989 England was 42.5% - rather lower than in other countries with the exception of West Germany, Spain, Belgium, the USA and Scotland.

Guidelines laid down by the British Market Research Society specify that unwilling respondents should not be re-telephoned by other interviewers, or at other times. This severely restricted the use of recall procedures which were adopted in other countries to improve response. This, and a possible decline in national tolerance for telephone interviews, is reflected in a still poor response rate in the 1992 survey of 38.4% - the lowest figure among the participating countries.

The effect of low response on victimisation estimates in the 1992 English survey is difficult to assess, particularly in relation to other countries where response was higher. Previous analysis of the 1989 survey results failed to show any definite pattern whereby countries with low response had higher victimisation rates - which would be predicted on the argument that those "with something to say" were more likely to agree to an interview. Moreover, with the exception of England, response rates were higher in the countries which participated in the 1989 and 1992 surveys, and this was accompanied by an increase in overall prevalence rates - albeit not as marked as in England⁵. Analysis below indicates that levels of victimisation in England in 1991 according to the ICS are much in line with those from the national victimisation survey - the British Crime Survey - which measured crime in the same year. On the face of it, this suggests that estimates from the former (1989) survey were under-estimated relative to those from the 1992 survey. Nonetheless, taking account of sampling error, the slight lowering of the response rate in England does not entirely rule out the possibility either that, relative to 1989, victims were slightly over-represented among respondents in the 1992 survey.

The final valid sample in 1992 was 2,001, out of an issued sample of 9,340, and 5,208 valid contacts.

Victimisation rates

Rates of victimisation can be expressed in various ways. The rates presented here are personal prevalence rates: ie. the percentage of those aged 16 or more

4. Although Chief Officers of Police in all police forces in England had been informed before the start of field work that interviewing was to take place, it was probably inevitable that the message had not filtered down to the local stations, where officers were often confused by the survey and themselves phoned the contact number.

5. See Part 1 by Jan van Dijk and Pat Mayhew.

who experienced a specific form of crime once or more⁶. Prevalence rates are not sensitive to differential proneness to multiple victimisation, but rather reflect how many of the population are afflicted by crime at all, either individually or as a member of a household.

The ICS allows estimates for both the calendar year preceding the survey, and for the last five years. Findings about the last year will be most accurate, because less serious incidents which took place some time ago tend to be forgotten. This memory loss explains in part the fact that victimisation rates over five years are much less than five times as high as the calendar year rate: for England, five year rates are on average about three times higher.

Victimisation over the past five years

The percentage of respondents who said they had been victimised once or more, by different types of crimes over the last five years is shown in Table 2, together with sampling error at the 5% significance level.

According to the 1992 survey, the most likely offences to have been experienced over the last five years were car vandalism and thefts from cars, with more than a quarter of owners having fallen victim. Having a burglar in the house was reported by one in ten respondents; and having a burglar try to get into the house by roughly the same proportion. About one in eight people had experienced a theft of some of their personal property, or an assault/threat over the last five years.

Victimisation in 1991

Table 3 shows the percentage of respondents who reported being a victim of different types of crime in 1991. Slightly more than one in ten car owners had experienced some criminal damage to their car; and one in ten a theft from their car. More than one in twenty bicycle owners (5.7%) had their bicycle stolen. Burglars had entered the home of three in a hundred respondents; and a similar figure applied for attempted burglaries.

Trends since 1988

On five-year risks, the 1992 survey indicates an increase for all categories of crime which were covered in the two surveys. The biggest increases were for:

- theft of motorcycle (though numbers are small)
- sexual incidents
- assaults and threats
- thefts from cars
- theft of bicycles

⁶. Incidence rates - a common alternative - express the number of individual crimes experienced by the sample as a whole, counting *all* incidents against victims. Incidence rates allow a calculation of the overall number of crimes committed in a country (derived by multiplying incidence rates estimates for the survey population to the total population). However, with the present sample size this would be hazardous.

- attempted burglary

For comparable crime, the proportion of respondents who had been a victim of one or more of the survey crimes over the past five years has increased from 46% according to the 1989 survey to 61% according to the 1992 one. However, these figures are not firm indicators of five-year risks. This is partly because respondents are unlikely to cope well with the task of remembering events over a long period. Also, some inevitable memory distortion, whereby events are "pulled forward" in time, may undermine the trend data if there are changes in crime levels over the respective five-year recall periods. The later years of the five-year period asked about in the 1989 survey were characterised by lower levels of increase in recorded crime, whereas the later years covered by the 1992 survey saw much higher increases in crimes known to the police. Table 4 illustrates the point.

Comparing crime in the calendar years 1988 and 1992, for crime categories for which figures are reasonably reliable, the ICS shows increases on prevalence rates for:

bicycle theft (owners) 104%	robbery 57%
assaults/threats 100%	vandalism (owners) 41%
sexual incidents 75%	theft from cars (owners) 37%
theft of cars (owners) 79%	personal thefts 36%
attempted burglary 71%	

Are these fairly sizeable increases borne out by other evidence? Two sources can be drawn on:

- the number of notifiable offences recorded by the police; and
- estimates from the national victimisation survey - the British Crime Survey - which was conducted in 1988 (measuring crime in 1987), and in 1992 (measuring crime in 1991).

A comparison with offences recorded by the police

ICS incidence rates would actually be a better basis for comparison with offences recorded by the police (since they provide a more complete measure of the number of incidents which occurred). However, the increase in ICS prevalence rates between 1988 and 1992 is suggestive enough, though it should be stressed that the ICS figures are subject to sampling and response error, and changes in police figures over the period could reflect either changes in recording practices, and/or an increase in the readiness of victims to report crime.

This said, both sources indicate an appreciable increase in crime between 1988 and 1991, in particular for bicycle theft (which increased by 95% according to police figures and by 104% according to the ICS), and theft of cars (59% and 79% respectively). The trend in violent crime is most out of line - though the respective categories do not match particularly well, and the ICS measure may reflect an unknown degree of response error.

A comparison with the British Crime Survey

Comparison with a contemporaneous English crime survey is better, though in practice differences in survey techniques and the precise nature of the questions asked jeopardise straightforward comparisons. Field work for the last sweep of the British Crime Survey (BCS) was conducted at the same time as the 1992 ICS, though the previous measure of crime from the BCS related to 1987 rather than 1988, as in the case of the ICS⁷. The BCS interviewed in excess of 10,000 adults, by personal interview.

Table 5 presents some comparisons between the change in BCS prevalence risks between 1987-1992, and that from the first and second sweeps of the ICS. Only offence categories - or combinations - which match fairly closely are compared, though the matching is not precise even so.

Actual risks of being a victim are very similar according to the two surveys, with the exception of robbery (for which the BCS may have "tighter" classification procedures). By and large, however, the ICS shows a steeper increase in risks since 1988. There are competing explanations for this. One is that the 1992 BCS has undercounted crime relative to the count in 1987; the other is that the 1988 ICS did so relative to the 1992 ICS. The latter is more likely.

In any event, though, an increase in risks is evident from both surveys. As with recorded crime, the biggest discrepancy is for "violence". Possibly, the 1992 ICS saw a lowering of the "threshold" here, with a broader range of offences being reported in interview. Consistent with this is that the percentage of violent incidents reported was lower according to the 1992 survey than the 1989 one (see below).

Reporting to the police

Thefts of cars and motorcycles, and burglaries with entry were most likely to be reported by victims. The lowest reporting rates were for sexual incidents, car vandalism, and assaults/threats (Table 6). These results are in line with 1988 results, and are not dissimilar in other countries. In terms of the relative frequency with which victims in different countries bring in the police, the 1992 ICS results confirm earlier results that victims in England are among the more ready to report crime.

The proportion of incidents said to have been notified to the police is higher on ICS figures than according to the latest BCS. (For instance, 73% of ICS thefts from cars were reported as against 53% in the BCS.) This may well be because respondents in the ICS, in being asked about the "last incident" they reported, mentioned more memorable events - more memorable perhaps because they were reported to the police. The difference in reporting percentages is also inconsistent with the BCS eliciting a wider range of incidents on account, for instance, of its more extensive "screener" questions.

Reasons for not reporting

⁷. Recorded crime figures between 1987 and 1988 were relatively similar, with the steep increase in recorded crime beginning in 1989.

For many offences, the major reasons for not reporting incidents were that they were not considered serious enough, or victims felt that the police could do little about the matter. Fear of reprisal was rarely mentioned, though a few assault victims cited this. Fear or dislike of the police was also rarely given as a reason for not reporting. Table 7 shows details; attention is drawn to the small number of unreported offences in some crime categories.

Seriousness of crime

A question introduced in the 1992 ICS was how serious victims thought "their" offence had been. Table 8 shows that burglaries with entry, and theft of vehicles were regarded most seriously, in the former case no doubt because of intrusion of privacy, and in the latter probably because of the high potential financial loss involved. Robbery was also generally assessed as serious.

The 1992 ICS results merit further analysis of how victims in different countries differ as regards how seriously they viewed what happened to them. Preliminary inspection indicates a general consensus across country as to what offences were most serious, but with those in Italy, New Zealand, Australia and Belgium tending to rank offences more seriously, and those in the Netherlands and Sweden least seriously.

Victim support

Those who had reported one or more offences to the police over the last five years were asked which type of offence they had last reported and whether they had received support to cope with the effects of the crime. The type of help forthcoming will obviously vary with the particular crime experienced - with less serious offences eliciting less support than those which would be regarded, by friends and others, as being potentially more upsetting. In England, reflecting the overall profile of victimisation, the last offence most likely to have been drawn to the attention of the police was: car vandalism (24% of "last" offences reported), and theft from a car (20%). About one in ten reporters had last reported a burglary with entry, a theft of personal property and an assault/threat.

Some 45% of victims said they had received help from family and friends. The police had given help to 28%, with other groups or agencies infrequently mentioned - eg, social welfare agencies (2%), religious organisations (2%), and voluntary organisations (1%).

Although only a small proportion (2.3%) received help from a specialised victim support agency, the figure was rather higher than for those in the other seven 1992 countries to whom the question was put. "Victim Support" in the UK has been one of the most rapidly expanding voluntary sectors, and the ICS result bears some small testimony to their work. Asked whether they thought the services of a victim support agency would have been useful, 25% of victims said it would have been, with higher figures for women, the elderly and those with below average income. Among particular types of victim, the figure was higher too.

Attitudes towards the police

Two questions tap attitudes to the police: the first assessing opinion about how good a job the police do in the local area; the second the performance of the police after victims have reported an offence to them. Levels of satisfaction with the police according to both questions were high, with two-thirds saying the police did a good job locally, and seven out of ten victims being satisfied with the police response when they reported a crime. There seems to be a small downward shift in satisfaction with the general performance of the police locally since 1988 (Table 9).

Over a quarter (26%) of respondents in England said they saw the police pass by in their street on foot or in a car at least once a day; 21% said it was at least once a week. Even so, nearly six out of ten (57%) respondents wanted more police presence; slightly more than a third (37%) thought policing levels at present were sufficient.

Fear of crime

Results for England from the 1992 ICS indicate some degree of wariness about crime (Table 10). Nearly half of respondents (45%) felt they were very likely or likely to experience a burglary in the next year, a higher figure than in the 1988 survey (35%). Just over a quarter avoided particular areas after dark that they thought risky (25% in 1989), and a third felt a bit or very unsafe walking alone in their area at night. In line with most analyses of fear of crime, wariness was highest among women and city dwellers.

Crime prevention

The level of protection against crime claimed by those in England is shown in Table 11. The fact, as said, that many respondents appeared anxious about being asked about their security habits may have meant that some people exaggerated their protection "just in case" the interviewer was phoning for other purposes. Certainly, the level of burglar alarm ownership is higher than indicated by other sources.

Attitudes towards punishment

Respondents were asked about the sentence they would give to "a man of 21 years old who if found guilty for the second time, having stolen a colour television". In 1992, slightly more people opted for a community service order (40%) than for imprisonment (Table 12). This was a slight increase on the figure from the 1989 survey, although the evidence is still that support for imprisonment is stronger in England (and other "anglophone" countries) than elsewhere.

Just over a third of those who opted for imprisonment favoured a period "inside" of two years or more - or some 14% all told of those who made a firm judgement about their preferred sentence (Table 13)

Conclusions and summary

England and Wales was one of eight countries to participate in both the 1989 and 1992 sweeps of the ICS. Whereas in other countries response rates in 1992 were higher as a result of refined survey procedures, restrictions set by the professional body of survey companies on re-contracting refusers meant that the 1992 response rate in England was no better than in 1989. The effect of this on victimisation risks in England relative to the counts in other countries is difficult to assess, though there is no firm evidence that response rates are a critical factor. Sampling error on estimates from a relatively small sample, possible differences in interviewer performance between sweeps, and other unknown sources of response bias may be potentially more important than response rates in assessing results.

Interviewing people about crime on the telephone appears to be difficult in England, with many people reluctant to answer questions, and to accept that the exercise is genuine.

The most likely offences to have been experienced by victims in England were criminal damage to a car, theft from a car, a burglary (or attempt), a theft of some item of personal property, or an assault or threat.

On the evidence of the second ICS, respondents faced higher risks in 1991 than in 1988. This was particularly so for bicycle thefts, assault/threats, sexual incidents, thefts from cars, and attempted burglary. This picture is generally consistent with an increase in offences recorded by the police, and with an increase in risks as measured by the British Crime Survey. However, the increase in violence (assaults/threats and sexual incidents) between 1988 and 1991 according to the ICS is more pronounced than that from the other two indicators. These offences are among the most difficult to measure in surveys, and there is reason to be suspect about whether "like is being compared with like". The 1991 counts may be more reliable than those for 1988.

Levels of reporting to the police vary in England (as elsewhere) according to the seriousness of what happened, but compared to other countries victims are highly likely to bring in the police. Most do so when they have a car, motorcycle or bicycle stolen, or when they experience a burglary.

Thefts of vehicles and burglary were considered the more serious of the incidents which respondents reported to interviewers.

Most people were satisfied with the job the police did in their local areas, and among those who reported a crime, satisfied with the police response. Between a third and a quarter were less than happy. Nearly six out of ten respondents wanted to see more police on a regular basis in their area.

There is wariness about crime in England. Nearly half of respondents felt they were likely or very likely to be burgled in the next year, and a third overall felt unsafe in their local area after dark. Over two-thirds of people claimed to have installed special door locks against intruders, and to have asked someone to watch their home when they were away.

Opinion was fairly divided as to the most appropriate sentence for a 21-year old recidivist burglar, but most opted for community service or a sentence of imprisonment. Imprisonment gained more support than in Europe generally.

TABLES

Table 1: Composition of the 1992 ICS England and Wales sample

Male			51%
Female			49%
Age	Male	Female	Total
16-34	34%	35%	35%
35-54	32%	32%	32%
54+	34%	32%	33%
Status of residential area			
Higher status			11%
Middle status			76%

Lower status			11%
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Table 2: Percentage of respondents victimised over the last five years¹

% victim once or more, last five years (1992 ICS)	
Theft of car	9.8 +/- 1.3
Theft from car	22.7 +/- 1.8
Car vandalism	26.8 +/- 1.9
Theft of motorcycle	1.9 +/- 0.6
Theft of bicycle	7.6 +/- 1.2
(Owners) ²	
Theft of car	11.5 +/- 1.5
Theft from car	26.6 +/- 2.1
Car vandalism	31.4 +/- 2.2
Theft of motorcycle	16.2 +/- 4.7
Theft of bicycle	14.2 +/- 2.1
Burglary with entry	10.9 +/- 1.4
Attempted burglary	9.1 +/- 1.3
Garage/shed break-in	8.6 +/- 1.2
Robbery	2.6 +/- 0.7
Personal theft	12.0 +/- 1.4
Sexual incidents ³	5.9 +/- 1.4
Assaults/theats	11.7 +/- 1.4
Crimes comparable with 1989 ICS ⁴	60.6 +/- 2.2

1. Prevalence rates are shown with the range in which they are likely to lie taking sampling error into account at the 5% significance level, assuming a simple random sample.
2. Total respondents: 2,001; car owners: 1,711; motorcycle owners: 233; bicycle owners: 1,073; women: 1,024.
3. Sexual incidents based on women only.
4. Excluding garage/shed break-ins and consumer fraud, which were not covered in the 1989 survey.

Table 3: Percentage of respondents victimised in 1991¹

% victim once or more in 1991 (1992 ICS)	
Theft of car	3.7 +/- 0.8
Theft from car	8.6 +/- 1.2
Car vandalism	10.6 +/- 1.3
Theft of motorcycle	0.4 +/- 0.3
Theft of bicycle	3.0 +/- 0.7
(Owners) ²	
Theft of car	4.3 +/- 1.0
Theft from car	10.0 +/- 1.4
Car vandalism	12.4 +/- 1.6
Theft of motorcycle	3.2 +/- 2.3
Theft of bicycle	5.7 +/- 1.4
Burglary with entry	3.0 +/- 0.7
Attempted burglary	2.9 +/- 0.7
Garage/shed break-ins	3.5 +/- 0.8
Robbery	1.1 +/- 0.5
Personal theft	4.2 +/- 0.9
Sexual incidents ³	2.1 +/- 0.9
Assaults/threats	3.8 +/- 0.8
Consumer fraud	6.7 +/- 1.1
Crimes comparable with 1989 ICS ⁴	30.2 +/- 2.0

1. Prevalence rates are shown with the range in which they are likely to lie taking sampling error into account at the 5% significance level, assuming a simple random sample.

2. Total respondents: 2,001; car owners: 1,711; motorcycle owners: 233; bicycle owners: 1,073; women: 1,024.
3. Sexual incidents based on women only.
4. Excluding garage/shed break-ins and consumer fraud, which were not covered in the 1989 survey.

Table 4: Five-year recall periods 1989 and 1992 ICS, and % change in recorded crime

1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
ICS-1	ICS-1	ICS-1	ICS-1	ICS-1			
			ICS-2	ICS-2	ICS-2	ICS-2	ICS-2
% change in recorded crime							
+3	+7	+1	-5	+4	+17	+16	+11 ¹

1. First six months of 1992 compared with first six months of 1991.

Table 5: Comparison between British Crime Survey and ICS prevalence risks¹

	% adults victim once or more, 1991 BCS	% increase 1987-1991 BCS	% adults victim once or more, 1991 ICS	% increase 1988-1991 ICS
Car damage ²	10.0%	15%	10.6%	56%
All car crime ^{3,5}	19.9%	17%	19.0%	61%
Burglary ⁴	5.1%	11%	5.3%	51%
Bicycle theft ⁵	5.6%	37%	5.7%	104%
Robbery	0.4%	33%	1.1%	57%
Violence ⁶	5.6%	12%	5.2%	79%

- For "household crimes" (the first four in the list), BCS figures have been weighted on an adult base rather than is usual BCS practice on a household base. This replicates ICS weighting more closely.
- BCS figures include attempted thefts of/from cars where the evidence of the attempt was likely to be damage. The ICS is likely to have picked these up under "vandalism". Both rates based on owners.
- Car crime: theft of cars; theft from cars; car vandalism (ICS). Car vandalism and attempts (BCS).
- Burglary with entry, and attempts.
- Based on owners.
- Sexual incidents; robbery; assaults/threats.

Table 6: Percentage of crime reported to the police, 1988 and 1992 (ICS)¹

	1988 ICS %	1992 ICS %	N (1992)
Theft of car	100	94	196
Theft from car	73	73	454
Car vandalism	33	37	537
Theft of motorcycle	100	94	38
Theft of bicycle	70	75	153
Burglary with entry	88	96	219
Attempted burglary ²		54	182
Robbery	71	51	52
Personal theft	56	51	241
Sexual incidents (women only)	8	16	60
Assaults/threats	47	41	235

1. Based on the last crime of a particular type experienced over the past five years.
2. Reporting for attempted burglaries was not covered in the 1989 survey.

Table 7: Reasons for not reporting¹

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/ threat %
Not serious enough	15	61	61	55	27	49	32	38	38	31
Solved it myself	32	2	3	7		3	5	11	16	16
Inappropriate for police	16	13	17	11		14	14	12	23	16
Other authorities			3	7	8	4	9	18	6	8
My family solved it			1	2		1	4	2	4	3
No insurance			1							
Police could do nothing		24	23	22	40	28	19	25	8	16
Police won't do anything		9	9	27	10	9	19	7	7	15
Fear/dislike police		<1					5		4	4
Didn't dare		1	1							7
Other reasons	46	3	4	1	15	6	9	7	8	7
Don't know			1		3					2
N	10	112	330	34	28	77	23	118	51	135

1. Percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police - multiple answers possible.

Table 8: Crime seriousness¹

	Very serious %	Fairly serious %	Not very serious %	N
Theft of car	44	32	23	196
Theft from car	17	31	53	454
Car vandalism	13	22	65	537
Theft of motorcycle	39	42	20	38
Bicycle theft	19	39	42	153
Burglary/entry	66	24	10	219
Attempted burglary	30	33	38	182
Robbery	40	40	20	52
Personal theft	26	34	40	241
Sex incidents	35	35	30	60
Assaults/threats	39	29	33	235

1. Based on the last crime of a particular type experienced over the past five years.

Table 9: Attitudes to the police

	1988 ICS	1992 ICS
Police do a good job in local area ¹	69.6%	65.9%
Respondents satisfied with police response ²	70.8%	71.8%

1. "Don't know" answers included.
2. Based on last incident reported over last five years.

Table 10: Concern about crime: England (1992 ICS)

	%
Feel burglary very likely in next year	10
Feel burglary likely in next year	35
Avoid certain areas after dark	27
Feel a bit unsafe walking alone after dark	20
Feel very unsafe walking alone after dark	13

Table 11: Crime prevention measures¹

	%
Installed burglar alarm	22
Installed special door locks	68
Installed special window/door grills	27
Maintain watchdog	31
Refused to reply	2
Have a high fence	38
Have caretaker (or security guard)	2
Other	1
None of these	10
Ask somebody to watch home when away	69
Neighbour watches anyway	11
Own firearms	4
N	2,001

1. Percentages based on total sample of respondents - multiple answers possible.

Table 12: Sentence preferred for 21 year old recidivist burglar

Sentence	1989 ICS	1992 ICS
	%	%
Fine	11	9
Prison	38	37
Community service	38	40
Suspended sentence	5	7
Any other sentence	3	3
Don't know	5	4
N	2,006	2,001

Table 13: Length of prison sentence preferred for 21 year old recidivist burglar (those opting for imprisonment)¹

	%		%
1 month or less	4	3 years	7
2 - 6 months	21	4 years	<1
6 months - 1 year	17	5 years	7
1 year	16	6 years or more	3
2 years	18	Don't know	6

1. Based on n = 747.

Table 14: Comparison between offences recorded by the police and ICS measure (prevalence rates): 1988-1991

	Number of offences recorded by the police	1989/1991 ICS: prevalence rates
	% increase 1998-1991	
Vandalism ¹	38%	41%
Burglary ²	42%	51%
Bicycle theft ³	95%	104%
Theft of cars ^{3,4}	59%	79%
Theft from cars	47%	37%
Robbery	44%	57%
Assaults ⁵	20%	100%
Not really comparable/ too unstable		
Burglary/entry		43%
Attempted burglary		71%
Sexual incidents		75%

1. Recorded offences: all criminal damage. ICS: criminal damage to cars and vans only. Based on owners.

2. Recorded offences: burglary in dwelling. All ICS burglaries (with entry and attempts).

3. ICS: Bicycle and vehicle owners.

4. All vehicles including commercial vehicles, and including attempts.

5. Recorded offences: woundings. ICS: assaults/threats.

FINLAND

Kauko Aromaa¹

Description of sample

The sample was nationwide, representing all Finnish-speaking adults resident in Finland. The Swedish-speaking minority (6% of the population) was excluded from the sample frame. The gross sample covered 2,354 Finns aged 15 years or older. The net sample consisted of 1,924 persons.

Since the data of the International Crime Survey and the 1989 national survey referred to a sample of respondents aged 16 years and over, this requirement was also followed in the 1992 survey.

The sampling procedures differed to some extent from those used in the 1989 survey. The sample was drawn from the Central Population Register which contains data on the whole Finnish population in alphabetic order. The company carrying out the interviews, Statistics Finland, prefer this system to the random dialing system because of the better quality of population register samples.

Although it is not possible to reach the whole population by telephone, a telephone number was found for 81.7 per cent of the persons in the gross sample. It has been estimated that, although over 90 per cent (94-95%) of Finns can be reached by telephone, a high proportion of them are not listed on the published telephone directories (Statistics Finland is presently preparing a technical report on the consequences of complementing the telephone sample with face-to-face interviews in a victimisation survey similar to the 1992 survey. Preliminary results indicate that, under Finnish conditions, the effects are not very great).

A letter of introduction was sent to all interviewees before the interview, explaining the aim of the study, the sample frame and the confidential nature of the study. The letter also asked those persons who are not registered in the telephone directories to provide a number where they could be reached, and this resulted in about 50 new telephone numbers.

The method used in 1992 proved more effective than that used in 1989. This difference, however laudable, is a possible source of measurement differences, as it implies that the 1992 data include more violence-prone persons than the 1989 data, and this tends to be confirmed, in fact, by the preliminary results. In general terms, Statistics Finland assumes that the results of the 1992 survey are comparable to the 1989 survey.

Data collection technique

The interviews were carried out exclusively by telephone, using the CATI technique (Blaise).

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The interview team was comparable to an interview company: Statistics Finland maintains an interview organisation that relies on a network of trained interviewers. In this case, fifteen women and one man, for a total of 16 interviewers, were engaged in the field work. The majority of the interviews were performed in a centralised fashion under the direction of Statistics Finland in Helsinki. About one-fourth of the field work was done by ten interviewers with portable computers, working at home; this part, as all others, of the sample was allocated to the interviewers randomly. The interviewers went through a one and a half day working session immediately before initiating the actual field work.

Particular problems have not been listed systematically in this preliminary report.

The questionnaire was translated from the English language original. The 1989 questionnaire was used as a reference although questions related to consumer fraud were omitted. The interviewers found question COL 110 troublesome and unreliable and therefore this item was not included in the data file.

Data were collected between February 21 and March 31, 1992. The questionnaire was administered only in the Finnish language.

Response rate and recontacting

The net response rate was 86%, and the gross response rate was 70.2% (Table 1).

Refusals did not present a major problem. A total of 79 persons (3.4% gross, 4.2% net) refused to participate. Other reasons for non-participation were illness or inability to participate - 56 persons; inability to establish a contact (i.e. the person could not be contacted) - 90 persons; and other reasons - 39 persons.

If a respondent could not be reached at the first attempt, several new attempts were made until the completion of the field work period.

This resulted in 1,655 completed interviews of persons aged 15 years or older. For purposes of international comparison, and for comparison with the first 1989 sweep of this survey, the lower age limit is 16, and thus the number of completed interviews is 1,620. The composition of the respondents in the completed interviews is reproduced in Table 2.

The 1992 survey appeared to be an improvement on the 1989 survey, and this is reflected in the much lower refusal rate and a better overall response rate.

Victimisation rates

The main results regarding victimisation rates are presented in Tables 3 and 4. The prevalence rates for 5 years and 1 year respectively were calculated from the population aged 16 and over. The items "consumer fraud" and "corruption" were not included in the Finnish version of the 1992 questionnaire.

The highest prevalence rate for the one-year period referred to damage to cars. Bicycle theft and assault or threatening behaviour ranked second. As compared with the 1989 survey, the data show slightly higher rates for almost all types of offences covered in the survey. Identical rates to the 1989 results were found only in house burglary, pickpocketing and physical assault. The rate for "other personal theft" is lower than in 1989. It is felt that the slightly higher victimisation rates may (in part)

result from the higher response rate - the higher the response rate, the more likely it is that high-risk persons are included in the interviews.

During the 1989 survey, Finland was classified as a low-crime country compared to the European rates. This conclusion still holds true for the 1992 survey: bicycle theft and personal violence are still the only offences for which Finland exceeds the 1989 European average.

Reasons for not reporting

Table 5 gives the reporting rates for the most recent incident in each crime category. Theft of car and theft of motorcycle were almost always reported, while house burglary with entry ranked third. Theft from car and bicycle theft were also reported in more than half of the cases. Personal incidents were reported much less often, a result which corresponds to findings of many previous studies. An almost identical reporting level was found in the 1989 survey, albeit with a few minor variations.

Table 6 presents reasons for not reporting the most recent incident to the police, item by item. Typical choices were that the offence was "not serious enough" and "police could do nothing". For some items, "solved it myself" and "police won't do anything" were frequently mentioned. In personal contact crimes the respondent often answered with "solved it myself" which is quite understandable; in such events, the offender is more likely to be personally known to the victim than in, say, cases of car theft or car vandalism.

Crime seriousness

Table 7 presents the victims' only assessment of the seriousness of the most recent victimisation experienced, according to each category of incident. The results indicate a wide variation in the evaluations of the level of seriousness, the most serious offences being theft of car and burglary with entry (i.e. the same offences that were most often reported to the police). Those incidents that were most often judged as being "not serious" were thefts from car, car vandalism and sexual incidents. These data were not identical to the data of the 1989 survey.

It might be a good idea to develop this point further, for example, by asking all the respondents some questions about the seriousness of crime. This might be done by providing a few very concrete event descriptions (as in the question on sentences that should be given to offenders). It would obviously also be interesting to cross-tabulate this item with reporting the events to the police and reasons for not reporting them.

Victim support

The 1992 questionnaire examined the subject of victim support in greater detail than the 1989 questionnaire. In 1989, only two questions were asked, both referring to special victim support agencies. In 1992, the victims were asked in a more general manner whether they had received any support from friends, relatives, or a number of other sources. The second question of the 1989 survey, asking the respondents whether they thought they might have benefitted from the services of a

special victim support agency, was phrased in almost - but not quite - the same way as in 1992; it would therefore be possible to compare the answers of both sweeps.

Organised victim support is not very widespread in Finland and is limited mainly to shelters for victims of domestic violence, and a few assistance telephones run by a few voluntary organisations. Also, a system of state compensation for damage caused by crime has existed since 1974. If the answers to this topic (whether the respondent had received support from a special agency) is to be examined in greater detail, it might be necessary to ask what kind of special organisation the respondent had in mind.

The percentages of victims receiving help varied as shown in Table 8. Men received less support than women from the two most important sources in Finland. Due to a programming error in the computerised questionnaire, those victims who stated that they had not received support from "a specialised agency to help crime victims" were not asked whether they thought they would have benefitted from such agencies (i.e. this question was not asked at all).

Attitudes towards the police

Overall, respondents were rather satisfied with the way police reacted to reported crimes. 70% of the men and 72% of the women who had reported an offence said they were satisfied with the way the police had dealt with the incident.

Table 9 provides percentages of satisfied victims according to gender and type of crime.

Nevertheless, dissatisfaction was also rather common, the most common reasons provided being "didn't do enough" (25%) and "were not interested" (14%). Table 10 lists these reasons according to the gender; men tended to think that the police didn't do enough more than women, whereas women pointed out more often than men that the police did not find the offender or were slow to arrive. In general, however, these gender differences are rather small.

Although, given the small numbers of relevant cases, a cross-tabulation of reasons for dissatisfaction by type of offence is not very meaningful, a certain consistency does however exist in this relationship. Car theft, for instance, was unusually often combined with "police did not keep me informed". Similarly, in the case of theft from car, the complaint often was that police did not recover the lost property or that they were too slow to arrive. In cases of car vandalism, the police didn't do enough or did not find the perpetrator. In cases of bicycle theft, respondents stated that the police were not interested, did not recover the property, or did not keep the victim informed. In burglary cases, the "police didn't do enough" was the most frequent reply, while in cases of personal theft, respondents complained that the property was not recovered. In assault cases, the most common complaint was that the police were not interested or did not treat the victim correctly. It is possible, at this point, to discern an emerging pattern whereby the complaints are based on a conflicting definition of the importance of the matter at hand; those rather unserious events that are often considered by the police as both unimportant and useless to investigate, are considered important by the victim.

Satisfaction with the way police control crime in the area was rather high, and may reflect the fact that Finland has a rather low crime rate. However, the percentages of those who claimed that the police are doing a good job are likely to

vary according to various dimensions, such as age, gender and regional distribution, and by the fact that a respondent has been victimised or not.

Fear of crime

Fear of crime was measured in an indirect manner. Three questions were posed, two of which were related to street crime, and one to the risk of house burglary. Two of these questions had also been included in the 1989 questionnaire.

Fear of crime, as measured by the 1992 indicators, was generally limited (see Table 12).

According to the 1992 survey, the Finnish public is not very worried about house burglary. 13.7 per cent thought that such an event over the next twelve months was likely or very likely; 79 per cent thought it was not likely. No differences between men and women were registered in this respect.

Feeling unsafe in the street after dark was more common, in particular among women. Most (93%) of the men felt fairly safe or very safe, whereas one-fourth (27%) of the women felt a bit unsafe or very unsafe. This difference is also reflected in the measures taken when going out - one-tenth of the men but one-third of the women had avoided certain places or certain people the last time they went out after dark. Also, seven per cent of the women said they never go out compared to only one per cent of the men. A breakdown by age showed that the "never go out" were almost exclusively elderly women.

Crime prevention

Crime prevention was measured by reading out a number of possible protective measures that might be taken in order to prevent house burglary.

The respondents had resorted to various crime prevention measures as shown in Table 13. The listed measures are rather unusual in Finland. Special door locks were the most commonly used burglary prevention measure and were reported by one-fifth of the respondents of both genders. Finland also shows a very low level of house burglaries (in the 1989 European comparison).

Some of the indicators used in the survey are ambiguous as to their validity as an active crime prevention measure: caretakers or janitors are usually not employed as a form of burglary prevention, although their presence can make other measures unnecessary. Moreover, in Finland nowadays caretakers are only used for maintenance purposes, and therefore represent a rather weak form of crime prevention measure. They are generally employed in multi-storey flats, where high fences are not used as a defence against burglaries; high fences are more appropriate in the case of detached or semi-detached houses which are less common in Finland than in many other countries. The item related to dogs is also problematic since dogs are likely to be kept for reasons other than crime prevention. Nevertheless it can be presumed that, if a dog is kept, it probably will be considered as a possible burglar-deterrent, again making the need for other measures seem superfluous. Although these problems are probably well known, it will be very difficult to provide a more detailed analysis of crime prevention behaviour with the present quality of data on this matter. Other forms of crime prevention behaviour covered by the survey were measured by questions related to neighbourhood co-

operation, possession of firearms, and burglary insurance (this last question was not included in the Finnish 1992 survey). However, these indicators are difficult to interpret. Many Finnish households (one out of four) possess firearms, usually rifles or shotguns for hunting purposes but which may also be used for crime protection; only six per cent of the households possessed handguns.

Neighbourhood protection measures are also difficult to compare since they depend very much on the general characteristics of the neighbourhood, and not only on the respondent's relationship with crime prevention behaviour. It was rather usual for the Finnish respondents to ask the neighbours or the caretaker to watch one's home: 39 per cent of the respondents said they had done so, but an additional 10 per cent said the neighbours would watch anyway, resulting in about half (49.2%) saying they did not resort to this preventive measure.

The results were rather similar to those of the 1989 survey, although a direct comparison cannot be made since the question was put in a somewhat different way.

Attitudes towards punishment

The survey question used for this problem was the same as in the 1989 survey. Table 14 presents the 1992 distributions.

In 1989, popular attitudes were clearly more in favour of fines and suspended sentences. This probably highlights a change in attitudes resulting from social innovation: community service was actually introduced in the Finnish criminal justice system in 1991. This has probably resulted in an increased awareness of the meaning of this penal sanction, and consequently a much larger proportion of the respondents chose this alternative in 1992.

Popular attitudes seem to be in clear conflict with the official usage of community service: the survey respondents seem to consider community service as a suitable alternative to fines and suspended sentences whereas the official purpose was to create an alternative to unconditional imprisonment.

TABLES

Table 1: Response/non-response in the gross and net samples

	Persons, whole sample		Persons aged 16 and over	
	N		N	%
Responses	1,655		1,620	86.2
Non-responses	269		259	13.8
Refusals	79		79	4.2
Sick, not able	56		56	3.0
No contact	95		85	4.5
Other reasons	39		39	2.1

Net sample total	1,924	1,879	100.0
No telephone number	432	412	18.0
Gross sample total	2,356	2,291	100.0

Table 2: Respondents of the 1992 Finnish survey by age, gender and region

	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Total
Helsinki area							
Men	10	22	23	21	8	13	97
Women	14	38	32	21	18	29	152
Rest of Southern Finland							
Men	46	65	74	55	43	61	344
Women	55	66	78	61	52	82	394
Central Finland							
Men	29	40	46	26	26	37	204
Women	24	45	35	32	36	47	219
Northern Finland							
Men	10	28	23	12	14	10	97
Women	18	25	18	18	20	14	113
Total							
Men	95	155	166	114	91	121	742
Women	111	174	153	132	126	172	878
Total	206	329	329	246	217	293	1620

Table 3: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	1.6
Theft from car	9.3
Car vandalism	13.7
Theft of motorcycle	0.8
Theft of bicycle	14.5
(Owners)	
Theft of car	1.9
Theft from car	11.3
Car vandalism	16.7
Theft of motorcycle	4.9
Theft of bicycle	15.8
Burglary with entry	1.5
Attempted burglary	2.2
Robbery	2.6
Personal theft	9.7
Theft from garage	7.6
Pickpocketing	5.4
Sexual incidents	10.4
Assault/threat	11.7
Sexual assault	3.9
Assault with force	6.2

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 4: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	0.7
Theft from car	3.0
Car vandalism	5.6
Theft of motorcycle	0.2
Theft of bicycle	4.9
(Owners)	
Theft of car	0.8
Theft from car	3.6
Car vandalism	6.8
Theft of motorcycle	1.5
Theft of bicycle	5.3
Burglary with entry	0.6
Attempted burglary	0.6
Robbery	1.0
Personal theft	3.2
Theft from garage	2.6
Pickpocketing	1.8
Sexual incidents	3.7
Assault/threat	4.1
Sexual assault	0.7
Assault with force	2.0
Consumer fraud	
Corruption	

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 5: Reported crimes

	%
Theft of car	100.0
Theft from car	56.0
Car vandalism	36.0
Theft of motorcycle	92.0
Theft of bicycle	55.0
Burglary with entry	74.0
Attempted burglary	22.0
Robbery	30.0
Personal theft	38.0
Sexual incidents	12.0*

Assault/threat	26.0
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* If only "rape", 53%

Table 6: Reasons for not reporting*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Not serious enough		57.0	51.0	33.0	34.0	81.0	40.0	35.0	55.0	45.0
Solved it myself		1.0	3.0	33.0	18.0		9.0	12.0	11.0	15.0
Inappropriate for police			1.0					1.0	5.0	3.0
Other authorities			1.0		2.0		4.0	10.0		3.0
My family solved it			1.0		7.0				2.0	1.0
No insurance		1.0	4.0		2.0					
Police could do nothing		24.0	24.0	33.0	13.0	19.0	13.0	17.0	10.0	12.0
Police won't do anything		11.0	11.0		13.0		8.0	10.0	5.0	9.0
Fear/dislike police							1.0			
Didn't dare			1.0				1.0		2.0	2.0
Other reasons		4.0	2.0		8.0		1.0	15.0	8.0	9.0
Don't know		1.0	1.0		3.0				1.0	1.0

* Percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police - multiple answers possible.

Table 7: Crime seriousness*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Very serious	67.0	13.0	14.0	30.0	18.0	50.0	43.0	19.0	21.0	33.0
Fairly serious	21.0	47.0	48.0	70.0	54.0	34.0	45.0	57.0	47.0	46.0
Not serious	12.0	40.0	38.0	27.0	12.0	12.0	31.0	31.0	31.0	21.0

* Percentage based on victims of specific crimes.

Table 8: Percentage of victims who received, or would have appreciated receiving support

	Men (%)	Women (%)
Relatives, friends, neighbours	27	41
Police	20	26
Social welfare agencies		1
Religious organisations		
Voluntary organisations		
Specialised agency		
Other	4	3
(N)	(398)	(365)

Table 9: Satisfaction with police (% of victims who reported offence and who declared being satisfied with the way the police dealt with their report)

Offence type (N)	Men (154) %	Women (146) %	Total	
			%	N
Theft of car	75	63	70	20
Theft from car	80	90	85	40
Car vandalism	62	79	70	50
Theft of motorcycle	100	33	67	6
Theft of bicycle	61	74	69	71
Burglary with entry	90	75	86	14
Attempted burglary		50	50	4
Theft from outbuilding	91	67	77	26
Robbery	100		100	2
Personal theft	39	65	53	38
Sexual incidents				1
Assault/threat	74	67	71	28
Total	69	72	71	300

Table 10: Reasons for dissatisfaction (by gender)

Reason	Men (%)	Women (%)	Total (%)
Police didn't do enough	27	21	24
Were not interested	25	28	26
Didn't find/apprehend offender	11	14	13
Didn't recover property	15	12	14
Didn't keep me properly informed	4	8	6
Didn't treat me correctly	11	6	9
Were slow to arrive	4	6	5
Other reasons	4	4	4
Don't know			
Total %	100	100	100
(N)	(57)	(47)	(104)

Table 11: Satisfaction with police in controlling area of residence (by gender)

	Men (%)	Women (%)	Total (%)
Good job	55	51	53
Not a good job	24	22	23
Don't know	21	27	24

Total	100	100	100
(N)	(769)	(849)	(1,619)

Table 12: Fear of/concern with crime (according to three indicators)

	Men (%)	Women (%)
How safe do you feel walking alone in your area after dark?		
Very safe	63	34
Fairly safe	30	38
A bit unsafe	5	21
Very unsafe	2	6
Don't know	0	1
Total %	100	100
The last time you went out after dark, did you avoid certain streets, places or people for reasons of safety?		
Yes	9	32
No	90	59
Don't know/can't remember	0	2
Never go out	1	7
Total %	100	100
What are the chances that over the next twelve months someone will try to break into your home?		
Very likely	1	1
Likely	12	13
Not likely	80	79
Don't know	7	7
Total %	100	100
(N)	(769)	(849)

Table 13: Crime prevention measures (% of respondents by gender)

	Men	Women	Total
Burglar alarm	1.3	0.8	1.0
Special door locks	18.7	21.0	19.9
Special window/door grills	1.0	0.8	0.9
Keep watchdogs	10.3	11.9	11.2
High fence	3.7	2.4	3.0
Caretaker/security guard	9.0	12.8	11.0
Refused to answer	0.7	0.6	0.6
None of these	62.0	58.7	60.3
(N)	(769)	(849)	(1,618)

Table 14: Attitudes towards punishment (sentence to be imposed on recidivist burglary of TV set)

	Men (%)	Women (%)	Total (%)
Fine	12.9	12.4	12.7
Prison	15.5	11.6	13.5
- % in favour of prison sentence of 6 months or more	(40%)	(38%)	(39%)
Community service	53.8	57.9	55.9
Suspended sentence	10.6	11.7	11.2
Other sentence	4.7	1.7	3.1
Don't know	2.5	4.7	3.6

Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
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GEORGIA

Merab Pachulia¹

The International Victimization Survey in Georgia was financed by the Georgian Social Research Center and, in part, by the Georgian Census Committee.

The field work was carried out between 27 April and 30 May 1992. Data entry in mainframe computers and the transferring procedure (into personal computers) was completed on 25 August.

Particular problems encountered

Some financial problems were encountered during the study. As mentioned above, the project was financed by two organisations but political instability in Georgia led to a postponement of the field work and of the project in general. Also, during this period, both Georgia and the ex-Soviet Union territory underwent some economic changes, which mainly took the form of inflation.

The questions related to income were a bit weak; the minimum income was not officially defined.

The Georgian Social Research Center

The Georgian Social Research Center (GSRC), an independent, unaffiliated organisation, was founded in July 1990 by the Georgian Sociological Association (GSA), with the aim of designing and conducting independent surveys, opinion polls, market researches, and so on.

Since its foundation, the GSRC has carried out several surveys throughout Georgia using the method of face-to-face interviews, and several smaller scale studies: telephone surveys in Tbilisi, regional studies and some qualitative research.

Although the GSRC is a commercial organisation, its management is interested in the development of sociology in Georgia. It regularly organises lectures and seminars for students of the Department of Sociology at the University of Tbilisi, and provides some students with GSRC scholarships.

A full service is available for complete professional design, data collection, analysis and interpretation. For confidential reasons no part of a study is contracted out.

The GSRC has contacts with colleagues in Russia, the Baltic Republics, Armenia, the United Kingdom, the USA and Germany.

Interviewers' specifications

Background and experience of interviewers

¹ Georgian Social Research Center, Tbilisi, Georgia.

The field work was conducted by 78 interviewers; most of these were drawn from the Department of Sociology (29) and Psychology (12), and the Faculty of Journalistic Literature (18). The remainder were members of the Georgian Census Committee's permanent interviewers network. Most of the interviewers were female.

In order to improve their qualifications, the GSRC prepared an Interviewers' Training Project whereby the interviewers were trained by GSRC experts. The training programme consisted of the following stages:

- 1) statement of a problem;
- 2) demonstration of the problem by acting out standard situations (role games);
- 3) discussion;
- 4) brief description of the problem involved and ways of solving it;
- 5) re-acting of standard situations;
- 6) examination and fixing of given information;
- 7) final summary of how to solve a given problem.

After the training course, each interviewer had to pass a test.

Sampling

In order to carry out this survey, the experts from the Georgian Social Research Center (GSRC) designed a nationwide, representative, multi-stage probability sample. Taking into account the politically unstable climate and other factors which might negatively affect the response rate, 1,832 respondents were selected for interviewing. All the interviews were face-to-face.

Sampling stages

During the first stage of sampling Georgia was divided, according to geographical and administrative features, into seven primary sampling units (PSUs). Each unit included several regions and each region encompassed between 7 and 17 zones.

The following is a list of the primary sampling units:

- 1) Abkhazia - North-West Georgia;
- 2) Kolkheti - includes parts of West Georgia;
- 3) Adjara - South-West Georgia;
- 4) Kartl-Khakheti - Central and East Georgia;
- 5) Mestkhet-Javakheti - South Georgia;
- 6) Kvemo kartli;
- 7) Tbilisi and Rustavi - this unit includes Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia (divided into 10 zones) and Rustavi. Both were considered as independent regions.

Samachablo (former Osetia) was excluded from the sample frame because of the political instability in this region. Despite this exclusion, statistically almost 95% of the inhabitants of Georgia were covered by the sample.

During the second stage of sampling a set number of regions were chosen for each PSU (all regions were given their own weight).

During the third stage of sampling individuals and household addresses were randomly selected from the passport bureaus and, finally, individuals from each family.

Non-response rates for the individual survey for UNICRI	
Original sample	1,832
Completed cases	1,396
Refusals	114
Respondent was not reached at home after third recall	195
Language problem	32
Wrong address	34
Other	61

General response rate for this survey

$$* = \frac{b}{a} = 0.762$$

Refusal rate

$$\frac{1}{b} = 0.081$$

Note: Abkhazia and Kolkheti had the highest non-response rates; this was due to political tension in the regions.

Gender	1989 population data (official data)	1992 sample
Male	46%	42.9%
Female	54%	57.1%

The pilot study

The pilot study was conducted by GSRC interviewers. The interviewing was carried out in two languages, Georgian and Russian, since about 30% of the population in the Republic of Georgia is not of Georgian nationality. During this stage of the study 9 interviewers were used. Interviewing lasted two days and data were entered into SPSS PC.

Seventy-five copies of the questionnaire were printed for the pilot study, in both Georgian and Russian languages. The respondents were interviewed in Tbilisi and

Akhalkalaki (East Georgia, with a predominantly non-Georgian population). As expected, there was a general unwillingness to respond to questions concerning sexual incidents. After the pilot study, the wordings of some questions were changed in both languages.

In general, the majority of the questions were well accepted and received some interest, probably due to the delicate nature of the problem.

Additional information

The fact that Russia and Georgia have adopted the same economic, political and military system for decades was the main reason why some results from both the Russian and Georgian surveys are almost the same.

Car theft is one of the most widespread forms of crime and this could be explained by several factors. This type of crime is not too difficult to accomplish; in such a chaotic political, social and economic situation there is almost no chance of being caught and, of course, it is very profitable. Car owners consider the seizure of cars by political organisations and for political reasons as car theft. During the last two or three years numerous armed groups with different political affiliations have appeared in all parts of Georgia. At the same time, it is very difficult to prevent car thefts and theft from a car. Co-operation and co-ordination is almost inexistent between the Georgian police and the crime prevention institutions of its neighbouring republics (i.e. Armenia, Azarbaïdjan, etc.). Whereas car theft is more widespread in Georgia than in Russia, car vandalism is more common in Russia than it is in Georgia. It is easier to steal a whole car than parts of it.

The number of bicycles and motorcycles used in Georgia is very low, due to its geographical characteristics and also because this form of transport is not part of the national culture.

Respondents understand burglary as armed burglary of apartments. The burglars themselves try to find the owners at home in order to find out where they keep the money and jewelry. They even intimidate their victims.

Four amnesties during the last two years have resulted in many criminals being released from prison.

Widespread car theft and apartment burglary explains the loss of interest by criminals in robbery or personal theft.

The inclusion of sexual incidents among the questions resulted in a remarkably low response rate. This was the first survey in Georgia to include questions of this type and the respondents therefore found it quite unusual to answer them.

The increase of the professional level of crime and the growth of organised crime is much lower in Georgia than in Russia.

Consumer fraud is quite usual since it is perceived as a normal reward for some services. This is also the case with bribe takers in some government offices.

The respondents believed that it was useless reporting most forms of crime to the police since the latter were unable to do anything against the political forces involved in crime. This is mainly correct in the case of car theft. Alongside the official solutions for some types of crime there exists the traditional institution of "crime resolution" by some important personality who has an influence over local criminals but is also respected by the population.

Compared to Moscow, robbery, sexual abuse and other "contact crimes" are considered to be more serious than other crimes.

The use of house alarms and other security equipment is not widespread among the Georgian population because this type of defence is unreliable, due to problems with the electricity supply, telephones that do not always function, etc. In the countryside neighbours often know one another quite well and therefore it is more common for people to ask someone to keep an eye on the house in Georgia than in Moscow.

The possession of weapons by armed political groups is normal and is also widespread among the population. Although it is illegal to carry a gun, the police are sometimes unable to prevent this.

Attitudes towards the police

Almost seven out of ten victims who reported a crime to the police were unsatisfied with the way they dealt with the report. The population in general feel that the police are unable to do anything against armed gangs.

78.6% of the population was dissatisfied with the work of the police in the local regions.

It must be mentioned at this point that people do not trust the police and try to defend themselves with guns and other weapons, especially in the countryside.

Given the political climate in some regions the police are completely unable to control the situation.

TABLES

Table 1: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	7.0
Theft from car	13.7
Car vandalism	5.9
Theft of motorcycle	0.3
Theft of bicycle	1.6
(Owners)	
Theft of car	14.4
Theft from car	28.0
Car vandalism	12.2
Theft of motorcycle	5.5
Theft of bicycle	8.0
Burglary with entry	10.2
Attempted burglary	7.7
Robbery	5.6
Personal theft	13.9
Sexual incidents	2.9
Assault/threat	4.6

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 2: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	2.7
Theft from car	4.9
Car vandalism	1.9
Theft of motorcycle	
Theft of bicycle	0.3
(Owners)	
Theft of car	5.6
Theft from car	10.1
Car vandalism	3.8
Theft of motorcycle	
Theft of bicycle	1.4
Burglary with entry	2.5
Attempted burglary	2.0
Robbery	1.6
Personal theft	3.5
Sexual incidents	
Assault/threat	0.5
Consumer fraud	65.1
Corruption	20.7

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 3: Reported crimes

	%
Theft of car	57.1
Theft from car	22.0
Car vandalism	24.1
Theft of motorcycle	50.0
Theft of bicycle	9.1
Burglary with entry	50.7
Attempted burglary	35.5
Robbery	21.8
Personal theft	5.7
Sexual incidents	21.7
Assault/threat	4.7

Table 4: Crime seriousness*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Very serious	59.2	20.9	32.5	50.0	4.5	51.4	33.3	15.5	31.2	31.2
Fairly serious	21.4	42.9	33.7		22.7	26.0	25.6	30.4	35.9	35.9
Not serious	3.1	16.7	10.8	25.0	40.9	11.3	1.2	24.2	21.7	10.9

* Percentage based on victims of specific crimes.

GERMANY

Helmut Kury¹

Description of sample

The nationwide survey covered a sample of 4,999 people in East Germany and 2,027 people in West Germany. Tables 1 to 6 present the composition of the sample according to age, gender, income (both East and West Germany), family status, and size of household.

Data collection technique

The interviews were carried out by the interviewing company, GFM-GETA of Hamburg. The interviewers received prior specific training and data collection was then carried out between 9 September and 4 November 1990. Interviews were administered in German, using the face-to-face method.

Response rate and recontacting

Table 7 provides information about the response rate.

Victimisation rates

Table 8a and Table 8b show the prevalence victimisation rates for the 5 year period, for East and West Germany. The highest victimisation rates in both East and West Germany are for theft of bicycle and car vandalism. From a comparison of the victimisation rates in East and West Germany it can be noted that the latter has higher rates for all offences except theft of motorcycle, theft of bicycle and attempted burglary.

It can be seen from Table 9a and Table 9b, which present victimisation rates for the last year of the survey period, that the rates for that year tend to go in the same direction as for the whole survey period. It is surprising to note from a comparison of Tables 8 and 9 that the victimisation rates for the final year under survey are much more than one-fifth higher than those of the whole 5-year period. This difference is too great to be attributed to the effects of recall.

In both East and West Germany most people who were victims of car and motorcycle theft reported this offence to the police. The lowest reporting rate was for sexual incidents.

From a comparison of the reporting rates in East and West Germany, it can be seen that these are higher in West Germany for all offences except car theft, personal theft and assault/threat.

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Reasons for not reporting

Tables 11a and 11b list reasons for not reporting the offence to the police. In East Germany the two most frequently mentioned reasons for not reporting were that the offence was not serious enough and that the police could do nothing. Other categories that were quite often mentioned were "police won't do anything", "inappropriate for the police", and "solved it myself". The results were similar in West Germany, where the most frequently mentioned reasons for not reporting were "police could do nothing", "police won't do anything", "solved it myself", "inappropriate for the police" and "not serious enough". These findings show that reasons for not reporting are linked to a lack of esteem in the competence and capability of the police.

Crime seriousness

No data were available on this subject since the respondents were not asked to evaluate the seriousness of the victimisation experienced.

Victim support

Although only 2.6% of the victims in West Germany were assisted by some form of victim support institution, 20.5% of the victims thought this kind of assistance would have been useful. Since this form of victim support did not exist in East Germany when it was the German Democratic Republic, the victims for this area were asked whether they thought this kind of institution would have been useful and 16.8% of them replied affirmatively.

Attitudes towards the police

Table 13 provides the level of respondents' satisfaction with the police on reporting. As the table shows, more people were dissatisfied with police performance in dealing with their reported offences in East Germany than in West Germany. The reasons for dissatisfaction are shown in Table 14, the main ones being police's lack of interest in the case, and inability of the police to discover the offender. Another frequently mentioned reason was that the police did not find the stolen objects.

Data related to satisfaction with the police in controlling crime in the area of residence are shown in Table 15. Most people in West Germany were of the opinion that the local police do a good or fairly good job in controlling their area of residence. In East Germany the attitudes towards the police are not so positive, however, and a high percentage of the respondents thought that the work of local police is not so good. Furthermore, the percentage of respondents with this opinion increased after 9 November 1989.

Fear of crime

In order to measure fear of crime, the respondents were asked how safe they felt when going out alone at night in their area of residence. As Table 16 shows, in both

East and West Germany most people feel quite or even very secure. In East Germany, on the other hand, much more people feel quite or very insecure than in West Germany; this accounts for the higher degree of fear of crime in East Germany.

Crime prevention measures

Tables 12a and 12b indicate the percentages of crime prevention measures used by the respondents.

Attitudes towards punishment

The respondents were asked what kind of punishment they would propose in the case of a 21-year old who committed burglary for a second time (having stolen a colour TV set). The proposed forms of punishment are listed in Table 17. An interesting result is that in East Germany most people would propose a community service order, whereas in West Germany the majority of the respondents suggested a prison sentence. In general, the respondents in East Germany seemed less punitive in their proposals for punishment than those in West Germany.

TABLES

Table 1: Composition of sample according to age (East and West Germany)

Age	East Germany (%)	West Germany (%)
Under 21	7.4	6.7
21-29	17.1	17.5
30-39	20.6	19.7
40-49	15.9	18.0
50-59	16.5	14.3
60 and over	22.5	23.8

Table 2: Composition of sample according to gender (East and West Germany)

Gender	East Germany (%)	West Germany (%)
Male	47.1	47.9
Female	52.9	52.1

Table 3: Composition of sample according to net household income (East Germany)

Household income (net)	East Germany (%)
Less than 1,000 DM	18.6
Between 1,000 and 2,000 DM	50.9
More than 2,000 DM	27.8

No response	2.7
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Table 4: Composition of sample according to net household income (West Germany)

Household income (net)	West Germany (%)
Less than 600 DM	0.6
Between 600 and 2,500 DM	33.7
Between 2,500 and 3,000 DM	14.3
Between 3,000 and 4,000 DM	16.4
Between 4,000 and 5,000 DM	12.7
More than 5,000 DM	10.6
No response	9.7

Table 5: Composition of sample according to family status (East and West Germany)

Family status	East Germany (%)	West Germany (%)
Married	64.4	56.7
Single	17.2	24.3
Divorced	8.1	6.9
Widowed	10.3	12.0
No response		0.1

Table 6: Composition of sample according to size of household (East and West Germany)

Household size	East Germany (%)	West Germany (%)
1 person	16.9	26.2
2 persons	33.4	34.7
3 persons	24.5	20.7
4 persons	19.7	14.0
5 and more persons	5.5	4.4

Table 7: Response rate (East and West Germany)

	East Germany		West Germany	
	N	%	N	%
Gross sample:	7,500	100.0	3,360	100.0
Non-relevant contacts including:	799	10.7	470	13.9
- Address not found	27	0.4	54	1.6
- Dwelling uninhabited			61	1.8
- No target person in household	5	0.1	84	2.5
- Not covered by sample or singular addresses	719	9.6	223	6.6
- Other reasons for non contact	48	0.6	48	1.4
Adjusted sample	6,701	100.0	2,890	100.0
Relevant unsuccessful contacts including:	1,681	25.1	860	29.8
- Nobody at home	335	5.0	182	6.3
- Failure to contact person after several attempts	215	3.2	122	4.2
- Contact person ill	173	2.6	53	1.9
- Household refused interview	390	5.8	205	7.1
- Person contacted but unavailable during field work	120	1.8	64	2.2
- Contacted person refused	448	6.7	234	8.1
Effectuated interviews	5,020	74.9	2,030	70.2

Unusable interviews	21	0.3	3	0.1
Completed interviews	4,999	74.6	2,027	70.1

Table 8a: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years, 1986-1990): East Germany*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	0.3
Theft from car	4.9
Car vandalism	6.4
Theft of motorcycle	1.9
Theft of bicycle	11.0
(Owners)	
Theft of car	0.4
Theft from car	7.6
Car vandalism	10.1
Theft of motorcycle	7.3
Theft of bicycle	14.9
Burglary with entry	2.1
Attempted burglary	2.2
Robbery	0.7
Personal theft	5.1
Sexual incidents (only women)	2.1
Assault/threat	3.2

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 8b: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years, 1986-1990): West Germany*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	0.8
Theft from car	8.0
Car vandalism	11.3
Theft of motorcycle	0.6
Theft of bicycle	10.1
(Owners)	
Theft of car	1.2
Theft from car	10.4
Car vandalism	14.5
Theft of motorcycle	6.7
Theft of bicycle	14.3
Burglary with entry	2.5
Attempted burglary	1.7
Robbery	1.7
Personal theft	7.1
Sexual incidents (only women)	3.9

Assault/threat	4.1
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* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 9a: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year, November 1989-September 1990): East Germany*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	0.1
Theft from car	1.6
Car vandalism	2.8
Theft of motorcycle	0.6
Theft of bicycle	3.0
(Owners)	
Theft of car	0.2
Theft from car	2.5
Car vandalism	4.4
Theft of motorcycle	2.3
Theft of bicycle	4.1
Burglary with entry	0.5
Attempted burglary	0.8
Robbery	0.3
Personal theft	2.2
Sexual incidents (only women)	0.7
Assault/threat	1.3

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 9b: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year, November 1989-September 1990): West Germany*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	0.3
Theft from car	2.4
Car vandalism	4.6
Theft of motorcycle	0.2
Theft of bicycle	3.6
(Owners)	
Theft of car	0.4
Theft from car	3.1
Car vandalism	5.9
Theft of motorcycle	1.9
Theft of bicycle	5.1
Burglary with entry	0.8
Attempted burglary	0.6
Robbery	0.4
Personal theft	2.3
Sexual incidents (only women)	1.2
Assault/threat	1.9

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 10a: Reported crimes (West Germany)

	%
Theft of car	94.4
Theft from car	86.5
Car vandalism	54.6
Theft of motorcycle	92.3
Theft of bicycle	79.9
Burglary with entry	84.0
Attempted burglary	
Robbery	70.6
Personal theft	46.5
Sexual incidents (women only)	19.0
Assault/threat	25.0

Table 10b: Reported crimes (East Germany)

	%
Theft of car	100.0
Theft from car	45.7
Car vandalism	33.0
Theft of motorcycle	85.3
Theft of bicycle	73.7
Burglary with entry	69.5
Attempted burglary	
Robbery	51.4
Personal theft	51.4
Sexual incidents (women only)	16.4
Assault/threat	29.2

Table 11a: Reasons for not reporting* (East Germany)

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Not serious enough		52.9	60.1	30.0	21.6	38.9	25.0	31.8	19.4	35.4
Solved it myself		2.0	4.9	20.0	14.7	22.2	18.8	6.1	8.3	20.7
Inappropriate for police		19.6	22.4	10.0	8.8	16.7	18.8	15.2	2.8	18.3
Other authorities		5.9	3.5	0.0	0.0	5.6	0.0	4.5	0.0	0.0
My family solved it										
No insurance		6.9	4.9	20.0	8.8	5.6	0.0	0.0	19.4	0.0
Police could do nothing		30.4	25.9	0.0	26.5	27.8	31.3	39.4	13.9	14.6
Police won't do anything		13.7	14.7	10.0	13.7	5.6	25.0	12.1	13.9	18.3
Fear/dislike police		2.0	0.0	0.0	4.9	0.0	6.3	0.0	5.6	7.3
Didn't dare		0.0	0.7	0.0	0.1	5.6	6.3	0.0	8.3	14.6
Other reasons		6.9	9.1	20.0	26.5	11.1	6.3	12.1	13.9	13.4
Don't know										

- * Percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police - multiple answers possible.

Table 11b: Reasons for not reporting* (West Germany)

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/ threat %
Not serious enough		50.0	28.1		9.1		0.0	17.3	7.7	32.7
Solved it myself		4.5	2.2		0.0		28.6	5.7	26.9	21.8
Inappropriate for police		13.6	15.7		9.1		0.0	11.5	11.5	29.1
Other authorities		9.1	6.7		3.0		0.0	3.8	7.7	1.8
My family solved it										
No insurance		13.6	7.9		6.1		0.0	7.7	0.0	0.0
Police could do nothing		36.4	51.7		42.4		42.9	73.1	19.2	23.6
Police won't do anything		13.6	30.3		24.2		42.9	36.5	30.8	14.5
Fear/dislike police		0.0	2.2		0.0		14.3	1.9	19.2	7.3
Didn't dare		0.0	2.2		0.0		14.3	0.0	19.2	12.7
Other reasons		9.1	16.9		33.3		28.6		26.9	23.6
Don't know										

* Percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police - multiple answers possible.

Table 12a: Crime prevention measures* (East Germany)

	%
Installed burglar alarm	
Installed door locks	43.5
Installed window/door grills	7.0
Maintain watchdogs	
High fence	
House has a caretaker	
None of these	
Others	
Ask somebody to watch home	36.0
Neighbours watch anyway	17.9
Possession of firearms	
House is insured against burglary	75.8

* Percentages based on total sample of respondents.

Table 12b: Crime prevention measures* (West Germany)

	%
Installed burglar alarm	
Installed door locks	34.8
Installed window/door grills	27.7
Maintain watchdogs	
High fence	
House has a caretaker	
None of these	
Others	
Ask somebody to watch home	26.9
Neighbours watch anyway	22.8
Possession of firearms	6.0

House is insured against burglary	71.7
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* Percentages based on total sample of respondents.

Table 13: Attitudes towards police on reporting (East and West Germany)

	East Germany (%)	West Germany (%)
Very satisfied	14.3	12.6
Satisfied	33.6	34.5
Rather satisfied	18.8	26.7
Rather dissatisfied	9.3	11.5
Dissatisfied	13.4	8.3
Very dissatisfied	10.6	6.4

Table 14: Reasons for dissatisfaction (East and West Germany)

	East Germany (%)	West Germany (%)
Police has done little	38.5	33.3
Police were not interested	43.0	37.4
Police did not find offender	42.7	59.3
Police didn't find stolen object	32.9	43.9
Police didn't keep me informed	17.8	19.5
Police were unpolite	14.3	17.9
Police too slow to come	5.2	4.9
Other reasons	4.9	11.4

Table 15: Satisfaction with local police (East and West Germany)

	East Germany		West Germany (%)
	Before 9 November 1989 (%)	After 9 November 1989 (%)	
Very good	4.0	2.7	7.4
Good	26.2	21.6	42.4
Fairly good	29.3	28.4	30.3
Not so good	25.1	27.2	11.9
Fairly bad	8.0	10.6	2.4
Very bad	4.5	5.4	1.2
Don't know	2.9	4.0	4.4

Table 16: Fear of walking alone after dark (East and West Germany)

	East Germany (%)	West Germany (%)
Very secure	11.6	13.2
Quite secure	55.2	63.3
Quite insecure	25.1	19.2
Very insecure	7.8	3.9

Table 17: Attitudes towards punishment (East and West Germany)

	East Germany (%)	West Germany (%)
Prison	26.9	32.7
Fine	23.3	16.9
Probation	21.1	19.7
Community service	30.2	30.7
Caution	5.1	2.6
Others	1.4	1.2

GREATER PRETORIA (SOUTH AFRICA)

C.M.B. Naudé, M.M. Grobbelaar and J.J. Nesor¹

Description of sample

A non-probability sample was drawn in the Greater Pretoria region in the Transvaal. In total 6.4% of the South African population live in this area. This region was selected because it is reasonably representative of the population and is comparatively free of political unrest. South Africa is still a fragmented society in terms of residential areas as the law regulating separate living areas, the Group Areas Act, was only abolished in 1991. Although living areas are now integrated, 50 respondents were randomly selected in the following residential areas to intercept specific problems among the population groups:

- Eersterus township (pop. 29,000) - predominantly coloured;
- Atteridgeville township (pop. 184,000) - predominantly black;
- Laudium township (pop. 22,000) - predominantly Asian;
- Eastlynn (pop. 4,379); Hatfield (pop. 3,645); Waterkloof (pop. 3,869) suburbs - predominantly white.

The townships of Eersterus, Atteridgeville and Laudium were sub-divided in terms of low (17 respondents), middle (17 respondents) and high (16 respondents) income areas. In Eersterus and Laudium a street centrally situated in each income area was randomly selected. From here, a household was then randomly selected in each street-block to make up the required number of respondents.

Atteridgeville has few street-blocks, therefore, every tenth house was randomly selected using the same method applied in Eersterus and Atteridgeville. The same random sampling method applied for Eersterus and Laudium was employed in Eastlynn (17 respondents), a low income white area; Hatfield (17 respondents), a middle income white area; and Waterkloof (16 respondents), which is a high income white area.

Age and gender distribution of the respondents is as follows:

Age	16-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+
	8.5%	38.5%	30.5%	12.5%	5.5%	5.0%
Gender	Male			Female		
	46.5%			53.5%		

¹ The researchers, of the Department of Criminology, University of South Africa, Pretoria, South Africa, would like to thank the Department of Criminology for providing the financial assistance to undertake this pilot study, especially since funds are severely limited and this research was not budgeted for. A special word of thanks too to all the colleagues who helped to finalise this project.

Social class by area

- Higher status residential area	32.5%
- Middle status residential area	36.0%
- Lower status residential area	31.5%

Data collection techniques

Interview method

As South Africa is a developing country, the face-to-face interview method was used as many South Africans do not possess telephones.

Recruiting and training of interviewers

An *ad hoc* interview team was recruited which mostly consisted of graduate criminology students (males and females). The different communities were interviewed by interviewers from among their own population group in order to establish confidence and trust in a population which is still very much divided along racial lines.

All interviewers received intensive training by the research co-ordinators which included the definition of the purpose of the study, the sampling method, how to approach respondents, who to interview, clarification of key concepts such as robbery, pick-pocketing, attempted rape, indecent assault, offensive sexual behaviour, the handling of sensitive questions, the confidentiality of the data, etc. The interviewers also had to conduct a simulated interview with fellow interviewers and family members at home to improve their interviewing skills.

Collection of the data

The data were collected between 14 July and 4 August 1992. Interviews were held after normal working hours and in both official languages, namely English and Afrikaans (the questionnaire was translated into Afrikaans for this purpose).

Problems encountered

The following problems were encountered. Firstly, there are nine black ethnic groups in South Africa each speaking their own language which includes many dialects. Some of the disadvantaged blacks who had recently migrated to the urban area had difficulty in understanding questions put to them in the official languages; consequently, the black interviewer had to translate some of the questions for the sake of clarity which was rather time consuming. In the main survey it may be necessary to supply a glossary, translating and defining key terms in the principal black languages. Secondly, many respondents were hesitant or unwilling to supply information as regards household income. In black households, where more than one family often share a home, the exact household income was often unknown by the interviewee. Thirdly, female respondents were not always willing to discuss sexual offences. This was a problem mainly among the Indian community. Finally,

in South Africa there is a certain amount of antagonism towards the police in many communities. Thus, section B of the questionnaire, which invites respondents to phone the local police commissioner in order to confirm that the survey is undertaken for the United Nations, had to be deleted. For this purpose, the police was substituted with the Department of Criminology of the University of South Africa which, being a multiracial university since its inception in 1916, commands high credibility among most South African communities. Mention of the United Nations also created problems as many South Africans of all races regard the organisation as biased or not involved enough in South Africa's internal problems, past and present.

Some recommendations

In the case of question 9, a specific "yes/no" question to determine whether the respondent was, in fact, a victim of any crime over the last five years would make more advanced statistical analysis easier.

It is further recommended that column 72 should not be exceeded as the computer screen can only reflect the data up to column 72; going beyond requires the data to be shifted to the left of the screen which is confusing when interpreting certain facts.

An interviewer sheet defining key concepts such as robbery, pick-pocketing, rape, attempted rape, sexual assault and sexually offensive behaviour would provide more uniform and reliable research results.

The minimum age of 16 for the respondents should be increased to 18 years as respondents under 18 give rise to problems in certain circumstances.

Response rates and re-contacting

The total sample number is 200. Refusals amounted to 8 and 200 interviews were completed. In order to save time, re-contacting respondents was excluded for the pilot study. The recommended sampling technique was, therefore, amended so as to interview the first person who was over 16 years of age whose birthday came next. When the occupants of the targeted household were not at home, the interviewers were instructed to select the home closest to the targeted household where dwellers were present. In the case of a refusal the next sample household was approached until the required number of 200 respondents had been reached. In the main survey the correct sampling procedure will be followed.

Victimisation rates over five years

Vehicle-related crimes (all respondents)

According to Table 1, theft from a car (26.5%) had the highest incidence followed by theft of a bicycle (21.6%). Car vandalism amounted to 19% and 18% were victims of car theft.

Vehicle-related crimes (owners)

In terms of owners, theft of a bicycle amounted to 39.8% followed by theft from a car (35.1%), car vandalism (25.2%), theft of a car (23.8%) and theft of a motorcycle (20%).

Other crimes

Based on all the respondents, 26.5% had been the victims of burglary with entry, 25% were the victims of personal theft, 20.5% were the victims of assault/threat, whereas 11.5% were victims of robbery.

Of the female respondents, 18.7% were victims of sexual incidents.

Victimisation rates over one year

Vehicle-related crimes (all respondents)

In the case of victimisation rates over one year for all the respondents, theft from a car (10.5%) had the highest incidence followed by theft of a bicycle (7.5%), theft of a car (5.5%) and car vandalism (5.5%) (Table 2).

Vehicle-related crimes (owners)

Victimisation rates in terms of owners amounted to 13.9% for bicycle theft; 13.9% for theft from a car; 7.3% for theft of a car and 7.3% for car vandalism. No motorcycle theft was registered.

Other crimes

A total of 7.5% females were victims of sexual incidents over a period of one year.

In the case of all respondents for 1991, 5% were the victims of robbery, whereas 9% were the victims of personal theft. A further 9% were victims of burglary with entry and 7% of attempted burglary. Victims of consumer fraud amounted to 23.5%, while 4.5% were the victims of assault/threat. Corruption had an incidence of 7%.

Crimes reported to the police

Table 3 presents crimes reported to the police. Theft of a car had the highest reporting rate, namely 94.4%, followed by burglary with entry 88.7%. Theft from a car also had a high reporting rate (79.2%). The reporting rate for car vandalism was 57.9%, whereas it amounted to 52.2% for both robbery and attempted burglary. Theft of a bicycle had a reporting rate of 46.5% and theft of a motorcycle 33.3%.

In the case of crimes against the person, sexual incidents had the highest reporting rate, namely 50%, followed by assault/threat (39%) and personal theft (38%).

Comments

As compared to the USA, Canada, Australia, Britain and other European countries², South Africa has a high crime rate with regard to both property crimes and crimes against the person. Political instability, conflict and discrimination, coupled with a severe economic recession (which, in turn, has induced a high level of unemployment) are probably major contributory factors.

As in most countries, the theft of valuable property was almost always reported to the police, whereas, property of lesser value - as well as crimes against the person - were less frequently reported to the police. The reporting rate for sexual incidents (50%) was, nevertheless, fairly high.

Reasons for not reporting

In the case of car theft, only one respondent indicated that he "didn't dare" report the theft to the police, one solved the crime and one reported that the theft was not serious enough. Reasons for not reporting crimes are presented in Table 4.

Crime seriousness

According to Table 5, sexual incidents (80%) and assault/threat (75.6%) were regarded as the most serious, followed by burglary with entry (77.4%) and theft of a car (69.4%) respectively. Theft of motorcycle was rated as very serious by 66.7% of the respondents, followed by the following crimes: robbery (65.2%), car vandalism (60.5%), personal theft (60%), theft from a car (47.2%) and theft of a bicycle (23.3%).

Victim support

Most of the victims were supported by family (66.5%) and friends (57.8%). Support by neighbours and the police was received by 30.1% and 21.4% of the respondents respectively. Assistance by religious organisations (13.3%), social welfare agencies (9.2%) and specialised victim support groups (4.6%) had a low incidence.

Concerning special agencies to help the victims of crime, 50.9% of the respondents felt they would be useful, whereas 29.5% thought they would not be useful and 19.7% did not know.

Attitudes towards the police

Many respondents (51.8%) were not satisfied with the way the police dealt with their complaints. The major dissatisfaction was that the police did not do enough (18.7%), whereas 16.5% thought the police were uninterested. Other problems cited were the fact that the offender was not apprehended (15.1%), that the property was not recovered (15.8%) and that the police failed to keep them informed of the progress made (14.4%).

² As reported in the 1989 International Crime Survey.

As regards police control, only 31.5% of the respondents reported that they saw a police patrol at least once a week in their street, whereas 21% asserted that they saw a patrol only once a month and 25.5% said the police patrolled their streets less than once a month. Most of the respondents (74%) would like to see increased police patrols in their street and only 17% thought it was sufficient (1.5% thought patrols should pass less often and 7.5% did not know).

It is evident that the majority of the respondents would like to see an improvement in the way the police handle their complaints, as well as an increase in police patrols in their streets.

Fear of crime

Only 24.5% of the respondents were of the opinion that the people in their area helped each other, 36% felt that most people showed a lack of community spirit, and 37.5% thought their area was a combination of the afore-mentioned two aspects. A total of 38.2% respondents said they felt fairly safe walking in their area after dark, whereas 26.6% felt very unsafe (only 12.6% felt very safe and 22.6% felt a bit unsafe).

Crime prevention

Most of the respondents installed window/door grills (64.5%) and door locks (47.5%) or kept watchdogs (47%). Only 34% had a high fence and 25% installed a burglar alarm. As many as 40.7% also asked somebody to watch their homes when nobody is there (usually the home-help) and 20.6% thought the neighbours watched anyway. Only 2% cited caretakers which can probably be ascribed to the fact that most South Africans live in houses (see Table 6).

A total of 106 firearms (some owned more than one firearm) were owned by the respondents and 42.5% had insurance against burglary.

Attitudes towards punishment

As regards sentencing, when asked what type of sanction they thought should be imposed on a recidivist burglar who on this occasion had stolen a colour TV set, most respondents were in favour of a prison sentence (65.5%), whereas 19.0% were in favour of a community service sentence and 8.5% favoured a fine.

Almost half (42.9%) of the respondents did not know what term of imprisonment would be appropriate. Of those who did venture an opinion 28% suggested a prison sentence of 11-15 years and 28.6% a life sentence! In order of priority other prison recommendations were: two years 20.2%, five years 15.3%, three years 15.3%, 6 months to one year 13.7%, one year 10.5%, 2-6 months 9.7%, four years 9.7%, six to ten years 5.6%.

It is evident that most South Africans are heavily biased in favour of a prison sentence for even less serious crimes such as the example cited. This position can probably be ascribed to the high crime-rate which has aroused in the population a desperate urge - albeit unrealistic - to protect themselves and their property.

TABLES

Table 1: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	18.0
Theft from car	26.5
Car vandalism	19.0
Theft of motorcycle	1.5
Theft of bicycle	21.6
(Owners)	
Theft of car	23.8
Theft from car	35.1
Car vandalism	25.2
Theft of motorcycle	20.0
Theft of bicycle	39.8
Burglary with entry	26.5
Attempted burglary	22.5
Robbery	11.5
Personal theft	25.0
Sexual incidents	18.7
Assault/threat	20.5

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 2: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	5.5
Theft from car	10.5
Car vandalism	5.5
Theft of motorcycle	0.0
Theft of bicycle	7.5
(Owners)	
Theft of car	7.3
Theft from car	13.9
Car vandalism	7.3
Theft of motorcycle	0.0
Theft of bicycle	13.9
Burglary with entry	9.0
Attempted burglary	7.0
Robbery	5.0
Personal theft	9.0
Sexual incidents	7.5
Assault/threat	4.5
Consumer fraud	23.5
Corruption	7.0

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 3: Reported crimes

	%
Theft of car	94.4
Theft from car	79.2
Car vandalism	57.9
Theft of motorcycle	33.3
Theft of bicycle	46.5
Burglary with entry	88.7
Attempted burglary	52.2
Robbery	52.2
Personal theft	38.0
Sexual incidents	50.0
Assault/threat	39.0

Table 4: Reasons for not reporting*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Not serious enough	100.0	20.0	31.3		5.0	50.0		23.3	20.0	8.0
Solved it myself	100.0	10.0	6.3		10.0			20.0	10.0	40.0
Inappropriate for police			31.3		4.0	16.7		33.3	10.0	28.0
Other authorities		10.0	6.3					16.7	20.0	20.0
My family solved it		20.0	6.3		15.0	16.7		3.3	30.0	16.0
No insurance		20.0	18.8		35.0	16.7		6.7	10.0	4.0
Police could do nothing		10.0	25.0		30.0	16.7		30.0	40.0	20.0
Police won't do anything			6.3		30.0	33.3		13.3	20.0	28.0
Fear/dislike police			6.3		25.0			3.3	20.0	12.0
Didn't dare	100.0	10.0						10.0	10.0	36.0
Other reasons		10.0						10.0		8.0
Don't know		10.0			10.0					4.0

* Percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police - multiple answers possible.

Table 5: Crime seriousness*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Very serious	69.4	47.2	60.5	66.7	23.3	77.4	65.2	60.0	80.0	75.6
Fairly serious	30.6	41.5	18.4	33.3	51.2	15.1	34.8	22.0	10.0	12.2
Not serious	0.0	11.3	21.1	0.0	25.5	7.5	0.0	18.0	10.0	12.2

* Percentage based on victims of specific crimes.

Table 6: Crime prevention measures*

	%
Installed burglar alarm	25.0
Installed door locks	47.5
Installed window/door grills	64.5
Maintain watchdogs	47.0
High fence	34.0
House has a caretaker	2.0
None of these	
Others	8.0
Ask somebody to watch home	40.7
Neighbours watch anyway	20.6
Possession of firearms	106.0
House is insured against burglary	42.5

* Percentages based on total sample of respondents.

INDONESIA¹

Mardjono Reksodiputro²,
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JAKARTA

Description of sample

The sample was composed of 1,000 respondents in the city of Jakarta. Of these 173 belonged to the upper class, 560 to the middle class; and 267 to the lower class. Thirteen interviewees lived in flats, 940 in various types of houses, and 47 in shanties. Of the sample 557 were male and 443 female and their distribution by age is as follows: 9.9% were born between 1941 and 1942; 13.5% between 1943 and 1945; 66.1% between 1946 and 1967; and 10% between 1968 and 1976. 562 of the respondents were aged between 25 and 49. Most of them (518) had lived in the same abode for 10 years or more, 211 between 5 and 10 years and 227 between 2 and 5 years.

Data collection technique

Respondents were interviewed face-to-face by a group of 25 senior students and graduates of the Faculty of Social and Political Science of the University of Indonesia (supervised by 2 senior and 3 junior lecturers). The interviewers had previous field research experience and were briefed for two days on the use of the questionnaire (once the questionnaire had been pre-tested by the supervisors). The questionnaire was in Indonesian (translated and adapted by Prof. J.E. Sahetapy). No particular problems were encountered when collecting the data. This took two weeks in the middle of August 1992; however, computer processing of the data and elaboration of collected information were only accomplished on 4 November 1992.

Response rate and re-contacting

All of the 25 interviewers were assigned specific areas by the supervisors (corresponding to the three social class areas). Daily checks were made to keep track of the number of respondents who had completed the interviews, so as not to surpass the target assigned to each "social class area". Interviewers called at each dwelling and requested permission for an interview. No refusals were recorded and on the last day 1,000 (one thousand) interviews had been completed.

¹ The research team was co-ordinated by Prof. J.E. Sahetapy, Department of Criminology, University of Airlangga, Surabaya, Indonesia.

² Author of the section on Jakarta, and member of the research team.

³ Authors of the section on Surabaya and members of the research team.

Victimisation rates

Out of the 44.3% female respondents, 25.5% reported a sexual incident in the last 5 years and 4.51% of these occurred during the last year (1992). Considering that most of the interviewees were males and that a discussion between the sexes on sexual offences is very uncommon in Indonesia, it is very likely that the incidents were under-reported. Consideration should also be given to the fact that buses in Jakarta are usually overcrowded (2-3 times the normal capacity), therefore, an "offensive touch" can easily take place. Victims of consumer fraud may also be under-reported, as most buyers in Indonesia do not insist on checking that scales used by merchants are accurate; in addition, most food items in Indonesia do not have an expiry date printed on the package.

The figure on corruption may also be under-reported. It is considered normal to give a "tip" for services rendered by a government official, and not regard it as "bribery". The data collected shows that 18.8% were government officials and 13.6% police officers.

Reasons for not reporting

Responses stating that the police could do nothing/wouldn't do anything/fear or dislike of the police which recorded around 50% (except for theft of motorcycles and assault/threat), supports the general opinions in the community that the police are helpless in solving those crimes (low clearance rate). Responses to motorcycle theft are more difficult to explain, considering that the ownership of a motorcycle is quite widespread in Indonesia. One possibility could be that the stolen motorcycles did not have proper (legal) ownership documents (police registration documents).

Crime seriousness

There seems to be some contradiction between responses to "reasons for not reporting" and "crime seriousness". Theft of a car is considered "very serious", still the reason given by 50% for not reporting was that the police are helpless. Does this mean that they have other ways or means of recovering their stolen property? This cannot occur through the insurance company because a police report is required in order to pay out insurance money.

Victim support

Victims responded that most support was given by relatives (76.5%) and friends (51.9%), neighbours came next (34.2%) and the police last (19.2%). This appears to be consistent with the "distrust" of the police and the "kinship system" in Indonesian communities.

Attitudes toward the police

Out of 19.7% who reported to the police, 53.8% (10.6% of total respondents) were satisfied. Those who were not satisfied (46.2%) gave as their reason: the police "did not do enough", "did not find the offender". This could be an indication of

their disappointment, due to very high personal expectations of the police. With respect to police controlling the area, only 36.6% (of total respondents) considered that the police had done a good job; and 25.8% responded that police surveillance was sufficient. This shows that the presence of the police in the streets (including traffic police) was considered to be reasonably adequate.

Fear of crime

The feeling of safety was quite high. Respondents felt that they were "fairly safe" (70.9%) and "very safe" (13.8%) after dark. About 75.4% also responded that they do not avoid certain streets or areas in their neighbourhood, and 75.3% said they do not take someone with them for reasons of safety. However, this is not consistent with their responses to the chances of being victimised. Most of them seem to think that it is likely (49.8%) or very likely (1.2%) that they will be victimised.

Crime prevention

Crime prevention measures adopted were mostly window (and door) grills (56.5%) and watchmen (51.2%). Next came door locks (35%), high fences (19.1%), reliance on neighbours (27.4%) and the possession of firearms (4.3%), for which the approval of the authorities (police) is needed.

Attitudes towards punishment

Most of the victims were quite severe towards the offender. Out of the total respondents, 77.7% favoured prison sentences. This can also be ascribed to the very reduced number of fines contemplated (the Criminal Code was enacted in 1918); fines could become another alternative for punishment. Respondents appear to favour (51.5%) prison sentences covering a period of six months to one year.

TABLES

Table 1: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	2.5
Theft from car	15.7
Car vandalism	9.5
Theft of motorcycle	2.1
Theft of bicycle	6.8
(Owners)	
Theft of car	5.3
Theft from car	33.5
Car vandalism	20.2
Theft of motorcycle	6.8
Theft of bicycle	12.7

Burglary with entry	13.6
Attempted burglary	9.0
Robbery	6.3
Personal theft	28.3
Sexual incidents	25.5
Assault/threat	8.0

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 2: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	0.6
Theft from car	5.0
Car vandalism	2.8
Theft of motorcycle	0.6
Theft of bicycle	1.0
(Owners)	
Theft of car	1.3
Theft from car	10.7
Car vandalism	6.0
Theft of motorcycle	1.9
Theft of bicycle	1.9
Burglary with entry	3.0
Attempted burglary	1.4
Robbery	1.4
Personal theft	7.5
Sexual incidents	4.5
Assault/threat	1.6
Consumer fraud	25.6
Corruption	36.5

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 3: Reported crimes

	%
Theft of car	92.0
Theft from car	32.5
Car vandalism	13.7
Theft of motorcycle	85.7
Theft of bicycle	4.4
Burglary with entry	33.0
Attempted burglary	14.5
Robbery	25.4
Personal theft	38.5
Sexual incidents	2.6
Assault/threat	15.0

Table 4: Reasons for not reporting*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/ threat %
Not serious enough		20.0	42.7		33.9	34.1	27.7	42.0	49.1	39.7
Solved it myself		7.6	4.9	33.3	21.5	19.8	8.5	10.2	15.4	29.4
Inappropriate for police		9.5	12.2		21.5	14.2	6.4	13.1	26.4	8.8
Other authorities		8.6	2.4	33.3	4.6	18.7	6.4	7.4		5.9
My family solved it		5.7	7.3	33.3	9.2	5.5	4.2	2.3	10.0	7.3
No insurance		5.7	3.7		4.6	4.4		0.6		1.5
Police could do nothing	50.0	30.5	24.4		24.6	18.7	21.3	21.0	20.0	11.8
Police won't do anything		27.6	21.9		26.1	22.0	8.5	11.9	14.5	7.3
Fear/dislike police		21.9	13.4		16.9	9.9	27.7	9.1	4.5	10.3
Didn't dare					16.9		8.5	1.7	5.4	4.4
Other reasons		1.9	7.3		3.1		2.1	2.3	10.0	
Don't know	50.0							1.1	0.9	

* Percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police - multiple answers possible.

Table 5: Crime seriousness*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/ threat %
Very serious	68.0	15.3	10.5	28.6	10.3	24.3	28.6	18.6	15.0	17.5
Fairly serious	32.0	50.3	46.3	71.4	29.4	47.2	47.6	48.8	35.4	40.0
Not serious		34.4	43.2		60.3	27.9	23.8	32.6	49.6	42.5

* Percentage based on victims of specific crimes.

Table 6: Crime prevention measures*

	%
Installed burglar alarm	8.3
Installed door locks	35.0
Installed window/door grills	56.5
Maintain watchdogs	14.1
High fence	19.1
House has a caretaker	5.3
None of these	
Others	2.0
Ask somebody to watch home	51.2
Neighbours watch anyway	27.4
Possession of firearms	4.3
House is insured against burglary	8.3

* Percentages based on total sample of respondents - multiple answers possible.

ITALY¹

Ernesto U. Savona²

Introduction

This is the first time that Italy has been involved in the International Victimization Survey. A first pilot study was carried out in 1991, on a sample of 195 respondents and with the use of an abridged questionnaire. The results of the pilot survey were presented at the UNICRI Preparatory Seminar in March 1992.

Description of the sample

The sample was representative of the composition of the Italian population. Its structure is shown in Tables 1 and 2.

Data collection technique

The interviews were carried out by Demoscopea, which is a leading firm in this field. The CATI system was adopted; an ad hoc interviewing team of ten people was created, who were specifically trained by Demoscopea and a UNICRI representative who was present during the first stage of the interviews. No particular problems were encountered. The data were collected between February and April 1992. The questionnaire was translated into Italian and adapted to phone interviews.

Response rate and recontacting

Details regarding the response rate and recontacting are shown in Table 3.

Victimisation rates

Tables 4 and 5 present prevalence victimisation rates for five years and one year respectively. Data refer to people who have become victims, on one or more occasions, of one of the crimes listed in the table between 1987 and 1991. Eight out of 100 car owners had their car stolen during this five-year period, of which 3% in 1991. The cars of 21 people were vandalised over the same five-year period, 8 cases of which occurred in 1991. Between 5 and 10% of the sample had been victims of a burglary (8.6%), robbery (4.8%), and personal theft (9.8%) in the five-year span; approximately one third of these crimes were committed in 1991. Sexual incidents were experienced by 6.4% (compared to 1.7% in 1991) of the female

¹ This is an outline of the Italian results comparable with other countries. A broader report on the 1992 Victim Survey in Italy can be found in Part I.

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component of the sample, while 3.4% of the total sample (0.8% for 1991) had experienced an assault.

Reporting crimes

Tables 6 and 7 show the dark figure of crime and reasons for not reporting, respectively. 94.7% of victims of a car theft (the most reported crime) reported the crime to the police. Of those who did not report the offence, 36% solved the problem directly, for example by finding the car themselves; the remaining victims did not report the incident because they believed that the police were unable or unwilling to help them. Two other reasons for not reporting were specifically included in the Italian version of the questionnaire: 2.4% of the sample did not report because they felt that the police are too slow and 1.8% because they were badly treated by the police.

Burglary was reported by 65.5% of the victims of this crime. 36.4% of those who did not report the offence thought that the police could do nothing about it and 30.2% thought that the crime was not serious enough.

Robbery and personal theft were reported by 41.6% and 43.1% respectively of the victims of these crimes. The main reasons for not reporting were that the crime was not serious enough and that the police could do nothing.

Sexual incidents were reported by 4.6% of the female victims of this crime. When asked why they did not report the incident, 32.8% of the victims replied that the crime was not serious enough, 23.8% had solved the matter themselves, 17.7% provided other reasons and 15.5% believed that the police could do nothing.

Crime seriousness

Different evaluations of the seriousness of the crime suffered were provided by the victims of the listed crimes. This is presented in Table 8. Seventy-two per cent of the victims of robbery and 61% of victims of sexual incidents replied that the crime suffered was very serious. Victims frequently assessed crimes which involved a small amount of money, such as personal theft, or goods of small value such as theft from a car, as fairly serious or not serious.

Victim support

Some questions referred to the support received by victims who had suffered from a crime. 38.3% of the victims of at least one offence received support from relatives, friends and neighbours and 14.1% from the police. Other organisations such as voluntary, religious or specialised agencies had done almost nothing; less than 1% of victims received support from these organisations. When asked if a specialised agency to help victims of crime might prove useful, 44% of the sample replied that it would not be useful and 40% that it would be useful.

Attitudes towards the police

50.7% of the victims were dissatisfied with the way the police dealt with their report. The reasons given for this dissatisfaction were that the police were not interested (42.4); that they did not do enough (33.9%); that they did not recover the property or goods of the victim (21.6%). Other reasons were that the police did not find or apprehend the offender (16.8%) and did not keep the victim informed

(13.2%). The sample was also asked about the frequency of controls by the police in the area in which the victims lived. 50.5% answered that the police patrolled the street in which they lived at least once a day; 13.8% at least once a week; 6.4% at least once a month; and 13.5% never. General satisfaction with the performance of the police in controlling the area was expressed by 49.5% of the sample.

Fear of crime

Sixty-four per cent of the sample considered the area in which they lived as either very safe or fairly safe, and 50.7% did not take any particular precautions to avoid streets, places or persons when going out at night. 46.5% did not think that someone was likely to attempt to break into their home within the next twelve months; only 4.3% had a strong fear of experiencing this type of crime.

Crime prevention measures

Table 9 indicates crime prevention measures adopted by the respondents. Forty-five per cent of the sample had not taken any crime prevention measures to protect themselves from crime. 35.9% had installed door locks, 12.5% burglar alarms, 12.3% watchdogs, 10.9% had installed window/door grills. Many of the respondents (33.4%) had asked someone to watch their home and 20.9% answered that the neighbours did this anyway. 18% of the sample declared to be in the possession of a firearm (10.7% of which were rifles). 23.4% of those possessing a firearm did so as a form of protection against crime.

Attitudes towards punishment

The sample was asked about sentences inflicted on offenders. The case presented to the respondent described a man of 21 years of age who had been found guilty of burglary for the second time, having stolen a colour TV. 46.5% of the sample answered that he should receive a community service order, 22.4% that he should be given a prison sentence, and 9.6% that he should receive a fine. Of those who answered that the thief should go to prison, 22.6% said that a sentence of between 2 and 6 months would be appropriate, 16.6% stated one year, 10.4% two years, and 8.7% one month or less. It is important to note that 5.3% of the respondents replied that a five-year sentence would be appropriate, while 2.5% were in favour of a sentence of between 6 and 10 years.

TABLES

Table 1: Sample structure according to geographical area and town-size

Town size	North-West	North-East	Centre	South-Islands	Total N
<10,000	201	154	94	217	666
10-50,000	141	102	118	242	602
50-100,000	50	26	38	87	202
100-500,000	29	108	50	95	281

500,000-1,000,000	21		100	23	44
>1,000,000	102		91	36	229
Total N	544	390	391	699	2,024

Table 2: Sample structure according to age and gender

Age	16-29	30-54	55+	Total N
Male	282	406	296	984
Female	270	433	337	1,040
Total N	552	839	633	2,024

Table 3: Response rate and recontacting

Gross sample	5,150
Not relevant	1,829
Relevant	3,321
Refusals	671
Other	764
Complete	2,024
Response (%)	60.9

Table 4: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	6.7
Theft from car	21.8
Car vandalism	18.6
Theft of motorcycle	3.6
Theft of bicycle	7.6
(Owners)	
Theft of car	7.6
Theft from car	24.7
Car vandalism	21.1
Theft of motorcycle	9.7
Theft of bicycle	11.1
Burglary with entry	8.6
Attempted burglary	6.7
Robbery	4.8
Personal theft	9.8
Sexual incidents	6.4
Assault/threat	3.4

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 5: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	2.7
Theft from car	7.0
Car vandalism	7.6
Theft of motorcycle	1.5
Theft of bicycle	2.4
(Owners)	
Theft of car	3.0
Theft from car	7.9
Car vandalism	8.6
Theft of motorcycle	4.1
Theft of bicycle	3.4
Burglary with entry	2.4
Attempted burglary	1.7
Robbery	1.3
Personal theft	3.6
Sexual incidents	1.7
Assault/threat	0.8
Consumer fraud	10.6
Corruption	

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 6: Reported crimes

	%
Theft of car	94.7
Theft from car	40.4
Car vandalism	15.1
Theft of motorcycle	77.2
Theft of bicycle	28.9
Burglary with entry	65.5
Attempted burglary	20.8
Robbery	41.6
Personal theft	43.1
Sexual incidents	4.6
Assault/threat	23.6

Table 7: Reasons for not reporting*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/ threat %
Not serious enough		50.4	63.2	42.3	50.6	30.2	26.0	43.5	32.8	34.5
Solved it myself	36.3	3.5	2.0	21.2	6.7	7.0	10.1	10.7	23.8	18.4
Inappropriate for police		0.3	0.9			3.8	3.5	1.1		2.3
Other authorities	18.1	0.7	0.3		1.1	1.0				4.1
My family solved it		0.4	0.4	6.8	2.1	2.0			1.4	
No insurance		2.2	0.5		2.0	4.2				
Police could do nothing	30.8	25.2	27.6	21.7	27.7	36.4	39.9	27.3	15.5	10.1
Police won't do anything	27.7	11.9	7.3	6.8	9.9	9.8	11.2	7.8	4.9	11.3
Fear/dislike police		0.4					1.3	1.0		
Didn't dare							3.4	1.1	6.7	6.2
Other reasons		8.5	3.1		10.6	19.5	12.5	10.2	17.7	14.1
Don't know		0.9	0.7	6.6	2.1	1.7				3.7

* Percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police - multiple answers possible.

Table 8: Crime seriousness*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/ threat %
Very serious	55.1	23.2	24.5	46.6	25.7	57.3	72.5	38.2	61.4	59.6
Fairly serious	35.9	39.2	37.2	37.1	32.6	29.8	23.6	37.0	21.4	23.3
Not serious	9.0	37.5	38.2	16.3	41.7	12.9	3.9	24.8	17.2	17.1

* Percentage based on victims of specific crimes.

Table 9: Crime prevention measures*

	%
Installed burglar alarm	12.5
Installed door locks	35.9
Installed window/door grills	10.9
Maintain watchdogs	12.3
High fence	3.8
House has a caretaker	5.4
None of these	45.0
Others	
Ask somebody to watch home	33.4
Neighbours watch anyway	20.9
Possession of firearms	18.0
House is insured against burglary	

* Percentages based on total sample of respondents - multiple answers possible.

JAPAN

Kiyotaka Oda¹

Introduction

The main aim of the Criminal Victim Survey in Japan was to discover the crime victimisation rates and the amount of crime that is not reported to the police. Another aim of the survey was to analyse the attitudes and opinions of citizens towards crime, crime prevention, etc.

Since a separate questionnaire was used for the Japanese survey, it was impossible to make a direct comparison between Japanese data and those of other countries.

Research methodology

The Japan Urban Security Research Institute established a Japanese committee for the international comparative survey on crime. This committee was responsible for the study and analysis of the data resulting from this survey².

When preparing the questionnaire, the Japanese original questionnaire was compared with the first International Crime Survey and the National Crime Survey of 1991.

Interviews were carried out by the New Information Center Co., which used the face-to-face technique.

Description of sample

The nationwide sample covered 3,000 households, the composition of which is shown according to gender (Table 1) and socio-economic status (Table 2).

Data collection technique

The sample was selected using a stratified random sampling technique based on the official census data. Interviewing was conducted by the New Information

1 Senior Researcher, Research Department, Japan Urban Security Research Institute (JUSRI), Tokyo, Japan.

2 The Chairman of the committee was Prof. Shigeru Ito, Professor of Keio University. The members of the Committee were: Kazuhiko Tokoro, Professor of Rikkyo University; Osamu Koide, Professor of Tokyo University; Takafumi Kobayashi, Director, Crime Prevention Unit, NPA; Yukinobu Izumi, Director, Crime Investigation Unit, NPA; Kanehiro Hoshino, Director General, Crime Prevention Unit, NRIPS; Kenji Kiyonaga, Chief Researcher, Crime Prevention Unit, NRIPS; Ryuji Matsumura, Executive Director, JUSRI. The Working Group consisted of: Yutaka Inoue, Lecturer, Sensyu University; Toshihiko Kasahara, Assistant Director, Crime Prevention Unit, NPA; Yasuhiro Watanabe, Assistant Director, Crime Investigation Unit, NPA; Fujio Otsu, Assistant Director, Crime Investigation Unit, NPA; Nobuo Kikuzawa, Senior Staff, Crime Prevention Unit, NPA; Masato Endo, Senior Staff, Crime Investigation Unit, NPA; Yoshiyasu Tanaka, Secretary General, JUSRI; Kitaro Yoshida, Senior Researcher, JUSRI.

Center, and a team of interviewers was specifically trained for the purpose. The actual interviews were conducted between 7 and 15 February 1992. As mentioned above, the face-to-face method was adopted, whereby the interviewers visited the respondents at dinner time or after 8 p.m. and interviewed them in Japanese.

Response rate and recontacting

2,382 interviews were completed out of a sample of 3,000 households, representing a response rate of 79.4%. This is lower than the 80.4% response rate registered in the 1989 survey, in which 2,411 interviews were completed out of a sample of 3,000. Most of the 20.6% unsuccessful interviews were due to the absence of the respondents at the time of the visit.

Victimisation rates

Table 3 illustrates the prevalence victimisation rates for the whole five-year period and last year preceding both the 1989 and 1992 surveys. The respondents were asked about the victimisation that they or a member of their household had experienced during 1991. Individual experiences of the respondents were not included. Analyses were then made only for those categories that were comparable with other countries.

Crime seriousness

The respondents were asked to evaluate the seriousness of a series of criminal conducts. "Sniffing of marijuana" was considered the most seriousness (with 95%), followed by "shoplifting" (91%), and "stealing a ride without paying for the middle part of the trip" came last with 28%.

Victim support

Two victim support systems exist in Japan; these are the crime victim benefit system and the crime victim relief fund. Both systems were established in 1986. The victim benefit system aims to reduce the mental and economic damage suffered by the relatives of those who were killed or seriously injured during a premeditated crime, as in the case of planting explosives. In this case the state pays benefits to relatives of dead persons and injured persons apart from social solidarity and mutual aid. The crime victim relief system was established to supplement the state's crime victim benefit system. Unfortunately, private and local government victim support systems do not work well together.

Attitudes towards the police

The Japanese questionnaire did not include items regarding satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the work of the police; reporting the crime to the police; and daily policing for crime prevention.

Fear of crime

Table 7 shows a list of offences and the respondents' fear of falling victim to them. Eight per cent of the respondents expressed no fear whatsoever, but 7% were very fearful, in the case of all listed crimes.

Levels of fear were higher for property crimes than for physical crimes. Burglary with entry, theft of bicycle, trespassing and consumer fraud were relatively high, whereas drug abuse, theft of motorcycle, extortion, threat and rape were lower on the ranking list.

Changes in fear of crime

A comparison was made between the fears of crime expressed in the 1989 survey and those of the 1992 survey, using the same categories. Fear of crime was registered in all the comparative categories (Table 8).

Crime prevention

Since the Japanese used different items in their list of crime prevention measures, it proved impossible to effect a direct comparison between Japanese data and those of other countries.

When asked about specific crime prevention measures, most of the respondents expressed a negative attitude towards measures that involved personal expenses or community involvement. On the other hand, they positively evaluated preventive activities on the part of the police or the state (Table 10).

As far as individual crime prevention measures are concerned (Table 11), although the majority of respondents did not use measures that involved personal expenses, nevertheless 50% of them did use several crime prevention measures (such as locking the window/door, not leaving valuable objects in the car, and putting a lock on the car for a short time when leaving a car parked) that did not imply these expenses.

TABLES

Table 1: Composition of sample according to gender and age

Age	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	Total
Male N	40	124	194	268	242	224	67	11	0	1170
(%)	3.4	10.6	16.6	22.9	20.7	19.1	5.7	0.9	0.0	49.1
Female N	40	159	281	294	206	148	68	15	1	1212
(%)	3.3	13.1	23.2	24.3	17.0	12.2	5.6	1.2	0.1	50.9
Total N	80	283	475	562	448	372	135	26	1	2382
(%)	3.4	11.9	19.9	23.6	18.8	15.6	5.7	1.1	0.0	100.0

Table 2: Composition of sample according to gender and socio-economical status

Socio-economic status	Upper class	Upper-middle class	Middle class	Lower-middle class	Lower class	N.A.	Total
Male N	5	94	708	300	56	7	1170
(%)	0.4	8.0	60.5	25.6	4.8	0.6	49.1
Female N	7	108	772	248	70	7	1212
(%)	0.6	8.9	63.7	20.5	5.8	0.6	50.9
Total N	12	202	1480	548	126	14	2382
(%)	0.5	8.5	62.1	23.0	5.3	0.6	100.0

Table 3: Prevalence victimisation rates*

	Victimisation rates 1989 survey (%)		Victimisation rates 1992 survey (%)	
	5 years	1 year	5 years	1 year
Theft of car	0.7	0.2		1.1
Theft from car	2.1	0.7		2.3
Car vandalism	4.4	2.7		
Theft of motorcycle	1.7	0.4		3.2
Theft of bicycle	9.0	3.7		9.6
Owners (any member of household)				
Theft of car	0.8	0.3		0.9
Theft from car	2.6	0.8		2.1
Car vandalism	5.0	3.1		
Theft of motorcycle	1.7	0.4		3.2
Theft of bicycle	10.0	5.0		9.6
Burglary with entry	2.2	0.7		1.1
Attempted burglary	0.6	0.2		
Robbery (with entry)	0.0	0.0		0.1
Personal theft	0.8	0.2		1.3
Sexual incidents	1.8	1.0		1.8
Assault/threat	0.6	0.7		0.5

* Prevalence: percentage of respondents who have been victim of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 4: Reported crimes

	1989 survey		1992 survey	
	5 years (%)	1 year (%)	5 years (%)	1 year (%)
Theft of car	77.8	66.7		63.0
Theft from car	41.2	52.9		39.3
Car vandalism	21.0	27.3		
Theft of motorcycle	87.5	90.0		38.5
Theft of bicycle	52.5	43.8		47.5
Burglary with entry	80.8	29.4		69.4
Attempted burglary	71.4	100.0		
Robbery	0.0	0.0		
Personal theft	68.4	25.0		47.6
Sexual incidents	9.1	0.10		4.4
Assault/threat	21.4	25.0		63.6

Table 5: Reasons for not reporting*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vanda- lism %	Theft of motor- cycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/ threat %
Not serious enough/no damage	16.7	25.0		100.0	4.5	7.1	0.0	5.4	0.0	50.0
Offender is a family member/acquaintance	0.0	0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	0.0	0.0
Offender is a child	0.0	5.0		0.0	3.9	7.1	0.0	2.7	100.0	0.0
My own fault	33.3	15.0		0.0	20.6	28.6	0.0	24.3	0.0	0.0
Too late to find victim	0.0	7.5		0.0	1.9	14.3	0.0	13.5	0.0	0.0
Keep secret	0.0	5.0		0.0	0.6	7.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Police won't do anything	16.7	12.5		0.0	6.5	14.3	0.0	8.1	0.0	16.7
Couldn't recover	16.7	15.0		0.0	36.8	21.4	50.0	29.7	0.0	0.0
Complicated procedure	16.7	10.0		0.0	14.8	0.0	50.0	5.4	0.0	0.0
Dislike police	0.0	0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	0.0	0.0
Fear of revenge	0.0	0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3
No insurance	0.0	2.5		0.0	4.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other reasons	0.0	2.5		0.0	5.8	0.0	0.0	5.4	0.0	0.0
Total N	6	40		1	155	14	2	37	1	6

* Percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police - multiple answers possible.

Table 6: Seriousness of crime

	Never excuse (%)	Not excuse (%)	Probably excuse (%)	Excuse (%)	Do not know (%)
Taking a ride without paying for middle part of trip (Y200)	14.3	45.0	22.0	6.4	11.2
Riding on other people's bicycle without permission	30.4	59.3	6.1	0.9	3.1
Shoplifting (Y1,000)	40.7	50.4	4.6	0.5	3.2
Play mah-jongg for stakes (Y10,000)	15.9	33.8	26.6	10.3	12.4
Sniffing marijuana	71.8	23.5	0.7	0.4	3.4
Employing unqualified foreigner	14.6	32.6	24.5	5.8	21.3
Drinking by minor	26.3	50.2	15.4	3.1	4.7
Smoking by minor	30.4	51.4	11.3	2.5	4.3

Table 7: Fear of crime*

	Male	Female	Total
Theft of car	44.3	40.9	42.6
Theft from car	41.1	40.3	40.7
Car vandalism	39.1	41.2	40.2
Theft of motorcycle	30.4	27.2	28.7
Theft of bicycle	51.1	54.5	52.8
Burglary with entry	63.7	69.9	66.8
Robbery with entry	51.5	57.1	54.4
Trespassing	53.0	58.0	55.5
Kidnapping	37.4	44.6	41.1
Pickpocketing/snatching	38.9	47.1	43.0
Robbery	37.7	40.8	39.2
Extortion	34.4	31.8	33.1
Threat	32.8	29.3	30.9
Assault/aggravated assault	40.2	40.7	40.4
Consumer fraud by a flagrant business	49.3	50.1	49.7
Misuse of cards	41.5	42.7	42.1
Rape	29.5	39.0	34.3
Other sexual incidents	33.1	46.7	40.0
Drug abuse	25.5	23.8	24.6
Crime by foreigner	31.7	29.6	30.6
Japanese mafia crime	45.1	36.9	41.0

* Percentage of respondents who feared falling victim to each crime.

Table 8: Changes in fear of crime*

	1989 survey (%)	1992 survey (%)
Burglary with entry	54.3	66.9
Pickpocketing/snatching	35.4	43.1
Robbery	34.7	54.4
Sexual incidents without rape	28.0	40.0
Kidnapping	36.0	41.1
Crime of Japanese mafia	16.7	41.0
Theft of bicycle	49.1	52.9
Consumer fraud by a flagrant business	47.2	49.7

* Percentage of respondents who feared falling victim to each crime.

Table 9: Evaluation of need for crime prevention measures (multiple answers possible)

	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
Very necessary	25.0	26.5	25.8
Probably necessary	63.9	61.4	62.6
Unnecessary	10.5	11.7	11.1

Table 10: Specific crime prevention measures

	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
Increasing security lights/street lights	60.9	63.2	62.1
Building-up a strong town against crime	45.9	47.4	46.7
Residents patrol/protection activities	8.5	7.8	8.1
Security camera/burglar alarm	9.8	12.6	11.3
Contract with private security company	1.8	2.1	2.0
Be intimate/co-operate with neighbour	49.4	46.8	48.1
Community crime prevention/by crime prevention organisation	13.9	10.9	12.4
Increase in police activity	49.2	49.7	49.5
Increase in police boxes	20.3	20.0	20.2
Increase in police officers	12.4	11.3	11.8
Security survey by police officer	7.9	7.6	7.8
Others	1.2	0.2	0.7

Table 11: Individual crime prevention measures (multiple answers possible)

	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
Always lock up the window/door	84.8	85.5	85.1
During long absences, inform the neighbour/caretaker	47.1	44.2	45.6
During long absences, stop the delivery of milk/newspaper	27.4	30.3	28.8
Leave the light on when going out at night	35.0	43.2	39.2
Contract with a private security company	0.3	0.7	0.5
Keeping a watchdog	16.9	16.3	16.6
Avoiding dangerous places/streets at night	31.5	48.9	40.3
Being accompanied to/from home by family member at night	13.9	20.5	17.3
Avoid talking to strangers	29.4	44.0	36.8
When going out, holding one's bag tightly to avoid having bag snatched or being pickpocketed	23.8	38.8	31.4
Carry portable burglar alarm	1.1	1.6	1.3
Fix a special lock/chain to bicycle/motorcycle	18.9	14.8	16.8
Effect crime prevention registration	34.5	36.5	35.5
Avoid leaving valuable objects in a parked car	49.9	51.0	50.5
Locking the car when leaving it parked for a short time	55.4	52.1	53.7
Keeping the door chain locked when visited by strangers	11.2	14.9	13.1
Avoid talking with catchesailors on the streets	42.0	50.0	46.1
Avoid riding on the EV with a stranger	2.4	6.6	4.5
Never play alone in the park/outdoors	16.8	20.7	18.8
Others	0.3	0.7	0.5

KAMPALA (UGANDA)

Mathias Ssamula¹

The main objective of the survey was to use its findings to promote effective policies of crime prevention and control in full respect of human rights and equitable social development.

This paper basically presents and discusses the findings of some selected aspects of the survey, namely: prevalence-victimisation rates (over 5 years and over 1 year); attitudes towards the police; fear of crime; crime prevention and attitudes towards punishment.

It is hoped that these sub-themes will throw light on the crime situation of Uganda and will be used, together with findings from the other countries participating in this study, to achieve the intended objective of the survey.

Description of sample

The size of the sample was 1,000 respondents of which 484 (48.4%) were male and 516 (51.6%) female. The survey was carried out in urban Kampala (Kampala City and suburbs).

Of the respondents interviewed, 196 (19.6%) resided in a high status area, 310 (31.0%) in a middle status area, and 494 (49.4%) in a lower status area. The respondents interviewed were between 16 and 87 years of age.

Data collection technique

Data were collected using the face-to-face technique and with the administration of a questionnaire. An interviewing team comprising five males and five females conducted the survey under the supervision of the national co-ordinator and a supervisor. The interviewing team received specific training for five days before they started interviewing. The training included the definition of basic concepts, techniques of interviewing, as well as role playing (i.e. interviewers were paired; one in each pair acted as respondent and the other as interviewer). This was done to make sure that interviewers became familiar with the contents of the questionnaire and to determine the time it would take to interview one respondent.

Particular problems encountered

The questionnaire was too long; it scared some respondents, especially some upper class interviewees.

Delicate questions

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Questions on sex, income and the possession of guns were considered to be rather sensitive and could have prompted biased answers. The question on sexual incidents was an embarrassing one, especially when put to elderly women. Most of them were afraid to admit whether or not it was a successful rape or whether they had ever been victims.

Questions on income posed some problems: for example, a housewife did not know anything about her husband's income and details concerning the money going through taxation. Besides, in addition to their usual job, most people had other income-generating activities. This caused confusion as regards the income to declare.

Respondents in the lower class bracket perceived the question on gun-ownership as being a sensitive one, to the extent that they thought the interviewer, an intelligence person, may have been spying for the government or expected them to be thieves.

Classification of households

It was rather difficult to classify a household as middle or upper class; some households were neither of these.

Respondents' lack of co-operation

Some people in the higher status residential area did not co-operate with respondents. They claimed to be busy and had no time to spare to be interviewed.

Some were hard to find at home because they returned late from their work places. Another problem was with the gate-keeper (guard) of the fenced houses, who requested identification, both at the gate and on entering the house. Besides this, people living in these houses keep ferocious dogs that threatened the interviewers.

These difficulties were not only a waste of time, but also inconvenient.

Period of data collection

Data were collected between April and June 1992. The questionnaire was administered in English, although it had also been translated into the local dialect (Luganda) to ease interviewing.

Table 1 shows percentages of respondents who had been victims of one or more forms of crime in the past 5 years.

In absolute values, out of the 1,000 respondents, 178 had been victims of theft from car over the previous five years and 126 had their bicycle stolen. Theft of motorcycle ranked lowest with only 30 victims out of the 1,000 respondents.

On the other hand, of the 395 car owners, 93 (23.5%) were victims of car theft; 178 (45.1%) were victims of theft from car and 35 (8.9%) experienced car vandalism.

Theft of motorcycle occurred to 30 (23.8%) respondents of the 126 owners of motorcycle; while 126 (28.3%) fell victim to theft of bicycle out of the 445 bicycle owners. With regard to other forms of crime, personal theft had the largest number

of victims, i.e. 601 (60.1%) out of the 1,000 respondents; followed by burglary with entry which had 481 (48.1%) victims. Of the 516 females interviewed, 150 (29.1%) were victims of sexual incidents.

The above findings suggest low victimisation rates with respect to theft of vehicles. Victims of personal thefts ranked highest, indicating that most people lose their property through pickpocketing. Burglary with entry was experienced by almost half of the sample. This is more manifest in low and middle class residential areas.

With regard to the owners of vehicles, it appears that out of 395 car owners, 45.1% - almost half of the owners - experienced theft from their cars, and only 35 (8.9%) experienced car vandalism. This suggests that car vandalism is not very common in this area.

Table 2, which refers to one-year victimisation rates, shows low victimisation rates with respect to theft of motorcycle, i.e. 2.2%; theft of car 3.2%; and theft from car 7.5%. With regard to car owners, only 75 (19%) of the 395 owners were victims of theft from car. On the other hand, among other forms of crime, consumer fraud had the highest number of victims over the last year, i.e. 701 (70.1%) out of the 1,000 respondents, while 409 (40.9%) fell victim to corruption.

Victims of personal thefts were 244 out of the 1,000 respondents. This was lower in comparison with the victimisation rate of personal theft over the past five years, i.e. 60.1%. Victims of robbery ranked lowest on the scale, i.e. 80 out of the 1,000 respondents.

As far as reporting is concerned, Table 3 shows that 83 (89.2%) of the 93 victims of theft of car reported the incident to the police, while only 87 (48.9%) of the 178 victims of theft from car reported the incident to the police. Theft of motorcycle was reported by 20 (66.7%) of the 30 victims.

Theft of bicycle was reported by 65 (51.6%) of the 126 victims of this incident.

With regard to other types of crimes, 236 (49.1%) out of 481 victims of burglary with entry reported the incident. The least reported incident was personal theft, where only 52 (8.7%) of the 601 victims reported the incident.

Sexual incidents were only reported by 21 (14%) of the 150 victims.

Reasons for not reporting

Victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type to the police gave various reasons for not doing so. These reasons are presented in Table 4. The principal reason given by three victims (33.3%) out of the nine for not reporting theft of car was that the incident was not serious enough.

The main reason given by 30 (34.9%) out of the 86 who did not report theft from car was that the police could do nothing. The same reason was given in the case of robbery and personal theft. With regard to car vandalism and theft of motorcycle, the principal reason given for not reporting was that the victims solved the problem themselves. This was also the reason given in the case of sexual incidents.

Theft of bicycle was often reported to other authorities (i.e. the Village Chief or Resistance Council Chairman). This was the response given by 20 (48.8%) of the 41 victims who did not report the incident. Similar responses were mentioned in the case of burglary with entry by 123 (50.6%) of 243 victims, and for assault/threat by 48 (27%) of 178 victims who did not report the incident.

Reporting or not reporting a crime incident may be associated with its seriousness. It is to be expected that the more serious crimes, rather than the less serious ones, are reported to the police.

Table 5 shows crime seriousness. This table indicates that all crimes were taken very seriously by the victims. For example, 90 (96.8%) of 93 victims stated that the theft of their cars was a very serious offence. This was also the most reported offence in Table 3. The most fairly serious crime mentioned in the table is car vandalism. Assault/threat is considered not to be a serious crime by 46 (20.2%) of the 228 victims.

Satisfaction with police performance regarding reported crimes

Findings show that 70 (26.7%) out of 262 respondents were satisfied with police performance regarding reported crimes, while 186 (71%) were dissatisfied.

Reasons for dissatisfaction

Respondents had various reasons for being dissatisfied with police performance regarding reported crimes. The most outstanding reason given was that police did not recover their property (goods). This was mentioned by 73 (39.2%) respondents.

Another important reason leading to dissatisfaction was the failure of the police to find or apprehend the offender which was mentioned by 33 (17.7%) respondents.

Satisfaction with the police in controlling crime in the area

The findings show that 469 out of 1,000 respondents said the police were doing a good job in controlling crime in their area, while 500 said the police were not doing a good job.

The findings also show that the presence of the police in the areas under study was quite regular, as opposed to a high percentage (50%) of the respondents who were not happy with their performance. For example, (29.9%) respondents mentioned that a police officer passes by their street at least once a week, while 29.1% experienced the presence of a police officer at least once a day. 14.6% said they had never seen a police officer passing by their street. Nevertheless, the majority of respondents (76.6%) asked for a more frequent presence of the police officer in their streets.

Police performance, especially in low income areas, was found to be poor with many reported crimes going unattended probably due to "less serious" crimes committed, i.e. mostly petty theft or repetition of the same crimes leading offenders to influence police action in meting out punishment. However, the role of police in controlling crime cannot be underestimated. Respondents still had confidence in the police.

Fear of crime

Respondents were asked to give their opinions regarding crimes in their areas. The findings show that most respondents were not sure of their safety while alone in their areas after dark. 46.5% respondents felt fairly safe; 25.3% felt a bit unsafe; 8%

said they felt very unsafe. 19.5% stated that they were very safe walking alone in their areas after dark.

Furthermore, 49.7% avoided particular streets or areas for security reasons. It is interesting to note that most respondents claimed they did not need company while out after dark. For example 60.9% declared that the last time they went out after dark, they were unaccompanied, while 36.7% went out with someone for safety reasons.

Out of 1,000 respondents, 579 believed it was likely they would be victims of housebreaking in the next twelve months. However, 254 were optimistic and felt it was unlikely that someone would break into their homes.

Comment

Opinions were evenly distributed with regard to fear of crime in the areas under study. Such fears were mostly manifested by the low income groups whose security relied mostly on their day-to-day relationships; while the high income classes relied on individual family security. Although most respondents thought it was not too dangerous outside their compounds, the majority were not sure of the safety of their homes. This shows that most respondents regard crimes committed in the homes to be more serious and dangerous than those committed in the streets or trading centres at night.

Crime prevention

The findings indicate that the respondents have employed various crime prevention measures.

Respondents asked somebody to watch their home during their absence in 74.1% of the cases. Fifty-four percent installed door locks and 43.2% installed window/door grills. A minimum percentage (1.8%) possessed firearms as a precaution against crime. Houses were insured against burglary by 9.7% of the respondents. Installing a burglar alarm or owning a gun - apart from security personnel - is very rare in Uganda, especially in low income areas.

Comment

Crime prevention in the areas under study has not been effectively implemented, mainly due to the high cost of installations, such as burglar alarms. But this situation is more acute in low income areas where the nature of the housing pattern is characterised by congested homesteads divided into small rented rooms.

While households in high income areas are detached bungalows with almost all the necessary preventive means, the low income groups mostly depend on the immediate community co-operation in preventing crime. All crimes committed were taken very seriously, probably because of the difficulty encountered in replacing such property due to low income (most victims of five years ago had not replaced the stolen items at the time of the study). It was unlikely for individuals in the study area - and in Uganda, for that matter - to own firearms or insure their houses against burglary.

Attitudes towards punishment

Opinions varied regarding what punishment could be meted to an offender who, for example, was caught stealing a television set. Most respondents' views were to have such an offender imprisoned. Findings show that 802 out of the 1,000 respondents chose to have an offender who stole a TV set imprisoned, while a small proportion of respondents suggested other sentences which highlighted prison as the dominant sentence; let alone being the most secure way of dealing with crime in Uganda today.

Suspended sentence was very unpopular; only 11 respondents suggesting it. However, most respondents who suggested imprisonment did not request the victim to stay longer than 5 years in prison, mainly because most respondents did not believe that crime to be so serious, and yet the victims were fellow members of the community with families to look after. 15% suggested a 2-year imprisonment while 13% proposed 3 years. Only 1.3% of the respondents suggested one month or less.

Uganda being a developing country, the limited resources available can no longer support offenders in prisons. Coupled with this is prison overcrowding and the fear that such offenders learn new criminal techniques which they would use to terrorise society on their release. Support should be given to shorter term prison sentences and the trend is now towards alternative measures to imprisonment.

7.6% of respondents suggested community service; a fine was mentioned by 7.9% and suspended sentence by 1.1%. Although the percentage of respondents that propose these methods of dealing with offenders is very low, the population needs to be sensitized on the advantages of alternative measures to imprisonment.

TABLES

Table 1: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	9.3
Theft from car	17.8
Car vandalism	3.5
Theft of motorcycle	3.0
Theft of bicycle	12.6
(Owners)	
Theft of car	23.5
Theft from car	45.1
Car vandalism	8.9
Theft of motorcycle	23.8
Theft of bicycle	28.3

Burglary with entry	48.1
Attempted burglary	38.9
Robbery	24.5
Personal theft	60.1
Sexual incidents	29.1
Assault/threat	22.8

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 2: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	3.2
Theft from car	7.5
Car vandalism	4.6
Theft of motorcycle	2.2
Theft of bicycle	3.8
(Owners)	
Theft of car	8.1
Theft from car	19.0
Car vandalism	11.6
Theft of motorcycle	17.5
Theft of bicycle	8.5
Burglary with entry	13.9
Attempted burglary	13.7
Robbery	8.0
Personal theft	24.4
Sexual incidents	9.5
Assault/threat	7.2
Consumer fraud	70.1
Corruption	40.9

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 3: Reported crimes

	%	No. of victims
Theft of car	89.2	93
Theft from car	48.9	178
Car vandalism	37.1	35
Theft of motorcycle	66.7	30
Theft of bicycle	51.6	126
Burglary with entry	49.1	481
Attempted burglary	35.5	389
Robbery	27.8	245
Personal theft	8.7	601
Sexual incidents	14.0	150
Assault/threat	21.1	228

Table 4: Reasons for not reporting*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/ threat %
Not serious enough	33.3	17.4	20.0		7.3	6.6	10.8	24.0	7.4	19.1
Solved it myself	22.2	5.8	25.0	66.7	9.8	5.8	1.8	4.1	28.1	14.6
Inappropriate for police										
Other authorities		5.8	10.0		2.4	4.9	5.4	7.4	9.1	10.7
My family solved it		17.4	10.0		48.8	50.6	26.5	6.6	19.8	27.0
No insurance		9.3	5.0		2.4	3.7	4.2	3.3		10.7
Police could do nothing		1.2				0.4		0.4		
Police won't do anything										
Fear/dislike police	11.1	34.9	15.0		19.5	16.5	32.5	43.5	7.4	9.6
Didn't dare										
Other reasons	11.1	7.0	5.0	33.0	7.3	2.5	10.2	4.6	4.1	6.7
Don't know	11.	1.2			2.4	4.9	2.4	2.3	8.3	1.7
Number of victims who didn't report last incident to police	9	86	20	3	41	243	166	517	121	178

* Percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police - multiple answers possible.

Table 5: Crime seriousness*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %
Very serious	96.8	75.3	48.6	70.0	71.4	75.9	65.7	48.3
Fairly serious	2.2	20.8	42.9	6.7	9.5	16.8	21.2	29.5
Not serious	1.1	3.4			1.6	3.7	9.0	16.1
Victims	93	178	35	30	126	481	245	601

* Percentage based on victims of specific crimes.

Table 6: Crime prevention measures*

	%
Installed burglar alarm	5.0
Installed door locks	54.0
Installed window/door grills	43.2
Maintain watchdogs	21.2
High fence	17.3
House has a caretaker	8.9
None of these	
Others	11.7
Asks somebody to watch home	74.1
Neighbours watch anyway	5.2
Possession of firearms	1.8

House is insured against burglary	9.7
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* Percentages based on total sample of respondents - multiple answers possible.

LJUBLJANA (SLOVENIA)

Zoran Pavlovic¹

The International Crime Survey in Ljubljana (Slovenia) was implemented by the Institute of Criminology, School of Law in Ljubljana. The principal researcher and co-ordinator of the Survey was Dr. Zoran Pavlovic.

Description of the sample

A total of 1,000 interviews were completed in the city of Ljubljana, the capital of the Republic of Slovenia. Ljubljana counts approximately 350,000 inhabitants, while the population of Slovenia amounts to a total of 2 million inhabitants.

The average age of the respondents was 42.5 years; 25% were 32 years old or less (the youngest being 16 years old) and 25% were 58 years old or more (the eldest being 90 years of age). 43.7% of the respondents were male and 56.3% were female.

The status of the residential area was assessed by the respondents in the case of telephone interviewing, and by the interviewer in the case of face-to-face interviewing. It was assessed that 15% of the respondents lived in "upper" class areas, 77.4% in "middle" class areas, and 6.6% in "lower" class areas.

Data collection technique

Data were collected using both the CATI and face-to-face technique: from 1,000 households in the final net sample, 700 were interviewed by phone and 300 by the face-to-face method. The two samples were independent, for example the face-to-face sample included households regardless of their possession of a telephone. The "random walk" technique was used for face-to-face interviews, while for CATI interviews the phone numbers of respondents were randomly selected from the Ljubljana telephone directory. In both cases computers were used (portables for the face-to-face interviews) with identical software for data collection (BLAISE 2.3).

Interviewing team

The actual interviewing was carried out by the Center for Methodology and Informatics of the School of Social Sciences (University of Ljubljana). The team consisted of a professor of methodology, three assistants (specialised in different aspects of methodology - sample, data collection, and team management) and ten highly motivated students of the School. The team was eager to obtain a high quality of data, since the design and requirements of the study would enable them to test various methodological hypotheses, particularly the differences between the phone and face-to-face approach, use of computers in field work, etc.

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Training of the interviewers

The students, who were already acquainted with social science methodology, received a two-day course, during which they received detailed instructions on procedures related to the interview, computers and software. Emphasis was given to the particularly delicate nature of the topics covered by the survey.

Problems

No particularly difficult problems were encountered. Various measures were adopted to gain the trust of the respondents. For example, a short letter was sent to all respondents in the sample, announcing that an interviewer would visit or call them, describing the purpose of the survey, and explaining that the member of the household whose birthday was coming next, would be interviewed. This letter proved very helpful. The local police were informed of the survey, but were extremely rarely contacted by the respondents. During the face-to-face interviews, the interviewers carried with them formal certificates issued by the Institute, as proof of their involvement in the survey in case of any doubt on the part of the respondents, but in fact these were very seldom required.

In general, respondents were friendly and co-operative. After receiving the letter, many called to fix appointments for the interview. Nevertheless, in some cases certain questions related in particular to the possession of weapons and security devices, raised suspicion among the respondents, and in one case the respondent reacted rather aggressively. Therefore, the answers to these questions, as well as those related to family income and the status of the area of residence, cannot be considered very reliable and their inclusion in a further survey might require reconsideration.

Lower status areas of the town that were felt to be less safe were visited by interviewers in couples.

Period of data collection

Data collection, which took three weeks, was carried out in September 1992. The interviews were carried out in the Slovene language.

Response rate and re-contacting

Gross sample

In the case of the CATI technique, in order to reach a net sample of 700 units, 834 private phone numbers were used. Of these, 24 (3%) were business numbers, the rest being numbers of private homes. Nobody replied to 52 numbers (6%), even after 20 attempts. Between 91% and 97% of the numbers used were eligible, depending on the proportion of unsuccessfully tried numbers that actually represent a household. 782 numbers were successfully reached.

In the case of the face-to-face technique, 370 household units in 24 local communities in Ljubljana were chosen, of which 359 were eligible (eligibility rate 97%)

Non-response and refusal rate

When using CATI, out of 782 eligible and successfully contacted numbers, response was not obtained from 47 respondents; 20 individual respondents were not accessible, 16 were unable to co-operate due to bad health, old age, lack of knowledge of the language and 21 refused co-operation. The non-response rate was therefore between 8% and 13% (depending on the assessment of eligibility), and the refusal rate was only 3%.

In the case of face-to-face interviewing, 31 individual respondents were not accessible, 4 were unable to co-operate and 21 refused co-operation. The non-response rate was thus 16%, and the refusal rate only 6%.

Recontacting

On some occasions more than 20 recontact attempts were made in the case of the CATI technique, and up to 7 attempts in the case of face-to-face interviews.

Completed interviews

Seven hundred phone and 300 face-to-face interviews were successfully completed.

Victimisation rates

In the 5-year period, 64.3% of all respondents (or the members of their households) were victims of one or more of the listed criminal incidents (excluding consumer fraud and corruption). Victimisation rates are shown in Tables 1 and 2.

Victim support

41.8% of the victims received no support whatsoever. Hopefully, this number refers to victims of less serious crimes, although this can only be confirmed after further detailed analysis.

Victims received help from their relatives in 34.1% cases, and from friends in 20.7% cases. This was followed by assistance from neighbours and the police with 9.3% and 8.6% respectively (multiple answers were possible). All the other sources put together amounted to less than 3%.

49.4% of the victims thought that specialised agencies for victim support would be useful, 45.0% did not think so, and 5.6% could not decide.

Attitudes towards the police

Satisfaction with reported crimes

Only 242 (37.6%) of the 643 "last criminal events" were reported to the police. In 52.1% of these cases the respondents were satisfied with police performance, 3.3% were unable to decide, and 44.6% (i.e. 108 respondents) were not satisfied. The

reasons for their dissatisfaction (multiple answers were possible and at least 3 reasons were actually given) were as follows:

- didn't do enough	44.4%
- were not interested	39.8%
- didn't find or apprehend the offender	31.5%
- didn't treat me correctly/were impolite	25.9%
- didn't keep me properly informed	20.4%
- didn't recover my property (goods)	17.6%
- were too slow to arrive	13.0%
- other reasons	8.3%

Among the main reasons for dissatisfaction provided by the respondents, "didn't do enough" was the most salient with 36.1%. However, this answer can be regarded as a general statement, and the other options as its specifications. Among these, "were not interested" leads with 20.4% as the first answer, and with 39.8% of the total.

Satisfaction regarding crime control

Half (49.9%) of the respondents thought that the police do a "good job"; 27% disagreed, while 23% could not make an assessment.

31.2% of the respondents saw the police patrolling their street at least once a day, 22.1% at least once a week, 10.5% at least once a month, 13.3% less than once a month, 16.6% never saw a patrol, and 6.3% did not know.

40.9% of the respondents thought that the police are sufficiently present, 51.7% would like them to appear more frequently, only 1.3% would like to see less of them, while 6% could not decide.

Fear of crime

Regarding "walking alone in your area after dark", 21.7% of the respondents said that they felt very safe, 45.1% felt fairly safe, 18% a bit unsafe, and 4.9% very unsafe. 10.3% did not know, or insisted that they never go out after dark. Thirty-five percent avoid certain areas or people when they go out after dark. 53.3% don't avoid them and 10.7% never go out. 22.3% go out with somebody for reasons of safety and 77.6% do not.

While these data give the impression that people generally do not fear crime too much outdoors (some groups may fear it more than others, which remains to be analysed), they do not feel that their property is equally safe: 60.9% think it is likely that somebody will try to break into their home over the next twelve months; a further 11.1% consider it very likely and only 24.1% consider it unlikely.

Crime prevention

The respondents were asked to describe the crime prevention measures they had adopted; these are shown in Table 6.

Attitudes towards punishment

When described the case of a recidivist burglar who had stolen a colour TV set, 12.8% of the respondents stated that they would fine him, 31.2% favoured a prison sentence, 35.2% (the largest single group) would give him a community service order, 6.3% preferred a suspended sentence, 11.1% would choose some other sentence, and 3.4% could not decide on the issue.

Those respondents who were in favour of imprisonment supported the following sentences:

- 1 month or less	9.9%
- 2 to 6 months	29.2%
- 6 months to 1 year	19.2%
- 1 year	18.3%
- 2 years	9.3%
- 3 years	2.9%
- 4 years or longer	6.9%

Concluding remarks

This was the first International Victimization (Crime) Survey to be carried out in Slovenia. The preliminary results proved interesting, and the methodological experience valuable.

However, these results are based solely on a simple frequency distribution. Since it was not possible to carry out the actual interviewing before September 1992, there was not enough time for more detailed analysis to be presented on this occasion, and therefore a lot remains to be done in the near future. A valuable pool of data has been collected, to be used for comparison with the official police records, previous and present experiences of the International Victim survey in other countries and results of previous studies on the issue in our country; the data need to be cross-tabulated and analysed through internal relations of variables. The international comparison in particular should be interesting.

It is also necessary to analyse the effects of the methodological approach adopted. It is already clear that the use of portable computers in face-to-face interviewing has a secure future: none of the respondents objected to this technique and, on the contrary, the survey was received rather favourably by them. What remains to be established is whether, and in what way, the results of each technique (CATI and face-to-face) differ. The survey was a very positive experience and it is hoped that the next sweep will cover the whole Republic of Slovenia and not only Ljubljana.

TABLES

Table 1: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	1.2
Theft from car	19.3
Car vandalism	27.1
Theft of motorcycle	2.7
Theft of bicycle	14.4
(Owners)	
Theft of car	1.5
Theft from car	24.6
Car vandalism	34.5
Theft of motorcycle	13.2
Theft of bicycle	18.3
Burglary with entry	7.2
Attempted burglary	8.5
Robbery	1.6
Personal theft	13.6
Sexual incidents	9.8
Assault/threat	8.5

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 2: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	0.3
Theft from car	5.7
Car vandalism	7.2
Theft of motorcycle	0.4
Theft of bicycle	3.5
(Owners)	
Theft of car	0.4
Theft from car	7.3
Car vandalism	9.2
Theft of motorcycle	2.0
Theft of bicycle	4.4
Burglary with entry	1.8
Attempted burglary	2.5
Robbery	0.2
Personal theft	3.8
Sexual incidents	3.2
Assault/threat	1.8
Consumer fraud	24.3

Corruption	0.6
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* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 3: Reported crimes (percentage based on victims)

	%
Theft of car	91.7
Theft from car	58.0
Car vandalism	20.3
Theft of motorcycle	96.3
Theft of bicycle	55.6
Burglary with entry	68.1
Attempted burglary	20.0
Robbery	18.8
Personal theft	36.0
Sexual incidents (women only)	7.3
Assault/threat	29.4

Table 4: Reasons for not reporting*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Not serious enough		46.3	45.3		21.3	13.0	15.4	27.9	45.1	21.7
Solved it myself		6.3	9.8	100.0	3.3	13.0	7.7	7.0	5.9	11.7
Inappropriate for police		3.8	14.0		8.2	8.7	15.4	5.8	11.8	16.7
Other authorities		1.3	1.4			8.7		8.1		
My family solved it		1.3				7.7				
No insurance		1.3	0.9							
Police could do nothing	100.0	43.8	38.8		39.3	34.8	23.1	33.7	19.6	28.3
Police won't do anything		10.0	7.9		16.4	4.3		10.5	3.9	10.0
Fear/dislike police		3.8	2.8		1.6	4.3	15.4	2.3	3.9	5.0
Didn't dare			0.9		1.6			2.3		1.7
Other reasons		11.3	8.9		22.9	17.4	23.1	11.6	17.6	16.7
Don't know		5.0								

* Percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police - multiple answers possible.

Table 5: Crime seriousness*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Attempted burglary %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Very serious	91.7	34.2	21.8	44.4	43.8	66.7	36.5	68.8	41.9	30.9	52.9
Fairly serious	8.3	37.3	35.8	40.7	33.3	25.0	40.0	18.8	40.4	32.7	28.2
Not serious		28.5	42.4	14.8	22.2	8.3	23.5	12.5	17.6	36.4	18.8

* Percentage based on victims of specific crimes.

Table 6: Crime prevention measures*

	%
Installed burglar alarm	5.2
Installed door locks	35.4
Installed window/door grills	5.31
Maintain watchdogs	13.0
High fence	2.8
House has a caretaker	0.3
None of these	48.2
Others	2.3
Ask somebody to watch home	49.6
Neighbours watch anyway	10.5
Possession of firearms	5.8
House insured against burglary	26.3

* Percentages based on the total sample of respondents - multiple answers possible.

MANILA (THE PHILIPPINES)

Celia Leones¹

Description of sample

Research studies in the Philippines are often hampered by the fact that the country is composed of approximately 7,100 islands. To attain a truly balanced representation, ideally, surveys should be conducted in all the fourteen regions of the country. However, due to time and financial constraints it was decided to confine the survey to the National Capital Region (NCR), the most urbanised area of the country.

The National Capital Region, more popularly known as Metropolitan Manila, is composed of four cities, namely Manila, Quezon, Pasay and Caloocan, and 13 municipalities including, Makati, Malabon, Mandaluyong, Marikina, Muntinlupa, Navotas, Las Piñas, Parañaque, Pasig, Pateros, San Juan, Taguig, and Valenzuela. Metro Manila covers a total area of 636 square kilometers, less than 0.5% of the national territory; nevertheless, it has 8,379,948 inhabitants, that is to say, 13.04% of the total population as of 1990.

The NCR has become the country's political, economic and educational centre as evidenced by the presence of 90% of the biggest corporations in the country: all the major newspapers, all the main television stations and 60% of the country's non-agricultural labour force.

In addition, about 90% of the internal revenue for the entire country is collected from this area and almost 80% of the national imports enter the country through the ports in the City of Manila. Metro Manila is also the nation's centre of non-primary production, providing almost one-half of the total national output in manufacturing, commerce and services. The seat of government is also located in this area.

The "barangays", the smallest political unit in the Philippines, are classified by the Department of Social Welfare and Development into two categories only, namely, depressed and non-depressed. These were also the categories employed in this study. Depressed "barangays" fell under the category "lower status residential area"; while non-depressed barangays are grouped under the "middle status residential area".

The barangay is considered depressed when it has a high level of poverty (at least 51% below poverty threshold of P/ 4,037 per month {1988 NEDA statistics}), a high rate of malnutrition among pre-school children, communities without a source of water supply, when it is classified as threatened or infiltrated by leftist groups, when it is disaster-prone, when there exist slum areas inaccessible by public transportation, when it lacks roads or has inadequate lighting facilities, and where a high number of street children, or neglected/exploited children and youths are to be found.

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There are about a handful of exclusive areas in the metropolis, but these were not included in the sample as the barangays were randomly selected. However, about three respondents from these exclusive barangays were chosen to augment the sample size. The original plan was to interview 1,500 respondents taken pro-rated to population by city/municipality. But, in actually conducting the survey, a total of 1,503 respondents were included in the sample size.

The sample size included 862 (52.4%) females and 641 (42.6%) males, of which 675 were within the 16-34 age bracket, 606 in the 35-54 age category and 222 were 55 and over.

Data collection technique

The research was conducted by permanent employees of the Crime Prevention and Co-ordination Service of the National Police Commission. The research team was composed of seventeen personnel members, of which only one was male. Most of the team members had formal training in research methods and techniques, while others have previously been involved in research. An average of 8 years in the field of research is shared by team members.

All interviewers were briefed by the Philippine Research Co-ordinator. The briefings specifically dealt with researchers' familiarisation with the questionnaire; instructions for the application of the instrument were also discussed. The researchers were also requested to motivate respondents who initially appeared unwilling to co-operate. The sampling and screening questions were also introduced.

Field work was carried out in April and May 1992. Interviews with the victims of crime lasted approximately 10-15 minutes, while non-victim interviews averaged about 5 minutes.

The questionnaire was implemented in two languages, English and the vernacular (Filipino) language. At the outset of the interview respondents were asked to choose which language they preferred to use.

Response rate and re-contacting

Income levels were determined by listing all income statements provided by respondents. The median was computed; so was the 25% from the lowest, and the 25% from the highest. Once all computations were made, the Philippine equivalent to the three levels of income (xxx, yyy, zzz) indicated by the questionnaire were as follows :

xxx-P/ 8,000.00
yyy-P/ 18,000.00
zzz-P/ 28,000.00

A total of 1,503 respondents were included in the gross sample. Three additional respondents were included in the original sample of 1,500 to augment the high income group. The three respondents were chosen because of their relatively high monthly income (P28,000 and above).

When collecting data, 34 refusals were encountered. Most of the reasons cited were: lack of time/or too busy with household chores; didn't want to be bothered/disliked being interviewed; doesn't know anything on the subject.

After screening the age factor and closest birth-date, researchers found that all the respondents they approached for an interview proved to be qualified for this task. Therefore, there was no need for a researcher to schedule a re-contacting session.

Victimisation rates

Respondents were asked to relate incidents of crime which they had experienced over the last five years. Various details of what had taken place were collected in the survey.

Most rates presented in this report are personal prevalence rates (i.e. the percentage of victims aged 16 or more, who experience a specific form of crime one or more times).

The rate of victimisation was high, as 808 (53.8%) admitted being victims in the period 1986 to 1992. The total number of victimisations was 1,164 where 228 (28.2%) confessed to having experienced multiple victimisations (see Table 1).

Prevalence for the last 5 years

In general, the survey reveals that crime against property has the highest rate of victimisation, indicating that the majority of the crimes are econogenic in nature. Victimisation rates for the last five years demonstrate that the highest number of victimisations is recorded under personal theft with 373 (2.8%), followed by burglary with entry at 140 (9.3%) and theft of bicycle/pedicab with 87 (5.8%) (see Table 2).

It should also be noted that among owners of motor vehicles, about 75 (29.2%) were victims of theft from cars followed by car vandalism with 40 cases (15.6%).

Prevalence for one year

The most common crime committed in the year that ensued was consumer fraud, as evidenced by 355 victims (23.6%) of the total sample. Almost 212 (60%) incidents of this kind were effected in shops of one sort or another, while 74 (21.7%) were detected in the market place. Almost 85% of this victimisation is not reported to the police.

It is disheartening to disclose that the second most common crime is corruption; with 175 (11.6%) admitting to giving "grease money". Most of these victims gave a bribe to government officials/personnel including Bureau of Internal Revenue agents, City/Municipal Hall employees, Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System employees, and Land Transportation employees. The giving of bribes was done to facilitate the faster processing of papers and to benefit from "discounted" prices for citizen's dues.

The third highest victimisation is personal theft which amounted to 137 (9.1%) (see Table 3).

Reasons for not reporting

A low reporting pattern of victims of crime is observed. Of a total of 808 victimisations only 262 (32.4%) reported to the police. Reasons for non-reporting varied.

A general tabulation, regardless of the type of crime, yielded that the most common reason was that the victim did not consider the crime serious enough to warrant reporting to the police. The second most common reason was the lack of proof or evidence or, more often, the suspect is unknown.

Most crimes involving loss of property were not reported because of the lack of evidence/proof. The public seems to believe that if evidence is weak, nothing can come of their complaints. Registering high in this category were crimes of theft of bicycle, personal theft, robbery, theft from car and theft from garages.

Victims of assault/threats, aside from considering the crime as not being serious, often know the offender (12 - 24.5%) which makes them hesitate before reporting such incidents. The close personal attachment, characteristic of the Filipino value of "pakikisama" or camaraderie, discourages referral of petty disputes to authorities/ police.

Similarly, personal crimes such as sexual offences or assaults/threats are considered inappropriate for the police. As expected, sexual offences were not reported as victims feared reprisal.

Theft of car was often reported. Only one incident was not reported because the victim solved the issue on his own; he found out that the perpetrator was known to him.

Theft from car was not reported to the police because most respondents victimised of this type of crime (21 - 37.5%) felt that the police could not do anything because they had insufficient evidence.

In cases of vandalism, almost half (46.7%) regarded the incident as not serious while six (20%) revealed that the police would not do anything about it. A relatively high percentage is reflected under the reason that the incident was inappropriate for the police; as in the case of vandalism (6 - 20%) when these incidents were often settled between the two parties.

All cases of motorcycle/tricycle theft were reported to the police.

The most common reason for non-reporting cited by almost half of the victims of thefts of bicycle is the belief that the police will not do anything because the suspect is unknown or there is insufficient evidence.

In cases of burglary, approximately 30 (31.3%) did not report because they considered the incident as not serious enough. This was closely followed by lack of proof/suspect unknown with 28 (29.2%) cases.

High rates of non-reporting were observed under attempted burglary because 44 (58.7%) admitted that they did not consider these incidents serious as they had not experienced any loss. About 17 (22.7%) also felt that there was lack of proof and that the police could do nothing. Another 13 (17.3%) felt that such incidents were inappropriate for the police.

In further evaluation, victims of crimes of theft from garages (72 - 63.7%) felt that the incidents were not serious enough so they did not bother to report the crime. Most of the cases of theft from garages involved theft of clothes from the laundry-line which occurred mostly at night.

Other reasons cited for not reporting crimes to the police included the following: the victim's lack of time/"too busy"; the belief that nothing would come of the complaint; arrival at an amicable settlement; don't trust the police; considering the incident a family problem, and considering the incident an embarrassment.

The highest rates of reporting were registered for those cases that involved heavy losses or having inflicted serious physical harm on the victims.

All five cases of theft of motorcycle or tricycle were reported to the police. About 85.7% of those victimised by theft of car had complained to the authorities. Cases

of robbery and assaults/threats ranked third and fourth but their percentages were less than half the total amount of victimisations.

Crime seriousness

In general, the seriousness of a crime is perceived mainly as being related to the amount of loss or extent of damage caused by the incident.

To some degree this observation is true, but statistical data gathered (see Table 5) revealed that a good number of people consider "amount of loss" less important than their own safety and that of families. All seven victims of theft of car considered the incident as fairly serious or not very serious because they believed that crimes against persons are more serious than crimes against property. It must also be noted that most of these victims are members of the privileged or middle class group, indicating that such a loss may be relatively minimal to them.

In contrast with this, the victims of theft from cars based their perception of its seriousness on the amount of the loss. Those who considered the incident as serious numbered 13 (17.3%), 34 (45.3%) as fairly serious, and 28 (37.3%) as not very serious.

Also in this regard, 60% of the victims of theft of motorcycle/tricycle considered the incident as serious, while 40% viewed it as fairly serious. The victims of this type of crime considered the incident to be serious because these vehicles are utilised as a means of livelihood.

Almost half of the victims of theft of bicycle consider the incident to be fairly serious, 41.4% said it was not very serious and 9.3% regarded it as very serious.

A scattered pattern is observed for burglary with entry: 36 (37.1%) victims considered it as not very serious; 48 (34.3%) as fairly serious; and 40 (28.6%) as very serious. A similar trend is observed in assault/threat cases with 25 (30.9%) very serious; 27 (33.3%) fairly serious and 29 (35.8%) not very serious.

Most victims of attempted burglary considered the cases not very serious. The same pattern is observed regarding cases of theft from garages/sheds/lockups, where 99 (79.2%) respondents considered it as being not very serious. The same applies to cases of personal theft where 171 (45.8%) registered under not very serious and 155 (41.5%) under fairly serious.

As regards robbery, most cases were regarded as fairly serious by 57 (48.7%) respondents. The same can be said for sexual offences; approximately 40% were considered to be fairly serious.

Victims support

Most of the assistance rendered to victims of crime was not provided by professional agencies assigned for the job. It cannot be denied that, despite the experience of Spanish and American colonisation, the Filipinos have retained the so-called "bayanihan" spirit with a tendency towards personalism, close family ties and interdependence. These various attitudes lead to obtaining support from relatives, friends and neighbours. Only a minimal percentage admitted to having received help from the police, the barangay officials, and social welfare agencies.

Respondents were asked if they considered the agencies set up to help victims of crime useful. Almost half (367 - 45.4%) said that specialised agencies were useful; a number of them clarified that these agencies were useful but that help was given only when requested.

Attitudes towards the police

Out of 808 victims only 181 (22.4%) reported to the police. Of this number, 91 (50.3%) expressed satisfaction with the services provided by the police. However, 89 (49.2%) claimed they were dissatisfied.

Victim dissatisfaction was attributed to the fact that the police didn't find or apprehend the offender (47 - 52.8%); goods were not recovered (89 - 49.2%); the police didn't do enough to help them (42 - 47.2%); the police didn't seem to be interested (11 - 12.4%); police didn't keep the victims properly informed (16 -18%); police officers were slow to arrive (6 - 6.7%); police were impolite (4 - 4.5%); victim did not trust the police (3 - 3.4%) and the offender was freed (1 - 1.1%).

A larger number of respondents had a negative perception of police performance with regard to crime control. 651 (43.3%) rated police performance as "not a good job". On the other hand, 555 (37%) expressed satisfaction with police control of crime in the neighbourhood. It must also to be noted that 289 (19.2%) confessed that they didn't know anything about the issue. About 8 (0.5%) respondents said police performance was inconsistent: it could be good sometimes but bad others.

Fear of crime

Respondents were asked to express their feeling of safety in their respective neighbourhoods. More than half (871 - 58%) said they felt fairly safe; 339 (22.5%) very safe; 271 (18%) a bit unsafe and 22 (1.4%) felt very unsafe.

Interviewees were also asked if they intentionally stayed away from certain streets for safety reasons. Only one third (451) admitted that they selected the streets they went along. A slightly lower percentage (27.6%) confessed they went out with someone else for safety reasons.

However, respondents show a low perception of the chances of being victimised, since they are both "careful" and crime prevention conscious. 1,008 (67.1%) said they were not likely to be victims of crime; on the other hand, the answer given by 271 (18%) was that they did not know. These respondents felt that luck plays an important part in their everyday life. Misfortunes, such as victimisation, are attributed to "kamalasan" (Filipino concept of ill-fate) or "bad luck". This shows that a number of Filipinos consider that the employment of crime prevention measures, awareness of crime procedures, etc. do not have an immediate bearing on victimisation.

Crime prevention

Information was gathered on household crime protection, particularly against burglary (see Table 6). About 85% of the households have door-locks and almost half have window grills and keep watchdogs. Other measures employed are "rondas" by "barangay tanods" (community surveillance system conducted by volunteer groups), lights turned on all night, keeping whistles, nightsticks or handcuffs at hand, posting police telephone numbers on the wall in visible places for immediate reference, and never leaving clothes on the laundry-line.

Respondents admitted to allowing someone to watch over their residence when they were away for a day or two. About 52% (784) admitted having asked their

neighbour or a caretaker to keep watch over their house, while 297 (19.8%) said they did not bother to ask because it was common practice for neighbours to keep watch over one another's empty house when the occupants were away. It is also worth mentioning that 58 (3.9%) said they did not leave the house without a caretaker.

Only a handful of households, 97 (6.4%) claimed they owned guns. Of this number, 73 were handguns, 7 were shotguns and 7 were rifles. Most of those who owned guns did so because their type of work called for it. Among those who owned guns were: police officers, military men, barangay officials, and government agents.

Attitudes towards punishment

People have different ideas about the sentence which should be assigned to offenders, as is shown in Table 7. In the opinion of most respondents, a twenty-one year old individual guilty of burglary (theft of a colour television set) for the second time, should be imprisoned. A total of 1,233 (82%) respondents - that is to say four-fifths - consider imprisonment the most appropriate sentence.

From among these, 325 (26.4%) respondents thought it wise to send the offender to prison for one year, while 230 (18.6%) interviewees were of the opinion that a 6-12 month sentence was enough. This figure was closely followed by 226 (18.3%) who thought that the detention time should be 2 years (Table 8).

TABLES

Table 1: Rates of victimisation

Victims			808	53.76%
Total No. of victimisations	1,164			
Once	508	71.8%		
More than once	228	28.2%		
Non-victims			695	46.2%
Total			1,503	100.0%

Table 2: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years)*

	Frequency	%
Theft of car	7	0.5
Theft from car	75	5.0
Car vandalism	40	2.7
Theft of motorcycle, moped, moped scooter, tricycle	5	0.3
Theft of bicycle, pedicab	87	5.8
(Owners)		
Theft of car	7	2.7
Theft from car	75	29.2
Car vandalism	40	15.6
Theft of motorcycle, moped, moped scooter, tricycle	5	7.3
Theft of bicycle, pedicab	87	23.0
Burglary with entry	140	9.3
Attempted burglary	84	5.6
Robbery	117	7.8

Theft from garage/shed/lockup	125	8.3
Personal theft	373	24.8
Sexual incidents	30	3.5
Assault/threat	81	5.4

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 3: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year)*

	Frequency	(%)
Theft of car	5	0.3
Theft from car	27	1.8
Car vandalism	13	0.9
Theft of motorcycle, moped, moped scooter, tricycle	1	0.1
Theft of bicycle, pedicab	35	2.3
(Owners)		
Theft of car	5	2.0
Theft from car	27	10.5
Car vandalism	13	5.1
Theft of motorcycle, moped, moped scooter, tricycle	1	1.5
Theft of bicycle, pedicab	35	9.7
Burglary with entry	44	3.0
Attempted burglary	32	2.1
Theft from garages/sheds/lock-ups	50	3.3
Robbery	41	2.8
Personal theft	137	9.1
Sexual incidents	10	1.2
Assault/threat	24	1.6
Consumer fraud	355	23.6
Corruption	175	11.6

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 4: Reported crimes

	Frequency	%
Theft of car	6	85.7
Theft from car	19	25.3
Car vandalism	10	25.0
Theft of motorcycle	5	100.0
Theft of bicycle	20	23.0
Burglary with entry	44	31.6
Attempted burglary	9	10.7
Theft from garages/sheds/lockups	12	9.6
Robbery	49	41.9
Personal theft	51	13.7
Sexual incidents	5	16.7
Assault/threat	32	39.5

Table 5: Crime seriousness*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Attempted burglary %	Theft from garages %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Very serious		17.3	2.5	60.0	9.3	28.6	3.6	1.6	31.6	12.6	33.3	30.9
Fairly serious	42.9	45.3	40.0	40.0	49.4	34.3	36.9	19.2	48.8	41.5	40.0	33.3
Not serious	57.1	37.3	57.5		41.4	37.1	59.5	79.2	19.7	45.8	26.7	35.8

* Percentage based on victims of specific crimes.

Table 6: Crime prevention measures

	Frequency	%
Installed burglar alarm	35	2.3
Installed door locks	1,276	84.9
Installed window/door grills	805	53.6
Maintain watchdogs	748	49.8
High fence	248	16.5
House has a caretaker	25	1.7
None of these		
Others (specify)		
- ronda by barangay official	2	0.1
- agent	1	0.1
- always turn on lights	1	0.1
- keeps whistle, nightstick or handcuff	2	0.1
- posted telephone numbers of police on wall	1	0.8
Ask somebody to watch home	784	52.1
Neighbours watch anyway	297	19.8
Never leave house without person	58	3.9
Possession of firearms	97	6.4
Of which:		
- handgun	73	75.2
- shotgun	7	7.2
- rifle	7	7.2
Never leave clothes on the laundry line at night	1	0.1

Table 7: Attitudes towards punishment

	Frequency	%
Fine	107	7.1
Prison	1,233	82.0
Community service	53	3.5
Suspended sentence	7	0.5
Fine and prison	3	0.2
Death penalty	7	0.5
Reform but not in jail	1	0.1
Amicable settlement	3	0.2
Refer to barangay/turn over to police	9	0.6
Cut finger/hand	25	0.6
Kill him	2	0.1
Just let him return item	3	0.2
Imprisonment and community service	2	0.1
Reprimand	3	0.2
Give another chance	5	0.3
Physical torture	10	0.7
It depends	5	0.3
Fine, prison and pay	2	0.1

Don't know	23	1.5
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Table 8: Years of imprisonment

Period	Frequency	%
1 month or less	40	3.2
2-6 months	152	12.3
6-12 months	230	18.6
1 year	325	26.4
2 years	226	18.3
3 years	62	5.1
4 years	23	1.9
5 years	39	3.2
6-10 years	29	2.3
11-15 years	2	0.2
16-20 years		
21-25 years		
More than 25 years	2	0.2
Life sentence	28	2.3
Don't know	69	5.6
As prescribed by law	13	1.0

MOSCOW (RUSSIA)

Serge Timoshenko¹

Introduction

The survey was partly sponsored by the Ministry of Justice, the Netherlands, with the support of Moscow City Council, which covered the field work.

Despite some errors it was possible to achieve the main objectives of the study. We are now aware of the real possibilities of conducting this and similar researches in our country, from the point of view of both contents and research technique. Our personal role here was simply to co-ordinate the efforts of most experienced Moscow professional sociologists who nowadays attempt to work according to Western standards. Most of the variable correlations and results of previous surveys carried out in other countries are rather similar to those of this research.

Sample

The gross sample of the research consisted of around 1,170 respondents, although it is not easy to present a precise figure. In some cases respondents did not even allow the interviewers to explain the reason for their visit. One reason for this reaction might be the absence of similar research techniques in Russia which results in a lack of public awareness and appreciation of such surveys.

Another reason is that Russia is now undergoing a period of psychological crisis and strong stratification processes, especially in the large cities. Compared to previous years, it is now possible to observe a wide variety of gamblers, beggars, and real and false refugees approaching people in streets, on public transport and even outside building entrances. Therefore, a person who is unexpectedly approached by a stranger mentioning such words as "crime", "victim" or other similar expressions, usually associates this with requests for help or money.

All the respondents were living, for some reason or another, within the administrative boundaries of Moscow. With the exception of the large industrial centre, these boundaries include areas that are atypical in European cities. In any case, all sorts of areas within Moscow are likely to be presented in the research. The sub-contractor commissioned for the survey had four years' experience in this particular field (i.e. in conducting various kinds of researches using Moscow only as a sample²).

¹ Survey co-ordinator, Moscow, Russia.

² It might be interesting to mention that the attention of sociologists has turned to the population of Moscow following the difficulties encountered in conducting a large sample research in most regions of the USSR, where the communist nomenclatures are less progressive than that of the capital. Another hypothesis has been proposed by Prof. T. Zeslavskaya, according to whom Moscow provides a model for the whole country with respect to people's social and political views and attitudes. The main idea of this hypothesis is that the Muscovites tend to be a year ahead of the rest of Russia as far as attitudes are concerned.

Therefore, the ideas expressed by the rest of Russia would be the same as those expressed in Moscow one year after the date of research.

Composition

The quota was based on age and gender, and then data were adjusted to include educational levels. Table 1 presents a percentage breakdown of the entire adult Muscovite population (16 years and over) according to age and gender. The first row of figures refers to estimates provided by the Moscow Branch of the Central Russian Statistical Agency; the second row presents the share according to the survey and the third row shows the figures obtained after adjustment.

A division into groups according to the level of education is then presented in Table 2.

Some problems of area definitions were encountered and these are mentioned in a subsequent paragraph.

Data collection technique

Only the method of face-to-face interviewing was adopted. Although it was initially attempted to use the CATI method, this proved unfeasible because, as was pointed out by both of the well-known Moscow research agencies specialising in telephone polls, it is not presently possible in Russia to carry out a random sample telephone interview for more than 10 minutes. One reason for this might be an unfamiliarity on the part of the population with such interviewing techniques. Another reason might be related to some specific features of the Soviet culture which reflect common suspicion towards the telephone, such as the widespread myths, but with an element of truth, about particular KGB interests in this field.

According to the rules of the Agency and the conditions in Moscow, the following technique was used: after 5 p.m. the interviewer usually identified an appropriate flat (using the six criteria adopted for this research, plus an extra one which will be described in the following paragraph) and marked it on his travel chart. He then called or knocked on the door, introduced himself, if necessary showed his interviewer's certificate and tried to contact the person. Each interviewer received age and gender shares according to the general quota of the field research. As a rule, the work of each interviewer was directly controlled once or twice by a supervisor who contacted the same respondent visited by the interviewer. Indirect contacts were also frequent.

Interviewing company and interviewers

The field work was carried out by a permanent team from VCIOM (Russian Center for Public Opinion and Market Research, formally known as the All-Union Center for Public Opinion and Market Research, or the "Zaslavskaya Center"). Given the unusual theme of the research for Russian sociological agencies, the coordinators intervened during the whole of the field work, especially in the pilot study (consisting of 20 interviews), and in all discussions on legal definitions.

The sample frame was selected using the standard methods for social and economic interviews in Moscow (which are the main areas dealt with by the contracting firm). The only amendment made was to include those types of dwellings and outbuildings which, according to Soviet criminological tradition, are likely to be a target of, or the ideal dwelling for, various types of criminals. Thus, the

distribution of the respondents was planned so as to cover people living in the central streets of areas with good transport, city infrastructures, lighting etc., as well as those living in areas with quite the opposite characteristics.

No newcomers were included among the interviewers, who totalled around 60 persons. At least half of the employees have carried out interviewing in Moscow as a regular secondary occupation for some years. All the interviewers attended a complete course in the VCIOM premises. The supervisor of the interviewers tried to select the most reliable persons for the job, given, firstly, the unusually complicated nature of this research, and secondly, the relatively novel theme under survey for both the Agency and the other institutions of applied sociology.

Previous experience with surveys carried out by VCIOM has shown that if each interviewer was provided with a large number of questionnaires, this produced a negative influence on the results of the study. Therefore, for this survey each interviewer was given no more than 15 to 18 questionnaires.

Particular problems encountered

Problems related to interviewers, respondents and reactions on the part of the authorities were considerably less than had been foreseen by the organisers of the research, including those from VCIOM. Virtually no problem was encountered when discussing such unfamiliar topics for Russian society as sexual offences, possession of weapons and many other offences. Furthermore, only three linguistic amendments were made to the whole text.

During the formulation of the questionnaire a few minor problems were solved as follows:

- a) a direct translation of the word "victim" was avoided since, in common Russian slang, the word "æetra" can be used in a negative context, reflecting some features of former Soviet ideology. We therefore used similar phrases with clear meanings and expressions such as "You have probably suffered from ...".
- b) It was soon realised that, even nowadays, it is very difficult to provide a reliable estimate of the status of any Moscow region. The structure of territories in the city are not the same as either those described in Western social ecologists' studies, or as the territories found in large European cities. Most regions present a real mixture not only of areas, but also of housing and other non-residential buildings. For decades most of the inhabitants of the city have had no real opportunity to move to different regions from those inhabited by their parents. For example, it used to be considered an offence to pay money in order to move from one house (which was rented from the state) to a better one (under the same rent regime). Of course, the Party and administrative oligarchy built their own housing estates which were mostly micro zones either in the centre or in the finer new areas of the city. But even this policy was uncommon: some of the most prestigious buildings are "hidden" in the new central part of the city and masked by other housing and landscape features. In short, it was not possible to identify the area status. It was therefore decided to use a method specially created for the Moscow territory by the Soviet Academy of Science Institute of Geography in 1986. The interviewer's task for this part of the work was simply to

mark the exact position of the respondent's house on a large map. It was thus left to another specially delegated person to identify the status of the area.

- c) Information on the quartile distribution of personal incomes, which was necessary for the research, was not provided by either the Central Statistical Agency of Russia or its Moscow Branch. For technical and political reasons, the Agency and other similar state bodies have avoided providing current figures of personal incomes for the winter and spring period. Their average 3-monthly figures are unreliable because of the uneven rate of inflation (which sometimes varies from month to month). The interviewers were therefore simply instructed to ask the respondent to calculate the average income per family member for February 1992 (this is not a common definition for the population) and then record the figures. The average income of 853 rubles per month was close to the results of a research on Muscovite incomes, carried out in February by an independent sociological agency "Opinion", and sponsored by the Russian National Bank, which indicated 900 rubles as an average income.

During field work, the interviewers were faced with the problem of explaining to the respondents how to calculate the value of the losses or damages resulting from the victimisation. In the first place, officially unrecognised hidden inflation has existed in Russia for years. It is difficult, therefore, to reconstruct its rate as well as to follow step by step the tremendous new rate of inflation since the beginning of the last year. During this period (up to March 1992) consumer prices in Moscow have increased approximately 16 fold (and by 20-30% in March). Secondly, different social groups paid different prices for consumer products -especially "non-essential" goods and services - a phenomenon that continues today³. In Moscow there are many administrative bodies, including the former All-Union Center, whose staff is entitled to various consumer privileges. Since the people in the city belong to one particular strata or another, no one knows the real so-called "average price". It was therefore decided to ask the respondents to state the actual costs incurred at the moment of the crime.

Data collection

All the data, without exception, were collected between 3 and 30 March 1992. The pilot study took place in late February 1992. The interviews were administered in Russian.

Response rate and recontacting

As already mentioned, the gross sample amounted to approximately 1,170 persons. A total of 1,002 completed questionnaires were received; i.e. 85.6% of the gross sample. Comments on the various reasons for refusals have already been provided in the paragraph on sampling. Most of the refusals, whether specific or

³ Cars, motorcycles, television sets, videos, jewelry and other items that are "most popular" among thieves, belong to this category.

not, came from the most prestigious buildings. Practically no recontacting was made except to control interviewers.

Victimisation rates

There is a particular interest, on the part of the public, the mass media and law enforcement agencies in Moscow, in vehicle-related crimes and especially theft from cars. They are considered by the public as one of the main criminal problems for the inhabitants and, as a result, people avoid leaving anything in their cars. Although this fear can be explained by the obvious phenomena of increasing social stratification and increasing poverty, other explanations are also pertinent. The period of perestroika has witnessed the purchase, on the part of many new business agencies and businessmen, of cars that were considered rather prestigious and fashionable according to Russian standards. This has not been matched, however, by the creation of real parking areas or car storage systems of the type found in American and European cities, on the part of the Moscow authorities. As a result, alongside the other vehicles, these new cars are parked all over the city, except in garages and supervised zones. These easy new targets for criminals have encouraged the professionalisation of thieves, who at the same time, have made other forms of city transport more vulnerable.

Car vandalism in Moscow is of an exclusively economic nature; people usually regard it as simply stealing spare car parts (see Table 4).

A brief introduction is necessary to understand the figures related to bribery. From the point of view of people living in most other countries, Soviet society can be characterised by an abnormal distribution of power. Given the impossibility to find any goods or services regularly on the market, people responsible for providing consumption goods of any form, such as porters and shop assistants, assume the same significance as the official responsible functionaries. Therefore, although a legal notion exists in Russia, as in other legal systems, whereby bribery is associated with officials, the Soviets usually consider any person with the real power to do so as a bribe taker.

Reasons for not reporting

Figures related to the reporting of motorcycle thefts and reasons for not reporting car thefts are not reliable (see Tables 5 and 6). Items for the car, such as television sets, videos, modern radios and car refrigerators are not as common in Russia as in Western and even some developing countries. For this reason more importance is given to thefts from a car in Russia compared to other countries.

The constant supply shortage and expensive black market prices of spare parts do not allow victims of this form of crime to consider car vandalism as a minor offence.

The greater negative attitude of the public towards the Moscow militia (the Soviet name for the police force) and its professional responsibility and effectiveness, compared to other countries (see the results of the previous International Crime Survey), can be explained by two distinctive features of the militia. First of all, the Russian militia is a highly militarised and complete force. The real responsibility and motivation of its officers exist only within the boundaries of

the whole organisation, and this does not allow for a serious interest in community and public needs. Secondly, the Moscow militia is directly involved in political struggle and is often used, by both old and new politicians, for political and other purposes that are not related to crime control. These characteristics obviously do not add popularity to the forces.

Crime seriousness

As a result of strong old ideological influences, people do not usually consider personal violence to be as dangerous as crimes against society, the state and its institutions. This partly explains the relatively low importance given to personal violence in comparison with other crimes (see Table 7).

Victim support

Given the long-term negative ideological association of the term "victims", the rights and interests of this group of people are still not seriously represented in legislation, law-enforcement and social security agencies. Hence no cases of assistance from special victim support agencies or the Church were mentioned. More than half of the victims who had reported the crime (55.7%) were favourable to the idea of a special support agency. Those who had not reported the crime were also of the same opinion (50.4%). Victims who had reported a crime received most support from friends (38%) and the militia (31%).

Attitudes towards the police

Common attitudes towards the role of the militia in society (mentioned in an earlier paragraph) have a great impact on particular attitudes towards this aspect of its activity. The attitudes of people living in traditional prestigious areas which are controlled by the militia are very different from those of the new rich who are decisively dissatisfied with the effectiveness of the militia. This could be explained by the fact that the militia still tends to focus its attention on those areas that are traditionally occupied by the former Party and administrative nomenclature (see the remarks about Moscow housing in a previous paragraph), and has not yet directed its attention to the residential areas of the new rich.

Fear of crime

The emergence of fear of crime in Moscow can be considered a relatively new socio-psychological phenomenon which emerged in the mid-eighties (in the same way that it emerged in Western countries in the late seventies). It can partly be explained by the rise of "glasnost", which gives more freedom to the mass media, greater access to statistics, and a totally new experience for society - the right to criticise. Almost nine out of ten respondents had discussed the issue of crime during the two weeks before the interview; and fear of crime ranked third among the most popular crime-related topics of conversation (8% of all respondents and 9.3% from those talking). The crime that people expressed most fear of during conversation is burglary. On the other hand, 64.2% of the respondents thought that

there was a likely or very likely possibility of their being burgled within the next twelve months.

Crime prevention

The relatively small number of burglar alarm systems in use can be explained by the long-term official monopoly on the part of the militia in this field. Most of the housing in Moscow consists of apartment blocks built according to a small variety of designs, and old two-to-five-storey buildings in poor conditions. This might explain the small number of high fences and caretakers employed.

In Russia, the possession of firearms by ordinary citizens is prohibited and considered an offence (with the exception of guns for officially registered hunters).

The small percentage of houses covered by an insurance policy corresponds with the low insurance rate of personal property in general, and reflects the people's suspicious attitude towards state-run insurance agencies (private companies are a rather new phenomenon).

Attitudes towards punishment

The long-term practice of severe sentencing in the USSR is reflected in the results of the survey. Half of the respondents considered imprisonment as the best method for dealing with burglars, the average sentence chosen being five years or more (preference for imprisonment is stronger among victims). It must be emphasized that early release from custody was less common in the former USSR than in most other countries. Also, after 70 years of non-market society, only 9.5% of the respondents favoured a fine. Despite the fact that current Russian legislation does not envisage community service in the strict sense, more than one-fifth of the Moscowites recommended this measure despite its unfamiliarity. The relatively small number of people applying for a death penalty or physical punishment (2.5% in all) is an indication of an increased public awareness of the complicated, contradictory nature of crime.

TABLES

Table 1: Breakdown (in percentages) of adult Muscovite population according to age and gender.

	Gender		Age				
	Male	Female	16-20	20-24	25-39	40-54	53 and over
Central Russian Statistical Agency estimates	44	56	2	5	21	27	45
Survey sample (gross)	45	55	7	9	33	23	28
Survey sample (final)	44	56	6	9	33	23	28

Table 2: Breakdown (in percentages) of adult Muscovite population according to level of education

	Higher education	Completed secondary education	Other education
Central Russian Statistical Agency estimates	36	50	14
Survey sample (gross)	17	48	35
Survey sample (final)	17	49	34

Table 3: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	1.4
Theft from car	13.7
Car vandalism	9.1
Theft of motorcycle	0.3
Theft of bicycle	8.2
(Owners)	
Theft of car	4.9
Theft from car	48.1
Car vandalism	31.9
Theft of motorcycle	11.1
Theft of bicycle	18.7
Burglary with entry	6.2
Attempted burglary	11.1
Robbery	7.7
Personal theft	26.0
Sexual incidents	9.5
Assault/threat	12.8

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 4: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	0.8
Theft from car	6.3
Car vandalism	4.7
Theft of motorcycle	0.2
Theft of bicycle	2.8
(Owners)	
Theft of car	2.3
Theft from car	22.1
Car vandalism	16.5
Theft of motorcycle	7.4
Theft of bicycle	6.4
Burglary with entry	2.0
Attempted burglary	3.9
Robbery	3.4
Personal theft	10.7
Sexual incidents	3.4
Assault/threat	5.0
Consumer fraud	51.5
Corruption	11.8

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 5: Reported crimes

	%
Theft of car	85.7
Theft from car	43.1
Car vandalism	22.1
Theft of motorcycle	100.0
Theft of bicycle	25.6
Burglary with entry	56.5
Attempted burglary	32.4
Robbery	16.9
Personal theft	19.9
Sexual incidents	7.4
Assault/threat	19.5

Table 6: Reasons for not reporting*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Not serious enough		14.1			22.0	8.3	27.3	23.2	18.4	31.4
Solved it myself		5.1	13.9		11.9	37.5	13.6	9.5	28.6	13.7
Inappropriate for police		5.1	23.6		10.2	12.5	27.3	18.6	20.4	17.6
Other authorities	20.0	1.3			1.7		1.5	2.9	4.1	1.0
My family solved it		2.6	8.3		5.1	4.2	3.0	2.9	8.2	1.0
No insurance		7.7	5.6		1.7		1.5			1.0
Police could do nothing	20.0	46.2	34.7		39.0	25.0	33.3	38.6	20.4	15.7
Police won't do anything	20.0	42.3	29.2		39.0	29.2	21.2	26.2	16.3	18.6
Fear/dislike police		5.1	8.3		5.1	4.2	9.1	9.5	14.3	10.8
Didn't dare			1.4				6.1	1.0	12.2	4.9
Other reasons	40.0	6.4	8.3		3.4		4.5	6.2	6.1	8.8
Don't know		1.3	1.4		1.7			1.4	2.0	1.0

* Percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police - multiple answers possible.

Table 7: Crime seriousness*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Very serious	66.7	13.1	5.6	33.3	10.3	36.4	11.7	18.0	27.8	16.1
Fairly serious	33.3	40.9	37.8	66.7	39.7	41.8	19.5	34.0	40.7	30.6
Not serious		46.7	56.7		50.0	21.8	68.8	48.0	31.5	54.0

* Percentage based on victims of specific crimes.

Table 8: Crime prevention measures*

	%
Installed burglar alarm	5.7
Installed door locks	21.2
Installed window/door grills	4.2
Maintain watchdogs	14.6
High fence	0.2
House has a caretaker	3.8
None of these	50.3
Others	6.6
Ask somebody to watch home	25.8
Neighbours watch anyway	14.9
Possession of firearms	5.7
House is insured against burglary	14.7

* Percentages based on total sample of respondents - multiple answers possible.

THE NETHERLANDS

Albert R. Hauber¹

Description of the sample

During the first months of 1992 a nationwide sample of 2,000 persons were interviewed. A total of six weight factors - age, gender, household income, level of education, town size, house owned or rented - should provide a representative sample of the Dutch adult population (i.e. aged 16 years or over). This conclusion is reasonable: the age and gender breakdown is fairly in balance, although some overrepresentation in the above average income group does exist. This might be due to the data collection method that was used.

Data collection technique

Interviewing was carried out by Interview Nederland B.V., a research company specialised in marketing and sales information. The Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) technique was used. Telephone numbers were chosen by the computer by means of a regionally well spread random person selection procedure, and were then used to select households. A random selection procedure was again used within each household, based on questions about the composition of the household. Only respondents of at least 16 years of age were qualified to be interviewed.

Although all interviewers were experienced and well trained, they were personally briefed with the use of written instructions.

Besides providing an explanation of the structure of the questionnaire, much effort was made to train interviewers how to motivate unwilling respondents to cooperate. In case of doubt the respondents could contact a person to check the authenticity of the survey.

No particular problems were encountered, probably because this procedure has already been experimented, and the work was completed within the first months of 1992, according to the time schedule. The questionnaire was administered in Dutch.

Response rate and recontacting

In general CATI surveys have a high non-response rate. A total of 4,924 telephone numbers were used, forming the so-called gross sample.

From this total should be deducted non-existent numbers, business numbers, and numbers that are always engaged or never reply.

Of the 3,012 relevant interviews 2,000 could be used, representing a response rate of 66%. 699 persons refused to be interviewed and 313 interviews were not

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valid. A repeated attempt to recontact the unsuccessful respondents after some weeks led to an increase of the response rate to the above-mentioned level.

Victimisation rates

Table 1 shows the five-year prevalence rates for a series of crimes. It is clear from this table that besides the more or less accepted high frequency of cycle theft (31.1%) in the ownership category, car vandalism (31.8%) and theft from car (24.7%) were also extremely high. But also in the context of violence it is significant that 10.4% were victim of assault/threat.

These percentages are significantly higher than those of 1989: vehicle crimes grew from 18.7% to 22.8%, property crimes from 20.4% to 24.4%, and contact crimes from 6.1% to 7%. The same trend can be noted when comparing the two 5-year periods; here too the 1992 percentages for the above-mentioned crime groups are approximately 10% higher. Only burglary remained stable in all these cases.

From a comparison of the 5-year prevalence rates (Table 1) and 1-year prevalence rates (Table 2) of the 1992 survey, an overrepresentation of victimisation can be noted for the last year. This is completely in keeping with the general increase in criminality in the Netherlands mentioned above.

Reported crime

The generally high reporting rates shown in Table 3 are striking. In most cases, such as car theft, the offence must be reported to the police in order to be refunded by the insurance company. Victims of car vandalism are less eager to report the incident, while sexual incidents rank lowest in this respect.

Reasons for not reporting

Table 4 provides an overview of the reasons for which victims did not report the crime to the police.

The most frequently mentioned reason for not reporting - and this is valid for all crimes - was that the crime was not serious enough. The second most frequently mentioned reason was that the victim thought the police could do nothing. In cases of bicycle theft and theft from cars, 22.5% and 15.8% respectively of the victims thought that the police would not do anything. 30.7% of the victims involved in sexual incidents solved the problem themselves.

A total of almost 40% of the crimes were not reported to the police; this percentage is rather independent of age, gender, income level and urban or rural areas of residence.

Crime seriousness

Table 5 presents an evaluation by the respondents of the seriousness of specific crimes.

It is clear that burglary with entry is viewed as very serious by more than 90%, and attempted burglary by more than 50% of the victims.

Theft of cars and motorcycles, robbery and assault/threat were evaluated as fairly serious or very serious by 70 to 80% of the victims. Finally, theft of bicycles and theft from sheds were generally viewed as less serious.

Victim support

The main institutions that supported victims were: the family in 22.4% of the cases, the police (14.4%) and social welfare organisations (only 1.3%). Religious and voluntary organisations put together attributed to less than 1% of the cases. Women and elderly people tend to hold a more positive attitude towards victim support than men and young people.

Attitudes towards the police

On the whole, 73.9% of the respondents were satisfied with the way the police dealt with the reported incident(s). Although the variables related to gender, age, income and education were of little influence, women, elderly people and respondents with a lower level of education seemed slightly more satisfied with police performance. Respondents living in average sized urban areas were most satisfied, especially those living in their own house.

When asked to provide reasons for dissatisfaction with the police, it is interesting to note that 40.8% of the respondents, and in particular women, felt that the police did not do enough, while 36.7% thought that the police were not interested. Although most of the reasons for dissatisfaction are vague, a small percentage are more specific. Thus, 10.7% said they were disappointed by the fact that the police did not find or apprehend the offenders and 12.6% said that they did not recover their property. An important cause of dissatisfaction, expressed by 8.9% of the respondents, was that the police did not treat them correctly or were impolite.

In comparison with the relatively high level of satisfaction with police performance regarding reported crimes, satisfaction with the police in controlling crime in the area was significantly lower. In this respect, only 49.6% of the respondents thought the police were doing a good job.

In this context women, middle-aged people, people earning average incomes, people with a higher level of education and especially people living in larger cities, were most dissatisfied. In the bigger cities only 41.4% of the respondents believed that the police do a good job in controlling crime in their area.

It is interesting to compare the results of the nationwide research with an evaluation of area team policing in different districts of Amsterdam. As can be seen in Figure 1, between 45% and 55% of the respondents evaluated the job of the police in their district as excellent. This is significantly higher than the 41.4% of respondents living in the greater urban areas who expressed satisfaction in the nationwide survey.

Fear of crime

21.7% of the respondents admitted that they feel a bit or very unsafe when walking alone in their area after dark. Some interesting differences between sub-categories are worth mention, however. Women (34.6%) felt unsafe much more frequently than men (8.6%); elderly people (33.3%) more often than young people (14.9%); less educated people more frequently (32.8%) than more educated people (15.7%); and finally, inhabitants of big cities (29.3%) more frequently than inhabitants of rural areas (9.7%).

When interpreting these data, one has to realise that the data are also average in these sub-categories, and presumably have a high standard of deviation. This is also the case in larger cities where inhabitants may feel extremely safe in some areas but, unfortunately, very unsafe in others. For example, this is clear from the results of recent research in a residential area in the city of Rotterdam (Provenierswijk) near to a legalised local community centre for drug and alcohol addicts. More than half of the population felt unsafe or very unsafe in their own area of residence.

Crime prevention

Crime can be reduced by developing strategies to make it more difficult to commit criminal acts, and Table 6 presents an overview of preventive measures adopted in this sense.

The Table shows that 71.5% of the houses adopt at least one preventive measure against crime, the most popular of which is a door lock (58.7% of the respondents used them). Watchdogs are rather frequently used, especially in rural areas: 23% compared to 10.7% in larger cities. Special window and door grills are also becoming popular. Only 4% of the respondents used a caretaker or security guard, although this latter figure rose to 7.8% in the case of elderly respondents and 7.6% for less educated people. Instead, the most usual tendency was for neighbours to watch the house when people are away. This combination of caretaker and neighbour watch was used by 59.2% of the respondents, with a peak of 63.6% in the rural areas, in cases of an absence of one or two days.

Only 2.3% of all respondents, and 3.8% of the males, admitted to the possession of a firearm, while 1% of the men refused to answer. This weapon was used as protection against crime in 10.1% of the cases, but in the bigger cities rose to 23.6%. Since it is illegal to possess firearms without a special permission in the Netherlands, the reliability of these data is questionable.

In most cases (43.5%) just one crime prevention measure was used to protect the houses. However, this was considered insufficient by some respondents who used two (19.8%) or even three or more (8.2%) different means to protect their homes.

Attitudes towards punishment

Table 7 lists the proposed sentences for a recidivist burglar who has stolen a colour TV. Most of the respondents, (47.6%) considered a community service order as the most appropriate sanction. The majority of the 9.4% of respondents who preferred a fine were women, middle-aged people, and people with a higher level of education and often living in a rural area. On the other hand, most of the 25.9% of those respondents who chose a prison sentence of between 2 and 6 months were men and younger people with a lower level of education.

FIGURE and TABLES

Figure 1: Satisfaction with police in Amsterdam districts

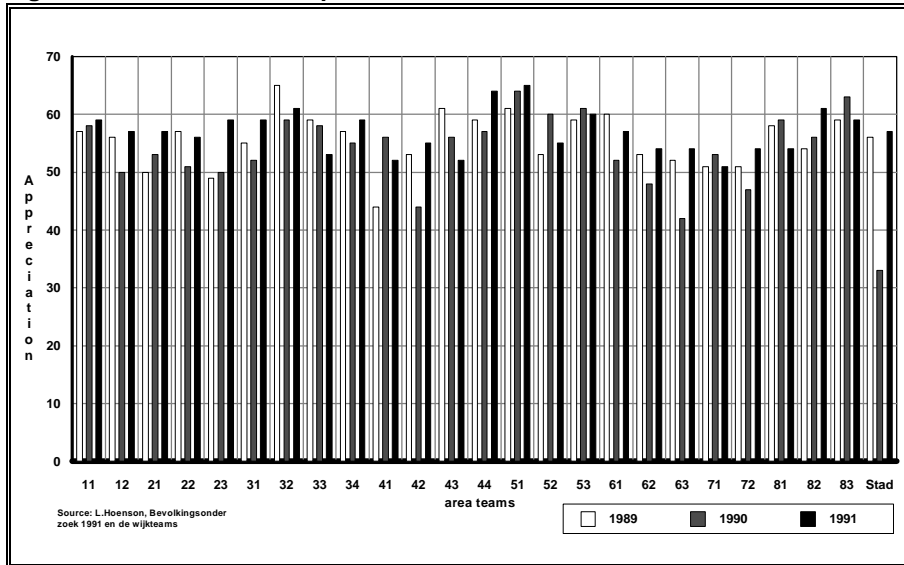


Table 1: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	2.1
Theft from car	19.1
Car vandalism	24.6
Theft of motorcycle	2.8
Theft of bicycle	28.6
(Owners)	
Theft of car	2.7
Theft from car	24.7
Car vandalism	31.8
Theft of motorcycle	14.5
Theft of bicycle	31.1
Burglary with entry	9.9
Attempted burglary	10.4
Robbery	2.8
Personal theft	14.2
Sexual incidents	6.5
Assault/threat	10.4
Pickpocketing	5.4
Sexual assault	0.8

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 2: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	0.5
Theft from car	6.8
Car vandalism	9.5
Theft of motorcycle	1.0
Theft of bicycle	9.9
(Owners)	
Theft of car	0.7
Theft from car	8.4
Car vandalism	11.8
Theft of motorcycle	5.0
Theft of bicycle	10.8
Burglary with entry	2.0
Attempted burglary	3.0
Robbery	1.0
Personal theft	4.6
Sexual incidents	2.3
Assault/threat	4.0
Consumer fraud	4.9
Corruption	
Theft from garages, lockups	3.0
Pickpocketing	2.1
Sexual assault	0.7
Assault with force	1.3

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 3: Reported crimes

	%
Theft of car	90.1
Theft from car	74.6
Car vandalism	39.3
Theft of motorcycle	93.9
Theft of bicycle	67.1
Burglary with entry	90.4
Attempted burglary	51.7
Robbery	59.0
Personal theft	53.4
Sexual incidents	12.2
Assault/threat	43.49

Table 4: Reasons for not reporting*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/ threat %
Not serious enough	0.0	40.0	49.1	0.0	20.9	19.6	26.4	31.5	36.9	31.5
Solved it myself	0.0	1.5	7.0	0.0	5.4	25.8	13.5	14.0	30.7	14.0
Inappropriate for police	0.0	8.9	6.6	0.0	6.8	0.0	12.7	12.6	9.7	12.6
Other authorities	0.0	1.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0
My family solved it	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No insurance	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	5.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Police could do nothing	0.0	23.4	20.6	0.0	35.2	16.2	12.5	16.5	17.0	16.5
Police won't do anything	0.0	15.8	14.0	0.0	22.5	8.3	7.6	11.9	9.9	11.9
Fear/dislike police	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	1.6	0.8
Didn't dare	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	4.3	9.3	4.0	3.0	4.0
Other reasons	0.0	6.7	7.9	0.0	14.9	11.1	26.7	13.2	10.3	13.2
Don't know	100.0	6.1	4.2	100.0	3.4	25.1	0.0	2.6	2.1	2.6

* Percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police - multiple answers possible.

Table 5: Crime seriousness*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Attempted burglary %	Theft from garages %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/ threat %
Very serious	48.2	11.5	8.1	41.2	14.4	90.4	51.7	19.4	46.5	25.0	28.9	41.6
Fairly serious	31.1	30.9	25.0	34.7	38.9	9.1	42.2	24.8	22.6	31.4	36.6	31.1
Not serious	20.7	57.6	66.9	24.1	46.7	0.5	6.1	55.8	30.9	43.7	34.4	27.2

* Percentage based on victims of specific crimes.

Table 6: Crime prevention measures*

	%
Installed burglar alarm	7.6
Installed door locks	58.7
Installed window/door grills	14.7
Maintain watchdogs	15.3
High fence	8.7
House has a caretaker	4.4
None of these	27.9
Others	.6

Ask somebody to watch home	
Neighbours watch anyway	
Possession of firearms	2.3
House is insured against burglary	

* Percentages based on total sample of respondents - multiple answers possible.

Table 7: Attitudes towards punishment

	Total	Sex		Age			Household income		
		Male	Female	16-34 years	35-54 years	55+ years	> average	< average	unknown
Base all respondents	2000	990	1009	667	760	573	667	1012	321
Fine	187	85	103	61	77	50	58	102	27
%	9.4	8.5	10.2	9.1	10.1	8.7	8.7	10.1	8.4
Prison	518	283	235	213	152	153	183	254	81
%	25.9	28.6	23.3	32.0	20.0	26.8	27.4	25.1	25.4
Community services	951	438	513	296	404	251	326	477	148
%	47.6	44.2	50.8	44.4	53.2	43.7	48.9	47.2	46.1
Suspended sentence	158	86	72	56	67	35	45	91	23
%	7.9	8.6	7.2	8.4	8.9	6.1	6.7	9.0	7.1
Any other sentence	88	52	36	21	28	39	29	46	13
%	4.4	5.3	3.6	3.1	3.7	6.9	4.4	4.5	4.2
Don' t know	97	47	50	20	31	45	27	42	28
%	4.8	4.7	5.0	3.0	4.1	7.9	4.0	4.1	8.8
Total	2000	990	1009	667	760	573	667	1012	321
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

	Education completed at			Town size (thousands)				House	
	<15 years	16-19 years	>20 years	<10 inh.	10-15 inh.	>50 inh.	unknown	owned	rented
Base all respondents	401	855	559	424	655	680	242	1082	897
Fine	36	69	64	35	72	59	23	109	74
%	9.0	8.1	11.4	8.2	10.9	8.6	9.3	10.1	8.3
Prison	118	241	102	108	153	187	70	247	266
%	29.5	28.1	18.3	25.5	23.4	27.5	29.0	22.9	29.7
Community services	176	419	283	210	324	322	95	531	414
%	43.9	49.0	50.6	49.5	49.5	47.4	39.2	49.1	46.1
Suspended sentence	21	66	52	32	54	57	16	93	61
%	5.2	7.7	9.3	7.5	8.3	8.3	6.5	8.6	6.8
Any other sentence	21	35	29	18	31	31	8	54	34
%	5.3	4.1	5.1	4.4	4.7	4.5	3.4	5.0	3.8
Don' t know	29	26	29	21	20	24	30	47	48
%	7.2	3.0	5.2	5.1	3.1	3.6	12.6	4.3	5.3
Total	401	855	559	424	655	680	242	1082	897
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

NEW ZEALAND

Francis Luketina¹

Description of the sample

The sample was nationwide with quotas reflecting the proportion of people resident in the fourteen local government regions in New Zealand, and resulted in 2,048 usable interviews.

Households were selected by means of random number generation in the following manner: telephone numbers were sampled from the relevant local telephone directories and then two numbers were generated from each number sampled. The numbers originally selected were then discarded.

Of the total sample, 55% (1,122) were female, and 45% (926) were male. 28% were aged between 16 and 32 years, 37% between 33 and 52 years, and 34% of the sample were aged 53 years or over. One per cent of the sample refused to provide this information.

When asked to describe the area in which they live, 74% responded that they live in a middle status area, 17% stated that they live in a higher status area, and 8% stated that they live in a lower status area. One per cent of the sample stated that they did not know how to describe the area in which they live.

Data collection technique

Interviewing was undertaken using the CATI technique and was contracted to a research company, Forsyte Research. The interviewers received a special training session on the questionnaire. The training session was attended by a Department of Justice research officer, who was able to check on the quality of the training and also answer questions that arose about the research. Interviews were conducted from Saturday, 9 May 1992 through to Thursday, 18 June 1992. The questionnaire was administered in English.

The question relating to security arrangements caused problems as some of the respondents became suspicious of the intent of the interviewer. Precautionary measures had been taken of notifying the police about the survey, and respondents concerned about the legitimacy of the research were encouraged to telephone, at no cost to themselves, the Survey Centre or the Department of Justice in order to be reassured. Despite this, there were some problems relating to this section of questioning.

Response rate and recontacting

Up to a total of 3,154 eligible contacts were made (this does not include disconnected, business or facsimile numbers). Of these contacts, there were 826

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refusals and 26 terminated interviews. A further 134 people selected for the sample were not available for the duration of the survey, 71 were hard of hearing and there was a language barrier in 49 cases. This leaves a total 2,048 completed interviews, and a subsequent response rate of 64.9%.

A total of 10 call backs were made to each number. This was particularly important as there were school holidays during the period of the field work. Call backs were made after this holiday period in order to ensure that people who were away from home at the time of the initial contact were contacted at a later stage.

Victimisation rates

It can be seen from Tables 1 and 2 that the crimes which affect the greatest proportion of New Zealanders are theft from their car (either items left in the car, or the theft of a part of the car) and vandalism of their car, van or truck. Consumer fraud also appears to affect a reasonable number of people, although there are no five-year victimisation rates for consumer fraud which can be compared with other offences.

Vehicle related crimes

In New Zealand, there are very high levels of vehicle ownership. Of the respondents in this survey, 93% stated that they or someone in their household had possessed a car, van or truck for private use in the past five years. This means that the victimisation rates of owners (defined as the respondent or someone else in the respondent's household having a vehicle for private use) is only slightly higher than the victimisation rates of the total sample. One fifth of the total sample (20%) had experienced a theft from their car in the past five years and 6% had done so in 1991. Of car owners, 21% had experienced a theft from their car in the past five years and 7% in 1991. One fifth of the total sample (20%) had been the victim of car vandalism in the past five years and 7% in 1991. Of the respondents who owned cars, 21% had been the victim of car vandalism in the past five years and 8% in 1991. Of the total sample, 10% had their car stolen over the past five years and 2% in 1991. Of the respondents who owned cars, 10% had their car stolen over the past five years and 3% in 1991.

However, ownership of motorcycles and motorscooters is much lower (at 20% of the sample) and the difference between victimisation rates of owners and the total sample reflects this. Only 1% of the total sample had a motorcycle stolen in the past five years and fewer than 1% in 1991, compared to 7% of owners having had a motorcycle stolen in the past five years and 1% in 1991.

Ownership of bicycles falls between these two levels at 61%. 11% of the total sample had a bicycle stolen in the past five years and 4% in 1991, compared to 18% of owners who had their bicycle stolen in the past five years and 6% in 1991.

Other property related crimes

There were similar levels of victimisation for burglary and theft of personal property, not involving force. 15% of the sample had experienced a theft of personal property in the last five years and 5% had been a victim of theft in 1991. Of the total

sample, 15% had experienced a burglary in the last five years, and 4% had been a victim of a burglary during the last year. 9% had been the victim of an attempted burglary in the last five years and 4% in 1991.

Of the total sample, 7% stated that they were the victim of a consumer fraud in 1991. Consumer fraud was defined as the respondent being cheated in terms of quantity or quality of goods or services by someone who was selling goods or delivering a service.

Crimes against the person

Of the crimes against the person asked about in this survey, the most frequently experienced was assault or threat. 14% of the respondents had been a victim of assault or threat over the past five years and 5% in 1991. 9% of the female respondents had been a victim of a sexual incident in the past five years and 3% in 1991. Experience of a robbery or an attempted robbery was at a lower level: 2% of the sample had been a victim of a robbery in the past five years and 1% during the last year.

Reporting of crimes

Extent to which crimes are reported to police

Table 3 describes the proportion of victims who reported, or who were aware that someone else reported, the crime to the police.

The levels of reporting to the police can be seen to be influenced by the need to report crimes for insurance purposes. Thus, 96% of victims reported the theft of their car to the police, 89% of victims reported burglary, and 87% of victims of both thefts of bicycles and thefts of motorcycles reported the crime to the police. This very high level of reporting drops somewhat to 62% of victims who reported a theft from their car and 51% who reported a theft of personal property to the police.

Less than half of the victims of the following crimes reported the crime to the police: robbery (which includes attempted robbery) and attempted burglary (48%), assault or threat (42%), car vandalism (36%) and sexual incidents (13%).

Reasons for not reporting crimes to police

There were fewer than 10 respondents who did not report the theft of their car or the theft of their motorcycle to the police. Because of the small numbers involved, these crimes will not be considered in this section.

Table 4 indicates that, overall, the reason most frequently given for not reporting a crime to the police was that the victim did not consider it serious enough. Other reasons mentioned by respondents include that it was inappropriate for the police or that the police could do nothing, or that the respondents solved it themselves.

The primary reason for not reporting theft from the car, car vandalism and theft of a bicycle to the police was that it was not serious enough, and the secondary reason was that the police could do nothing. These two reasons were specified by approximately equal numbers of non-reporting burglary victims. Those victims of personal theft who did not report it to the police did not do so because it was not

serious enough and, to a lesser extent, because the police could do nothing or it was inappropriate for them.

Victims of crimes against the person showed a somewhat different pattern of reasons given for not reporting the crime. For both robbery (which includes attempted robbery) and sexual incidents, approximately equal numbers cited the reasons of "not serious enough" and "solved it myself" for not reporting it to the police. For victims of assault and threats, the reasons given for not reporting the crime were that it was not serious enough, it was inappropriate for the police or they solved it themselves.

Seriousness of the crimes

Table 5 provides an estimate of the victims on the seriousness of the last victimisation experienced.

There was only one crime that the majority of the victims rated as being "very serious": theft of their car. There were an additional five crimes which over 40% of the victims rated as being "very serious", and which a substantial proportion of victims rated as "somewhat serious". These were: sexual incidents (48% "very serious"), burglary (48%), assault or threat (47%), robbery (including attempted robbery) (46%), and theft of a motorcycle (43%). In all these cases, less than a quarter of the victims said that the incident was "not very serious". Less than a third of the victims of the other crimes stated that they were "very serious" for them.

Victim support

1,228 of the total sample (60%) had been the victim of at least one crime in the past five years. These respondents were asked about the support they received for the last crime they had experienced within the five-year period. Of these crimes, 40% of the victims stated that they did not receive any support, 37% stated that they received support from one agency, group or person, and 23% stated that they received support from more than one group, agency or person. (It should be noted that for the purposes of these findings, relatives/friends/neighbours are considered to be one person.)

The most frequent source of support to victims of crime are relatives, friends and neighbours. In total, 49% of respondents who had been the victim of one or more crimes in the past five years stated that they were given support to cope with the effects of the crime by their relatives, friends or neighbours. The only other significant source of support was the police, as mentioned by 28% of the victims. None of the other possible sources of support that were asked about in the survey provided support to more than 3% of victims.

Only 1% of respondents who had been the victim of a crime in the past 5 years had been given support by a specialised agency to help crime victims. Those respondents who had been the victim of a crime and who had not been given support by such an agency were asked whether or not they thought the services of a specialised agency would have been useful. Twenty-three per cent of these victims stated that they thought the services would have been useful.

Attitudes towards the police

There appeared to be a reasonable level of satisfaction with the way the police dealt with the reported crimes. 79% of the respondents whose last experience as a victim was reported to the police stated that they were satisfied with the way the police dealt with their reports. The main reasons given for dissatisfaction were that the police were not interested and that they did not do enough.

Seventy-nine per cent of the total sample stated that the police do a good job in controlling crime in their area, 10% stated that they do not do a good job and 11% did not know. However, 30% of the sample stated that the police should pass by in their street more often than they currently do.

Fear of crime

Respondents were questioned as to how safe they felt walking alone in their area after dark. Forty per cent of respondents stated that they felt unsafe, 21% a bit unsafe, and 19% very unsafe.

One-quarter of the sample stated that they stayed away from certain streets or places for reasons of safety or avoided certain people the last time they went out after dark in their area. An additional 16% stated that they never go out after dark.

Respondents were asked what they thought the chances were of someone trying to break into their home over the next year. Over half of the respondents considered it likely (13% "very likely" and 40% "likely"), 41% stated that it was "not likely", and 6% did not know.

Crime prevention

The question on home security caused problems in this survey. Some respondents became suspicious of the intent of the interviewer, even though the related questions were placed towards the end of the questionnaire and the respondents had been offered the opportunity to contact the Department of Justice for confirmation of the authenticity of the survey. Thirteen per cent of the respondents refused to answer the question.

Eighteen per cent of the respondents had not taken any of the precautions outlined in the questionnaire, and the most frequently used crime prevention measure was the installation of special door locks (45%). Just under one-third of the respondents (29%) stated that they own a dog that would deter a burglar, and 22% stated that they have a high fence.

Almost three-quarters of the sample (73%) stated that the last time they had left the home for a day or two they had asked someone to watch over it. Thirteen per cent of the sample stated that their neighbours watch their house anyway.

Twenty-two per cent of the respondents stated that either they or someone in their household owned one or more firearms. Of these, only 7% (1% of the total sample) said that they owned the firearm(s) as protection against crime (Table 6).

Attitudes towards punishment

Just over half of the respondents stated that the most appropriate sentence for a person found guilty of burglary for the second time is a community service.

Approximately a quarter believed imprisonment to be the most appropriate sentence, 10% preferred a fine and 3% a suspended sentence. 7% of the sample thought that another type of sentence was more appropriate and 4% stated that they did not know.

Of those respondents who stated that a term of imprisonment was most appropriate, 42% thought it should be for a term of 2 to 6 months. Just over a third of them thought that the term of imprisonment should be between 6 months and 2 years.

TABLES

Table 1: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	9.7
Theft from car	20.0
Car vandalism	20.0
Theft of motorcycle	1.5
Theft of bicycle	10.8
(Owners)	
Theft of car	10.4
Theft from car	21.5
Car vandalism	21.5
Theft of motorcycle	7.4
Theft of bicycle	17.8
Burglary with entry	15.2
Attempted burglary	9.1
Robbery	2.4
Personal theft	15.4
Sexual incidents	8.5
Assault/threat	14.4

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 2: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	2.4
Theft from car	6.1
Car vandalism	7.5
Theft of motorcycle	0.3
Theft of bicycle	3.7
(Owners)	
Theft of car	2.6
Theft from car	6.6
Car vandalism	8.0
Theft of motorcycle	1.5
Theft of bicycle	6.1
Burglary with entry	4.4
Attempted burglary	3.6
Robbery	0.6
Personal theft	4.8
Sexual incidents	2.8
Assault/threat	4.7
Consumer fraud	7.3

Corruption	
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* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 3: Reported crimes

	%
Theft of car	96.0
Theft from car	62.4
Car vandalism	35.7
Theft of motorcycle	86.7
Theft of bicycle	86.9
Burglary with entry	88.5
Attempted burglary	47.6
Robbery	48.0
Personal theft	50.6
Sexual incidents	12.6
Assault/threat	42.4

Table 4: Reasons for not reporting*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Not serious enough		64.9	71.3		53.8	36.1	32.0	55.8	26.5	29.6
Solved it myself	50.0	3.4	5.5	25.0	15.4	16.7	32.0	11.0	24.1	17.8
Inappropriate for police		10.1	15.4		7.7	13.9	16.0	14.3	12.0	23.1
Other authorities		1.4	0.8					7.8	6.0	7.1
My family solved it		1.4	1.2	25.0		2.8		1.9	6.0	6.5
No insurance		4.1	1.2			2.8	4.0			
Police could do nothing		19.6	24.4	25.0	19.2	33.3	8.0	15.6	10.8	4.7
Police won't do anything		7.4	6.3		7.7	2.8	8.0	5.2	9.6	5.9
Fear/dislike police	16.7		0.4					1.3	2.4	1.2
Didn't dare		0.7	0.4				4.0		8.4	6.5
Other reasons	50.0	14.9	7.1		11.5	13.9	24.0	13.0	24.1	21.3
Don't know		4.1		25.0	3.8	2.8	4.0	3.2	4.8	4.7

* Percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police - multiple answers possible.

Table 5: Crime seriousness*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Very serious	57.3	23.7	17.1	43.3	29.3	48.1	46.0	29.1	48.4	47.5
Fairly serious	29.1	32.0	23.7	33.3	36.9	31.4	42.0	31.3	28.4	31.9
Not serious	13.6	44.4	59.2	23.3	33.8	20.2	12.0	39.6	23.2	20.7

* Percentage based on victims of specific crimes.

Table 6: Crime prevention measures*

	%
Installed burglar alarm	10.1
Installed door locks	45.2
Installed window/door grills	14.2
Maintain watchdogs	29.2
High fence	22.3
House has a caretaker	1.5
None of these	17.9
(Others) Refused to answer	12.5
Ask somebody to watch home	73.0
Neighbours watch anyway	12.7
Possession of firearms	22.3
House is insured against burglary	

* Percentages based on total sample of respondents - multiple answers possible.

POLAND

Andrzej Siemaszko¹

The International Crime Survey in Poland was carried out between 20 January and 5 February 1992 by the Polish Radio and TV Public Opinion Polling Centre on a nationwide random sample of 2,000 respondents aged 16 or over. The relatively poor state of the Polish telecommunications service (especially in the rural areas) made it impossible to apply the CATI method as it would have resulted in too great measurement error. Thus the Polish part of the study was conducted using the traditional questionnaire survey method (face-to-face).

Since work on the compilation of the survey results is still in progress, only a few selected response patterns for the whole sample (without correlations and cross-tabulations) will be presented. Also, due to some difficulties with the application of the supplied computer programme, no overall victimisation rate is available yet, except for specific offence categories.

In the period under investigation, the crime most frequently experienced by the respondents was personal property theft (20.1%), with as many as 83.6% of all incidents being cases of pickpocketing. 8.5% had personal property stolen in 1991, and almost 20% of them were victimised more than once. Yet, only 21.4% of all personal property thefts committed in the five-year period covered by the survey were reported to the police, even though over three-quarters of the respondents described the incidents as serious or quite serious. The main reason for failing to report the crime seems to be lack of faith in police effectiveness ("police could do nothing", "police won't do anything about it").

Bicycle thefts were also quite common (19.3%), of which 4.9% in 1991. Among respondents who had a bicycle stolen in the last year, almost 30% were multiple victims of this crime. Less than 50% of bicycle theft victims reported the incident to the police, and only in 13.7% of the cases was the bicycle recovered. The rather low reporting rate corresponds very closely with a lack of faith in police work, which was the main reason provided for not reporting.

There were fewer (8.7%) cases of moped thefts. Among respondents who were victims of this crime over the last year under survey (1.2%), over 30% suffered such loss more than once. In almost 90% of the cases the theft was reported to the police, who in this particular instance were somewhat more effective, since 47.6% of the stolen mopeds were recovered.

15.3% of the respondents were victims of thefts from garages, sheds and lock-ups in the relevant period. It seems worth pointing out that almost 40% of the respondents were victims of thefts from garages, sheds and lock-ups more than once, and over 15% three or more times.

48.4% of Polish households had owned a car, truck or van over the five-year period. Among "crimes against cars" the most prevalent were thefts of equipment or parts (24.1%), and 10.9% during the previous year.

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Almost 25% of car owners were multiple victims of such crimes in 1991 alone. And yet almost half (47.2%) the thefts from the cars went unreported.

Cases of malicious damage to cars were slightly less frequent (19.4% in five years and 10.5% in 1991).

For the majority of respondents whose car had been maliciously damaged in the previous year, it was a one-time experience (71.1%); the rest, however, experienced car vandalism repeatedly. The "dark figure" in this instance is quite substantial: only about 30% of the respondents reported the incident to the police. The main reasons for not reporting were that the incident was "not serious enough" or that the police could do nothing for lack of evidence.

Car thefts were relatively infrequent: only 3.9% of car owner respondents had been victims of this type of crime in the five-year period and 1.5% in 1991. It should be mentioned, however, that in the case of cars, theft incidence is very strongly related to the type of area: most cars are stolen in large cities. For this reason a combined data figure is particularly misleading in expressing risks for car owners in big towns. Moreover, it must be stressed that as many as 30.6% of the respondents whose car had been stolen in 1991 fell victim to the same crime a second time. As could be expected, the percentage of cases which were reported to the police was very high at 94.4%.

Contrary to popular belief, the proportion of cases in which car owners did not regain their stolen cars was not too high - about 23%.

Nearly 7% of the respondents had been victims of a burglary during the five-year period, and 2.6% during the last year. It is interesting to note that as many as 36% of the respondents who had their home burgled in the last year were multiple victims. However, only 53.5% of household burglaries were reported to the police, although nearly 80% of the respondents judged the event as serious or quite serious.

Just under 5% of households reported an attempted burglary within the last five years (3.1% in 1991). Over 30% of the incidents were cases of multiple attempts. As could have been expected, attempted burglaries were much less frequently reported to the police. In fact, such action was taken only in one out of four cases.

Altogether, over the five-year period nearly 12% of Polish households were either successfully or unsuccessfully burgled.

The most common forms of violent crimes were assaults and threatened or attempted assaults: amounting to almost 8% in the five year period and (4.1%) in 1991. Of those victims against whom force or threat of force had been used in the last year, over 40% reported having been attacked more than once. In almost half the cases, the respondents were attacked by more than one person, and in one-third of the cases by groups of three and more people. In about half the cases, the victim did not know the offender. In nearly 40% of the incidents actual force was used, with 11% involving the use of weapons. The serious nature of the attacks is reconfirmed by the fact that nearly 30% of the victims had to seek medical help. But again, only 26.9% of the victims reported the incident to the police.

4% of the respondents were victims of a robbery during the period covered by the survey. Among respondents who experienced a robbery in 1991 (2.3%), as many as 30% had been attacked twice, and 6% even more often. Consistent with the idea that robberies tend to be group crimes is the finding that in nearly 70% of cases there were at least two attackers. In about a quarter of the cases, the

offenders carried a weapon (mostly knives), but no cases of the offender actually using the firearm were revealed in the studied sample. It may be noticed that in 40% of the cases the offenders did not actually manage to steal anything from the victim. Considering that robbery is regarded as one of the most serious offences, and that in many cases the victims suffered an injury as well as loss of property, it may seem surprising that as many as 66% of the cases were never reported, even though over three-quarters of the respondents described the events as very or quite serious.

Almost 7% of the women admitted to having been sexually harassed, and 4.8% in 1991 (45% reported one-time incidents, and as many as 55% multiple assaults). In nearly 90% of the cases the victim had not known the offenders before the incident, and in 10% of the cases more than one offender was involved. None of the victims of sexual assaults would describe the offender as someone close (present partner, family member, etc.). When asked to describe the nature of the incident, nearly 14% of the respondents defined it as attempted rape, and close to 30% as indecent assault. Over 60% responded "yes" in answer to the question on whether they regarded the incident as a crime. When asked to provide a judgement on the seriousness of the incident, over 70% of the women who had been victims of sexual offences judged it as very or fairly serious. But again, less than 8% of such offences were reported to the police. This percentage seems to confirm the notion that in the case of sexual assaults the "dark figure" is particularly high.

During the last surveyed year, 11.5% of the respondents were victims of a consumer fraud (mostly in shops), and 5.1% reported that they were asked by an official to pay a bribe (civil servants and customs officers were most frequently mentioned in this connection).

A rather accurate estimate of the overall unreported crime rate can probably be gauged from the question about whether the police were notified by the victim or someone else during the last experienced crime, irrespective of its nature. It appears that the offence was not reported in as many as 65% of the cases.

This apparent unwillingness to report seems only natural considering that only 40% of the respondents who reported the crime were satisfied with the way the police handled the case. The main reasons for dissatisfaction were that the police "didn't find the offender", "didn't do enough" and "were not interested". However, incorrect or impolite treatment of the victim by the police was relatively seldom mentioned as a reason.

Almost half the respondents expressed a negative judgement when asked to evaluate police performance in fighting crime. Only 26.2% of the respondents reported that a police patrol passed by their street at least once a day, and 34.5% thought it happened less than once a month or never at all. Over 70% felt the police should appear in their area more often.

In short, the perception of the general public seems to be that although the police are still not doing their job properly, they are at least more polite. Without doubt, this can provide us with some consolation.

The next group of questions were related to the respondents' sense of security and the adoption of precautionary measures motivated by fear of crime. The main finding seems to be that the Poles can count on receiving only a very limited support from their fellow citizens in either fighting or preventing crime. Over half the

respondents maintain that in their area "people mostly go their own way", and only 30% think they can rely on neighbours for help.

In answer to the question about whether they felt safe walking in their area after dark, almost half the respondents (46.2%) stated that they did not, and 11.6% of them felt very unsafe in such a situation. 35.5% of the respondents avoided certain streets or places after dark, one-fourth recently went out in the company of another person for reasons of personal safety.

When asked about the likelihood of their house being broken into over the next year, as many as 37% of the respondents judged it probable. It seems surprising that despite such pessimistic (or, as some would have it, realistic) expectations, only a small percentage of the respondents try to protect their house against burglary. Among safety measures, a strong preference could be detected for the "natural" solution: as many as 43.5% of the respondents owned a dog for security reasons. Other safety devices include special door locks (17.1%), high fences (10.7%) and door phones (4.3%). Only 1.6% of the respondents had a burglar alarm installed. In contrast, a relatively high proportion (31.4%) insured their house against burglary. An even higher proportion of the respondents (45%) protected their cars with anti-theft devices (steering column locks, alarms).

The fear of burglary is also manifest in the fact that almost 40% of the respondents ask a neighbour or caretaker to watch their home during their absence, even a short one.

Less than 2.8% of the respondents admitted to owning a gun, and half of them claimed that they kept one to protect themselves against offenders.

65% of the respondents believed it would be useful to receive help from a victim assistance agency.

Perhaps unsurprisingly - bearing in mind the general picture that emerges from the study - as many as 47.2% of the respondents reported that the subject of crime had recently come up in conversation. The most frequently mentioned subjects were crime in general (assaults, robberies, rapes - 78.8%; fear of crime - 54.1%; crime increase - 20.6%; and factors conducive to crime rate increase, such as unemployment and easy access to firearms - 23%). Unlike his politicians, the average Pole does not seem unduly worried about corruption and financial scandals; the subjects were mentioned by just over 25% of the respondents who talked about such matters.

Somewhat surprising, on the other hand, was the response pattern to the question about the type of punishment the respondents considered appropriate for a recidivist burglar who stole a colour TV set. Contrary to expectations (and previous studies which strongly indicated that the Polish society opts for more punitive sanctions), less than 30% favoured a prison sentence. The sanction most often chosen was community service (46.3%) but, unfortunately, the way the question was phrased does not allow us to ascertain how many of the respondents favouring this punishment confused community service with forced labour camps. 12.5% of the respondents favoured a fine, and it may have some curiosity value to notice that 1% of the respondents thought that justice would be served by hand or finger amputation. Among the respondents favouring imprisonment, the majority (56%) considered a sentence of between 6 months and 3 years as appropriate for this type of crime.

TABLES

Table 1: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	1.9
Theft from car	11.5
Car vandalism	9.2
Theft of motorcycle	2.2
Theft of bicycle	14.7
(Owners)	
Theft of car	3.9
Theft from car	24.1
Car vandalism	19.4
Theft of motorcycle	8.7
Theft of bicycle	19.3
Burglary with entry	6.8
Attempted burglary	4.9
Robbery	4.0
Personal theft	20.1
Sexual incidents	6.7
Assault/threat	7.8

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 2: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	0.7
Theft from car	5.2
Car vandalism	5.1
Theft of motorcycle	1.2
Theft of bicycle	4.9
(Owners)	
Theft of car	1.5
Theft from car	10.9
Car vandalism	10.5
Theft of motorcycle	5.0
Theft of bicycle	20.5
Burglary with entry	2.6
Attempted burglary	3.1
Robbery	2.3
Personal theft	8.5
Sexual incidents	4.8
Assault/threat	4.1
Consumer fraud	11.5

Corruption	5.1
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* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 3: Reported crimes

	%
Theft of car	94.4
Theft from car	51.1
Car vandalism	27.9
Theft of motorcycle	88.1
Theft of bicycle	47.5
Burglary with entry	53.5
Attempted burglary	24.5
Robbery	34.2
Personal theft	21.4
Sexual incidents	7.8
Assault/threat	26.9

Table 4: Reasons for not reporting*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Not serious enough		44.9	41.5	18.1	18.1	11.8	28.0	19.1	36.9	43.3
Solved it myself		5.5	1.5	8.7	8.7	6.7	14.0	3.7	2.1	9.4
Inappropriate for police		11.9	7.6	6.7	6.7	8.4	8.0	6.0	15.2	10.3
Other authorities		0.9	0.7			1.6	2.0	0.3		
My family solved it		0.9	1.5	1.3	1.3	5.0	4.0	0.3		2.8
No insurance		4.5	2.3	2.0	2.0	1.6				
Police could do nothing		35.7	35.3	36.9	36.9	44.0	32.0	54.8	19.5	20.7
Police won't do anything		18.3	22.3	27.5	27.5	16.9	20.0	28.9	21.7	18.8
Fear/dislike police		2.7	1.5	4.0	4.0	5.0	8.0	2.6	4.3	3.7
Didn't dare			3.0			1.6	10.0	2.6	10.8	8.4
Other reasons		5.5	6.1	6.0	6.0	5.0	8.0	4.7		3.7
Don't know				2.0	2.0		4.0	0.3		

* Percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police - multiple answers possible.

Table 5: Crime seriousness*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Very serious	55.6	17.6	14.1	38.1	17.6	43.3	37.7	33.2	33.3	25.3
Fairly serious	36.1	38.2	35.3	45.2	47.9	39.9	39.0	42.9	37.3	39.0
Not serious	8.3	44.2	50.5	16.7	34.5	22.8	23.4	23.9	29.4	35.6

* Percentage based on victims of specific crimes.

Table 6: Crime prevention measures*

	%
Installed burglar alarm	1.6
Installed door locks	17.1
Installed window/door grills	4.0
Maintain watchdogs	43.5
High fence	10.7
House has a caretaker	1.5
None of these	15.3
Others	6.3
Ask somebody to watch home	39.4
Neighbours watch anyway	10.8
Possession of firearms	2.8
House is insured against burglary	31.4

* Percentages based on total sample of respondents - multiple answers possible.

RIO DE JANEIRO (BRAZIL)

José Arthur Rios¹

Description of sample

The city of Rio de Janeiro, cultural capital of the country, covers a total area of 1,171 square metres with a population of 5,090,700 inhabitants.

For the purpose of the present survey, not only the slum areas were considered as the lower class, but also the neighbourhoods where the working or low-income population live in the vast peripheral areas between the city of Rio de Janeiro and neighbouring municipalities (counties or boroughs). Here the division of land into small allotments has proceeded at a rapid rate - to house the incoming migrants from other states in the far northeast of the country - and many official housing schemes were developed in the late 1960s. The lower class category also includes the inhabitants of urban "villages" or *corticós* that have developed in and around the business and residential areas since the end of the last century and which have today been taken over by the *favelas* and lower class collective houses or temporary boarding houses.

Higher income areas are less conspicuous and their identification more difficult, since people from the income strata population are spread throughout the city from suburbia to the more fashionable districts of the southern sector. However, a few areas can be singled out, such as Copacabana Beach, further south in Leblon, and still further along the coastline to Sao Conrado and new developments in the recently-expanded area of Barra da Tijuca. Middle class apartment blocks spread all over the city and more are to be found in some districts in the northern sector, such as Tijuca and Grajaú.

This picture gives only a broad and rather impressionistic description of class stratification in Rio de Janeiro. The three-level division aims at providing the reader with a broader guideline as to the nature and location of the sample areas. These areas cannot include all the shades of social differentiation since they are not socially homogeneous as far as income and status are concerned.

The so-called *favelas* include human settlements with a wide assortment of characteristics, depending not only on the amount of public investment received over the last years, but also on building layout and income profiles.

For sampling purposes, areas with wide public investments and a clear improvement in the quality of life of the population - known as "urbanised slums" - will be differentiated from areas where public authorities have not invested. As regards investments, the only exception is domestic lighting - now extended to almost all the slum areas of Rio de Janeiro - which was obtained through social service programmes launched by the electric energy company.

The "invasion" (or "squatting") of unoccupied land or buildings has stimulated intense mobility of the homeless and has attracted the attention of the authorities

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and public opinion. Hundreds of families use this strategy to take possession of land or buildings, public and private. The "invasion" is either initiated by small groups whose numbers then increase, or it can start with the immediate shifting of a great number of families. These are usually monitored by an organisation: neighbours' associations, homeless people's movements or even populist political parties. Once the area is occupied, the squatters face strong opposition from neighbouring areas and often find themselves in a defenseless situation. Even when this does not happen, the condition of poverty and the need to adjust to the new environment places these families in a situation at risk.

A large part of the low income population in the metropolis of Rio de Janeiro live in *loteamentos* (parcels). According to the data provided by IPLANRIO, up until June 1987 (the most recent data available), 492 allotments were registered by the City Administration. Illegal allotments are registered separately and therefore are not included in this figure.

Housing projects which were built mostly in the 1950s and 1960s were planned to substitute the slums. However, these, in fact, became true vertical ghettos riddled with crime, prostitution and drug trafficking. These low income developments which were built and are under the formal control and administration of federal or local authorities (in other words, anonymous management) are subject to all sorts of damage and deterioration. In fact, in many cases, they have proved to be worse than the slums and have become an acute problem for social control agencies.

Finally, the group of low income families included as part of the sample were families living in "villages" or collective houses in central and southern areas.

The medium sector comprised families living in the central area of districts located in different parts of the city.

The affluent stratum was represented by families living near Copacabana Beach (a district where the highest income bracket population is concentrated, according to IPLANRIO), and families living in compounds in Barra de Tijuca - 39% of which live in housing schemes where incomes are above 20 minimum salaries.

Table 1 presents the distribution of interviews according to income, while Table 2 presents distribution by sex and age.

Data collection techniques

As scheduled, interviews for the completion of the questionnaire (in Portuguese) were carried out between 15 March and 15 June. The team consisted of 13 interviewers, all university students (5 men and 8 women) who underwent specific training. They were distributed according to the various sectors of the sample and, at the beginning, worked in pairs. In some sectors, such as the *favelas* and high-income housing compounds, previous contacts were made and agreement reached (with the association of dwellers for the first and the managers for the second) to avoid resistance and facilitate the interviewer's access to the units.

Once the first 200 questionnaires had been completed, the income level of the interviewees was checked. The design of the sample was intended to avoid departure from the pre-determined percentage of interviews by residential level in the chosen areas or sectors. The control was carried out to test the consistency of the families' income level in the selected sectors.

When the first 200 questionnaires had been collected, they were checked by the co-ordinator for accuracy and consistency. Some of the questionnaires were annulled and the interviewer was requested to return to the field and repeat the operation. Interviewers were supervised by the co-ordinators who visited the field sectors on several occasions and kept in contact with the association of dwellers in the case of *favelas* and low income sections, or with the managers of high-class housing compounds.

When 20% of the questionnaires had been completed, open questions were "closed". Whenever possible, new options were included following a revision of the questionnaires.

Response rates and re-contacting

The purpose of the registering method applied was to avoid problems of refusal and re-contacting. These obstacles were not recorded; however, they amounted to less than 2% of the total questionnaires completed (1,000). Problems were dealt with when programming data analysis and, in accordance with instructions for data entry, errors encountered were re-coded. This was meticulously done and resulted in the revision of some questionnaires. As instructed, revised questionnaires were not erased from the computer's memory, in order to be utilised in the creation of data matrices.

This, however, was not done. Therefore, although the applied questionnaires numbered 1,000, the data analysis included 1,017 cases (17 questionnaires were not re-coded). This means that the final data presents a global error of 1.7%.

Victimisation rates

Tables 3 and 4 present victimisation rates over the last 5 years and in the last year respectively. It should be noted that as far as vehicle-related crimes are concerned, the most frequent were theft from car and vandalism. A larger number of motorcycles were stolen over the last year than the average of the previous five. This could be partly due to the increase in their numbers and to their wider use because of the high cost of automobiles.

On the other hand, robberies and theft of personal objects were more frequent than burglaries or attempted household burglaries.

Sexual offences show a percentage of 11.8% of the total number of females interviewed, but this data must be employed with a certain measure of moderation given the usual secrecy around an issue which is still considered to be exposed to public censorship. As regards the predominance of certain crimes, apart from stolen motorcycles over the last year, there is no significant difference between the two groups (the last year and the previous 5 years). On the other hand, the theft of bicycles appears to have decreased.

Frauds against the consumer present a very high percentage (27%) although this is an issue which has only recently been brought to the attention of the population, by means of the publication and dissemination of the Special Federal Law for Consumer's Protection.

Reported crimes

Table 5 presents the percentage of crimes reported to the police. Car robberies are usually reported to the police (92%); reporting percentages for other crimes are less significant. Possible explanations for this could be that: by reporting to the police the victim obtains an affidavit - the basic legal requirement for applying to the insurance company for reimbursement; to avoid the possibility of incrimination when the stolen car is used for criminal activities; to enable the insurance company and the police to retrieve the car. Although with a lower percentage (65%), the same can be said for motorcycle theft.

In decreasing order of importance, burglary with entry ranks third among reported crimes. This may be because it involves the robbery of valuable property or possessions, such as jewels, bonds, US dollars, etc. In some cases, the loss may seriously affect the victim's fiscal status by altering his annual resources without an apparent explanation, which may call for severe penalisation from the Bureau of Federal Income.

On the other hand, car vandalism was rarely reported since it did not solicit a major reaction (0.9%).

Reasons for not reporting to the police

As Table 6 shows, the main reasons provided by the respondents for not reporting were: "the police cannot do anything"; "the police won't do anything"; "fear and dislike of the police".

It is evident that the police force in Rio de Janeiro faces a high level of discredit, as exemplified by the answer: "I don't believe in the police" which is frequently given among "other reasons".

Crime seriousness

This issue is closely related to the answers given to the question on crime reporting to the police. According to the interviewees (see Table 7) the most serious crime is car theft, probably because it directly affects the victim's patrimony.

Sexual crimes were also considered to be serious; a statement which must be explained in the light of Brazilian cultural tradition. However, the question is rather substantive and answers must be given cautious consideration.

Victim support

It is pertinent to assume that support for victims is mostly extended through the family. Public and private organisations aimed at offering support to the victims of crime are practically non-existent or are at an initial stage in Brazil. Nevertheless, it must be mentioned that penal legislation has established the obligation of victim compensation by the offender. As to formal organisations, the first and only active ones are those set up privately to protect women and children against abuse, along the lines of the protection of human rights. Answers to the specific question about the importance or achieved results of such organisations are of little significance.

Attitudes towards the police

Although relevant data are not presented here, police action is generally viewed as insufficient or deficient. The question on police efficiency received negative answers in 76.8% of the interviews, positive statements in 11.5% and "don't know" answers in 11.7%.

Fear of crime

Most of the data on this question are still being analysed, but it can be safely stated that the interviewees generally declared it was less likely that they would be victimised within their area of residence than elsewhere. As a matter of fact, interviews were mostly carried out in clearly limited areas such as slums, "squatters", lower-class housing complexes and urban allotments. In such areas, whenever adequate internal security is not provided by the state, protection is handled by the delinquent gangs themselves or by the operators of organised crime, drug trafficking, etc. This distorted and perverse "security" system performs the duty of the police and, through its own brutal means, performs the deterrence function which is usually expected of the police. Therefore, people are not afraid of being victimised in their area of residence, but are always afraid of criminal episodes when out of them. Thus, it can be assumed that the answers to that specific question cannot be considered as expressing a general situation.

Crime prevention measures

Door locks and window/door grills are the main measures adopted by the respondents to prevent criminal offences. Besides these precautions, people ask other families living nearby to watch their homes: "their neighbours watch them anyway". As in the case of the previous question, this type of answer was to be expected from the dwellers in limited and well-defined areas (where most of the interviews were carried out) where close social solidarity prevails (Table 8).

Attitudes towards punishment

The answers to this specific question show that most of the respondents consider community services (44.6%) and prison the most adequate types of punishment (36.6%). Fines were supported by a scarce 3.7%. The open nature of "other" answers (3.2%) do not allow interpretation; the percentage of "missing" answers constitute 8.2.

In analysing the answers given, the real meaning ascribed to "community services" should be questioned. It would appear that most of the respondents are not well informed about the nature of the sanction and quote the expression only by hearsay. It may also show a certain amount of tolerance towards certain types of crime, mostly those which do not affect them directly, but are aimed at victimising (kidnapping, bank robbery, etc.) other social brackets. Besides, crime in such a culture is assumed less as deviance than as a form of survival. Even when respondents opt for prison, they appear to favour - as percentages seem to show - shorter periods of confinement. It should be mentioned here that physical punishment and beatings were frequently alluded to among "other penalties".

TABLES

Table 1: Distribution of sample according to income

Low income	%
- urbanised slum	10.0
- non-urbanised slum	10.00
- allotments	18.2
- housing schemes	10.0
- "invasions" (squatters)	6.3
- "villages"/collective houses	4.9
Total	59.4
Medium income	30.2
High income	10.0
Missing	0.4
Total	100.0

Table 2: Distribution of sample by gender and age

Gender	%
Male	48.5
Female	50.7
Unknown	0.8
Total	100.0
Age	
Young (born after 1958)	33.9
Middle aged (born between 1937-1957)	48.7
Elderly (born before 1937)	17.4
Total	100.0

Table 3: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	6.1
Theft from car	11.3
Car vandalism	10.9
Theft of motorcycle	2.0
Theft of bicycle	8.4
(Owners)	
Theft of car	15.2
Theft from car	28.2
Car vandalism	27.2
Theft of motorcycle	18.3
Theft of bicycle	15.5
Burglary with entry	8.4
Attempted burglary	8.0
Robbery	27.7
Personal theft	24.3
Sexual incidents	11.8

Assault/threat	14.5
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* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 4: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	1.4
Theft from car	4.4
Car vandalism	4.0
Theft of motorcycle	0.6
Theft of bicycle	2.7
(Owners)	
Theft of car	3.4
Theft from car	10.8
Car vandalism	10.0
Theft of motorcycle	4.6
Theft of bicycle	4.6
Burglary with entry	1.4
Attempted burglary	2.4
Robbery	8.5
Personal theft	7.2
Sexual incidents	2.2
Assault/threat	4.6
Consumer fraud	27.0
Corruption	18.8

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 5: Reported crimes

	%
Theft of car	92.0
Theft from car	18.3
Car vandalism	0.9
Theft of motorcycle	65.0
Theft of bicycle	7.1
Burglary with entry	38.4
Attempted burglary	19.5
Robbery	20.2
Personal theft	11.3
Sexual incidents	9.8
Assault/threat	11.5

Table 6: Reasons for not reporting*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/ threat %
Not serious enough	20.0	11.7	24.1	33.3	7.7	16.3	12.0	26.5	14.8	11.2
Solved it myself	40.0	3.2	8.3	20.0	10.3	16.3	3.4	3.4	24.1	24.8
Inappropriate for police	60.0	6.4	13.9	20.0	16.7	12.2	12.8	7.3		26.4
Other authorities		4.3	2.8	20.0	6.4		0.8	4.3		1.5
My family solved it	20.0	1.1	1.9	20.0	5.1	8.2			9.3	6.2
No insurance		3.2			1.3		0.8		1.8	
Police could do nothing		37.2	38.0	20.0	20.5	20.4	28.2	35.0	1.8	13.9
Police won't do anything		5.3	1.9		2.6		3.4	3.8	1.8	2.3
Fear/dislike police		6.4	6.5	20.0	11.5	12.2	10.7	9.0	1.8	10.8
Didn't dare		2.1	2.8		10.3	10.2	3.5	3.0	1.8	15.5
Other reasons	20.0	1.1	0.9						1.8	
Don't know		1.1					0.9	0.9		

* Percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police - multiple answers possible.

Table 7: Crime seriousness*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/ threat %
Very serious	64.5	28.7	26.1	40.0	17.8	62.8	37.2	42.5	55.7	40.5
Fairly serious	16.1	40.9	29.7	40.0	52.4	25.6	42.9	25.9	18.0	35.1
Not serious	19.4	27.0	39.7	10.0	27.4	11.6	17.4	29.2	24.6	21.0

* Percentage based on victims of specific crimes.

Table 8: Crime prevention measures*

	%
Installed burglar alarm	2.6
Installed door locks	53.0
Installed window/door grills	36.0
Maintain watchdogs	25.2
High fence	16.3
House has a caretaker	14.3
None of these	
Others	0.7
Ask somebody to watch home	31.2
Neighbours watch anyway	26.9
Possession of firearms	16.4
House is insured against burglary	7.8

* Percentages based on total sample of respondents - multiple answers possible.

SWEDEN

Jerzy Sarnecki¹

Description of sample

The survey covered a representative sample of 1,707 Swedish households with telephone subscriptions. The breakdown of households and respondents according to selected variables is shown in Table 1.

Generally speaking, the sample is not entirely representative of all Swedish households. From a comparison of the figures in Tables 1 and 2, which present statistical data for Swedish households, it can be noted that the proportion of small households (1.2 persons) is somewhat smaller in the survey population than in the total population (59% and 71% respectively). A further comparison also reveals that the living conditions of the households covered by the survey are somewhat better than for the average Swedish household. For instance, 62% of the households in the survey have above average incomes, and 66% owned their house or flat. The reason for it being not entirely representative of all households in Sweden is to be found in the actual survey method.

The persons interviewed were aged 16 or over, the median age being around 40. Just over 49% were men and almost 51% were women.

Data collection technique

The survey was conducted with the aid of telephone interviews. This method is fairly appropriate for a country like Sweden which has a very high ratio of telephones to population. It has been estimated that in 1992 there were about 950 telephones for every 1,000 inhabitants.

The survey was conducted in Sweden by Burke Marketing Information AB of Goteborg, whose personnel has been trained in telephone interviewing techniques. The survey was commissioned by the National Council for Crime Prevention (BRA), which received a special government grant for the project. BRA supervised both the translation of the interview questionnaire into Swedish and data collection. Burke was informed about the need to minimise non-response.

A pilot survey took place between 27 and 31 January 1992. The actual collection of data was carried out in two stages in the winter of 1992, i.e. from 3 to 20 February and 21 January to 3 March.

No particular problems were encountered as far as data collection is concerned.

Response rate and recontacting

The response rate for the Swedish part of the survey can be termed satisfactory. Preliminary figures indicate that the non-response rate (31%) was lowest than any of the other countries carrying out the survey with the same methodology.

¹ Head, Evaluation Division, National Council for Crime Prevention, Stockholm, Sweden.

Reasons for non-response are shown in Table 3. The main single cause was that the respondents did not answer the phone. Altogether 246 (10%) of the sample did not answer the phone, in spite of eight (and often more) attempts to get in touch with them. The number of people who refused to take part in the survey was relatively small, amounting to 181 individuals (7%).

Victimisation rates

Victimisation rates are shown in Tables 4 and 5. Figures for five-year prevalence were compared with figures from countries taking part in the 1988 survey. The general impression is that although Sweden's victimisation rate is comparable to those of the other European countries taking part in the 1988 survey, its crime rate appears to be somewhat lower than those of the USA and Australia².

Victim surveys are carried out regularly in Sweden, using the same type of questions as in this study³. It is difficult to compare them with the ICS, however, because the SCB surveys are conducted on a sample of the national population, and not on households, and by means of face-to-face interviews rather than telephone interviews. Nevertheless, a preliminary comparison of results of these two types of study indicates a relatively good fit between the results, though victimisation rates appear to be consistently higher in the SCB survey.

A victim survey, using telephone interviews, was recently conducted in eight districts of Stockholm⁴. Data for Stockholm from the two surveys provide particular opportunities for comparison. Although the results seem to correspond from a very first glance, further analysis is necessary.

Reasons for not reporting

Table 6 shows reporting rates for the crimes covered by the survey. As might be expected, the highest reporting rates are related to car theft and the lowest are for crime against the person, especially sexual incidents.

Reasons for not reporting crimes are shown in Table 7. The main reason provided by respondents for not reporting a crime to the police was that they thought it was not serious enough. One important reason (which is not listed in the table) for a number of crimes not being reported is that the victim is not entitled to compensation from an insurance company. The results correspond in general with those of the SCB (1991) survey, though in the latter the percentage of respondents who thought the police would not do anything was higher than that shown in Table 7.

Crime seriousness

2 Sarnecki, J. (1992) Ungdomsbrottslighet en kungskapsöversyn. Delbetänkande från ungdomsbrottskommitten.

3 SCB (1991) Offer för vålds- och egendomsbrott 1978-1989, Statistiska Centralbyrån, Stockholm.

4 Wikström, P.O. (1991) "Sociala problem brott och trygghet", Brottsförebyggande Rådet Rapport, No. 1.

The respondents' assessments of the seriousness of each crime are shown in Table 8. A considerable proportion of both reported and unreported crimes were considered serious.

Victim support

A large proportion (73%) of the victims stated that they had not received any support from relatives, friends and neighbours in coping with the effects of crime. Percentages were particularly low among men, elderly people and people with low levels of education.

Most of the respondents had not received help from any other source either (see Table 9).

Although the majority of victims had not received any support, on the whole the respondents were not favourable to the idea of some kind of crime victim assistance. 82% of the victims replied that help of this kind would not be of any use to them.

Attitudes towards the police

The police, then, was the most important public institution for support to victims of crime. The great majority (75%) of the victims were satisfied with the way in which the police handled their reports. Women were somewhat more satisfied than men and elderly persons somewhat more satisfied than younger ones, although the differences were small (5-7 percentage units).

The main reason for dissatisfaction with the police was that they did not do enough in solving the case (51% of those who were dissatisfied stated this reason), and that they did not take enough interest (35%).

Taking the interviewees as a whole, 58% were satisfied with the measures taken by the police in controlling their own area of residence, 20% were dissatisfied, and 22% were undecided.

One interesting finding is that a majority (64%) of the respondents felt that the police passed by their streets often enough, while 33% thought that this was not the case. In this respect, differences between the various groups of respondents were small, but it is worth noting that the interviewees in small communities were more satisfied with police patrol than those living in larger ones.

The results of the survey confirm other Swedish survey findings, which suggest that the police are relatively well accepted in Sweden.

Fear of crime

Comparisons with data from other countries suggest that Swedes express a greater fear of crime (above all violent crime) than the other Nordic countries.

When asked how safe they felt when walking around their residential area alone after dark, the majority (48%) replied that they felt very safe; 38% felt fairly safe; 9% a bit unsafe; and 4% very unsafe.

Nineteen per cent of the respondents avoided certain places or persons for safety reasons. On the other hand, only a small proportion (3%) of the interviewees

believed that their homes were very likely to be burgled within the next year, and 61% considered this very unlikely.

Generally speaking, the results of the survey concerning fear of crime can be summarised as follows: women felt less safe than men, elderly persons less safe than younger ones; persons with a lower level of education and low incomes felt less safe than others; those living in large communities felt safer than those living in small ones. These results correspond to a familiar pattern⁵. Persons who are more exposed and more vulnerable to crime express more fear than others.

⁵ Wikström, Sociala..., op. cit.

Crime prevention

Table 10 shows figures concerning measures taken by the respondents to protect themselves against crime. The most common measures were to ask somebody to keep an eye on the house (57%) and to fit locks (44%).

Only a small proportion of Swedes own firearms and these are mainly hunters, members of the armed forces, police officers or amateur marksmen. The authorities are very strict about providing gun licences for self-defence; this explains the very small proportion of respondents (3.6%) who stated that they kept firearms at home with which to defend themselves.

Attitudes towards punishment

Attitudes towards punishment were measured by describing the case of a 21-year-old recidivist burglar who, on this occasion, had stolen a colour TV set and then asked the respondents what sentence they thought he should receive. The results can first be interpreted by comparing them with replies from other countries. They seem, however, to suggest that Swedes are fairly skeptical about prison as an adequate penalty for crime; only 26% of the interviewees thought the man should be sent to prison (median sentence about 1 year). One very interesting result is the large proportion (47%) of respondents who thought the man should receive a community service order. Community service was recently introduced in Sweden on an experimental basis and, at present, can only be ordered by five of Sweden's 100 or so local courts. Nevertheless, the experiment has attracted widespread favourable coverage by the news media. Community service in Sweden is slightly different from the type of service indicated in the survey questionnaire. In Sweden, people ordered to perform community service do not work in hospitals or day nurseries, but they can work for so-called voluntary organisations. The positive attitude towards community service, however, has also been highlighted by a Swedish opinion poll⁶.

Concluding remarks

Although, on the whole, the results of the 1992 crime survey tend to confirm already existing data on crime and crime related matters in Swedish society, a much deeper analysis of the available data is necessary.

⁶ Andersson, T. and L. Alexandersson (1991) Samhällstjänst som alternativ till fängelse. Sammanställning över det första årets försöksverksamhet, Brottsförebyggande Rådet, Stockholm.

TABLES

Table 1: Composition of respondents' household by selected variables

	Total	Gender		Age			Household income		
		Male	Female	16-34 yrs	35-54 yrs	Over 55	Below avg.	Above avg.	Unknown
Base: all respondents	1707	843	864	554	563	589	550	1065	92
No. persons in household									
1	400	173	226	121	62	217	280	100	20
%	23.4	20.6	26.2	21.9	10.9	36.8	50.9	9.4	21.5
2	612	320	293	143	142	327	179	400	33
%	35.9	37.9	33.9	25.8	25.3	55.5	32.6	37.5	36.0
3	280	143	137	113	133	35	51	216	13
%	16.4	17.0	15.9	20.3	23.6	5.9	9.3	20.3	13.8
4	282	142	140	128	144	9	24	236	21
%	16.5	16.8	16.2	23.1	25.5	1.6	4.3	22.2	23.4
5	102	51	51	39	61	1	13	84	5
%	6.0	6.0	5.9	7.0	10.9	.2	2.3	7.9	5.3
6	32	15	17	10	22		3	29	
%	1.9	1.7	2.0	1.9	3.9		.6	2.7	
Total	1707	843	864	554	563	589	550	1065	92
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	2.51	2.55	2.48	2.73	3.12	1.73	1.76	2.90	2.55

	Education completed at			Town size				House	
	< 15 yrs	16-19 yrs	> 20 yrs	< 10 inh.	10-50 inh.	> 50 inh.	Unknown	Owned	Rented
Base: all respondents	397	600	557	589	511	582	25	1129	571
No. persons in household									
1	133	111	114	96	129	167	8	170	226
%	33.6	18.4	20.4	16.3	25.3	28.6	32.1	15.1	15.1
2	200	192	179	212	191	199	10	396	215
%	50.3	31.9	32.1	35.9	37.5	34.2	40.3	35.1	37.6
3	34	112	107	95	76	107	3	209	70
%	8.6	18.7	19.3	16.1	14.9	18.3	10.3	18.5	12.2
4	17	126	107	120	83	75	4	242	39
%	4.3	21.0	19.3	20.4	16.2	12.9	14.3	21.4	6.8
5	8	40	42	46	23	31	1	82	20
%	2.1	6.7	7.5	7.8	4.6	5.4	3.1	7.2	3.5
6	4	20	8	21	8	4		30	2
%	1.1	3.3	1.4	3.5	1.6	.6		2.7	.3
Total	397	600	557	589	511	582	25	1129	571
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.95	2.75	2.66	2.78	2.42	2.34	2.16	2.79	1.98

Table 2: Swedish population data (weighting base)

TOTAL POPULATION (all ages)	8,590,630	
POPULATION OVER 16 YEARS OLD	6,935,793	
NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS (all ages)	3,830,000	
1 person	1,515,000	-40%
2 persons	1,190,000	-31%
3 persons	471,000	-12%
4 persons	453,000	-12%
5 persons	157,500	-4%
6 persons	43,500	-1%
REGIONS - NUMBER OF PERSONS (all ages)		
		%
1:	Stockholm area	19
2:	East-central Sweden	17
3:	Smaland incl. islands	9
4:	Southern Sweden	14
5:	Western Sweden	20
6:	North-central Sweden	10
7:	Central and Upper Norrland	11

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Sweden (1992) Official Statistics of Sweden, SCB (Statistica Sweden)

Table 3: Victims of crime: complete sample disposition

COMPLETE INTERVIEWS	1,707
NON-RESPONSES:	
Non relevant contacts	882
- Disconnected	494
- Business	388
No answer after 8 or more attempts	246
Contact but no complete interview	339
- Hearing problem/language problem	96
- No eligible person (too old/ill)	108
- Not available during field work	43
- Other reason	44
- Terminated	48
Refusals	181
Total	3,355
TOTAL VALID NUMBERS (3,355-882=)	2,473

Table 4: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	5.7
Theft from car	15.2
Car vandalism	15.5
Theft of motorcycle	1.3
Theft of bicycle	21.5
(Owners)	
Theft of car	6.8
Theft from car	18.1
Car vandalism	18.4
Theft of motorcycle	7.8
Theft of bicycle	23.6
Burglary with entry	4.8
Attempted burglary	3.3
Robbery	1.3
Personal theft	14.1
Sexual incidents	4.1
Assault/threat	9.7

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 5: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	1.7
Theft from car	3.9
Car vandalism	4.5
Theft of motorcycle	0.6
Theft of bicycle	7.0
(Owners)	
Theft of car	2.0
Theft from car	4.7
Car vandalism	5.4
Theft of motorcycle	3.6
Theft of bicycle	7.6
Burglary with entry	1.3
Attempted burglary	0.8
Robbery	0.3
Personal theft	4.2
Sexual incidents	0.9
Assault/threat	2.7
Consumer fraud	3.7
Corruption	n.a.

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 6: Reported crimes

	%
Theft of car	96.8
Theft from car	69.9
Car vandalism	51.0
Theft of motorcycle	85.0
Theft of bicycle	66.9
Burglary with entry	65.8
Attempted burglary	30.6
Robbery	81.3
Personal theft	49.6
Sexual incidents	19.7
Assault/threat	28.6

Table 7: Reasons for not reporting*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Not serious enough		52.9	59.7		40.1	62.0		55.0	42.8	38.1
Solved it myself			6.3		16.1	5.8	14.7	6.2	13.1	21.8
Inappropriate for police		2.2	5.6		5.5	9.4		6.3	4.9	9.6
Other authorities			2.4		1.7	3.7	17.1	3.1	2.5	2.8
My family solved it	29.4		0.8		6.6			1.0	2.8	1.8
No insurance		4.3	0.8	63.3	5.6	7.0		0.8		
Police could do nothing		11.2	6.5	35.6	8.9	5.0		11.3	14.3	12.0
Police won't do anything		7.6	10.8		7.0	2.9		7.5	13.8	14.6
Fear/dislike police			0.8		0.9		18.8	1.8		4.2
Didn't dare									6.3	7.3
Other reasons	70.6	6.9	6.9	36.7	16.5	5.7	49.4	17.4	30.4	14.5
Don't know		3.9	1.3		1.9	2.8		2.6		3.1
Insurance will not pay		26.5	18.3		11.5	22.3		4.0		

* Percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police - multiple answers possible.

Table 8: Crime seriousness*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Very serious	36.2	8.2	7.4	31.4	10.8	26.1	45.8	20.5	31.3	32.4
Fairly serious	39.6	30.6	24.1	49.5	36.7	34.6	35.2	32.7	42.6	37.1
Not serious	24.2	61.2	68.6	19.1	52.5	39.3	19.0	46.8	26.1	30.6

* Percentage based on victims of specific crimes.

Table 9: Victim support

Source of support	%
Police	22.7
Social services	0.8
Religious organisations	0.4
Other voluntary organisations	0.7
Crime victim refugees	0.7
Other persons/organisations	9.0

Table 10: Crime prevention measures*

	%
Installed burglar alarm	5.4
Installed door locks	43.9
Installed window/door grills	4.7
Maintain watchdogs	3.9
High fence	0.9
House has a caretaker	4.2
None of these	47.5
Others	
Ask somebody to watch home	56.9
Neighbours watch anyway	7.4
Possession of firearms	16.0
House is insured against burglary	

* Percentages based on total sample of respondents - multiple answers possible.

TUNIS (TUNISIA)

Abdelkhaleq Bchir¹

A victimisation survey will be carried out at the beginning of 1993 and will cover a sample of 1,200 people chosen from Greater Tunis (city and suburbs) which is inhabited by roughly 20% of the entire population of Tunisia.

The data presented herewith were collected for a preliminary survey carried out in September-October 1992, and refer to a sample of 150 people living in the city of Tunis.

The respondents were categorised according to the following criteria:

- *gender*: the same proportion of male and female respondents were sampled;
- *location*: it was decided to limit the field of observation to the city of Tunis instead of Greater Tunis (which includes the various suburbs in the range of 20 km).

The city was divided into sectors, areas and blocks of houses, according to the distribution adopted by the *Institut National de la Statistique (INS)* and the district of Tunis.

Such distribution was based on a synthetical variable, the so-called "habitat system". This variable is made up of a number of socio-economic indicators from which five sectors were identified, each of them presenting globally homogeneous characteristics from the point of view of income and expenditure structure; equipment and access to common facilities; type of housing.

The distribution by sectors was as follows:

- upper level zone;
- middle level zone;
- traditional zone (the *medina*);
- first generation of semi-urban zone;
- second generation of semi-urban zone.

The sample was divided into three categories of socio-economic status:

- upper class (30%) corresponding to upper level zone;
- middle class (40%) corresponding to middle level zone;
- lower class (30%) corresponding to remaining zones.

At this phase of the research these categories were represented in almost equal proportions. For the 1993 survey the distribution will be more accurate and involve a larger sample. It will also include a stratification by area, since a sector may include areas belonging to another "habitat standing or system".

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Data collection techniques

In order to carry out the interviews students received a three-day training course, during which they:

- studied the questionnaire and in particular the formulation of the questions in a Tunisian-Arabic dialect;
- attended four interviews carried out by the trainer;
- carried out exercises in data control and elaboration with the use of a manual treatment table (computerised data treatment with the SPSS software was not possible since the researchers were not familiar enough with this programme).

Each interviewer was provided with twenty randomly selected addresses in a given area, with the aim of completing fifteen interviews.

For the pre-testing it was decided to assign a female interviewer for each female respondent. In fact, it is believed that, in general, female students encountered less difficulties in gaining the trust of the respondents of both sexes.

For a number of reasons the 10 interviewers were only able to carry out an average of 1 or 2 interviews per day (including the completion of the data treatment table). As a result, it took more than fifteen days to complete the 150 questionnaires, after the cancellation of 9 non-applicable cases.

No major problems were encountered during the interviews; the interviewers were pleasantly surprised to note that the respondents talked spontaneously and without reservation about the various forms of offence; this attitude can be linked to the recent interest on the part of the mass media in this issue.

A few minor modifications were made to a number of questions. In particular, in the case of the question related to the period in which the crime was committed, the respondent was asked to indicate an exact date (year and, at least, season). This enabled a distinction to be made between the one-year (code 2) and five-year (code 1) period, and also provided information on the period of the year for further use.

Prevalence victimisation rates - 5 years

Except for fraud and corruption, it appeared that the 150 respondents reported 130 cases of offences in the last five years. The most recurrent cases reported were personal theft (18.5%), attempted burglary (12.5%) and car vandalism (8%).

The majority of these offences were committed against middle class victims (52%), followed by the upper class (30%) and the lower class (18%).

The middle class respondents expressed dissatisfaction with police control, and in particular in the case of night patrols. On the contrary, the upper class appeared to be more satisfied with their security conditions.

This situation could explain in part the fact that the middle class is the category most affected by car vandalism and bicycle, motorcycle or even car theft. Theft of car remains insignificant and could be an indication of the low level of delinquency by organised gangs. This is confirmed by the fact that 53% of the victims (including victims of sexual incidents) mentioned individual acts, to which can be added 18% of the victims who mentioned two or more people, which could not be considered as gangs in the true sense.

Furthermore, since the phenomenon of gang delinquency has registered an increase during the last ten years, it was not surprising that this was one of the two main topics to be mentioned by the respondents. Indeed, it was mentioned by a third (32%) of them.

Prevalence victimisation rates - 1 year

A preliminary, although cautious, remark must be made with respect to the one-year victimisation rates. The volume of crime reported by the respondents for this period appears much higher than the annual average registered for the five previous years, begging the question of whether this corresponds to an increase in crime. Before replying to this query a methodological evaluation is necessary.

Another interesting point is the high rate of consumer fraud mentioned by 71.5% of the respondents. This could be a result of the liberal option in Tunisia in the 80s, but such a finding becomes more significant taking into account that the "informal (unorganised) sector" covers more than 40% of the tertiary sector in urban areas, a percentage which is certainly higher for the capital.

Reported crime

It is not surprising to note that, in the context of Tunisian culture, only 10.5% of sexual incidents were reported to the police. Of course this figure includes both rape (3 cases) and other forms of sexual harassment (see Table 4).

According to Table 5, these incidents are generally dealt with by "other authorities" or remain "personal", although most cases mentioned by women were considered as "fairly serious" (64%) and even "very serious" (12%) (Table 6).

This can also be applied to personal theft, robbery and car vandalism. Nevertheless, this reaction could be explained less by cultural factors and more by the objective attitude of the respondents towards the police and their effectiveness in these cases, as is shown in Table 5.

Generally speaking, this attitude towards the police is more strongly felt among the middle class (15/40), especially when referring to personal theft, theft from a car and car vandalism. Surprisingly, it is more infrequent among the "lower" classes.

Although the data collected for this preliminary survey do not allow for an extensive analysis, they are useful in that they provide a basis for methodological reflection on the improvement or adaptation of the questionnaire to the needs of the particular social context. Of course, this should also take into consideration the international comparability of the results.

TABLES

Table 1: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	1.5
Theft from car	6.5
Car vandalism	8.0
Theft of motorcycle	6.5
Theft of bicycle	6.0
(Owners)	
Theft of car	6.5
Theft from car	33.5
Car vandalism	40.0
Theft of motorcycle	55.5
Theft of bicycle	41.0
Burglary with entry	7.5
Attempted burglary	12.5
Robbery	5.5
Personal theft	18.5
Sexual incidents	21.5
Assault/threat	14.5

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 2: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years) according to socio-economic status (absolute value)

	Socio-economic status			
	Lower	Middle	Upper	Total
Theft of car	0	2	0	2
Theft from car	1	2	7	10
Car vandalism	2	6	4	12
Theft of motorcycle	4	4	2	10
Theft of bicycle	2	4	3	9
Burglary with entry	3	4	4	11
Attempted burglary	3	9	7	19
Personal theft	4	13	11	28
Assault/threat	1	4	2	7
Sexual incidents	8	5	3	16

Table 3: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year)*

	Victimisation rate (%)
Theft of car	0.5
Theft from car	6.0
Car vandalism	5.5
Theft of motorcycle	3.5
Theft of bicycle	3.5
(Owners)	
Theft of car	3.5
Theft from car	30.0
Car vandalism	26.5
Theft of motorcycle	27.5
Theft of bicycle	22.5
Burglary with entry	3.5
Attempted burglary	7.5
Robbery	3.5
Personal theft	8.5
Sexual incidents	12.0
Assault/threat	4.0
Consumer fraud	71.5
Corruption	6.5

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 4: Reported crimes

	%
Theft of car	100.0
Theft from car	47.5
Car vandalism	30.0
Theft of motorcycle	80.0
Theft of bicycle	57.0
Burglary with entry	87.5
Attempted burglary	55.0
Robbery	30.5
Personal theft	39.0
Sexual incidents	10.5
Assault/threat	69.5

Table 5: Reasons for not reporting*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/ threat %
Not serious enough		70.0	21.4		16.7	50.0	33.3	52.0	22.7	
Solved it myself		10.0		66.7	33.3	50.0	11.1	16.0	9.1	75.0
Inappropriate for police			14.3		16.7			20.0		25.0
Other authorities				33.3	16.7			4.0		
My family solved it							11.1	8.0		
No insurance										
Police could do nothing		10.0	50.0	33.3		50.0	22.2	16.0		25.0
Police won't do anything		50.0	14.3		16.7		11.1	12.0	13.6	25.0
Fear/dislike police			7.1						18.2	
Didn't dare					16.7				4.5	
Other reasons		10.0	21.4			50.0	33.3		45.5	50.0
Don't know							11.1		9.1	25.0

* Percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police - multiple answers possible.

Table 6: Crime seriousness*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Theft of bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/ threat %
Very serious	100.0	42.0	15.0	13.5	7.0	12.5	22.0	22.0	12.0	54.0
Fairly serious		58.0	50.0	66.5	71.5	62.5	54.0	56.0	64.0	38.5
Not serious			35.00	20.0	21.5	25.0	24.0	22.0	24.0	7.5

* Percentage based on victims of specific crimes.

Table 7: Crime prevention measures*

	%
Installed burglar alarm	9.3
Installed door locks	60.7
Installed window/door grills	41.3
Maintain watchdogs	8.0
High fence	27.3
House has a caretaker	8.0
None of these	8.7
Others	2.7
Ask somebody to watch home	67.3
Neighbours watch anyway	28.0
Possession of firearms	4.7
House is insured against burglary	20.7

* Percentages based on total sample of respondents - multiple answers possible.

LATENT CRIME IN RUSSIA¹

Konstantin K. Goryainov²

Introduction

An understanding of the phenomenon of latent crime in Russia is essential for the development of legal institutes in a democratic state and in order to ensure the rights and interests of its citizens. The present crime situation in Russia is far from positive, with a yearly growth in the crime rate coupled by a decreasing clearance rate. The social threat of crime is also worsening as Russian society experiences a growing sense of fear and lack of protection in the face of spreading crime.

One attempt at tackling this problem took the form of a research project on latent crime, implemented jointly by the Ministry of the Interior of Russia and UNICRI, which aimed at working out legal and organisational measures for combating crime.

In selecting the research ideology and methodology, it was taken into account that latent crime is a complicated socio-legal phenomenon, the existence, evolution and pre-determination of which present many multifaceted aspects which require a comprehensive and inter-disciplinary approach in order to be understood. At the same time criminology as a social and legal science, with its subject matter and methodological resources, can facilitate the understanding of latent crime in its specific integrity.

For the aims of the research project, it was considered appropriate to adopt the following notion of latent crime: those acts containing elements prohibited by criminal law which are not reported to law enforcement agencies (unreported or unknown offences), or which are reported but do not receive the due legal assessment and response from law enforcement agencies (concealed offences).

By total latent crime rate is meant the sum of natural (unreported) and artificial (concealed) latency.

Research methodology

The methodological basis was a combination of statistical methods; content analysis; expert evaluation of the material at the disposal of the interior bodies regarding the refusal to prosecute; and random interviewing of the population, law enforcement officials and convicted persons.

Taking into account the considerable regional differences in Russia, the research project covered six regions which have similar socio-economic, demographic, socio-psychological and criminological characteristics. These regions

¹ Editors' Note: This is a summary of a joint UNICRI/Ministry of the Interior of Russia study which involved a victimisation survey component and which partially drew on the International Victimisation Survey.

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are located in the north-west and centre of the European part of Russia (the Pskov, Novgorod, Kaluga, Vladimir, Ryazan and Tver regions).

Random interviewing (using the face-to-face technique) was carried out directly by the research group with the use of the programmed questionnaires. The interviewers, who were already experienced in carrying out specific sociological surveys, underwent further training for this specific research. Separate representative samples were defined for each region.

Interviewing the citizens

Citizens were asked about the crimes they or their relatives and acquaintances had experienced, as well as subsequent measures that had been taken. The sample accounted for 2,068 persons. Given their demographic and social characteristics, the respondents were typically representative of the population in the target regions. 49.8% of the sample were male and 50.2% female, and all age groups were represented proportionally: i.e. persons up to 18 years of age (12.5%); between 19 and 24 (14.9%); 25 to 30 (15.3%); 31 to 40 (20.5%); 41 to 50 (14%); over 50 (22.8%). 69.4% of the respondents belonged to the urban population, while 39.4% lived in rural areas. The level of education of the respondents was high enough to allow them to comprehend and provide an answer to the questions posed; thus, 23.8% of the respondents had received higher education, 62% had secondary level (general or specialised) education, and 14.1% had lower than secondary level education. From an analysis of the occupational level of the respondents, it is possible to assume that all the social categories existing in the target areas were represented in the sample. Major groups included industrial workers (13.8%), agricultural workers (7.7%), employees in the tertiary sector (8.5%), state employed workers (9.8%) and retired persons (14.2%). Taking into consideration specific Russian features, the level of the respondents' income was identified in relation to the minimum subsistence level. 6.2% of the respondents stated that their income was higher than the stated level; 34.2% indicated that their income corresponded to that figure; 54.3% rated their income as below the minimum subsistence level (3.3% of the interviewees had some difficulties in answering this question). It should be noted that no account was taken, in the replies, of the private property at the respondents' disposal, the nature and amount of which, in a number of cases, make the owner more prone to victimisation.

The questionnaire was compiled along the lines of the International Crime Survey questionnaire, although partly modified and adapted to the characteristic features of Russia, according to the objectives and methodology identified for the given research project. The questionnaire was then tested in the town of Borovichi in the Novgorod region and adopted after a few amendments had been made. Interviews were carried out in the streets, in offices, enterprises and educational institutions, as well as in residential areas (apartments, private houses, hostels). The majority of the respondents reacted favourably to both the objectives of the research and the interviewers, although 59 persons (i.e. 3% of the total sample) refused to answer the questions. All respondents were reassured about the confidentiality of the information they provided. To check the reliability of the responses, the data of those questionnaires that received "positive" responses (i.e. the respondents reported the crimes but relevant measures were never taken) were

randomly verified by checking them against records available at military, medical and insurance institutions; 26 out of 30 cases were confirmed.

Interviewing the experts

Experts were interviewed with the aim of estimating the latency level for unreported and concealed offences. The corresponding sample in the target regions consisted of 355 law enforcement officers: of these, 28% were heads of the city and district interior bodies; 30% were criminal militia detectives; 19% were officers from the public order protection service; 18% were investigators; 23% were prosecution officers. All those interviewed were persons who, given their functional duties, receive and examine crime reports on a daily basis. Their average length of service in the law enforcement system was 11 years.

The questionnaires were completed by the respondents in their offices (in approximately 10% of these cases this was done in groups).

Interviewing the convicted persons

This part of the research, which was optional, aimed at obtaining additional empirical and illustrative material.

During the pilot interviewing, which covered people serving sentences for theft of personal property in an ordinary regime colony, 120 persons agreed to respond to the questionnaire. Of these, 45 respondents (37.5%) indicated that some of the offences committed by them had not been reported to the militia. They mainly involved petty theft of money or clothes from acquaintances or relatives. At a later stage, a larger sample of convicted persons was used, and the respondents were asked to provide responses on latent crimes for various types of offences covered by the survey. Interviewing was carried out by the research group in the male corrective labour colonies located in Pskov and the Novgorod regions. The respondents were assured that the data they provided would remain confidential and would only be used for research purposes. 332 questionnaires were distributed and responses were received from 80 convicted persons (i.e. 24.1%).

As for age composition, the overwhelming majority of the interviewed convicts were aged between 19 and 40 (85%) which, on the whole, corresponds to the 1990 census of convicted persons. Nine percent of the interviewees had received a higher level of education; 72% were persons with secondary level (general or specialised) education and 19% had not reached a secondary level of education. More than half of the interviewed detainees (54%) lived in an urban area prior to their conviction, 39% resided in rural areas, while 7% had no permanent residence. 62.5% of the respondents had been previously convicted. It may be assumed that this factor affects the crime techniques and the methods for concealing the offences.

Programmed study

A programmed study was also made of the documents kept by the law enforcement agencies and prosecution offices, i.e. registers of reported crimes and related material; recorded burglar alarm signals of attempted entry; registers containing the names of minors passed on to commissions on juvenile offenders;

telephone messages; statements and judgements made by prosecutors; investigative material related to non-registration (concealment from registration); judgements on the refusal to prosecute (where the offender was not identified). Documents available in other bodies were also examined: registers of cases when citizens addressed the forensic science bureaus to determine the seriousness of bodily injuries; documents on compensatory payments (for thefts, injuries, etc.); registers of hospitals to which injured citizens had been sent.

Victimisation results: frequency

Tables 1 and 2 present the prevalence victimisation rates for 1 and 5 years respectively. The respondents reported 1,037 criminal acts to which they, their close acquaintances or relatives had fallen victim during the last 5 years. 465 of these experiences took place during the last year preceding the interview. It may be assumed that during the 5-year period almost one out of four respondents had been the victim of an offence, while one out of ten had been victimised during the last year. One third (i.e. 32.6%) of the total number of offences reported by the respondents were related to various forms of violent assault. Nevertheless, they amounted to less than half of the number of crimes for profit (60.9%). One out of fifteen citizens had been the victim of a violent assault for profit.

Unreported offences

Different rates of unreported offences were provided, according to the different category of respondents being interviewed. Hence, according to the results of the interviews, 40% of the crimes experienced by victims were not reported during the year preceding the interview. Almost the same rate (37.5%) was given by the convicted persons. The law enforcement officials estimated this rate at 15.3%. The first figures might be more realistic, since they refer to offences which directly involved the majority of the respondents.

As Table 3 shows, the vast majority of unreported offences (i.e. two-thirds of the total) are related to property: various types of theft, robberies and armed robberies. Bodily injuries ranked second with 18.5%. Each category of crime included in the survey has its own rate of latency. Thus, 36% of bodily injuries (the corresponding figure from the convicted persons' interviewing was 59%) were not reported; sexual incidents, including rape, were not reported in 40% of the cases; as well as 54% of robberies and armed robberies. Forty-four percent of cases of theft remained unreported, which is close to the average rate. However, given the differentiated approach, this index varies substantially. Most victims of pickpocketing offences (i.e. 60%) did not report them to the police; a quarter of bicycle and motorcycle thefts remained unreported; and almost half of the thefts from summer cottages, country houses and other out-of-town buildings remained unknown to the law enforcement agencies. This trend was confirmed by the interviewed experts, although the latency figures they provided were somewhat lower.

Reasons for not reporting

From the above data, it may be assumed that a considerable share of latent crime consists of offences which are not socially dangerous and do not seriously harm the citizen. To check this assumption, the respondents were asked to specify the reasons for deciding not to report the incidents to the law enforcement agencies. It was then possible to classify these reasons into three main categories (see Table 4).

Reasons grouped under the first category include lack of confidence in the effectiveness of the law enforcement agencies (i.e. lack of evidence; the militia tackles crime inefficiently; people do not want to deal with the militia because of the

complexity of formal procedures, etc.). Thirty-nine per cent of the respondents were motivated by these considerations.

A separate question posed to the respondents, irrespective of whether they had been victimised or not, referred to the effectiveness of the militia in dealing with reported crimes. In this connection, estimates given by the persons interviewed are of some interest. Over half of the interviewed persons (55.2%) were satisfied with the militia's response: 26.1% were dissatisfied and 16.2% found it difficult to reply.

In the second category of reasons for not reporting, the respondents either dealt with the matter themselves or did not consider the offence serious enough. This category accounts for 45% of all the listed reasons, of which more than half are related to an assessment of the crime as being not serious enough or as having caused minor damage. The respondents were asked to assess the seriousness of the damage involved in the latest offence (Table 5). The survey showed that only 7% of the respondents assessed the damage as very significant, 32% as rather significant, 57% as insignificant. These data confirm the general opinion that the majority of offences related to latent crime are of an unserious nature.

The third category includes reasons of a personal nature or related to particular circumstances, such as fear of revenge or publicity of the event; and assumptions about the inappropriateness of punishment. These reasons accounted for 16.8%.

The law enforcement agents were also questioned on the reasons for not reporting. In their opinion, the main reason for this is "unwillingness to contact law enforcement agencies because of a disbelief in their effectiveness". In other words, the interviewed experts were more pessimistic about the potential effectiveness of the militia than the interviewed victims. The second main reason for not reporting, according to the experts, is "insignificance of the damage".

Concealed offences

Although, according to the results of the survey, one out of five or six reported crimes did not receive any response from the militia, this figure requires further analysis. Failure to take measures does not necessarily mean unwillingness, inability or "malicious intent" on the part of the militia. Some of the reported acts may not have actually occurred or may differ from the ones described in the reports. Furthermore, upon assessment, some of the reported events may not contain the necessary elements to be considered a *corpus delicti*. The interviewed officers of the law enforcement agencies (i.e. those who actually receive the crime reports and respond to them) estimated the corresponding index as 11.5%. This index varies according to the different types of crime. According to the experts, 12% of reports on bodily injuries are concealed, as well as 10% of rapes, 5-6% of robberies and armed robberies, 14% of thefts from building in rural areas, 13% of bicycle and motorcycle thefts, and 18% of cases of pickpocketing, etc.

Crimes are mainly concealed as a result of groundless decisions for not initiating criminal proceedings, due to the absence of the event of *corpus delicti*, or because it is assumed that this act does not present a major social threat. Following a thorough examination of the relevant material, it was discovered that a quarter of the refusals to initiate criminal proceedings were unjustified. This was particularly so in those cases where the offender was not identified and circumstances related to the crime were not clear. With reference to the specific categories of crime, it has

been estimated that 25% of all reported cases of bodily injury are concealed, as well as 15% of rapes, 20-25% of robberies and armed robberies, 10% of thefts from apartments and cottages, 25-33% of pickpocketing, 10% of thefts of bicycles and motorcycles, 17% of thefts from cars, etc. Statistical data provide more or less the same figures. According to selected statistics, one-third of complaints lodged by citizens with respect to the concealment of reported crime by the militia were found justifiable when checked by the officials of the Ministry of the Interior of Russia. Summing up, we may assume that the total rate of concealed crimes is about 30%.

Reasons for concealment

The law enforcement agents were asked to single out the reasons for the concealment of offences and to rank them according to their significance and frequency. According to their responses, the first major reason refers to insufficient militia manpower, as well as its heavy workload (i.e. limited capacity for processing the cases).

Reasons of a subjective nature ranked second. These included, above all, attempts to give the impression that the militia were successful in carrying out their work (i.e. decreasing the number of uncleared offences by concealing them). This refers to the inertia of past practices when the figures of recorded crimes and of their clearance rate were the only criteria used for evaluating the effectiveness of the criminal militia, which were the cause of serious problems. Another noted reason was the influence of such factors as poor logistical support of the law enforcement agencies, low salaries of the personnel and a number of other factors of a social character or related to living conditions.

Concluding remarks

Thus, latent crime is a real objective socio-legal phenomenon caused by a complex of interrelated factors in the spheres of socio-economic relations; legal and law enforcement policies; and social, group and individual consciousness. In general terms, the latency rate could be defined at 70%, although it varies considerably from crime to crime. Most latent crime is represented by criminally-significant events of a minor character or which present a minor social threat, the vast majority of which might be solved in ways other than through the use of criminal proceedings.

The main reasons for not reporting the offences to the law enforcement agencies are: citizens' lack of confidence in the police's ability and potential to cope with the problem of crime; the complications in becoming involved in criminal proceedings; as well as the opportunities to remedy the damage caused without having to recur to the criminal justice system.

TABLES

Table 1: Prevalence victimisation rates (5 years)*

Total sample of respondents	100%	
Have been victimised (special sample)	23.7	100%
Including Theft of car	0.6	2.4
Theft from car	3.1	10.6
Car vandalism		
Theft of motorcycle, bicycle	2.0	8.4
(Owners)		
Theft of car	0.6	2.4
Theft from car	3.1	10.6
Car vandalism		
Theft of motorcycle, bicycle	2.0	8.4
Burglary with entry	6.7	28.1
Robbery	1.6	6.7
Personal theft	15.1	63.7
Sexual incidents	1.1	4.7
Assault/threat	7.0	29.4

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 2: Prevalence victimisation rates (1 year)*

Total sample of respondents	100%	
Have been victimised (special sample)	9.4	100%
Including	0.3	3.6
Theft of car		
Theft from car	0.9	9.8
Car vandalism		
Theft of motorcycle, bicycle	0.9	9.8
(Owners)		
Theft of car	0.8	3.6
Theft from car	0.9	9.8
Car vandalism		
Theft of motorcycle, bicycle	0.9	9.3
Burglary with entry	3.9	41.7
Attempted burglary		
Robbery	1.0	10.3
Personal theft	8.6	92.2
Sexual incidents	0.5	5.7
Assault/threat	8.7	39.2
Consumer fraud		3.0
Corruption		

* Prevalence - percentage of respondents who have been victims of a specific form of crime once or more.

Table 3: Reported crimes

	%
Theft of car	88.3
Theft from car	78.1
Car vandalism	
Theft of motorcycle, bicycle	70.0
Burglary with entry	56.5
Attempted burglary	
Robbery	48.5
Personal theft	56.4
Sexual incidents	56.5
Assault/threat	58.3

Table 4: Reasons for not reporting*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle bicycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Not serious enough		50.0		37.5	40.0	11.0	48.4	10.0	19.1
Solved it myself		50.0		18.3	6.7	5.9	11.0	20.0	15.7
Inappropriate for police		7.1			1.7	11.8	2.2		10.7
Other authorities					5.0	5.9	2.2		3.4
My family solved it		21.4			1.7	5.9	3.7		8.9
No insurance		7.1			1.7	28.5	1.5	40.0	8.9
Police could do nothing	50.0	14.3		12.5	26.7	35.8	21.3	10.0	8.9
Police won't do anything	50.0			25.0	13.3	47.1	20.6	30.0	26.6
Fear/dislike police		7.1			3.3	23.5	2.2	40.0	10.7
Didn't dare		7.1		6.2	5.0	11.8	3.7	30.0	3.6
Other reasons				12.5	3.3		2.9		1.8
Don't know									

* Percentages calculated on victims who said they had not reported the last incident of each type of crime to the police - multiple answers possible.

Table 5: Crime seriousness*

	Theft of car %	Theft from car %	Car vandalism %	Theft of motorcycle %	Burglary with entry %	Robbery %	Personal theft %	Sexual incidents %	Assault/threat %
Very serious	16.7	1.9			5.7	6.1	3.8	4.3	2.1
Fairly serious	8.2	21.1		12.2	5.7	9.1	11.2	8.6	2.1
Not serious		7.7		22.0	34.8	15.2	28.2		5.6

* Percentage based on victims of specific crimes.

CRIMINAL VICTIMISATION IN THE UNITED STATES: 1991¹

Lisa D. Bastian²

The survey results contained in this report are based on data gathered from residents living throughout the United States, including persons living in group quarters, such as dormitories, rooming houses, and religious group dwellings. Individuals aged 12 or older living in units designated for the sample were eligible to be interviewed with the exception of: crew members of merchant vessels, Armed Forces personnel living in military barracks, institutionalised persons, such as correctional facility inmates, US citizens residing abroad and foreign visitors to this country.

Data collection

Each housing unit selected for the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) remains in the sample for 3 years, with each of seven interviews taking place at six-month intervals. An NCVS interviewer's first contact with a housing unit selected for the survey is in person, and, if it is not possible to secure face-to-face interviews with all eligible members of the household during this initial visit, interviews by telephone are permissible thereafter. The only exceptions to the requirement that each eligible person be interviewed apply to incapacitated persons and individuals who are absent from the household during the entire field-interviewing period.

If an adult insists, 12- and 13-year-olds may be interviewed by proxy. In the case of temporarily absent household members and persons who are physically or mentally incapable of granting interviews, interviewers may accept other household members as proxy respondents, and in certain situations non-household members may provide information for incapacitated persons. Interviews are done by telephone whenever possible, except for the first and fifth interviews, which are primarily conducted in person. The percentage of telephone interviews is approximately 74% currently.

Sample design and size

Survey estimates are based on data obtained from a stratified, multi-stage cluster sample. The primary sampling units (PSUs) composing the first stage of the sampling were counties, groups of counties, or large metropolitan areas. Large PSUs were included in the sample automatically and are considered to be self-representing (SR). The remaining PSUs, called non-self-representing (NSR), were combined into strata by grouping PSUs with similar demographic characteristics, as

¹ A separate survey entitled the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) was carried out in the United States.

² Statistician, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Washington D.C. The author was assisted in the preparation and writing of this report by Marshall M. DeBerry, Jr. and Joan Johnson, under the supervision of Charles R. Kindermann. Tina Dorsey was the production editor and produced this report.

determined by the 1980 Census. One PSU was selected from each stratum by making the probability of selection proportionate to the population of the PSU. The sample drawn from the 1980 Census based design consists of 84 SR PSUs and 153 NSR strata, with one PSU per stratum selected with probability proportionate to size.

The remaining stages of sampling were designed to ensure a self-weighting probability sample of dwelling units and group quarters within each of the selected areas. (In this context, self-weighting means that each sample housing unit had the same initial probability of being selected.) This involved a systematic selection of enumeration districts (geographic areas used for the 1980 Census), with a probability of selection proportionate to their 1980 population size, followed by the selection of clusters of approximately four housing units each from within each enumeration district. To account for units built within each of the sample areas after the 1980 Census, a sample was drawn, by means of an independent clerical operation, of permits issued for the construction of residential housing.

Jurisdictions that do not issue building permits were sampled using small land-area segments. These supplementary procedures, though yielding a relatively small portion of the total sample, enabled persons living in housing units built after 1980 to be properly represented in the survey. With the passage of time, newly constructed units account for an increased proportion of the total sample.

Approximately 50,500 housing units and other living quarters were designated for the sample. In order to conduct field interviews, the sample was divided into six groups, or rotations, each of which contained housing units whose occupants were to be interviewed once every six months over a period of three years. The initial interview was used to bound the interviews, (bounding establishes a time frame to avoid duplication of crimes on subsequent interviews) but was not used to compute the annual estimates. Each rotation group was further divided into six panels. Persons occupying housing units within a sixth of each rotation group, or one panel, were interviewed each month during the 6-month period. Because the survey is continuous, additional housing units are selected in the manner described, and assigned to rotation groups and panels for subsequent incorporation into the sample. A new rotation group enters the sample every six months, replacing a group phased out after being in the sample for three years.

A portion of the housing units selected to participate in this survey were used to test a revised survey questionnaire designed to provide more information about incidents of crime. Information collected from households given the revised questionnaire was not used in the data tables shown in this report.

Interviews were obtained at 6-month intervals from the occupants of about 42,000 of the 50,500 housing units selected for the sample. About 7,305 of the remaining 8,780 units were found to be vacant, demolished, converted to non-residential use, or otherwise ineligible for the survey. However, approximately 1,500 of the 8,780 units were occupied by persons who were eligible for the survey yet were not interviewed because they could not be reached after repeated visits, declined to be interviewed, were temporarily absent, or were otherwise not available. Thus, the occupants of about 97% of all eligible housing units, some 83,000 persons, provided responses for the survey through the near-term questionnaire.

About 10% of the 42,000 households in the 1991 sample were interviewed using a technique called Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI). This technique was first used in 1987, and a study of the results revealed it had no serious effects on the NCVS data. Thus, the data obtained through CATI have been included in this report.

Estimation procedure

To enhance the reliability of the estimates in this report, the estimation procedures utilised additional data concerning population characteristics which are believed to affect victimisation rates. These data were used in various stages of ratio estimation.

The estimation procedure provides quarterly estimates of the levels and rates of victimisation. Sample data from eight months of field interviewing are required to produce estimates for each quarter. For example, data collected between February and September are required to estimate the first quarter of any given calendar year. Each quarterly estimate is composed of equal numbers of field observations from the months during the half-year interval prior to the time of interview. Therefore, incidents occurring in January may be reported in a February interview (1 month between the crime and the interview), in a March interview (2 months), and so on up to 6 months ago for interviews conducted in July. This arrangement minimises expected biases associated with the tendency of respondents to place victimisations in more recent months of a six-month reference period rather than the month in which they actually occurred. Annual estimates are derived by accumulating data from the four quarterly estimates, which in turn are obtained from 17 months of field interviewing, ranging from February of one year through June of the following year. The population and household figures shown on victimisation rate tables are based on an average for these 17 months, centering on the ninth month of the data collection period, in this case October 1991. The estimation procedure began with the application of a basic weight to the data from each individual interviewed. A basic weight is the reciprocal of the probability of each housing unit's selection for the sample, and provides a rough measure of the population represented by each person in the sample. Next, an adjustment was made to account for occupied units as well as individuals in occupied units who were selected for the survey but unavailable for interview.

The distribution of the sample population usually differs somewhat from that of the total population in terms of age, race, sex, residence, and other characteristics. Because of this, an additional stage of ratio estimation was employed to bring the two distributions into closer agreement, thereby reducing the variability of the sample estimates.

The first stage of ratio estimation was applied only to data obtained from non-self-representing sample areas. Its purpose was to reduce the error caused by selecting one area to represent an entire stratum. Ratios concerning race and residence were calculated to reflect the relationship between the weighted 1980 census counts for all the sample areas in each region and the population in the non-self-representing parts of the region.

The second stage of ratio estimation was applied on an individual basis in order to bring the distribution of individuals in the sample into closer agreement with independent current estimates of the population according to the characteristics of age, sex, and race.

For household crimes, the characteristics of the wife in a husband-wife household and the characteristics of the head of household in other types of households were used to determine the ratio estimates. This procedure is

considered more precise than simply using the characteristics of the head of household since sample coverage is generally better for females than males.

In order to estimate incidents as opposed to victimisations, further adjustments were made to those cases where an incident involved more than one person. These incidents had more than one chance of being included in the sample so each multiple-victimisation was reduced by the number of victims. Thus, if two people were victimised during the same incident, the weight assigned to that incident was reduced by one half so that the incident could not be counted twice. However, the details of the event's outcome as they related to the victim were reflected in the survey results.

No adjustment was necessary in estimating data on household crimes because each separate crime was defined as involving only one household.

Series victimisations

A series victimisation is defined as three or more similar but separate crimes which the victim is unable to recall individually or describe in detail to an interviewer. These crimes have been excluded from the tables in this report because the victims were unable to provide details for each event.

Table 1 shows the counts of series victimisations for 1991. A total of 803,290 personal series crimes and 517,290 household series crimes were measured in 1991. As in the past, series crimes tended to be simple assaults, personal larcenies without contact, or household larcenies.

Reliability of estimates

The sample used for the NCVS is one of a large number of possible samples of equal size that could have been obtained by using the same sample design and selection procedures. Estimates derived from different samples would differ somewhat.

The standard error of a survey estimate is a measure of the variation among the estimates from all possible samples. Therefore, it is a measure of the precision with which a particular estimate approximates the average result of all possible samples. The estimate and its associated standard error may be used to construct a confidence interval. A confidence interval is a range of numbers which has a specified probability that the average of all possible samples, which is the true unknown value of interest, is contained within the interval. About 68% of the time, the survey estimate will differ from the true average by less than one standard error. Only 10% of the time will the difference be more than 1.6 standard errors, and just one time in a hundred will it be greater than 2.5 standard errors. A 95% confidence interval is the estimate plus or minus twice the standard error, thus there is a 95% chance that the result of a complete census would fall within the confidence interval.

In addition to sampling error, the estimates in this report are subject to non-sampling error. Major sources of non-sampling error are related to the ability of the respondents to recall in detail the crimes which occurred during the six months prior to the interview. Research based on interviews of victims obtained from police files indicates that assault is recalled with the least accuracy of any crime measured by the NCVS. This may be related to the tendency of victims not to report crimes

committed by offenders who are not strangers, especially if they are relatives. In addition, among certain groups, crimes which contain elements of assault could be a part of everyday life, and are therefore forgotten or not considered important enough to mention to a survey interviewer. These recall problems may result in a substantial understatement of the actual rate of assault.

Another source of nonsampling error is the inability of some respondents to recall the exact month a crime occurred, even though it was placed in the correct reference period. This error source is partially offset by interviewing monthly and using the estimation procedure described earlier. Telescoping is another problem in which incidents that occurred before the reference period, or in a few cases, after it, are placed within the period. Events which occurred after the reference period are considered extremely rare because 75 to 80% of the interviewing takes place during the first week of the month following the reference period. The effect of telescoping is minimised by using the bounding procedure previously described. The interviewer is provided with a summary of the incidents reported in the preceding interview, and, if a similar incident is reported, it can then be determined whether the reported crime is a new one or not by discussing it with the victim. As calculated for the NCVS, the standard errors partially measure only those non-sampling errors arising from these sources; they do not reflect any systematic biases in the data.

Methodological research indicates that substantially fewer incidents of crime are reported when one household member reports for all individuals residing in the household than when each person is interviewed individually. Therefore, the self-response procedure was adopted as a general rule; allowances for proxy response under the contingencies discussed earlier are the only exceptions to this rule.

Other sources of nonsampling error result from other types of response mistakes, including errors in reporting incidents as crimes, misclassification of crimes, systematic data errors introduced by the interviewer, errors made in coding and processing the data, and biases resulting from the rotation patterns and incomplete sampling frames in the 1970 based design. The last problem has been corrected in the 1980 based design. Quality control and editing procedures were used to minimise the number of errors made by the respondents and the interviewers. Since the field representatives conducting the interviews usually reside in the area in which they interview, the race and ethnicity of the field representatives generally matches that of the local population. Special efforts are made to further match field representatives and the people they interview in areas where English is not commonly spoken. About 90% of all NCVS field representatives are female.

Deriving standard errors which are applicable to a wide variety of items and can be prepared at a moderate cost requires a number of approximations. Therefore, two parameters (identified as "a" and "b" in the following section) were developed for use in calculating standard errors. The parameters provide an indication of the order of magnitude of the standard errors rather than the precise standard error for any specific item.

Computation and application of standard errors

The results presented in this report were tested to determine whether or not the observed differences between groups were statistically significant. Differences were tested for significance at the 90% confidence level, or roughly 1.6 standard errors.

Most of the comparisons in this report were significant at the 95% confidence level (about 2.0 standard errors, meaning that the difference between the estimates is greater than twice the standard error of the difference).

Comparisons which failed the 90% test were not considered statistically significant. Comparisons qualified by the phrase "some evidence" had a significance level between 90 and 95%.

Formula 1. Standard errors for the estimated number of victimisations or incidents may be calculated by using the following formula:

$$s.e.(x) = \sqrt{ax^2 + bx}$$

where

x = estimated number of personal or household victimisations or incidents

a = a constant equal to -0.00002297

b = a constant equal to 4717

The following example illustrates the proper use of this formula. Table 4 shows 751,650 completed robberies in 1991; this estimate and the appropriate parameters are substituted in the formula as follows:

$$s.e.(x) = \sqrt{(-0.00002297)(751,650)^2 + (4017)(751,650)} = 59,435$$

Therefore the 95% confidence interval around the estimated number of robbery victimisations is about equal to 751,650 plus or minus 118,870 (632,780 to 870,520).

Formula 2. Standard errors for the estimated victimisation rates or percentages are calculated using the following formula:

$$s.e.(p) = \sqrt{\left(\frac{b}{y}\right)(p(1.0 - p))}$$

where

p = percentage or rate expressed in decimal form

y = base population or total number of crimes

b = a constant equal to 4717

Formula 3. The standard error of a difference between two rates or percentages having different bases is calculated using the formula:

$$s.e.(p_1 - p_2) = \sqrt{\frac{(p_1(1.0 - p_1)b)}{y_1} + \frac{(p_2(1.0 - p_2)b)}{y_2}}$$

where

p1 = first percent or rate (expressed in decimal form)

y1 = base from which first percent or rate was derived

p2 = second percent or rate (expressed in decimal form)
y2 = base from which second percent or rate was derived
b = a constant equal to 4717

This formula provides an accurate standard error for the difference between uncorrelated estimates; however, if the two estimates have a strong positive correlation, the formula overestimates the true standard error. If the numbers have a strong negative correlation the formula underestimates the actual standard error of the difference.

The ratio of the difference between two numbers to the standard error of their difference is equivalent to the statistical level of significance. For example, a ratio of two or more indicates that the difference is significant at the 95% confidence level (or greater); a ratio between 1.6 and 2.0 indicates the difference is significant at a confidence level between 90 and 95%; a ratio less than 1.6 denotes a confidence level less than 90%.

Formula 4. The standard error of the difference between two rates or percentages derived from the same base is calculated using the formula:

$$s.e.(p_1 - p_2) = \sqrt{\left(\frac{b}{y}\right)\left((p_1 + p_2) - (p_1 - p_2)^2\right)}$$

where the symbols are the same as in formula three, except that "y" refers to a common base.

Since 1973 the NCVS, the Nation's second largest survey of households, has been producing annual estimates of the level and rate of crime experienced by US residents. The data that follow present findings for 1991, as well as trends in crime over time. Also included are findings on the differences in victimisation risk for persons possessing certain demographic characteristics compared to those without these characteristics (e.g. blacks compared to whites, males compared to females).

Findings for 1991

Persons aged 12 or older, living in the United States, experienced 34.7 million crimes in 1991 according to the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS)³. Approximately 6.4 million of these victimisations consisted of violent crimes such as rape, robbery, and aggravated and simple assaults. Another 12.5 million victimisations were crimes of theft - larcenies both with and without contact between the victim and offender. Finally, there were 15.8 million household crimes in 1991⁴.

³ The National Crime Survey was renamed the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) in 1990.

⁴ For definitions of the crimes measured by the NCVS and a description of NCVS operations, see : "Measuring crime", *BJS Bulletin*, NCJ-75710, February 1981.

- The total number of violent, theft, and household crimes committed in 1991 was not significantly different from that for the previous year⁵.
- The number of violent crime attempts increased 11% between 1990 and 1991.
- No measurable change in household crime rates was evident between 1990 and 1991.
- Since 1981, the peak year for victimisations, crime levels have dropped overall. However, the number of violent crimes committed in 1991 did not differ measurably from that estimated for 1981.
- The rate at which crimes were reported to the police did not change significantly between 1990 and 1991. Thirty-eight percent of crimes overall were reported to law enforcement officials last year. Just under half of all violent crimes were reported to the police.
- Certain demographic groups had higher victimisation rates than others: blacks were more likely than whites to be victims of violent crime; persons under age 25 had higher victimisation rates than older persons; and those living in households in the lowest income category were more likely to be violent crime victims than persons from households in the highest income bracket.

Crime levels and rates in 1991

Between 1990 and 1991 the number of violent crimes attempted against US residents increased significantly, by nearly 11% (Table 4). This increase can be attributed primarily to a rise in assaults; since 1981, a peak year for victimisations, the trend in crime levels among the major crime categories has been generally downward. However, for 1991, the level of violent crime overall did not differ measurably from that estimated for the peak year: approximately 6.6 million violent victimisations were committed in 1981 while 6.4 million occurred last year (Table 3).

The number of personal thefts and household crimes recorded for 1991 continued to be lower than the peak. Between 1990 and 1991 thefts declined somewhat, driven by a 24% drop in personal larcenies with contact between the victim and offender - primarily pocket picking (Table 4). Among the household crimes little changed from the previous year; there was some evidence that household larcenies in which the total theft loss was under \$50 increased in 1991. Crime rates - the number of crimes per 1,000 persons for personal crimes or per 1,000 households for household crimes - displayed a pattern similar to that for crime levels. The rate of attempted violent crimes increased 10% between 1990 and 1991. The simple assault rate jumped 11%, to 17 assaults per 1,000 persons which was not measurably different from the rate for the peak year of 1981. The total theft rate decreased slightly in 1991, while the rate of personal larceny with contact was down significantly. Household crime rates did not change significantly last year.

Trends in crime rates, 1973-91

⁵ Because the numbers in this report are estimates based on a sample, some apparent differences may reflect sampling variation. Such differences are described in the report as not statistically significant or not measurably different. Unless one of these designations is used, any difference described reflects at least a 90% certainty that the difference is not the result of sampling variation. See the discussions in the previous pages.

Rates in several of the major crime categories have generally been declining since 1973, some reaching low points in recent years. For example, the rate of personal crime was lower in 1991 than in any other year but 1990 (Tables 5 and 6). Personal thefts decreased somewhat in 1991 making the rate of 61 thefts per 1,000 persons the lowest since the inception of the NCVS in 1973. The household crime rate was not significantly different in 1991 than its lowest point which was recorded the previous year. The violent crime rate reached its highest points in the late 1970s and early 1980s and is currently lower than at any time between 1977 and 1983.

Violent crime rate increases in the Northeast

In the Northeast the rate of attempted violent crime rose dramatically, by 31%, between 1990 and 1991. The total assault rate increased significantly, while the rate of completed robberies declined (Table 7). The total theft rate, as well as the rate of personal larcenies with contact, decreased significantly. There was some evidence that the rate of household larceny increased in this region in 1991.

Rates of personal crime declined marginally in the Midwest during 1991. The theft rate decreased, perhaps largely due to a 47% drop in the rate of personal larcenies with contact; both pocket picking and purse snatching declined significantly. There was some evidence that the rate of personal larcenies without contact decreased as well. There was no measurable change in rates of household crime between 1990 and 1991.

The South experienced very little change in crime rates last year. Larcenies without contact declined somewhat, but no change in either violent or household crime rates was evident.

Crime rates were generally higher in the West than in any other region of the Nation. Rates of violent crime, particularly attempts, increased somewhat in the West in 1991. There was also some evidence of an increase in the assault rate.

The rate of personal theft increased 12%, to 82 thefts per 1,000 persons, while rates of household crime remained stable.

Reporting of crime remains stable

The rate at which crimes were reported to the police did not change significantly between 1990 and 1991. At 49%, just under half of all violent victimisations were reported to law enforcement officials. Both the personal crimes of theft and household crimes remained at the same proportions reported in 1990 - 29% and 41%, respectively. Overall, 38% of all crimes committed in the last year were reported to the police.

In specific crime categories, motor vehicle thefts were most likely to be reported to the police (74%) while larcenies without contact were the least likely (28%). Over time, the reporting rate for violent crimes has remained stable. However, the rates at which the crimes of theft and household crimes, overall, were reported to the police were significantly higher in 1991 than at any time between 1973 and 1980.

Reasons for reporting and not reporting

The most common reasons victims gave for reporting violent crimes to the police were to prevent further crimes from being committed against them by the same offender (19%), to locate and punish the offender (17%), to stop or prevent the incident (17%), and because they felt it was their duty to tell the police (18%) (Table 8). For thefts the most common reason given for reporting was so that the victim could recover property (31%).

Common reasons given for not reporting violent victimisations to the police included: the crime was a private or personal matter (18%), or the offender was unsuccessful (18%).

The most common reason for not reporting household crimes and thefts was that an object had been recovered (30% and 26%). The next most common reason cited for failing to report a theft was that the crime had been reported to some other official (17%).

Characteristics of victims

Research by BJS has shown a relationship between certain demographic characteristics and the risk of crime victimisation.⁶ Males, younger persons, blacks, Hispanics, residents of central cities, and the poor tend to have higher rates of victimisation than persons who do not possess these characteristics (Table 9).

In every personal crime category males sustained significantly higher victimisation rates than did females. Males were more than 2.5 times as likely as females to experience an aggravated assault, for example (11.5 versus 4.4).

Blacks were generally more likely than whites or persons of other races, such as Asians or Native Americans, to be victims of violent crime. In 1991 there were 13.5 robberies for every 1,000 black persons, 4.4 robberies for every 1,000 whites, and 7.4 for every 1,000 persons in other racial categories.

Persons under age 25 had higher victimisation rates than older persons. Those 65 or older generally had the lowest victimisation rates. The rate of assault was 79.2 per 1,000 persons ages 16 to 19 and 1.8 per 1,000 persons 65 or older.

Although Hispanics and non-Hispanics had generally similar victimisation rates, they differed in two categories of crime. The most pronounced difference was for robbery. Hispanics sustained a robbery rate twice that of non-Hispanics (10.0 versus 5.2). Hispanics also had a somewhat higher rate of violent victimisation, overall (36.2 versus 30.8).

In general, persons from households with low incomes experienced higher violent crime victimisation rates than did persons from wealthier households. Persons from households with an income under \$7,500 had significantly higher rates of robbery and assault than persons in most other income groups, particularly those from households earning \$50,000 or more. For the crimes of theft, however, this pattern did not hold. Persons from households earning less than \$7,500 had personal theft rates that were not significantly different from persons with a household income of \$50,000 or more.

Residents of central cities had higher rates for all personal crimes than did suburbanites or residents of non-metropolitan areas.

Certain demographic groups also had higher household victimisation rates than others (Table 10). Blacks had a significantly higher rate of household crime than whites. Compared to non-Hispanics, Hispanics had a higher rate for each of the household crimes.

As was the case for personal crimes, place of residence was related to a household's risk of victimisation. For each type of household crime, central city residents had consistently higher rates than suburban or nonmetropolitan residents.

Households that rented their residence had significantly higher rates than households that owned their residence. Households that rented sustained motor vehicle thefts at greater than 1.5 times the rate of households that owned their residence, with 29.1 thefts per 1,000 households versus 17.7.

⁶ BJS Special Report (1985) "The risk of violent crime", BJS special report, NCJ-97119, May.

TABLES

Table 1: Number of series victimisations by type of crime

Type of crime	Number
Personal crimes	803,290
Crimes of violence	600,810
Rape	6,240 ¹
Robbery	47,720
Assault	546,840
Aggravated	157,770
Simple	389,060
Crimes of theft	202,470
Household crimes	517,290
Burglary	174,320
Household larceny	317,270
Motor vehicle theft	25,690*

* Estimate is based on about 10 or fewer cases.

Table 2: Month of interview by month of reference (X's denote months in the six-month reference period)

Month of interview	Period of reference											
	First quarter			Second quarter			Third quarter			Fourth quarter		
	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
Jan												
Feb	x											
Mar	x	x										
Apr	x	x	x									
May	x	x	x	x								
June	x	x	x	x	x							
July	x	x	x	x	x	x						
Aug		x	x	x	x	x	x					
Sept			x	x	x	x	x	x				
Oct				x	x	x	x	x	x			
Nov					x	x	x	x	x	x		
Dec						x	x	x	x	x	x	
Jan							x	x	x	x	x	x
Feb								x	x	x	x	x
Mar									x	x	x	x
Apr										x	x	x
May											x	x
June												x
July												

Table 3: Victimisation levels for selected crimes, 1973-1991

	Number of victimisations (in thousands)			
	Total	Violent crimes	Personal theft	Household crime
1973	35,661	5,350	14,970	15,340
1974	38,411	5,510	15,889	17,012
1975	39,266	5,573	16,294	17,400
1976	39,318	5,599	16,519	17,199
1977	40,314	5,902	16,933	17,480
1978	40,412	5,941	17,050	17,421
1979	41,249	6,159	16,382	18,708
1980	40,252	6,130	15,300	18,821
1981	41,454	6,582	15,863	19,009
1982	39,756	6,459	15,553	17,744
1983	37,001	5,903	14,657	16,440
1984	35,544	6,021	13,789	15,733
1985	34,864	5,823	13,474	15,568
1986	34,118	5,515	13,235	15,368
1987	35,336	5,796	13,575	15,966
1988	35,796	5,910	14,056	15,830
1989	35,818	5,861	13,829	16,128
1990	34,404	6,009	12,975	15,419
1991	34,730	6,424	12,533	15,774
Percent change, 1981-91 ¹	-16.2% ²	-2.4%	-21.0% ²	-17.0% ²

1. Total victimisations peaked in 1981.

2. The difference is statistically significant at the 95% confidence level.

Table 4: Changes in victimisation levels and rates for personal and household crimes, 1990-91

	Number of victimisations (thousands)			Victimisation rates		
	1990	1991	% change 1990-91	1990	1991	% change 1990-91
All crimes	34,404	34,730	.9%	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Personal crimes	18,984	18,956	-1%	93.4	92.3	-1.2%
Crimes of violence	6,009	6,424	6.9 ¹	29.6	31.3	5.8
- Completed	2,422	2,447	1.0	11.9	11.9	.0
- Attempted	3,587	3,977	10.9 ¹	17.6	19.4	9.7 ¹
Rape ³	130	173	33.0	.6	.8	31.3
Robbery	1,150	1,145	-.4	5.7	5.6	-1.4
- Completed	801	752	-6.1	3.9	3.7	-7.1
- with injury	286	257	-10.2	1.4	1.3	-11.1
- without injury	514	495	-3.8	2.5	2.4	-4.8
- Attempted	349	393	12.6	1.7	1.9	11.5
- with injury	110	125	13.7	.5	.6	12.5
- without injury	239	268	12.2	1.2	1.3	11.0
Assault	4,729	5,105	8.0 ¹	23.3	24.9	6.9 ²
- Aggravated	1,601	1,609	.5	7.9	7.8	-.5
- Completed with injury	627	594	-5.3	3.1	2.9	-6.3
- Attempted assault with weapon	974	1,015	4.2	4.8	4.9	3.2
- Simple	3,128	3,497	11.8 ¹	15.4	17.0	10.7 ¹
- Completed with injury	931	1,032	10.9	4.6	5.0	9.8
- Attempted assault without weapon	2,197	2,464	12.2 ¹	10.8	12.0	11.0 ²
Crimes of theft	12,975	12,533	-3.4 ²	63.8	61.0	-4.4 ²
- Completed	12,155	11,691	-3.8 ¹	59.8	56.9	-4.8 ¹
- Attempted	821	841	2.5	4.0	4.1	1.4
- Pers. larceny with contact	637	482	-24.3 ¹	3.1	2.3	-24.9 ¹
- Purse snatching	165	136	-17.7	.8	.7	-18.5
- Pocket picking	472	346	-26.6 ¹	2.3	1.7	-27.4 ¹
- Pers. larc. without contact	12,338	12,050	-2.3	60.7	58.7	-3.3
- Completed	11,559	11,239	-2.8	56.9	54.7	-3.8
- Less than \$50	4,592	4,363	-5.0 ²	22.6	21.2	-6.0
- \$50 or more	6,453	6,311	-2.2	31.7	30.7	-3.2
- Amount not available	514	565	9.9	2.5	2.8	8.8
- Attempted	779	812	4.2	3.8	4.0	3.1
Household crimes	15,419	15,774	2.3%	161.0	162.9	1.2%
- Completed	13,072	13,370	2.3	136.5	138.1	1.1
- Attempted	2,347	2,404	2.4	24.5	24.8	1.3
- Household burglary	5,148	5,138	-.2	53.8	53.1	-1.3
- Completed	4,076	4,006	-1.7	42.6	41.4	-2.8
- Forcible entry	1,816	1,668	-8.1	19.0	17.2	-9.2
- Unlawful entry without force	2,260	2,338	3.4	23.6	24.1	2.3
- Attempted forcible entry	1,072	1,132	5.6	11.2	11.7	4.5
- Household larceny	8,304	8,524	2.6	86.7	88.0	1.5
- Completed	7,769	8,013	3.1	81.1	82.7	2.0
- Less than \$50	3,144	3,359	6.8 ²	32.8	34.7	5.6
- \$50 or more	4,206	4,219	.3	43.9	43.6	-.8
- Amount not available	419	435	3.7	4.4	4.5	2.5
- Attempted	535	511	-4.5	5.6	5.3	-5.6
Motor vehicle theft	1,968	2,112	7.4	20.5	21.8	6.1
- Completed	1,227	1,350	10.1	12.8	13.9	8.8
- Attempted	741	762	2.9	7.7	7.9	1.7

Note: Detail may not add to totals shown because of rounding. Percent change is based on unrounded numbers. Victimization rates are calculated on the basis of the number of victimisations per 1,000 persons aged 12 or older or per 1,000 households. The population aged 12 or over grew from 203,273,870 in 1990 to 205,344,910 in 1991, an increase of 1%. The number of households grew from 95,762,680 to 96,839,300 between 1990 and 1991, an increase of 1.1%.

1. The difference is statistically significant at the 95% confidence level.

2. The difference is statistically significant at the 90% confidence level.
3. There was 1.0 rape per 1,000 women aged 12 or older in 1990 and 1.4 in 1991.

Table 5: Victimization rates for personal and household crimes

	Victimisations per 1,000 persons aged 12 or older or per 1,000 households											
	1973	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
Personal crimes	123.6	120.5	116.8	107.9	103.2	99.4	95.6	98.0	100.1	97.8	93.4	92.3
Crimes of violence	32.6	35.3	34.3	31.0	31.4	30.0	28.1	29.3	29.6	29.1	29.6	31.3
-Rape	1.0	1.0	.8	.8	.9	.7	.7	.8	.6	.7	.6	.8
-Robbery	6.7	7.4	7.1	6.0	5.7	5.1	5.1	5.3	5.3	5.4	5.7	5.6
-Assault	24.9	27.0	26.4	24.1	24.7	24.2	22.3	23.3	23.7	23.0	23.3	24.9
-Aggravated	10.1	9.6	9.3	8.0	9.0	8.3	7.9	8.0	8.7	8.3	7.9	7.8
-Simple	14.8	17.3	17.1	16.2	15.7	15.9	14.4	15.2	15.0	14.7	15.4	17.0
Crimes of theft	91.1	85.1	82.5	76.9	71.8	69.4	67.5	68.7	70.5	68.7	63.8	61.0
-Personal larceny with contact	3.1	3.3	3.1	3.0	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.7	3.1	2.3
-Personal larceny without contact	88.0	81.9	79.5	74.0	69.1	66.7	64.7	66.1	68.0	66.0	60.7	58.7
Household crimes	217.8	226.0	208.2	189.8	178.7	174.4	170.0	173.9	169.6	169.9	161.0	162.9
Household burglary	91.7	87.9	78.2	70.0	64.1	62.7	61.5	62.1	61.9	56.4	53.8	53.1
Household larceny	107.0	121.0	113.9	105.2	99.4	97.5	93.5	95.7	90.2	94.4	86.7	88.0
Motor vehicle theft	19.1	17.1	16.2	14.6	15.2	14.2	15.0	16.0	17.5	19.2	20.5	21.8

Note: Detail may not add to total shown because of rounding. Table 6 identifies statistically significant differences between the rates for 1991 and preceding years.

Table 6: Comparison of changes in victimisation rates for personal household

	1973-91	81-91	82-91	83-91	84-91	85-91	86-91	87-91	88-91	89-91	90-91
Personal crimes	-25.3%	-23.4%	-21.0%	-14.5%	-10.6%	-7.2%	-3.4%	-5.8%	-7.8%	-5.6%	-1.2% ¹
Crimes of violence	-3.9 ¹	-11.4	-8.7	.9 ¹	(2)	4.3 ¹	11.2	6.7	5.5 ¹	7.5	5.8 ¹
-Rape	-11.6 ¹	-11.6 ¹	3.7 ¹	3.7 ¹	-10.6 ¹	18.3 ¹	27.3 ¹	12.0 ¹	31.3 ¹	25.4 ¹	31.3 ¹
-Robbery	-17.2	-24.7	-21.2	-7.5 ¹	-2.3 ¹	10.1 ¹	8.6 ¹	5.5 ¹	6.1 ¹	3.0 ¹	-1.4 ¹
-Assault	(2)	-7.8	-5.8 ¹	2.9 ¹	.6 ¹	2.7 ¹	11.4	6.8	4.7 ¹	8.0	6.9
-Aggravated	-22.2	-18.8	-15.9	-1.6 ¹	-13.0	-5.3 ¹	-.5 ¹	-2.5 ¹	-10.3 ¹	-5.3 ¹	-.5 ¹
-Simple	15.1	-1.7 ¹	(2)	5.3 ¹	8.3	6.8 ¹	17.9	11.7	13.5	15.5	10.7
Crimes of theft	-33.0	-28.3	-26.0	-20.7	-15.0	-12.1	-9.5	-11.1	-13.4	-11.1	-4.4
-Personal larceny											
-with contact	-23.5	-27.7	-23.2	-20.3	-14.9 ¹	-12.6 ¹	-13.9 ¹	-8.6 ¹	-4.1 ¹	-13.0 ¹	-24.9
-without contact	-33.3	-28.3	-26.1	-20.7	-15.0	-12.1	-9.4	-11.2	-13.8	-11.1	-3.3 ¹
Household crimes	-25.2%	-27.9%	-21.8%	-14.2%	-8.9%	-6.6%	-4.2%	-6.3%	-3.9%	-4.2%	1.2%
Household burglary	-42.1	-39.6	-32.1	-24.2	-17.2	-15.3	-13.7	-14.6	-14.3	-5.9	-1.3 ¹
Household larceny	-17.7	-27.3	-22.7	-16.3	-11.4	-9.7	-5.9	-8.0	-2.4 ¹	6.7	1.5 ¹
Motor vehicle theft	14.3	27.5	35.0	49.5	43.3	53.3	45.4	36.0	24.6	13.7	6.1 ¹

Note: Percent change was calculated using rates that were rounded to the nearest hundredth.

1. The difference is not statistically significant at the 90% confidence level.
2. Less than 0.5%.

Table 7: Victimization rates for personal and household crimes, by region, 1990-91¹

	Victimisations per 1,000 persons aged 12 or older or per 1,000 households											
	Northeast			Midwest			South			West		
	1990	1991	% change 1990-91	1990	1991	% change 1990-91	1990	1991	% change 1990-91	1990	1991	% change 1990-91
Personal crimes	72.1	69.7	-3.4	97.7	91.1	-6.7 ²	95.6	90.7	-5.2 ²	107.8	121.5	12.7 ³
Crimes of violence	21.8	25.5	17.1 ²	30.5	30.9	1.2	31.1	30.6	-1.8	34.2	39.4	15.3 ²
-Robbery	7.3	6.8	-6.5	4.5	4.4	-2.0	5.3	5.1	-3.6	5.8	6.4	10.0
-Assault	14.1	17.8	25.6 ³	25.5	25.9	1.8	25.1	24.5	-2.3	27.5	32.1	16.8 ²
-Aggravated	3.9	5.0	26.3	8.3	6.8	-18.7	9.4	8.9	-4.9	9.0	10.2	13.5
-Simple	10.2	12.8	25.3 ²	17.1	19.2	11.7 ³	15.7	15.6	-7.2	18.5	22.0	18.4
Crimes of theft	50.3	44.2	-12.3 ³	67.1	60.2	-10.2 ³	64.5	60.2	-6.8 ²	73.6	82.0	11.5 ³
-personal larceny												
-with contact	6.3	3.4	-45.6 ³	2.9	1.5	-47.1 ³	2.1	2.0	-2.1	1.9	2.7	43.5
-without contact	44.1	40.8	-7.5	64.2	58.7	-8.6 ²	62.5	58.1	-6.9 ²	71.7	79.3	10.7 ³
Total population aged 12 or older (in 1,000s)	44,202	44,238	(4)	46,527	45,552	(4)	72,086	74,188	2.9	40,459	40,367	(4)
Household crimes	119.3	124.8	4.6	148.0	155.6	5.1	173.2	167.5	-3.3	199.8	204.6	2.4
Household burglary	36.9	33.8	-8.4	49.1	53.6	9.2	60.6	60.3	-6	65.2	60.0	-8.0
Household larceny	57.7	66.4	15.0 ²	83.8	83.7	(4)	92.9	87.7	-5.6	110.6	117.4	6.2
Motor vehicle theft	24.7	24.6	(4)	15.1	18.3	21.1	19.7	19.5	-1.1	24.0	27.3	13.4
Total number of households (in 1,000s)	20,507	20,559	(4)	22,427	22,445	(4)	33,962	34,994	3.0	18,866	18,841	(4)

Note: Detail may not add to total shown because of rounding. Percent change is based on unrounded numbers. Crimes of violence rates include rape.

1. See methodology, page 7.
2. The difference is statistically significant at the 90% confidence level.
3. The difference is statistically significant at the 95% confidence level.
4. Less than 0.5%.

Table 8: Percent distribution of victimisations reported to the police, reasons for reporting and not reporting victimisations to the police, by type of crime, 1991

	Crimes of violence						Crimes of theft	Household crimes			
	Total	Rape	Robbery	Assault		Simple		Total	Burglary	Household larceny	Motor vehicle theft
				Total	Aggravated	Simple					
Victimisations reported to police	48.6%	58.8%	54.5%	46.9%	58.4%	41.5%	28.5%	41.2%	49.9%	27.8%	73.7%
Reasons for reporting victimisations to police											
Stop/prevent this incident	16.5%	8.7% ¹	7.0%	20.0%	20.9%	19.6%	3.6%	5.0%	6.1%	4.5%	3.6%
Needed help due to injury	2.8	7.7 ¹	1.6 ¹	2.6	2.0 ¹	2.9	.1 ¹	.1 ¹	0 ¹	.2 ¹	.2 ¹
To recover property	6.3	4.2 ¹	24.0	1.4 ¹	2.2 ¹	.9 ¹	30.8	26.7	21.0	25.3	39.6
To collect insurance	.5 ¹	0 ¹	.8 ¹	.4 ¹	.7 ¹	.3 ¹	10.2	7.0	6.4	5.5	10.6
Prevent further crimes by offender against victim	19.3	19.6	8.4	22.5	19.7	23.9	4.4	9.6	11.8	10.5	4.2
Prevent crime by offender against anyone	9.5	10.5 ¹	8.6	9.6	11.9	8.5	5.1	5.4	5.0	5.6	5.7
To locate offender	16.5	25.0	22.6	13.9	13.9	13.9	9.6	13.4	14.7	12.6	12.4
To improve police surveillance	3.9	8.1 ¹	3.1 ¹	3.7	4.8	3.2	5.8	8.4	8.9	9.3	6.1
Duty to tell police	17.5	7.4 ¹	19.5	17.9	19.2	17.2	24.4	20.4	21.6	22.5	14.7
Some other reason	5.9	8.7 ¹	3.2 ¹	6.4	4.3 ¹	7.5	4.5	2.7	3.4	2.7	1.3 ¹
Not available	1.3	0 ¹	1.1 ¹	1.4 ¹	.3 ¹	2.0 ¹	1.4	1.4	1.1	1.5	1.6 ¹
Reasons for not reporting victimisations to police											
Reported to another official	13.4%	16.9%	5.3%	15.0%	8.6%	17.0%	17.1%	3.9%	8.4%	2.2%	2.8% ¹
Private or personal matter	17.6	24.7 ¹	6.6	19.8	18.1	20.3	2.4	5.3	5.4	5.2	6.2
Object recovered; offender unsuccessful	18.1	5.7 ¹	19.3	18.2	16.1	18.8	26.0	30.3	25.5	32.4	29.3
Not important enough	5.5	1.7 ¹	1.8 ¹	6.4	6.5	6.4	2.2	4.5	5.5	4.4	1.1 ¹
Not aware crime occurred until later	.5 ¹	1.8 ¹	.6 ¹	.5 ¹	.9 ¹	.3 ¹	5.7	7.2	9.0	6.5	6.1
Unable to recover property; no ID number	.9	.0 ¹	5.1	0 ¹	0 ¹	0 ¹	8.6	7.6	5.7	9.0	.7 ¹
Lack of proof	7.1	10.0 ¹	14.5	5.4	7.5	4.8	12.3	12.0	11.7	12.0	13.7
Police would not want to be bothered	12.6	3.2 ¹	20.6	11.2	13.2	10.6	11.2	13.5	13.3	13.4	15.6
Fear of reprisal	4.3	10.9 ¹	5.2	3.9	6.9	3.0	.3	.7	.9	.6	0 ¹
Too inconvenient or time consuming	4.5	6.4 ¹	6.2	4.0	4.2	4.0	3.9	3.2	2.6	3.1	6.6
Other reasons	15.5	18.7 ¹	14.9	15.5	18.1	14.8	10.3	11.8	12.0	11.1	17.9

1. Estimate is based on about 10 or fewer cases.

Table 9: Victimization rates for persons aged 12 or older, by type of crime and sex, age, race, ethnicity, income, and locality of residence of victims, 1991

	Victimisations per 1,000 persons aged 12 or older						
	Crime of violence						Crimes of theft
	Total	Total ¹	Robbery	Total	Assault Aggravated	Simple	
Sex							
Male	105.1	40.3	7.8	32.4	11.5	20.9	64.8
Female	80.4	22.9	3.5	17.9	4.4	13.4	57.5
Age							
12-15	163.9	62.7	10.0	51.6	12.9	38.7	101.2
16-19	185.1	91.1	8.3	79.2	25.5	53.8	94.1
20-24	189.4	74.6	13.9	59.0	23.0	36.0	114.8
25-34	106.3	34.9	7.2	26.6	8.3	18.3	71.4
35-49	75.5	20.0	4.0	15.4	3.9	11.4	55.6
50-64	45.0	9.6	1.8	7.6	2.4	5.2	35.4
65 or older	23.2	3.8	1.9	1.8	.9	.9	19.5
Race							
White	90.9	29.6	4.4	24.3	7.4	16.9	61.4
Black	105.6	44.4	13.5	30.4	11.1	19.3	61.1
Other	80.2	28.1	7.4	20.5	8.2	12.3	52.0
Ethnicity							
Hispanic	95.6	36.2	10.0	25.2	11.8	13.4	59.4
Non-hispanic	91.9	30.8	5.2	24.8	7.5	17.3	61.2
Family income							
Less than \$7,500	121.5	59.4	9.6	48.0	19.6	28.4	62.1
\$7,500-\$9,999	102.9	42.1	7.9	34.2	9.5	24.7	60.8
\$10,000-\$14,999	103.4	43.1	7.6	33.9	9.8	24.1	60.2
\$15,000-\$24,999	88.3	30.9	5.0	24.8	7.5	17.4	57.4
\$25,000-\$29,999	88.8	31.9	6.0	25.6	8.3	17.3	56.9
\$30,000-\$49,999	85.4	25.0	3.7	20.5	6.3	14.2	60.4
\$50,000 or more	85.7	19.9	3.3	16.2	3.9	12.3	65.8
Residence							
Central city	118.9	43.7	11.5	30.7	10.8	19.9	75.2
Suburban	87.6	26.4	3.9	22.0	6.5	15.5	61.2
Nonmetropolitan areas	69.4	24.9	1.5	22.7	6.5	16.1	44.4

1. Includes data on rape not shown separately.

Table 10: Household victimisation rates, by type of crime and race, ethnicity, income, residence, and form of tenure of head of household, 1991

	Victimisations per 1,000 households			
	Total	Burglary	Household larceny	Motor vehicle theft
Race				
White	156.6	50.2	87.0	19.4
Black	207.6	74.5	96.2	36.9
Other	170.7	51.9	85.1	33.7
Ethnicity				
Hispanic	239.9	74.8	123.1	41.9
Non-Hispanic	157.0	51.3	85.3	20.3
Family income				
Less than \$7,500	186.7	80.8	95.5	10.4
\$7,500-\$9,999	173.6	68.9	85.5	19.3
\$10,000-\$14,999	175.5	65.1	91.5	19.0
\$15,000-\$24,999	168.2	49.4	96.5	22.4
\$25,000-\$29,999	136.2	44.5	75.8	15.9
\$30,000-\$49,999	155.2	43.8	87.2	24.2
\$50,000 or more	148.9	41.4	79.8	27.6
Residence				
Central city	223.4	69.5	117.4	36.5
Suburban	142.7	44.5	77.7	20.5
Nonmetrop. areas	121.2	46.5	68.6	6.2
Form of tenure				
Home owned	136.7	41.6	77.3	17.7
Home rented	209.5	73.4	107.1	29.1

ANNEX

PROGRAMME

Understanding Crime: Experiences of Crime and Crime Control

International Conference

organised by the
United Nations Interregional Crime
and Justice Research Institute

in collaboration with the

Ministry of the Interior
Department of Public Security, Italy
and the
Ministry of Justice, The Netherlands

*Under the auspices of the
President of the Italian Republic*

Rome, 18-20 November 1992
Centro Conferenze Internazionali
60, Viale del Vignola

Members of the Organisational Committee

Anna Alvazzi del Frate	Associate Research Officer, UNICRI
Maria Elena Andreotti	First Operations Officer, UNICRI
Francesco Bruno	Senior Scientific Consultant, UNICRI
Ignazio Caramazza	General Consultant, UNICRI
Paolo Comes	Director Anti-crime Service, Central Directorate, CRIMINAPOL, Italy
Vincenzo Grimaldi	Deputy Head of the Minister's Cabinet, Ministry of the Interior, Italy
Ugo Leone (<i>President</i>)	Director, UNICRI
Pat Mayhew	Research and Planning Unit, Home Office, United Kingdom
Vincenzo Parisi	Chief of Police, Ministry of the Interior, Italy
Gaetano Piccolella	Director, Police Force Planning and Co-ordination Office, Department of Public Security, Ministry of the Interior, Italy
Ernesto Savona	Senior Scientific Consultant, UNICRI
Dato Steenhuis	Procurator-General, Leeuwarden, The Netherlands
Jan J.M. van Dijk	Head, Crime Prevention Directorate, Ministry of Justice, The Netherlands
Ugljesa Zvekcic	Research Co-ordinator, UNICRI

Opening Statements

Ugo Leone, Director, United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute
Nicola Mancino, Minister of the Interior, Italy

Press Conference

1992 International Victim Survey: Main Findings

Chaired by:

Ugo Leone, Director, United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute
Herman Woltring, Officer-in-Charge, Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Division, United Nations Office at Vienna

Developed Countries

Jan van Dijk, Head, Crime Prevention Directorate, Ministry of Justice, The Netherlands

Developing Countries

Ugljesa Zvekic, Research Co-ordinator, United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute

Eastern and Central European Countries

Andrzej Siemaszko, Acting Director, Institute of Justice, Warsaw, Poland

Italian Victim Survey

Chaired by:

Gerd Ferdinand Kirchoff, Secretary General, World Society of Victimology
Vincenzo Parisi, Head of Police, Director General of the Department of Public Security, Ministry of the Interior, Italy

Victims of Crime in Italy: Experiences, Fear and Attitudes

Ernesto U. Savona, Professor of Criminology, University of Trento, Italy

Discussion

Research Issues

Chaired by:

Kauko Aromaa, Research Director, National Research Institute of Legal Policy, Finland
John Walker, Senior Researcher, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra

Data collection methods

Helmut Kury, Head, Department of Victimology, Max-Planck-Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law, Freiburg i.B., Germany

Aspects of Reliability

Aad Van der Veen, Department of International Research, Inter/View, The Netherlands

Measuring Victimization Risk: the Effects of Methodology, Sampling and Fielding

Richard Block, Professor of Sociology, Loyola University Chicago, USA

Secondary Analysis of International Crime Survey Data

James Lynch, Associate Professor of Justice, American University, Washington D.C., USA

Discussion

Policy Implications

Chaired by:

Jerzy Sarnecki, Head, Evaluation Division, National Council for Crime Prevention, Sweden
Jeanne Mandagi, Ministry of Justice, Indonesia

Policy Implications related to National and International Surveys

Irvin Waller, Professor of Criminology, University of Ottawa, Canada

Local Victimization Surveys and Criminal Policies

Renée Zauberman, Researcher, Centre for Sociological Research on Penal Law and Institutions (CESDIP), Paris, France

Policy Development in the Police Organization

Kees van der Vijver, Commissioner, Amsterdam Municipal Police, The Netherlands

Monitoring Victim Needs and Victim Programmes

Joana Shapland, Senior Lecturer, Faculty of Law, University of Sheffield, United Kingdom

Discussion on Policy Implications

Chaired by:

Steven K. Smith, Associate Director, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Department of Justice, USA
Celia Leones, Director, Crime Prevention and Co-ordination Branch, National Police Commission, The Philippines

General Debate

Chaired by:

Ezzat Fattah, Professor of Criminology, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, Canada
Roy Walmsley, Deputy Director, Research and Planning Unit, Home Office, United Kingdom

Round Table: Citizens and Criminal Justice

Co-ordinated by:

Ugo Leone, Director, United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute

Participants:

Uwe Dörmann, Head of the Crime Analysis/Crime Statistics Section, Bundeskriminalamt, Germany

Giorgio Giacomelli, Under-Secretary-General, Director-General of the United Nations Office at Vienna

Denis Joubert, Head of Prevention, Central Directory of the National Police, Ministry of the Interior, France

Raymond Kendall, Secretary General, INTERPOL

Manuel Montagud, General Commissioner of the Spanish Judicial Police

Vincenzo Parisi, Head of Police, Ministry of the Interior, Italy

Dato Steenhuis, Procurator General, Leeuwarden, The Netherlands

Luciano Violante, President of the Parliamentary Anti-Mafia Commission, Italy

Session Reports

Chaired by:

Michael De Feo, Legal Counsellor, Embassy of the United States of America in Rome
José Arthur Rios, Professor of Law, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Results of the Survey among the Participants

Hans van Grastek, Director, Department of International Research, Inter/View, The Netherlands

Research Issues

Pat Mayhew, Senior Principal Research Officer, Research and Planning Unit, Home Office, United Kingdom

Policy Implications

Dato Steenhuis, Procurator-General, Leeuwarden, The Netherlands

Police Performance and Needs Assessment

Francesco Bruno, Associate Professor of Forensic Psychiatry, Università La Sapienza, Rome, Italy

General Report

Jan van Dijk, Head, Crime Prevention Directorate, Ministry of Justice, The Netherlands

Ugljesa Zvekic, Research Co-ordinator, United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute

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