PREFACE

The ICVS reached its third round in 1996/97. It was launched in 1989 by the Ministry of Justice of the Netherlands and further developed since 1991 with the involvement of UNICRI, which joined the project with the particular task of survey co-ordination in developing countries and countries in transition.

The ICVS received the major financial support from the Dutch government, the Home Office Research and Statistics Directorate of the United Kingdom and the UNDP for selected countries. Local funding was also crucial in providing several developing countries the opportunity to participate.

Due to its representative and wide geographical coverage, including already 58 countries from five continents, the ICVS can be considered one of the major international comparative criminological projects. That this comprehensive undertaking has become a reality is cause for satisfaction for us all, and particularly for the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programme that views this kind of collaborative empirical research as crucial for more informed and appropriate policy making, at both the national and international levels.

The activities of UNICRI are geared towards the promotion of conditions for informed decision-making and evaluation in crime prevention and criminal justice through comparative international research. The systematic collection of reliable information on crime phenomena can greatly assist criminal justice policy makers in making decisions based on sound empirical data. The ICVS has proved to be a unique tool not only for measuring crime in the participating countries but also for disclosing information on citizens' perceptions regarding issues of policing, safety, crime prevention and punishment. Making this comparative information available from eighteen developing countries represents an achievement of which UNICRI is very proud.

The objective of this publication is to provide the reader with updated information on crime experienced by citizens of large cities in the developing world and a comparative overview of the corresponding results from industrialised countries and countries in transition. This volume follows a first UNICRI book based on the results of the 1992 ICVS in developing countries, Criminal Victimisation in the Developing World, which was published in 1995.

UNICRI has recently moved to a new framework of activities mostly oriented towards research on transnational organised crime and corruption. However, thanks to the productive and continuous co-operation with our partners, the ICVS project will continue to represent an important component of our work programme and we intend to use the experience gained through this research for advancing knowledge in our new areas of study.

I express my special gratitude to the Home Office of the UK for financing the publication of this volume and to the Ministry of Justice of the Netherlands for the overall support to the project, and look forward to the fourth sweep of the ICVS to be launched in the year 2000.

Rome, September 1998

Alberto Bradanini
Officer-in-Charge

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Here at UNICRI I wish to thank Oksanna Hatalak, who assisted in the implementation of the ICVS in developing countries since its initiation with patience and dedication, and Roberto Gaudenzi for his professional work on the lay-out and graphics of the volume.

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INTRODUCTION

The International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS) provides a wealth of empirical data in a cross-cultural perspective. This allows for an assessment of differences in national and local crime and victim profiles, and relates them to social, economic and cultural environments. 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.

Launched in 1989 by the Ministry of Justice of the Netherlands, and subsequently (1991) further developed with the involvement of the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI), it received the major financial support from the above mentioned Ministry, the UK Home Office Research and Statistics Directorate and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) for selected countries. On some occasions local funding was also provided for field work in the developing countries and countries in transition, while the majority of the industrialised countries participated on a self-funding basis.

It can be stated without exaggeration that the ICVS is currently the major empirical international comparative project in the area of crime

prevention and criminal justice with particular emphasis on victimisation risks and experiences of citizens all over the world. Almost sixty countries took part in the project at least once with an average sample ranging from 1,000 to 2,000 respondents per survey, resulting in approximately 135,000 people from all over the world being interviewed about their victimisation experience, contacts with law enforcement and evaluation thereof, patterns and methods of crime prevention and attitudes towards punishment.

The survey has so far been conducted in eighteen developing countries. Although financial constraints limited the participation of more developing countries, it should be pointed out that two major objectives have been achieved: first, the promotion of victim surveys and, second, the creation and expansion of the international data set with an opportunity to provide for longitudinal analysis for the countries which took part in the project more than once.

The ICVS provides an extensive and reliable basis of data on crime experienced by citizens, which is not always to be found in either industrialised or, to an even greater extent, developing countries. Moreover, data collected by means of a standardised research instrument provide for comparability across participating countries, which is not the case with data based on official records produced by criminal justice administrations.

Furthermore, victimisation surveys are also useful in the development of crime prevention policies, therefore becoming a valuable tool for criminal justice agencies.

There have been three rounds of the ICVS. The first was developed by a Working Group set up in 1987, leading to fieldwork early in 1989. An International Working Group was created thereafter, consisting of Jan van Dijk (Ministry of Justice/University of Leiden, the Netherlands; overall co-ordinator), Pat Mayhew (Home Office, United

Kingdom), and Ugljesa Zvekic and Anna Alvazzi del Frate of the Rome based United Nations Interregional Criminal Justice Research Institute (UNICRI).

Oversight of the surveys was managed by the Working Groups, but a co-ordinator in each country was responsible for the conduct of fieldwork and, where necessary, for ensuring a sound translation of the questionnaire. UNICRI was responsible for the face-to-face questionnaire and monitoring of the ICVS in the developing countries and countries in transition. The data from the surveys were integrated and processed at the Institute of Criminology, Faculty of Law, of the University of Leiden in the Netherlands, where John van Kesteren acts as the ICVS data manager.

Fifteen countries took part in the first (1989) ICVS, including the cities of Warsaw (Poland) and Surabaya (Indonesia). An overview of the results was presented in *Experiences of Crime Across the World: Key Findings from the 1989 International Crime Survey*.[1]

The second (1992/94) ICVS covered eleven industrialised countries, thirteen developing countries and six countries in transition. Eight of the countries had already participated in 1989. UNICRI was responsible for the co-ordination and supervision of all the surveys that were conducted with the face-to-face method. Furthermore, the ICVS represented an excellent tool to sensitise governments of developing countries and countries in transition on the dimensions and extent of crime in their urban areas - especially as police data on crime were often poor. An overview of the findings of the 1992 ICVS was published in *Understanding Crime: Experiences of Crime and Crime*

1 J.J.M. van Dijk, P. Mayhew, M. Killias. *Experiences of Crime Across the World: Key Findings from the 1989 International Crime Survey*. Deventer: Kluwer Law and Taxation, 1990.

Control.[2] Results from the developing world including surveys carried out in 1993 and 1994 are reported in *Criminal Victimisation in the Developing World*.[3]

Table 1 - International Crime Victim Survey. Overview of participation in the 1989, 1992-94 and 1996-97 "sweeps" – (in brackets: datasets not available)

	1989	1992-94	1996-97
Western Europe			
Austria			*
Belgium	*	*	
England & Wales	*	*	*
Finland	*	*	*
France	*		*
Germany	*		
Italy		*	
Japan	*		
Malta			*
The Netherlands	*	*	*
Northern Ireland	*		*
Norway	*		
Scotland	*		*
Spain	*	*	
Sweden		*	*
Switzerland	*		*
New World			
Australia	*	*	
Canada	*	*	*
New Zealand		*	
USA	*	*	*

2 A. Alvazzi del Frate, U. Zvekic, J.J.M. van Dijk (Eds.). *Understanding Crime: Experiences of Crime and Crime Control.* Rome: UNICRI, Publ. No. 49, 1993.

3 U. Zvekic, A. Alvazzi del Frate (Eds.). *Criminal Victimisation in the Developing World*. Rome: UNICRI, Publ. No. 55, 1995.

Table 1 - (cont.d)

	1989	1992-94	1996-97
Countries in transition			
Albania			*
Belarus			*
Bulgaria			*
Croatia			*
Czech Republic		*	*
Estonia		*	*
F. R. of Yugoslavia			*
FYR of Macedonia			*
Georgia		*	*
Hungary			*
Kyrgyzstan			*
Latvia			*
Lithuania			*
Mongolia			*
Poland	*	*	*
Romania			*
Russia		*	*
Slovak Republic		*	*
Slovenia		*	*
Ukraine			*
Asia			
China		*	(*)
India		*	*
Indonesia	*	*	*
Papua New Guinea		(*)	
The Philippines		*	*
Africa			
Botswana			*
Egypt		*	
South Africa		*	*
Tanzania		*	
Tunisia		*	
Uganda		*	*
Zimbabwe			*
Latin America			
Argentina		*	*
Bolivia			*
Brazil		*	*
Colombia			*
Costa Rica		*	*
Paraguay			*

The third ICVS was carried out in 1996-97 and included 11 industrialised countries, 14 developing countries and 20 countries in transition. The key findings of the results from the industrialised countries were published in *Criminal Victimisation in Eleven Industrialised Countries*.[4] An analysis of the results in countries in transition is presented in *Criminal Victimisation in Countries in Transition*, while the full text of the reports from each participating country is published in *The International Crime Victim Survey in Countries in Transition: National Reports*.[5]

About crime rates and the dark figure

Police data are generally considered the normal source of information on how many crimes are committed in a given city or country. Police records contain information on crimes discovered by the police and crimes reported to the police. For a number of reasons, such information is not sufficient. Due to a variety of recording practices, practical problems and political agenda, sometimes crime statistics just reflect the police performance in recording crimes.

It is well known that many crimes are neither discovered by the police, nor reported by the citizens. This part of unknown criminality is usually called the "dark figure". Some argue that two "dark figures" exist, since some events are reported but not recorded: this might happen when victims call the police and the police take (or do not take) action which does not result in a proper record of crime, and also in the case when the report is not properly filed or is later

4 P. Mayhew, J.J.M. van Dijk. *Criminal Victimisation in Eleven Industrialised Countries.* The Hague: WODC, 1997.

5 U. Zvekic. *Criminal Victimisation in Countries in Transition*. Rome: UNICRI, Publ. No. 61, 1998; and O. Hatalak, A. Alvazzi del Frate, U. Zvekic, (Eds.). *The International Crime Victim Survey in Countries in Transition: National Reports*. Rome: UNICRI, Publ. No. 62, 1998.

discarded. It appears that many police forces make a rule of not recording crimes that do not meet a minimum standard of seriousness.[6] Such a policy might discourage citizens from reporting.

A variety of reasons for not reporting crimes can be found, depending very much on the type of crime. The propensity to report crimes may differ from country to country, and by type of crime. According to some estimates, the general ratio between crimes actually committed and crimes made known to the police is quite high - crimes made known to the police constitute no more than 30-40% of crimes committed. For some offences (assaults, sexual incidents) this ratio is much lower - sometimes even 1:10 or less. There is, however, a general pattern: the more serious is the offence, the lower is the dark figure. In most cases, after a simple cost-benefit assessment, victims consider that the small loss is not worth the burden of going to the police station, filling in forms and answering questions which are sometimes perceived as embarrassing.

Police statistics reflect the crime categories and the legal system of the state in which they were produced. For this reason, comparison among more countries is hardly feasible. A number of attempts have been made at the international level to standardise the format of police data on crime, including the collection of Interpol data[7] and the United Nations Surveys on Crime Trends and the Operations of Criminal

6 See J.J.M. van Dijk. *The Victim's Willingness to Report to the Police: A Function of Prosecution Policy?* The Hague: Research and Documentation Centre, Ministry of Justice of the Netherlands, 1979.

7 International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol), *International Criminal Statistics*. The first set of statistics was published in 1950 and the most recent yearbook available refers to 1994. Offences include: homicide, sex offences, rape, serious assault, aggravated theft, robbery and violent theft, breaking and entering, theft of motor cars, other thefts, fraud, counterfeit currency offences and drug offences.

Justice Systems.[8] In order to bypass national definitions of crimes, both Interpol and the United Nations include in their questionnaires standard descriptions of terms. Data provided by the relevant agencies in each responding country refer to official national criminal statistics which are elaborated in order to match the crime categories defined by the questionnaires.

Even though detailed instructions are given, the possibility to compare data from different countries is very limited. Not only are legal definitions different, but variations in non-recorded crimes from country to country and over time should also be taken into account.[9]

Although a large component of the dark figure might be petty offences considered "not serious enough" to be reported to the police, they can very much affect community perceptions and feelings of insecurity. Entire groups at risk of victimisation might not be known and therefore feel unprotected. The fact that some forms of victimisation and their victims are not brought to the attention of the criminal justice authorities might lead, in the long run, to poor choices in terms of crime prevention policies and allocation of resources. Many victims do not report to the police because of their own belonging to groups

8 The United Nations has collected criminal justice statistics every five years from member countries since 1976 through the United Nations Surveys of Crime Trends and the Operations of Criminal Justice Systems. So far, five surveys have been carried out: 1970-1975; 1975-1980; 1980-1985; 1986-1990; and 1990-94. Data from the surveys are available through the United Nations Criminal Justice Information Network (UNCJIN) at the Internet address http://www.ifs.univie.ac.at/~uncjin/uncjin.html. The questionnaire is divided into four sections: Police, Prosecution, Courts and Prisons. The list of offences includes homicide, assault, rape, robbery, theft, burglary, fraud, embezzlement, drug-related crime, bribery/corruption and other crime.

9 See J.-M. Jehle, C. Lewis (Eds.). *Improving Criminal Justice Statistics*. Wiesbaden: KrimZ, 1995.

which do not feel adequately protected by the police, such as women, ethnic minorities, drug-addicts and the homeless.

It is therefore important to explore ways to obtain a better quantitative and qualitative knowledge of the crime picture, in order to know who are the victims of crime; where crime occurs; what are the trends in crime; what are the consequences of crime (physical, psychological, monetary); and what measures citizens adopt to prevent victimisation.

In victimisation studies sample survey techniques are usually employed to obtain information from a large number of randomly selected households about criminal victimisation, i.e. previous offences committed against family members over a specified time period. In this type of survey subjects are usually interviewed or requested to fill in a questionnaire, part of which is made up of a list of possible law infractions to which respondents may have been victims (or sometimes witnesses) during the period under consideration.

It should be taken into account, however, that although this methodology provides valuable information on the dark figure, thus contributing to an estimate of its extent, it may lead to two opposite phenomena, namely "over-" and "under-" reporting (tendencies of victimisation surveys to record more or less criminality than actually occurs).[10] This has to do with sampling, response patterns and rates and the phenomenon of "telescoping", i.e. the likelihood that either incidents which did not happen within the time boundaries established by the survey are mentioned by the respondents or, *vice versa*, that more distant events are forgotten.

10 See, for example, R. Block. "A Cross-national Comparison of Victims of Crime: Victims Surveys of Twelve Countries". In *International Review of Victimology*, 2:3, 1993, pp. 183-207; A. van der Veen. "Aspects of Reliability: The 1:5 Year Ratio". In Alvazzi del Frate et al. *Understanding Crime: Experiences of Crime and Crime Control.* Rome: UNICRI, Publ. No. 49, 1993.

These two factors will have conflicting consequences on victimisation experiences recorded by the survey. Overreporting may depend on some respondents' tendency to "throw in" episodes which do not belong to the survey time frame.[11] On the other hand, memory decay or the victim's desire to forget some traumatic experiences may lead to underreporting.

The respondents, however, report to the survey interviewer their experiences which involved a certain amount of suffering and are perceived by them as victimisation. The fact that many of these events had not been reported to the police may depend on their lacking the minimum requirements to define them as crimes. In this respect, some point out that victim survey data cannot be fully compared with the official crime statistics since incidents that are not crimes would also be counted, thus inflating rates.

Another factor which may lead to overreporting is that there is a chance that victims rather than non-victims respond to the interview.[12] This might be the case with selected respondents who, not having experienced any form of victimisation, refuse the interview because they believe they have nothing to say.

On the side of underreporting, instead, it should be noted that in some cultural contexts there might be sensitivity problems with some questions (e.g., assaults, sexual incidents).

11 H. Kury, M. Würger. "The Influence of the Type of Data Collection Method on the Results of the Victim Surveys". In Alvazzi del Frate et al. *Understanding Crime: Experiences of Crime and Crime Control.* Rome: UNICRI, Publ. No. 49, 1993, pp. 137-152.

12 See, for example: G.J.N. Bruinsma, H.G. van de Bunt, J.P.S. Fiselier. "Quelques Réflexions Théoriques et Méthodologiques à Propos d'une Recherche Internationale Comparée de Victimation". In *Déviance et Société*, 16:1, 1992, pp. 46-68; .

Finally, household surveys in developing countries may hardly reach those living in shanties, *favelas* or squatter camps. How this can affect victimisation rates recorded by the survey can be explained in different ways by different criminological theories.

However, taking everything into account, victimisation surveys are extremely helpful in the collection of data on the volume of crime to complement police 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 International Crime Victim Survey combines the advantages of victim surveys with the standardisation of the data collection instrument, thus providing for a reasonable basis for comparability of the results across participating countries. This volume intends to provide an overview of the main findings of the 1996-97 ICVS in the participating developing countries from a comparative perspective, as well as an attempt to examine longitudinal data for those countries which took part in both the second and third sweeps of the project.

Chapter 1

THE INTERNATIONAL CRIME VICTIM SURVEY IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

Standardisation offers notable advantages for comparison; yet, at the same time it sets serious limits to the peculiarities of each social reality under observation. In the ICVS, 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 adapted according to the expert's suggestions in order to reflect the needs of face-to-face interviewing in developing countries. The list of crimes was expanded to include questions on consumer fraud and corruption by public officials which, in 1996 for the first time, were included in the CATI questionnaire administered in the industrialised countries.

As mentioned above, the results of the 1992 sweep of the ICVS in developing countries were the object of the UNICRI publication

Criminal Victimisation in the Developing World,[1] which contained a comparative overview and national reports from thirteen countries which participated in the project in the period 1992-94. In 1996-97, five more countries joined the ICVS,[2] while eight from the group of thirteen of 1992-94 repeated the survey.[3] The database which resulted contains a wealth of information which has no precedents in the developing world. Unfortunately, it was impossible to join the dataset from PNG with the main database, thus data from that country had to be excluded from further analysis.

An attempt towards truly global comparison is fraught with many difficulties particularly related to methods of data collection and sampling designs. In the industrialised countries the survey was carried out on a national sample using the Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) technique. In the developing countries the survey was carried out using face-to-face interviewing. In addition, in the developing countries as well as in the majority of countries in transition, the ICVS was carried out among the inhabitants of one or more major cities.

In order to increase the comparability of data from city surveys and nationally based surveys, rates were calculated for the urban areas with more than 100,000 inhabitants for the latter. Obviously, the results should be read with caution. For the purpose of facilitating comparative analysis, the data presented here have been grouped at the level of macro-regions, namely, Asia (with the exception of

1 U. Zvekic, A. Alvazzi del Frate (Eds.). *Criminal Victimisation in the Developing World*. Rome: UNICRI Publ. No. 55, 1995. The developing countries which took part in the 1992 survey were: Argentina, Brazil, China, Costa Rica, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, The Philippines, South Africa, Tanzania, Tunisia and Uganda.

2 Bolivia, Botswana, Colombia, Paraguay and Zimbabwe.

3 Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica, India, Indonesia, The Philippines, South Africa and Uganda.

Kyrgyzstan and Mongolia), Africa, Latin America, Countries in Transition (Eastern-Central Europe plus Kyrgyzstan and Mongolia), Western Europe and the New World (including the United States of America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand).

The developing countries participating in the survey, in terms of their population size, range from a few million (Botswana, Costa Rica and Paraguay) to China and India which, with populations of more than 1 billion and 880 million respectively, rank as the first 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. They also differ substantially on a number of socio-economic indicators.

As Table 2 shows, in terms of the Human Development Index, developing countries participating in the ICVS range from Costa Rica, Argentina and Colombia (high), to India, Tanzania and Uganda (low). It can be observed that four Sub-Saharan African countries, namely Botswana, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Uganda, show the highest levels of growth of both the global and urban population, accompanied by the highest crude birth rates and total fertility rates.

Another issue to be taken into account is related to income disparities within countries. In Brazil, for example, the ratio between the income share of the bottom 20% of the population and that of the top 20% is 1 to 32.[4] Very high ratios were also observed in South Africa (1 to 19), Colombia and Zimbabwe (1 to 16).

4 Real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita (PPP$) 1980-94. Source: *Human Development Report* 1997, United Nations Development Programme. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Table 2 - Developing countries participating in the ICVS: City population, human development index, real GDP per capita, annual population growth rate, urban population annual growth rate, crude birth rate, total fertility rate

	Human development Index (HDI) 1994	City in which the ICVS was carried out	Population (various sources)	Real GDP per capita 1980-94			Annual population Growth rate (% 1960-1994)	Urban population annual growth rate (% 1960 – 1994)	Crude birth rate (1994)	Total fertility rate (births per woman – 1994)
				bottom 20% of population	top 20% of population	ratio				
High human development (HDI >= .800)										
Costa Rica	0.889	San Jose*	1,186,417	1,136	14,399	13	3	4	33	4
Argentina	0.884	Grand Buenos Aires	10,686,163	n.a.	n.a.		2	2	35	5
Colombia	0.848	Bogota	3,974,813	1,042	16,154	16	2	4	26	3
Medium human development (HDI >.500 <.800)										
Brazil	0.783	Rio de Janeiro	5,547,033	578	18,563	32	2	4	25	3
Tunisia	0.748	Grand Tunis	1,394,749	1,460	11,459	8	2	4	51	7
South Africa	0.716	Johannesburg	1,609,408	516	9,897	19	3	3	43	6
Paraguay	0.706	Asuncion	546,637	n.a.	n.a.		3	4	n.a.	n.a.
Botswana	0.673	Gaborone	133,468	n.a.	n.a.		3	12	27	4
The Philippines	0.672	Metro Manila	8,594,150	842	6,190	7	3	4	n.a.	n.a.
Indonesia	0.668	Jakarta**	9,160,500	1,422	6,654	5	2	5	33	5
China	0.626	Beijing	7,362,426	722	5,114	7	2	3	26	3
Egypt	0.614	Cairo	6,800,000	1,653	7,809	5	2	3	31	4
Bolivia	0.589	La Paz	784,976	703	6,049	9	2	4	20	2
Zimbabwe	0.513	Harare	1,189,103	420	6,542	16	3	6	n.a.	n.a.
Low human development (HDI <.500)										
India	0.446	Bombay	9,925,891	527	2,641	5	2	3	24	3
Tanzania	0.357	Dar Es Salaam	1,096,000	217	1,430	7	3	8	24	3
Uganda	0.328	Kampala	458,423	309	2,189	7	3	6	41	5

* "Metropolitan area", comprising central San Jose (including San Jose city) cantons of Curridabat, Escazu, Montes de Oca, and Tibas and parts of the cantons of Alajuelita, Desamparados, Goicoechea and Moravia.

** In 1992 the ICVS was carried out in eight cities and in two cities in 1996. For comparative purposes, only data from Jakarta will be used in this analysis.

Methodology of the ICVS in developing countries

Sampling

Sampling is a highly technical matter requiring a detailed study and the involvement of a statistical survey expert. In most of the participating developing countries the survey was carried out in a major city, the population of which represented the universe and the city a domain of study. Problems arise with reference to the sampling frame - a body of information about the population under study which is used as the basis for selecting samples and subsequent estimation procedures.

A list of areas comprising the domain of the study represents a very useful sampling frame, such as administrative divisions within a city including information on the size of population and certain information on its gender, age composition and socio-economic status. However, such information is not readily available in many developing countries. Therefore, the national co-ordinator, with the help of specialists from the city council, defined city districts that were approximately considered as high, middle and low residential status areas. Sampling therefore took place in three stages. First, the selection of a residential status area. Second, the selection of smaller areas (streets, blocks, etc.) within each residential status area. Third, the selection of the ultimate sampling units - households within each selected smaller area (street, block, etc.).

Although random selection is the most preferred sampling procedure and is indeed used in victim surveys in industrialised countries (telephone random digit selection), it is hardly possible in most of the developing countries. As a result, certain elements of purposive sampling are introduced, in particular as regards gender (50% male - 50% female approximately). As regards age distribution, its lower limit is deliberately set at 16 years of age but further sampling is random. The introduction of residential area status brings in elements

of cluster sample and stratification. It is important to attempt to achieve, as much as possible, homogeneity within each stratum (residential area) and heterogeneity between strata. This is difficult to achieve, particularly with respect to high-middle residential status areas, on the one hand, and low-middle residential status areas, on the other. In practice, a sharp difference exists between the high and the low residential status areas. Drawing households from each area can be carried out in a number of different ways, such as random selection with the use of random numbers or the traditional "hat" technique (putting a slip of paper for each unit in a hat and drawing out the required number at random), the random walk procedure or, depending on the size of the area, by determining that, for example, each 10th household will be selected.

Sampling generally started with the identification of administrative zones in the cities, followed by a step-by-step procedure aimed at identifying 1) areas, 2) streets, 3) blocks, 4) households, and 5) respondent (person aged 16 or more whose birthday is next).

In the 1996-97 ICVS, samples of 1,000 respondents were generally drawn from the population of the largest city in the developing countries (see Table 3). In a few countries the survey covered either more than one city (e.g. Indonesia) or a small rural sample was added (e.g. India, The Philippines, Uganda).

One of the major problems encountered in the repetition of the survey in the countries that already participated in 1992 was to ensure fully comparable sampling procedures. In at least one case (Brazil) this was not achieved: “In the design of the selected areas an attempt was also made to repeat the same procedure followed by the previous survey, with the exception of the slum areas which were integrated in the 1992 sample, now replaced by lower class neighbourhoods. This procedure was dictated by reasons of security since most of Rio *favelas* are controlled by gangs of criminal and drug traffickers and are the daily

scenario of fights between criminals and the police or among themselves. The gangs would resent the presence of non-dwellers and react to any inquiries about crime, a marked difference for the worse as compared to the previous survey. These changes led to alterations in the sample design when compared to the 1992 survey. The 'lower residential status' component of the sample shows higher incomes in 1996 due to the replacement of slum dwellers".[5]

The analysis presented in this book refers to the 1992-1996 ICVS data on *cities* and *urban areas* from 54 countries from six world regions, for a total of 58,757 respondents, of which 28,698 males and 30,059 females. Some variables were only available for 1996, thus relevant data refer to 45 countries participating in the 1996-97 ICVS (34,840 respondents, 16,644 males and 18,196 females). For easy comprehension, country names will be used throughout the text, although Table 3 refers to the locations in which the ICVS was actually carried out.

Data presented in this report have been weighted to make the samples as representative as possible of national populations aged 16 or more in terms of gender, regional population distribution, age, and household composition.

Questionnaire

The ICVS questionnaire includes sections on victimisation, reporting to the police and reasons for not reporting, respondent's opinion of police work, fear of crime, crime prevention measures and attitudes to punishment.

5 J.A. Rios. "The 1996 ICVS in Rio de Janeiro: Final report", unpublished.

Table 3 - Overview of participation, methodology and languages used in the International Crime Victim Survey in developing countries

Second ICVS - 1992-94	Date	Sample size	Urban	Rural	Method	Language
Asia						
China (Beijing)	1994	2,000	2,000		F/F	Chinese
India (Bombay)	1992	1,040	1,040		F/F	English and Hindi
Indonesia	1992	3,239	2,139	1,100	F/F	Bahasa Indonesia
Papua New Guinea*	1992	1,583	1,010	573	F/F	English orally translated into Pidgin, Motu or Tokples
The Philippines (Manila)	1992	1,503	1,503		F/F	English and Filipino
Africa						
Egypt (Cairo)	1992	1,000	1,000		F/F	Arabic
South Africa (Johannesburg)	1993	988	988		F/F	English and Afrikaans
Tanzania (Dar Es Salaam)**	1992	1,004	1,004		F/F	Swahili
Tunisia (Tunis)	1993	1,087	1,087		F/F	Arabic
Uganda (Kampala)	1992	1,023	1,023		F/F	English and Luganda
Latin America						
Argentina (Buenos Aires)	1992	1,000	1,000		F/F	Spanish
Brazil (Rio de Janeiro)	1992	1,017	1,017		F/F	Portuguese
Costa Rica	1992	983	707	276	F/F	Spanish

Third ICVS - 1996/97	Date	Sample size	Urban	Rural	Method	Language
Asia						
India (Bombay)	1996	1,200	999	201	F/F	English, Hindi
Indonesia (Jakarta, Surabaya)	1996	1,400	1,200	200	F/F	Bahasa Indonesia
The Philippines (Manila)	1996	1,500	1,250	250	F/F	English, Filipino
Africa						
Botswana (Gaborone)	1997	644	644		F/F	English, Setswana
South Africa (Johannesburg)	1996	1,006	1,006		F/F	English, (oral Afrikaans)
Uganda (Kampala)	1996	1,197	997	200	F/F	English, Luganda
Zimbabwe (Harare)	1996	1,006	1,006		F/F	English (oral Shona)
Latin America						
Argentina (Buenos Aires)	1996	1,000	1,000		F/F	Spanish
Bolivia (La Paz)	1996	999	999		F/F	Spanish
Brazil (Rio de Janeiro)	1996	1,000	1,000		F/F	Portuguese
Colombia (Bogota)	1997	1,000	1,000		F/F	Spanish
Costa Rica	1996	1,000	701	299	F/F	Spanish
Paraguay (Asuncion)	1996	587	587		F/F	Spanish

* Dataset not available
** Some questions dropped from the original questionnaire

Thirteen types of victimisation that could have affected the respondent personally or his/her household are covered by the questionnaire. The selected crimes are obviously among those with a well-identified victim and mostly belong to the sphere of "conventional crime".

A first group of crimes deals with the vehicles owned by the respondent or his/her household:

- Theft of car
- Theft from car
- Car vandalism
- Theft of bicycle
- Theft of motorcycle

A second group refers to break and enter:

- Burglary
- Attempted burglary

A third group of crimes refers to victimisation experienced by the respondent personally:

- Robbery
- Theft of personal property
- Assault/threat
- Sexual incidents (women only)

The questionnaire finally addresses two more types of crime that may have been experienced by the respondents:

- Consumer fraud
- Bribery/corruption

In developing countries and countries in transition, consumer fraud and corruption have been covered since the 1992 ICVS. Consumer fraud was asked about in industrialised countries in 1992 and 1996, and corruption in 1996.

Specifications provided by follow-up questions allow for further breakdown of personal crime to make distinctions as follows:

- Theft of personal property
  - pickpocketing
  - non-contact personal thefts
- Assault/threat
  - assaults with force
  - assaults without force/threat
- Sexual incidents
  - sexual assaults (rape, attempted rape, indecent assault)
  - offensive behaviour/sexual harassment.

The time-span covered by the ICVS refers to the last five years. Those who mentioned having been victims of an incident of any particular type were asked when it occurred, and if in the last year (the calendar year preceding the interview), how many times in that particular year. Episodes of consumer fraud and corruption only referred to one year.

Victims reporting incidents over the past five years were asked some additional questions about what happened. Victims of theft from car, burglary, robbery, sexual incidents and assaults were asked the complete set of follow-up questions, while other victims were asked for less additional information.

Special attention was given to whether the crime was reported to the police, where it occurred, who was the offender and whether victim support agencies provided any assistance.

All the respondents, both victims and non-victims, were also asked for their opinion of police performance in preventing and controlling crime, fear of crime, crime prevention measures adopted at the household level and attitudes to punishment.

The ICVS questionnaire went through revision by the International Working Group in The Hague in November 1995. The 1996 version is fully compatible with the previous one, with a better breakdown of follow-up questions on reporting to the police (addition of questions on reasons for reporting and satisfaction with the police on reporting specific crimes).

The carrying out of the ICVS in developing countries

Fieldwork in developing countries included the undertaking of UNICRI feasibility/training missions, the carrying out of pilot studies in the countries which were participating in the ICVS for the first time, and the carrying out of the fully fledged surveys in all participating countries.

- Feasibility/training missions

One of the objectives of the missions was to get acquainted with the target country's criminological situation and law enforcement and criminal justice needs in the area of crime prevention. This led to the identification of specific needs as regards, for example, additional questions to be included in the questionnaire and the development of sampling design. However, due to the comparative character of the project, the proposed changes were kept within the main structure and content of the standard questionnaire and sampling.

The missions identified and contacted the appropriate structures (university, research institute, public opinion poll company) to be in charge of the field work and established contacts with the *national co-ordinator*, who was appointed in each country to monitor the activities of the local team.

Another aim of the missions was to pass on experience and provide

advice as to the technical and organisational aspect of the ICVS, with the assistance of the "Manual" developed by UNICRI for this purpose.[6] Details regarding sampling, translation of the questionnaire into local language(s), organisation of the project, selection and training of the interviewers, data collection method, data entry procedure, data analysis and the structure of the national report were discussed and mutually agreed upon. Training on the conduct of the face-to-face survey and on the use of the ICVS data entry software developed by the University of Leiden was provided to selected members of the local team who, in turn, provided further training to the interviewers.

Furthermore, meetings were held at the Ministry of the Interior and/or Ministry of Justice of the participating countries, with the police and other authorities to describe the project, its requirements and potentials in terms of developing crime prevention strategies.

- Translation of questionnaire

The administration of the ICVS in each country required the translation of the original English questionnaire into the local language(s). National co-ordinators were instructed to translate the questionnaire in full, including coding and instructions for the interviewers, maintaining its original structure and sequence of questions, in order not to jeopardise the comparability of the results.

In general, national co-ordinators appointed professional translators and subsequently checked the translation for specific terminology used in the questionnaire. UNICRI was provided with copies of all translated versions.

6 A. Alvazzi del Frate. *Manual for the Conduct of the Face-to-face ICVS*, UNICRI 1996.

In some countries the interviewers, having to work in several local dialects, were equipped with questionnaires translated into the language of the majority linguistic group while they provided translations into dialects on the spot, that is to say, during the interviewing process. To what extent this affected the responses is difficult to assess but it does indicate the need for a closer monitoring and control of the translation procedure and reliability. Back and forth translation from the original English into and from the language in question was carried out in a number of countries both to ensure the adequacy of translation as well as to provide for the most appropriate native wording.

The translated questionnaires were consistent with the standard version in all participating countries, with the exception of Tanzania, where the national co-ordinator deemed it appropriate to drop some questions, and on which the data will not be available throughout this report.

- Carrying out of the pilot studies

Pilots for the 1992 sweep of the survey were carried out in all the participating developing countries, while in 1996/97, in principle, pilots were carried out only in those countries that were newcomers to the ICVS. The results of the pilots carried out Zimbabwe and Bolivia in late 1995 were used, together with the pilots from the countries in transition, for the drafting of the revised version of the questionnaire adopted by the 1996-97 ICVS and for necessary modifications taking into account local conditions. In 1996, pilots were carried out in Botswana, Paraguay and Colombia.

Carrying out of the full-fledged survey

In most of the developing countries and countries in transition the full-fledged survey was generally administered during the period January-March of the survey year. Data collection lasted from eight to ten

weeks in each country and was followed by the data entry and logical validation process. On average, fieldwork lasted six months including translation of the questionnaire, sampling, data collection and preparation of the dataset for delivery. A final report was prepared by each national co-ordinator.

Data collection

In most countries in which the survey was carried out by an *ad hoc* team of interviewers, the national co-ordinators relied on senior students as interviewers. In one country, they were recruited from among members of the local community upon the recommendation of the community leaders. In some countries, data collection was subcontracted to survey companies (in the developing countries, this was the case in Costa Rica, Bolivia and Paraguay) whose work was supervised by the national co-ordinator.

In addition to a local language or dialect requirement, in some countries it was important to match interviewers and respondents in terms of ethnicity, religious or tribal affiliation or other such characteristics. Some other traits needed to be taken into account. For example, in some cultures male respondents were not willing to talk with female interviewers, and vice versa, customs precluded the use of male interviewers to interview female respondents particularly for such sensitive issues as sexual victimisation.

On average, the face-to-face interviews lasted thirty minutes and could generally be understood by illiterate respondents.

Response rate

A systematic collection of data on response rate and refusals was only initiated with the 1997 version of the face-to-face questionnaire. As regards previous surveys, information on the response rate was

provided by the national co-ordinators in their final reports. In general, the response rates were very high and close to 90% in most participating countries. It should be noted that household surveys in developing countries are not very frequent and that this project was carried out under the auspices of the United Nations, which usually represents an advantage in terms of providing the selected respondents with a guarantee that the survey is carried out in a professional and neutral way.

Unfortunately, the opposite may also happen, especially in countries which have been exposed to conflicts and that may have developed their own attitudes towards the United Nations. As it was mentioned in the previous UNICRI publication on the ICVS results in developing countries, in 1992 two national co-ordinators reported that in their respective 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 a neighbouring country.[7]

Rates of refusal were very low in Asia and Africa, with the exception of Botswana, where 8% of the gross sample refused the interview. On average, higher percentages of selected households refused the interview in Latin America, with a maximum of 11% in Argentina.

The co-ordinators highlighted the fact that recontacting was necessary very often. In several countries it was observed that, on average, two visits to the households were necessary in order to complete each interview. The reasons for this were security (in some cases the team of interviewers had to obtain special authorisation in order to gain access to some high residential status neighbourhoods/compounds) and/or suspicion toward the interviewers (the selected respondent

7 U. Zvekic and A. Alvazzi del Frate (Eds.). *Criminal Victimisation in the Developing World*. Rome: UNICRI, Publ. No. 55, 1995, p. 10.

requested to be recontacted in order to check with the reference address/telephone number about the nature of the survey).

It should finally be noted that many co-ordinators pointed out the high level of non-relevant contacts due either to the fast growth of the neighbourhood/city – or reconstruction, or transformation into commercial business, thus not matching the given address anymore -, or because the selected households had been abandoned (people who emigrated or left for an indefinite time).

Table 4 - Refusal rates, developing countries – 1996-97 ICVS

Third ICVS – 1996/97	Survey Date	Gross Sample*	Refusals	Net Sample	Refusal Rate
Asia					
India (Bombay)	1996	1,310	48	1,200	3.7
Indonesia	1996	1,400	0	1,400	0.0
The Philippines (Manila)	1996	1,511	11	1,500	0.7
Africa					
Botswana (Gaborone)	1997	698	54	644	7.7
South Africa (Johannesburg)	1996	1,012	6	1,006	0.6
Uganda (Kampala)	1996	1,197	0	1,197	0.0
Zimbabwe (Harare)	1996	1,018	12	1,006	1.2
Latin America					
Argentina (Buenos Aires)	1996	1,124	124	1,000	11.0
Bolivia (La Paz)	1996	1,018	19	999	1.9
Brazil (Rio de Janeiro)	1996	1,050	50	1,000	4.8
Colombia (Bogota)	1997	1,100	100	1,000	10,0
Costa Rica	1996	1,132	50	1,000	4.4
Paraguay (Asuncion)	1996	n.a.	n.a.	587	n.a.

* non-relevant contacts excluded

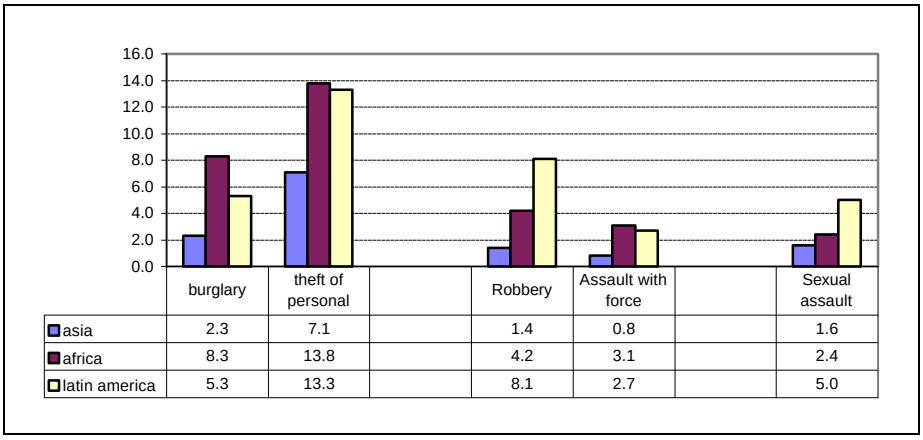
Chapter 2

EXPERIENCES OF VICTIMISATION

An overview of victimisation in the developing world

Data on victimisation from the three regions show that Asia consistently ranks the lowest for all types of crime, while Africa and Latin America share first place for all types of crime. All regions appear mostly affected by theft (7% in Asia and 13% in Africa and Latin America), while victimisation rates for all other types of crime are much lower. Rates between 5 and 8% were observed for burglary in Africa, and for robbery, burglary and sexual assault in Latin America.

Figure 1 - Victimisation rates for selected types of crime, by regions



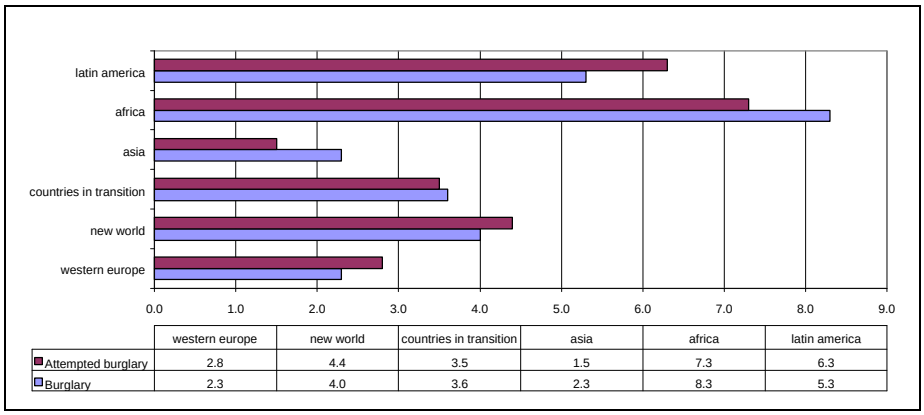
	burglary	theft of personal		Robbery	Assault with force		Sexual assault
asia	2.3	7.1		1.4	0.8		1.6
africa	8.3	13.8		4.2	3.1		2.4
latin america	5.3	13.3		8.1	2.7		5.0

Burglary and attempted burglary

Burglary is the typical household crime. The ICVS questionnaire included questions on victimisation experiences for burglary and attempted burglary. The regions in which the survey respondents were more often affected by these types of crime were Latin America and Africa, while lower levels of risk were observed in the other regions. Rates for burglary and attempted burglary are very close to each other in most regions, with burglaries exceeding attempts in Asia and Africa.

As regards the developing countries participating in the ICVS (Table 5), the highest rates of burglary and attempted burglary were observed in Tanzania. One-year burglary rates above 10% were also observed in some other countries in the African region (Uganda, Zimbabwe and Botswana). The countries with the lowest risk of burglary were India, Brazil, The Philippines, China and Egypt. The average deviation from the regional mean was lowest in Asia and highest in Africa. In fact, in the latter region victimisation rates ranged from a minimum of less than 3% in Egypt to a maximum of 19% in Tanzania.

Figure 2 - Burglary and attempts, by regions



	western europe	new world	countries in transition	asia	africa	latin america
Attempted burglary	2.8	4.4	3.5	1.5	7.3	6.3
Burglary	2.3	4.0	3.6	2.3	8.3	5.3

Table 5 - Burglary and attempts, developing countries

	Burglary	Attempted burglary
Asia		
Indonesia	3.9	2.5
Philippines	2.0	1.6
India	1.4	2.0
China	2.3	0.2
Africa		
Uganda	11.7	11.7
Egypt	2.6	4.4
South Africa	6.3	3.7
Tanzania	19.0	12.9
Tunisia	7.2	3.6
Zimbabwe	10.7	9.0
Botswana	10.4	4.6
Latin America		
Costa Rica	7.3	8.5
Brazil	1.9	2.8
Argentina	5.5	5.5
Bolivia	6.7	8.5
Paraguay	8.2	6.5
Colombia	6.0	9.7

Car-related crimes

The availability of cars in developing countries is still very limited. It should be noted that the level of car ownership varies considerably from country to country. Approximately a quarter of the respondents in Asia said there was one or more household car, while in other developing countries rates between 40 and 50% were found in the sample. Slightly more than half of the respondents were car owners in countries in transition, while, as expected, cars are more widely distributed in Western Europe and the New World, with ownership rates close to 90%. Furthermore, in the latter regions many households have at their disposal more than one car. In fact, more than 60% of the respondents in the New World and more than 30% in Western Europe declared ownership of at least two cars, while this

was the case with 18% in Latin America, 17% in Africa, 10% in the countries in transition and 5% only in Asia.

Table 6 - Car ownership in developing countries, 1992-96

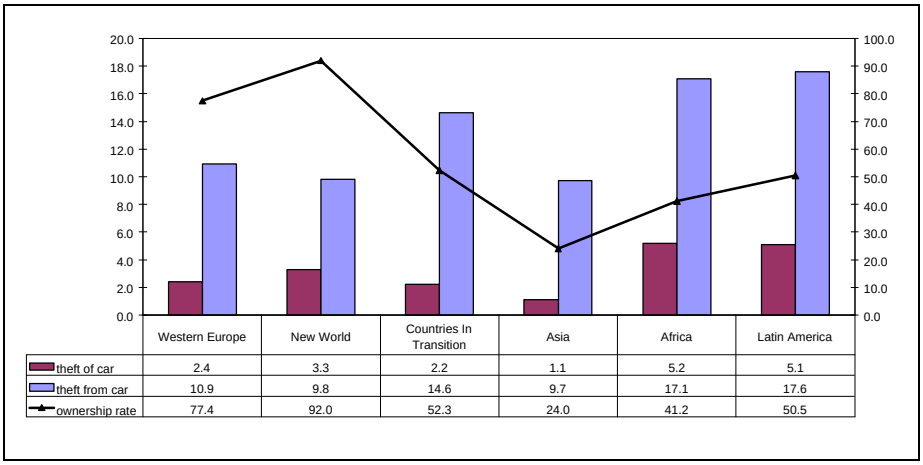
	Car ownership rate 1992	Car ownership rate 1996	Average rate 1992-96
Asia			
Indonesia	51.0	60.6	44.8
Philippines	17.5	16.0	16.9
India	19.7	17.5	18.7
China	4.5		4.5
Africa			
Uganda	42.9	37.0	40.0
Egypt	34.0		34.0
South Africa	42.4	48.8	45.6
Tanzania	50.0		50.0
Tunisia	42.2		42.2
Zimbabwe		30.9	30.9
Botswana		43.0	43.0
Latin America			
Costa Rica	43.1	46.1	44.5
Brazil	38.0	53.7	45.8
Argentina	73.3	69.2	71.3
Bolivia		23.1	23.1
Paraguay		59.9	60.0
Colombia		62.9	63.0

The car owners were asked 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, and - as is dealt with in Chapter 3 - more than 70% of cars in Western Europe and the New World are actually recovered.

Victimisation rates for vehicle theft can be expressed in two forms: as rates of the total sample and as rates for vehicle owners. Since the latter provide more information about the real risk of the target group, that is, the vehicle owners, we will concentrate our analysis on them. Figure 3 shows the one-year prevalence rates for car theft in the world regions compared to ownership rates.

Risks of car theft for owners were the highest in Africa and Latin America, followed by the New World. Theft from car was highest in Latin America, Africa and countries in transition. With the exception of Asia, where low ownership rates corresponded to low rates of car theft, it appears that no clear pattern can be identified to suggest more or less risk for car owners in the regions with higher/lower ownership rates. However, a negative correlation was found at the regional level between risk for theft from car (i.e., car parts, accessories, objects left in the car, etc.) and car ownership, thus suggesting that – at the global level - car owners in the regions where there is less availability of cars may be more exposed to the risk of theft from car than of car theft (r -0,328 N=6).

Figure 3 - Ownership rates and one-year victimisation rates for theft of cars and theft from cars (car owners), by world regions, 1996



	Western Europe	New World	Countries In Transition	Asia	Africa	Latin America
theft of car	2.4	3.3	2.2	1.1	5.2	5.1
theft from car	10.9	9.8	14.6	9.7	17.1	17.6
ownership rate	77.4	92.0	52.3	24.0	41.2	50.5

At the country level, car theft rates of more than 5% were observed in South Africa, Argentina, Uganda, Tanzania and Colombia. Theft from car was particularly frequent (with rates equal to or higher than 20%) in Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Colombia, Costa Rica and Argentina. Within the group of developing countries, a positive correlation was found between theft of car and rates of car ownership at the country level

(0.631 N=17). A weaker correlation also exists between theft from car and car ownership (0.371 N=17). These findings suggest that in developing countries a higher availability of cars may indeed lead to a higher risk of car theft and theft from car, thus reverting the findings observed at the global level.

Table 7 - Theft from and of cars (owners), developing countries

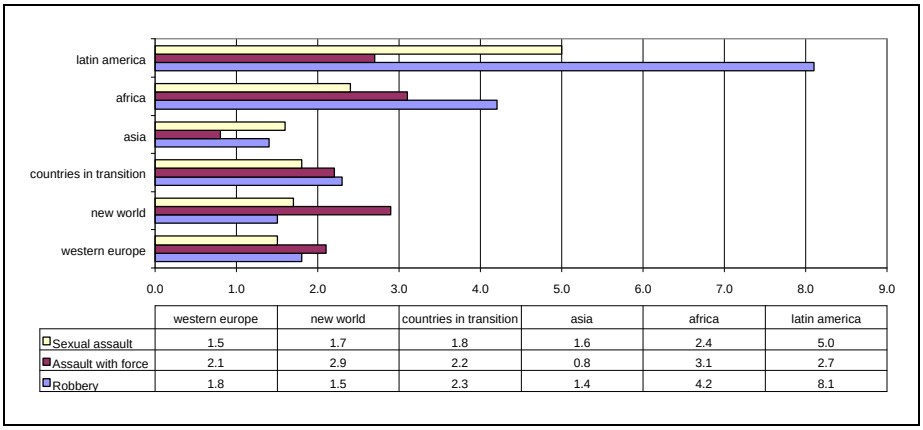
	Theft of car	Theft from car
Asia		
Indonesia	0.8	9.2
Philippines	1.9	8.5
India	1.3	11.6
China	1.1	11.2
Africa		
Uganda	5.9	15.9
Egypt	2.9	13.6
South Africa	7.6	14.0
Tanzania	5.8	25.7
Tunisia	4.6	17.8
Zimbabwe	1.3	21.2
Botswana	1.8	15.6
Latin America		
Costa Rica	3.5	19.8
Brazil	4.2	13.4
Argentina	7.2	19.8
Bolivia	0.9	18.2
Paraguay	2.0	8.0
Colombia	5.4	22.1

Contact crime

Data presented in the "contact crime" group, with the exception of robbery, have been further elaborated with respect to the original categories as per the ICVS questionnaire. A breakdown of "sexual incidents" and "assault/threat" has been computed to include only the portion involving violence, i.e. "sexual assaults", including rapes,

attempted rapes and indecent assaults ("offensive behaviour" excluded) and "assaults with force" (threats excluded).[1]

Figure 4 - Contact crime, by regions



	western europe	new world	countries in transition	asia	africa	latin america
Sexual assault	1.5	1.7	1.8	1.6	2.4	5.0
Assault with force	2.1	2.9	2.2	0.8	3.1	2.7
Robbery	1.8	1.5	2.3	1.4	4.2	8.1

The smallest difference between the groups of countries are related to assault with force, for which the developing and industrialised countries show similar risks. As noted above, the risk of violent crime is more equally distributed across the world than property crime.

1 The procedure used to calculate the one-year risk of sexual assault versus offensive behaviour is the same followed by Mayhew and van Dijk in *Criminal Victimisation in Eleven Industrialised Countries*, op. cit, i.e., on the basis of the information on the nature of the incident provided by victims, for those who were victimised only once in the year preceding the interview, the ratio of sexual assaults to offensive behaviour was applied to the prevalence rate for sexual incidents. Next, for "double" victims whose last incident was not a sexual assault, an estimate was made of the chance that the previous victimisation was such an assault. In the same fashion, the number of sexual assault victims was estimated among triple and other multiple victims. The same procedures were applied to distinguish assaults with force as against threats from the overall category of assaults/threats. See P. Mayhew, J.J.M. van Dijk, *Criminal Victimisation in Eleven Industrialised Countries.* The Hague: WODC, 1997, footnote 17 on page 31.

Robbery, a violent crime aimed at stealing property from the victim, is more frequent in Africa and Latin America where property crime is also higher than in the rest of the world.

Victimisation rates, especially for violent crime, appear lower however in Asia than in all the other regions of the world.

At the country level (Table 8), assault with force was highest in Zimbabwe and South Africa (around 6%), followed by Botswana, Brazil, Colombia, Bolivia and Argentina, all with rates around 3%.

The highest robbery rates (more than 10%) were observed in Brazil and Colombia, followed by all the other Latin American countries and Tunisia with rates around 6%. Risks for robbery were lowest in Asia, Egypt and Botswana.

Table 8 - Contact crime, developing countries

	Robbery	Assault with force	Sexual assault
Asia			
Indonesia	1.2	1.1	2.7
Philippines	2.4	0.4	0.3
India	0.8	0.8	1.9
China	0.9	0.9	1.6
Africa			
Uganda	4.4	2.4	4.5
Egypt	1.9	0.9	3.1
South Africa	4.6	5.6	2.3
Tunisia	6.3	0.5	1.9
Zimbabwe	4.8	6.7	2.2
Botswana	2.0	3.7	0.8
Latin America			
Costa Rica	5.8	1.9	4.3
Brazil	11.3	3.6	8.0
Argentina	6.6	2.9	5.8
Bolivia	6.2	3.0	1.4
Paraguay	6.7	1.1	2.7
Colombia	10.6	3.6	5.0

Victimisation of women

Women are subject to criminal victimisation as men are; yet, for some crimes women may run higher or lower risks, while for some others they are the conventionally exclusive potential and/or real victims. The latter category includes various types of sex-related incidents.

At the outset, it should be highlighted that, despite standard methodology, the ICVS revealed that the cultural messages in different contexts or in the wording of the questions might elicit different answers in different languages, countries and cultural contexts. This appears to be critical for sexual incidents.

Therefore, the interpretation of the ICVS results on sexual incidents needs to be looked at with special caution. In fact, for this issue more than in other parts of the survey, special attention should be paid to the terminology used and, for example, the exact meaning attached to the words "incident", "assault" and "crime" should be carefully weighed. It has been argued that the wording of the first question on sexual incidents[2] might not be as clear as other questions referring to various victimisation experiences, since it does not evoke a unique type of crime, but quite a wide range of events.

This contributes in some way to distortions in reporting to the survey, either in the direction of over-reporting or under-reporting. In some of the most industrialised countries covered by the ICVS it was noted

2 The first question reads as follows: "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"? Further specific issues addressed included rape, attempted rape, relationship with the offender.

that high sensitivity to the gender issue corresponded to high rates of victimisation reported to the survey.
Since the ICVS is a household survey, reporting to the survey might be reduced because sexual incidents and assaults often happen within the family. The ICVS itself was not specifically designed to deal with domestic violence, and in some cultural contexts the fact that the survey is carried out in the household may further reduce reporting. For example, in some developing countries face-to-face interviews were often carried out in the presence of other members of the family which might have precluded the respondent from revealing victimisation experiences suffered in the household and involving the partner, relatives or friends.

The administration of the survey attempted to mitigate some problems of sensitivity to issues raised by the questionnaire. Both male and female interviewers were included in the survey teams. Nevertheless, certain difficulties with data collection were reported due to a particular sensitivity in certain cultural settings related to experiences with sexual incidents and assault, their definition and readiness to report them to the interviewer.

Women in Latin America, in particular in Brazil and Argentina, were those most frequently exposed to sexual victimisation, while lower levels of victimisation were observed in the other world regions.

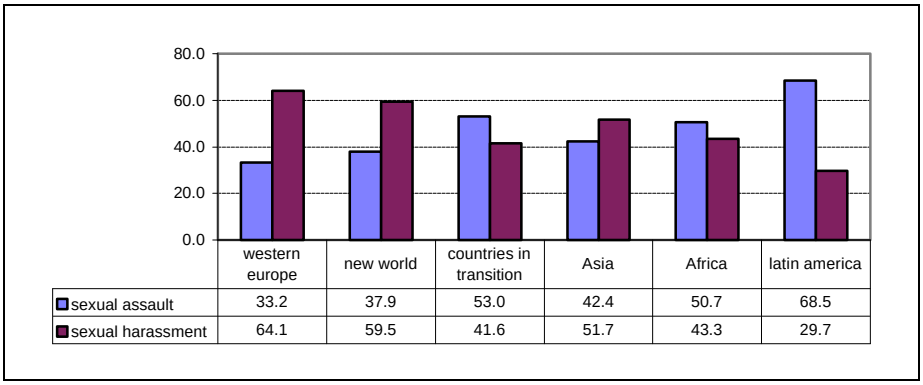
The victims were asked to provide a description of what happened and invited to describe the incident as rape, attempted rape, indecent assault or offensive behaviour. Depending on the type of victimisation experienced, it is possible to break down sexual incidents into two main categories, namely “sexual assault”, including rape, attempted rape and indecent assault and “sexual harassment”, which includes offensive behaviour. Table 9 shows that, on average, approximately half of the incidents were defined as “offensive behaviour” or sexual harassment.

Women in Africa were those more frequently exposed to rapes and attempted rapes and these types of offences counted for approximately a quarter of the sexual incidents in Latin America and countries in transition.

Table 9 - Sexual incidents. Percentage of incidents by type, by regions, 1992-96

	Sexual incidents	Sexual assault Including =>	Rape	Attempted rape	Indecent assault	Offensive behaviour/ Sexual harassment	Don't know
Western Europe	100.0	33.2	3.7	4.7	24.8	64.1	2.7
New World	100.0	37.9	3.5	11.7	22.7	59.5	2.6
Countries in Transition	100.0	53.0	5.5	22.7	24.8	41.6	5.4
Asia	100.0	42.4	1.6	5.8	35.0	51.7	5.9
Africa	100.0	50.7	12.1	23.9	14.7	43.3	6.0
Latin America	100.0	68.5	5.4	20.4	42.7	29.7	1.8

Figure 5 - Type of sexual victimisation, by regions



As Figure 5 shows, sexual harassment exceeded assault in Western Europe, the New World and Asia. In the other regions, sexual victimisation experienced by women was mostly of a violent nature. The highest risk of sexual assault was observed in Latin America, with

approximately 70% of the incidents described as rapes, attempted rapes or indecent assaults.
At the country level, Table 10 shows that in all Latin American countries sexual assault rates were notably higher than those of sexual harassment. In the other regions, a prevalence of sexual assault was noticed in South Africa, Uganda and Indonesia, while a majority of incidents of a less serious nature was registered in the other countries.

Table 10 - Prevalence victimisation rates for sexual assault and sexual harassment, developing countries

	Sexual assault	Sexual harassment
Asia		
Indonesia	2.7	1.6
Philippines	0.3	0.7
India	1.9	2.1
China	1.6	4.4
Africa		
Uganda	4.5	1.9
Egypt	3.1	7.8
South Africa	2.3	0.9
Tunisia	1.9	3.7
Zimbabwe	2.2	2.3
Botswana	0.8	1.7
Latin America		
Costa Rica	4.3	3.5
Brazil	8.0	1.4
Argentina	5.8	3.8
Bolivia	1.4	1.2
Paraguay	2.7	2.1
Colombia	5.0	4.4

Other crimes surveyed by the ICVS

Apart from the types of crime which have been dealt with so far, other forms of victimisation covered by the questionnaire included car vandalism, theft of motorcycle, theft of bicycle, theft of personal property and assault without force. During the year preceding the interviews, approximately a quarter of the respondents all over the

participating countries experienced at least one of these types of victimisation.

Figure 6 - Other crime (car vandalism - theft of motorcycle - theft of bicycle - theft of personal property – assault without force/threats), by regions

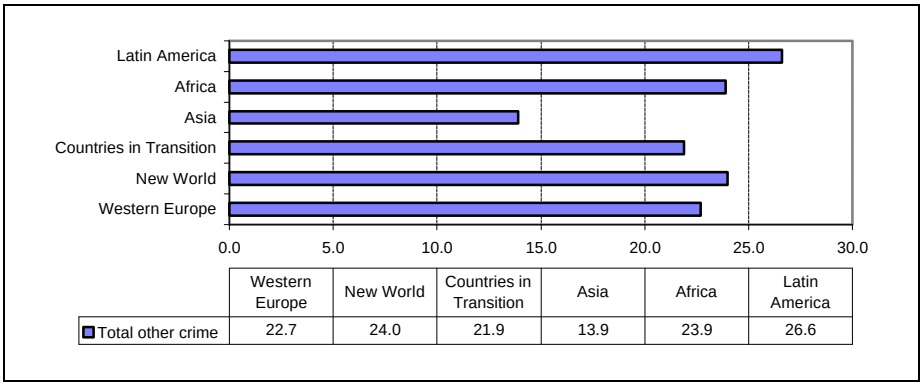


Table 11 - Other crime (car vandalism - theft of motorcycle - theft of bicycle - theft of personal property – assault without force/threats), by developing countries

	Car vandalism	Theft of motorcycle	Theft of bicycle	Theft of personal property	Assault without force / threat	Total other crime
Asia						
Indonesia	2.3	1.6	2.0	5.5	3.0	14.4
Philippines	0.9	0.1	2.0	7.1	0.9	11.0
India	0.7	0.4	1.0	10.6	1.5	14.2
China	0.2	0.1	10.5	5.0	1.3	17.1
Africa						
Uganda	2.0	0.5	2.4	19.2	4.8	28.9
Egypt	2.4	0.5	1.0	9.6	1.3	14.8
South Africa	3.9	0.2	2.5	8.0	5.2	19.8
Tanzania	6.7	0.9	2.8	17.8	n.a.	28.2
Tunisia	3.9	2.1	3.8	14.4	0.6	24.8
Zimbabwe	2.3	0.1	1.0	20.6	8.7	32.7
Botswana	2.3	0.0	1.4	6.7	3.8	14.2
Latin America						
Costa Rica	6.3	0.5	4.3	9.8	2.8	23.7
Brazil	5.6	0.4	1.8	9.9	4.5	22.2
Argentina	5.9	2.1	3.7	15.0	4.0	30.7
Bolivia	3.2	0.0	2.1	17.0	4.1	26.4
Paraguay	4.3	0.7	3.1	11.6	2.0	21.7

Colombia	6.2	0.5	5.2	16.2	7.0	35.1

Among such types of victimisation, theft of personal property appears to be the most frequent, exceeding 10% in nine out of seventeen countries. Apart from that, the only type of crime which also reached the 10% threshold was theft of bicycle in China, which is known as one of the most frequent incidents that may occur to Chinese citizens.

Car vandalism and threat were more frequently observed in Latin American countries than in the other developing countries.

Country profiles of crime

The crime profile is calculated on the number of incidents that happened in the year preceding the interview. If the respondent was a victim "last year", the interviewer asked how many times the victimisation occurred last year. The profile thus represents in what measure each type of crime contributed to the crime structure of each participating country.

Table 12 - Profile of crime by regions (% of all offences: total = 100%)

	Theft of and from cars	Car vandalism	Bicycle and motorcycle thefts	Burglary and attempts	Thefts of personal property	Other personal crime*
Western Europe	16	24	15	9	13	23
New World	21	17	9	16	12	26
Countries in transition	23	15	6	15	23	20
Asia	10	5	17	17	31	22
Africa	13	6	5	27	23	27
Latin America	16	11	5	19	21	27

* ther personal crime: robbery, assaults/threats, sexual offences.

Different levels of car ownership affect the weight of car-related crimes which represent – on average – 27% in Latin America, 19% in Africa and 15% only in Asia. This is a marked difference with respect to the industrialised countries (Western Europe and New World), where car-related crimes represented 40% of all incidents observed in

1996. In the countries in transition, vehicle-related crimes are also close to 40%, but a higher frequency of personal theft makes the structure different from the industrial countries.

Table 13 - Profile of crime by countries (% of all offences: total = 100%)

	Theft of and from cars	Car vandalism	Bicycle and motorcycle thefts	Burglary and attempts	Thefts of personal property	Other personal crime*
Asia						
Indonesia	17	10	9	23	20	21
Philippines	10	5	9	20	34	22
India	10	3	5	15	47	20
China	2	1	45	9	21	23
Africa						
Uganda	13	3	3	33	28	19
Egypt	14	8	3	19	21	35
South Africa	19	8	5	20	15	34
Tunisia	5	11	13	23	29	19
Zimbabwe	9	3	1	30	29	28
Botswana	16	5	3	38	14	25
Latin America						
Costa Rica	16	15	7	25	15	21
Brazil	13	15	3	7	19	43
Argentina	26	8	6	14	21	25
Bolivia	8	10	3	24	33	22
Paraguay	9	11	8	28	23	21
Colombia	21	7	5	18	17	32

* Oher personal crime: robbery, assaults/threats, sexual offences.

An evident difference in patterns among the three groups of developing countries is observed for bicycle and motorcycle thefts, which represented 17% on average in Asia and 5% only in Africa and Latin America. It should be considered that the vast majority of these incidents happened in China, where theft of bicycle alone represented 45% of all the events recorded by the ICVS in that country.

The proportion of burglaries and attempts was highest in Africa, with an average of 26% compared to less than 20% in the other developing regions. In all three groups, more than 70% of the crimes are

property-related. The portion of "contact crimes" represents slightly more than a quarter of the incidents in Latin America and Africa and something less (21%) in Asia. The highest share of personal crimes was observed in Brazil (43%, half of which being robberies), followed by Egypt (35%, with a high portion of sexual offences) and South Africa (34%, more than half of which were assaults/threats).

Corruption and consumer fraud[3]

The ICVS has an advantage over the other sources of information on corruption in that it provides for a measurement of the magnitude based on the direct experience of citizens and targets it to public officials. In other words, it attempts to capture the magnitude of bribery by public officials which is probably the most diffused and most conventional form of corruption.[4] Despite a number of limits of victim surveys, including the ICVS[5], it appears that they offer better measures of corruption than any other surveys or official criminal justice statistics.

The item of corruption was included for the first time in the second sweep of the ICVS (1992-94) and even then it was administered only

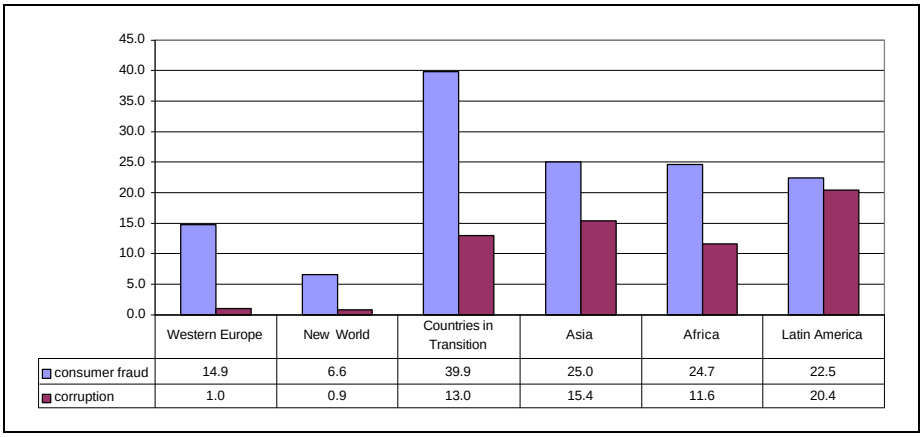
3 The section on corruption and consumer fraud is based on a draft prepared by Ugljesa Zvekic for *Criminal Victimisation across the World* (forthcoming).

4 "In some areas there is a problem of corruption among government or public officials. During (last year) has any government official, for instance a customs officer, police officer or inspector in your country, asked you or expected you to pay a bribe for his service?" Following this question the respondents were asked to identify the category of public official, and whether it was reported to the police (public prosecutor) or to another public or private agency.

5 U. Zvekic. "International Crime (Victim) Survey: Comparative Advantages and Disadvantages". In *International Criminal Justice Review*, Vol. 6 1996.

in the developing countries and countries in transition. Pilots carried out in the industrialised countries revealed at the time that it was a rare event and thus corruption was not included in the questionnaire administered in the industrialised world. However, the period between the second and third sweeps of the ICVS witnessed the disclosure of a number of serious cases of corruption in some industrialised countries, which indicated that it would be worth including the corruption item for all countries participating in the ICVS. Another reason was comparative and political: the ICVS should provide for international comparison and the exclusion of an item would limit such an objective. On the other hand, it was felt that maintaining the corruption item for the developing world and countries in transition only would be prejudicial and politically unacceptable. Therefore, the question on corruption was included in the standard questionnaire for the third sweep of the ICVS (1996-97), both in the face-to-face and CATI versions.

Figure 7 - Corruption and consumer fraud. Aggregate data for one year, by regions, 1996



	Western Europe	New World	Countries in Transition	Asia	Africa	Latin America
consumer fraud	14.9	6.6	39.9	25.0	24.7	22.5
corruption	1.0	0.9	13.0	15.4	11.6	20.4

Together with corruption, consumer fraud is one of the most common forms of citizens' victimisation across the board. In the ICVS this type

of victimisation regarded a number of ways in which citizens were cheated in the quantity and quality of goods attained and services received.[6]

Corruption

The analysis of the ICVS results (see Figure 7) clearly reveals that bribery of public officials is more diffused in the developing world, followed by countries in transition, and is almost negligible in the industrialised world.

Bribery by public officials therefore appears as a problem mostly affecting the developing world and countries in transition. In the third sweep of the ICVS, the highest levels of bribery are exhibited in Latin America, Asia, Africa and countries in transition, all of which are far beyond the 10% threshold. Levels of bribery in the industrialised countries are much lower - not even reaching one percent of the cases. This result appears to indicate that street level corruption of public officials is not a serious problem in the industrialised world.

While possible explanations cover a range of factors, including specific cultural ones, these findings do indicate that it is most likely that street level corruption by public officials has to do with the standards of public administration, on the one hand, and with the overall position of citizens, on the other. Bribery by public officials is therefore less likely in societies in which there is more public-service orientation on the

6 The respondents were asked the following question: " Last year, were you the victim of a consumer fraud? In other words, has someone when selling something to you or delivering a service cheated you in terms of quantity or quality of the goods/services?". Furthermore, the respondents were asked "How did this fraud take place (last time)? Was it to do with: construction or repair work; work done by garage; a hotel, restaurant or pub: a shop of some sort" and then whether it was reported to the police or some other public or private agency.

part of civil servants who are also better paid and trained, and in which accountability and transparency are at a higher stake.

This is further supported by an analysis of the overall rates of crime types dealt with by the ICVS on a regional level. Indeed, in both sweeps of the ICVS, corruption was, together with consumer fraud, the most common form of victimisation of citizens in the developing world. The same holds true for countries in transition. On average, bribery is second to consumer fraud, the most diffused form of victimisation of citizens in all but the industrialised world.

While there is a clear pattern of the diffusion of bribery by public officials in different regions of the world, this is not the case with respect to individual participating countries. Similarly to the official criminal justice statistics on bribery, the ICVS also reveals certain fluctuations.

Asia shows quite a fluctuating situation regarding the levels of bribery: high in Indonesia (one third of the sample) and India (a quarter of the respondents) to low in China and The Philippines (less than 6%). In Africa, high levels of bribery were in particular recorded in Egypt (32%), Uganda (26%) and Tunisia (15%), while the other African countries showed rates below 8%.

Table 14 - One year prevalence rates for bribery, developing countries

Asia (%)	
Indonesia	32.9
The Philippines	4.7
India	23.1
China	5.6

Africa (%)	
Egypt	31.9
South Africa	7.6
Tunisia	14.6
Uganda	25.6
Zimbabwe	7.2
Botswana	2.9

Latin America (%)	
Argentina	29.0
Bolivia	25.9
Brazil	17.9
Costa Rica	11.1
Paraguay	13.8
Colombia	19.2

Finally, Latin American countries exhibited the highest average rate of bribery by public officials (20%), with Argentina (29%) and Bolivia (26%) ranking first and second in the region as regards levels of

corruption.

There appears to be a high level of consistency among different sources of information on corruption, at least in terms of indicating that its "elementary" or street level form is more present in the developing world and countries in transition than in the industrialised world. Transparency International and the University of Göttingen elaborate the TI-Corruption Perception Index, a comparative assessment of a country's integrity performance.[7] The index is an assessment of the corruption level in 52 countries as perceived by business people, risk analysts and the general public and puts together seven different sources.[8]

From among 52 countries ranked, the last 22 are all developing countries, with the exception of Romania and Russia (countries in transition). This tends to support the view that corruption is more diffused in the developing world and in countries in transition. From a business/market perspective, this might have to do with a lack of formal and informal regulatory mechanisms supporting good governance.

7 Internet Center for Corruption Research: Internet Corruption Perception Index homepage http://www.gwdg.de/~uwvw/icr.htm.

8 As per the background information provided by the Internet Center for Corruption Research, sources include "two surveys from the Institute for Management Development in Lausanne, Switzerland (World Competitiveness Yearbook); one from the Political & Economic Risk Consultancy Ltd. in Hong Kong (Asian Intelligence Issue #482); one by Gallup International (50th Anniversary Survey); two assessments by DRI/McGraw-Hill (Global Risk Service) and the Political Risk Services, East Syracuse, New York (International Country Risk Guide); plus finally a survey conducted at Göttingen University via internet (http://www.uni-goettingen.de/~uwvw) which gives contributors the possibility for anonymous contributions and also directly approaches employees of multinational firms and institutions".

Table 15 - TI Corruption Perception Index, 1997

Rank	Country	Score-97	Rank	Country	Score-97
1	Denmark	9.94	27	Czech Republic	5.20
2	Finland	9.48	28	Hungary	5.18
3	Sweden	9.35	29	Poland	5.08
4	New Zealand	9.23	30	Italy	5.03
5	Canada	9.10	31	Taiwan	5.02
6	Netherlands	9.03	32	Malaysia	5.01
7	Norway	8.92	33	South Africa	4.95
8	Australia	8.86	34	South Korea	4.29
9	Singapore	8.66	35	Uruguay	4.14
10	Luxembourg	8.61	36	Brazil	3.56
11	Switzerland	8.61	37	Romania	3.44
12	Ireland	8.28	38	Turkey	3.21
13	Germany	8.23	39	Thailand	3.06
14	United Kingdom	8.22	40	Philippines	3.05
15	Israel	7.97	41	China	2.88
16	USA	7.61	42	Argentina	2.81
17	Austria	7.61	43	Vietnam	2.79
18	Hong Kong	7.28	44	Venezuela	2.77
19	Portugal	6.97	45	India	2.75
20	France	6.66	46	Indonesia	2.72
21	Japan	6.57	47	Mexico	2.66
22	Costa Rica	6.45	48	Pakistan	2.53
23	Chile	6.05	49	Russia	2.27
24	Spain	5.90	50	Colombia	2.23
25	Greece	5.35	51	Bolivia	2.05
26	Belgium	5.25	52	Nigeria	1.76

0=perceived to be totally corrupt, 10=perceived to be totally clean

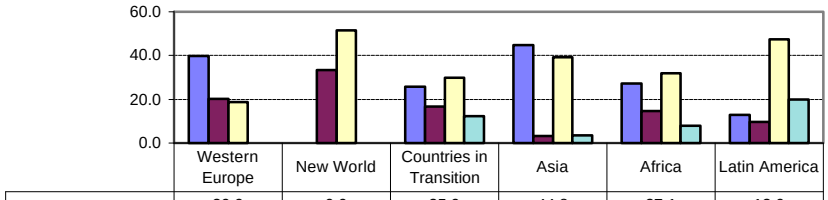
Indeed, both the TI ranking and the ICVS analysis support the finding that corruption is more present in the developing world and countries in transition than in the industrialised world. Matching ranks from the TI and ICVS provide a Spearman correlation coefficient of 0.908 (N=22). At the minimum, it can be hypothesised that bribery as a "way of getting things done" is present both in business and public administration sectors in several developing countries and countries in transition. What is however difficult to decide is whether there is a relationship between measures of bribery in public administration and perceived "cleanness" of the business sector, on the one hand, and more serious forms of corruption involving political and financial power centres, on the other. A high statistical correlation tends to

indicate that this might be the case although the evidence is not decisive.

Both the ICVS and the TI index are based on perceived corruption and do not provide for direct measurement of the magnitude and type of corruption. It is not clear whether the information refers to street level corruption or to more serious forms of corrupt transactions involving centres of political and economic power, organised crime and other powerful social actors. It might be hypothesised that high street level corruption indicates the presence of serious forms of corruption as well. However, low street level corruption does not indicate the absence of serious forms of corruption. We often get to know about serious forms when a particular political and situational context exists in which judicial and other authorities initiate prosecution of corruption cases. We learn of these from the mass media, and since the influence of the mass media is stronger in the industrialised world, we tend to know more about more serious cases of corruption taking place in the industrialised countries. In developing countries quite often corruption cases are disclosed only after or in the course of changing political rulers. Corruption transparency goes hand in hand with democracy and accountability.

From among the various public officials, police officers appear to be the category most involved in bribery, particularly in Latin America and the New World. In Asia and in countries in transition, police officers are second to government officials. Customs officers rank high on the bribery-prone scale, particularly in Africa, countries in transition and in the New World, while inspectors' involvement is high in Latin America and in countries in transition.

Figure 8 - Type of public official involved in bribery, by regions



	Western Europe	New World	Countries in Transition	Asia	Africa	Latin America
Government official	39.9	0.0	25.9	44.8	27.1	13.0
Customs officer	20.3	33.5	16.7	3.3	14.5	9.8
Police officer	18.7	51.5	29.9	39.2	31.8	47.4
Inspector	0.0	0.0	12.3	3.6	8.0	19.8

Table 16 - Type of public official involved in bribery, developing countries

	Government official	Customs officer	Police officer	Inspector	Other	Do not know
Asia						
Indonesia	38.1	1.8	52.2		7.9	
Philippines	47.3	6.2	33.3	2.9	10.4	
India	55.7	5.2	18.3	9.9	11.0	
Africa						
Uganda	31.3	17.4	28.7	3.8	18.8	
South Africa	9.3	2.3	46.1	18.7	23.6	
Zimbabwe	26.5	15.6	30.5	13.7	13.7	
Botswana	43.6	20.5	20.9		15.0	
Latin America						
Costa Rica	9.3	4.7	23.2	53.2	8.1	1.6
Brazil	6.0	17.9	49.8	26.3		
Argentina	3.5	7.9	71.3	16.8	0.4	
Bolivia	19.2	4.1	43.5	17.1	15.3	0.8
Paraguay	24.4	13.2	28.3	30.5	2.9	0.7
Colombia	22.1	13.4	32.3	3.9	28.3	

Consumer fraud

Similarly to corruption, consumer fraud is more experienced in the developing world and countries in transition than in the industrialised

world, both Old and New. This tells a lot about the protection of citizens as consumers as well as about the standard quality of goods and services.

The lowest rate of consumer fraud is found in the New World while the highest is in Africa and in countries in transition. There are great variations between countries in Africa ranging from 89% and 60% in Tanzania and Tunisia respectively, to 10% in South Africa. More consistency in victimisation rates for fraud among countries in the regions was observed in Asia and Latin America.

Table 17 - Consumer fraud, developing countries

Asia (%)	
Indonesia	18.8
The Philippines	20.8
India	38.6
China	32.3

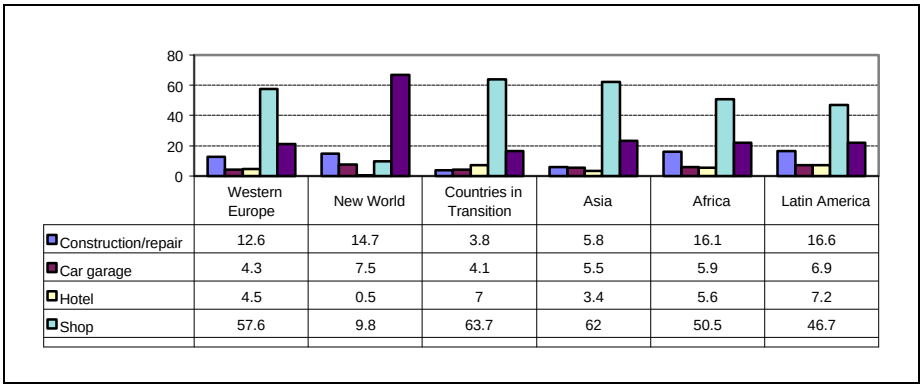
Africa (%)	
Egypt	48.6
South Africa	10.4
Tunisia	59.5
Uganda	57.7
Zimbabwe	27.0
Botswana	13.7
Tanzania	88.8

Latin America (%)	
Argentina	35.6
Bolivia	20.7
Brazil	17.0
Costa Rica	19.3
Paraguay	25.5
Colombia	28.5

Type of consumer fraud

Victims of fraud were asked to identify the premises in which, or services for which they felt they were in some way cheated the last time. Across the board (with the exception of the New World, where most victims had problems with construction repairs or some other business), citizens were mostly subject to cheating while purchasing goods in shops. This holds true for Western Europe (although the category "others" figures substantially as well), for the developing world and in countries in transition. On average, between 10 and 60% of consumer fraud victims pointed out that they were cheated when purchasing goods followed by "cheats" related to construction work and repairs. However, it should be noted that citizens from the developing world and countries in transition were victimised almost twice more frequently than those in the industrialised world.

Figure 9 - Type of consumer fraud, by regions



At the country level, it was notable that in Brazil and Argentina fraud more often occurred in relation to construction work and car garage, thus suggesting that more frequently than in other developing countries such incidents may have happened involving high amounts of money.

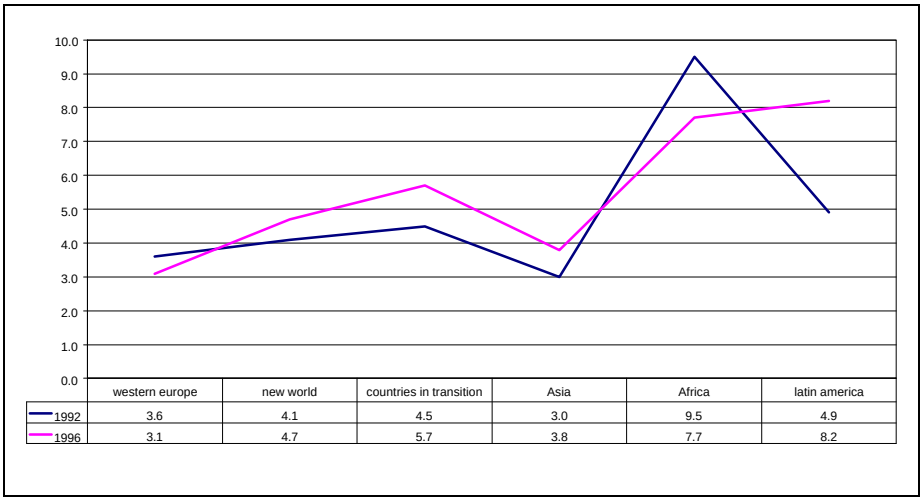
Table 18 - Type of consumer fraud, by countries

	Construction/ repair	Car garage	Hotel	Shop	Other	Don't know
Asia						
Indonesia	6.3	11.9	1.6	51.8	28.4	
Philippines	2.3	1.2	1.3	65.7	29.3	0.3
India	7.0	4.0	5.3	66.0	17.7	
Africa						
Uganda	14.2	7.5	7.1	51.8	19.5	
South Africa	11.4	3.9	8.9	48.6	27.2	
Zimbabwe	22.9	2.7	1.8	50.4	22.2	
Botswana	9.8	10.4	6.2	46.5	27.0	
Latin America						
Costa Rica	8.9	1.8	3.0	46.9	37.8	1.6
Brazil	25.2	14.3	0.4	60.1		
Argentina	24.6	13.9	10.8	44.4	6.2	
Bolivia	11.5	4.3	2.5	32.8	47.5	1.4
Paraguay	4.9	4.2	2.8	53.2	34.8	
Colombia	18.1	2.3	11.6	53.4	13.8	0.8

Trends in victimisation: 1992-1996

An analysis of the regional trends is made possible by comparing victimisation rates in the countries which participated in both the 1992 and 1996 sweeps of the ICVS. Such a comparison reveals that victimisation rates are consistent in most regions and modest variations have been registered. Latin America was an exception, with sharp increases in victimisation rates observed in Argentina and Brazil.

Figure 10 - 1992-1996 trends in property crime, by regions

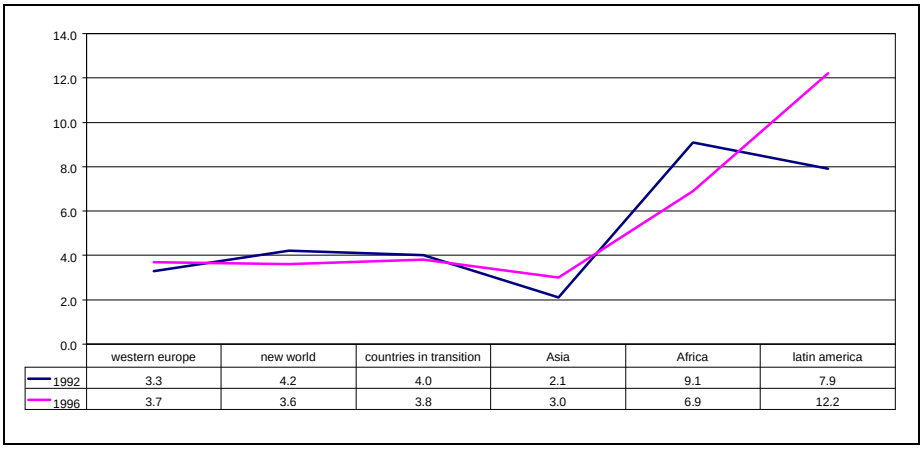


	western europe	new world	countries in transition	Asia	Africa	latin america
1992	3.6	4.1	4.5	3.0	9.5	4.9
1996	3.1	4.7	5.7	3.8	7.7	8.2

It should be noted, however, that longitudinal analysis in developing countries should take into account possible inconsistencies in sampling procedure between the two surveys. This problem has been brought to the attention of the International Working Group by the survey co-ordinators in Brazil and Uganda. Thus, some caution should be used in the interpretation of victimisation trends from developing countries. In order to reduce the risk of misinterpretation, comparisons at the regional level only include countries which took part in both the 1992 and 1996 ICVS. A first set of data is presented by groups of crimes, i.e. property crime (averaging rates for burglary, theft of car, theft of

personal property – Figure 10) and violent crime (averaging rates of assault, robbery and sexual assault – Figure 11).

Figure 11 - 1992-1996 trends in violent crime, by regions



	western europe	new world	countries in transition	Asia	Africa	latin america
1992	3.3	4.2	4.0	2.1	9.1	7.9
1996	3.7	3.6	3.8	3.0	6.9	12.2

Property crime increased by more than 1% in countries in transition (+1.2%) and Latin America (+3.3%). An opposite trend was instead observed in Africa (-1.8%), while the remaining regions were almost stable, showing a slight decrease in Western Europe and small variations in the direction of increase in the New World and Asia.

Rates of violent crime were almost stable in Western Europe, the New World, countries in transition, and Asia. A decrease of 2.2% was observed in Africa. Again, 1996 rates for violent crime in Latin America were much higher than in 1992 (+4.3%).

At the country level, Table 19 shows that in the Asian and African countries that participated in the ICVS twice there was a general decrease of victimisation rates. India represented an exception, mostly due to a sharp increase in personal theft.

All the Asian countries and Uganda showed a decrease in theft of car

rates; burglaries decreased in The Philippines, Uganda and South Africa; personal theft decreased in Indonesia, The Philippines and Uganda; robbery went down in all the Asian (with the exception of India) and African countries; and, finally, assault in 1996 was lower than in 1992 in The Philippines, Uganda and South Africa.

Table 19 - 1992-96 trends, developing countries, 5 crime categories

	Car theft			Burglary			Personal theft			Robbery			Assault		
	1992	1996	Diff.	1992	1996	Diff.	1992	1996	Diff.	1992	1996	Diff.	1992	1996	Diff.
Asia															
Indonesia	1.3	0.7	-0.5	3.0	5.0	2.0	7.5	5.6	-1.9	1.4	0.6	-0.8	1.6	2.6	1.0
Philippines	1.9	1.0	-0.9	2.9	1.6	-1.3	9.2	4.6	-4.6	2.7	1.5	-1.2	1.6	0.7	-0.9
India	1.7	1.1	-0.6	1.2	2.1	0.9	3.8	17.6	13.8	0.4	1.5	1.1	1.1	3.2	2.1
Africa															
Uganda	6.6	5.2	-1.4	14.2	8.6	-5.6	23.6	14.8	-8.8	6.9	2.2	-4.7	7.7	6.1	-1.6
South Africa	7.4	8.1	0.7	7.2	6.8	-0.4	5.5	10.4	4.9	5.4	4.7	-0.7	8.4	8.1	-0.3
Latin America															
Costa Rica	1.3	2.6	1.3	5.5	8.6	3.1	7.4	12.1	4.7	1.5	10.0	8.5	3.3	5.0	1.7
Brazil	3.4	5.3	1.8	1.4	2.6	1.2	7.2	12.6	5.4	8.8	12.2	3.4	4.8	5.5	0.7
Argentina	6.6	6.6	-0.1	2.9	7.5	4.6	7.9	22.0	14.1	4.7	6.4	1.7	4.8	7.3	2.5

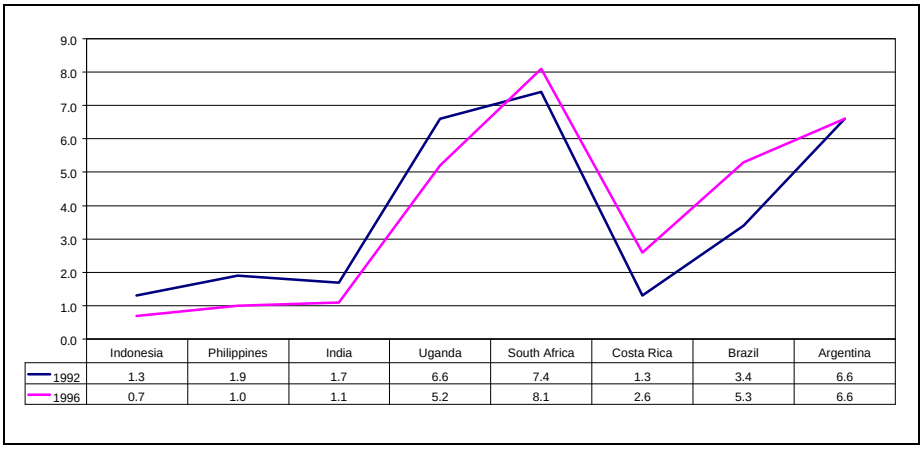
On the contrary, all types of crime increased in all the Latin American countries, with the exception of theft of car in Argentina, with the most marked variations being observed in Costa Rica (robbery +8.5%), Argentina (personal theft +14.1%) and Brazil (personal theft +5.4%).

Car theft and assault with force

Figure 12 shows the 1992-96 trend for theft of car in eight developing countries which participated in both sweeps of the ICVS. Victimisation rates show small variations, contained within 2%. A perfect match was found in Argentina. A decrease was observed in four countries: Indonesia, The Philippines, India and Uganda (the latter being the only one showing a variation of more than 1%). Finally, in three countries (South Africa, Costa Rica and Brazil), the 1996 rates were higher than those observed in 1992, with Costa Rica

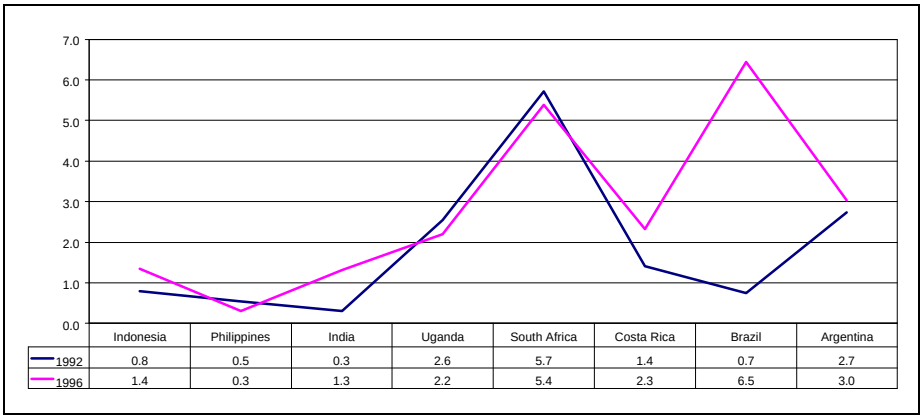
(+1.3%) and Brazil (+1.9%) being those showing the biggest variations.

Figure 12 - 1992-96 trends in theft of car, developing countries



	Indonesia	Philippines	India	Uganda	South Africa	Costa Rica	Brazil	Argentina
1992	1.3	1.9	1.7	6.6	7.4	1.3	3.4	6.6
1996	0.7	1.0	1.1	5.2	8.1	2.6	5.3	6.6

Figure 13 - 1992-96 trends in assault with force, developing countries



	Indonesia	Philippines	India	Uganda	South Africa	Costa Rica	Brazil	Argentina
1992	0.8	0.5	0.3	2.6	5.7	1.4	0.7	2.7
1996	1.4	0.3	1.3	2.2	5.4	2.3	6.5	3.0

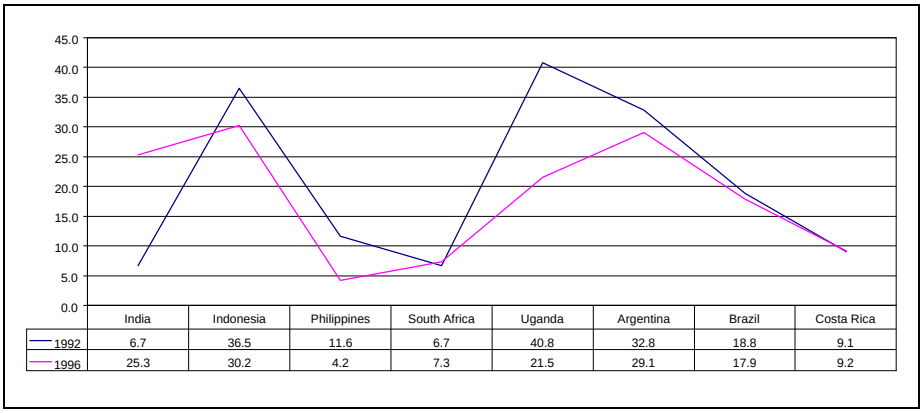
Trends for assault with force are shown in Figure 13, which again reveals small differences between the two periods. In all the countries, the variations observed were below 1%, with the exception of Brazil

(+5.8%). The 1996 rates were slightly higher than those for 1992 in Indonesia, India, Costa Rica and Argentina. On the other hand, assault rates slightly decreased in The Philippines, Uganda and South Africa. The analysis of data regarding assault without force shows a more evident increase between 1992 and 1996 in Indonesia, India, Costa Rica and Argentina, although the increase/decrease pattern was the same.

Corruption and consumer fraud

The analysis of the 1992-96 trends in corruption and consumer fraud reveals a high level of consistency between the two surveys in most developing countries, with a slight decrease of victimisation rates for both types of event.

Figure 14 - 1992-96 trends in corruption, developing countries

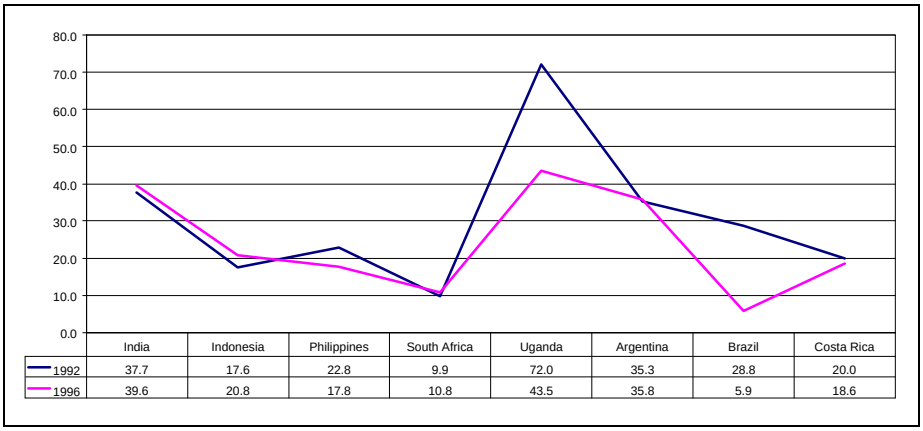


	India	Indonesia	Philippines	South Africa	Uganda	Argentina	Brazil	Costa Rica
1992	6.7	36.5	11.6	6.7	40.8	32.8	18.8	9.1
1996	25.3	30.2	4.2	7.3	21.5	29.1	17.9	9.2

The 1996 ICVS showed lower rates of corruption in most of the countries which took part in both sweeps (Figure 14). The highest consistency between the two observations was encountered in South Africa, Brazil, Costa Rica and Argentina. India instead showed the biggest difference between 1992 and 1996, going from 7% up to 25%. Consumer fraud rates were very similar in the two sweeps in India,

Indonesia, The Philippines, South Africa, Argentina and Costa Rica, while in Uganda (-28.5%) and Brazil (-22.9%) the 1996 rates were substantially lower than those observed in 1992. Again, this finding may reveal that the different composition of the sample interviewed in the latter two countries in 1996 may have influenced some perceptions. In particular, it is possible that the inclusion of more respondents from high residential status areas may have reduced the percentage of those having been cheated in their purchases.

Figure 15 - 1992-96 trends in consumer fraud, developing countries



	India	Indonesia	Philippines	South Africa	Uganda	Argentina	Brazil	Costa Rica
1992	37.7	17.6	22.8	9.9	72.0	35.3	28.8	20.0
1996	39.6	20.8	17.8	10.8	43.5	35.8	5.9	18.6

In conclusion, an acceptable level of consistency was observed in the two sweeps of the ICVS for which an analysis is presented here. The overall picture of victimisation has not changed much between 1992 and 1996 in the participating developing countries. As noted earlier, some changes in sampling procedures may justify the more marked differences observed in Brazil and Uganda, which appeared however for some types of crime only. These results represent a first basis for a longitudinal study which will be improved with the repetition of the ICVS in the year 2000.

Chapter 3

CORRELATES OF VICTIMISATION

Car recovery rates

An important indicator of the nature of theft of car and – indirectly – of the efficiency of law enforcement is provided by the data on car recovery rates. These rates are presented in Figure 16 and Table 20. There are valid arguments that a high recovery rate indicates that vehicles are stolen for joy-riding purposes, an explanation offered for industrialised countries. The attractiveness of cars for young people, particularly in a situation of relative car scarcity, supports the joy-riding hypothesis. The recovery rate in the developing world is much lower than that in the industrialised world which, comparatively speaking, indicates both lower levels of efficiency in recovery and less joy-riding.

The highest rates of stolen cars that were eventually recovered were observed in the New World (more than 80%) and in Western Europe (more than 70%). Rates of recovery were lowest in Asia and Latin America, indicating that in these regions stolen cars may more often be introduced in the illegal market to be either re-sold or dismantled for the recovery and sale of spare parts.

Figure 16 - Percentage of stolen cars that were recovered, by regions

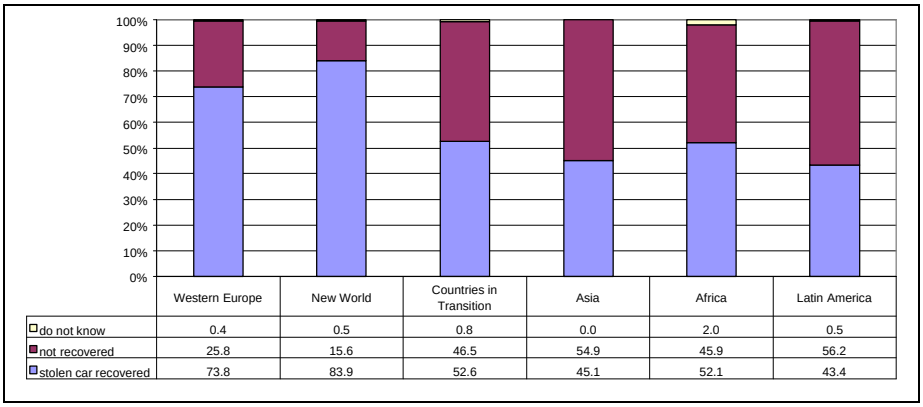


Table 20 - Percentage of stolen cars that were recovered, by regions

	Stolen car recovered	Not recovered	Do not know
Asia			
Indonesia	37.7	62.3	
Philippines	34.2	65.8	
India	75.9	24.1	
China	100.0		
Africa			
Uganda	51.5	47.8	0.7
Egypt	66.5	33.5	
South Africa	45.8	51.6	2.6
Tanzania	65.7	34.3	
Tunisia	55.5	44.5	
Zimbabwe	30.2	69.8	
Botswana	65.3	14.9	19.8
Latin America			
Costa Rica	61.7	38.3	
Brazil	42.2	57.8	
Argentina	50.4	49.6	
Bolivia	71.0	29.0	
Paraguay	21.5	78.5	
Colombia	18.0	79.0	3.0

Cars were not recovered in more than 50% of the cases in Paraguay, Colombia, Brazil, Zimbabwe, The Philippines, Indonesia and South Africa. In the remaining developing countries the majority of car thefts were resolved by the recovery of the stolen car, either because the police found it after the theft was reported or because it was a case of "joy-riding" which never reached the police offices. It should be noted, however, that approximately 90% of cases of car theft were reported to the police (see Chapter 4).

Burglaries involving damage and actual theft

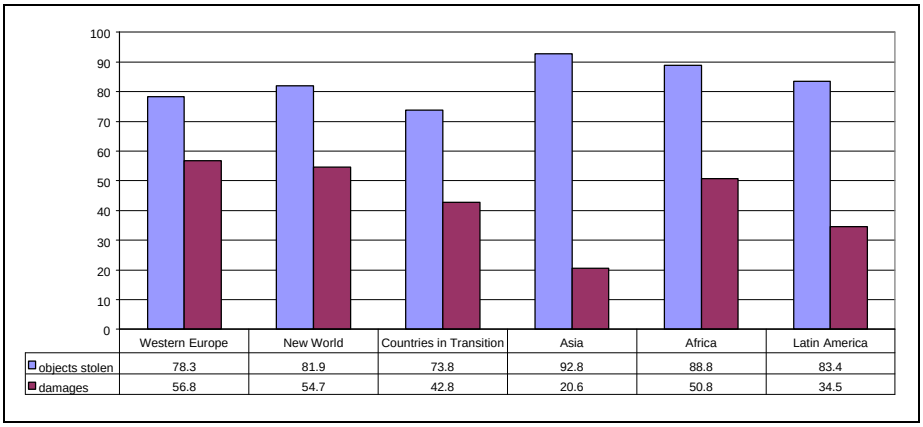
Another aspect that was taken into account was whether anything had actually been stolen when the burglary occurred. Actual theft during burglaries happened more frequently in developing countries than in the rest of the world. This finding may suggest that different types of objects are stolen in the different world regions. According to the national co-ordinators from the developing countries, stolen goods often included money, food and simple household objects such as cutlery or linen which most probably were stolen for the personal use of the burglar. In rural areas cattle were often stolen.

Vice versa, in the more affluent regions, where most people keep their money in the bank and often jewelry and other valuable objects are kept in safes and security lockers, burglars take what is available and give preference to objects that are easily re-sold. In this respect, the most frequently stolen objects are those that are easier to place on the market of stolen goods, such as electrical appliances, TV and radio sets, VCRs, hi-fi equipment, as well as furniture and objects of art.

The difference in objects stolen between the affluent and poor regions is opportunity determined, in terms of the type of objects available, or the level of protection. Furthermore, the level of protection determines the damage involved in breaking into the house, which is also an indicator of the degree of difficulty that the burglar has to face in

committing the offence. It is therefore clear that behind burglaries in well or poorly protected houses, there will be different cost-effectiveness calculations that will take into account whether the prospective target is worth the risk involved in committing the crime.

Figure 17 - Percentage of burglaries involving damage and actual theft, by regions



	Western Europe	New World	Countries in Transition	Asia	Africa	Latin America
objects stolen	78.3	81.9	73.8	92.8	88.8	83.4
damages	56.8	54.7	42.8	20.6	50.8	34.5

It should also be noted that households in the developing countries were less frequently damaged during burglaries than those in the other world regions. It therefore appears that the regions in which it was easiest for the burglars to steal things without breaking too much are Asia, Latin America, Africa and countries in transition. In this respect, the ratio between damage to the household and objects stolen was lowest in Western Europe and the New World, thus suggesting that in the latter regions burglars had to work harder in order to carry out a successful break and entry before managing to steal anything.

Very small variations were observed among countries in the three developing regions, which showed similar percentages of burglary cases involving either damage to the household or objects stolen as a result. In South Africa the percentage of households damaged was the highest observed in the developing world, but the ratio between household damage and objects stolen suggests that the South African households showed a good level of resistance.

Table 21 - Percentage of burglaries involving damage and actual theft, by developing countries

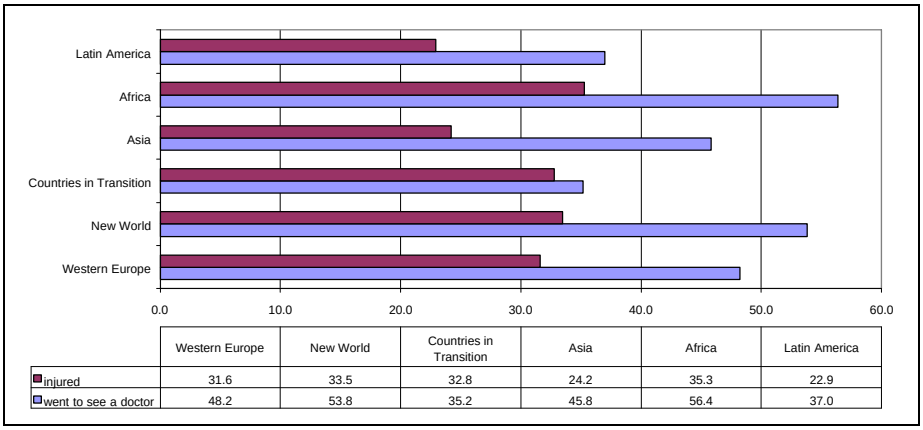
	Burglary: objects stolen	Burglary: damages
Asia		
Indonesia	92.0	25.7
Philippines	92.6	22.8
India	95.9	20.7
China	93.4	2.2
Africa		
Uganda	88.9	55.2
Egypt	79.7	29.8
South Africa	94.9	62.6
Tanzania	90.6	n.a.
Tunisia	79.5	37.0
Zimbabwe	93.4	53.1
Botswana	86.6	38.5
Latin America		
Costa Rica	80.7	36.8
Brazil	78.3	24.0
Argentina	90.8	44.6
Bolivia	84.0	25.8
Paraguay	80.5	25.3
Colombia	79.1	43.3

At the other end of the scale, Chinese households were damaged in 2% of the cases only, while objects were stolen in 93% of burglaries.

Personal injuries as the consequence of an assault

Victims of assault were asked whether they suffered personal injuries as a result of the aggression of which they were victims of. On average, less than one third of the victims were actually injured. This happened more frequently in Africa, countries in transition and in the industrialised world. The seriousness of the injuries can be approximately measured by the need to ask for a doctor's assistance after the incident. The biggest gap between those who declared having been hurt and those who requested the assistance of a doctor was observed in the countries in transition, where the victims were more reluctant to do so than those in other regions.

Figure 18 - Personal injuries as the consequence of an assault, by regions



	Western Europe	New World	Countries in Transition	Asia	Africa	Latin America
injured	31.6	33.5	32.8	24.2	35.3	22.9
went to see a doctor	48.2	53.8	35.2	45.8	56.4	37.0

Table 22 - Personal injuries as the consequence of an assault, by developing countries

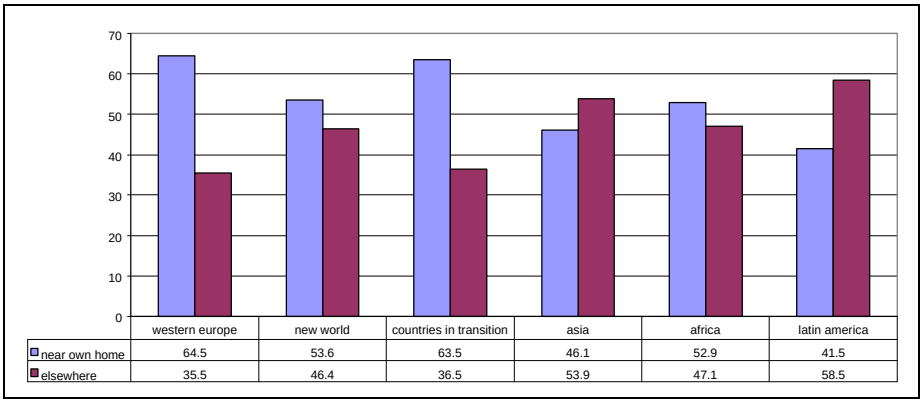
	Injured	Went to see a doctor
Asia		
Indonesia	15.3	2.1
Philippines	31.5	16.3
India	17.2	6.9
China	63.2	37.1
Africa		
Uganda	32.2	14.0
Egypt	38.5	22.2
South Africa	43.0	31.7
Tanzania	53.9	32.0
Tunisia	40.3	18.4
Zimbabwe	19.6	10.6
Botswana	37.9	15.0
Latin America		
Costa Rica	19.2	5.1
Brazil	24.1	5.6
Argentina	30.3	17.4
Bolivia	26.5	4.1
Paraguay	10.2	5.8
Colombia	14.0	6.7

Place of victimisation

Further information on the context of the victimisation can be sought through an analysis of the place where the incidents occurred. In particular, such an analysis provides interesting information as regards thefts (theft of car, theft of personal property) and contact crime.

A first set of data deals with car theft. Figure 19 shows that, on average, half of the thefts occurred near the victim's home and the other half elsewhere. The majority of thefts occurred near the victim's home in the industrialised world, countries in transition and Africa, while "elsewhere" was the most frequent answer of the Asian and Latin American victims.

Figure 19 - Car theft: percentage of thefts that occurred near the victim's home, by regions



	western europe	new world	countries in transition	asia	africa	latin america
near own home	64.5	53.6	63.5	46.1	52.9	41.5
elsewhere	35.5	46.4	36.5	53.9	47.1	58.5

The incidents that occurred near the victim's home also included robberies and personal theft. In Asian, African and Latin American countries approximately half of the thefts of car, a third of robberies and a quarter of the thefts of personal property occurred near the victim's home. Excluding the fact that 100% of car theft in China occurred near the victims' home (2 cases), no marked differences among countries were observed.
Contact crime, especially sexual incidents and assaults, may often

occur within the family. In this respect, the ICVS provides an indicator of domestic violence through the data on incidents that occurred in the victim's home. Figure 20 shows that very high percentages of sexual assault occurred in the victim's home in all regions of the world, ranging from a maximum of more than 30% in Western Europe to a minimum of 13% in Asia. Assault with force and threat were also reported as having occurred very often within the household.

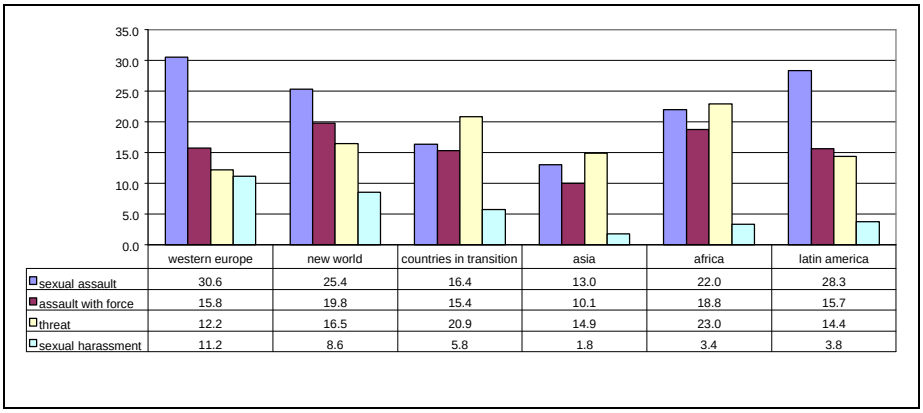
Table 23 - Context of victimisation. Incidents that occurred near the victim's home, by type of incident and developing countries

	Car theft	Robbery	Personal theft
Asia			
Indonesia	50.1	20.9	34.7
Philippines	40.0	48.6	17.9
India	34.1	45.5	43.9
China	100.0	36.6	16.0
Africa			
Uganda	50.3	55.4	14.5
Egypt	69.1	39.4	27.1
South Africa	51.0	33.9	26.7
Tanzania	32.3	35.5	26.6
Tunisia	78.3	16.5	13.5
Zimbabwe	28.6	39.2	19.4
Botswana	51.5	17.7	29.5
Latin America			
Costa Rica	43.4	22.8	25.7
Brazil	31.9	58.2	30.4
Argentina	51.5	53.7	41.1
Bolivia	15.8	20.5	8.1
Paraguay	36.8	33.0	40.7
Colombia	28.6	38.5	29.5

Figure 21 attempts to summarise the overall risk of victimisation for women as regards place of occurrence. The risk for sexual harassment (offensive behaviour) mostly regards places that are neither the home nor the workplace. It can be assumed that such incidents happen in public places, in the street or on public transport.

Sexual assault and assault with force may occur more easily in the familiar context of the person's own home or nearby (approximately 50% of the cases), or at the workplace (approximately 10%). Sexual incidents at the workplace included approximately 9% of the cases of rape, attempted rape and indecent assaults. Sexual harassment and violence against women at work thus include a substantial portion of very serious incidents.[1]

Figure 20 - ICVS indicators of domestic violence: sexual incidents and assaults that happened in the victim's home, by regions



	western europe	new world	countries in transition	asia	africa	latin america
sexual assault	30.6	25.4	16.4	13.0	22.0	28.3
assault with force	15.8	19.8	15.4	10.1	18.8	15.7
threat	12.2	16.5	20.9	14.9	23.0	14.4
sexual harassment	11.2	8.6	5.8	1.8	3.4	3.8

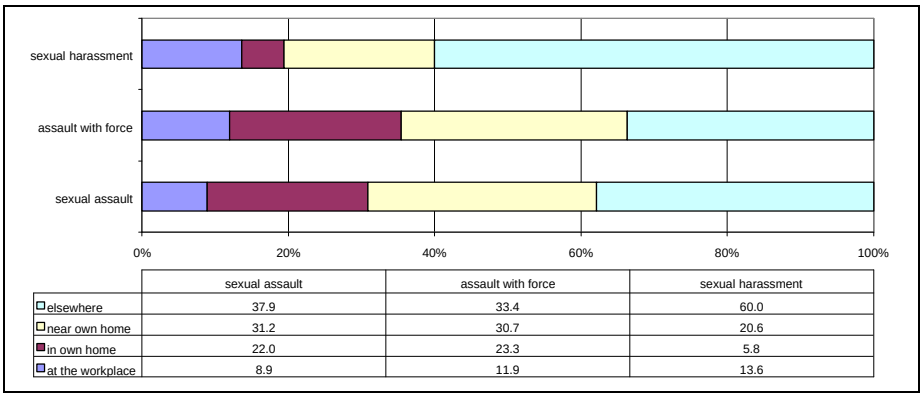
These findings suggest that the difficulties that women face in accessing the labour market are not limited to reduced opportunities, discrimination and disparity in wages, but that the workplace often becomes the scenario of sexual abuse of some sort. It is also known that in most cases sexual abuse at work involves a power relationship, in which the male offender is usually hierarchically superior to the female victim. In these cases, most victims do not report what happened to the police or any other authority since they are afraid of its consequences for their career or even of termination of

1 For a more detailed analysis of victimisation at the workplace see D. Chappell, V. Di Martino. *Violence at Work*. Geneva: International Labour Office, 1998.

employment.

Women were assaulted and robbed in their own homes twice as frequently as men. Assaults were more often committed by offenders known by name or by sight.

Figure 21 - Overall risk of victimisation for women, by type of crime and place of occurrence



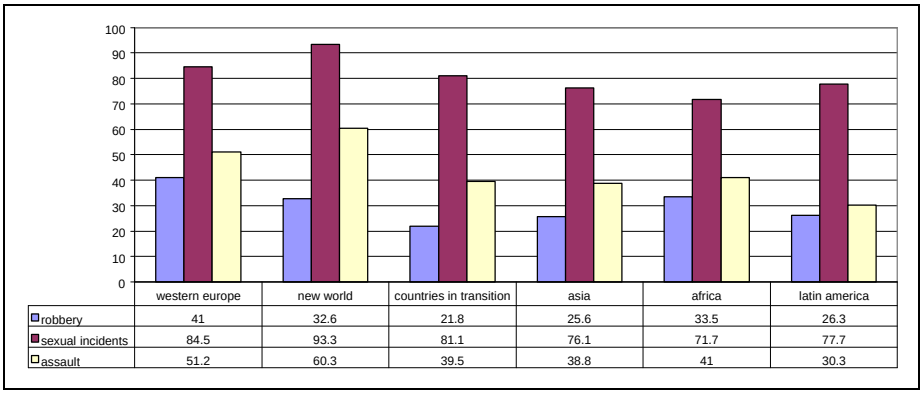
	sexual assault	assault with force	sexual harassment
elsewhere	37.9	33.4	60.0
near own home	31.2	30.7	20.6
in own home	22.0	23.3	5.8
at the workplace	8.9	11.9	13.6

As regards sexual incidents, the respondents' indication of the place where victimisation occurred shows that a large portion of sexual victimisation took place either near to, or in the victims' own home. The highest percentage was observed for rape (61%, out of which 37% in their own home and 24% near home). More than half of the attempted rapes and non-sexual assaults against women also happened in the victims' home or nearby. The ICVS evidence as well as that of other studies indicate that, in most cases, sexual assault (especially rape) is not an impulsive behaviour. Very often this type of aggression is not an isolated incident, but one of a series within a difficult relationship. Most of the times, it involves a previous period of interaction with the victim, even if this is by sight only.

Offender's profile

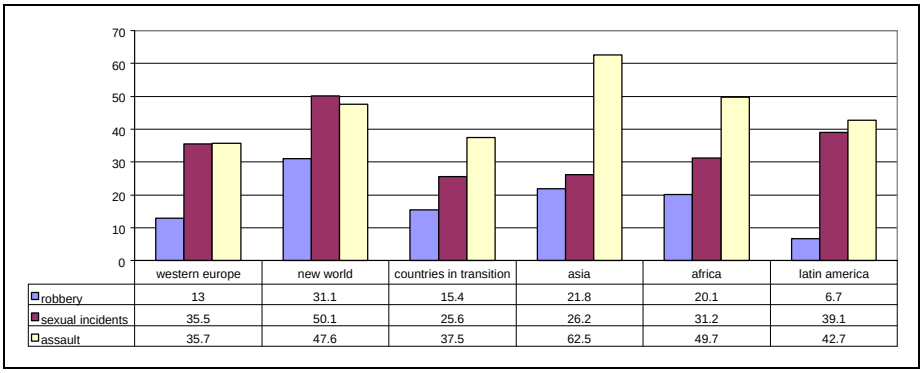
As Figure 22 shows, a single offender was involved in more than two thirds of sexual offences, i.e. against women victims, in all regions of the world. As regards robberies and assaults, which were committed against men and women, the majority were multiple offenders although assaults in the industrialised world involved a single offender in approximately half of the cases. Multiple offenders were definitely the majority in developing countries.

Figure 22 - Single offender involved in committing robberies, sexual offences and assaults, by regions



	western europe	new world	countries in transition	asia	africa	latin america
robbery	41	32.6	21.8	25.6	33.5	26.3
sexual incidents	84.5	93.3	81.1	76.1	71.7	77.7
assault	51.2	60.3	39.5	38.8	41	30.3

Figure 23 - Context of victimisation. Offender(s) known, by type of incident and regions



	western europe	new world	countries in transition	asia	africa	latin america
robbery	13	31.1	15.4	21.8	20.1	6.7
sexual incidents	35.5	50.1	25.6	26.2	31.2	39.1
assault	35.7	47.6	37.5	62.5	49.7	42.7

The offender(s) and victim knew each other in the majority of cases of assault in Asia and Africa and in approximately half of the sexual

incidents in the New World. Otherwise, in the majority of cases either the victims did not know or see the offender(s), or did not reveal this to the survey interviewer. The presence of multiple offenders can also provide an explanation for this.

Table 24 - Single offenders and offender(s) known, by type of crime and developing country

	Robbery		Sexual offences		Assault	
	Single offender	Offender known	Single offender	Offender known	Single offender	Offender known
Asia						
Indonesia	12.4	32.2	72.5	36.4	33.8	56.3
Philippines	31.0	19.7	90.2	16.1	52.2	70.2
India	22.2	17.1	68.8	32.2	26.0	74.9
China	37.7	13.6	86.0	9.8	49.6	50.4
Africa						
Uganda	36.3	24.1	72.4	57.1	47.4	56.0
Egypt	28.7	22.4	87.5	6.5	37.9	40.5
South Africa	14.8	12.2	49.5	29.8	37.9	47.9
Tanzania	47.6	17.5	69.4	36.3	34.4	22.5
Tunisia	52.7	26.1	69.5	30.8	41.5	49.7
Zimbabwe	19.9	22.9	43.6	45.5	39.5	59.7
Botswana	40.7	19.2	69.8	19.9	39.3	47.8
Latin America						
Costa Rica	42.8	8.6	77.9	19.3	42.7	39.6
Brazil	24.9	4.5	87.1	58.2	40.4	70.6
Argentina	16.5	9.9	67.4	42.4	17.7	32.0
Bolivia	16.3	6.0	56.2	17.7	11.6	25.6
Paraguay	47.8	6.3	88.6	24.1	39.4	58.0
Colombia	26.8	6.4	80.2	28.7	36.2	27.7

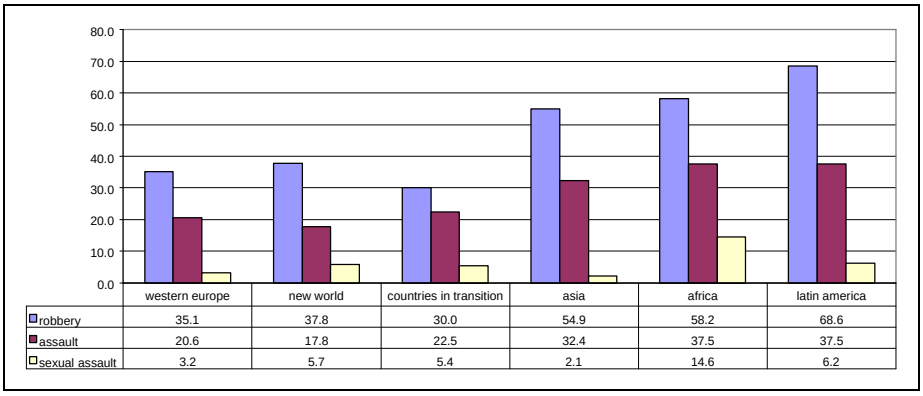
A correlation between the presence of a single offender and offender known to the victim was observed for assault at the country level (r 0.442 N=17), thus suggesting that men and women victims of assault were more likely to recognise the aggressor if he or she acted alone.

Victims in all the Latin American countries were those who least frequently recognised the offender(s) in case of robbery, markedly departing from other developing countries and creating a peculiar pattern on their own. The high rates for robbery in these countries (Latin America was the most exposed region to the risk of robbery, with 8% of victims in one year) may provide an explanation for the higher level of anonimity of the crimes committed.

Weapons used in committing crimes

Sometimes, the offenders used a weapon to commit robberies, assaults and sexual assaults. It should be noted that the ICVS question referred to any type of weapon or object used as a weapon.[2] We are not therefore referring exclusively to the use of firearms at this point.

Figure 24 - Percentages of assaults, robberies and sexual assaults committed with weapons, by regions



	western europe	new world	countries in transition	asia	africa	latin america
robbery	35.1	37.8	30.0	54.9	58.2	68.6
assault	20.6	17.8	22.5	32.4	37.5	37.5
sexual assault	3.2	5.7	5.4	2.1	14.6	6.2

2 The text of the question addressed to victims read as follows: “Did (any of) the offender(s) have a knife, a gun, another weapon or something used as a weapon?”.

Weapons were used more frequently in the developing world than in the other regions. As Figure 24 shows, more than half of the robberies and between 30 and 40% of the assaults in Asia, Africa and Latin America were committed with either a knife, a gun or something used as a weapon. Lower percentages of sexual assaults involved the use of weapons in all regions, although some 15% of African women victims went through such a scary experience.

Table 25 - Percentages of assaults, robberies and sexual assaults committed with weapons, by developing countries

	Robbery	Assault	Sexual assault
Asia			
Indonesia	76.1	45.3	n.a.
Philippines	50.4	30.0	33.0
India	61.1	30.3	0.7
China	29.9	12.8	n.a.
Africa			
Uganda	54.9	23.8	7.0
Egypt	63.5	41.6	n.a.
South Africa	73.3	62.9	37.1
Tanzania	71.0	70.4	n.a.
Tunisia	30.7	22.0	n.a.
Zimbabwe	51.0	19.8	9.7
Botswana	28.5	39.9	11.7
Latin America			
Costa Rica	45.7	37.7	n.a.
Brazil	83.5	19.0	11.2
Argentina	77.2	47.9	5.3
Bolivia	53.7	42.4	n.a.
Paraguay	21.8	32.1	2.3
Colombia	70.0	48.5	6.4

Robberies were definitely the most frequent type of crime committed with weapons. In some countries, such as Indonesia, Brazil, Argentina, South Africa, Tanzania and Colombia, the offenders were armed in approximately three-quarters of the robberies. Between a half and two thirds of the victims were threatened with weapons in The Philippines,

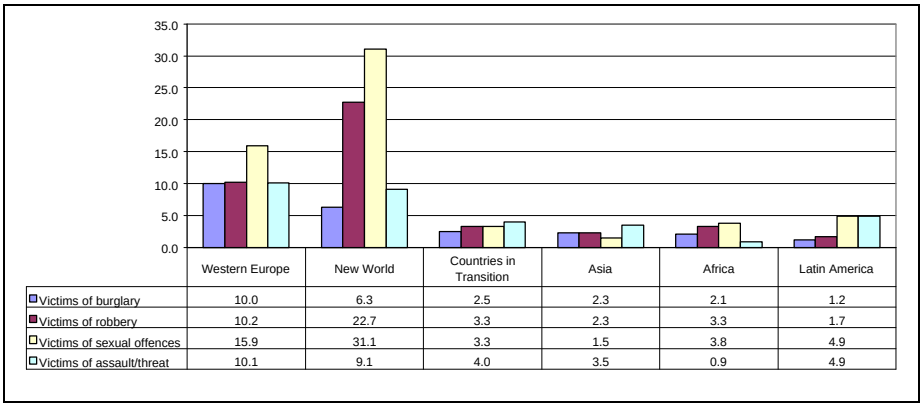
India, Uganda, Egypt and Zimbabwe. Weapons were least used in China, Tunisia, Botswana and Paraguay.

Assaults with weapons were particularly frequent in South Africa (63%) and Tanzania (70%), while women victims of armed sexual assaults were more numerous in South Africa (37%) and The Philippines (33%)

Victim support

The last issue that was taken into account to analyse the correlates of victimisation was victim support. As Figures 25 and 26 show, victim support is an issue that has started existing for the industrialised world, while nothing of this sort appears to be available either in countries in transition or in the developing world.

Figure 25 - Victim support: percentages of victims who got the assistance of a specialised agency, by type of crime and regions



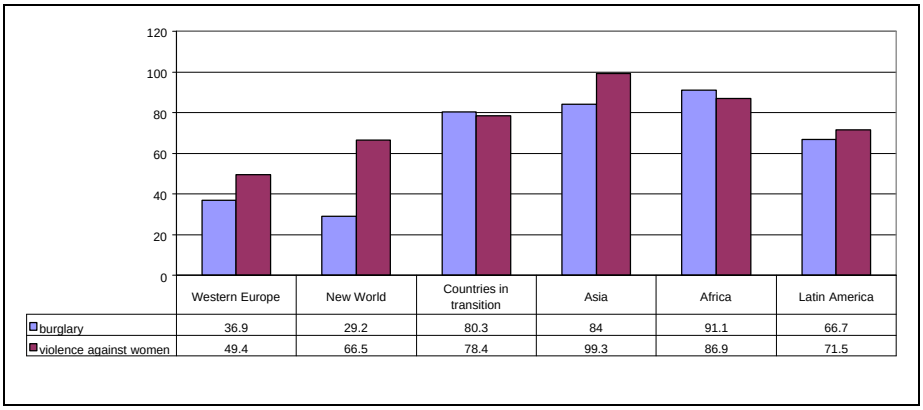
	Western Europe	New World	Countries in Transition	Asia	Africa	Latin America
Victims of burglary	10.0	6.3	2.5	2.3	2.1	1.2
Victims of robbery	10.2	22.7	3.3	2.3	3.3	1.7
Victims of sexual offences	15.9	31.1	3.3	1.5	3.8	4.9
Victims of assault/threat	10.1	9.1	4.0	3.5	0.9	4.9

Yet, even in the industrialised world, many victims would have sought more support after the victimisation experienced, especially women

victims of violence. The very high demand for such type of services justifies the efforts being made at the international and local levels to create centres for the assistance of victims of crime.

The country-by-country analysis of availability of support agencies to victims of several types of crime (burglary, robbery, assault and sexual assault) reveals a scattered scenario (Table 26). A few countries appear to have already established victim support schemes that work and from which some ICVS respondents, although in very small percentages, were able to get assistance, e.g., The Philippines, South Africa, Colombia, Argentina and Costa Rica.

Figure 26 - Victim support: percentage of victims who did not get specialised help, by type of crime and regions



	Western Europe	New World	Countries in transition	Asia	Africa	Latin America
burglary	36.9	29.2	80.3	84	91.1	66.7
violence against women	49.4	66.5	78.4	99.3	86.9	71.5

Nevertheless, the vast majority of victims did not get any assistance. Among them, however, only 20% approximately claimed that this would have been useful for them. In some cases, the reason for such a disconcerting response may be that the incidents were not very serious. It should be noted, however, that quite often (on average between 24 and 30%), the victims did not deny that some type of support would have been useful for them, but rather did not know

what to say about something that they could not imagine or that might look like another invasion of privacy after reporting to the police.

It appears that the establishment of victim support schemes has to go through a long itinerary which involves the creation of a favourable environment, and obtaining public opinion support by increasing awareness of victims' rights.

Table 26 - Victim support: percentages of victims who got the assistance of a specialised agency, by type of crime – developing countries

a) Victims of burglary

	Obtained assistance from a specialised agency			If no assistance a specialised agency would have been		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Useful	Not useful	Do not know
Asia						
Indonesia	1.8	95.3	2.9	8.4	87.7	3.8
Philippines	7.9	84.5	7.6	26.2	34.2	39.6
India		100.0		3.8	32.8	63.4
Africa						
Uganda	2.0	98.0		1.7	81.9	16.4
South Africa	5.7	94.3		10.9	56.8	32.3
Zimbabwe		97.0	3.0	11.5	80.8	7.6
Botswana	1.2	84.3	14.6	4.9	71.5	23.5
Latin America						
Costa Rica	0.6	99.4		32.5	62.7	4.8
Brazil		100.0		58.4	21.1	20.5
Argentina	0.8	99.2		30.4	29.8	39.8
Bolivia	0.5	99.2	0.3	12.2	63.2	24.5
Paraguay	1.3	98.7		18.0	69.3	12.7
Colombia	3.8	95.0	1.3	33.8	34.9	31.3

b) Victims of robbery

	Obtained assistance from a specialised agency			If no assistance a specialised agency would have been		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Useful	Not useful	Do not know
Asia						
Indonesia		100.0		44.8	40.4	14.9
Philippines	5.2	93.7	1.1	11.1	22.8	66.1
India		94.0	6.0	1.0	54.9	44.1
Africa						
Uganda	9.0	79.8	11.2	10.3	50.1	39.6
South Africa	2.8	97.2		9.1	54.2	36.8
Zimbabwe		96.7	3.3	23.8	60.4	15.8
Botswana	2.0	72.1	25.9	6.4	64.1	29.4
Latin America						
Costa Rica	2.4	95.4	2.2	34.7	62.1	3.1
Brazil		100.0		49.8	24.9	25.4
Argentina	1.2	98.8		30.7	20.3	48.9
Bolivia	1.1	98.1	0.8	14.2	58.0	27.8
Paraguay	2.9	97.1		20.2	65.1	14.7
Colombia	3.1	96.1	0.7	36.7	39.2	24.1

c) Victims of sexual offences

	Obtained assistance from a specialised agency			If no assistance a specialised agency would have been		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Useful	Not useful	Do not know
Asia						
Indonesia	4.5	95.5			100.0	
Philippines	13.0	80.0	7.0	8.8	82.4	8.8
India		99.4	0.6	0.9	53.3	45.8
Africa						
Uganda	3.8	95.0	1.1	1.7	67.7	30.6
South Africa	9.5	90.5		4.4	41.3	54.3
Zimbabwe		93.3	6.7	17.6	72.8	9.6
Botswana		88.4	11.6	3.6	79.2	17.2
Latin America						
Costa Rica	4.9	95.1		43.4	56.6	
Brazil		100.0		14.6	61.1	24.3
Argentina	11.8	88.2		27.0	44.5	28.4
Bolivia	1.8	98.2		3.6	88.1	8.3
Paraguay	3.0	97.0		16.6	68.1	15.4
Colombia	5.3	94.3	0.4	31.4	44.0	24.6

d) Victims of assault

	Obtained assistance from a specialised agency			If no assistance a specialised agency would have been		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Useful	Not useful	Do not know
Asia						
Indonesia	1.4	98.6		13.0	54.1	32.9
Philippines	23.3	76.7		8.1	37.7	54.2
India		98.8	1.2	4.7	49.2	46.1
Africa						
Uganda		96.6	3.4	4.4	58.1	37.4
South Africa	3.1	96.9		14.2	42.4	43.4
Zimbabwe		98.1	1.9	30.0	65.4	4.6
Botswana	0.5	82.7	16.8	3.7	65.4	30.9
Latin America						
Costa Rica	6.6	92.3	1.1	31.2	66.1	2.7
Brazil		100.0		93.3	5.0	1.7
Argentina	9.8	89.6	0.6	33.5	32.6	34.0
Bolivia	2.2	95.4	2.5	6.2	64.0	29.8
Paraguay	2.4	97.6		22.9	69.9	7.2
Colombia	6.5	92.5	1.0	32.3	40.1	27.7

Chapter 4

CRIME SERIOUSNESS AND REPORTING TO THE POLICE

Perceived seriousness of victimisation experienced

The path that goes from victimisation to reporting the incident to the police is determined by the victim's perception of the seriousness of the incident experienced. In general, propensity to report is positively correlated to high seriousness of crime, presence of insurance, sense of a moral duty to report and desire to prevent future crime, positive attitudes towards the police, low "culpability" (likelihood of victims being themselves involved in similar crimes as offenders), demographic characteristics (women and elderly people tend to report more frequently), absence of victim-offender relationships, and the presence of a "third party" (friend, relative, witness) who is aware of what happened and might report even if the victim is not willing to do so.[1]

On this assumption, those crimes that are perceived as the most serious should be those most frequently reported to the police. The ICVS asked the victims of all types of crime whether they considered

1 W. Skogan. "Reporting Crimes to the Police: the Status of World Research". In *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 21:2, 1984, pp. 113-137.

their victimisation experience as very serious, fairly serious, not very serious or not serious at all. A ranking of the victimisation experiences which most gravely affected citizens in the participating regions and countries is provided by the combined analysis of the "very serious" and "fairly serious" responses.

Table 27 - Victims' assessment of crime seriousness (very serious + fairly serious), percentages and ranking, by regions

	Sexual assault		Theft of car		Burglary		Robbery		Assault with force	
	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank
Western Europe	89.1	1	85.2	2	80.7	4	81.9	3	77.5	5
New World	96.8	1	87.1	2	85.4	3	78.0	5	82.0	4
Countries in transition	85.4	2	93.8	1	78.4	3	71.6	5	75.5	4
Asia	81.9	2	95.7	1	72.6	5	77.0	4	80.9	3
Africa	96.6	1	96.2	2	91.8	3	89.5	4	86.3	5
Latin America	94.6	1	92.9	2	84.8	4	87.2	3	78.3	5
Average	90.7	1.3	91.8	1.7	82.3	3.7	80.9	4.0	80.1	4.3

Sexual assault and theft of car were considered as the most serious forms of victimisation, with sexual assault ranking first in four out of six regions and theft of car ranking first in Asia and in countries in transition.

More than three-quarters of the incidents were considered either very serious or fairly serious in all the regions, thus showing that only a small portion of the events could be dealt with "lightly" by victims.

Marked differences in ranking seriousness of the five types of crime were observed among African countries, where, for example, car theft ranked first in three countries, second in another three and fifth in one country (Egypt). Similar inconsistencies were observed for sexual assault, which was considered the most serious crime in the majority of countries and the least serious in Tanzania.

Victims from Asian and Latin American countries showed more consistency in ranking perceived seriousness of victimisation

experienced, with theft of car and sexual assault generally occupying the first and second position followed by robbery, assault with force and burglary.

Table 28 - Victims' assessment of crime seriousness (very serious + fairly serious), percentages and ranking, developing countries

	Theft of car		Sexual assault		Robbery		Burglary		Assault with force	
	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank
Asia										
China	100.0	1	94.5	2	77.1	3	56.3	5	73.4	4
India	100.0	1	83.9	5	94.6	3	91.0	4	96.7	2
Indonesia	97.8	1	80.4	2	77.1	3	72.9	5	74.2	4
Philippines	81.9	2	81.5	3	71.1	4	62.1	5	83.6	1
Africa										
Botswana	100.0	1	100.0	1	91.1	4	91.9	3	85.2	5
Egypt	82.1	5	100.0	1	91.1	2	87.5	4	90.3	3
South Africa	97.4	2	97.8	1	89.3	4	90.6	3	84.8	5
Tanzania	100.0	1	91.8	5	100.0	1	96.4	3	94.9	4
Tunisia	92.4	2	100.0	1	81.6	5	91.8	3	88.6	4
Uganda	97.7	2	98.0	1	88.4	5	94.3	4	95.4	3
Zimbabwe	100.0	1	84.1	3	83.3	4	87.4	2	74.9	5
Latin America										
Argentina	91.5	2	94.8	1	86.3	4	86.1	5	89.7	3
Bolivia	92.9	1	89.9	2	88.1	3	86.5	4	82.4	5
Brazil	90.8	3	95.9	1	87.6	4	93.2	2	76.9	5
Colombia	97.9	1	92.7	2	88.5	3	87.1	4	86.5	5
Costa Rica	95.3	2	97.3	1	87.0	4	82.2	5	87.3	3
Paraguay	95.0	1	90.1	2	81.4	4	75.5	5	82.9	3
Average	94.9	1.7	92.5	2.0	86.1	3.5	84.3	3.9	85.2	3.8

As many observers have pointed out, the level of seriousness perceived by victims might also be influenced by local culture (e.g., high sensitivity to particular topics, such as sexual offences) and crime conditions (in some countries where crime levels are particularly high, victimisation may be perceived as more serious than in others).

For example, Asian women who reported to the survey may have tried to minimise the seriousness of their experience of victimisation

according to a cultural pattern which also leads victims of robbery and burglary to express perceptions of lower seriousness with respect to victims from the other regions.

The analysis of the data at the regional level between victimisation rates for five types of crime and the average perceived seriousness revealed that the higher the victimisation rates in the region, the higher the level of perceived seriousness (r 0.831 N = 6). At the level of single crimes, the strongest correlation between crime frequency and perceived seriousness was found for burglary (0.869 N=6) and robbery (0.669 N=6).

Similar results were observed at the country level in developing countries, with a correlation coefficient of 0.541 (N=17) between seriousness perceived and average victimisation rates for five crimes, and 0.4758 (N=17) for burglary only.

Women victims and perceived seriousness

As regards women victims, Table 29 shows perceived seriousness as a percentage of victims that consider the victimisation experienced either as very serious or fairly serious. It appears that the vast majority of sexual incidents - irrespective of the type - were actually perceived as very grave and dangerous. As expected, rape was considered as the most serious crime (96% of the victims on average considered it either very serious or fairly serious), followed by attempted rape (93%), non sexual assault with force (90%), indecent assault (82%), and offensive sexual behaviour (67%).

In most regions, women victims showed a marked distinction between seriousness of rape and attempted rape, which were placed at the top of the seriousness scale, and other forms of victimisation. In Western Europe, the New World and countries in transition, women victims of incidents defined as “offensive behaviour” considered the incident as

significantly less serious than women victims of the same type of incident in other regions. Women victims in Africa, instead, tended to perceive indecent assault and offensive behaviour more seriously than others. On average, the perception of seriousness of sexual incidents by African women is the highest, followed by women victims in the New World and Latin America.

Table 29 - Women victims' perception of crime seriousness (very serious + fairly serious), percentages by regions

	Rape	Attempted rape	(Non-sexual) assault with force	Indecent assault	Offensive behaviour
Western Europe	100.0	90.7	87.8	76.4	59.2
New World	100.0	100.0	93.0	90.5	61.2
Countries in transition	97.0	88.9	88.8	70.4	56.8
Asia	84.2	81.1	91.5	74.0	69.8
Africa	95.1	98.2	89.3	96.5	81.9
Latin America	99.1	98.0	88.2	86.7	70.4
Average	95.9	92.8	89.8	82.4	66.6

Was it a crime?

In order to clarify whether the victimisation experienced actually matched the requisites for reporting to the police, all the victims of assault/threat and women victims of sexual offences were asked if they would describe the incident as a crime. As expected, incidents involving force were described as crimes by approximately three-quarters of the victims of assault, and by more than 80% of the women victims of sexual assault.

Despite their less violent nature, the remaining portion of events were considered as crimes by more than half of the victims.

Table 30 - Incidents considered as crimes (percentages and ranking), by regions

	Sexual assault		Assault with force		Threat		Sexual harassment	
	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank
Western Europe	84.9	1	75.7	2	62.1	3	44.2	4
New World	73.9	1	68.8	2	65.2	3	44.5	4
Countries in transition	73.0	2	74.6	1	60.1	3	51.7	4
Asia	84.4	2	81.0	3	85.4	1	72.1	4
Africa	91.9	1	79.2	2	65.8	4	78.0	3
Latin America	79.5	1	58.8	2	51.4	3	40.5	4
Average	81.3	1.3	73.0	2.0	65.0	2.8	55.2	3.8

Reporting to the police[2]

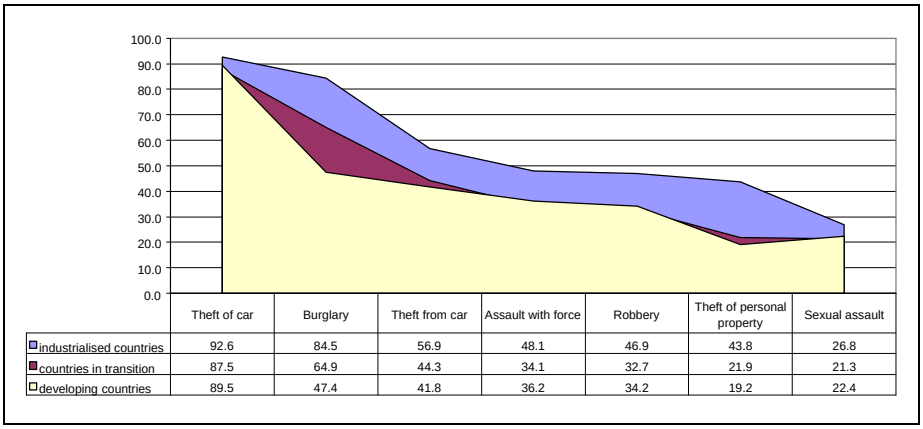
The ICVS results have so far demonstrated that victimisation experienced was perceived by the vast majority of victims as very serious or fairly serious and in most cases it was perceived as a crime. However, very often victims considered that the small loss was not worth the burden of going to the police station, filling in forms and answering questions that were sometimes perceived as embarrassing.

According to the ICVS, only a small portion of crimes were reported to the police and very frequently they were not those perceived by the victims as the most grave.

The "police crime story" is the amount and type of crime known to them. It will differ from the "real crime story" depending on citizens' propensity to inform the police about crime. To this reported crime, the police can add crimes detected by them but not reported, and they can deduct some criminal activities that do not figure in the "police crime story" because of specific investigative, technical, procedural, social and political reasons.

2 Several parts of the sections on reporting to the police and reporting/reasons for not reporting are based on a draft prepared by Ugljesa Zvekic for *Criminal Victimisation across the World* (forthcoming).

Figure 27 - Crimes reported to the police in three global regions, 1992-96



	Theft of car	Burglary	Theft from car	Assault with force	Robbery	Theft of personal property	Sexual assault
industrialised countries	92.6	84.5	56.9	48.1	46.9	43.8	26.8
countries in transition	87.5	64.9	44.3	34.1	32.7	21.9	21.3
developing countries	89.5	47.4	41.8	36.2	34.2	19.2	22.4

There are, however, important variations across countries as to the volume and type of crime known to the police, and admitted into police administrative records. The ICVS provides considerable information as to differences across countries in crimes experienced by victims, and those reported to the police. It does not, however, provide information on the way in which reported crimes are officially admitted into police records.[3]

Crime reporting, as mentioned above, differs according to the crime in question. It is evident that car theft is more reported than any other crime, while sexual incidents are, on average, the least reported. However, reporting rates also differ from country to country as well as depending on the developmental level. As Figure 27 shows, similar patterns of reporting were observed in the three developmental groups, but at different levels. It is also claimed that the reporting rates have to do with the crime level in the society irrespective of the

3 For the results of the 1992-94 ICVS related to policing see U. Zvekic. "Les Attitudes des Victimes envers a Police et la Punitivité: Résultats des Sondages Internationaux de Victimisation". In *Revue Internationale de Criminologie et de Police Technique*, Vol. I, Janvier-Mars, 1997.

above mentioned factors or as a baseline from which other factors influence the levels of reporting.

Reporting is also influenced by other factors: previous personal experiences of reporting; other acquired experience with, or attitudes to the police; expectations; factors related to the particular victimisation experience in hand; the existence of alternative ways of dealing with this; the relationship with the offender; and the "privacy" of the issue.

Table 31 - Crimes reported to the police in six world regions (percentages and ranking), 1992-96

	Theft of car		Burglary		Theft from car		Assault with force		Robbery		Theft of personal property		Sexual assault	
	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank
Western Europe	92.0	1	79.8	2	55.1	3	43.9	5	43.7	6	47.8	4	27.6	7
New World	93.1	1	89.2	2	58.7	3	52.2	4	50.0	5	39.8	6	25.9	7
Countries in transition	87.5	1	64.9	2	44.3	3	34.1	4	32.7	5	21.9	6	21.3	7
Asia	84.5	1	35.7	5	39.3	3	41.6	2	35.8	4	23.5	6	20.4	7
Africa	89.2	1	59.3	2	56.1	3	34.4	5	41.4	4	19.0	7	25.5	6
Latin America	94.8	1	47.2	2	29.9	4	32.6	3	25.4	5	15.0	7	21.3	6
Average	90.2	1.0	62.7	2.5	47.2	3.2	39.8	3.8	38.2	4.8	27.8	6.0	23.7	6.7

While the ranking of reported crimes is approximately the same in the six world regions, the level of reporting shows important differences. For all crimes the highest reporting levels are in the industrialised world, both Old and New. In countries in transition and developing countries crimes were reported less frequently. The smallest differences among the groups were observed at the top and the bottom of the reporting scale, i.e. theft of car and sexual offences.

In developing countries, burglary is reported the most in Africa, and the least in Asia; approximately one third of the victims reported assault and somewhat more than a third reported robbery to the police. There is then a clear difference in reporting levels between the industrialised world, on the one hand, and the rest of the world on the other.

From a comparative perspective, Asia has both the lowest victimisation as well as the lowest reporting rates. However, victimisation level is not the most important factor in conditioning the reporting practice and it cannot be considered even a solid baseline for predicting propensity to report to the police. At the regional level, high crime does not lead, automatically and necessarily, to high disclosures of crime, with the exception of theft of car (r 0.639 N=6). This may be supported by the fact that cars are more and more often insured and this may hold particularly true in areas exposed to a high risk of car theft.

It also appears that no correlation exists between the perception of the incident as a crime and reporting it to the police. Asian victims, for example, very frequently felt that victimisation experienced was a crime, but reported to the police more rarely than victims in other regions.

Finally, no correlation was found between levels of perceived seriousness and levels of reporting for most types of crime, with the exception of sexual assault (r 0.532 N=6) which was more frequently reported in the regions where victims more frequently perceived it as very serious or fairly serious.

On average, 40% of the incidents recorded by the ICVS were reported to the police in the developing world. Theft of car and burglary were reported more often (on average 90% and 52% of cases respectively), theft from car was close to the average (41%) and all the other types of crime were reported less frequently than 40%.

Four Latin American countries (Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia and Costa Rica) were those that showed the lowest average reporting rates. This was especially determined by the very low reporting rates for sexual incidents and theft of personal property, as well as for assault in Brazil.

Table 32 - Reporting rates in developing countries, 1992-96, by country

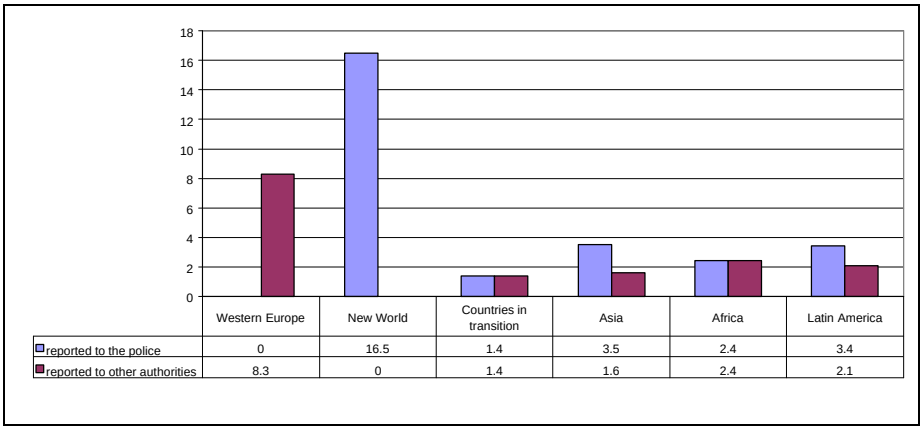
	Theft of car	Burglary	Theft from car	Assault	Robbery	Theft of personal property	Sexual offences
Asia							
Indonesia	81.8	29.7	35.5	21.4	31.7	37.4	14.5
Philippines	81.8	30.8	25.2	37.9	34.5	13.2	12.8
India	92.9	49.1	73.2	23.7	46.4	19.7	11.0
China	100.0	56.3	27.6	36.3	37.1	19.1	7.6
Africa							
Uganda	92.3	45.7	47.1	15.8	29.2	6.8	13.4
Egypt	73.0	54.0	48.4	16.7	34.3	21.2	2.5
South Africa	90.2	59.2	49.2	22.7	38.6	16.2	27.4
Tanzania	88.9	86.4	76.9	56.8	68.7	28.2	28.3
Tunisia	88.9	63.6	66.8	51.9	46.5	38.7	34.1
Zimbabwe	100.0	71.0	49.0	15.1	42.3	23.8	12.2
Botswana	82.6	59.4	57.8	24.1	32.5	21.4	9.5
Latin America							
Costa Rica	82.9	42.4	20.2	29.4	23.4	16.8	8.1
Brazil	93.1	44.2	16.7	8.3	18.9	6.2	5.7
Argentina	98.9	73.9	47.6	38.7	45.9	24.9	25.9
Bolivia	92.9	26.7	14.4	11.0	12.5	2.7	6.3
Paraguay	97.5	41.9	26.2	39.6	21.0	22.5	2.9
Colombia	89.4	44.8	18.2	17.2	24.8	14.6	3.6

At the other end of the scale, the countries with the best scores for reporting crimes were Tanzania, Tunisia, Argentina, India, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Botswana and China, all of them having above average rates.

Reporting corruption and consumer fraud

On average, corruption cases are less reported than most other crimes dealt with by the ICVS. The level of reported corruption is higher in the New World countries than in the countries in transition and developing countries. The inverse relationship between the magnitude of experienced corruption and the volume reported to the police is particularly evident in Latin America, Africa and countries in transition.

Figure 28 - Corruption reported to the police and other authorities, by regions



	Western Europe	New World	Countries in transition	Asia	Africa	Latin America
reported to the police	0	16.5	1.4	3.5	2.4	3.4
reported to other authorities	8.3	0	1.4	1.6	2.4	2.1

This inverse relationship also holds true at a country level. For example, in Africa the lowest percentage of corruption cases are reported to the police in Uganda which has the highest level of corruption experienced by its citizens. The opposite situation exists in Asia where the lowest level of corruption and the highest reporting rate were both observed in The Philippines.

Bribery may be reported to other public or private agencies but it appears that in many countries these are not readily available. Nevertheless, the pattern of reporting to other agencies is similar to that of reporting to the police. There is more reporting in industrialised countries than in the developing world and the least in countries in transition.

Bribery, as noted above, has one of the lowest reporting levels from among the crimes dealt with by the ICVS. The level of reporting, however, does not vary by the type of public official involved in bribery. Custom officers in Asia and police officers in the New World are the most reported categories among the few cases reported at all.

Table 33 - Corruption reported to the police and to other authorities, developing countries

	Reported to the police	Reported to other authorities
Asia		
Indonesia	1.2	0.0
Philippines	8.6	2.2
India	6.3	3.9
Africa		
Uganda	2.0	1.8
South Africa	3.0	1.7
Zimbabwe	2.8	5.2
Botswana	3.1	0.0
Latin America		
Costa Rica	2.6	6.2
Brazil	0.9	0.0
Argentina	0.7	0.8
Bolivia	6.2	2.9
Paraguay	8.9	3.8
Colombia	4.4	2.7

Consumer fraud

Just a few report consumer fraud to the police. With some exceptions, something like 95% of consumer fraud was not reported to the police or to any other public or private agency. However, levels of reporting to other private or public agencies do differ to some extent.

Consumer protection is much more developed and organised in the industrialised world and in particular in the New World. Efforts towards the standardisation of the quality of goods and services, development of appropriate commercial ethics, including an interest in durable relations and customers' satisfaction, creation of consumer protection associations as well as further stabilisation of markets are more viable methods for reducing consumer fraud.

Figure 29 - Consumer fraud reported to the police and other authorities, by regions

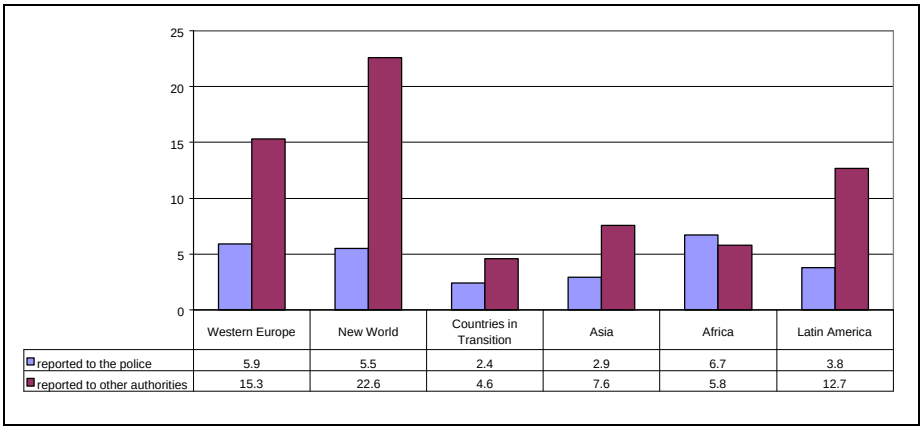


Table 34 - Consumer fraud reported to the police and to other authorities, developing countries

	Reported to the police	Reported to other authorities
Asia		
Indonesia	3.5	7.0
Philippines	2.8	7.4
India	3.2	4.1
China	2.1	12.9
Africa		
Uganda	1.7	2.5
Egypt	3.3	2.2
South Africa	12.0	7.6
Tanzania	31.1	21.1
Tunisia	3.4	10.8
Zimbabwe	5.7	2.7
Botswana	18.4	4.5
Latin America		
Costa Rica	3.6	5.2
Brazil	1.0	19.4
Argentina	3.0	19.7
Bolivia	10.7	1.1
Paraguay	3.7	7.4
Colombia	3.8	5.8

On average, in the industrialised world there appear to be more non-police agencies to which citizens can report consumer fraud. For example, 15% and 23% of consumer fraud is reported in Western Europe and the New World respectively to agencies other than the police. Also in Latin America some 13% of consumer fraud is reported to other agencies (this happened especially in Brazil and Argentina, where reporting to other authorities reached approximately 20% while reporting to the police was almost nil).

Reasons for reporting

Other factors appear to have more weight for the propensity to report to the police. Why do people report crimes to the police? The reasons are divided into: civic duty related ("should be reported"; "to stop it"); need for assistance ("to get help"); recovery/compensation of damage ("recovery of property"; "insurance"). "Want the offender caught/punished" lies somewhere between means to recover property and damage and expectation for the law enforcement agency to effectively deal with offenders.

Civic duty related reasons are prominent across the board independently of crime type and developmental groupings. While this is true for "should be reported", reporting crime for preventive purposes "to stop it happening again" is of particular significance for threats/assaults or robbery while less so for burglary. This is quite a rational attitude on the part of victims who also consider that reporting violent crimes has more chances of inducing preventive action by the police while burglary prevention is becoming much more the citizen's own prevention activity.

"To get help" as a reason for reporting is more frequently mentioned with relation to threats/assaults and robbery.

Table 35 - Reasons for reporting crime to the police, 1996

	Recover property	Insurance reasons	Should be reported	Want offender caught	To stop it	To get help	Other reasons
Burglary							
Western Europe	31.2	43.2	46.0	31.9	18.2	8.4	11.9
New World	17.4	22.8	51.1	27.2	13.0	8.7	15.2
Countries in transition	57.5	15.0	37.4	51.4	27.0	12.5	2.5
Asia	82.2	4.4	48.9	64.4	64.4	26.7	-
Africa	72.6	13.1	26.8	53.9	20.8	16.7	1.2
Latin America	53.2	26.2	19.5	42.9	34.8	8.6	3.1
Total	52.4	20.8	38.3	45.3	29.7	13.6	6.8
Robbery							
Western Europe	35.2	13.6	40.9	36.4	21.6	17.0	18.2
New World	23.3	13.3	56.7	46.7	26.7	20.0	16.7
Countries in transition	43.2	12.4	33.9	54.1	33.6	21.1	7.7
Asia	80.6	2.8	47.2	69.4	41.7	25.0	2.8
Africa	57.6	10.1	36.4	55.6	20.2	17.2	2.0
Latin America	39.0	32.0	23.0	54.0	40.5	17.0	3.0
Total	46.5	14.0	39.7	52.7	30.7	19.6	8.4
Assault/threat							
Western Europe	4.5	5.6	35.0	32.2	31.6	22.0	23.7
New World	6.9	6.9	36.2	39.7	39.7	24.1	22.4
Countries in transition	8.5	12.2	31.8	41.1	44.0	25.6	7.5
Asia	16.2	10.8	43.2	48.6	73.0	40.5	-
Africa	3.5	-	34.1	56.5	45.9	17.6	3.5
Latin America	18.0	42.4	18.7	38.8	44.6	22.3	7.2
Total	9.6	15.6	33.2	42.8	46.5	25.4	12.9

Recovery of property and insurance are both mentioned with respect to burglary and robbery. It is interesting to note that reporting for the reason of recovering property for both crimes is much more present among victims from countries in transition and the developing world than from the industrialised world. Inversely, insurance reasons are much more important in the industrialised world. There is a very clearly established pattern according to which high insurance coverage results in high reporting rates in order to get the insurance premiums. Where insurance coverage is low, expectations related to reporting are to "recover" stolen property. Since the level of insurance coverage is much higher in the industrialised world than in the developing world

and in countries in transition, the reasons for reporting in order to compensate for damage will reflect this discrepancy. "At the individual level, those without insurance are less likely to report burglaries to the police... At the aggregate level, there is always a strong association between the insurance coverage and reporting of burglaries to the police"[4]. Indeed, the countries and regions with low insurance coverage tend to display low reporting rates of burglaries to the police.

"Want the offender caught/punished" as a reason for reporting figures prominently for all three crimes. However, the differences in the importance of this particular reason between the regions are less pronounced when it comes to assault and robbery, and more pronounced when it comes to burglary. Most probably, the level of insurance coverage again is at play in a sense that for the victims from insured households to get the offender caught/punished is of less importance in terms of reporting to the police. On the other hand, if there is no household insurance, in order to recover property it is also important to find the offender and punish him/her. In addition, there is a more punitive orientation in the developing countries and countries in transition[5] which also indicates the importance of this reason for reporting crime to the police.

It was noted that on average there are more non-reported crimes, in particular robberies and threats/assaults, in all the regions of the world and in particular in the developing world and in countries in transition.

4 J.J.M. van Dijk. "Who is Afraid of the Crime Victim: Criminal Victimisation, Fear of Crime and Opinions on Crime in an International Perspective". paper presented at the World Society of Victimology Symposium, Adelaide, Australia, 21-26 August 1994

5 U. Zvekic. "Les Attitudes des Victimes envers la Police et la Punitivité: Résultats des Sondages Internationaux de Victimisation". In *Revue Internationale de Criminologie et de Police Technique*, Vol. I, Janvier-Mars, 1997.

That the "police could do nothing" was frequently given as a reason for not reporting property crimes - thefts of personal property, thefts from cars, etc. This may signify a belief that the police would be unable to recover property, find the offender, or do anything else of benefit. It could also signify a fairly realistic judgement about the liability of the police to do much about something on which they have little information to act. In essence, though, it is an expression of resignation. In contrast, "the police wouldn't do anything" may carry a more explicit criticism that the police would be reluctant to take action, even though they might be expected to do so. "Fear/dislike of police" certainly signifies a negative attitude towards the police, either of a general nature, or related in some way to the particular offence in hand. As might be expected, fear and/or dislike of the police was often mentioned in relation to violent crimes and sexual incidents. These might involve a close relationship with the offender(s), or sometimes even a lifestyle which may lead the police to treat the victim as an accomplice, or someone "who deserves what they got". That women victims of sexual incidents are often treated unsympathetically by the police is also now well recognised.

Table 36 presents reasons for not reporting. In the main, crimes are not reported because they are not considered "serious enough". Since this section deals with the police, it is worth looking more clearly at police related reasons: "police could do nothing"; "police won't do anything" and "fear/dislike of police".

It should be noted that around 31% of the victims of burglary from the New World and even 52% from Asia thought that the burglary which took place in their household was "not serious enough". This reason, together with "inappropriate for police", indicates the characteristics of the event itself. As regards robbery, "not serious enough" was mentioned as a reason for not reporting by 36, 30 and 23% of the victims from Western Europe, Asia and countries in transition

respectively. On the other hand, 22, 25 and 15% of victims of assault/threats from Latin America, Africa and countries in transition mentioned the "inappropriateness" of the case for the police as the reasons for non-reporting.

Table 36 - Reasons for not reporting burglary, robbery and threats/assaults, 1996

	Not serious enough	Solved it myself	Inappropriate for the police	Other authorities	My family solved it	No insurance	Police could do nothing	Police won't do anything	Fear/ Dislike of police	Didn't dare	Other reasons	Don't know
Burglary												
Western Europe	26.2	21.4	4.8	-	7.1	4.8	16.7	2.4		2.4	21.4	8.1
New World	30.8	15.4	7.7	-	-	7.7	-	15.4	-	-	38.5	-
Countries in transition	27.0	13.3	13.2	6.6	9.0	6.5	28.4	16.7	5.6	6.8	8.6	9.4
Asia	52.4	13.3	14.3	2.9	3.8	2.9	14.3	5.7	11.5		3.8	3.8
Africa	17.4	12.3	10.7	7.1	5.5	2.4	35.2	12.3	2.8	6.3	14.2	4.3
Latin America	24.0	10.8	2.9	-	5.9	5.3	21.1	42.1	7.7	2.6	13.7	2.4
Total	29.6	14.4	8.9	5.5	6.3	4.9	23.1	15.8	6.9	4.5	16.7	5.6
Robbery												
Western Europe	35.7	10.7	17.9	1.8	5.4	-	25.0	7.1	5.4	7.1	16.1	2.7
New World	5.9	41.2	11.8	11.8	-	-	5.9		11.8	17.6	23.5	-
Countries in transition	23.4	12.7	10.3	1.7	6.4	8.0	30.9	27.7	13.5	9.9	9.7	6.5
Asia	30.4	10.1	18.8	4.3	10.1	1.4	30.4	17.4	9.1	10.1	4.3	-
Africa	14.7	9.6	10.9	-	1.9	0.6	46.8	14.7	5.1	12.2	16.7	1.9
Latin America	18.1	6.3	5.5	0.5	0.5	2.0	34.0	53.9	24.4	3.9	3.9	0.9
Total	21.4	15.1	12.5	4.0	4.9	3.0	28.8	24.2	11.6	10.1	12.4	3.0
Threat/Assault												
Western Europe	38.6	13.6	8.0	4.7	2.7	-	15.0	10.9	2.9	7.4	16.5	2.4
New World	25.6	17.9	7.7	6.4	2.6	-	6.4	15.4	5.1	5.1	28.2	5.1
Countries in transition	26.2	19.5	14.5	6.3	6.8	6.7	21.1	18.2	23.1	9.6	7.8	3.8
Asia	36.4	33.9	8.3	8.3	17.4	0.8	31.4	20.7	33.3	20.7	3.3	3.9
Africa	22.5	18.1	25.2	2.5	6.0	-	19.9	12.7	2.7	15.2	9.4	1.6
Latin America	17.4	30.7	21.8	0.7	4.2	1.6	14.9	26.1	6.9	9.6	6.2	1.8
Total	27.8	22.3	14.3	4.8	6.6	3.0	18.1	17.3	12.3	11.3	11.9	3.1

The resigned attitude towards the police ("police could do nothing") is particularly prominent among the victims of all three crimes dealt herewith from all but the industrialised world. As will be seen later, this has much to do with the expectations citizens have about the police as well as with satisfaction with the police in controlling and preventing crime.

The two more implicit criticisms of the police are also more pronounced reasons for not reporting the three crimes provided by victims from the developing world and countries in transition. This is, however, more related to "police won't do anything"; in particular for victims from Latin America. It should be noted that the implicit criticism that the police would be reluctant to take action is on average more highly related to robbery and assault/threats than to burglary.

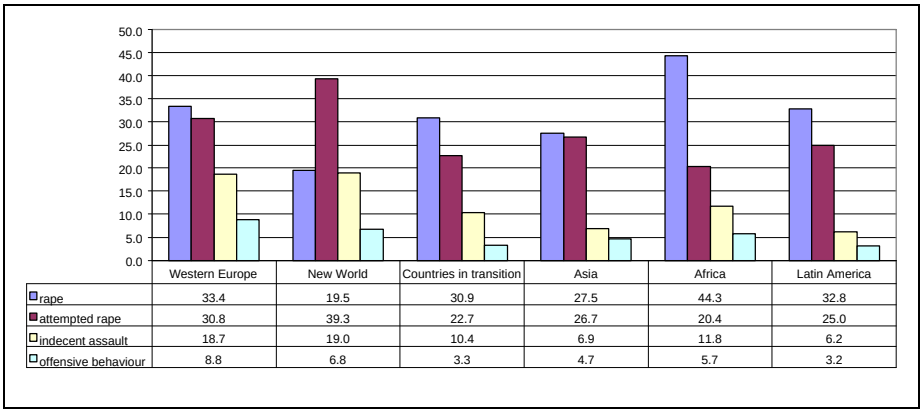
"Fear/dislike" of police is mentioned significantly as a reason for not reporting robbery in Latin America and the New World as well as for assault/threats in Asia.

Women victims and reporting to the police

The higher the perceived seriousness of victimisation experienced, the more reporting of sexual incidents was observed (r 0.532 N=6, as mentioned above). Figure 30 shows that, on average, approximately a quarter of attempted rapes and one third of rapes were reported to the police. However, it appears that the perceived seriousness of the incident is not the only reason behind the decision whether to report a crime or not. Only 5% of cases of offensive behaviour, ranking first as non-reported type of crime, were reported, although the majority of the victims considered such an experience as a crime.

Different patterns of relationship between reporting to the police and reporting to the survey are found, too. Many reasons related to under-reporting to the survey hold true for non-reporting to the police, to which one should add a general lack of confidence in the police in a number of countries and, in particular, high risks of secondary victimisation once the incident is reported to the police.

Figure 30 - Crimes reported to the police by women victims, by type of incident and regions, 1992-96



	Western Europe	New World	Countries in transition	Asia	Africa	Latin America
rape	33.4	19.5	30.9	27.5	44.3	32.8
attempted rape	30.8	39.3	22.7	26.7	20.4	25.0
indecent assault	18.7	19.0	10.4	6.9	11.8	6.2
offensive behaviour	8.8	6.8	3.3	4.7	5.7	3.2

Reasons for not reporting sexual incidents to the police include that what happened was considered "not serious enough" (35%), the victim "solved it herself" (15%), or, finally, inappropriateness and/or inadequacy of the police is mentioned (12%). Some victims did not dare to report (6.5%).

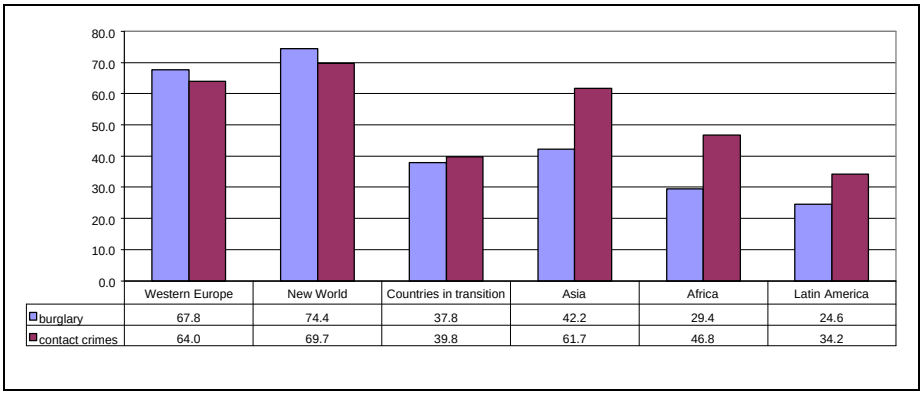
For sexual victimisation and assault one should add that the special relationship that often exists between the victim and offender might restrain the former from reporting to the police. Assaults from strangers are more likely to be reported than those by relatives or friends.

Among the reasons *for* reporting, the intention to stop these types of things from happening ranked first and was mentioned by 45% of the victims who reported to the police, followed by the desire for the offender to be caught (35%). Approximately a quarter of the victims also mentioned that they reported to get help from the police, and a similar percentage declared that they perceived reporting as a civic duty.

Satisfaction with the police

The ICVS also indicates the strength of police-community relations in showing i) the degree of satisfaction victims feel when they report to the police, and ii) the reasons why victims were dissatisfied with the way the police handle cases once reported.

Figure 31 - Percentage of victims satisfied with the police on reporting, by type of crime and regions, 1996



	Western Europe	New World	Countries in transition	Asia	Africa	Latin America
burglary	67.8	74.4	37.8	42.2	29.4	24.6
contact crimes	64.0	69.7	39.8	61.7	46.8	34.2

Figure 31 shows, that in the respondents' perception, the police do an overall good job in dealing with reported crimes only in Western Europe and the New World, where more than 60% of the victims said they were satisfied with the way they were treated after reporting burglary and/or contact crimes.

In the rest of the world, victims were slightly more happy upon reporting contact crimes than burglary. Perhaps the disappointment following the expectation of a recovery of the stolen goods, which is likely to be reduced in the industrialised world by the extensive adoption of insurance policies, casts a negative light on the police performance in this respect.

Table 37 - Percentage of victims satisfied with the police on reporting, by type of crime and developing countries, 1996

	Burglary	Robbery	Assault
Asia			
Indonesia	47.1	40.0	50.0
Philippines	23.1	70.0	55.6
India	40.6	56.5	47.8
Africa			
Uganda	28.4	30.0	66.7
South Africa	34.3	43.5	27.3
Zimbabwe	27.2	36.4	55.2
Botswana	29.7	38.5	57.1
Latin America			
Costa Rica	30.4	38.2	34.6
Brazil	31.4	39.6	100.0
Argentina	29.9	36.3	43.7
Bolivia	15.9	9.5	25.0
Paraguay	27.7	41.2	47.6
Colombia	11.0	29.3	26.3

Less than a quarter of the victims from Colombia, Bolivia and The Philippines who reported burglary to the police said they were satisfied with the way they had been treated.

The analysis of these results is particularly important since it enters into the delicate police-citizens relationship. The responses given to this question were provided by people who had already willingly approached the police to report their experience of victimisation, thus carrying with them some expectations for either solving the case or recovering their property.

Among the reasons for dissatisfaction with the police once burglary was reported the most frequently mentioned were: “the police did not do enough” and “were not interested”. The first reason was identified by more than 40% of the burglary victims in countries in transition and up to 75% of those from the New World. Disinterest on the part of the police was mentioned by 41% of the victims in Latin America and one third of the victims in countries in transition and Western Europe.

Table 38 - Reasons for dissatisfaction with the police, 1996

	Did not do enough	Were not interested	Did not find offender	Did not recover goods	Gave no information	Incorrect/ Impolite	Slow to arrive	Other reasons	Do not know
Burglary									
Western Europe	44.0	34.7	30.7	18.7	28.0	10.7	16.0	14.7	-
New World	75.0	25.0	25.0	20.0	25.0	10.0	20.0	20.0	-
Countries in transition	41.5	34.0	46.8	46.4	16.0	12.8	11.2	7.1	1.0
Asia	50.0	20.6	52.9	55.9	14.7	17.6	17.6	2.9	-
Africa	51.5	21.8	38.4	44.1	20.5	5.7	18.8	6.1	-
Latin America	55.8	41.4	34.5	32.1	26.1	20.9	4.8	3.6	0.8
Total	53.0	29.6	38.1	36.2	21.7	13.0	14.7	9.1	0.9
Robbery									
Western Europe	50.0	41.2	14.7	20.6	8.8	20.6	11.8	11.8	-
New World	40.0	40.0	40.0	6.7	13.3	20.0	13.3	6.7	-
Countries in transition	38.7	41.1	44.3	32.5	18.0	20.1	12.0	11.9	2.2
Asia	46.7	33.3	73.3	73.3	33.3	13.3	33.3	6.7	-
Africa	40.0	21.7	40.0	38.3	18.3	11.7	16.7	6.7	1.7
Latin America	56.0	53.6	44.0	26.4	29.6	18.4	9.6	0.8	-
Total	45.2	38.5	42.7	33.0	20.2	17.4	16.1	7.4	2.0
Assault/threat									
Western Europe	21.1	15.3	9.3	1.0	9.4	5.8	7.8	13.6	-
New World	23.4	14.3	10.0	-	14.3	-	10.0	12.2	-
Countries in transition	45.3	42.1	24.2	9.5	13.5	21.7	12.7	9.8	0.6
Asia	31.3	25.0	37.5	12.5	31.3	25.0	18.8	-	-
Africa	44.7	17.0	34.0	10.6	14.9	17.0	12.8	19.1	-
Latin America	50.0	44.9	34.6	6.4	25.6	29.5	11.5	2.6	-
Total	36.0	26.4	24.9	8.0	18.2	19.8	12.3	11.5	0.6

A substantial portion (ranging from one third to more than a half) of the victims of burglary from the developing world and countries in transition also highlighted that the police "did not find the offender" or "did not recover goods". Indeed, in the developing world and in countries in transition, "want offender caught/punished" and "recovery of property" were among the principal reasons for reporting burglary to the police. Therefore, if these expectations are not met by the police, victims who reported burglaries express dissatisfaction highlighting unmet expectations. As mentioned earlier, in these parts

of the world, where insurance coverage is low, victims will have a substantial economic stake in reporting in order to retrieve stolen property or receive some compensation from the offender who needs to be identified and brought to justice.[6]

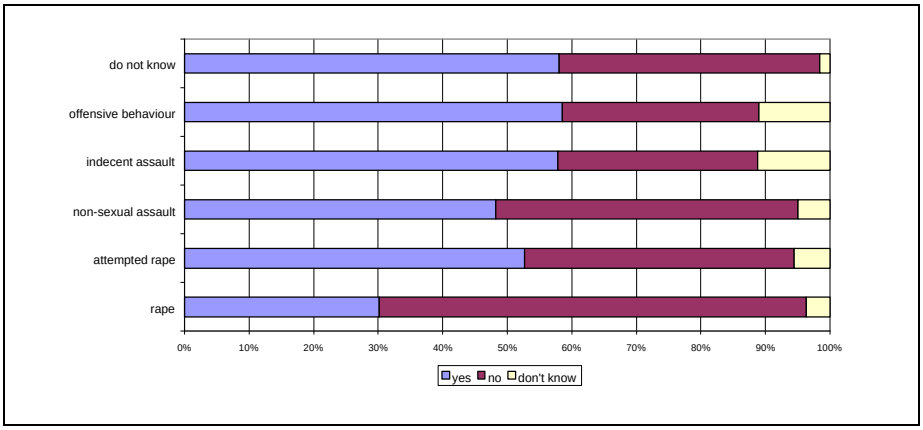
Victims of robbery across the globe tend to emphasise that the police "did not do enough" (ranging from 40% in the New World and in countries in transition up to 56% in Latin America) and "were not interested" (from a peak of 54% in Latin America to 22% in Africa). More than 70% of the victims of robbery in Asia are dissatisfied with the police because the offender was not found and the goods were not recovered. Around 40% of the victims of robbery from Africa, Latin America and countries in transition express the same view. These two reasons for dissatisfaction are less prominent among the victims of robbery from Western Europe and the New World, although the latter give more importance to the offender being caught rather than to the goods been recovered.

The victims of assault/threats, particularly in the developing world and in countries in transition, single out that the reasons for dissatisfaction with the police reaction to reporting the crime have to do with the police not doing enough and not finding the offender. In addition, victims complain that the police were incorrect/impolite which is more characteristic of the victims' evaluation of police attitudes in the developing world and in countries in transition. This factor indicates certain features of a police culture that lacks respect for the particular needs and expectations of victims of violence.

Figure 32 - Overall women's satisfaction with the police performance upon reporting, by type of

6 For the preliminary analysis related to a restricted sample of countries in transition, see U. Zvekic. "Policing and Attitudes towards Police in Countries in Transition". In, Pagon, M. (Ed.). *Policing in Central and Eastern Europe, Proceedings of the International Conference.* Ljubljana, Slovenia, 14-16 November 1996.

reported crime, 1996



As Figure 32 shows, rape victims were very frequently dissatisfied with the way the police dealt with their report. Less than one third of those who reported to the police were satisfied with the follow-up by the police.

Approximately half of women victims of other types of sexual incidents and non-sexual assault (which however were less frequently reported to the police) instead expressed a positive opinion about the way the police reacted to their report. These data suggest that the seriousness of rape may not only lead to more reporting, but also to higher expectations regarding police action subsequent to reporting.

Among the reasons for dissatisfaction, women mentioned a number of arguments such as that “the police did not do enough” (45%), “they were not interested” (35%) and “did not find the offender” (33%). Furthermore, many victims of sexual incidents indicated that the police were impolite or incorrect to them (45%), whilst this latter reason was rarely mentioned by victims of other types of crime.

Chapter 5

CITIZENS' ATTITUDES AND FEARS

Satisfaction with the police in controlling crime[1]

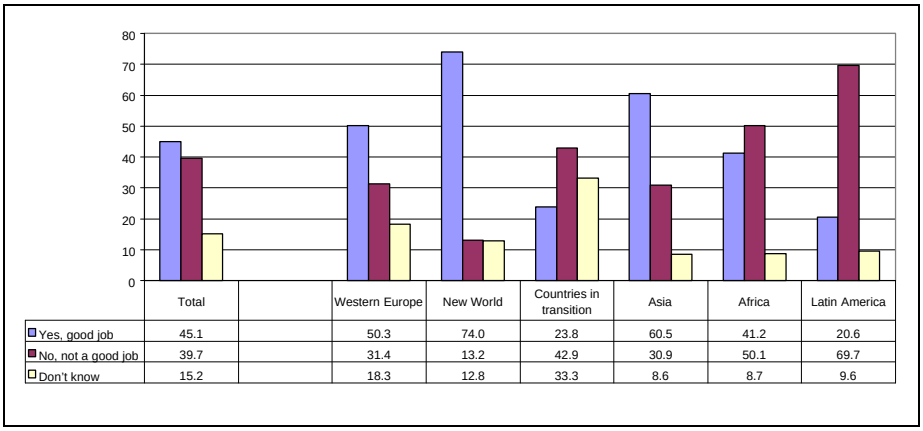
On the global level, less than half of the respondents were satisfied with the police in controlling crime locally, even though those who were satisfied were more than those who were dissatisfied (Figure 33). In the New World a large majority of the respondents (74%) were satisfied with the police in controlling crime; this is also the case with citizens from Western Europe (50%) and Asia (61%). On the other hand, half of the respondents from Africa, 43% from countries in transition and as many as 70% from Latin America were not satisfied with the police job in controlling crime locally.

It should be noted that the lowest levels of citizens' satisfaction with the police are exhibited in Latin America and in countries in transition. However, it should also be noted that the largest percentage of "don't knows" is found in countries in transition. This can be explained by the fact that, during the period in which the 1992 ICVS was carried out, and in some countries also during the period when the 1996 ICVS was

1 The section on attitudes towards the police is based on a draft prepared by Ugljesa Zvekic for *Criminal Victimisation across the World,* (forthcoming).

administered, the police were undergoing changes as to their mandates and organisation.

Figure 33 - Satisfaction with police in controlling crime locally, by regions (1992-96)



	Total		Western Europe	New World	Countries in transition	Asia	Africa	Latin America
Yes, good job	45.1		50.3	74.0	23.8	60.5	41.2	20.6
No, not a good job	39.7		31.4	13.2	42.9	30.9	50.1	69.7
Don't know	15.2		18.3	12.8	33.3	8.6	8.7	9.6

In developing countries, the highest levels of satisfaction were observed in Asia and Africa. The astonishing 83% of China obviously contributes to placing Asia in the top ranking position as regards satisfaction with police performance. However, rates close to or higher than 50% were also registered in Indonesia, The Philippines and India, as well as Tunisia, Tanzania and Zimbabwe.

Citizens from the other countries expressed a more negative opinion about police work and this was particularly evident in Latin America, where more than three-quarters of the respondents from Costa Rica, Brazil and Bolivia openly declared their dissatisfaction with the way the police operate in controlling and preventing crime in their area.

It should also be noted that other factors related to police performance have a lot to do with citizens' satisfaction. It might be the case that the citizens of the developing world and countries in transition think that

frequent police patrolling would deter crime and meet a number of their expectations such as finding and arresting offenders, recovering stolen goods and arriving speedily at the place of the crime. In addition, citizens in the developing countries (with the exception of Asia) and in countries in transition to a larger extent than citizens from the industrialised world are concerned that a burglary will occur within the next year. Therefore, fear of burglary in the near future also contributes to dissatisfaction with the police in controlling crime locally and supports the view that more frequent patrolling might be both deterrent as well as effective in "stopping crime", finding the offender and recovering the stolen property.

Table 39 - Satisfaction with police in controlling crime locally, by developing countries (92-96)

	Yes, good job	No, not a good job	Don't know
Asia			
Indonesia	52.3	36.1	11.7
Philippines	47.0	42.4	10.5
India	50.9	36.4	12.7
China	82.9	6.0	11.1
Africa			
Uganda	43.2	48.5	8.4
Egypt	38.9	61.1	
South Africa	27.2	62.1	10.7
Tanzania	57.1	42.9	
Tunisia	31.4	36.2	32.4
Zimbabwe	46.9	38.7	14.4
Botswana	40.9	33.7	25.4
Latin America			
Costa Rica	22.9	74.1	3.0
Brazil	15.4	79.6	5.1
Argentina	24.6	60.3	15.1
Bolivia	11.6	81.0	7.5
Paraguay	37.6	48.5	13.9
Colombia	19.1	64.5	16.4

Women's opinion about police performance in controlling and preventing crime is affected by the victimisation experienced. As Table 40 shows, women victims' evaluation of police activities in their residential area is more negative than that of the respondents in general. The types of crime which more markedly influenced such an opinion were attempted rape and rape, while, as expected, victims of offensive behaviour only slightly departed from the average. It is interesting to note, however, that victims of all types of crime less frequently fell into the "don't know" category.

Table 40 - Overall women victims' opinion on police performance in preventing crime, 1996

	Women's overall opinion	Non-sexual assault Victims	Rape victims	Attempted rape victims	Indecent assault Victims	Offensive behaviour victims
Good job	33.4	30.3	21.6	23.6	28.2	33.8
Not a good job	37.0	47.2	58.9	53.5	51.3	41.5
Don't know	29.5	22.5	19.5	22.9	20.5	24.7

Attitudes to punishment[2]

Punishment is at the end of the criminal justice system. It can be seen as indicating societal reactions to crime; whether that of the state or people's notions of who should be punished as well as well as how and when. Yet, the range of sanctioning options in a given society is usually limited to a few selected by the legislator and a few which may fall outside the official sanctioning range (e.g. various forms of moral condemnation, or other forms of punishment which are neither recognised nor approved by the official penal code). Some of these alternatives may be harsher and some milder than the santions applied by the state-centred criminal justice system.

The ICVS asked respondents about sanctioning options which are

2 The section on attitudes towards punishment is based on a draft prepared by Ugljesa Zvekic for *Criminal Victimisation across the World*, (forthcoming).

usually present in most criminal justice systems.[3] However, some options are not available in all countries, and some which are available were not offered for comment. Another major limitation in measuring people's attitudes towards punishment stemmed from the hypothetical burglary scenario used. It contained sufficient elements to help form a lay opinion, but lacked most important details to provide for an informed professional opinion.[4] Yet, it was felt that for the public at large, the particular details which may mitigate or aggravate the offender's position were unnecessary. There were, however, problems of interpretation linked with the target of theft: namely, a colour TV set, the value of which varies across countries. Indeed, as noted in the previous chapter, recovery of stolen goods is one driving factor in the evaluation of the police performance in less affluent economies. Nonetheless, certain patterns in punishment orientation emerged, in particular regarding differences between the more and less affluent societies as can be seen from Table 41.

Table 41 - Favoured sentence for a young recidivist burglar in six global regions, 1992-96

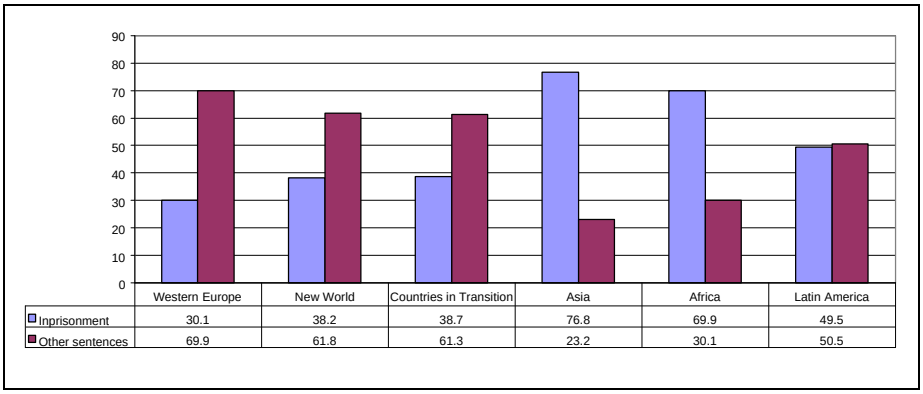
	Fine	Prison	Community service	Suspended sentence
Western Europe	12.8	30.1	41.4	7.2
New World	7.2	38.2	39.2	5.9
Countries in transition	9.9	38.7	33.9	6.6
Asia	7.7	76.8	6.5	1.2
Africa	9.9	69.9	10.7	1.6
Latin America	7.7	49.5	30.7	3.9

3 The question was as follows: "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/she was asked to specify the length.

4 There are serious doubts as to whether a professional judge would be able to state what would be the most appropriate punishment based on the elements provided by the ICVS questionnaire.

On a regional level, 50% of the respondents in Latin America and as many as three quarters in Asia and Africa opted for imprisonment as the most appropriate sentence for a young recidivist burglar. This was also the choice of 40% of the respondents from countries in transition and the New World as well as 30% from Western Europe.

Figure 34 - Imprisonment vs. other sentences for a young recidivist burglar in six global regions, 1992-96



	Western Europe	New World	Countries in Transition	Asia	Africa	Latin America
Inprisonment	30.1	38.2	38.7	76.8	69.9	49.5
Other sentences	69.9	61.8	61.3	23.2	30.1	50.5

Following imprisonment, the next most preferred sentencing option was community service which was favoured by approximately one third of the respondents. Community service was the preferred sentence in Western Europe and the New World by 40% of the respondents (although in the latter region with approximately the same percentage as imprisonment), followed by approximately one third each in Latin America and in countries in transition. Only 10% of the respondents from Africa and even less from Asia opted for some sort of community service.

Regional variations regarding a fine as a favoured sentencing option for a young recidivist burglar are not pronounced and average 9% of the respondents. A suspended sentence was thought to be the most appropriate sentence by approximately 4% of the respondents, ranging from 1 and 2% in Asia and Africa respectively to 7% in the countries in transition and Western Europe.

Table 42 - Favoured sentence for a young recidivist burglar by countries, 1992-96

	Fine	Prison	Community Service	Suspended sentence	Other sentence
Asia					
Indonesia	3.5	81.3	7.7	1.2	4.3
Philippines	8.2	81.5	3.7	0.6	5.0
India	17.8	57.2	7.5	1.4	11.6
China	3.4	83.6	7.0	2.0	4.1
Africa					
Uganda	10.2	76.5	7.3	1.5	4.1
Egypt	6.3	65.6	7.6	0.9	19.5
South Africa	10.2	67.7	14.8	2.7	3.0
Tanzania	6.2	75.3	13.4	0.8	4.2
Tunisia	17.3	56.3	11.1	1.1	14.2
Zimbabwe	7.9	79.4	6.2	2.5	1.9
Botswana	9.4	62.2	15.7	0.3	8.4
Latin America					
Costa Rica	7.6	58.2	21.7	1.7	8.4
Brazil	1.7	41.3	49.8	0.9	5.2
Argentina	12.0	56.7	25.1	3.7	2.1
Bolivia	8.3	39.6	18.1	15.9	8.6
Paraguay	7.4	57.7	22.0	2.9	5.7
Colombia	10.8	44.6	33.7	1.9	4.5

There are, however, significant variations in preferred sentencing options in each of the world's regions. The preference for imprisonment in developing countries and countries in transition could have much to do with at least three factors. First, there are generally fewer non-custodial sentences available, as well as difficulties in their implementation following conviction.[5] Second, support for imprisonment appears to be higher in countries where crime is highest, particularly when no other available and practical solutions exist. Thirdly, what the public feel about punishment is often formed by vicarious information, traditional belief systems, and socio-legal heritage. For example, in the industrialised nations, the demand for imprisonment

5 M. Joutsen, U. Zvekic. "Noncustodial Sanctions: Comparative Overview". In U. Zvekic (Ed.). *Alternatives to Imprisonment in Comparative Perspective*. Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1994.

was higher among "anglophone" countries independently of personal victimisation experiences or other crime-related factors.[6]

An analysis carried out on the 1989 ICVS results in industrialised countries showed that those who had been victimised were not more in favour of a prison sentence than others.[7] Both the 1992[8] and 1996 ICVS support this finding both at the global and regional levels. There is no significant difference in preferences for sentencing options between victims and non-victims of any crime as presented in Table 43.

A group of special interest as regards the punishment of the burglar is that of those who had been burgled themselves. However, there is no substantial difference between the victims and non-victims of burglary, with the exception of burglary victims from Western Europe, Africa and Latin America who appear to be stronger supporters of imprisonment than non-burglary victims.

Further analyses carried out on victims and non-victims of contact crimes and vehicle-related crimes also confirmed the above mentioned

6 In stepwise regression analysis on the regional level, among the four chosen predictors of the preference for imprisonment, "anglophone countries" were positively related with beta 0.43. see J.J.M. van Dijk. "Who is Afraid of the Crime Victim: Criminal victimisation, Fear of Crime and Opinions on Crime in an International Perspective'. paper presented at the World Society of Victimology Symposium. Adelaide, Australia, 21-26 August 1994.

7 A. Kuhn. "Attitudes towards Punishment". In, A. Alvazzi del Frate, U. Zvekic, and J.J.M. van Dijk (Eds.). *Understanding Crime: Experiences of Crime and Crime Control*. Rome: UNICRI, Publ. No. 49, 1993.

8 U. Zvekic. "Les Attitudes des Victimes envers la Police et la Punitivité: Résultats des Sondages Internationaux de Victimisation". In *Revue Internationale de Criminologie et de Police Technique*, Vol. I, Janvier-Mars, 1997.

findings.

Table 43 - Sentencing options: attitudes of victims and non-victims, 1992-96

	Fine	Prison	Community service	Suspended sentence
No victims				
Western Europe	14.0	30.1	39.4	6.8
New World	7.6	39.4	37.7	5.7
Countries in Transition	10.6	38.9	32.3	6.9
Asia	7.8	77.2	5.6	1.0
Africa	11.3	66.4	10.4	2.1
Latin America	7.6	49.0	28.8	4.2
Victims of any crime				
Western Europe	12.1	30.1	42.5	7.5
New World	7.1	37.6	40.1	6.0
Countries in Transition	9.5	38.5	34.8	6.5
Asia	7.5	76.2	7.6	1.5
Africa	9.4	71.9	10.3	1.6
Latin America	7.8	49.7	31.3	3.8
Victims of burglary				
Western Europe	10.7	36.5	38.0	6.1
New World	5.4	36.6	46.3	5.0
Countries in Transition	8.8	41.4	31.3	6.3
Asia	9.6	74.1	6.2	1.6
Africa	8.4	72.5	11.0	0.9
Latin America	7.5	53.2	25.8	4.5

Fear of crime

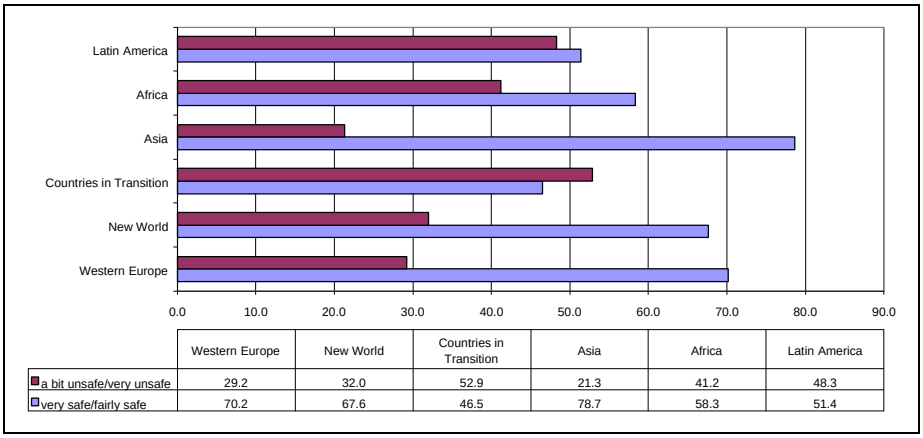
The ICVS indicators of fear of crime refer to a) feeling unsafe in the street after dark, b) avoiding particular streets or areas for security reasons after dark, and c) likelihood of burglary. Victims of crime, both male and female, generally show a greater fear of crime than the average of the respondents. The majority of women victims of sexual incidents and non-sexual assault feel unsafe and use the precaution of avoiding particular places after dark.

a) Feeling unsafe after dark

The first indicator of fear of crime refers to perceived insecurity in the street after dark. The respondents were asked whether they felt very

safe, fairly safe, a bit unsafe or very unsafe. Figure 35 shows the regional breakdown of responses grouped into two main aggregates safe/unsafe. It appears that in all regions with the exception of countries in transition the percentage of respondents falling into the "safe" category exceeded that of those falling into the "unsafe" group. The biggest differences between the two categories were observed in Asia (79 to 21%), Western Europe (70 to 29%) and the New World (68 to 32%). It should be noted however that in all the developing regions the majority of the respondents felt either fairly safe or very safe at night.

Figure 35 - Feeling unsafe after dark, by regions



	Western Europe	New World	Countries in Transition	Asia	Africa	Latin America
a bit unsafe/very unsafe	29.2	32.0	52.9	21.3	41.2	48.3
very safe/fairly safe	70.2	67.6	46.5	78.7	58.3	51.4

In the developing countries the analysis of the results at the country level confirms the above findings, with some exceptions. In fact, more people felt unsafe rather than safe in South Africa, Brazil, Botswana and Bolivia.

Fear of crime is higher in the countries where contact crimes are higher (the correlation coefficients found were r 0.566 N=17 with robbery and 0.755 N=16 with assault with force), while a weaker correlation was found with burglary (0.2915 N=17).

Table 44 - Feeling unsafe after dark, developing countries

	Very safe	Fairly safe	A bit unsafe	Very unsafe	Do not know
Asia					
Indonesia	11.0	58.0	11.4	19.5	0.1
Philippines	33.8	52.2	13.0	1.0	
India	56.1	30.5	10.4	2.9	0.1
China	6.6	70.9	21.2	1.3	
Africa					
Uganda	20.4	47.9	25.9	5.7	0.1
Egypt	49.8	33.5	8.1	8.7	
South Africa	14.3	21.7	24.4	39.6	
Tanzania	25.9	33.0	27.4	13.6	
Tunisia	34.8	40.9	18.7	5.6	
Zimbabwe	25.7	23.8	20.2	26.9	3.3
Botswana	7.4	34.9	24.4	32.9	0.5
Latin America					
Costa Rica	32.0	31.3	17.7	18.6	0.3
Brazil	13.1	17.4	32.1	37.5	
Argentina	17.3	47.7	22.8	12.2	
Bolivia	11.1	28.9	37.6	22.0	0.4
Paraguay	36.4	21.1	18.5	22.1	1.8
Colombia	12.9	44.5	29.6	12.9	0.1

b) Avoid places after dark

A second indicator of fear of crime was provided by the question on avoiding certain places after dark for reasons of safety. Figure 36 shows that this behaviour was put in place by more than half of the Latin American respondents, which were those showing the highest levels of fear of crime. Between 40 and 50% of the sample in Africa and countries in transition expressed this concern, while lower percentages were found in Western Europe, the New World and Asia.

In the developing countries, the majority of the respondents from Egypt, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Brazil, Bolivia and Colombia declared that they avoided certain areas after dark because they felt unsafe. Again, a correlation was found between such a behaviour and contact crime, thus confirming that in the countries in which victimisation rates were higher there was more anxiety with respect to

possible (further) victimisation. The correlation coefficient found was 0.764 (N=17) for robbery and 0.608 (N=16) for assault with force.

Figure 36 - Avoid places when going out after dark, by regions

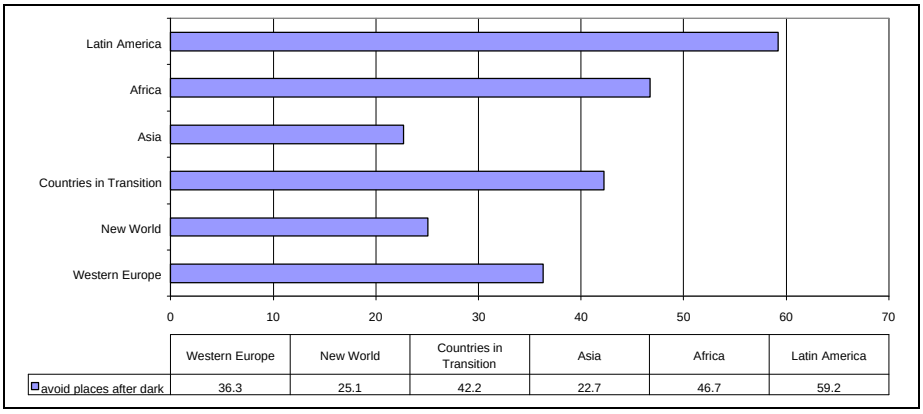


Table 45 - Avoid places when going out after dark, developing countries

	Yes	No	Do not know	Never go out
Asia				
Indonesia	21.7	73.7	0.7	3.9
Philippines	24.4	72.9	1.1	1.6
India	19.6	75.9	2.8	1.8
China	25.5	73.9		0.6
Africa				
Uganda	40.3	51.7	2.3	5.7
Egypt	54.4	45.6		
South Africa	51.7	36.2	4.0	8.1
Tanzania	37.0	44.1		18.9
Tunisia	39.8	58.7		1.5
Zimbabwe	56.7	31.6	1.8	10.0
Botswana	47.7	26.0	4.2	22.2
Latin America				
Costa Rica	47.8	49.3	0.2	2.7
Brazil	72.9	24.6		2.5
Argentina	48.6	46.6	1.2	3.6
Bolivia	71.2	23.5	1.8	3.5
Paraguay	45.6	49.2	1.9	3.3
Colombia	65.4	24.1	7.1	3.5

Gender and experiences of victimisation influence the perception of fear of crime. Table 46 shows a breakdown of responses provided by male and female victims and non-victims in the six world regions. Feelings of insecurity and avoiding places appear as not frequent behaviours of male non-victims in Western Europe, the New World and Asia, while those in countries in transition, Africa and Latin America showed higher concerns. Female respondents who had not been victimised showed the lowest rates of feeling unsafe in Asia, while this was the case in the other regions with between one third and one half of the sample.

Table 46 - Fear of crime in male and female respondents, by type of victimisation and regions

	Non-victims		Victims of robbery		Victims of assault with force		Victims of sexual assault	
	Feel unsafe	Avoid places	Feel unsafe	Avoid places	Feel unsafe	Avoid places	Feel unsafe	Avoid places
Male Respondents								
Western Europe	12.5	22.2	28.8	43.4	21.7	31.7	-	-
New World	16.5	12.9	26.0	30.3	28.4	26.2	-	-
Countries in transition	40.6	26.4	46.6	39.7	48.2	40.2	-	-
Asia	10.5	16.1	23.0	30.2	28.7	36.5	-	-
Africa	30.1	34.6	42.5	49.9	42.6	57.9	-	-
Latin America	39.3	45.4	52.0	61.6	51.8	59.2	-	-
Female Respondents								
Western Europe	39.4	37.9	63.7	62.8	46.6	64.6	69.7	63.9
New World	44.6	23.7	47.4	41.7	57.5	49.9	68.8	56.6
Countries in transition	64.6	42.6	77.4	61.1	76.0	64.6	71.5	72.3
Asia	13.4	20.6	22.1	27.5	39.1	57.3	44.9	37.3
Africa	48.7	43.1	45.7	50.2	54.7	58.6	52.0	40.0
Latin America	49.9	57.4	62.9	74.7	61.9	75.6	85.0	68.7

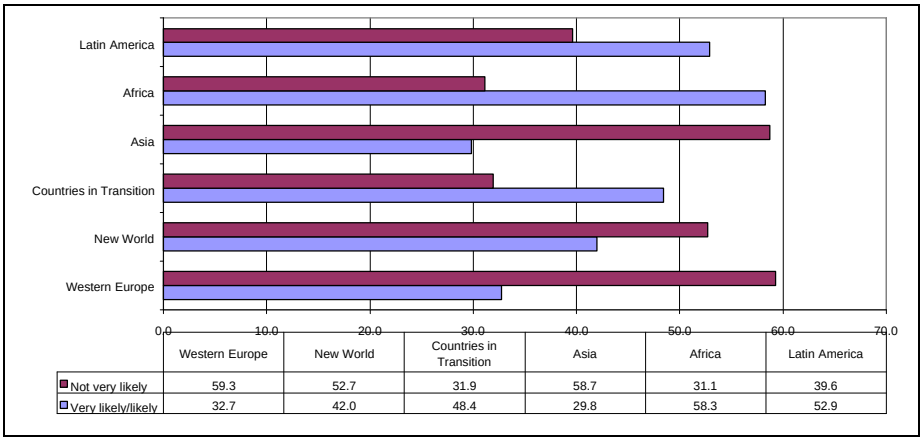
Women victims, especially in Western Europe, showed a marked increase in feeling unsafe and avoiding places after dark. Differences were particularly high for victims of robbery and sexual assault. Both male and female victims in all regions showed an increase in the percentage of "avoid places after dark" which exceeded the increase in "feel unsafe", as if experiences of victimisation suggested them the

adoption of some practical crime prevention precautions. Further analysis brought to light that women victims of attempted rape showed the highest percentages for both indicators of fear of crime described above.

c) Fear of burglary

The respondents were asked whether they felt that a burglary was likely to occur in their household in the next twelve months. Figure 37 shows that the majority of the respondents from Western Europe, the New World and Asia were not concerned about the possibility of a break-in in the near future, while the opposite was the case with the majority of the respondents from Latin America, countries in transition and Africa. The higher the rates of victimisation for burglary and attempted burglary, the higher the fear of this type of crime. There is a strong correlation at the regional level between perceived likelihood of burglary and victimisation rates for burglary (0.898 N=6).

Figure 37 - Likelihood of burglary, by regions



	Western Europe	New World	Countries in Transition	Asia	Africa	Latin America
Not very likely	59.3	52.7	31.9	58.7	31.1	39.6
Very likely/likely	32.7	42.0	48.4	29.8	58.3	52.9

The positive correlation between perceived likelihood of burglary and burglary observed at the regional level holds true also at the country level in developing countries (0.690 N=17). Burglary was perceived as

not likely by more than half of the respondents in three countries only, namely China, The Philippines and Brazil, while a more pessimistic attitude was generalised in the other participating developing countries.

Table 47 - Likelihood of burglary, developing countries

	Very likely	Likely	Not very likely	Do not know
Asia				
Indonesia	2.0	51.2	34.6	12.2
Philippines	2.4	11.0	76.6	10.0
India	6.3	17.8	53.0	22.9
China	2.3	15.7	82.0	
Africa				
Uganda	7.3	44.9	29.4	18.4
Egypt	12.0	50.1	37.9	
South Africa	25.1	29.3	33.0	12.7
Tanzania	23.3	55.7	21.0	
Tunisia	12.0	48.9	39.1	
Zimbabwe	13.3	40.5	35.3	10.8
Botswana	26.6	32.5	19.3	21.6
Latin America				
Costa Rica	14.2	43.7	38.4	3.7
Brazil	3.0	40.5	51.3	5.2
Argentina	10.2	41.6	39.4	8.8
Bolivia	14.4	51.4	22.9	11.3
Paraguay	15.8	39.6	36.8	7.7
Colombia	9.9	41.9	38.0	10.2

Chapter 6

CRIME PREVENTION MECHANISMS

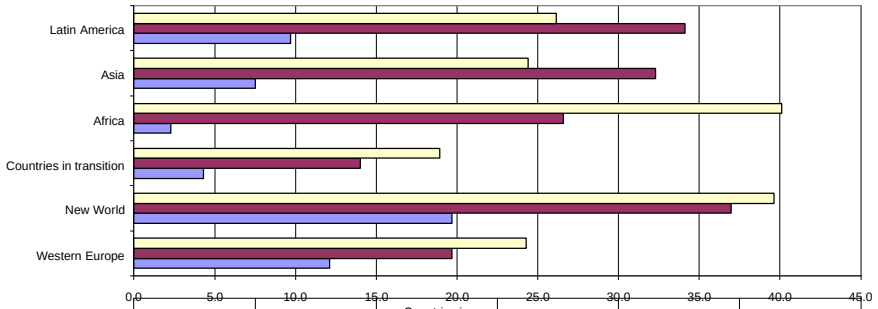
Crime prevention at the household level

The costs that offenders may face in committing burglary can be greatly increased if a household is protected by some sort of crime prevention device. Deterrence is put in place by creating physical or psychological barriers between the offender and the target.

It appears that the patterns of committing burglaries in isolated houses or flats in condominiums are different. An apartment may be better protected from attacks from outside than a house, but once a burglar gets in, he/she is more likely to work undisturbed because of the higher level of anonymity which is found in a condominium.

Crime prevention measures suggested for the two types of dwelling are also different: while a burglar alarm can be advisable in both situations, its effectiveness can be greatly reduced if the house is isolated and the alarm is not connected, for example, to the local police station. Otherwise, if the alarm consists of an acoustic deterrent, it can only work if it is likely to be heard by somebody in the neighbourhood.

Figure 38 - Use of crime prevention measures at the household level, by regions



	Western Europe	New World	Countries in transition	Africa	Asia	Latin America
neighbour	24.3	39.6	18.9	40.1	24.4	26.1
other devices	19.7	37.0	14.0	26.6	32.3	34.1
burglar alarm	12.1	19.7	4.3	2.3	7.5	9.7

Three main types of crime prevention measures are commonly used to protect households and were identified by the ICVS questionnaire. A first type consists of behaviours adopted by the household members in order to prevent crimes. For example, keeping a watch dog, making the house look and sound occupied while away by leaving curtains and shades in their normal position or lights on, or asking a neighbour or caretaker to look after the house. In many cultures, households are rarely left unattended and relatives or friends may come along and take care of the home.

A second type consists of physical devices which are put in place in order to make access of unauthorised persons into the household more difficult. This type includes the simplest and more diffused crime prevention devices such as door locks, window grills and fences. Burglar alarms installed to protect the household from break-ins also belong to this category.

Finally, a third type exists at the community level and consists in the establishment of community-based initiatives involving other parties in

crime prevention (such as other citizens, but also the police, the municipality or the schools). An example of these are "neighbourhood watch" schemes involving the residents of a particular area.

Table 48 shows the rates of crime prevention measures observed by the ICVS. It should be noted that the adoption of crime prevention measures very much depends on the type of dwelling (at the regional level a correlation coefficient of 0.835 was found between an aggregate index of crime prevention measures and living in a house rather than an apartment – N=6). In fact, most of the devices or precautions listed in Table 48 are more suitable for a house than an apartment. It therefore appears that crime prevention measures are least used in countries in transition, the region in which most respondents lived in apartments. In addition, the cost of crime prevention devices that are more suitable for apartments (e.g. burglar alarms) are higher and therefore less in use in less affluent countries even if apartments are the most diffused dwelling places for city inhabitants.

It should also be noted that the percentage of those who declared that they did not use *any* of the measures listed by the ICVS ranged from 10% in Latin America to 40% in the countries in transition, reflecting both the suitability of type of devices for type of dwelling as well as specific behaviours and level of expenditure for crime prevention.

The ICVS revealed that various types of crime prevention measures exist in all world regions, although their use is more frequent where affluence is higher. The most popular crime prevention measure was asking the neighbours to look after the house in case of absence. From a minimum of 27% of the respondents in Tunisia to a maximum of 100% in India normally ask their neighbours to look after the household when away.

Table 48 - Crime prevention measures at the household level, by regions

	Burglar alarm	Door lock	Window grills	Watch dog	High fence	Caretaker	Neighbourhood watch	None	Ask neighbours/ caretaker to look after the house
Western Europe	12.1	41.2	16.5	9.9	11.2	8.9	17.9	19.2	46.0
New World	19.7	61.3	30.0	30.7	25.9	7.6	42.8	12.9	68.5
Countries in transition	4.3	26.6	8.0	17.4	4.0	2.2	8.8	39.8	45.8
Asia	2.3	43.5	35.1	19.1	8.6	6.8	37.8	20.6	75.7
Africa	7.5	41.8	41.5	19.5	26.4	9.8	10.0	17.0	53.4
Latin America	9.7	47.4	39.9	30.4	18.8	14.8	9.4	10.4	54.2

Table 49 - Crime prevention measures at the household level, developing countries

	Burglar alarm	Door lock	Windowgrills	Watch dog	High fence	Caretaker	Neighbourhood watch	None	Ask neighbours/ caretaker to look after the house
Asia									
Indonesia	5.8	27.6	54.9	12.6	19.4	4.7	33.5	5.7	87.1
Philippines	2.1	73.5	49.5	44.9	13.0	1.3	48.8	0.6	67.6
India	2.2	46.4	29.3	5.0	3.5	21.9	28.6	4.7	100.0
China	0.1	14.7	8.1	5.6	0.1	0.0		71.4	32.6
Africa									
Uganda	5.1	40.1	34.5	23.4	23.2	10.5	5.4	18.3	80.5
Egypt	3.2	58.4	16.1	3.2	3.1	13.5		2.5	38.8
South Africa	8.7	39.6	47.1	21.3	35.6	2.5	8.2	18.4	44.7
Tanzania	9.8	38.8	64.3	30.2	31.5	23.6		22.4	52.6
Tunisia	10.6	46.1	41.5	20.2	16.2	9.5		0.1	27.1
Zimbabwe	5.2	44.4	45.4	15.1	54.1	11.3	17.2	19.6	34.4
Botswana	11.4	19.9	40.6	18.3	9.0	1.9	6.7	37.6	59.8
Latin America									
Costa Rica	9.6	53.7	66.0	39.1	40.3	22.0	23.5	7.3	72.6
Brazil	1.5	56.4	52.8	25.7	14.6	13.6	6.5	0.4	44.0
Argentina	21.2	53.2	29.4	16.7	12.8	15.0	9.3	9.4	47.2
Bolivia	2.0	31.0	9.4	65.7	19.7	2.2	3.4	12.7	66.0
Paraguay	2.6	26.4	34.3	40.2	20.8	4.6	9.6	21.3	69.8
Colombia	15.2	37.0	31.4	14.2	7.0	25.7	8.4	11.4	

The second most diffused method was the use of door locks and ownership/use of watch dogs. Keeping a watch dog was mentioned by approximately a quarter of the respondents, with peaks of 66% in Bolivia, 45% in The Philippines and 40% in Paraguay.

Asking the neighbours and keeping a watch dog are two widely used types of protection by the respondents from all the regions and in all developing countries. It is interesting to observe that watch dogs are not only frequently found in houses, but are also frequently kept in apartments (approximately 20% in countries in transition, where most people live in apartments): it appears that even a pet might do some crime prevention work.

Employing a caretaker to prevent crime was indicated by approximately 10% of the respondents in Africa and Latin America. This measure is very much related to the urban and social structure of the country, as well as its habits. It therefore appears that rates vary depending on the local situation. In a few countries, including Colombia, Costa Rica, Tanzania, India and Argentina, rates of employment of caretakers are much higher than in the rest of the participating countries.

Data from the ICVS reveal that “simple” crime prevention measures such as door locks and window grills are used in all the participating countries. The countries in which such devices are less used are those in which there is a low incidence of crime prevention measures in general.

As expected, window grills and fences are very frequent in all regions where the most popular type of dwelling is a house, with the exception of Asia.

An aggregate index of crime prevention measures reveals that they are more frequently used in the developing countries in which burglary rates are higher (r 0.328 N=17). These findings suggest that crime

prevention measures are adopted where and when burglary occurs more frequently.

It therefore appears that respondents from high-crime countries feel safer (unlikelihood of burglary) if they use crime prevention measures, while the same feeling of safety is expressed by respondents from low-crime areas who did not adopt any of the crime prevention measures identified by the survey.

The ICVS data show that crime prevention measures at the individual level are not a major concern of the respondents from the participating countries. Although burglary in the next twelve months is perceived as likely or very likely by more than 40% of the respondents in most developing countries and in countries in transition, only some basic measures to prevent crime are put in place by those who fear that their household will be broken into soon.

It is hard to assess whether this means that there is not enough protection put in place by individuals or whether crime prevention policies in different countries are based on different strategies which give more or less room to "self-help".

"Self-help" may be considered the most informal type of crime control, and is therefore individualised. The "social" mechanisms for crime prevention, such as neighbourhood watch schemes, require the citizens to participate in crime prevention activities organised by groups of peers who work in agreement with the agencies of formal control for the benefit of the community.

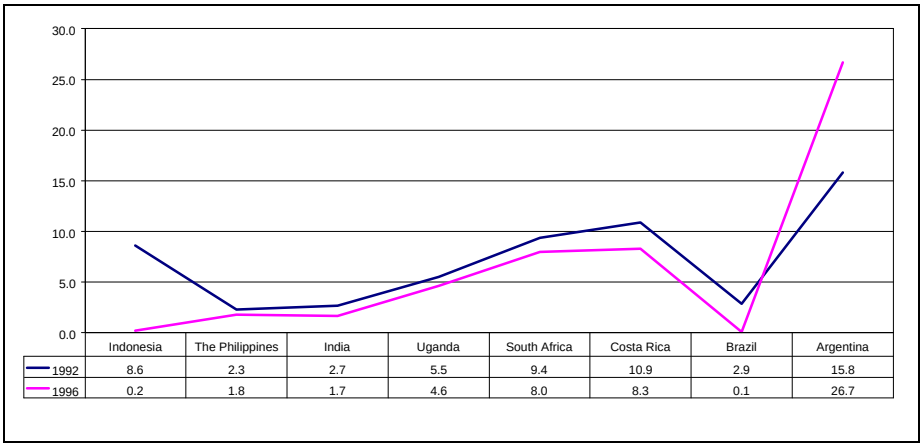
Burglar alarms

Figure 39 shows the percentages of respondents who owned burglar alarms in 1992 and 1996 in the developing countries. In general,

burglar alarms are more frequently installed to protect houses than apartments.

Alarms are more diffused in the more affluent regions, i.e. the New World and Western Europe. However, within these regions they are not very popular in Switzerland, Finland, Sweden and Austria, which are also the countries with the lowest burglary rates. The apparently high incidence of burglar alarms in Latin America is mostly due to their spread in Buenos Aires, where 26% of the respondents owned such a device in 1996.

Figure 39 - Burglar alarms, by developing countries, 1992 and 1996



	Indonesia	The Philippines	India	Uganda	South Africa	Costa Rica	Brazil	Argentina
1992	8.6	2.3	2.7	5.5	9.4	10.9	2.9	15.8
1996	0.2	1.8	1.7	4.6	8.0	8.3	0.1	26.7

Between 1992 and 1996 the use or installation of burglar alarms decreased in most developing countries. Despite the fact that it is generally agreed that a trend exists towards a wider distribution of burglar alarms, this may hold true for the wealthier countries while in the developing world there is a problem of maintenance of electronic equipment and lack of spare parts which may be reflected in the decrease of burglar alarm rates. Furthermore, a doubt may remain that,

in the 1992 sweep of the ICVS, the wording of the relevant question could have been misinterpreted and not unequivocally linked to an electronic device. It is possible that in 1996, due to the larger presence of a security devices market, the advertisement almost exclusively refers to electronic burglar alarms which may, in turn, have led to a more strict interpretation of the question as referring to electronic devices only.

It is hard to tell whether a wider use of burglar alarms can be related to the increase or decrease of burglary rates, although in the New World, Asia and Africa the percentage of burglar alarm owners who were victims of burglary in the past five years was lower than the regional average.

In Asia and Latin America, respondents with a burglar alarm who were *not* victims of burglary in the past five years showed markedly lower percentages of fear than the average for the sample.

Possession of firearms for crime prevention

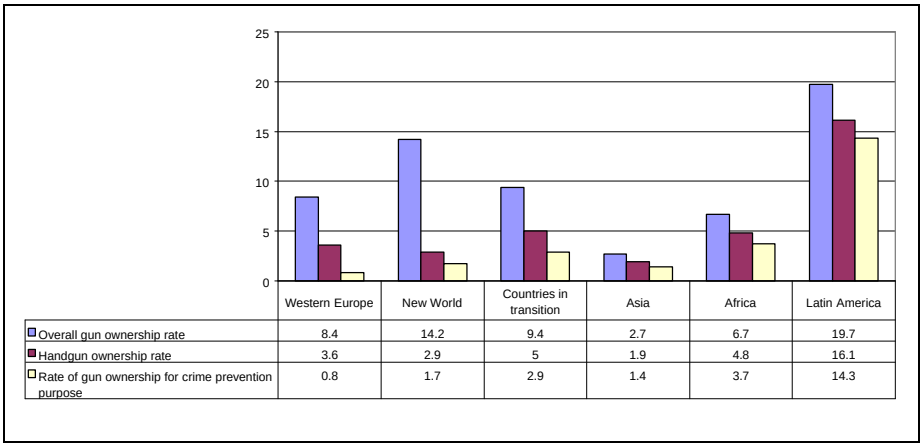
The perception that a gun can be considered an effective crime prevention device is frequent in some countries and many people depend on a firearm for protection.

Figure 40 shows that rates of ownership of firearms very much vary from region to region. The highest ownership rates were observed in the Latin America and the New World, followed by countries in transition and Western Europe.

However, the reasons for gun ownership are different and vary greatly from country to country. Not all the firearms are meant to be used for crime prevention purposes. Handguns are more likely to be owned for self-protection and Figure 40 indeed shows that, at the regional level,

the higher the percentage of handguns, the higher the percentage of respondents who declared that they owned firearms for crime prevention purpose.

Figure 40 - Firearms ownership rates, handgun ownership rates and rates of gun ownership for crime prevention purpose, by regions (cities and urban areas, base = total sample)



	Western Europe	New World	Countries in transition	Asia	Africa	Latin America
Overall gun ownership rate	8.4	14.2	9.4	2.7	6.7	19.7
Handgun ownership rate	3.6	2.9	5	1.9	4.8	16.1
Rate of gun ownership for crime prevention purpose	0.8	1.7	2.9	1.4	3.7	14.3

In countries in transition and developing countries hand guns were more widespread than long guns. It should be observed that handguns were more frequently found in large cities than in rural areas and in some cities, especially in Latin America, they represented the absolute majority of the firearms owned by the respondents.

In Argentina and Paraguay (with firearm ownership rates of 30 and 32% respectively) the large majority of the gun owners declared that they owned it to protect themselves from crime. This was the case with most of the firearm owners from Latin America, Asia and Africa, although actual rates of ownership varied, the lowest being in Asia and Africa.

Table 50 - Firearm ownership rates, handgun ownership rates and rates of gun ownership for crime prevention purpose, developing countries (base = total sample)

	Overall gun ownership rate	Handgun ownership rate	Rate of gun ownership for crime prevention purpose
Asia			
Indonesia	4.7	2.8	1.4
Philippines	5.0	4.1	3.5
India	0.9	0.4	0.2
China	0.2	0.0	n.a.
Africa			
Uganda	1.7	0.7	1.6
Egypt	8.3	7.4	5.2
South Africa	12.4	10.5	10.6
Tanzania	10.1	n.a.	n.a.
Tunisia	3.5	1.3	n.a.
Zimbabwe	2.8	0.6	2.1
Botswana	6.3	0.7	0.5
Latin America			
Costa Rica	19.1	14.6	16.6
Brazil	12.5	12.3	10.3
Argentina	29.5	23.6	18.6
Bolivia	8.8	4.3	3.9
Paraguay	31.9	29.9	27.4
Colombia	19.1	14.8	13.6

The above examples show different patterns of ownership and use of weapons. While it appears that there is no correlation between burglary and gun ownership as such, at the regional level a strong correlation was found between ownership for the purpose of crime prevention and both burglary and attempted burglary (r 0.962 and 0.926 respectively, N=6).

Finally, those respondents who declared owning a weapon for crime prevention purposes also perceived high chances of burglary (very likely and likely) within the next twelve months (r 0.728 N=6 at the regional level).

Chapter 7

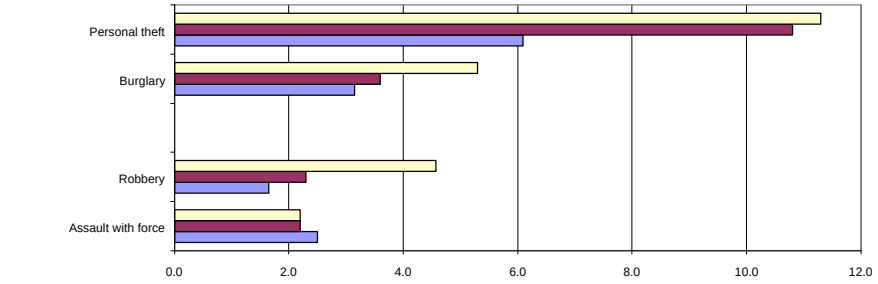
SELECTED ISSUES FOR DISCUSSION

Crime and development

The levels and effects of victimisation are more pronounced in the developing countries than in the rest of the world. As discussed in this volume, the ICVS shows that the overall victimisation risks of citizens in developing countries are higher for all property-related types of crime, while the risk for assault with force is equal in the industrialised countries, countries in transition and the developing world.

Theft of personal property was actually the most frequent type of victimisation in all the regions, followed by burglary and robbery in developing countries and countries in transition. The highest victimisation rates for one year were observed for personal theft in the developing countries and countries in transition, which almost levelled and exceeded 10% in both groups. Rates of around 5% were found for personal theft in the industrialised countries and for burglary and robbery in the developing countries. Finally, the lowest victimisation rates (around 2% in the three groups) were observed for assault with force, while burglary and robbery in countries in transition and industrialised countries also did not exceed 3%.

Figure 41 - Aggregate victimisation rates for selected crimes, one year. Cities and urban areas (>100,000 pop.)



	Assault with force	Robbery		Burglary	Personal theft
Developing countries (17)	2.2	4.6		5.3	11.3
Countries in transition (20)	2.2	2.3		3.6	10.8
Industrialised countries (17)	2.5	1.7		3.2	6.1

The ICVS data on victimisation rates for theft of personal property, burglary and assault all reveal a negative correlation with the Human Development Index. The more developed the country is, the less frequent is victimisation for theft (r -0.560 N=53), burglary (r -0.422 N=53) and, to some extent, assault (r -0.113 N=53).

Moreover, the lower capacity to minimise the effects of victimisation (i.e. through insurance, replacement or victim support) increases the burden of crime. These findings support the hypothesis that crime indeed more heavily affects citizens in developing countries.

The trend observed above is found again if the analysis is limited to the group of developing countries. The correlation of the victimisation rates for theft of personal property, burglary and assault from developing countries with HDI indeed shows the same direction observed at the global level. In fact, although the strength of the correlation within the group of developing countries was much weaker than that observed at the global level, again it was found that the more developed the country is, the less frequent is victimisation for theft (r -

0.252 N=16) and burglary (r -0.190 N=16), while practically no correlation was observed for assault (r 0.021 N=16). It therefore appears that further analysis of these results may tell us more on the crime/development relation.

The relationship between crime and development has been the object of many studies over the years, but no clear conclusion as regards the consequences of socio-economic growth on crime has ever been reached. While a traditional belief suggested that technological progress and a more equal distribution of economic wealth would reduce social conflict, other theories envisaged that socio-economic growth and modernisation would necessarily involve an increase in overall crime rates, and in particular in crimes against property.[1] This theory was supported by the observation that developed countries generally showed higher theft rates and lower homicide rates than developing countries.[2]

However, such conclusions have usually been reached on the basis of official administrative data. The possibility for a country to produce reliable crime statistics also depends on its level of development. Lack of resources and technology may be the cause of scarce capacity and efficiency of the police in recording crimes. At the same time, victims may also be more reluctant to spend time and money in reporting

1 See, for example, L. Shelley. *Crime and Modernization: Impact of Industrialization and Urbanization on Crime*. Carbondale, Ill., 1981.

2 For example, a study published in the early seventies observed that, when distributing a list of countries according to a series of development indicators on a continuum, developed countries showed homicide rates lower than 6 and theft rates higher than 600 per 100,000 population. The development indicators used included urbanisation, economic development, literacy, etc. Crime rates considered in the study referred to official statistics as presented by Interpol. P. Wolf. "Crime and Development. An International Comparison of Crime Rates". In *Scandinavian Studies in Criminology*, 1971, pp. 107-120

crimes. Finally, "in many developing countries, victims, especially those from lower classes, want to have as little contact with the police as they can. Victims would rather suffer the loss or injury, resort to private or informal initiatives, or report only with great reluctance and fear".[3] These problems in reporting are particularly likely to affect proper recording of property crime.

The analysis of the results of the United Nations Survey of Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems (UN Crime Survey) provides comparable information on recorded crimes from a number of responding Member States. In 1990, a study on the findings of the First and Second UN Crime Surveys[4] showed that, as development increases (as measured by Gross Domestic Product per capita), so also does property crime, while the relationship for violent crime is inverse.

The Fifth UN Crime Survey provided compatible data for 1994 on intentional homicide and theft[5] from 28 countries ranging from the most to the least developed according to the Human Development Index (HDI).[6] By correlating data for homicide and theft with the HDI for the respective countries, a positive correlation with theft rates is found again (r 0.596 N = 28), while a negative correlation between homicide rates and HDI is also found, although weaker (r -0.204 N = 28).

3 O. Marenin. "Victimization Surveys and the Accuracy and Reliability of Official Crime Data in Developing Countries". In *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 25:6, 1997, pp. 463-475. P. 470.

4 G. Newman. "Crime and the Human Condition". In, U. Zvekic (Ed.). *Essays on Crime and Development.* Rome: UNICRI, Publ. No. 36, 1990, pp. 69-102.

5 The UN Crime Survey categories used here are "total intentional homicide" and "total theft".

6 The 1994 Human Development Index for the responding countries is taken from *Human Development Report 1997*, United Nations Development Programme. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1997

Table 51 - United Nations Survey of Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems, homicide and theft rates (1994) and UNDP, Human development Index (1994)

Country name	Homicide Rates x 100,000 pop.	Theft Rates x 100,000 pop.	HDI 1994
JAPAN	1.4	1,049.8	0.940
ENGLAND & WALES	1.4	4,863.6	0.931*
SINGAPORE	1.7	919.6	0.900
CANADA	2.0	3,430.4	0.960
SCOTLAND	2.2	4,641.8	0.931*
MALTA	3.0	1,125.0	0.887
BELGIUM	3.4	2,733.0	0.932
AUSTRIA	3.5	1,582.3	0.932
SLOVAKIA	3.8	1,099.8	0.873
HUNGARY	4.7	1,321.7	0.857
DENMARK	5.1	3,963.1	0.927
ITALY	5.3	2,330.9	0.921
SLOVENIA	5.7	811.7	0.886
ISRAEL	7.2	182.3	0.913
ROMANIA	7.6	457.6	0.748
INDIA	7.9	33.1	0.446
AZERBAIJAN	8.9	65.0	0.636
REP OF MOLDOVA	9.5	334.1	0.612
COSTA RICA	9.7	520.8	0.889
KYRGYZSTAN	12.3	238.4	0.635
GEORGIA	14.4	109.7	0.637
KAZAKSTAN	15.7	591.6	0.709
ECUADOR	18.5	239.6	0.775
BOLIVIA	23.3	392.4	0.589
NICARAGUA	25.6	173.9	0.530
JAMAICA	29.8	520.5	0.736
KUWAIT	58.0	10.6	0.844
COLOMBIA	78.6	233.3	0.848

Sources: *Fifth United Nations Survey on Crime Trends and the Operations of Criminal Justice System, UNCJIN (rates elaborated by UNICRI); Human Development Report 1997, United Nations Development Programme, Oxford University Press, Oxford/New York, 1997.*

It should be taken into account that homicide is the type of crime which is least sensitive to the official procedure of recording. On the other hand, recording of theft depends on the propensity of citizens to report and on the efficiency of the police in registering. In many affluent societies minor thefts are reported only if the property was insured. As victim surveys have shown, property crime is more frequent in developing countries than in the rest of the world. In this respect, it can be said that the correlation found above between official

rates of theft and HDI rather shows the existence of a correlation between level of development and efficiency of the police in recording. In conclusion, the higher the level of development the more frequently property crime is recorded in official statistics, while there is no strict relationship between homicide rates and development.

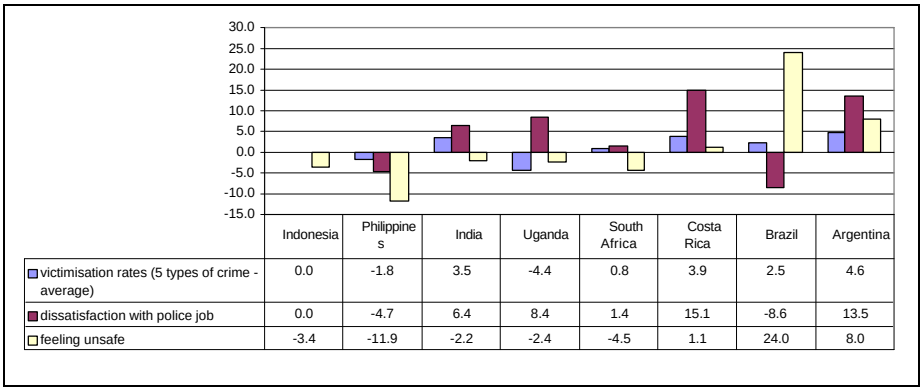
1992-1996 trends

The comparison between the 1992 and 1996/97 sweeps of the ICVS, although limited to only eight countries which took part in both, may reveal some trends. The variations in victimisation rates between 1992 and 1996 are presented in Figure 42, together with corresponding data on public perception of police performance and feelings of security. An increase of more than 1% in victimisation rates was observed in half the participating countries, namely Costa Rica, Brazil, Argentina and India, while the others showed either no change or a decrease. It also appears that, in general, there was consistency between the increase/decrease in victimisation rates and a corresponding increase/decrease of dissatisfaction with police performance and feelings of insecurity, with Uganda and Brazil behaving as outliers.

In fact, a positive correlation was found between the differences in victimisation rates and the differences in the percentages of respondents who were dissatisfied with the police (r 0.950 N=6), as well as between changes in victimisation rates and the percentages of citizens who felt either a bit unsafe or very unsafe at night (r 0.895 N=6). In both cases, the analysis excluded Uganda and Brazil, the two countries for which some announced differences in sampling procedures may have determined discrepancies in the observed trends, not too much as regards levels of victimisation, but rather in the direction of attitudinal responses.

Figure 42 - 1992-1996 trends: victimisation rates (average of 5 types of crime), citizens' opinion

about police performance, fear of crime and likelihood of burglary - developing countries.



	Indonesia	Philippines	India	Uganda	South Africa	Costa Rica	Brazil	Argentina
victimisation rates (5 types of crime - average)	0.0	-1.8	3.5	-4.4	0.8	3.9	2.5	4.6
dissatisfaction with police job	0.0	-4.7	6.4	8.4	1.4	15.1	-8.6	13.5
feeling unsafe	-3.4	-11.9	-2.2	-2.4	-4.5	1.1	24.0	8.0

In conclusion, the ICVS results show that variations in the overall level of victimisation may indeed influence the general perception of police efficiency and affect the feelings of insecurity. A worse perception of the police may in turn lead to less reporting of crime and to the widening of the gap between victimisation experienced by citizens and crimes recorded by the police, thus perpetuating the present unreliability of official information on crime. The ICVS did not however confirm such a trend, since an increase in reporting rates was observed in the countries where victimisation rates increased in 1996 (r 0.476 N=6).

There is therefore a lot of dissatisfaction with the police, not only in controlling and preventing crime, but also in terms of the ways in which they deal with reported cases. Fear of crime is also widely diffused.

Discussion on women victims

While the survey data help to disclose the broad area of victimisation experienced by women, there are still grounds to claim that both reporting to the survey as well as to the police undercut the "true" extent of victimisation of women in particular. Whether this is so because of its belonging to what used to be considered mostly a private sphere, or because of the perception of 'moral impurity' of the woman victim, still dominating both the general and law enforcement culture in a number of countries, the fact remains that women victims are worse off within the generally bad position of victims in general. Victimisation due to domestic violence, in particular, is still disclosed with much difficulty, or even not at all.

In this respect, it should be taken into account that women from the countries participating in the ICVS enjoy different status and levels of freedom. There are also different levels of awareness of the issue of violence against women, thus leading to different perceptions of victimisation on the one hand and different levels of readiness to talk about, or report to public authorities, such episodes, on the other.

Without underestimating the seriousness of victimisation experienced by male survey respondents, it appears that traumatic female victimisation, especially in the forms of rape, sexual assault and domestic violence, is an issue that requires much more attention, detailed and targeted information and analysis, as well as appropriate consideration in the context of social development and crime prevention policy.

Distortions in reporting to the survey, either in the direction of over-reporting or under-reporting, might exist due to the same reason. In some of the most industrialised countries covered by the ICVS it was noted that high sensitivity to the issue corresponded to high rates of victimisation reported to the survey. Analysis of the 1992 ICVS data

suggested that this was not the case for developing countries, where the survey results showed that lower rates of sexual harassment were found in countries where women enjoyed a better status.[7] Table 52 shows several indicators related to the status of women in the participating developing countries.

On the basis of a similar analysis carried out on ICVS data from 1992,[8] a negative correlation was expected between the indicators for which higher values imply a better status of women, such as percentage of women administrators and managers, women's share in the labour force, as well as average age at the first marriage and contraceptive prevalence rates, while a positive correlation would have been expected between sexual assault and crude birth rate as well as total fertility rate. The analysis confirmed the previous results as regards the negative correlation found between victimisation for sexual assault and average age at the first marriage, women's share of the adult labour force and percentage of women administrators and managers.

Different results were obtained as regards crude birth rate, which ended up negatively correlated with sexual assault, and contraceptive prevalence rate, which was instead positively correlated to victimisation rate.

A negative correlation was also found between victimisation rates for sexual assault and total fertility rate.

The differences observed between the analysis of the 1992 data (which was carried out in 1994-95) and today's findings may add something

7 A. Alvazzi del Frate, A. Patrignani. "Women's Victimisation in the Developing World". UNICRI *Issues & Reports* No. 5, 1995.

8 A. Alvazzi del Frate, A. Patrignani. "Women's Victimisation in the Developing World". UNICRI *Issues & Reports* No. 5, 1995.

to the considerations related to women victims in developing countries. Sexual victimisation reported to the ICVS may actually have little to do with a low status of advancement of women.

Table 52 - Selected indicators on women status and sexual assault rates (1 year), developing countries

	Sexual Assault (1 year)	Average age at first marriage (years) (1980-90)	Women's share of adult labour force (age 15+) (1990)	Women administrators and managers (% - 1990)	Contraceptive prevalence rate (%) (1987-94)	Crude birth rate (1994)	Total fertility rate (births per woman – 1994)
Asia							
China	1.6	22.0	45	12	83	17	2
India	1.9	18.7	31	2	41	26	3
Indonesia	2.7	21.1	39	7	55	24	3
The Philippines	0.3	22.4	37	34	40	31	4
Africa							
Botswana	0.8	26.4	47	36	33	37	5
Egypt	3.1	21.9	n.a.	16	47	27	4
South Africa	2.3	26.1	37	17	50	31	4
Tunisia	1.9	24.3	29	7	60	24	3
Uganda	4.5	17.7	48	n.a.	15	51	7
Zimbabwe	2.2	20.4	44	15	48	41	5
Latin America							
Argentina	5.8	22.9	28	n.a.	n.a.	21	3
Bolivia	1.4	22.8	37	17	45	35	5
Brazil	8.0	22.6	34	17	66	20	2
Colombia	5.0	22.6	36	27	72	25	3
Costa Rica	4.3	22.2	28	21	75	26	3
Paraguay	2.7	21.8	28	15	56	33	4
Correlation Coefficient with sexual assault rate	=	-0.173	-0.285	-0.087	0.279	-0.245	-0.276

Source: *UNDP, Human Development Report 1994, 1996, 1997 and ICVS - UNICRI elaboration.*

Increased levels of sensitivity may bring to light more incidents which are reported to the survey, thus revealing, even within the developing world, a pattern similar to the one observed in the industrialised countries, where high victimisation rates were found in some countries where the sensitivity to the issue was higher.

The traditional forms of victimisation brought by gender inequality may be replaced by “modern” forms of victimisation such as violence at work or sexual harassment in public places, which come together with changes in gender roles brought about by modernity without a corresponding human and social development.

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