

Kaiser/Kury/Albrecht
Victims and Criminal Justice

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Victims and Criminal Justice

Victimological Research: Stocktaking and Prospects

Edited by

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with the assistance of

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Preface

The present volumes in relation to empirical victimology, attempt to present an overall view of the state of international research as it stands. The victim of crime has been considered in many countries, from various perspectives. We are concerned in this way, with questions as to the assessment of crime, recording the effects of crime upon the victim, and most of all with the improvement of the victim's position within the criminal proceedings and criminal law itself. Victimology has in the meantime developed to become an area of research which has many facets to it. This has led within a short period of time since the rediscovery of the victim, to a multitude of results within this area of research.

The publication of this collection of articles takes place upon the occasion of the VIIth International Symposium on Victimology in Rio de Janeiro/Brazil 1991. It has not been difficult for us to undertake this task, given that study of the victim of crime can be regarded as having an established tradition at the Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law in Freiburg. In addition, the study of the victim represents the main focus of a research program at the Institute at present. The first entirely German victim study after the melting of the two German States, has emerged as a result.

The present volumes present an impressive picture of the immense variation of questions with which victimological research is concerned today. At the same time, however, a number of gaps in relation to former research, are appearing. As a result, victimological questions, which have been derived from what is considered to be a misuse of power, have been researched to a limited extent. The same applies to the field concerning the expectations and needs of the victim. The present collection of articles, at any rate, draws attention to the fact that not only the criminological discipline which is concerned with victimologically relevant studies, but also other disciplines such as psychology and sociology, are taking up such victimological questions.

The articles were divided into three main groups. Volume I contains reports in summary and also articles, which deal with victim surveys in particular. Volume II contains studies in relation to the fields of legal protection, restitution and victim support. Volume III combines particular victim groups and questions in relation to the victim. This division can naturally be regarded as a simple categorization of the themes dealt with.

The overall view which the first volume contributes to victimological research, relates in particular to European countries such as Spain, Switzerland, Austria, Greece and the Federal Republic of Germany. In addition, the USSR, Israel and Japan are represented, and likewise the Black African States, the latter being in a summarized form. Articles in relation to victim surveys have been presented in the second chapter of the first volume. The magnitude of the research in this area is particularly noticeable.

The second volume contains essentially articles relating to the question of compensation and offender-victim-settlement and likewise victim protection. The main emphasis of the research can be seen quite clearly in this area. This emphasis most of all reflects the criminal political dynamic as is expressed in many model projects and law reforms. It concerns therefore the implementation and evaluation of projects and laws.

The third volume deals with articles relating to the area of business and victimization, a field which likewise, has been little researched. The volume is concerned also with minorities, a theme which has only been recently discovered, just as for example old people as victims of crime. Further chapters deal with children and juveniles as victims, and questions which are related to violence against women, two complex themes which have been quite rightly emphasized within victimology. Finally, the third volumes contains articles relating to victims of violent crimes and abuse of power.

We wish to thank at this point, the academics from all over the world, who are represented by their articles in these volumes. Mrs. Scott L.L.B. has contributed to the translation of many articles and the preparation of others. Without her conscientious work, it would not have been possible to cope with the problems which arose due to the publication of such an extensive amount of work in English. Our thanks also to Mrs. cand.phil. Eva Tov who organized and coordinated the publication, Mrs. cand.phil. Daniela Kirstein and Mr. cand.phil. Joachim Obergfell-Fuchs, who were involved to a considerable extent in the organization of these volumes, and who carried out proof reading of many articles.

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Finally, we wish to thank the publisher "Computersatz & Druckservice Barth" for the exemplary technical production and the immense patience.

Freiburg, Juli 1991

G. Kaiser
H. Kury
H.-J. Albrecht

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I.

General Accounts of Victimological Research and Victim Surveys

1. Stocktaking of Victimological Research

Victim-Related Research at the Max-Planck-Institute
- Points of Departure, Issues and Problems -

Günther Kaiser

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1. Approaches, Tendencies and Deficits of Victimological Research

During the last two decades, there has been increasing interest in academic discussion and practice, in the victim of crime. This concern has in the meantime become a focal point of criminological research (see *Kirchhoff et al.* 1979; *Schneider* 1982; *Miyazawa et al.* 1986). In the last few years most of all, such interest has increased in its intensity, so that it has been referred to as "euphoria" in the rediscovery of the victim or even a new fashion trend (see *Eser* 1989, p. 723 et seq.; *Seelmann* 1990, p. 159). It is well known that this development was preceded by the turning away from offender-orientated concepts of rehabilitation, which completely dominated criminal politics, to some extent one sidedly, in the 1960ies and 70ies (*Hirsch* 1990, p. 534). Victim orientation does not admittedly introduce a completely new viewpoint into the analysis of criminality, but merely focuses attention upon an object which has been neglected for some time. The crime committed, no longer appears to be an unilateral act controlled by the offender, but rather as a dynamic process of reciprocity between offender and victim (*Fattah* 1983, p. 45). In addition, this new way of thinking promises the opening up of new offender-orientated perspectives.

Within the spectrum of victimology research studies on crime and victimization by means of victim surveys, have been regarded for some time as the main focus point of research (see *Kaiser* 1986, p. 133 et seq.). On the basis of this, experiences of victimization and coping with these experiences, selection processes, fear of crime and its aspects related to media reporting and should become clear. In addition, the contribution of the victim to the development of the crime and the relationship between victim and offender, should be more easily understood. Victim surveys are not only means of empirical research, but can also be understood as social scientific instruments which serve as social political means of helping to increase the quality of life at various social levels (*Arnold* 1988, p. 911 et seq.). Other focal points of victimology research are represented by the improvement of victim protection, in particular the status of the victim in the criminal proceedings, new possibilities for settlement of offender-victim-conflicts such as victim-offender-mediation, as opposed to well known criminal sanctions (see *Kaiser* 1991).

When the various new viewpoints and proposals are summarized together, it is neither the self-sufficient victimological research, nor a possible radicalisation of victimology, which initiated this new development and encouraged its break-through. The development and application of the victim survey and also the extensive and intensive combination of new findings and criminological expertise, along with criminal politics and (although a little delayed) criminal law dogma, have been decisively influential in this respect. Criminological analysis, by means of the inclusion of victimological perspectives, can be seen as having been stimulated to a great extent, in this way. The construction of the reality of crime and the analysis of criminalisation and social control give constant impetus to the development.

In spite of the almost worldwide research efforts and flood of publications, the theoretical foundation of victim research, has until now remained a feeble attempt. Criticism of the theoretical deficit of researchers in the field of victimology (*Albrecht* 1990, p. 48) is clear. Even if one is not willing to accept the criticism, that victimology concerns an indiscriminate collection of ideas and interests, ideologies and methods of research (see *Fattah* 1983, p. 60), it cannot be ignored that the missing theoretical basis from this perspective is becoming even clearer. In addition, it is not surprising, that the renaissance of the interest in the victim is able to unite totally different criminal political theoretical points of view, such as abolitionists with the retribution theories and supporters of prevention (*Zipf* 1989, p. 103; *Seelmann* 1990, p. 161). Nevertheless, these varying motivations have not hindered the postulation of victim-offender-mediation, which has increasingly been the subject of discussion in Germany since the 1980ies. Clearly, the strategies of diversion (see *Heinz* 1990, p. 7 et seq.; *Dölling* 1991, p. 175 et seq.) and of informal settlement of conflict on the one hand and concepts of compensation for damages on the other hand, have provided sufficient impetus. If the results of former research, appear to be heterogenous, and in relation to practice a conclusion that punishment is not required is sometimes somewhat quickly reached, it can be attributed with certainty to the varied fundamental theoretical views held by academics (see *Sessar et al.* 1986, p. 86 et seq.; *Voss* 1989, p. 5 et seq.). It must also be noted, that the survey respondents frequently agreed with offender-victim-mediation, when abstract questions were put to them. However their attitudes were varied, in concrete cases where the respondent involved had been affected by a crime. A series of crimes which were satisfactorily settled through offender-victim-mediation, appears to be superior to the usual criminal proceedings. It appears, nevertheless, that for some offence categories greater satisfaction is achieved by means of offender-victim mediation than the usual criminal proceedings.

The state of research until now however, points to many uncertainties and discrepancies. It also leaves too many open questions to be answered. This applies both to the search for optimum criminal political models and resolution of criminal problems in so far as such questions are in any way considered to be criminologically legitimate, and also to the safeguarding of empirical knowledge. It is here, that the research concept of the MPI begins.

2. Victim-Related Research at the Max Planck Institute

According to general criminological research trends the victimological perspective has been moved gradually into the frame of reference of academic work at the Max Planck Institute, has finally secured a place in the programme of empirical research.

The victim-related research at the Max Planck Institute extends back to the year 1973, when, following a suggestion by *M. Clinard* (1978), a victim survey in the city of Stuttgart was conceptualized and carried out in accordance with a complementary study in the city of Zurich (see *Stephan* 1976 with further references). The starting point for consideration was the fact that the criminal statistics merely allow a limited view of and conclusions to be made about the reality of crime itself. The willingness of people in the population to report a crime, is already very varied. In addition, the criminal prosecution organs are not in a position to regularly pursue all offences in so far as they have become known to the authorities. In this way, surveys carried out amongst the population, allow more extensive conclusions to be made regarding the area of unreported crime in society. The former victim survey was in the first instance, merely regarded as a crime survey which related to the reality of crime and more precisely to the construction of the reality of crime. The issue of the victim achieved particular significance compared to the usual crime surveys by the implementation of psychological research questions by means of the Freiburg personality inventory. Characteristic distinctions between victims and non victims and also between those reporting crimes and those not reporting a crime were proved in this way. There were also indications, that there are victim predispositions in particular subgroups of the population, and this leads to the conclusions that personality-related characteristics are, as a whole, more relevant as status and social class features (see *Stephan* 1976, p. 339 et seq.). In addition, the international comparison (with Zürich and the USA) not only yielded more information for the study, but also served at the same time as a method of being able to define the strength of the findings more clearly.

The study concerning "juvenile crime in the community" which had been planned since 1972 and put into effect accordingly, and which was carried out partly in parallel to the Stuttgart victim survey, attempted to integrate the victimology perspective. This was achieved methodically by combining the study on self-reported delinquency and the victim survey together and this was confronted with data which had been officially registered through the police and the criminal justice system. Such a combination yielded promising results. The high victimization risk of young people and their partially offender-victim identity, was added to the significant findings recorded (see *Villmow et al.* 1983).

The third victim-related study, was built upon these two research projects, which attempted to embrace the form, extent and structure of victimization-related experiences representative of a larger area (Baden-Württemberg) and, in addition, reach an intercultural comparison with parallel research projects being carried out in the USA and Hungary (see *Arnold* 1986, p. 1015 et seq. and 1988, p. 911 et seq.). Internationally, there are few studies with similar designs and aims. Many victim surveys are therefore not only limited in relation to theme but also in relation to region. This is understandable, because the organisational costs of an analysis which covers more than one country, are considerable. Such an analysis, however, increases the extent knowledge gained. In addition, within the German partial study, a victim survey was carried out in relation to part of the Greek population in Stuttgart (see *Pitsela* 1987) and also two replication studies in the regions of Zürich and Uri (*Stadler* 1986 and *Schwarzenegger* 1990, 1991).

Considerable interest was devoted to the development of models of explanation with regard to the occurrence of victimization, and also in connection with the emergence of fear of crime, in particular with regard to the concept of "anomie" and alienation. There was a partly significant relation to residential satisfaction and social contact. The research results in the area of personal and mass media communicated crime, represents a further point of analysis (see *Arnold* 1991, p. 50 et seq., especially p. 52 et seq.). The results as a whole, can be regarded as evidence of the existing effect of the media, and point to the varied effects of various types of media. The results of the former German studies - alongside the research by *Stephan* mentioned, the replicated surveys by *Schwind* (1975, 1978, 1988) must be emphasized - could be completed, extended and corrected in this way in considerable areas. In addition, the comparative data in relation to the incidence of victimization in the rural areas, could also be investigated (*Arnold* 1986, p. 1056). The findings speak of varied sensitivity in relation

to the perception of crime. The results also showed, that the simple transformation of the extent of crime into accordingly greater or lesser acceptance of formal social controls, is very unlikely (*Arnold 1988*, p. 934 et seq.).

According to expectation, varied extents of victimization were shown when details were compared internationally. Whereas a reasonable relationship between the incidence of crime and the perceived danger of victimization could be stated for Hungary, there was a considerable overestimation of the risk of victimization in Germany and the USA. It was assumed that this distortion was caused by mass media crime reporting. Further progress could be achieved in the theoretical areas, in relation to a better and differentiated understanding of the fear of crime (*Arnold 1986*, p. 1065 et seq.). Most of all, the application of multiple indicators proved to be worthwhile. The international comparison confirmed the results and illustrated the transferability of insight into various social cultural systems. The findings also indicated the advantages of investigating the phenomenon of fear of crime, separately in relation to men and women. In addition, the correlation between victimization and fear of crime, could be established. The lifestyle and risk models proved to be particularly helpful in providing information regarding the occurrence of victimization. In the area of indirect victimization, it turned out that the knowledge of crime victims increased their fear of the crime. The evaluation of the institutions of social control in the various countries was variable, as to be expected. The German people questioned proved to be more sceptical in comparison to the Hungarians and North Americans, in relation to their assessment of prisons and their success in the area of rehabilitation (*Arnold 1986*, p. 1057 et seq.).

The victim-related research achieved a completely new dimension in relation to its conception, coverage, research questions, and manpower, with the program which focused upon the "victim and criminal proceedings" where basic theoretical questions were combined with application-related questions (*Kury 1991*, p. 65 et seq.). The former is concerned with a more detailed look into the extent, and experience of and coping with victimization. The research, again with an international comparative perspective, embraces several victim surveys carried out throughout the Federal Republic of Germany and also various research projects dealing with the victim in the criminal proceedings and within social relationships. Particular attention is therefore being paid to a comparison within Germany itself - victimization in the old and new German states in view of the political changes in Germany in 1989/1990.

The more practice-related research questions, relate to the implementation and evaluation of the Victim Protection Act, which seeks to fortify the legal position of the victim of crime within the criminal proceedings. The ques-

tions raised by the research, also concern the concept of compensation as well as resolution of conflict and means of coping with victimization, by victims of crime within their social relationships. Recording the needs and requirements of the victim in relation to their immediate surroundings (family, circle of friends) and in relation to the institutions of criminal social control (police and court) are particularly of interest in so far as research is concerned. The existence and experience of and coping with criminological victimization and also the emergence, assertion and fulfillment of existing expectations, are researched in a multi-method- and interdisciplinary approach. Mail surveys and interviews of those participating in processes of formal and informal social control, find their way into the research as research methods, and likewise observance of criminal proceedings and also analysis of criminal files. Some projects have already been concluded or will be completed this year. On the whole, more precise information is expected after more detailed analysis, in relation to the experience of and coping with criminal victimization under varying conditions and also in relation to the precise interests of the victim concerning the criminal prosecution and proceedings, including compensation as a victim-oriented sanction strategy. Both the victim survey and the studies oriented toward victim mediation and the victim's rights, have been set out as an international comparison.

In detail, the work program deals with the German contribution to an international victim survey carried out in 17 European and non European countries (see *van Dijk, Mayhew & Killias* 1990). The research was limited to 11 categories of offences. The main aim of the research the attainment of information in relation to the extent of crime and fear of crime, in particular as a European comparison. Apart from this, the question as to whether there is a differential in the area of safety, should be researched. For this purpose, more than 5,000 people in the area of the former Federal Republic of Germany, were interviewed by telephone as to their experiences of victimization and this was recorded in the German study in 1989. The results showed a German north-south-differential in relation to comparison of the number of victims in the individual German states. The greatest number of victims related to offences connected to traffic namely motor-vehicles, followed by property offences. The smallest number (according to expectation) related to offences against the person or offences of violence.

A further component of the analysis of data, relates to questions as to victim characteristics, fear of crime, satisfaction with the police services. It was shown that non-victims were far more satisfied with police services than

victims of crime. Further multivariate analyses, e.g. factor analysis, showed high correlation between sex and fear of crime as well as victimization, age, community size, absence from home and satisfaction with police services.

In view of the political and social changes in Germany during 1989 and 1990, by the German union of completely different social systems, the effects of these political changes upon crime and control of crime, have become a matter for consideration. As a result, the question of criminal victimization since the changes in East Germany in November 1989 and in the previous five years and likewise attitudes towards crime and fear of crime, were investigated in a particular study carried out. The design of the research followed the international telephone survey, and, in addition specific issues were included for East Germany, in particular with respect to attitudes and perceptions, demographical aspects, extent of education and unemployment. In order to make it possible to draw a comparison with the former Federal Republic of Germany, a new victim survey was carried out here in the former States at the same time. This served in addition to validate former results (see *Max-Planck-Institut für ausländisches und internationales Strafrecht* 1991, p. 68 et seq.).

Although the victim surveys are productive, because of the number of participants and their representativeness, their weaknesses can not be denied. They allow merely particular aspects to be recorded, other perhaps more important aspects are left inevitably untouched. In a further study "Experience of and Coping with Criminal Victimization", dealing with the cognitive, emotional and social needs of the victim and treatment of the victim by the state institutions of social and justice administration, should therefore be focused upon. The sample chosen, should therefore consist of victims principally of severe crimes, to be obtained from the files of victim help organisations. Theoretical approaches within victimology built the theoretical framework for formulating verifiable hypotheses, such as the coping - and life event - approaches, and likewise the paradigm of learned helplessness (see *Max-Planck-Institut für ausländisches und internationales Strafrecht* 1991, p. 67). Research instruments are presently being developed, to be followed by a pre-test.

The needs and interests of the victim of crime also stand in the center point of another project. This is concerned in particular, with avoiding abstract questions and takes account of the personal and situational aspects of the case as much as possible. The theses of the so-called expropriation of conflict by the state justice system and likewise the non-requirement of punishment by the victim must be examined critically and verified. The respondents were contacted by telephone in the international survey already mentioned and they were asked as to their willingness to take part in a

further more detailed survey. More than 2,000 people, victims and non victims, were prepared to take part in this survey. After a pre-test was carried out, the main survey was effected in 1990. After preliminary analysis, results showed that the proposition of expropriation of conflicts, tended to be clearly contradicted, which accords with the preconceptions and attitudes of the respondents. In contrast, the desire for more participation by victims in the preliminary investigations and criminal proceedings, is quite clear. Victims are to a greater extent, prepared to run or accept financial risks, than non-victims believe to be the case. Victims show themselves to be more inclined to support efforts towards conciliation or extrajudicial settlement, although on the whole they do not welcome direct contact with the offender. Personal willingness to take part in reconciliation which is often claimed, is rarely evident and probably depends on the severity and extent of the victimization suffered.

Other findings support this. More than a half of the groups of people questioned, were in favour of responses which included criminal legal sanctions, although less victims (66 %) supported this than non victims (76 %). As grounds for reporting a crime, punishment plays a role, although this is not expected to be a result of the proceedings. The clear preference for community work and compensation for damages were cited both individually and together, as choices of conditions to be imposed upon the offender on discontinuance of the criminal proceedings. In addition, victims wished to have greater influence upon the choice upon the conditions imposed on the discontinuance of proceedings and the decision about the discontinuance itself. Compensation for damages is regarded primarily as a task for the offender and the state is assigned merely a supporting role. Compensation is expected according to the amount of damage suffered, whereby the victims agree to a greater extent than the non-victims. With regard to compensation for damages, three quarters of the respondents agreed with discontinuance of the criminal proceedings. Compensation for damages would be accepted as a punishment also, by four fifths of those questioned. With regard to the general public, there is a clear preference for community work, although victims are less in favour of this option and prefer compensation. 70 % of those questioned welcomed the possibility of taking into account efforts made by the offender towards compensation for damages, to account of the pecuniary penalty, and more than a half of those questioned felt that the state should temporarily relinquish its claim to enforcement of pecuniary penalties, in favour of the victims (see details in work of *Kilchling* 1991).

A further project deals, by means of observance of concrete criminal proceedings, with the possibilities and limits of compensation for damages

within the criminal legal system of penalties. It seeks to throw light upon the former reservation of the criminal justice system in relation to such possibilities. The survey of more than 100 judges and prosecutors, showed that compensation for damages is regarded primarily as being a civil law matter and less so a criminal law matter and should be so classified, although the greater majority would prefer to classify compensation within both areas of the law. Judges and prosecutors regard compensation for damages as having great capacity for maintaining legal certainty and effecting justice. The significance of compensation in so far as the confidence of citizens in law and order is concerned, cannot be denied. With regard to punishment theories,^s the respondents regard the effects of compensation as being more rehabilitative in nature than deterrent. This applies particularly to juvenile offenders. The research established a number of significant facts, namely that criminal lawyers who favour reform of the law, support the assertion of claims for compensation and interests in achieving a settlement within the criminal proceedings, and expect speedy resolution of the dispute by means of compensation. The intention of assisting the victim to satisfy his needs, is clearly more prevalent amongst this group, than the affinity towards the civil legal problems associated with compensation for damages. The reservation of the criminal justice system in relation to compensation for damages, is attributed by this group in general to the fact that the former legal provisions of compensation for damages, were too narrowly restricted. Of the victims questioned, the greater majority indicated a strong willingness to take part in an informal conciliation meeting, where the relationship between this readiness to take part in conciliation, and the wish for more procedural information, became evident.

A similar research questions was investigated in a special study relating to the action civile in France (*Mériageau* 1990). This concerned most of all, the practice of compensation for damages within the criminal administration of justice system, and also its acceptance by those participating in the proceedings. A written questionnaire was put to practitioners and analysis of files within the judicial area of Strasbourg was carried out for this purpose, supplemented by a telephone survey of victims involved in the action civile. The research has as yet not been completed.

Two other aims of the research, are devoted exclusively to the position of the injured party in the criminal proceedings, in Germany and Austria. The first project concerns the analysis of experiences with the Victim Protection Act which has been in force since the middle of the 1980ies. The main research questions, relate to the implementation of this law and the attitude of the parties taking part in the proceedings, to this new legal innovation. Observation of the criminal proceedings took place for this

purpose, and the victims of crime were interviewed and judges, prosecutors and lawyers questioned as to their views of the new legal provisions and their implementation. The results show that judges and prosecutors consider the rights available to the injured parties, to be sufficient in principle. However, less than a half of the criminal lawyers agreed with this viewpoint. Admittedly, knowledge about the rights available to the injured party, is relatively limited in relation to both the legal practitioners taking part in the proceedings, and the victims of crime. The duty to caution a victim and advise him or her of his rights, remains somewhat unsatisfactory. This is attributed predominantly to the lack of legal provisions relating to the responsibility for protection of the rights of the injured parties. The possible use of the adhesive procedure additional to the criminal proceedings, plays, as expected, a completely secondary role. The criminal practitioners believe to a great extent, that such a proceeding can be regarded as a foreign body within the criminal proceedings.

A similar study of the legal and the factual position of the offender within the criminal proceedings, was carried out in Austria, by an analysis of more than 600 criminal proceedings. A noticeable discrepancy was observed between the law as it stands, and reality within the proceedings, particularly in relation to the disregard of the duty to caution the victim (see *Max-Planck-Institut für ausländisches und internationales Strafrecht* 1991, p. 82).

In order to enrich German discussion of reform in respect of compensation for damages, by means of information regarding foreign models, an international criminal law colloquium concerning the "new development of compensation in criminal law", was set up in 1989. (see *Eser* 1990). It was pointed out, that the findings from victim research projects, research into rehabilitation, analysis of penalties and crime preventative measures, cannot provide a complete picture from which the potential of compensation is excluded. It is only in this way, that the case for compensation for damages can be prevented from ending quickly into the final phase of real politics. On the basis of the information obtained from the colloquium, the criminal law working party of the MPI began an international study of comparison of laws. In this way, using a uniform research plan, greater knowledge of the problems of compensation, of the various models which it takes, and most of all the solutions found in foreign legal systems which have been proved to work in practice, can be strived for (see *Max-Planck-Institut für ausländisches und internationales Strafrecht* 1991).

3. Stocktaking and Prospects

Alongside cohort studies, further to the empirical analysis of problems of white-collar and environmental crime and likewise criminal law sanctioning, victim-related research gradually became focused upon as a particular area, within the academic work of the MPI. The beginning of these projects, apart from a number of early attempts, can be traced back to the early 1970ies. After the reception of the then current Anglo-American research, the methods and questions were continually developed and extended. In this way, both a connection with international discussion and integration into a general criminological context, being understood as an integral component, remains preserved. This could be seen for instance in relation to the extent of victimization in cases of serious white-collar crime. Isolated consideration was in addition avoided because of the accessibility to worldwide criminal law and criminal political discussion of aspects of the victim. It was scarcely foreseeable at the beginning of the 1980ies which particular victimological research dynamics would develop. To reject similar approaches because they seek in the form of applied criminology to contribute to a more just solution to criminal political problems, seems inapt contrary to objections raised from a critical criminological point of view.

If one wishes to characterize the features of victim-related research at the Max Planck Institute, in a concise way, one can do so under three criteria: the research work is

- international,
- empirical and interdisciplinary set in its nature and related to criminal law,
- both related to practice and orientated towards basic research.

The methodical and substantive (epistemological) interests could be characterized according to the following four points:

- extent and structure of victimization within Germany in its former and current State and in international comparison and the consequences of victimization,
- experience and coping of victimization in the private sphere and social proximity,

- investigating the wishes and interests of the victim as distinct from the attitudes of non-victims, including the comparability with former criminal political concepts,
- consideration of the victim's interests in criminal law, criminal proceedings and sentencing, also in comparison with foreign countries, consideration of victim-related perspectives in criminal politics - through reform of the criminal procedure and extension of victim aid, or through informal conflict settlement.

If one observes the comprehensiveness of the research questions and their implications in relation to research and criminal politics, almost all knowledge relating to empirical criminology is involved, including development of theories aimed particularly at the victim perspective.

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**Research on Victimization and Related Topics in the
Federal Republic of Germany
- A Selection of Research Problems and Results -**

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1. Introduction

Research on the victim and victimization can be traced back to the first half of the century when typologies of victims were developed and the problem of victims contribution to the commission of criminal offences was highlighted (v. Hentig 1948/1979). But it was only in the late '60s and in the beginning of the '70s when research on victimization was implemented on a large scale. The approach of these first studies on the victims of crime was bifurcated. While one line in research was headed towards better measures of crime with focussing on reporting behaviour of victims, another line took up questions with respect to the role and function of victims of crime in the process of social control. The '70s and '80s then showed up with a wide range of research questions addressed by victimological studies and based on different theoretical and policy perspectives. Among the topics covered by victimological research are the impact and consequences of direct and vicarious victimization and reactions to crime (in terms of fear of crime, anger, coping processes, influences on attitudes, precautionary behaviour etc) as well as the role of the media in shaping and influencing feelings of security and insecurity. The search for groups especially at risk of criminal victimization and the study of groups posing especially sensitive policy problems attracted the attention of victimological research, too. Furthermore, the position and role of the victim within the criminal justice system became a prominent issue. The various needs and expectations of the victim with regard to his/her victimization and the state's reaction to it also were taken into consideration. As the 80s brought upon a move toward strengthening the position of the victim in criminal proceedings research efforts were directed to evaluation of victim-related criminal legislation. The potential of victims in settling criminal conflicts without resorting to police and criminal justice turned out to become another major research topic which is partially embedded in the general discussion on re-privatization of criminal justice and crime control. Finally, international comparative victim surveys dealing with explanation of rates of victimization, fear of crime and general attitudes towards the criminal justice system rank rather high on the research agenda as plans for abolition of border controls in Western Europe have triggered assumptions on differing levels of "internal security" and uncontrolled spread of crime waves.

Contrary and complementary to these international perspectives is the development of research interests focussing on the local level the subjects of which are the potential contribution of crime victims and the public to crime prevention and related problems of community policing (*Kube 1987*).

New research concerns reflect the problems of collective victimization (economic and white collar crime) and the risks of modern, disaster prone technology (environmental crimes) (*Kaiser 1986*) as well as problems stemming from the fact that the impact of certain environmental crimes, e.g. acid rain, changes in the global climate etc., may well be of a permanent nature not accessible to relief strategies developed for victims of ordinary crime, such as restitution

Now, at the beginnings of the 1990s it can be ascertained that victimology as a discipline is rather well established and has become focused upon (*Sessar & Kerner 1991; Kaiser, G.*, this volume), at least within its area of origin, i.e. criminology, as a view into basic criminology text-books will confirm (*Göppinger 1980; Schneider, H.J. 1987; Kaiser 1988; Eisenberg 1990*). More and more, the victim is becoming a matter of its own science (*Schneider, 1975; Schneider 1979; Kirchhoff & Sessar 1979; Kiefl & Lamnek 1986*).

2. Measurement of Crime

Victim/Crime surveys in the past have been mostly local (*Schwind et al. 1975, Stephan 1976, Schwind et al. 1978; Sessar et al. 1986; Schwind et al. 1978*). A larger one with regard to coverage has been federal state-based (*Arnold 1986*) and only recently has the first nationwide victim survey been carried out (*Kury*, this volume). Other victim surveys have been additionally restricted as to target on parts of the general population (*Villmow & Stephan 1983; Walter 1982; Pitsela 1986*) or limited otherwise (*Murck 1980*). Nevertheless the local victim survey still has its place (e.g., *Ammer 1990, Baurmann et al.* this volume; a few other smaller studies although of some interest are not published, e.g. *Kilian 1988*).

The leading question in victim surveys where alternative crime measures were sought, has been: how perform official crime statistics, especially police based information systems when confronted with survey data (*Kaiser 1988*). As the reporting behaviour of crime victims concerns a crucial point in the emergence of official figures on the extent of crime through determining to a large extent the amount of hidden delinquency (dark figure of crime), victimization surveys focussed on the reasons for non-reporting of criminal events. The studies found out so far that a major and decisive

reason for non-reporting concerns the seriousness of the offence in terms of physical harm and financial loss suffered. A second, similarly important reason for non-reporting concerns perceptions of low probability of clearing the offence and tracing a suspect. Those two reasons cover up to three quarters of motives given by respondents to the question why a criminal event has not been reported (*Schwind et al.* 1975; *Stephan* 1976; *Schwind et al.* 1978; *Arnold* 1986; *Schwind et al.* 1989; *Ammer* 1990).

Although results of victim surveys demonstrated that criminal victimization is a widespread phenomenon it has to be noted that most of the events reported by survey respondents are rather trivial in nature and concern, i.e. petty crime, especially theft and vandalism. Serious crimes in terms of violent crime represent rather rare events (cf. references above, also *Sessar* 1990, *Kury*, this volume).

One of the major results of victim surveys addressing the question of crime measurement has been that survey based measures of crime are not superior to official accounts of crime. Survey based measures cover but other dimensions of the total reality of crime. So, victim surveys today are not used as substitutes to police information systems (at least in the Federal Republic of Germany with its well-developed crime statistics) but are devised as a complementary instrument for the description of the extent and development of crime. Thus, the future function of victim surveys could be its use as a sensitive indicator in the endeavour to explain changes in official crime rates as surveys allow for analysis of (non-)reporting behaviour and its motivating reasons (*Kaiser* 1988).

Official crime statistics are used by survey researchers to gauge the amount of unreported (and to a lesser degree, probably, unrecorded) crime, i.e. the hidden delinquency (so-called dark area of crime) and to estimate the ratio between reported and unreported crime (so called of dark number/figure). Given the comparatively small samples of these surveys this yields rather unreliable figures with large standard errors for most of the offenses (see the *Schwind* 1975, 1978, 1989 studies, also *Stephan* 1976).

It may be of interest to point to the fact that the official instrument of crime measurement, i.e. the police statistic itself, acquired, at least partially, a victimological perspective in the '80s by introducing some victim-related data. For a selection of about a dozen serious violent and sexual crimes completed as well as attempts, such as murder, rape, robbery, child abuse etc., information is presented in the police statistics on sex and age group (since 1984) and victim-offender relationship (since 1986). Victim-offender relationship is differentiated according to categories such as relatives, acquaintances, belonging to the same nationality (in the case of foreigners), the length of relationship between victim and offender prior to the crime. Information on the financial loss in several cases of property-related crimes, such as theft, burglary, robbery, fraud, etc. have been added, too (since 1985). The statistical data of both are subdivided into some annexed tables.

It is surprisingly enough to see that less use is made of this source of (victimological) data by researchers especially when taking into consideration that for some of the crimes included no alternative, such as survey-based measures, is at hand. A few exceptions come from researchers within the police (*Steffen 1987*).

3. Measures of Victimization: Causes, Impact, Consequences

While earlier approaches to research on victims and victimization attempted to develop typologies of victims, the focus shifted in the last decades to the study of empirically based risk factors. Research aimed at answering the question who is most at risk of becoming the victim of a crime and at differentiating between the victimization prone individual and those not at risk of becoming the victim of a crime. A major problem in these endeavours to isolate causal factors of victimization turned out to be the relative rareness of serious criminal events. As most victimological studies used rather small samples the development of causal models proved to be rather difficult. Multivariate statistical procedures may only be used meaningful if large sample sizes guarantee substantial groups of victimized respondents. Furthermore, research has shown that the reference period should be standardized and sufficiently restricted to guarantee reliable and valid data when developing causal models of victimization (*Arnold 1991*). Moreover, the dependent variable, that is the victimization event, should be broken down into specific categories of offences. At least violent and property crimes should be differentiated. Theoretical considerations suggest different causal factors for crime types. The use of global victimization measures, differentiating only between victims and non-victims has proven to be a major reason that models based upon such measures had not been sufficient successful in explaining the occurrence of a victimizing event. Future efforts in victimological research therefore should focus on reasonable differentiation of dependent variables which in turn is dependent on samples sufficiently large to be able to break down victimization events according to different offence categories. Obviously, with regard to the requirements necessary for the development of valid causal models as to unit of analysis (sample size) on the one hand and as to victimization data (offense homogeneity and limited reference period) on the other hand, the endeavours diverge to some extent. But in general it can be concluded that up to now models developed to establish risk factors of victimization did not explain large amounts of variance in the dependent variables.

Turning to those risk factors which proved to be of some importance in explaining different rates of victimization the following may be summarized. In the Stuttgart victim survey it was found that personality variables are more

powerful in predicting victimization than are social status variables (*Stephan 1976*). This result has later been confirmed in a combined study on self-reported delinquency and victimization (*Villmow & Stephan 1983*). The young are usually more at risk of victimization than are the elderly and in general men's risk of victimization is higher than the risk of females, especially in the case of violent offences. The degree of urbanization contributes also to the difference in risk levels with rural settings being much less exposed to crime than are metropolitan areas. Finally it may be noted that higher rates of violent crimes are found in lower strata of society while middle and upper classes are rather affected by property crimes.

A major interest in victimological research in recent years has been the study of groups thought to be especially at risk of victimization. Predisposition to victimization is seen as being rooted in special physical vulnerability on the one hand and in special social vulnerability on the other hand. Among the groups given high priority in research are children and the young, the aged, ethnic minorities, females and the also offender.

Special studies refer to professional groups especially at risk from a routine-activity perspective, e.g., policemen (*Sessar et al. 1981*) or taxi-drivers (*Brandau 1986*). Less is known about other groups professionally endangered, like bank clerks, prison wardens, etc. although recent research focused on violence within so-called total institutions, such as prisons and the army.

Another research, not explicitly referring to victimology, but with some strong connexions in so far as a victimological reference can be set up, concerns an evaluation study dealing with the dangers and threats of hitch-hiking. It is immediately evident that the situation of hitch-hiking corresponds to the essential factors of opportunity-oriented victimization models, such as the routine activity approach, e.g. with regard to absence of guardianship and proximity to potential offenders. As a main result, with relevance to politics in different perspectives, this study could show that the risks connected with hitch-hiking are somewhat overestimated in the public (*Fiedler et al. 1989*).

Family violence, violence against women and the study of violence against children, sexual abuse, maltreatment, physical and other neglect certainly has experienced a boom in the last decade. Sources for this interest in the phenomenon, its extent and causes, as well as the related engagement and endeavour to help these victims, are manifold, stemming from social problem movements, such as the feminist's movements or the new child protection movement but also from professional groups such as social workers and therapists. Especially the women's movement has stressed the fact that there is a structural power-related and characteristic scheme in a large number of cases in so far as the offender is a male whereas the victim is a female. This holds true especially for cases of sexual abuse but also for

some other violence-related victimizations (e.g., *Hagemann-White* 1981; *Baurmann* 1983; *Engfer* 1986; *Honig* 1986; *Trube-Becker* 1987; *Schneider, U.* 1987; an overview with various contributions is given in the recently published expert's report of the so-called Commission on Violence, see *Schwind & Baumann* 1990).

There has been some discussion as to whether non-violent sexual abuse is harming minors. A recent investigation related to credibility assessment within the forensic sciences referred to acute psychological impairments as reaction to sexual abuse against the will of the victims and points to the fact that with increasing age impairment develops into mental stress (*Krück* 1989).

Generally, victimizations can be analysed in a horizontal perspective with regard to the victim-offender relationship and in a vertical perspective according to the seriousness of the victimization. Two main structural factors are determining these perspectives as to violent and sexual victimizations: sex and age, both power-related in the very natural sense.

With regard to these intimacy-related offenses, it is regrettable that for this highly emotionally and controversially discussed issue valid and reliable data derived e.g. from surveys are lacking. Arguments are therefore often based on single case-derived speculations and small number-based estimations. One has to some degree be therefore satisfied with the fact that for some of these offenses, e.g. child abuse, official data are at hand to gauge the extent and anchor estimations.

A rather well-known phenomenon concerns overlapping of the offender and victim roles. Criminological research has revealed that those individuals with a high risk of offending are also those with a high risk of becoming the victim of a crime. This could be confirmed in a self-report study on delinquency and victimization among juveniles and young adults (*Villmow & Stephan* 1983; *Walter* 1982). A differential psychological investigation in the same study brought forth additional proof pointing at similarities with regard to personality characteristics among offenders and victims. Methodically this evidence is superior to some other results on the same issue being found hitherto, in so far as a lot of these other results were based on correlations between offender and victim groups on the aggregate level and not on individuals.

The victimization studies conducted so far in European countries found higher rates of victimization for ethnic minorities (*Albrecht* 1990). Foreign and ethnic minorities have been subjects of victimization research in the Federal Republic of Germany, too (*Pitsela* 1986).

Although it might be that these differences in victimization rates between ethnic minorities and majority groups can be reduced when controlling for other non-ethnic variables which can be assumed to determine the level of victimization risk such as the type of neighbourhood, demographic and socio-economic background or routine activities of victims etc., effects of victimization could be more severe at least for certain subgroups among ethnic minorities. When considering e.g. intra-family violence, vulnerability of minority women and children is likely to be reinforced by their weak legal position as foreigners which may be affected negatively through permanent separation or divorce. Furthermore knowledge about available services is not widespread among these groups. Traditional weak positions of females in certain ethnic minorities, language problems may add to the extent of victimization (*Hagemann-White 1981*).

Less is known about the nature and extent of victimization in other marginal groups, eg. in groups of drug addicts, homeless people and homosexuals, although it may be assumed that these marginal groups are especially at risk of certain types of violent offences, such as assault, robbery or sexual abuse.

Theoretical approaches prevailing as to the explanation of the causes and consequences of victimization are less original and stem from a well-known Anglo-American background, be it opportunity-oriented theories such as the routine activity approach or the life-style model in the case of the causes of victimization, or stress theory, vulnerability models, or the paradigm of learned helplessness with regard to the consequences and coping of victimization. To the latter aspects of victimization support models and network approaches may be added (e.g. *Hagemann & Sessar 1988*).

The victim-offender relationship has been traditionally an issue victimological research has focused upon, especially as to victim precipitation related to violent and sexual victimization, such as homicide and rape (*Steffen 1987; Weiner 1989; Weis 1982*). Specialised case study-based investigations have analyzed the psychodynamics of the victim-offender relationship and from psychoanalytical view the chronic victim (*Weber 1980; Hinrichs 1987*).

4. Insecurity, Fear of Crime and Feelings of Unsafety

A second major dependent variable in victimological research concerns measures of insecurity, fear of crime, worry etc. as consequences to crime and victimization (*Arnold 1984; Arnold 1991*). The growing interest in these phenomenon may be explained by the fact that larger groups of people are affected by those indirect effects of crime than are affected by direct experiences with crime. Moreover, feelings of un/safety and the perception of in/security may be conceived as important elements in policy approaches

aiming at the improvement of quality of life, i.e. satisfying the citizen's basic need for security (Murck 1980; Arnold *et al.* 1988). As the basic result in all studies could have been confirmed that gender is the most influential factor in explaining fear of crime.

The concept of insecurity points to subjective or perceptual and to objective or factual elements. Measures of the objective dimension of insecurity are hardly available. Police crime statistics, victimization surveys and self-report studies cover but certain facets of the security problem (Kerner 1980; Kaiser 1988) and even if succeeding in producing valid and reliable risk estimates the essentially normative problem of drawing the line between a state of security and the state of insecurity would remain unsolved. Further, a difficulty arose with regard to prevention in so far as fear of crime is to some degree independent from crime. A decrease in crime will not necessarily be followed by a corresponding shift with regard to crime (cf. Arnold 1986; Arnold 1988 *et al.* in comparative view). This makes necessary a second approach to the security problem which is different from the one towards crime itself.

Criminological research in the Federal Republic of Germany put the focus on the perceptual dimensions of insecurity and the sources and determinants of feelings of insecurity (Stephan 1976; Schwind *et al.* 1978; Kerner 1980; Arnold 1986; Schwind *et al.* 1989; Boers & Sessar 1991). Although, in general, it is accepted that the concept of insecurity involves behavioral, emotional, perceptual and cognitive aspects (Schwind 1978; Arnold 1984), up to now the question of how these dimensions should be operationalized and integrated in a meaningful measure of insecurity is still open. These aspects refer to fear of crime, taking precautions against certain crimes, feelings of safety or unsafety, perceptions of the rise or decline of crime rates in different regions of the country, perceptions of the likelihood of becoming the victim of various crimes, ratings of the magnitude of the crime problem etc.

In testing the assumption that fear of crime and other indicators of insecurity are driven by experiences with victimizing events research came up with the finding that direct links between different measures of insecurity and actual experiences of victimization do rarely and less consistent exist, at least the relations to the causes are somewhat complicated (Arnold 1991). Nevertheless in those (small) groups having suffered from serious violent crimes effects of victimization in terms of increased levels of fear have been reported. Research has demonstrated also that rising crime rates and crime problems usually are perceived to affect the country or the nation at large, while the immediate neighbourhood and the residential area are perceived to be rather safe or at least to pose no particular crime problems (Stephan 1976). Moreover, international comparative victimization research has pointed out that perceptions of the risk of becoming a crime victim and fear of crime measures are to some degree independent from rates of actual experiences with victimization as well as from the rates of police recorded crime (Arnold 1986).

The absence of a positive relationship between experiences with victimization and insecurity measures usually is explained by the trivial and petty nature of the bulk of victimizing events which are reported in surveys.

But if perceptions of the crime problem and feelings of insecurity obviously cannot be exclusively linked to experiences or to personal communication on experiences with crimes, then there must be other determinants or sources of insecurity. In this respect the role of the media has been highlighted. It is suggested that the paradox of individuals' perceptions of a nation affected by major crime problems while the respective residential areas are not seen as suffering from crime should be explained by the way the crime problem is presented in mass media (Stephan 1976; Kerner 1980). But although presentation of crime in the media has received considerable attention in criminological research (see the summary in Schwind and Baumann 1990) and clear evidence could be provided that crimes of violence and exceptional crimes are disproportionately represented in all types of media, it is not clear how insecurity and crime in the media are intertwined in terms of theory. On the one hand it is assumed that distorted presentation of crime in the media, focussing exclusively on violence and exceptional crimes has a direct influence on the level of insecurity felt in the public (Förster & Schenk 1984). On the other hand this assumption is rejected, reasoning that media may have an agenda-setting function but that in general reports on crime are evaluated on the basis of rather inflexible predispositions with respect to crime and insecurity (Feltus & Ostermann 1985). The latter proposition is supported by research showing that in complex and fragmented societies experience-based knowledge is restricted to the immediate environment of individuals while collective patterns of knowledge acquired through socialization and shaped by general value and interest patterns guide the individual in understanding and interpreting those phenomenon not subject to immediate experience. At least short-term, direct effects of the mass media on feelings of insecurity then cannot be expected to occur because information received through media are evaluated according to these general value patterns. But on the other hand long-term effects of the mass media in producing such collective patterns of knowledge on security or insecurity cannot be ruled out either.

These possible sources of fear of crime and feelings of insecurity may prove to be rather resistant against preventive efforts focussing on indirect effects of victimization, because distorted perceptions of reality and images of crime derived thereof are not easily manipulated. At least, research has not been successful in confirming such effects.

5. The Victim and the Criminal Justice System

Victim surveys have revealed that the victim plays a central role in determining the input to the justice system. The victim may even be labeled the gate-keeper of the system. That is why considerable research efforts have been vested in the analysis of crime reporting and interactions between victims and police in the reporting situation (Kürzinger 1978) as well as related issues in terms of eg the relationship between the public and police. Although most of the research devoted to the analysis of the victims role as a gate-keeper of the criminal justice system is based either on the crime measurement approach or on coping strategies, we notice a shift in research orientation and an attempt to go beyond the mere functional properties of reporting behaviour towards the question of which needs the victims pursues when reporting a criminal or other event to police (Rosellen 1982). Research

on reporting motives has shown that victims of crime are rather interested in the police as a crisis intervention agency and that immediate conflict settlement and immediate restitution range among the most prominent motives for reporting criminal events (*Sessar et al.* 1986).

A second major research issue which has emerged in recent years refers to the position of the victim in the criminal proceedings and evaluation of policy aiming at improving the victims position (*Janssen & Kerner* 1985; *Weigend* 1989). Critics argue that the crime victim has been marginalized in the criminal justice system and in criminal law and that the system does not respond to the victims' most urgent needs but is preoccupied with punishing the offender. Evaluation of legislative efforts to improve the victims position in criminal proceedings and to provide better opportunities to put forward financial and other interests and demands is currently under way (*Hertle, Kaiser, M.* in Volume 2). But first and preliminary results show that despite official encouragement courts are still rather reluctant to handle civil law problems within the framework of criminal justice (*Albrecht* 1990).

The topic "victim and sentencing" may be split into two research questions. One refers to the problem of what does the victim actually expect as an adequate penal response to the offence. The other question deals with the effects victims characteristics or the criminal impact on the victim have on the type and magnitude of criminal sanctions. Research on general attitudes towards criminal penalties has produced substantial knowledge, highlighting especially that the educational background is a strong determinant of acceptance of various sanctions with low degrees of education being associated with demands for harsher punishment. Furthermore research results show in general that those individuals having experienced criminal victimization are not more punitive than those without experiences with crime (*Sessar et al.* 1986; *Boers & Sessar* 1991). Although groups of victims having suffered from serious violent crime at least are actually in favour of more severe penalties.

On the other hand sentencing research revealed that among the most important factors determining the sentence are victim-related characteristics of the offence. The amount of property loss in the case of theft and robbery, the physical injuries suffered by victims of violent crimes are, besides prior record, the most powerful predictors of the type and the magnitude of criminal penalties. The victim-offender-relationship obviously plays a prominent role in sentencing the sexual offender (*Steinhilper* 1986). The closer the relationship between offender and victim in these cases the more lenient is the sentence (*Albrecht* 1991).

Some victim-related research results with regard to victim's function in the criminal justice system comes outside from the mere field of victimology, that is the forensic sciences, which as the older science has been interested in the victim to same degree since a long time. One of the crucial issues in forensic sciences is credibility, not only of witnesses but also

victims (as witnesses), the way he/she can be assessed and the distortions which may interfere. Regrettably, less use has been made of certain knowledge from this research, e.g. with regard to the crime victim's perception of the offender and the criminal event.

6. Victim Compensation - Restitution and Victim-Offender Reconciliation

The obvious failure of the system to provide for an adequate compensation of the victim has led to legislation granting under certain conditions compensation to the victim of a violent crime. Evaluation of victim compensation under this regime has come up with results pointing to poor outcomes (*Villmow & Plemper 1987*). Few victims actually receive compensations and the procedure obviously creates serious obstacles.

The interest of professionals and officials alike in the (rather new) strategy of victim-offender reconciliation has led to the start of more than two dozens of model projects by private associations as well as judicial authorities since the mid-1980s. The first evaluations of these have recently been finished. On the average, about four out of five cases where victim-offender reconciliation was offered have been evaluated as being successful. The conclusion of the model phase may follow the institutionalization of victim-offender reconciliation with national coverage (*Kuhn et al. 1989; Marks & Rösner 1989; Schreckling 1990*).

Victim-offender reconciliation, on the other side, has also been critically discussed, e.g. with regard to "net-widening" effects well-known from the diversion discussion. Also problems referring to the rights of the defendant within the criminal proceedings are discussed in so far as restitution agreements arranged during victim-offender mediation without judicial participation are said to contradict the "presumption of innocence" (*Kandziela 1989*).

Compensation and restitution have received much attention in the last decade from another perspective, too. The question is put forward whether restitution may serve as a viable and adequate criminal penalty which may be used as a sole sanction (*Albrecht 1990*). In support for introducing restitution as a criminal penalty survey data on the preference of various types of reactions by the criminal courts are cited which show that a clear majority of respondents say that restitution could be a sufficient reaction to a wide range of criminal offences (*Sessar et al. 1986; Boers & Sessar 1991*). Recent results from experimental psychology have somewhat supported previous survey results in regard to victims satisfaction with restitution although throwing some doubt with regard to willingness of offenders (*Hommers 1991*).

While these developments remain within the framework of criminal law and criminal justice, other research efforts associated with victim offender reconciliation and mediation point beyond criminal law itself. From this position, the abolitionist perspective, it is argued that victim offender reconciliation and mediation may be used to replace criminal law and criminal justice at large, based upon the consideration that conflicts are properties and may serve positive functions in terms of more participation, enhancement of democratic institutions and procedures etc (*Jung 1989; Hanak et al. 1989*). The opposite position is taken up by the argument that criminal conflicts create but distress for the victim as well as for the offender. The role mediation can play from this perspective is rather limited, because of the risk of escalation and exploitation of the weak inherent to informal conflict settling outside the shadow provided by criminal law. Research on the potential of victim-offender reconciliation points also to the limits of such an approach (see *Kaiser, G. and Kilchling*, both in this volume). It could be demonstrated that - although in general population surveys positive attitudes towards mediation prevail - victims of violent crimes, groups of victim feeling seriously affected by the offence raise their voice for the criminal law response. In addition experimental research came up with results, which could be expected on the basis of research on the relationship between behaviour and attitudes. Although substantial proportions of actual crime victims display positive attitudes when asked whether they would agree in general with meeting the offender and undergoing mediation, a much smaller group of those victims actually agrees when confronted with a concrete offer to meet the offender. (*Vofß 1990*).

7. Conclusions

Conclusions which may be drawn from the current state of research on victimization and victim-related topics refer to methodology and theory (see also *Kaiser, G.*, this volume).

As far as methodological problems are concerned it seems of paramount importance to overcome the problems which are associated with the rareness of serious victimization and the reliability and validity of the measuring victimization (*Arnold 1990; Sessar 1990*). Other deficits concern evaluation designs actually used in assessing the outcomes of victim-related policy. These deficits are more or less the same as could be observed in research on rehabilitation (*Albrecht 1990*).

The problem of developing theories, be it in explaining victimizing events be it in explaining the role of the victim in framing the response to criminal

events, cannot be overlooked. Serious deficits prevail. Research usually is guided by policy positions and ideology and partially driven by the fading attractiveness of rehabilitation and resulting needs of adjusting policy goals.

Theoretical efforts in explaining victimization so far have been not persuasive. The promises of the life-style model have not been met. The life-style concept obviously is but a tautology, at least it is another descriptive approach lacking thorough theoretical foundation with regard to causal factors.

Something which has to be taken up also in future research on victimization concerns the problem that serious victimization might be conceived of as happening by mere chance. However, the focus should be on the development of probabilistic models of victimization and therefore the focus should be on risk groups.

Future victim surveys should be more innovative with regard to the issues covered. For example, the fact of the increased pace of societal change, international exchange and cultural mixing and integration taking place currently refers to concepts with regard to related problems, such as anomia, marginalisation etc. Issues from the outside of mere criminological oriented research field should taken be into consideration, too, as to their relevance for victimological questions.

With regard to methodological aspects variety is necessary too, e.g. conceptualising victim surveys according to different needs of scientists and practitioners on different levels, national and local ones alike. A lot of measurement problems such as the survey approach, the operationalization of basic concepts etc. are a challenge additionally (Arnold 1990; Sessar 1990). This diversity in methodological standards is restricting the comparability of results and hinders to come to but a few general conclusions.

Knowledge of disciplines related to victimology have to be examined as to their potential contribution to unsolved problems. Especially theoretical results and developments as already partially done should be recognized.

With respect to the development of criminal law and criminal justice and the role the victim and the public may play substituting parts of it, the focus should be put back to the basic theoretical problems associated with the production and maintaining of social order. Only from such a perspective the role of the victim may be conceived properly.

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Victimology Research in the Former German Democratic Republic

Heike Ludwig

Contents

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1. Introduction

With the union of the two German states, the task is set for social scientists, to remodel the state of knowledge and its practical implementation and application into the social evolution taking place in the former German Democratic Republic. This applies also to criminology and victimology research. The following may achieve these goals: On the one hand, the findings in this particular area of criminology should be considered in international discussion of questions relating to victimology and on the other hand in relation to theories of crime in the DDR and as classified in their criminal political implementation. Reconstructing the history of DDR criminology, cannot however be achieved here. Work in this direction, has already been begun by *Heide & Lautsch* (1991) for example with the analysis of the development of crime and detection rate of crime in the DDR from 1985 to 1989. The article by *Lekschas and Kosewähr* (1988, p. 19 et seq.) may be referred to as evidence of the state of criminology and its state of development from the middle of the 1960ies to the 1980ies. They attempted to illustrate the contradictory relationship between social scientific research and its reflexion in criminology. On the one hand, the criminology of the DDR included increasing sociology, psychology and other social scientific information in its observations. On the other hand, gaps could frequently be seen in the scientific structure of this discipline, which did not suggest investigation which was always integrated in nature. Criminology, increasingly saw itself as an independent social science. It was however narrowly associated with this social model due to its purpose as a science in itself. The explanation claimed to be constituted by this social model, meant that many important questions did not emerge to be dealt with. The socialist state was proclaimed to represent the interests of all workers, so that critical analysis of the role of the state controlling authorities within the structure of the genesis of crime was not questioned and authority for appropriate central research, was not rarely allowed. In the 1980ies, the ideological perspective that the living standards of individual citizens will to an extent improve with the further structuring of the socialist society that by means of this crime which steadily decreasing, was relativised. No longer merely the offender but also his living conditions and his development as indicators of his behavior, were analyzed and related to crime itself and conditions for rehabilitation (see *Ludwig* 1989). However, many problem areas remain omitted from consideration. This relates to the fact that merely a small group of scientists were concerned with criminology questions in

the GDR. Victimology, the doctrine of the victim of crime, also belongs to the problem areas which were only briefly touched upon. The criminology of the GDR was, in spite of the tendencies mentioned above, to a great extent offender-orientated in its discussion of central questions. On the other hand, there was research carried out in respect of questions which themselves fit into the global discussion of victimological questions.

2. Portrait of Victimology Research

In the 1960ies, work was carried out dedicated to the offender-victim-relationship within the framework of violent and sexual crime. *Friebel, Manecke and Orschkowski* (1970) thematized offender-victim-relationships in relation to sexual offenses, under the aspect of the motive of such behavior and the guilt of the offender. They point to the fact that mitigation of guilt can be recognized in relation to sexual offenses, if the behavior of the injured party was objectively ambiguous, and the intensity of the force of the offender was not high. *Scharfenberg and Schirmer* (1974) turned to the question of the physical trauma caused by the act of indecent exposure. They questioned young females in Berlin youth and students' clubs ($n_1 = 703$) and also in a number of Berlin schools ($n_2 = 200$) as to whether they had ever had a non-violent experience of indecent exposure and as to whether it was reported to adults and resulted in a police investigation. Only 81 of the 387 cases mentioned, were reported to adults, and a report to the police only followed in 22 cases. A high number of undetected crimes in this area, was therefore established. The answers of the young girls questioned in relation to psychological consequences, supported the opinion already held by experts, that serious psychological behavioral disturbances or physical reactions to crimes of indecent exposure, do not play a significant role. Such damage was denied by the girls questioned.

Fikentscher, Hinderer, Liebner and Rennert (1978) dealt with the problem of sexual crimes committed against children and young people, within the context of latent crime. The aim of their empirical analysis consisted of providing as precise information as possible about the form in which such crime arises, its causes and the conditions in which sexual crime arises, in order to formulate preventative strategies. As is frequently done in such an analysis, documentary analysis was not made use of as a research method, but rather a sample of citizens were questioned directly as to whether they themselves had been victims of sexual offenses in their childhood and youth. The research was aimed at answering the question as to the frequency of such offenses and of the age structure of the offender group and the

psychological effects upon the young victim. In addition, questions as to how often a report followed and if not, why not, were raised. This analysis was built upon the research carried out by *Rennert* (1963), who initiated a study of medical students regarding the sexual development of young people. The question was asked as to whether sexual offenses had been committed against the parties questioned. These questions relate according to the author, to the subjective assessment of the parties affected and cannot be translated as being a legally exact judgement of the criminal behavior of the offender. In his choice of people, *Fikentscher* approached a relatively homogenous group of people with a high level of education and with a particular degree of interest in the questions put to them, and claimed that for this reason, they were most suitable for such a survey. As a result, students were approached. Nurses and graduates of a technical institute were questioned as a control group. Such a sample structure can frequently be found in criminology research in the former GDR. Material and financial facilities were not as a rule given for representative research and so recourse was made by the scientists concerned, to investigation of specific circles of people who were contactable by the scientists.

The research recorded the following results, of which only a few are detailed here:

Of the 1286 males and 1013 females questioned, a considerable number had been subject to some form of treatment by young people or adults, which according to the criteria in the questionnaire, was of a criminal character. This happened more frequently to females than males. The authors produced the following results in respect of a number of sexual offenses:

Table 1: Coercion and abuse in relation to sexual crime with violence, threat, exploitation etc. (§ 122 of the StGB of the former GDR)

Sex	Number	Completed crimes according to § 122	Number reported	Attempted crimes according to § 122	Number reported
Male	1,191	7	-	9	1
Female	961	17	-	25	1
Total	2,152	24	-	34	2

Table 2: Abuse of young people between 14 and 16 years in relation to sexual intercourse or similar abuse (§ 149 StGB of the former GDR)

Sex	Number	Crime in accordance with § 149 StGB	Number of reports
Male	1,208	7	-
Female	963	11	-
Total	2,171	18	-

Table 3: Sexual abuse or similar abuse of juveniles entrusted for reasons of education or occupational training (§ 150 StGB of the former GDR)

Sex	Number	Crime according to § 150 StGB	Number reported
Male	1,223	5	-
Female	967	16	-
Total	2,190	21	-

In respect of all three offenses mentioned, the following represents the position regarding unreported crime. This area of unreported crime, was determined from the research, in which the relationship was defined of the parties reporting a crime, to the particular criminal act described, and a relationship to police criminal statistics or to court statistics in relation to criminal convictions, was not effected. On the basis of the crimes described, the rate of undetected crime in relation to these offenses in so far as they affected the males questioned, was 1 : 27 and in relation to the females questioned 1 : 33 (total 1 : 31). Particularly informative are the results from *Fikentscher* (1978, p. 77 et seq.) relating to sexual abuse of children.

Table 4:

	Sexual abuse confirmed	Percentage of sample	Parents informed	Reports
Male	81	6.3 %	14	8
Female	163	16.0 %	72	25

19.5 % of the males questioned, who had been confronted with such abuse, expressed themselves to have experienced a great psychological shock, and 20.7 % said that the abuse had had a lasting negative psychological effect upon the development of their personality. One percent said yes to both questions. In relation to the females questioned, the psychological effects were experienced more severely. 30.2 % said that the abuse had caused a severe psychological shock and 28 % spoke of a lasting psychological effect and 11.6 % of both effects. The statistical evaluation showed that those females, who had experienced a severe psychological shock as a result of the abuse, reported the crime twice as frequently. Such a significant relationship concerning the males questioned, could not be recorded. In contrast to the opinion frequently expressed at this time, that abuse of children is a typical offense committed by older men, the authors merely found one offender who was over 75 years of age.

Table 5: Age distribution of male offenders in relation to sexual abuse of children

	14-18 y.	18-25 y.	25-35 y.	35-45 y.	45-55 y.	55-65 y.	65-75 y.	more than 75 y.
Absolute number of offenders	48	34	38	50	44	34	10	1
Offenders from 100,000 men of corresponding age group	7,6	4,1	4,8	5,4	3,6	3,7	1,6	0,4

Fikentscher and his colleagues, conclude from these figures, that the claim that children must be warned against "strange old man", does not

correspond with reality and therefore can in fact increase the real danger which exists. They also criticise (p. 79) the taboo of sexual matters, which is widespread and which results in the fact that in many cases the sexual offenses are not reported to the parents themselves. The fact that the usual international form of anonymous questioning of potential victims, was used in the research described, is important in a study of undetected crime, in order to analyze a specific area of criminal behavior.

Littmann (1985, p. 88 et seq.) speaks of forensic psychological expertise, and emphasises that the victim is directly focused upon when dealing with expert opinion on credibility in relation to trial witnesses in sexual crime cases, and it is important to discuss victimological aspects in relation to such expert opinions. The increased selectiveness of cases involving expert opinions in the general processing of findings made, sets limits upon such work. Selectiveness is important because of the high rate of undetected crime in relation to sexual crimes involving children, and in relation to the selection character of cases where expert opinions are required. This is emphasised by *Littmann*. He regards the aim of the study as attempting to make an empirical-cluster analytical differentiation in relation to a sample of expert opinions on credibility, in order to find a general type of victim from a victimological and forensic-psychological point of view. 173 expert opinions in relation to credibility in the years since 1965 formed the basis of the analysis. Opinions were given by two colleagues who followed the scheme proposed by *Szewczyk* (for example 1984) in relation to a credibility test. Analysis of the following is included within this test, namely

1. ability to make a statement
2. honesty
3. history of events surrounding the report and the situation in which it arose
4. motivation for the report
5. change of statement in relation to different questionnaires.

Male witnessess in relation to female witnesses, stand in the following relationship in the material collected 1:9. The peak of the age distribution lay between 9 and 13 years of age. Evaluation of the expert opinions was effected by means of a EDV-based system of documentation of results developed at the Charité in Berlin by the staff of the court psychiatric and psychology division. It contained 146 categories of characteristics and 114 individual characteristics allocated to these categories. The statistical pro-

cessing of the data, included the calculation of the frequency of absolute and relative characteristics in the sample and likewise in relation to the four cluster subgroups.

The frequency in relation to commission of the various groups of offenses, proved in relation to victimogenous factors of personality, from the background of the particular offender-victim-relationship, to be in agreement with the expert opinions on existing trends for example there were corresponding degrees of familiarity between victim and offender shown, which related to the seriousness of the offense and repetition of sexual offenses. The author establishes that the victimogenous status of individual factors is difficult to define, so long as no precise standards or comparative standards in relation to the control groups of non-sexually abused children, are available for this purpose. The cluster analysis took account of four clusters, which covered 80 % of all cases.

Cluster 1 (56 cases) is described by *Littmann* as the "ideal witnesses", in contrast to the other clusters of groups. Environmental stresses can seldom be detected. In comparison, intelligence and standard of performance can be seen in the results of the psychological research. Socio-psychological state of development corresponds with age. Victimization arises because of the special psycho-dynamics of the offender-victim-relationship. 94.6 % of offenders are already familiar with their victims. The forensic-psychological examination of these witnesses did not as a rule present any difficulties and the ability of the parties questioned to make a proper statement, and their credibility was accepted almost without exception.

Cluster 2 (17 cases) consists of females who have at most reached the age of puberty and victimization of these females took place mainly within the family environment and during their upbringing. The consequences for the children are accordingly symptoms of neglect and lack of proper support and care. The offense itself is characterized predominantly by one of or unique events. The credibility of the witnesses of these clusters is assessed by *Littmann* as follows. The ability to give a proper testimony is given in principle. However noticeable questions as to the truthfulness of the statement and its consistency, for example uncritical assessment of self participation, frequent previous sexual experiences meant that in 80 % of cases, the statements were rejected as evidence.

In relation to the females of cluster 3 (12 cases) there were similarities in relation to the background in which they were brought up and the family environment played a more significant role, only in cases where the child's upbringing was let to run its own course. There were also psychological similarities in cluster 2 detected. The offenders direct the criminal offenses

exclusively against family members and acquaintances however, and the details of the crime committed, point to behavior which is seriously criminal. There was frequently active retaliation by or partly provocative behavior by the female involved. The willingness of the victim to report, was limited, and in 50 % of cases, the victims' ability to make a proper statement and in 60 % of cases, the victims' honesty had to be disregarded in the context of the particular case or at least limited.

In relation to children, cluster 4, (10 cases) mental deficiency and related disturbances to personality with a lack of intelligence, retardation, naivety, lack of ability to make a proper assessment, and the fact that they could be easily lead seduced, form the most significant indicators of their victim vulnerability. The offender is frequently a male stranger. The fact that the significance of the events is not understood, means, that the first statement is rarely spontaneous. In spite of this, apart from the limitations placed upon the victims' ability to make a proper statement, due to the factors mentioned, the honesty and truthfulness of these witnesses could be completely accepted or with some limitation. Littmann emphasises, that this study, illustrated the usefulness of differentiating between groups of sexually abused children and teenagers, even if the sample was not representative.

Szewczyk and Jähring (1986, p. 42 et seq.) were concerned with the development of the offender-victim-relationship in relation to homicide cases, on the basis of forensic-psychological-psychiatric expert opinions. In their analysis, they dealt with 422 offenders and 442 victims. It dealt, without exception, with attempted and completed crimes of murder and homicide/manslaughter. The crime of homicide was fairly low in the DDR and the frequency with which it was committed for example in the year 1983, was 1:100,000. This group of offenders was fairly comprehensively recorded, due to the fact that around 90 % of all such offenses, were commented upon by experts, and the number of homicide offenses which were not cleared up in the DDR, was fairly limited. The rule that the offender kills victims who predominantly stem from the same age group as the offender himself, was confirmed in the research. *Szewczyk and Jähring* found that the most frequent relationship in relation to crimes of homicide of 18-35 year olds, was a victim who was of similar age to the offender but of the opposite sex and where both stemmed from "dissocial" backgrounds and are under the influence of alcohol at the time of the offense. The authors emphasise that 10 % of victims are dependent upon alcohol and drinkers resp. Uneducated victims are more frequent. The following tendencies were noted during the course of the research carried out (from 1970 to the beginning of the 1980ies):

- The proportion of family members who are victims, is dropping.
- The proportion of victims who are intimate partners of the offender, is increasing.
- The proportion of victims who are acquaintances or friends is increasing.
- The proportion of victims who are unknown to the offender or who have met the offender briefly before the crime itself, is increasing although the figure remained stable in the last few years of the research. This is clearly connected to the increasing abuse of alcohol namely the fact that such crimes predominantly take place where there has been a drinking session prior to the offense, and a later argument leads to the homicide. *Szewczyk* and *Jähnig* analyzed the influence of the victim upon the homicide and came to the following results. 33 % of the victims recorded by them, had contributed to the offense. The authors tied up the cluster analysis with the statistical evaluation of the data obtained. They found three clusters. One cluster can be regarded as being "impulse offenses by male offenders against an intimate partner where the partnership relationship has broken down". 66 cases could be found in this cluster namely 16.2 % of the population researched. A second cluster involved 118 offender (28.9 % of the total number of offenders) and this was named: "dissocial male offenders with interchangeable victims". These homicide offenses committed by offenders, appear to be the conclusion of a many-sided criminal development (frequently associated with property offenses) which has arisen from a background of "dissocial" form of living. *Szewczyk* (1984) describes it as the "vicious circle of dissocial behavior". Cluster 3 consists of teenage murders with early childhood brain damage during a particular state of development. *Szewczyk* and *Jähnig* found early childhood brain damage in 9 of the 10 14-15 year old murders. The personality of these teenage murderers indicated changes which arose from early childhood brain damage for example changes in feelings regarding ones own self worth, unharmonious development and tendency to be a loner. The motivation of these victims, was difficult to understand and frequently appeared to be alien to the particular personality of the offender. The advantage of such cluster analysis, can be seen in relation to the research portrayed for example it could show that the focal point of victimological factors, is completely different in relation to individual clusters. In the first cluster described, the personalities and their developments did not stand in the forefront as victimological factors, as *Szewczyk* and *Jähnig* emphasise, but rather the interpersonal relationships and their develop-

ment. In the second cluster, the disturbance of the personality of the offender, is decisive, and in the third cluster, brain damage and related peculiarities of the offender are most significant.

Szewczyk and *Jähnig* emphasize in the results of their long-term forensic-psychiatric activities, that victimology is also a general task of forensic medicine forensic and forensic psychiatry in relation to the examination of the offender (1987, p. 101/102). Offender-victim-interaction, in particular to offenses of homicide, presents a starting point for research in relation to both scientific disciplines. In one study, which was restricted to sexually motivated offenses of homicide, account was also taken of the criminal aspects and related medical factors. The sadistic sexual matter, was compared with other sexually motivated offenses of homicide as to how a typical recurrent or sadistical offender behaves, must be corrected to some extent. In relation to commission of crime, motivation and the offender-victim-relationship were admittedly established in relation to various sexual disturbance in development. However there were no general findings made. The establishment of the place of the crime, where the victim was found and the victim him- or herself can throw suspicion upon specific motivation of the offender. These findings cannot however be evidential.

The thoughts of *Jähnig* (1988) regarding the victimological research into groups of offenders, seek to make a synthesis of various crime determinants possible. The goal of the analysis was to show, by means of typical classification of specific psycho-social offender developments, their deviant sexuality within the relationship with the victim, and the characteristics which predispose someone in favour of being a victim, to enable a complex assessment of the offense and the offender. A cluster of adult underprivileged offenders who committed sexually motivated homicides, was one example. The personality of the offender and the conditions in which he was brought up, were analysed, along with the offender's sexual development, the particular victim groups concerned, the offense itself and the main motives for the homicide.

Girod (1986, p. 16 et seq.) summarizes, that the majority of studies taking place in the GDR, stemmed from the specialized area of victimology, which emphasises the interests of the victim of crime, primarily from a criminological-legal or psychological-psychiatric point of view. *Girod* would like to see this extended, to questions of applicability of knowledge gained in victimology research, in criminal practise. The starting point of many studies (many of which remained unpublished) is to attain offender related data, by means of obtaining information about the victim. *Girod* emphasises the criminalistic-methodical side of victimology and its use for creating crimi-

nalistic versions. *Schlipa* gives one impression of this approach (see the corresponding article in this volume). He analyzed the preliminary proceedings in relation to rapes, bearing such aspects in mind. The work of *Girod* "Research into suspicious cases of death", in which the author concerned himself with the application of victimology for the criminological purposes, must be noted. The direction of this research goes back to the works of *Feix* (like many other studies of victimology), who studied the same problems at the end of the 1960ies (for example 1966, 1967). Like many unpublished works by criminology scholars, they are also juvenile sociology studies by staff of the Central Institute for Juvenile Research, in which victimological questions were classified and dealt with (*Brück* can be cited as one example). *Bohndorf* (1986, p. 21 et seq.), critical of many aspects of victimology in western countries, did not however "problemize" the important role which victimological questions played in the context of criminology in the GDR.

The significance of the victim in criminal law and criminal procedural law in the GDR, is worthy of analysis itself. This cannot however, be achieved here. Reference is made only to the law regarding advanced payment by the state to citizens injured by crime/advanced payment of compensation of 14 December 1988. This statute regulates the conditions and application of such payments by the state in cases where a victim has suffered loss or damage by a crime. The fact that the law only had a short period of validity, means that not statement can be made regarding its social effects. Victim help organisations such as the "Weiße Ring" do not exist in the GDR.

3. Assessment and Overall View

If one considers the limited number of studies into victimology in the GDR, one can see that there are only a few specific areas of victimology, which were examined. Most of these areas, were researched from a forensic-psychological and forensic-psychiatric point of view. It is interesting to look at the information obtained from victimology studies, to create criminalistic versions.

The wide selection of questions and points of study, which are associated with the role of the victim as a reporter of crime, and as such, being an initiator of crime control in society, was not researched in the GDR. The problems of undetected crime and of crime reporting, were only researched in relation to sexual offenses. Victimology as an extension of examination of a wide area of undetected crimes, was not looked into. This is connected

to the concept of the state and society. The population were frequently called upon, to actively participate in the prevention and reduction of crime. Accordingly, the attitudes of the population and their understanding of crime and crime control were regarded as being of limited importance, and never critically analysed. The social construction of the reality of crime, described by *Kaiser* as "the application of legal definitions of crime to social behavior, is defined by private reporting of crime or its omission and in this way reflects the attitude of the victim and his or her behavior (1985, p. 25), was not analysed in relation to GDR society and is therefore difficult to comprehend. The connections between victimization, fear of crime and attitudes towards the penal system (for example see the interesting results produced by *Kerner* 1986, p. 131 et seq. and *Boers & Sessar* (1990, p. 126 et seq.)), were not thematized or studied empirically.

On the other hand, the limited victimology studies in the GDR, to some extent, made use of the initial victimological concepts, which (as emphasized by *van Dijk* 1985, p. 15) sets out such offenses in the analysis of relatively severe crime in relation to offender-victim-interaction and reaction. The psychological-psychiatric analysis of the complexities of individual personality characteristics and various factors affecting the development of offenders, the victim disposition, factors which contribute to the crime and crime motivation, introduce many interesting starting points for the psychological analysis of offender-victim-interaction (for example see *Schneider* 1975, 1979).

The use of victimology to throw light upon the area of undetected crime in relation to a number of offenses, in relation to general crime, reporting of crime and attitudes relevant to criminal research was (also in the eastern states of the Federal Republic of Germany) the aim of a survey, which was carried out by the Max Planck Institute criminology research group, in cooperation with the criminalistic-criminological research group from the Federal Office of Criminal Investigation (Wiesbaden). The research was carried out amongst the population in eastern and western Germany in October 1990, shortly after the German union (see *MPG press information* 22.2.1991). 5000 people in East and 2000 in West Germany, were asked as to whether they had been a victim of a crime included within one of the 11 areas of crime mentioned. Secondly, they were asked as to what attitudes they had as to particular aspects of crime and the fight against crime itself - for instance in relation to the development of crime, extent of punishment or the police themselves. The people questioned in the former GDR were asked to relate their experiences in the four years before and in the period immediately before the borders were opened (i.e. from November 1989 to September 1990). The research is an attempt to regard the collapse of a

society and the assumption of another model of society and the criminological effects of this. On the other hand, the research seeks to obtain data relating to the reality of the GDR. The publication of the data from this research, has been reserved until further work has been carried out by the Max Planck Institute in Freiburg in cooperation with the Federal Office of Criminal Investigation. The first assessments indicate an increase in crime in the former GDR and increased fear of crime by citizens in the eastern German states. The increased fear of crime can be seen in relation to general social uncertainty. The results of the survey leave many matters open to question, and new questions arise for example as to the evaluation of social behavior as crime amongst the former GDR population or questions as to the best form of resolution of conflicts when dealing with offenders and victims of crime.

A project initiated by *Kerner, Sessar, Boers* and *Ewald*, seek to investigate, alongside the examination of offenders and victims in an analysis of undetected crime, the fear of crime, behavior in respect of protection from crime and avoidance of crime, personal assessment of risk, attitudes towards penalties, assessment of the police and the justice system, and social changes in particular areas of society. This project has been set up as an extensive statistical comparative analysis.

Another way of approaching the problem area of social change and changes in society in the former GDR, deviance and crime, is conceived by a project being carried out by *Kaiser, Kury, Kräupl* and *Ludwig*, which researches the "social and political changes in the course of integration of the GDR society". A detailed analysis of social change, the development of deviance and crime, is planned, and the creation of common strategies of conflict resolution in a city which is interpreted and analysed as it were, as a living, cultural and working unit. A comparison between Jena (East Germany) and Freiburg (West Germany) is being considered.

The projects mentioned, can contribute to a part reconstruction of the reality of the former GDR in relation to problem areas in the criminological field, and on the other hand to an analysis of social changes and their criminological effects. The examination of victimological questions, will produce with same certainty interesting results.

4. Summary

Victimological research in the former GDR stems in the majority, from areas of expertise, which are concerned with the victims' interests primarily

from a criminological-legal and most of all psychological-psychiatric point of view. The psychological-psychiatric analysis relates to the complexity of personality characteristics and the conditions affecting the development of the offender, the victim's disposition, factors which encourage the commission of a crime and the motivation for the crime.

The use of such victimology research, for building criminalistic versions is interesting to note. A range of questions which are important in international discussions of victimization (such as the role of the victim as a reporter of crime and as a selection authority in relation to control of crime in a society, the connections between victimization, fear of crime and attitudes towards the justice system, have only partly or not at all researched. Research has already been instigated into the analysis of these questions relating to important social changes in the former GDR.

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Swiss Research in Victimology
in the 1980ies
- An Overview

Martin Killias

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1. Introduction

Like almost anywhere else, victimology in Switzerland has, so far, been a sub-field of criminology. Whatever the merits of victimology may be as an independent field under the general umbrella of criminal justice, Swiss victimology has not yet reached this status definitively. Given the rather late development of criminology in Switzerland, the expansion of which occurred mainly during the 1980ies (Killias 1988), this state of affairs is hardly surprising. As a part of criminology, victimology has been favoured by the recent focus upon crime surveys in Switzerland. However, the absence of studies evaluating the various schemes and policies of victims' support may be considered as one of its most serious shortcomings. This can be said of Swiss criminology in general (Killias 1991, p. 424).

2. Crime Surveys in Switzerland during the 1980ies

2.1 Overall View

In connection with a study designed to compare the crime rate in a major Swiss city with the rate in comparable American cities and in Stuttgart, West Germany, *Clinard* (1978) undertook a first victimization survey in Zurich in 1973. That survey revealed generally lower rates for Zurich than for the other cities compared (see also *Stephan* 1976), although this conclusion did not go entirely unchallenged (*Balvig* 1988).

The next surveys came more than one decade later. At the end of 1984, 3,000 randomly selected households were interviewed by telephone in French-speaking Switzerland, followed early in 1987 by a second wave of 3,500 interviews in the country's remaining, i.e. German- and Italian-speaking parts. Together, these two waves were designed as a national crime survey and will be referred to, in the following sections, as the Swiss Crime

Survey (SCS) (Killias 1989).¹ The technical innovations in connection with this survey, linked to the first use of CATI in Europe in a survey of this kind, as well as some of the major findings will be summarized below.

During the same years, i.e. in 1985 and early in 1987, two doctoral students of the University of Zurich undertook two local crime surveys in the cantons of Uri (central Switzerland) and Zurich, respectively (Stadler 1987; Schwarzenegger 1989, 1991). Both surveys were coordinated with Arnold *et al.*'s (1988) comparative crime surveys in Texas, Baden-Württemberg (Southwest of Germany), and Hungary (Province of Baranya). As Arnold *et al.* in their surveys, Stadler and Schwarzenegger used the method of mail surveys on random samples of households in the cantons of Uri and Zurich (N = 265, respectively 1,410). Uri is a tiny state (canton) in the central part of the Swiss Alps with a population of some 30,000. Despite its rural character, this area is marked by the Saint Gotthard rail road and motorway which connect Italy with Central and Northern Europe. Zurich is Switzerland's largest town; together with the suburbs which form essentially the canton of Zurich, it has a population of about 1.1 million.

In addition to these local and national surveys, Switzerland has participated in the first international crime survey (ICS) which covered 14 countries. Despite the rather small Swiss ICS sample of 1,000 respondents, the Swiss data of this (latest) survey, conducted early in 1989, can be used to assess the validity of the several crime surveys conducted so far in Switzerland.

2.2 Main Results

2.2.1 Methodology of Crime Surveys

In two of the four crime surveys undertaken in Switzerland over the last 10 years, some methodological aspects have been more or less extensively tested. In the study on the canton of Uri, Stadler (1987, pp. 186-189) checked the information given by the respondents to his mail questionnaire on the grounds of the police files. 70% of the victimizations the respondents said to have reported to the police could be located in the police archives. This leaves open the question, why further cases could not be found in the police files. One reason may be that a substantial number of the victimizations reported in the written questionnaire did indeed happen long before

1 The decision to proceed in two steps had political rather than technical reasons.

the reference period, or at a different place, or they might fall within a different legal category. Besides these reasons which are related to the accuracy of the victims' accounts of the offences, the quality of police archives might not always be beyond doubt, particularly in a rural area like Uri with a very small police force. But overall, *Stadler* (1987, p. 189) concluded that mail questionnaires yield reasonably valid data on victimization.

In connection with the first wave of the Swiss Crime Survey, several of the technical innovations have been tested. The experiences and lessons from these surveys have been published elsewhere in detail (*Killias* 1990) and may, therefore, be summarized here very briefly. Since computer-assisted telephone surveys (CATI) had not been used in victimology and criminology so far in Europe, a subsample of 95 victims of serious offences, as well as of 95 non-victims matched according to sex, age, and place of living, were interviewed extensively a second time, but personally (face to face) rather than over the phone. The results revealed certain contradictions concerning the number of offences reported by multiple victims, as well as concerning the legal category of some offences.² However, only 2% of the victims, and an equal proportion of non-victims, turned out not to have suffered from an offence - or vice versa. All in all, the results of this test confirmed the lessons learnt from a Canadian experiment (*Evans & Léger* 1979) where CATI and face to face interviews turned out to yield comparable victimization rates. The response rate has been rather respectable, with 71% in German-speaking Switzerland.

Particular attention has been given to the accuracy of victims' accounts concerning the time period and the place where the offence had occurred. Since the bounding technique, famous because of its use in the American National Crime Survey (NCS), has never been applied in Europe, the questions concerning time and place of occurrence were, as suggested by *Sparks* (1982), strictly separated from the screening questions, i.e. those which contain the quasi-legal definitions of the several offences. In order to reduce possible telescoping effects, the respondents were, at first, asked to indicate all victimizations which had come to their minds, whatever the place and the time (year) of occurrence; only once this had been done, followed the questions concerning the exact time and place (country, region, city) of occurrence. In other words, the reference period of 12 months did not appear in the screening questions, but only in the response categories

2 For example, attempts were sometime counted as completed offences, and the other way around.

used to code the victims' indications concerning the time (year) of the offence in question (for details see *Killias* 1990). In this connection, the CATI technique proved to be particularly helpful since it allows almost as many filters within the questionnaire as one might wish. The questionnaire used in German-speaking Switzerland, for example, contained no less than 669 variables, although the mean length of an interview remained below 30 minutes. These technical innovations allowed, on the one hand, many analyses concerning possibly influential independent variables, such as, for example, those linked to an individual's life-style (see below, 2.2.3); on the other hand, the new approach to the location of incidents in time and space allowed probably more accurate estimates of victimization rates. When only offences which the victims said the police did know about were considered, the match between police statistics and the SCS rates is indeed better than in most European crime surveys (for details, see *Killias* 1989, pp. 46-52).

Besides rather obvious cost considerations, these experiences may have played a certain role in the design of the ICS (*van Dijk et al.* 1990), particularly in connection with the choice of CATI and with the approach to the location of incidents in time and space.

2.2.2 Victimization Rates

In Table 1, the victimization rates according to the four crime surveys conducted during the last decade in Switzerland, as well as those according to the ICS, have been summarized. An one can see, the SCS and the ICS produced very similar results which suggest, by the way, that serious crimes might indeed be somewhat less frequent in Switzerland than in most other European countries (*van Dijk et al.* 1990, p. 174), although the difference may be no longer as impressive as *Clinard* (1978) had assumed.

Table 1: Victimization Rates (Prevalence Rates) according to four Crime Surveys Conducted in Switzerland after 1980

	Zurich				
	SCS (N=6,500)	ICS (N=1,000)	SCS (N=788)	ZSC (N=1,410)	Uri (N=256)
Burglary (of dwellings)	0.9	1.0	1.3	3.0	2.3
Personal larceny	7.7	4.5	6.6	11.3	8.7
Robbery (incl. attempts)	0.4	0.5	0.5	1.1	-
Assault	1.1	1.2	-	2.3	1.5

Sources: *van Dijk et al.* 1990, p. 174; *Killias* 1989, pp. 46, 56, 59, 62; *Stadler* 1987, p. 87; *Schwarzenegger* 1989, 1991.

However, the two mail surveys (*Stadler 1987; Schwarzenegger 1989, 1991*) yield victimization rates which are consistently higher than those deduced from the CATI surveys. This is particularly impressive when the results from the SCS are considered for the canton of Zurich only, since this area is identical with the one studied by *Schwarzenegger (1989, 1991)*; these two surveys had been even conducted during the same time period, i.e. early in 1987. Therefore, any difference in the results must be explained by differences in the design of the two surveys in question. Interestingly, the two mail surveys do not only show higher rates than the CATI surveys, but also higher ones than those observed, according to the same methodology, in Baden-Württemberg and in Hungary (see *Arnold et al. 1988*). *Balvig's (1988)* conclusion that crime is not less frequent in Switzerland than in many other European countries, has its origin in the results of the surveys conducted in Uri and Zurich.

Given the absence of any experimental tests comparing CATI and mail interviews, all possible explanations of the differences between the two surveys in Zurich and Uri, on one hand, and the SCS and the ICS, on the other hand, will necessarily remain speculative. Of course, one might argue that, given the extremely small sample size in Uri (265), the differences observed may not be far beyond what one might expect due to sampling error. Even if this may be the case, and even if some of the differences between the data from the two surveys concerning the canton of Zurich can be explained this way, the fact remains that the rates are consistently higher according to the mail surveys. Since the response rates in these two surveys has not been too different from those obtained in the SCS and in the ICS,³ the most likely explanation might be the difference in the screening questions, including the questions concerning the location of the offences experienced in time and space. It could be that many of the victimizations reported in Uri and Zurich had indeed taken place long before the reference period, as in many of the older European crime surveys which used similar screening questions⁴ and which regularly produced much too high victimization rates. In the present case, some suspicion in that direction does not seem to be totally unfounded since, according to the data by *Stadler (1987, p. 87)* and summarized in Table 1, the rates for Uri and burglary are higher than those of the American NCS for the suburbs of major American urban

3 Namely 53% (Uri) and 47% (Zurich), respectively, compared to 71% and 68% in the SCS and ICS.

4 Typically phrased in a way where the respondent is invited to indicate what he/she might have experienced "over the last 12 months"; for details see *Killias 1990*.

areas (SMSA). The data from the SCS are also quite close to those found in police statistics, whereas the rates from the surveys in Uri and Zurich are much higher than the rates which police statistics seem to suggest, even when only offences reported to the police are taken into account (see *Schwarzenegger* 1991; *Stadler* 1987, pp. 77-82).

Given the merits of mail questionnaires as well as of the CATI technique, the important point in the present case may, therefore, be the approach to the location of incidences in time and space, rather than the differences between these two survey methods as such.

2.2.3 Risk Factors according to the Crime Surveys in Switzerland

The impact of several risk factors derived from the life-style model (*Cohen & Felson* 1979; *Felson & Cohen* 1980) can be studied through the data collected in the SCS and in the Zurich survey. According to both surveys, persons with an outgoing life-style seem to face considerably higher risks of thefts of all sorts and of violent offences. Of particular importance are the frequency of visits to bars, pubs, dancings, etc., as well as the frequency of outdoor activities beyond midnight (*Killias* 1989, p. 88). With the exception of age - which is negatively correlated with risk - the demographic factors (sex, income, place of residence, etc.) do not necessarily tie up with higher rates of victimization (*Schwarzenegger* 1991; *Killias* 1989, pp. 71-77). Given the consistency of these results, one may conclude that the social distribution of those kinds of risks is indeed different in Switzerland from what we know from other countries. Since income is not so strongly correlated with place of residence in Switzerland as it certainly is in the USA, it could be that crime is much less concentrated in certain neighbourhoods and that it affects, therefore, the different income groups much more equally. The available evidence on the geographic distribution of crime across Switzerland (*Killias* 1989, pp. 60-67; *Schwarzenegger* 1991) does indeed support this explanation. It is further confirmed by the fact that immigrants are not more frequently victimized than Swiss citizens, as an analysis on the basis of data from the SCS revealed (*Berry* 1990). Again, the reason may be that immigrants are less concentrated in certain urban neighbourhoods than ethnic minorities elsewhere.

2.2.4 Reporting of Victimizations to the Police

As the ISC revealed (*van Dijk et al.* 1990, pp. 68, 177), victims of crime in Switzerland report a rather high proportion of the offences experienced, to the police. The SCS tends to confirm this, as the results summarized in the following table reveal.

Table 2: Percent Victimizations Reported to the Police, according to the two waves of the SCS and the ICS

	French-speaking Switzerland (1984)	Other parts of Switzerland (1987)	All Switzerland (ICS) (1989)
Theft of cars	95	93	100
Motorcycle theft	98	99	91
Theft of scooters	88	92	
Theft of bicycles	79	86	84
Burglary (dwellings)	82	84	79
Robbery	87	83	67
Assault	34	29	26
Personal larceny	39	49	42

Source: *Killias 1991*, p. 89.

The analyses based on the SCS, the ICS and the two local surveys concerning the factors which influence the decision to report are consistent with international knowledge. As is the case anywhere else, the most important factor seems to be the seriousness of the offence. On the negative side, the acquaintances of the offender and the victim seems to be the most important single factor, followed by the victim's feeling of sharing some responsibility in the offence (*Killias 1989*, pp. 127, 129): 45 % of the offences against the person are reported if the offender has not been known to the victim at the time of the offence, against 28 % in the case of a known offender; 73 % of the offences against the person remain unreported if the victims feels to have somehow contributed to his/her victimization, against 56 % in the other eventuality. This result underlines the importance of the social support which the victim anticipates to receive from others and/or the public in case of a complaint. These factors are particularly important in the case of (completed and/or attempted) rape: in the case of unknown offenders; 56 % of the cases are reported to the police, against which only 6 % when the victim had known the offender before the crime (*Killias 1989*, p. 128; *Kuhn 1991*).⁵

5 Despite the rarity of violent sex offences, the SCS allows reliable analyses of this sort due to the inclusion, in the screening questions, of more remote victimization. This increased the number of cases of rape, attempted rape and sexual assaults to 130 in all.

Interestingly, the characteristics of either the victim or the offender have very little impact on the decision to report. Even the fact that the offender had been identified by the victim as a foreign national⁶ does not increase the likelihood of a complaint: in cases of crimes against the person,⁷ 41 % of the offences are reported if the offender seemed to be of foreign origin - i.e. exactly the same rate as in the case of a supposedly Swiss offender (*Killias* 1989, p. 118; *Killias* 1988). But also the demographic characteristics of the victim seem to be of very little importance (*Killias* 1989, p. 117), such as his/her ethnic origin: according to the data from the SCS analyzed by *Berry* (1990), immigrants seem to report their victimization to the police at the same rate as Swiss victims. Their general view of the Swiss police seems, by the way, to be even more positive than the one held by Swiss respondents (*Berry* 1990). In summary, the decision to report seems to have more to do with the offence than with the characteristics of the victim or the offender, or with the general attitudes to the police. Again, this result is in line with what is internationally accepted (*Skogan* 1984; *Gottfredson & Gottfredson* 1980, p. 38).

So far, research on the victims' decision (not) to invoke an official response to crime has centered on the question as to why victims do not report victimization to the police. This kind of research regularly shows that the lack of seriousness of the offence is the most important single variable (*Skogan* 1984). The available Swiss studies are no exception to this rule (*Schwarzenegger* 1991; *Stadler* 1987, pp. 214-216; *Killias* 1989, p. 114), whatever the kind of offence. However, the picture becomes much more differentiated when victims are asked for the reasons as to why they decided to report an offence to the police, as Table 3 reveals:

6 The identification of any foreign speaker is very easy in all cases where a minimum of verbal communication had taken place, given Europe's linguistic fragmentation and the concomitant importance of regional and/or national accents.

7 Where victims have a chance to identify the offender's origin.

Table 3: Reasons Given by Victims for Having Reported the Offence to the Police, according to data from the SCS

	Crimes against the person	Property crimes
To obtain insurance compensation	18%	64%
To see the offender punished	31%	8%
Moral duty	14%	15%
To prevent the offender from repeating his act	26%	5%
Other	26%	19%
N.A.	3%	2%

Source: *Killias* 1989, p. 116.⁸

Interestingly, the results from the SCS are rather similar to those from the American NCS, both in absolute terms as well as concerning the relative differences between victims of crimes against the person and those of property offences (*Killias* 1991, p. 423). Whereas the latter are, not surprisingly, mostly interested in reparation and compensation, either from the offender or an insurance company, it seems that about two out of three victims of crimes against the person express an expectation that the offender should be punished or at least prevented from committing similar acts in the future. In *Wilkins'* (1984) terms, one might say that most victims of crimes against the person feel that "something should be done about the offender". This is particularly important since feelings of this kind may not easily be met by programs of diversion or mediation, designed to reconcile offenders and victims. Given these policy implications of the victims' expectations in connection with complaints, it seems rather unfortunate that most crime surveys have, so far, focussed only upon the reasons for not reporting an offence to the police, and that the positive expectations have not been given more attention. It seems that the American NCS and the SCS are, rather isolated exceptions to this general rule.

8 Since respondents could give up to three reasons, the sums in each column exceed 100 %.

2.2.5 *Impact of Crime upon Victims*

In connection with the SCS, particular attention has been given to the material and emotional consequences of crime for victims. It turned out that less victims get insurance payments than one might assume, given the wide-spread use of insurance throughout Switzerland. For example, 19 % of victims of burglary who have suffered from substantial losses (i.e. exceeding 2,000 U.S.\$) did not get payments from any insurance company; in the French-speaking parts of Switzerland, this rate is even 29 % (Killias 1989, p. 103). Among victims of crimes against the person, 28 % said they had suffered from psychological consequences, and 12 % said they had been injured (Killias 1989, p. 107). These rates were highest for victims of rape (completed or attempted) who suffered from psychological consequences in 47 % of all cases and of whom 12 % had to undergo some medical treatment. In line with the observation by *Hindelang et al.* (1978, pp. 38, 41) concerning the data from the NCS, victims of rape suffered, in Switzerland as well as in America, from physical injuries more frequently than any other category of victims. They also seem to be particularly concerned about their safety, and 41 % admitted having changed their contacts with men as a consequence of their victimization. Similar results, though to a lesser degree, have been found among victims of other offences against the person, but not among victims of property crimes including burglary. In addition to these immediate consequences, victims of violent sex offences seem to have much more difficulties in forgetting their experience than any other group of victims, and this even after many years⁹ (Killias 1989, pp. 106-111).

These observations have been largely confirmed, as far as victims of rape are concerned, in a study based on a convenience sample of rape victims living in German-speaking Switzerland (Godenzi 1989). It seems that victims of rape and sexual violence suffer frequently and for long periods of time from physical as well as emotional consequences with serious implications for the quality of their daily life. Unfortunately, virtually nothing is known about victims who cope successfully with the consequences of their victimization. Such knowledge would be most helpful in designing strategies of victim assistance and support. The information that consequences are terrible may be impressive, but very little can be deduced from it to improve things for those who suffer from them.

9 The inclusion of remote victimization in the screening questions allowed analysis of the process of "forgetting", by division of the remote experiences from the recent ones.

2.2.6 *Fear of Crime*

All crime surveys conducted so far in Switzerland, have addressed the problem of fear of crime. The proportion of respondents who reported being afraid while walking alone at night within a kilometer radius of their house turned out to be rather stable across space, ranging from 36 % in Uri (*Stadler* 1987, p. 126), about 40 % in Switzerland as a whole (*Killias* 1989, p. 153) to 46 % in the canton of Zurich (*Schwarzenegger* 1989). The lack of geographic variation may be due to the higher vulnerability of a person walking alone at night in the Swiss countryside, given the proximity of forests and other "impressive" landscapes from most Swiss villages (*Killias* 1989, pp. 158-161). An other result found consistently is Swiss victimization surveys is the decreasing fear of crime which corresponds with increasing age among women (*Stadler* 1987, p. 137; *Killias* 1989, p. 154). Although women experience fear of crime much more frequently than men, their level of fear does not increase with age, as is the case according to many (though not all)¹⁰ foreign surveys. The reason may be that women feel less exposed to the risk of sexual attack beyond a certain age, and that this decrease is not compensated, among elderly women, by the perception of a higher risk of mugging. Given Switzerland's rather low rate of robbery victimizations (see Table 1), this explanation seems rather plausible.

Beyond these nuances to common knowledge concerning the relationship between fear of crime and demographic characteristics, a few results concerning the impact of vulnerability may be noteworthy. Within the SCS, some information has been gathered on the respondent's physical vulnerability, drawing on earlier work by *Riger et al.* (1978) and *Skogan & Maxfield* (1981). The results allowed the development of a larger model, explaining fear of crime by means of an individual's physical, social, and situational vulnerability.¹¹ This model has proved very helpful in explaining the different levels of fear and concern about attacks amongst employees of banks and post offices, according to the varying levels of technical protection of their workplace (*Alimam* 1990). It is currently used in the evaluation of a program, sponsored by the City of Zurich, which offers training in various self-defence techniques to women.

10 See e.g. *Arnold* 1986 concerning Baden-Württemberg and *Maxfield* 1984 concerning the BCS.

11 See the chapter on this topic in this volume.

3. Evaluation Studies

With the two exceptions mentioned in the preceding section, no systematic assessment of programs designed to offer assistance, support, technical protection, or special training to victims or persons at risk have been undertaken so far. This is, partially explained by the fact that Switzerland has not established official victim support schemes so far, the law establishing such programs being currently before the Parliament. However, several privately sponsored programs of victim assistance have been at work for several years by now, such as the "Weisser Ring" and private initiatives in some prisons, aimed mainly at the reconciliation of victims and their (imprisoned) offenders (*Brenzikofer* 1986). In addition, several programs providing assistance to battered women have been operating over the last ten years (*Reetz* 1990; *Allebes & Elmer* 1990; *Thormann* 1991). Systematic evaluation of these initiatives would be most welcome. Indeed, good intentions do not necessarily produce good results, and some systematic knowledge might prove helpful in establishing a nation-wide network of victim assistance schemes, as required by the draft of a Law on Victim Assistance.

4. Conclusions

As in other Western countries, criminology in Switzerland has focused, during the first years following its general implementation in Universities and their Research centers, upon victimization surveys. These constitute at the same time the main part of victimological research. Only recently has there been a shift to some evaluation studies; future work will have to focus much more upon such aspects in order to contribute to improving the services offered to victims.

In several respects, the victimization surveys conducted in Switzerland have been innovative, both in terms of methodology and theory. The SCS used the CATI technique in 1984. Thanks to the very extensive questionnaire this technique was allowed to use the several propositions derived from the life-style model and from a theory of vulnerability could be tested. In these respects, the SCS may have played a certain role in the design of the international crime survey of 1989 (*van Dijk et al.* 1990).

Future research into victimology in Switzerland should include evaluation studies of various programs of assistance and support offered to victims and other groups who are affected by crime. Such schemes exist to some degree already, and many more are about to be established. Therefore, careful evaluation studies are needed to advise policy makers on how these programs could be made more efficient and helpful to those which they are supposed to serve.

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Victimology in Austria

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Contents

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1. Introduction

It is conventional to make theoretical introductions at the beginning of research work, relating to the themes dealt with in this research.

To introduce this article "Victimology in Austria" with a chapter about "Victimology theories" seems to me to be inappropriate for two reasons. On the one hand, this being only a part of work which has been carried out on a larger scale, it neither makes sense or is necessary to look into victimology theories. On the other hand, such a discussion is unnecessary in Austria, victimology (as opposed to criminology see discussion in *Fehérváry* 1976, 1981 and *Schima* 1976) being still in the initial stages in this country and making only cautious progress.

I am more interested in this introduction, in attempting to draw attention to the hesitant development of victimology research in Austria up until the beginning of the 1980ies and then to report in a second chapter, about the individual research work carried out and their effects in practice. This should then give an overall view regarding the current work being carried out.

After the positivist criminal school of thought became more orientated towards the end of the 19th century towards the offender and disturbance of his personality in a criminological sense, the fundamental conceptions of the causes of criminology, changed during the 2nd World-War and in the post war period (*Schneider* 1990). Interaction between people, and consequently most conflicts, were no longer attributed responsibility for the emergence of crime and criminalization and victimization was no longer regarded as a human interaction and learning process. In this way, the spiritual forum for the inclusion of the victim of crime in criminology and criminal thinking, was prepared.

This was not however the case in Austria. The empirical research into the crime and the criminal was emphasized in Austria and this left the victim out of consideration (*Schima* 1981). One notable exception is the research by the assistant of *Roland Graßberger* at the Vienna criminology institute, *Marianne Padowetz* (1954), who evaluated the marriage fraud not only as a phenomenon itself, but also in a victimological sense from the processing of 530 cases involving women.

The case of *Hans v. Hentig* (1948) in the fundamental victimology work "The criminal and his victim" emphasizes "real mutuality in the relationship

between victim and offender" and was to a considerable extent interpreted in a onesided way in Austrian criminal and criminological research. In this way, one does not attempt to see the murderer as guilty, in the sense of the novel by *Franz Werfel* (1920), instead of seeing a victim of the offender in the party injured, according to the joint guilt of the victim in the crime (*Zipf* 1970).

On the other hand (as it seemed to the representatives in the Graz criminal institute) the victim perspective did not appear to be worthy of discussion. Victimological facts for instance in the criminology works of *Ernst Seelig* (1951) and the criminal biology by *Franz Exner* (1949) were widely dismissed. *Bellavic* wrote in the 3rd edition of his criminology textbook (*Seelig & Bellavic* 1963): "That the fact that the existence of the victim is directly related to the environmental factors arising from the offence, is self evident."

Whatever insignificance victimology had in Austria in the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s, shows that the evaluation of Austrian criminology by *Graßberger* (1973) and *Fehérváry* (1976, 1981) makes no reference, as can be shown, to the beginnings of victimology research.

Apart from the works of *Marianne Padowetz* already mentioned, *Fattah* (1971) with his assessment of 50 cases of robbery in Austria where murder was committed and *Schima* (1973) with his habilitation writings "extortion and coercion" make the first inroads into victimology research. The comparable research carried out by *Hauptmann* (1975) about the "Non-violent abuse of children" must also be mentioned here.

The lecture by *Schima* (1981) given to lawyers and prosecutors in Ottenstein/NÖ shows just how unfamiliar the "victimology" research area was at the beginning of the 1980ies to those interested in criminology and took to practitioners themselves. This is one of the most important criminal consensus in Austria. In this confidence, he - with the aim of drawing attention to the "new" research area - spoke about the nature of victimology, and the practical usefulness of the results of victimology research into murder, for practice itself. *Schima* emphasized the fundamental idea that the victim represents the first and most important selection factor in the criminal prosecution and it is dangerous for the state to "leave the victim alone" in that this could transfer the anger of the victim from the offender towards the state.

The significance of the Vienna Criminology Institute in respect of this development and also the performance by the Institute for Law and Criminal Sociology (earlier the Ludwig-Boltzmann-Institut for criminal sociology) and research on women (in particular that of the Ludwig-Boltzmann re-

search office for politics and interpersonal relationships) can be assessed as having an important input into intensifying victimology research in Austria (*Pilgram* 1988).

2. Victimology Research

Victimology research has been carried out only to a limited extent in the university. The main initiatives have come in the last few years, from universities, in so far as research is concerned, namely the Law and Sociology Institute already mentioned and the Ludwig-Boltzmann Research Office for Politics and Interrelated Personal Relationships.

In order to give an overall view of the former (and current) aims of victimology research in Austria, I would like to attempt to arrange the individual works into five areas of research (there will inevitably be overlapping) and in this way, to point out the particular areas dealt with by the particular research works. The five areas are: criminology/victimology, victim and crime, victim and criminal proceedings, victim and compensation (settlement of conflict), victim and prevention.

2.1 Criminology/Victimology Research

Various works which deal with general questions and contain victimology statements, are summarized and described chronologically in the following article, under the concept of criminology/victimology research.

Marianne Padowetz (1954), an assistant of *Roland Graßberger* at the Vienna Criminology Institute, wrote the first empirical criminology piece of work, which set victimology questions in Austria. She carried out research using a number of cases, into the various forms in which marriage fraud appears (making first acquaintance, establishing a relationship, sexual elements, exploitation, resolution). In addition, she evaluated the files, examination protocol and personal comments of 530 women affected and made fundamental statements regarding the personality of (typical) victims and the practice leading to becoming a victim. The typical basis for the vulnerability of victim was recorded by Padowetz as being a desire for marriage, inner unhappiness, age (i.e. above average-marriage age) physical or spiritual affection, limited experience of life and low self esteem. These factors played a role in most cases. *Padowetz* saw the possibility of prevention of this crime, by eliminating the victims' shyness of reporting the crime and of secrecy by the press and advising prospective victims.

The criminal lawyer *Heinz Zipf* (1970) before his call to Salzburg, carried out research in Munich into the "Meaning of victimology for criminal justice". He regards victimology as "the science of the meaning of the victim within the criminal justice system" and attempts to define this concept both criminally and from the criminology point of view. *Zipf* discusses the significance of the victim in relation to crime prevention and distinguishes most of all the "avoidance or reduction of the presumptive quality of the victim". *Zipf* distinguishes between many motives for neglecting to make a criminal report and suggests that the confidence of the injured party can be won over in the criminal justice system, by means of suitable steps being taken (mitigation of stress of criminal proceedings, lightening the victim's role as having a social task to perform).

Ezzat Fattah (1971) who cannot be counted as being one of the representatives of Austrian criminology, should however be referred to in this article, in that he researched 50 cases of robbery in Austria, where murder was involved, in relation to the offender-victim relationship. He established that in 84 % of cases, there was a direct relationship between offender and victim before the offence was committed and that this is of some significance in relation to the examination of crime itself. The research related in many ways to murders which had been discovered.

Konrad Schima (1973), another assistant of *Roland Graßberger*, researched 841 cases from criminal statistics, court files and police documents with reference to the phenomenology of these offences and also victimological aspects. The research was discussed in his habilitation article "extortion and coercion".

Schima points out that the motivation of victims in reporting an offence, was defined by two factors as a whole: on the one hand, there existed a lack of interest in that the victim was merely the subject of a crime of a minor nature and the victim feared the offender, or estimated that the authorities would have no interest in pursuing the matter. On the other hand, the victim's interest in omitting to report was predominantly because he feared some form of retaliation by the offender, or he feared being exposed within the course of the proceedings. *Schima* also emphasized the victim-offender-relationship and established that there frequently exists a relationship between offender and victim before the crime of extortion is committed. The choice of a particular victim is often typical of this offence (particular victims for particular reasons).

Walter Hauptmann (1975) researched the phenomenology, etiology and the victim-offender relationship in cases of non-violent abuse of children. Use was made of Austrian, German and Swiss statistics. He showed that in

30-40 % of cases, the victims actively participated in the offence. This however happened most of all in cases where the victim and the offender were already known to each other. The results presented by Hauptmann, confirmed the assumption that non-violent abuse of children relates to offences where there is close social proximity. In most of the cases, the offender was at least known to the children and this related on the whole to cases involving relatives, parents or step-parents. *Hauptmann* made several recommendations in relation to prevention, in conclusion.

Arno Pilgram (1980) who worked at the Legal and Criminal Sociology institute in Vienna, pointed out in his monography "Crime in Austria" which evaluated data from police criminal statistics, and which contained particulars of punishable offences against victims carried out since 1975 (age, sex, damage suffered), that official statistics, read from a sociological point of view, can give information regarding the development of crime itself. Pilgram researched more closely the particular crimes which reached the attention of the authorities, by means of the variable pattern of behavior of victims reporting a crime. He also examined the question as to which personal groups are particularly threatened, and what places are particularly dangerous and likewise which offender-victim relationships can be regarded as forming the typical basis for an offence.

Czermak and *Pernhaupt* (1980) carried out with the help of experienced interviewers, 2004 random interviews and recorded attitudes towards upbringing such as use of violence/force and the extent of maltreatment of children in Austria. They worked out that there are in actual fact around 85,000 maltreated children every year. This derived from of the 200 cases actually reported.

The attitude of the Austrian population according to the results of the study, is that a "healthy slap" causes no harm and is sometimes necessary. Two thirds of those questioned regard a "slap" as being appropriate when one is bringing up children. Still 16 % supported slaps in the face, even 6 % a vehement box in the ears, however 60 % disapproved of such measures.

The research pointed to "instability of the home and the relationships between the parties" (for example home upbringing, torn between two parents who are living apart) as being particularly harmful to the child. "The strictness and frequency of the type of punishment" and the "inconsistency in bringing up" were also recorded as being harmful.

Janos Fehérváry (1981) saw a danger in his analysis "Criminology in Austria" in the direction of "modern criminology" by those representatives of criminal sociology, in that questions of criminalization and connected problems in relation to its structure, are set as the focal point of research by

the criminal sociologists. "The aspect of behavior, the personality side of things, questions regarding the significance of the victim or causal factors for deviating behavior take a back seat" as *Fehérváry* feared.

Konrad Schima (1981) pointed out that Austrian criminology and its one-sidedness was not so bad as it seemed. When he did so in his Ottenstein lecture (before the article by *Fehérváry*), in which he wrote about the general problems of victimology such as reporting behavior, phenomenology of the victim etc. and presented research carried out on a smaller scale, into the victim risks as related to sex in relation to murder, deliberate physical violence and robbery. Use was made of police criminal statistics. The main result was that the hypothesis that there is an increased incidence of female victims in relation to crimes of violence in the Austrian police criminal statistics, was not supported by these statistics themselves.

Schima also presented research which he carried out into 486 cases of murder and attempted murder, in which he looked more closely at the victim offender-relationship. *Schima* pointed out among other things, that over 80 % of the murders committed by women, involved a family member, whereas men rarely committed the same crime within the family sphere (16 %). These results go in accordance to a considerable extent to the study carried out by *Mayerhofer* (1980) into murder offences from the point of view from the offender.

Walter Hauptmann (1983) estimated the extent of maltreatment of children in Austria to be around 50,000 to 75,000 pro year, taking into account the 200 convictions every year. This means that only 4 to 5 % of actual trials abuse cases lead to a criminal prosecution. Almost 60 % of the children concerned, were less than 6 years old and a significant number were less than 3 years old. The forms of abuse described were by *Hauptmann* are as follows: beating with sticks, belts etc. kicking, throwing children against objects, burning (with cigarettes, candles, irons, hot plates), strangling, tying up, dislocation or breaking of limbs, leaving children to hunger or thirst, making them eat their own sickness or faeces and other abominations. The consequences for the children, apart from severe injuries were fear, neurosis, mental disturbance and trauma. This also affected them in adulthood and in the bringing up of their own children.

Hauptmann estimated that around 100 children die every year from mistreatment, although the official figures are eight to ten children.

Pilgram (1985) reported about an investigation carried out in 1983 amongst Yugoslavian and Turkish foreigners, in relation to the question "work immigrants as offender and victim". 22 % of the foreigners indicated that they had already at least on one occasion been the victim of a punishable

crime. This is relatively high in comparison with a victimization rate of 7 % established by an Austrian research sample, in 1971. The most frequent offences are theft (10 %), and fraud (6 %). Threat of physical violence (3 %), physical injury (3 %) and defamation (2 %) happened less frequently. No significant differences could be established in so far as victimization of men and women were concerned. It was noticeable however, that - according to the statements of those questioned - the victims who were two thirds Austrian and a third from the countryside, appeared in the criminal courts in two thirds of the cases in which the parties who suffered damage or injury were foreigners and where offenders themselves were foreigners. Many of the cases therefore concerned "internal" conflicts.

The percentage of reported cases was 50 % and according to the statements of the parties involved, a response from the police to the report, should have been effected in only 29 % of cases. The reports were only accepted in almost two thirds of the cases and in 5 % of these cases, the police should have refrained from doing so.

Cheryl Benard (1986) and *Edith Schlaffer*, both employed by the Ludwig-Boltzmann Research Institute for Politics and Interpersonal Relationships, carried out a study with the help and cooperation of the formal General Inspector of the Safety Service *Günther Bögl*, into "the police and violence in the family". They researched the extensive file material and carried out interviews with the officials in contact with the police.

The main points established were that the causes for male violence within the family and in particular against their wives, is not because the males loose their male dominance, but rather that they pick out their wives specifically as victims of aggression because they can do so with little danger of being punished because of it. The reason for this, is that the problem of "violence in the family" is trivialized by the family and violence is regarded as "normal" as a patriarchial element (particularly amongst the lower classes). Normally no real response (for example arrest) or penalty follows against the offender.

Most of all, alcoholism, jealousy, problems with the children, unemployment and financial problems were shown to be contributing factors for violence against the family members.

The unpublished dissertation by *E. Brantner* (1987) which researched "The organization of relationships and their effect upon the interpretation of female sexuality and rape" (*Pilgram* 1988) should be mentioned in order to complete the picture.

2.2 Victims and Criminal Proceedings

The theme of "the victim and criminal proceedings" was examined for some time, exclusively by the Institute for Law and Sociology, which can be given the credit for carrying out research into the motivation and aims of the victims of crime, building upon theoretical analysis of such questions, and researching how everyday crime is coped with by the courts. This therefore contributed quite considerably to a critical viewpoint being developed and the beginnings of reforms.

Gerhard Hanak (1981) undertook the task of collecting material relating to the behavior patterns of victims reporting crimes and their motivation in doing so, by carrying out research into 140 cases at the Vienna criminal district court. He collected this information together in order to assess the expectations of the victims concerned.

It was shown that the police were called in by the victims immediately affected, as a rule in particular in relation to property offences. Hanak recognized an interest on the part of victims in punishment, in 23 % of cases. There was merely an interest in restitution in relation to 26 % of cases and in respect of the remaining 51 % of cases, the injured parties had either no or merely the minor interest in criminal proceedings being instigated. 62 % of the parties charged with the crimes, were actually involved in the conflict and were prepared to take part in talks regarding settlement of the conflict. *Hanak* established that there were 53 out of 87 cases (61 %) which due to the components of the victims' desire for punishment and the responsibility taken by the accused party, would have allowed a reasonable chance for success of mediation-orientated form of conflict settlement.

Entry into the proceedings as a private participator, only took place in 21 % of cases and this related to cases involving negligent physical injury and property damage. A small percentage of these cases involved deliberate physical injuries. In relation to physical injuries, there was a significant connection between membership of a particular class, and private participation in the proceedings. 75 % of those were from the middle classes and 6 % from the lower classes (see *Hanak* 1982a, 1983a). *Hanak* advocates that there is distinction in relation to therapeutic, police, restitutive and criminal settlement of conflict.

Gerhard Hanak threw up a number of questions and new perspectives in his theoretical writings regarding "Criminal situations. Ethnographie of reporting" (1983b, 1984), which would have to be adapted in victimology

research in relation to the theme of conflict settlement (ethnography in everyday crime, undetected crime, mobilization of the police, police settlement of conflict, private legal dimensions of criminal conflicts).

He reports about an examination of 30 people who reported crimes and which was carried out at two Vienna police departments in the winter of 1982/83. This showed that those reporting the crimes, wanted to obtain police help or protection in 33 % of the cases by contacting the police themselves. In 40 % of these cases, the police were called upon because the reporters wished some form of penalties to be later imposed or disciplining achieved. The motives of effecting private legal claims and investigation of the unknown offender, was of less significance. Fewer than a third of the parties reporting, were interested in conflict litigation. Most of all, these reporters expected an informal but direct response related to the situation and to the individuals involved.

Christa Pelikan (1987) examined the reasons for victims of crime reporting a crime, in an accompanying research into "model attempts at conflict settlement". She established that reports frequently "happen" without any desire on the part of the victims (by a doctor, hospital, school etc.). Victims regard these reports and the criminal proceedings which are set in motion, often to be nearly a disturbing factor for their own particular relationship, and attempt to have such proceedings called off. In cases involving violence or where dangerous threats are made, the police are called in by the victim, who are aware of the authority and hope that they will calm the situation and achieve law and order once again. Other important grounds for making a report, were disappointment with failed attempts at obtaining compensation from the offender, or a wish to achieve compensation for the damage.

The attempt to settle a conflict, brought out feelings of surprise, happiness and relief on the part of the victims and the victim in only one case, felt strained and was interested in punitive measures being taken. Victims are no longer used to direct negotiation and therefore call in the authorities to settle a conflict. This proved to be the case in the larger cities where the opponents were not capable of negotiation in the majority of conflict cases.

Wolfgang Stangl (1987) proceeds in his theoretical approach from the conclusion that the injured party has been driven out from the criminal proceedings in the last thirty years of the 19th century in the course of enforcement of the state monopoly in the Habsburg monarchy and also in the German Reich. Instead of the victim being allowed to participate in the control of crime, in the sense of more intensive criminal legal control, and the victims need in relation to mass crime, being satisfied, this private legal

component has been treated completely separate from the criminal proceedings, with the help of the principle of mandatory prosecution. As a result, questions regarding the efficiency of criminal control and the effectiveness of criminal prosecution have stepped into forefront.

Hanak and Pilgram (1990) researched data from police criminal statistics in 1989, in a secondary analysis, and completed this analysis with data from insurance statistics and insurance companies. Figures in relation to burglary/theft were compared with contracts of insurance relating to burglary and losses incurred as a result of theft in businesses, from homes and of vehicles.

This investigation showed that specific insurances relating to burglary thefts are predominantly arranged by commercial firms, whereas private households are insured against burglary through household or private house insurance. 240,000 insurance contracts (double insurance and multiple insurance included) in relation to 230,000 firms, established a certain saturation in the market. The number of cases where damage or loss were suffered, rose from 14,000 (1975) to 21,000 (1988) by 50 % thereby doubling the amount of money paid per damage-case (real + 30 %). An even greater increase in the insurance rate can be seen in relation to household insurance. In 1975 there were 1,9 mill. insurance contracts in relation to 2,6 mill. households and in 1988, 2,6 mill. contracts relating to 2,9 mill. households (including multiple contracts). In other European countries, 70 - 90 % of households were insured in 1988 against burglary. This pointed out a clear distinction between victims of burglary/theft who are insured and those who are not insured, in relation to the number of crimes reported: whereas only 65 % of victims who were not insured, reported the crime, 80 % of insured victims did report. The effect of the victims' motivation in reporting a crime could be seen in relation to insurance covering the breaking into vehicles. In 1988, 20,000 criminal reports corresponded to around 800,000 holders of insurance related to vehicle damage and only 12,000 reports related to 3,2 mill. uninsured vehicle owners: this would mean, according to *Hanak and Pilgram*, that the "insured parties" were over-represented seven times.

2.3 Victims and Compensation

Credit must be given to the staff of the Institute for Law and Sociology lead by *Heinz Steinert*, for the development, evaluation and implementation of new ideas and systems in the area of compensation and settlement of conflict. Apart from the work done in updating the unsatisfactory "settlement" of conflicts by the criminal law, theoretical models for extra-judicial settlement of conflict were developed (such as exists in the United States).

Within the framework of the "model attempt at conflict settlement in juvenile court proceedings", carried out by the Federal Department of Justice, the staff of the institute, had the possibility of testing more varied models in the social scientific research which accompanied. The results created the foundations for the development of the Juvenile Court Act of 1988, which contains extra-judicial settlement of conflict as a significant innovation.

Andreas Balog (1980) worked critically on those sociological theories which look at criminal law as a mere instance of conflict settlement. He pointed out that criminal law intervention (i.e. acts of criminalization) can also be achieved if a conflict does not actually exist, or can be reconstructed only on taking a complicated series of interpretations step. Further he also explained that criminal law - neither in the form of legislation and criminal politics, nor in the form of court proceedings - can be regarded in a sociological sense as an instrument of conflict settlement but rather as conflict "controls".

The criminal lawyer *Karlheinz Probst* (1980) reported about the community mediation official in the 19th century, who could resolve the civil and also small criminal facts of the case without involving the official courts. Although the involvement of this community mediation official in relation to minor offences was still described as being obligatory before raising a private action, such official are practically no longer in existence in Austria. *Probst* compared this institution with the arbitration proceedings before the office for agreement, as is described in the BRD for a series of private suitable offences before the introduction of criminal proceedings. He emphasizes the preference for such institutions to enable such violations of the law to be dealt with. These must however constitute offences which can give rise to a private charge, or the offences requiring permission of authority or an application for prosecution and must after the crime had been reported officially be transferred before the introduction of the criminal proceedings, to the office for agreement.

Gerhard Hanak attempted in his theoretical article "Mediation as an alternative to criminal law settlement of conflict" (1980) to show that mediation-orientated forms of settlement remain to a considerable extent excluded from a *E. Durkheim* and *M. Weber* type legal sociological discussion. Following a summary of the discussion regarding mediation proceedings and a commentary on the problem of decriminalization strategies from a criminal legal viewpoint, *Hanak* described the principles of a model for a mediation orientated procedure for settlement of conflict. This procedure

which is to some extent informal and which tries to ensure that the needs of the conflicting parties are dealt with, can resolve legal disputes without meaning that rational legal guarantees are ignored.

Gerhard Hanak discussed various "diversion programmes" in a further article called "diversion and conflict settlement" (1982b). These diversion programmes should be able to achieve a resolution to the problem which takes the form of a "social" and less of a "criminal law" type of problem solving in everyday-conflicts. Such diversion programmes would take place in a delegatized and reprivatized form of proceedings.

Hanak evaluated the data acquired from the research carried out at the Vienna criminal district court (see *Hanak* 1981, 1982a, 1983a) by estimating the possibilities (and limits) of an alternative mediation-orientated procedure, to the criminal process. He pointed out that the desire on the part of the injured parties for penalties to be imposed, independent of the offence, relationship between the conflicting parties and social status of the victim (and the responsibility assumed by the accused parties) should be of prime importance as criterion for the possibility of settlement by consensus.

Christa Pelikan (1983) carried out a part-study into the victims position in the criminal procedure and concentrated on the damages and suffering of the victim caused by the crime and the extent to which their needs can be satisfied by the criminal proceedings. *Pelikan* additionally undertook an examination of an number of criminal proceedings involving 228 crime victims (see *Pilgram* 1984) in order ascertain why the injured parties had (not) received payment in advance in according to § 373a StPO of the Criminal Victim Compensation Act.

Pelikan established as a result, that on the one hand the damage or loss discovered, was on the whole very limited or covered by insurance payments. On the other hand, the particular provisions of the Criminal Victim Compensation Act and of § 373a StPO were so restrictively formulated, that they had an extremely high filtering effect. In almost 90 % of property offences (55 % of offences against life and limb) the injured parties failed to take part as private participators i.e. to pursue their civil legal rights in the court proceedings. When it came to a title to execute in the criminal proceedings, replacement of compensation payment (replacement compensation payment, replacement of property/goods, compensation for pain and suffering etc.) with court penalties to be observed by the offender, was accepted in only a quarter of the cases. According to *Pelikan*, the remaining cases (related to victims who could be assumed to have given up any hope of compensation (because of their financial situation?))

In summary, the author felt that the level of damages suffered, the injured parties' circumstances, in conjunction with the legal positions, result in the financial compensation of the victim in the criminal proceedings, being characterized as a "right which is already dead".

Gerhard Hanak reported (1987) in an article "Ethnography of conflict processing" about a US American field research into the way in which communities dealt with urban conflict and urban danger. This enabled the various results to be set out in an extensive study. ("Angers and life catastrophies", *Hanak, Stehr & Steinert* 1989).

Hanak established that strategies for "absorbing" conflicts, are just as important as resolution of conflict. These strategies can be practised if the disturbances and damages deal with particular points and bring about merely short term or medium term interference with the normal routine and do not strike at the items which are of intrinsic value to the victim.

Police and legal institutions contribute very little according to *Hanak*, to conflict processing. Now and again, the police have a "calming" function where riots are concerned. The civil law is only geared towards regulation of conflicts in a limited way in that it has the required instruments at its disposal and accordingly the "know-how" and means to set the criminal proceedings in motion and to pursue these proceedings to an end.

The research project "The significance of formal and informal penalties in everyday conflict processes" was (supported by the DFG) carried out in Frankfurt. As two researchers from the Institute for Law and Sociology were involved along with *Heinz Steinert* and *Gerhard Hanak*, this project shall be referred to as an Austrian project.

Johannes Stehr (1988) described the aim of the research work as being an ethnographical review, the obtaining of an overall view of a wide spectrum of strategies which deal with conflicts and reaching disturbances, clarification of the significance of "criminal situations" within the wide band of possible conflicts and damages, and also researching the conflict tendencies of the population.

The following results were recorded from the questioning of 234 people who described 1,1000 "stories" (i.e. experiences): "short term routine disturbances" and catastrophic complex conflicts situations, could be distinguished, the latter arising most of all in close social spheres and frequently resulting in a number of unhappy relationship problems. The more complex and long term the disturbances in respect of everyday routines, and the closer the relationship between the conflicting parties, the more helpless and ineffective the law and the police are. It is not the result itself but rather the

impossibility of correction i.e. an attempt at correction has failed, which is the cause of long-term routine disturbances. The dominant strategies worked out in relation to conflict processing are, "avoidance", "negotiation", "self help" and "mobilization of a third party". Only 5 % of the 1.100 cases resulted in "formal penalties" and only 1 % of the cases resulted in a criminal conviction of the offender.

In summary, we can see that a society, which to a considerable extent deals with its own problems autonomously, is in a position to secure state services most of all for compensation, and such a society proves to be less interested in penalties or criminal legal processing (see *Hanak, Stehr & Steinert* 1989).

The various motives which brings a victim to transfer a conflict to the authorities for settlement, were summarized by *Heinz Steinert* (1988) in his introduction "Crime as conflict" in the report "Conflicts govern instead of penalties". The main motives cited by *Steiner* were, compensation, processing of insurance claims or investigation into an unknown offender. The criminal procedure is regarded as being relatively unimportant to the victim, according to *Steinert*. The police perform a notary's function (witnessing the conflict) and are frequently, and along with the report itself, used as means of putting pressure on the offenders. Threat of physical violence or actual deliberate physical injury caused to the offender, incite the victim most of all to call the police and ask for immediate intervention to remove the danger.

Christa Pelikan and *Arno Pilgram* (1988) researched in their article "The statistical results of the model experiment" the extent to which the model experiment of settlement of conflict in the juvenile criminal proceedings, carried out in Austria in 1986 and 1987, could have fulfilled the aims and expectations. The aim of the model project, was to extend the possibility for procedural settlement of disputes without a court judgement in the juvenile court processes. The negative social consequences of such a conviction, or even punishment, should be reduced by means of a social-educational influence and discontinuance of the proceedings. One would imagine the extra-judicial steps towards settlement, a form of resolution of conflict, which (affecting both victim and offender) should most of all effect these two goals. On the one hand, by making the offender aware of the crime which he has committed, and the damages which have been caused to the injured party, this should achieve a learning effect and result in the offender being able to discuss the offence and work with the victim. The offender should also be advised as to the possibility of compensation for the damages. On the other hand, the injured party should be made to feel that the wrong which he has suffered is not being passed over and that society and in

particular the offender, is dealing with the offence and the damages and attempting to reach a settlement. The task of social workers dealing with resolution of conflicts, should merely be one of transferring the conflict in this way.

Pelikan and *Pilgram* formulated the following: The width and spectrum of the use of conflict settlement, the number of juvenile delinquents actively participating (offenders), the number of positive conclusions from the viewpoint of the conflict mediator, the influence of the conflict settlement upon the court decision and the achievements by the young offenders, are the indices of its success.

In relation to the area of application, *Pelikan* and *Pilgram* established that, restricting conflict settlement to a number of offences for example property damage in the course of a trial model, was given up in favor of a larger range of offences (for instance offences in personal relationships, deliberate physical injury, fraud, property offences, damages up to 10,000 öS). The rate of young people participating in the conflict settlement procedure, amounted in all places to around 90 % and in relation to the juvenile delinquent court in Vienna 96 %. The conflict settlement procedure only failed in 5 % of cases in the view of the social worker. It must be noted however, that victim offender contact only took place in 78 % of cases and in the other cases work by the offender to the public benefit of all of a charitable nature was seized upon as an alternative, where the injured party was not prepared to take part in any discussions or was unattainable. The number of convictions of juvenile offenders dropped because of conflict settlement, to around 10 % and a considerable number of conflict settlements in relation to all offences, lead to penalties being preferred. Convictions were replaced by a court warning (see §§ 12 Abs. 2, 13 JGG). The achievements by the juvenile delinquents dominated over the symbolical actions for services of benefit to the public, and in this way, material compensation and symbolical services balanced one another. Compensation for damages was achieved immediately as a rule. As a resumé, *Pelikan* and *Pilgram* established that the model experiment of resolution of conflict in the juvenile court proceedings has pointed out a new and successful way to avoiding the harmful consequences of court convictions for all parties concerned. The positive results of the model experiment, built the basis for the government submissions for the new Juvenile Court Act (1988) which no longer foresees the possibility of an "extrajudicial settlement" with the result that penalties are avoided, both at the prosecutors level and also court level (§§ 7, 8 JGG, see *Jesionek & Held* 1988).

After the Institute for Law and Sociology had been involved in the first decade of its existence, predominantly with the critical analysis of criminal

law and questions of criminal politics, a need for social scientific research into the structures of civil law and its routines became apparent in the discussion about "alternatives to a criminal law", before "civil alternatives to the criminal process" could be advocated. Apart from empirical results which proved the instrumental use of the criminal law for enforcing private interests (*Hanak* 1983), which would actually be the domain of the civil law, the question arose as to the differences between civil and criminal prosecution of a claim. This question related to the usefulness and disadvantages for reporter/prosecuting party i.e. the injured party, in respect of the forms of prosecution, and also related to the opportunities for and limits of conflict-processing in both areas of the law. The following text should describe the interesting basis for the work, from a victimology viewpoint in respect of the entire research project.

Hanak (1990) carried out a system comparison between civil and criminal law and discovered considerable differences which he identified under the chapter "access to the law". Such access to the criminal law is quite simple through the courts and safety authorities. In relation to the parties reporting a crime/the victims of crime, *Hanak* pointed out that 62 % concerned private individuals who can be classed as members of the lower classes, in 40 % of the cases, the reporters members of the middle classes or commercial enterprises and 24 % related to organizations and business undertakings. In contrast, those using the civil justice system is restricted to mediators such as court solicitors, insurance for legal costs or agencies/organizations who have an established interest. Due to difficult access, the requirement of concrete knowledge and the high (procedural cost) risks, the resource of the civil law, according to *Hanak*, is only used by private parties in a middle range to high range evaluated dispute and where there is a positive cost/usefulness calculation. This shows that the majority (80 %) of all complaints are brought by business enterprises/organizations. Firms raise 12 % of the claims and private individuals (from the middle classes) only 8 % of complaints.

The fact that the civil law is not in a better position to enforce a victims' interest, is illustrated by *Hanak* in the "objective limitations of effecting a claim" (debtor without means, not in question).

2.4 Victim and Prevention

Klaus Krainz (1988a) assistant at the Institute for Criminal Law and Criminal Procedural Law and Criminology at the university of Graz, seized upon the ideas of *Zipf* (1970) of using criminology research into prevention of crime, to reduce the number of potential victims, by avoiding situations

which give rise to the possibility of crime taking place. He carried out an empirical study, with the help of 12 diploma students from the law faculty, into the "prevention of household break-ins". Interviews and experiments were used as research methods and 111 housebreakers in the Karlau prison were examined, along with around 33 victims, police officials and insurance specialists. The research aims at obtaining starting points for offender orientated-prevention of crime, by inquiring into the "offenders knowledge" i.e. into the criterion which form the basis of the choice of particular objects which become the subject of crime, the effect of safety measures taken, the actual break-in itself, the behavior of the offender when disturbed and the use to which the goods stolen are at a later date. Resting upon the basic idea of "avoidance of situations where crime may arise", the criterion were worked out for "typical stolen objects" on the one hand and the characteristics of particularly "unsuitable houses" on the other hand. Recommendations for prevention of crime were then formulated in respect of potential victims.

According to the research, houses in a area where there is higher anonymity, are particularly at risk, in city areas where the population density is too high (houses which stand alone). Other houses endangered were those where insufficient safety measures had been taken, where there was little chance of being seen from the street and/or by neighbours (for example through the hole in the hedge) where there was very little contact with neighbours and those houses which were temporarily unoccupied.

Prospective victims could be recommended (as effective means of prevention) to improve mechanical and electronic security measures thereby increasing the risk to the offender and enabling him or her to be caught (also improving view from the street and of neighbours, improvement of relationship with neighbours). According to *Krainz*, it is important to avoid the impression that no one is in the house, and to avoid measures which "could in fact improve the thief's chances" (for example hiding the house-key in the entrance hall, leaving ladders or work tools lying, leaving doors or windows unlocked). These "prevention recommendations" were published by *Krainz* (1988b) in a brochure aimed at potential victims, which was distributed by insurance companies and police advisory officers.

3. Current and Planned Research

Klaus Krainz carried out an empirical inquiry into the "position of the injured party in the (Austrian) criminal proceedings" in the court areas of Vienna, Linz, Graz and Innsbruck. The evaluation of files, observance of

trials and interviews of the injured party and the accused parties were used as research measures. *Krainz* and 21 legal practitioners placed at his disposal by the Federal Ministry of Justice, investigated 630 cases of various offence groups, which recorded "deliberate violent offences", "negligent physical injury cases", "property offences", "property offences involving violence", "offences against morality" and "offences involving private prosecutions". The data which should also be compared with other cultures (Germany, France, Austria) was evaluated by the project leader by the Max-Planck-Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law in Freiburg in Breisgau. The first results have been published in vol. II under the title "*Krainz, Klaus W.*, The position of victims in Austrias criminal procedure".

Together with *Günther Kaiser* and *Frieder Dünkel*, *Klaus Krainz* carried out a survey in the autumn of 1990 in Münster/Westfalen (BRD), Zürich (Switzerland) and Graz (Austria) in which 929 law students took part. Comparing the results internationally should produce statements in respect of victimization, incidence of crime, victim-offender-sequence, motivation regarding reporting a crime and the extent of unreported crime. The results of this study have been published in vol. I by *Dünkel* and *Krainz* under the title: "Victimization and Incidence of Delinquency - An International Comparison - Results of a Survey of Law Students in the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria and Switzerland".

Arno Pilgram (1990) outlined an experimental model for the expansion of conflict settlement to the criminal law relating to adult offenders. This is connected with the successful "experimental model of conflict settlement in juvenile criminal proceedings". § 42 öStGB relating to "the lack of qualification for the punishment for the action committed" played a starting point for diversion, by the inclusion of compensation and possibility of steps being taken towards reaching a settlement, in the former model. As in the experimental model in the juvenile court proceedings, directly dealing with the consequences of the crime committed, the interests of the injured parties, and inspection of an acceptance of those liable to punishment, and the avoidance of penalties being imposed, should be focused upon.

Preliminary investigations carried out at district and regional courts, have shown that § 42 öStGB is only effective with less serious offences and would be more frequently used in relation to an offer of offender-victim-mediation most of all in the district courts. The judges and prosecutors proved to be open to use of § 42 öStGB in the area of smaller and first time "minor offences" (brawling, property damage, embezzlement/misappropriation). Victim-offender-mediation appeared to be unsuitable in those cases in which the "guilt" was considered to be greater than consideration of the

many attacks, previous convictions or serious consequences were taken into account. In this way, conflict settlement is regarded as being a legal response to trivial offences.

In order to extend the spectrum of application in a sensible way, an experimental model would not only have to offer conflict settlement (according to *Pilgram*) but also exert successful influence upon the criminal law awareness of the status of conflict settlement. The offer of conflict settlement (like that in the experimental model in the juvenile criminal proceedings) should be directed at a number of courts, the criminal prosecution service, the judicial profession and others in order to achieve a varied number of model variants. The "experimental model" will be evaluated by social scientific research which will follow on in the middle of 1991.

Gabriele Schmölder, an assistant at the Graz criminal law institute, carried out empirical research into crime committed by and against women as inaugural dissertation. The work is titled "Women as offender and victim of crime". An investigation into women as offenders and (simultaneous) victims in a social context, is planned, according to the model research carried out by *Hans Göppinger* (1985).

Finally, it can be maintained that the fundamental research carried out by the staff of the Legal and Criminal Sociology Institute, into criminal and civil proceedings, has made considerable progress in establishing further information regarding the motivation of the injured parties, their aims in the (criminal) proceedings and the new opportunities for settlement of conflicts. Such research has also had a number of effects in practice. Victimology questions, do not play a particularly significant role in general criminology research even today. However, approaches towards specific forms of research relating to the victims of crime (see the benefits of research into preventative measures for prospective victims) can be seen.

4. References

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Victimology in Spain: The Empirical Studies

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1. Introduction

We present in this paper two victimology areas. Firstly, we analyze the main works related to victimization surveys. Since 1978, year in which it began the inquiries about victimization data, we have advanced in some interesting avenues, including incidence, protective measures taken by citizens, and the related area of fear of crime. Most of results derived from these studies tend to confirm the data presented by international literature. Secondly, we address one of the most salient area in the modern science of victimology, namely violence towards women, including both physical and sexual abuse.

As in other countries, the movement of women rights has also impuled this line of concern, both in terms of social science studies, and in relation to victim assistance. Despite of lot of deficiencies registered in the latter, we have got now some agencies destined to this kind and other types of victims. The office for the Victim Assistance held at Valencia, was the pioneer in Spain in providing emotional and legal support to victims of crime. Its contribution has given now broad impulse to other Victim Assistance programs in other Spanish cities.

2. Victimization Surveys

The study of Victimology is a recent phenomenon in this country. The first national public-safety poll was made in 1978 by the Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS) - Centre of Sociological Investigations -, an organization which is dependent on the state administration.

It was only at the beginning of the eighties that victimology-orientated investigations really began to proliferate and deal with the problem at various different levels; national, city, district and local neighbourhood. Projects were carried out in the cities of Barcelona, Alicante, Valencia and Madrid. For the purposes of these inquiries, it was necessary to resort to information coming from English-speaking countries and in particular, the United States.

In Barcelona, victimization surveys and public-opinion polls in this respect have been underway since 1984, with a view to design some form

of preventive policy. The reason why the Town Council of Barcelona decided to initiate these investigations was due to the detection of an increase in feelings of fear and lack of safety on the streets where the public were concerned. In 1987 the first poll was carried out in Alicante and was modelled on the investigations made in Barcelona. Another public-safety poll was done in Valencia and included research concerning the origins of fear of crime, victimization within the population, and preventive measures.

The main objectives of these studies included: an analysis of the characteristics of victimization and of criminal acts (for example, incidence, type, frequency, kind of victims, psychological impact), public opinion in this respect (feelings of safety, problems posed by crimes within the neighbourhood, incidence of reported crimes, protective measures) and opinions regarding the services which intervene in the criminal justice system (opinions regarding laws, the police force and the legal system).

There now follows a summary of the data obtained from each of these investigations.

2.1 The Investigations in Barcelona

In Barcelona, annual victimization surveys and public opinion polls, in this respect, are carried out at city, district and local neighbourhood levels, using a sample group of 7,200 subjects over the age of 16 (see *Lahosa* 1988, 1989; *Alabart, Aragay & Sabaté* 1989).

In the victimization surveys a study was made of the frequency which 18 criminal acts affected the population. The individuals in question classified their experiences of victimization and were grouped under four safety-indicator headings. Group one was the safety-indicator for vehicles and included the following offences: 1. theft of cars; 2. theft of motor-bikes; 3. theft of other vehicles; 4. attempted theft of a vehicle; 5. theft of objects from inside a vehicle; 6. theft of vehicle accessories. Group two was the indicator for safety at home and included the following criminal acts: 7. burglary; 8. attempted burglary. The third group was the work and business-related safety indicator and covered the following criminal acts: 9. robbery at one's place of work; 10. attempted robbery at one's place of work; 11. muggings at one's place of work; 12. attempted muggings at work. The fourth group was the personal safety indicator and included: 13. theft of handbags or wallets; 14. street muggings; 15. attempted street muggings; 16. sexual assaults; 17. threats and violence.

It should be pointed out that, unlike previous years, the crime of violence in the home was not included in the 1988 victimization poll. Furthermore, a distinction was also established between accomplished and non-accomplished crimes (*Alabart, Aragay & Sabaté* 1989).

From this classification of offences, three Victimization indices were obtained: the first index was an overall rating which comprised both attempted and accomplished offences; the second rating functioned in accordance with the four safety-indicators, and thirdly a victimization rating in relation to the previously-mentioned 18 offences.

The most outstanding and important of the results obtained from the 1988 victimization survey are as follows.

The overall rating for victimization in the city was 21.6%; attempted crimes gave a reading of 28.7%, whereas the figure for actual cases of victimization was 16.88%. This general rating was the lowest in five years. The 1984 rating was 29.1%; in 1985 the figure was 25.5%, in 1986, 26.2% and in 1987, 25.4% (*Lahosa* 1989).

With reference to the type of offences, the 1987 and 1988 polls revealed that the highest percentages of victimization were to be found in vehicle-related criminal acts, followed by personal-safety related offences. In 1987 and 1988, the percentages for vehicle victimizations were 12.9% and 11.3%, respectively. The figures for personal safety were 10.7% in 1987, and 8.6% in 1988, home-related offences stood at 4.1% and 3.2%, respectively, and work-related crimes gave a reading of 1.3% for both years (*Alabart et al.* 1988). According to *Alabart et al.* (1989), the most frequently occurring types of victimizations in 1988 were: theft of objects inside vehicles 5.29%; bag or wallet "snatching", 3.73%, attempted theft of vehicles, 3.02 and muggings, 2.14%. The figures for sexual assault and attempted work and business related robberies were 0.14% and 0.07%, respectively.

In 1988, the proportion of attempted crimes was found to be greater than that of crimes actually committed: home-related offences, 57% attempted and 1.37% committed; business-related offences, 30.43% attempted and 0.65% actually accomplished; vehicle-related crimes, 24.06% attempted and 8.59% committed, and personal-safety affronts, 24.69% attempted and 6.67% actually carried out.

As far as the space-time characteristics of these criminal acts are concerned, the most important findings were as follows: the majority of vehicles had been parked in the street near to the victim's place of residence and had been stolen or broken-into at nighttime; most home-related burglaries had happened in summertime during the afternoons and evenings; most busi-

ness-related crimes had taken place in the winter at nighttime and, finally, most personal-safety victimizations had occurred during winter afternoons and evenings in the more central areas of the city with higher levels of commercial activity. Generally speaking, all of these crimes took place in high income-bracket areas.

The 1988 victimization survey in Barcelona revealed the following results with regard to the socio-demographic characteristics of the victims:

Sex: Male subjects were found to suffer a higher percentage of victimization than female subjects, 24% and 19.4% respectively. Regarding the type of offence in question, women were more prone to suffer personal-safety crimes than men, 9.6% and 7.3% respectively, due to their being ideal targets for "bag-snatching". However, in the case of vehicle-related victimizations, the figure for men was double the reading for women, 15% and 7% respectively. Finally, the home and business related figures were slightly higher for men than for women.

Age: The highest incidences of victimization were recorded in the case of younger people. The victimization percentages for individuals between the ages of 16 and 25 was 24.7%; between 25 and 34, 28.9% and between 35 and 45, 28.5%. These figures begin to drop off after the over-45 age-bracket. Regarding the type of crime in question, the under-25 age group was found to be more susceptible to personal-safety-related victimizations, the risk itself reducing as they get older. Most of the victims of vehicle-related offences were in the 25-40 bracket and the victims of home and work-related offences tended to be mostly mature individuals between the ages of 45 and 54.

Financial Income: The highest percentages of victimization were to be found in the middle to high income bracket. Individuals with a high income were more prone to burglaries and personal-safety-related offences. This result contrasts with the one obtained in 1987, which revealed that home-related victimizations occurred more frequently in low-income areas.

Isolation: Single people were more often the victims of affronts on their personal safety (12.2%) than widowed individuals (7.5%) and married people (6.9%). However, vehicle-related offences had a greater incidence in the case of married subjects (13.6%) than single people (9.9%).

Socio-professional Situation: The results revealed that the higher the level of academic learning and qualifications, the greater the risk of victimization. 31.5% of the subjects with higher education and 25.8% with secondary education had been victims of criminal offences, whereas in the case of primary education and people with no educational qualifications, the figures

were 16% and 10% respectively. With regard to the type of crime in question, the highest index of vehicle and home-related victimizations occurred among individuals with high educational and socio-professional levels. The percentages of people victimized were as follows: businessmen, 7%; people with liberal professions, 4.5%; technical specialists, 3.7% and individuals with higher academic qualifications, 4.4%.

To sum up, in the case of the socio-demographic characteristics of victimizations, the group found to have the highest percentage of incidence was: young men in the 25-45 age bracket in high socio-professional situations, with high academic qualifications and high incomes.

From the point of view of the psychological impact of victimization (feelings of lack of safety, fear, the adoption of protective measures, recollection of the experience) the results of the survey revealed that property-related victimization had a greater impact on individuals than victimization where personal safety was concerned. Measuring this impact on a scale of 1-9, the following results were obtained: individuals who had been the victims of hold-ups and attempted hold-ups at work, gave readings of 8.78 and 6.80 respectively, revealing a high psychological impact; victims of home-burglary offences scored 7.70; victims of sexual assaults, 6.76 as was also the case with victims of motor-bike thefts. The safety measures adopted by the victimized subjects in these cases were: insuring the business (44.9%), or protecting the entrance (40.8%); acquiring a parking space (42%); fitting a steering wheel lock or crook lock (35.2%); strengthening or reinforcing the door to their homes (56%); taking out an insurance policy on the house (30%); carrying only small amounts of money by themselves (25%-30%) and going out less at nighttime (20%). Other results indicated that the offences which victims most remembered were related to their own personal safety, in particular "bag-snatchings" and muggings, even more so if the crime was actually committed. Female subjects tended to remember this type of victimization more than men whereas the latter were more affected by vehicle-related offences than women. Lastly, the groups of victims found to display fear to a greater extent were: (a) women, in the case on home and vehicle-related victimization as well as in the case of personal safety offences; (b) the older age group where personal safety offences were concerned and the 45-65 age bracket in the case of home and business-related criminal acts; (c) people in the low income bracket, whatever the type of crime in question; (d) subjects with low academic qualifications; (e) pensioners, housewives and people living on their own. Therefore, the impact of victimization on individuals is differential: in some demographic groups, the impact is greater than in others.

The following results were obtained from data concerning experiences of multi-victimization.

On the one hand, multi-victimization was found to occur mainly in the case of vehicle and business-related offences. The number of crimes actually committed was higher than the number of attempted crimes. On the other hand, however, multiple victimization in the case of vehicles (cars and motor-bikes), hold-ups and muggings affected men most, whereas sexual assault and "bag-snatching" had a greater effect on women. Where younger people were concerned the highest incidence was found to exist in personal-safety victimizations, whereas car, home and business-related offences occurred mainly in the case of adult subjects. Furthermore, home and business-related multi-victimizations affected subjects in the high income bracket, whilst those connected with vehicles and personal safety corresponded to individuals in the low income bracket. Finally, the lower the level of academic qualifications, the greater the risk of being victimized on more than one occasion.

Lastly, to round up the data obtained from the victimization poll in Barcelona in 1988, we have referred to the most important results concerning the incidence of crimes actually reported to the police. The crimes-reported index was found to be 33.8%. However, this figure was higher for property-related offences: the percentage of crimes reported in the case of work-related robberies was 57.1%, home burglaries, 37.1%, theft of vehicles 29.3% and the figure for reported victimizations against personal safety was 31.3%. Crimes that were actually committed were reported much more frequently than attempted crimes. With regard to the type of crime, the most commonly reported was motorbike theft, followed by hold-ups and robberies at work. On the other hand, the least reported crimes were personal safety victimizations except in the case of bag or wallet "snatching". The socio-demographic characteristics of the victims influenced the incidence of reported crimes; those who most frequently reported cases of victimization to the police were: (a) the female sex; (b) people in the higher income brackets, especially in the case of vehicle, personal safety and home and work-related offences if the value of the stolen property was very high; (c) people between the ages of 35 and 54 (both young and old people tended to report very few offences, especially in the case of personal safety victimizations); (d) people living in neighbourhoods and areas with high rates of victimization. The reasons which usually motivated individuals to report a crime to the police were as follows: in order to make an insurance claim for the stolen goods; the high value of the stolen articles; or the theft of personal documentation (driving licence, passport, I.D. Card, etc.). However, on the other hand, the people who did not report incidents to the police

usually justified their attitude by saying that they did not see much point in it (they did not think that the stolen goods would be recovered), the inconvenience of having to go to the police-station and, amongst other things, it was all just a waste of time.

In the second part of the public safety poll carried out in the city of Barcelona, an assessment was made of people's opinions in this respect. In the the same way that we have presented the data in the previous section, we will now proceed to offer a summary of the results which were obtained.

Firstly, with regard to the interviewees' assessment of the standards of safety in their place of residence, the information obtained by Alabart et al. (1989) revealed a favourable attitude towards their own particular neighbourhood. The majority of the subjects interviewed felt that their own particular place of residence was safer than other areas of the city: 28.9% stated that there were no dangerous areas in their own neighbourhood whilst 49.7% manifested that there were a large numbers of conflictive areas in the rest of the city. On the other hand, these who were most critical of the standards of safety within their own neighbourhood and the rest of the city were women, especially so in the case of housewives. Other subjects who had themselves been victimized also stated that dangerous areas did exist within their own neighbourhood, although not to such a great extent as in the rest of the city. With regard to this latter group and depending on the type of crime committed, people who had suffered property-related victimizations considered their own neighbourhood to be dangerous, whereas those who had been victims of affronts on their personal safety felt the city itself to be dangerous.

Secondly, for 32.6% of the subjects interviewed, the most worrying issues were offences related to theft, muggings and hold-ups, assault, and the problem with drug-addicts. Depending on the characteristics of the subjects, women were found to be more concerned about these issues than men, people over 55 and people under 25. In the case of political ideology, subjects with conservative opinions also showed a greater concern for these problems, as did victimized individuals, housewives and pensioners.

Thirdly, 48.7% of the subjects were of the opinion that there had been no change in the problem of public safety, whilst 28,1% believed there had been a slight improvement and 10.2% felt that the situation had become worse. No differences were found to exist between the opinions held by victimized subjects and the rest of the interviewees in this respect.

Fourthly, 28.8% stated that the theft of objects from inside vehicles was the most commonly perpetrated crime in the area, followed by street muggings (12.3%), theft of vehicles and burglaries. The majority felt that sexual assaults occurred on very few occasions.

In fifth place, the criminal acts which most frightened the subjects were: street muggings, 31.2%; violence and threats, 20.7%; sexual assault, 17.9%; and burglaries, 13.6%. On the other hand, men were found to be more afraid of street muggings and hold-ups violence and threats, whereas women were more frightened by sexual assault. The older the subjects, the more afraid they tended to become of street-muggings, hold-ups and burglaries, whereas young people were more susceptible to violence, threats and sexual assault. Finally, people who had actually been victims of an offence, only showed signs of fear where home and business-related crimes were concerned. However, both victimized subjects and the rest of the interviewees displayed the same amount of apprehension as far as personal-safety-related offences were concerned. It is interesting to point out that the different opinion polls carried out in Barcelona over the last few years have revealed that to a large degree individuals expressed feelings of fear and lack of safety in the face of crime. Research indicates that between 50% and 60% of the subjects interviewed had adopted safety measures where vehicles were concerned, 55% to 60% carried only small amounts of money on their person, 55% to 60% avoided dark areas, and during the 1983-1987 period, 30% to 50% of people stated that they had frequently public thoroughfares to a lesser degree at nighttime.

In sixth place, when the subjects were asked how they had found out about this problematical area of criminal activity, it was revealed that 11.4% had received the information directly, 32.7% from friends and family and 3.8% from social media. The interviewees had mainly received information about criminal activity concerning personal safety offences, followed by business-related offences. Women were found to have received most of their information from conversations with neighbours and friends, and male subjects from the press, radio and television. Those in the under 25 age group received their information from friends and the over 45's from neighbours and caretakers in the buildings where they live.

In seventh place, the subjects interviewed considered drug-abuse and unemployment to be the main factors responsible for crime. Some of the measures, they considered would be effective in order to find a solution to the problem of criminal activity, were the adoption of an anti-unemployment policy, the suppression of drug-dealing and an increase in the number of police. 46.6% asked for stronger punitive measures to be taken against offenders.

Finally, with regard to the criminal justice system and the state administration, the most conclusive data indicates that the subjects considered the efficiency and dedication of the police force to be worthy of merit, but at the same time felt that the protection offered to the public was still unsatisfactory. Characterwise, men were slightly more critical than women, the under 25 age group reacted negatively to the treatment received by the police in police stations and the most critical group of all were those who called themselves "left-wingers". However, the victimized subjects said they were satisfied with the way they had been treated. In the case of the interviewees' assessment of police efficiency, both male and female subjects alike considered it lacking, as did all the different age groups with the exception of the over 65's. The self-denominated "left-wingers" were also highly critical in this respect as far as police-protection work was concerned, especially in the case of victimized subjects having suffered vehicle and home-related offences.

The interviewees displayed a highly critical attitude towards the judicial system: 80% considered it to be a slow process and 71% felt that the law was not the same for all people. No differences of opinion were recorded between victimized and non-victimized subjects in this respect. Furthermore, the interviewees maintained that both the police force and the legal system were benevolent where offenders were concerned. Finally, it was discovered that people were not satisfied with the way in which public safety policies had evolved and been put into practice, even more so in the case of the victims themselves. These results were obtained from the surveys carried out in Barcelona between 1983 and 1987.

2.2 The Investigation in Alicante

In 1987 a replication of the survey made in Barcelona was carried out in the city of Alicante. There now follows a summary of the results obtained (see *Alabart, Aragay & Sabaté* 1988; unfortunately the authors did not supply the necessary technical information regarding their sample group).

The overall victimization index was 24.7%. Listing the offences in question, the percentages obtained regarding victimization, were as follows: vehicles, 13.6%; burglaries 5.1%; work or business, 2.1%, and personal safety, also 2.1%. The most common offence was the theft of objects from inside cars. This information revealed property-related victimizations to be the most frequent (*Alabart et al.* 1988).

The mean psychological impact on the interviewees as a consequence of victimization was measured on a scale of 1-9 and the results were as follows:

subjects having suffered personal safety offences, 6.4; business-related victimization, 6.2; victims of home burglary offences, 6.1, and finally, in the case of vehicle-related victimizations, the recorded psychological impact on the victims was 5.3.

2.3 The Investigation in Valencia

Finally, to conclude this review of empirical research into victimization and public safety in our country, we will now proceed to outline the results of the investigation carried out in the city of Valencia (*Berenguer, Garrido & Montoro 1990*).

This particular study was made with three objectives in mind. First of all, the study of certain consequences of fear in the face of criminal victimization and of factors related to the subjects' fears as victims of an offence. Secondly, the assessment of victimization within the population (incidence, frequency, type, and risks). Lastly, an analysis of individuals' opinions and concerns regarding the problems posed by crime. Therefore, a study was made of attitudes towards the punishment of offenders, the reporting of crimes to the police, perception of existing safety in one's place of residence (level of safety, types of crimes committed and causes thereof), the means by which information regarding criminal activity is obtained, subjects' reactions to witnessing crimes in progress, and the public's assessment of police activity and court action in their fight against crime and protection offered to the individual.

For the purposes of this investigation, a questionnaire was used containing a victimization survey and a public opinion poll in this respect. Research was done in November and December 1987, using a sample group of 397 subjects from the different areas which make up the city of Valencia. The investigation in question was of the correlational type and there now follows a summary of the most important results that were obtained.

The first result indicated that fear of criminal victimization has direct repercussions on the subjects. On the one hand, individuals were found to adopt protective behaviour patterns where personal safety and property were concerned. Significant correlations of $r=.20$ and $r=.16$ were obtained, respectively. Furthermore, subjects found to have adopted personal safety measures also displayed similar behaviour patterns in the case of personal property. Of the total number of people interviewed, 37% avoided going out on the streets at night and 65% preferred to avoid what they considered to be dangerous areas of the city. In the case of property-related safety measures, 56% had special locks or other security devices installed in their

homes, whilst 30% said they left a light on in the home or left their shutters open when they went out so as to give the impression of somebody being at home.

On the other hand, fear of crime was also found to lead people to adopt group protective measures together with their neighbours in order to prevent criminal activity from creating problems within the area. Other factors related to the subjects' tendency to respond collectively in this way were: perception of an increase in crime and a reduced level of police action in one's place of residence, together with a lack of faith in the criminal justice system. The correlations obtained in all cases varied between $r=.25$ and $r=.35$, both of which are significant values.

Furthermore, 78% of the subjects interviewed felt that other people living in the area should contribute more to the prevention of criminal activities which create problems within the neighbourhood; 51% were in favour of organizing groups in their place of residence so as to protect the lives and properties of those living there; and 40% felt that residents should get together and provide a more efficient collaboration with the police force.

The second result revealed the existence of different variables associated with fear of criminal victimization and so led to the conclusion that the origin of fear is multi-dimensional.

The subjects who showed fear in the face of criminal activity together with a tendency to adopt protective behaviour patterns were as follows: those whose knowledge of criminal acts had been obtained from social media such as press, radio and television as well as from the experiences of friends, neighbours and family; those who had noticed an increase in crime in their place of residence; subjects who held unfavourable attitudes and opinions concerning the physical and psychological conditions of the neighbourhood (drug-dealing, prostitution, vandalism, psychosocial deprivation); those who considered the criminal justice system to be lacking in efficiency; those who felt police presence and efficiency in the area to be inadequate; people living in areas with a high percentage of criminal activity; those who had recently been victims of property-related offences and had expressed their fears of the same thing happening again; and lastly, women and older people, both of whom were found to have adopted the highest number of personal protection behaviour patterns.

In all cases, positive and significant correlations were obtained, varying between $r=.17$ and $r=.30$, thus producing similar results to those obtained by the majority of investigations described in international publications.

However, other variables that were analysed in this particular study, failed to reveal any connection with fear or the adoption of protective behaviour patterns, namely: perception of a lack of frequent police patrols in the neighbourhood, feelings of being more vulnerable to criminal activity than other people (vulnerability being understood as an overall feeling of being susceptible to events in life which provoke tension), recently having been the victim of an affront on personal safety, and belonging to low socio-economic classes.

The third result obtained from the survey that was carried out in Valencia, refers to the characteristics of victimization.

A study was made of the frequency with which 8 offences affected the population. These eight offences were divided into two categories: property-related crimes and affronts on personal safety. The former included: (a) theft of objects from inside cars; (b) theft of cars and motor-bikes (both attempted and actually committed); (c) bag and wallet snatching (accomplished and non-accomplished); (d) burglaries. The latter category comprised: (e) muggings and attempted muggings and hold-ups; (f) threats; (g) physical violence, and (h) rape. By using this classification, the following victimization indices were obtained: an overall rating, an index rating in accordance with the two above-mentioned categories of criminal acts, and a third index rating in relation to the eight offences. The most important data obtained, was as follows: the general victimization index for 1987 was 22.5% (this rating includes both attempted and actually committed offences). Regarding the type of crime in question, the number of victimizations and multi-victimised subjects were noticeably higher in the case of property-related offences than personal safety offences. 40% of the total of subjects interviewed had suffered property victimizations on one occasion, and a further 36% on more than one occasion, whereas the percentage of people who had suffered affronts on their personal safety on one and more occasions, was 14% and 9% respectively. The most frequently occurring kind of criminal act was found to be the theft of objects from inside vehicles: 51% of the interviewees stated that they had been victims of a crime of this nature over the past year on one occasion (repeated victimizations were also more frequent in the case of this type of offence); the percentages for bag snatching and the theft of cars and motor-bikes were 4% and 3.5%, respectively; and 3% of the subjects had, on one occasion been the victims of muggings. Another interesting piece of information is that 47% of the individuals were found to have suffered one type of victimization or another throughout their lives. Therefore, almost half of the interviewees had at some time or other in their lives been the victims of a crime.

Lastly, regarding the risks of victimization run by different groups of people, the results of the survey did not reveal the existence of any significant differences between individuals from different socio-demographic sectors of the population; belonging to a different sex, age, or social class group did not affect the risk of being victimized. In this respect, it must be pointed out that it was not possible to obtain a precise assessment of the effect of these demographic variables on the incidence of victimization, due to the low number of victimized subjects present within the sample group. For the same reason, this inquiry was unable to assess the impact of victimization on specific groups of the population.

Lastly, regarding the analysis of the subjects' opinions and concerns to the problem of criminal activity, the most significant results were as follows.

When asked about their attitudes towards offenders, half the interviewees were against the abolition of the death-penalty and an even larger percentage, 64%, were also against the rehabilitation of criminals. Furthermore, 32% were in favour of corporal punishment for those offenders who had committed violent crimes, and 51% were in favour of corporal punishment for decency-related offences such as rape and child-abuse. 90% were in favour of the existence of clearly-defined behaviour norms within society regarding order and safety.

90% of the subjects were willing to report their having been victimized to the police, whilst 27% felt that this decision caused more inconveniences than advantages.

93% of the individuals revealed that their knowledge of existing criminal activity in the city (type, frequency, characteristics) had been mainly acquired through social media, whereas in the case of crimes committed in their own neighbourhood, 83% had received most of their information from friends, neighbours and family.

Approximately 80% considered themselves to be equally vulnerable in the face of crime as the rest of the population; only 15% felt more vulnerable than the rest.

Although 46% stated that there had been an increase in criminal activity in the area over the last two years, the majority felt their place of residence to be equally or less dangerous than other areas of the city. At the same time, the subjects expressed positive attitudes towards their own neighbourhoods (they got on well with their neighbours, helped each other and participated in local activities). On the other hand, they indicated that the

most frequently occurring crimes in the area were property-related, mainly theft of articles and objects from outside the home and burglaries. 60% believed outsiders and people from other areas to be responsible.

Lastly, the subjects interviewed considered the criminal justice system inefficient, both in its fight against crime and insofar as the protection of citizens is concerned. Attitudes towards the police force, however, were more positive. 65% felt that the legal system was too benevolent and that criminals were on a "winning-streak" due to the fact that they were nearly always set free. 70% considered that criminal law favoured people in positions of power and influence. On the other hand, although they were, in general terms, satisfied with police-work, this percentage was found to diminish in the case of police action in their own neighbourhood. 47% considered police crime-prevention to be lacking in their own place of residence and 25% felt that it was non-existent. Furthermore, 68% of the people interviewed, stated that the number of police in the area should be increased and that they should be seen more often in the neighbourhood. 70% considered police action to be inefficient and 56% were in favour of police foot-patrols.

These revisions of the different victimological studies made in our own country led us to the following conclusions.

Firstly, the overall victimization index, was in the order of 21%: Practically one out of every five people interviewed had been the victim of one crime or another over the past year. Furthermore, victimizations, on one or more occasions, related to property offences, especially in the case of theft of objects from the inside of vehicles and theft of the actual vehicles themselves, occurred more frequently than personal safety offences. In all the different investigations that were analysed, the incidence of cases of rape was almost non-existent.

Secondly, victimizations affected certain sectors of the population, as was revealed in the surveys carried out in Barcelona. In the case of the study made in Valencia, however, no significant results were obtained in this respect, due to the insufficient number of victimized subjects within the sample group. The risks of being the victim of an offence were greater for men (except in the case of sexual assault and bag-snatchings, where women were found to be more susceptible), especially younger men in high-socio-professional situations with high academic qualifications and high incomes. Another result referred to the differential impact of victimization on certain groups of subjects. It was discovered that women, older people, subjects with low incomes and those who lived alone were more susceptible to the

fear of being victimized on another occasion. Moreover, the impact caused by property related victimizations was greater than in the case of personal-safety-related offences.

Thirdly, the origin of fear was found to be multi-dimensional and led people to adopt personal protective measures. Factors related to the fear of victimizations and the adoption of protective behaviour patterns were: (a) socio-demographic variables (belonging to certain groups of the population such as women, older individuals and pensioners, people with low academic qualifications and low incomes, those living alone, subjects living in areas with a high percentage of criminal activity); (b) having previously been victimized; (c) maintaining negative attitudes towards one's place of residence; (d) perception of an increase in crime; (e) knowledge of criminal activity through social media as well as having friends, family or neighbours who had suffered victimizations; and finally (f) having a negative opinion of the criminal justice system (police force and legal system) regarding the control of crime and public protection.

Fourthly, interviewees held a more favourable opinion of the police force than of the legal system. In the case of attitudes towards the reporting of crimes to the police, those who had decided not to go to the police alleged the following reasons: not a very worthwhile practice due to the fact that stolen goods were hardly ever recovered, inconvenience factor, time-wasting and inadequate or impolite treatment received from the police.

Fifthly, citizens received information about crime both from social media and the informal social network existing in the neighbourhood (conversations with friends, family and neighbours).

Finally, in the case of existing public safety, subjects gave a better assessment for their place of residence than for the rest of the city and considered property-related offences to be the most commonly occurring type of victimization.

The conclusions from the international surveys on victimization and public opinion in this respect, which were carried out in 17 different countries, have been presented by *Jan van Dijk*, and his collaborators (see *Van Dijk, Mayhew & Killias* 1990).

The survey was made between January and February 1989 with a sample group of over 30.000 subjects from different countries: Australia, Belgium, Canada, England, Wales, Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, France, Netherlands, Northern Ireland, Norway, Scotland, Spain, Switzerland, United States, Japan, Poland (Warsaw), and Surajaba (East Java, Indonesia).

The results obtained were as follows: The overall incidence of victimization for the past year was recorded as being 21.4%. The risks of being victimized were found to be higher in the case of young people (16-34 age group), upper middle-class subjects living in towns with a population of more than 50.000 inhabitants and individuals who went out every night. However, no connection was found to exist between the sex of the subjects interviewed and the incidence of victimization. The most frequently occurring types of victimization were property-related, in particular theft of vehicles or of objects from inside vehicles and burglaries at home. Only 3% of the victims had received some kind of assistance. Among those requiring assistance from specialized services were: the victims of sexual assault and other serious crimes of a violent nature; those living in small towns; individuals who had been victimized on more than one occasion, female subjects and the older age group.

Lastly, a third of the interviewees were not happy with the way in which they had been treated by the police when reporting a crime. This dissatisfaction was more common in the case of victims of sexual offences and assaults, as well as in the case of young people, the reasons being: lack of interest on the part of the police as to keeping citizens well-informed; incorrect treatment and attention from the police; lack of recovery of stolen goods and inability to find those responsible for the crimes in question.

The results obtained from the different investigations made in Spain were similar to those from the international victimization surveys and public opinion polls. One out every five subjects interviewed had been the victim of one type of crime or another over the past year. Property-related victimizations were the most frequently occurring, especially in the case of theft of vehicles and of objects from inside vehicles. On the other hand, the risks of victimization were found to be higher in the case of young people, subjects in the middle to high income bracket and those who lived in large cities. Regarding the variables related to the sex of the subjects, no connection was found to exist with the risk of being victimized in the international survey. Both inquiries coincided in that there did exist certain groups of subjects for whom the consequences of victimization were more difficult to cope with, namely the older age group and female individuals.

Finally, the most commonly alleged reasons for not reporting crimes to the police, were the same in all the investigations: a pointless exercise and a complete waste of time.

3. Studies of Violence towards Women

Over the past five years various studies have been made in the University of Valencia to determine the extent and characteristics of violence towards women in the community of Valencia regarding both physical and sexual assault (*Montoro, Garrido, Luque & Carbonell 1987; Pulido, Arcos, Pascual & Garrido 1988; Pascual, Pulido, Arcos & Garrido 1989*). Although these works also include analyses of the aggressors, the predominant factor present in all of them is their clearly-defined victimological perspective. This is due to the fact that Spain has also been deeply influenced by the social and scientific trends of the last decade which have demanded in-depth modifications in the way which the criminal-justice system and social institutions deal with women who have been the victims of physical abuse (see *Garrido 1989*).

In the first of these investigations, *Montoro et al. (1987)* studied all the cases involving injuries that were registered by the police in the city of Valencia between 1st February and 30th October 1984. These reports were not of the traditional "official information" type, but rather, for each case that was actually registered, the regional police squad in Valencia had filled out a specially-designed questionnaire sheet known as the "Informative Protocol concerning Violent Crime". This form includes information about the violent crime in question, the aggressor, the victim and the relationship, if any, between the victim and the offender. In this way, the sample group consisted of all the crimes involving injuries of which the police had knowledge, gathered from a variety of sources: the reporting of the crime by the victim; medical reports from special centres for the assistance of victims, judicial orders of investigation, and the results of police action. A record was also kept of other types of crimes in which the offenders had purposely inflicted injuries on their victims in order to achieve their objective, even though this had not been their original intention (theft or robbery with injury, etc.).

During this period, a total of 628 victims were registered, 263 of whom (41.88%) were women. In 46% of the cases, the aggressors and the victims were either found to be related in some way or to have known each other prior to the crime in question. Furthermore, if we consider that in the case of family relations or prior acquaintances existing between the two (23.56% of the total), 63% of these victims were married women and that 78.05% of the acts of aggression between family members took place in the home, we

can understand to what extent women are especially exposed to this type of victimization, even though the majority of the injuries inflicted were legally termed as being "slight" (that is to say, they do not cause the victim to be off work for more than 15 days or require medical attention). Moreover, the results of the investigation revealed that 77.66% of violent crimes in the home were directed against women, whereas this percentage (the only one in which the figures for female victims are higher than those for men) is reduced to 21.5% in the case of assaults taking place in bars and discothèques, and 24.68% on public thoroughfares. With regard to age, the distribution of victims of violence in the home was as follows: 14.80% were under 21; 57.14% were between the ages of 21 and 40, and 28.06% were over 40. The percentages reveal the close connection between marital ties and physical abuse.

One final piece of information gives us an overall perspective of the magnitude of this problem, especially if we bear in mind the fact that the real figures remain unknown; 25.86% of the total number of victims were housewives and in over 90% of the registered cases of victimization in the home, aggression occurred as the consequence of an argument between the two partners (68.05% of all violent offences are initially motivated by arguments).

This particular investigation was later complemented in 1989 when a study was made of physical abuse towards women in the community of Valencia by order of the Government of the Autonomous Community of Valencia (*Emer Institute* 1989). This inquiry had two objectives: firstly, to determine the incidence of physical abuse within the community of Valencia using information from a variety of different sources; and secondly, to make an overall assessment of the psycho-social needs generated in the victim by the effect of victimization. The information for this investigation came from the following sources: the offences reported to the police in the three provinces that make up the community of Valencia (Castellon, Valencia and Alicante); hospital admission reports of a judicial nature from 7 main hospitals within the autonomous community; a direct study of 60 women who had been victims of violent offences, using a semi-structured interview, and finally 30 further interviews with experts in the field of direct dealings with victims of physical abuse, many of whom were in charge of or collaborated with special centres and institutions set up to shelter and assist these women.

The results revealed that in 1988, 1,122 cases of physical abuse were reported to the police, which, in terms of the total population of the community, means that 1.2 out of every thousand women were victims of physical abuse. However, after interviewing the victims and the experts, it

was deduced that the real figure could in fact be four times greater than this (especially if we bear in mind the fact that the women who were willing to collaborate in the investigation were, for this very reason, more inclined to bring their situation to light than in the case of others). Other outstanding results were as follows.

The most important reasons given by the women themselves for not reporting these offences to the police were: "insecurity and economic dependence"; "emotional dependence"; "socio-environmental pressures"; "lack of information" and "pressures from husbands".

A considerable percentage of the women who had reported cases of victimization and then left home for this reason had done so only to return home again at a later date.

The physical abuse suffered by women did not correspond to just one particular case of an act of violence, but rather was found to have been a habitual practice since "the beginning of the relationship" occurring on very numerous occasions.

Two different kinds of consequences were found to exist for women in these circumstances: those of a physical nature, brought about as a direct result of the beating received, 10% of whom had to be admitted for hospital treatment; and those of a long-lasting psychological nature. 70% of the interviewees admitted to suffering psychological disorders, the most prominent being: "sadness and depression", followed by "headaches", "sleep disorders and upsets affecting eating habits", "irregularities in their menstrual cycle", "fatigue and dizziness", "flushes and shiverings" and "increased blood-pressure".

Another important aspect was that the ages of the victims were similar to those of the rest of the population. We can therefore state that physical abuse was not found to affect any one particular group of women where age was concerned.

The women most affected were found to have a lower level of academic qualifications than the rest of the population, the worst affected group being those with primary-school education. The number of victims was less in the case of women with secondary-school qualifications and disappeared altogether in the case of higher education.

With regard to employment, a third of the women interviewed had a paid job, whereas the other two thirds didn't work, figures which were very similar to those obtained for the rest of the population.

Two of the most important factors in the case of the aggressors were: firstly, we detected a higher level of unemployment than for the rest of the population (35% as opposed to the 16% of registered unemployment in the community of Valencia); secondly, between 30% and 45% were found to have drinking problems, which was not the case with the rest of the population.

Pulido et al. (1988) attempted to characterize both the crimes and the victims of sexual assault in a sample group of 196 cases of rape involving 202 aggressors, 85% of the cases were tried in the city of Valencia between September 1974 and December 1985, whilst the remaining 15% were provided using a questionnaire which had been specially designed for these types of cases by the investigation group at Police Headquarters (the Assault Questionnaire Information Form). It was a investigation which covered 10 consecutive years of compiled information concerning rape and therefore provided reliable and stable data about the cases reported.

The results obtained from this investigation coincided with those published in international reviews (see especially, amongst others: *Amir* 1971; *Chiswick* 1983; *McCahill et al.* 1979; *Chapell et al.* 1977; *Lafree* 1979). The most significant data can be seen in table 1.

Table 1: Results obtained concerning the Incident of Rape, Characteristics of the Victim, the Aggressor, and the Relationship between the two.

1. The Incident

When: 70% of cases: between 5 pm and 5 am.

The most frequent interval is between 8 pm and 11 pm (17.33%).

No significant difference was found to exist between different months of the year.

Where: 3/4 of the number of rapes occurred in (in order of frequency):

- Wasteland (27.5%)
- The aggressor's house (19.5%)
- The victim's house (17.3%)
- Vehicles (8.8%)

Number of Assailants: 30% of rapes were committed by more than one aggressor.

Number of Victims: 3.56% of rape cases had two victims.

Weapons used: - In almost half the number of cases, the rapist used only his hands (47.9%), followed by sharp objects and threats (both 20.28%).

- Blunt instruments (4.9%)
- Others (5.94%)

Results of Assault: 63% of the victims were raped without injuries. 37.04% of the cases registered had suffered some kind of injury.

Duration of Assault: The average duration of the crime of rape varies between 1/2 hour and 2 hours. Approximately 40% have a duration of 1/2 hour or less.

Acts of Defence: In just over half the number of cases, women offered resistance in the form of pleading, screams and blows.

Decision to report Offence: 65.8% of women reported the incident within less than 2 hours. In almost half the cases, the victims reported the incident on their own initiative.

Previous Sexual Assaults: 20% of women had been assaulted on previous occasions and in 80% of these cases the aggressor was the same person.

Motives for Choosing a Victim: Defenceless appearance of the victim.

Post-Facto Reaction of the Aggressor: In a large number of cases, the aggressors threatened their victims.

2. Characteristics of the Victim

Age: - Approximately 70% under 21 years of age.

- 21.05% between 21 and 30.
- 10.09% over 30.

Race: 2.19% of gypsy descent.

Marital Status:- Single women in the vast majority of cases (84.21%)

- 12.72% married
- 1.32% separated or divorced

Academic Qualifications/Professions: Over 50% of the victims with no educational qualifications or only primary education. Only 2.3% with higher education.

Criminal Record: Less than 1% had previous criminal records.

3. Characteristics of the Aggressor

Age: The highest proportion of rapists belong to the older age groups.

- 66% over 21,
- 36% over 30.

Race: 2.71% of gypsy descent.

Marital Status: 65% single.

Social Class: 75% with primary education or no educational qualifications. Almost 3/4 were labourers and specialized workmen.

Criminal Record: 40.58% of rapists had previous criminal records.

4. Aggressor/Victim Relationship

- 50% of rapists were total strangers.
- 20% relatives.
- 28% acquaintances.

From this table it can be seen how the data obtained confirms the general findings published in international reviews. There are an alarmingly high number of cases of rape involving people who know each other, a fact which has induced some countries to create educational programmes geared towards preventing sexual assault among newly-found friends (see *Miller* 1988).

Finally, *Pascual et al.* (1989) carried out an investigation, similar to the one made by *Burt* in 1980, in order to assess to what extent people's ideas concerning rape are supported by other attitudinal and demographic variables; that is to say, the denominated "rape myths" defined by *Burt* (1980, p.l.) as "those opinions which imply prejudice, stereotypes and false beliefs concerning rape, the victims and the aggressors". With this objective in mind, several of the scales used by this author were adapted and used to gather further information from 407 personal interviews carried out in May 1985 with subjects between the ages of 16 and 66, living in the city of Valencia. The selection of interviewees was made in accordance with the proportional poly-stage stratification method and the homes were selected using the random route method.

In our study, we considered the following variables:

Dependent variables:

Attitudinal variables: sex role stereotypes (non-equalitarian sex attitudes); sexual conservatism and sexism (where the couple's life is seen as a "battle of sexes", the man wanting to dominate the woman).

Personality: self-esteem.

Myths about rape (prejudices or wrong beliefs about rape, victims and aggressors).

Independent variables: sexual victimization, age, sex, socio-cultural status and two sociological variables: opinion about abortion and vote in the last political election.

The main results were the following:

1. It was derived from an ANOVA analysis that sociological-variables make a great difference in terms of effects on the dependent variables: People that voted for "right wing political parties", and people that disapproved abortion showed more sexual stereotypy, more sexual conservatism and more rape myths acceptance. The people's ages and socio-cultural level were also important: the higher the age and the lower the socio-cultural level, the greater the sexual discrimination.
2. A correlation analysis confirmed the association between these variables, including approval of interpersonal violence, showing a relationship of about .50.
3. Finally, a canonic correlation was made. The first factor explained 43% of variance, and evidenced again this known association of variables. We found that older people disapprove more abortion, and accept sexual stereotypes, sexual conservatism and rape myths more easily.
4. With respect to *Burt's* work our results evidenced a similar relationship pattern, but with a different hierarchy. Another discrepancy was that we could not find any correlation for self-esteem.

We think that we have clearly shown the existence of a strong relationship between rape attitudes and a host of sociological and attitudinal variables. This is an empirical confirmation of some of the hypotheses supported by the feminist movement.

The qualitative conclusions of the investigation presented in these papers were in accordance with the above-mentioned previous works and also with other more recent investigations. *Gise and Paddison* (1988), for example,

assert that the accumulated evidence reveals that sexual assault creates mental health related problems in the people affected. *Brown and Ziefert* (1988), for their part, state that sexual violence usually creates persistent interferences in the relationship between women and the community, leading to feelings of powerlessness and helplessness. Therefore, it is not surprising that one of the wide spectrum approaches recommended in an attempt to modify this state of things, requires a change in people's attitudes, based on educational models and the area of community psychology (see *Cheung* 1987-1988).

With regard to the investigations into physical assault mentioned in this paper together with other more recent studies, it is clear that there exists a need to offer a multiplicity of services to those affected, both victims and aggressors alike. Even though it may be useful to analyse the typologies of aggressors with a view to derive risk-factors and treatment strategies (see *Russell* 1988), the fact remains that there is an unquestionable need to modify the processes of man-woman socialization and the processes of society in general if we are to make any significant progress where the phenomenon of physical abuse towards women is concerned (see, among others, *Dickstein* 1988; *Seltzer & Kalmuss* 1988). At the same time however, we must not lose sight of other areas requiring attention, namely: the need to block the imitative processes implicit within violence in the home (*Schuerger & Reigle* 1988); the consumption of alcohol (*Schuerger & Reigle* 1988; *Bergman, Larsson, Brismar & Klang* 1988); and the presence of high-stress circumstances in the lives of families where violence and physical abuse occur (*Seltzer & Kalmuss* 1988). We, therefore, believe that the point of view which defends intervention in the case of aggressors as a means of helping them to overcome their personal deficiencies (which are considered to be at the root of violence) should not be regarded as antagonist to the standpoint which stresses the equality of men and women where social roles are concerned as a means of overcoming the processes of domination on the part of the male (processes in which sexual and physical aggression would consequently be implicit) (for an analysis of both points of view, see *Gondolf* 1988). However, in our opinion, an educational and social perspective would be more efficient in terms of understanding and finding a solution for a problem of this magnitude.

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Victim Theory and Research in Greece¹

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¹ Sections 1 and 3 were prepared by *C.D. Spinellis*, section 2 by *A. Chaidou* and section 4 by *T. Serassis*; section 5 was prepared in common by the three authors.

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1. The Emergence of Victimology In Greece

1.1 The Early Developments

Irrespective of whether Victimology is considered a branch of Criminology, an independent penal science or simply an approach (Weis 1979, p. 15), in Greece the study of victims and society's response to them seems to be developing faster than Criminology.

In fact the first books on Criminology and Penology were published in Greece as early as the late 19th century; almost simultaneously with the coining of the term Criminology by the French anthropologist *Topinard* (1879) or by the Italian father of Criminology *Garofalo* (1885) (*Spinellis* 1983, p. 298). However, the promising beginnings of Criminology, in its broad sense, were followed by slow motion towards its institutionalization and professionalization.

On the contrary, Victimology presents a considerable fast growth both in its theoretical and empirical aspects. From the early 70's when the first² book entitled "Victimology" (*Thymatologia*) was published in Greece (*Andrianakis* 1972) until presently a number of articles in Greek and foreign languages, mostly English, appeared. Prior to this, an article in a legal periodical underlined the problems and prospects of this emerging field of knowledge (*Alexiadis* 1969). These events were followed by references to Victimology and victim surveys in Greek textbooks of Criminology (*Alexiadis* 1985, pp. 275-289; *Spinellis* 1985, pp. 29-31 and 57-58). Of particular interest, however, was the foundation of the "Greek Society of Victimology" - with legal recognition since October 1, 1987 - which, among its other activities, has recently inaugurated a series of publications (*Thymatologica* 1990).

Rather than simply enumerating the facts or parts that assembled may assist us to construct the status of Victimology in Greece, we thought advisable in this paper in the first place to sketch the international stimula-

2 In Switzerland as early as 1941 a Greek co-authored a book which dealt with minors, victims of sexual offences: *Abou Habib & G. Romanos*, Observations catamnestiques sur des délinquants sexuels et leurs victimes attentats à la pudeur sur la personne des mineurs de deux sexes, Lausanne, 1941.

tions that gave Victimology in Greece an impetus and to a great extent an orientation. Then, the recent developments in victimological theory and research will be outlined by focusing on the relevant provisions of the Greek Penal Code and the Greek Code of Penal Procedure on the one hand, and on the other, on the main categories of victims for which research is being conducted. Special emphasis will be given on the project of the first crime survey in the greater Athens area which has just finished.

1.2 International Stimulations

Undoubtedly the field of Victimology in Greece has been fertilized by international governmental and non-governmental organizations. These are still giving the impetus and providing the guidelines for research and action. The international influence on the one hand, and the lack of funds for empirical studies on the other, might explain the absence of an autonomous Greek Victimology.

Yet, one wonders whether the absence of a Greek-oriented Victimology is a unique Greek phenomenon or whether Victimology is more or less everywhere internationally-oriented.

In the following section an effort will be made to elucidate this statement by identifying the sources of influence of Victimology in Greece.

While searching for direct or immediate influences is not an easy task, one could generally distinguish five main sources - often interacting - from which Greek victimological literature draws: i) the international victimological tradition at large (Israeli, British, German, Canadian, etc.), ii) the activities of the Council of Europe, iii) the activities of the United Nations, iv) the stimulation exerted by non-governmental international organizations (e.g. the World Society of Victimology, the International Association of Penal Law, the International Society for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect, the International Alliance of Women etc.), and v) the Dutch victimological movement.

An example of the first influence is the already mentioned book which introduced the field of Victimology in Greece (*Andrianakis 1972*). This publication in the first place deals with the genesis of Victimology and its role and objective. The second chapter is devoted to the victim and his personality. The relationship between the victim and the perpetrator is developed in the third chapter and the victim typologies in the fourth. The fifth chapter includes research data from studies involving victims of specific crime categories i.e. robbery, embezzlement, fraud, traffic violations etc. Chapter six analyses the victim's influence on the criminal liability of

the perpetrator. The next chapter focuses on the provisions of the Greek Penal Code that refer to victims. Finally, the last chapter considers victim compensation and the means and ways of social protection of the victim.

Under the auspices of the Council of Europe a number of activities resulted in stimulating a special interest in certain aspects of Victimology. One of them being the compensation of victims of violent crimes (*Conseil de l' Europe* 1978). More specifically *Papadatos* in a short publication introduces with clarity the issues related with state compensation. The historical-criminological introduction is followed by the present state of awareness of the state's responsibility not only to punish the offender but also to meet the needs of the victim, at least to some extent. The collective responsibility and the welfare models to protect the victim are given some attention together with the arguments against this type of state compensation. While the emphasis is on international developments in this area some references are made to Greek Law and especially to its provision for state compensation in cases of illegal detention or conviction (articles 533 and 539 of Greek Code of Penal Procedure) and the possibilities that the victim has to be awarded damages by the offender (articles 77,100, 106 and 84 of the Greek Penal Code). The publication concludes with the basic principles that govern state compensation, mostly as these are outlined in the Recommendation No R (87) 21 of the Council of Europe (*Papadatos* 1981).

In more than one areas the United Nations gave impetus to victimological thinking and to creating some awareness in this field. At the occasion of a seminar on "Towards a Victim Policy in Europe", organized by the Helsinki Institute for Crime Prevention, affiliated with the United Nations, a Greek report has been presented. The position of the victim in the Greek legal system was described in it - starting with relevant provisions of the Greek Constitution and the Civil Code and finishing with the Code of Penal procedure - and suggestions were pointed out in order to ameliorate the Greek policy towards the victims of crimes (*Vouyoucas* 1984, pp. 85-92).

In another paper entitled "Crime and Victim: Problems and Priorities for a Victimological Policy after the U.N. Declaration on the Victims of Crimes and Abuse of Power" (*Spinellis* 1986a, pp. 249-281) some crucial matters concerning the contemporary victim policy were raised. At the beginning, the shift from "crime and punishment" towards "crime and victim" - one coin with two facets - is briefly described. Parenthetically it is pointed out that the Greek law's attention and care for the victim is present even in the legislation of Solon (Plutarch, Solon XVIII). Some references to persons who have suffered a loss from a criminal act are also to be found in the legislation of the modern Greek state of the late 19th century (Apanthisma: The Penal law of 1834). The relatively recent return to a victim policy based

on new grounds as well as the reasons for such an international movement are moreover sketched. According to the author's opinion, among the factors which contributed to the increased interest in the victim were: the inadequacies and malfunctions of the criminal justice system to deal with the increasing crime rates, the "end of the rehabilitative ideal", the emergence of pressure groups fighting for the rights of victims of particular crimes. The article finishes with the identification of the guiding lines for and the prerequisites of a victimological policy on the basis of the United Nation's Declaration for the Victims (Milan 1985). And it concludes with the consideration of the possibilities and ways that potential victims have to mobilize themselves towards the prevention of their victimization (*Spinellis* 1986b, pp. 319-324).

The influence of international non-governmental organizations that are exerted on the development of Victimology in Greece cannot easily be identified. Therefore, nothing will be mentioned on the impetus given by the World Society of Victimology or other professional or academic organizations. However, an exception will be made with respect to the International Association of Penal Law which inspired the Greek National Group to organize a two-day congress on the position of the victim in the criminal justice system and on the institution of the civil claimant.³ The event about the Greek congress is pointed out here as it contributed to the sensitization of a great number of people in the rights of the victim, given the fact that most members of the judiciary and a great number of practicing attorneys participated in this congress and that the published proceedings were widely circulated (*Greek Society of Penal Law* 1989).

The Dutch Ministry of Justice has taken a number of initiatives in the area of both the victim/crime surveys and the advancement of the victim's rights without neglecting the discussion of the institution of the civil claimant or civil party in the penal procedure. Within this latter frame some work has been done in Greece by theorists of Criminal Law. It is outside of the scope of this paper to refer to the relevant literature. Yet, one cannot overlook the significant book of *A. Psarouda-Benaki*: "The civil action in criminal proceedings" placing the restitution of the victim within the main justifications of punishment. Five years later, the same topic has been examined by describing the position of the victim in the framework of

3 Victim compensation was the theme of the Budapest Congress of the IAPL in 1974.

criminal law and procedure - with emphasis on Greek law - and under the light of recent international developments (*Tsitsoura* 1984) in criminal law and criminological theory (*D. Spinellis* 1986, p. 405).

Obviously, this section does not intent to exhaust the Greek literature in the area of victimology. It had to be selective in order to avoid repetitions. Indeed, a more complete picture of the trends and publications of victimology in Greece may be obtained by referring to i) the basic theoretical approach as reflected in the law and ii) some empirical studies focusing on various categories of victims.

2. The Victim in the Greek Penal Law and Procedure

As the Penal Code and the Code of Penal Procedure (both in force since January 1951) are legislative texts of a State which is constitutionally and traditionally liberal, they are inspired by liberalism, which principle demands full guarantees for the individual against any possible excesses of State authority in the administration of criminal justice (*Mangakis* 1973, p.5).

Both Codes - in conformity with the Greek Constitution of 1975, as well as with the various international texts - safeguard the fundamental rights of both the offender and the victim of a crime. The penal law functions at the same time as a set of protecting rules for the person harmed by a criminal act (*Psarouda-Benaki* 1989, p. 20).

2.1 Provisions in the Penal Code

The Greek Penal Code perceives the victim or harmed person from many different aspects: as the passive object of an offence, as a person who needs protection, as one of the interested parts in criminal prosecution, or even as the person which provokes and encourages the committing of a crime by the offender (*Andrianakis* 1972, p. 129).

The perception of the victim as a person needing protection is associated especially with offences against sexual freedom and financial exploitation of the sexual life, such as the sexual abuse of incompetents (art. 338 PC), the seduction of infants (art. 339 PC), pandering (especially § 2 of art. 349 PC), trafficking in prostitution (art. 351 PC), deceiving minors in debts (art. 403 PC), and usury (art. 404 PC). The victim acts as "prosecutor" in those cases in which he is authorized to submit complaint (art. 118 PC).

Finally, in cases of self-defence or removal of the unjustified character of an act by necessity, as well as in the judicial computation of punishment, the possible provocation on the part of the victim is taken under consideration by the court. The relation between offender and victim can also influence the material substance of the commission of an offence (*D. Spinellis* 1989, p. 45).

The Penal Code establishes the priority of restitution against the payment of pecuniary penalty. According to art. 77 PC, if a pecuniary penalty or fine has been imposed concurrently with restitution of damages to the victim and the offender's property is insufficient to satisfy both obligations, restitution has precedence over the penalty.

In those cases in which the restitution of the victim is a prerequisite for such advantageous measures as the conditional suspension of sentence or parole, the restitution is seldom considered as an absolutely essential condition and it is seldom in fact required that this compensation be fully settled. It suffices, if the offender simply demonstrates his willingness to nullify the effect of his act (art. 100 § 1 PC), or fulfills his judicially determined duties to the victim as far as he is able (art. 106 § 1 PC). In order to benefit from the provision regarding mitigating circumstances (art. 84 § 2d PC), the accused must demonstrate that he actually sought to nullify or mitigate the effects of his act. In all these cases the "legislator" is satisfied if the offender simply seeks to compensate the victim as a manifestation of his moral improvement, irrespective, of course, of any substantial compensation of the victim (*Papadatos* 1981, p. 57).

The fact that the compensation is not actually fully settled shows that the main purpose of these regulations is not the benefit of the victim but rather the benefit of the offender, for the sake of his rehabilitation, aiming at a stimulation of his sense of responsibility. In general, the victim is unfortunately regarded (and functions) as a mere instrument in a process which focuses mainly on the improvement of the criminal.

In the dogmatic penal law the interest about the victim is quite strangely associated with the offender's defense means and rehabilitation rather than the victim's reparation. The traditional aims of the penalty are under consideration and new ideas grow up for new kinds of social control (*Psarouda-Benaki* 1989, p. 14).

2.2 Provisions in the Penal Procedure

In the Greek penal procedure, as in the French and Italian, the active participation in the criminal trial of the person who is harmed by the

commission of a criminal act is provided for (art. 63 CPP). He/she is one of the subjects of the criminal trial, contrary to what is in force in the German and Swiss law of criminal procedure, in which the victim of a criminal act places his/her civil demands in an "adhesive procedure" (*Adhäsionsverfahren*), without actively participating in the criminal trial (*Konstantinidis* 1989, p. 121).

In this way it is estimated that, without any restraint in the rights of the defendant, both the satisfaction of the penal demand of the State (*jus puniendi*) and the satisfaction of the victim are equally guaranteed. Thus the relationship between the State and the perpetrator is partly replaced - or rather complemented - by the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim (*Psarouda-Benaki* 1989, p. 14).

The victim participates in the criminal trial as a litigant ("civil claimant"). The advantages for the victim include the fact that he/she is an officially recognized participant in the whole procedure. According to art. 20 § 1 of the Greek Constitution, every citizen has the right to receive legal protection in court and can present his/her views about his/her rights or interests. Similarly, the civil claimant possesses this right in the preliminary proceedings and during the trial process (*Karras* 1989, p. 98). The principle of "fair trial" is thus guaranteed and the rights of all interested parts are equally protected (*Konstantinidis* 1989, pp. 123 et seq.). Whenever a victim is involved, a civil claimant is expected to be present, with the exception of those cases when a settlement is finally reached (*Psarouda-Benaki* 1989, pp. 23 et seq.).

Minors and persons under guardianship (due to criminal sentence or mental disease) exercise their right of civil claim through their legal representatives, in accordance with the civil code provisions. If restitution for moral or psychological damage is demanded, this representation is limited to the preliminary proceedings and does not apply to the main trial procedure (*Stamatis* 1989, p. 87).

Under his/her capacity as a litigant the victim possesses all the rights available to every interested party (art. 108 CPP):

During the preliminary proceedings the victim has the right to be represented by an attorney as well as to have full access to the judicial documents. The civil claimant (victim) can be present in all investigative acts and in the various judicial committees and express his/her views and interests. He/she can ask questions and make remarks, request expertise, and in general exercise every right offered to a litigant by law.

In the main trial he/she can be assisted or represented by an attorney, request the postponement of the trial for important reasons, have access to the contents of the judicial file, cross-examine witnesses and experts, and even demand the exception of any involved person (judge or member of jury). He/she has the right to be informed in detail (and in his own language) about the whole procedure material of the case, and - quite important, especially in cases of rape - to demand that the trial take place without publicity, in whole or in part for the protection of his private and family life.

He/she can also abstain from the right to act as "civil claimant" at every stage of the procedure, to ask for copies of decisions, minutes and every other judicial document and to claim any seized goods that belong to him, after the conviction of the defendant. As far as the right to appeal is concerned, this can be exercised only during the preliminary procedure, while in the main trial it is only possible to trigger this appeal with a petition to the public prosecutor.

The civil claim has a composite character, civil and penal, because the civil claimant demands not only the satisfaction of his/her civil claims but primarily the conviction of the defendant (*Konstantinidis* 1989, p. 122).

In practice, however, the ability to appear as a civil claimant depends on so many conditions and bureaucratic requirements that, as a consequence, very often the victim of a criminal act does not actually exercise this right, or makes only limited use of it (*D. Spinellis* 1989, p. 50).

The daily practice of the courts demonstrates a remarkable strong relationship between restitution of the victim and imposition of a penalty: After the settlement between victim and offender the procedure that follows is merely a formality. Though no form of "mediation" officially exists in Greek legislation, in practice a similar form of settlement is often noticeable; not only in case of crimes which are prosecuted by criminal complaint - when the victim has a direct interest and right as to the triggering of a criminal procedure - but also in case of ex officio prosecuted crimes (especially offences involving property), the court exercises a quasi-mediating role. There is often an interruption or postponement of the trial until an agreement between the two parties (victim and offender) is reached. From then on the procedure is - as mentioned above - a formality: No sanction is any more necessary, as the compensation of the victim resolves the social conflict arising from the criminal act and the disorder caused by it is eliminated (*Psarouda-Benaki* 1989, p. 24).

It was also empirically proved (with a small scale research project at the end of 1988 which involved interviews to Greek judges) that the full

reparation of the victim by the offender operates for the court as a reason for eliminating the punishability of the act. This discretion is not, of course, provided for in the legislation and appears to be more usual in cases of crimes against property (*Bekas & Sareli* 1990, p. 477).⁴

As far as material damage is concerned, the victims are almost always passed on to civil courts (art. 65 § 2,2 CPP). The victim does not, therefore, claim any damages in the penal courts (art. 68 § 1 CPP). In theory, the legal framework of civil claim and the demands of the victim are provided for in the civil code. In contrast, the issue of its legitimacy is governed by the Code of Penal Procedure (*Stamatis* 1989, p. 81). In reality, the restitution of the victim in civil courts presents many difficulties: In general - due to the overload of the courts - it takes a long time to reach an irreversible (non-appealable) decision, which is a rather negative factor for the victim. In other legislations too, like in the United States, civil remedies are expensive and time consuming. Their outcome is uncertain and they require the victim to confront the offender for a second time in the justice system (*Hillenbrand* 1990, p. 190). This takes time, money and courage on the part of the victim. It is not, therefore, surprising that in many cases the harmed person waives the right of civil claim and fails to appear in either criminal or civil courts (*Papadatos* 1981, p. 33).

As far as moral damage is concerned,⁵ the victims can claim a monetary restitution by the penal court only if they limit their demands to a very low amount, provided for in the Code of Penal Procedure (art. 65 § 2,2). Although they have the right to demand a larger amount in civil courts, in practice the victims make use of their right only in penal court. The recognition of their moral damage through the imposition of this low amount is then rather symbolic, but the victims are satisfied through their own participation in the penal process; it goes without saying that this satisfaction increases as the case goes further into the system until the final conviction of the offender (*Psarouda-Benaki* 1982, pp. 167 et seq.; *Sparks* 1982, p. 109).

4 See also 3.5.

5 This is practically the only case in which the victim appears as civil claimant in court.

2.3 Remarks

Undoubtly, the victims of crime hold, according to Greek law, an important place in the whole justice system. The fact that the rights of the victim are legally recognized⁶ offers the victim, through his/her active participation in all phases of the criminal procedure, the possibility to gain a material (restitution) or non material (conviction of the offender) satisfaction for his damages.

In practice, all these rights are rather formal, if it is taken into account that there are substantial time, financial and psychological losses associated both with the victimization itself and with the need to cooperate with the administration of justice (*R. Knudten et al.* 1976, pp. 121 et seq.) and to participate as "civil claimant" in a criminal or civil procedure.

On the one hand, the rights of victims in the justice system cannot be effective without deep changes in the entire system. The legislature, courts, police and other institutions responsible for crime prevention and control should evaluate and renovate the organisations and services in this field in order to increase their effectiveness and reduce unnecessary human suffering. There is a need for a reduced number of postponements, improved preparedness to support the victims and more effective ways for reparation.

In other jurisdictions - but not in the Greek one - there exists a victim-witness office by the local prosecutor, aiming to assist the victim through the criminal justice and to explain his/her rights and responsibilities as a victim. The personnel of these victim-witness assistance units for information can also explain to a victim the different stages of a court case as well as the technicalities of the criminal justice system (*Austern* 1987, pp. 6 et seq., 13).

On the other hand, the criminal justice system should take into consideration the needs of all parties involved in the criminal cases and especially of the offender. There is a balance between the needs and rights of the victim and the defendant. The offender is viewed by the justice system without being related to other processes to which he may have been exposed.

Therefore, the attention should also focus to the offender, who is the crucial part of the whole criminal justice system. In a way he/she too is a

6 In the United States, for example, only in 1983 were the rights of victims of criminal acts officially recognized by the Supreme Court (*Austern* 1987, p. 182).

victim of his/her act. If we take as granted that the society creates the offender and then proceeds to punish him/her for acts it has driven him/her to commit, it should be noted that:

In some cases the offender takes up the role of the victim, which leads him/her to antisocial and offensive behaviour. This attitude may also result from earlier punishment and especially when long periods of incarceration are involved. Many offenders have also been themselves victims of an offence, before their involvement with the system as perpetrators, or later, during their imprisonment (*Newman 1975*, pp. 115 et seq.).

The confrontation with the "civil claimant" during the whole procedure can accentuate his/her aggressivity and revenge feelings. Although in the last years the interest for the victim has increased and the institution of "civil claim" is routinely applied almost in every trial, it would be better if the presence of the victim was limited only to his/her testimony as a witness.

The practice shows that the continuous presence of the victim does not increase the possibility for a larger amount of restitution. The amount ordered is anyway very low and the victim can get a moral satisfaction - through the conviction of the offender - even if he/she is not present in the court, at the moment he/she is informed about the conviction by the court. As for the damages of the victim, it would be sufficient if the compensation was received directly from the State. The court could decide if state money has to be substituted by the offender's own property or personal work (e.g. by giving part of his salary to the State) or not. In Greece, the first step made towards this direction (although it is still very early to express any opinion about it) is a draft - currently under discussion in the Greek Parliament - providing for compensation by the State to victims of terrorist acts.

3. Greek Research on Victims

3.1 Children Victims of Abuse and Neglect

Victimization of Greek children within their family quite early - but with strong resistance - stopped being considered a taboo theme and became a subject of concern among professionals. As early as 1977 Greece became involved in the diagnosis of child abuse and neglect with the formation of a small interdisciplinary team at the Institute of Child Health guided by the enlightened paediatrician Professor *S. Doxiades*. All further activities car-

ried out in Greece in the area of child maltreatment, including prevention, therapy and research, have been either initiated by this team and/or conducted in collaboration with it.

In spite of those efforts there are still no national definitions of the problem and those used to distinguish the various types of abuse and neglect (physical, sexual, emotional) have been adopted from the widely accepted international literature, mainly from the contributions of Schmitt and Kempe (*Agathonos-Georgopoulou* 1987, p. 15). There are also no official statistics regarding children victims of abuse and neglect. According to rough estimates, because of the existence of a large "dark area", every year more than 4,000 children - total population of Greece: 10 million - are seriously battered; more than 100 children die and more than 100 remain seriously crippled (*Marangos* 1987, p. 56).

In a three year research project based on a sample of 30 abusing families and 30 non-abusing ones it was found, inter alia, that in spite of the fact that abused children did not differ considerably from controls regarding their birth, weight and conditions of pregnancy and delivery, their growth and behaviour seemed to have been affected by parental child rearing difficulties as well as by family and social pathology (*Agathonos et.al.* 1984, p. 35; *Tsiantis et al.* 1981, p. 281).

Another study conducted by the same team focused on the legal situations as well as on the welfare structure which is called to cater to the needs of children and their families. Among the major findings were: i) despite the rising of awareness among professionals i.e. paediatricians, judges, lawyers, social workers, policemen etc. their sensitization is still considered low, ii) there are wide discrepancies in awareness among professionals, e.g. 9 cases of victims of abuse/neglect were diagnosed in 1985 in one of the two Children's Hospitals operating in Athens, while in the other - where the Child Institute for Child Care (and the research team) is located: 54(!) cases, and iii) there are no adequate legal provisions e.g. abuse/neglect cases are dealt with by the criminal justice system and provisions exist for the perpetrator and not for the victim (*Agathonos & Stathakopoulou* 1987, p. 176.).

Another aspect of child abuse, namely sexual abuse for or without profit, has been given also international and national attention (*Spinellis* 1988, p. 115). Moreover a retrospective study on experiences of sexual abuse of a sample of Greek College students is in process (*Agathonos & Alexandridis* 1991).

Finally, the problems of the required assistance to this totally helpless category of victims has also been considered. In a recently published book

in Leuven, Belgium the present trends concerning the crises and innovations in residential care for abused and neglected children in Greece are discussed (*Agathonos-Georgopoulou* 1991, pp. 71-78).

3.2 Women Victims of Violence within the Family

The phenomenon of women victims of abuse together with the battered child syndrome, are the most common forms of family violence. Reliable data revealing the extent and nature of the problem in our country do not exist for the moment. Two doctoral dissertations in process are expected to elucidate this issue.⁷

Some older findings of a research project carried on in Thessaloniki, the second biggest city of Greece, revealed that within a year 100 cases of battered women were recorded. This figure may be considered small, for instance, in comparison with a city in Wales which has approximately the same population as Thessaloniki and 5,000 cases per year are recorded (*Epivatianos* 1984, p. 21). In one public hospital of the capital, on the other hand, in 1984: 218 cases involving female victims 21 to 60 years of age were registered as "battered women" and in 1985: 169. Yet, the researchers were unable, on the basis of the available hospital data, to identify whether or not the perpetrator was a relative (*Spinellis* 1989, p. 240). However, from another source, namely the published court decisions referring to intentional homicide (years 1975 -1983, a study of 40 cases (44 offenders and 50 victims) revealed that i) 1 out of 4 cases of homicide (attempts included) involved intra-family violence, ii) violence within the family seemed to affect more women than men: those who victimized the 7 female victims were all males; among those who victimized the 12 male victims of family violence only 2 were females; generalizations though are dangerous as the total number of cases was small (*Spinellis* 1989, p. 240).

From the scattered data presented above only a tentative picture may be drawn. Nevertheless, it is sufficient to indicate the existence of the problem which is present in various parts of the country, and that it needs to be studied systematically.

7 Chliova, A., A dissertation on violence against women to be submitted to the University of Thessaloniki, Greece, and Fereti, I., A dissertation on violence against women to be submitted to the Cambridge Institute of Criminology, United Kingdom.

3.3 Elder Victims of Abuse and Neglect

Some impressionistic observations - deaths of elderly people living alone during the summer heat, burglaries and robberies in houses inhabited by senior citizens - created the false idea that older age groups run a higher risk of being abused, neglected or of becoming victims of property crimes than what the younger ones.

Elsewhere in this volume the main findings of an exploratory study on elder abuse and neglect within or outside the family have been presented (*Spinellis & Pitsiou-Darrouh* 1991). Here it suffices to point out that the first study in this field revealed that the phenomenon of elder maltreatment is not unknown in Greece. Yet, it is rather mild as it takes mostly the form of verbal abuse. Moreover, people belonging to younger age brackets are more often victimized than those of the older age brackets.

More studies to investigate elder abuse all over Greece are needed in order to find out, among other, whether this country is gradually losing the characteristics of the *Gemeinschaft* type society and the Greek family is divested from its traditional function of caring for its old and sick members.

3.4 Victims of Football Crowd Disorders

While the social problem of "hooliganism" is usually dealt with from the angle of the perpetrators a research project carried on by a group of professionals (criminologists, sociologists, statisticians, a clinical psychologist trained in sports) and more than ten field-workers, among its other goals, included the study of victims of disorders in foot-ball and basket-ball games.

Emphasis was given in the attitude of victims towards violence in and around the area where such games take place and especially in the material and other loss that they have suffered (*Tsouramanis* 1988, p. 19).

3.5 The Victim and the Criminal Justice

A recent interesting small scale research referring to the victim in the Greek criminal justice system was conducted in order to study the issue of victim's compensation by the offender as a ground for excluding punishment in certain crimes (*Bekas & Sareli* 1990).

A simple questionnaire, in order to give the opportunity to as many as possible members of the judiciary (public prosecutors, junior judges, judges

of first instance courts and courts of appeal) to participate in this project, was sent to 1,643 persons - the universe of the trying judges in Greece. Yet, only 143 (8.7%) responded.

Leaving aside the theoretical matters of penal law that are raised *de lege lata* and *de lege ferenda*, in this study, one has to welcome the initiative of the writers and the contribution of the extremely small minority of judges who took the time to reply. Despite the lack of an explicit provision in the Greek Penal Code allowing the judge not to sentence the offender who fully compensates the victim, the overwhelming majority of the responding judges answered that, for certain misdemeanours (embezzlement, fraud, etc.), they felt that they usually abstained from sentencing the offender. In this case their decision is based on the grounds of an existing, relevant customary rule (*Bekas & Sareli 1990, p. 479*).

4. The International Crime Survey in Greece

4.1 Introduction

Though originally invited to participate, Greece was one of the few European countries to be left out of the 1989 International Crime Survey (*van Dijk et al. 1990, p. 4*). The reasons for this were mainly economic - as no source of funds was then available - as well as organizational: the project had to be carried out by an academic research team without the involvement of a private research company.

Following a suggestion by *Dr. Helmut Kury* of the Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law (F.R. Germany), the project was finally undertaken in September 1990 jointly by the Section of Criminal Sciences (Dept. of Law) of the University of Athens and the Section of Criminology (Dept. of Sociology) of the Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences.⁸

⁸ The project was funded by the Research Committee of the University of Athens and the Greek Centre of Criminology of the Panteion University in Athens.

The research team comprised of *C.D. Spinellis* (University of Athens) and *A. Chaidou* and *T. Serassis* (Panteion University). Fifteen postgraduate students of the two Departments worked as interviewers; three of them co-operated also in the coding of the questionnaires and the computer data entry.⁹

4.2 Methodology

Telephone Survey: For various reasons it was impossible to comply with the specifications set by the International Crime Survey, as far as the CATI method was concerned: although the telephone penetration for urban areas (Athens, Thessaloniki, Patras) is quite satisfactory reaching a rate of 90%,¹⁰ telephone surveys are totally uncustomary in Greece, even for market research, let alone for a scientific project on such a delicate subject.

The Greek public is not accustomed to surveys and in general demonstrates an extraordinary reservation and lack of confidence; telephone contact would have been thus the worst way to reach them. Two other reasons were the lack of adequate funds and the absence of technical means (e.g. CATI) and previous experience.

Face-to-face interviewing - which was actually suggested for Greece in the 1988 proposal - was chosen as the less problematic method and the only one that could be afforded.

The Questionnaire: The latest version of the International Crime Survey Questionnaire (*van Dijk et al.* 1990, Annex D, pp. 153-171) was used. It was translated into Greek from the English original¹¹ and the necessary changes were made to the wording, in order to "sound" better in Greek and be more easily understandable by the persons interviewed. Two more questions, one concerning the education of the respondent and the other

9 The research team wishes to thank all those who - in one way or another - contributed to the realization of this project: First of all, the graduates who worked with us and devoted so much time and effort; their contribution is certainly invaluable. The two Universities which made this project possible with their economic and technical assistance; and *Dr. Helmut Kury* for his encouragement and helpful advice.

10 The 70% penetration rate given in the original 1988 proposal may be true for most of the areas, but is not correct for the above mentioned cities.

11 In some cases the German version was also consulted.

his/her occupation, were also added. The target year was of course 1990, instead of 1988 which was the target year of the original International Crime Survey.

Sampling: Another serious problem, since the CATI method was substituted by face-to-face interviewing, was how to draw a random sample from the almost three million population of greater Athens (Athens and its suburbs).¹² The sample had to be both totally random and evenly distributed in the various parts of the region of Athens.

After considering a number of techniques, it was decided that the methodologically most appropriate way would be to use the archives of a public utility company. Instead of the Telephone Company, which was used in most countries participating in the International Crime Survey, the Archives of Subscribers of the Water and Sewage Company were finally chosen as having the largest penetration (almost 100%).¹³

They keep computer records of their clients (households) organized by the so-called "itineraries", each one comprising of 19,000 to 33,000 households from different geographical areas; there exist 59 such "itineraries". The Computer Department of the Company assisted by offering their technical advice and drawing out a random sample of one household every 1,400, thus providing the team with a list of 800 households, with random geographical distribution.

A new database was created for exclusive use by the research team: out of these 800 households, 400 were randomly selected for the initial sample¹⁴ and the remaining were reserved to be used as substitutes for refusals and other non-contacts.

Within each "itinerary" 50% of the households were considered "priority A" and were assigned to interviewers, while the remaining 50% were considered "priority B" and were kept as a reservoir. The substitutions

12 According to the 1981 census, 995,880 households with a total of 2,912,490 members live in the area of greater Athens (NCSG 1988).

13 It should be noted that in Greece public utility companies are state controlled monopolies: this means that there exists only one telephone company as well as one company solely responsible for the water supply of greater Athens, with practically every household as its client. Unfortunately, the National Statistical Service of Greece did not allow us to have access to their archives, as these are considered confidential by law.

14 It was estimated that such a sample would be representative for the region of Athens.

should be made within each "itinerary" so as to maintain the random sample and the even representation of the various parts of the city (geographical distribution).

Schedule: The project started soon after Christmas, in January 1991. The preparatory phase lasted approximately one month; the field work started on the last week of February and lasted until the end of April, after a two-week interval during the Easter vacations.

4.3 Field Research

During the first (preparatory) phase, twenty-five interviewers were trained for the project: their training involved a briefing about the project (its purposes, methodology, etc.), readings of the questionnaire,¹⁵ role-playing, and a small pilot study during which each interviewer completed two or three questionnaires. Finally, fifteen of them remained for the field work.

In the meantime an introductory letter, explaining the aim and nature of the project and announcing the forthcoming visit by an interviewer, was sent to every household in the sample.

Priority "A" households (the main sample) were assigned to interviewers who were given a complete list of names and addresses. For reasons of credibility they had with them a copy of the introductory letter as well as an ID especially prepared by the research team. The persons contacted were also given a telephone number at the University for confirmation, but no use of it was actually made.¹⁶

One other problem that had to be faced was that in many occasions the name of the subscriber to the Water and Sewage Company does not necessarily coincide with the name of the inhabitant.¹⁷ In such cases the interviewers were instructed to randomly select one apartment in the same block (no change of address was allowed). On the other hand, many

15 During the readings valuable observations were made as to the intelligibility of the questionnaire and various questions had to be rephrased.

16 In four cases, however, persons who had received the introductory letter informed the team that they did not wish to be at all visited. These were of course considered non-contacts and were replaced according to the standard procedure.

17 This is especially true in the case of rented apartments, where the owner and not the tenant appears in the subscribers' list.

addresses appearing as "households" were in fact apartments used as offices by doctors or lawyers or other professionals. In such cases a random selection - always at the same address - had to be made.¹⁸

Non-Contacts: A replacement (and not random selection) had to be made in case of non-contact.¹⁹ As non-contacts were considered:

- (a) direct refusals - that is when the person initially contacted or the person selected to be interviewed refused to co-operate.
- (b) indirect refusals - that is when the person selected (being other than the one initially contacted) could not be reached or when an appointment was made and the person to be interviewed failed to appear.
- (c) non-relevant contacts - that is when no member of the household was found after three subsequent visits; as non-relevant contacts were also considered the cases when no household at all could be found in the specific address, that is to say when it was a block of offices or other business address (such as shops or factories),²⁰ or the building was not inhabited. In a number of cases the address did not exist at all (it was mistakenly recorded in the archives of the Water and Sewage Company and/or in the printout given to the research team)!

The interviewers were strictly instructed as to the selection of the person to be interviewed, according to a random numbers table (in compliance with the methodology of the International Crime Survey).

Response Rate: The response rate was surprisingly high, reaching the 77%: 520 addresses were finally assigned to interviewers (gross sample), out of which 345 questionnaires were completed and 175 were non-contacts (103 relevant and 72 non-relevant).

18 Though in many cases no household existed in that address (whole block used as office building or factory) and a replacement had to be made. See also footnote (20).

19 As already mentioned the replacements were made within each "itinerary" from the "priority B" reservoir.

20 This was especially the case in the centre of Athens where only a small percentage of the buildings are used as residence.

According to the International Crime Survey Methodology (van Dijk *et al.* 1990, p. 137), the picture is as follows:²¹

Gross sample:	520	
Valid sample:	448	
Completed interviews:	345	77%
Relevant contacts:	103	23%
Refusals:	101	
Communication problem: ^a	2	
Non-relevant contacts:	72	
No person found:	36	
Business address:	22	
Not inhabited:	2	
Non-existent address:	12	

^a one foreigner and one disabled person

Remarks: Several interesting observations were made as far as the field research - and more specifically the responsiveness of the public - is concerned.

The introductory letter proved to be a very helpful factor: In general, households which had already received it were much more willing to co-operate than those who were randomly selected and were then presented with the letter. Though there are no data available, reports from the inter-

21 The calculations were made by using the formula:

$$\text{response rate} = \frac{\text{completed interviews}}{\text{valid sample (completed interviews + relevant contacts)}}$$

viewers show that the latter tended to refuse more often than the former and were in general more reluctant to answer several questions, such as those referring to security measures or personal characteristics.

One other - rather awkward - observation is that households in upper class suburbs tended also to be more reluctant, while middle and lower class areas demonstrated a satisfactory responsiveness.

Finally it should be noted that in many cases the refusals were "indirect", that is to say they resulted from the methodological restriction that the respondent should be randomly selected: Although the person initially contacted offered to co-operate, the person selected was often not available even after an appointment was made. This was, according to the interviewers' reports, the main difficulty of the field research.

As far as the questionnaire itself is concerned, no particular difficulties were reported, apart from the fact that respondents appeared to be somewhat reserved towards questions concerning security measures and/or personal characteristics (outgoing habits, house/apartment ownership, income, etc.).

4.4 Preliminary Findings

Due to lack of time (the field work and the computer data entry were completed on April 29) only some descriptive statistics concerning the personal characteristics of the respondents as well as victimization rates and reporting to police could be available for the present publication.²²

Personal Characteristics: Gender, age, type of residence, income, education and occupation are the main personal characteristics for which data are available.²³

As far as age and gender are concerned, there appears to be a slight overrepresentation of women and older persons: The national ratio according to the latest available statistics (1987) is 49.2% male - 50.8% female, while

22 A more extensive report of the International Crime Survey with a detailed analysis of the results and comparisons with other available data will be published in due time both in Greek and in German.

23 Education and income were two more personal variables included in the Greek version of the questionnaire but are not presented here.

in the sample the ratio is 39.7% - 60.3%. The age group 50+ constitutes 36.0% of the sample while the national percentage is only 24.8%. It can be assumed that those groups were more easily available when selected to be interviewed.²⁴

gender and age distribution of the respondents

age	total	%	male	%	female	%
16 - 19	21	6.1%	12	57.1%	9	42.9%
20 - 24	43	12.6%	14	32.6%	29	67.4%
25 - 29	19	5.6%	10	52.6%	9	47.4%
30 - 34	20	5.8%	7	35.0%	13	65.0%
35 - 39	35	10.2%	16	45.7%	19	54.3%
40 - 44	22	6.4%	3	13.6%	19	86.4%
45 - 49	30	8.8%	17	56.7%	13	43.3%
50 - 54	29	8.5%	12	41.4%	17	58.6%
55 - 59	28	8.2%	6	21.4%	22	78.6%
60 - 64	25	7.3%	11	44.0%	14	56.0%
65 - 69	26	7.6%	12	46.2%	14	53.8%
70 +	44	12.9%	16	36.4%	28	63.6%
unknown	3		1		2	
total	345	100.0%	137	39.7%	208	60.3%

²⁴ See also remark above in 4.3. This assumption is further supported by the fact that an extraordinarily high percentage (almost 50%) of the respondents are not economically active, namely they are students, housewives or pensioners, which are generally easier to contact.

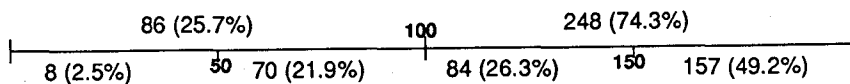
As for the type of residence, it should be noted that in Greece - and especially in big cities like Athens - the only distinction that can be made is between houses (detached or semi-detached) and apartments (flats) in big blocks. This distinction by itself does not allow for conclusions as to the economic status of the owner (a house can be as poor or rich as a flat) or as to how easy access to it is.

According to this distinction, 270 (78.2%) households resided in an apartment while 75 (21.8%) in a house, which is in accordance with the ratio between houses and apartments in Athens. Of those, 255 (73.9%) owned their apartment/house, while 80 (23.2%) were tenants; in ten cases (2.9%) the household neither owned nor rented the apartment/house.

The income limits for the four quartiles (*van Dijk et al.* 1990, p. 60 and 63) were set to 50, 100 and 150 thousand drachmas respectively (110 drs = 1 DM), which unfortunately proved to be very modest estimations, since the majority of the households (157) fell into the upper quartile. The situation is as follows:

Of the 345 households, 248 (74.3%) have a monthly income of more than 100,000 drs. while 86 (25.7%) less than 100,000 drs.; 11 of them refused to answer this question. Of those falling in the lower group, 70 (89.7%) responded that their income is between 50 - 100 thousand drs., while only seven (10.3%) fall in the lowest (under 50,000 drs) group; eight did not respond. In the upper group, 84 (34.9%) responded that their income is between 100 - 150 thousand drs., while the rest (157 - 65.1%) fall in the upper (more than 150,000 drs.) group; seven did not respond.

scale of income



As mentioned above two more questions, one concerning the education and the other the occupation of the respondents, were added in the Greek version of the International Crime Survey questionnaire. The findings are as follows:

Education	no	%	Occupation	no	%
illiterate	5	1.5%	group A	24	7.2%
elementary	80	23.2%	group B	74	22.1%
highschool	42	12.2%	group C	32	9.6%
lyceum	96	27.8%	student	39	11.6%
technical	19	5.5%	housewife	107	31.9%
higher	23	6.7%	pensioner	59	17.6%
university	60	17.4%	unknown	10	
other	18	5.2%			
unknown	2				

As far as occupation is concerned, the economically active ones were categorized in three groups:²⁵

Group A (upper class): industrialists, businessmen, entrepreneurs, executives, doctors, lawyers, engineers and other scientific professions.

Group B (middle class): civil servants, clerks, salesmen, shopkeepers, technicians and other skilled professions.

Group C (lower class): workers, farmers, labourers and other unskilled professions.

²⁵ This categorisation has actually been introduced by Elias Daskalakis (*Daskalakis et al.* 1983, p. 34).

Other not economically active occupations (students, housewives and pensioners) are listed separately. These were in fact overrepresented in the sample for reasons already discussed.²⁶

Victimization:²⁷ Ninety-eight of the respondents (28.4%) were victimized at least once in 1990 and the total number of victimization cases is 116 (33.6%). Of those only 34 (29.3%) were reported to the police.

victimization and reporting to the police by type of crime

crime	no of cases ^a	%	reported to police	%
theft of car ^b	4	1.9%	4	100.0%
theft from car ^b	19	8.8%	7	36.8%
damage to car ^b	24	11.2%	2	8.3%
theft of motorcycle ^c	1	2.1%	1	100.0%
burglary	5	1.5%	1	20.0%
attempted burglary	5	1.5%	*	
robbery	2	0.6%	1	50.0%
pickpocketing	17	4.9%	10	58.8%
sexual offence ^d	27	7.8%	2	7.4%
threat or attack	12	3.5%	6	50.0%
total	116	33.6%	34	29.3%

^a in 1990

^b car owners only

^c motorcycle owners only

^d women only

* data not available

²⁶ See also footnote 24.

²⁷ It should be noted that the victimization rates presented here have not been weighted according to the standard procedure of the International Crime Survey (*van Dijk et al.* 1990, Annex B, pp. 145-149) and are not thus comparable to other available data.

Gender appears to be an important factor in personal victimization (i.e. robbery, pickpocketing, sexual offence, attack/threat). In the case of the purely "female" sexual offences 27 incidents were recorded, though only two of them were actually reported.²⁸ Women were also more often victims of pickpocketing (12 out of 17 cases), while men were rather more involved in attacks/threats (7 out of 12 cases).

personal crimes	male	% of total	% of male	female	% of total	% of female
robbery	1	50.0%	0.7%	1	50.0%	0.5%
pickpocketing	5	29.4%	3.6%	12	70.6%	5.8%
sexual offence ^a				27	100.0%	13.0%
attack or threat	7	58.3%	5.1%	5	41.7%	2.4%

^a women only

The victimization rate of those in the upper income group (over 100,000 drs.) is higher both than that of those in the lower income group (under 100,000 drs.) and the average rate (28.3%):

monthly income	no ^a	% of total	% of group
over 100,000 drs.	15	15.6%	17.4%
under 100,000 drs.	81	84.4%	32.7%
total	96	100.0%	28.3%

^a unknown income: 2 cases

²⁸ Mainly because they were not considered serious (9 cases) or were personally solved (5 cases); in 6 cases it was thought that the police could nothing about it.

The majority of the reasons given for not reporting a crime to the police had to do with the seriousness of the incident and the ability of the victim to solve it personally; another reason given was the inability of the police to do anything in that case.

reasons for not reporting

a.	not serious enough	34
b.	solved it myself	11
c.	police could do nothing	21
d.	police don't do anything	9
e.	didn't dare	1
f.	other reasons	3
total reasons given:		79

4.5 Discussion

Unfortunately, due to the limited elaboration of the available data, no comparisons can be made and very few conclusions - if any - can be drawn.

The limitations mentioned in the report of the 1989 International Crime Survey (*van Dijk et al.* 1990, p. 5), as to its ability to accurately measure the crime rates, the types of criminality investigated, the perceptions of the public as far as criminal issues are concerned, and so on, apply to this survey as well.

The main problem of this project - as of any other similar project - is the representativeness of the sample and the extent to which it is biased due to refusals or other non contacts. This issue has already been discussed above. It is estimated that the face to face interviewing method, which was finally selected, gave much more satisfactory results, at least as far as the response rate is concerned.

Though further elaboration (weighting, statistical significance, crosstabulations, etc.) of the data is needed for a more accurate presentation, some preliminary observations can be made:

Victimization rates appear to be rather high for crimes such as car vandalism or sexual offences,²⁹ while for car and (especially) motorcycle theft they are surprisingly low.

Reporting to the police is quite low in most of the cases, which is explained by the minor importance of the incidents; in contrary, when serious loss is involved - as in the case of theft of car or motorcycle or pickpocketing - the rate is regular.

Unfortunately no data are yet available concerning the attitudes of the public towards crime, criminal, the police and criminal issues in general.³⁰

Apart from these limitations, it is important that this project was carried out in Greece, like in most European countries, and it is hoped that the further elaboration of the data and the comparison with the other countries participating in the International Crime Survey will allow for interesting and useful observations to be made.

5. Conclusions

The study of the victim presents in the last years a remarkable development. Having perhaps reached a dead end, as far as crime and the criminal are concerned, criminologists and penologists turn now to a new source of knowledge and an alternative research subject.

29 Both crimes, however, are quite arbitrary: It depends on each particular person how he / she perceives an incident. Most of the cases of the so called "car vandalism" (22 out of 24) were not in fact reported to the police, mainly because it was not worth doing so. Accordingly, only one case of attempted rape and three cases of sexual assault are mentioned, while in most of the cases (22 out of 27) "offensive behaviour" is reported (in one case there is no answer), which is quite subjective and has mainly to do with the perceptions and toleration of each woman.

30 See note 21.

Though it may not be so recent as usually thought,³¹ Victimology is a very contemporary and quite popular approach, with a considerable amount of theory and research.

What could prove to be dangerous, however, is to bring the victim to the centre of attention and totally ignore the offender and his rights. As already mentioned, a balance is required between the two and actually such an approach could even turn out to be a solution to the penitentiary dead end.

Many interesting attempts, for example, are made in several European countries in the field of mediation. Such initiatives should be further supported and studied. The relation between victim and offender could - at least for minor offences - provide the criminal justice system with an interesting alternative solution to the overload of the courts and the overcrowding of the prisons. A more daring step could perhaps be to remove such cases from the criminal justice altogether and establish a parallel extra-penal settlement procedure, involving the reparation of the victim by the perpetrator.

Many legal and sociological issues arise, which have to be thoroughly studied; more research is necessary both into the role of the victim in the criminal justice system and his/her relation with the perpetrator, and into the social and psychological factors associated with these processes.

The International Crime Survey offered interesting perspectives and the opportunity for comparisons both for victimization and attitudes of the public. Such research should be kept up³² and more discussion should be devoted to the crucial issues that arise.

As for Greece, considerable progress has certainly been made: several research projects have been conducted and a few books have been written on the subject. Many criminologists and penal law theorists occupy themselves with the study of victim and make proposals to both the government and the decision-makers and the legislature. The State needs to realise that both the offender and the victim - and especially the latter - are in need of serious consideration and help.

31 In fact, *E. Ferri* was one of the first to advocate the rights of the victim. In 1885 the First International Congress of Criminal Anthropology issued a resolution on the compensation of the victim. Two years later, in 1887, *Garofalo* published a book titled "Riparazione alle vittime del delitto" (*Yotopoulos-Marangopoulos* 1989, p. 136).

32 The International Crime Survey will actually be repeated in 1992. The Greek research team intends to participate, as long as the necessary funds are found.

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Victimology in the USSR: Theoretical Approach and Empirical Research

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Contents

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1 This article arose during the one-year research break by the second author, at the Westfälischen Wilhelms-University Münster at the Institute for Criminal Science, which is financed by the Heinrich Hertz Foundation. *L. Ivanov* would like at this point, to thank the Foundation and most of all his academic mentor Herrn Professor *Dr. Hans-Joachim Schneider* for his help and support.

History knows many examples of cognitive-inquisitive interest in the victim of crime; victimology as an academic school of thought developed however only towards the end of the 1940s in the 20th century, immediately after the second World War, which itself had caused an unprecedented number of victims. Hence *Hans von Hentig*² can be said to be the "father" of victimology. In addition, *H. Ellenberger*, *B. Mendelsohn*, *R. Wertham* and *A. Fattah*, *R. Gasser* amongst others can be named as founders.

The science of the victim developed as a relatively independent movement within criminology. This is not astonishing, given the special relationship between offender and victim, which is in itself a natural relationship. On the whole, it can be said that this relationship has been reflected upon for many years and is an age-old concept.³ It can be considered as a clear example of the correspondence principle, which was discovered by *Nils Bohr*: The investigation and description of only one side of a relationship, is not sufficient for the purposes of a developed theory.

The emergence of this new academic movement stimulated interest in general in victims, not only of criminal acts but also of natural catastrophes (floods and earthquakes), from accidents and from social processes (revolution, economic crises) and so on. With time, the narrow and wide concept of victimology arose in this area; the narrow concept being concentrated in the sphere of crime itself and the wide concept being concerned with any natural and social symptoms of the victims. The victim over and above this, is understood in a very wide sense to be "any form of material in technical, biological or social form whose normal state of affairs, that is to say whose functioning or operation has been harmed".⁴ The global crises, the escalation of social violence (left and right extremism, international and national terrorism, locally restricted wars), Chernobyl and the threat of radioactive or ecological homicide - all these matters make the development of victimology more topical in the wider sense of its social, socio-psychological, psychological and even psychiatric and other medical aspects. The article to hand merely deals with the problem of victimology in its narrow sense, i.e. criminal victimology.

2 *von Hentig*, H., *The Criminal and his Victim*, 1948.

3 Für einen historischen Überblick s. *Frank*, L.V., *Die Viktimologie und die Viktimität*, 1972 (Russian), pp.8f.; *ders.*, *Verbrechensopfer und Probleme der Viktimologie*, 1977 (Russian), pp. 27f.

4 *Polubinskij*, V.I., *Rechtliche Grundlagen der Lehre vom Verbrechensopfer*, 1979 (Russian), p.10.

The birth and formation of victimology as an independent academic movement, began in the USSR in the middle of the 1960s, i.e. 20 years later in comparison with its conception as a worldwide science. This is not surprising when one considers the extremely problematical position of social sciences in this country, where a totalitarian system and an accordingly undisputed ideology dominate. Even if you accept that a single Soviet scientist would have tried to develop the theoretical foundation of victimology towards the end of the 1940s and beginning of the 1960s, you can be convinced that they would be destined to be branded as "cosmopolitan", "servants of the West" and as researchers who support a "bourgeois pseudoscience". *L.V. Frank*⁵ can be said to be the founder of Soviet victimology. Admittedly, it must be noted that the beginnings of individual, key criminal aspects of the theory of the victim had already been worked out.⁶ The works of *L.V. Frank* represent the basis of inspiration for his successors, amongst whom are *Minskaja, Polubinskij, Rivman, Rybal'skaja* and others. The victimological aspects of crime are dealt with today in almost all text books and criminology courses and also in monographic literature.⁷

1. Theoretical Questions in Victimology

The Soviet scholars classify criminal victimology as a scientific discipline in various ways. For some of them, it is part of the criminology school of thought (*Dagel', Micheev* and others). For the others, it is an independent scientific discipline (*Polubinskij, Rivman, Frank* u.a.). *Polubinskij* for instance, defines criminal victimology as a complex interdisciplinary branch

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- 5 *Frank, L.V.*, Zur Lehre von Persönlichkeit und Verhalten des Verbrechensopfers - Brauchen wir eine sowjetische Viktimologie?, in: Fragen des Strafrechts, des Strafprozeßrechts und der Kriminologie, 1966 (Russian), pp.131f.; ders., Über die Erforschung der Viktimität auf psychologischer Grundlage, in: Probleme der Gerichtspsychologie, 1971 (Russian), pp.44f.
 - 6 Siehe z.B. *Dagel, P.*, Die Schuld des Opfers im Strafrecht, Sowjetische Justiz 1967/6 (Russian), pp.10f.; *Kuznecova, N.*, Die strafrechtliche Bedeutung der Schuld des Opfers, Sowjetische Justiz 1967/17 (Russian), pp.16f.
 - 7 Kriminologie, 1988 (Russian), pp.110f.; Ein Kurs in sowjetischer Kriminologie, 1985 (Russian), Bd.1, pp.168f.; *Mudjugin, G.N.*, Die Erforschung von Mordfällen bei vermißten Opfern, 1970 (Russian); *Zentrov, E.E.*, Die kriminalistische Lehre vom Opfer, 1988 (Russian); *Smicite, Z.L.*, Die Ausnutzung viktimologischer Daten durch Rechtsanwälte im Strafprozeß, Diss./Autoreferat (Russian).

of science, which is a relatively independent form of the general theory of the victim.⁸ "Victimity" is one of the key concepts of victimology.⁹ Within this concept there are the phenomena of two different rules. One of them defines the individual victimity as a characteristic of man, which predetermines him as becoming a victim of crime under certain conditions. Victimity is alternatively defined as a relatively broad concept which represents the results of a crime. If all Soviet researchers are agreed upon this division of the concept, then there are certain differences in so far as the contents of the definition are concerned. The individual victimity according to the opinion of *Rivman*, is an objective property which everyone has independently of whether he was actually the victim of a crime or whether this property or characteristic remains in the area of possibilities. In this way, victimity relates merely to the extent of probability of such an outcome.¹⁰ This theory according to our opinion, is exceptionally useful and mirrors the reality of life. Individual victimity according to the opinion of *Frank*, is the elevated characteristic of a real person, who by reason of a particular status or a particular physical, psychological or spiritual characteristic, becomes the victim of crime, or in other words, his inability to avoid the danger where it would be objectively avoidable.¹¹ *Polubinskij* is of the opinion that the concept of victimity cannot merely be referred to as being something which relates to the victim of crime. It is also a characteristic of every human being. Individual victimity is a characteristic of a real person, according to *Polubinskij*, and this feature is created by means of social, psychological or biological characteristic, or by means of the totality of these characteristics, and which in particular situations in life, encourages the development of conditions, which allows the possibility of damage or injury due to unlawful acts (i.e. not merely criminal) being caused to the possessor of this characteristic.¹² Having distinguished individual victimity, the author distinguishes

8 *Polubinskij*, V.I., *Viktimologische Aspekte der Verbrechensprophylaktik*, 1980 (Russian), p.34.

9 Comment by the translators: The author's use throughout the article of the term 'victimity'. The term stems from *Mendelsohn* (1974) who refers to its vast sphere of meaning, the concept of victimity as the "whole of the socio-bio-psychological characteristics, common to all victims in general" includes, e.g. "the determining of the cause of vulnerability of man". Although other, more common terms could have been used instead of victimity in certain contexts (e.g., victimization, vulnerability) the term has been retained in order to presume the original meaning. H.A./J.S.

10 *Rivman*, D.V., *Viktimologische Faktoren und Verbrechensprophylaktik*, 1975 (Russian), pp.12f.

11 *Frank*, L.V., *Viktimologie und Viktimität* (Anm.2), pp.17, 22.

12 *Polubinskij*, V.I., *Rechtliche Grundlagen* (Anm.3), p.34.

further forms of victimity, namely: between obvious victimity, ("the predisposition" to become the victim of particular forms of crime), group victimity (a characteristic common to particular groups of people, for example children, women, invalids, alcoholics etc.) and mass victimity (the real possibility of a certain crowd of people due to their subjective features, being injured or harmed physically, morally or materially due to violation of the law). *Rivman* makes a distinction between general victimity and selective or special victimity - in relation to certain crimes (this corresponds to the outwardly obvious victimity according to *Polubinskij*) or by reason of special, individual personality features. According to *Rybal'skaja's* view, distinctions within victimity can be made as follows:

- a) the totality of socialpsychological personality characteristics, which are tied up with the peculiarities of their socialization (the victimological distortion of personalilty);
- b) the feature which is defined by the fulfillment of particular social functions (professional victimity);
- c) the biophysical victimity of personality (victimity related to age or sex);
- d) victimity as a result of the pathological state of personality (psychological or somatic illnesses).¹³

If victimity is the precondition for becoming a victim, victimization is the process by means of which the potential victim becomes a real victim because of the existence of victimogenous factors, i.e. the entire circumstances which make a victim a victim (*Frank*). Victimity just as criminality can be characterized by a selection of quantifiable indicators namely figures: the general level of victimization (the number of victims in a given period of time), the structure (the number or rather proportion of victims of a particular type, for instance of crimes of violence, property offenses, traffic offenses etc.) and also the dynamic (the change of the general level and the structure in the course of time). The criminological (victimological) concept of the victim has also admittedly criminal and procedural grounds in the legal concept of the victim of crime (Art. 27, 29, 53 of the criminal procedure law of the RSFSR and the corresponding criminal procedure laws of other Republics of the Soviet Union). However, these concepts are not completely equivalent: The victim in victimology is any and every physical

13 *Rybal'skaja, V.Ja.*, Viktimologische Forschungen im System der kriminologischen Bearbeitung der Probleme der Verbrechensprophylaxe bei Minderjährigen, in: Fragen des Kampfes mit dem Verbrechen, Bd.33, 1980 (Russian), p.33.

or legal person to whom physical, moral or material damage has been caused due to a crime. The victim in criminal procedural law is in contrast, a natural person to whom physical, moral or property damage has been caused by means of a crime, and who is recognized as a victim of crime, by the competent institutions (public prosecutor, court etc., Art. 43 criminal law procedure of the RSFSR). The victimological concept is therefore also understood as one of criminal procedure.

Rybal'skaja attempted to overcome the fact that concepts of the victim in victimology and in criminal law and criminal procedural law did not coincide, by suggesting two classifications of victims: A general-theoretical concept and an operative concept of the victim.¹⁴ The problem however, cannot be solved in this way, because victimology theory has in addition, its theoretical concept of the victim at its disposal and because on the other hand, the criminal and criminal procedural concept of the victim should not be reduced to an operative concept of the victim.

The following themes are ranked by various authors as issues of the criminal victimology research:¹⁵

1. Victiminity as a bio-physical phenomenon (*Polubinskij*), as a complicated criminal law, social psychological phenomenon (*Frank*);
2. the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of people to whom physical, moral or material damage is caused;
3. the victimogenous surroundings (situation, factors), i.e. circumstances and conditions which lead to a more likely possibility of victimization;
4. the nature and the legalities of the relationship between victim and offender (before the crime, during the crime and after the crime);
5. the form and methods of defence of potential victims;
6. the form of compensation for the victim.

The history of this academic movement, its mythology and the methodology of its research, just as the comparative criminology in differing countries, must be included as a subject of criminology. There are differing answers from various authors to the question as to what the fundamental

14 *Rybal'skaja*, V.Ja., *Viktologie und Kriminalität Minderjähriger*, 1980 (Russian), p.15.

15 *Polubinskij*, V.I., *Rechtliche Grundlagen* (Anm.3), p.37; *Rivman*, D.V., *Viktimologische Faktoren* (Anm.8), p.8; *Frank*, L.V., *Viktologie* (Anm.2), pp.6f., 17.

subject of victimology is. Some suggest that this itself is the victimity, i.e. the totality of the characteristics of the person of the victim (*Polubinskij & Frank*), others suggest the victim himself, i.e. the personality, his/her personal relationships with and connections to the prospective offender.¹⁶ There are other questions in Soviet victimology which are very much under discussion. Some researchers are, for instance, of the view that "the guilt of the victim" can be spoken off in such a case where the victim has provoked criminal acts against himself (*Frank, Dageľ' & Kuznecova*); others contradict this viewpoint¹⁷, and suggest that the term "negative behaviour of the victim"¹⁸ must be used. These disputes just as the discussions, which arise from a series of other problems, have, so it appears, a very scholastic component which is in general characteristic of the Soviet criminology theory which for many years has not able to analyse the concrete problems of reality of crime itself.

In spite of these disputes about concepts, and the various solutions presented, it cannot be disputed insofar as these notions are concerned, that the key point in this area of research, must be the problem of the victim, his characteristics or features, his relationship to the offender, his role in the emergence of the crime. The question arises, as to why a given person becomes a victim or a given group of people become victims of crime. Which personal and social characteristics and which forms of behaviour encourage victimization? Soviet criminology has gathered together considerable theoretical and empirical material in order to answer this question. We wish to attempt to generalize the theoretical preparatory work, to some extent (although it is naturally difficult, to separate the results of empirical research from their theoretical interpretation). *Frank* lists as the basis of his understanding of victimity as a "predisposition to becoming a victim", the following personality features, which lead to increased victimity:

- socially related characteristics, moral, value-related orientations, other predispositions (greed, negligence, extravagance and so on)
- individual experiences (knowledge, features, abilities, habits etc.);

16 Siehe Lehrbuch der sowjetischen Kriminologie, 1985 (Russian), p.170.

17 Siehe *Minskaja*, V.S., Das negative Verhalten des Verbrechensopfers - eine Kategorie der Viktimologie, in: Sowjetischer Staat und Recht 1980/7, pp.136f. (Russian).

18 Siehe Aktuelle Fragen der Festigung der Gesetzlichkeit und der Rechtsordnung in den Gebieten der intensiven wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung im Ural, Sibirien und im Fernen Osten, 1979 (Russian), pp.126f., 175.

- individual peculiarities of individual psychological processes (of awareness, of feelings, of intention or will);
- biological-related factors (temperament, instinct, pathological changes and also sex-related or age-related peculiarities).¹⁹

Frank in addition worked out one of the first classifications of victims in Soviet criminology, on the basis of various principles: he differentiates according to the form of the crime (murder, physical injury, sexual crime, property offenses etc.), according to the **subjective side** of the crime (intention or negligence), according to the **relationship between victim and offender** (hostility, friendship, relationships between relatives, work relationships, neighbour relationships, love relationships etc.), according to **social-demographical characteristics** (sex, age, occupation, education, family situation, nationality etc.), according to **psychological characteristics** (trusting, easily influenced, curious), according to **moral-psychological features** (alcoholic, drug dependent, people with high aggressive tendencies etc.), according to the **form and intensity of the damage** (physical, moral, property damage or multiple victim) and also according to "**atypical features**" (self-injury, suicide, voluntary victimization, unlawful abortion etc.). *Frank* worked out the type of "guilty" victim and also the "repeated victim", on this basis, and proved the possibility of the coincidence of offender and victim in one person, for instance in cases of suicide, self-mutilation in order to avoid military service, and other acts of self-injury. He finally points to the possibility of the following inversion, of a transformation, a role change: victim - offender - victim ... (example: A was injured by B; as a reaction, he hits B, B is as a result, seriously wounded ...).

One detailed classification of the victim was worked out by *Polubinskij*.²⁰ He subdivided, aside from those classification criteria already suggested by *Frank*, the victim of crime according to the type of injury caused to him (physical, moral, material), according to the form of relationship with the offender (non-predetermined, predetermined, coincidental), according to the form of the behaviour of the victim during the period of the crime and at the time when the crime was committed. *Polubinskij* subdivided the behaviour of the victim in the last category, as follows:

- active:

- a) the behaviour of the future victim contained elements which itself could be criminally prosecuted;

19 *Frank*, L.V., *Viktimologie* (Anm.2), pp.23ff.

20 *Polubinskij*, V.I., *Rechtliche Grundlagen* (Anm.3), pp.47ff.

- b) the behaviour of the victim is immoral;
- c) the behaviour incites the guilty parties;
- d) the behaviour is directed against the victim himself.

passiv:

- a) victimity by reason of professional, business or social obligations or commitments;
- b) victimity in the fulfillment of duties as a citizen;
- c) victimity as a result of an inability to evaluate the situation;
- d) victimity by reason of an inability or impossibility or unwillingness to defend oneself;
- e) putative victims/"malingerers" (alleged victims).

It has been set out in the works of *Rivman*, that dependent on the behaviour of the victim in the crime situation, the following situation variants are possible:

- a favourable situation, in which the acts of the criminal are provoked as a result of amoral or unlawful behaviour by the prospective victim;
- a favourable situation, in which the behaviour of the criminal is provoked as the result of legitimately orientated, positive behaviour of the victim which backfires upart the victim (example: the victim stands up for someone else etc.);
- a neutral situation;
- an isolated situation (self-injury).

The same author uses the type of victim behaviour as a classification feature insofar as victim classification is concerned, and distinguishes between the following victim categories:

- the aggressive victim, i.e. such people who intentionally cause conflict situations with the prospective wrongdoer by means of unlawful or amoral ways of behaving;
- the active victim, who either causes damage himself or convinces others to do so;
- the passive victim, who offers no resistance and does not defend himself against the criminal attack against him;
- the uncritical victim, i.e. rash, thoughtless victim, who cannot adequately evaluate a situation;

- the neutral victim, who behaves positively and whose behaviour neither caused the criminal acts, nor encouraged them.²¹

2. Empirical Research

In one of the first victimology works of *Frank* from the year 1972, materials from the "Tadzhik SSR" republic are utilised. The author, in the area of murder under aggravating circumstances, comes to the following result, on the basis of the complete materials utilised, namely that the behaviour of the victim in 50% of all cases was the immediate cause of the tragedy. Immoral behaviour of the victim was present in 60% of all cases and morally positive behaviour was present in 35% of cases (standing up for another, or the fulfillment of social obligations). The provoking behaviour of the victim over a long period of time had continued in 43% of cases. A third of victims did not recognize on the other hand, that their behaviour had been provocative to the offender. This is an important fact which once again makes clear, that the "guilt" of the victim is relatively high, and in the overwhelming majority of cases can serve partly or completely to justify the offender in "his actions (an exception is self-defence and excessive" self-defence).

Antonov-Romanovskij and *Ljutov* warn insistently against the possibility of overrating the "guilt" of the victim, especially in cases of rape into which the authors have carried out a study which was devoted to the problem of victimization and morals.²² The everyday observer has a tendency to justify the actions of José who kills Carmen, or to justify the behaviour of Pushkin'schen Allegro who kills Semfira in a similar situation, because the women behaved "unthankfully" towards their lovers. In this way, it can be overlooked, that everyone has the uncontested right to choose his or her partner. From the point of view of morals (we do not wish to talk about criminal law) Carmen and Semfira, and not their murderers, behave morally. In this way, the criminological evaluation of the behaviour of the victim of rape, must allow recognition of the rights of a woman, just as a man, to define of her own accord, the intimate relationship, and accept her right to behave in a given situation, in such a way as she might consider to be necessary and permitted, most of all in "sexually strained" or "risky"

21 *Rivman*, D.V., *Viktimologische Faktoren* (Anm.8), pp.99ff.

22 *Antonov-Romanovskij*, G.V., *Ljutiv*, A.A., *Viktimität und Moral*, in: *Fragen des Kampfes mit dem Verbrechen*, Bd.33, 1980 (Russian), pp.40ff.

situations.²³ It is interesting to note here, that the fundamental work "Introduction to Soviet Criminology" does not share this viewpoint; the above authors are criticized, because they undermine the criteria of a moral evaluation of the behaviour of the victim (instead of norms and principles of socialist morals, the vulgar anarchy of the so-called group or personal morals are introduced) and because the behaviour of the victim is set apart from the concrete everyday situation which directly precedes the crime.²⁴

Returning now to *Frank's* book. The author classifies the victims in the research into murder under aggravating circumstances already mentioned, according to age and comes to the following conclusions: 2.2% of the victims were up to 14 years old, 4.4% 14 to 17 years, 37.8% 18 up to 29 years, 51.2% 30 up to 49 years, 2.2% 50 up to 60 years and 2.2% older than 60 years. 24.4% of the victims were married women or cohabitees of the offender, 4.4% were married men or cohabitees, 20% were relatives and 4.5% were friends or neighbours at anyone time, a further 22.2% were acquaintances and 20% were unknown people. *Frank* produced further victimological data for other crime categories apart from murder. Whereas for example 90% of those causing severe physical injury, are men, 52% of victims are men and 48% are women, and insofar as 10 female criminals are concerned, 9 of their victims are men. The victims of severe physical injury can be set out as follows: spouses and cohabitees, 36%; relatives, 11%; friends, 13%; neighbours, 8%; work colleagues, 9%; acquaintances, 3%; unknown, 20%.

An extensive empirical research of criminological characteristics of the victim of severe violent crime, was carried out by the colleagues of the Allunions-Research Institute for the Problems of Strengthening Socialist Legality and legal system (research institute of the "Department of Public Prosecution" of the USSR) under the leadership of *Alimov*. A total of 4,500 criminal procedures relating to murder, which were committed in the year 1987 in 60 regions of the territories of the RSFSR (the RSFSR has in total 73 regions) were investigated. The data collected, point to the following distribution amongst victims: 12.5% spouses, 11.8% cohabitees, 17.7% relatives, 9% neighbours, 5.5% work colleagues, 34.2% acquaintances and 9.2% unknown. Quite obviously, the data set out here, are similar to those already quoted, apart from a number of differences (for instance in the last study, the proportion of unknown victims is relatively small). In a similar study which was carried out by *Polubinskij*, the empirical data appears as

23 Ebd., p.43.

24 Lehrbuch sowjetischer Kriminologie (Anm.14), p.181.

follows: 44.3% of victims were related to the offender, 28.5% were well-known, 27.2% unknown or scarcely known; in respect of severe physical injury, the parallel data are 25.3%, 41%, 33.7% respectively. Insofar as rape is concerned, 11% of victims were relatives, 17% were friends, 50% known to the offender and something more than 22% unknown.²⁵ On the basis of the empirical results of the same author, 48.9% of victims of murder, more than 50% of victims of physical injuries and 49% of victims of rape provoked the crimes committed against them or created favourable conditions for these crimes at least by means of their own negative behaviour (threats, insults, fights, alcoholism, carelessness and others).²⁶

Rivman carried out extensive empirical research into murder, in the city areas of Leningrad.²⁷ In the studies 58% of the victims were men, 42% women. The age structure of victims was as follows: 7% of the victims up to 14 years old, 4% 15 to 18 years, 9% 19 to 25 years, 26% 26 to 30 years, 25% 31 to 40 years, 8% 41 to 50 years, 13% 51 to 60 years and 8% older than 60. Negative behaviour prior to the crime was established predominantly in the age group from 26 to 30 years, 19 to 25 years and 31 to 40 years; significantly less was the figure relating to minors. Amongst the victims 10% had an academic education (completed or incomplete), 26% had finished secondary school, 40% had not completed secondary school and 24% had merely a primary or elementary school education. The reduced possibility of, or complete absence of resistance was established insofar as 31% of victims were concerned (12% because of illness or physical weakness, of which 1% were mentally ill, 12% because of sleep and 7% because of their minority). Apart from that, 41% of victims were under the influence of alcohol at the time of the crime. Finally, 48.5% of all victims had been drinking at one time with their prospective murderers. The home of the criminal forms the place of the crime in 10% of cases, the home of the victim in 25%, the home of a third party in 5%, the common home of both victim and offender in 27% and public places in 33% of cases. According to data from *Rivman*, the behaviour of the prospective victim was neutral in 23% of cases in 7% of cases positive (protection of third parties against an attack in 2% of cases, prevention of breach of the law in 5% of cases), in

25 *Polubinskij*, V.I., *Rechtliche Grundlagen* (Anm.3), p.43.

26 *Polubinskij*, V.I., *Kriminalviktologie - was ist das?*, 1977 (Russian), p.18.

27 *Rivman*, D.V., *Einige kriminologische Aspekte der Persönlichkeit und des Verhaltens des Verbrechensopfers*, in: *Kriminalität und ihre Verhinderung*, Bd.III, 1978 (Russian), S.48f.

70% of cases negative (attack on the prospective wrongdoer in 14% of cases, insult, fight or humiliation in 12% of cases and others from a moral standpoint exhibiting reprehensible ways of behaviour in 44% of cases).

As we can see, the research of *Rivman* quite clearly indicates a high percentage of negative victim behaviour (70%). *Panfilov* comes to the same result in the area of everyday crime.²⁸ *Alimov* and *Kudrevic* introduce more specific conclusions into the same area and in addition to the conclusions drawn here. The research carried out by them points to a significant predominance of socially positive or neutral forms of behaviour insofar as the victim is concerned shortly before the commitment of the crime and also in everyday life (i.e. in domestic spheres) just as in recreation areas (i.e. amongst friends, in the park, in the court-yard). The data from these authors²⁹ show that criminal acts were in approximately in every sixth or seventh case, "a particular response" to legitimate, but coance actions in the form of insulting statements or behaviour of the victim. The extent of such manner of behaviour by the victim is reduced by almost a third in the sphere of leisure time and this, according to the viewpoint of the researcher can be explained by the following established facts. The period of the existence of hostilities in the relationship between the prospective offender and victim, as a part of the network of general domestic interrelationships, is longer than six months in almost 60% of cases. In addition, almost every third party who was the victim of a crime had more than a three-year period of hostilities with the person convicted. The following table indicates more clearly the results of the research cited:

According to *Alimov* and *Kudrevic*, the "typical" victim in relation to the crime committed within recreational spheres, is a person who either came into contact with the offender immediately before the crime, or does not know the offender in any way at all. The proportion of this group of people constitutes 72.3% of the total number of victims. The proportion of victims in the sphere of the neighbouring general public spread evenly amongst neighbours and those close acquaintances of the offender (7.2 and 6.7%, respectively).

28 *Panfilov*, G.A., Zum Inhalt des Begriffs des Heimverbrechens, in: Fragen des Kampfes mit dem Verbrechen, Bd.26, 1977 (Russian), S.61.

29 *Alimov*, S.B., *Kudrevic*, T.I., Zur Charakteristik der Situation von Gewaltverbrechen in Heim und Nachbarschaft, in: Erforschung und Verhinderung von Kriminalität in einer jungen, sich entwickelnden Stadt, 1981 (Russian), S.84f.

Table 1:

Behaviour of victim directly before the crime	domestic area %	leisure-area %
socially useful and active	29.3	36.1
active and legitimate however in insulting/offensive form	14.9	5.7
neutral	41.9	41.8
amoral	7.9	7.2
unlawful	1.4	5.1
without showing off	4.6	4.1
Total	100.0	100.0

The fact that specific causal relations exist between the form of the crime, how it was committed and the motivation of the criminal on the one side, and the peculiarities of the victim on the other side, was illustrated empirically by the results of an extensive study of crimes of particular severity.³⁰ The research group under the leadership of *Zakaljuk*, worked out amongst other things, that a completely different picture of the more detailed circumstances of crime is illustrated by every criminal type. In a large number of murders and in particular cases of tabuse, the victims were relatives, acquaintances, frequently minor children, and the background of the crime was also known to the offender. The use of violence was not likewise unusual. The picture is completely different insofar as armed robberies are concerned. More than 70% of the offenders did not know the victim in any way, 15% were briefly known to them, and the background in which the crime itself was committed, was varied. Of 10 prospective rapists, who committed the crime with particular cruelty, 7 scarcely knew the victim or not at all; in two out of three cases, the victim followed the criminal however into his home, where the crime itself took place. As the authors noted, the background of those particularly cruel crimes researched (esp. murder, abuse and sexual crimes), was in spite of the great differences in the majority of cases favourable for the criminal. These circumstances, which were favourable to the offenders, were very frequently the result of the high extent of victimity of the victim. For instance, insofar as the victims are concerned,

30 Verbrechen mit besonderer Grausamkeit (wissenschaftlicher Überblick über die Resultate einer Forschungsarbeit), 1989 (Russian), S.28.

more than a half in the case of murder, a quarter in the case of sexual crime and a third in the case of abuse were not sober and therefore could not make any or merely passive resistance.

As a conclusion to our brief overall review of the results of a series of empirical research studies carried out, we wish to introduce some interesting data about the level of victimization of the population in the city of Leningrad. All three surveys, whose results we are illustrating here, were chosen according to social scientific selection criteria, and are representative. In 1983, the Research Institute for Complex Social Research in Leningrad University, carried out an investigation in which, 2,400 people were questioned. As a result, 5.6% of those questioned, reported, that they had been a victim of a crime in their youth. In 1989 a research group under *Gilinski*, carried out a study, in which 2,770 people were questioned as to whether they had been as adolescents, victims of criminal acts. As a result, 22% of the general population, 14% of school children (8.-11. class) and technical college students, 23% adolescents from reform institutions and places of temporary custody, and 12% of school and technical college lecturers, replied affirmatively to this question.

In November 1990, 21.3% of those questioned in a survey of 800 people, gave a positive answer to the question "Were you, someone close to you or your property or rather, the property of someone close to you, the victim of a crime in this year?"; the survey was carried out by *Afanas'ev*. In the following, we report a few correlations between the extent of victimization and the social demographical characteristics of the victim; the data is based on a survey carried out in 1990 in the city of Leningrad.

Table 2:

Respondent Characteristics	Victims %	Kramer Coefficient K
population as a whole	21.3	
women	26.1	0.09
men	18.5	
Elementary School Education	17.2	0.10
Further School Education	21.2	
Further School Education with occupational qualification	16.7	
University Education	26.0	

<i>Table 2 (continued)</i>				
Respondents Characteristics			Victims	Kramer Coefficient K
Single			24.8	0.10
Married			22.1	
Divorced			24.1	
Widowed			10.5	
Income up to 100 Rubel			19.3	0.19
Income from 101 to 150 Rubels			14.0	
Income from 151 to 200 Rubels			17.4	
Income from 201 to 250 Rubels			21.4	
Income from 251 to 300 Rubels			22.1	
Income more than 300 Rubels			37.0	
Psychological personal safety	Position/concerned	about	25.0	0.15
Psychological personal safety	Position/unconcerned	about	13.6	

It is therefore clearly illustrated that there is a particular risk group in the population in Leningrad with regard to victimity namely men (single or divorced) with a university education and a monthly income of more than 300 Rubels.

3. The State of Victimity in the USSR

The report about the problem of Soviet victimology would be incomplete, if we did not touch on every question which demonstrates the relevance and importance of the research, of all of which affect the victim of crime. This relevance can be demonstrated in the best way with figures, which point to the general loss of lives as a result of homicide offenses and other premeditated or negligent offenses in the USSR. Until 1988, there were no general statistics concerning the victims of crime published in the USFR, and the data which was given, was never published in the public press. This incomplete picture in the statistics was criticized in literature.³¹ Today however, there is much statistical data available and we wish to discuss them now. According to official data,³² the number of deaths as a result of various

31 *Zabrjanskij, G.I., Städtische und dörfliche Viktimisation, in: Viktimologische Probleme des Kampfes mit der Kriminalität, 1988 (Russian), S.15f.*

crimes amounts to 52,901 in 1988 (i.e. 18.6 per 100,000); the corresponding figures in 1989 are 66,626 i.e. 23.3 per 100,000. In 1988 16,702 people (5.9 per 100,000) died as a result of premeditated killings and in 1989, 21,467 people (7.5 per 100,000). We have more precise data relating to the number of death victims due to traffic accidents and fires.

Table 3: Victims of Traffic Accidents

	1971	1975	1980	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Number of persons injured	199,455	234,795	235,847	256,456	259,998	267,131	297,605	347,402
number of persons killed	40,557	46,771	48,935	41,337	39,012	39,697	47,197	58,651

The number of those injured increased 1,7 times in the period from 1981 and 1989, and the number of death victims increased 1,4 times. The increase in the figures between the years 1987 and 1989 is particularly significant.

Table 4: Number of Victims and of Material Damage Relating to Fires

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Number of victims	10,682	11,066	8,679	8,603	8,500	9,135
Loss (in 1,000 Rubels)	256,477,6	318,460,7	293,528,8	296,417,0	338,923,5	455,704,2

Whilst the number of victims more or less remains constant, the material damage suffered, has risen in the course of 6 years by 77.7%. We can therefore conclude, that the total number of victims (crime, traffic accidents and fires) amounted in 1988 to 108,595 people (38.2 per 100,000), and in 1989 134,412 (46.9 per 100,000). The figure for suicide in the USSR amounted in 1988 to 55,519, and in 1989 to more than 60,000 people. In comparison, we would like to say that the general death rate per 100,000 people in the population, amounted to 1,015,4 people; the number of cancer

victims contributes 161,5 to this figure, the number of those dying from heart attack or coronary diseases 564,6, and the number of suicides 19.5.³³ We can set out the figures in respect of deaths caused by traffic accidents in 1989, as follows: 37.4% were the drivers of the vehicle, 31.7% were pedestrians, 26.5% were passengers, 3.7% were cyclists and others amount to 0.7%; the analogous figures for those injured amounted to 34.3%, 31,2%, 30.5%, 3.6%, 0.4% respectively. The age structure of the victims and those injured are shown in the following table:

Table 4:

Age	Deaths (%)	Injured (%)
up to 6 years	4.1	3.8
7-14 years	4.0	7.3
15-16 years	1.4	2.7
17-26 years	20.3	26.8
27-41 years	36.4	32.7
42-60 years	21.4	18.3
older than 60 years	12.4	8.4
Total	100.0	100.0

Unfortunately, there is no other generalized data available which characterize the victim of a crime, and accordingly the implementation of both local and also extensive regional empirical research work whose results can form a solid basis for the implementation of steps to reduce victimization and limit damage, is necessary.³⁴ The main point of this overall view of

33 Die Bevölkerung der UdSSR im Jahre 1988, 1989 (Russian), S.496f.

34 It must also likewise be said that victimology research provides material for the decision of the question of individualizing the punishment with consideration being put to the negative behaviour of the victim. This can be seen for example in the analysis of the work of the courts namely insofar as commitment of severe crimes are concerned, the courts regularly pronounce a lenient punishment in such cases where there is negative behaviour by the victim, in comparison with those where the behaviour of the victim can be said to be not negative in anyway, see *Minskaja, V.S., Strafrechtliche und moralisch-psychologische Aspekte der Viktimologie*, in: *Sowjetischer Staat und Recht 1985/7* (Russian), S.85f. In law, such possibilities of lenient sentencing, cannot be expressly allowed; it is however justified with words such as "reasonable circumstances".

some empirical studies carried out and their results in the area of victimology, was to make the reader familiar with the results of these investigations, without generalizing more than is necessary.³⁵

4. The Prevention of Victimity

In spite of the new knowledge about the problem of prevention within the context of victimology and the necessity of its independent analysis, there are already some works which discuss the questions presented here.³⁶ A scientific approach to the problem distinguishes, in the first instance, prevention in a general form, e.g. education of the population about the law itself, the removal of victimogenous factors, the correct anti-alcohol politics, the production of organizational-technical means of defense for the population as protection against attacks, a corresponding correct set of rules, increasing reliability and "user friendliness" of public transport etc. Any academic start takes account in addition, of individual steps which guarantee all possible safety to individuals with a high "victimization risk". It is also immensely important that the fact that crime as well as victimization, are normal in the Durkheimian sense, is becoming generally understood: There cannot be a society without one or the other phenomena. It is therefore necessary to recognize as something which is realistic, the possibility that one can become a victim of crime, and it is necessary to a certain degree, not to act completely helpless in one's role as a victim. There are various measures which can be taken, for instance, organizing ways of calling for assistance, for example burglar alarms in cases of danger, self-defense training or forms of social control within society amongst others. Finally, the problem of state compensation for the victim of crime is of greater

35 The basic difficulty with which every researcher is confronted in the area of the serious analysis of the results of Soviet empirical victimology, is the problem of the selection of material, i.e. the selection of each of the materials, which in relation to methodology, representativeness, correspond to the strict criteria of empirical social science research. Several authors provide almost no information over their means of investigation.

36 So z.B. *Bluvstejn*, U.D., *Zyrin*, M.I., *Romanov*, V.V., *Die Verbrechensprophylaxe*, 1986 (Russian), S.265f., (Kapitel 13: Viktimologische Aspekte der Verbrechensprophylaxe); *Nurtajev*, R.T., *Der Kampf mit Fahrlässigkeitsverbrechen*, 1990 (Russian), S.179f. (Kapitel 5: Die Effektivität viktimologischer Maßnahmen der Einwirkung auf Fahrlässigkeitsdelikte); *Rivman*, D.V., *Viktimologische Prophylaxe: Ihre Besonderheiten und ihr Ort im System der kriminologischen Verbrechensveränderung*, in: *Fragen der Kriminalitätsprophylaxe*, 1978 (Russian).

significance in the USSR, and is directly tied up with the problem of victimization. State compensation or indemnification as it exists for instance in Austria, England, Germany, France, Sweden, Australia USA and other places, is one of the many ways which a state and its law-preserving institutions can protect the citizen from criminal attacks. If the state could not guarantee protection of its citizens, it is then (materially) responsible to him. This does not exclude, of course, the state's right to be reimbursed by the criminal.³⁷

37 Siehe dazu genauer *Savickij, V.M.*, Das Verbrechenopfer: Zur Erweiterung seiner Rechte und zur Verstärkung seiner prozessualen Möglichkeiten, in: *Sowjetischer Staat und Recht 1986/5* (Russian), S.80f.

Victimological Research in Israel: Past and Current Perspectives¹

Simha F. Landau, Leslie Sebba

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1 This paper is dedicated to the memory of *Israel Drapkin*, teacher, colleague and friend, and one of the pioneers of victimology.

1. Introduction

Israel has played quite a significant role in the development of victimology as an independent scientific field of inquiry. First, we are honoured to have among us one of the founding fathers of victimology, *Benjamin Mendelsohn*, who, in his relentless efforts and writings since 1937, has greatly contributed to the evolution of victimological thinking and research. Second, Israel hosted the First International Symposium on Victimology, which was held in Jerusalem in September, 1973. This symposium, organized by the late *Israel Drapkin*, and the five volumes of its proceedings published subsequently (*Drapkin & Viano 1974b*) can be seen as a major milestone, perhaps even as the official "date of birth" of victimology as a recognized field, which deals with the many aspects related to the victim: theory, research, social policy, legislation, victim assistance programmes, etc. Today, victimology is taught in all major Israeli universities and a growing number of scholars devote their research efforts (including Masters and Doctoral theses) to this field.

Some unique features related to Israel's history and political situation are also reflected in victimological research in this country. The fact that many Israelis are first or second generation holocaust survivors has focussed the attention of Israeli social scientists on many facets of the effects of the holocaust on its victims. Similarly, the ongoing security tension in Israel, and the constant exposure of the Israeli population to politically motivated terrorist attacks is also reflected in studies on the effects of terrorism victimization. Some aspects of the Palestinian uprising ("intifada") during the last few years can also be dealt with from a victimological perspective. However, apart from these aspects unique to Israel, much of Israel's contribution in this field falls within mainstream victimology.

In the following pages we will attempt to provide an analytical review of major victimological research in Israel in the last fifteen years (approximately), after which some projections about the future will be made. The studies reviewed here are organized according to the major directions taken by victimological research in Israel during the period covered in this article.

2. Victim Surveys

So far, only three national victim surveys have been conducted in Israel: in 1979, 1981 (*Central Bureau of Statistics* 1981 and 1983, respectively), and in 1986 (*Ministry of Police* 1990). These surveys, which comprised representative samples of about 5,000-6,000 Jewish households each, cannot be seen, however, as representing the total population as they excluded the Israeli Arab population (within the pre-1967 borders) which amounts to about 18% of the total Israeli population. This shortcoming should be rectified in future victimization surveys in Israel (a fourth survey is currently in progress).

The trend of victimization in Israel according to the three completed surveys is not very consistent: The total percentage of household victimized in the country rose from 24% in 1979, to 27% in 1982, and then dropped to only 19% in 1986. Similar to findings in other countries, the majority of victimizations were related to crimes against property (including motor vehicles), while offences against the person comprised only a much smaller proportion (about 7% of total household in 1979, 9% in 1981, and only 4% in 1986). These surveys reveal that while almost all crimes against dwellings and motor vehicles were notified to the police, about half of the crimes against the person were not reported to the police.

The 1986 survey, the only one of the above three to investigate attitudes related to victimization, reports that females feel less secure and perceive themselves as being at greater risk of victimization than males. Similarly, individuals who were victimized are less satisfied with the police than those who were not. *Hassin* (1984) analyzed cases of victims of housebreaking and burglary (in the 1979 survey) who did not report to the police. Her findings show that about half of the victims (47%) refrained from complaining because the offence was considered too slight to bother the police, while a similar proportion (48%) explained their failure to complain in terms of police inefficiency.

Fishman (1979) conducted a victim survey in Haifa (the largest city in the north of Israel), covering both upper-middle class as well as lower class neighbourhoods. The multivariate analysis of his data revealed that the notification of crimes to the police is not dependent upon the residential neighbourhood of the victim, nor upon his/her attitude towards law enforcement, but rather upon the degree of damage or injury suffered by the victim.

Fishman's conclusion is that the reasons for non-reporting are diverse and specific to each type of offence, and socio-economic status (as inferred from the victim's residence) can be of little predictive value in this respect.

Geva (1988) reports special public opinion surveys (conducted repeatedly in the major urban areas in the country) with regard to reporting crime to the police. The findings reveal that a high proportion of respondents feel that one of the significant reasons for people not reporting crimes is the fear of "getting involved with criminals". The percentage of people giving this reason as cardinal for not reporting rose from 17% in 1969, to 30% in 1986, and 44% in 1988. Thus, the fear of crime, not as a direct victim, but in the context of secondary victimization (i.e. "getting involved" with criminal elements) seems to be one of the main reasons for the lack of cooperation with the police. In the 1988 survey the most prevalent fear of crime was related to property crime (61%), followed by personal assault (20%), criminals who live in the neighbourhood (11%), and terrorist action (6%).

3. Victimization of Children

Children are one of the most vulnerable groups in society. Consequently, a number of Israeli studies have focussed on the victimization of children. Three major types of victimization are of relevance in this context: sexual abuse, violence and neglect. Quite often children fall victim to various combinations of these three types of victimization. Israeli studies on this topic have covered mainly the first two: sexual abuse and violence against children.

Ben-Ami (1978) investigated cases of children (under the age of 14) who filed a complaint to the police on sexual abuse. One of his main findings was that the great majority of the children cooperated with their attacker, either actively (48%) or passively (34%). In most of the cases (76%), there was no previous acquaintance between the victim and the offender. This finding contradicts that of a later study (*Eden* 1984), which reports that in more than half of the cases (52%), the child victim and the offender were not strangers to one another. As to the child's cooperation with the offender, this later study reports that only in about one third (32%) of the cases did the victim cooperate with the offender. The above contradictory findings clearly indicate the need for more methodologically sound research on this topic.

In this context it is worth mentioning that according to Israeli law the testimony of children under the age of 14 who are involved in sex offences

(either as victims or offenders) is usually presented in court by a specially appointed youth interrogator. This person (usually a social worker or psychologists) interrogates the child and has the authority to permit the child's appearance in court if, in his/her judgment, this will not affect in any way the child's welfare. *Eden* (1984) reports that in only 29% of the cases in his study were children allowed to testify in person in court.

A topic related to child sexual abuse which, so far, has drawn much less research attention in Israel is that of incest. In her analysis of this phenomenon, *Ayalon* (1984) emphasizes the awkward position of the girl who is the victim of incest. She cannot win: either she betrays her father's secret by appealing for outside help, or she keeps the secret, and remains the object of a perverted relationship. According to *Ayalon* (1984) the only approach that can keep the family intact in incest cases seems to be family therapy whereby a new balance is sought for within the family system.

Child battering, which is now recognized as a major social problem, is receiving increasing attention by Israeli researchers. As in other countries, there are no reliable official figures as to the extent of this phenomenon. *Zimrin* (1978) reported that battering behaviour towards children was found in 2.2% of a sample of 4,000 families that she investigated.

As to the etiology of child battering *Zimrin* (1982) views the battered child as the victim of a problematic relationship between the parents who turn the child into their scapegoat and an outlet for their own frustrations. *Aleksandrowicz-Kroll* (1986), on the other hand, found that most battered children were problematic, either due to their personality traits or as a result of developmental abnormalities. *Gassel* (1984) reports that abusing parents are lacking in parenting skills (by comparison with non-battering parents), while *Rom-Keizman* (1987) found a positive relationship between maternal stress and physical abuse of children. *Garbarino* and *Guttman* (1986) take a more comprehensive approach by showing an interrelationship between factors relating to the family, the parents, the adolescent and the community at large in explaining adolescent abuse.

As to methods of coping with the problem, *Zimrin* (1982) reports that well planned action by social workers and volunteers resulted in detecting and reporting many unknown cases of child battering. An important source of information on this phenomenon are the medical staff in hospitals and child clinics. *Savaya-Pinchas* (1984) found that even in rather obvious cases, doctors are quite reluctant to label battered children as children at risk and/or report such cases to the proper authorities. As might be expected, the decision of welfare officers to refer children in need to the court for protection is mainly influenced by the degree of harmfulness of the parent's behaviour and/or the harm inflicted on the child (*Biran* 1986).

With regard to the prevention of child abuse, *Zimrin* (1978) examined various ways of changing the mother's battering behaviour by planned professional intervention. This was accomplished by exposing mothers to positive mothering behaviour ("modelling") and changing the mother's opinion about battering behaviour (from approval to rejection). Her results show that a combination of modelling and opinion change seems to be most effective in modifying mothers' battering behaviour.

4. Battered Women

The growing awareness in Israeli society as to family violence has produced a number of studies on this topic, particularly on spousal violence. Much of this research was conducted on women seeking help from battered women's shelters and advice bureaux. *Lev-Ari* (1986) investigated the characteristics of a sample of 595 women who had contacted a major centre for the prevention of family violence. This sample cannot be considered as representative or random as it includes only those women who chose to expose themselves and seek help from an official agency. Their age ranged from 16 to 68 but most of them (79%) were between 23 and 43. In about 3 out of 4 cases (77%) the husband had exclusive access to the common monetary resources (i.e. total economic dependence of the woman). Violence between the couple usually erupted immediately after the marriage or after the birth of the first child. Almost one third (31%) of the battered women were housewives (i.e. economic dependence, lack of alternatives). On the average, the battered women are of higher education than their husbands although among the battering husbands, there are also white collar professionals (physicians, teachers, architects etc.). About one third (32%) of the women reported having been raped by their husbands, and in about one out of six cases (17%), the battering caused a miscarriage. In more than half of the cases (51%) medical treatment was needed as a result of the battering.

Studies which compared battering to non-battering husbands report a higher level of unemployment, alcoholism, drug abuse and a lower level of impulse control among the former (*Steiner* 1990; *Ziv* 1989). Battered women, on the other hand, differ from non-battered women mainly in their lower self-esteem (*Steiner* 1990).

The dynamics of the relationships between battered women and their spouses has been investigated in several studies. *Eisikovits* (1991) interviewed spouses who remained together after the husbands physically abused their wives. He found that in cases where the wife actively rejected violence,

she employed various strategies to change the power balance and reframe the event. On the other hand, in cases where the woman accepted violence, continuity was stressed and little, if any, effort was invested in bounding the violent event, thereby minimizing it and making it part of everyday existence. Avni (1987) utilizes social exchange and symbolic interaction theories in her analysis of the relationship between battered women and their spouses. According to this analysis, the initial step taken by young women towards becoming a battered wife stems from a position of inferiority to the husband, thereby placing him in a position of power. This fact influences the entire marriage in all its aspects. The first occasion that the wife is beaten marks the start of the violent relationship. From then on, the marriage is characterized by an escalation of aggression. The crisis leading to the escape to the shelter occurs when existential danger is sensed. Whether they choose to return to their husbands (as is usually the case) or to sever the relationship, it is always as a result of a new exchange-relation with their husband. This change is accompanied by the emergence of a new self, born in the shelter, which is stronger, more positive and independent than before.

In a later study Avni (1991) analyzed the economic exchange between battered women and their husbands. She reports that more often than not, it is the wives who bear the burden of providing for the family, in addition to their housekeeping duties.

In a follow-up study of women who had been in battered women shelters, Epstein and Marder (1986) report that the shelter, which provides the battered women with both physical and emotional protection, creates significant changes in their attitudes towards themselves, their husbands and towards violence in general. In another follow-up study (Paynton & Sali 1986) women who were in a shelter reported improvement in their subjective feelings as well as a substantial decrease (and even total elimination) of their husbands' violence.

Burganksy (1989) compared battered women residing in a shelter to those who stayed at home and received support in the community. Her results show that while the self-esteem of the women in the shelter was higher, the women in the community had a higher sense of self-fulfilment. These results indicate the possible advantage of dealing with the problem of spousal violence without breaking up the family.

As to the effectiveness of special treatment workshops in changing the behaviour of battering husbands, results so far are not conclusive. While Siegel, Pinton and Ovadia (1989) report positive results, no such change was found in the study of Siegel (1988). It seems that much more effort has to be invested in seeking appropriate methods for the reduction of spousal violence.

A topic that has been much less investigated is the response of official social control agencies to spousal violence. *Lev-Ari* (1986) reports that in most (63%) of the cases she studied, women refrained from complaining to the police. However, even in those cases where a complaint was filed, more often than not (in 60% of the cases) the police did not take any action whatsoever against the battering husband. In a more recent study, *Landau* (1988) investigated all cases of spousal violence known to the police in Jerusalem in 1987. His main finding was that in the great majority of cases (87.3%) such complaints are merely recorded on a special card index and no criminal file is opened. Only in 12.7% of the cases is a criminal file opened, and cases are prosecuted in court in only about one out of ten complaints (9.4%). *Zamir and Slush* (1988), in their analysis of the same sample, found that among lower class couples, the proportion of criminal files opened was double that among middle-upper class couples (15.3% vs. 7.3%, respectively). The above disturbing findings call for a revision in the response of the police to this problem. Indeed, a significant change in police practice regarding spousal violence is under way following a recent report of a committee headed by the Deputy Attorney General (*Ministry of Justice* 1989).

5. Sex Offences

Sex offences (and particularly rape) are among the most researched topics in the victimological literature. The classical work of Israeli criminologist *Menachem Amir* (1971) on patterns in forcible rape in Philadelphia can be seen as a milestone or starting point in the scientific-quantitative research on this phenomenon. *Amir's* (1971) work was followed by numerous studies of the same subject matter all over the world, including Israel. *Alon* (1978) conducted a study on 71 cases of forcible rape in the Tel-Aviv district. He reported a great resemblance between his findings and those of *Amir* (1971), and attributes the crime of rape to a large extent to the subculture of violence. One of his findings in support of the above assertion is that in 69% of the cases on which information was available, the offender had a previous criminal record. The victim, in most cases, was in her teens or early twenties. In the encounter that led to the rape, most victims agreed at first to accompany the rapist upon his request. Most of the victims (out of fear) showed no physical resistance to the rape, which was usually committed with the use of force.

Gimshi (1981) investigated 50 cases of group rape from all over Israel. Group rape was defined as a criminal event in which a woman is raped by

one or more men and when two or more people are present during the rape. Usually this situation involves two or three men, in a regular social encounter, on a weekend, mostly in the summer, in the early evening, with the willing participation of the victim and without any use of violence. In most cases, there is prior acquaintance between the victim and the offenders. Frequently, alcohol or drugs are present. At a later stage of the encounter, violence is used, following the refusal of the victim to engage in sexual intercourse with one or more of the offenders. Sexual humiliation of the victim is not infrequent in these cases. The victims are usually unmarried young adolescents of low education, unemployed or working in low status occupations (manual or service jobs). Most group rapes take place in the victim's neighbourhood. Due to the threatening nature and the violence used in this rape situation, most victims do not resist physically. Nevertheless, about half of the victims were slightly wounded. No legal action was taken in about half of the cases. This may be related to the fact that half of the victims did not report the offence immediately to the police or to anyone else. Most offenders in this study (as in the previous one) had a previous criminal record. *Gimshi* (1981) views group rape as an extreme manifestation of a criminal life style, characterizing some lower class groups, whose members share norms of deviance and violence.

Victim-offender relationships in the rape situation were specifically investigated in several Israeli studies. *Ben-David* (1980) conducted clinical interviews with 57 convicted rapists. She reports that very few rapists show any emotional consideration towards their victims, and in those instances where such consideration was shown, no actual sexual intercourse took place. The rapist perceives his victim as an object and not as a person. In cases where the victim succeeds in making the offender relate to her as a person, the chances of preventing the actual rape increase.

Landau (1977) investigated the rape offender's perception of his victim. The rapist's basic attitude to the event is one of denial or neutralization of responsibility. A great majority perceive the victim or their own "special" state of mind (including being under the influence of alcohol or drugs) as the reason for committing their crime. Most offenders deny causing any suffering to the victim, perceive their victim as completely or partially guilty and are unwilling to compensate her.

Nelkovski et al. (1988) studied the attitudes of professionals to various aspects of the rape situation. Their study included emergency room medical staff, police rape investigator, volunteers in rape crisis centres and social science students. In general, women in all groups scored higher in opposing the notion of "victim contribution" and in blaming the rapist for the event. As could be expected, subjects from the rape crisis centres represented the

explicit feminist view which totally opposes the concept of victim contribution, emphasizing that any situation can lead to rape and generally viewing rape as a "social disease" (i.e. related to factors such as social values and stereotypes, mass media, etc.). An interesting finding is that police officers who underwent special training for dealing with rape victims expressed views much closer to those of the rape crisis centre subjects than to those of regular police officers.

Legal issues related to sex offences have resulted in a number of research projects. Following the English legal tradition, Israel used to have a strict rule preventing the conviction of a rapist on the basis of the complainant's evidence alone, and in the absence of corroborating evidence. (Indeed, the rule was stricter than in England, where such a conviction could take place provided that the jury had been warned of the "danger" of convicting in such circumstances.) In the 1960's the Israeli Ministry of Justice commissioned a study on the effects of this rule, from the Institute of Criminology in Jerusalem. It was found that of complaints of rape and indecent assault with force lodged with the police, only 18% resulted in conviction for the offence alleged, while a further 16% resulted in conviction for a lesser offence (Sebba 1968/1974). The absence of corroboration featured prominently among the reasons given for the failure to prosecute, or for the defendant's acquittal.

A further study based upon the same sample differentiated between victims whose complaints resulted in conviction, and who could be said to have been designated as "genuine" victims by the criminal justice system, and the remainder, whose status as victims may be considered to have been "doubted" by that system (Sebba & Cahán 1975). Statistical associations were examined between the outcome of the case and various socio-demographic, offence-related and circumstantial variables. It emerged from this study that the "doubt" held by the criminal justice agencies was associated with a number of factors apart from the absence of corroboration, in particular the location of the alleged event (the most cases were "doubted" if the victim was on the offender's premises at the time, the fewest cases were doubted if the parties were on "neutral" territory), victim-offender relationship (prior acquaintance increased "doubt"), or delay in reporting (most cases were closed if the delay exceeded 24 hours). Other related studies by the same author include a follow-up of the criminal careers of the "genuine" and "doubted" defendants (unpublished), and an analysis of the debate surrounding the modification of the corroboration requirement (Sebba 1983).

While these studies developed from the initial focus on evidentiary problems related to sex offences, the study of *Hoshen* (1986) was concerned

with a substantive issue, namely the attitude of the penal law to "victim precipitation". The author studied a large sample of rape cases which were appealed to the Supreme Court in which an element of victim contribution was alleged, and found that in many cases the court acquitted the defendant, or substantially reduced the sentence, in view of such allegations or indications. The author's conclusion was that the law should recognize victim precipitation as a factor reducing the severity of the offence (a view strongly opposed by feminists), and that this would result in a lower acquittal rate, since the courts would have the option of convicting for lesser offence.

6. Victimization of the Elderly

The increasing growth in the proportion of the elderly in the population in modern society has focussed the attention of social scientists to a variety of issues related to this segment of the population, including their greater vulnerability to various crimes. *Katz-Shiban* (1984) analyzed data relating to the elderly from a national victimization survey, and also conducted a more extensive study of 200 elderly persons who had been victimized. The rate of reporting to the police in this sample was quite low - only about one third of the cases. The main reason for not reporting was the perceived inefficiency of police in dealing with previous complaints. In a further analysis of her data, *Katz-Shiban* (1989) arrives at three profiles of elderly victims:

1. Those who accept the legal status of victim but neutralize the negative labelling by doing nothing other than reporting the crime to the police.
2. Those who, in addition of accepting the legal status of victim, also use protective behaviour but make no change in their social interactions.
3. Elderly victims who not only accept the negative labelling of victim but continuously strengthen it by displaying changes in their social actions and using avoidance behaviour. This negative self labelling, through the acceptance of the role of victim, is most dangerous to the well-being of the elderly victim.

Milzenson (1984) focussed her analysis on the fear of crime among the elderly who were victimized. Her findings reveal that the home is actually the main focus of chronic fears among the elderly.

The relationship between the fear of crime among the elderly and their physical and social environment was investigated in the study of *Shalboub-Kevorkian* (1987), conducted in the Armenian Quarter in the Old City of

Jerusalem. In this study, subjects who live within the protected area of the Partriachral compound (which is surrounded by a high wall) were compared with those who live in the open area of the Armenian Quarter. As could be expected, subjects living in the open area expressed a much higher level of fear of crime, perceived themselves as being at greater risk of victimization, and used more protective devices in comparison to those living in the protected compound. These subjective feelings reflected reality: The rate of crime in the open area is indeed considerably higher than that in the protected compound. The inhabitants of the protected compound were involved also more in community activities and received more social support.

Active coping, in the form of introducing physical protection devices in the home, seems to help reduce fear of crime among the elderly, as was shown in the study of *Glickman-Yeheskeli* (1984).

An important way to overcome the negative effects of victimization is by seeking and receiving help from social agencies. The picture in this respect is far from being satisfactory. *Eidelman* (1984) reports that two thirds of elderly victims in her sample did not ask help from public agencies in spite of the fact that more than half of them admitted to being in need of help. The main reason for refraining from applying for help was lack of information regarding the availability of such help coupled with lack of confidence in the willingness of the services to provide it. *Lowenstein* (1989), whose study focussed on the elderly victim and the social services, concludes that her findings present a gloomy picture of the response of the social service network to the plight of elderly victims. They indicate the extent of the disbelief in the responsiveness of the service system to the needs of the elderly. She recommends that the various agencies should attune themselves to the specific needs of elderly victims, including the development of special victim assistance programme.

7. Victimization to Terrorism

Since the establishment of the state in 1948, the Israeli civilian population has been regularly subjected to terrorist attacks, either from across the border or from within the country. In this respect, the total Israeli population can be seen as victims of the security-related stress in the country. The need to take precautions and to be on guard keeps the people constantly aware of the continuous threat to their daily routines. The permanence of the threats of war and the lifetime commitment of Israeli men to national service in the

military have a considerable effect on Israeli society. In the present review, however, we will deal only with studies related to people who were personally victimized by terrorist activities.

Ayalon and Soskis (1986) conducted a six year follow-up of five survivors of a major terrorist incident in which three Palestinian terrorists killed 22 hostages and wounded 56 before being killed themselves. After six years, all the subjects continued to experience significant negative feelings and thoughts related to the hostage incident, and three out of the five clearly met the diagnostic criteria for post traumatic stress disorder. The survivors (who at the time of the incident were pupils of a religious school) reported that religious thinking and behaviour as well as helping, taking care of and sharing their thoughts and feelings with other survivors, proved to be the most useful coping techniques, both during the hostage situation as well as six years later. On the other hand, post-traumatic therapy and other services were not judged as helpful by these subjects. Family support and guidance were mentioned by four out of five survivors as important in their coping with the trauma they underwent.

Dreman and Cohen (1982) describe two case studies of families of victims of terrorist attacks. Much of the trauma precipitated by such events is a result of their suddenness, their salience in the public consciousness and the consequent stigma they produce towards survivors and/or relatives of victims. Therapy in these cases concentrated on promoting family strength and coping, and deemphasizing individual pathology. In a follow-up of children whose parents were killed in terrorist activities, *Dreman* (1989) reports that ten years after the trauma, these subjects still demonstrated considerable psychopathology which was hypothesized as emanating, in part, from unresolved fears of loss of control experienced at the time of the traumatic event. One of his main conclusions is that early abreactive intrapsychic intervention may help prevent long-term pathology, but interpersonal intervention may also be necessary to prevent manipulative antisocial behaviour.

8. The Holocaust

It is impossible to review victimological research in Israel without paying attention to the unprecedented cataclysmic event in human history - the holocaust. Although this horrendous event took place half a century ago, its implications are still felt today and much of the related research is contemporary. An extensive literature has developed in Israel and elsewhere on the traumatic effects of the holocaust experience on survivors - now being

expanded to include second and third generation survivors. Most of this literature is psychological/psychiatric, and is too extensive and diffuse to summarize here.

In the last decade alone, more than one hundred empirical studies on various aspects of this topic were conducted in Israel. Many of them report long-range detrimental effects of the holocaust on the survivors and/or on the second or third generations. For example, *Ben-Shushan* (1985) reports that the self esteem of holocaust survivors is lower than that of comparable subjects who did not experience the holocaust. Interestingly, survivors who are members of kibbutzim (small scale collective settlements with a high degree of social cohesion and support) showed a higher level of self-esteem than survivors in urban areas.

Nathan (1981) characterizes parents who are holocaust survivors as being more overprotective and anxious in their relations with their children. Empirical evidence shows also that children of holocaust survivors tend to internalized feelings of anger and aggression and have problems in their ability for direct expression of these impulses (*Gleitmann* 1982; *Nadler et al.* 1985).

It is worth mentioning, however, that a number of studies show that, inspite of their traumatic experiences, most holocaust survivors and their offspring show quite normal social readjustment and that the level of pathologies among them does not differ significantly from that found among comparable control groups (e.g. *Bar-Yaakov* 1988; *Harel et al.* 1984; *Kav-Venaki & Nadler* 1981; *Rieck* 1987; *Robinson & Hemmendinger* 1982).

Apart from the "victim-harm" aspect of this topic dealt with by most of the above literature, some of the literature relates to the "victim-offender relationship" aspect. In particular, researchers have been concerned with the question of Jewish resistance to the Nazis. For example, *Gershuny* (1980) compared holocaust survivors who fought as partisans with concentration camp survivors. The findings revealed that active coping strongly affects the family's attitude to the holocaust. In the partisans' families, there was more open and direct communication about the holocaust, their children expressed more positive attitudes towards holocaust survivors, and the parents showed a higher degree of Jewish identity, compared with the concentration camp survivors.

Finally, one of the present authors has been concerned with the question of *compensation* in this context. Reparation agreements were concluded between post-war Germany on the one hand, and the state of Israel and other representatives of the Jewish people, on the other. These agreements and their implementation raise interesting questions as to the symbolic (as well

as the practical) significance of compensation and its effects on the victims' perceptions of the perpetrators, as well as their desire for vengeance. The theoretical aspects of these questions have been discussed in an earlier victimology symposium (*Sebba* 1982) and an empirical investigation of this topic is presently under way.

9. Discrimination, Victimization and the Socio-Political Structure

The Israeli social structure is characterized by a number of conflicts, in particular in the area of religion and ethnicity. Specifically, the main conflicts are between a) religious and secular Jews; b) Sephardi Jews of Middle Eastern and North African origin and Ashkenazi or Western Jews; and c) Jews and Arabs. We must differentiate here between Israeli Arabs and the residents of the occupied territories since the respective conflicts between the Jews and these two groups differ in character and history.

The conflicts referred to here give rise to various manifestations of victimization. It should be noted, however, that much of such victimization is not criminal - but rather social or economic discrimination. The victimization label is thus appropriate only if employed in its wide sense (see, e.g. *Young-Rifai* 1982). Furthermore, much of the documentation on this topic is on the level of investigative journalism rather than academic research. We shall endeavour to focus here on the more academic sources so far as possible.

Religion: Israel has a minority of ultra-orthodox religious Jews ("Haredim"), who, due to their being coopted into government coalitions, are often able to impose their views on the majority. (See e.g., the recently imposed prohibition on pig-breeding). They generally seek to reside in homogenous areas where they will not be disturbed (particularly on the Sabbath) by non-observant Jews. Where they form a majority of the residents in a particular suburb, pressure may be put on the non-orthodox residents, to conform with religious precepts - or to move out of the area. The study of *Farber* (1987) explored the experiences and attitudes of such a minority, who reported constant harassment and violence against them.

Community: The Sephardi (oriental) community, which now constitutes a majority of the Jews in Israel (although the current wave of Russian immigrants may alter this balance), mostly immigrated after the creation of the State, the prevailing culture having been determined by the western immigrants who constituted the majority of the population - and in particular

of the leadership - at that time. As a result, the Sephardi residents have often been perceived as victims of discrimination. Studies conducted by *Rahav* (1976) and *Landau* (1979) sought to determine how far the criminal justice system discriminated against Sephardi juveniles vis-a-vis their western counterparts. *Landau's* multivariate analysis seemed to refute *Rahav's* earlier finding as to the exercise of discrimination by the police when deciding whether to prosecute juvenile suspects; the higher proportion of oriental minors prosecuted was explained by other factors, such as seriousness of the offence and previous record. A paper by *Cromer* (1976) has examined perceptions - in a victimological context - of the so-called Black Panther movement, which sought political power on the basis of the supposed discrimination of the oriental community.

Ethnicity: Approximately one-sixth of the Israeli population within the Green Line (excluding the administered territories) is Arab. There is no evidence of a high degree of criminal victimization on the part of this group, although there is little direct documentation of this topic as the victimization surveys did not include the Arab population in their ambit. Agencies dealing with special categories of victim, such as battered women and sexually abused children, report a relatively low representation of the Arab population, but this may be due, at least in part, to a reluctance to report such acts to the authorities (*Cohen* 1989).

There is some evidence that the criminal justice system operates more strictly in the Arab sector. Thus, *Haj-Yahia et al.* (1978) found that the probability that the probation service would recommend that a file be closed, or that a lenient sentence be imposed, was much higher for Jewish than for Arab juveniles. However, this was due to the stricter approach of the Arab probation officers (who deal with the Arab juveniles) and might, therefore, be regarded as a "cultural difference" rather than discrimination or victimization. Similar findings were reported with regard to probation recommendations for adult offenders (*Cohen & Palmer* 1985). Studies of court sentencing practice have produced evidence of harsher sentences being imposed on Arabs, but the findings are not uniform in this respect. This is the conclusion drawn by *Cohen* (1989) in his recent overview of these studies; but *Cohen* points out that the perception of discrimination is aggravated by the lenient treatment accorded to Jews in a few notorious cases of Jewish terrorist acts committed against Arabs.

On the other hand, there is more specific evidence of discrimination against Israeli Arabs in other areas, including both law and administrative practices. These areas include agriculture and social, educational and health services. In particular, the fact that as a matter of policy most Israeli Arabs are not drafted for military service results in their exclusion from many

benefits which are restricted to veterans and their families. The scope of the discriminatory laws and policies has recently been documented in a study sponsored by the Ford Foundation (see e.g. *Kretzmer* 1988; *Al-Haj & Rosenfeld* 1988).

The absence of equal services in the administered territories cannot be considered discriminatory (and thus presumably does not amount to victimization) since international law does not require the occupying power to extend its own laws to these territories; indeed it prohibits this. On the other hand, victimization by "abuse of power" would seem to have more serious dimensions here.

The use of military force to suppress the Intifada has resulted in many deaths and injuries, often of children or innocent bystanders, as occurred in the wake of the Temple Mount riot (*B'Tselem* 1990b). A recent publication of *B'Tselem* (an Israel-based human rights organization) indicates that the number of deaths inflicted by the authorities from the beginning of the Intifada until May 1990 reached 748, of whom 183 were children (*B'Tselem* 1990a). Definitions, interpretations and records may differ according to perspective. A recent comparative analysis shows that the estimate of fatalities varies among the reports of the Israel Defence Forces, *B'Tselem*, and the Palestinian Research Centre; generally those of the army are the lowest, and those of the Palestinian Research Centre are the highest (*Benn* 1990). The number of these cases which can be classified as "victimization" or "abuse of power" will of course depend upon the definitions adopted for these terms; but there have been some indisputable cases of criminal victimization in which military personnel have been court-martialled and convicted for such abuses. However, most of the literature on these has tended to be in the nature of political and legal analyses (e.g. with regard to the defence of "superior orders" - see *Symposium* 1991), than of victimological research in its more usual meaning.

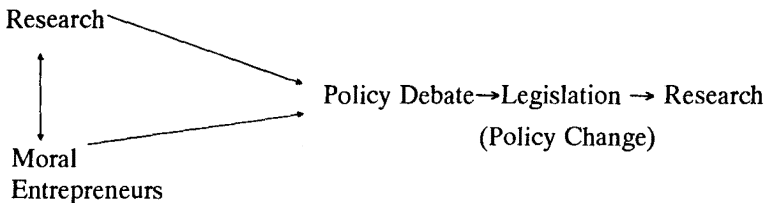
An exception, in this respect, is the work of *Shalhoub-Kevorkian* (1988, 1989a, 1989b) who describes and analyzes the detrimental consequences of the Intifada on the Palestinian population, particularly on children. In these studies, based on in-depth interviews with children, the author focusses on their physical and psychological suffering, documenting (among other things) cases of maltreatment of minors in detention centres, including fear of sexual abuse among girls. The author also provides an outline of the necessary actions to be taken by mental health professionals in order to help the children and the community at large to cope during these stressful times.

References may also be made in this context to descriptions of the military justice system in the territories which leave open the possibility that an innocent suspect may on occasion be punished as the result of the inadequacies of this system as it is presently functioning (*B'Tselem* 1989).

Other studies have focussed on acts of terror committed by private individuals or organizations in both the Arab and the Jewish sectors. Another topic on which statistics have been collected is the phenomenon of intra-ethnic victimization: An estimated 216 Palestinians have been murdered by their fellows for alleged collaboration with the Israeli authorities (*B'Tselem* 1990a).

10. Whither Victimological Research?

In the concluding section we shall endeavour to indicate current and future trends in victimological research in Israel. For this purpose one must distinguish between areas of victimological interest or social activism, and those which are likely to be researched. For this purpose some model is required for determining the relationship between research and other forms of interest or promotion of the relevant topics. The following model is tentatively suggested as "working hypothesis" for the purpose of the ensuing analysis:



According to this model, research, as it appears on the left end of the model, is an independent variable, which may be the result of any individual's whim, and thus is almost impossible to predict. On the other hand, research, as a dependent variable (at the right end of the model), is likely to be stimulated by legislation - or the adoption of policy change by other means. Policy change is generally the outcome of a policy debate, such as may be reflected in the report of a public committee. Policy debate may in turn be stimulated by research, or (and probably more frequently) by "moral entrepreneurs" or "moral crusaders" - possibly interacting with research; for research alone may prove inadequate to stimulate a significant policy debate

without an element of entrepreneurship. An example of moral entrepreneurship in the victimological context is provided in the analysis by *Paul Rock* (1986) of victim policy in Canada, focussing in particular on the role of *Irvin Waller*.

On the basis of this model, we will now suggest possible victimological developments in Israel. In this context it seems possible that three "profiles" may be identified, according to the nature of the subject matter. These may be tentatively labelled (a) "moral crusader" topics, (b) "national-political" topics, and (c) "mundane" topics.

"Moral Crusader" topics: The victimological literature has been dominated in recent times by a focus on three sectors of the community perceived to be particularly vulnerable to victimization: women, children and the elderly. Israeli victimology has proved to be no exception, as evidenced by the research reviewed in the previous pages. In the first two areas in particular moral crusaders have been active, advocating the rights of women and children, and promoting welfare programmes and legislation for their protection. In some cases, the same individuals have been engaged in both academic research and the administration of programmes or their promotion (*Lev-Ari* for women, *Zimrin* for children). This phenomenon is somewhat less true of the elderly, who seem to attract fewer "crusaders".

The results of this activity have included, in addition to the establishment of organizations and programmes to protect the populations concerned, the convening of public committees on such topics as domestic violence (*Ministry of Justice* 1989), and the role of youth interrogators in the protection of sexually abused children (*Melamed* 1987; see generally *Harnon* 1988). Similarly, legislation recently adopted has extended the definition of rape to certain non-violent forms of sexual exploitation,² and has expanded the role of youth interrogators to cases of non-sexual abuse of children by their parents.³ There has been less activity of this nature on behalf of the elderly (as expected in view of the lesser amount of crusading), but the legislature has recently granted a generalized protection to all "helpless" persons,⁴ defined as "... a person who by virtue of his/her age, ill health, physical or psychological limitation, mental handicap or for any other reason, is unable to provide for his/her own living needs, health or welfare."

2 See secs. 345ss of the Penal Law 1977 (as amended).

3 See *Penal Law* (Amendment no.26) 1989.

4 Physical, mental, or sexual abuses of such persons attract high penalties. Further, the law imposes a duty to report to the authorities abuses committed by persons responsible (*ibid.*).

Our model would suggest that this activity on the policy level would be calculated to stimulate further research in these areas - in addition to that which would be conducted independently of such policy changes.

"National-Political" topics: Under this heading we refer to a number of areas of victimization which are particular to Israel, and which, as indicated by the foregoing review, have played a significant role in Israeli victimology. What distinguishes this category from the point of view of the analytic model presented above is that no **individual** moral entrepreneurs or crusaders are required to place these topics on the national policy agenda - , or, indeed, on the academic research agenda independently of current policy issues. These topics, the existing research on which has been reviewed above, may for convenience be classified, in terms of their relationship to Israeli society, as follows: (i) **structural** victimization - race, religion, community; (ii) **ephemeral** victimization - terror; (iii) **historical** victimization - the holocaust. The place of these topics in future victimological research seems assured.

"Mundane" topics: This refers to all those universal aspects of victimology which have generally not attracted the limelight, e.g., compensation for the burglary victim, or notification of victims as to the proceedings being taken against the suspect. (This might be referred to as the "nitty-gritty" of victimology). Such topics have received relatively little public attention in Israel. Nevertheless some progress has been made largely owing to the presence of a low visibility "entrepreneur" in a key policy position in the Ministry of Justice (*Yehudit Karp*): hence, e.g., a radical reform of the restitution provisions of the Penal Code.⁵ Such topics, in dire need of evaluation, regrettably attract little research. The academic community has a special responsibility to initiate research on such topics.⁶

In addition to the above three areas of victimological research, each of which was attributed a different "profile", consideration may also be given to a fourth profile, namely, academic research which is oriented primarily towards conceptualization, and only indirectly related to policy. Israeli contributions here include the pioneering work of *Mendelsohn* (see above), *Sheleff* (1978) on the bystander, and more recently, the first author's article

5 These provisions radically increased the amount of restitution payable, and imposed upon the state the burden of implementing court orders for restitution.

6 A doctoral dissertation is now being undertaken which will compare the victim's role in Israeli criminal procedure with his/her role in an European country.

on victim typologies (*Landau & Freeman-Longo 1990*), and the second author's analysis of the victim and the parameters of justice (*Sebba 1989*). Hopefully, Israeli victimology will continue to contribute on this universalist level. Perhaps even the conceptualization employed in this article may be considered a modest contribution to this literature.

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Selected Questions in relation to Victimological Research in French "Schwarz" Afrika

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1. Introduction

Merely three studies have at present thrown light upon the field of criminology in "Schwarz" Africa and these have originated from three Northamericans and one European. Similarly, only a few scientific articles in relation to this theme, have been published. The danger therefore rises, that this theme of "Crime and Development" is dealt with, on the whole, from the point of view of the northern countries. This remark, made recently by *Guy Houchon*, describes the actual position of african criminology, very well.

Whereas theoretical research has remained limited, crime has risen sharply in the last 20 years. Alongside economical justification for this, the main reason is the lack of enforcement of formal systems of control. New forms of crime have arisen (e.g. juvenile prostitution, drug trafficking, and in particular the emergence of gangs) due to the increased class distinctions and population movement. The burglaries and assaults are becoming more frequent in the cities of Black Africa.

This is happening in a situation in which police officer corruption is becoming an everyday event. However, we are speaking here of the most obvoius crime which is formally prosecuted in many states in Black Africa. No more than 10% of these offenses succeed in reaching the criminal Justice System.

In spite of a lack of reliable studies, it must be noted that these forms of crime are influenced by the process of modernization in which the traditional institutions are destroyed and particular old customs are criminalized. This is one of the reasons for the increasing rate of crime. Another reason is the criminalization of a number of traditional behavior customs e.g. witches, festischism, traditional forms of dowries, burial and initiation rites. Introduction of criminal laws against these customs has brought about strong retaliation by the black african society against this modernization which they cannot understand. This "modernization" has brought about 2 forms of crime:

- 1) Crimes against customs and traditions amongst the Africans.
- 2) The new forms of crime mentioned above.

Analysis does not simplify the fact that phenomena such as witches, fetishism, are not only the monopoly of the population of the countryside but also affect the town people who have an education.

Whereas informed social controls are effective in the rural community but cannot claim for authority of power, the modern system of Justice, although it has the full authority of power, lacks the necessary recognition.

In this way, we can agree with *J. Pinatel's* statement in 1981 which claims that Black Africa is a melting pot of a multitude of many forms of crime, which gives cause for confusion.

My task lies, against this complex background, of describing, in brief terms, the position of the victim. I believe that a systematic study of the victim according to the period, from and specificity of the crime, would be a rewarding perspective for African criminology.

I will come more quickly from there to the following questions:

- a) Should I attempt to show in my study, what consequences the outlawing of the traditional legal system and traditional views, had upon the African society? The traditional legal system attempted most of all to atone for guilt and to resolve feelings of hate and revenge between victim and offender and the victim's family. The disputing parties looked for a just and speedy solution which offered compensation for the victim by means of procuring the advice of the elders.

The modern legal system, which is based upon punishment of the offender by prison sentencing, is regarded negatively by the African society, because the victim plays practically no role at all in relation to adjudication of the case.

- b) Should I attempt, based merely upon a number of classical victimological theories, to work out the peculiarities of African victimology. I would then have used the following theories as a basis:

aa) the theory by *von Hentig* (1948) which are based upon 3 concepts:

- the offender-victim relationship (the doer-sufferer);
- the potential victim;
- the specific relationship between offender and victim (subject-object-relation);

bb) the theories of the youngest of the victimology pioneers *Ezzat A. Fattah*;

cc) the typology of *Kaiser* (1981) which I will explain in detail;

- dd) the postulate proposed by *D. Szabo* in "the new interpretation of criminology".

Without deviating far from the theories cited - in any way - I have limited myself to historical and described statements, because, as already said by *Yves Brillon* 1980, it would be illusory to understand and describe the phenomenon of crime and social reaction to it in Black Africa, without considering the problems from a dynamic and historical perspective.

2. Crime and the Concept of the Victim in Pre-colonial Black Africa

Knowledge from ethnology and sociology confirm that the methodological structure of criminology, which can be distinguished at three levels, namely criminality, crime and the criminal, is not unapplicable to the pre-colonial societies in Black Africa.

Particular authors go so far as to claim, that in Black Africa, relatively precise criminal tendencies have existed since the pre-colonial period, which were only partly changed by the enormous political, economical and social changes.

Corre already devoted a significant part of his "Criminal Ethnology" to colonial Black Africa. He remarked that for the period of 1853 - 1861, there was a fairly low level of crime. He recognized however, the very old character of several types of crime and the methods with which they were handled. It is quite clear that african criminology has gone past the stage of discussion as to whether it is or isn't necessary to research the former "past" of the black african society, and devotes itself to the precise types of crime and the period in which they were committed, and also the reasons for the facility with which these particular forms of crime adapt and get these dimensions which were known today.

Finally, one must remember, that the pre-colonial communities of Black Africa, point to a fairly high extent of stability? The traditional customs, based upon prohibition and taboos, guaranteed the internal order and defined relationships between the individuals, the sexes and age groups. The fact that the culture was merely passed on by word of mouth, from generation to generation, meant that the political, religious, economic, and legal functions along with that of education, belonged to a great extent, to the older people who were veracious trustees of the oral tradition.

3. Characteristics

I will not deal here to the judicial conception of the conception of the "victim" but rather its criminological conception, which takes account of more subjective criteria alongside the material facts and objective criteria, and which allows the causal elements, which are attributed to either the delinquents, the victim, or society, to be set out in a realistic way (*V. Hentig* 1948). The victim, in traditional pre-colonial african community, was regarded on the whole as an integral and essential part of society.

Likewise, the crime did not always depend upon the interaction and relationship between the criminal and the victim but rather upon the situation in which a person finds himself in a reflex of revenge which is performed by the tribe to which he belongs. In Black Africa, one considered not only the acts which caused the blood of another to flow, to be a crime, but also every act committed which affected or insulted one or more of the family, clan or tribe.

It was very difficult at this time, to distinguish between a criminal act and a civil act. For example, breach of clauses in a contract between 2 people, and on the other hand, a murder, were penalized by compensation in a private form, in favour of the person or community, who or which had suffered the damage or injury. It is possible to regard the criminal law of this society in the way in which not crime but rather damages, would be handled. In the main, criminology must refer to the victim, because knowledge about the delinquent and the reasons for his crime is only possible to gain in the relationship to the victim him-/herself and the gravity of the crime.

There were more forms of crime: those against the person, and against property, and those against customs and traditions.

3.1 Crime and Offences against People

If one spoke at this point in time, about crimes against people, it related to "blood crimes", one must however distinguish between those which were committed intentionally, and those which were regarded as ritual acts. Amongst these crimes, we can list adultery, poisoning, homicide and physical assault and injury.

We must remember that crime of society, such as ritual poisoning, was not penalized by compensation, and merely illustrated a strong and engaged act of a family in favour of the clan. The fact that there was no written law to protect people, meant that everyone sought the necessary protection within their own family. In the absence of recognised criminal jurisdiction revenge was the only weapon with which one could defend oneself.

Example

If rivalry existed between two people, and the honour or self-respect of one of them was at stake, the most impulsive of the two, hidden from view, and armed with a stick, observed his rival until he could attack him without the victim being able to defend himself. This was the moment in which the tribe stepped in. It was the task of the victim's clan to bring proof of the guilt of the suspect. The victim's tribe then presented an ultimatum. The people from the ranks of both clans then gathered together in counsel, to choose a judge and to pass judgement upon the crime.

If, in contrast, the criminal who committed the murder, was caught in the act by members of the victims clan, he was punished with violent and immediate death.

If the murderer committed the crime against one of the members of his own clan, he was driven out. This meant that he had to leave the community and ask for protection from another tribe. He had the status of a slave, in this new tribe.

In traditional African society, adultery was regarded as a most serious crime. To commit adultery, meant breaking one's vow of loyalty, which was solemnly given by the wife before the living and the dead. Adultery, in relation to all populations in West Africa, was a breach of promise by the two guilty persons.

Poisoning was regarded at this time, as being on the same level as adultery. Poison was very often made use of at this time. The victim of poisoning was revenged in the same way by the clan, if guilt was established.

3.2 Offences against Customs and Traditions

The fact that these societies had many customs, according to various peoples, can be limited to a number of examples: the exhumation of bodies and breach of a prohibition which related to particular trees and animals, and are called "the possessions of the people". The panther was regarded by the Bobos (in Mali) as a possession of the people and likewise the Boa

constrictor by the Timene (Sierra Leone). A hunter lost his right of property in the wild, as soon as he killed one of these protection giving animals, and was regarded as a criminal and immediately presented before a special court.

3.3 Offences against Property

As I have already emphasized, property belongs in general, to all members of the clan. However, if a member of another clan used this joint property, this constituted an attack upon the property. Arson and theft were committed the most frequently in relation to crimes against property.

Arson was committed mostly by those who wanted to take revenge. However, the most likely motives were bad relationships which existed between people. If a man had abducted a woman in order to live with her somewhere else without informing her clan, a member of the woman's family could offer of his own free will, to set fire to the house of the abductor's father. One must note, that in a case of arson, the delinquent did not have the property in mind, it was rather his aim to cause damage to the owner. In cases of unintentional fires, the community guaranteed restitution under supervision of the authorities, namely the council of the tribe or advice of the wise elders.

Theft was only considered as such, if a foreign tribe was affected. The most prevalent motive was the immediate satisfaction of necessities. In the case of theft, compensation was effected to the family or the clan of the victim and compensation for the damages accorded with quite simple rules: goat for goat, gold for gold. It was aimed at reconciliation and appeasement. Theft of cattle was regarded particularly seriously by the Peulhs du Foulah Djallon and these were objects of great moral and material compensation.

From the victimology point of view, one can conclude from the study of traditional African communities, that the victim played a key role within the process of presentation of evidence and compensation. Briefly, all steps taken in relation to crime prevention, punishment and compensation, were so taken bearing in mind the "physical" or "moral" victim.

4. Urban and Rural Crime and its Victims

Even if many forms of crime have disappeared, others have arisen and old forms have developed further. This applies for example to magic. Magic is tied up closely with poisoning. This constitutes such a difficult problem that the African pharmacies handle mysterious substances which do not

simplify the presentation of proof. Magic arises in connection with sexual offences, where it was sought to overcome the desired partner. It also arises in relation to inter-family conflicts when polygamy is involved. The magicians or sorcerers, who previously belonged to everyday life, have become a secret group which poses a threat to social order. The victims of such poisonings cannot find help in the written law itself, or from the powerless authorities.

Violations against property have increased alarmingly in the course of the last 15 years. Theft is regarded in the villages as a very serious crime and an infringement of moral. One must take account of the fact that the actual African villages are not attractive in any way as sources of such offences apart from the traditional objects such as farm products, poultry and cattle.

In the urban areas, changes in social structures and the economic crisis, have brought about serious consequences for the individual and groups of people. This is more so than in relation to the acceptance of new ways of life and attitudes, production techniques and other consumer customs, completely remove from the system of social control. The city as a symbol of what is modern and of the new way of life, is fascinating to a large number in the rural population. This is more fascinating to them than the gap between rural and city income is widening. The largest West-African cities constitute a melting pot, in which the old institutions undermine each other and are transformed. A study of *Hassenfratz* in Abidjan shows that there is a connection between the level of urbanization and frequency of violations against property. The bigger the town, the higher the percentage of violations. This phenomenon can be explained from various points of view:

- the accessibility of the objects which can be stolen is greater in the town;
- the relationships between people are more superficial in the town. Anonymity and ambiguous social controls favour this form of crime;
- education and underemployment are determining factors in town or city crime.

Amongst violations against property there is, without a doubt, a considerable swing towards various forms of fraud whose victims are traders or other people who wish to make easy money. This was for example the case in relation to a petrol station attendant in Conakry, who was approached by a member of his tribe who offered him the services of a magician who was able to double or triple the sum which someone had entrusted to him. The assistant who was pacified by the fact that a tribe brother wanted to do him

good, yielded to the proposed. He then gave him 1 million francs. The "Marabout" was shut, at his request, in a room. Two days later, the assistant opened the door and removed 2 millions francs. The "Marabout" suggested there and then, that 6 millions francs should be given of which he borrowed 2 millions from a near relative. As agreed, he came back two days later, but could find no one in the famous room...

Variations of property dominate in the cities. The accessibility of objects which can be stolen, is much higher. There are more items available to tempt people and those who cannot acquire such items, are frustrated. The superficial relationships between people, anonymity and loose social controls provide favourable conditions for this form of crime. There are no legalized opportunities in the towns to get rid of aggression. As soon as a physical conflict emerges, there is immediate reaction rather against objects than against people (*Y. Brillon 1973*).

At a victimological level, the classical theories of *von Hentig* in relation to specific offender-victim-relationships are indeed applicable. However, the factors which *Kaiser* (1981) has described, are in my opinion, more appropriate. According to *Kaiser*, a number of factors may influence the relationship of victim-offender in its anti-social form:

- familiar relationships;
- genetical relationships;
- relationships of friendship;
- sexual relationships between partners;
- religious relationships;
- relationships between travellers, hospital patients;
- relationships between people who are physically handicapped;
- relationships between people who have financial problems;
- relationships at work;
- business relationships.

Infanticide, poisoning, murder, homicide etc. are severely punished. However, the number of crimes against people was rising. Traffic accidents contribute undoubtedly to the rise in the death rate.

The majority of cases of drug offences relate to substances which are of minor toxic effect: cannabis or other similar products. "Chanvre indien" is

favoured in Senegal, Guinea, Ghana, Nigeria and consumed on the Ivory Coast. The victims in this area are youngsters from the slums who regard a certain form of film as their model.

Next to property offences, sexual offences are undoubtedly the crimes which are most frequently reported to the police in the West-African towns. This can be partly explained by the increased arrival of men and adolescents in the towns. The male incomers who have left their wives behind in the village or come alone, encourage prostitution. The disadvantage of this migration and the economic changes alienate the individuals from moral certainty and the sense of belonging to a clan and tradition. They find themselves once again in a heterogenous environment in which they come up against various ethnic groups whose customs and traditions are completely different: Apart from that, they must, according to *Yves Brillon*, work in an environment which is more "westernized". This brings out conflicts in relation to adapting to feelings of psychological and social inadequacy.

5. Victimization

The decision of the victim to report a crime arises for various reasons. The following may be referred to in particular:

- the quality of the crime;
- the victim's feeling of shame;
- fear of revenge from the culprit or his family;
- doubt as to whether the offender can be found;
- of less significance is the consideration that public order was only disturbed to a minor extent. Of greater significance is the consideration of submitting a complaint and seeking procedural redress if the crime was committed by a member of the own tribe;
- doubt that compensation would follow: the victim who only has incomplete knowledge of the law, does not believe that he can claim his rights;
- private meetings with the offender: this reason is the most important source of many matters which are effected directly by the two parties without third party intervention;

-
- recourse to "moral" courts; this phenomenon which is particular to Africa still remains in use; these authorities deal with most crime, with the exception of "blood crime" (crime against the family) with the help of ethnic groups;
 - fear of loss of time and anger, which submitting a complaint and procedural redress have as consequences; this is on the whole, because of the large distances and extent of transport costs (some of the complainants live many kilometers from the court or police station);
 - lack of confidence in police personnel in that the police, in the eyes of the population, are regarded as means by which they are suppressed (comparable to colonial police);
 - fear of getting drawn into the affair in which the victims become the accused if it does not know important persons;
 - misapplication of the law,
 - fear of not being able to make oneself understood and lack of trust in the police translators.

Trends of Victimological Studies in Japan
- Prospects for the Next Decade,
Based on an Analysis of Studies carried out
during the Past Ten Years -

Hidemichi Morosawa

Contents

1. Themes of Frequent Past Studies
2. Remarkable Victimological Cases which happened in the 1980's
3. Remarkable studies in the 1980's
4. In which Direction is Japanese Victimology Progressing at the Beginning of the 21th Century?

1. Themes of Frequent Past Studies

The purpose of this paper is to analyse studies done in the last ten years and to predict the next ten years trends in Japanese Victimology.

First of all, I must point out that the Japanese Association of Victimology was established in November 11th, 1990, to predict future developments in Japanese Victimology studies. The need for the Association was felt as early as the 4th International Symposium on Victimology, held in Tokyo-Kyoto in 1982 and its foundation was largely the result of the efforts of the organizing committee of that time.

As a first step, the Preparation Committee was organized by Kôichi Miyazawa (Keio University), Minoru Ohya (Dôshisha University), Tôyô Atsumi (Chûô University), Hidemichi Morosawa (Tokai University), Setsuo Miyazawa (Kôbe University), Akira Segawa (Dôshisha University) and Morikazu Taguchi (Niigata University) in October, 1989. This Committee was enlarged to 23 members known as the initiator group in August 1990. At present, the executive of the Japanese Association of Victimology consists of 20 directors and 2 auditors. The chairperson of the board is Kôichi Miyazawa and the representative directors of the board are Hidemichi Morosawa and Kiyoshi Yasutomi (Keio University). The board examines the eligibility of all applicants for membership. As of March 31st, 1991, 223 scholars have been admitted to the Association and there are about 40 pending applications.

The Japanese Association of Victimology has confirmed the following three points as central to the purpose and special feature of the Association.

1. the "victim" in victimology is not only the victim of crime but also includes other victims. It is, however, limited to victimization caused by an illegal act; including actions against public order as well as actions against coded law.
2. Victimology is an interdisciplinary science based on sociology, psychology, psychopathology, legal medicine, jurisprudence, anthropology, pedagogy, politics, and so on.
3. The Association aims at the unification of theory and practice and the examination of actual crude victimization.

For the purpose of understanding trends in victimological studies in Japan during the past ten years, I established a data base of all papers written in Japanese. However, dividing the bibliography into victimological or non-victimological lists was difficult, because few people in Japan call themselves victimologists and further, people who don't know what victimology is, also make victim the object of study.

It is often especially hard to understand whether a writer's point of view, regarding studies of child suicide, aged suicide, juvenile delinquency, domestic violence, bullying in school and drug abuse etc., is victimological or not. Therefore, when making a victimological bibliography, we must investigate stringently a paper's title, contents and writer's perspective.

While there is no doubt that studies in Japanese Victimology have made great progress since Osamu Nakata (at that time, Tokyo Medical-Dental College) introduced this science into Japan in 1958, we need to take special care of the fact that many victimological papers in the 60's and 70's were written by - not professor - many researchers in institutes, for example, Hôsôken - The Research and Training Institute of the Ministry of Justice -, Kakeiken - The National Research Institute of Police Science - and so on. We can't, however, ignore the fact that the staff of Kakeiken amassed a great number of surveys regarding victims. Further, the interest of scholars in victimology resulted mainly from the introduction of the Criminal Victim Benefit Payment Act - victim compensation act - of 1980 and this interest was limited to the theory of victim policy and not the causes of victimization. Since then, however, victimological research themes in Japan have become rich in variety and comprehensive in perspective.

I restricted my bibliography to real victimological studies satisfying the Association's criterion and have listed 186 papers. The themes included, cover not only the traditional subjects such as murder, burglary, theft and rape etc., but also subjects such as medical error, invasion of privacy, sexual harassment and school bullying, as they are increasingly taken up by various researchers. An examination made it clear that the areas of most active studies are the following:

1. Victimization of consumers by dishonest merchants (22.0%).
2. Victimization of children in the form of domestic violence and infanticide etc. (14.5%).
3. Victim Compensation Act (7.5%).
4. Victimization limiting the mental and physical development of children - including juvenile delinquency (7.0%).

5. Official policy regarding victims (6.5%).
6. Suicide (5.9%).
7. Victimization of the aged (4.3%).
8. Sexual victimization - sexual harassment, rape (3.8%).
9. Victimological survey methods (3.2%).
10. Victimization by mass media (2.7%).
11. Victim's rights (2.2%).
12. Victimization by traffic accidents (1.6%).

I believe that the most japaneselike theme is consumer victimization by dishonest merchants - especially through dishonest sales, which are similar to the so-called deceptive bargains in the USA. Both concepts are as like as chalk and cheese. Japanese merchandising has become complicated in structure and circulation, therefore consumers can't easily judge whether quality and price are proper or not. In addition, too much information confuses consumer's judgment. False bargains appear and develop in such a situation.

It's also possible to call victimization by mass media japaneselike. First of all, Japanese society was a society which didn't recognize the privacy of the individual. The culture of this island country had cultivated a brotherlike consciousness, similar to a blood relationship and created a big family-society which produced an open-door house structure. Naturally, now in Japan, too, the situation is becoming better little by little, because people in modern cities, which are called anonymity-societies, extremely dislike interference by other persons. But Japanese commercialism has not yet accepted this change of consciousness. Unfortunately, the Japanese mass media continues human-rights-infringement reporting as usual.

2. Remarkable Victimological Cases which happened in the 1980's

As another tendency of victimological studies, we can say that researchers try to pick up the new, public attention drawing cases and mass communication promotes such a tendency by pulling many researchers into the studios. In these 10 years, many sensational and strange cases have happened and

researchers have tried to analyze the factor of victimization in such cases. Following are cases which many - not only victimologist - researchers took up as themes of research.

1. In January 1989, a 17 years old girl high school student was arrested on the second floor of a young victimizer's house. The victimizer's parents lived on the first floor. The victim had been killed, covered with concrete and sent to the bottom of the sea. This event became a topic of conversation, because the victimizer's parent didn't know what had happened.

In this case, many TV programs and magazines for popular consumption included detailed reports on the victim, and their role came into question. Now, though it is very late, the number of people who support protecting the anonymity of victims in reporting, is increasing.

2. During August 1988 and June 1989, 4 children were subjected to indecent behavior. They were photographed naked, killed, and sometimes recorded on video tape, then dumped as rubbish in the mountains and so on. In this case, it is a big problem that the juvenile victimizer was interested in horror video tapes. The number of so-called "video boys" is increasing and it's a question, whether the case suggests the appearance of a new type of victimization in an information-oriented society or not. The video boy, who makes video tapes his best friend, is a victim of the information oriented society, too.
3. The so-called "Focus-phenomenon" has appeared throughout Japan in these 20 years. As there is a magazine named "Focus" which has a tendency to peep, we call the peeping-phenomenon "Focus-phenomenon". It was naturally the mass media such as weekly photograph magazines and TV entertainment programs, that created these new phenomena. Not only professional photographers but also amateur - largely juvenile - cameramen secretly shoot pictures of well known persons and many magazine publishers buy such films at a high price.

In addition, some publishers which trade on pornography, masochism or sadism buy films taken by children of an immoral scene such as the inside of well known woman's skirts and so on. Such a line of publishers not only sexually stimulates children, but also causes the benumbing of their human rights sense.

4. An event occurred in February 1986, that a junior high school student took "being bullied" to heart and killed himself. The victim boy was

being bullied by almost all students in the class and especially one week before his death, a so-called "playing his funeral ceremony" had been participated in by all classmates and even by the teacher of the class. The persons concerned point out that he was shocked at the fact that a teacher had entered into this ceremony. But this teacher insisted that the ceremony was only a game or fun. People were surprised to learn that the teacher was involved in this event and further in March 1991 the first trial court accepted his insistence on it having been a game.

Recently several suicides caused by "being bullied in school" happened in Japan. Though the number of bullyings shows a pretty falling off, from about 155,000 cases in the year 1985 to about 29,000 cases in the year 1989, the suicides caused by "being bullied by friends" is increasing gradually and the number of 17 cases in 1990. It is believable that this has some connection with the idea that the form of bullying is changing from physical to mental.

It's a new tendency that a victimological analysis is done on these cases. There was interest only in the victim of crime until now, but today also in the various hidden problems in events and accidents. We must select carefully from those when making a victimological bibliography, because there are non-academic descriptions, too.

3. Remarkable Studies in the 1980's

Next, I'll introduce some remarkable studies done in the 1980's. As I already said, there are 186 victimological papers through the 10 years. But the papers which reach a certain level, are about 30, one-sixth of all.

Roughly speaking, regarding the quantity of papers; there are many studies about the victim compensation act in the first half and many studies about consumer victimization by dishonest merchants in the latter half, and studies about victimization by domestic violence - in school and in family - appear constantly through the 10 years.

As previously stated, Japan established in 1979 the Criminal Victim Benefit Payment Act - a victim compensation act - and it took effect on and after January 1st, 1980. Consequently studies about the right or wrong of its establishment and the essence of the system were extensive in the 1970's. But in the 1980's, various problems on its application have been argued enthusiastically. Especially, we can't disregard two researchers, Shin'ichirō

Murasawa (the National Police Agency) and Minoru Ohya. The former was involved in the establishment of the Act and the proposals of the latter had great impact on its establishment and working. All the more, both are interested in the course of the application and their writing is a good guide to knowing the Japanese system.

A series of group studies about consumer victimization by dishonest merchants is drawing public attention. The group was organized by Hidemichi Morosawa at the request of the National Police Agency. He planned three kinds of survey projects during 2 years and tried to analyze five groups: victims-, victimizers-, ordinary people-, non-victimization (people who were solicited for a contract or a purchase and declined) - and non-contact (people who had not been solicited) -group. The surveys were completed 1989 in a book titled "An Investigation Report about Factors of Victimization by Dishonest Sales." Since then, Hidemichi Morosawa, Haruo Nishimura (Kokushikan University) and Tetsuo Abe (Junior College, Tokiwa University) of the group have continued the study and its producing fruitful results one by one.

According to their analysis, dishonest sales, which are receiving attention in Japan, are a most japaneselike phenomenon, although there are similar phenomena in foreign countries, too. Japanese dishonest sales are created by the Japanese national character and there is a Japanese life style factor in the background. The method of work consists mostly of making house-to-house calls. Japanese are people who can't, face to face, say "no". "Catch-Sales" by calling out to people in the street has - next to house call sales - most probability of success. Further, it was made known, that the victimization rate went up in proportion to the number of those present on the spot where a person was solicited, and that victim and victimizer were as like as twins, and only the non-victimization-group were different, and that the repetition rate of victimization was similar to that of criminalization.

The research on victimization in the family has also been extensive. But there are a lot of studies, in which it is not clear whether the researcher's point of view was criminological or victimological. In addition, there were not a few cases, that a researcher who was neither criminologist nor victimologist had a victimological point of view. In such a situation, it was difficult to class literature as victimological or not.

The Supreme Court gave a decision of unconstitutionality on account of too heavy punishment on a parricide case in April 1973. Taking that opportunity, people began to show a keen interest in a parricide. The murders known by police in 1988 were 1,441 cases. Of these cases, infant murders were 91 cases (6.3%) and parricide were 57 cases (4.0%).

Shigeo Ikeda and others in Hôsoken analyzed 209 parricide cases which happened since January 1st, 1975 and in which the accused was finally given a sentence by December 31st, 1987. Looking at victims, the number of male was 109 (51.2%), the biggest age group was males in their fifties (30.8%) and females in their seventies (40.2%). The problem actions of victims were "turning childish with age" (15.8%), drunken frenzy (14.4%), abnormal character (6.2%) and so on.

Shizuo Yamaguchi and others in Hôsoken analyzed 1,359 victimizers and their victims in 468 murders, 437 burglaries and 454 rapes where sentences were decided in 1981. The rate of drinking cases was 40.8% of victimizers and 24.8% of victims in murder, 30.6% of victimizers and 9.6% of victims in burglary, and 35.0% of victimizers and 5.0% of victims in rape. The acquaintance rate - number of victimizers who were personally acquainted with victims - was 84.7% in murder, 10.8% in burglary and 32.5% in rape. And victims who weren't in any way responsible for the acts against them were 36.9% in murder, 98.7% in burglary and 83.8% in rape.

Next, I'll cite another remarkable victimologically papers.

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4. In which Direction is Japanese Victimology Progressing at the Beginning of the 21th Century?

As previously stated, the studies of victim or victimization in Japan are assuming a serious aspect. At present, almost all people begin to be interested in victims and victimization and to use enthusiastically the words "rights of victim". But, many of them have only a personal interest and don't approach this problem academically.

Anyway, it's a fact that themes of Japanese Victimology have become rich in variety. Themes which are being treated as a problem of victimization in Japanese society are as follows:

[Theme on causes of victimization]

- 1) Victimization of the aged: traffic accident, dishonest sale, suicide.
- 2) Victimization of youth: dishonest sale, suicide, abuse.
- 3) Victimization in the school education place: failure to attend school.
- generally called "refusal to attend school" in Japan, but I don't believe that only the student refuses -, bullying, violence, corporal punishment, spiritlessness of student.
- 4) Sexual victimization: sexual harassment, modern type of rape.
- 5) Victimization of life environment: pollution, noise, books and pictures that are harmful to young people.
- 6) Victimization by society change: suicide by urbanization, suicide by family nuclearization, tragedy of business bachelors.
- 7) Victimization among family: rape between husband and wife, violence between husband and wife, violence against juveniles, abused child.
- 8) Victimization in life of consumption: dishonest sale, claim collection by gangsters, pitfalls of credit society, evasion of taxes, defective merchandise, limitation of import, monopolizing market.
- 9) Victimization by economic activity: pollution, monopolizing market.
- 10) Victimization in an information-oriented society: human rights of person in the news, violation of privacy or personal information, computer hacker, theft of industrial secrets.
- 11) Victimization by health-boom: ineffective medicine, spurious food.
- 12) Victimization by pet-boom: Victimization caused by chainless or discarding animals, breeding in an apartment house - usually prohibited, animal as victim.
- 13) Victimization by land-boom: victimization by "Jiageya" who are manipulating and raising land prices.
- 14) Victimization by motorization: victimization by groups of rowdy drivers, traffic accident.
- 15) Victimization on medical treatment: mistaken medical treatment, violation of explanation duty of doctors, useless prolongation of treatment.

- 16) Victimization in a business affecting public morals: prostitution, overcharging, employment of children, swindling customers out of their money.
- 17) Victimization by gangsters: victimization of the bar and restaurant business.
- 18) Victimization in trading and using drugs.
- 19) Victimization by administrative offices and the justice system
illegal criminal investigations, false charges, illness in the correctional institutions, the detention symptom.
- 20) Victimization of government employees
death in the pursuit of duties.
- 21) Victimization of private enterprises
fixers of stockholders' meeting, citizen movement.
- 22) Victimization by political offender
victims of terrorism, victimization by racial discrimination policy, victims of hijacking.

[Theme on system and policy]

- 23) Rights of victims.
- 24) The legal position of victims in the justice system.
- 25) Victim compensation system.
- 26) Victim assistance activity.

As you can understand from the theme, people's interest is directed at various problems of victimization rather than limited only to victims of crime. It's also thinkable that from now on various themes will appear in this sphere one after another.

The Japanese Association of Victimology will, as far as possible, single out these themes, although it's limited to victimization caused by illegal acts. Especially, the Association has decided to schedule a topic for every year's conference and to hold a forum for group study. This year's topic is "Victimization in Life of Consumption - its Causes and Politics -."

I believe there are traditional crime and modern crime, at the same time traditional victimization and modern victimization. The traditional victimization means that is caused by a professional criminal and it's extremely difficult for us to protect ourselves from him. On the other hand, the method is primitive on the modern pattern and protection depends on victim's care. From now on, the modern pattern of victimization will also increase. The time has come when there is an increasing necessity to study the causes of victimization.

2. Victim Surveys

a) Surveying Crime

On the Uses of Local, National and International Crime Surveys

J.J.M. van Dijk

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1. Introductory Remarks

In the past twenty five years criminologists have conducted surveys among the public about experiences of crime in a great number of countries. Typically, such surveys also ask respondent's opinions about crime (fear of crime), the performance of the police, sentencing policies of the judiciary, victim assistance etc.

The first wave of such crime surveys started with the first National Crime Survey in the USA in 1972 (*Block* 1984). This survey was repeated annually ever since. Annual or biannual national surveys were also executed in the Netherlands since 1974 (*van Dijk & Steinmetz* 1980) and the United Kingdom since 1982 (*Hough & Mayhew* 1985). National surveys were also held in Canada, Australia, France, Switzerland and Spain amongst others (*Solicitor General* 1986; *Braithwaite & Biles* 1980; *Zauberman* 1986, 1990; *Killias* 1986; *Vila et al.* 1989). In the Scandinavian countries national surveys were conducted about the experiences of violent crimes (*Siren & Heiskanen* 1985).

In the eighties, the national crime surveys were followed by a wave of local crime surveys, usually commissioned by local government. For instance in the Netherlands at least a dozen large cities as well as some smaller municipalities mounted their own local crime surveys. In Amsterdam and Utrecht such local surveys have already been repeated several times (*Hoenson & Lofers Anema* 1990; *Nuijten-Edelbroek* 1984). Other exemplary local crime surveys were the ones executed in Barcelona, London (*Vila et al.* 1989; *Jones et al.* 1986), Epinay (France), and the German cities (Bochum, Stuttgart and Göttingen) (*Brown* 1985; *Schwind et al.* 1989).

In 1989, fifteen countries participated in a fully standardized multi-country crime survey. The same comparative study was also carried out in Surabaja (East-Java/Indonesia) and Warsaw (Poland).

Crime surveys, then, have been executed at three different levels: at the level of nations, at the level of provinces, districts or cities and, finally, at an international level. Crime surveys have some basic utilities, regardless of their geographical scope. In addition, crime surveys have additional uses when executed at a local or international level respectively. In this paper I will try to give an overview of the general and specific uses of crime surveys

executed at the three levels mentioned. The examples given are mainly derived from data of the Dutch crime surveys and the International Crime Survey of 1989.¹

2. National Crime Surveys

2.1 The Agenda Setting Function of Reliable Social Indicators of Crime

The main objective of national crime surveys is to provide trend data about the rate of victimization for selected crimes. Such data can be used as social indicators of the actual number of crimes (*Skogan 1978; Waller 1984*).

In many countries less than a third of all conventional crimes are reported to the police. Acts of vandalism, small thefts and acts of violence often remain unreported. This is also the case with serious forms of violence and sexual abuse within the family. For this reason police figures do not accurately reflect the volume of crime. To make matters worse the readiness to report certain types of crime may increase or decrease over time. Moreover not all reported crimes are formally recorded by the police: the recording rate may also vary over time.

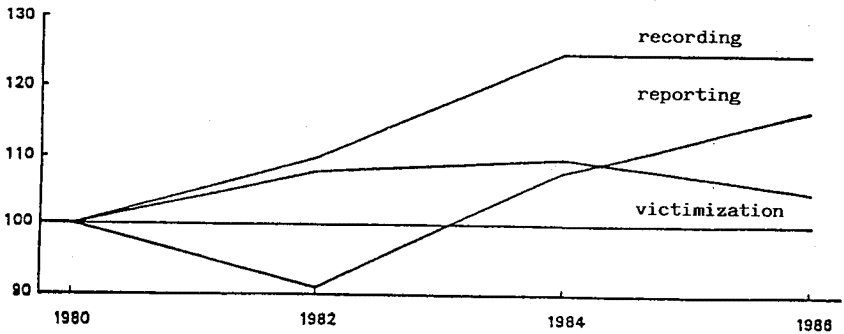
For instance in the Netherlands, the percentages of thefts which are reported to the police went down slightly around 1980 as can be seen in figure 1.

In the mid eighties both the reporting rate and the recording rate of the police showed an upward swing, possibly in response to more dedicated and service-oriented police policies in the main cities. Obviously such trends in the willingness to report crimes to the police and in the recording practices of the police seriously affect the official crime statistics. For this reason, increases of registered crimes may be caused either by actual increases of the numbers of crimes committed or by increases of the reporting or

1 The key results of the ICS are published in a monograph "Experiences of Crime across the World", by *Jan J.M. van Dijk, Pat Mayhew, Martin Killias*, Kluwer Deventer/Boston (second edition 1991), with an extensive summary in French and German.

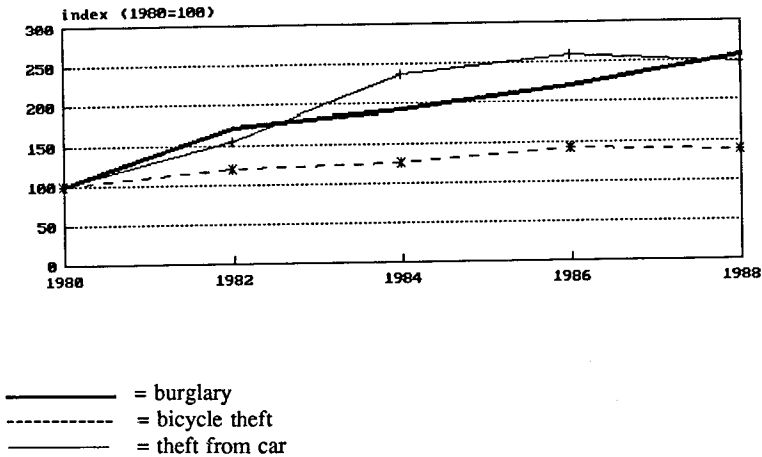
recording rates. The results of crime surveys give invaluable information about both the actual crime trends and trends in the reporting and recording rates.

Figure 1: Trends of Victimization Rates, Reporting Rates and Recording Rates (Percentages of reported Crimes recorded by the Police), according to Findings of the Dutch National Crime Surveys about Thefts (Index 1980=100)



The sheer availability of reliable social indicators of crime can not only give guidance to national policy makers, but it can also help to raise the interest of the mass media and politicians for crime as a social problem. Through the publication of national victimization rates the issues of crime and crime control are put at the same footing as other political and public concerns, such as inflation, unemployment or health. No longer will the public debate about crime be dominated by sensational stories about individual cases of homicide or rape (*van Dijk* 1980). On the agenda will feature structural problems such as high rates of burglary, car or motor-bicycle theft, or armed robbery. In the past, statistical indications of a rise in certain categories of crime were often called into question by the experts or even dismissed as artifacts of police recording. Crime surveys provide more credible indicators which can help public opinion to reach consensus about "the state of crime".

In figure 2 we present indexed information about the trends of burglaries, thefts from a car and bicycle thefts according to the annual National Crime Survey of the Netherlands.

Figure 2: Trends of Victimization Rates in the Netherlands

The burglary rate in the Netherlands went up from 1.6% in 1980 to 3% in 1988. A larger proportion of the households became a victim of a burglary more than once in 1988 than in 1980. For this reason the index of the total numbers of burglaries went up with 150%. According to the police statistics the number of registered burglaries went up with 200%. The reporting rate has remained constant around 85%. The steep upward trend of the police figures is caused by both the actual increase of burglaries and by better recording by the police. On the basis of such detailed and accurate information, decision-makers can be persuaded that the burglary rate has really gone up steeply and that, perhaps, action ought to be taken to reduce it. The political debate will not, as in the past, be sidetracked to a fruitless discussion about the validity of police figures.

In both the Netherlands and the United Kingdom the publication of findings of national crime surveys has brought into focus the magnitude of several forms of conventional crimes, such as theft, burglary and vandalism. Since these types of crimes can best be tackled by means of preventive strategies - both of a technical and social nature - the surveys helped much to promote crime prevention policies in these countries (*van Dijk & Junger-Tas* 1988; *van Dijk* 1990). Among both citizens and politicians, the discourse about crime is no longer dominated by the associative chain "crime-criminal investigation-trial-prison". The collective imagery of crime and crime control has become more open and varied.

2.2 Costs of Crime

Criminologists and practitioners in Europe have recently taken up an interest in the costs of crime (*Godefroy & Laffargue* 1989). National crime surveys can be used to collect data about the material consequences of criminal victimization. On the basis of such data better estimates can be made of the total costs of crime. In the Netherlands such estimates were made of the costs of crime inflicted upon households (*van Dijk & Roell* 1988). In 1989 a separate crime survey was carried out among a sample of Dutch businesses.² A calculation was made of the total damage inflicted upon the various sectors of Dutch society using mainly crime survey data (*Directie Criminaliteitspreventie* 1990).

Figure 3: Estimated Costs of Conventional Crime in the Netherlands (in Million Guilders)

	Damage	
	(x min guilders) abs.	%
Public sector	1,433	17
- Central government	500	6
- Municipalities (incl. public schools)	900	11
- Housing estates	33	0
Households	2,900	35
Commercial sector	4,057	48
Total	8,390	100

The overview presented in figure 3 shows that businesses and local government bear a large part of the costs of crime.³ Such calculations can help to persuade economically oriented politicians that for economic reasons as well the problems of crime merit their urgent and permanent attention.

2 In 1991 a special crime survey will be carried out among museums in the Netherlands, Belgium and West-Germany in order to make an inventory of their criminal losses and the security measures taken.

3 In these calculations the costs of tax evasion/fraud and of security measures have not been included.

Some of the money lost on crime and fraud in Europe, could be made available for other public policies, or private investments, when crime control was made a higher priority of government.

2.3 Fear of Crime

A second main purpose of national crime surveys is to gather information on the attitudes towards crime among members of the public. In most surveys questions are included about the perceived likelihood of victimization by crime, and about the affective and behavioral aspects of such perceptions.

In the final paragraph of this paper, we will discuss in more detail the findings of the first International Crime Survey, carried out in 1989. The questions about perceptions and attitudes used in that survey provide a good example of the kind of questions that are commonly used. Some data concerning fear of crime obtained in this study are the following. The percentage of persons who felt it to be likely or very likely that their house would be burgled in the coming years was 33% on average. Perceptions of the risk of burglary are strongly related to national burglary rates. Countries where high proportions thought they would be very likely to be a victim tended to be those with higher burglary risks.

Two other questions were used to measure behavioral aspects of fear of crime. Respondents were asked whether they had 1. stayed away from certain streets or areas and 2. had gone accompanied by someone else to avoid crime. Fear of crime as measured by these questions was the highest in the USA, West-Germany and England/Wales. Fear of street crime appears to be wholly unrelated to national victimization rates for crimes of violence. This finding indicates that such precautionary behaviour is determined by factors other than simply exposure to violent crime. Avoidance behaviour among women and the elderly may be determined by social traditions or by perceived vulnerability (*van Dijk* 1980). Also, extensive mass media portrayal of violent crime may inspire readers or viewers to take precautions (*Killias* 1990).

Perceptions of crime, such as the perceived likelihood of a burglary are important indicators of well being in their own right. Even when such risk perceptions are influenced by exaggerated media stories, they can be "real in their consequences". Crime control policies must not be geared exclusively at the reduction of crime, but also at the reduction of feelings of

insecurity. Research has shown that the foot patrol of police officers may not greatly affect actual crime levels, but can do much to instill feelings of safety and trust among the public (*van Dijk* 1984).

Perceptions of individual victimization risks must be distinguished from a generalized concern about crime or rising crime rates as a social problem. In many surveys the public is asked to assess the urgency of a list of current social problems. In the past the crime problem was usually rated as the second or third most pressing problem, after unemployment and inflation. In the Netherlands the crime problem was rated as the most pressing social problem in 1990, together with environmental pollution (*Recht in Beweging* 1990).

In connection to questions about crime as a social problem Dutch respondents have also been asked to express an opinion on government expenditure on crime control. In 1985 77 % said they would welcome an increase in expenditure. 32 % would even be prepared to pay more taxes for this purpose (*Samenleving en Criminaliteit* 1985). These results were quoted in several memoranda and reports of the Ministry of Justice arguing for an expansion of the budget.

2.4 The Citizens as a Consumer of the Criminal Justice System

Members of the public can be seen as "consumers" of the criminal justice systems in their capacity of reporting victim, witness or defendant or as ordinary citizens who care about justice or safety. Crime surveys can be used as a form of marketing research on behalf of the criminal justice system among its main groups of consumers.

In all crime surveys victims of crime are asked whether they have reported the incident to the police. The International Crime Survey shows that the overall reporting rates - for all crimes combined - are the highest in France, Scotland, Switzerland and England/Wales. Low overall reporting rates, such as found in Spain, Poland and Surabaya (Indonesia), may indicate a lack of confidence on the part of the public in the efficacy and/or accessibility of their local police. Reporting rates for crimes like car theft and burglary are also related to rates of insurance cover. According to the survey, the rate of insurance cover for burglary is the highest in Switzerland, the Netherlands, England and Wales and France. The high insurance cover for burglary and car theft in these countries may explain their high reporting rates. The low insurance cover in Surabaya and Spain may explain the low reporting rates of these two countries.

In crime surveys questions are often included about the perceived satisfaction of victims with the police and the courts. In the International Crime Survey all victims were asked whether they or the person who reported the crime were satisfied with the way the police dealt with their report. The percentage of victims who gave a negative judgement was the highest in Poland, France and Belgium. In the fourteen participating countries taken together the percentage of dissatisfied victims was 29%.

Dissatisfied victims were asked for what reasons they were dissatisfied. Each respondent could give several reasons. 41 % of the dissatisfied victims said the police was clearly not interested. Other responses were the police didn't do enough (40%), didn't apprehend the offender (15%), didn't recover the goods (16%), didn't keep the victim informed (12%), didn't treat victim correctly/polite (12%). These reasons do not vary much across countries.

Respondents were asked about the appropriate sentence for a recidivist burglar. Respondents opted less often for a prison sentence as an appropriate sentence for a recidivist burglar in France, Germany, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries (app. 15%) than in many other countries (27% on average). The percentage of respondents opting for a prison sentence was much higher in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain and all the non-European countries. In France, like in Germany and Switzerland, a majority opted for a community service order. This is a remarkable result, since such sanctions are in fact much more widely used in countries like England and the Netherlands than in Belgium, Switzerland and France. Perhaps some French, Swiss and Belgium respondents have not fully understood the meaning of a community service order. At any rate the results call into question the belief of many European prosecutors and judges that the public demands the imposition of a prison sentence in the case of burglary. There seems to be more public support for alternative sanctions than is often assumed by the professionals.

In the international survey actual victims were asked whether they had been helped by a specialized victim support scheme (an agency helping victims by giving information or practical or emotional support). The pick up rate of such agencies was the highest in England/Wales (5%), Belgium (8%), the USA (10%) and Canada (5%). In countries like the Netherlands, West-Germany, France and Spain, the existing victim support schemes do not yet reach more than a small part of their potential clients.

Those who did not receive such help were subsequently asked whether they would have appreciated having it. The concept of special services for

crime victims was favourably assessed by a third of all victims in the majority of countries. It is clear that in all countries a much larger group of victims would have appreciated assistance than actually got it.

Another category of items which is often included deal with technical protection against crime. Respondents can be asked whether they installed good locks in their houses, cars or motorbikes, whether there is a concierge in their apartment or whether they keep their lights on when the house is empty. In countries with a high rate of so called neighbourhood watch programmes - a voluntary support network for the local police - respondents are often asked whether they participate in such activities or would be ready to do so if the occasion rises. On the European continent, however, such programmes are much less common than in the United Kingdom, North America and Australia and such questions were not included in the International Crime Survey.

2.5 Victimological Risk Analysis

Results of national crime surveys can also be used for the formation and testing of theories. The differential distribution of victimization risks over the population has in recent years become a popular topic for criminologists. Statistical analyses are used to discover the main correlates of victimization risks. In figure 4 we present the international victimization rates for different groups of the population.

The main risk increasing characteristics were found to be a young age, the status of urban dweller, a high level of affluence and an outgoing lifestyle. These risk factors seem to be the same in most nations. In the USA ethnic minorities were found to run especially high risks.

In order to ascertain whether and to what extent these found risk factors independently display a relationship with victimization, we have also analyzed the results with the aid of a log-linear model using the ECTA (Everyman's Contingency Table Analysis) program developed by *L.A. Goodman* (1972). The particular feature of this technique is that it ignores the relationship between a single variable such as age and the dependent variable (in this case, victimization) and instead considers each combination of variables - e.g. the 16-29 age group, male, working class, inhabitant of a large city - separately to see whether there is any relation with the dependent variable.

For the average person, the likelihood of becoming a victim of an offense over 5 years is 49%, or, the ratio victims to non-victims is 0.98 in 1. A log-linear model was used to calculate the extent to which belonging to a

particular category increased or diminished the risk of becoming a victim irrespective of other characteristics of the persons concerned. In other words, for each category a victimization coefficient was determined that provides an estimate of the victimization risk for that particular category.⁴

Figure 4: Victimization Rates for three Categories of Crime and all Crime, by Different Groups of the Population

	Property crime	Burglary	Contact crime	Any crime	Total respondents
	% victimized once or more				
Gender					
Male	16.7	3.7	5.1	22.0	13,542
Female	14.2	3.6	6.0	20.3	14,458
Total	15.4	3.6	5.5	21.1	28,000
Age					
16-34	21.1	4.5	8.9	28.9	10,716
35-54	16.7	3.9	4.3	22.0	9,048
55+	6.5	2.3	2.5	10.1	8,138
Household income					
Below average	11.7	3.5	5.4	17.6	12,046
Above average	19.8	3.9	5.9	25.6	11,794
Not stated	13.5	3.2	4.8	18.6	4,121
Size of place of residence					
<10,000	12.5	2.5	4.0	16.7	9,317
10,000-50,000	15.1	3.3	5.3	20.8	6,408
>50,000	19.7	5.2	7.7	27.5	8,490
Not stated	13.3	3.6	5.1	18.5	3,785

Source: *van Dijk, J.J.M., Mayhew, P., & Killias, M. (1990). Experiences of Crime across the world. Deventer: Kluwer.*

4 For example the ratio for those below 29 years is not 0.96 in 1; but 1.61 in 1 (1.64 x 0.98) and for those above 55 it is 0.55 in 1 (0.56 x 0.98). The risk coefficients can be multiplied with each other in order to calculate the combined risk. For example the victimization ratio of young persons living in a big town is 2.45 or (0.98 x 1.64 x 1.53) in 1. Members of this group have a 71% risk of becoming a victim (71% = 2.45/2.45 + 1 x 100%). These estimates based on the log-linear model are close to the actual percentage (see figure 5).

In figure 5 we present the findings of our analysis of the independent links between townsize, age, gender, social economic status (a scale combining car ownership, level of education, income level, type of house (detached versus other) and ownership of house) and lifestyle (frequency of outdoor visits).

Figure 5: Marginal Frequencies and Victimization Percentages and Results of a log-linear model-based Quantification of the Extent to which certain social Characteristics increase or diminish Victimization Risks (five year Period) in 14 Countries

	Victim			Risk coefficient $e^{2\mu}$
	N	%	μ	
Total	24,007	49.9	-.010	0.98
Townsize**				
<10,000	8,692	40.0	-.222*	0.64
10,000-100,000	8,534	51.5	.010	1.01
>100,000	6,980	61.6	.212*	1.53
Age**				
16-29 years	7,105	62.5	.246*	1.64
30-54 years	12,853	53.1	.046*	1.05
55 years and up	7,776	31.4	-.292*	0.56
Gender				
Male	12,704	51.5	.010	1.01
Female	15,302	47.6	-.010	0.98
Social economic status				
Low	5,205	30.6	-.256*	0.60
Average	18,418	50.5	.006	1.01
High	4,383	65.5	.259*	1.68
Out of door visits				
Often	14,347	55.9	.064*	1.14
Not often	13,659	42.4	-.064*	0.88

* Significance $p < .05$; $X^2=122$; d.f.=99.

** 3800 respondents did not know the size of their town; 272 respondents refused to state their age.

Figure 5 shows that the main risk increasing factors are a high social economic status (1.68), an age below 30 (1.64), and living in a town of more than 100,000 inhabitants (1.53). An outgoing lifestyle is a risk factor of minor importance (1.14). Gender is not significantly related to overall risks. The main risk reducing characteristics are an age of 55 years and over (0.56), a low social economic status (0.60), living in a small town (0.64) and a house centred lifestyle (0.88).⁵

In interpreting the results, it must be born in mind that the relationship between the social characteristics and the victimization rates may differ by both type of offense and by country. Sex differences, for example, are significant for car offenses (males owning more cars), assaults (males running higher risks), and, for obvious cultural reasons, sexual incidents (females more at risk). In countries with a low participation of women in the work force, such as Northern Ireland, the Netherlands and Switzerland, sex differences tend to be larger across the board, due to the protection of a house-based lifestyle for women who stay at home most of the day.

2.6 Local Surveys

During the eighties, local crime surveys have become an important policy tool for crime control policies. Local surveys are often executed with modest budgets. The mailing of questionnaires is a favourite method of data collection. Surveys carried out at the level of cities have the same uses as the ones listed above. In addition, such local surveys have important operational utilities for local government.

Firstly, local surveys are often mounted in the preparatory stage of a local crime control initiative. Through a local survey reliable information is gathered on the most pressing crime problems in the area and their exact geographical location. Also, the public can be asked directly to indicate their priorities and wishes concerning crime control policies. Subsequently follow up surveys can be used to monitor and evaluate the new policies.

In the early eighties the Research and Documentation Centre of the Ministry of Justice of the Netherlands was asked to evaluate a series of local crime control projects (*van Dijk* 1984). In most cases, crime surveys were carried out in the target area and a control area before and after the new

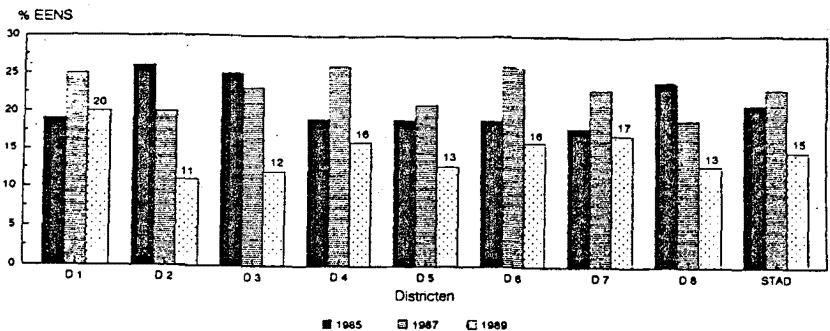
5 The synopsis given in figure 5 can be used to estimate the victimization risks for all combinations of age, gender, townsizes, social class, and lifestyle by multiplying the risk coefficients given in the right columns of the table and applying the formula $x/x + 1 \times 100\%$.

policies were introduced. The study in Osdorp (Amsterdam) provides a good example of such research (*Spickenheuer* 1983). In this district of Amsterdam with 10,000 inhabitants a team of ten patrol officers was made responsible for an integrated burglary reduction programme, consisting of intensified patrolling and crime prevention instructions.

According to the surveys, the public's willingness to report crimes increased significantly during the presence of the special team and not in the control area. The victimization rates for all types of crimes together showed a significant decrease, whereas the control area showed an increase. Since the willingness to report had risen, the number of registered crimes remained constant in the experimental area. If the latter figures would have been used as a measure of success, the new policies would have been evaluated negatively. The available survey data indicated that the new policies had been effective in reducing crime and fear of crime and increasing the willingness to report crime to the police.

Since 1985, the city of Amsterdam carries out its own full blown biannual crime survey as a means to monitor its policing policies on a regular basis (*Hoenson & Lofers Anema* 1990). In the survey respondents are asked to rate the effectiveness of the police in their own district. Respondents are asked, for example, whether or not they agree with the statement "one cannot rely upon the Amsterdam police anymore". In figure 6 we present the trend data of this popular verdict.

Figure 6: Percentage of the Inhabitants of Amsterdam who agree with the Statement that their Police can no longer be relied upon, according to Police District



The findings presented in figure 6 show a differential judgement on the police in the various districts. It also shows a decrease of the number of citizens who are disgruntled with their local police

In some local surveys respondents are not only asked about their experiences with crime and the police, but also about their judgement on the delivery of other social services by local government (*Jones et.al.* 1986). When local surveys are carried out among very large samples, as was done in Islington (London) and Barcelona, a detailed mapping of criminal incidents becomes feasible. Such information about the incidence, place and time of crimes can serve as an important operational tool for the police. Large scale local surveys also provide information about small groups in the population who are recidivist victims of crimes of violence. The multiple and repeated victimization by crime of such groups tends to be overlooked in national crime surveys. Such groups may be an important target for crime prevention advice or for other social services. Although few cities can afford large scale local surveys, they yield unique information about local problems and the effectiveness of local policies.

3. International Surveys

3.1 Background

There has long been a need for comparable information about levels and patterns of criminal victimization in different countries. Researchers have principally wanted to test theories about the social causes of crime by means of cross-national comparisons. Policymakers have principally wanted to understand better their national crime problems by putting these in an international perspective. To date, by far the major effort has been put into analyzing crime rates in different countries on the basis of offences recorded by the police ('police figures').

However, police figures have substantial limitations for comparative purposes. First, reports of crime by victims form the major bulk of incidents that the police have available to record; any differences in the propensity to report to the police in different countries will seriously jeopardise comparisons, and rather little is known about these differences. Second, comparisons of police statistics are severely undermined by differences in legal definitions, and by technical factors to do with how offences are classified and counted.

The climate ripened for a standardized international survey as more was understood about the methodology of crime surveys, and the value of their information. At a meeting in Barcelona of the Standing Conference of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe at the end of 1987, the author formally aired plans for a standardized survey (*van Dijk et al.* 1987). The momentum was continued through a Working Group comprising *Jan van Dijk* (overall coordinator), Ministry of Justice, the Netherlands; *Pat Mayhew*, Research and Planning Unit, Home Office, England; and *Martin Killias*, University of Lausanne, Switzerland.

3.2 Organization and Methods

An invitation to join in the survey was sent to some twenty-odd countries. Fifteen countries eventually took part in a fully co-ordinated survey exercise. The countries were: Australia, Belgium, Canada, England and Wales, Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, France, Japan, the Netherlands, Northern Ireland, Norway, Scotland, Spain, Switzerland, USA. In addition, local surveys using the same questionnaire were conducted in **Poland** (Ministry of Justice), **Indonesia** (Guru Besar Kriminologi, Penologi, Victimologi dan Hukum Pidana, Surabaya).

In the majority of countries 2,000 respondents were interviewed by telephone, using the new technology of computer assisted telephone interviewing. Respondents were asked about eleven main forms of victimization during the past five years and during the last year (1988) particularly. Those who had been victimized were asked short questions about the place where the offence occurred; its material consequences; whether the police were involved (and if not why not); satisfaction with the police response; and any victim assistance given. In addition, some basic socio-demographic and lifestyle data were collected. As mentioned above, some other questions were asked about: fear of crime; satisfaction with local policing; crime prevention behaviour; and the preferred sentence for a 21-year old recidivist burglar.

3.3 Results

In terms of respective levels of crime in different countries, 1988 and 5-year figures gave a very similar picture. Less serious incidents, however, tend to be forgotten by some respondents. For this reason the 5-year figures are much less than five times as high as the 1988 rate. If the crime rate in a country has gone down, the ratio between the 5-year figures and 1988

figures can be expected to be somewhat larger than elsewhere, since the 1988 rate will be relatively small in comparison to the rates of previous years.

According to the official police statistics the rate of recorded crime in France has gone down since the mid eighties. Elsewhere in Europe no such decline has been reported. In France the ratio between 5-year and 1988 figures is 2.68. In all participating countries together it was 2.29. As expected, the French ratio is somewhat larger. Only Switzerland (3.01) and Belgium (2.73) had higher ratios than France. In Europe, the lowest ratio was found in Spain (2.10), a country which is reported to have experienced a crime boom. This result lends credence to the hypothesis based upon police figures, that the crime rate in France has actually gone down, in contrast to crime rates in other European countries like Spain, the United Kingdom, West-Germany and the Netherlands. This does not, of course, exclude the possibility that the downward trend of the French rate of recorded crime may also be caused by changes in the reporting patterns of the public or in the recording patterns of the police. Since no annual or bi-annual victimization surveys have been carried out in France, this will remain a matter of uncertainty and dispute.

In the figures 7 and 8 we present the key findings of the survey.

Figure 7: Victimization Rates for fourteen different Types of Crime in seventeen Countries in 1988

	Total ¹	Europe ²	England & Wales	Scotland	North- ern Ireland	Nether- lands
Theft of car	1.2	1.3	1.8	0.8	1.6	0.3
Theft from car	5.3	5.8	5.6	5.3	4.0	5.3
Car vandalism	6.7	7.0	6.8	6.5	4.5	8.2
Theft of motorcycle ³	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.2	0.4
Theft of bicycle	2.6	2.2	1.0	1.0	1.6	7.6
Burglary with entry	2.1	1.8	2.1	2.0	1.1	2.4
Attempted burglary	2.0	1.9	1.7	2.1	0.9	2.6
Robbery	0.9	1.0	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.9
Personal theft	4.0	3.9	3.1	2.6	2.2	4.5
- Pickpocketing	1.5	1.8	1.5	1.0	0.9	1.9
Sexual incidents ⁴	2.5	1.9	1.2	1.2	1.8	2.6

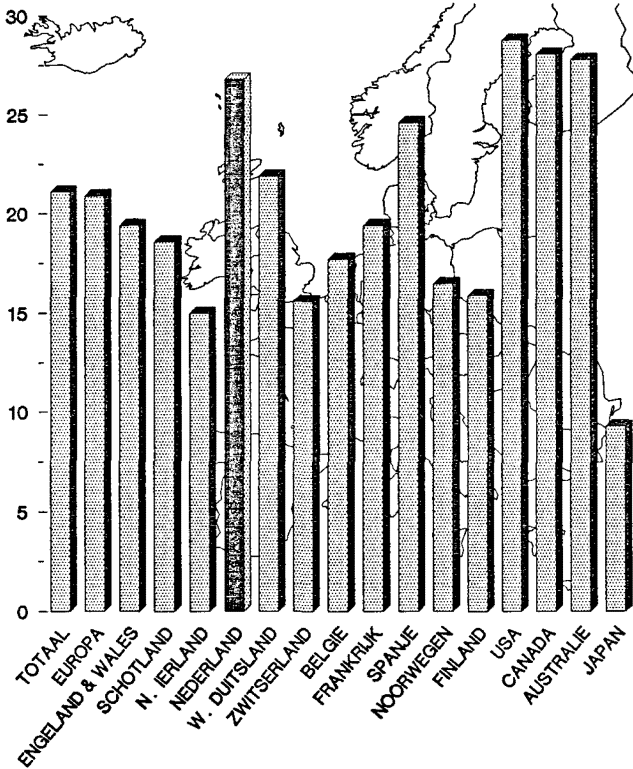
	Total ¹	Europe ²	England & Wales	Scotland	Northern Ireland	Netherlands
- Sexual assault	0.8	0.7	0.1	0.7	0.5	0.5
Assault/threat	2.9	2.5	1.9	1.8	1.8	3.4
- With force	1.5	1.2	0.6	1.0	1.1	2.0
All crimes ⁵	21.1	20.9	19.4	18.6	15.0	26.8
	West Germany	Switzerland	Belgium	France	Spain	Norway
Theft of car	0.4	0.0	0.8	2.3	1.3	1.1
Theft from car	4.7	1.9	2.7	6.0	9.9	2.8
Car vandalism	8.7	4.1	6.6	6.5	6.3	4.6
Theft of motorcycle ³	0.2	1.2	0.3	0.6	0.8	0.3
Theft of bicycle	3.3	3.2	2.7	1.4	1.0	2.8
Burglary with entry	1.3	1.0	2.3	2.4	1.7	0.8
Attempted burglary	1.8	0.2	2.3	2.3	1.9	0.4
Robbery	0.8	0.5	1.0	0.4	2.8	0.5
Personal theft	3.9	4.5	4.0	3.6	5.0	3.2
- Pickpocketing	1.5	1.7	1.6	2.0	2.8	0.5
Sexual incidents ⁴	2.8	1.6	1.3	1.2	2.4	2.1
- Sexual assault	1.5	0.0	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.6
Assault/threat	3.1	1.2	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0
- With force	1.5	0.9	0.7	1.2	1.2	1.4
All crimes ⁵	21.9	15.6	17.7	19.4	24.6	16.5
	Finland	USA	Canada	Australia	Warsaw	Surabaya
Theft of car	0.4	2.1	0.8	2.3	2.2	0.2
Theft from car	2.7	9.3	7.2	6.9	10.2	4.7
Car vandalism	4.0	8.9	9.8	8.7	7.6	2.7
Theft of motorcycle ³	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.8
Theft of bicycle	3.1	3.1	3.4	1.9	1.0	2.7
Burglary with entry	0.6	3.8	3.0	4.4	2.6	3.8
Attempted burglary	0.4	5.4	2.7	3.8	2.8	1.7
Robbery	0.8	1.9	1.1	0.9	1.2	0.5
Personal theft	4.3	4.5	5.4	5.0	13.4	5.2
- Pickpocketing	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.0	13.0	3.3

	Finland	USA	Canada	Australia	Warsaw	Surabaya
Sexual incidents ⁴	0.6	4.5	4.0	7.3	3.6	6.3
- Sexual assault	0.2	2.3	1.7	1.6	2.0	1.7
Assault/threat	2.9	5.4	4.0	5.2	3.0	0.8
- With force	2.0	2.3	1.5	3.0	1.4	0.3
All crimes ⁵	15.9	28.8	28.1	27.8	34.4	20.0
	Japan					
Theft of car	0.2					
Theft from car	0.7					
Car vandalism	2.7					
Theft of motorcycle ³	0.4					
Theft of bicycle	3.7					
Burglary with entry	0.7					
Attempted burglary	0.2					
Robbery	0.0					
Personal theft	0.2					
- Pickpocketing	0.0					
Sexual incidents ⁴	1.0					
- Sexual assault						
Assault/threat	0.5					
- With force	0.2					
All crimes ⁵	9.3					

1. Total figure treats each country as of equal statistical importance, with an assumed sample of 2000 (excl. Japan).
2. European totals have been calculated by weighting individual country results by population size (excl. Warsaw/Surabaya).
3. "Motorcycles" include mopeds and scooters.
4. Asked of women only.
5. Percentage of sample victimized by at least one crime of any type.

Source: *van Dijk, J.J.M., Mayhew, P., & Killias, M. (1990). Experiences of crime across the world. Deventer: Kluwer.*

Figure 8: Percentages of the Population victimized by any Crime in 1988, in fifteen Countries



Source: van Dijk, Mayhew & Killias 1990.

The percentage of persons 16 years and over who had been victimized in 1988 at least once by one of the eleven types of crime covered by the study was the highest in the USA, Canada and Australia (app. 30%).

Countries with overall victimization rates of about 25% were The Netherlands, Spain and the FRG. The high Dutch rate is partly due to an extremely high rate of bicycle theft (7.6%).

A victimization rate of about 20% was found in Scotland, England and Wales, France and Belgium. Rates around 15% were found amongst the public of Northern Ireland, Switzerland, Norway and Finland. Japan has a rate below ten percent. Offense rates in Warsaw (Poland) resemble West-European city rates, although thefts of personal property - in particular pickpocketing - seem more common.

Victimization rates in Surabaya (Indonesia) show a somewhat different picture. Motorcycle theft, though far from a common offence, is relatively more common in Surabaya, where there is an extraordinarily high ownership rate (86%). Car-related crimes are relatively low in Surabaya though ownership is low (43% of households own a car). The burglary rate in Surabaya is relatively high. Offensive sexual behaviour was quite frequently reported too, though cultural and definitional differences may well play a part here. The percentage of respondents who report assaults/threats is extremely low.

3.4 Survey Estimates and Police Figures

We have compared the present estimates of national victimization risks with the conventional measure of offences recorded by the police per 100,000 inhabitants ("police figures") as compiled by Interpol for the 1982-1986 period. The amount of crime as indicated by the survey will of course be higher than the official police figure, since in all countries less than half of victimizations were reported to the police. Our comparisons focused on how far the survey and police measures show similar relative rankings of countries with regard to crime levels.

For car theft the ranking of countries on the basis of victimization rates is quite similar to the picture shown by police figures (rank order correlation was 0.83). For instance Australia, England and Wales and France feature at the top and Japan, Finland and the Netherlands at the bottom in both rankings. For burglary there is a moderately strong positive correlation between the two sources of information (0.53). The relationship between survey and police figures is also moderately strong for robbery (0.49). Japan, for example, is at the bottom of both the survey and Interpol list. The rankings for assault and sexual incidents, however, are dissimilar (0.22 and 0.29). The reporting rates for these two categories of crime vary greatly across countries. When the Interpol ranking is compared with the ranking of reported offenses, there were much stronger relationships between survey and police figures for robbery (0.73), assault (0.72) and sexual incidents (0.81).

The most important result of the analysis is that there is a much closer correspondence between survey and police figures when account is taken of differences in reporting to the police. After adjusting for national reporting rates, the associations between survey measures and police figures were statistically robust for all five crime types. This result confirms our belief that for many types of crime, police figures as compiled by Interpol cannot be used for comparative purposes, simply on account of different reporting rates in various countries.

3.5 Correlates of Victimization Risks at Country Level

Are the overall social correlates of victimization risks related to victimization risks at the level of countries? The question, then, is whether countries with a high percentage of persons living in large towns actually do have higher national victimization risks. Only if risk factors are also correlated with national victimization rates, can the prevalence of such factors in a society be seen as a possible criminogenic factor (a causal factor of crime). In the case of urbanization, this would mean that highly urbanized societies are more likely to suffer from high crime rates, for instance on account of the anonymity and social disintegration of urban society.

No relationship was found between the national rates of going out in the evening and national victimization rates for all crimes (*van Dijk et al.* 1990). National victimization rates are positively related, however, with levels of urbanization (correlation coefficient 0.64). Countries with fewer persons living in cities of 100,000 inhabitants or more tend to have lower overall victimization rates, and vice versa. The correlation is much weaker after the inclusion of Japan (0.34). Japan is the outlier here, since it combines the highest level of urbanization with the lowest crime rate. National victimization rates are negatively related to the age structure: countries with a higher percentage of young tend to have higher crime rates (0.49). We have presented the main findings in figure 9.

National victimization rates are not significantly related to Gross National Product per capita (-.04) or unemployment rates (-.34) according to our analyses. No clear association was found with the distribution of housing types - prevalence of tower blocks or detached houses - either.

There are positive relationships between national ownership rates of cars and overall victimization rates ($r=.48$), and between national ownership rates of bicycles and motorbikes and victimization rates for bicycle and motorbike theft (0.86; 0.65). Also, rates of TV-ownership are associated with national burglary risks (*Block & Zhang* 1990). National victimization rates for burglary in particular are positively associated with the percentage of the paid work force that is female. This is probably because in countries with high female participation the houses are less well guarded at daytime (*Block & Zhang* 1990). Interestingly and intriguingly, *Walker et al.* (1990) discovered that countries with colder climates have lower levels of crime than countries nearer to the equator (this is true for sexual incidents and burglary in particular and may be accounted for by a more outgoing lifestyle in countries with a more gentle climate). The inclusion of Japan, however, weakens the association.

Figure 9: Ranking of 15 Countries in Terms of Victimization Rates, Rates of City Dwellers (<100,000 Inhabitants), Unemployment Rates, Proportion of young People (15-29 Years), Gross National Product per Capita and Rates of Car Ownership

Countries	Victim. rate 1=high	Urbaniz. 1=high	Unem- ploy. 1=low	% young- sters 1=low	GNP p.c. 1=low	Car owner- ship 1=high
England & Wales	8	5	12	8	3	9
Scotland	9	7	12	8	3	14
Northern Ireland	14	15	12	8	3	13
The Netherlands	4	11	14	14	6	10
W. Germany	6	6	7	12	9	7
Switzerland	13	13	1	10	14	12
Belgium	10	14	10	6	5	5
France	7	8	8	5	8	4
Finland	12	9	4	3	11	11
Norway	11	12	3	4	13	8
USA	1	10	5	15	15	1
Australia	2	2	9	1	12	3
Canada	3	4	6	13	7	2
Spain	5	3	15	11	1	15
Japan	15	1	2	2	10	6

Source for victimization rate, urbanization and car ownership: *van Dijk et al.* 1990.

Source for other measures: *International Marketing Data and Stat.* 1987/88.

3.6 A Closer Look at National Victimization Rates

The next question we want to address is to which extent differences between the national victimization rates are accounted for by the differential prevalence of known criminogenic factors such as the level of urbanization, and levels of affluence in terms of the rate of car ownership etc.

As a first step in this analysis we have repeated the multivariate analysis presented earlier with the inclusion of the variable "country" (with fourteen categories). We have, in short, repeated the log-linear analysis of individual

five year victimization risks, with the addition of the respondent's country as a separate category (and the deletion of the less relevant factor gender). This allows us to determine whether the residence in a particular country is a risk increasing or diminishing factor independently from other risk factors. It allows us to explore whether and to what extent differences between national victimization rates persist if the criminogenic impact of known risk factors is controlled for. In other words, we will analyse, for example, whether the low victimization risk of the Swiss are wholly or particularly accounted for by Switzerland being a relatively rural country.

As figure 10 shows, the ranking of countries is indeed somewhat altered when the influence of known criminogenic factors is controlled for. For instance the USA, Australia and Canada have high victimization rates but relatively low risk coefficients according to our model. The high rates of victimization in these countries seem partially accounted for by the national prevalence of known risk factors, such as prosperity, high urbanization and a high proportion of young people. Canada's victimization rate of 53%, for instance, is similar to that of France (52%). However, the independent risk coefficient of Canada is 0.97 and that of France 1.31. This finding shows that the Canadian rate is lower than might be expected on the basis of Canada's high prevalence of risk factors such as urbanization and car ownership. The victimization rate of the Netherlands, France and Belgium in contrast is relatively high, given the low prevalence of risk factors in those countries. In the case of France the victimization rate is deflated by the high proportion of French living in rural areas (48% say to live in towns with less than 10,000 inhabitants; this percentage lies between 25 and 30 in all European countries except Switzerland). If this and other features of French society are taken into account, its victimization rate is rather high compared to the rates in other, more urbanized societies.

What may well lie behind these results are other social or cultural factors which were not incorporated into our model. In other words, there could be unknown crime-generating factors at play in the Netherlands, France and Belgium which increase their crime rates. Similarly, there could be crime-inhibiting factors depressing crime in Norway, Finland and the United Kingdom. The data were not available to allow Japan to be included in the analysis for figure 7. However, it seems highly likely that if Japan had been included, it would have emerged as a country with a victimization rate far below what might be expected given its high level of urbanization and affluence. It is hoped that future international crime surveys will shed more light on the yet largely unexplainable country differences.

3.7 A Look into the Future

A second book with papers on the methodology and the data of the 1989 International Crime Survey will be published shortly in 1991. In this book results of new analyses of the relations between social, economic and cultural characteristics of nations and regions and victimization rates will be presented.

In the meantime preparations have started for a second International Crime Survey to be mounted in January/February 1992. The questionnaire will be extended with a few questions about e.g. consumer fraud and corruption by officials. It is hoped that several new Western nations will join the initiative, notably Sweden, Denmark, Italy, Austria, USSR, and Hungary. In 1990 the survey was also carried out in East-Germany (the former GDR) and parts of Greece.

The United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute has agreed to promote and coordinate the execution of the survey in developing countries. It is believed that such surveys could give impetus to a number of desirable social policies aimed at better crime prevention and control within the context of social equity, respect for human rights and the creation of conditions for balanced economics and social development. The questionnaire developed for the 1989 study will be adapted for use in developing countries and its applicability pre-tested in seven developing countries in Asia, the Arab region, Africa and Latin America. The results will be evaluated and a project document prepared for a follow-up project focusing on full-fledged crime surveys in several developing countries. It is hoped that a great many developing countries will eventually take part in this project. The results will not only help to put crime prevention and control on the political agenda of developing countries but also increase our understanding of the relationships between modernization and crime.

Figure 10: Marginal Frequencies and Victimization Percentages. Results of a log-linear Analysis of the Relationships between Town Size, Age, social Economic Status, Lifestyle and Country of Residence on the one Hand and individual Victimization Risks on the other

	Victim			Risk coefficient $e^{2\mu}$
	N	%	μ	
Total	28,006	49.2	-.011	0.98
Townsize				
<10,000	8,692	40.0	-.206*	0.66
10,000-100,000	8,534	51.5	.001	1.00
>100,000	6,980	61.6	.205*	1.51
Age				
16-29 years	7,105	62.5	.244*	1.63
30-54 years	12,853	53.1	.046*	1.10
55 years and up	7,776	31.4	-.290*	0.56
Social economic status				
Low	5,205	30.6	-.254*	0.60
Average	18,418	50.5	.002	1.00
High	4,383	65.6	.252*	1.66
Out of door visits				
Often	14,347	55.9	.077*	1.17
Not often	13,659	42.4	-.077*	0.86
Countries				
The Netherlands	2,000	60.4	.270*	1.72
France	1,502	52.0	.136*	1.31
Belgium	2,060	48.3	.090*	1.20
Australia	2,012	57.2	.075*	1.16
USA	1,996	57.6	.073	1.16
Germany	5,274	51.3	.064*	1.14
Spain	2,041	51.6	.055	1.12
Switzerland	1,000	47.1	.037	1.08
Canada	2,074	53.0	-.015	0.97

	Victim			Risk coefficient $e^{\frac{2}{\mu}}$
	N	%	μ	
England & Wales	2,006	46.0	-.058*	0.89
Scotland	2,007	41.4	-.115*	0.79
Finland	1,025	40.1	-.190*	0.68
Norway	1,009	38.9	-.200*	0.67
Northern Ireland	2,000	33.4	-.222*	0.64

* $p < 0.05$; $X^2=990$; $df= 699$.

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Victims of Crime
Results of a Representative Telephone Survey of 5,000
Citizens of the former Federal Republic of Germany

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1. Introduction

The survey of victims of crime has been deemed to be an established component of criminological research since the growth of victimology as a science. Since the first congress of the world society of victimology, corresponding research results have been presented and discussed here. In the meantime, studies in relation to the victim, have been presented by many countries in the world. For instance, a constant stream of victimological studies have since 1972 been carried out in the USA.

Large scale victim studies have also been begun in other countries. Extensive victim studies for example, were carried out in the Netherlands (annually), in Great Britain, Scotland, Italy, Finland, France, Canada and Australia and also Third World Countries. In relation to west Switzerland as well as to German Switzerland *Killias* (1989) presented results from empirical victim research (an overall view of the important victim studies and significant results is given in table 1).

In the Federal Republic of Germany, victim studies were carried out in the 1980s in particular by the Max Planck Institute for foreign and international criminal law in Freiburg. And a large scale international comparative victim study was in fact carried out, in which the regions of Baden-Württemberg, Texas and Baranya/Hungary were included (*Arnold* 1986). *Schwind et al.* (1989) effected a replication study in Bochum. *Pitsela* (1986) presented results of a victim study of a Greek minority in a German city, *Plate et al.* (1985) and likewise *Boers* and *Sessar* (1991) produced in addition, studies of a strictly limited sample, the results of which are nevertheless of interest although not without wide generalization.

The research in relation to victimization generally pursued the following objectives (see *Schneider* 1987, p. 208):

1. They seek to record the extent, development and distribution of crime. Variables such as the frequency of victimization, the place and time of the crime, relationships between offenders and victims and socio-demographical characteristics of offenders and victims are measured.

2. They seek to record the damages/injuries suffered by victimization. Variables are measured in this respect, such as the extent of physical and mental injury, the extent of material damage, fear of crime and feelings of safety.
3. They seek to estimate the risk of victimization. In this area for instance, the socio-demographical characteristics of the victims versus non victims are recorded along with the comparability of forms of behavior, the capacity of the individual or social entity (such as household) to accept injury arising from crime, and the experiences of victims.
4. Finally, they seek to provide information about the way in which the criminal justice system works and its effectiveness. In this connection for instance, record is made as to whether and why the population report or do not report a crime, the attitude of the population in relation to the criminal justice system, satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the criminal prosecution organs such as police, courts and prisons and likewise the causes of dissatisfaction or satisfaction.

The methodical process used in individual victim studies, indicates for example considerable differences in relation to the recruitment of sample groups. These differences obviously have an effect upon the evidential value and comparability of the results recorded (see table 2). Obtaining randomly chosen sample groups which are spread over large regional areas, for example an entire country, therefore in principle allowing comparable statements to be made, is tied up however with extensive costs and many unturntable difficulties. For instance in the Federal Republic of Germany, due to the conditions and practicabilities of the data protection act, additional hurdles must be overcome, in comparison to many other countries. As methods of data inquiry, the personal (face to face) interview in particular, which is to a considerable extent regarded here as the "key way", and likewise the written questionnaire are made use of in the victim study as well as in empirical social research in general. To these two processes of data inquiry, the telephone interview has stepped gradually into the forefront in the last few years. Here, the development in victimological research is comparable to opinion research in general. Individual techniques of data inquiry are therefore to some extent combined and compared with each other.

2. Telephone Surveys

The increasing attractiveness of the telephone interview in opinion research, became clear in particular from the growing access to telephones, at least in the industrial states. Obtaining a representative sample by telephone, requires that the respondents are in actual fact reachable by telephone and therefore have a telephone at their disposal. The fact that for instance according to official statement, at least 89 % of households in the former Federal Republic of Germany, had a telephone at their disposal, means that at least in principle, a considerably representative sample could be questioned by telephone. It must however be noted, that systematic discrepancies which may appear in victim studies, and which may admittedly occur on a small scale, are likely. In this way, it can justifiably be assumed that those who do not have a telephone, are concentrated predominantly in the lower income class brackets and that special victim situations can be found here. It must however be taken into account, that such population groups are difficult to contact in general in the opinion research. In relation to personal interviews for instance where the failure rate is in general relatively low, the highest non response rate can be assumed in this area. The opinion research can be said in general to have a middle class bias, to a considerable extent independent from the methods of inquiries used. The discrepancy in relation to telephone surveys, which arise due to the fact that not everyone can be contacted by telephone, may be limited in comparison to other forms of inquiry, in which a considerably higher failure rate can be calculated where the same clientele is investigated.

The advantages of the telephone survey in comparison with other methods of inquiry can be regarded as:

1. Considerably lower costs than the personal interview.
2. Easy accessibility also over large distances.
3. Fast implementation.
4. Easy access to households even at unusual times in the day.
5. The fact that, in contrast to personal interviews, the interviewer does not have to gain access to the respondents homes, is said to result in those interviewed having less fear for instance from crime.

6. One argument which is brought forward as being an advantage over the written questionnaire, is the fact that motivating the respondents is easier, because of direct contact over the telephone. This requires without doubt however, very well trained, sensible and experienced interviewers.

(As to telephone surveys see for example: *Blankenship 1977; Brückner et al. 1982; Dillman 1978; Groves et al. 1988; Groves & Kahn 1979; Hormuth & Brückner 1985; Lavrakas 1987; Lucas & Adams 1977; Tuchfarber & Klecka 1976; Tuchfarber et al. 1976*; see also many articles in the journal "Public Opinion Quarterly").

3. Own Studies

The relatively quick implementation of telephone surveys, which is to some extent free of problems in the industrial states, became the decisive reason, alongside individual experience with these methods, for the fact that an international working group decided in 1988, to have the international victim study carried out by telephone (see *van Dijk et al. 1990*). In the following article, the first results in relation to the German part of this study, shall be reported, supplementary to the summary publication of the German data by *van Dijk et al. (1990)*. As a preliminary matter however, the methods and content of the inquiry must be cursorily sketched.

The study was conceptualized as an international comparative victim survey, the peculiarity of which in particular, lies in the relatively large number of European and non European countries. Both the methods used and content of the study, was prepared by an international working group. In order not to endanger the comparability of data strived for from the beginning, it was necessary for the individual countries participating, to adhere as much as possible to the questionnaire. We were included in the study in November 1988, at the time when questionnaires and methods of research had been determined to a considerable extent, if not completely. In all of the countries involved, the study had to be carried out by a commercial public opinion research institute. The coordination lay in the hands of the Federal Ministry of Justice in Amsterdam. The data inquiry was intended for the beginning of 1989. A representative sample of all inhabitants over 15 years of the countries included, were to be questioned. The form of inquiry was presented by the working group in its English form, and had to be translated by the local group in cooperation with the local public opinion research institute, into the particular languages of the country concerned. This work was undertaken in the Federal Republic of Germany, by the local

work institute *Burke* in Frankfurt, staff members of the criminalistic-criminological research group of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Wiesbaden, by which the German study was jointly financed and which as from November 1988, was involved in all steps of the study, and likewise the responsible members of the Max Planck Institute for criminal law in Freiburg. The translation of the questionnaire introduced considerable difficulties, which were increased by the great pressure of limitation of time: The data inquiry should have begun in the Federal Republic of Germany on January 6th 1989. Modification to the questionnaire were not possible because of the comparability reasons already mentioned. If at all, merely a few additional items thought by the German working group to be important, could be included. The German translation of the questionnaire was converted into a computer program by the public opinion research institute and fed into the computer. The final questionnaire could then be run into the computer with the computer program CATI which is widely used in public opinion research.

The selection of the sample, which was a central question in view of the representativeness of the results obtained, was dealt with as follows: From the side of the public opinion research institute, considerably more telephone numbers spread over the entire Federal Republic of Germany, were passed into the computer as was expected to be necessary. The selection of telephone numbers was effected by random selection from the telephone books in the Federal Republic of Germany and only private numbers were taken account of. In relation to the survey process, the computer program itself selected a number at random from the pool of around 32,000 telephone numbers fed into the computer and which were dialed. If a participant was contacted, it was then established as to how many people over 15 years belong to the particular household. This information was then fed into the computer, which selected at random the particular person in the household to be questioned and then produced it for the interviewer. This particular person then became a participant in our study.

In so far as the contents of the study are concerned, the questionnaire included a total of around 130 items. The questionnaire is formulated as follows: After a number of preliminary questions in relation to the size of the family, in particular the number of members over 15 years who constitute the selection of valid target individuals, a number of questions arise as to the ownership of vehicles, motorcycles, bicycles and so on. Individual questions in relation to 11 categories of offences then follow. The target individual is questioned as to whether he or she has been the victim of one of the offence categories during the last 5 years. If the answer is yes, it is

then established as to whether this happened in 1988, 1989 or merely before 1988 and how often the respondent was the victim of a crime. The 11 offence categories deal with the following crimes or groups of crimes:

1. theft of vehicles,
2. theft from vehicles,
3. vandalism to cars,
4. theft of two-wheeled vehicles with motor,
5. theft of bicycles,
6. burglary (breaking into the home without permission and theft or attempted theft),
7. unsuccessful attempt of burglary (attempted burglary),
8. robbery (snatching something away from someone with violence or under threat of violence or attempting to do so),
9. pickpocketing,
10. sexual incidents,
11. violent assault or threat of assault (so that the victim actually was afraid at home or out of the home).

Supplementary to commission of these offences, questions were asked as to where the offence occurred, whether or not a report was made and if not why not, the extent of the damage, whether the offender had a weapon, where a personal assault was committed and who the offender was, and in addition what the circumstances of the crime were (use of violence and so on).

In addition, as is usual with victim studies, information in relation to fear of crime was measured (company going out at night, alarm system in the house, leaving a light on at night, possession of fire arms, insurance against theft). The police services also had to be assessed (satisfaction with the police response in relation to reporting a crime, reasons for this, how good the police services are). Finally, the form of inquiry included questions in relation to assessment of victim help organizations and also in relation to attitudes towards criminal sanctions. Personal questions such as home circumstances, education, occupation, income, age, size of community, whether a person was a foreigner or not and likewise their willingness to participate in a further written survey, concluded the questionnaire. At the end of the interview, the interviewer had to assess the reliability of the information given, using a scale.

In relation to the course which the survey followed, it began at the beginning of January 1989 and extended over three months - admittedly with temporary breaks. The study was carried out centrally from Frankfurt. Telephone calls were made during the working week predominantly between 6 and 9 o'clock in the evening, and also at the week-end out with this period. 5,000 complete interviews had to be carried out in the Federal Republic of Germany. At the end of two thirds of these interviews, an interim calculation showed that the drop out rate was clearly higher than expected. In consultation with the public opinion research institute, the following two variations which were methodically controlled, were in addition introduced: On the one hand, one week before the interview, a letter from the Max Planck Institute was sent out to 500 respondents, in which the interview was referred to, its significance explained and cooperation requested. On the other hand, 1,110 people who had already refused cooperation, were called a second time and their cooperation was once again requested. We expected on the one hand a better response from the sample by means of taking this step, and on the other hand, a clue as to a better methodical procedure to be used in relation to telephone surveys.

The study, as already explained, is presented as an international comparative research plan, which understandably must have an effect upon the content of the methods of inquiry. Until now, a total of 17 countries have taken part in the inquiry. In Europe, namely the Netherlands, Belgium, France, England, Scotland, Northern Ireland, Switzerland, Norway, Finland, Spain, Poland/Warsaw and West Germany. In addition, the USA, Canada, Australia, Indonesia and Japan have also taken part. The present sample group lies between 500 and 2,000 people, with the exception of the Federal Republic of Germany, where as already mentioned, 5,000 people have been questioned. In relation to the Federal Republic of Germany, this study forms the largest representative victim survey which has ever been carried out and in which for the first time the telephone survey has been effected to such a great extent in this social scientific area.

4. Results

A number of selected results in relation to the Federal Republic of Germany (before the union with the former GDR) can be set out here, supplementary to the data published by *van Dijk et al.* (1990). Detailed publication by the Max Planck Institute in cooperation with the German Federal Bureau of Investigation, in relation to the victim survey, is intended in 1992. We wish to restrict presentation of the results to the following areas:

1. validity of data,
2. 11 offences (categories of offences) recorded,
3. fear of crime,
4. assessment of police services.

4.1 Validity of data

As is shown in table 2, the spread of response rates in relation to individual victim surveys, is relatively high but the response rate amounts in general to over 50 %. In relation to the total sample this goal could not be achieved in our survey. Table 3 shows a differentiated overall view of the response from the sample groups. In general, we can speak of a response rate of 33,7 %. A failure to respond for example due to false telephone numbers, business numbers, the fact that there is nobody there over 15 years of age, telephone continually engaged, target individuals could not speak German, were regarded as neutral namely it was accepted that such "drop out figures" were of no significance in relation to the contents of the survey and therefore did not distort the results. Appointments which had not been kept, were also disregarded as being irrelevant in so far as the results of the study were concerned.

It is notable that those who refused to respond when the first call was made, were prepared on the second call, over 17.8 %, to take part in an interview namely the rate of response could be said to have increased by 17,8 % in relation to these (N = 1,110) people who had been called a second time (having already refused in the first instance). The obvious higher rate of response is striking, in relation to the respondents who had received a written notice from the Max Planck Institute before the telephone interview, containing an explanation as to the aim and purpose of the study, and which requested their cooperation in a telephone interview which was to follow at a later date. The rate of response in relation to telephone interviews, can therefore be increased by use of such prior notice of the interview and also by means of a second telephone call to those who have already refused to participate. In spite of the relatively low rate of response in our study, we could establish no systematical distortion of the data obtained. We can therefore accept that the initial data are valid and allow comparative conclusions to be made. The results of the study by the interviewer in relation to assessment of the reliability of the statements made by the respondents during the interviews, also support this. No fewer than 79 % of the interviews were assessed by the interviewers to be "without a doubt reliable" or "very reliable".

4.2 The 11 Offences, respectively the Categories of the Offences recorded

According to the information given by the respondents (N = 5,274 people) 54 % had been victimized at least on one occasion in the past 5 years (male: 56 %; female: 52 %; see table 4). The number of victims in the Federal Republic of Germany in comparison with other victim studies, is therefore relatively high. To what extent this depends upon the form of data inquiry namely the method of telephone inquiry used, cannot be conclusively assessed here. At the time, a supplementary but smaller experimental study is running at the Max Planck Institute for criminal law, which seeks to check the extent to which the form of data inquiry (mailed questionnaires - telephone interviews - face to face interviews) have an influence upon the contents of the study (attitudes of victims towards crime, imprisonment and criminal politics). The results of this study which will almost certainly be able to provide further information, have not however been presented as yet.

Table 5 gives an overall view of the rate of victimization in relation to the 11 different offence categories, subdivided according to sex. As the total number of victims is relatively high, it is not surprising that the rate of victims in relation to the individual offences is to some extent higher in comparison to other surveys although this does not apply to all offences. The highest number of victims can be found in relation to damage to cars/vandalism: In total 23,5 % of the respondents, almost a quarter, stated that they had been the victim of this offence in the last 5 years. The number of victims in relation to motorcycle theft is surprisingly low (1.0 %). In relation to almost all offences, the number of victims who were men, is higher than those who were women. This is a result which is confirmed by former studies.

Division of the 11 offences in relation to the various federal states is shown in table 6. It is already clear from this, that the number of offences is dependent upon the particular state concerned. This is not surprising, in that a number of the states (Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen) are city states and as is well known, the victim rate depends upon the extent of urbanization. More crime can be assumed in big cities. Admittedly, distinctions between the rural states, where the northern German states have a higher victim rate than the southern states are already clear. Table 7 shows a summary of the 11 offence categories in the three offence groups: means of conveyance offences, property offences and offences involving violence. The following were regarded as means of conveyance offences: damage to cars/vandalism, theft from the car or of car parts, bicycle theft, car theft and motorcycle

theft. The following were listed as property offences: theft of personal property, attempted burglary, burglary. In relation to offences of violence, the following were included: violent assault/threat, sexual assault/threat/abuse, robbery and attempted robbery.

It can be said that an increase in victimization can be seen ranging from means of conveyance offences to offences of violence namely the victims of violent offences were more severely victimized than those of means of conveyance offences. Figure 1 gives a graphical illustration of these results. If the north-south differential in relation to the number of victims, is clear from this, and this differential remains when the city states are left out of account.

In order to assess the extent of influence of this north-south differential upon the number of victims, in comparison with further demographical variables, we carried out a regression analysis using the variables of age, size of community, age on leaving school (level of education) household income (social status), sex and federal state (north-south differential; see table 8). The north-south differential in relation to the level of victimization could be confirmed in this way. It decreases however quite clearly in relation to the variables of age, size of community (extent of urbanization) and age on leaving school (level of education). The influence of the north-south differential is however very significant as are the other variables with the exception of sex ($p < .00$).

An overall view of the place in which the crime was committed, is given by table 9 and figure 2. According to expectation, most victimizations take place at home or in the vicinity of the home. An exception is merely the offence of theft of personal property and robbery or attempted robbery. In relation to theft of personal property, most victimizations take place within a home or within the vicinity of a home. The place in which the crime of robbery or attempted robbery is committed, proves to be relatively widespread, with a noticeably high percentage of these offences being committed abroad (26,5 %). The fact that the absolute figures are however to some extent limited, despite the relatively high sample selected, must not allow the samples to be overinterpreted.

4.3 Fear of Crime

The area of fear of crime is - as it has always been emphasized in literature and likely so - a very complex area of research, which differently defined and operationalized again and again in individual studies. This makes the comparability of individual results considerably more difficult and at least

to some extent explains the contradictions found in the results (see details in the article by Kury in this volume; *Arnold 1991*). The international working group merely included a few items in the inquiry questionnaire, which had been globally formulated in relation to the area of fear of crime. In this way, only a number of aspects can be contributed to this theme. The individuals involved, were questioned as to whether they avoid particular places within the vicinity of their home, when it is dark, and in addition, as to whether they insured that they were accompanied when they were going out at night, due to fear of crime.

Table 10 indicates that victims of crime avoid more often going into places at night within the vicinity of their home, than non victims and equally are more inclined to ensure that they are accompanied when they are going out, due to fear of victimization. Both of these distinctions are statistically very significant. This result clearly shows that victims of crime obviously have greater fear of crime than non victims.

In addition, we verified as to whether the aspects in relation to fear of crime, recorded by us are dependent upon the form of victimization itself. There were statistically significant correlations in particular in relation to avoiding a particular places at night. The connection between the variable of fear of crime and victimization in relation to victims of means of conveyance offences is most weakly shown. In general, these victims are affected by a relatively limited extent of victimization in comparison with victims of property offences or even victims of violent offences. The relationship is clear, namely that fear of crime increases proportionately with the intensity of victimization.

4.4 Assessment of Police Services

The assessment of police services, in particular their efficiency, may for instance have an effect upon the number of crimes reported by the population, namely an important indicator of the actual crimes registered (see details in article by Kury in this volume). It is to be expected that victims of crime who are of the impression that the police could not protect them against victimization and therefore are inadequate in the provision of services, are less satisfied with the police, than non victims. We can confirm this assumption from our data (see table 11; figure 3). There is a statistically significant indication in relation to both the entire group and also the three subgroups (victims of offences relating to means of conveyance, property, crimes of violence; $p < .00$) namely that victims of crime are less satisfied with police services than non victims.

5. Discussion and Summary

The victim survey and selected results referred to here, which was carried out at the beginning of 1989 in the Federal Republic of Germany (the former federal states), in which a total of $N = 5,274$ selected people from age 16 upwards, were interviewed by telephone, constitutes the most extensive victim survey in the Federal Republic of Germany up until now. At the same time, this study tried and tested for the first time on a large scale, the method of the telephone survey within the social scientific-criminological sphere. Our experience allows scepticism to arise, in relation to the targeted response rate of 33.7 %. As a rule, a response rate of 50 % and more is aimed at in relation to victim studies, as is shown above. It can certainly be said that particular difficulties can be expected in the Federal Republic of Germany in relation to surveys of this form, because of the acute awareness amongst the population of data protection and extensive discussion in this area. This cannot admittedly, explain the relatively low response rate of our study (in a complete way). This can without a doubt, be attributed most of all to the fact that the commercial public opinion research institute, which was sought out by means of the Ministry of Justice in Holland, by the international research group, was overburdened with this task, in particular because experiences with respect to those scientific surveys lacked. In addition, an enormous number of interviews were carried out in the Federal Republic of Germany, which excluded by far, the size of the sample groups taking part in the victim survey in other countries. In order to adhere to the time scales, a number of interviewers from the firm in Frankfurt had to be engaged, who did not have the required experience into the kind of motivation which was required to cooperate in the study.

We verified in detail the extent to which discrepancies could be calculated due to a relatively high drop out rate, in that the rate of response is an indicator of the validity and evidential value of the data. In view of the theme of the study such distortions or discrepancies in the sample could not be established, so that finally, we accepted validity of the data. It can at least be accepted that the validity of the German data does not fall behind that of the other countries involved. To our knowledge, such detailed and critical verification of the validity of data concerned, was not carried out to the extent in the Federal Republic of Germany, in any other country which took part in the survey, at least there is nothing comparable reported in the article published by *van Dijk et al.* (1990).

In relation to the results, the number of victims of both sexes, were almost identical: every second respondent indicated that they had been a victim of one of the 11 categories of offences questioned, on at least one occasion within the last 5 years. The rate of victimization in relation to the individual offences, is relatively widely spread, with the highest rate relating to damage to cars/vandalism. A comparison with the results reported by *van Dijk et al.* (1990, p. 175) shows that this offence, in comparison to other offences, plays a leading role not only in the Federal Republic of Germany, but also as seen in an international comparison: In comparison to other countries, this offence is most obvious within the Federal Republic of Germany. A (minor) north-south differential in relation to the extent of crime, can be established from the data from the police statistics in the Federal Republic of Germany. This north-south differential was clearly shown by our study. Independent from the extent of organization, the commission of crime in the northern federal states is shown to be in relative terms, clearly higher than in the south. The regression analysis carried out shows a clearly significant relationship whereby the north-south differential clearly decreased in comparison with the remaining variables included (age, size of community, age on leaving school). However, it could be established as a variable of some influence.

The greater majority of the victimizations questioned about, took place at home or in the vicinity of the home, with the exception of theft of personal property and robbery or attempted robbery. In relation to victimization abroad, the offence of robbery and attempted robbery occupied first place: over 26.5 % of the crimes reported in this group, took place here.

In relation to the area of fear of crime, there is a clear relationship between victimization and aspects of fear of crime (avoiding particular places, being accompanied when out at night). Victims have developed more fear of victimization in comparison to non-victims. This is a plausible result. It is clear that fear of crime increases with the intensity of victimization although differentiated evaluations are necessary here.

Victimization was also shown to have a relationship to the variable of satisfaction with the police. It could be established statistically in relation to both the entire group and the three subgroups, that the victims of crimes were less satisfied with police services than non-victims. There clearly exists feelings of disappointment, in that the police are estimated as not being able to protect the particular individuals from the victimization suffered.

The victim survey as a whole, provided a wealth of results for the Federal Republic of Germany, of which only a few selected facts and figures can be shown here. A differentiated evaluation of the data will be concluded in

1992 and published. It is interesting to note the experiences in relation to the telephone survey, which without doubt, if the survey is carried out efficiently, has a number of advantages in relation also to social scientific study.

The extensive international victim survey (*van Dijk et al. 1990*) showed that international cooperation and the conclusion of many countries in the world, is possible. Simultaneously, this worldwide study admittedly also clarified the enormous problems of collecting such data from varied cultural circles. These problems have until now to a great extent never been processed and solved.

6. Tables and Figures

Tab. 1: Victim Surveys

Surveys	U.S. Dept. of Justice 13 cities 1974	U.S. Dept. of Justice 8 cities 1972	U.S. Dept. of Justice 8 cities 1975	U.S. Dept. of Justice 5 cities 1973	U.S. Dept. of Justice 5 cities 1975	U.S. Dept. of Justice New York 1977
N	H: 124360 P: 268767	H: 73639 P: 162014	H: 78052 P: 165806	H: 47380 P: 105367	H: 48837 P: 106999	H: 13500 P: 29000
Offences						
Theft	D: 74,7% P: 10,0% H: 27,5%	D: 70,6% P: 9,1% H: 28,8%	D: 71,7% P: 10,2% H: 31,5%	D: 68,3% P: 8,7% H: 24,9%	D: 69,3% P: 9,0% H: 25,3%	D: 84,4% P: 8,5% H: 15,7%
- of cars	D: 5,4% H: 3,5%	D: 6,1% H: 3,7%	D: 5,7% H: 4,1%	D: 6,0% H: 3,9%	D: 6,2% H: 4,2%	D: 4,7% H: 1,9%
- from cars				1		
- of motor-cycles						
- of bicycles						
- of pers. property	D: 32,2% P: 10,0%	D: 29,3% P: 9,1%	D: 29,8% P: 10,2%	D: 30,4% P: 8,7%	D: 31,5% P: 9,0%	D: 46,1% P: 8,5%
- burglary	D: 14,6% H: 9,5%	D: 15,0% H: 9,7%	D: 14,3% H: 10,6%	D: 13,3% H: 8,9%	D: 12,4% H: 8,5%	D: 12,6% H: 5,2%
- attempted burglary	D: 5,4% H: 3,5%	D: 4,9% H: 3,1%	D: 5,1% H: 3,7%	D: 5,3% H: 3,5%	D: 5,1% H: 3,4%	D: 3,7% H: 1,5%
Damage to property						
- Vandalism to cars						
Sexual offences	D: 0,7% P: 0,2%	D: 0,6% P: 0,2%	D: 0,6% P: 0,2%	D: 0,7% P: 0,2%	D: 0,6% P: 0,2%	D: 0,7% P: 0,1%
- sex. incidents ag. women						
Offences of violence	D: 14,1% P: 4,3%	D: 16,5% P: 4,9%	D: 17,0% P: 5,6%	D: 19,1% P: 5,4%	D: 19,5% P: 5,6%	D: 14,9% P: 2,7%
- robbery, att. robbery	D: 5,2% P: 1,6%	D: 6,8% P: 1,9%	D: 5,7% P: 2,1%	D: 9,5% P: 2,5%	D: 9,1% P: 2,6%	D: 5,1% P: 1,0%
- assaults/ threats	D: 8,8% P: 2,8%	D: 9,6% P: 3,0%	D: 10,1% P: 3,5%	D: 9,6% P: 2,8%	D: 10,4% P: 3,1%	D: 9,8% P: 1,8%
Victims						
Non-victims						
Fear of crime						
Contentment with the police						
Discontentment with the police						

D: Basis of calculation: Total number of offences

P: Basis of calculation: Number of persons

H: Basis of calculation: Number of households

Tab. 1: Victim Surveys

Surveys	U.S.Dept. of Justice National Crime Survey 1973	U.S.Dept. of Justice National Crime Survey 1984	U.S.Dept. of Justice National Crime Survey 1985	Hough & Mayhew British Crime Survey, England & Wales 1984	Manzanera Jalapa, Mexico 1976	Castles Australia 1983
N	H: 65000 P: 160000	H: 54000 P: 114000	H: 49000 P: 102000	P: 11030	P: 2405	H: 18000
Offences						
Theft	D: 81,1% P: 9,3% H: 22,1%	D: 83,2% P: 7,2% H: 17,9%	D: 83,3% P: 6,9% H: 17,4%	D: 53,6% P: 13,1%	P: 44,9%	P: 6,7% H: 5,9%
- of cars	D: 3,5% H: 1,9%	D: 3,8% H: 1,5%	D: 3,6% H: 1,4%	D: 2,4% H: 0,6%	P: 3,0%	P: 0,8%
- from cars				D: 11,4% P: 2,8%		
- of motor-cycles						
- of bicycles				D: 2,4% P: 0,6%		
- of pers. property	D: 40,3% P: 9,3%	D: 38,9% P: 7,2%	D: 38,6% P: 6,9%	D: 14,8% P: 3,6%	P: 25,5%	P: 5,9%
- burglary	D: 13,3% H: 9,3%	D: 12,2% H: 4,9%	D: 12,4% H: 4,9%	D: 22,6% H: 5,5%	P: 11,3%	P: 8,9%
- attempted burglary	D: 3,8% H: 2,1%	D: 3,7% H: 1,5%	D: 3,6% H: 1,4%		P: 5,1%	
Damage to property				D: 24,8% P: 6,0%		
- Vandalism to cars						
Sexual offences	D: 0,4% P: 0,1%	D: 0,5% P: 0,1%	D: 0,4% P: 0,1%	D: 0,6% P: 0,1%	P: 6,5%	P: 0,5%
- sexual incidents ag.women				D: 0,6% P: 0,1%	P: 3,8%	P: 0,5%
Offences of violence	D: 14,2% P: 3,3%	D: 16,3% P: 3,0%	D: 16,3% P: 2,9%	D: 20,9% P: 5,1%	P: 13,7%	P: 4,0%
- robbery, att.robb.	D: 3,0% P: 0,7%	D: 3,1% P: 0,6%	D: 2,8% P: 0,5%	D: 5,4% P: 1,3%		P: 0,6%
- assaults/threats	D: 11,2% P: 2,6%	D: 13,1% P: 2,4%	D: 13,5% P: 2,4%	D: 15,5% P: 3,8%	P: 13,7%	P: 3,4%
Victims					P: 53,8%	
Non-victims					P: 46,2%	
Fear of crime				P: 31,0%	P: 61,0%	
Contentment with the police						
Discontentment with the police						

D: Basis of calculation: Total number of offences

P: Basis of calculation: Number of persons

H: Basis of calculation: Number of households

Tab. 1: Victim Surveys

Survey	Hassin Israel 1979	Biderman et al. Columbia, USA 1966	Hawkins Seattle, USA 1968	Arnold Baden- Württemberg, FRG 1981	Arnold Texas, USA 1982	Arnold Baranya, Hungary 1982
N	H: 5567	H: 511	H: 1411	P: 2252	P: 1442	P: 2610
Offences						
Theft	H: 29,8%	D: 55,8% H: 48,3%	H: 50,2%	P: 10,5%	P: 29,8%	P: 18,2%
- of cars	H: 4,3%	D: 4,7% H: 4,1%		P: 1,8%	P: 4,8%	P: 3,2%
- from cars	H: 19,4%					
- of motor- cycles						
- of bi- cycles						
- of pers. property				P: 7,2%	P: 12,5%	P: 11,9%
- burglary	H: 4,7%	D: 24,8% H: 21,5%	H: 11,2%	P: 1,5%	P: 12,5%	P: 3,1%
- attempted burglary	H: 1,4%					
Damage to property	H: 7,6%	D: 10,6% H: 9,2%	H: 18,1%	P: 8,9%	P: 13,9%	P: 7,8%
- Vandalism to cars	H: 7,6%					
Sexual offences		D: 3,6% H: 3,1%	H: 7,0%	P: 0,6%	P: 1,1%	P: 1,4%
- sexual incidents ag. women						
Offences of violence		D: 19,2% H: 16,6%	H: 14,8%	P: 2,7%	P: 7,0%	P: 3,9%
- robbery, att. robb.		D: 7,9% H: 6,8%	H: 2,0%	P: 0,3%	P: 0,8%	P: 0,5%
- assaults/ threats		D: 11,3% H: 9,8%	H: 12,8%	P: 2,4%	P: 6,2%	P: 3,4%
Victims	H: 36,9%	H: 35,8%	H: 56,6%	P: 20,2%	P: 36,4%	P: 23,1%
Non-victims	H: 63,1%	H: 64,2%	H: 43,4%	P: 79,8%	P: 63,6%	P: 76,9%
Fear of crime		H: 52,2%		P: 8,2 - 44,4%	P: 23,0 - 58,3%	P: 8,4 - 45,4%
Contentment with the police		H: 64,4%		P: 35,6%	P: 52,3%	P: 28,8%
Discontent- ment with the police		H: 38,7%		P: 59,1%	P: 47,6%	P: 71,1%

D: Basis of calculation: Total number of offences

P: Basis of calculation: Number of persons

H: Basis of calculation: Number of households

Tab. 1: Victim Surveys

Survey	Aromaa Finland 1970	Aromaa Finland 1973	Killias Switzerland 1984	Killias Switzerland -D/I 1986	Villmow & Stephan FRG 1973	Villmow & Stephan FRG 1976
N	P: 974	P: 2014	P: 3000	P: 3500	P: 920	P: 920
Offences						
Theft			H: 36,3% P: 10,5%	H: 20,7% P: 6,7%	P: 29,2%	P: 31,0%
- of cars			H: 0,4%	H: 0,4%		
- from cars						
- of motor- cycles			H: 8,7%	H: 1,1%		
- of bi- cycles			H: 14,9%	H: 16,9%		
- of pers. property			P: 10,5%	P: 6,7%		
- burglary			H: 2,3%	H: 2,3%		
- attempted burglary						
Damage to property					P: 20,2%	P: 20,7%
- Vandalism to cars						
Sexual offences			P: 0,4%	P: 0,2%	P: 0,5%	P: 0,3%
- sexual incidents ag. women			P: 0,4%	P: 0,2%		
Offences of violence	P: 14,9%	P: 15,1%	P: 1,7%	P: 1,6%	P: 22,3%	P: 25,0%
- robbery att. robb.			P: 0,4%	P: 0,5%		
- assaults/ threats	P: 14,9%	P: 15,1%	P: 1,3%	P: 1,1%	P: 22,3%	P: 25,0%
Victims	P: 14,9%	P: 15,1%			P: 49,5%	P: 50,4%
Non-victims	P: 85,1%	P: 84,9%			P: 50,5%	P: 49,6%
Fear of crime			men: 18,4% women: 64,0%	see CH-FRA		
Contentment with the police			Victims: 55,0% Non-victims: 59,0%	see CH-FRA		
Discontent- ment with the police			Victims: 45,0% Non-victims: 41,0%	see CH-FRA		

D: Basis of calculation: Total number of offences

P: Basis of calculation: Number of persons

H: Basis of calculation: Number of households

Tab. 1: Victim Surveys

Survey	Stephan Stuttgart, FRG 1973 Population I (head of the household)	Stephan Stuttgart, FRG 1973 Populat. II (total household)	Schwind et al. Göttingen, FRG 1973/74	Schwind et al. Bochum, FRG 1975	Schwind et al. Bochum, FRG 1986	Plate et al. Solingen, FRG 1981
N	H: 440 P: 1012	H: 301 P: 633	P: 1170	P: 1680	P: 1434	P: 1001
Offences						
Theft	P: 13,9% H: 20,3%	P: 8,6% H: 27,6%	D: 53,2% P: 26,5%	D: 84,4% P: 11,3%	D: 87,4% P: 12,1%	D: 46,3% P: 5,7%
- of cars	H: 2,3%	H: 2,6%	D: 1,0% P: 0,5%			
- from cars	P: 4,7% H: 8,4%	P: 2,1% H: 14,1%	D: 8,9% P: 4,4%			
- of motor- cycles						
- of bi- cycles			D: 6,3% P: 3,2%			
- of pers. property	P: 12,2%	P: 6,5%	D: 2,4% P: 1,2%			
- burglary	H: 7,1%	H: 7,2%	D: 6,5% P: 3,2%			
- attempted burglary	H: 2,5%	H: 3,7%				
Damage to property	H: 13,9%	H: 14,0	D: 25,2% P: 12,6%			D: 43,9% P: 5,4%
- Vandalism to cars			D: 17,5% P: 8,7%			D: 26,8% P: 3,3%
Sexual offences						
- sexual incidents ag. women						
Offences of violence	P: 7,5%	P: 4,0%	D: 4,1% P: 2,1%	D: 15,6% P: 2,1%	D: 12,6% P: 1,7%	D: 9,8% P: 1,2%
- robbery, att. robb.	P: 1,7%	P: 2,2%	D: 0,7% P: 0,4%	D: 2,7% P: 0,4%		
- assaults/ therats	P: 5,8%	P: 1,8%	D: 3,4% P: 1,7%	D: 12,9% P: 1,7%	D: 12,6% P: 1,7%	D: 9,8% P: 1,2%
Victims	P: 29,8% H: 32,3%	P: 31,3% H: 47,8%	P: 37,4%			
Non-victims	P: 70,2% H: 67,7%	P: 68,7% H: 52,2%	P: 62,6%			
Fear of crime	P: 35,0 - 75,0%	see Popula- tion I				
Contentment with the police	P: 45,0%	see Popula- tion I				
Discontent- ment with the police	P: 5,0%	see Popula- tion I				

D: Basis of calculation: Total number of offences

P: Basis of calculation: Number of persons

H: Basis of calculation: Number of households

Tab. 1: Victim Surveys

Survey	Clinard Zürich, Switzerland 1973	Köhne & Miyazawa Tokyo, Japan 1977
N	H: 482 P: 940	H: 661
Offences		
Theft	H: 31,3%	H: 42,5%
- of cars	H: 0,6%	H: 0,8%
- from cars		H: 2,5%
- of motor- cycles		H: 0,3%
- of bi- cycles		H: 10,6%
- of pers. property	H: 10,8% P: 5,8%	H: 16,5%
- burglary	H: 5,4%	H: 11,8%
- attempted burglary	H: 2,9%	H: 4,2%
Damage to property	H: 6,0%	H: 14,3%
- Vandalism to cars	H: 6,0%	
Sexual offences		
- sexual incidents ag. women		
Offences of violence		H: 6,3%
- robbery, att. robb.	H: 1,0%	H: 3,4%
- assaults/ threats	H: 1,5%	H: 2,9%
Victims	P: 34,0%	
Non-victims	P: 66,0%	
Fear of crime		
Contentment with the police		
Discontent- ment with the police		

D: Basis of calculation: Total number of offences

P: Basis of calculation: Number of persons

H: Basis of calculation: Number of households

Tab. 2: Victim Surveys - Methods and response rates

Survey	Method	Total N	Response rate
U.S. Dept. of Justice 13 cities, 1974 (1975)*	personal interviews	H: 128680	H: 96,6% -> 124360 P: -> 268767
U.S. Dept. of Justice 8 cities, 1972 (1976)*	personal interviews	H: 77509 P: 165036	H: 95,0% -> 73639 P: 98,2% -> 162014
U.S. Dept. of Justice 8 cities, 1975 (1976)*	personal interviews	H: 80608 P: 167000	H: 96,8% -> 78052 P: 98,9% -> 165806
U.S. Dept. of Justice 6 cities, 1973 (1976)*	personal interviews	H: 49983 P: 107414	H: 94,7% -> 47380 P: 98,1% -> 105367
U.S. Dept. of Justice 6 cities, 1975 (1976)*	personal interviews	H: 50796 P: 108480	H: 96,1% -> 48837 P: 98,6% -> 106999
U.S. Dept. of Justice New York, 1977 (1980)*	personal interviews	H: 16700 P: 29800	H: 80,8% -> 13500 P: 96,0% -> 29000
U.S. Dept. of Justice National Crime Survey 1973 (1976)*	personal interviews	H: 80000 P: 166700	H: 80,3% -> 65000 P: 96,0% -> 160000
U.S. Dept. of Justice National Crime Survey 1984 (1986)*	personal interviews	H: 65000 P: 118750	H: 83,1% -> 54000 P: 96,0% -> 114000
U.S. Dept. of Justice National Crime Survey 1985 (1987)*	personal interviews	H: 59000 P: 106250	H: 83,1% -> 49000 P: 96,0% -> 102000
Hough & Mayhew British Crime Survey England & Wales, 1984 (1985)*	personal interviews	P: 14277	P: 77,3% -> 11030
Manzanera; Jalapa, Mexico, 1976 (1982)*	questionnaire	P: 3000	P: 80,2% -> 2405
Castles Australia, 1983 (1986)*	personal interviews	no informations available	P: -> 18000
Hassin Israel, 1979 (1986)*	personal interviews	no informations available	P: -> 5576
Biderman et al. Columbia/USA, 1966 (1967)*	personal interviews	H: 707	H: 72,3% -> 511
Hawkins Seattle/USA, 1968 (1970)*	personal interviews	H: 2212	H: 63,8% -> 1411
Arnold Baden-Württemberg, FRG 1981 (1986)*	mailed questionnaire	P: 3830	P: 58,8% -> 2252
Arnold Texas/USA, 1982 (1986)*	mailed questionnaire	P: 2000	P: 72,1% -> 1442
Arnold Baranya/Hungary, 1982 (1986)*	mailed questionnaire	P: 3600	P: 68,0% -> 2610

* The data in brackets refer to the year of publication of the study, the data without bracket refer to the year of realisation.

Tab. 2: Victim Surveys - Methods and response rates

Survey	Method	Total N	Response rate
Stephan Stuttgart/FRG, 1973 (1976)* Population I	personal interviews	H: 638	H: 69,0% -> 440
Stephan Stuttgart/FRG, 1973 (1976)* Population II	personal interviews	H: 420 P: 930	H: 71,7% -> 301 P: 68,1% -> 633
Schwind et al. Göttingen/FRG, 1973/74 (1975)*	personal interviews	P: 1264	P: 92,6% -> 1170
Schwind et al. Bochum/FRG, 1975 (1988)*	personal interviews	P: 1980	P: 84,2% -> 1680
Schwind et al. Bochum/FRG, 1986 (1988)*	personal interviews	P: 1792	P: 80,0% -> 1434
Plate et al. Solingen/FRG, 1981 (1985)*	personal interviews	P: 1462	P: 70,5% -> 1001
Aromaa Finland, 1970 (1974)*	personal interviews	P: 1299	P: 75,0% -> 974
Aromaa Finland, 1973 (1974)*	personal interviews	P: 2685	P: 75,0% -> 2014
Killias Switzerland-FRA, 1984 (1989)*	telephone interviews	P: 5000	P: 60,0% -> 3000
Killias Switzerland-D/I, 1986 (1989)*	telephone interviews	P: 5060	P: 69,2% -> 3500
Villmow & Stephan FRG, 1973 (1983)*	personal interviews	P: 1411	P: 65,2% -> 920
Villmow & Stephan FRG, 1976 (1983)*	personal interviews	P: no informations available	P: -> 920
Clinard Zürich/Switzerland, 1973 (1978)*	personal interviews	H: 700	H: 68,9% -> 482
Kühne & Miyazawa Tokyo/Japan, 1977 (1979)*	personal interviews	H: 1000	H: 66,1% -> 661

* The data in brackets refer to the year of publication of the study, the data without brackets refer to the year of realisation.

Tab. 3: Record of Contact - An overview of the different samples

	Random Sample		Second Approach		With Letter		Total Sample	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Gross sample:	19,969	100,0	1,110	100,0	500	100,0	20,469	100,0
(1) Non-relevant contacts								
Drop-outs, total:	1,066	5,3	25	2,3	26	5,2	1,092	5,3
- wrong number	683	3,4	25	2,3	25	5,0	708	3,5
- company phone	316	1,6	-	-	1	0,2	317	1,5
- no persons above 15 in the household	67	0,3	-	-	-	-	67	0,3
(II) Gross sample minus (1)	18,903	94,7	1,085	97,7	474	94,8	19,377	94,7
(2) Drop-outs, total:	2,810	14,0	134	12,1	106	21,2	2,916	14,2
- phone busy	43	0,2	1	0,1	-	-	43	0,2
- no answer	1,838	9,2	115	10,4	84	16,8	1,922	9,4
- respondent not available	302	1,5	8	0,7	14	2,8	316	1,5
- not German speaking	627	3,1	10	0,9	8	1,6	635	3,1
(III) Relevant contacts:	16,093	80,6	951	85,7	368	73,6	16,461	80,4
(3) Appointments:	744	3,7	20	1,8	67	13,4	811	4,0
(IV) Relevant contacts minus (3):	15,349	76,9	931	83,9	301	60,2	15,650	76,5
(4) Refusals, total:	10,408	52,1	765	68,9	134	26,8	10,376	50,7
- male	2,894	14,5	206	18,6	53	10,6	2,947	14,4
- female	5,790	29,0	481	43,3	62	12,4	5,852	28,6
- terminated	1,724	8,6	78	7,0	19	3,8	1,577	7,7
(IV) Response Rate (valid sample):	4,941	26,1 (I) 30,7 (II) 32,2 (III)	166	15,3 (I) 17,5 (II) 17,8 (III)	167	35,2 (I) 45,4 (II) 55,5 (III)	5,274	27,2 (I) 32,0 (II) 39,7 (III)
(The figures behind the percentages refer to the specific basis of calculation)								

Tab. 4: Distinction victims - non-victims by sex

	Total		Sex			
			male		female	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-victim	2425	100,0	1121	46,2	1304	53,8
Victim	2849	100,0	1446	50,8	1403	49,2
Total	5274	100,0	2567	48,7	2707	51,3

Tab. 5: Rate of victimization by sex

(at least one victimization during the reference period)

	Total		Sex			
			male		female	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Offences						
Theft of cars	101	1,9	50	1,9	51	1,9
Theft from cars	827	15,7	455	17,7	372	13,7
Vandalism to cars	1237	23,5	667	26,0	570	21,1
Theft of motorcycles	54	1,0	36	1,4	18	0,7
Theft of bicycles	670	12,7	338	13,2	332	12,3
Burglary	261	4,9	145	5,6	116	4,3
Attempted burglary	290	5,5	157	6,1	133	4,9
Theft of personal property	758	14,4	347	13,5	411	15,2
Robbery, attempted robbery	175	3,3	96	3,7	79	2,9
Sexual incident against women	260	9,6	-	-	260	9,6
Assaults/Threats	555	10,5	332	12,9	223	8,2

All data refer to the period 1985-1989.

Basis for calculation are the total number of respondents: total, N = 5274; male, N = 2567; female, N = 2707.

Tab. 6: Distinction of the 11 offences by Federal states

Federal state	N	Theft of cars	Theft from cars	Vandalism to cars	Theft of motor-cycles	Theft of bicycles	Burglary	Attempted burglary	Robbery, attempted robbery	Theft of personal property	sexual incidents against women	Assaults/Threats											
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%										
Schleswig-Holstein	207	2	1,0	44	21,3	62	30,0	4	1,9	45	21,7	16	7,8	13	6,3	12	5,8	38	18,4	8	3,9	19	9,2
Hamburg	172	2	1,2	41	23,8	46	26,7	4	2,3	33	19,2	18	10,5	13	7,6	10	5,8	31	18,0	10	5,8	27	15,7
Bremen	56	1	1,8	18	32,1	22	39,3	0	0,0	11	19,6	5	8,9	3	5,4	0	0,0	8	14,5	6	10,7	9	16,1
Niedersachsen	649	16	2,5	84	12,9	125	19,3	3	0,5	106	16,3	29	4,5	40	6,2	23	3,5	72	11,1	23	3,5	63	9,7
Wodrrhein-Westfalen	1460	41	2,8	293	20,1	384	26,3	7	0,5	215	14,7	86	5,9	92	6,3	55	3,8	226	15,5	84	5,8	161	11,0
Hessen	521	7	1,3	93	17,9	141	27,1	6	1,2	48	9,2	35	6,7	33	6,3	20	3,8	68	13,1	25	4,8	49	9,4
Rheinland-Pfalz	278	4	1,4	41	14,7	59	21,2	3	1,1	14	5,0	10	3,6	13	4,7	11	4,0	30	10,8	9	3,2	27	9,7
Saarland	98	1	1,0	12	12,2	14	14,3	1	1,0	11	11,2	4	4,1	5	5,1	2	2,0	15	15,3	4	4,1	6	6,1
Baden Württemberg	782	11	1,4	91	11,6	165	21,1	10	1,3	79	10,1	22	2,8	28	3,6	17	2,2	117	15,0	33	4,2	92	11,8
Bayern	881	11	1,2	80	9,1	186	21,1	13	1,5	83	9,4	25	2,8	40	4,5	19	2,2	119	13,5	48	5,4	76	8,6
Berlin	170	5	2,9	30	17,6	33	19,4	3	1,8	25	14,7	11	6,5	10	5,9	6	3,5	34	20,0	10	5,9	26	15,3

All data refer to the period 1985-1989.

Tab. 7: Distinction of 3 offence areas by Federal states

Federal state	N	Means of conveyance offences		Property offences		Violence offences		Total offences	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Schleswig-Holstein	207	109	52,7	61	29,5	30	14,5	136	65,7
Hamburg	172	85	49,4	49	28,5	37	21,5	110	64,0
Bremen	56	36	64,3	13	23,2	14	25,0	39	69,6
Niedersachsen	649	249	38,4	117	18,0	88	13,6	328	50,5
Nordrhein-Westfalen	1460	659	45,1	343	23,5	246	16,8	872	59,7
Hessen	521	211	40,5	111	21,3	84	16,1	283	54,3
Rheinland-Pfalz	278	95	34,2	41	14,7	42	15,1	129	46,4
Saarland	98	32	32,7	22	22,4	10	10,2	45	45,9
Baden-Württemberg	782	268	34,3	148	18,9	126	16,1	383	49,0
Bayern	881	292	33,1	163	18,5	118	13,4	418	47,4
Berlin	170	70	41,2	45	26,5	34	20,0	106	62,4

All data refer to the period 1985-1989.

Tab. 8: Results of an Analysis of Regression (all offences)

Intercorrelation of variables (correlation coefficient by Pearson)							
Variables	Victimization	Age	Largeness of place of residence	Age at end of school	Federal states	Income of household	Sex
Victimization	1.0						
Age	-.27	1.0					
Largeness of place of residence	.14	-.00	1.0				
Age at end of school	.13	-.10	.08	1.0			
Federal states	-.10	-.01	-.34	.03	1.0		
Income of household	.09	-.10	-.09	.20	.05	1.0	
Sex	-.05	.05	.01	-.12	.03	-.15	1.0

Analysis of Regression			
(dependent variable = victimization)			
Variable	Beta-weight	T-value	Significance of T-value
Age	-.25	-17,49	p < .00**
Largeness of place of residence	.12	7,56	p < .00**
Age at end of school	.09	5,81	p < .00**
Federal states	-.07	-4,61	p < .00**
Income of household	.06	4,05	p < .00**
Sex	-.01	-0,73	p < .47

Multiple R = .33 Analyses of variances : F = 88,34 df = 6/4351 p < .00**

Multiple R² = .11

Number of cases included for analysis N = 4358.

Direction of items:

Age: increasing, with increasing age of respondent

Largeness of place of residence: 1 = towns < 10.000 inhabitants; 2 = 10.000 - 50.000 inhabitants; 3 = 50.000 - 100.000 inhabitants; 4 = 100.000 - 500.000 inhabitants; 5 = 500.000 - 1 million inhabitants; 6 = cities > 1 million inhabitants

Age at end of school: 2 = < 15 - 17 years; 3 = 18 - 20 years; 4 = 21 - > 25 years

Federal states: 1 = Schleswig-Holstein; 2 = Hamburg; 3 = Bremen; 4 = Berlin; 5 = Niedersachsen; 6 = Nordrhein-Westfalen; 7 = Hessen; 8 = Rheinland-Pfalz; 9 = Saarland; 10 = Baden-Württemberg; 11 = Bayern

Income of household: 1 = up to 2000.-DM; 2 = 2001 - 3000.-DM; 3 = 3001 - 4000.-DM; 4 = higher than 4000.-DM

Sex: 1 = male; 2 = female

Victimization: 0 = no; 1 = yes

Tab. 9: Place of victimization

	At home or close to the home		At the place of residence or in the closer surroundings		In the home country		In a foreign country	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Offences								
Theft of cars	27	55,1	9	18,4	6	12,2	7	14,3
Theft from cars	294	55,0	132	24,7	58	10,8	51	9,5
Vandalism to cars	428	55,2	231	29,8	83	10,7	34	4,4
Theft of motorcycles	15	60,0	9	36,0	1	4,0	0	0,0
Theft of bicycles	242	55,8	171	39,4	20	4,6	1	0,2
Theft of personal property	92	21,6	228	53,5	46	10,8	60	14,1
Robbery or attempted robbery	20	20,4	36	36,7	16	16,3	26	26,5

All data refer to the last experienced victimization.

For the offences "burglary", "attempted burglary", "sexual incidents against women", and "assaults/threats" no place of victimization were questioned.

Tab. 10: Fear of crime - comparison victims - non-victims
all offences and offence areas

	Avoidance of certain places after nightfall					Not going out alone (because of fear)						
	Yes		No		Total	Yes		No		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Victims	1026	37,0	1747	63,0	2773	54,9	697	25,1	2084	74,9	2781	55,1
Non-victims	659	29,0	1616	71,0	2275	45,1	493	21,7	1774	78,3	2267	44,9
Significance	Chi ² = 36,26 df = 1 p < .00**					Chi ² = 7,62 df = 1 p < .01**						
Victims of means of conveyance offences	724	35,2	1334	64,8	2058	40,8	481	23,3	1587	76,7	2068	41,0
- non-victims	961	32,1	2029	67,9	2990	59,2	709	23,8	2271	76,2	2980	59,0
Significance	Chi ² = 5,06 df = 1 p < .05*					Chi ² = 0,19 df = 1 p < .67						
Victims of property offences	444	41,1	636	58,9	1080	21,4	306	28,3	776	71,7	1082	21,4
- non-victims	1241	31,3	2727	68,7	3968	78,6	884	22,3	3082	77,7	3966	78,6
Significance	Chi ² = 36,93 df = 1 p < .00**					Chi ² = 16,94 df = 1 p < .00**						
Victims of violence offences	378	46,6	433	53,4	811	16,1	234	28,9	576	71,1	810	16,0
- non-victims	1307	30,8	2930	69,2	4237	83,9	956	22,6	3282	77,4	4238	84,0
Significance	Chi ² = 7,62 df = 1 p < .01**					Chi ² = 15,13 df = 1 p < .00**						
Total sample	1685	33,4	3363	66,6	5048	100,0	1190	23,6	3858	76,4	5048	100,0

The number of missing values are 226.

All data refer to the period 1985-1989.

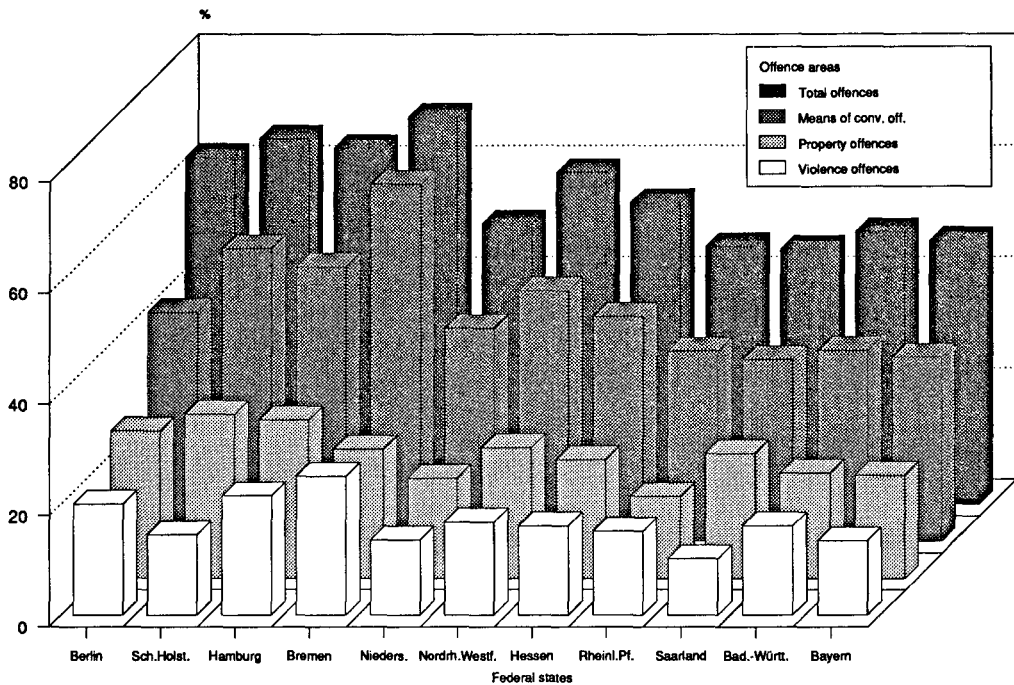
Tab. 11: Contentment with the police - comparison victims - non-victims
all offences and offence areas

	very good		fairly good		fairly bad		very bad		Mean and standard deviation		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	M	s	N	%
Victims	361	14,1	1354	52,9	689	26,9	154	6,0	2,25	0,77	2558	54,0
Non-victims	398	18,3	1321	60,6	390	17,9	71	3,3	2,06	0,70	2180	46,0
Significance	Chi ² = 86,07 df = 3 p < .00**						t-value = -8,71 df = 4736 p < .00**					
Victims of means of conveyance offences	251	13,3	1007	53,3	523	27,7	110	5,8	2,26	0,76	1891	39,9
- non-victims	508	17,8	1668	58,6	556	19,5	115	4,0	2,10	0,73	2847	60,1
Significance	Chi ² = 61,07 df = 3 p < .00**						t-value = -7,42 df = 4736 p < .00**					
Victims of property offences	146	14,2	503	48,9	311	30,2	69	6,7	2,29	0,79	1029	21,7
- non-victims	613	16,5	2172	58,6	768	20,7	156	4,2	2,13	0,72	3709	78,3
Significance	Chi ² = 58,75 df = 3 p < .00**						t-value = -6,47 df = 4736 p < .00**					
Victims of violence offences	87	11,6	350	46,9	234	21,7	76	10,2	2,40	0,82	747	15,8
- non-victims	672	16,8	2325	58,3	845	21,2	149	3,7	2,12	0,72	3991	84,2
Significance	Chi ² = 108,52 df = 3 p < .00**						t-value = -9,62 df = 4736 p < .00**					
Total sample	759	16,0	2675	56,5	1079	22,8	225	4,7	2,16	0,74	4738	100,0

The number of missing values are 536.

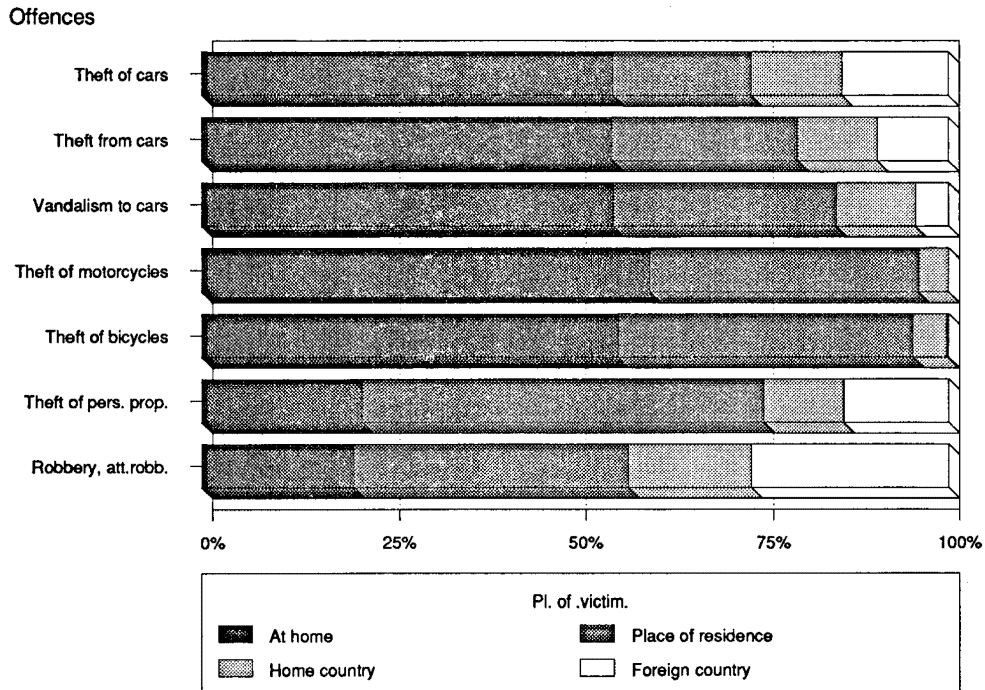
All data refer to the period 1985-1989.

Fig. 1: Victimization in federal states
all offences and offence areas



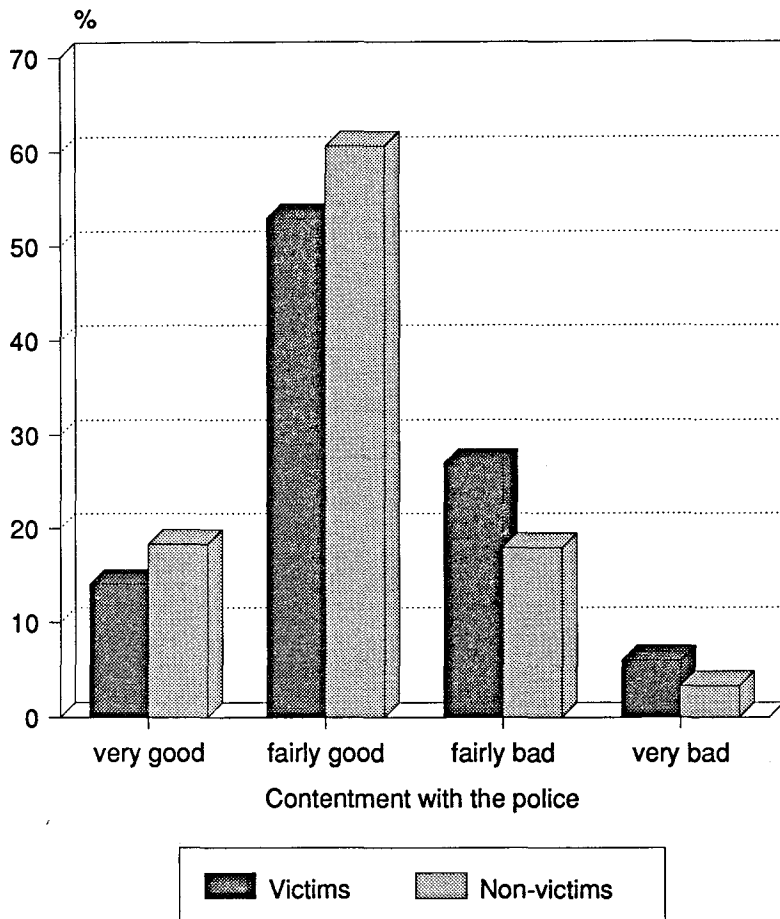
All data refer to the period 1985-1989

Fig. 2: Place of victimization



All data refer to the last experienced victimization.

Fig. 3: Contentment with the police
Total offences



All data refer to the period 1985-1989.

7. References

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The British Crime Survey: The First Ten Years¹

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This chapter describes the origins of the British Crime Survey and its subsequent development. We present a selection of key findings, consider the impact the survey has achieved, some of the criticisms it has attracted, and look briefly at the future.

1. Origins

Surveys focusing on victimisation emerged in Britain in the seventies, notably the one in London by *Sparks, Genn and Dodd* (1977) which was set up in 1972 to tackle methodological issues. Crime surveys were also conducted in Sheffield in 1976, as part of research on the 'Urban Criminal' (see, for example, *Bottoms et al.* 1987). The *Home Office* conducted a study of its own on victimisation of black and white residents in Manchester (*Tuck & Southgate* 1981). The impetus for this body of work was undoubtedly the US programme of National Crime Surveys, and the possibility of a nationwide survey in Britain was considered throughout the mid-1970s. This was ruled out at the time however, mainly on cost grounds, but also because of anxieties about the political snares which survey estimates of unrecorded crime might create.

By 1980, both the Research Unit (now the Research and Planning Unit, or RPU) of the *Home Office* and its Crime Policy Planning Unit were arguing that more serious consideration should be given to a national survey; and a workshop was convened in April 1981 for this purpose (*Home Office* 1981). The case for a survey rested largely on the value to policy-makers of having at least a rough guide of the extent and shape of the problem which the criminal justice system was intended to tackle: police statistics of recorded crime were adequate as a measure of police workload, but - because of unreported and unrecorded offences - deficient as an index of crime. A complementary, survey-based measure promised to throw light on the process by which crime statistics are constructed. It would also offer a more comprehensive picture of the crime problem, and would thus be a useful contribution to the processes of setting priorities and allocating resources.

Another attraction lay in the survey's promise as an antidote to what were believed to be public misperceptions about crime levels, trends and risks. A survey-based index of crime would demonstrate the possibility - if not the reality - that the index of crime based on offences recorded by the police might be subject to 'statistical inflation' by virtue of changing reporting and recording practices. Information on crime risks was also expected to demonstrate the comparatively low risks of **serious** crime, and

puncture inaccurate stereotypes of crime victims. In other words, the survey promised a more informed picture of crime to help create a more balanced climate of opinion about law and order. Finally, it was felt that a national survey would give a boost for criminological research and theory: it would offer a fresh source of information about crime and crime-related topics; and it would provide a substantial data-base for secondary analysis. In combination, these arguments won the day, and it was agreed in July 1981 that the British Crime Survey (BCS) should proceed.

With the benefit of hindsight, it is easy to interpret this outcome in terms of broad changes in the climate of law-and-order politics. In particular, the shift of emphasis at the time from offender to victim and the emergence of victims as a political entity (eg, *Wright 1977*) probably created new demands for factual information about the characteristics of crime victims, and the impact on victims of crime. It may thus be that the idea of a national crime survey was simply one whose time had come - though those of us who were arguing for the survey certainly did not feel that we were buttressed by the weight of historical inevitability.

2. Organisation and Design

The BCS has been conducted three times to date - in 1982 1984 and 1988 - each survey measuring crime in the previous year. A fourth 'sweep' is being planned for 1992 or 1993. Fieldwork was contracted out to Social and Community Planning Research for the first survey, to *NOP Market Research* for the second, and to a consortium of both companies for the third. The surveys have had nationally representative samples of about 11,000 households in England and Wales. The Scottish Home and Health Department took part in the first and third survey with samples of 5,000 in Scotland. The third survey had an additional sample in England and Wales of nearly 1,400 of Afro-Caribbeans and Asians, included to assess their victimisation risks and their attitudes to and experience of the police. In each survey, the Electoral Register served as the sampling frame; the response rate was 80 per cent in the first sweep, and 77 per cent in the second and third.²

The BCS questionnaire is a long one, comprising an immutable 'core' of questions about victimisation, surrounded by items which have varied from

2 Further details about BCS design can be found in *Houg & Mayhew (1983; 1985)*, *Mayhew et al. 1989*, and in the Technical Reports by *Wood (1983)*, *NOP (1985)* and *SCPR/NOP (1989)*.

sweep to sweep. The core consists of questions screening people for victimisation and questions asked of those identified as victims about the detail of their experience. The remainder has covered a variety of topics, the main ones being as follows:

First survey

- lifestyle, and other factors affecting the risks of victimisation;
- fear of, and beliefs and attitudes about crime;
- contact with the police, and attitudes to the police;
- drinking habits, and knowledge of sanctions for drunken driving; and
- self-reported offending.

Second survey

- assessments of the seriousness of crime;
- the impact of crime on victims;
- perceptions of crime risks and fear of crime (modified);
- attitudes to sentencing;
- attitudes to Neighbourhood Watch Schemes; and
- self-reported offending (modified).

Third survey

- victimisation in the work setting, including verbal abuse;
- contact with the police, and attitudes to the police (modified);
- drinking behaviour and drunken driving;
- membership of, and attitudes to Neighbourhood Watch (modified);
- security behaviour in relation to burglary and autocrime;
- experience of household fires.

3. Findings from the BCS

Summaries of findings from the three sweeps of the BCS have been published in *Hough and Mayhew* (1983, 1985), and *Mayhew et al.* 1989. Findings for Scotland from the first survey are reported by *Chambers and Tombs* (1984). Numerous other publications on the BCS have emerged both

from RPU staff and from UK academics who have done secondary analysis either with *Home Office* grants or independently through gaining access to datatapes from the Economic and Social Research Council's Data Archive. Apart from the overview reports, the main UK publications on BCS results are: for **risks of crime** (Gottfredson 1984; Clarke et al. 1985; Hope 1986; 1987; Hough & Sheehy 1986; Hough 1986; 1987; Davidson 1989); **risks among women** (Worrall & Pease 1986; Pease 1986); **fear of crime** (Box et al. 1988; Maxfield 1984; 1987a; Smith 1987); **the police** (Southgate & Ekblom 1984; Skogan 1990); **burglary** (Hope 1984; Hough 1984; Hough & Mo 1986; Litton 1987; Mayhew 1987); **the effects of crime** (Hough 1985; Maguire & Corbett 1986; Mawby 1988); **crime seriousness** (Pease 1988); and **attitudes to punishment** (Hough & Lewis 1986; Hough et al. 1987). Outside the UK, some of the most imaginative work on the **determinants of crime risks** has been done by US academics (see, eg, Sampson 1987; Sampson & Wooldredge 1987; Sampson & Groves 1989; Maxfield 1987b; Miethe & Meier 1990).

Some of the main findings from the BCS are presented here on:

- i. Levels and trends in crime;
- ii. Ethnic minority victimisation; and
- iii. Individual and community correlates of risks

3.1 Levels and Trends in Crime

A feature of the BCS is that offences are classified from details collected in the *Victim Form* according to police rules for classifying crimes. (Other surveys often take victims' descriptions of events - eg, as a 'burglary' - as given, without checks as to whether they meet legal or police criteria.) The process of matching BCS offence categories with those of the police allows for comparison of trends in crime according to the two sources, with BCS estimates grossed up to provide national numbers. Or at least this is done for a sub-set of 'matchable' offences. Some offences - eg, 'common assaults' - are not regarded as 'notifiable' offences and are therefore not counted by the police; others are recorded by the police in very broad categories spanning offences both against institutional victims and private individuals.

The matching process also allows some estimate of what seems to be an inevitable 'recording shortfall' between the number of offences estimated to have been reported to the police and the actual number recorded. This comparison, it has to be said, is a somewhat coarse one because of sampling error on the survey estimates. Some of the apparent shortfall will reflect

inevitable differences in classification. For instance, an incident which appears to meet the criteria of attempted burglary may, in practice, be recorded as vandalism by the police if they feel evidence of attempted entry is weak.

3.1.1 Levels of Crime

Across the three surveys, BCS estimates for those crime categories which can be compared with police statistics show that only about one in four incidents found their way into police records. This reflects both incomplete reporting of crime, and the 'recording shortfall'. Table 1 presents figures from the 1988 survey. The gap between survey estimates and police figures (pertinent to the 'dark figure' which has so preoccupied criminologists) not surprisingly varies between offence categories. Only one in ten incidents of vandalism ended up in police records, about one in five woundings and robberies, and about a third of thefts from motor vehicles and bicycle thefts.

Table 1: BCS estimates of crime levels and reporting to recording rates, 1987

	Number of crimes, 1987 (000s)	% reported	% recorded of reported	% recorded of BCS total
1. Vandalism	2931	24	43	10
2. Theft of motor vehicle	385	95	91	86
3. Theft from motor vehicle	2087	40	75	30
4. Bicycle theft	387	62	55	34
5. Residential burglary	1180	63	65	41
6. Sexual offences	60	21	77	17
7. Robbery	177	44	38	17
8. Theft from the person	317	34	36	12
9. Wounding	566	43	49	21
Offences comparable with Criminal Statistics	7810	41.3	64	27
10. Common assault	1493	32.5	n.a.	n.a.
11. Other household thefts	1823	26.0	n.a.	n.a.
12. Other personal thefts	1794	31.2	n.a.	n.a.

Notes:

1. The figures in the first column are derived by applying BCS rates to the 1987 household population for England and Wales for categories 1-5 and 11, and to the population aged over 15 for the remainder. Only women were asked about sexual offences; the figures are based on women only.
2. Categories 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11 and 12 include attempts.
3. Weighted data. Source: 1988 BCS, core sample.

Where people chose not to report to the police, the reasons given were very much in line with those found in other surveys (see, eg, *Skogan* 1984): unreported offences were usually judged either to be too trivial, or else not amenable to effective police action. An important contribution of the 1984 survey, however, was to assess how far reporting behaviour could be explained simply in terms of the seriousness or triviality of the offence (see *Pease* 1988). Victims were asked to judge the seriousness of 'their' offence on a 20-point scale: as might be expected, the more serious the offence was rated, the more likely it was to be reported; but many incidents rated highly on the seriousness scale nonetheless went unreported, while many were drawn to the attention of the police despite their low ratings. The lesson from this is that victim surveys do not simply identify a rump of extra crimes 'not worth worrying about' in addition to the 'real crimes' of which the police are aware.

The picture of crime from the BCS accords in broad terms with that from many other surveys. For instance, more serious victimisations occur least often; property crimes are more frequent than crimes of violence (which accounted for 17% of all BCS offences in 1987); and offences involving motor vehicles are particularly common (nearly a third of incidents uncovered in the survey involve theft of, theft from, or damage to cars, vans and motorcycles).

3.1.2 Trends in Crime

Table 2 shows that between the first and the third survey, there has been a flatter rise (of 30%) in BCS estimates of crime than the 41% rise in recorded offences - a statistically significant difference.³ An increase in reporting to the police appears to underlie this: for the offences in Table 2, the average reporting rates increased from 36% in 1981 to 41% in 1987.

3 Comparisons for sexual offences and thefts from the person are in principle possible, but these are omitted because of classification changes which have upset the BCS trend.

Table 2: Trends in crime 1981-1987: a comparison between BCS estimates and notifiable offences recorded by the police.

	% change 1981-1987	
	Police	BCS
Vandalism	52	9**
Theft of motor vehicle	17	36
Theft from motor vehicle	74	63
Bicycle theft	5	80**
Residential burglary	38	59
Attempts and no loss	46	78*
With loss	36	39
Robbery	62	9
Wounding	40	12
Wounding & robbery	44	11*
All offences	41	30*

Notes:

1. Double-asterisked divergences between police and BCS figures are statistically significant at the 5% level (two-tail test, taking complex standard error into account). Single-asterisked divergences are significant at the 10% level.
2. Offences recorded by the police have been adjusted slightly to improve comparability with the BCS.
3. Weighted data. Source 1982 and 1988 (core sample) BCS.

As regards particular offences for which there was statistically significant divergences, police figures rose *more* than the BCS for vandalism, and thefts from motor vehicles. Although the divergence in trends for wounding and robbery did not reach statistical significance when considered separately, taken together there was again a shallower increase in BCS estimates, unlikely to be explained by sampling error. For bicycle theft and attempted and no-loss burglary, in contrast, police figures rose *less* than BCS estimates.

Where police figures indicated a steeper trend, there was supporting evidence of both increased reporting and recording. For bicycle theft and burglary, the trend in reporting and recording was again congruent: in this case falling. For wounding and robbery, the increase in reporting was fairly small (4%), though fuller recording was evident.⁴

There is no way of saying for certain why reporting to the police has tended to increase over the decade. The BCS findings do not suggest that the offences experienced are more serious in terms, for instance, of injury, or time off work; average losses were a little higher, but inflation could account for this. Possibly it has become easier to report as more people have a telephone at home (telephone ownership has increased within the UK from 76% in 1981 to 81% in 1986), and there are more public phones in working order, according to British Telecom. Higher levels of owner-occupation may also be implicated since owners are much more inclined to take out insurance. (Some 54% of households in Great Britain were owner-occupiers in 1981, as against 63% in 1987). Increased confidence in the police seems unlikely to be a factor: personal advantage and social obligation are the main reasons for reporting, and in any case there is evidence from BCS questions that confidence in police performance had declined since 1981.

The *drops* in reporting of bicycle thefts and burglaries are not particularly easily explained either. For bike thefts, the fall in reporting was evident among both victims with and without insurance cover, though insurance factors may nonetheless be implicated. Since 1981 insurance companies have become increasingly inclined to demand separate cover for bikes, and consistent with this is that fewer bike owners interviewed in the survey in 1987 had insurance cover for theft. They might therefore have felt less reason to bring in the police for insurance reasons if their bike was stolen. For those subject to attempted and no-loss burglaries, the drop in reporting was particularly noticeable among victims without insurance cover, though there was no drop overall in the percentage of households covered by insurance. It is conceivable that victims were more swayed by what they felt the police

4 The interpretation of the divergent trends here is complicated by the fact that the dividing line between 'wounding' and the numerically more important 'common assault' is often difficult to draw both for the BCS and, no doubt, the police. For common assaults (not shown in Table 2 as they are not notifiable offences), BCS figures show a fairly flat trend, though reporting to the police rose sharply. Even a modest increase in the reporting of such a large category to offences, if accompanied by a tendency by the police to upgrade their classification, would help explain the rise in recorded 'woundings'.

would do, or be able to do: by 1988, more victims of attempted burglary in 1988 were saying they did not report for reasons to do with police effectiveness and interest.

3.1.3 *Burglary, 1972-1987*

Since 1972, the General Household Survey (GHS) has intermittently included a question on household burglary. Combining its results with those from the BCS allows a much longer-term comparison to be made with recorded offences - though a sound comparison can only be made for incidents in which a burglar entered the home and stole something (ie, burglaries with loss). Survey estimates have risen by 17% over the 15-year period 1972-87, while recorded offences have increased by 127% - nearly eight times more.⁵ The divergence between the two trends varies somewhat according to the particular years compared: it is greater for the earlier part of the period than later.

This comparison leaves little doubt that the rise in burglary between 1972 and 1987 has been exaggerated by police figures. Reporting and recording change are both factors. According to the GHS, some 78% of burglaries with loss were reported in 1972 as against nearly 90% in 1987 according to the BCS. Changing patterns of insurance may be particularly important: property stolen in only 19% of burglary incidents was covered by insurance in 1972, whereas the figure was 42% in 1980, and 58% in 1987. On recording, the 'best guess' is that 59% of reported burglaries were recorded in 1972, 67% in 1980, and 85% in 1987. Exactly what this reflects is unclear - though it could be changes in practice, more complete record-keeping as a result of greater computerization, standardisation of recording procedures, or even more police manpower. Because proportionately more burglaries are now reported and recorded, the 'dark figure' of burglaries has contracted substantially. The indications are that 45% of the burglaries committed ended up as recorded offences in 1972 while by 1987 the figure was 73%.

5 Allowing for sampling error on both the 1972 and 1987 survey figures, one could say with 95% certainty that the survey increase did not exceed 44% (P).

3.2 Ethnic Minority Victimization

To augment the rather small number of ethnic minorities picked up in the national sample, the 1988 BCS included a 'booster' sample of Afro-Caribbeans and Asians to bring numbers respectively to about 700 and nearly 1,000.⁶ Little was known about the extent to which these groups were vulnerable to victimisation. Only one national survey had looked differences between whites and West Indians, showing the latter to be more at risk of assault, burglary and vandalism (*Brown* 1984). Other work had been based on minorities in particular localities, of varying ethnic origins, and with the main focus on racial harassment (see *FitzGerald* and *Ellis* 1989).

The BCS indicated that both Afro-Caribbeans and Asians were more at risk of many crimes (Table 3). They seemed more vulnerable to property theft in and around the home, with Afro-Caribbeans in particular prone to burglary, and Asians to vandalism. Only Afro-Caribbeans were markedly more vulnerable to assaults, and only Asians to threats, but both groups faced comparatively high risks of 'contact thefts' (ie, robbery and thefts from the person). Thefts of personal property (with no offender-victim contact) were no higher among the two ethnic minority groups than among whites.

⁶ The BCS dealt only with selected crimes and threats. Questions were not asked about the possibly hurtful incidents which are not technically criminal: eg. nuisance behaviour, malicious complaints and refusal of service in shops etc. Also, while ethnic minority interviews were allocated to areas with high minority concentrations, interviewers were not specifically ethnically matched to respondents in the booster sample.

Table 3: Differential risks of victimisation, by ethnic group.

	Percentage victimised					
	White	Afro-Caribbean		White	Asian	
Household vandalism	4.7	3.6	-*	4.7	7.5	**
Burglary	5.6	10.3	**	5.6	6.2	
Attempts and no loss	3.2	4.7	*	3.2	3.7	
With loss	2.7	6.4	**	2.7	3.5	
Vehicle crime (owners)						
Vandalism	9.4	8.7		9.4	13.7	**
All thefts	17.9	26.3	**	17.9	19.5	**
Bicycle theft (owners)	4.2	8.4	*	4.2	3.9	
Other household theft	7.9	6.9		7.9	9.3	*
All Household	29.8	32.7	*	29.8	35.5	**
Assaults	3.4	7.4	**	3.4	4.4	
Threats	2.5	3.9		2.5	5.3	**
Assaults/threats	5.5	9.4	**	5.5	10.8	**
Robbery/theft from person	1.1	3.3	**	1.1	3.0	**
Other personal thefts	4.0	5.5		4.0	3.1	
All Personal	9.6	16.1	**	9.6	14.8	**
Unweighted	9874	733			9874	996

Notes:

1. Based on incidents occurring in full recall period.
2. All vehicle thefts include theft of and from vehicles and attempts. Other household offences include thefts in a dwelling. Risks of sexual offences are not shown because of small numbers. They are included in personal offences.
3. Double-starred differences are statistically significant at the 5% level (two-tailed test, taking complex standard error into account). Single-starred differences are significant at the 10% level.
4. Figures in sub-categories (eg, attempted plus no-loss burglary and burglaries with loss) do not add to the total category (eg, burglary) as some people will have been victims of both kinds of offence.
5. Weighted data. Source 1988 BCS core and booster samples.

These differences could be explained in part by the over-representation of minorities in high-risk areas and demographic groups. Demographic differences between whites, Afro-Caribbeans and Asians, evident from other UK sample surveys, were confirmed from BCS profiles. The overall picture was one of Afro-Caribbeans being at the worst environmental disadvantage, living for instance predominantly in inner cities. They were typically younger than whites, as were Asians, though more often than Asians either single or leading one-parent families. Asians lived in more uniformly urban areas than whites, though less often than Afro-Caribbeans in inner cities. They were in tighter family structures and seemed more socially tied to these.

Multivariate analysis to assess the specific importance of race in victimisation took account of various demographic variables associated with higher risk (see *Mayhew et al.* 1989 for further details). A series of LOGIT models were constructed separately for Asians and whites, and Afro-Caribbeans and whites.⁷ The vulnerability of Afro-Caribbeans and Asians was lessened - though not removed entirely - after demographic factors were taken into account. There was a consistent tendency for both groups to be victimised more than whites for most offences, though this was not strong in statistical terms. The statistically most significant 'race effect' was for Asians in relation to vandalism and contact thefts.

There was some evidence that the nature of offences against these ethnic minority groups differed from those against whites - though again statistical significance was often marginal. Ethnic minority victims seemed to experience rather more serious incidents. Both Asians and Afro-Caribbeans were slightly more likely to suffer higher monetary losses in property crime (cf. *Brown* (1984) and *Dawson et al.* 1987, for a study in Coventry). It was also commoner for Afro-Caribbeans and Asians to be confronted by offenders with weapons. And among Asians at least, there was rather greater need for medical attention following assault or robbery. The results also support a picture of Asian victims being more subject to random attacks and harassment by passing groups of strangers (cf. *Dawson et al.* 1987). In contrast, Afro-Caribbean victims compared to whites were slightly more likely to know the offender well, and women were more often involved as offenders.

Ethnic minorities attributed racial motivation to many of the crimes they experienced. This was particularly so for Asian victims, among whom 24% reckoned - and a further 14% suspected - that their offence was racially motivated. Offences most often felt to be racially inspired were assaults (44% for Asians, a third for Afro-Caribbeans), and threats (about half the incidents experienced by both groups). Among Asians, a third of vandalism incidents were also viewed in this way, and in a further quarter of incidents there was some suspicion of racial motivation. Asian women (and older Asians generally) were particularly likely to see the threats and assaults they

7 The variables included in each model were not always the same. They were chosen (on the basis of other analysis) for their relevance in explaining each kind of victimisation considered. However, existing knowledge of what is important in explaining victimisation is based on overall risk patterns and therefore mostly based on whites. Factors which affect victimisation among minorities may be slightly different, and further work could examine this.

experienced as racial, though the number of incidents involved was small. In contrast, it was Afro-Caribbean men rather than women who saw more assaults as racial.

Whether response bias has affected the picture of relative risks in a way as to understate the disadvantage of ethnic minorities is unclear. Differences in crime definitions and thresholds are often considered to lower response 'productivity' among black Americans (*Skogan* 1986). On balance the present findings are not supportive of response bias, at least to the extent that ethnic minority respondents reported offences across the range of seriousness. There is no way of knowing whether the question about the racial element in victimisation was considered sensitive by ethnic minority respondents, leading them perhaps to underplay racial factors. In any event, being threatened and assaulted because of race was said to be common, and for Asians at least, evidence or suspicion of a racial element in property offences was also relatively frequent.

It is clear from the BCS that the part racially motivated crime plays in determining risk levels needs to be addressed separately for Afro-Caribbeans and Asians. Crime risks among Asians are generally higher than among whites, as seen. Social and demographic factors contribute to this, but play less of a part than with Afro-Caribbeans whose social and family circumstances are more unfavourable. Race itself appears to contribute directly to higher risks for some crimes among Asians. For contact thefts, it may be that they are seen by offenders as passive or 'easy' targets. Similar thinking may motivate some vandals.

Analysis of 1988 BCS results on ethnic minority victimisation to date is not exhaustive. There is room for further work, for instance, on the circumstances of incidents. Future work on differential vulnerability might also consider the incidence of near-criminal or sub-criminal harassment. Checks should also ideally be done to see whether the race of the interviewer affects the information respondents give.

3.3 Risks of Crime

Much BCS analysis has focused on the often sharp divergences in risks that different communities and individuals face. In community-level analysis, RPU work on the second and third sweeps of the BCS has focussed on a geo-demographic typology of neighbourhoods, ACORN, derived from cluster analysis of some 40 Census variables at the level of Enumeration District.⁸ The ACORN classification procedure is a useful way of determining the immediate social environment of different households, and can be more illuminating for some purposes than individual characteristics such as income or class. Table 4 picks out three types of areas where risks of crime are high:

ACORN G:The poorest council (or local authority) estates, located either in inner cities, or in the outer ring of conurbations. **ACORN H:**Mixed inner metropolitan areas - poor multi-racial areas, combining private rentals with owner occupation, again in inner cities.

ACORN I:High status non-family areas - one archetype of the inner city, split between the homes of the rich and the more 'twilight' areas of urban transients, privately-owned buildings in multiple occupation.

Where people live affects their risks of victimisation for some offences more than others. Burglary, autocrime, and contact thefts (robbery and theft from the person) are particularly pocketed, with risks in the three high-crime ACORN areas usually two or three times the national average. Thefts of and damage to household property appear to be less geographically focused, as do thefts of personal property and assaults. The latter offences (and contact thefts), however, can take place outside the home locality, so that risk analysis based on ACORN could be somewhat misleading.

8 ACORN stands for 'A Classification of Residential Neighbourhoods'. It is a system of classifying households according to the demographic, employment and housing characteristics of their immediate area. It was produced by CACI, a market and policy analysis consultancy. There are 38 ACORN area types, these aggregating up to 11 neighbourhood groups. Each of the 130,000 enumeration districts (EDs) in Great Britain has been assigned to an ACORN area type on the basis of its scores on the 40 selected Census variables (An Enumeration District comprises 150 households on average). As CACI have matched postcodes to enumeration districts, any household in the country can be given an ACORN code provided its full postcode is known. In the 1984 and 1988 BCS, each respondent was allocated to an ACORN area type on the basis of the postcode for their address.

Table 4: Relative crime rates for residents in different ACORN neighbourhood groups (1)

	Burglary	Auto-crime (owners) (2)	Robbery + theft from person	Other h'hold theft (3)	H'hold vandalism	Personal thefts (4)	Assault	:	Un-weighted No.
Low Risk Areas									
A. Agricultural areas	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.6	0.1	1.2	0.5	:	817
B. Modern family housing, higher income	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.8	1.1	0.9	0.8	:	3,106
C. Older housing of intermediate status	0.6	1.0	0.5	0.9	0.8	0.8	1.0	:	3,903
J. Affluent suburban housing	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.8	1.1	0.8	:	3,463
K. Better-off retirement	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.7	1.1	0.9	:	897
Medium Risk Areas									
D. Older terraced housing	1.1	1.5	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.2	:	1,285
E. Better-off council estates	0.9	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.3	1.1	1.0	:	2,210
F. Less well-off council estates	1.5	1.6	1.0	1.5	1.4	0.7	1.3	:	2,277
High Risk Areas									
G. Poorest council estates	3.2	2.5	1.9	2.1	1.9	1.0	1.8	:	1,157
H. Mixed inner metropolitan	1.7	2.1	3.8	1.3	0.9	1.1	1.3	:	782
I. High-status non-family	2.4	1.5	2.9	1.3	1.0	1.7	1.1	:	1,102
Indexed national average	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	:	20,999

Notes:

1. Source: combined 1984 and 1988 British Crime Survey results (weighted data).
2. Autocrime around the home: thefts of and from vehicles, including attempts, vandalism to motor vehicles, and bicycle theft around the home.
3. Thefts in and around the home, excluding burglary.
4. Thefts of personal (non-household) property.

Area of residence apart, vulnerability at the individual level has been assessed in the BCS mainly in terms of demographic factors - eg, gender, age, tenure type, family composition, etc. The results have been largely in accord with those from other surveys (see *Gottfredson* 1984, for an overview). For instance, men are much more vulnerable to assaults and robbery than women, though the situation is reversed for 'thefts from the person', a category which includes bag and purse snatching. Higher risks are also evident among younger and single people, and those in inner cities. For crime against households (eg, burglary, autocrime, vandalism, and other household thefts), city residents are again more vulnerable, as are households with children, and younger household heads. Those in public housing are also generally more exposed to crime, though this seems more to do with the interaction between individual tenure and the predominant tenure

types of the neighbourhood. An analysis of burglary risks, for instance, showed that 'council' tenants in non-council areas had only average risks, whereas risks were markedly higher for council tenants in areas with a heavy concentration of council property (*Hope & Hough 1988*).

The BCS has made a contribution to the study of crime risks in its coverage of respondents' everyday behaviour, enabling tests of 'routine activity' or 'lifestyle' theories of victimisation (see *Garofalo 1987*, for a summary). These theories propose that variation between individuals or groups in the risks they run are best understood in terms of factors which influence exposure to risk, for instance the frequency of going to public places where 'guardianship' is low, and proximity to offenders high.

Staightforward bivariate analysis (and fairly crude multi-way tabular analysis) has suggested that routine activities do indeed shape crime risks. For example, difference in risks of crime narrow considerably for men and women when both are in full employment, though the differential between 'working women' and other women is rather less than among male workers and non-workers - perhaps women are more domestically constrained from expose to crime, whether or not they work outside the home (*Mayhew et al. 1989*). People who go out frequently in the evenings are at greater risk than others of assault, as are people who regularly drink alcohol. The more that people leave their homes empty, the greater the chances of burglary; and on-street parking increases the risks of autocrime. Inevitably, these lifestyle variables are correlated - often closely - with each other and with demographic variables; young men go out in the evenings to drink, for example, and people in inner cities tend to leave their homes empty, and their cars parked on the street whilst they are at work. Multivariate analysis is essential for teasing out the various interrelationships.

A number of multivariate analyses - mainly log-linear analysis and related approaches - have now been carried out on BCS data, the results of which have indicated that the lifestyle factors measured by the survey correlate to a limited extent with victimisation independently of demographic factors such as age, sex, class and place of residence. *Maxfield (1987)* and *Miethe and Meier (1990)* found evidence of an independent correlation between risk of assault and the number of evenings spent away from home. However, using a larger number of controls for individual and community-related factors. *Sampson (1987)* found evening activities relatively unimportant in explaining either stranger violence or stranger theft. Consistent with *Sampson, Clarke et al. (1985)* found that the lower risks of street crime faced by the elderly persist even when their patterns of evening behaviour are taken into account. *Sampson and Wooldredge (1987)* and *Miethe and Meyer (1990)* both found that burglary risks increased with the frequency with

which homes were left empty, independent of other controls such as local area crime rates, household composition, etc. Such studies are, of course, beset by measurement problems: the number of evenings per week spent out of the home, for example, is the crudest of indicators of lifestyle. There is always the possibility that more precise and 'domain specific' measurement might yield stronger results (see *Lynch* 1988, for a discussion).

The 'multi-level' models of risk developed by *Sampson* and colleagues using BCS data represent another advance in the analysis of crime risks. *Sampson* (1987), *Sampson* and *Wooldredge* (1987) and *Sampson* and *Groves* (1989) produced measures of the 'community context' of victimisation by aggregating information from respondents in each of the 238 sampling units of the 1982 BCS. This procedure yielded measures for each sampling unit, for example, of residential mobility, street activity, family stability, neighbourhood unemployment rates, and social cohesion (eg, as judged by survey measures of local friendship ties and participation in community organisations). They found that these contextual variables correlated with crime risks independently of demographic factors, and generally had more explanatory power than individual measures of lifestyle. Neighbourhood social cohesion was particularly relevant, moreover, suggesting that the informal social dynamics of local neighbourhoods influence risks more than community variables such as population turnover, or family disruption.

4. Impact

The authors of this chapter are well placed to assess the demands made on the BCS and the uses to which it has been put. From the start we have been heavily involved in planning the survey, and in dealing with the information it has produced. By the same token, we are hardly in a position to offer a dispassionate account of its impact, and what follows is inevitably coloured by our commitment to the project.

4.1 Measurement of Crime

As mentioned, one of the attractions of mounting a national crime survey lay in the possibility that it could serve as an antidote to public misperceptions about crime. How successful it has been in changing *lay* perceptions is hard to assess. In the face of competing images of crime, its direct effect has probably been marginal, although indirectly it has probably achieved more insofar as its message has undoubtedly succeeded in reaching 'opinion formers' in the media. With respect to this group - as well as criminal justice

practitioners, policymakers, politicians, and researchers - the survey's clearest and most undeniable effect, in our view, has been to improve prevailing levels of sophistication about crime measurement. The BCS, together with the local surveys which followed in its wake, has powerfully demonstrated that statistics of crimes recorded by the police are by themselves an inadequate index of crimes committed. Its value here has been less in advancing theoretical understanding about crime measurement than in **demonstrating concretely** the pitfalls in relying solely on police statistics. (Indeed, those who have retailed BCS findings most enthusiastically have tended to ignore some of the inherent methodological limitations of victim surveys themselves.)

Some opponents of crime surveys argued in the 1970s that the existence of the 'dark figure' of unrecorded crime was common knowledge, and that precise quantification would serve little purpose. This argument overestimated the power of rational argument, and totally underestimated the force of demonstration. Before the BCS was carried out, too many criminologists felt that they could secure licence to use police statistics to measure crime simply by making a ritual incantation about their limitations. The majority of practitioners were also prepared to use police statistics in this way, especially as they were comfortable in the belief that offences recorded by the police probably adequately tapped 'crimes worth worrying about' - a belief subsequently challenged, as said, by BCS results on the imperfect association between judged seriousness of crime and decisions to bring in the police. These limitations are now taken seriously by practitioners and researchers alike. It is notable that in response to rapidly increasing levels of recorded crime in 1990, *The Times'* reaction (4th January 1991) was to emphasise the importance of the index of crime provided by the BCS.

Some other national surveys have some have delivered the same message. For instance, the Dutch surveys have also shown generally shallower trends than police figures (*Directie Criminaliteitspreventie* 1990), as well as explaining reductions in some categories of police statistics in terms of falling reporting rates (*van Dijk* 1982). Trends in overall crime have also been charted from the US National Crime Survey and police Uniform Crime Reports, indicating a flatter increase according to survey figures (eg, *Messner* 1984; *Biderman et al.* 1983; *O'Brien* 1990).

4.2 Development of Criminal Policy

The results of the BCS have probably informed thinking most in relation to crime prevention. In particular, it has identified the high-risk areas on which action should be focused, and the offences which pose the greatest

numerical problem. The survey has also directed policy attention to fear of crime as a social issue, one result of which was the setting-up of an independent Working Group on Fear of Crime, the Michael Grade Committee (see *Home Office* 1989a).

In terms of policy **formation**, it is difficult to quantify this impact, or even describe it in concrete terms - for three reasons. In the first place, the policy process itself is complex and elusive of description, failing to conform to the tidy sequences offered by text-books on the topic. Secondly, policy-makers have used information from the BCS mainly in defining problems; in other words, it has been less relevant in terms of offering precise solutions to crime than in specifying where the problems in need of solution lie. (For example, the BCS has done much to draw attention to the need and scope for preventing 'autocrime' (theft of or from motor vehicles, or damage to them), though without prescribing many specific preventive methods.) And third, the contribution made by the survey has tended to be piecemeal and informal. Policy divisions within the *Home Office* obviously draw on published material, but as often as not they require unpublished figures, and fresh analyses are carried out to meet their needs. In other words, the BCS serves as a policy data-base, providing a continual flow on information on disparate topics. Recent examples include: burglars' modes of entry; the proportion of stolen cars left unlocked by victims; an attempt at a typology of violent crime; the costs of vandalism; regional variations in crime, and the use of hospital services by victims.

Information of this sort serves a double function: it not only helps in the development of policies, but is also of value in explaining and justifying these policies both in the political arena and to the general public. Not surprisingly, then, the BCS has been used extensively in *Home Office* publicity, as well as in ministerial speeches, answers to Parliamentary Questions and in policy statements such as "Tackling Crime" (*Home Office* 1989b).

5. Some Adverse Reactions

Ironically, the only consistently critical response to the BCS has been from some of the British academics who have conducted local surveys using methodology and questions derived directly from the BCS. The BCS has been criticised largely for its treatment of crime risks, and the fear of crime (see, eg, *Kinsey* 1985; *Jones et al.* 1986; *Kinsey et al.* 1986; *Young* 1988; *Painter et al.* 1989; *Crawford et al.* 1990).

To make sense of this 'realist' critique, the political context in which their own research has been carried out needs to be understood. Most local surveys have been conducted in inner city areas, for example, in London Boroughs and in Merseyside. The evidence of both BCS and local surveys is that risks in such areas are generally high, and anxiety about crime correspondingly so. There is also clear evidence that satisfaction with services received from the police is lowest in such areas (see, eg, *Skogan* (1990) for 1988 BCS results). The conclusions drawn by 'realist' crime surveyors are that crime has a severe impact on inner city dwellers, particularly the less well-off, and that it must be taken seriously as a social problem. Although we would see these conclusions as consistent with BCS results, critics have generally construed them as incompatible with their own line. The main charges laid against the BCS are that in presenting national rates, we have glossed over the very considerable local variations and the extensive pocketing of crime; and that in reporting only statistically average levels of risk we have portrayed fear of crime as irrational, without the evidence to do so. Neither criticism is in our view well-founded, though they have achieved currency simply through repetition.

On crime risks, it is at best disingenuous to imply that the BCS has only produced estimates of risk for the country as a whole. It is inevitable that the BCS cannot provide precise estimates of crime in specific small areas - though most local surveys in Britain have had samples insufficiently large to generate precise estimates either. But it can provide detailed information about the distribution of crime risks among sub-groups, and indeed when national risks have been presented, this has usually been as a precursor to more detailed breakdowns. In their enthusiasm to promote the value of local surveys, 'realist' critics have conveniently turned their backs on the body of work on risks mentioned above.

The BCS itself was instrumental in putting fear of crime on the research agenda. Though early analyses of the dimensions of fear were not especially sophisticated, the criticism is misplaced that BCS reports failed to take into account both the greater impact victimisation can have on the fearful, and way in which people who are worried about crime take action to avoid it. From the start, we made it clear that the apparent paradox that those least at risk were most fearful could be explained in terms of differential vulnerability to the impact of victimisation, or to avoidance behaviour. The conclusion we drew in our first report still bears quoting: "Peoples' reactions to crimes - and to the prospect of being a victim of crime - are very variable, and research cannot simply decree that one person's anxiety is reasonable and another's excessive. Nevertheless, in some areas, fear of crime appears to be a serious problem which needs to be tackled separately from the

incidence of crime itself." (*Hough & Mayhew* 1983, p.26). Despite rising crime over the last decade, a case can still be made that mass media treatment of crime has perverse effects, particularly on those sectors of the population living outside high-risk areas. This is a rather different proposition to the pastiche of our views offered by the realists, that fear of crime amongst women and the elderly is simply irrational.

6. The Future

Work continues in analysing data from the three surveys carried out to date. The scope for further analysis of the first two surveys is now relatively limited, although there is material in the 1988 survey still to be looked at (eg, from a component linking burglary and car theft victimisation to security behaviour). There is also some scope for combining the three sets of data to look at particular issues (eg, the nature of robbery) for which numbers are small from one survey alone.

The indications are that the survey will be repeated regularly - though there are cost and statistical implications attached to the precise frequency of repeats. There is a strong case for the size of the sample to be increased. To date, frankly, the samples have been inadequate to some of the crime-counting tasks placed on the survey - concerning, for instance, 'absolute' levels of different crimes, their 'recording shortfalls', and, most of all, their trends. The format of additional, and changing topic components is likely to continue as this allow us to acquire information cost-effectively at national level on crime-related issues, and to link this to data on victimisation. Loss of comparability with earlier surveys is an inevitable problem in changing the way the survey is conducted (*vide* the redesign of the US National Crime Survey). However, there is undoubtedly room, for instance, for improving measurement of some types of crime (eg, assaultive offences) for which some local surveys have claimed higher counts because of slightly different counting techniques. Further effort could also be put into exploring the decision to report to the police, since this is a crucial factor structuring the police count of crime. Another possibility for the future is to devote more space to particular aspects of risk (eg, multiple victimisation), or to particular offences (eg, street crime or vehicle theft). Additional questions on the precise nature of what happened could be valuable, as well as better measurement of exposure to risk, and target features which may have influenced offenders' selection process. The BCS has already made some theoretical contribution in trying to relate crime risks to direct measures of lifestyle, but it is clear that we need to know more about how different

behaviour patterns relate to different types of victimisation, and indeed how important lifestyle is relative to other individual and community factors which underpin vulnerability.

7. References

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Surveys of Victimization in the Scandinavian Countries

Ulla V. Bondeson

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1. Introductory Remarks

There have been many efforts to find comparable data on the crime situation in the Nordic countries. The Scandinavian Research Council for Criminology was started some thirty years ago, partly in order to find comparable criminal statistics for the Nordic countries. An early initiative was also taken by the Council to study self-reported criminality and later also victimization within the respective countries.

A great number of studies have been carried out in Scandinavia on victimization. *Aromaa* (1990a) has produced a recent survey of criminal victimization with focus on the studies in the 1970s. He claims that the comparability of the studies was greater in this period, and that later the level of sophistication among the researchers has increased, leading to an undermining of the comparability of corresponding surveys. Altogether some 50 surveys have been conducted with the most extensive victimization studies coming from Sweden and Finland. Victimization rates for violence and theft are given for the five Nordic countries during the period 1970-1981 (Table 1).

Table 1; Victims of violence and theft as reported in national victimization surveys, in percentage of total samples 1970-1981.

Violence	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81
Finland	15			15			18				(10)	
Denmark		4			7			6				
Norway		3			5							10
Sweden				9				9		(6)		
Iceland									9			

Theft	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81
Finland				8			8					(11)
Denmark			13		12		13	10				
Norway		5										8
Sweden					10							
Iceland									11			

(Source: Aromaa, 1990a, p. 81)

Vogel (1990) has simultaneously published data on living conditions in the Nordic countries, coordinated by the Nordic Statistical Secretariat in Copenhagen, in which one chapter describes security and this deals particularly with victims of violence. Victimization has been one topic in the level of living studies carried out over a long period of time by the *Statistical Central Bureau* (SCB) in Stockholm. A comprehensive volume of living conditions 1975-85 has been published by *Vogel et al.* (SCB 1988). Finally, a summary report of the victimization studies carried out in Sweden within this project was lately published by *SCB* (1991), written by *Häll*.

In this article I will mainly bring forward some of the findings from the living conditions studies. Firstly, victimization studies will be presented from Scandinavia, and secondly from Sweden, where trend data are available and also more elaborate data exist on detailed questions.

2. Living Conditions in Scandinavia

Just as within the OECD-region, there has been within Scandinavia a levelling of different social conditions between the countries. The differences have become smaller in so far as the material living standard, equality, family conditions, health of the population and also security is concerned. This means, among other things, that Sweden has lost its leading place on the welfare ladder.

According to the criminal statistics, there has been an increase, not only in property crimes, but also in violence crimes over the last decades in the Nordic countries (for more detailed analysis, see *Balvig* 1986).

Table 2 gives some basic data of the crime situation in four Scandinavian countries, compiled from the Yearbook of Nordic Statistics 1989-90. Looking at all crimes against the criminal law, Sweden and Denmark are on top, and Finland and Norway come on a much lower level. This picture is also true for property crimes. Finland has, however, dominated violent crimes and is still doing so for homicide rates. The differences in the statistics between the countries have, however, diminished. For a comparison of specific crimes between the countries according to statistics and victimization studies, see *Bondeson* (1990).

Table 2: Crime registered by the police in the Nordic countries. Reported crimes per 100.000 citizens of age 15-67 (Norway 14-67). 1988.

Type of crime	Denmark	Finland	Norway	Sweden
Completed murder	1,4	3,4	1,5	2,6
Assault	181	528	234	655
Rape	16,0	10,3	11,3	23,3
Robbery	62,9	50,8	32,0	73,0
Theft (excl. robbery)	12116	4133	5679	11206
All crimes against the Penal Code	15001	8744	7427	16685

(Source: SCB. 1991. p. 82 - translated here from Swedish)

Within the living conditions study almost identical interviews were carried out in 1986-87 for Finland, Norway and Sweden, comprising about 22,000 interviews. Comparable Danish data have been collected independently (*Hansen* 1988). Smaller separate studies have also been carried out in Iceland.

Within the level of living studies three questions were asked concerning to violence: 1. violence which produced visible marks as a result,

2. violence which did not result in visible marks or damage and 3. threats about violence that were so serious that people were scared. All questions concerned incidents during the last twelve months.

Considerable higher proportions have been victims of violent crimes in the interviews compared with the criminal statistics. The assessment is made that the interview answers underestimate the volume of violent crimes, but that the underestimation is relatively moderate and that it is much higher in the criminal statistics (*Vogel* 1990, p. 172).

Table 3 gives the various degrees of exposure to violence for the four Scandinavian countries. Roughly 1.5% of the adult population have been subject of the most serious kind of violence that results in visible marks or bodily damage, and this percentage is about the same in all the countries. Including all types of attacks, also those which do not lead to any visible marks, the figure amounts to 2-3%. Including also threats, the percentage

amounts to 5-7. The differences between the countries are not great, with Finland being somewhat higher than the other countries, including the less serious forms of violence and threats.

Table 3; Exposure to violence or threats during a twelve-months' period. Percentages.

	Denmark	Finland	Norway	Sweden
Violence with visible marks:	1	1.5	1.6	1.5
Violence with or without marks:	(2)	3.3	2.9	2.3
Violence or threats of violence:	6	6.7	5.0	4.6

(Source: Vogel, 1990, p. 173 - translated here from Swedish)

Only for Sweden do we have access to trend data. The surveys of the living conditions provide no evidence that violence has become more frequent in Sweden since the end of the 1970's (Vogel *et al.* 1988, p. 237). In fact, one can possibly see a small decrease of the number of persons subjected to violence in the eighties. This result is in sharp contrast to the official criminal statistics. Because of changes in the police organization and also a new criminal act in 1965 the authors seem to doubt that the increase in the statistics on reported crimes can be interpreted as evidence of any real changes at all. It has also been suggested that people might have become less tolerant towards acts of violence and therefore more inclined to report them. However, there is no simple correlation between lower tolerance toward violence and a higher inclination to report an incident.

The distribution of victimization in different social groups shows about the same pattern as in many other studies. *Table 4* also illustrates that the differences between the Nordic countries are rather small. As usual, there is a higher incidence of victimization in relation to men than to women, and in relation to the younger than the older. Looking at the young men, 4-6% have exhibited visible marks, 8-10% have been the object of some sort of attacks, and some 15% have either been subject to violence or to threats of violence.

Table 4; Percentages of people having been exposed to violence with visible marks.

	Denmark	Finland	Norway	Sweden
All	1	1.5	1.6	1.5
<u>Sex</u>				
Men	2	1.8	2.3	1.8
Women	1	1.1	1.0	1.2
<u>Sex and Age:</u>				
Men 16-24 yrs	6	3.9	5.7	5.1
65-74 yrs	0	0.3	1.2	0.5
Women 16-24 yrs	3	2.3	2.0	2.5
35-44 yrs	0	1.3	1.1	0.9
65-74 yrs	0	0.6	0.5	1.2
<u>Family Conditions</u>				
Single parent with infant(s):	3	5.2	5.1	7.0
<u>Socio-economic group:</u>				
Workers:	1	2.0	2.6	1.9
Officials:	1	1.7	0.3	0.9
Self-employed:	1	0.8	1.3	1.2
Farmers:	0	0.5	0.7	1.5
Long-time unemployed:	3	5.8	4.3	0.0
<u>Region:</u>				
Metropolitan area:	...	2.0	2.7	1.4

(Source: Vogel, 1990, p. 175 - translated from Swedish)

A remarkable finding is the high percentage of victims among single parents with infants, almost entirely consisting of women. In this group 5-7% have been victims of serious violence, 11-12% of some violence and 17-31% have been victims either of violence or threats of violence. For Sweden, the interview data indicate that for 60% of the afflicted single women with children, the violence has taken place in their own home, and that 40% of those who had not reported an act of violence to the police had refrained from doing so because they were personally acquainted with the perpetrator, or because they were afraid of reprisals. Since the interviews were made in the home and the men could be present, it was assumed that the findings strongly underestimate the percentage of women who had become victims of violence in their own homes (Vogel *et al.* 1988, p. 238).

The violent crimes seem to be distributed fairly even, irrespective of the victims' social-economic position, and this is so in all the Scandinavian countries. The only category which has a higher incidence is the long-term unemployed.

Geographically speaking, the capitals have a higher frequency than the rest of the countries, and particularly the central parts of the capitals. The self-report studies and the victimization studies show smaller differences between various regions than do the criminal statistics.

3. Fear of Crime

The number of people reporting fear of violent crime is much higher than the number of those subjected to violence. The question was posed as to whether the respondents had been apprehensive about being subjected to violence if they walked out alone in the evening or at night in the area. As in many other studies anxiety is most prevalent in the physically weak groups and in those groups which in reality are least subjected to violence (see also *Bondeson* 1979; 1989).

Table 5 also demonstrates that the differences in this respect are greater between the countries, with Sweden showing the highest values for fear of violence. In all countries women report much more fear than do men. Older men most often report higher rates than younger men. For the women the age distribution is not uniform. Sweden and Norway demonstrate higher prevalence of fear of violence in the older groups, while this is not the case for the other Nordic countries.

Again the lonely mothers exhibit high fear of violence with the highest figures for Sweden (39%). Only Denmark shows lower percentage for this particular group as compared to all women. The Swedish example shows that the repeated victimization of this group with high prevalence of fear of violence can be a case of realistic fear.

Looking at the social-economic position, workers demonstrate a higher prevalence of fear of violence in contrast to higher employees or enterprisors, which does not correspond to the actual incidents of violence. The lower rates of fear of violence among the farmers however corroborate the lower prevalence of violence. Those unemployed for a long time also seem to show a realistic fear of violence.

Table 5; Percentages of people who have fear of violence victimization.

	<u>Den-</u> <u>mark</u>	<u>Ice-</u> <u>land</u>	<u>Fin-</u> <u>land</u>	<u>Nor-</u> <u>way</u>	<u>Swe-</u> <u>den</u>
All	12	2,9	12,3	8.7	18.0
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	7	1.2	5.1	2.7	6.3
Women	18	4.5	18.9	14.6	29.3
<u>Sex and Age:</u>					
Men 16-24 yrs	7	0.6	4.6	2.9	3.1
65-74 yrs	9	0.0	6.5	2.9	9.5
Women 16-24 yrs	22	8.5	25.6	13.9	26.6
35-44 yrs	18	4.0	16.9	11.5	22.3
65-74 yrs	11	4.9	16.3	22.4	44.2
<u>Family Conditions:</u>					
Single parents with infant(s):	14	7.1	19.6	21.1	38.5
<u>Socio-economic group:</u>					
Workers:	10	3.0	9.5	5.2	12.2
Officials:	5	0.0	6.6	4.7	4.9
Self-employed:	8	0.6	7.2	4.4	8.0
Farmers:	3	1.5	3.5	1.9	2.3
Long-time unemployed:	21	7.1	11.3	1.9	12.0
<u>Region:</u>					
Metropolitan area:	..	4.3	18.2	15.9	27.4

The figures from Denmark, Iceland and Finland are not quite comparable.

(Source: Vogel, 1990, p. 179 - translated from Swedish)

The percentages of the population in the capitals showing fear of violence are much higher than for the total population, and these seem to be more elevated than are the actual incidents of violence.

It is hard to say why Swedish women, and particularly the elderly women, show so much more fear of violence than the Norwegian women (the two countries for which the data are most comparable).

4. More on Victimization in Sweden

Some trend data show interesting contrasts between interview data over time and the picture mass media gives of the crime situation. Victimization statistics for the number of people subjected to violence is not reported to be increasing as do the official crime statistics. In the age groups 55-64 and 65-74 years there has been a statistically significant decrease in the rate of violence since 1978, a finding that is completely at odds with the mass media-debate about violence against elderly persons (*Vogel et al.* 1990, p. 238).

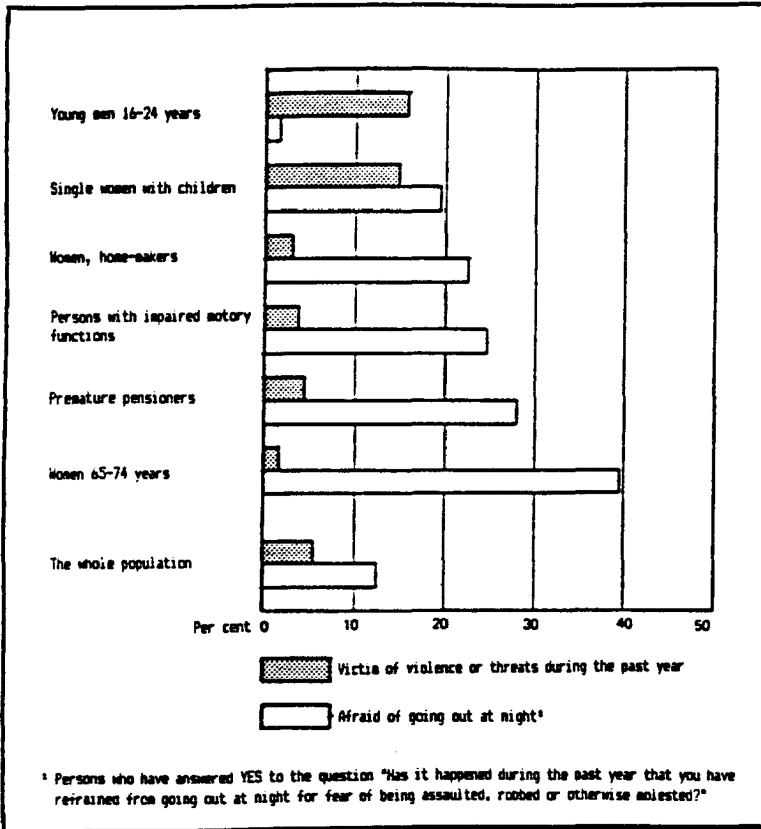
Looking at where the violence takes place, one can find a tendency towards increased violence and threats at the place of work, and particularly in the home, while there is a slight decrease in the number of incidents in public places. Again, these data conflict with the picture provided by the media that violence in public places has become more common.

The discrepancy between real incidents of violence and fear of violence can be illustrated in **Diagram 1**. Four percent of all men but 21% of all women have refrained from going out for fear of being molested. Two extreme groups can be located: hardly any of the young men in the northern part of Sweden, as against no less than 48% of the elderly women in the Stockholm-region report that they refrained from going out because of anxiety.

The diagram illustrates clearly that those who are most often subjected to violence, namely young men, are the least concerned, while those who run the smallest risk, the retired persons, are the most apprehensive. Media debate seem to leave a strong impression, particularly amongst the weak and elderly. *Vogel et al.* conclude: "In these cases the real welfare problem is the worry, not the actual violence" (p. 242). However, a different picture is given by *Balvig* (1990), when interpreting fear of crime based upon Danish data.

As for **property crimes** comparable data on theft and wanton damage have been available in the surveys of living conditions since 1982. Twenty-five percent of the population had during a twelve months' period experienced theft or damage in 1982 as compared to 22% in 1984-85. This small decrease is not statistically significant, but on the other hand the criminal statistics for the same period indicate a marked increase.

Diagram 1 Violence - actual incidents and worry about becoming a victim



(Source: Vogel et al, p. 240)

Theft and wanton damage are just like violence strongly related to variables such as sex, age and region. The variable civil status also explains. For example among the parents, 31% of those who are single, but only 18% of those who are married or cohabitating, have suffered theft or damage. This difference is probably explained by the fact that single parents often live in a metropolitan area and in a high-rise multi-family block, the type of environment where crimes are most common. Looking at the social-

economic groups, higher employees and self-employed have slightly higher percentages as property victims than the workers. Farmers have the lowest rates with only 6% (see tables 11.2 to 11.8 in *Vogel et al., SCB 1988*).

The type of impact an incident of theft has on a person depends to some degree upon what kind of insurance the person has. In 1984-85 only about 4% of the total Swedish population had no householders' comprehensive insurance, which was a reduction of 50 % since 1978. There are, however, great differences between various socio-economic groups, reflecting the type of property and housing. The number of those having no insurance varies, for example, from 2% of the employees to 6% of the workers, from 3% of the native Swedes to 24% of the foreign population.

It may be interesting to compare anxiety about property crimes with other types of anxiety. Whilst 23% in total are anxious about burglary or wanton damage in the home, as much as 73% are concerned with the world situation, e.g. the risk of war. Somewhat higher frequencies are also found for concern about the family economy and in relation to having a traffic accident. Women are generally more worried than the men in various issues.

5. Trends in Victimization and Reporting to the Police

In the latest report from *SCB (1991 by Häll)* the conclusion is that the development of victimization to violence has been very stable over a twelve-year period. The proportion of those who have been a victim of violence or threat in the period of 1978-89 was between 5 and 6%.

Three different risk groups can be categorized over the period in relation to various types of violence victimization.

1. Young men, 16-35 years, as objects of street-violence. About a fourth of those people who report at least four incidents belong to this group. They often seem to consider violence as a natural part of daily life and hardly report to the police.
2. Women as objects of violence in the home: To this group belong some 20-25% of the high risk victims. Most of these women are separated or single. This can be explained by the fact that it is easier for this group to report to an interviewer than for those who are cohabitating. Most of this violence, however, remains concealed.
3. Certain professional groups: More than one third of all incidents relate to working conditions. Those victimized are most often men and

generally do not contact the police. The majority work within hospital or social care, collective traffic, are policemen or security personnel, but also shopkeepers, post-office employees etc.

In the interviews from 1984-85, respondents were also asked whether they had contacted the police as a result of violence or threat of violence. According to this information, 26% of incidents had led to such contact. This would result in 185,000 reported incidents during a year. This would mean that about 530,000 incidents of violence have not come to the knowledge of the police. However, compared with official criminal statistics many of the police contacts reported during the interviews have not been registered as formal reports.

In the interviews from 1978, 20% of all violence and threats of violence were said to have led to a report to the police. This seems to indicate that people have become more inclined to report to the police during this period. This reported increased contact with the police could also partly explain the fact that violent crimes, according to the police statistics, have continuously increased, while victimization studies indicate unchanged levels.

As for property crimes, in 1984-85, 53% said that they had contacted the police as a result of theft or damage. This is also an increase of 6% since the first assessment in 1978. Again, this result gives support to the hypothesis about a decrease of the tolerance in society as to crime which leads to a higher willingness to report, and hence to more crimes in the official criminal statistics. Another reason for a higher extent of reporting to the police may be that today more people have some sort of insurance, which always requires a report to the police.

6. Long-term Consequences of Victimization

Aromaa (1990b) has tried to analyze the experience of being a victim in long-time perspective. In a retrospective analysis of victims he is studying the formal description and details of the initial event, the police report, and the outcome of the court hearing and questions of compensation. In addition, the author unexpectedly obtains revealing data on the marginal role of the victim. It is stated that reporting to the police often has nothing to do with the wishes of the victim. During the trial the victim/plaintiff often experiences that his feelings are personally irrelevant, having feelings of marginality. Further, the victim is more often interested in compensation than in punishment for the perpetrator. As to compensation for damages, in reality the victims often received only part or even no part at all of the

awarded amounts. State compensation in Finland is limited to material damages. If the offender is unable to pay, no compensation for pain or suffering can be obtained, and this is very often the case. Feelings of helplessness and lack of influence in the compensation matter are characteristic of the victimization experience.

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Recent Applications of National Victimization Surveys in Finland

Kauko Aromaa, Reino Sirén

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

In 1980, the Central Statistical Office of Finland, in cooperation with the National Research Institute of Legal Policy, carried out a major survey of victimization to accidents and deliberate violence (see *Lättilä et al.* (1983), *Lättilä and Heiskanen* (1983), *Sirén and Heiskanen* (1985)). The idea for the survey originated in the OECD work during the mid-1970s on the development of social indicators describing the physical safety of citizens. A working group, which consisted of representatives of four countries (USA, Canada, the Netherlands, and Finland as the lead country), the United Nations Social Defence Research Institute and the World Health Organization, noted that the principle behind the social indicators was to describe the prevalence of death or serious injury resulting from unexpected external factors. The working group suggested that surveys of an entire population could provide data that was unavailable from official statistical sources (*Final CDE Report No.10* (1979), *Törnudd* (1982)). In addition, the 1980 safety survey was a follow-up to the crime victim surveys in Finland which had been carried out at regular intervals since the beginning of the 1970s (*Aromaa* (1971), (1974), (1984), *Aromaa & Leppä* (1973), *Leppä and Sirén* (1976), *Sirén* (1980)). The 1980 survey covered victimization not only to accidents and violence, but also to property offences and vandalism.

In 1988, the survey was replicated in essentially the same form as in 1980. The results of the two surveys can be regarded as comparable also from the point of view of the sampling and interview technique used. Thus, the 1980 and 1988 data sets provide a unique possibility for assessing changes in physical safety during the 1980s from the point of view of social indicators.

This article presents some of the results of the 1988 safety survey, and compares them with the 1980 results. *Heiskanen et al* (1990), the main report, provides a more extensive report on the survey. Other publications connected with the research project present results dealing with, for example, victimization to property crime, and fear of crime.

1.2 The Contents of the Study

The purpose of the 1980 and 1988 safety surveys was to use the survey technique to measure the prevalence of victimization to various accidents and to deliberate violence, and to assess the injuries and damage caused by the accidents and violence. A proposal developed by the OECD working group formed the basis for the survey instrument. The structure of the interviews was such that the respondent was first asked whether he or she had in general, over the previous twelve months, been injured in an accident (for example a traffic, work-related or sports-related accident, or an accident in the home) and if so, how many times. A traffic accident was defined as an accident which involved a vehicle (for example, a bicycle or a car) and that had occurred in a traffic area. A work-related accident was defined as an accident that had occurred at work, on the way to work, or when engaged in gainful employment at home. Work-related accidents were distinguished from traffic accidents by classifying as a traffic accident any accident in traffic which would otherwise fulfill the criteria of a work-related accident, as long as it involved a vehicle. An injury incurred in recreational sport (for example while running, skiing or playing a ball game) were defined as sports-related accidents, while an accident which occurred at one's own home or another home or in the yard were defined as an accident at home. Any accident that clearly did not fall into any of the above groups was classified as "other". Experiences with deliberate violence were studied by asking the respondent if he or she - during the same twelve-months period - had been involved in a situation where someone (an acquaintance or a stranger) had behaved in a violent manner towards him or her. The response was made easier by having the interviewer describe briefly common forms of physical violence.

Those respondents who had reported being the victim of an accident or violence were asked to describe briefly each accident or incident of violence, and the injuries incurred. If the respondent reported having been the victim of several accidents of the same type during the period in question, he or she was asked to describe the three most recent accidents. The same approach was used if the respondent reported having been the victim of more than one incident of violence. After this some further questions were asked in order to make the data more specific. These questions dealt not only with the time and place of the incidents, but also in relatively close detail with the injuries and damage to health that may have resulted. The respondents were asked, for example, what kind of first aid or care was required, how long the respondent possibly had to stay in bed or away from work, or how long the respondent was unable to carry out his or her everyday activities because of the injuries. Victims of deliberate violence were asked to provide

data for example on the offender, the motive for the violence, and any compensation received for personal injury or property damage. In addition, the respondent was asked whether or not the incident had been reported to the police or whether the police had otherwise been advised of the incident, and if so, how. If an incident of deliberate violence was not reported to the police, the respondent was asked to state the reason why it was not reported.

In addition to the specific questions regarding the accidents and incidents of violence, all respondents were asked questions about their background, for example their marital status and the way in which they spent their leisure time. The 1988 survey also contained questions dealing with fear of crime and precautionary or protective measures taken in case of crime. Since the data for the safety surveyed were gathered in connection with a national survey of the labour force, relatively broad data on employment can be used in the research and analysis, in addition to the normal demographic and socio-economic data.

2. Method

The sample for the survey of accidents and violence was selected so that it would represent all permanent residents of Finland 15 years and older. The respondents for the 1988 survey were selected in two samples taken by systematic random sampling from the national population register. The sample for the labour force survey of the Central Statistical Office included 14,905 persons between the ages of 15 and 74. They were interviewed in connection with this labour force survey. A separate sample of 1,001 respondents was selected from more elderly people who were not covered by the labour force sample, and they were interviewed specifically for the safety survey.

The respondents selected for the survey were interviewed by employees of the interview unit of the Central Statistical Office, who worked in different parts of the country, and who had been specially trained and prepared for this work. The interviews of those between the ages of 15 and 74 were carried out in connection with the monthly interviews for the labour force survey from March through June and from September through December of 1988. From 1,000 to 2,500 persons were interviewed in each monthly round. Those who were 75 or older were interviewed during September, October and November 1988. Most (about 91 %) of the interviews were carried out by telephone. Those respondents who could not be reached by telephone were interviewed in person. A total of 13,762 acceptable interviews were carried out. Among the 15-74 year olds, the non-response rate

was 13.2 %, and among those 75 and over, it was 17.3 % of the original sample. The most common reason for non-response was that the respondent could not be reached in the fieldwork period in spite of multiple attempts, even though his or her place of residence was known. Only somewhat over 4 % of the respondents refused to be interviewed. Taking into consideration the nature of the survey, the non-response rate is thus rather small, and in this respect the interview success rate could be regarded at least as satisfactory. The break-down of the respondents by sex or age does not differ significantly from that of the entire population. The effect of the non-response rate can be seen somewhat in the regional comparison, since the non-response rate is somewhat larger in urban areas than in rural areas.

The results of the interviews have been generalized to cover the entire population 15 and over by dividing those in the basic sample (the 15 to 74 year olds) and in the sample of the elderly (75 years and older) by sex, age group (in five-year groups) and province of residence. The weighted values were then calculated by dividing the population at large in each group by the corresponding number of the sample in each group. The weighted values were further adjusted to take into account the non-respondents. Since the sample procedure is comparable to simple random sampling, the precision of the estimates for the entire population can be calculated by using the sampling error formula for simple random sampling.

The sample for the 1980 survey only included 15 to 74 year olds. Persons 75 and over were not included. The 1980 sample consisted of 10,533 persons, with a total of 9,598 acceptable interviews. For this reason, when assessing changes between 1980 and 1988 in victimization to accidents and violence, the conclusions only apply to the 15-to-74 year old age group.

3. Results

3.1 Analysis of Social Indicators of Physical Safety

3.1.1 Introduction

The purpose of the OECD working party was to evaluate the data on physical safety provided by official statistical sources, to design a system suitable for collecting supplementary information, and to make a draft for indicators of physical safety. In its final report, the working party suggested that the following ratios be used as such indicators (*Final CDE Report No. 10, 1979, Törnudd, 1982*):

- I Number of deaths caused by unexpected external events per 100,000 in population;
- II The number of individuals sustaining non-fatal but serious injuries caused by unexpected external events per 100,000 inhabitants aged 15 and over; and
- III Number of incidents involving non-fatal but serious injuries caused by unexpected external events per 100,000 inhabitants aged 15 and over.

According to the basic approach, the indicators could be used to monitor the level of safety and changes in this level over time, and to analyze the importance of the various sources of risk. In definitions II and III, "serious injury" refers to the effect of the accident or the violent incident on health, as indicated by the type and duration of the treatment given to the victim and by the degree of the injury. The purpose is to measure the seriousness of various accidents (and violent incidents) in a uniform manner, so that the health risks connected with different environments could be compared. As the work aimed at an objective indicator of safety that could also be used in international comparisons, the basic unit of the health consequences agreed upon was "one day of restricted activity". An accident or a victimization by a violent event was defined as serious if it resulted in at least one day of restricted activity, for example one day of convalescence in bed, or if it otherwise restricted work or the performance of everyday tasks and activities for at least one day.

If the criterion of one day of restricted activity is adopted, many minor and perhaps frequently sustained injuries (for example at work, at home, or in leisure-time activities) are excluded. However, this approach helps to lessen differences in the interpretation of victimization and the seriousness of the incident.

In the 1980 and 1988 surveys, the aim was to measure the incidence of accidents and violence that resulted in non-fatal injuries. Before presenting results of the safety surveys, a brief review of accident and violence mortality in Finland in the 1980s, based mainly on the Causes of Death statistics (*SVT Terveys/Health*) is made.

3.1.2 Accidents and Violence as Causes of Death

One principle adopted in the measurement of personal physical safety was that self-inflicted violent deaths were not to be included under this concept. Separation of such incidents from genuine accidents or violent incidents is at times not a simple matter. In the present analysis, we have excluded the following from the category of accidental and violent deaths: suicide (since

1987, causes of death E950-959), alcohol poisoning (E851), and injuries where it is unclear whether the act was intentional or unintentional (E970-979). For the sake of comparison, in the following we also present figures on the frequency of such causes of death. The annual proportion of unclear cases out of all accidental and violent deaths during the 1980s was 4-5 % (SVT VIB: 134-142; SVT Terveys 1989:6 - 1990:4).

It is characteristic of accident and violence mortality that in almost all the main categories of such causes of death male mortality is several times higher than female mortality (SVT VIB: 134-142). Accidental deaths have increased to some extent during the second half of the 1980s. From 1978 to 1980, an average of 41,5 persons per 100,000 in the mean population were killed accidentally. From 1986 to 1988 the average was 44,8. For women, accident mortality has increased rather steadily during the 1980s (1978-1980: 24,3; 1986-1988: 29,0). Male accident mortality first decreased to the mid-1980s, but then turned into an upswing (1978-1980: 59,9; 1986-1988: 61,7). Male accident mortality was higher in 1988 than in the preceding years. This was mainly due to the increase in deaths in land traffic and deaths by drowning.

The increase in accidental deaths is in part caused by changes in the age structure of the population, since also the risk of violent death increases with age. As a consequence of the aging of the population, also accident mortality in general will increase even if intra-age-group mortality has decreased or remained unchanged. To some extent, the increase of accidents and violence as causes of death is also caused by statistical rearrangements. Since 1987, the causes-of-death statistics have applied the new international classification of diseases, and part of incidents previously classified as deaths in diseases are today classified as accidental or violent deaths. The change concerns, e.g., deaths by poisoning, the number of which in fact also has increased as compared to previous years (SVT Terveys 1989:6).

During the 1980s, mortality caused by deliberate violence (homicide, manslaughter, assault resulting in death) has not changed significantly. Because of the annual fluctuations in the number of homicides, far-reaching conclusions cannot be made about any trends. The difference between male and female violence mortality seems to have shrunk. Male mortality was slightly lower (4,7 vs. 4,1), and female mortality, correspondingly, higher (1,4 vs. 1,8) from 1986 to 1988 as compared to 1978-1980.

There are considerable differences in accident and violence mortality between age groups. The risk of accidental death grows steeply for those at least 75 years old. Falls are a typical cause of death among the elderly (accidental falls E880-889). These accidents markedly increase the mortality of those at least 75 years old as compared with other age groups (from 1986

to 1988 it was 168,8 per 100,000 in the mean population). However, in part of the falls of old people, the primary cause is the weakening of the organism, and they are not caused by external factors to the same extent as the falls of younger people. These deaths are therefore borderline cases between accidental and illness deaths.

Accidental causes of death - except for falls - and deaths caused by violent crimes are analyzed in Figure 2.

Deaths in traffic are the leading accidental cause of death among young people, and the mortality resulting from this reason among those in the 15-19 age bracket is clearly higher than among children (below 15 years), young adults or the middle-aged. It is only among those 65 and above that deaths in traffic is a more important accidental cause of death than it is among youths. Typically, the fatal traffic accidents involving young people are motor-car and motorcycle accidents. In 1988, 90 % of those in the 15-24-year age bracket who were killed in road traffic died in such accidents, whereas the corresponding proportion for all persons killed in road traffic was 63 %. The traffic mortality of young people has increased during the 1980s (and in particular mortality caused by the vehicle accidents mentioned above) while it has fallen among the rest of the population, especially among men in other age brackets. However, in comparison with other population groups, the risk of dying in a traffic accident remains high for men 75 years and above. Among women, traffic mortality has increased slightly also among the middle-aged, and not only among the young.

Mortality due to drowning (in boating accidents, while swimming, or in some other way) is highest among middle-aged men. Drowning accidents involving middle-aged men are much more frequent, by a factor of fourteen, than such accidents among women. Also deaths due to poisoning are more frequent among middle-aged men than among other population groups. In 1988, more than half (60 %) of the deaths caused by poisoning were caused by the combined effect of alcohol and drugs.

Comparing all age groups, the trend in accident mortality among children has been the most favourable. It has decreased by nearly one-third from the 1978-1980 level. For instance, drowning accidents involving children have been halved, and deaths involving children in land traffic accidents have been reduced by one-fourth.

3.1.3 Serious Accidents and Violence

3.1.3.1 Definition

In this comparison of survey data from 1980 and 1988, non-fatal accidents and violent incidents were divided into two groups. Serious incidents or those that resulted in days of restricted activity have been sorted out with the aid of the rules of reasoning shown in Figure 3.

If the respondent, as a consequence of the accident or the violent event, had been immediately hospitalized, the event was defined to be serious. Also such events were classified as serious where the resulting injury had been treated by a bandage, a splint, a cast, stitches or a surgical operation. In other cases, the incident was classified as serious if the victim had, after the incident, stayed at home in bed, stayed on sick leave, or whether the injury had caused some other obvious restriction for at least one day.

3.1.3.2 The Number of Accidents and Violent Incidents and the Treatment of the Injuries

Table 1 presents the estimates of the total amounts of serious accidents and violent incidents, the accuracy (90 %) of the estimates, and the number of events per 100,000 population at least 15 years old ($N = 3,994,393$). In the comparison to 1980, only those respondents who were between the ages of 15 and 74 years have been taken into account. The figures are unrounded, machine-calculated estimates concerning the whole population.

Table 1: All accidents and violent incidents resulting in injuries (A) and those accidents and violent incidents that resulted in a serious injury (B)

	Incidents (A)	Incidents (B)	Sampling error (90 %) (B)	Per 100 000 population at least 15 years old (B)	Change 1980-88 (%) (B)
Total	866 481	577 859	± 19 650	14 467	- 3
Traffic	76 737	45 631	± 5 900	1 142	+14
Work	231 886	190 558	± 11 900	4 771	-11
Home	163 702	111 854	± 9 000	2 800	+ 7
Sports	195 876	141 185	± 10 400	3 535	-6
Other accidents	98 475	68 527	± 7 200	1 716	+ 9
Violence	99 805	20 105	± 4 000	503	- 19

The proportion of serious accidents and violent incidents out of all incidents found in the interviews varied across the categories of incidents. The proportion of serious accidents was highest among work-related accidents (82 %). Two-thirds of the other accidents were serious. In contrast, only one out of five violent incidents resulting in visible injuries could be considered as serious. One explanation of this is that experiences of violence were measured in a different way than accidents. The respondents were presented a question dealing rather extensively with different forms of violence (as has been done in the earlier Finnish surveys on violence) in order to cover even relatively harmless experiences of violence. The result may, however, also indicate that victims of violence have been (for example because of the close relationship between victim and perpetrator) less inclined to seek treatment than those injured in accidents even if treatment would have been necessary.

In 1988, the adult (15+) population experienced approximately 580,000 accidents or violent incidents that required treatment or resulted in at least one day of restricted activity. This corresponds to over 14,000 such incidents per 100,000 in population. On the whole, the number of accidents and violent incidents experienced by those between the ages of 15 and 74 was slightly lower (- 3 %) than in 1980.

As was the case in 1980, the greatest number of serious accidents occurred at work or on the way to or from work. Nearly five serious work-related accidents were found for every one hundred persons interviewed. If work-related accidents are related to the working-age population (work accidents are very rare among those 65 years old or above), the incidence of serious work-related accidents is even higher than this.

A second large accident category are those accidents that took place in leisure time sports, such as jogging, skiing, or engaging in team sports. The third largest group consisted of accidents at home.

Serious injuries caused by traffic accidents, and those resulting from violence are clearly less frequent than those caused by work or sports accidents or accidents at home. The group "other accidents" contains, i.a., accidents occurring while shopping or taking care of other business.

In the following, the accidents and violent incidents are analyzed by the treatment required by the resulting injuries. Table 2, presents the percentage of incidents requiring first aid or hospital care out of all incidents resulting in injuries (A). It should be remembered that the definition of serious injuries (B) was based both on the type of treatment received as first aid and on the health consequences assessed by days of restricted activity (Figure 3).

Table 2: The proportion of accidents and violent incidents requiring first aid or hospital care in % of all incidents resulting in injuries (A)

	First aid or visit to a physician (D)	Of these: demand- ing first aid (D)	Hospital care (E)	Total (C) + (E)	Incidents (A)
	%	%	%	%	N
Total	59	31	5	64	866 481
Traffic	49	25	13	62	76 737
Work	78	32	3	80	231 886
Home	51	30	7	58	163 702
Sports	63	43	5	68	195 876
Other acci- dents	59	35	7	65	98 475
Violence	24	9	2	25	99 805

Thus, two out of three accidents (or violent incidents resulting in visible injuries) had required first aid, a visit to a physician, or hospital care (C+E). On the basis of the number of incidents, we may conclude that a large part of the accidents told of by the respondents have caused other than very slight injuries, and that a large number have caused clear health restrictions.

Some kind of first aid was most common in connection with work accidents. This is likely to have come about, in part, through the existing labour health services, in part perhaps through the regulations concerning the granting of sick leave. The number of cases receiving demanding first aid also depends of the kinds of injuries typical of the different accident categories. Most often, this kind of first aid was required in sports accidents, where the majority of the injuries are sprains and pulled muscles, and broken or fractured bones, all of which require rather long periods of convalescence. The dangerousness of traffic accidents, on the other hand, is reflected by the fact that more than one out of ten of them resulted in immediate hospital care. The number of sports accidents and accidents at home that required treatment in a hospital was, however, as large as the number of similar traffic accidents. In contrast, only one out of four of the violent incidents resulted in first aid or hospital care.

3.1.3.3 Accidents and Violence in Different Population Categories 1980 and 1988

Serious injuries resulting from accidents and violent incidents are rare. Although this study is based on a rather large number of interviews, it is not possible to determine reliable estimates of victim densities if several demographic or socio-economic characteristics are controlled for simultaneously. This holds in particular for attempts to assess changes in the prevalence of being a victim that may have taken place since 1980. Here, the prevalence of being a victim and its changes are analyzed only by sex and age. These characteristics are also central demographic variables explaining variations in accident risks.

Figures 4 - 9 illustrate the proportions of victimized persons (victim densities) across incident types according to the 1980 and 1988 surveys. It is advisable, in the first place, to look at the main tendencies in the results, not so much at the estimates concerning individual age-sex-groups in these years.

Young people are injured relatively most frequently in accidents or violent incidents. Generally, the prevalence of incidents and of victims diminishes for both genders along with age, with the exception of those 75 years and above, for whom there is a slight increase. The risk of accidental injury, thus, changes across age groups in the opposite direction than accident mortality. This may be interpreted so that although the overall risk of accidents diminishes, accidents involving the elderly have more fatal consequences than those involving the rest of the population (Figure 4).

The prevalence of different accidents and also of violent incidents in different parts of the population reflects, i.a., differences in lifestyle, time use patterns, occupational structure, and the sports and exercises engaged in. A much larger proportion of male respondents than of the female respondents had been injured in a work-related accident or a sports-related accident. In these event categories, the prevalence of victims among men is 2,3 - 2,5 times the figure for women. Work-related accidents are most frequent among those between the ages of 20 and 34 years. This is, however, in part a result of the fact that a large proportion of members of this age bracket also are working. In 1988, 9 % of the men in this age bracket suffered a serious work accident. However, the work accidents of men, in particular of the youngest men have decreased rather clearly from 1980 (the test of percentages in two samples: $z=-2.01$) (Figure 6).

The prevalence of sports accidents is most clearly connected with age. It is not surprising that it is highest in the youngest age bracket. Young people participate in forms of sports and exercise in which the risk of injury is

greatest. One out of ten men aged 15-19 years had been injured in sports or other exercise to the extent that the injury required treatment or rest (Figure 8). Of the accidents involving women, most are connected with tasks at home, and their victim prevalence in this event category is one and a half times that of men. The prevalence of accidents at home, unlike that of work-related or sports-related accidents, differs little across age groups, except for the elderly whose accident risk is higher than average (Figure 7).

The proportion of men and women out of all respondents who have suffered traffic accidents was almost identical, about 1 %. The connection of age and victim density, however, is different for men than for women. Among young men, traffic accidents were more likely than among other men, and they have also increased. Among women, in contrast, the victim density is rather high also in the middle-aged and old age brackets. The proportion of women who have suffered a serious traffic accident has grown somewhat since 1980 although the change is not statistically significant ($z=1.45$) (Figure 5).

Regarding violence, it should be noted that the proportion of men victimized to violent incidents has fallen clearly since 1980 ($z=-2.59$). Experiences of violence have decreased in particular among young men. As the victim density of women simultaneously remained about unchanged, the likelihood of being a victim of violence was almost equally large for women as it was for men in 1988 (Figure 9).

3.2 Deliberate Violence

3.2.1 *The Framework*

This chapter deals with violence with special emphasis on the resulting health restrictions. The central feature of the description is the comparison of findings from the year 1988 with those concerning the year 1980 when the first comparable national victimization survey was performed (Lättilä et al. 1983; for a more detailed presentation of the 1988 survey, see Heiskanen et al. 1990).

The seriousness of an act of violence should in general not be assessed only with reference to the degree of the resulting physical damage. In this report, however, the measurement is explicitly restricted to external, concrete damages.

Parallel with the damage perspective, some other general characteristics of the violent incidents and the victims of violence are described, such as the circumstances of the event, and police-reporting.

3.2.2 *The Definition of Violence*

Victimization to violence was measured by asking whether the respondent had, during the past 12 months, been in situations where somebody known or unknown to her/him had:

- (1) threatened,
- (2) tried to prevent from moving, grabbed,
- (3) pushed or shoved
- (4) hit, without causing visible marks,
- (5) hit, resulting in bruises,
- (6) hit, causing a wound or a
- (7) hit using a knife, shot or attacked with a weapon
- (8) behaved violently towards her/him in some other way.

For each type of violence, the respondent was also asked how many times she/he had experienced such violence. Then, a number of questions concerning details of the three most recent incidents were presented.

The opening question was almost identical with the one used in the first Finnish national survey of this type in 1970 (*Aromaa* 1971, 1984). An injury was not a prerequisite for accepting an incident as violence, the way it was with all accidents covered by the 1980 and 1988 surveys, except for traffic accidents.

3.2.3 *The Violent Incidents*

In Finland, the population in the age bracket 15-74 years experienced in 1980 about 630,000 incidents of violence or threats of violence. The 1988 figure was about 500,000. (The size of the corresponding base population was about 3.6 million in 1980, and 3.7 million in 1988).

In this study, repeated violence is not fully accounted for. The respondents were asked details of only the three most recent incidents. Also, in calculating the above amounts, a maximum of three incidents for each victim were included. In 1980 an estimated 68,500 persons, and in 1988 about 65,000 persons had been victim to violent incidents more often than three times during the past twelve months.

The number of violent incidents varies with a likelihood of 90 % within the range 604,000 - 656,000 (in 1980); or 483,000 - 520,000 (in 1988). In the following, the confidence intervals applicable for each estimated figure are not presented.

An interim report of the survey was published late in 1989 (Tapaturmat 1989; Accidents 1990). The preliminary results indicated that the decrease of violent incidents mostly concerned the most harmless - as measured by their damage level - violence, and was most marked for young men. Of different violence situations, street violence and small group violence were reduced most. As an exception from the general trend, work-related violent incidents were more numerous in 1988 than in 1980.

As a preliminary interpretation to the decrease in violent incidents during the 1980s, the interim report referred to the small size of the young age cohorts, and the fact that the post-war large age cohorts had during the 1980s reached middle age. Violence experiences are, as has repeatedly been shown, much more frequent among young people than among the middle-aged or the old.

3.2.4 The Type of Violence

The answers to the introductory question on violence were used to construct a variable depicting the type of violence concerned. In Table 1, answers to alternative (8) have been used to make the new categories of harassment, repeated kicking, attempted rape, and rape. "Other violence" is a residual category, containing mainly incidents that inflicted minimal physical harm, such as being followed or symbolic violence.

From the perspective of inflicted damages, the seriousness of the violent incident can be measured, e.g., by the resulting harm, or the number of days of restricted activity, as was suggested by the OECD working group on social indicators of physical safety (Final CDE 1979; *Törnudd* 1982). Harm has here been measured by physical harm only.

Days of restricted activity cover the days in hospital immediately after the event or later, days when the victim had to stay in bed outside the hospital, and also other days when it was difficult or impossible for the victim to perform her or his everyday tasks and activities. Following the suggestion of the OECD working party drafting indicators for measuring physical safety, this indicator is the one used in the subsequent analysis.

Table 3: The violent incidents 1980 and 1988, by event type, the treatment the victim received, and the resulting days of restricted activity

Type of Violence	All incidents		Incidents that resulted in at least one day of restricted activity	
	1980	1988	1980	1988
Total	629 860	501 013	21 976	12 120
a. Threats, attempts to hit	190 979	145 911	0	299
b. Attempts to prevent from moving	123 820	86 038	1 063	1 211
c. Pushing, shoving	130 768	93 592	2 487	871
d. Hit without leaving visible marks	63 089	55 005	350	0
e. Hit, causing bruises	58 420	50 804	5 385	5 623
f. Repeated kicking	9 897	6 703	1 475	2 093
g. Wound, bruise of broken or broken or fractured bone	21 435	20 007	6 230	6 293
h. Hit with knife or other weapon, shot	3 943	3 959	2 892	789
i. Attempted rape	1 770	3 957	0	0
j. Rape	358	851	0	0
k. Other violence	25 381	34 186	2 094	1 942

Looking at the treatment the victims had received, it turned out that 95 % of the 1980 incidents, and 94 % of the 1988 incidents went without any kind of treatment. First aid or a visit to a doctor was reported in 4 % of the incidents in 1980, and in 5 % of the incidents in 1988. The absolute number of such incidents was about equal in both years. Immediate hospitalization was the consequence of 1,100 incidents in 1980, and of 2,100 incidents in 1988. The amounts are 0.2 % (1980) and 0.4 % (1988) out of all incidents.

The victim's activities were restricted for at least one day as a consequence of 22,000 incidents in 1980, and of 19,100 incidents in 1988. The number of incidents resulting in some period of restricted activity thus has diminished by 13 %. The amount was 3.5 % of all 1980 incidents, and 3.8 % of all 1988 incidents.

The consequences of the violent incidents were almost never very serious. During the 1980s, this state of affairs has not changed much, either. The incidents resulting in a period of restricted activity came usually from the

violence types e-h (73 % in 1980, 77 % in 1988). Only 15 % (1980) to 16 % (1988) out of all violent incidents were placed into these violence type categories.

During the 1980s, the structure of the violent incidents has changed slightly: the number of those incidents that resulted in the least damages has fallen most. This fall concerns men and women to an equal extent (Figure 11).

A breakdown by age group and gender (Figure 10) shows that the decrease in the number of violent incidents concerns almost exclusively the younger men and the youngest women.

3.2.5 *The Scene of the Violent Incident*

More than half (53 %) of the violent incidents of 1980 had occurred in the street or in some other public place, in a coffee-bar, a restaurant, or a dance-hall. In 1988, the proportion of this type of scene was slightly lower (49 %). A second large scene category was the victim's own or somebody else's home, where one-fourth (24 %) of the 1980 incidents, and 22 % of the 1988 incidents took place. The number of incidents in most types of scenes was reduced at least slightly as a reflection of the marked reduction of all violent incidents.

An exception to this rule is the scene "public building", with a large increase. This increase apparently is connected with the increase of violent incidents connected with the victim's work.

Incidents taking place in somebody else's apartment or home, in the yard, or in the school area were almost equally numerous in 1988 as they were in 1980.

The damage levels of the incidents taking place in the different scenes do not differ very much. Both in 1980 and 1988, the likelihood that the incident resulted in at least one day of restricted activity was greatest if it took place in the victim's own or somebody else's home.

The changes in the structure of the scenes of violence are generally similar for men as for women. For men, however, the incidents in public places have been reduced most markedly, whereas the most obvious change for women indicates a reduction of violent incidents experienced in their own homes.

3.2.6 *The Relationship of Victim and Perpetrator*

When assessing the changes in the violence situation, the perpetrator's relationship to the victim is of interest. Figure 13 gives an overview of this dimension.

The classification of the relationship was slightly altered from 1980 to 1988. The "other persons" of the 1988 classification were, in any case, others than complete strangers. A control of the primary data indicated that these usually refer to work-related violence, of client, patient, or collegiate relationships: persons who were no close acquaintances but who neither were totally unknown to the victim. In this way, the increase of incidents of work-related violence becomes visible also in the great number of such "other persons" on the relationship dimension.

Controlling for the respondent's gender repeats the above findings in the sense that the number of incidents perpetrated by complete strangers has clearly diminished both among the women and among the men (Figure 13). The overall share of stranger-perpetrated violence was much lower for women (less than one-third) than for men (slightly over one-half), which again illustrates the great difference in the structure of violence experiences of women as compared with those of the men.

Among the women, however, a simultaneous increase in the number of incidents where the perpetrator was "known by sight", or "other" emerges. This indicates that the previously noted increase in work-related violence would be mainly of concern for the women.

3.2.7 *The Violence Category*

Violence category here refers to the context in which the violent incidents occurred. Changes in family violence, for example, should be judged differently than, e.g., changes in street violence or work-related violence.

With the information concerning the scene of the incident and of the perpetrator, different violence categories have been defined. In this report, such categories are family violence, small group violence, work-related violence, street violence, and other violence (Table 4 and Figure 14).

In family violence, the perpetrator is the spouse or cohabitee, parent, or child of the victim. The proportion of family violence out of all violent incidents was 12 % in 1980, and 14 % in 1988. The total amount of such incidents was the same in 1988 as in 1980. This violence category belongs almost exclusively in the experience sphere of the women. In the 1988 survey, such experiences were, though, slightly more frequent than in 1980 in the answers given by the men.

Small group violence here means such violence where the perpetrator is known to the victim, her/his relative, or another member of the victim's household. The most typical scenes of small group violence were the victim's or somebody else's home, the street, a coffee-bar, a restaurant, or a dance-hall. The proportion of incidents of this category out of all incidents was 20 % in 1980, but only 14 % in 1988. The number of incidents of this category has decreased among women and men equally.

Work-related violence refers to victimizations connected with the victim's work tasks. The number of incidents placed in this category has grown quite markedly. In 1980, their proportion out of all incidents was 16 %. In 1988, their proportion was up to 23 %. The increase concerns the women; for the men, incidents fitting into the category of work-related violence have decreased.

Street violence, here, refers to incidents that occurred outdoors, and where the perpetrator is a stranger or known to the victim by sight or name only. The number of incidents of street violence had decreased from 1980 to 1988 most sharply for women as well as for men. The proportion of this category out of all incidents was 31 % in 1980, but 24 % in 1988.

The category "other random violence" covered incidents that took place outdoors (other than street violence), in a coffee-bar, restaurant, or in public transport, and where the perpetrator was a stranger or known to the victim by sight or name only. In 1980, 22 % of all incidents were placed into this category. In 1988, the proportion was 25 %. The number of these incidents has decreased only among the men; for women, their number has remained unchanged.

The differences between men and women are conspicuous, regarding the violence categories. Street violence is the leading violence category for men, family violence the one for women. The proportion of family violence out of all violence experiences of the women was 27 % in 1988. The figure for men was 0.2 %.

Table 4: The violent incidents by violence category and the resulting restricted activity, 1980 and 1988

	All incidents		Those incidents that resulted in at least one day of restricted activity	
	1980	1988	1980	1988
Men, total	365 665	267 231	12 440	7 146
Family violence	2 157	6 044	0	565
Small group violence	65 415	32 622	2 540	828
Work-related violence	70 245	62 464	0	515
Street violence	124 917	79 314	4 032	3 250
Other violence	102 932	86 787	5 869	1 988
Women, total	24 139	233 782	9 533	11 974
Family violence	70 857	64 182	3 501	5 895
Small group violence	58 015	35 947	2 558	2 333
Work-related violence	33 180	52 434	0	993
Street violence	63 743	42 900	1 062	1 328
Other violence	38 345	38 318	2 412	1 425

Street violence and other sporadic violence covers almost two-thirds of all violent events experienced by the men (62 % in 1988). The proportion for women was one-third (1988: 34 %).

The proportion of work-related violence was over one-fifth of all violent events for women as well as for men in 1988.

Clearly more violent incidents are found among the men than among the women. However, women are the main victims if the violence concerned is telephone threats, violent sexual harassment, or family violence. Family violence also caused the most damages to women - principally bruises caused by blows.

When analyzing the violence category by the age of the victim, three significant specifications to the previous findings come about. First, the decrease in street violence is strongest in the youngest age bracket. Second, the decrease in small group violence is about equally large in all age brackets. At the same time, this change is most visible among the youngest and those less than 35 years old because small group violence is most frequent among them. Third, it is made clear that the increase in the number of incidents of work-related violence concentrates about the age bracket 25-44. A more detailed tabulation shows that this increase in fact begins

already in the age bracket 20-24, and that it is only found for the women in these age brackets (20-44). For the men, the number of incidents of work-related violence has, in fact, decreased in all age brackets.

3.2.8 Reporting the Violence to the Police

The police was, according to the respondents, informed of 55,000 violent incidents in 1980. Out of these, 11 % resulted in at least three days of restricted activity: the police was informed of incidents that were more serious than the average ones. This number, on the other hand, is only 41 % of all violent incidents resulting in at least three days of restricted activity. In 1988, the situation was rather similar. According to this year's interviews, the police was informed of 61,000 violent incidents.

Whether the police was, in the victim's opinion, informed of the violent incident depended rather clearly on its damage level. Also the making of a police investigation was most likely in the incidents which had resulted in restricted activity.

In a comparison of 1980 and 1988, the proportion of incidents resulting in a police investigation has grown regardless of their damage level.

Table 5: The reporting to the police of the violent incidents by the restricted activity resulting from them, 1980 and 1988

Days of restricted activity	All incidents		Police was informed		Police investigation was made	
	1980	1988	1980	1988	1980	1988
			%	%	%	%
All incidents	629 804	501 013	8,7	12,3	3,7	5,4
No days of restricted activity	607 831	481 893	7,9	11,4	3,2	4,7
At least one day of restricted activity	21 973	19 119	29,9	33,2	16,1	22,4

Of the incidents of which the police was informed, the respondents said a police investigation was made in 23,000 cases (42 %) in 1980. The number for 1988 had, as a consequence of an increase in the reporting propensity

and of the aging of the population (young people are the least likely to resort to the police when victimized. Therefore, the aging of the population will bring about an increase in the average proportion of violent incidents of which the police is informed) increased to 27,000 (44 %). Of the crimes known to the police according to the police statistics, in 1980 about 22,000 may be classified as crimes of violence, in 1988 about 27,000.

The violent crimes known to the police and the incidents found in the 1980 and 1988 surveys are not fully comparable even after the exclusion of the fatal incidents. The event descriptions used in the interviews do not overlap fully with the definitions used in the criminal code. Also other crimes than those listed above may contain violent behavior. Additionally, the surveys only deal with the population between the ages of 15 and 74 years, whereas persons of all ages may be victimized to violence.

The police was informed more often of the violent incidents in 1988 than in 1980. Also, police investigation has become more likely during the 1980s. These changes are connected with, one the one hand, the increased propensity to inform the police, and on the other, the aging of the population.

According to the knowledge of the survey respondents, it was in 1988 more likely that the police was informed of the violent incidents than it was in 1980. This holds true in particular in the case of the male victims; among the women, this change is visible among the middle-aged and old victims. When looking at the information on police investigations, a still simpler picture emerges: the increase here is rather large and limited to male victims of all ages.

The making of a police investigation is much more likely in the incidents experienced by the adults than if the victim was young. The same holds true for men as compared with women. As the population has clearly aged during the 1980s, and the number of violent incidents experienced by young people has decreased, the structure of those violent incidents that have resulted in a police investigation has been altered quite markedly. From the perspective of police investigations, violent incidents seem to have increased greatly, and this increase emphasizes the violence experiences of men in the age bracket 20-44 years and those of women between the ages of 35 and 54 years - who were over-represented already in 1980 - even further in the 1988 description.

A comparison by violence category (Figures 15 and 16) indicates that the increased likelihood of violence coming to the knowledge of the police concerns all violence categories experienced by the men, but in particular

male experiences of work-related, small group, and street violence - those violence categories where the total number of incidents actually has decreased most clearly during the 1980s.

(Here, family violence experienced by the men has been indicated with a star, and the percentage has been omitted. The number of observations is so small that there is no foundation for calculating percentages.)

The changes of the violence situation are connected with the above changes in that the picture concerning violence, derived from the police statistics, grossly exaggerates the experiences of the male population and the violence categories typical for the men. This bias even seems to have grown during the 1980s, as an even smaller proportion of the violent incidents typical for women has resulted in a police investigation in 1988 than was the case in 1980 (Figure 16).

4. Summary

4.1 The General Design

This article describes two aspects of a large Finnish national survey concerning victimization to accidents and violence.

The first part gives an overview of the research design. Next, an application of the OECD working party suggestions concerning social indicators of physical safety is presented. Last, results on victimization to violent acts are given. Both chapters on results concentrate on the unique possibility to analyze changes, provided by a similar survey made in 1980.

4.2 The Social Indicators Application

Social indicators on the level and changes of the physical safety of the general population are used here to compare the situation in 1980 to 1988.

When comparing the 1988 results to the 1980 results, it must be borne in mind that even a considerable relative change is not always statistically significant if it is based on a small number of observations. Some general patterns of change may nevertheless be discerned.

The decrease in work-related accidents is explained, for example, by changes in the occupational structure of the population. In 1988, fewer people participated in physically strenuous and accident-prone work than in 1980, and automation and the improvement of work techniques have en-

hanced safety at work. At the same time, the growth in road traffic is reflected, in particular, in the increase in traffic accidents among young people. One reason is likely to be the behavior of young, still rather unexperienced drivers in traffic, who place a premium on risk-taking and performance.

The change visible in experiences of violence probably reflects a structural change in the violence situations. Street violence that is typically directed against men has decreased markedly from 1980 to 1988, whereas work-related violence, often experienced also by women (e.g. in service occupations) has become somewhat more common (cf. chapter 3.2).

4.3 The Subsurvey on Victimization to Violence

Victimization to violence was measured by questions that had a very wide scope, ranging from verbal threats to serious armed violence.

About one person out of ten was victimized to a violent act or threats of violence during the past twelve months in 1980, and one person out of twelve in 1988. Almost half (46 %) of the victims had at least two such experiences in 1980; in 1988, the proportion of such victims was 45 %. Most likely, the victim was a single young man.

The relative amount of persons victimized to events that resulted in restricted activity has also fallen, but only slightly.

The decrease of experiences of violence from 1980 to 1988 was most accentuated among the youngest men, and in the violence category of street violence. An exception from the overall falling trend were work-related violence experiences, which have become more numerous. Family violence remained in 1988 rather close to the numbers measured in 1980.

Work-related violence has become more numerous among the women in the most active age of participation in the labour force (ages 20-44). Among the men, the number of such experiences has simultaneously fallen.

Informing the police of the violent events was clearly more usual in 1988 than in 1980. This change has been so great that it has overrun the effect of the decrease of the total number of violent events: by far more events have resulted in a police investigation in 1988 than was the case in 1980. The increased propensity to make a police report is mainly a male concern - the events experienced by the women did not result in a police investigation much more often in 1988 than was the case in 1988. Their violence experiences overall resulted much less probably in a police investigation than the corresponding experiences of the men.

5. Figures

Figure 1a: The number of persons killed accidentally or violently, by the external cause of the injury, per 100,000 mean population 1980-1988. Men.

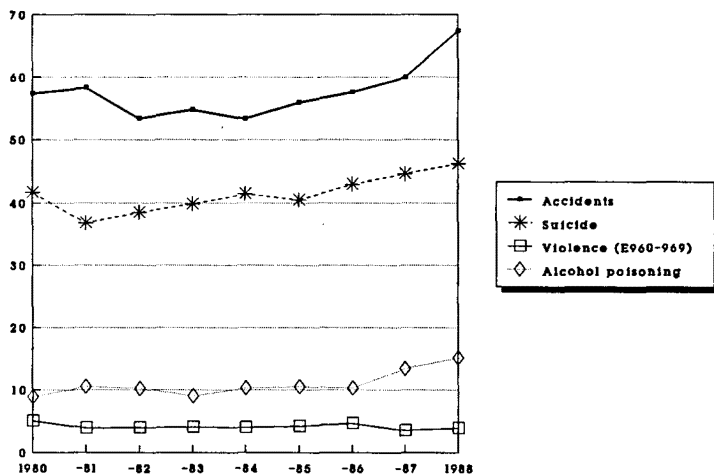


Figure 1b: The number of persons killed accidentally or violently, by the external cause of the injury, per 100,000 mean population 1980-1988. Women.

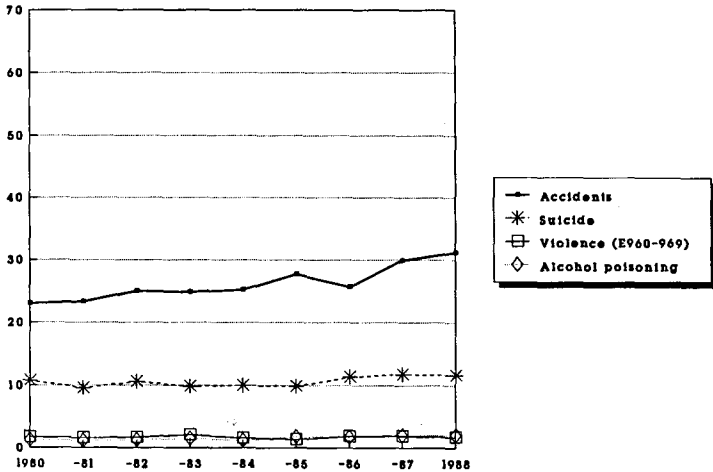


Figure 2a: The number of fatalities resulting from accidents (excluding falls) or from violence, per 100,000 mean population by age 1978-1980, and by age and cause of death 1986-1988. Men.

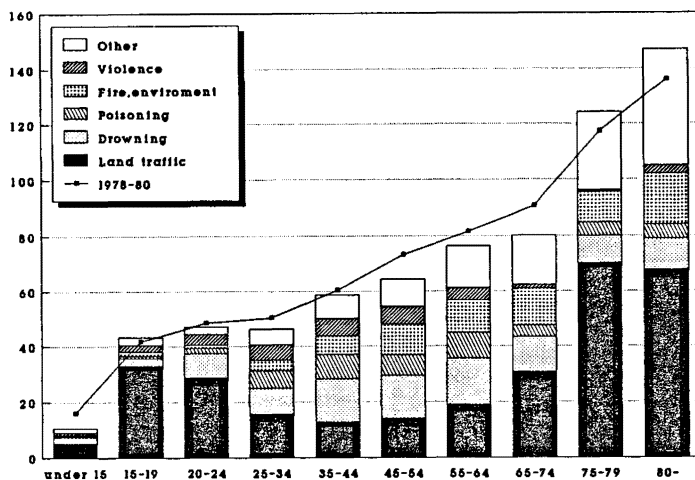


Figure 2b: The number of fatalities resulting from accidents (excluding falls) or from violence, per 100,000 mean population by age 1978-1980, and by age and cause of death 1986-1988. Women.

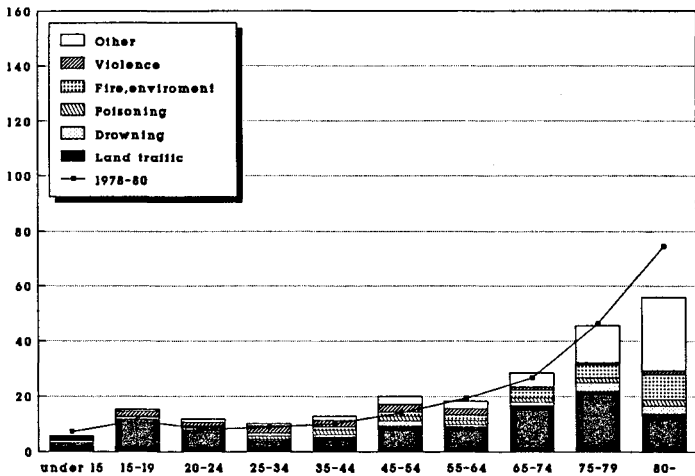


Figure 3: Serious and minor accidents and violent incidents

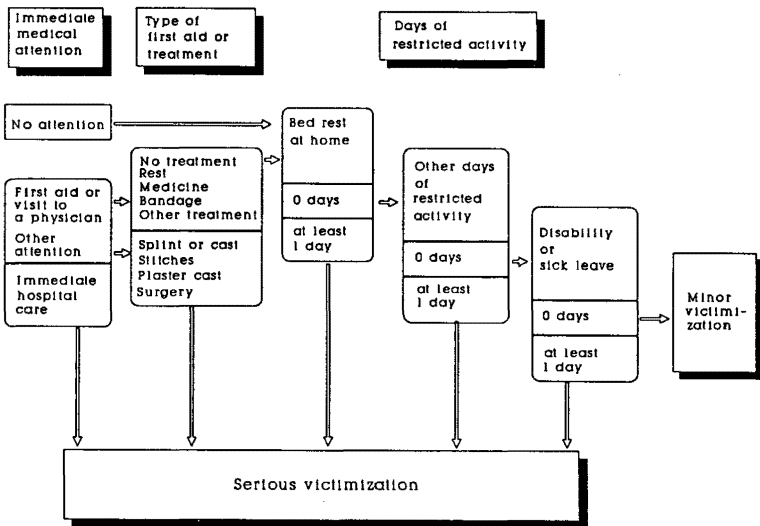


Figure 4: Persons suffering serious accidents or violent incidents by age and sex, per 100,000 population, 1988.

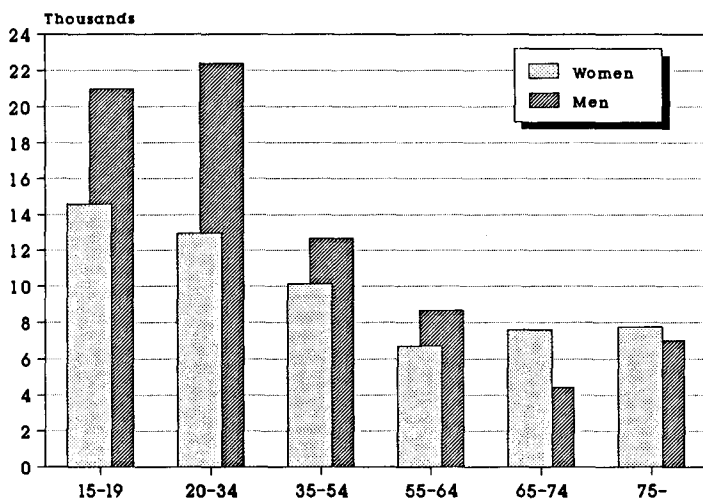


Figure 5a: Persons suffering serious traffic accidents by age, per 100,000 population, 1980 and 1988. Men.

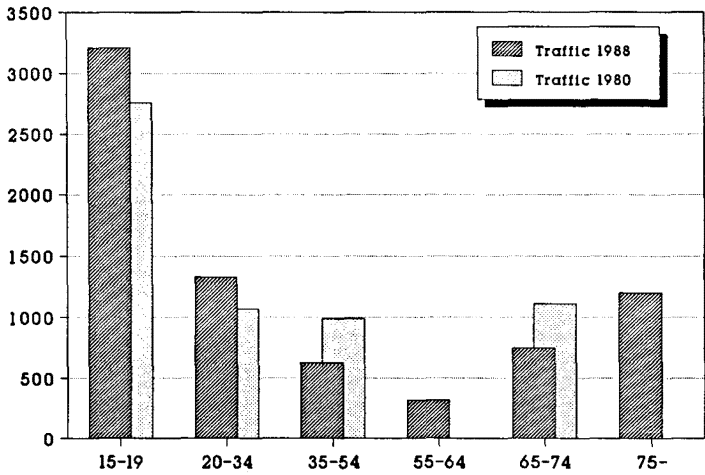


Figure 5b: Persons suffering serious traffic accidents by age, per 100,000 population, 1980 and 1988. Women.

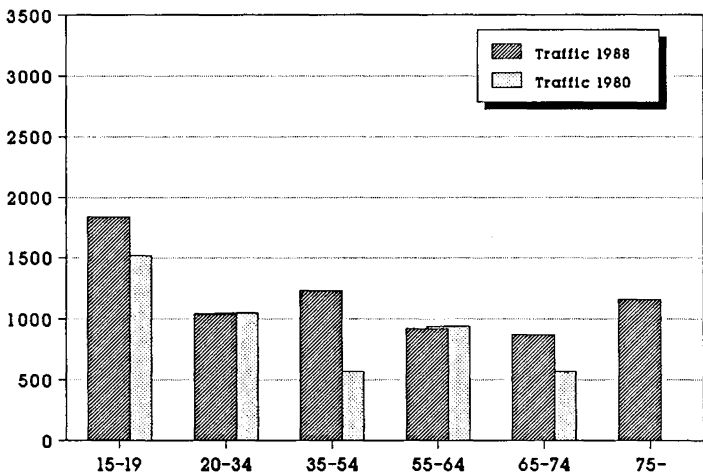


Figure 6a: Persons suffering serious work accidents by age, per 100,000 population, 1980 and 1988. Men.

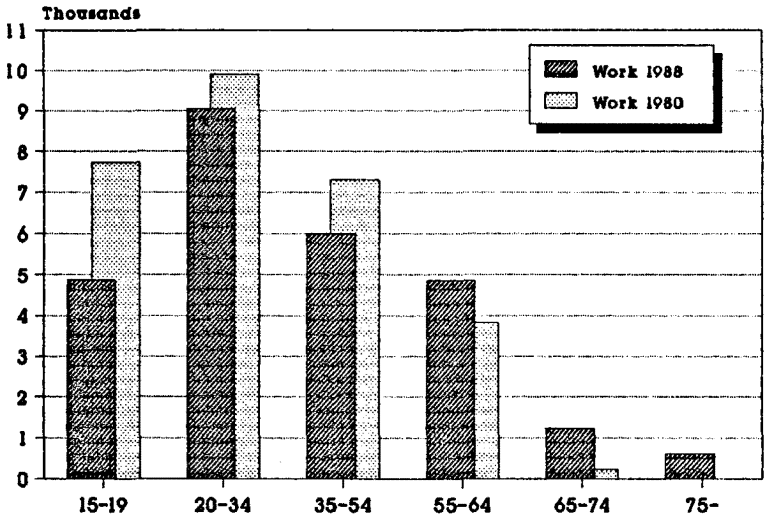


Figure 6 b: Persons suffering serious work accidents by age, per 100,000 population, 1980 and 1988. Women.

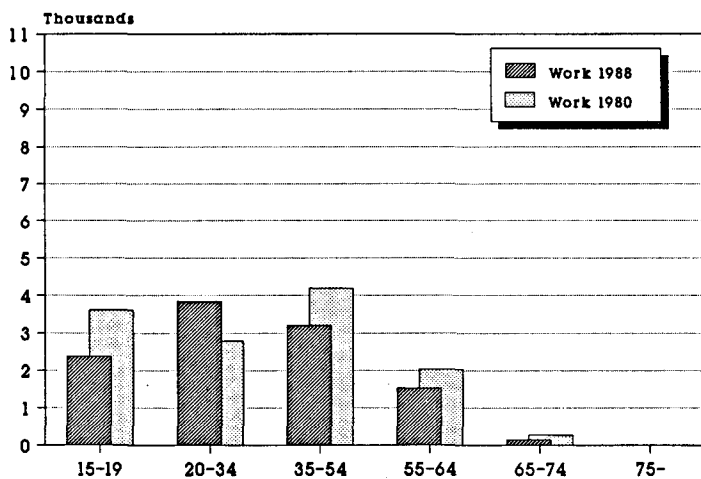


Figure 7a: Persons suffering serious accidents at home by age, per 100,000 population, 1980 and 1988. Men.

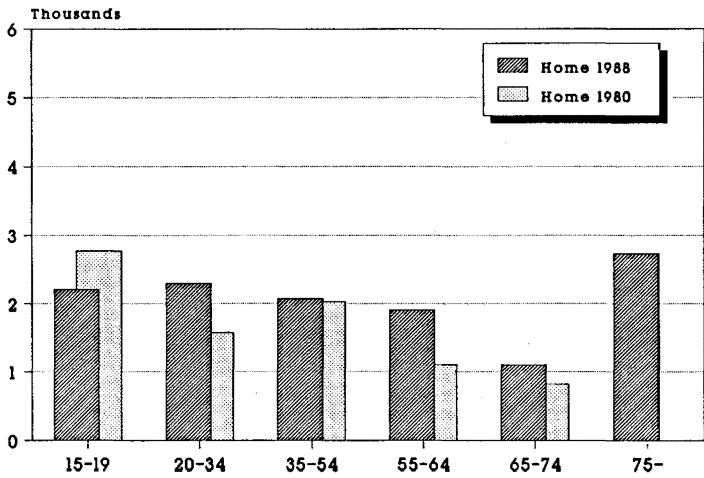


Figure 7b: Persons suffering serious accidents at home by age, per 100,000 population, 1980 and 1988. Women.

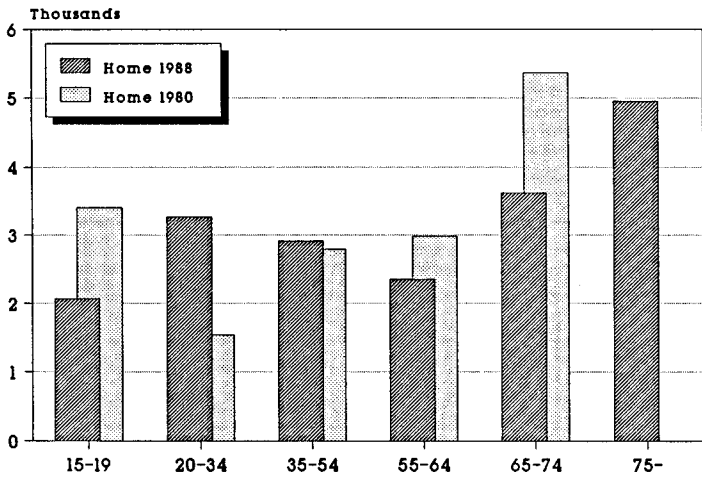


Figure 8a: Persons suffering serious sports accidents by age, per 100,000 population, 1980 and 1988. Men.

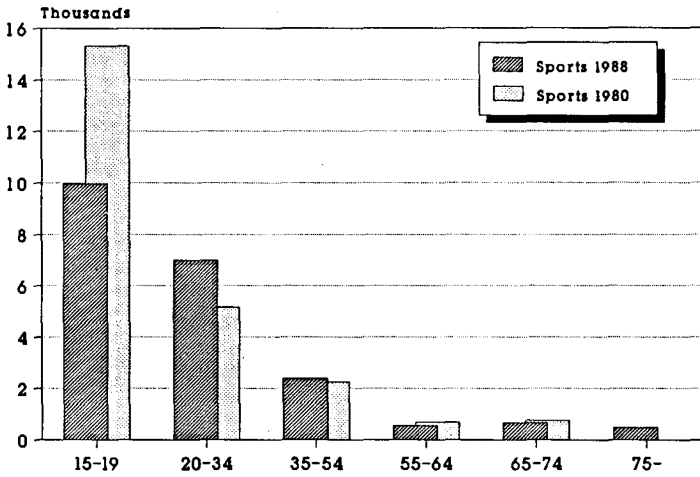


Figure 8b: Persons suffering serious sports accidents by age, per 100,000 population, 1980 and 1988. Women.

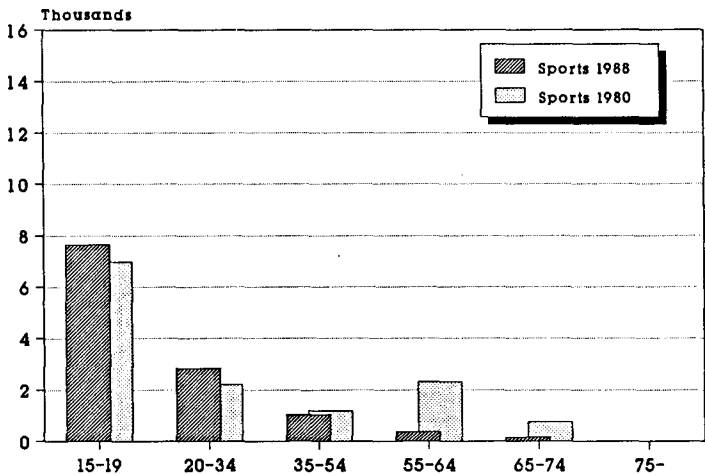


Figure 9a: Persons suffering serious violent incidents by age, per 100,000 population, 1980 and 1988. Men.

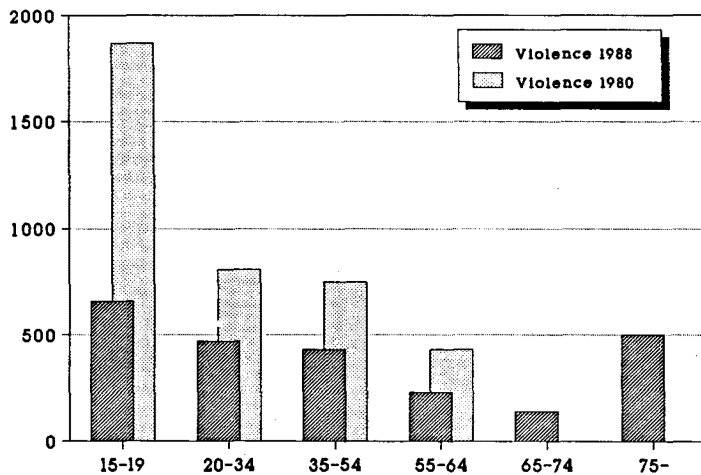


Figure 9b: Persons suffering serious violent incidents by age, per 100,000 population, 1980 and 1988. Women.

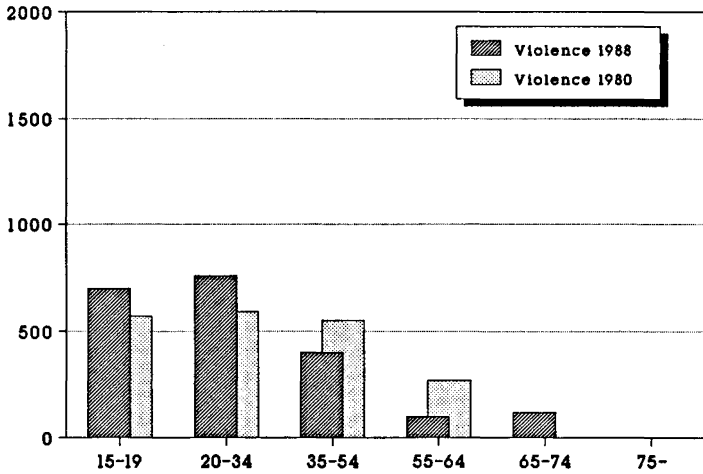


Figure 10a: The violent incidents by age of victim, 1980 and 1988. Men.

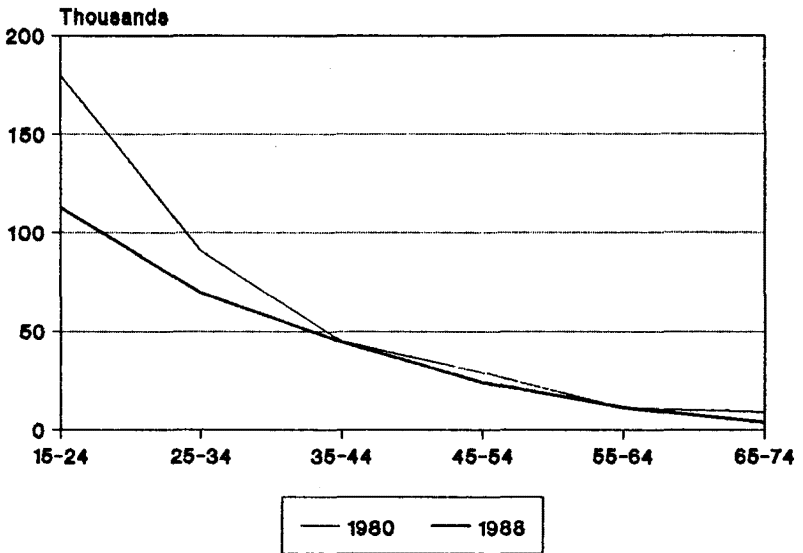


Figure 10b: The violent incidents by age of victim, 1980 and 1988. Women.

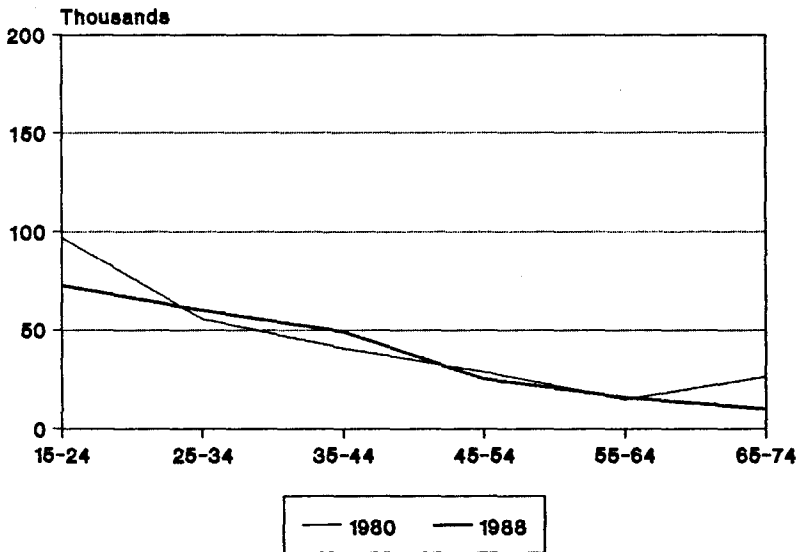


Figure 11a: The violent incidents by type of violence, 1980 and 1988. Men.

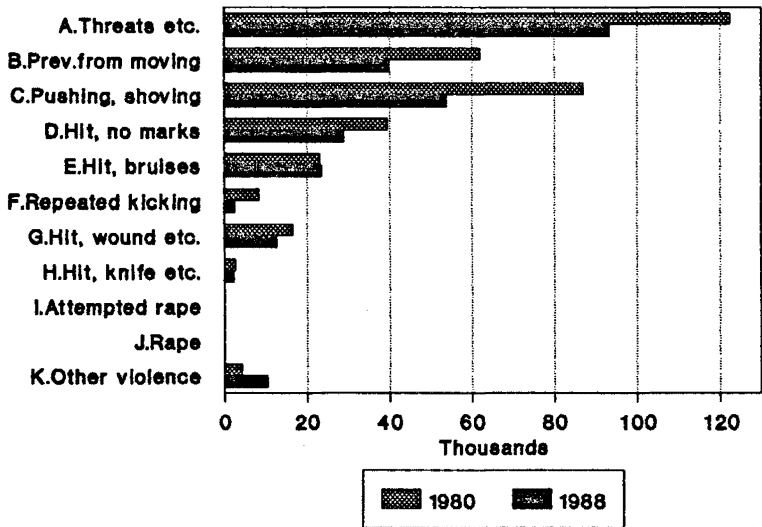


Figure 11b: The violent incidents by type of violence, 1980 and 1988. Women.

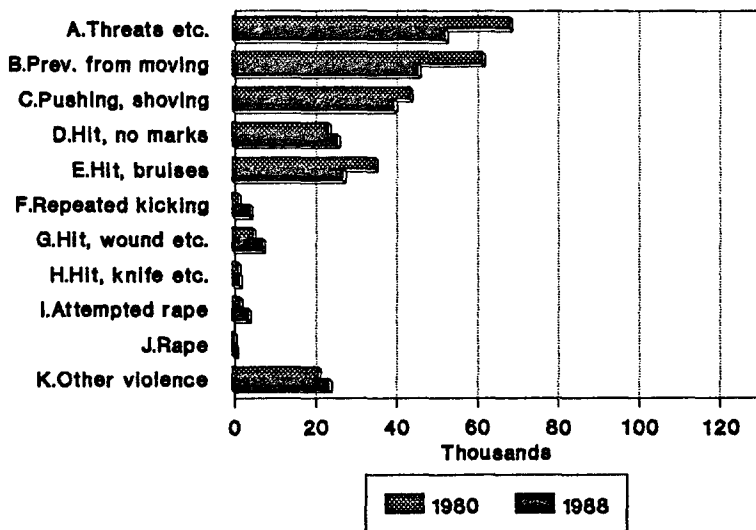


Figure 12a: The scene of the violent incident, 1980 and 1988. Men.

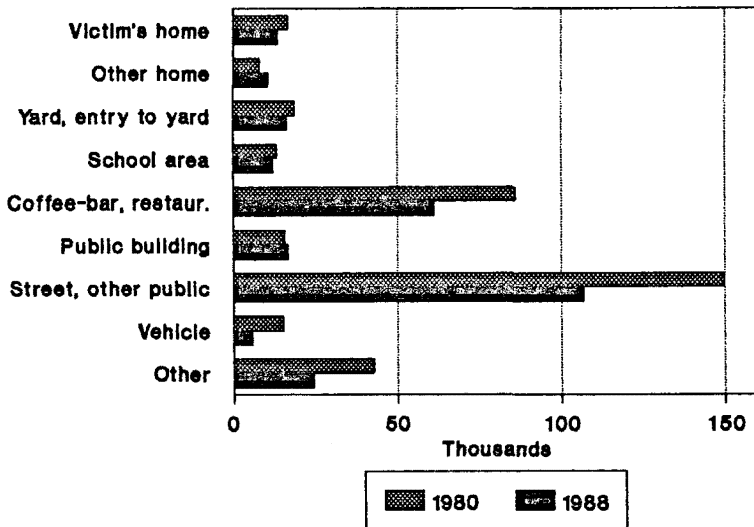


Figure 12b: The scene of the violent incident, 1980 and 1988. Women.

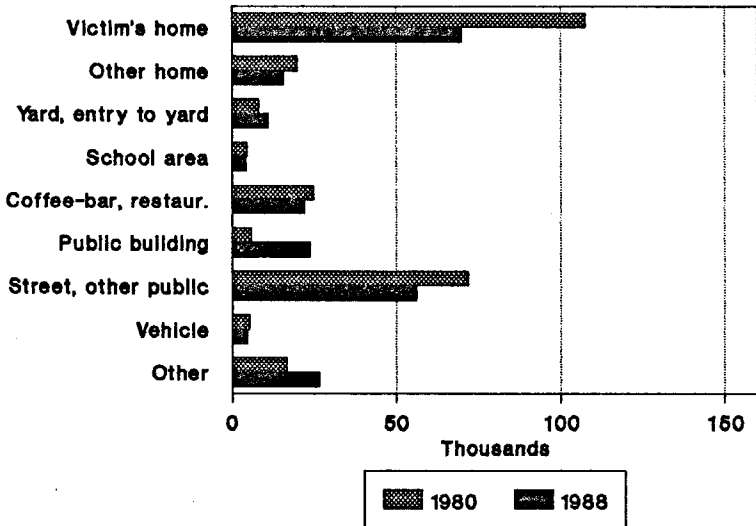


Figure 13a: The violent incidents by the victim-perpetrator relationship, 1980 and 1988. Men.

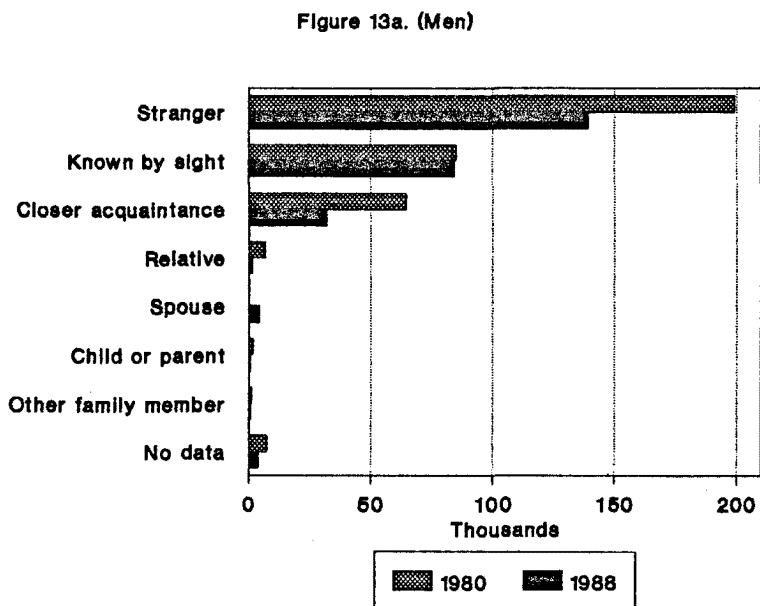


Figure 13b: The violent incidents by the victim-perpetrator relationship, 1980 and 1988. Women.

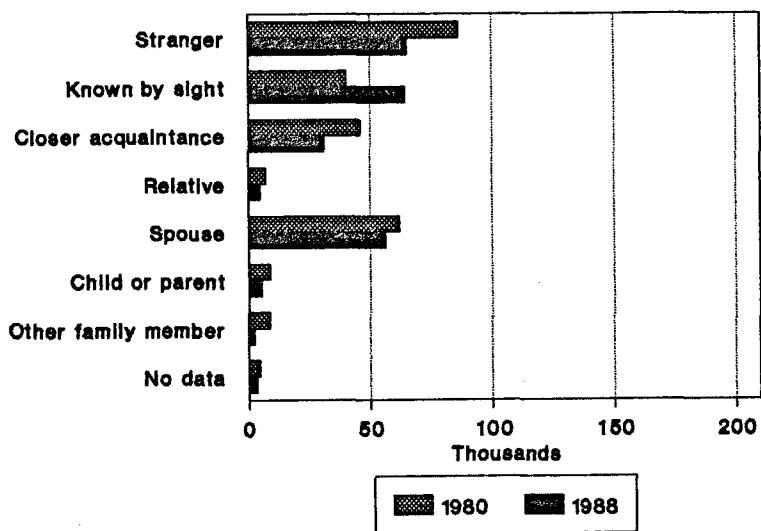


Figure 14a: The violent incident by violence category, 1980 and 1988. Men.

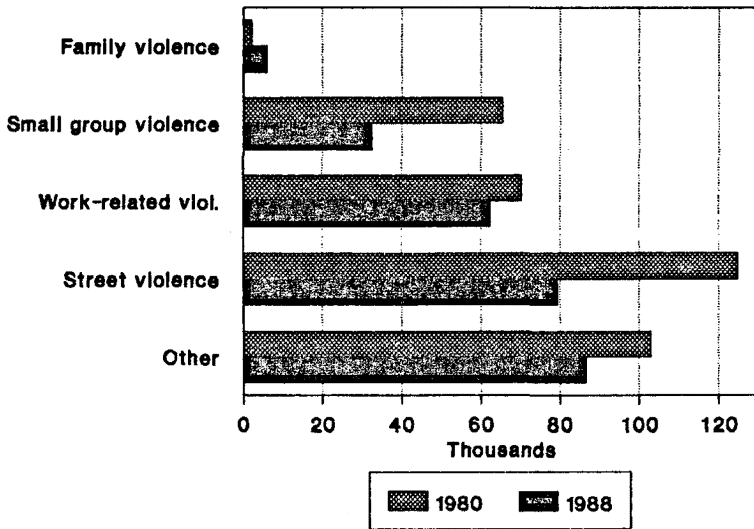


Figure 14b: The violent incident by violence category, 1980 and 1988.
Women.

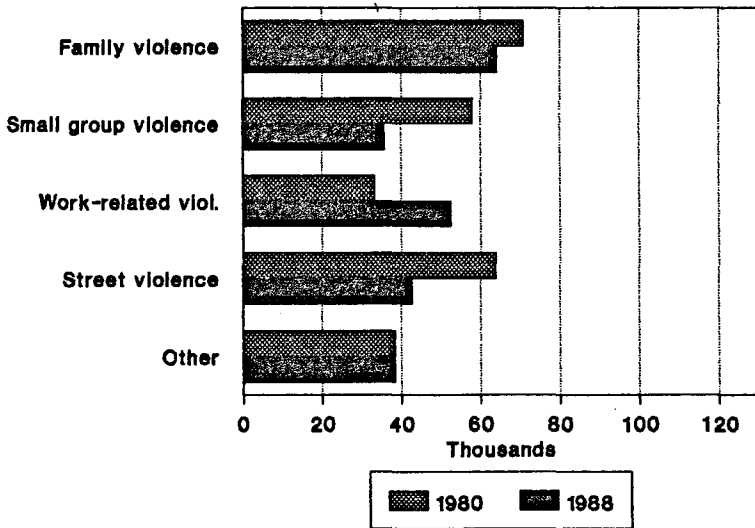


Figure 15a: The percentage of the violent incidents of which a police investigation was made, by violence category, 1980 and 1988. Men.

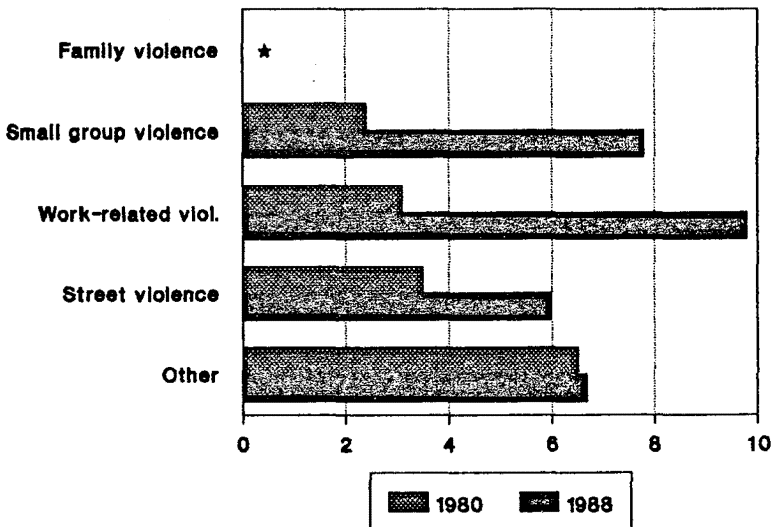


Figure 15b: The percentage of the violent incidents of which a police investigation was made, by violence category, 1980 and 1988. Women.

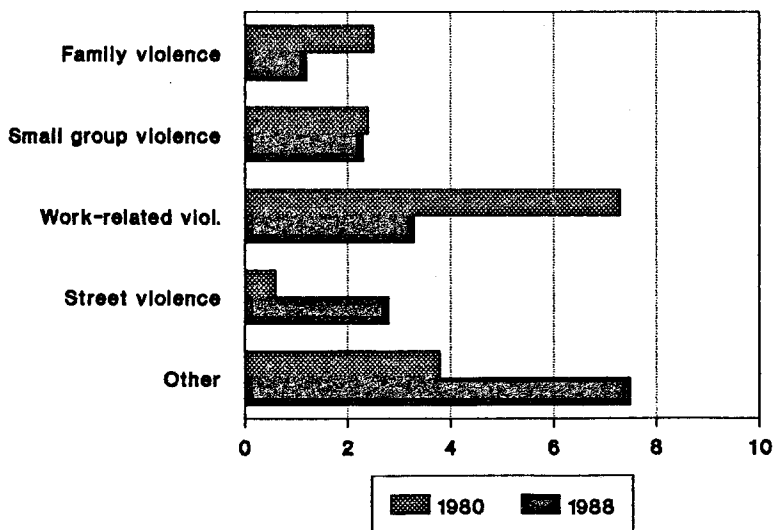


Figure 16a: The number of violent incidents in which a police investigation was made, by violence category, 1980 and 1988. Men.

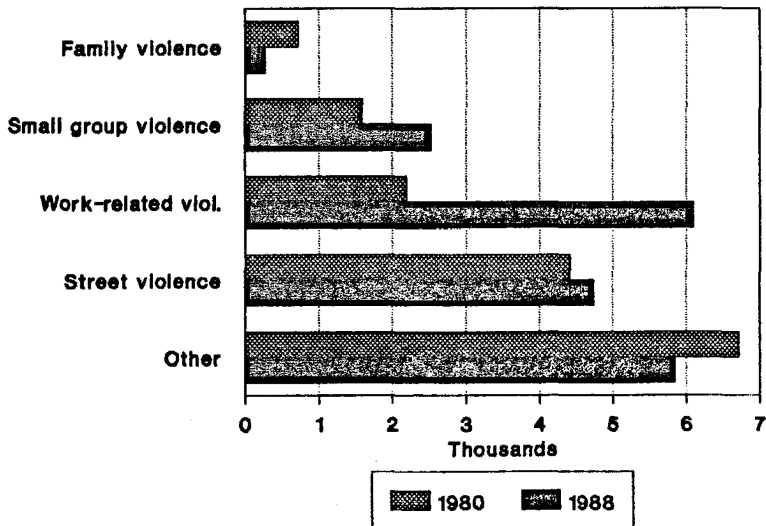
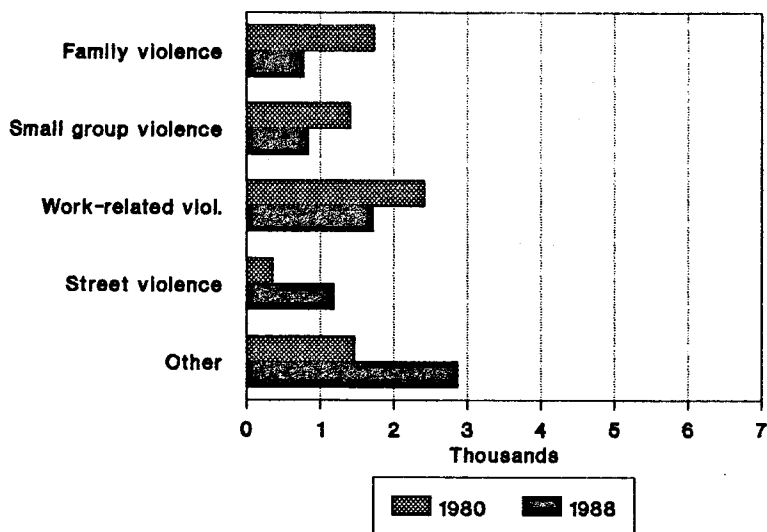


Figure 16b: The number of violent incidents in which a police investigation was made, by violence category, 1980 and 1988. Women.



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Victim Surveys and Police Statistics

Knut Sveri

Contents

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1. Introduction

Without any intention to start a discussion about "what criminology is", I believe most of my colleagues would agree that our efforts have three aims. First, we shall try to give as good **descriptions** of the phenomenon "crime" as possible. Reliable descriptions are fundamental, since they are useful both for analysis and as a base for crime policy decisions. For that section of criminology, which we today call **victimology**, it is of paramount interest to have reliable information about the number of victims and what kind of suffering the crimes have caused them. Second, we shall try to explain the existence of criminality as an individual and social phenomenon by using a **theoretical** approach. And third, we have an obligation to study the measures used by our societies to curb the criminality and to lessen its painful effects. While we earlier specified this subject into "prison studies", "police studies" etc. it seems that today many criminologists prefer to speak about studies of **criminal justice systems**.

If we look at the development of our discipline since World War II it seems to me that we have made the greatest advances in the descriptive field, while we still are almost as far away from giving theoretically satisfactory explanations of criminal behaviour as earlier, and that we still have much to learn about how criminal justice systems function.

Looking back at the situation in Scandinavia 40 years ago, we find that our knowledge of crime was at that time very scarce. The main reason for this was that we did lack data on crime from a systematic information system. What we had in Denmark and Norway was **court statistics** which only included court sentences (and some decisions by prosecutors) in cases defined in the criminal laws as "crime" - excluding the big number of misdemeanors. In Sweden and Finland the statistics in principle included **all** sentences (the criminal laws of these countries do not recognize the difference between "crime" and "misdemeanor"), but only those leading to more severe measures than fines were treated more thoroughly. In addition to these fairly meagre sources we had access to some systematic, but highly selective information concerning psychologically disturbed criminals and young offenders.

Some of us were at that time quite envious of our colleagues in the U.S.A. for their Uniform Crime Report, which included police registered serious crimes for every year since 1930, and of the Finns, who had similar

statistical data since 1927. However, soon we got our own **police statistics** which still form the base for most of our descriptive studies. They were introduced in Sweden in 1950, in Norway 1959 and in Denmark 1979. A similar development took place in most other European countries at about the same time and today all nations belonging to the European Council have more or less detailed police statistics. This is also the case in many countries outside of Europe and North-America, e.g. Japan and Australia. Indeed, we find similar information being available in most countries having reached a certain stage of civilization and stability.

Although the importance of this new kind of systematic information about crime cannot be overestimated, police statistics are certainly not without limitations. It is repeatedly pointed out that police statistics only include a selection of the crimes actually committed, and that the "dark" number of crime varies greatly between different types of offenses. Furthermore, the figures for "victimless crimes" - especially traffic violations, smuggling and drug offenses - are certainly not reliable measures of the actual state of such crimes, but only indications of the efficiency of the police and other authorities.

Undoubtedly, police statistics run the risk of being misused. Partly by the press, which always is eager to misinterpret the statistics in order to make some sensational statement about the latest "crime wave", and partly by the police which may be interested in certain interpretations in order to get more money or to avoid losing personnel or units.

In this situation we started in the late 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s to look for other sources of information which could be used to check the police statistics. The most important ones were without doubt **the victim surveys**. The survey technique was at that time established as a reliable method within different branches of sociology, and with the tight relationship between criminology and sociology the use of this technique was quite natural. However, the acceptance of such surveys can not be said to be universal - there are still criminologists and representatives for the criminal justice authorities who are negative to the use of that technique (e.g. *Zauberman* 1986). The situation seems to be that the victim survey is well established as a valuable source of information about crime in the USA where surveys are undertaken every year as a part of the official gathering of crime data. In Germany (or more precisely that part which we recently called West-Germany) many studies covering local areas have been made, and it is particularly interesting to notice that in Germany the Federal Police (Bundeskriminalamt) has been instrumental in taking the initiative and to coordinate the surveys. England and Scotland have got their crime surveys and so has Canada, Australia, Holland and many other countries. In Scandi-

navia we now have such surveys included in the yearly studies of living conditions. These studies are remarkable in one way, namely that they are coordinated for all the four main Scandinavian countries, and therefore may be used for comparison. However, the recently published study by *van Dijk et al.* (1990) is the best over-all comparative study so far - but unfortunately both Denmark and Sweden declined to participate in this study, thereby showing a remarkable incompetence and short-sightedness from the side of their respective Ministries of Justice and Crime Prevention Boards.

It is obvious that the two types of information, statistics of crimes registered by the police and crimes revealed by means of surveys, only partly tell us the same story about crime. In some respect, however, it should theoretically be the same story, but the empirical results seem to show us differently. What I have in mind are those data which - in a perfect world - should be found **both** in the victim survey and in the police records. *Skogan* (1976, p. 110) blames the police if the results of the surveys do not coincide with the police statistics. I agree, that dishonest accounting from the side of the police may cause discrepancies of the most unexpected kind, and the analysis of American practice, which *Skogan* gives us, is most convincing. As we shall see, the problem is different when we cross the Atlantic.

2. Some Problems of Interpretation

When we talk about "crime surveys" we refer to those types of studies in which a representative sample of either individuals or households are asked whether they have been victims of certain specific types of crimes. This means that neither those crimes which are committed against abstract victims such as "the public" or "the state" nor those, which may have business firms or corporations as victims, are covered by the surveys. What we have left are thus only **those types of offenses where a single individual (or a member of a "household") can be victimized**. In practice we restrict our studies to cover attacks on or loss of private property (in the form of theft, burglary, willful damage and unauthorized use) or physical attacks and threats of bodily harm.

From this can be understood that both in terms of **types of offenses** and in terms of **actual number of crimes committed** victim surveys cover only a very small part. However, in defence of the surveys can be said that they cover those types of offenses which are of the greatest **immediate interest to the ordinary citizen and his or her feeling of safety**. Because of this

the results of the surveys also may have a considerable impact upon the political decision-making concerning such questions as police surveillance and choice of penal measures.

The biggest difficulty arises **when the results of the police statistics and the victim surveys differ**. There are especially two types of problems which are troublesome. The first one exists when the discrepancy between the two sets of data is so great that we have no reasonable explanation for it. And the second one when we have two time series and they seem to go in different directions, so that one of them indicates an increase (or decrease) in a specific type of offence, while the other shows no change or a change in the opposite direction. In the following I will make some comments on the first type of these problems.

3. "Unexplainable" Differences

In the first victim surveys it was clearly stated that one of the aims of the new technique was to check the existing police statistics. It was the "dark area" of crime which was to be scrutinized, and in order to do so it was important to sort away those offenses which already were known to the police. In the first American study I have found (*Biderman et al.* 1967) that an important part of the work was to make a comparison with police data. This study covered samples of the population in three police precincts in the District of Columbia. The interviews took place in the summer of 1966. The number of crimes happening to residents the year before the interview took place were estimated to be 38,750. Of these the respondents said that they had reported no less than 28,100 (or 54 per cent) to the police. In order to get these figures comparable with the relevant police statistics different estimations led to a considerable reduction in the number, and to the following conclusion: "The survey-based estimate for the 3 precincts is over five times the magnitude of that derived from the police statistics when all in-precinct Index offenses are considered - 15,600 offenses as compared with about 3,000". The interesting point is, however, that of these 15,600 crimes found by the survey technique the respondents claimed to have reported 11,300 or 72 per cent. Compared with the official crime rate of 3,000, this means that no less than 8,300 crimes, which the victims claim to have reported to the police, were not found in the official statistics.

Similar discrepancies appear in other reports. As another example may be mentioned the British Crime Survey (*Hough & Mayhew* 1985, p. 61). The main comparable types of offenses give the following table.

	British Estima- ted total (000s)	Crime survey		Criminal statistics	
		reported (000s)	% reported	recorded (000s)	% recor- ded reported
Vandalism	2,953	620	21	229	37
Theft from motor vehicle	1,364	587	43	403	69
Burglary in a dwelling	904	615	68	432	70
Theft of motor vehicle	283	275	97	278	(101)
Bicycle theft	287	195	68	143	73
Theft in a dwelling	126	29	23	48	(166)
Theft from person/robbery	650	215	33	53	25
Total	3,570	2,536	71	1,586	63

As can be seen from the table the percentage of those crimes, which the respondents claim to have reported to the police, varies greatly between the different types of offenses. In some way most of these variations seems "reasonable". It is understandable that only 21 percent of those events, which we usually call "destroying of property", are reported to the police, when we take into account that most of such offenses are trifling matters. And taking into account the pride we take in our cars (not to mention the cost of repair), it seems also understandable that 97 per cent of "motor vehicle thefts" are reported to the police.

However, even this study shows that many of the cases the respondents say that they have reported to the police never found their way into the police statistics. The British Crime Survey reports that 620,000 cases of vandalism are reported to the police, but only 229,000 such cases (or 37 per cent) are found in the police statistics. The situation is even worse for "theft from person (including robbery)", where 215,000 cases are said to be reported, but only 53,000 or 25 per cent found their way into the police statistics. Burglaries in dwellings, thefts from or of motor vehicles and bicycle thefts have a much better coverage, between 69 and 101 per cent.

Most studies seem to confer these general results, namely that the different types of offenses are not only **unreported** but also **under-recorded**. In most studies the problem is to explain not only why victims do not report

the crimes to the police, but also why so few of those crimes, which the victims say that they have reported to the police, are not recorded by this authority.

However, if we turn to the Swedish studies of property crimes the situation is quite different. In a report from 1978 the situation was the following (*Living Conditions*, 1981, pp. 139-50).

	Swedish crime survey		Police statistics	
	Reported (000s)	% reported	Recorded (000s)	% recorded of reported
Theft from dwelling	29	-	32	110
Theft from attic, cellar, etc.	58	-	28	48
Theft from summer house	15	-	12	80
Theft of car	31	-	42	135
Theft from car	73	-	98	134
Theft of or from bicycle, moped, motor cycle	107	-	92	86
Other thefts	74	-	137	185
Destroying of property	60	-	52	87
Total	450	47	493	110

Comparing the figures in this table with those from England there are some striking differences. Since the types of offenses covered in the two tables seem to coincide fairly well, I have taken the liberty to add the absolute figures in each column and to compute the percentages for the totals. Starting the analysis with these, we see that the English police statistics only include 63 per cent of the cases which the respondents in the survey claim that they have reported to the police. The comparable percentage for Sweden is no less than 110, which means that the number of crimes recorded by the police seems to be higher than the number of crimes reported by the respondents in the victim survey. Breaking down the table into specific offenses one may notice that only 37 per cent of the reported cases of "vandalism" are recorded by the police in England, while the comparable figure for "destroying of property" in Sweden is 87 per cent. Most of the other types of offenses are not directly comparable, but quite

generally the two tables give an impression that the English police statistics seem to have much more "unexplained" non-recorded offenses than the Swedish ones.

Furthermore, in addition to the problem of non-recorded offenses, the tables give raise to another difficult problem, namely of "**over-recording**". As can be seen, this is especially typical for Sweden, where many more crimes are found in the police statistics than in the survey. For England this is only a problem concerning "theft in a dwelling", where the police has recorded 66 per cent more cases than it ought to be according to the British Crime Survey. As far as I understand, this is a problem which does not exist in U.S.A.

Hough and Mayhew (1985, p. 13) explain the over-recording of "thefts in a dwelling" by differences in classification in the two sets of statistics. Incidents, which in the survey may be classified as burglaries, may have been judged by the police to be the lesser crime of "theft". This seems reasonable - and if we add together the two types of offenses, we get a total figure of 75 per cent recorded of those reported, which means that we are back in the problem of under-recording.

The figures from Sweden are more difficult to explain. First, there is a 10 per cent over-recording of "theft from dwelling", which perhaps may be caused by wrong classification - some of the cases should instead have been under the heading "theft from attic, cellar, etc". If so, the figures from the **survey** seem to me to be the most reliable ones, since the questions concerning these two types of offenses are asked in connection with each other. This means that a wrong answer to one of these questions would immediately be corrected. It is easier to believe that the classification done by the police is less accurate, since the person doing the coding often will have to read the complaint in order to find out whether the theft actually was from a dwelling or from an attic or a cellar. Most of the time he will stick to the headlines of the complaint, where a burglary in an attic may be referred to as a "burglary in a villa" or a "theft in an apartment house". - The over-recording of "theft from car" and "theft of car" cannot be explained in the same way - the only possible wrong classification is that an attempt to steal a car may be classified as an attempted theft from a car. However, since both types of offenses are over-recorded, this mistake in classification has no relevance for our main question. The reason for the discrepancies between the survey and the police statistics must be that the police statistics include offenses directed towards cars belonging to someone **other** than private persons. Cars belonging to companies, business firms, state and local authorities etc. are not represented in the survey. Since the Swedish police statistics lack information about the ownership of the cars, there is in fact

no correspondence between the two sets of information. It also means that the survey gives us a more reliable picture of what harm is done to single individuals by offenses directed towards their cars, while the police statistics are more reliable if we want a total picture of these crimes - or of those crimes which are regarded to be so serious that the car owners take the trouble to report them to the police. - Lastly, the category "other thefts" shows almost twice the number of recorded crimes in the police statistics as we find by means of the survey. Obviously, the reason must again be that the police statistics include a different population of victims - such as shops, department stores, factories etc. and not only single individuals as the survey does.

Turning now to **crimes of violence** one may at least say that the above mentioned population problem has less significance here - although it certainly exists. Some parts of the total population are difficult to include in samples of this type, such as children, mental deficient persons, and people "without a fixed abode". Some persons, who are very vulnerable to be victimized, namely "professional" thieves, drug-dependent persons and alcoholics, belong to this group. Studies of receptions to emergency wards in hospitals show clearly that these persons are highly over-represented as victims of assault (e.g. *Lenke* 1973). It may be added, that even if we do not reach this group by means of the survey technique, they quite often go to the police and get their complaints recorded.

Unfortunately, the British report does not give any comparable figures for the number of assaults recorded by the police (*Hough & Mayhew* 1985, p. 61). Looking at the British police statistics it seems to be a big discrepancy between the results of the survey and the statistics. While the survey reports 685,000 incidents of assault, the police statistics only report about 100,000 cases of "violence against the person". Since we do not know how these classifications correspond, the conclusion can only be that there **may** exist a big discrepancy between the two sources of information.

Looking at the situation in Sweden, it is summarized in the following tables (*Living Conditions* 1981, pp. 84-86).

A. Crime survey			
	Estima- ted total (000s)	Report- ed (000s)	% re- ported
Violence, which led to physical injury or wound	155	40	27
Violence, which did not lead to injury or wound	175	25	15
Threats, which made the respondent afraid	355	70	19
Total	685	135	20

B. Police statistics		
	Recorded crimes (000s)	% of reported in the survey
Assault	22	-
Threats, harassment etc.	18	-
Sexual violence	1	-
Robbery etc.	5	-
Violence and threats against police officer	6	-
Total	52	38.5

Although these two tables do not cover exactly the same type of offenses - the police statistics include a greater variety of types of offenses than the survey - the first table seems to indicate that people claim to have reported 135,000 incidents of violence or threats to the police, while from the second table can be seen that a maximum of 52,000 (or 38.5 per cent) of cases have actually been recorded by the police. If the police statistics only had covered the same types as the survey, the figures would have been reduced further, probably to 25 or 30 per cent.

The situation seems here to be the same as in the reports from the USA (and possibly also in England), with a remarkable high under-reporting of such crimes. The explanation is not quite clear, but we can at least for Sweden and England rule out any suspicion of **systematic** cheating from the side of the police. They have nothing to gain from it - in contrast to what may be the case for the politically elected chiefs of police in the USA (Skogan 1976, pp. 111-12).

If we look at the rules, which the police forces are supposed to follow, we should expect a difference between England and USA on the one hand and Sweden on the other. A Swedish police officer has a duty "to report to his superior" every time he/she detects a crime. It is only in cases of breaches of "ticket" regulations (where the penalty is a fixed fine), that a police officer in "excusable" cases may let the offender off with an admonition. In practically all other cases it is in fact a punishable breach of duty for the officer not to report the incident. In Common Law countries the situation for the police officers seems to be different - he/she has more discretion to decide whether to report or not. However, from what can be seen from the figures above, the expected differences do not seem to appear. All the police forces involved seem to find ways to avoid recording most of the incidents of violent, threatening and harassing behaviour.

4. Instead of a Conclusion: Some Suggestions

Victimological surveys were introduced in order to give us better knowledge about personal crimes and to give us an opportunity to check the existing official crime statistics. Undoubtedly, they have served the first object very well, and they represent today well established sources of information. However, it seems to me that police statistics and victim surveys have diverged from their common starting point. The surveys seem to live their own life, just as the police statistics do. The following citation from the National Crime Survey Reports of U.S. Department of Justice is characteristic for the situation: "Attempts to compare information in this report with data collected from police departments by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and published in its annual report, **Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports**, are inappropriate because of substantial differences in coverage between the surveys and police statistics" (*National Crime Survey 1977*, p. IV).

Even the central question of the "dark number" is hardly solved by the type of surveys we conduct today. I agree with Stephan, when he after a discussion of the German "Stuttgarter Opferbefragung" says that the information given by the respondents as to whether they have "reported" the offenses committed against them to the police or not, cannot without tests be used for estimation of the dark number (*Stephan 1980*, p. 57).

Furthermore, as we have seen from the discussion above, a large number of the cases the respondents say that they have reported to the police, seem more or less either to disappear into thin air - or to be the object of underestimation due to lack of correspondence in classification between the

surveys and the police statistics. This leads to a situation where we are giving the public and the politicians confused messages as to the state of crime and - especially critical - the trends in crime. We get the kind of situation - as in Sweden for the moment - that the police refer to the yearly increase in crime in the police statistics for their claim not only for more personnel and helicopters, but also for legislative changes which can give the police more power. While on the other hand the National Bureau of Statistics claims that there has been no increase in personal crimes and refers to the victim surveys.

There are indeed many complicated problems in connection with the concept "victim" as it is used legally or sociologically. As Sessar has pointed out, there is a difference between those who **technically** are victims and those who also psychologically **feel** that they are victims (*Sessar* 1990, p. 118). It is probably only the last type of victims who respond to the survey questions - something which may explain some of the strange differences found in the surveys (such as "the anomalous relationships between assault rate and race or education..." (*Skogan* 1990, pp. 258-9).

If we want to make maximum use of the two sets of information we must coordinate our efforts to streamline the police statistics and the victim surveys. As far as I know, very little has been done so far. The only study from Scandinavia is based upon a small survey of a sample of 1200 persons made by the Swedish National Bureau of Statistics in 1977. What was done was simply to follow up all those respondents in the survey who claimed that they had been victims of personal crimes to see whether they were registered as victims by the police. In a computerized world one should expect this to be relatively easy. However, since the police has no central register for complainants, the difficulties were very great. After quite a lot of detective work it was possible to find practically everybody, and the results were very promising since it was possible in detail to study how the claims were handled by the police (*Statistics Sweden* 1977).

We need more studies of this type. Furthermore, we also need better information about the characteristics of those crimes which are found in the victim surveys. By means of smaller samples we may be able practically to handle information of a more detailed kind. For example, we may get the victims to give us more details about the incidents, at least so that we can see, whether it really was a crime or not.

And lastly, we must find ways to streamline the classifications of the police statistics and the victim surveys. As we have seen from the discussion above and the references given, there is no way around this problem if we want to make maximum use of the two information sources.

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A Victim Survey in the Swiss Canton Uri in 1984

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1. Introduction

1.1 Uri as a Sample Area

The Swiss Canton Uri has maintained its rural character although the degree of industrialization is fairly high. Agriculture itself plays a mere secondary role. The large majority of the 33,883 inhabitants of Uri are Catholic.

Methods of control outside the legal system itself operate fairly extensively and efficiently. Tradition, customs and common practices are in a position to set norms, the adherence to which can be "guaranteed". Uri in spite of its rural topography is in no way a "rural idyll". It has been referred to for many centuries as the classical "Alpentransitland" in Europe.

Innovations and political, cultural and social changes enter into the population's way of life relatively quickly.

1.2 Aims of the Victim Survey in Uri

1.2.1 *Investigation of the actual Frequency of Offences*

The conventional criminal statistics which pertain to the perpetrator of a crime or the victim are not in a position to provide a true picture of the extent and structure of crime itself (*Hindelang* 1982, p. 115).

Criminal statistics merely give an account of the crime which reaches the attention of the legal authorities. Various facts relating to the phenomenon "crime" are brought to light according to the viewpoint and outlook of various sources, namely, the police, judiciary or prison statistics relating to imprisonment or sentencing. Crime is defined carefully by means of these figures, but never actually recorded.

Whether or not empirical social research is in a position to answer all obvious questions may be doubted (*Chambers & Tombs* 1985, p. 3). At any rate it is a source of other information (*Hindelang* 1982, p. 115).

The two independent sources of information mentioned, have the advantage of varifying or falsifying each other. The same does not apply, for example, to a comparison of the court statistics with the prison statistics (Messner 1984, 436).

1.2.2 Comparison between Survey Data and Police Statistics

Police statistics have remained for some time the most important, if not the most correct indicator of crime (Fiselier 1979, p. 111).

A comparison emerges therefore insofar as the survey is concerned, not merely because of the reason which has been mentioned for the ascertainment of the actual frequency of offences. With such a comparison, it is possible to investigate the proportional figures which vary from crime to crime and it is possible to allow an estimation of crime itself and the calculation of unreported and unrecorded crime. It is therefore clearly not about absolute quantities, but rather relations. The official police statistics are no longer "corrected", but are considered as a basis for figures.

1.2.3 Analysis of the Motivation of those not reporting Crime

How a victim in an individual case may behave always influences the picture of the criminal and the crime quite decisively (Steffen 1976, p. 73). The extent of undetected crime would be drastically reduced and the police statistics of actual crime would more readily accord with the real position if the attitude of a victim towards reporting a crime could be improved. It is, however, unrealistic to suppose that sooner or later all victims who appreciate their importance as victims, will take steps to report a particular crime (Fiselier 1979, p. 129). This is not a desirable result due to the fact that the logical consequence of such action would mean an unnecessary strain on the police authorities. From the academic point of view, it is sufficient to be aware of the reasons which bring a victim to report a crime or to omit to do so.

1.2.4 Fear of Victimization

Fear of crime is one of the many fears which follow us with differing intensity throught our lives. The fear often appears more important to us than the crime itself. It is an indicator of the state of a society. The fear of crime emerges in certain cases not as a consequence of the severity of a crime or its frequency. It has become a single, isolated problem (Hough & Mayhew 1983, p. 22). Various aspects of this fear of crime should be investigated.

1.2.5 Attitudes of the Population of Uri

The offence is caught within the old-established relationship between victim and offender. The question is asked as to what the attitude of individuals is towards the authority of the law. What we are interested in is the position of those who have responded to questions in relation to the death penalty and the criminal justice system in general.

1.2.6 Checking of Validity

The reliability of answers is something critical in all surveys. The conclusions raised from the collection of data are in themselves correct. However, they are often built upon false premises. This problem should be tackled with the help of a forward-record-check.

1.3 Victim Surveys in Switzerland

Whereas regularly victim surveys have been carried out in the USA, it took in Switzerland until 1973 when an American criminologist, *Marshall B. Clinard*, analyzed the unique crime situation in Zurich and compared the situation with those in other European countries (*Clinard* 1978). The extent of crime proves to be small. The figures for burglary, theft in and outside the home, and damage to property, were lower than those in Stuttgart or America (*Balvig* 1988, p. 51).

Once again, it took a further few years until a second victim survey, this time in West Switzerland, was carried out (*Killias* 1986). *Killias* investigated the area of unreported crime and diverging opinions of victims and non-victims, in 3,000 telephone interviews. The victim survey in Uri is to be seen as replication to those studies carried out in Texas, Baranya and Baden-Württemberg (*Stadler* 1987). A questionnaire designed at the Max Planck Institute in Freiburg served as a basis in order to produce comparability as good as possible (*Arnold* 1986).

2. Methods

2.1 Surveying Victims of Crime

By means of random samples of the general population people were described and questioned about their experiences as victims. This took place mostly with the help of an offence catalogue, which made the classification

and description of the particular victimization easier for those who were questioned. However, not only questions about crime itself could be answered. The reason why an offence was not reported, also arose, in addition to the question as to which groups are at risk, and the attitude of the population towards the police and administration of justice. The victim survey also supplied information in general to build a picture of our society. The greatest difficulties with the victim survey are related to the victims' ability to remember:

- Forgetting (*Skogan* 1981, p. 17);
- Withholding of information (lies, wrong classification of an incident, overtiredness) (*Skogan* 1981, p. 16);
- uncertain chronological order of events: telescoping.

The victim survey came up against overwhelming barriers:

- Crime without a victim (e.g. drug abuse);
- ignorance about one's status as a victim (e.g. fraud, embezzlement).

Such deficiencies which arise from forgetting and extreme telescoping can be drastically reduced with the help of record-checks and bounded interviews.

The best results supplied by the victim survey (in contrast to questioning of offenders and informants) reflect the relationship of the victim to the offence itself. The victim is perhaps inhibited by feelings of revenge, retaliation, shame and the feeling of being driven to seek justice. Apart from a degree of satisfaction, there are, however, no advantages to be achieved. The victim becomes anonymous again after the act and maintains a distance to the criminal act itself. This distance which the offender can never overcome, makes objectivity possible in the best cases.

2.3 Sample Representativeness

It depends on the representativeness of the sample as to whether the conclusions and projections correspond to the real circumstances (*Clinard & Junger-Tas* 1979, p. 163). The sample for the survey in canton Uri was drawn using a systematic probability sample method.

Every 14th person entitled to vote and every 12th telephone entry was taken out of the voting register and telephone list respectively and written

down. 521 addresses from at least 20-year-old inhabitants of the Canton where in this way ascertained. This figure accords to 1.5% of the population of Canton Uri.

The high percentage covered by the surveys allows correct representation to be expected even in a small sample. However, it is questionable as to whether a sample of 501 succeeds in making valid estimations of victimization. The size of the sample in the survey in canton Uri had to be so chosen out of economic and practical considerations in order that for more frequent offences reliable results could be expected, although not for robbery, arson and rape.

Of the 501 addresses which were actually reached postally, 265 of the questionnaires came back correctly completed. The non-response rate amounted therefore in total to 236 or 49%. The division into sexes remains virtually unchanged insofar as the sample test is concerned. Representativeness was obtained likewise in relation to the characteristic of age. An overrepresentation of divorces was established insofar as marital status is concerned and an overrepresentation of those employed was also established insofar as employment status is concerned.

3. Results of the Survey

3.1 Comparison of Survey Results and Criminal Statistics

3.1.1 The Dark Figure of Crime

A new meaning of the concept of the dark figure of crime or preferably the dark area of crime has since *Oba* (1908, p. 28) constantly appeared. All those definitions reflect the contrast between official and unofficial statistics and figures in general.

For the purposes of our investigation, the following definition is authoritative: The number of unreported cases embraces the sum total of all offences which remain unknown to the criminal prosecution organs and therefore do not appear in any way in criminal statistics.

3.1.2 Police Statistics in Comparison with Survey Results

The difference between police statistics and the results forecast by the survey are considerable.

Robbery, violent attack (assault) with weapons and arson do not lead to a projected result because no respondent to a questionnaire cited him- or herself as the victim of one of these three offences. More or less important differences are calculated for the remaining offences. Theft and damaged property lead by a wide margin in comparison with the violent attacks (assaults) without weapons. The undetected crime in relation to these criminal offences is very high, in particular relating to attack without weapons and damage to property.

The behaviour of those reporting to the police is becoming more important. Rape suggests a high figure of unreported cases, and the low figures recorded suggest a cautious interpretation.

On the whole, the comparison between the police statistics and figures forecast, show that the extent of the number of unreported cases is quite significant and the differences vary noticeably from crime to crime. The so-called "law of constant ratios" (which relates to the ratio of the number of detected to the number of undetected crimes) cannot be confirmed in relation to violent offences or offences to property let alone in relation to victimization in general (*Kaiser* 1980, p. 234).

Complete data in the context of victimization permit an overall view (see Table 1). Beginning with the police statistics and the relationship of those offences reported to the police and those offences which have not been reported up to a point of estimations, standard deviations and relations of the reported to the unreported cases, all information is included. (The columns (1), (4), (5) and (9) are perhaps the most interesting).

The high rounded figures of the relations in the area of unreported cases allow a quick comparison with the various investigations carried out. Before the sample size and methodological details are discussed to a greater extent, an overall view is possible.

3.1.3 *Victims and the Frequency of Victimization*

The 71 victims are in total 155 times victimized. Each victim suffers on average more than 2 offences. Insofar as theft and damage to property is concerned, we find multiple victims more often than compared to other offences (see Table 2).

Table 1:

	Offences known to the police	Data from the survey in Uri			Projected data			Relationship between number of unrep. cases (9)^(1):(5)	
		unreported (2)	reported offences (3)	(2+3)	unreported (5)	reported offences (6)	(5) + (6) (7)	bel. + above critic. value (8)	most probable (9)
Burglary	107	3	4	7	380 (+195%)	507 (+97%)	887 (+83%)	1:10 /-	=1: 4
Vehicle theft	703	11	14	25	1393 (+75%)	1773 (+51%)	3166 (+47%)	1: 3/ 1:0,5	=1: 2
Other theft	443	34	12	46	4306 (+53%)	1520 (+72%)	5826 (+46%)	1:15/ 1:5	=1:10
Robbery	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
assault with weap.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
assault without weapon	15	3	4	7	380 (+113%)	507 (+196%)	887 (+121%)	1:54/ -	=1:25
Rape	10	2	-	2	253 (+138%)	-	253 (+138%)	1:60/ -	=1:25
Arson	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Damage to property	91	50	16	66	6333 (+56%)	2026 (+56%)	8359 (+39%)	1:100/ 1:40	=1:70
Other victimizations	61	2	-	2	253 (+138%)	-	253 (+138%)	1:10/ -	=1: 4
Total	1434	105	50	155	13298 (+27%)	6333 (+32%)	19631 (+22%)	1:12/ 1: 7	=1: 9

Table 2:

Type of offence	Number of victims	Number of offences
Burglary	6	7
Vehicle theft	19	25
Other theft	23	46
Robbery	0	0
Assault with weapon	0	0
Assault without weapon	4	7
Rape	2	2
Arson	0	0
Damage to property	33	66
Other victimizations	2	2
Total	71	155

3.1.4 *Victims and Willingness to Report*

Almost as many victims report the crime committed, as do not report the crime. However, only one third of those crimes committed are reported. This means, that the victims who do report the crime are less likely to be victims affected by crime on more than one occasion, as those who do not report the crime. The multiple victimization clearly does not bring about any increased willingness or readiness to report. This can be seen clearly in relation to the property crimes. 13 victims reported 16 incidents of crime. 20 victims, on the other hand, did not report 50 incidents.

Table 3:

Type of offence	Victim	Offences	Victims not reporting	Victims reporting
Property offences	46	78	19	27
- Burglary	6	7	2	4
- Vehicle theft	19	25	5	14
- Theft	23	46	14	9
Offences involving violence	6	9	5	1
- Attack without weapon	4	7	3	1
- Rape	2	2	2	0
Vandalism	33	66	20	13
Other victimizations	2	2	2	0
Total	87	155	46	41

3.1.5 *Comparison of Survey in Canton Uri with Surveys from Germany, the USA and Hungary*

The divergence in results when comparing Baden-Württemberg and Canton Uri is not substantial (Arnold 1985, p. 102). The extent of crime in Canton Uri is admittedly considerably higher and therefore accords exactly correct to individual offences, with the exceptions of two cases. Damage to property and other thefts alone are responsible for large differences.

Offences involving violence are not so frequently committed in general in Uri as in other areas researched. And in comparison with researches

carried out in other countries (*Balvig* 1988, p. 52), the comparison shows that there can be no reference to an extremely low incidence of crime in Uri (*Arnold* 1986, p. 1037).

Table 4:

Average incidence of victimization	Baden-Württemberg FRG		Texas USA		Baranya HU		Uri CH	
	Number of offences	rate per 100	Number of offences	rate per 100	Number of offences	rate per 100	Number of offences	rate per 100
Burglary	52	2.4	305	21.4	140	5.7	7	2.6
Vehicle theft	65	3.1	79	5.6	90	3.7	8	3.0
Other theft	260	12.2	283	20.8	482	19.7	46	17.4
Robbery	8	0.4	13	0.9	28	1.1	-	-
Attack with weapon	29	1.4	32	2.3	52	2.1	-	-
Att. without weapon	71	3.4	109	7.9	102	4.2	7	2.6
Rape*	7	0.7	8	1.2	21	1.6	2	1.5
Arson	6	0.3	15	1.1	1	0.04	-	-
Damage to property	339	15.9	359	25.4	322	13.2	66	24.9
Other victimizations	32	1.7	100	7.7	39	1.6	2	0.8
Total**	869	39.3	1303	91.2	1277	52.2	138	52.1

* Average victimization of female respondents.

** Rounded up and missing data.

3.2 Attitudes of the Population of Uri

3.2.1 Capital Punishment

The supporters of capital punishment advocate the surveillance of former prisoners. He believes in the concept of punishment. The social rehabilitation is viewed as less positive in contrast. The supporter of capital punishment belongs predominantly to the lower classer. He ensures that no one

reaches those socially defined goals in life, through disregard of the laws. This supervision of standards replaces the social goal; it is a surrogate for success (*Rehbinder 1977, p. 161*).

The opponent of capital punishment considers that the punishment is not important in itself. Rehabilitation appear to him to be more important than supervision. He belongs predominantly to the upper class. Sex and age remain undefined in this area and this is the same for the supporter of capital punishment. The opponents of capital punishment believe that the law can be satisfied with imprisonment as a punishment. They allow arguments of humaneness and miscarriage of justice to be applied.

Recognition from abroad that capital punishment has no effect whatsoever on the rate of crime, has no influence upon the supporter or opponent.

3.2.2 *Functions of Prisons*

The functions of imprisonment, i.e. rehabilitation, punishment, deterrence and incapacitation, were evaluated identically by women and men. Small differences exist in relation to deterrence, which by men is regarded as more important, and in relation to incapacitation, i.e. isolating offenders from society, which are regarded by women as more important.

The older people are advocates of deterrence and the younger people are supporters of incapacitation. Rehabilitation and punishment are similarly judged.

Various social strata judge the functions of the penal system differently. The upper class regard rehabilitation as very important. However, the opinion of the lower classes is divided insofar as punishment is concerned. The lower classes support deterrence most of all and the upper classes are supporters of reducing the opportunity for offenders to cause injury or damage by means of isolating them from society.

3.3 **Fear of Victimization**

3.3.1 *General Remarks*

Fear is a feeling which alongside many others, accompanies us throughout our lives. Disturbance of or impairment to, or a diminution or even loss of actual existence stand behind the fear (*Garofalo 1981, p. 840*).

The question as to whether fear is influenced by external factors and therefore is a reaction to differing situations, or in the end whether it remains, even in a position of complete safety, is of interest (*Arnold 1984,*

p. 188). A more concrete question is whether fear of crime is a totally independent fear which unlocks the potential for completely new emotions. Alternatively, is fear an extension of other emotions to the crime, which themselves have been aroused by fear? A low crime rate would in the first instance reduce the fear of people.

3.3.2 *Estimation of the Personal Threat of Crime*

Women are more afraid than men at night in areas of 1 km from their homes. The answer to this question may indicate that the differing roles played by men or women have some influence. A man's role is that of protector and accordingly he must have no fear. Women are in contrast trained to behave in a frightened manner.

The younger women have significantly more fear than the older women. According to statistics, there is no connection between fear and social class.

Women at home prove to be similarly fearful as when in the vicinity of the home itself. There is a new significance attached to the difference between the younger and the older women. The younger women are in fact more afraid!

During the day, women are significantly more afraid than men. The victims of crime are more afraid than non-victims at night in the vicinity of their home. The victims' fear decreases considerably in their own home. However, it remains high.

3.3.3 *Victimization Expectations*

Women and men cannot be distinguished in relation to the expectations which they have of being victimized within the following year (1985). This can be attributed to the fact that women inevitably avoid getting into a situation in which they have significantly more fear than men. That means that women do not work at night within a 1 km radius of their home. They avoid if at all possible, remaining alone in house, and there are places in the community, where a woman does not go during the day. If women did not have such mental reservations, they would also in general entertain more negative expectations of victimization. A woman adapts her life to her fear and in this way is already victimized.

Men are aware likewise, that certain ways of acting and habits lead to an increased likelihood of victimization. However, they do not alter their lifestyles (*Chambers & Tombs 1985, p. 32*). They do not avoid to get into a crime-prone situation and therefore experience fear.

These varied behaviour patterns of men and women, in which biological factors play an important role (*Fast* 1973, p. 216), mean that only a few more women than men have fear.

The younger women and the older women cannot be significantly distinguished in relation to their expectations of victimization. The lower classes have less fear than the upper classes. In contrast, victims have a more negative expectation with regard to victimization when compared to non-victims.

3.3.4 *Estimation of Crime Development*

The development of crime in the past was more negatively assessed than the development expected in the future. Memory decay and telescoping play an important role. Negative incidents in the past are forgotten or telescoped out of a specific time of reference. There seems to be a higher incidence of crime in the present compared to the past and the future.

With regard to crime, the community is more positively assessed in relation to Switzerland as a whole. More crime stemming from close victimity and known surroundings and is interpreted as inexplicable and out of the ordinary. Single fates and acquaintances are important. The community in which one lives is a part-selfportrayal just as the garden in front of the house. The identification leads to an under-estimation of negative aspects. In relation to the whole of Switzerland, this appears as a conflicting phenomenon. The crime in Switzerland in general is understood to be different, anonymous and on the whole serious. The reasons which should be responsible for the rise in crime, according to the view of the respondents are: The taking of drugs and narcotic substances, the collapse of family life and paternal authority.

The victims judge the crime development in society during the last three years more negatively than the non-victims. Characteristics of sex, age and social class do not indicate any noteworthy differences.

3.4 **Attitudes to Penal Administration**

The penal administration does not consist alone of an ideal concept of justice. Law is created through the use of norms or standards. It does not only come from the letter of the law itself. The attitude of the law authorities and of people who are concerned with the application and enforcement of these laws, is also important (*Llewellyn* 1941, p. 184).

3.4.1 *Work of the Police*

Work of the police is in general valued positively and is also understood by everyone. This clarity creates confidence and trust. The judgement of the police is to a large extent dependent on their presence (*Chambers & Toms* 1985, p. 39). This is not astounding in any way. The non-victim is concerned in the first instance with prevention, and is convinced, unlike the victim, adequately of the efficiency of the police when they are visible. Women assess the work of the police significantly worse than men.

Men step into contact more frequently with the police to report a crime (*Chambers & Tombs* 1985, p. 35). It is uncertain whether men therefore feel themselves to be to a large extent a part of social control.

The estimate of police work appears to be independent of both age and social class. At any rate, the older people have a more positive attitude towards the police than younger people.

Victims assess the work of the police significantly worse than non-victims. That is the case although the interests or perspectives of both the victim and police are similar. The police are happy with a satisfying detection rate. The victim, however, is not. The victim prefers justice in each single case. This can lead to taking own's one initiative, and brings upon at least a loss of confidence which has an effect on police statistics and the behaviour of those reporting crime, insofar as it relates to repeated victimization of the same victims (*Kaiser* 1985, p. 113).

3.4.2 *Activities of the Courts*

The work of the courts is in general positively evaluated, although 48% believe that the courts would either pass judgement too harshly or to lightly. Men assess the performance of the courts more negatively than women. Specific social class differences cannot be established.

The younger respondents are more frequently and more significantly of the opinion that the court judgements are too harsh. With age, the need or wish for more severe punishments increases, presumably because of the lower probability of own delinquent behaviour.

The victims of crime assess the courts also - not only the police - more negatively than non-victims. The damage or injuries suffered and, the legal impairment or encroachment upon property is not commensurate with the punishment. It is difficult to understand that the punishment should be adequate for the offender and not for the victim.

3.4.3 *Contrast between the Courts and the Police*

A small majority of 56% of respondents do not believe that the courts hinder the police in their efforts to control crime. Women assess the work of the courts significantly worse than men. The general preventive effect is diminished, through time-consuming research and court procedure. The impression arises that perhaps crime has its rewards. The law of action and reaction appears to be cancelled out. The weaker members of society in particular mourn this position. That is also the case, insofar as women and also young people are concerned. The old people have confidence in the correctness of court judgements. There is no connection between social class and assessment of the courts. The victims are significantly of the opinion that the courts could be a hindrance to the police. In this way, the degree of punishment was particularly criticized, namely most were criticized as being too low.

3.4.4 *Efficiency of Prisons*

Men judge prisons significantly more positively than women. More than half of females regard the achievements of prisons as inadequate. Whereas men to a large extent, have confidence in the correctness of decisions, without being able to review individual cases, women are skeptical. The younger people assess prisons more negatively than the older. This difference is particularly obvious. One can identify an obvious connection with criminal politics insofar as the older people are concerned. Upper class and lower class, victims and non-victims assess the achievements of the courts similarly.

3.5 **Validity**

3.5.1 *Record Check*

A so-called record check (*Schneider* 1981, p. 822) was carried out with the help of the police of Uri. The higher statistical usability of small sample test, played a decisive role in the choice of a forward in contrast to a reverse record check. The carrying out of this check proved to be relatively simple and not too costly timewise.

The files of the criminal police were not overall compared with the data from the survey and only those reports which were to hand - a police protocol - was established and compared with statements of the victims. In this way, not only those reporting but also those who did not report a crime,

were checked. These positive and negative controls of the reliability of the survey data, which is only possible in a small population, brought certain advantages.

In principle, after a police protocol is researched, incorrect legal qualifications do not play a crucial role. Not only severe offences which in any event are remembered more reliably, were investigated to check validity. All 155 offences cited were considered. 137 of those cases emerged in agreement with the questionnaire, and the police files, in relation to those not appearing.

3.5.2 Detected and undetected Crime

Those respondents who have indicated in the survey that they have reported their victimization to the police, were searched for in the police files, in order to inspect the area of reported crime.

The victims referred to 50 offences which they said had been reported to the police. An actual fact, there were only 35. The lowest agreement in figures arose in relation to property damage and other theft. These two offences, which are always less serious categorised, appeared less reliable according to the validity control. In total, therefore, 70% of statements which were made in questionnaires, were confirmed.

The victims referred to 105 offences which they said had not been referred to the police. In actual fact, the area of undetected crime was somewhat smaller. Of these 105 offences, 3 were reported. The statements of those who had not reported, are also up to 97% correct.

3.5.3 Results

There is a validity of 88% in respect of the entire survey. The statements in the survey itself are also reliable, although understandably, large differences between one question and another could exist.

The validity is somewhat overestimated with record checks. Many questions cannot be answered because the very high interest of the respondents and also not without putting a lot of thought into it. In this way, off-hand answers in difficult questionnaires, are not uncommon.

3.6 Analysis of the Behaviour of those not reporting a Crime

What are the requirements which must be fulfilled in order that a report takes place and with which statistical certainty can be foretold?

The difficulty lies here in relation to these factors (control factors) as it does so often in social sciences. We never know all the factors which contribute to a crime being reported, and we are never in the position to control those factors which we know (*Heinz 1985, p. 31*).

Even in the case of a severe intrusion into the personality of the victim and a severe financial loss, a report can fail to appear.

3.6.1 Rate of Reporting

The rate of reporting in Uri amounts to 32%. This percentage is neither high nor low, and lies within the framework of other research into undetected crime. The willingness to report varies from crime to crime quite considerably, insofar as rape is concerned, the percentage is 0% and 60% of victims of vehicle theft report the crime (*Stephan 1976, p. 207*).

3.6.2 Reasons for Nonreporting

The problem insofar as it relates to the reasons for not reporting a crime, can be reduced to only a few motives. It is just as difficult to establish whether the actual reasons are being given or whether the non-reporting of a case is merely justified in a meaningful way in retrospect, as it is to establish the authenticity of the reasons for reporting. The analysis of the motives for non-reporting at least shows reliable results of the factual number. In this way, the conclusion from the non-reporting to the reporting is logical. However, it is not conclusive. The lack of reasons for non-reporting must alone lead to the lack of a report. The ineffectiveness of the criminal prosecution was named, in 35% of cases, as the main ground for non-reporting. 29% indicated the triviality of the injury as a reason and 18% pointed to bad experiences with reporting itself.

3.6.3 Differences between those reporting and those not reporting a Crime

The question whether the differences between those reporting a crime and those who do not report a crime could only be answered in an incomplete way. The many not so significant results point to the fact that there is neither a typical reporter nor a typical non-reporter.

Certain tendencies are, however, recognizable. Men and older people more frequently report in comparison to women and younger people. Members of the upper class report more rarely than those of the lower class. Surprisingly, the work of the police was evaluated in exactly the same way

by those reporting and those not reporting, although the ineffectiveness of the criminal prosecution was given as the most important ground (35%) for non-reporting.

The value of the money involved, proved to be a significant reason. The larger the loss of money, the more frequently it is reported. There is therefore an increasing number of victims amongst those reporting, who have suffered a large loss of money.

4. Summary

4.1 Representativeness

The representativeness of characteristics of sex, age and status employment is given in the sample. The permitted marginal values were crossed over for a division of occupations according to sectors and marital status. Uri proves not to be representative for Switzerland in these two areas. The figures for Uri and the sample are so low in respect of a few categories, that the small deviations produce significant results. On the whole, the sample can, however, be seen in view of these reasons, as an acceptable portrayal of the structure of the Uri population.

4.2 Results

The research brings the existence of an astoundingly high incidence of crime, clearly to light. The comparisons with researches from abroad, point to a higher rate of victimization than in Baden-Württemberg and a lower rate of victimization compared with Texas. Baranya (Hungary) and Uri point admissively to a comparable total rate of victimization. However, the individual offences deviate considerably from each other. The problem of crime is not so small in Switzerland as it has been believed since the Clinard-study in the year 1978. Switzerland unjustifiably carries the flattering reputation as a country with an extremely low rate of crime. Whoever had hoped to discover a very low rate of criminality in Canton Uri was deceived. A rural area with a low population and small community is not a guarantee for the functioning of external non-legal control mechanisms.

The special situation of Uri as a passage or way-through Canton could not be looked at closely in this research. Important conclusions can be reached in respect of victimization and the increasing significance of the

tourism of crime. The motorway as an approach road and escape road, opens new possibilities to offenders. The rural areas are no longer spared from the professional criminal.

4.3 Criminal political Conclusions

I wish to draw from the quite general ideas from the research set forth and once again clarify these thoughts in conclusion.

Neither Switzerland with its low rate of criminality, nor a rural district such as Uri, offer a final guarantee that the actual crime discovered is low.

The idea that significant rates of crime can only be established in large cities and areas with a high extent of industrialization, is wrong. The ability to generalize from the results of a survey from the USA or Germany is very much more restricted as is thought, and that given the necessity of victim surveys in Switzerland.

It is only because of the low population of Uri that it cannot be concluded that the social ties of tradition, customs and common practices exercise a greater influence on the behaviour of the people. The non-legal standards or means of control are replaced with the law itself because they cannot serve the Swiss people's enormously high need for security, in a complete way. The increasing criminalization is therefore not a catchphrase but rather a fact.

Security and fear stand irreconcilably together. The more successful the work which is achieved by the police and other institutions insofar as the detection and clearing up of crime is concerned, the more fearful people become. People are not happy to know the dangers and to be able to evade them.

The compromise must be found between safety and fear and between knowledge of the danger and ignorance. The prize for safety does not, however, have to mean panic or totalitarian authority.

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The Heidelberg Victim Survey
Telephone Interviewing of Victims of Violent Crime:
A New Approach to Unreported Crime?

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1. Summary

The pilot study presented here was designed as a methodological pretest for a comprehensive quantitative victim survey by telephone in the field of violent crime for the region of West Germany.² For the pilot study, a random sample of 523 persons of the City of Heidelberg and of two neighboring towns was selected; 373 persons (71.7 %) finally were interviewed by telephone about violent crimes personally experienced - including violent sex offenses. This sample proved to be representative. Altogether, the results indicate that the measurements were objective and valid. This method of investigation showed a high level of acceptance.

2. Introduction

2.1 Basic Methodological Considerations

Where there is a demand for information on the quantitative and social significance of criminal offenses, a look at the Police Crime Statistics (PCS) will not suffice. This is very clearly stated in the PCS themselves, in which since 1971 the reader is cautioned about the restricted meaningfulness: They fail to offer "a true picture of criminal reality" as "not all offenses committed get known to the police". No information is provided on the ratio between crimes actually committed and those recorded statistically: "The volume of hidden crime is likely to depend on the type of offense involved and also to change in the course of time under the influence of variable factors (e.g., readiness of the public to file complaints, intensity of crime-control efforts)."³

Studies designed to throw light upon the social and individual impacts of unreported crime in a quantitative and qualitative fashion - so-called dark

2 The survey was conducted prior to Oct. 3, 1990. All comments and results therefore relate only to the western part of the present-day Federal Republic of Germany.

3 Cf. instead of all *Bundeskriminalamt* 1990, p. 5.

figure studies i.e. victim surveys - can be conducted in different forms: in form of an experiment, participant observation, survey of experts, offender survey, or victim survey.⁴

The **experiment** - for instance mock shop-lifting scientifically monitored with regards to the detection frequency - is basically limited to certain offense types; **participant observation**, where the researcher infiltrates the relevant scene, for instance of shop-lifters, drug addicts, rockers etc., is a method suitable only for small, specific target groups. Quite similarly, **surveys of experts**, namely medico-legal experts, store detectives, criminal investigation specialists etc., are feasible or promising only at a rather small scale - in particular only for certain crime categories. Thus, efforts have mainly been concentrated on surveys of representative samples of the population with questions about the offender or victim status of the respondents themselves. In this connection one must bear in mind that information on offenses that for instance happened unnoticed to the victims - especially offenses which were only attempted - can be obtained only from the perpetrators themselves. Nevertheless, interviews about self-experienced victimizations, i.e. victim surveys, in general constitute the method promising to yield the more reliable and meaningful results. First of all, victims have comparatively little reason to withhold information; on the other hand, however, it is only from the victim, and not the offender, that information can be collected on the perception and the impact of victimizations personally experienced.

The methods available for such victim surveys traditionally are mail surveys⁵ and the classical face-to-face interviewing.⁶ Both these methods have different "performance profiles":

Mail surveys are inexpensive, and it may be easier for respondents to confide embarrassing experiences to a questionnaire rather than to an interviewer personally. The disadvantage is first of all the quite substantial refusal rate as the waste-paper basket as the easy way out ist tempting.

4 For details concerning these methods cf. *Schwind* 1990, pp. 24-32.

5 *Schneider* (1987, pp. 203-207) provides a list of surveys using this method between 1970 and 1983/84 in an international compilation of empirical victim surveys ("Empirische Untersuchungen zum Opferwerden"). More recent works are by *Arnold, Teske and Korinek* (1988; cf. also *Arnold* 1984) and *Sessar, Beurskens, and Boers* (1986; cf. also *Sessar* 1986).

6 For a listing of such studies between 1970 and 1983/84 cf. *Schneider* 1987 (pp. 203-207); cf. also the more recent German studies by *Plate, Schwinges, and Weiß* 1985, *Schwind, Ahlborn, and Weiß* 1978 and 1989, *Schwind* 1988, and *Vofß* 1989.

Further, the respondent is left perfectly alone with any problems of understanding, which can very easily arise from brief offense definitions; therefore, the error rate is to be considered relatively high. Also, the method cannot guarantee that there are no third parties having influence on the way questions are answered.

The method using **face-to-face interviews** can keep the refusal rate smaller than in surveys by mail as it is probably more difficult to refuse cooperation in person than to throw away a questionnaire received through the mail. In addition, in a personal interview it is possible to deal with the respondents problems of understanding on the spot, so that the error rate should be relatively small - provided the interviewer is adequately qualified. Further, influence by third parties can largely be ruled out or can at least be controlled. The disadvantage of this method is the great investment it requires in terms of time and manpower and the possible tendency of respondents to withhold some information about embarrassing experiences when personally faced with the interviewer.

So it turns out that both conventional survey methods have specific, quite serious weaknesses. Of particular weight will be such bias factors as all-out refusal, non-disclosure, and misunderstanding where the researcher's aim is to throw light on the much tabooed subject of sex offenses and violent crime. All this was reason enough to consider a different method, namely the telephone survey.

2.2 Considerations on the Feasibility of Victim Surveys by Telephone in the Federal Republic of Germany

In North America, the arsenal of methods⁷ used in victim surveys has long included the telephone interview, and quite recently another such survey was conducted in Switzerland for example.⁸

In the Federal Republic of Germany, at least in the western part of the country, a sufficient telephone density can nowadays be taken for granted.⁹ It is fair to assume, of course, that as far as foreign residents and the lower class of society are concerned, telephone density tends to be below this quota; with foreign residents, this is not even the most serious bias factor

7 Cf. *Dussich* 1979, p. 102; *Waller* 1982, p. 181; *Schneider* 1987, pp. 204, 207.

8 *Killias* 1987, 1989.

9 Approx. 90% of all West German households have a telephone.

since communication problems have also to be accounted for, which, it is true, may render any survey method difficult or impossible. However, as it is easy in the interpretation of results to make allowance for such calculable systematic biases, they are no serious obstacles to the use of the telephone interview method.

But this does not yet mean that the method can be readily used in Germany: Is it possible in this country as well to call someone on the phone and talk to him about his personal experience with crime? How will he or she react to questions targeting violent offenses, affecting a very personal sphere? These considerations lead up to the question of how telephone communication is generally accepted in the Federal Republic.

That a scientific telephone survey is basically possible in West Germany has been demonstrated by *Friedrichs* and *Blasius* for instance.¹⁰

In practice, the telephone has proved to be a well suited medium for extremely serious, or even existential, conversations; we only have to think of the work done by emergency telephone hot lines. With no doubt these can for example also give advice to crime victims on the phone; this is done for instance by victim support centers, which work a great deal by telephone.

Finally, researchers in Germany have also used the phone to talk to victims. In 1982, *Kurt Weis* published a study on rape victims which was based on telephone interviews of 102 women. Weis used the media to look for interviewees; he advertised his project on regional television, on the radio, and in dailies asking victimized women to phone him.¹¹

In order to obtain data useful for a quantitative investigation into hidden crime, however, a representative and randomly selected sample is required.¹² In other words: In this case the researcher cannot content himself with waiting for volunteers to come forward as interviewees; rather, he must select respondents and actively approach them for interviews.

Hidden crime studies using the telephone survey method have a promising performance profile: The distance between interviewer and interviewee allows subject matters to be addressed which possibly are perceived as delicate. In addition, telephone surveys are held to be 60 to 80 per cent less

10 *Friedrichs* and *Blasius* 1984.

i1 *Weis* 1982, pp. 31, 40/41.

12 Cf. *Schwind* 1990, p. 28.

expensive than face-to-face interviews. As surveys on the subject of unreported crime require large samples as a rule, the cost aspect is of particular importance.

2.3 Issues to be Studied in the Empirical Investigation

The point of departure of our considerations was unreported violent crime in the Federal Republic of Germany; about the dark figure of violent crime little is known just as hardly any information is available about its changes and its interrelations with reported crime.¹³ This indicates an urgent demand for objective data.

As there was no experience with quantitative victim surveys by telephone in the Federal Republic of Germany, it seemed expedient first of all to examine the feasibility of such a study by testing the method at a small scale for a start.

3. Preparatory Arrangements

3.1 The Questionnaire

Given its specific purpose, the questionnaire had to be in a form which would make its handling easy during the telephone interviews. So in addition to the 'core' questionnaire, specific auxiliary questionnaires ('lists') were prepared for each offense. These had to be used only where the occasion arose from answers to the core questionnaire.

Although the primary objective of the study was to test the suitability of telephone interviews particularly in the field of unreported violent crime including violent sex offenses; in about 50 % of the interviews it was additionally planned to ask about theft offenses personally experienced. This was felt to be useful with a view to determining the method's suitability in this special crime category; furthermore, it might be preferable to use a rather undramatic subject to start an interview about matters concerning embarrassing and painful experiences.

The offense definitions given as part of the questions were designed to typify, in brief but readily comprehensible words, what is described by the

13 Cf. *Baurmann, Plate, and Störzer* 1988, p. 117.

relevant German legislation. This strict adherence to the criminal law is a must where the concept of unreported crime is to be dealt with seriously and where an offense-related comparison is to be made between reported and unreported crime.

The survey was to cover as long as possible a period of time in order to include as many of the rather rare cases of violent and sexual crime as possible. This seemed achievable as it may be taken for granted that the consternation caused at least by serious offenses of that type will be well remembered even after a rather long period.

According to offense seriousness, different time frames were therefore used in the questionnaire: two years (1985 and 1986) for theft, coercion, and threats; two years and ten years for bodily injury; ten years for robbery and extortion; and no time limit (as long as remembered) for rape, sexual coercion, and similar offenses.

The final portion of the questionnaire included demographic items about the respondent and information to be provided by the interviewer on how the interview came about, its course, and his assessment of it.

3.2 The Interviewers

The planned victim survey by telephone was possible only with the help of interviewers having a certain knowledge of criminal-law. On the other hand, when recruiting interviewers attention had to be paid to general communication skills):¹⁴ experience with communicating in difficult situations is desirable, too.

Therefore, advanced-level law students who had displayed good communication skills within a project or a criminological seminar were selected as interviewers; they were six women and four men.

The day before the telephone survey was to begin, an instruction meeting was held with the interviewers. Following a general introduction into their task, information on data protection matters, joint working through of the questionnaire, and a discussion of potential problem areas, the interviewers were familiarized with telephone interview techniques.

14 No selection by specific abilities in the field of telephone communication was made although some authors propose that telephone interviews require other interviewer skills than face-to-face interviews. (Cf. for instance Zeh 1986/87a, p. 198.)

3.3 The Sample

The sample of respondents ($n = 523$) was drawn by means of the Heidelberg telephone directory in combination with the Heidelberg city directory.

The city directory lists all Heidelberg residents who have reached the age of 18 along with their respective addresses. The city directory was used to prevent the sample selection process from being limited to telephone subscribers or the first persons answering the phone when called; instead, a representative selection could be made among all persons above the age of 18 living in the given households.

Limiting the sample to actual telephone subscribers would bias it at least towards older persons. Accepting the first person to answer the phone would bias the sample towards those most disposed to engage in phone communication or the most home-loving within the households selected. For that very reason it was necessary to know the names of all eligible persons with a view to identifying respondents by way of random selection.

Even apart from these considerations, it was felt to be imperative from the very start to be aware of respondents names prior to the interview so that respondents could be notified of the seriousness of the call by letters sent beforehand.¹⁵

3.4 The Notification Letter

The letters sent to interviewees in preparation of the telephone survey were mailed in two waves (on March 13 and 17, 1987), an average of some five days prior to the actual calls. The letter first of all explained in general terms the subject matter of the study and the survey method chosen. Interviewees were also encouraged to call the signatories of the letter about any questions they might have. Finally, the letter was very explicit in assuring that all information gained in the survey would be treated anonymously; that the survey itself could not be anonymous is obvious in the light of the procedure followed and also had to be clear to the persons receiving letters addressed to them by name.

15 Cf. also *Zeh* 1986/87a, p. 192.

3.5 Notice to Police

The Heidelberg police department was informed of the telephone survey to enable it to give unequivocal answers to any inquiries about the project.

4. The Survey

The telephone survey began with initial interviews being conducted by the project directors. This procedure was designed to yield certain preliminary experience which might be helpful to the student interviewers as they set out on their work. On March 17, 1987, the student interviewers started working; on March 24, 1987, the survey ended after all addresses had been worked through. By that time, 71.3 % of the planned interviews had been completed.

The recommended interviewing times were Monday to Friday between 10 and 12 a. m. and between 4.30 and 8 p.m. These core times were based on the expectation that housewives/house husbands could readily be contacted at home between 10 and 12 in the morning. After 4.30 in the afternoon, it was expected, that part of those with external employment could be reached at home. It was possible to call at other times as well in order to reach people difficult to contact or to comply with any desires expressed by persons previously contacted.

Interviewers were asked to keep a "contact log" of all calls not resulting in the actual interview with the target person. This enabled us to count not only attempted contacts, but also to make an analysis of call times which proved unproductive. Further, the contact log served the purpose of recording times arranged with persons who were only temporarily unprepared to talk or information given by family members as to promising times at which to reach the target person.

The principle was that where a target person was unavailable for interviewing either permanently or for a prolonged period (old age, illness, vacation) or after the fifth unsuccessful attempt to contact him or her the interview should then be made with the household member answering the phone - provided the latter was at least 18 years old and willing to cooperate. Otherwise, efforts as a rule had to be discontinued after five unsuccessful contact attempts.

A calculation of the gross time investment needed for the interviews (instruction excluded) showed that 225 interviewer hours were spent on the 330 complete interviews made by the students, i.e. about 40 minutes per

interview - inclusive of unsuccessful calls, conversations with uncooperative target persons, uncompleted interviews (n = 7), and breaks. The gross time investment for the 39 interviews done by the project directors was not calculated.

On an average, the net duration of a complete interview (all items in the questionnaire) was approx. 13 minutes; but there were also conversations lasting an hour and more (n = 7; maximum: 75 minutes).

5. Methodological Results of the Heidelberg Victim Survey

5.1 Perception and Assessment of the Method by the Persons Involved

- a) Without restriction, the persons looking after the interviewers were under the impression that the students were perfectly up to their task. This all-out positive impression was also shared by the respondents, as was ascertained through follow-up telephone interviews of a random sample of 20 of the target persons contacted. All of these - even those persons having refused to be interviewed - described the interviewers as friendly. They found the interview and the wording of questions comprehensible.

During these follow-up interviews, the following comments were made on the method of the telephone survey (key words):

- difficulties to understand questions,
- telephone survey is a good thing, also the short duration of the interview,
- good thing to have such a survey,
- interviewer was really nice,
- time was too short,
- questions were too dry,
- some questions were too much in a legal language,
- face-to-face interview would be better because the respondent can get a personal impression of the interviewer.

Of all comments, only the last one is directed against the telephone interview as a method of data collection. But even this opinion did not result in refusals. Generally, the comments yield a positive impression of the telephone-based survey method.

Of course, one cannot fail to see that the efficiency or success of a victimization survey is to be measured in the last analysis by the extent to which respondents were made to have accurate recollections and also to report the victimizations remembered. With the present report we can only tentatively begin to discuss if, and to what degree, our interviewers succeeded in that respect; possibly the question cannot be answered precisely at all. How little sense it makes to answer the question in an over-all fashion is illustrated by the following example:

A relatively old, cooperative woman hesitated noticeably when asked about bodily injuries suffered: After a moment of silence, she answered in the affirmative but did not want to indicate details at first. When the interviewer said that he did not wish to urge her to relive a psychically straining experience, the respondent reported the incident after all: She had been beaten by her then husband and still found the remembrance of the incident which dated back a long time ago depressing. Also, when the question of sex offenses arose, there was another pause, which the interviewer accepted in silence. Finally, after some hesitation and noticeably struggling with the emotional stress of the emerging remembrance, she reported a case of attempted forcible rape committed by a close acquaintance of hers. At the end of the interview, which left no doubt about the credibility of the information given, the woman thanked the interviewer for the 'gentle and considerate' way of conducting the conversation. The interviewer was under the impression that a brisker way of asking questions might have resulted in concealment of the victimization.

On the other hand, it cannot be ruled out that in other situations a more carefree way of questioning may be productive. At any rate it should be safe to assume that the interviewer's individuality is one of the decisive factors for his efficiency in that respect, too.

The example described above may also serve to illustrate to some extent that often dialogs developed which were quite intensive and emotionally profound. Those involved in the project had not necessarily expected to make that experience and some had not even believed it to be possible. The openness displayed by respondents may have been enhanced by the very fact that the telephone interview does not involve any visual contact. Several respondents stated that it was

just that impossibility of being recognized by sight later on which made it easier or even possible for them to speak about personal experiences of a painful or embarrassing nature.

- b) We received also corresponding methodological comments from the student interviewers, and not only during contact with respondents while the survey was under way but also in their subsequent written summaries which we had requested.

Repeatedly, the impression was formulated that the distance created by the telephone as a medium of communication allowed the conversation to be more open than would have been possible in a classical face-to-face interview.

As a result, and based on the experience gathered, the interviewers themselves unanimously passed a positive judgement on the telephone survey method. In spite of some considerable skepticism at the beginning of the project, the dominant impression towards the end was that the tendency to refuse was astonishingly low and the reliability of information seemed to be rather high - a remarkable result at a time of public controversy in West Germany over the country's population census.

As case categories for which the answers **possibly** were of reduced reliability were named: sex offenses and offenses within the family. Further, the students judged respondent information as **possibly** unreliable where an interviewee hesitated to give an answer or where he was surprisingly quick to deny victimization - as if victimization were held to be something reproachable, as if the respondent wanted to come to an end soon, or as if he did not want to be reminded of an unpleasant experience. Also found to be negative were contradictory information and digressions from the subject.

As far as differences in interviewability between young and old persons are concerned, there was much, if not complete, agreement that young people are the more uncomplicated and willing interlocutors: In ideal-type terms, young people appeared to be more open-minded about the relevant research activities and little concerned about taboos; middle-age groups frequently appeared to be distrustful and pressed for time; elderly people often presented difficulties when it came to informing them about the meaning of questions and appeared to be more reticent - especially with regard to certain crime categories (sex offenses in the case of women).

- c) Finally, some material out of what could be called the dramatic side of the telephone survey, derived from the student interviewers perceptions and impressions shall be presented in their own words:

'One woman was in tears when she stated that she was beaten all the time. When asked if it was a close acquaintance or a family member, she answered "yes". Thereupon, and as the woman said she had also been beaten just now, an interview was arranged for the next day, which did not materialize, however.'

'One woman complained about being abused by her partner. She failed to provide more detailed information, however, because he was present and therefore she felt under pressure. Some minutes later, the man called and complained that his partner had been forced to make a statement on the phone!'

'A young foreigner said, he had been politically persecuted and beaten by police in his home country. The interview very much frightened the man, which the interviewer did not notice until the respondent stated he still suffered a lot from fears of persecution. It is remarkable that although the respondent initially voiced doubt he quickly agreed to be interviewed. Although it was made perfectly clear that the interview should be absolutely voluntary and he could refuse it, the man apparently believed it to be a personal duty to comply.'

'One woman, who had been the victim of a murder attempt, still was so much under the impression of the crime (although it dated back several years) that she was unable to keep up with the questionnaire. After each offense category mentioned, she immediately went back to speak about the said crime. After several attempts, I let her speak freely and in the course of the conversation interspersed the questions relating to other offenses. The interview was not unproblematic, as during her account the woman got so much carried back to the time of the crime that she sometimes began to scream and cry. Nevertheless, she did not accept my repeated offer to terminate the interview if it meant too much psychical stress for her. Also, I was unable to correct her misconception that the Criminological Institute was closely connected with the criminal investigation department of the police. Further, she did not understand that she had been randomly selected; rather, in spite of my explanations, she took it for granted that this was some kind of police or judicial interrogation, of which she appeared to have undergone quite a lot in connection with the attempted murder.'

These experiences and impressions of the interviewers included in the case reports indicate a problem potential of telephone surveys which should not be underestimated. The telephone offers a certain possibility of invading the respondent's private sphere of life as well as that of his family; there, the caller may revive, or step up, latent partnership conflicts. The interviewer is thus faced with conflict-prone situations when he notices that a violent conflict arises as a result of the respondent's cooperation (e.g., husband beating his wife); in the final analysis, he must decide whether he should notify the police. Another potential problem is that the offer to engage in a conversation about personal suffering in the past - an offer which seems to be readily accepted as it appears to be noncommittal and unproblematic in nature - may bring forth a specific momentum of its own. In connection with the memory or reliving of dramatic and sometimes existentially traumatizing occurrences, unskilful behavior on the part of the interviewer (insensitive pushing for more information, abrupt ending of the interview) may revive or even deepen the psychical trauma. The question arises if only those can be suitable interviewers who also display the qualities of a counselor in general or by telephone hot line. One may feel that this last consequence would be carrying things to extremes. The necessity of very careful selection and training of the interviewers and of circumspect attendance by the project directors should be obvious, however.

5.2 Representativeness with Regard to Respondent Age

The sample was drawn in a multi-stage selection process. Since each stage was based on randomness, the result can be considered a random sample;¹⁶ it was therefore to be expected that this sample reflects the structure of the population within certain tolerance limits. Given this selection method, however, representativeness is to be expected only with regard to adult residents of Heidelberg who can be reached on the telephone and not necessarily in relation to all adult Heidelberg residents. And ultimately, this consideration applies only on the condition that all planned interviews are actually completed. It is clear that the sample selection process may involve two factors affecting representativeness: an uneven distribution of telephones and a bias caused by unsuccessful contacts.

16 Zeh 1986/87b, p. 340.

A comparison of the age structures of the sample and of the population yields some evidence of possible deviations from representativeness. It indicates that both distributions are largely identical, only the 20 - 24 age group seems to be underrepresented, while the 50 - 54 and 70 - 74 age groups seem to be overrepresented. However, a chi-square test¹⁷ shows that the null hypothesis - i.e., age distribution in the sample is identical to that in the population - cannot be rejected, given a 5% level of significance (chi square = 22.56; df = 15). The deviations between the two distributions therefore are still within the random range. As far as respondent age is concerned, the representativeness of the sample is therefore confirmed.¹⁸

5.3 Balance of the Survey/Interview Refusals

Deviations from representativeness may be caused by interview refusals.¹⁹ In our survey, however, more than 70% of the planned interviews were completed so that any bias through missed ones should not be too great. In about 15% of cases, contact failed to come about: The target person had moved to an unknown address or had died - according to the post office entries on undelivered notification letters - or could not be reached on the phone for a prolonged period for some other reason. About 13% refused completely to be interviewed, and about 1% in part.²⁰

It was planned to ask non-respondents why they refused. No less than 57 out of 66 non-respondents were prepared to state their reasons. Impaired health was top of the list (approx. 27%); especially hearing defects (caused by old age) led to interviews not being completed. The second most

17 Cf. *Bortz* 1985, pp. 197-199.

18 Herzog, Rodgers, and *Kulka* (1983, p. 409) have shown that in telephone surveys - as compared with face-to-face interviews - persons in the 25-26 age bracket are overrepresented, whereas older persons are underrepresented. Against that backdrop, the result that in the present telephone survey the representativeness as to age is ensured gains new weight.

19 Cf. also *Esser* 1986.

20 By contrast, a pilot study conducted in the neighboring city of Mannheim and focusing on the acceptance of telephone interviews yielded less favorable results (*Brückner, Hormuth, and Sagawe* 1982, pp. 17 seq. - present authors' computation). There as well, no phone contact was achieved in about 15% of cases, but the refusal rate (over 44%) is considerably higher than in the present survey. The share of complete interviews is correspondingly low (about 38%). In both surveys, the share of respondents who during the interview declined to answer further questions is small - the figure for the Mannheim telephone survey is around 2%.

important reason given was disapproval of polls and surveys in general (25%); number three was language problems (19%). 10% were not interested. Relatively seldom, fear of data misuse was voiced (9%) or the wish to be left alone (9%).

This makes it appear likely that the sick and persons with a poor command of German are underrepresented in this study. However, this is not specific to telephone surveys; in mail surveys and face-to-face interviews, too, a relatively high refusal rate is likely to occur in this group of persons.

In the present telephone survey it was possible to obtain social data also on target persons refusing to be interviewed. The interviewers had instructions to ask them not only for their reasons but also for their age. Almost all of them were willing to comply with that request. As a rule, this short conversation was sufficient for an assessment of the target person's language abilities and, in the case of substitute respondents, to identify the person's sex. This enables, on the basis of at least a few characteristics, a comparison to be made between cooperative and uncooperative respondents. In order to provide a clear analytical picture, the small group of partially uncooperative targets were categorized within either of the larger groups of completely interviewed persons and those totally uncooperative. Three out of the seven partially uncooperative interviewees responded to less than 30% of the victimization questions; the other four responded to more than 80%. This distinction was used as a classifying criterion. A relatively high refusal rate (over 20%) was found only among persons having problems with the German language or who had not originally been designated as interviewees.

Multivariate analysis shows, however, that only language ability has a significant influence on the refusal to be interviewed. Willingness to be interviewed is independent of interviewer sex, respondent sex, respondent age, the number of phone calls required, and also independent of whether the interviewee is identical with the original target person or another household member (13.6%). These results are summarized in the **Table**.

As previously mentioned, in about every second interview the respondent was to be asked about any thefts personally experienced. The question to be clarified was if such a harmless start could prevent the interview from being discontinued. Altogether, only three respondents (out of 442) discontinued the interview when the victimization questions were asked. Even if all three could have been prevented through harmless starter questions from terminating the interview - which is doubtful -, this would have resulted only in a minimal improvement of the rate of participation.

Table: Explanation of Refusals
Results of a Multiple Regression and Discriminatory
Analysis
Dependent Variable = Balance (R31); 2 = Refusal; 4 =
Complete Interview

Independent Variables	Standardized partial regression coefficients	Level of significance
V3 = Target person on the phone (1 = yes; 2 = no)	-.09	.09
V6 = Age of respondent (years)	-.05	.37
V29 = Language ability (1= excellent;... 5 = poor)	-.20	.00
V30 = Language of a foreigner (1 = yeas; 2 = no)	.06	.25
V33 = Respondent's sex (1 = male; 2 = female)	-.07	.18
V36 = Phone calls required (number)	-.08	.13
V38 =Interviewer's sex (1 = male; 2 = female)	.06	.24
$R^2 = 0.08; \lambda = 0.92$		

5.4 Objectivity

Deviations from objectivity - that is the independence of measurements from the measuring subject - are possible in this study through interviewer effects and experimenter effects as both the interviewers as well as the project directors can bias the results in accordance with the hypothesis they favor.²¹ It should be noted, however, that in this project the interviewers were looked after by a total of four project directors plus two consultants

21 Cf. Esser 1984; Hermann 1983; Hoag and Allerbeck 1981; Kriz 1981; Schanz and Schmidt 1984; Steinert 1984.

from ZUMA; moreover, these six persons held different opinions on the feasibility of victimological telephone interviews, so that a consistent experimenter effect should be relatively unlikely.

On a modest scale, the possibility of interviewer influence can be examined. The supposition was that the respondents are more open to female interviewers than to male ones, especially about delicate or embarrassing questions. In statistical terms this means that the null hypothesis ('The answers given by respondents do not depend on the interviewer's sex.') has to be tested.

A corresponding chi-square test shows that participation in the survey did not depend upon interviewer sex. Out of the 69 targets unwilling to be interviewed, 58% were contacted by male interviewers; out of the 373 cooperative respondents, 55% were interviewed by males. So the male interviewers were almost equally represented among both groups. Similar results apply to the victimization questions as well: about 59% of the theft victims and 58% of non-victims had male interviewers. With regard to attempted theft, the difference between these two values is greater, but that difference is not significant, too.

The 'overall victimological view' can be obtained combining the victimological items. Such combination was achieved by counting in how many categories a given respondent had been victimized. These categories include the violent crimes under study, i.e. bodily injury, coercion, threats, robbery/extortion, attempted manslaughter, and sex offenses. Thus, the 'victimization index' could be any value between 0 and 6. For the various crime categories, victimization questions related to different periods of time. This inequality was deliberately not leveled out in order to obtain a weighting of the offenses.

This victimization index is independent of interviewer sex as well. Also fear of crime - operationalized here through a combination of the variables 'threat by crime' (V19) and 'impairment by crime' (V20) - social self-classification, and the assessment of language abilities are independent of the sex of the interviewer. The only variable considered in this respect which exhibited a significant connection with interviewer sex was explicit hesitation to go along with the interview. Where male interviewers were involved, such hesitation was voiced considerably more often - without resulting in a higher refusal rate, however. So this bias caused by the interviewers is largely without consequences, which means that at least as far as interviewer sex is concerned objectivity can be assumed. The results thus indicate that the interviewer has no, or at worst little, influence on the answers given by respondents.

5.5 Validity

The validity of victimization questions ('Have you been a victim of ...?') is determined here by means of a method which can be grouped under the concept of construct validation. Where a theoretically derived relationship between variables is empirically confirmed, this indicates a valid measurement of the variables involved.²² In order to examine the validity of victimization questions, one obvious approach was to use fear of crime as a test variable. Although the relationships between fear of crime and victimization are very complex and heavily depend on how the concepts are operationalized, it is fair to assume that there is a connection between a person's experience of victimization and the impairment of his freedom of action through crime.²³ It should be kept in mind, however, that the impact of violent crime upon the victims' sentiments depends a great deal on the type of crime experienced. Thus, the victims' shock after a case of rape for instance, will be by far greater than after attempted bodily injury. An examination of that hypothetical connection between fear of crime and degree of victimization shows that the correlations (after Pearson and Kendall) between the victimization index and the fear index significantly differ from zero ($r = 0.19$, $p = 0.00$; $\tau = 0.16$, $p = 0.00$). This means that victimized persons are more likely to feel threatened. Significant correlations of this type are also obtained if instead of the fear index the aforementioned variables (V19, V20) contained therein are used. Looking at these correlations for specific crimes one finds significant correlations only for sex offenses. A test by means of chi-square confirms this. This result indicates valid measurements of the degree of victimization and fear of crime.

One aspect that all victim surveys have in common is the fact that the quality of answers depends on the respondents' power of recollection. Especially where long periods of time are under study the risk cannot be denied that the respondents' forgetfulness leads to an underestimation of the amount of victimization. One obvious hypothesis is that forgetfulness depends upon the seriousness of the crime experienced and the period of time

22 For more details cf. for instance *Lienert* 1969 and *Holm* 1976.

23 *Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garofalo* 1978, p. 169; *Kerner* 1980, p. 210. It is reported that 45% of persons without victimization experience have changed their way of living because of fear; the same applies to 54% of persons with one, and 56% of those with two or more prior victimizations.

that has elapsed since. This can be tested within the present survey - albeit only in the case of bodily injury, for that is the only offense with a higher number of victims sufficient for statistical analysis.

That analysis is based on a rather simple idea:

Attempted, as well as completed, cases of bodily injury were counted for a ten-year period. This can be subdivided in two five-year periods, and for each of these the number of bodily injuries that have come to police notice can be determined. These values can be projected for the population, with an allowance made for random variation in the sample, and compared with the offenses recorded by police for the population. The null hypothesis is that respondents remember all cases of bodily injury known to police. Therefore, the number of offenses recorded by police for both periods should be within the projected confidence interval.

The number of offenses recorded by police for the period 1977 to 1986 is the sum total of the annual figures. This covers the entirety of offenses committed against persons alive in the year of recording, whereas a victimization survey as a cross-sectional analysis can cover only those offenses whose victims are still alive at the time of survey. A case of bodily injury in 1980, for instance, in which a person was victimized who died in 1983 may be reflected in police records, but cannot be covered by a victim survey done in 1987. So victim survey figures tend to be too low. In view of the relatively large sampling error, however, that bias is negligible.

The results show that from 1977 to 1981 police recorded about 1,900 cases of bodily injury. The projection calculated on the basis of sample data yields the result that approx. 900 to 5,100 offenses were reported during that period. The value for the entire population therefore is within the projected 95% confidence interval. The same applies to the figures for the second five-year period: about 3,100 cases recorded by police versus a projection of 2,300 to 7,800. The null hypothesis above thus cannot be rejected. Further, if one determines the ratio of bodily injuries reported in the population to those in the sample, the result is 242 : 1 for the first period and 240 : 1 for the second. Again this shows that the recollection of victimization through a reported case of attempted or completed bodily injury hardly fades away. It must be realized, however, that the low frequency of reported cases of bodily injury in the sample ($n = 21$) results in a large confidence interval in respect of the projected figures.

5.6 Acceptance

Is the telephone emotionally accepted by respondents as an interviewing tool in victim surveys? An indication of how it is accepted can be derived from a comparison of the interviewees' readiness to respond in victim surveys using various methods. A comparison of that readiness in different victim surveys is fraught, however, with at least two problems: First, victim surveys are sometimes part of studies concerned with other subjects, or only selected groups of the general public are interviewed;²⁴ second, the studies differ from each other in the way they define the refusal rate, for sometimes a pool of potential substitute respondents is created to be used whenever an original target person refuses to cooperate or cannot be reached.

A similar design was used in the replication study of the Bochum victim survey by *Schwind*.²⁵ The result: After deployment of a 'Hercules team' against initial refusers, the refusal rate was brought down to 12%; another 8% of planned interviews failed to come about for other reasons.

In all these cases, it makes little sense to compare the readiness to respond. The present telephone survey allows comparison with the studies by *Stephan*,²⁶ *Villmow/Stephan*,²⁷ and *Plate/Schwinges/Weiß*,²⁸ however. In the study made by *Stephan*, about 68% of all possible interviews were realized, the *Villmow/Stephan* studies achieved response rates of 58% and 55%, respectively, and the figure for *Plate/Schwinges/Weiß* was about 61%.

All these victim studies involved personal interviews. The surveys conducted in writing by *Sessar*,²⁹ *Sessar/Beursken/Boers*,³⁰ and *Arnold*³¹ are not yet completely documented. It is apparent, however, that the return of completed questionnaires tends to be lesser than in personal victim surveys.

24 For instance *Treiber* 1973; *Kreuzer* 1975; *Kreuzer et al.* 1981; *Villmow* 1977; *Kirchhoff and Thelen* 1976, and *Kirchhoff and Kirchhoff* 1979a and 1979b.

25 *Schwind* 1988.

26 *Stephan* 1976.

27 *Villmow and Stephan* 1983.

28 *Plate, Schwinges, and Weiß* 1985.

29 *Sessar* 1986.

30 *Sessar, Beurskens, and Boers* 1986.

31 *Arnold* 1984.

In the study by *Sessar et al.*, the figure is 44.1%, a value which has been adjusted for target persons who have moved or died.³² In the two studies by *Arnold*,³³ the response rates were 58.8% and 42.9%, respectively.

By contrast: In the present telephone survey, the percentage of completed interviews is approx. 71. Even if all interviewees not belonging to the original circle of target persons are counted as refusers, the completion rate still is 61%. It can be seen that the telephone survey compares quite favorably with face-to-face interviews and surveys by mail.³⁴

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- 32 *Sessar, Beurskens, and Boers* 1986, p. 91.
33 *Arnold* 1984, pp. 193 seq.
34 Detailed project report in *Baurmann, Hermann, Störzer, and Streng* 1991.

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The Present and Future of Japan's Crime: from a Structural Analysis of Victimization Rates*

Fumiko Takasugi

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1. Introduction

The 1989 Crime Victimization Survey enabled us to gain a clearer understanding of the reality of the Japanese low-crime phenomenon. Not only an international comparison, but a comparison of official statistics and victimization rates could be made focusing solely on the case of Japan. A structural analysis of victimization rates presented a different view of crime from which to predict the future and to consider crime prevention designs.

2. Reality of the Phenomenon of Crime in Japan: The low Crime Rate of an industrialized Country

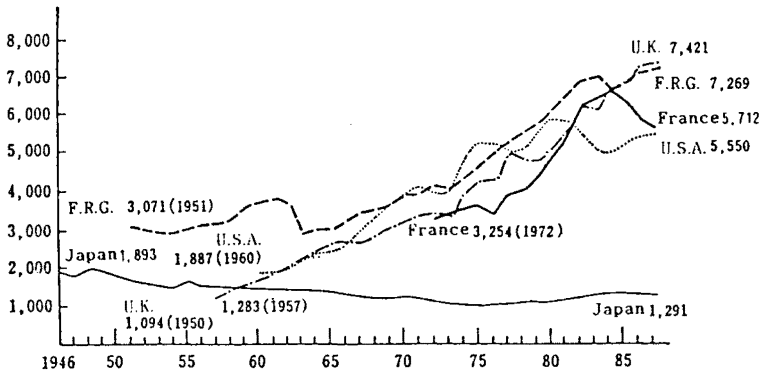
2.1 Documented low Crime Rates in the international Context

2.1.1 *From official Police Statistics*

Japan has a low crime rate. This fact is by now an international modern-day phenomenon. Mind-boggling is the exception of Japan to the general tendency for crime rates to increase as a consequence of industrialization and modernization. Figure 1 shows the occurrence rates for major crimes (Penal Code offences) of five major industrialized countries including Japan (1946 to 1987).

Japan alone does not follow the course of the other countries in the steep upward climb in rates beginning anywhere between the late 1950s to late 1960s. Whether decreasing or increasing at times throughout the period, these changes are slow, gentle, and generally unchanging compared to the other four countries.

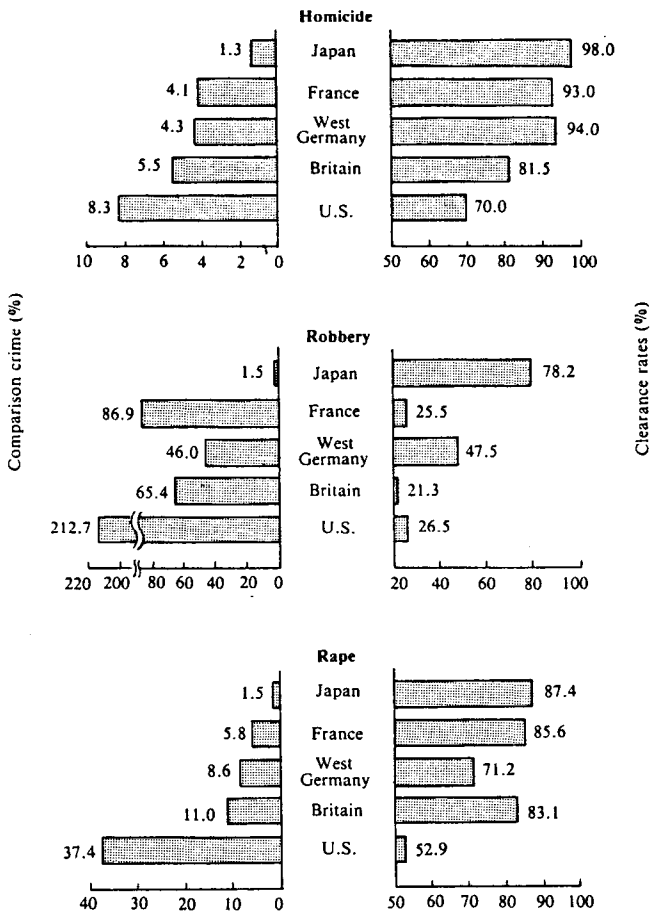
Furthermore, not only are crime rates low for crimes in general. Japan has very low rates of heinous and violent crimes. For example, in Figure 2 are shown the low crime rates for homicide, robbery, and rape for Japan in comparison with four other major countries.

Figure 1: Occurrence Rate of major Offences reported: 1946-1987

Source: Shikita, M., & Tsuchiya, S. (Eds.), *Crime and criminal policy in Japan from 1926 to 1988* (1990), p. 74

Notes: The occurrence rate means the number of offences reported per 100,000 population.

Figure 2: International Comparison of Crime and Clearance Rates for Homicide, Robbery and Rape: 1987



Source: *National Police Agency* (1990). *White Paper on Police 1989*, p. 40.

Notes: 1) Crime rates, the number of cases per 100,000 of population, are based on each country's crime statistics.

2) Britain includes England and Wales.

2.1.2 From the 1989 Survey

The 1989 Crime Victimization Survey (hereafter referred to as the "1989 Survey") reaffirmed the low prevalence of crime in Japan (See App. 1 for tables).

With the exception of bicycle theft, Japan had very low victimization rates compared with the other countries. For 1988 alone, the average victimization rate for all crime types was 3.7%. It is noteworthy that the crime rates for robbery, rape, assault, and bodily injury for Japan were lowest among the participating countries for both 1988 alone and for the "past five years." Likewise, the rates for burglary were both 14th out of the 15 countries.

For the one exception, bicycle theft, the Japanese rate was second highest of all countries for 1988. For the "past five years," Japan had a rate of 1.7% or fifth highest within the participating countries. Victimization rates for households with bicycles were similar to the overall rate as well. Furthermore, these findings are in accordance with the official statistics which document low rates for heinous and violent crimes. Bicycle theft is a relatively minor crime.

2.2 Crime in Japan seen from a different Angle: from Data particular to Japan

Both official statistics and the 1989 Survey documented the state of low crime in Japan in the international context. But how does the Japanese crime situation look when official and victimization rates are considered within Japan alone? Trend data from official statistics and dark figures from the 1989 Survey offered a different angle from which to view the Japanese case.

2.2.1 Low but increasing Rates: from official Trend Data

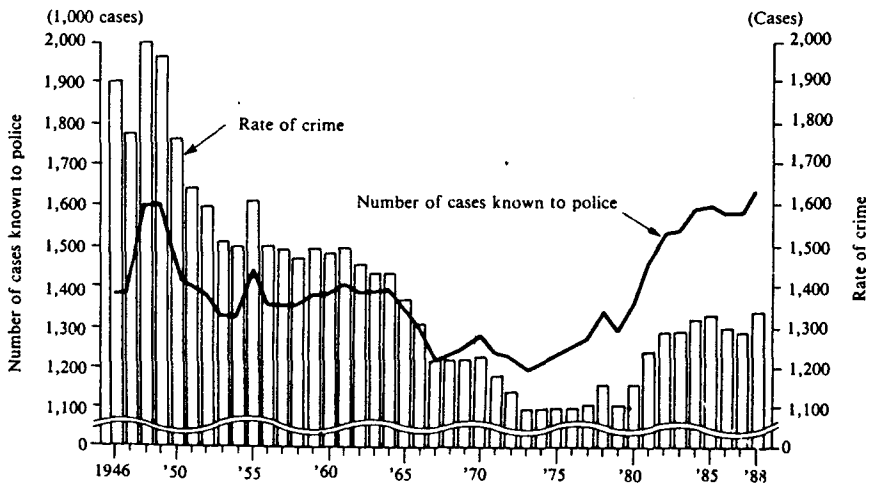
Official trend data show that the state of crime in Japan cannot be explained solely by its place in the international context. According to these data, the recent state of crime in Japan is not stable. It has been increasing.

Changes in the rate of crime in Figure 3 show a decrease in rates starting in the early post-war period. However, an increase in the rate occurs starting in the late 70s. A change in the crime structure of Japan is said to have taken place about this time, specifically about 1973 when the First Oil Crisis occurred. The crime rate continued to increase in the early 80s and has maintained this peak level since then.

2.2.2 Large Numbers of "actual Crime": from the 1989 Survey

The 1989 Survey offered further insight into the crime rate of Japan. From victimization rates can be grasped approximately how much crime goes unreported to the police; thus, not showing up on statistics. In other words, a victimization survey can correct where the official figures fail to give an accurate picture of the actual crime that occurs in a country.

Figure 3: Changes in Number of Penal Code Offences known to Police and Crime Rates: 1946-1988



Source: *National Police Agency* (1990). *White Paper on Police 1989*, p. 36.

One would have to conduct a survey on every single Japanese citizen in order to know the amount of all the crime that occurs nationwide. It would be next to impossible to actualize such a survey, and though a certain margin of error must be accounted for, surveys like the 1989 Survey asking about respondents' experiences of victimization for a fixed period of time including the so-called dark figures which are not recorded by the police.

The following are the major findings from an estimation of the number of "actual crime" based on the results of the 1989 Survey shown in Table 2 (see App. 2 for notes on details of calculations):

Table 2: Estimated Numbers of Actual Crime

Crime Type	Numbers of Actual Crime
Car theft	160,103
Motorcycle theft	160,100
Bicycle theft	1,880,778
Theft from cars	372,633
Burglary	353,021
Attempted burglary	100,062
Pickpocketing	100,062
Shoplifting	654,410
Sexual incidents	648,406
Car vandalism	1,685,856
Threats	326,204
Assaults	120,075
Bodily injury	144,090
Total	6,705,800

1. By adding the estimated amount of actual crime for each crime type individually, the total estimated amount of actual crime was obtained. This figure was 6,705,800 cases.
2. "Offensive sexual behavior" and "vandalism to cars" were excluded in order to make the data comparable with the official police statistics of the total number of crimes known to the police (*National Police Agency* 1989; pp. 1-3) The official figure was 1,230,160. The calculated number was 4,371,497. This means that the actual number of crimes which occur within the period of one year is estimated to be 3.6 times greater than the figure given by official statistics.

The large amount of actual crime is cause for concern certainly at present, as it shows that there is a different and more serious reality hidden behind

what is thought to be and conventionally given as the reality of crime. Beyond this, however, is the concern that such a large amount of actual crime suggests the possibility of an increase especially in the number of serious and heinous crimes.

The findings 1) that there is a large amount of crime that goes unnoticed, unprocessed into the criminal justice system and 2) that the official police figures for relatively light, minor crimes; namely, bicycle theft and shoplifting are increasing at a fast rate as were seen above. Based on these can be predicted a transition from the quantity to the quality of crime.

In such context, the continued repetition of even minor offences without sanctions can give way to a criminal mentality that criminal offences can go unnoticed. This learned experience can work to breed offenders who will commit more violent and heinous criminal activity without giving the action much thought.

Having obtained these findings, it is important to reconsider the future of crime in Japan. Focusing on Japan as a particular case thus reveals that viewing Japan's case longitudinally along time gives a part of the picture different from that of viewing it in the international context. The 1989 Survey suggests more new angles from which to examine the direction of Japan's crime situation will take next.

3. Structural Analysis of Japan based on Crime Victimization Rates in the international Context

What are the characteristics of the structure of crime of Japan? And how are such characteristics seen from an international perspective? Clarifying these points should enable a better understanding of the present state of crime in Japan. Furthermore and more important, such a clarification would equip with the tools with which to explore from an international point of view how Japan's future of crime will look.

3.1 Conceptualized Components of Crime Structure

The following are the results of a principal component analysis of the 15 participant countries of the 1989 Survey. The prevalence victimization rates given in App. 1 were used for the analysis. Only figures for 1988 were used for the two crime types, pickpocketing and sexual assault, due to the unavailability of the figures for the "past five years".

The original data matrix with the actual 22 crime figures (12 crime types for 1988; 10 for the "past five years") for the 15 countries was reduced to a representative data matrix of the scores of the extracted principle components (Table 3). As shown in Table 4, by the fifth component, more than 92% of the total variation has been explained. The 5 components were conceptualized by their characteristic eigenvector scores.

Flow chart of the procedure of analyzing the structures of crime in Japan and other countries

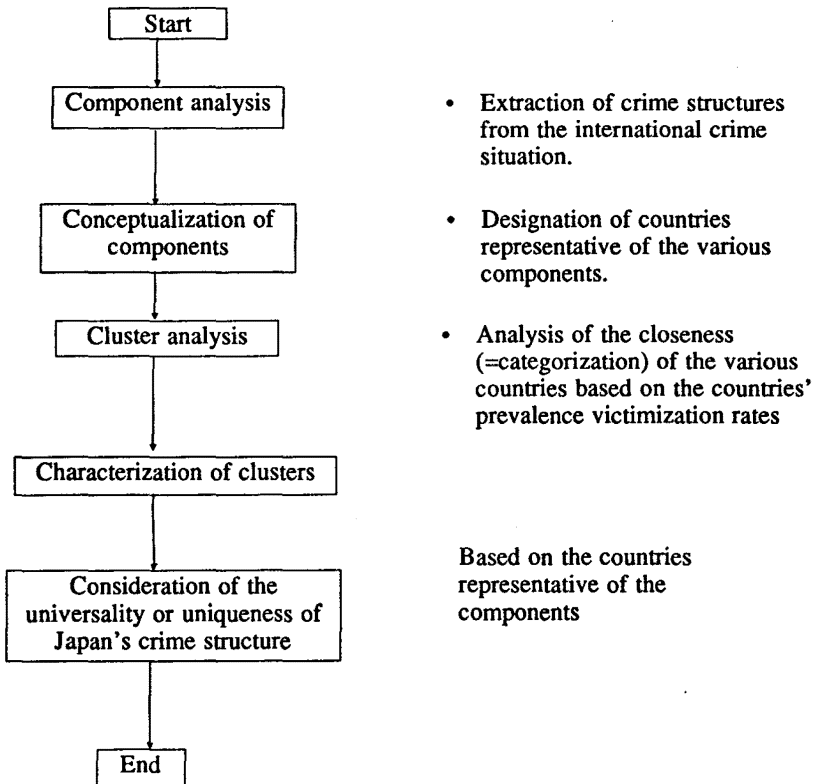


Table 3

Factor Matrix					
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
TC	.64095	.31882	-.56444	.11261	-.04644
TFC	.87358	.33362	.05743	-.17249	-.02054
CV	.87325	-.22244	.12156	.06228	-.18017
TM	-.19673	.50470	.58558	.46498	.34229
TB	-.06810	-.68211	.63037	.10729	-.15296
BE	.90254	-.10629	-.14140	.32100	-.00748
AB	.93765	-.08789	-.04661	.11117	-.09413
RO	.62419	.42550	.37712	-.45824	.12528
PI	.34035	.58131	.59757	-.05992	-.33187
SI	.78788	-.30030	-.05595	.14865	.45991
SA	.84350	-.26539	-.02436	-.13038	.25613
AT	.87475	-.33182	.07159	-.20734	.19350
PTC	.64746	.39810	-.58127	.16100	-.15217
PTFC	.87594	.32914	.18420	-.05951	-.06439
PCV	.82949	-.06779	.25052	.18927	-.32437
PTM	-.26201	.50844	.54793	.56027	.15792
PTB	-.09590	-.65613	.68859	.04253	-.19020
PBE	.86481	-.05778	-.24347	.38836	-.08844
PAB	.93897	-.02093	.03997	.19760	-.19455
PRO	.52991	.60576	.39171	-.39017	.07331
PSI	.83842	-.25416	.17042	.06289	.38746
PAT	.81049	-.29724	.16965	-.26653	-.01648

Notes: Principal component analysis was adopted as a kind of factor analysis. No rotation was used.

Table 4: Cumulative Percentages

FACTOR	EIGEN VALUE	PCT OF VAR	CUM PCT
1	11.49912	52.3	52.3
2	3.27525	14.9	67.2
3	3.08835	14.0	81.2
4	1.48319	6.7	87.9
5	1.02000	4.6	92.6

3.1.1 Component I - Burglary-oriented

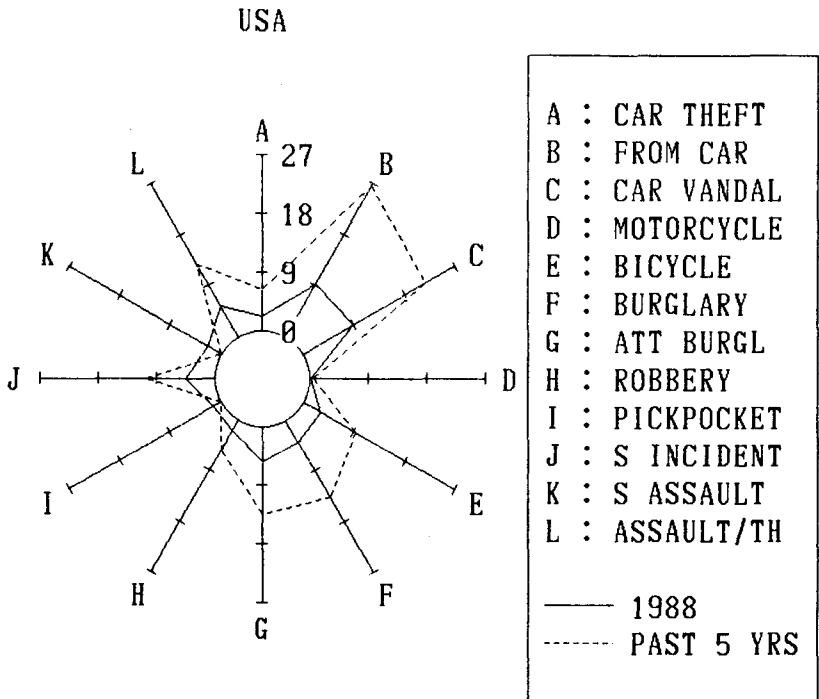
Component I has high positive scores for almost every crime type. The 5 highest scores are shown in Table 5-1. Seventeen out of the 22 scores are above a positive 0.5. Twelve of the scores are over 0.8. Particularly high are the scores for burglary with entry and attempted burglary. Thus, this component is **burglary-oriented**.

Furthermore, comparing Table 5-1 and Figure 4-1, it is seen that the U.S.A. is representative of the characteristics of Component I.

Table 5-1: Characteristic Eigenvector Scores for Component I
(in order from highest score down)

1.	0.94	Attempted burglary (past 5 years)
2.	0.94	Attempted burglary (1988)
3.	0.90	Burglary with entry (1988)
4.	0.88	Theft from cars (past 5 years)
5.	0.87	Assaults/threats (1988)

Figure 4-1: Chart of Prevalence Victimization Rates



3.1.2 Component II - Contact Theft-oriented

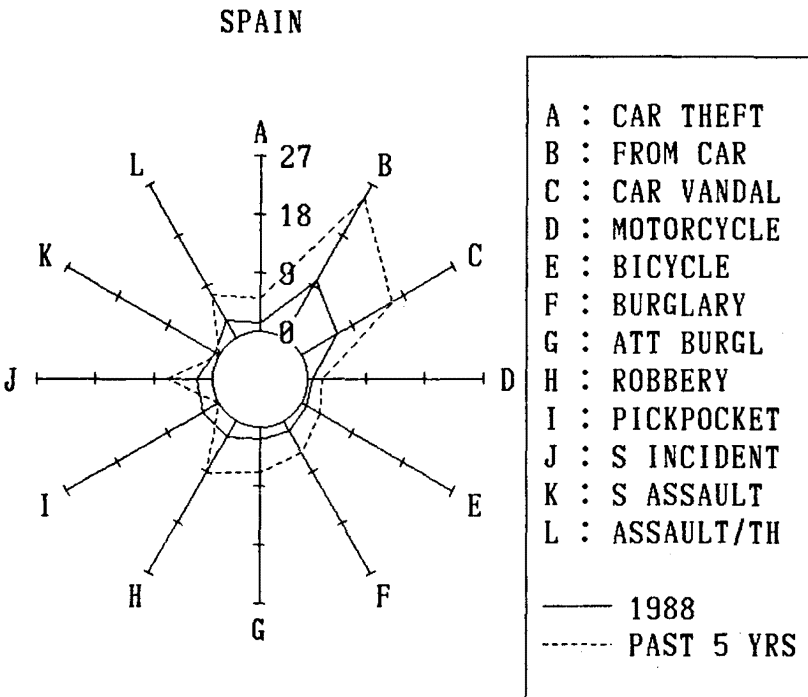
Particularly characteristic of Component II were the high scores for robbery and pickpocketing. Even compared to Component I for which scores were high for most of the crimes, the scores for pickpocketing and robbery for the "past five years" were higher on Component II. The 5 highest scores are shown in Table 5-2. Component II is, therefore, **contact theft-oriented**.

Table 5-2: Characteristic Eigenvector Scores for Component II
(in order from highest score down)

1.	0.61	Robbery (past 5 years)
2.	0.58	Pickpocketing (1988)
3.	0.51	Motorcycle theft (past 5 years)
4.	0.50	Motorcycle theft (1988)
5.	0.43	Robbery (1988)

Moreover, Spain is representative of Component II (Figure 4-2).

Figure 4-2: Chart of Prevalence Victimization Rates



3.1.3 Component III - Minor-Street Theft-oriented

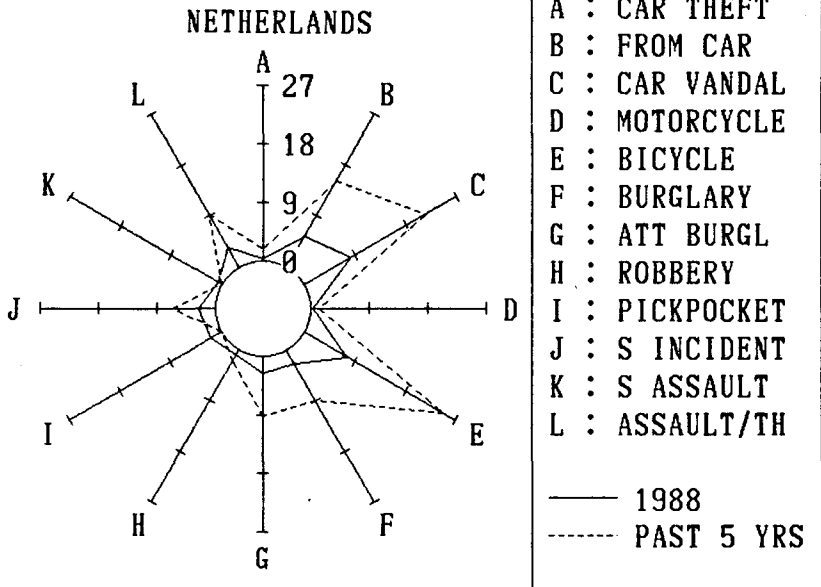
Component III had high motorcycle theft and pickpocketing scores. The scores for these crime types are all higher than those on the second component. The 5 highest scores are shown in Table 5-3. **Minor street theft-oriented** is a suitable conceptualization for the component.

Table 5-3: Characteristic Eigenvector Scores for Component III
(in order from highest score down)

1.	0.69	Bicycle theft (past 5 years)
2.	0.63	Bicycle theft (1988)
3.	0.60	Pickpocketing (1988)
4.	0.59	Motorcycle theft (1988)
5.	0.55	Motorcycle theft (past 5 years)

The Netherlands are representative of Component III (Figure 4-3).

Figure 4-3: Chart of Prevalence Victimization Rates



3.1.4 Component IV - Property Theft-oriented

The scores for car theft were high on Component IV compared to the negative scores recorded for them on Component III. Other motor vehicle-related crimes were also relatively high.

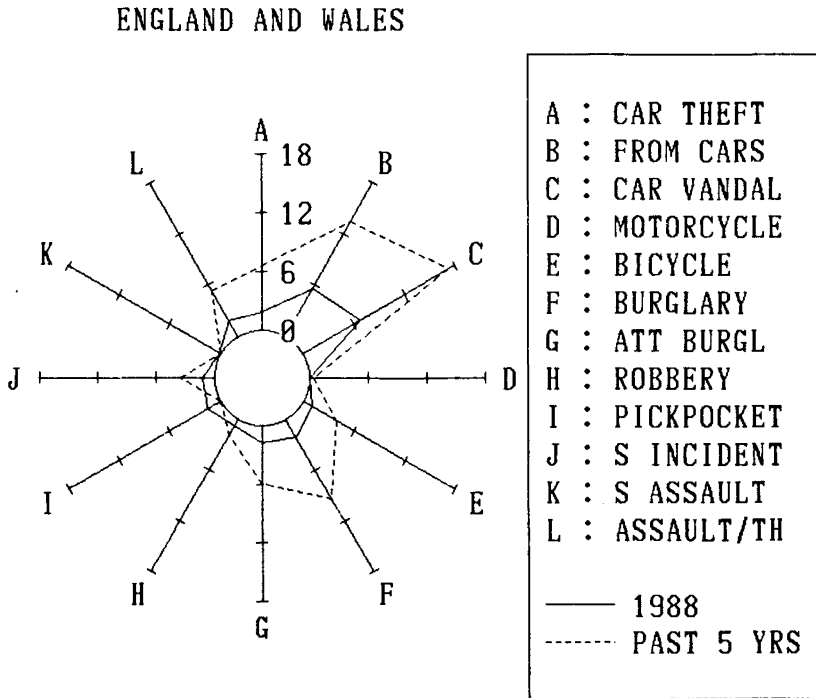
Burglaries were also relatively high, as these also turned positive from the negative scores on the previous component. In Table 5-4 are shown some main characteristics in the scores. This component is characteristically property theft-oriented:

Table 5-4: Characteristic Eigenvector Scores for Component IV
(in order from highest score down)

1.	0.56	Motorcycle theft (past 5 years)
2.	0.46	Motorcycle theft (1988)
3.	0.39	Burglary with entry (1988)
4.	0.16	Car theft (1988) (-0.56 on Comp.III)
5.	0.11	Car theft (p. 5 years) (-0.58 on C.III)

England and Wales represent the fourth component (Figure 4-4).

Figure 4-4: Chart of Prevalence Victimization Rates



3.1.5 Component V - Motorcycle Theft-led Contact crime-oriented

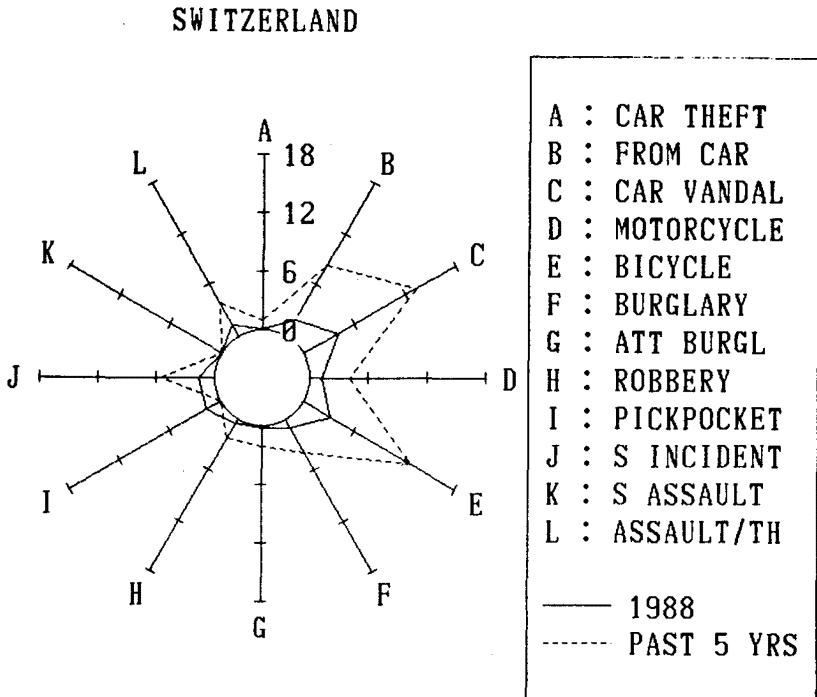
Scores for all crime types were low compared to the previous components as can be seen by the number of negative scores (Table 3). The 5 highest scores are shown in Table 5-5. Among these, sexual incidents scored relatively high. Of the scores which turned from negative scores on Component IV to positive ones, all were contact crimes or offences which threaten the physical well-being of the victim except for motorcycle theft.

Table 5-5: Characteristic Eigenvector Scores for Component V
(in order from highest score down)

1.	0.46	Sexual incidents (1988)
2.	0.39	Sexual incidents (past 5 years)
3.	0.34	Motorcycle theft (1988)
4.	0.26	Sexual assault (1988)
5.	0.16	Motorcycle theft (past 5 years)

Thus, this component is **motorcycle theft-led contact crime-oriented**.
Switzerland is representative of Component V (Figure 4-5).

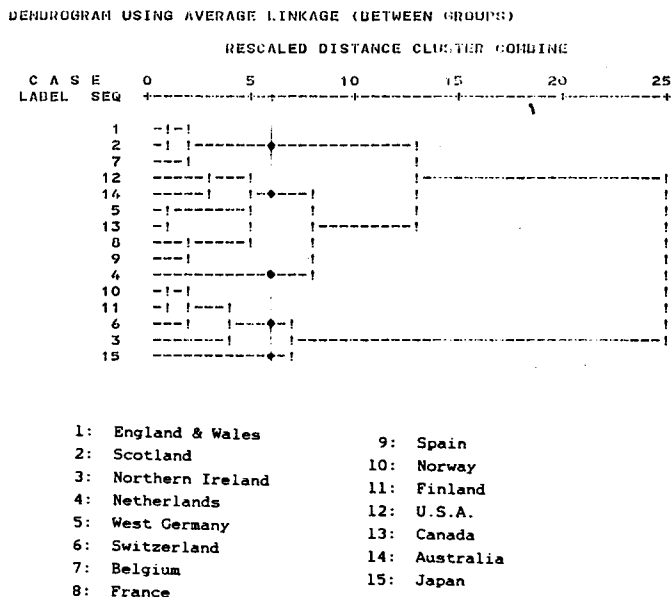
Figure 4-5: Chart of Prevalence Victimization Rates



3.2 Clustered Groups of similar Countries

In addition to conceptualizing components from the principal component analysis, it was possible to obtain clusters of the "closeness (similarity)" of the participating countries to each other based on their prevalence victimization rates (Figure 5).

Figure 5:



The unweighted pair group method average was used for the cluster analysis. A vertical cut was made on the dendrogram where the clustering coefficient $x=6$ on the scale. This distinguished 5 clusters. (All markings mine).

That clusters of such character can be obtained is thought-provoking. What determines the closeness of the countries that cluster, especially those countries between which there is little distance on the scale, is complex. Geographically close proximity such as that between England and Wales and Scotland, France and Spain, Norway and Finland explain some things. However, West Germany and Canada, for instance, are also close. Degrees

of industrialization and urbanization, historical aspects, cultural aspects, and so on all seem to ultimately affect the victimization rates and thus, have some part in determining the clusters.

3.3 Characteristics of the Clusters

The following categorization of countries similar in structures of crime were attained as a result of combining the conceptualized components from the principal component analysis and the clusters from the cluster analysis.

Cluster I - Property theft-oriented countries

England and Wales
Scotland
Belgium

Cluster II - Burglary-oriented countries

U.S.A.
Australia
West-Germany
Canada
France -
Spain - **Contact theft-oriented countries**

Cluster III - Minor street theft-oriented countries

Netherlands

Cluster IV- Motorcycle theft-led contact crime-oriented countries

Norway
Finland
Switzerland
Northern Ireland

Cluster V Japan

Cluster II contains the sub-cluster of Spain and France. As these two countries represent the second component of the principal component analysis, they constitute a cluster of strong independence. However, at the same time, the crime structures of the two countries also have the characteristics of coming together with the other countries in the larger cluster (**burglary-**

oriented countries). Hence, these two countries are positioned within the second cluster yet have the independent characteristics of **contact theft-oriented** countries.

3.4 Characteristics of the Case of Japan

The analyses show that there is a distance between Japan and the characterized clusters. However, the charts of prevalence rates of individual countries show that Japan closely resembles Switzerland (Figure 4-5) (see App. 3 for charts of the other countries). The only big differences are the pickpocketing and robbery rates. Aside from these two, Japan is a miniature of Switzerland on the charts. As Japan is closest to the group which includes Switzerland as seen on the dendrogram, in this respect also, Japan can be categorized under the **motorcycle theft-led contact crime-oriented** countries.

The more different the crime structures, the more factors which have to change for Japan's crime situation to become like the crime situation of the other country. The findings suggest the presence of similar characteristics in the cultural, social, economic, or other settings for Japan and the other countries in the **motorcycle theft-led contact crime-oriented** category.

Moreover, the findings also suggest that if Japan's crime rates continue to fluctuate, they are more likely to change with a **motorcycle theft-led contact crime-orientation** than to change with any other orientation. In Switzerland for instance, burglary and robbery rates experienced dramatic increases between 1975 and 1980-82. The emergence in the 1970s of a serious drug problem is thought to be the cause for this increase.

A look at the crime structures of the other **motorcycle theft-led contact crime-oriented** countries reveals that the Nordic countries, Norway and Finland also have relatively high rates of pickpocketing. Assaults/Threats is also a high-rate crime category. Northern Ireland has a high rate of car theft. Judging from the crime structure, there is a high possibility that Japan's crime structure may begin to look like the crime structures of the other countries in this category in the future.

4. What causes the low Crime Rate?/What brings about Change?

Through the above analyses, we have before us now a model of the structure of crime of Japan seen from a number of angles. Development

from this point is the consideration of causes and future directions. The following speculations are based on the findings within the limitations of available data.

4.1 What causes the present State of Safety?

From the low crime rate of Japan in international comparison, the country is widely considered to be a safe one. Effective crime prevention seems to explain much of the safety of Japan. On a micro-level discussion, crime prevention measures in Japan are known world-wide and are highly evaluated by specialists. These are legal provisions such as gun control and drug laws, the *koban* and other aspects of a police with close ties to the community, and an effective system of community-based crime prevention.

Examined on a more macro level, these more specific measures can be seen as the manifestations of larger aspects of society which work to control crime. These are 1) economic and political stability, 2) traditional informal social control, 3) design of the physical environment, and 4) cultural homogeneity.

Political unrest and economic change give rise to a restless society leading to crime. This is a reality seen world-wide throughout the history of humankind.

Traditionally, Japan has been a culture which was crime-intolerant or violence-intolerant. This mentality is imbued in the minds of people as a part of socialization and certainly is a part of informal social control. It also adds to the effectiveness of the police force.

The physical design of Japan's cities has worked effectively toward crime control. It has worked especially effectively toward surveillance and territoriality.

And finally, cultural homogeneity counters instability which often leads to the occurrence of crimes. Stability is a key concept, without which the above factors could not exist. Change is necessarily a threatening force in this sense.

4.2 Threatening Factors seen through particular Aspects

We have seen above that the conventional idea of Japan being an exception to the rule of industrialization and urbanization causing high crime rates can only be made as a result of examining just one part of the whole picture of the Japanese crime situation. The conventional view of Japan's

state of crime not being influenced by industrialization and urbanization should be adjusted to a state of crime being less influenced by the two due to some cushioning factor or factors present in the Japanese society.

It is very difficult to pinpoint specific shock-absorbing factors which prevent the strong and direct effects of the stimuli. It should suffice for the present to say that such societal factors as were speculated upon in the foregoing together function as a conglomerate cushion to weaken the effects of crime-inducing factors.

As for threatening factors, the influence of the negative aspects of change are clear.

4.2.1 Industrialization and Urbanization

As the factors broadly bring about the effects of change throughout society, they are best understood when examined through specific aspects of the society. One such aspect from which to view the effects of the factors is the change in the design of the physical environment.

As Japan is a very densely populated country, the social effects of industrialization and urbanization are very clear. The flow of the population into the metropolitan areas cause overpopulation in these areas, forcing more and more human activity space upward away from the ground. As more living space moves higher and higher away from the ground, the population in such areas increases, creating communities. The number of high-rise housing complexes continues to increase.

Communities formed in these areas differ in character from the traditional Japanese community in many ways. For one, the senses of territoriality and surveillance are very different. In the traditional community, it was possible to tell a stranger apart from a community resident. Living in these high-rise housing complexes where anyone can come and go to and from the complex premises as they wish, such a distinction becomes very difficult.

There is increased accessibility as there is increased anonymity. These factors work to weaken informal social control. Such a situation is favorable for committing most any type of crime.

4.2.2 Internationalization

Increased communication and closer ties with other countries has brought another aspect of social influence to Japan. Often referred to as the "internationalization" of Japan, this influence has made itself felt in every area of the society. The culture has changed tremendously. One aspect of this

change is the penetration of a culture which is not necessarily intolerant of violence. The television, movies, and other audio-visual paraphernalia help spread this culture.

Another aspect of internationalization is international networks of various kinds. Among other kinds of transportation, communication, trade, etc., are the networks for smuggling and illegally dealing drugs and guns. This is thought to have drastic consequences for the future of Japan.

Furthermore, due to the more open international routes of transportation and the increasing economic power of Japan, the influx of foreign workers into the country has tremendously increased. This trend will have a major effect on the hitherto culturally homogeneous Japanese society.

4.2.3 Dominance of the Threatening Factors

It is indeed difficult to make an organized speculation on the possible factors which threaten to change the crime situation of Japan for the worse. The present situation is the result of a complex web of factors. Furthermore, the factors which threaten to change this situation are also a complex web.

What the attempt at such a speculation results in is that industrialization, urbanization, and internationalization are prime factors of change; factors which induce change while affecting one another.

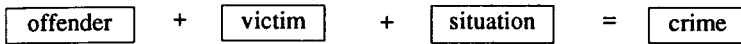
What can be said, however, from such discussion, is that when the effect of the threatening factors overcome the cushioning capabilities of the low crime-inducing factors, that is when the change is for real.

5. Efforts to maintain Safety in Society

5.1 Measures

As change is predicted, the next step is to come up with a plan of action to control crime in Japanese society while the change takes place. The diagram in Figure 6 which explains that a crime is committed when the conditions are favorable, is used to understand an effective plan of action for crime prevention.

Successful crime prevention efforts will be those which successfully find ways to control all three factors.

Figure 6: Conditions for the Occurrence of a Crime

From the diagram, three major pillars on which stand a successful crime prevention program are distinguished:

- 1) to stop potential offenders,
- 2) to protect potential - victims, and
- 3) to design a crime-repellent environment.

With a breakdown in the system of socialization and cultural values, education and social services must be improved to stop and not breed potential offenders. Law enforcement should be strengthened and patrolling by police, private security companies, and community groups should be reinforced.

The same can be said as well for potential victims as was said about education and services. Apart from having police and private security companies protect citizens, individual citizens must learn to take precautionary measures themselves.

Research on how the breakdown of natural surveillance and territoriality and crime are related in Japan is underway. There is still more to be explored about how high-rise living and working spaces are related to crime in Japan. Important is the need to incorporate the findings of such research in specific government-enforced crime prevention measures.

5.2 Importance of conducting Victimization Surveys

Successful crime prevention and successful safety maintenance must be comprehensive. Though there are many aspects, these must all be combined to have a positive effect.

As these are forces of change which cannot be stopped, we are left with the options of doing nothing or doing the best we can to maintain the safety of society today. The more complex the society, the more difficult it is to determine effective ways of maintaining safety in that society. This is because it is more difficult to define what is threatening the state of safety.

Victimization surveys have much to contribute to such a situation. They give a much more accurate picture of what the crime situation really is. This was well demonstrated in this past 1989 Survey.

While expressing gratitude to all who were involved in conducting the survey, I would like to express my hope for the repetition of such a survey at 5-, 10-, 20-years intervals. It would surely be the best material for monitoring the changes in the crime structures of the participant countries over time and for grasping international trends which can be seen to occur over time.

6. Appendix

Appendix 1

Table 1a: Prevalence Victimization Rates, by Country and Offence Type. Percentage Victimized in 1988

Figure 7: Victimization Rates for fourteen different Types of Crime in seventeen Countries in 1988

	Total ¹	Euro- pe ²	Eng- land & Wales	Scot- land	North- ern Ireland	Nether- lands
Theft of car	1.2	1.3	1.8	0.8	1.6	0.3
Theft from car	5.3	5.8	5.6	5.3	4.0	5.3
Car vandalism	6.7	7.0	6.8	6.5	4.5	8.2
Theft of motorcycle ³	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.2	0.4
Theft of bicycle	2.6	2.2	1.0	1.0	1.6	7.6
Burglary with entry	2.1	1.8	2.1	2.0	1.1	2.4
Attempted burglary	2.0	1.9	1.7	2.1	0.9	2.6
Robbery	0.9	1.0	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.9
Personal theft	4.0	3.9	3.1	2.6	2.2	4.5
- Pickpocketing	1.5	1.8	1.5	1.0	0.9	1.9
Sexual incidents ⁴	2.5	1.9	1.2	1.2	1.8	2.6

	Total ¹	Europe ²	England & Wales	Scotland	North- ern Ireland	Nether- lands
- Sexual assault	0.8	0.7	0.1	0.7	0.5	0.5
Assault/threat	2.9	2.5	1.9	1.8	1.8	3.4
- With force	1.5	1.2	0.6	1.0	1.1	2.0
All crimes ⁵	21.1	20.9	19.4	18.6	15.0	26.8
	West Germa- ny	Switzer- land	Belgium	France	Spain	Norway
Theft of car	0.4	0.0	0.8	2.3	1.3	1.1
Theft from car	4.7	1.9	2.7	6.0	9.9	2.8
Car vandalism	8.7	4.1	6.6	6.5	6.3	4.6
Theft of motorcycle ³	0.2	1.2	0.3	0.6	0.8	0.3
Theft of bicycle	3.3	3.2	2.7	1.4	1.0	2.8
Burglary with entry	1.3	1.0	2.3	2.4	1.7	0.8
Attempted burglary	1.8	0.2	2.3	2.3	1.9	0.4
Robbery	0.8	0.5	1.0	0.4	2.8	0.5
Personal theft	3.9	4.5	4.0	3.6	5.0	3.2
- Pickpocketing	1.5	1.7	1.6	2.0	2.8	0.5
Sexual incidents ⁴	2.8	1.6	1.3	1.2	2.4	2.1
- Sexual assault	1.5	0.0	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.6
Assault/threat	3.1	1.2	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0
- With force	1.5	0.9	0.7	1.2	1.2	1.4
All crimes ⁵	21.9	15.6	17.7	19.4	24.6	16.5
	Finland	USA	Canada	Austra- lia	War- saw	Sura- baja
Theft of car	0.4	2.1	0.8	2.3	2.2	0.2
Theft from car	2.7	9.3	7.2	6.9	10.2	4.7
Car vandalism	4.0	8.9	9.8	8.7	7.6	2.7
Theft of motorcycle ³	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.8
Theft of bicycle	3.1	3.1	3.4	1.9	1.0	2.7
Burglary with entry	0.6	3.8	3.0	4.4	2.6	3.8
Attempted burglary	0.4	5.4	2.7	3.8	2.8	1.7
Robbery	0.8	1.9	1.1	0.9	1.2	0.5
Personal theft	4.3	4.5	5.4	5.0	13.4	5.2
- Pickpocketing	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.0	13.0	3.3

	Finland	USA	Canada	Australia	Warsaw	Surabaya
Sexual incidents ⁴	0.6	4.5	4.0	7.3	3.6	6.3
- Sexual assault	0.2	2.3	1.7	1.6	2.0	1.7
Assault/threat	2.9	5.4	4.0	5.2	3.0	0.8
- With force	2.0	2.3	1.5	3.0	1.4	0.3
All crimes ⁵	15.9	28.8	28.1	27.8	34.4	20.0
	Japan					
Theft of car	0.2					
Theft from car	0.7					
Car vandalism	2.7					
Theft of motorcycle ³	0.4					
Theft of bicycle	3.7					
Burglary with entry	0.7					
Attempted burglary	0.2					
Robbery	0.0					
Personal theft						
- Pickpocketing	0.2					
Sexual incidents ⁴	1.0					
- Sexual assault	0.0					
Assault/threat	0.7					
- With force						
All crimes ⁵						

1. Total figure treats each country as of equal statistical importance, with an assumed sample of 2000.
2. European totals have been calculated by weighting individual country results by population size.
3. "Motorcycles" include mopeds and scooters.
4. Asked of women only.
5. Percentage of sample victimized by at least one crime of any type.

Sources: *Van Dijk, J.J.M., Mayhew, P., & Killias, M. (1990). Experiences of crime across the world (pp. 174-175). Deventer: Kluwer; Japan Urban Security Research Unit (1990). JUSRI Report 1 No.1*

**Table 1b: Prevalence Victimization Rates, by Country and Offence Type.
Percentage Victimized in past five Years**

	Total ¹	Euro- pe ²	Eng- land & Wales	Scot- land	North- ern Ireland	Nether- lands
Theft of car	4.2	4.6	6.6	5.3	5.2	1.8
Theft from car	14.8	16.6	13.4	12.9	8.5	15.2
Car vandalism	16.9	18.6	17.3	14.9	10.3	21.6
Theft of motorcycle ³	1.2	1.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	1.3
Theft of bicycle	9.6	8.5	3.9	3.1	4.0	24.8
Burglary with entry	7.8	7.3	9.4	9.0	4.7	8.9
Attempted burglary	6.6	6.6	6.0	5.8	2.9	9.3
Robbery	3.1	3.6	1.9	1.8	1.5	2.0
Personal theft	11.9	12.0	8.3	6.7	6.1	14.3
Sexual incidents ⁴	6.3	5.6	3.4	2.9	3.3	6.4
Assault/threat	7.8	7.4	5.3	5.3	4.3	9.3
All crimes ⁵	48.4	49.9	46.0	41.0	33.4	60.4
	West Germa- ny	Switzer- land	Belgium	France	Spain	Norway
Theft of car	1.9	0.9	4.0	7.3	5.0	2.7
Theft from car	14.8	8.4	8.7	21.0	24.6	9.0
Car vandalism	22.1	13.4	17.9	19.6	16.0	11.2
Theft of motorcycle ³	0.9	4.2	1.4	2.9	2.3	0.6
Theft of bicycle	12.4	12.8	9.8	6.6	3.3	12.5
Burglary with entry	4.7	4.0	7.7	10.4	5.6	3.2
Attempted burglary	5.6	2.4	8.2	8.9	6.9	2.3
Robbery	3.0	2.2	4.0	2.9	9.1	1.5
Personal theft	13.3	15.9	14.9	12.8	13.4	8.3
Sexual incidents ⁴	7.9	5.5	4.9	4.3	6.8	4.7
Assault/threat	9.3	3.9	6.4	7.1	7.5	8.2
All crimes ⁵	51.3	47.1	48.3	52.0	51.6	38.9

	Finland	USA	Canada	Australia	Warsaw	Surabaya
Theft of car	1.7	6.3	2.8	8.0	4.6	0.3
Theft from car	8.2	26.7	18.5	17.2	19.8	11.0
Car vandalism	10.5	21.7	18.8	20.8	16.0	5.7
Theft of motorcycle ³	0.2	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.0	2.8
Theft of bicycle	14.1	9.4	12.4	5.8	4.6	11.0
Burglary with entry	2.0	13.7	10.2	16.6	9.0	11.5
Attempted burglary	2.2	13.5	7.9	11.6	10.8	5.2
Robbery	2.7	5.5	2.6	2.3	4.6	2.8
Personal theft	10.3	14.2	13.2	14.6	27.0	16.0
Sexual incidents ⁴	4.3	10.4	10.0	13.5	7.2	14.3
Assault/threat	9.7	12.7	8.8	11.6	7.4	4.2
All crimes ⁵	40.1	57.6	53.0	57.2	59.4	44.5

	Japan				
Theft of car	0.7				
Theft from car	2.1				
Car vandalism	4.4				
Theft of motorcycle ³	1.7				
Theft of bicycle	9.0				
Burglary with entry	0.6				
Attempted burglary	0.0				
Robbery					
Personal theft	1.8				
Sexual incidents ⁴					
Assault/threat	0.6				
All crimes ⁵					

1. Total figure treats each country as of equal statistical importance, with an assumed sample of 2000.
2. European totals have been calculated by weighting individual country results by population size.
3. "Motorcycles" include mopeds and scooters.
4. Asked of women only.
5. Percentage of sample victimized by at least one crime of any type.

Sources: *Van Dijk, J.J.M., Mayhew, P., & Killias, M. (1990). Experiences of crime across the world (pp. 174-175). Deventer: Kluwer; Japan Urban Security Research Unit (1990). JUSRI Report 1 No.1*

Appendix 2

Calculation of "Actual Crime"

A calculation of the estimated amount of "actual crime" based on the 1989 Survey is shown below by Equation 1. Upon giving this figure, it must be noted that this survey was conducted on a small sample concerning limited crime types. Furthermore, the estimate was calculated for:

1. the single year 1988;
2. household units;
3. the 16 crime types asked in the 1989 Survey.

Note, however, that "robbery", "street robbery", and "rape" for which the rates were 0 were not included in the calculation. Thus, the result was a calculation on the remaining 13 crime types.

Equation 1

Amount of actual crime = $A * B * C$

- where: A = victimization rates for each crime type individually;
B = number of households in Japan (for 1988);
C = average number of cases of victimization per household.
(This number is the yearly average number of cases of victimization for those households that had experienced at least one case of victimization).

Appendix 3

Figure 4-6: Chart of Prevalence Victimization Rates

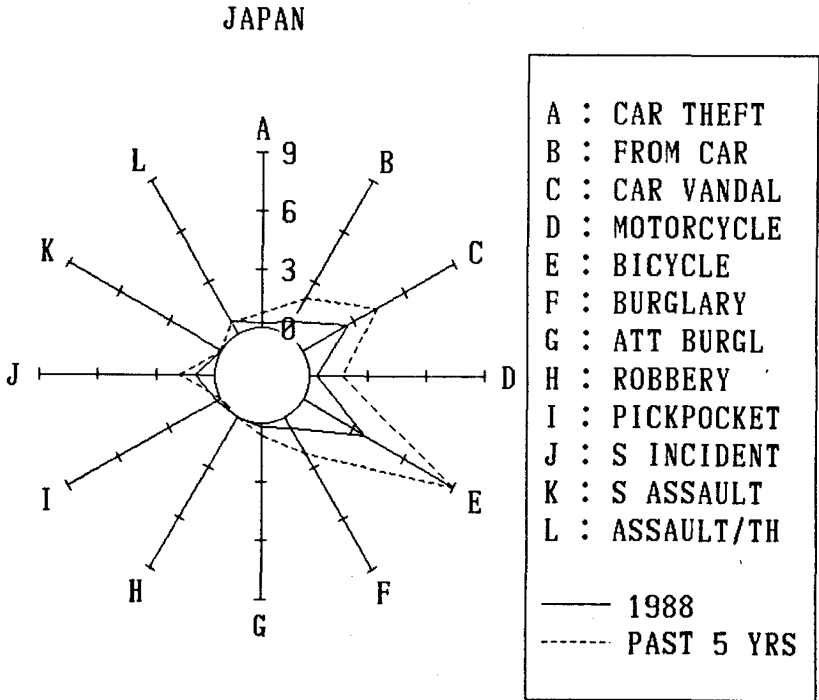


Figure 4-7: Chart of Prevalence Victimization Rates

SCOTLAND

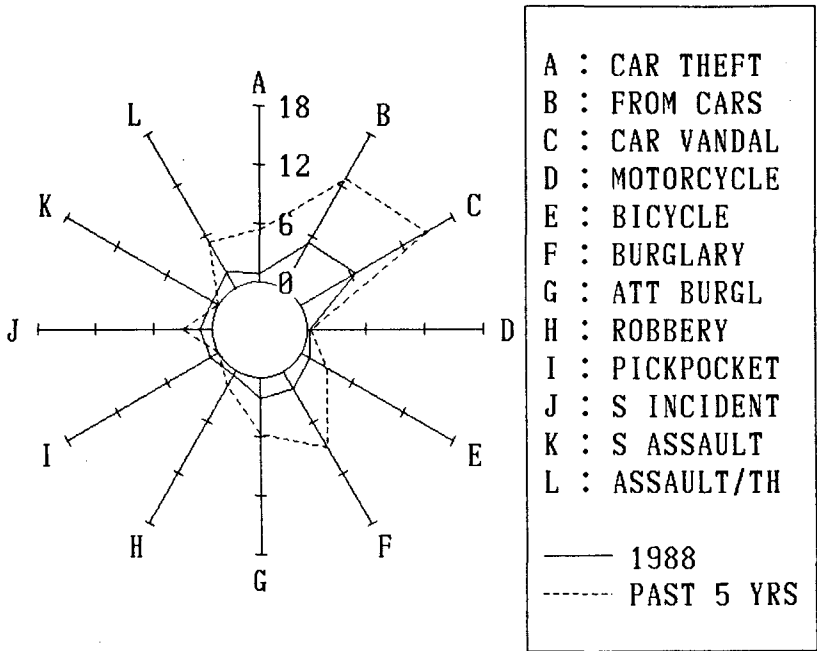


Figure 4-8: Chart of Prevalence Victimization Rates

NORTHERN IRELAND

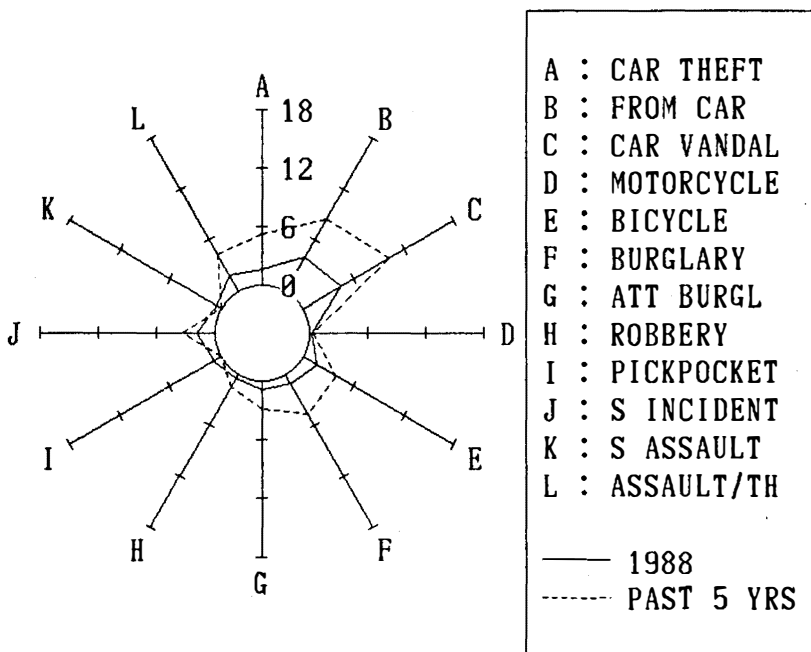


Figure 4-9: Chart of Prevalence Victimization Rates

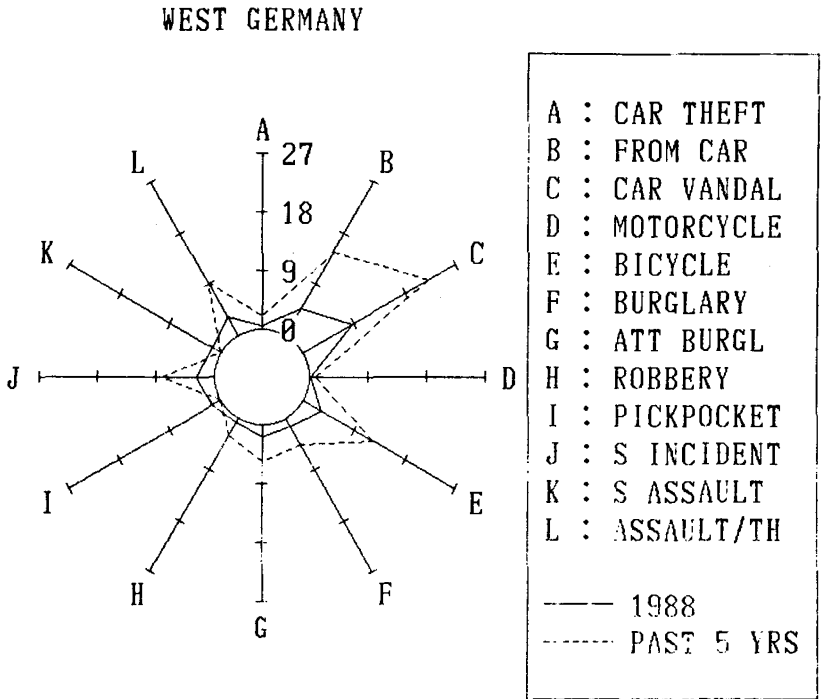


Figure 4-10: Chart of Prevalence Victimization Rates

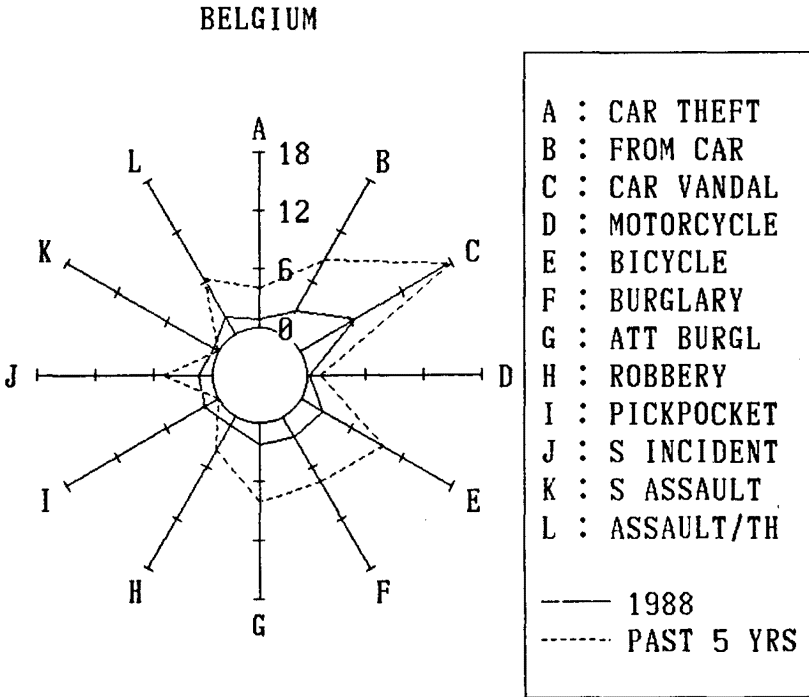


Figure 4-11: Chart of Prevalence Victimization Rates

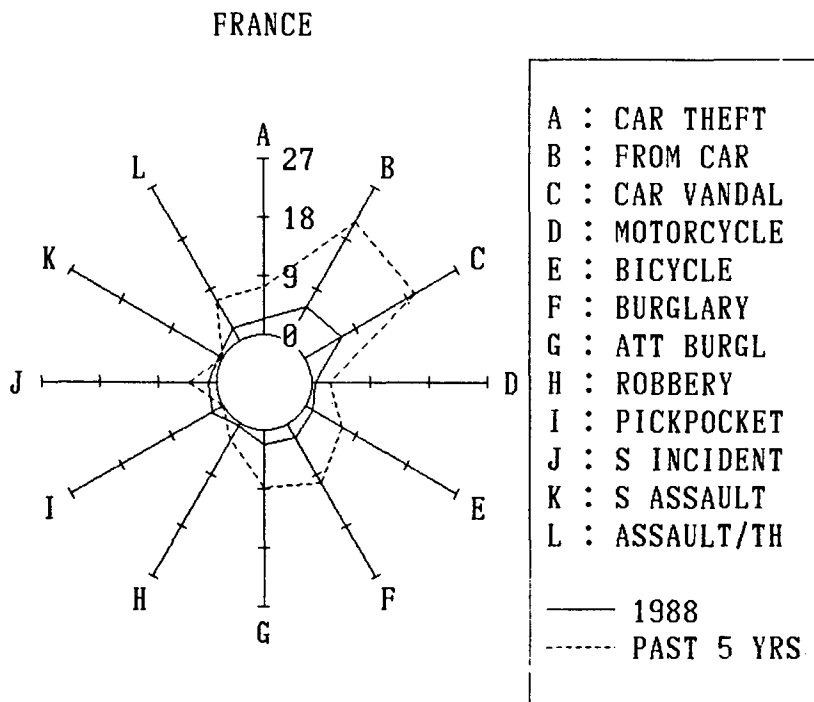


Figure 4-12: Chart of Prevalence Victimization Rates

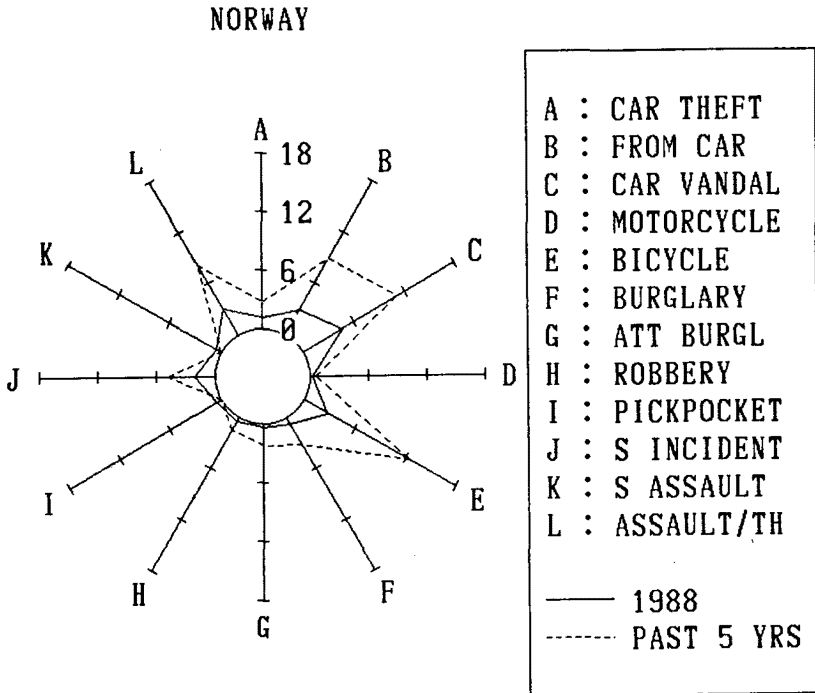


Figure 4-13: Chart of Prevalence Victimization Rates

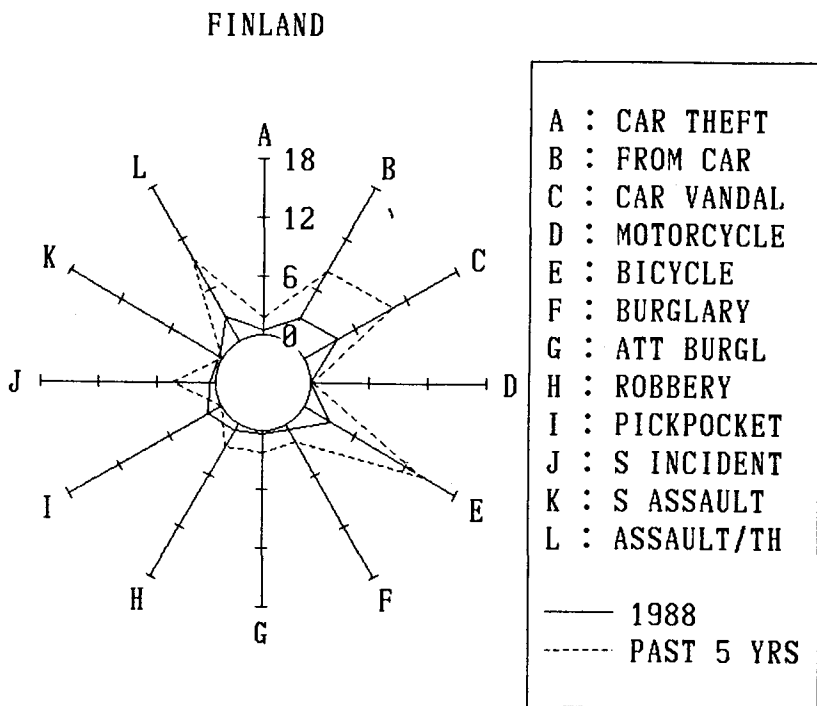


Figure 4-14: Chart of Prevalence Victimization Rates

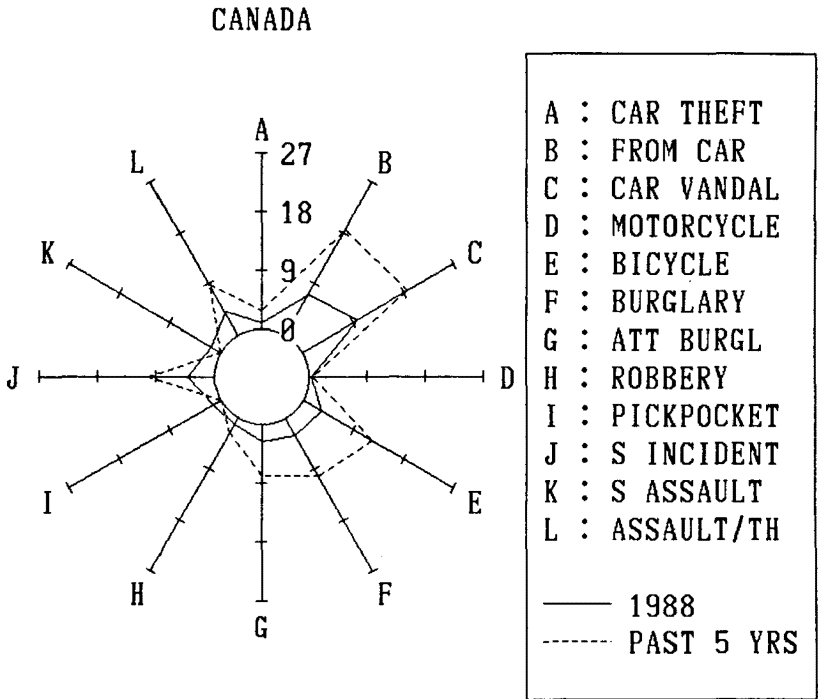
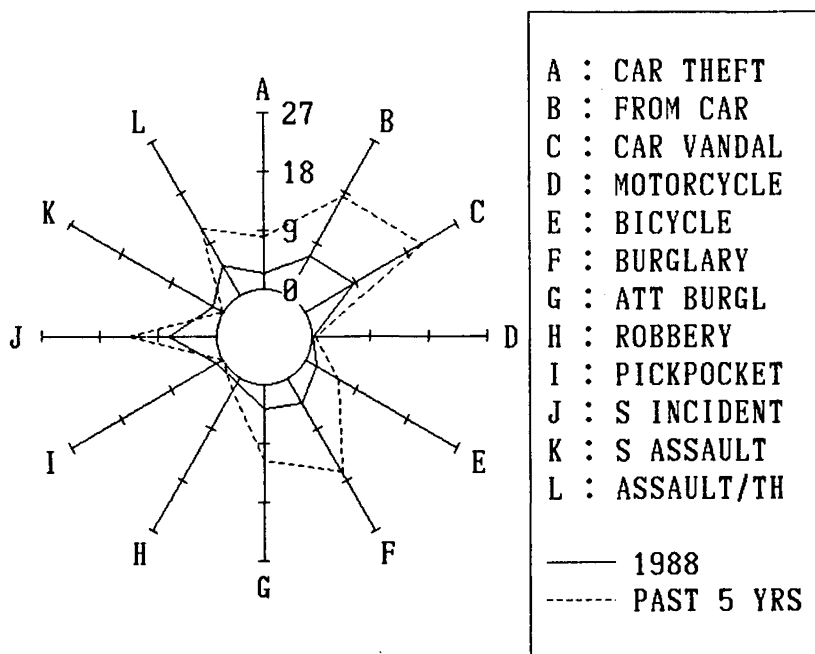


Figure 4-15: Chart of Prevalence Victimization Rates

AUSTRALIA



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Disaggregating "Low Crime Rate": Longitudinal Patterns in Offending in Japan

Yutaka Harada

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1. Introduction

Japan is known as a nation with exceptionally low crime rate among "developed" countries. Few studies, however, examined how the low crime rate reflects any particular aspects of Japanese offenders' criminal careers. This paper aims at depicting the characteristics of longitudinal patterns in offending among Japanese youths. It first reviews existing longitudinal studies by Japanese criminologists, examining methods as well as findings. Then, through closer studies of these findings in light of recent developments in the analysis of "criminal careers", it illustrates that the highly skewed distribution of the age-specific offender rates in today's Japan reflects the changes in longitudinal patterns in offending during the past few decades. Finally, it discusses possible impacts of studies in a non-Western society on controversial issues in today's criminology.

2. A Review of Longitudinal Studies of Youthful Criminal Careers

2.1 Birth Cohort Studies by Mugishima and Matsumoto

Mugishima and *Matsumoto* carried out a series of birth cohort studies in Tokyo. Their target population included two birth cohorts: those born in 1942 and those born in 1950. They drew three sets of samples out of the target cohorts:

1. A sample of 3,000 youths born in 1942, with at least one record of police contact in Tokyo by age 20.
2. A sample of 6,172 males born in 1942 and attended at public junior high schools in Tokyo.
3. A sample of 11,065 youths (males and females) born in 1950 and attended at public junior high schools in Tokyo.

The information on the subjects' delinquency, up to age 19, was collected using the official record maintained by the Tokyo Metropolitan Police

Department ("Keishicho": hereafter referred to as "MPD"). The offenses included were mostly Penal Code offenses, which are roughly analogous to the FBI Index Offenses (see Appendix).¹

The first survey by *Mugishima* and *Matsumoto* was solely based on official records at the MPD. Since 1955, the MPD had started filing cards for all juveniles (those under 20 years of age) suspected of nontraffic Penal Code and "Special Law" offenses, one for each case that resulted in a written report. Out of approximately 20,900 cards that corresponded to suspects born in 1942, *Mugishima* and *Matsumoto* drew 4,573 cards that corresponded to a randomly chosen sample of 3,000 suspects (2,691 males and 309 females). Based on the information recorded on these cards, *Mugishima* and *Matsumoto* examined longitudinal patterns in the subjects' offenses.

This study, whose first report was published in 1965, was the first large-scale longitudinal analysis of youthful criminal careers in Japan. The findings included: (1) Approximately one fourth of first-time juvenile offenders committed one or more additional offenses before they reached age twenty, (2) the rate of "onset" of offending increased with the subjects' age, (3) those who started offending at ages 14-15 had the highest recidivism rate during the two-year periods following the first police contact, (4) no systematic tendency was found with regard to the "specialization" in offense types as the subjects repeated offenses.

These findings were basically descriptive in nature, reflecting the characteristics of the data sources. Still, their reports provide rich pieces of information on the longitudinal patterns in offending among youth who lived in a rapidly-growing metropolis in a far-east nation. A major limitation of this study is that it did not control for the people migrating into or out of Tokyo metropolitan area. It was unfortunate because the time of the study, late 50s and early 60s, was a period of large-scale immigration from rural to urban area. Thus, the in-migrating population, mostly late teens, were much greater in number, and probably more delinquent as well, than the out-migrating population. The increase in the rate of onset with age, for example, may have been attributable to the impact of such in-migrating population. This problem does not apply, however, to the second and third surveys by *Mugishima* and *Matsumoto*, since they studied those continuously lived in Tokyo only.

¹ A major difference between FBI Index Offenses and Penal Code Offenses in Japan is that the latter include simple assault as well as aggravated assault.

The second and third surveys by *Mugishima* and *Matsumoto* formed a part of a cross-cultural research project: "A Comparative Study on Adolescent Delinquency in Industrial Societies," headed by *J. Toby*. Both surveys collected school records, as well as police records. In the third study, a questionnaire-based group interview was carried out when the subjects were in the third grade of junior high schools. Both surveys included approximately 1,000 students at private high schools, but they were treated separately from the public junior high school students.

The subjects of the second survey were selected by (1) stratifying some 360 public junior high schools in Tokyo metropolitan area by the proportion of students going to senior high schools after graduation, (2) randomly taking one junior high school from each stratum, and (3) taking all male students who belonged to the target birth cohort (ie. those born in 1942). This procedure resulted in a probability sample of 6,172 male public junior high school students, all born in the calendar year 1942. The subjects' offense records were sought in the above-mentioned file at MPD. The types of offense covered were nontraffic Penal Code and "Special Law" offenses.

The probability sample made it possible to estimate the prevalence of juvenile delinquency among the general population. *Mugishima* and *Matsumoto* (1967) reported that the cumulative prevalence rate of nontraffic Penal Code and "Special Law" offenses by age 19 was 6.72% among the 1942 Tokyo birth cohort. Later, *Matsumoto* (1984) reported that the cumulative prevalence rates among the cohort by age 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 were 1.84%, 2.67%, 3.82%, 4.80%, 6.04%, respectively. With regard to the correlates of delinquency, *Mugishima* and *Matsumoto* (1971) examined the relations between the subjects' family background, educational attainment and delinquency (measured as the existence of at least one offense before age 20) and concluded that the social class of the subjects' family had an indirect effect on delinquency, through affecting the subjects' educational attainment.

The sample of *Mugishima* and *Matsumoto's* third study consisted of 11,065 public junior high school students (5,759 males and 5,306 females), born in the academic year of 1950 (ie. April 1950 through March 1951) chosen by basically the same procedure as their second survey. It revealed that the cumulative prevalence rate of nontraffic Penal Code and "Special Law" offenses by age 19 was 6.00% for males and 1.26% for females, among the 1950 Tokyo birth cohort. More important, however, the analyses on the subjects' first offense indicated that there had been a shift toward the young in the age of onset of offending between 1942 and 1950 birth cohorts. Among the males born in 1950, the cumulative prevalence rates of delinquency by ages 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 were 2.27%, 3.26%, 4.10%, 4.79%, and

5.56%, respectively, according to *Matsumoto* (1984). Thus, "the majority of delinquents in the 1950 birth cohort started their offenses when they were junior high school students, whereas the majority of delinquents in the 1942 birth cohort started their offenses after they left junior high schools" (*Mugishima & Matsumoto* 1973, p. 60).

Taken together, *Mugishima* and *Masumoto's* study of two Tokyo birth cohorts was a significant advancement over earlier studies of this kind. It provided information on various aspects of youthful criminal careers in the 1950s and 1960s, against which patterns in offending of those belong to later generations could be measured.

2.2 Studies on Juvenile Criminal Careers by Kiyonaga

Kiyonaga studied longitudinal patterns in offending of two male birth cohorts, one in Tokyo metropolitan area and the other in Aichi prefecture.

Kiyonaga's first study targeted male delinquents born in 1957. By using the same offense record cards as those *Mugishima* and *Matsumoto* used, he drew cards for those who started offending at ages nine through eleven, fourteen, and seventeen. The subjects totaled 2,691. "Delinquency" included nontraffic Penal Code offenses only. The analyses compared early starters (whose age of onset was nine through eleven), intermediate-age starters (age of onset 14), and late starters (age of onset 17) with one another. *Kiyonaga* did not draw clear-cut conclusions on the relationship between the age of onset and the likelihood of recidivism. To me, however, the findings he reported seems to indicate that those who started offending earlier tended to be more likely to repeat offenses than those who started offending at older ages.

The subjects of *Kiyonaga's* second study were 520 males who were born in 1962 and who committed an offense at age 14 in Aichi prefecture. He collected information on the subjects' family background, behavior in school, the nature of offenses they committed, and court dispositions as of the time they had contact with the police at age 14, by surveying the police records. He made a follow-up survey in October 1981 through June 1982, when the subjects were approximately 20 years of age, with regard to their offense histories, conditions of families, and educational attainments after leaving junior high schools. He reported such findings as (1) the cumulative rate of recidivists by age 20 was 40.2%, (2) the cumulative rate of "frequent recidivists" (defined as those with three or more additional offenses) by age 20 was 12.1%, (3) among family-related variables, single-parenthood had the greatest impact on the rate of frequent recidivists, (4) among school-re-

lated variables, poor academic achievement had the greatest impact on the rate of frequent recidivists, (5) a strong association was found between the recidivism and dropping out of high schools.

Kiyonaga's two longitudinal studies focused primarily on repeated offenses. Thus, one can not directly compare them with the studies by *Mugishima* and *Matsumoto*, whose emphasis was on the onset and prevalence. Also, *Kiyonaga's* studies were retrospective in nature. Still, they provided a lot of materials that helped thinking about repeated offenses among juveniles.

2.3 A Three-year Follow-up Study of Juvenile Offenders by Nishimura et al.

Nishimura et al. (1985, 1988, 1989) followed up male and female delinquents for three years. Their initial survey, carried out in November 1983 through March 1984, used a sample of junior high school and senior high school students (those aged 16 and below only) who had a contact with the police for nontraffic Penal Code or "Special Law" offenses. By preparing questionnaires, one for subjects and another for the police officer who was in charge of the subject's case, they examined such factors as the subjects' motivation to delinquency; their perception of family, school and peer relationships; their self-concept and value orientation; self-reported behavior problems at earlier ages; and retrospective information on their elementary-school days; together with the types of offenses, recorded delinquency in the past, family background, and the type of disposition suggested by the officer. Among the 4,810 males and 2,484 females studied in the initial survey, 4,577 males and 2,407 females were followed up for three years after the initial contact. During the follow-up period, information was collected with regard to the subjects' number of police contacts, the time of contacts, and types of offenses that resulted in the contact.

To date, they have reported findings with regard to the relationship between the number of repeated offenses during the follow-up period and such factors as family background, school life, peer relations, previous offense history, self-reported personality, and attitudes towards life. Their latest paper reported the patterns in the subjects' recidivism in more detailed way, by the subjects' sex, age, and previous offense histories.

Nishimura et al.'s study has several advantages over previous longitudinal studies of juvenile delinquency in Japan. These include that (1) they employed a prospective design in which subjects were followed up after an initial questionnaire survey, (2) the follow-up period of three years was

relatively long compared with other follow-up studies in this country, (3) the sample was drawn nationwide, thus avoiding regional biases. On the other hand, their design has limitations, too. Firstly, they excluded offenders who were under detention at the time of their survey (see *Nishimura et al.* 1985, pp. 186-187). In consequence, their sample tended to include less serious, nonviolent offenders. Secondly, the subjects were not necessarily first-time offenders when they took the initial interview. Thirdly, persons who did not go to high schools after leaving junior high schools were not included. Also, persons who were over 16 years of age at the time of first survey were excluded from the study. These limitations should be kept in mind in interpreting the results they reported.

3. Findings and Implications

3.1 Cumulative Prevalence Rate

Mugishima and *Matsumoto* reported that the cumulative prevalence rate of nontraffic Penal Code and "Special Law" offenses by age 19 was 6.72% for 1942 Tokyo male birth cohort and 6.00% for 1950 Tokyo male birth cohort. These figures appear to be remarkably different from, say, the 35% cumulative prevalence rate for 1945 Philadelphia birth cohort (*Wolfgang, Figlio & Sellin* 1972). It should be noted, however, that the range of offense types covered in the Tokyo study was much narrower than in the Philadelphia study. When offense types in the Philadelphia study is restricted to the UCR index offenses, which roughly correspond to the nontraffic Penal Code offenses in Japan, the cumulative prevalence rates by age 18 for the 1945 Philadelphia birth cohort reduces to 13.6% (8.2% among whites and 26.8% for nonwhites), as reported in *Visher and Roth* (1986, p. 220).

There is some evidence that the prevalence rate of juvenile delinquency has increased considerably during the last few decades. *Sakata* (1984), for example, reported that the cumulative prevalence rates by age 19 (calculated for males and females altogether) went up steadily from 3.8% in 1955 birth

cohort to 5.4% in 1963 birth cohort (see Table 1).² The author's own study based on police records, currently in progress, also suggests similar level of prevalence among those born in 1975. Chances are that the prevalence rate of juvenile delinquency in today's Japan is considerably higher than what has been believed to be.

3.2 Age of Onset

3.2.1 *Characteristics in Aggregated Crime Statistics*

A major characteristics of the social distribution of crime in today's Japan is that there is a marked concentration of offenses to early teens. In 1988, almost half (49.7%) of all juvenile nontraffic Penal Code offenders (ages 14 through 19) were those aged 14 or 15. Figure 1 contrasts the age distribution of offenders in Japan and in the United States. It illustrates the relative size of the offender rate at each age, by showing the deviation of the offender rate at each age from the mean offender rate (for ages 14 through 24), measured against the standard deviation. Obviously, the age distribution of offenders in Japan is much more highly skewed than in the United States.

The highly skewed age distribution of offenders was not evident in the past. Figures 2 through 6 show age-specific offender rates in 1985 and 1966, by types of offenses. These figures suggest that the age distribution of offenders in Japan has shifted considerably toward the young in these two decades, except for the most serious offense types such as homicide.

2 His study was based on the Annual Report of Judicial Statistics, edited by the General Secretariat, Supreme Court of Japan. The nationally-collected statistics on justice report the age-specific number of juvenile offenders referred to family courts by the number of prior referral. *Sakata* (1984) summed up the age-specific number of offenders with no prior referral for each birth cohort, then divided it by the size of corresponding birth cohort in general population. His method is a reasonable alternative to the analysis of police records, because Japan's Juvenile Law requires that all offenders aged 14 through 19 are referred to family courts.

A major drawback in his method is that juveniles who were referred to family courts by a special simplified procedure (whose letter-to-letter translation would be "summary referral") were excluded from his study, because the Justice Statistics did not report age specific number of these youth. This exclusion may have resulted in downward bias in estimating prevalence, because those processed by this simplified procedure tended to be young, first-time offenders, according to the police statistics.

3.2.2 *Changes in the Age of Onset*

The changes in the age distribution of offenders observed in aggregate crime statistics seem to correspond with the changes in the age of onset. As mentioned earlier, *Mugishima* and *Matsumoto* (1973) reported that their 1950 birth cohort tended to start offenses earlier than their 1945 birth cohort. Similarly, *Sakata* (1984, p. 9: Table 2-B) reported that the proportion of early starters (those started at ages 14-16) tended to increase where as the proportion of late starters (those started at ages 17-19) tended to decline, as the cohorts' year of birth descended (namely, 1955 through 1963).

The patterns in the age of onset differs markedly by the level of educational attainment, as shown in Figure 7 (source: *Mugishima & Matsumoto* 1973, p. 60, Figure 5). It is evident that those who received no more than junior high school level education (which is compulsory) not only had higher overall prevalence rate but also tended to start offending earlier than those with higher education. Also distinctive is that, among those who had no more than junior high school level education, the fraction of subjects who experienced their first offense at age 15 or earlier was much greater in the 1950 birth cohort than in the 1942 birth cohort. On the other hand, the fraction of subjects who experienced their first offense at age 16 or later did not differ greatly between the two cohorts, even among those who had junior high school level education only. These results seem to indicate that ages 14 and 15, which roughly correspond to the latter half of junior high school days, formed an important turning point toward delinquency for the 1950 birth cohort members, particularly for those who did not receive higher education.

3.2.3 *The Likelihood to Recidivate*

A few longitudinal studies of juvenile delinquency in Japan examined the relations between the age of onset and subsequent offense histories.

Mugishima and *Matsumoto* (1965), for example, reported that those who started offending at age 14 were the most likely to recidivate, in terms of recidivism rate by age 19, as well as recidivism rate during a two-year period after the first offense. *Kiyonaga* (1984) presented a table of cumulative fraction of offenders who committed a second offense by one, two, and three years after their first offense, by the age at first offense (p. 91, Table 6). Figure 8 is its visual representation. It suggests that those who started earlier tended to have higher probability of committing a second offense.

As mentioned earlier, today's delinquents in Japan, on the average, start offending at earlier ages than a few decades ago. Then, if today's early

starters are as likely to recidivate as those *Mugishima* and *Matsumoto* studied, the recidivism rate among today's juvenile offenders as a whole should be higher than the recidivism rate a few decades ago. Indeed, a hypothetical calculation, assuming that (1) today's age-specific recidivism rates by age 19 are the same as what *Mugishima* and *Matsumoto* (1965) reported, and that (2) today's age distribution of first-time juvenile offenders are the same as the age distribution of juvenile offenders in general, yielded an expected recidivism rate of 35.4% by age 19. Thus, the proportion of first-time juvenile offenders was expected to be 64.6%. In reality, however, virtually no such change has been observed. Crime statistics by the National Police Agency indicate that the proportion of first-timers among all juvenile offenders has always been around 70% for these two decades. This lower-than-expected recidivism rate suggests that today's early starters are less likely to repeat offending than those in the past.

One may compare *Mugishima* and *Matsumoto* (1965, p. 147, Table 2) and *Kiyonaga* (1982, p. 230, Table 3) to see if the relations between the age of onset and subsequent offense histories differ between those born in 1942 and those born in 1957: two Tokyo birth cohorts separated by a 15-year interval. Unfortunately, however, *Kiyonaga's* study restricted the subject to those whose age at first offense were 9-11, 14, and 17 only. Figure 9 contrasts these two birth cohorts regarding the transition probabilities from N th to $N+1$ th offenses calculated for those who started offending at age fourteen and for those started at seventeen. It shows that the 1957 birth cohort had considerably lower offense transition probabilities than the 1942 birth cohort, for those started at fourteen. No consistent differences can be observed for those started at 17. These results indicate that the likelihood of early-starters to recidivate indeed declined during the last 10 to 15 years.

4. Discussion

The longitudinal patterns in delinquent behavior among Japanese youths, illustrated above, seem to have several implications that may be noteworthy for American as well as Japanese criminologists. An example of such implications can be illustrated in connection with the recent controversies regarding the impact of age on criminal behavior.

Since *Hirschi* and *Gottfredson* (1983) first raised their arguments on the way age affect crime, the relationship between age and crime has become a focus of controversy. As *Farrington* (1986, p. 190) puts it, *Hirschi* and *Gottfredson's* claim on age-crime relation centers on two points: (1) the invariance of the age-crime curve over different times, places crime types,

and demographic groups, and (2) age's direct causal influence on crime. Both of these views are highly controversial and their possible implications for criminological research might be huge, since these "invariance" and "direct impact" hypotheses of the impact of age on crime cast doubt on the adequacy of longitudinal designs of research and "criminal career" paradigms, both of which are attracting attention of majority of researchers in criminology today.

The big difference between age-crime curves in today's Japan and those in the past cast a serious doubt onto *Hirschi and Gottfredson's* "invariant impact of age" hypothesis (1983). The decline (both relative and absolute) in relatively serious offenses against person among late teens and young adults seems to be especially important, since the reported numbers for these offenses tend to reflect less discretion in law enforcement agencies than such offenses as larceny, implying that the observed changes in those numbers correspond to real changes, rather than being an artifacts resulting from difference in law enforcement practices.

Contrary to *Hirschi and Gottfredson's* (1983) arguments, the shift toward the young in Japan's delinquency during the past decades, and the current concentration of offending to junior high school-age youths seems to be rooted in the characteristics of our society, at least to some extent. The very fact that Japan has an age distribution of offenders markedly different from that of the United States and many other Western societies suggests the impact of social factors. It is hard to believe that, say, some biological factors are at work in producing Japan's exceptionally heavy concentration of delinquency to ages 14-15. Furthermore, evidence indicates that, during the past few decades, the prevalence of delinquency increased, whereas the likelihood to recidivate among those who started offending at early ages declined. In other words, different aspects of youthful criminal careers showed changes to the opposite direction during the same period of time. *Hirschi and Gottfredson's* (1983) simplistic assertion of "direct" impact of age on criminal behavior does not seem capable of addressing these different trends.

Explaining these changes in Japan's age-crime relations is beyond the reach of this paper. It seems clear, however, that causes of the increased proportion of younger offenders can not be attributed to such factors as physiological strengths of younger generation, since the decline in the number of relatively old offenders is in absolute terms and there is no reason to believe that today's young adults are physically inferior to young adults in the past. Thus, a straightforward interpretation should be something sociological. For example, *Matsumoto* (1984) suggests that Japan's post-war period can be divided into three stages with regard to delinquent behaviors

among young people and the differences in age distribution of offenders (from "higher age-higher offense" to "higher age-lower offense") may reflect the macro social changes from the poor and anomic times immediately after the War to the times when the society is much more stabilized and the life chances such as social upward mobility is provided in a highly institutionalized fashion through formal education. Thus, he argues that the relatively older offenders in the immediate post-war times tended to be working or unemployed youths, seeking for gains over scarce resources, whereas the problems of today's young offenders have a stronger flavor of educational problems rather than crime problems.

The author's own view is basically close to *Matsumoto's* (1984). However the author hypothesizes that a few distinct features in Japanese school system, particularly at junior high school level, could be pointed out as probable correlates of the high concentration of offending among those aged 14-15 in today's Japan. Simply put, the author's speculation is that such characteristics as the high visibility of competition over educational career tracks at today's junior high schools in Japan is producing a special kind of structurally induced strain³ among students with poor academic performance, which triggers various, but mostly retreatistic, deviance among these poor achievers.

Today, academic performance at junior high schools constitutes a crucial part in Japan's well-known competition over educational careers. The success goal, namely "going to a prestigious university," is very clearly articulated and shared by both teachers and parents, and also by the students. Further, the position of each student on an uni-dimensional scale of "educational achievement" is made highly visible to everyone in today's junior high schools, through standardized achievement tests and teacher's "guidance" on the students' choice of academic tracks. Such a high visibility of one's position in a competition is rather exceptional in other social settings in Japan where differences among individuals tend to be covered up in

3 There seems to be an disillusionment with the empirical verification of strain theory (see *Hirschi* 1969; *Kornhauser* 1978). A recent paper by *Farnworth* and *Leiber* argues that a wholesale rejection of strain theory is premature and that "the apparent failure of strain theory in recent empirical study might well be a function of inappropriate operationalization" (*Farnworth & Leiber* 1989, p. 272).

favour of "we are like family" feelings.⁴ Thus, students in a disadvantageous position can be aware of the lack of legitimate means to achieve the goal, regardless of his or her "smartness".⁵ Thirdly, there is practically no illegitimate means to achieve the success goal, since the most prestigious universities in Japan are national universities. It is highly unlikely that a student with poor academic performance can enter such a university by means of, say, bribery. The lack of illegal means seems likely to result in retreatistic and/or nonutilitarian forms of reaction.

A supportive piece of evidence for the view illustrated above is that not only criminal behavior but also other forms of retreatistic behavior are prevalent among today's junior high school students in Japan. For example, a recent survey by the Ministry of Education reported that more than 36,000 junior high school students were absent from school for 50 days or more because they "disliked" school, in 1988 academic year. The number of longterm school truants has been increasing steadily since 1975. A self-report based survey by *Morita* (1989) reported that school-absence for disliking school among junior high school students may be much more prevalent than the Ministry of Education reported. He also reported that there was considerable overlap between those absent from school and those with behavior problems including delinquency.

These pieces of evidence, and the increased prevalence/declined repetitiveness of delinquency among those aged 14-15, makes the author speculate that the characteristics of today's junior high schools in Japan may be functioning as a "trigger" to the onset of retreatistic/nonutilitarian kinds of deviant behavior.

4 There may be other factors that make differences in social status less visible among adults. For example, *Imada & Hara* (1979) found that the social status of an individual measured by six different indicators (occupational prestige, educational attainment, income, property, life style, and social power) showed considerable inconsistency among indicators. *Hara* (1988) maintains that such inconsistency in the measures of social status may form a basis of the phenomenon that a great majority of Japanese people perceive that they belong to the "middle" of the social strata.

5 *Kornhauser* (1978, pp. 157-158), in criticizing *Cloward* and *Ohlin's* strainopportunity structure theory, argues that "the boys who so cogently 'anticipate' that the objective features of the stratification structure will deprive them of their due ... (should be) ... the smartest boys," and states, "it is far from true."

5. Conclusion

A brief examination of longitudinal patterns in offending of Japanese youths discloses a number of characteristic elements that constitute the "low" crime rate of this country. It is often the case, however, that the nature of these elements and their changes over time are not easily discernible in the "crime rate" as an aggregate measure. The author believes that longitudinal patterns in offending may be as indicative of the characteristics of a society as cross-sectional distribution of offenses in the social structure, since such longitudinal patterns in offending will reflect the life-events an individual experiences as he or she goes through various social institutions in his or her life course. In some societies, to say the least, close examination of such longitudinal patterns in offending may prove to be a crucial aspect in the study of crime and delinquency.

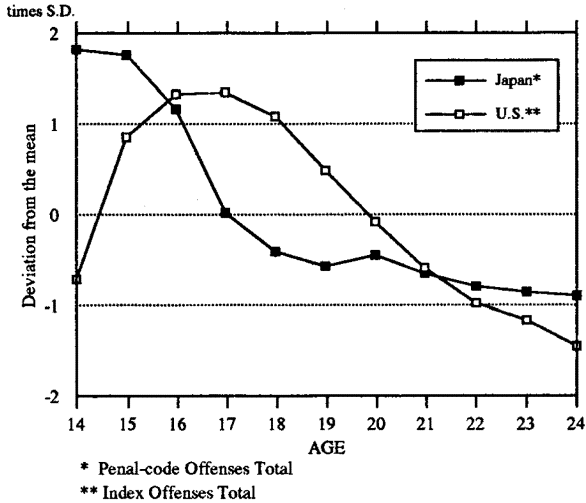
6. Tables and Figures

**Table 1: Per 1,000 Rate of Juveniles Referred to Family Courts
(those with no Prior Referral only)**

Cohort	Age						Total
	14	15	16	17	18	19	
1955	6.75	6.67	8.35	6.86	5.16	4.19	37.71
1956	7.41	8.71	8.14	7.06	5.78	4.41	41.51
1957	8.56	8.90	8.71	8.04	5.87	4.69	44.80
1958	7.99	9.12	9.46	7.89	6.10	4.35	44.98
1959	9.34	10.23	10.16	8.16	5.93	4.53	48.32
1960	9.54	11.07	11.29	7.73	6.17	4.64	50.52
1961	9.89	11.76	10.64	8.38	6.64	4.90	52.39
1962	10.28	11.37	11.88	8.83	6.71	4.49	53.59
1963	10.07	12.21	12.58	8.40	6.14	4.16	53.65

Source: *Sakata* (1984, p. 8, table 2-A).

Figure 1. Age Distribution of Arrested Offenders (1984)
U.S. and Japan Compared

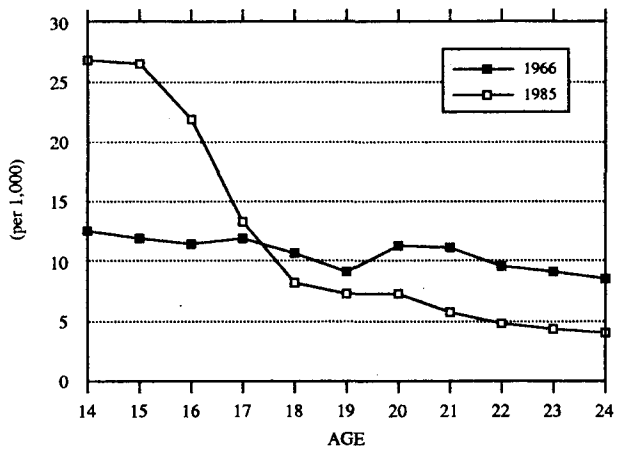


Source:

Flanagan, Timothy J., and Edmund F. McGarrell, ed. Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics - 1985. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1986.

National Police Agency, ed. Criminal Statistics in 1984. Tokyo: National Police Agency, 1985.

Figure 2. Age-specific Arrest Rates
Penal-code Offenses Total

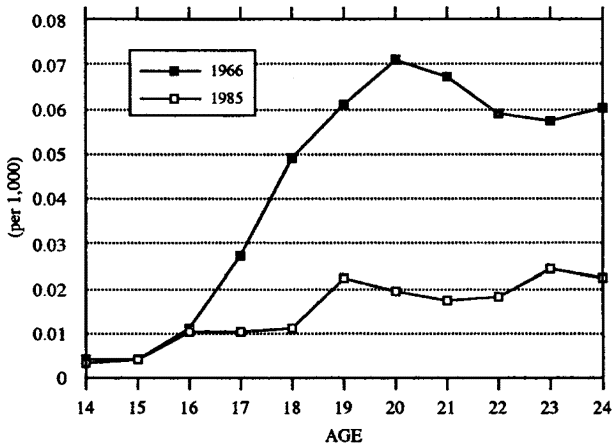


Source:

National Police Agency, ed. Criminal Statistics. Tokyo: National Police Agency.

Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency, ed. Population Census of Japan. Tokyo: Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency.

Figure 3. Age-specific Arrest Rates
Homicide

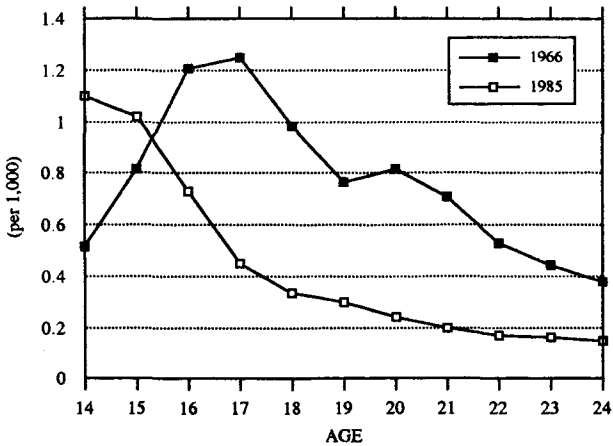


Source:

National Police Agency, ed. Criminal Statistics. Tokyo: National Police Agency.

Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency, ed. Population Census of Japan. Tokyo: Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency.

Figure 4. Age-specific Arrest Rates
Robbery and Extortion Combined

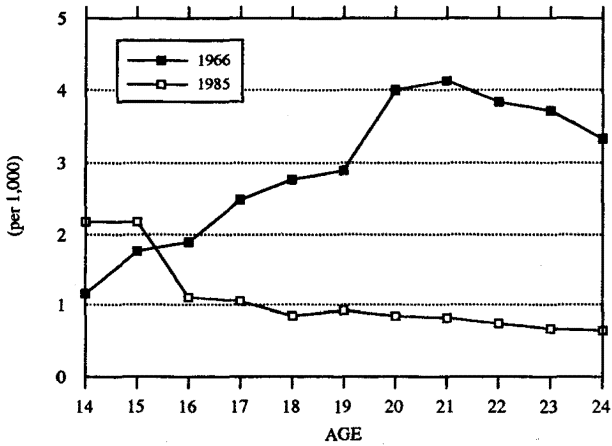


Source:

National Police Agency, ed. Criminal Statistics. Tokyo: National Police Agency.

Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency, ed. Population Census of Japan. Tokyo: Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency.

Figure 5. Age-specific Arrest Rates
Violence and Injury Combined

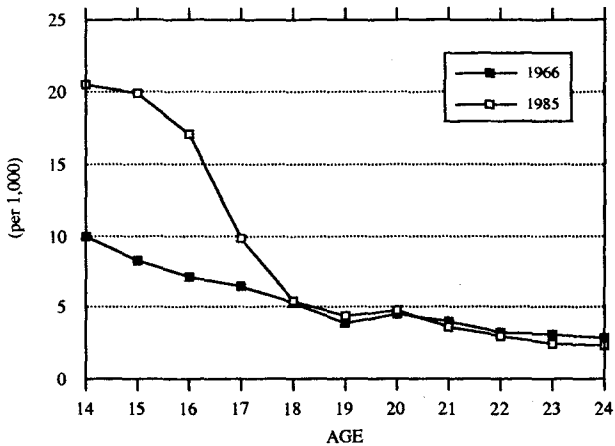


Source:

National Police Agency, ed. Criminal Statistics. Tokyo: National Police Agency.

Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency, ed. Population Census of Japan. Tokyo: Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency.

Figure 6. Age-specific Arrest Rates
Larceny



Source:
National Police Agency, ed. Criminal Statistics. Tokyo: National Police Agency.

Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency, ed. Population Census of Japan. Tokyo: Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency.

Figure 7. Age, Educational Attainment, and Onset Rate

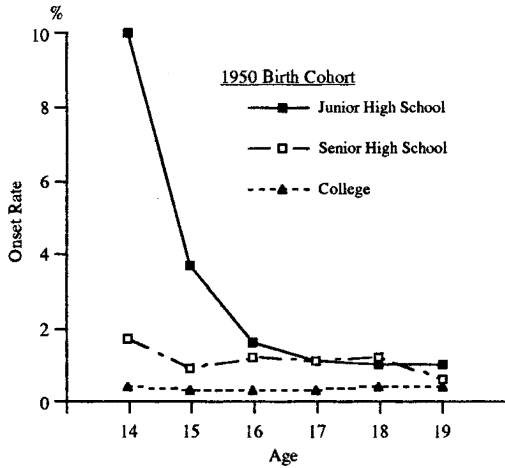
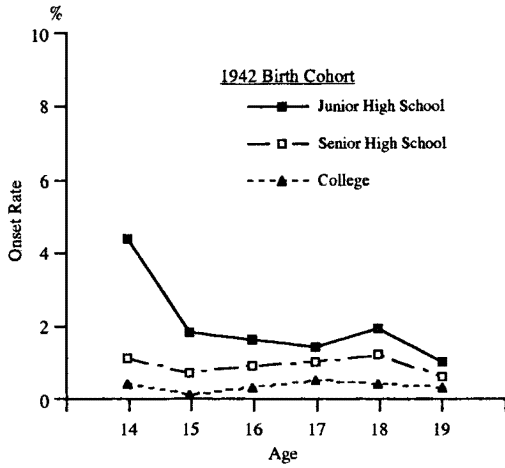


Figure 8. Cumulative Rates of Second-time Offenders
By Age of Onset (Tokyo, 1957 Birth Cohort)

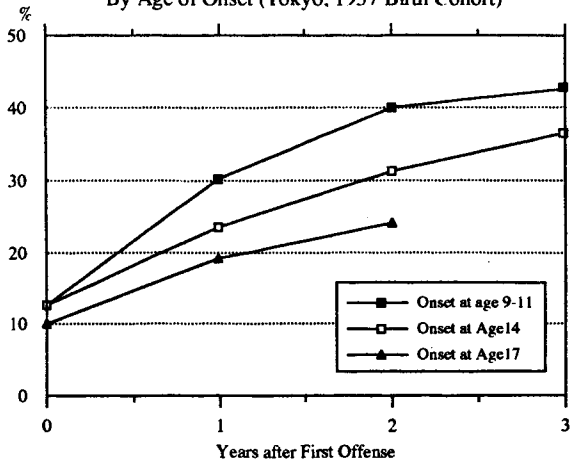
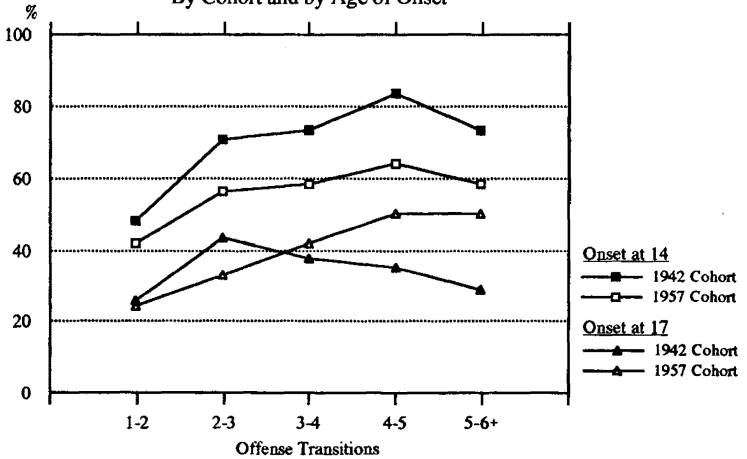


Figure 9. Nth to (N+1)th Transition Probabilities
By Cohort and by Age of Onset



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Mugishima, F., & Matsumoto, Y. (1968). A study of delinquents differentiation from 1942 cohort in Tokyo (3) activities in junior high school and delinquency. Reports of the National Research Institute of Police Science (Research on Prevention of Crime and Delinquency), 9, 33-43.

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2. Victim Surveys

b) Particular Topics

Victim Behavior and the Risk of Victimization: Implications of Activity-Specific Victimization Rates¹

James P. Lynch

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3. Results
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 - 3.4 Domain Specific Risk Rates for Demographic Groups

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3.4.1 Age of Respondent

3.4.2 Sex of Victim

3.4.3 Race of Victim

3.4.4 Income

4. Discussion

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7. Appendix A

1. Introduction

Criminologists and policy researchers have spent a great deal of time identifying and explaining the factors that make some persons and groups more susceptible to victimization than others. Routine activity theory (RAT), one of the more popular theories used suggests that differences in victimization risk are due to differences in the routine activities of persons. Those who pursue activities that increase the opportunity of becoming a victim will be the object of crimes more often than those who do not engage in such behaviors. Opportunity for committing a crime occurs when 1) a motivated offender comes in close proximity to 2) a suitable target 3) in the absence of capable guardians. Empirical tests of activity theory have attempted to identify those activities that affect the opportunity for - and thereby the level and distribution of - crime within society.

Empirical studies of RAT have been inhibited by the paucity of data on both victimization and routine activities as well as the poor quality of that data. Large scale victimization surveys have included very little information on the routine activities of respondents. Smaller surveys have more data on activities, but lack the sample sizes necessary to sustain multivariate analyses. More importantly, the limited data on activity and victimization that has been available was not collected in a manner that facilitated the testing of activity theory. Specifically, victim surveys have not distinguished victimization according to the activity of the victim at the time of the victimization. Consequently, it was difficult to establish the link between activity and victimization.

This paper provides a test of routine activity theory using activity-specific victimization rates. By classifying victimization according to the activity at the time of the incident, we are better able to establish the causal relationship between activity and victimization.

1.1 Reviewing Activity Theory

Activity theory is based on the premise that criminal events are the product of the convergence in space and in time of motivated offenders and suitable crime targets in the absence of capable guardians (*Cohen & Felton 1979*). Since both targets and offenders are necessary elements of the event, no crime will take place if either targets or offenders are absent. The

elaboration of activity theory requires the identification of factors that affect the number and availability of crime targets. In the most formal exposition of an activity model, *Cohen et al.* (1981) identify four factors that affect victimization risk:

- 1) Target Exposure. The visibility and physical accessibility of the target.
- 2) Guardianship. The ability of persons or objects to prevent crime from occurring.
- 3) Target Attractiveness. The material or symbolic value of persons or property.
- 4) Proximity. The physical distance between areas where potential targets of crime are and where large populations of potential offenders are found.

All structural factors (e.g. socio-demographic characteristics of victims) or mediating factors (e.g. routine activities) influence the risk of victimization through one of these four concepts. For example, social class will determine the amount of discretionary income available for pursuing leisure activity. The amount of time in leisure activity will affect the amount of time that a person is out of the home. Time out of the home will determine the degree to which a person and their possessions are exposed. The extent of exposure will determine risk of victimization.

1.2 Limitations of Empirical Tests

Empirical tests of activity theory have been limited by the data available on routine activities in large scale victim surveys. Because victimization is relatively rare, only large scale surveys can provide enough victimizations for analysis purposes. These large surveys are usually conducted under government auspices for the purpose of estimating crime rates. They cannot devote a large portion of interviewing time to collecting detailed information on respondents. Researchers, therefore, have been forced to use very few questions to characterize varied and complex routine activities. As a result, routine activity theory has received only limited support from empirical studies and the conceptual development of the theory has been inhibited.

Because of these limitations the first generation of empirical tests of activity theory had very few direct measures of activity concepts. Participation in the labor force was used as an indicator of both exposure (since it indicated the amount of time spent out of the home) and guardianship (since an empty home is unguarded). Marital status was used as an indicator of

guardianship under the assumption that more people in the home increased guardianship. These measures of activity concepts were only imperfectly related to the activity that they purported to measure.

The second generation of empirical tests featured more specific questioning about routine activity. Respondents were asked how often they went out of the house in the evening, what they did when they went out, what they did at work, and the like. These more specific questions about activity improved the measurement of key activity concepts. They may have been too specific, however, in the sense that they could not be used to situate specific behavior, such as going out in the evening, in a larger social context. Going out in the evening for school or work may be very different in its implications than going out for social purposes. The former are more routine in that they take place at the same time each day while socializing does not. Work, at least, is usually longer in duration than socializing. The social context of time out of the home can affect its implications for victimization risk.

The second generation of empirical tests of activity theory also focused on a very limited set of activities such as going out at night. These activities were selected over others on the basis of common sense and stereotypic notions of which activities are "dangerous." This severe selectivity was mandated by the extremely limited interviewing time available for collecting these data. A more exhaustive classification of risk affecting behavior-independent of stereotypic notions of dangerous situations-would have contributed to the development of activity theory. Empirical analyses then could have been used to associate activity with victimization and thereby identify dangerous situations rather than simply confirming that dangerous situations are dangerous.

Finally, most previous empirical tests of activity theory have examined the relationship between activity and victimization without restricting victimization events to those occurring in the course of a particular activity. Activity such as going out at night was correlated with personal theft or assaultive crimes regardless of whether these crimes occurred when the victim was out at night. Failing to use activity specific victimization increases the likelihood of attributing causality to spurious relationships between activity variables and victimization. Since these crime classifications do not differentiate crime by the activity of the victim at the time of the incident, an observed relationship between, for example, being in the labor force and personal theft would be considered causal even when none of the victimizations actually occurred at work. Presumably, this problem would be avoided crime classification (and therefore activity models) that were defined in part by the activity of the victimization. An observed relationship

between a specific activity performed on the job and victimization on the job could be considered causal with a great deal more confidence than an observed relationship between activity on the job and personal theft more generally (*Block et al.* 1984).

2. Method

This paper contributes to the literature on empirical tests of activity theory by taking a more macro sociological approach to measuring routine activities and by classifying crimes according to the activity of the victim at the time of the incident. These innovations should indicate whether the social or institutional context of specific activities affects the risk of victimization independent of the situational activity engaged in. Moreover, they should facilitate drawing the causal link between activity and victimization because we will know that the victimization occurred while the victim was engaged in a specific activity.

The survey used to collect the data for this study is the Victim Risk Supplement (VRS) to the National Crime Survey (NCS). This supplement was organized in activity domains - at work, at school, at home and at leisure. Both routine activities and victimizations were classified in these domains. Classifying victimization by domain was done on the basis of the major activity of the victim at the time of the incident and the location of the event.² Any incident that occurred at home was classified as occurring in the home domain. The incidents was classified as occurring in the work domain if respondents claimed that they were working or were on the job at the time, unless the incident clearly took place in the home. Incidents occurring while the victim was "attending school" or that took place on school grounds were included in the school domain. Again events taking place at home while the victim was at school were classified in the home domain. Crimes that did not take place in the home and that occurred while

2 For a description of the specific codes used to classify victimizations by domain see Appendix A.

victims were pursuing "leisure activities away from home," "shopping or doing errands," "commuting to work"³ or "on the way to or from somewhere other than work" were classified in the leisure domain. Events that happened to persons whose activity at the time of the incident could not be accommodated within the coding scheme or who did not know their activity at the time of the incident were excluded from the analysis.

These "domains" were chosen because 1) they correspond to distinct sets of activities 2) that respondents could describe cogently, and 3) that include a large proportion of routine activities. Being "at school," for example, has some commonality for all participants regardless of the specific social organization of the particular school attended. Attending school usually requires the respondent to leave the home and go to another place. Most of the people in that other place are similar to the respondent in age. Certain non-discretionary behavior is required and there is supervision by persons with some authority over the students. Assuming the role of student carries with it certain normative expectations, such that students engage in similar activities while they are at school. To a considerable but lesser extent, being "at work" structures a respondent's activity. The leisure domain allows the greatest discretionary activity on the part of respondents. The "who, what, where, when and how" of activity in the leisure domain is much less structured than that occurring in other domains. Indeed, these features are what set the leisure domain apart from the others.

Classifying activity and victimizations by these domains provides a more macrosociological measure of routine activity than that offered in the second generation of empirical tests of activity theory. These earlier tests emphasized situational activity that could occur in many social contexts. Going out at night for leisure can have different implications for risk than going out for work or school. The places one frequents for school or work will be different than those frequented for leisure. Recurring activity such as school or work usual requires and permits certain arrangements that limit risk. The episodic and variable nature of leisure does not afford the ability to construct these risk limiting arrangements. It is useful, therefore, to use activity domain to identify the institutional or social context of situational activity.

3 Some may argue that events occurring when someone is commuting to work should be classified in the work domain because commuting is activity required by work. We excluded commuting from the work environment, however, because victimization occurring on the way to work do not happen in the work environment. Consequently, events occurring on the way to work are different from events happening on the job and should not be placed in the same class.

If the risk of victimization differs across these institutionalized activities, we have some evidence that the routine activities a person pursues will affect the risk of victimization. We are then in the position to examine the effect of more situationally defined behavior within a particular activity domain.

In the following section, we present domain-specific victimization rates to investigate whether participation in these domains affects the risk of victimization. Domain-specific rates are also computed for socio-demographic groups to determine if differences in victimization rates across socio-demographic groups may be due to the activities they pursue.

Table 1: Victimization Counts and Percents by Domain

Domain	Number	Percent	Percent (excluding unclassified)
At home	839	29.9	38.5
At work	447	15.9	20.5
At school	323	11.3	14.8
At leisure	568	20.2	26.1
Not classified	629	22.7	-

3. Results

3.1 The Distribution of Crimes Across Domains

The distribution of victimizations by activity domain is presented in Table 1. Over three quarters of all the victimizations reported in the VRS were included in four domains - home, work, school and leisure. Of those crimes that could be classified, 38.5% occurred at home, 20.5% happened in the work domain, 14.8% took place in the school domain, and 26.1% occurred at leisure. Events that could not be accommodated within the four domains fell into two categories - crimes that occurred in the residential neighborhood (i.e. within one mile of home) and crimes in which a motor

vehicle was the object of crime.⁴ Motor vehicle crime has been examined elsewhere (*Lynch & Biderman 1984; Cantor & Lynch 1988*).

The distribution of victimizations by domain is enlightening because it complicates preexisting wisdom about the social context of victimization risk. We have come to assume, for example, that work is a safe place while leisure activity is risky (*Hindelang et al. 1978*), but a good deal of victimization occurs at work (*Collins et al. 1987; Lynch 1987; Mayhew et al. 1989*). Moreover, classifying victimization by domain gives potential victims and policy makers a much clearer idea of when - that is, in what activity - they are most likely to be victimized. Knowing that a substantial proportion of crime occurs at work, for example, could suggest that we may want to direct more crime control resources toward the work place rather than focusing almost exclusively on residential communities.

3.2 Domain-Specific Risk Rates

While the distribution of victimization incidents presented in Table 1 is informative, it cannot be interpreted as a risk rate. The distribution of victimizations by domain could be due to the fact that persons or their property are more often in one domain than another. We must account for differential rates of participation in one or another activity domain before we can speak about differential risk across activities.

Obtaining the appropriate denominator for a domain-specific risk rate is difficult. Where behavior is discrete such that participation or eligibility is complete or non-existent (as with mortality) then a simple count of persons participating or at risk is sufficient. When participation can vary in degree, the denominator of the risk rate must reflect that variation. Participation in activity domains is of the latter type. Consequently, some measure of time spent in each domain would be the most desirable denominator for a risk

4 Approximately 50% of the unclassified incidents reported in the VRS are crimes in which a motor vehicle is the object and 38% of these crimes take place in the area immediately around the home - the neighborhood - and do not involve motor vehicles as the object. Only 12% of the unclassified incidents do not fall in one of these two categories.

rate. Unfortunately, the VRS did not include any time budget questions regarding time at home, at school or at leisure, so rates based on time spent in a particular activity cannot be computed.⁵ Some crude risk rates can be computed, however, using discrete participation measures for a rate base. For example, a victimization rate for work can be computed by dividing victimizations at work by the number of people in the work force.⁶

The VRS includes the standard labor force items on the major activity of respondents in the week prior to the interview. These questions were used to indicate who is in the labor force and who is in school.⁷ Persons in the labor force were used as the base for a risk rate at work and persons in school were used as the basis for a risk rate in the school domain. Since everyone participates in the home domain in some capacity, the total population served as the rate base. To a lesser extent, this is true for the leisure domain. Consequently, the total population, less those persons who claimed that they never went out of for the evening, was used as the rate base for the leisure crime rate.

The numerators for the rates are the number of crimes reported as occurring while the respondent was pursuing activity in a particular domain.⁸ The numerator of the school-specific victimization rate, for example, includes all victimizations occurring while the victim was "at school."

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- 5 Data on hours worked in a week are available in the VRS, but it would be somewhat inappropriate to compare the refined work risk rate with the crude rates computed for other domains.
 - 6 A more vexing problem in deciding upon the denominator of a risk rate is identifying both the persons and their property at risk. The period of risk for property may be different than the period of risk for persons who own that property. Accounting for the amount of property at risk is also problematic. The sheer volume of personal property available in some domains may be substantially different from that available in others.
 - 7 The Employment Status Recode in the NCS was used to identify a respondent should be included in a particular denominator. Persons "at work", "with a job; not at work" and "in the armed forces" were considered in the work force. Those "going to school" and "out of the universe" were considered as attending school. The "out of universe" classification includes all persons under 16 years of age and thereby ineligible for the labor force questions. All persons were included in the denominator of the home domain risk rate. All persons except those who claimed that they never shopped or went out for the evening were included in the denominator of the leisure domain risk rate.
 - 8 The particular method used to obtain these numbers is presented above on pages 8 and 9 above.

3.3 Risk Rates by Domain

When domain-specific victimization rates are computed on the base of those engaged in the activity, school is by far the most dangerous activity. The overall victimization rate for the school domain is 2.9 times that of the leisure domain, 2.0 times that of the home domain, and 1.8 times the rate at work. The risk of violent victimization is low generally - .01 or less - but varies across domains. It is highest at school and work, followed closely by leisure and more distantly by the rate at home. The risk of property crime is greatest at school, followed distantly by the home domain, work and leisure. When one considers that the amount of personal property available for stealing at school is considerably less than that at home, the high theft rate at school suggests that the proximity of dense pools of offenders may be more important in this domain than others. In contrast, the relative ranking of the home, work and leisure domains is consistent with the apparent availability of property for stealing. Nonetheless, the risk of property victimization at work does seem a bit high compared to the risk at home, given reasonable assumptions about the relative volume of goods in each location.

These differences in crude risk rates confirm some of the common wisdom about victimization and challenge other aspects of it. They confirm that school is an incivil place both in terms of violent and property crime (*Garofalo et al.* 1987). They also confirm that, overall, the home is a relatively safe place with regard to violent crime, but dangerous with respect to property crime. Surprisingly, work is a relatively dangerous place for both property and violent crime and leisure is generally a safe activity.

3.4 Domain Specific Risk Rates for Demographic Groups

These differences in risk across domains may be due to the nature of the routine activities pursued or other aspects of the domain. They can also result from the types of people who engage in the activity. Younger people, for example, are more often victimized than older persons. Consequently, domains that involve a disproportionate amount of younger persons can have higher risk rates because of the overrepresentation of victimization-prone persons. In order to test the importance of activity (as indicated by domain) as opposed to the characteristics of participants for explaining differential risk across domains, we computed victimization risk rates for groups defined by the age, race, sex and income of respondents.

3.4.1 *Age of Respondent*

One of the most consistent findings in the study of victimization is that younger persons are at greater risk of victimization than older persons. This general relationship holds across domains. Younger persons are more likely to be victimized than older persons in every domain. Within this general relationship, however, there are some important anomalies. The risk of victimization at home does not decline rapidly with age but remains relatively constant from age 25 to 45. Similarly, there is no precipitous decline in the risk of victimization at leisure after 24. It remains relatively constant from the age of 12 to 35. The risk of victimization at work decreases steadily with age. The relationship between age and risk at school is somewhat irregular due to the small cell sizes for older students.

The pattern of risk across domains and age groups is generally similar for violent and property crime, but again there are anomalies. In general the risk of violent or property victimization is greatest for the youngest age group and lowest for the oldest age group. The risk of violent victimization declines steadily with age at work and at leisure. The same is the case for property crime at work. In all other domains, the relationship between age and either violent or property crime is different. The relationship between risk of either property or violent crime and age is bimodal at school. Both very young persons and persons between 36 and 45 have high risk rates. Other age groups have lower risk rates. The relationship between age and risk is bimodal for violent crime at home and curvilinear for property crime at home. Persons 12 to 24 have a low risk of violent crime at home. This increases for those aged 25 to 35, drops again for persons between 46 and 55 and decreases again for persons over 56. The risk of property crime at home is relatively low for persons 12 to 24, but it increases for respondents 25 to 36 and again for persons 36 to 45. The risk of property crime at home decreases again for persons 56 and over. The risk of property crime at leisure is curvilinear with age. Persons 12 to 24 have a lower risk of victimization at leisure than persons 25 to 35 and approximately the same risk as persons 46 to 55. Persons 56 or over have the lowest risk of property victimization at leisure.

The distribution of risk within age groups across domains differs by type of crime. The risk of violent crime within age groups is somewhat higher at work and at leisure than it is at home or at school. For property crime the relationship is reversed. For respondents of the same age, the risk of property crime is greater at home and at school than it is at work and at leisure.

Interpreting these complex relationships between age, domain and risk is difficult, but these patterns of risk across domains and age groups suggest

a number of things. First, both age and domain seem to affect risk rates. This finding suggests that neither routine activities, nor the age composition of persons pursuing them are sufficient to explain differences in the victimization rate. Second, the risk of victimization for younger persons is substantially greater at school than it is in any other domain. If victimizations at school for this youngest age group are removed and is replaced by an average rate for this age group in the other domains, the victimization rate for this group would not be radically different from that of young and middle-aged adults. Bringing large groups of young people together in one place provides an environment for predation. The fact that leisure activity among the young is also highly segregated, yet does not result in equally high rates of victimization, suggests that it is not simply the proximity of offending and victimization-prone persons that produces high risk rates. Instead, it may have something to do with the social organization of school relative to leisure. For example, leisure is a much more discretionary activity than school. One can choose activities and companions in ways that minimize risk. In school one does not have this option.

A third suggestive finding is the pattern of high victimization rates at home and the increase in those rates as people move from young adults to middle age. This pattern is consistent with the volume of property available. The volume of property at risk in the home domain is greater than any other. Also, we can assume that the volume of property at home will increase with age since both income and family size increase with age. This finding is consistent with the low rates of property crime at work and leisure, where the volume of available property is presumably low.

Finally, the high rates of violence at work and the persistence of those relatively high rates across age groups suggests that conditions of work are influencing risk. The risk of violence is similar at work and leisure for the youngest age groups, but the risk of violent victimization at leisure drops sharply with age. As they age, people avoid violent situations. Where the risk of violence is a matter of discretion, people can and do avoid it, as in the case of leisure. When the risk of violence is due to one's occupation, avoidance is less possible regardless of the motivation to do so.

3.4.2 *Sex of Victim*

Males have higher risk of victimization than females in every domain except the home where females have a 36% greater risk of victimization. The differences in risk between the sexes at work, school and leisure are quite small, ranging from 6 to 10%. The simple relationship between sex and victimization would lead us to expect that males would have higher risk

of victimization than females. The very small differences presented in Table 2 suggest that most of the differences between risk for men and women are due to differential participation in activity domains, not greater risk within activities. The difference observed in the home domain suggest that women are at greater risk than men in what we have come to regard as the safest domain - home (*Maxfield* 1987).

The general similarity in risk rates for men and women at work, school, and leisure may be due to the fact that risk of property crime does not differ by sex, but risk of violent crime may. When risk rates are computed separately for violent and property crime, we see that this is indeed the case. The risk of violent crime differs substantially by sex and the risk of property crime does not. In general, males have much greater risk of violent crime than females. The risk of property crime at school and leisure does not differ by sex, at work and at home, however, women have somewhat greater risk of property victimization.

Violent crime in the home domain seems to be the one major exception to the general rule that men are at greater risk of violent crime than women. At work, school and leisure males are at much greater risk of violent crime than females are. At home, however, women are more likely to be victims of violent crime.⁹ This is entirely consistent with *Maxfield's* (1987) work which demonstrated that home is a dangerous place for women.

9 To some extent, the greater risk for women at home may be due to the crudeness of our risk rates. Men and women are included equally in the denominator of the home risk rate. We know, however, that there are fewer women in the labor force than men and therefore that women, as a group, spend more time at home than males. A more accurate risk rate would have a larger numerator for women at home and a smaller numerator for men at home. One method of estimating the persons and property at risk in the home domain is to subtract persons in the labor force from the total number of persons of each sex in the sample. This would yield an estimate of persons most often home, but this base may be an underestimate of the persons and things at risk. It would exclude the experience of people in the labor force who spend a considerable amount of time at home. Moreover, this rate would not take into account the fact that a persons property can be at risk at home when they are elsewhere. Nonetheless, when this method of computing a risk rate is used, differences between risk at home for males and females is even greater. Females have a risk rate of .033 when females in the labor force are omitted from the base. Males have a risk rate of .019 when males in the labor force are excluded. This clearly supports the assertion that women are at greater risk than males at home. This increased risk is not due to the fact that fewer women work out of the home than men. It may well be, however, that women who are not in the labor force stay around home more than men not in the labor force.

3.4.3 *Race of Victim*

While there is no difference between whites and non-whites in the risk of being victimized generally, the probability of being victimized in a specific domain differs somewhat by race. The probability of a black respondent being victimized at home is 31% greater than that for a white respondent. Non-whites are 23% more likely to be victimized at leisure than whites. On the other hand, whites have a 26% greater chance of being victimized at work than non-whites and a 25% greater chance of being victimized at school. These differences across domains may be due to the fact that the activity or the location where the activity is pursued are different for whites and non-whites.

It is interesting to note that non-whites are more at risk than whites in the more segregated spheres of activity such as home or leisure, but at lower or the same risk as whites in the more integrated work and school domains. This pattern makes some sense in that residential segregation by race in our society is extremely high. The range of housing and neighborhoods available to non-whites is much more restricted than that for whites. Consequently they are less able to distance themselves from high crime areas than whites are. Leisure activities - such as shopping or entertainment - are similarly segregated. In more integrated activity, non-whites have a much greater range of options to choose from and can, therefore, avoid dangerous situations. The opposite may be happening for whites. The range of options open in housing and leisure permits whites to maximize the distance between themselves and dangerous places. In more obligatory activity such as work or school, the ability to distance oneself is more limited.

The patterns of risk by race and domain are different for violent and property crime. Nonwhites are almost twice as likely as whites to be victims of violent crime at leisure as whites, while whites are almost three times as likely as non-whites to be victimized at school. Again, obligatory domains are more dangerous for whites and discretionary domains are more dangerous for non-whites. For property crimes, the risk of victimization is greater for whites than non-whites at work and school, but greater for non-whites at home.

3.4.4 *Income*

Generally, the risk of victimization declines as income increases, but in some domains, higher income groups have a greater risk of victimization than lower income groups. The risk of victimization decreases as income

increases in the home, work and the leisure domains. In contrast, persons from higher income households have a greater risk at school than do persons from lower income households.

The relationship between income and victimization by domain is similar to that for race and domain-specific victimization and it seems to support the same interpretation. Home is not always a safe place for all groups. Groups that have the resources and freedom to distance themselves and their property from dangerous places do so for those activities where participation is less obligatory such as home and leisure. For these people, obligatory activity, such as school and work increase the chance of victimization. For people who do not have the freedom or resources to choose safe places to live or recreate, the obligatory activities, such as school and work, are safer than being home or at leisure midst dense pools of potential offenders.

4. Discussion

Examining domain-specific victimization rates affords a new way of looking at an old problem; this new perspective can modify the common wisdom or confirm it. Viewing victimization from a different perspective also raises questions about why risk differs across activities and populations. Answering these questions can contribute to a theory of victimization risk.

Perhaps the most surprising result of the domain-specific classification of crimes is the large proportion of crimes that happen at work. Work is generally considered a safe place, but if our domain-specific risk rates are even remotely accurate, work is at least as dangerous as leisure activity. This fact is important for our understanding of risk and it is not revealed by crime classifications that do not include activity at time of the incident.

Classifying crime by activity domain also demonstrates that only about one half of all crime occurs at or around the residence. The rest occurs while we are at work, at school or at leisure. Since the overwhelming majority of victimization studies seem to assume that most crime takes place in the residential neighborhood of the victim, the domain specific crime classification at least raises questions about this assumptions. It seems to suggest further that more attention should be given to the large volume of victimization occurring in other institutional spheres, such as work and school.

School has always been considered a dangerous place in terms of victimization and the domain-specific perspective confirms the popular wisdom. By juxtaposing school with other activities, however, we get an even more vivid impression of how dangerous school is. Victimization rates for school-

aged persons at school are three times those of school aged persons in other activity spheres. The uniqueness of school in terms of victimization risk is lost in traditional crime classifications, but it is clear from domain-specific classifications.

What is it about school that makes it a particularly dangerous place? One could argue that the collection of a crime-prone population in one place increases the chance of victimization yet leisure activity is also highly segregated by age, and the rates in this sphere are much lower. The difference may be due to the relative volume of property at school and at leisure, or the amount of time spent at school relative to leisure. It may also be due to the social organization of school relative to leisure. Children and young adults are less able to choose their associates in school than they are at leisure. As a result, children at school are less able to avoid persons or situations that can lead to victimization.

The patterns of risk rates across race and income groups also suggest that the amount of discretion available in an activity domain may affect risk therein. Whites have higher rates of victimization than blacks at school and at work, while blacks have higher risk at home and at leisure. Income is negatively related to risk in every domain, except school where it is positively related. These patterns can be interpreted as reflecting the degree of discretion available to persons participating in these domains. Where discretion is high, victimization is low. Where discretion is low, victimization is high. Given the segregated nature of our housing markets, blacks have fewer choices in the selection of residential area than whites. Consequently, whites are better able than blacks to distance themselves from dangerous areas. Since the bulk of leisure activity occurs around the residential community (Taub *et al.* 1984), this same disparity in discretion should adhere in the leisure domain. Similarly, higher income groups are at lower risk of victimization because they are freer to choose safe residential neighborhoods than lower income groups.

This difference in the amount of discretion is not present in obligatory domains, where participants are not as free to choose when, how and with whom they will interact. As freedom to choose decreases, then so does the safety advantage of majority and higher status groups disappear. In fact, these groups are at greater risk in obligatory domains.

This distinction between obligatory and discretionary domains suggests further that different routine activity variables may be important in the two types of domain. Proximity to dense pools of offenders may be paramount

in the discretionary domains of home and leisure, while exposure, guardianship and attractiveness may be more consequential in the obligatory domains.

The separation of crime at school from crimes in other domains also sheds some new light on the much heralded age effect in general models of victimization. If the victimization rates for school-aged persons (12 to 24) in domains other than school are averaged and that average substituted for the victimization rate for school-aged persons at school, the overall victimization rate for school aged persons is not that much higher than the overall rate for older age groups. The age slope is relatively flat until 45, when it declines sharply. The high rates of victimization for younger persons, then, may be due to the particular context in which they pursue their routine activities, i.e. school, and not something inherent in younger persons.

5. Tables

Table 2: Person-based Victimization Rates by Type of Crime, Domain and Socio-demographic Characteristics of Victims

Crime	Victim type	Domain			
		Home	Work	School	Leisure
All	All	.033	.037	.066	.023
Property	All	.03	.026	.056	.015
Violence	All	.003	.011	.011	.008
All	Age				
	12-24	.029	.053	.077	.032
	25-35	.047	.043	.014	.033
	36-45	.046	.036	.06	.019
	46-55	.026	.026	.029	.022
	56 +	.02	.021	.013	.009
Violence	Age				
	12-24	.002	.017	.014	.016
	25-35	.005	.015	.0	.01
	36-45	.002	.009	.005	.004
	46-55	.003	.005	.0	.002
	56 +	.001	.002	.0	.001
Property	Age				
	12-24	.027	.036	.064	.016
	25-35	.042	.028	.014	.023
	36-45	.043	.028	.059	.015
	46-55	.023	.021	.029	.011
	56 +	.019	.018	.014	.007
All	Sex				
	Female	.038	.037	.064	.021
	Male	.028	.039	.067	.024
Violence	Sex				
	Female	.004	.007	.009	.005
	Male	.002	.014	.013	.01
Property	Sex				
	Female	.034	.03	.056	.016
	Male	.026	.025	.055	.014

Table 2: (Continuation)¹⁰

Crime	Victim type	Domain			
		Home	Work	School	Leisure
All	Race				
	White	.032	.038	.068	.022
	Non-white	.042	.030	.054	.027
Violence	White	.003	.011	.012	.007
	Non-white	.003	.011	.005	.01
Property	White	.029	.028	.057	.015
	Non-white	.04	.019	.05	.015
All	Income				
	<7500	.056	.047	.034	.032
	7501-17500	.038	.039	.062	.023
	17500 +	.026	.036	.075	.020
Violence	<7500	.008	.012	.004	.014
	7501-17500	.004	.011	.013	.009
	17500 +	.001	.011	.012	.005
Property	<7500	.049	.035	.03	.018
	7501-17500	.034	.028	.05	.013
	17500+	.024	.025	.06	.014

¹⁰ Since the rates presented in Table 2 are based upon the sample of citizens interviewed in the VRS, some attention must be given to sampling error. Some of the differences observed in the table may be due to sampling error. There are so many comparisons being made among rates, however, that it is difficult to test for and discuss the statistical significance of differences observed across activity domains and demographic groups. Moreover, the appropriate statistical test is not always clear. When comparisons are made between two rates a T test is appropriate. If, however, we would like to test the effect of a polytomous variable such as age across domains, then an analysis of variance would be the appropriate procedure. Since there is only one case per cell in this analysis, however, we cannot use analysis of variance. While we do not want to ignore sampling error, we also do not want to weigh this discussion down with minute and confusing discussions of statistical significance. We did compute T tests for the differences in rates across domains and demographic groups. Given the large samples size of the VRS (N=25,000), the vast majority of the differences in rates across domains presented here are statistically significant at the .05 or .1 level. The standard deviations used in the T Tests assumed a simple random sample and did not account for the design effects known to exist in the NCS sample. Consequently, the standard deviations used here may be somewhat small.

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7. Appendix A

Describing in detail the procedures used to measure specific activity concepts would have substantially lengthened the body of the paper. To avoid this, we describe the specifics of measurement below.

1. Identifying Crimes by Domain

In the VRS respondents were asked the following series of questions about what they were doing at the time of the victimization:

Did this incident happen at your work site (or in the vehicle that you work in)? Yes, No, Don't Know

Were you on the job or on duty when this incident happened? Yes, No, Don't Know

What were you doing when this incident happened?

Shopping, errands

Attending school

On the way to or from work

On the way to or from somewhere other than work

Leisure activities away from home

Activities at home

Sleeping

Other, Specify

DK

2. Defining Denominators of Risk Rates

Respondents were considered in the labor force and, therefore at risk of victimization at work, if they were working in the past week, had a job, but were not at work, or were in the armed forces. The way in which labor force participation is measured complicates the exact computation of the population at risk. Some of the people in the labor force in the week prior to the interview may not have had a job at the time of the victimization. Others who are not in the labor force in the week before the interview may have been working at the time of the victimization. The appropriate base for this rate is all persons who worked at any time during the six month reference

period, but we cannot obtain this from the VRS. If we include only those persons with a job in the week prior to the interview, we will undoubtedly underestimate that figure. We do know that 14.7% of the persons reporting victimizations at work are no longer employed at the time of the interview. If we assume that the rate of leaving the labor force in a six month period is the same for victims and non-victims, then increasing the denominator by 14.7% should provide a more accurate estimate of the rate of victimization at work for all persons in the labor force at any time during the reference period.

The base for the rate of victimization at school was obtained by adding those persons indicating that they were at school in the previous week and those persons who were not asked the labor force questions. This latter group includes persons between twelve and sixteen years of age who are not asked the labor force questions because they are too young to work in most occupations and jurisdictions. The overwhelming majority of these persons are attending school. Nonetheless some component of these children will not be attending school and will not be at risk of victimization in that domain. Consequently, this base may overestimate persons at risk and therefore underestimate the risk of victimization in the school domain.

The base of the rate for the home domain must include all persons in the sample. Everyone in the NCS has a home because it is a household sample. While some people may spend more time at home than others, everyone has some goods at home that are at risk regardless of the presence of the owner. Theft of these goods or forcible entry into the home would figure into the numerator of the rate. Consequently, the existence of a home or residence that is at risk must figure into the denominator.

A victimization rate for persons at leisure could include all persons in the sample, since all persons are eligible to participate in leisure activity. Some portion of the population, however, never goes out to shop or to run errands and never goes out for the evening.¹¹ These people should be removed from the rate base. The VRS included several items asking respondents to report how often they shopped or went out for the evening. Those who indicated that they never went out for an evening or shopped were excluded from the base of the rate for crime at leisure.

11 VRS Items and response.

Various Faces of the Victim

*Renée Zauber*¹

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¹ Translation *Helen Arnold*.

1. Introduction

French victimization surveys are latecomers to the field owing to the constraints specific to the French social sciences. They are governed by sociological traditions that are quite different from their Anglo-American elders, and also differ somewhat as to the field in which they operate (*Zauberman & Robert* 1990, p. 134).

They have deliberately chosen not to concentrate on rejuvenating criminal statistics by basing them on the allegations of victims, thus ridding them at last of the limits inherent in administrative statistics: any such approach was threatened by other methodological as well as theoretical obstacles (*Zauberman* 1982).

Instead, they chose, initially, to deal with victims rather than with victimization. Although they definitely may supply information on some types of crime, the forms taken by these and their social distribution, such information is narrowly limited, in the last analysis. But they do much more than this: the national survey on victimization in France (*Zauberman et al.* 1990) essentially concentrated its analysis on the period subsequent to the incident, when it is the victims who act. In the highly formalized interplay represented by the criminal justice scene, where the actors are bound by extremely strong legal and institutional obligations, victims are particularly interesting in that they are "amateur" players.

Two interconnected phases were involved in this national survey: in the first, a sample of 11,000 people representative of the French population over fifteen years of age were filtered using a question on whether they had been a victim, over the past two years, of theft, burglary, violence (ordinary, sexual or domestic), a consumer-related fraud or of white collar crime or violation of the labor laws. Information on their age, sex, occupation and place of residence was also collected.

For the first time in France, the data collected here has been put together to present social profiles - requiring validation, of course - of people claiming to be victims of a number of criminal offences (*Zauberman & Robert* 1990).

In a second phase, various subgroups of victims taken from the first survey were questioned on the incidents, as well as on their attitudes and on some features indicative of their life style and social status.

At this second level of analysis, we have shown how the victims, as social actors, deal with their situation: on the basis of what interests, based on what social positions, using which strategies (Zauberman 1991). The key word is diversity. There are variations in everything: victimizations, circumstances, places, emotional and psychological impact, material and sentimental damage, intentions and action, recourse and renunciation, expectations and disappointments, satisfaction and recrimination, and there is no way of generalizing about victims or victimization as a whole.

There is the possibility that such variety may be an artifact, due to the fact that this survey proceeded in the same way in its investigation of events as heterogeneous as domestic violence and consumer-related frauds, burglaries and violations of labor laws.

For this reason, the present article develops findings on the last level of analysis, the intrinsic study of different sorts of victimizations. The totality of the cases examined cannot be discussed, for lack of space, but a significant selection of them - thefts and burglaries, assaults and domestic violence, consumer-related frauds - will be dealt with here. Following earlier studies of the ways in which victims of specific types of incidents differ from the population at large, then from each other, the question here is whether each subgroup is coherent as such: is the experience of being a victim of burglary always the same, and if not, where do the differences lie?

2. Methods

For each group of victims, our corpus was composed of several series of variables:

- The first series pertained to the incident itself, and was therefore specific to each type of victimization: it explored three facets:
 - The circumstances surrounding the event, and in particular any previous acquaintanceship between the offender and the victim, whether they came face to face at the time of the incident, where it took place, how the victim reacted at the time and what he or she felt subsequently, after a period of time.
 - A second, thoroughly explored aspect involved those agencies or individuals to which the victim turned. These were not restricted to repressive agencies, but included a wide range of other public or private bodies - and especially insurance companies - as well as several categories of intimates. Further, an attempt was made to

determine the reasons for recourse or renunciation, at least where the police and insurance companies are concerned. Last, interviewees were questioned on their feelings and on their assessment of the services delivered.

- The third part of the investigation of the incident dealt with any safety measures taken by the victim subsequently.
- A second series of questions pertained to more general attitudes: they were put to victims in all groups in the same forms, and touched more or less directly on the issue of crime: fear and concern about it, sensitivity to information about it, position on self-defence against property offences. Along with these, others addressed the issue of support of the established order, attitudes toward social change, morality, right and wrong.
- Thirdly, a series of questions involved the social characterization of victims. They too were put to all groups in the same forms, and established standard data such as age, sex, place of residence and occupation, along with level of sociability, degree of religiosity and the nature and diversity of their possessions.

Two questions were to be answered by the analysis of this corpus:

- First, can specific types be defined, within each sort of victimization (thefts, violence, consumer-related), differentiated both by the features of the incidents themselves and by the way in which the victim reacted to them ? This required the use of typological analysis techniques.
- Secondly, is there an ideological and socio-demographic specificity of victims of different types of incidents, as defined above?

The dynamic clusters method (*Diday 1970*) was used for the typological analysis. This is an automatic classification technique which produced an optimal partitioning of each group of victims using variables pertaining to the incident, known as active variables: each individual was placed in a class, and in only one, on the basis of the usual criteria of minimization of intra-class variance and maximization of inter-class variance.

The resulting typology was then interpreted using the cross-tabulation of classes with active variables, on the one hand, and of classes with the remaining variables, which had not been used to construct the typology, but might illustrate the findings, on the other hand. The variables pertaining to general attitudes, indicative of the overall value system in which the individuals partake, show whether there are ideological stances underlying the

way in which the incidents were experienced and the reactions produced. Last, the individual characteristics and life styles supplied information on the social coherence of the classes defined. Whenever the deviation, either positive or negative, from the population mean was deemed non-negligible, this contributed to defining that particular class.

3. Results

3.1 Victims of Thefts

A typological analysis uncovered 5 classes² among the 402 victims of thefts studied.

The class described as **aloof** contains 10.5 % of the sample. Most had been victims of car-related thefts, and the sums involved may have been large, but they dealt with the affair unemotionally: they took action of various sorts - police, insurance, security devices - essentially to obtain reimbursement and to avoid further losses. These are people who are very open to social change in all fields, and are not terribly sensitive to questions of crime control.

This group is predominantly male, young and well-educated, its members work at the middle-management level in the public service sector or hold upper echelon intellectual positions in the private sector. These are city-dwellers, often living in the Paris area, without much real estate (perhaps because of their youthfulness), but purposefully investing in saving schemes; they are socially active, acknowledge their religious heritage and are on the left, politically.

A second class of victims contains 25.6 % of the sample, and has been designated as **private business**. It includes a large minority of those victims who found themselves face to face with the offender, with whom they were acquainted in one way or another. They combine a relatively unruffled reaction to what is judged as minor losses and a quasi-systematic lack of recourse. These victims have no ideological feature in common, other than the fact that they view this victimization as a purely private incident.

2 Actually, the statistical method used differentiated 7 classes, but two of these could not be analysed, since they contained only 3 individuals each. The 5 remaining classes represent 98.5 % of the sample, then.

There is a clear pattern to their social position, on the other hand: they are young, with a high school education, include an above-average number of employees and blue-collar workers, and have a small, not very varied estate. They tend to live in Paris or in rural areas, and plan to pass on a religious tradition, lead an active social life and are politically close to the conventional right wing.

A third class, named **unimportant cases** also contained 25.6 % of the sample. These are victims of a minor theft that had also left them relatively unaffected, but their reactions were radically different from those of **private business** people; they resorted to the police and to their insurance, and had punishment on their mind. Nonetheless, they did not take any greater precautions following the incident, and although they were somewhat sensitive to the problem of crime, they do not feel any particular personal implications in it. In this sphere as in respect to morals or social change, they express moderate liberalism.

This predominantly female group contains more people with no occupation than the others. A large proportion had received a higher education, however, and the middle management level is well represented.

These people tended to live in the Paris area, to be religious and to have a relatively mediocre estate, but a considerable social life. Politically, they are located in the center and center-left of the French scene.

A fourth group, comprised of 26.6 % of the sample, also mostly contains victims of car-related thefts. We have called them **repressive**, since the sentimental value they attach to the stolen goods, their violent feelings toward the thief and the emotionality surrounding the affair lead them to turn to the criminal justice institutions with a demand formulated in repressive terms. For a theft of similar nature, their reaction is radically different from that of the **aloof** group.

They are quite alarmed by the problems raised by crime and its control, and expect a great deal from the state, above all urging it to maintain law and order. These victims are in fact extremely conservative and resist all social change.

The percentage of women - especially housewives -, workers and the self-employed is unusually high in this group, and it is striking that few have the feeling of holding a stable occupational position. Their training tends to be of a technical nature, they generally live in the provinces and their property is mostly composed of their home and its furnishings; these victims lead a rather restricted social life.

The remaining 10.2 % of victims are the **terrified** group. Most had experienced thefts within their house, and retained an unpleasant feeling that this had violated the intimacy of their home. A non-negligible proportion of these victims were acquainted with the thief, and had in fact encountered him/her in the act. It is in this group, where the emotional element is strongest, that an uncomfortable mixture is encountered: compulsive action directed at any and everyone (police, but also relatives, neighbors, colleagues, friends) combined with indiscriminate recourse to a wide range of precautions, and very little trust in institutions.

Their extreme sensitivity to issues touching on crime and its control - these victims are afraid of all sorts of crime, believe anything that is rumored about them, condone the fact of killing someone to defend one's property - is indicative of their deepseated traditionalism and the rigidity of their social representations.

This is the oldest, least educated group. It contains retired people and housewives, along with proportions of workers and self-employed that are comparable only with those found in the **repressive** group. It is they who have the most varied property, including much real estate. These victims, most of whom live in the provinces, are strongly identified with the right and even with the extreme right wing (although it is here that the largest minority claiming to be close to the Communist Party is found). They do not have an active social life.

This analysis shows the existence of two aggregates: on the one hand, the first three classes described as **aloof, private business and unimportant cases**; on the other, the two **repressive and terrified** groups. The latter is more homogeneous: victims are more strongly affected by the theft, and further, possess more property. Retired people are over-represented in one, the **terrified** group, and housewives in the other, **repressive** group.

The other entity is more complex and may be defined in contradistinction to the previous one. It contains a type of individual expressing extremely reserved reactions to the incident, along with a highly progressive world view, and possessing multiple intellectual, occupational and even material endowments.

Alongside of the aforementioned we find a **private business** class, which refuses to turn to the government, does not have a strong ideological position and is mostly represented by youthful, proletarian wage-earners, whose possessions are not very varied.

There is also a third type of person who, unlike the previous one, turns to the authorities for an incident described as relatively unimportant. This group is relatively progressive and contains rather young individuals with middle-range employment and no great diversity of property.

It is ideological issues that draw the dividing line between these two blocks: on the one side, rigidity, usually connected with right-wing or extreme right-wing political opinions, and on the other side flexibility, tending to correspond to political positions on the left-wing or center. It is not surprising to note that this opposition coincides with contrasted social positions.

On the whole, it seems to follow the same lines as the division between the Paris area (liberals) / provinces (conservatives), between age groups and educational levels (the latter two are highly interdependent). The property lines also tend to reproduce this dichotomy, except for the **aloof** class, whose estate has a specific structure. If real estate only is considered, the opposition between property-holders (conservative classes) and non-property-holders (progressive classes) reappears.

Those classes with an overload of executives, middle management and employees are on the progressive side, while those in which the self-employed are over-represented (**repressive and terrified**) are on the other side. The working class is evenly distributed on both sides, perhaps with age and property as discriminating factors (provincial, retired workers who own their home in the conservative group, and active, younger, unpropertied workers on the liberal side).

The ideological split also follows the same lines as the intensity of emotional reaction to the theft; on the "progressive" side the reaction is mild, and in fact no great sentimental value is attached to the stolen object; on the other side, the reaction is much stronger, as is the sentimental value attributed to the object.

For the material value of the loss, the facts are somewhat more complicated: the "progressives" either make low estimations (**private business and unimportant cases**) or quite high ones (**aloof** class), while "conservatives" more unanimously claim substantial losses.

The precautions taken following the theft correspond to the estimation of losses: as opposed to every other group, victims of **private business or unimportant cases** do not take any; however, the **aloof** group seems to take measures of a rational nature, whereas the conservatives are more compulsive.

The solutions effectively chosen by victims do not follow the ideological dividing line at all. Everyone resorts to criminal justice institutions; that is, concretely, to the police... with the single exception of the class in which the case is viewed as private business. However, this in no way infers that such recourse reflects a "cost/benefit" type model, in which recourse to the police is linked to the seriousness of the case, as is generally thought (Skogan 1984), since, precisely, the similar evaluation of the incident by our victims of **private** and **unimportant** cases contrasts with their differing patterns of reporting to police.

The ideological split does reappear, however: everyone lodges a complaint, but not with the same expectations. The "liberals" view it as a formality aimed, at most, at supplying a certificate of reporting for their insurance company; the others, conversely, want effective action by the criminal justice agencies. There are subtle differences, however: the **terrified** group places secondary emphasis on the instrumental objective, while victims in **unimportant** cases are likely to place some stress on repression.

If the other type of recourse, insurance, is examined, the ideological split is seen to dissolve even further. The affair is reported practically automatically by victims of car-related thefts... clearly a result of compulsory insurance. For the other thefts, the proportion of reporting drops to one out of two, except for the group that views it as private business.

3.2 Victims of Burglary

There were 281 individuals in the burglary victims sample. They were classed into 6 groups.

The **aloof** class contains 24.6 % of the sample. These victims took little interest in the incident, which hardly affected them. Their reaction was limited to having the police certify the facts, reporting the affair to their insurance, and having the damage repaired. These people are more open than the others to social change, and seem to be the least concerned with the issue of crime and its control.

This young, predominantly male group is composed essentially of middle or upper echelon white collar workers with a higher education, often working in civil service. This rich cultural and vocational endowment contrasts with their meagre, scarcely diversified estate.

Divided into participants in a religious tradition and the assertively unreligious, this group is definitely positioned on the political left (to the exclusion of the communist party); it is highly urban, living in the Paris area and the other large cities, and is socially active.

Victims of **unimportant cases** represent 17.8 % of the sample. Their burglaries are hardly worth mentioning, and they did not take any action. Although they speak of the incident in very much the same terms as the **aloof** group, and did not take action, as opposed to these, they have a somewhat different ideological profile: they are not as detached about criminal justice issues, and although they are unwaveringly liberal on societal issues they are more moderate than the **aloof** group.

This is also a young class, but one with a more varied social background than the **aloof** group, and less well culturally and vocationally endowed; fewer have a higher education, more have technical or business training, and some are blue collar workers. Their property is not very diversified, with little real estate.

These victims are not very religious, politically on the left with frequent sympathy for the socialist party, and highly sociable; they tend to live in the Paris area and particularly in Paris proper.

The people designated by us as **organized** represents 22.4 % of the sample and claim major material and sentimental damage. They feel that burglary was a violation of their intimacy, and experienced fear and violent reactions against the offender. This class, which feels particularly affected, is rather satisfied with the way criminal justice is handled, but is careful to take personal precautions of all sorts: these are viewed as complementary to public action rather than as a substitute.

These people are sensitive to the issue of crime, which frightens and worries them. They are concerned with law and order, and tend to be moralistic; while they are attached to the established order, they do accept social change provided it does not call the "natural basis" of order - the state, the family, and property - into question. These are "enlightened" conservatives, so to speak, a fact that may be linked to their educational level, higher than that of the other conservative classes, and outstanding since they are quite elderly.

Most are women, often retired, with highly diversified possessions including many real estate investments, as well as valuables; many are white collar workers.

This group comes from a religious tradition that it perpetuates, has strong political commitments and positions itself from the center to the right, sometimes the extreme right, of the political scene. These victims tend to live in the large provincial cities, and have an active social life.

A fourth group is the **shocked**, 13.9 % of the sample. The losses described are not so much characterized by the material value as by the sentimental value ascribed to the stolen objects. What characterizes this class is the strong psychological impact of the burglary, their disappointment with responses by the authorities, and recourse to their own entourage and to individual solutions.

They do not share any particular stance in the abstract ideological debates, but are more in agreement on essentially concrete subjects such as the fear of being a victim, which is all-pervading in these people.

This class has the highest proportion of women and is one of the oldest: people here generally have a high school education. Their social background is modest (employees, workers, unemployed with no definite status), and they usually possess little, relatively undiversified property.

This group is not very religious and occupies an ambiguous political position: on the one hand it professes withdrawal from politics, while on the other, its sympathies go both to the center-right and to the left, expressed by the relatively strong position of the communist party. An inordinate number of these victims live in rural areas or in big cities. They do not go out much and few participate in community activities.³

The **frustrated** class contains 17.4 % of the sample. A large minority of these victims were burglarized at their place of work. The high proportion of self-employed makes it probable that these burglaries affected stores and workshops. The losses are described as having a low emotional value but a high money value. These incidents nonetheless ruffled their victims considerably, particularly since they were unsatisfied with the assistance provided by those public or private agencies whose job it is to take action (police, insurance company), despite their massive use of these.

3 "Community activities" seems to be the best approximate translation for *vie associative*. Victims were asked whether they were active members of any type of *association*: in France a 1901 Act association is a non-profit organization with any object - politics, culture, sports, religion, leisure consumerism, etc...- as long as it is not contrary to public policy.

This is a conservative group but not an extremist one; it fears for its property, and its disappointment with established institutions is such that it is inclined to condone murder committed in defence of private property.

With its predominantly male, elderly population and a low educational level, marked, as seen above, by the number of self-employed individuals, there is nothing surprising in the fact that this group possesses much real estate, especially for occupational purposes.

These victims are anxious to pass along the religious tradition that they themselves had inherited; furthermore, they profess one of two political positions: either withdrawal, refusing to take sides, or sympathetic to the right or extreme right wing (including the latter's xenophobia). They live in medium-sized towns and do not have an active social life.

The sixth and last class, called **elucidated cases**, is very small - 3.9 % of the sample - but quite coherent: it involves atypical incidents in which the protagonists were acquainted, the losses minor and emotional reactions inconspicuous.

The previous acquaintanceship between offender and victim resulted in elucidation of the case, whence the victims's satisfaction with the police.

These people are mostly concerned with crime, and their fears focus essentially on personal and ordinary property offences. They are strongly conservative, resist change, and express satisfaction with criminal justice institutions, apparently connected with this experience of victimization - the first, and therefore with no point of comparison - the outcome of which was exceptionally positive.

This class contains mostly active men of some fortune, including much real estate. They are marked by their religious upbringing, tend politically to the center and the right, and are socially active.

The analyses presented here show that burglary victims may be divided into two series of classes, with a clearcut split with respect to representations, and a rather hazy one with respect to characteristics. Further, the small group of **elucidated cases** is a hybrid.

A first, clearly identifiable aggregate contains the **aloof** and **unimportant cases** classes. These two groups react "coolly" to an incident described as unimportant. Both express a progressive view of the world and of society.

The second, composed of the **frustrated, shocked and organized**, reacts more violently and more emotionally to the incident, claimed to have caused serious moral and/or material prejudice. All are characterized by definite

social and political conservatism, more or less tainted with manicheism. Among them we find the classes heavily populated with women, retired people and other non-working people (**shocked** and **organized**).

Last, the class of **elucidated cases**, a special case, is close to the conservatism of the latter block, although it professes much cooler reactions to the incident than the others; this is probably because the prior acquaintanceship between offender and victim resulted in the elucidation of most incidents.

This differentiation is corroborated, overall, by political stances, which are clearly left-wing (ecologists included) for the **aloof** and **unimportant cases**, and range from the center to the extreme right for the others (it should be recalled that the **shocked** group is the only one with relative sympathy for the communist party). The **elucidated cases** group does not differ from the conservative block in this respect.

The dividing line in representations definitely coincides with that of age and place of residence: the **aloof** and victims of **unimportant cases** are younger and most live in Paris, the Paris area and the regional metropolises. By contrast, the victims in the other four classes are older and tend to live outside of these areas.

The agreement is less patent for educational level: while it is higher, on the whole, on the progressive side, for reasons linked to age, the opposite block does contain one class, the **organized**, with a similar level despite their greater age.

The distribution of property between the two entities calls for a remark of the same type. It is less diversified, on the whole, for progressives than for conservatives, but the latter include one class, the **shocked**, whose level of diversification is the lowest of all.

The distinctions between the two are further clouded over when their occupational situation is examined: only the self-employed are definitely on the conservative side (in the **frustrated** group). Conversely, all categories of wage-earners are over-represented on both sides. Nevertheless, executives may be divided into those working in the public sector, who tend to be "progressive", and those in the private sector, who are conservative.

The ideological split also broadly follows the same lines as the intensity of the emotional reaction to burglary: on the progressive side people are calm, on the other they are much more upset (except, again, for the **elucidated cases** group). Further, the former view their losses as unimportant, whereas the latter generally consider them to be serious, either because of their great money value (the **frustrated**) or because of their sentimental

value (the **shocked**), or again, for a mixture of moral and material prejudice (the **organized**). Here too, the victims of **elucidated cases** stand apart, as closer to victims with liberal tendencies.

The distribution of multiple victimization is quite surprising: there is, tendentially, an over-representation of miscellaneous multiple victimizations among "progressives", whereas conservative groups contain an excessive number of victims of single or repeated burglaries, as though victims who were particularly impressed by the incident under discussion were inclined to "forget", so to speak, earlier incidents of a different nature.

Conversely, the ideological dividing line does not coincide with differences in solutions chosen by victims. Just as in thefts, but slightly less frequently, on the whole, everyone turns to the police, except for those who describe their case as unimportant. But in contrast with the findings for theft victims, the reasons for appealing to the police do not parallel the ideological split: only one of the five classes who turn to the police - the **shocked** - differs: whereas all of the others hope for reparation, the latter want help for themselves and punishment for the culprit.

Nor does recourse to insurance parallel ideological differences. The **unimportant case** group is unique in that it refrains from reporting the incident; these people did not turn to the police either, since they viewed the affair as private business. The other classes usually reported the incident to their insurance, to the same extent, broadly, as they claimed serious losses.

The question of precautions taken consecutive to the incident also crosses ideological lines: unlike the safety-minded **organized** and **shocked** groups, the **frustrated** do not attempt to protect themselves, and so are closer to the "progressive" side of the sample.

Two other highly contrasting types of recourse are often encountered in burglary cases; these are, most importantly, calling in specialized firms to repair the damage done during the incident, and secondly, turning to one's familiars for comfort, advice or assistance. Recourse to repairmen is probably essentially dependent on the actual circumstances, and is mostly resorted to by the **aloof** and **organized**, as well as by victims of **elucidated cases**. On the other hand, it is the **shocked** - predominantly women - and slightly less often the **organized**, older people, who turn to their familiars.

After these two series of analyses, conducted on victimizations and victims of thefts and burglaries, one element of a conclusion stands out. Two registers may be seen to take shape, at least tendentially: one involving concrete solutions, generally adopted in accordance with the logic of the

situation; the other involving subjective repercussions governed by ideological orientations and social position (through some mediations). The way in which they combine is not commanded by any requisite: two similar approaches may be grounded in highly contrasting emotional and intellectual understandings of the situation, and correspond to widely differing expectations... a fact which is not devoid of consequences. Police inaction for example - which, as has been seen, is quasi-general in these cases - is unimportant to the "cool" plaintiff for whom reporting is simply a formality, whereas it may be a serious problem for someone who is strongly affected by the material and symbolic loss of possessions, and wants effective attention to be given to his/her victimization.

3.3 Victims of Physical Assault

This population - numbering 164 individuals - was divided into five classes of very different size.

The largest group (60.4 % of the sample) has been called the **minor incidents with settlement**. These victims have in common the insignificance of the incident, to which they may have reacted violently but fleetingly, and which they did not report to the police. When the police did take action, it was not at the victim's request.

These people are somewhat sensitive to criminal justice issues, but their tone is moderate. Along with a penchant for law and order, these victims actually have a definitely moderate Weltanschauung.

The most marked shared characteristic of this class is its youthfulness; high school and college students are over-represented, and they have already received much schooling and lead a very active social life.

This is also an urban class, living either in Paris or in small towns. Their political positions are contrasted: either they favor the left-wing political positions, including the communist party, or express a marked affinity for the extreme right.

The **aggressive** class contains 20.7 % of the sample. These are people who have been seriously assaulted by an unknown individual; they seem to have been greatly affected, did not receive any outside help, which they resent strongly, and their only recourse was to the police, actually to no avail.

This traditionalist, manichean, moralistic group, extremely sensitive to the issues raised by crime and its control, seems to react aggressively both to deviant individuals and to the established institutions.

Retired people and the self-employed are particularly frequent in this elderly, predominantly female and poorly educated class. The prevalent assertion of disinterest in politics is belied only by some center-right sympathies. This too is an urban class, but with a tendency to reside in the Parisian suburbs and in the large provincial cities.

The **requests for help** group is formed of 13.4 % of victims. The assault was often accompanied by robbery, and was usually quite serious, since there was attendant physical injury along with material losses. These victims were frequently, sometimes lastingly affected; having turned to their familiars, and called the police, they nonetheless feel that, in the last analysis, they received no effective help.

Although this class is not really ideologically homogeneous, it definitely differs from the rigidity of the aggressive group. Its social composition is also different: mostly male, with a high school or technical-business education, it contains many unemployed, upper echelon white collar workers and blue collar workers, but no self-employed at all. It is socially active.

These victims possess the smallest fortune of all. Their political options place them in the center of the French political landscape.

This overview of victims of physical assault would not be complete without reference to those few people who do not correspond to the abovementioned classes. Detailed analysis of their situation is hindered by their small numbers (9 cases), compounded by the existence of a subdivision into two classes, one of 6 individuals, the other of 3. Nevertheless, the fact that typological analysis persistently sets them apart is indicative of a specificity that cannot be overlooked.

Recourse to the police, which was successful, since the police investigation identified the offender, is a source of satisfaction for these people. And this is actually what differentiates these victims from all others, whence their name: **solved cases**.

Aside from this shared factual element, these two small groups have nothing in common: the smaller of the two was affected more intensely and lastingly by the violence - in fact, the victims subsequently acquired weapons. Their fears mostly involve property offences (their possessions are highly diversified) and they voice concern over the problem of crime. They are highly critical of the criminal justice system, resist change and express a strong demand for law and order.

In the last analysis, victims of violence may be divided into two blocks: the largest, **minor incidents with settlement** contrasts with all of the others. This split is grounded in the extent of the harm caused and the type of recourse:

- the **minor incidents** class is characterized by a lower frequency of severe incidents and lack of recourse to the police;
- conversely, the other classes combine severe harm and constant - but not necessarily exclusive - recourse to the police.

There is no clearcut difference in social characteristics, generally speaking, with a single exception: the **minor incidents** class is considerably younger and more educated than the others. Ideologically speaking, one element points to relatively progressive affinities: this is the only group that sees crime as caused by unemployment, an opinion which our data shows to be consistently linked with a liberal ideological orientation.

The **aggressive, requests for help** and **solved cases** groups do not form a homogeneous whole, however, and social and ideological features again constitute a secondary dividing line.

The **aggressive** people who had such negative reactions to assault seem much more rigid and frightened than victims **requesting help**. Although the latter seem to be just as deeply affected, their youthfulness, work and social activity apparently provide resources which enable them to avoid the former's infuriation.

The two other subgroups in this whole, the **solved cases** groups - inasmuch as they may be characterized, given their small numbers - apparently correspond to that fraction of the **aggressive and requests for help** groups for which police action was effective and satisfactory.

3.4 Victims of Domestic Violence

Because of the small size of this sample of victims of domestic violence (41 individuals), use of the same automatic classification technique was impossible here. For this reason, a simplified process was applied, but the same approach was retained: the effort to understand what victims tell us about the incident, in the light of their social representations and characteristics.

Groups of victims were identified on the basis of a number of features pertaining to the incident: presence or absence of lasting consequences for health, and/or of lasting fear - previous analyses (*Zauberman* 1991) had

shown that it is among victims of domestic violence that both of these are most frequent -; presence or absence of reporting to police, since reporting apparently was a relevant indicator of greater seriousness or of the reaching of a saturation point for the third of victims who resorted to it.

We have grouped these variables into one complex variable constituting an indicator of felt seriousness of the event. This variable was broken down into three categories, unambiguous as to their meaning and containing enough individuals to bear analysis:

- no lasting fear, nor consequences for health, no reporting to police: these are **benign** cases (n = 18);
- lasting fear, consequences for health and reporting to police: these are the truly **serious** cases (n = 7);
- lasting fear, consequences for health, but no reporting to police: these are the **in-between** cases (n = 7).

It is this specific construction of this variable which was then cross-tabulated with others - with the other variables pertaining to the incident, to complete the description, with the ideological variables and the social characteristics, to determine the background - using the same approach as with the classes obtained by dynamic clusters in the other samples.

The last point to be mentioned in these introductory remarks is the problem raised by the interpretation of these cross-tabulations, given the small size of the groups. None of our analyses could be legitimated by satisfactory representivity: not for the **benign** cases, and even less for the **serious** and **in-between** cases. However, the small size of certain groups should not, as a matter of principle, preclude interpretation, insofar as the existence of rare events is conceivable. This led us to a composite interpretative method, combining an approach based on the significant over-representations and a more qualitative reading of the lesser over-representations when these contributed to a meaningful description of any group. Perhaps this may be termed the systematization of qualitative observations...

The victims of **benign** cases tell us about minor violence, the course, outcome and impact of which they had been particularly successful in controlling, especially by talking to and negotiating with their aggressor. And yet these people, more than any others, claim to have been victims of many, varied offences.

In their opinions on broader issues these victims seem to be relatively detached, as well. Although they are concerned with crime as a social issue, they are not at all inclined to be fearful, and their desire for law and order does not reach the point of a tense defence of morality or of property.

It should be noted that, more than in any other group, these victims tend to be men, often young, a fact that helps them endure their misfortune more light-heartedly, particularly since they are not particularly underprivileged: they have received a higher education and are socially active.

This is a very urban group, living in the Paris area and in the large regional metropolises, and is the only one to express left-wing political sympathies.

The victims of **serious** assaults are worthy of attention, although they number only 7, since their features converge to form a perfectly coherent picture: described, a priori, as the exact opposite of victims of minor assaults (lasting consequences for health, as well as lasting fear, reporting to police), they also differ considerably from them from other standpoints.

These serious assaults, occasionally with weapons, in which the victim could neither fight back nor negotiate, suffered both material losses and physical injury, and was obliged to call the police, were experienced as harrowing. Consequently, these victims took measures to avoid their repetition: they sought help from intimates, turned to lawyers, probably in connection with a divorce. This "dramatic" tale is told against a backdrop of much more tension-fraught social representations than in the **benign** cases.

Manicheism, social and political conservatism - their political preferences range from the center to the right - fear of crime, especially when property - with which they are well endowed - is threatened, high proportion of women, secondary or technical/business education, rural habitat and low sociability form a whole that contrasts with the picture of victims of minor assaults.

There are also 7 cases in the group **in-between** the above two. These involve acts of violence that affected health seriously and generated fear, both lasting, but for which the police was not called in. Often the incident was unprecedented, but the offender occasionally was armed, and there were sometimes material losses, calls for help, attempts to escape, a feeling of powerlessness and a lasting violent reaction against the aggressor, all of which indicate a pattern that is less inconsequential than that of the former group, but less fraught with drama than the latter one.

These affairs are serious in some respects, then, but actually were dealt with privately, a fact that clearly differentiates them from the **serious cases**. The ideological pattern here is nevertheless very similar to the latter, but possibly slightly more conservative.

These victims are characterized by nostalgia, firmly anchored in a past described as highly moral, and strong manicheism; furthermore, they are extremely sensitive to the issue of crime: they accumulate fears, but place no trust whatsoever in the criminal justice system.

This group is composed solely of women, almost all housewives but from a working class or employee background. They tend to be rather poor, to have an elementary school education, are socially withdrawn and express right-wing sympathies.

Aside from the rapid description of these three types, what overview may be drawn from our findings?

While observation of the incident-related variables corroborates the polarization of the first two types on opposite ends of an axis going from benign to serious, it does not clearly locate the third group on either side. In some respects it has affinities with the serious group, through a number of elements in the offender/victim interaction that made for a rather dramatic event: weapons, material losses, escape, calls for help, feeling of powerlessness, subsequent intimidation by the offender are not infrequent. In fact, victims of **in-between** cases like those of **serious** incidents have lasting aggressive feelings toward the offender.

By other features the intermediate cases are closer to the **benign** pole, however, but further information is probably required, here: there were practically never any injuries to a third party, and the victims less often lost confidence in their fellow men. What else may be seen? Both these victims and those with **benign** cases kept the affair to themselves, by not reporting it - by definition - to the police, since they viewed it as a private matter, but also by not appealing to anyone else, neither to the law nor to relatives or friends. While such recourse is viewed as pointless in the **benign** cases, it rather seems to be painful for the victims of intermediate cases, who are apparently unable to attempt negotiation, and are subjected to attempts at intimidation by the offender. This would corroborate their location on the **serious** pole; simply, these are serious cases that have not - or not yet? - received a solution.

This resemblance is confirmed by the variables pertaining to ideology, as well as to social practices and status. Victims of **serious** and **in-between** cases identify with the same ideological frame of reference, including

traditionalism, manicheism, demand for law and order, fear of and concern about crime. They are similar in that both are composed mostly of women living in rural areas, past the prime of life, with a religious background and not much social life, asserting right-wing political convictions, with many low echelon workers and/or people with no occupation.

There are some limits to this resemblance, however, and on some points the intermediary group is ideologically closer to the "benign" group: these people have some doubts as to the work ethic, place less emphasis on the defence of private property than the more propertied victims of serious cases, and believe that crime is caused by unemployment. This similarity (which crosses the barrier of their educational differences, since the latter had usually attended elementary school only, whereas the former were the sole beneficiaries of a higher education) may have something to do with the fact that both benign and in-between groups own little property.

3.5 Victims of Violations of Laws Protecting Consumers

People who claim to have been victim of this type of offence are rather distinctive, socially speaking: they are young, urban white collar workers (*Zauberman & Robert* 1990), and in addition, they are the best educated group in our entire study, as well as the group in which middle management, and especially the public and social sectors, are most heavily represented, those most identified with the political left wing and most active in their community. They are strongly reminiscent of the group which *Ocqueteau* and *Perez-Diaz*, in their research on representations of crime, call the champions of "social beingness", and who are, precisely, specially sensitive to consumer-related issues (1989, p. 223).

Over and beyond this general description, however, typological analysis divided these 295 survey participants who claimed to be victims of consumer-related frauds into four classes.⁴

The class called calm negotiators contains 13.9 % of the sample. These victims describe slight losses, which hardly affected them and which were often settled directly; despite this, they are quite often reserved as to the effectiveness of their efforts. These mild reactions coincide with ideological flexibility, in which issues pertaining to crime are not central.

4 Automatic classification actually determined 8 classes, but 4 of these were too small to be analysed. The 4 classes analysed therefore represent 97.6 % of the sample.

Predominantly composed of active, youthful men with a higher education, this group contains an inordinate proportion of employees, on the one hand, and of executives, on the other hand. Along with this relatively heterogeneous social composition we find a relative diversity of possessions; political preferences go to the moderate left wing, and this is where the ecologists have their highest score. These are people who live in Paris, the Paris area or the regional metropolises, and are the group that goes out most.

The **worried negotiators** represent 19 % of the sample. Here too, the incidents are minor and seem to have been settled by a compromise with the offender; in fact, this is the class in which solutions of this type were apparently most effective. And yet, these victims are more frightened by crime than the previous group, and do not express the same emotional detachment with respect to the incident, although they were more frequently successful in dealing with it. But this concern, as expressed essentially in their general societal representations, actually takes the form of a demand for a modicum of social order, and hardly ever by unbending resistance to change.

Two age groups are typical of this class: the youngest and the oldest victims, and they are distinguished by two occupational categories: the self-employed and executives. They often enjoyed a higher education. Their possessions are diversified, with real estate in the hands of the self-employed. These victims are marked by their religious background and intent on transmitting their beliefs; they claim political sympathies either for the center and center-right or for the communist left.

Like the other negotiators, they live in Paris, the Paris area and other large cities, and like them they go out often, but they differ in that they are involved in community activities.

The third class, termed **consumerist**, contains 28.1 % of these victims. These people speak of substantial losses and of a permanent loss of faith in their fellow human beings. They actively seek recourse, turn to lawyers, those around them and above all, consumer groups, but are never totally satisfied by these, any more than by their attempts at direct settlement. Actually, they do not find any solution effective.

This class, united by the losses/recourse pattern, is not ideologically unified. It has a slightly higher proportion of women than the others, more people working in middle management in the public sector, and is one of the two classes with varied estate. It differs somewhat - but only slightly - in its political positioning in the center, and its rural habitat (counteracted by a group of large-city dwellers). Its social life is mostly concentrated on participation in community activities.

Last, the **apathetic** group is the largest of all (36.6 %). These victims were affected by the incident, but showed very little corollary activity aimed at reaching a solution.

This strong emotional reaction is backed up by an ideological structure in which manicheism and xenophobia coalesce into a strong demand that the state protect law and order.

These are elderly people, few of whom have received a higher education, and also particularly rich in unemployed or retired individuals, and even more, in workers. It is not surprising, then, that they own the least property of all. They live in small towns, and have a limited social life. These are the only generalizations that can be made about their social features, however: there is nothing specific about their religious or political positions.

This analysis differentiates three entities which each possess a relatively distinct combination of losses, recourse, reactions and specific defining features.

There is a first split between the **consumerist** victims and the others, since the former claim considerable losses. They are not inclined to direct settlement, and tend to turn to consumer groups and secondarily to lawyers. Technical or business training and middle management positions, often in the public sector, complete the portrait of a class whose ideological contours are relatively vague, aside from its slight resistance to change.

The other victims claim minor losses, but differ as to their reactions and the type of action taken.

In the entity formed by the two **negotiator** classes, an effort is made to solve what is considered an unimportant conflict by a compromise with the offender, and the **worried** are in fact more successful in doing so than the **calm** group. Despite this, the former are more touchy about the issue of crime, and tend more to express an outright, principled demand for law and order.

This aggregate is also characterized by its higher education and its urban residence, but is nevertheless socially somewhat heterogeneous, since executives and low-level white collar workers may be found alongside of self-employed individuals (the latter are infrequent, however).

Last, the **apathetic** class is defined by both a strong emotional response to an incident that is rarely serious, and by a total lack of recourse. This group in which working class is overrepresented least well culturally and financially endowed, and has conservative, manichean and law-and-order oriented social representations.

4. Conclusion

The questions raised in the introduction have been answered: within each category of victimization, specific types may be found. These are defined both by the nature of the incidents, the reactions, the behavior and the social and ideological positions of the victims. However, the variables which draw the dividing lines are not necessarily the same for the different types of victimizations. For instance, victims of thefts and burglaries are structured into rather coherent groups with well-defined general attitudes. For victims of other offences, the attitudinal patterns may play a more or less important role in defining classes, but these are subsidiary to the "factual" variables. Similarly, within some types of victimization, certain classes are more ideologically coherent than others.

Several sorts of split patterns may be described for the victimizations studied here. A first model apparently applies to both thefts and burglaries: it sets apart those groups of violently reacting victims, who attach great importance to the incident. It should be clear that this split does not condition behavior - everyone, or nearly everyone, lodges a complaint, and turns to their insurance company if the losses are serious enough - it pertains only to the way the incident is experienced.

In each of these strongly reacting groups, there are, in France, certain occupational categories - such as retired people, housewives or the self-employed - which, although relatively untouched by crime, express feelings of great insecurity (*Robert 1990*).

In other words, it seems that in this type of victimization, one category of victims tends to react in a highly ideological way rather than in a "functional" manner. Urban victimization surveys, analysed using somewhat different techniques, have also shown ideological variables to be operational in the significant splits among victims of property offences (*Robert & Zauberman 1991*, pp. 77). Although this "ideologization" does not make them act differently, it does lead them to place highly specific expectations in their recourse: they lodge complaints like everyone else, but with a much more acute desire for punishment.

This type of reaction is certainly indicative, in some way, of the increase in emphasis placed on property and estate in the past decade. For one thing, these values now seem to be held by groups other than their traditional champions, and some sociologists view the "middle classes" as henceforth

constructed around an "estate effect" (*Capdevielle* 1986). On criminal justice issues, however, this specific sensitivity is limited to some well-defined groups but, strikingly enough, recent research on French people's priorities for repression finds them both in a "repressive-punitive" hard core and among those individuals who are particularly concerned with the repression of property offences (*Ocqueteau & Perez-Diaz* 1989, pp. 175, pp. 221).

Perhaps the French debate on insecurity and criminal justice policies is at least partially rooted in this contradiction between heightened reactions and ineffective complaints.

Ideology alone does not saturate the stories of victims of any but the most commonplace victimizations.

Differences between assault victims follow another pattern, in which the main split is operated by the nature of the incident and the type of action taken. First of all, reactions depend on the extent of damage, and this is what mainly determines whether or not the victim files suit. However, ideological splits - although less marked than in the model described above- may be seen among victims of ordinary violence who judged the offence serious enough to justify reporting it to the police. These differences seem to be backed up by sociological factors: resourcefulness derived from youthfulness, occupation and sociability apparently helps people to relativize incidents, however serious.

For victims of domestic violence, in which the question of recourse was a preliminary criterion for the definition of groups, ideological and social dividing lines are also seen. There is a constantly disconcerting concomitance between descriptions of the affair as minor by individuals with privileged social positions and proclaiming progressive political and ideological views, on the one hand, and on the other, dramatic tales told by the socially dominated, using conservative political and ideological categories.

In consumer-related cases, the range of reactions follows another, somewhat different pattern. Here, the splits involve both the way in which the victim experiences the incident - with their general attitudes as a backdrop - and the types of outcome sought: direct settlement, action by a consumer defence organization, or nothing at all. Although the definition of the groups is pervaded with factual elements, some social groupings stand out, here too less clearcut than for the "theft-burglary" types but nonetheless showing some recurrent patterns of attitudes: dominated people tending to be conservative, who are irritated but do nothing; liberal white collar workers who attempt to defend themselves. Here too, there may be a comparison with research on French priorities for repression: however vague their definition,

these groups resemble those with the highest score of priority to punishment of consumer-related offences (*Ocqueteau & Perez-Diaz* 1989, pp. 186, pp. 210).

To summarize, in stories of consumer-related offences, some elements of more universal ideological debates may now be identified. That they be found with respect to theft and violence, which may be termed "street crime", was not surprising. In France, the State has been in charge of protecting private property and individuals for a very long time, and any overly conspicuous lapse - the practically total ineffectiveness of criminal justice agencies in all suits involving individual victims has ended up being just that - any overly conspicuous lapse in this obligation tied to sovereignty may lead to the reinstatement of a fundamental public debate on the right and duty to punish, and consequently on right and wrong in general, social change, the relevance of the established order and over and beyond this, the relations between the citizen and the State.

But what is new here is that these debates arise in connection with consumer-related victimizations, and this sufficiently corroborates the fact that the high proportion of people claiming to have been victims of these - as high as for burglary (*Zauberman & Robert* 1990, p. 138) - is not deceptive. Public opinion is gradually assimilating consumer-related frauds with victimization. In fact, the seriousness with which it is viewed increases with time: it is more strongly disapproved, and by larger portions of the French population than was the case no more than fifteen years ago (*Ocqueteau & Perez-Diaz* 1990, p. 270).

French victimization surveys depict victims as extremely varied and many-sided. This research may have something to contribute to criminal justice policy-making. A monolithic policy, unable to take this diversity of experience into consideration cannot be successful. The same is true of any victim-centered policy that is not an integral part of a larger array of governmental policies.

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Fear of Crime

- Interim Results of a Finnish National Survey -

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1. Introduction

This report on fear of crime is based on an extensive national interview survey carried out by the Central Statistical Office of Finland in 1988. It presents survey findings concerning the adult population of Finland, measuring their fear of and concern over being the victims of violent and property crime, and depicting the precautions they have taken in order to avoid victimization. The report is a by-product of the main survey which measured the incidence of victimization to accidents, violence and property crimes. The main survey is presented in greater detail in another article appearing in this collection, written by *Aromaa* and *Sirén* (see also *Heiskanen et al.* 1990; *Heiskanen & Lähtilä* 1990).

2. Method

In the project entitled "Safety of Finns 1988", data on victimization to accidents, violence and property crimes were collected by interviewing a national sample of the adult (15 years and older) population. The questionnaire also contained the following five questions that were used to elucidate concern over being the victim of crimes and the precautions that are taken in order to avoid victimization:

1. Is there near your home, within a radius of approximately one kilometer, an area where you don't want to walk alone late in the evening or at night?
2. How worried are you of the possibility that:
 - someone will break into your home and steal something?
 - someone is going to assault you at night outside of your home?
 - someone is going to make sexual approaches to you or to rape you (women only)?
3. Are you ever worried about the possibility that a family member or a close acquaintance would be a victim of violence when being out at night?
4. For whom are you worried in particular?

5. Have you taken some precautionary measures in order to avoid being the victim of a crime at home or outside of your home?
 - do you use a security chain in the entrance door to your home?
 - do you usually double-lock the door when leaving home?
 - is there a special security lock in the door of your home that you use regularly if leaving your home for a longer period of time?
 - do you leave the lights on if the home is left empty for a longer period of time?
 - is your property marked to facilitate identification?
 - do you use a burglar alarm or other alarm device? (not a fire alarm)
 - have you participated in a self-defence training course?
 - have you taken some other precautions against being a victim of violence? (If so, what precautions?)

This report presents the main results of the survey. In addition, we describe the variations of concern over crime across population categories.

Fear of crime is a phenomenon that is difficult to measure. The questions used here have been modified from examples used in other countries (cf. e.g. *van Dijk et al.* 1990, Annex D). They refer to limited types of crime only, and the results may not be generalized to concern all crime. In respect of violence, for instance, the questions only concern fear of being the victim of violence outside of the home. Violence at home is excluded from the analysis. Violence at home is, to a great extent, violence that occurs within couple relationships, and that mostly concerns women. In so-called street violence, the victims are more often men than women.

The respondents also relate this kind of questions to their present life situation and to events taking place in their everyday environment. Therefore, for example a well-publicized crime in the neighbourhood may bring about an increased degree of fear.

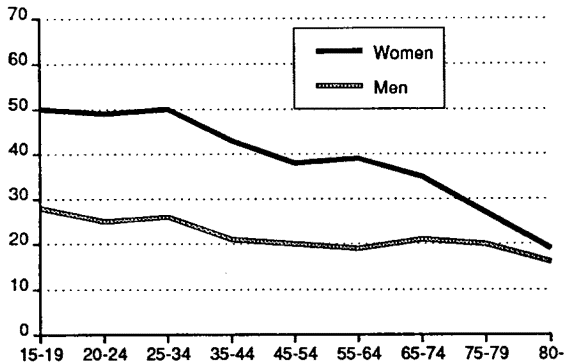
In this text, concern, worry and fear of crime have been used as interchangeable synonyms. The alternative answers to the questions regarding worry have been graded into "very worried" and "somewhat worried".

3. Results

3.1 Fear of Street Violence

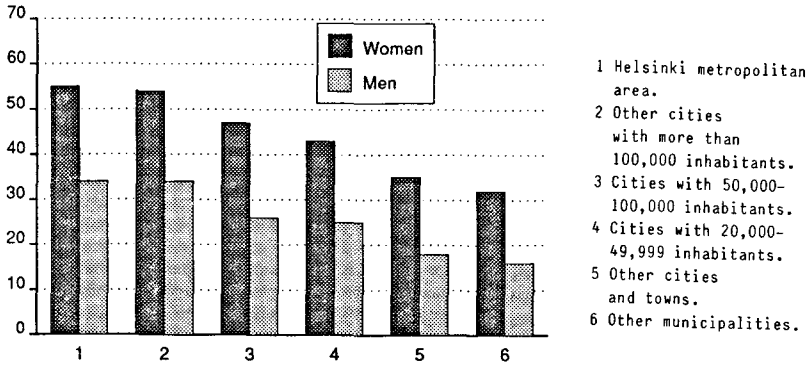
In this connection, fear of street violence was assessed by asking questions regarding fear of victimization at night outside of the home (question 2). Of women, 42 per cent, and of men, 22 per cent were worried about being a victim of this. Across age groups, those younger than 35 years were more worried than the older respondents. This holds true for both sexes (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Being worried about being the Victim of Violence at Night Outside of the Home, by Sex and Age 1988 (%)



In large cities, the fear of street violence was greater than in the other parts of the country. Of the residents in the Helsinki metropolitan region and in cities with more than 100 000 inhabitants, more than half of the women and one third of the men were worried about being the victim of street violence. In cities with more than 20 000 inhabitants, the proportion of those expressing fear of street violence was almost ten percentage points lower both for women and for men. Of the residents of other towns and municipalities, only one woman out of three and 16 per cent of the men were afraid of violence (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Being worried about being the Victim of Violence at Night outside of the Home, by Sex and Size of the Locality of Residence 1988 (%)



The proportion of those expressing fear of street violence was lowest among the oldest respondents. The low level of fear among those older than 74 years may be a consequence of their patterns of time use. Old people seldom move outside at night and may therefore not consider themselves as belonging to the group at risk.

The degree of fear is low also among farmers. Of them, 14 per cent said they were worried about being victimized.

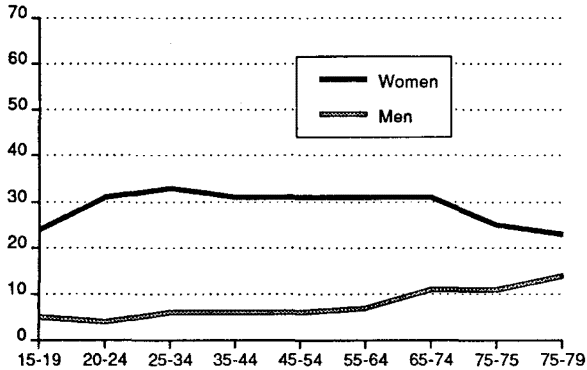
3.2 Fear of Moving outside of the Home

In response to the question on being unwilling to walk outside of the home, within the radius of one kilometer, alone late in the evening or at night (question 1), the percentages of those giving affirmative answers were smaller than above. The questions also measure different phenomena: this question refers to how safe the respondents feel their own home area to be, whereas the previous question refers to all areas in which the respondent moves. In general, people will be likely to feel the risk to be higher in the central parts of densely populated areas and not so much in their familiar home neighbourhoods.

Of the women, 30 per cent were not willing to walk in the evening in their home neighbourhood; of the men, the corresponding figure was only

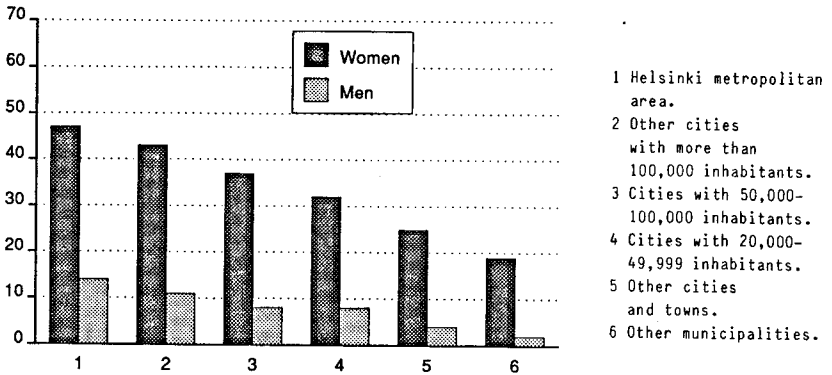
six per cent. Among the men older than 64 years, the proportion of those who were unwilling to walk at night in their home neighbourhood was higher than among younger men (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Unwillingness to walk in the Home Neighbourhood alone late in the Evening or at Night, by Sex and Age 1988 (%)



Also according to the responses to this question, fear was more widespread in large cities than in smaller cities and other municipalities. Of the women living in the Helsinki metropolitan area or in cities with more than 100 000 inhabitants, nearly one-half gave an affirmative answer to this question; for men it was a little over one out of ten. Correspondingly, of the women living in other municipalities, one out of five knew of an area in their home neighbourhood where they did not want to walk alone at night, and of the men only two per cent (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Unwillingness to walk in the Home Neighbourhood alone late in the Evening or at Night, by Sex and Size of the Locality of Residence 1988 (%)



3.3 The Reasons for being afraid to walk alone in the Home Neighbourhood

A sample of those who were unwilling to walk alone in their home neighbourhood at night (question 1) were also asked why they were unwilling to do so. Table 1 presents the results.

More than half of the respondents (52 %) named a concrete population group that was perceived to threaten his/her safety. Such groups were juveniles, alcoholics, and other population groups who were felt to be disquieting: sexual offenders, violent offenders, sexual minorities or the unemployed.

A response was classified as referring to non-specific fear if the respondent was unable to name the specific reason for his or her fear, and the fear was instead expressed as a general emotional state. An example is the answer "All kinds of violent incidents may occur in the neighbourhood". In such cases, the fear of violence, as well as of property crimes, also seems to be connected with non-criminal disorder in public places, such as drunks, gangs, or traffic noise. These may be interpreted as signs of crime regardless of the real crime level (*Hough & Mayhew 1985, p. 39*). Similarly, the feeling of insecurity apparent in the response may express the mental picture the respondent has of his or her home neighbourhood as a living environment (*Waller 1983, p. 99*).

Table 1: Reasons for Unwillingness to walk in the Home Neighbourhood within a Radius of about one Kilometer, alone late in the Evening or at Night 1988 (%)

Total	100
Juvenile violence	14
Alcoholics	9
Other population groups felt to be disquieting	29
Non-specific fear	13
Fear of darkness	20
Other	15
Number of answers	889

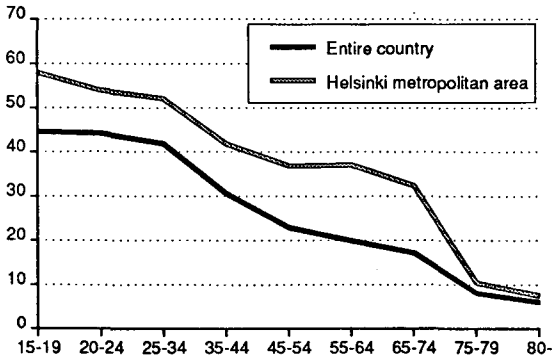
"Fear of darkness" and "other reasons" need not necessarily be connected with fear of crime. Fear of darkness may mean that darkness itself is feared, or that darkness is believed to increase the risk of being a victim of violence. "Other reasons" encompass those answers that fall completely outside the scope of the survey, such as fear of nature or animals, and ambiguous answers.

If the answers classified in the two last categories are omitted, the percentage of those afraid of street violence (question 1) drops from eighteen to twelve per cent (from thirty to nineteen among women and from six to five per cent among men).

3.4 The Fear of Sexual Harassment and Rape among Women

Nearly one out of three (30 %) women interviewed said they were afraid of being subjected to sexual harassment or rape (question 2). The degree of fear was highest among those younger than 35 years, of whom over forty per cent were afraid. The percentage of those afraid declines with age (Figure 5).

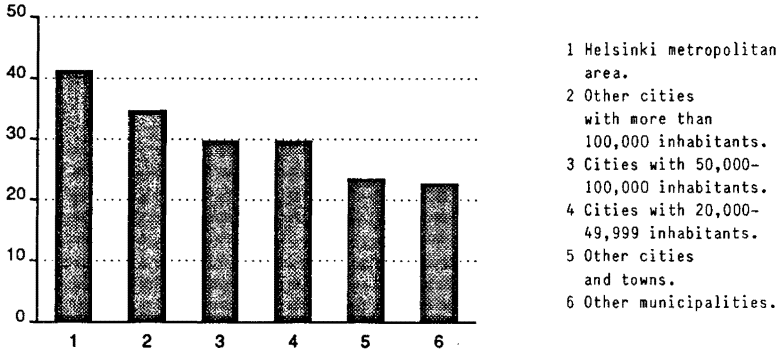
Figure 5: The Degree of Fear of being subjected to sexual Harassment or Rape, among Women, by Age, in the Helsinki metropolitan Area and in the entire Country 1988 (%)



In Finland, about one-half of one per cent of women at least 16 years old were the victim of sexual harassment, rape or attempted rape in 1988 (*van Dijk et al. 1990, p. 33*).

In the Helsinki metropolitan area, over 40 per cent of the women were afraid of being a victim of sexual harassment or rape, while the corresponding proportion was less than one-fourth in other cities and municipalities (Figure 6).

Figure 6: The Degree of Fear of being subjected to sexual Harassment or Rape, among Women, by the Size of the Locality of Residence 1988 (%)



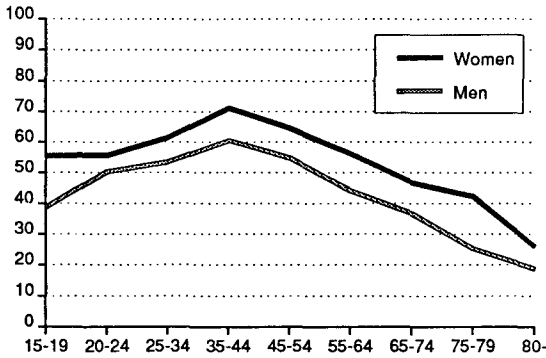
The fear of sexual harassment or rape was most widespread among women in the 15 to 19 year age bracket, among whom almost three out of five respondents were afraid of this.

3.5 Worrying about Family Members or close Acquaintances

The respondents were asked both about their fear of being personally victimized and about their worrying about the risk that their family members or close friends would be victimized (question 3). In the responses to this question, the difference between men and women was smaller than to the other questions on fear of violence. Of the women, 58 per cent, and one-half of the men, was worried that a family member or a friend would be the victim of violence.

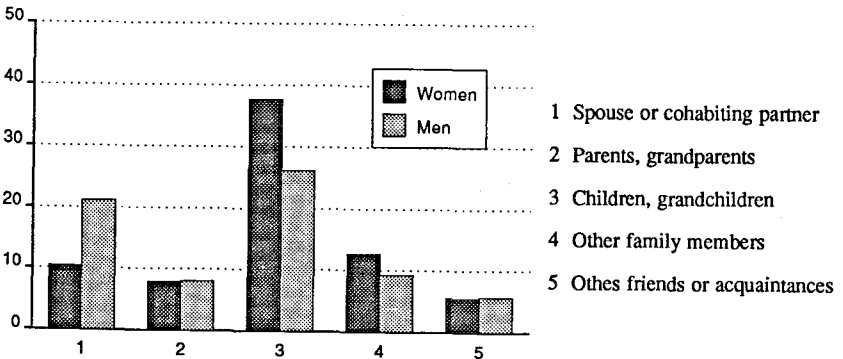
Of the different age groups, the proportion of those worried about a family member or a friend being the victim of violence was highest in the 35-44 year age bracket. Of the women in this age bracket, seven out of ten, and of the men, six out of ten said they were afraid on behalf of a close person. Their fear refers to three generations: their spouse and friends, their children, and their parents who are still living. The eldest age bracket express the least worry about this dimension of violence (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Fear that a Family Member or a Friend will be the Victim of Violence, by Sex and Age 1988 (%)



Of the women, 38 per cent, and of the men, 26 per cent are afraid on behalf of their children or grandchildren. One male respondent out of five was worried on behalf of his spouse, but only one woman out of ten was afraid that her husband or cohabiting partner might be the victim of violence (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Fear that a Family Member or a close Friend will be the Victim of Violence, by Age and the Person on whose behalf the Respondent was afraid 1988 (%)



In Figure 8, the proportions of those who were afraid have been calculated out of all men and women who were interviewed. If the number of those respondents who were worried on behalf of their spouses is calculated in proportion to those married or cohabiting, 17 per cent of the women and 32 per cent of the men are afraid that their spouse would be the victim of violence. Correspondingly, if the respondent had children who lived at home and were at school age or older, over 90 per cent of both men and women were worried about their children.

The size of the locality of the respondent's residence did not seem to have much of an effect on the degree of worry expressed by the women. For men, the size of the locality makes a difference only with regard to the question on being afraid on behalf of their spouse: of the men living in the Helsinki metropolitan area, one out of three was worried about the possibility that his spouse would be victimized.

Of the male managerial employees, one out of three was worried on behalf of his spouse, and about 40 per cent were worried on behalf of his children or grandchildren. Among women, no differences across socio-economic categories were found.

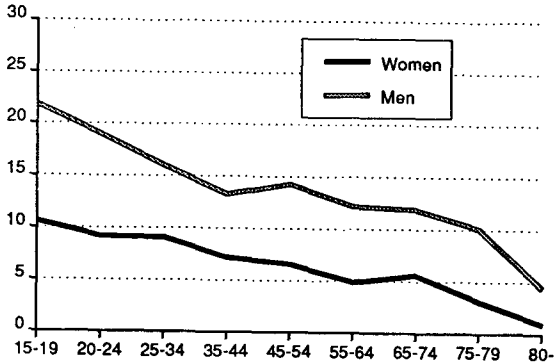
3.6 Precautions against Violence

Taking precautions to prevent crime is thought to reflect the fear of being a victim of crime or the belief that a crime may take place and that precautions are warranted.

It should be noted that when asked about self-defence training courses, part of the respondents have mentioned participation in sports (e.g., judo or karate) that need not take place explicitly in order to avoid being the victim of violence. However, "other" precautions also included measures that often are not considered to be precautions against violence as such (e.g., body-building, or obtaining a dog).

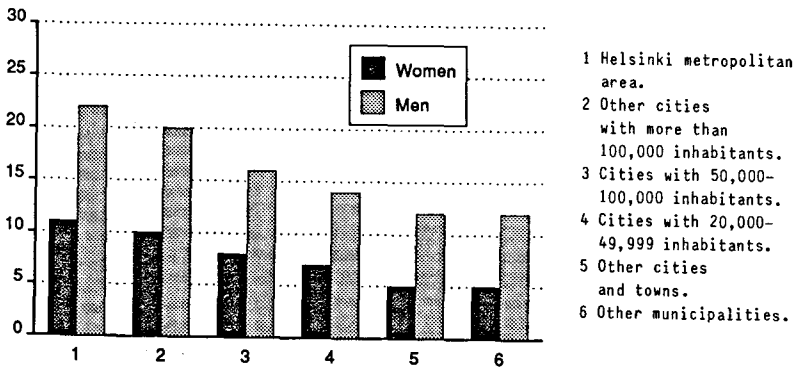
Of the men, 15 per cent, and of the women, 7 per cent said they had taken precautions against being the victim of violence either by participating in a self-defence training course or in some other way. For both sexes, those younger than 35 years old had taken some precautions more frequently than older people. Their risk of being the victim of violence was also greatest (Figure 9).

Figure 9: Taking Precautions to avoid being the Victim of Violence, by Sex and Age 1988 (%)



The proportion of those who have taken precautions in order to avoid being the victim of violence varies with the size of the locality of residence. The men living in the Helsinki metropolitan area or in other cities with more than 100 000 inhabitants took the most precautions. One out of five such men sought to protect themselves by taking some precautions. In other cities and towns, the corresponding proportion was somewhat over one in ten (12 %). For women, the corresponding proportions were one in ten and one in twenty (Figure 10).

Figure 10: Taking Precautions to avoid being the Victim of Violence, by Sex and Size of Locality of Residence 1988 (%)



Among the women, managerial employees were the occupational group that resorted to some precaution most often (11 %). Among the men, clerical employees took the lead position with over one out of five (22 %) taking some precautions. This group includes a great number of men in service occupations (e.g., guards).

Women participate very seldom in self-defence training courses. Only two per cent of the women reported taking such courses. Self-defence skills had been acquired by six per cent of the women in the 15 to 19 year age bracket, whereas no more than one per cent of the women older than 34 years had participated in a self-defence training course.

Of the men nearly one in ten (9 %) had participated in a self-defence training course. For them, the likelihood of participating in such a course varies not only with age but also with their socio-economic status: 15 per cent of clerical employees and 12 per cent of students had participated in such a course.

Six per cent of Finns seek to protect themselves against violence by some means other than self-defence training. Two per cent rely on avoiding behaviour. About one per cent have a weapon or weapon-like instrument (including firearms) that has been acquired because of the risk of crime or violence. One per cent have prepared themselves physically (e.g., body-building, or other means of keeping physically fit). The most common "other" precaution was keeping a dog.

Such other precautions were equally common in all age groups, with the exception of old people, who resorted to them least frequently.

One out of ten Finns living in the Helsinki metropolitan area sought to protect themselves against violence by some means other than by acquiring self-defence skills. Of residents of municipalities with less than 100 000 inhabitants, one out of twenty took other precautions.

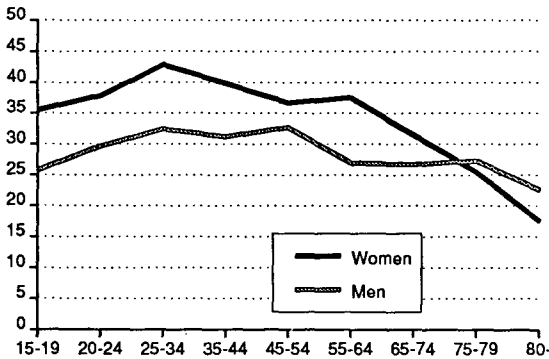
3.7 Fear of Property Crimes

The fear of property crimes was measured by asking how worried the respondent was about somebody breaking into his or her home and stealing something. One out three was at least somewhat worried about a property crime against his or her home (37 per cent of the women and 30 per cent of the men).

The women in the 25 to 34 year age bracket expressed the most worry about a burglary. Of them, 43 per cent were worried about such property

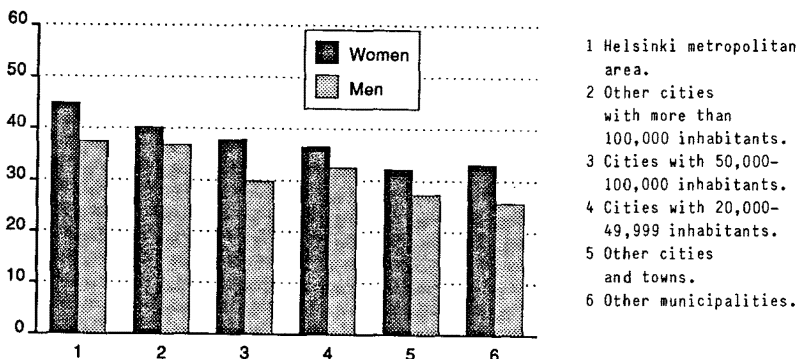
crimes. Among the men between the ages 25 to 54 years, one out of three was worried about this. The eldest respondents expressed the least fear about these property crimes (Figure 11).

Figure 11: Being worried about Someone Breaking into one's Home and Stealing something, by Sex and Age 1988 (%)



An analysis by the size of the locality of residence reveals once again that the proportion of those afraid or worried is larger in densely populated areas than elsewhere. However, the differences in the degree of fear by the size of the locality of residence were not as large with regard to property crimes as they were in the case of violence (Figure 12).

Figure 12: Being worried about Someone Breaking into one's Home and stealing something, by Sex and Size of Locality of Residence 1988 (%)

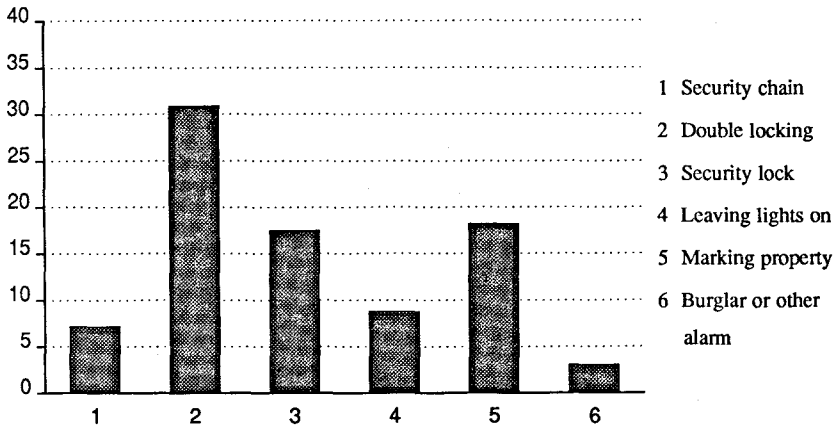


Those with the smallest incomes expressed the least worry about being the victims of such burglary. Among men, the fear of these property crimes was higher than average if the incomes (monthly gross incomes of household) were greater than 5 000 FIM (ca. 1 200 USD). Among women, the corresponding income limit was 8 000 FIM (ca. 2 000 USD).

3.8 Precautions against Property Crimes

More than half (54 %) of the adult population resorted to one or more kinds of precautions in order to protect their property. Nearly one out of three used a double lock, nearly one of five had used identification marking on their property, and one out of ten used a security chain in the entrance door to their homes or left the lights on when leaving the home for a longer period of time.

Figure 13: The Precautions taken in order to avoid being the Victim of Property Crimes 1988 (%)



In general, the proportion of those resorting to some precautions is smaller among older than younger people. The use of security chains, however, is an exception. A security chain was used by only six per cent of those in the 15 to 19 year age bracket but by 13 per cent of those older than 64 years.

When moving into the higher income brackets, property was being protected more often, no matter whether this was assessed generally (i.e. by the use of at least one measure of protection) or by the use of each type of precaution. Of those whose monthly incomes were 2 500 FIM or less (ca. 600 USD), four out of ten (38 %) resorted to some precaution, while this proportion was seven out of ten (69 %) among those whose monthly incomes were higher than 19 000 FIM (highest income bracket; ca. 5 000 USD).

The income differences were clearest in the use of security locks and identification marking of property. Only one out of ten (9 %) of those whose monthly incomes were 2 500 FIM (ca. 600 USD) or less used a security lock, whereas this device was used by one out of three (30 %) or those whose monthly incomes were higher than 19 000 FIM (ca. 5 000 USD). The corresponding percentages concerning identification marking of property were seven and 28.

The increase in the proportionate use of security precautions along with the increase in incomes has also been found in several other studies (e.g. *van Dijk & Steinmetz* 1984, p. 42; *Hough & Mayhew* 1985, p. 37).

Managerial employees were more likely than those in other socio-economic groups to use at least one precaution, and farmers were least likely to use them. At least one precaution was taken by 65 per cent of the managerial employees, but by only one out of three farmers. Exceptionally, farmers were, more than other groups, in favour of burglar alarms and other alarm devices. Of them, six per cent had installed an alarm device.

The popularity of precautions decreases along with a decrease in the size of the locality of residence. While three out of four (75 %) of those who lived in the Helsinki metropolitan area resorted to at least one security precaution, the corresponding proportion was about two out of three (63 %) in the other cities with more than 100 000 inhabitants, and somewhat over half (55 %) in the cities with 20 000 - 49 999 inhabitants. In other cities and municipalities the proportion is under one-half (46 %). An exception to this rule were identification marking of property and burglar alarms and other alarm devices, which were about equally popular in all sizes of municipalities.

3.9 Victimization and Fear of Crime

For men and women who had (during the preceding twelve months) been the victims of crimes, fear of the crime being repeated was about ten percentage points higher than the fear or worry about being victimized among those who had not been victim of crimes (Table 2).

Having been the victim of a crime does not, however, need to mean that one would also be afraid of crime. Although those who had been victimized were more often worried than those who had not, the difference was not very great.

In Table 2, items 1-4 refer to violence victims, and item 5 to victims of property crimes. In respect of being the victim of violence, it should be noted that victimization covers a much larger field (such as family violence) than do the questions concerning fear or worry, which are mainly connected with street violence situations. The respondent may have been the victim of family violence but need not be afraid of being the victim of violence outdoors at night. Also, being the victim of property crimes is often the result of crimes other than breaking into the respondent's home (e.g., bicycle theft or vandalism directed against the respondent's car).

Table 2: Fear of Crime among Victims and Non-victims, by Sex 1988 (%)

	Women Total	Victims	Non- victims	Men Total	Victims	Non- victims
1. Worried about being victim of violence	42	54	41	22	35	21
2. Unwilling to walk at night in home neighbourhood	30	42	29	6	12	6
3. Afraid of being victim of sexual violence	29	40	28	-	-	-
4. Worried on behalf of family member or friend	58	67	57	50	60	49
5. Worried about somebody breaking into home and stealing something	37	46	36	30	38	29

3.10 Victimization and Precautions against Crimes

Table 3 shows that both the female and the male victims of violence have more often taken precautions against victimization than the non-victims. The difference for women is ten, for men fifteen percentage points.

Among the male victims, the precautions are often self-defence training courses; among female victims "other precautions" are more popular.

Generally, being the victim of a property crime has no marked effect on the popularity of resorting to precautionary measures. The only exception is the use of identification marking of property: almost one victim out of three (28 %) used marking, but among the non-victims, the proportion was only 17 per cent.

Table 3: The Precautions taken by Victims and Non-victims to avoid Victimization, by Sex 1988 (%)

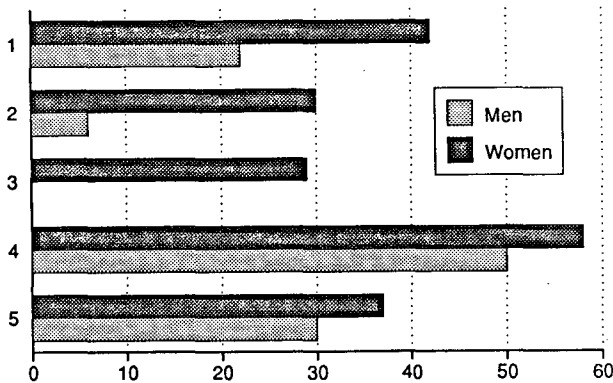
	Women Total	Victims	Non- victims	Men Total	Victims	Non- victims
1. Has taken some precaution to avoid violence	7	16	6	15	29	14
2. Self-defence training courses	2	5	1	9	19	8
3. Other precautions	6	12	5	7	13	6
4. Has taken some precaution against property crimes	54	63	53	54	59	53

4. Summary

One adult Finn out of three is afraid of being a victim of violence. About equally many are worried about being a victim of property crimes. During the preceding year, 12 per cent of the population had been victims of property crimes, and eight per cent had experienced violent incidents. The results were found in an interview survey carried out by the Central Statistical Office in 1988.

The fear of crime as well as the risk of being the victim of crimes was greatest in urban areas. Taking precautions against crimes is also most common in the Helsinki metropolitan area and in other cities with more than 100 000 inhabitants. The fear of being the victim of violence outdoors at night, or of sexual harassment or rape, as well as the risk of victimization diminish when moving from younger to older age brackets. Women more often than men are afraid of being victims of crimes, but are actually victimized less often than men.

Figure 14: Fear of being the Victim of Crimes, by Sex 1988 (%)



- 1 Worried about being the victim of violence outdoors at night
- 2 Avoids walking outside of the home alone at night
- 3 Afraid of being the victim of sexual harassment or rape
- 4 Worried on behalf of family member or friend being the victim of violence
- 5 Worried about someone breaking into home and stealing something

The respondents most worried about being the victims of violence outdoors at night were women younger than 35 years, who were living in the Helsinki metropolitan area or in other cities with more than 100 000 inhabitants.

The respondents most afraid of being the victims of sexual harassment or rape were women in the 20 to 34 year age bracket who lived in the Helsinki metropolitan area and were cohabiting. Of these respondents, 60 per cent were afraid of this particular risk.

Of all respondents, 54 per cent were worried that a family member or a close acquaintance would be the victim of violence. Of the women living in a couple relationship, 17 per cent were worried that their spouse would be the victim of violence. Of the men, 32 per cent were worried that their spouse would be the victim of violence.

Of the women, 37 per cent, and of the men, 30 per cent were worried about somebody breaking into their home. The proportion of respondents who were worried about this risk was greater in the Helsinki metropolitan area and in other cities with more than 100 000 inhabitants than in other areas.

One Finn out of ten has taken some precaution against being the victim of violence.

Over one-half of the population resorts to some kind of precautionary measure in order to protect his or her property.

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Vulnerability and Fear of Crime

Martin Killias

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1. Introduction

Since early research on victimization and fear of crime, fear has been found to be, at best, weakly related to victimization. Although the cross-sectional design of current victimization surveys does not allow the assessment of change in attitudes over time, and may even mask a significant increase in fear among victims since they may have been less fearful than non-victims before their victimization (*Skogan 1987*), fear cannot be reasonably attributed to direct experience with crime since it is much more widespread than the latter in any population (*Skogan & Maxfield 1981*). Later research has also shown fear not to be a direct consequence of media exposure (*Skogan & Maxfield 1981; Killias 1989*).

Virtually all surveys have identified much higher levels of fear among women, and frequently, although not consistently, the elderly turned out to be also more fearful. Fear has, therefore, been attributed to vulnerability (*Skogan & Maxfield 1981; Riger et al. 1978*), although a concurring explanation has been offered by *Stafford and Galle (1984)* who argued that, given their low exposure to risky situations, women and the elderly may face rather high victimization rates. Some evidence in that direction has come from the British (*Maxfield 1984a*) and the Swiss crime surveys (*Killias 1989*) concerning women and predatory crimes, but similar studies concerning the elderly have failed to identify such a correlation (*Clarke, Ekblom, Hough, & Mayhew 1985*). It might, at best, offer a partial explanation of the much higher levels of fear among women and the elderly. Thus, vulnerability seems to remain a highly relevant variable in explaining fear of crime. It has, however, been used in many different ways, and some conceptual clarification may be in order.

2. An analytical Framework of Vulnerability

Vulnerability has usually been measured using sex and age as proxy variables. Women have been said to be more fearful because they are vulnerable to sexual attacks (*Riger et al. 1978*), i.e. a serious risk which men do not normally encounter. In other contexts, the role of gender, age, and physical strength (*Riger et al. 1978, Junger 1987*) has been observed in connection with the inferiority of women, the elderly and physically weak

persons in comparison to young men and the modal assailants (*Skogan & Maxfield* 1981); here the implicit variable seems to be lack of defence and protection, or loss of control (*Skogan & Maxfield* 1981). Finally, physical attacks on elderly people and rape can produce particularly dramatic and longlasting consequences, in this case, seriousness of consequences seems to be a key variable.

In agreement with research on fear in social psychology (*Bandura* 1977) and in military settings (where fear control is crucial, *Pauchard* 1984), fear seems to depend on three key factors:

- Exposure to non-negligible risk;
- loss of control, that is, lack of effective defence, protective measures and/or possibilities of escape;
- anticipation of serious consequences.

These three factors are all necessary but, taken individually, are not sufficient conditions for the emergence of fear. Thus, there may be complex interaction effects such as those identified by *Yin* (1985) and *Warr* (1987) between risk and "sensitivity" (i.e. seriousness of consequences), or, as found by *Maxfield* (1984b) in a comparative analysis of three different neighborhoods in San Francisco, between age (as a proxy measure of vulnerability) and living in a crime-ridden area (as a proxy measure of risk). The finding that only the interaction of these three variables produces high fear levels, is consistent with findings from military settings (*Pauchard* 1984). It seems that the risk of facing enemy action does not usually produce panic reactions; however, such reactions are more likely to occur if one's own means of defence and protection are perceived as being inefficient against the expected enemy weapons, and if, in addition, the consequences of defeat are expected to be particularly dramatic (cruel treatment by enemy forces, high risk of fatalities, etc.). The same seems to be true for many other risks in daily life. For example, the risk of developing any serious disease is usually low, but it is so much more salient that it produces much higher levels of fear and protective behavior than the risk of developing a much more common, but less dramatic disease as influenza. AIDS may be particularly fear provoking, not only because of its far-reaching consequences, but also because of the unavailability of efficient treatment in current circumstances.

These observations from fields outwith criminology, may be helpful in developing a theoretical framework which will improve our understanding of fear of crime and its association with vulnerability. As we shall see, the concepts of exposure to risk, lack of control, and seriousness of con-

sequences encompass all physical, social, and situational components. This will be illustrated by looking at evidence from surveys undertaken in many different countries. An analytical framework integrating the various dimensions of vulnerability is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: An analytical Framework of Different Dimensions of Vulnerability (in Connection with Fear of Crime)

Dimensions of Vulnerability	Exposure to risk (higher in the case of...)	Seriousness of consequences (more serious in the case of...)	Loss of control (in case of an attack by a young man, not much can be done by...)
Physical factors	- Women (in connection with sexual attacks)	- Women (rape produces serious long-term consequences; rape victims often injured) - Elderly and people in bad health (consequences more serious and lasting)	- Women - Elderly - Physically vulnerable person
Social factors	- "Risky" jobs: taxi drivers, bank employees, jobs with late closing hours, prostitutes, etc.	- Victims without network of social support and/or adequate resources	- Lonely victim, especially when more than one offender - Victim of dubious reputation
Situational factors	- Residence in high crime area (or with signs of inclivity/disorder)	- Victimization (injury) in deserted area (where no help is available within reasonable time)	- Victim in deserted area (especially after dark) - Victim in area without formal or natural surveillance - Victim exposed to high risk without adequate (technical) protection

Since the focus in this article is on vulnerability, we shall not go further into the debate on how fear of crime should be operationalized. Unless stated otherwise, fear of crime will be discussed in terms of fear while walking alone at night in one's neighborhood. This measure of fear of crime has been questioned more recently (*Baumer 1978*), but it has been shown to be strongly correlated with measures of vulnerability. It also seems to be theoretically relevant in understanding the impact of different dimensions of

vulnerability upon individual attitudes (*Furstenberg 1971*). In addition, it has been used in many victimization surveys all over the world and a large number of examples can be found of its association with different measures of vulnerability.

3. The Evidence of Vulnerability and Fear of Crime

3.1 The Role of Exposure to Risk

3.1.1 *Physical Factors of Exposure to Risk*

In virtually all surveys on this subject, fear of crime while walking alone at night in one's neighborhood has been shown to be considerably more pervasive among women than among men at any age. When women were asked what crime they were most afraid of, they consistently gave rape as their first response (*Riger et al. 1978*). Women are exposed to this particularly serious crime which men experience only under very exceptional circumstances, such as in prisons.

Interestingly, age does not influence fear of crime among women in the same way that it does among men, although some cross-cultural differences and differences between high and low crime areas (*Yin 1985*) seem to exist in this respect. In some European countries, such as in Switzerland (*Killias 1989*) and in southern Germany (*Arnold 1986*), elderly women are somewhat (although not significantly) less fearful than younger women; perhaps the risk of mugging is too low in these regions to compensate for the substantially lower exposure of the elderly to sexual attacks. This interpretation is supported by findings from the British Crime Survey in which elderly women gave fear of mugging as the first response, whereas young women were more concerned about rape (*Maxfield 1987*).

Among men, fear of crime is correlated with age, but in a curvilinear fashion. Elderly men are more afraid of crime, but this may not be due to higher exposure (*Clarke et al. 1985*), but to other dimensions of vulnerability (see below). However, the somewhat higher fear levels found among very young people in several surveys (e.g. *Skogan & Maxfield 1981*; *Maxfield 1987*; *Killias 1989*) may reflect their higher exposure to violent crime which has been found in virtually all NCS surveys (*Gottfredson 1986*).

Although physical fitness (or rather its absence) may be an important variable in explaining fear of crime, it does not seem to be related to

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Although physical fitness (or rather its absence) may be an important variable in explaining fear of crime, it does not seem to be related to

exposure. Perhaps most people who perceive themselves as being unable to resist an attack, got out and take risks much less frequently than the average respondent. The idea that the avoidance of risk and the restriction of one's mobility is a consequence of the fear of crime, as many authors on the European continent argue (e.g. *Schneider* 1987), is doubtful, however. As *Maxfield* (1987) has shown, there are good reasons to suggest why elderly (and thus vulnerable) people go out less frequently and restrict their mobility - these reasons are related to their personal comfort and lifestyle; indeed, age has a strong impact on lifestyle and leisure-time preferences, independent of fear of crime and other such concerns.

3.1.2 *Social Factors of Exposure to Risk*

Besides physical characteristics such as sex, age, and fitness, social variables may increase the exposure to crime. For example, certain jobs substantially increase the risk of victimization, particularly through routine-activity variables such as the amount of time spent outdoors in proximity of potential assailants. Taxi drivers, shop and restaurant employees who close at late evening hours, prostitutes, etc., may all face a substantially higher risk of predatory crime. To some degree, this may also be true for employees of banks and other agencies where large amounts of cash are being held (e.g. post offices and railway stations in Europe). It is less certain, however, whether the higher exposure of these groups results in higher levels of fear. So far, little systematic research seems to have addressed this issue, but it may well be that these sub-groups of the population develop specific neutralization techniques (*Junger* 1987; *Agnew* 1985) in order to reduce cognitive dissonance (*Festinger* 1957) and fear (*Alimam* 1990). Whether this assumption holds true remains to be determined by future empirical research.

3.1.3 *Situational Factors of Exposure to Risk*

There is considerable evidence that people assess their risks by taking into account what they perceive in their daily environment. High incidence of crime in the neighborhood does indeed increase fear of crime in America (*Maxfield* 1984b), and so do signs of physical deterioration and disorder which people may implicitly perceive as being related to high crime rates. This has been shown to be the case for signs of incivility (graffiti, broken windows, etc.) in American neighborhoods (*Lewis & Maxfield* 1980), as well as for groups of youngsters and drunks perceived as hanging around in the streets in Britain (*Maxfield* 1987).

If perceptions of high crime rates, or of visible signs ("cues") which are seen as indicative of a crime problem in a particular neighborhood, do increase fear of crime, it makes sense to say that direct and vicarious victimization produces the same effect (Skogan 1987; Skogan & Maxfield 1981). Such events may indeed be remindful of the existence of those risks; this may be particularly true in the case of people who try to "forget" their risks by using various techniques of dissonance reduction (Festinger 1957) or neutralization (Agnew 1985). However, even if the risk is perceived as being high, fear of crime will increase only if the risk is, at the same time, perceived as being really "bad".

3.2 Seriousness of Consequences and Fear of Crime

3.2.1 *Physical Factors and Seriousness of Consequences*

Some recent research had addressed the long neglected issue of the long-term consequences of victimization. It seems that rape produces particularly serious and long-lasting traumas which go far beyond what is experienced by victims of robbery and other crimes (Resick 1987; Kilpatrick, Saunders, Veronen, Best & Von 1987). In this regard, it comes as no surprise that women are more afraid of rape than of any other crime. As a result, some of the differences in fear levels between men and women have to be attributed to the unusually serious consequences of rape. Research in America (Hindelang, Gottfredson, & Garofalo 1978) as well as in Europe (e.g. in Switzerland, Killias 1989) has shown, in addition, that victims of rape are more likely than any other category of victims (including assault) to suffer from physical injury.

Apart from sex (in relation to rape), age may also have a definite impact on vulnerability (Dussich & Eichmann 1976) to the extent that, in the case of elderly victims, physical injury (such as a broken limb) is more likely to result in long-lasting and serious consequences from which they may, if at all, recover only after many months (Skogan & Maxfield 1981). In addition, lasting physical handicaps may seriously affect the elderly victims' living conditions, since they may have to give up their autonomy and go to a nursing home. Although the way crime affects elderly victims (Yin 1985) has stimulated less interest than the consequences of rape, it seems plausible that the more serious consequences which they are likely to experience in case of an attack, trigger their fear, despite their lower exposure to risk (Clarke et al. 1985). The same may be true for people who suffer from bad health (Yin 1985). But overall, fear among the elderly is not dramatically more pervasive than among other age groups (Yin 1985).

3.2.2 *Social Factors and Seriousness of Consequences*

The seriousness of criminal victimization may also vary in relation to certain social characteristics of the victim. It has always been recognized that theft affects the poor more seriously than the rich, but the same may also be true for personal crime. For example, socially isolated elderly people without significant financial resources may be unable to get appropriate care in case of an emergency resulting from disease, an accident, or criminal victimization. Research in America has shown some of these variables to increase fear of crime (*Eve & Eve* 1984), while research in France offers some evidence that integration into neighborhood organizations helps to reduce concern about crime (*Lagrange* 1984; *Roché* 1990). The problem with existing research is that it does not adequately account for what might be the crucial underlying variable, namely, the existence of a social network to which the respondent might have recourse in case of an emergency, either through social bonds or financial resources. (Indeed, medical and other forms of care can be "purchased" when financial resources are available.) This network does not need to be neighborhood-based, nor does help necessarily have to come from people who live in the same household. It may be significant in this context that, according to data from the Swiss crime surveys (*Killias* 1989), people who live alone are not more fearful than those who live with others, no matter whether fear while walking alone at night in the neighborhood or while being alone at home is considered. Only when living alone implies social isolation, and if financial resources are non-existent or very limited, may sensitivity to consequences of crime, and, concomitantly, fear of crime, increase beyond average levels.

3.2.3 *Situational Factors and Seriousness of Consequences*

The seriousness of consequences of criminal victimization depends, among other things, on the availability of help. The availability of help, in turn, depends not only on the social characteristics of the victim, but also on the situational variables. Indeed, criminal victimization or an accident may occur under circumstances where no help can be expected. For example, a victim who is attacked in a forest or in a deserted area may face more serious consequences, either because no stranger may pass who could assist, or because even minor physical injuries are more likely to result in serious complications when medical care is delayed for hours.

This situational factor may explain why residents in Swiss villages (*Killias* 1989) are relatively fearful compared with urban dwellers when their lower exposure is taken into account. Indeed, when Swiss respondents are asked where they are most afraid to walk alone at night in an area of

one kilometer around their home, 69 % of those living in villages cite forests, which are indeed very close to most Swiss villages whereas city dwellers cite parks, deserted industrial and commercial areas, amusement areas, parking lots, etc. In other words, urban dwellers cite places where the exposure to risk may be relatively high, whereas residents of rural areas cite forests, where exposure to risk may be extremely low, but where criminal victimizations are likely to produce particularly dramatic consequences. Similar trends have been observed in England (*Maxfield* 1987).

3.3 Loss of Control and Fear of Crime

Even if a risk is perceived as substantial, and even if its consequences are seen as serious, fear may increase beyond average levels only if, at the same time, the respondent feels that there is not much he/she can do to avoid the risk or to reduce the seriousness of its consequences (e.g. by defensive or protective measure or simply by escaping in case of an attack).

3.3.1 *Physical Factors and Loss of Control*

Virtually all victimization surveys which have included some questions on the offender (as the victim had perceived him) show that the model assailant is a young man (*Hindelang et al.* 1978; *Skogan & Maxfield* 1981). Given this threat, it seems plausible that women are more fearful than men, and older men more than younger men, since they may be inferior in physical strength and ability to the average offender (*Brillon* 1987). Thus, sex and age may be related to fear, given the impact of these variables on the victim's physical ability in coping with an attack; indeed, elderly robbery victims seem to have been attacked under particularly threatening circumstances (*Conklin* 1976). In most of the existing research, "vulnerability" has been measured only through sex and age as proxy variables (see also *Taylor & Hale* 1986, and the general overview by *Yin* 1985). However, a few studies have addressed more specifically the respondent's ability to flee or to resist in case of an attack. *Riger et al.* (1978) used a question measuring this sort of coping ability among women; they found that women who felt able to resist an attack were somewhat less fearful. *Junger* (1987) used a similar question in a survey among women, but the impact on fear turned out to be negligible (for reasons which are not entirely clear). In the Swiss crime survey, a very similar question was used for male and female respondents. Interestingly, the respondents' self-assessment in terms of ability to resist or to flee was associated with fear only in the 41-to-65-year-old-group, and less so among women than among men: among women of that age group, 60 % of those who perceived themselves as able to resist

felt fearful, against 68 % among those who felt unable to do so ($p < .06$); among men of the same age group, the difference is 13 % against 23 % ($p < .02$). Overall, that is, for both sexes and all age groups, the difference is 37 % against 53 % ($p < .000$). In other words, age and sex may measure more precisely the respondents' ability to cope with an attack by a young male assailant; whatever an old man's physical ability may be, it seems obvious that he has less chance to resist successfully than a young respondent. However, in the 41-to-65-age-group, individual differences in physical strength may have much more impact in this respect. In a way, people of that age feel as fit (and "young") as those in the 30-to-40 age bracket if they have succeeded in maintaining their body in a well-trained condition; concomitantly, they may feel as vulnerable as a person beyond age 60 if their physical condition has deteriorated as a result of health problems and/or lack of training. Indeed, the data from the Swiss crime survey suggest that this may be so, since in the 41-to-65 age group, those who perceive themselves as physically vulnerable are about as fearful as those beyond 65 (23 % and the 20 %, respectively), whereas those who believe they have a chance to resist or flee have the same lesser degree of fear as those at age 31 to 40 (13 % and 13%).

In connection with measuring physical ability, an interesting observation has been made during the Swiss crime survey. As mentioned, the overall correlation (Gamma) between the respondent's self-assessment of physical vulnerability (i.e. his hypothetical ability to resist or flee in case of an attack) and fear of crime is moderate (.31, $p < .000$). When a sub-sample of 190 respondents was interviewed in person, however, the correlation (Gamma) was much stronger (.55, $p < .02$). The point is that, during the personal interviews, physical vulnerability was assessed by the interviewer, whereas upon the sample as a whole, interviews were conducted over the phone, a design which required, of course, a verbal question measuring that variable. It may well be that interviewers do better than respondents themselves in assessing the latter's fitness and vulnerability, despite the subjective character of their impression. One indication in that direction is that 43 % of the respondents rated themselves as vulnerable, whereas the interviewers, considering as "vulnerable" only people who were visibly handicapped did so with only 15 % of the respondents. Since fear of crime is probably influenced by the respondent's perception of being visibly vulnerable rather than by some more hidden health problem (Yin 1985), assessment of vulnerability by the interviewer (rather than by the respondent himself) may indeed yield a more valid measure of this variable. As far as victimization surveys conducted through personal interviews are concerned, assessment of certain respondent characteristics by the interviewer should seriously be considered as an alternative to merely verbal measures.

3.3.2 *Social Factors and Loss of Control*

Fear of crime (as fear in general) is always greatest when a person is alone as a crime survey in Texas has shown (*Teske et al.* 1983). Typically, the standard question which measures fear of crime asks how one feels while walking alone at night in the street of one's neighborhood. It seems obvious that fear is exacerbated by the fact of being out at night alone. This is well illustrated by the correlation between fear of crime and going out only in company of others; indeed, according to data from the British and the International Crime Survey (*van Dijk et al.* 1990; *Maxfield* 1987), avoiding going out alone by seeking the company of others is one of the most prominent reactions to fear of crime in the streets.

Another feature of social vulnerability which affects the victim's ability to cope efficiently with an attack may be his/her respectability. Victims of dubious reputation or who are attacked while seeking/offering "disreputable" pleasures are notoriously "easy" targets for predatory crimes. This relates to their high exposure, that is, their presence outdoors at night in "dangerous" streets, but also with their greater reluctance to report criminal victimization to the police, which may be anticipated by many offenders. To this author's knowledge, there has not been much systematic research upon fear of crime among, for example, homosexuals, prostitutes and their clients. But it seems feasible that the "disreputable" character of these pleasures increases the "active vulnerability" (*Dussich & Eichmann* 1976) and, as a result, the fear of crime of those who seek to offer them. Techniques of neutralization (*Agnew* 1985) or reduction of cognitive dissonance (*Festinger* 1957) may partly outweigh this effect, however.

Social respectability may also explain why men in their 30s are the least fearful. Indeed, teenagers may be more fearful not only because of their higher risk of victimization, but also because they feel less protected by a kind of respectability which characterizes people above a certain age (maybe about 25). There is, to this author's knowledge, no systematic research available in Europe on this issue, but daily impressions suggest that teenagers are treated with less respect in a variety of situations than persons who belong to the "adult" world. For example, young girls are probably more exposed to sexual harassment than young women whose increased age, dress, behaviour and other features, display a certain social status. This could also be true for many other forms of harassment and even criminal victimization, and in relation to boys in comparison with men. In this respect, the significantly higher fear levels among teenagers (*Skogan & Maxfield* 1981) may reflect not only higher exposure, but also a lesser ability to cope with potential assailants.

3.3.3 *Situational Factors and Loss of Control*

Fear of crime is perhaps most strongly influenced by situational variables. As earlier data on fear of crime in America have shown, only 9 % of persons interviewed felt somewhat or very unsafe while walking in their neighborhood during the day, whereas this rate rose to 45 % after dark (*Garofalo 1977*). Thus, fear in the street is most strongly related to the reduced ability to recognize in advance, potentially dangerous situations. Since humans orient themselves by their vision rather than by other senses, darkness is necessarily associated with loss of control over the immediate environment. Thus, dark streets may provoke feelings which resemble in many ways those experienced while walking alone at night in a forest. Interestingly, the effect of darkness on fear is stronger in low crime areas than in crime-ridden neighborhoods (*Maxfield 1987*), suggesting that high exposure to risk may override the effect of loss of control.

Even under circumstances of high exposure and potentially serious consequences, however, people may not react by being fearful if they see ways to avoid the risks. One such way may be to stay at home or to take the car instead of walking. Both of these reactions have been reported to be much more pervasive among fearful respondents (*Maxfield 1987*). There is indeed some evidence that people feel much less unsafe at home. In the Swiss crime surveys, for example, it was found that 12 % of the respondents feel unsafe at home, whereas the rate for fear in the streets is about three times as high. In other words, people may perceive staying at home as an efficient way of reducing their risk, and they react to the lower risk with reduced levels of fear.

There is some evidence that fear reduction through protective measures works also in other settings. For example, a study designed to evaluate the preventive effect of protective measures in Swiss banks (*Grandjean 1988*) found, as an unanticipated outcome, that most employees who had experienced a hold-up in a poorly protected agency reacted very strongly, i.e. by seeking a reassignment or by leaving their job altogether, whereas such reactions occurred only exceptionally among employees who had experienced a hold-up in an adequately protected bank. Recent evaluative research on Swiss banks and post offices (which also serve as savings banks) suggests a strong correlation between protective measures and feelings of concern and safety among employees (*Alimam 1990*).

In summary, situational variables may have a strong impact on people's assessment of their own safety. This is particularly relevant in connection

with policies aimed at reducing fear of crime in the streets, since many of the other variables (discussed above) cannot easily be affected by available options.

4. Implications for Future Research

4.1 Vulnerability as a Multi-Dimensional Phenomenon

Discussion of the several dimensions of vulnerability implies that a much more complex model is needed to explain fear of crime in the streets. Indeed, it is not just high exposure to risk, or the perceived seriousness of the consequences of potential victimization, or the individual's inability to do something to reduce either his exposure to risk or the seriousness of the possible consequences which in themselves provoke high levels of fear of crime, but the combined effect of all three variables. Exposure to risk, seriousness of consequences, and loss of control may be necessary, but not sufficient in themselves, to produce high levels of fear. In probabilistic terms, fear will increase only if all three variables increase beyond critical threshold levels, as *Warr* (1984; 1987) has suggested with respect to exposure to risk and "sensitivity" (which may be close to our understanding of "seriousness of consequences").

The proposed multi-dimensional model implies that fear of crime is not necessarily associated with variables which, theoretically at least, should increase it. In Switzerland and in Germany (*Kerner* 1980), for example, fear has been found to be, at best, weakly correlated with the respondent's rating of his own neighborhood in terms of crime, whereas objective and subjective measures of exposure (i.e. of the crime rate in one's neighborhood) seem to be strongly correlated with fear in the streets in America (*Maxfield* 1984b). Perhaps the far greater variation in crime rates across neighborhoods (within the same city) in America (compared to western Europe) may explain this difference. On the other hand, it may well be that very high exposure to risk reduces the weight of other variables, such as street lighting, social isolation, age, etc. In very dangerous settings, almost everybody may feel unsafe (*Maxfield* 1984b). In other words, the seriousness of consequences and loss of control may have their strongest impact on fear, under conditions of low exposure to risk. If this holds true, it would seem feasible that improvement of street lighting would be more effective (in terms of fear reduction) in low-crime areas than in crime-ridden neighborhoods (*Maxfield* 1987).

Although there seems to be convincing evidence for the proposed model, it should be noted that it also has some limitations. For example, in connection with "loss of control", it should not be overlooked that this concept is linked to "exposure to risk" and "seriousness of consequences", since "loss of control" has been defined as the inability to avoid victimization (by fleeing or resistance) or to reduce the seriousness of its impact. This is not to say that the concept of "loss of control" may not be useful, but its interrelation with the other two dimensions of vulnerability should be carefully considered in operationalizing this independent variable. Besides, the distinction between social and situational factors may be questionable in some instances. Great attention should be paid to appropriate operationalization, and particularly to the avoidance of redundant and ambiguous indicators.

4.2 Measures of Vulnerability and Fear of Crime

Measures of vulnerability should include indicators of its three dimensions, that is, exposure to risk, seriousness of consequences, and loss of control. In connection with the review of the evidence, some suggestions have been made as to how the several concepts could be measured more appropriately. A few general suggestions are presented here.

- **Exposure to risk** could be measured by questions asking the respondents to assess the likelihood that he/she will be victimized in the future. This has been done, for example, in an international crime survey (*van Dijk et al.* 1990). In order to assess possible neutralization techniques, some objective indicators of the risk faced by several demographic subgroups should also be considered.
- **Seriousness of consequences** could be measured by questions asking the respondent to rate several types of offences according to their seriousness (e.g. from 0 to 10, as in *Warr* 1984; 1987), but it may be interesting to ask more specifically the expected consequences and their implications. For example, one could ask respondents how they see their chances of being injured in the case of a predatory crime, and what they would experience in that case.
- **Loss of control** can be measured by the respondent's self-assessed physical condition (e.g. his ability to flee or resist in case of an attack), but assessment by the interviewer may eventually produce more valid measures. Social isolation should be measured by questions as to whether the respondent could, in case of an emergency, recur to a network of social support.

- **Fear of crime** should be measured in terms which take into account certain important situational variables, such as fear in the streets during the day or at night (and, eventually, at what time in the evening), the precise geographical location of fear (e.g. fear in the village itself as compared with fear in a nearby forest), fear of using public transportation (on what lines, at what time), fear at home as opposed to fear in the streets, etc.

A different question is, of course, as to whether measures of fear of crime should focus at all on fear in the streets. In recent years, there has been some switch to measuring fear by its behavioral implications, or by questions asking the respondent how likely he regards himself as becoming, within the next year, a victim of certain offences. Such measures undoubtedly have the advantage of being somewhat more policy relevant, since they allow the assessment of how crime and fear affect people's behavior. On the other hand, fear of crime in the streets should not be dismissed as a variable, given its great potential in understanding individual differences and its implications for the quality of life. Indeed, the feeling of being unsafe in the street does by no means necessarily lead to behavioral changes, but it may still affect the quality of life for large subgroups of the population.

4.3 Policy Implications

By taking into account what situational circumstances exacerbate fear in the streets, future research may help policy makers discover possible ways of reducing it to acceptable levels. For example, fear seems to be triggered by dark and deserted surroundings, particularly if signs of incivility and disorder (*Lewis & Maxfield 1980*) are common. Such situational features are open to change by appropriate measures, e.g. through improved street lightening (*Tien, O'Donnell, Barnett, & Mirchandani 1979; Painter 1988*) and measures aimed at bringing more people into downtown areas during evenings. In the case of certain subgroups who suffer from particularly high levels of fear, as, for example, many post office employees in Switzerland, the introduction of protective measures may be efficient in reducing fear (and possibly also their victimization). Beyond the effects of positive action, policy makers may also be in a better position to assess the likelihood of negative side effects (e.g. higher levels of fear of crime) which may result from certain budget cuts and other policy changes. For example, the reduction of "natural surveillance" by reducing or abolishing staff in evening trains, in railway stations, in parking lots and other public areas may not only increase the opportunities for committing crime (*Clarke & Mayhew 1980*), but may eventually have even more serious consequences in connec-

tion with fear of crime. It could be that fear of crime is triggered even more, by such changes in a person's daily environment than by real or perceived increases in crime rates.

Besides these direct policy implications, the proposed model may contribute to a better understanding of fear of crime, particularly among women. Once this is achieved, fear of crime will no longer be dismissed as an "irrational" reaction (*Yin* 1985), as is currently the case among many researchers and policy makers. This might be an invaluable progress in itself.

5. Summary

Previous research on fear of crime has identified, among women and other sub-groups of the population, high fear levels which could not be adequately explained by measures of exposure to risk. Several authors have argued, therefore, that vulnerability may be the key variable behind the observed distribution of fear of crime. In this paper, three dimensions of vulnerability (exposure to risk, seriousness of consequences, loss of control) are identified and integrated into an analytical framework which also takes into account physical, social and situational factors of vulnerability. A selective international review of research reveals considerable support for the suggested model.

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Fear of Victimization, Attitudes to the Police and Mass Media Reporting

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1. Introduction

Reporting on crimes by the mass media and especially by the press result in the fact that the public has an image of a large and increasing crime rate in the Federal Republic of Germany. This frequently distorted and inappropriate image of the real extent, structure and development of criminality gives rise to a widespread and confused fear of crime within the population (cf. *Noelle-Neumann* 1974; *Stephan* 1980). Among others "if is being generated by improper criminological information by the mass media to the population and overdramatic reporting of specific criminal cases" (*Schneider* 1975, p. 73; cf. also *Lamnek* 1990).

The fear of victimization or rather of criminality is defined as the subjective assessment of the risk of becoming the victim of a crime. The fear of crime is of manifold importance to victimological research. In order to arrive at a better understanding of the fear of crime, its causes and repercussions on human behaviour, a number of surveys have been conducted in recent years. Following questions have been posed in this context:

1. Which segments of the population consider the general state of crime as particularly threatening?
2. In which segments of the population and where is the fear of victimization especially pronounced?
3. Are those segments of the population already characterized by a particular fear of victimization also particularly at risk?
4. Does becoming a victim increase or even generate a fear of crime?
5. How does the fear of crime influence the population's outlook on criminality?
6. What role do the mass media play in the creation of the fear of crime?

A reliable and valid reply to above questions may contribute to the compilation of information available to those who formulate crime prevention policies, who implement such policies, and urban planners etc. In other words, to those to whom such socially oriented knowledge may be relevant. It is indeed possible to develop certain measures which can reduce or even prevent crimes, thus conveying a greater sense of security to the population and lessening the fear of victimization. Therefore it is, on the one hand,

important to inform the public about the real danger of crime and to inform them about the real extent of the growth of criminality. On the other hand, scientific findings, including those of a victimological nature, are required to facilitate the empirical basis of general predictions in this area. Our contribution is thus descriptive and seeks to relate the fear of victimization, attitudes to the police and press coverage with each other, without being in a position to conduct a correlated case-related statistical analysis, since the data accumulated here are based on different surveys on different aggregated levels. The findings can point out some empirical evidence and theoretical plausibility.

2. Preliminary Methodological Remarks

The essay is based on two research projects undertaken within the framework of the methodological training programme at the Institute of Sociology in Munich. The first project which dealt with the topic mass media and crime focussed on two Munich-based dailies and was concerned with the analysis of the contents of press coverage on criminal cases and crime. Over a period of four months all editions of the "Süddeutsche Zeitung" and the "Abendzeitung München" were included in this analysis. Analytical units were all individual articles that concerned themselves with crime. During this period a total of 1.116 articles, reports and comments on criminal cases or crime were examined. Of these, 589 articles were published in the "Süddeutsche Zeitung" and 527 in the "Abendzeitung".

In the second project which concerned itself with the relationship between the individual and the police, two representative surveys were conducted: an oral questionnaire was submitted to the Munich public, while a separate, written questionnaire was distributed among the police force. This present article concerns itself exclusively with the results of the survey conducted among the Munich public. Our basic reference group were those German citizens between the ages of 16 and 60 whose principal place of residence was Munich. We conducted a representative, systematic random sampling of 693 individuals drawn from this group.

3. Findings

3.1 The Fear of Victimization within Munich's Population

Through analysing the replies to their question: "When you go out alone at night in your locality, do you feel very safe, relatively safe, somewhat unsafe or very unsafe?", an Australian research team arrived at the following conclusions in relation to the fear of crime in Australia. On the basis of the empirical replies the authors sought to identify those segments of the Australian population that are most afraid of crime. They arrived at the conclusion that women were most afraid they might become victims of crime. It was further concluded that the fear of victimization is especially pronounced among older, widowed, unemployed and poor people as well as among the inhabitants of major cities (*Braithwaite 1979*).

A similar result was arrived at in the Federal Republic of Germany: "At least two out of five citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany do not feel safe when they are out on the streets at night. This feeling of insecurity is especially developed among people above 60 years of age and among members of lower social strata" (*Schneider 1975, p. 72*).

The fear of victimization within the context of our study of the population of Munich was measured by the citizens' feeling of safety within their own city. The subjective feeling of security was placed in the foreground. The following table gives an overall view on the question of how safe people feel in Munich.

The majority of the citizens of Munich between 16-60 years of age feel safe in the city (59.4%). Only 8.4% felt insecure. In this area a large difference can be discerned between the responses of men and women. 12.1% of the females stated that they felt very unsafe. The corresponding percentage of males amounted to a mere 4.5%. A differentiation according to age-groups results in 4.7% of those below 20 years of age and 5.6% of those between 20-29 feeling unsafe in the city. Compared with above groups 9.8% of those between 30-49 years and 10.3% of citizens older than 50 years admitted to feeling unsafe.

Table 1: Feeling of Safety in Munich (Details given in %)

	Total	Sex		Age			
		m	f	up to 19	20-29	30-49	from 50
At home (1,80)*							
Very safe	41.2	43.8	38.7	68.2	50.3	36.5	29.9
Safe	43.0	44.4	41.7	25.0	36.4	48.7	45.3
Unsafe	2.8	1.5	3.9	-	2.6	2.8	3.6
Very unsafe	1.3	0.3	2.2	-	1.0	0.9	2.9
In the neighbourhood (2.04)							
Very safe	29.9	33.9	26.1	31.8	34.4	29.6	23.5
Safe	44.4	44.1	44.7	47.7	42.1	45.9	43.4
Unsafe	5.5	3.3	7.6	2.3	6.2	5.0	6.6
Very unsafe	1.3	1.2	1.4	-	1.0	0.9	2.9
In Munich in general (2.36)							
Very safe	13.6	18.4	9.0	9.3	12.8	14.9	12.5
Safe	45.8	49.2	42.5	51.2	46.2	47.8	38.2
Unsafe	7.7	3.9	11.3	4.7	4.6	9.5	8.8
Very unsafe	0.7	0.6	0.8	-	1.0	0.3	1.5

* Ascertained scale values.

The question as to the feeling of safety in their **own neighbourhood** and their **own home** was answered as follows: Women considered themselves less safe than men in both environments. Compared to the remaining age-groups those of 30-49 years of age and older citizens also felt unsafer in their neighbourhood and home.

The finding that the individual's immediate living environment is considered safer than peripheries which are known above all only on a secondary level is both interesting and expected. (Safe at home - 84.2%, in the neighbourhood - 74.3%, in the city in general - 59.4%). This indicates that as a rule the fear of crime is not so much a question of one's own personal experience, but this would rather seem to suggest that it is primarily induced by external factors.

The question whether it was believed that one lived in a part of the city with a relatively high crime rate, was answered in the affirmative by 10.1% of Munich's citizens. This statement was confirmed by young people between 20-30 years of age (13.9%).

The fear of becoming a victim of a crime can result in precautionary measures: 20.1% of Munich's citizens, for example, stated that they have undertaken some form of precautionary measures against larceny and burglary. The amount of citizens protecting themselves against larceny and burglary increased with age. While 9.1% of the youngest age-group questioned and 11.9% of the 20-29 year olds maintained that they have taken precautionary measures, 22.4% of the 30-49 year olds and 29.4% of the older citizens (from 50 onwards) stated this.

14.9% of those interviewed were of the opinion that foreigners were a threat to the population of Munich, whereby a greater proportion of older citizens considered this segment of the city's population to be a threat. 54.0% of the citizens of Munich even thought that nowadays more adolescents become criminals. 49.1% of the male and 58.7% of the female interviewees were of this opinion.

The last two findings - although they may have a genuine correspondence taking certain differentiations into consideration - refer to stereotyped ideas, bordering on prejudices which can only be broken down with difficulty.

The fact that the fear of crime increases in concentric circles in relation to the distance to one's own social environment seems to suggest that one feels most protected from crime behind the locked doors of one's own home. Each individual was also asked to point out in which areas they felt themselves insecure. The following table reflects the answers received.

35.8% or 21.1% of those questioned do not feel safe in public transport amenities such as the underground and surface rail systems. Various districts were considered unsafe by 19.7%, especially the area adjacent to the train station (6.6%) and the central train station itself (12.3%). 11.8% of the interviewees felt unsafe in parks and 10.0% in deserted streets. 6.4% felt unsafe in underground and in multi-storey car parks, even though no above average delinquency has been recorded there.

The feeling of insecurity on public transportation was more pronounced among women and older people. In some localities women even felt considerably more unsafe than men (for example in deserted streets: men 2.5%, women 14.6%; underground/multi-storey car parks: men 2.7%, women 8.4%).

Table 2: Insecurity in regard to Locality (Details given in %)

	Total	Sex		Age			
		m	f	up to 19	20-29	30-49	from 50
U-Bahn*	35.8	26.1	45.1	22.7	36.6	36.6	38.0
S-Bahn**	21.1	15.9	26.1	18.2	19.1	20.2	27.0
Certain neighbour- hoods, especially:	19.7	18.3	21.0	18.2	25.3	20.5	10.9
Area adjacent to the Central Train Station	6.6	5.1	8.1	2.3	9.3	7.6	2.9
English Garden	2.9	1.8	3.9	4.5	4.1	2.5	1.5
City Centre	1.9	2.4	1.7	2.3	2.6	1.3	2.9
Central Train Station	12.3	10.8	13.7	9.1	18.0	10.7	8.8
Parks	11.8	7.5	16.0	18.2	9.8	8.8	10.2
Deserted streets	10.0	2.5	14.6	18.2	9.8	8.8	10.2
Underground car parks/ Multi-storey car parks	6.9	3.3	10.4	4.5	7.7	6.3	8.0
Busy streets	5.6	2.7	8.4	11.4	4.9	5.0	6.6

* U-Bahn: Underground Transportation.

** S-Bahn: Surface Transportation.

To sum this up, one can state: The general feeling of safety among the population of Munich is acceptable, whereas familiarity and vicinity of the living space generated an increase in the feeling of safety. Women and older citizens almost constantly felt more unsafe.

How can the greater fear of crime among older people and women be explained?

The fear of crime among older people is possibly so pronounced because of physical, psychological and/or mental disadvantages, but also due to a relative social isolation which often generates feelings of helplessness and/or loneliness. "The obviously great fear of crime among older people cannot be explained by the assumption that there is an objectively high likelihood to become a victim of crime (...) Their fear may be deduced from a weakened physical capability which limits their self-reliance in dealing with criminals" (*Braithwaite 1979, p. 173*).

The media's and above all the popular press' interest in crimes where older people have been victimized can provoke even greater fear among this age-group. It is thus conceivable that older people identify so much with the victim's role described above that they subjectively feel more threatened than they are in reality.

The media's interest focusses particularly on sexual offences and, as a rule, this means crimes against women. This is primarily mirrored in journalistic sensationalism. It may be assumed that this makes women more afraid and increases their subjective fear of becoming a victim. "Women's excessive fear of crime is certainly not so much a function of objective risks they are exposed to in comparison with men, but rather a more concrete expression of the fact that it is of ideological relevance in a sexist culture to have women depend on men for their protection. The objective reality of rape, as bad as it may be, is certainly of lesser importance than the fact that the fear of rape forces them into a protected existence" (*Braithwaite* 1979, p. 180). It is further to be considered that women in general have less physical power of resistance and therefore a greater fear of crime. What impact does gender- and age-specific distribution have on the attitudes concerning the police, i.e. those who are in the first line of resistance to crime - the citizens' protectors?

3.2 Munich's Inhabitants' Opinion of the Police

It is known from empirical surveys that older people (over 50 years of age) associate values like order, protection, security and help much more with the police than young people (under 20 years of age). They are also more satisfied with the police, have more sympathies for the police and consider themselves more protected by the police (*Naether* 1980). One may say that the protective function of the police is more to the fore with older people, because their fear of victimization and therefore their need of protection is more pronounced than with young people.

A citizen who considers himself a potential victim has a greater expectation of the police. The protective function of the police is thus presumably rated especially positive by those who - due to certain biological and/or social factors have a strong need of protection and in addition a possibly greater fear of victimization. It is to be expected that increasing age brings with it a more positive opinion of the police. Women also have a more pronounced need of protection than men. It may therefore be assumed that women are likely to have a more positive attitude towards the police.

64.3% of the interviewees consider the protective function of the police as their main task. 61.9% of the men and 66.5% of the women replied accordingly. The difference here is negligible..

In reply to the question what they think when they see a policeman in Munich, 29.2% replied "security and safety". Among those of 50 and over, 48.9% shared this view.

40.2% of the Munich citizens consider themselves dependent on police protection; women comprised 43.1% and men 37.1%. 44.3% of the age-group of the 30-49 year old and even more than half of the older citizens (51.4%) considered themselves dependent on police protection! 35.2% of Munich's population regarded the next police station as not close enough. 54.6% required more police patrols and 61.5% were of the opinion that police officers should come into closer contact with the inhabitants of their precinct. Older people of 50 years and over were supportive of closer contacts with citizens (68.7%) and expressed the clearest desire for more police patrols (67.4%). All these are expressions of the fear of victimization.

Answers given as to the various operationalizations of police functions expected, allow the deduction that age rather than gender plays a more important role as far as the (positive) attitude to the police is concerned. Despite similar initial positions in regard to the fear of victimization among women and older citizens, women are more reserved concerning their judgement of the police: they are not convinced of the police's protective function.

Does this relative distance have any impact on the general assessment of the police? The following table reflects the distribution of replies to the question which grade the citizen of Munich would give his/her police.

Table 3: Grades for the Police of Munich

Note	Total	Sex		Age			
		m	f	up to 19	20-29	30-49	from 50
Very good (=1)	1.9	0.9	2.8	-	1.6	1.9	2.9
Good (=2)	34.8	33.2	36.8	29.5	21.9	36.0	52.6
Satisfactory (=3)	44.9	45.0	45.0	56.8	51.0	46.5	28.5
Sufficient (=4)	13.3	13.6	12.5	11.4	18.8	11.1	10.9
Poor (=5)	3.4	4.8	1.7	2.3	4.2	3.2	2.9
Unsatisfactory (=6)	1.8	2.4	1.1	-	2.6	1.3	2.2
"Average Grade"	2.87	2.95	2.77	2.86	3.11	2.82	2.65

The police received the best grades from women and older citizens over 50 years. The 20-29 year old age-group were the most critical group. The police had relatively speaking the worst image with them. The average of grades for the police is 2.77 with women which is slightly below the average of older citizens with 2.65. Age has a slightly more pronounced impact on this tendency as we have seen above. This could again point to women having a more critical attitude towards the police than older citizens.

Answers as to the question on the personal relationship to the police are reflected in the next table.

Table 4: Personal Relationship of Munich's Citizens to the Police

Note	Total	Sex		Age			
		m	f	up to 19	20-29	30-49	from 50
Very good (=1)	8.0	8.2	7.8	4.7	4.2	7.3	15.7
Good (=2)	52.7	45.7	58.3	60.5	45.0	52.4	58.2
Mixed feelings(=3)	27.4	29.0	25.9	25.6	31.4	29.7	16.4
Bad (=4)	9.6	12.8	6.6	7.0	14.7	8.6	7.5
Very bad (=5)	2.8	4.3	1.4	2.3	4.7	1.9	2.2
Average estimated value	2.47	2.59	2.36	2.42	2.71	2.45	2.22

Young adults (20-29) indicated relatively speaking the worst relationship with the police. 4.2% rated it "very good", 45.0% "good" and almost one fifth (19.4%) "bad" or "very bad". Of the 30-49 year old age-group 52.4% rated it "good", of those above 50 years 58.2% considered the relationship "good". The teenagers' opinions (16-19) were surprising: 60.5% rated their relationship with the police "good".

Men have a slightly more negative attitude to the police than women. While 45.7% of men maintained to have a good relationship with the police, 58.3% of women considered their relationship with the police "good".

With an average estimated value of 2.36, women are again below the average of 2.22, given to the police by citizens over 50 years.

81.5% of citizens judged the general behaviour of the Munich police force as positive and 14.8% as negative. Here again women had a more positive attitude than men; older citizens were more positive than younger ones.

12.4% of Munich's population were of the opinion that the police should have greater power in order to realize their goals. This statement received most approval from women (13.2%) and citizens over 50 years (15.0%):

One may say in conclusion: The more threatened citizens feel by crime, the more positive is their attitude to the police. Women are of a more positive opinion than men, while older citizens are more positive in this respect than their younger counterparts. The police's protective function can thus be seen to be recognized within the population. The 20-29 year old males, those who are in all probability best able to protect themselves, are the segment of the population most critical of the police.

3.3 The Mass Media's Role in the Creation of the Fear of Crime

What is the role of the media and particularly that of the press as a broker of ideas and opinions on criminality, delinquents and their victims?

The mass media are the public's main source of information regarding knowledge and attitudes on criminality, since only a minority ever became a victim (or a criminal). Due to choice and manner of reporting, mass media can certainly influence the public opinion on criminality and the development of crime. Certain questions must be asked as to if and how the state of crime, as it is portrayed by the press, corresponds with reality, and what is the impact of the press' image of crime on the population's fear in this regard? Schneider is convinced that the fear of crime is a by-product of over-dramatized reporting on sensational criminal cases by the mass media (cf. *Schneider 1975*, p. 30). I intend to present some conclusions drawn from the content analysis of articles published in Munich newspapers here and to compare these findings with the above mentioned fear of crime within Munich's population.

Our analysis of the contents showed that shops were the most frequent scenes of crime (36.6%), followed by the home (31.1%), the street (22.4%), the car (3.4%), the train station (3.3%) and parks (3.2%). This implies that the risk of victimization for the average citizen is greatest in the home, the place where the fear of victimization was the smallest. As regards the distribution of offences, the following table demonstrates the frequency of specific crimes.

Table 5: Relative Frequency of Places where Specific Crimes are Committed as Reported in the Media

Scene of Crime	Murder	Grievous Bodily Harm	Rape	Larceny	Burglary	Robbery
Home	61.5% (110)	27.9% (48)	33.3% (12)	30.4% (41)	48.4% (44)	19.7% (40)
Shop	17.9% (32)	22.7% (39)	27.8% (10)	30.4% (41)	30.8% (28)	50.7% (103)
Street	13.4% (24)	32.6% (56)	27.8% (10)	28.9% (39)	13.2% (12)	22.7% (46)
Park	4.5% (8)	2.9% (5)	8.3% (3)	3.7% (5)	3.3% (3)	1.0% (2)
Train station	-	8.1% (14)	-	2.2% (3)	-	1.5% (3)
Car	2.7% (5)	5.8% (10)	2.8% (1)	4.4% (6)	4.3% (4)	4.4% (9)
Total	100.0% (179)	100.0% (172)	100.0% (36)	100.0% (135)	100.0% (91)	100.0% (203)

The home is the place where most murders were committed; thus the fear of victimization with regard to the gravity of the offence would be far-reaching. In this respect, such fears are, however, least developed. Streets were overproportionally represented in relation to grievous bodily harm, larceny and rape, and shops in relation to robbery, burglary and larceny. Rape was most frequently committed in parks.

If one considers that when taken together the home and the car seem to suggest an intimate, rather private sphere, while streets, shops, parks and train stations are seen as anonymous and public areas, this demonstrates an over-representation of the private sphere in regard to murder and burglary. Grievous bodily harm, larceny and robbery are for the most part associated with the public sphere. The findings are reflected in the following table:

Table 6: Distribution of Main Groups of Offences in More Public and More Private Areas

Area	Murder	Grievous Bodily Harm	Rape	Larceny	Burglary	Robbery
Private	64.2% (115)	33.7% (58)	36.1% (13)	34.8% (47)	52.7% (48)	24.1% (49)
Public	35.8% (64)	66.3% (114)	63.9% (23)	65.2% (88)	47.3% (43)	75.9% (154)
Total	100.0% (179)	100.0% (172)	100.0% (36)	100.0% (135)	100.0% (91)	100.0% (203)

Crimes were most frequently committed during the day, and 25% in the evening. There are, though, connections between the kind of crime and the time of day at which it was committed. An analysis as to the specific offences is given below:

Table 7: Frequency of Offences with regard to the Time of Day

Time of Day	Murder	Grievous Bodily Harm	Rape	Larceny	Burglary	Robbery
Day-Time	43.2% (35)	17.1% (17)	43.8% (7)	30.9% (17)	20.5% (9)	41.2% (47)
Evening	19.8% (16)	37.4% (37)	-	12.7% (7)	13.6% (6)	35.1% (40)
Night-Time	37.0% (30)	45.5% (45)	56.2% (9)	56.4% (31)	65.9% (29)	23.7% (27)
Total	100.0% (81)	100.0% (99)	100.0% (16)	100.0% (55)	100.0% (44)	100.0% (114)

The majority of crimes took place at night. This applies especially to larceny, burglary and rape. Murders and robberies were mostly committed during the day.

Apart from the scene and hour of the crime, personal characteristics like age and gender are of central importance in this respect.

17.7% of the victims were younger than 21 years, 10.2% were between 21 and 25 years. The overwhelming majority (72.1%) of crime victims were older than 25 years. A differentiation by generation results in the following finding: 1.5% of the victims were infants, 4.4% children and 6.6% teenagers. The percentage of young men and women amounted to 27.5%. The relative majority of the victims were men and women of middle age (39.4%). 20.5% were senior citizens. Despite the fact that they are partly based on only a small number of cases, an examination of specific offences demonstrated pronounced differences.

Table 8: Generation of Victims - Differentiation by Offence

Generation	Murder	Grievous Bodily Harm	Rape	Larceny	Burglary	Robbery
Infant	3.3% (6)	-	-	-	-	-
Child	4.9% (9)	4.2% (5)	2.8% (1)	2.1% (1)	-	-
Teenager	8.2% (15)	4.2% (5)	27.8% (10)	2.1% (1)	-	1.8% (2)
Young man/woman	25.1% (46)	40.7% (48)	25.0% (9)	4.8% (6)	9.5% (2)	22.0% (24)
Man/woman of middle age	38.3% (70)	43.2% (51)	27.8% (10)	46.8% (22)	52.4% (11)	44.0% (48)
Senior citizen	20.2% (37)	7.4% (9)	16.7% (6)	36.2% (17)	38.1% (8)	32.1% (35)
Total	100.0% (183)	100.0% (118)	100.0% (36)	100.0% (47)	100.0% (21)	100.0% (109)

Predominantly young men and women and persons of middle age were effected by all offences. These groups' percentage of victims of grievous bodily harm was particularly high (83.9%). Teenagers - with the exception of rape - were rather under-represented. Senior citizens were predominantly victims of burglaries, larcenies and robberies.

When viewed in relation to the victims' gender, males seemed to be in a slight majority. This also shows a number of clear differences in the type of crime perpetrated on each sex. 55.9% of the victims were male, 44.1% female.

Table 9: Offence and Gender of Victims

Crime	Sex		Total
	Men	Women	
Murder	53.8% (112)	46.2% (96)	100.0% (208)
Grievous bodily harm	69.0% (109)	31.0% (49)	100.0% (158)
Rape	-	100.0% (41)	100.0% (41)
Larceny	62.7% (42)	37.3% (25)	100.0% (67)
Burglary	59.4% (92)	40.6% (93)	100.0% (185)
Robbery	60.0% (21)	40.0% (14)	100.0% (35)

In murder-related offences the distribution of victims was balanced, in the case of grievous bodily harm women were noticeably under-represented - this applies also to larceny, robbery and burglary.

The findings referred to here reveal that the great fear of crime among women and older citizens seems to be unfounded when seen in purely quantitative terms. These findings seem to support the thesis that women as well as older citizens are exposed to a somewhat lesser risk of victimization. The fear of adolescents and foreigners appears exaggerated. Only 19.3% of the offenders were below 21 years of age. Foreigners were responsible for 25.9% of crimes committed.

The above statistics disprove the assertion that the press are possibly responsible for inducing a climate of fear of crime amongst the public. Thus it can be stated that empirical content analysis undermines such accusations in relation to press coverage on this theme.

How does the fear of crime come into being, since it is not experienced objectively? Can the press still be considered a cause?

Östgaard (1965) names the three factors that are of relevance to the selection and processing of news: 1. sensationalism, 2. identification, 3. simplification. The phenomenon of sensationalism has been dealt with before (*Lamnek* 1990). The factor "individual identification" is of prime relevance to the generation of the fear of crime.

The function of identification is to arouse the readers' attention. Among other factors, identification is dependent on the vicinity to the reported occurrence. When crimes which have occurred in one's own immediate living environment are reported, the reader is even more likely to identify with the case. The personal identification with the victim also increases one's own sense of involvement with the crime. Since the reader is informed about those involved in the offence, he/she can possibly relate this knowledge to their own person and this relationship can cause a personal involvement similar to that described above in regard to the closeness to one's living environment. It is such simple socio-demographic variables like gender and age that facilitate identification.

Frequency, extent and presentation of press coverage on crime can also have an impact on attitudes people have on criminality, influence and thus have additional repercussions on the generation of the fear of crime. If nowadays one flicks through a daily, one receives the impression of a general increase in criminality which may again reinforce the fear of victimization which is determined by socio-statistical variables.

The process of identification which is brought into being above all by the description of victims of crime can create or reinforce a multi-faceted fear of crime in specific segments of the population.

4. Summary

Some aspects and dimensions of the fear of crime were evaluated on the basis of secondary analytically processed data. This is an attempt to identify those segments of society that are most afraid of crime. Based on empirical findings, possible consequences of the fear of victimization were examined in relation to the police. Finally the description of victims by the daily press was scrutinized. It became evident that the attitude to the police is not independent of the fear of victimization and that age is a more relevant factor than gender. In this context the impact of mass media seems primarily based on the identification function and not on the sensationalist mechanism.

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Fear of Crime in Germany
A Report about three Population Surveys:
1975/1986/1989

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It cannot be a matter of complete indifference to any state as to what the population thinks about its own security; this does not apply to the external security (in relation to other states) but also to the internal security, primarily for the following reasons:

- firstly, because the duty to ensure that the citizen lives **without fear** of actual or putative threats (including those caused by criminal offences: fear of crime) corresponds to the government's monopoly of violence.
- secondly, because fear of crime in terms of perceived threat (justified or even unjustified on the basis of the objective crime situation), may encourage undesirable developments such as **taking the law into one's hands and "justice of pillory"** (i.e. privately organized forms of "criminal justice") or the organisation of private vigilante groups; these are unacceptable phenomena which break the governmental monopoly of violence and thereby endanger internal peace: the (potential) victim provides his own protection because he has no confidence in the criminal justice system's capability (especially in the police) of providing the desired protection;
- thirdly, because such loss of trust does not only affect the **reputation of the police** but also make the **willingness of the population to cooperate** in crime prevention and solution of crime considerably more difficult;
- fourthly, because threat which is perceived, can also be an **indicator of security situations** which are still **unknown or insufficiently known** to the legislator or the criminal politician or the criminal justice system (high expectation of victimization as a result of unreported criminal offences: for example, robbery);
- fifthly, because perceived threat against the population can also set off **criminal-political demands**, for example, the extension of the criminal law (or the execution of a sentence).

Following the opinion that the state's monopoly of violence must not be placed at disposal (see likewise the German Commission on Violence (*Schwind, Baumann et al.* 1990, pp. 49)), and that the perceived threat is a factor of life which is of special importance in a social government based on the rule of law, a criminal politician who acts responsibly must think about the possibilities of restraining fear of crime and its consequences or to integrate it into the criminal-political situation: At least, the goal should

consist in bringing threat which is unfounded or regarded as excessive more into line with the actual situation and in decreasing a threat which is regarded as well-founded, to a convincing or successful limitation of criminality (concerning corresponding criminal-political planning see also *Dölling* 1986, pp. 38).

In this context, it is not necessarily serious crime (such as murder, manslaughter, rape and robbery) which frightens the individual citizen but (at least in Germany) also the multitude of minor offences which - when added up - can result in a disturbance that is psychologically crucial. This also incites fear of crime itself.

Furthermore, the common street scene is important: town tramps, punks or skinheads or also elements of foreignness (discernible groups of foreigners). It is talked about and worried about: fear of crime is infectious (*Kellens & Lamaitre* 1987, p. 31).

But what can be understood by perceived threat in terms of fear of crime? Can this fear be measured and, in this respect, be made the basis of criminal-political decisions?

1. Perceived Threat (in Terms of Fear of Crime) as a Construct

Two of the three studies reviewed here, consider perceived threat - similar to social attitudes - as a **construct**, namely as a "conglomeration of different thoughts and feelings". As a part of this construct, three components are used, namely an affective, a cognitive and a conative component. The present research always refers to only one of these components, so that the following view of the construct is therefore new.

1.1 The Affective (Emotional) Component

The affective component can most likely be expressed by a general statement about the common **subjective security** or insecurity experienced in the everyday environment. Moreover, the affective component also includes the **fear of being victimized**, i.e. the concern over the possibility of oneself becoming a victim of a (given) offence.

1.1.1 The Subjective Security

In many studies, the subjective security is ascertained primarily by two items:

- Is there an area within a one mile radius (or: in one's own neighbourhood) where you are afraid of going for a walk alone at night?
According to the studies by *Skogan* (1986, p. 6), for example, this question is answered in the affirmative by 47 % of the Americans interviewed, and in Hungary (according to *Arnold* 1986, p. 1049) by 43.3 %.
- How secure do you feel outside your apartment at night when you are alone?
According to *Ishii* (1979, p. 139), 30.0 % of all those asked in Zurich felt 'insecure' ('a little bit insecure' to 'very insecure'), the corresponding figure was 52.7 % in Tokyo. In this context, one has to mention for example the studies by *Ennis* (1967), *Erskine* (1974) and *Feyerherm & Hindelang* (1974). According to all studies, women especially feel insecure (see likewise *Gallup Opinion Poll* 1983, p. 197) and also the older age-groups (over 60 years) of both sexes.

1.1.2 The Fear of Being Victimized

In the United States, 46 % of all those questioned, expressed the fear of becoming a victim of burglary, for example, (*ABC News Crime Poll* 1982), in Toronto (1971) 13.5 % (*Waller & Okihiro* 1978, p. 81), in Zurich (1973) 18 % (*Clinard*, cit. after *Stephan* 1976, p. 436) and in England (1984) 23 %. In the United States, 31 % of all those asked have a fear of being robbed in the foreseeable future, in Zurich and England, however, 'only' 20 %. In this context, we should mention further the relevant studies by *P.E. Smith* (1969), *Hawkins* (1970) and *Courtis, Malcolm & Dussuyer* (1970). Although the results of the studies differ from each other. However, it must be appreciated that the questions asked in the foreign studies do correspond to each other in content, they do not correspond in the wording used. The number of people interviewed and the methodology differ, too; in this respect, it is necessary to be careful with such comparisons.

Apart from this, it is conspicuous that the fear of being victimized seems to be most widespread in the United States. If we regard this result in the context of the American criminality scene (in the big cities) it is hardly surprising.

1.2 The Cognitive (Rational) Component

The cognitive component of perceived threat can be determined by the **evaluation of the development of criminality** as well as by the **expectation of victimization**: for example, by the expectation of the possibility of becoming a victim of a (given) offence over a certain period of time. The respondent therefore indicates, for example, how much he thinks it is probable that he may become a victim of a theft or robbery over a certain period of time (within five years, for example).

1.2.1 *The Evaluation of Crime*

Kerner (1980, p. 87) held the opinion that "the increase in criminality belongs to the collective everyday knowledge". International studies agreed with him: for example, 67 % (1973) of those interviewed in Zurich (*Clinard* cited after *Stephan* 1976, pp. 19), 75 % (1977) of those interviewed in Tokyo (*Ishii* 1979, p. 436) and 83 % of all those asked in the USA (*ABC News Crime Poll* 1982) assume an increase in the state as a whole.

1.2.2 *The Expectation of Victimization*

The expectation of victimization must not be confused with fear of being victimized; it is therefore possible that someone who estimates the probability of victimization to be small, is very afraid of becoming a victim. The difference is also shown by the following example: A young man intentionally does not avoid a fight. He may have a certain expectation of victimization but no or only little fear of being victimized. Studies by *Warr* (1984, pp. 681) relate to this victimization expectation theme. However, the fear of being victimized and the expectation of victimization can hardly be separated convincingly when formulating a question in a questionnaire.

1.3 The Conative (Behavioral) Component

The conative component is manifested in the circumstance in which a person feels obliged - on the basis of his individual expectation of victimization (or fear of being victimized) - to take certain precautionary measures in order to protect himself from criminal acts. These (individual) measures can be divided into: **defensive measures** (the installation of safety locks, for example) and **avoidance measures** (the avoiding certain areas, for example). It can also be verified by numerous studies, that subjective insecurity and the fear of being victimized or the expectation of victimization can arouse defensive and avoidance measures. In this context, the

number of measures taken turned out to be dependent on the respondents' age, socio-economic status, level of education and family status: More precautionary measures are taken by: younger individuals, respondents with a higher level of education or socio-economic status and married respondents.

1.3.1 Avoidance Measures

Examples of avoidance measures: Even in 1977 a (telephone) survey (N = 5000) carried out in Chicago, San Francisco and Philadelphia showed that approximately 97 % of the (female) respondents do not give lifts to any strangers after nightfall (*Riger, Gordon & Le Bailley* 1978, p. 281). According to a survey (N = approximately 1,500), carried out in the USA in 1981 by *Gallup*, 20 % of those interviewed avoided being travelling alone at night (*US Department of Justice* 1983, p. 210). According to a Canadian study (*Krahn & Kennedy* 1985, p. 6), 20 % of those interviewed (N = 11,061 households from 23 cities) reduced their evening "activities"; they preferred to stay at home. The behaviour of avoiding certain areas from the start is included within this context. Therefore, 29 % of those interviewed, reported in the second British Crime Survey (*Hough & Mayhew* 1985, p. 40) that they would 'usually' or 'always' avoid areas which are considered to be dangerous. According to the American *Figgie-Report on Fear of Crime* (1980) even 47 % of those interviewed indicated that they 'sometimes' or 'in the majority of cases' do not go to dangerous areas (*US Department of Justice* op.cit., p. 213). Even in 1973/74, 30 % of the respondents of a written survey in Virginia (*Thomas & Hyman* 1977, p. 312) agreed to the following statement: "As a result of the problem of criminality, I avoid going shopping in the city (downtown section)". This renunciation of "activities" (staying at home at night, if possible, reducing contact with friends and so on) means that many citizens retire more and more from 'community life' because they feel threatened (*Skogan* 1986, pp. 21): If possible, they only talk to people they know, leave their home only at the 'safest' times and take the 'safest' ways, avoid strange, possibly dangerous situations, in general. Therefore, *Skogan* (op.cit.) points out, that the fear of crime reduces the citizens' willingness to avert criminal offences: They do not even inform the police. As the analysis of motives showed within the framework of the victim survey, there can also be other reasons for such reporting behaviour.

1.3.2 Defensive Measures

Precautionary measures can further consist in defensive measures. According to the *Gallup Opinion Poll* 1981 (op.cit.) already mentioned, 5 %

of the people interviewed indicated that they had established an alarm system; 13 % had installed burglar-proof locks in their front doors; 11 % of those interviewed carried a weapon; and 20 %, had trained a dog for their protection. According to the American *Figgie-Report on Fear of Crime* (1983), 52 % of those interviewed had a fire-arm; 51 % had installed safety locks in their front doors and 15 % had installed an alarm system. Accordingly, the assumption of there being a (though quite plausible) connection between the perceived threat and the taking of precautionary measures, could be confirmed (cf. Lotz 1979, p. 252).

2. Results from Germany

As far as fear of crime and the perceived threat in Germany are concerned, studies were carried through inter alia by *Stephan* (1976), *Rolinski* (1980), *Kerner* (1980) and *Dölling* (1983, 1986) as well as by *Arnold* (1984). Results of these studies will always be mentioned whenever results of two population surveys in Bochum (1975 and 1986) are reported as well as of a third survey carried out by the EMNID-Institute (one of the leading survey institutes in Germany) on request of the German Commission on Violence in 1989.

2.1 The First Bochum Study (1975): Bochum I

The first Bochum study was carried out in 1975 within the framework of a criminal-geographical research project (*Schwind, Ahlborn & Weiß* 1978) and is therefore criminally-geographically oriented; because of the relatively small number of persons interviewed it is more likely to be called a pilot study. Within the framework of this study, a random selection (random selection from the register at the registration office) from four out of a total of 164 "statistical housing units" (similar to the American "blocks") of the city of Bochum was interviewed. Bochum is a city with approximately 430,000 inhabitants situated between Dortmund and Köln in the "Ruhr area" (i.e. in the West of Germany).

The interviewers were students - primarily law students - from the Ruhr-University (Bochum), who had been specially prepared for this task by being given special training by the leaders of this sub-study (*Gefeller & Trudewind* 1978). All questions of the (standardized) questionnaire referred to the following criminal offences: theft, burglary, robbery, and assault. The following items were addressed: the "evaluation of the development of criminality", the "expectation of victimization", the "respondents' subjective

security" as well as "the number of the precautionary measures taken". Moreover, the dependency on victim experience as well as the relation of the sense of being in danger to ecological variables were investigated.

2.1.1 Results Concerning the Affective Component

The results on the affective component refer to the **subjective security**. In this respect, it could be noted that the subjective security is all in all more strongly expressed

- among men than among women (level of significance: $p < 0.001$) [In the following, the level of significance will only be indicated by p],
- among persons with a higher level of education compared to persons with a lower level of education ($p < 0.01$),
- among single respondents compared to married respondents ($p < 0.028$),

The sense of security outside the home at night is stronger

- among respondents with a higher socio-economic status compared to respondents with a lower socio-economic status ($p < 0.01$),
- among respondents with a higher level of education compared respondents with a lower level of education ($p < 0.001$),
- among men (very insecure: 8 %) compared to women (very insecure: 36.8 %) ($p < 0.001$),
- among younger compared to older respondents ($p < 0.001$).

The last result also corresponds to the results obtained by *Stephan* (1976) for Stuttgart: 20.3 % of individuals under 60 years but only 11.6 % of those over 60 years felt very safe, there.

2.1.2 Results on the Cognitive Component

The results on the cognitive component refer to the **development of criminality** as well as to the **expectation of victimization**. In this respect, the following connections to the personal variables were demonstrated:

- women estimate **the development of criminality in their own neighborhood** to be higher than men ($p < 0.05$), just as married respondents estimate it to be higher than single persons ($p < 0.023$);

- in comparison with younger respondents, older respondents estimate **the development of criminality outside their own neighborhood** to be higher ($p < 0.01$), and women estimate it to be higher in comparison with men, and married respondents in comparison with single persons ($p < 0.033$). The level of education and the socio-economic status were not relevant factors;
- with regard to **the expectation of victimization**, as a whole, there was only a difference between single and married respondents: married respondents are more likely to assume that they will become a victim of a criminal offence ($p < 0.012$);
- on the other hand, **the specific estimation of the probability of becoming a victim of assault** proved to be related to a particular age: younger respondents are more likely to assume that they will become a victim of such an offence, than older respondents ($p < 0.05$).

2.1.3 Results Concerning the Conative Component

The behavioural component of the perceived threat, i.e. the number of **the precautionary measures** taken, turned out to be dependent on the respondents' age, socio-economic status, level of education, and family status. As already stated in the foreign studies (see above), more precautionary measures are taken by

- younger in comparison with older respondents ($p < 0.01$),
- respondents with a higher level of education compared with respondents with a lower level of education ($p < 0.001$),
- persons with a higher socio-economic status as against persons with a lower socio-economic status ($p < 0.001$),
- married versus single respondents ($p < 0.015$).

2.1.4 Dependence on Victim Experience

The further block of conditioning variables examined, related to the question of whether one's own personal or a mediated victim experience can have an effect on one's sense of being in danger. In this regard, the study showed that persons who had themselves (or whose family members or other relatives or acquaintances had) already been the victim of crime regard a greater increase in crime in their own residential area as more probable than individuals who did not have the corresponding experiences. Since the former also have a higher expectation of victimization than the

latter, it is not surprising that individuals with experience of being a victim also took more precautionary measures than those without such an experience. It was also demonstrated that the strength of the sense of being in danger, is dependent upon the closeness to previous cases of victimization; in this regard, the frequency with which one has been a victim also plays a role.

In detail: Persons with greater "victim experience"

- expect a greater increase in criminality in their own residential area ($p < 0.001$),
- regard it as more probable that they themselves or a member of their family will become a victim of a criminal offence ($p < 0.001$),
- feel more insecure in their own neighbourhood ($p < 0.05$),
- take more precautionary measures ($p < 0.001$)

than persons with lesser "victim experience".

2.1.5 Relevance of Ecological Variables

The **perceived ecological variables** also play a role:

locales which provide conditions favourable to the commission of a crime, street illumination and population density and also the presence of the police.

- The higher the perceived **degree of police presence** the higher is the respondent's subjective security ($p < 0.05$) and the more the respondents regard the development of crime outside their own residential area in favorable terms ($p < 0.05$).
- People who regard the **street lighting** as "much too dark" take more precautionary measures ($p < 0.05$) and are more likely to think that they will become a victim of a criminal offence than people who think the street lighting is bright enough ($p < 0.05$).
- People who said that they often pass through many **locales which provide favourable conditions for the commission of a crime** estimate the development of criminality in their own residential area to be higher ($p < 0.001$) and regard it as more probable that they will become a victim of a criminal offence ($p < 0.001$) than people who said to a lesser degree that they pass through locales which provide conditions favourable to the commission of a crime.

- The number of precautionary measures taken is lower in areas with a greater **population density** than in areas with a low population density ($p < 0.004$).

The latter phenomenon could be connected to the fact that there are more single-family dwellings in residential areas with a lower population density, and that the inhabitants in such dwellings - due to the greater danger of a possible break-in - are more likely to take special precautionary measures than those living, for example, in high-rise apartment buildings. In this respect, the higher level of income may also play a role.

2.2 The Second Bochum Study (1986): Bochum II

The second Bochum study was carried out within the framework of a replication study concerning the victim survey (*Schwind, Ahlborn & Weiß: Dunkelfeldforschung in Bochum, eine Replikationsstudie 1989*); the methodology corresponds to that of the first survey. However, the number of the people interviewed was considerably higher ($N = 1434$). First of all, **the extent of the perceived threat represented by the three components** was investigated in a first-step evaluation.

2.2.1 Results on the Affective Component

- a) About one half of the citizens of Bochum obviously no longer feel secure in the streets **at night** (48.2 %): 30.1 % "are more likely to feel insecure" and 18.1 % "very insecure" (see table 1). The results correspond to the preceding study and to the results obtained by *Stephan* (1976, 88) for the city of Stuttgart (48 %: 27.0 %/21%); they also correspond to the total value for Tokyo (see above: 52.7 %) however it is conspicuous there in that, that the percentage of citizens who feel "very insecure" is considerably smaller (4.7 %); the same goes for Zurich (6.0 %).

The first Bochum study was also confirmed in that the feeling of insecurity is experienced particularly strongly by women (see table 2) (at night outside one's apartment, for example, $p < 0.00001$). Perhaps men are simply not prepared to admit their fear.

Contrary to our expectations, we could not show a statistically significant difference between older and younger individuals or between victims and non-victims.

**Table 1: Responses in the Bochum II Study 1986/87 to the Question:
How safe do you feel (in your own neighborhood) when you are alone?**

Subjective security Time/Place	Very secure	Quite secure	More likely secure	Very insecure	Total
During daytime (inside the apartment)	948 66.1%	422 29.4%	44 3.1%	20 1.4%	1,434 100%
During daytime (outside the apartment)	750 52.3%	580 40.4%	80 5.6%	16 1.1%	1,426* 99.4%*
At night (inside the apartment)	797 55%	451 31.5%	142 9.9%	44 3.1%	1,434 100%
At night (outside the apartment)	357 24.9%	370 25.8%	431 30.1%	260 18.1%	1,418* 99.9%*

* As several respondents did not respond, we did not always obtain 100% or n = 1,434.

**Table 2: Subjective Security (Segregated According to Sexes):
How safe do you feel (in your own neighborhood) when you are
alone? (Bochum II Study 1986/87)**

Subjective Security Time/Place	Very secure		Quite secure		More likely insecure		Very insecure		Total	
	men	wo- men	men	wo- men	men	wo- men	men	wo- men	men	wo- men
During daytime (inside the apartment)	517 70.6%	431 61.4%	194 26.5%	228 32.5%	11 1.5%	33 4.7%	10 1.4%	10 1.4%	732 100%	702 100%
During daytime (outside the apartment)	403 55.1%	374 49%	291 39.8%	289 41.2%	26 3.6%	54 7.7%	10 1.4%	6 0.9%	730 * 99.7%	696 * 99.2%
At night (inside the apartment)	460 62.8%	337 48%	221 30.2%	230 32.8%	38 5.2%	104 14.8%	13 1.8%	31 4.4%	832 100%	702 100%
At night (outside the apartment)	256 35.0%	101 14.4%	246 33.6%	124 17.7%	172 23.5%	259 36.9%	53 7.2%	207 29.5%	727 * 99.3%	691 * 98.4%

* As several respondents did not respond, we did not always obtain 100%.

During the daytime, citizens in Bochum feel relatively secure both inside and outside their apartment: Only 4.5 % and 6.7 %, respectively, expressed insecurity; in the USA, this percentage is considerably higher: 13 %, according to a Gallup survey (*US-Department of Justice* 1984, p. 175). The fact that the results of the USA are not higher, may have something to do with the fact that the Gallup survey did not only relate to urban areas but also to the whole country (levelling effect).

- b) The results on **fear of being victimized** correspond in their tendency to the extent of the feeling of insecurity, which indicates considerable variation between different parts of the city of Bochum: About 50 % (49.8 %) of the respondents in Bochum "never" feared being robbed, for example (see table 3): In *Stephan's* victim survey in Stuttgart, only about one third fell into this category (cf. also *Kerner* 1980, p. 142). If one combines the response categories "constantly" and "frequently" in the Bochum study, one arrives at 11.4 %, i.e. a much smaller percentage than the corresponding results of surveys in the USA, England and Wales, or in Zurich (see above: 31 % and 20 %). Somewhat more citizens have **fear of being burgled** (16.8 % "constantly" or "frequently"), especially, if they or members of their family have previously been a victim of this offence. The same goes for **theft**: While 47.5 % of the non-victims indicated that they "never fear" being robbed, this was shown by only 29.7 % of those who had previously been a victim of a theft. In both groups, about 20 % correspondingly indicated that they were "rarely" afraid of a theft. This difference becomes most clear among those who expressed themselves to be "constantly" afraid of a theft: Only 5 % of non-victims belong to this category, but 12 % of the victims of theft. Thus, victims of theft as a whole, express themselves less frequently as having no fear, and more often express themselves as having more fear than non-victims.

2.2.2 Results on the Cognitive Component

Kerner's observation (1980, p. 92) was confirmed namely that the respondents are more likely to assume a smaller increase in criminality in the Federal Republic as a whole than in their own city and more likely to assume such an increase in their city than in their own neighborhood. Thus, 53.3 % of the respondents assumed that burglaries have increased in the Federal Republic over the last five years (1981-86) to a "large" or "very large" extent; but only 15.6 % assumed such an increase in their own neighborhood. A similar picture is found in relation to assaults and robberies (cf.

table 4). The results also correspond, at least in their tendency, to the results obtained by *Stephan* (1976 for Stuttgart) and by *Rolinski* (1980 for Munich and Regensburg) as well as by *Dölling* (1986) for Lower Saxony (1981/82).

Table 3: Fear of Becoming a Victim of Robbery and Perception of Street Lighting in the own Neighborhood in the Bochum II Study 1986/87

Fear of being victimized with regard to robbery	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently	Constantly	I do not know	Total
Street lighting own neighborhood							
Bright enough	577 51.5% 80.8%	226 20.2% 73.4%	174 15.5% 78.7%	101 9.0% 79.5%	22 2.0% 61.1%	20 1.8% 71.4%	1120 100% 78.1%
Too dark	92 39.5% 12.9%	68 29.2% 22.1%	40 17.2% 18.1%	16 6.9% 12.6%	10 4.3% 27.8%	7 3.0% 25.0%	233 100% 16.2%
Much too dark	29 52.7% 4.1%	9 16.4% 2.9%	3 5.5% 1.4%	9 16.4% 7.1%	4 7.3% 11.1%	1 1.8% 3.6%	55 100% 3.8%
I do not know	16 61.5% 2.2%	5 19.2% 1.6%	4 15.4% 1.8%	1 3.8% 0.8%	0	0	26 100% 1.8%
Total	714 49.8% 100%	308 21.5% 100%	221 15.4% 100%	127 8.9% 100%	36 2.5% 100%	28 2.0% 100%	1434 100% 100%

An increase in criminality in the Federal Republic as a whole, however, is assumed above all in relation to theft: 88.0 % of the respondents were of the opinion that thefts have increased over the last five years, in relation to burglary, this figure amounts to 83.4 %, in relation to (deliberate) assault, it is 71.8 %, and in relation to robbery: 73.1 %. Actually, we can observe an increase in the police crime statistics for this period (for the town and the Federal Republic); however, these are relatively low - also in comparison with the corresponding (considerable) increase in criminality in the seventies.

Table 4: Estimation of the Development of Criminality in the Bochum II Study 1986/87:

Do you think that it is more likely that criminality with regard to following criminal offences has increased or decreased?

	Very strong	Strong increase	Some increase	Remained the same	Decrease (some, strong, very strong)	I do not know	Total
Federal Republic							
Theft	262 18.3%	560 39.1%	439 30.6%	63 4.4%	30 2.1%	80 5.6%	1434 100%
Burglary	231 16.1%	533 37.2%	431 30.1%	111 7.7%	28 2.0%	100 7.0%	1434 100%
Assault	192 13.4%	451 31.5%	386 26.9%	213 14.9%	46 3.3%	146 10.2%	1434 100%
Robbery	168 11.7%	461 32.1%	420 29.3%	212 14.8%	38 2.7%	135 9.4%	1434 100%
Bochum							
Theft	171 11.9%	463 32.3%	442 30.8%	162 11.3%	32 2.3%	164 11.4%	1434 100%
Burglary	159 11.1%	430 30.0%	441 30.8%	194 13.5%	39 2.7%	171 11.9%	1434 100%
Robbery	109 7.6%	343 23.9%	449 31.3%	289 20.2%	39 2.7%	205 14.3%	1434 100%
Assault	119 8.3%	377 26.3%	406 28.3%	300 20.9%	37 2.5%	195 3.6%	1434 100%
Own neighborhood							
Theft	76 5.3%	147 10.3%	240 16.7%	666 46.4%	70 4.9%	235 16.4%	1434 100%
Burglary	82 5.7%	142 9.9%	235 16.4%	670 46.7%	64 4.5%	241 16.8%	1434 100%
Assault	38 2.6%	87 6.1%	164 11.4%	744 51.9%	83 5.8%	318 22.2%	1434 100%
Robbery	33 2.3%	82 5.7%	164 11.4%	765 53.3%	81 5.6%	309 21.5%	1434 100%

The fact that unreported crimes had not increased (according to a result of the replication study) obviously did not play a role in the evaluation of the development of criminality: the citizen only hears reports over the media about the registered number of crimes. Personal experiences in relation to unreported crimes are comparatively small.

2.2.3 Results on the Conative Component

- a) In order to protect themselves against theft, 88.1 % of the respondents carefully locked their cars or bicycles. 44.4 % secured their doors and windows, 5.6 % installed an alarm system (cf. table 5). Also 5.6 % had sought the advice of the "detective branch's consultation office in Bochum". It seems that with increasing income there is a growing readiness to protect one's property by alarm systems.

Table 5: Reply Structure to the Question: "What kind of measures have you taken in order to protect yourself or your property" in the Bochum II Study 1986/87

Measures	Yes	No	No response	Total
Careful locking of cars/bicycles etc.	1263 88.1%	114 7.9%	57 4.0%	1434 100%
Door and window protection/Grille	636 44.4%	794 55.4%	4 0.3%	1434 100%
Dog	169 11.8%	1263 88.1%	2 0.1%	1434 100%
Weapons such as stick etc.	222 15.5%	1208 84.2%	4 0.3%	1434 100%
Avoidance of certain areas	745 52.0%	687 47.9%	2 0.1%	1434 100%
Avoidance of speaking to strangers	373 26.0%	1057 73.7%	4 0.3%	1434 100%
Alarm system	81 5.6%	1344 93.7%	9 0.6%	1434 100%
Contacting the detective branch's consultation office	81 5.6%	1349 94.1%	4 0.3%	1434 100%

- b) Due to fear of a robbery etc., about half of the respondents avoided certain areas considered as particularly dangerous. One quarter avoid, according to their own statements, talking to strangers. About one fifth of the respondents take both avoidance measures. 0.8 % leave their homes at night only if accompanied, 0.6 % do not open the door to strangers. On the other hand, some 40 % of the respondents do not show any avoidance behaviour.
- c) If one considers this avoidance behavior in relation to the affective component, as it was done in the second step of the analysis, then the following correlations are found:
- the more secure the respondents felt in the streets at night, the less individual avoidance measures were taken, and vice versa ($p < 0.00001$).
 - Similarly, respondents who think less frequently of (or fear) being robbed or assaulted take fewer individual avoidance measures ($p < 0.00001$).

These results seem plausible: **Someone who feels insecure will display avoidance behavior**; someone who is not afraid of becoming a victim has, from his point of view, no reason for showing such behavior. At the same time, it was found - as in other studies - that women show individual avoidance behavior significantly more frequently than men ($p < 0.00001$). This finding also appears plausible, since, according to general experience, women anyhow put themselves into victimogenic situations less frequently than men.

2.2.4 *The Fear of Being Victimized and Streetlighting*

Finally, we also investigated whether there is again a relation between fear of being victimized and **the brightness of streetlighting** - as in the first Bochum study. Here we found for the second time that those respondents who perceive streetlighting in their neighborhood as sufficiently bright are less afraid of being robbed ($p < 0.00012$) or assaulted ($p < 0.00059$). In this context, it therefore seems risky when the local administration for economic reasons no longer switch on the streetlighting in all cases.

Here, according to *Henig & Maxfield* (1978, p. 309), it should also be taken into account that streetlighting which is perceived as sufficiently bright, is only related to little fear of crime if, at the same time, the citizen assumes that there are witnesses in the proximity who are prepared to help in any form.

2.3 The EMNID-Survey (1989) by Order of the German Commission on Violence

The third survey (to which we will only make a short reference) was carried out in March/April 1989 by the EMNID-Institute in Bielefeld by order of the Federal Government's Commission on Violence. 2,012 valid interviews were obtained by 450 interviewers. However, in the complex of questions, there was only one question which dealt with one of the components of the perceived threat, namely with the cognitive one. The text of this question which refers to **the expected development of the number of crimes of violence** in the Federal Republic of Germany is as follows:

"In 1982, about 115,000 citizens of the Federal Republic became victims of crimes of violence. Do you think that this figure strongly decreased; decreased; remained the same; increased; strongly increased over the last years?"

The response categories were given in this way. The people interviewed were over 14 years old. About three quarters of the respondents (72 %) indicated that the number of victims of acts of violence had increased since 1982; age or sex-specific differences were hardly discernible.

Concerning this result, the final report of the German Commission on Violence which was published in 1990 (Eds.: *Schwind & Baumann et al.* 1990, V. I p. 45) says:

"According to that, a large part of the population not only feels itself more and more threatened but also assumes an increase in the criminality of violence. The subjective situation of security, i. e. the perception of the criminality of violence by the population, seems to influence the perceived threat in a not insignificant way."

If it is so, there is a criminal-political need for action although (at least at the moment) the objective does not correspond to the subjective security situation in the Federal Republic of Germany: the registered criminality of violence stagnates, on a very high level for German experience however. The fact that the subjective does not correspond to the objective situation of criminality has - last, but not least - something to do with the "suggestion of the media"; for this also advocates that the evaluation of the development of criminality varies depending on the proximity: in one's own residential area one knows one's way around, with regard to the development in larger geographical areas (Land within the Federal Republic of Germany, Federal Republic as a whole) one is more likely to think of what is spread by the

media, who are partly interested in gaining attention by horror reports and in obtaining thereby advertising receipts (about it *Kellens & Lamaitre 1987*, p. 40).

3. Summary

Whenever the perceived threat refers to criminal threat we speak of "fear of crime". The Bochum studies (Bochum I and Bochum II) regard this feeling - similar to social attitudes - as a construct, namely as a "conglomeration of different thoughts and feelings". Three components are used as parts of this **construct** namely an affective (emotional), a cognitive (rational), and a conative (behavioral) component. To the affective component we related: the subjective security and the fear of being victimized, to the cognitive component: the evaluation of the development of criminality and the expectation of victimization, to the conative component the precautionary measures taken (avoidance and defense behavior).

The **Bochum I** study (1975) only refers to 357 respondents (from a random selection) from the register at the registration office and is therefore more likely to be considered in this respect as a pilot study. Some results: subjective security, evaluation of the development of criminality, expectation of victimization, and precautionary measures (also) have something to do with socio-demographic variables: male, younger, higher educated, and single respondents feel more safe, show less expectation of victimization, and regard the development of criminality to be more limited. On the other hand, female respondents, older individuals, lower educated persons and married persons are more likely to be seized by fear of crime. It is therefore plausible that this group is also more likely to take precautionary measures. It should be noted that the number of precautionary measures taken increases in a statistically significant manner with the level of education attained. As far as individuals are concerned, who have already been victims, it is conspicuous that they become more anxious and change into the second group even if first of all they belonged to the first one.

The subjective security is obviously increased by visible police presence and can be reduced by street lighting that is regarded as "too dark". It is felt less in areas with a greater population density than in areas with a lower one. This phenomenon could be connected with the fact that there are more single-family dwellings in residential areas with a lower population density, and that the inhabitants in such dwellings - due to the greater danger of a possible break-in - are more likely to take special precautionary measures.

The **Bochum II** study (1986) dealt with 1,434 respondents and principally corresponds in its methodology to the Bochum I pilot study. In this context, first of all *Kerner's* observation (1980, p. 92) was confirmed, namely that "respondents regard there as being a smaller increase in criminality, in the close circle around their immediate environment": the respondents were thus more likely to assume an increase in criminality (with regard to burglary, for example) in the Federal Republic as a whole (53.3 %) than in their own neighborhood (15.6 %); A similar picture is also portrayed with regard to assaults and acts of robbery (cf. tables 6 and 7). An increase in criminality (over the last five years) is assumed above all in relation to theft (88.0 %) and burglary (83.4 %); this evaluation principally also corresponds to the police crime statistics. However, this does not apply to the criminal offences of violence that have been stagnating at a high level for several years. Nevertheless, an EMNID-survey (in the Federal Republic as a whole) revealed that 72 % of 2,012 respondents assume an increase. Results of the Bochum II survey corresponds to this: About one half of the subjects in Bochum (48.2 %) obviously no longer feel secure in the streets at night: 30.1 % feel "a little bit insecure", 18.1 % "very insecure"; thereby, corresponding results of the Bochum I pilot study were confirmed; the same goes for the greater subjective security among women. Contrary to our expectations, we could not show a statistically significant difference between older and younger individuals or between victims and non-victims. During the daytime, anyhow, respondents in Bochum feel relatively secure, both inside and outside their apartment in fact (in both cases well over 90 %). The results relating to fear of being victimized correspond to the extent of the feeling of insecurity, which actually shows considerable variation between different parts of the city of Bochum: About 50 % of the respondents in Bochum "never" feared being robbed, for example. Someone who feels insecure will show avoidance behavior, which is plausible: 44.4 % of the respondents secured their doors and windows, 88.1 % carefully lock their cars or bicycles, but only 5.6 % could decide to secure their house or their apartment by an additional alarm system until now. There can also be noted a crime-political need for action: The "detective branch's consultation offices" which are at the disposal of the police headquarters in Germany should offensively expand their consulting activities: instead of waiting for somebody looking for an advice to come in, they should themselves move to those places where precautionary measures seem to be useful.

Table 6: Estimation of the Development of Criminality in the Bochum II Study 1986/87 (Burglary; Federal Republic vs. own Neighborhood)

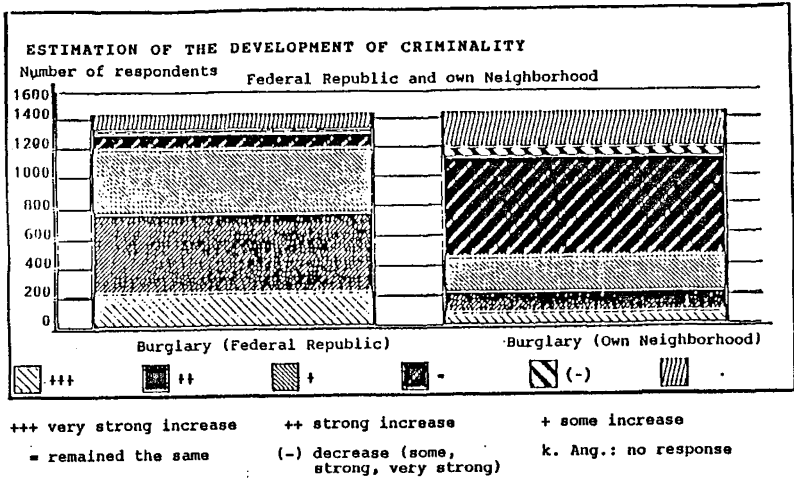
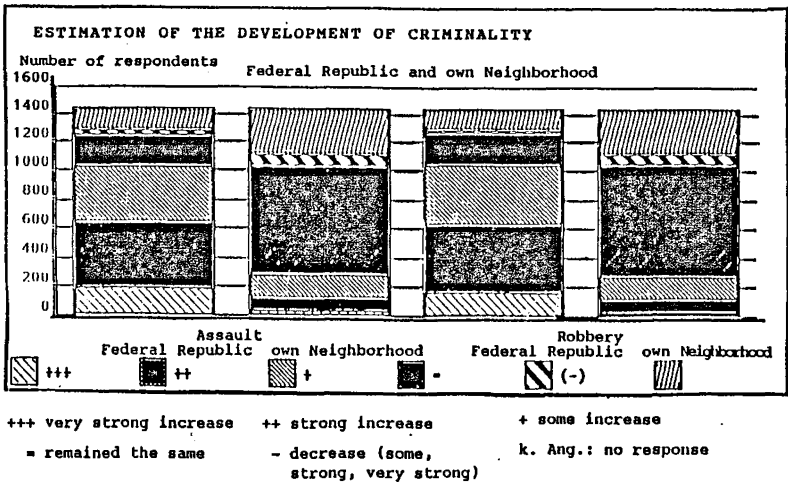


Table 7: Estimation of the Development of Criminality in the Bochum II Study 1986/87 (Assault/Robbery; Federal Republic vs. own Neighborhood)



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Public Attitudes to Crime: Findings of the Zurich Victim Survey

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1. Introduction

In large parts of the classical criminological literature crime is defined as a phenomenon in need of explanation, i.e. it is conceptualized as a **dependent** variable. Nevertheless, this does not pay attention to the fact that criminal acts have further implications and do produce reactions on the part of the victims and the general public, ranging from changes in lifestyle to preventive actions against the criminal threat. These in turn can have retroactive effects on the crime rate in a community (see *Skogan* 1988; *Conklin* 1989, pp. 102-111). In the last twenty years the attention of criminological research has, therefore, extended to the diverse manifestations of crime in society (*Garofalo* 1981a, p. 343).

The rapid social changes in the eastern part of Germany following the reunification set a good example. Whereas, under the former regime, crime in the German Democratic Republic did not amount to a big concern, a recent public opinion poll carried out in all parts of Germany revealed that an increasing crime rate was perceived by persons living there as the most important problem. More than two thirds (68 %) said they were worried greatly by this new social problem. And third and fourth on the list: the worry of a rising drug problem among the youth (big worry - 64 %) and an increasing aggressiveness and violence in society (big worry - 57 %). However, in the western part of Germany the problem of increasing air and water pollution (big worry - 47 %) tops the list and much fewer people are preoccupied with crime (increasing crime rate - 31 %, aggressiveness and violence - 29 %, drug problem among the youth - 37 %; *Kuhnke* 1991, p. 79; see also *Kury* 1991). The presence of crime in literature, newspapers, television and cinema illustrates to what a great extent crime shapes our cultural life (*Warr* 1991, pp. 5-19).

It is in this broader framework of interdependency, where the analysis of public attitudes to crime is to be placed. In this context criminal activities become **independent** variables influencing other individual and social factors, i.e. fear of crime, perceptions of risk and security, or prevention measures to name just a few. The aim of this article is to present some findings on these attitudinal reactions to crime.

2. The Zurich Victim Survey: Methodology and Procedure

The Zurich Victim Survey 1987 is methodologically based on a cross-national victim survey undertaken by the Max-Planck-Institute (Freiburg i.Br.) in 1981/82 covering three states: **Texas** in the United States, **Baranya** in Hungary, and **Baden-Württemberg** in the German Federal Republic (see *Teske & Arnold* 1982; *Arnold* 1986; *Arnold et al.* 1988; *Teske & Arnold* 1991). The first survey based along these lines in Switzerland organized by the Criminological Institute of the University of Zurich was conducted in the Canton of Uri (1985), which is a mountainous rural part of central Switzerland (see *Stadler* 1987 and 1991). The Danish criminologist Balvig based part of his critical appraisal of the crime situation in Switzerland on the results of this 1985 study (*Balvig* 1988, pp. 46-57 and 1990c, pp. 45-56). Only by using the same methodological approach was it possible to undertake a reliable cross-examination of the findings and to validate this research tool. The first results of the Zurich Victim Survey placed in a comparison with the other surveys have been presented elsewhere (*Schwarzenegger* 1989 and 1991b; see also *Kerner et al.* 1990, pp. 434-39).

In principal, there are three methods for administering victim surveys: face-to-face interviews, telephone interviews, and mail surveys (see *Baker* 1988, pp. 165-99). Thus far, face-to-face interviews have been the prevailing technique applied in many important projects, such as the National Crime Survey and the British Crime Survey, as well as in a variety of small scale surveys (see *U.S. Department of Justice* 1989, pp. 119-24; *Arnold et al.* 1988, p. 911; *Kaiser* 1988, pp. 356-62; *Mayhew et al.* 1989; *Schwarzenegger* 1989, pp. 5-9 for a description and further references). In recent research projects, however, computer-assisted telephone interviewing (CATI) enjoys great popularity because the computerization of the responses is accomplished directly during the interviewing procedure, which reduces costs and avoids delays associated with coding and transcribing (see *Skogan* 1986, pp. 96-100; *Killias* 1987a and 1989, pp. 21-43; *van Dijk et al.* 1990, pp. 5-9 for a further discussion).

For many years the telephone interview has had a bad reputation simply because not enough inhabitants had telephones, thus making it impossible to draw a representative sample of the whole population. This critique seems to be obsolete now that the general telephone penetration rates in industrialized countries range from 82 to 98 % (*van Dijk et al.* 1990, p. 135). But a closer look at the situation in Switzerland and at the studies conducted here

using telephone interviews confirms the observation that some serious shortcomings regarding this method remain (see *Arnold 1990*). Not only does the telephone coverage differ from Canton to Canton, as Swiss census data disclose, ranging from 7.1 % **households without telephone** in Basel (country district) to 17.4 % in Valais (*Bundesamt für Statistik 1988*), but considerable variations persist also on the community level. An internal technical report of the Zurich Post Office (*Fernmeldekreisdirektion Zürich 1987*; see also *Bundesamt für Statistik 1990*, p. 236) shows the highest rate of **telephones per 100 inhabitants** for the city of Zurich (77.2 per 100 persons; situation as of December 1986), in smaller towns of the Canton of Zurich the rate reduces to circa 50 (i.e. Bülach with 45.9 telephones per 100 inhabitants) and reaches the bottom in rural communities where only 30 to 40 telephones per 100 inhabitants exist (lowest rate 32.2 in Rüstenwil/AG). As a consequence, drawing a systematic random sample from whatever telephone list chosen would result in a biased sample, overrepresenting those communities which have a higher telephone distribution and excluding certain subpopulations (rural inhabitants, low income households, etc., see *Trevin & Lee 1988*). Hence, it remains unclear how the first two telephonic victim surveys in Switzerland, which are based on a mixture of random and quota sampling (see *Killias 1986*, 2.9; *Killias 1987b*, 2.1 with no discussion of these problems), could produce an unbiased representation of the general public. In the third survey which was part of the 1989 International Crime Survey, telephone numbers were taken out of the most recent telephone directories (see Table A.3 in *van Dijk et al. 1990*, p. 136), which leads to a supplementary loss in representativeness excluding especially those population parts with high mobility (see *Baker 1988*, p. 192). Many other objections to the application of telephone surveys in the study of victimization have been advanced (*Arnold 1990*, pp. 143-158 with helpful references on methodological issues; see *Bishop et al. 1988* for aspects of data quality) so that it seems at least necessary to interpret the result gathered by this method cautiously.

Mail surveys offer an alternative, less costly mode of data collection which for many reasons is a more reliable tool, especially when studying victims (see *Stadler 1987*, pp. 186-89; *Hagan 1989*, p. 94; *Arnold 1990*, pp. 155-56). It is interesting in this context that the Japanese follow-up study to the World Crime Survey 1989 produced good results (completion rate 80.4 %) by using a self-administered questionnaire, which was distributed by home delivery. It was then left for the respondents to complete and picked up later by the research team (*Zaidanhôjin toshibôhankenkyû sentâ 1990*, p. 3; see also *Babbie 1990*, p. 176).

In the Zurich Victim Survey a questionnaire containing 67 items was mailed to a systematic random sample of 3000 persons aged 16 years and more (see *Schwarzenegger* 1989 for the details). The addresses were drawn from the lists of inhabitants of the registration offices in the 171 political communities. These lists are the most complete and up-to-date address files available in the Canton of Zurich containing all persons living in the community. The survey was carried out between January and April 1987 and achieved an uncorrected response rate of 47.3 %, which equals 1420 completed questionnaires. This rate has been described as an average performance (see *Heberlein & Baumgartner* 1978, p. 451). Furthermore, the study proved to present a very reliable representation of the population when socio-demographic variables (age, sex, education level, income) of the respondents were compared to the Census data. Only immigrants and persons aged 70 years and older appear underrepresented.

3. Concepts of Public Attitudes to Crime

Research on attitudes and opinions has a long tradition in social psychology because these concepts seem to be useful in explaining different kinds of social behaviors, such as aggression, discrimination, political and religious activities (see for early criminological studies *McIntyre* 1967; *Banks et al.* 1975). In addition to this, attitudinal research proved to be central on an operational level. In the 1940's and 1950's government leaders and the military became very interested in the scientific understanding of propaganda and persuasion, their questions being how enemy troops can best be demoralized, or how the government can best persuade the populace toward its policies. Later, the focus changed to the formation and alteration of consumers' attitudes in advertisement and the persuasion of voters in elections, for which millions of dollars, pounds or Deutschemarks are currently spent (*Lippa* 1990, pp. 219-20). It is, therefore, not surprising that a host of literature exists on attitude and related subjects. *Dawnes and Smith* (1985, p. 509) indicate that 20,209 articles and books are listed under this heading in the *Psychological Abstract* from 1970 to 1979 and *Rajecki* (1990, p. 8), by means of a computer search of the PsycLIT Database, found that attitudes are by far the most frequently investigated topic in recent years (1974-1988). Nonetheless, there is inconsistency about its definition.

"It is not uncommon for psychologists and other social scientists to investigate a phenomenon at great length without knowing what they're talking about. So it is with **attitude**." [Emphasis in the original] (*Dawes & Smith* 1985, p. 509)

As a consequence, one first step must be the clarification of this concept, especially of the term «attitudes to crime».

One of the shortest working definitions is formulated by *McGuire* (1985, 239) who characterizes attitudes...

...as responses that locate «objects of thought» on «dimensions of judgement»."

The term «object of thought» refers to all kinds of concrete or abstract foci of interest in the experience of an individual with its environment and inner life, whereas «dimensions of judgement» are conceptualized as axes of meaning on which the person places the objects of thought when evaluating them.

A recent textbook on attitudes defines the term as a **mental and neural state of readiness** that is organized through **experience** and that exerts a **directive or dynamic influence** upon the individual's response to the objects and situations with which it is related (*Rajecki* 1990, pp. 4-6 based on an often cited definition by *Gordon W. Allport*).

The first element of this definition determines attitudes as psychological facts related to a certain object. The measurement problems stemming from the difficulty to detect these mental states to an adequate degree are discussed in a subsequent section (see under 4.). Secondly, attitudes are not supposed to be innate, because they are conceived as acquired in learning processes through direct and indirect experiences (although criticized by *Dawes & Smith* 1985, p. 510). Finally, they are seen as one of the motivational factors (apart from drives and instincts, etc.) that dispose us to become active. This supposed influence on behavior leads to the conclusion that if one knows a person's attitude, one can infer his or her behavior: What purposes do attitudes serve? According to *Rajecki* (1990, pp. 8-12 with further references) four functions can be distinguished. When we adopt attitudes in order to gain rewards and prevent punishments, e.g. by conforming to certain standards or rules of our group, these attitudes have a **utilitarian** or **adaptive** function. Attitudes also help to manage the vast amount of information that persons are confronted with every day. This information (on acts, people, thoughts, etc.) is assigned to categories for which the same attitudes are applied suggesting **knowledge** and **control** over them. If a political commentator equates Arabs as religious fanatics, then it will be easy for him to interpret such varying factors, as corporal punishment of petty criminals in Saudi Arabia, anti-Zionistic terroristic acts, sexual discrimination in education, work, and family in Arabian societies and the like. His attitude gives him a sense of control over what these things

are and how he feels about them. Furthermore, attitudes are used in an **expressive, self-realizing** function to protect the self-image, or to render a social image to others. Another task that attitudes fulfill is an **ego-defensive** one (see also *Lippa* 1990, pp. 222-24).

Traditionally attitudes are characterized by three internal components which for mnemonic reasons are called the A(ffective)-B(ehavioral)-C(ognitive) components (*McGuire* 1985, p. 242; *Schneider* 1988, pp. 180-81; *Ajzen* 1989, pp. 241-274; *Cacioppo et al.* 1989, pp. 275-309; *Rajecki* 1990, pp. 38-61). However, some authors propose alternative models, such as the two component model (attitude = affect and cognition) or a limitation to one element (affect or cognition) (see *Meinefeld* 1988, p. 121; *Pratkanis* 1989, pp. 71-98; *Dawes & Smith* 1985, p. 510 with further references).

In the tripartite attitude model, the affective component stands for an **emotional** reaction to the «object of thought». A wide variety of feelings can emerge, ranging from love, joy and surprise to anger, sadness and fear. These basic emotions have been found across diverse cultures and across all age groups (see *Zebrowitz* 1990, pp. 90-94 with further references). The behavioral component represents an **intentional** or **action** element in attitudes, but it should not be confused with behavior itself. Behavioral intention means rather a tendency to behave in the pre designed manner. Finally, cognition refers to **thinking** and **believing** about the attitudinal object (*Schneider* 1988, p. 180; *Rajecki* 1990, pp. 38-41).

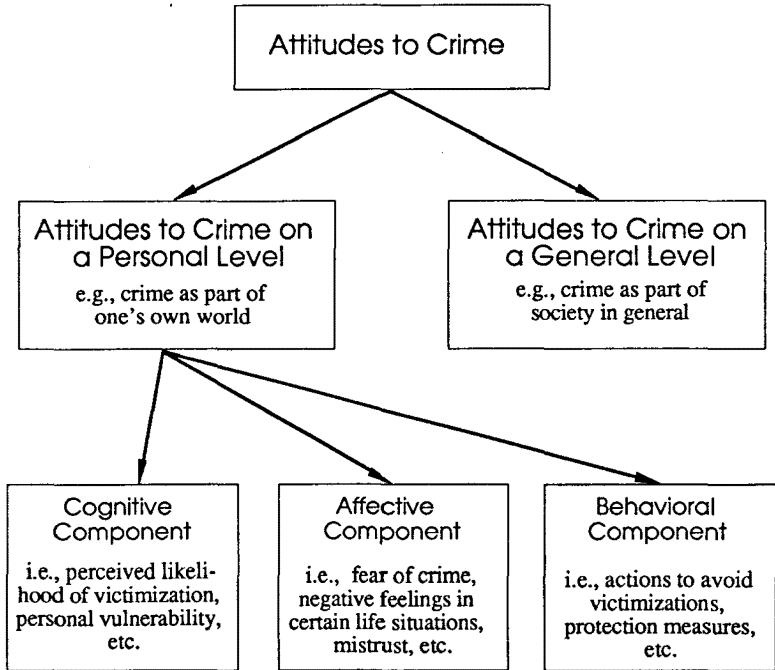
What are the implications for the study of attitudes to crime?

The three component model can be applied to the specific attitudinal object «**crime**» (*Gefeller & Trudewind* 1978, pp. 311-12; *van Dijk* 1980, pp. 11-19; *Dölling* 1986, pp. 41-42; see Figure 1). The first distinction has to be made on the level of the «object of thought» itself where **different dimensions** exist.

On the one hand individuals can be directly concerned by crime, first of all by becoming victims or bystanders of criminal acts. In reaction to these experiences, they adapt attitudes, the most important being judgements concerning one's own risk and fear of crime. In the same way, indirect information on crime and crime-related situations can lead to attitudes on the **personal level**. On the other hand, attitudes may be attached to the general crime situation in a community or nation without immediate connection to the person's life situation. These **general** attitudes on crime differ from their subjective counterparts and, therefore, constitute a separate object of study, i.e. evaluations of the total number of crimes committed in Switzerland or in Zurich, of rising or falling crime rates, and judgements on the relative importance of crime compared to other social problems and the

like are examples of attitudes to crime as an outcome of general processes within society. Although these attitudes are influenced by social reality, they do not necessarily conform to it (see *Gefeller & Trudewind* 1978, pp. 309-12; *Kerner* 1980, pp. 87-136; *Dölling* 1986, pp. 41-42).

Figure 1: The different Aspects of Attitudes to Crime



A further possible distinction would be to separate the attitudes according to single crime types (i.e. attitudes to property crimes, to violent crimes, to white collar crimes, etc.). Attitudes to crime on the personal, as well as general level, do influence a lot of other attitudinal variables, e.g. reporting crimes to the police, public opinions on punishments, attitudes to the police and to the courts (*Kaiser* 1989a).

In this article we will concentrate on some aspects of attitudes to crime on the personal level, treating them as **separate**, though interconnected, entities.

On the cognitive level, where the rational evaluation of crime is addressed, we will have a look at the perceived **subjective probability of becoming a crime victim** within the next 12 months. The assessment of one's own vulnerability toward criminal attacks, or the judgement about the safety of the neighbourhood are other perceptions of crime that have to be integrated in the explanatory model.

The affective component is best represented by an **expression of emotions** elicited through crime in different life situations, e.g. feeling unsafe when walking alone after dark in the neighbourhood or in certain parts of the city (see below 5. for the operational definition).

Finally, the behavioral component is expressed by **action tendencies** and indirectly by overt behavior, i.e. changes in lifestyle and precautionary measures against delinquency (the result on this third attitudinal component will be presented in another publication, see *Schwarzenegger* 1991a).

4. Theoretical Models

Up to now a general theory of attitudes to crime has not yet been presented so that the existing models are better defined as «middle range theories» (see *Merton* 1968, p. 39 following pages).

Whereas in social psychology there is a strong tradition which bases attitude formation on the principles of learning theory (see *Lippa* 1990, pp. 230-36), in criminology only a few explanatory models dealing with fear of crime have been developed, without specific reference to a theoretical tradition (i.e. *Garofalo* 1979 and 1981b; *Skogan & Maxfield* 1981; *Pet-suksiri* 1986, pp. 4-18; *Taylor & Hale* 1986; *Moriarty* 1988). Often, the variables are not clearly conceptualized in the respective literature confusing cognitive and affective components (i.e. *Fattah & Sacco* 1989 concerning the operational definitions; *Killias* 1989; *Balvig* 1990a; *Rosenbaum & Heath* 1990, 224) and frequently post hoc hypotheses suggesting reasons for an empirical relationship are advanced. *Ferraro* and *LaGrange* in their critical review of the literature come to the terse conclusion that...

"A major problem in conceptualizing and measuring fear of crime is the confounding of fear of crime with risk of or vulnerability to crime. ... Fear is influenced by judgments of risk, but also

affects such judgments. To assume, however, that when one measures judgments of risk that one is measuring fear of crime is both invalid and obscures the processes that generate these perceptions." (Ferraro & LaGrange 1987, p. 71 and 73, see also p. 79 and LaGrange & Ferraro 1989, p. 698 with further references).

The following two models demonstrate the interrelationship of the three attitudinal components, the central dependent variable being fear of crime.

Before we commence, however, two important distinctions have to be made (see Schwarzenegger 1991a for details and references). At the micro-sociological level fear of crime can be described, on the one hand, as a physiological and emotional reaction to an actual threat in distinct life situations, called **actual fear**, and, on the other hand, as an emotional reaction to a potential threat independent of a dangerous situation, named **potential fear** (see Garofalo 1981b, p. 841; Maxfield 1984, p. 3). Furthermore, fear of crime is also analyzed on a macro-sociological level, where the structural determinants of fear of crime in certain groups or communities are addressed (see Liska et al. 1982; Liska & Baccaglioni 1990). Depending on what kind of phenomenon is analyzed, the explanatory model changes somewhat.

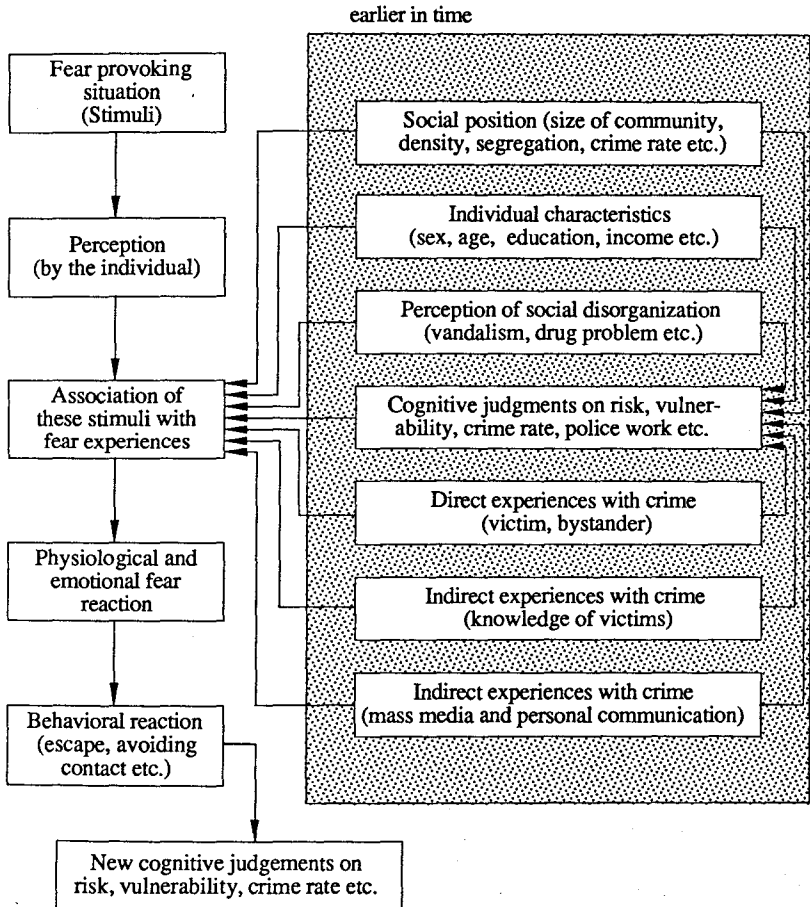
Figure 2 depicts the effects on the individual level, concerning **actual fear of crime**. According to social learning theory, the affective attitudinal component «fear of crime» is explained by classical conditioning, operant conditioning, and observational learning (Akers 1985, p. 63; Petsuksiri 1986, pp. 49-55; Lippa 1990, pp. 230-31).

This micro-sociological model is based on the interaction between personal and environmental factors. In the daily activities, an individual is confronted with a lot of different life situations, though some of them occur routinely as part of repeated behavior patterns, i.e. in the family setting, at work, or driving a car etc. The smallest units of the human environment are called situational cues or stimuli. But not all momentary situational stimuli become registered consciously, on the contrary persons realize only parts of their social reality.

Therefore, one or more situational cues can provoke fear of crime but only when they are noticed by the individual. Furthermore, these stimuli must be associated with fear of crime in the individuals' inner life. Only then are the physiological and emotional reactions of fear aroused, often immediately followed by corresponding actions of escape, avoiding behavior, torpidity, etc. At this point, **social learning theory** sets in because

the linkage between perceived stimuli and the reaction of fear is a product of the three above mentioned learning processes (classical and operant conditioning and model learning).

Figure 2: Explanatory Model for Actual Fear of Crime



As early as 1920, *Watson and Rayner* (1920, pp. 1-14) demonstrated in an experiment with an infant, how unconditioned situational stimuli lead to reactions of fear. This was done by repeatedly linking them with a conditioned stimulus (another example is given by *Lippa* 1990, pp. 230-31). The

situational cues of these experiences are memorized and, if another similar situation is encountered, the perception of these stimuli leads most probably to the «learned» reaction of fear.

This explains why victims of violent attacks are fearful when they get into other life situations where they perceive the same situational stimuli that have characterized the victimization. *Petsuksiri* (1986, p. 79) asked students about the situational elements that provoked fear of crime in them and found the following stimuli to be the dominating ones:

1) A person present; 2) At night; 3) Being alone; 4) Darkness; 5) Noise; 6) Bad area; 7) On the street; 8) Weapons (see also Warr 1990 who cites similar elements).

Fear provoking stimuli are not only learned through direct victimization experiences, but also through so-called discriminative stimuli expressed by family members, friends, and other persons in an individual's surroundings, or especially by the mass media (*McIntyre* 1975, pp. 185-86). This process is often called model learning. By way of these communication channels, certain situational stimuli are presented as signs of criminal danger which in turn are associated with reactions of fear in other persons. These stimuli are transformed to stimulus-objects of one's own fear (see *Petsuksiri* 1986, pp. 49-52; *Scruton* 1986, p. 22; *Moriarty* 1988, pp. 31-32).

"Once a person learns about crimes and its results from information sources such as friends, neighbors and mass media, he develops a schema about fearful crime situations. ... When he or she faces a situation consisting of these cues [darkness, being alone etc., my annotation], he or she will use that schema of fear of crime to interpret incoming informational cues and react accordingly." (*Petsuksiri* 1986, pp. 51-52)

However, the adoption of such interpretation schemata is not done «blindly» without respect to one's own individual situation in life. Rather a set of cognitive variables, i.e. judgements regarding the subjective victimization risk, of one's own vulnerability, or the general crime rate, intervene, reinforcing or weakening these definitions of other people. A strong young man, for example, may well have learned in the above defined ways what situational characteristics are connected with criminal dangers, nevertheless, he won't become fearful when they actually occur because he thinks that he is strong enough to prevent or combat all attacks, or because he perceives the places he frequents as not crime prone.

But if the situational stimuli are associated with fear of crime, then the physiological and emotional reactions follow immediately. The extent of the

reaction of fear depends on the intensity of the perceived danger symptoms, and their correspondence with the learned schemata about fearful crime situations. The behavioral reaction of fear can vary from hyperactivity to a state of paralysis.

Once over, the experience influences new crime-related cognitive processes which in turn, though not being the only relevant factor, help to reinforce existing schemata (see *Ferraro & LaGrange* 1987, p. 73; this circular aspect of the social learning model has been criticized - see *Chambliss* 1988, pp. 244-45; *Thio* 1988, pp. 43-44). On the contrary, other cognitive evaluations can lead to a **neutralizing** of these processes (see *Agnew* 1985 for a further discussion).

As indicated above, the social learning theory has been widely used by social psychologists in the explanation of attitude formation. There exists also a criminological variant of social learning theory in the context of deviant behavior developed by *Burgess* and *Akers* (see *Akers* 1985). More recently, the learning model has been extended to fear of crime (see *Moriarty* 1988; *Riggs & Kilpatrick* 1990, pp. 130-31).

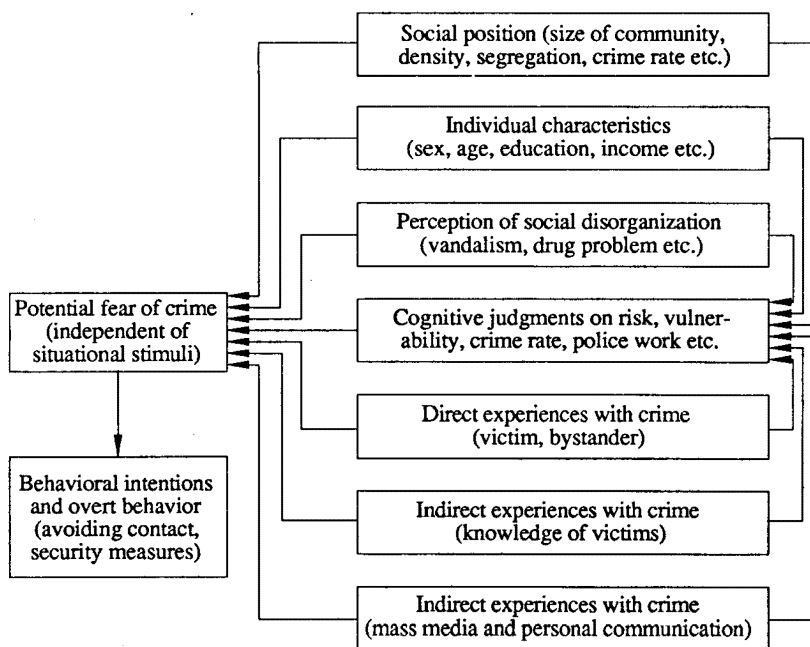
Figure 3 illustrates a model of potential fear of crime, e.g. a fear reaction independent of situational stimuli. As has been pointed out in Section 3, attitudes are internal, subjective events. Hence, it is possible that they get completely independent of external stimuli, being generated exclusively by internal cues as, for example, the anticipation of potential risks. The term anxiety is often used to determine the emotional reaction when it is detached from situational stimuli (see *Arnold* 1984, p. 189 and 219 with a lot of references; *Petsuksiri* 1986, pp. 60-72; *Ferraro & LaGrange* 1987, p. 73), but in most publications no difference is made because ...

"Such anticipated fear is closer to what most people might think of as fear of crime." (*Maxfield* 1984, p. 3; see also *Fattah & Sacco* 1989, p. 207)

The two models represent ideal types, but most reactions of fear will be somewhere in-between on this fear-anxiety-continuum. As can be seen in Figure 3, the influencing variables remain the same as in Figure 2, except that the process becomes independent of the persons' activities. Potential fear of crime can emerge at home, looking television, talking to someone etc. In spite of the temporal and spatial vagueness, the origin of potential fear of crime does not have to be irrational. On the contrary, the fear arousing factors correspond to principles of social learning theory. As in the actual fear model, personal and demographic characteristics, direct and

indirect experiences with crime, and the cognitive attitudes to crime on the personal, as well as on the general level, underlie directly, or as intermediary to, this affective attitudinal component.

Figure 3: Explanatory Model for Potential Fear of Crime



This leads to the following basic assumptions:

- 1) There is a positive relationship between direct and indirect victimization experiences (as presented in Figure 3) and fear of crime. The more experiences a person makes with crime, the higher is the probability that this person expresses fear of crime.
- 2) There exists a direct or intermediary relationship between structural variables and fear of crime. Factors such as density and high population size are used as objective indicators for «risk exposure», which

influence the amount of direct and indirect contacts with crime and the respective cognitive judgements (see *Fattah & Sacco* 1989, pp. 215-16; *Kaiser* 1990, p. 248 with further references).

- 3) Personal characteristics (age, sex, education, etc.) are also related directly to, or as intermediary with, fear of crime. Out of differential socialization processes and a greater physical vulnerability, women tend to be more sensible toward signs of criminal danger.
- 4) Cognitive judgments and opinions are supposed to be strongly associated with the corresponding emotional components (see for a general discussion of the internal consistency of attitudinal components *Rajecki* 1990, pp. 41-57). Thus, a person who prognosticates the likelihood of becoming a victim in the near future has a greater probability of feeling fear of crime. The same applies to people who judge their living environment as very crime prone, or who think that the police force does not do a good job in fighting crime.

Some authors contend that fear of crime is not a homogeneous fact but depends on the type of crime, i.e. fear of burglary is not the same as fear of a robbery and the like (*Warr* 1984; *Petsuksiri* 1986; *Ferraro & LaGrange* 1987). We will take up this argument and its consequences for the measurement of fear in the next section.

5. Problems of Measurement (Operational Definitions)

Because of the hidden character of attitudes, their quantification poses some problems. Hence, the study of these variables has to rely on **indirect methods of measurement**, as is the case with other psychological states. Two basic approaches can be adopted. First, one can observe and record the physiological reactions (e.g. heart rate, mime, vocal expressions, electromagnetic skin response) in experimental settings, or in real life (examples cited in *Key* 1986, p. 51; *Zebrowitz* 1990, pp. 104-22). This measurement strategy meets with considerable ethical objections when fear of crime is concerned (see *Kaiser* 1991 for a general discussion of ethical problems in the criminological context).

The second and predominant research technique is the social survey where an interviewer asks the respondent to specify his or her inner attitudes to the research topic. Interviewers can be replaced by self-administered questionnaires, in this case the respondents guide themselves through the catalogue of items.

In psychology, a large set of survey items have been created and tested for the measurement of attitudes and many of them focus specifically on emotions (see *Bamber 1979; Robinson & Shaver 1985; Key 1986*). In addition, criminologists have developed specific question items to capture the different attitudes to crime.

Asking persons about their cognitive attitudes to crime and their equivalent behavioral intentions does not generate a measurement problem because they can simply answer what they think about them. The relative questionnaire items in the Zurich Victim Survey asked:

"Q. 7: Do you think that you could become a victim of one of the following crimes in the next 12 months? If yes: Which crime(s) (multiple answer possible)?"

"Q. 8: Which precaution measures have you taken for security reasons at your dwelling (multiple answer possible)?"

"Q. 9: How would you evaluate your neighbourhood in respect of the criminal danger? Not at all safe - not safe - averagely safe - quietly safe - very safe"

The operational definition of the emotional components (i.e. fear of crime) instead must be adapted to the verbal or written character of the survey tool.

"Accordingly, we define «fear» as: the positive reaction an individual makes to a verbal stimulus on a questionnaire when he is asked to identify those items which he **thinks** he **might find frightening** or **unpleasant**; ..." [my emphasis] (*Bamber 1979*, p. 13)

"Accepting the definition of fear as an emotional reaction characterized by a sense of danger and anxiety about physical harm, it is obvious that the person walking alone in a high crime area at night is experiencing something quite different than the suburbanite who is telling an interviewer that he or she **would be** fearful in such an area at night. ... Actual fear of crime is triggered by some cue, and it is unlikely that a respondent is experiencing actual fear during a survey interview." [Emphasis in the original] (*Garofalo 1981b*, p. 841)

The answer to this question refers to a cognitively controlled judgement (retrospective or prospective) how the respondent would emotionally react in such situations: «I think or believe that I would be fearful».

A critical review of 46 fear of crime studies comes to the conclusion that although similar operational definitions of fear of crime are used, there is **no standard measure** for this variable (*Ferraro & LaGrange* 1987). Because of its heterogeneous character single-measures of fear of crime cannot adequately reflect it. Thus, multi-dimensional fear indicators for specific crime types are favored (*Warr* 1984; *Petsuksiri* 1986, pp. 25-26; *Ferraro & LaGrange* 1987, p. 75).

Moreover, the item content has to be formulated in a way to correspond with the conceptual definition of fear of crime. In this respect many studies have not been very scrupulous:

"A careful scrutiny of the **item content** of fear of crime indicators offers testimony to their lack of conceptual clarity and specificity." [Emphasis in the original] (*Ferraro & LaGrange* 1987, p. 76; see also *Petsuksiri* 1986, p. 22)

Often survey items are used that do not measure the emotional component but the cognitive one, i.e. when persons are asked to give their opinion on the personal victimization risk, the perceived safety of their city, or the crime problem in comparison with other social problems (e.g. *Killias* 1989, p. 149; *Balvig* 1990a, p. 15. Examples of other studies using «wrong» items in the measurement of fear of crime are given by *Ferraro and LaGrange* 1987, p. 76). In the same way, the operational definition applied in the National Crime Survey has been criticized for being too vague (*Garofalo* 1979, p. 82; *LaGrange & Ferraro* 1989, pp. 699-700).

In the Zurich Victim Survey, a compromise between the necessity for items asking specific fear of crime reactions and the constraint of questionnaire length was asked for. Therefore, starting with an introduction in bold letters, saying «About fear of criminality in the population a lot of conflicting opinions are reported. What are your experiences with it?», respondents were asked three questions.

"Q. 4: Is there any area right around your home - that is, within a kilometer - where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?"

"Q. 5: Is there any place in your community where you would be afraid to walk alone during the daytime?"

"Q. 6: Are you afraid of staying at home alone at night? Always - most of the time - sometimes - never"

Question 4 has become the standard measure for fear of crime (*Ferraro & LaGrange* 1987, p. 77), including situational stimuli - at night, alone,

walking - which serve to register feelings of fear, related to violent crimes (physical attack, robberies, rape, etc.). The combination with the introductory phrase helps to specify the text, limiting it to crime-related emotions and, also, the frame of reference is explicitly determined by a one kilometer radius around the home of the respondent. Because people rarely find themselves in that specific life situation, another question tried to capture fear of violent crimes, giving other situation stimuli (see Question 5). In addition, Question 6 was conceived to measure the specific fear of coming into contact with a burglar.

Table 1 presents the correlational matrix of the selected indicators. Both, Kendall's τ -value and Goodman and Kruskal's γ -value (in parenthesis) are given, but the former is the better measure here, because the ties between the dependent and the independent variables are corrected, whereas the latter has the tendency to exaggerate the correlations (see Benninghaus 1989, 149-67). It is easy to realize that the theoretical separation of cognitive and emotional attitudinal components is reflected in the empirical findings. The three fear-of-crime questions show a strong positive association, whereas their correlations with the cognitive victim prognosis are positive but much weaker (further evidence for this difference can be found in *Giles-Sims* 1984, p. 229; *Baumer* 1985, p. 246; *LaGrange & Ferraro* 1989, pp. 704-05).

Table 1: Correlations between the Emotional and Cognitive Attitudinal Variables**

Indicator:	1	2	3	4
1. Fear at night	(1.00)			
2. Fear during daytime	.35 (.92)*	(1.00)		
3. Fear at home ¹⁾	.45 (.79)*	.28 (.70)*	(1.00)	
4. Victim prognosis ²⁾	.09 (.18)*	.08 (.23)+	.07 (.16)+	(1.00)

** Kendall's τ with correction for ties, in parenthesis Goodman and Kruskal's γ (+1 perfect positive relationship; -1 perfect negative relationship)

+ $p < .01$ / * $p = .001$ / $p = .0001$

1) This category has been dichotomized (always to sometimes / never).

2) Cognitive judgement of the risk of becoming a crime victim in the next 12 months (Question 7).

Finally, an important and largely unresolved problem in the measurement of fear of crime by surveys is the supposedly lower willingness of males to reveal signs of «weakness» (*Maxfield* 1984, p. 4). If a majority of the male respondents hide their emotional reactions of fear when asked about them,

this would lead to a systematic bias in the respective data and to a distortion of the related analysis. Mail surveys seem to produce the most reliable results in this respect because there is no contact between the interviewer and the male respondents when the fear questions are answered, which may hinder the arousal of an overt masculine reaction (Arnold 1990, p. 156).

6. The Determinants of Fear of Crime and the Victim Prognosis

As shown in Table 2, a considerable part of the population in the Canton of Zurich, aged 16 and older experiences fear of violent crimes walking alone at night in the neighbourhood. In an international perspective, the percentage of fearful persons is at about the same level as in other European states. With the exception of the rural Canton Uri, the rates align around 45 %. On the contrary, in Texas a majority of the respondents answered with «yes» to this question.

Table 2: Fear of Crime and Victim Prognosis in Switzerland, Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary and USA

	Texas (USA)	Baranya (Hungary)	Baden- Württ. (FRG)	Zurich (Switzerland)	Uri (Switzerland)
Yes (%)	1982	1981	1981	1987	1985
Fear at night	58.3	43.3	44.4	45.9	35.8
Fear during daytime	23.8	8.4	8.2	11.7	7.5
Fear at home ¹⁾	45.6	45.4	31.6	31.4	35.1
Victim prognosis ²⁾	57.4	25.4	37.2	48.5	29.8

(Without missing values, N for Zurich = 1396-1413)

1) Always, most of the time, sometimes

2) Cognitive judgement of the risk of becoming a crime victim in the next 12 months (Question 7).

Sources: *Stadler* 1987, pp. 126-31; *Arnold* 1988, p. 922.

During daytime, many fewer people feel anxious about violent attacks (in Europe around 10 % and in Texas over 20 %). The third question, measuring the fear of burglary and intrusions into one's home, led to similar results for Zurich, Baden-Württemberg, and Uri, where one third feels (always, most of the time, or sometimes) fearful at home.

In the last row of Table 2, the rates of persons that think they might become a victim of crime in the next 12 months are reported. In the American survey, nearly 60 % of the respondents shared the belief that some crime could happen to them in the near future. Five years later in the Canton of Zurich almost 50 % came to this conclusion, whereas in Baden-Württemberg the rate is somewhat lower. In the populations of Baranya and Uri, this rates even correspond to the actual victimization rate for the previous year, so that a more realistic risk perception seems to prevail (see *Schwarzenegger* 1989, pp. 15-19 for details).

Recapitulating the determinants of potential fear of crime (see Figure 3), the following variables are expected to influence the emotional reaction:

1. Direct victimization experiences (victim, bystander).
2. Indirect victimization experiences (knowledge of victims, personal and mass media communication about crime).
3. Social position (community size, density, risk exposure etc.).
4. Personal characteristics (sex, age, education, income, objective vulnerability etc.).
5. Signs of social disorganization (vandalism, drug problem etc.).
6. Cognitive attitudinal components to crime (risk perception, subjective judgements on the crime rate, community security, police work, one's own vulnerability, etc.).

In the Zurich Victim Survey, a variety of items have been included in the questionnaire to quantify these independent variables. Unfortunately, there is no data available on some of them, as for example, on bystander experiences, or on the perceived signs of public disorder.

In a first section, we will have a look at the effects of three of the most important and often cited independent factors: sex, age, and prior victimization experiences (limited to the victimizations within the last 12 months). Later, the simultaneous influences of these, as well as the other variables, will be traced by a multivariate regression analysis. The first analysis is based on graphical representations of the distribution of persons being fearful. This can reflect non-linear effects which are not adequately described by bivariate correlation and multiple regression coefficients. On the contrary, for reasons of comprehension, the graphic approach is limited to the influence of a maximum of 3 variables and, thus, may be susceptible to distortions by uncontrolled factors.

In accordance with other studies (see Agnew 1985; Skogan 1987; Balvig 1990b, 159; Rosenbaum & Heath 1990), the Zurich Victim Survey reveals that **direct victimization experiences** which happened within the last twelve months are **not the only** determinant of the emotional reactions under study, nonetheless, they have a **significant impact** on fear of crime at night and at home. The same applies to the victim prognosis, and here, even experiences that occurred earlier in life remain influential, whereas no such long-lasting effect on the affective level can be traced (results will be published in Schwarzenegger 1991b).

It has been argued that the fear response also depends on the type of victimization that is suffered (Maxfield 1984). In fact, victims of violent crimes express fear more frequently than do persons not having been touched by violence (the difference is most apparent in the fear during the daytime item). On the other hand, property crime victims do not differ that much from the non-victims where the emotional reaction is concerned, but looking at the cognitive component, a highly significant relationship between victim experience (of both violent and property crimes) and risk perception can be detected (see Figures 8 and 9 and Schwarzenegger 1991b for details).

Considering the relative rareness of direct victimization experiences, a large portion of the fear rate stems from non-victims and remains, therefore, unexplained. In the previous year, 3 out of 4 persons in the Zurich sample did not suffer any victimization at all and nearly 9 out of 10 persons had no contact with violent crimes (Schwarzenegger 1991a; similar results for the USA in U.S. Department of Justice 1988).

Sex and **age** have been shown to be very important in the study of affective and cognitive attitudinal components related to crime (Warr 1985; Yin 1985; Arnold 1986, pp. 1052-53; Akers et al. 1987, p. 490; Fattah & Sacco 1989; Killias 1989, p. 153; Balvig 1990b, p. 157; Warr 1991, pp. 6-7). Together with other socio-demographic variables, sex and age are commonly used as indicators for **vulnerability** (Akers et al. 1987, p. 490 with further references). By this term, a measure for the extent of damage or injury is meant which affects the victimized individual. Moreover, it includes an element of coping capability, that is, how well the victimized person can get over the negative consequences of a criminal act. Generally speaking, women - because of their weaker physique, the corresponding social role expectancies and lower self-defense capabilities - are more likely to experience serious harms when they are victimized. To some extent, the same applies to the elderly, leading these population groups to an elevated **risk sensitivity** (Warr 1991, p. 7).

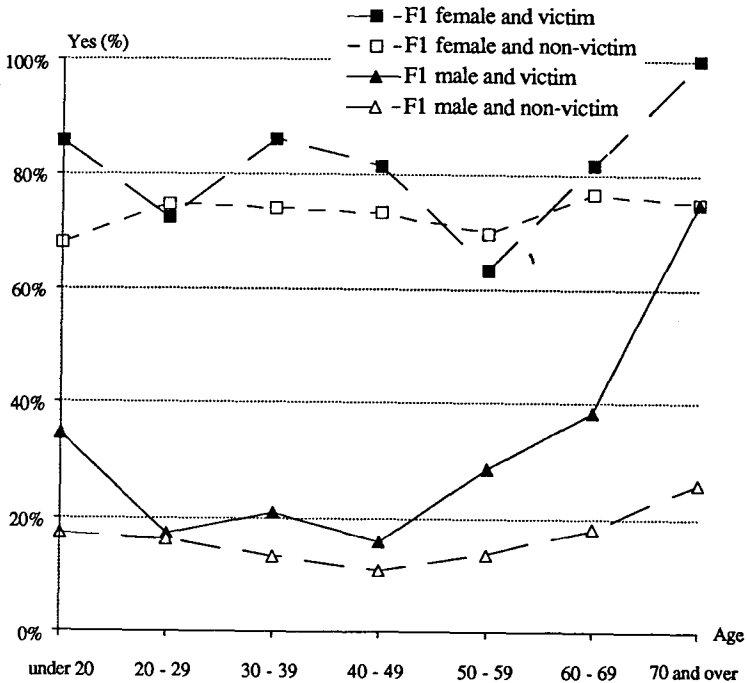
Hence, in the empirical analysis, females and higher age-groups stand for a higher degree of objective vulnerability, which, in turn, furthers the emotional fear reaction.

Aside from the individual characteristics, some authors speak of **social** (e.g. type of neighbourhood, ethnic segregation, degree of urbanization, crime rate. See *Skogan & Maxfield* 1981, p. 69; *Yin* 1985, p. 47) and even **situational** (i.e. situational characteristics such as abandoned places, at night, bad lighting. See *Killias* 1989, pp. 171-72) vulnerability factors. However, this does not seem to be the right denominator because places and situations cannot be vulnerable. Vulnerability is inseparably connected with the individual. What the above mentioned social and situational factors certainly do affect, is the individuals' **probability** of coming into direct or indirect contact with crime. It is, therefore, better to use the term «**risk exposure**» when social and situational variables are concerned (see *Fattah & Sacco* 1989, p. 224). An additional effect of these factors is mirrored in the individual's **subjective vulnerability** perception, which can differ from the objective vulnerability inasmuch as other cognitive judgements intervene, neutralizing or reinforcing it.

Figure 4 reports the distribution of **fear of crime at night**, covering seven age-groups and isolated for females (squares) and males (triangles), with (black) or without (white) victimization experiences, in the preceding year. It becomes apparent how important the sex of the respondent is for the affective attitudinal component.

The graphs representing women's fears fluctuate between 70 and 80 %, independent of former victimization experiences, and are grouped on a markedly higher level than those of the male. In both sexes, persons who have been victimized in 1986 are more fearful at night (exceptions: women aged 20 - 29 and 50 - 59). Considering the age influence, a distinction between victims and non-victims is necessary because the respective distributions differ a lot. Whereas the fear rates of female and male non-victims remain relatively constant for age, there is a distinct rise in fear for the elderly of both sexes when they have already experienced some kind of victimization. The youngest victims show an elevated fear rate, too, while men between 20 and 49 years of age, their negative experience in life notwithstanding, do not express high fear levels. No constant development can be individuated in the distribution of female victims.

Figure 4: The Effects of Victimization Experiences (only 1986) on Fear of Crime at Night (F1), according to Sex and Age



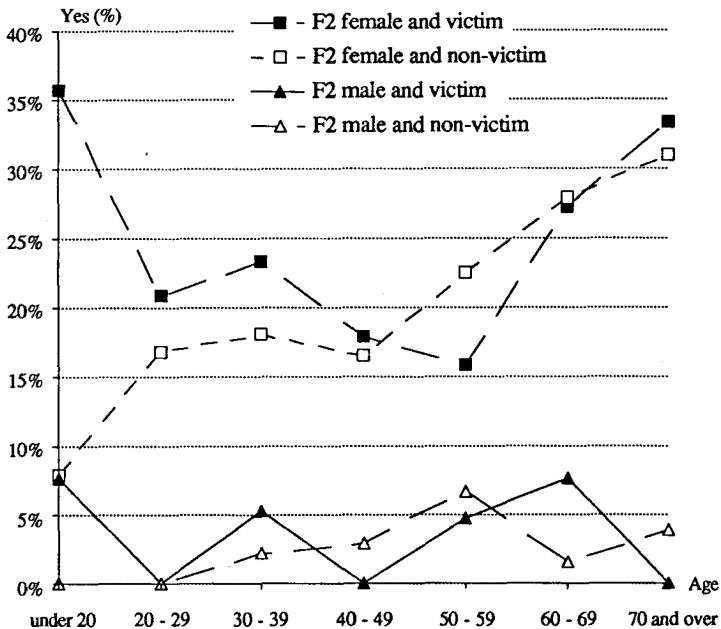
In a comparable analysis by *Maxfield* (1984, pp. 11-12) where no separation for victims and non-victims was made, a general increase for age can be observed. *Baumer* (1985, pp. 247-48), in an analysis of a national sample of 1318 persons aged 18 and more, found that females independent of their age feel anxious about walking alone at night, while men become more and more fearful with growing age. Within the meaning of the vulnerability concept, he argues:

"With increasing age, men become physically more vulnerable to predatory crime and thus report higher levels of fear." (*Baumer* 1985, p. 248)

Interestingly enough, the results of *Killias* (1989, pp. 154-55) do not correspond fully with these findings. Whereas the distribution for males is also curvilinear with high rates for the very young and old, the graph for females decreases in the higher age-groups!

Figure 4 documents some important aspects of our data: For young persons in the age-group between 16 and 19 years, the influence of a recent victimization experience on the fear at night is much stronger than for the middle aged. Especially for men between the age of 20 and 49, such a negative event has no fear-evoking effect, or the latter is neutralized by cognitive processes. At the age of 50, and for women at the age of 60, the difference between victims and non-victims starts to increase anew, e.g. the higher anxiety rate for some of the elderly is clearly caused by victimization experiences. In short, victimization experiences do have an effect on fear of crime at night, but its effect shows an unequal distribution for the different age levels.

Figure 5: The Effects of Victimization Experiences (only 1986) on Fear of Crime during the Daytime (F2), according to Sex and Age



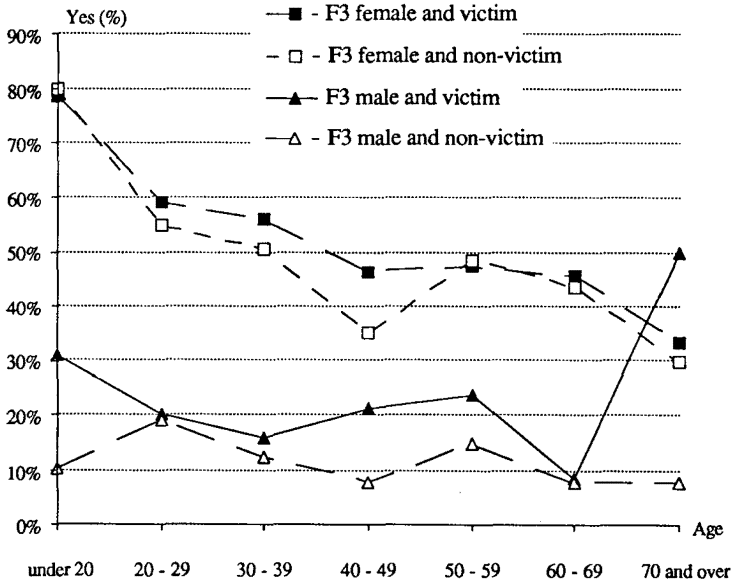
In the next Figure 5, similar distribution characteristics as in Figure 4 can be identified. Fear of violent crimes during the daytime is eminently determined by the sex variable. The fear of walking alone during the daytime somewhere in the community is a sentiment suffered almost exclusively by women. Despite one important exception, victims and non-victims, whether female or male, do not diverge that much in the category fear during the daytime. Young persons are the astonishing exception, and mainly girls between 16 and 19 years of age. 35.7 % of them answered «yes» to our question if they had been the victim of a crime in 1986. In no age-group is the rate so prominent! On the other hand, girls of the same age, but with no victimization experience, have the lowest of all fear rates among women (8 %). This proves that it is not simply a general feeling of anxiety among the younger women, which creates fear of crime, but rather that victimization experiences cause these traumatic reactions. This fact is confirmed by the responses of the youngest men in the sample, where the same divergence between victims and non-victims is manifested by the biggest difference in amount of 7.7 %. Ergo, the simple vulnerability concept which predicts with increasing age a higher degree of harm risk and corresponding reactions of fear does not work. The teens are equally vulnerable and extremely sensitive to direct crime experiences. Frequently, it is just this age-group, which is omitted from victimization studies. If one had begun the analysis in Figure 5 with the next age group, a totally different conclusion would have been gained.

Because of this partial influence of victimization, the patterns of distribution regarding the women's fear vary. According to the vulnerability assumption, the fear rates of female non-victims increase continuously, whereas the curve for female victims has a curvilinear shape.

The third fear item concentrates on the emotional attitude to the risk of burglary and, as is the case with the two former measures of fear of violence, the sex variable presents itself as the dominant determinator (see Figure 6). Women not only disclose strong emotional reactions to the threat of violence at night and, to a lesser extent, during the daytime, they are also more sensible to the danger of encountering a burglar when they are alone at home. When looking at the female distributions in Figure 6, a remarkable distinction to the above analyzed fear inclination becomes clear. Fear at home **decreases** with growing age (see *LaGrange & Ferraro* 1989, 708; *Fattah & Sacco* 1989, p. 213 with further references), and there is almost no difference between victims and non-victims. Put another way, the fear at home of young women does not depend on previous victimization experiences. There must be other explanatory variables for this phenomenon. The graphs for the male fear rate are not simply shaped. Victims exceed

non-victims of the same age-group with a explosive increase in the last category (over 69 years), overriding even the female rates.

Figure 6: The Effects of Victimization Experiences (only 1986) on Fear of Crime at Home (F3), according to Sex and Age



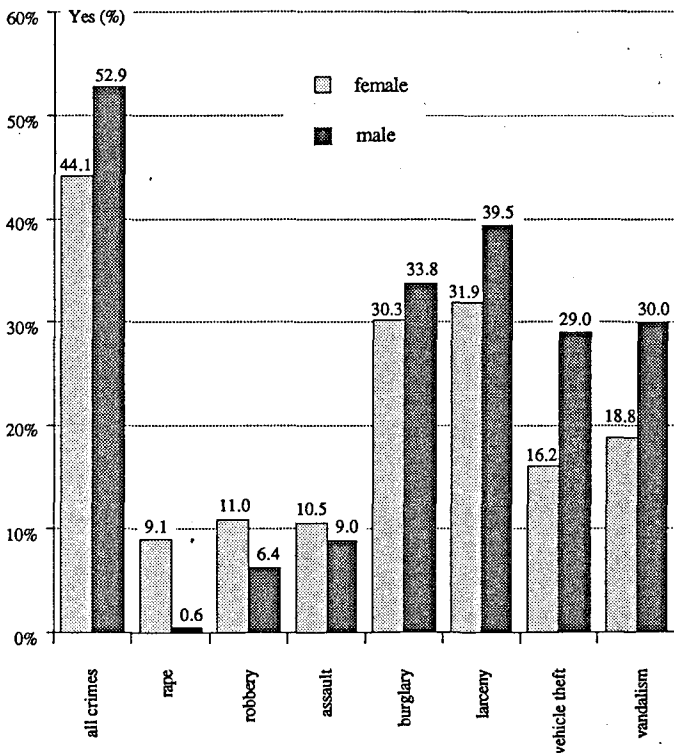
It seems logical that the vulnerability of an individual is not so important in explaining the fear at home, which depends more on factors such as the amount and kind of prevention measures at home, the general burglary rate in the community, the capacities of the local police force and the like.

In contrast to the results concerning the affective attitudinal reaction to crime, the next section presents the effects of victimization experiences on the cognitive attitudinal component according to sex and age. As *LaGrange* and *Ferraro* (1989, pp. 701-2) have pointed out, there is no one homo-

geneous perception of risk towards crime. Depending on what crime is being examined, different characteristics may be important. Figure 7 depicts the respective results of the Zurich Victim Survey.

Taking all the crimes together, the result is contrary to the tendencies found in fear of crime. Here 52.9 % of the male respondents think that they might become a victim in the next 12 months, the overall percentage of women is much lower (44.1%). If we separate the crime categories, the over representation of males persists in the property crime columns, but in all the street crime categories, women anticipate a greater victimization risk (*La-Grange & Ferraro 1989, p. 706* with the same result). Contrary to the assumption made by *Killias (1989, p. 169)*, women in Switzerland do attach to the risk of robbery and assault the **same importance** as to rape and other sexual aggressions, for the simple reason that their vulnerability does not change with the type of violent crime.

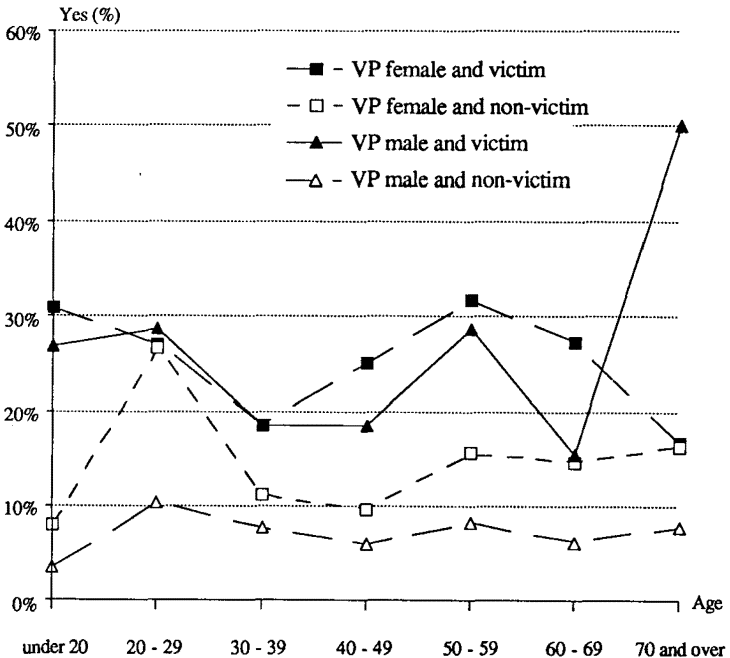
Figure 7: Victim Prognosis for the next 12 Months, according to Sex and Type of Crime (N = 1393)



Hence, in Figures 8 and 9 concerning the effects of victimization experiences, sex, and age are presented separately for the perception of risk regarding violent crimes, on the one hand, and property crimes, on the other.

A fundamental discrepancy in the fear distributions becomes immediately clear when we look at the victims of both sexes. The two distributions are grouped together and are higher for all age-groups than for male and female non-victims, which cluster on a lower level. This means that previous victimization experiences influence the negative cognitive evaluation of risk more than the sex variable.

Figure 8: The Effects of Victimization Experiences (only 1986) on the Victim Prognosis for Violent Crimes (VP), according to Sex and Age

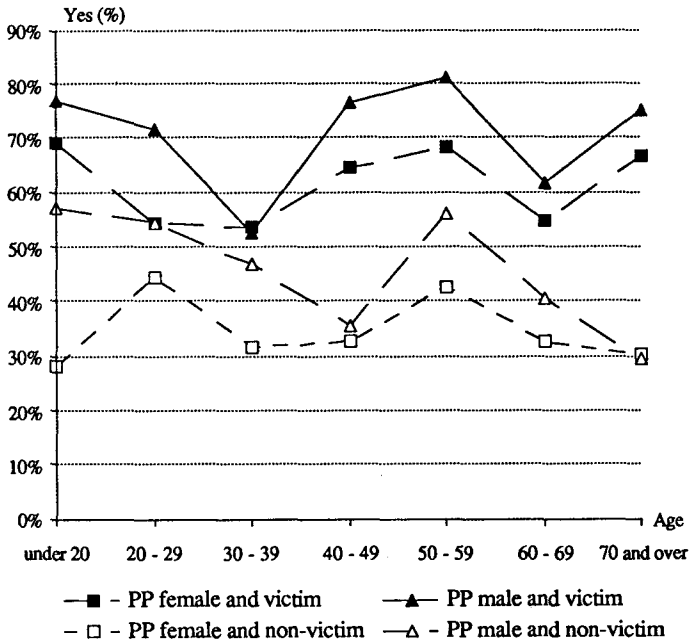


Analyzing the victim prognosis for violent crimes, one observes that female victims generally have the highest rates (peak values for the youngest and for the 50 to 59 year olds), but the graph of male victims is very similar, when one disregards the extrem value in the oldest age class. One exception

apart, non-victims of both sexes have slightly increased risk expectancies over time, but nearly 30 % of the young women (20 to 29 years), who have not been touched by crime in the previous year, predict that a violent crime might happen to them in the next 12 months. This exceptional high rate may be largely due to the perceived risk of a sexual attack, which is in fact higher for this age group.

The correlation between a prior victimization experience and the victim prognosis for property crimes is illustrated in Figure 9. As we have seen in Figure 7, here the male victims express the most negative attitude, reaching the peak value of over 80 % in the age group of 50 to 59 years. The distribution for female victims is similar. Similar distribution patterns for both sexes are found for the non-victims at a distinctly lower level.

Figure 9: The Effects of Victimization Experiences (only 1986) on the Victim Prognosis for Property Crimes (PP), according to Sex and Age



Our graphical analysis of the affective and cognitive attitudinal components towards crime has revealed an undeniable division between the emotional reaction and the rational evaluation of crime risks. It also shows the differential influence of the age variable, which leads to the conclusion that a simple linear correlation does not exist (as, for example, the basic vulnerability hypotheses would suggest).

Controlling the three variables of sex, age, and prior victimization experience, the following characteristics can be observed:

- 1) The most important factor influencing fear of crime is the sex of the respondent.
- 2) The impact of age on fear of crime varies according to the item under study, and the correlation is not so clearly positive as some of the literature on fear of crime implies.
- 3) The victim prognosis depends mainly on prior victimization experiences. Women estimate the risks of becoming a victim of violence higher than men, who, on the contrary, think more often that they might become victim of a property crime in the near future. The age influence has no clear pattern, where the perception of risk is concerned.

In a second part we will now encompass the multiple regression analysis for the fear of crime at night and the victim prognosis. The basic requirements for the application of regression analysis are: simple random sampling, the absence of nonsampling errors, and continuous interval data (*Babbie* 1990, pp. 305-11). Nevertheless, if as in the following analysis variables of ordinal data quality are used, this does not mean that the results are incorrect. Thus, in social science research regression analyses of ordinal data are routinely applied, and one has to keep in mind that the coefficients may deviate to some extent from the true values (see *Asher* 1989, p. 90 with further references).

As depicted in the explanatory model (see Figure 3), other socio-demographic and attitudinal variables are supposed to play an important role. On the basis of the assumptions made in Section 4, the effects of a wide range of independent variables have been tested (including direct and indirect victimization experiences in 1986/before 1986, community size, sex, age, income, nationality, marital status, size of household, education, professional status and activity, evaluations of the past and future crime rate in the community/in the country as a whole, judgement on neighbourhood safety/on the efficiency of the local police, interest in crime-related information, amount of crime news grasped on TV and radio/in newspapers and

journals/in interpersonal communication, anomia-scale, satisfaction with community/with life in general, number of personal contacts and victim prognosis; see *Schwarzenegger* 1991a).

The bivariate correlation coefficients and the partial regression coefficients given in Table 3 and visualized by Figure 11 represent a simplified model with 7 independent variables which proved to be most powerful in explaining the emotional reaction to crime.

Except for the prior victimization experience, all the effects are strongly related to fear of crime (at the $p < .05$ level, see Table 3). Together they explain 37 % (adj. $R^2 = .367$) of the variance in the fear of crime variable, of which the strongest predictor is the sex of the respondent (accounting alone for 33 % of the variance). This proxy measure for vulnerability and risk sensitivity keeps its importance even when the simultaneous effects of other variables are controlled (see *Akers et al.* 1987, p. 499 with similar results).

Table 3: Intercorrelational Matrix and Partial Regression Coefficients of the Simplified Fear of Crime (at Night) Model (N = 1294)

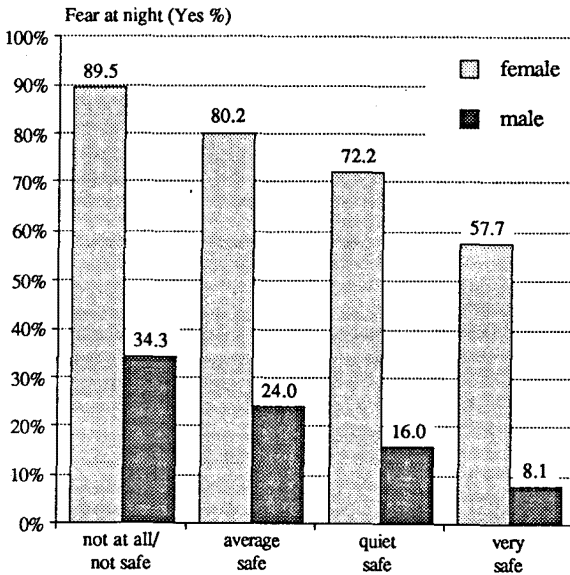
Variable:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Fear at night	1.00							
2. Sex	-.57	1.00						
3. Community size	.14	-.08	1.00					
4. Info (TV/Radio)	.13	-.05	.04	1.00				
5. Victim prognosis	.09	.08	.05	.03	1.00			
6. Police efficiency	-.05	-.03	.01	.05	-.08	1.00		
7. Community safety	-.17	.08	-.14	-.04	-.19	.08	1.00	
8. Victim experience	.05	.02	-.01	-.02	.19	-.04	-.06	1.00

Variable:	Std. Beta	p
Sex	-.56	.0001
Victim prognosis	.10	.0001
Info (TV/Radio)	.09	.0001
Community safety	-.09	.0001
Community size	.07	.0010
Police efficiency	-.05	.0217
Victim experience	.04	.0918

multiple R = .608; Adjusted $R^2 = .367$

On the contrary, the direct influence of prior victimization experiences is not as important as our graphical analysis has suggested, but their indirect impact passed on by the cognitive perception of risk is remarkable (other important indirect impacts are marked by a dotted line in Figure 11, see Table 3 for all inter-correlations). Persons who have suffered victimization during 1986 express more frequently than non-victims a negative victim prognosis, which, in turn, is positively related to fear of crime ($B = .10$).

Figure 10: Fear of Crime at Night, according to Sex and Evaluation of Neighbourhood Safety (N = 1394)



The next best predictors of fear of violent crime are, on the one hand, the amount of crime-related information a person apprehends on TV and radio (the more information the individuals had received, the greater the probability was that they answered «yes» to the fear question; $B = .09$) and, on the other hand, the cognitive evaluation of the neighbourhood's safety (persons judging their neighbourhood as being very safe are much less anxious about walking there alone at night; $B = -.09$, see Figure 10). The latter attitude has a logical side effect on another attitudinal component:

Persons who think their neighbourhood is an unsafe place as far as the criminal danger is concerned (see Section 5, Question 9), perceive a higher risk of victimization.

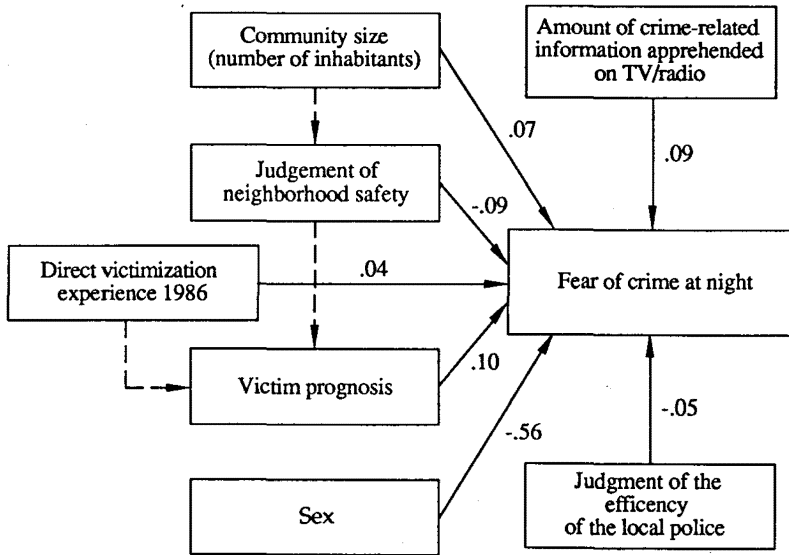
Another cognitive element has some explanatory power. Fear of crime also depends on the subjective evaluation of the work done by the police (see *Conklin* 1989, pp. 104-5 with the same results for North America). Respondents assessing the police work as excellent, or good, are less likely to have reactions of fear ($B = -.05$). The seventh variable influencing fear of crime is a structural measure, indicating the individual's social position. The higher the number of inhabitants in a community, the higher the amount is of people with a fear of crime ($B = .07$); and, consequently, the more negative the evaluation of the neighbourhood safety. In Section 4 we have defined community size as a general measure of the exposure to risk and our result corresponds well with the learning model, which predicts a higher chance of experiencing violence and fear-evoking situations when being in an urban surrounding.

Thus, the multivariate analysis confirms that the perception of one's environment is transformed into cognitive judgements and evaluations, which, in turn, are coupled with emotional reactions (but see *Killias* 1989, 161 for a contrary opinion). The cognitive perception of an inefficient police force that is unable to control crime and - related to this - a loss in neighbourhood safety and, thus, a higher victimization risk are (apart from the vulnerability factor) the most important determiners of fear of crime at night (*Fattah & Sacco* 1989, p. 223 with further references and the same conclusion on the basis of north American studies).

No significant direct impact can be detected for victimization experiences before 1986 and for the contact with other victims. Interestingly, the amount of crime-related information gleaned through newspapers and journals, and through conversations with other persons, do not have the same importance as the news on TV and radio. This may come to some surprise, but thinking in terms of social learning theory, the result is plausible because the pictorial representation of criminal acts on television comes closer to real life situations and may, therefore, produce a stronger conditioning effect than that of a written text, where the dangers and associations are of a more abstract nature. Furthermore, as research on the media representation of crime has shown, newspapers in comparison with TV stations do report less often on violent crimes. *Sheley and Ashkins* (1981, p. 499) describe the differences in New Orleans: Whereas the police statistics show a violent crime rate of 20 % for the selected reference period, its portion in crime coverage of newspapers is 68 %; Of the different TV programs, a surprising 83 to 87 % of the messages relate to homicides, robbery, rape, assault, and the like (see

also *Garofalo* 1981a). But the human registration of crime information, transmitted by television, video, and film, is not as straightforward as one might think. Instead, the knowledge is «filtered» in a number of ways:

Figure 11: Direct Effects on Fear of Crime at Night



"In the case of television, for example, the impact of a message depends on such factors as what the personality and social characteristics of the viewer are, who is in the room as the television is being viewed (for example, whether it is family viewing or lone viewing), what the viewer's previous attitudes and experiences with the topic have been, and so on." (*Warr* 1991, p. 17 with further references)

Our general question item thus constitutes only an approximate value for these effects, which ask for a more detailed research design (*Fattah & Sacco* 1989, pp. 221-22).

Table 4 shows the results of the multiple regression analysis for the victim prognosis concerning violent crimes. As in the previous examination of fear of crime, the best fitting model is presented, but all of the variables taken together explain only a small portion of the variance in the perception of future risks (adj. $R^2 = .071$). This time sex has not the same dominant effect

on the dependent variable as in fear of crime. As we have seen in Figure 7, the rate of males who think that they might become the victim of a violent crime is well below the equivalent rate for females ($B = -.09$).

The strongest net effect stems from an anomy-alienation-scale ($B = -.11$). The survey included a list of 12 questions on some problems of life, which were intended to measure the degree of an individual's generalized and pervasive sense of social malintegration, or «self-to-others alienation» (see *Arnold* 1984, p. 196; *Robinson & Shaver* 1985, pp. 245-94). A scale ranging from 1 (low social integration) to 25 (high social integration) was constructed and integrated into the analysis. Persons with a good social integration independent of other factors tend to think more positively about the future risk of victimization, whereas the socially disintegrated predict more often that a violent crime could happen to them because they have a lower expectancy with regard to the control of events happening in their surrounding. Note that the same variable remains without a significant effect in the fear of crime model (Table 3) and the perceived risk of property crimes (Table 5). In addition, all types of direct victimization experiences have an important impact on the victim prognosis for violent crimes.

Table 4: Intercorrelational Matrix and Partial Regression Coefficients of the Simplified Victim Prognosis Model for Violent Crimes (N = 1334)

Variable:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Victim prognosis	1.00							
2. Community safety	-.13	1.00						
3. Crime problem 2*	-.13	.15	1.00					
4. Sex	-.10	.08	.01	1.00				
5. Victim 1986	.15	-.07	-.11	.01	1.00			
6. Victim before 1986	.10	-.06	-.07	.06	.12	1.00		
7. Knows victim(s)	.12	-.09	-.08	-.01	.16	.18	1.00	
8. Anomy/alienation	-.14	.14	.11	.05	-.09	.06	.00	1.00

* Respondents were asked to evaluate the development of the crime problem in their community over the next three years. Possible answers: Is getting worse, remains at the same level, is getting better.

Variable:	Std. Beta	p
Anomy/alienation	-.11	.0001
Victim1986	.10	.0001
Sex	-.09	.001
Crime problem 2*	-.08	.0027
Community safety	-.08	.0028
Victim before 1986	.08	.0056
Knows victim(s)	.07	.0069

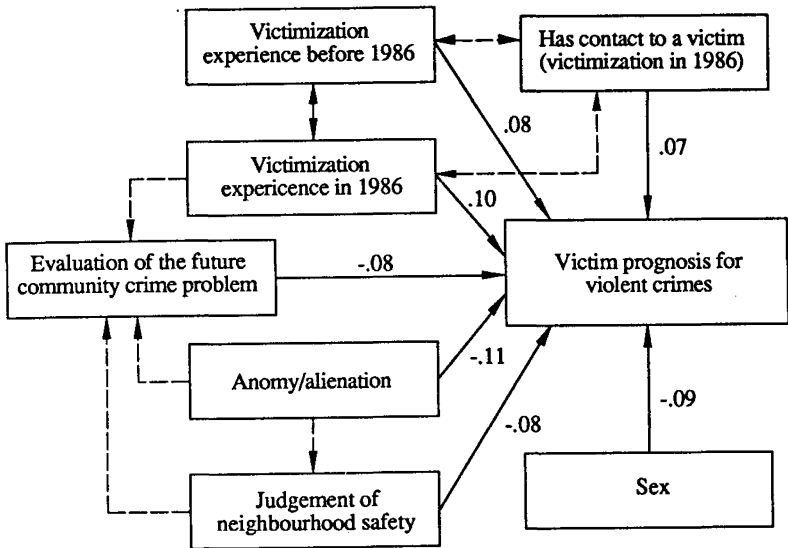
multiple R = .276; Adjusted R² = .071

Respondents that were victimized in 1986, or even before, forecast a higher probability of becoming a victim of violence in the next 12 months (see also Figure 8), and it does not make a difference if the prior victimization experiences are divided into violent crimes and property crimes, as a separate calculation reveals (not reproduced here). Both of them contribute to a higher perception of risk, as does the knowledge of a friend's or a relative's victimization ($B = .07$).

As with the cognitive attitudinal factors, two variables significantly influence the rational evaluation of risk. First, judgements on the neighbourhood's safety are of about the same importance as in the fear of crime model. The safer one estimates the local environment, the less probable appears the occurrence of a violent crime ($B = -.08$). The same influence can be traced for the evaluation of the future development of the crime problem in the community, where a positive view (the crime situation is getting better) is associated with a lower risk of victimization ($B = -.08$; for intercorrelations of the independent variables see Table 4; the most important influences are added with dotted lines in Figure 12).

While for the affective attitudinal component, vulnerability (as measured by sex) and other cognitive factors proved to be more important than direct and indirect victimization experiences, the latter are a central conditioning factor for the cognitive component under study. Own experiences with crime, and the incidents suffered by friends and relatives affect the rational risk calculation negatively, and reinforce indirectly the emotional reaction of fear (see Figure 11). All in all, the victim prognosis for violent crimes, apart from the subjective elements (anomy/alienation), shows a clear relationship to facts in real life.

Figure 12: Direct Effects on Victim Prognosis (Violent Crimes)



The same holds true for the next variable «victim prognosis for property crimes», which is entered into a multivariate regression equation (see Table 5). The overall explanatory power of the seven variables depicted in the model (Figure 13) is nearly 11 %. Contrary to the results in Table 4, only the prior experiences of property victimization have a notable impact on the victim prognosis for the same type of crime ($B = .15$). Victims of violence are not very concerned about future property victimizations. According to our learning model, contact with victims influences the negative prognosis too ($B = .11$).

The three cognitive variables with the greatest influence are the perception of the neighbourhood's safety, and the estimation of the past and of the future crime problem in the community. Interestingly, the same evaluations concerning the whole country are of no importance for the prognosis. The risk of victimization is thought of as determined by local events, which are detached from the national crime trends.

Table 5: Intercorrelational Matrix and Partial Regression Coefficients of the Simplified Victim Prognosis Model for Property Crimes (N = 1309)

Variable:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Victim prognosis	1.00							
2. Community safety	-.18	1.00						
3. Crime problem 1*	-.16	.24	1.00					
4. Crime problem 2**	-.15	.16	.41	1.00				
5. Sex	.09	.07	.02	.01	1.00			
6. Education	.10	.06	-.03	.01	.10	1.00		
7. Property victim '86	.19	-.04	-.04	-.10	.02	.08	1.00	
8. Knows victim(s)	.17	-.09	-.08	-.08	-.01	.14	.16	1.00

* Respondents were asked to evaluate the development of the crime problem in their community over the past three years. Possible answers: Has become worse, remained at the same level, has become better.

** Respondents were asked to evaluate the development of the crime problem in their community over the next three years. Possible answers: Is getting worse, remains at the same level, is getting better.

Variable:	Std. Beta	p
Property victim '86	.15	.0001
Community safety	-.14	.0001
Knows victim(s)	.11	.0001
Sex	.09	.0008
Crime problem 1*	-.08	.0048
Education	.08	.0049
Crime problem 2**	-.07	.0115

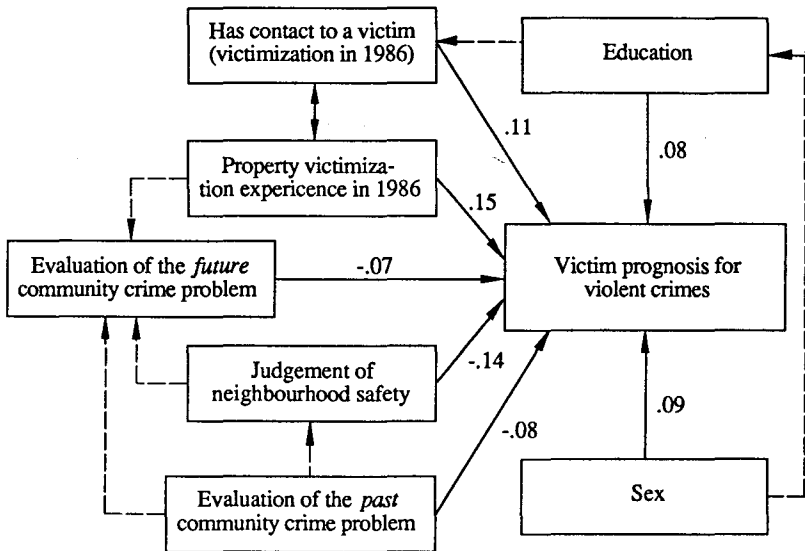
multiple R = .333; Adjusted R² = .106

Two socio-demographic variables relate significantly to a higher perception of risk. Contrary to fear of crime and victim prognosis for violent attacks, males have a greater tendency to believe that they might become a victim of these kinds of criminal acts. A glance at Figure 7 reveals that the most prominent concern of males is the negative prognosis for vehicle theft and vandalism. This result suggests that *LaGrange* and *Ferraro* (1989, p. 702) are right when they say (regarding the prognosis indicators):

"The empirical independence of the two measures indicates that combining them into a summary index is not advisable (...)."

However, the use of an omnibus measure would not, as they think, emphasize personal crime, it rather emphasizes property crime. A combined measure led to similar results, as represented in Table 5 (following a separate calculation not given here)! The other relevant socio-demographic variable is the level of education. Persons with a higher level of schooling express more often the cognitive evaluation that they might experience a property crime, than do persons with a lower educational level ($B = .08$). The positive net effect of the education variable probably implies a higher sensitivity of these population groups to the risks of property crimes.

Figure 13: Direct Effects on Victim Prognosis (Property Crimes)



7. Conclusion

All in all, our analysis of the affective and cognitive attitudinal components supports the basic assumptions of the learning model presented in Section 4. A variety of factors have a reinforcing, or mitigating, influence

on the attitudes to crime, some of them operating only indirectly through their impact on other variables. The results support the conceptual differentiation of affective and cognitive attitudinal reactions to crime. Even within the affective and cognitive components, differences pertain, depending on the type of crime under study. Thus, omnibus measures often used in the relevant literature do not contribute much to an accurate description and understanding of the processes at work.

In the main, direct and indirect victimization experiences are important in determining the cognitive evaluation of crime. There also exists the significant effect of the structural variable «community size» on the emotional reaction of fear in the expected direction. Regarding the personal characteristics included in the analysis, the sex of respondent proved to be most important for fear of crime, whereas its impact on the two prognosis measures is ambivalent. A positive net effect of the education level on the victim prognosis for property crimes was established, while the respondent's age did not show an important contribution in the multivariate regression analyses (but see their graphical representation in the Figures 4, 8, and 9). Cognitive judgements and opinions on crime and crime-related facts are strongly associated with both fear of crime and victim prognosis. If the respondent evaluated the neighbourhood as an unsafe place, fear of crime and both types of victim prognoses were negatively influenced by this judgement. Other important cognitions were the opinion on the efficiency of the local police forces (for fear of crime), and the evaluation of the past and future community crime problem (for victim prognosis). Finally, socially isolated, pessimistic persons tend to perceive a superior victimization risk in respect to violent crimes.

To strengthen the explanatory power of the model, not only clear conceptual definitions of the independent and dependent variables are required but, moreover, the indicators used have to be refined. With the items measured in our study, only a rough sketch of the interactions in the social learning model can be drawn. Some variables on the individual level are measured only approximately, and additional ones would be necessary (Garofalo 1981b, p. 855). The vulnerability concept, for example, is operationalized circuitously by the socio-demographic indicators of sex and age. To specify this indicator, respondents should be directly asked to evaluate their own defense and coping capabilities with respect to criminal attacks. That is why in recent studies, respondents are asked about their state of health or fitness, which is integrated into the concept of vulnerability. Besides, it would be interesting to know what consequences persons associate with a particular crime type, this would help to determine the degree of sensitivity to risk and the cognitive neutralization processes. Finally,

some independent variables have not been included in our analysis for lack of specific indicators (direct victimization experiences as a bystander, social disorganization variables, population heterogeneity, household composition among others, see *Fattah & Sacco* 1989, pp. 214-24).

In order to evaluate precisely the reinforcing and weakening effects of independent variables - especially in a **circular learning model** - a **panel design** would be helpful and, in fact, recent fear of crime studies have been carried out with two data collections controlling the time variable (see *Rosenbaum & Heath* 1990, p. 228 with further references). Therefore, additional research will be necessary to understand more exactly the nature and effects of the interdependencies between the variables over time.

Finally, fear of crime research has been accused of focusing entirely on conventional forms of criminality, thus, contributing towards a consolidation of existing ideological positions (*Johnson & Wasielewski* 1982, p. 207; *Fattah & Sacco* 1989, p. 211). But the point is that white collar crimes and offenses committed against environmental laws normally do not strike the individual but the whole society (victimless crimes, see *Kaiser* 1989b, p. 287). Therefore, these crimes can hardly evoke such emotional reactions as crimes of violence can in the individual. An examination of the effects of the victimless forms of crime would have to start with an evaluation of how much the population actually knows about them. Only then would it be possible to characterize the respective attitudes («worries»).

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**Results of Victim Survey Research in a
Small Greek Town with Particular Reference to
Attitudes towards
Crime and the Criminal Justice System**

Angelika Pitsela

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1. Introduction

The victim survey research among the adult population in a Greek small town was carried out by means of personal interviews at the beginning of September 1983. This study was designed as a pretest in order to research the attitudes toward crime, crime control, fear of crime and the victimization experiences of a target group (Greeks in Greece) with approximately similar sociocultural features as the Greeks in Stuttgart/FRG before their emigration.

The victim survey research in 1983 among the Greeks in Stuttgart/FRG was conducted as part of an international comparative victimological field study entitled: "Kriminelle Viktimisierung - ein interkultureller Vergleich" (Criminal Victimization - a cross-cultural comparative study). The study referred to was carried out by the Max-Planck-Institute for Foreign and International Penal Law in Freiburg under the direction of H. Arnold. The project included surveys of representative samples in three States: Federal Republic of Germany (Baden-Württemberg), United States of America (Texas) and Hungary (Baranya), for further information see *Arnold* (1984, p. 194), *Arnold* (1986, p. 1020).

The present study - carried out with the same survey instrument as the one of the comparative study (see *Pitsela* 1986 and *Pitsela* 1988a) - has been conducted also in order to ascertain possible changes of attitudes of the Greek sample in Germany, which - probably - are due to the process of the emigration and the dynamics of the integration into the German society. Regrettably, with regard to the considerable differences of both surveys (for example, personal interviews in Greece, mail survey in Stuttgart; systematic random probability sample in Stuttgart, non-systematic random selection in Greece and in particular with respect to the different size and social structure of the community of residence) no basic comparison has been made.

Unfortunately, in Greece no empirical criminological research project has been materialized up to the present about the unrecorded crime neither as a study on self-reported delinquency nor as a victimization survey and neither on the state level nor on the city level. It was merely the incidence of crime among law students which was studied in terms of self-reported offences and victimization events during the preceding lifetime. This survey has been conducted at the summer term of 1986 and its data was collected by interviewing 100 law students (see *Alexiadis et al.* (1987, pp. 64-73);

Alexiadis (1989, pp. 178-186 with further references). Notwithstanding, two interesting theoretical approaches of "hidden delinquency" have been published up to this day (see *Alexiadis* 1970 and *Daskalakis* 1975). In sum, Greek criminologists have paid comparatively little empirical attention to the issue of the unregistered criminality because of the scarcity of resources with respect to men, money and materials in the field of criminology (see the instructive contribution of *Spinellis* (1983) reviewing the conditions of criminality in Greece and the status of criminology). As far as only official crime statistics are sources of information about criminals in Greece, *Spinellis* (1983) stated, that they should be used with extreme caution (pp. 290-291).

As mentioned above, an empirical study on criminal victimization has not been conducted in Greece. Unquestionably, an empirical research work among victims, the victimization process and factors related to fear of crime should be estimated as indispensable (see *Spinellis* (1986, p. 281). *Alexiadis* (1969, pp. 355-400) has paid theoretical attention to the victim of crime as a social factor of criminality, as well as *Spinellis* (1986), especially with regard to a victimological policy (on the subject victimology see also *Gardikas* (1966) and the monograph of *Andrianakis* (1972). Further, *Papadatos* (1981, p. 11) considered the compensation of victims of crime by the state as a fundamental demand of justice and at the same time of the criminal policy in the contemporary society.

Greece has signed the European Convention on the Compensation of Victims of Violent Crimes (1983), although not yet ratified (see *Joutsen* (1987, pp. 179-190). Strictly speaking, it seems that Greece is not considering currently the adoption of the Convention (see *Alexiadis* (1990, pp. 179-190). Recently Greece enacted a law about the social security payment and the granting of aid to victims of terrorist incidents in consideration of the increasing problem of terrorism (law No. 1897 of 11 September 1990; in general, see on the issue of state compensation for victims of crime, *Joutsen* (1987, pp. 32, 253-256). However, the position of the victim in the criminal system was dealt with at the second panhellenic congress of the *Greek Association of the Penal Law* (1989).

On the contemporary situation of victimology in Greece, see in particular the contribution in this volume of *Chaidou et al.*

2. Method

The victim survey among the adult population was carried out in a Greek small town in the south-east of Peloppones (approximately 5,000 inhabitants) by means of a standardised questionnaire. As previously mentioned, the questionnaire used was principally identical with the one of the comparative study. A sample of residents was interviewed in an attempt to determine community members' experiences with and attitudes toward crime. The sample, obtained by means of a non-systematic random selection, comprised 83 persons at at least 18 years of age. The response-rate was 94%.

The personal interviews were conducted at the beginning of September 1983 and were usually held at public places. The questioned were encouraged to express their opinion with the statement: "there are no right and wrong answers; the right answer for you is the way you feel about things" (*Mylonas & Reckless* (1968, p. 83). The small town is populated by a homogenous group adhering to a kindred set of norms and values.

Standard background variables describing the sample were used. These were e.g. age, sex, marital status, education, occupation, number of persons in household, family income, home ownership, etc. In particular, the socio-demographic structure of the sample was with regard to age, 28% in the age bracket 18-29 years, 22% in the one of 30-39 years, 18% between 40-49 years and 33% at least 50 years; sex, 64% male and 36% female; to marital status, 63% married, 36% single, and 1% widowed; to school education, 65% with an elementary education, 27% with a grammar school and 8% with a high-school education; to vocational training, 75% with no certificate of professional training; this is due to the fact, that in Greece, except of the academic professions, the most of the other occupations, as a rule, are learnt in informal processes. Obviously, the sample was characterized by male persons, who were married, had an elementary school education, had not completed any form of vocational training and were farmers (35%) or self-employed (19%). The average age of the respondents was 41 years, and the average size of their household was 2.7 members. Finally, 71% of the questioned considered themselves, in general, as rather satisfied with their current life situation.

3. Results

Regardless of whether the persons questioned had been victimized or not, they were requested to reply to the questions asked. Thus, the survey applied to both potential and/or real victims.

The key issues addressed in the survey were:

- Experience of victimization. The victim survey was designed to obtain information about the citizen's exposure to crime risk. Furthermore, it endeavoured to gain insight into the willingness to report crimes and the motives which deter from doing so when crimes have been sustained personally. In addition to the extent and structure of the victimizations experienced during the twelve-months reference period, the number of victimizations for the foregoing period of life was also to be investigated. Indirect victimization was also covered, i.e. the witnessing of a crime perpetrated against another person, reported victimizations which were not sustained by the questioned himself but by family members, relatives, neighbors, friends and acquaintances and, finally, the mass media's reporting of criminal events.
- Fear of crime. The survey also endeavoured to measure the subjective burden caused by criminal acts and manifested in the perceived fear of crime.
- Attitudes toward criminal justice agencies (sentencing practices of the courts, resocialization task of the prison system, police work) were queried with the aid of the respondent's appraisal of the work done by the prosecuting authorities. Also investigated was the participants' evaluation of rising crime rates and the reasons for the increase of criminality.
- Attitudes toward the treatment meted out to criminals (death penalty, parole supervision, parole, prison functions and suspension of sentence).

In the following presentation of the results of the victim survey percentages have been principally rounded off.

3.1 Experiences of Victimization

The victim survey concerned the following offences: Burglary (or attempted burglary), vehicle theft (or attempted vehicle theft), other theft, robbery (or attempted robbery), assault with weapon, assault with body, rape (or attempted rape), arson (or attempted arson), malicious mischief (or attempted malicious mischief) and an open-ended question for other crimes.

If a questioned reported having been victim of any of the above mentioned incidents during the twelve-months period preceding the interview, additional questions were made concerning the frequency of criminal acts against him/her, place of occurrence, monetary losses, injury, medical assistance, relationship to the offender at the time of the criminal act, number of offenders, perceived sex and age of the offender, the reporting behavior and the motives for non-reporting offences to the police.

The experiences of victimization included the criminal victimization during the twelve-months reference period, the experiences of victimization during the lifetime - excluding the reference period, and the indirect experiences of victimization.

3.1.1 *Criminal Victimization during the twelve-months Reference Period*

Of the 83 individuals questioned, 11 (13.3%) stated that they had been victims during the twelve-months reference period. In comparison to that, 12 (14.5%) respondents had experienced a victimization because of a traffic accident. The percentage of the questioned who had experienced offences varied according to the offence in question, ranging from malicious mischief (1.2%), assault with weapon (2.4%), burglary (3.6%) to other theft (6%). A total of 13 criminal victimization incidents were reported. A breakdown by type of offence showed that the questioned had been victimized more often by property offences than by violent offences.

In general, the material did not allow an analysis of many other interesting features of the victims as the figure was very limited.

3.1.2 *Criminal Victimization during Lifetime*

The interviewees were also required to give information about whether they had been victims of crimes during their lifetime excluding the twelve-months reference period. 25 (30.1%) persons claimed having been victimized to one or several crimes during the preceding lifetime. In comparison to that, 16 (19.3%) respondents had experienced a victimization because

of a traffic accident. Among the victims 19 persons had been victimized only prior to the reference period and 6 persons had been victims also within the reference period. A total of 59 victimization incidents were reported. Accordingly, 2.4 victimizations occurred per victim. In detail, 16 respondents claimed to have experience of at least one victimization event, while 9 respondents had experienced two or more victimization events.

The percentage of the respondents experiencing offences during the lifetime varied according to the offence in question, ranging from other theft (15.7%), burglary (8.5%), malicious mischief (8.4%), assault with body (7.2%), arson (3.6%) to vehicle theft, robbery and assault with weapon (1.2% each). A breakdown by types of offences showed that the persons interviewed were most likely to be victims of property crimes (44 victimizations to only 15 because of violent crimes). However, crimes of violence accounted for a larger proportion of the total number of reported victimizations during the entire period preceding the twelve months under survey than they did during these very twelve months (25% to 15%). For the purpose of comparison, *Alexiadis et al.* (1987, pp. 72-73) found out that 44% of the law students had been victims of theft, 14% of robbery, 45% of malicious mischief, and 11% of assault during their lifetime.

To sum up, of a total of 83 survey participants 36% had been victims of at least one offence at some point in their life. Of that figure 13% had been victims in the course of the twelve months preceding the collection of data and 30% during their lifetime - excluding the last twelve months.

3.1.3 Indirect Victimization

44 (53%) questioned reported to have personal knowledge of 122 victimizations experienced by persons of their immediate social surroundings - family members, relatives, neighbors, friends or acquaintances - during the twelve months under survey. On average, each respondent who was personally acquainted with a victim of an offence, reported 2.8 incidents of victimization. More specifically, 15% of the questioned knew at least one victimization, 16% knew at least two victimizations and, finally 23% knew three or more victimizations experienced by persons of their immediate environment during the twelve months under report. The knowledge of victimizations experienced by family members, relatives, neighbors, friends and acquaintances within the time period under consideration varied according to the offence in question, ranging from arson (1%), homicide (4%), robbery (5%), rape (6%), malicious mischief (11%), vehicle theft (22%),

other theft (22%), assault with body (24%) to assault with weapon and burglary (25% each). It was striking that 43% of the reported knowledge of victimization fell under crimes of violence.

Furthermore, 22 (27%) questioned reported that they had been witnesses of crime against another person in the course of their lifetime.

All victim survey participants were informed about criminal events. A breakdown by sources of information showed that 87% received information on crime from television and/or radio, 78% from newspapers and/or magazines and 81% in the frame of social encounters. The findings showed that the mass media were one of the most important sources of the information on crime as well as personal communication with other community members (on the importance of a responsible and thorough information of the public by the mass media, see *Tsitsoura* (1988, p. 34); on the topic of mass media and criminality, see *Bakatsoulas* (1979, pp. 353-383). Indeed, the investigated community is a place where everyone knows and speaks to almost everyone else. Furthermore, Greeks believe in press reports. It is a broadly used expression: "it has been indeed reported in the newspapers" (on the role of mass media as of the cultivation of fear of crime, see *Alexiadis* [1989, pp. 380-381] with particular reference to the Greek press).

3.1.4 *Criminal Victimization and Reporting Behavior*

Those persons who claimed to have been victimized within the twelve-months reference period, were also asked whether they had reported a crime to the competent criminal authorities. In the case of the victimizations sustained in the course of a person's lifetime - excluding the twelve-months reference period - the willingness to report the incident to the police was only questioned for cases of rape.

44% of the personally sustained crimes had been brought to the attention of the police. Non-reporting can be readily explained by the insignificance of the damage since the victimizations which were not reported were more in the realm of petty crime. Therefore, the reporting behavior depended primarily on the seriousness of the crime in question. Slightly more than one-half (56%) of all victimizations were not reported to the police. Those victims who had not reported a personally sustained victimization to the criminal prosecution authorities were asked to give the reasons for failing to do so. In this respect, no response categories were given, i.e. the victims were not asked to select an option from a list but they could set forth anything they could think of.

We assumed that the holding-together of kinship groups, the personal character of the human relations, the strong social pressure to conformity in one's conduct and the consciousness of traditional settings in the investigated community affected the propensity of the citizens to report crimes to the police. Notwithstanding, no specific cultural factors have emerged from the findings regarding the motives for non-reporting crimes to the police. The most frequent reason was the triviality of the loss or injury suffered, followed by doubts as to the effectiveness of the police because the offender was unknown (on the necessity to integrate the public in the criminal justice system by reporting the victimization to the state prosecution agencies, see *Tsitsoura* (1988, pp. 37-38). The motives for non-reporting which had been discovered by *Alexiadis et al.* (1987, pp. 72-73) in their study showed that among others the triviality of the damage, the relationship to the offender, and the lack of confidence in the police authorities as well as in the criminal justice were decisive for deterring the victims from reporting the sustained injuries (further with respect to the non-reporting factors, see *Alexiadis* (1973, pp. 159-193).

3.2 Fear of Crime

The survey instrument used different indicators to record the fear of and the concern about crime. These indicators were determined to find out the "subjective" burden experienced by the population group in comparison with the "objective" burden which emerged as a result of sustained victimization events (*Stephan* (1976, p. 39ff.)). The fear of crime was construed as a psychological construct comprising emotional, cognitive and conative components of fear of crime (*Gefeller & Trudewind* (1978, p. 310ff.)). Indicators to record all three components of the fear of crime were encountered in the survey instrument (*Arnold & Teske* (1988, pp. 355-384)). The individual's perception of the crime problem - both locally and at large - will be examined in the chapter about the attitudes toward the criminal justice agencies.

3.2.1 Emotional Component

Fear of crime was measured by asking: (a) "Is there any area within one kilometer of your home where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?" (b) "Would you be afraid to walk alone within 100 meters of your home at night?" (c) "Is there any place in your community where you are afraid to walk alone during the daytime?" The response choices for each question were dichotomized as either yes or no.

Oddly one out of every five respondents (22%) admitted that there was a place within one kilometer from their home where they would be afraid of walking alone at night, whereas only 7% were afraid to go walking alone at night within a radius of one hundred meters from their home. Furthermore, 2% knew at least one place in their town where they were afraid to go alone during the day. Furthermore, feelings of security were measured by asking: "Are you afraid to be in your home alone at night?" The four response categories provided were: (a) always, (b) most of the time, (c) sometimes, and (d) never. 12% of the questioned were at least sometimes afraid to remain alone at home at night. In fact, the citizens interviewed reported little fear on the streets. The townspeople generally felt safe going anywhere they wanted in the community at any time of day or night. Already *Spinellis* (1983, p. 293) stated that "the crime rate is increasing but it is still short of the level that would make the streets unsafe". Nevertheless feelings of insecurity are reported to exist especially among certain occupational groups.

In answer to the question "How would you rate your town with regard to the threat of criminality", which aimed at finding out how safe the respondents felt in their immediate living space, a five-step scale ranging from "not secure" to "very secure" was given. 59% of the questioned considered that their town was "very secure" with regard to the threat of criminality. Only few of them had perceived their immediate environment to be threatening. Nevertheless, the majority of the participants had estimated an increase in criminality even in their own town (see the chapter about the attitudes toward the criminal justice agencies). It is apparent that due to their opinion the increase in crime related to offences, which were evaluated as trivial.

The emotional anxiety based on the rating that they themselves would be victims of a crime in the coming twelve months was frequently pronounced (54% were from "rather" to "very" worried). Slightly more pronounced were the feelings of anxiety based on the estimated probability of being injured in a traffic accident (58% were from "rather" to "very" worried).

3.2.2 Cognitive Component

The victim risk estimation was operationalized by asking: "Do you believe that you may be the victim of any of the following crimes within the next year?" The interviewed were given the possibility of choosing from a total of eight predetermined criminal offences including an open-ended question, which they thought were responsible for their victimization. Since it was possible to choose a number of responses, each person named an average of 3.8 offences. 88% of the questioned believed that they could be

victims of a crime within the coming twelve months following the period under review. The risk of becoming a victim of offences within this period of time varied according to the offence in question, ranging from rape (hereby the data are adjusted, victim expectation for rape is 30% among Greek women), assault with weapon (36%), assault with body (39%), vehicle theft (39%), robbery (57%), burglary (63%), to theft and malicious mischief (69% each). At any rate, the answering of this question must be understood in the sense that the respondents held the victimization through the above mentioned offences as not out of question.

A comparison of the quotas of victim experiences and victim risk estimations by type of offence revealed that victim risk estimations with regard to property offences as well as to crimes of violence were not on a par with victim experiences and that, even if one took into account the victim experiences during lifetime preceding the reference period and the knowledge of victimizations experienced by persons in the immediate social surroundings of the questioned during the twelve-months reference period as well. Discrepancies between victim rates and risk estimations - varying from offence to offence - were enormous.

Respondents were also asked to estimate the likelihood of their risk of victimization in the year following the interview on the base of a four step scale ranging from "hardly" to "very" likely without any reference to specific criminal offences. One out of every four questioned totally excluded the possibility of sustaining injury through a crime. In contrast, 43% thought the occurrence of a criminal event "hardly", 13% "moderately", 15% "rather" and 4% "very" likely. Hence, only a minority firmly reckoned with the possibility of being the victim of an offence. However, when a choice among various criminal offences was presented, citizens questioned thought they were highly at risk of being victimized; whereas, when the likelihood of being victimized did not refer to specified crimes, the estimation of personal risk was remarkably lower.

A comparison of the views on the estimated probability of becoming the victim of a crime and that of being injured in a traffic accident showed that the sample assessed the risk of being victimized by a traffic accident much higher (cf. *Alexiadis* 1989, p. 379 with further references). 45% of the questioned considered the occurrence of a traffic accident to be from "rather" to "very" probable. In comparison only 19% were prone to see the occurrence of a criminal incident as "rather" to "very" probable.

A comparison of the subjectively evaluated probability of criminal victimization with the scale of emotional anxiety, revealed that the feelings of anxiety were often pronounced and out of proportion to the assessment of

the victimization risk (54% to 19%). Apparently, the respondents were inclined to associate "crime" with severe - mainly: violent - incidents. In contrast, the assessment of the victimization in road traffic and the concomitant feelings of anxiety were relatively close to each other (45% to 58%).

Finally, the interviewees' interest in criminal events was wide-spread. 99% evinced a basic interest in the topic of "crime" as a social phenomenon and as a day-to-day problem. In particular 11% were "somewhat", 12% "rather" and 76% "very" interested in criminal events. However, in the investigated community the flow of information about the topic of "crime" according to the statements of those interviewed was large.

3.2.3 *Conative Component*

The conative component of the fear of crime was operationalized by asking: "Which, if any, of the following devices have you placed in your home for reasons of security?" The participants of the survey had the possibility of choosing from a total of eight predetermined security devices, such a burglar alarms, door bolts, guns, guard dogs, including an open-ended question, which they had installed in their home. Indeed, life was perceived in the small town so secure that the vast majority of the questioned (92%) had not taken at least on safety precaution in their home to protect themselves from crime. However, 85% of the questioned admitted that the doors were at least usually locked whenever there was no one at their house.

In response to the question "How well can one protect oneself against crime taking preventive measures", a five-step scale ranging from "very" to "not at all" was given. 10 % of the questioned were of the opinion that they were able to protect themselves "rather" or "very well". On the other hand, 33% of the questioned believed that one could protect oneself "rather" or "very" well against victimization in road traffic. It is surprising to note that the respondents attached less importance to the effectiveness of the self-protective measures to forestall future violations of criminal law than traffic accidents. The active precautions taken on one's own initiative to protect oneself against victimization in road traffic are considered more likely to be effective than privately taken crime prevention measures. Apparently, criminal victimization was perceived of as a (difficult do advert) nature event.

With respect to the above mentioned indicators of fear of crime the sex has been found to have a statistically significant relationship to fear of walking alone at night within one kilometer (50% of the women but only 6% of the men) and within 100 meters (17% women to 2% men) or staying alone at night in their home (27% women to 4% men). Consequently,

feelings of insecurity were experienced particularly strongly by women (see for example, similar results by *Schwind, Ahlborn & Weiss* (1978, p. 389); *Schwind, Ahlborn & Weiss* (1989, p. 308).

3.3 Attitudes toward the Treatment of Crime and Criminals

The public attitudes with regard to the sense, functioning and effectiveness of the penal law and the correctional system is of great importance since it affects its implementation in the practice (*Kaiser* (1988, pp. 289-297 with further references). In this section, attitudes to following subjects were inquired: death penalty, parole supervision, parole, functions of prisons, and the suspension of sentence (on probation).

The attitudes toward the capital punishment were measured by asking: "Are you in favour of the death penalty being available for any of the following crimes?" The majority of the respondents (63%) advocated the death penalty for at least one of the crimes listed on the questionnaire. Hereby a total of seven offences - including an open question - were queried. An analysis of the figures by type of offence, shows that 59% of the interviewees favoured the death penalty for homicide. Furthermore, the death penalty should be applied succesively in cases of high treason (53%), arson (18%; on the topic of the connection of fires with elections and political events and of the grave impact of fire on the forest stock see *Kailidis & Markalas* (1989, pp. 96-97); *Kareklas* (1988, p. 606), kidnapping (18%), armed robbery (17%), rape (13%), and terrorism (11%; terrorism was - at the time of interview - not a serious political problem). There is evidence that a part of the interviewees is supporting a punitive treatment of offenders of serious crimes. At any rate, it should be noted that the advocacy of the death penalty for certain serious crimes, does not plead for its execution.

In this connection should be mentioned that in the Greek penal code the death penalty even now is a possible form of punishment for specific serious crimes of adults, though since 1972 no death penalty has been executed (*Androulakis* 1980, p. 142); *Evangelou* (1985, p. 323); *Marangopoulou-Jotopoulou* (1988, pp. 43-57); *Courakis* (1988, pp. 58-68); on the system of sanctions in the Greek Penal Code in general, see *Mangakis* (1973, pp. 30-33). Greece has signed up the protocol of the *Council of Europe* (1983) about the abolition of the death penalty, by which it is obliged to undertake a corresponding reform of the statute. The protocol has not been ratified yet. Further, the new correctional code (1990; on this statute see the new correctional legislation by *Spinellis & Courakis* (1990) provides in Section 96 paragraph 1 that the death penalty ipso jure be commuted into life

imprisonment, when three years have passed by, since the death sentence has been irrevocable. As the death penalty is not yet abolished in Greece de jure (only de facto) the attitude toward the death penalty means for the Greeks questioned an "opinio necessitatis" (*Courakis* (1985, p. 260).

Moreover, in this regard, should be mentioned that the National Research Center in Greece has conducted a comprehensive empirical study on the administration of criminal justice carried out in the spring of 1977 by a team headed by *Daskalakis et al.* (1983). It principally dealt with the subjects of the penal repression, i.e. the judges on one hand and the image of criminal justice as well as the provisions of penal code in the consciousness of the public on the other. In this respect, the study was based on a statewide sample of 2,007 participants. *Daskalakis et al.* (1983) found out that 61% of the questioned advocated the abolition of the capital punishment, 36% were for their retention and 3% had not expressed any opinion as for that. It is noteworthy, that in contrast, the survey under the judges has varying results: 60% were of the opinion that the death penalty must be kept up, 35% were for the abolition and 6% made no one statement (p. 186). In so far, no appreciable differences to our own sample have been noted. Furthermore, *Spinellis* (1982) found out that 49% of the prisoners' sample considered that "many persons would abide by law", if the death penalty were provided for more crimes and further 19% were of this opinion (only) for "enough persons", whereas respectively 42% and 33% of the population-sample and 54% and 34% of the policeman-sample shared this opinion (pp. 211, 277, 294, 441).

The attitudes as to the parole supervision were measured by asking: "Do you think that everyone released from prison should be supervised for a certain period of time after their release?" The response choices were dichotomized as either yes or no. The wide majority of the questioned (84%) were in favor of placing every discharged prisoner under the supervision and guidance of another person for a certain period of time. In addition, the attitudes towards the parole were measured by the question: "Do you think that everyone convict should be released from the prison (a) when he/she has served the full sentence, (b) early depending on his/her behavior in prison?" 22% of the interviewees believed that inmates should be released from prison only after having served their sentence completely. By contrast, 78% believed that inmates should be released on parole for good behavior in prison (cf. report on the Greek court decisions by *Kareklas* (1988), p. 632).

The after care of a discharged prisoner after he has served his sentence completely is provided for in the Greek correctional code ("Code of fundamental rules for the treatment of detainees and other provisions", partially

implemented on January 1, 1990). The system of the state after care toward the social reintegration of the released is for the first time introduced in section 95 of the correctional code. Furthermore, according to the section 7 of the correctional code the state must take care of the resocialization of detained persons before and after their release. At any rate, the after care will be granted if and when requested.

The Greek penal code provides the conditional release or parole in the Section 105 et seq. Those adults having served a custodial sentence may be paroled after serving two-thirds of the imposed sentence with a minimum limit of one year. The correctional code also requires that persons on parole be supervised by a prison social worker or by the society for the protection of released prisoners. In practice, however, no such supervision is really available as a result of insufficient financial resources and skilled personell (as to the unsatisfactory works of the after care services, see for example *Alexiadis* (1983, pp. 71-76). The released persons are hardly supervised either by social workers or voluntary aides in order to facilitate the transition from the life in prison into life in liberty (for a detailed account of the probation agencies for juveniles, see *Papalexiou* (1981, pp. 151-173)

According to the correctional statistics in 1983, 10% of all discharged prisoners were released on parole. On the whole, for the release of a total of 4,363 discharged convicts (1983) the following reasons were decisive: 24% complete expiry of the sentence, 34% commutation of the sentence (after the beginning of imprisonment!), 10% conditional release or parole, 11% "good time" (remission of sentence due to counting of days of work), an 22% other legal reasons (see *National Statistical Service of Greece* (1987, p. 160). The low figure of release on parole is accounted for by the fact that nearly all the custodial sentences are shorter than one year (98%). Parole is not applicable to such sentences because of the legal requirement for adults serve a minimum term of one year before they become eligible for parole.

With regard to the functions of prisons, the question was: "How important should each of the following functions be for the prisons?" The four prison functions provided were: (a) rehabilitation, (b) punishment, (c) deterrence, and (e) incapacitation. The response categories by each prison function were: (a) very important, (b) somewhat important, and (c) not important. It was generally agreed upon the very importance of rehabilitation (96%). Most of the interviewees considered also punishment (76%) and deterrence (76%) to be very important. Finally, the interviewees placed less of an emphasis on incapacitation as a very important function of prison (22%), whereas 26% considered as somewhat important and the narrow majority of 52% as of no importance at all. The total sum of the individual percentages is more than 100% since respondents had the possibility to choose more

than one answer. In sum, the rehabilitation was regarded as a very important task of the functions of prisons and that in a higher degree than deterrence and - above all - incapacitation (an outline of the empirical findings with respect to the prison functions in the German and foreign criminological literature, see *Kaiser* (1988, pp. 290-292).

Of course, the correctional code - in force at the time of the interview - ("The statute on the implementation of custodial sanctions and security measures, that came into force in 1967 and was abolished in 1989) explicitly stipulated its principal aim to be the rehabilitation (as to the aims of punishment, *Mangakis* (1973), stated that according to the Greek Penal Code "on the one hand, the imposition and execution of sanctions seeks to prevent the offender from committing new offences in the future, either through his reform, deterrence or incapacitation; on the other hand and at the same time, the provisions for the imposition and execution of the sanction seek to deter others from the commission of offences" (pp. 7-8); see also *Benakis-Psarouda* (1986).

The survey measured attitudes as to the suspension of sentence by asking: "Do you think that persons convicted of the following crimes should be considered for the suspension of sentence?" Most of the questioned (71%) were not in favour of the suspension of sentence for at least one of the crimes listed on the questionnaire. Herewith a total of twelve offences were inquired.

Heading the list of crimes for which the sentence should be suspended were to the opinion of the interviewees in turn shoplifting (46%), driving while intoxicated (34%), auto theft (25%), burglary (17%), theft (12%), use of illegal drugs (12%), aggravated assault (8%), robbery (4%), rape (4%), arson (2%), sale of illegal drugs (1%), while no one convicted of murder should be considered for the suspension of sentence. Thus, the order of the advocacy of the suspension of sentence allows indirect conclusions about the seriousness of the offences according to the individual assessment.

The Greek penal code provides the conditional suspension of sentence in Section 99 et seq. Suspension of sentence is not connected with probation supervision. During the period of suspension the criminal is not placed under the supervision and guidance of a professional probation officer or of voluntary aides (on the suspension of sentence on protective supervision, see *Gardikas* (1971, pp. 97ff., 193ff.). Therefore, a treatment of criminals, i.e. assistance and care for the convicted person, does not take place during the suspension of sentence. *Daskalakis* (1981, p. 89) stated that the Greek legislation, that ignores the institution of probation, shows a considerable vacuum in the treatment of criminals.

The suspended sentence does not play an important role in sanctioning practice in Greece. In 1983, however, according to the criminal statistics 15% of all sentenced adult persons to custodial sentences were given suspended sentences (see *National Statistical Service of Greece* (1983). In contrast, the commutation of a custodial sentence into a fine finds a wide use by the courts and has had a considerable impact upon the low detention rate in Greece (*Spinellis, D.D.* (1986, pp. 205-228); *Pitsela* (1988b, pp. 163-166); *Konstantinidis* (1989, pp. 27-34). Neither suspension of sentence (on probation) nor commutation of a custodial sentence into fine can be applied to juveniles.

In general, sex had not been found to have a significant relationship to the attitudes toward the treatment of crime and criminals. Solely sex had a significant relationship with respect to the advocacy of the capital punishment for high treason (57% men to 47% women).

3.4 Attitudes toward Criminal Justice Agencies

In this section, the survey endeavoured to ascertain attitudes toward sentencing practices, the effectiveness of the correctional system, the quality of work of the local police, crime control and the crime problem. The necessity to engage the public in crime policy raises the question, how well the public assess the criminality and the criminal justice (see more specifically *Tsitsoura* (1988, pp. 32-44).

In answer to the question, how well the criminal justice system is working, following results were found out:

The survey measured attitudes as to the criminal courts by asking: "In general, when dealing with convicted persons, do you believe the courts are (a) doing a good job, (b) too lenient, (c) too severe". Oddly one out of every four questioned (27%) gave a favorable assessment of the sentencing practices of the courts with regard to the treatment of convicted criminals. Similar results are known from foreign studies, too (see for example, *Kaiser* (1988, p. 292). Furthermore, 42% of the questioned considered the sentencing practices of the criminal courts "too lenient", whereas only 13% considered them "too severe". According to the comparative victim survey research of *Arnold, Teske & Korinek* (1988, p. 930) the sentencing practices of the courts were deemed as "too lenient" by 48% Germans, 79% U.S. Americans and 56% Hungarians. Yet, information on sentencing practices in Greece confirm the assertion that judges typically impose rather mild punishments (see *Spinellis* (1983, p. 296). Hence, in accordance with the results of many research works those who criticized the practise of the

courts, most often found them rather "too lenient" than "too severe" (see *Tsitsoura* (1988, p. 33). Nearly one out of five questioned (18%) was inclined not to express an opinion about the court practice or to be overcharged to find an adequate alternative among the predetermined response categories. In sum, the majority of the participants made a critical statement on the sentencing practices of the Greek courts (on the court decisions see the *Greek Association of Penal Law* (1987); *Giannopoulos* (1984, pp. 105-109; *Kaiafa* (1981, p. 47ff.).

It should be noted that with regard to the nationwide sample *Daskalakis et al.* (1983) found that, in response to the question "How do you assess the punishments that the courts impose for serious criminal offences?", 36% of the questioned rated the determination of the penalty as satisfactory, 38% as lenient and 9% as severe. 15% of the questioned were not able to assess the court-practices and 1% gave no opinion at all (p. 193). Furthermore, *Spinellis* (1982) reports on the limited knowledge of the Greek public about the criminal justice (pp. 249, 251).

The attitudes as to the prison system were measured by asking: "In preparing people to return to society, do you think that the prison system is doing (a) an excellent job, (b) a good job, (c) a fair job, and (d) a poor job". A narrow majority of the questioned (53%) rated that the prison system is doing a poor job in preparing inmates for their return to society; 24% felt it was fair, 12% deemed it good and nobody found it excellent. Finally 11% did not give an opinion on the effectiveness of the correctional system. As the findings show, the majority of the questioned was not convinced that the prison system was able to bring about the result intended, e.g. the resocialisation of the inmates. As a matter of comparison, *Arnold, Teske & Korinek* (1988, p. 932), found out that 40% of the Germans, 27% of the U.S. Americans and 24% of the Hungarians deemed the work done by prisons as poor. Already, *Kaiser* (1988) had stated in an evaluation of the literature on this subject that the respective attitudes toward the correctional system attested of acceptance, in as much as the most of the public shared the opinion, that the traditional prison system in practice did not perform an effective work (p. 297).

At the time of the crime survey mass media had reported about several scandals in the Greek prisons, so that the public doubted the effectiveness of the prison system. At any rate, it is a commonplace that a notable lack of confidence in the effectiveness of the correctional system exists with respect to the reintegration of inmates into society after release from prison.

Nevertheless, both the *Greek Code of Prison Rules* of 1967 (see the report of *Bakatsoulas* (1968) as well as the new Greek correctional code (on this

statute as well as on the general question of the difficulties to effectuate a reform by means of new rules, see the articles of *Chaidou* (1990) and *Lambropoulou* (1990) have postulated the resocialization as the exclusive purpose of the execution of the penalty. Already in 1983 *Alexiadis* stated that the effectiveness of the Greek correctional system "is unknown; it works neither effective nor satisfactory" (pp. 13, 15). *Spinellis* (1982, pp. 69, 207) found, furthermore, that in response to the question, "On the grounds of your own experience or on the grounds of what you read about convicts, how many convicts would live after their release from prisons without committing criminal offences?", a relatively low percentage of the respondents (pertaining to separate samples, such as prisoners, policemen and "normal" citizens) believed that the discharged prisoners would lead such a life.

The evaluation of the effectiveness of the local police, measured on the grounds of the question: "How well do you rate the job being done by the police in your town?" The four response categories provided were: (a) excellent, (b) good, (c) fair, and (d) poor. The work of the police in their town was rated as follows: 2% of the questioned persons found the performance of the police excellent, 21% good, 42% fair, and 35% poor. However, the local police seem to enjoy an unsatisfactory image in the investigated community. According to the empirical findings of *Arnold, Teske & Korinek* (1988, p. 928) 41% Germans, 52% Americans, but only 29% Hungarians had a favorable attitude, i.e. good or excellent, toward the work done by the police; see also *Stephan* (1976, p. 360). On the whole, the Greek respondents made a less favorable assessment with regard to the judgement of the police.

Asked whether court sentencing practice (positively or negatively) influenced police crime control, the half of the respondents were of the opinion that the police were not handicapped (this opinion was shared by 38% of the Germans, 16% of the Americans and 9% of the Hungarians, see *Arnold, Teske & Korinek* (1988, p. 931). Similarly high was the relative proportion of those who thought that the police were somewhat (43%) or severely (7%) handicapped in their efforts to reduce criminality. In other words, the respondents were divided in opinion: Half of them felt that the court sentencing practice had a negative impact on the police's task to control crime, whereas the other half attributed to the police the ineffectiveness in state prosecution of criminal offences (with respect to the criminal proceedings in Greece, see *Iatrou* (1981, pp. 29-42)

Comparing attitudes to the criminal justice system agencies (although a direct comparison is restrictedly possible due to the different response categories) among the participants, excluding those who had not given an opinion, the respondents saw the sentencing practice of the courts in the

most positive light, the assessment of the work of the police took a middle position and the performance of the prison system was most negatively rated. The work done by prisons is rated the lowest also by the Germans, the U.S. American and the Hungarians, too (see *Arnold, Teske & Korinek* (1988, p. 933). In general, it may be said that it exists a lack of confidence with regard to the efficiency of the law enforcement agencies. The police did not enjoy unreservedly the confidence of the community in which they work. The unfavorable attitude toward the police is in so far surprising as the police officers were known to be the most law-abiding of Greek groups with high moral and ethical standards (see the research of *Mylonas & Reckless* (1968, pp. 81-88) regarding the attitudes toward law enforcement in Greece and the United States among separate samples of the population, such as prisoners, laborers and police officers (in Greece) and Mormons (in the United States).

Further, it should be noted that more of the questioned could not judge the work of the courts (18%) and the prisons (11%) than this was the case with reference to the work of the police (in this respect every questioned was able to give his opinion; see similar results by *Stephan* (1976, p. 361).

The crime problem was measured on the level of one's own community on the basis of the question: "Over the past three years, do you believe that the crime problem in your town is (a) getting better, (b) about the same, and (c) getting worse". In assessing the crime problem, the narrow majority of the questioned (54%) observed that crime in their town had increased in the three years preceding the interview. 40% believed that it had remained the same and only 6% were of the opinion that the crime rate in their town had dropped.

Those respondents (45 persons) who estimated that there had been an increase in crime in their community over the last three years, were given the possibility of choosing among presented response-options (a total of eight reasons inclusive of an open-ended question) which they thought were responsible for the increase in criminality. The increase of crime was attributed to the following reasons in turn: The overwhelming majority of the respondents connected the rise in crime with drug consumption (87%) as well as with the collapse of family life and parental discipline (87%), the decay of morality (78%) and in third place with the precarious economic situation (71%). The other reasons were in this order: Laxity of courts and police (58%), too much leisure time (53%), increased mobility of the population (44%), and population increase (24%). Each respondent stated an average of 5.3 reasons for the worsening crime problem.

Although police statistics do not reveal any considerable increase on crimes concerning the consumption, possession or selling of drugs during the last years (see *National Statistical Service of Greece* (1979-1983), the respondents worry about crimes related to such an alleged consumption obviously affected by reports published in the daily newspapers, that underline the threat of the drug problem (see *Spinellis* 1983, pp. 295-296). Unquestionably, the number of drug-accidents and drug-deaths has essentially increased mainly between the youngsters. It remains a grave situation to cope with continuous rise of drugs consumption (see *Kareklas* (1987), p. 337 with further references); *Kareklas* (1988, pp. 600, 629-630); on the habitual use of narcotics, see *Bakatsoulas* (1979, pp. 293-310).

The crime problem was also measured on the state level by asking: "Over the past three years, do you believe that the crime problem in Greece is (a) getting better, (b) about the same, and (c) getting worse". 95% of the questioned were of the opinion that the crime problem was getting worse, and only 1% believed that it had remained the same. Nobody held the opinion that the crime problem in Greece was getting better. Finally, 4% gave no opinion at all.

Hence, crime was perceived differently on the local and the national level: The interviewees were thus more likely to assume an increase in criminality in Greece as a whole than in their own town. The crime problem have been seen in the immediate surrounding area in a more positive light. This result is often referred to relevant studies (see for example *Stephan* (1976, p. 387); *Schwind, Ahlborn & Weiss* (1989, p. 308); cf. *Kerner* (1980, pp. 98, 401). The more negative crime trends on the national level should be ascribed to the influence of the mass media, particularly the press. Nevertheless, mass media do not view crime as one of the most important problems in Greece (*Spinellis* 1983, p. 298).

This widely-held unfavorable opinion of the crime problem in Greece corresponds to the rising figure of the recorded crime. Indeed, in the last three years preceding the interview the police crime statistics revealed an increase in criminality, even if not an alarming one. (*National Statistical Service of Greece* (1979-1983). The increase in criminality referred especially to misdemeanors (on the volume, structure and fluctuation of the criminality in Greece, see *Spinellis* (1985, pp. 126-168). *Spinellis* (1982) also found out that with respect to the assessment of the crime problem over the past ten to fifteen years in Greece 70% of the "normal" citizens, 80% of the prisoners, and 88% of the policemen believed that the crime had increased, 19% of the population, 3% of the prisoners, and 5% of the policemen thought that it had remained unchanged and 6%, 14%, and 7% respectively, were of the opinion that it had decreased (p. 406).

With regard to the forecast of the volume of future criminality on the local and state level for the three years following the survey the question was: "During the next three years, do you believe that the crime problem in your town/Greece will (a) get better, (b) stay about the same, (c) become worse?" Most of the interviewees expected the crime problem to worsen in their community (64%) and in Greece (89%). 34% and 7%, respectively, believed that crime rate would stagnate and only 2% and 1%, respectively, forecast a decrease in crime. Accordingly to our assumption, crime was expected to increase more markedly on the national than on the local level. On the whole, the majority of the interviewees predicted an increase in crime not only for Greece but also for their community. Only a minority believed that crime rates would remain unchanged or even diminish in the future.

Sex had been found to have a significant relationship to the effectiveness of the prison system with regard to the social resettlement of the inmates (6% of the men but 27% of the women were of the opinion that the prisons are doing a good job). In general, women had a more favorable attitude towards the sentencing practices of the courts (27% of the men but 41% of the women considered the court practices as good) and the work done by the police (40% of the men but only 27% of the women rated the work of the police as poor) - although in this regard no significant relationship had been found. It is surprising to note, however, that those who are most fearful of crime were more likely to give a favorable opinion toward the work of the criminal justice authorities than their less fearful counterparts.

4. Discussion

Up to the present time no results of a statewide crime survey as for the unrecorded criminality and the various questions related to the victim have been published in Greece, so that these research fields are to be explored. Studying criminality one should be content with the data provided by the official crime statistics, which additionally are published with considerable delay. So far criminal statistics provide the only basis of making comparison research on crime trends within Greece as well as between Greece and other countries. Comparative analysis of crime by means of victim surveys is excluded (on the use of self-report or victimization surveys as to the comparative research on crime and delinquency, see *Albrecht* (1989). Furthermore, precious help for coping with the crime and developing corresponding preventive measures fails.

The findings from an initial pilot project such as this study, which was limited to a small town, should not be considered conclusive regarding the

experiences of victimization and underreporting of crime throughout the whole country. Nevertheless, certain conclusions for the investigated community seem justified. As the brief analysis of the empirical findings illustrates oddly one out of every ten persons questioned has been victimized by an attempted or completed crime within the twelve-months reference period. The victimization burden of the Greek target group cannot be considered low, since it is due to the type of the examined community. Rural, agricultural areas are known for comparatively low victimization rates than urban, metropolitan centers. The type of the locality of residence has a significant relationship to the density of self-reported victims (see for example *Aromaa* (1974, p. 12). Furthermore, *Aromaa* (1974, p. 13) found out that farmers showed the smallest share of self-reported victims. Furthermore, the vast majority of the reported victimizations related to property crimes, although property offences are more common in urban areas than in the countryside (see for example *Laettilae & Heiskanen* (1983, p. 46). The exposure to violence in the rural environment has been shown to be considerably lower than the risk of becoming the victim of property crimes.

A breakdown of the victimization burden by offence showed, however, that the petty nature of the crime sustained prevailed; a result identical to the one of previous foreign surveys. Apart from the previous year, nearly one out of every three respondents had been victimized to a greater extent during their lifetime. However, the relative proportion of victimizations by use of violence is during the lifetime higher than during the twelve-months. Finally, the majority of the questioned had a large personal knowledge of victimizations experienced by family members, relatives, neighbours, friends and acquaintances.

Unfortunately, due to the small number of victims within the one year reference period, no comparative data on the attitudes of victims and non-victims toward the treatment of criminals and toward the official crime control could be presented in this paper. Further, it was not possible to compare victim and non-victim groups in order to measure the impact of victimization on fear of crime. Nevertheless, in the frame of the available sample victims did not either demand a more punitive treatment of offenders or were more likely to name the inefficiency of the criminal justice authorities than non-victims. Moreover, no relationship between victimization and anxiety about crime has emerged from the findings. Further exploration should be made as to whether there is any relationship between experience of victimization and perception of risk, punitiveness and evaluation of the criminal justice agencies. A large scale victimization survey is needed in order to achieve a valuable tool for comparative criminological research.

Furthermore, as a result of the few criminal incidents reported no valid statement can be made either concerning the reporting behavior or the motives for non-reporting of offences to the police. Nevertheless, in the frame of the available sample only about half of the victimizations reported to us had been reported to the police. Serious offences such as burglary were more often reported to the police; in contrast, petty offences such as malicious mischief and thefts were more often reported to us but not to the police. This result confirmed the conclusions of other victim surveys. Failure to report victimizations to the police was also associated with the (perceived) inefficiency of the criminal justice agencies. In so far, official crime statistics depict a less accurate picture of the actually occurring non-serious victimizations. However, we could not confirm the result of *Daskalakis et al.* (1983) that potential victims react more sensitively to the offences against their personal honor and good reputation as well as to the violations against the morals than to the offences against the property and the physical integrity.

The perceived risk of victimization did not correspond to the reported victimization burden - varying from offence to offence. In sum, nearly one out of every ten questioned did not exclude the possibility to become the victim of a criminal offence. We assume a strong influence of mass media leading to a distorted perception of reality by the public, which does not correspond to the actual volume and structure of criminality. Nevertheless, with regard to the probability of becoming the victim of a criminal act - without any reference to specific criminal offences - only a minority of the interviewees reckoned with the occurrence of a criminal offence against them.

In sum, the interviewees had adopted a negative attitude toward the effectiveness of the criminal justice system. This finding should be considered very problematic, because of the necessity that the public participate in the crime policy. The convicted offenders were treated too leniently in the larger interviewees' view; whereas, the opinion that the convicted offenders were given proper punishment, was represented by a relatively small group among them. Obviously, the questioned doubted whether the discharged prisoners after their return to the society can be prevented from committing further offences. Undoubtedly, the prison system in the eyes of the public has failed to the extent to which it does not achieve resocialization. Finally, the attitudes of the respondents toward the police were predominantly critical. The assessment of crime trends on the national level was more negative than on the community level. Nevertheless, the majority of the questioned were much more apt to be convinced that the crime rate - both on the state and on the community level - would increase.

On the item regarding the possible reasons of the past rise of crime, there was a large consensus with respect to the use of drugs and the collapse of family life and parental discipline. It should be noted, though, that albeit the use of drugs as a reason for the increase of criminality took on an obsessive quality among the citizens questioned, it did not appear on the official criminal statistics. On the other hand, the citation of the collapse of family as a further reason, should be considered as a manifestation of the nostalgia for a return to a stricter parental discipline; a nostalgia-reaction to the fact that according to a widespread opinion the Greek traditional society is in a stage of transition from meaningful primary relations to anonymous ones, where the traditional virtues, values and life styles disappear little by little (cf. *Ronneberger & Mergl* (1980, p. 370).

5. Summary

The purpose of this paper is to present some results of a victim survey research in a Greek small town. The key issues addressed in the survey were: experience of victimization, fear of crime, attitudes toward criminal justice agencies and attitudes toward the treatment of crime and criminals. The research was carried out in the summer of 1983 by means of a standardised questionnaire. The survey data was collected by face-to-face interviewing 83 persons residing in the research-town and aged over 18 years.

The results of the victim survey research attested of 13% of victimizations experiences per year. The violent offences as well as the property offences against the person revealed in the study were generally light. Further, the survey results had shown that slightly more than one-half of all personal victimizations were not reported to the police within the twelve-months reference period preceding the interview. The reporting behavior depended primarily on the seriousness of the crime in question. The analysis of the motives for non-reporting offences to the police showed that the most frequently named reason for abstaining from reporting an offence was the triviality of property damage or personal injury followed by the inefficiency of the police.

Regarding the issue of fear of crime, there are some findings presented which indicate that fear of crime in the investigated community is somewhat problematic, in so far as the relationship between suffered victimizations and the perceived likelihood of being victimized was out of proportion. Besides that, the extent and intensity of the feelings of anxiety were moderately expressed by the members of the small town. Feelings of insecurity were experienced particularly strongly by women.

The evaluation of the effectiveness of the courts, the prisons and the local police was less positive. The attitudes toward the official crime control varied according to sex. The attitudes of men were less favorable than those of women. The study revealed, however, that the townspeople were more likely to assume or forecast rising crime rates in the whole country than in their own community. The attitudes toward the law enforcement agencies - with the exception of the work done by police - as well as the assessment of the crime problem on the state level were rather the result of the influence of the mass media than the one of personal experience. Finally, the attitudes as to the treatment of criminals should be considered as rather human and lenient, although a majority was of the opinion to punish the offender of homicide and high treason with the utmost rigour of the law.

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