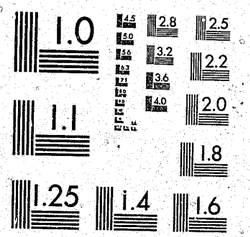

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Victimization and Fear of Crime: World Perspectives

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Victimization and fear of crime: World perspectives

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I would like to thank the authors who contributed their skill and expertise without pay; the translators, John Moyer, Sigried Pilgrim, Irma Kramer, and Fabian Pascal; the typists and secretaries of Loyola and Northwestern universities, Suzanne Scott, Martha Malley, and Mary A. Zimmerman; Wesley Skogan for suggesting I prepare this volume, and Marlene Simon for her constant help and editorial assistance.

I would like to apologize to Francisco Pascual of the University of Madrid. Through no fault of his own, his study of victimization in Spain was not translated in time for inclusion.

In as many languages as there are countries represented, I say thank you to you all.

I also thank the Netherlands-America Commission for Educational Exchange for granting me a Fulbright-Hayes fellowship which opened my eyes to the possibility of comparative victimization research.

This book is dedicated to the memory of Michael J. Hindelang. His pioneering work in the study of victimization is reflected in every chapter of this volume. His death is a great loss to the field.

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Introduction

For many years both western criminal law and criminology ignored victims of crime. Regardless of the judicial system, the victim of crime was regarded as little more than a witness. With the occasional exception of research on violence, the victim was rarely studied. There was an assumption that all we needed to know about crime could be found in the law or in the character and surroundings of the criminal.

In the mid-1960's, research on victims began again in the United States. Since then, much money has been spent both on victimization research and on victim assistance. The original impetus to begin a study of victims was the belief that police statistics on crime were an unreliable measure of criminal activity and that most crimes were not reported to the police. The problems with official statistics had, of course, been known for a long time, but in the mid-1960's a recognition developed in the United States that neither crime, nor police, nor courts, nor corrections had been adequately described. If there were to be a war on crime, the enemy would have to be known.

From this recognition, a technique was developed to study victims of crime. The studies of victims completed in 1966 formed a base for much future research in the United States and around the world. The technique used in these early surveys involved asking a random sample of the population about specific criminal acts which might have occurred to them, followed by further specific questions about each victimization. All but two of the studies reported in this volume use this methodology.

The early U.S. studies were intended primarily to give baseline rates for the various crimes among different demographic groups. The contract of the 1966 national study for example, required sex- and race-specific victimization rates by crime for four regions of the United States. Measures of the behavior of the victim and the role of the victim in the criminal justice system were also gathered but remained largely unanalyzed. These early studies contained a wide variety of questions which were constructed with relatively little theoretical input. At the time, this was understandable. Victims had barely begun to be studied.

As the U.S. survey developed into a continuing program, it solidified into an almost purely descriptive study in which demographic characteristics of the victim were described in great detail and the nature and amount of loss was elaborated. Almost all development work was aimed at improving the accuracy of crime counts. Unfortunately, few causal variables were included and beyond description, little that was policy-relevant was possible.

From 1972 to 1980, the questionnaire changed very little. The survey was usually administered as a stand-alone study in which in-person interviews were given to a very large sample. Each year, 120,000 respondents were interviewed for the National Crime Survey (NCS).

Most victim surveys in other countries were modeled on the NCS. However, the cost of the U.S. survey was far too high for most other countries. Average costs were reduced by concentrating on a limited geographic area, eliminating reinterviews, reducing the number of interviews, and incorporating the questions into a more general survey. All studies, however, retained two basic characteristics of the NCS. They were random samples used to determine victimization and to ask victims specific questions about the crime and their feelings about it.

Comparison of the studies in this book must be made very cautiously. The samples are random, but the sampling techniques vary from study to study. All are different from the NCS. Compared with the NCS, the non-U.S. studies—

- Sample individuals rather than households. Australia is an exception.
- Interview respondents only once rather than interviewing members of a continuing panel.
- Use much smaller samples. The largest sample, Australia, includes 18,694 respondents. The smallest is about 500 cases. Small samples increase the standard error for estimating victimization rates.
- Include crimes that occurred over at least 1 year rather than 6 months. This creates greater recall problems than those of the NCS.

All these sample differences may affect comparisons. For example, I found that U.S. burglary victims were far less likely than Dutch burglary victims to have received insurance compensation. This difference may have been a reflection of the shorter recall period of the NCS (6 months versus 1 year). American victims had less time than Dutch victims to collect insurance after their victimization.

Similar questions were asked about some crimes, but each study included different crimes. Most studies include several crimes the NCS excludes, for example, white-collar crime and fraud, but the meaning of even the same crime may vary from country to country. For example, in Mexico, neither law nor the questionnaire differentiate between burglary and robbery.

The NCS has changed very little from its inception. The other victimization surveys evolved in different ways from this foundation. Most surveys do not use the complex screen and filter technique of the NCS. They opt for a simpler design with only a limited number of questions about each crime. Many add a variety of questions about fear of crime and reactions to crime that were not included in the NCS. All interviews were completed in person, but some studies used trained interviewers or professional polling agencies, while others used college students. In some studies, the victimization questionnaire was included in a marketing survey. In others, the survey stood alone.

In these studies, theory is more constant than operationalization. The studies incorporate a common theoretical base, similar methods, and very different operationalization of sampling and questions. Therefore, direct rate comparisons must be made very cautiously. However, the similarity of relationship between victimization and other variables is extraordinarily uniform among the surveys and in comparison to the NCS. Even with all their differences, these victim surveys provide a unique opportunity for comparative research. All stem from a common concern, the worldwide crime problem. All began from a single model and have continued with similar methods.

This book is an attempt to document the wide variety of research in countries other than the United States which has followed from our initial studies of the mid-1960's. Inclusion in this book was based on three criteria. To be included, a study had to—

- Report victimization or its impact.
- Use data on a country other than the United States.
- Report research not readily available to American researchers.

The studies are divided into four sections. In the *first section*, national studies of Finland, Australia, and the Netherlands are reported. The Australian and Dutch studies are explicitly comparative. Braithwaite and Biles demonstrate that Hindelang's statement of the similarity of victims and offenders holds true for both countries. They find that demographic factors such as urbanization and age are important determinants of the probability of victimization both in Australia and the United States.

Aromaa's review of violence in Finland also demonstrates the importance of urbanization and age distributions as factors in the increase of crime. The study is also interesting for its detailed analysis of the seriousness of violent assaults.

The two Dutch studies add some new variables to the explanatory mix. In my comparative study, opportunity structure appears as an important determinant of the large difference in rates of household burglary in the United States and the Netherlands. Van Dijk and Steinmetz use a sophisticated method (log-linear analysis) to develop a model of victimization that includes demographics, opportunity structure, and risktaking behavior.

The *second section* of the book reports victim surveys of particular locations. Gideon Fishman details a study of personal and property crimes in rich and poor neighborhoods of Haifa, Israel. The results of this study are quite similar to those reported in American studies. However, Manzanera's study of victimization in Xalapa, Mexico, reports results far different than those of more developed countries. He finds rates of robbery that are far higher even than those of the United States and a large number of corruption-related crimes. In Xalapa, there is much reluctance to notify the police. Yet, even in this study, the impact of victimization is similar to that in other countries.

Gerd and Claudia Kirchoff review studies of victimization in Germany including their own study of a wide variety of sex offenses. They also discuss Schwind's study of Göttingen, which includes a forward record check to police records and a reinterview of victims. The Kirchoffs also describe Stephan and Villmow's study of Emmendingen young adults that includes both victimization and offense self-reports. They find a striking similarity between victims and offenders and a positive relationship between social class and victimization. Stephan in another study of Stuttgart includes both a psychological inventory and a more detailed assessment of fear of crime than in the U.S. survey. The Kirchhoffs also report on Schwind's study of Bochum. Part of this study is reported at the end of the second section. Schwind's study is unique in its comparative detail. Police and victim survey rates of crime are compared by geographic district in the city. Taken as a whole, these studies indicate a very wide difference in notification percentages in different cities and even different districts of the same city. Regardless of local variation, however, crime severity is the most important determinant of notification.

In the *third section*, two more cities, Montreal and Amsterdam, are studied. Both studies concentrate on serious crime and use police records as a sample base. One criticism of the National Crime Survey has been its inability to assemble detailed information on particular forms of crime. The use of police records as a cost-efficient sample base for studying crimes has recently received much support. These studies by Smale and Baril give good evidence of the fruitfulness of this sampling frame. The two use completely different data collection techniques, structured questionnaires and unstructured interviews, but they come to virtually identical conclusions. The victim is twice victimized, first by the criminal and then by the criminal justice system. This is called "secondary victimization" in the German research and is reported in a summary of research on rape victims in lower Saxony which the Kirchoff's described.

In the *final section*, Irwin Waller examines the functions of victimization surveys and suggests reasons for their failures and few successes. He argues that victim surveys can serve either as social indicators of a problem of society or can point toward specific policy changes. The U.S. surveys have been fairly good social indicators but very poor policy guides. In several countries, most notably, the Netherlands, victim surveys have increasingly become policy guides. The policy function of victim research as suggested by Waller, and demonstrated in some of the other studies, are now being considered in the United States.

Comparative studies of many countries are relatively rare in criminology. I hope this book becomes one of many. Neither theories of crime nor the method used to examine them are so different in different countries as to exclude comparison. The studies presented here have shown that victimization is not a random event. Age and urbanization are consistently key factors in victimization. The relationship between social class and victimization, while generally negative in the U.S. survey (poor people are more often victimized) is generally positive in the studies presented here. Several studies emphasized lifestyle as an important determinant of chance of victimization. The reasons given for failure to notify the police are generally consistent among the studies. Less severe crimes are less likely to be reported. However, the percentage of victimizations of which the police are notified is not as consistent. All studies which considered the possibility of long-term victimization impact, found it. Often the impact of the criminal justice system was most enduring. In general, while editing these studies, I found a great difference in detail but a remarkable overall consistency.

Understanding of crime patterns, criminals, and victims is only possible through comparison and experimentation. Thus far, most comparisons have been made between individuals in a single nation. Experiments have been correctly limited by concerns over violations of human rights. Comparison over time in a single society or comparison across societies have been rarely used techniques. I hope this volume will serve as an example of the fruitfulness of comparative research.

National studies of victimization

Victims and offenders: The Australian experience*

JOHN BRAITHWAITE AND DAVID BILES

To summarize, offenders involved in the types of crimes of interest here are disproportionately male, young, urban residents, black, of lower socioeconomic status, unemployed (and not in school), and unmarried. In our brief review of victim characteristics above, and in earlier chapters, it was seen that victims disproportionately share these characteristics. (Hindelang et al. 1978:259)

The first national victimization survey conducted in Australia has produced results that in many respects are similar to those obtained in the United States. The findings provide strong support for the proposition that victims and offenders share many characteristics. If the Australian data can be shown to confirm the American findings of substantial similarities between victims and offenders, a strong case can be made for linking victimological studies with the more traditional studies of offenders. The similarities between the two groups may also have profound implications for crime prevention policies and practices.

This paper sets out to show that what Hindelang et al. found from their extensive review and analysis of the American evidence is also substantially true in Australia—the demographic profiles of crime victims and of convicted criminals are strikingly similar. To take the Hindelang et al. demographic characteristics in turn, official and self-report data tend to confirm that Australian criminals are *disproportionately*:

- *Male* (Althuizen 1977; Biles 1977a:353, 1977b:105, 1977c:83; Braithwaite 1977:26; Challinger 1977; Fielding 1977; Mukherjee and Fitzgerald 1978; Braithwaite 1980:223).
- *Young* (New South Wales Department of Corrective Services 1973; New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 1974).
- *Urban residents* (New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 1972a; Kraus 1973; New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 1974).
- *Black* (New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 1972; Biles 1973; Criminal Law and Penal Methods Reform Committee of South Australia 1973:202-4; New South Wales Department of Corrective Services 1974; Eggleston 1976:15-16).
- *Of lower socioeconomic status* (Barber 1973; New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 1974; Kraus 1975; Smith 1975; Dunstan and Roberts 1977; Braithwaite 1979),
- *Unemployed* (Braithwaite 1978; Kraus, 1978; South Australian Office of Crime Statistics 1978, 1980a; Braithwaite 1980).
- *And unmarried* (Martin et al. 1979; South Australian Office of Crime Statistics 1980b).

Australia now has a National Crime Victims Survey conducted by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (1979) which permits consideration of whether these demographic characteristics are also typical of crime victims. The national sample of 18,694 persons might seem small compared to American surveys, but the sampling fraction is higher given the relatively small Australian population. In considering the demographic characteristics of victims, reference will also be made to local victim surveys by Wilson and Brown (1973) and Congalton and Najman (1974) on samples of 1,096 and 619 respectively.

Methods in the National Crime Victims Survey

Sample. Dwellings for inclusion in the stratified multistage area sample were selected from all parts of Australia except the Northern Territory, rural regions, and locations with a population of less than 500 people. Of 10,500 dwelling sites originally selected, 9,200 contained effective households, of which 8,414 provided data for the survey. These households contained 18,694 persons age 15 years and over, each of whom supplied some data. The remarkable household response rate of 91.5% is only possible, of course, in a survey that has the legal authority of the Bureau of Statistics.

The crimes. Interview data were gathered on all victimizations during the previous 12 months for 10 types of crime:

- *Break and enter*—Breaking into and entering a dwelling and then committing or intending to commit a crime in that dwelling.
- *Motor vehicle theft*—Stealing or illegally using a motor vehicle or using a motor vehicle without authorization.
- *Theft*—Stealing without threatening or using violence or force to any person or property.
- *Fraud, forgery, false pretenses*—All types of fraud, forgery, uttering (circulating any fraudulent document or money), falsification of records, false pretenses, and all offenses involving false claims, deception, trickery, cheating, or breaches of trust.
- *Rape and attempted rape*—All rape, attempted rape, and assault with intent to rape. Only females were asked about rape victimization.
- *Robbery*—Stealing which involves the threat or use of actual violence or force to a person or property.
- *Assault*—Unlawful attack by one person upon another for the purpose of inflicting bodily injury.
- *Nuisance calls*—Threats, abuses, indecent calls, and other nuisance calls by telephone.
- *Peeping*—Only females were asked if they had been spied upon by a "peeping Tom."
- *Indecent exposure*—Only females were asked if a male had "indecently exposed" himself in front of them.

For all offenses except motor vehicle theft, an attempt counts equally with an actual offense. Thefts in connection with breaking and entering are only included in "break and enter."

Standard error. With a sample of such magnitude, problems of statistical inference loom less large than with most social science data. Nevertheless, with less common types of crime, marginals can become quite small. As a matter of policy, the Bureau of Statistics will not make available raw data on the number of actual victimizations of each type within the sample. Instead, we are provided with estimates weighted from the sample for the number of victimizations nationally. There can be no doubt that the

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Bureau's weighted national estimate is a superior statistic to the raw figure. The weighting procedure is such that raw figures from different geographic areas will be multiplied by different weights depending on the proportion of the population of the nation living in that area the response rate.

While the weighting procedure provided a superior statistic, it does create some complexity for the social scientist who might be interested in calculating a conventional test of statistical significance. Tests of significance have not been calculated for each comparison made in this paper. However, Table 1-1 provides the standard errors for survey estimates of the number of victimizations of each type.

As can be seen in Table 1-1, the survey estimate is that 146,500 break-and-enter victimizations occurred in Australia during 1975. The standard error on this estimate is approximately 8.5%. This means that the standard error is 8.5% of 146,500, (that is, 12,500). Discounting nonsampling errors, there are therefore about two chances in three that the true number of break and enters in Australia during 1975 was between 134,000 and 159,000; and about 19 chances in 20 that it was between 121,500 and 171,500.

Adequacy of the data. Funding for criminal justice research is miniscule in Australia when compared to the United States. The Australian Bureau of Statistics, which has responsibility for the census, is the only organization in Australia with the resources and expertise to conduct survey research of a standard comparable with the American work. The high response rate in the National Crime Victims Survey and the level of training and experience of the interviewers could never have been achieved in a university-based survey.

Even so, there were problems in this first national survey which hopefully will be redressed next time around—problems that the bureau simply had not foreseen. For example, rape within marriage is an offense in some but not most Australian jurisdictions. Because there were no instructions to cover the contingency of reported rape within marriage, no one really knows how this issue has been resolved by interviewers in different jurisdictions. In the next survey, if it is funded, greater effort will be devoted to injecting more detail into the manual defining the terms used in questions. Moreover, less importance will be attached to legally correct definitions and more to specifying categories of behavior that can be recorded reliably. International comparability will be fostered by focusing on objective categories of harm. For example, with assault, "injuries given medical attention" or "requiring hospitalization" are more useful categories for comparative purposes than "grievous bodily harm," "actual bodily harm," etc. Nevertheless, medical treatment might indicate a more serious assault in a poor country than in one where most people can afford a doctor.

1–1. Approximate standard error percent for survey estimates of numbers of victimizations in Australia, 1975

Crime	Estimated number of victimizations	Standard error percent
Break and enter	146,500	8.5
Motor vehicle theft	62,700	9.8
Robbery with violence	14,200	18.6
Theft	609,900	3.4
Fraud, forgery, false pretenses	214,100	8.6
Rape, attempted rape	7,800	26.5
Nuisance calls	1,612,594	11.3
Peeping	127,892	27.5
Indecent exposure	26,366	15.1
Assault	191,500	13.6

1–2. Victimization rates per 100,000 population age 15 and over, by sex

Crime	Male	Female
Break and enter	2,851.9	715.3
Motor vehicle theft	1,265.8	262.1
Theft	8,854.8	5,909.4
Fraud, forgery, false pretenses	4,145.7	1,065.4
Rape and attempted rape	—	186.4
Robbery with violence	168.0	173.6
Assault	3,775.4	847.9
Nuisance calls	10,516.9	28,170.7
Peeping	—	3,045.4
Indecent exposure	—	627.9

Victim surveys that are designed for international comparability can facilitate more meaningful comparisons than police statistics that are designed for domestic purposes only, but the level of comparability one would like can never be achieved. Nor, for that matter, can one do away with subcultural differences in typifications of crimes between interviewers and respondents. However, some basic methodological deficiencies of the Australian survey can be remedied simply by a more rigorous approach.

The Australian research is clearly inferior in the way it deals with the telescoping problem. A number of callback studies (Biderman et al. 1967; Ennis 1967; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1970a, 1970b; LEAA 1972) have shown that faulty memory is a problem with victim surveys, even though Gottfredson and Hindelang (1977) found that memory error tended to be random rather than systematically related to characteristics of the victim (such as age, race, education) (cf. Skogan 1975). Victim surveys have been criticized both for undercounting (Maltz 1975) and for overcounting (Levine 1976). There is evidence that accuracy of recall of known victimizations declines as the gap in time between interview and incident increases (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1970a).

Hence, U.S. data, based as they are on 6-month recall periods, employs a methodology superior to the single 12-month recall of the Australian survey. Moreover, because this first Australian survey is unbounded, the problem of forward telescoping is greater than in a bounded survey which asks respondents whether they have been a victim "since the last interview." LEAA has found that unbounded surveys produce higher victimization rates than bounded surveys, presumably because of forward telescoping (OECD 1976:26).

Correlates of victimization

Sex. According to the design of the research, only women were eligible for rape, peeping, and indecent exposure victimization. Apart from these three, the only offense on which women reported a higher level of victimization was nuisance calls. Table 1-2 shows that men had higher victimization rates for break and enter (largely because men were more likely to be nominated as head of the household), vehicle theft, theft, fraud, forgery, false pretenses, and assault. The other local surveys by Wilson and Brown (1973) and Congalton and Najman (1974) both confirm that in aggregate men are more likely than women to be victims of crime.

Age. American data tend to show respondents around the 20-year age group having the highest victimization rate, with both younger and older people having lower rates (e.g., Hindelang 1976:112). The aged (over 60) have the lowest rate. Australian data tend to be consistent with this picture, with the 20-24 year olds having the highest rates on the majority of offenses, and the over-60s the lowest (Table 1-3). Again, Wilson and Brown (1973) and Congalton and Najman (1974) support the association of youth with victimization.

1–3. Victimization rates per 100,000 population age 15 and over, by age

Crime	15–19	20–24	25–29	30–39	40–49	50–59	60 and over
Break and enter	155.1	2,397.2	2,164.8	2,523.3	1,778.6	1,748.7	1,409.1
Motor vehicle theft	418.7	1,398.6	905.8	1,262.5	865.1	436.4	55.1
Robbery with violence	77.2	534.3	54.1	163.1	159.8	160.5	97.8
Theft	6,302.4	12,603.2	11,546.9	9,148.9	6,522.2	4,427.3	2,812.8
Fraud, forgery, false pretenses	860.8	3,508.6	4,818.3	4,017.0	3,217.6	1,034.4	731.6
Peeping	1,215.5	2,562.9	932.9	1,164.0	3,713.3	1,370.0	40.6
Indecent exposure	619.9	706.2	542.9	323.0	—	222.1	46.2
Rape, attempted rape	174.8	127.0	140.1	187.1	—	53.3	—
Nuisance calls	8,612.0	18,512.0	30,671.3	27,536.3	21,634.7	19,501.3	9,246.7
Assault	3,676.2	5,792.4	1,603.9	3,205.0	759.9	1,702.7	178.0

1–4. Victimization rates per 100,000 population age 15 and over, by residence in State capital cities versus other urban centers

Crime	State capital cities	Other urban centers	Total Australia
Break and enter	1,933.9	1,369.9	1,768.8
Motor vehicle theft	917.4	369.6	757.0
Robbery with violence	218.1	56.9	170.9
Theft	7,992.6	5,837.0	7,361.6
Fraud, forgery, false pretenses	2,374.8	3,090.1	2,584.2
Peeping	1,595.1	1,419.8	1,543.8
Indecent exposure	413.9	87.4	318.3
Rape, attempted rape	113.5	48.4	94.5
Nuisance calls	23,586.8	9,509.3	19,465.6
Assault	2,726.0	1,287.9	2,305.0

1–5. Victimization rates per 100,000 population age 15 and over, by employment

Crime	Not in work force	Employed Unemployed	Employed full-time	Employed part-time
Break and enter	918.4	3,162.3	2,746.3	1,150.6
Motor vehicle theft	192.9	409.9	1,317.8	706.3
Robbery with violence	82.9	364.4	257.0	146.3
Theft	4,799.8	12,927.5	9,451.8	7,741.3
Fraud, forgery, false pretenses	633.9	2,864.7	4,364.4	2,659.1
Peeping	1,535.8	11,365.0	1,389.6	1,047.1
Indecent exposure	371.5	321.8	286.0	372.9
Rape, attempted rape	116.6	—	72.0	147.2
Nuisance calls	2,443.2	15,266.6	17,834.7	26,835.3
Assault	1,211.7	8,374.8	3,283.0	1,467.6

Urban residence. Data to compare strictly urban versus rural residents are not available from any of the Australian surveys. Nevertheless, there is a good approximation in the National Victims Survey comparison between State capital cities and the rest of the population.

The State capitals are all large cities, though the rest of the population includes three moderately large cities with populations of over 200,000. Moreover, it should be remembered that the victim survey excludes rural localities with populations lower than 500. Hence, the comparison in Table 1-4 is not an urban-rural one but a comparison between large cities and smaller cities and towns. In Table 1-4, for all crime categories except fraud, forgery, and false pretenses, the capital cities have higher reported victimization rates. A finding that urban residence is a feature shared by both criminals and victims is hardly of great moment. If there are more criminals in urban areas, then of course there should be more victims in urban areas.

Race. Since Aboriginals constitute less than 1% of the Australian population, a much larger sample would be required to permit inferences concerning race. Racial data were not collected in the Australian survey.

Socioeconomic status. Both Wilson and Brown (1973) and Congalton and Najman (1974) failed to confirm a negative relationship between socioeconomic status and aggregate victimization rate in Australia. Moreover, this is the picture from cross-tabulations of National Crime Survey victimization rates by education, occupation, income of respondents, and household income (see particularly Braithwaite and Biles 1980). In some respects, higher socioeconomic status respondents have higher victimization rates. Tertiary educated respondents are more likely to be victims of nonviolent property crimes but less likely to be victims of assault. There is a consistent positive correlation between gross weekly income of household and vehicle theft victimization (possibly because wealthy households own more automobiles). There is a positive correlation between family income and automobile theft victimization in the United States as well (Gottfredson et al. 1978:348).

The Hindelang et al. quote that opens this paper refers to data on the violent crimes: rape, robbery, assault, and larceny from the person. In the Australian survey, the last of these types of crime is not represented as a separate entity, and the first two have an intolerably high standard error for most purposes because of the smaller sample and lower crime rate in Australia. It is therefore quite possible that if adequate data were available, the Australian and American data might converge to show a positive correlation between victimization and income for certain nonviolent property offenses (particularly automobile theft) and a negative correlation for certain violent offenses. In this respect, the Australian data have a long way to go.

Unemployment. Despite the generally equivocal nature of Australian findings on socioeconomic status, the findings about unemployment specifically are supportive of the Hindelang et al. assertion. The unemployed have clearly higher rates of victimization for theft, break and enter, peeping, and assault (Table 1-5). Most striking is the difference with respect to assault, where the unemployed were more than twice as likely to report victimization than those in fulltime jobs and six times as likely to have been assaulted than respondents not in the workforce or in part-time jobs.

The unemployed did have lower rates of victimization for automobile theft and nuisance calls, perhaps because they did not own motor vehicles or telephones. They are also less likely to report being victims of fraud, forgery, and false pretenses—an expected finding because it is people in business who generally report this kind of crime. Standard error with respect to robbery, indecent exposure, and rape is too high for any statement to be made about the rates for these offenses among the unemployed.

Marital status. Hindelang et al. conclude that in the United States the unmarried are more likely to be criminals and victims of crime. The Australian data in Table 1-6 indicate that if the widowed are to be counted as unmarried, there are problems in sustaining this proposition.

Probably because of their average age, the widowed had the lowest victimization rates in most crime categories. If, however, one were to treat the unmarried as those who have never married plus those who are separated or divorced, it would be true to say that unmarried people (excluding the widowed) had much higher victimization rates on most types of crime. Congalton and Najman's (1974) findings are completely consistent with those of the national survey on marital status.

1–6. Victimization rates per 100,000 population age 15 and over, by marital status

Crime	Never married	Now married	Widowed	Separated, divorced
Break and enter	1,368.0	1,661.4	1,966.8	6,162.3
Motor vehicle theft	680.5	771.8	72.6	1,477.4
Robbery with violence	337.2	117.9	115.0	304.0
Theft	8,598.6	7,088.9	3,752.7	15,433.5
Fraud, forgery, false pretenses	1,836.2	3,011.5	338.9	5,436.6
Peeping	1,187.3	1,312.1	2,989.0	6,542.5
Indecent exposure	747.8	203.6	—	480.4
Rape, attempted rape	133.0	64.4	53.1	323.9
Nuisance calls	7,986.0	21,348.4	1,093.3	69,206.8
Assault	4,003.8	904.0	54.0	22,109.3

1–7. Victimization rates per 100,000 population age 15 and over, by residential mobility

Crime	Residential mobility		
	Low	Medium	High
Break and enter	1,515.0	1,880.0	3,482.0
Motor vehicle theft	545.0	1,443.1	1,444.0
Robbery with violence	136.5	308.1	276.6
Theft	6,139.8	10,760.5	12,814.4
Fraud, forgery, false pretenses	2,120.0	4,928.8	3,487.3
Peeping	1,162.3	1,668.5	3,979.7
Indecent exposure	250.1	180.2	915.8
Rape, attempted rape	65.5	252.9	132.1
Nuisance calls	20,186.5	22,551.2	16,424.4
Assault	2,013.7	3,116.1	3,597.5

Other possible correlates of both crime and victimization. There is a long history of research linking high residential mobility with involvement in delinquency (Longmoor and Young 1936; Sullenger 1936; Porterfield 1948; Reiss 1951; Nye 1958; Eaton and Polk 1961; Clinard 1964; Lunden 1964; Shaw and McKay 1969). It is assumed that this is because residential mobility disrupts the lives of people, severing the social bonds that maintain order. Normative order is threatened when families moving from one community to another constantly confront conflicting moral standards and adjust by playing the game of life by ear instead of by clearly defined rules. One of the more interesting findings from the Australian survey was that high residential mobility was also a characteristic of victims. Table 1-7 presents data on a Bureau of Statistics composite variable to classify respondents' residential mobility as high, medium, or low, depending on how long she or he had lived at both current and previous addresses. For all crimes except indecent exposure and nuisance calls, the respondents with lowest residential mobility were those who were least likely to be victims. Hence, high residential mobility might be another characteristic shared by both criminals and victims.

There is evidence that migrants from non-English-speaking countries are underrepresented in Australian prison populations (Francis 1975; Francis and Cassel 1975; Francis 1977). This may or may not reflect a lower real crime rate among people who have come to Australia from non-English-speaking countries. The problems of assuming differences in real crime rates from imprisonment rates need hardly be repeated here. Nevertheless, Australian criminologists are inclined to advance the argument that non-English-speaking migrants do in fact have a lower crime rate because it is difficult for them to get into Australia unless they can demonstrate that they do not have criminal records and that they have relatives or sponsors in Australia. Given this speculation, it is interesting that on all offenses except break and enter and vehicle theft, respondents born in a non-English-speaking country reported higher victimization rates than those born in Australia or other English-speaking countries.

Another suggestive finding is that owners of firearms had higher victimization rates than nonowners for break and enter, motor vehicle theft, theft, fraud, forgery, false pretenses, and assault.

There is no systematic evidence that firearm owners are more likely than others to commit crimes in Australia. Nevertheless, if the Australian lobby against gun control is right with its slogan, "Outlaw guns and only outlaws will have guns," then one would expect some correlation. It is worth exploring further whether firearm ownership is a distinguishing characteristic of both criminals and victims of crime.

A final area that merits further investigation is the startling finding from the Australian survey that victims were more likely to define themselves as having nervous and mental health problems and to have visited a "professional or other expert person for nervous or mental problems" during the previous 12 months (Biles et al. 1979).

Discussion

The data reviewed here, combined with the different data sets reviewed by Hindelang et al. (1978), constitute a compelling case for the proposition that offenders and victims have similar characteristics. From that simple proposition, the imagination can run wild with possible explanations. The discussion here will be limited to three broad types of interpretations that have some plausibility. Empirical work has not been done that would permit a judgment as to the validity of any of the interpretations. Yet there is an interesting phenomenon to be explained, perhaps even a seminal finding that might establish the great relevance of victimology to the direction of mainstream criminology. It is important to set down alternative theories that could provide a framework for future empirical work in the area.

First, there is the provocative explanation that victims are often themselves criminals. Differential association with criminals might lead to "an excess of definitions favorable to violation of law over definitions unfavorable to violations of law" (Sutherland and Cressey 1970:75). Perhaps, in addition, that differential association might produce "an excess of exposures to violation of law." If you mix with criminals, they can teach you their tricks, or use them on you—or both. This could be why victims and criminals appear similar. Victimizations and offenses might be, in some measure, part of the same social process. With respect to violence, Singer (1979) has expressed one of the many possible versions of how victimizations and offenses could be part of the same social process:

> If violence is learned as a legitimate form of conduct, it appears not only in the role of an offender as a winner, but in the important position of a loser as well. The schoolyard fight may leave only one of its combatants with a loss—awaiting the chance to turn the experiences into a win and the victimization to another.

There is some convincing evidence that victims of violent crime themselves have considerable criminal involvements. Johnson et al. (1973) followed up all victims of gunshot and stab wounds admitted to the City of Austin Hospital in Texas during 1968 and 1969. They found that 75% of the male victims had a criminal record, and 54% had a jail record. In their London survey, Sparks et al. (1977:102) found victims of violent crime to be significantly more likely than nonvictims to self-report committing violent crimes. Savitz et al. (1977:46), for a Philadelphia cohort, also observed an association between official records of having committed assault and assault victimization. Singer (1979) followed up a sample of 567 of the Wolfgang et al. (1972) cohort. Respondents were asked whether they had been a victim of a stabbing or shooting at any time during the 26 years of their lives. It was found that having been a stabbing or shooting victim was the best of several predictors of self-reported involvement in violent crime: "The most critical determinant of having committed a serious self-reported assault is being a victim of serious assault" (Singer 1979:10). However, when Singer switched from self-reports to official records of serious violent offenses, the correlation between victim and offender status continued to apply for the adult years of the cohort but not for the juvenile years. Despite this last discouraging finding, the evidence as a whole is consistent with the inference that victims and criminals have similar demographic characteristics because many victims are criminals. For future national victimization surveys, consideration should be given to questions on the criminal involvement of respondents.

A second explanation is that people with victim/offender characteristics (young, male, unemployed, unmarried, etc.) are more likely to spend their time in public space—in trains and buses rather than private automobiles, streets and parks rather than offices and homes, public bars rather than private clubs. Most crucially, they are more likely to spend their time in public space in the evening, when crimes disproportionately occur. Sitting at home watching television in the evening, one is not likely to seize on an opportunity to commit a crime, have one's purse snatched, or be arrested for a crime one did not commit. This is the kind of explanation that Hindelang et al. (1978) found most attractive. Moreover, Hindelang et al. emphasize the fact that people with victim/offender characteristics are people who spend a large proportion of their time with nonfamily members. Especially with theft-related crimes, it is nonfamily members who are most likely to commit the crime (Hindelang et al. 1978:260-1). Spending time in public space and spending time with nonfamily members are obviously related.

One of the attractions of the public space interpretation is its capacity to explain seemingly incomprehensible empirical findings. Consider the following perplexing finding: In the Australian National Survey a higher rate of victimization was reported on some offenses for respondents who reported having no religion. Irreverently, we construed this as "perhaps a consequence of insufficient prayer!" (Braithwaite and Biles 1980). Interestingly though, Wilson and Brown (1973:84–5) found something comparable. Church attendance had a clear relationship with victimization. Those who never went to church were notably susceptible to victimization. Wilson and Brown were only half tongue-in-cheek when they opted for a public space explanation: "Perhaps non-attenders are more likely to frequent hotels, theaters, and other places of entertainment, thus rendering themselves more open to victimization, while churchgoers generally pursue a more circumspect existence, abstaining from the boisterous nightlife and avoiding places of ill repute!" From the trivial to the sublime, Cohen and Felson (1979) have had remarkable success in explaining variations in crime rates in the United States between 1947 and 1974 by indicators of the proportion of time people spent outside the home in different periods. The public space explanation does give a preliminary impression of parsimony.

A third and final type of interpretation is that common victim/offender characteristics are associated with certain behavior patterns and attitude sets that produce both offenses and victimization. Three characteristics that might be associated with youth, maleness, being unemployed, and being unmarried (and perhaps even being a heathen guntoter) are: propensity to risktaking, propensity to violence, and alcohol consumption.

Risk taking: Perhaps young males are socialized more into risktaking, and perhaps unmarried and unemployed people have less to lose through taking a risk. However, since Miller (1958) first argued that "excitement" was one of the focal concerns of delinquent subcultures, the evidence to support an association between propensity to risktaking and delinquency has hardly been overwhelming (Gordon et al. 1963; Short and Strodtbeck 1965; Sherwin 1968; Ball-Rokeach 1973; Cochrane 1974; Feather 1975:181–3). Nevertheless, it seems sensible to keep this explanatory option open because of the extreme plausibility of an association between propensity to risktaking and victimization. Surely people who run risks by leaving their houses unlocked, walking alone down dark inner city alleys, or leaving keys in their automobiles are more likely to be victimized.

A nice feature of the risktaking argument is that it offers some explanation of the well established phenomenon that fear of crime is, if anything, negatively associated with the actual probability of being a victim of crime (Skogan and Klecka 1977; Sparks et al. 1977; Braithwaite et al. 1979; Garafalo 1979; Mugford 1980). Risktakers, by definition, are less afraid of risks. So if people become victims of crime because they are

risktakers, why should we be surprised to find that victims of crime are less afraid of crime?

Propensity to violence: People with victim /offender characteristics are more likely to adopt violent role models. Young males are more likely to identify with Muhammad Ali than are elderly females. Obviously, it is not difficult to postulate propensity to violence (be it based on attitudinal tolerance of violence or adoption of violent role models) as a factor leading to violent crime. As far as victimization is concerned, we know that hostility (be it in the form of a derogatory remark or a jostle) promotes reciprocal hostility. Moreover, Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) have eloquently advanced an "ethos of violence" in victim/offender interactions that simultaneously explains the crime and the choice of victim:

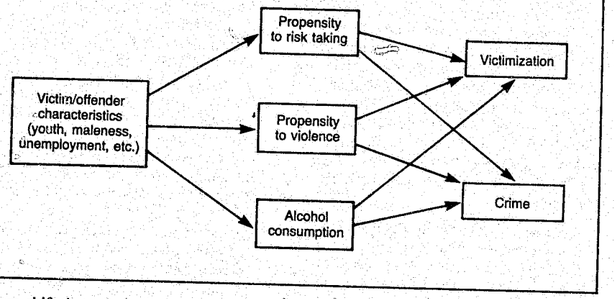
> . . . when the attacked see their assaulters as agents of the same kind of aggression they themselves represent, violent retaliation is readily legitimized by a situationally specific rationale, as well as by the generally normative supports for violence (Wolfgang and Ferracuti 1967:161).

Alcohol consumption: Again it is Wolfgang (1958) who first established the importance of alcohol in crime. He found that alcohol was a factor in almost two-thirds of the homicides in his study (see also Wolfgang and Strohm 1956). A similar result has been found in Australia (Bartholomew 1968). The assumption is that alcohol consumption loosens inhibitions against deviance, both in the form of crime and provocative conduct that might precipitate crime from others (see Wolfgang 1967:83). Under the influence of alcohol, people might have a greater propensity to risktaking, and might be more "vincible" as targets for crime (Hindelang et al. 1978:206). Moreover, it is assumed that people with victim/offender characteristics are more likely to indulge in alcohol consumption, perhaps particularly at times when they go out into public space.

Because it is somewhat more complex than the previous two, this third set of explanations is represented schematically in Figure 1-1.

The three explanations considered here, grounded as they are in a modicum of empirical work on victim/offender similarity, deserve systematic investigation. It is possible that moving from separate studies of criminals and victims to studies of the victim/offender nexus could be the kind of

Figure 1-1. **Schema for an explanation of victim/offender similarity.**



paradigm shift that criminology needs. Victimization surveys in the future will be of particular value if they incorporate self-reports of participation in crime as well as a range of items on the use of leisure time spent in public space and interpersonal relationships.

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Three surveys of violence in Finland

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The Finnish victimization surveys

A paper on "Everyday Violence in Finland" (Aromaa 1971) reports the first in a series of Finnish surveys on victims of violent crime. These interviews were carried out in December 1970, and the study has been replicated twice, in 1973 and 1976. Similar studies have been conducted in three other Nordic countries (cf. Hauge and Wolf 1974). In Denmark (Wolf 1977) and Norway (Hauge 1975) replications have been made; in Sweden, the next step after the initial survey following the Finnish model consisted of an independent pilot study aimed at providing a starting point for a new series of national statistics (cf. Persson 1977).

The use of victim surveys originated in the United States. The earliest survey was done in 1966 (Ennis 1967). The Finnish series reported here and parallel studies in other Nordic countries have, however, no direct foreign models. Like their American counterparts, they are a reflection of the discussion of crime waves and the reliability and interpretation of indicators of crime. Recent research seems to be directed toward indicator development and production, parallel to work concerned with developing a national statistical series on crime victimization.

A good example of the trend toward indicator development is provided by the activities of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) Working Party on Social Indicators.[1] The work has reached the stage where the central indicators for measuring physical safety—including victimization by violence—have been designed (see Törnudd 1980). These indicators were applied for the first time in Finland late in 1980.

The time series

This report presents tables from three Finnish surveys on victimization by violence. A time series (1970, 1973, 1976) is gradually taking form. In the long run, a standard statistical series of this type will most suitably be produced by the statistics authorities. The work on development, on the other hand, is appropriate for a specialized research institute. The victimization measure used in the studies reported here has, accordingly, changed over time. The 2-year timespan covered by the original measure has been cut down to 1 year (12 months), and the survey sample has been improved. (The field work was turned over to another survey organization, using a different sample design; see Sirén 1980.)

A fourth round of Gallup interviews, scheduled for 1979, was not carried out. The time series is thus broken off; but it will be continued, slightly modified, in 1980. Late in 1980, the Central Statistical Office of Finland will conduct a large victimization survey, planned in cooperation with the Research Institute of Legal Policy, and knowledge of this contributed to the decision to cancel the 1979 round of surveys. The large survey will cover some 10,000 respondents, and the questions concern victimization both by violent crimes and property crimes. In addition, the OECD physical safety indicator items will be included in the questionnaire.

The instruments

All three Gallup surveys to be analyzed in this report were conducted as parts of market surveys by Gallup of Finland, Ltd. The following question was asked each time:

> People often talk about crimes of violence. On this card, some types of violence are described. Have you in the past 2-year period been victim to one or several of these kinds of acts performed by a person you know or by a stranger. (If more than one is mentioned, ask:) Which of these incidents was the most recent one?

	Has happened	Most recent
Threatening	1	1
Tried to prevent from moving, grabbed	2	2
Pushed, shoved	3	3
Slapped, hit without leaving visible marks	4	4
Hit, resulting in bruises	5	5
Wound or bruise caused not requiring medical attention	6	6
Injury caused requiring medical attention	7	7
Other (please specify)	8	8
Such events have not occurred	0	0

In 1973 and 1976, the number of victimization incidents occurring during the 2-year period was also asked:

> How many different times have such incidents happened to you during the past 2 years?

In addition to these basic questions, some details of the victimization incidents were asked, varying from survey to survey. Gallup's standard background variables (age, sex, occupation, type of commune*) could be used in the analysis.

The samples

The samples used by Gallup in the market surveys in question are designed to represent the resident Finnish-speaking[2] population age 15 or over; the Swedish-speaking province of Aland, with 0.5% of the entire population, is not included in the samples. The samples are stratified, being an application of the method suggested by Deming (1960). The commune samples are stratified by province and the proportion of the industrial population in the commune. Each commune of the country has a chance to be included in the sample; this chance has been weighted with the size of the population of the commune—areas with a large population thus have a higher probability of being included in the sample than areas with few inhabitants. The sample of individuals (see below) in each commune was selected separately for each survey round from the population register. It is not likely that many persons are selected more than once.

Conducting the interviews

The interviews have been made in four-person clusters. The sample selected from the population register provides the persons who serve as starting points for collecting the four-person cluster. The interview attempts are begun at the starting address; from here, the interviewer proceeds to the

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[1]The countries and organizations that participated in the Common Development Effort on indicators of physical safety (1976-79) were Finland (the lead country), the United States, Canada, the Netherlands, England, and the World Health Organization (WHO).

*Commune, as used throughout this paper, refers to the local authority area; it is a governmental unit. A rural commune is, in effect, a rural municipality. It is similar to the New England Township and the Dutch Municipality described in the next paper in this volume. [Editor]

[2]The dominant language of the bilingual country is Finnish, reported as their main language by 93% of the population in the last census. Of the remaining 7%, most are able to speak Finnish, and the language criterion is therefore hardly a serious limitation to the representativeness of the samples.

neighboring households until the four interviews are completed. The respondents are not chosen randomly. Instead, they have to fulfill sex and age criteria given separately for each starting address. The purpose is to create a final sample whose age and sex structure corresponds to that of the whole population. If the respondent fulfilling the criteria is not contacted on the first call, a second attempt is made later. After the second unsuccessful call, the interviewer moves on to the next household.

The interviews are conducted by Gallup's network of professional part-time interviewers covering the whole country. The interviewers were not specifically trained for the victim surveys. The questions on violence were included on a questionnaire with questions from other clients, mainly with a market survey focus.

The number of interviews completed in each of the surveys are—

	Men	Women
1970 December	487	478
1973 November and December	979	1,035
1976 December	464	475

The interviews were carried out on the "reasonable trouble" principle—the interviewer was not obliged to secure a confidential interview situation. There is often something embarrassing in the victimization incident which is very likely to keep the respondent from mentioning the incident unless the interview is made under absolutely confidential circumstances. The problem as such is a classic one in survey research; its importance has simply not been noted in our earlier victim studies. This issue as well as the standard problems of faulty recall and other memory errors (including the so-called telescoping effect) dealt with in earlier reports, probably have an identical effect on the results in all three surveys, thus hardly impairing year-to-year comparisons.

About the special character of the samples used

In samples designed in the described manner, some specific population segments are obviously underrepresented. Institutionalized persons (e.g., prisoners, residents of old people's homes, inmates of mental hospitals and other hospitals or of treatment institutions for alcoholics) are not included in the sample by definition, as are people without a permanent address. Also young men in military service—practically an entire 1-year cohort—are very seldom interviewed. People residing in boarding houses have a theoretical possibility of being included in the sample, but in practice it is very unlikely that they are reached by interviewers.

Such facts tend to reduce variation in the final data. This tendency is strengthened even further by the procedure used for replacing such persons who for some reason cannot be interviewed. If a respondent fulfilling the sampling criteria is not contacted or cannot be interviewed for some other reason, the interviewer moves on to the neighboring household. This procedure is followed until the interviewer's quota is filled.

Based on interviewer reports for the 1973 survey, it was sometimes necessary to ring as many as 40 doorbells to collect a cluster of four interviews (Aromaa 1974b:5); it was estimated that one interview attempt out of two was fruitless. Half of the failures were due to the fact that no person fulfilling the sampling criteria lived in the household. The rest of the failures were caused by the following: (1) nobody was at home (half of the rest); (2) refusal (one-fourth); (3) the respondent was not contacted even on the second call (one-fifth); and (4) other reasons (e.g., the house had been demolished, the respondent had died).

As a result of this procedure, the final survey population, to a misleadingly large extent, consists of people who are easy to contact at home[3] (cf. Uhl and Schoner 1969:145). For this reason, the samples are not suitable for describing subgroups of the population who would be especially interesting with regard to violent incidents. Therefore, it is not likely that the data analyzed here would provide a representative picture of the violence situation in the whole country. Instead, a study of this type describes the situation from the viewpoint of average citizens, people who do not represent the marginal groups in society and who are easy to contact. This gives a certain special flavor to the findings: they may be assumed to illuminate specifically the risks of the "ordinary citizen" and his or her perception of those risks.*

As a matter of fact, even questions of the kind used here, which seemingly deal with actual concrete incidents, yield information colored by the respondent's subjective perception of the incident and its wider framework. It is not possible to make any estimates here of the relative importance of the subjective element in the final results. Nevertheless, when we consider the wide range of events covered by the term "violence," it is possible to assume that our measure, which mostly covers rather trivial episodes with a very low damage level, is quite sensitive to the general attitude in regard to the matter studied. Thus, respondents who are very much concerned with violence or crime are more likely to remember and to mention incidents of victimization than those who are indifferent toward the matter. Tables 2-1 and 2-2 shed some light on this question. They can, however, also be read the other way round: that the fact of having been victimized influences the respondent's overall attitude toward violence, and it may also "improve" the respondent's memory in that she or he is more likely to recall even minor incidents and to define them as violence for the survey.

We may assume that many people have at least some incidents of victimization to tell about if they are willing to try hard to remember and take the question literally. Let us once more consider the wide scope of the interview question. Perhaps we may also assume that in reality so many people have experienced some of the listed incidents that the time and trouble the interviewer and the respondent spend on the interview, and especially in going over the period in question, are correlated with the proportion of affirmative answers. (The study by Sparks et al. (1977) of London is an example of this. Here, exceptional effort was spent on improving recall of the research period. This study also found an exceptionally high proportion of victims.)

The comparability of the data for 1970, 1973, and 1976 should not be impaired by those problems. The instruments, the technical procedures, and the measure are identical.

Expectations—trends from police data

Table 2-3 shows the number of assaults recorded by the police during 1969–1976. The number of assaults recorded for 1972–1973 is 21.4% higher than the number for 1969–1970. The 1975–1976 figure is 4.7% lower than the one for 1972–1973, and 15.8% higher than the one for 1969–1970. This calculation uses 2-year periods to make it comparable to the 2-year period used in the victimization surveys.

In a Nordic comparison (Hauge and Wolf 1974), the countries were ranked identically by both the victim survey data and by the crime statistics of the police. This has been interpreted as an indication that both sources deal at least roughly with the same phenomenon, regardless of their obvious dissimilarity. This state of affairs is, nevertheless, still quite far away from a situation where the victim surveys and the crime statistics for a given country yield a harmonious time series.

Table 2-4 shows the urban-rural distribution of the police assault figures given in Table 2-3 and their changes over time. Between the 1969–1970 base period and 1975–1976, the number of recorded assaults increased equally in urban and rural areas. But between the two latter periods, 1972–1973 and 1975–1976, the urban figure decreased, and the rural one increased slightly.

Table 2-5 reports relative assault figures for 1970, 1973, and 1976. (The assault rates are given per 100,000 population.) Looking at rates as opposed to absolute numbers presents a somewhat different picture. If victim surveys deal with the same basic phenomena as the police records, they should find an increase in victimizations in rural areas especially between 1970 and 1973, and some increase even from 1973 to 1976. In the urban population, the

2–1. Responses to the question on special safety measures taken (1973 survey), by victimization

Have you taken any special safety measures because of the possibility of an assault? (card)	Victimized during the 2-year period before the interview: Yes — Number	Yes — Percent	No — Number	No — Percent	Percent victimized
1. No measures	168	55	1,312	77	11
2. Carrying a knife	4	1	4	0	50
3. Carrying a gun	5	2	6	0	45
4. Carrying another weapon	11	4	14	1	44
5. Practicing self-defense	31	10	31	2	50
6. Avoiding places you suspect as being dangerous	81	27	295	17	22
7. Using a taxicab	8	3	32	2	20
8. Obtaining a dog	—	—	30	2	—
9. Other measures	16	5	16	1	50
Total	304	107	1,710	102	15

2–2. Responses to the opinion question on violent crime trends (1973 survey), by victimization

The recorded number of assaults increased during the 1960's, with an annual average of 8 percent. How much do you assume that their number has changed during the 1970's? (card)	Victimized during the 2-year period before the interview: Yes — Number	Yes — Percent	No — Number	No — Percent	Percent victimized
1. Decreased	2	1	10	1	17
2. Unchanged	6	2	55	3	10
3. Increased, but slower than in the 1960's	11	4	54	3	17
4. Increased about as fast as in the 1960's	41	13	254	15	14
5. Increased faster than in the 1960's	240	79	1,189	70	17
6. Don't know	4	1	147	9	3
Total	304	100	1,710	100	15

2–3. Number of assaults recorded by police, 1969–76

Year	Number	
1969	9,954	21,126
1970	11,172	
1971	11,831	
1972	12,496	25,651
1973	13,155	
1974	13,656	
1975	13,114	24,457
1976	11,340	

2–4. Number of assaults recorded by police and percent change, by type of residential area

Year	Cities and boroughs (U)	Rural communes (R)	Percent change: U	R	U	R
1969–1970	16,115	5,011				
1972–1973	20,049	5,602	+24.4	+11.8		
1975–1976	18,631	5,823	−7.1	+3.9	+15.6	+16.2

2–5. Assault rates, by type of residential area, 1970, 1973, and 1976

Type of residential area	Year	Number of assaults recorded by police	Size of population age 15 or older	Assaults per 100,000 population age 15 or older	Percent change	
Cities and boroughs	1970	8,513	1,792,675	475	...	
	1973	10,356	2,118,392	489	+2.9	
	1976	8,661	2,124,119	408	−16.6	−14.1
Rural communes	1970	2,659	1,686,746	158	...	
	1973	2,799	1,559,373	179	+13.3	
	1979	2,679	1,443,794	186	+3.9	+17.7

[3] A survey of personal victimization cannot locate persons who have died, who are in a hospital, or who cannot participate in an interview because of a victimization. The proportion of such persons, however, is so small that their inclusion or exclusion in the research population can hardly have any effect on the relative frequency of the phenomena dealt with in our surveys (cf. the overview presented in Figure 1). If the study only concerned incidents involving very serious injuries, the matter might be different. In that case, though, the present research solutions would not apply.

*Given the importance of lifestyle in the other surveys reported here, this sampling problem may be very important. [Editor]

survey data should find a very slight increase during 1970–1973 and some decrease from 1973 to 1976.

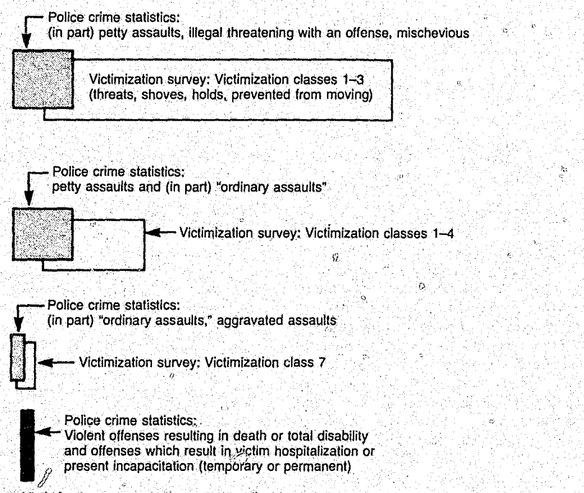
The crime statistics can be used in still another way: to compare areas where the assault rates as assessed by the police statistics vary, thus checking whether the "violence context" of the population has remained constant. This is important because the assault rates may influence the collective perception of the violence situation as well as the average victimization risk.

Table 2-6 presents data on the distribution of the population by police-recorded assault rates. These data were published by the Research Institute of Legal Policy in its 1976 annual report on the crime situation. The table shows the figures only for years corresponding to the survey years. The change is quite clear. Due to migration and the rising crime figures, the share of the population living in areas with a low assault rate has gradually decreased, and the proportion of those living in areas with a high assault rate has grown correspondingly.

Because of these population changes, the survey samples also should include an increasing proportion of people from high assault density areas and fewer people from areas with a low density. Thus, the national victimization rates measured in the surveys should be expected to increase even if rates for geographic areas and population subcategories remain unchanged.

The changes in the crime statistics found above need not be repeated in survey data, even if the interviews measured the same phenomenon as the police crime statistics.[4] In addition to the problem of representativeness of the samples, another central problem is that the police statistics are reported by location of the assault but the victim surveys (as many others) are based primarily on the respondent's residence. Earlier survey reports (Aromaa 1971:29; 1977:appendix) show that the difference is not unimportant. Victimizations of persons who reside in rural areas often occur in cities. In the 1970 data, 30% of the victimization incidents of rural respondents happened in cities; in the 1973 December data, the figure was about the same, 33%. For the urban respondents, 2-3% of the victimizations occurred in rural areas.

Figure 2-1. **A schematic view of the relationship between acts of violence covered by police crime statistics and the victimization surveys reported here**



The diagram does not include those acts which may be left out of *both* measures. The fact that the areas depicted are not coextensive is intended as a reminder that some events recorded by the police are not revealed in victimization surveys.

2–6. **Distribution of the population by police-recorded assault rates for area, 1970, 1973, and 1975**

Assaults recorded by police per 10,000 of the commune's population	Population distribution 1970 percent		1973 percent		1975 percent	
50	13		16		14	
40–49	6	28	12	35	9	38
30–39	9		7		15	
20–29	18		19		23	
10–19	27	53	31	46	24	40
0– 9	26		15		16	

In comparing police statistics with victimization survey data, we also need to keep in mind that the police crime statistics are in part absolute figures and some of the observations based on rates (see Table 2-6) do not refer to the same population base as the surveys. The population base used in the rates reported in Table 2-6 is the whole population, whereas the survey base is that part of the population that is at least 15 years old. Due to variations, for example, in the sizes of age cohorts and other features of the population structure, victimization rates calculated from the interview data for different population categories may give a picture of the changes that is quite different from the one given by overall figures, even when the total population of the country remains relatively constant, as has been the case in Finland during the 1970's.

Altogether, a comparison of the survey data with the crime statistics of the police rests on a shaky foundation. To illuminate this further, Figure 2-1 presents a schematic description of the relationship between these two data sources. Although based on a comparison of the distributions by the damage level of the police-recorded assaults (measured in the first and as yet only experimental crime damage statistics for 1974) and of the victimizations found in the survey, the figure does not claim to present exact proportions but rather to sketch roughly the mutual coverage of the two different indicators.

[4]This caution means also that the propensity to make a police report—or the probability that assaults are recorded—remains constant. In each survey round (1970, 1973, and 1976), an equal proportion (14%) answered affirmatively when asked whether or not the police were informed. If this result is taken at face value, the matter is clear, but whether this is justified remains an open question.

2–7. **Rate of respondents who had experienced acts of violence described in the interview, 1970, 1973, and 1976, per 1,000 age 15+**

Year	Damage level of the violent act* 0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total	Number
1970	851	37	39	31	18	10	6	5	2	1,000	(974)
1973	849	40	35	25	18	13	8	6	5	1,000	(2,014)
1976	824	39	46	37	22	6	10	12	3	1,000	(939)

*If the respondent mentioned more incidents than one, the damage level was determined by the most serious incident.

The total victimization rates in the three surveys

Different seriousness levels. In the data presented in Table 2-7, a gradual shift away from the zero class (those not victimized) is discernible. The proportion of persons victimized has increased. The shift is directed toward classes 2-3, and perhaps also toward classes 6-7. Not too much should be read into these rates, however; if the distributions are rounded off to full percentages and compared, their tails are identical for each year.

From year to year, the samples contain an increasing number of respondents who live in areas with a high assault rate, and correspondingly fewer respondents from low assault rate areas (see last section). Therefore, the national victimization rate may be expected to rise even in the case that the partial rates of each area category remain constant and, correspondingly, the national rate may remain constant even if the partial rates have decreased. The following test was made in order to estimate how large an increase in the national rate would be caused solely by the changes in the sample structure, assuming that the victimization rates in the different population subcategories remained constant at the 1970 level. The check was performed by using the following subdivisions: (a) urban-rural; (b) occupational category (farmer population-labor-white collar); (c) age group (15–21, 22–34, 35–49, 50+). In each calculation, the possible changes in the proportions of men and women were also taken into account. In earlier studies, these four criteria for subdividing the data have been found to be connected with large variations in victimization rates.

Table 2-8 shows the sample distribution for each year between men and women (a) in urban and rural areas, (b) by occupational category, and (c) by age. The proportion of urban respondents has clearly grown. This is reflected also by the decrease of the proportion of the farmer population and the increase in the proportion of the white-collar category (clerical occupations, students, professionals). Changes in the age structure are smaller, but the proportions in the two oldest categories (35–49 and 50+) have fallen slightly, and the 22–34 bracket has risen.

All these changes in the sample structure lead to increases in the national victimization rate. Closer scrutiny shows, however, that the changes here mainly have to do with changes along the urban-rural dimension: almost all subcategories formed by age, occupation, and sex show an increase in the proportion of urban and a decrease in the proportion of rural respondents. The effect of the changes in the structure of the samples on the national victimization rate can therefore be shown using only the urban-rural changes.

Table 2-9 illustrates the change in the national victimization rate (using 1970 as the base year) solely due to changes in the sample structure. Part of the increase in the national victimization rate can indeed be accounted for by changes in the sample structure. About a third of the change from 1970 to 1976 may be explained by this circumstance if all damage levels are considered, and about a tenth if the comparison is limited to the more serious victimizations (categories 4–7).

2–8. **Percentage distribution of sample by sex, type of residential area, occupation, and age, 1970, 1973, and 1976**

	Men			Women			Total		
(a) Residence	1970	1973	1976	1970	1973	1976	1970	1973	1976
Cities and boroughs	23.7	25.6	29.1	25.7	27.0	29.6	49.4	52.6	58.7
Rural communes	26.3	23.0	20.3	24.3	24.4	21.0	50.6	47.4	41.3
(b) Occupation (head of household)	Men			Women			Total		
	1970	1973	1976	1970	1973	1976	1970	1973	1976
Farmer	13.1	9.8	8.8	12.9	10.3	8.6	26.0	20.1	17.4
Labor	22.0	24.4	23.6	24.0	25.2	25.6	46.0	49.6	49.2
White-collar	14.9	14.3	16.9	13.0	15.9	16.4	27.9	30.2	33.3
	Men			Women			Total		
(c) Age	1970	1973	1976	1970	1973	1976	1970	1973	1976
15–21	6.5	6.6	7.3	7.6	6.9	6.9	14.1	13.5	14.2
22–34	15.0	15.1	14.5	11.8	15.3	16.6	26.8	30.4	31.1
35–49	13.4	10.9	12.2	12.7	13.8	11.0	26.1	24.7	23.2
50+	15.1	16.0	15.3	17.9	15.3	16.1	33.0	31.3	31.4
Total	50.0	48.6	49.4	50.0	51.4	50.6	100	100	100

2–9. **Changes in the victimization percentages as measured and as predicted by sample structure changes**

Year	All damage levels: Percentage victims determined by changes in sample structure (percent)	All damage levels: Actually measured victimization (percent)	Damage levels 4–7: Percentage victims determined by changes in sample structure (percent)	Damage levels 4–7: Actually measured victimization (percent)
1970	14.9	14.9	3.9	3.9
1973	15.2	15.1	3.9	4.5
1976	15.9	17.6	4.0	5.0

Number of victimizations. Table 2-10 is intended to supplement the results in Table 2-7. It shows how many different damage levels the respondents mentioned. This variable was originally (in the 1970 data) constructed to provide a substitute measure for the number of incidents, which was not included in the questionnaire used in the first survey (cf. Aromaa 1971; 1974a). In 1973 and 1976, the number of incidents was included in the questionnaire. However, to enable a comparison of all three surveys, the substitute variable was also constructed for the 1973 and 1976 data.

The proportion of those mentioning many different damage levels has decreased from year to year. Simultaneously, the zero class (no victimization incidents) has decreased and the 1-class has grown. The size of parameter *a* (the intensity parameter) of the negative binomials fitted to the empirical distributions has correspondingly grown, whereas parameter *b* (the cumulation or heterogeneity of risks parameter) has remained constant.

The number of damage levels variable does not fully correspond to the number of victimization incidents. A respondent may have experienced many incidents of the same damage level; and somebody may have experienced several levels of violence in one single incident. The interviews revealed a number of both types of respondents. However, tabulations from 1973 and 1976 data show that the two variables are closely connected. The first variable, though, when compared with the question directly asking the number, shows a marked tendency to underestimate the number of incidents. It is, of course, possible that the latter exaggerates the number of actual incidents. Especially high values of the variable are dubious in this sense.

The responses where the number of incidents is missing (n.a.) cause a problem, for they are affirmative answers which only lack the precise indication of the number of incidents. If they are left outside of the distribution, as is done in Table 2-11, the parameters of the negative binomial are affected in a misleading manner. If these answers are instead placed into the classes determined by the "auxiliary" variable used above, concerning the number of different damage levels mentioned by the respondent, the distributions are changed. This adjustment also shows that the degree of cumulation (or heterogeneity) of risks has not grown (as indicated by parameter *b* of the negative binomials) from 1973 to 1976 when measured directly by the question about the number of incidents experienced.

2–10. Number of alternatives in the victimization question to which the respondents gave an affirmative answer, 1970, 1973, and 1976

Year	Number of alternatives 0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total	(Number)	Parameters of the negative binomials* *a*	*b*
1970	851	103	26	7	7	1	4	1	1,000	(974)	.16	.59
1973	849	108	24	7	7	4	1	—	1,000	(2,014)	.17	.59
1976	824	121	30	18	5	—	—	1	1,000	(939)	.19	.55

*The parameters of the negative binomials fitted to the empirical distribution (see Fisher 1941, Feller 1943, Coleman 1964, Aromaa 1971, 1974a, Siren 1976a). The parameters have been determined by making use of a collection of tables on the negative binomial, edited at the Research Institute of Legal Policy. The parameters are presented here mainly to keep up a tradition advocating the usefulness of the negative binomial in regard to this kind of data.

In principle, it provides a good parsimonious tool for description and comparison; in practice, the parameter *b* measuring the degree of cumulation or heterogeneity of risks (both interpretations are possible—cf. Aromaa 1974a, Sparks et al. 1977) is particularly affected by chance variations in small samples, especially with low values of parameter *a* (the intensity parameter). In American research, see James Nelson 1979.

2–11a. Number of victimizations, 1973 and 1976

Year	Number of victimizations 0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12+	n.a.	Total	(Number)	Parameters of the negative binomials *a*	*b*
1973	849	82	25	10	7	8	1	—	0	0	2	—	7	5	1,000	(2,014)	.17	1.25
1976	824	82	36	17	7	7	1	—	—	—	2	—	7	15	1,000	(939)	.19	1.48

2–11b. Number of victimizations, 1973 and 1976 (with n.a. category reclassified)

Year	Number of victimizations 0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12+	Total	Parameters of the negative binomials *a*	*b*
1973	849	83	27	12	6	8	1	—	0	0	2	—	7	1,000	.17	1.22
1976	824	92	40	18	7	7	1	—	—	—	2	—	7	1,000	.19	1.19

2–12. Summary table—victimization rate, multiple victimization

Year	Victimization rate	Of the victims: Average number of different levels of violence	Average number of incidents*	Percentage of those with at least two incidents	Average damage level of the incidents
1970	149	1.62	...	...	2.73
1973	151	1.54	2.72	45	2.82
1976	176	1.47	2.58	48	2.91

*The average of the class age 12+ has been determined as 20.

The addition, i.e., the shift away from the zero class, is centered on classes 1–3; the tail of the distribution has not changed. Such a shift seems plausible if we are dealing with a slight increase in overall victimization risks: it is quite likely that if there is such an increase, it will concern mainly the first victim categories (because new persons are recruited into the victim category out of the nonvictims) and not so much the tail of the distribution, people with many victimizations.

2–13. Victimization percentages, by sex, 1970, 1973 and 1976*

Year	Men 1–8	4–7	Number	Women 1–8	4–7	Number
1970	18	6	487	12	2	487
1973	21	6	979	9	3	1,035
1976	24	7	464	12	3	475

*The victimization percentages are given in two categories: 1–8 includes all violence (damage) levels as defined in the interviews; 4–7 are damage levels 4–7, the more violent incidents.

National victimization rate: Summary. Table 2-12 summarizes the results of this section. The visible changes are as expected: the victim rate and the average seriousness of the incidents have increased. Part of the change—although only a minor part—is nevertheless explained by the change in the structure of the samples due to migration and urbanization.

The average number of incidents mentioned by the victims has fallen slightly, but the percentage of those victimized at least twice has grown: the shift away from the zero class focused on classes 2 and 3. The share of victims mentioning at least four victimizations has again fallen slightly, from 19% in 1973 to 15% in 1976.

Victim rates in different population categories

Changes in proportions of respondents who mentioned incidents of victimization from 1970 to 1976 in some population categories. Only now that the time series has three points is it possible to begin to develop a feeling of the meaning of the size of the changes. When comparing two points in time with this type of data, it is not easy even to assess whether a given difference should be considered "large" or "small" (keeping in mind that practically all differences that are likely to emerge remain below any levels of statistical significance—although strictly speaking significance tests are hardly appropriate for this kind of data).

The changes are scrutinized in the standard manner: victim percentages are compared in different subcategories of the population, determined according to a few common background characteristics: sex, age, residence, and occupation (see Tables 2-13 and 2-14). The analyses were done looking at victimization at any level (including the entire range of violence as defined in the interviews, damage levels 1–8) and looking at only the more violent incidents reported (damage levels 4–7, in which the respondents were at least slapped or hit). The trends discernible in 1973 are continued in 1976. In addition, no decreases can be found in 1976. The increase in the gross result is distributed among almost all age and sex categories—only the victim rate among those age 50 or over is an exception.

2–14. Victimization percentages, by age and sex, 1970, 1973, and 1976*

Age	Year	Men 1–8	4–7	Number	Women 1–8	4–7	Number
15–21	1970	49	16	63	23	7	74
	1973	40	17	133	23	11	139
	1976	45	17	69	18	9	65
22–34	1970	21	9	146	17	3	115
	1973	26	9	304	9	3	309
	1976	31	9	136	15	3	156
35–49	1970	11	2	131	10	1	124
	1973	15	3	219	6	1	278
	1976	17	6	115	14	3	103
50+	1970	9	2	147	5	1	174
	1973	13	2	323	6	1	309
	1976	13	1	144	3	—	151

*See Table 2–13 note for description of two victimization categories used.

2–15. Victimization percentages, by sex and type of residence, 1970, 1973, and 1976*

Type of residence	Year	Men 1–8	4–7	Number	Women 1–8	4–7	Number
Cities and boroughs	1970	24	6	231	17	2	250
	1973	28	8	516	12	4	544
	1976	29	7	273	13	3	278
Rural communes	1970	13	5	256	6	2	237
	1973	13	5	464	5	2	491
	1976	16	7	191	10	4	197

*See Table 2–13 note for description of two victimization categories used.

2–16. Victimization percentages, by type of residence, 1970, 1973, and 1976*

Type of residence	Year	1–8	4–7	Number
Cities and boroughs	1970	20	4	481
	1973	20	6	1,060
	1976	21	6	551
Rural communes	1970	10	4	493
	1973	9	3	955
	1976	13	5	388

*See Table 2–13 note for description of two victimization categories used.

Table 2-15 subdivides the respondents by sex and residence. It shows that the most recent growth in the violence figures originates countryside, equally among rural men and women. This finding fits rather well with the picture given by the police statistics (see Table 2-16). Despite the plausibility of this result, note that these data are based on residence of the victim not location of the incident. However, since the scene of the incidents for rural victims was a city about equally often in 1973 and 1976, the trend shown in the crime statistics may be accurately reflected in the interview data.

Table 2-17 presents victimization rates over time by sex, age, and type of residence. Increases in victim rates are found among—

- young urban men (all violence levels);
- and all rural respondents (all violence levels as well as those levels where the victim had at least been hit).

According to these tables, it seems that the trend found in 1973 has continued as far as young urban men are concerned, but a new development from 1973 to 1976 seems to be the rise among the rural population, young and old, and men as well as women. The result is not in conflict with the picture provided by the crime statistics except on the part of the rather young urban men.

When we add occupation to the analyses (see Table 2-18), some increase is found in all occupational categories, among men and women alike, with the exception of white-collar women. The increase is smallest among men classified as belonging to labor occupations.

Table 2-19 specifies the location of these changes on the urban-rural dimension. Even here, white-collar women fail to show any increase. In the rural population, though, the result is very unreliable because of small cell frequencies. The victim rates among the labor population have remained almost unchanged in the cities; but in the rural population their victimization rate has increased by all the criteria used here. In the farming population, the increase is limited to men.

These tabulations show that the increase of victimization among urban men focuses on the white-collar occupations; here, the increase found in the comparison of 1970 and 1973 is thus continued. Among the rural respondents, an increase is found among men in the farming population and among both men and women in the labor population. A decreasing trend is discernible among urban women and also among urban men in labor occupations. Also the victimization percentages of rural respondents in white-collar occupations show some decrease, but the number of observations is so small that it is hardly possible to make any attempts at interpreting them.

2–17. Victimization percentages, by sex, age, and type of residence 1970, 1973, and 1976*

Type of residence	Age	Year	Men 1–8	Men 4–7	Men Number	Women 1–8	Women 4–7	Women Number
Cities and boroughs	15–34	1970	34	11	114	26	5	109
		1973	37	14	251	17	7	253
		1976	41	11	128	18	5	125
	35+	1970	14	3	117	10	1	141
		1973	21	3	265	10	1	291
		1976	19	3	145	9	1	153
Rural communes	15–34	1970	24	12	95	10	4	80
		1973	22	8	187	9	4	195
		1976	26	13	77	15	5	96
	35+	1970	6	2	161	4	1	157
		1973	8	2	277	3	1	296
		1976	9	4	114	5	2	101

*See Table 2–13 note for description of two victimization categories used.

2–18. Victimization percentages, by sex and occupation (head of household), 1970, 1973, and 1976*

Occupation	Year	Men 1–8	Men 4–7	Men Number	Women 1–8	Women 4–7	Women Number
Farmer population	1970	9	3	128	7	1	126
	1973	12	3	198	4	1	208
	1976	14	5	83	9	1	81
Labor	1970	19	7	214	11	3	234
	1973	21	7	492	9	3	507
	1976	22	7	222	12	5	240
White-collar[a]	1970	25	8	145	18	2	127
	1973	28	8	289	13	5	320
	1976	31	9	159	13	1	154

*See Table 2–13 note for description of the two victimization categories used.
[a]Clerical occupations, students, professionals, etc.

Notes on alcohol consumption and victimization by violence. The 1973 questionnaire also contained an item connected with the respondent's lifestyle: the frequency of alcohol consumption. It does not provide a direct way of looking at the correlation of states of drunkenness and victimization rates, because the analysis is concerned with the general frequency of alcohol consumption and not with states of intoxication. The alcohol consumption question was the same which has been used in several Finnish alcohol consumption surveys (e.g., Mäkelä 1972): "How often on the average do you consume beer or other alcoholic beverages? Try to account also for those times when you consumed very small quantities of alcohol, e.g., only half a bottle of beer or a little wine. Which one of the estimations given on this card would be most suitable in your case?" The following alternatives were printed on the card:

1 daily
2 a couple of times a week
3 once a week
4 a couple of times a month
5 about once a month
6 about once in two months
7 3-4 times a year
8 once or twice a year
9 less than once a year
0 never

The level of alcohol consumption and the victim density were closely related when subcategories of the population were compared. This was true roughly for any combination of age, sex, type of residence, and occupational category, except for the very young (age 15–21), whose victimization rates were higher than their alcohol consumption level would have led one to expect.

The cumulation of victimization incidents, on the other hand, did not vary much with the level of alcohol consumption. A connection did exist, but it was not marked. The cumulation tended to be stronger in subgroups with a high level of alcohol consumption than elsewhere. The cumulation of victimization incidents within subcategories of the population followed an interesting rule: the victimization rates as well as the cumulation tendency of the incidents were highest among those who used alcohol very frequently (daily or twice a week).

A high frequency of drinking indicated a high victimization rate. Among men, this was true for the more serious incidents (violence levels 4–7); among women, the

2–19. Victimization percentages, by sex, residence, and occupation 1970, 1973, and 1976*

Residence	Occupational category	Year	Men 1–8	Men 4–7	Men Number	Women 1–8	Women 4–7	Women Number
Cities and boroughs	Labor	1970	25	9	100	15	2	124
		1973	26	8	290	13	3	286
		1976	26	5	140	11	4	148
	White-collar	1970	26	5	111	22	3	101
		1973	32	8	212	13	4	246
		1976	35	10	123	15	1	117
Rural communes	Farmer population	1970	10	4	108	6	1	101
		1973	11	3	184	5	1	196
		1976	15	5	73	6	1	68
	Labor	1970	13	4	114	6	3	110
		1973	14	6	202	4	1	221
		1976	15	11	82	13	7	92
	White-collar	1970	21	15	34	4	—	26
		1973	17	6	78	11	7	74
		1976	10	3	36	8	—	37

*See Table 2–13 note for description of two victimization categories used.
[a]The farmers living in urban communes have been omitted due to the small number of observations (1970: 20 men, 25 women; 1973: 14 men, 12 women; 1976: 10 men, 13 women).

relationship was similar with regard to the mild cases as well as to the serious ones. Also among women, the explanatory power of the alcohol variable was stronger with regard to the serious incidents.

When the analysis was continued with breakdowns by age, it became obvious that age should regularly be accounted for: its effect on the victimization rate is very clear. Age is also a very important source of variations in lifestyles. As an illustration of this we mention that a high share of the incidents reported by juvenile respondents occurred at public dances and similar occasions. They also have a lot of leisure time, and a large proportion of it is spent in circumstances with an increased level of disturbances.

An analysis of the combined meaning of age, social status (by occupational category), and sex showed that the analyzed correlation was highest for the more serious incidents (levels 4–7) among young working-class men. The correlation was similar but weaker among young men in other types of occupations. While frequent alcohol consumption is related especially to more serious victimizations among men, the correlation was clearly stronger with regard to the less serious victimizations (levels 1–3) among women.

These findings may possibly be end products of two different types of chains of events: (1) The measure of alcohol consumption reflects the number of states of intoxication of the respondents, and these in turn indicate an increasing victimization risk, i.e., being intoxicated increases the victimization risk. (2) The measure of alcohol consumption and the victimization measure both reflect the same complex phenomenon which we may call lifestyle, way of life, etc. Therefore, it is not surprising if they show a relatively high positive interrelationship.

In fact, both interpretations may be assumed to hold true in different instances, and often simultaneously. The descriptions of the "most recent" incidents also obtained in the interviews seem to indicate that the alcohol variable only infrequently measures the number of risk-increasing states of drunkenness: very few respondents admitted to having been intoxicated when victimized (the perpetrator, in contrast, was said to have been drunk in 80% of the cases). More typically, the alcohol variable would seem to reflect a kind of general social activity. The typical victimization incidents found in this survey seemed to lack any systematic connection with the victim's own alcohol use patterns or states of intoxication, a finding which is inconsistent with what is otherwise known about violence victims.

The above interpretation is partly convincing. It does, however, also give rise to certain suspicion. It is not out of the question that the interview situation is so delicate that the violence question picks out nonembarrassing incidents rather than other kinds. A large proportion of events that occurred among family members and acquaintances are quite likely to remain unrecorded in the interview, and there is no reason to believe that this would not be the case with regard to other incidents that are felt to be embarrassing, shameful, or otherwise not respectable. The instrument would, then, tend to find primarily "honorable" incidents; other kinds of experiences would tend to be kept secret. This may be especially true with regard to the details of the story, e.g., the role of alcohol, etc. The number of incidents and the information on having been victimized at all may be relatively unhampered by this bias. If this is true, the finding concerning the correlation between the respondents' general frequency of alcohol consumption and the victimization density may be more valid than the descriptions of the details of the "most recent" incident, which is now suspected of containing a large bias towards respectability.[5]

(This analysis has been replicated with similar material from 1976, reported by Sirén (1980). The findings followed the same lines as sketched above. One additional measure for alcohol consumption was used: the frequency of hangover days experienced by the respondent. This variable showed somewhat better correlations with the victimization rate, especially with regard to the cumulation tendency of victimization incidents, than the general consumption question analyzed in this report. These results may be considered as giving additional support to the above interpretation.)

Summary and discussion

According to national surveys of Finland from 1970, 1973, and 1976, the gross rate of violence victimization of the average, nonmarginal population of the country initially remained rather constant, but subsequently increased from 1973 to 1976. Breakdowns into population subgroups show that, while the increase from 1970 to 1973 was limited to rather young urban men, between 1973 and 1976 it is clearer in the rural population. Simultaneously, the 1970–1973 trend is continued in a mild fashion. The rural increase from 1973 to 1976 is not clearly limited to any of the population subcategories scrutinized but appears among both the farmer and the labor population, the young, and, to some extent, also the elderly of both sexes.

[5]For a more detailed presentation of these findings, see Aromaa (1977).

These general results may be estimated to be roughly in harmony with the picture derived from the police statistics. The police statistics led to the expectation that the survey results—if these two different measures concern at least roughly the same phenomenon-would in urban areas show an initial increase in victimization followed by some decrease and in rural areas a rapid increase followed by a slow increase.

From evidence gathered previously, victim surveys seem to succeed best in measuring incidents in public places, where the victim and the perpetrator are not previously known to each other. Surveys are not so successful in uncovering violence that takes place between intimates, in the family, and at home. The police statistics do not manage well in this area either, but there is reason to suspect that the victim surveys are as bad or even worse for this task.

The police crime statistics do not measure the same elements as the victimization surveys. The police statistics classify the location of the incident, while the survey data deal mainly with the location of the victim's residence. In addition, the population samples used in the surveys are biased in that they do not represent several population subgroups with exceptionally high victimization risks; in these subgroups, multiple victimizations are probably exceptionally common.[6] Research data suggest that an important proportion of assaults recorded by the police originate in such population subgroups. If this is true, the relatively small changes seen in the crime statistics need not be repeated in the victim surveys at all. Instead, the surveys may yield results conflicting with the crime statistics trends. Also, the violence indicator used in the victimization surveys refers—if taken literally—to a markedly larger scope of behavior than the police statistics, expecially if incidents with a minor damage level are considered. Slight fluctuations in the "dark number"* of these incidents may thus cause significant changes in the crimes recorded by the police without any visible change in the survey results.

The survey approach also fails to find a large number of victimizations that actually have taken place. Therefore, the victimization rates found in the surveys are likely to be rather sensitive to fluctuations in the ideological climate in regard to violence and crime policy matters. The same victimization rates—assessed by an "outside observer"—may, due to variations in the ideological climate, yield quite different estimates of rates in the survey approach and also in the crime rates measured by the police statistics. It may even be claimed that the survey in part measures the degree to which the respondents feel the violence is important, actual, interesting, or disquieting. If the violence measure applied in the surveys covered only incidents with a very high damage level, this measurement problem might be assumed to be relatively insignificant. In the present case, its importance may be quite large.

A separate cause for concern in these studies is based on the small size of the population samples used. Only a few differences found in this study would be statistically significant. (An entirely different question is that the character of the samples does not allow standard significance tests. See, however, Uhl and Schoner (1969:141–143). When the time series grows longer and possible emergent consistent trends become discernible, interpretations may be justified even if all differences considered separately remain below any standard significance levels. However, the analysis would be on a firmer basis if the sample sizes could be increased to some 5,000 observations (or if the sampling distributions of at least a few central parameters in such materials were known). The data used up to now involve the constant danger of interpreting meaningless chance fluctuations (cf. Sirén 1976).

When trying to assess the meaning of our findings, in order to avoid erroneous impressions, we should stress that the results only concern changes in victimization rates (and those with all of the cautions mentioned earlier). They cannot be used for making inferences of risks of victimization. Becoming a victim is obviously determined by not only the living environment of the individual, but also his or her lifestyle and the way his or her time is spent (cf. Aromaa 1977).

A study of risks ought to pay attention to changes in ways of life. An illustration of this principle is provided by the following example: Between two rounds of measurement, certain people might have begun to fear victimization to such an extent that they totally avoid all circumstances where they might be at risk. (The changes in ways of life may of course be based on something else than fear of crime; with regard to the example, this is unimportant.) Victimization surveys would doubtless show that the victimization rate of this population category decreased by the second measurement round. Knowledge of the background of the finding would, nevertheless, have a crucial impact on the way in which this finding would be interpreted. Many kinds of changes in ways of life may be reflected in victimization rates. To improve understanding of the survey results, a few central lifestyle indicators should be included in any standard questionnaire used in victimization surveys. The alcohol-use measure applied as an illustration in this report purports to be a small but hardly sufficient step in this direction.

[6]Earlier in this report, the comparability of interview data from the different years was assumed to be high by arguing that "the materials, the technical procedures, and the measures are identical." A word of warning is, nevertheless, necessary: when comparability over a relatively long timespan or between different cultures (e.g., countries) is considered, the problems of nonresponse and of the nature of the samples become very important. When assessing changes and differences, it must be assumed that the sample bias remains constant on every round of measurement. Yet, it is very unlikely that this requirement would be fulfilled if a relatively long time interval is concerned. For example, refusals are becoming more common (they are already considered a major practical problem in our largest cities— at least in the capital city of Helsinki), and the chances of contacting people at their homes are also diminishing because of changes in lifestyles. Addresses are also being changed more frequently than before. As a final result, samples from different time periods are not strictly comparable (this is especially true of samples of the type used in the victim surveys dealt with in this report and to some extent also of other types of samples). This may not yet be a burning problem (in national data; in cross-cultural comparisons, it must be), but if longer time series are to be constructed, it will certainly grow in importance.

*Dark number means the number of crimes unknown to the police. In Europe research in self-reported victimization or offense is often called "dark number" or "dark field" research. [Editor]

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The impact of victimization, rates and patterns: A comparison of the Netherlands and the United States

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From 1960 to the mid-1970's, many developed countries were engulfed in a wave of crime against person and property. Fear of crime became a major public concern especially in urban areas. Most countries that participated in World War II saw the aftermath of the war and the postwar baby boom reflected in crime statistics. While the wave hit at a different time in each country, crime rates increased rapidly in the 1960's, peaked in the early or mid-1970's, and stabilized into the 1980's (Gurr 1977; Archer 1976).

Trends in crime rates are very similar in many countries, but the actual pattern of crime and the types of crime committed are not. Thus, the United States has for many years been known for its high level of goal-oriented violence. Even with the increasing crime rates in other countries, the United States' preeminence in rates of robbery remains.

Thus, comparative criminology must address two separate issues. It must (1) consider changes in crime rates and explanations of these changes and (2) consider overall patterns of crime in different countries and their reasons. The major concern of this paper is the second issue.

In describing the pattern of crime in a society or in comparing patterns of crime between societies, the criminologist should work much like the good reporter. The questions to be asked are who, what, how often, and with what result.

The criminologist must ask these questions in describing patterns of crime or victimization in a single society at a single point in time. Who are the people most likely to be victims or criminals? What types of crime are most and least likely to be committed? How often do these crimes occur? What is the impact of these crimes on the offender and the victim?

Causal research in criminology is comparative research. While adequate descriptions of the crime problem are necessary before explanation can be attempted, the criminologist who asks "why" must base the explanation on comparison. The comparison can be made of experimental and control groups. It can be made of people, victims and nonvictims, criminals and noncriminals. Comparison can be made across time or across countries. All these comparisons can be made simultaneously. Criminals and noncriminals are compared either directly or through comparison of crime rates for groups who differ on particular characteristics.

High and increasing levels of criminal behavior are a near universal phenomenon of most developed countries. Yet in American criminology, explanations of crime increase and especially of patterns of crime have been culturally bound to the United States. Some criminologists have searched for universal explanations of crime in western societies with no consideration of culture or history.

Patterns of crime in a society are a reflection of the history and culture of the society and of the opportunities available for criminal behavior at a point in time. Unfortunately, historical studies of criminal behavior are still rare.

The pioneering work presented in *Violence in America* (Gurr) demonstrates the continual history of United States political and social violence. The study of property crime trends in the United States is more limited but clearly indicates its cyclical nature (Ferdinand 1973).

In the Netherlands empirical studies of criminal behavior are a relatively recent development. The earliest studies were completed as part of the Dutch ethnographic school shortly before World War II.[1] At the same time, there were a few statistical studies with relatively little analysis. More recently, studies have been completed on the court records of the middle ages and on various forms of crime at a single point in time. Most publicly prosecuted crimes in a study of medieval Utrecht were violent. However, Barents (1976) believes this is because there was little property to steal. Recent studies have been far more concerned with property crimes than with violence. These are seen as more frequent problems. In the past few years, the Ministry of Justice has completed a series of trend studies of criminal behavior. American literature has generally described the Netherlands as a stable and quiet country with little crime and very short prison sentences (Pepinsky). Dutch literature has also seen crime as a small problem. Dutch criminologists have been more concerned with equity and the class nature of criminal processing than with trends in levels of violence (Bonger, Jongman). Amsterdam, however, has been traditionally seen as different than the rest of the country. While not entirely crime ridden, its population has been viewed as riotous with little respect for the law or police (Punch).

This paper is a comparative study of patterns of victimization in the Netherlands and the United States. It is primarily descriptive, but it does suggest some possible explanations of obvious differences in these patterns.

The two victimization surveys

The basic sources used for this comparison are the Dutch National Crime survey of 1977 and the U.S. National Crime Survey of 1976. In comparisons of the two surveys, the U.S. survey will generally be manipulated to match the Dutch survey. The Dutch survey asks about completed household burglaries, street attacks (assaults and robberies), and theft of purse or wallet. The U.S. screening survey does ask about completed household burglaries, but asks about more general forms of assault, robbery, and theft. The four crimes of the Dutch questionnaire have no precise equivalent in the law of either country, but they can form a base for victimization comparison.

The two surveys have much in common, but there are some important differences besides those in screening questions. Both were designed to develop estimates of rates of victimization independent of the police, and both are random samples of the universe of households, but there are some differences in sampling methods. The Dutch survey is a random block sample with one respondent interviewed in each of four households in the block. The sample is stratified on individual characteristics and size and nature of the community, according to the Central Bureau of Statistics' standard urbanization code. The U.S. survey is a stratified random cluster sample of housing units. All household residents age 14 or older are interviewed every 6 months. Neither survey interviews many persons who cannot speak the country's dominant language.

The crimes reported in the U.S. survey are for a bounded 6-month period. However, in this paper a specially constructed tape including all incidents reported to have occurred in 1976 is used as the numerator for crime rates. The denominator is twice the number of respondents in the 6-month pan-

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[1]The work of this school is startingly similar to that of the Chicago school of the same period, although each was unknown to the other.

el with a particular demographic characteristic. The initial referent of the Dutch survey is forever, but then a year time period, 1977, is defined. If the respondent reports having been a victim of crime in 1977, he is asked about the number of victimizations. This count is the numerator for Dutch victimization rates.

In the U.S. survey, all household members age 14 years and older are interviewed. Those 12 and 13 are interviewed by proxy. One of these respondents is chosen to list crimes against the household. In the Dutch survey, only one person age 16 or older is interviewed per household, and that respondent is interviewed about personal and household crimes but not about crimes occurring to other household members. Thus, in the Dutch survey, victimization rates for households and individuals have the same denominator. In the U.S. survey, victimization rates for households have a denominator approximately half that of individuals.

The U.S. questionnaire was designed to be extremely flexible. The household is the basic unit of data collection, but within each household there is a separate questionnaire for each reported crime. To allow for detailed analysis of patterns of victimization a very large sample is used—30,000 households in each 6-month panel. The complexity of the questionnaire's structure plus the huge sample make analysis of this data set both complex and time consuming.

The Dutch questionnaire has a far simpler structure. Approximately 11,000 respondents were interviewed in early 1978. Each respondent was asked the same series of screening questions. When the respondent reported a crime, the interviewer asked a few more questions about the most recent incidence of that crime. The 1977 questionnaire also includes several questions on security precautions and police activities after the crime.

The rigid structure of the Dutch questionnaire required the flexibility of the U.S. questionnaire to make comparison possible. Of the four crimes analyzed for this report, the questions about burglary are nearly identical.[2] The U.S. questionnaire does not ask specific questions about theft of wallet or purse, other than purse snatching, or about street attacks. Thus rates for these crimes were created on the basis of the detailed responses of the incident questionnaire.

Starting with the same objective, the two surveys used far different methodologies. These differences do not mean comparison is impossible, but they do mean that conclusions based on these comparisons should be cautiously made and tentatively accepted.

3–1. Rates of four crimes in the Netherlands and in the United States

	1976 United States	1977 Netherlands
Burglaries per 100,000 households	6,482	1,253
Wallet or purse taken per 100,000 persons age 16+	927	2,100
Street assaults per 100,000 persons age 16+	1,309	2,257*
Street robberies per 100,000 persons age 16+	243	194*

*Estimated based on most recent street attacks and total number of attacks during the year.

3–2. Urbanization and crime rates

	Burglaries per 100,000 households	Purse or wallet taken per 100,000 persons age 16+	Street attacks per 100,000 persons age 16+*
Netherlands			
Amst. Rott. Hague	2,516	4,014	4,443
Other cities 100,000+	2,407	3,333	5,092
Middle large cities	901	2,028	2,985
Smaller cities	880	2,240	1,520
Rural cities	939	1,389	1,465
Rural areas	569	853	934
United States			
500,000+	7,818	1,513	2,877
100,000–500,000	8,474	1,147	2,097
50,000–100,000	7,846	1,098	1,872
Other city	5,564	777	1,249
Not a city	5,684	715	1,038

*Combines robberies and assault.

Rates of victimization

As can be seen in Table 3-1, overall patterns and rates of victimization in the two countries are both similar and different. Rates of home burglary are far higher in the United States than in the Netherlands—five times as high. Rates of wallet or purse theft and street assault are higher in the Netherlands. Rates of street robbery are about the same in the two countries. I believe and will show in this paper that the difference in property crime rates is primarily a result of the opportunities available. Differences in assaultive violence are more difficult to explain.

Demographic difference in the probability of victimization. All members of a society are not equally likely to be victims of crime. Victimization rates are unevenly distributed through the population of the Netherlands and the United States. In both nations, crime is generally seen as a problem that is concentrated in urban areas; it is a problem that particularly affects the poor; violence among young males is predominant in both societies.

• *Urbanization.* Unfortunately, no direct comparison of the relationship between urbanization and crime rates in two countries is possible. The structure of urban government is defined differently in the two lands; and therefore, the meaning of a city is different. The city government of Amsterdam includes not only the central city but much of its surroundings, including both suburban and rural areas. Thus there is no governmental structure equivalent to an American city government. The closest U.S. equivalent of Dutch local government are the towns of New England,

[2]The Dutch question reads: Is er bij.U thuis wel eens ingebroken? Has your home (or its surroundings) been broken into (illegally)? If yes, When? 1977, 1978, earlier? The United States question reads: During the last months did anyone break into or somehow illegally get into your apartment, home, garage, or another building on your property?

3–3. Family income and crime rates

Family income (U.S. $)	Burglaries per 100,000 U.S.	Burglaries per 100,000 Netherlands	Purse or wallet taken per 100,000 persons age 16+ U.S.	Purse or wallet taken per 100,000 persons age 16+ Netherlands	Street attacks per 100,000 persons age 16+ U.S.	Street attacks per 100,000 persons age 16+ Netherlands	Family income Netherlands, (guilders, Dfl)
0–4,000	8,084	4,954	1,322	3,546	2,347	5,673	0–9,000
4,000–7,500	6,792	863	824	1,986	1,755	1,208	9,000–18,000
7,500–12,000	6,674	1,410	896	1,910	1,698	1,584	18,000–27,000
12,000–15,000	4,974	795	707	2,330	1,273	3,743	27,000–33,000
15,000–20,000	5,516	1,202	970	2,338	1,237	2,205	30,000–45,000
20,000+	7,236	2,086	1,017	1,757	1,221	2,634	45,000+
Total rate	6,592	1,320	944	2,065	1,570	1,886	Total rate
Number of survey cases	3,910	133	1,142	229	1,913	202	Number of survey cases

3–4. Age, sex, and personal crime rates

Age	Number of male survey cases U.S	Number of male survey cases Netherlands	Purse or wallet taken per 100,000 persons age 16+ Male U.S.	Purse or wallet taken per 100,000 persons age 16+ Male Netherlands	Purse or wallet taken per 100,000 persons age 16+ Female U.S.	Purse or wallet taken per 100,000 persons age 16+ Female Netherlands	Street attacks per 100,000 persons age 16+ Male U.S.	Street attacks per 100,000 persons age 16+ Male Netherlands	Street attacks per 100,000 persons age 16+ Female U.S.	Street attacks per 100,000 persons age 16+ Female Netherlands	Number of female survey cases U.S.	Number of female survey cases Netherlands
16–17	3,268	138	1,836	3,623	3,560	11,340	5,660	8,695	2,074	9,278	3,230	97
18–24	10,274	417	1,022	4,076	2,514	3,473	4,351	13,189	1,920	3,656	10,260	547
25–34	12,164	1,020	518	2,745	1,404	2,476	2,573	6,568	1,224	1,496	13,388	1,938
35–44	9,398	722	276	2,354	868	1,430	1,425	2,770	880	874	8,984	1,258
45–54	8,868	585	259	1,367	721	2,077	1,071	1,709	629	1,088	9,698	1,011
55–64	7,210	689	277	1,015	707	1,697	887	1,741	544	1,272	9,192	707
65+	7,418	1,002	283	798	509	1,796	714	598	214	1,397	9,824	969
Total	58,600	4,573	543	1,968	1,276	2,253	2,173	3,979	989	1,579	64,576	6,522

At a more basic level, the Netherlands is far more densely populated than the United States. In 1976, the population density per square mile in all of the Netherlands was nearly triple that of American Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (302 per square mile). By American definition, most of the Netherlands would be considered urban.

The difference in definition of local government is reflected in the victimization questionnaires. Urbanization is uniformly defined in almost all Dutch social analysis by a combination of population and community characteristics. It is less clearly or uniformly defined in American research.

It is clear from Table 3-2 that in both countries victimization increases with urbanization. For the three crimes reported, there seems to be a size threshold—100,000 in the Netherlands and a less clear threshold of 50,000 in the United States. At these thresholds, crime rates change precipitously. The relationship between crime and urbanization seems stronger in the Netherlands than in the United States, but this may merely reflect the clearer definition of urbanization in Dutch research.

In both countries the relationship between urbanization and serious violence is a relatively new phenomenon (Bearley, Stachower). Until the 1920's in the United States and the 1930's in the Netherlands, rates of serious violence were apparently higher in rural than urban areas.

• *Family income.* In both countries the burglary rate is mildly curvilinearly related to family income. Families of the highest and lowest income have the highest rates of victimization. (See Table 3-3.) In the United States, this curvilinear relationship is even much stronger if rates per 100,000 persons (instead of households) are analyzed because of the strong positive relationship between number of family members age 16 and older and household income. In both countries, rates of household burglary are fairly level across incomes, except the lowest. The sampling technique used in both surveys probably missed many low-income respondents.

Respondents from low-income families also are exposed to a higher risk of theft of purse or wallet or street attack than other respondents. However, above the lowest income category, there is no relationship between family income and risk of victimization. For these two crimes against persons, rates are higher at every income level in the Netherlands than in the United States.

• *Age and sex of victim.* Most studies of assaultive violence have found that younger people and males are more likely to be both victim and offender than older people and females. In Table 3-4, these relationships can be clearly seen for U.S. respondents. Among both men and women in the United States, there is a consistent and strong decline in the rate of street attack with age. Among Dutch men, the rate of street attack declines from age 24 on. The rate of street attack for Dutch males age 18–24 is extraordinarily high, but most of these crimes are among aquaintances.

Among Dutch women age 45 and over, the rate of street attack oscillates around 1,000 per 100,000 population. Dutch women older than 65 are more likely to suffer a street attack than either Americans or Dutch men. This result may be a statistical artifact. It may result from differing definitions of the seriousness of attacks. However, it may also result from differences between American and Dutch lifestyles which expose older Dutch women to a greater risk of street attack.

While the risk of theft of wallet or purse declines with age among both men and women in both countries, the relative difference between Dutch and American men is far greater than between Dutch and

American women. American women of all ages are more likely to have their money taken than American men, but at several ages Dutch men are more likely to suffer a theft than Dutch women. This probably results from two factors: (1) lack of female participation in the Dutch workforce and (2) the continental custom of men carrying a purse. Thus, the United States and the Netherlands are both different and similar in the probability of criminal victimization. American rates of household burglary are far higher than Dutch rates. The rates of purse theft and street attack are higher in the Netherlands, and rates of street robbery are about the same. Patterns of relationship between demographic characteristics and rates of victimization are similar in the two countries. Urbanization is positively related to victimization. Age is generally negatively related to victimization. Family income has either no relationship or a curvilinear relationship.

Burglary in the United States and the Netherlands. Burglary induces fear because of its potential for violence and because of the impact of home invasion on the individual's concept of his or her own domain. Yet, studies of burglars have shown that they do not want to confront their victim and generally choose targets to minimize the probability of confrontation. Recent research has described a relationship between "guardianship" and burglary. The most likely targets of property crimes are those which are relatively unguarded. Thus, most of the recent increase in burglary rates in the United States has been a result of a great increase in daytime burglaries (Cohen and Felson). Cohen demonstrates that the overall level of officially known burglaries is inversely related to the percentage of women in the labor force.

The rate of burglary reported to the police in the United States is higher than in the Netherlands. In 1976, 5,670 burglaries were reported to the police per 100,000 households in the United States and 3,051 in the Netherlands (Maandstatistiek, Mei 1977). However, in the Netherlands, there are two and a half times as many officially reported burglaries as there are in the victim survey. In the United States, the number of victim survey burglaries exceeds the number of burglaries known to the police. This difference between the two countries results from a difference in the burglar's target choice. In the Netherlands, stores, factories, and offices are the targets of most officially known burglaries. Only 15% of the reported burglaries are against households (Maandstatistiek 1975). In the United States, most officially known burglaries (63%) are against households (UCR 1976).

3–5. Rates of household burglary, by time of day and occupancy

	Day		Evening		Night		Total	
	U.S.	Netherlands	U.S.	Netherlands	U.S.	Netherlands	U.S.	Netherlands
Someone home	160	45	126	99	168	324	455	468
No one home	2,320	189	1,160	216	1,160	99	4,638	513
Total	2,480	234	1,286	315	1,328	423	5,093	981

3–6. Household burglaries in the United States and in the Netherlands

	U.S.	Netherlands
Percent reporting no loss	22	26
Median loss overall	140	267
Median loss, if any	250	487
Percent loss GT 250 Dfl*	39	52
Percent loss GT 250 Dfl, if any	50	79
Percent insured	47	66
Percent who recovered something	12	46
Percent insured who recovered	26	75
Median recovery, if any	735 Dfl	940 Dfl
Overall household burglary rate	6,482	1,253
Nonrecovered household burglary rate	5,704	676**

*$1.00 = 2.27 Dfl.
**Assumes percent burglary recovery is same as most recent.

This difference in reported target in the two countries probably reflects a difference in opportunities. In 1977, most Dutch stores, factories, and offices could legally be open no more than 37-1/2 hours per week, and moonlighting ("black work" in Dutch) was often criticized. Thus, not only were businesses, factories, and offices unlikely to be operating at night, but they also were unlikely to be well guarded. Compared to the Netherlands, U.S. stores and factories are open long hours, moonlighting is widely practiced and accepted, and a much greater percentage of women have a paying job. Thus, occupancy of offices and factories is greater, and occupancy of houses is less than in the Netherlands. In the Netherlands, the structure of labor makes commercial organizations a likely target of attack, while in the United States, homes are a more likely target.

In the United States, 73% of the population age 20–65 was in the labor force in 1976. In the Netherlands, 59% of this population was in the labor force. Women are far less likely to work in paid occupations in the Netherlands than in the United States (56% vs. 31%). Sixteen percent of Dutch married women with children work outside the home; 4% work more than 20 hours a week. In 1976, 45% of married American women with children age 0–18 worked and 32% worked outside the home more than 35 hours a week.

Thus, it is likely that Dutch homes are occupied a far greater percentage of the day, and are therefore less easily available for burglary than U.S. homes. Table 3-5 dramatically illustrates these differences in target availability. There is no difference in burglary rates between the two countries for occupied homes. In both countries, these are rare. However, burglaries of unoccupied homes are nine times more likely in the United States than in the Netherlands. Daytime burglaries of unoccupied homes are 12 times more likely in the United States than in the Netherlands.

If Cohen and Felson's observation of changes in opportunities for burglary over time can be extended to comparisons across countries, their findings are strongly supported by this comparison of Dutch and American households.[3]

[3]This does not imply that it should be the responsibility of women to stay at home in order to prevent crimes.

Once a burglary occurs, the Dutch householder is likely to suffer a larger loss than the American householder. As seen in Table 3-6, there is little difference in the probability of any loss. However, if loss does occur, the loss to the Dutch household is likely to be greater.

The greater loss suffered by the Dutch household is far more likely to be compensated than the smaller loss sustained by the U.S. household. While the amount recovered from insurance, if any, is about the same, both the percentage of Dutch households which are insured and the percentage which are compensated is higher than in the United States. The overall rate of household burglary is about five times as great in the United States as in the Netherlands, but the rate of burglary with a non-compensated loss is 9.4 times as high.

My general impression of lifestyle and household security precautions in the United States and the Netherlands closely corresponds to the reality of the burglary rates of the two countries. Homes both in Amsterdam and The Hague and in rural areas were protected with locks which, by American standards, were exceedingly insecure. These were often invalidated or unused during the day. During working hours, Dutch business and offices are very well protected with porters checking all anterooms and with store detectives and electronic surveillance. In major cities, for example, bank tellers have no cash. However, most stores close at mid-afternoon Saturday and reopen Monday afternoon. In the United States, homes are far better protected by locks but less well protected by people than in the Netherlands. American stores, offices, and factories are occupied a far greater percentage of the day than in the Netherlands.

Thus, there are three differences between the patterns of burglary in the United States and in the Netherlands. (1) The most readily available targets for burglars in the Netherlands are commercial; those in the United States are homes; (2) American households are far more likely to be victims of burglars; and (3) American households are far less likely to recover burglary losses than their Dutch counterparts. I would think that the feeling of an all-pervasive threat of burglars would be far greater in the United States than in the Netherlands.

Theft of purse or wallet. While evidence of differences in opportunity for theft of a wallet or purse are far weaker than for burglary, it is likely that both the probability of reward and the amount of reward are greater in the Netherlands than in the United States. As an American coming to the Netherlands in 1978, among the earliest culture shocks I felt was the scarcity of cash substitutes. At that time, Dutch credit cards were almost unknown. Stores which honored American credit cards were meant primarily for tourists. Checks as known in the United States did not exist. The only available cash substitute was a guaranteed check. These were available only to the highly creditworthy. Thus, the typical Dutch person must carry far more cash than the typical American. While there are no surveys of the amount of cash carried, it is clear from Table 3-7 that the Dutch victim of purse or wallet theft was far more likely to sustain some money loss and that that loss was far greater than the typical loss suffered by an American. Thus, both the probability of payoff and the size of the payoff are likely to be far greater in the Netherlands than in the United States.

Street assaults and robberies. As shown in Table 3-1, given the violent reputation of the United States, rates of street assault are surprisingly higher in the Netherlands. Rates of street robbery in the two countries are very similar. In theory, anyone is subject to a street assault. Thus, there is no obvious difference in the opportunity for street assault. However, some difference in opportunity does exist. Part of the difference in rate of assault between the two countries may result from the great density of the Dutch population, and part may stem from the greater pedestrian use of streets in the Netherlands. Public transport is much more widely used in the Netherlands than in the United States. Fewer people, especially in central cities, have access to a car, and the nature of Dutch shopping, nearly daily in street markets and small stores, results in more contact than in the United States.

When higher rates of violence have been found in European cities than in the United States, shocked American criminologists have argued that the ferocity of European violence was far less than in the United States. As can be seen in Table 3-8, there are both differences and similarities between the Netherlands and the United States in the seriousness of street assaults. Dutch assaults were less likely to be gun attacks than American assaults and were half as likely to be attacks with other weapons as American assaults (19% vs. 38%.) However, the resultant injuries from the crime were amazingly similar. Nearly three-fourths of the victims in both countries were not injured. American victims were somewhat more likely to require medical attention than Dutch victims but possibly slightly less likely to require hospitalization.

The most serious street attacks, those resulting in death, are excluded from victimization surveys. There is no continual measure of the death rate from homicide in the Netherlands, but it is probably very low. My own research in Amsterdam indicates about 15–20 violent deaths per year. In a typical American city of the same size in 1975, there were about 168 violent deaths. Part of the difference in number of killings may be due to gun availability; however, large differences remain to be explained.

Comparison of Dutch and American street robberies should be made very cautiously because there were only 16 Dutch crimes in the sample survey. It appears that differences and similarities are much like those for assault. Guns and other weapons are more likely to be present in the United

3–7. Theft of wallet or purse in the United States and in the Netherlands

	U.S.	Netherlands
Percent reporting no loss	27	4
Median loss overall	20 Dfl	60.5 Dfl
Median loss, if any	45 Dfl	65 Dfl
Percent loss greater than 100 Guilders ($44)	20	34
Percent loss greater than 100 Dfl, if any	27	35

3–8. Street assault and robbery in the United States and in the Netherlands

	Robbery		Assault	
	U.S.	Netherlands	U.S.	Netherlands
Percent where gun present	30.6	12.5	14.5	1.8
Percent where no weapon present	35.8	50.0	57.0	78.9
Percent where offender known	17.4	50.0	57.4	70.9
Percent with no injury	60.3	64.3	73.4	77.2
Percent with injury, but no medical attention	24.3	28.6	16.9	18.1
Percent requiring medical attention	15.4	7.1	9.6	3.5
Percent requiring hospitalization	—	—	.1	1.2

States than in the Netherlands but the resultant patterns of injury are nearly identical in the two countries. No information was available in the Dutch survey about amount of money stolen in each robbery, but if it is assumed that the amount stolen is similar to that when a wallet or purse is stolen, cash loss is probably higher in each robbery in the Netherlands than in the United States. Opportunity theory would predict that Dutch robbery rates would be higher than those of the United States. The probable reward is greater in each theft. That they are not indicates that it is necessary to go beyond simple theories of rationality and look at the history and culture of the societies before predicting patterns of criminal behavior.

Summary and conclusions

This comparative analysis of the United States and the Netherlands has found both differences and similarities in crime patterns. The major differences between the two countries are the number and impact of household burglaries. Household burglaries are far more probable in the United States, and the impact of each burglary is likely to be far greater. I argue that most of the difference in rates results from patterns of occupancy and guardianship. Homes are likely to be occupied a greater percentage of the time in the Netherlands than in the United States, while businesses are less likely to be occupied than in the United States.

While guardianship is the basis of the differences in burglary opportunities, reward is probably the basis of differences in rates of theft of wallet or purse. The Dutch person is likely to carry more cash than the American, and this difference is reflected both in the probability of any loss and in the amount lost.

Thus, differences in rates of property crime can probably be explained by differences in target availability in the two countries. Rates of street robbery do not differ, but it might be expected that they should. Differences in rates of street assault are not explained by any obvious differences between the two countries.

Patterns of victimization are also similar in several ways. Most importantly, basic demographic relationships between victimization rates and urbanization, income, sex, and age differ very little. Only in patterns of purse or wallet theft is there a significant difference between the two countries, and this probably reflects opportunities available. Patterns of injury resulting from an attack are very similar in the two countries; however, a gun is far more likely to be involved in the United States than in the Netherlands.

If much of the difference between the Netherlands and the United States is dependent on opportunity structure, is it possible to predict changes in patterns of crime as these structures change? It is probable that daytime burglaries of unoccupied houses account for a major proportion of the difference between the two countries in rates of burglary. Therefore, the rate of household burglary should vary inversely with unemployment and directly with employment of women. Given the current American pattern of increasing unemployment and female labor force participation and work hours, rates of household burglary should remain about constant in the United States. The Netherlands, too, suffers from higher than normal unemployment; however, in the Netherlands unemployment may result in a decline in female labor force participation, and perhaps a decline in the number of household burglaries.

Patterns of Dutch cash substitutes are changing. In 1980, the first universal Dutch credit cards were introduced. As the Dutch credit system approaches the American, purse thefts will probably become less profitable and decline.

It is unlikely that patterns of crime in the Netherlands will ever be similar to those in the United States. They will become more alike as the nations become more similar. Differences in history and culture will remain even as opportunities for crime change. However, this comparative analysis has pointed to some probable reasons for both the crime patterns of each country and bases for their differences.

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The burden of crime in Dutch society, 1973–1979*

JAN J. M. VAN DIJK AND CARL H. D. STEINMETZ**

In 1974, one of the authors of this paper published an article in the Dutch weekly *Intermediair* on the trends in violent crime. The article argued that criminology was trying to get by with the use of stopgaps. Even the straightforward question, "How much violent crime is there in the Netherlands?" could not be answered satisfactorily. The data available from the Netherlands Central Bureau of Statistics only indicated (and still indicate) the number of punishable offenses processed by the police and courts.

If we wish to know the real crime situation in the Netherlands (the article concluded), we must ask a sample of the population whether they have been victims of an offense in the preceding year. The article continued:

> In the United States, a start was made several years ago with the use of such victim surveys. The U.S. authorities intend to repeat such sampling at set intervals. In the Netherlands a similar survey is currently being carried out by J. P. S. Fiselier of the Criminological Institute of Nijmegen with the aid of a grant from the Ministry of Justice. If this survey is repeated with any degree of regularity, it will be possible in future to determine the shift in crime in the Netherlands with an acceptable degree of certainty. For the moment, the only data available are those from a mini-investigation by the NIPO* of safety, or the lack of it, in public places (van Dijk 1974).

Since then, Fiselier has reported on his survey in the form of a doctoral thesis (Fiselier 1978). Moreover, every year since 1974, the Research and Documentation Center of the Ministry of Justice (RDC) has commissioned the NIPO to carry out a nationwide survey of the Dutch public's experience with crime. It is now possible, therefore, to say something about the crime trends in the Netherlands during the past few years on the basis of sample surveys rather than on the basis of police and court records. The availability of the results of a parallel annual survey in the United States makes international comparisons of the results possible.

*Translated by John Moyer.

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*N.I.P.O.: Nederlands Instituut voor Publieke Opinie [Dutch Institute for Public Opinion and Market Research].

Usefulness of a victim survey

A victim survey is a way of measuring the crime rate without making use of police records. Offenses that are not reported to the police or those which, for one reason or another, are not recorded by them are also taken into account.

The usefulness of a victim survey may be illustrated by reference to the figures now available on the increase in the offense of bicycle theft during 1977. The police statistics, published by the Central Bureau of Statistics, showed a drop of 0.8% in the number of these offenses. The results of the 1977 victim survey, however, show that the percentage of the Dutch population age 16 and older who had a bicycle stolen actually rose in 1977; in that year 5.9% of the population had a bicycle stolen, while in 1976 the figure was 5.4%. The conflict between the police statistics and the victim survey results can be explained by another finding of the survey: the percentage of persons who had had bicycles stolen and who had notified the police and signed an official complaint form was significantly lower in 1977 than in 1976. The rise in the number of bicycle thefts was therefore accompanied by a drop in the rate of such thefts recorded by the police. Consequently, police statistics show a downward trend, while in reality there was an increase.

Another concrete example of the usefulness of victim surveys as a yardstick for measuring the crime rate relates to the decades-old debate on whether or not the crime figures for the province of Limburg* are unusually high. In the past, studies of crime as recorded by the police or the courts have repeatedly shown that the incidence of violent crime in Limburg is far above the national average. Occasionally, far-reaching conclusions about the degree of civilization and/or cultural conditions in that province have been drawn from such findings. However, the results of the victim surveys to date have repeatedly shown that in Limburg in general and in Maastricht, its capital, in particular, (violent) crime is noticeably low. We can by no means rule out the possibility that there is more serious (violent) crime in Limburg than the surveys show (offenses with a very low incidence will go practically unrecorded in victim surveys, since only a sample is taken) but the results cast doubt on some generalizations about the population of Limburg.

*A mining area in the south of the country. Causal arguments are similar to U.S. discussions of Appalachian violence. [Editor]

As the bicycle theft example indicates, victim surveys do not provide information solely on the number of offenses committed. They also shed direct light on the proportion of such offenses reported to the police and the proportion officially recorded by the police. The types of information obtainable through victim surveys may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. *Percentage of the national population age 16 and older who are the victims of certain types of offense in a particular year:* This percentage permits us to estimate the total number of offenses committed. By breaking down the sample according to various criteria it is also possible to calculate the percentage of the various population groups that have been the victims of an offense. Victimization rates can be calculated for those living in certain municipalities or provinces, for the male and female halves of the population, and for various age groups and social classes.

2. *Percentage of victims of an offense who notify the police:* It is also possible to study the characteristics and motives of persons who fail to report victimizations to the police. In this area, too, local and national differences can be identified. The expectations which the population has with regard to action by the police and judicial authorities are of particular interest here.

3. *Percentage of persons who report an offense to the police and sign a written statement*[1]: This percentage can provide an indication of the characteristics of offenses and those reporting them that play a part in the decision as to whether or not an official police report is prepared. In this way, the survey sheds some light on unofficial policy on police reporting.

Limitations on use of victim survey as a yardstick

It would be wrong to think that the results of victim surveys provide a completely true picture of the crime rate. The results of victim surveys also have their defects.

First, we are dealing with the results of a survey of a population sample. Even with

[1]In this article, the willingness of the public to notify the police and the official reporting of the police are dealt with only briefly. Further information on these topics will be found in sections 5, 6, 7, and 8 of van Dijk and Steinmetz, *The RDC victim surveys, 1974–1979*.

careful sample selection, there is a chance that a particular population group with exceptionally high or low victim rates will not be proportionately represented in the sample (e.g., persons of no fixed abode). Such a flaw in the sample can affect the final result.

There is another quite different reason why the results of victim surveys do not give a completely true picture of crime. Most Dutch citizens have insufficient legal knowledge to be able to decide in every case whether or not a particular incident constitutes a punishable offense within the meaning of Dutch criminal law. At first sight, this would appear to cause considerable difficulty. Some of the incidents listed by the respondents as offenses would not be regarded as such by the police or the courts. The question arises, however, whether the views of the police and the courts on what constitutes crime should be decisive. Such a question is even more appropriate if the attitude of, say, the police as to what constitutes an offense is partly dictated by pressure of work. Some police officers appear to take the view that because a bicycle has disappeared it has not necessarily been stolen and that, accordingly, the notification received need not be made the subject of an official report. However, from the victim's viewpoint his or her bicycle has disappeared and has not been returned and has therefore been stolen. This seems to us more relevant for measuring the crime rate than the views of the police. In other words, we hold that although the results of a victim survey may be colored by the ideas of the public as to what constitutes an offense and what does not, this need not be regarded as a drawback. A victim survey, therefore, measures the level of crime in Dutch society by indicating the proportion of the population who believe that they have been the victims of an offense.

In the example of the missing bicycle just given, we assumed that the victim reported a bicycle theft to the police. If, in such a case, the police refrain from making the notification the subject of an official report, we still consider it right to include the incident in the survey findings as a bicycle theft. There is, perhaps, room for doubt if the person whose bicycle has disappeared fails to notify the police. The victims of "bicycle thefts" not reported to the police may include persons who themselves doubt whether their bicycles were stolen. Replies to the question of why the police were not informed may provide some information in this regard. Some of those

4–1. **Percentage of Dutch people over age 15 who were victims of an offense, 1973–79**

	1973 %	1974 %	1975 %	1976 %	1977 %	1978 %	1979 %
Damage to property	—	—	5.0	5.9	6.8	7.7	9.7*
Innocent party in collision with motor vehicle	3.0	3.0	4.5	7.1	6.3	8.0	6.4
Innocent party involved in "hit-and-run" accident	—	—	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.9	1.2*
Bicycle theft	4.0	3.0	4.5	5.4	5.9	5.7	7.5*
Moped theft	7.0	10.0	6.5	4.0	4.2	4.5	3.9
Threatening or violent behavior in the street	—	—	1.5	2.5	2.6	2.8	3.2
Pocketpicking/ Purse snatching	1.0	1.0	1.7	3.0	2.3	2.5	2.8
Theft from a private car	2.0	2.0	1.7	3.0	2.3	2.3	3.4*
Indecent assault in the street	—	—	1.1	1.3	1.5	1.4	1.5
Burglary in a dwelling	0.9	0.7	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.7*
Theft of private car	—	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.3	0.5

*The differences from 1978 are significant at a 0.05 level.

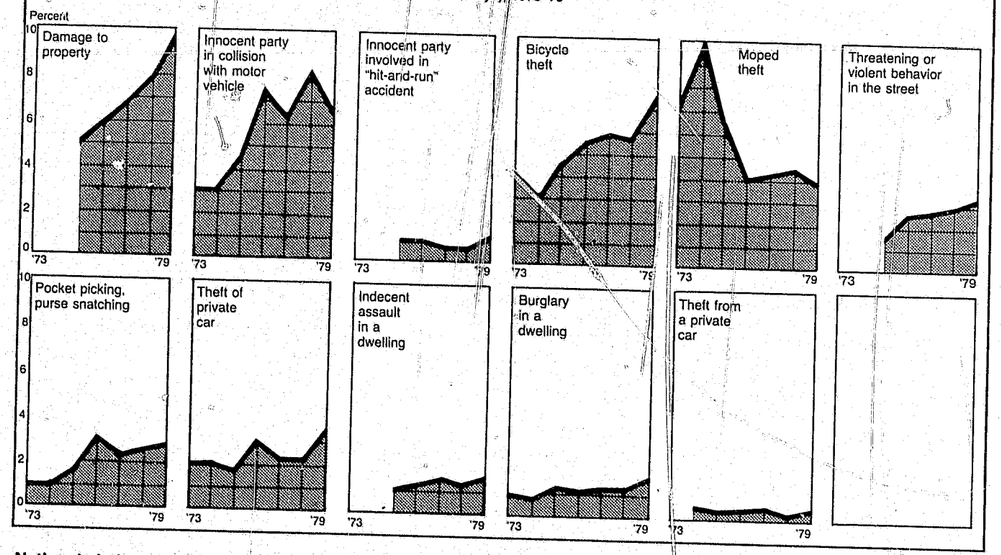
(±40%) who did not report the incident to the police gave as their reason that they "didn't think it necessary." We may ask whether the incidents referred to by this category of victim should be counted as offenses. In the case of bicycle theft, however, we consider it right in principle that incidents not reported to the police by the victims because they themselves "didn't think it necessary" should still be counted. True, the respondents in question did not rate the events very seriously, but they nevertheless answered yes to the question of whether their bicycles had been stolen. In the case of offenses such as threatening behavior or indecent assault,* however, one wonders whether incidents listed which were unknown to the police because ±65% of the nonreporting victims "didn't think it necessary"** should in fact always be regarded as offenses. Those concerned probably did not regard the incident as an offense either. In our opinion, the victim rates for the latter two offenses—threatening behavior and indecent assault—should for this reason be approached with special care. With this limitation, however, the victim rates appear to us to be an altogether true indicator of "crime," provided we take "crime" to mean incidents interpreted as such by the public. As a rule, such incidents will also be regarded as punishable offenses by the police and the courts, although minor discrepancies are possible.

To sum up, we postulate that the results of a victim survey are prone to the errors and uncertainties specific to a national sample survey. Since a sample is involved, the differences found between the victimization rates in 2 separate years or between two population groups must be tested for statistical significance. Every attempt has been made to meet this requirement in presenting the findings in this report. When studying the victim rates, it must be borne in mind that they relate to occurrences which constitute offenses in the eyes of the victims. Victimization percentages for the offenses of threatening behavior and indecent assault may even relate to some extent to occurrences which the victims themselves did not equate with "real" crime.

*I know of no precise American translation for "indecent assault." The category covers sexually offensive acts. It includes rape and attempted rape, but the bulk of the incidents involve rather limited physical contact. Perhaps it can be described as any physical intrusion of potentially sexual nature—pinching, armgrabbing, etc. [Editor]

**Most of those responding "didn't think it necessary" reported that they "settled" the incident themselves.

Figure 4–1. **Trends in victimization percentage (results of seven surveys), 1973–79**



National victim rates since 1973

The main findings of the RDC victim survey describe the percentage of the national population who were the victims of 1 or more of the 10 types of offenses listed in the preceding calendar year.[2] These victimization percentages indicate the risk the average Dutch citizen ran of becoming the victim of 1 or more of the 10 offenses referred to during the year concerned. As the survey was carried out for the seventh time in succession in January 1980, victim rates are now available for the years 1973–79. Sixteen and seventeen-year-olds were included for the first time in 1977. The victim rates for the previous years were weighted so as to make them comparable with the other figures.[3] The victim rates for the offenses of bicycle theft, motorbike theft, car theft, and theft from cars are calculated on the basis of the number of owners of such conveyances. Table 4-1 shows the victim percentages for 1973–79. Of the 10 types of offense, several are higher in 1979 than 1978—victim percentages for damage to property (29%), bicycle theft (32%), theft from a private car (48%), and burglary in a dwelling (42%). In particular, the increase of this last offense is remarkable because up to 1979 this type of crime had shown stable rates. The increase of the violent types of crimes is fortunately much lower and not statistically significant.[4]

Whether the burden of crime on Dutch society was greater in 1979 than in 1978, 1977, and 1976 can also be determined by comparing the various percentages of the population that were the victims of one or more of the 10 offenses during those years. In the years 1976, 1977, 1978, and 1979, the likelihood of becoming a victim of 1 or more of these 10 offenses in the Netherlands was 18, 18, 19, and 23% respectively, while the likelihood of becoming the victim of 2 or more offenses during the same years was 4.0, 4.3, 4.0 and 5.0% respectively. During each 12-month period 1 out of 4 or 5 Dutch citizens became the victim of 1 of the 10 offenses listed above, and 1 out of 25 the victim of 2 or more of these 10 offenses.[5]

Figure 4-1 presents graphically the changes in the victimization percentages since 1973. The graph shows that most types of

[2]For a general explanation of the design and implementation of RDC victim surveys, reference may be made to van Dijk and Vianen (1977) and van Dijk and Steinmetz (1979). The most recent victim surveys took place in the period from January 9 to February 14, 1978, and in the period from January 1 to February 28, 1979. In both years, more than 10,000 people age 16 years and older were questioned (1978, 11,095; 1979, 12,489). Since former RDC surveys revealed that the big cities were often underrepresented, additional surveys were conducted in 1978 and 1979 in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and The Hague. This made it possible to limit the amount of reweighting necessary.

[3]The results of the 1977 survey show that the victim rates for the 16–17 age group are practically identical with the rates for the 18–25 age group. The results for the previous years were reweighted so that the proportion of 18–25 year olds in the sample would equal that of the 16–25 year olds in the 1977 sample.

[4]The 5% reliability margins have been calculated with the aid of the formula for multistage sampling, $1.96 \frac{2pq}{N}$. See C. Cozijn, "Enkele Kanttekeningen bij het Artikel van Knol," *Mens en Maatschappij*, vol. 52, no. 1, 1977.

[5]As the tenth offense, "failing to stop after an accident" was included instead of "innocent party in collision with a motor vehicle."

offense were fairly stable in the 1973-75 period.[6] A few types of offense showed a slight rise in 1975. This rise persisted in 1976. There appears to have been another leveling off in 1977 and 1978. In 1979, most types of offense again showed higher percentages. Overall, during the last 7 years most of the offenses in the victim survey have shown a steady rise.

The most evident increase since 1973 is in bicycle theft and wallet theft. It should be noted that we can form no conclusions as to the actual total number of wallet thefts in the country on the basis of the victimization surveys, because many of the victims are foreign tourists and therefore would not be included in the survey. There has also been an increase in the violent crimes of vandalism (damage to property) and threatening behavior in a public place. Theft of private cars, burglary in a dwelling, and sexual assault show a comparatively stable picture. Moped theft fell after the law prescribed the wearing of protective headgear, but it is not yet clear whether the effect of the crash helmet will persist, because the number of victims of this offense has again risen since 1976.

The category "Innocent party in collision with a motor vehicle" requires special comment. There are two reasons for including this category of incident in the survey. First, it seemed logical to compare the material damage resulting from crime with the damage resulting from road accidents caused by others. The findings show that motor vehicle accidents have kept pace with the growth in crime. In 1979, however, motor vehicle accidents decreased.

The second reason for including this category of question in the survey is the desire to obtain, by means of a supplementary question, some idea of the percentage of the population who annually, through no fault of their own, are hit by a motorist who fails to stop. In 1975, 1% of the population were victims of this type of traffic offense. In 1976 the figure was also 1%; in 1977, 0.9%; in 1978 again, 0.9%; and in 1979, 1.2%. It appears therefore that the extent of this traffic offense has remained constant.

4–2. **Comparison of the extent of crime in 1977 as recorded by the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) and as estimated on the basis of the RDC victim survey**

Police statistics	Victim survey	Police records, (municipal, national, and frontier police) (1)	Survey estimates (2)	Ratio 2/1
Theft, unauthorized taking of a pedal cycle	Bicycle theft	104,815	399,262	3.8
Theft, unauthorized taking of moped and joyriding with moped (art. 37)	Moped theft	26,386	46,585	1.8
Theft, unauthorized taking of motor vehicle and joy-riding with motor vehicle (art. 37)	Theft of a car	13,387	13,973	1.0
Malicious damage (art. 350–354)	Vandalism or damage to property	41,738	491,943	11.8
Violence against the person (art 300–306, 141,285)	Threatening/violent behavior in public	10,496	234,724	22.4
Sexual offenses (art. 242, 243, 246, 248 and 249)	Indecent assault in public	7,252	149,015	20.5
Burglary (art 311.5)	Burglary in a dwelling	30,245	60,221	2.0
Failing to stop after an accident (Road Traffic Act art. 30)	Hit-and-run accident	16,999	57,726	3.4
Total		251,318	1,453,549	5.8

The last three surveys contained questions on threatening or violent behavior and sexual assault indoors. Research abroad has shown that information given on these types of offense is relatively unreliable, because the respondents are often unwilling to discuss them with the interviewer.[7] Of those questioned in the survey, 0.9% indicated that they had been threatened or physically assaulted indoors during 1977. In 1978 and 1979, these figures were 1.1% and 0.9%. In the three last surveys, approximately 0.5% answered yes to the question of whether anyone had acted indecently towards them indoors against their will and in an aggressive manner. As stated, there are grounds for regarding these figures as a minimum estimate.

The percentage of victims in the sample can be used to estimate the total number of offenses committed in the Netherlands. Table 4-2 compares the police statistics estimate of the number of offenses recorded for 1977 with the survey estimate of the number of offenses committed in the same year.[8]

Table 4-2 shows that the survey estimate of the number of thefts of cars is practically the same as the number of police-recorded thefts of cars. Theft of a car is preeminently an offense of which the police are notified, and the police nearly always make such notifications the subject of official reports. For other types of offense, however, the recorded component forms only a fraction of what the public regards as constituting such offenses.[9]

The table also shows that in 1977 Dutch society faced 1.5 million cases of crime. In 1979, there were about 2 million cases. Most of these cases are not particularly serious. Since many Dutch people associate the idea of crime with serious offenses involving violence (Cozijn and van Dijk 1976), most RDC publications use the term "petty crime" to denote these less serious but widespread types of crime. About 1 in 1,000 of those questioned in the survey appeared to have sustained an injury requiring medical attention as the result of a violent crime in a public place in the preceding year. While in no way denying the seriousness of such crimes, we wish to juxtapose another survey finding to this statistic. Almost 1 in 100 of those questioned had sustained an injury requiring medical attention as the result of being the innocent party in an accident involving a motor vehicle. Motorized transport, then, causes innocent victims to lose far more time through injury than the much debated "street terror" of juvenile offenders.

The average financial loss occasioned by the offenses listed in the survey varies appreciably from one type to another. The total cost of petty crime (bicycle theft, moped theft, theft of and from cars, malicious damage, burglary and pocket picking) in the Netherlands can be estimated overall at nearly 500 million guilders (in 1979, $1 = Dfl. 2.1). Spread per capita over the Dutch population, this would mean an annual loss of Dfl. 50 per person, or about Dfl. 150 per household. (This takes no account of the cost of offenses in which companies or public institutions were the victims.)

In the last two surveys, those who replied that they had been the victims of indecent assault in a public place or of a sexual assault indoors were further asked whether it amounted to anything more than being seized. This appeared to have been the case in a quarter of the outdoor incidents and a third of the indoor ones. This shows that most victims of indecent or sexual assault were not victims of rape or attempted rape. In such cases, therefore, we may speak of "petty sexual violence," to distinguish them from cases of true or attempted rape.

Local crime rate

The prime object of the victim survey is to obtain information on the crime rate at the national level. However, the size of the sample is such as to enable us, with some reservations, to draw certain conclusions about local victimization percentages. The Dutch municipalities* may be divided into larger and smaller units.

For the purposes of our project, they have been subdivided into six groups, using this criterion. Table 4-3 indicates the percentage of the inhabitants of these six categories of municipalities who were the victims of one or more offenses in 1976, 1977, 1978, and 1979 respectively.

4–3. **Likelihood of becoming the victim of one or more offenses in 1976, 1977, 1978, and 1979, per group of municipalities***

		1976 %	1977 %	1978 %	1979 %
Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague		28	29	28	33
Population of municipality	100,000–400,000	21	20	24	27
	50,000–100,000	19	17	17	20
	20,000–50,000	16	17	17	20
	5,000–20,000	12	12	13	18
	Less than 5,000	8	8	11	13
National		18	18	19	23

*Not municipalities in the American sense; see Richard Block, "The impact of victimization, rates and patterns: A comparison of the Netherlands and the United States," in this volume.

Table 4-3 shows that the victimization percentage increases along with the increase in the number of municipal inhabitants. The difference between the largest and the smallest municipalities appears to have lessened somewhat in 1978. Because there is a noticeable difference between the victimization percentages for the three major cities and those for the other municipalities, it seems worthwhile to consider Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and The Hague separately.

4–4. **Likelihood of becoming the victim of one or more offenses in 1976, 1977, and 1978 in the four largest cities**

	1976 %	1977 %	1978 %
Amsterdam	34.5	40.7	34.2
Rotterdam	21.8	18.7	19.5
The Hague	25.2	21.7	27.3
Utrecht	21.3	27.3	26.4
Other municipalities	15.4	15.5	16.8

Utrecht, the fourth largest city in the country, will also be included in the comparison. Table 4-4 shows the percentage of the inhabitants of the four cities who were victims of one or more offenses in 1976, 1977, and 1978. Both the level and trend of the victim percentages for the four largest cities vary widely. The consistently low rate for Rotterdam is particularly interesting. Even when the victim rates for the 17 largest municipalities are compared, that of Rotterdam is still significantly lower. The survey findings show that Rotterdam (along with Maastricht) is the safest city in the Netherlands. The relative safety of Rotterdam is far less evident in police statistics. In fact, the percentage of offenses reported to police in Rotterdam is considerably higher than in, for example, Utrecht or Amsterdam. Of every 10 offenses committed in Rotterdam, 6 are reported to the police, as compared to 3 or 4 in Utrecht and Amsterdam.[10]

A comparison with the United States

From a scientific point of view, the comparison of international crime statistics is virgin territory, owing to wide differences in legal definitions and the organization of the police and legal systems. The victimization survey can provide an interesting alternative, since it can be used to compare directly the experiences of the populations of different countries (Clinard and Jurger-Tas 1979). For this reason, a committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Paris concerned with developing standardized social indicators has recommended that such surveys should be used to measure the crime rate in OECD countries. To this end, a survey form has been designed and tested in a number of countries, including the Netherlands (van Dijk 1978).

Meantime, it would seem worthwhile to ascertain whether parts of the National Crime Survey carried out in the United States annually are comparable with the RDC victim survey in its present form. In consultation with the present authors, the American criminologist Professor Richard Block of Loyola University in Chicago has weighted the results of the American and Dutch surveys for 1976 in order to facilitate their broad comparison (Block 1979). Table 4-5 shows some of the results of this comparative study.

The table shows a considerable difference in victimization rates between the American and Dutch populations for the two offenses listed—burglary and threatening behavior in a public place. The likelihood of being burgled was about seven times as

[6] In a postal survey carried out at the end of 1973 by Dr. J. P. S. Fiselier, some 5,000 persons were asked whether they had been the victims of any of a list of offenses in 1973 or 1972. The sample used in this survey differed in two respects from the RDC sample: all interviewees were older than age 18 and lived in municipalities with a municipal police force. However, the adjustments to be made for comparison purposes to the figures obtained are on balance very slight. The 1973 victimization percentages calculated by Fiselier are on a par with those calculated by the RDC for that year (bicycle theft, 4%; moped theft, 6.3%; theft from a car, 1.9%; sexual assault, 0.5%; burglary, 1.5%; theft of a car, 0.4%). The 1972 figures were as follows: bicycle theft, 4%; moped theft, 6.4%; theft from a car, 2.3%; sexual assault, 1.1%; and theft of a car, 0.4%.

[7] For an account of this table, see van Dijk and Steinmetz (1979), appendixes XVII and XVIII.

[8] See van Dijk and Steinmetz (1979), chapters 5 to 8.

[9] This figure includes, of course, the economic and environmental crimes of which large groups of ordinary citizens are also frequently the victim.

*Municipality in the Netherlands represents a division unlike that used in the United States. See Chapter 3 by Richard Block for a description. [Editor]

[10] See van Dijk and Steinmetz (1979), chapter 5.

4–5. Number of U.S. and Dutch victims per 100,000 inhabitants age 18 or over, 1976*

Burglary per 100,000 households	United States	Netherlands
Number of victims	6,482	1,253
Threatening behavior in a public place per 100,000 inhabitants		
Number of victims	1,309	2,257[a]
Number of victims against whom firearms were used	190	41
Number of victims from whom money was stolen (street robbery)	243	194[a]

*See Richard Block, "The impact of victimization rates and patterns: A comparison of the Netherlands and the United States," in this volume.
[a]Many multiple victims.

4–6. Percentage of respondents who were victims of one or more offenses (including innocent parties in "hit-and-run" accidents) in 1977, by age and size of municipality

	Amsterdam Rotterdam The Hague		50,000–400,000 inhabitants		20,000–50,000 inhabitants		Less than 20,000 inhabitants	
Age	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Less than 25	422	48	711	33	839	26	317	16
25–40	396	40	905	22	1,438	16	588	13
40–65	622	18	1,119	17	1,477	11	622	6
65+	396	9	465	7	523	6	264	2

4–7. Log-linear model-based quantification of the extent to which certain sociodemographic characteristics increase or diminish the crime risk

		Risk coefficients	Z-values (significant at .05) (1.96)
Not a victim		5.15	30.3*
Population of municipality	Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague	0.51	−8.0*
	50,000–400,000	0.80	−2.8*
	20,000–50,000	0.90	−1.1
	5,000–20,000	1.60	4.5*
	Less than 5,000	1.75	3.2*
Age	Less than 25	0.41	−8.5*
	25–40	0.80	−8.0*
	40–65	1.38	3.8*
	65+	2.22	7.1*
Social class	Upper	0.70	−4.3*
	Middle	1.22	3.2*
	Lower	1.17	1.9
Sex	Male/female	0.87 (1.15)	2.5*

Note: The average risk is 1 in 5.15. The coefficients by which the ratio figure 5.15 must be multiplied are indicated for each characteristic. The far right column indicates whether the risk coefficients are statistically significant.

*These outcomes are based on a model with an acceptance level of $p>.05$ ($X^2=77.6$ df = 79). See Steinmetz (1979) for a detailed explanation.

great for an American household as for a Dutch one. Contrary to expectation, it appeared that the rate of victimization of threatening behavior in a public place was actually higher among the Dutch population than among the U. S. population. The rate of victims who sustained physical injury was also higher in the Netherlands. When the details are examined, however, the nature of the threatening behavior shows wide divergence. In the cases reported by Americans, firearms were much more frequently involved. At the conclusion of this article, a further attempt will be made to interpret some of the differences shown here between the victimization experiences of the American and Dutch populations.

A victimological risk analysis

Links between demographic characteristics and victim rates. To determine whether there is a link between certain demographic characteristics and the risk of becoming the victim of an offense, cross tabulations can be made examining victimization across categories of characteristics such as age or sex. Table 4-3 showed that victim percentages increased with increased urbanization of the municipalities where the respondents lived. Other tables showed that the victim percentages dropped sharply as the respondents' age increased. Moreover, men are victims slightly more often than women. The higher social classes are victims considerably more often than the lower ones.*

The interpretation of such differences between the various population groups with regard to the crime risk gives rise to a number of complications. It is possible, for example, that the higher victim rates among inhabitants of the large cities result partly from the comparatively low average age of that population group. To ascertain whether living in a large city in itself (i.e., disregarding the age factor) entails a higher crime risk, the victim rates for young men living in a large city may be compared with the rates for their contemporaries in the provinces. Table 4-6 gives a synopsis of the victim percentages of the 16 population groups distinguishable on the basis of the criteria of municipality size (4 categories) and age (also 4 categories).

Table 4-6 shows clearly that municipality size and age each affect the victimization risk independently. In all types of municipality, the victimization percentages for young persons are five times as high as for pensioners. On the other hand, living in a large community appears to produce three times as high a risk for all age categories as living in a small village. Accordingly, an extremely high percentage of victims is encountered among inhabitants under age 25 of the three large cities (48%). The lowest percentage is found for retired persons living in the smallest communities (2%).

*Self-designated social class. [Editor]

The victim percentages shown in Table 4-6 could be further broken down by sex and social class. A table devised in this way would indicate whether the characteristics of municipality size, age, sex, and social class independently display any relationship with the victimization figures. Such a table, however, would contain almost 120 entries and would be very difficult to read. For this reason, we have also analyzed the 1977 results with the aid of a log-linear model using the ECTA (Everyman's Contingency Table Analysis) program developed by L. A. Goodman (1971). The particular feature of this technique is that it ignores the relation between a single variable such as age and the dependent variable (in this case, victimization) and instead considers each combination of categories of variables—e.g., the 16-25 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 Dutch person, the likelihood of becoming the victim of an offense is 16%, or 1 in 5.15.[11] For each of the 14 categories, 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 factor was determined that, when multiplied by the average victimization risk, would provide an estimate of the victimization risk for that particular category.

If the victimization risk for a particular category, i.e., population group, is twice the average victimization risk, the multiplier is 0.41. The victimization risk for this population group is then not 1 in 5.15 ($16\% = \frac{1}{1+5.15}$) but 1 in 0.41 × 5.15, or 1 in 2.11 (32%). Table 4-7 provides a summary of the multipliers for the 13 different categories. It also shows which of the risk coefficients are statistically of help in predicting victimization.

[11]The analysis was carried out on unweighted data. This means that the national victim rate is slightly lower than the rate previously mentioned.

Table 4-7 shows that age is the main risk-increasing and risk-reducing characteristic (risk coefficients of 0.41 and 2.22). Apart from a person's age, the likelihood of his or her becoming a victim is also affected by the size of the community in which he or she lives. Besides these two factors, belonging to the upper social classes also produces a higher risk. Finally, regardless of age, place of residence, and social class, men run a slightly higher risk than women of becoming victims.

The synopsis of the various multipliers presented in Table 4-7 can be used to approximate the victimization risks for all combinations of age, municipality size, social class, and sex.[12] The risk for the population group "aged under 25, living in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, or The Hague, upper social class, male sex" can be calculated by multiplying the average victimization risk of 5.15 by the multipliers of the four categories involved. The risk for this population group is accordingly 1 in 0.41 × 0.51 × 0.70 × 0.87 × 5.15, 1 in 0.65 (60%). A similar calculation reveals that women age 65 or over living in a small village and belonging to the middle class have a victimization risk of approximately ±4% (1 in 1.15 × 2.22 × 1.75 × 1.22 × 5.15, or 1 in 25). The risk for the first population group is therefore many times as great as for the latter group. In this analysis, attention has been paid solely to the relationship between the 4 main sociodemographic characteristics and whether or not a person has been the victim of 1 or more of the 12 offenses included in the survey. In interpreting the results, it must be borne in mind that the relation between the demographic factors and the victim rates may differ by type of offense.

Men are slightly more often the victims of the 12 offenses than women, but this is obviously not so in the case of indecent assault. A more accurate picture of the crime risks of the various population groups may be formed by calculating the victim rates for each type of offense. Such detailed analyses reveal that most types of offense are strongly correlated with age. It is schoolchildren (age 16–18) who are mostly the victims of wallet theft. Very high victim rates for the offense of bicycle theft are encountered among the age group 16–24 (schoolchildren and students). The incidence of indecent assault and threatening behavior is similarly high among that group. On the other hand, burglary, moped theft, and car theft are distributed relatively evenly among the age groups.

The offenses which are most class-linked are wallet theft and burglary. The upper social classes run a slightly higher risk. There appears to be little or no connection between the risk of being the victim of a crime of violence and belonging to a particular social class.

The victim rates for men and women are fairly close (in 1977 and 1978 the difference was smaller than in previous years). The most obviously sex-related offenses are threatening behavior and indecent assault/sexual assault. Men are more commonly threatened or attacked both in public places and indoors, while women are more frequently molested or indecently assaulted. A man runs a higher risk of being the innocent party in a car accident. Apart from sexual assault, the only offense for which women run a slightly higher risk is purse or wallet theft.

A theoretical risk analysis. Criminology has traditionally been strongly criminal-oriented; i.e., investigation related mainly to the assumed typical characteristics of the offender. Like the classic detective, the criminologist first asked who had a motive for committing a crime and then who had the opportunity to do so and who had the necessary means.* Those who satisfy these three conditions are placed on a list of suspects, in keeping with well-established tradition.

In this section, we attempt to formulate the victimological reflection of this key criminological question, viz.: "What conditions must an ordinary citizen satisfy in order to be considered a potential victim?" The parallel to the question of motive is to what extent does a person have characteristics that would render him or her an attractive target for certain categories of offender. Possible answers are the possession of luxury articles (e.g., jewelry, antiques, or expensive cars) or the possession of certain

[12]The result of the analysis implies that the risk-increasing or reducing effect of each category is roughly the same for all possible combinations of the categories of the other variables. This means, for instance, that the class "under 25 years of age" will have roughly the same effect on the victimization risk for all types of municipality and social class and for both sexes. There are three exceptions to this rule. Of 120 combinations, there are three for which the victim rate differs significantly from that calculated with the aid of the multipliers. Subject to this, the Z-values for these interactions were not high.

*Several Dutch criminologists are also novelists. [Editor]

personal characteristics. We call such characteristics the attraction factor. Obviously, this factor does not depend merely on possession of particular articles or characteristics but equally on the extent to which a person displays such goods or characteristics. A person who hangs his antique clocks in a room facing the street has a higher attraction factor for burglary than one who does not. The latter may be called the effective attraction factor.

The risk is further determined by the extent to which potential offenders are physically given the opportunity of committing an offense. Does a person live in a municipality or district where many potential offenders live or which, at any rate, is frequented by them?

It is known from research in America that the perpetrators of crime try to minimize the distance between their home and the place of the crime and that young offenders in particular mostly operate close to home (Reiss 1977). A British study has shown that the amount of vandalism in blocks of flats is most highly correlated with the percentage of families with young children per block of flats (Wilson 1978). In Canada, the amount of burglary in residential areas was most highly correlated with proximity to poorer social districts (Waller and Okihiro 1978).

Proximity to potential offenders does not depend solely on place of residence or neighborhood. In addition to the geographic or residential aspect, the proximity factor also has a sociodynamic aspect. The number of times a person comes into the vicinity of potential offenders depends largely on his or her way of life. Individuals who seldom leave the house give potential offenders little chance of committing any form of street crime. On the other hand, people who frequently visit places of entertainment in large cities will often come into contact with potential offenders, no matter where they live. Fiselier (1978) postulates that a person's victimization risk is higher the more often he or she visits public places (e.g., train stations, public transport, sports stadiums). An investigation in London has shown that the victimization risk for crimes of violence is closely linked with the frequency with which people go out in the evening (Sparks, Genn and Dodd 1977).

Besides the attraction and the proximity factors, another consideration affecting the risk is the extent to which potential offenders are given the opportunity to commit an offense. In practical terms, this depends on the extent to which circumstances are created or tolerated which make commission of an offense technically possible. Extreme instances of this are failure to lock up one's home and car or putting a purse in an open shopping bag. The risk of theft is also affected materially by whether one carries one's wallet in an inside pocket or in a (hand)bag.

Figure 4–2. **Attempt at a risk analysis of personal victimization**

Risk factors	Aspects	Empirical indicators
Attraction	Possession of valuables	Income, purchasing behavior, furnishing of home, cash rather than checks
	Sexual characteristics	Young women
	Symbol value as rival	Adolescence (provocative behavior)
Proximity	Living in vicinity of offenders	Living in large city, in poor social area
	Visiting places frequented by offenders	Entertainment habits, shopping habits, use of public transport
Exposure	Technical prevention	Accessibility of dwelling, bicycle, car, etc. (locks, bolts, and shutters, etc.)
	Guardianship/ protection	Leaving house unattended
		Living in isolated locality
		Getting into situations where help cannot be invoked
		Degree of neighbors' concern or willingness to help

Exposure to crime has not only a practical but also a social dimension. The opportunity of committing an offense depends largely on the extent to which the target is guarded. People who spend little time at home run a higher risk of becoming the victims of burglary (Cohen and Felson 1978; Waller and Okihiro 1978). However, this is not just a question of the degree to which a person guards his own belongings. Neighbors can also play a part in deterring criminals. The extent to which a person takes advantage of the possibility of such protection is partly a behavioral characteristic of the individual. Persons who frequently enter situations where the help of others cannot be invoked thereby increase their victimization risk. The degree of security and protection, however, depends largely on the planning, architectural, and social characteristics of the neighborhood. Districts with a greater degree of social coherency reveal lower victim rates for burglary (Repetto 1974). Finally, preventive surveillance by the police might also be thought of as an aspect of social exposure to crime. However, experiments involving increased police surveillance have shown that this has only a slight effect on a district's crime rate (Jeffery 1971).

To sum up, it may be stated that the victimization risk of individual persons is determined by three main factors:

(1) The attraction factor, i.e., the degree to which a person (or residence) is visibly an attractive target for offenders.

(2) The proximity factor. This factor has both a geographical aspect (living in the vicinity of potential offenders) and a social aspect (the amount of contact with potential offenders as a consequence of a certain way of life).

(3) The extent to which a person gives potential offenders the opportunity to commit an offense. This exposure factor has both its technical or practical aspects and its social aspects (the presence or absence

of any form of natural or official security and/or protection).

A risk diagram comparable with that discussed here is to be found in Hindelang, Garofalo, and Gottfredson (1978). In the "lifestyle/exposure model" developed by them, attention is paid primarily to the social aspects of the proximity factor and the exposure factor, i.e., to the number of meetings with potential offenders in unprotected situations as a result of certain styles of life. In approaching a theoretical risk analysis, we consider that victimological attractiveness of those concerned and geographical proximity of potential offenders must be distinguished as independent factors. Certain lifestyles which sharply increase the risk in a large city need not do so in a village.

The theoretical considerations of Cohen and Felson (1978) which centers on the concepts of target suitability and guardianship, fails to take sufficient account of the influence of the geographical proximity factor. Cantor and Cohen (1979) start with the explicit assumption that the presence of potential offenders in the vicinity is a constant. This hardly seems in accord with reality.

In Figure 4-2, we repeat in chart form the three main factors distinguished by us and their chief characteristics and empirical indicators.

The more the three risk factors apply, the greater a person's victimization risk. The absence of one of the three factors may be offset by a high value for one of the other factors. If, as a result of home environment and lifestyle, the person seldom comes into the vicinity of potential offenders, his or her victimization risk may nevertheless be high because of a high value for the attraction factor (e.g., because she or he possesses a collection of paintings). Conversely, a person with a very low attraction factor—e.g., a tramp—may still have a high victimization risk because of constantly being in the vicinity of potential offenders.

To test the validity of the risk analysis formulated here, studies will have to be made examining the links between the three factors and the victimization risk. To measure the values for the three risk factors, it will be necessary to gather detailed information on both the home circumstances and lifestyles of the persons to be studied. For burglary, for instance, it is important to know what valuables a person has at home, how often the home is left unattended, and how accessible it is (technical prevention being also considered) in order to determine the value of the attraction factor and the exposure factor respectively. In the case of street crime (including pocket picking, threatening behavior and sexual/indecent assault), it is probably mainly a question of obtaining more detailed information on the extent to which, and the times at which, a person is to be found in public places (travel to and from work, shopping habits, entertainment habits). It also seems important to know a person's customary social environment (the proximity factor).

Further, we shall have to examine what economic, social, and psychological backgrounds are attached to the three risk factors. The time a person spends in public places may be connected both with his or her occupation—nurses, for instance, often cycle to or from work in the evening hours—and with his or her psychological characteristics. (Some people are by nature inclined to take more risks than others, or become more readily involved in arguments, etc.) It is clear that a more sophisticated risk analysis of personal victimization must have a multidisciplinary character.

Testing the risk model by means of the 1978 victim survey

The 1978 victim survey gathered information on some of the lifestyles and home circumstances, which the theory outlined above would posit are connected with the victimization risk.

For example, a question was included about the frequency with which people go out in the evening. The analysis revealed that an active life outside the home—i.e., a high value for both the social proximity factor and the social exposure factor—is coupled with a relatively high victimization risk. The less frequently people went out in the evening, the lower the victim rates. For example, for those who went out weekly or almost every day, the victim rate was 25.6% (N=3930) and for those with an average nights out pattern, the victim rate was 16.8% (N=4132), while for those who practically never went out it was 11.9% (N=1833).

The 1978 data have been analyzed to confirm the 1977 model. This time the analysis was done by means of the program GLIM (General Linear Interactive Modeling [Nelder 1974]), in particular the log-linear approach suggested by Goodman (which we referred to in an earlier section).

The independent variables in this analysis were "municipality (mun)," "age (a)," "social class (soc)," and the added variables "nights out pattern (out)" and "former victimizations (fv)."* The dependent variable is recent victimization (v) which is based on being a victim of any incident in a peri-

4–8. **Results of a log-linear analysis on the 1978 Dutch victim survey data. Dependent variable: Nonvictims (V[1]) and victims (V[2]) in 1978**

Model parameters* MUN * A * SOC * OUT * FV * + MUN * V + A * V + SOC * V + OUT * V + FV * V

Model fit $X^2 = 54.5$ df = 41 $p > .05$

Fitted model parameters (results)	Estimate	Standard error	Z-values (significant at 1.96)
MUN(2) X V(2)	−.6060	.5473 E-01	Z=11.07
A(2) X V(2)	−.7267	.6139 E-01	Z=11.8
A(3) X V(2)	−1.313	.8183 E-01	Z=16.04
SOC(2) X V(2)	−.2343	.5385 E-01	Z=4.4
OUT(2) X V(2)	−.3708	.5490 E-01	Z=6.8
FV(2) X V(2)	.3007	.5587 E-01	Z=5.4

*The explanation of the model parameters is as follows: MUN * V means MUN + V (main effects) + the interaction term MUN × V. If one of the terms is specified more than once, the program simply ignores all the terms but one. The program reparameterizes the actual existing parameter in the sense that the first category is set to zero. This means that the other categories have to be explained as deviations from zero.

*The independent variable sex is not included in the analysis. Arguments for this decision are based partly on program restrictions (not more than six variables can be included). Further, in the 1977 analysis, the variable sex was the weakest predictor of recent victimization. Size of municipality consists of the categories <100,000 inhabitants (MUN(2)) and >100,000 inhabitants (MUN(1)). Age consists of under 25 (A(1)), 25 to 55 (A(2)), and over 55 years (A(3)). Social class consists of high (SOC(1)), and low (SOC(2)). Nights out pattern has the categories, frequent (OUT(2)) and not frequent (OUT(1)). Former victimization consists of two categories, namely, yes (fv(2)) and no (fv(1)).

od of 13 months. In the analysis, single and multiple victimizations are treated the same.

The fitted model has no interaction terms and is of course linear and additive. This model can be accepted on the basis of an acceptance-level of $p>.05$ ($X^2 = 54.5$ df $= 41$). This outcome indicates that nights out pattern and former victimization have an effect on recent victimization independent of the effects of the earlier mentioned independent variables which can be found in the 1977 confirmation of the actual risk model. The results of this basic analysis are presented in Table 4-8.

This confirmative log-linear analysis supports the theory. The main risk-increasing and risk-reducing characteristic is still age, followed by the size of the municipality in which the respondent lives. Apart from these characteristics, the likelihood of becoming a victim is also influenced by the frequency of going out, former victimization, and social class. The latter three characteristics are listed in order of their decreasing influence on probability of becoming a victim. The range of prediction capacities of risk-increasing and risk-reducing characteristics can easily be seen if one compares the several z-values of parameters on the righthand side of Table 4-8.

These results indicate that nights out pattern and former victimization are better predictors for recent victimization than social class and sex (although we did not test the last mentioned variable). Before getting into more details, the final model will be presented. One might, technically speaking, expect a stronger model than the one presented in Table 4-8. A final model is presented in Table 4-9.

The results of adding different interaction terms to the linear noninteractive risk model as listed in Table 4-8 (model parameters) indicate that at least one of the two interaction terms must be accepted, namely, municipality times age times recent victimization or age times former victimization times recent victimization. Adding one of the interaction terms at a time does improve the model significantly. By looking more closely at the conditional tests, in particular the chi-squares and the degrees of freedom on the right side of Table 4-9, one has to conclude that the best model is in fact model k, in which both interaction terms are included. This model has to be accepted on a $p>.25$ level which is more or less an improvement of 500% compared to the model listed in Table 4-8.

The results of the final log-linear model are presented in Table 4-10. The table shows the fitted parameters relating model k to the corresponding z-values.

According to Table 4-10, the relative structure of the independent variables remains the same. Age remains the best predictor of victimization; social class is the weakest. On the other hand, new evidence appears by looking at the significant parameters of the two interaction terms.

4–9. Results of a log-linear analysis based on the main model in Table 4–8.

In this table several different interactions will be added to the main model. They will be tested on their significance and the amount of improvement related to the main model

Main model	$X^2 = 54.5$	df = 41	p> .05

Additional models (parameters)	Fit of the new models		Difference between the main model and the several new models		
	X^2	df	X^2	df	Significant (S) or not (NS)
a MUN*A*V	49.5	39	5.2	2	S
b MUN*SOC*V	54.4	40	0.1	1	NS
c MUN*OUT*V	52.5	40	2.0	1	NS
d MUN*FV*V	54.4	40	0.1	1	NS
e A*SOC*V	50.9	38	3.6	3	NS
f A*OUT*V	52.7	39	1.8	2	NS
g A*FV*V	48.9	39	5.6	2	S
h SOC*OUT*V	54.0	40	0.5	1	NS
i SOC*FV*V	53.6	40	0.9	1	NS
j OUT*FV*V	52.2	40	2.3	1	NS
k MUN*A*V A*FV*V	44	37	10.5	4	S
MUN*A*FV*V	43.5	34	11	7	NS

Note. The right hand side of this table gives the difference in terms of chi-squares and degrees of freedom between the main model and the several new models, which are, with the exception of an interaction term, the same as the main model. The significance column shows which model can be seen as an improvement compared to the main model.

4–10. Results of the final log-linear model with two interaction terms on the 1978 Dutch victim survey data. Dependent variable: Nonvictims (V[1]) and victims (V[2]) in 1978. (N=10,002)

Model parameters	MUN* A * SOC * OUT * FV + MUN * V + A * V + SOC * V + OUT * V + FV * V + MUN * A * V + A * FV * V

Model fit	$X^2 = 43.95$	df = 37	$p < .25$

Fitted model parameters	Estimate	Standard error	Z-values (significant at 1.96)
MUN(2) X V(2)	−.4613	.9634 E-01	Z=4.8
A(2) X V(2)	−.6038	.1097	Z=5.5
A(3) X V(2)	−1.383	.1348	Z=10.3
SOC(2) X V(2)	−.2315	.5388 E-01	Z=4.3
OUT(2) X V(2)	−.3742	.5491 E-01	Z=6.8
FV(2) X V(2)	.1767	.9964 E-01	Z=1.8
MUN(2) X A(2) X V(2)	−.2644	.1232	Z=2.1
MUN(2) X A(3) X V(2)	−.7473 E-01	.1597	Z=0.5 (NS)
A(2) X FV(2) X V(2)	.1184	.1252	Z=0.9 (NS)
A(3) X FV(2) X V(2)	.3956	.1706	Z=2.3

The interpretation of the interaction terms is as follows:

(1) Dutch citizens between age 25 and 55 living in municipalities with a rather small number of inhabitants (<100,000 inhabitants) appear less likely to be victimized than expected based on their average probability.

(2) For municipalities of all sizes, elderly Dutch citizens (>55 years) with former victimization experience do have a greater chance of becoming victimized than elderly Dutch citizens without former victimization experience.

We mentioned earlier that the frequency of nights out and former victimization are better predictors for recent victimization than social class and sex. Former victimization is interpreted by us as a proxy for victim-proneness. An interesting outcome is the fact that our proxy for victim-proneness is an independent factor. Victim-proneness based on this outcome implies that even when respondents are exposed to the same conditions (proximity, exposure, and attractiveness), some people are still more likely to be victimized than others. Our present hypothesis, to be tested in our future work, is that victim-proneness can be explained mainly by psychological traits.

The results concerning the nights out pattern seem to be compatible with the predictions of the theory (social proximity factor). However, age still remains the strongest predictor of recent victimization. According to the lifestyle (routine behavior) approach (Hindelang et al. 1978), one might expect that the dominant position of age as a main operationalization of social proximity would become less important if one considers the actual impact of the nights out variable on social proximity. The only possible conclusion until now is that age still covers a fair amount of the lifestyle/routine approach. On the the other hand, routine daily activities seem not to support the independent character of both age and nights out behavior. Evans (1980) explains the same phenomenon in the following sense:

> It is clear from this study that the lifestyle model must be operationalized. More direct behavioral and attitudinal measures related to lifestyle are needed if the model is to be useful in increasing our understanding of the nature of violent victimization and in suggesting methods to reduce the risk of victimization.

Additional preliminary testing of the validity of the risk analysis

Information gathered by the RDC on burglaries of business premises in The Hague have also been used to test the hypothesis that the risk of burglary is partly determined by the attraction factor and the exposure factor (Steinmetz and van der Zee-Nefkens 1980). It appeared that premises with contents valued at up to Dfl. 10,000 had an annual victimization risk of 2.5%, while premises with contents valued at Dfl. 500,000 or more had a victimization risk of 17%. The hypothesis that social exposure affects the risk of burglary was also confirmed. Business premises situated below their owners' dwellings had only a 6% chance of being burgled. This comparatively low percentage could not be entirely attributed to the lesser attractiveness of these premises.

Since the 1979 national survey results have not yet been fully analyzed, we confine ourselves here to studying more closely the victimization differences between the usual sociodemographic categories (male/ female, young/old, etc.) established in the preceding sections.

As we have seen, youth is the most important risk-increasing social characteristic. The reason for this must be sought in the greater amount of contact young people have with potential "offenders," i.e., with their contemporaries. According to a time allocation study by the Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau [Social and Cultural Planning Bureau], young people spend 47 hours a week on outdoor recreation, as against the 14 hours spent by the average Dutch person. Such differences in the way time is spent help us to understand why young people run a far greater risk of becoming victims of the typical street offenses of threatening behavior, indecent assault, wallet theft, and bicycle theft, regardless of where they live.

The decisive effect of the (social) proximity factor can best be seen from the extremely high victim rate among the 16–25 age group with an income below Dfl. 9,000. Of this group, made up largely of schoolchildren and students, 44% were the victims of one or more offenses in 1977. Such a high rate cannot, it seems, result from the possession of a relatively large number of valuables. Rather it is the result of active participation in the semidelinquent subculture of young people.

The relatively low victim rate for offenses against the property of retired persons results partly from the fact that they are largely tied to their homes. Their contacts with potential offenders are relatively few, and their houses are seldom unattended.

The comparatively high victim rates for threatening behavior and indecent assault among the 16-25 age group seem to result from the attraction factor as well as the proximity factor. Most men who molest (not rape) women in the street probably prefer young women as their victims. At first sight, it seems difficult to explain the striking preponderance of young people among the victims of threatening behavior in the street. Such a finding conflicts with the widely held view that it is the most defenseless people, namely the elderly, who are customarily the victims of "street violence." Various studies have shown, however, that the predominant motive in many street attacks is the desire to impress others. Such a "bravado" motive implies that contemporaries, not defenseless elderly people, must be chosen as "opponents" (van Dijk 1977).

The second most important risk-increasing factor is residence in a large city. The explanation for this probably lies primarily with the geographical proximity factor. An investigation by Van der Werff (1979) has shown that the large cities contain a relatively large proportion of residents who have been convicted of crime. The investigation also showed that it is precisely those ex-offenders who live in the same major cities in which they committed the crime for which they were convicted who committed most of the offenses. "Self-report" studies—surveys in which a sample of the population is asked whether they have ever committed an offense—have also shown that the inhabitants of large towns commit offenses relatively often. This means that the inhabitants of large towns come into contact with potential offenders more frequently, regardless of their lifestyle.

The higher victim rate for burglary and pocket picking among the upper classes should probably be regarded primarily as a result of the attraction factor. With such people there is "more to be had." The proximity factor, on the other hand, probably has a relatively low value. These people live in the better areas of the large cities or in garden suburbs and make comparatively little use of public transportation. Lastly, their exposure to crime appears to be relatively great. Detached dwellings are more vulnerable to burglary, furtive entry, and wanton damage than flats. Moreover, the upper classes have a relatively large number of (expensive) cars, which increases the risk of theft of and

The opportunity theory appears to be a welcome addition to the currently available explanations for the emergence of criminal behavior...

from cars and vandalism. Furthermore, the houses of these people are more frequently left unattended as a result of longer holidays and a more active social life. The greater exposure to crime of these classes is offset to some extent by the better means of technical prevention available to them.

The differences in the victim rates for males and females appear to be fairly negligible. The survey results show that these differences are greatest for the middle age group (age 25–55), where the difference is 5–6%. In the case of the 16–25 and 55 and over age groups, the male-female differences are much smaller. The parental role of many women between the ages of 25 and 55 probably involves less contact with outsiders and, consequently, with potential offenders. An analysis by Fiselier (1978) has shown that the victimization risk of women who go out to work is higher than that of women who keep house. The fact that the difference between the victim rates of the sexes was slightly smaller in 1977 and 1978 may have something to do with the changing position of women in Dutch society. The comparatively high risk to women of wallet theft is presumably connected with the feminine habit of carrying money and checks in handbags and the like, rather than in inside pockets.

In discussing the victim rates for the various age groups, no attention has been been paid to marital status. Theoretically, however, one would expect divorcees to run a higher victimization risk than married persons. The lifestyle of divorced people will, for various reasons, be less domestic than that of their married contemporaries and will therefore involve greater risk. The victimization percentages confirm this expectation. In 1978, 26.7% of divorcees were the victims of one or more offenses (N=207), as against 16.9% of married persons (N=7131).

To conclude this section, we look briefly at the victimization differences between the United States and the Netherlands. According to Block (1979), the much higher victim rate for burglary in the United States results from the fact that far more American than Dutch women go out to work outside the home. In a large proportion of American dwellings no one is at home during the day, with the result that it is relatively easy to break into them. Comparison of the data shows that most burglaries in the United States take place during the day (Lentzner 1979), whereas in the Netherlands the peak is reached in the evening hours. It is far less easy to account for the higher rate of victims of threatening behavior in the Netherlands. A partial explanation may be that comparatively large tracts of the United States are rural. In addition, it is possible that the greater segregation of social classes in American cities results in a lower rate of threatening behavior in public places. In the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries (Carr-Hill 1977), the victims of threatening behavior are found fairly evenly distributed among the social classes, whereas in the United States they are noticably concentrated in the lower social classes. Moreover, in the United States, a far larger proportion of criminals and victims are known to each other than is the case in the Netherlands. Such facts may indicate that in the Netherlands (less serious) violence is distributed more widely among the younger population than in the United States.

Opportunity structures and the emergence of crime

Once it has been shown which characteristics of individual citizens are determinants of risk, the question can be asked whether the degree to which such characteristics are present in the population of a country or town is correlated with the local crime rate. If such a correlation can be demonstrated, a victimological risk analysis could provide the basis for a theory of the emergence of the types of crime concerned. One might then posit that the geographic proximity factor (the number of offenders in the area) is influenced by the other risk factors (social proximity, attraction, and exposure). Following the old saying, "Opportunity makes the thief," such a criminological theory can be termed the "opportunity theory" (Mayhew et al. 1976; Stanley 1976).

In the preceding section, we attempted to explain the large number of burglaries in the United States in terms of such a theory. L. E. Cohen and H. Felson (1978) use a victimological risk analysis to explain the rise of crime in the United States during the past few decades. According to them, the rise can be accounted for by certain changes in opportunity structures (more luxury articles and a more away-from-home lifestyle, particularly among women and young people). In describing the opportunity structures, they employ concepts derived from social ecology. A similar approach is adopted by P. Tornudd (1978) in a report on crime trends in Finland since 1950.

In our view, the increase in certain forms of crime in the Netherlands must also be attributed in large measure to changes in opportunity structures. We consider the explosive growth in car ownership to be one of the main causes of the rise in crime against property. In Amsterdam, during the fifties, the glass in fire alarms formed practically the only suitable target for vandalism. Nowadays, the streets are full of parked cars. Cars are the target of more than half of all acts of vandalism against personal property. Cars parked in the street are not only an attractive target for vandalism but also for theft (theft of cars and theft from cars). Other factors that have contributed to a rise in the level of crime against property are the mass production of electronic equipment and the spread of the supermarket.

The increase in the number of instances of threatening behavior in public places must be ascribed largely to the increase in leisure time. Nowadays, for instance, schoolchildren go out two evenings a week instead of one. In addition, more compulsory education and more youth unemployment mean that on the average young people spend more time in public places and in cafes, etc., than formerly. More freedom of movement for (young) women has also meant more possibilities for violent crimes.

Naafs and Saris (1979) conclude from the fact that the number of business premises in Amsterdam has not risen since 1950 that the rise in the number of burglaries there cannot be explained by increased availability of targets suitable for breaking-in purposes. Such a conclusion, however, fails to take account of the changes which have taken place in the attractiveness of the desired objects (larger stores) and the social exposure (fewer shops under their owners' dwellings, more shops in isolated shopping centers).

Finally, we feel that practically every type of offense has been made easier by the increasing absence of checks (surveillance) by other members of society. One characteristic of a large-scale urban environment is that people often do not know each other personally in the spatially divorced environments of home, school, work, shops, and recreation facilities and that they are therefore less inclined to offer assistance or to keep an eye on each other's property (Suttles 1972; Gardiner 1978). This has been confirmed by an RDC survey which showed that people's willingness to inform the police when they see an offense being committed is appreciably less in large cities than in rural areas (Junger-Tas and Van der Zee-Nefkens 1978). Experimental research in 17 American cities has shown that practically no one intervenes when they see apparent criminals break into cars in broad daylight and make off with cameras, television sets, and the like (Takkooshian and Bodinger 1978). The observations of van Os (1979) in the Spuistraat in Amsterdam would lead us to assume that there too street thieves have little to fear from passersby.

The opportunity theory appears to be a welcome addition to the currently available explanations for the emergence of criminal behavior, since it is better able than traditional poverty theories to explain the positive correlation between affluence and crime. However, particularly in view of its practical applications to crime prevention, we must mention the limitations of such an approach. In the more extreme versions of the theory—as with "control" theories—the motivation of offenders is treated as irrelevant (Hirschi 1972). If there is an opportunity for criminal activity, there are people who will avail themselves of that opportunity; and, if less opportunity exists, there will be less crime or no crime at all (Cantor and Cohen 1979). Such a view wrongly assumes that the demand for the fruits of criminal activity is completely elastic.

It seems likely, however, that some people are motivated to commit certain offenses to such a degree that they are prepared to go to almost any length to do so. Such people will create the opportunity to commit an offense under practically any circumstance. The opportunity theory is of little or no value in relation to this hard core of offenders.

It seems equally unrealistic, on the other hand, to believe that the demand for the fruits of criminal activity is completely inelastic. If there is less opportunity to commit an offense, at least some of the potential offenders will refrain from doing so, since they will not be prepared to pay the higher price in terms of time and risk. It is petty crime in particular which is favored by such opportunity thieves.

Practical applications of risk analysis

A victimological risk analysis can be used for various purposes:

(1) It is possible to identify the specific groups at risk for various types of offense. People can use it to determine objectively whether they belong to a particular risk group or not. For a large part of the population, such an objective determination of their own victimization risk could lessen their feelings of insecurity. This will apply, for instance, in the case of older people and women and the inhabitants of smaller communities. The results of an objective risk analysis provide a useful foil to sensation-seeking crime reporting by the mass media (van Dijk 1980). Precisely for this reason, we consider any discounting of the geographic proximity factor in risk analyses to be of special significance. People in the provinces must be prevented from feeling insecure because of the problems of a certain district in the urban conglomeration.* In preparing advertising campaigns and the like in the field of crime prevention, it is always worth considering whether the target should be the national population or only the inhabitants of certain municipalities. (2) A victimological risk analysis provides the high risk groups with a basis for crime prevention strategy. The people concerned can, after all, deduce for themselves how, and with what means, they can reduce their high values for certain risk factors: geographic and social proximity, attractiveness, and social and technical exposure. Here it is possible to differentiate between preventive measures at the individual level (microlevel), at the neighborhood level (mesolevel), and at the government level (macrolevel).

Steps at microlevel, for instance, would include moving to a smaller community or safer district, changes in the spending pattern (no buying of antiques, expensive electronic equipment, jewelry, or paintings), changes in the furnishing of the home (no luxury articles in the living room), locking doors (including car doors), windows and basement storerooms, fitting technical preventive devices (locks, bolts, and shutters), changes in the allocation of leisure time (going out less often, no longer visiting places of entertainment in the city, going out only in a group) and changes in mode of transportation (no longer traveling by tram or train).

Examples of steps at the mesolevel are improving the street and other lighting, encouraging active social interaction in the district, introducing housing precincts, and establishing organized neighborhood help.

At macrolevel, legal measures might be considered, such as laying down minimum security requirements with which cars and dwellings must comply on delivery. The introduction of the legally prescribed crash helmet for motorbike riders may be regarded as a government measure that has contributed towards crime prevention.

As yet, little is known about the effectiveness of the various crime-prevention measures mentioned (Steinmetz 1980), but the available literature on the subject indicates the following:

- Our own findings show that reducing contact with potential offenders by moving to a small community or by adopting any of a number of more domestic lifestyles does reduce the risk to the persons concerned.
- Locking the steering posts of cars is an effective means of preventing joyriding, but scarcely deters professional car thieves (Junger-Tas 1976; Burrows and Heal 1979).
- Alarm installations seem to have shown their worth, at any rate for business premises (Pope 1977).
- More widespread use of locks and shutters also seems to have slightly reduced the risk of burglary of private dwellings (Repetto 1974). However, if this form of technical prevention is not accompanied by adequate surveillance of the house by residents and neighbors, the effectiveness of such devices is greatly reduced (Waller and Okihiro 1978). The main conclusion of the studies carried out to date is, therefore, that the most effective form of crime prevention is surveillance by neighbors (Waller and Okihiro 1978), or by janitors, bus drivers, watchmen, etc. (Mayhew et al. 1979). Technical devices by themselves can ensure only marginal success.

In drawing up a strategy for crime prevention, not only the possible benefits must be taken into account but also the costs to the persons concerned. The benefits and costs to other groups in society must also be examined.

It is clear that preventive measures at an individual level, particularly those aimed at reducing the proximity factor, will involve very substantial material and other costs. Preventive measures that mean moving or a completely altered way of life (e.g., entailing change in leisure occupations) are in principle inadvisable. Such measures only exacerbate the social isolation that produces feelings of insecurity in many elderly people. For this reason, it is better to take simple technical security measures and, in particular, to improve "neighborliness" in the large cities. Neighborhood committees and the like, supported perhaps by the local police officer, could play an important part in achieving this.

Reducing technical and social exposure to crime at the micro- or mesolevel may mean that crime problems are shifted to neigh-

*The Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and The Hague megalopolis "Randstad." [Editor]

bors or to adjacent neighborhoods or even municipalities. Besides this deflective effect, crime prevention measures may give rise to an escalating effect. Offenders may improve their methods and techniques or increase the amount of violence they employ in response to victimological forms of crime prevention. In delineating a strategy for crime prevention, full account must be taken of such side effects. The assumption expressed in some quarters, however, that victimological crime prevention can only lead to changes in the time, nature, or location of offenses or to their replacement by other offenses is in our view unduly pessimistic.

As we argued above, it seems likely that the demand for the fruits of petty crime will diminish if the price is increased. By reducing the opportunity to commit offences at micro- or mesolevel, then, the ordinary person may help in combating such crime. Some offenses will indubitably be deflected on to neighbors or adjacent neighborhoods. Other offenses, however, will not be committed at all, because the potential offenders will not be led into temptation or will be discouraged in their attempt. The development of delinquent norms can also be countered if committing petty offenses is made more difficult.

Meantime, emergence of the side effects referred to forms a cogent reason why the Government should take the initiative in this field. The more the Government succeeds in having certain measures (e.g., locks on car steering columns) introduced nationwide or, at any rate, regionally, the smaller will be the geographic deflective effects. If this form of crime prevention is left to the free interaction of social pressures, it will mean that the risks will devolve on those lower on the social scale. The reason for saying this is that our surveys have shown that willingness to take preventive measures is very highly correlated with such characteristics as level of education and income. In our view, therefore, the Landelijke Organisatie Voorkoming Misdrijven [National Organization for Crime Prevention], recently established by the Ministers of Justice and Home Affairs (Vader 1980), should regard the equitable distribution of crime-prevention resources as one of its prime responsibilities. In addition, the organization should give advance warning of any emergent escalations of risk.

Summary

For several years now, "victim surveys" have been regularly carried out by the Research and Documentation Center of the Ministry of Justice. In such surveys, a representative sample of the population are asked whether they have been the victims of certain common types of crime during the preceding year. Initially, the victim surveys were regarded primarily as a means of measuring the real crime rate. However, the results may also be used to determine the degree of risk that various population groups run of becoming the victims of an offense. In this article, the risk table for the Netherlands is used to develop a theory of criminal victimization. Five categories of social characteristics are regarded as determining the crime risk. The authors go on to argue that the crime rate in a given area is partly determined by the extent to which these risk-bearing characteristics are manifest among the local population. On the basis of such a victimological theory of the emergence of crime, they conclude that the ordinary person can contribute towards crime control by reducing his or her risk-bearing characteristics.

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City studies of victimization

Differential victimization patterns: An analysis of crime victims in polar neighborhoods in Haifa*

GIDEON FISHMAN**

Introduction

Victimization surveys are believed to be extremely important means for obtaining information on crime beyond that supplied by official police statistics. The National Opinion Research Center conducted a large survey in 1966 based on a 10,000 household national sample for this purpose. It reflected the increased concern for the victim shared by various other criminological studies (Federal Bureau of Investigation 1970, 1971; Von Hentig 1948; Mendelson 1963; Block 1974; Howard 1975).

This concern with the victim is due to a steep general increase in all types of crime rates, which is equally discernible in new, developing countries in general, and in Israel in particular. While the actual slopes of the increase differ across countries, there is a common belief that the phenomenon itself is only the tip of a serious social-problems iceberg.

While it was clear from the beginning of these studies that patterns of victimization varied across population subgroups (Ennis 1967), knowledge of the relationship between victimization patterns and social structure in Israel was completely lacking. Consequently, the purpose of this study (the first of its kind in Israel) was threefold:

- First, we wanted to identify the victims of crime and the types of crime committed against them.
- Second, we wanted to find out whether there are victim profiles typical of each type of crime as opposed to a uniform social profile of victims in general.[1]
- Finally, we were interested in the well-known discrepancy between the actual number of crimes committed and that reported by the police statistics (Murphy et al. 1946; Gold 1966; Block 1974). This gap justifies the conduct of victimization surveys. In this context, we investigated the extent to which the lack of willingness to report the crime is a function of the type of crime committed, thus identifying possible explanations for the gap.

The method

The survey was conducted in Haifa. Respondents were residents of two clearly identifiable and different residential areas. Given our concern with differential patterns of victimization, a purposive rather than representative sample was chosen. The main question we posed was: are the variables which correlate with victimization different across population subgroups? To the extent that significantly different socioeconomic groups differ in terms of victimization covariates, the hypothesis of uniform causes of victimization can hardly be supported. We decided to use residential area as a proxy for socioeconomic background, assuming that lower class population can rarely be found in high status, expensive neighborhoods.

Five poor neighborhoods were chosen on the basis of their classification by the Municipal Welfare Services Department as the most problematic in the city. A panel of judges selected the "good" neighborhoods. The size of the total population of the "good" neighborhoods was adjusted to match that of the poor neighborhoods. A multistage sampling scheme was used in which neighborhood streets, then residential structures, and then housing units were randomly selected. A special respondent selection procedure, developed to equalize each resident's probability of being included in the sample, was finally used in each case (Backstrom and Hirsh 1963). The resulting sample clearly represented the neighborhoods' adult population rather than that of Haifa.

Altogether, 477 respondents were interviewed, 236 from the poor and 241 from the "good" neighborhoods. To preserve the size and equivalence of the samples, unavailable respondents were replaced by respondents from other apartments in the same structure. For each unavailable respondent, up to three attempts were made to randomly select an alternative respondent. The overall sample mortality rate due to refusals and difficulties in locating respondents was a low 10%. Because it did not vary across neighborhoods, we can assume that the two samples represented in effect the population of polar city neighborhoods.

Personal interviews were conducted using a questionnaire that asked about the respondent's general background as well as his or her victimization experiences over the past 3 years, and behavioral reactions to them. To the extent that annual victimization rates are necessary for comparative purposes, our results should be corrected by a factor of 1/3. The interviewers were students familiar with the purpose of the questions and with the theoretical framework within which they were developed.

Findings and discussion

For the purpose of calculating victimization rates, the 24 detailed categories of crimes included in the questionnaire were grouped into 4 broad categories.[2]

- Violent crimes such as attempted murder, murder and manslaughter threats, bodily injuries, assault, kidnapping, rape with violence, etc.
- Crimes against property such as armed and unarmed robbery, blackmail, burglary, theft, car theft, pocket picking, purse snatching, etc.
- White-collar crimes such as counterfeiting, bouncing checks, fraud, etc.
- Sexual crimes such as rape or statutory rape, various types of unnatural sexual acts, sodomy with or without consent, etc.

Overall, 569 incidents were reported by the 477 respondents as having occurred over the 3-year period; 37% (173) were victimized once, 23% (116) were victimized more than once, 40% (188) were never victimized.

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[1]It is suggested that the phenomenon of victims suffering from multiple crimes be called the "multiple loser syndrome."

[2]These categories usually include the items appearing in the Annual Police Report. The first category includes violent crimes as well as rape with assault because, despite its being traditionally considered a sexual crime, the amount of violence associated with it justifies the present classification. The second category contains the report's property crimes. The third includes items under fraud and financial crimes. The fourth category includes sexual crimes, excluding rape with assault.

As Table 5-1 indicates, 11% (51) of the respondents reported being the victim of violent crimes. However, the number of crime incidents reported was 93; 1.8:1 incidence which means that, on the average, victims of violent crimes suffered from 2 incidents over the period. The modal type of crime in this category was assault.

Property crimes were much more frequent: 315 incidents were reported by 177 victims (33% of the sample). The average incidence here was identical to that of violent crime, 1.8:1, and the modal type was theft.

The findings on white-collar crimes show that 10% (47) of the respondents were victimized. However, the number of incidents here was 140, raising the incidence to approximately 3:1. The modal category was bounced checks.

Finally, sexual crimes were the least frequent: only 14 respondents were victimized 21 times. The modal type was attempted rape.

Table 5-1 emphasizes these findings and illustrates the differences between the victimization rates in the two residential areas, a topic to which we now turn.

Residential area and victimization. Given that our sample was representative of two socioeconomically distinct residential areas, we were obviously interested in whether differential victimization patterns were associated with different socioeconomic profiles. An idea of this relationship may be obtained by looking at the distribution of types of crime over the two areas. A much better picture, however, was provided by the link between the number of victims and the type of residential area. As it turns out, there was no such relationship for property and white-collar crimes, but there was a clear and significant relationship for violent crimes.

The second point of interest was whether the two areas were different in their average number of incidents per victim. In other words, given that the likelihood of becoming a victim is lower in "good" neighborhoods, was the ratio of number of incidents to number of victims in them similar to that in the poor area? Or was the number of victims in the poor area larger, but the number of incidents per victim smaller than in the "good" area?

According to our findings, a victim of violent crime in the "good" area is victimized 1.3 times on the average, while in the poor area the rate is 2.1. There is no significant difference in the average rates of property crime incidents per victim (1.8 in the "good" vs. 1.9 in the poor area). A clearer difference exists for white-collar crimes, and it is in the opposite direction to that for violent crimes: average frequency of victimizations per victim in the "good" area is 3.4 and it falls to 2.4 incidents per victim in the poor area.

5–1. Victimization percentages and reports to the police, by residential area and type of crime*

Victimization	Violent crimes		Property crimes		White-collar crimes	
	Incidents	Victims	Incidents	Victims	Incidents	Victims
"Good" area	24 (25.8)	18 (35.3)	148 (47)	90 (50.8)	89 (63.6)	26 (55.3)
Poor area	69 (74.2)	33 (64.7)	167 (53)	87 (49.2)	51 (36.4)	21 (44.7)
Total	93 (100)	51 (100)	315 (100)	177 (100)	140 (100)	47 (100)
Reports to police						
"Good" area	13 (31.7)	9 (36)	10 (50)	62 (53)	11 (36.7)	8 (44.4)
Poor area	28 (68.3)	16 (64)	109 (50)	55 (47)	19 (63.3)	10 (55.6)
Total	41 (100)	25 (100)	200 (100)	117 (100)	30 (100)	18 (100)

*The numbers in parentheses are percentages.

5–2. Relationship of residential area and degree of victimization, by type of crime

	Victims by	"Good" area Number	%	Poor area Number	%	
Violent*	Once	15	83	15	45	$x^2=3.98$
	Twice or more	3	17	18	55	$p<.05$
	Total	18	100	33	100	$df=1$
Property	Once	56	61	58	67	Not significant
	Twice or more	36	39	29	33	
	Total	92	100	87	100	
White-collar	Once	10	38	12	57	Not significant
	Twice or more	16	62	9	43	
	Total	26	100	21	100	

*The calculation was made using the Yates' correction.

An additional aspect we investigated was the relationship between the area type and the number of victimizations which an individual victim suffered. Otherwise put, is it possible to identify "recidivist victims" as it is possible to identify recidivist offenders? For this purpose, we defined as recidivist victims those that were victimized in any of the four ways more than once. The findings indicate that the likelihood of being victimized once[3] is almost identical across crime categories. Only when the likelihood of being victimized more than once is considered does the difference between the two areas arise: in the poor area, the number of incidents for each violent crime victim increases. Such a difference does not exist for property crime, but the cumulative rate of white-collar crimes is much higher in the "good" than in the poor area. The last two differences are not, however, significant, which is probably due to the small number of cases.

It appears that the rate of multiple violent victimization is a variable that discriminates well between "good" and poor areas. This conclusion is supported by the fact

[3]The likelihood of being victimized is calculated in relation to the overall sample: 236 persons in the "good" and 241 in the "poor" area.

5–3. Correlation (gamma) between the victim's background and the type of crime committed against him or her

Type of crime	Victim's background characteristics: Sex	Age	Origin	Education	Occupation*	Risk in Occupation	Income	Number of people per room	Residential area
Violent victim	–.05	–.37	–.23	.02	–.26	–.06	–.13	.14	.33
Property victim	.02[a]	.11	.07	–.02	–.34	–.03	.16	–.03	–.05
White-collar victim	–.42	.14	–.07	.00	–.49	–.16	.23	.06	–.13
Sexual victim	.51	–.66	–.29	.09	–.40	.18	–.24	.11	.14

*Answer to the question on whether the respondent is salaried or not. Housewives are included in the non-salaried category.

[a]Positive correlation: Sex—female; Age—young (18-30); Origin—western; Education—high; Income—high; People per room—high; Residential area—poor.

that the number of those victimized more than once (recidivists) are similarly distributed within the two areas. This conforms with Wolfgang and Ferracuti's notion of "subculture of violence" (1967) and Lewis' concept of "the culture of poverty" (1961). Miller identified two different behavioral cultures—one of the lower and another of the middle class (Miller 1958). In addition, we learn that to the extent that there is some uniqueness of victimization patterns in the "good" area, it is expressed in the proneness of its residents to multiple white-collar crime victimization.

While the likelihood of being victimized once is 4% in the "good" and 5% in the poor area (which is a small and insignificant difference), the likelihood of becoming a multiple victim increases from 3.7% in the poor area to 6.7% in the "good" area. This supports our perceptions of the socioeconomic profile of the residential areas, for we can identify a characteristic victimization pattern for each type of region.

Who are the victims? Another question we wanted to answer was whether the victim profiles in the various crime categories were different. Are there any socioeconomic and occupational variables that characterize victims of different types of crime?

Table 5-3 shows that there was no uniformity of victim characteristics across the crime categories. Victims of violent crimes tend to be young (18–30), usually not salaried[4] workers, who live in poor neighborhoods. There are indications of a correlation between being a violent crime victim and being of oriental origin. To the best of our knowledge, this victim profile is socioeconomically not different from that of the (violent crime) offenders. Our results support previous studies which found that there is status similarity between victims of violent crime and their offenders (Shaw and McKay 1942; Wolfgang 1957; Shoham 1962). Violence is an intraethnic, intraneighborhood, and frequently even intrafamily behavior, occurring between persons who knew each other prior to the incident.

The main victims of property crimes are self-employed, moderately high-income persons. Here there was no relation between victimization and the victim's residential area and his or her origin. This fact has an important function in the distinction between violent and property crimes. While for the former there are some emotional links between the victim and the offender, none characterize the latter. Property crimes are oriented at the property as an object, which attracts all the attention of the offender and that is why origin does not covary with victimization. This is also the reason for the similarity in the number and rate of property victimization found in very different residential areas.

White-collar victimization displays completely different patterns. The victims are mainly wealthy, self-employed persons, usually living in "good" neighborhoods. They are usually men working in areas involving certain degrees of risk (such as contacts with the public or cash). It seems reasonable to assume that financial offenses hurt the victims financially, in their capacity as businessmen.

The association of status of residential area with type of victimization is a direct function of the vulnerability of precisely the population in the "good" areas to financial offenses. We may further assume that the association would disappear if we replaced the victim's residential area with the location of the incident. Finally, the profile of the sexual crime victims is, as expected, that of young housewives, probably of oriental origin.

The most interesting, and somewhat unexpected result is the lack of relationship between type of offense and the victim's level of education. In fact, we would expect a strong positive association of low education with violent and sexual crime victimization, and one of high education with property and white-collar victimization. Such expectations would be based on a linear relationship between education and income, resulting in a proneness of the high-income groups to property and financial offenses and, assuming that socioeconomic status is a function of education, on a proneness of less educated persons to violent crimes.

There are several possible explanations for the actual finding. First, the relationship between education and income may not be linear or, at least, may not fit the linear model valid a decade ago. Indeed, it seems that education is not necessarily accompanied by high income and vice versa. The picture we have is one in which, on one hand, financial crimes hurt self-employed, relatively well-off individuals and, on the other, violent crimes hurt low-income persons, regardless of the victim's education. This pattern fits the conception of cultural conflict, according to which criminal behavior tends to have an intraethnic, intrasocial-stratum character, independent of the victim's education.

Another aspect of the victim's identity that deserves investigation is one implied by the approach currently developing in criminology, which sees the offender as a potential victim. Thus, there is concern for the offender as a victim of the legal system (Scott et al. 1973), or of other offenders and/or law officials (Bartolas et al. 1973).

[4]"Not salaried" frequently means nonskilled persons, who work on an irregular, disorganized, independent basis. The available occupational classification is not sufficiently sharp to allow the distinction between various types of self-employed and salaried workers.

Moreover, these studies suggest that the offender might be of the type prone to criminal victimization.

Consequently, we decided to investigate those respondents in the sample who had criminal records, a group of 32 persons who admitted that they had been arrested by the police. We found a clear correlation between property victimization and the number of the victim's previous arrests ($r=.31$, $p<.01$). A stronger link was found between the number of arrests and white-collar victimization ($r=.48$, $p<.01$). It is equally interesting to note that no similar relationships could be found for violent ($r=.07$) and sexual ($r=.17$) victimization.

For the whole sample, the correlation between the number of previous arrests and the number of victimizations was $r=.30$ ($p<.001$). Despite the low amount of variance explained by previous arrests (.9%), the direction of a link between arrests and victimizations is obvious.

Reports to the police. The following analysis attempts to describe and explain the pattern of offense reporting to the police. The overall reporting rate for the 569 incidents recalled by the respondents was 44% (274 cases). It is clear from Table 5-1 that the rate carried across types of crime. For example, we found[5] that only 49% of the violent crime victims reported their victimization(s) to the police; they equated only 44% of the incidents. We also found that the rate of reporting for the violent crimes was lower than that for property crimes; in the latter case, two out of three incidents were reported, by 66% of the victims.

This result appears contradictory to conventional assumptions, which relate a higher reliability of official statistics on violent crimes than property crimes due to their severity. The data we present, however, does not justify such a conclusion; the violent crimes category, as defined in this study combines severe offenses such as attempted murder, assault, and physical injury with lesser offenses, such as other types of threats and lighter injuries, for which the reporting rate may be low. Moreover, the victim of property crime has an extremely important additional incentive to report the offense: If he or she wants to be reimbursed by insurance, the requirement of informing the police about the incident must be fulfilled before the claim is honored. An expected regularity was found in the case of white-collar crimes, where the victims showed a clear tendency to abstain from reporting. The rate was approximately one fifth, which means that only one out of five offenses was reported, by 38% of the victims. In other words, almost two-thirds of the victims preferred to keep quiet.

Further investigation is necessary before the reasons for this reluctance can be explained. Nevertheless, several possibilities are considered here. First, it seems preferable to try financial offenses before civil rather than criminal courts for the former are more likely to ensure that the victim is compensated by the offender. An alternative possible reason for the victim's reluctance to involve authorities (and possibly the Internal Revenue Service) is his or her financial situation or business relations. Very frequently the victims of financial crimes use means external to the legal system to solve their problems: letters from their attorney or private collection of debts. It is most revealing to note that the victims tended not to divulge their motive for not reporting the case.

A rather disturbing phenomenon relates to sexual offenses. Here only 12% of the victims reported the incident to the police, and this low rate of 1:7 indicates that for every reported incident there are seven unknown to the police.

Additional information can be gained by investigating the link between residential area and reporting patterns for each type of crime. The reporting rate (RR) is obtained by dividing the number of reports (R) by the number of incidents (I):

$$RR = \frac{R}{I}$$

The overall rates for the two areas are similar: .51 in the poor and .47 in the "good" areas. This difference was not significant. When we decomposed these general rates into rates for each offense category, we did not find significant differences between the rates in the two areas: .54 in the "good" and .40 in the poor area. The situation is similar in the property crimes category: .67 vs .59 respectively. We found, however, a significant difference between reporting rates of white-collar crimes: .12 in the "good" versus .37 in the poor neighborhoods ($z=3.489$; $p<.001$). This difference clearly testifies to the reluctance of residents in the "good" area to report this type of incident. This, however, applies only to this category and does not extend to violent or property crimes. In the latter cases, the rates in the "good" neighborhoods tend to be higher than in the poor neighborhoods (though, as mentioned, not significantly so). In the financial case, there is a completely opposite trend: The reporting rate in the poor area is three times as high as in the "good" area.

These results raise the question of whether the reasons for the reluctance to report vary across types of crime and areas. Actually, we wanted to find out whether one motivation dominated the decision to report incidents to the police for all offenses and groups.

The pilot survey we conducted in preparation for this study showed that many of the respondents refused to provide their motives for not reporting financial offenses. Consequently, we were forced to ignore them in this analysis; the white-collar incidents were included in the property crimes category.

We found that, independent of residential area, motivations for withholding information from the police varied with the type of offense. The main reason for not reporting violent victimization was the perception of indifferent and ineffective handling by police (21.7% of the motives mentioned). The second most important reason was fear of revenge (13.8%). The reason most frequently mentioned by property crime victims was economic, a cost-benefit analysis based on the amount of loss incurred. Either small losses (24%), or an anticipation of waste of time (17%) were the two most salient reasons. It is possible that they are correlated, for the reporting process is perceived as harassment or waste of time precisely in the cases in which the losses are small. For sexual crimes, the dominant reasons were, first, the embarrassment associated with it (27%) and, second, the absence of eyewitnesses (22%), which lowers the probability of the charge and the likelihood of punishment of the offender.

From these results, it is obvious that a single explanation of the victim's reluctance to notify the police does not fare well. The indifference and lack of efficiency by the police quoted as reasons in the violent crime category are understandable if we remember that severe offenses such as murder or manslaughter are extremely rare. Indeed, this category included mainly violent quarrels between relatives or neighbors, in which there is a clear tendency to solve the issue without pressing charges or before the police begin an investigation. For this reason it is likely that the police do not usually perceive this type of incident as a public concern and make informal attempts to "cool the spirits." Moreover, the victim very often finds her or his own virtues questioned by the police or the courts. No doubt such a possibility deters many women from reporting sexual offenses.

Having found variation in the reason for not reporting offenses to the police, we decided to investigate the relation between this variation and the victim's socioeconomic environment. For this purpose, we checked the residential area of the respondents who mentioned the modal reason for each crime category. The analysis showed no association of the two variables. The same result was obtained with the second and third most frequently mentioned reasons for each category. We conclude that there is no significant difference between the two populations' reluctance to report offenses. The implication is that it is the character of the incident that dominates the decision to report it. Moreover, the kind of motives for not reporting given are similar in the two areas, even if their frequency is not (see Table 5-1).

[5]These results, as well as any other result in the study, were calculated by dividing the appropriate cells in the lower section of Table 5-1 by their counterparts in the upper section.

Conclusion

Our findings strongly support the view that residential area is more than just a socioeconomic variable. The support comes from the differential distributions of the number of incidents and victims and of the recidivism of victimization within the two areas. The police notification rates also varied by type of neighborhood. Support is also given to the view that violent crimes define a subculture. From the relationship between residential area and violent and financial victimization, we learn about the differential crime profiles of the two areas. In contradistinction, there is no similar difference in property victimization rates; there was no disproportionate concentration of this type of crime in the "good" area.

An equally interesting discovery emerged from our analysis of the link between residential area and notifying the police: only the reporting rates for white-collar crimes varied by area. The "good" area residents displayed a significant tendency to abstain from reporting the offense to the police. It appears that the abstention is affected by the type of offense. Consequently, the study of reporting rate should not separate the two. It is possible that previous experiences influence the decision to abstain. A contextual analysis is likely to improve the explanation of reporting rates.

In our study, we find no evidence of a uniform socioeconomic profile for multiple victimization across the various crime categories. Rather, the various types of crimes were distributed over various types of population subgroups. We found that not all the victims in the sample were victimized just once. Future research ought to be focused on "recidivist" victims as the principal crime issue in modern society. Why their proneness to victimization? It is possible that a more in-depth inquiry into this phenomenon requires a contextual analysis too, for multiple victimization is not as random as the single victimization appears to be. It may well be that the socioeconomic and criminal background of the victims should also be considered, as is usually done for the offender.

This study represents only one of the directions in which victimological research has lately developed. Additional perspectives on the behavior of the victims, as well as of that of the offenders could be gained from alternative types of study, which focus on the emotional reaction by respondents to their being victimized; on whom and what they hold responsible for their situation; and on their attitudes toward the offender, the police, and the society. Thus, we could study the extent to which victims who share the same value system with the offender have reactions different from those of the victims who do not. In a similar vein, we could find out whether the world view of a victim who has a criminal background is influenced by it; that is whether it dictates different reactions than those of a victim by chance. Answers to such questions necessitate a continuation of victimological research beyond the first step made by this study.

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Victimization in a Mexican city

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Traditionally, the interest of criminology has been to study the criminal, and the victim is often forgotten. Studying victims of crime has helped to revise and modify our knowledge of crime. Victimization surveys have helped to clarify various aspects of antisocial behavior that are never reported to the authorities. This kind of study gives us information about the victims' reactions, their opinions about the criminal act, and their eyewitness descriptions of the crime.

The primary objective of the research reported here is to get a general idea of victimization in Xalapa, a city of the Republic of Mexico.

Materials and methods

Two questionnaires (Part I and Part II) were used in this research. Everyone received the first questionnaire; the second was given only to victims. The first questionnaire consisted of 27 questions which could be used for comparing the responses with other Mexican research.

The second questionnaire was developed by Professor St. Louis for the Texas Department of Public Safety in hopes of a cross-cultural study.** It is in a bilingual format and focuses on serious crimes. The Spanish language version was used in Mexico. Students from the Union of Veracruz helped to administer the questionnaire. All victimization questions refer to 1975.

Three thousand questionnaires were administered, but only 2,405 were valid. One hundred of them were administered to a small population outside of Veracruz. This town was chosen on the basis of the predominantly French origin of the people.

The major difficulty encountered was the large number of questions not answered. It is assumed that the people just are not used to questions about criminal activities.

Results of Part I

The first questions ask for demographic characteristics of the respondents (sex, age, etc.). The next set of questions ask for descriptions of the criminal activity (type of crime, place, time, etc.). The third set of questions ask for personal characteristics of the victims and their relationship with the law, i.e., authority. The last questions are concerned with the consequences of victimization.

6–1. Distribution of the sample, by age, sex, and victimization

Age	Victims		Nonvictims		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
0–10	4	—	1	—	5
11–15	51	38	70	54	213
16–20	238	197	225	234	894
21–25	137	152	124	135	548
26–30	96	87	56	68	307
31–35	39	56	22	26	143
36–40	30	33	15	20	98
41–45	25	21	16	13	75
46–50	13	21	14	8	56
51–55	13	7	—	1	22
56–60	11	7	1	1	20
61–65	1	—	1	—	2
66–70	3	4	3	—	10
71–75	1	1	—	—	2
No answer	4	5	1	0	10
Total	666	629	550	560	2,405

6–2. Marital status, sex, and victimization

Marital status	Victims		Nonvictims		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Single	447	410	433	400	1,690
Married	158	145	99	101	503
Widowed	11	25	1	3	40
Divorced	11	18	6	8	43
Living together	28	28	20	24	100
No answer	11	3	1	14	29
Total	666	629	560	550	2,405

Personal characteristics of the victim. The sample is somewhat younger than the general population—68% of the sample are 25 years old or less compared to 60.5% of the total population. Among those interviewed, victims appear to be older than nonvictims for both men and women (see Table 6-1).

This sample has equal numbers of men and women respondents, and there appears to be no gender difference in susceptibility to being victims of crime. About half the men and women interviewed were victims.

There are a large number of single respondents (70.27% vs. 42.96% of the general population) in the sample; this is attributed to the large number of students interviewed. However, being single does not appear to be an important factor for susceptibility to victimization; 50.7% of the single respondents reported being victims (see Table 6-2).

	Percent who were victims	
	Males	Females
Married	61.5	58.9
Living together	58.3	53
Divorced	64.70	69.23
Widowed	91.7	89.3

Thus, there appears to be an escalation of victimization across marital status categories:

Widowed	More victimization
Divorced	
Married	
Living together	
Single	Less victimization

Students appear to be more likely to be victimized than other residents of Xalapa (49.32% of the victims were students). This might be explained by the following:

*Luis Rodriguez Manzanera is Professor of Criminology at Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, Mexico City D. F. Very little is known about victimization in developing countries. At the risk of overwhelming the reader with numbers, as much statistical information as possible was retained in this chapter. [Editor]

**The Texas portion of this research was never completed.

6–3. Income of victims

Income (pesos)*	Men	Women	Total
None	5	3	8
0–1,000	59	34	93
1,001–2,000	88	20	108
2,001–3,000	33	22	55
3,001–4,000	23	10	33
4,001–5,000	11	11	22
5,001–6,000	70	59	129
6,001–7,000	10	2	12
7,001–8,000	9	1	10
8,001–9,000	6	—	6
9,001–10,000	—	—	—
More than 10,000	2	1	3
Varied	3	3	6
No answer	347	463	810
Total	666	629	1,295

*In 1975, 12.5 pesos = 1 dollar.

- Xalapa is a student town (29.7% of the total population are students).
- Most of the respondents to the questionnaire were students.
- The age of initial victimization (16-20 years) coincides with the phase of school attendance.

The other occupations are distributed as follows among the victims: employed—16.35%, domestic service—8.85%, homemakers—7.13% and professionals, professors, and farmers, 4.5% each.

Table 6-3 shows the income distribution among victims. Note that victimization appears to be concentrated in the middle income bracket ($5,000–6,000) at a 27% rate and in the lower income bracket ($1,001–2,000) at a 22.5% rate. Almost 36% of the victims earn less than $2,000. It appears that the higher the income bracket the lower the probability of being a victim.

Nature of the crime. Of the 1,604 crimes reported in Part I of the survey, 68% were burglaries, robberies, injuries, or insults.* Many of the other crimes were abuses of trust. The victimization site varies by type of crime and sex of the victim. Public places and highways account for 51% of the victimizations, homes for 26%. For females, 36% of their victimization incidents occurred in their homes, as compared to 17% for the men. Even though many crimes occurred outside of the home, most of the women became victims in their own homes. This is probably explained by the fact that in this area, many of the women are homemakers and that women spend more time at home than in public places. By contrast, for the males, most victimization occurred in public places and highways (see Tables 6-4A and 6-4B).

*There is no difference in Mexican law between robbery and burglary. [Editor]

6–4a. Victimization by type of crime and location (males)

Crime	Public place	Public road	Private place	Scarcely populated place	Home	Vehicle	Total
Robbery*	64	79	28	6	50	31	258
Injury	78	86	13	8	10	7	202
Insult	62	51	11	2	9	10	145
Embezzlement	22	16	13	—	18	2	71
Abuse of authority	23	29	11	—	4	2	69
Damage to property	7	12	2	2	16	1	40
Fraud	13	3	2	—	4	—	22
Invasion of privacy	2	—	—	—	18	—	20
Plunder	3	2	2	2	5	—	14
Reckless conduct	4	2	1	—	4	—	11
Obscene conduct	1	—	—	—	2	2	5
Rape	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
Statutory rape	—	—	—	1	1	—	2
Kidnaping	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Other	6	1	1	—	1	—	9
Attempted robbery	—	2	—	—	—	—	2
Beating	—	4	1	—	—	—	5
Assault	1	1	—	—	—	—	2
Defamation	—	—	—	—	2	—	2
Threat	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Total	286	288	86	23	144	55	882

*Robbery includes burglary, robbery, and most theft.

6–4b. Victimization by type of crime and location (females)

Crime	Public place	Public road	Private place	Scarcely populated place	Home	Vehicle	Total
Robbery	52	45	36	1	95	47	276
Insult	43	29	10	3	40	10	135
Injury	20	18	5	5	17	10	75
Obscene conduct	15	14	2	2	—	31	64
Embezzlement	17	2	7	—	37	—	64
Damage to property	4	5	1	1	21	1	33
Invasion of privacy	3	—	2	—	25	—	30
Fraud	14	1	2	—	11	—	28
Reckless conduct	6	—	1	—	21	—	28
Abuse of authority	8	5	2	—	8	—	23
Rape	3	—	7	7	5	1	23
Plunder	2	1	1	1	7	—	12
Statutory rape	2	—	—	3	3	2	10
Kidnaping	1	—	—	2	1	2	6
Other	3	—	—	2	2	1	8
Threat	—	—	—	—	5	—	5
Defamation	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Assault	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Forgery	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Total	193	120	78	27	299	105	822

Many of the respondents were victims of the same crime more than once (see Table 6-5). More than 34% of the males were repeat victims and 39% of the females were repeat victims. Altogether, 36.75% of those victimized were repeat victims. This implies that for every three victims, one is a repeat victim of the same crime.

Among those who were victims of the same crime more than once, the most frequent crimes were robbery (36%), insults-slander (25%), and assaults-injuries (corporal harm) (13%).

In addition, a person may be a victim of more than one crime at the same time. Robbery often accompanies another crime, and robbery is also the crime committed most often with assaults or insults, the next most frequently committed offenses. This implies that the victim, in addition to being robbed, etc., was also assaulted or insulted. The insults consisted mainly of verbalizations (statements) of hatred of the criminal towards the victim.

Because many of the crimes involved personal contact, it is not surprising that the victim often knew the offender. Thirty-nine percent of the male victims knew the criminal; 41% of the female victims knew the criminal.

The study also gathered data on how many offenders were involved in the victimization incidents. Half the victims who knew how many offenders were involved (49.1%) said several criminals were involved. Sixty-seven percent of the females were attacked by a lone criminal; most of the males reported being attacked by more than one person.

The victim and the police. Notification of the authorities and pressing charges are very important for reasons of impunity—reparation of damages, possible treatment, etc. Of the total victims 22.34% reported that they pressed charges, 62.8% reported that they did not, and 15.67% did not respond to the question.

This shows that in the great majority of cases the law authorities did not know of the crime, at least not by the victims' report, and thus the law authorities were left powerless. Note that males are more likely to notify officials when crimes have been committed (25%) than women (19%).

In Mexico, the victim can notify a variety of agencies of a crime. In Table 6-6, the choice of agency is presented. Public security police are the equivalent of our patrol officers. They were not notified as often as judicial police.

Despite the low number of victims who notified authorities, almost half (47.35%) said they would report to the authorities if they were victimized again. Among reasons for notification if victimized again, the desire for revenge was expressed by 36.48% and fear of being a repeat victim was expressed by 28.35%.

6–5. Specific crimes which were repeated on the same victims

Crime	Men	Women	Total
Robbery	66	76	142
Injury	51	46	97
Insult	45	6	51
Embezzlement	21	9	30
Abuse of authority	13	5	18
Obscene conduct	1	12	13
Fraud	9	0	9
Threat	3	6	9
Damage to property	5	2	7
Rape	1	2	3
Slander	0	3	3
Attempted robbery	0	2	2
Assault	2	0	2
Reckless conduct	0	1	1
Kidnaping	0	1	1
Statutory rape	0	1	1
Total	217	172	389

6–6. Authority status of those notified of crimes committed

Authority	Men	Women	Total
Judicial police	99	57	156
Public security	41	5	46
Public official	9	3	12
Uniformed police	1	3	4
Federal police	0	1	1
Other	37	14	51
Total	187	83	270

6–7. Immediate victim reactions

Reaction	Men	Women	Total
Anger	99	89	188
Crying	12	20	32
Sadness	17	3	20
Notification of authorities	0	3	3
Surprise	2	10	12
Passive behavior	0	2	2
Fear	64	35	99
Revenge	6	12	18
Flight	7	18	25
Yielded	0	1	1
Resignation	1	0	1
Normal	14	12	26
Preventive measures	13	1	14
Other	102	56	158
None—no reaction	53	36	89
No answer	312	349	661
Total	702	647	1,349

For those who said they would not notify the police if they were victimized again, there were basically three reasons:

- 59% said they did not have faith in the authorities.
- 31% feared personal revenge from the criminals. This is to say that one of three victims remains frightened of the criminal.
- 5.59% preferred a personal vengeance for the criminal. This indicates a chain reaction of revengeful criminal acts, which is well-known in Latin communities.

Victim compensation is an important concern in victimology but only 6.49% of the victims responded that they received compensation in any form.

The helplessness of the victims is a reality that must be acknowledged. One possible solution to the helplessness of the victims is insurance; however, in our study, only 20% of the victims had some kind of insurance. Even this report may be high because some of the victims thought we meant "social security" which they were forced into signing up for at their places of employment.

Victims react in many ways to being attacked. In Table 6-7, the immediate reactions to a criminal act are presented. Anger ranks first as the main emotional reaction, then fear, then flight, sadness, and desires for revenge. The thought of notifying authorities is almost never an immediate reaction. Fear was more common in males than in females, and the desire for revenge occurs more with women than men. Note that the victims could answer with more than one response here.

Among victims of crime, there was both an immediate and later reaction. The secondary reactions were often precautionary. Table 6-8 describes precautions taken after the victimizations. Half the "victims" (50.96%) did not take precautionary measures or did not answer the question. The other half took not only one, but many measures.

6–8. Precautionary measures taken after victimization

Measure	Men	Women	Total
Obtained weapons	59	34	93
Moved	82	99	181
Obtained insurance	37	46	83
Restricted nighttime activities	119	144	263
Was never alone	93	141	234
Became watchful	5	8	13
Adopted security measures	71	96	167
Other	31	37	68
None	15	5	20
No answer	229	213	442
Total	741	823	1,564

The most common measures taken were "self-limitations" consisting of 23.86% not going out at night, and 21.23% not going out alone. Forty-five percent took other measures. More than 16% moved to another home. Extra locks, etc., were used in homes in 15% of the cases. Over 8% secured guns or other weapons as a cautionary measure which is rather alarming; 7.5% got insurance; 6.2% sought other measures; 1.2% sought the services of guards.

Results of Part II of the questionnaire

This research was to be a joint project with the Department of Public Safety of Texas. Unfortunately, the Texas project was never completed.

The Part II questionnaire was concerned mainly with very serious crimes: robbery, burglary, rape, and assault. Many of the results parallel that of the first section, but some add detail and allow possible comparison with surveys in other countries.

All victims identified in the first interview (Part I questionnaire) are included as victims in the second questionnaire, but some were victims of crimes that were not analyzed in the second section. Because only half the respondents reported that they were victims of any crime, only half the respondents were given Part II. As you read this section, remember that robbery includes burglary, robbery, and most theft, according to U.S. usage.

Serious victimization in Xalapa. Table 6-9 presents responses to a question asking about incidents involving someone entering the respondent's home or place of work and stealing or robbing something from him or her. Even interpreting the "no answers" as "no robbery committed," the data in Table 6-9 indicate that 1 in 5 people were robbed (or burglarized) and 1 in 10 experienced an attempted robbery.

Respondents were further asked whether they had been "directly" robbed of a wallet, purse, or other property. Table 6-10 shows that there were more personal direct robberies than robberies in the home or workplace. Continuing with the assumption that the "no answer" means "no robbery," 33% of the victims were robbed, or, one of every three respondents.

If we add the 20% robberies in the home or workplace and the 33% direct personal robberies we find 53% of the victims were robbed. Women were more often the victim of robberies than men—60.4% of the "direct" robberies and 58% of the robberies at home or at work were committed against women.

Incidents of armed assault were 10.3% of the total incidents reported. Men were more likely than women to be victims of armed assault in general, and the specifics of the incidents also varied by sex. Weapons were used more often against males than females, possibly because they resist the threat of force more often (see Table 6-11). In 57.3% of the incidents reported by males, the respondents were attacked with the weapon not only threatened; this was true in only 40.5% of the incidents reported by females.

Incidents of assault without a weapon were reported by 13% of the victims. As in the case of armed assault, males are assaulted violently more often than females and are much more likely to be physically assaulted as opposed to being threatened with assault.

6–9. Robbery from home or place of work

During 1975, did someone enter your home or place of employment and rob you?

Answer	Men	Women	Total
Something from my property was stolen	113	158	271
Attempted robbery, but no success	62	61	123
No one robbed me	326	318	644
No answer	165	96	261
Total*	666	633	1,299

*In addition, 550 men and 560 women were victims of no crime. Therefore, in the total sample 1,041 men and 974 women were not victims of this crime.

6–10. Personal robbery

Did someone rob you directly of your wallet, purse, money, or other objects of value?

Answer	Men	Women	Total
Yes	170	260	430
Attempted without success	56	52	108
No	279	257	536*
No answer	161	61	222
Total	666	630	1,296

*See note in Table 6–9.

6–11. Armed assault

Have you been beaten or attacked with a knife, gun, stick, or other kind of weapon?

Answer	Men	Women	Total
I was attacked and beaten with a weapon	67	15	82
I was attacked but not beaten (threatened with force)	50	22	72
No armed attack or threats	356	469	825*
No answer	198	123	321
Total	671	629	1,300

*See note in Table 6–9.

6–12. Type of weapon (victims)

Were you a victim of an armed crime?

Answer	Men	Women	Total
I haven't been a victim	180	209	389
Gun used	28	7	35
Knife used	38	10	48
Stick used	40	12	52
Other kind of weapon used	39	12	51
Corporal threats made	48	25	73
No one used any weapon	90	161	251
No answer	203	196	399
Total	666	632	1,298

Table 6-12 reports the types of weapons used in armed crime victimization. Of the victimization incidents in which weapons were used, guns were used in 13.5%; knives in 18.5%; sticks in 20.0%; other kinds of weapons in 19.7%; and threats in 28.2%.

The theft of motor vehicles is a problem of contemporary society. In this study, 72 motor vehicle thefts and 40 attempts to steal motor vehicles were reported. Five and a half percent of the victims were victimized by motor vehicle thefts. Males were the more frequent victims, possibly because more motor vehicles are owned by men than by women.

Of the 869 victims who answered this section of the questionnaire, 38.5% reported more than one victimization (see Table 6-13). Women were more likely to be multiple victims (42%) than men (35%). More than 7% were victimized 4 or more times in the 1 year.

Consequences of victimization. Table 6-14 presents data on victims' reports of the money value of their property loss. The table is in dollars which was the equivalent of 12.5 pesos back in 1975.

Table 6-15 presents data on the extent of physical injury to victims. The number of injuries caused by crime is high—241 persons or 18.6% of all the victims were injured. Females suffered fewer injuries than males. Twenty-two percent of the injured persons required hospitalization. Ten percent of the victims suffered a mental or psychological injury. Of these, 16% required treatment. In calculating costs, these must be added to the physical costs of crime.

Table 6-16 summarizes the types of financial costs incurred by the victims. Of those who answered that any of the types of costs was applicable, most reported medical costs.

Only 20% of all victims reported having some kind of insurance. Only 3.4% of all victims received any benefits from insurance.

Among victims who were insured, only 17.12% benefited from their insurance. Only 10.9% had all costs paid for by their insurance, and another 6.2% had part of the costs paid for. This implies that in addition to insurance being costly, it is difficult to get the insurance to pay or compensate costs to victims of crime.

Notifying the police. The Part II questionnaire also indicated a low rate of reporting crimes to the police. Only about 12.8% of the crimes were reported to the police. However, the victims may have reported the crime to authorities other than the police (see earlier section on the multiplicity of authorities).

The reasons for not reporting are shown in Table 6-17. Again we note the lack of confidence toward the police emphasized in these responses. The most common feeling reported is that it doesn't do any good to report the crime—it's a waste of time, according to 45% of those who answered to this question. Twenty-six percent believe it is better to just accept the loss involved in the property loss without adding the cost of loss of time and energy and time off work to notify authorities. Note that more females than males fear an investigation by the police (a ratio of 4.5 females to 1 male). This is supported by the responses of fear and fear of revenge if questioned by the police.

6–13. Number of victimizations

What is the total number of crimes committed against you since January 1975?

Answer	Men	Women	Total
None (in Part II)	104	114	218
One	280	254	534
Two	88	111	199
Three	29	42	71
Four or more	31	34	65
No answer	134	74	208
Total	666	629	1,295

6–14. Victims' value of the stolen property

What was the value, in money, of your loss?

Answer	Men	Women	Total
None—no value	157	170	327
Less than $5	25	24	49
$5–$20	29	27	56
$20–$200	67	87	154
$200–$1,000	94	94	188
$1,000–$5,000	59	56	115
More than $5,000	27	25	52
No answer	208	146	354
Total	666	629	1,295

6–15. Injuries resulting to the victims

Were you physically injured by the crime?

Answer	Men	Women	Total
No injuries	280	382	662
Yes, but didn't need medical attention	55	45	100
Yes, but only needed first-aid	71	17	88
Yes, and needed hospitalization for at least one night or more	33	20	53
No answer	227	165	392
Total	666	629	1,295

6–16. Costs to victims

Which of the following are applicable?

Answer	Men	Women	Total
Cost of medical treatment	47	24	71
Legal costs	24	9	33
Salary from work	24	19	43
None of the costs applicable	272	328	600
No answer	299	251	550
Total	666	631	1,297

6–17. Reasons why the crime was not reported

Why didn't you or another person from your home report the crime to the police?

Answer	Men	Women	Total
I haven't been a victim of crime	70	71	141
All the crimes have been reported to the police	45	34	79
It's useless to notify the police—they don't do anything	155	140	295
Fear vengeance	49	43	92
Fear an investigation by police	4	18	22
Because it wasn't very important	84	105	189
Because it's a loss of time and a whole day's work	45	47	92
Because of fear or shame of some of the questions the police might ask	11	41	52
I was too busy	15	19	34
Other	38	39	77
No answer	182	100	282
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The most common measures taken were "self-limitations" consisting of 23.86% not going out at night, and 21.23% not going out alone. Forty-five percent took other measures. More than 16% moved to another home. Extra locks, etc., were used in homes in 15% of the cases. Over 8% secured guns or other weapons as a cautionary measure which is rather alarming; 7.5% got insurance; 6.2% sought other measures; 1.2% sought the services of guards.

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I was too busy	15	19	34
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Expectations of crime. All 2,400 respondents were asked whether or not they think they would be victimized in the next year (see Table 6-18). Apparently another consequence of having been a victim is feeling somewhat less secure about the future. Victims are slightly more likely to believe they may become victims again (34%). Those who have not been victims tend to believe they will not be victims in the future (27% think they might be).

All respondents were asked which crime was most likely to happen and which crime was most likely to happen in their neighborhoods. More than half could not identify a particular crime. Of those who could, more victims than nonvictims believe that they might become victims again. The only exception is "homicide." Here more nonvictims than victims believe that they might be murdered. However, more nonvictims did not answer this question.

Similarly, more victims than nonvictims thought a crime was likely to be committed in their neighborhood. The two crimes most mentioned by both victims and nonvictims are violent entry and home burglary and violent assault and beatings. It could be that these two crimes are the ones most generally feared. Perhaps this is a reflection of the violent society in which we live.

Table 6-19 presents data on the places respondents feel safest from crime and out of reach of crime. Both victims and nonvictims consider their home as the safest place, but the nonvictims believe the home is safer than do the victims. Females also feel safer in their homes than do males.

The streets are considered by all as the most dangerous. Place of employment is considered much safer by victims than nonvictims.

Victims' households are more likely than households of nonvictims to include another victim. Almost 45% of the victims report another person in the same home has been victimized. Only 32.4% of the nonvictims live in households with a victim.

6–18. A look into the future

Do you think you might be a victim of crime during 1976?

Answer	Victims				Nonvictims			
	Men	Women	Total	Percent	Men	Women	Total	Percent
Yes	207	235	442	34.1	154	144	298	26.9
No	110	111	221	17.0	102	120	222	20.0
No opinion	187	221	408	31.5	228	205	433	39.0
No answer	162	62	224	17.3	66	91	157	14.1
Total	666	629	1,295	99.9	550	560	1,110	100

6–19. Criteria for a safe place

Place	Victims			Nonvictims		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Home	77.6	85.7	81.7	81.3	88.8	85.0
Street close to home	4.6	1.4	3.0	3.4	2.6	3.0
Work	8.0	8.4	8.2	7.0	4.3	5.7
Street close to work	0.7	0.0	0.4	0.9	0.0	0.7
Street, far from home or work	2.2	2.1	2.1	0.9	1.0	1.0
Other	6.8	2.4	4.6	6.4	2.6	4.6

Summary: Victimization in a Mexican city

A survey was carried out in the City of Xalapa, Veracruz (population 150,000). A sample of 2,405 subjects was presented. The inquiry was made by questionnaires. We present comparative data on victims and nonvictims, and male and female subjects.

- About 50% of the individuals surveyed reported having been victimized during 1975.
- There were no remarkable differences among victims and nonvictims related to sex, nationality, place of birth, or occupation.
- Victims differed from nonvictims in that they were older, with lower income; we also found a predominance of widowers.
- There was a variance in the actual place of victimization according to the crime and the victim's sex.
- Robbery (including most forms of theft), injuries and insults were the most frequent crimes. Excluding female victim typical crime, robbery predominated for women and injuries among men.
- Victim recidivism was 36.75%; first victimization occurred at an average age of less than 20 years; 40% of the victims had met their offender previously.
- Only 1 of every 5 crimes was reported to police authorities. Lack of confidence in political and judicial authorities was the main reason for not presenting charges.
- The victim's immediate reaction is of anger, fear and revenge; later reactions are self-limitative (not going out alone or at night) or defensive (locks, weapons).
- Few victims were insured, and in general hardly any obtained compensation for the damage inflicted (only 6.49%). Treatment and special attention were nonexistent or almost void.

In conclusion, it is necessary to institute a Victimology Policy parallel to the State Criminology Policy.

Victimological research in Germany: Victim surveys and research on sexual victimization

GERD FERDINAND KIRCHHOFF AND CLAUDIA KIRCHHOFF*

Introduction

Victimology is a rather young discipline within the field of criminology, and the field of general victimology in the meaning of Mendelsohn (1976) is even younger. In Germany, victimology has been an underdeveloped field despite the pioneering work of Hans von Hentig (also Miyazawa in Schneider 1975: VIII). The special reasons for this are discussed below.

Due mainly to political development during the Nazi tyranny, there was an interruption or a breakdown of relations between German and American criminology. These relations were already well established. They are documented in the fields of penal law, corrections, and juvenile justice.

There was a period in German criminology which we might refer to as the first reception of Anglo-American criminology. During this period, the purely dogmatic penal law orientation of criminal justice science was given a new impetus and a new orientation by the founder of the "Sociological School in Penal Law" Franz von Liszt (see Schafer 1976:83/84). The debate over Anglo-American prison reform dominated the German discussions in correctional reform before World War I, and the introduction of the system of juvenile courts in 1923 was made possible by the pioneering work of Bertold Freudental who was very familiar with North American criminology, the Child Savers, and penal politics in the U.S.A. (Freudental 1912).

The mainstream of American criminology was sociologically oriented. The dominant orientation in German criminology was criminal law, biology, and psychiatry. Yet, there was a strong tie between the two countries. This tie broke down under the Nazi tyranny with its racist spiritual isolation of the German philosophical and scientific community which was only a symptom of the nationalistic ideological general isolation. Eminent criminologists had to emigrate; the names of Grunhut, Mannheim, and von Hentig should be mentioned in this context.

We thank Western Michigan University Department of Sociology for its hospitality; our special gratitude however goes to Chrystal Kay Waters and Don Nitz for their helpful comments. (G. F. K. and C. K.)

*Gerd Kirchhoff is Professor of Criminology, Fachhochschule Niederrhein, Monchengladbach. Claudia Kirchhoff is a social worker.

In the early 1950's, there began what one might call the "second introduction of Anglo-American criminology" by German criminologists which promoted a more sociological orientation in criminology as compared to the former legal, biological, and psychiatric orientation. This period ended in the early 1970's. In this time the main developments in victimology took place, resulting in the First International Symposium on Victimology in Jerusalem in 1973. In 1975, Schneider published his comprehensive textbook on victimology which introduced the international scene of victimological scientific research and its application to the German public.

Since then, victimological research has continued on the level of methodology which is required for contemporary empirical research, highlighted in 1979 by the Third International Symposium on Victimology chaired and organized by Schneider in Munster. Much of the German victimological research is to be found in the Kirchhoff and Sessar reader besides the original contributions of most internationally respected victimologists whose contributions were published in the German language.

Schneider became the first president of the only international scientific organization of victimologists, the World Society of Victimology, Inc., with its permanent secretariat at the University of Munster. This society sponsored the triannual International Symposia on Victimology held in 1982 in Tokyo under the presidency of Koichi Miyazawa.

This paper summarizes victim surveys conducted in Germany in the 1970's. It also covers research in sexual victimization, an area not covered by the traditional victim surveys. Nevertheless, this area is important for the overall picture of crime, dark number research included.

The German victim surveys

Empirical victimological research in the Federal Republic of Germany started with victim surveys funded by the research institute of the federal investigative police. These two studies, the Stuttgart Victim Survey (Stuttgarter Opferbefragung) and the Göttingen Victim Survey (Göttinger Opferbefragung) draw heavily on the experiences of the U.S. National Crime Surveys (NCS).

Yet, there are several differences between the German surveys and the NCS. There is no regularly conducted national victim survey in Germany; instead we have two local victim surveys in a middle-size town (Göttingen) and a big city (Stuttgart). Both studies were done at nearly the same time in 1973–74 and cover events in 1973. Both surveys use random samples and apply standardized interview methodology with students as interviewers.

Student interviewers instead of professional institute interviewers were used in these two studies. The main reason was cost; however, the Göttingen Victim Survey was done by a professor of penal law, Hans Dieter Schwind, and his team. They felt that for purposes of their study it was most desirable to have legally trained interviewers. Thus the great interest of his students in criminology and empirical research led Schwind to use a group of his students. It turned out that the intense training of the interviewers, the demanded prerequisites (coursework in criminology, penal law, and empirical research methods), and the high level of motivation of these students was very successful.

The Stuttgart Victim Survey was conducted by a psychologist, Egon Stephan, from the Max Planck Institute for International and Foreign Penal Law Research Group Criminology. In this project, too, the the training of the student interviewers was intense even though we do not have as much detail about their background as in Schwind's study.

Both studies have no control for telescoping. While the Stuttgart study asked for events "in the last 12 months" (covering sometimes a November-to-November period, sometimes a December-to-December period), the interviews of the Göttingen study started on January 2, 1974, and covered only 1973.

The Göttingen Victim Survey. Research problems: the Göttingen Study had two different aims. These were—

- To compare the number of crimes registered by police for 1973 with the real crime figure reported by victims in a representative population sample for the same time period
- To analyze why victims do not report their victimization to police

Sample: The sample drawn was a random sample of the citizens of the city. In the Federal Republic of Germany, every citizen has to be registered with the municipal

...Persons who have once reported to the police will not report to the police in case of revictimization.

administration. From the city register, a 1% sample of the total population was drawn (1,264 persons). Substitute sample members were drawn in case the original persons selected became severely ill, moved away before the interview, or were younger than 14 years old.

Crimes covered in the interviews: theft, breaking and entering, robbery, simple and aggravated assault, property destruction, and hit-and-run driving. Shoplifting was excluded. The study was to include all crimes of this kind incurred in 1973 by victims within the city of Göttingen.

Special research procedures: The study was designed to compare the Police Statistics of Göttingen for 1973 (Polizeiliche Kriminalstatistik 1973 of Göttingen) with the results of the victim survey. Therefore, the interviewer recorded not only victimizations not reported to the police but also events which the victim had reported to the police. Ideally then, there should have been complete identity with the police figures.

While the interviewers obtained information from sample members, police officers checked all the files of those offenses in 1973 which were counterchecked by the victim survey. By this method, a comparison between reported and recorded crime was to be possible. The police officers had the same interview schedule as the interviewers so that all facts recorded in the files could be checked against those in the interviews. This procedure was possible because the police reports do not entail as much information as the interview would yield. Not all information could be cross-checked —including personal data on victims because police records cover mainly details of the offense, not the victim.

After conducting a pilot study, the final survey had a very low refusal rate. The percentage of refusals dropped from 12% to 4% in the final survey. Schwind holds the motivation of the interviewers responsible for that plus the fact that the news media cooperated fully (e.g., photos of all interviewers with names in all newspapers). Only 33 of 1,271 persons were finally excluded because they could never be contacted.

The first results of the comparison between the police statistics for 1973 and the specially checked file data indicated more assault and more property destruction but less theft in the file data than in the police statistics. At the same time, there was a big difference when the police figures were checked against victimizations which, according to victims' interviews, were reported to police. The interviewers went back to the victims to determine whether the victim still maintained that this event was reported to the police. The respondents clarified the information originally given. In more than 1/8 of the thefts supposedly reported to police, they had given the information to the police only by telephone. The police had required them to come down to the police station to have it registered, and the victim did not do so; consequently, the police did not register the offense. With assault and hit-and-run accidents 8% of the original reports were corrected in the second interview. To reduce the remaining difference, the police officers rechecked their files to find 10% more offenses that they had overlooked the first time. Finally, the difference between the actual police figures on theft and the estimate for the whole figure of thefts reported derived from victim interviews was only 400. For all offenses covered the difference between the survey estimate and police statistics was only 800. The differences between the sample estimates, the police statistics, and the corrected (second try) police figures are not significant.

As expected, victimization is not a random event. The probability of becoming a victim is higher if the person—

- Is younger than age 30
- Is female
- Is from the higher socioeconomic group
- Has a higher professional position or
- Is a pupil, a vocational apprentice, or a student.

The risk is lower if the person is—

- Of the lower socioeconomic group
- Male
- Over age 50 and
- Of lower professional position or without a profession.

The "dark number" is high—taking together all of the types of crimes covered, there are 10 crimes not reported to police for every single event reported to police. The more intensively the sphere of the victim is affected, the higher the reporting probability. The probability of reporting is directly proportional to the severity of the crime as measured by the victims' loss.

The respondents think that generally nonreporting has to do with a depreciation of police agencies and with fear of personal negative consequences. But for actual behavior, this is irrelevant: reporting to police is a direct function of the loss and the damage suffered in victimization and of the special social situation of the victim. The victim weighs time loss or other personal negative consequences against the damage done by the crime. If there is a strong personal infringement or damage felt by the victim, the probability of reporting is high. High damage compensates the time loss or other negative consequences of reporting. With higher social status, there is a decrease of both negative feelings toward police and the perception of negative consequences of reporting. On the other hand, there is a higher fear of negative consequences of reporting to police in lower class people and a higher disregard for police, hence less reporting to police. Reasons for not reporting were primarily the small amount of damage by the crime (41% of all reasons for no report); the perceived ineffectiveness of police work accounted for 19%, while no desire to harm the offender took care of 6%. Four percent of those who did not report to police said they did not want to deal with police agencies at all, and 3% voiced a fear of personal negative consequences of reporting.

About a third of the sample (437 of 1,170) were victimized at least once during the previous year. The ratio of reported to unreported simple theft is 1:5; with theft under aggravated conditions (mainly breaking and entering), this figure is 1:2. The higher the damage by theft, the more likely the offense will be reported, hence a small "dark number."

Attempted thefts are seldom, if ever, reported. In total, there is a dark number of 1:7 for all thefts, which means that out of 40,000 thefts the police knew of 5,000 in 1973.

The dark number ratio for intentional assault is 1:8; here, too, the severe cases are those with a higher report probability. With property destruction, we have a ratio of 1:30 with a similar reporting pattern; while property destruction incidents resulting in damages of more than 100 Marks show a ratio of 1:11, the trivial cases have a ratio of 1:168. This pattern prevails if we look at hit-and-run accidents with an overall ratio of 1:32. Here the cases with damages of under 25 DM yield a ratio of 1:324; damages between 25 DM and 100 DM yield 1:75. Ratios for robbery are statistically not reliable because the numbers are too small. Schwind not only summarized the American and Scandinavian research in hidden delinquency and hidden victimization done so far—he explores the implications of the results. If the results of these studies were to become public, the fiction of the lawabiding majority could no longer be upheld. The preventative effect of penal norms would decrease to zero if it were known to everybody that crimes were committed by all social classes, in all ages, etc. The dark number has in reality a very important impact for deterrence and for the rule of law. If there is earlier intervention into criminal careers, there would be a potential of positive effect in reducing the dark number of crime. But most offenders are not repeaters. Sending all of them through the judicial system would be an overreach of control and stigmatization. Here Schwind does not go far enough: If all offenses would result in convictions or sanctions, the stigmatizing impact of conviction would vanish completely and those convictions would become less stigmatizing than receiving a parking ticket. Schwind takes up this line of reasoning from Brauneck and Popitz (see Brauneck 1965).

*The Bochum spatial study.** Schwind and his team published a study in 1978 in which they compared the spatial distribution of crimes reported in victim surveys and of crimes reported to the police in a large city in the Ruhr district. Schwind was especially interested in testing the hypothesis that there is an overall constant ratio between the number of crimes committed and the number of crimes reported to the police. A related hypothesis is that the dark number is of little interest for the spatial approach since it is supposed to be equal regardless of area. These hypotheses could be rejected. It was confirmed that in areas where a high incidence of crime is reported to the police there is a high dark number. Schwind also found that the ratio between the two figures varies from area to area. However, it turned out that the ratio between figures in the police statistics for certain areas and the estimates derived from victim surveys in the same areas are rather small (because the number of incidents is small) so that interpretations should be handled with care. To avoid this problem, Schwind recommends surveys with larger samples or surveys of certain populations in specific areas which might deserve special attention.

In Bochum, Schwind looked at assault and theft, finding an overall dark number ratio of 1:3 for theft and 1:8 for assault. Those offenses recorded by police are almost exclusively brought to the attention of the authorities by reports of citizens; only 2% of all crimes reported were discovered by the police themselves. It is therefore appropriate to check police figures against figures yielded from victim surveys.

*See next paper in this volume.

The dark number in Bochum overall seems to be considerably smaller than in Göttingen. But the dark number of theft was not three times higher in Bochum as could be expected, it was only 25% higher. The dark number for assault in Bochum is equal to that in Göttingen indicating a high reliability of the instruments used. Robbery was such a rare event in Bochum that this offense was excluded from further investigation.

As he did in the Göttingen study, Schwind also looked into the reasons why the victimization was or was not reported to police. Again, the victims' reporting behavior is influenced by:

- The amount of damage
- The investment in terms of time spent while reporting the offense
- The perception of the probability of getting the stolen property back, and
- The perceived probability of having the offender brought before the judge.

A third of the reasons for not reporting given by the victims had to do with the small amount of loss; a fifth dealt with the perceived ineffectiveness of law enforcement anticipated by victims. All other reasons are given infrequently.

Of special interest is that persons who have once reported to the police will not report to the police in case of revictimization. The reason given by them is the perceived ineffectiveness of this agency. Those who are inexperienced are motivated to not report by the minimal amount of damage done to them (2/3 of the reasons given by them).

Schwind looked into the impact of having theft insurance on reporting behavior. In most insurance policies, the companies insist that the offense be reported to police in order to get the damage covered. Despite this, there is no significant correlation between having insurance and reporting behavior. No increase of reports to the police is found among victims having insurance nor is there a relationship between having insurance and motives for nonreporting. Overall, there is very little aversion to the police in Bochum, which indicates a relatively high respect and appreciation for police services among the population.

An interesting detail of this study is that the victim survey was very well publicized in advance by the local news media as it was in Göttingen. More than nine articles informed the population about what was to happen. Despite all these efforts, only about 8% of the sample reported that they received the information from the newspapers.

The Stuttgart Victim Survey. Research problems: in this study, Egon Stephan was interested in these questions:

- How big is the subjective burden of the population (by fear of crime), and how extensive is the objective burden of the population (in terms of victimization) in Stuttgart?
- What is the contribution of the victims to the social process which ends in officially recorded crimes?
- What conditions mold that process?

The basic research instrument was a National Crime Survey questionnaire (Basic Screen Questionnaire Form NCS-1, 4-25-72) which was translated and tested by Clinard in his Zurich Victim Survey (Clinard 1978). This questionnaire covers victimizations suffered and the subjective assessment of criminality (development of crime rates, fear of crime, attitude toward police). Socioeconomic status of victims is measured by a self-rating scale (Kleining-Moore SES Scale). A third questionnaire, the Freiburg Personality Inventory, gets at several dimensions of personality based on classical testing theory and factor analysis. It covers nervousness, aggression, depression, irritation, sociability, relaxedness, dominance, openness, closedness, extraversion vs. introversion, emotional stability vs. emotional instability, masculinity vs. femininity, etc.

Stephan conducted a household survey, which involved interviewing only the main breadwinner of the family, and a family member survey. In total, the results refer to 1,645 persons in a representative random sample drawn from the city register in Stuttgart.

Results: Fear of crime is widespread in Stuttgart; a large part of the sample is at least somewhat worried about becoming a victim of burglary, assault, or auto theft. Four of five members of the sample know about areas in the city where they do not feel secure. These are the center city areas where they fear to face robbery, rude behavior, mugging, etc.

But if fear of crime is put into a wider framework of a hierarchy of anxieties, it does not rank high very often. Only a small part of the sample puts fear of crime on the first, second, or third rank. For people in Stuttgart, traffic problems, housing problems, environmental pollution, public transportation, parking space, schools, and

Victim and offender are two different roles but they are not mutually exclusive. Becoming an offender and becoming a victim are interrelated.

youth problems are important. Among 24 possible areas of concern, fear of crime ranks eighth for women and ninth for men. But if fear of crime is given a problem's position, a third of the respondents put it into the first three ranks.

From this Stephan infers that fear of crime is less important than it appears when researchers ask simply about this fear, instead of getting an overall picture of the many anxieties of the population. He stresses the fact that opinions of the population are manipulated by the mass media. He demonstrates this by a rather significant detail: four out of five persons agreed to the thesis that crime in the Federal Republic overall is on the increase. But only one out of five agreed to the thesis that crime in the immediate neighborhood has increased. People are familiar with their neighborhood and can observe fairly well what happens—when they assess the situation in the country in total they have to rely on mass media information, hence they are more vulnerable to manipulation.

While women are more afraid of becoming victims of assault or burglary, the men are more concerned about theft, especially automobile theft or breaking into an automobile. Women are significantly more insecure than men in their own living quarters. Center city is seen as the most insecure place; here men are afraid of muggings, while women fear rude and disorderly behavior.

Twelve percent of the main breadwinners in the household (the household survey) report at least one victimization of the household members as compared to 17% of the family members (the family member survey). From this, Stephan infers that the picture given by interviewing all family members is much more accurate than the results of interviewing only the main breadwinner of the family. Younger persons report a higher incidence of victimization. This is due to the fact that they are not so tightly integrated.

Unmarried persons are much more often in areas where a lot of theft occurs. On the other hand, interviewing the head of household will result in more reports of threatened and aggravated assaults. Since these persons are unlikely to be in situations where assaults and similar things occur, Stephan interprets this finding as due to a more sensitive, cautious attitude of this group as compared to the family members.

Almost 46% of all victimizations result in reports to the police. The most common reason not to report a victimization is the minimal amount of damage suffered by the victim. Only 26% of the respondents not reporting to police based their nonreport on their perceived ineffectiveness of police work. While in the victim survey there is a ratio of 1:7 between violent crimes and property offenses, this ratio in police statistics is 1:22. The victim survey therefore informs us that violent crimes are much more relevant than it seems from police figures. Stephan infers that in victim surveys we get information about events that are, for the victim, not serious enough to report to police, or that police do not record those minor instances. Stephan realizes that he should have more precisely distinguished between the more informal and the more formal ways of reporting to police.

In general, Stuttgart's population has an overall positive attitude toward the police. This attitude is positive regardless of sex. The attitude toward the courts, however, is more positive among males than among females. Older persons tend to have a more favorable attitude toward the criminal justice system. Among lower class people, there is a higher respect and appreciation of police performance than among upper class people. The most favorable opinion is voiced by older people, by women, and by members of the lower classes in general. These same groups perceive a higher threat by criminal behavior and therefore police perform a more important function for them, hence their positive attitude.

For the first time in German criminology, Stephan employed multivariate analysis programs such as MNA or THAID. These methods permit the prediction of a dependent variable by an optimal linear combination of predictors. This resulted in the construction of variables that can be used to distinguish typical victims from typical nonvictims.

Stephan compared 110 victims of property offenses with 110 nonvictims of the same type of offense and 42 victims of violent crimes with 42 nonvictims of that crime type. Victims of property offenses are mainly persons who are emotionally unstable, aggressive, masculine, not married, and younger than age 30. Persons with this constellation are more likely to be in situations where they become victims of property offenders. It is possible too that this personality constellation is more likely to report incidents to survey interviewers.

Personality variables play an important role in predicting the victims of property offenses. However, they are less important for characterizing the victim of violent crimes. These are persons who are younger, who are not married, and who are members of the lower class. Members of the higher class, age 15–50, and unmarried are victims of violent crime only if they score high on personal aggressiveness. Victims of both types of offenses are more likely to be male than female.

Comparing the official police statistics to those of the United States, we find a higher crime rate and a greater burden on the American population. While Stuttgart has 1.88 violent crimes per 1,000 inhabitants this figure is 5.69 on the average in American cities. Comparing property crimes, these figures are 24.28 in Stuttgart and 47.77 in U.S. cities. Stephan points out that there might be a tendency to inflate these figures in American cities. It is possible too that the willingness to report to police is different or that the perception of crime varies in the two countries. It might be possible that in Germany only the more severe cases are reported to police and that police have to take all of these as offenses and that in victim surveys too only the more serious offenses are reported. This indicates in both countries some kind of seriousness measurement such as the Sellin-Wolfgang Seriousness Scale should be included in victim surveys to facilitate a comparison of the severity of social harm done by crime. Another source of variation could be that police in the United States detect more crime themselves than in Stuttgart where police rely almost completely on reports of citizens. In both countries, there emerges a very similar structure: Violent crime accounts for a smaller percentage of victimization than property offfenses.

Stephan pioneered in employing a personality test to find typical groups of victims. This was replicated in Tokyo by Ishii who learned about the Stuttgart Victim Survey during his stay at the Max Planck Institute in Freiburg (Ishii 1979).

The victim surveys in Stuttgart and in Göttingen are quite important contributions to German victimology. Both report thoroughly about the American research and the NCS studies. Another merit of both studies is that they were done in a way that makes replication possible; each step of the study is carefully explained and depicted in detail. Because of this, the logic of social science research and its proceedings become clear and understandable even for the not well versed reader. Both studies are in this respect "textbooks" for empirical research.

One of the benefits of these studies is that they describe in detail the statistical reasoning and the hypotheses tested, opening empirical research for further application in police research. These methodological steps are very important as some German criminologists are not fully aware of the tools at hand.

Another merit of these contributions is that they not only took the technique and the methodology from the U.S.A. but they were able to introduce what might be called improvements. Waller and Young Rifai at the Third International Symposium on Victimology in Munster, 1979, criticized the NCS for not putting fear of crime into a hierarchy of anxieties—Stephan in Stuttgart (and replicating him, Ishii in Tokyo) did indeed put fear of crime into a hierarchy. Schwind's study is impressive for its precise effort to compare victim survey data with police data. This is done despite the theory promoted by the NCS that police and victim survey data are incompatible. The notion of compatability of both sets of data was taken up by Fiselier (1978) who refined the methodology. At the Munster Victimology Symposium, many victimologists concluded that police statistics and victim survey data tell a similar story—that within proper limits they are indeed comparable. The incompatability theory therefore must be questioned (see, e.g., Kirchhoff 1977, Clinard and Junger Tas in Kirchoff and Sessar 1979).

The Emmendingen victim-offender survey. In this study, Egon Stephan and Bernhard Villmow were interested in the question of how many victims were actually offenders. They combined a study on self-reported delinquency with elements of a victim survey. Using a representative sample of Emmendingen young males between 14 and 26 years old, they collected information from 920 persons by questionnaire about the incidence of victimization and of hidden delinquency during the past 12 months.

More than a third (38%) reported committing at least one of 12 listed offenses. Nearly every second person (50%) became a victim during the same reference period. In reported offenses as well as in victimizations, property destruction led, followed by embezzlement and theft. The incidence of self-reported offenses was about equal, regardless of social class, the percentage moving between 35% and 40%. In victimization, however, the percentage in the different social classes was 44% and 58%—members of higher classes were victimized more often than members of the lower classes.

Looking at the different age groups, we find that the 16-year-old boys scored highest: 58% were offenders and 65% were victims. Among juveniles between 14 and 18 years old, 47% were offenders and 55% victims; young adults between 18 and 21 years old had 40% offenders and 48% victims while those above 21 had 24% offenders and 48% victims. Seventy percent of all offenders were victimized in the same reference period, while 54% of the victims reported they had committed at least one offense. Offender-victims were most often found in the upper classes though their offenses and victimizations were minor.

This result does not fit into the theoretical reasoning about a higher incidence of crime among the lower class. Villmow (1979) proposes that higher class youngsters are more apt to define minor incidents as offenses or victimizations when compared to lower class youngsters. It is also possible that variations in concealing tendencies could account for the result. Villmow also thinks that violent offenders live more dangerously and therefore are likely to become victims of violence themselves. Victimization is one aspect of the multifaceted picture of the delinquents' reality. Maybe this experience contributes to later delinquency.

Generally, it is impossible to distinguish between victims on the one hand and offenders on the other. Only a few fit into this dichotomy. Victim and offender are two different roles but they are not mutually exclusive. Becoming an offender and becoming a victim are interrelated. Villmow points out that an independent victimology could not interpret his findings but only a criminology which includes victimology.

This study helps us to understand that in a victim survey we not only have a representative sample of victims but of offenders too. In victim surveys, we ignore this possibility and deal only with the victim aspect of the sample members. We therefore should not be astonished to find offenders among victims. But the combination of victim survey and self-reported delinquency reports opens a new field of investigation. We might interpret Stephan and Villmow's study in another way: Conflicts arise in certain areas—conflicts about appropriate behavior, property rights, sexual rights, reputation, and power. In the real life of the young male, perhaps these conflicts cannot be resolved outside of delinquency. But the delinquency of acts rests in our ex post facto definition of reality. For example, one participant defines himself as victim and reports the act to the police; in the light of ex post facto definition, the other appears to be the offender. In this light, we reconstruct reality in our courts while we impute our definitions on social situations, laws, and categories (see Kirchhoff and Dussich 1980).

Studies of sexual victimization

The several studies on sexual victimization in the past few years have shifted our attention from the property crimes and violent crimes covered in the traditional victim surveys to an area which is rather difficult to investigate. Given the harsh treatment sexual offenders receive in court and corrections, the difficult and often aversive situation of the victims in the criminal justice system, and the intensive reaction sexual offenses arouse, victimologists should investigate the reality of sexual victimization more closely and not confine themselves to property crime and violent offenses.

In an unreported study, Michael C. Baurmann examined the consequences of sexual victimization. During 1969–73, the investigative police of Lower Saxony collected special information on all sexual crimes which had female victims up to age 20 and male victims up to age 12. In this time period, they collected information on 8,050 sexual victimizations. This data is now under investigation at the Federal Investigative Police Bureau (Bundeskriminalamt). Out of this population of victims known to the police, Baurmann drew a random sample of 400 and contacted them to have them interviewed and tested by a team of psychologists. Out of these, 112 agreed to cooperate and were interviewed. The standard interview took place in the apartment or house of the victim. The offense occurred between 6 and 10 years prior to the interview. In this research, we have for the first time a systematic collection of information about the consequences of sexual victimization several years after the crime.

The sexual contacts these victims reported do not fit into the myth or ideology of vaginal coitus as the only and primary sexual pursuit of males. Many offenses are in the category of "superficial sexual contact" and "petting" and "masturbation." These contacts are not meant as an introduction into a whole sexual interaction with coitus at the end. This finding corrects the image of the sexual offender who is often seen as a violent rapist. Most of the offenses were not violent.

The offender is usually known to the victim. There are criminal sexual contacts with strangers, but typically these contacts are the more harmless ones. It is therefore a very dangerous policy to warn the child against the unknown stranger and his dangerous desires and plans. This is frequently done to children in Germany, and informational material and movies, etc., perpetuate the picture of the dangerous stranger. This advice may come from uncritical family ideology coupled with the protective isolating traditional upbringing of females. But aggressive and intensive sexual encounters are often with well known members of the family. To protect a child against this offender, it is necessary to promote self-consciousness and a sense of independence in the child—a child who is taught blind and unquestioning obedience to trusted adult persons never learns to avoid or to resist questionable demands by known authorities.

While about 50% of the victims reacted in passive behavior, a third of them resisted actively, and 15% invited the act by active initiating behavior. The passive behavior is explained by the fact that the victims usually know about what is going on from peers, but often they do not know that this behavior is against the law and very consequential if detected. Children have learned to obey adults. Girls especially have learned to behave passively in such situations. It would be too much to expect resistance. The most intensive and probably the most harmful contacts are with offenders known to the victim. They usually occur in the victim's house. Most encounters with the violent offender also take place in the victim's home.

While the details reported so far were generated from the 8,050 victim reports to the police, the following results come from interviews conducted with the victims 6 to 10 years after the offense. In the retrospective research, most offenses were in the categories of petting and exhibitionism. Most of the victims are female; the offenders, without exception, male. Most of the victims were girls age 7–13 at the time of the incident. This is due to legal definitions of sexual abuse of children in the German penal code. Most of the offenders were reported to be between age 16 and 40 but the victims often overestimated the real age of the offender in the interview. Almost a third of all victims interviewed could not remember what kind of offense occurred—only 75 out of 112 remembered the sexual interaction that took place.

In the interviews, the victims more often gave information about their initiating inviting behavior than they did in their interviews at the police stations immediately after the offense occurred. Correspondingly, they reported less resistance in the later interview compared to what they said shortly after the offense. Twelve percent (as compared with 7% shortly after the offense) reported their active cooperation, 40% (as compared to 33% shortly after the offense) described their behavior as passive, and resistance was reported by 48% (as compared to 60% shortly after the offense). This suggests that the offense itself seemed to be less dramatic when reported in the interview than as described shortly after the crime occurred.

After the offense, 44% of the victims told their mothers about it first, 23% told a girlfriend first, and 8% told their fathers first. The victims remember irritating and aversive feelings during talks with the judges and interactions with the defense lawyers. They remember a neutral attitude in talks about the offense with teachers, police, and youth authority social workers. They perceived as most helpful and agreeable their talks with their own lawyers, the psychological expert who evaluated their credibility, and with siblings.

Thirty-seven percent felt that there was damage done to her by the event; 63% denied any harm. Those who felt that they were harmed were then asked about how long the negative consequences were felt. Most victims overcame the harm after 6 months, but there are some cases in which the damage was reported to last quite long; the mean damage time was 1 year and 10 months. In two-thirds of the cases where damage was reported, violence or the threat of violence was used. The evaluation of harm done by psychodiagnostic tests is still under investigation by Baurmann.

This research has many implications. It seems very important to distinguish more clearly between violent and nonviolent sexual contacts. It is necessary to keep in mind that not all sexual offenses are cases of rape. Sex offenses often involve superficial, nonviolent, and perhaps harmless contact.

This study holds that the harm done by sexual offenders is the only justifiable reason for punishment. It is possible that the encounter with the offender does not harm the victim at all and that primary victimization does not exist in these nonviolent consenting acts. If the victim, however, is dragged through police, prosecutorial office, and the courtroom, it is very well possible that the harm done is caused by the reaction of the victim's social environment (secondary victimization—Schneider 1975:32; Kirchhoff 1977:318; Kirchhoff and Kirchhoff 1976, 1979a). If this is the case, it is advisable to think about reforming the law. If the incident does not harm the victim, while we might think the act bizarre and tasteless, there is little reason to intervene with criminal prosecution if it is the only source of harm for the victim.

While Baurmann was interested in victims who have been perceived and declared as victims by officials, Kirchhoff and Kirchhoff studied the "dark number" of sexual victimization. In their study on hidden sexual victimization among students in Germany (Kirchhoff and Thelen 1975; Kirchhoff and Kirchhoff 1976, 1979a, 1979b) and in the United States, they examined the penal codes of Germany and of Michigan and translated the definitions of the offenses into everyday language. They then asked their respondents whether they ever had been confronted with such behavior, and, if they had, whether it was reported to parents and police and how they reacted. The research instrument was a questionnaire administered in classrooms under conditions of strict anonymity. This is similar to the method applied in hidden delinquency research and, while it suffers from similar defects, it has the same advantages of these types of instruments which are part of the internationally accepted equipment of criminologists today. The research was done with young adults in their late teens and early twenties. With these highly motivated respondents the results obtained were very similar in each (nonrepresentative) sample used. The self-reported data on the respondents' sociosexual development are not different from those yielded in a personal interview study using professional interviewers in a representative sample of German youth.

To summarize the German findings: About 55% of the respondents in Monchengladbach (a large city in northern Germany) admitted to having been involved in an event which was punishable by law as a sexual offense. A small percentage of the events involved violent behavior. Mainly, the respondents were victimized by sexual abuse as children (under age 14) and exhibitionism. Thirty-seven percent of the offenses against females and 81% of the offenses against males were sexual abuse of children by offenders who were older than age 14. Between 8% and 12% of the male victims reported that they resisted. They often knew the offender—only 16% of their victimizations were committed by strangers. This figure is quite different from the percentage in female victims—female respondents knew 54% of their offenders; 46% were victimized by strangers. Fifty-five percent of the victimizations of female respondents were described as aversive and shocking, while 45% reported that they cooperated during the event. These figures are supported by Baurmann who found that almost half of the respondents reacted passively, i.e., with no resistance. There are differences in the estimates of the age of the offender—the mean age of offenders reported by male respondents is about 20, but about 27 if the respondent is female. This fits into the reaction pattern reported, for we can assume that the greater the age difference between victim and offender the less the cooperation. To make the penal relevance of the events reported obvious, all offenders younger than age 14 were excluded from the analysis so that interactions between children are not included in this survey.

There are certain characteristic differences between the Monchengladbach study and the Michigan study. This is partly due to differences in the penal codes. The Michigan code invades the privacy of consenting sexual behavior much more than the German code. Therefore, a much higher incidence of victimization (being confronted with sexual behavior which is against the law) is found in Michigan. Here, too, we find that most victimizations take place without violence and that the percentage of offenders known prior to the act is high, even higher than in Monchengladbach. This is no surprise given the fact that the Michigan law covers private acts which in Germany are not considered to be criminal offenses. Forty-four percent of the female students in Michigan said that their reaction was cooperative; 40% resisted actively. Only 12% reported that they were forced into the act. The response pattern by male respondents is much the same as in Monchengladbach: Eighty percent cooperated, 11% resisted actively and 4% were forced into the act.

The preceding comparisons suggest that sexual victimization, even if quite widespread in both cultures, means something different for males and females. Male respondents seem to be not so repelled by what happened to them. In both cultures, we often find the offender is well known to the victim. While in Monchengladbach we found more acts reported to parents, there was an equal amount of victimizations reported to police by Michigan male and female victims and Monchengladbach male victims (between 1% and 3%) while female victims in Monchengladbach reported almost 10% of their victimizations to police. Exhibitionism is most likely to be reported in both cultures—here the victim obviously does not feel actively involved.

Kirchhoff and Kirchhoff were especially interested in the impact of victimization at an early age. Their data show that there are no differences in the sociosexual careers of victims and nonvictims. This is especially significant if one compares those who were victims of sexual abuse as children and those who were not victimized as children. There is however a slight tendency for the victims to start their sociosexual career earlier than the nonvictims (dating starts at 12.4 years for victims versus 13.7 years for nonvictims) but the more intimate contacts are experienced at the same age by victims and nonvictims. It is therefore not found that the offender introduces the child-victim into activities which the victim would not otherwise experience.

The research done by Baurmann and Kirchhoff and Kirchhoff leaves questions unanswered. But it seems to be more and more clear that sexual victimization is not a rare event. It is therefore important to look into the variations of sexual victimization and to clarify more specifically what the impact of sexual victimization is. It is important to know what damage occurred during the primary victimization in order to understand whether secondary victimization by the criminal justice system is necessary or if it is preferable to avoid that possibility in cases where no damage is done in the primary victimization. The offenses of exhibitionism and nonviolent interaction with children especially deserve scrutiny and precise evaluation to avoid unnecessary traumas to the victims and avoidable harassment of their offenders.

This paper reviewed victimological research in Germany in the second half of the 1970's. The research done rests on methods and experiences developed in the United States, but there are important differences in details which make it worthwhile to be aware of differences and similarities in the field of victimology.

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Investigations of nonreported offenses*

Distribution of criminal offenses not known to authorities

HANS-DIETER SCHWIND

On the meaning of nonreported crime to geographical-crime research and actual police work[1]

Geography of crime research which concerns itself exclusively with reported offenses covers only a part of committed offenses, namely, those that have become known to crime-investigation authorities or that have been reported to the police. However, it is necessary to include nonreported offenses in any investigation to obtain a clear picture of crime patterns.

In this paper, nonreported crime includes all offenses about which the authorities have no knowledge and which, therefore, do not appear in crime statistics.[2] Only when reported and nonreported offenses are both known can one make a statement on the real extent of crime or on the size of various offending groups. Because they are based solely on available police statistics, the annual official reports are problematic.

Police statistics may state a crime rate increase of, for example, 6.8% from 1974 to 1975[3] but the underlying causes for this rate increase may be any of the following:[4]

- The police were notified of a higher percentage of crime in 1975 than in 1974[5]
- Compared to the prior year, the intensity of prosecution by the authorities (especially the police) may have increased in 1975[6]
- The crime rate did indeed increase.

Without knowledge of the reasons why crimes are not reported (see also further details in Pudel 1978, p. 205 ff), no statement should be made on increasing or decreasing numbers of criminal offenses. In any event, "a statistical increase in crime occurrence due to an increase in police notification is no loss in safety, but in reality a gain in safety."[7] It is therefore imperative to make available information on both reported and nonreported crime; only the summation of both numbers can establish the statistical basis needed for a crime policy.[8] Without it, a realistic assessment of the situation, which should precede each decision regarding the fight against crime, is impossible. It seems not quite credible in light of the above that, as some critics argue,[9] victimization surveys have no value in police work.

Research into nonreported offenses based on questioning victims appears quite useful—and not only to the author—primarily because it is a prerequisite for—

- The above mentioned assessment of the total crime situation, including not only reported but also nonreported offenses
- Optimal police utilization when the distribution of nonreported crime can be determined, e.g., for certain city districts
- Correctly estimating solved crime rates which refer only to reported offenses; and
- Assessing victims' behavior and readiness to testify, which is related to the victims' confidence in the work of the authorities (especially the police).

This last issue in particular appears to deal with the image of the public servant. In that respect, certain feedback mechanisms definitely affect police work. These include—

- The nonreported crime field or "dark number"
- Numbers of solved offenses
- The confidence of the population in the effectiveness of their police force (reporting behavior); and
- The so-called "sense of security"[10] of the offender based on his or her expectation of being apprehended and sentenced (risk of success).

As the number of crimes solved (Schwind 1978:70) increases, confidence in the ability of the authorities to solve crimes also increases with the result that more offenses are reported and the willingness to testify increases. However, if the number of crimes solved decreases, the offender's "sense of security" increases as his or her risk appears smaller. (The risk of the crime being solved is apparently the risk that restrains the offender from committing the offense; seldom is it found to be the threat of punishment).[11] "If the risk is high, the crime rate decreases—if the risk is low, the crime rate increases."[12] This same effect is to be expected when the offender perceives that the offense is not reported; in other words, the number of nonreported crimes increases.

A comparison between New York City and Tokyo shows that these differences are not imaginary.[13] In New York City, solved homicides constitute 69.4%, whereas in Tokyo the rate is 97.4% (a difference of 28 percentage points!); for robbery the difference is even larger, namely 18.9% in New York City and 84% in Tokyo (a difference of 65.1%); for rape—solved cases in New York city, 36.9% and in Tokyo 94% (a difference of 57.1%). Hans Joachim Schneider has interpreted these differences in like manner. In *Victimology—A science of crime victims* 1978, he writes that—

> In New York City it is possible to observe a process of social disorganization which rests mainly on the fact that the population's potential to resist crime has diminished, at least within the metropoli-

*Translation and reproduction by permission of the Bundeskriminalamt, Wiesbaden, Federal Republic of Germany. These papers are a translation by Sigried Pilgrim of Chapters 10 and 11 of Empirische Kriminal Geographie (Empirical Criminal Geography) by Hans-Dieter Schwind, Wilfried Ahlborn, and Rudiger Weiss. Published by the Bundeskriminalamt in Wiesbaden in 1978. Professor Schwind is currently at the Department of Legal Science (Rechtswissenschaft) at the University of Bochum.

[1]The ideas put forth follow in part a lecture presented by the author on the occasion of the 15th Regular Congress of Police Union Delegates, held October 30, 1976, in Mainz, on the subject of "Research into the Area of Non-Reported Crimes and Crime Geography as Examples of Praxis Oriented Criminalistic-Criminological Research Work" (see also Schwind 1977a).

[2]See Schwind, Ahlborn, Eger et al. (1975).

[3]See Federal Bureau of Criminal Investigation (1976).

[4]See also Schwind (1977b).

[5]See most recently Kurzinger (1977).

[6]Merschmann and Höhner write "that recent studies seem to indicate that the registering of offenders occurs selectively" (see Merschmann, Walter, and Hohner 1976).

[7]See Herold (1977).

[8]The value of the police crime statistic is that it is a "reliable measurement instrument of the burden with which police work is concerned" (see Herold 1977:292).

[9]See Brugger (1977).

[10]See the use of this expression in Rossmann (1974).

[11]Also see Kube (1975).

[12]See Bauer (1975).

[13]See Schneider (1975).

tan districts . . . which are burdened with a high rate of crime. A low rate of solved crimes leads towards the population's mistrust of the police. This lack of confidence in the authorities elicits a reduced willingness to report offenses and weakens the general population's support of the police work in solving crimes. A reduced amount of assistance in the criminal police work leads to a lowered rate of crimes solved. A high incidence of nonreported crimes (a high dark number) and a low rate of solved offenses in turn lead to a lack of confidence by the population in the work of the police force and its effectiveness. And so the circle closes. This continuous process carries on in a negative sense. However, a social process of a completely opposite nature can be observed in Tokyo, where confidence in the police and support of their work by the general public leads towards a high rate of solved cases. This high incidence of solved offenses has a most positive effect on social control and numbers of crime. The offender has a real risk of being apprehended and he is quite aware of this.

Given these circumstances, it is hard to understand why the importance of research into nonreported crime is not recognized in police work. Surely, this problem requires strategic thinking as well as openness toward the value of scientific research. The Federal Bureau of Criminal Investigation has shown much interest, for example, by awarding three research contracts dealing with the area of nonreported offenses during the past 4 years. The recipients of these awards were: University of Göttingen (see also "Dark Number Research in Göttingen 1973/74");[14] University of Freiburg (see also "Questioning of Crime Victims in Stuttgart");[15] and, University of Bochum (see also "Crime-Map Bochum," the present research work).[16]

At the Congress of Criminologists in Freiburg in the fall of 1975,[17] Blankenberg criticized the Göttingen research on nonreported crime, because it did not consider that some offenses known to the authorities were not reported by citizens but became known to the authorities in other ways, e.g., through their own police investigations. Stephan (1976)[18] pointed out that "research in the Federal Republic of Germany as well as in the U.S.A. shows that up to 95% of all complaints registered with the police originate from the population." For the cited German research, the work by Weis and Muller-Bagehl on "Privately filed criminal complaints" (Private Strafanzeigen) is referenced. This latter investigation, however, does not support Stephan's work, as Weis and Muller-Bagehl demonstrated on the basis of the numbers obtained from an unnamed police office, where 459 offenses over a period of 4 months became known to the police, and 134, or almost 30% became known due to the investigative work of the authorities themselves.[19]

It was not possible to obtain a complete count for all police-discovered crimes in Bochum as this would have represented an extraordinary and untenable amount of additional work for the police. The Police President, however, initiated a count in a part of the town (Wattenscheid) during a 4-week period, with the following result for robbery, bodily injury, and theft: of 176 cases, 173 were reported and only 3 (less than 2%) were known through the work of the authorities. Since this percentage is so low, it has not been considered in the computation of the "nonreported" crime in Bochum.

8–1. **Calculated ratios for individual areas of Bochum for the nonreported crimes (dark number)**

City area	Offenses known to police	Nonreported offenses: In random samples	Nonreported offenses: Calculated values for size of population (± deviation)		Dark-number ratios: Upper and lower limits	Dark-number ratios: Most probable value
Center–North	2,148	13	2,786	(±58.2%)	1:2—1:1	1:1
Center–South	1,635	31	6,643	(±37.1%)	1:6—1:3	1:4
Bochum–NW	1,296	26	5,571	(±48.6%)	1:6—1:2	1:4
Bochum–NE	1,084	34	7,286	(±45.9%)	1:10—1:4	1:7
Werne–Langendreer	1,363	24	5,143	(±44.5%)	1:5—1:2	1:4
Querrenburger–Stiepel	872	11	2,357	(±77.5%)	1:5—1:1	1:3
Weitmar–South	531	2	429	(±138.5%)	1:2—∞	1:1
Linden–Dahlhausen	632	9	1,929	(±84.2%)	1:6—∞	1:3
Wattenscheid	2,212	40	8,571	(±40.1%)	1:5—1:2	1:4
No data	10					
Total		190	40,714	(±16.9%)	1:4—1:3	1:3

Distribution of nonreported crime in Bochum

Criminologists have long discussed the question of a constant relationship between reported and nonreported crime.[20] There is no agreement on whether in areas of high reported crime the number of nonreported crimes would also be high, or, alternately, whether if the rate of reported crime is high, the unreported number of offenses would be correspondingly low. The question therefore centers around the proportional relationship of nonreported to reported crime.

In the 19th century, Quetelet (1796–1874) assumed a constant relationship:

> This relationship is necessary, and I repeat, if this were not so, everything else which up to now has been attested to based on statistical research into crime, would be wrong and absurd.[21]

In the 1970's, Hellmer,[22] assumes that in crime geography the "non-reported areas are of no interest"[23] to us "since it is everywhere the same." He further assumes that the relation between reported and nonreported offenses is constant. This viewpoint seems to coincide even today with the opinion of (most) police authorities. It is assumed that the "known value is representative within a tolerable limit, or at least symptomatic, of the structure and trend in criminality."[24] Criminology, up to now, self-servingly helped itself in this dilemma on nonreported crime by subscribing to the hypothesis of constancy in the relationship between reported and actually committed crime. This implies that police statistics are a reliable barometer of an increase or decrease of actual numbers of offenses.[25]

On casual inspection, Figures 8-1 and 8-2 appear to support Quetelet's and Hellmer's assumption. These charts contain all offenses included in the research except store theft, for which nonreported numbers cannot be adequately ascertained,[26] (Schwind 1978:70). A first glance, comparing the percentage distribution of offenses in the statistically tabulated area, shows that these offenses are concentrated in the inner city for both reported and nonreported crimes, whereas the other parts of the city generally show a lower crime burden.

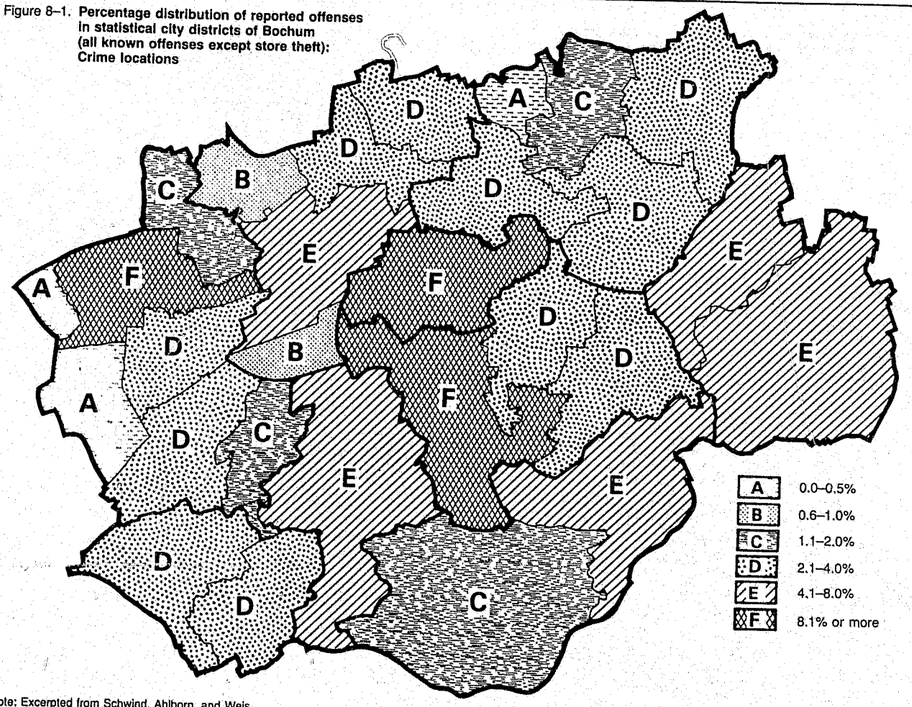
On closer inspection, however, it becomes evident that, aside from central Bochum, district F (E in Figure 8-2) shows a high value for reported crime, while this same value for nonreported crime is held by district D (F in Figure 8-2). Further, almost none of the districts shows the same amount of reported as nonreported crime.

It seems difficult, therefore, to talk about a constant relationship between the two—the deviations are simply too large. How large these differences really are becomes apparent from examining Figure 8-3 and Table 8-1. The relationships between nonreported and reported crime among the city districts of Bochum differ quite markedly. High numbers for nonreported crime in the northeast (Bochum-NE) are opposed by low numbers for nonreported crime in the south (Weitmar-South). The nonreported crime ratio is in the first case (average estimate) 1:7 and in the second case 1:1. In areas where reported crime is high, nonreported crime is also high. It is therefore permissible to modify the Quetelet and Hellmer hypotheses such that—

- The supposition of constant proportions holds true only to the extent that it appears that there is both a high figure for nonreported offenses and a high figure for reported offenses or a low figure for nonreported and a low figure for reported offenses
- However, these proportions change when high and low crime areas are compared.

This means that Hellmer is not quite right when he says that nonreported crime is of

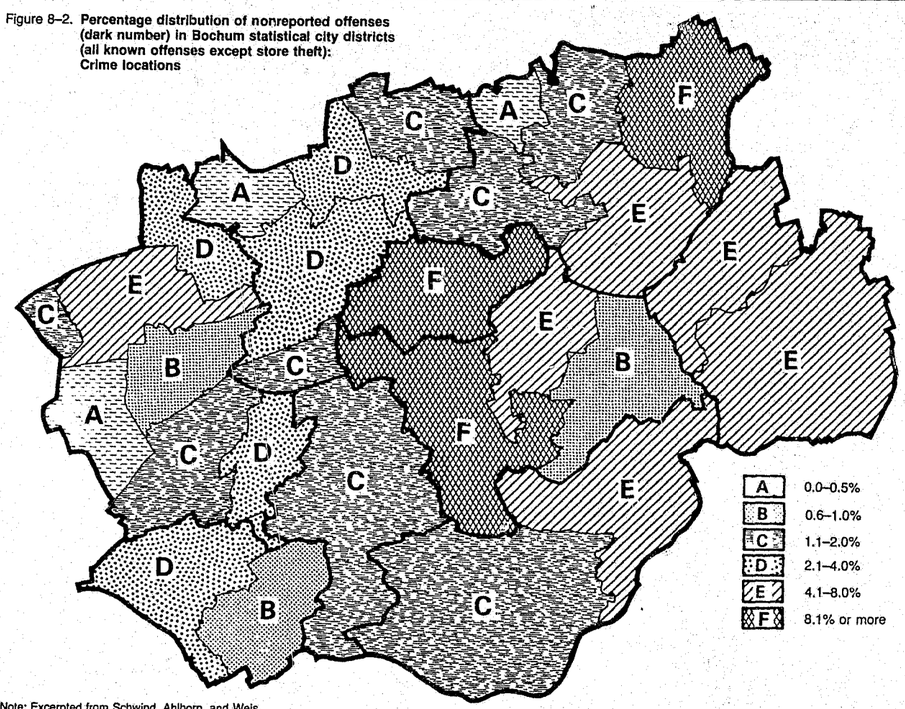
Figure 8–1. **Percentage distribution of reported offenses in statistical city districts of Bochum (all known offenses except store theft): Crime locations**



Note: Excerpted from Schwind, Ahlborn, and Weis, *Empirische Kriminalgeographie*, Wiesbaden, 1978.

[14]See Schwind, Ahlborn, Eger et al. (1975). Summary in Schwind (1976).
[15]See Stephan (1978).
[16]With reference to the most recent investigations into the area of nonreported crime in the United States, see also Skogan (1975, 1976, and 1977).
[17]XVIII Meeting of the Association of Criminology, Freiburg im Breisgau, October 9–12, 1975.
[18]Stephan (1978:55).
[19]Weis and Muller-Bagehl (1971).
[20]See also Kaiser (1974); see further Merschmann, Walter, Höhner (1976).
[21]Quetelet (1977).
[22]See Hellmer (1974).
[23]Hellmer-Schuler Jager differs in The Criminological Regional Analyses (1976).
[24]See Heinz (1975).
[25]Merschmann, Walter, and Höhner (1976).
[26]See, however, the estimates in Blankenbur (1973). The information received from the department stores would probably be of little value in this respect, as normally it would be difficult for owners of the stores (or the store managers) to correctly assess loss of an item due to theft rather than any other of a number of reasons.

Figure 8–2. **Percentage distribution of nonreported offenses (dark number) in Bochum statistical city districts (all known offenses except store theft): Crime locations**



Note: Excerpted from Schwind, Ahlborn, and Weis, *Empirische Kriminalgeographie*, Wiesbaden, 1978.

no interest in crime geography "as it is the same everywhere." It appears advisable in future studies to also consider nonreported crime in any crime-geographic study based on the differences in amount of crime, or to prove the Bochum relationships to be incorrect.

In this connection, the weakness of the Bochum study should be pointed out. The confidence intervals (see Table 8-1) are quite large and the actual values for nonreported crime are quite small. Following the values obtained in the Göttingen research (e.g., nonreported crime ratio for theft 1:7), project leaders of the Bochum study anticipated similar results with correspondingly larger values for nonreported offenses and smaller standard deviations. In Göttingen,[27] 310 nonreported offenses were found (excluding store theft), but only 190 were noted in Bochum (based on 1,680 interviews). It is therefore not valid to compute nonreported crime values for the town districts as the confidence intervals would be too large.

In future research, larger random samples of citizens should be questioned than was the case in Bochum. If this is too expensive, the sample should be drawn from the population in certain conspicuous parts of town (which is planned as a followup study for Bochum in the next several years). We could not enlarge on the random sample in Bochum (almost twice as large as in Göttingen) because we lacked personnel to interview and funds to pay them. Crime geography which aspires to include nonreported crime is therefore quite personnel and money-intensive.

Too few nonreported robberies were uncovered in both the Bochum and Göttingen studies to permit calculation of the ratio of reported to nonreported crime. Such crime is (still) quite rare[28] in Germany and is thought to be usually reported. This indicates that the German population still has confidence in the police and the signs of disorganization so noticeable in New York City basically are still absent here.

Nonreported crime appears therefore to cover primarily theft (including store theft) and bodily injury, offenses, which—as mentioned above (see Schiemann 1978, p. 129)—together constitute about two-thirds of police crime statistics (see above Ahlborn et al. 1978, p. 29). It should interest Bochum's police superintendent that in 1975 there were not only—

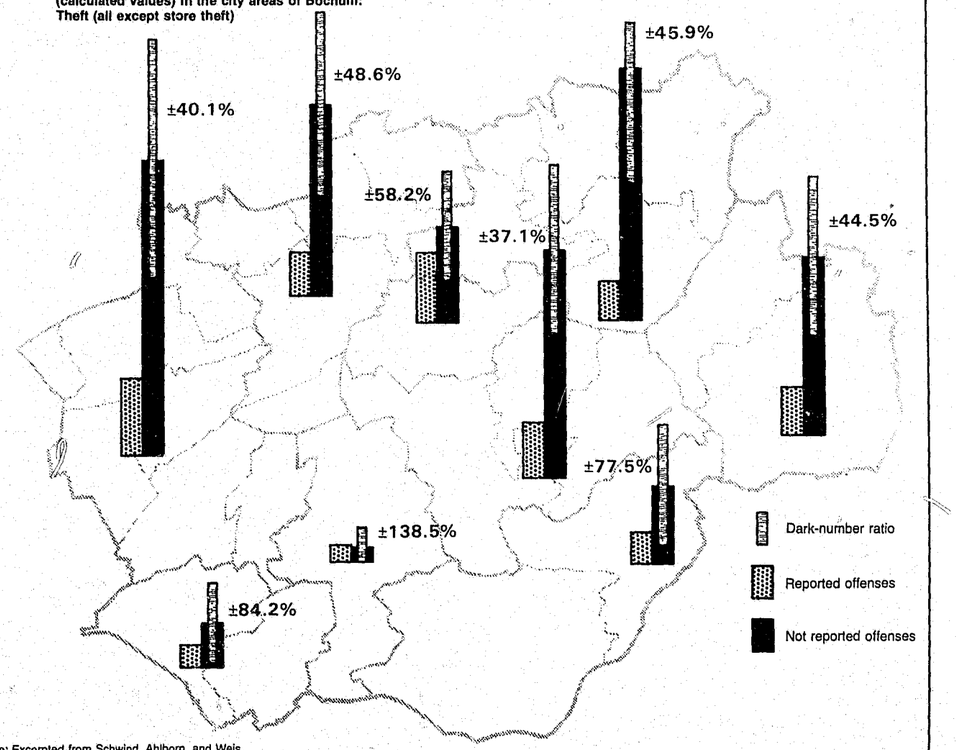
- 12,123 reported theft offenses (except store thefts) but an additional 40,731 similar offenses that were not reported
- 865 police reports of bodily injuries but an additional 6,214 of which the police had no knowledge.

This shows that in the time interval covered, not only the 12,988 offenses reported to police were committed in Bochum, but probably 60,000 offenses (Schwind 1978, p. 70). The reasons that these offenses were not reported to the police is covered in closer detail in Pudel (1978) pp. 205–210.

[27]See Schwind, Ahlborn, Eger et al. (1975:22).

[28]The situation in the United States is different: see also Schwind (1977c).

Figure 8–3. **Comparison of reported and nonreported crime (calculated values) in the city areas of Bochum: Theft (all except store theft)**



Note: Excerpted from Schwind, Ahlborn, and Weis, *Empirische Kriminalgeographie*, Wiesbaden, 1978.

Summary

To compare the results of the Bochum and Göttingen studies, it was first necessary to test the representativeness of the sample for the city of Bochum[29] and, second, whether or not the social structure of the two cities was different. Third, the influence of the press on the impending study was tested.

For the first question, regarding the representative sampling, with respect to the tested variables (sex, age, marital status, geographic area, and nationality), no marked difference was apparent between the random sample and the general population of the city. Only in the variables "marital status" and "nationality" were deviations noted; however, these are not large.

A comparison of the social structures of Göttingen and Bochum shows that because of the strong influence of the secondary sector (industrial), Bochum shows a disproportionately high number of workers and individuals with Volksschulbildung (grade-school education). The random sample in Bochum shows a larger proportion of housewives, retirees, and social-security recipients. Married individuals had a greater role in the Bochum study than in the Göttingen study.

Due to the influence of the university and the tertiary sector in Göttingen, the proportion of civil servants/white-collar workers

[29]The same was done for the Göttingen study: see also Schwind, Ahlborn, Eger et al. (1975:129-135).

is higher than in Bochum, and therefore, also the number of persons with higher education. The influence of the university is quite apparent in the Göttingen random sample: the number of students among those interviewed is considerably higher than in the Bochum sample. This is also reflected in the greater number of 20 year olds and unmarried individuals in Göttingen. Larger differences also occurred with respect to employment and educational factors and marital status.

The influence of the press on the Bochum study was minimal, because only a few persons interviewed had read about it in the newspapers. Therefore, the low rate of refusals and invalid answers in Göttingen and Bochum compared to the other studies cannot be explained as being the result of the influence of the press.

Comparison of results: Göttingen, Bochum

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The results of the crime victim study in Bochum differ from those of the Göttingen study. These results warn against an assumption of a constant relation between reported and nonreported crime figures (Schwind et al. p. 340). It also questions the hypothesis that there are no regional differences in nonreported crime. This in turn suggests research into whether nonreported rates remain proportionately constant over several years or change considerably each year. Which holds true can only be ascertained by a continuous statistical monitoring of nonreported crime. The nonreported crime rate in 1975 in Bochum was considerably lower than in 1973 in Göttingen (see Table 8-2).

Nonreported offenses involving theft (excluding store theft)[30]

In both the Bochum and Göttingen research, theft is the most statistically reliable crime studied because it is the most numerous offense in police statistics and was also the most reported offense in the random sample. The police registered 12,123 cases in Bochum (Göttingen, 4,869) and our random sample showed 190 (Göttingen, 310) nonreported cases (excluding store theft).

[30]These details are closely aligned (in order to compare) with the text and structure of the Göttingen study (see also Schwind, Ahlborn, Eger, et al. 1975).

8–2. Comparison of offenses known to the police and those in our study (Göttingen* and Bochum)

Type of offense	Known to police (1)		Nonreported offenses: In random sample (2)		Nonreported offenses: Empirically calculated for the population (± deviation) (3)		Dark-number ratio: Upper and lower limit (4)		Dark-number ratio: Most likely value (5)	
	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B
Theft—excluding store theft[a]	4,869 94.5%	11,783 93.2%	310 93.9%	190 80.8%	33,480 ±13.8%	40,739 ±16.9%	1:8–1:6	1:4–1:3	1:7	1:3
Bodily injuries deliberate	283 5.5%	865 6.8%	20 6.1%	29 13.2%	2,160 ±48.8%	6,214 ±37.3%	1:11–1:4	1:10–1:4	1:3	1:7
Total	5,152 100%	12,648 100%	330 100%	219 100%	35,640 ±16.0%	46,943 ±15.6%	1:8–1:6	1:4–1:3	1:7	1:4

*See Table 13 in Schwind (1975), p. 122
[a]Includes attempts

8–3. Legal classification of thefts: Comparison of those offenses known to police and those not known to police (including attempts) (Göttingen* and Bochum)

Legal classification of crime type	Known to police (1)		Nonreported offenses: In random sample (2)		Nonreported offenses: Empirically calculated for the population (deviation) (3)		Dark-number ratio: Upper and lower limit (4)		Dark-number ratio: Most likely value (5)	
	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B
Simple theft	1,730 35.5%	3,139 64.5%	243 78.4%	133 70.0%	26,244 11.2%	28,517 19.2%	1:17–1:13	1:7–1:5	1:15	1:6
Aggravated theft	3,139 64.5%	7,197 61.1%	67 21.6%	57 30.0%	7,236 23.2%	12,214 29.4%	1:3–1:2	1:2–1:1	1:2	1:2
Total	4,869 100%	11,783 100%	310 100%	190 100%	33,480 13.8%	40,731 16.9%	1:8–1:6	1:4–1:3	1:7	1:3

*See Table 44 in Schwind (1975), p. 159.

The calculated value obtained for the total population of Bochum therefore indicate that in 1975, 40,731 thefts occurred (including attempted theft). This figure is an estimated value which can deviate ±16.9%. For Bochum this results in a nonreported theft ratio of 1:3 (most likely value). This means, that for every theft known to the police, three thefts were not reported (see Table 8-3).

A separate comparison of figures obtained for petty theft and aggravated theft (paragraphs 242 and 243 respectively in the German Criminal Code Book) shows that in both Bochum and Göttingen the percentage of cases of aggravated theft in police records is considerably higher (Bochum 61.1%; Göttingen 64.5%) than in the random sampling (Bochum 30.0%; Göttingen 21.6%). The percentage of aggravated thefts which are reported to the police is apparently much larger than simple thefts. This result underscores the assumption that a theft is more likely to be reported to the authorities if it involves a severe offense. The nonreported crime figure for aggravated theft accordingly is 1:2 for Bochum (similar to the Göttingen results) (see Table 8-3); for petty theft it is 1:6 (Göttingen, 1:15). The difference in the Bochum and Göttingen figures is therefore the result of the fact that in Göttingen fewer petty thefts

(offenses without aggravating circumstances) were reported. In the case of petty theft, it is noticeable again that in Göttingen a high number of attempted petty thefts were not reported (Göttingen, 1:68; Bochum, only 1:6; see Table 8-4). In absolute numbers, combining the two cities, the following picture emerges: in aggravated theft 7,197 offenses are known to the police—12,214 empirically calculated nonreported offenses. In the case of petty theft, there were 4,586 known offenses compared to 28,500 unknown offenses. Only 113 attempted thefts were reported to the police; attempted aggravated thefts represented 1,541 with a calculated value of 1,714 attempted thefts (see Tables 8-3 and 8-4).

If the value of the stolen goods is considered (see Table 8-5), the assumption that a less severe case is less likely to be reported than a more severe case is again confirmed. The less often reported, less severe offenses in Göttingen should be considered the reason why the total of the nonreported to reported crime figures for Göttingen and Bochum are different. If in Göttingen less severe cases are less often reported than in Bochum, the dark number in Göttingen is larger than in Bochum.

The different social structure of the two cities may play a role in the different reporting behavior. The residents of Göttingen should be (on the average) wealthier than a large part of the Bochum population which consists of working families. However, even taking the reporting behavior into account, it becomes evident that Bochum has a lower theft incidence. Table 8-6 shows that the population of Bochum is three times that of Göttingen, but the incidence of theft (excluding store theft) is not 300% higher (as should be the case) but only about 25%. Maybe the successful efforts of the Bochum police force could be the reason for the lower nonreported figure. This, in turn, could affect the confidence of the population in the work of the police (see Pudel, p. 205).

Another reason for the large difference in nonreported offenses could be the varying ability and willingness of the citizens to remember. Indeed, the nonreported offenses in Bochum are far greater than in Göttingen during the first 6 months of the study (see Table 8-7). Table 8-8 illustrates that in Göttingen as in Bochum the ability to remember depends on the value of the damage incurred.

8–4. Legal classification of the offenses involving theft: Comparison of nonreported and reported offenses (including attempted offenses) (Göttingen* and Bochum)

Legal classification of the type of offense	Known to police (1)		Nonreported offenses: In random sample (2)		Nonreported offenses: Empirically calculated for the population (deviation) (3)		Dark-number ratio: Upper and lower limit (4)		Dark-number ratio: Most likely value (5)	
	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B
Attempted simple theft	8 0.2%	113 1.0%	5 1.6%	3 1.6%	540 87.5%	643 133.6%	1:127–1:8	1:12–	1:68	1:6
Simple theft	1,722 35.4%	4,467 37.9%	238 76.8%	130 68.4%	25,704 15.0%	27,874 19.4%	1:17–1:13	1:7–1:5	1:15	1:6
Attempted aggravated theft	450 9.2%	1,541 13.1%	14 4.5%	5 2.6%	1,512 52.1%	1,072 87.6%	1:5–1:2	1:1–	1:3	1:1
Aggravated theft	2,689 55.2%	5,648 47.9%	53 17.1%	52 27.4%	5,724 26.3%	11,149 31.2%	1:3–1:2	1:3–1:1	1:2	1:2
No data		14 0.12%								
Total	4,869 100%	11,783 100%	310 100%	190 100%	33,480 ±13.8%	40,739 ±16.9%	1:8–1:6	1:4–1:3	1:7	1:3

*See Table 45 in Schwind (1975), p. 160.

8–5. Value of the stolen goods: Comparison of nonreported and reported offenses (including attempted offenses) (Göttingen* and Bochum)

Value of stolen goods	Known to police (1)		Nonreported offenses: In random sample (2)		Nonreported offenses: Empirically calculated for the population (± deviation) (3)		Dark-number ratio: Upper and lower limit (4)		Dark-number ratio: Most likely value (5)	
	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B
Minimal value under DM 25	39 0.8%	74 0.6%	45 14.5%	35 18.4%	4,860 ±28.7%	7,500 ±36.4%	1:160–1:89	1:138–1:64	1:125	1:10
	405 8.3%	745 6.3%	131 42.3%	55 28.9%	14,148 ±16.1%	11,793 ±29.2%	1:41–1:29	1:20–1:11	1:35	1:16
25–100 DM	1,401 28.8%	2,167 18.4%	82 26.4%	75 39.5%	8,856 ±20.9%	16,081 ±23.0%	1:8–1:5	1:9–1:6	1:6	1:7
100–1,000 DM	2,178 44.7%	5,738 48.7%	39 12.6%	21 11.1%	4,212 ±30.9%	4,500 ±44.5%	1:3–1:1	1:1–1:0.4	1:2	1:1
Over 1,000 DM	378 7.8%	1,433 12.2%	4 1.3%	1 0.5%	432 ±97.8%	214 ±195.9%	1:2–∞	1:0.4–∞	1:1	1:0.4
No data	468 9.6%	1,625 13.8%	9 2.9%	3 1.6%						
Total	4,869 100%	11,783 100%	310 100%	190 100%	33,480 ±13.8%	40,739 ±16.9%	1:8–1:6	1:4–1:3	1:7	1:3

*See Table 46 in Schwind (1975), p. 164.

Nonreported robberies

It has already been pointed out in the Göttingen study[31] that for robbery the confidence interval for the nonreported offense ratio is so large no valid statement can be made about it. This is because hardly any cases of nonreported robberies were found: only four cases in Göttingen and six in Bochum, and all were attempted robberies. Stephan's study in Stuttgart,[32] however, showed that 13 attempted and 9 accomplished robberies were not reported. Despite the low number of robberies, the dark number ratio was calculated for the Göttingen study (1:9), but with the observation

[31]See Schwind, Ahlborn, Eger et al. (1975:177).

[32]Stephan (1976:228).

8–6. **Population figures and theft occurrence in a comparison between cities**

Population for (year)		Reported offenses		Nonreported offenses		Total number of offenses	
Göttingen 1973	Bochum 1975	Göttingen	Bochum	Göttingen	Bochum	Göttingen	Bochum
127,000	435,000	4,869	1,783	33,480 ±13.8%	40,714 ±16.9%	38,349	52,497

8–7. **Quarters during which thefts occurred: Comparison of offenses known to police and not known to police (Göttingen and Bochum)**

Quarter	Known to police (1)		Nonreported offenses: In random sample (2)		Nonreported offenses: Empirically calculated for the population (± deviation) (3)		Dark-number ratio: Upper and lower limit (4)		Dark-number ratio: Most likely value (5)	
	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B
1	1,246 25.6%	3,095 26.3%	52 16.8%	34 17.9%	5,616 ±26.6%	7,290 ±34.3%	1:6– 1:3	1:3– 1:2	1:5	1:2
2	1,334 27.4%	3,264 27.7%	57 18.4%	24 12.6%	6,156 ±25.3%	5,164 ±44.5%	1:6– 1:3	1:2– 1:1	1:5	1:2
3	1,188 24.4%	2,867 24.3%	67 21.6%	50 26.3%	7,236 ±23.2%	10,721 ±31.5%	1:8– 1:5	1:5– 1:3	1:6	1:4
4	1,100 22.6%	2,551 21.6%	82 26.4%	51 26.8%	8,856 ±20.9%	10,935 ±28.6%	1:10– 1:6	1:6– 1:3	1:8	1:4
No data	1 0.0%	6 0.1%	52 16.8%	31 16.3%						
Total	4,869 100%	11,783 100%	310 100%	190 100%	33,480 ±13.8%	40,739 ±16.9%	1:8– 1:6	1:4– 1:3	1:7	1:3

8–8. **Distribution of unreported offenses over four quarters by value of stolen goods (including attempted offenses), 1973 (Göttingen)* and 1975 (Bochum)**

Quarter	Minimal value or no further information (1)		Value of stolen goods: Up to 25DM (2)		25 to 100DM (3)		100DM+ (4)		Total (1)–(4)	
	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B
First	7	6	19	10	17	18	9	4	52	38
Second	7	2	24	13	14	8	12	7	57	30
Third	9	10	34	23	15	18	9	5	67	56
Fourth	14	13	39	14	19	24	10	4	82	55
No data	17	7	15	10	17	12	3	2	52	31
Total	54	38	131	70	82	80	43	22	310	210

*See Table 58 in Schwind (1975), p. 173.

that the confidence interval of ±87.6% makes the result invalid. The press reported the sensational news that only "every ninth robbery is reported to the authorities."[33] To avoid such reports on the Bochum study, the nonreported crime ratio for robberies was deliberately not calculated. Keeping in mind the above considerations, the calculated ratio obtained by Stephan for attempted robbery, namely 1:117, appears somewhat problematical![34]

Nonreported bodily injuries (assaultive crimes)

The above holds true in somewhat milder form for bodily injuries (as was noted also in the Göttingen study).[35] Twenty-nine cases were found during the random sampling (Göttingen, 20); 865 offenses were reported (Göttingen, 283). The deviation is ±37.3% in Bochum, somewhat more favorable than in Göttingen (±49.8%); therefore the results are more useful. The nonreported ratio is similar: Göttingen, 1:8, and Bochum, 1:7. Contrary to the Göttingen numbers, the absolute numbers of assaultive crime in Bochum is more closely correlated to the size of the population than the number of thefts. In contrast to the Göttingen study, which did not relate the number of assaults to the time of occurrence because the deviation was too large, the Bochum figures can at least be discussed. The variation among categories was somewhat lower and the "no information" column was smaller in Bochum (see Table 8-9). The ratio of reported and nonreported offenses for bodily injuries is not constant over the week—Friday, 1:9; Monday through Thursday, 1:3; Saturday and Sunday, 1:10.

Table 8-10 presents the ability to remember by the individuals interviewed—here it becomes apparent again, as in the case of theft, that the first 6 months and the second 6 months of 1975 barely differ in the area of reported crime; however, the nonreported crime ratio does. The difference in Bochum is much more noticeable than in Göttingen: for the first 6 months, the ratio is 1:4 (Göttingen, 1:5), for the second 6 months of the year, the ratio is 1:9 (Göttingen, 1:8).

[33]Report in *Ruhr-Nachrichten* [Kuhr News] October 30, 1974.
[34]See Stephan (1976).
[35]See Schwind, Ahlborn, Eger et al. (1975:179).

8–9. **Day of the week on which the bodily injury occurred: Comparison of offenses known to police and not known to police (Göttingen* and Bochum)**

Day of week	Known to police (1)		Nonreported offenses: In random sample (2)		Nonreported offenses: Empirically calculated for the population (± deviation) (3)		Dark-number ratio: Upper and lower limit (4)		Dark-number ratio: Most likely value (5)	
	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B
Monday–Thursday	136 48.1%	438 50.6%	6 30.0%	6 20.7%	648 ±79.8%	1,286 ±79.9%	1:9– 1:1	1:5 1:1	1:5	1:3
Friday	47 16.6%	117 13.6%	3 15.0%	5 17.2%	324 ±113.0%	1,071 ±87.5%	1:5– ∞	1:17 1:1	1:7	1:9
Weekend	100 35.3%	285 32.9%	3 15.0%	13 44.8%	324 ±113.0%	2,786 ±54.2%	1:7– ∞	1:15 1:4	1:3	1:10
No data		25 2.9%	8 40.0%	5 17.25%						
Total	283 100%	865 100%	20 100%	29 100%	2,160 ±49.8%	6,214 ±37.3%	1:11– 1:4	1:10– 1:4	1:8	1:7

*See Table 70 in Schwind (1975), p. 185.

8–10. **Six-month periods during which bodily injuries occurred: Comparison of reported and nonreported offenses (Göttingen* and Bochum)**

6-month period	Known to police (1)		Nonreported offenses: In random sample (2)		Nonreported offenses: Empirically calculated for the population (± deviation) (3)		Dark-number ratio: Upper and lower limit (4)		Dark-number ratio: Most likely value (5)	
	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B
1	160 56.5%	448 51.8%	7 35.0%	9 31.0%	756 ±73.9%	1,929 ±65.2%	1:8– 1:1	1:7– 1:2	1:5	1:4
2	123 43.5%	417 48.2%	9 45.0%	17 58.6%	972 ±65.1%	3,643 ±47.3%	1:13– 1:3	1:13– 1:5	1:8	1:9
No data			4 20.0%	3 10.4%						
Total	283 100%	865 100%	20 100%	29 100%	2,160 ±49.8%	6,214 ±37.3%	1:11– 1:4	1:10– 1:4	1:8	1:7

*See Table 74 in Schwind (1975), p. 188.

Summary

A comparison of the results of nonreported crime studies is quite problematical if the social structure—as in Bochum and Göttingen—shows marked differences. The percentages of blue-collar workers, skilled laborers, retirees and social-security recipients is considerably higher in Bochum than in Göttingen; in Göttingen, the number of students, employees, and civil servants comprises a larger segment of the population. The random samples reflect these differences accordingly. Both cities, however, are unrepresentative with respect to the employment and educational structure in the Federal Republic as a whole. Further additional studies in other cities are necessary if one desires to know more about the extent of nonreported crime in the Federal Republic of Germany. Stephan's assumption that the low refusal rate in the Göttingen study (compared to his Stuttgart study) may have been influenced by the press (in Göttingen the citizens were informed about the study) was not confirmed by the example in Bochum. Only 7.8% of those interviewed had read about the study in the paper (although a total of 9 articles were printed; in Göttingen there were 10).

If the results of the Göttingen and Bochum studies are compared—keeping in mind the differing social structures of the two cities—the following picture emerges: both studies show a higher rate of nonreported offenses for simple theft than for more serious theft. More severe cases are more likely to be reported than less severe cases of theft. The nonreported crime ratio for aggravated theft in both cities is 1:2, i.e., for each such reported offense, 2 are not reported. For simple theft, however, there are differences which can hardly be ignored (Göttingen 1:15, Bochum only 1:6). This difference is due to the fact that attempted petty theft cases were reported less often in Göttingen (Göttingen, 1:68; Bochum, 1:6). Accordingly, most people questioned as to why they did not report the offense against them answered "it simply is not worth it when the damage is small!" (see Pudel 1978; Schwind et al. 1975). These results could be due to the difference in social structure in Bochum and Göttingen, particularly the educational structure, but this cannot be proven.

The results for assaultive crime in the Bochum (1:8) and Göttingen (1:7) studies are mostly similar. Since robberies were quite infrequent, no result could be obtained because of the high standard deviation. In summary, a comparison between the two cities of Bochum and Göttingen shows that the nonreported crime rates in Bochum are considerably lower than was the case in Göttingen 2 years earlier.

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Studies of serious victimizations using police records

The victims' perceptions of crime and the criminal justice system: A pilot study of small shopkeepers in Montreal*

MICHELINE BARIL

In recent years, several studies have examined the effects of victimization on the attitudes of victims toward the criminal justice system. The findings indicate weak or nonexistent relationships between citizens' personal experience of crime and their perceptions of the criminal, the law, and the various agencies dealing with crime. Most of these studies deal only with attitudes toward the police (Smith and Hawkins 1973, for instance), but the same conclusions have been reached in research concerned with the entire justice system (Robert and Faugeron 1973).

As surprising as this finding appears in the light of the theories of attitude formation and attitude change, it has not been challenged. The original objective of the pilot study presented here was to reexamine the assumption that experience has no or little impact on victims' perceptions.

Although autonomous, this project is connected with a larger undertaking in the criminology of social reaction. The G.R.A.C. (Groupe de recherche sur les attitudes envers la criminalité), a research group of the University of Montreal, is currently involved in a series of studies of public attitudes toward crime and criminal policy. Its ultimate aim is to develop an explanatory model of attitudes.

A multistage research program alternating qualitative and quantitative methodologies has been developed by the G.R.A.C. to gather data on public opinion and, more important, to explore the determinants of people's attitudes towards crime-related matters. One of the purposes is to examine the impact of victimization on such attitudes; this is the first objective of the project described in this paper.

Concern with the impact of victimization did not stem only from the need for a better understanding of attitude formation, but also from the belief that the consumer of a service can provide a more valuable evaluation of that service than the public at large. Thus, the second objective was to explore the appropriateness and the feasibility of using clients' opinions (in this case, the victims') as an evaluation measure of the criminal justice agencies.

Finally, the project was seen as a means of improving tactics and instruments of data collection to be used in the subsequent national quantitative surveys.

Method

Previous surveys

Victimization surveys and surveys of public opinion on crime began with the American Crime Commission study of 1967. For the period between 1967 and 1976, we have referenced well over 500 studies published in the Western world alone on citizen's opinions of crimes (Baril et al. 1976). Yet, despite a wealth of factual information, despite the very valuable impetus given by the first studies, little progress has been achieved and we still lack an explanatory framework for the attitudes toward crime-related matters. Pioneers, such as Biderman, Ennis, and Reiss, opened the door to a promising new field which commercial and political interests immediately appropriated to themselves. Since, it has become convenient to administer questionnaires regularly, asking always the same questions ("Are the courts too lenient?" etc.), compiling "yes" and "no," and cross-tabulating the answers with a few demographic variables. The main limitations of much of the crime-related attitude research are—

- There is too little concern, on the part of researchers, about the building of cumulative knowledge. Previous approaches are too often merely copied, without any serious questioning of methodology, theory, and usefulness.
- The populations studied often exclude target groups such as teenagers, vagrants, and prisoners, concentrating on "normal" citizens whose personal experience of criminal reality is rather thin.
- Both the themes studied and the language used correspond more closely to the criminologist's preconceived ideas than to the population surveyed. For instance, it was found (Robert and Faugeron 1973; Baril 1977) that words like "crime" and "criminals" have a different meaning for the specialists and the nonspecialists.
- Of particular importance is the matter of validity. As remarked by Bourdieu et al. (1973), most people are nice enough to answer anything to any question. If the objects under study exist out of the field of knowledge or concern of the respondents, we will still get answers—unfortunately, chance answers, devoid of any meaning whatsoever. For instance, people might approve of probation even when they know nothing about probation. Most surveys have assumed that all citizens are informed and concerned, that what is of importance to politicians and criminologists is also relevant to other people, and that everyone's opinion should be given the same weight.
- The approach has been microsociological, focused only on individual characteristics exclusive of social context.

A qualitative approach

To such a diagnosis, there is only one sequel: let's start anew. The theoretical sources, the questions asked, the unhealthy state of research, the novelty of the enquiry, all dictated a qualitative approach. Instead of the usual hypothetical-deductive framework, I opted for a path that proceeds from observation to analysis. It had the following advantages over quantitative surveys:

- Networks of meaning could be disclosed
- Semantics and vocabulary could be explored
- New questions could be raised
- The researcher's influence could be reduced; and
- The limits of the respondents' knowledge and concern could be ascertained.

As this pilot survey was to fulfill somewhat the function of brainstorming, it had to have maximum flexibility. An exploratory quantitative study will be developed from this pilot research, followed by another qualitative project. It is hoped that, by successive approximations and corrections, a more general and pertinent approach can be designed.

The method I used is a mixture of participant observation (the Chicago school) and unstructured interviews (initiated in therapy by Rogers and later adapted to sociological enquiry by Robert and Faugeron and others). However, I have been gradually

*Excerpted from unpublished thesis, University of Cambridge (England), 1978. Ms. Baril is currently at the Universite de Montreal, Montreal, Quebec.

In practice, the interpretation of the data is derived from familiarity with the material and successive approximations.

molding the techniques to suit my beliefs and ethical concerns.

Scope of the study

Considerations of time and manageability imposed a restricted frame on the research. We decided to study—

- Victims of robbery—as that offense, while understudied, is sufficiently visible and frightening to arouse reactions
- Small shopkeepers—because they are a favorite target and so simplify the sample construction; and
- Montreal shopkeepers—as this afforded a control on the location variable.

Techniques

The population. The population was defined after consultations with the Montreal police robbery squad and executives of two major insurance companies. It included—
- Greater Montreal small shopkeepers at high risk, i.e., gas stations, drug stores, and "depanneurs,"* operating alone or with members of their families or, at most, three paid employees
- Who were victims of armed robbery; being defined as theft or attempted theft by force or threat of force
- Within the past 2 years.

The sample. The sample was drawn from four sources: police records, insurance agency claims, the parole board, and public files of the courtroom. The sample is not and was not meant to be representative. The main criteria for selection was variety within the framework described, with attention to demographic variables, type of business, recency of victimization, extent of damages, status of victim (owner or employees), and the scope of the legal intervention.

Out of the 100 victims thus selected, only 40 were interviewed. The unreached portion of the sample is particularly interesting. Forty-five of the 100 could not be located, which is about four times the expected proportion in surveys. We learned, too late, that after being victimized, owners often sell their shops, change jobs, move, or hide. Of the 55 persons we were able to contact, 15 refused to participate, some expressing disgust at criminologists who are part of the awful system, others being too distressed to talk about the event again. We can wonder whether the most radical and the most badly damaged victims have not thus been excluded from the investigation.

Almost half the respondents were operating a "depanneur" store. Other types of commerce included—drug stores, delicatessen and grocery stores, shoe and clothing stores, jewelers, gas stations, photographic stores, and sound-system businesses. Twenty-six of the 40 shops were open at night and 29 functioned with 3 attendants or less.

As for the victimization event itself, most respondents (38) had personally been confronted with the assailant; 6 had been physically injured; 29 had suffered more than two robberies in the past 2 years; all had experienced other forms of crime (shopliftings, burglaries, fraud); most were uninsured.

The interview. Fieldwork was conducted between May and October 1977 by myself and a team of three students being trained in qualitative investigation. Interviews lasted, on the average, 1 hour, and were conducted at the place of work of the respondent.

Whenever possible, the subject was introduced by this question: "We would like to know your personal opinions on crime, criminals, legal institutions such as the police, and courts, and all your personal views and experiences on those matters." No reference was made to the victimization, this being intended as a check. The words "criminology" and "victims" were avoided, because of their potential negative connotations. Above all, the interviewers were instructed to be very discreet, let the conversation follow its own course, and not interfere in any way.

Once launched into the subject, the respondents needed little prompting. They would spontaneously describe their own experience with crime, which led them to comments on various aspects of the justice system, and even to philosophical discourse. To keep the interviews within manageable bounds and provide the interviewer with question material if the need for it arose, a list of themes was used as an interview guide.

The recording of interviews. All but two of the interviews were tape recorded. The two interviews with respondents who objected to taping were reconstructed after the interview, from notes and memory.

From the tape, each interview was typed by the interviewer in its entirety (an average of 20 pages); then I reviewed each tape and its transcript. Notes were kept on silences, hesitations, interruptions, and strong emotional expressions.

The analysis. The analysis of qualitative data is a particularly long and arduous task, and the methods at this stage are underdeveloped. I chose a combination of techniques:

- Elementary vocabulary analysis—studying the words used by the respondents to describe realities connected with crime and legal agencies; their contexts, their meanings
- Case analysis—a search for the inner logic of the discourse, an organization of opinions and feelings around individual central values, beliefs, ideologies
- Cross analysis of the data—using personal features, shop characteristics, and victimization patterns as "independent" variables
- Thematic analysis—listing first all the themes that were discussed spontaneously and those that appeared at the interviewer's suggestion; then finding out what is expressed for each one, how and why
- Global analysis—examining the results of each of the modes described above.

In practice, the interpretation of the data is derived from familiarity with the material and successive approximations. After the case analysis, cross analysis is undertaken and then the thematic analysis. The whole process is then repeated until all the information obtained is accounted for and makes sense. While maximizing the chances of discoveries, this technique is obviously risky because it relies mostly on the insight of the analyst and offers few safeguards against selective perception and interpretation. Alternating quantitative with qualitative inquiries and increased recourse to supervision and teamwork should alleviate this difficulty.

The study findings

Scenarios

Crime and daily life. The 40 retailers interviewed reported a total of some 250 armed robberies. The incidents narrated were not spaced over very many years since repeated victimizations, fear of victimization, bankruptcy, and physical disability discourage staying in business long. The record is held by one respondent who has been robbed 41 times, injured a few times and finally permanently disabled. He is now, after 7 years, thinking of retirement!

*A small corner shop selling groceries, beer, school supplies, and household goods—open 7 days a week, 12 to 15 hours a day.

Mr. Hawthorne,* on the other hand, is quite optimistic that he will keep his shop until such time as it becomes impossible:

> For now, I cannot complain too much, since it happens once a year.**

Most people who have suffered criminal victimization cannot recall the precise details of each individual case, after the first two or three. As Mrs. Cyclamen says—

> There have been so many that I lose the thread.

Besides armed robbery, all the shopkeepers have experienced other forms of crime: burglary, shoplifting, fraud, thefts by staff, etc. As a result of their experiences, their daily pattern of life and behavior has been directly affected. Indeed, we shall see that fear of violence permeates their conduct and stains their social relationships with suspicion.

Confrontation. Despite of the reality of the element of fear, the event is always unexpected and sudden. The usual method of attack is either to assault immediately upon arrival or to purchase an item, linger, and then produce the weapon. According to Mr. Carnation—

> When you have it coming to you, it can really be any time.

There was no clear pattern in either the dates or time of attack. Most of the crimes seem to have been committed on impulse and by more than one person.

It is only during the actual time of purchasing or lingering that the victims get a glimpse of the robbers, who are, in the main, young adults.

Intimidation is secured by surprise, the weapon, and a crisp verbal command. However, when the victim obeys quietly and quickly, there is seldom any physical violence or, at most, pushing, blindfolding, tying-up, or locking in a back room; unless the till is empty, which provokes more aggression. It is therefore common for retailers to always leave some cash in the till, just enough to avoid a robber's anger.

Nearly all the victims have commented on their aggressor's nervousness.

> He was a lot more frightened than I was ... Then, he started to be really frightened, you know, nervous and all, and I said to myself: "He's so scared, he can fire." So I acted real cool and quick, must not scare him, it would be too silly. (Mr. Lobelia)

Interaction. At first, the victim responds with numbness, disbelief, and fear. A victim of a robbery for the first time, Mr. Carnation said a few days after the incident—

> I almost fell down in a faint ... Me, I have a heart condition and ... I have to be quiet, that's what my doctor said, because I did ... I had a stroke before ... Anyway, those two bloody ... One puts his gun here (under the chin) and he shouts almost: "come, quick, the cash, otherwise we shoot." You know, when it's other people, you say that you would defend your things, you'd do something. But there, it ... it was for real. I was panicking ... but I stayed very calm, well, I looked very calm ... I think. It seems to me that's what made them nervous. All I could ... I was like frozen, paralyzed. I was looking at them straight in the eyes and I was not able to move, as in the movies.

The weapon dominates the situation. About all the victim can see is the threatening gun. Most women wondered whether the revolver was the genuine article or not.

> I asked myself, is it a toy or real? Having no knowledge of weapons, it's rather difficult, being in a nervous state ... Is it a real one? Is it not? I won't take any chances. (Mrs. Hibicus)

After the initial shock, the action proceeds very rapidly and in various ways. Each scenario is unique. The holdup of small shops is a highly personal event, a most dynamic form of social interaction. Victim and aggressor become linked in the same instinct of personal survival, each one trying to anticipate the opponent's next move and act accordingly.

The rapidity of exchange between the persons involved precludes any role stabilization into more civilized, more stereotyped patterns; the reactions remain instinctive, primitive, impromptu.

> You never know how you're going to react and you never react the same way. It's easy to say you'll do this or that, but, on the spot, it's not the same. (Mr. Sweet pea)

Nevertheless, along the axes of control and authority, it is possible to distinguish four basic patterns: self-control, panic, compliancy, and resistance.

Experienced victims often keep cool and composed. Some try to take control of the situation, planning their moves, defusing the situation or preparing a counterattack. Others, while outwardly yielding, attempt to outwit their opponent and thus minimize their losses. Some people, like Mr. Lobelia, might be struck by the ludicrous side of the situation:

> I started to laugh and I said: "Really, you're out of luck because we have not made one sale today, we have no money." And I was really laughing. I even surprised myself. When I saw the revolver, I stayed cool, ... Then I walked slowly to the cash, I gave him my money. ... When I burst out laughing, I thought it was such a Charlie Chaplin kind of story.

Loss of control takes various forms: numbness, hysterical screaming, verbal abuse, barehanded attack on armed aggressor. Mr. Gloriana was unaware of having been hit by a bullet. Mrs. Rose and Mrs. Cowslip were so terrified that they could not manage to open their tills. Sometimes, both victim and assailant have a common degree of panic; thus, Mr. Violet and his opponent kept firing at one another but no bullet was ejected.

Startled and stupefied, victims sometimes execute the orders without any hesitation. Some do it in a calculated manner:

> I could have put up a fight maybe. I thought about it, there are not millions here. Who cares? Let him take it and clear out quickly. (Mrs. Cyclamen)

Women, employees, and first-time victims are the most likely to comply with the aggressor's wishes. However, a number of experienced victims also show submissiveness out of fear for their lives.

> What can we do? Are we going to risk our lives for 25 bucks? I gave him the money. (Mr. Lily)

Owners in particular, although they might themselves resist, always strongly advise their employees, wives, and children to offer no resistance and hand over the money immediately.

Refusal to comply is typical of the male owner, repeatedly victimized. At the time of his fifth robbery, Mr. Nasturtium was resolved to protect his property:

> I hurled beer bottles at him; the thief; you know, you know, I couldn't help it, one has to defend oneself. It's hard enough as it is to earn a living these days.

*All names are fictitious. (Following the French tradition, flower names are substituted.) [Editor]
**All the interviews but one were conducted in French. In the translation, a lot of the color is lost.

The victims least likely to report a crime are those who are no longer insured and those who have had a previous experience with the judicial system.

The main reasons given for resisting are—

> We work 12 hours a day, 7 days a week, to make a living, we can't accept being deprived of it.
>
> If we submit, there will be no end to it.
>
> It would be too humiliating to submit and be taken advantage of.
>
> The criminal justice system offers no protection; we must rely solely on ourselves.

In fact, those are the reasons put forth when the victim resolves to resist next time and secures a weapon. At the time of the attack itself, however, the main propulsive forces are feelings of rebellion, anger, and exasperation.

Active opposition was present in more than a third of the events described; a very high rate, considering the risks involved. When fighting occurs, the possibilities of injury increase considerably, as, usually, both parties are armed. Most male shopkeepers bought a firearm after one or more victimizations and, moreover, several have used theirs subsequently or are determined to do so in the future. In the encounters studied, seven persons received gunshot wounds: one aggressor and six shopkeepers.

Finally, some of the victims who surrendered the cash chased the thief after he or she left the shop.

Aftermath. In several cases, the portrait of events drawn by the respondents resemble a light comedy: ludicrous incidents, inefficient moves, unseemly remarks, foolish reactions, or, as remarked Mr. Lobelia—

> A frightened kid of seventeen bursting in with a revolver to crash an empty safe.

The usual immediate reaction experienced by first-time victims is shock, sometimes severe enough to necessitate medical help.

> I had a kind of stitch right here; a fit of nerves ... I was very nervous, I was shaking like a leaf ... my legs, they were like spaghetti and me, silly twit, I could not speak, I was out of breath ... (Mr. Carnation)

Let us take a look at the losses incurred by the victims interviewed. In most cases, the cash loss was not considerable. It varied from $25 to $1,800. Once a retailer has been robbed, very little money is kept in the store so that when subsequent victimizations occur, the loss is likely to be small.

It can also happen that customers are forced to empty their pockets and handbags. Moreover, in a few cases, the shopkeepers suffered material damage to their property. At the chemist's, drugs are usually obtained through threat.

The money or merchandise was recovered, in part or in whole, only in 3 out of the 250 robberies examined. Compensation or restitution never occurred. However, a few retailers received payment from their insurance companies. This is a relatively rare occurrence as, first, the cost of the premium is almost prohibitive for this type of business; second, claims are investigated thoroughly and at great length; third, all Montreal companies refuse shops after the third claim. The company executive and claim agents whom we questioned confirmed our respondent's report. As a result of this situation, most retailers carried no insurance against robbery or else they did not report the smaller losses:

> Well, we don't report all the time, otherwise, we would not be insured. (Mr. Gloxinia)

Physical injuries have already been mentioned. Six retailers were seriously wounded on at least one occasion; other people received minor or superficial injuries. These, of course, occasioned medical expenses and loss of earnings which I have not attempted to calculate.

Three victims who sustained neither injury nor substantial property loss, suffered emotional trauma from the attack, necessitating hospital treatment. In some cases, assistants left their jobs as they felt unable to overcome their acute anxiety. As they have more at stake, it is less frequent for the owners to seek another occupation, yet the turnover seemed quite high. Four respondents were no longer operating their business at the time of the interview. It can also be assumed that a high proportion of the 40 victims we were unable to reach had sold their shops and were elsewhere employed.

Indirect financial losses or costs appear to be associated with psychological effects and prevention strategies. Fear of crime, in various degrees, is present in the daily life of the retailers. Mrs. Hilium, like a few other women, had a buzzer installed on her door and, at night, when she is alone in the store, she never opens the door to strangers. Others have simply shortened their business hours.

> We have been obliged to close at 10:00 because it was getting to be too much.
>
> We lose money because, you know, a "depanneur" is supposed to be open till eleven, but we can't do it anymore. (Mr. Myosotis)

In one case, the fear of crime had extended beyond the shop:

> Now, I dread everything, everything, I'm telling you, I have become so suspicious! I walk in the subway, I go on holiday, I hold on to my purse ... I think the word "thief" all the time. You know, we are not rich but you know, we're afraid. (Mrs. Cowslip)

As a result, the shop owners buy, at great cost, alarm systems, police dogs, weapons, and various electronic security devices. However, these means of protection do not seem very efficient, with the possible exception of the dogs. It was also said that it becomes increasingly difficult to hire sales staff. According to Mr. Daffodil—

> There are lots of people who don't want to work there. These things are known in the profession. If there are lots of attacks in a store, they say; "it's dangerous, I don't want to work there."

The fear may have a specific object: reprisals.

> I was so scared that the guy might come back to settle his account. (Mrs. Iris)
>
> We sold our cottage, our restaurant; we also changed our telephone number so that he could not track us down. (Mrs. Chrysanthemum)

Although most respondents expressed fear for their lives much more than for their property, they showed generally a deep concern for their income and a feeling of injustice:

> It grieves us to be robbed of something we have worked so hard for. The grocer, he works hours to make what? $25? But they do nothing and in ten seconds, they can make $500, just like that. (Mrs. Cowslip)

When they sum up their experiences, the victims take a somewhat different view. Subsequent interpretations and feelings are distributed along two dimensions: emotional and practical.

Emotionally, disgust and fear remain quite some time after the incident. Disgust is more frequent among men whose income is comfortable and who did not resist:

> You know, personally, thefts don't bother me that much ... it's only the fact of having a weapon thrown in my face that still disgusts me. (Mr. Allyssum)

As for fear—

> It is fear that is there ... I'm afraid of everything since. At night, I lock the door, the windows. ... You know, it's hard to live in an unceasing fear. (Mrs. Chrysanthemum)

Perceptions of aggressors, criminals, and crime

The victims could provide only limited descriptions of the offenders. The encounters lasted only a few minutes and the weapon monopolized the attention. Almost all the robbers are said to have been quite young, between 16 and 25. They are also described as well or shabbily dressed, clean looking or unkempt, with short or long hair.

Perception of aggressors. The most important finding is that the aggressors are not perceived as criminals. This is sometimes expressed very clearly:

> They were definitely not criminals. (Mrs. Peony)
>
> It was a sick person maybe but not a criminal. (Mr. Phlox)

One common opinion is that those youngsters were inexperienced, ridiculous, irresponsible, foolish; otherwise they would not have taken a big risk for little money.

Several victims are inclined to excuse their robbers; errors of youth, bad influence of elders, testing of manhood, or need of money:

> He wasn't wicked at all, that guy. It's just a test that he did. (Mr. Sweet pea)
>
> I suppose they had no money to celebrate with. They did it only for the money, they were not bad kids. (Mrs. Anemones)

Psychological explanations are also offered which can be summarized by Mrs. Zinnia's comment:

> They just seem to lack something.

Victims are not all as soft-hearted as the ones quoted above. A few refer to their aggressors as drug addicts, overbearing young men who laugh at their victims, and recidivists.

Only one person, Mrs. Immortelle, considers that her assailants were criminals:

> According to me, they are criminals, because it was not spontaneous, it was premeditated.

To understand this surprising finding—surprising in view of the loss incurred and their fear of crime—it is necessary to know how they define crime and criminals.

Perceptions of crime. The shopkeepers talk about crime without reference to their own experiences as though there was no connection between the two. Indeed, they never define the aggression they suffered as a crime. Murder, rape, bank robbery, and hard drug traffic represent the "big crime," which, for them, is real crime. Sometimes, pollution, corporate crime, or corruption at high levels are included, but only exceptionally.

They are very concerned with motives and causes, as those elements act as criteria in their definition of what is criminal. Family and upbringing occupy the first place in their causal theories of crime but all the criminological theories—psychological, biological, economic, etc.—are represented in the opinions expressed. The criminal justice system is often mentioned among the causal factors: courts too lenient or too harsh after a first minor offense, rotten prison system, being given the example of unfairness.

Perceptions of criminals. There are real criminals ("vrais criminels") and other kinds of people—hooligans, thieves, wrongdoers.

Criminals, i.e., real criminals, are monstrous creatures, different from other human beings, easily recognizable because of physical and moral defects.

> They were youngsters who did not look like gangsters ... Sometimes, it's written in their face, you know. So well dressed, short hair, goodlooking young men, not at all like criminals. (Mrs. Peony)
>
> I couldn't say they had the gangster style. (Mrs. Anemone)

The real criminal is usually a professional who can be identified by certain features. First of all, he chooses a lucrative target. Mr. Pansy remarks—

> The adults, the tough ones, they don't bother about stealing peanuts.

He is an older, middle-aged man, experienced and cool. According to Mr. Aubretia—

> The experienced criminal, the experienced gangster, does not shake as those who come here. He moves and the revolver does not move. It's there. He won't shoot, he knows he wouldn't shoot for no reason. He is not nervous and he is as bold as a bull.

We can now begin to measure the distance between the victim's opinion of his aggressor and his ideas about criminals. Mr. Mimosa expresses a common point of view among our respondents:

> You see, the difference between our little thieves and the real ones, it's first their way of doing things and what they have at the back of their minds. If they want $100, they will shake while stealing from you, but when they come to $1,000, they have to be very determined and not hesitate to kill.

The motives or intent of the criminal are perceived as different from the hooligan's. The first acts deliberately, with premeditation and to satisfy "unreasonable" personal needs, mostly financial needs. He is already quite wealthy. The small thief, on the other hand, needs money to buy bread, clothes, and beer.

Finally, various circumstances change the seriousness of an act. To attack younger, older, or poorer people, for a man to injure a woman, for a gang to beat a lone individual—all those aggravate the criminal quality of the behavior.

These findings represent a step forward in the study of social reaction. They illustrate the gap between the personal experience and the stereotypes as well as between the experts' opinions and those of ordinary citizens. Thus, a very small percentage of the people defined as criminals by the penal system and by the criminologists would also be called criminals by the public.

A sharp distinction is drawn between the real criminals (hardened, repulsive, rich, inhuman, professional offenders) and all the other offenders. The latter are described as misbehaving human beings; however annoying their actions might be, they are always seen as normal persons with whom it is possible to identify. Indeed, several respondents view those not as "real criminals" but as scapegoats, exploited, neglected, or unfairly treated, which is very similar to the description they give of themselves as victims.

The research implications are equally important. The data presented here cast some doubt on the interpretations of most public opinion surveys on crime matters as the result of the gap between the researcher's vocabulary and the respondents'.

Perceptions of the criminal justice system—the police

All the shopkeepers interviewed have come into contact with the criminal justice system. The longer and the more intense this experience has been, the more precise and developed are the opinions expressed.

Once the holdup is over, the aggressor fled or held captive, the common reflex is to call the police. I call it reflex because it seems to be a spontaneous gesture, an automatic response. If it is a first holdup, the police are always called. With increased experience, the decision is taken after weighing the pros and cons.

Reasons for not reporting crimes have been analyzed in a great number of reports on victimization surveys. While they are similar to those given by the retailers studied (e.g., is not worth it, nothing can be done, the police would not want to be bothered, fear of reprisal, . . .), they might fail to express accurately the respondents' opinion. In the present data, all these reasons were given but they could be summarized thus: the inconveniences would be greater than the advantages.

The insured who planned to file a claim called the police to comply with the insurance company's requirements. Other reasons for calling were physical injuries and a need to tell somebody. When the thief was chased and caught, the police were asked to come take charge of him. Women were more likely to call the police than men.

The victims least likely to report the crime are those who are no longer insured and who have had a previous experience with the judicial system. They would agree with Mr. Nasturtium that it was just a waste of time.

It was found that crime reporting was not related to the attitudes toward the police, but it was influenced by previous court experience.

As far as the police are concerned, the opinions were rather positive. It might be useful to make a distinction between the respondents' views as victims and their views as citizens.

Satisfaction with police intervention:

> Within a minute and a half, there were 15 police cars in front of the door. (Mr. Hybrid)

Swiftness, siren, and display very favorably impress the victims while a delay in arriving on the scene leaves a bitter taste. It would seem, however, that delays are rare.

Once there, policemen are in no hurry. The robber has already disappeared unless the victims caught him themselves. So, says Mr. Phlox—

> They are not in much of a bother; they come in and they take their time. "Well, well, what has happened now?" They smoke, they chat . . . not agitated at all.

With few exceptions, the victims consider that they were very well treated by policemen who were kind and considerate. Mr. Carnation told us—

> They started to ask me questions, but very slowly, because they could see I was in a nervous state; they have been very nice.

On the other hand, Mr. Violet claims that he was handled roughly when carried to the hospital by the policemen.

Kindly or not, there is work to be done, reports to be completed, and questions to be asked. While most victims saw the police work as comforting, Mrs. Periwinkle saw it as a violation of her home and an excessive parade of authority.

At the beginning of the investigations, all the victims cooperated willingly, if not gratefully, and the level of satisfaction was high. Thereafter, things deteriorated progressively. Detectives came and asked the same questions all over again. The victim was asked either to look at photographs at the police station or to participate in an identification parade. Both tasks were distressing and time-consuming. The victim cannot or does not want to make positive identification. The first case is easy to understand: the aggressor was seen very briefly and while under stress. In the second case, the reasons given were fear of reprisal or pity for the robber.

Perceptions of the police. When the victims used the word "police," they referred to the Montreal police force or to the police officers or to police work.

None of the shopkeepers interviewed seemed satisfied with the recent integration of police forces within the territory of Greater Montreal. They expressed nostalgia for the good old police officer on the beat, they felt poorly protected because of what they perceived as an insufficient number of police personnel, and they were confused by the hierarchy and division of authority.

However, as an individual, the police officer is clearly the most respected and appreciated among the various agents of the legal system; he is considered, above all, as a human being:

> You know, they are called dirty dogs and all kinds of names, but myself, I found they were more than O.K., those men. They have been nice, polite, pleasant, and they looked after me. They are real men but they are not really understood. (Mr. Carnation)

They are not understood. This statement is repeated by several shopkeepers who think that the public is blindly negative toward police. If we talked with them more often, said Mr. Dahlia, we would feel a great deal more secure. Mrs. Peony confessed to a change of opinion after her contacts with the police; she went on:

> The policemen: too much is asked of them, I think, and they are too often criticized by people who know nothing about them.

Police work. Despite their sympathy for the men who work in the police force, the victims are under no illusion about the efficiency of police work. Citizens and their properties are not protected and criminals are not caught. However, the police are not to be blamed; they do what they can, but—

> They cannot be everywhere at the same time. (Mr. Dahlia)

The job is difficult and dangerous; it is seen as normal and matter of fact that the policemen are afraid for their lives.

It is as though a shared experience had forged further bonds between police and victims. The latter experience a feeling of helplessness, a feeling which they readily attribute to the police officers too, whom they see as outmanned and outgunned by both the criminals and the courts.

> It's not their fault. As far as they are concerned, they do their job, they collect the evidence, they arrest the guy; but when they arrive in Court, the lawyers and even the judges prevent them from doing their job. (Mr. Pansy)

In fact, the police officer is seen as a puppet, manipulated by the other agents of the system, and as a clown laughed at by the criminals.

> Policemen are not to be blamed. They have to get the gangsters. And then, they are criticized because they act rough. And the day after, they see the gangsters on the street, right away they were freed, and get laughed at to their faces. It happens often. For the policeman, there is nothing he can do. (Mr. Myosotis)

Only three victims were consistently negative toward police officers and police work: Mr. Violet, who sees the badge as the only difference between policeman and criminal; Mr. Aubretia, who suspects the police of foul play, and Mrs. Wallflower, who considers them totally useless.

In short, it is generally felt that the police cannot prevent crime and very seldom find the offenders. But the prevailing opinion, nevertheless, is that the police personnel themselves should not be blamed for this situation. They are the only agents of the system who showed some consideration for the victim, and they are the only ones who tried to comfort them or at least listen to them.

> I think that the police are the last ones to blame in this mess. They work for us in fact; I think they are the only ones who have any sense in the system. (Mr. Carnation)

What is the impact of the victimization on the attitudes toward the police? No previous research has been able to answer that question satisfactorily, due to, among other things, technical faults and the omission of the time factor in the research design. That is the case for this study too. In the absence of a satisfactory measure of attitudes prior to the criminal event, changes in attitude cannot be ascertained. However, the present study has turned up some clues: not only were the shopkeepers/victims very appreciative of the police, but they were more so than a similar sample interviewed the preceding year who had never been victimized. Two respondents explicitly said they had a better opinion of the police as a result of their experience. This question needs further and more rigorous study.

The court

Eighteen out of the 40 retailers interviewed were never summoned to the court as a result of the robbery. To those who received them, the subpoena came as a surprise, usually unwelcome. The victim had not realized that a call to the police was equivalent to filing a complaint; further, as Mr. Hybrid says, if the subpoena comes, "there is nothing you can do about it."

Satisfaction with the court experience. The call to appear in front of a court of justice as a witness is disturbing:

> We are nervous enough to start with, for we are not used to that setting, that sort of people; when it comes to the actual thing, we are really jumpy. (Mrs. Rose)

The respondents were not only unfamiliar with the customs of the court, but they also knew next to nothing of judicial procedures. None of them were briefed; they all feared the consequences of their testimony: they might get into trouble with the law, the offender might receive a harsh sentence, or the offender might take revenge on them.

The experience was in no way as dramatic as expected. Most of them spent a great deal of time in the courthouse, but their testimony, if required at all, was very brief. The first image evoked by the court was that of a big waste of time and money.

> They ask us to come at 8:30 in the morning. Why? I still don't know why since they only arrive at 9:15, 9:30.

Some told about waiting all day only to learn that the case was adjourned. Usually, they were not given any reason and concluded—

> They couldn't care less about us.

Frequent requests to appear, useless waiting, summary dismissals, uncompensated loss of earnings, all make plain this lack of consideration. The show seems to be run by and for the agents of the system:

> So, at one point, the judge feels that he is hungry. So he says to everyone that it's postponed for 2 hours. He goes and has lunch for 2 hours, so we go to lunch too; and then we have to wander about because 2 hours for lunch, it's very long. (Mrs. Rose)

These agents are either unconscious of the inconveniences suffered by the witnesses or inconsiderately create them themselves. A further hardship is the confrontation with the aggressor who sometimes is seated close to the witness in the waiting room or in the courtroom. This was vaguely perceived as wrong and generated some stress and discomfort. The same feeling was felt at the witness stand, as Mr. Phlox says—

> You step into the box, and then you have your guy there, in front of you, and you have to explain your whole business. That, I don't like. The guy looks as to say: "just you wait until I get out."

Instead of the expected quest for the truth, the trial turns out to be contest between two lawyers, in the presence of a deistically unobtrusive judge.

> I find it's like a play sometimes. Everybody has learned his little bit of text . . . they have some kind of text; as for the judge, he is the prompter. When one of them can't remember his lines, well, then the others talk for him, and, sometimes, they get things all wrong.

Such an analogy with the theater was used by six other respondents, to describe the court. It was—

> . . . a show, because everything is decided before hand. The lawyers and the judges have decided every thing before they enter the courtroom. We have so much the feeling of attending a show. Let me tell you, the lawyers and the judge are very good actors; they do it really well.

The suspected existence of intrigue, secret agreements, decisions taken in advance, etc., renders the participation of the witness meaningless. The witness has no say in the charge brought against the defendant. While the word "plea bargaining" is unknown, its existence has been discovered during the long waits in the courthouse. As have been the most common defense tactics—

> Well, the lawyer, when he feels that the judge is too harsh, he says to the guy: 'don't show up, we'll get a postponement, you won't have the wrong judge'. (Mr. Alyssum)

When perceived as a show, the trial arouses contempt or encourages disengagement. Seen as a web of intrigue, it gives rise to a pervading suspicion, a vague awareness of traps and tricks everywhere: "There is something behind that," or as Mr. Hybrid puts it—

> You have to be very, very careful. It's really tricky when you are not educated. You don't know the law, you better sit tight because if you do something, if you open your mouth, you'll get it.

Mr. Hybrid is not wrong. It would appear that the witnesses' unease is due largely to their ignorance of the procedure. Even after one or several court experiences, they talk of a trial when they obviously mean a preliminary hearing; they are totally unaware of the rule of evidence, let alone their rights and duties. The ignorance that surrounds them so fully would, most likely, reinforce the existing mistrust. This could also account for the impressionistic reports given of their court experience. Unlike the detailed and ordered descriptions of the criminal events and police interven-

tion, the narration of the court happenings is disjointed, jerky, fragmentary.

The victims feel like a pawn in the system. While listening to them and reading the interviews, this impression emerges over and over. In court, they declare, the citizen is denied the right of free expression. The witness cannot state his or her case unless invited to do so. Some interviewees remarked that this was also the case for the defendant who, having an "interpreter," cannot utter a word.

If allowed to speak, their speech is guided, reinterpreted, translated. As a representative of the common opinion, one may quote Mr. Hybrid:

> They tried to make me say the opposite of what I wanted to say, they wanted me to contradict myself. But I was waiting for them and they were not going to get me like that ... You're supposed to say what they want you to say, they put the words in your mouth, sort of.

Perhaps the most disquieting finding was that, in Mr. Pansy's words—

> It turns out that it's us who are on trial.

Tried, or convicted, as an uncooperative witness and scolded like a child—

> I just could not say exactly how much there was in the cash. The judge wasn't very happy with that and he reprimanded me. It's almost to the point that we get robbed and then it's us who get accused afterwards. (Mrs. Wallflower)

Branded as perjurer, because of a lapse of memory—

> an individual like me does not write everything down in a little notebook. And they will say I committed perjury.

Or, through some twist or trick, accused of the very offense itself—

> It was lucky I had a witness ... They did not have much to convict us with since our fingerprints were not on the gun. Not ours, only his, so they could not make anything out of that.

The victims who were called to testify all experienced a sense of degradation through unspoken accusation or open ridicule. Those impressions are generated in the cross-examination and intensified by legal ignorance, verbal inadequacy, and the absence of counsel for witnesses.

On the whole, the victims show little respect for the justice administered by the courts. It is a joke, a show, a ridiculous waste of time and money. They felt demeaned by it, discounted, alienated. They had no role in nor control of the justice system.

Intensely frightening though it might be, the robbery seldom left permanent scars on its victims; on the other hand, while much less dramatic, the court experience had long lasting effects. Only recent victims seemed deeply affected by the criminal event while time has no apparent effect on the perceptions of the court. In other studies of the impact of the court on victims (only victims of rape have been studied in that respect), the experience has been described as a second victimization, "often as traumatic as the event of the crime itself" (Burgess and Holstrom 1974). Perhaps most significant is the similarity found between the victims' images of the judicial system and the defendants'. Reporting on a qualitative study of offenders' perceptions of crime and justice, Robert and Laffargue (1977) reached conclusions very similar to those just expressed here.

Avoidance is the answer. In the future, we will keep away from the justice, say the victim-witnesses or, as Mrs. Peony puts it more directly—

> I hope they won't be caught so I don't have to go to the court again.

At that point, the least of their concerns is having the robbers sentenced. They have lost all interest and only want to go back to their daily routine. Few respondents discussed spontaneously the outcome of the trial. Upon being questioned, some expressed satisfaction that the sentence was mild or severe; others were dissatisfied for the same reasons; but most of them had not been informed of the fate of their aggressors.

Experience is closely associated with the direction, intensity, and vividness of the opinions expressed. The victims who had not been required to testify in court are less negative in their evaluations than the witnesses; they are also less specific and personal in their comments. In fact, they said little, and that, usually, only when asked precise questions.

Judges. The victims interviewed are rather tolerant toward the judge who, not unsurprisingly, is often denied the prestige commensurate with his rank and salary. He was not a highly conspicuous person in court and the witness felt that he had the easy job of handing out sentences. On the other hand, the victims who had no court experience were impressed by the great responsibilities attached to the function of a judge.

A judge must be fair, unbiased, say the respondents, and although most are well intentioned, the task is hopeless:

> He can't be impartial. He is only a man. Either he likes the guy or he doesn't. (Mr. Lobelia)

They also think that the judge cannot be as just for the poor as he is for the rich. He must take sides and the rich win.

Only one victim-witness was hostile to the judges, to the point of wishing harm to them or their families. In summary then, the judge is perceived as a distant, rather colorless, unobtrusive person, and the subject of only mild criticism.

Lawyers. In contrast to judges, everyone had something to say about lawyers. Concerning the defense lawyers, the opinions are plentiful and varied while prosecutors are virtually ignored.

The word "lawyer" invariably suggests money to our respondents. The entire discourse of the respondents revolves around the theme of money. Lawyers are expensive, corrupt, and dishonest moneymakers who provide impunity to the rich and bring trouble to the poor. And this is why justice is so unjust; it is seen as proportionate to the amount of money invested in it. Guilt or innocence are irrelevant; only wealth matters. The cleverer a lawyer is, the higher his price. Defended by a good lawyer, any offender can be acquitted. Of course, an impecunious defendant can avail himself of state-provided counsel, but public lawyers are perceived as inexperienced, incompetent, and uncaring.

The picture is bleak, yet no condemnation nor hostility is expressed. The most radical criticism was voiced by Mr. Hybrid, who considers that society would benefit from their disappearance. Otherwise, the personality and conduct of the lawyers are accepted as normal features of their profession. If miscarriages of justice are to be avoided—a desirable objective, even guilty defendants must be accorded the right to legal counsel. There lies the source of corruption and falsehood. The defense lawyer is compelled by the demands of his profession to act wrongly.

Taking the best lawyers in Montreal, they are not honest; it's impossible for them to be honest. They're people who operate by seizing on the other lawyer's mistakes or the individual's slips. So they take away all the innocence of the individual and that's the way that they'll twist everything around and make people say things that they have not said or seen or whatever.

This was the one theme in the study where complete consensus could be observed in the opinions expressed.

Justice, the state, and the law:

> Justice, which justice?
>
> As I see it, there is no justice.
>
> I think that the justice, the way it's administered, it's an inhuman justice.
>
> It's a big machine. I have a feeling that if you put your hand in it, that will be it.
>
> Justice, in reality, is not equal for everybody.
>
> Justice, so what? Just trying to patch up things so that people won't grumble too much. It's nothing. Nothing makes sense in it. It's disgusting. Well, if that's what justice is all about, I'd rather not think about it all.

Comment is needless. There is only one discordant voice in these variations on the theme of no justice:

> On the whole, the justice is not so bad, I think.

In their elaborations on justice, the respondents did not refer specifically to their own case. They were expressing their views of a social situation or structure. Justice is denied to the poor, the powerless, whoever they are:

> As for justice, it's very sad because those people probably have no money and so they won't be able to defend themselves as other people.

Why is it so? From this point on, their discourse becomes vague, general, sometimes incoherent. There must be a reason but the machinery of justice is so intricate they cannot make head or tail of it. Instead of blaming particular people or groups, they will accuse impersonal entities such as the law, the system, or "the government." It has been hinted that the justice system acts in collusion with the government, but the details of this "dirty" association remain mysterious.

In summary, little respect and much distrust have been expressed toward the legal institutions. The respondents were reluctant or unable to apportion the blame to specific persons, groups, or professions. Lawyers, through their actions, and judges, because of their passivity, contribute to the injustice of the system. However, the bulk of the responsibility seems to be elsewhere, in some oppressive powers, of which only money was identified.

One variable was found to be unambiguously discriminant: the extent of the court experience. Secondly, sex and education, when tested statistically, are likely to prove significant. Educated respondents, usually the most critical, expressed only moderate dissatisfactions. It could be that being more informed about the workings of the judicial system and having more mastery of the language, they were not so crushed and overpowered by the court situation.

Suggestions for change are scarce. It is suggested that, short of a revolution, change is unlikely; there are just too many interests involved. The solutions favored by most shopkeepers are avoidance and/or resignation.

Summary

A study of victimization

In the process of collecting and analyzing the material, various interpretations succeeded one another depending on the extent to which the data was mastered and, also, on the emotions aroused. The first interviews provoked indignation. Later on we grew weary of persecuted people obsessed by various fears and riddled with problems. It seems that underdogs have such an effect on all people, laymen and researchers alike; we tend automatically to look the other way, to flinch, to flee, and this could well be one of the reasons why victims are so neglected (Ryan 1972). In any case, at that moment, it seemed to us that the interviewees were unduly concerned with material considerations and that their discontent was incommensurate with the loss suffered. As the work went on, the impact of the victimization became increasingly clear while the State intervention raised more and more questions.

Highly visible and much talked about, the financial loss is the only item that is sometimes acknowledged by governments and courts. Although it had tremendous importance in some cases, it did not appear to be the most important loss usually. The psychological and social losses produced deeper and longer-lasting effects on most of the victims interviewed. We observed a loss of self-esteem, confidence, trust, and power. Helplessness is revealed time and again in the expressions used to describe feelings or reactions and in the facts narrated. This state of powerlessness is probably the most forceful and striking finding of the study.

There is no protection against crime

Robberies are unpredictable. They happen at any time, and all the preventive measures the shopkeepers can afford offer little protection, if any. More intensive patrolling by the police would be helpful, the respondents say, but studies in that area are inconclusive.

The event itself represents a dramatic illustration of loss of power in its most basic element, survival. In the situation studied here, the inability to control the situation was due mostly to the inexperience of both parties involved and the presence of a firearm. The male victims who did not resist felt they had lost face, which is apparently shameful as shown by their eagerness to either excuse themselves or to find some trivial triumph:

> I fooled them ... because underneath the till, below, I have another small box and when I have no time, I put money there. They didn't ask, they didn't wait to ask if I had more money ... I was shaking, I was very nervous but I laughed, laughed, when I thought how stupid they had been, these guys. Suckers, that's what they are. (Mr. Carnation)

Robbery (as indeed any violent victimization perhaps, since the same has been said of rape) is not only humiliating but it is also felt to be a violation of privacy. This fact is illustrated by the reactions of shopowners compared to the employees and the respondents who lived on the premises compared to those who did not. This notion of infringement on a person's privacy or personal territory is perhaps a major determinant of the impact of victimization.

Victims have no part in the criminal and judicial proceedings

The real, everyday workings of justice and its concrete impact have hardly ever been examined. The courts remain the unknown quantity. While police and prisons have been over-researched (relatively), the courts of criminal justice are left untouched. It is as though this long and crucial stage in the lives of the people it touches were neutral; the underlying assumption being that courts can do no harm.

My personal observations,* those of Giroux and Huot (1978), and the remarks of the shopkeeper victims, lead to the same

*Yet unpublished systematic observations carried out in Montreal's Palais de Justice, between 1975 and 1978, including every stage of criminal proceedings.

conclusion: the citizen is completely excluded from the process of administering justice.

As far as the victim is concerned, the citizen's duty is to report the crime. Personal insurance and state-sponsored compensation schemes require the victimization to be reported. Hospital attendants recommend it strongly; not infrequently they will take it upon themselves to notify the authorities, as will friends, families, and passers-by; and somehow, in the socialization of the Quebecois, the idea has crept in that a responsible citizen, victim of a crime, can protect potential victims by reporting the event to the police. Social pressures are rather strong.

Once the crime is made known to the police, the victim becomes a complainant, whether the change of role was desired or not. He or she remains but briefly a complainant, enough time to set things in motion; from then on, the victim will be a witness. As the offense has now become public, it is no longer deemed to be an offense against the victim. Through some mysterious alchemy, it is the State that has been injured and bleeds. Consequently, the victim cannot desist or withdraw charges. The victim's only power was to set the wheels turning.

Offenders were apprehended in less than a third of the events reported in the interviews.* They were then arraigned in court and evidence was heard to determine if sufficient grounds existed to remand them for trial. It is likely that some suspects pleaded guilty to the charge of armed robbery or to lesser charges negotiated between the defense and the prosecution and that some cases might have been dismissed for lack of evidence.

During all these initial stages of the court's dealings with the robbery defendants, the victims are unaware that their aggressor has been apprehended and brought to justice. They are notified only when the case proceeds further and their testimony is needed; the subpoena then informs them that suspects in one of the robberies they suffered have been found and arraigned. This might happen several months after the incident, when they had thought the case had been filed and forgotten.

If their testimony is not needed, the victims are not notified of court sessions. The legal agencies see no need to inform them or to have them observe the proceedings.

*This percentage is an estimate derived from data that is not always clear or complete.

They are not told of the outcome of the case either—even if they have participated in the trial. The respondents were quite resentful of this lack of information for two main reasons. First, to be left in the dark seems to increase their anxiety. Generally, the authorities' silence is interpreted as inconsiderateness:

> We go there all the time, we waste an awful lot of time to help them, and they don't even bother to tell us how it turned out. The least they could do is tell us. (Mrs. Cyclamen)

Notice the expression "to help them."

Faced with adjournments, delays, reschedulings, and discourtesies, the victim comes to the realization that he or she means nothing to the legal agents and that they are totally unconcerned about the victim's lot. They might have added that the system does not serve the citizenry but only itself or, as Cannavale and Falcon (1976) express it—

> The nature of the court system is to favor "insider interests" over "outsider interests." Thus, the majority of inconveniences affect witnesses but not judges, prosecutors, etc.

Powerlessness comes from or results in being denied "le droit de parole," the right to state one's case in one's own words. This is refused to every lay citizen involved in court proceedings, defendants as well as witnesses, and, when the occasional leave to speak is granted, more often than not words are changed and meanings distorted.

Having lost all control of the administration of justice, the citizen has become a mere pretext of its operations. The victims, in particular, have been allocated the undistinguished role of many witnesses for the prosecution: their participation in judicial procedures being dependent on their capacity to bring about the conviction of an alleged offender. The victim has become an instrument in the hands of a pervertedly self-serving, self-perpetuating system.

In the Canadian legal system, and most likely in the legal system of all societies where equivalent social and economic conditions prevail, the victims are accorded no status and no prerogatives. The right of the injured party to participate in the criminal process and to see redress within it is not acknowledged.

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Psychological effects and behavioral changes in the case of victims of serious crimes

GERARD J. A. SMALE*

Introduction

The data presented here are derived from an extensive investigation carried out in Amsterdam in 1975 among victims of serious crimes of violence and serious crimes against property.

The aim of the investigation was to gain insight into the physical, financial, psychological, and social consequences of victimization and to study the victim's attitudes toward the offender and experiences with persons and institutions concerned with maintaining law and order, compensation of damages, and aid.

Only part of the total investigation will be presented here: that part concerned with the psychological effects of crime and the behavioral changes which these crimes entail. The paper briefly describes the framework of the study, the results of the investigation, and, finally, the outline of a theoretical model into which the data can be classified and according to which they will be included in a general theory.

Framework of the Investigation

Four groups of victims were selected for the investigation; the groups were chosen based on the type of crime and the employment status of the victim. There were two groups of violent-crime victims: one consisting of 56 persons from the lower social classes and one consisting of 50 persons from the higher social classes. There were also two groups of property-crime victims: one of 96 persons from the lower classes and one of 157 persons from the higher classes. Unskilled and skilled labor were defined as lower social class and all other occupations as higher social class.

These groups were formed on the basis of data from the Amsterdam City Police. The victims selected had reported a serious violent crime or a serious property crime in the period between January 1972 and July 1974. A serious violent crime was defined as one involving stab wounds or shot wounds, cuts in the face, fractures, concussion of the brain, injury to the teeth, eyes, or ears, etc.; such cases usually involved medical treatment and entailed absence from work. A serious property crime was considered to be one involving damages amounting to at least $250. The victims were all male and were more than 20 years of age. They were all Dutch nationals and were living in Amsterdam or its immediate surroundings when the crime was committed.

The material was collected by means of interviews. In view of the often long periods necessary for recuperation and settlement of damages, the victims were interviewed on an average of 2 years after the crime.

Results

The psychological effects

The questionnaire consisted of 20 questions about the impact of the crime. For each question it was possible to indicate how often and how long certain effects had manifested themselves or what the intensity of the effect was. For most of the questions, there was a choice of four possible levels of answers (e.g., very often, regularly, sometimes, never; very intense, intense, little, none). The questions and responses are listed in Table 10-1. For the frequencies in this table, we have combined the various groups into one. Later, these will be analyzed separately to examine to what extent the type of crime and the victim's employment status (and a few other characteristics) have influenced the nature and the magnitude of the psychological effects.

A number of observations can be made on the basis of this table. First, it appears that two types of psychological effects are present for almost all the victims: fright (Q. 1, Table 10-1) and fear of recurrence (Q. 9). For a quarter to a half of all the victims, the following types of effects occurred: the need to air feelings (Q. 17), distrust of others (Q. 15 and Q. 11), sense of sharing responsibility (Q. 19 and Q. 18), and fear (Q. 7 and Q. 8). All other effects appear only for less than a quarter of the victims. Although infrequent, however, a number of fairly serious effects are evident; e.g., sleep difficulties and a feeling of insecurity even at home.

High percentages in the column "none/never" might give the impression that for quite a large number of victims there were no psychological effects at all. This would only be the case if the "none" column for each question represented the same persons. This is not the case. Individual analysis shows that not a single victim was free from psychological damage. Each person responded at least once in the serious or the most serious response category (very often, often; very strongly, strongly; very long, long); more than 52% of the victims selected the most serious category at least once.

As mentioned earlier, we also wanted to examine the differential effects of the type of crime and the employment status of the victim. Violent crimes appear to cause more frequent and also more intense psychological problems than property crimes (tested according to the Mann-Whitney method). Violent-crime victims exhibit greater fright; 85% of violent-crime victims show this effect to a greater or lesser degree as opposed to 79% of property-crime victims. The crime occupies their minds longer (58% against 44%). They have more sleep difficulties (36% against 23%). They have these problems for a longer period of time (among those with problems, an average of 11 months for the violent-crime victims against 8 months for property-crime victims). They have used tranquilizers (barbiturates) more often (21% against 6%) and they used them for a longer period of time (among the users, an average of 10 months against 9 months). After the crime, violent-crime victims feel afraid more often (38% against 22%). They have more fear of acts of revenge by the offender (32% against 14%). They feel less safe in the streets (32% against 10%), and they feel more alone in absorbing the crime's consequences (24% against 13%).

In contrast to this, property-crime victims appear to be more afraid of recurrence of the crime; 73% of them exhibit this effect to a greater or lesser degree while for violent-crime victims the percentage is 51%. Property-crime victims more often think that they themselves are to a certain extent to blame for the crime (33% against 18%) and, finally, they more often think that the crime could have been prevented if they had acted differently themselves (37% against 23%). As far as the other psychological effects mentioned in Table 10-1 are concerned, there are no significant differences between the two types of crime.

In contrast to the type of crime, the employment status of the victim shows hardly any connection with the nature and the magnitude of the psychological effects. Only 1 out of 20 comparisons yields a significant result, therefore, no conclusions can be drawn.

*Gerard Smale died in the time between completion of this research and its publication. Questions about the study should be addressed to R. Jongman at the Institute for Criminology, University of Groningen, The Netherlands.

Factor analysis: Psychological effects

Besides relating the nature and the magnitude of the psychological damage to the type of crime and the victim's employment status, we were also interested in examining the relationship of psychological damage to other characteristics. If we were to do this for every type of damage separately the result would be unreadable, we therefore used a factor analysis to reduce the different types of damage to a smaller number of homogeneous subtypes. The result of this compilation is presented in Table 10-2.

As the table shows, five factors were extracted from the data. This number was obtained after examining various rotations. Rotation of three factors also yielded a result that could be interpreted quite easily. In this rotation, however, factors II, III, and IV coincided. These three factors indicate a certain fear of unexpected, unpleasant events. A five-factor model was chosen since it makes a more detailed description of the psychological effects possible. This is because the general fear of the unexpected is then divided into three independent orthogonal dimensions.

Factor I can be described by the term "psychosomatic damage." The general fear questions load very high in factor II. From the answers to an open-ended question included to clarify the meaning of fear, it appeared that the victims mainly feared recurrence of the crime and acts of revenge. Although the two direct questions relating to these types of fear disappear into factors III and IV, they also load on factor II. We therefore feel that this factor (factor II), can best be described as "fear of recurrence and revenge." Factor III refers to "feelings of insecurity." Factor IV can be designated as "less trust." Finally, factor V refers to a feeling of sharing responsibility for the incident.

Crimes, then, cause psychosomatic damage, they lead to fear of recurrence and revenge, they increase the feelings of insecurity, they lessen the trust in others, and they lead to the feeling of being coresponsible. These effects do not occur always. What is important is the type of victimization—either violence or property. Other characteristics influence the nature and magnitude of the psychological effects; some have more to do with the crime and others have more to do with the victim.

Factor I: Correlation-analysis shows that psychosomatic damage is greater in violent crimes than in property crimes; we had already found this difference with the simple bivariate analysis. Furthermore, within the group of violent-crime victims this damage is greater in cases where the injury inflicted is more serious, where more financial damage has been suffered, where the victim has had to bear a greater part of this financial burden, and where he or she is dissatisfied with the compensation received. Property-crime victims have more psychosomatic problems if the total financial damage and the part of it the victim has to bear are greater, if the victim's income is low, and if the victim lives alone—that is, if the victim has fewer opportunities to discuss problems with others.

10–1. **Psychological effects of serious crimes**

Nature of the Effect	Magnitude (frequency/intensity/duration) Very often/ very intense/ very long percent	Often/ intense/ long percent	Sometimes/ little/ short percent	None/ never percent	Number*
1. Were you very frightened when the crime took place or when you realized it had taken place?	33.1	24.6	23.0	19.3	357
2. Do you still often think of what happened to you then?	6.1	8.9	33.0	52.0	358
3. Did the crime ever cause periods of sleep difficulties?	4.8	6.7	12.4	76.0	356
4. For how long did you have these sleep difficulties?	7.4	8.3	7.7	76.6	351
5. Did you take opiates or tranquilizers as a result of the crime?	—	10.7	—	90.3	336
6. For how long did you take opiates or tranquilizers?	3.3	3.3	3.9	89.6	335
7. Did you ever have feelings of fear as a result of what happened to you?	5.0	5.0	16.4	73.5	359
8. Will you please indicate the intensity of the fear at such moments?	3.6	19.5	2.5	74.4	359
9. Are you afraid that something like that will happen to you again?	10.1	17.6	38.9	[illegible]	357
10. Were you ever afraid that the offender might take revenge?	3.7	3.7	11.9	80.7	353
11. Do you, as a result of what happened to you, trust people less?	8.1	10.9	12.6	68.3	357
12. Do you, since the crime, go out into the streets just as easily as you did before?	2.2	3.4	5.6	88.8	357
13. Did you then feel less safe in the streets than before the crime?	2.8	6.7	7.0	83.4	356
14. Did you feel as comfortable alone at home after the crime?	2.0	3.7	3.7	3.7	90.7
15. Were you, after the crime, more on your guard in your dealings with strangers?	6.1	19.8	14.0	60.1	358
16. Did you feel that you had to absorb what happened to you all alone?	3.4	5.3	7.3	84.0	356
17. Did you often feel the need to talk about the crime with others?	6.7	13.7	32.5	47.1	357
18. Did you ever have the feeling that you yourself were somewhat to blame for what happened to you?	3.4	5.6	19.4	71.5	355
19. Do you think that the crime could have been prevented if you had been less provocative, less careless, or less trusting?	7.0	9.0	16.6	67.3	355
20. Did you ever regret having reported the case to the police?	0.6	0.6	1.4	97.4	352

*The total study population was 359 persons; not every one answered every question.

Factor II: The fear of recurrence and acts of revenge are greater for violent-crime victims than for property-crime victims, but there are no characteristics of violence victims that are related to fear of recurrence and acts of revenge. In property crimes, as the total damage and the part of it to be borne by the victim is greater, fear of recurrence or revenge is greater. Fear is also greater if the victim loses property to which she or he is particularly attached and if it is the first victimization experienced.

Factor III: The feeling of insecurity is greater for violent-crime victims than property-crime victims. Here too, for violence victims, there are no characteristics that are related to the magnitude of feeling. For property-crime victims, the feeling of insecurity is greater if the victim is insured and is satisfied with the compensation received. This rather surprising finding perhaps should be interpreted as suggesting that many victims were insured because they felt less safe even before the incident. The crime only adds to their feelings of insecurity.

Factor IV: This factor does not reveal any difference between violent-crime victims and property-crime victims. However, other features do indicate a difference. Violence victims exhibit greater distrust of others if the total damage or the part of it to be borne by them is greater, they are dissatisfied with compensation received, they have been victim to such a crime often before, and they do not know the offender personally. For property-crime victims, the distrust is greater if the damage the victims have to bear is greater, if they are dissatisfied with the compensation payments, if they are not insured, if they have been victim to such a crime often before, and if the offender is personally known.

Factor V: Here, too, there is no difference between the two types of crime. Features related to this type of psychological effect are the following: in violence crimes, the sense of being coresponsible is stronger if the victim knows the offender personally. This feeling is weaker, however, if the total damage caused is greater. In property crimes, the victim's feeling of coresponsibility is stronger if the victim has to bear the greater part of the damage, if she or he is dissatisfied with the compensation received, is not insured, knows the offender personally, lives alone, and has been victimized for the first time.

At this stage, we will go no further than the above enumeration of the relationships we have found; in the theoretical model described later, we discuss these relationships further. We would only like to add here that no relation was found between the psychological effects and the following characteristics: the victim's employment status, age, the victim's own criminal record, and the arrest and punishment of the offender.

10–2. **Result of a factor-analysis of the various psychological effects (product-moment correlations with a polling of four groups, principal components and varimax rotation)**

Psychological effect	Factor I	II	III	IV	V
Duration of medicine use (question 6)	−841	72	−157	−194	53
Periods of sleep difficulties (3)	815	347	7	131	−6
Total duration of sleep difficulties (4)	−786	−331	41	−101	86
Use of medicines (5)	799	−56	165	209	−53
Feelings of loneliness (16)	595	161	294	17	209
Feelings of fear (7)	193	840	252	173	−69
Intensity of feelings of fear (8)	−134	−839	−280	−176	23
Reactions of fright (1)	118	467	−77	226	−1
Fear of going out into the streets (12)	94	81	800	337	5
Not feeling safe in the streets (13)	206	−9	713	486	−28
Not feeling safe at home (14)	307	232	664	−53	58
Fear of revenge (10)	−52	445	547	28	1
Wariness of strangers (15)	103	79	209	698	32
Less trust in people (11)	288	138	37	630	110
Fear of recurrence (9)	9	283	106	549	−228
Feelings of guilt (18)	−32	−21	−99	81	827
Feelings of coresponsibility (19)	−30	−53	−34	201	769
Regret at having reported the crime	50	59	166	−175	497
Need to talk	206	307	117	472	145
Preoccupation with the crime (2)	394	253	71	400	132
Explained variance per factor:	17.3%	12.1%	11.5%	11.1%	8.5%
Total explained variance 60.4 percent					

Note: Underscored numbers represent primary variables loading on each factor.

Behavioral changes

In general, people tend to avoid or try to prevent unpleasant experiences. This tendency becomes even stronger after unpleasant events take place. Victims of crime, too, exhibit a similar risk-evasive or preventive behavior. They may take one-time measures or measures of a more continual kind. The following are considered as measures that are taken just once: installing extra locks on doors and windows; buying a dog, an alarm-apparatus or even a defensive weapon. About 11% of the violent-crime victims and about 30% of the property-crime victims in our investigation took at least one of the above measures after the crime.

However, we would like in this section to deal particularly with the more continual preventive measures taken by the victims, and with the measures that require more permanent behavioral changes. In the questionnaire, we list 14 such measures. For each, we inquired how often the victim had taken the measure before the crime; the choice of answers was: always, often, sometimes or never. Next, we asked whether during the first 6 months after the crime, the victim had taken these measures more often, as often, or less often, than before. Table 10-3 presents the behavioral changes investigated and the magnitude of the reported changes. For each measure, the table presents the percentage of those who reported that they always took the measure before the crime and the percentage of all others who reported that they have taken the measure more often since the crime. The results are shown by social class and type of crime victimization since considerable differences were found.

Looking first at violent-crime victims, the table shows that before the crime a number of preventive measures were always taken by about one-fourth to three-fourths of these respondents. Those in the higher social classes were somewhat more likely to have always taken the measure than the lower class victims (see Table 10-3, Items 12, 7, 10, 5, 3, and 8). The influence of the violent-crime victimization on the preventive measures taken can be concluded from the second and fourth columns of the table, the percentages of those who after the crime began taking the measure more often (see Items 13, 10, 2, 14, 7, and 1). Again, more of those in the upper classes increased their preventive behavior after

the crime than the lower class victims. Furthermore, it appears that among the measures taken more often, those to prevent violent crimes are especially important. It appears, therefore, that people try particularly to prevent that crime in the future to which they have fallen victim.

In the case of property-crime victims, we find a large number of persons in both social classes who, before the crime, took certain measures (Items 12, 5, 7, 3, 9, 8, 10, 1, and 2). Here too, victims from the higher classes were always more likely than those from the lower classes to take preventive measures before the crime. The table further shows that after the crime, property-crime victims began to take a number of preventive measures more often, (especially Items 1, 9, 12, 3, 8, 6, 5, and 2). In this case too, it appears that the crime stimulates higher class victims more than lower class victims to take preventive measures. Furthermore, it is apparent from these figures that after the crime property-crime victims, too, display no general caution but clearly a crime-specific caution; people try to prevent the recurrence of the crime to which they have once fallen victim.

A final conclusion we may draw from Table 10-3 is that, before the crime, a larger percentage of property-crime victims than victims of violence took preventive measures; we find this difference for both the higher and the lower classes. After the crime, we no longer find any great differences between violent-crime victims and property-crime victims, at any rate not as far as the extent of the preventive behavior is concerned, though there is an obvious difference as to the kind of measures taken. Violence victims mainly make efforts to prevent a recurrence of a violent crime, whereas property-crime victims try particularly to reduce the chance of the recurrence of property crime.

So far, we have discussed the preventive behavior of groups of victims. The figures in Table 10-3 may therefore give the impression that a large group of victims take no preventive measures. We do not know, however, the spread of prevention measures among the victims. To be able to say a little more about the preventive behavior of individual victims, we examined the number of measures each victim reports taking "always" or "very often" after the crime.

For this calculation, and for the following analyses, we have restructured the data. Responses to the two questions which were asked about each measure ("before the crime did you take that measure always, often, sometimes, or never", and "did you do this after the crime more often, just as often, or less often") were combined in order to determine the post-crime frequency of the measure. (The frequency mentioned in the first question was increased or decreased one category or stayed the same depending on whether the answer to the second question was "more often," "less often," or "just as often.")

10–3. **Percentages of victims who had always taken certain preventive measures before the crime and percentages of other victims, who started taking such measures more often after the crime**

	Violent-crime victims				Property-crime victims			
	Lower class (N=56)		Higher class (N=50)		Lower class (N=96)		Higher class (N=157)	
Measure	Before the crime always	Of the others, after the crime more often	Before the crime always	Of the others, after the crime more often	Before the crime always	Of the others, after the crime more often	Before the crime always	Of the others, after the crime more often
1. Did you use an extra protective device for your door at night such as a double-lock, a bolt or some such thing?	8.9	5.9	14.0	16.3	28.4	17.6	36.6	43.3
2. If someone rang your doorbell, did you first look to see who it was before you opened the door?	12.7	10.4	20.0	17.5	16.1	6.4	27.2	10.9
3. Did you always take care that you did not carry more money with you than was necessary?	21.4	9.1	28.0	5.6	27.1	10.1	35.3	20.8
4. Did you, when going to bed in the evening, check if there was anyone in your bedroom?	1.8	1.8	0.0	2.0	1.0	0.0	1.3	1.3
5. Did you, before going to bed, check if all the windows and the doors were properly locked?	23.2	2.3	36.0	6.3	32.3	10.8	52.3	12.3
6. Did you, if you went out for an evening, ever leave a light on to give the impression that someone was at home?	17.9	6.5	20.0	5.0	26.3	11.4	35.5	17.0
7. Did you, if you were alone at home, admit people into your house whom you had never seen before? *	33.9	13.5	30.0	11.4	35.5	6.7	34.2	6.9
8. If you went away for a weekend or went on holiday, did you take extra measures to prevent burglary?	13.0	2.1	28.0	8.8	24.2	12.5	27.3	17.0
9. Did you stow away your money and valuables in such a way that a burglar would have difficulty finding them or at any rate would not be able to steal them easily?	18.2	4.4	16.7	7.5	28.0	20.9	30.8	23.1
10. Did you ever avoid certain places because you knew it might mean trouble?	24.0	15.8	40.4	21.4	24.2	2.9	24.8	4.3
11. Did you ever make use of your own car or use public transportation because you felt less safe walking or bicycling?	0.0	7.1	0.0	4.0	2.1	2.2	1.3	2.0
12. Whenever you hung your coat or any other garment in a cloak-room, did you take care that nothing valuable remained in it?	66.7	5.6	77.6	9.1	72.6	7.7	72.0	22.7
13. When going out, did you ever take along something to protect yourself with?	5.4	22.6	4.0	25.0	6.3	4.5	6.5	4.8
14. Did you ever avoid certain areas or streets because you did not feel as comfortable there?	5.4	11.3	10.0	15.6	11.4	3.5	5.2	4.8

*In the case of this question, "always" in the table should read as "never," and "more often" as "less often."

The safeguarding and protection of the house and other property load high on the first factor. We call this factor "protection of property." The second factor includes measures used to prevent violence or robbery-situations and places where there is a great chance of such things taking place are avoided. We call this factor "avoiding dangerous situations." The third factor deals with fear of violent crimes; people try to protect themselves by carrying defensive weapons and by avoiding strangers. We call this factor "self-protection."

In addition to the employment status (social class) of the victim and the type of crime, a number of other characteristics are related to the nature and the extent of preventive behavior after the crime. We expected that there would be a connection between the seriousness of the psychological effects and the preventive efforts of the victims. Therefore, these relations will be examined. We find that victims of property crimes who take a lot of measures to protect their property, show great fear of recurrence and acts of revenge and a great distrust of strangers; however, they show only a slight feeling of insecurity and little sense of coresponsibility. Violence victims often try to avoid dangerous situations where they do not feel safe if they have a strong sense of coresponsibility. Violence victims who are very concerned about self-protection show much distrust of strangers, strong feelings of insecurity, and little sense of coresponsibility. Finally, in the case of property-crime victims, a great effort at self-protection is accompanied by a strong distrust of strangers.

Only a few of the other characteristics to which we correlated the psychological effects appear to show a connection with the preventive behavior. Property-crime victims who are more advanced in age do much more to protect their property than those who are younger. Violent-crime victims often avoid dangerous situations if they have suffered from more serious injuries and if they had not known the offender before the crime.

10–4. **Results of a factor-analysis of the preventive measures (product-moment correlations with a pooling of four groups, principal and varimax-rotation)**

Measure	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III
Taking extra measures against burglary during holidays (8)	<u>648</u>	33	−56
Checking doors and windows at night (5)	<u>640</u>	104	84
Installing an extra safety device on the door for the night (1)	<u>617</u>	0	80
Leaving a light on (6)	<u>706</u>	75	125
Stowing away money and valuables safely (9)	<u>547</u>	185	289
Avoiding certain places (10)	−117	<u>797</u>	−24
Avoiding certain areas or streets (14)	134	<u>711</u>	9
Using the car or public transport for safety's sake (11)	49	<u>527</u>	307
Using caution in cloakroom or changing-room (12)	225	<u>458</u>	−46
Checking the bedroom to make sure there is no one there (4)	−49	52	<u>675</u>
Consciously taking something along for protection (13)	5	44	<u>610</u>
Looking first before opening the door (2)	358	111	<u>532</u>
Not letting strangers in (7)	265	−42	<u>490</u>
Not carrying more money than strictly necessary (3)	288	259	220
Explained variance per factor:	16.2 percent	12.6 percent	11.5 percent
Total explained variance 40.3 percent			

Note: Underscored numbers represent primary variables loading on each factor.

Factor analysis: Preventive behavior

To be able to describe in an orderly manner which characteristics are related to preventive behavior, we have used factor analysis to reduce the 14 measures to a smaller number of homogeneous subgroups. The results of this analysis, which is carried out with the reconstructed data, are shown in Table 10-4.

The behavior of victims of crime: A sociological explanation*

As we have seen, crime results in different psychological reactions. We have also seen that the type and number of these reactions is not the same for all victims. These vary with the social position which the victim occupies in different relational networks.**

From these positions, he or she develops a communal perspective. We understand this perspective to be the way in which the person perceives himself or herself and the social surrounding in which he or she defines behavioral possibilities. The psychological and behavioral reactions found in this paper can be seen as rational in terms of these social positions and communal perspectives. In general, position and perspective form the foundation for the ways in which the victim considers his or her own victimization and for the possibilities which he or she sees for actions which can be taken to avoid repeating the previous loss.

The social position and community perspective concept holds that the victim views the community as a "system of institutionalized trust." Other concepts of the community are, from the victims point of view, hardly relevant. The term "community as system of institutionalized trust" can be understood in the following way: without trust that things will occur in a fixed way, that people will behave in a certain

*The final section of this paper was translated by the editor (Richard Block).

**The proposed method of understanding society developed here is based upon N. Luhman, *Vertrauen, Ein Mechanismus der Reduktion Sozialer Komplexitat* [Trust, a mechanism for reduction of social complexity], Stuttgart, 1973 (2nd edition) and especially on conversations with O.J.A. Janssen and K. Swierstra, both of the Criminological Institute of the University of Groningen.

manner, the world would become impossibly complex, chaotic, and completely unpredictable. Social life would be completely impossible. Behavioral rules, norms, reduce this complexity. Norms exclude certain alternatives and make others very possible. Norms allow for trust that a particular course of events will occur. The context of that trust is therefore solidified through norms. These norms, those which actually function, are expressed in organizational structures, police, courts, insurance, social agencies, and so forth; said in another way, trust is institutionalized.

Every interpretation, dependent on the social position in which a person is placed, institutionalizes trust in its own way. For example, people for whom the use of force in conflict situations is not wholly unusual (in certain informal groups and in certain occupations) should less quickly interpret violent crime as a violation of trust; from their perspective it is appropriate. They should also be less quick to define themselves as victims of violence than people whose salient norms include opposition to violence.

In general, the norm forbidding violence is given more weight than the norm forbidding property crimes. We found that the psychological damage to victims of violent crime was generally greater than that for victims of property crime: communal trust was interpreted as being more damaged by violent crime. After the type of norm violated, the seriousness of the incident was also important. More psychological consequences were related to greater injury and greater financial loss.

From the perspective of the victim, this normative element by definition cannot be separated from his or her position in the system of institutionalized trust. In general, positions and perspectives must be reconciled with each other. Working class people, with lower incomes, are financially more vulnerable and therefore more dependent on the system of trust than people with higher incomes. Old people with uninsured valuable possessions are more dependent. People living alone cannot count on the help and support of others. Generally, in financial matters, acquaintances are given more trust than strangers. Thus some people have a more dependent position in the system of institutionalized trust than others. In general, violation of trust results in greater psychological damage to persons in some social positions than in others. For example, the victim's living arrangement plays a role in psychosomatic problems and feelings of guilt. The relationship to the offender was important for suspicion of strangers and feelings of guilt.

From our theoretical point of view, the nature and number of psychological consequences of crime are the result of the victim's position within the system of institutionalized trust and from the perspective from which he or she orders that position.

Confronted with a crime, the community is suddenly, for the victim, no longer a system of institutionalized trust as previously believed. In other words, his or her perspective has lost its self-interpretability. Emotional reactions result. In extreme cases, rape, burglary of old people, there is a destruction of existential belief. Psychosomatic reaction, fear, loss of trust, and feelings of danger and guilt are often consequences. In situations similar to the crime, the victim tries to restructure his or her perspective to take into account the possibility that another crime might be suffered. This translates into preventive behavior. The type of precautions depends on the person's position and readjusted perspective.

Older people more than younger people appear to stay at home to protect their property. Victims of assault by unknown offenders take more preventive precautions than those who were attacked by someone they knew. Thus, we observe more preventive behavior among people who were more strongly dependent on the system of community trust.

The direction of precautions is aimed at the subsystem of institutionalized trust which was damaged: victims of property crime try to forestall new thefts; victims of violence try to protect themselves.

Finally, we observe that victims will take precautions in proportion to the strength of the shock to their trust, in proportion to the psychological consequences they experienced, and, thus, in proportion to the level of adustment they must make to their communal perspective.

A contribution can be made to the rebuilding of the destroyed balance—to the restructuring of perspective through adjudication of the offender and repair of the damage. Indeed, the victim can still be less trusting but can have the security that incidents can be anticipated before they begin and injurious consequences avoided.

Victims turn to the police for the following reasons: They want material damage repaired, they want psychological help, or they are concerned with the integrity of the system of institutionalized trust. Precisely at this point institutions such as the police, courts, and insurance and social work agencies furnish a very modest contribution to the restructuring of communal perspectives. Frequently, they stop too soon. Police and courts work from a control perspective in social relations; they fullfil no restorative function in instances of crime.

Above all, the work style of judicial and other institutions is bureaucratically anonymous, case oriented, and routine. Specialization leads, therefore, to putting the victim into a box. The result is a discrepancy between the way in which someone defines his or her own victimization and the way that institutions define it. In other words, there is a discrepancy between the victim's own rationality and the rationality of the institutional system.

The conflict between the victim's own perspective and the institutional definition of victims can also result in emotional and psychological reactions. There is displeasure over the institution's lack of concern. There is irritation over lack of personal thought and interest. The victim is angered over the formal and ritualistic approach, and disappointed in the time allocated for his or her problem. The victim feels left out in the cold. Thus, after being a victim of crime, one is next a victim of the ways in which various institutional regulations define victimization. There is no doubt about the victim's view of what he or she has experienced. There is a double victimization and a double undermining of trust.

This double problem is still more valid for groups which can do nothing to successfully oversee the functioning of community institutions such as police, courts, insurance companies, and social agencies. For these victims, the institutions lack both adequate knowledge and skill. Many of the actions of these institutions are insufficient given the high level of physical injury and property loss suffered by the victims. The victims feel shortchanged.

A special social agency is needed for victims; its function would be the replenishing and restoration of the victims' perspective. Such an institution can supply missing knowledge and skills and, most important, bring together the compartmentalized definitions held by other institutions into a common definition, and with that, function to reunite the community and the individual.

Victimization surveys and public policy

Victim-oriented social indicators, knowledge to reduce crime and its effects, and improved use of victimization techniques

IRVIN WALLER*

Introduction

Apparently, property and violent crime in countries such as the United States and Canada has risen dramatically in the past 20 years, more than doubling on a per capita basis. Rape victims, battered wives, and abused children have brought political attention to the plight of the "forgotten" victim of crimes of all sorts. The numbers of persons employed by criminal justice agencies, such as policing and prisons, have doubled per capita. Serious doubts have been raised by systematic research about the ability of increases in personnel for the police and corrections—doing the same as before—to reduce the rise in crime. Not surprisingly, the public in these countries has become significantly more ill at ease with present crime and justice policies (Solicitor General of Canada 1979).

During these same 20 years, millions of dollars have been spent in several countries on a victimization research technique conceived in the 1960's in the USA. Statisticians and researchers have made substantial progress in validating sampling techniques, controlling methodological problems, and assessing the use of telephone interviews. Yet, surprisingly little of this overall effort has influenced the way communities or countries deal with crime and justice.

This chapter argues that this victimization research technique has tremendous potential—largely untapped—for informing and reforming policies relating to crime, its effects, and justice. To realise this potential, some more work and thinking is required, but above all better use must be made of our present knowledge to improve the content and use of victimization studies.

Essentially, victimization research techniques have been used for two separate purposes. First, the victimization survey has been developed as a social indicator of the number of crimes and the effects of crime. Unfortunately, it has not yet become a simple well known index or set of indices to balance the UCR index or opinion polls. Further, it is not used to hold public and political interest on crime and justice problems. So, ways must be found to highlight trends in the essential elements of victimization, such as financial losses, physical injuries, emotional trauma, and fear. These must be highlighted to contrast with indicators in other areas of social policy.

Second, the technique has been used both effectively and ineffectively to provide information on how to solve problems of victimization. The ineffective applications arise from researchers using social indicator data, where separate instruments, surveys, and processes would be more effective to build a much needed knowledge base. Essentially, the technique would be used to understand why certain situations are more likely to lead to crime, losses, or emotional crises, why some citizens feel more afraid and less at ease, and how police and the courts meet the needs of citizens.

The chapter is organized around these two purposes. In the first section, we clarify the role of a social indicator, examine the need for a victim-oriented indicator, and outline the changes that could be made in instruments such as those used in the U.S. National Crime Survey. This section finishes with a review of the action that governments should take to make the social indicator an essential part of the social fabric.

In the second section, the use of victimization techniques to improve the delivery of programs is discussed under the four headings of preventing crime, assisting police and courts to meet public needs, alleviating harm from crime, and reducing fear.

Victimization surveys to provide victim-oriented social indicators for public policy

Social indicators such as those on unemployment, consumer prices, or the stock exchange are so much part of our life that we do not realize how they focus our attention on the abilities of governments to create employment, control inflation, or have a buoyant economy. The UCR may have left us with anxieties—the knee-jerk concern with burglars and robbers—but it does not focus our attention on crime prevention or victim assistance. Before examining the need and use of a victim-oriented social indicator, we look first at the role of social indicators in general.

Role of social indicators

Lineberry (1977:116) states that social indicators for policy purposes—

> Allow comparisons over an extended period and . . . permit one to grasp long-term trends as well as unusually sharp fluctuations.

Thus, they enable policymakers to identify "performance gaps," where social action is needed. They consist of—

> Trend data showing changes in some normatively relevant aspect of social life. If one values safe housing, lower crime rates, and equality for blacks and whites, one will be greatly pleased, chagrined, and modestly optimistic as a result of changes in the social indicators set out below for the USA:
>
> *Housing, 1940-70* Percent in substandard units declined from 49% (1940) to 7.4% (1970).
>
> *Public safety, 1960-72* Violent crime per capita doubled.
>
> *Income, 1947-71* Black proportion of white income up from .51 (1947) to .63 (1971).
>
> (Lineberry, 1977:117)

Social indicators have most effect in the economic area (Biderman 1966). The development and appreciation of survey techniques enabled the development of indices for consumer prices and unemployment. These, together with the foreign exchange rate and the Dow-Jones, have focused considerable attention in the ongoing political process to improve the state of the nation; that is, to control inflation, reduce unemployment, or improve the buying power of the dollar. Their role as a guideline is first of all to remind politicians of the importance of that particular goal and, secondly, to provide a measure of the extent of the success of policies or programs in meeting that goal.

*This paper was prepared in part while the author was Director General, Research and Statistics, Solicitor General of Canada. Professor Waller is now a member of the Department of Criminology, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Canada.

Some commentators argue that the criminal justice code is not concerned with protection from harm but with reinforcing basic values which it defines in a negative way.

The Uniform Crime Index has to some extent performed a similar function, as have the indices of prison use and public opinion. As Clarance Kelley (FBI 1976) said in the foreword to the Uniform Crime Reports:

> Whatever are the uses or whoever are the users of criminal justice data, the Uniform Crime Reports provide the only comprehensive, periodic accounting available of reported and discovered crime. Accordingly, they can serve constructively to organize public opinion against lawlessness and marshal our resources to combat crime.

In the crime area, it is the police who have been most successful, using the Uniform Crime Indexes of property and violent crime to create public anxiety and focus attention on the need for action in relation to crime problems (Biderman 1966; Weis 1974[1]).

Another social indicator used in the criminal justice system is that of the average number of persons incarcerated on a given day per 100,000 population (Waller 1974). This statistic focused considerable political debate in Canada, when it was believed falsely that Canada had one of the highest incarceration rates in the world; it is now accepted that the Canadian rate is at a similar level to that of Australia and England and Wales, although nearly four times that of Holland and substantially less than half that of the United States (Waller 1974). This debate appears to be heating up in the United States. For instance, Rector (1980) suggests that the USA is hypocritical; it criticizes other countries for lack of respect for individual freedom and human rights, yet it is a world leader in the use of imprisonment, with a rate more than double that of any other western industrialized democracy. Breed (1980) quotes this rate as higher than Russia and South Africa, if one omits political prisoners. (See also A.I.C.J. 1980.)

The third social indicator that has influenced public policy in criminal justice is the opinion poll. Directing questions to the retention of capital punishment and severity of court sentences, the pollsters have provided a simple statistic suggesting that a majority of the public wants to retain capital punishment and to see the courts give more severe sentences (Fattah 1979).

[1]To avoid repetitive use of "et al." and for reasons of space, references are cited by the first author only.

These results have made politicians consider much more conservative crime policies. Even when Canada abolished capital punishment, the polls appear to have been the major justification for the minimum sentence of 25 years, which was introduced as the alternative.

Many other indicators could, potentially, play a crucial role in criminal justice. One is the ratio of expenditures per offender, per year in prisons to that in the community, showing a 10 to 1 differential (Solicitor General of Canada 1979). Linked to this has been the so-called "unit cost" and staff-inmate ratios, showing in the Canadian federal system an average expenditure of $28,000 per inmate per year, and approximately one employee to one prisoner (Solicitor General of Canada 1979). More recently, indicators of the number of police and private security guards per 100,000 have drawn attention to the dramatic growth in expenditures on "protection." Curiously, the average prison unit cost and the police salary have grown at approximately the same absolute levels from near $10,000 in 1968 to the mid-$20,000 in 1980.

Victim-oriented indicators

If we review the present indicators in criminal justice, we see that they have reinforced the traditional orientation of criminal justice toward crime and the offender. None of these indicators focus on harm done by crime, or the way it threatens the right of the individual to either "life, liberty, security of person and the enjoyment of property" (Canadian Bill of Rights) or "domestic tranquility" (USA). Over the last two decades, there has been a growing realization that not only the offenders and criminal justice agents, but "victims have rights too" (New York City Police Department 1978). Partly as a result of the feminist militancy in the 1970's, victim advocate groups have appeared to fight for these rights in the case of rape, battered women, and abused children. Authors (Skogan 1977; Waller 1978) suggest that the lack of attention to victim traumatization is one of the principal causes of fear about crime and anger with present criminal justice policies. In short, there are pragmatic reasons for developing a good victim-oriented social indicator.

There are also more fundamental values at stake, of which this shift in pragmatic concerns is just a symptom. In criminal justice, there appear to be three major goals. First, it is concerned with "protecting all members of society including the offender himself, from seriously harmful and dangerous conduct" (Ouimet 1969:21). Second, it is a moral system that serves to affirm fundamental values (Law Reform Commission 1976:16-17). Third, it protects the right to a feeling of "domestic tranquility."

One could expect citizens to agree on the importance of freedom from avoidable harm and assistance in recovering when that harm occurs. There are many different types of avoidable harm. For the purposes of discussion of crime, there are harms that are intentional and those that are unintentional. Most acts defined as crimes in the criminal codes involve harm committed to another person or their property intentionally. Of course, there are many intentional harms, from lying to pollution, that are not defined in legislation with a penalty of imprisonment, nor in criminal codes. There are also some strict liability offenses in criminal codes and other statutes which may not involve either intention or harm.

Some commentators argue that the criminal code is not concerned with protection from harm but with reinforcing basic values which it defines in a negative way; that is, it defines acts that should not be done and, in so doing, it implies what should be done. Its role in clarifying basic values is crucial to the discussion of victimization surveys as social indicators.

Improving victimization surveys as social indicators

A social indicator must be simple and comprehensible to be successful in focusing political attention on a problem. The UCR index, the prison use index, and the opinion polls are all simple and comprehensible. Although its validation may require indepth interviews in person, the indicator itself may consist of one or two questions, which can be asked in a telephone interview. Thus a victim survey designed as a social indicator might be cheaper than one designed for other purposes.

Since the pioneer work in the 1960's by Ennis, Biderman, Reiss, and others in the USA, the criminal victimization survey has been used in several industrialized countries and developed in more effective ways (see Sparks 1977:3; Waller 1978:8-22). The best known examples, which stay close to the methods of the pioneers, are probably the NCS (National Crime Surveys) in the USA, where sophisticated methodological tests were undertaken to improve the ability of the techniques to measure accurately and reliably the nature and extent of crime as well as its direct and indirect costs.[2] These have been followed by national surveys undertaken from 1974 onward.

The counts provided by the NCS as well as the data bases made available are already having a profound effect on "experts" views of crime, victim trauma, public fear, and the use by the public of police services. Generally, they suggest that much crime is minor in its financial consequences and that compensation to victims of crimes of violence is affordable (Garofalo and Sutton 1977). They provide, directly from victims, national data on how many index crimes (other than homicide) occurred, and have firmly established for the USA, that upwards of half of all index crimes known to victims are not reported to the police and so could not be counted in the UCR. Further, they give estimates of financial costs, extent and nature of injuries and estimate fear, for example, by measuring the extent to which persons do not go out at night. All this information is known by the age, marital status, income, and race of the respondent. These measures are limited to cases for which there is a victim, either a person or a company who is aware of those harms.

These measures omit some of the most important elements of crime. They could be compared with the impact of traffic accidents, accidental fires, or accidents in the home. But such an indicator would be misleading. Crime for a victim is not simply an accident. The essence of its impact is the apparent intentionality and violation of moral values involved. It appears that the victim is outraged more because another person decided to commit the act, which was wrong. These three elements are measurable. The victim can provide information on emotional impact by giving details of anger, hysteria, and other symptoms we will discuss below. The victim can also indicate the degree of intentionality and violation of moral values.

While the managers of the United States NCS (National Crime Surveys) and surveys in other countries, modeled on those, have been careful to circumscribe their objectives, it is easy to assume that the measures used by NCS of financial loss, hospitalization, and areas avoided are the key indicators of the direct costs of crime. Indeed, for insurance companies and medical aid programs, who exclude emotional disorders from their coverage, they may be. However, for victims, the feelings of the violations of themselves, their home, or their property go beyond loss of money and injury. Further, for police agencies concerned with victim reaction to crime, for courts, or for legislators, these measures overlook one of the most crucial dimensions—that of traumatization or crisis. Without discussing their feelings of unhappiness, victims who are traumatized by the event can be the most active writers of letters to the press or to legislators, the most disillusioned with police services, and generally the most dissatisfied with criminal justice programs. Press reports, in which burglary victimization surveys are quoted as showing serious events to be rare, tend to generate vitriolic letters to the editor from those who have been traumatized by such events in the past. That is not to say that all victims are traumatized or indeed that all traumatized victims suffer equally. Nor should public policy be determined uniquely by such reactions.

Even though much crime is minor, the discussion above has shown some crime to be more traumatic to its victims than the financial loss or physical injuries alone would indicate. However, these costs of crime may be small compared to the effect of widespread fear of crime, which may be more of a social problem than crime itself. Anxiety about crime is the converse of domestic tranquility. As citizens, we not only want to be free from attack and helped if such an attack occurs but to have a general feeling of security or freedom from anxiety about attack. It is difficult to measure such feelings, but central to policy that we have an indicator of this most insidious impact of crime.

In summary, the technique of obtaining data on systematic samples of the public about crime provides the basis for a social indicator of the harm done by crime. In its present form, it can focus attention on the reduction of this harm and assess the success of programs in achieving that objective. However, it would be limited to financial loss and physical injury. Therefore, there is a need to develop measures of emotional impact, offender intentionality, moral wrong, and fear for inclusion in future national surveys. Finally, the instrumentation must be developed specifically as a social indicator.

[2]Other major aims include (a) estimating the level of nonreporting of crime to the police and (b) comparing police recorded (very different from reported—see for instance Sparks 1977) crime with NCS estimated crime. The aims of the study did not include estimating the amount of crime reported to, but not necessarily recorded by, the police.

Some considerations in developing victimization indicators to influence policy

For a statistical measure to become an effective social indicator a strategy involving several identifiable considerations is required.

Perhaps the most obvious is that the indicator must be made available on a regular basis such as annually. It must also be reliable and valid. These are necessary, but not sufficient conditions.

The strategy used by those responsible for the police statistics provides some lessons on how to do it. First, the indicator must be made public. It must be made available aggressively to key policymakers and opinion leaders. Second, it must be communicated in a way to catch the interest of these individuals. For instance, the "time clock" is a way of bringing home frequency of events to citizens. Thus, special efforts must be made not only to develop an appropriate indicator but decide how this will be communicated.

The indicator must be available on both a national and local level so that citizens can identify with the information. Further, local managers of crime prevention, victim service, or law enforcement agencies can then be held accountable at least in part for action relating to the indicator.

The effective use of a valid indicator can result in the identification of a national goal and the focusing of substantial resources from several different levels of government and the private sector on the target problem. Of course, to achieve the goal one needs to have reliable knowledge about what works to achieve what objective.

Victimization surveys to provide knowledge to reduce crime and its effects

It is time to turn to the treatment of the disease. The social indicator is like the thermometer or pulse rate that indicates a problem. Using victimization surveys to provide knowledge is like systematic research into cancer or heart disease.

Compared to the mammoth sums devoted to the NCS,[3] the investment in explanatory research on criminal justice and victim issues has been miniscule. As victimization indicators increase the public attention on the problems of victims, we can expect some changes. Criminal victimization studies[4] have a potential (that remains largely untapped) for informing those who take action to improve the world we live in, if the studies are designed with this objective in mind. If results are to be used, the studies will have to be undertaken in collaboration with, and communicated to, those responsible for such action.[5] However, on the part of researchers, there will need to be an appreciation of how such techniques can be used to explain why outcomes occur. The designers of explanatory studies must be sure that they have changed their emphasis from counting and measuring to explaining and understanding, particularly for action. Both researchers and practitioners must develop conceptualizations or theories, which build on hunch, practical know-how, and accumulated knowledge; this should guide the selection and analysis of items that are likely to have such explanatory power for action.

Building on some of the findings and methodology of *Burglary: The victim and the public* (Waller 1978) and recent publications relating to victimization, we will review some of the approaches most likely to give valid information guiding action. We will conclude that we may get further in knowing how to–

- Reduce crime, by concentrating on factors other than demographic ones thought to be related to crime that are amenable to policy intervention associated with specific crimes rather than crime in general
- Orient the police and the courts to meet the needs of the public, by considering not only reasons for reporting, but also explain why the public calls on criminal justice agencies
- Alleviate the harm from crime, by enlarging the concept of impact from only financial loss and physical injury to include a better understanding both of how the event is experienced by the victim, particularly in cases of trauma, and of how this can be managed; and
- Increase feelings of domestic tranquility, by reconsidering what is meant by the fear of crime and how it originates.

We have shown elsewhere (Waller 1978, 1980b) that surveys are just one technique that can be substantially more useful when they are part of a battery of approaches—triangulated—to address these issues. Finally, it is possible to undertake victimization studies with samples that are neither national nor massive—thus limiting costs—to achieve these purposes, if greater use is made of present criminological knowledge and developments in victimization survey technology.

Controlling crime

All persons working in criminal justice, the general public, and offenders, agree that we should reduce crime. At first sight, victimization survey techniques provide an ideal vehicle for reducing crime. Studying victims and their environment can increase our knowledge of the factors associated with crime. Furthermore, they seem ideal ways to provide knowledge of variables that are amenable to policy intervention: the victims of crime are motivated to take simple precautions, if they know what to do; these surveys can identify what those precautions are. They also have potential for obtaining useful self-report data, which can provide a different perspective or triangulation on why crime occurs. Let us now turn to some of the key issues in how victimization surveys can be used to reduce crime.

Surveys to provide guides for action to reduce crime need to focus on types of behavior that have common or homogeneous explanations. As it is difficult to cover all explanatory variables for all crimes in one interview, it seems such surveys should be focused on specific types of crime in appropriate areas. Further, there is a growing research literature separate from the victimization studies that analyzes "acquaintance crime," "family violence," "sex crime," or "residential crime."[6] This literature provides a "conceptualization" as to why a person gets victimized.

Although there are some specific behavioral questions in the NCS, which might be useful in explanations of robbery, burglary, and assault, these are mostly limited to demographic variables, which are extremely indirect measures of lifestyle or routine activity.[7] A questionnaire designed around residential crime would include questions relating to ecological vulnerability (National Research Council 1976:97) which has been the subject of substantial research (Mayhew 1979), some using victimization survey techniques outside of the Census Bureau surveys. In Toronto, for instance, physical characteristics of residences or neighborhoods and the extent to which a residence is occupied are important characteristics (providing an independent explanation) associated with burglary (also see Reppetto 1974). Further, the extent to which a house can be watched by a neighbor is important, particularly if the neighbor takes responsibility to intervene (Mayhew 1978). For apartments (though not for houses) another important variable is carelessness in locking doors or taking similar precautions. These findings suggest that systematic surveys involving interviews with victims and the general public can provide more relevant and better substantiated measures if they include some physical (defensive or environmental) factors as well as sociocriminogenic (positive or social fact) dimensions.

[3]The U.S. Federal Government has spent in excess of $54 million without counting money spent by State agencies on "National Crime" or "Victimization" surveys.

[4]In this paper, a criminal victimization study refers to a project which uses a variety of research methodologies to investigate aspects of criminal victimization. One part of that study will be a survey using a series of questions to identify if the respondent has been a victim of one or more criminal incidents within a specified range of time. These questions are posed by an interviewer using behavioral rather than legal terms. They can be directed to members of the general public either over the phone or in person.

[5]Some of the issues surrounding this type of collaboration are discussed in Waller (1979).

[6]For further discussion of acquaintance crime and crisis amelioration see Brown and Rhoades (1979). They define "acquaintance" crime as the crime of persons in ongoing, mutually recognized, personal relationships with the victims, such as certain types of rape, spouse battering, or child abuse.

[7]Hindelang (1978) in using the NCS, showed for the USA the extent to which the poor, the black, the single, and the old are more likely to be victims, suggesting that these demographic variables depict persons following specific lifestyles and who tend to live in certain areas. These are indirect measures of vulnerability through hypothesised exposure.

Felson and Cohen (1979) in the routine activity approach appear to be focusing on similar issues. However, they provide specific measures of transportable, yet valuable, goods available and gaps in protection of houses that are more relevant to understanding events like burglary. Such work still needs to be placed in a multiple-factor explanation such as that in Waller (1978, chapter 5).

The planning of an interview schedule involves tradeoffs between the numbers of types of crime to be studied, the detail of environmental factors measured, and the targets of the study. The survey of "crime" implicitly opts for information that will be useful to explain all crimes. As a result, it omits some of the key elements that are known to explain a specific type of crime. The factors correlated with the occurrence of acquaintance crime are substantially different from those of bank robbery which are very different from residential burglary and different from auto theft. It may be possible in some instances to go from a general crime survey, which identifies areas where specific crimes are more frequent, to supplementary surveys. These would then be used to collect the comprehensive explanatory data in areas where such crimes are most frequent.

Making police and courts accountable to the public

In many industrialized countries, there is a growing concern with service to the public among politicians and program audit agencies. This tends to be part of a swing to the new conservatism and so police agencies sometimes escape this questioning. Nevertheless, police chiefs themselves and many others are showing a growing interest in how the police and the courts can be organized to meet the expectations of their clients as well as play an appropriate role in crime prevention.[8] Of course, the term client could mean the offender, the victim, or the general public. If we consider just the victim and the general public, we are left wondering what they expect from the police and the courts after criminal victimization has occurred. Why does the victim call the police? If society feels that crime will be better repressed and socially criticized or denounced if all crime is reported, how can victims be encouraged to report? Equity in the criminal justice process is another issue affected by the public's decision to invoke or not the criminal justice process. In fact, it appears the public selects out more persons from further criminal processing than do the police, prosecutors, or courts: there are many crimes known to the public but not reported, particularly face-to-face crimes. In both absolute and proportional terms, this loss due to the citizen far exceeds attrition in the criminal justice process (Solicitor General of Canada 1979). How does the public select? Is their selection consistent with that made by the police and courts?

Victimization surveys have established in Australia, Canada, England, and the USA that between one in two, and one in three, serious crimes are never reported to the police (Waller 1978:21-42; Braithwaite* 1979; Waller 1981; Sourcebook 1978) because the victim did not consider them a police matter or the police could do little about them. Both the U.S. and Australian national crime survey material, on which this statement is based, assumed that every victim should report a crime to the police and so the survey directors only asked why the citizen did not call the police.

Knowing the rate of nonreporting is no more than an indicator of lack of public responsiveness. In England and Canada, there is research that examined both what is expected from the criminal justice system and why the public calls the police (Waller 1978; Sparks 1977). The public's expectations of criminal justice are much more difficult to explain precisely. We did this (Waller 1978:66–97) by examining the public's general participation in the system as indicated by their having called the police in the past or having appeared in court. We studied also the expectations of the public when faced by a common burglary event.

It is the latter that is most worth reporting here. Fifty-seven percent of the respondents saw rehabilitation as the main purpose in sentencing the typical burglary offender; 28% saw retribution as the main purpose. Further, respondents were likely to want severe sentences when they worried about their own victimization, when they were not covered by insurance, when the case involved an older person (age 30 instead of age 18), and when the offender had been convicted of assault previously.

The victim's view of the need to report an event appears to vary with both the victim and the event's objective characteristics such as financial loss or damage. We showed (pp. 40–41) that, at least in Toronto, a majority of persons say that they call the police out of moral duty. However, they also give reasons such as getting their goods back, stopping the offender from doing it again, and because their insurance companies require them to do so (see also Sparks 1977:124). Persons owning their own home were more likely to report crimes.

Value of property stolen or damaged was an important determinant of reporting to the police (pp. 40–45), but disarrangement or vandalism in the residence was an important additional factor in explaining the desire for the offender to be imprisoned. It appears that such vandalism tends to create a trauma similar to those in rape or more dramatic robberies, where the victim feels that his or her personal safety was threatened.

Thus the victim experiences an offender, whose motivation the victim does not understand and so feels might have done anything. Such victims feel that if they had been home they might have been attacked. This reaction to irrational offending cannot be measured in surveys of nonvictims. Further, it has generally been overlooked in surveys of victims like NCS, either because its importance has not been understood or because insufficient effort has been made to develop adequate measures.

Seriousness can mean many different things. It can be confused with culpability or degree of responsibility for a morally reprehensible act. It can allude to the impact on a victim, potential danger, or influence on societal values. The measures used in the NCS are similar to those found in the Sellin-Wolfgang Seriousness Scale (1964). Limitations on the Sellin-Wolfgang scale may be disguising some important issues for measuring seriousness in the context of invoking the criminal justice system.

The first limitation is that the scale may only represent certain subgroups in society.

[8]The commentators have emphasized the need to look at subgroups of crime in ways that will be useful for organization of police resources. Goldstein and others (1977 and 1979, Engstad and Evans 1979) have argued recently that police and other social service resources should be organized more appropriately around what the community wants. Some of this requires more meaningful subcategories of crime. Brown (1978) has set up an information system for the Hartford Police Department which distinguished events on dimensions of "solvability," "seriousness," and "extent to which it could be prevented."

[9]The data presented in the *Sourcebook of criminal justice statistics* (1978) suggest that attitudes to the police in the abstract are highly positive. However, persons who have called the police are much less likely to have such positive attitudes. Sparks (1977: 137-8) shows that those victimized are generally less satisfied with the police.

*See Chapter 2 of this volume.

There seems to be increasing agreement that general social attitudes are primary determinants of beliefs about the amount of crime and fear of crime.

Thus poorer persons may weight violence relative to financial loss differently than richer persons. Members of lower socio-economic groups (Waller 1978, Sparks 1977) and immigrants (Sparks 1977) are more likely than others to want arrest for offenses involving the same level of financial loss and physical injury.

A greater degree of explanation may be achieved by overcoming a second limitation, which is that the work on seriousness has not dealt with victims directly and particularly has not included information on the offender. Many analyses assume that a $50 theft is viewed in the same way by the poverty stricken and the affluent. They also assume that a theft is as "serious" whether committed by a first offender, a child of 10, an adult of 25, or a person with two previous convictions. Using a representative sample of the general populations, we (pp. 87–93) showed that convictions for previous assault charges (see also Schwartz and Skolnick 1962), were associated with the desire for substantially more serious sentences. Further, changing an offense from a property loss of $250 to $3,000 resulted in less change of opinion on severity of sentence than using the same offense but involving either an offender over age 30 as opposed to age 18, an offender with two previous convictions for shoplifting (compared to none), and an offender with two previous assault convictions. Because assault convictions make such a difference, it appears that the public is much more concerned by the potential for personal violence. This can be extrapolated to infer that the victim is more concerned with what might happen than what did. It is not the actual physical injury but the victim's perception of the degree of life threat that is crucial.

The interesting qualitative work by Brillon and Baril with small businesses in Montreal shows another aspect of importance of the offender to perceived threat.* The victims were surprised that the offenders were less dangerous than the stereotype they expected.

There are technical constraints which must not be overlooked, of which the most important is insurance (Biderman 1966). Most insurance policies covering losses from theft or burglary require the event to be reported to the police before a claim can be reimbursed. This type of constraint can also be a condition of victim service agencies. Boards for the compensation of victims of violent crime probably require the victimization to be reported to the police. These technical constraints work in a highly differential manner. We found (p. 84) that only 64% of the residences in metropolitan Toronto were insured. Thus insurance does not cover all persons, nor in fact those ostensibly most in need. This seems to add insurance to the list of victim service agencies (such as boards of compensation of victims of crimes of violence) that are criticized for being too restricted.

In summary, some of the public emphasize that they expect protection and others, retribution, from the criminal justice system. They call the police for insurance reasons as well as instinct or moral duty. They often will not call when they feel the event is minor. Their perception of seriousness seems to be a function of the degree of personal threat to them. When victims are traumatized, they are much more likely to call the police and want severe sanctions. In terms of guides to action, these themes need further explanation. However, they also indicate how the public can be encouraged to report more and the emphasis which criminal justice agencies should take to meet public expectations.

Alleviating harm from victimization

Given that crime can be reduced but never eliminated, it is important to see what can be done to alleviate its impact. The NCS have provided some important information on the direct impact of crime. It is easy to infer from these measures that what is needed is simply better victim compensation or insurance programs and better medical care. Undoubtedly, such programs would be progress. However, the NCS measures do not illustrate how the crime is experienced by the victim.

Our own studies as well as Bourque (1978) using a different methodology tried to measure these emotional reactions and characteristics of victim crisis for offenses other than rape.[10]

In exploratory interviews and from previous literature, we (Waller and Okihiro, 1978, pp. 35–39) identified fear (of being alone and entering the residence or rooms), anger, general upset, sleeplessness, headaches, and general increase in suspicion, as common reactions to burglary. Even though the more extreme reactions such as general upset, fear, and anger were mentioned in less than 10% of the cases, increase in suspicion was mentioned by 50% of the respondents. Women were more likely to mention fear, as they did in more than 30% of the cases in which there was a female respondent. Bourque (1978)[11] identified seven symptoms, which they scaled using the Guttman procedure. These were serious residual effects, memory loss, physical upset or nausea, confused state of shock, fear, crying or shaking, and nervousness. They estimate that 10% of police-recorded burglary victims would experience physical upset or nausea or more serious effects. They also show women, but not older persons, to be more susceptible. Robbery tended to produce more of these "crises," but burglary produced a more lasting impact.[12]

These types of trauma should be studied in the context of crisis theory to lead to effective programs to reduce or alleviate the impact. The debate on victim assistance seems to be fixated generally on compensation to victims of crimes of violence. Some discussion has occurred on insurance. Some concern has been expressed for rape victims. Indeed, we can probably see more of the potential of research that is sensitive to policy-tractable variables by examining some of the themes from the rape literature. For instance, the study of crisis in rape gives a broader understanding of the possible impact of crime and the general comparability between crime victimization crisis and other natural crises. Curran and Wortman (1977) building on Burgess and Holstrom (1974) and Smith (1974) have shown how the degree of crisis cannot be measured by external symptoms alone. Some allowance must be made for the situation of the victim: if they are already in crisis, then the victimization may not be able to make matters worse and the approach to crisis amelioration would be different. Similarily crime by an acquaintance can be much more enduring and disrupting, because the victim's close social network may be shattered. Knowing more about the victim's situation and basic feelings of security or insecurity before the event may help to indicate both how serious the degree of disequilibrium and directions for amelioration.

In short, it appears that the degree of trauma and personal threat is an important concept to consider in future victimization studies, paticularly to inform the various victim assistance programs and the police.

Reducing fear

Fear of crime is one of the concepts in the general areas of victimology and criminology that is most weakly operationalized and most in need of further review. The sense of malaise associated with "fear" is difficult to operationalize. As yet, little effort has been focused on understanding what is fear or what are its origins. Can we make use of knowledge of fear in animals where the body takes precautions to fight an attacker or avoid a dangerous situation by running? How do we distinguish what is only stimulating, from what is also unpleasant? In much of the victim literature, we see authors associating trauma with the feeling of loss of control: events that are frightening can become pleasant thrills when we volunteer to experience them or tolerable pain when we choose to accept it. It is the "locus of control" that is crucial. This seems to be one element that distinguishes crime from rides in roller coasters or visits to the dentist. Another element is the reality of the danger: in horror movies the danger is simulated.

All of the previous elements would be true in the fear of accidents. There is a special fear associated with the way harm from crime is defined. Perhaps another element is the societal perception that the event is unnecessary or avoidable: we use the term accident for a car crash to imply that no one was really responsible, yet we see robbery as the deliberate acts of persons who are responsible for the consequences of their behavior. These notions of intentionality are linked to cultural perceptions of behavior: for some time robbery has been perceived as an intentional act not to be perpetrated—it is "mala antiquita"; killing people through profit-motivated decisions on the design of the gas tank of a car may be just as intentional, but the remoteness of the managers diminishes both their criminal responsibility and the degree of emotional trauma for the victim in a crisis that is widely accepted as horrendous.

To date, most of the research done on the fear of crime and its effects on behavior have used different terms interchangeably. Furstenberg (1971) has stressed the difference between concern with the problem of crime and fear of being personally victimized. But is this the only conceptual confusion? The effect of fear is measured typically by whether the respondent avoids certain areas of a city or neighborhood, does not go out at night, believes crime rates to be rising or would feel unsafe when out alone at night. For instance, Hindelang (1978:201) shows that the poor, the old, and females are more likely to report feeling unsafe in going out alone; they contrast this with the objective risk of victimization measured by surveys which show that risk does not vary by the age or sex of the respondent. They conclude (Hindelang 1978:224) that going out in the evening, moving from a residence, and choosing where to shop are affected by other issues more than by crime. Overall, it appears more likely that the feeling of insecurity is only a symptom of a general set of feelings unrelated to crime that a resident has in a particular neighborhood. Little research has examined these issues, particularly in the context of how such research could be used to create stronger feelings of security.

Avoiding the feeling associated with increased adrenaline is different at least in degree from concern for security. One does not wear a seat belt to avoid adrenaline, but because it is believed to be safer. If older persons are worried about being hassled by teenagers on the street, they will go out less and so will be less often at risk (Hindelang 1978). This worry could be concern for security. However, it could also be induced by fear felt by the older person when walking near teenagers. Persons who go to their doors preparing for an attacker are different from those who calmly put another lock on their door. In short, fear may precipitate precautions, but fear is a state of discomfort that is different from the calm decision to install a "Buddy buzzer." This distinction is crucial to the understanding of the effect of action taken to reduce crime. Installing a lock may give a feeling of greater security when nobody is at the door as in "tiger prevention" in New York City (Zimring 1971). It may also reduce the likelihood of a burglary (principally in high rise apartments). However, it could mean the resident is more likely to go to the door in a state of fear having been warned that the lock was necessary for protection.

There seems to be increasing agreement that general social attitudes are primary determinants of beliefs about the amount of crime and fear of crime (Hindelang 1978; Robert 1978; Sparks 1977:207–211). It is not clear whether victimization affects those feelings in a major way. Sparks (1977:208) suggests that victimization by assault and robbery reduces fear: his argument is that, when all events, whether serious or not serious, are equally probable then it is believed that the most serious event has a real chance of occurring. This is reinforced by the media coverage of the sensational event. The actual experience of victimization then gives the person a real example on which to base their fear and so reduces the anxiety. Baril from qualitative research with the victims of robberies of small businesses partially disagrees on the effect of the event. The majority of victimizations as reported in the research were experienced as less serious than the media image (Grenier and Manseau 1978); but the victimization did not reduce fear. It did teach the victim how to weather the experience. In a twisted way, victimization may reduce trauma but not general fear.

The feeling state of fear is much more likely to be precipitated by life-threatening possibility. In which case, discussions of fear of crime should not overlook two important observations. First, crime is not "normally" distributed in cities. Like Schmid (1972) and Boggs (1965), our research showed most census tracts or enumeration areas in Toronto to have a very low incidence of victimization. Also we showed in our self-report section the small number of offenders who commit several offenses (see also Leblanc 1976; West and Farrington 1977). A few areas have very high crime rates. Perception of the dangerousness of an area may be a function of spectacular newsworthy incidents. However, if crime is seen as "nonlocal and nonpersonal" (Hindelang 1978: 167) it is because life-threatening crime is just that.

*Reported in Chapter 9 of this volume.

[10]No attempt has been made in this paper to review the literature relating to rape. In passing, it is important to note that the NCS does not measure the incidence of rape directly. That is, the respondent is given the opportunity to mention rape only when asked questions such as "Did anyone try to attack you in some other way?" The incidence of trauma in rape situations is probably much higher than for burglary or robbery. For further references on rape see Viano (1976) or Brodyaga (1975), Burgess and Holstrom (1974), or Curran and Worman (1978).

[11]The analysis by Bourque (1978:12–19) is particularly interesting in suggesting types of burglary and robbery likely to precipitate crisis. The approximate percentage incidence is estimated for their 30-day police record study in Fort Worth, Rochester, or Birmingham, for burglary as follows: loss of sentimental possession (5%), high loss $1,000 (9%), malicious destruction of property (1%), ransacking (2%), victim presence in residence (5%), prior victimizations (1%), and miscellaneous (2%); for robbery these were: bodily harm to victim (23%), use of weapon (63%), assault with no injury (21%), and multiple offenders (33%).

[12]Bourque et al. (1978) do not explain this. It is likely that the longer term impact is associated with negative feelings for a place to which one goes regularly. Robbery victims can avoid the scene of the crime; however, burglary victims can only do this if they move. Secondly, as Bourque (1978) shows, the police are not as sensitive to crisis in burglary situations and so may not only fail to alleviate the crisis but exacerbate it by careless remarks recalling spectacular burglaries that the officer remembers.

Second, as pointed out above, perceptions of dangerousness are not only a combination of money taken or injuries incurred, they are a function of threat of harm, particularly death or severe debilitation. The public is probably not very concerned by an increase in $10 property losses, even if there are 26 times as many events so that it would score as cumulatively high on the Sellin-Wolfgang scale.[13] However, they are concerned by an apparent or real increase in "irrational" murders. The public is probably following the "minimax" principle of trying to minimize the possibility of the maximum harm.

In summary, we cannot start with explanations of fear, because we have not operationalized the concept in the most effective way. If we adopt the Whitrod[14] suggestion of letting the citizen define fear by recording in a diary both the events that created fear and what he or she felt in reaction to that event, we may make some progress. We must then focus on factors associated with different levels of this fear, such as second-hand reports of victimization, media coverage of the sensational and exceptional, use of UCR or an effective victimization social indicator, personal images of the crime problems, feelings of personal security and community integration.

Conclusion

We have distinguished separate purposes for victimization techniques—first as social indicators to influence priorities of public policy and, second, to inform specific programs. Victimization surveys can provide public policy with simple, comprehensible, broadly based indicators of the harm done by crime and its social impact. These indicators must be reported in a form that will focus the policy priorities appropriately. The harm measured must include financial losses, typical injuries, and emotional trauma. Social impact must define fear, measure its extent, and analyze the intentionality of the harm done.

We saw four areas of action where criminal victimization studies can make a useful contribution to a knowledge base for effective programs. These were in efforts to reduce crime, to orient the police and the courts effectively to public needs, to alleviate the harm from crime not prevented, and to increase public feelings of domestic tranquillity. These goals can only be achieved where the techniques are used in a focused manner designed to guide action. This requires a conceptualization of how policy-tractable variables can impact on outcome, together with empirical tests of the extent to which these variables are indeed associated with the outcome. Such focused surveys are likely to be more successful if they examine—

- Specific crimes rather than crime in general
- The broad environment within which the public needs to use the services of the police and the courts rather than the unique issue of whether crime is not reported
- The harm from crime within the context of how the victim experiences the event and knowledge of crisis management; and
- The issues of domestic tranquillity and fear in considerably more depth.

Considerable progress has been made over the past 15 years in improving our understanding of the impact of crime and its prevention. However, the increases that occurred in this time in crime and in expenditures supposedly focused against it, together with our realization of the general inefficiency of those programs, require greatly enhanced efforts by government, reform agencies, and citizens to deal with these problems in a rational manner which will require resources to be devoted to these issues over the next few years.

[13]It is unclear how additive the Sellin-Wolfgang scale is. Wellford and Wiatrowski (1975) have shown for 118 Florida State students that separate events are found to be equally serious to the accumulation into one event of the components of these separate events. This does not appear to have been replicated in other samples. Wagner and Pease (1978) argue that the combination of these judgments is far more complex and suggest that it is not additive. It seems to defy common sense that 26 thefts of $10 are equivalent to a murder. Even if it were true, the public does not react in the "scaled" manner; a death has a special prominence on its own for those in public police. It is the spectacular and out-of-the-ordinary that probably affects public views and legislative decisionmaking.

[14]Personal communication with Ray Whitrod, National University, Australia.

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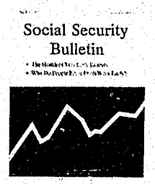

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