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REFLECTION UPON SOME DIMENSIONS OF VIOLENCE IN SE EUROPE[1]

Violence is a phenomenon which can be interpreted in many ways using a variety of theoretical and common sense approaches. In this paper we will start by introducing general ideas on the root causes of specific forms of violence. This will be followed by the presentation of the International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS, survey sweeps in 1996/1997 and 2000/2001), conducted in the region under discussion, followed by an analysis of the national reports on violence in South-eastern European countries sent to the Council of Europe (COE) in spring 2003. The final part of the paper offers starting points for the discussion on the root causes of violence in the region, taking into consideration specifics and more general factors influencing the understanding of selected forms of violence in this part of the world. It is necessary to stress that talking about common causes of violence in this region can be quite idealistic due to the diversity of cultures and countries which may or may not have been involved in war.

INTRODUCTION

What causes people to behave violently is a question asked by many scientists, policy makers, experts and members of the population at large. Criminological theory provides us with a variety of explanations of violent behaviour, amongst which are the following: personality traits, disfunctional families (Loeber, Dale, 1997), human instincts (Lorenz, 1966), exposure to violence (Greene, 1993), substance abuse (Bennett 1998, Internet; Siegel, 2001), availability of firearms (Vilcox, Clayton, 2001), culture of violence (Wolfgang, Ferracuti, 1967), gangs (Howel, 1999), regional and national values (Dekleva *et al*, 2002; Neapolitin, 1999), war and post-war atrocities (Simons, 1998).

Speaking about root causes of violence in the region, besides war and post-war factors the following must be taken in consideration: urban indifference, apathy, cultural conflict, migration, poverty, patriarchical relationship, attendance at sports matches only for expressing violent behaviour and the žnothing to loose′ beliefs of the marginalised. It is too ambitious to state the root causes of all violent crimes because violent acts differ in motives, expressed violence (towards foreigners or relatives), etc. It would be too simplistic to claim that all causes of violence lead inevitably to violent episodes. It is important to be aware of the fact that the right constellation of factors is needed to trigger individual or mass violence.

Knowledge about main factors of violence calls for awareness-raising and assistance programmes for the victims of violent crime, treatment programmes for violent offenders and control of areas of violent prevalence. On the one hand, education and public campaigns making people aware of their rights and procedures reduce violence through the so-called culture of non-violence and dialogue. From this perspective, the Foucaudian statement ″Knowledge is power″ is the main idea of such efforts (De Nike, Ewald, Nowlin, 1995). Work with victims of violence has two possible effects. It helps the victim to overcome consequences of victimisation, and it reduces the possibility of the victims becoming criminals (i.e. ″victims victimise″), because it is well known that

the majority of imprisoned, serious criminals suffered victimisation in their childhood. Experiencing violence is not a common experience. Thus, victims of violence have to be treated with attention and care to learn how to prevent re-victimisation.

Besides the listed forms of violence and ideas about prevention of violence, we have to stress another form of violence – hate crimes. Hate crimes or bias crimes are violent acts directed toward a particular person or members of a group merely because the target shares a discernible racial, ethnic, religious or gender characteristic. Hate crimes can include harassment of a minority-group family that has moved into a neighbour-hood where the majority of the community consists of other ethnic group members. Hate crimes usually involve convenient, vulnerable targets who are incapable of fighting back. For example, there have been numerous reported incidents of teenagers attacking vagrants and the homeless in an effort to rid their town or neighbourhood of people they consider undesirable. Racial and ethnic minorities have also been easy targets of attacks (Siegel, 2004:350-352).

The roots of hate crimes lie in thrill-seeking, reaction and mission. *Thrill-seeking hate crimes* are motivated by a sadistic thrill and a pathological desire to inflict pain on others. *Reactive hate crimes* are committed by perpetrators who rationalise their behaviour as a defensive stand taken against outsiders who they believe are threatening their community or their way of life. For example, gang members that attack a new family in the neighbourhood because they belong to the ″wrong″ race, ethnicity or religion are committing a reactive hate crime. *Mission hate crimes* are committed by disturbed individuals who see themselves as being on a mission of getting rid of evil. They may seek to eliminate people who threaten their religious beliefs because they are of different race, ethnicity or religion (Siegel, 2004: 350).

Patterns of violent crime will be discussed in detail in a chapter on national reports on violence from which we will learn about the prevailing forms of violence in the studied countries. Let′s first see the results from the International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS) conducted by the United Nations. The ICVS is a look from another perspective which is not as optimistic as official reports and the statistics on the work of the police and criminal justice agencies and the amount of crime reported to the police and cleared-up by them.

INTERNATIONAL CRIME VICTIM SURVEY (ICVS) AND OFFICIAL DATA ON CRIME

INTERNATIONAL CRIME VICTIM SURVEY 1997

The International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS) in countries in transition concerned Albania, Belarus, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Croatia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Kyrgyz Stan, Latvia, Lithuania, FYR of Macedonia, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Ukraine and Yugoslavia (Zvekić, 1998).

The comparison of transitional countries with other world regions in 1996/97 (Western Europe, New World, Africa, Asia and Latin America) shows that so-called contact crimes (violence – robbery, sexual assaults and physical assaults) in transitional countries exhibit high rates. As regards countries in transition, they rank third in terms of robbery and sexual assaults, and fourth in terms of physical assaults. Risks of robbery in countries of south-eastern Europe were quite high in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Regarding sexual assaults (defined as incidents by the victim as rape, attempted rape or indecent assault) in the region, Albania is followed by Slovenia and Yugoslavia.

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Results of the study also imply quite a high level of car vandalism and other forms of non-personal violence (causing damage).

The results of the ICVS on countries in transition show that citizens-police relationships are yet to be built up and that the level of confidence is still quite low. The ″police crime story″ is the amount and type of crime known to them. It will differ from the ″real crime story″ depending on the citizens′ propensity to inform the police about crime. To this reported crime, the police can add crimes recorded by them but not reported, and they can deduct some criminal activities which do not figure in the ″police crime story″ because of specific investigative, technical, procedural, social and political reasons. There are, however, important variations across countries as to the volume and type of crime known to the police and admitted into police administrative records.

Not surprisingly, the propensity to report to the police depends on the seriousness of the crime, whether tangible or intangible. However, reporting is also influenced by other factors: previous personal experience of reporting, other acquired experience with, or attitudes to, the police, expectations, factors related to a particular victimisation experience in hand, the existence of alternative ways of dealing with this, the relationship with the offender, and the ″privacy″ of the issue.

The results of the study on robbery show that victims in the countries in transition report burglary to the police in 25% and assaults in 20.4% of cases (Zvekić, 1998:66). Detailed information on the countries of South-Eastern Europe show the following percentages in reporting robbery:
• Albania – 22.9%
• Bulgaria – 37.1%
• Croatia – 30.1%
• FYR of Macedonia – 40.7%
• Romania – 30.9%
• Slovenia – 27.2%
• Yugoslavia – 36.9%

Results on reporting for assault are as follows:
• Albania – 20.0%
• Bulgaria – 20.3%
• Croatia – 25.5%
• FYR of Macedonia – 33.0%
• Romania – 23.0%
• Slovenia – 28.4%
• Yugoslavia – 28.6%

The reasons for reporting violent crime in general are mainly related to:
– a civic duty and preventative reasons (it should be reported and to stop it happening again). This is the same reason for other crimes.
– need for assistance (to get help), especially for threats/assaults and robbery.
– recovery/compensation of damage (recovery of property and making insurance claims) is the reason associated with property crimes (burglary and robbery).
– expectations for the law enforcement agencies to deal effectively with offenders (want the offender caught/punished) is the reason associated with all crimes (property crimes and violence).

The results on reasons for reporting robbery show that 43.2% of the respondents would report robbery to recover their property, 12.4% would report crimes for insurance

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reasons, 33.9% would report robbery as a civic duty, 54.1% want the offender caught, 33.6% would report robbery for preventative reasons and 21.1% would report as a way of getting help.

Reporting assaults/threats is associated with the following reasons to the following extent:
- recover property – 8.5%
- insurance reasons – 12.2%
- should be reported – 31.8%
- want offender caught – 41.1%
- to stop it – 44.0%
- to get help – 25.6%

The main reasons for not reporting crimes to the police are related to the following attitudes: "the police could do nothing", "police won't do anything" and "fear/dislike of the police". As to robbery, 30.9% of the respondents are convinced that the police could not do anything, 27.7% that police won't do anything, and 13.5% feared or disliked the police. Regarding threat/assault the results imply that 31.4% of the respondents are convinced that police could do nothing, 20.7% that police won't do anything, and 33.3% of the respondents fear or dislike the police. In addition, 20.7% of the victims did not dare to report violence.

The highest percentage of gun owners in the transitional South-Eastern European countries was found in Yugoslavia (28.6%), followed by Croatia (14.4%), Slovenia (12.9%), FYR of Macedonia (12.3%), Bulgaria (11.4%), Albania (5.7%) and Romania (2.3%). Possession of firearms for the purpose of crime prevention is highest in Yugoslavia (35.1%), followed by Croatia (30.1%), Bulgaria (28.5%), Romania (20.0%), Slovenia (7.9%) and Albania (1.5%).

Attitudes towards the police were the most positive (police do a good job) in Albania (44.2%), followed by Slovenia (41.3%), Croatia (37.9%), FYR of Macedonia (34.7%), Romania (28.1%), Yugoslavia (25.5%) and Bulgaria (23.0%).

Countries in transition represent a very heterogeneous group in terms of levels of development, culture, geopolitical position and the depth and magnitude of changes following the downfall of the communist system. The development of the se countries is characterised by at least four interrelated processes. First, the common political and cultural climate itself sets limits to the ways and models of social, political, and economic change. Second, the prevailing model of market economy and political arrangements as experienced by the West limit options, since they set the aims and – more often than not – the means to achieve them. Third, regional economic and political integration as well as the worldwide process of globalisation streamlines economic and political developments in the countries in transition. Finally, international assistance in the process of reform sets certain methods and standards that are required or expected to be followed and met.

INTERNATIONAL CRIME VICTIM SURVEY 2000

The results from the ICVS 2000 for countries in transition are not available for the year 1997. The only available source of information on the ICVS 2000 is available on the Internet (http://www.unicri.it/icvs/publications/index_pub.htm) and provides only general information on the study, not a separate analysis of the region. It is necessary to take in account trends in victimisation and characteristics of countries in transition in year 2000 in the manner presented in Hatalak et al (1998) and Zvekić (1998). Anyway,

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an overall estimation of trends in violent crimes is presented in Gruszcynska (in Kury, 2001:81-83)

Gruszcynska (in Kury, 2001: 81) compared ICVS 1996 and 2000 data. The comparison of robberies was conducted only for Slovenia and Croatia. She found out that robberies in Croatia (-64) and Slovenia (-29) were on the decline. The comparison of police statistics shows an increase in reporting robberies in both countries - Croatia (+50) and Slovenia (+34). These findings imply that willingness to report criminal offences to the police increased, while the experiences of people included into the samples with robberies in the sampled countries decreased. The data on overall crime in both countries show about the same pattern – a decrease in reporting experiences with crime in Croatia (-49) and Slovenia (-30), while the police statistics shows an increase in Croatia (+25) and Slovenia (+79). Such huge differences can be also attributed to the change in data collection and changes in criminal legislation.

Violent crimes (robbery and assault) were also studied in the capitals of Slovenia, Romania, Albania, Croatia and Bulgaria. Table 1 shows the violent victimization and the relevant report rate in Central and Eastern Europe, ICVS 2000 Gruszcynska (in Kury, 2001: 83). We bolded capitals/countries of SE Europe included in our study.

Table 1:
Crime Report Rate of Violent Victimization in Central and Eastern Europe, ICVS 2000

City (Country)	1-year prevalence rate	5-year prevalence rate	5-year reported rate
Tallin (Estonia)	12.4	27.6	29.9
Warsaw (Poland)	5.7	19.5	28.4
Prague (Czech Rep.)	2.8	12.4	35.3
Moscow (Russia)	5.7	18.6	33.3
Tbilisi (Georgia)	3.6	9.0	18.9
Ljubljana (Slovenia)	**6.4**	**13.8**	**40.3**
Riga (Latvia)	6.4	15.2	34.2
Bucharest (Romania)	**2.7**	**12.7**	**28.6**
Budapest (Hungary)	1.8	12.2	19.0
Tirana (Albania)	**6.0**	**21.3**	**22.3**
Zagreb (Croatia)	**2.0**	**8.9**	**36.5**
Kiev (Ukraine)	5.6	14.6	27.6
Minsk (Belarus)	3.8	12.1	30.3
Sofia (Bulgaria)	**3.0**	**9.2**	**35.5**
Vilnius (Lithuania)	3.2	20.4	34.7
Baku (Azerbaidjan)	2.4	5.5	35.3
Average	**4.1**	**14.2**	**30.3**

Social and econimic factors of victimization were quantitatively examined. The results of the *logit models* show that the most significant factors of victimization are: gender, age, employment status, and stability in a living area. The findings of the studied countries of Central and Eastern Europe roughly coincide with those obtained in the industrialized countries. The conclusions drawn from this study are biased by the composition of the ICVS samples in Central and Eastern European countries. In fact, the only data available for comparison were from the capital cities, and moreover, some of the samples were not well balanced (Gruszcynska, in Kury, 2001: 88).

OFFICIAL DATA ON VIOLENT CRIMINAL OFFENCES IN THE REGION

NATIONAL REPORTS TO THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

The reports from Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, FYR of Macedonia, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, and Slovenia had been completed and sent to the Council of Europe in 2003 for the purpose of the project Responses to everyday violence in a democratic society. The main findings from the national reports are presented in the following tables. Criminal offences of a violent nature are in bold in Table 2. We also used original names criminal offences as stated in the national reports.

Table 2: Prevailing forms of crime according to official statistics[2]

Country/Criminal offence	Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3	Rank 4	Rank 5
Bulgaria	Theft	Transport crimes	**Robbery**	Fraud	**Bodily harm**
Croatia	**Aggravated larceny**	Larceny	Abuse of narcotic drugs	Forgery of documents	Fraud
Greece	**Domestic violence**	**Sport related violence**	**Violence related to drug abuse**	**Public disorder**	**Violence related to migrations**
FYR of Macedonia	Classic crime	Economic crime	Illegal trafficking	Organized crime	/
Romania	**Robbery**	**Rape**	**Causing severe bodily harm**	Infringements against morality	**Murder**
Serbia and Montenegro	Aggravated theft	Theft	**Endangering public safety**	Taking car without the owner's consent	Forest theft
Slovenia	Theft/Larceny	**Burglary**	**Severe bodily harm**	**Causing damage to other's property**	Business related crime

Table 1 shows a diversity of violent criminal offences in the countries studied. A unified approach is needed in researching trends and the extent of known violent criminality. It is not possible to compare South-East European countries regarding the extent and forms of violence without getting an idea about prevailing forms of violence in the region. This is not only a problem of this region, but also a typical problem of comparative criminology (Hagan, 2001).

Regarding victims and victimisation, not all South-East European countries conducted crime victim surveys. In addition, in only a few countries have separate studies been done on domestic violence, violence against children and violence at school.

Feelings of insecurity and fear of crime surveys have not been conducted in the majority of the countries studied. A recent study on post-communist countries and fear of crime (Los, 2002) focuses on post-communist processes through which a fear of the state has been transformed into a fear of crime plus longing for a stronger state. The communist governing technology (control mentality) was buttressed by fear of the secret security complex and taboo-based management of the self (taboo mentality). Risk had unequivocally negative connotations. The abrupt shift to a liberal market ideology brought something "new", the risk of crime. Two relevant developments are

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scrutinised: the move from the state media (with their incessant ″good news″ propaganda) to the market-based ″bad news″ media and the re-emergence of the former secret police as a new private security sector – the primary provider of risk definitions and risk management technologies.

The number of private security forces varies from country to country, but it seems that private security forces are increasing and taking over a significant role in risk management and the security market.

The regional governments endeavours aimed to promoting gender equality seem to be rising. Programmes and initiatives in the fields of prevention of sexual abuse and exploitation of children, help and support to victims of crime, the role of an ombudsman, prevention of violence at school and prevention of violence in urban environments seem to be increasing. Public awareness of violence seems to be awakening, but it can take a long time before it turns into action against violence.

National crime suppression and prevention policies and activities of NGOs oppose to many kinds of violence and provide citizens with the basis for a better quality of life. There is still a wide gap between declared goals and everyday practice in the field of violence and crime prevention.

In some South-East European countries the Council of Europe′s ″Urban crime prevention: a guide for local authorities″ (2002) has been translated into local languages and preliminarily tests have been done to test feasibility of its use in solving violence-related problems in local communities. Among others languages, the above guide has been translated into Slovene and presented to 8 municipalities in Slovenia. Its presentation was followed by a discussion on obstacles to partnership, efficient and effective crime prevention and solving local security/safety problems. The main problems appeared to be as follows (Meško, 2003, in print):
– non-cooperation and departmentalism,
– poor knowledge about jurisdiction and weak coordination between/among departments/institutions and civil society,
– financial resources,
– too few police officers,
– distanced and ignorant citizens – moral minimalism,
– the loss of traditional values,
– people too busy,
– indifferent people,
– fear of being under control – Big Brother and
– incoherent ″professionals″.

A national crime prevention council, as operated in some western countries, is not a common national body for setting priorities for crime prevention in South-Eastern European countries.

The main (public and professional) debates in the field of violence appear to be related to:
Bulgaria:
• political crime and corruption
• organised crime and related violence
• weaknesses in the activities of the judiciary institutions and the police
• violence related to sports events
• domestic and sexual violence towards women
• right of victims of violence and obligations of the state

Croatia:
- trafficking in human beings
- mine-awareness programme (reduction of consequences of hidden land mines)
- violence against women
- drug and violence problems
- violence against children

Greece:
- violence related to sports events
- violence and drugs
- violence in the media
- migration and violence
- juvenile delinquency

FYR of Macedonia:
- fight against organised crime
- prevention of juvenile delinquency
- drug addiction
- violence among school students
- illegal migration and trafficking in human beings

Romania:
- child abuse
- domestic violence
- trafficking in persons
- drug addiction
- corruption

Serbia and Montenegro:
- drug addiction
- trafficking in human beings
- organised crime
- street violence
- domestic violence

Slovenia:
- domestic violence
- violence and the media
- juvenile violence
- sports events-related violence
- violence at school
- trafficking in human beings

The number of national research organisations and NGOs studying and dealing with violence is increasing in all South-Eastern European countries. The organisations dealing with the prevention of violence still face a lack of financial support and skilled/trained professionals.

EUROPEAN SOURCEBOOK OF CRIME AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE STATISTICS - 2003

This chapter provides information on violent offences recorded by the police. Police statistics are collected in every country but for several reasons do not always provide a good measure of crime. Victims may choose not to report the crime to the police or may not be aware that they have been victims of crime. In addition, reporting may be

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self-incriminating (e.g. when a victim is also an offender) or humiliating; or the victim may think that nothing will be gained by reporting (e.g. a victim does not think that the police wil be able to solve the burglary or return the stolen goods). If a victim does not report a crime and the police do not learn about the offence from another source, the offender will not be recorded and therefore not counted in police statistics. Data on assault and rapes tend to be less reported than property offences. Even when crime is reported to the police, it might not be recorded in the official statistics. This mainly occurs after official enquiries, which lead the police to believe that the event reported did not actually constitute a crime. Research has shown that recording is less complete for personal offences than for property offences. Not all crimes are reported by a victim or a witness. The police themselves may report some violent crimes, for example homicide (a dead body is found), and *victimless* offences (i.e. offences against rules and regulations, such as illegal possession of arms, drug offences, etc). Readers should be aware that petty ofeences are not always recorded in police statistics. Also, countries differ in the way they consider offences as petty (e.g. theft of small value). In assessing national differences, correlational analyses with other data sources (such as measures of crime provided by the ICVS) are equally helpful. In most countries the police can be regarded as the first stage of the criminal justice process. However, this does not mean that the figures on recorded crime give an accurate account of the total input to the criminal justice system. This is because, in a number of countries, the prosecuting authority may initiate criminal proceedings without receiving a police report. For example, in Eastern European countries serious violent offences will not always be recorded by the police but by the public prosecutor's office. Also, other agencies (military police, customs, border police, fiscal fraud squads) and individuals (foresters, judges, or even citizens). The position of the police in the criminal justice system may also directly influence the number of offences recorded and their classification. It is necessary, in addition to the these *pecularities*, to mention the problems of classification of offences, counting multiple offences committed consecutively, etc. (European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics, 2003: 21-22).

The European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics (2003: 29) shows that general trends in the number of reported crime in the region between 1995 and 2000 are in decrease in Croatia, Romania and Slovenia, in increase in Albania, and quite stable in Moldova.

Regarding violent criminal offences, the prevailing trend is the decrease of intentional homicides in all countries except Albania. Assault is in decrease, except in Greece. Rape has increased significantly only in Croatia and moderately in Moldova, whereas in other countries the number of reported rape decreased. Robbery, as a property and violent criminal offence, increased in Albania, Croatia, Greece, Romania and Slovenia. It decreased in Bulgaria and Romania and remained stable in Moldova. It is necessary to stress that only Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Moldova, Romania and Slovenia provided a Sourcebook research team with the data. For other countries in the region, no data were available in regard to official statistics on crime in their countries.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

If we try to summarise factors of violence for the purpose of prevention of violence in the region, then we can conclude that violence can be diminished by elimination of risk factors such as anomie, uncertainty, deep-rooted *truths* (myths), misunderstanding of democracy, post-war conditions, intolerance based on race and ethnicity, value

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crisis, unemployment, poverty, hunger, cruelty, arrogance, profiteering, fraud and cynicism, social alienation and anarchy, apathy – feelings of impotence and lack of prospects.

The region has recently been characterised by liberal ideas of competition and a lack of humanist value orientation. It is believed that liberal values allow the use of any means to achieve goals of a proclaimed value system. The liberal attitude determining the major social climate creates a model of desirable behaviour based on the success in the market, high material standards, the principle of competition and the criterion of performance, which all contribute to weakening moral standards and a humanist orientation. Social disorganisation and ethnic conflicts followed by a lack of such orientation create and maintain a climate of intolerance and conflict. Consumerism and high aspirations accompanied by impatience and attempts to achieve a rapid mobility and success lead to the use of illegal means. The goal, a better future, becomes "consumer potential", not human liberty and respect for other people and their dignity. Characteristic causes of crime and violence in the region are now mixed with risk factors of liberalism.

Once "stable" countries now face new risks and tensions which lead to frustrations and more opportunities for pathological forms of resolution of "conflicts".

Countries in poverty and social disorganisation cannot assure mainstream conformity of the population due to the fact that conformity cannot survive without reward. Obstacles to achieving social conformity lie in the following reasons: self-assertiveness, anxiety, uncertainty and feelings that relations among people are deteriorating (De Nike, Ewald and Nowlin, 1995: 108). On the other hand formal social control institutions are able to detect just a small amount of violent crime due to the problems of reporting violence to the police.

Inter-generation conflict is also a significant crime/violence factor. Many parents are still tied to old socialist values and their children are under the pressure of a more liberal, competitive mentality. In addition, paternalistic orientation causes conflicts as well because of a new education system, faced with authority crisis (ibid).

There are other factors influencing crime and violence in the region are also to be discussed: societal changes, instability of the social situation, migration, loosening of social relations and morality, increased uncertainty, unpreparedness of society for democratisation, abuse of social changes by criminals and lowering inhibitors for committing crime. All these factors are sometimes accompanied by racism, xenophobia and abuse of substances.

In addition, increased oppressive social problems, such as economic distress, family dysfunction, racial, religious and ethnic tensions, teenage pregnancy, alcohol and drug abuse result in people feeling that everything is out of control. People turn to violence to get what they want (money, power, self-esteem and "respect"). In addition, in some countries, aggressive war criminals have been presented as idols to youth. The main characteristics of these role models are aggression above all, showing others what they deserve and how to put them in "their place".

Joutsen (1995) discusses factors of crime in Central and Eastern Europe, among which the following are the most significant: belief that crime pays, police and criminal justice institutions are not successful in crime fighting, leniency of judges, unprocessed cases, problems of formal social control, huge turnover of police officers, changing legislation and new targets of property and economic crime.

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From the point of view of the West, in developmental terms, the new democracies of South-Eastern Europe can still be seen as more in denial and adaptation than reform and change with regard to violence reduction as described in ″Crime in East Europe″ (De Nike, Ewald and Nowlin, 1995:6).

Recent research on the root causes of crime (Visher, 1994: 14, in Hagan, 2001) discusses 5 factors or root causes, such as the community, the school, peer relationships, the family and the individual. The five factors or root causes and, of course, violence are complex and require a detailed study to be done in the region. The first factor, ″the community″, consists of the following: social, economic and demographic structure; organisational/political structure; community standards and norms; informal social control; crime, victimisation and arrests; social cohesion; residential turnover; and the level of involvement in drug and gang networks. The second factor, ″the school″, includes: academic achievement expectations; school policies regarding social control; school conflict; teacher-student relationships; and strengths and weaknesses of the school environment. The third factor, peer relationships, comprises composition and the size of social network; substance abuse and peer delinquency; deviant and prosocial attitudes of peers; location of peer networks (school or community) and changes in peer relationships over time. The fourth factor, ″family″, regards family structure; parent-child relationships; parent disciplinary practices; parent characteristics; family mental health; and family history of criminal behaviour and substance abuse. The last factor, ″the individual″ spans physical and mental health status; impulse control and sensation-seeking traits; cognitive and language development; ethnic identity and acculturation; leisure-time activities; and self-perception, attitude and values.

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ENDNOTES

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2   Names of criminal offences or groups of criminal offences have remained the same as in the original text.

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