CITIZEN'S APPRAISAL OF SECURITY AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE: AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Ugljesa Zvekic*

I. INTRODUCTION

People tend to appraise security and criminal justice on the basis of their own experience or by stories told, written or seen on TV. This appraisal is a mixture of rational and irrational elements, including fear for security and moral values as to what is just and what is not. This paper discusses people's reactions to crime, to police, victim support and punishment. In other words, reactions, expectations and values as related to different components of the crime process based on the results of the International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS).

Several interrelated considerations and experiences prompted the launching of the International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS). First, an increased interest in and concern with the victims of crime both at the national as well as the international level (the United Nations (UN) in particular). Second, increased scepticism about the reliability of official criminal justice statistics, mainly in terms of their focus on criminal justice system concerns, its operation and offenders. Third, a perennial criminological concern with dark figures. Fourth, the official criminal justice statistics provide quite a restricted measure of the functioning of the criminal justice agencies, excluding performance appreciation by the citizens, and thus, the accountability issue. Fifth, on the one hand, difficulties with international comparisons based on official criminal justice statistics (as evidentiated by the

United Nations Survey of Trends in Crime and the Operation of Criminal Justice Systems and INTERPOL), and on the other, a wealth of experience gained through national victimisation surveys carried out in a few industrialised countries, gave impetus for an attempt to provide an alternative international measurement of crime.

The ICVS started in 1989 by the Ministry of Justice of the Netherlands, and subsequently (1991) was further developed with the involvement of UNICRI. It reached its third "sweep" in 1996-97. It received major financial support from the Ministries of Justice and Foreign Affairs of The Netherlands, the UK Home Office Research and Statistics Directorate, and the UNDP for selected countries, as well as from local funding as regards the developing countries and countries in transition, and on a self-funding basis for the majority of the participating industrialised countries.

It can be stated without exaggeration that this was one of the major empirical international comparative projects in the area of crime prevention and criminal justice, with particular emphasis on victimisation risks and experiences of citizens all over the world. This is evident from the number of participating countries with an average sample ranging from 1,000 to 2,000 respondents from each participating site, resulting in more than 130,000 people from all over the world being interviewed about their victimisation experience, contacts with law enforcement and evaluation thereof; patterns and

* Deputy Director, United Nations Interregoinal Crime and Justice Research Institute, UNICRI.

Countries Participating in the Three Sweeps of the ICVS: 1989; 1992-94; 1996-97

Industrialised	Countries in Transition	Developing
Australia	Albania	Argentina
Austria	Belarus	Bolivia
Belgium	Bulgaria	Botswana
Canada	Croatia	Brazil
England & Wales	Czech Republic	China
Finland	Estonia	Colombia
France	Federal Republic	Costa Rica
Germany	of Yugoslavia	Egypt
Italy	FYR of Macedonia	India
Japan	Georgia	Indonesia
Malta	Hungary	Papua New Guinea
The Netherlands	Kyrgyzstan	Paraguay
New Zealand	Latvia	The Philippines
Northern Ireland	Lithuania	South Africa
Norway	Mongolia	Tanzania
Scotland	Poland	Tunisia
Spain	Romania	Uganda
Sweden	Russia	Zimbabwe
Switzerland	Slovak Republic	
USA	Slovenia	
	Ukraine	

methods of crime prevention; and attitudes towards punishment.

The 1989 sweep involved 15 industrialised countries, one developing country (Indonesia) and one Eastern-Central European country (Poland). The second round of the ICVS involved: 12 industrialised countries, 13 developing countries and 7 countries in transition. The third sweep of ICVS included: 11 industrialised countries, 14 developing countries and 20 countries in transition. All together, 58 countries participated in the sweeps of the ICVS, with 7 participating three times, 22 participating twice and 19 participating for the first time in 1996-97. It should be noted that the participation of developing countries and countries in transition increased from 2 in 1989 through to 20 in 1992-94 to 34 in 1996-97. It should be also noted that in all industrialised countries, the ICVS was carried out on a national level by using CATI, while in almost all developing countries and countries in transition it was carried out on a sample of population from the largest city through face-to-face interviewing. International comparative analysis was thus restricted to urban areas only. The results of the ICVS are presented in numerous publications and at various

international *fora,* including the two major international conferences held in Rome in 1992 and 1998 respectively : Understanding Crime: Experiences of Crime and Crime Control, and Surverying Crime: A Global Perspective.

II. CRIME CONCERNS

Fear of crime is one concern. In this study it was measured by two indicators: feeling safe after dark and avoiding going out alone. Only data related to feeling safe after dark is presented here. The respondents were asked how safe they feel when walking alone in their area after dark.

The data reveals that street safety is perceived to be highest by citizens in Asia, followed by Western Europe and the New World. In Africa a bit less than 60% of the citizens feel safe. Just about half of the citizens in Latin America feel very and fairly safe when walking alone after dark. The citizens that feel least safe are those in countries in transition, where 46% say they feel safe, while 54% say they feel a bit unsafe or very unsafe. Among the world regions, the lowest percentage of citizens from countries in transition (13%) say they feel "very safe" in streets after dark.

III. REPORTING TO THE POLICE

The "police crime story" is the amount and type of crime known to them. It will differ from the "real crime story" depending on citizens' propensity to inform the police about crime. To this reported crime, the police can add crimes detected by them but not reported, and they can deduct some criminal activities 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 heavily on the seriousness of the crime, whether tangible or intangible. However, reporting is also influenced by other factors: previous personal experiences of reporting; other acquired experience with, or attitudes to the police; expectations; factors related to the particular victimisation experience at hand; the existence of alternative ways of dealing with this; the relationship with the offender; and the "privacy" of the issue.

Crime reporting, as mentioned above, differs according to the crime in question.

Table 2
Street Safety in World Regions

	Very safe	Fairly safe	A bit unsafe	Very unsafe	Do not know
Western Europe	28.0	42.2	19.6	9.6	0.6
New world	26.9	40.7	18.5	13.5	0.4
Countries in Transition	13.2	33.3	35.8	17.1	0.6
Asia	25.2	53.5	13.6	7.7	0.0
Africa	24.4	33.9	22.0	19.2	0.4
Latin America	18.9	32.5	26.6	21.7	0.3

It is evident that car theft is more reported than any other crime, while sexual incidents, corruption and consumer fraud are, on average, the least reported. However, reporting rates also differ from country to country, as well as depending on the developmental level. It is also claimed that the reporting rates have to do with the crime level in the society irrespective of the above-mentioned factors or as a baseline from which other factors influence the levels of reporting. For illustrative purposes, reporting rates for burglary, robbery and assault based on all sweeps of the ICVS are presented in Table 3.

Among the three crimes, the highest reporting level is for burglary, followed by robbery. Less than one third of the victims of assault reported it to the police. For all three crimes, the highest reporting levels are in the industrialised world, both Old and New. From among the group of non-industrialised countries, burglary is reported the most in countries in transition and in Africa, and the least in Asia; while from among the non-industrialised group less than one third of the victims reported assault and somewhat more than a third reported robbery to the police. Therefore, in terms of the "reporting ranks", countries in transition rank third on burglary, fifth on robbery and fourth on assault. There is then a clear difference in reporting levels between, on the one hand, the industrialised world and, on the other, the rest of the world.

Comparing the two data sets (victimisation rates and reporting rates) it becomes clear that the highest level of correspondence between the victimisation and reporting rates for all three crime types is found in Asia. From a comparative perspective, Asia has both the lowest victimisation as well as the lowest reporting rates. On the other hand, the highest reporting rates of the New World do not correspond to the victimisation levels reported for the New World. Generally speaking, it appears that the reporting levels do not reflect the victimisation levels. This seems to support the hypothesis that the victimisation level is not the most important factor in conditioning the reporting practice, and that it cannot be considered even a solid baseline for predicting propensity to report to the police. High crime does not automatically and necessarily lead to high disclosures of crime. Other factors appear to have more weight on the propensity to report to the police.

Table 3
Percentage of Burglary, Robbery and Assault Reported to the Police in Six Global Regions, 1989, 1992 and 1996 ICVS (1 year)

	Burglary	**Robbery**	**Assault**
Western Europe	79.6	45.5	28.5
New World	85.3	75.9	45.3
Countries in Transition	63.2	25.1	20.4
Asia	40.8	33.3	31.0
Africa	57.7	33.5	20.4
Latin America	44.1	20.7	23.6
Total	61.8	39.0	28.2

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

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

Recovery of property and insurance are both mentioned with respect to burglary and robbery. It is interesting to note that reporting for the reason of recovering property for both crimes is much more present among victims from countries in transition and the developing world than from the industrialised world. Inversely, insurance reasons are much more important in the industrialised world. There is a very clearly established pattern, according to which high insurance coverage results in high reporting rates in order to get the insurance premiums. Where insurance coverage is low, expectations related to reporting are to "recover" stolen property. Since the level of insurance coverage is much higher in the industrialised world than in countries in transition, the reasons for reporting in order to compensate for damage will reflect this discrepancy. *"At the individual level, those without insurance are less likely to report burglaries to the police... At the aggregate level, there is always a strong association between the insurance coverage and reporting of burglaries to the police"* (van Dijk, 1994). Indeed, the countries and regions with low insurance coverage tend to display low reporting rates of burglaries to the police.

"Want the offender caught/punished" as a reason for reporting figures prominently for all three crimes. However, differences in the importance of this particular reason between the regions are less pronounced when it comes to assault and robbery, and more pronounced when it comes to burglary. Most probably, the level of insurance coverage again is at play in a sense that for the victims of insured households to get the offender caught/punished is of less importance in terms of reporting to the police. On the other hand, if there is no household insurance, in order to recover property it is also important to find and punish the offender. In addition, there is a more punitive orientation in the developing countries and countries in transition (Zvekic, 1997), which also indicates the importance of this reason for reporting crime to the police.

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

That the "police could do nothing" was frequently given as a reason for not reporting property crimes - thefts of personal property, thefts from cars, etc. This may signify a belief that the police would be unable to recover property, find

Table 4
Reasons for Reporting Crime to the Police, 1996

	Recover property	Insurance reasons	Should be reported	Want offender caught	To stop it	To get help	Other reasons
Burglary							
Western Europe	32.2	43.2	46.0	31.9	18.2	8.4	11.9
New World	17.4	22.8	51.1	27.2	13.0	8.7	15.2
Countries in Transition	57.5	15.0	37.4	51.4	27.0	12.5	2.5
Asia	82.2	4.4	48.9	64.4	64.4	26.7	-
Africa	72.6	13.1	26.8	53.9	20.8	16.7	1.2
Latin America	53.2	26.2	19.5	42.9	34.8	8.6	3.1
Total	52.4	20.8	38.3	45.3	29.7	13.6	6.8
Robbery							
Western Europe	35.2	13.6	40.9	36.4	21.6	17.0	18.2
New World	23.3	13.3	56.7	46.7	26.7	20.0	16.7
Countries in Transition	43.2	12.4	33.9	54.1	33.6	21.1	7.7
Asia	80.6	2.8	47.2	69.4	41.7	25.0	2.8
Africa	57.6	10.1	36.4	55.6	20.2	17.2	2.0
Latin America	39.0	32.0	23.0	54.0	40.5	17.0	3.0
Total	46.5	14.0	39.7	52.7	30.7	19.6	8.4
Assault/Threat							
Western Europe	4.5	5.6	35.0	32.2	31.6	22.0	23.7
New World	6.9	6.9	36.2	39.7	39.7	24.1	22.4
Countries in Transtion	8.5	12.2	31.8	41.1	44.0	25.6	7.5
Asia	16.2	10.8	43.2	48.6	73.0	40.5	-
Africa	3.5	-	34.1	56.5	45.9	1.6	3.5
Latin America	18.0	42.4	18.7	38.8	44.6	22.3	7.2
Total	9.6	15.6	33.2	42.8	46.5	25.4	12.9

	Not serious enough	Solved it myself	Inappropriate for the police	Other authorities	My family solved it	No insurance
Burglary						
Western Europe	26.2	21.4	4.8	-	7.1	4.8
New World	30.8	15.4	7.7	-	-	7.7
Countries in Transition	27.0	13.3	13.2	6.6	9.0	6.5
Asia	52.4	13.3	14.3	2.9	3.8	2.9
Africa	17.4	12.3	10.7	7.1	5.5	2.4
Latin America	24.0	10.8	2.9	-	5.9	5.3
Total	29.6	14.4	8.9	5.5	6.3	4.9
Robbery						
Western Europe	35.7	10.7	17.9	1.8	5.4	-
New World	5.9	41.2	11.8	11.8	-	-
Countries in Transition	23.4	12.7	10.3	1.7	6.4	8.0
Asia	30.4	10.1	18.8	4.3	10.1	1.4
Africa	14.7	9.6	10.9	-	1.9	0.6
Latin America	18.1	6.3	5.5	0.5	0.5	2.0
Total	21.4	15.1	12.5	4.0	4.9	3.0
Threat/Assault						
Western Europe	38.6	13.6	8.0	4.7	2.7	-
New World	25.6	17.9	7.7	6.4	2.6	-
Countries in Transition	26.2	19.5	14.5	6.3	6.8	6.7
Asia	36.4	33.9	8.3	8.3	17.4	0.8
Africa	22.5	18.1	25.2	2.5	6.0	-
Latin America	17.4	30.7	21.8	0.7	4.2	1.6
Total	27.8	22.3	14.3	4.8	6.6	3.0

	Police could do nothing	Police won't do anything	Fear/ dislike of police	Didn't dare	Other reasons	Don't know
Burglary						
Western Europe	16.7	2.4	-	2.4	21.4	8.1
New World	-	15.4	-	-	38.5	-
Countries in Transition	28.4	16.7	5.6	6.8	8.6	9.4
Asia	14.3	5.7	11.5	-	3.8	3.8
Africa	35.2	12.3	2.8	6.3	14.2	4.3
Latin America	21.1	42.1	7.7	2.6	13.7	2.4
Total	23.1	15.8	6.9	4.5	16.7	5.6
Robbery						
Western Europe	25.0	7.1	5.4	7.1	16.1	2.7
New World	5.9	-	11.8	17.6	23.5	-
Countries in Transition	30.9	27.7	13.5	9.9	9.7	6.5
Asia	30.4	17.4	9.1	10.1	4.3	-
Africa	46.8	14.7	5.1	12.2	16.7	1.9
Latin America	34.0	53.9	24.4	3.9	3.9	0.9
Total	28.8	24.2	11.6	10.1	12.4	3.0
Threat/Assault						
Western Europe	15.0	10.9	2.9	7.4	16.5	2.4
New World	6.4	15.4	5.1	5.1	28.2	5.1
Countries in Transition	21.1	18.2	23.1	9.6	7.8	3.8
Asia	31.4	20.7	33.3	20.7	3.3	3.9
Africa	19.9	12.7	2.7	15.2	9.4	1.6
Latin America	14.9	26.1	6.9	9.6	6.2	1.8
Total	18.1	17.3	12.3	11.3	11.9	3.1

the offender, or do anything else of benefit. It could also signify a fairly realistic judgement about the liability of the police to do much about something on which they have little information to act. In essence, though, it is an expression of resignation. In contrast, "the police wouldn't do anything" may carry a more explicit criticism that the police would be reluctant to take action, even though they might be expected to do so. "Fear/dislike of police" certainly signifies a negative attitude towards the police, either of a general nature, or related in some way to the particular offence in hand. As might be expected, fear and/or dislike of the police was often mentioned in relation to violent crimes and sexual incidents. These might involve a close relationship with the offender(s), or sometimes even a lifestyle that may lead the police to treat the victims as accomplices, or people "who deserve what they got". That women victims of sexual incidents are often treated unsympathetically by the police is also now well recognised.

Table 4 presents reasons for not reporting. Crimes are mainly not reported because they are not considered "serious enough". Since this section deals with the police, it is worth looking more clearly at police related reasons: "police could do nothing"; "police won't do anything" and "fear/dislike of police".

It should be noted that around 30% of the victims of burglary from the New World and even 52% from Asia thought that the burglary which took place in their household was "not serious enough". This reason, together with "inappropriate for police", indicates the characteristics of the event itself. As regards robbery, "not serious enough" is mentioned as a reason for not reporting by 36%, 30% and 23% of the victims from Western Europe, Asia and countries in transition respectively. On the other hand, 22%, 26% and 15% of victims of assault/threats from Latin America, Africa and countries in transition mentioned the "inappropriateness" of the case for the police as reasons for non-reporting.

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

The two more implicit criticisms of the police are also more pronounced reasons for not reporting the three crimes provided by victims from countries in transition. This is, however, more related to "police won't do anything". It should be noted that the implicit criticism that the police would be reluctant to take action is, on average, more highly related to robbery and assault/threats than to burglary. "Fear/dislike" of police is mentioned significantly as a reason for not reporting robbery in Latin America and the New World, as well as for assault/threats in Asia.

A. Satisfaction with the Police
The ICVS also indicates the strength of police-community relations in showing:

(i) the degree of satisfaction victims feel when they report to the police; and
(ii) the reasons why victims were dissatisfied with the way the police handle cases once reported.

Among the reasons for dissatisfaction with the police once burglary was reported, the most frequently mentioned were "the police did not do enough" and "were not interested". The first reason was identified by more than 40% of the burglary victims

Table 5
Reasons for Dissatisfaction with the Police (1996)

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

in countries in transition and up to 75% of those from the New World. Disinterest on the part of the police was mentioned by 41% of the victims in Latin America and one third of the victims in countries in transition and Western Europe.

A substantial portion (ranging from one third to more than a half) of the victims of burglary from the countries in transition also highlighted that the police "did not find the offender" or "did not recover goods". Indeed, in countries in transition, "want offender caught/punished" and "recovery of property" were among the principal reasons for reporting burglary to the police. Therefore, if these expectations are not met by the police, victims who reported burglaries express dissatisfaction, highlighting unmet expectations. As mentioned earlier, in this part of the world, where insurance coverage is low, victims will have a substantial economic stake in reporting in order to retrieve stolen property or receive some compensation from the offender who needs to be identified and brought to justice.[1]

Victims of burglary from the developed world are more sensitive to other indicators of police performance, such as providing appropriate information and speed or slowness of the police in arriving at the place of the crime.

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

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

On the global level, less than half of the respondents are satisfied with the police in controlling crime locally, even though those who are satisfied are more than those who are not (Table 6). In the New World, a large majority of the respondents (76%) are satisfied with the police in controlling crime; this is also the case with citizens from Western Europe (54%) and Asia (58%). On the other hand, more than half of the respondents from Africa (52%), 40% from countries in transition and as many as 70% from Latin America are not satisfied with the police job in controlling crime locally.

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

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[1] For the preliminary analysis related to a restricted sample of countries in transition, see Zvekic (1996).

Table 6
Satisfaction with Police in Controlling Crime Locally, by Regions (1996)

	Yes, good job	No, not a good job	Don't know
Western Europe	54.0	25.6	20.4
New World	76.0	15.1	8.9
Countries in Transition	23.2	40.0	36.7
Asia	58.3	30.7	11.0
Africa	41.1	51.7	7.2
Latin America	21.9	69.6	8.5
Total	45.8	38.8	16.8

was carried out, and - in some countries - also during the period when the 1996 ICVS was administered, the police were undergoing changes as to their mandates and organisation.

Other factors related to police performance also have a lot to do with citizens' satisfaction. There is a moderate positive correlation between satisfaction with the police in controlling crime locally and the frequency in local patrolling (0.349), although it is higher in both the developing world (0.382) and countries in transition (0.376) than in the industrialised world (0.165). In all likelihood, respondents in those parts of the world attach more importance to the presence of police locally in eveluating their performance in controlling crime locally. It might be the case that the citizens of the developing world and countries in transition consider that frequent police patrolling would deter crime and meet a number of their expectations, such as finding and arresting offenders, recovering stolen goods and arriving speedily at the place of the crime.

In addition, the citizens in countries in transition (to a larger extent than citizens from the industrialised world) are concerned that a burglary will occur within the next year. Therefore, fear of burglary in the near future also contributes to dissatisfaction with the police in controlling crime locally, and supports the view that more frequent patrolling might be both a deterrent, as well as effective in "stopping crime", finding the offender and recovering the stolen property.

B. Victim Assistance

Victims of crime who had reported these crimes to the police were asked whether they received support from a specialised victim support scheme. Furthermore, they were asked whether a specialised victim support agency would have been useful.

As expected, on average, only a few victims obtained any assistance, which was given mainly to victims of sexual offences and robbery in the New World and Western Europe. In the developed world, victims also expressed greater appreciation for the establishment of specialised victim support agencies. Such support is more evident in Latin America than in countries in transition and the rest of the developing world.

C. Punishment Orientation

Punishment is at the end of the criminal justice system. It can be seen as indicating societal reactions to crime; whether these are those of the state or people's notions of when, how and who should be punished.

Yet, the range of sanctioning options in a given society is usually limited to a few that are selected by the legislator and a few which may fall outside the official sanctioning range (e.g. various forms of moral condemnation, or other forms of punishment which are neither recognised nor approved by the official penal code). Some of these alternatives may be harsher and some milder than those applied by the state-centred criminal justice system.

The ICVS asked respondents about sanctioning options, which are *usually* present in most criminal justice systems.[2] However, some options were not available in all the countries, and some that were available were not offered for comment. Another major limitation in measuring people's attitudes towards punishment stemmed from the hypothetical burglary scenario use. It contained sufficient elements to help form a lay opinion, but lacked the most important details to provide for informed professional opinion.[3] Yet, it was felt that for the public at large, the particular details that may mitigate or aggravate the offender's position were unnecessary. There were, however, problems of interpretation linked with the target of theft: namely, a colour TV set, the value of which varies across countries.

Indeed, as noted, the recovery of stolen goods is one driving factor in the evaluation of the police performance in less affluent economies. Nonetheless, certain patterns in punishment orientation emerged, in particular regarding differences between the more and less affluent societies.

On a regional level, more than half of the respondents in the New World and Latin America, and almost three-quarters in Asia and Africa, opted for imprisonment. On the other hand, some 40% of the respondents from countries in transition and somewhat less than a third from Western Europe favoured imprisonment.
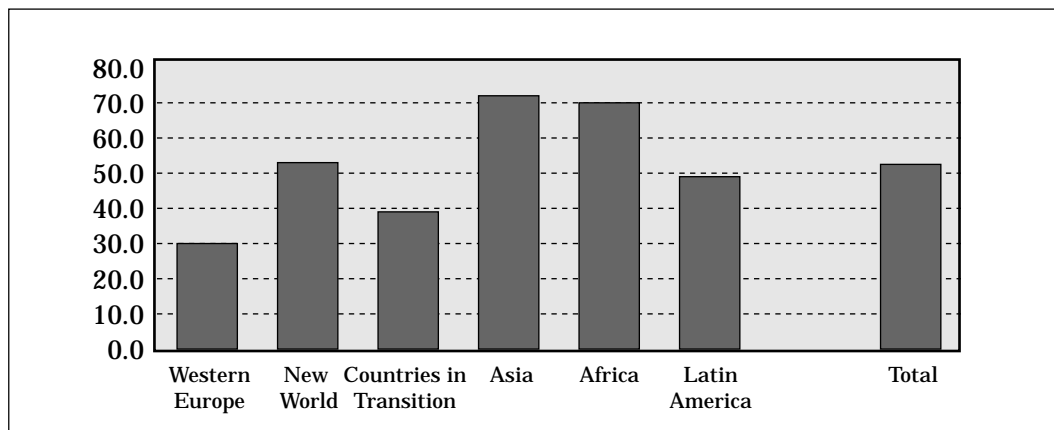
Following imprisonment, the next most preferred sentencing option was community service, which was favoured by almost one third of the respondents. In Western Europe, community service was the preferred sentence by almost half of the respondents, followed by approximately one third each in Latin America and in countries in transition. Only 10% of the respondents from Asia and Africa opted for some sort of community service.

Regional variations regarding a fine as a favoured sentencing option for a young recidivist burglar are not pronounced and average 9% of the respondents. A suspended sentence is thought to be the most approprate sentence by 5% of the respondents; ranging however from 2% in Asia and Africa respectively, to 7% in the countries in transition and Western Europe.

Both the 1992 ICVS (Kuhn, 1993) and 1996 ICVS (Zvekic, 1997) support Kuhn's finding that those who had been victimised were no more in favour of a prison sentence than others, both at the global and regional level. There is no significant difference in preferences for sentencing options between victims and non-victims of any crime. A

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[2] The question was as follows: "People have different ideas about the sentences which should be given to offenders. Take for instance the case of a man 21 years old who is found guilty of a burglary for the second time. This time he stole a colour TV. Which of the following sentences do you consider the most appropriate for such a case: fine, prison, community service, suspended sentence or any other sentence". If the interviewee opted for imprisonment, he/she was asked to specify the length.

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

Figure 1

**Attitudes to Punishment, Imprisonment
as Preferred Sanction, by Regions**

group of special interest as regards the punishment of the burglar is that of those who had been burgled themselves. However, there is no substantial difference between the victims and non-victims of burglary, with the exception of burglary victims from the New World who appear to be stronger supporters of imprisonment than non-burglary victims, still within the prevaling prison-centric orientation in that part of the world. Further analyses carried out on victims and non-victims of contact crimes and vehicle-related crimes also confirmed the above-mentioned finding.

The demand for severe punishment, then, is stronger in the more crime-ridden nations or in those in which there is a lack of alternative solutions, including adequate insurance coverage. There, ideas about preventive approaches to sentencing may appear less appropriate. Deterrent sentencing, regardless of whether or not it is effective, may have more appeal.

There is a certain level of correspondence in the regional patterns based on public attitudes to punishment, on the one hand,

and the predominant actual use of non-custodial sanctions and imprisonment, on the other. This seems to indicate at least two things: first, a degree of independence in types of sentencing from the geo-political and development position; second, that public attitudes do reflect, to a certain degree, the actual availability of sentencing options and their use in practice.[4] In other words, public attitudes are influenced by penal systems and penal practice, although neither exclusively nor in a clearly pre-deterministic manner (Zvekic, 1997b).

In many countries much work is still needed to promote credible non-custodial sanctions and in particular, to overcome difficulties in implementation following conviction. In fact, public attitudes often lag behind sentencing reform and time is needed to convey the message that punishment is implemented seriously, in order to ensure public acceptance. Support

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[4] H. Shinkai and U. Zvekic. "Punishment" in G. Newman (Ed.) Global Report on Crime and Justice. New York-Oxford, UN & Oxford University Press. 1999.

for imprisonment is often formed by vicarious information, traditional belief systems and socio-legal heritage. Fear of crime also appears to support harsher sentencing. All of this is not an irrational response to urgent crime problems. Where the replacement of stolen property is relatively easy, either through insurance coverage or through the ability to buy new commodities, severe punishment is not the obvious cure. However, where - as is the case in the majority of countries in transition and in the developing world - hardship precludes replacing stolen property, calls for more severe punishment, bringing offenders to justice and the recovery of stolen goods are rational responses to crime problems.

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