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ðíá èò Áá ðñá éñéíáí Èñòí-íëéá
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Áòíðë-íúé à íá èèç íáúá äëí íúú èñòí-íëéíá äá íúú
Kðëñòëíà Èáíáäñíóíòà

“Áá çñá ñíñòú áðá æ äá í” á èòä èüý íñéíé íáúá äëí, ííé ñëñòá ñ
ñóèä èüíúò èññëá áíáá íëé
Ìàðëý Áæóçáíñëíà Íóðáðíðá, Èó-èàíà Èáàððí-íëéè
è Èéíáà Èàóðà Ñàááüéíè

Ñóá ñ òèçà öëý äëý èññëá áíáá íëé á íáëá ñòè óáíëíáíáí ðá áíñóäëý è äëý
ðá èòè-á ñéíáí ðëá íá íëý
Íýíñè èà Áëáíá

Èññëááíááíëá òðáííáòëíáëüíé íðááíëçíááííé íðáñòóíñòè

Èññëá áíáá íëý Òðá íííá òëíá èüííé Íðáá íëçíáá ííé ðá ñòóññòè: Áíëëá á ÕÁÓÍÉ íá
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Madòè Pðñáí

Èçó-á íëá Eðñá éñéíáí Ñíp çà í íðáá íëçíáá ííé ðá ñòóññòè
Õáíé ááí äá Áóíò

Òðáá íëçíáá íá ý ðá ñòóññòè è áá çñá ñíñòú áëçíá ñá
Kàóëí Áðíáà

Èññëááíááíëá ýéíñè-áñéíé è òëíáííáíé íðáñòóíñòè

Áëíáá èüíá èññëá áíáá íëá íòñáá íëý äá íá:áíá èíòíðúá Ñáá äá íëý
Áæíí Áíëéáð

Ðíñòíáùè-á ñòáí: ðá äëíæ á íëá äëý ñëñòá ñ éíñáá íííáí íëá çà òá èý
Áííáàðëý Õðááí è Õðáíéí Õðáàðòà

Íñòú èíððóùèè è íø á íë-á ñòáá á ñá èðíðá áëçíá ñá
Íáð Ñòáíááëáíá

**Ííëèðèëá è èññëüçíááíëá íò óíðááëáíëý éíóíðíáòèé
óáíëíáíáí íðááíñóäëý á ñòðáíáò, íàóíáýùèõý
á íáðáóíáííé ñòáàèè**

Æ á ðòáú ðá ñòóññòè á Áá èíðóññéñíñ æ áóíá ðíáíñ Èññëá áíáá íëé í
Æ á ðòáá ò ðá ñòóññòè
Áëáüèèèð Áóíááá

Ĥ æ äóíà ðíáííá Èññeá áíáà íeá í Æ á ðòáà õ Ĥá ñòóññòè á Èèðáá
(1997), Íñííáíúá Ðá çóèúòà òú, Áúáíáú è Ðá éíñ íáà òèè
Antanas Dapsys - Àìòàíáñ Ääíñēñ

Ĥ æ äóíà ðíáíúé Ĥññ Æ á ðòá Ĥá ñòóá íeé Á Óéðà èíá
Íàðàèèy Èíñòáíéí

Æ á ðòáú Ĥá ñòóññòè Á Ñððà íà õ Áà èèà íñéíáí Ðá àeííà
Áíyí Ñðáíéíá

Ðáøáíeáññeááíáàòáèúñéíé ĩðíáðàñú

Ĥ òíá íeííe÷ á ñèèá Àññ èòú Íáçíðà Íðáà íeçà òèè Íáúá àèíá ííúõ
Íà òèé Í Ĥá ñòóññòè
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Ĥ æ äóíà ðíáíúé Íáçíð Í Æ á ðòáà õ Ĥá ñòóññòè
Á Óá íòðà èúííÁáðñá èñéñ È Ááðí -Àçèà òñéñ Ðá àeííà õ
Íóðáá Ýðúáíáááèèð

×á òúðá Ĥá àeííe á íeý, Èà ñà þ ùeá ñý Áóáóúá áí Ĥ æ äóíà ðíáíé
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Èçá ðá íeá Òðà íñá òeííá èúííe Ĥá ñòóññòè Á Íáèà ñòè Ýéññèè
Íáèèè Èááè

Èíòá áðà òèyÈÆ Ĩ á Ðá áóèy ðíñ Èðèèíá èúíñĤá áíñóáèè Ñòà òèñòè÷ á ñèèõ
ðíáðà ï
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Ĩíáðàñá

Ó÷áñòíeè

PREFACE

The Conference on *Surveying Crime: A Global Perspective* represented an opportunity for researchers, heads of national statistical offices and policy makers from twenty Eastern-Central European countries and a number of Western European and North American countries (totalling 120 participants) to meet and discuss the promotion of reliable crime and criminal justice information for informed decision-making, monitoring, evaluation and forecasting. The United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute, the Council of Europe, ISTAT and the Dutch Ministries of Justice and Foreign Affairs joined forces in organising this event.

Crime statistics only reflect a portion of criminality, namely crimes discovered by law enforcement agencies and those reported by the victims to the police. It is known that a large percentage of crimes are not reported (for example, if the victim is not insured) and therefore do not come to light, nor are they necessarily included in official statistics. The lack of adequate information on crime phenomena both at the qualitative and quantitative levels often jeopardises the adoption of adequate and efficient countermeasures. The development of strategies for crime prevention and control should be based on extensive and complete information.

Official data should therefore be integrated with specific research in order to increase the amount of information available on the portion of criminality which is not reported and public appreciation of the workings of the criminal justice system. Victim surveys are particularly useful in providing information on conventional household or personal crimes. A better knowledge of the extent and impact of organised crime, economic crime, corruption, fraud, money laundering and loansharking will be obtained once new research methods applicable to such phenomena are developed.

The Conference dealt both with the official crime statistics as well as with information derived from alternative methodologies, such as the International Crime Victim Survey, a world-wide survey that UNICRI has co-ordinated since 1991 on citizens' experiences with crime and criminal justice, which has already involved 60 countries. The integration of data sources was one of the major issues discussed at the Conference: in particular, the United Nations and the Council of Europe are engaged in the production of collections of international statistics which will for the first time analyse official data and survey results together. ISTAT, within the framework of a national system of social statistics, has started analysis on the first national victim survey carried out in Italy in 1998.

In view of the growing concerns with transnational organised crime, special attention was paid to the development of methodologies for the collection and analysis of information on the above, including money laundering, fraud and corruption. The construction of systems of indirect indicators appears to be a promising tool for the study of such forms of criminality. ISTAT has developed one such system for the analysis of loansharking in Italy.

The Conference produced a set of recommendations and a declaration. The most important recommendation urges the regular carrying out of research towards integration of data sources at the national and international levels. The role of the United Nations and the Council of Europe in this respect has been highlighted, with the support of specialised structures based at the relevant ministries (justice, internal affairs, etc.) and national institutes of statistics. All of the above are expected to work further, each in its ambient and together in providing research

and technical assistance to countries in need, as well as in promoting international research and statistical standards and sharing of information.

Paolo Garonna
Director-General
Italian Institute of Statistics
(ISTAT)

Ugljesa Zvekic
Deputy Director
United Nations Interregional Crime and
Justice Research Institute (UNICRI)

ĐẢ Ä È Ñ È Î Ä È Ä

Èíróá đả íóey *enñeááíááíeá* *íđáñđóíñđòe:* *áeíááeíuúáy* *íđíñuáeđeáá* đả áññòá áeéá áíçíæ íñòu *enñeá áíáá òá eyì* *áeá ááì* íá òeííá eúíúò ñòá òeñđe-á ñeéò íòeííá, è ñeéòe-á ñeéì áá ý òá eyì eç *ááá áòá òe* áíñòí-ñòá íòđá eúíúò á áđđí éñeéò ñòđáí è eç òeñeá ñòđáí *çáá áíeé* á áđđí è ñòđáí ñá áá đíeé á ñ òeéè (áñá áí 120 ñòđá íó-á ñòíeó) áñòđá òeđúñý è íáñóáeđòu đííááeá á íeá áíñòíáá đíúò eíóíđíá òeé í đả ñòóññòe è íá óáíeíáíñí đả áíñóáeé áey óíđeđíáá íey đeíý òey đả ø á íeé, éíđóđíey, íóá íeé è đíáíñçá. ñ æ đả áeííá eúíúe íá ó-ñeñeá áíáá òá eúñeéé éíñòeđòó í đả ñòóññòe è đả áíñóáeđ íđáá íeçá òeé íáúá áeí, íúúò íá òeé á áđđí éñeéé ñíáá ò, èñđá ò è ìeíñòá đíñóáí ð ñòeéè è èíñòđá íúúò áá è áíeéá íáeé, íáúá áeíeéé ñáíe ñeéú á íđáá íeçá òeé ýóíáí ñ đííey òey.

Ñòá òeñđe-á ñeéá áá íúúá đả ñòóññòe íđáá æ á ð ò òíeúeí áíeđ đả ñòóññòe, óí á ñòu ýòe đả ñòóá íey, íáíá đóæ á íúúá đả áíñeá íeòá eúíúe á áá íñòáá è, éíóíđíá á đả áá íú æ á đòáá è á ñeéòeđ. Èçáá ñòí, òí í áíeúø ñí đíóá íóá đả ñòóññòe íá áíeéá áúáá á òñý (íáđeá đ, á ñeé æ á đòáá íá çá ñòđá óíáá) íá è, ñýòí ó, íá íñáá ùá á òñý è íá áeéđ ÷, íúúe á íòeóeá eúíúá ñòá òeñđe-á ñeéá áá íúúá Íá áíñòá óíe á áá éáá òíe éíóíđíá òeé í ý áeá íeđ đả ñòóññòe, eáé íá eá-á ñòáá íñí òáé è íá éíeé-á ñòáá íñí óđíáíý ò òá ñòí đả ý òñòáóá ò đeíý òeđ áíñòá óí-íúò è ýóóá édeáíúò éíóíđíá đ. Đả çáeđeá ñòđá òá áeé đả áíñòáá ùá íey đả ñòóññòe è éíóíđíey áíeæ íí áú áúòu íñíáá íí íá íáø eđíeé è çá éí-á ííe éíóíđíá òeé

Íòeóeá eúíúá áá òú áíeæ íú áú áúòu, ñýòíó, íáúá áeíá íú ñí ñá òeđe-á ñeéè èññeá áíáá íey è, áey òíáí, ò-òíáú óáá èe-èòu éíeé-á ñòáí ñáíáíáíe éíóíđíá òeé á óíe òá ñòe đả ñòóññòe, í éíóíđíe íá ñíáúá íí è áey óáá èe-á íey đả ñíñòđá íey á ñđá áíá íeé ñ đả áíóíe óáíeíáíe ñeñòá ñí đả áíñóáeý. Èññeá áíáá íey æ á đòá íñíáá íí áá æ íí á íáá ñí òá íeé éíóíđíá òeé áđđíe áúóíáíe èéè á đíñíá eúíúe đả ñòóññòe. Èó-ø eá çíá íey đả áá eíá è ñòáá íe íđáá íeçíáá ííe đả ñòóññòe, ýeííe-á ñeíe đả ñòóññòe, éíđóđeé, íø á íe-á ñòáá, íòíáá íey áá íá á è đíñòíáúe-á ñòáá áíeæ íí áóáá ò áíñòeáíóòu íáíá æ áú íáúò èññeá áíáá òá eúñeéò ñá òíáíá, đeá íá íey áey òá éíáí ý áeá íey áóáóò đả çáeđòú.

Íá Èíróá đả íóeé đả ñíñá òđeáá èèñu eáé íòeóeá eúíúá ñòá òeñđe-á ñeéá áá íúúá, òáé è éíóíđíá òey, ñeó-á ííá ý eç á eúíúá đíá eéáíúò ñá òíáíeíáeé, òá èéò eáé íá æ áóíá đíáíúá Èññeá áíáá íey í Æ á đòáá ò đả ñòóññòe, ýóí èññeá áíáá íeá đeđíáíáí óđíáíý éíđáeíeđíáá íñá PÍÉÉĐÈ ñ 1991 áíáá, eá ñá ð ùá ý ñ ñòá áđá æ ááí, á çá ñeóáá ò đả ñòóññòe è óáíeíáíáí đả áíñóáeý, è éíóíđíá đeáeá èéè óæ á 60 còđáí. Èíróá áđá òey áá íúúò èñđí-íeéíá ñòá eá íáíá eç íñíáíúò đả áíñ óíá íáñóæ áá á ñò íá Èíróá đả íóeé á íñíáá íññòe, Íđáá íeçá òey Íáúá áeí, íúúò íá òeé è Ááđđí éñeéé Ñíáá ò çá eíóá đả ñíáá íú á đíáóeóeé ñáíđá ñá æ áóíá đíáíúò ñòá òeñđeé, éíóíđíá áóáóò áá đáúá à íá eéçeđíáá òu íòeóeá eúíúá áá íúúá è èññeá áíáá òá eúñeéá đả çóeúòá òú áíñ ñòá. ÈÑÒÁÓ á đả eá ò íá òeííá eúíúe ñeñòá ñí ñíòeá eúíúò ñòá òeñđeé đeñòóe é à íá eéçáí á đáíáí íá òeííá eúíúáí èññeá áíáá íey í æ á đòáá ò đả ñòóññòe, ñíáá đø á ííá á Èòá èéè 998.

Á đả ñíñòđá íeé í áíçđíñòá íeé áá ñeíeíñòáá á òđá íñíá òeííá eúíúe íđáá íeçíáá ííe đả ñòóññòe, ñí òeá eúíúá áíeá íeá áúeí óáá eá íí đả çáeđeđ ñá òíáíeíáeé áey ñáíđá è à íá eéçá éíóíđíá òeé áúø á óíý íóđíá, áeéđ òá ý íòíáá íeá áá íá á, íø á íe-á ñòáá è éíđóđeé. Ñíçáá íeá ñeñòá í íáđý ñò eíáeéá óíđíá đả áñòá áey á òñý íñíááá ùá ð ùeí èíñòđíá íòí á eç-á íeé òá èéò óíđí đả ñòóññòe. ÈÑÒÁÒ đả çáeé íáíó eç ñeñòá í òá éíáí òeá áey à íá eéçá đíñòíáúe-á ñòáá á Èòá èéè

Èíróá đả íóey eçáá eá đý á đả éíñ íáá òeé è íáíó áá eéá đả òeđ Íá eáíeá á áá æ íá ý đả éíñ íáá òey íáóæ áá á ò đả áóey đíá óñeíáeá á èññeá áíáá íeé, ò-òíáú eíóá áđeđíáá òu

enòí-íeèè àà íúò íà íà òèíà eúíí è èòà ðíà òèíà eúíí óðíáíý ò. Ðíeú Íðàà íeça òèè
 Íáúá àèí, íúò Íà òèè è Áàðíà éñéíáí Ñáà òà á yòí òòíø á íèè ý àèèà ñú í-á àèáíé, ðè
 ñáà ðæ éá ñá òèà eúíúò ñòðòéòòð, ñðà þ ùèòñý íà ñíòáá òñòáòþ ùèà Èíèñà ðñòáà
 (þ ñòèòèè, áíòððá íéò áá è, òá.) è íà òèíà eúíúé èíñòèòò ñòà òèñòèèè. Íæ èàà á òñý, ÷òí
 áñá áúø á íà çáà íúá íðàà íú áóáòò ðà áíòà òú ðà çáá eúíí, à æáúé á ñáí, ì
 íá ñðà áñòáá ííí ñá èòíðá, íí òà éæ á è áñ ñòá çà òá ì á ðá àà áà ý èññèá áíáà íèý è
 òá òíè-á ñéòþ ñúú ñòðà íà ì èíòíðúá á íá é íóæ àà þ òñý, òà éæ á è äèý ñáúø á íèý
 ñ æ áóíà ðíáíúò èññèá áíáà íéé, ñòà òèñòèè-á ñéèò ñòà íáà ðòíá è ðà ñá àá èá íèý
 èíóíðá òèè.

Íà íèí Áà ðííá
 Áá íá ðà eúíúé Áèðá èòíð
 Èòà euy íñèé Èíñòèòò Ñòà òèñòèèè
 (ÈÑÒÁÒ)

Óæéáøà Çáá èè-
 Çà ñ ñòèòá eúí Áèðá èòíðá
 Ì æ ðá àèíà eúíúé Íà ó-Èññèá áíáà òá eúíñèé
 Èíñòèòò ñá ñòóíñòè è ðà áíñóáèþ
 Íðàà íeça òèè Íáúá àèí, íúò Íà òèè (ÐÍÈÈÈÈ)

DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

DECLARATION

We the convenors and participants of the Conference “Surveying Crime: A Global Perspective”, held in Rome, Italy, on 19-21 November 1998, at the end of a fruitful exchange of experience and ideas, wish to endorse the following four main objectives:

1. Strengthening national capacity for producing high quality statistics on crime and criminal justice.
2. Promoting international co-operation and assistance in view of setting standards for collecting, processing and dissemination, including the identification of best practice, in order to improve the international comparability of data.
3. Promoting the use of crime and criminal justice statistics for policy formulation, monitoring and evaluation, for instance, through the preparation of country profiles and criminal policy assessment.
4. Pursuing the international exchange of experience through the regular holding of international meetings bringing together the main international actors as well as statisticians, criminal administrators and researchers.

ÄÄËËÀÐÀÖËË

Ï, íðàà íçà òíðú è ó-à ñòíèè èíóá ðá íøèè "Ëññèá áíàà íèá ðá ñòóññòè: Áèíáà èúíà ý ðá ðíá èðèàà", èíòíðà ý ðíóíàèèà á Ðèñ, á Èðà èèè, ñ 19 - ï 21 íý áðý 1998 áíàà, á çà èèþ ÷-á íèè ðíáíðáíðííáí íáñ íà ñòí è èää ý È æ á èà ð ðèíý òú ñèá áóþ ùèá ÷-á òúðá ñííáíúá çà àà ÷-è:

5. Óñèèá íèá íà øèííà èúíúð áíçíæ ñíðà é äèý ðá áñðà áèá íèý ñðà òèñòè-á ñèèð àà íúð áúñíèíáí èà ÷-á ñòàà ñ ðá ñòóññòè è óáíèíáííð ðá áíñóáèþ .
6. Ðà çàèðèá ñ æ áóíá ðíáííáí ñíððóáíè-á ñòàà è ñíáá èñòáèý ñ òí-èè çðá íèý óðá áóèèðíáá íèý ñòà íáà ðòíá äèý ñáíðà, íáðá áíðèè èðá ñííòðá íá íèý, áèèþ ÷-á ý èää íðèðèèá øèþ ñà íé èó-ø á é ðá èðèèè äèý òíáí, ÷-ðíáú óñíáá ðø á íñðáíáà òú è ÷-ðíáú ñáá èà òú ñ æ áóíá ðíáíúá àà òú áíèá á ñðá áíèðá èúíúè
7. Ðà çàèðèá èñíèùçíáà íèý ñòà òèñòèèè ðá ñòóññòè è óáíèíáííáí ðá á íñóáèý äèý òíððèèðíáá íèý, èíððíèý è íòá íèè èèíèè ñèèèèèèè, íáðèñ ð, ÷-á ðá ç ñááíðíáéó ðíðèèá é ñòðá íú è íòá íèè óáíèíáííé ñèèèèèèè .
8. ðíáíèæ á íèá ñ æ áóíá ðíáííáí íáñ íà ñòí íà ðá áóèý ðíúð ñ æ áóíá ðíáíúð ñíáá ùà íèý ð, ðè ó-à ñòèè áñ ñòá ñ àèá áíúè ñ æ áóíá ðíáíúè àá èñòáóþ ùèè èèòá È, òà èèè èà è, ñòà òèñòèèè, óáíèíáíúá áíèæ ñíðóíúá èèòá è èññèá áíáà òá èè

RECOMMENDATIONS

First, there was a plea for more international and local funding for collecting data of crime statistics, in particular the inclusion of national victim surveys and the International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS) in the regular national statistical programmes. Ministries of the Interior/Justice should provide full political and institutional support in order to achieve this objective. International organisations should assist, but individual countries themselves must also be prepared to invest in crime statistics and surveys.

Secondly, across the board there should be further development of official criminal justice statistics: there is more to be done despite the huge strides made over the past few years. These official statistics should cover as well as possible conventional crime, economic crime and transnational organised crime. The United Nations Survey of Crime Trends and the Operations of Criminal Justice Systems as well as the Council of Europe Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics should be equipped to deal with economic and transnational organised crime.

Thirdly, victimisation survey based information on personal and household crime should continue to be promoted. The ICVS has made a tremendous start here, and it needs further development. There are also other surveys that might be undertaken, such as the International Survey of Violence Against Women - although this might prove difficult. Also, there is more that can be done in the way of surveying businesses as victims of crime: a start was made with the International Crime Against Businesses Survey. This should be taken forward more energetically.

Fourthly, on the ICVS in particular, we should continue to emphasise that its real value lies in its standardised nature. Scrupulous attention needs to be paid to standardisation. The ICVS does not preclude other surveys being carried out which might well be usefully geared to specific cultural contexts. But one instrument can probably not do both.

Nor should the ICVS instrument stand still. Obviously, there is a tension between maintaining comparability with previous sweeps and making questionnaire advances, but that is not an insuperable barrier. Also, new topics should be introduced. For example, people in different countries may be asked how much crime affects their quality of life compared to other matters - the standard of housing perhaps - or about their perceptions of drug-related crime. International comparison here would be very interesting. There were suggestions that the questions on fear of crime might be improved.

Academic use of the ICVS needs to continue to be further encouraged too. The ICVS can be used to test some of the theories of crime that police recorded crime figures suggest. There is also no doubt room for more sophisticated classifications of countries - although a counter-argument has been presented as well.

The **fifth** recommendation is that all statistical databases - official figures and the ICVS in particular - should be better integrated both with each other and with other social and economic indicators.

The **sixth** recommendation, related to the two immediately preceding ones, is that the integration of statistical, survey-based and qualitative data on criminal justice performance, victims, offenders, and different forms of crime, should not only expand knowledge, but should also provide for a comprehensive assessment of crime and criminal policy. Such criminologically informed assessments will greatly assist in developing, monitoring and, if needed, rectifying crime prevention and control programmes. International bodies, such as the

United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI), the Centre for International Crime Prevention (CICP) of the Office Drug Control and Crime Prevention at the United Nations Office in Vienna, the UN Statistics Office in Geneva and New York, and the Council of Europe, should provide international methodological and analytical models and standards, as well as research-related technical assistance on request.

The **seventh** recommendation is that the preparation of global and regional reports on crime and justice should be further promoted. The publications distributed at this Conference show the value of international comparative information; more reports need to appear on a continuous basis. The UN initiative to provide for a regular World Crime Report is most welcome.

Finally, regional conferences on crime victims should be actively promoted, in particular in countries in transition and in the developing world. Victims are now high up on the agenda of developed countries; they are still less high up on the agenda of other countries - even though some heartening improvements have been already made. In this respect, the role of international organisations, in particular the UN and the Council of Europe, is of crucial importance.

ḐĂĒĪĀĪĂĂÖÈÈ

ĪăđăĪă, áúē năă èàí çăđĭñ áĕĕüø á ĩĕ ðeĭă ĩñeđĭăă ĩĕŷ èàē ĩ ñôñăĭ, ðàē è eĭôă đĭă ðeĭă eüĭñăĭ, äĕŷ ñăĭđă ñòà ðeñðe-ă ñēēō äă ĩŷō ĭ đă ñôōññòē, â ĩñăă ĩññòē, äēēp ÷ă ŷ ĩă ðeĭă eüĭŷă eññēă äĭăă ĩĕŷ æ á đòă è ĩ æ äóĭă đĭăĭŷă Ēññēă äĭăă ĩĕŷ ĩ Ą á đòăă ō đă ñôōññòē (ĒĒ Ī â đă äöŷ đĭŷō ĩă ðeĭă eüĭŷō ñòà ðeñðe-ă ñēēō đĭăđă ĩ ō. Ēĕñòđŷ Ąĭóđă ĩĕō äă ē è Pñðeöēē äĭēæ ĩŷ áú ĩăă ñă ÷ēăă ðŷ ĩĕĭōp ĩēēðe-ă ñēēōp è eĭñðeðōðēĭĭōp ĩăăă đæ éō äĕŷ äĭñðeæ á ĩĕŷ äă ĩñē öă èē ĩ æ äóĭă đĭăĭŷă ĩđăă ĩĕçă ðēē äĭēæ ĩŷ áú ĩĕă çŷăă ðŷ ĩŷŷŷ, ĩĭ eĭăēäēăöă eüĭñ ñòđă ĩŷ ðàēæ á äĭēæ ĩŷ áúðŷ ĩăĭđĭăēă ĩŷ, äĕŷ äĭă ñă ĩĕŷ ēēăăă â ñòà ðeñðeēō đă ñôōă ĩññòē è â đă ññēă äĭăă ĩēē.

Ąĭ-ăôĭđŷō, ĩă ĩăđĭăēĭ ññòă äēðŷ ĩăă ñðēō äĭŷ äă eüĭă ēø á ĩăă đă çăēðēŷ ñòà ðeñðeēē, èă ñă p ùă ēñŷ óăĕĭăñăĭ đă äĭñóăēŷ ĩăĭă ĩă ĩĭ ñăă èă ðŷ, ĩă ññòđŷ ĩă ðĭ, ÷đĭ ĩăđĭŷăă óñă ðē óă á èă p ðñŷ çă ĩñēă äĭēă ĩă ñēēăĭ eă ð ŷðē ĩôēðēă eüĭŷă ñòà ðeñðe-ă ñēēă äă ĩŷă äĭēæ ĩŷ áú eĭñĭóðŷñŷ ēō-ø èĭ äĭçĭæ ĩŷĭ ĩăđă çĭ, ÷ă ĩ ĩăŷ-ĩă ŷ đă ñôōññòŷ, ŷĕĭñē-ă ñēă ŷ đă ñôōññòŷ, è ðđă ĩñă ðeĭă eüĭă ŷ ĩđăă ĩĕçĭăă ĩă ŷ đă ñôōññòŷ. Ąĭēēă ä ĨĨ ĩ Ōă ĩăă ĩöŷō ō đă ñôōññòē è ĩă đă ðēē Ñēñòă ĩ Ōăĕĭăñăĭ đă äĭñóăēŷ, è, äă æ á eñðĭ-ĭēēē Ąăđĭă ēñēĭăĭ Ñĭăă ðă, èă ñă p ùēă ñŷ đă ñôōññòē è Ñòă ðeñðeēē Ōăĕĭăñăĭ đă äĭñóăēŷ äĭēæ ĩŷ áúðŷ ĩñă ŷă ĩŷă ĩăă ĩă ĩăđĭăēĭŷ ÷đĭăŷŷ èă ðŷ äă ēĭ ñ ŷĕĭñē-ă ñēĭē è ðđă ĩñă ðeĭă eüĭŷē ĩđăă ĩĕçĭăă ĩñē đă ñôōññòŷp .

Ą-ðăăðŷō, eĭôĭđă ðēŷ, ĩñăăă ĩă ŷ ĩă ēçō-ă ĩēē æ á đòă, èă ñă p ùă ŷ ñŷ eĭăēäēăöă eüĭŷē è áúðĭăĕ đă ñôōññòē äĭēæ ĩă áú áúðŷ đĭăăēĭóðă. ĒĒ Ī ñăă èă ēĭ ĩăđĭŷă ĩă ÷ă ēĭ çăă ñŷ è ĩóæ äă á ðñŷ â äă eüĭă ēø á ĩ đă çăēðēēă ñòŷ ðàēæ á äđóăēă eññēă äĭăă ĩĕŷ, eĭđĭđŷă äĭēæ ĩŷ áúðŷ đă äđēĭŷ ðŷ, ðàēēă èă ē ĩ æ äóĭă đĭăĭŷă Ēññēă äĭăă ĩēă ĩ Īă ñēēēē đĭðēă Ą á ĩŷēĭ - äă æ á, á ñēē ĩæ á ð đă äñðă äĕŷ ðŷñŷ ððóăĭŷăĀŷ, äĕĕüø á è ĩăĭă, ÷đĭ ĩæ á ð áúðŷ ñăă èă ĩĭ â ēă ĩă eññēă äĭăă ĩĕŷ æ á đòă đă ñôōă ĩĕŷ â äēçĭă ñăă đăŷē ø äă áúē ñăă èàĭ ĩ æ äóĭă đĭăĭŷă Ēññēă äĭăă ĩēă ĩ đĭðēă đă ñôō ĩññòē â Ąēçĭă ñă. ŷôĭ äĭēæ ĩĭ áú đĭăăēăă ðŷñŷ äă đ, ä äĭēă á ŷĭă đăē-ĭĭ

Ą-ăăđă, đðŷō, đă æ äă äñă äĭ, ÷đĭ èă ñă á ðñŷ ĒĒ Ī ŷ äĭēæ ĩŷ đĭăĭēæ à ðŷ ĩă-ðēēăă ðŷ, ÷đĭ á ĩĭ ĩă ñôĭŷ ŷă ŷ öă ĩññòŷ eă æ èð â ŷðĭē ñòă ĩăă ððēçēđĭăă ĩñē ĩă ðóđă Ñēðóē çĭă äĭēă ĩēă ĩă ĩăđĭăēĭ óăă eðŷŷ ñòă ĩăă ððēçă ðēē ĒĒ Ī ĩă ñĭçăă, ð đēŷ ðñòăēē ĩðđă æ â p ùēðñŷ ĩă äđóăēð eññēă äĭăă ĩĕŷ ō, eĭđĭđŷă ĩăēē áú ñ ĩēŷçĭē áúðŷ à äđă ñĭăă ĩŷ ĩă ĩă ðēðe-ă ñēēă ēöēüððđĭŷă eĭŷôă ēñðŷ. Ĩĭ äĭçĭæ ĩĭ, ÷đĭ ĩăēĭ eĭñððóă ĩô ĩæ á ð ñđă äēðñŷ ñ äăöŷ çă äă ÷ă ē ĩăĭăđă ĩ ĩĭ

È ðàēæ á eĭñððóă ĩô ĒĒ Ī ĩă äĭēæ áĭ áú ĩñðă äă ðŷñŷ ĩă eñēŷçĭăă ĩŷŷĭ Ĩ-ă äēăĭ ñôŷă ñòăóă ð ĩăđŷ æ á ĩēă ĩ æ äó ĩăăă đæ ēĭĕĭđă ĩăă ĩĕŷ ñ đă äŷăöŷēē äă ēñðăēŷ è è çăăăăă ĩēă ĩ äĭñĭă çă đă ĩăă, ĩĭ ŷôĭ ĩă ŷ äĕŷ á ðñŷ ĩă đă ĩăĕēĭŷĭ äă đŷă đĭŷ Ōă ēæ á ĩăăă ðă ĩŷ äĭēæ ĩŷ áú áúðŷ đă äñðă äēă ĩŷ Īă đēă đ, äĭçĭæ ĩĭ ññĭñèðŷ eĭ äă ē â đă çēē-ĭŷō ñòđă ĩă ō ĩ ðĭ, èă ē ñēēŷĭ đă ñôōññòŷ äēŷ p á ð ĩă èō èă ÷ă ñòăĭ æ ēçĭēĭ ñđă äĭă ĩēp ñ äđóăēē äă ŷă ē - äĭçĭæ ĩĭ ñòă ĩăă ðð æ èēēēēē èō äĭñðēŷ ðēă, èă ñă p ùă á ñŷ đă ñôōññòē ñăŷ çă ĩŷŷō ñ ĩă ðēĭðēēă. È ĩ æ äóĭă đĭăĭŷă ñòă äĭă ĩēă çăă ñŷ áúēĭ áú ĩ-ă ĩŷ eĭôă đă ñĭŷĭ Ąŷēē đă äĭēæ á ĩĕŷ ĩ ðĭ, ÷đĭ äĭñĭă ĩ ñòđă öă đă ñôōññòē ĩæ ĩĭ äĭēă çă ðŷ .

Ōă ēæ á à èă äă ē-ă ñēĭă eñēŷçĭăă ĩēă ĒĒ Ī ĩóæ äă á ðñŷ â äă eüĭă ēø á ĩ äĭăóø á äēă ĩēē ĒĒ Ī ĩæ á ð áúðŷ eñēŷçĭăă ĩĭ ÷đĭăŷŷ ðă ñðēđĭăă ðŷ ĩă eĭŷŷăă ðă ĩðēē đă ñôōññòē, đă äĕĕæ á ĩŷă äă ĩŷŷē ĩ đă ñôōññòē, çă đă äēñðēđēđĭăă ĩŷŷō ĩēðēă ē . Ōă ēæ á, ĩă ð ñĭă ĩēē, ÷đĭ á ñòŷ ĩ ñòĭ äĕŷ äĭēă á óđĭŷ-ĭŷŷō ēēă ññēðēēă ðēē ñòđăĭ - äă æ á, á ñēē áúē đă äñðă äēă ĩ ðàēæ á eĭŷôă đăóă ĩô

Iyoay ðà éíà íàà oèy - àà nü áà íé ñà òèñòè-à ñèèò àà íúèíííáà íí íòèòèà èúíúà àà íúà ÈÆ Íéò-ø á èíòá àðèðíàà òú èàé ñ æ áó íèè, òàé è ñ àðóàèè ýéííè-à ñèèè è ñòèà èúíúè ñèà çà òá èy è .

Oañòay ðà éíà íàà oèy òá ñí ñáy çà íà ñ àáóy ðá àúàóùèè íáúá àéíá íèà ì ñòà òèñòè-à ñèèò àà íúò, ííííàà íúò íà èññèá àíàà íèè è íà èà -à ñòáà íúò àà íúò. íá èñíéíá íèè óáíéíáííáí ðá àíñóàèy , í æ á òòáà ò, ðá ñòòíèèà ò è ðà çèè-íúò óíðí ðá ñòòííòè, àíéæ íú áú íá òíèúéí ðá ñø èðy òú çíà íèy íí òà éæ á íáá ñá -èòú ííèà íèà íòá íèè èñ-à ðíáà ð òóð íòá íéò ðá ñòòííòè è óáíéíáíé ñèè èèè. Òà èèà íòá íèè èðèèííéíáè-à ñèèá íðèá íòèðíàà íèy áóáòò íèà çúáà òú áíèúø óð ñúú á ðà çàèòèè èííòèíèèðíàà íèè è, á ñèè íá íáóíáèí, óòí-íá íèè ðá àíòáðà úá íèy ðá ñòòííòè è èííòèíèèúá ðíáðá ñí. ñ æ áóíá ðíáíúá íðáà íú, òà èèà èàé ñ æ ðá àéíá èúíúé Íá ó-í-Èññèá àíàà òá èúñèèè Èíñòèòò ì ðá ñòòííòè è ðá àíñóàèð Íðáà íèçà oèè Íáúá àéí íúò Íá oèé (PÍÉÉÈÈ), ñ æ áóíá ðíáíúé Òá íòð ì ðá àíòáðà úá íèð ðá ñòòííòè (×È×Í), Íòèñ ì Èííòèíèè Íá ðéíòèéíá è ðá àíòáðà úá íèy ðá ñòòííòè á Íòèñ Íðáà íèçà oèè Íáúá àéí íúò Íá oèé á Áá íá, Íòèñ Ñòà òèñòèèè Ííí á Æ á íá áà è Íúííèðèá, è Ááðíá èñèèè Ñíáà ò, àíéæ íú íáá ñá -èà òú ñ æ áóíá ðíáíóð ñ òíáíéíáè-à ñèòð è à íà èèòè-à ñèòð íáà èè è ñòà íàà ðííèæ á èàé è èññèá àíàà íèy , ñáy çà íúà ñ òá òíè-à ñéíé ñúúð ì çàðííò

Ñáàúúay ðà éíà íàà oèy òà, èíòíðá y í àííòíáèá àéíáà èúíúò è ðá àéíá èúíúò àíéèà àíá ì ðá ñòòííòè è ðá àíñóàèð, èíòíðúá àíéæ íú áú áúòú àíéá á ðíáàéíóòú ðá èèèà oèè ðá ñíííòðá íúúá íà àà ííé èííòá ðá íòèè àá íííòðèðòð ò óá íííòú ñ æ áóíá ðíáíé ñðá àíèòá èúíé èíòíðá oèè á ò, áíèúø á àíéèà àíá íá íáóíáèí èçáà òú ííííàà íúò íà ðíáíéæ á íèè Èíèòèà òèàà Ííí íáá ñá -èò ðá áóèy ðíúé Áíèèà á í ðá ñòòííòè á Èðá, íæ èàà á íé ñ áíèúø èí íá òá ðá íèà í

Á çàèèð-áíèè ðá àéíá èúíúá èííòá ðá íèè ì æ á òòáà ì ðá ñòòííòè àíéæ íú áú áúòú àèèèáí ðíáàéíóòú, íííáà íí á ñòðá íá ò, íá óíáy ùèòñy á á ðá óíáíé ñòà àèè è á ðà çàèèà ð úá ñy èðá Æ á òòáú, á íà ñòíy úá á áðá y, íà ñáà ñòèá áíy, í-à íú áà æ íú á ðà çàèèà ð ùèòñy ñòðá íá ò ííè á ò, ñ íúø á áà æ íú íà ñáà ñòèá áíy á áðóàèò ñòðá í áà æ á, á ñèè íá èíòíðúá óñíáà ðø á íñòáíáà íèy óæ á ñáá èá Áú yóñí íòíð á íèè, ðíèú ñ æ áóíá ðíáíúò íðáà íèçà oèé á íííáà íííòè, Ííí è Ááðíá èñèèè Ñíáà ò ðá àíòá àéy ð ò ðá ø à ð ùòð áà æ íííòú

Opening Statements

ALBERTO BRADANINI
OFFICER-IN-CHARGE,
UNITED NATIONS INTERREGIONAL CRIME AND JUSTICE
RESEARCH INSTITUTE (UNICRI)

Six years ago, the International Conference on “Understanding Crime: Experiences of Crime and Crime Control” jointly organised by UNICRI, the Dutch Ministry of Justice and the Italian Ministry of the Interior, to which many of you participated, was closed with the words “Arrivederci a Roma”. I have thus the privilege to greet you with “Benvenuti a Roma”.

It is my honour to welcome you on behalf of UNICRI, which is part of the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programme, and to extend regards and best wishes on behalf of Mr. Pino Arlacchi, Executive Director of the Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention.

This international Conference is the result of joint efforts by the Government of the Netherlands, ISTAT, the Council of Europe and UNICRI. To each of these partners, I extend my deep gratitude and to each of you my appreciation for having accepted to share this common experience. A special word of gratitude goes to our hosts: the President and the Director-General of ISTAT.

This Conference intends to bring together institutions and individuals working in the field of preventing crime on the basis of reliable information, namely, a category that looks at quantitative and qualitative data on crime and the workings of criminal justice, both from the international and national perspectives. This is reflected in the title of the Conference: “Surveying Crime: A Global Perspective”. This title and the approach adopted by the organisers also reflect the essence of the United Nations perspective in which the division between what is local and what is global is becoming thinner and thinner.

You have undoubtedly noticed from the Conference programme that we propose to discuss crime and ways of knowing more about crime in all its connotations. Thus, our attention will be equally devoted to what is considered “conventional or traditional” crime as well as to what is called transnational organised crime, including corruption, money laundering, international fraud, and so on.

As regards conventional crime, we now know more about it, not only in quantitative terms, but also from the international perspective. I am pleased to draw your attention to the first “United Nations Global Report on Crime and Justice” which analyses trends and patterns in crime and criminal justice based on the results of the United Nations Crime Survey. This Report, in addition to drawing on administrative criminal justice statistics highly centred on agencies and offenders, includes for the first time the results of the International Crime Victim Survey, which focuses on citizens’ experiences with crime and criminal justice agencies. Further innovative efforts towards conceptual and statistical integration of administrative and victim statistics are underway, a notable example of which is presented here with HEUNI’s report on crime in Europe and North America.

Having mentioned the ICVS, to which we will devote a session on its own, allow me to express my gratitude to the Government of the Netherlands, the main supporter and promoter of this international research project, as well as to the Home Office of the UK, and to all other supporters and sponsors. The ICVS was carried out in some 60 countries and involved interviewing some 140,000 people all over the world. UNICRI takes pride in having participated in it since 1990, being in charge of promoting and co-ordinating the ICVS in the developing world and in countries in transition. The copies of UNICRI’s three

most recent publications on the results of the ICVS in the developing world and countries in transition which have been distributed here, together with a volume on the industrialised world, present you with a set of data and relevant analysis from a truly international comparative perspective.

The ICVS is not only a comparative research project: it is also an example of international research-related technical co-operation. It actually covered developing countries and countries in transition which had little or no experience with victim surveys before they joined the ICVS. Furthermore, in a number of countries in transition, policy-oriented round tables were organised to promote research, policy and management use of victim related information about crime and criminal justice agencies. A special panel on this issue will be held at this Conference. The importance of co-operation among research, policy makers, administrators, and statisticians is also reflected through the profile of the country representatives taking part in this Conference.

Given the most recent emphasis of the United Nations Crime Programme, but also of other international actors, on the topic of transnational organised and economic crime, for which less statistical information is available than on conventional crime, the Conference will pay particular attention to the ways of surveying these phenomena. Two sessions are devoted to the presentation of what has already been achieved and to exploring what needs to be done to counter transnational organised crime. The experience gained with the UN Crime Surveys on the one hand, and with the ICVS on the other, provides invaluable fundamental building blocks for a more comprehensive and global understanding of crime and responses to crime. How to go about it will be discussed during the Panel Session on “Setting the Research Agenda”.

ALBERTO ZULIANI
PRESIDENT,
ITALIAN INSTITUTE FOR STATISTICS (ISTAT), ITALY

As President of the National Statistical Institute, I would like to welcome you to this important Conference on crime and statistics in which national and international policy-makers, directors of statistical institutes and researchers coming from many countries are taking part.

The process of globalisation is profoundly changing the economic and social view of the world. If we look at this phenomenon from the point of view of developed countries, we can say that such interdependence is positively contributing to develop our democracy and citizens' welfare. Exchanges, interactions and comparisons now represent inalienable values for all of us. On the other hand, the degree of economic and social development in the industrial democracies of Western Europe and Northern America is attracting new "citizens" who escape the poverty of their nations of origin. Especially illegal or underground immigrants, in most cases, find in the new countries living conditions that are far from their expectations and that can drive them towards crime. After all, although the free trade of goods and services and the free circulation of people represent the main driving force to strengthen freedom and progress, nevertheless they can also represent potential vectors for the spreading of illegal activities.

Furthermore, the types of crime are increasing: besides traditional ones, crimes linked to intangible goods and new technologies, in particular information technologies, are emerging. This scenario represents a challenge for national and international statistical systems which should find measurement instruments adequate for the new complexity of such phenomena.

On the other hand, it is clear that the battle against crime can no longer be considered only an internal problem of a state. It must be carried out within a wider international context, using the new instruments made available by technological development.

The European Union has increased its efforts against organised crime, particularly in the last decade, by creating the conditions to strengthen co-operation and interrelating freedom, safety and justice. These are essential and inseparable conditions for establishing an integrated economic and democratic space. The Schengen Agreement intensified co-operation among justice, customs and police forces, thus setting up an effective international network against organised crime.

Within this framework, statistics can and must play a fundamental role. The experience of the third phase in the European monetary union demonstrated the absolute necessity to have a system of reliable, comparable and shared indicators. In the same way it is impossible to improve international co-operation and to strengthen efforts to fight crime without a reliable and continuously updated system of statistical information harmonised at the international level. The system should use multi-data sources in an integrated way, able to provide a wide set of indicators, both direct and referring to the political, economic and social context. The lack of a shared definition of criminal activity, the different evaluations of crime given by each single state and the great variety in justice systems make it very difficult to achieve this task. UNICRI is playing a particularly relevant role towards harmonisation. However, it is fundamental that basic statistics and particularly those based on administrative sources are improved, new ways to estimate illegal activities which cannot be surveyed by means of traditional registers are adopted and *ad hoc* surveys on citizens are carried out, allowing the dark figures of crime to be estimated and to measure both the risks and sense of insecurity among different social classes of people.

The demand for information on crimes is rapidly increasing. The National Statistical Institutes are requested to provide cognitive contributions on phenomena such as the trade in women for prostitution purposes or the exploitation of both child as well as adult labour, most frequently among immigrants coming from the poorest countries. So methodologies have to be adjusted, new and more adequate measurement instruments identified, different surveying techniques integrated and analysis through indirect indicators developed. In this field, attaining harmonisation at the international level is even more difficult. The same methods cannot be always applied to survey similar phenomena in different countries. It suffices only to think of child labour that in some developing countries is estimated by the ILO through direct surveys on households, since in those countries it is not considered an illegal activity, while in developed countries the same phenomenon can be measured only through an articulated system of *ad hoc* surveys and by utilising a multiplicity of indirect indicators for the analysis.

On the other hand, acting to build a safer society also means planning crime prevention policies that can contribute to reduce the conditions favouring crime in the economic and social environment. These policies can be directed towards particular segments of the population (characterised, for example, by school failure, economic disadvantage, belonging to ethnic minorities, etc.) or, generally towards the whole population. In any case, there is the need for an information framework revealing the existing relationship between crime and the socio-economic context: the relationship with the general economic conditions, connections with the social status of citizens and with their professional position; the relationship with the social adjustment and integration processes of immigrants and with the spreading of prejudices against newcomers; the interaction with the profound modifications in the family, especially linked to the present changes in the role of women and young people.

I am stressing the fact that the implementation of policies aiming at citizens' safety must be developed in the framework of a deep knowledge of the global economic and social situation. Therefore, the harmonised system of crime statistics must be accompanied by a wider set of information on the economic and social environment. The challenge facing official statistics is huge.

This Conference represents an important opportunity to set the agenda for future lines of action. Participating statisticians are well aware that, also in this delicate field, they are requested to assure the necessary information for the development of an open and democratic society in which fundamental freedoms are granted for all.

As President of the Italian National Statistical Institute, I would like to remind you, on this occasion, that we are already greatly contributing, at the national level, to improve statistics on crime, both through our traditional surveys and through victimisation surveys. The last of these surveys, presented to the Italian governmental institutions one month ago, also covered - for the first time - sexual harassment and rape. More in general, the identification of the dark figures of crime, the focusing of attention on victims, the evaluation of the risk of victimisation and subjective perceptions of citizens contrasted with individual characteristics and different social contexts, as well as a clear gender approach, are the distinctive characteristics of this survey that is now included within the system of social surveys and has benefited from the most advanced international experiences, including the best practices of UNICRI. We intend to continue our co-operation with this Institute.

The Fourth Italian National Conference of Statistics has just been concluded. It is a biannual appointment allowing users and producers to take stock of the developments and trends in official statistics. The results of the discussions are that increasing importance is not to be given to single data or to the results of specific surveys, but rather to the creation of integrated systems of information allowing to combine objective information and perceptions, data on behaviours and expectations and, in general, individual characteristics collected in different

cognitive and also apparently distant contexts. Such integrated systems must also promote the availability of comparable information at different geographical - international, national and regional - levels. In order to be quantitatively valid, such systems must correspond to the needs of users, must be guaranteed by the independence of enumerators and analysts and must be available in time to allow operational choices. This is today's challenge for official statistics as we perceive it in our country. I believe that the most important points of this challenge are also suitable for the work you are going to carry out in the next days. The results, I am sure, will be judged not only for their scientific value but also according to the contribution they will give to the creation of a fairer world.

WOLFGANG RAU
HEAD OF PENOLOGY AND CRIMINOLOGY SECTION,
DIVISION OF CRIME PROBLEMS,
COUNCIL OF EUROPE

On behalf of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, Mr. Daniel Tarschys, I would like to thank UNICRI, the Dutch Ministry of Justice and ISTAT for holding this international Conference on surveying crime.

It was with great enthusiasm that the Council of Europe accepted the proposal to become involved in this event and to sponsor the participation of several experts from Western, Central and Eastern Europe.

Almost all of these experts are actively involved in the Council of Europe project on a "European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics" - which Gordon Barclay from the British Home Office will talk about during this Conference. The other experts are members of the Enlarged Group of Specialists, which is responsible for the Sourcebook Project, or national correspondents to the Project, who collect the necessary statistics and other information on behalf of their respective countries.

In addition to the people who contribute to the Sourcebook Project, I am pleased to inform you that Professor Michael Levi, from Cardiff University, will be participating in this Conference in his capacity as a scientific expert of the Council of Europe Committee on the criminal law and criminological aspects of organised crime (PC-CO).

The assessment of trends in crime and criminal justice is a permanent concern of the European Committee on Crime Problems (CDPC) and high up on the agenda of practically all the Member States of the Council of Europe. Periodic events, such as the criminological and penological conferences and colloquia and, in particular, the quinquennial Conferences on Crime Policy, have been devised so as to keep these trends under permanent review and to provide those responsible for tackling crime and running criminal justice institutions with appropriate down-to-earth information.

Owing to ongoing developments in Greater Europe and the ensuing enlargement of the membership of the Council of Europe, the necessity for such periodic assessment and comparison in the above-mentioned areas has become even more apparent.

It is against this background that the Sourcebook Project was initiated.

Recently, the Criminological Scientific Council (PC-CSC), which is an advisory body to the European Committee on Crime Problems, emphasised that the expected outcome of the Sourcebook Project, namely a comprehensive compendium of crime and criminal justice statistics, would be a crucial step towards improving and harmonising crime statistics throughout Europe. It should also be considered as a major move towards a system of uniform crime reporting at the Council of Europe level.

Surveying crime and criminal justice within the Council of Europe context is not limited to the Sourcebook Project. As early as 1983, the European Committee on Crime Problems initiated a regular collection of prison data, and later on, of data on the use of community sanctions and measures. This data collection is called SPACE, which means "Annual Penal Statistics of the Council of Europe". Over the years it has become a standard source of reference for researchers and criminal justice practitioners throughout Europe.

The latest enquiry, which presents prison data for 1997, will be finished in about two weeks. Its results will be released at the beginning of 1999, hopefully via the Internet. A new enquiry, called SPACE II, on the use of community sanctions and measures in our 40 Member States, will be launched before the end of 1998. It is based on a completely overhauled questionnaire and will allow us to gain an improved picture on the use of alternatives to imprisonment.

The present work programme of the European Committee on Crime Problems pays considerable attention to such matters as corruption, money laundering and organised crime, which are among the most serious threats to the security of citizens, the stability of democratic institutions and the rule of law. In relation to the agenda of this Conference it is perhaps interesting to emphasise that the previously mentioned committee on organised crime has been entrusted, *inter alia*, with producing an annual report on organised crime in Council of Europe Member States. These reports should be considered as a major contribution towards surveying crime in this specific area, although they do not contain many figures.

This Conference provides an excellent opportunity to present and compare international data collection projects in the area of crime and criminal justice and to discuss a number of practical issues.

One of these matters is the integration of data and various sources of statistics – which appears to be a mainly technical issue. But behind its very technicality lurks a more policy-related, perhaps even philosophical, issue; namely the question of what we really know about the actual volume of crime and its evolution at the European or even world-wide level.

To put it perhaps in a slightly provocative form: integrating data sources is perhaps of less importance than starting seriously to compare the results of the various international data collection initiatives. Such a comparison might help us to discover the reality behind the figures. It might heighten our awareness of the production process of crime statistics or the obvious discrepancies in relevant legal and statistical concepts and definitions among countries. The experience gained and the active use of this experience might allow us in the long run to dismiss the popular belief, which is also often shared by criminal justice practitioners and policy-makers, that statistics are nothing more than sophisticated lies.

JAN J.M. VAN DIJK
DIRECTOR, STRATEGIC POLICY PLANNING
MINISTRY OF JUSTICE, THE NETHERLANDS

It is an honour and pleasure for me to say a few words on behalf of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Justice of the Netherlands.

Most of you will be familiar with the sarcastic observation ascribed to the late Sir Winston Churchill that policy makers, in advancing their causes, tend to use: “lies, bloody lies and ... statistics”. This observation may strike many of you as grossly unfair but it has a kernel of truth in the area of criminal policy. When politicians start citing crime statistics, there is a reason to be somewhat suspicious. Police figures of recorded crimes cannot be taken at face value as measures of crime. As we all know, not all crimes are reported or noticed by the police and not all reported crime is recorded. On top of this, legal definitions of crime vary across countries. For these reasons, police figures cannot be used for comparative purposes. There is general consensus among criminologists about this.

In spite of many difficulties surrounding crime statistics, a group of researchers assembled by the United Nations Centre for International Crime Prevention in Vienna and the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute in Rome, have, over the past years, doggedly conspired to collect crime statistics that can be used as international indicators of the level of crime. I am referring to the researchers who worked together on the analysis of the results of the Crime Victims Survey. In the beginning, their efforts were met with due scepticism by the criminological community. However, at recent meetings of the American Society of Criminology and the International Society of Criminology, the results of the ICVS survey as well as those of the UN Crime Surveys got a much more favourable reception. The new generation of international crime statistics seems to have gained new credibility.

During this Conference, the state of art of international crime statistics will be presented. We will listen to presentations on the ICVS by researchers from many different countries. We will also listen to presentations on recent attempts to construct crime indices using data from both the ICVS and the UN surveys and on the soon to be published first World Report on Crime and Criminal Justice. It is the hope of the Dutch agencies that funded or otherwise supported these endeavours, that this Conference will be remembered as a turning point in the appreciation of international crime statistics.

The Conference, however, was not convened to celebrate recent achievements in comparative crime statistics. The principal objective is to discuss the difficult work which still needs to be done. The methodology of the ICVS must be further improved. The UN crime surveys must become more focussed and mechanisms for better control of the quality of the data must be introduced. In the meantime, the international community is confronted with new forms of crime which cross national borders, such as trafficking in illicit drugs, toxic waste, firearms, stolen cars and works of art, as well as in women and children. In order to respond to these forms of transnational crimes, the world needs credible statistical information. A major part of the meeting is rightly reserved to exploring ways to collect relevant information on transnational organised crime.

The task of collecting comparable information on transnational organised crime is daunting. There will be no shortage of sceptical observers. Many will express serious doubts on the feasibility of the efforts. Totally new approaches may indeed be required. There is at this stage much uncertainty about what can be achieved. Encouragement can be found in the knowledge that the collection of comparable statistics on ordinary crimes was until quite recently also deemed impossible. The sceptics have been proven wrong and might be proven wrong again.

The Dutch Government is convinced that credible international indicators of crime are of great value in the fight against crime, especially also against transnational organised crime. As in the past, it will be committed to supporting the initiatives of the United Nations in this field. We hope the Conference will help the United Nations to formulate a new agenda for international collaboration in the collection of international crime data.

INTRODUCTION TO THE CONFERENCE

Anna Alvazzi del Frate*

This presentation will provide an overview of the topics that will be dealt with by the international Conference on “Surveying Crime: A Global Perspective”. The development, management and evaluation of criminal policies and crime prevention programmes and initiatives require a sound basis of data on crime and criminal justice. This cannot be achieved in the absence of comprehensive, reliable and timely information, which cannot solely be based on administrative sources.

Informed decision-making, monitoring, evaluation and forecasting of future developments and needs should be based on research which takes into account all aspects of crime and criminal justice. Therefore, information on crime and criminal justice operations is of paramount importance in promoting legal certainty, security and the overall well-being of the citizenry.

Each of the four Conference organisers has an institutional role in the promotion of international co-operation and the implementation of research in the area of crime and criminal justice information. In particular, two recent initiatives which will be extensively presented at the Conference facilitate the process of international comparison and co-ordination.

First, the carrying out of the International Crime Victim Survey which, from 1991 onwards, became a joint endeavour of UNICRI and The Ministry of Justice of the Netherlands with the substantial financial support of the Dutch Government as well as country-specific support from UK, Canada and Italy. Among the sixty countries participating in the ICVS, there are eighteen Eastern and Central European countries.

Second, the work of the Committee on Crime Problems of the Council of Europe has resulted in a draft model of the European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics. From a global world perspective, the ICVS provides also for wider international comparison and co-ordination due to the fact that more than fifty industrialised and developing countries as well as countries in transition participated in it. The United Nations Survey of Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems, currently at its sixth round, also provides for a wider perspective on the state of crime and criminal justice based on official statistics.

Finally, the problem of surveying transnational organised crime and economic and financial crime will be dealt with by the Conference at special sessions in which examples of possible surveys/models and relevant methodologies will be discussed.

* Research Officer, United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI).

ÂÑÒÓÏËÁÏËÀ Ê ÊÏÏÓÂÐÁÏËË

ÁÏÀ ÁËÛÀÀÖË ÀÀËÛ ÓÐÀÒÁ

Ðá çà ïàà òèý àà ñò ïáçíð ï áññíàì, èíòíðúè áóáá ò çà ïèà òüñý Ì æ áóíà ðíáíà ý Ëíóá ðá ïòèý ï Ìá áçíðó çà Ðá ñòóññòóð : á ÁËíáá èüíé á ðñá èðèáá. Ðà çàèðèá, òÐá áèá ïèá è ïòá ïèá èðèèíá èüíé Ìèðèèè è Ðíáðá Ì Ðá áíáðá ùá ïèý Ðá ñòóññá ïèé è èíèòèá ðèá ïóæ áà ð òñý á ñíèèáíé áá çá áà ïíóò ï Ðá ñòóññòè è óáíèíáíí Ðá áíñóáèè. Ýòí ïá Ìæ á ò áúòü ñáá èà ïí á ïòñóòñòáèè áñá ñòíðííá é, ïá áá æ ïíé è ñáíá áðá ñ ïíé èíòíðá òèè, èíòíðá ý ïá Ìæ á ò áññá òüñý òíèüéí ïá à æèíèòèá ðèáííó èñòí-íèèá ò.

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* Èíóáððááèíáèüíé Èíðèèòóò ïí èññèááíááèè Ìðáòóññòè è Ðñèðèèè Ìðááèçàòèè Ìáúááèíáííúò Ìáòèè **PIÉÉÐÈ**.

International Co-operation

ADVANCES IN COMPARATIVE CRIMINOLOGY: THE UNITED NATIONS GLOBAL REPORT ON CRIME AND JUSTICE

Graeme Newman*

Introduction: the “Global Report”

This Report is the result of 25 years of accumulation of criminal justice information at the international level. It contains over 300 Tables and Boxes, and many different sources of data. It owes its original concept to the meeting held at UNICRI some four years ago. It came to fruition as a result of the efforts of the United Nations Centre for International Crime Prevention, and especially the personal efforts of Adam Bouloukos.

The contents of the Report are:

- Introduction: Data sources and their use
- 1. The experience of crime and justice
- 2. Police records of crime
- 3. Bringing to justice
- 4. Punishment
- 5. Resources in criminal justice
- 6. Firearm abuse and regulation
- 7. Drugs and drug control
- 8. International trends in crime prevention
- 9. Emerging Issues: Transnational crime and its control
- Notes to Tables, Figures and Chapters
- Appendix 1: Definitions
- Appendix 2: List of Exceptions

The Report’s contributions to comparative criminology

The Report attempts to offer a contribution to comparative criminology (or comparative criminal justice), the aims of which it understands to be:

1. The systematic and descriptive comparison of nation states in regard to:
 - the quantity, patterning and organisation of crime;
 - an assessment of how law and order (both formal and informal) are maintained;
 - a description of the ways in which those who break the law are processed; and
 - an assessment of the outcomes of criminal justice processing such as clearance rates, punishment, and other ways of dealing with offenders.
2. The “testing” of established hypotheses concerning crime and justice at a multi-national (hypermicro level):
 - by aggregating country data to investigate such topics as the possible relationship between economic development, crime and justice; and
 - by reporting on patterning of crime according to established “facts,” such as the gender and age distributions in crime rates and criminal justice processing.
3. The evaluation and comparison of the performance of criminal justice in all countries, for example:

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- the country's record on human rights in regard to criminal justice as compared to other countries;
- the extent to which the rule of law is defended and maintained;
- the effectiveness of its policing in controlling crime and maintaining order; and
- the fairness and efficiency of judicial processing.

What makes comparative criminology possible?

Making cross national comparisons of any kind, especially those of criminal justice that are so embedded in the history, politics and culture of a country, is an extremely hazardous task. However, there are approaches that can help to overcome these difficulties.

The rise of the nation state

The nation state arose as a product of Western colonial expansion, especially commerce. The idea of sovereignty arose at the same time when nations attempted to protect and advance their growing wealth and possessions. Nations became a state with one mission: expansion of economic power. In order to both defend and advance a nation, a nation must have a clear identity of itself as one entity. Hence the movements towards unification which went on from the 17th century right up to the beginning of the 20th century.

Ironically, the idea of one identity for a nation has spawned the break up of large "conglomerate" nations and their division - regardless of economic advantage - into separate nations. At the same time, Europe is attempting to combine its diverse nations into one economic powerhouse. The attempt to produce "one Europe" requires that each individual state gives up a little - or perhaps much - in order to make itself conform to the needs of the larger whole. This is the process that occurred during the 17th and 18th centuries when sovereign states were established. Each of them developed one common trait: a criminal justice system that was similar, though based on sometimes diverse legal traditions.

Legal systems and criminal justice systems

Legal systems are not equal to criminal justice systems. While different legal systems no doubt influence aspects of justice systems considerably (e.g. the process of adjudication, civil vs. common law, etc.) these differences in process are often mistaken for differences in structure. Colonial expansion exported the criminal justice model - police-courts-prisons - to all the countries that it colonised. Thus, while care must be taken in comparing the different aspects of crime and justice across countries, nevertheless the commonality of structure of criminal justice - police-courts-prisons - makes it possible to make comparisons on a general basis and to collect data that are in a general sense comparable.

Apart from the structure in criminal justice systems, there is also another fundamental feature of all criminal justice systems, indeed legal systems: the "rule of law" which was also exported by Western nations in the 17th century. While there are reasons of morality and justice that lie behind the rule of law, a primary assumption among sovereign nations is the idea that the "rule of law" is a necessary condition for economic development. This position has recently been reaffirmed by the World Bank.

Given that there are common assumptions that underlay the criminal justice systems of all nations, but that there is wide diversity in terms of definitions of crime and criminal justice processing, it follows that the collection of data and criminal justice information should be as broadly encompassing as possible. The information presented in the "Global Report", drawing on diverse sets of sources but depending strongly on the United Nations Surveys of Crime Trends and Criminal Justice Systems and the International Crime Victim Survey, attempts to do just this. These are two quite different data sources which raise the question

of how crime and justice data can be used to make comparisons and develop policy at the international level.

Measurement of crime at the international level

Official statistics

These are statistics that are derived from the bureaucratic activity of various agencies such as police who record crime, court officials who report on processing of cases, and prison officials who report on the offenders in their care. They are collected at the national and local levels, and eventually compounded into official statements by each country so that they are eventually collected into one body of international data. Organisations that produce such statistics, of varying types are: UNCJS, which collects statistics from all levels of the criminal justice system; INTERPOL, which collects only statistics derived from police recording and reporting; and WHO, which collects only statistics derived from the cause of death listed on death certificates which state homicide.

By far the most sophisticated of these three sources of comparative crime and justice statistics are those of the United Nations (UNCJS) which has developed over a period of 25 years standard classifications of crime types, as well as standard classifications or definitions of criminal justice related agencies such as police, judges, prison personnel, etc. The UNCJS is also the only organisation that collects data about the criminal justice system in addition to data on incidence of crime. It also collects data on a wider range of crimes than any other agency.

Much of the “Global Report” depends on UNCJS data. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that UNCJS statistics are political statements. They are the official admission of Member States as to the amount and extent of crime in each country. How reliable are the data from UNCJS?

- Reportability of crimes: rape is the most reported crime by countries.
- Police recording practices vary considerably across countries.
- Federal systems make reporting of statistics within countries extremely difficult.
- Reliability of UNCJS: homicide compared in the “Global Report” to INTERPOL and WHO: all are reasonably correlated, but UNCJS is probably reliable to use with aggregated data, although care should be used with individual country comparisons.

Victim surveys: ICVS and self report surveys

- Advantages concerning crime measurement: overcome definition problem, not official (yet), can control sampling, provide more “human” picture of crime.
- Advantages for assessing criminal justice system: public perception of and satisfaction with criminal justice agencies and system fairness can be measured, thus giving an important balance to those statistics provided by the organisations themselves.
- Disadvantages: surveys are expensive, there may be cultural variations in sensitivity to crimes and preparedness to speak out concerning performance of justice organisations, interviewer bias, respondent compliance, artificial, depend on memory, difficult to relate to formal categories of crime.
- Which is better? The “Global Report” shows that there is a rough correlation between ICVS and official UNCJRS data.

Beyond traditional crime

The “Global Report” recognises that most data collected to date have been concerned with traditional crimes and their processing. There are, however many serious crimes that are too

complex to count. A special chapter is devoted to such crimes which are loosely termed transnational crimes.

- BCCI case.
- Drug trafficking.
- Illegal dealing: arms, aliens, women and children, cultural artefacts etc.
- Organised crime: automobiles, etc.

THE GLOBAL REPORT: A SAMPLE OF FINDINGS

Crime and its reporting

Crime rates computed from surveys of victims are universally higher than those of official records.

There is no country without crime.

The experience of crime and justice

There is remarkable agreement around the world concerning the comparative seriousness of crimes.

No matter what part of the world, over a five-year period, two out of three inhabitants of big cities are victimised by crime.

Globally, less than half of the victims who reported their cases to the police were satisfied with the response.

Less than one in three female victims of violence report their victimisation to the police.

Crime recorded by the police

On average, *crime reported to the police continued to rise in the 1990s, as it had in the 1980s.* The most common crime reported was theft, followed by burglary. Violent crime (homicide, assaults, robbery) was a minority (around 10-15%) of all reported crime.

Theft rates were higher for industrial countries than non-industrial countries. Arab states generally reported very low rates for nearly all types of crime.

The justice process

Civil law is the most common basis of legal systems throughout the world. *Regardless of their legal systems, all countries have the three primary parts of the modern criminal justice system: police, courts and prisons.*

In all countries, most people who come in contact with the criminal justice system as suspects of crime are males.

There are far fewer women and girls suspected of committing crimes in countries with low income than in those with high income.

In most countries about half the suspects or those prosecuted are found guilty and convicted of an offence.

Punishment

For those convicted of serious crimes, prison is the universal sanction, applied more than any other punishment, and regardless of the type of legal system or level of development of a country.

There are wide variations in the prison rates of various countries, and these do not appear to be dependent on the amount of crime in a country.

There is no overall world trend towards increase in prison population.

Parole is not widely used throughout the world. It is used mostly by developed Western countries.

A small number of countries report statistics that suggest prison populations that exceed their prison capacity. There is no economic or development feature that distinguishes this group of countries.

Developing countries tend to have more prisoners awaiting trial than do developed countries.

The movement towards restriction and abolition of the death penalty is not unidirectional.

The fine is the most frequently used non-custodial sanction for those convicted of less serious crimes, regardless of level of development of the country.

Availability and use of non-custodial sanctions are policy choices.

As a general pattern, greater use of non-custodial sanctions does not lead to less use of prison, or vice-versa.

In developing countries and countries in transition the public displays a marked preference for prison as a punishment.

Resources in criminal justice

In all countries, *police make up the majority of criminal justice personnel.*

The number of police per 100,000 population is increasing in the 1990s.

The number of police is unrelated to the amount of property crime.

In all countries, men make up the majority of the criminal justice work force.

Industrial countries have a higher proportion of women in the criminal justice work force in all four occupations of police, prosecution, adjudication and corrections.

The ratio of adult convicted prisoners to adult prison beds varies hardly at all among countries. The ratio of prisoners to staff varies considerably. The developing country ratio of prisoners to staff is two to four times greater than that of developed (industrial) countries.

Prisons are a resource that is universally employed. The growth of prisons applies to both industrial and non-industrial countries.

The range of expenditures on prisons and their operations is vast, from a low of \$69 per prisoner to a high of \$157,000 per prisoner.

Firearms and their control

In general, countries that have higher firearm ownership rates also have higher firearm related death rates, including homicide rates, though there are some exceptions.

Firearms are commonly used in domestic disputes where fatalities occur. In contrast, firearms are hardly used in the commission of sexual assault.

Most countries prohibit the ownership of firearms for civilians with a criminal record or a record of domestic violence.

Most countries use some form of registry in order to trace lost or stolen firearms.

The rate of firearm ownership around the world varies from less than one percent of households owning a firearm to as many as 50% of all households.

The most common reason for owning a handgun is for protection against crime although there is considerable variation between countries and regions in this respect.

Drugs and drug control

In any one year, slightly over one in a thousand persons illicitly uses heroin or other opiates, and two in a thousand illicitly use cocaine.

Drug-related crimes have increased disproportionately in the last two decades when compared to other crime-related phenomena. Types of crime committed by drug addicts are primarily acquisitive.

There are relatively few countries that keep centralised and internationally comparable records of illicit drug consumption.

The price of heroin and cocaine has fallen dramatically in recent years.

The economic incentives of the illicit drug trade serve to make organised trafficking extremely durable.

The available data suggest that the offenders in two-thirds of the drug crime cases are given a non-custodial sentence.

Crime prevention

Crime prevention programmes are conducted only in developed nations.

Prevention programmes include: social development programmes, and opportunity reduction. Success depends on mobilisation of local communities.

Transnational crime

Transnational crime has emerged as a leading issue of the 1990s. This general category includes illicit trafficking in arms, drugs, children, women, immigrants, body organs, cultural artefacts, flora and fauna, nuclear materials, and automobiles; terrorism; bribery, corruption and fraud; and money laundering.

Transnational crimes are very complex crimes, composed of many smaller crimes. They are thus extremely difficult to count. No systematic method of accounting for these crimes yet exists at the international level.

Illicit markets exist because there is a demand for illicit goods and services, and criminal organisations willing to meet that demand.

Organised crime now operates on a vast, global level. For example, the theft of cars, which was once a traditional crime of concern only to that particular country, is now a transnational crime because cars are stolen with a view for sale on the international illicit market.

The direction of illicit marketing is usually from the developing world to the developed world where demand is highest. The exception is luxury cars which, for example, are stolen in Western Europe and shipped to Eastern Europe and the Russian Federation.

Very often illicit trade is mixed in with licit trade, producing significant grey areas where it is difficult to identify illicit activities.

Crime and justice policy

The overall impression from the information presented in this Report is that crime and justice have a degree of independence from levels of economic development; more than previously considered. For example:

All countries have prisons, and the prison rates are not generally related to either crime rates or levels of economic development.

It is no longer clear that developing countries have higher violent crime rates than developed countries. In recent years, the levels have become pretty much the same.

Victimisation surveys have cast doubt on the assumption that developed countries have higher theft rates than developing countries (usually assumed to be so because developed countries have more movable property). It is now apparent that much theft in developing countries may not be reported to the police.

These general findings support the “World Bank Report (1997)” thesis, that sustainable economic development cannot occur without the basic guarantees of security provided by the rule of law.

The rule of law cannot be said to prevail in the international arena. Transnational crime, as these crimes have become known, defies the rule of law by operating beyond and across the borders of countries.

A systematic method of accounting for transnational crime at the international level is urgently needed.

**ÓNĪĀŌÈ Ā ÑĀĀĪÈŌĀÈŪĪÈ ÈĎÈĪÈĪĪĀÈÈ: ĀĒĪĀĀÈŪĪÈ
ĀĪÈĒĀ ĪĎĀĀĪÈĈĀŌÈÈ ĪĀŪĀĒĪĪŪŌ ĪĀŌÈÈ Ī
ĪĎĀŌŌĪĪŊŌÈ È ĪĎĀĀĪŊŌĀÈ**

Āđāī Īŭpīāī*

Īā nōīŷ ūèè ìò-ā ò ŷ āēŷ ā ðñŷ đā çŏēuđā ðñ -25 ōīā āī Īā ēēā Īēŷ ēīŏīđā ōèè ā Īāēā ñòè ð ñòèŏèè Īā Īā æ āŏīā đīāīī ōđīāīā. Īī ñīāā đæ èðñāŭŏ ā 300 ðā āèèŏ è ñŏā Ī è Īīāī-ēñēā Īŭŭā ēñŏī-Īēèè āā Īŭŭŏ. Āāī ĪđēāēĪā ēŭĪā ŷ ēīŏāŭēŷ āñŏīāèð è ēīŏā đā Īŏèè, đīāā āā Īīē UNICRI Īēīēī ÷ā ðŭđā ŏ ēā ò Īā çā ā. Īī āŭē đā ā èèçĪāī ā đā çŏēuđā ðā ōñèèèè, đēēīā æ ā Īŭŭŏ Ōā Īŏđī, Ī Īā æ āŏīā đīāīīŏ đā āĪŏđā ūā Īēð đā ñŏŏī Īñòè è, ā ÷ā ñŏĪñòè, èè-ŭŭŏ ōñèèèè Āāā Ī Āŏēŏīā.

Ā ñīāā đæ ā Īēā Āēīāā ēŭĪāī Īŏ-ā ðā āŏīāŷ ò: Āāā āā Īēā: ēñŏī-Īēèè āā Īŭŭŏ è ĪēŭçĪāā Īēā èè; 1. Īā ēēā Īŭē Īŭŏ ā Īāēā ñòè èçŏ-ā Īēŷ đā ñŏŏñŏè è ð ñòèŏèè; 2. Āđŏēāŭ đā ñŏŏā Īēè Īēèŏèè; 3. đēāēā ÷ā Īēā ē ñŏāŏ; 4. Īā ēā çā Īēŷ; 5. Ēñŏī-Īēèè ōāĪēīāīāī ñŏāĪēçāĪāñŏāā; 6. Ōñŏđā āēā Īēā ñŏđā ēŭĪāī Īđŏā ēŷ è Īđŭ đā āŏēèđīāā Īēŷ; 7. Īā đēīŏīèè è èŏ ēīŏđīēŭ; 8. Īā æ āŏīā đīāīŭā Īā đā āēā Īēŷ ā đā āĪŏđā ūā Īēè đā ñŏŏñŏè; 9. Īīāŭā ðā Ī: ðđā ĪñĪā ōēñĪā ēŭĪā ŷ đā ñŏŏñŏè è ā ā ēīŏđīēŭ.

Īŏ-ā ð āĪñèð ñāĪē āēēāā ā ēđēēĪēĪāēð Īñđā āñŏāīŭ (1) Īāā ñā ÷ā Īēŷ Īñŏīŷ Īīāī è Īñā ðā ēŭĪāī ññŏđā āēā Īēŷ ñèðŏā ōèè ā đā çèè-ŭŭŏ ñŏđā Īā ŏ ā Īŏñŏā Īēè ēĪēè-ā ñŏāā, Ī ōīāā āā ēñŏāēŷ è Īđāā Īēçā ōèè đā ñŏŏñŏè; Īđī çā ēĪĪā è ōāĪēīāīāī ñŏāĪēçāĪāñŏāā; (2) "ðā ñòèđīāā Īēŷ" ñŏŭā ñŏāŏð ūèŏ āēŏā ç, ēā ñā ð ūèŏñŷ đā ñŏŏñŏè è ð ñòèŏèè Īā ĪīāĪā ōēñĪā ēŭĪā ōđīāīā (āēŏī -Īā ēđīŏđīāīā); è (3) Īŏā Īēè è ññŏđā āēā Īēŷ ōā đā èðā đēñèè ōāĪēīāīāī đā āā è ñŏāĪēçāĪāñŏāā āī āñā ŏ ñŏđā Īā ŏ.

Īāŭā ā āā ÷ā ðēā Īēā, Īēŏ-ā ā Īā Īŏ ēīŏīđā ōèè, đā āñŏā āēā Īīē ā ŷŏñ Īŏ-ā ðā, Īāñēā çŭāā ā ð, ÷ŏī đā ñŏŏñŏè è ð ñòèŏèŷ Īāēā āā ð ò Īā ēĪŏđīē ñŏāā Īŭð Īā çā āēñēĪñòè Īŏ ōđīāīŷ ŷēĪñē-ā ñēīāī đā çāèðèŷ; đē ŷŏñ Īā āĪđā çāĪ āĪēŭŏ ā, ÷ā Ī ŷŏī đā āēā āā ēĪñŭ đā Īā ā:

- āī āñā ŏ ñŏđā Īā ŏ ēā ð ðñŷ ðð đŭŭ è èŏāĪēŷ Īāŭ-Īī Īā Īāŏñēā āēēāā ā ðñŷ Īē ēŷŷŏèðēā Īŏñđā ñŏŏñŏè, Īē ōđīāīā ĪŷēĪñē-ā ñēīāī đā çāèðèŷ.
- Ōā ā Īā ñŏīēŭ Ī-ā āēāĪ, ÷ŏī ēŷŷŏèðēā Īŏ đā ñŏŏā Īēè ñ đēā Īā Īēā Ī Īā ñēèèŷ ā đā çāèāā ð ūèŏñŷ ñŏđā Īā ŏ āŭŏ ā, ÷ā Ī ā đŭŭŏ ēā-đā çāèðŭŏ ñŏđā Īā ŏ. Ā Īñēā āĪēā āĪāŭ Īē Īā ōīāŷ ðñŷ Ī-ðè Īā ĪāēĪā ēĪāŭŏ ōđīāīŷ ŏ.
- ĪāçĪđŭ Ī āèèðèçā ōèè āđĪñèèè ðā Īŭ ññĪā Īēŷ Īā ōāā đā Īŭñŏŭ ā ðñŷ ÷ŏī ā ēŷŷŏèðēā Īŏ đā ñŏŏā Īēè đŭŏēā èŷŭā ñŏāā çĪā ÷èðā ēŭĪā āŭŏ ā ā đŭŭŏ ēā Īī -ðā çāèðŭŏ ñŏđā Īā ŏ, ÷ā Ī ā đā çāèāā ð ūèŏñŷ ñŏđā Īā ŏ (÷ŏī Īāŭ-Īī đā āēā āā ā ðñŷ ĪŏĪŏ, ÷ŏī ā đŭŭŏ ēā Īī -ðā çāèðŭŏ ñŏđā Īā ŏ ā ñŏŭ āĪēŭŏ ā āāēæ ēĪāī èŷŭā ñŏāā). ĪāĪā ēĪ, ā Īā ñŏīŷ ūā ā āđā ŷ ñŏā Īāèðñŷ Ī-ā āēāĪŭ, ÷ŏī Ī Īāēŏ ñēŏ-ā ŷŏ āĪđĪñŏāā ā đā çāèāā ð ūèŏñŷ ñŏđā Īā ŏ đŭñŏī Īā çā ŷ āēŷ ā ðñŷ Īēèèð.
- ŷŏè Īāŭēā ðā èðŭ Īāāā đæ āā ð èāā ð Īŏ-ā ðēđīāīāī Āā Īēā (1997 ā.) Ī ŏñŷ ÷ŏī Īđā ēŭĪā ŷēĪñē-ā ñēīā đā çāèðēā Īā Īā ā ð ēā ðŭ Ī ñŏī āā ç ĪñĪāĪŭŏ āā ðā Īŏèè āā çā ññŏèè Īā ñā ēā Īēŷ, đā āŏñā ððēāā ā ŭŏ Īđā è çā ēĪĪā.

* Ōŕēāāðñèðāŏ ĀēāāĪē, Ñ.Ō.Ā.

- Íà èüçÿ ñèàçàòü, ÷òí ííðÿ çàéíà àíèíèðòð ò íà ñ æ áóíà ðíáíé à ðá íá .
Òðà ííà òèíà èúíà ÿ ðá ñòóííðòü, èà è íà çúàà ð ò àá ðü òà éíé òèí ðá ñòóííðè,
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Â ñây çè ñ ÷á ì ñðí÷í òðá áóá òñÿ ñ òíà ó÷á òà è éíððíèÿ ðá ñòóííðè íà
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TOWARDS AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO SURVEYING CRIME: THE ROLE OF THE CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN STATISTICIANS

Paolo Garonna *

Introduction: beliefs and fundamental doubts

The importance of effective crime and justice policies vis-à-vis the functioning, on the one hand, of a performing market economy and, on the other, of a viable pluralistic democracy, has been analysed at length in the literature and in policy discussion.

Most recently, these interactions have become the focus of policy attention in relation to the transition process to market economy and democracy which countries in Central and Eastern Europe and in the former Soviet Union or in the Balkans are currently undergoing. The adjustment, in fact, of the crime and justice policy framework is a crucial test of the extent and impact of democratisation and economic reform. The fundamental changes in Central and Eastern Europe have had an impact upon many aspects of politics, economics, society and every day life: liberalisation, contacts with Western economies and, finally, the opening of boundaries resulting in the free relocation of people and goods. These new conditions open prospects for successful societal development but, at the same time, new threats, particularly in relation to crime and justice.

Crime trends in advanced industrial societies are also puzzling. In a recent survey on the subject, Eide (1994, p. 2) states: "...Crime is intriguing. ..Theories of crime are abundant.. [but] ..no single theory of crime encompasses all significant determinants of criminal behaviour.... Although initially all criminal legislation is pervaded by the belief that punishment has an abating effect on crime, neither theory, nor empirical studies have resolved the question of whether, or to which degree, punishment deters. Certainly, several empirical studies over the last 20 years confirm the general prevention hypothesis. But methodological problems cast doubts on the results, and some criminologists are quite reluctant to believe in a significant deterrent effect of punishment at all".

Complete agnosticism would however be unwarranted in some cases; nobody, for instance, would question that a complete demise of the punishment threat leads to a marked increase in crime. This was confirmed by the substantial increases in crime during the police strikes in Liverpool in 1919 and in Montreal in 1969. On the contrary, it would be hard to dispute that the remarkable improvement in crime rates in America in the past six years are in some way related to the policy of "community policing", which increased the number of policemen in the streets by more than 100,000 thanks to a considerable injection of federal money and complementary investments at the local level; or to the spectacular soaring of incarceration rates which at 645 per 100,000 people in 1997 has more than doubled since 1985, while the number of inmates in city and county jails rose by 9.4%, almost double its annual average increase since 1990. A 1993 study by the National Academy of Sciences in the U.S. concluded that the tripling of the prison population between 1975 and 1989 had reduced violent crime by 10-15%.

However, these are rather extreme cases, and easy to interpret. In most real life situations, when policymakers are confronted with alternative decision making concerning moderate changes in the threat of punishment or the fine-tuning of the crime and justice system, the effects on crime are uncertain, and the impact of other concomitant determinants of crime is also controversial.

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Fortunately, the heated ideological disputes of the 1960s and 1990s seem to have withered away. As the baby-boomer generation matured, married, found jobs and shouldered mortgages, so the crime rate fell in many contexts, and correspondingly the polemics calmed down. But the underlying dilemmas remain, in practise, unresolved: i) how does crime interact with economic growth, democracy and inequality?; ii) what is the most appropriate balance between individual responsibility and social or systemic explanations?; iii) how do market imperfections, oligopoly and the distortions induced by public intervention and regulation affect crime?; iv) in which way and to what extent do unemployment, school drop-outs, the informal economy and social exclusion encourage illegality and deviance?; v) how does immigration affect crime?; vi) and how about North-South imbalances, dualism and structural disequilibrium in the labour and product market structure, or social and ethnic conflict and changing family structures, etc.?; and vii) what is the impact of urbanisation trends, as crime is primarily a city (particular inner city) phenomenon, but “the irony is that... refugees from city centres, driven out to the suburbs by fear of crime, have drawn the criminals after them” (The Economist, 1998, p. 65).

Much effort has been put in the analysis of these issues; but operationally no clear-cut indications are available to form a blue-print for action under all conditions or to predict unambiguous patterns and trends.

To a large extent, crime remains an individual and collective black box!

Economic and social factors affecting crime: gaps in information and knowledge

Technological change has brought about formidable new tools to deal with complex decisions and multidimensional phenomena: massive data sets can now be collected, stored, transferred and analysed; methods of knowledge extraction through data analysis have been successfully applied to genetic engineering and biophysics; algorithms drawing on neural networks and fuzzy logic are increasingly being applied to social analysis; research and development has incorporated complex techniques in user-friendly software; statistical methods for data collection processing and dissemination are contributing to innovation and at the same time are benefiting from the application of new technologies and techniques.

The possibility of developing and applying criminometric models is changing the policy environment in crime and justice. Those models: a) have a clear basis in criminological theory concerning which factors influence crime; b) are expressed in precise mathematical form; and c) are defined so that statistical theory can be used in empirical texts and estimations - they open up promising avenues for making policies more efficient and effective. An example of the application of computerised intelligence to crime reduction can be found in the COMSTAT computer system developed by Maple and Linder, and successfully applied in New Orleans and Newark. COMSTAT helps the police to analyse statistics on all major crimes, enabling them to spot high-crime areas and monitor crime trends as they evolve. “In New York, Comstat’s statistical maps are analysed each week at a meeting of the city’s police chief and precinct captains” (The Economist, 1998, p. 64).

In general, it has been shown that criminal behaviour and the impact of policy can be modelled with sufficient accuracy and comprehensiveness: normative and behavioural approaches need not be seen anymore in opposition. The difficulties are not theoretical; they are by-and-large statistical, and should be dealt with at that level.

The Panel for Research on Deterrent and Incapacitation Effects appointed by the Governing Board of the U.S. National Research Council concluded that: “There are three primary obstacles to interpreting the finding of a negative association... [between crime rates and the risk of apprehension, conviction or imprisonment]... as valid evidence that sanctions indeed deter crime: 1) the error in measuring crimes; 2) the confounding of incapacitation and deterrence; 3) the possibilities that the level of crime affects sanctions in addition to

sanctions deterring crime, which is known as a simultaneous relationship” (Blumstein et al., 1987, p. 5).

The analysis of measurement errors and conceptual frameworks, criminometric modelling, and exploratory multivariate data analysis are very promising directions for future research and policy orientation. They are highly information-intensive and knowledge-based, and crucially depend on the quantity and quality of available data.

This is not surprising: the relationship between the citizens, offenders and the police can be typically understood as an agency relationship. The correction of information gaps and asymmetries is therefore essential to the development of the agency relationship, so as to maximise the likelihood of success, strengthen public confidence in the police and the judicial system, and minimise the risk of abuse.

Statistics in the present environment are therefore both a constraint and an extraordinary opportunity for enhancing policy action and the quality of policy programmes.

One of the major concerns of law enforcement agencies across the world is that growing economic interdependence brings about increasing opportunities for transnational crime. It may not be an exaggeration to say that criminal organisations abolished national boundaries long ago. Crossing borders is no major problem to such organisations and the losses are marginal: rather, they see the border as a handicap for police and prosecution. In the transition countries, once the mechanisms of a market economy start to work, new forms of crime develop, with criminal offences against property becoming the dominant factor. In each of the three relevant aspects - the number of suitable targets for crime, the number of criminal offenders, the lacking capability of guardians in preventing crimes -, the potential for organised crime has grown along with the changes derived from *perestroika* (Joutsen, 1995).

Conventional organised crime and transnational business crime can be considered within a conceptual framework formed by notions such as: exchange, reciprocal entrepreneurial promotion and the mutual provision of services. These notions can be applied in cases in which the economy benefits from goods or services provided by conventional organised criminal activity, and vice versa. The economic area where such exchanges, partnerships and mutual promotion take place (in other words, where the licit and illicit overlap) can be termed “the dirty economy” (Ruggiero, 1997).

As for the social factors promoting crime, the three most relevant can be listed as follows: a) inadequate schooling (dropping out of school is in itself a factor that tends to marginalise people, and, thus can be linked to criminal behaviour); b) the problem of homelessness (homelessness is a distinctive form of segregation which has several causes, linked in part to the intensification of market mechanisms). The conditions under which the homeless live easily lead to the formation and consolidation of deviant behaviour; and c) unemployment is another social factor of crime: sociologists accept that unemployment “in general” does not automatically lead to deviant behaviour, although it undoubtedly weakens the social bonds of the unemployed and reduces their chances of integration.

Considering “justice” as a broad and multidimensional concept, many aspects of a social and economic nature are consequently involved. Globalisation and structural changes have underlined, on one hand, the relationship between “justice and the economy” and, on the other, the relationship between “justice and pluralist democracy”. In both cases the role of statistics can be seen as essential because a solid infrastructure of public statistics promotes the transparency of markets and the accountability of policy making.

“Justice” is an increasingly complex notion. One of the major characteristics of justice consists in its “horizontal” dimension. The criminal justice system, with all its procedures, is

a form of *negative* peace, its purpose being to deter or prosecute acts of crime through the threat and application of force. *Positive peace*, however, is much more than the deterrence or punishment of crime. A positive peace or security situation requires careful attention being given to all those factors that cause crime, or happen before crime occurs. Positive peace exists when the sources of crime - including poverty, inequality, racism and alienation - are being kept under control. There can be no sustainable peace or security without social justice (Quinney, 1995).

The need for an integration approach to crime statistics

The response of national statistical systems to the increased, both quantitative and qualitative, requirements of users of data has followed the following five main directions:

- 1) first, information systems for policy use have been enriched and automated. They have greatly benefited from the opportunities for interconnecting data drawn from different sources. These systems have been put at the service of many and different policy players;
- 2) integration of data sources, the break-down of information at the territorial level and the linkages of crime data with economic, demographic and social surveys, have played an important role in promoting co-operation among the different players;
- 3) statistics have been regularly produced and disseminated concerning crime, victimisation, the operation of police and the tribunals. This practise is creating greater transparency and accountability of the policy and administrative processes. The performance of the police and the justice administration can thus be assessed, monitored and evaluated by government and public opinion alike;
- 4) policy relevant indicators have been established and produced. For instance, the proportion of young men (14 to 21, say) born to single mothers, particularly those of ethnic background, is a good predictor of teenage crime. Data have also been placed in accounting frameworks so that crime, public expenditures and output from illegal activity can be estimated and compared with standard national and social accounting (satellite accounts); and
- 5) finally, greater attention has been put on the protection of personal data and respecting statistical confidentiality. This is essential to safeguard public confidence in statistics, and the quality of response by respondents. The role of National Statistical Institutes (NSIs) has been essential in this context, for their reputation of technical independence and integrity. In many countries, including Italy, it is the NSI that is responsible for the collection and dissemination of statistics on crime and justice. This creates a visible and credible separation between surveying, monitoring and the policy process, guaranteeing the safeguarding of data processing against political pressure and administrative abuse.

Progress has been achieved essentially thanks to the adoption of an integration approach: a) integration of different data sources so that the different dimensions and aspects of illegal activities can be brought together; b) integration of different data producers so that collaboration can be established for the enrichment and improvement of the data base; c) integration of different disciplinary approaches and methods (criminology, sociology, statistics, law and economics); and d) integration of data producers, analysts, users, the media, community groups, and all the other stakeholders in security and quality of life.

Integration, in order to be successful, requires enhanced conceptual work for the establishment of sound and agreed upon standards in relation to statistical concepts, definitions and classifications. International crime surveys have in this context played an invaluable role: international dialogue has permitted an improvement in the conceptual framework for the cross-country comparability of statistics.

Integration requires sharing common values and principles. These principles, the Fundamental Principles of Official Statistics, have been codified by the Conference of European Statisticians first, and then by the UN Statistical Commission.

Integration requires bringing together the various policy players: specialised agencies (police, tax inspectors, social security agents, etc.), local governments, national governments and international organisations.

Progress in the integration approach is made to the extent that NSIs are capable of playing a co-ordinating and leadership role in the production and analysis of crime data. A general pattern can be recognised, whereby there occurs a gradual shift of responsibilities in the production and dissemination of data from the policy branches towards the statistical bureaux, setting up sample surveys and then drawing data from many and diverse sources (both sample and administrative sources). The case of labour statistics is typical in this context. A parallel evolution is taking place in the field of crime and justice statistics.

This shift highlights the increasing importance of science-based concepts with respect to notions set by legislation. It shows that there is a rational basis for legislation that somehow constrains the sovereignty of legislative bodies in setting norms and rules based on the authority of the state. There is, in other terms, a general concept of legality, corruption, crime and justice, which bounds the discretionary power of the legislative authorities and inspires the conceptual framework for data construction and collection. These concepts cross national boundaries and are universal in nature.

In many ways, therefore, “statistical interference” precedes and predates “humanitarian interference”; it represents a challenge to the authority of the state which can be met only by a pro-active role of governments in the international arena.

The development, and growth, of internationally comparable crime statistics witnesses the growing relevance of those fundamental laws which are universal in nature, based on a common human civilisation and basic human rights. Democratic rights, individual safeguards and economic freedoms do not derive from any individual government or parliamentary authority, but belong to humanity as a whole. Statistics are to be put at the service of those basic laws, representing the “moral constitution” of mankind.

Towards more and better international co-operation

Another source of complexity is the need for policy co-operation at the international level. In particular, at the European level, the Maastricht Treaty contains provisions for co-operation in the field of justice and home affairs.

According to Article K1 of the Maastricht Treaty, and for the purpose of achieving the free movement of persons within the European Union, Member States will regard as matters of common interest the following: combating fraud on an international scale (5), judicial co-operation in civil matters (6), judicial co-operation in criminal matters (7), customs co-operation (8) and police co-operation (9). In the areas referred to in Article K1, the Council may draw up conventions which it recommends to the Member States for adoption in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements. Many conventions were signed under Title VI, but up to the present only the Europol Convention was ratified by Member States.

The Treaty of Amsterdam (which comes into force at the beginning of 1999) has considerably increased the role of statistics. A new Article 213A has been inserted so that European statistics can now be considered a true community policy matter. In particular, the new article provides for the interinstitutional procedure between the Council and the European Parliament to be followed for the adoption of Community legal acts in the field of statistics. The European Parliament was granted a strong role in the decision making process, as it has a “veto power” against the acts of the Council (co-decision procedure, under Article 186B of the EC Treaty).

The second paragraph of Article 213A states the principles to be applied in the production of Community statistics. These are: impartiality, reliability, relevance, cost-effectiveness, statistical confidentiality and transparency.

Some issues concerning the integration of different sources of data

In the field of justice, the integration of different sources of data represents the main problem, but also a great opportunity. In Italy, for example, the main sources of information concerning crime are two: on one hand, the Victimization Survey, a telephone survey addressed to 50,000 persons at the national level, which is carried out every 5 years; and, on the other, the bodies responsible for public order and security, which send data to the National Statistical Institute (ISTAT). While the first source of information is a survey, the second consists of administrative data. As a consequence, the comparison between data coming from the two sources of information is difficult. This is also due to the fact that the two sources of data use different concepts and classifications.

In particular, the purpose of the 1997 Victimization Survey was, first of all, to know the “dark figures of crime”, i.e. to survey all types of criminal activity suffered by the citizens, regardless of whether these crimes have been reported to the public authorities or not. In other words, the goal of the survey was to know the total number of crimes and the number of victims during the preceding 12 months. In this respect, data coming from the survey are very different from those coming from administrative sources, for which only data concerning reported crimes are available. The Victimization Survey also permits to have information about the characteristics of victims (sex, age, economic position, social status, etc.) and the characteristics of crimes (their dynamics, place, time, cost, damages, etc.).

As far as civil justice is concerned, the information needed is sent from the civil judicial offices, provincial level statistical offices, notary archives (for those activities for which they are involved) and from the secretariats of administrative justice offices for administrative disputes. The resulting data are then broken down at the Appeal Court district, regional and provincial levels.

Considering criminal matters, statistics in this field comprise five aspects, such as: 1) *statistics on criminal proceedings*, in which penal criminal justice bodies are involved. Such data illustrate the flow of activities and the various rulings issued by judicial authorities; 2) *criminal statistics*, which examine activities that comprise violations of the penal code as well as the person responsible for these violations. The data show those crimes for which the judicial authorities have initiated penal action; 3) *statistics on criminal offences*, which include all reported crimes presented to the judicial authorities by the police, the Carabinieri and the financial police. The data refer to crimes and criminal offenders, with reference to the moment of reporting to the judicial authorities by the security forces; 4) *statistics on sentences pronounced*, which cover all individuals who have been condemned at all phases and under any form of the justice system; and 5) *statistics on the military penal code*, which is analogous to the common system.

As for the classification of such crimes, this is done on the basis of an analytical classification (all criminal activities provided for in the penal code and other laws are indicated) and an aggregate classification (with a low level of analysis).

New challenges in surveying crime

Globalisation and recent trends in information and telecommunications technology have posed further challenges to our systems of justice in terms of both efficiency and effectiveness. That is why, in recent years, reforms of the legal systems are under way in most countries in order to improve their responsiveness to citizens. In trying to achieve this

goal, one of the means used has been to attribute judicial functions to non-judicial bodies (such as in the case of arbitration or conciliation). This has led to two advantages: on the one hand, to discharge public services from new requirements and burden some proceedings and, on the other, to provide citizens and enterprises with a more timely and low cost system of justice.

These reforms, accompanied by the new trends mentioned above, have led to a considerable increase in the demand for statistics related to justice. There are three main reasons for this increase. First of all, updated, pertinent and reliable data are essential to inform the decision-making process both for public authorities and socio-economic players. Secondly, more statistical information implies greater accountability of the political authorities towards civil society. Last, but not least, statistical data are needed even more than before because we live in a knowledge-based economy and an information intensive society.

Yet gathering, analysing and interpreting international criminal justice statistics pose serious problems as far as definitions, classifications and accounting rules are concerned. These difficulties were clearly shown by the preliminary results of the International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS). In fact, the legal definitions of offences vary considerably from one country to another; in this regard, it was very useful that the survey included a section setting out the key definitions. There are also considerable procedural differences among countries, as it is not always the police and the lower courts that deal with crime: certain cases may be dealt with by special investigatory and adjudicatory bodies. Moreover, the statistical classification of crime as well as the rules for counting offences vary widely from one criminal justice system to another. Finally, the comprehensiveness and coverage of the statistics vary considerably. While trying to achieve international comparisons in this field, one has to bear in mind that most of the current statistics have been prepared by administrators for administrative purposes, so that any further statistical use of them needs to be adapted.

All this is to say that the way towards a more suitable international set of statistics measuring crime and criminal justice is difficult and has to face up to new challenges. The ICVS has demonstrated how important it is to operationalise a general conceptual framework for integrating different kinds of data, coming from surveys, administrative sources, etc., gathered at different levels (international, national, local), and in different sectors (social statistics, economic statistics, etc.). There is a need for an integrated approach to monitor crime and criminal justice phenomena.

The Italian experience: some lessons

Some efforts have been carried out in Italy in the last few years, aimed at quantifying the illegal economy. ISTAT has played an important role in the development of accounting frameworks for the measurement of the economic aspects of crime. In particular, analysis and research have been oriented to estimate the weight of organised crime in the economy, the size of the black market, the relevance of the informal economy and the perception of crime by citizens. However, there are many statistical difficulties involved, ranging from the intrinsic nature of illegality as a phenomenon (impossibility to define precisely the boundaries of it related to both the economic aspect and the number of crimes) to the non-exhaustiveness of available data (only some aspects can be considered). Moreover, the conventional approach has favoured the consideration of legal aspects and attention has therefore been focused on individual offences or individual *reported* crimes.

In 1992, ISTAT produced a comprehensive analysis estimating the economic dimension of the illegal activity and applying the findings of the economic theory (Rey, 1997). According to such a study the boundaries of the illegal economy - compared to the legal economy - may be delineated on the basis of three factors: a) the behaviour of the relevant players; b) the nature and the object of operations; and c) the type of relation between the agents taking

part in the illegal transactions. This analysis has permitted the definition of the following as income-generating illegal activities: i) legal activities carried out by unauthorised actors according to laws in force (smuggling, usury, illegal gambling, illegal abortion, arms trafficking, etc.); ii) activities of production, sales or mere possession of goods and services prohibited by law (drug production and trafficking, food adulteration, etc.); and iii) activities of transfer of goods and services or money transfers carried out by an agent by means of violence, deceit, or abuse of power (theft, robbery, extortion, kidnapping, fraud, bribery, illegitimate accumulation of wealth, etc.).

The most interesting feature of this study is the method used to estimate the turnover of illegal activities based on the integration of different sources and the validation of available information. For example, the activities of production of the illegal economy originated from illegal gambling and receiving stolen goods (Criminalpol), illegal abortion (National Health Institute, ISTAT), tobacco smuggling (Criminalpol, Italian Tobacconist Federation, ISTAT), procurement (Criminalpol), food adulteration (Anti-Food Adulteration Unit), etc. A more detailed analysis of the methodology and the results of this study can be found in Rey (1997).

Another significant experience carried out by ISTAT in the 1990s is the production from 1993 onwards of an annual report on the state of the country. The "Report" is addressed directly to public opinion, the media and the policy world, and takes stock of the insights gained by the production of statistics, data analysis, methodological work, quality controls, and all other activities of official statistics. The "ISTAT Annual Report" has attracted considerable attention in the national policy debate; the paperback edition in 1997 became a best seller, and was widely used and quoted in the press, schools and policy analysis. The most important result of the "Report" is the promotion and testing of the integration approach; the various sections of the "Report" in fact draw on different sources of data at ISTAT and elsewhere, and reflect the interaction between production and users of statistics.

The integration approach has proved beneficial also, and especially, in the field of crime statistics. For instance, the 1997 "ISTAT Report" developed the analysis of crime and illegal activities focusing on the perceptions of the citizens and their feeling of security. Indeed, unemployment, poverty and illness are not the only relevant aspects of the quality of life of families; the possibility to live in peace and security, taking advantage of an effective network of protection, also represent a basic component of the quality of the social and institutional environment, and an essential element of living together in a functioning community. These themes lend themselves to diverse evaluations, which can be classified basically as objective or subjective. On the one hand, one can observe the attitudes of citizens and their perceptions of both the risks to which they are subjected in relation to the level and form of the protection enjoyed; on the other hand, one can analyse the trends in criminal activity over time, as they are recorded or as they may be estimated on the basis of indirect indicators.

According to the ISTAT surveys, the number of crimes reported - for which the judicial authorities have initiated penal action - in the period 1991-95 increased by 30% with respect to the previous period. The perception of the risk of criminality depends also on the presence in the area of residence of other problems, connected to it. In Italy, 18.5% of the population declared to have met persons engaged in drug abuse, 9.8% to have seen drug pushing in their suburb, and 13.3% reported the presence of prostitution in their neighbourhoods.

The sense of insecurity and the fear for crime have a great impact on people's lifestyles. Many people adopt explicit or implicit self protection behaviours. Therefore, the fear of crime is only one of the elements determining the perception of security. Besides, the trust that individuals place in the institutions responsible for prevention and control of criminality is of great importance. At the question "All considered, do you think that security apparatus

(police, Carabinieri, etc.) are able to control crime in the areas where you live?”, 42.1% in Italy answered negatively.

Analytical and methodological work was also developed by some studies in Italy. Among them, it is worth considering the analysis of the interactions between legal and illegal sectors of the economy carried out through the so-called “Social Accounting Matrix” (SAM), derived from a set of official data and estimates representing an extension of the Leontieff input-output model (D’Antonio-Scarlato, 1993). This study expanded a traditional SAM, by taking into account the “organised crime sector” including illegal activities, and decomposing the global multipliers provided by the SAM model into the legal and illegal economy. This new approach gives a picture of the different macro linkages in the economy, and has thus made it possible to quantify income flows between the two sectors of the economy for Italy as a whole and for the Centre-North and South macro regions. The main conclusion of this analysis allows to identify the estimated cost of organised crime to the legal economy and the weight of the illegal economy in the North and South of Italy.

According to a 1985 survey of the illegal economy, Censis, a private research foundation, estimated the annual income of illegal activities and the number of persons involved in criminal activities. Under the first aspect, the economic size was set at around 100-150 thousands of billion Italian lire in 1983, representing 20% of the GDP for the year concerned. Under the second aspect, taking into consideration that persons incarcerated in jails were 40,955, the estimated number of persons involved in crime was 20-25 times more than those in prison.

A few remarks seem finally appropriate concerning the institutional model allowing ISTAT to gather information on crime and justice from different sources.

Official statistical information is provided in Italy by the National Statistical System (SISTAN). The National Statistical System follows a decentralised pattern which comprises the following bodies: a) the National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT); b) the branch statistical offices of central government departments and various ministries; c) the statistical offices of the Regions and Autonomous Provinces; d) the statistical offices of individual or associated municipalities and local health-care units; e) the statistical offices of the Chambers of Commerce; and f) the statistical offices, however designated, of other public authorities and agencies; etc. All statistical offices are placed under the functional control and supervision of ISTAT: they have to be organised in compliance with the technical requirements specified by ISTAT.

Within this system, data collected by statistical offices in connection with the statistical surveys included in the national statistical programme may only be used for statistical purposes and may not be disclosed other than in aggregate form in order to protect statistical confidentiality.

As far as data concerning crime and justice are concerned, co-ordination between the statistical office of the Ministry of Justice and ISTAT is essential. The flow of information on civil, criminal and administrative systems are collected by the Ministry of Justice and then sent to ISTAT, which is responsible for the production, analysis and dissemination of such statistical data.

The role of the Conference of European Statisticians

The Conference of European Statisticians (CES) is a unique forum set up in the framework of the UN Economic and Social Council. The annual sessions of the Conference are attended by heads of national statistical offices. They are different from the other 25 or so meetings in the Conference’s work programme which are attended by experts from national statistical offices. The main objectives of the Conference of European Statisticians are

threefold: first of all, to improve national statistics and their international comparability having regard to the recommendations of the Statistical Commission of the United Nations, the specialised agencies and other appropriate bodies as necessary; second, to promote close co-ordination of the statistical activities in the ECE region of international organisations so as to achieve greater uniformity in concepts and definitions and to reduce to a minimum the burdens on national statistical offices; and third, to respond to any emerging need for international statistical co-operation arising out of transition, integration and other processes of co-operation both within the ECE region and between the ECE region and other regions.

The most important purpose of the plenary session of the CES is to co-ordinate the statistically related work that various international and supranational organisations carry out in the ECE region, and for the Conference to decide on its future work programme. The Integrated Presentation of the Programme of Work of all international agencies active in the region consists of a single document bringing together all the information necessary to enable the plenary session to make well-informed decisions about future work in its own programme and to comment and give advice on statistical work planned to be undertaken by other institutions.

The Integrated Presentation contains an overview and six addenda: Programme Activity 4 is concerned with social and demographic statistics and, in particular, Section 4.7 deals with crime and criminal justice statistics. The objective set out by the CES in this field over the next several years is to develop a reliable, comprehensive and internationally comparable system of crime and justice capable of supporting social policy development and enhanced public awareness and accountability. In order to achieve this objective, a work plan has been elaborated for a co-ordinated and comparative development of approaches to: 1) assess current international statistics related to crime and criminal justice; 2) highlight areas of overlap or duplication among international agencies; and 3) suggest priorities where major advances in line with the objectives would be promising.

In particular, the focus of the work will be: 1) further development of administrative (official) criminal justice statistics on both conventional as well as economic and transnational organised crime; 2) further promotion of victimisation survey-based systems for personal and household crimes (the International Crime Victim Survey and International Survey on Violence against Women) as well as corporate victimisation (the International Commercial Crime Survey); 3) development of surveys targeting organised crime activities; 4) development of indicator-based early warning systems for the prevention of organised crime and the regular monitoring of corruption; 5) integration of systemic statistical data with survey-based data; and 6) preparation of global and regional level reports on crime and justice.

Summary and conclusions

The changing policy environment and the new trends in crime and justice pose new challenges to surveying crime.

The demand is increasing for more and better data, policy-relevant indicators, more precise measures and parameters for decision-making, as well as regular and comprehensive monitoring and reporting. The inherent complexity of surveying crime is also increasing. The reason for this growing emphasis may be related to four main sources. First, the policy environment is substantially changing, emphasis on crime prevention widens the scope of crime policies, calling into question socio-economic factors, safety nets, civil society, value-systems and the quality of life.

New threats are linked to growing liberalisation, mobility, internationalisation and growing prosperity. The increased “sophistication” of crime, its use of modern techniques, its wider diffusion (micro-criminality) and the contagious effects call for a more sophisticated,

information-intensive, knowledge-based policy response. High standards of security and social order can only be attained through the collaboration of police, the judiciary, the institutions, schools, local governments, political bodies, the business world and the citizens. Public demands and constraints on resources place a great emphasis on efficiency and effectiveness; the evaluation of performance requires indicators and measurement of outcomes of investments in law and order. Finally, the skill and competence requirements of agents and staff involved in this new environment change considerably, requiring a massive investment in human resource development, technical equipment, information and knowledge. These policy developments highlight the need for more and better information systems, networking data sources and monitoring different actions and players.

The second reason concerns the growing need to support decision making by providing appropriate statistical information. Policy decisions are becoming increasingly systemic and forward-looking; they need to be highly credible and attract public confidence. Therefore they must be based on quality information and analysis. Their soundness must be visibly supported by the authority of expertise and reputation.

But crime statistics are not only for public, but also for private decision making. Crime enters as an argument in many decisions concerning investment, savings and consumption. Citizens need crime information in relation to work, education, housing and living arrangements.

The third reason is the increasing demand for the transparency and accountability of policy actions in the field of crime and justice. Data and indicators are needed to evaluate policy performances and the outcomes of specific policy programmes. Complex measurement issues arise in the analysis of the impact of policies. Moreover, there is an increasing sensitivity on the protection of personal data and prevention of abuse.

The fourth reason relates to growing international co-operation, which requires the harmonisation of data and indicators, the standardisation of concepts, definitions and classifications, and the dissemination of internationally comparable data sets for policy analysis.

In response to these challenges, an integrated approach is required in the development of crime and justice information and monitoring systems. Different sources of data (administrative data, sample surveys, census data, *ad hoc* surveys, etc.) have to be tapped; in particular a wider use of administrative data has to be made.

The different players, both users and producers of data, need to develop a coherent data strategy: national statistical institutes, ministries, specialised agencies, and international organisations.

Different policy sectors (labour and social policies, immigration, education and training, etc.) need to exchange data and provide consistent indicators. Various disciplines need expertise, and need also to play their role. A system of crime and justice statistics has to be developed at the national level.

The Italian National Statistical System has created an institutional framework for the development of an integrated approach to crime statistics.

An integrated approach is also required at the international level. There are many agencies involved in this sector and co-ordination is required.

In the last few years, the Conference of European Statisticians has played a role of co-ordinator of co-ordinators; the integrated presentation of the statistical programmes of the major organisations active in statistics has been a formidable instrument for promoting more

co-operation and consistency. UNICRI has played the invaluable role of focal point in the area of crime and justice statistics, in co-operation with the Conference of European Statisticians.

The challenges confronting modern democracies at the dawn of the 21st century show that security, law and order are the outcome of societal processes and equilibrium which go well beyond the effectiveness and performance of criminal policies. They involve many other, and in general, all policy fields which provide a foundation for citizenship and cement national identity and solidarity. But they regard not only government policies and institutional frameworks; they require the operation of mechanisms of a spontaneous order, the strength of the values of the community, the vision of the leadership in civil society and in public administration. Measuring and surveying security therefore requires an in-depth and wide-ranging capacity of statistical systems to capture the security of a community, the strength of social identities and the vulnerable cohesion of increasingly diverse dynamics and multicultural social realities. This is the basic challenge of crime and justice statistics.

The *Hui-Nan Tzu* in China in 122 B.C. had clearly perceived and described it:

“If the demarcation lines are precisely set, the trees in the forest will grow straight up not because of anybody’s specific efforts, but thanks to their inner rule. In the same way, if the leader is just and sincere, then the citizens will prove honest and rightful, and the dishonest and the wicked will hide. But if the leader is not right, then the wicked will prevail, while loyal people will retire in solitude”.

Statistics has a powerful influence over the “inner rule” of civil society, as they guide the citizens to recognise and consolidate the democratic conscience of the ruling classes.

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**ΪΔΑΝΘΟΙΒΥΕΕ ΕΙΟΑΑΔΕΔΙΑΑΪΥΕ ΪΑΟΙΑ ΕΝΝΕΑΑΙΑΑΙΕΒ
ΪΔΑΝΘΟΙΪΙΝΟΕ: ΔΙΕΥ ΕΪΙΟΑΔΑΙΟΕΕ ΑΔΪΙΑΕΝΕΕΘ
ΝΟΑΟΕΝΟΕΕ**

Ϊαιει Ααοιια *

Εçã íÿ þ ùà ÿ ñÿ ïεεδε:-ã ñεà ÿ ñðã àà è ñÿ àεà ïεà ïáúô òã ïáã ïεεé à ïáεà ñεð
ðã ñðóïïðε è þ ñεðεεε ñòà àεð ã ðã ä ïáìε ïáúã çã àà :-ε à ïá àçïðã çã ðã ñðóïïðóþ.
ðã ïáìεã à à ð ðã ñεð ñðïï ïá áíεúø á à :-ñεï éó:-ø εð àã ïúô, áíεã à ðí:-íúô,
ñóúã ñòãã ïúô äëÿ ïεεδεεε ïεà çã òã εã é, εçã ðã ïεÿ è à ðã ñ ððïú äëÿ ðεíÿ òεÿ
ðã ø á ïεé, à òà εã á áíεã á ðã áóεÿ ðíúé è ïεíúé ïíεðíðεíã è ïð:-ã ðíïòú.
Ϊáíãðã ñ ïï ñεíã ïïòú ðíðã ññã ïá àçïðã çã ðã ñðóïïðóþ òà εã á áíçðã ñòã à ð.
ðε:-εíã òà εíãï ðíïðã ïã á ð çã àεñã òú ïð :-ã òúðã ô ïïïáíúô òà εðíðíã.

Áí-ã ðáúô ïεεδε:-ã ñεà ÿ ñðã àà ã ðã æ εãã à ð ñóúã ñòãã ïúã εçã ïá ïεÿ, óïð ïá
ðã áíãðã ùã ïεã ðã ñðóïïðε ðã ñø εðÿ à ð ïεã àã εíðáεÿ ïεεδεεε à ÿóíé ïáεà ñεð,
áíáεã εà ÿ á ðíðã ññ ñíðεã εúíÿÿεíïε:-ã ñεεã òà εðíðú, ñã òε áã çñ ñíïïðε,
òεáεεεçíãã ïíã ïáúã ñòãï, ñεñðã ï ïðã εúíúô òã ïíïðã é è εà -ã ñòãï æ εçíε. Ϊáúã
óãðíçú ñãÿ çã ïú ñ ðã ñòóúã é εεãã ðã εεçã òεã é, ïáεεúíïðóþ, εíðã ðíã òεííã εεçã òεã
ðã ñðóúεì áεã áíïíðíÿ ïεã ì ðã ñòóúã á òñεíã ïá ïεã ðã ñðóïïðε, ðεñ ïá ïεã
ñíãðã ñ ïíε òã òíεεε, á á ø εðíεíã ðã ñðíïðã ïá ïεã (εεðã ñðóïïðóú) è
çã ðã æ à þ ùεã ÿðóã εòú òðã áóþ ò áíεã á ñεíã ïíã, áíãã òíãï εíóíðã òεã é è ïííãã ïíãï
ïá çíã ïεε ïεεδε:-ã ñεíãï ïðãã òã. Áúïíεεã ñòã ïáã ðóú áã çñ ñíïïðε è ñíðεã εúííãï
íðÿ áεã ïáòð áúðú áíïðεáíðóú òíεúεí ñ ïúúþ ñíððóáíε:-ã ñòãã ñã æ áó ïεεðεã é,
ñεñðã ïε ðã áíïðáεÿ, εíïðεðóòεííã εúíúε ïðãã ïεçã òεÿ ε, ø εíεã ε, ñ ñòíúε
áεã ñòÿ ε, ïεεδε:-ã ñεεε ïðãã ïεçã òεÿ ε, àã εíáúε εðóãã ε è áðã æ àã ïá ε.
Ϊáúã ñòãã ïúé ñðïï è ððã áíãã ïεÿ ðã ñððííã àã εã þ ð ñεεúíúé óïð ïá ÿóóã εðεáíïòú
è ïá àã æ ïïòú; ïðã ïεã òã ðã εòã ðεñðεε òðã áóã ð ïεã çã òã εã é è εçã ðã ïεÿ ðã çóεúðã òíã
εíãã ñεððíãã ïεÿ á çã εíí è ïðÿ áíε.

È ïá εííã ò, ððã áíãã ïεÿ é òñ ïúþ è εíï ðã ïεεε ã ðñííã εã è ðóεíãíãñðãã à ÿóíé
ííáíε ïáñðã ïíáεã òà εã á çíã :-εðã εúíï εçã ïεεεñú, ððã áóÿ ñ ññεáííε εíãã ñεðε è à
ðã çáεðεã :-ã εííã :-ã ñεεð ðã ñððííã, òã òíε:-ã ñεíãï ïáíðóáííã ïεÿ, εíïððã òεε è çíã ïεÿ.
Òá εεã ïáúã ïáðã áεã ïεÿ á ïáεà ñεð ïεεδεεε áúÿ áεÿ þ ð ïá ïáóíãεíïòú áí áñã áíεã á
ïúíúô è éó:-ø εð ï éã :-ã ñòãó ñεñðã ì εíóíðã òεε è à ïá εεçã, ñíçãã ïεÿ ñã òã é
εñðí:-íεεíã àã ïúô è ïíεðíðεíãã.

Áðíðíε òà εðíð çã εεþ :-ã á ðñÿ á ðã ñòóúã é ïá ïáóíãεíïòú ïáã ñã :-εòú ïáãã ðã εó à
ðεíÿ òεε ðã ø á ïεé ñòã ðεñðε:-ã ñεíε εíóíðã òεíííε áã çíε. ïεεδε:-ã ñεεã ðã ø á ïεÿ
ñòã ïáÿ ðñÿ áñã áíεã á ñεñðã ñ ðε:-íúε è óóíãÿ ùεε à áóãóúã á; ïíε áíεã ïú
çã ñεóã εòú áíãã ðεã ïáúã ñòãã ïíãï ïá ïεÿ á áúïíεíε ñòãã ïε. Èð ïá àã æ ïïòú è
ðã çóïïòú áíεã ïú áíεíú ïεðã ðúñÿ ïá à áðíðεðã ðíïòú ÿεíï ðóïïðε è ðã ðòã òεε.

Ϊáíã εí, ñòã òεñðε:-ã ñεεã àã ïúã ï ðã ñðóïïðε ïá ñóúã ñòãóþ ð òíεúεí äëÿ
ïáúã ñòãã ïíãï ïεúçíãã ïεÿ, ï òà εã á äëÿ ðεíÿ òεÿ εíáεáεãóã εúíúô ðã ø á ïεé.
ðã ñðóïïðóú áðíãεð à εà :-ã ñòãã à ðãóíã ïòã à ðã ø á ïεÿ, εã ñã þ ùεã ñÿ εíãã ñεðεεε,
ñãã ðã æ á ïεé è ïðã áεã ïεÿ. Áðã æ àã ïá ïóã àã þ ðñÿ á òà εíé εíóíðã òεε äëÿ ðεñðóú,
áíïòã ïεÿ àã òã é, áíñ ø ïá áí òñððíεñðã è ñííãã æ εçíε.

* Èðáεúííεεε Εíïðεðóð Ñòãðεñðεεε (ΕΝΘΑΟ), Èðáεεÿ.

Òdà dèé òà èòíð àúòá èà á ò èç òà òòóúá áí òdà áíáà íèy àèà òííòè è íà áà æ ííòè ìèèdè-á òèèò áà èíòáèé á íáèà òèè òá òòóííòè è òá àííòáèy. Íá íáòíàèí àà ííúá è ìèà çà òá èè àèy íòá íèè òá òá èòá òèíòèè è ìèà -è òà èíé ìèèdèèè è òá çòèúòà òíá òá èòèè-á òèèò òíáðàí à yòíé íáèà òèè. òíáèá ò òèíá ííáí ìèà íèy áíçíèèá þ ò òè à íà èèçá ìèèá àíòáèé ìèèdèèè. Èðíá òíáí, òá òòá ò íá íáòíàèíòòú çà ùèòú èè-íúò àà ííúò è òá àíòáðà ùá íèy çéíòòòá áèá íèy èè.

×á òáá òòúé òà èòíð òí çàí ò òà òòóúèì òá æ áóíá òíáíúì òíòòóáíè-á òòáíí , òòóáóþ ùèì àà òííèà òèè àà ííúò è ìèà çà òá èá é, òòá íáà òòèçà òèè èííòá òèè, òá àà èá íé è èèà òèèdèèà òèè, à òà èá á òá òòá àà èá íèy òá òèè òá æ áóíá òíáíí òííòà àèy á òò àà ííúò àèy ìèèdèè-á òèèò à íà èèçíá. Á íòáá ò íà òà èèá òá áíáà íèy íá íáòíàèí íá èòè èíòá àðèðíáà ííúúé ìáòíá è òá çàèdèþ èíòíðá òèè á íáèà òèè òá òòóííòè è òá àííòáèy, à òà èá á òèíòá òííèòíðèíáà.

Òá çèè-íúá èíòí-íèèè àà ííúò (à àèíèòòá òèáíúá àà ííúá, àúáíðí-íúá òíííú, àà ííúá á òá òèè è òá èèà èèçèðíáà ííúá íáçíðú è ò.á.) àíèæ íú áúòú çàèíá íú; á -à òòííòè, íá íáòíáí òá áóííòèðá òú áíèá á ø èðíéíá èííèúçíáà íéè à àèíèòòá òèáíúò àà ííúò. òè yòíí èà è òòá áèòá èè, òà è è òíèçáííàèòá èè àà ííúò, íóæ àà þ òíy á òá çàèdèè ìèèá áíáà òá èúíé òòðá òá àèè: íà èèíá èúíúé èííòèòòòú òòá òèíòèèè, èíèíòá òííòáà |, òá èèà èèçèðíáà ííúá à áá ííòáà è òá æ áóíá òíáíúá íðáà íèçà òèè.

Òá çèè-íúá òá èòíðú ìèèdèèè (òà èèá èà è òòóá è òíòèà èúíúá àíííú, èèáðá òèy, íáðá çíáà íéá è íáò-á íéá è ò.á.) íóæ àà þ òíy á ø èðíéíí íáíí íá àà ííúò è òòóá òòáá ííúò ìèà çà òá èy ò. Òá çèè-íúá àííèèéíú òòá áóþ ò yéíí òííòè, àíèæ íú òà èá á èáðá òú òáíþ òíèú. Òèíòá òá òòá òèíòè-á òèèò àà ííúá á íáèà òèè òá òòóííòè è òá àííòáèè àíèæ íá áúòú òá çàèdèè íá íá èèíá èúíí òðíáíá.

Èòá èúy ííèà y íá èèíá èúíá y òòá òèíòè-á òèèò òèíòá òá òá çðá áíòá èà èííòèòòèíá èúíúá òòòóèòòòú àèy òá çàèdèy èíòá àðèðíáà ííáí ìáòíáà è òòá òèíòèèá á íáèà òèè òá òòóííòè. òèy òèá òà èíáí èíòá àðèðíáà ííáí ìáòíáà íá íáòíàèí òà èá á íá òá æ áóíá òíáíí òðíáíá. Íáèá à áá ííòáà òá áíòá þ ò á yòíí òá èòíðá è òèá áíáà òá èúíí òòá áóá òíy èííðáèíá òèy èò áá y òá èúííòè.

Èííòá òá íòèy á áðíá èíèèò òá áíòíèéíá òòá òèíòèèè á ìèèá áíèá áíáú àúíèy èà òíèú èííðáèíá òíðá èííðáèíá òíðíá; èíòá àðèðíáà ííá y òá çá íòá òèy òòá òèíòè-á òèèò òíáðàí íá èáíèá á èðóííò íðáà íèçà òèé, òá áíòá þ ùèò á òá èòíðá òòá òèíòèèè, òòá èí ííúíú èííòòá íòíí àèy àà è úíá éþ á áí òá çàèdèy òíòòóáíè-á òòáà. è òíáèá òíáà íííòè. òè yòíí UNICRI àúíèy è òá ííóþ òíèú òíèá èúíé òí-èè á òá èòíðá òòá òèíòè-á òèèò àà ííúò òá òòóííòè è òá àííòáèþ .

THE UNITED NATIONS TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN THE AREA OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE STATISTICS

Tom Griffin* and Paolo Valente**

Introduction

Crime prevention and criminal justice have always been on the agenda of the United Nations since this organisation was formed following the Second World War. The need to promote the development of criminal justice systems was recognised at a very early stage. However, in the past few years there has been an increasing need for more effective strategies for incorporating crime prevention and criminal justice in overall social and economic development planning, mainly as a consequence of the increasing internationalisation of crime, particularly organised crime.

The United Nations has responded to these new concerns, for example by the creation in 1992 of the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice, which is responsible for the co-ordination of international activities in the field of crime prevention and control. The Commission, however, is of course not the only body of the United Nations active in the field of crime prevention and criminal justice. Indeed, technical assistance in the area of criminal justice statistics, which is the subject of this paper, is provided in various ways by a number of institutions active in the field of crime and justice which are associated in different forms to the United Nations.

The first part of this paper is aimed at summarising the activities of these institutions, which is not an easy task given that they have different characteristics and operate at different levels and with different objectives and methods. Their activities are briefly described because technical assistance tends to be directly related to them. The potentiality of the modern means of electronic dissemination of information, however, helped greatly in this task. In fact, most of the above mentioned institutions have established their World Wide Web site¹ and have made available through them a considerable number of documents which provide useful information on this topic and which represented the source of most of the information included in the present paper. General information is presented on some of the main institutions of the UN system active in the field of crime and justice, together with a brief description of their activities. The papers to be presented in other sessions of this Conference will describe and discuss many of these activities in greater detail. In the following section, the main activities in the field of technical assistance in the field of crime and justice statistics are described. The final section is dedicated to guidelines for future activities in this field.

Institutions

The United Nations Centre for International Crime Prevention (UNCICP), which is located in Vienna and is a part of the United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention, is the United Nations office responsible for crime prevention, criminal justice and criminal law reform. Among other activities, the Centre is responsible for the collection of statistics and information on crime trends, operations of criminal justice systems and other issues. The Centre carries out a variety of surveys and, in particular, the United Nations Survey of Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems, with the assistance of the United

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¹ The addresses of the home pages of the institutions cited in this paper are listed in an addendum.

Nations Statistics Division (UNSD) for the design of the questionnaires. Based on the results of the fifth survey and on other sources of data including the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI), the Centre is also producing a “Global Report on Crime and Justice”.

The United Nations Crime and Justice Information Network (UNCJIN) is an Internet forum created in 1989 for the international exchange and dissemination of information on crime prevention and criminal justice issues. UNCJIN contains unique information, including the complete data sets of the United Nations Surveys of Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems, the United Nations Survey on Firearm Regulation, several databases and countless United Nations documents, reports and journals.

The United Nations Online Crime and Justice Clearinghouse (UNOJUST), initially financed and supported by the U.S. National Institute of Justice (NIJ), was developed to assist criminological institutes that are members of the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programme network in developing their capacity to exchange information electronically. Recently UNOJUST has been included in a more comprehensive Internet-based forum called “World Justice Information Network” (WJIN) operated by representatives of the international community in close co-operation with UNCICP.

The United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI), located in Rome, was established in 1968 to carry out international comparative research in support of the United Nations action in the field of crime prevention and criminal justice. In addition, UNICRI provides technical assistance, training and information services to countries, mainly to developing countries and to countries in transition. UNICRI is also responsible for the International Crime Victim Survey, or ICVS, in developing countries and countries in transition, providing training, assistance for data entry, data analysis kits and manuals for face-to-face interviews.

The European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, affiliated with the United Nations (HEUNI) is based in Helsinki and was established in 1981 to promote the exchange of information on crime prevention and criminal justice among European countries. Among the objectives of HEUNI there is the organisation of seminars and expert group meetings on crime prevention and criminal justice issues, the collection and dissemination of information on crime prevention, crime trends and the operation of the criminal justice system and the provision of technical assistance to European governments.

The Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (UNAFEI) was established in Tokyo in 1962 to promote the development of criminal justice systems and mutual co-operation in Asia and the Pacific region. UNAFEI activities include training courses and seminars for personnel in crime prevention and criminal justice administrations, and the research and study of crime prevention and the treatment of offenders.

The Latin American Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (ILANUD) located in San José (Costa Rica), was established in 1975 to collaborate with the governments of Latin American countries in the formulation and implementation of programmes in the field of crime prevention and penal justice. The activities of ILANUD include: training programmes and exchange of technical information and experiences among the staff involved in crime prevention and justice in different countries; collection and dissemination of information, as well as the organisation of surveys on different aspects of crime and justice; promotion, adoption and application of the norms and directives recommended by the United Nations; promotion of collaboration between countries in the field of crime prevention and the fight against the delinquency.

The United Nations African Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (UNAFRI), located in Kampala (Uganda), was established in 1989 to promote the active co-operation of governments, academic institutions and experts in the field and to assist the countries in mobilising their human and administrative potential against crime. Among the activities of the Institute there is the establishment of a system for the regular collection and analysis of reliable data on crime, delinquency and the administration of criminal justice.

Activities related to technical assistance

As mentioned above, the UN's technical assistance in the field of crime and justice statistics includes various activities, including the promotion of international surveys, the publication of books and manuals and local projects. Some examples of such activities are summarised in the present section of the paper.

The United Nations Survey of Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems is conducted to collect data on the incidence of reported crime and the operations of criminal justice systems with a view to improving the dissemination of that information globally. To date, five waves of the Survey have been completed covering the period 1970-1994 and the sixth Survey is under way, covering the period 1995-1997. Two surveys have been conducted as a supplement respectively to the fourth and fifth Surveys: the Survey on Transnational Crime and the Survey of National Capacities for the Collection of Crime Statistics.

Although the conduct of the Survey does not include direct forms of technical assistance, the publication of the results provides the governments of the participating countries with useful information for both the assessment of crime trends and the evaluation of the activity of the criminal justice system. In this sense, the survey can be considered as an instrument of indirect technical assistance. Furthermore, the organisation of the Survey in a given country in general can be considered as an encouragement to develop the national system for managing criminal justice information.

The International Crime Victim Survey or ICVS is aimed at collecting information on citizens' experiences with crime and criminal justice. The first survey took place in 1989 in 15 developed countries, one Eastern European country (Poland) and only one developing country (Indonesia). In 1991 UNICRI assumed the task of survey co-ordination in developing countries and countries in transition. In the second round (between 1992 and 1994), the survey was conducted in 11 industrialised countries, 13 developing countries and 7 countries in transition, while in the third round (1996-1997) the survey took place in 11 industrialised countries, 13 developing countries, and 20 countries in transition. UNICRI's involvement in the ICVS includes organisational, methodological and technical support and advice, carrying out of the pilots and of the full surveys, data maintenance, analysis and preparation of reports. As for the conduct of the ICVS in Latin America, ILANUD participated as regional co-ordinator. This participation included the preparation of information concerning the capacities of the Latin American countries to collect criminal statistics according to the proposed forms.

From 1982 ILANUD has worked on a "Manual for the adoption of an integrated system of Criminal Statistics" whose recommendations, forms and procedures were applied during the period 1986-1989 in the Dominican Republic under the auspices of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Similar projects were planned for other Central American countries (Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala and Panama). In addition, ILANUD provided technical assistance, training and equipment for the implementation of a pilot project on criminal justice statistics for the Supreme Court of the Dominican Republic.

A “Manual for the conduct of the face-to-face ICVS” has been produced by UNICRI and provided to the national co-ordinators of the ICVS, to instruct them about the objectives and the methodology adopted for the survey.

A “Manual for the Development of Criminal Justice Statistics” was published in 1986 by the United Nations Statistics Division. An updated and revised version of the manual is currently being undertaken by UNCICP in collaboration with UNSD, UNICRI and the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. This revised “Guide on the Development and Analysis of Criminal Justice Statistics”, which will include the Question of Transnational Crime, is expected to be published in 1999. The goal of the guide is to offer practical assistance to governments in establishing and maintaining mechanisms for the collection, maintenance and analysis of national crime trend data. In addition, the guide will take into account the need for training of government officials in the development and analysis of statistical data. Furthermore, the guide will include an annex presenting specific examples of basic statistical instruments and procedures used in data collection (e.g. questionnaires, reports, systems of classification, units of enumeration, etc.).

A “Guide for the Development of Criminal Justice Information Systems” was published by the United Nations Statistics Division in 1990. The main goal of this guide is to offer practical assistance to governments in establishing and maintaining their systems of criminal justice information.

The “Global Report on Crime and Justice” is another publication of UNCICP which, on the basis of information from the UN Crime Surveys, the ICVS and other sources, aims at overcoming the methodological problems of comparative data collection and analysis.

HEUNI has recently published a report entitled “Organised Crime Around the World” and a regional report entitled “The European and North American Analysis of the Results of the Fifth United Nations Survey of Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems (1990-1994)”. This report is based on a new framework that is expected to be used by other United Nations crime prevention and criminal justice institutes for their regional reports.

UNICRI has also just published two comparative analyses of the results of the last round of the ICVS, entitled “Victims of Crime in the Developing World” and “Criminal Victimization in Countries in Transition”.

Guidelines and recommendations for future activities

Some future activities are already outlined in the preceding sections of this paper. The UN reports listed in the references below provide a rather full description of recommendations for future technical assistance. The following is a very brief summary.

Several activities of the various institutions which are associated with the United Nations, and which are active in the field of crime prevention and criminal justice, are aimed at developing reliable, comprehensive and internationally comparable systems of information and statistics on crime trends and criminal justice. In this context, a number of surveys are developed and promoted, and assistance and technical co-operation are provided on a country level to further develop administrative criminal justice statistics. Besides the surveys which have been taken in the past, and which will continue to be taken, new surveys are under development or are planned on emerging issues like, for instance, organised transnational crime, violence against women, smuggling of illegal immigrants, commercial crime and illicit trafficking in motor vehicles.

In order to disseminate the information collected, the United Nations will continue to take advantage of the potentiality of Internet. By establishing, in 1989, the United Nations Crime and Justice Information Network (UNCJIN) and contributing to the UNOJUST network and

to the recently established World Justice Information Network (JUSTINFO.NET), the United Nations promoted the dissemination and exchange of information among policy makers, planners, experts and researchers active in the field of crime prevention and criminal justice (United Nations, 1997).

The United Nations will also continue to respond, within the limits of financial stringency, to requests from Member States for technical assistance in the area of criminal justice statistics, through bilateral and multilateral projects. These projects include the initial assessment of needs of the requesting criminal justice agency, the evaluation of the technical co-operation project (necessary when adapting foreign solutions to domestic needs) and the provision of education and training. Unfortunately, in the past, requests for assistance from Member States in some cases could not be met because of lack of funds (United Nations, 1997a). It is therefore necessary that the governments of developed countries increase their support to the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programme. It is only through such support that it will be possible to promote the development of the systems of criminal justice statistics in the countries which request technical assistance in this field (United Nations, 1997b).

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ANNEX

Home pages of the World Wide Web sites of the institutions mentioned in the paper

**United Nations Centre for International Crime Prevention
(UNCICP), Vienna**

<http://www.ifs.univie.ac.at/~uncjin/CICP/Index.html>

**United Nations Crime and Justice Information Network
(UNCJIN)**

<http://www.ifs.univie.ac.at/~uncjin/uncjin.html>

**United Nations Online Crime and Justice Clearinghouse
(UNOJUST)**

<http://www.ncjrs.org/unojust/>

**World Justice Information Network
(WJIN)**

<http://www.justinfo.net/>

**United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute
(UNICRI), Rome**

<http://www.unicri.it/>

**European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, affiliated with the United
Nations**

(HEUNI), Helsinki

<http://www.vn.fi/om/heuni/>

**Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of
Offenders**

(UNAFEI), Tokyo

<http://www.unafei.or.jp>

**Latin American Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders
(ILANUD), San Jose**

<http://micron.ilanud.or.cr/>

**United Nations African Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of
Offenders (UNAFRI), Kampala**

<http://www.unojust.org/unafri/>

**ÒÀÕÍÈ×ÀÑÈÀ ÌÌÌÙÙ ÍÁÚÁÀÈÍÍÙÕ ÍÀÕÈÈ Â ÍÁÈÀÑÒÈ
ÑÒÀÒÈÑÒÈÈÈ ÓÁÍÈÍÁÍÍÁÍ ÌÀÁÍÑÓÀÈÈ**

Òñ Æðèòèí è Ìàréí Áàèáíòá*

Òà òíè-à ñèíà ñíàà èíòàèà á íàèà ñòè ñòà òèíòèèè ì óáíèíáííò ðà áííóàèþ íèà çíúàà à òñý Íðàà íèçàòèà é Íáúá àèíá ííúò Íà òèé ðà çèè-íúè ñíííàà è ÷-á ðà ç ðà çíúá íðàà íèçà òèè, àà èíòàòþ ùèè à íàèà ñòè ðà ñòóííòè è þ ñòèòèè, èíòíðúá à ñííòèèðíàà íú ñ ÌÌÌ á ðà çèè-íúò òíðà ò. Íýòíò çà àà ÷-à Ìàáíòíàèè ðà çþ ñ èíòíðà òèè í òà èíé àà ý òà èüíííòè ààèí íá èá àèà.

Íáíà èí ñòá íòèà èüíííòú ñíàðà ñ ííúò ñðà àñòà ýèà èòðíííáí ðà ñííòðà íá íèý èíòíðà òèè íèà çà èà íàì çíà ÷-òà èüíòþ ÌÌÌ á àúíèíá íèè òà èíé çà àà ÷-è. Áà èíòàèòà èüíí, áíèíò èííðáí èç áúò á òñý íóóúò íðàà íèçà òèè ñíçàà èí ñíáíòàá ííúé àà àñà èò è ñàà èà èí àííòíí òà èèí íáðà çíí áíèíò íá èíèè-á ñòáí áíèóá íóíá, ñíàà ðæ à ùèò èíòíðà òèþ íá ýòò ðà ð è èíòíðúá ý àèý þ òñý èñòí-íèèí áíèíò á é ÷-à ñòè èíòíðà òèè, áòíáý ùá é á íá ñòíý ùèé áíèóá íò. ðèáíàèí íèæ á á ðà ÷-á íú (íáíèíúé) òà èèò àà àñà èóíá:

- <http://www.ncjrs.org/unojust/> (UNOJUST)
- <http://www.unicri.it/> (UNICRI)
- <http://www.ifs.univie.ac.at/~uncjin/uncjin.html> (UNCJIN)
- <http://www.ifs.univie.ac.at/~uncjin/CICP/Index.html> (UNCIPC)
- <http://www.vn.fi/om/heuni/> (HEUNI)
- <http://www.unafei.or.jp> (UNAFEI)
- <http://micron.ilanud.or.cr/> (ILANUD)
- <http://www.unafri.or.ug/> (UNAFRI)

Íà èáíèà á èçáà ñòíé ÷-à ñòùþ àà ý òà èüíííòè Íðàà íèçà òèè Íáúá àèíá ííúò Íà òèé á íàèà ñòè ñòà òèíòèèè ì ðà ñòóííòè è óáíèíáííò ðà áííóàèþ ý àèý þ òñý ñ æ áòíá ðíáíúá íáçíðú è, á ÷-à ñòííòèè, ñ æ áòíá ðíáíúé Íáçíð í æ á ððàà ò ðà ñòóííòè è Íáçíðú Íðàà íèçà òèè Íáúá àèíá ííúò Íà òèé í òà íáá íòèý ò ðà ñòóííòè è óóíèòèíèðíàà íèþ ñèñòà ñí óáíèíáííáí ðà áííóàèý. Òðà òèé ðà óíá ICVS, èíòíðúé áúè ðíáá àá í á 1996/97 àà. á 11 ðííò èá íí-ðà çàèòúò ñòðà íá ò, 13 ðà çàèàá þ ùèòñý ñòðà íá ò è 20 ñòðà íá ò á á ðà òíáíí á ðèíáá ðà çàèòèý. UNICRI íòáá ÷-à è çà èñíèà áííáà íèý á ðà çàèàá þ ùèòñý è á ñòðà íá ò ñòðà íá ò á á ðà òíáíí á ðèíáá ðà çàèòèý, íáá ñá ÷-èàá ý íá-á íèá, ÌÌÌ á ááíáà àà ííúò, íá áíðíá è ðóéíáíáíòá àèý ðíáá àá íèý èè-íúò èíàèèàóá èüííò ðíííá. ×òí èà ñà à òñý íáçíðà í òà íáá íòèý ò ðà ñòóííòè è óóíèòèíèðíàà íèþ ñèñòà ñí óáíèíáííáí ðà áííóàèý áúèí ñàà èà íí óæ á ý òú áúðíèíá, á ðáúé èç èíòíðúò á íá ÷-à èá ñá ñýáá ñý òúò áíáíá è ñíèà áíèé á á ðèíá 1990 -94 àà.

Íà ðý áó ñ íáçíðà è ÌÌÌ ñíàà èíòàòá ò ñòðà íá-èá íàì á ðà çàèòèè ñíáíòàá ííúò ñèñòà ñí ñòà òèíòèèè ì ðà ñòóííòè è óáíèíáííò ðà áííóàèþ è á àðóàèò òíðà ò: ðáèèà òèý èíèà (èà è íáðèñ ð "Ðóéíáíáíòáí àèý Ðà çàèòèý ñà òèíòèèè á íàèà ñòè óáíèíáííáí ðà áííóàèý"), ñòèþèèðíàà íèá íáí íá èíòíðà òèá é ñ æ áò ñòðà íá ò (íáðèñ ð, "Èíòíðà òèííá ý ñà òú ÌÌÌ á íàèà ñòè ðà ñòóííòè è óáíèíáííáí ðà áííóàèý") è ñ ñòíúá ðíá èòú, ðá æ àá àñá áí á ðà çàèàá þ ùèòñý è á ñòðà íá ò ñòðà íá ò á á ðà òíáííá ðèíáá ðà çàèòèý.

• Ááíáòðáíáíò Ñòàðèíòèèè, Áàðíáèíèáý Ýèííè-àíèáý Èííèííèý Íðààíèçàòèè Íáúáàèíáííúò íàòèé.

Surveying Victims of Crime across the World: the International Crime Victim Survey

CRIMINAL VICTIMISATION: A GLOBAL VIEW

Jan J.M. van Dijk*

Introduction

Over the past 20 years a growing number of countries have started crime or victimisation surveys to assess national or local crime problems. Such surveys ask representative samples of the general public about selected offences they might have experienced over a given time. The resulting victimisation rates constitute a better indicator of the level of crime than the numbers of crimes reported to and recorded by the police. In more recent years specialised surveys were launched to measure the extent of victimisation of special groups such as women and girls, tourists and the business community *inter alia*.

If the research methodology used is standardised, the surveys also offer a new opportunity for the collection of crime statistics which can be used for comparative purposes. The International Crime Victims Survey (hereafter referred to as ICVS) was initiated in 1987 with this aim in mind. This standardised survey has so far been carried out in fifty-five different countries under the supervision of an international working group chaired by the author.

By developing the methodology needed for crime surveys, empirical victimology has made an important contribution to criminological research. The empirical basis of criminological knowledge has been broadened and strengthened by the surveys. However, the significance of victim surveys for criminology goes beyond the gathering of more and better data. The essence of the surveys is that crime is not studied from the perspective of state agencies but from that of the public at large. The surveys measure crime as defined and recorded by the police but as experienced and recollected by individual citizens. Respondents can inform the researchers about what they perceive to be criminal victimisation, regardless of state policies. They can also provide information about their dealings with the state agencies in relation to these experiences. It is this feature in particular which creates opportunities for critical assessment of the way local or national state agencies deal with the crime problem.

In the second section of this paper, we will present the victimisation rates of different types of crime for six world regions. We will subsequently discuss how victims in the six regions assess the seriousness of the incidents they reported to the interviewer. Next, we will look at how national victimisation rates are related to other social indicators such as affluence and urbanisation. Further sections are devoted to the topics of repeat victimisation and victimisation of foreign travellers. In the seventh section of the paper we will discuss if and to what extent state agencies succeed in empowering victims of crime. In addition, some findings will be presented on the experiences of crime victims with the police and their needs as regards specialised help. In a separate paragraph are presented some data on the experiences of repeat victims with the police. In the final paragraph we will draw some general conclusions about the policies regarding victimisation by crime across the world.

The publication of the results of victim surveys from fifty-five countries is a politically significant event. Only 15 years ago the mounting of crime victim surveys was not feasible for political reasons in large parts of the world. Governments were reluctant to deal openly with national crime problems and the treatment of victims by the system. In some countries crime statistics were even considered state secrets. The participation of a growing number of countries in the ICVS is testimony to the processes of democratisation which have taken place

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in many countries. More and more governments are ready to allow researchers to look critically at their crime situation and their criminal policies in an international perspective.

Victimisation across the world

Urban victimisation rates across the world

As said, the ICVS was carried out once or more in fifty-five countries to date. In total more than 134,000 citizens were interviewed within the framework of the ICVS. Details of the ICVS can be found in Van Dijk et al. (1990), Alvazzi del Frate et al. (1993), Zvekic and Alvazzi (1995), Mayhew and Van Dijk (1997), Alvazzi (1998), Zvekic (1998) and Hatalak et al. (1998).

Samples sizes varied between 1,000 in developing countries and 2,000 in most other countries. In developing countries and most countries in transition the interviews were carried out through face-to-face interviewing. In most developing nations and some nations in transition the survey was carried out among the inhabitants of the largest city (city surveys). Elsewhere well spread samples were drawn from the national population. For a discussion on the methodological issues, we refer to the publications just mentioned (see also Block, 1993, pp. 163-172; Lynch, 1993, pp. 175-189; and Stangeland, 1995).

Computerised data are at present available at the Criminological Institute of Leiden University on all fifty-four nations. The key figures presented here are the percentages of the public victimised by crime over the past five years (or over the last year). To ensure comparability of the rates from national surveys and city surveys, five year rates for the national surveys were calculated for respondents living in cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants (urban country rates). Data from countries where the survey was carried out twice or more were averaged. If for example a country participated in both 1989 and 1996 the two victimisation rates were averaged. The victimisation rates presented here give comparable information on the experiences of the public with crime over the course of five years in the period 1988-1995. To simplify further, the data were also aggregated into rates for six global regions: the New World (USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand), Western Europe (15 countries), Central and Eastern Europe (20 countries), Asia (China, Japan, India, Indonesia and Philippines), Latin America (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica and Paraguay) and Africa (Egypt, South Africa, Tanzania, Tunisia, Uganda and Zimbabwe). Each country was given an equal statistical weight for the calculation of overall and regional rates.

Table 1: Percentage of the public victimised by car crimes, burglary, other theft, contact crimes, violence against women and men over five years in urban areas of six global regions; results of the International Crime Victims Surveys, 1988-1996

	All	Western Europe	New World	Latin America	Central and Eastern Europe	Asia	Africa
Number of countries	55	15	4	6	20	4	6
Number of respondents	67364	12828	5951	8015	21972	10490	8108
Car crime	29.7	36.8	44.6	29.9	27.8	7.5	22.4
Burglary attempt	20.4	14.4	23.3	32.4	17.9	11.3	35.4
Other theft	32.3	27.1	26.6	42.4	31.9	30.3	41.7
Contact crime	20.4	15.8	20.2	36.1	17.3	13.0	31.8
Violence (females)	7.4	5.0	8.0	14.3	6.0	4.8	12.6
Violence (males)	6.2	5.0	8.4	8.0	6.5	2.4	7.9
Any crime	63.7	61.2	65.3	76.6	62.0	45.0	74.0

Table 1 presents the urban five-year victimisation rates for five different types of crime (car crimes, burglary, other theft, contact crimes, violence against women and men) and the overall rates for the six global regions².

The overall five-year victimisation rates are highest in Latin America and Africa, where three out of every four citizens living in urban areas were victimised at least once. The overall victimisation rates are the lowest in Asian cities.

Rates for contact crimes (sexual harassment/sexual violence, assaults/threats and robbery) are also highest in Latin America and Africa. The level of contact crimes here is twice as high as elsewhere. The level of contact crimes is also fairly high in the New World countries (Canada, USA, Australia and New Zealand). It is the lowest in Asia and Western Europe.

Special rates were calculated for violence against men and women³. The first rate includes assaults whereby force was actually used (excluding threats)⁴. The second rate - for violence against women - refers to women who are victimised by non-sexual assaults with force and/or sexual assaults (rape, attempted rape and other assaults with sexual connotations), excluding less serious sexual incidents.

Violence against women shows a different pattern to violence against men. In Western countries (Europe and the New World) men are as often assaulted as women. The level of violence is fairly high in the New World countries for both men and women. In the rest of the world there is a considerable gender difference: the risk of being assaulted is much higher for women than for men. The risk of being assaulted for men in Latin America or Africa is roughly equal to that in the New World countries. But the risks for women are fifty percent higher. In Asian cities women are also more at risk than men. These findings indicate that the violence problems of many developing countries specifically take the form of sexual and/or non-sexual violence against women. Compared to European cities, Asian cities are safer for men but this is not necessarily true for women.

As is known from previous analyses of the ICVS data (Alvazzi del Frate & Patrignani, 1995) assaults on women are more likely to be domestic in nature than assaults on men. In a third of the cases of violence against women the offender was known by name to the victim. In 22% of these cases the crime was committed in the victim's own home. The proportion of domestic cases is the highest in the New World countries. It is also fairly high among cases of violence against women in Africa and Latin America. Domestic violence, then, is a major social problem in Latin America, Africa and the New World countries in particular.

The distribution of car related crimes (car theft, theft from cars and car vandalism) is different: the highest rates are in the New World countries and Western Europe. The level of the latter crimes is determined by the availability of suitable targets. The rates of car owners victimised by car crimes are less divergent. The victimisation rates for owners are 48.7 for Western Europe, 48.5 for the New World, 49.6 for Latin America, 47.9 for Central and Eastern Europe, 28.9 for Asia and 55.9 for Africa. Although more cars per 100,000 inhabitants are stolen in the

² The regional rates are the mean rates of the participating countries per region. National rates will not necessarily always conform to the regional pattern. No urban rates are available for Japan. For national rates see Table 1 in the appendix.

³ In the survey respondents are asked whether they have been victim of a broadly defined sexual incident and /or of a broadly defined incident of non-sexual physical aggression, including threats. The rates for violence are derived from information given on the last incident that happened over five years. The rates give a minimum estimate since victims who reported more than one incident of sexual aggression or non-sexual aggression might have been the victim of actual violence on one of the previous occasions. Since the same counting rules were used, comparability across countries is not affected.

⁴ Interviewers were instructed to include incidents of violence of a sexual nature under assault. No special question about such offences was put to male respondents.

industrialised countries, the risks of owners are higher in African and Central or Eastern European cities.

Burglary rates are again the highest in Africa and Latin America. They are also fairly high in the New World countries. There is little variation in the rates for other thefts.

From these key findings the conclusion can be drawn that crime victimisation is common everywhere. With the exception of some parts of Asia there seem to be few urban areas where victimisation is not common. The probability of being victimised over a period of five years is almost everywhere higher than fifty percent. The risk of being victimised by contact crimes is across the world at least one in five. As a consequence, the majority of all households in urban areas will have seen one of its members struck at least once by contact crimes in the course of five years.

The data clearly dismiss the notion of high crime rates as unique features of some unfortunate nations. Criminal victimisation has become a statistically normal feature of urban life across the world.

According to the ICVS results, the rates of property crimes have gone down or stabilised in several of the most industrialised countries (Mayhew & van Dijk, 1997). One possible explanation is that improved security has reduced the opportunities for crimes like burglaries and car thefts. In the rest of the world the level of protection against crime is considerably lower. In these countries no decline in crime trends is yet in evidence. If present trends in protection against crime continue, the gap in levels of safety between developed countries and developing countries may become even wider.

Corruption and consumer fraud

Table 2: Percentage of the public in urban areas victimised by consumer fraud and street level corruption of public officials over the last year; results of the International Crime Victims Surveys, 1988-1996

	All	Western Europe	New World	Latin America	Central and Eastern Europe	Asia	Africa
Number of countries	55	15	4	6	20	4	6
Number of respondents	67364	12828	5951	8015	21972	10490	8108
Fraud	29.4	12.5	7.9	24.4	39.8	27.6	48.7
Corruption	11.0	1.1	1.0	19.5	12.6	20.2	13.5

The 1996 sweep of the ICVS included a question on whether government officials had asked for bribes during the last year. This type of corruption is most diffused in Latin America (21.3%), Africa (18.8%) and Asia (14.6%). The rate was moderately high in Central and Eastern Europe (10.7%) and lowest in Western Europe (0.7%) and the New World countries (1%). The ICVS rate of street level corruption was found to be strongly correlated with indicators of corruption in the business sector. The rate of consumer fraud is also the highest in developing countries and in countries with economies in transition. The high prevalence of corruption and consumer fraud in developing countries and countries in transition adds to the burden of conventional crime in these parts of the world (Zvekic & Alvazzi, 1993).

Crime as a universal concept

Statistics of crimes recorded by the police cannot be used for comparative purposes because legal definitions and recording practices vary widely across countries. By bypassing the state agencies and interviewing individuals directly, survey researchers can overcome some of the known obstacles of comparative crime statistics. The credibility of the ICVS, however, hinges

on the question of whether citizens in different corners share a set of basic norms about criminal acts such as violence and theft. In the current philosophical climate of post-modernism the assumption of shared norms cannot be taken for granted. It is most questionable concerning forms of (domestic) violence against women, where definitions may be most culture-bound.

Since the ICVS project originates from Western countries, cultural biases might have been introduced into its questionnaire and other instruments. To minimise such bias researchers from various regions, including those from developing countries, took part in evaluation sessions of the instruments used. Although some questions were less relevant in some national settings than others - for example questions concerning either cars or bicycles - respondents nowhere met serious difficulty in understanding the core questions on victimisation. This result by itself lends some support to the assumption that certain basic concepts concerning conventional crimes are common, at least in urban areas.

In the last two sweeps of the survey, victims were asked to assess the seriousness of the incidents they reported to the interviewer. The assessments were made on a simple three point scale, indicating very serious (3), somewhat serious (2) and not very serious (1). For each of the twelve types of crime the mean serious scores were calculated per country. Five types of crime were subdivided⁵. In total, seriousness scores were calculated for seventeen types of crime. The mean scores can vary between 1 and 3. If, for instance, half of the victims in a country said their experience of having been robbed was very serious and the other half said somewhat serious, the mean score for robbery in that country is 2.5.

On the basis of mean scores, the crime types were then rank ordered for all countries together and per region and country. Crime types which were rated as the most serious were given the highest rank.

The results show how victims in various regions and countries rank different types of crime in terms of seriousness. The mean seriousness scores of the various crime types do not differ much across regions. The scores of almost all types of crime are somewhat higher in Africa and Latin America, though. In these regions the total means of the serious scores of all crime types taken together are higher. In these poorer regions where few people have insurance, victimisation by crime might be assessed as somewhat more serious because of the more severe financial implications. The overall mean seriousness scores of countries are inversely related to gross national product per capita.

Table 3: Ranking of seventeen types of crime in terms of seriousness by victims, per world region and overall

	All	Western Europe	New World	Latin America	Central and Eastern Europe	Asia	Africa
Number of countries	50	15	4	5	14	6	6
Car theft	1	2	6	1	1	1	1
Joy riding	2	4	4	4	2	2	2
Robbery with weapon	3	1	3	6	4	4	3
Violence against women	4	3	2	3	3	6	6
Sexual violence	5	6	1	5	5	7	4
Motorcycle theft	6	8	8	2	6	3	8
Assault	7	7	5	7	7	5	9
Burglary	8	5	7	8	8	8	7
Robbery without weapon	9	9	9	9	9	10	10
Threats	10	11	11	10	11	9	17
Pickpocketing	11	10	10	14	12	13	11

⁵ Car theft was split into car theft and joy riding (car recovered), robbery into robbery with and without the use of a weapon, and simple theft into pickpocketing and other theft. Subdivisions were also made between sexual assaults and other, less serious sexual incidents and between threats and assaults (force actually used).

Sexual harassment	12	13	14	13	14	12	12
Attempted burglary	13	12	12	15	16	14	16
Theft from car	14	16	16	16	15	11	5
Other personal theft	15	14	15	11	13	16	14
Bicycle theft	16	15	13	12	10	17	13
Car vandalism	17	17	17	17	17	15	15

For the ranking of crime types, the absolute scores per region are of no consequence. The results given in Table 3 show that the ranking of offences in seriousness terms is fairly similar across the regions.

The degree of similarity between the rankings of the seventeen crime types by all victims and by the victims of the regions can be expressed in correlations. All correlations are strong and statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). The correlation between the African ranking and the overall ranking is .79. The other five correlations are .90 or more. The almost perfect correlations between the ranking of crime types by victims from six different regions indicate a high degree of consensus about the import of conventional crimes against individuals across the world. Victims consistently consider car theft/joy riding, robbery with a weapon, and sexual as well as non-sexual violence against women as the most serious types of crime. Theft of motorcycle, assaults, burglaries and robberies without a weapon were considered moderately serious. Threats, various types of petty theft, sexual harassment (offensive behaviour) were considered the least serious with car vandalism at the bottom. There are a few deviations from this overall pattern. In the New World countries, car theft is not ranked as the most serious type of crime. In Africa, theft from cars is considered more serious than elsewhere (caused by the responses from Tunisia, Tanzania and Zimbabwe). In Africa, threats are considered the least serious, instead of car vandalism.

The consensus on the seriousness of various types of conventional crimes must be based on a common understanding of the behavioural elements which make up these crimes and of their impact upon victims. It also implies that victims across the world apply similar standards for judging the seriousness of these incidents.

The results, then, lend support to the underlying assumptions of the ICVS. This conclusion has important methodological and theoretical implications for comparative victimological research. Although the legal definitions of conventional crimes differ, the meaning of basic concepts like street robbery, burglary or rape seem to be understood by the public in roughly the same way everywhere (Newman, 1976). There seems to be no *a priori* reason to refrain from comparative studies in this field. This finding also strengthens the case for the advancement of international standards or protocols for the treatment of victims. The popular *cliché* that people in other cultures attach different meanings to their victimisations by conventional crime is not warranted.

The determinants of crime

The level of crime in different regions and countries calls for a criminological interpretation. Statistical analyses of the social correlates of national victimisation risks can improve understanding of the social characteristics related to high levels of crime.

One major theoretical perspective currently used to understand levels of crime explains the extent of offending as broadly determined by factors which 1) increase the motivation to offend, or 2) present criminal opportunities (e.g. Felson, 1994; van Dijk, 1994a, pp. 105-121). Motivational pressures have been interpreted as emanating from socio-economic "strain". Indicators of such strain are unemployment, income inequality or dissatisfaction with income. Motivations to offend are also linked to the process of modernisation which is seen to weaken informal community control and impose modern norms of individualism and consumerism

(e.g. Shelley, 1981). The importance of criminal opportunities stems from the notion that more people will be tempted to commit crimes if suitable opportunities for illegal profits abound.

Previous analyses confirmed that the levels of contact crimes and thefts are higher in nations where high proportions of people feel economically deprived (van Dijk, 1994b; Stangeland, 1995). In contrast, car related crimes are common in more affluent nations where more households own one or more cars. The data given in Table 1 confirm this. Crimes like bicycle theft are similarly opportunity-driven: more bicycles are stolen where ownership rates of bicycles are high. The highest rates for bicycle theft are for example found in the Netherlands, China, Japan, Sweden and Switzerland.

From a victimological perspective the most serious types of victimisations are particularly relevant. The analysis of the results for the fifty countries was therefore focused on three broad measures of the most serious forms of crime. The first draws together the crimes which are rated as the most serious by victims (e.g. burglary, thefts of and from cars, and the three most serious categories of contact crimes - robbery with weapon, violence against women and sexual harassment). From here on we will call this combined measure "more serious crime". The second measure is the subset of "contact crimes" itself (robbery, sexual assault and assault). Thirdly and finally we will look at the correlates of violence against women in particular.

A number of known risk-related variables, identified largely through the analysis of earlier ICVS results, were examined with conventional covariate and multivariate techniques to assess their relative importance. In this analysis the data were used from all national and city surveys carried out between 1989 and 1996. If several surveys were carried out in one country, the results from the most recent survey were used.

For more serious crime, the strongest factor explaining risks across different countries was urbanisation.

Victimisation by more serious crime is strongly correlated with increases in the proportion of the population living in larger cities ($r=.69$; $p<0.000$; $n=48$).

Next, lower affluence was significantly associated with higher risk of victimisation by more serious crime ($r=.45$; $p<0.001$; $n=48$). This result provides a challenge to the "modernisation theory", which holds that less developed countries are characterised by lower levels of property crimes. Previous studies using police figures of recorded crimes as their measure of crime provide support for that perspective: the rates of police recorded crimes are lower in less developed countries (Bennett, 1991, pp. 343-363; Neapolitan, 1995, pp. 17-31). These conflicting findings might be explained by lower reporting rates and/or the fact that recording systems of the police are less well developed in developing countries and countries in transition.

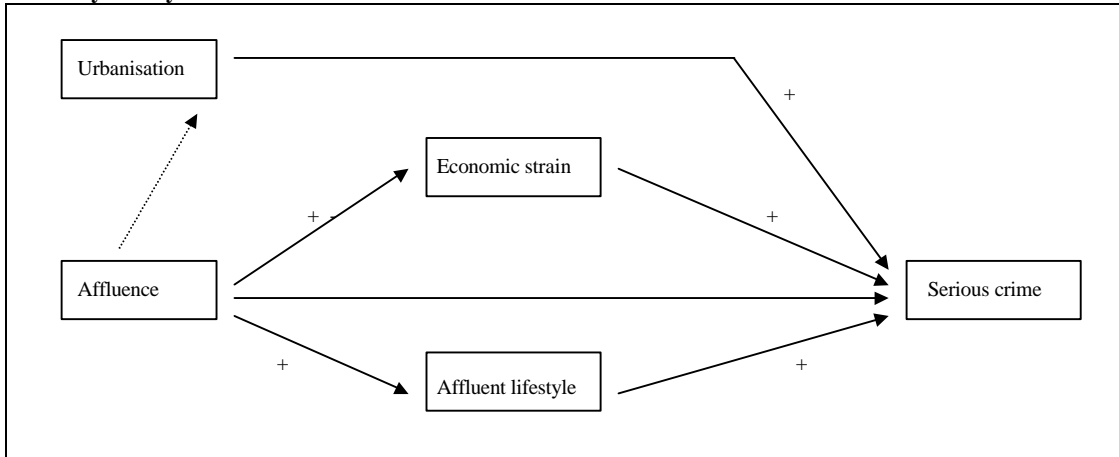
The analysis showed furthermore that the relationship between affluence and serious crime is mediated by our measure of "socio-economic strain": the proportion of young males who were dissatisfied with their household income. In developing countries and countries in transition where there are more young males who feel economically deprived, this factor is strongly related to a high level of serious crime ($r=.52$; $p<0.000$; $n=49$). This relationship also appears in multivariate analysis.

The inverse relationship between affluence and serious crime is weakened, however, by an intervening factor: our measure for an outgoing lifestyle. In more affluent countries people go

out more often in the evening for recreational purposes. In a multivariate analysis this factor is positively related to high crime risks (beta=.29; p<0.01; n=49)⁶.

The factors of urbanisation, economic strain, and lifestyle accounted for 57% of the variance in the victimisation rates of 49 countries (multiple R=.75)⁷. Figure 1 gives an overview⁸.

Figure 1: Correlates of serious crime according to an analysis of the results of the ICVS 1989-1996 national and city surveys



With regard to contact crimes, economic strain was the strongest factor explaining risks (r=.62). A second factor of importance explaining the level of contact crime per country was the rate of handgun ownership (r=0.32; p>05; n=53)⁹.

In countries where more households possess one or more handguns, the risk of contact crime is higher. Gun ownership is significantly related to both the level of robberies (r=.37; p=<.007; n=52) and the level of sexual incidents (r=.31; p=.02; n=53)¹⁰. It is not statistically

⁶ The analysis of the determinants of car crimes showed that the level of car crimes is most strongly related to the level of car ownership (beta=.87).

⁷ Table N1.1: Results of a stepwise, multiple regression analysis with the national rates of more serious crimes as dependent variable (n=49)

Step	MultR	Rsqr	AdjRsqr	F(Egn)	SigF	RsaCh	Fch	SigCh	Variable	Beta	Corr
1	.6908	.4773	.4651	39.261	.000	.4773	39.261	.000	urban mean	.6908	.6908
2	.7238	.5239	.5012	23.105	.000	.0466	4.110	.049	going out	.2208	.0656
3	.7545	.5693	.5378	18.063	.000	.0454	4.323	.044	strain	.2944	.5216

Variables in the equation

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	t	Sig T
DOO20A	2.877442	.661036	.572341	4.353	.0001
JMD2	.500237	.240603	.294393	2.079	.0439
SOO60	4.895261	.1790132	.309560	2.735	.0092
(constant)	-12.933051	6.044654		-2.140	.0384

⁸ The analysis of the relationship between affluence and urbanisation is complicated by the fact that in most developing countries the ICVS was only carried out in large cities. In an analysis of comprehensive crime indices for Europe and North America, affluence and urbanization were found to be strongly associated (Kangaspunta et al., 1998).

⁹ The USA is one of the most extreme examples of a country where a high gun ownership is accompanied by high levels of contact crimes. If this case is deleted from the analysis, the correlation is not altered (r=.316; p=<.02; n=52).

¹⁰ Table N1.2: Correlation coefficients between national rates of gun ownership and rates of contact crimes

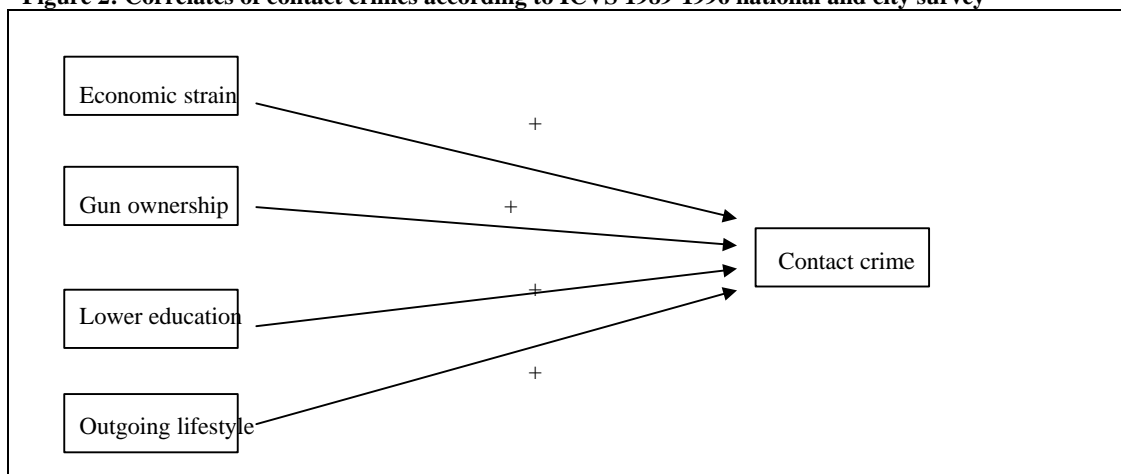
Handgun	Contact crime	Robbery	Sexual offence	Assault/threat	Assault/threat with gun
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significantly related to non-sexual threats/assaults. However, the relationship between gun ownership and threats/assaults with a gun is very strong ($r=.58$; $p<0.001$; $n=37$)¹¹. Statistically significant relationships were also found with an outgoing lifestyle and level of education: risks of contact crimes are higher in countries where the average level of education is lower.

Together, these four factors (strain, gun ownership, education and lifestyle) explain 68% of the variance in the country rates for contact crimes (multi $R=.83$)¹².

Previous analyses of ICVS data have shown that national homicide rates are clearly related to the level of gun ownership (Killias, 1993). The results of the analyses show that high levels of gun ownership such as in the USA, the former Yugoslavia, South Africa and several Latin American countries are strongly related to higher levels of violence in general. Figure 2 gives an overview of the findings.

Figure 2: Correlates of contact crimes according to ICVS 1989-1996 national and city survey



Finally, it is widely assumed that certain groups in society are more victimised than others for a variety of reasons. One of these high risk groups is women, so we looked at the correlates at the macro level of violence against women. With regard to these risks, economic strain was again the strongest predictor ($r=.54$). In countries where more young males - and others - suffer from resource deprivation, more violence against women is committed. Other macro-analytic studies have also found a relationship between resource deprivation and different forms of violence, including violence against women (Hsieh & Pugh, 1993). Economic strain

Handgun	1.0000 (53)	0.3200 (53) $p=.020$	0.3715 (52) $p=.007$	0.3131 (53) $p=.022$	0.0816 (53) $p=.561$	0.5801 (37) $p=.000$
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¹¹ The item on the use of a weapon was included only in the 1996 survey.

¹² Table N1.3: Results of a stepwise, multiple regression analysis with the national rates of contact crimes as dependent variable ($n=49$)

Step	MultR	Rsqr	AdjRsqr	F(Egn)	SigF	RsaCh	Fch	SigCh	Variable	BetaIn	Corrwe
1	.6307	.3978	.3838	28.400	.000	.3978	28.400	.000	urban mean	.6307	.6307
2	.6957	.4840	.4595	19.700	.000	.0863	7.022	.011	strain	.3758	.6230
3	.7842	.6149	.5868	21.825	.000	.1309	13.938	.001	going out	.3996	.0866
4	.8113	.6583	.6241	19.261	.000	.0433	5.071	.030	education	-.2139	-.3715
5	.8390	.7039	.6659	18.542	.000	.456	6.011	.019	handgun	.2617	.2821
6	.8261	.6824	.6507	21.490	.000	-.215	2.825	.101	urban mean		.6307

or resource deprivation is related to violence against women. Some economically deprived males seem to ventilate their stress and frustrations by assaulting women in their social environment.

In previous analyses, a negative correlation was found between victimisation by sexual violence and several indicators related to the advancement or status of women: in the developing world less sexual violence was measured in countries where women are better educated, marry at a higher age and take contraception measures more often (Alvazzi del Frate & Patrignani, 1995). In the present analysis violence against women was negatively related to the level of education of women ($r=.22$). In accordance with feminist perspectives, violence against women is more prevalent in countries where women possess low status (Lenton, 1995).

The third factor which was found to be independently related to high risks of violence against women was the proportion of divorced women ($r=.19$). Further analyses showed that this relationship is only found among the developed countries. Countries with the highest rates of violence against women in the Western world are the USA, New Zealand, Finland, England and Wales and Sweden. In these countries the divorce rate is fairly high. There is no obvious causal interpretation of the statistical relationship between high divorce rates and violence against women in the more affluent countries. A more plausible interpretation of this relationship is that in more gender-balanced countries women are more inclined to perceive incidents of violence by spouses or ex-partners as criminal, and/or they are less inhibited to talk about these in an interview setting. If the latter interpretation is correct, the ICVS rates of violence against women must be used with great caution in comparative analyses.

The three main factors together explain 44% of the variance in national rates of violence against women (multiple $R=.66$)¹³.

The role of affluence is a complex one. It is positively related to most serious crime only through the measure of lifestyle. The level of crime is determined by opportunity structures, such as an outgoing lifestyle and the ownership of cars or guns. Some of those opportunity structures are more common in more affluent countries. Others, like gun ownership, are unrelated to levels of affluence ($r=.11$). The level of gun ownership is determined by cultural and legal traditions.

Taken together, these results support the idea that in more affluent nations there is less economic strain which reduces the propensity to seek profit by committing serious crime and/or violent crime. At the same time, though, a more outgoing lifestyle related to affluence may increase the supply of opportunities for certain forms of crime. Affluence, then, acts both as a brake on crime and a catalyst of it. The dual impact of affluence on serious crime explains why risks of crime are high in almost all urban areas of the world, regardless of the level of affluence.

These results confirm the usefulness of an interactionist perspective which assumes that the level and shape of crime are determined by the dynamic interplay between motivational and opportunity factors. They challenge the conventional notion that the problems of crime are automatically solved by economic growth. To increase urban safety, special policies and measures such as more stringent control of gun ownership are called for.

¹³ Table N1.4: Results of a stepwise, multiple regression analysis with the national rates of violence against women as dependent variable (N=4)

Step	MultR	Rsq	AdjRsq	F(Egn)	SigF	RsaCh	Fch	SigCh	Variable	BetaIn	CorrWel
1	.5416	.2933	.2765	17.431	.000	.2933	17.431	.000	strain	.5416	.5416
2	.6154	.3788	.3485	12.499	.000	.0855	5.641	.022	divorced females	.2977	.1851
3	.6623	.4387	.3966	10.421	.000	.0599	4.271	.045	educ. women mean	-.2704	-.2168

Some of the moderately affluent countries like South Africa, Argentina and Brazil seem, criminologically speaking, to be in double jeopardy. In their main cities fairly large groups of economically deprived adolescents converge with well to do members of middle classes providing ample opportunities for crime. In addition, the level of gun ownership is high. Similar criminogenic situations arise in Western countries and countries in transition where income disparities are growing under the influence of global market forces and guns are becoming more widely available.

Patterns of repeat victimisation

One of the most interesting emerging themes with victimological research is the phenomenon of repeat victimisation. In the surveys, respondents who have been victimised during the last year are asked to indicate how many times (with a maximum of five or more). Table 4 presents the percentages of victims who said they had been victimised more than once during the course of the last year by any crime (either by the same or by different types of crime) and the percentages of those who said they had been victimised more than once by the same type of crime.

Table 4: Percentages of victims revictimised the same year, overall and per type of crime, in six global regions; results of ICVS data 1988-1996

	All	Car Theft	Theft from car	Car damage	Motor Cycle Theft	Bicycle theft	Burgl.	Attemp. burgl.	Robbery	Pers. Theft	Sexual off.	Assaults & threat	Violence against women
All	41.5	12.2	27.4	30.5	12.5	12.5	20.4	20.6	20.1	20.7	34.3	29.9	33.3
Western Europe	37.3	9.3	19.1	24.9	15.1	15.6	12.8	10.4	14.7	12.7	35.8	28.8	36.6
New World	45.3	14.3	21.9	21.8	5.8	15.0	20.2	19.2	28.0	21.5	41.9	33.6	44.0
Countries in transition	41.6	13.8	35.5	30.4	14.2	10.1	19.7	20.7	19.6	21.0	29.3	29.8	24.8
Asia	30.9	5.1	12.1	30.5	10.0	11.6	23.2	20.5	15.1	20.7	26.2	26.6	33.9
Africa	44.0	16.7	27.7	30.5	19.3	11.0	28.2	29.3	15.7	22.1	38.1	25.7	36.5
Latin America	53.9	12.5	34.7	51.1	.4	13.0	32.6	34.6	37.5	37.6	43.1	36.5	42.7

Table 4 confirms that repeat victimisation is very common across the world. More than forty percent of those victimised are victimised more than once in the course of a year. In Asia a third of the victims are multiple victims. In Latin America more than half of all victims are multiple victims.

Table 5: Actual distribution of victimisation by crime and expected distribution on the basis of equal chances (Poisson distribution)

Number of victimisations	0	1	2	3	4	5
11 crimes						
Actual	94417	19758	7647	3098	1462	1117
Expected	78282	38865	9670	1582	205	14
Car theft						
Actual	126993	1441	152	23	4	4
Expected	126753	1854	10			
Theft from car						
Actual	121186	5380	1392	471	73	114
Expected	126753	1854	10			
Car damage						
Actual	120942	5581	1423	417	102	151
Expected	118243	9990	371	11	1	
Motor theft						
Actual	128092	458	46	19	2	
Expected	128020	596	1			
Bicycle theft						
Actual	124381	3507	582	104	21	22
Expected	123510	5000	107			
Burglary						
Actual	124727	302-	618	168	33	51
Expected	123515	4995	105	2		
Attempted burglary						
Actual	125658	2284	458	152	28	37
Expected	124829	3746	42			
Robbery						
Actual	126142	1885	410	106	18	56

Expected	125340	3227	48	1		
Personal theft						
Actual	119887	6757	1461	335	72	103
Expected	117782	10358	456	19	1	
Sexual offences						
Actual	126753	1135	323	159	51	196
Expected	125200	3374	43	0		
Assault						
Actual	123837	3262	735	344	88	349
Expected	121129	7268	208	12		
Violence against women						
Actual	64787	826	237	117	31	122
Expected	63618	2458	45			

Repeat victimisation is also very common for different types of crimes in all world regions. The rates of repeat victimisation are the highest for minor car related offences and for sexual and violent offences. Victims of violence against women are defined here as assaults and/or sexual assaults (rapes, attempted rapes or cases of sexual harassment). Many of these crimes are committed by spouses or ex-spouses and result from an abusive relationship. These instances of violence often show a cyclical pattern. Repeat victimisation is not uncommon for burglaries and robberies either: one in five of the victims of these crimes are revictimised during the remaining part of the year.

Repeat victimisation can first of all be the result of sheer bad luck. Even if victimisations were randomly distributed across the population, some persons will have the misfortune to be victimised twice or more. The extent to which repeat victimisation is the result of the random distribution of incidents can be analysed by comparing actual frequencies with expected frequencies. Table 5 shows for victimisations by any crime how actual frequencies of multiple victimisation compare to expected frequencies if each person has an equal chance of (0.4896) being victimised by an incident (the Poisson distribution). Also presented are the expected and actual frequencies of multiple victimisation for different types of crime. The results confirm that repeat victimisation occurs much more often than is to be expected on the basis of randomness.

Determinants of repeat victimisation

Repeat victimisation can be the result of structural vulnerabilities of certain population groups: so called “heterogeneity” (for a discussion see Ellingworth et al, 1997, pp. 201-214). Known risk factors for criminal victimisation include young age, residence in a large city, high income and an outgoing lifestyle. Persons who possess such characteristics have higher than average chances of being victimised and are therefore also more likely to be multiple victims. Repeat victimisation can also occur because the offences result from an abusive relationship. The offender builds up frustration and periodically acts out his pent up anger on the victim. The experience can also reinforce his tendency to use violence and/or undermine the self protection capacities of the victim. In the case of violence and property offences the offender who successfully committed an offence against a particular person may decide to prey upon the same individual target once again. In the latter cases repeat victimisation is the result of post-victimisation vulnerability (“event dependency”).

Whether and to what extent repeat victimisation is the result of structural vulnerabilities and/or of post-victimisation vulnerability can be studied in different ways (Wittebrood, 1997; Farrell, 1993). Victimisation surveys which collect data on the precise dates of all victimisations during a lifetime, or in the course of some years, offer excellent opportunities to analyse the impact of structural vulnerabilities. These analyses show different results and no consensus is yet reached in the literature on the determinants of repeat victimisation.

The ICVS does not ask respondents to date all victimisation incidents. Respondents who report a victimisation during the last five years are asked whether this occurred also last year or only longer ago. Those who were victimised last year are asked how many times this has

happened. It is unknown how many respondents who are victimised before last year have been revictimised last year. What we do know is how many victims who have been victimised last year by a type of crime have been victims of any other crime before last year. We found that of those victimised by other types of crime, 32.2% were revictimised and 25% of those not previously victimised. Previous victimisation is a risk increasing factor. The impact of this factor is expressed by a coefficient (in this case: 1,19). After adding the known risk factors age, size of city of residence, income and lifestyle to the analysis, previous victimisation still came out as a risk increasing factor (1,12). This results indicate that the impact of previous victimisations is not fully accounted for by the known risk factors.

In the questionnaire, respondents are asked separately about completed and attempted burglaries. This allows us to analyse whether a previous victimisation by a completed burglary increases the risks of an attempted burglary in the next year and vice versa, controlling for the same known risk factors. Our results show that an attempted burglary is not a strong predictor of future completed burglaries, controlling for known risk factors (a coefficient of 1,08). However, a completed burglary strongly increases the risks of a future attempted burglary, controlling for other factors (a coefficient of 1,37).

The results on the impact of previous victimisation on risks of victimisation by any other crime as well as the results on burglary show that the phenomenon of repeat victimisation is not accounted for by the known risk factors. Repeat victimisation also occurs in populations which are more homogeneous in these respects¹⁴.

Our interpretation of the findings on burglaries is that burglary victims, independent of known risk factors, are at risk of being the target of a future burglary - possibly because they are revisited by the same burglar(s). However, since many of them improve their self protection after their first victimisation, the future burglary is likely to be an attempted burglary rather than a completed one. Those who are victims of an attempted or failed burglary are less likely to be revisited by the same offender. If this interpretation is correct, the phenomenon of repeat burglary victimisation can be understood as the outcome of the interaction between the rational choices of offenders and victims. Burglars tend to make the rational choice to revisit addresses where they have successfully committed a crime before and about which they have relevant knowledge. The assessment of costs and benefits justifies a second try. Victims make the rational choice to limit their risks by improving their self protection. They may either have come to understand their structural vulnerability or their post-victimisation vulnerability or both. Their victimisation at any rate flags their vulnerability. Their assessment of the costs and benefits of self-protection justifies additional investments. The end result of these decision making processes is an increased level of attempted burglaries. Repeat burglary victimisation, then, is another illustration of the interaction processes which determine the level and shape of crime in societies (van Dijk, 1994a; van Dijk, 1995).

The victimisation of foreign travellers

In the International Crime Victims Survey victims of certain types of crime are asked whether their victimisation took place in their own area, elsewhere in their city, elsewhere in their country or abroad. The dataset can be used to calculate which part of all victimisations happened abroad. These rates provide some information on the extent of victimisation in foreign countries.

¹⁴ In Table 5 we have shown that observed multiple victimisation is much more frequent than is to be expected on the basis of (random) Poisson distribution. We have repeated this comparison between the frequencies of observed and expected multiple victimisation for a subgroup of high risk persons (young, living in a big city, affluent and outgoing). The differences between observed and expected frequencies can be expressed in the K-SZ measure. For the total group the K-SZ is 45,6671 (n=128,827; p< 0.000). For the more homogeneous high risk group the K-SZ was much smaller but still significant (14,6789; n = 7072; p< 0.000). This result confirms that repeat victimisation is not fully accounted for by the four known risk factors.

The study shows that four per cent of all victimisations of Western European respondents have taken place abroad (van Dijk & Hauber, 1997). The proportion of victimisations abroad differs across types of offences. Relatively high proportions of contact crimes (robbery, sexual offences and threats/assaults) as well as of personal thefts and thefts from cars take place abroad.

Table 6 gives an overview of the percentages of victimisations abroad of the total victimisations experienced by inhabitants of countries in the various parts of the world.

Table 6: Percentages of victimisations abroad of all victimisations, by type of offence; per world region

	Car theft	Theft from car	Car damage	Motorcycle theft	Bicycle theft	Robbery	Personal theft	Sexual offences	Assault
Western Europe	2.2	4.3	2.1	.7	.4	9.3	12.2	4.6	5.0
New World	1.0	1.4	.6	.9	.7	5.1	5.4	3.6	2.1
Countries in transition	2.4	1.4	1.1	.8	.1	2.9	2.7	2.3	1.2
Asia	0.0	.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	.4	3.7	3.1
Africa	.1	.3	.3	0.0	.3	.8	.4	1.6	.5
Latin America	1.2	.7	2.1	.9	.1	.5	1.4	.1	.4

Source: International Crime Victims Survey 1989-1996; for absolute numbers see Table 3.

The proportions of foreign victim experiences differ strongly per world region. West European victims are the most likely to experience a crime while in a foreign country. Roughly ten per cent of all cases of personal theft or robbery experienced by Western Europeans have taken place abroad and about five per cent of all cases of threats/assaults, sexual offences and thefts from cars.

The chances of Europeans being victimised abroad per year are 0.5% for personal theft, 0.3% for theft from a car and 0.1% for car vandalism, robbery and threats/assaults. The chance of being victimised by any crime abroad is roughly one per cent per year for Western Europeans. Since many citizens spend no time abroad at all, this percentage is deflated. It is much higher for those who actually spend some time abroad.

The proportions of all victimisations which have taken place abroad are of course partly determined by the number of days spent abroad by inhabitants of a country. In smaller and relatively prosperous countries the extent of holiday travel abroad will be higher and so is the proportion of victim experiences abroad. The proportion of foreign victim experiences is also determined by the victimisation rate in the home country in relation to that in the countries visited. In countries with low victimisation rates, foreign victim experiences will constitute a relatively big part of all victimisations.

West European countries with the highest proportions of foreign victim experiences are Switzerland, Austria, Belgium, Germany (1988, West Germany only), Finland and Sweden. Most of these countries show relatively low national victimisation rates (Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, Finland) or average ones (Sweden, Germany). They are also relatively prosperous countries in which the inhabitants presumably spend relatively many days per year abroad. For nationals of these countries, the experience of being criminally victimised will quite often happen while they are abroad. Travel agencies in these countries will relatively often be confronted with clients victimised by crime abroad.

For such countries, national victim percentages as measured in the International Crime Victims Survey are inflated somewhat by the inclusion of the victimisation experiences abroad. If these are discounted their victimisation rates would compare even more favourably with those in other (European) countries. This is, for example, relevant for a low crime country like Switzerland. The national victimisation rate would go down by thirty per cent if victimisations abroad were deducted.

Victim empowerment: police responses and victim support

Modern criminal justice systems have traditionally exclusively focused on the investigation of criminal cases and the prosecution, sentencing and punishment of offenders. More recently, criminal justice agencies in more and more countries have set themselves the task of rendering direct services to crime victims as an independent goal. Many other governmental and voluntary organisations have also improved their provision of services to crime victims (Maguire & Pointing, 1988). International standards for this were formulated in the United Nations Declaration on the Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power of 1985. By satisfactorily addressing the needs of victims that arise from their victimisation, state agencies can help to empower them. Such victim empowerment has been shown to be of great psychological and practical importance for victims. The acknowledgement and practical and emotional support given by criminal justice personnel helps them to cope better with the consequences of their victimisation and to regain their confidence in the state and the community at large.

For most crime victims the police is the single most important agency representing the criminal justice system. In the ICVS, several questions deal with the interactions of the victims with the police. This part of the paper presents an overview of the main findings.

Reporting to the police

Victims of crime were asked whether they or anybody else had reported the incident to the police. For all crimes together, the reporting rates are the highest in the New World countries (54%) and Western Europe (52%). Reporting rates are moderately high in Africa (40%) and in Central and Eastern Europe (35%). Reporting of crimes to the police is less common in Asia (31%) and Latin America (27%). In the latter region the reporting rates vary a lot across countries. It is low in Bolivia and Brazil but moderately high in Argentina (42%).

In general, reporting percentages are higher for serious property offences such as car or motor cycle theft and burglary than for other types of crime. Table 7 gives the reporting percentages for burglary and violence against women of the six global regions.

Table 7: Percentages of offences reported to the police in six global regions; results of the International Crime Victims Surveys, 1988-1996, burglaries and violence against women

	All	Western Europe	New World	Latin America	Central and Eastern Europe	Asia	Africa
Burglaries							
Number of cases	7476	1128	866	1139	1377	1171	1795
Yes	67.1	79.7	86.3	45.4	65.6	49.1	62.6
No	32.0	19.4	13.2	53.7	32.8	50.8	37.0
Don't know	0.9	0.9	0.5	0.9	1.6	0.1	0.4
Violence against women							
Number of cases	2686	349	225	591	553	390	577
Yes	30.1	37.1	44.6	19.0	25.4	21.7	31.3
No	69.7	62.3	55.1	81.0	74.6	78.1	68.7
Don't know	0.3	0.6	0.3	0.0	0.1	.2	0.1

Reporting of burglaries and violence against women is the highest in New World nations and Western Europe. The reporting rate is much lower in Asia, Central and Eastern Europe, Africa and Latin America. The disparity is greatest for property crimes. The differences in reporting confirm the hypothesis that police figures in developing countries and countries in transition seriously underestimate the real level of crime. The “dark numbers” of property crimes are especially large in these countries.

The prevailing modernist notion in comparative criminology that property crime rates are higher in the developed countries because of special opportunities of crime is untenable in the light of our findings. Previous empirical support for that notion has been largely based on a distorted picture of crime levels in developing countries given by police figures.

The reporting rates for contact crimes, and for violence against women in particular, are much lower in all six regions than those for property crimes. Globally, 39% of assaults on men are reported. The reporting rate for violence against women is even lower. Less than one in three instances of violence against women (non-sexual assaults and sexual assaults combined) are brought to the attention of the police (30%).

Police figures for various types of serious contact crimes reflect the (small) part of actual crimes ever reported to the police. Globally, the prevalence rate of serious violence against women, for example, is at least three times higher than indicated by police figures. Of the more serious types of crime, violence against women probably has the largest “dark figure”.

Reasons for non-reporting and for reporting

An analysis at the level of individual victims showed that income level is the most important factor related to reporting of crimes¹⁵. The second most important factor is the perceived seriousness of the offence. Other relevant factors are age, level of education and gender. Older, better educated and male victims are somewhat more likely to report crimes to the police. In sum, victimisations which are more serious and concern socially established victims are most likely to be reported.

Cases of assault are more likely to be reported if they are more serious in terms of injury and/or perceived seriousness and if the crime was committed by a known person. Statistically significant but less important factors are age, affluence and gender¹⁶.

Victims whose victimisations were not reported to the police were asked about their reasons for not reporting to the police. More than one reason could be given. The main reasons for non-reporting were that the incident was not serious enough or that the police could do nothing. The reasons for non-reporting are given in Table 8.

Table 8: Reasons for not reporting crimes to the police in six global regions, five crimes combined (theft from cars, burglary with entry, robbery, sexual incidents and assaults/threats); International Crime Victims Survey

	All	Western Europe	New World	Latin America	Central and Eastern Europe	Asia	Africa
Not serious enough	29.5	41.1	38.6	20.1	29.1	28.8	19.0
Solved it myself	12.8	10.0	14.1	13.0	13.5	12.5	13.7
Inappropriate for police	11.5	6.9	12.2	14.1	12.2	12.1	11.6
Reported to other authority	3.3	2.3	4.8	0.8	1.3	4.6	5.8
My family solved it	3.9	1.1	1.7	3.6	4.8	6.9	4.8
No insurance	1.6	1.2	1.0	3.0	2.2	1.3	0.9
Police could do nothing	20.9	16.3	10.7	23.2	27.6	24.2	23.3
Police won't do anything	17.1	11.5	7.3	33.9	23.6	14.5	12.0
Fear/dislike for police							
Did not dare	5.8	1.7	2.6	13.4	6.3	8.2	2.4
Other reasons	6.3	2.9	11.5	5.0	5.8	4.7	7.7
Do not know	9.8	14.3	19.0	4.4	7.2	6.5	7.1

¹⁵ The dependent variable of the regression analysis was the decision to report theft from cars, burglary with entry, robbery, sexual incidents and assaults/threats (N=24,081). The variables chosen in the equation were income, seriousness, age, education, gender and lifestyle (outdoor visits). The multiple R was .27.

¹⁶ As with the reporting of the group of five crimes, older and more affluent people are more likely to report. Female victims are slightly more likely to report, controlling for other factors. The multiple R was .92 (N=7,081).

Victims in developing countries and countries in transition are less likely to say that their victimisation was not serious enough to report. This result is consistent with the higher seriousness scores given by crime victims in these countries. They more often say that the police could do nothing. A somewhat higher percentage of victims in Latin America said they feared or did not like the police and/or did not dare to report.

Reasons for reporting

In the 1996 survey, those who had reported to the police were asked about their reasons for doing so (again more than one reason could be given). Previous analyses showed that sexual incidents and assaults/threats are reported for different reasons than property offences. Table 9 shows the results for six regions for burglary and contact crimes¹⁷.

Table 9: Reasons for reporting burglaries and contact crimes to the police: International Crime Victims Survey 1996

	All	Western Europe	New World	Latin America	Central and Eastern Europe	Asia	Africa
Burglaries							
Recover property	50.8	29.3	29.2	50.1	62.9	84.1	75.6
Insurance reasons	21.5	39.6	26.2	28.3	8.9	2.4	9.3
Should be reported	35.5	45.1	44.2	19.5	34.8	45.8	24.5
Want offender caught	42.3	31.6	29.2	41.7	47.3	62.6	58.6
To stop it	23.8	17.3	20.6	35.1	24.7	62.6	21.4
To get help	12.5	9.3	10.2	8.5	12.5	26.5	23.0
Other reasons	5.4	11.4	14.2	3.8	1.1	-	0.7
Do not know	9.0	0.3	-	-	2.3	-	0.2
Contact crimes							
Recover property	19.4	10.6	8.2	25.0	20.1	34.4	27.9
Insurance reasons	8.9	6.6	5.0	34.2	5.0	6.2	3.7
Should be reported	30.3	32.6	38.4	20.2	30.3	31.8	32.3
Want offender caught	45.5	31.8	40.4	44.9	46.9	49.2	56.5
To stop it	37.8	32.5	42.1	40.8	38.0	48.8	35.9
To get help	21.1	22.3	22.8	13.6	22.0	21.6	23.4
Other reasons	7.5	16.7	21.8	3.6	3.9	2.1	1.6
Do not know	1.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.8	0.0	0.3

Victims of burglary quite often seek assistance of the police in recovering property. This is most notably the case in developing countries and countries in transition. Many victims wanted the offender to be caught and punished. Such retributive reasons were most evident in Asia. Many victims also referred to the moral obligation to report, especially in the Western countries and Asia. A large number of victims of burglary in the Western countries and Latin America said they reported for insurance reasons. Insurance is a major reason for reporting in the more affluent countries. In the countries in transition it was often given by victims in Hungary (39%) and the Czech Republic (50%) where insurance is relatively common. In Latin America insurance was mentioned most often in Argentina (42%) and Costa Rica (33%) where it is fairly common as well. In most African and many Asian and Latin American countries only between ten and twenty per cent of the respondents are insured against household burglary. In most industrialised countries the insurance rate is at least seventy per cent. These differences go some way in explaining the lower reporting rate in the developing countries and countries in transition. In the latter countries, victims report not to back up insurance claims but in the hope that their property will be reclaimed from the offender by the police. Financial considerations seem to play an important role in the expectations of victims of property crimes *vis-à-vis* the police.

As said, victims of contact crimes report to the police for different reasons. They were especially concerned to stop what happened. Many also wanted help. Retributive reasons are

¹⁷ Contact crimes include robberies, sexual incidents and threats/assaults (see Table 1).

also frequently mentioned. The moral obligation is again more in evidence in Asia than in Latin America. There is little variation in the reasons given across the regions.

The results concerning female victims of violence are similar. Globally, 50% wanted to stop what happened and 28% wanted to get help. There is little variation in this across regions. In sum, victims have a variety of reasons for reporting to the police. Both moral, legal, financial and practical considerations play a role. Victims of violence often seek help from the police in a crisis situation. As said, the lower levels of reporting of crimes in Asia and Latin America and also in Africa and Central and Eastern Europe are related to a lower extent of insurance cover. Lack of confidence in the police seems another determining factor behind non-reporting of crimes. It seems of significance for victims of violent crimes in particular. In some countries, notably in Latin America, fear or dislike of the police is also a factor. This issue is taken up again in the next section on victims' satisfaction.

Foreign victims

The results show that persons victimised by property crimes and contact crimes in a foreign country are more likely to report for insurance reasons than local victims. For example, of the foreign victims of theft from a car, 83% give this reason (n=90) compared to only 44% of the local victims (n=1711). These findings suggest that those victimised abroad by property crimes and robberies are more ready to notify the police because their losses are covered by special insurance arrangements for travelling abroad. A police report is a standard condition for claiming compensation from the insurance for victimisations abroad.

Respondents who had not reported were asked why not. Respondents who had not reported victimisations by contact crimes abroad more often gave as reasons that it was "not appropriate for the police" or that the police "could do nothing" than those victimised in their own country. These results suggest that some tourists victimised abroad are unsure whether the police could be of any help.

Satisfaction with the police

All the respondents who had reported a crime to the police over the last five years were asked whether they were satisfied with the way the police had dealt with their last report. The answers give an important performance indicator concerning the victim empowerment policies of the police. Globally, less than half of the victims who reported their cases to the police in 1996 were satisfied. Police forces around the world clearly have a long way to go to adequately empower crime victims. Satisfaction with the police was markedly higher in the Western countries. More than a quarter were dissatisfied though.

Since victims of property crimes report for different reasons than victims of violence, the levels of satisfaction may be different as well. Results for the six regions are given in Table 10 for victims of burglary and victims of contact crimes.

Table 10: Percentage of victims satisfied with the police after reporting burglaries and contact crimes respectively, in six global regions, results of the International Crime Victims Survey 1996

	Western Europe	New World	Latin America	Central and Eastern Europe	Asia	Africa
Burglary						
Number of cases	633	190	100	474	42	112
% satisfied with police	70.7	74.9	26.1	33.1	44.5	28.5
Contact crimes						
Number of cases	874	274	391	1060	103	238
% satisfied with police	60.1	68.3	35.1	37.6	57.5	45.3

Table 10 shows that in the Western country victims of contact crimes are less satisfied with the police response than victims of burglaries. One in three victims of contact crimes is dissatisfied. In the other regions the picture is reversed: more victims of contact crimes are satisfied than burglary victims. As a consequence, the levels of satisfaction are less dissimilar across regions in the case of violent crime than of property crimes. With regard to victims of violence, the police in Western Europe are not performing better than their counterparts in Asia.

Findings on the opinions of victims of assaults/threats and violence against women show a similar pattern. The relatively high level of satisfaction, however, must be seen against the background of relatively low reporting of such crimes (Table 7).

Those who were dissatisfied were asked why they felt so. More than one reason could be given. Table 11 shows the results.

Table 11: Reasons for dissatisfaction with the police response, of victims of burglary and victims of contact crimes respectively, results of the 1996 International Crime Victims Survey

	Western Europe	New World	Latin America	Central and Eastern Europe	Asia	Africa
Burglary						
Reasons for dissatisfaction						
Didn't do enough	44.3	60.2	52.5	38.8	50.3	53.7
Were not interested	32.6	36.7	42.3	33.0	17.5	20.7
Didn't find offender	25.7	27.7	31.6	45.3	54.6	32.6
Didn't recover property	20.3	30.4	32.7	49.5	49.2	41.7
Didn't keep me informed	27.2	30.1	24.9	12.9	9.2	15.7
Didn't treat me correctly	7.9	15.2	21.9	6.7	20.0	6.8
Were slow to arrive	13.5	18.0	3.7	9.8	16.2	25.7
Others reasons	21.2	19.3	3.6	4.9	2.0	5.7
Don't know	0.5	4.8	0.7	1.6	.	.
Contact crimes						
Reasons for dissatisfaction						
Didn't do enough	43.5	55.8	50.3	37.9	46.0	39.9
Were not interested	29.2	27.2	45.4	36.5	23.5	19.7
Didn't find offender	13.6	27.5	33.6	28.1	44.3	30.5
Didn't recover property	7.1	0.5	16.1	14.4	22.3	22.8
Didn't keep me informed	9.9	18.3	21.4	7.9	24.3	11.5
Didn't treat me correctly	13.6	19.3	11.2	15.9	14.3	16.9
Were slow to arrive	12.8	14.3	7.2	6.4	10.1	13.2
Others reasons	19.9	21.2	3.8	10.1	.5	13.1
Don't know	0.4	.0	.0	1.9	.0	1.9

The most common reason for dissatisfaction was that the “police did not do enough” or “were not interested”. Roughly one in five victims are unhappy that the police did not keep them sufficiently informed. Some other main reasons given for dissatisfaction show interesting differences. In Asia, Latin America, Central and Eastern Europe and Africa, where satisfaction was relatively low, victims are more likely to be unhappy that the police did not recover their property or apprehend the offender. The reasons for dissatisfaction of Asian, African, Latin American and East European victims confirm that, for victims here, reporting is often motivated by the wish to reclaim stolen property. In more affluent nations, this financial consideration seems less pertinent because more victims are covered by insurance. This factor might well be one reason for the higher level of satisfaction with the police in Western countries. Victims whose losses are covered by insurance are less concerned about the outcome of the investigation. They primarily want to be treated efficiently and with respect. Against this background the relatively high levels of satisfaction of burglary victims in the West are somewhat less impressive.

Around ten per cent of the dissatisfied victims said the police had been impolite or incorrect. Those in Latin America were most likely to be dissatisfied for that reason. The latter finding once again confirms that in many Latin American countries relationships between the victims

and the police are particularly strained. As said, relatively many victims in these countries refrain from reporting because of fear or dislike of the police. Those that do report are indeed more likely to be dissatisfied with the treatment given because of impolite or incorrect behaviour of the officers.

The reasons given by victims of contact crimes are fairly similar. The percentage of victims who felt they were treated impolitely or incorrectly is high in all regions. The complaint that the police had been impolite was most often mentioned by victims of violence against women. Globally, one in five women who were dissatisfied mentioned this reason. In Latin America it was mentioned by one in three.

The findings indicate that the police in most countries fail to satisfy the demands of a large proportion of reporting victims. Dissatisfaction is the highest among victims of burglaries and other property crimes in less affluent countries where victims are dependent on the police for recovering their property or claiming compensation. In all regions, dissatisfaction is also high among victims of contact crimes. Victims of violence report crimes to stop what was happening and/or to get help. Obviously the police fail to satisfy these demands in many cases.

In countries where levels of satisfaction of reporting burglary victims are lower, reporting rates are lower too.

The reasons given for feelings of dissatisfaction indicate that victims of violence are more likely to be treated with disrespect than victims of property crimes. This is especially the case with female victims of violence. These negative experiences go together with exceptionally low reporting rates for violence against women. As said, the latter problem is not limited to developing countries or countries in transition.

Need for victim support

In the 1996 survey, victims of more serious crimes who had reported to the police were specifically asked whether they had received support from a specialised agency. Table 12 shows the results.

Table 12: Percentages of victims of burglaries, contact crimes and violence against women respectively who received help from a specialised agency; results of the International Crime Victim Surveys, 1996

Regions	All	Western Europe	New World	Latin America	Central and Eastern Europe	Asia	Africa
Number of countries	41	10	2	5	18	3	3
Burglary	4.2	7.0	1.6	1.1	3.6	6.2	2.9
Contact crimes	7.2	13.7	19.7	3.4	4.1	4.3	4.9
Violence against women	9.9	21.9	28.8	6.3	4.3	1.9	5.1

In most countries few victims had received such help. The figures are variable across offence type. Of those who reported burglaries to the police, four per cent had received help. The level of support was the highest in the Western European countries, and is generally a good deal higher than in previous sweeps of the ICVS. The United Kingdom stands out with a support rate of one in five (21%).

Of all victims of contact crimes¹⁸ who reported to the police 7% had been given such help. The highest rates were in the New World countries and Western Europe. Here levels of support for victims of violence have gone up over the past years. In all other countries lower percentages of such victims had been clients of victim support schemes.

¹⁸ Contact crimes here include robberies, sexual assaults and assaults.

Globally, 10% of female victims of violence who had reported to the police had received specialised support. This percentage was 29 in the New World countries and 22 in Western Europe. Elsewhere it was much lower. Globally, much lower percentages of male victims of assaults received specialised help (4%).

Victims who had not received help from a specialised agency were asked whether they would have appreciated help in getting information, or practical or emotional support. Table 13 shows that most victims of burglary and of contact crimes would have welcomed specialised help.

Table 13: Percentage of victims of burglary and contact crimes who would have appreciated receiving help from a specialised agency, results of the International Crime Victims Survey, 1996

	Total	Western Europe	New World	Latin America	Central and Eastern Europe	Asia	Africa
Number of countries	41	10	2	5	18	3	3
Burglary	64.9	39.8	34.5	62.9	77.0	77.3	87.0
Violence against women	74.2	59.4	66.7	79.6	75.7	99.2	85.6
Contact crimes	65.0	44.1	52.1	65.1	71.6	85.3	82.8

Two-thirds of victims of serious crimes who had reported to the police indicated unmet needs. Levels of demand were highest in Central and Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. There is obviously a huge gap between need for help and actual provision.

Although no mention was made of financial support, some victims might have understood it as such. This could help to explain why support is most often wanted in countries where few victims are covered by insurance. Financial considerations, however, do not prevail. Many victims would like to receive other types of support. The percentages of victims who would have welcomed specialised support is the highest among female victims of violence. Globally, 74% would have appreciated help. Among this group of victims the need for specialised help is also high in the industrialised West. In Western Europe 59% would have appreciated such help and 67% in the New World countries.

The need for specialised help among victims of contact crimes in the industrialised countries is consistent with their dissatisfaction with the police response (Table 10). They are more likely to be disappointed by the lack of help given by the police.

Foreign victims

In the ICVS, victims who had reported to the police were asked whether they had received practical or emotional support from a specialised agency. Of those who reported a contact crime abroad 2.5% had received such help (n=68), compared to 11% of those victimised in their own country (1365). Those victimised abroad are somewhat less likely to receive help. In fact, some of those who did receive it might have received it in their own country after their return home rather than abroad.

Thirty-three per cent of the foreign victims of contact crimes who had not received help, said they would have appreciated getting it (n=92). This percentage is not much different from those victimised in their own country (37%; n= 1792). These findings suggest that many tourists victimised abroad would have appreciated specialised help.

Experiences of repeat victims with the police

Introduction

Repeat victimisation was shown earlier in this text to be a universally common phenomenon. Here we will compare the reporting patterns and attitudes of repeat victims of burglary with those of repeat victims of violence against women. This comparison will increase our understanding of the expectations and experiences of these two groups of repeat victims vis-à-vis the police.

These two types of victims are chosen because much of the recent literature on repeat victimisation deals with either household burglary (Anderson, Chenery & Pease, 1994) or violence against women (Lloyd, Farrell & Peace, 1994). According to our international data, 24% of the burglary victims and 41% of the violence against women victims were repeat victims within the course of one year.

In the case of burglary, repeat victimisation is thought to be partially caused by offenders revisiting targets which they have successfully victimised before. Violence against women is often committed by spouses/partners or ex-spouses/partners. In these cases the offences are governed by the offender's problems with, or emotions towards, a specific individual. Repeat victimisation is not an exception but the rule. In some cases the use of violence is deeply ingrained in the lifestyle of both offender and victim (Genn, 1988, pp. 90-130). In our dataset, thirty seven per cent of the one time victims of violence against women knew the offender by name and 52% of the repeat victims. Of the repeat victims from developed countries 63% knew the offender by name.

Our hypothesis is that repeat victims of burglary and violence against women often report to the police in order to receive protection against the criminal activities of an individual offender. In the case of repeated burglaries the victim will suspect having been visited by the same offender. In the case of violence against women by partners or ex-partners, victims know the offender. If they report the incidents to the police they will typically expect protection and help. We expect police forces to have difficulties with satisfying the demands of these two groups of repeat victims.

In the Tables no differentiation will be made between world regions because the numbers of victims per region are too small for systematic presentation. At some points regional data will be cited by way of illustration.

Reporting to the police by repeat victims

As was discussed in the section entitled "Reasons for non-reporting and for reporting", the frequency with which victims report offences to the police is strongly related to the type of crime involved. Table 14 shows the rates of reporting of burglaries and violence against women respectively for one time and repeat victims.

Table 14: Percentages of burglaries and violence against women reported to the police and reasons for reporting and non reporting

	Burglary		Violence against women	
	Once	Repeat	Once	Repeat
N	1,435	481	435	286
Report to police				
Yes	61.8	54.7	28.3	26.8
Reasons for reporting				
Recover property	53.1	56.5	4.0	0.0
Insurance reasons	20.9	17.3	4.7	4.4
Should be reported	33.2	24.2	26.0	37.0
Want offender caught/punished	42.8	48.5	54.2	43.6
To stop it	23.9	29.3	45.2	57.5
To get help	14.1	16.8	19.2	29.6
Reasons for not reporting				
Not serious enough	25.3	21.2	15.6	11.2
Solved it myself	11.2	14.1	22.4	18.1
Inapprop. for police	8.4	7.8	15.6	26.9

Police could do nothing	27.7	26.2	19.8	20.7
Police won't do anything	20.8	30.2	14.6	12.9
Fear/dislike of police	5.8	2.9	13.8	18.2

The results concerning repeat victims are interesting for several reasons. Although repeat victims are faced with serious problems, they are slightly less willing to report. The most interesting differences are found between the reasons to report. Repeat victims of burglary mention more than other burglary victims that they want the police to arrest the offender, to stop what was happening and to provide help. These victims, in short, report in the hope that the police will offer protection against the offender. The wish to see the police stopping the offender and offering help is even more central for repeat victims of violence against women. The latter category of repeat victims is somewhat less interested in seeing the offender arrested than one time victims. As we have seen, many of these victims have intimate relations with the offender or have had such relations in the past and may therefore be reluctant to initiate criminal proceedings.

The reason “police won’t do anything” is more often mentioned by repeat victims of burglary than by one time victims (30% of repeat victims, 21% of one time victims). These victims may have had disappointing experiences with the police on the previous occasion. Repeat victims of violence against women do not feel this way at all: only 13% mention this reason. Repeat victims of violence against women more often mention that it was inappropriate for the police (27%). This finding confirms that a sizeable minority of victims of domestic violence do not want to involve the police. A remarkable 18% of these repeat victims mention fear or dislike of the police as reason for not reporting. The latter reason is the most common among victims in developing countries, in particular some Latin American countries.

These results confirm our hypothesis that repeat victims of burglary, and even more repeat victims of violence against women, demand protection and help from the police more than one time victims of these types of crime.

Satisfaction with police responses of repeat victims

In this paragraph we will discuss whether repeat victims of burglary and violence against women are more or less often satisfied with the police response (see Table 15).

Table 15: Percentages of one time and repeat victims of burglaries and violence against women who are satisfied with the police response and reasons of dissatisfaction

	Burglary		Violence against women	
	Once	Repeat	Once	Repeat
Satisfied with report				
Yes	43.5	29.8	56.8	41.9
Reasons not satisfied				
Did not do enough	43.8	36.7	50.2	58.4
Were not interested	30.0	36.4	39.7	34.1
Did not find offender	39.2	37.5	19.7	36.3
Did not recover goods	46.8	36.8	3.6	0.0
Gave no information	16.1	13.3	21.5	10.6
Incorrect/impolite	9.8	9.1	22.1	28.7
Slow to arrive	11.7	17.9	7.2	6.9

Victims of violence against women are more often satisfied than victims of burglaries. This result must be interpreted in relation to a much lower reporting rate. The few victims of violence against women who report to the police are somewhat more likely to be satisfied by the services delivered than victims of burglary. This result suggests that at least some police forces succeed in satisfying the special needs of these female victims.

The most striking finding of our analysis is that repeat victims of both types of crime are significantly less often satisfied with the police response than one time victims.

The reasons for dissatisfaction are based on fairly low numbers and must be interpreted with due caution. This is in particular the case with regard to the results on the satisfaction of victims of violence against women: very few of these cases are reported. The results show few remarkable differences. Noteworthy is the relatively high percentage of victims of violence against women who complain about the police being impolite or incorrect. This complaint was most common among victims from the developing world. More than thirty percent mentioned this. The complaint of many repeat victims of violence that the offender was not found is somewhat unexpected. This reason is mentioned almost exclusively by victims from the developing countries where more of these cases involved strangers.

The results clearly indicate that repeat victims of both types of crime are often disappointed with the capacity or willingness of the police to offer the services they want, i.e. protection against the offender.

Assistance for repeat victims

In the 1996 survey victims of more serious crimes who had reported to the police were specifically asked whether they had received support from a specialised agency. As said, in most countries few victims had received such help. Repeat victims are more likely to receive help than one time victims (see Table 16).

Table 16: Percentages of victims of burglary and violence against women who have received victim assistance or would have appreciated such help

	Burglary		Violence against women	
	Once	repeat	Once	Repeat
N	1,435	481	435	286
Specialised agency				
Yes	3,3	4,0	5.1	8.8
Agency useful				
Yes	57.0	64.4	72.8	72.8

In the developed countries 6.6% of burglary victims received help and 15% of the repeat burglary victims. Elsewhere in the world these percentages stay below three per cent. Of the victims of violence against women in developed countries, 6.6% had received help and 29.4% of the repeat victims. In the developing countries some 6.5% of victims and repeat victims received help. The relatively high prevalence of actual help for repeat victims in developed countries reflects the existence of special provisions for female victims such as shelters, homes for battered women and rape crisis centres.

The majority of the victims of burglary and violence against women who did not receive help would have appreciated it. Repeat victims are somewhat more interested but the differences are small. Repeat victims differ more from other victims in their attitudes towards the services of the police than in their need of specialised help.

Attitudes of repeat victims

We finally compared attitudes concerning local police, social cohesiveness, fear of street crime and fear of burglary of respondents who have not been victimised during the last five years, those who have been victimised once last year and those who had been victimised more than once last year (see Table 17).

Table 17: Responses of non victims, one time victims and repeat victims of burglary and violence against women, thinking police is doing a good job in controlling crime in their area, avoiding dangerous places after dark and thinking it likely that their houses will be burgled

	Burglary			Violence against women (women only)		
	None	Once	Repeat	None	Once	Repeat
N	51,799	1,435	481	28,294	435	286
Police good job (yes)	55.5	38.6	28.9	54.5	41.0	32.7
Fear of street crime	37.0	54.0	56.1	47.8	67.6	72.3
Fear of burglary	36.7	61.6	68.1	-	-	-

The results show that citizens who are victimised by either a burglary or violence against women quickly lose confidence in the crime controlling capacity of their local police. Victims of burglary are keenly aware of their increased risks (van Dijk et al., 1990) and repeat victims even more so. In line with this, victims are also more likely to use precautionary devices such as burglar alarms than non victims (6.8% of non victims possess an alarm, 12.4% of one time victims and 13.1% of repeat victims). Victims of violence against women are also more fearful of street crime, in spite of the fact that in many cases their victimisations occur in private places.

Conclusions and policy implications

Preventing victimisation: a new priority for UNDP

Globally, over a five year period, two out of three inhabitants of big cities are victimised by crime at least once. The chances of being victimised by serious contact crimes (robbery, sexual crimes or assault) are one in five. Risks for most crimes are highest in the urban areas of Latin America and (sub-Saharan) Africa and lowest in Asia. In the West European countries and the so-called New World countries (North America, Australia and New Zealand) car crimes are the most prevalent. The New World countries also stand out with the highest rates of assaults on men. Violence against women is most prevalent in Latin America, Africa and, again, in the New World countries.

The prevalence of both property crime and violent crimes is related to problems of economic hardship among the young. Where more people are economically deprived, crime rates are higher. But resource deprivation is not the only determinant of crime. The level of some property crimes such as vehicle crimes is also related to ownership rates. Where more people drive around in cars and/or bicycles, more of those vehicles are stolen. The outgoing lifestyles of the middle classes in the more affluent countries go together with higher victimisation rates for more serious crimes. The level of contact crimes is also, like homicide, related to the rate of gun ownership. Rates of robberies, sexual assault and assault with guns are higher in countries where more people own guns.

Violence against women is, like most serious crime, related to economic hardship. It is inversely related to the social status of women. Where women are more emancipated, rates of violence against women are lower. Among the industrialised countries, violence against women was also found to be related to high divorce rates.

Unlike the rates of police figures, the prevalence rates presented here are not affected by differences in reporting or police recording. Although the estimated rates are subject to sampling error, the relative positions of regions and countries are likely to reflect true differences.

The results of our analyses of the correlates of these crime rates confirm conventional criminological thinking about the importance of employment and social welfare policies for the prevention of serious crime. For many developing countries, high crime rates are a self-perpetuating or even self-reinforcing phenomenon. Safety problems in major urban areas in developing countries are not only a result of low economic growth. These problems are also a factor inhibiting much needed foreign investments. The problems of street crime are exacerbated by high levels of corruption among public officials. The importance of good

governance for economic development is acknowledged more and more. Up till now, neither individual donor countries nor supranational organisations like UNDP have chosen safety and anti-corruption policies as a priority area for development aid. These ICVS indicators of urban safety and corruption will hopefully be useful in persuading governments and international organisations to give more attention to these problems.

Types of crime prevention

The findings also confirm the more recent victimological notion that many types of crime can be avoided by reducing opportunities through improved security. In principle all citizens living in big cities are at high risk. It is therefore prudent to provide school children with basic information on how to protect themselves against forms of crime. Girls might be offered self-defence training as part of the curriculum to boost their self-confidence and decrease their risks. These are examples of “primary victim-oriented crime prevention” (van Dijk & De Waard, 1991, pp. 483-503).

Groups who are most at risk can be given special courses (“secondary victim-oriented prevention”). Employees of banks, for instance, can be given special training sessions to prepare them for the possibility of armed robbery. Evaluation studies indicate many positive effects of such “inoculation”: trained employees react more sensibly during the incident, provide better information to the police and suffer less from post-traumatic stress. Persons who have been victimised once run a relatively high risk of being victimised again (e.g. Lloyd et al, 1994). Those who have been victimised twice or more are even more at risk. This repetition of victimisation is tragic for the persons involved but also offers new opportunities for preventing crime (“tertiary victim-oriented prevention”).

The phenomenon of repeat victimisation is in itself a forceful argument for targeting crime prevention efforts at victims. In several countries, police forces provide crime prevention advice to reporting victims with fairly good results (Winkel, 1998; Van den Boogaard, 1992). Our results suggest that the police should do better than that. The results on repeat victims indicate that repeat victims, even more than other victims, feel neglected by the police. Repeat victims of both property and violent offences are often in urgent need of protection against the criminal activities of known offenders. If they report, they are especially likely to be dissatisfied with the services delivered. In many cases the police apparently fail to offer the protection needed. Many repeat victims have no confidence in the usefulness of the police and refrain from reporting.

The bad services delivered to repeat victims are wasted opportunities of successful crime prevention and detection. For the citizens involved these negative experiences have an alienating effect. Many repeat victims express a distinct lack of confidence in their local police. Since they tend to be more fearful of crime and often live in socially less integrated neighbourhoods, repeat victims are in danger of losing their trust in institutions and the community in general as well as their respect for the law.

In some countries, most notably in the United Kingdom, efforts are made by police forces to improve their responses to repeat victims of violence against women and burglary (Farrell and Pease, 1993). In 1997 the police of Norfolk were awarded the European Crime Prevention Award in The Hague for a programme offering special protection to victims of violence against women (e.g. linking up the women at risk to the local police station through personal electronic alarm equipment). The scheme to reduce repeat vehicle theft and burglary victimisation in Huddersfield is internationally acclaimed (Chenery, Holt and Pease, 1997). The most innovative elements are the loan of monitored alarms, trackers and covert cameras to repeat victims. The provision of such equipment was found to be effective and seems desirable for repeat victims of burglary everywhere in the industrialised world.

Advanced technical security to prevent burglaries or car thefts requires state of the art technology. Both developing countries and countries in transition are far behind in investments in such measures. In this area, too, more international co-operation seems needed.

Two more specific policy implications can be made. One of the most promising approaches of the prevention of violent crime is stricter control of gun ownership. In some countries the level of gun ownership is gradually going up rather than down. These trends are a cause of grave concern to the governments of countries where gun ownership is traditionally low such as Japan and the Netherlands. A global action plan for stricter control of hand guns and other small arms seems called for.

In relation to violence against women, continued attention to the social emancipation of women is an obvious priority and should remain high on the list of the United Nations. In many Western countries violence against women remains a major problem, in spite of improvements in the status of women. In all regions existing norms tolerating violence as an instrument of controlling women in intimate relationships should be officially combated in information campaigns and law enforcement and prosecution policies.

Victim empowerment: implementing the UN Declaration

Two in three victims of burglaries report their victimisation to the police. Less than one in three female victims of violence does so. Reporting is particularly low in the countries of Asia and Latin America. Only one in five of serious cases of violence is ever brought to the attention of the police.

The reasons for reporting vary across types of crimes and countries. In the industrialised countries many victims report crimes to fulfil a condition for claiming insurance money. In countries where fewer people have insurance, victims report in the hope that the police will find the offender and recover their property. For police forces in developing countries and countries in transition reporting victims are hard to satisfy if the investigation is unsuccessful.

These findings show that the standards for victim empowerment of the 1985 UN Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power are not sufficiently implemented. In relation to this, many victims are reluctant to report crimes to the police. This lack of confidence in the police implies that crime victims often have no authority to turn to and feel alienated. Low reporting rates are also an impediment for effective crime prevention and control. The chances of arresting the offenders and getting a conviction are largely dependent on the information supplied by the victim. If many victims are, as is clearly the case in most developing nations, doubtful as to whether reporting to the police will do them any good, the effectiveness of the police is severely undermined. For more effective criminal investigations the co-operation of the victims is essential. This is another reason why the proportion of satisfied victims ought to be used as a performance measure for criminal investigation agencies.

According to the survey, few victims who had reported to the police receive specialised help. Half of the reporting victims, however, would have welcomed it. Clearly there are many unmet needs among the many victims of crime, especially among female victims of violence.

A better deal for crime victims seems an obvious requirement of national and international crime prevention strategies. In developing countries and countries in transition, the consequences of criminal victimisation are often very severe since financial support is not available. Donor countries and international organisations should consider setting up relief funds for the victims of criminal violence across the world.

In some Western cities tourist victims are routinely referred to a special support organisation. At present victim assistance programmes operate in cities such as Dublin, Barcelona, Nice, Los

Angeles, New York and Brussels Airport and, last but not least, in Amsterdam. In this last city the Amsterdam Tourist Assistance Service (ATAS) exists since 1990. The practical help includes support in contacting banks, embassies or families and providing practical items like free tickets, meals or even rooms. These services are greatly appreciated by the clients.

Finally, attention should be given to the outcome of an evaluation of the effects of a better treatment of victims by the police, the prosecutors and the courts (Wemmers, 1995). The results show that the victims who have been treated better by the police have a more positive attitude towards them and the system in general. More interestingly, they are also more inclined to feel an obligation to respect the law and are therefore less likely to commit crimes themselves. This result confirms the notion that citizens are very sensitive to the procedural justice rendered to them by the police and the judicial authorities. By treating victims better, the criminal justice system contributes to the enhancement of respect for the law and thereby to the prevention of crime. Since almost all citizens are victimised at least once during their life time, the impact of adequate victim policies on respect for the law and its institutions cannot be overstated. A better deal for crime victims is the most effective public relations policy the criminal justice system can pursue. It is also a cornerstone of effective crime prevention.

By treating victims more fairly and humanely, the criminal justice system can maintain or restore victims' respect for the law. In doing so, a downward spiral of criminal violence and resentment among victims might be prevented. From this perspective helping crime victims is a task for welfare agencies and volunteers, in close co-operation with the police, the prosecutors and the courts. A comprehensive victim policy clearly calls for a multi-agency approach.

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APPENDIX

Table 1: Percentage of the public victimised by car crimes, burglary, other theft, contact crimes, violence against women and men and any crime, over five years in the urban areas of six global regions; results of the International Crime Victims Surveys, 1988-1996

	No. of Countries	No. of Cases	car crimes	burglary +attemp	Other Thefts	Contact Crimes	assault (womer)	assault (men)	any crime
All	55	67364	29.7	20.4	32.3	20.4	7.4	6.2	63.7
England & V		1700	42.3	22.5	21.1	16.7	4.5	6.6	63.4
Scotland		821	38.2	18.9	16.0	13.8	4.7	5.7	58.2
Northern Ire		176	33.1	10.9	19.8	13.8	3.3	8.1	54.8
Netherlands		1225	40.5	25.2	48.7	22.3	5.7	6.9	77.0
(West)Gerr		1389	36.8	11.7	30.2	18.0	3.6	3.7	62.4
Switzerland		187	23.1	11.0	36.8	9.1	2.9	1.6	59.0
Belgium		345	33.1	14.6	25.0	10.6	3.9	1.0	56.1
France		482	43.6	21.0	31.8	15.9	3.6	4.5	69.5
Finland		1660	27.2	4.6	28.4	18.5	10.0	10.0	55.8
Spain		2615	43.8	11.7	20.9	19.2	3.1	4.0	63.5
Norway		164	35.9	15.3	20.1	16.3	10.4	3.4	56.2
Sweden		548	34.8	15.1	42.0	18.7	6.7	7.4	67.2
Italy		554	45.0	20.1	26.9	15.4	3.4	1.2	65.9
Austria		413	28.7	6.5	28.5	16.2	6.5	6.3	53.9
Malta		549	46.1	7.1	10.0	12.3	2.7	4.0	55.3
New World									
USA		941	45.4	23.4	28.5	19.8	5.7	7.0	64.1
Canada		2282	41.6	19.7	28.9	18.5	7.7	6.0	64.3
Australia		2174	42.8	25.6	22.2	18.3	5.5	9.2	64.1
New Zealand		554	48.6	24.6	26.9	24.0	12.9	11.2	68.7
Central and Eastern Eur									
Estonia		842	26.8	27.1	31.7	22.3	6.4	8.7	64.0
Poland		1622	30.2	13.4	31.9	16.3	4.8	7.2	61.3
Czech Rep.		1010	35.9	18.8	38.5	14.0	8.3	6.6	68.8
Slovenia		1126	37.8	16.5	38.4	7.2	2.0	1.4	66.1
Russia		2020	23.9	17.1	32.6	22.2	8.4	8.2	62.8
Georgia		567	32.6	25.1	29.3	22.7	5.4	4.5	66.2
Slovenia		2035	40.7	15.6	29.1	18.1	7.2	6.2	64.6
Latvia		1011	21.5	18.7	31.4	15.7	4.4	5.0	58.6
Rumania		1000	20.7	10.7	29.8	18.1	7.3	9.7	56.1
Hungary		756	34.6	16.6	24.2	10.3	1.8	3.6	57.4
Yugoslavia		1094	40.5	14.8	29.9	24.2	7.5	9.9	72.2
Albania		983	9.6	15.5	35.0	12.7	6.0	1.6	52.6
Macedonia		700	35.0	11.8	23.0	11.6	3.8	5.6	52.6
Croatia		930	29.9	8.1	20.0	15.2	5.3	5.4	53.4
Ukraine		1000	15.6	18.6	42.8	19.5	5.6	7.4	64.8
Belarus		999	17.4	10.5	25.7	16.6	5.5	7.2	50.1
Bulgaria		1076	44.9	31.4	35.8	21.5	6.9	6.4	77.2
Lithuania		654	32.8	21.2	28.5	16.0	5.4	7.3	62.1
Mongolia		1053	12.3	28.1	44.0	18.7	5.8	8.7	68.2
Kyrgyzstan		1494	14.0	19.6	36.1	22.4	13.1	8.3	60.4
Asia ¹									
Indonesia		3928	15.6	16.7	25.5	13.0	5.5	2.8	43.8
Philippines		2523	5.8	9.8	23.1	11.3	1.2	2.1	40.1
India		2039	6.6	9.9	28.5	14.6	8.7	2.2	43.7
China		2000	1.9	9.1	44.2	12.9	3.7	2.7	52.2
Africa									
Uganda		2020	24.3	56.1	53.7	39.8	21.2	7.8	87.8
Egypt		1000	20.0	22.0	35.5	32.0	8.9	3.6	68.9
South Africa		1994	24.2	23.1	24.7	28.7	11.5	12.8	64.2
Tanzania		1002	25.4	46.4	47.4	29.8	17.9	2.9	76.5
Tunisia		1086	25.9	32.0	46.0	31.4	7.2	7.6	76.5
Zimbabwe		1006	14.9	32.7	42.7	29.4	8.8	12.4	70.1
Latin America									
Costa Rica		1412	24.6	33.7	35.5	30.7	13.6	5.7	71.5
Brazil		2017	22.4	13.5	30.5	44.9	23.1	10.4	68.0
Argentina		2000	44.1	28.2	53.0	36.8	18.6	8.8	86.7
Bolivia		999	15.7	43.6	45.0	30.0	5.2	10.2	76.6
Paraguay		587	28.2	36.3	36.5	23.7	9.1	4.4	69.9
Colombia		1000	44.5	39.1	54.0	50.6	15.9	8.3	87.1
1) national survey									
Japan (1999)		2411	16.3	12.5	26.3	6.5	0.6	2.3	44.7

Table 2: Seriousness of seventeen types of crime as judged by victims: correlations of rank order per country with global rank order

Western Europe		
England & Wales	.8946	p=.000
Scotland	.7819	p=.000
Northern Ireland	.8841	p=.000
Netherlands	.8309	p=.000
Switzerland	.7475	p=.001
Belgium	.7892	p=.000
France	.8866	p=.000
Finland	.9216	p=.000
Spain	.3655	p=.299
Sweden	.8946	p=.000
Italy	.8260	p=.002
Austria	.6867	p=.002
Malta	.8240	p=.000
New World		
USA	.7598	p=.000
Canada	.8873	p=.000
Australia	.8725	p=.000
New Zealand	.8897	p=.000
Central and Eastern Europe		
Estonia	.8750	p=.000
Poland	.8971	p=.000
Czech Rep.	.8088	p=.000
Slovakia	.5809	p=.014
Russia	.8848	p=.000
Georgia	.7966	p=.000
Slovenia	.8725	p=.000
Latvia	.7469	p=.001
Rumania	.7139	p=.003
Hungary	.6422	p=.005
Yugoslavia	.8799	p=.000
Albania	.7059	p=.002
Macedonia	.6853	p=.003
Croatia	.7549	p=.000
Ukraine	.9172	p=.000
Bulgaria	.8633	p=.000
Lithuania	.8554	p=.000
Asia		
Indonesia	.8731	p=.000
Philippines	.8449	p=.000
India	.7181	p=.001
China	.8845	p=.000
Mongolia	.7474	p=.001
Kyrgyzstan	.8775	p=.000
Africa		
Uganda	.5931	p=.012
Egypt	.6376	p=.006
South Africa	.8995	p=.000
Tanzania	.4379	p=.079
Tunisia	.5735	p=.016
Zimbabwe	.6380	p=.006
Latin America		
Costa Rica	.9216	p=.000
Brazil	.7230	p=.001
Argentina	.8824	p=.000
Bolivia	.7897	p=.000
Paraguay	.8260	p=.000

Table 3: Number of victims, base for victimisation percentages abroad

	car theft	Theft from car	car damage	Motor cycle theft	Bicycle theft	Robbery	personal theft	sexual offences	assault
Western Europe	1987	8104	9445	774	5870	1528	5915	913	2731
New World	1004	3164	3210	113	1563	515	2317	446	1275
Countries in transition	1146	5336	4189	322	3389	1618	7379	1103	3135
Asia	125	842	729	242	1717	394	2392	654	644
Africa	560	1378	647	174	651	1028	3061	794	1435
Latin America	626	1780	1167	227	1017	1799	2699	820	1333

ÆÁÐÒÁÛ ÌÐÃÑÒÓÍÎÑÒÈ: ÆËÏÁÀËÛÍÁ ÐÀÑÑÌÐÐÁÏÈÁ

ÍÍ Ò. Ì. ÁÁÍ ÁÁËÉ*

Á ìíèá áíèá ááá áòá òú èá ò ðà ñòòúá á ÷-èñéí ñòðáí íá ÷-àéí ðííáíàèòú íáçíðú ì ðá ñòóííòè è áèèðèèçà òèè ñ òá èùþ íòá íèè íà òèíá èúííé èèè ñ ñòíúò èðèèíá èúííò ðíáèá ì Òà èèá íáçíðú ððá áóþ ò ðá áñðà áèòá èúííò íáðá çòíá íá ñá èá íèý ì áúáðá ííúí ðá ñòóá íèý ì æ á ðòáá è èíòíðúò ííè ìáèè ñòà òú, á àà ííá áðá ÿ. Íèó-á ííúé á ðá çòèúðà òá èíýòðèèèá íò áèèðèèçà òèè ÿ áèý á ðñý èó-ø èí ìèà çà òá èá ì óðíáíý ðá ñòóííòè, ÷-á ì íáúá á ÷-èñéí ðá ñòóá íèé, çà ÿ áèá ííúò á ìèèèèþ è çà ðá áèñðèèðíáá ííúò á þ. Á ñà ìá ìíèá áíèá áíáú áúèè ðíáá áá íú ñá òèà èèçèðíáá ííúá íáçíðú ì íáúá ð áèèðèèçà òèè á ðá áá èá ííúò áðóò òà èèò, èá è íáðèè ð, æ á íùèíú è áá áóø èè, ðòðèñòú è áá èíáúá èðóáè.

Á ñèè ðè ðíáá áá íèè èñíèá áíáá íèè è ìíèùçóþ ðñý ñòà íáà ðòèçíáá ííúá ñ òíáú, íáçíðú ðá áíñòà áèý þ ò ííáóþ áíçíæ ííòú ñíñòà áèá íèý ñíáðá ííúò ñòà ðèñòè-á ñèèò áá ííúò . Ì æ áóíá ðíáíúé íáçíð áúè íá ÷-à ò á 1987 áíáó èá íí ñ ÿòíé òá èùþ . Ýòíò ñòà íáà ðòèçèðíáá ííúé íáçíð áúè ðíáá áá í áí íá ñòíý ùá áí áðá ñ íè á 55 ðá çèè-íúò ñòðá íá ò ìá ñòá ðáèçèá é ñ æ áóíá ðíáíé ðá áí-á é áðóò, ðóéíáíáèèé à áòíðí

ðè ðá çðá áíðèá ñ òíáíéíáèè, íá íáóíáèèé áèý ðíáá áá íèý íáçíðíá ì ðá ñòóííòè, ÿðè-á ñèá ÿ áèèðèèíèáèý áíá ñèá áá æ íúé áèèá á á èðèèíèíá-á ñèèá èñíèá áíáá íèý . Ýðè-á ñèá ÿ áá çà èðèèíèíáè-á ñèèò çíá íèé áúèá ðá ñò èðá íá è óèðáèá íá ñ ìúùþ òà èèò íáçíðíá. Íáíá éí, çíá ÷-á íèá íáçíðíá á íáèá ñòè áèèðèèíèáèè èáá ò áíðá çáí áá èá á ðíñòíáí ñáíðá áíèúø á áí èíèè-á ñòáá áá ííúò è èó-ø èò ì èá ÷-á ñòáó . Ñóúííòú òà èèò íáçíðíá çá èèþ ÷-á ò ðñý á òí, ÷-òí ðá ñòóá íèý ðá ñíá ððèáá þ ðñý íá ñ òí-èè çðá íèý áíñòáá ðñòáá ííúò íðáá ííá, á ñ òí-èè çðá íèý íá ñá èá íèý . Ýðè íáçíðú ðá áá èý þ ò è èçá ðý þ ò ðá ñòóá íèý íá ì ðá áèñðà òèý ì è íò-á òá ì èèòèè, à ì ñáèáá òá èúñòáó è ìòò íðáá èú íúò èþ áá é. Íðá ø èáá á ìá èá þ ò áíçíæ ííòú ñèá çà òú ñá òèà èèñòá ì èá è ííè áíñòèíèá þ ò áèèðèèçà òèþ , íá çà áèñéí íò áíñòáá ðñòáá ííèè ìèèðèèè. Èðíá òíáí, ííè ìáóò ðá ñíèá çà òú íá èò èííòá èòá ò ñ áíñòáá ðñòáá ííúè íðáá íá è ì ÿòíò ñáíáó. Èá íí ÿòí, á ÷-á ñòííòè, áá á ò áíçíæ ííòú ñáá èá òú èðèðè-á ñèèþ íòá íéò í ñáóíáá íá òèíá èúííò èèè ñ ñòíúò áíñòáá ðñòáá ííúò íðáá ííá è ðíáèá ñ ðá ñòóííòè.

Á ÿòí áíèóá íòá ì ðèáá áá ì èíýòðèèèá íòú áèèðèèçà òèè ì ðá çèè-íúí òèá ì ðá ñòóá íèé áèý ø á ñòè ðá áèííá èðá. Çà òá ì áóáá ì ðá ñíá ððèáá òú èá è æ á ðòáú ø á ñòè ðá áèííá íòá íèáá þ ò ñá ðúá çííòú ñèó-á á á, í èíòíðúò ííè ðá ñíèá çà èè ìðá ø èáá þ ùèí. Áà èá á ì ðá ñííòðèí áíçáá èñòáèá íá òèíá èúííò èíýòðèèèá íòíá áèèðèèçà òèè íá áðóáèá ñíòèá èúííá òá èòíðú òá èèá èá è, áèá áíñíòíý íèá è óðáá íèçà òèý íá ñáá íèý. Ñèá áóþ ùèá á ðá áðá òú ìáý ùá þ ðñý òá ñá ìáòííé áèèðèèçà òèè è áèèðèèçà òèè èñíòðá ííúò áíñòá é. Á ñá áúí ì ðá áðá òá íá ñòíý ùá áí áíèóá íòá ì áóáá ì ðá ñíá ððèáá òú, á ñèè è á èá èíé ñ ðá áíñòáá ðñòáá ííúí íðáá íá ì óáá á ðñý ðá áñòà áèý òú æ á ðòáú ðá ñòóííòè. Èðíá òíáí, áóáóò ðèáá áá íú íá èíòíðúá ðèñ ðú íáðá ùá íèý ìèèèè ñ æ á ðòáá è ðá ñòóííòè è íóæ áú æ á ðòá á ñá òèà èèçèðíáá ííèè ìúè. Á íðáá èúíí ì ðá áðá òá ì ðèáíáèí íá ñéíèúéí ðèñ ðíá íòíø á íèé ìáòííúò æ á ðòá ñ ìèèèè é. È íá èííá ò á çá èèþ ÷-èòá èúíí á ðá áðá òá ì ðèáíáèí íáúèá çá èèþ ÷-á íèý ìèèèè á íáèá ñòè áèèðèèçà òèè áí áíá ìèðá.

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Ɔáæèèà ɔèy Ɔá ɔóeuòà òíá íáçíðíá ì Ɔá ñòóíñòè ì 55 ñòðà íàì Ɔá àñòà àey á ò ñíáíé
 àà æ íá ìèèè-á ñéíá ñíáúòèá. Áñá áí 15 èá ò íà çàá Ɔíáá áá íéá íáçíðíá ì æ á ðòáàì
 Ɔá ñòóíñòè íá Ɔá àñòà àey éíñú áíçíæ íúì ì ìèèè-á ñéèì Ɔè-èíáì á ðà çèè-íúò
 -à ñòy ò èðà. Ɔá àèðá èúñòáá íá íòíòí íòíñèèèñú é íòèðúòúì íáñóæ áá íey ì
 íá ɔèíá èúíúò Ɔíáéá ì á íáèà ñòè Ɔá ñòóíñòè è íáðà ùá íey áíñóáá ðñòáá ííé
 ñèñòá ì ñ æ á ðòáà è. Á íá éíòíðúò ñòðà íà ò ñòà òèñòè-á ñéèáá íúá ì Ɔá ñòóíñòè
 ñ-èòà èèé áíñóáá ðñòáá ííé òà éííé. Ó-à ñòèá ðà ñòóúá áí -èñèà ñòðáí á ñíñòà áéá íèè
 ì æ áóíá ðíáííáí íáçíðà ñáèáá òá èúñòáá ò ì Ɔíòá ññá áá ìéðà òèçà ɔèè, èá þ ùá ì
 ñ ñòí áí ìíáèò ñòðà íà ò èðà. Áñá áíéuø á á -èñéí Ɔá àèðá èúñòá íçáíéy á ò
 èññèá áíáá òá y ì áá èà òú èðèè-á ñéòþ íòá íéó èò ñèòà ɔèè è èò ìèèèèè á íáèà ñòè
 Ɔá ñòóíñòè á ñ æ áóíá ðíáííé á ñá èðèáá .

OVERVIEW OF COUNTRIES IN TRANSITION

Ugljesa Zvekic*

Although countries in transition are somewhat late arrivals to the ICVS, they nevertheless made their way in the ICVS to become the largest group participating in the third sweep (1996-97). This by no means happened by mere chance. Changes in the political and economic arrangements in the post-communist countries following the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989) attracted the attention of the international community, and in particular donors from the West. International assistance is triggered by a set of interrelated factors. Two appear to be of particular significance. On the one hand, new markets were created after the downfall of communism and new market opportunities appeared. Any return to the previous regime would hamper the exploitation of newly created opportunities as well as political and economic integration both at the regional and global levels.

The term “countries in transition” is not the happiest one. Often those from what are now conventionally called countries in transition object to this term, sometimes for historical and political reasons such as that the past ideology claimed that their societies were in transition towards communism, and often because it appears that these countries are of a “second order”. Other countries, such as developing countries, claim that they are also countries in transition - and rightly so. Even a number of industrialised countries claim that they are in transition. In this sense, a search for political alternatives and privatisation is not the exclusive trademark of what are conventionally called countries in transition. Yet, there are at least three important considerations which may facilitate the classification of heterogeneous countries under the label of countries in transition.

First, their common political and economic heritage which, for some of them, goes far beyond the socialist period of their history. Yet, the most influential factor in their more recent history was their belonging to the communist world. Many of them belonged to regional military-political (the Warsaw Pact) and regional and bilateral economic-trade arrangements. Out of twenty countries participating in the third sweep of the ICVS, eight were part of the former USSR, five were federal entities of the former Yugoslavia, and two composed the former Czechoslovakia. Thus, those eight countries that emerged following the downfall of their previous federal/confederal set-ups have an even stronger core common heritage than others labelled countries in transition.

The common political and economic heritage that, to a certain degree, groups them together also determines to a large extent their similar future - unwillingly perhaps but decisively so. Indeed, it is well established that the process of change which all of these countries are undergoing shares, to varying degrees, a number of similarities in terms of objectives, methods and problems. This is not the place to discuss them at any length. Nevertheless, victimisation by conventional crime (which the ICVS deals with) and threats by organised (transnational) crime (which the ICVS does not deal with) deserve special attention. Moreover, it is important to underline that in terms of legal reform most of the countries in transition are members both of the United Nations and of the Council of Europe. To a large extent, this membership influences the directions of legal reform, particularly in terms of the reception of international standards in national law as well as adherence to international and regional conventions. Paradoxically, similarities of the past legal systems will be replaced by similarities in the new legal system resulting from the sharing of the same political, economic and legal paradigm, as well as membership in international and regional organisations.

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What distinguishes countries in transition as a group is that change is deliberate. Deliberate social change is a particular characteristic of modernisation, but it appears that the degree of the purpose of change was nowhere as high as in countries in transition, at least in more recent times. This paradoxically applies both to their transition into a socialist system as well as to their efforts to pull away from the socialist system. In both cases, international assistance played an important role, although in the former it was limited to the “first country of communism” and the rest of the “brotherly countries and parties” while nowadays, in the latter, it is wider both in terms of types of actors as well as their geographical spread. Thus, the above-mentioned international assistance to countries in transition is an integral part of the deliberate transition as is membership in international and regional organisations and arrangements. The participation of countries in transition in international programmes and projects is also a part of this deliberate change. The ICVS is not an exception.

These considerations are not meant to downplay differences among those countries that appear to be particularly marked nowadays and regard both the starting position on their path towards modern market-oriented and democratic states, as well as the depth and magnitude of change achieved in the last decade. Nowadays there are quite marked differences within this group of countries in terms of achieved level of market economy, privatisation, GNP per capita and political democracy.

It is by now well established and strongly supported by the evidence provided by the ICVS that crime patterns as well as crime levels in countries in transition are becoming more and more like those of the industrialised world.

Crime appears to be one of the features that countries in transition have in common as a group and as members of the new economic and political set-up. They definitely share an increase in many forms of conventional crime for which both the official criminal justice statistics as well as the ICVS provide ample evidence. They also share common experiences with corruption for which the ICVS again provides evidence, and with transnational and local organised crime. Countries in transition, in addition to the above, still share in common a rather negative perception of law enforcement activities on the part of citizens, lack of victim assistance and a lack of developed and effective crime prevention. Citizens in countries in transition feel rather insecure because of crime threats; many promptly state that this feeling of insecurity increased in the period of transition as compared with the previous period. In this respect, and coupled with the financial strains under which many people in countries in transition still live, there is a rather diffused punitive attitude even for non-violent crimes such as burglary.

This is not to say that all countries in transition have the same levels of crime and insecurity. Indeed, even the crime types differ within the group. As the analysis of country profiles of crime and trends in crime revealed (only for six countries which took part both in the 1992-94 and 1996-97 sweeps):

- burglary participates in crime totals more substantially in countries in transition than in industrialised countries, accounting for some 20% of crime totals in almost one third of the countries in transition; it increased in three countries and also decreased in three countries;
- somewhere between 20% and a quarter of crime totals are composed of violent personal crime (robbery, assaults/threats and sexual offences) in almost three quarters of the countries in transition; there was an increase in four countries (a rather substantial increase in two of them) as regards assault, as well as an increase in robbery in five countries in transition;

- theft of and from car make up one third of crime totals in almost one third of the countries in transition, and somewhere between 20% and a quarter of crime totals in a further nine countries in transition; car theft increased in four and decreased in two countries in transition;
- theft of personal property is much diffused (over 20% of crime totals) in just over half of the countries in transition with peaks of 42% and a minimum of 12%; it increased in all the six countries that took part in both the second and the third sweeps of the ICVS;
- consumer fraud in countries in transition shows the highest rate in the regional comparative perspective with country rates over 50% in one third of the countries in transition; and
- corruption is one of the most diffused forms of victimisation in countries in transition.

The above observation leads to a consideration of two related issues which merit special attention in countries in transition: corruption in public administration, and the relationship between citizens and the police. Each of them indicates certain concerns with the process of reform of society and in particular that of the criminal justice system.

Corruption in public administration

Although the level of bribery by public officials varies greatly by regions and countries, the ICVS findings indicate that public officials' involvement in, and exposure to, bribery merit special attention in countries in transition in terms of developing an adequate anti-corruption consciousness and effective regulatory, control and grievance/appeals mechanisms within the public administration. These would contribute towards the reduction of corruption as well as towards increasing citizens' confidence in the public administration's willingness and capacity to effectively deal with corruption cases involving public officials. Much of street level corruption is a problem of public administration organisation and culture. It appears that - particularly in a number of countries in transition - further efforts are needed in order to improve the social status of, and compensation for, public officials, thus making them less "vulnerable" to the challenges of bribery.

Corruption in public administration appears to be particularly diffused where public administration is still much more an exercise of power over the citizens rather than a service to citizens. In a number of societies things are further complicated by certain cultural patterns that favour corrupt relations and "justify" corrupt transactions. In a number of countries in transition communist and post-communist clientelistic social structures tend to resist anti-corruption initiatives and create new forms of distinct state-centred/market generated clientelistic corruption. Corruption in public administration is very much a problem of democracy, organisation of public administration and political culture as it is very much a problem of economic stability and a market culture. Corruption in public administration is a particularly difficult problem to deal with in those societies in which there is a *tout court* low level of confidence between the citizenry and public administration as well as in those in which discretionary power to decide over public and/or private affairs is very much concentrated within the political regime or the financial-political centres of power. As a rule, corruption goes hand in hand with abuse of power, political and economic monopoly and organised crime. Therefore, the cultural, political, economic and legal means - including criminal justice - to prevent and fight corruption cannot be divorced from broader processes of political democratisation, economic and social development and certainty of financial and legal transactions. As noted, corruption in administration stands for a visible test of the changes achieved with respect to democratisation, rule of law and citizens' status in countries in transition.

Citizens and police: confidence building in the process of democratisation

The lowest levels of citizens' satisfaction with the police are exhibited in countries in transition and Latin America. Indeed, in both sweeps of the ICVS with the exception of Slovenia in 1992, there was no country in transition in which the majority of citizens were satisfied with the police, averaging some 23% of satisfied and some 40% of dissatisfied citizens. Furthermore, reporting to the police of cases of robbery and assault is among the lowest in the comparative perspective although this is not the case for burglaries; the propensity to report to the police has not increased in most countries in transition. Thus, one of the most powerful indicators of changes in terms of confidence building between citizens and the police in countries in transition does not provide a satisfactory picture.

Victims' expectations of interested and efficient treatment from the police in the developed world reflect a concern with citizens' rights, good service delivery by the police, and reliance on insurance mechanisms for damage recovery. The recovery of stolen property and bringing offenders to justice is the rational response of victims in less affluent, less "insured" and more crime-ridden societies. There is no doubt that satisfaction with the police is higher in the developed world and in the more affluent regions. Here, other public services are also probably more accessible and of a better quality.

An increased feeling of safety that has to do with police presence increases public satisfaction with and confidence in the police. This is not a matter of more investment in the number of personnel and/or equipment, or rather not only that. It is much more a matter of a more rational policy for the allocation of resources, and it is very much a matter of a general democratisation of public institutions and services to be made sensitive to the needs of the clients and accountable to the public. It is also a matter of changes in the culture of the police-citizen relationship. Such a change requires, at the same time, both more and less than what conventional skill-related training, better equipment and other types of assistance are able to provide for.

There is still a lot of dissatisfaction with the police, particularly in terms of the ways in which they deal with reported cases and control residential areas. The fear that a burglary will occur in the near future is widely diffused. Despite investments in police reform, the overall results as evaluated by citizens and victims are far from satisfactory. Citizens are concerned with outcomes, everyday police behaviour and the police culture in general. All these take place in a wider context of the socio-economic and political changes and the development of service orientation and practice of public administration, including the police and, in particular, including the reduction of corruption.

There is still much to be desired in changing the police culture and improving police-community relations in countries in transition.

Like many other things in countries in transition, even crime is no longer the sole concern of the state, nor can an effective crime prevention policy rest solely on state agencies and programmes. For citizens to participate in crime prevention, it is indispensable to provide them with reliable and timely information as well as to give them opportunities to have their say both about their own crime concerns as well as about the workings of the criminal justice system. The method of the victimisation survey itself provides such an opportunity which could be expanded to other opportunities such as organised public debates about crime, crime prevention and control. Therein lies the ICVS's contribution to democratic reform and rational partnership-based crime prevention. The participation of what are now termed as countries in transition in future sweeps of the ICVS will be a sign of their further integration in the modern international community and modern trends in crime prevention and its control.

When the factors that now group countries in transition lose their importance, there will be no need for volumes on criminal victimisation in countries in transition. This is as much to be hoped for as is a reduction in the crime levels and crime risks for citizens of what then perhaps will be referred to as the *former countries in transition*.

ΙΑΔΑΔΑΝΝΙΟΔΑΙΕΑ ΝΟΔΑΙ Α ΙΑΔΑΟΙΑΙΕ ΝΟΑΕΕ

Οαεαοα Çaaεε*

Οδα οια εννεα αιαα ιεα η α οια οιαιαι ιασιδα ι α α οαα ο θα νοομνδε (ICVS) αυει θιαα αα ιι α ααα οα οε νοδα ια ο, ια οιαυ νεοη α α οα οιαιι α οειαα οα çaaεοε, ε α ο α νδε εç ιεο αι αοιθιε οαç. Α οι αδα η εαε γοδε νοδα ιυ θα ανοα αεγ ο οιαιε αα ηυη οα çυθιαοι ο α οη ι ηαε ι α ηα οα ι, ανα ιιε οα çaa εγ ο οα εο ο ηα οε ο ιαυεο οα οα εοα οενοεε, ιοηηυ νεοηυ ε οο αα εα εηο ε ια αα αια ο οη ο ηο, ε ια ηοηυ υα ο αδα η ιε ε ε αοα οα ο. Ιαιιε εç οα εεο ιαυεο οα οα εοα οενοεε γ αεγ α οηυ οα ηο οα υα ιçα αι-α ιηηου ηηαιαο θα νοομνδε.

ICVS οεαιαεο ια ο ε οηια αα ιιυα, ηαια οα αα ο ηεα, -οι α αιευο εηνοαα εç οα εεο νοδα ι οδα αεοεηια γ θα νοομνου αυηοθι οα ηοα ο, ια οα αια η εηοθωεα ε α ανοαα οηοαα ιιε α αιεηενοδα οεε ε ιαη ιη ηοδα αεοα εα ε. Αοαεα εηοι-ιεεε οεα çυαα ο ια οηο ιθαα ιεçιαα ιιε θα νοομνδε εαε ια η ηοηη οαε ε ια οδα ηηα οεηια ευηη οοηιαγ ο. Εθια οηαι, ηοδα ιυ α α οα οιαιι α οειαα οα çaaεοε οα çaa εγ ο ιαυα α ιοθεοα οα ευηηα ιοηο α ιεα ε οεη ια ιε ο α εηια ε οοηεοεηεοηιαα ιεγ α αι ιθαα ηηα η οη-εε çaa ιεγ γοοα εοεαιηδε, ηα αα αεεαιηδε ε çα αιου ι αδα α α ια ο ε ι α α οαα οα νοομνδε. Αιεα α οηαι, α γοηε ιαεα ηοε ιοη -α α οηυ ια αιηοα οη-ηηου ηηε α α οαα ι θα νοομνδε, ηεεο εηη ηεα αυ ε η οη θα αιοδα ηα ιεγ θα νοομνδε, α οα εα α ο εοηεη οα οηηοδα ια ιηα -οαηοαι ια οαα οα ιηηοε α εε-ηε αα çη ηηηοε ε ηοδα οα α οα α θα νοομνου ο. Οα εγ ηεοοα οεγ οα οα εοα οεçοα ο γοδε ηοδα ιυ α ιοεε-εα ιο οηηο εα ηα çaaεοοο ηοδα ι. Ιαια εη, οε γοη ια ευçγ οοαα οα αα οη, -οι ανα οα εεα ηοδα ιυ εη ο ο ιαεηα εηαιε οοηιαα ιυ θα νοομνδε ε ια αιηοα οη-ηηοε αα çη ηηηοε εεε -οη οο εθεηα ευηηα οηοεε γ αεγ ο οηυ εαα ιοε-ηε.

Οδε αιηηα çα ηεοα εαα ο ηηαια αιεηα ιεα α ιοηο α ιεε ηοδα ι, ια οιαυ νεοηυ α α οα οιαιι α οειαα οα çaaεοε: εηοθωεγ α ανοαα οηοαα ιιε α αιεηενοδα οεε, ιαη ι ηοδα αεοα εα ε ε ιοηο α ιεγ η α ο α οα αα ια ε ε ηεεοεα ε. Εο οοηιαα ιυ çηα -εοα ευηη αυο α, -αι α οηηο εα ηη-οα çaaεοοο ηοδα ια ο ε ηεηοα α οεαεεα α α οηυ ε οοηια οα çaaεαα ο νεοηυ ηοδα ι. Ιιε γ αεγ ο οηυ ια αεγ αιηηι οεη οη εç ηα ιεε, ηεο-α ιιυο ια οδε ε αα ηεοα οεçα οεε, ηοα ηηαεα ιεγ θα αιηηο ανοαα οηοα ε οαα α α ιεγ ε ηοα οοηο αδα α α ιεηα α ιαυα ηοαα .

* Εηοαοααεηηαεηηε Ιαο-ηεηηεαηηαοαεηηεε Εηηοεοοο Ιδαηοοηηηοε ε ηηοεοεε Ιθααηεçαοεε Ιαυααεηηηηο Ιαοε (ΠΙΕΕΕ).

VICTIMS OF CRIME IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

Anna Alvazzi del Frate*

The ICVS in developing countries

A fundamental requirement of a prevention-oriented approach to crime is the availability of extensive and reliable data, which unfortunately is not always to be found in either industrialised or, to an even greater extent, developing countries. The latter are often confronted with major, urgent problems which until only a few years ago diverted attention and resources from the carrying out of this sort of research, which might erroneously appear highly sophisticated.

From their initiation, victim surveys were mainly confined to the developed countries, where their diffusion was relatively rapid, becoming more focused and regular, while their presence in the developing world was very meagre. The First International Survey (1989) covered 15 developed/industrialised countries, one Eastern European and only one developing country. The second (1992) survey, out of a total of 30 countries involved, included 12 developing countries. In 1996-97, five more countries joined the ICVS¹⁹, while eight from the group of thirteen of 1992-94 repeated the survey²⁰. The database which resulted contains a wealth of information which has no precedents in the developing world.

The primary aim of the project was to assist a number of developing countries to develop and implement victimisation surveys as an important research and policy tool. It was intended to introduce this tool and to highlight its research and policy potentials with the expected result that it would transform from a "one-shot experience" into a more regular and accepted research and policy endeavour.

An important aspect of the project consisted in sensitising both the researchers and policy makers/criminal justice administrators about the significance, potentials and limits of the survey. Needless to say, the survey shared other well known objectives of national level victimisation surveys in terms of information gathering on experiences with crime and its level, victimisation risk, propensity to report to the police, attitudes about police and punishment, crime prevention, and policy evaluation based on the results of the survey. It is also expected that the experience with the international survey will stimulate the development and implementation of national and local level surveys.

The ICVS is often part of a more complex UNICRI involvement in technical co-operation with developing countries. For example, a needs assessment mission to Papua New Guinea undertaken by UNICRI in September 1993 recommended the carrying out of local crime (victim) surveys and the creation of a Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, which should also have certain responsibilities regarding crime and victim surveys. The experience gained through the 1992 ICVS in PNG represented an extraordinary tool for sensitising the local authorities by providing them with a set of comparable data and enabling them to better formulate crime prevention strategies.

Another example is the project carried out by UNICRI in China. The International Survey questionnaire was submitted to a sample of 2,000 respondents in Beijing in early 1994. A Seminar on "Development and Policy Use of Criminal Justice Information in China" took

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¹⁹ Bolivia, Botswana, Colombia, Paraguay and Zimbabwe.

²⁰ Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica, India, Indonesia, The Philippines, South Africa and Uganda.

place in Beijing from 12 to 16 September 1994 to review strategies and sources for the development of reliable and operationally valid criminal justice information. The results of the survey in Beijing were discussed at the Seminar in terms of their implications for crime prevention policy and improvements in the conduct of future surveys. A Bureau of Justice Statistics has been created as a result of the positive impact of the project.

In South Africa, further to the carrying out of the ICVS in Johannesburg in 1993 and 1996, the ICVS standard questionnaire was used as a model for developing the interview tool for the first national victim survey undertaken in the Republic in 1998.

The methodology adopted in most of the participating developing countries envisaged the creation of a national research team to develop the sample and train the interviewers. A national co-ordinator was appointed by UNICRI in each country to implement the project according to the “Manual for the conduct of the face-to-face ICVS” developed by UNICRI. Particular importance was given to the selection, training and monitoring of the interviewers. In some countries it was deemed necessary to pay special attention to the age and gender of the interviewers depending on the corresponding characteristics of the respondents. The above-mentioned organisational, selection, training and monitoring activities proved of utmost importance for the successful completion of the survey.

The ICVS in developing countries utilised the standard questionnaire administered face-to-face by the interviewers. Although standardisation is necessary for international comparability, it sets serious limits to the peculiarities of each social reality under observation. This is particularly true for developing countries.

The main parameters for sampling consisted in: residential area status, gender and age. While in some countries the sample was drawn on the basis of available census data, in others they were “corrected” on the basis of information drawn from sociological studies and the experience of the research team. It should be noted that in some developing countries a random stratified sample was drawn through a random walk procedure.

Crime and development

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

Table 1: Aggregate victimisation rates for selected crimes, one year. Cities and urban areas (>100,000 pop.)

	Industrialised countries	Countries in transition	Developing countries
Burglary	3.2	3.6	5.3
Theft of personal property	6.1	10.8	11.3
Assault with force	2.5	2.2	2.2
Robbery	1.7	2.3	4.6

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

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

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

The trend observed above is found again if the analysis is limited to the group of developing countries. The correlation of the victimisation rates for theft of personal property, burglary and assault from developing countries with HDI indeed shows the same direction observed at the global level. In fact, although the strength of the correlation within the group of developing countries was much weaker than that observed at the global level, again it was found that the more developed the country, the less frequent was victimisation for theft ($r = 0.252$ $N=16$) and burglary ($r = -0.190$ $N=16$), while practically no correlation was observed for assault ($r = 0.021$ $N=16$). It therefore appears that further analysis of these results may tell us more on the crime/development relation.

The relationship between crime and development has been the object of many studies over the years, but no clear conclusion as regards the consequences of socio-economic growth on crime has ever been reached. On the one hand, a traditional belief suggested that technological progress and a more equal distribution of economic wealth would reduce the social conflict, but other theories envisaged that socio-economic growth and modernisation would necessarily involve an increase in overall crime rates, and in particular in crimes against property (Shelley, 1981). This theory was supported by the observation that developed countries generally showed higher theft rates and lower homicide rates than developing countries²¹.

However, such conclusions have usually been reached on the basis of official administrative data. The possibility for a country to produce reliable crime statistics also depends on its level of development. Lack of resources and technology may be the cause of scarce capacity and efficiency of the police in recording crimes. At the same time, victims may also be more reluctant to spend time and money in reporting crimes. Finally, "in many developing countries, victims, especially those from lower classes, want to have as little contact with the police as they can. Victims would rather suffer the loss or injury, resort to private or informal initiatives, or report only with great reluctance and fear" (Marenin, 1997, pp. 463-475). These problems in reporting are particularly likely to affect proper recording of property crime.

The analysis of the results of the United Nations Survey of Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems (UN Crime Survey) provides comparable information on recorded crimes from a number of responding Member States. In 1990, a study on the findings of the First and Second UN Crime Surveys (Newman, 1990, pp. 69-102) showed that, as development increases (as measured by Gross Domestic Product per capita), so also does property crime, while the relationship for violent crime is inverse.

²¹ For example, a study published in the early seventies observed that, distributing a list of countries according to a series of development indicators on a continuum, developed countries showed homicide rates lower than 6 and theft rates higher than 600 per 100,000 population. The development indicators used included urbanisation, economic development, literacy, etc. Crime rates considered in the study referred to official statistics as presented by Interpol. (Wolf, 1971, pp. 107-120).

The Fifth UN Crime Survey provided compatible data for 1994 on intentional homicide and theft²² from 28 countries ranging from the most to the least developed according to the Human Development Index (HDI)²³. By correlating data for homicide and theft with the HDI for the respective countries, a positive correlation with theft rates is found again ($r = 0.596$ $N = 28$), while a negative correlation between homicide rates and HDI is also found, although weaker ($r = -0.204$ $N = 28$).

Table 2: United Nations Survey of Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems, homicide and theft rates (1994) and UNDP, Human Development Index (1994)

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

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

It should be taken into account that homicide is the type of crime which is least sensitive to the official procedure of recording. On the other hand, recording of theft depends on the propensity of citizens to report and on the efficiency of the police in registering. In many affluent societies minor thefts are reported only if the property was insured. As victim surveys have shown, property crime is more frequent in developing countries than in the rest of the world. In this respect, it can be said that the correlation found above between official rates of theft and HDI rather shows the existence of a correlation between level of development and efficiency of the police in recording. In conclusion, the higher the level of development the more frequently property crime is recorded in official statistics, while there is no strict relationship between homicide rates and development.

Discussion on women victims

While survey data help to disclose the broad area of victimisation experienced by women, there are still grounds to claim that both reporting to the survey as well as to the police

²² The UN Crime Survey categories used here are “total intentional homicide” and “total theft”.

²³ The 1994 Human Development Index for the responding countries is taken from the Human Development Report (1997).

undercut the “true” extent of victimisation of women in particular. Whether it is so because of its belonging to what used to be considered mostly a private sphere, or because of a perception of “moral impurity” of the woman victim still dominating both the general and law enforcement culture in a number of countries, the fact remains that women victims are worse off within the generally bad position of victims in general. Victimisation due to domestic violence, in particular, is still disclosed with much difficulty, or even not at all.

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

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

Distortions in reporting to the survey, either in the direction of over-reporting or under-reporting, might exist due to the same reason. In some of the most industrialised countries covered by the ICVS it was noted that high sensitivity to the issue corresponded to high rates of victimisation reported to the survey. Analysis of the 1992 ICVS data suggested that this was not the case for developing countries, where survey results showed that lower rates of sexual harassment were found in countries where women enjoyed a better status (Alvazzi del Frate & Patrignani, 1995). Table 3 shows several indicators related to the status of women in the participating developing countries.

On the basis of a similar analysis carried out on ICVS data from 1992 (Alvazzi del Frate & Patrignani, 1995, p. 11), a negative correlation was expected between the indicators for which higher values imply a better status of women, such as percentage of women administrators and managers, women’s share in the labour force, as well as average age at the first marriage and contraceptive prevalence rates, while a positive correlation would have been expected between sexual assault and crude birth rate as well as total fertility rate. The analysis confirmed the previous results as regards the negative correlation found between victimisation from sexual assault and average age at the first marriage, women’s share of participation in the adult labour force and percentage of women administrators and managers.

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

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

The differences observed between the analysis of the 1992 data (which was carried out in 1994-95) and today’s findings may add something to the considerations related to women victims in developing countries. Sexual victimisation reported to the ICVS may actually have little to do with a low status of advancement of women.

Table 3: Selected indicators on women’s status and sexual assault rates (1 year), developing countries

	Sexual Assault (1 year)	Average age at first marriage (years) (1980-90)	Women’s share of adult labour force (age 15+) (1990)	Women administrators and managers (% - 1990)	Contraceptive prevalence rate (%) (1987-94)	Crude birth rate (1994)	Total fertility rate (births per woman - 1994)
Asia							
China	1.6	22.0	45	12	83	17	2

India	1.9	18.7	31	2	41	26	3
Indonesia	2.7	21.1	39	7	55	24	3
The Philippines	0.3	22.4	37	34	40	31	4
Africa							
Botswana	0.8	26.4	47	36	33	37	5
Egypt	3.1	21.9	n.a.	16	47	27	4
South Africa	2.3	26.1	37	17	50	31	4
Tunisia	1.9	24.3	29	7	60	24	3
Uganda	4.5	17.7	48	n.a.	15	51	7
Zimbabwe	2.2	20.4	44	15	48	41	5
Latin America							
Argentina	5.8	22.9	28	n.a.	n.a.	21	3
Bolivia	1.4	22.8	37	17	45	35	5
Brazil	8.0	22.6	34	17	66	20	2
Colombia	5.0	22.6	36	27	72	25	3
Costa Rica	4.3	22.2	28	21	75	26	3
Paraguay	2.7	21.8	28	15	56	33	4
Correlation Coefficient with sexual assault rate	=	-0.173	-0.285	-0.087	0.279	-0.245	-0.276

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

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

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

Weapons used in committing crimes

Sometimes, the offenders used a weapon to commit robberies, assaults and sexual assaults. It should be noted that the ICVS question referred to any type of weapon or object used as a weapon²⁴. We are not therefore referring to the use firearms at this point.

Weapons were used more frequently in the developing world than in the other regions. As Table 4 shows, more than half of robberies and between 30 and 40% of assaults in Asia, Africa and Latin America were committed with either a knife, a gun or something used as a weapon. Lower percentages of sexual assaults involved the use of weapons in all regions, although some 15% of African women victims went through such a frightening experience.

Table 4: Percentages of assaults, robberies and sexual assaults committed with weapons, by regions

	Robbery	Assault	Sexual assault
Western Europe	35.1	20.6	3.2
New world	37.8	17.8	5.7
Countries in transition	30.0	22.5	5.4
Asia	54.9	32.4	2.1
Africa	58.2	37.5	14.6
Latin America	68.6	37.5	6.2

²⁴ The text of the question addressed to victims read as follows: “Did (any of) the offender(s) have a knife, a gun, another weapon or something used as a weapon?”.

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ÆÁÐÒÁÛ ÌÐÃÑÒÓÍÍÑÒÈ Á ÐÀÇÁÈÁÀÐÙÀÏÑ ÌÈÐÁ

Àíá Àëüâàöèè àáëü Óðàðá

Ì æ áóíà ðíáíúé íáçíð í æ á ðòáà ò ðá ñòóííòè (ICVS) ñíáá ðæ èð íáø èðíóþ éíóíðá òèþ íá ñòá "éíòà èóíá" áðà æ àáí ñ ðá ñòóííòè á ó-à ñòáóþ ùèò áíðíáà ò è/èè ñòðà íá ò. Ñ íáíé ñòíðíú, í ðèáíæð àá íúá àëü ñíðà àéá íéü ñ íòèòèà èüíúè ñà òèñòèèà è í ðá ñòóííòè á ðííø èá íí -ðàçáèòúò ñòðà íá ò, á òí áðá ÿ èáé, ñ áðóáíé ñòíðíú, í áíáà à áëü á ò àá æ íúé èííá íò á çíá íéü í èðèèá èüíé ñèòáà òèè á ðàçáèáà þ ùá ñý ìðá, àáá éíóíðá òèü í "-á ðíú òèòðá ò" è í ðý ñ éíòà èòá áðà æ àáí ñ ðá ñòóííòè è àáèíèòðà òèè èðèèá èüííá ðá àá àíá á ùá òðóáíí ìèò-èòü.

ICVS íá -à è ðèáéá èà òü é ñáíá é ðá áíòá ðàçáèáà þ ùéá ñý ñòðà íú á 1992 áíáó, àéá áíáà ðý ñíííðèçà òèè Ìíèòá ðíðáà Þñèòèè Íéáà ðèá íáíá. Èç íáúá áí -èñèà 58 ó-à ñòáóþ ùèò ñòðáí áúé ðíáá àáí íáçíð á áííá íà áòá òè ðàçáèáà þ ùèòñý ñòðà íá ò: Àðáá íòèíá, Áíèèáéü, Áíòíáá íá, Áðàçèèè, Ááèá ò, Çèíá ááá, Èèòá é, Èíèóíéü, Èíòá ðèèá, Èíáéü, Èíáíá çéü, Ìðá ñèü Ííáá ü Ááèíá ü, Ìðá ááá é, Òá íçá íéü, Óóíèñ, Óáá íáà è Þæ íá ü Áòðèá.

Àíá èèç ðá çóèüðà òíá íáçíðá á ðàçáèáà þ ùèòñý ñòðà íá ò ìèá çúáá á ò, -òí éíýòèèèá íò áèèòèèçà òèè í-òè áí áíá ò òèíá ðá ñòóííòè áúø á á ðàçáèáà þ ùèòñý ñòðà íá ò, -á í á áðóáèò -à ñòý ò ìðá. Íáú-íí ðèñè ðèñ íá íéü íá ñèèèü áíéá á íáíðíáí ðá ñòá àá èáí áí áíá ò -à ñý ò ìðá, òíðý ðá áéíú Áòðèèè è Èà òèííéíé Áá ðèèè íòèè-à þ òñý áíéá á áúííèè ðèñèñ. Íá èá íúø á ü ðàçíèòá ñ æ áó áðóíè ñòðáí íòñ -à á òñý á -èñèá íáá áá íéè ñ ðèñ íá íéá í íá ñèèèü, á íòíø á íéè éíóíðíáí èáé á á ðàçáèáà þ ùèòñý, òá è è á ðííø èá ííðàçáèòúò ñòðà íá ò íá áèþ àá á òñý à íá éíáè-íá ü ñòáá íú ðèñèá. Ñéá áíáà òá èüíí, ýðè àá íúá ñíáá ðæ á ò ííáúá ýéá ñ íòú áéü ðá ñííòðá íéü òá íðèè Íáá ðíèçà òèè, éíóíðá ü óòáá ðæ àá á ò, -òí á ðàçáèòúò ñòðà íá ò ðá íáèá àá þ ò èþ ùá ñòáá íúá ðá ñòóííòè íéü á òí áðá ÿ, èá é íá ñèèüíðáá íúá ðá ñòóííòè íéü ü áéü þ òñý òèè-íúè áéü ðàçáèáà þ ùèòñý ñòðà í.

Àíá èèç òá íðèè í ðá ñòóííòè è ðàçáèòèþ íá íííáá àá íúò íáçíðá áèèþ -à á ò òá èæ á æ á íúéá æ á ðòá ðá ñòóííòè, ðá ñòóííòè íéü, í éíóíðúò áúéí çá ü áéá íí á ìèòèþ, íòííø á íéü èþ áá é è ìèòèè, ñ ðú áéü ðá áíáðá ùá íéü ðá ñòóííòè è íáíá ñòðá èüííá íðóæ èá, ðèñ íý á íá áéü ðá áíáðá ùá íéü ðá ñòóííòè.

* Èíòáððááéíáéüíéé Íáó-íèñíèáíáàðáéüíéèè Èíðèòèòúò Ìðãñòóííòè è Þñèòèè Íðááèçáòèè Íáúááéíáíúò Íáòèè ÞÍÈÈÈÈ).

Integrating Sources of Data

THE UNITED NATIONS SURVEYS ON CRIME TRENDS AND OPERATIONS OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEMS: THE FUTURE

Adam C. Bouloukos*

Introduction

The Centre for International Crime Prevention is the United Nations Secretariat body responsible for the collection and analysis of data and information on crime trends and criminal justice operations. Specifically, the Economic and Social Council, in its resolution 1984/48 of 25 May 1984, requested the Secretary-General to conduct surveys in this field. In response, the Centre has collected national level data on the police, the prosecution, the courts, and the prisons via the periodic United Nations Surveys of Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems. To date, five waves of the Survey have been completed covering the period 1970-1994.

The specific objectives of the Survey exercise include the following: a) to promote informed decision making in the administration of criminal justice, nationally and cross nationally; b) to encourage Member States to develop their own systems for managing criminal justice information; c) to provide institutions and experts with criminal justice statistics for research with a view to improving the effectiveness of programmes to reduce and control crime; and d) to provide Member States with an overview of, and opportunity to study, the interrelationship between various parts of the criminal justice system.

At present, the Centre is in the process of finalising and distributing the Sixth Survey that will cover the period 1995-1997. This paper outlines some of the background of the Surveys, details the status of the Sixth Survey, and describes some of the future activities of the Centre in the collection and analysis of data and information on crime trends, particularly those related to organised transnational crime.

A bit of background

Since 1947 the United Nations Secretariat has collected and disseminated data and information on crime trends. The regular exchange of reliable facts and figures about the national and transnational dimensions of crime is regarded as one of the most useful services that the United Nations crime prevention and criminal justice programme can provide. Information on crime and justice in the world not only contributes to raising the necessary awareness of these problems, but also helps to support policy decisions of governments on crime and justice issues.

Usefulness is largely dependent on the availability of relevant information, of its reliability and of its timely and widespread distribution. In response to these needs, the United Nations has published numerous reports on crime and justice statistics convinced that it is only through adequate dissemination of the survey data that it is possible to assist in the development of crime prevention and criminal justice policies.

The United Nations and its network of Institutes have devoted great attention not only to the quantity but also to the quality of criminal justice statistics in the world. These efforts have been aimed at devising means by which national criminal justice statistical systems may be improved. As a consequence, manuals for the development of criminal justice statistics and guides to computerisation and integration of information systems have been published.

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From general surveys of crime trends to specific surveys on justice administration (e.g. the independence of the judiciary, capital punishment, the treatment of prisoners, firearms regulation), an incremental effort has been made to cover new and emerging trends and issues. Starting from the 1980s, these surveys, together with other sources of statistical information (e.g. compendia, yearbooks, reports of the institutes of the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programme Network) have been increasingly thematic, detailed and action-oriented.

While the issues addressed in the various survey activities of the United Nations have changed, so too have the methodologies employed. Each change has been implemented with a view toward obtaining a more accurate picture of crime prevention and control. These challenges are significant as the Organisation is composed of 185 Member States, each with different statistical recording systems at varying levels of development, and many of whom have not attained high standards for accounting for crime, victimisation and criminal justice operations.

These differences indicate, not surprisingly, that developed countries provide more detailed responses to the United Nations surveys than do developing countries. To help narrow this gap, the Centre, in collaboration with the United Nations Statistics Office and the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, is drafting a "Guide on the Development and Analysis of Criminal Justice Statistics, including the Question of Transnational Crime" to be published in 1999. The goal of the Guide is to offer practical assistance to governments in establishing mechanisms for the collection, maintenance and analysis of national crime trend data. In addition, the Guide will take into account the need for training of government officials in the development and analysis of statistical data. Furthermore, the Guide will include an annex presenting specific examples of basic statistical instruments and procedures used in data collection (e.g. questionnaires, reports, systems of classification, units of enumeration, etc.).

The collection of crime data on the international level, although complex, has been successful. In fact, the data and information gathered have been sufficiently robust to allow the Centre and its partner institutes to publish a number of research reports. Most notably, the United Nations will publish the "Global Report on Crime and Justice" (Newman, 1998) which is primarily based on the results of the Fifth United Nations Survey on Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems (1990-1994). The "Global Report" attempts to overcome some of the methodological problems of comparative data collection and analysis by employing a number of techniques.

First, where possible and appropriate, data from other sources using different measurement techniques of international crime measurement are also reviewed. Thus, the International Crime Victims Surveys are utilised, as is a recent exploratory attempt to conduct a cross national self report study of delinquency.

Second, when surveys are conducted internationally, and the complex process of criminal justice is reduced to statistics, much is lost in summaries and tables of these data, and there is a danger of over-simplification and misleading interpretations. Where possible, the "Global Report" introduces descriptive elements in "boxes" set off from the text of the report, to demonstrate the qualitative aspects of significant and sometimes unique processes of justice and aspects of crime in particular countries and regions.

Third, careful documentation of all graphs and tables is presented in an extensive appendix. This appendix includes all additional tabular data used in construction of all graphs in the report, how variables were constructed, statistical techniques used, and most importantly, the definitions of statistical categories. By making all of these data sources and methods of analysis available to the reader, the possibility of misinterpretation of the data is at least minimised. The reader is able to decide for him or herself whether the decisions made,

comparisons provided, and presentation of charts or graphs provide accurate representation of the data.

Although care has been taken to make the “Global Report” as scientifically sound as possible, another important aim of the Report is to make the information collected accessible to lay readers. Thus, the approach taken is to use charts and illustrations as much as possible, and, where appropriate, to present data, make comparisons, and show trends in crime and justice throughout the world in the most colourful and engaging manner possible.

The content of the “Global Report” also ranges across many aspects of criminal justice. Traditional crimes such as murder, assault, robbery, theft and rape are reported, but so also are corruption and multinational crimes such as money laundering. Perhaps more than any issue, the internationalisation of crime has emerged as the most significant change in the face of crime in recent years. The problems of international drug trafficking, and the current state of gun use and control are also serious criminal justice concerns of the 1990s. All these topics find an important place in the “Global Report”.

Finally, the “Global Report” approaches crime and justice from a particular point of view - that of open communication of information with the claim that good government goes hand in hand with the collection and dissemination of data on all aspects of crime and justice. Maintaining statistics on all manner of crime and justice by all Member States is seen as essential for a responsible criminal justice process and encourages governments to give a fair account of what they do to those who break the law. It also assists in planning a more efficient criminal justice system. Throughout the “Global Report”, emphasis is placed on the diversity with which countries deal with crime and justice in their country, as well as the commonalities that appear to exist among countries regionally and throughout the world. It is hoped that countries can learn from the data and experiences of others.

In addition to the “Global Report on Crime and Justice”, the European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, affiliated with the United Nations (HEUNI), has produced a regional report on the Fifth United Nations Survey for Europe and North America. Using data from the Fifth Crime Survey as well as other information sources including the International Crime Victim Survey, the HEUNI report employs a new framework. That framework includes the elaboration of a set of crime indicators, policy indicators, motivation and opportunity factors and individual country profiles. The report of the European Institute represents an exciting departure from previous reports, in that it would be criminologically informed. That is, rather than simply describing the criminal justice systems in the states of Europe and North America, the European Institute incorporates findings from the criminology and criminal justice research community in an attempt to provide a more complete picture of the crime situation in the region concerned. These major publications, along with other reports²⁵, are examples of on-going statistical work within the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programme.

The Sixth Survey

With the above as a bit of background, more recent data collection efforts have focused on a streamlining of the upcoming Sixth United Nations Survey on Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems (1995-1997). Much of these discussions took place at three meetings of government experts and other scholars. These included the “Expert Group Meeting on Criminal Justice Management and Information Projects: Improving National and International Data Collection and Exchange”, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 10-13 March 1997; the “Expert Group Meeting on the Analysis of the United Nations Data Set on Crime and

²⁵ For a description of the various statistical reports, see “Fifty years of United Nations crime and justice statistics: an overview”, in *Trends: UNCJIN Crime and Justice Letter*, Number 5, United Nations Publication, Vienna.

Criminal Justice Systems”, Washington, DC, 17-18 October 1997; and the “Expert Group Meeting on National Capacities for the Collection of Criminal Justice Information and Statistics”, Veldhoven, the Netherlands, 17-21 March 1998.

During these meetings, significant time was dedicated to the Sixth Survey and previous Surveys. As with earlier surveys, the primary goal of the Sixth Survey is to collect data on the incidence of reported crime and the operations of criminal justice systems with a view to improving the analysis and dissemination of that information globally. To that end, an effort was made to reduce the length of the Sixth Survey by producing a set of “core” questions. The selection of items for the core was based on the following criteria: the main objectives of the surveys (i.e. accountability, comparison, educational value and operations and capacities of the criminal justice agencies); analysis of the missing data from previous surveys (i.e. data availability); continuity; and standardisation. Furthermore, some consideration was given to the utility of the data for the purposes of policy analysis and formulation. As a result, the Sixth Survey was shortened by 65% as compared to the preceding Fifth Survey.

The questionnaire is compiled in such a way that it can be broken down and sent to separate agencies, and reassembled in the central responding office before it is returned to the United Nations. The experience of the Fifth Survey showed that in some replies there were: a) the same figures given in two parts of the questionnaire; b) figures representing criminal justice operations of agencies further down the system that were higher than corresponding figures of preceding agencies; and c) no explanations given in cases of significant statistical changes. In these cases, the Secretariat sent requests for validation of data. This process was very time consuming for all those involved in the provision and analysis of the data and considerably delayed completion of the project. In order to promptly complete the Sixth Survey, respondents will be asked to take these factors into account.

Emerging trends: organised transnational crime

At the dawn of a new millennium in which national boundaries have lost their traditional meaning, new forms of crime pose new challenges and threats to nations and societies. Throughout the world, organised transnational crime increasingly poses a fundamental threat to the safety and security of individuals and societies everywhere. As a result, the United Nations Programme on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice finds itself at a cross-roads in its history.

The information gathered with the Surveys has been limited, in large part, to traditional crimes and traditional activities of the criminal justice system. Most recently, the international community has acknowledged that crime is becoming more global in nature and that new methodologies must be employed to collect data and information on transnational and organised crime. In response to these developments, which often are categorised as matters of “globalisation”, the mandates of the United Nations have focussed on these issues. Specifically, the Centre has been asked to build and expand a central repository on organised transnational crime.

To this end, it is imperative that the United Nations have a strong foundation from which to base research papers, legislative reports, recommendations and technical co-operation activities. In an effort to develop such a foundation, some effort has been made to allow the United Nations to create a comprehensive research agenda in this field.

The primary goal of the Centre in this regard is to collect and analyse information on the scope and extent of the organised transnational crime problem and to share these findings with the law enforcement, policy making and research communities. The first step toward this goal is to synthesise existing information. The United Nations and other national, regional and interregional organisations already possess a great deal of information and data

in the area of organised transnational crime. As a first step, the following information will be either collected and synthesised or effective links will be established with these agencies so that information and data can be shared.

UNCICP:	Survey of Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems; United Nations International Study on Firearm Regulation;
UNDCP:	drug seizure and production data; money-laundering legislation (jointly with CICP);
WCO:	illicit transfer of goods legislation and information; seizures of illicit goods including “where from/where to” information;
IMF:	information on flows of (all) monies to be used as a baseline or upper limit for analysis; possible information on tax havens;
INTERPOL:	police records and other crime data; intelligence data, particularly on the flows of illicit goods; transnational frauds;
EUROPOL:	as a result of the Schengen Agreement, depository of drug-related crime data, particularly as it relates to cross border activity;
OECD:	establishment of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) which, among other things, links national treasuries with the law enforcement community;
UNICEF:	data on illegal trade in children.

A synthesis of the above information, although complex, would help to establish the regional flow of transnational organised crime by determining problem areas, or “hotspots”, for United Nations and other intervention (i.e. technical co-operation; training, etc.)

Beyond this synthesis, the Centre has prepared, with the assistance of a small working group of experts at the Veldhoven meeting mentioned above, a draft survey on organised crime. The previous experience of the United Nations and the opinions of the Expert Groups suggest that the development of national statistics on organised crime is at a rather primitive stage as compared to data available on more traditional crimes. Therefore, the draft survey was pilot tested in approximately ten countries. The data obtained and the comments received on the instrument itself indicate a need for further modifications. Most notably, it appears that the survey does not adequately address some of the links which exist between organised crime groups working beyond national borders.

In an effort to learn more about these relationships, the Centre will rely on data and information gathering tools in addition to a survey instrument. Specifically, the Centre is developing an organised crime mapping project. In brief, it will be the goal of this activity to rank organised crime groups based on their level of economic and social threat. Case studies would be developed in response to a template. These case studies would describe major organised crime groups, the scope and reach of their activities, along with the national legal mechanisms or lack of mechanisms available to address the phenomenon. It is anticipated that the results of this data and information gathering exercise will be channelled into a significant report to be drafted in co-operation with the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI). The report is tentatively entitled “World Report on Organized Crime”.

Database development and information dissemination

All information, data and literature collected in the above described research process must be managed in a modern electronic environment. The United Nations Crime and Justice Information Network (UNCJIN), an Internet-based facility, will house the data of the Sixth Survey and the central repository on organised transnational crime. The system will have multiple components and would include, at a minimum, document citation indexing, data manipulation and analysis capabilities, and information dissemination features. The Surveys would form the statistical backbone of the database with other data sources merged and synthesised as they become available.

Specifically, the Centre will take a three-tiered approach to database development and information dissemination:

- a) survey/questionnaire formulation and information gathering;
- b) data administration, verification and feedback to respondent organisations; and
- c) data analysis, trend extraction, representation and publication of results.

Data analysis will be addressed through SPSS, a statistical package which has wide use in criminological arenas. However, to address items a), b), and the publication part of c), it seemed reasonable to involve additional database tools. The Centre has chosen Microsoft Access for this purpose.

Variables from the Sixth Survey and subsequent surveys are not hard coded into the data set definitions, but are treated as data themselves. These data can be grouped hierarchically and recursively in any manner required. Typical groupings include: by topic (e.g. police related); or by survey (with a hierarchical structure reflecting a questionnaire with chapters, and pages, by analysis focus, etc.) Variable names and labels are administered centrally. As a result, it will be easy to supply variable labels in the different United Nations official languages if so desired. Referential integrity will ensure data integrity and minimise error.

The availability of the variable set as part of a database is a great advantage for task a). Subsequent surveys can be constructed more easily based on existing structures and consistency is more easily maintained. The data entry screens look exactly like the questionnaire pages which will allow for simple data entry. An additional advantage is that questionnaires can be generated from the screen layouts, thus addressing issue b). Feedback to the submitting country is facilitated by printing or e-mailing the data entered in a questionnaire-like report. Regarding issue c), any grouping and/or combination of data can be achieved through single cross-tab queries. The results can be easily imported into the SPSS environment for data analysis.

A final thought

The international community continues to rely on the United Nations for sound data on crime in the world. With every reason to believe that history will repeat itself, the Sixth United Nations Survey on Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems will collect statistics which will allow governments to compare themselves to one another. In addition, as the Centre begins to develop a central repository on organised transnational crime, including national legislation, data on criminal events, information on threats posed by organised crime groups, and flow characteristics and patterns of transnational crime, the international community will have additional tools with which to base coherent and comprehensive public policy.

References

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**ΕΝΝΕΑΑΙΑΙΕΑ ΙΙΙ ΙΑΙΔΑΑΕΑΙΕΕ ΙΔΑΝΟΟΙΙΝΟΕ Ε
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 ΟΑΙΕΙΑΙΥΟ ΝΕΝΟΑΙ ΙΔΑΑΙΝΟΑΕΒ: ΑΟΑΟΥΑΑ**

Ααα Ν. Αόόεη*

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EUROPEAN SOURCEBOOK PROJECT

Gordon Barclay*

Introduction

In 1892, a report in England and Wales recommended the inclusion in its annual report on crime and criminal justice statistics, comparative statistics for other countries and to “prepare a way for a time when international comparisons can be made with safety”. Part of the focus of this Conference highlights different approaches to the question of safely making such comparisons and how, in the European context, we are gradually meeting the wishes of our predecessors of 100 years ago. This paper explains the work of an Expert Group within the Council of Europe with the successes and problems it has encountered.

Background

In June 1993, the Council of Europe’s European Committee on Crime Problems (CDPC) approved a proposal to set up a small Expert Group to carry out a feasibility study aimed at producing a data handbook on criminal justice statistics for Council Members. The Expert Group started work in September 1993 under the chairmanship of Professor Martin Killias from Lausanne University. Initially, the membership of the Group covered France, Germany, Hungary, the Netherlands, Sweden and the UK with HEUNI as an observer.

The Group decided that the best way to test the feasibility of such an approach was to try to produce a “model sourcebook” covering those countries for which we had good contacts. In addition, we agreed to bear particularly in mind two areas where the Global UN Survey at that time had deficiencies:

- a) Data quality. It was felt that information must be collected through named contacts within each country to ensure that requests for information had been understood correctly.
- b) Meta data. It was essential to collect information on the definitions and statistical rules used.

Model sourcebook approach

The group identified the need to collect information in the following areas:

- police statistics on crime, suspects and resources;
- prosecution statistics including resources;
- court statistics including sentencing;
- correctional statistics including prisons, community sentences and resources;
- reconviction statistics; and
- survey data.

The 1990 information would be collected although historical data were also included on police crime statistics for 1987-93. Information on the prison population was not collected but use was made of the annual SPACE returns collected by the Council of Europe.

The group was aware of a long list of offences for which information would be of interest. However, it restricted itself to the traditional crimes, knowing that for many countries only limited information was available on, for example, white collar crimes. The final agreed list

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was therefore intentional homicide (total and completed), assault, rape, robbery (total and with a weapon), theft (total, motor vehicle, bicycle, burglary (total and from a dwelling)) and drugs (total and trafficking).

In collecting the statistical information it was accepted that, because there is no common legal system, definitions will differ. The approach adopted was therefore to make use of statistical data that were readily available, linking these with definitions which themselves follow a standard format. Thus, for example respondents were asked for their definition of "assault" as follows:

Did it include?

Assault leading to death

Threats

Only causing pain

Slapping/punching

Sexual assaults.

With the opportunity to add any additional comments.

It was clearly also important to note the point at which the statistics were collected, the counting rules adopted and the source of the information.

The countries contributing to this model sourcebook were France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the UK (England & Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland separately). It was evident that data were generally available and useful comparisons could be drawn. However, it was clear to the group that it was important to avoid making simple comparisons without reading the descriptive material. The main problems identified were:

a) Respondents interpreted data requirements differently. It was clear that what to many were familiar criminal justice terms such as prosecution, conviction or imprisonment could mean different things to different people.

b) Simple errors were frequent, i.e. placing numbers in the wrong rows.

c) Respondents were often too helpful in trying to answer questions by supplying incomplete information.

The resultant data were made available in 1995 as the draft model of a European Sourcebook and a recommendation made to, and accepted by, the CDPC that a survey should now be conducted of all Member States.

Full survey

In moving to a full survey, the initial Group members were aware that the informal methods adopted previously would need to be revised. In particular they agreed to set up:

a) a system of regional and national correspondents; and

b) a formal questionnaire in French and English.

The system of correspondents required that each country should have one person responsible for the collection and initial checking of data. This person would be someone known to have expertise in this area. Regional correspondents (12) would also be appointed covering 3 or 4 countries to act as a help-point and data quality check. All the regional correspondents would also act as national correspondents for their own country and would

be part of an enlarged expert group. Thus, the enlarged group now included representatives from the Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the ex-Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the UK.

Although the aim of the full survey was to collect data for the period 1990-1996, it was clear that this would put too heavy an administrative burden on countries. Data were therefore divided into :

a) core items: crimes, suspects and convictions for selected offences. Prosecutions for all offences; and

b) non-core items: number of juveniles, women, aliens and sentencing for selected offences. Resources, prison capacity.

1990-1995 data were collected for core items. Only 1995 data were collected for non-core items (1996 data were not available in many countries at this time). It was clearly a difficult decision to exclude collecting historical data for sentencing. However, we knew that many legal and administrative changes in Central and Eastern European countries would make comparisons difficult for the early 1990s.

In producing a full questionnaire, three areas in particular were given further consideration:

a) A conviction was defined to include not just court convictions but also cases where a prosecuting authority had the power to fine offenders, if they admit their guilt. This included the system called *Strafbefehl* in Germany but not the police caution in England and Wales.

b) The use of the term “penal institution” rather than prison in the section on corrections to ensure consistency with the Council of Europe’s annual SPACE return .

c) The definition of persons under supervision was set out to cover “persons under supervision or care of an agent of the correctional services”. In the first survey, cases where the authority was not directly the correctional services had been excluded.

The questionnaire was sent out (either in French or English) to national correspondents in August 1997. Although replies were requested by November 1997, this proved impossible for many countries. In addition, frequent problems arose because questionnaires failed to arrive and national correspondents no longer appeared to exist. To date, information has been received from 34 of the 36 countries to whom a questionnaire was sent, with only the Slovak Republic and Ukraine unable to respond. Iceland currently collects no criminal justice statistics although our enquiries had prompted reconsideration of this. Questionnaires were not sent to Andorra, Liechtenstein or San Marino.

All data were keyed by staff at Lausanne University into EXCEL spreadsheets. The outcome of the project has really depended upon the dedication of Martin Killias’ research assistant, Marcello Aebi. The data in the form of paper output was then returned to regional correspondents to enable checking with source documents and national correspondents. Parallel to this, a two-stage process of “validation” and “analysis” began.

Validation

This is often the most important and, in many cases, the most forgotten stage in the data collection stage. Initially the group discussed obvious problems with the data collection and then a series of check tables were produced to aid further validation. The function of these tables were:

- a) To check that individual cells added up to the totals in tables. Although obvious, this was not always the case.
- b) To compare numbers to ensure they are consistent throughout the questionnaire replies. For example, that the number sentenced to imprisonment corresponds with the table on sentence length.
- c) To calculate rates per 100,000 population for the key figures and recheck outliers.
- d) To look at the attrition process from recorded crime to suspect to conviction and to imprisonment. Again, to recheck outliers assuming a simple hypothesis that, starting with recorded crime (on an offences basis) the number of suspects (now persons basis) will be fewer, the number of convictions still less and less again for imprisonment.
- e) To compare the proportions of juveniles, women and aliens in the tables for the number of suspects and convictions. Are these proportions sensible (80% juvenile suspects seemed wrong) and consistent?

The result was the need to go back to most countries and recheck several points. Although some errors had clearly been made in completing the questionnaire, it was clear that the survey had identified many differences in the basis of the criminal justice statistics that had not been apparent in the model. Part of this was due to language for, although the French and English versions had been intended to be identical, certain differences were present. These differences then increased when the questionnaire was often retranslated into the language of the responding country. Other points were related to the criminal justice process in the country. It was important to note that:

- a) Often serious cases started with the prosecutor and were therefore missing from the police statistics.
- b) The questions on prosecution statistics failed to fully identify what happened to cases that did not reach court.
- c) There is a general problem with homicide statistics over whether the figures collected represent those initially or finally recorded as homicide. This indicated the importance of knowing the stage at which the statistics were collected.
- d) When is a car said to have been stolen? The need to ensure consistency particularly in cases of taking and driving away were included.
- e) The inclusion of prosecutorial fines in the sentencing tables was not always possible since an offence breakdown was not always available. In addition, the sentencing tables often combined data from more than one source and double counting was possible.
- f) The different ways of handling juveniles within countries led to inconsistencies as to when they should be included.

In some cases figures could be corrected whilst in other cases comments needed expanding.

Analysis

All the revised figures were asked to be sent to Lausanne University by 31 October 1998. Therefore, at the date of writing no final data are available to include in this paper. However, I have tried to put down some points to illustrate the type of information which will be included with the publication of these data. Any data shown below are subject to revision.

Completeness of the questionnaire

Although all countries were able to supply some information on police crime statistics, Bulgaria, Germany and Russia provided no data on police resources. Information on suspected offenders was not available for six countries and the same number of countries had no prosecution information. Three countries could not provide information on sentencing (Bulgaria, Ireland and Malta) although Ireland could provide police data on convictions. Finally, only six countries replied to the questions on reconviction.

Although data were available for the main stages in the criminal justice process, many countries could not provide the full offence breakdown. Few countries provided information on armed robbery or a breakdown of drug offences. In addition, many countries could not give information for sub-categories of theft offences (e.g. burglary) following the police stage. Concepts such as burglary, which are part of the Anglo-Saxon Common Law, are not separately identified in continental legal systems.

Likelihood of conviction

To illustrate the potential of the data, I have compared the information collected for theft offences with the number of convictions per recorded offences in 1995. A simple ranking of countries on this provides an illustration of how the criminal justice system may be operating. It should be noted, however, that for England and Wales this excludes the 45% of offenders admitting their guilt and cautioned by the police.

Table 1: Percentage of recorded theft offences resulting in a conviction ,1995

Over 10%	Croatia, Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Ireland, Latvia, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Macedonia, Northern Ireland
5-10%	Austria, France, Portugal, Slovenia, Sweden, England & Wales, Scotland
Under 5%	Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Germany, Greece, Italy, Norway, Switzerland

The comparison seems to split Central and Eastern Europe into two groups with Northern Ireland and Eire higher than other Western countries. An interesting comparison is then to look to see how this compares with recorded offences of theft relative to population.

Table 2: Number of theft offences recorded by the police per 100,000 population, 1995

Over 2,000	Austria, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, England & Wales, Scotland
1,000 to 2,000	Bulgaria, Estonia, Ireland, Portugal, Slovenia, Northern Ireland
Under 1,000	Croatia, Cyprus, Greece, Latvia, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Macedonia

Although generalising too much from this data would clearly be wrong, it does suggest that a higher likelihood of conviction leads to a lower level of offences relative to population as recorded by the police.

Next steps

Once final data have been provided, they will be incorporated within the document being jointly prepared by members of the Group. The intention is to submit this draft to the CDPC for approval in June 1999. This publication is intended for policy makers although there is an intention to produce some form of executive summary as well. Publication would then

follow by the Council of Europe. In addition, it is hoped to make all data available to researchers in electronic form.

The Group also needs to consider what further work it can usefully do. Clearly, in hindsight we would have carried out part of the survey differently. However, this does not mean that we should immediately repeat the survey but perhaps use the organisation set-up to examine in better detail those areas in which difficulties are apparent. In addition, advice to countries in Central and Eastern Europe over the collection of criminal justice statistics may also be helpful to overcome some of the difficulties we have noted in their returns.

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ĀĪōāĪ Ñ. Āāōēēāē*

Ā 1993 āĪāō ĀāōĪĀ ēñēēē ÑĪāā ò ĪāçĪā ÷ēē Āōō Īēñā ðōĪā āēy ōĪāā ðēē Īñōuā ñōāēñōēē ĪāāĪōĪāēē ēñā Īāēōā āā Īūō Ī ōāĪēĪāĪāĪ ōāāā è ññōāĪēçāĪāñōāā āēy ñōðāĪ÷ēā Īā ĀÑ. Īā ñōĪy uā y ōā çā Īōā ōēy āēēp ÷ā ā ð ðā āĪōó yōĪē āōō Īō ðā çðā āĪōēē ññōāā ðñōāā ĪāĪā ðā ōĪēĪ-ŷēĪĪē÷ā ñēĪāĪ ĪāĪñāā Īēy è ñāĪĪā āā Īūō āāĪōū āĪ ā Īāēēçā Īā ñōĪy uā é ñēðōā ōēē è ōāēēēā ōēē. ĀĪēūō ā y ÷ā ñōū ðā āĪōū āūēā Īāy uā Īā āāōĪ ñā ēðĪāĪ, ēĪōĪōū, Ī Īā Īēp ŷēñā ðōĪā, Īā āūēĪ ōāā ēā ĪĪ āĪñōā ðĪ÷ĪāĪ āĪēñā Īēy ā āðōāēō ĪāçĪā ðō:

à) ēā ÷ā ñōāĪ āā Īūō ōōāĪ ñĪçāā Īēy ñā ðē ēĪððā ññāā ĪōĪā āēy ñāĪĪā āā Īūō è Īñēā āōp uā āĪ ēĪĪōĪēy ā ēēōðā ðññōē è ññōāā ðñōāēy āā Īūō; ā ðā ēā ā

ā) ñāĪĪ ēĪōĪōā ōēē Ī çā ēĪĪūĪ ōā āā ēā ĪēyĪ è ñōā ðēñōē÷ā ñēĪē Īā ðĪāĪēĪāēē āēy āūōñēā ā Īō ñōā ðēñōē÷ā ñēēō āā Īūō.

Āūēā ñāðāĪā ēĪōĪōā ōēy çā ā ðēĪā 1990-1996 āā. Ī 34 èç 40 ñōðāĪ ÷ēēā Īā ĀÑ, āēēp ÷ā y āĪēūō ēñōāĪ āĪñōĪ÷ā āðĪā ēñēēō ñōðāĪ÷ēēā Īā. Ōā ēā y ēĪōĪōā ōēy āēēp ÷ā ā ð ōā ñōōā Īēy, ĪāāēĪā Īēy, āūĪā ñā Īēā ōēāĪāĪōĪā, ðp ðā ĪĪā çā ēēp ÷ā Īēā, ā ðā ēā ā āā Īūā èç Īā āā āĪĪ çā ēĪ÷ā Īūō ĪāçĪōĪā è ēñāāā Īēē Ī ĪāōĪĪō Īñōā āā Īēp. ĀĪēōā Īō ā ēōā Īōēðōā ð ōĪāēā Ī Īñðā āñōāĪĪ Īā æ āōĪā ðĪāĪāĪ ñññōāā ēā Īēy è, ēðĪā ðĪāĪ, ōēā çūāā ā ð Īā āĪāā ñōāĪ ēā p uēōñy āā Īūō ā Īāēā ñōē ōāĪēĪāĪāĪ ōāāā è ññōāĪēçāĪāñōāā. ×ēā Īū yōĪē āōō ŷēñā ðōĪā ðā āōēy ðĪ ōēāēā ø ā p ðy āēy ĪāāĪōĪāēē ōāēēēā ōēē, ēā ñā p uā ēny ðā çēē÷Īūō ā ñā ēōĪā Īā ñōĪy uā āĪ ēññēā āĪāā Īēy, ñ ōā ēūp ōā çā Īōā ōēē ĀāðĪā ēñēĪō ÑĪāā ðō ā ēp Īā 1999 āĪāā. Āñā ñāðāĪūā āā Īūā (ēā ē ōēðĪāūā, ðā ē è ōā āā ēy p uēā) āōāōð ōā āĪñōā āēy ðūny ðā ēā ā ā ŷēā ēðĪĪĪē ōĪðā. Īā āā ā ñy ÷ōĪĪ ññā ā Ī ōā āñōā āēðū Īā ñōĪy uā é ĒĪōā ðā Īōēē ā ðāūā Īēó÷ā Īūā ðā çōēūðā ðū.

* ĪēñēñōāðñōāĪ ĀĪōððāĪēō Āāē, ĀāēēēĪāðēðāĪēy.

SECONDARY ANALYSIS OF INTEGRATED SOURCES OF DATA

Kristiina Kangaspunta*

Introduction

HEUNI has carried out the European and North American analysis of the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth United Nations Survey on Crime Trends and the Operation of Criminal Justice Systems. Previously the data included nearly exclusively the UN Survey data. The analyses of the Fifth Survey (1990-1994) differ considerably from the previous ones because additional sources of comparative data were also used. The Fifth UN Survey data were supplemented in particular by the results of the International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS).

The analyses were carried out by an international expert working group consisting of Dr. Carolyn Block (United States), Prof. Jan J.M. van Dijk (the Netherlands), Dr. Matti Joutsen (HEUNI), Ms. Kristiina Kangaspunta (HEUNI), Prof. André Kuhn (Switzerland) and Prof. Ineke Haen Marshall (the Netherlands/United States). Mr. Adam Bouloukos (Centre for International Crime Prevention, United Nations) and Dr. Ugljesa Zvekic (United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute) actively assisted the group in their work.

Crime Guide

The data used are summarised in a spreadsheet called the “Crime Guide”. The data sources include, for example, health and mortality statistics collected by WHO and the Centres for Disease Control, statistics on corruption by Transparency International, statistics on attitudes by the World Value Study, the World Competitiveness Yearbook, and gender related statistics by UNDP, UNICEF and UNESCO. By using the “Crime Guide” we wanted to be sure that all members of the expert group used the same data.

The data in the “Crime Guide” are divided into five separate sections:

1. Crimes and attitudes;
2. Motivation and opportunity;
3. Policy indicators;
4. The criminal justice system; and
5. Sanctions.

In addition to these basic sections there are three sheets with the rank-based indices.

Indices

One of the problems with the Fifth UN Survey is missing data since no country filled out every box in the questionnaire. Also, making comparisons on the basis of data from only one source may be misleading because the definitions vary, the figures are calculated differently, or for some other reasons.

In order to ease the problem of missing data we used the data collected in the “Crime Guide” and took several indicators together to form indices. These indices are also more reliable than the raw data, since flaws in the data can be compensated. One source can give an overly high estimate of the actual situation, another an underestimate. In this way the

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indices can also, at least partially, overcome the problem of country data from a single source that have values that deviate significantly from those of other sources. Another advantage of collecting data from various sources and putting together different data sets describing the same phenomenon is that this reduces the vast amount of data to a more manageable size and therefore eases the processing of data and the drawing of conclusions. Thus, the purpose of producing indices is to use all of the data available, while keeping the number of countries with missing data as small as possible.

Based on the “Crime Guide” data, we created three different type of indices: crime indices, opportunity and motivation indices, and operation of the criminal justice indices.

Crime indices included:

- Burglary index;
- Homicide index;
- Non-fatal violence index;
- Serious violence index;
- Violence against women index;
- Motor vehicle crime index;
- Petty crime index; and
- Corruption index.

Opportunity and motivation indices included:

- Opportunity for crime index; and
- Motivation for crime index.

Operation of the criminal justice indices included:

- Law enforcement resources index;
- Criminal justice practitioner gender balance index; and
- Citizen evaluation of police performance index.

I will use the homicide index as an example of the procedure which was used in combining the different sources in producing the indices. In order to give a clearer picture of the procedure, I will, as an example, compare just four countries representing different parts of Europe. The four countries are Italy, Finland, Lithuania and the Netherlands.

1. First, in computing the indices, different data sources describing the same phenomenon were identified.

For the homicide index they were the following:

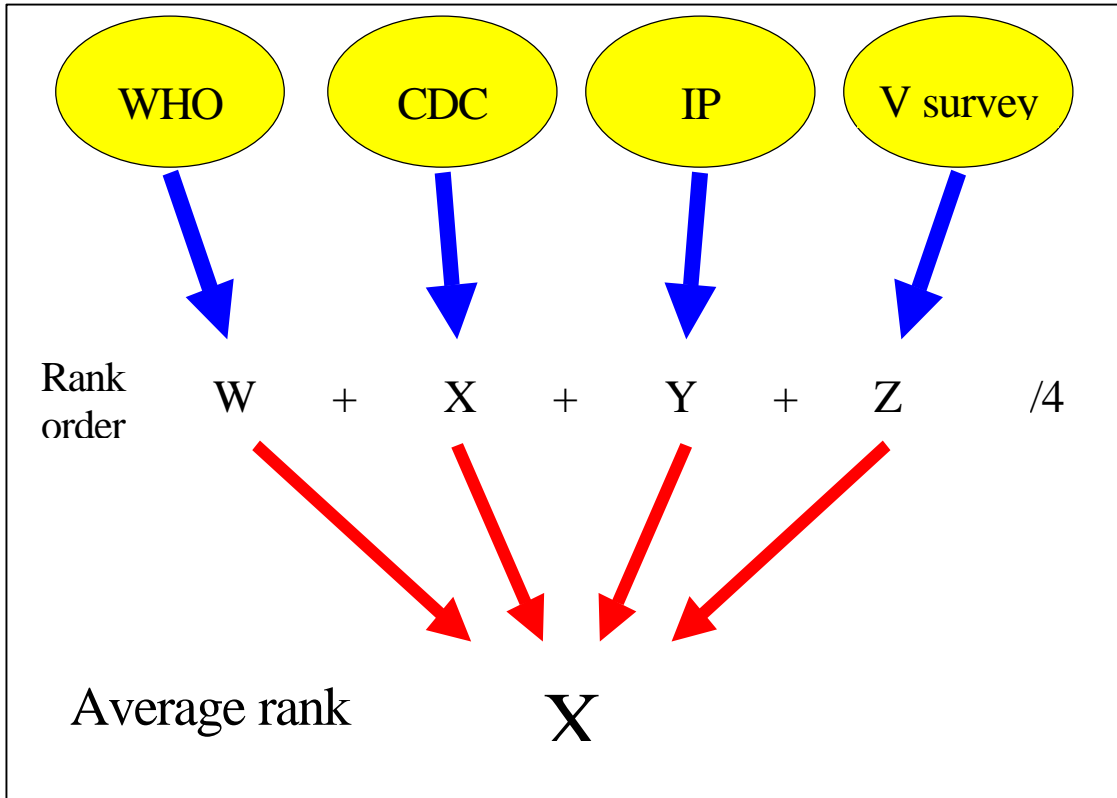
- World Health Organization data on deaths (based on medical records), WHO ;
- Centres for Disease Control data on deaths (again based on medical records), CDC;
- Interpol data on fatal violence (based on police statistics), IP; and
- Fifth UN Survey data on homicide (based on police statistics).

In our example countries the following data were available:

Italy:	V Survey, WHO, IP, CDC
Finland:	V Survey, WHO, IP, CDC
Latvia:	V Survey, WHO, IP
The Netherlands:	V Survey, WHO, CDC

2. The rank order is determined for each of the data sources. The rank orders are standardised²⁶ by dividing by the highest rank and subsequently multiplying by 100²⁷. The index is the average of these standardised rankings.

Figure 1: Computing the homicide index



The results are indices on a scale from 1 to 100. The scores are interpreted as follows:

- 0-25 very low
- 25-40 below average
- 40-60 average
- 60-75 above average
- 75-100 very high.

Differences of less than 10 are deemed not to be significant.

The rank orders for the example countries in the homicide index are:

Italy:	61	above average
Finland:	62	above average
Latvia:	92	very high
The Netherlands:	14	very low

²⁶ As already noted, not all data are available for every country. As a result, the highest rank depends on the number of countries for which that particular data source is available. If we want to use the same scale to assess each source, we need to standardise these rankings.

²⁷ Example: if data are available for 20 countries, the initial rankings are 1 through 20. After standardisation, the lowest ranking is 5 ($100 \cdot 1/20$), and the second lowest is 10 ($100 \cdot 2/20$). If data are available for 50 countries, the lowest ranking is 2 ($100 \cdot 1/50$) followed by 4 and 6. In all instances, the highest standardised ranking is 100.

The same procedure was used also for all the other crime indices.

We are aware that the procedure can well be criticised on at least the following grounds.

1) By computing indices we lose the possibility of an absolute interpretation. The original data may show us, for example, the percentage of the population that has been victimised or the number of police recorded crimes per 100,000 inhabitants. However, the indices can only be interpreted relative to the scores of other countries or to other crimes within a country. For instance, the crime index can show if in one country the crime rate is, internationally speaking, among the highest or the lowest or somewhere in between. For example, if a country has an index of 10 on homicide and 90 on petty crimes, we can conclude that the rate of petty crimes in that country is, internationally speaking, among the highest, whilst the rate of murder is comparatively among the lowest. Although the crime indices cannot be seen as precise measures of crimes committed per country, they can be confidentially used for a rough comparison of national levels.

2) The procedure assumes that the data are valid and reliable; i.e. that they describe the phenomenon in question, and that the data have been correctly compiled and reported. We have assumed - with some reservations - that the data supplied to us by the governments, and provided by various surveys, are proper and correct.

3) The procedure assumes that data from one country (for example, statistics on reported crime) can readily be compared with data from another country. In the case of surveys carried out with much the same methodology in different countries, this assumption can justifiably be made (although again, generally with some reservations). In the case of statistics, which the Fifth Survey in fact is designed to collect, this assumption is far shakier. We now believe that sufficient research data and supplemental statistical data have become available to merit an exploration of the utility of indicators in making cross-national comparisons of trends in crime and criminal justice. In order to respond to the criticism that comparisons should not be made internationally, we note that the purpose of bundling different sets of data together as an index is indeed to make a more robust measure. If, for example, different indicators suggest that a country has an unusually large amount of violent crime, then there are reasonable grounds to assume that the indicators are correct, and that this country does indeed have an unusually large amount of violent crime.

4) The procedure assumes that the data on which each index is based are at least to some degree commensurate. It assumes, for example, that data on ownership of autos, motorcycles, mopeds and bicycles, data on the average number of evenings spent away from home for recreational purposes, data on the number of single-person households and data on the percentage of females with paid employment all measure dimensions of the opportunity for property crime, and for this reason they can be bundled to form an index. This assumption is more difficult to make, but we have chosen to examine the data in this way, at least so that we can see where the analysis will lead²⁸.

5) The procedure assumes that the selection of the data used is criminologically justified. This is a particularly sensitive issue in respect of the indicators of motivation and opportunity. There is a burgeoning criminological literature on the possible link for example between unemployment and violence, between the prevalence of handguns and violence,



and between the prevailing type of housing and burglaries. Although we are aware that the selection of factors is a value choice, we believe that the factors we have included are justified. We are not claiming that these are the *only* factors that contribute to crime or that affect the operation of the criminal justice system. According to criminological theory, motivation, for example, can be influenced not only by unemployment but also by (among many other factors) family and peers, the media, and previous contacts with the criminal justice system. We simply note in this connection that international data sets that shed a light on such factors are so far not available. When they do become available, they can be used in corresponding analyses.

6) Finally, the procedure assumes that aggregate national data (or, in some cases, aggregate rural/urban data) can help to shed a light on the prevalence of crime or on the structure of criminal justice, when in fact there are often large regional (and temporal) differences in both. A country may have a low amount of violence on the national level, but this may mask the fact that it may have some regions with an extraordinarily large amount of crime. Similarly, a country may have a low rate of unemployment, but unemployment may be particularly high among young urban males.

Analysis and results

The crime situation in Europe and North America

We started by analysing the crime situation in Europe and North America. Based on the country scores in different crime indices, we could find out which countries are among the high or low countries with respect to certain types of crimes.

For example, the homicide situation in Western countries and in Eastern and Central European countries is as presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Countries with the highest and lowest scores on the index for homicide

Homicide Low		Homicide high	
<i>Central and Eastern Europe</i>		<i>Central and Eastern Europe</i>	
		Lithuania	72
		Armenia	80
		Georgia	82
		Kazakhstan	88
		Kyrgyzstan	88
		Latvia	92
		Estonia	95
		Russian Fed.	96
<i>West</i>		<i>West</i>	
England & Wales	4	United States	83
Ireland	8	Northern Ireland	92
Cyprus			
Netherlands	14		
Germany	14		
Turkey	16		
Andorra	17		
Spain	18		
Norway	18		
Greece	26		
	28		
Central and Eastern Europe mean	68		
Western Europe mean	35		
North America mean	64		

If we look at the situation in our example countries in respect of the different crime indices we can see that:

Italy:	high:	motor vehicle crimes corruption
	low:	violence against women.
Finland:	high:	violence against women
	low:	corruption
Latvia:	high:	homicide petty crimes corruption
	low:	--
The Netherlands:	high:	petty crimes
	low:	homicide corruption

Motivational factors also included two indicators of alcohol consumption: beer consumption and strong alcohol consumption (World Drink Trends, 1996).

Violence against women (including both non-sexual and sexual violence) is seen in our study as a separate problem based on cultural and historical reasons connected to the status of women and equality between women and men. We have included indicators of female educational attainment (UNDP, 1995; UNDP, 1997) and the prevalence of divorce³¹ in order to explore the relationship between violence against women and gender balance in different countries.

Based on the previous analysis of ICVS global data, it was found that violence against women is associated at the macro level with a high prevalence of strain among young males and with a low social status of women (van Dijk, 1998a). This finding supports the view that abuse of women is related to questions concerning women's empowerment and gender equality in different societies. However, when the analysis was done among the industrialised countries, it was shown that violence against women was associated with the divorce rate which, in turn, is positively related to indicators of the social status of women. It was found that the rates of violence against women are relatively high in many countries which are usually seen as the most gender balanced societies, like the United States, Canada, Finland and New Zealand.

It seems to be the case that in countries where the social status of women is very low, violence against women will indeed decrease when women acquire more status and equality in the society. However, if the empowerment of women continues to increase, the rates of violence against women tend to begin to increase also.

Our interpretation of this is that the positive relationship between high rates of violence against women and female empowerment is caused by a heightened sensitivity for male

²⁹ The analysis of the determinants of crime was done by J.J.M. van Dijk.

³⁰ ICVS

³¹ ICVS

violence amongst women living in countries with high gender equality. In these countries, abuse by men is more easily interpreted as violence and also more frequently reported in the victim surveys (Kangaspunta, 1997). In that case, the positive relationship between female social status and violence against women might be an artefact of the method of measurement.

If we compare the general crime victim survey with the specific violence against women survey, we can see that the figures in the general survey are much lower than in the violence against women survey, as can be seen in an example taken from Finland in Tables 2 and 3 (Johnsson, 1997, pp. 34-35).

Table 2: Wife abuse in Finland, 1997

Police recorded cases ¹	National Crime Victim Survey ²	Violence against Women Survey ³
1481	56000	262000

¹ Tietoaika 5/1997, pp. 11-12.

² Heiskanen M. & Aromaa K. (1998), "Accident and crime victims in Finland 1997", *Research Communications 36*, Justice 1998:9, Statistics Finland and National Research Institute of Legal Policy.

³ Heiskanen, M. & Piispa, M. (1998), "Faith, hope, battering. A national victim survey of men's violence against women in Finland 1997", Justice 1998:12, *Equality between women and men*, Statistics Finland and Council for Equality.

Table 3: Physical violence against women, 1997

Police recorded cases ¹	Crime Victim Survey	Violence against Women Survey
9274	316000	734773

¹ *Crime and Criminal Justice in Finland 1997* (1998), National Research Institute of Legal Policy Publications No. 153.

The reason for this might be that, since issues connected to sexual violence, wife abuse and other forms of violence against women are very sensitive, women are not comfortable reporting them in surveys which cover a wide range of different types of crimes. In order to collect reliable comparative data on violence against women we need a survey which will focus on violence against women issues. This type of international survey is currently being planned.

Because of the above-mentioned problems with measurement of violence against women, this index was not included in the final analyses of determinants of crime.

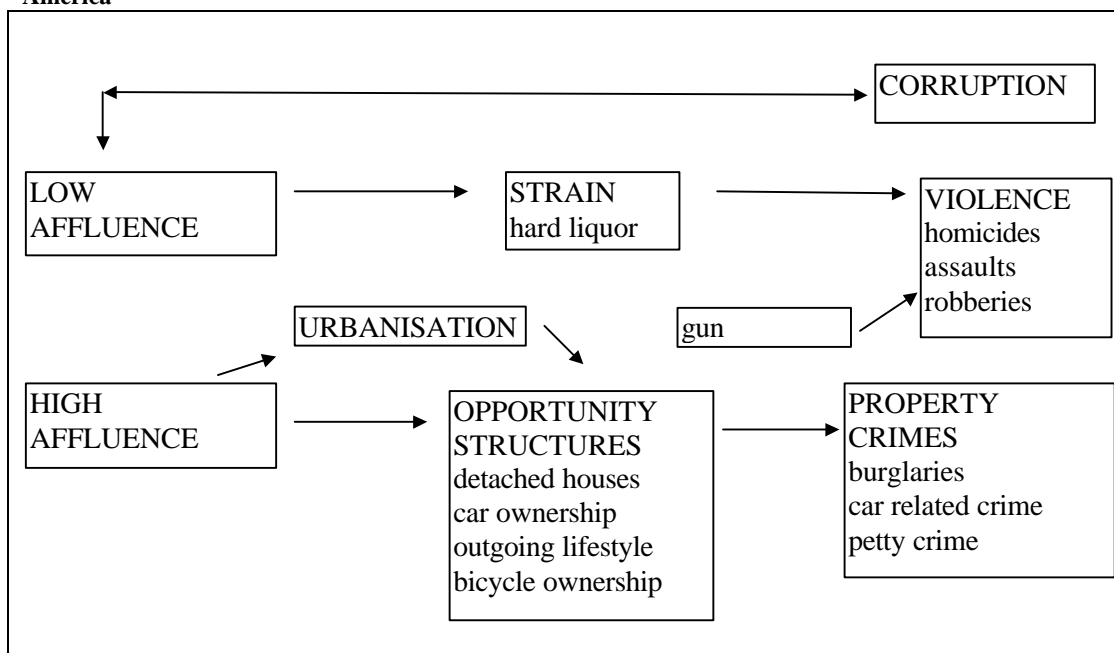
Opportunity factors included known risk factors connected to crime such as the frequency of outdoor visits for recreational purposes, single occupancy of dwellings (one-person households), composition of housing stock (apartment buildings or detached houses) and ownership of motor vehicles, motorcycles and bicycles. The opportunity index was constructed to include three types of vehicle ownership, the frequency of outdoor visits, the proportion of single person households and the percentage of females with paid employment. According to our hypothesis, in countries with high scores on the opportunity index, opportunistic forms of crime are more prevalent due to the existing opportunity structure. Countries with the highest national scores in this index were Norway, Germany, Sweden, the United States and the Netherlands.

Data on urbanisation were also included in the analyses (United Nations, 1995).

The ultimate goal of the analyses is to explore the statistical relationship between the motivation and opportunity factors and the national crime levels. Based on the analyses, it was shown that crime indicators are related to criminologically relevant economic and social

indicators. The crime rates can be seen as the result of the dynamic interplay between motivational and opportunity factors at the macro level. The main findings of the analyses are shown in Figure 2 (van Dijk, 1998b).

Figure 2: Schematic representation of the main correlates of national crime rates in Europe and North America



Based on the analyses, it is possible to identify three factors describing the crime situation. The first one is “strain related violence” and is characterised by high violent crime rate, high strain, low affluence, low ownership of cars and high ownership of bicycles. High consumption of strong alcohol is also characteristic of countries represented by this factor. The second factor is “serious property crimes in urban settings”. It represents relatively affluent, urbanised countries where there is high car ownership and an outgoing lifestyle. The third factor is “opportunistic petty crime” which has the highest scores on petty crime and bicycle ownership rates.

Example:

Italy:	high scores on serious property crimes in urban settings
Finland:	no significantly high scores on any factor
Latvia:	high scores on strain-related violence
Netherlands:	high scores on opportunistic petty crimes.

If we look at the results of the analyses first in *Central and Eastern European countries* we can see that the motivation to offend would appear to be greater than it is in Western Europe and North America. (However, it should be noted that the data used for this study deal primarily with “traditional” offences.)

Male adolescents in Central and Eastern Europe appear to have a somewhat stronger motivation than their peers elsewhere to acquire income through criminal activities. In these countries socio-economic deprivation and alcohol abuse appear to help in forming a breeding ground for different forms of crimes of violence. Furthermore, in most Central and Eastern European countries violence against women is relatively high. In addition to strain and alcohol abuse, this specific crime problem is probably related to the low social status of

women. For example, the percentage of women with higher education is much lower in most countries in transition than in Western Europe.

In the short term, the economic crisis in the Russian Federation in particular might exacerbate existing economic and social problems in the region. In the longer term the economic prospects might be better but this will not necessarily reduce the motivation to commit crime. Increased affluence in these countries will probably not reduce the prevalence of strain because in the context of a free market economy the lower social strata will profit less from it than will the higher strata. The rates of unemployment will probably remain high for many years to come.

In most of the countries in transition people in urban areas typically live in flats, and car ownership is still relatively rare. These factors may have so far inhibited further increases in property crimes. Over the past ten years, in most Central and Eastern European countries the level of affluence has increased. This has been the case in particular in Hungary, Poland, Slovenia and the Baltic states. If the GNP of these countries (which are among the first candidates for entry into the European Union) continues to increase, vehicle-related crimes and some forms of petty crimes are likely to increase as well. Probably household burglary rates will also increase if households start to possess more expensive commodities, and investments in anti-burglary devices remain low.

Eventually, however, investments in self-protection against car theft and burglary will increase and the rates of property crimes will stabilise. If, at that time, strain among adolescents remains prevalent, there might well be a shift towards more violent forms of property crimes (street robberies, car-jacking and household robberies). Some of the less serious property crimes prevented by improved protection may be displaced in the form of

Example:	
Italy:	high scores on serious property crimes in urban settings
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encouraging findings. If the restructuring in other countries in the region continues, the long-term prospects for decreasing levels of corruption seem fairly good.

Western Europe. The crime situation in the more industrialised and affluent nations of Western Europe must primarily be understood in terms of special opportunity structures. Where motor vehicles are common, vehicle-related crimes are common as well. Where people traditionally live in detached housing, residential burglaries tend to be prevalent. In recent years protection against car theft, theft from cars and household burglaries has increased. Probably as a result of this - and perhaps also of intensified policing and more severe punishment of offenders - the overall level of property crimes has been declining in both North America and Western Europe since 1995.

Paradoxically, crimes of violence - in particular violent juvenile crime - appear to be increasing in several Member States of the European Union. The increase in street robberies in some countries might be the result of displacement of crimes prevented by improved protection. Another explanation is the emergence of an ethnic underclass in the larger cities of Western Europe. Although this cannot yet be determined with certainty, the level of strain among some ethnic parts of the urban population might well be on the increase. In the area of crime prevention, the main challenge for Western European countries seems to be the social and economic integration of young immigrants in the urban areas.

At the same time, the outgoing lifestyle of young people and the combined use of alcohol and drugs might also be a causal factor behind juvenile violent crime. One of the main assets of Western Europe in this context are the relatively low levels of handgun ownership. There are strong indications that this is an important factor inhibiting homicides. The high rates of violence against women in some Western countries, as shown by both police statistics and victim survey data, might be the result of heightened sensitivity to and awareness of the maltreatment of women by their spouses or other partners in a domestic setting. If other countries become more gender balanced, they may also show higher reported rates of violence against women for the same reason. This explanation for the high rates in some of the most affluent and gender balanced countries should be no reason to belittle the seriousness of these incidents. The recent phenomenon of increased visibility of these crimes in the most gender balanced nations underlines the existence of very substantial dark numbers elsewhere.

Relatively low levels of manifest corruption by public officials appear to be typical of affluent nations with stable democratic traditions. This relationship can also be understood in terms of criminal opportunities. In open democracies with relatively unregulated markets there are fewer opportunities for public officials to require bribes for their services.

North America. Since 1988 the overall level of crime in the United States and Canada has declined, according to both police data and survey data. The level of self-protection against crime is high. The level of strain appears to be relatively low. Both the United States and Canada have relatively high levels of car-related crimes in urban settings, as well as a relatively high level of burglaries.

The level and profile of crime in the United States differ less from those of countries such as Canada, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands than is commonly assumed. The level of “traditional” crimes in the United States is not exceptionally high, nor is the level of corruption. The most important difference appears to be the high level of homicides and robberies, and the fact that in the United States these often involve the use of guns. The most probable cause of this deviation from the “European” pattern is the exceptionally high rates of gun ownership.

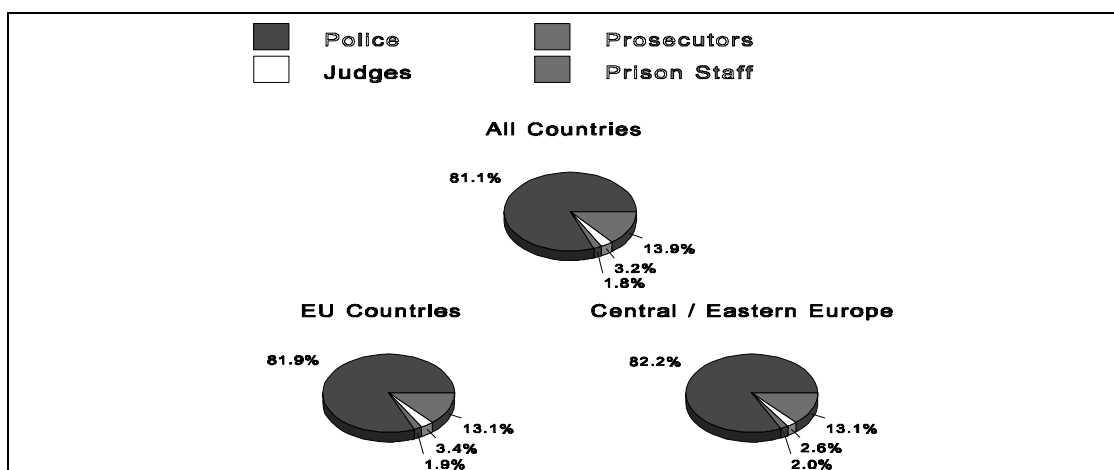
*Operation of the criminal justice system*³²

The third part of the analysis deals with the operation of the criminal justice system in Europe and North America. If we look at the international patterns, similarities and differences between the countries we can conclude the following:

1. There are large international variations in the rate of police, prosecutors, judges and prison staff, but there is a striking similarity in the distribution of criminal justice personnel among these professional groups. In Central and Eastern European countries the rate of criminal justice personnel is higher than in Western European countries. However, as can be seen in Figure 3, the percentage distribution in different parts of Europe is very similar (Marshall, 1998, p. 71).

Figure 3: 1994 Percentage distribution of criminal justice personnel: police, prosecutors, judges, and prison staff

³² The analysis of the operation of the criminal justice system was done by Ineke Haen Marshall



The law enforcement resource index (LERI) was constructed in order to differentiate between those countries with high levels of resources devoted to law enforcement, and those countries with low levels. The LERI is a composite indicator containing data on resources devoted to law enforcement including public and private police, prosecutors, judges and prison staff³³. Countries with high scores on the LERI are shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Countries with the highest and lowest scores on the index for LERI

LERI Low	LERI High
<i>Central and Eastern Europe</i>	<i>Central and Eastern Europe</i>
Romania Poland Georgia Armenia FYR Macedonia Bulgaria	Croatia Hungary Slovakia Latvia Lithuania Estonia Kazakhstan Russian Fed.
<i>West</i>	<i>West</i>
Andorra Turkey Greece Finland Netherlands	United States Portugal Northern Ireland

2. There seems to be a correlation between crime and the levels of criminal justice personnel. If we look at the relationship between the LERI and the level of criminality we can see that countries with a relatively greater level of investment in criminal justice resources measured by personnel tend to have a higher level of homicides, serious violent crime, and petty crime than those countries which have a lower level of criminal justice personnel. An association between the LERI and the level of economic development³⁴ could not be found.

³³ The LERI uses primarily data from the V UN Survey with some supplementary data collected by the Dutch Ministry of Justice.

³⁴ Based on GNP and the Human Development Index.

3. Criminal justice is still a male-dominated occupation. There is not a single country where half or more of the police and prison staff are female, and there are very few countries where female make up more than half of the prosecutors or judges.

The gender balance index (GBI) was constructed in order to describe international variations in the gender balance in the criminal justice work force. This index included data on female employment in different components of the criminal justice system (police, prosecutors, judges, prison staff). Table 5 shows the lowest and highest scores of this index.

Table 5: Countries with the highest and lowest scores on the index for GBI

GBI Low	GBI High
<i>Central and Eastern Europe</i>	<i>Central and Eastern Europe</i>
Azerbaijan Ukraine Georgia Armenia	Bulgaria Slovenia Russian Fed. Czech Rep. Latvia Estonia
<i>West</i>	<i>West</i>
France Turkey Liechtenstein Northern Ireland Cyprus Malta	Denmark Sweden United States Canada

If we look at the different groups of personnel we can see that in Europe and North America 13% of the police are female, and 19% of prison staff are female. On average, almost one-third of the prosecutors and judges are female. There is a large international variation in the female proportion of the criminal justice personnel. In Central and Eastern Europe the average share (% of total) of female judges and female prison staff is considerably higher than in Western Europe. The gender differences between Central and Eastern Europe and Western Europe are much smaller among the police and prosecutors.

In order to draw any further conclusions regarding the gender balance in different countries, we should have more information on the status of different professions in different countries. In many cases, those professions occupied mainly by women do not have a very high status in the society, which is usually also seen in the salary distribution.

4. There are large international variations in the likelihood that the police will record crimes that come to their attention. In Central and Eastern European countries crime victims are less likely to report the crime to the police and the police appear less likely to record a reported offence than in Western European countries.

If we compare the ICVS data on victimisation rates with the Fifth UN Survey data on police recorded crimes, there seems to be a mismatch. However, if we add the ICVS data on victim reporting behaviour to the analysis, some of the inconsistencies disappear. Although the victimisation rates in Central and Eastern European countries (30.7) and EU countries (29.6) do not differ very much, the victim reporting rates and the police recording rates are quite different in the two groups of countries: the likelihood that a crime will be reported to the

police is much lower in Central and Eastern European countries than it is in EU countries; and the likelihood that the crime actually will be recorded by the police is also much lower in CEE countries it is in EU countries.

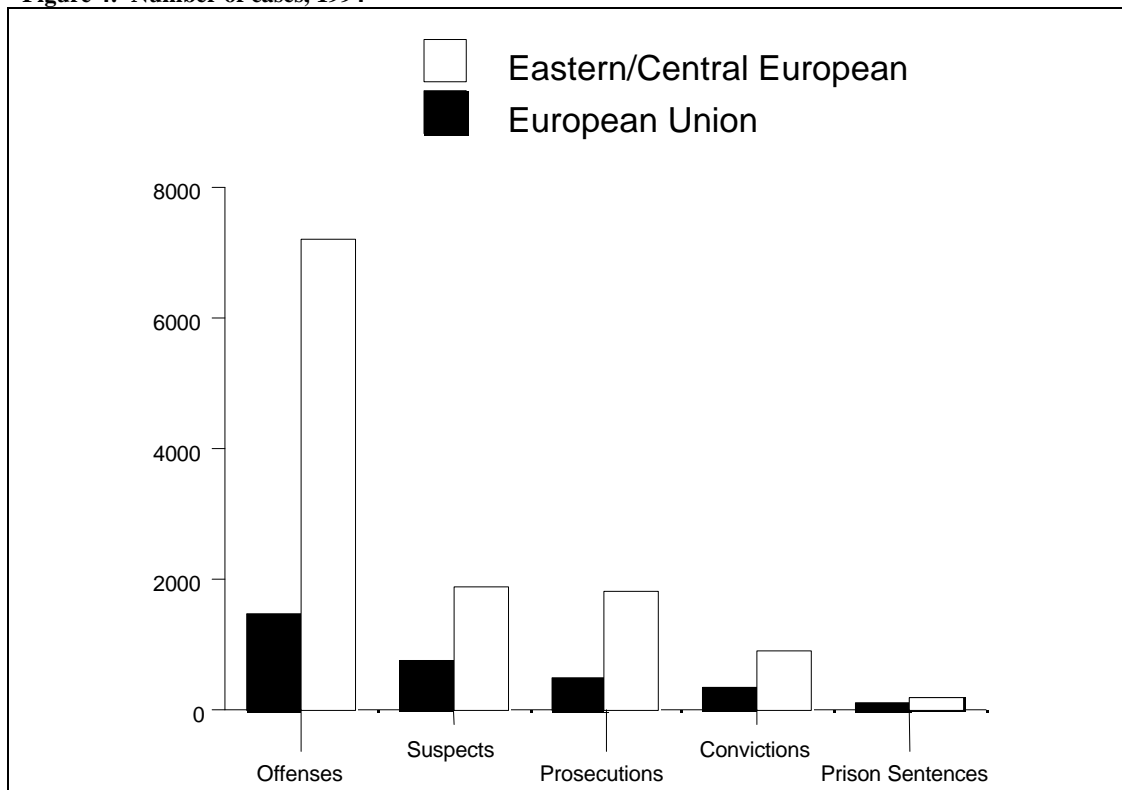
Examples are shown in Table 6.

Table 6: Likelihood of offences being reported and recorded

Country	Probability that:	
	Offences are reported	reported cases are recorded
Italy	below average	above average
Finland	above average	high
Latvia	below average	low
The Netherlands	above average	above average

5. International data on case flow are problematic and difficult to interpret. It is clear that EU countries have a larger number of recorded offences, suspects, prosecutions, convictions, and prison sentences than do CEE countries as can be seen in Figure 4 (Marshall, 1998, p. 95).

Figure 4: Number of cases, 1994



Differences in case attrition reflect rather differences in national criminal justice systems than differences in the quality of work performed by criminal justice employees.

6. Assessment of international variations in the performance of a large number of criminal justice systems remains a difficult task. The data are simply not adequate. Subjective measures are more easily available than objective measures.

The Citizen Evaluation Performance Index (CEPPI) was constructed in order to make international comparisons of the subjective assessment of members of the public of policing and public safety³⁵. It includes the following dimensions of the concept of citizen evaluation of police performance: victims of contact crimes who reported their victimisation to the police; victims who were satisfied with the way in which their report was handled by the police; and all respondents who were satisfied with police crime control.

Table 7: Countries with the highest and lowest scores on the index for CEPPI

CEPPI Low	CEPPI High
<i>Central and Eastern Europe</i>	<i>Central and Eastern Europe</i>
Kyrgyzstan Russian Fed. Latvia Romania Georgia Estonia Belarus Lithuania Ukraine	
<i>West</i>	<i>West</i>
	France Netherlands Northern Ireland England & Wales Sweden United States Canada Scotland Switzerland

It is very clear, but also expected, that the subjective evaluation of the police in Central and Eastern European countries is very different from that in the West. In CEE countries the police were traditionally a repressive power of the state. After the political and economic changes the police have had difficulties in changing their old image and becoming compatible with the democratic process.

Citizen evaluation of police is related to some but not all indicators of crime. Countries with higher scores on the corruption, homicide and serious violence indices tend to have a lower score on the CEPPI.

In order to give an overview of performance indicators, we should, in addition to the subjective evaluation of the police³⁶, look also at police recording practices³⁷, productivity

³⁵ CEPPI is based on data from ICVS.

³⁶ ICVS.

³⁷ ICVS and V Survey.

of police and prosecutors³⁸, how secure people feel, people’s opinion about the fairness of the system (International Institute for Management Development, 1997), and people’s self-reported exposure to corrupt public officials³⁹. It is also reasonable to include crime rates (the serious violence index and petty crime index) in the overview of the performance measures.

If we summarise the above mentioned indicators we can construct a “perfect” system with high values of police recording, productivity and subjective measures, and low rates of crimes.

Table 8: Countries with high and low scores on the performance indicators

<p>High: Police recording Productivity Subjective measures Low: Crime rates</p> <p><i>Central and Eastern Europe</i></p>	<p>Low: Police recording Productivity Subjective measures High: Crime rates</p> <p><i>Central and Eastern Europe</i></p>
	<p>Azerbaijan Bulgaria Georgia Kazakhstan Latvia Moldova Poland Russian Fed. Ukraine Yugoslavia</p>
<i>West</i>	<i>West</i>
<p>Denmark Germany Italy Norway Scotland</p>	

There seems to be (to a certain extent) a clustering on similar ranks with respect to measures of police recorded performance, productivity and subjective measures. Also, crime rates are not completely randomly distributed among countries differing on the performance indicators. This suggests that the performance indicators which have been used may have a reasonable degree of usefulness. However, any conclusions at this stage about cause and effect should be avoided.

*Sanctions*⁴⁰

The fourth part of the analysis deals with sanctions. The main conclusion regarding the sanctions are as follows:

³⁸ V Survey.

³⁹ ICVS

⁴⁰ The analysis on sanctions was done by André Kuhn.

Life imprisonment. With a very few exceptions (such as Norway, where life imprisonment was abolished in 1981), life imprisonment is possible throughout Europe and North America for certain serious offences. Nevertheless, the available data show that life imprisonment represents only a very small part (less than 1 per cent in all the countries) of the total number of sentences imposed.

Deprivation of liberty. Imprisonment is the backbone of the system of sanctions of all countries in Europe and North America. It represents about one third of all imposed sanctions. The Fifth United Nations Survey data show large variations when calculated per 100,000 inhabitants. The range goes from less than 50 sentences of deprivation of liberty per 100,000 inhabitants each year in Azerbaijan, Cyprus, and Germany, to over 200 in Greece, the Netherlands, Scotland, and Turkey.

The overall use of imprisonment has increased between 1990 and 1994. In several countries the number of prison sentences imposed and the number of prison admissions has in fact decreased during this period. Nevertheless, it seems that an increase in the length of the prison terms actually served compensates for such a decrease in admissions and even results in an increase in prison populations. Some interesting exceptions (Austria, Cyprus, Finland and Slovenia) show that prison populations can be controlled and that prisoner rates are not fated to increase.

There appear to be substantial differences in the way imprisonment is used. Some countries seem to have made a deliberate policy decision to decrease the use of imprisonment (as in the case of Finland), while others seem to have made a deliberate policy decision to increase its use (as in the case of the United States). Some countries sentence only a few offenders to long terms of imprisonment, others sentence many offenders to short terms, and still others sentence many offenders to long terms. The Nordic countries appear to represent one end of the spectrum, with the Central and Eastern European countries (with a few exceptions) as well as the United States at the other end.

A correlation was found between the prisoner rate per 100,000 inhabitants and the national percentage of ICVS respondents who favoured imprisonment. However, the correlation can be due to the fact that the courts are simply reflecting the “will of the people”, or to the fact that the public comes to accept the sentencing practice of the courts - or it is even possible that both the prison population and public opinion are determined by some third factor(s).

The length of sentences of imprisonment seems to be the main factor in explaining the prison rate. The length of sentences depends primarily on the fundamental premise of criminal policy in a given country, which in fact determines whether it is more or less punitive. Thus, to reduce the prison population a criminal justice system has to find means to reduce the average length of prison terms rather than to try to reduce the number of admissions, although a reduction in the number of admissions can contribute to a decrease in the prison population.

“Control in freedom”. Many sanctions involve considerable supervision and control of the offender. These include suspended or conditional imprisonment with supervision, probation, community service, reformatory and educational labour, special forms of treatment, and local banishment. Because of this variety, it is not possible to find a common trend in the data on this sanction. The different countries report that between zero and about 70 per cent (for the Czech Republic and Slovakia) of their total number of sanctions consist of “control in freedom”. A question in the Fifth United Nations Survey refers to the number of persons placed on probation (a procedure whereby an individual found guilty of an offence is released by the court without imprisonment and placed under the supervision of an official or officially sanctioned body), and another question asks for the number of persons on probation on a given day. In 1994, between about 10 (in Lithuania) and 536 (in the United States) persons per 100,000 inhabitants were placed on probation, and on a selected day in

the year the rates oscillated between 12 (in Slovenia) and 1137 (in the United States) per 100,000 population.

Warnings and admonitions. Here again, the countries report that between zero and more than 50 per cent (in Bulgaria, Kazakhstan, Slovenia and Switzerland) of their sanctions were warnings or admonitions, including all suspended sanctions without a supervision requirement. (The cautions on the comparability of statistics on sanctions should be noted; it can be assumed that in many countries, warnings and admonitions may be imposed by the police and the prosecutor, and may not be entered into the judicial statistics.)

Fines. The financial sanction is clearly one of the most popular among European countries, especially in Western Europe. In Austria, England & Wales, Finland, and Germany more than 70 per cent of all sanctions are fines. At the other end of the scale, in Kyrgyzstan, Lithuania and Slovakia less than 10 per cent of sanctions were fines. (The same cautions noted above regarding the statistics on warnings and admonitions apply to fines.)

Community service. Many countries do not recognise community service as a sanction in their criminal justice system. According to the responses to the Fifth United Nations Survey, the countries which make the greatest use of community service are the Russian Federation (about 15% of all sentences), Azerbaijan (13%), Georgia (12%), the Netherlands (8%), Scotland (7%), and Northern Ireland (6%). However, in this connection it should be recalled that the concept of community service can be substantively different from one country to the other and therefore caution is needed in making international comparisons on the topic. For example, in several countries in transition including the Russian Federation, Azerbaijan and Georgia, community service is actually “educational labour”. This sanction requires the offender to continue working at his or her regular employment, but a part of the wages are deducted as a sanction.

Among the persons convicted in 1994, between 3.5% (in Kazakhstan) and 18.2 % (in Austria) are women. In each country, the differences between 1990 and 1994 in the proportion of women among the convicted offenders are slight and go both ways; there are increases in some countries and decreases in others.

Examples of sanctions are shown in Table 9.

Table 9: Types of sanctions used

	Deprivation of liberty	prisoner rate	pre trial detention	admission rate	Length of sentence served	Custodial sentences / 100 suspects	Proportion of custodial sentences
Italy	High	below average	High	above average		Below average	below average
Finland	above average	low	low	above average	Average	Low	low
Latvia	above average	high	below average	High	High	Above average	above average
Nether-Lands	High	below average	high	above average	Below average		high

Country profiles

The last part of the analysis, which is published as a separate volume, contains brief “criminal justice profiles” of all the European and North American countries with an independent criminal justice system. The country profiles include three parts: first a

description of the criminal justice system, then statistical information on crime trends and resources, and finally an assessment of the country compared to other countries based on the indices.

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ÀÒÌÐÈ×ÍÚÈ ÀÌÀÈÈÇ ÍÁÚÀÄÈÍÍÚÕ ÈÑÒÌ×ÌÈÈÌÀ ÄÀÍÍÚÕ

ÈÐÈÑÒÈÈÌÀ ÈÀÌÀÑÌÓÌÀ *

Íà ñòíý ùèé àíéóñ ìò ðèàíàèò á àðì òñèé è ñà àá ðíà ñ ðèèà ñèéé à íà èèçú ÿ òíàí Íàçíðà Íðàà íèçà òèè Íáúà àèíà ííúò Íà òèé ì òà íáá íòèýì ðà ñòòñíðè è ñ ðà òèýì ñèñòà ñ òáíèíáííáí ðà àà è ñòáííèçàííàñòàà (1990 -1994 áá.). Íí íáúà àèýì á ò è èñíèùçòá ò àà ííúà, áçý òúà íá òíèùèí èç Íàçíðà ÍÍ, ì òà èæ á èç ñ æ áóíà ðíáííáí Íàçíðà ì æ á ðòàà ò ðà ñòòñíðè. èç àðòàèò èñòì-íèèíà.

Àà ííúà èç ðà çèè-íúò èñòì-íèèíà íáúà àá íá íú á ðáèèèà òèè, èçáà ñòííé èà è Èðèè íà èúííé ñà àí-íèè HEUNI. Èñíèùçòý èííàèíà òèð àà ííúò èç ðà çèè-íúò èñòì-íèèíà, áúèè ñòííèðèíà íú òðè òèà èíáà èííà. Èðèèíà èúííà èíáà èñú ñíáà ðæ á ò íèà çà òà èè ì ò-èñèà òáèèñòà, íà ñèèèý áá ç ñà ðúà çíúò ñíèà àñòàèé, ñà ðúà çííáí íà ñèèèý, íà ñèèèý ðíðèà æ á íùèí, íà ðèà íèý, ðà ñòòá íèý, ñáý çà ííúà ñ à àòííàèèà ì èíðòòèý è ñ èíçíà ò-èòà èúííà ðà ñòòá íèý.

Àòíðà ý ñà ðèý èíáà èííà àèèð ò-à á ò èíáà èñ ìðèàà òèè è èíáà èñ àíçíæ ñíðè. Òðà òúý ñà ðèý àèèð ò-à á ò èíáà èñú ñèñòà ñ òáíèíáííáí ðà àà è ñòáííèçàííàñòàà, èíáà èñ ðà ñòòñíá ðèè à íá íèý çà èííà, èíáà èñ ðíáííáí áà èà ñíà (gender balance) òáíèíáííáí ðà àíñòàèý è èíáà èñ íòà íèè àá ý òà èúííðè ñèèèè ñí ñòíðíú íà ñà èà íèý.

À íà èèç íà ò-èíà òñý ñ èàà íòèèèà òèè ñòðáí ñ íèçèè èèè àñííèè èíýòèèèà ìòñ ðà ñòòñíðè, àèèð ò-à ííúà á èíáà èñú, Çà òà ì àá èà á òñý à íà èèç ðà çòèùðà òíà íà òèíà èúííò èíáà èííà ðà ñòòñíðè íà òíà ñííáíúò ýèííè-à ñèèò è ñíòèà èúííò òà èòíðíà, ðèíèà á ñò èà è òà èòíðú ìðèàà òèè è àíçíæ ñíðè. À íà èèç íèà çúàà á ò, ò-òí èíýòèèèà ìò ðà ñòòñíðè íæ á ò ðà ñíà òðèàà òúñý èà è ðà çòèùðà ò àèíà ò-à ñèíáí áçà èíáà èñòàèý ñ æ áó òà èòíðà è ìðèàà òèè è àíçíæ ñíðè íà ñà èòíðíáí.

À íà èèç òóíèèèíèðíàà íèý ñèñòà ñ òáíèíáííáí à ðáííòàèý ñííáíúàà á òñý ðà æ àá àñà àí íà ðà ñòòñà ò òáíèíáííáí ðà àíñòàèý è, á ò-à ñòííðè, íà à ðñíà èà òáíèíáííáí à ðáííòàèý; à òà èæ á íà ñà ðèè ñèó-à á á ðà çèè-íúò ñèñòà ì òáíèíáííáí à ðáííòàèý; è íà èííà ò, íà òà ðà èòà ðèñòèèà ò íèà çà òà èà é ñèñòà ì òáíèíáííáí à ðáííòàèý. Íà ðèñ ð, íæ á ò áúòú íèà çà ñ, ò-òí ñòúà ñòàóá ò àá ò-à òèý ð ùà ý à íà èíáèý á ðà ñà àá èà ñèè à ðñíà èà òáíèíáííáí à ðáííòàèý ñ æ áó ñèèèè, íáàèíèòà èúííò, ñòáííèçàííàñòàà ííúò è èñòà àèòà èúííò ìðàà ííà. Èðíà òíáí, ðà áíòà á ìðàà íà ò òáíèíáííáí à ðáííòàèý àñà á ùà ñíðà á òñý ðà èòúà ñòàá íí òæ ñèíé ðíòà ñíèà é.

Íà ñòúà ñòàóá ò ìè íáííé ñòðà íú, àáà æ á íùèíú ñíñòà àèý èè áú ñèíàèíó èèè áíèà á ñèèòà èñéí áí è òð ðà ñíáí à ðñíà èà è èèòú íá ñíáí ñòðáí, á èíòíðúò æ á íùèíú ñíñòà àèý ð ò ñèíàèíó èèè áíèà á íáàèíèòà èà é è ñòàá é.

À íà èèç íèà çúàà á ò òà èæ á, ò-òí ñòúà ñòàóð ò ø èðíèèà ñ æ áóíà ðíáííáí èíèà áà íèý á ðà àèñòà òèè ðà ñòòá íèé, ì èíòíðúò çà ý àèý ð ò á ñèèèè. Á ñòðà íà ò Òà íòðà èúííé è Àíñòì-ííé Áàðì æ á ðòàú ðà ñòòñíðè àíðà çáí ñ íúò á íáðà ùà ð òñý á ñèèèè è ñèèèè èà æ á òñý ðíý àèý á ò àíðà çáí ñ íúò á àíòíííðè á ðà àèñòà òèè çà ý àèà ííúò ðà ñòòá íèé, ò-à ì ñòðà íà ò ÁÑ.

Èðíà òíáí, áúèè à íà èèçèðíàà íú ñà íèèèè è ñòàá íú èò ñòòñíðè. Òð ðà ñíà çà èèð ò-à íèà ý àèý á òñý ñííáíé ñèñòà ñ ñà íèèèè á Áàðì è á Ñà àá ðííé Àà ðèèà. Ñð àá

* Áàðííàèèèè Èñòèèòò ñ Íðààíòàðààíèè è èíòðèèè ìðàñòèèèèè, Áòèèèèèèíáííáí ñ Íðààíèçàòèèè Íáúààèíáííúò Íàòèè(ÁÓÍÈ).

íòíñèòñý òðǎ òüý ÷à ñòù àñǎ é ðeíý òúõ ñà íeòèé. ðeáǎ àà íeǎ é òþ ðǎ íñó
çà èep ÷ǎ íep áúðñeí á á ðeíǎ 19904 āā. ðíñíeæ eðǎ eüíñòù òþ ðǎ íñí
çà èep ÷ǎ íey ý áey á òñý íñíñí òà èòíðñí íáúý ñíý þ uèì ðñò eíýóðeèeǎ íòà
çà èep ÷ǎ ííú. Áúeí òà eæ á íeǎ çà í, ÷òí ñòúǎ ñòáóǎ ò òǎ ñíǎ è çíǎ ÷eðǎ eüíñǎ
ñíòíñø á íeǎ ñ æ áó íòíñø á íeǎ ì é ðeíǎ íǎ íep òþ ðǎ íñí çà èep ÷ǎ íey á eǎ ÷ǎ ñòáǎ
íà eǎ çà íey è ðíñòí íà ñòíý ùǎ áí eíýóðeèeǎ íòà çà èep ÷ǎ ííú.

“CITIZENS’ SAFETY” IN THE ITALIAN INTEGRATED SYSTEM OF SOCIAL SURVEYS

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The new phase: concern for social issues

Since the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, ISTAT has commenced a new phase characterised by concern for social issues. This new phase has been outlined over the last ten years.

The field of observation has been enlarged and new aspects of daily life have been discovered by focusing on citizens’ problems not only from the economic point of view. Although social issues such as reading, sport, household structure and behaviour, children’s and elderly people’s health, and holidays were also studied in the past, they were not examined as a whole or at established time intervals, and with no reference framework. Moreover, the Institute’s approach was clearly biased towards the economic sphere.

After the end of the 1980s experimental phase, a multi-purpose project to implement a system of social surveys commenced. It is based on a more complex and detailed design which gives an overall picture of the country from the social point of view, using information not provided by administrative sources.

By taking the standard of living as a focal point, an attempt is made to monitor social conditions. Focus is given to social welfare in order to identify its clearly critical aspects, as well as a number of different strategies to identify hardship in advance. The two main goals of the social survey system are to provide on the demand side what is already available on the supply side, and to show what is hidden. For example, hidden events can only be revealed through statistics, that is through social surveys of citizens: “ongoing social changes, the increasing complexity of social events require that some phenomena should be surveyed, even because they cannot be outlined by administrative surveys, as statistics would not be able to show them. This applies to unreported crimes and domestic accidents, to unmarried couples, and to informal help nets” (Maselli & Sabbadini, 1993, p. 5).

The new integrated system of multi-purpose social surveys which has been operating since 1993 uses this standard of living approach to combine objective and subjective indicators, and also focuses on changes within society. This system provides an annually updated overview of the population’s daily life. In addition, specific aspects are periodically surveyed (about every five years).

“Aspects of Daily Life” is the main survey, since it “is the supporting and normalising element of the whole social informative framework” (Maselli & Sabbadini, 1993, p. 6). It is a set of data concerning individuals, households and events which allows to construct and analyse the citizens’ demand and compare it with the services supplied, something already surveyed by ISTAT.

The “Survey on Health and the Use of Health Services” provides a picture of the population’s health conditions, their behaviour and habits with respect to health, the use of health services and of the people who use them.

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The “Survey on Leisure Time and Culture” gathers data on a wide range of issues, ranging from holidays to sport, and from reading to the use of PCs, although its main aim is to provide a picture of people’s leisure time, how it is perceived, spent and enjoyed, as well as of the trends and changes in the habits of the population and its specific sectors.

The “Survey on Households and Individuals” aims at providing a picture of changes in household structures, relationships and behaviours, with particular attention being given to children and women.

The “Survey on the Use of Time” was carried out in 1988 jointly with Eurostat, which established the time interval. A new survey is expected by the year 2,000. It surveys daily household life through diaries in which data are reported every 10 minutes.

The “Survey on Travel and Holidays” arises from a Eurostat project, as does the previous survey. It aims at investigating the tourism demand. The survey collects data on a quarterly basis, and household interviews provide an almost complete picture of both short and long business and leisure travel.

The “Survey on Citizens’ Safety” provides a picture of crime, victims of crime, and crimes experiences. In this way, unreported crimes are shown as well as the attitudes of citizens towards crime.

The multi-purpose survey on citizens’ safety

Attention has always been given to unreported crimes and crime victims, although a specific survey on these issues has only recently been carried out. In the 1992-1993 project, it had been decided to add some questions to the “Survey on Aspects of Daily Life”, dealing with personal theft with physical contact (bag snatching and pick pocketing) and household burglary. The issue was to be further investigated in the survey on “Households and Individuals”, considered the most suitable survey for this purpose in that its objective is to outline the weakest part of the population and problem areas. However, the original plan was changed as safety is essential for, and affects, the standard of living. Thus it was decided to study safety as a separate topic.

At the beginning, a comparison with international literature was made, in particular with the NCVS carried out in the U.S. at the end of the 1960s. Attention was also paid to the International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS) carried out by UNICRI in 1989 and in 1992, as well as to the 1993 Canadian Survey on Violence against Women and a number of studies carried out in the United Kingdom, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Canada, Australia, Israel, Portugal, France, Sweden, Norway and Finland.

Such a theoretical approach was necessary to become aware of the problems concerning victimisation surveys in other countries, as well as a number of other elements such as the adopted solutions and unsolved problems. It was the starting point to design the survey and to make a number of basic choices concerning the most suitable methodology with respect to the sample, the technique, the survey instruments, the reference period together with the connected problems relating to recalling past events, training of interviewers and, finally, the specific aspects to be analysed.

The aims of the survey

The survey on victimisation (which became a survey on citizens’ safety) aimed at acquiring in-depth knowledge of crimes and victims in order to produce statistics from integrated data concerning the phenomenon, the related environment and the characteristics of the people involved. The aims of the survey were:

- to estimate the crime rate, i.e. the number of unreported crimes or the “dark figure” of crime;
- to obtain knowledge about specific crimes committed as well as about the victims, be they individuals or property; individuals were considered as single persons or as members of a reference group (household);
- to study, for the first time, crimes that have been never studied before, such as sexual harassment and violence which are seldom included in official statistics;
- to obtain information on the characteristics of crimes (when, where and how they occur), and on both offenders and victims (who they are, what they do, where they live, etc.);
- to obtain an outline of high-risk segments of the population (by crime) and the possibility of drafting a risk map;
- to analyse people’s perceptions of safety and the defence strategies they adopt;
- to understand the citizen-police relationship on the basis of people’s propensity to report or not to report, as well as their degree of satisfaction with police control; and
- to create a security index for the area of residence, based on specific indicators regarding number of drug addicts, pushers, prostitutes and acts of vandalism against public property.

Objective and subjective indicators: crimes and fear

Hypotheses were made to define the necessary objective and subjective indicators as well as the elements required to understand the phenomenon.

Objective indicators are a measure of crime incidence, prevalence and density. Other indicators analyse the characteristics of victims and the conditions in which crimes are committed, or deal with the closeness (both geographically and in terms of living habits) between victims and offenders, though none of them provide information on citizens’ perception and fear of crime, or their defence strategies.

The roles of citizens change. Sometimes they are the victims while at other times they become the offenders. Sometimes they play an active role in social control, while on other occasions they are only the indirect source of social policies. They decide what should and should not be reported, and thus create a picture of crime that is different from the real one. However, the political users of information and the police take this picture as being the real condition of crime.

It is difficult to determine the correct relationship between the objective and subjective indicators, and therefore they should both be examined.

The questionnaire, structured almost entirely around closed answers, was created to meet the need to obtain objective and subjective indicators. On the one hand, crimes are surveyed with respect to how and where they occurred, the economic losses and injuries caused by them, the characteristics of the offenders, victims and non-victims, their behaviour and defence strategies. On the other hand, these elements are surveyed with respect to the perception of fear in the streets, at home, and in the car as well as the risk of crime in areas of residence.

The study covered those crimes for which objective criteria to determine them could be established and which are considered important internationally. Crimes involving victimisation of firms, i.e. extortion, were not included. Crimes that are difficult to report due to the victims’ sense of guilt, such as usury, and those for which victims cannot easily define their perceptions, such as fraud, were also excluded.

For these reasons attention was mainly given to the following crimes⁴¹: bag-snatching, pick pocketing, personal theft with no physical contact, robberies, threats and private violence, assault, household burglary, motor vehicle theft, theft of parts of motor vehicles or from vehicles, vandalism, sexual harassment and violence (rape and attempted rape), sexual blackmail at work.

The inclusion of sexual violence, and in particular of sexual harassment, in the survey represents a new element in that these crimes are less frequently studied in victimisation surveys⁴². Specific crimes were selected according to easiness and homogeneity in crime identification: only physical harassment, exhibitionism and indecent telephone calls were surveyed. Verbal violence and pursuits, which are both serious and painful, were not surveyed.

Although the survey on sexual crimes is new, it results from deeply felt choices: agreement on this issue was not easily reached within the working team and the Multi-purpose Commission. Indecision was mainly due to the fear that the time was not right to survey these aspects of life (in fact it was clear from the discussion that men and elderly women should not be asked these questions). Thus, it was decided that a pilot survey should be carried out before making any final decision. The findings of the pilot survey were surprising; women willingly answered the questions posed in this section (63.4% of them had no difficulty in responding), and those that had been victims were even more willing to co-operate. The section dealing with house, security systems and income was the most critical one.

Therefore, although this section was added to the questionnaire, less questions were added (compared with other crimes) to avoid putting too much pressure on the victims and thus make them feel ill at ease. For the same reason, a lot of care was given, during the survey design, to the emotional and psychological safety of both the interviewers and interviewees.

The questionnaire

The survey instrument was carefully evaluated taking into consideration the difficulties connected with a survey on victimisation. These increased with the inclusion of the new sections on sexual crimes and safety systems and defence strategies against criminals. A number of problems had to be solved in defining the survey instrument: the period to which the questions should refer, the problem of recalling events which has a double effect - crimes seem to be close or remote in time depending on their importance and concern. In some serious cases, crimes are forgotten or repressed, while some delicate issues might upset the respondent and thus induce him or her to interrupt the interview. Other difficulties include complex terms for defining crimes, the length of the questionnaire to deal with specific crimes, and the problem of obtaining access to the households.

The following attempted solutions were adopted:

- The “screening technique” was used (a set of questions to check whether the interviewee had suffered crimes or not) to obtain an outline of the general condition of the respondent with regards to crime, to immediately obtain the number of crimes experienced and, only later, to collect details on specific crimes. As details are only

⁴¹ If the interviewee admitted having been the victim of a crime, further questions were asked to get more details on the crime.

⁴² The survey was addressed to people aged 14 and over, except the section regarding sexual harassment and violence which concerned only women aged 14-59. Owing to the personal characteristics of data to be gathered, only female interviewers were employed.

gathered later, it is possible to concentrate on listing the crimes without worrying about the number of specific questions to be answered.

- Particular attention was given to the “wording of the questions”. If specific technical terms were used, comparison with crimes from the code of criminal procedure would have been easier, but it would have been difficult for victims to recognise crimes. Thus examples were provided, i.e. “victimisation stories”, with which the victims could readily identify themselves.
- Specific attention was given to the “sequence of sections” given the delicate nature of some issues. The most personal, confidential and intriguing topics were placed and dealt with at the end, after a climate of trust had been established. Moreover, dealing with some issues at a later time allowed to avoid negative feedback affecting the climate of the interview, such as emotional influence on other events or even non-response.
- The “reference period” was divided into two periods: the last 3 years and the last year. In this way the telescoping effect is avoided since an attempt is made to define a longer period for crimes, but then a shorter period of time is analysed. A number of desires are thus limited and referred only to the three-year period, without affecting the one-year period, namely the desire to tell personal stories, to be socially acceptable, to help the researcher, for “stage satisfaction”, and lastly memory problems. As far as sexual violence and harassment are concerned, lifetime events were recorded but without assessing them.

The telephone survey technique: a basic instrument to collect information on sexual harassment and violence

Changes had to be made to the traditional survey methodology (P.A.P.I.) owing to the peculiarity of the questions, as well as their delicate and confidential nature. If questions concerning the respondents’ private life are asked by commune officials or some other known person, the non-response rate or number of untruthful answers is likely to increase. The telephone interview provides greater confidentiality and protection, especially concerning people’s environment. In fact, it is easier to report a crime which other household members are unaware of, or crimes committed by other household members can be reported without fearing revenge since the interviewee can interrupt the telephone call. The telephone interview can continue when the interviewee is alone and feels safe.

However, the telephone technique does not suffice to gain easy access to households and to guarantee the quality of data. The refusal and non-response rates are very low for traditional multi-purpose surveys (using face-to-face interviews made by commune interviewers), whereas rates are higher for the pilot survey on citizens’ safety (July 1996). Other instruments should also be used to reduce refusal and non-response rates and to have more effective telephone interviews. During the months before the fully fledged survey a lot of work was done to plan a new survey design dealing with two aspects; on the one side, a study of the development of a telephone interview and the construction of a daily monitoring system, and, on the other side, the training of female interviewers through continuous training during the survey, which lasted three and a half months.

The pilot survey aimed at developing, monitoring and quantifying this type of telephone survey so as to prepare a higher quality fully fledged survey. The characteristics of a C.A.T.I. telephone survey allow to provide details on the survey process since the data collection is more visible: data concerning the questionnaire and quality indicators can be referenced, processed and checked in real time.

Data are collected centrally. In this way, indicators on the quality of the questionnaire performance can be gathered on-line, as well as data concerning the availability of

interviewees, problems encountered, the interviewers' work and the general progress of the survey⁴³.

A careful study of the interview progress produced a definition of all the phases: from the first contact with the household⁴⁴, to the selection of the household member to be interviewed, to the actual interview. Specific choices were made for each phase of the interview, quality indicators were established both to check the actual interview and to identify clumsy parts that might be improved, so that adjustments could be made even during the survey.

Interviewers had to be supported and assisted during both the training phase and the survey, given the peculiar nature of the questions and issues covered by the questionnaire.

This difficult task required special qualities. In fact, the interviewers had to make the respondents feel at ease and open up, as well as to handle difficult situations, emotional distress and psychological pressure.

Teaching "measured sympathy" when approaching interviewees was a difficult task, because interviewers have to obtain the information required without invading the interviewees' privacy. At the same time, the interviewers should not act as therapists.

The interviewers' motivation was a key factor. In fact, they should not be considered as unknown recipients of notions but as active participants in the survey. Moreover, the whole survey process, including the data gathering phase, was supported.

This meant being responsible for both the interviewers and the interviewees. Therefore, the supporting instruments for the different phases of the survey had to be established.

The CNR Psychology Institute and, above all the experience of the Canadian Institute, helped to support the interviewers. Briefings⁴⁵ and debriefings were organised, together with discussion groups for interviewers and researchers, and an internal help-desk and daily monitoring.

These instruments aimed at:

- guaranteeing that the survey content was understood, with reference to the goals and issues covered by the survey and the instruments used for data collection;
- teaching the interviewers the necessary skills to obtain a correctly completed interview (interviewer motivation should be accurately developed so that they become "active communicators" with the interviewed persons);
- increasing the skills required to manage C.A.T.I.; and
- specifying the multiple roles played by researchers as reference points, even during the conduct of the survey: they are research experts, friendly people who know how to listen and handle embarrassing situations caused by nervous stress, weariness,

⁴³ C.A.T.I. has even other positive aspects such as the easy handling of the questionnaire through complex filters such as the victimization filter, to interrupt any interview and start it at a later time from the point where it had been interrupted.

⁴⁴ For example the acceptable number of N.A. or busy line before contacting the household, the set number of appointments with the household, time of survey telephone calls, the algorithm of telephone calls, household replacement rules for refusal or impossibility of finding, serious illness or full counters.

⁴⁵ The 120 interviewers were divided into groups composed of 20-25 people. Three-days briefings were organised, each session lasted 8 hours – with a lunch break – where survey theoretical issues were discussed. Issues concerned survey content, goals, methodology, types of relations and communications, as well as technical aspects. At the end of the briefing, after practising with the electronic questionnaire, each interviewer should make 10 trial telephone calls.

emotional or psychological uneasiness; people who bring comfort and provide suggestions; persons ready to intervene in case of dangerous telephone calls; and supervisors who have to solve any potential problem.

It was the first time that researchers and interviewers shared their working time. The ISTAT team, composed of researchers and Institute collaborators, was actually present during the survey. They provided an internal help-desk which, starting with the pilot survey, has allowed to make realistic predictions regarding the telephone survey trend. Moreover, the help-desk helped to establish a friendly and trusting, rather than control relationship, with the interviewers. The aim was to promote a continuous exchange of information on contents, procedures, and emotional and psychological support.

At the end of the survey, a final meeting was held during which a questionnaire was distributed to evaluate briefing activities, and the working approach adopted by ISTAT during the survey.

The interviewers were also provided with a list of victim assistance centres that could be given to any female respondents that requested this type of assistance. The centres were selected according to the quality of the legal, social, psychological and health services they provide to victims of sexual violence and harassment.

Other initiatives were taken to prepare the respondents for the survey. In order to obtain their co-operation and trust, two important instruments for contacting citizens were provided: a letter signed by the President of ISTAT and an ISTAT toll-free number.

The letter was sent out before the survey and informed the households about the telephone call during which socially useful issues would be addressed. The aim of the letter was to increase the respondents' motivation and to favour discussion among the household members concerning ISTAT's letter. In addition, the letter indicated the toll-free telephone number that interviewees could call for any further information.

The toll-free number proved very useful. In fact, potential interviewees called to express their willingness to co-operate, new addresses were notified or the best time for the interview communicated. In addition, further information was requested as well as reassurances on the reliability of the survey and on the institution promoting it. The toll-free number was the instrument the citizens used to be reassured after the interview, as well as a direct means of contact with citizens which allowed to discover new problems and warn about events to be immediately solved.

Summary reports on data quality

Fifty thousand persons were interviewed during the survey, which took place between September 1997 and January 1998. As far as data quality is concerned, the instruments proved adequate:

- the refusal rate of 19.7% showed a negative trend from 35.8% to 20.1%, with a minimum value of 13.6% (the pilot survey rate was 33.5%);
- the overall response rate of 68.4% even reached 75.6% (it was 59.2%);
- the interruption rate of 0.5% constantly decreased from 1.3% to 0.2% (the pilot survey rate was 2.6%);
- the interviewers recorded willingness to be interviewed as "insufficient during the whole interview" in 2.4% of the cases, "at the beginning insufficient but better later" in 2.9% of the cases, "sufficient" in 9.6% of the cases, "good" in 31.2% and "very good" in 53.9% of the cases; this figure increased to 68.2% when availability of women suffering attempted sexual violence or sexual violence was concerned; and

- in the sections on sexual harassment, safety devices and income, no difficulties were encountered in 83.4% (pilot survey rate was 63.4%) and in 82.5 % of the cases respectively.

Some remarks on the survey findings

The survey touched on elements affecting our lifestyle. Although the results of the survey were presented at the “Citizens’ Safety Conference” (Rome, 22 September 1998), some remarks should be made in this paper to underline how these data, and this kind of survey, are of great use. Public authorities at the Conference have already understood their importance and usefulness, and have thus invited all the people involved in gathering these data to continue their work in order to have an in-depth knowledge of the issue.

As far as data analysis is concerned, it is worth considering that victimisation surveys are necessary to show unreported crimes in order to understand how pervasive the crime reality can be. The percentage of reported crime varies from 90% in the case of car thefts to 1% for attempted bicycle theft. This type of crime could reduce the importance of these data, but another example is enough, only 6.9% of attempted rapes and 17.8% of completed rapes (in a whole lifetime) are reported.

As regards perception of safety, the survey findings are very interesting. They pointed out that:

- fear is greater in certain segments of the population - women, the elderly and members of the lower class – who are less victimised, although they are not expected to be so⁴⁶;
- women, who generally feel more insecure than men, fear the same things regardless of whether or not they suffered sexual harassment and violence;
- the relationship between predatory crimes and fear is particularly strong for some crimes such as bag-snatching, robbery and assault. As they are very frequent, they cause more worry than murders. In fact, although murder is a more serious type of crime, it is less frequent and people believe that it is less likely to occur; and
- fear of crime does not only depend on predatory crimes committed every year and on the people’s perception of the probability of their taking place, but also changes depending on some “incivility indicators”.

The following incivility indicators were considered by the survey: pushers, drug addicts, prostitutes looking for clients and acts of vandalism against public property. The overall view of these “soft crimes” in the area in which one lives is strictly connected to one's fears, and it is stronger than the actual victimisation experience.

On the one side, the diffusion of “soft crimes” is a measure of social decay while, on the other, “soft crimes” are perceived as a further source of crimes and, lastly, they are an indication of the insufficient control exerted by the police (Barbagli, 1998).

As far as the perception of some population groups is concerned, there are striking differences in the rates of fear between men and women: 78.5% of men feel very or rather safe when going out alone at night, compared to 48% of women. Only 29.4% of men avoid some places and people when going out at night against 49.2% of women. These data reflect common sense - it is known that women are more vulnerable than men. However, this is an interesting aspect to investigate. Data analysis show (Barbagli, 1998; Sabbadini, 1998) that victimisation risks are not higher for women. Why then should women have a greater fear than men? Women’s fear can be understood and interpreted only if sexual harassment is

⁴⁶ This aspect will be covered in detail later on, when dealing with sex differences in the perception of fear.

included in the number of crimes. All crimes suffered by women were recorded in a regression linear logistic model. Thus, it was shown that the probability of avoiding places and people increases in cases of bag-snatching or assaults, and that this probability increases slightly in the case of physical harassment, exhibitionism or indecent telephone calls, whereas no increase is recorded in cases of completed or attempted sexual violence.

This apparently inconsistent result hides deep reasons and terrible truths about the way sexual violence and sexual harassment take place. In fact, sexual harassment is usually committed by strangers, as is bag-snatching, robbery and assault, while sexual violence is often committed by friends, acquaintances or relatives, either at home, in friends' houses or in the car. Data concerning women's fear support this hypothesis. In fact, they differ depending on whether the violence was committed by strangers in the streets (54% fear going out alone at night) or whether it was committed by boyfriends or friends (only 39.6% fear going out), since the most dangerous places are those which should be safer, such as in one's home.

These data show the sad reality behind female behaviour. Fear and the related limits of freedom of women who have suffered sexual harassment and sexual violence committed in the street (almost half of Italian women) is due to a sort of supplementary crime originating from sexual discrimination. Women share the same feelings of insecurity, regardless of whether or not they have suffered sexual harassment. Even though they may not have experienced it directly, they know that they are sexual targets; people glance at them, touch them, follow them, they are the objects of vulgar and indecent expressions, and they are sexually blackmailed at work. All these elements mark their whole life, and make their emancipation more difficult.

For this reason, women avoid certain places and people more than men. Their life is jeopardised from both a quality and a content point of view. The inclusion of questions on sexual violence and harassment is very important in that it allows for an in-depth analysis of women's feelings of insecurity.

The survey findings are very satisfactory and have received official acknowledgements, and thus are proof of the feasibility of developing a specific survey on violence and cruelty.

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**‘‘ÁΑÇĤĪĀÑĪÑŌÛ ĀÐĀÆĀĀÍ’ Á ÈÒÀËÛΒĪÑĒĪÉ
 ÍÁÚÁĀËÍΨĪÉ ÑĒÑŌÁĪÁ
 ÑĪŌËÀËÛÍÛŌ ËÑÑĒÁĀÍĀĀÍÉÉ**

**Íaðÿ Äæóçáñĕĕĭá Íŏðáŏíðá, Èŏ-èàĭá Èáàðŏí-ĭéèè
 è Èĕĭáà Èáŏðá Ñáááááĕĕ***

Á ĕĭŕŏá áĭñŭĕáá ñŷ ðŭŏ è á ĭá ÷àĕá áá áŷ ĭñŏŭŏ áĭáĭá ÈÑŌÀŌ áñŏŕĕ á ĭáŏŕ ðá çŏ ñáĭá é áá ŷ ðá ĕŭĭñŏĕ, ŏá ðá ĕŏá ðĕçŏŕ ŷŏŕ ñŷ ðá ñŏŕŭĕĭ ĕĭŏá ðá ñĭ é ĕñŕŭĭŭĭ ðĭáĕá ñĭ Ýŏá ĭáá ŷ áá ŷ ðá ĕŭĭñŏŭ ðĭáĭĕá à ĕá Èĭñŏĕðŏðá ðá ñŏĕ á ðá ÷á ĭĕá ĭñĕá áĭĕŏ áá ñŷ ðĕ ĕá ð. Ááĭ ĭĕá áá ŷ ðá ĕŭĭñŏĕ çĭá ÷ĕðá ĕŭĭ ðá ñŏ ĕðĕĕĭñŭ é ĭáŭá à ñá ĕŏŭ ĕá æ áĭáĭá áĭĕ æ ĕçĭé áúĕĕ ĭŏĕðŭŏŭ, ðá ññá ðĕĕáá ŷ ðĭáĕá ñ ĕŕ áá é ĭá ðĭĕŭĕĭ ñ ŷĕĭñĕ-÷á ñĕĭé ðĭ-ĕĕ çðá ĭĕŷ .

Íáçĭŏ ĭ áĕĕðĕĕçáŏĕĕ (ĕĭŏĭðŭĕ ñŏáĕ ĭáçĭŏñĭ ĭ áá çñá ñññŏĕ ĭá ñá ĕá ĭĕŷ) áúĕ ĭáðá áĕá ĭá ðĕĭáðá ðá ĭĕá áĕŏáĭĕĕ çĭá ĭĕĕ á ĭáĕá ñŏĕ ðá ñŏŕññŏĕ è áá æ á ðŏá. Áúĕá ĭááŏĭáĕá ĭá ñŏá ðĕñŏĕ-÷á ñĕá ŷ ĕĭŏĭðá ŏĕŷ ĭá áá çá ĕĭŏá áðĕðĭáá ĭŭŏ áá ĭŭŏ, ñáðá ĭŭŏ ñ ŏ-á ðñ ĭá ĭáĭ ŏá ĭñá ĭá, ññŏáá ðñŏáá ĭĭĕ ñðá áú è ŏá ðá ĕŏá ðĕñŏĕĕĕ çá ñ ŏ à ĭŭŏ ĕŕ áá é.

Í ðáúĕé ŷðáĭ ĭááŏĭáĕĕ ĭáçĭðá áúĕ ĭñáŷ ŷá ĭ ĕñá ðá ðĕáĭñŏ ĕçŏ-÷á ĭĕŕ ñ æ áŏĭá ðĭáĭĕ ĕĕðá ðá ðŏðŭ. Èçŏ-á ĭĕá áĕĕŕ ÷áĕĭ ðá ĕĕá ðá ñŏŕá ĭĕŷ, áĕŷ ĕĭŏĭðŭŏ ĭæ ĭĭ áúĕĭ áŷŷ áĕðŭ ĭáŷĕá ĭá áá ĕŷŕ ŷĕá ŏĕ ĕðĕðá ðĕĕ è ĕĭŏĭðŭá ĕáŕ ð ñ æ áŏĭá ðĭáĭá çĭá ÷á ĭĕá: ĕðá æ à ñŏĭĕ ñ ŏĕñĕŷçĭáá ĭĕá ĭ ĭŏĭĕĕá, ĕá ðá ĭá ŷ ĕðá æ à, ĕðá æ à ĕĕ-ĭĭáĭ ĕŕŷá ñŏáá áá çŏ ðĕçĕ-÷á ñĕĭáĭ ĕĭŏá ĕŏá, áðá áá æ, ŏáðĭçŭ è ĭá ñĕĕĕá ĭá á ĕĕ-ĭñŏŭŕ, ĭá áá ĭĕá, ĕðá æ à á áĭñ, ŏáĭ á áŏĭáĕĕá é, ĕðá æ à ðá áá ŏĭĕç à áŏĭáĕĕá é, áá ĭáá ĕĕçĭ ñá ĕñŏá ĕŭĭñá ðá ñĕá áĭáá ĭĕá è ĭá ñĕĕá (ĕçĭá ñĕĕĭáá ĭĕá è ĭĕŏŏ á ĭĕá ĭá ĕçĭá ñĕĕĭáá ĭĕá) è ñá ĕñŏá ĕŭĭñé ŏá ĭŏá æ ĭá ñ ñŏá ðá áĭŏŭ. Áĕĕŕ ÷á ĭĕá á ĭáçĭð ñá ĕñŏá ĕŭĭñáĭ ĭá ñĕĕĕŷ è, á ÷á ñŏñŏĕ, ñá ĕñŏá ĕŭĭñáĭ ðá ñĕá áĭáá ĭĕŷ, ŷ áĕĕĕñŭ ĭáŭĭ ŷĕá ñ ĭŏñ, ðáĕ ĕáĕ ĭáŷ-ĭĭ ðá ĕĕá ðá ñ ĕĕŏ ŷ ðá áĕĭ áĕĕŕ ÷áŕ ðñŷ á ĕçŏ-÷á ĭĕá æ á ðŏá ðá ñŏŕññŏĕ.

Èĭñŏðŏá ĭŏ ĭáçĭðá áúĕ ĭááá ðáĭŏð ŷá ðá ĕŭĭñé ĭŏá ĭĕá, ðĕĭĕá ŷ áĭ áĭĕá ĭĕá ðŏðáĭñŏĕ ðĭáá áá ĭĕŷ ĭáçĭðá ĭ áĕĕðĕĕçáŏĕĕ ðá ĕĕá, ĕáĕ á ðĕĭá áĕŷ ñáĭðá áá ĭŭŏ, ðŏðáĭñŏŭ ĭŏáá ÷áŕ ŷĕŏ á ĭñĭĕçáá áá ĭĕĕ ñáŷŭĕĕ, ðĭáĕá ñ ŏĭðŕĕĕðĭáĕĕ áŷŏĭñá è ĭñĕá áĭáá ðá ĕŭĭñŏŭ ðĭáĭáĕñŏ ĕĭŏá ðáŷŕ. Áŷŏĭĕĕ, ĕĭŏĭðŭĕ ĭ-ðĕ ĭĕĭñŏŭŕ ññŏŷŷ ĕç çáĕðŭŏŭŏ ĭŏáá ŏĭá, áúĕ ðá çðá áĭŏá ĭ ŏá ĕŷŕ ĭĕŏ-á ĭĕŷ ĕáĕ ĭáŷá ĕĕĕáĭŭŏ, ðáĕ è ñŏáŷá ĕĕĕáĭŭŏ ĭŏáá ŏĭá. Ñ ĭáĭĕ ñŏĭðĭŷ, ĕçŏ-÷á ĕĕñŭ ñáĕ ðá ñŏŕá ĭĕŷ: ĕáĕ è ĕĭááá ĭĕĕ ĕáĕĕ ñ ñŏĭ, ĭá ĭá ñá ĭŭá ĕĕ ŏĕĭá ĭñáŷá ŏŷá ðáŷ é ðĕçĕ-÷á ñĕĕá ððá áñ, ŏá ðá ĕŏá ðĕñŏĕĕĕ ðá ñŏŕĕĕĭá, à ðáĕá á ŏá ðá ĕŏá ðĕñŏĕĕĕ æ á ðŏá è ĭá æ á ðŏá, ĕŏ ĭáá áá ĭĕá è ñŏðá ðá áĕŷ çáŷĕŏŭ. Ñ áðŏáĭĕ ñŏĭðĭŷ, ĕçŏ-÷á ĕĕñŭ ðáĕá á áĭĕá á ñŏáŷá ĕĕĕáĭŷá ŷĕá ñ ĭŏŭ: ĕáĕ ÷áŏñŏáĭ áá çñá ñññŏĕ ĕŕ áá é ĭá ŏĕĕŏá, áĭñ, á à áŏĭáĕĕá; ĕŏ ĭŭŏŷá ĭĕá ðĕñĕá ñŏĭĕĭñáá ĭĕŷ ñ ðá ñŏŕá ĭĕá ĭ ĭñá áñŏáŏ, à ðáĕá á ĭŏñŷ á ĭĕŷ ĕŕ áá é ĕĕĕŏĕĕ è ĕ ðá áĭŏá ĭĕĕŏĕĕ.

Íá ĕĭŏĭðŭá ĕçá ĭá ĭĕŷ áĭĕá ĭŭ áúĕĕ áúŏŭ áĭá ñá ĭŭ á ððá áĕŏáĭ ıŏŷáŷ ĭáçĭðá (PAPI) á ñáŷ çĕ ñ áá ĕĕĕá ŏĭĕ è ĕĭŏĕáá ĭŏĕá ĕŭĭñé ĭá ðŏðĭĕ áŷŏĭñá. Ōá ĕá ŏĭŷŷá ĭŏñŭ áá ðá ĭŏĕðŏŕ ð áĭĕá á ĕĭŏĕáá ĭŏĕá ĕŭĭŏŕ á ŏñŏá ðŏ è çá ŷĕðŏ, ĭñáá ĭĭ á ĭŏñŷ á ĭĕĕ ĭĕðŏá àŕ ŷá é ñðá áú ĭá ŏĕĕáá à ñŏ. Íáĭáĕĭ, ĭĕŷçĭáá ĭĕá ðĭĕŭĕĭ ðá ĕá ŏĭñĭ ĭá ĭáá ñá ÷áá ð ĕá áĕĭáĭ áĭñŏá é ñá ĭŷŷ ĭá áá ðá ĭŏĕðŏá ð ĕá ÷á ñŏáĭ ĭĕŏ-÷á ĭŭŏ áá ĭŭŏ. Èñĕŷçĭáá ĕĕñŭ ðáĕá á áðŏáĕá ĕĭñŏðŏá ĭŏŷ áĕŷ ñĭĕá á ĭĕŷ ĕĭŷŏĕĕĕá ĭŏá ĭŏĕá çĭá è ĭá ĭŏáá ÷á ĭŭŏ áŷŏĭñá è áĕŷ ĭáá ñá ÷á ĭĕŷ áĭĕá á

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yóoá eòeáíúō òá eá òíííúō ðíííá. Ñeá áíáà òá eúíí, ííáúé ðíá eò íáçíðà ðeíý é áí áíeá íeá ááà à ñá eòà. Ðá æ áá áñá áí, òá eá òíííúá ðíííú áúeè ðà çáá eá íú íà ðà çèè÷íúá yòáú è á æ á áíá áíá ý ííeòíðeííáá ý ñeñòá ñ, ííííáá íá ý íà íeà çà òá eý ò eà ÷á ñòáá, áúeá ðà çðà áíðà íá æý òíáí, ÷òíáú èçñ ðý òú è òíííáá ðø á íñòáíáá òú ðíóá ñí ñáíðà ááííúō. Áí-áòíðúō áúeí ðá ø á íí èñíeúçíáá òú òíeúeí æ á íúeí á eà ÷á ñòáá ðà ùeáá þ ùeō, eíòíðúá íeó÷eè ñá òeà eúíóþ íááíòíáeó áí áðá ý ðíáá áá íeý áñá áí íáçíðà, eíòíðúé ðíáíeæ à eñý òðe ñ íeíáeíé ñ ñý òà.

Á á ðeíá ñ æ áó ñá íòý áðá í 1997 áíáà è ý íáà ðá í 1998 áíáà úæè ðííø á íú 50 òúñý ÷ ÷á eíáá é. Íáçíð çà íeá eñý eþ áúè íò 14 eá ò è áúø á, çà eñeéþ ÷á íeá í ÷á ñòe, eá ñá þ ùá eñý ñá eñóeúííáí ðíeá áíáá íeý è íá ñeèeý, eíòíðá ý íáðà ùá eá ñú òíeúeí é æ á íúeíá íò 14 áí 59 eá ò. Á ñáýçè ñ áá eèeá òííí è eè÷íúí òá ðá eòá ðíí òá eíáí eñeá áíáá íeý òíeúeí æ á íñeè á ðíííá é áúe èñíeúçíáá í æý ðíáá áá íeý ðíííá.

Íáçíð áúý áeè ðà çèè÷íúá ýeá ñ íòú, íeà çúáá þ ùeá áíçáá eñòáeá íá eà ÷á ñòáí æ èçíe íá ñá eá íeý òá eèá eá é íáúá í òá ðá eòá ð è ííeá áñòáeý ðá ñòóá íeé, ñá áá íòú íá ñá eá íeý, íááá ðáá þ ùeá ñý áíeá á áúñíeó ñòó, à òá eæ á ííý òeá í áá çá ñííñòe eþ áá é è ñòðà òá áeè, ðeá íý á íá èè æý çà ùeòú ðíðeá ðá ñòóá íeé.

MAPPING FOR CRIMINAL JUSTICE RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

Nancy G. La Vigne*

The use of computerised mapping technology, known as Geographic Information Systems (GIS), has spread significantly among law enforcement agencies in the United States and abroad. This analytical tool is also gaining popularity among social scientists interested in testing theories of crime and place. This presentation provides an overview of how mapping is used to aid criminal justice research and practice - from law enforcement applications to uses in corrections, courts, and criminal justice evaluation efforts.

GIS in law enforcement

The use of GIS first took hold in law enforcement agencies as a tool to streamline the age-old process of placing push pins into enlarged paper maps on walls. "Pin mapping" is still in practice as a means of identifying hot spots in crime, but in many departments GIS has become a significant component supporting the agency's overall philosophy and mission. While each locality has created its own brand of mapping, the departments highlighted below offer stunning examples of mapping applications that represent the breadth and power of this analytical tool for fighting crime and improving police operations.

The New York Police Department (NYPD) credits its CompStat process for the dramatic and persistent reductions in crime in New York City. CompStat, which stands for Computer Statistics, was implemented by NYPD at the Command and Control level as a data-driven approach to identifying and responding quickly to emerging crime problems. It is an accountability process that relies on accurate and timely data as well as creative, cross-unit and cross-agency partnerships to combat crime rashes as soon as they are identified.

The San Diego Police Department has also experienced significant reductions in crime in recent years. The department's use of mapping is integrated into its problem solving culture, which encourages officers of all ranks to co-ordinate closely with the crime analysis unit to use mapping as a means of identifying and analysing problems. These analyses can then be used to assess the results of interventions. This assessment component is significant in ensuring accountability for crime reduction efforts.

Mapping has been used in support of community policing in many agencies across the United States. The Chicago Police Department (CPD) has a long history of community policing and this history is exemplified by the establishment of their Information Collection for Automated Mapping system, known as ICAM. ICAM is a mapping programme designed for use by line officers. CPD has found that putting mapping abilities in the hands of officers enables them to better inform residents and community groups about the nature of crime problems in their areas. In addition, communication, collaboration, and co-operation between the police and the community toward the prevention and reduction of crime have been dramatically enhanced.

The Baltimore County Police Department (BCPD) has been using GIS for many years as a tactical analysis tool to aid in investigations. Analysts have used mapping to identify patterns of serial crimes and have integrated telemarketing technology to place telephone calls to residents in neighbourhoods where crime rashes are occurring. The pre-recorded message alerts residents of the crime problem, advises them to take preventive action, and asks them to report any suspicious activity. This method has resulted in the apprehension of criminals on several occasions. BCPD has also used mapping to identify spatial and

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temporal patterns of serial crimes. In one case, such analyses were used to enable officers to identify potential times and targets of a band of convenience store robbers; officers waited at the expected site and successfully apprehended the offenders.

Mapping has also been used as a long-term prevention and strategic planning tool. The Redlands, California Police Department (RPD) has used data collected through surveys of public school students to map the geographic locations at risk and preventive factors that serve to predict areas of delinquency. The RPD model focuses on long-term prevention, and because it requires the co-operation of the school system, it serves as a catalyst for collaboration with schools, social services, and other entities engaged in preventing crime and delinquency. RPD has found this creative mapping application to be a valuable law enforcement decision-making tool for strategic planning purposes.

These are examples of five different uses of mapping in support of investigations, crime prevention, and overall police operations - each directed toward a particular goal and melding with the “organisational culture” of the agency. While GIS is just one of several tools available to analysts and decision-makers, it is nonetheless an integral one.

Mapping application for community corrections and the courts

Law enforcement has realised the power of mapping as an analytic tool and has demonstrated its utility to other criminal justice agencies. One example of this kind of collaboration is that a number of law enforcement agencies are mapping the residences of probationers and parolees to assist in investigations. Such partnerships between law enforcement and community corrections agencies have prompted probation and parole departments to identify other useful applications of GIS. The most common application is the use of GIS to assign caseloads for probation officers to encourage a “community corrections” philosophy. Assigning probation offices by neighbourhood is not only a more efficient allocation of caseloads, but it also enables the officer to become more familiar with the resources and potential risky areas or conditions for those under supervision.

In Delaware, corrections officers use GIS to determine whether necessary support services are located close to probationers’ and parolees’ residences or if they are on convenient public transportation routes. Rather than setting a probationer up for failure by assigning him to a day reporting Center across town, officers might reconsider such assignments after consulting a computerised map. Delaware corrections officials have also used GIS to make decisions for the placement of new drug treatment centres. GIS became a useful tool in that decision-making process in educating the community about where those centres would be placed and what other options were available to them.

GIS is also a useful tool for identifying proscribed areas for sex offenders. When a paroled sex offender gets a new job or changes residence, the parole officer could use GIS to look up the address and determine whether the site is near any day care centres, elementary schools, or other proscribed areas.

On a related front, agencies are now using GIS to assist in community notification of paroled sex offenders, which is now a requirement under “Megan’s Law”. In Florida, GIS is used in combination with Global Positioning Systems (GPS), which uses satellites to determine the X/Y co-ordinates of a person or object. Probationers are fitted with a GPS device that transmits their positions to a GIS so they can be analysed on a map to determine whether they are complying with conditions of probation, such as attending training sessions, reporting to work, or if they are in proscribed areas.

Another issue important to probation and parole departments is officer safety. GIS can be used to identify risky areas based on data obtained from local law enforcement agencies. For

example, crimes, calls for services, or calls for backup can be mapped to determine areas where probation officers may prefer to go in teams rather than alone.

Law enforcement agencies have also introduced the utility of GIS in the courts. Radial analysis, whereby a buffer is drawn around an area to connote a predetermined geographic distance, is used to identify crime in relation to drug-free school zones (areas of 1,000 feet surrounding schools, for which a drug offence results in an enhanced sentence). Prosecutors have used GIS as a plausibility test of the defendant's purported activities and routes, and in the case of a homicide in Lowell, Massachusetts, GIS was successfully used in court by prosecutors to describe to the jury the defendant's activities leading up to and following the homicide. A final example of using GIS to assist prosecutions is that of U.S. attorneys, who use GIS linked with orthophotographs.

**ÑÕÁÌÀÒÈÇÀÒÈ Æ ÄËË ËÑÑÈÄÄÌÄÌÈÉ Â ÍÁÈÀÑÒÈ
ÓÁÍÈÌÁÍÁÍ ÌÄÄÄÏÑÓÄË È ÄËË ÌÄÄÈÒÈ×ÁÑÈÌÁÍ
ÌÈÌÁÍÁÍÈË**

Íýíñè Æ. Èà Äèíuá*

Òá òííèíáèý èííþ òíðíé ñõá ñ ðèçà òèè (èèè ñíñòà áèá íèý èà ðò), èçáá ñòíé èà è Äá íáðà òè÷á ñèà ý Èíóíðà òèííá ý Ñèñòà ñ (GIS), íà ø èà ø èðíéíá ðèñ íá íèá íííáá íí á ðá áíðèñ íý þ ùèò ìðáà íà ò á Ñíá äèíá ííó Øðà òà ò è çà ðóáá æ ñ Ýóí à íà èèðè÷á ñèíá ñðá àñòáí íà ÷ à èí çà áíá áúáà òü ðèý ðíñòü òà èæ á ñðá àè ñíòèà èúíúò èññèá áíáà òá èá é, çà èíðá ðá ñíáà ííó á òá ñòèðíáà íèè òá íðèé í ðá ñòóíñòè.

Íá ñòíý ùá ý ðá çá íòà òèý íèà çúáá á ò èà è òà èà ý òá òíèèá íæ á ò áúòü èñíèçúíáà íá ðè ðíáá áá íèè èññèá áíáà íèý á íáèà ñòè èðèèíá èúíé þ ñòèòèè è ðè ðá èðè÷á ñèí ðèñ íá íèè - íò ðèñ íá íèý á íáèà ñòè ðá áíðèñ íá íèý áí èñðá áèðá èúíúò ñòðóèðòð, ñóáíá è íòá ííè á íáèà ñòè èðèèíá èúíé þ ñòèòèè.

ðá çá íòà òèý íà ÷ èíá á òñý ñ íáçíðà ðèñ íá íèý ñõá ñ ðèçà òèè á ý òè ðá çèè÷íúò ðá áíðèñ íý á íúò ìðáà íà ò ÑØÄ, èà æ áúé èç èíðíðúò íèúçóá òñý òà èíé òá òíèéíé ðá çèè÷íúò íáðá çíí äèý ííáá ðæ èè ñ ðá òèè íèèòèè. Ä òí áðá ý èà è ðá áíðèñ íý á íúá ìðáà íú íà ÷ à èè á ðáúè èñíèçúíáà òü òà èóp òá òíèéò, ííá íà ÷ èíá á òñý ðèñ íý òüñý òà èæ á á èñíèçúíáà èúíúò è á ñóáá áíúò ñòðóèðòðá ò. Ä çà èèþ ÷ á íèá ðá ññá òðèèáá á òñý ðèñ íá íèá ñõá ñ ðèçà òèè á èññèá áíáà íèý ò á íáèà ñòè ðá ñòóíñòè, áèèþ ÷ á ý: ðèñ íá íèá ñõá ñ ðèçà òèè áúííéíé ðá çíèþ òèè äèý à íà èèçà ðá ñòóíñòè á áóñòí íá ñá èá ííó çíá ò; ðá çðá áíðèò òðííòá èúííáí ðíáðá ííáí íáá ñá ÷ á íèý á ñõá ñ ðèçà òèè äèý ñ ñòíé íèèòèè; è èíóíðá òèííóþ ñèñòá ò í èðèèíá èúíé þ ñòèòèè, ðá çðá áá òúáá á íþ á ý òè áíðíáà ò ÑØÄ.

* Íáèííáèúíé Èíñòèðòð Þñèòèè, ÑØÄ.

Surveying Transnational Organised Crime

SURVEYING TRANSNATIONAL ORGANISED CRIME: THE HEUNI REPORT ON ORGANISED CRIME AROUND THE WORLD

Matti Joutsen*

The HEUNI study on organised crime around the world

HEUNI's publication No. 31, "Organised Crime Around the World" (Helsinki, 1998) seeks to provide an overview of recent trends in organised crime and the countermeasures taken against it throughout the world. The report has been prepared by Dr. Sabrina Adamoli, Dr. Andrea Di Nicola, Professor Ernesto U. Savona and Dr. Paola Zoffi at TRANSCRIME, the Research Group on Transnational Crime, University of Trento, School of Law.

The framework is provided by the "Political Declaration and Global Action Plan against Organised Transnational Crime", adopted at the "World Ministerial Conference on Organised Transnational Crime" held in Naples, Italy on 21-23 November 1994. Accordingly, the report deals with the definition of organised crime, criminalisation of membership in criminal associations or participation in conspiracies, legislation on the gathering of evidence, witness protection programmes and legislation providing for confiscation of the illicit proceeds. The four chapters of the report deal, respectively, with tendencies and changes in organised crime in general; recent trends of illicit activities within organised crime in various areas of the world and changes in criminal groups which operate at the international level; the recent principal initiatives taken internationally against organised crime by both governmental and non-governmental organisations; and developments in national legislation against organised crime.

HEUNI's publication is the first to provide such a comprehensive and global survey of transnational organised crime. It thus provides the benchmark for further work in this area.

Any survey of transnational organised crime must begin with the conceptualisation of the problem, as is done in Chapter 1 of the report. This chapter demonstrates how criminal organisations modify their structure and goals in response to changes in world markets and their regulation, and how they are expanding into new markets and engaging in new and less risky activities. The chapter also highlights the concept of interdependencies among crime and activities. This concept helps in understanding how transnational organised crime shifts from one activity to another.

The sources used in preparing the HEUNI report include analyses and legislation provided by a world-wide network of experts on organised crime trends and countermeasures; papers presented at national and international conferences; reports written by universities and research institutes; and material provided by governmental and non-governmental organisations and law enforcement agencies. Given that the materials derive from different sources, and in view of the frequent changes made to legislation against organised crime, it may be that some information is dated. In order to remedy this shortcoming, reports from the media (for example on new legislation) have also been used.

The present paper is not so much a summary of the HEUNI report as a discussion of some thoughts that the HEUNI report on organised crime raises regarding the possibility of surveying transnational organised crime. For this reason, the point of departure will be the conceptual issues and the spread of organised crime, issues covered by Chapters one and two of the report. The substance of Chapters three and four - national and international responses to organised crime - will not be dealt with here.

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Reference is also made to HEUNI's experience with the European and North American analysis of the results of the Fifth United Nations Survey on Crime Trends and the Operation of Criminal Justice Systems (Kangaspunta et al., 1998).

Surveying crime transnationally: the general difficulties

As noted in HEUNI's recent analysis of the European and North American results of the Fifth United Nations Survey (ibid., pp. 3-6), the major problems common to all efforts to gather international criminal justice statistics are the imprecise definition of the terms, improper classifications, ambiguous coding structures, and differences in the units of count used.

First, the *legal definitions* of offences vary considerably from one country to the next. For example, "assault" may be an independent category in some jurisdictions, while others may not consider an incident to be an assault unless it results in bodily injury. Another illustration is the extent to which negligence affects the determination of criminal responsibility. A third example is the extent of criminalisation. Matters that in one country are dealt with by regulatory authorities (such as labour safety authorities) may be matters for the police in another country. Acts that are criminalised in some countries (such as the possession of drugs, certain sexual behaviour, and gambling) may be tolerated elsewhere.

Second, there are considerable *procedural differences* between countries. It is not always the police and the lower courts that deal with crime. Certain cases may be handled with a simplified procedure or by special investigating and adjudicatory bodies. A category such as "persons prosecuted" may be understood by some respondents to refer only to persons against whom the public prosecutor brings charges in court, while other respondents may include cases where the prosecutor takes other action, such as closing the case with a warning.

Yet another procedural difference relates to the extent to which discretion is permitted, either formally or informally. Some countries require criminal justice agencies to proceed with any *prima facie* case (the "principle of legality"). Other countries may allow more discretion (the "principle of opportunity", also known as the "principle of expediency"), which in practice may mean that further measures are waived in a large portion of the cases. In still other countries, the police and prosecutor will not proceed with certain types of cases unless the victim requests that measures be instituted. If no such request is made, the case will generally not be recorded as an offence.

A third difference between countries in respect of definitions is in the *statistical classification* of crime. The classification of theft is a good example. Depending on the country, it may or may not include burglary or theft of a motor vehicle, it may or may not include simple or aggravated theft as defined by the law of the jurisdiction in question, and it may or may not include shoplifting.

Fourth, the rules for *counting* offences or offenders vary. Some authorities in some countries count offenders, others count offences; some count each separate incident in a series of offences, while others record a series as a single unit. One particular difference which has led to considerable confusion is the unit used for the successful outcome of police investigations: some countries count "arrests", others use "reported offences", and still other countries use "cleared offences". Any comparison of statistics based on such different units would be quite misleading.

Fifth, the *comprehensiveness of the statistics* varies. Some countries include only the major criminal offences. Others include petty offences, violations of tax laws, alcohol laws, administrative regulations and similar subsidiary legislation. Consequently, any comparisons should be made between specific categories of offences, and not between aggregate amounts.

Attempts to reach an international agreement, either formal or informal, on uniform definitions, classifications, coding structures and units of counts have consistently been unsuccessful. No country is likely to change its administrative and statistical practice in order to promote the international exchange of information. Quite simply, the current statistics have been prepared by administrators for administrative purposes and, for them, this purpose will remain the most important.

A more realistic option has been pursued in connection with the United Nations Surveys. Respondents were asked to compare their usage with a basic, relatively precise definition of terms, as provided by the United Nations Secretariat, and note how their definition was different (if there were differences)⁴⁷.

One final point regarding pitfalls in the use of statistics, a pitfall which is particularly acute when seeking to survey transnational organised crime: official statistics on reported crime and the operation of the criminal justice system tend to focus our attention on traditional crime and administrative procedures. No matter what work is done on the survey instruments, some questions shall remain unanswered. The detection rate for example for drug crimes, economic crimes and corruption is very low, and so there are few reported cases. Most of what would be termed organised crime, in turn, is classified as homicide, aggravated assault, extortion, aggravated theft and so on, and for this reason reported organised crime tends to lose its distinctive profile in the statistics.

Errors and non-response

Even if a suitable instrument can be developed that would encompass the different definitions and concepts of transnational organised crime, an additional caution is called for: the data provided may perhaps not be complete or reliable. To use the example of the national responses to the Fifth United Nations Survey, *no* country provided data on all of the issues covered by the Survey. There are several possible reasons for a lack of response. The more important ones are as follows.

First, it is possible that the data requested simply do not exist. The country in question does not keep the statistics or conduct the research in question. Some respondents noted that their statistical system was under development or reform, and as a result data from certain years could not be provided.

Second, the information may exist, but not in a co-ordinated format. It may be dispersed horizontally (between different departments or agencies) or geographically (at a regional level with no centralised repository for statistics). (This latter possibility is particularly a problem for federal states such as Australia, Canada, Germany, Nigeria, and the United States. It is also often a problem with respect to organised crime, which can be dealt with, for example, by the police, the economic police, the security police, customs and the border guard.)

Third, the information may exist, but it is several years out of date. In most countries there tends to be a long lag in the production of statistics.

It is also possible that the survey instrument simply never gets to a person willing and able to respond. Although the United Nations Surveys are available in all six official United Nations languages, the person(s) who could best respond may not have been fluent in any of them. Language problems may thus lead to difficulties in understanding the questions or, in the case of open-ended questions, difficulties in describing the experience and/or policy of the country.

⁴⁷. Regrettably, few respondents provided this information. Some experts to whom the draft HEUNI report was sent for comment specifically noted that the data the authorities in their country had provided in response to the Fifth United Nations Survey were misleading, since the definition used differed. Wherever possible, these comments have been noted in the HEUNI report.

Finally, there is the ever present possibility of clerical error when data are transcribed many times over. This may happen in the country in question when the data are first entered into the statistics, or later on when the data are entered into the survey instrument. It may also happen when the data are analysed. The United Nations Secretariat had attempted to reduce the possibility of error in the analysis of the Fifth United Nations Survey by asking the country in question to verify unusual entries (for example, when there is a jump or drop of over 30% from one year to the next, or when the number of persons entering prison for a certain type of offence exceeds the number of persons convicted of that offence).

Surveying transnational organised crime: the particular difficulties

As noted above, reported crime is not the same as actual crime. The statistics have been developed for administrative purposes and not to satisfy research interests, and the vagaries of changing laws, statistical practice and the idiosyncrasies of the various persons and authorities involved in defining criminal incidents make it difficult to draw any conclusions when comparing statistics from different areas or from different times.

Surveying transnational organised crime raises further particular difficulties. The crimes punished under the penal codes of different countries (the crimes that are usually noted in the statistics, and thus ready fodder for transnational surveys) are generally the “traditional” offences. We know far more about trends in (recorded) theft and robbery than about trends in the smuggling of persons, trafficking in firearms or economic crime simply because our reporting and recording systems are constructed in a certain way. Now and then the media will report isolated cases of, for example, organised prostitution and perhaps provide impressionistic “pseudo-analyses” that suggest huge increases in the phenomenon, but we have no way of knowing how near the mark they are. Do we really have “crime problems” consisting of, for example, money laundering, corruption, extortion or the smuggling of nuclear materials? Are media reports overblown examples of moral panics, or do they only reflect the tip of the iceberg?

As Thomas Naylor has pointed out⁴⁸, this absence of data makes it almost impossible to answer certain fundamental questions about organised crime. For example in respect of money laundering (Naylor’s subject), we do not know for certain if (as claimed) huge criminal profits are being generated, how they are being distributed, whether or not criminal profits seek to enter the legal market (and if so, why), what impact such infiltration would have, and how big a problem this infiltration is (as opposed to legal money “behaving illegally”).

It is true that the penal codes in a few countries do include a statutory definition of organised crime (examples being the United States with its Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 and its Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organization Act, and Italy with art. 416-bis of its Criminal Code)⁴⁹. However, these countries are in the minority, and the provisions in question are applied only to certain aspects of organised crime. (Moreover, the provisions in these different countries vary considerably.)

Developing a statutory definition of organised crime is made more difficult by its very nature. As noted in HEUNI’s report on organised crime (Adamoli et al., 1998, p. 4), “[t]he essential characteristic of the term ‘organised crime’ is that it denotes a process or method of committing crimes, not a distinct type of crime itself, nor even a distinct type of criminal. This is why a

⁴⁸ Thomas Naylor, *Financial Flows in Crime*. Presentation at the International Conference on Responding to the Challenges of Transnational Crime, Courmayeur, Mont Blanc, Italy, 25-27 September 1998 (unpublished).

⁴⁹ In addition, a few countries (such as several Central and Eastern European countries) have statutory definitions of organised criminal groups, but these are generally used to guide the application of other legislation, and statistics are rarely available on how often they are applied in practice.

good definition of organised crime should grasp the essential aspects of the ‘process’ whereby certain criminals carry out criminal activity, increasingly within a transnational arena.”

Working definitions of organised crime have also been formulated by the European Commission and developed further by the Expert Group on Organised Crime of the Council of Europe, and by the United Nations within the framework of both the Naples Political Declaration and Global Action Plan and the draft United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime (*ibid.*, pp. 6-10).

Surveying organised crime: an example of the gap between the statistics and (perceived) reality

Europe provides a good illustration of the difficulties in surveying transnational organised crime. The image that police and court statistics, as well as empirical research (including in particular victimisation surveys) provide us of crime trends in Europe seems almost reassuring: in the mid-1980s, crime rates stabilised in most Western European countries, and this same stabilisation could be seen in Central and Eastern Europe in 1992/1993.

This, however, flies in the face of much of what we know about crime in Europe (or think that we know). We “know”, for example, that the process of integration has raised the prospect of increased money-laundering, subsidy fraud and other types of economic crime within the European Union. We “know” that the opening of the borders from East to West (and vice versa) has led to an increase in the smuggling of cars and drugs, and also to the smuggling of new types of contraband, including firearms, art, persons (as migrant workers, economic refugees and/or prostitutes) and dangerous substances. We “know” that some types of crime are becoming increasingly professional.

We “know” that organised crime has become entrenched in many European countries, both East and West, engaging for example in racketeering, drug trafficking, smuggling and prostitution. At the same time, we “know” that crime as a whole has become increasingly international, even though the large majority of individual incidents may remain “garden-variety”, domestic crime.

We also “know” that the profile of the typical offender who comes to the attention of the police seems not to have changed very much (even with the quantitative and qualitative changes in crime, and overlooking the distinctive profile of most persons engaged in economic crime), and most crime - property and violent crime - continues to be committed by young males in urban areas. The offenders are often socially disadvantaged: persons with alcohol and drug problems, little education, out of work, and with few close social ties. Since unemployment remains high, drug use appears to be increasing, and bigger and bigger holes are appearing in the social safety-net, this pool of potential offenders will expand, not shrink.

We are thus faced with two opposing perceptions of crime trends in Europe. On one hand, the statistics on recorded crime and the victimisation surveys suggest that the growth in crime has flattened out. On the other hand, the authorities (and the public) have a strong sense that certain forms of serious crime have become more common, and in particular transnational organised crime has increased and strengthened.

Crime statistics that present aggregate amounts for traditional categories of crime cannot give an answer to this puzzle (Aromaa, 1996). The total of recorded crime may remain the same even if the structure of crime changes. For example, violence (as manifested as assault and homicide) may become less common between intimates and more common between strangers, especially among socially dislocated young males living in decaying urban areas (see, for example, Marshall, 1996, p. 31), or it may become more common as a means of conducting (illegal) business. Car thefts may become less common as “joy-riding” and more common in connection with organised trafficking. The amount of smuggling may remain the same, but the

nature of the contraband may change from small quantities of alcohol and tobacco, to stolen goods, firearms and even nuclear materials. Over time, drug offences may begin to involve harder and more dangerous drugs, and in greater amounts.

Surveying transnational organised crime: some suggestions

The major difficulties in gathering data on transnational organised crime are, therefore, the lack of a uniform definition, the inappropriateness of national statistics, and the possibilities of error and non-response. There are, nonetheless, at least five ways to proceed in surveying organised crime.

Suggestion 1: improve the statistics

Although limited agreements are possible on a regional basis (in particular within the framework of the European Union), it is improbable that different statistical administrations will agree on a common definition of organised crime that would be used in the classification of offences. Nonetheless, the statistical data can be improved on a national basis. It is feasible that in the future, more data will be forthcoming as soon as national administrations subdivide their raw statistical data even further. Kommer (1993, p. 6) has pointed out that modern technology with its sophisticated database systems and the use of hypertext open up new possibilities in the international comparison of crime and criminal justice statistics. Already today, the wider use of key words when the raw data are fed into a computer make it possible to identify, for example, how many offences have been directed against or committed by foreigners, whether or not the offender and the victim knew one another, or what was the extent of the loss⁵⁰. Once we have such statistics from a number of countries, we can see whether, for example, visa and passport forgery or various forms of economic crime have in fact been increasing and there is indeed cause for concern, or whether we are once again seeing moral panics among the public and among policy-makers, moral panics that tend to disappear once the media discovers a new topic that provides substance for a new “feeding frenzy”.

Suggestion 2: rely on experts for rough estimates of the scope of, and trends in, transnational organised crime

If “hard” statistics are not available, knowledgeable people can be asked to estimate the scope of, and trends in, certain types of crime. This has been done, for example, by the Council of Europe. One recent report (Europe, 1996) utilised the results of a survey of experts in the different Member States. They were asked to comment on crimes of particular concern. The results were rather impressionistic, and no estimates of the scope of these crimes were attempted. In another Council of Europe project, known as “Operation Octopus”, a survey instrument was developed in which respondents from sixteen Central and Eastern European countries were asked to assess the seriousness of certain types of crime (Joutsen, 1997). For example, they were asked to use a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = no corruption, 5 = significant corruption) to assess the extent to which certain sectors (national politics, local politics, banking and finance, the police, customs, and so on) involve corruption. Also here, despite the use of a scale, the results were rather impressionistic: closer discussion with representatives of the different countries revealed that not only did the different respondents understand the scale in different ways, there was considerable disagreement within countries regarding the “proper” response.

John Walker has used somewhat the same approach in developing the first estimate of the extent of money laundering in Australia (Walker, 1995). Essentially, he asked knowledgeable experts to estimate the amount of illegal profit from certain specific types of crime, then the

⁵⁰ The German police statistics provide a good example of the presentation of different ways of breaking down the same data.

proportion of this which may be laundered. By adding the results, he was able to obtain an overall estimate. (Since different experts gave different estimates, the results were given in the form of a range, and understandably not as specific figures.)

The most ambitious and consistent attempt to gather estimates of the extent of organised crime has led to the annual European Union situation reports on organised crime. Each successive report has improved on its predecessor in terms of uniformity and presentation. This has only been possible through extensive discussions (for example within the framework of the Support and Contact Group) between those responsible for producing the reports. Nonetheless, the discussions on the most recent report suggest that considerable work is still necessary in unifying the application of the criteria used in defining what is organised crime.

Suggestion 3: develop indicators that describe aspects of organised transnational crime

The assessment of trends in organised crime could be facilitated by a general discussion among researchers on international indicators and measures of crime. The traditional measures of the number of offenders, offences and victims become meaningless when we seek to deal with offences that are widely different in scope. The smuggling of an extra bottle of whisky as opposed to the smuggling of nuclear materials; the robbing of a corner store by a teenager as opposed to the extortion of protection money from an entire industry; the embezzlement of a few hundred pounds from a small company as opposed to the siphoning off of hundreds of millions of pounds from a bank; the dumping of a used car battery into the forest as opposed to the dumping of large amounts of hazardous wastes in a place where they can leak into ground water - in theory, each of these might involve one offender and one act, and yet common sense tells us that each is on a different scale. By developing indicators of the cost of crime and of their scope, we may in time be able to say something more eloquent about the trend.

Moreover, certain indicators can serve as markers for transnational organised crime. It may be difficult to assess directly how many stolen motor vehicles are smuggled over borders (and to what extent this is organised activity), but it is generally possible to say how many stolen motor vehicles remain unrecovered. This proportion, in turn, can serve as an approximation of how many cars have indeed been taken out of the country⁵¹.

Other examples include estimates of the proportion of prostitutes who are foreign, as a marker for trafficking in women (see, for example, Bruinsma, 1998); data on the size and type of seizures as a marker for trends in drug trafficking; and data on the proportion of confiscated firearms that have been stolen as a marker for trafficking in firearms.

Suggestion 4: conduct crossnational research on specific aspects of transnational organised crime

Even more refined statistics, the greater use of modern technology and the use of available data as indicators, however, cannot answer all questions regarding the scope of, and trends in, transnational organised crime. The connection between many offences will remain unclear, and thus for example whether or not organised crime (whether national or transnational) is behind prostitution, the smuggling of illegal migrants or the theft of an individual BMW will remain largely one of conjecture. More important, the randomness with which most forms of organised crime (however defined) come to the attention of the police, and the fact that each individual case tends to be unique make the plotting of any statistical trends well nigh a thankless task.

⁵¹ Granted, many stolen motor vehicles may lie at the bottom of a lake or may have had their identifying features artfully reworked in a "body shop". The proportion of stolen motor vehicles that remains unrecovered is also dependent on the efficiency of the law enforcement and motor vehicle registration authorities, the regulations regarding checks when motor vehicles are sold, and the sheer size of the country in question.

Thus, even improved statistics must be supplemented with research. Research continues to be needed on the structure and amount of hidden crime in order to give us a better idea of what types of crime are being committed, by whom, against whom and with what effect. The international victimisation surveys should be supplemented with business victimisation surveys as well as studies focused on offences without individual victims. Special victimisation surveys could deal, for example, with corruption and extortion, in particular among such likely target groups as ethnic minorities and small businesses.

In addition, recorded crime should be submitted to analysis on an offence-by-offence basis to see if changes occur in the structure of these offences; as already noted, the greater wealth of detail offered by computer technology opens up new possibilities for this. Such individual studies can provide us with a key-hole picture of crime. If they are repeated using the same methodology, they can go a long way to answering questions regarding trends⁵².

Suggestion 5: develop indices of certain forms of organised crime

Although statistical data may be misleading, an attempt can be made to lessen this risk by using data from *different* sources to see if they point in the same direction. The international team that prepared HEUNI's analysis of the results of the Fifth United Nations Survey decided to take data not only from this Survey (which is based largely on the official statistics of the respondent countries), but also for example from the health and mortality statistics collected by the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Centres for Disease Control (CDC). The International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS) has now been carried out in almost every European and North American country. The ICVS thus provides a welcome supplement to statistical data on reported crime. Selected other studies were also used for the HEUNI report. (This issue is dealt with in greater detail in Kangaspunta 1998, presented at this same Conference.)

Among the drawbacks of such indices is that they are less informative on a country-by-country basis than absolute data. However, they could have a role in transnational surveys, since they allow the comparison of a phenomenon in different countries. For example, one aspect of crime that was studied in the HEUNI survey and that is relevant to transnational organised crime is corruption. The HEUNI corruption index is based on information from three independent sources:

- averaged annual ICVS national corruption rate from 1988 to 1995;
- averaged annual ICVS urban corruption rate from 1988 to 1995;
- averaged annual ICVS rural corruption rate from 1988 to 1995;
- Transparency International index; and
- the World Competitiveness Study index based on the statement, "Improper practices (such as bribing or corruption) do not prevail in the public sphere".

The source variables of this index proved to be highly intercorrelated. Somewhat surprisingly, it was found that even the ICVS ranking of street level corruption of public officials was strongly correlated with the Transparency International ranking of corrupt practices as perceived by the business sector ($r=.86$; $n=11$; $p=0.001$). This finding suggests that corruption

⁵² In respect of transnational organised crime, Naylor (op. cit.) notes a number of epistemological problems. Informants (usually members of the "underworld") are one source of information, and yet in this field informants tend to be pathological liars, who may live in a world of fantasy and exaggeration. A second source would be an analysis of individual cases - but we don't know how atypical each case is, or how many other cases are "out there". Although the police may provide an "expert" view, it may well be a skewed one. And finally, we are faced with what could be termed a "large number coalition": the police, informants, offenders, the mass media, politicians and the research community may all have a vested interest in making the problem seem to be a large and threatening one. For example, informants may get rewards for tips, offenders may get status (in being a "big shot"), the mass media want to sell papers, and researchers may want newer and bigger research grants.

on different levels of society is somehow interrelated. Corruption at the highest levels seems to go hand in hand with street-level corruption.

Surveying transnational organised crime: coda

At present, transnational organised crime cannot readily be surveyed by assembling ready-made statistical data from different countries. Nonetheless, work should continue on improving the structure and collection of statistics in order to enhance comparability between countries.

Until such time, researchers and policy-makers must satisfy themselves with indirect measures of transnational organised crime. Experts can be asked to provide estimates, indicators can be developed to describe aspects of transnational organised crime, and the available data can be used to develop indices of certain forms of transnational organised crime. There is also plenty of scope for research that focuses on specific aspects of transnational organised crime.

Given the ever-changing nature of transnational organised crime (and, perhaps equally important for those who seek to serve the development of policy, the constant shifts in national priorities) no hard-and-fast structure for surveying this phenomenon can and should be attempted. Although regular surveys asking the same questions over and over again are helpful, they should be complemented by surveys and other research that deal with specific issues.

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**ÈÑÑÈÀÀÌÀÀÌÈÈ ÒÐÀÌÑÌÀÒÈÌÀÈÛÌÈ ÌÐÀÀÌÈÇÌÀÀÌÌÈ
ÌÐÀÑÒÒÌÌÈ: ÀÌÈÈÀÀ ÒÀÓÌÈ ÌÀ ÌÐÀÀÌÈÇÌÀÀÌÌÈ
ÌÐÀÑÒÒÌÌÈ À ÌÈÐÀ**

Ìàòè Pòñáí *

Ḑáèèèà òèy HEUNI ¹ 31 "ÌḐàà ÌèçÌàà Ìà y Ḑà ñòòḡḡòù à èḐà" (Òà èùḡèèè 1998 à.) ñòà àèò ñàíà é òà èùḡ àà òù ÌàçÌḐ ḡḡà àìèò òà Ìàà ÌòèèÌḐàà ÌèçÌàà ÌÌÈ Ḑà ñòòḡḡòè è èÌḐḐà Ḑ, ḐèÌèà à ÌḐ ḐÌḐèà Ìà à, àÌ àñàÌ èḐà. YòḐò Ìò-à ò àùè ñḡḡòà àèà Ì Ḑ. Ñà àḐèÌÈ Ààà Ìèè, ḐḐ. ÀÌàḐà y Àà Ìèèèà, ḐÌḐ. YḐÌà ñòÌ Ó. Ñà àñà è ḐḐ. ÌÌèà ÓÌḐḐè èç TRANSCRIME, àḐḐ ḡḡḡḡ àñàà Ìèy Ì òḐà ÌḡÌà òèÌÌà èùÌÈ Ḑà ñòòḡḡò è, PḐèàè-à ñèÌè ḡ èḡèḐ ÓÌèàà ḐḡḐà òà ÒḐà ÌòÌ.

Ìà ñòÌy ùèè àìèòà Ìò, ḡḡḡàà ÌÌÈ Ìà Ìò-à òà HEUNI, Ḑà ḡḡà òḐèàà à ò Ìà èÌḐḐà òà èòÌḐḐ, èÌḐḐà à àìèè Ìù ò-èòḐàà òḡḡy Ḑè èçò-à Ìèè ñòÌèù Ìà y ḡḡḡ à ÌḡḡḐà Ìḡḡ y àèà Ìèy èà è "ÌḐàà ÌèçÌàà Ìà y Ḑà ñòòḡḡòù", à òà èè à ḐèàÌèèò Ìà èÌḐḐà Ḑà èḡ Ìàà òèè Ì Ìà òÌàà ò. Ìḡḡḡà àìèè Ìèà àìèè Ì òàà èy òḡḡy àÌçÌè Ìḡḡòè Ḑà çḐà àÌḐèè Ḑà çèè-ÌḐò èÌàà èḡḡà ÌḐàà ÌèçÌàà ÌÌÈ Ḑà ñòòḡḡòè.

ÑòḐòèòòḐà Ìò-à òà HEUNI ḡḡḡḡàà à òḡy Ìà Ìèèòè-à ñèÌè àà èèà Ḑà òèè è ÀèÌàà èùḡḡ èà Ìà àà èḡḐàèy ḐÌḐèà ḐḐà ÌḡÌà òèÌÌà èùÌÈ ÌḐà ÌèçÌàà ÌÌÈ Ḑà ñòòḡḡòè, ḐèÌy òùò èḐÌàÌÈ èḡḡòà ḐḡḐèè èḡḐà Ḑà Ìòèà è, ḡḡḡḡy àḡ à èḡy à Ìà àÌèà, Èòà èèy, -2B Ìy àḐy 1994 àÌàà. ÑḡḐàà òḡḐàà ÌÌ Ìò-à ò àèèḡ -à à ò Ḑà àà èà Ìèà ÌḐàà ÌèçÌàà ÌÌÈ Ḑà ñòòḡḡòè, èḐèèÌà èèçà òèḡ -èà ÌḡḐàà à èḐèèÌà èùḐò à ḡḡḐèà òèy ò èèè òà ñòèy à ḡḡḡḐà ò, ḐèÌy òèà çà èḡḡà Ì ḡḡḐà àìèè çà òà èùḡḐà, ḐÌḐà Ì Ì çà ùèòà ḡàèàà òà èà è, , à òà èè à çà èḡḡà, Ḑà àòḡḡà òḐèàà ḡ ùèò èḡḐḐèèà òèḡ Ìà çà èḡḡḐò àÌḐḐà. ×à òùḐà àèà àù Ìò-à òà Ḑà ḡḡà òḐèàà ḡ ò ḡḡḐàà òḡḐàà ÌÌ òà Ìàà Ìòèè è èçḡ Ìà Ìèy à ÌḐàà ÌèçÌàà ÌÌÈ Ḑà ñòòḡḡòè àñàùà, ḡḡḡà àìèè òà Ìàà Ìòèè à Ìà çà èḡḡè àà y òà èùḡḡòè ÌḐàà ÌèçÌàà ÌÌÈ Ḑà ñòòḡḡòè à Ḑà çèè-ÌḐò -à ḡḐy ò èḐà è èçḡ Ìà Ìèy à èḐèèÌà èùḐḐò àḐḐò, àà èḡḐàḐ ḡèò Ìà ḡḡ àòÌà ḐÌḐḐ òḐÌàÌà, ḡḡḡà àìèè ḡḡḡḡḡà èḡḐèà òèàù, ḐèÌy òùà ḐÌḐèà ÌḐàà ÌèçÌàà ÌÌÈ Ḑà ñòòḡḡò è èà è Ḑà àèòà èùḡḐàà ÌÌÈ, òà è è Ìà Ḑà àèòà èùḡḐàà ÌÌÈ ÌḐàà Ìèçà òèy è è Ìḡḡà à Ìà òèÌÌà èùḐḐò çà èḡḡà àà èùḡḐàà ò ḐÌḐèà ÌḐàà ÌèçÌàà ÌÌÈ Ḑà ñòòḡḡòè.

Ḑáèèèà òèy HEUNI yòÌ à ḐàÌà èçàà Ìèà, ḡḡḡà Ḑè à ùèà òà èÌÈ ÌèÌÈ ÌàçÌḐ Ì òḐà ÌḡÌà òèÌÌà èùÌÈ ÌḐàà ÌèçÌàà ÌÌÈ Ḑà ñòòḡḡòè, y àèy ḡ ùèèḡy ÌḐèà ÌòèḐÌàÌ àèy àà èùÌà èḡ à è Ḑà àÌḐḐ à à àà ÌÌÈ Ìàèà ḡḐè. Èà à àÌÈ ÌàçÌḐ Ì òḐà ÌḡÌà òèÌÌà èùÌÈ ÌḐàà ÌèçÌàà ÌÌÈ Ḑà ñòòḡḡòè àìèè à Ì Ìà -èÌà òḡḡy ḡ èḡḐàḐòà èèçà òèè ḐÌàèà Ì, èà è yòÌ àà èà à òḡy à à ḐàÌÈ àèà àà àùḡ à òèà çà Ìḡḡ Ìò-à òà. Yòà àèà àà Ìèà çḐàà à ò èà è èḐèèÌà èùḐḐà ÌḐàà Ìèçà òèè èçḡ Ìy ḡ ò ḡḡḐè ñòḐòèòòḐḐ è çà àà -è à Ìòàà ò Ìà èçḡ Ìà Ìèy èḐÌàḐò ḐḐÌèà è ÌḐḐ èò Ḑà àòèèḐÌàà Ìèy, èà è ÌÈ ḐÌèèà ḡ ò è Ḑà çàèèà ḡ òḡy à ÌḡḐḐò ḐḐÌèà ò, çà Ìèà y ḡḡ òà èè à ÌḡḐḐ è ḡ Ìà à Ḑèḡèàà ÌÌÈ òèà è àà y òà èùḡḡòè. Òà èà y èḡḐàḐèy ḡḡà à ò ḡḡy òù èà èèÌ ÌàḐà çḡ òḐà ÌḡÌà òèÌÌà èùÌà y ÌḐàà ÌèçÌàà Ìà y Ḑà ñòòḡḡòù à Ḑà ḐÌàèò Ìò Ìḡḡḡ òèà àà y òà èùḡḡòè è àḐòḡḡ. Ìà àìèè Ìèà è yòÌÈ èḡḐàḐèè Ìè à ò ḡḡà ḡḐè èḡ ḡḐḐò è ḡḐà òèḡḐè-à ñèÌḐ Ḑà à Ìà Ìèḡ.

ÈḡḐḐ-Ìèèè, èḡḡḡḡḡàà ÌÌÈ àèy ḡḡḡḐḐàè Ìò-à òà HEUNI àèèḡ -à ḡ ò à Ìà èèçḐ è çà èḡḡàà òà èùḡḐàÌ, ḡḡḐà àèà ÌÌÈ èḐÌàÌÈ ḡà òḡḡ ḡḡ òèà èèḡḐà Ì ÌḐàà ÌèçÌàà ÌÌÈ Ḑà ñòòḡḡòè è èḡḐḐà Ḑà ḡ àìèèà ÌòḐ, Ḑà àñòà àèà ÌÌÈ Ìà ḡḡ àòÌà ḐÌḐḐò èḡḐà Ḑà Ìòèy ò; Ìò-à òù, ḡḡḐà àèà ÌÌÈ òÌèàà ḐḡḐà òà è è Ìà èḡḡḡà àñàà òà èùḡḐèè èḡḐḐèòòà è, à òà èè à ḡà Ḑàè è, Ḑà àñòà àèà ÌÌÈ Ḑà àèòà èùḡḐàà ÌÌÈ è

* ÀàḐḡàèèèè ÈḡḐḐòòò àèy ÌḐààÌòàḐàùàḡèy è èḡḐḐèy ÌḐàḡḐḐḐòè, àḡḡḐèèḐÌààÌÌÈ ḡ Ḑààḡèàèèà ÌàùààèḡḐḐò Ìàèè(ÒÀÓÌÈ).

íáðà àèòá èúñòáá ííúè ìðãà íeçà òèý è è ðà àðeñ íý þ ùèè ìðãà íà è. Ó=èòúáà ý,
 ÷òí òà èèá ñ òá ðèà èú ñòóá þ ò èç ðà çèè÷íúò èñòí÷íeíá è ðeíèñ ý áí áíeñ íeá
 ÷à ñòúá èçñ íá íèý á çà éííá ò ðíòeá ìðãà íeçà ííé ðá ñòóñòe, íá éíòíðúá
 èíóíðá òèè ñáòò íeá çà òúñý áà òeðíáá ííúè. Ñ òá èúþ òñòðà íeòú òà èèá íá áíñòà òèè
 áúèè áèèþ ÷á íú òà èæ á ñ òá ðèà èú ñðá áñòá èíóíðá òèè (íáðeñ ð í íáúò çà éííá ò).

EUROPEAN UNION STUDY OF ORGANISED CRIME

Henk van de Bunt*

In November 1993, the European Council agreed to have an annual report drawn up on the nature, scale and trends in international organised crime in the countries of the European Union. As a result, a mechanism was designed, stipulating the criteria and research methods to be used in the Member Countries. The application of the mechanism has since led to a number of reports presenting a picture of organised crime in the countries of the European Union. The mechanism was evaluated in the period when the Netherlands was chairing the European Union in 1997. The main purpose was to enhance the comparability of the data collected by the Member Countries.

It is only logical that if they are taken seriously, the results of research on organised crime not only shape our picture of organised crime, but also affect the policy implemented on the basis of this picture. Firstly, this means that the quality of the research data has to be as high as possible. Secondly, it means that data have to be collected that will be the most relevant to the ensuing policy. I would now like to address the extent to which the mechanism developed in the European Union framework can make a contribution in this respect - in other words, towards making the research data as relevant as possible to the ensuing policy.

There is ample reason for the recent European Union interest in the issue of organised crime. The Member Countries have long been confronted with the rise of organised crime and the question of how to deal with it. This is why it is so logical to examine the experiences these countries have had in conducting research on the phenomenon of organised crime. First, I would like to discuss what has been done in the Netherlands in this respect. Based upon a brief account of our experiences, I will get back to the European Union mechanism later.

Compared to other European countries, we can probably say that the Netherlands was relatively quick to develop a tradition of periodically measuring organised crime. The first national survey of organised crime was conducted in 1988 in the Netherlands, followed by surveys in 1991, 1993 and 1995. Extensive questionnaires were sent to various police departments, with five and later eight criteria. The more a group met with one or more of the criteria, the higher it ranked on the organised crime scale. The research method was comparable to the one now being used in the European Union, with the same emphasis on collecting purely quantitative data based on a wide definition of organised crime and eleven criteria on an extensive list of topics. The annual report is based upon separate reports drawn up by the Member Countries using the European Union mechanism.

In 1995, a Dutch parliamentary inquiry was opened to examine the investigation methods used by the police, the judiciary, and the criminal investigation departments. In general, the inquiry was called for to get an impression of the nature and scale of organised crime. The more specific reason for the inquiry is not relevant here. But what is important is that the conclusion was drawn that not enough information was available on organised crime, even though several national surveys had already been conducted on organised crime.

Two factors played an important role in this connection. First, there were sizeable differences of opinion about what organised crime is. Second, the analyses of organised crime made up to that time crime entailed a number of very serious problems. Due to the emphasis earlier surveys had placed on counting, the problem of organised crime was reduced to the number, activities and organisational level of criminal groups. Another objection was that

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since there were so many different parties answering the questions, there was sometimes very little uniformity in the kind of responses they gave. There were too few checks on the questionnaire and the input routine, which made the results less representative. In short, the conclusion reached was that a better qualitative and quantitative picture was needed of the nature, scale and seriousness of organised crime.

A research team was appointed by the parliament. The team's first step in addressing the phenomenon of organised crime was to define exactly what the term "organised crime" means. The second step was to agree on how to go about researching the nature and scale of organised crime. In other words, how the data should be collected and, more importantly, which data should be collected. It is obvious that the question of which data should be collected is related to how organised crime is defined. The definition that was formulated of organised crime, and which I feel has since proven its worth, is as follows. Organised crime entails groups primarily focused on illegal gains that systematically commit crimes with serious ramifications for society, and are capable of concealing these crimes relatively effectively, in particular by using physical violence or corruption.

This definition consists of three important elements. Organised crime means groups that: 1) are primarily focused on illegal gains; 2) systematically commit crimes with serious ramifications for society; and 3) are capable of concealing these crimes relatively effectively. One important advantage of this definition is that it distinguishes between organised crime and organisational crime, which is in itself a very serious matter. Organisational crime entails otherwise "legal" organisations that commit crimes in the line of their "regular" work. Obviously, there is not always a clear line that is crossed. Not that this detracts from the analytical distinction. As the British legal philosopher H.L.A. Hart once said, everyone can see who has a good head of hair and who is bald. It is much harder to see the exact point where the hair ends and the baldness begins.

The second aspect of the definition - systematically committing crimes with serious ramifications for society - is clearer. Not every crime that is systematically committed - such as shoplifting - has anything to do with organised crime, nor does every serious crime such as homicide or manslaughter. It is the combination of crime that is systematically committed and crime that is serious that constitutes a characteristic feature of organised crime.

Lastly, the third aspect of the definition, the ability to relatively effectively conceal the criminal activities. This concealment not only pertains to the internally directed threat or use of violence - referred to in so many definitions of organised crime - to keep the members of the criminal group under control. It also includes being willing and able to apply extreme methods to shield the group from the authorities. This can manifest itself as tailing police officers, influencing or threatening witnesses or alleged informers, or directly influencing government officials by way of corruption and threats.

It is clear that a closed definition of organised crime was chosen. This was done to prevent the inflation of the term organised crime. It is not good to be too quick to classify punishable acts as organised crime. Certainly, from the perspective of empirical research, a definition of organised crime is called for that is as specific as possible. And the same is true from a policy perspective, especially since an unrestricted use of the term could easily evoke policies that no longer bear any relation to the real seriousness of the problem.

The research team mainly produced a qualitative description of organised crime in the Netherlands. Unlike the case in the past, when it was mainly the scale of organised crime that was examined, now its nature and seriousness were central to the research. This emphasis on qualitative research into organised crime has had a follow-up in a survey conducted every two years by the Research and Documentation Centre of the Dutch Ministry of Justice. Based upon closed investigations, in-depth file research is conducted

and the cases are discussed with public prosecutors and police officials. Particular attention is devoted to the following aspects:

1. particulars of each case;
2. short summary of the investigation;
3. the group;
4. activities and methods;
5. shielding;
6. size, division and expenditure of the illegal gains;
7. court sentencing; and
8. evaluation of policy points.

One important reason for extensive qualitative research is that it became clear in the course of the parliamentary inquiry that there was not sufficient empirically founded knowledge about organised crime in the Netherlands. The ample data gathered in large-scale investigations into organised crime is rarely, if ever, systematically described and stored and is thus largely lost, at any rate for research purposes. As a result, this information is not sufficiently shared with the people who are active at the policy and executive level in combating organised crime, even though this information can be very relevant to the policies that are formulated and carried out.

I would like to give an example:

At the time of the parliamentary inquiry, I was conducting research into the extent to which professionals such as notaries public and solicitors were involved - in a culpable sense - in organised crime. The most interesting aspect is not the number of cases of culpable involvement, although this is what the media focused on, but the way that solicitors and notaries public allow themselves to be used by organised crime. The facts of these cases made it possible to develop a specific policy to address various situations where organised crime uses people in these professions. For example, in the form of specific guidelines and informative courses given by the Netherlands Law Association.

Another example is a study conducted by the Research and Documentation Centre on criminal groups engaged in migrant trafficking. Here again it is not relevant whether there are five, ten or fifteen of these groups. It is much more important to gain insight into how they operate. How do they smuggle people across the borders, what role do counterfeit travel documents play, what contact do they have with travel agents, and what branches are there in the legal world? These are all questions that can only be answered by way of thorough qualitative investigation.

The qualitative track that is followed in research on organised crime is complemented by the similarly indispensable quantitative component. On the basis of the revised definition of organised crime and a similarly amended and more concise list of criteria, we are now better able to determine whether certain activities can be categorised as organised crime. In addition, there is now more space in the questionnaire for qualitative questions. In principle, a survey is conducted every year among seven police teams, six local ones and the national investigation team, that are specifically focused on organised crime. The survey covers cases that have been closed and cases that the teams worked on that year and are still open. As in the previous surveys, the emphasis is on collecting quantitative data, and the most important aim is to estimate the scale of organised crime. In this way, two methods are being used to conduct research into organised crime in the Netherlands, methods that supplement each other and are each indispensable in themselves.

It is not solely intellectual or academic interest that leads to research on organised crime. The main purpose of this research is to gather information that policy can be based upon. Policy that can keep organised crime under control. This policy requires quantitative data,

which are what the primary focus thus tends to be. But all they can provide is an indication of the size of the problem. To put policy into practice, more is required. To specify policy contents, insight is needed into the nature and seriousness of the problem, and this requires substantive qualitative research.

What does this mean with respect to evaluating the mechanism developed by the European Union for gaining greater insight into the scale of and trends in organised crime, especially as regards the international ramifications? Does it produce reliable data and can this information be used for policy purposes? The question of data reliability is a methodological one that I have commented on with respect to the situation in the Netherlands. Certainly, with so many countries taking part, it will not be a simple manner to guarantee the reliability of the data. As the Drugs and Organisation Crime Working Group noted, the reliability of the data will probably be the major weakness of the system. As regards the relevance of the research to policy-making, I think that its restriction to mainly quantitative data is a serious shortcoming.

ÈÇÓ×ÁÍÈÁ ÈÐÌÁÈÑÈÌÁÌ ÑÌÞÇÀ ÌÌ ÌÐÁÀÌÈÇÌÁÀÌÍÌÈ ÌÐÁÑÒÓÌÌÑÒÈ

Òáíè ààí àà Áóí*

Á ñý áðà 1993 àíàà Ááðìá èñèèè Ñíàà ò òèíý è ðá ø á íèá í àúòñèá àíàíàíáí ìò-á òá í òá ðà èòá ðá, íáúá ñ è íàðá àèá íèý ò ñ æ áóíá ðíáííè ìðáà íèçìáà ííèè ðá òòòìíòè á òòðá íá ò Ááðìá èñèíáí Ñìþ çà. Áèý ýóíáí áúè ðà çðá áíòáí ñ òá íèçì ðá àá èý þ ùèè òèíòè è ñ òíáú òíáá àá íèý èññèá àíáà íèý á òòðá íá ò-èá íá ò ÁÑ. Á ðá çóèùòà òá òèñ íá íèý òà èíáí ñ òá íèçà áúè ðá à èèçìááí ðý á ìò-á òíá, àà þ ùèò èà ðòèíó ìðáà íèçìáà ííèè ðá òòòìíòè á òò ðá íá ò Ááðìá èñèíáí Ñìþ çà.

Ðá çóèùòà òú èññèá àíáà íèý íá òíèùèí àà þ ò íá ì èà ðòèíó íá ìðáà íèçìáà ííèè ðá òòòìíòè, ì è íèá çúáà þ ò áíçáá èíòáèá íá ìèèòèèó, ðá à èèçìáá ííòþ íá áá çá òà èíè èà ðòèíó. Áí-á ðáúò, ýóí çíá-èò, ò-òí èà-á òòáí àá ííúò èññèá àíáà íèý àíèè ì áúòú íá èáíèá á àúííèè Áíáòíðúò, ýóí çíá-èò, ò-òí àíèè ì áúòú ñíáðá ìú àá ííúá, íá èáíèá á òóúá òòáá ííúá àèý ðá çðá áíòèè ìíèá áòþ ùá é ìèèòèèè. Áìíí çà èèþ-à á òñý á òí ìæ á ò èè ñ òá íèçì ðá çðá áíòá ííúé á èíòá èíòá Ááðìá èñèíáí Ñìþ çà, áíá òòè ñáíè àèèá á á ýóí àá èí. Ì òíá èññèá àíáà íèý, òèñ íý á ìè á íá òòý ùá á áðá ìú á Ááðìá èñèí Ñìþ çà, àèèçìè è ñ òíáó, èññèùçóá ìò ðá íá á á Íèáá ðèá íáà ò. Ááí ìííáííè òá èüþ ý àèý á òñý ñáíð ò-èíòí èíèè-á òòáá ííáí ñ òá ðèá èà, ìííáá ííúé íá ø èðíèí ðá àá èá íèè ìðáà íèçìáà ííèè ðá òòòìíòè è àèèíí ìèñèá èçó-à á ìò òá ì Áíáíáíè íáçìð ìííáúáà á òñý íá ìðáà èüíúò íáçìðá ò, ìáíáíòíáèá ííúò òòðá íá è-èá íá è ÁÑ ñ ìúùþ ñ òá íèçà Ááðìá èñèíáí Ñìþ çà.

Ñòðá íú-èá íú ÁÑ á òá ò-á íèá àèèòá èüííáí áðá ñ íè íá àèþ àá èè ðìò ìðáà íèçìáà ííèè ðá òòòìíòè è òòá àèèè áìíí í ò ñ èá è ñ íá é áðíòóñý. Íòñþ àá ý àèý á òñý èíáè-íúí èçó-á íèá ìòá, íá èíá ííáí ýòèè òòðá íá è á èññèá àíáà íèý ò ý àèá íèý ìðáà íèçìáà ííèè ðá òòòìíòè. Í òòá áíá íèþ ñ áðóáèè òòðá íá è ìæ ì ñèá çà òú, ò-òí á Íèáá ðèá íáà ò ðá çáèèá ñú àíáíèüí áúíòðí òðá àèèèý á ðèíáè-èíáí èçà ðá íèý ìðáà íèçìáà ííèè ðá òòòìíòè. Í ðáúé íáçìð ì ìðáà íèçìáà ííèè ðá òòòìíòè áúè ñáá èáí á Íèáá ðèá íáà ò á 1988 àíáó, çà íèí ìèá àíáà èè íáçìðú, ñáá èá ííúá á 1991, 1993 è 1995 àíáà ò. Íáðíáíúá áìíííèèè áúèè ðá çííèá íú á ðá çèè-íúá àá á ðòá ñ íòú ìèèò èè, ñ 5 è íçáíá á ñ 8 ðá çðá áíòá ííúè òá ðá èòá ðèçóþ ùèè èðèòá ðèý ì. ×á ì àèèè á èðèèíá èüíá ý áðòì ìðáá-à á ò íáííò èèè íá ñèíèèè èðèòá ðèý ì, òá ì áúø á áá ñ òòí íá èðèèíá èüííèè ø èá èá. Íá ñòòý íá ýóí, ì òíáó ðá ñòòðá íèý àíèèá íáíèè à ðèá ñ íòí ñ òíáíá ðá ññèá íáà íèý, èññèùçóá ìò ìèèòèá é, áúèí çà èèþ-à í, ò-òí íá èñ èííú àííòá òí-íè èíòíðá òèè íá ìðáà íèçìáà ííèè ðá òòòìíòè.

Ááà òá èòíðá ñúáðá èè àá æ íóþ ðíèü á ýòí èíòá èíòá. Ááðúò áúèè ñá ðúá çíúá ðá òòíæ àá íèý áí íá íèè, ò-òí æ á ðá àíòá àèý á ò ñíáíè ìðáà íèçìáà ííèè ðá òòòìíòú. Áí-áòíðúò, à íá èèçì ìðáà íèçìáà ííèè ðá òòòìíòè ìáèá èèè çà ñíáíè òá èúé ðý á ñá ðúá çíúò áìíííá. Á ñáý çè ñ à èòá íòí, ìòá àèá ííúí íá ò-èñèá íííòú á ðáúè íáçìðá è, áìíí íá ìðáà íèçìáà ííèè ðá òòòìíòè áúè ñáá àá í é ò-èñèó, ðèþ àá ý òá èüííòè è ìðá íèçà òèííò òðíáíþ èðèèíá èüíúò áðòì Áðíðá áíçðá æ á íèá çà èèþ-à èííú á òí, ò-òí ñèèø èíí áíèüø íá ò-èñèí ðá çèè-íúò ìðáá-à þ ùèò òòíðí ðèáá èí é íá íáíðíáííòè ìèó-á ííúò ìðáá òíá. Ðá áí-à ý áðòì èññèá àíáà íèý, íá çíá-à íá ý á ðèá ñ íòí, ðá çðá áíòá èá áðóáíá è ðá èíá èíáá ðá íòíá ðá àá èá íèá ìðáà íèçìáà ííèè ðá òòòìíòè è ìáíáíòíáèè èá-à òòáá ííá ìèíá íèá ìðáà íèçìáà ííèè ðá òòòìíòè á Íèáá ðèá íáà ò. Á ìèè-èá ìò ðá àúáòúá áí íáçìðá, àáá ðá-ù ø èá àèá áíúí íáðá çíí í ø èá èá èçó-à á íè ìðáà íèçìáà ííèè ðá òòòìíòè, òáá ðú á òá íòá

* Íèíèòáðòáí Þòèòèè, Íèááðèáíáí.

enñeá aíaá íey ñòy è è òà ðà èòá ð è ñá ðuá çíñòu òá ííá íá íðáà íeçíáà ííé ðá ñòóññòè. Áeòá íò, ñòà àeá íúé íá èà ÷á ñòáá ííá enñeá aíaá íeá íðáà íeçíáà ííé ðá ñòóññòè, íá ø á è ñáíá íòðá æ á íeá á enñeá aíaá íey ò, ðííáíeñíò èà æ áúá ááà áíáà Óáíòðí enñeá aíaá íey, è á á ðóá íòà òèè áíeèá íáñéíáí Èíeñòá ðñòáá Þñòèòèè. ðííáíeòny óáeóáeá ííá èçó÷á íeá, íñíáá ííá íá à èéóðá òíúò ðá ññeá aíaá íey ò, è ñeó÷á è íáñóá àà þ òny ñ íááíeíeðá ey è è ðá áñòà àeòá ey è íeèòèè.

Èà ÷á ñòáá ííá íáðá àeá íeá, áúáðá ííá äey ðííáá áá íey enñeá aíaá íeé í íðáà íeçíáà ííé ðá ñòóññòè, áúéí áñeíá íí íá íáóíáeñí èíeè÷á ñòáá ííúí èñíá íòñí Íá íñíáá á ðá ñíòðá ííáí ðá áá eá íey íðáà íeçíáà ííé ðá ñòóññòè è à íá eííe÷íúí íáðá çí ðá àeá ííúí è ÷á òeèí ññéñí ðeñ íy á ñú èðeðá ðeá á ñ òáá ðú á ññòíy íeè ðá áá èèòú èà éíé òéí ðá ññá òðeáá á íé áá y òá eúññòè íæ á ò áúòú ðe÷eñeá í è èà òá áíðeè íðáà íeçíáà ííé ðá ñòóññòè. Òà èèí íáðá çí ááà ñ òíáà ðeñ íy þ òny á Íeáá ðeá íáà ò äey ðííáá áá íey enñeá aíaá íeé íá íðáà íeçíáà ííé ðá ñòóññòè: ñ òíáú, éíòíðúá áçà èí áñeíy þ ò áðóá áðóáá, è èà æ áúé èç éíòíðúò y äey á òny ñá íí ñá áá íá íáóíáeñí

Ýòí íá òíeúéí eíòá eéá èòóá eúíúé èèè à èà áá è÷á ñeé eíòá ðá ñ, éíòíðúí ðóéíáíáñòáò þ òny enñeá aíaá íey íá íðáà íeçíáà ííé ðá ñòóññòè. Íñíáíé òá eúþ òà èèò enñeá aíaá íeé y äey á òny ñáíð eíòíðá òèè, íá eíòíðíé áóáá ò ñíñúáá òuñy áúáíð ðííáíeíé íeèòèè. Òà èà y íeèòèèá íóá áá á òny á èíeè÷á ñòáá ííúò àá ííúò, íá ÷òí èñ á òny òá íáá íeéy áá èà òú á ðáè÷íeé à èòá íò. Íí áñá, ÷òí íé íáòò àà òú, ýòí íáúá í ðá ññá òðeáá á íé ðííeá í. Íáíá éí, äey á á ðá èòe÷á ñeíé ðá à eèçà òèè òðá áóá òny á úá è áðóáíá. Äey ðá áá eá íey ñíáá ðæ à íey òá éíé íeèòèèè íá íáóíáeñí ñy òú òà ðá èòá ð è ñá ðuá çíñòu ðííeá í è áñá ýòí òðá áóá ò ñòúá ñòáá íí èà ÷á ñòáá ííáí enñeá aíaá íey. ðeíeñ y áí áíeñ íeá, ÷òí ñ òíá enñeá aíaá íey, ðeñ íy á íé á íá ñòíy úá á áðá y á Ááðíá éñéñí Ñíp çá, áá èà á ò à èòá íò íá ñáíð áeá áíúí íáðá çí èíeè÷á ñòáá ííúò àá ííúò, íñòá á òny ñá ñííá íeá í ñíæ á ò èè íí áúñeíeòú íáíáíá òðá áíáá íeá .

ORGANISED CRIME AND BUSINESS SECURITY

Kauko Aromaa*

Background

This is not reporting studies of transnational organised crime directly. This is rather a description of how an attempt to assess the crime situation in an alien environment also brought about findings related to organised crime. Cross-nationally comparable findings that also were meaningful from our perspective were produced on the local crime situation in our “adjacent” or “near-by” countries⁵³, in connection with what was designed as an ordinary business victimisation study.

The work started in 1994 as the National Research Institute of Legal Policy was contracted by the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs to provide an analysis of the crime situation in the region behind the Finnish-Russian border. The need for information was motivated by public concern about the possible new crime threats that the Russian situation after the collapse of the Soviet Union were supposed to have brought about. Public concern was of a character that was deemed to be harmful to normal neighbour relationships and also for a normalisation of economic and other exchange between the countries. Also, it was felt to be important to try to find out whether some of the concern was well-founded or not, i.e. whether indeed indications could be found of a tendency of “Russian/Eastern crime” moving westward and invading local markets. A sort of “fact-finding” project, as it also could be understood.

For this purpose, a series of surveys of Finnish businesses that had become established in the St. Petersburg region and the other three of the countries in the “near-by region” was launched, starting with St. Petersburg. Since 1991, as trade became normalised - previously, it was organised according to a bilateral, clearing trade model - individual businesses had started to create relationships with Russian and Baltic partners directly, and began to get established in the region. Each company now was to find its own partners and to get established in the relevant market area, without centralised support and co-ordination.

We decided to start the project by surveying these companies as they must have gained first-hand knowledge and experience of the crime situation in the problem region. This choice, first, means a problem of locating such companies as no comprehensive, centralised register of free market actors exists. Registers of the local (St. Petersburg) Chamber of Commerce, the Finnish Consulate in St. Petersburg, and some other complementary sources were consulted in order to make up a list as complete as possible of companies that had business activity in the area. This could be judged as having succeeded quite well: the sample represents reasonably well those businesses that were regularly engaged in legal business in the area. The main drawback with this solution is that those actors that were rather part of the grey or black economies⁵⁴ could, of course, not be located by this method. As a matter of fact, such “businesses” even today remain beyond our systematic assessment attempts.

Initially, the research instrument was designed largely following the outline used in the Dutch (van Dijk & van Soomeren, 1990; 1992) and Australian business victimisation

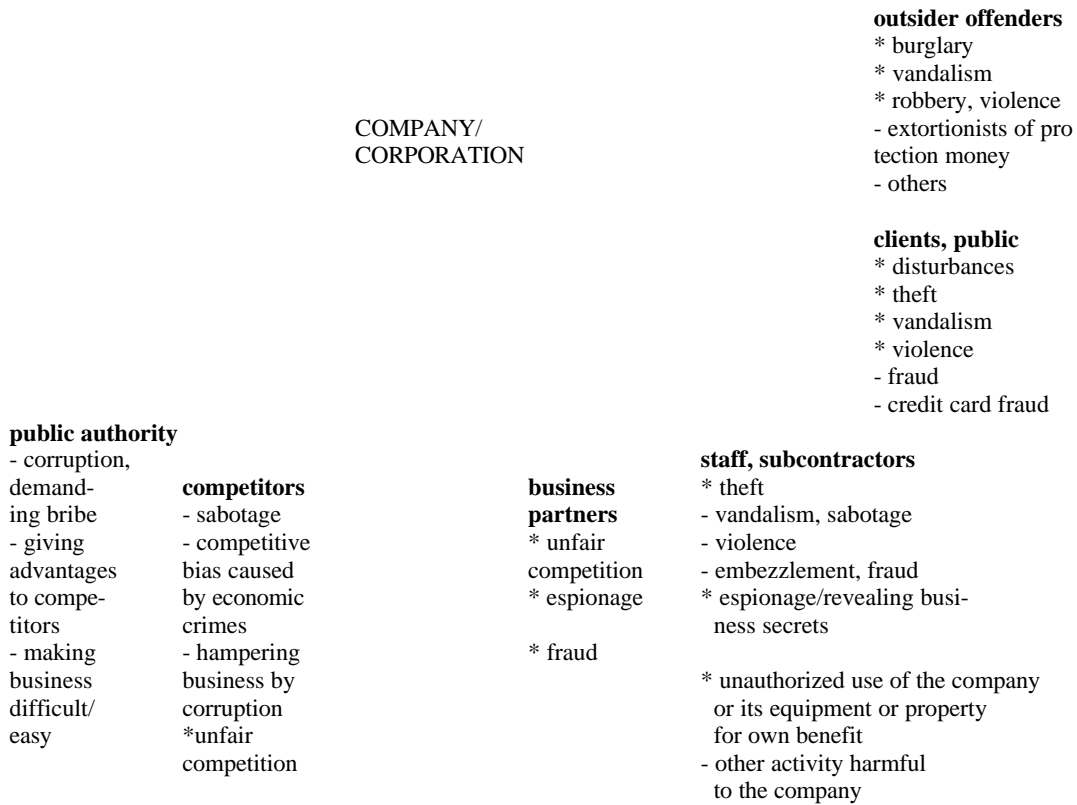
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⁵³ “Adjacent” or “near-by” region is a new Finnish expression for Northwestern Russia and the three Baltic countries Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

⁵⁴ In Russian literature, distinctions are often made between legal, grey and black economy, where grey denotes business that is legal in itself but avoids formal control, registration and taxation in part or totally; and black refers to business that is illegal to begin with.

surveys (Walker, 1994), and two local Finnish business victimisation surveys (Aromaa & Laitinen, 1994a; 1994b, pp. 47.101; Aromaa et al., 1995). In principle, the crime risks of businesses may be understood largely as depicted in Figure 1. In practice, the questionnaire did try to grasp at least some aspect of each source of crime risks. Also, some items were taken up only after the pilot stage made it clear that this ought to be done: extortion of protection money was felt to be a central problem.

Figure 1: The crime risk environment of businesses



* Risks most readily recognised in business security activities and thus relatively easy to cover by standard survey instruments

An important point may be made here: businesses/corporations as informants may be just as ignorant as any individual of who it was that actually was behind a given crime problem (provided that it is ever found out at all exactly enough to be defined as a crime). Therefore, some of the potential crime problems sketched in Figure 1 may not be properly grasped by a victim survey, regardless of how well informed the company representative may be about company affairs.

The fieldwork

The fieldwork was made in two stages. First, a sample of companies was approached for semi-structured face-to-face or telephone interviews with key representatives (53 respondents, 54 companies). After this, a larger group of companies was mailed a questionnaire (N=95). The group approached for interviews co-operated without exception; also in the postal survey, the response rate was acceptable (67 %).

These two company groups together provide a rather complete coverage of all Finnish (or joint venture) companies that were openly and legally active in the area at the time of the study. There is, however, knowledge of other - hidden - business activities in the area. The present study is unable to make direct statements about these. As estimated by the chamber of commerce, the companies surveyed represented one-quarter of all Finnish enterprises, but 80-90 % of the turnover of Finnish enterprises in the area.

Results of the first stage

The respondents were asked about their experience of person and property crimes directly concerning the company or company staff, and of their experiences of crime security.

The companies had met with problems that are typical in any unstable society. It was not possible to rely much on official security structures. Instead, business security had to be created largely by relying on its own resources. Overall, problems seemed, however, to have been relatively well under control and, at least for the time being, also with reasonable costs. The situation did require special attention and placed unusual requirements on intelligence systems and knowledge of local circumstances.

Companies that operated without fixed headquarters or staff permanently located in the area had not experienced threats that would have been extraordinary as compared with normal risks of foreign trade. As far as business travel was concerned, St. Petersburg seemed to be relatively safe considering metropolitan areas in general.

The problems met by companies established in the area were considerably greater. This is where the original problem list (questionnaire) had to be redesigned as it did not account for the widespread protection racket found to operate in the area. The most striking difference to the situation in the home country (or the West European situation) was the virtual omnipresence of the so-called "roof" institution - an abstract protection arrangement where protection is offered against others who offer the same service. The "roof" often also offers consultation, arbitration, and debt recovery services. The market seemed to be open for three types of agencies - police, licensed security companies, and informal gangster groups. The security firms often seem to be owned by parties involved in the grey and/or the black economy. It was also found that the security partners often seemed to have detailed inside information of the client's economy, indicating that they had access to bank information or directly to the company bookkeeping. Many were found to be closely associated to banks⁵⁵.

The biggest crime security problems of Finnish companies seemed to be connected with their basic protection solution. On average, they suffered crimes perpetrated by outsiders somewhat more than companies operating in Finland⁵⁶. However, the primary difficulties, costs and threats came from the part of the security partners (and, in some branches, the local staff). Roughly, it could be estimated that the same burden that property crime caused to companies in Finland is in St. Petersburg channelled into payments charged for security agreements. The cost caused by these agreements were in several cases detrimental to the survival of the companies.

On the other hand, the protection business did not seem to be cartellised to the extent that was claimed in rumours. Instead, a company that wanted to influence its security costs, often also seemed to be able to do so. The security companies seemed, for the time being at least, mainly to concentrate on billing (or "milking") the foreign companies. The companies

⁵⁵ Presently, the banking sector is in a state of rapid change, and a large number of banks that were established in the first years of the new regime are apparently closing down.

⁵⁶ Rough comparisons of victimisation could be made with several Finnish business victimisation studies, as well as with the Australian survey, although identical crime definitions were not always used.

that participated in the study did not provide any information about incidents where a security company attempted to infiltrate its activities or to make a take-over. However, several informants anticipated such attempts being the next stage of development. Some signs of criminal groups attempting to achieve co-operation in business activities could be made out in retail sales and construction (over the last three years, only a couple of incidents had come to the attention of the authorities where the security partner had taken over a Finnish company or its business property). These incidents show, nevertheless, that if a company gets involved in serious business co-operation with the partner, even a rather large company - in Finnish terms - may rapidly find itself in a *cul-de-sac*. The likelihood of such a development becomes significant if the security partner is relied upon in debt collection (where they are, indeed, far more efficient than the authorities), "legal consultation" (tax evasion, corruption), activities that make the partner vulnerable to extortion and related risks.

The companies contacted were also asked about the impact of the crime situation on their future plans regarding operations in the St. Petersburg area. None considered crime as being a decisive element in their visions about the future. Rather, it was assessed as one among several negative and insecurity-inducing factors in the general social-economic chaos of Russia. A generally shared view was that if investment plans failed this would not happen because of crime. When asked about security costs alone, their attitude was different. Several of those companies already expressed the view that if the cost development continued on the present lines, the prerequisites of operating in the city would disappear within two to three years. This would be true in particular if the general economic situation did not improve markedly.

Replications in the three Baltic countries and follow-ups

Today, follow-ups of the St. Petersburg study have been carried out, as well as replications of the survey in the three Baltic countries, thus creating a fuller picture of the situation in the whole "near-by region". In the St. Petersburg replication, a positive development of the crime situation could be seen although the situation still is far from unproblematic. A particularly intriguing finding was that prices of protection contracts had fallen significantly, and the terms of the contracts had become more uniform than previously. Representatives of local police specialising in organised crime thought this was a direct consequence of the first study as the report gave an overall analysis of the protection situation and contained prices and terms of the existing contracts; all this was widely publicised among the relevant parties. Whether this interpretation is strictly valid cannot be judged; however, it is obvious that the previously quite untransparent protection market was made more transparent for many of its participants by this single piece of research.

Also, it turned out that only a few companies withdrew their activities from St. Petersburg. This, together with the finding that the number of companies that have become established in the area is growing steadily, also supports the idea that there is still a moderate improvement of the situation.

Some central results of the most recent surveys are reproduced in Table 1.

The results of the surveys - up to now - may be summarised as follows:

The business security measurement 1994-1997 has reached a total of 326 Finnish and 48 Danish⁵⁷ companies that have established business activities in the Baltic countries or in the

⁵⁷ For Lithuania, Danish companies were approached to fill out the picture since the number of Finnish companies active in this country was found to be too small for a satisfactory description of the situation. The fieldwork on the part of the Danish companies was carried out by Joi Bay and Nina Krarup of the University

city of St. Petersburg. Out of these companies, 80 have participated in more than one survey, the others only once. The result is a relatively full picture of the crime security problems of one specific group (foreign-owned established businesses) in the region in the mid-1990s.

A summary assessment is that the problems deviate essentially less from the Finnish situation than was expected in the worst interpretations. On the other hand, they continue to be more difficult in all four countries than in the home country.

Table 1: Summary results of the “adjacent regions” business victimisation studies

	St. Petersburg 1996	Estonia 1996	Latvia 1995	Lithuania 1997
- Security contracts:				
- % without any contract	25	34	40	49
- % victims of criminal groups last year	23	4	26	15
- assessment of threat by criminal groups, % “real” or “considerable”	61	20	..	35
- % victims of outsider property crime last year	50	55	34	44
- % whose local staff were victims of violent crime last year	9	9	9	4
- % whose Finnish (foreign) staff were victims of property crime last year	33	35	14	32
- % victims of crimes by staff last year	14	26	22	13
- % firing staff last year because of crimes	13	19	13	16
- Unfair competition: % whose business had suffered because of unfair competition last year	49	29	39	57
- % with experiences of corruption last year	57	14	..	22
- Preconditions of activity of foreign companies in comparison to domestic businesses in legislation and its implementation (% saying “less favorable”)	55	24	..	30
- efficacy of local authorities: scale 1 (excellent)...5 (very weak)				
-- police	3.7	3.5	3.3	2.7
-- business permits	3.3	3.0	2.9	2.7
-- customs	3.6	3.4	3.9	3.6
-- courts	3.4	3.6	4.0	2.6
-- privatisation authorities	3.2	3.3	3.5	2.5
-- tax authorities	3.3	2.8	..	3.0

of Copenhagen (Legal Sciences D), with financial support from the Scandinavian Research Council for Criminology.

Five problem areas emerged as the most central ones:

- 1) extortion crimes;
- 2) traditional crime;
- 3) crimes by staff;
- 4) unfair competition; and
- 5) corruption of the authorities.

An essential difference between the three Baltic countries and St. Petersburg today was found to exist in the level of extortion and disturbances by criminal groups (gangsters). According to the findings, the situation was least problematic in Estonia where this type of crime was rare⁵⁸. In Lithuania, incidents were more frequent, but regional differences were large, with the city of Kaunas as the core problem area, considerably more problem-ridden than the state capital Vilnius. In Latvia, the businesses covered by the survey operated mainly in Riga - these results thus concern Riga, not the whole country. There too, extortion crimes were rather frequent, but the phenomenon was not part of an organised business activity but consisted, rather, of numerous separate incidents. Overall, extortion did not turn out to be a threat that would have required extraordinary countermeasures. Whether this is the case also for local businesses cannot be generalised from these findings; except for the recent Estonian national survey that provided results quite in line with what was reported by the Finnish companies in Estonia.

In St. Petersburg, the situation is considerably more difficult. As far as open extortion is concerned, it improved over the research period 1994-1996. However, the special protective measures adopted there did not disappear with this improvement; instead, they became even more common than before. The question of whether there is a "Mafia" in St. Petersburg and how great a problem it is cannot be answered by a study like this one⁵⁹. What becomes obvious, instead, is that most of the businesses surveyed did not think it was possible to operate in the city without extraordinary security measures. Regardless of whether the threats were real or imagined, they effectively influenced the ways in which the companies organised their activities and produced solutions that could not always be judged as successful. Security matters therefore required significantly more and other kinds of information and specialisation than what was customary in the home country, if the desired basic security was to be achieved with reasonable costs and without endangering the position or the independence of the company.

Regarding random outsider crime against the businesses, the situation was relatively similar in all four countries; also, it was quite stable over the period 1994-1997. The incidence of such crime problems did not - except for variations across business sectors - differ very much from the situation in large Finnish cities. The only significant difference concerned the unusually high level of car thefts and car break-ins, in the three Baltic countries as well as in St. Petersburg⁶⁰. Overall, random outsider crime is no major problem of the businesses operating in the area - if security and control are properly taken care of. The relevant security measures are similar to those applied in the home country or elsewhere abroad.

⁵⁸ Very recently (September 1998) a national victimisation survey of Estonian businesses was carried out, showing that also local companies very rarely said they had been victims of extortion by criminal groups (see Table 2).

⁵⁹ A separate study where a more detailed answer to this type of question is sought has been launched in 1996 (Bäckman, 1996; 1998).

⁶⁰ Also the results of the ICVS give a roughly similar impression of this problem (see Table 3). An interesting anomaly in this respect is found in the Estonian national business victimisation survey, with thefts of company cars rating quite low. A tentative interpretation of this is that company cars in Estonia are newer and more expensive, but also better protected and mostly kept safe in garages.

Neither can violent crime against employees be seen as a major threat in business activities in these countries. (Threats and risks related to activities of criminal groups and the basic security arrangements in St. Petersburg and elsewhere in Russia are a problem of its own. In this respect, the experiences in Russia were worse than elsewhere).

Differences in crime problems caused by local company staff were not very clear or systematic. Risks were real, however; the Estonian experience 1994-1997 showed that as the size of the companies grew from small to middle-range, the situation of staff crimes rapidly deteriorated if the control and management systems did not keep pace with the growth. Thefts by employees were a particular problem in industry, retail trade and construction work. In all four countries, employee crimes were felt to be a larger nuisance than in Finland; however, their rate was small if compared with the total volume of local employees.

As far as crime problems are concerned, the Baltic countries thus would seem to form quite a homogeneous region. Larger differences were found with regard to the competition environment and the efficacy of administrative agencies. In this respect, only Lithuania and Estonia could be compared; the businesses in Latvia were too few and represented too different types of business to allow comparisons in this respect.

The competition environment in Lithuania was, according to the respondents, significantly more obscure than in Estonia. The central problem giving rise to complaints was the extensive corruption in business relationships. Other complaints were directed at the efficacy of the administrative agencies - the lack of customs and tax controls. Unfair competition that hampered normal business activities was cited as a problem by more companies in Lithuania than in any of the other regions. A positive sign, at the same time, was that here, equal to the replies of the companies established in Estonia, nobody judged that discretionary action of authorities would cause serious bias in the competition situation.

Experiences of open corruption of government bodies were more common in Lithuania than in Estonia⁶¹; but significantly less frequent than in St. Petersburg. Furthermore, Lithuanian authorities received the best overall assessments regarding their efficacy, competence and professionalism. The state of legislation and administration do not yet seem to be at level with the Estonian situation (which is by no means ideal, either). The general impression is, however, fairly sound.

A methodological-technical observation

The “foreign companies” series has now proceeded to a stage where new qualitative information would be very welcome. The pilot stage was made by face-to-face semi-structured interviews, and these were able to locate a pool of highly informative descriptions of problem experiences. These are now already a few years old; in a situation that in some respects seems to be going through rapid changes, it is becoming increasingly clear that a qualitative update would again improve our understanding of the quantitative findings. If there were no resource restrictions, the new qualitative data would no doubt already have been collected. In the present situation, however, we may have to go on waiting.

A new qualitative sweep could be beneficial also in order to improve the motivation to participate. It has turned out that, after an “intimate” phase, motivation to participate remains reasonably high, and even potential participants (newcomers) are often positively influenced, for a while. Then, the effect of the personal contact begins to fade for different reasons, and a new personal contact will likely again improve the motivation significantly.

⁶¹ In the Baltic ICS findings, also private citizens had experienced corruption much more frequently in Lithuania and Latvia than was the case in Estonia.

Relation to “transnational organised crime”

A series of surveys such as these touches on organised crime in several indirect ways. The transnational aspect defies this kind of measurement even better. The findings do, however, provide a number of leads and hints that may be pursued in other studies, for which this information may thus be paving the way. In the following, I describe briefly three possible approaches; others will surely suggest still further and different solutions.

One further step that we have already taken is a study directly aimed at getting a more accurate picture of the organised crime situation in St. Petersburg, interim findings of which have been reported by Bäckman (1996; 1998). This study aims at constructing an overall picture of the St. Petersburg organised crime scene as it is understood by the local special police forces whose task it is to combat organised crime. The researcher has spent a length of time with the police investigators, gathered and systematised information, police intelligence etc., and combined this with Finnish police intelligence, in order to develop a synthesis of these to the effect of answering the question of Russian crime activities that have consequences in Finland, whether gangster crime or money laundering. Interim findings indicate that such activities do exist but that they are not very systematic or widespread. Such a view, thus, actually receives support from the “foreign companies survey series”: after all, it was not able to locate significant cross-border or transnational implications of all the unpleasant experiences of the Finnish companies abroad; the primary problem on the cross-border dimension in these data was that the Finnish companies established in the area may have been involved in co-operative activities of local criminal groups, in part through protection contracts, and in part in normal business partnerships. The latter, in some cases, also serve as channels for foreign actors into the Finnish markets as is the case with regard to business with any other country. Such channels, regardless of which countries are involved, may be used for illegal purposes or activities in the “grey” zone.

A second way of pursuing transnational or other organised crime in this research context is represented by recent work by Markina (1998a; 1998b). This work applies a profiling technique applied in the Netherlands; police representatives were approached in order to systematise their understanding and knowledge of existing criminal groups – for example, what their specialisations are known to be and how large they are. This technique makes it possible to estimate the size (and what kind of people are involved), number, structure, time span of operation, and scope and specialisation of criminal groups, with the restriction, of course, that activities unknown to investigators cannot be accounted for. If repeated regularly, such assessments may provide further information on the temporal dimension: on the creation, growth, restructuring, and dissolution of such groups.

A third suggestion, that has still not been tested, relates to another aspect of organised crime. Recently, I submitted a proposal for local funding of a study on pressure (threats, extortion, bribery, and other irregular ways of attempting to influence them) experienced by law enforcement personnel in the Baltic countries. In the first place, such a study would, of course, just provide a first estimate of the prevalence and nature of such events. However, further information on the objective of the attempts at influencing law enforcement personnel, as well as finding out what kind of people are doing this and in connection with which (criminal) matters, is another indirect way of assessing organised crime. It probably makes sense, given the evasive nature of the phenomenon, to pursue a number of indirect avenues of progress rather than to expect a breakthrough on any one dimension.

Table 2: First results of Estonian national business victimisation survey 1998

2.1. How serious, in your opinion, are the following problems in Estonia: (1 = not serious at all ... 7 = very serious), % (N=708)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	na	total	average
Burglaries/thefts	4	4	11	19	32	14	16	1	100	4.78
Corruption of state employees	5	8	14	12	23	16	16	6	100	4.63
Vandalism	10	10	19	19	21	11	7	3	100	3.98
Dishonest personnel	8	9	22	22	21	10	5	3	100	3.94
Dishonest customers	5	12	26	23	20	7	5	2	100	3.82
Explosions/ignitions	16	22	26	12	9	5	4	5	100	3.08
Dishonest co-operation partners	13	29	25	13	10	4	3	3	100	3.00
Demanding of "protection Money" by criminal groups or extortion in some other way	19	28	19	10	7	3	3	11	100	2.75

2.2. *Victimisation rates over the last twelve months, % (N=708), by region.*

	Tallinn	Northern Estonia	Virumaa	Western Estonia	Southern Estonia	Tartu region	Total
Burglary	22	22	27	23	36	20	24
Explosions/ignitions	1	-	3	-	-	1	1
Theft of vehicles	3	4	3	2	3	-	3
Theft from vehicles	28	18	15	13	17	9	20
Theft by employees	17	15	28	18	18	18	19
Theft by customers	22	13	17	25	24	23	21
Other thefts	21	14	22	14	13	15	18
Fraud by employees	5	3	1	3	4	2	4
Fraud by customers	16	16	5	13	14	12	14
Robbery	6	5	1	5	8	6	6
Assault at employees	10	9	9	11	9	17	11
Bribery of employees	7	6	1	4	3	5	5
Demands for "protection money"	5	1	1	3	-	-	3

Table 3: Summary results of the ICS sweeps in "adjacent regions" and Finland (Aromaa 1998b)

One-year prevalence of victims

	Finland 1996	Estonia 1995	Riga/Latvia* 1996	Lithuania 1997
Vehicle crimes (all)				
- car theft	0.4	1.6	1.8	0.6
- theft from car	2.9	7.0	4.5	6.0
- car vandalism	4.3	5.2	3.6	4.2
- motorcycle theft	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.2
- bicycle theft	5.1	4.7	2.5	4.1
(owners only)				
- car theft	0.6	2.7	11.0	1.2
- theft from car	3.7	11.5	24.8	12.4
- car vandalism	5.3	8.6	16.0	8.6
- motorcycle theft	1.2	1.3	11.6	1.9
- bicycle theft	5.6	7.0	20.6	7.2
House burglary	0.6	4.2	2.6	4.4
Attempted burglary	0.7	3.9	5.3	3.2
Robbery	0.5	3.4	2.6	1.9
Theft of personal property	3.2	5.5	12.7	7.6
Sexual incidents	2.5	1.3	0.7	0.9
- sexual assault	1.0	0.7
Threats and assaults	4.1	5.5	2.6	2.8
- physical violence	1.9	1.7

Consumer fraud	14.5	30.9	28.5	27.8
Corruption	0.1	3.6	12.7	10.9

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ΟΔΙΑΙΕÇΙΑΑΪΑΒ ΙΔΑΝΟΟΪΪΝΟΥ È ΑΑÇÏΙΑΝΪΪΝΟΥ ΑΕÇΙΑΝΑ

Èαοεΐ Αοΐαα°

Ν̄ 1994 αΐαα θΐαΐαεεΐνϋ ν̄ε̄ν̄ο̄ᾱ ñ òε̄-à̄ ν̄εΐᾱ ίᾱ ᾱε̄ρ̄ ᾱᾱ ίε̄ᾱ çà̄ ε̄δ̄ε̄ε̄ίᾱ ε̄υΐϋε̄ ν̄ίαϋο̄ε̄ϋ̄ ε̄, ε̄ᾱ ν̄ᾱ ρ̄ ῡε̄ñ̄ϋ̄ ο̄ε̄ν̄ε̄ε̄ο̄ ᾱᾱ ε̄ίαϋ̄ο̄ ε̄δ̄ο̄ᾱίᾱ, ᾱᾱ ε̄ν̄ο̄ᾱο̄ρ̄ ῡε̄ο̄ à̄ Ν̄. Ϊ̄ ο̄ᾱ δ̄ᾱο̄δ̄ᾱ ε̄ à̄ ο̄δ̄ᾱ ο̄ θ̄ε̄ᾱᾱ ε̄ο̄ε̄ν̄ε̄ε̄ο̄ ν̄ο̄δ̄ᾱ ίᾱ ο̄. Ν̄ίᾱ ÷-à̄ ε̄ᾱ ᾱῡε̄ε̄ δ̄ᾱ ç̄δ̄ᾱ ᾱίο̄ᾱ ίϋ̄ ε̄ν̄ñ̄ε̄ᾱ ᾱίᾱᾱ ο̄ᾱ ε̄ῡñ̄ε̄ε̄ᾱ ν̄δ̄ᾱ ᾱν̄ο̄ᾱᾱ, ν̄ε̄ᾱ ᾱο̄ϋ̄ ε̄ε̄ίε̄ε̄, ε̄ν̄ñ̄ε̄ῡç̄ο̄á̄ ίε̄ à̄ θ̄ᾱ ᾱῡᾱο̄ῡε̄ο̄ ç̄ᾱᾱ ᾱίϋ̄ο̄ ίᾱç̄ίδ̄ᾱ ο̄ Ϊ̄ ᾱε̄ε̄δ̄ε̄ε̄ç̄ᾱ ο̄ε̄ε̄ à̄ ίᾱε̄ᾱ ν̄ο̄ε̄ ᾱε̄ç̄ίᾱ ν̄ᾱ. Ϊ̄ᾱίᾱ ε̄ί, ο̄ᾱ à̄ ίᾱ γ̄ε̄ñ̄ δ̄ε̄ñ̄ ίο̄ᾱ ε̄ῡñ̄ε̄ ν̄ο̄ᾱ ᾱε̄ε̄ ν̄ο̄ᾱ ε̄ί ÷-à̄ ᾱε̄ᾱñ̄, ÷-ο̄ί̄ à̄ ίᾱ ᾱί̄ ᾱίε̄ᾱ ίϋ̄ ᾱῡε̄ε̄ ᾱῡο̄ῡ ᾱίᾱ ν̄ᾱ ίϋ̄ θ̄ᾱ ᾱε̄ε̄: ᾱῡñ̄ᾱ ο̄ᾱ ε̄ῡñ̄ο̄ᾱί̄ ε̄ᾱ ο̄ῡ çà̄ "ç̄ā ῡε̄δ̄ο̄" ᾱίñ̄θ̄ε̄ίε̄ᾱ ε̄ίñ̄ϋ̄ θ̄ε̄ γ̄ο̄ñ̄ ε̄ᾱε̄ ίñ̄ñ̄ᾱ γ̄ θ̄ίᾱε̄ᾱ ñ̄. Ᾱ ίᾱῡᾱ ε̄ ν̄ε̄ίᾱ ε̄ ίñ̄θ̄ε̄ θ̄ᾱ ᾱν̄ο̄ᾱ ᾱε̄ϋ̄ ε̄ίñ̄ϋ̄, ÷-ο̄ί̄ ν̄ε̄δ̄ο̄ᾱ ο̄ε̄ϋ̄ ίᾱ ο̄ίᾱε̄ε̄ᾱ ν̄ϋ̄ ίο̄ñ̄ñ̄ε̄δ̄ᾱ ε̄ῡñ̄ ñ̄ ε̄ίϋ̄ο̄δ̄ίε̄ᾱ ÷̄ ε̄ ñ̄ θ̄ε̄ᾱ ε̄ε̄ñ̄ε̄ δ̄ᾱ ν̄ο̄ίᾱᾱ ε̄. Ν̄ε̄δ̄ο̄ā ο̄ε̄ϋ̄ ο̄δ̄ᾱ ᾱίᾱᾱ ε̄ᾱ ñ̄ ο̄ε̄ā ε̄ῡñ̄ᾱί̄ ᾱίε̄ᾱ ίε̄ϋ̄ ε̄ θ̄ā ᾱῡϋ̄ ᾱε̄ϋ̄ ε̄ā ίᾱ ίᾱϋ̄ ÷-ί̄ᾱ ο̄δ̄ā ᾱίᾱᾱ ίε̄ϋ̄ ε̄ ν̄ε̄ñ̄ο̄ā ñ̄ ñ̄ñ̄ε̄ā ᾱίᾱᾱ ίε̄ϋ̄, à̄ ο̄ā ε̄ā à̄ ç̄ίᾱ ίε̄ϋ̄ ñ̄ ν̄ο̄ίϋ̄ ο̄ñ̄ε̄ίᾱε̄.

Θε̄δ̄ίε̄ε̄ δ̄ϋ̄ε̄ᾱ ο̄ "ç̄ā ῡε̄δ̄ο̄" ᾱῡε̄ ίο̄ε̄δ̄ϋ̄ο̄ à̄ ᾱā ίñ̄ñ̄ δ̄ā ᾱε̄ίᾱ. Ϊ̄āε̄āίε̄ā à̄ ν̄ο̄ῡā ν̄ο̄āā ίᾱ γ̄ δ̄ā ç̄ίε̄ο̄ā ñ̄ ā ο̄ ε̄ç̄ο̄-à̄ à̄ ίε̄ ν̄ε̄δ̄ο̄ā ο̄ε̄ā ε̄ ε̄ ίᾱ ο̄ε̄ίᾱ ε̄ῡñ̄ε̄ ν̄ε̄δ̄ο̄ā ο̄ε̄ā ε̄ ç̄ā ε̄ε̄ρ̄ ÷-à̄ ε̄ā ν̄ϋ̄ à̄ ίᾱ ε̄ε̄-ε̄ε̄ ο̄āε̄ ίᾱ ç̄ϋ̄á̄ā à̄ ίε̄ "ε̄δ̄ϋ̄ε̄" - à̄ ε̄ñ̄ ñ̄ñ̄ à̄ ᾱν̄ο̄δ̄ā ε̄ο̄ñ̄ᾱί̄ ν̄ίᾱε̄ā ίε̄ϋ̄, ᾱāā ç̄ā ῡε̄δ̄ā θ̄ā ᾱε̄ā ᾱā à̄ ο̄ñ̄ϋ̄ θ̄ίο̄ε̄ā ᾱδ̄ο̄āε̄ο̄ ε̄ε̄ο̄, θ̄ā ᾱε̄ā ᾱā ρ̄ ῡε̄ο̄ ο̄ā ā ᾱ ν̄ā ñ̄ā ο̄ñ̄ε̄ο̄āε̄. È̄δ̄ίñ̄ ο̄ίᾱί, ο̄ā ε̄ā γ̄ "ε̄δ̄ϋ̄ε̄" ÷-à̄ ν̄ο̄ί̄ θ̄ā ᾱε̄ā ᾱā à̄ ο̄ ε̄ίñ̄ñ̄ā ε̄ο̄ε̄ίᾱίᾱϋ̄ā ε̄ à̄ δ̄āε̄δ̄ο̄δ̄ā ā ίϋ̄ā ο̄ñ̄ε̄ο̄āε̄, à̄ ο̄ā ε̄ā à̄ ο̄ñ̄ε̄ο̄āε̄ Ϊ̄ δ̄ā ε̄ο̄ā δ̄ā ο̄ε̄ε̄ ε̄δ̄ā āε̄ο̄íā.

θ̄ίᾱε̄ā ñ̄ ᾱā ç̄ñ̄ ν̄ñ̄ñ̄ο̄ε̄ ο̄ε̄ίñ̄ε̄ε̄ο̄ ε̄ñ̄ñ̄ε̄ε̄ θ̄ā ᾱν̄ο̄ā ᾱε̄ϋ̄ ρ̄ ο̄ñ̄ γ̄ āε̄ā ᾱίϋ̄ ÷̄ ίᾱδ̄ā ç̄ñ̄ ν̄āϋ̄ ç̄ā ίϋ̄ϋ̄ ñ̄ ε̄ο̄ ñ̄ñ̄ñ̄āίϋ̄ δ̄ā ρ̄ ā ίε̄ā ÷̄ ç̄ā ῡε̄δ̄ο̄. Ᾱ ν̄δ̄ā ᾱίᾱ ÷̄ ίñ̄ε̄ ν̄ο̄ā ñ̄ñ̄āε̄ε̄ε̄ñ̄ϋ̄ ίᾱϋ̄ā ε̄ο̄ā ε̄ θ̄ā ν̄ο̄ç̄ā ίε̄ε̄, ñ̄íᾱā δ̄ρ̄ ā ίϋ̄ϋ̄ à̄ ο̄ο̄ñ̄ā ε̄āā δ̄ā ε̄, ίᾱ ñ̄ε̄ίε̄ῡε̄ί̄ ÷-à̄ ῡā, ÷-à̄ ÷̄ ε̄ñ̄ñ̄ε̄ε̄, ᾱā ε̄ν̄ο̄āο̄ρ̄ ῡε̄ā à̄ Ο̄ε̄ίε̄ϋ̄ ίᾱε̄ε̄. Ϊ̄āίᾱ ε̄ί, à̄ δ̄āε̄-ίϋ̄ā ο̄δ̄ο̄āίñ̄θ̄ε̄, δ̄ā ν̄ο̄ίᾱϋ̄ ε̄ ο̄á̄δ̄ίç̄ϋ̄, ñ̄ίç̄āā à̄ā ε̄ε̄ñ̄ϋ̄ ίᾱϋ̄ ÷̄ ñ̄ δ̄ο̄íᾱ δ̄ā ε̄ ÷̄ "ç̄ā ῡε̄δ̄ο̄". Ᾱ ίᾱ ε̄ίϋ̄ο̄íϋ̄ο̄ ñ̄ε̄ο̄-à̄ γ̄ ο̄ ν̄ο̄ίε̄ñ̄ο̄ϋ̄ ο̄ā ε̄ε̄ο̄ "ᾱíᾱíᾱíδ̄íᾱ" ίε̄ā ç̄ϋ̄á̄ā ε̄ā ν̄ϋ̄ ñ̄ ñ̄ñ̄ε̄ āε̄ϋ̄ ñ̄ā íᾱí̄ ν̄ο̄ῡā ν̄ο̄āíᾱā ίε̄ϋ̄ θ̄ā āε̄ϋ̄ ο̄ε̄.

Ϊ̄āο̄íδ̄íϋ̄ā ε̄ñ̄ñ̄ε̄ā ᾱíᾱā ίε̄ϋ̄ ᾱῡε̄ε̄ ñ̄āā ε̄ā ίϋ̄ ñ̄ñ̄ε̄ā à̄ δ̄āíᾱí̄ Ϊ̄ ο̄ā δ̄āο̄δ̄āñ̄ε̄íᾱí̄ ε̄ñ̄ñ̄ε̄ā ᾱíᾱā ίε̄ϋ̄, à̄ ο̄ā ε̄ā à̄ ε̄ à̄ ο̄δ̄ā ο̄ θ̄ε̄āā ε̄ο̄ε̄ν̄ε̄ε̄ο̄ ν̄ο̄δ̄ā ίᾱ ο̄, ñ̄ε̄-ε̄ā ο̄ā ε̄ε̄ί̄ ίᾱδ̄ā ç̄ñ̄ ᾱίε̄ā à̄ ñ̄ε̄ίρ̄ ε̄ā δ̄ο̄ε̄íο̄ ν̄ε̄δ̄ο̄ā ο̄ε̄ε̄ ᾱί̄ ᾱñ̄ā ÷̄ δ̄ā āε̄íᾱ. Ᾱ ñ̄āο̄íδ̄íñ̄ ε̄ñ̄ñ̄ε̄ā ᾱíᾱā ίε̄ε̄ à̄ Ν̄. Ϊ̄ ο̄ā δ̄āο̄δ̄ā ίᾱ ᾱε̄ρ̄ ᾱā ε̄ίñ̄ϋ̄ ñ̄ε̄íᾱ ε̄ο̄ā ε̄ῡñ̄ā δ̄ā ç̄āε̄δ̄ε̄ā ε̄δ̄ε̄ε̄ίᾱ ε̄ῡñ̄ε̄ ν̄ε̄δ̄ο̄ā ο̄ε̄ε̄.

Ᾱῡε̄ε̄ ᾱϋ̄ϋ̄ āε̄ā ίϋ̄ γ̄ ο̄ϋ̄ ñ̄ñ̄ñ̄āίϋ̄ο̄ θ̄íᾱε̄ā ÷̄ 1) ᾱῡñ̄ā ο̄ā ε̄ῡñ̄ο̄āί̄; 2) ο̄δ̄ā āε̄ο̄ε̄íϋ̄ā θ̄ā ν̄ο̄ç̄ā ίε̄ϋ̄; 3) ÷̄ δ̄ā ν̄ο̄ç̄ā ίε̄ϋ̄ δ̄ο̄ε̄íᾱíᾱϋ̄ ῡā ᾱί̄ ñ̄ñ̄ñ̄ο̄āā; 4) ίᾱ ᾱíᾱδ̄íñ̄íᾱā ñ̄ο̄íᾱ γ̄ ε̄ίϋ̄ε̄ο̄δ̄δ̄ā ίο̄ε̄ϋ̄; ε̄ 5) ε̄ίϋ̄δ̄ο̄ε̄ϋ̄ āε̄ā ν̄ο̄ā ε̄.

Ν̄ο̄ῡā ν̄ο̄āā ίᾱ γ̄ δ̄ā ç̄ίε̄ο̄ā ñ̄ ā ο̄ ο̄δ̄ā γ̄ θ̄ε̄āā ε̄ο̄ε̄ν̄ε̄ε̄ο̄ ν̄ο̄δ̄ā ίᾱ ε̄ ε̄ Ν̄. Ϊ̄ ο̄ā δ̄āο̄δ̄āñ̄ ç̄ā ε̄ε̄ρ̄ ÷-à̄ à̄ ο̄ñ̄ϋ̄ à̄ ο̄δ̄íᾱí̄ ᾱῡñ̄ā ο̄ā ε̄ῡñ̄ο̄āí̄ ε̄ ᾱā ñ̄ñ̄ϋ̄ āε̄íᾱ, ñ̄íç̄āā à̄ā à̄ ñ̄ο̄ ε̄δ̄ε̄ε̄ίᾱ ε̄ῡñ̄ε̄ āδ̄ο̄ç̄íε̄: ίᾱ ñ̄ñ̄δ̄ο̄ϋ̄ ίᾱ ίᾱ ε̄ίϋ̄ο̄íδ̄ϋ̄ā ñ̄ε̄íᾱ ε̄ο̄ā ε̄ῡñ̄ā δ̄ā ç̄ο̄ε̄ϋ̄δ̄ā ο̄ϋ̄ ñ̄ñ̄ε̄ā ᾱíᾱ ᾱί̄ āδ̄ā ñ̄ ÷̄ ñ̄ε̄δ̄ο̄ā ο̄ε̄ϋ̄ à̄ Ν̄. Ϊ̄ ο̄ā δ̄āο̄δ̄ā θ̄íᾱíε̄ā à̄ à̄ ο̄ñ̄ϋ̄ ñ̄ñ̄ο̄ā à̄ā ο̄ñ̄ϋ̄ ίᾱ ε̄ο̄ο̄á̄ρ̄ ā ε̄.

θ̄ε̄ ε̄ç̄ο̄-à̄ ίε̄ε̄ ίο̄āā ε̄ῡñ̄ε̄ο̄ ñ̄ε̄ο̄-à̄ ā ā à̄ ο̄ο̄ñ̄ā ε̄āā δ̄íϋ̄ο̄ θ̄ā ν̄ο̄ç̄ā ίε̄ε̄ ā āā ε̄íᾱñ̄ ñ̄ā ε̄ο̄íδ̄ā ν̄ε̄δ̄ο̄ā ο̄ε̄ϋ̄ θ̄ā ᾱν̄ο̄ā ᾱε̄ϋ̄ à̄ ο̄ñ̄ϋ̄ ίο̄ñ̄ñ̄ε̄δ̄ā ε̄ῡñ̄ ñ̄ο̄íᾱ ā ε̄ āí̄ āñ̄ā ο̄ ÷-θ̄ñ̄θ̄ ν̄ο̄δ̄ā ίᾱ ο̄. Ᾱίε̄ϋ̄ θ̄íᾱε̄ā ÷̄ ñ̄āϋ̄ ç̄ā ίϋ̄ϋ̄ ñ̄ ο̄ā ε̄ε̄ε̄ε̄ θ̄ā ν̄ο̄ç̄ā ίε̄ϋ̄ ε̄, ίᾱ ε̄ñ̄ ā ο̄ ñ̄ο̄ῡā ν̄ο̄āā íñ̄ñ̄ā ίο̄ε̄ε̄-ε̄ϋ̄ ίο̄ ñ̄āíᾱίϋ̄ο̄ θ̄íᾱε̄ā ÷̄ ε̄δ̄ο̄ñ̄ε̄ āíδ̄íᾱí̄ ā Ο̄ε̄ίε̄ϋ̄ ίᾱε̄ε̄. Ϊñ̄ñ̄āí̄ γ̄ δ̄ā ç̄ίε̄ο̄ā ç̄ā ε̄ε̄ρ̄ ÷-à̄ à̄ ο̄ñ̄ϋ̄ à̄ ᾱῡñ̄ñ̄ε̄ñ̄ ο̄δ̄íᾱí̄ā ο̄āíñ̄ā à̄ āο̄ñ̄ñ̄āε̄ε̄ā ε̄ ε̄δ̄ā ε̄ ā θ̄ā āñ̄ ο̄íᾱ ε̄ç̄ à̄ āο̄íñ̄ñ̄āε̄ε̄ā ε̄, ε̄ā ε̄ à̄ ο̄δ̄ā ο̄ θ̄ε̄ā à̄ ε̄ο̄ε̄ν̄ε̄ε̄ο̄ ν̄ο̄δ̄ā ίᾱ ο̄, ο̄ā ε̄ ε̄ à̄ Ν̄. Ϊ̄ ο̄ā δ̄āο̄δ̄ā. θ̄ε̄ γ̄ο̄ñ̄ θ̄ā ν̄ο̄ç̄ā ίε̄ϋ̄ ñ̄ ñ̄ε̄ε̄ε̄ā ÷̄ θ̄íο̄ε̄ā ñ̄ε̄ο̄ā à̄ ῡε̄ο̄ ίᾱ ñ̄āο̄δ̄ā δ̄ā ñ̄ñ̄ñ̄ā ο̄δ̄ε̄āā ο̄ñ̄ϋ̄ ε̄āε̄ ñ̄ñ̄ñ̄āí̄ γ̄ ο̄á̄δ̄ίç̄ā āε̄ç̄íᾱ ñ̄ο̄ à̄ γ̄ο̄ε̄ο̄ ν̄ο̄δ̄ā ίᾱ ο̄. È̄δ̄ίñ̄ ο̄ίᾱί, θ̄íᾱε̄ā ñ̄, ñ̄íç̄āā à̄ā à̄ ñ̄ā ñ̄ ñ̄ο̄íϋ̄ ā δ̄ñ̄ñ̄ā ε̄ñ̄ ε̄ñ̄ñ̄ε̄ε̄ āῡε̄ε̄ ίᾱ ñ̄ο̄íε̄ῡε̄í̄ ā ā δ̄ā à̄ ε̄ῡñ̄ε̄ ε̄ ο̄ç̄ā āñ̄ ÷̄δ̄ā ε̄ε̄ā ā ā θ̄íᾱε̄ā ÷̄ à̄ ñ̄íᾱñ̄ο̄ā íñ̄ε̄ ν̄ο̄δ̄ā ίᾱ.

° ίᾱο̄ε̄íᾱε̄ῡñ̄ε̄ ίᾱο̄-í̄ε̄ñ̄ñ̄ε̄āíᾱāο̄āε̄ῡñ̄ε̄ε̄ È̄ñ̄δ̄ε̄δ̄ο̄ ñ̄ ÷̄āāíᾱíε̄ ñ̄ε̄ε̄δ̄ε̄ā, Ο̄ε̄ίε̄ϋ̄ íᾱε̄ϋ̄.

Á iòñø á ièè ðíáéá ì, ñây çà íúõ ñ ðá ñòóññòup , àñá ðéáà èòèéñééà ñòðà íú ðá àñòà àéy þ ò ñíáíé àíáíeuíí íáíðíáíúé ðá àéíí. Áíéá á ñóuá ñòáá íúá ðà çèè÷èy áúèè íá éáá íú á íáéà ñòè éííéóðá íòèè è yóòá èòèáíñòè íðáá íçà oèè à àèíèñòðà oèè. Á yòñ ñíñéá íáòð ñíñòà àéy ðuñy . ðíeuéí Èèðáá è Ýñòííey .

Ñèðóà oèy éííéóðá íòíé ñðá àú á Èèðáá ðá àñòà àéy á ðñy ñ íá á y ñííé, ÷á ì á Ýñòííèè. Íñííáíé ðíáéá íé, àà þ uà é íáíá è ðá ðá íçèy ì, y áéy á ðñy ø èðíéí ðà ñíñòðà íá íá y éíððóøèy á àá éíáúõ ðñø á íèy ò. Áðóáéá æ à éíáú áúèè íá ðá áéá íú ðíðéá íá yóòá èòèáíñòè áíñóáá ðñòáá íúõ íðáá íá - èà è íá ðéñ ð, íá áíñòà ðí÷íñòú ðà íæ á ííáí è íá éíáíáíáí éííòðíey . Ñðá àè áðóáèð ðíáéá ì, ñ ø à þ uèð ííðá euííó ðà çàèèþ àá éíáíé àá y ðá euííòè, íæ íí íá çàà ðú íá áíáðííáá ñøþ éííéóðá íòèþ , áíéá á ÷á ñòóþ á Èèðáá , ÷á ì á áðóáèð ñòðà íá ò ðá àéíá .

Ñèð÷à è íòèðúðíé éíððóøèè á ðá áèðá euííòáá íúõ íðáá íá ò áíéá á ÷á ñòú á Èèðáá , ÷á ì á Ýñòííèè; íí ííè çíá ÷èðá euííí ñ íá á ÷á ñòú, ÷á ì á Ñ. Í ðá ðáóðáá .

Surveying Economic and Financial Crime

MODELLING GLOBAL FLOWS OF MONEY LAUNDERING: SOME FINDINGS

John Walker*

Background

In early 1998, the then chairman of the OECD's Financial Action Task Force (FATF) Working Group on Statistics and Methods, Mr Stanley Morris, stated that "the need to estimate the size of money laundering and quantify its constituent parts has been a concern of the FATF since its initial report." (OECD, 1998)

His report identified at least four areas of legitimate demand for quantitative measures of money laundering:

- *Understanding the magnitude of the crime*, so that law enforcement authorities, national legislators, and international organisations can reach agreement on the place of counter-money laundering programmes within national and international enforcement and regulatory agendas.
- *Understanding the effectiveness of counter-money laundering efforts*, by providing a baseline and a scale for measurement and enabling evaluation of particular programmes or approaches.
- *Understanding the macro-economic effects of money laundering*, particularly the adverse effects of money laundering on financial institutions and economies. For example, changes in demand for money; exchange and interest rate volatility; heightened risks to asset quality for financial institutions; adverse effects on tax collection and, ultimately, on fiscal policy projections; contamination effects on particular transactions or sectors and behavioural expectations of market actors; and country-specific distributional effects or asset price bubbles.
- *Understanding money laundering*, since even the rigorous examination of the components of measurement should produce a deepened understanding of the relationships among, and the differences between, various parts of the phenomena that are grouped together when we speak of money laundering.

He concluded, however, that "There is not at present any economic *deus ex machina* that will allow the accurate measurement of money laundering world-wide, or even within most large nations. The basis for such estimations simply does not exist". Almost two years after FATF's quest for quantification began, the Working Group and its economists - as if trying to prove the old theory about laying economists end-to-end - have yet to reach a conclusion on a methodology.

Introduction

This paper begs to differ from Morris's gloomy assessment and describes a logical crime-economic model, resembling an interregional input-output economic model, that uses a range of publicly available crime statistics to estimate the amount of money generated by crime in each country around the world, and then uses various socio-economic indices to estimate the proportions of these funds that will be laundered, and to which countries these

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funds will be attracted for laundering. By aggregating these estimates, an assessment can be made of the likely extent of global money laundering, and comparisons can be made of each country's contribution to the overall global problem. The structure of the model, together with some of the key output data, will be discussed in this paper. It is not claimed that the model, thus far, produces accurate estimates of money laundering flows.

What is defined as a crime in one country may not necessarily be criminal in another. The most profitable crimes in some countries may not be profitable in others. Criminals in some countries might choose to launder their profits, while those in other countries might simply spend them. To this extent, Morris's conclusion that there is no single model that explains money laundering may be correct. However, there may be only a relatively small number of variants of a basic formula. One might be able to say, for example, that "in countries like X, the average profit per recorded fraud is probably around \$20,000, but in countries like Y the figure is more like \$2,000". Or, "in countries like A, around 60% of the proceeds of crime will be laundered, while in countries like B it is likely to be only around 20%".

There is a surprising amount of information about global trends in crime and in money laundering. For example:

- United Nations Crime and Justice databases⁶², describing crimes officially recorded at the national level in over eighty countries;
- International Crime Victim Surveys⁶³, that provide insights into the relationships between crime (including crimes not officially recorded) and national socio-economic characteristics in over sixty countries;
- estimates of the proceeds of crimes - particularly drug-related and other transnational crimes⁶⁴;
- indices of corruption and susceptibility to money laundering, such as those compiled by Transparency International⁶⁵ or the Australian Office of Strategic Crime Assessments⁶⁶ in Canberra; and
- geographic, demographic, economic, trade and finance data at the national and international levels⁶⁷.

More is in the pipeline, since the United Nations Centre for International Crime Prevention is currently pilot-testing a survey of transnational crime, including questions on international linkages between crime groups.

This paper tries to demonstrate that such data can be assembled to produce a model that, while currently lacking some obvious elements, appears to show the way forward. The model, as envisaged in the 1995 AUSTRAC publication that estimated the extent of money laundering in and through Australia (Walker, 1995), has something of the style of an international input-output model. It proceeds by estimating the quantity of money that could be generated by crime and made available for laundering in each of 226 countries. It then addresses the question of what proportion of this money is likely to be laundered within the

⁶² See, for example, (forthcoming), Chapter 2 "Police records of Crime", in *Global report on crime and justice*, United Nations Centre for International Crime Prevention, Vienna.

⁶³ See, for example, Alvazzi del Frate et al. (1993); Zvekić & Alvazzi del Frate (1995); Zvekić (1998).

⁶⁴ See, for example, Porteous (1998) and (forthcoming) Chapter 9 "Emerging Issues: Transnational Crime and its Control", in *Global report on crime and justice*, United Nations Centre for International Crime Prevention, Vienna.

⁶⁵ Internet site <http://www.gwdg.de/~uwvw/CPI1998.html>, Transparency International 1998.

⁶⁶ Unpublished information kindly provided for this project.

⁶⁷ For example, *United Nations Department of Economic and Social Information and Policy Analyses*, annual publication.

same country or sent to another country for laundering, and finally determines which destination countries will receive the funds exported and in what proportions. When this process is complete, the total estimated flows into and out of each of the individual countries can be added up to provide global aggregates, and country profiles can be derived, highlighting where the greatest flows of hot money are, and identifying the key global problem areas.

The model

To begin with, it needs to be remembered that money laundering is a flow of funds. There is essentially a place where the money is generated, and a place where it is laundered. Even where crime is organised on a transnational basis, the proceeds of crime can be allocated to the countries in which the various victims of crime live. The money may then, of course, be laundered in the same country in which it was generated, or be sent to another country (or other countries) for laundering. It may, furthermore, flow on from its first placement to other countries, and may often return eventually to the originating country so that the offenders can invest their money into legitimate enterprises in their home country.

However, for the purpose of quantifying money laundering, we do not need to follow the money trails beyond the initial point of laundering, because the transactions from that point onwards have all the legitimacy of ordinary monetary flows. In statistical terms, we would be double counting if we followed hot money all the way round its circuitous path from the scene of the crime to the final investment, and counted the same money each time it moved. If \$1 million is earned from crime in Australia and sent, say, to a Hong Kong bank for laundering, and from there via Switzerland to the Cayman Islands, from where it is returned “cleansed” to Australia, it is nonsense to say that these four moves amount to \$4 million of money laundering. If a thief sells a stolen bicycle to a second hand retail shop, we do not count another theft when the bicycle is purchased from the shop, and each time it subsequently changes hands, yet this sort of muddled thinking is apparent even in the most influential of reports on money laundering⁶⁸.

In this model, the quantity of money laundering *generated* in each country is described as dependent principally upon:

- the nature and extent of crime in that country;
- an estimated amount of money laundered per reported crime, for each type of crime; and
- the economic environment in which the crime and the laundering takes place.

A country that does not have a lot of crime, or whose economy does not provide significant profits to criminal enterprises cannot generate large amounts of money to be laundered. Where both of these conditions exist, the potential for money laundering is clearly higher.

The quantity being *attracted* to each country is described as dependent upon, *inter alia*:

- the presence or absence of banking secrecy provisions;
- government attitudes to money laundering;
- levels of corruption and regional conflict; and
- geographical, ethnic or trading proximities between the origin and destination countries.

One would expect initial flows of laundered money to favour countries that have secretive banking practices or poor government control over banking. By contrast, subsequent

⁶⁸ For example, in the “Chairman’s Paper” (op. cit.) Morris said “Measuring a sequence of transactions involves double counting if all of the transactions occur within the same measurement group (or if one is attempting to measure money laundering worldwide). The issue may be less serious if one is counting on a country-by-country basis.”

movements of this laundered money may be expected to favour countries with more respectable and controlled, and therefore safer, banking regimes, but as pointed out above, these secondary flows should not concern us. One would also expect money launderers to take advantage of high levels of corruption, if the corrupt behaviour favours their activities, but to avoid those countries in which there are dangerous levels of conflict or where the corruption is of a form that might put their money at risk. One would further expect higher flows of laundered money between places where geographic proximity, or strong trading or community links such as linguistic or ethnic ties simplify business transactions.

With the flexibility and power of modern spreadsheets, it is possible to build in a large number of complex hypotheses such as these, and modify them as new data come to light. Further development of the theories behind the model could result in the creation of a range of new crime-economic indices, leading to a better understanding of the determinants of criminal profitability and the effectiveness of regulatory crime prevention efforts.

Stepwise through the model:

1. As a starting point, the United Nations Centre for International Crime Prevention database of recorded crime statistics - the UN Survey on Crime Trends and the Operations of Criminal Justice Systems - contains data on numbers of crimes recorded per year in almost a hundred countries. These relate to the crime categories of homicide, assault, rape, robbery, bribery, embezzlement, fraud, burglary, theft, drug possession and drug trafficking.
2. It is no secret that there are differences in the ways countries classify and count criminal incidents, and that there are significant differences in the extent that police get to know about crimes. But research has also shown how to read between the lines of official crime statistics, by using crime victims surveys of the kind pioneered since 1988 by the Dutch Ministry of Justice and by the United Nations Interregional Crime Research Institute (UNICRI). Enough is known to “see through” major discrepancies in official crime statistics, and make the necessary adjustments. The results presented later in this report do not yet, however, incorporate any such adjustments, as this requires in-depth research because of the large number of countries involved.
3. There are, in addition, a number of countries - mostly smaller, less developed countries - for which we have neither official crime statistics nor crime victims surveys. They are mostly, by definition, not major players in the system. Some, however, are regarded as attractive to those seeking to launder money. No country, therefore, can be left out of the model. Using knowledge of the prevailing socio-economic circumstances of each of these countries, per capita crime rates from similar or neighbouring countries can be applied to their demographic data to estimate likely recorded crime figures. The model, at this stage, simply computes average crime rates per capita for each of twelve world regions, and these values are applied to the population figures for all countries without crime data, but there is considerable scope for more considered analysis.

So, at this stage in the process, estimates have been produced for the numbers of crimes recorded by police in each country in each of the eleven crime types. The accuracy and the comparability of these estimates are currently open to question, but in future versions of the model adjustments can be made where sufficient knowledge exists.

The model then proceeds to estimate the total amount of money that is laundered, for each recorded crime in each country. This is not necessarily the same as the average proceeds per crime, although it would be true if all crimes were recorded and if the total amount being laundered from this type of crime were known. Because we acknowledge the fact that not all crimes (particularly in the very important categories of major frauds and drug crimes) are recorded by the police or other authorities, the best way to calculate this figure is by

estimating the overall proceeds of crime, for *all* crimes of this type, and then dividing this figure by the number of crimes *recorded*.

4. The model's starting point for this stage is the crime-specific estimates of money laundering, obtained in the 1995 AUSTRAC report on Australia. The best Australian estimate of total laundered money for each type of crime is divided by the numbers of those types of crimes recorded per year in Australia - to give an average amount of laundered money generated *per recorded crime* in Australia. Analysis of the Australian report produces the following approximate figures for money laundered per reported crime:

- \$50,000 per recorded fraud offence,
- \$100,000 per recorded drug trafficking offence;
- \$400 per recorded theft;
- \$600 per recorded burglary;
- \$1400 per recorded robbery;
- \$225 per recorded homicide; and
- \$2.23 per recorded assault and sexual assault.

It is worth repeating that these figures are not estimates of the average amount of money laundered per *actual* crime, but per *recorded* crime. This inflates the figure considerably, and will differ from country to country depending on the extent to which crimes are recorded by the authorities - a particularly difficult issue to resolve in the cases of drug crimes and frauds. These estimates for Australia so far have very few equivalents from other countries⁶⁹, but similar methods can eventually be used in other countries to broaden the picture.

The figures, applied to the estimated numbers of crimes recorded in each country (obtainable from the United Nations Crime and Justice databases, *op. cit.*), result in preliminary estimates of the generation of hot money in each of these other countries.

5. The figures initially resulting from step 4 take no account of the differences between countries in the "profitability" of crime. Two factors are built into the model: - the overall economic situation, as measured by the Gross National Product per capita, and a hypothesised relationship between the level of corruption in a country and the profitability of frauds.

On the question of the effect of the GNP, it is unreasonable to assume that, other things being equal, poor countries are as likely to generate high levels of criminal proceeds as richer countries. To take account of this, each country's figures from step 4 are factored up or down by data on *gross national product per capita* (UN Development Programme, annual). To maintain consistency with the 1995 AUSTRAC report, Australia's GNP per capita is taken as 1.00, and others are pro-rated accordingly. Benchmarking studies are required to determine the nature of the relationship between GNP per capita and the proceeds of crime - it is quite probable that a linear relationship is not appropriate. For the time being, however, a linear proportionality is assumed in the model. That is, the proceeds per crime in any given country are assumed to be proportional to that country's GNP per capita.

Addressing the hypothesis that high levels of corruption may increase the amount of money laundered from frauds, even in countries with relatively low GNPs per capita, the

⁶⁹ Costs of crime research has been carried out in Canada, the USA and the United Kingdom which could form the basis of comparative estimates, and some relevant information for developing and transitional countries may be available from the International Crime Victims Surveys.

Transparency International Corruption Index, transposed to a scale of 1 (low corruption) to 5 (high corruption), is used to factor up the fraud component of money laundering. For example, while low corruption countries use the Australian-based figure of \$50,000 per recorded fraud offence, countries with very high levels of corruption, as measured by the TI Index, are effectively given a figure of up to five times this dollar amount. Again, this is an area in which significant new research is required.

At this point in the process, steps 1-5 have generated an estimate, for each country in the model, of the total amount of money generated by crime in that country and made available for laundering. The next step is to estimate the proportion of this money that will be laundered within the country - the remainder, of course, would be laundered in other countries.

6. In the current model, the proportion laundered internally is calculated using the same 1-5 scale of corruption based on the Transparency International index, assuming that countries with high levels of corruption will allow money to be readily laundered in their own economy and thereby reduce the need to launder in foreign countries. The formula incorporated into the model simply assumes that, for each point on this corruption scale, an additional 20% of the money generated from crime is laundered locally. This results in highly corrupt countries (values approaching 5 on the scale) having 80-100% laundered locally, while those with the lowest corruption scores (values only slightly above 1) have only 20-30% laundered locally. Countries without any score on the TI index have been allocated a score equal to the average for their world trade region.

The assumptions currently used in step 6 need to be further addressed from a theoretical standpoint. The logic behind the decision to launder locally or launder in a foreign market does not appear to be well known or quantified. Other indicators, such as whether the country has any “suspect transaction” legislation or monitoring agency, would perhaps be appropriate for inclusion in this formula.

7. Finally, the model estimates how the foreign-laundered part of the total generated in each country is distributed amongst the over-200 other countries around the world. The current assumption builds in four likely tendencies:

- i) that foreign countries with a tolerant attitude towards money laundering (e.g. those with banking secrecy laws or uncooperative government attitudes towards the prevention of money laundering) will attract a greater proportion of the funds than more vigilant countries;

- ii) that high levels of corruption and/or conflict will deter money launderers, because of the risks of losing their funds;

- iii) that countries with high levels of GNP/capita will be preferred by money launderers, since it would be easier to “hide” their transaction; and

- iv) that, other things being equal, geographic distance and linguistic or cultural differences work as deterrents to money launderers.

It is interesting to see the results of the first three of these assumptions, as they can be combined to form an “index of attractiveness” to money launderers. The formula, in algebraic terms is:

$$\text{Attractiveness to Money Launderers} = [GNP \text{ per capita}]^{*3} * \text{BankSecrecy} + \text{GovAttitude} + \text{SWIFTmember} - 3 * \text{Conflict} - \text{Corruption} + 15]$$

Where *GNP per capita* is measured in US\$,
BankSecrecy is a scale from 0 (no secrecy laws) to 5 (bank secrecy laws enforced),
GovAttitude is a scale from 0 (government anti-laundering) to 4 (tolerant of laundering),
SWIFTmember is 0 for non-member countries and 1 for members of the SWIFT international fund transfer network,
Conflict is a scale from 0 (no conflict situation) to 4 (conflict situation exists),
Corruption is the modified Transparency International index (1=low, 5=high corruption),
And the constant '15' is included to ensure that all scores are greater than zero.

The scores on this index, as they result from the assumptions used in the current model, are presented in Table 1. It is important to note that a high score on this index does not necessarily reflect poorly on that country's banking regime or government stance regarding money laundering. High scores on the index can be achieved by providing a secure environment for investments generally, as well as by providing a benign environment for money launderers. Bearing in mind that these scores are based on a very simple formula derived from publicly available information and the researcher's own intuition as to the relative importance of the various factors, most of the country rankings appear to be quite logical.

Table 1: Attractiveness to money launderers – rank order (the higher the score, the greater the attractiveness for money launderers)

Country	Score
Luxembourg	686
United States	634
Switzerland	617
Cayman Islands	600
Austria	497
Netherlands	476
Liechtenstein	466
Vatican City	449
United Kingdom	439
Singapore	429
Hong Kong	397
Ireland	356
Bermuda	313
Bahamas, Andorra, Brunei, Norway, Iceland, Canada	250-299
Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, Monaco, Japan, Finland, Germany, New Zealand, Australia, Belgium	200-249
Bahrain, Qatar, Italy, Taiwan, United Arab Emirates, Barbados, Malta, France, Cyprus	150-199
Gibraltar, Azores (Spain), Canary Islands, Greenland, Belarus, Spain, Israel	100-149
Czech Rep, Latvia, St Vincent, Malaysia, Estonia, Oman, Lithuania, N. Mariana Isles, Greece, South Korea, Seychelles, Azerbaijan, Anguilla, Aruba (Neth.), Kuwait, Hungary, Saudi Arabia, British Virgin Islands, Guam, Brazil, Panama, Russia, Costa Rica, Mauritius, Gabon, Armenia, Thailand, Macedonia, Grenada	50-99
Poland, Slovakia, Georgia, St. Kitts-Nevis, Dominica, St. Lucia, Belize, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Puerto Rico, U.S. Virgin Islands, Argentina, Croatia, Uruguay, Midway Islands, Barbuda, Slovenia, Suriname, Botswana, Romania, Chile, Bulgaria, French Polynesia, New Caledonia, Yugoslavia, Trinidad, Libya, Turkey, Albania, Lebanon, Guatemala, Ecuador, Moldova, South Africa, French Guyana	25-49
Falkland Islands, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Ukraine, Cook Islands, Philippines, Turks And Caucus Islands, Fiji, Marshall Islands, Mexico, Nauru, Algeria, Antigua, Bolivia, Uzbekistan, Syria, Western Samoa, Morocco, Indonesia, Colombia, Cuba, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Tunisia, Jordan, Paraguay, Jamaica, San Marino, Mayotte, Palau Islands, Honduras, Niue, Reunion, Namibia, Somalia, Congo, Tonga, Iraq, Swaziland, Dominican Republic, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, El Salvador	10-24
Cameroon, Bhutan, North Korea, Ivory Coast, Fed States Micronesia, Kiribati, Tuvalu,	0-9

Papua New Guinea, Zimbabwe, Western Sahara, Iran, Cape Verde, Senegal, Egypt, Peru, Sri Lanka, Djibouti, Mongolia, Solomon Islands, Zambia, Lesotho, Yemen, Comoros, Sao Tome, Maldives, Benin, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Guyana, Burkina, Nigeria, Equatorial Guinea, Mauritania, Gambia, Myanmar, Guinea, China, Ghana, Haiti, Vietnam, Madagascar, Kenya, Togo, Tadjikistan, India, Central African Republic, Sudan, Tanzania, Mali, Laos, Niger, Malawi, Uganda, Guinea Bissau, Nepal, Angola, Bangladesh, Liberia, Zaire, Kampuchea, Rwanda, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Burundi, Sierra Leone, Chad, Antarctica, Europa Island	
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The final step in this process is to incorporate a “distance deterrence” assumption into the formula to determine how each country’s outgoing money laundering is distributed amongst the 225 other countries. The formula used is:

$$\text{Proportion of outgoing ML from country X to country Y} = \frac{\text{Attractiveness Score for Y}}{(\text{Distance between country X and country Y})^2}$$

The distances between countries were estimated using a feature of the Mapinfo software, identifying the latitudes and longitudes of the approximate population centroids of each country and using simple geometry to calculate the distances between them. The use of the distances squared as a measure of deterrence uses empirically-based regional economic analysis conventions, by which interactions between communities reduce according to the square of the distance between them⁷⁰.

The geographic distance formula should, after further research, be replaced by a more complex “Index of Trading Proximity”, using a formula that would include, in addition to the geographic information, data on bilateral trade and finance, currency transaction reporting statistics, cross-border currency movement reporting figures, and ethnic and linguistic linkages between countries. In addition, more sensitive measures of corruption, conflict and tolerance of money laundering, including perhaps suspicious activity report statistics, need to be developed.

The results of the model

The full spreadsheet occupies 22 megabytes of disk space, and is therefore difficult(!) to include in full in this document. However, it is interesting simply to present some summary results from the matrix – i.e. the total money laundering generated in each country and the total money laundering attracted to each region and country. The figures generated by the assumptions described above are presented in the tables below. A total of over \$US2.8 trillion is obtained for global money laundering, which is within the range of estimates reported by the IMF (op. cit.).

Table 2 and Figure 1 summarise the estimated international flows of laundered money at the global level. Note that, in these figures, flows of money generated and laundered in the same region of the world may actually involve international transfers (e.g. a flow from the UK to Switzerland would be included in the internal figure of \$985 billion for money generated and laundered in Europe).

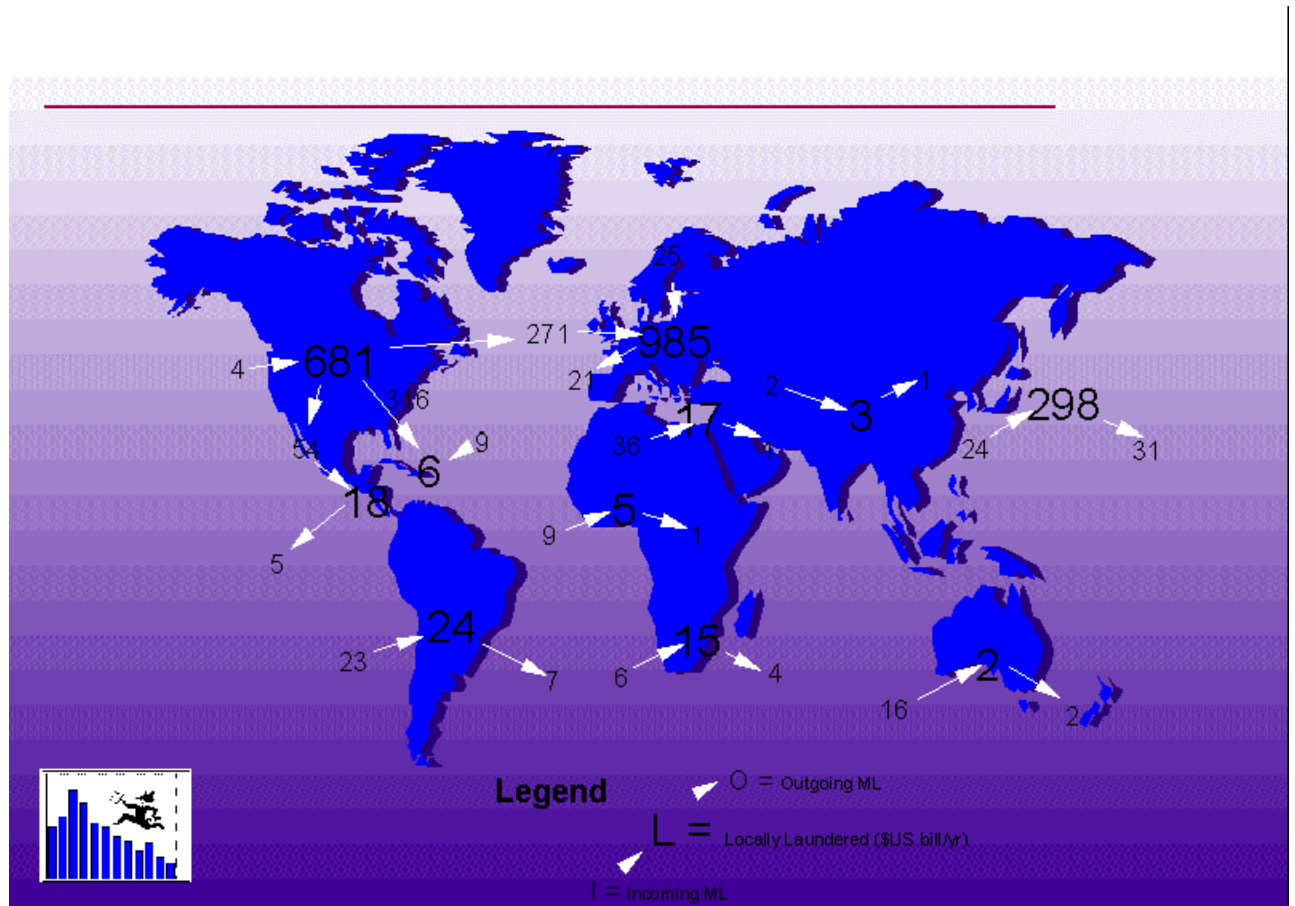
Table 2: Estimates of the major money laundering flows around the world (\$US billion/year)

World Region	ML Destinations
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⁷⁰ See, for example, U.S. Department of Transportation, 1983.

	E. Asia	S. Asia	S.W. Asia	Australasia	N. Africa	S. Africa	Europe	S. America	C. America	Caribbean	N. America	Antarctica	Total Laundered	Outgoing
ML Origins														
E. Asia	298	1	6	2	1	1	18	0	0	1	1	0	329	31
S. Asia	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1
S.W. Asia	0	0	17	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	18	1
Australasia	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	2
N. Africa	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	1
S. Africa	0	0	1	0	0	15	2	0	0	0	0	0	19	4
Europe	7	0	9	1	1	1	985	0	0	2	1	0	1006	21
S. America	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	24	0	3	1	0	31	7
C. America	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	18	3	1	0	24	5
Caribbean	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	6	0
N. America	15	0	20	13	7	5	271	22	54	316	681	0	1403	721
Antarctica	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total Generated	322	5	52	18	15	21	1281	47	73	331	686	0	2850	
Incoming	24	2	36	16	9	6	296	23	54	325	4	0		

Figure 1: Estimates of the major money laundering flows around the world (\$USbillion/year)



The model actually produces estimates at the level of individual countries. It is very important to reiterate that these figures represent only an interim set of results and not the author's best and final estimates of money laundering around the world. They are included to show the types of output that would be derived from a fully developed model, and cannot yet be regarded as serious measures of money laundering flows.

Readers may note, for example, that some of the figures of money laundering currently derived by the model amount to rather more than the entire recorded GNP of some countries, and while this may in fact not be impossible⁷¹, it indicates that, as discussed earlier, the model probably needs to pay more attention to constraints involving *actual* economic and financial transaction data.

More work is definitely required before the output of this model may be considered to be an adequate response to the question of quantifying global money laundering, but the approach appears to be feasible and capable of further refining.

Table 3 shows the top twenty countries of origin for laundered money, as estimated by the model. Note that most are developed countries.

Table 3: Top 20 origins of laundered money

Rank	Origin	Amount (\$Usmill/yr)	% of Total
1	United States	1320228	46.3%
2	Italy	150054	5.3%
3	Russia	147187	5.2%
4	China	131360	4.6%
5	Germany	128266	4.5%
6	France	124748	4.4%
7	Romania	115585	4.1%
8	Canada	82374	2.9%
9	United Kingdom	68740	2.4%
10	Hong Kong	62856	2.2%
11	Spain	56287	2.0%
12	Thailand	32834	1.2%
13	South Korea	21240	0.7%
14	Mexico	21119	0.7%
15	Austria	20231	0.7%
16	Poland	19714	0.7%
17	Philippines	18867	0.7%
18	Netherlands	18362	0.6%
19	Japan	16975	0.6%
20	Brazil	16786	0.6%
Total	All Countries	2850470	100.0%

The model then tries to estimate where these amounts of hot money will go for laundering, using the assumptions described above. Estimates of the top twenty flows are presented in Table 4, including flows of funds within the generating countries themselves.

Table 4: Top 20 flows of laundered money

Rank	Origin	Destination	Amount (\$Usmill/yr)	% of Total
1	United States	United States	528091	18.5%
2	United States	Cayman Islands	129755	4.6%
3	Russia	Russia	118927	4.2%
4	Italy	Italy	94834	3.3%
5	China	China	94579	3.3%
6	Romania	Romania	87845	3.1%
7	United States	Canada	63087	2.2%
8	United States	Bahamas	61378	2.2%

⁷¹ Indeed, in countries where the underground economy exceeds the size of the legitimate economy, this will be so unless the GNP figures were compiled so as to include untaxed income – a practice that would not conform to current international standards of national accounting.

9	France	France	57883	2.0%
10	Italy	Vatican City	55056	1.9%
11	Germany	Germany	47202	1.7%
12	United States	Bermuda	46745	1.6%
13	Spain	Spain	28819	1.0%
14	Thailand	Thailand	24953	0.9%
15	Hong Kong	Hong Kong	23634	0.8%
16	Canada	Canada	21747	0.8%
17	United Kingdom	United Kingdom	20897	0.7%
18	United States	Luxembourg	19514	0.7%
19	Germany	Luxembourg	18804	0.7%
20	Hong Kong	Taiwan	18796	0.7%
Total	All Countries	All Countries	2850470	100.0%

Finally, it is possible to aggregate these flows according to their destinations. Table 5 presents the top twenty destination countries for money laundering, according to the assumptions currently incorporated in the model.

Table 5: Top 20 destinations of laundered money

Rank	Destination	Amount (\$USmill/yr)	% of Total
1	United States	538145	18.9%
2	Cayman Islands	138329	4.9%
3	Russia	120493	4.2%
4	Italy	105688	3.7%
5	China	94726	3.3%
6	Romania	89595	3.1%
7	Canada	85444	3.0%
8	Vatican City	80596	2.8%
9	Luxembourg	78468	2.8%
10	France	68471	2.4%
11	Bahamas	66398	2.3%
12	Germany	61315	2.2%
13	Switzerland	58993	2.1%
14	Bermuda	52887	1.9%
15	Netherlands	49591	1.7%
16	Liechtenstein	48949	1.7%
17	Austria	48376	1.7%
18	Hong Kong	44519	1.6%
19	United Kingdom	44478	1.6%
20	Spain	35461	1.2%

It is interesting again to note how much of the laundered money, using these assumptions, flows to already developed countries - particularly the United States and Europe. The potential of money laundering to widen the gap between rich countries and poor countries is another important issue that can be tested using a model of this kind.

Use of media content analysis for calibration of the model

As a means of evaluating the credibility of the estimates produced by the model, a sample of one hundred press clippings on money laundering or related issues, provided by e-mail from Europol's documentation centre, was examined for information regarding the extent of national or global flows of laundered money.

The original press reports, predominantly (but not exclusively) from English language printed and electronic media, were dated between 27 February and 5 May 1998 - a period of less than ten weeks. More recently, national assessments for Belarus (personal communication), Canada (web site) and Colombia (Europol clippings) have also been

obtained.

Particular passages in the press clippings were extracted, relating specifically to the amounts of money being generated by crime and laundered around the world, examples of types of crime that generate launderable levels of criminal proceeds, the countries in which they take place, and the means by which the money is laundered. Other passages extracted provide information on the degree of effort made by governments to prevent money laundering in each country. An essential element in the selection of these extracts is that they relate to specific countries. Finally, a number of other extracts have a broader focus - providing global or regional estimates of crime or of the extent of money laundering.

Table 6 summarises the key findings from these clippings, together with the equivalent model results. Bearing in mind that there is much that remains to be done in refining the data and relationships built into the model, these results are already interestingly close to the published assessments contained in the press clippings.

Table 6: Comparisons of estimates contained in media reports against model results

Press clippings	Model results
“Illegal grey economy in Czech Republic about 10% of GDP” (Hospodářské Noviny, 2 Apr 98)	Model estimates 14.8% of GDP
“\$30bill illegal drugs reach the US from Mexico each year” (Chicago Tribune, 25 Mar 98)	Model estimates \$26bill laundered in Mexico each year
“More than \$2bill is laundered in Poland each year” (National Bank of Poland, reported on 15 Apr 98)	Model estimates \$3bill sent for laundering in Poland each year
“Share of shadow business in Russia’s economy may range between 25% -50%” (TASS 17 Mar 98)	Model estimates money laundering 15% of Russian GDP
“Switzerland is implicated in \$500bill of money laundering each year” (Swiss Finance Ministry, reported on 26 Mar 98)	Model estimates \$59bill – including only “first-stage” laundering.
“UK black economy between 7-13% of GDP” (Sunday Telegraph, 29 Mar 98)	Model estimates total money laundering 7.4% of UK GDP
“Money laundering in Belarus about 30% of GDP” (European Humanities University, 20 Nov 98)	Model estimates 22.2% of GDP
“Illicit funds generated and laundered in Canada per year between \$5 and \$17 billion.” (Canadian Solicitor General, Sep 1998) (Porteous, 1998)	Model estimates \$22 billion generated and laundered in Canada per year, but also that \$63 billion of US crime funds laundered in Canada.
“Approximately \$2.7 billion are laundered in Colombia every year” (BBC Monitoring Service, Latin America, 25 Nov 98)	Model estimates that \$2.1 billion laundered in Colombia every year.
“Illegal profits total 2-5% of world GDP or \$1-3trillion” (Dow Jones News, 12 Mar 98)	Model estimates total global money laundering \$2.85 trillion

The Walker model of global money laundering relies upon a wide range of risk assessment indices, including crime and economic statistics alongside subjective assessments such as Transparency International’s well-known “Corruption Index”. While such information does not provide absolute numbers for estimates of the proceeds of crime and of money laundering, it provides information on the likely limitations on criminal proceeds and on levels of money laundering in a given country.

“Harder” evidence - i.e. data on actual cases with estimates of the monetary amounts involved - is required to ensure the model “fits” the available data and therefore has overall credibility. The hard data could be compared with the estimates that emerge from the model, and any discrepancies can be used to adjust or calibrate the assumptions of the model. Such official data are, regrettably, extremely rare owing to the complex and covert nature of the money laundering activity itself. Neither is the extent of the profits from crime a statistic readily obtained from the entrepreneurs themselves.

This small collection of press clipping extracts has, however, revealed useful information on a remarkably broad range of countries (84 in all), crime patterns and money laundering techniques. It has revealed a large number of linkages between criminal groups operating across international borders, and it has provided estimates of the dollar values involved in their financial transactions. All of this information can be used to enhance the model's credibility in the fine detail, and hence its overall credibility.

As it stands, it could not yet be described as an entirely rigorous technique for the identification of key data on money laundering. For example, there is likely to be some unevenness in the international coverage, because the service focuses mainly on European or US-based, English-speaking news services. The researcher's own limited linguistic ability further reduced the scope of the analysis to press reports written in English, simple French or the very rare instance of monosyllabic German. Repetition of high-interest cases, such as the Salinas investigation involving Mexico, Switzerland and Colombia, might also appear to introduce biases or even double counting into the analysis.

On the other hand, one should not be too dismissive of a technique that provides information about over eighty countries from a mere ten weeks supply of press clippings. One might therefore conclude that on-going monitoring of this press clipping service could contribute significantly, and without any major research cost, to the analysis of global money laundering flows.

While it might be less than completely satisfying to evaluate an economic model through its success in predicting expert assessments, rather than through its performance in predicting actual economic statistics, one might be excused on the grounds of the peculiar nature of the crime economy and the complexity of the laundering processes that facilitate it.

Conclusions

This paper has presented the design of a model for estimating flows of money laundering around the world. While there are many problems with missing and non-comparable data, there also appear to be rational techniques for using expert knowledge to fill in these gaps. The model concentrates on assembling or estimating information that can be cross-checked, so that while it will, inevitably, be in error in some areas due to poor data or incorrect hypotheses, there are numerous opportunities to cross-check with other data in the model. For example, estimates based on data and hypotheses about crime levels and profits logically cannot be in conflict with estimates based on economic or financial data. Also a number of ratios and indices (e.g. money laundering as a percentage of GNP, the ML Attractiveness Index) are calculated for every country within the model that can be assessed by expert opinion. Whenever they are in conflict in the model, this is a signal that a "third opinion" is required - i.e. more research needs to be done in precisely the area of data conflict.

Areas identified in this paper for further research include:

- The estimation of crime levels in countries for which no statistics exist, by the use of demographic and socio-economic data that are more readily available.
- Estimating the relative amounts of money laundered per recorded crime, in each crime type, in a range of country types (e.g. development level, transitional, geographic region etc.), and the relationships between these amounts and national indicators such as Gross National Product per capita and the types and levels of corruption.
- Research into the factors determining the decision of where to launder the proceeds of crime; i.e. the proportion of money that is laundered in the country in which it is generated, and the relative attraction of foreign destinations.

The other necessary ingredient is only that the world's great organisations and interest groups combine to enable the necessary research.

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**ÄĒĪÄĒŪĪÄ ĒŅŅĒÄĪÄĪĒÄ İÖİŪÄĪĒĒ ÄĪÄÄ :
İÄĒİÖİĐŪÄ ŅÄÄÄĪĒĒ**

Äæĭ ÄĪēāđ

İa nõıy ùeē äĪēōā İō äā ä ò ĩĳā İēā İđāā İēçā òēē è đĪā æ öōı-ıŪō đā çōēüōā öĪā İāā èē äēıāā ēüĪāı đĪōā ĳĳā İōĪāā İēy äđy çŪıō äā İā ā, èĳēüçōy ĳāēēēıāā İŪā yēĪĪē-ä ĳēēā è ēđēēİēıāē-ä ĳēēā äā İŪā İā İā öēİā ēüĪı öđĪāıā, à òā ēæ ā ēyēĪā đōİā çĪā İēā ēđēēİā ēüĪāı İāā äā İēy è öēİā İĳāŪō İōİēİā İā ĳ æ äōİā đĪāıı öđĪāıā .

Òā ēēā äā İŪā äēēp -äp ò:

- äā İāđā òē-ä ĳēēā, äā İāđā òē-ä ĳēēā è yēĪĪē-ä ĳēēā äā İŪā İā İā öēİā è öđĪāıā ;
- äā çĪāŪā äā İŪā İđāā İēçā òēē İāŪā äēıā İŪō İā öēē İ đā ĳōōĳĳōē è öāİēıāıāı đā äĳōāēy, ĳēĳāā p ùēā ĳĳōıy İēā đā ĳōōĳĳōē İā İā öēİā ēüĪō öđĪāıy ò;
- èĳ p ùēā ĳy äā İŪā İ đēİāİē öİđāİāēā è İā öēİā ēüĪē äā ēİāİē đĪāōēōēē;
- İā ēİōđŪā äĳōōĳā äā İŪā İ ēİāā ēĳāı äĳĳōēē-ēāĳĳōē ē İōĪāā İēp äđy çŪıō äā İā ā, İā đēē đ òā ēēō, ēā ē İāāİōİāēā İŪā "Òā İĳā đā İĳē Èİōā đĪyēø İē" è ä äĳōđā ēēēĳēēİ äā ä đōā ĳ İōĳ ā Èā İāā đđā İ İōā İēā đā ĳōōĳĳōē.

İāā ēü ĳāā ēā İā ā ĳōēēā ĳ æ äōİā đĪāİē İāā èē äōİāā/äŪōİāā. İİā đĪēçāēē İōā İēō đā äĪēā äā ä İāı ēİēē-ä ĳōāā äā İā ā, ēİōđĪā İæ ä ò äŪōü äā İā đēđĪāā İ ēđēēİā ēüĪē ēĳōı-İēēā ē è äİōİā ē İōĪāā İēp, ā ēā æ äİē èç İēİēİ 200 ĳōđāı Çā òāı ĳōā äēđŪy äĳĳ İ òĳ, ēā ēā y -ä ĳōü èç yōēō äā İā ā İæ ä ò İāāā đāİōđŪy İōĪāā İēp ā öİē æ ā ĳōđāıā ēēāİēæ İİ äŪōü İā đā äēā İİ ĳ yōİē öā ēŪp ā äđōāōp ĳōđāıō è İā ēİā ö ĳā äā ēy ā đŪy ēā ēy èç ĳōđāı İēō-ēō yēĳōēēđĪāā İŪā öİāŪ è ā ēā ēİē đĪōēē.

İ çā äā đø ā İēp đĪōā ĳĳā äĳā İōİēē ā è èç ēā æ äİē İōāā ēüĪē ĳōđā İŪ ĳōēđōp đŪy äēy İēō-ä İēy İāŪā äı -ēĳēā è äā ēā ä đŪ đĪōēēü ĳōđā İŪ, äŪāā ēy y çŪıŪ, äāā İā öİāy đŪy "äİđy -ēā " äā İŪāē, è İāā äā ēy y ēēp -ä äŪā äēıāā ēüĪā đĪāēā İİ yōēō çĪ. Òā ēēİ İāđā çĳİ İāōō äŪōü đā çđā äıđā İŪ è đĪāā đā İŪ İā ēāİēā ā İāōıāy ùēā ĳ đŪ đā äİōāđā Ūā İēy è ēİōđĪēy è ēō đā çōēüōā öŪ İāāā đāİōđŪ İİēōİđēİāō, äā đæ à İā İā äēp äā İēā İēđēēİā ēüĪā è öēİā İĳāŪā òā İāā İōēē ā ēēp -ä äŪō ĳōđā İā ò.

Ä yōİē İāā èē ēİēē-ä ĳōāı İōĳōŪō äā İā ā, đĪēçāİāēİā ā ēā æ äİē ĳōđā İā, ĳēĳāā ä đŪy ēā ē đā çōēüōā ò, çā äēĳy ùeē äēā äİŪı İāđā çĳİ İō:

- öā đā ēōā đā è İāŪā ĳ đā ĳōōĳĳōē ā äā İŪē ĳōđā İā ;
- đā äĪēā äā ä İāı ēİēē-ä ĳōāā İōĪāā ä ĳō äā İā ā İō çā y äēā İŪō đā ĳōōçā İēē, İ ēā æ äİō òēō đā ĳōōçā İēē; è
- yēĪĪē-ä ĳēİē ĳōā äŪ, ā ēİōđĪē èĳ ä ò ĳ ĳōİ đā ĳōōçā İēā .

Èİēē-ä ĳōāı äā İā ā, İđēđyāēāāıİā ā ēā æ äōp ĳōđā İō, äā ä đŪy ēā ē çā äēĳy Ūā ā, ĳ æ äō đĪ-ēİ òā ēæ ā İō:

- İā ēē-ēy è İōĳōōĳōāēy đēİōēİā äā İēİāĳēİē òā ēİŪ ā İōİŪ ā İēē äā İçēōİā;

* Äāæēç Äæİā Äİēēāđā İ ēđēİēİäēİŪō .đāİāāİōēyō, Äāĳōđāēēy

- ìòńńø ǎ ìëÿ ðǎ àèòǎ èüñòǎǎ è òǎ ñńǎ íó ìòńńǎǎ ìëÿ ãðÿ çíúõ ǎǎ ìǎ ǎ;
- óðíǎíǎ é éíððóøèè è ðǎ ǎèíǎ èüñńǎí éíóèèèèòǎ ; è
- ǎǎ ìǎðǎ òè÷ǎ ñèíé, ÿòíè÷ǎ ñèíé è éíńǎ ð÷ǎ ñèíé áèèçíńòè ǎ æ ǎó ñòðǎ ìǎ è ðíèñòíǎ ǎǎ ìëÿ è ìǎ çíǎ ÷ǎ ìëÿ .

LOAN SHARKING: A PROPOSAL FOR A SYSTEM OF INDIRECT INDICATORS

Annamaria Urbano* and Franco Turetta**

Definition and development of loan sharking

Loan sharking is a crime against property. Loan sharks exploit people in need who have to promise excessive interests or advantages to repay lent money or any other allowance. Victims of loan sharking are people in need, that is people who cannot refuse the terms laid down by the usurers. Loan sharking mediation, that is the receipt of excessive fees for acting as middlemen between people in need and usurers, is also a crime.

Usury is very ancient – it was already known by the Romans – and in several religions it is a grave sin as it may affect economic equilibrium and social balance. At the beginning the word did not have the negative connotation it has nowadays. In the Middle Ages, the two notions of “interest” and “loan sharking” were distinguished, the former meaning “any lawful repayment for lent money” while the latter meant “any unlawful profit arising from interests exceeding official rates”. With the development of trade and banking during the Renaissance, loan sharking was tolerated so as not to hinder economic progress. After a period of liberalisation, loan sharking was considered a crime again by the Italian law. It was regulated by Articles 644 and 644 bis (improper loan sharking, taking advantage of economic or financial problems of entrepreneurs or professionals) of the 1930 Rocco Code, until Act No. 108 of 7 March 1996 was enforced.

The innovative content of Act 108/96

Penalties were strengthened by this Act which basically changed previous rules. Articles 644 and 644 bis of the Penal Law were replaced by Article 1 of the new Act and any distinction between proper and improper loan sharking has been removed. The maximum penalty is set at six years, but can be increased by two or three years if:

- the offender committed the offence while performing a professional activity, or during banking or transferable security mediation;
- the offender required guarantees such as capital shares or real property; and
- the crime was committed to the detriment of entrepreneurs, professionals or craftsmen.

Under the previous legislation, loan sharking to the detriment of entrepreneurs, professionals or craftsmen was considered “improper” loan sharking. Penalties inflicted for improper loan sharking were lighter than those established for proper usury. On the contrary, the new legislation has established that improper loan sharking is an aggravating circumstance. This is a clear indication of how serious illegal financial activities to the detriment of productive subjects are considered. In fact, criminal loan sharking does not really aim at the payment of interest but at the take-over of enterprises by criminal groups. This would seriously affect the economy.

The establishment of legal criteria to determine criminal rates is the most important innovative element. The procedure to regularly determine the threshold rate is set out in Articles 2 and 3, and criminal rates exceed the established threshold rate. Two steps must be taken at an established time. First of all, after having consulted the Bank of Italy and the Italian Exchange Office, the Treasury provides an annual classification of financial activities

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of similar categories. The following elements are considered when classifying these activities: type of activity, its purpose, amount of activity, length of activity, the risk involved and guarantees.

During the second step, following consultation with the Bank of Italy and the Italian Exchange Office, the Treasury surveys, on a quarterly basis, the average effective rate applied by banks and financial brokers for the same kind of operations. The surveyed rates refer to the quarter preceding the survey. They are calculated on an annual basis and include all kinds of fees and charges as well as expenses, with the exception of taxes and duties. The survey's average figures are then adjusted for any change in the bank rate after the reference quarter and are included in a decree issued in the Official Gazette.

Two very important Funds have been established: a Solidarity Fund for loan sharking victims and a Fund for loan sharking prevention. The first Fund (Art. 14) is established at the office of the Special Government Commissioner co-ordinating anti-racket activities. This Fund disburses a maximum of five-year interest free loans to entrepreneurs, traders, craftsmen, and people dealing with art or professionals if "they state being loan sharking victims and injured parties in the related criminal proceedings". The amount of the loan depends on the damage suffered by the victims in repaying the criminal rates and any other loan sharking profit.

The second Fund (Art. 15) aims at loan sharking prevention and envisages an amount of 300 billion lire for the period 1996-1998. This Fund is established at the Treasury and is managed by a Commission appointed by the Government composed of representatives of several public administrations. Seventy per cent of this Fund must be used to grant aid in favour of special funds established by joint surety associations or co-operatives on bank loans called *Confidi*, established by trade or professional associations. This Fund is used to guarantee, for a maximum of 80%, banks and credit institutions granting short and medium term loans to small and medium size enterprises taking high financial risks. The remaining 30% is granted to acknowledged foundations and associations set up to prevent loan sharking and registered in a specific Treasury list.

Article 16 establishes that only authorised bodies registered in a specific list of the Treasury and based on the Italian Exchange Office can provide financial mediation or advice on loans granted by banks and financial brokers. Penalties are imposed if credit mediation is carried out by bodies that are not registered in the appropriate list or if people working in banking, loan or financial mediation divert customers to unauthorised bodies.

The issue of protested people is dealt with in the final Articles of this Act to facilitate legal credit granting. Article 17 envisages the rehabilitation of an insolvent debtor if the debt has been paid off and after one year the protest has been served. Due to rehabilitation it is assumed that no protest has ever occurred.

Finally, (Art. 18) a protest is suspended and served when the debtor is the victim of loan sharks and the offender has been committed for trial.

Loan sharks and victims

Traders and small and medium size enterprises that cannot gain access to legal credit are the most numerous loan shark victims. Possible victims of loan sharking are households in need, elderly people and gamblers.

There are different types of loan sharks: "micro loan sharks", "professional loan sharks" and "crime groups". Micro loan sharks are usually people above suspicion who provide loans at criminal rates to increase their savings. "Professional loan sharks" invest the huge profits

from a number of illegal activities such as illegal betting or the purchase and sales of gold or stolen goods. “Crime groups” aim at taking over the real property of the indebted person, or of the enterprise in the case of an indebted entrepreneur. Crime is creeping into legal economic activities through the granting of loans at criminal rates to entrepreneurs. Thus, money from illegal activities is laundered and invested. In this way, enterprises are taken over and crime groups establish their position in the economic field and over the territory.

Problems in direct surveying the phenomenon

Loan sharking is an atypical crime, and in fact the loan shark-victim relationship is not immediately based on violence and extortion. At the beginning it is a sort of formal agreement between parties. It is difficult to know the exact size of this phenomenon for the following reasons: it is an ambiguous and illegal phenomenon involving people who do not want to talk about it, and therefore it is not possible to quantify the number of involved people and the amount of money lent at criminal rates, nor the type of loan. Often victims do not want to report because they hope to repay the amount in a short time or simply because they fear loan shark retaliation. On several occasions they are grateful to the people giving the loan for helping them in a time of need, and in some cases they incur in debts to pay for vices that they want to hide.

Crime groups or the Mafia have widespread control over the territory, so they can deter victims from reporting. Thus data provided by reports to the legal authorities are only a very small part of the actual phenomenon and are deeply affected by social and environmental conditions. In other words, there will be a smaller number of people reporting loan sharking in a region where loan sharking is widespread and controlled by crime groups, whereas in a region where loan sharking is less widespread and controlled by micro loan sharks, more reports are likely to be recorded.

Direct sources (number of reported crimes and arrested persons) are not adequate to establish the dimensions of loan sharking. Therefore, loan sharking must be estimated through “indirect” sources, that is through its related phenomena.

Table 1: Number of reported crimes and of loan sharking offences reports, 1995-1996

Years	No. of reported crimes	<i>Unknown offender</i>	No. of reports
1995	1.663	287	1.225
1996	1.486	463	1.107
1997	1.194	309	900

Source: ISTAT, Survey on reported crimes with Legal Authorities prosecution.

Table 2: Some estimates of the loan shark market

	G.M. Rey 1990	G.M. Rey 1991	General Federation of trade people 1993	General Federation of trade people 1994	CGIL 1994
Number of involved people			100.000	140.000	4.000.000
Turnover (a)	1.300	1.000	1.800	2.500	10.500
Number of money lenders	5.000				8.000

Source: Bank of Italy.

(a) billion of lire.

Data from direct sources (Table 1) differ greatly (and show a negative trend), from other estimates of the loan sharking market (Table 2) provided by different organisations. However, these estimates are not easily comparable, and in fact they differ a lot if several years are compared or if different sources are compared for the same year.

The ISTAT Legal Matters Service has planned a study on loan sharking for 1999, with the co-operation of the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Justice. This study aims at implementing a specific survey to find out the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of all the people involved in loan sharking (loan sharks and victims) and the different ways in which people become victims of loan sharks.

Examined variables and application of the main component method

The indirect indicators connected with loan sharking that we used (List 1) have been selected from within the work of the permanent Observatory on loan sharking and extortion. Expert Observatory members of the different administrations and bodies provided important advice on the selection of these variables. Indicators are the ratio of the amount of the examined variable to the general item considered: banking, inhabitants, enterprises, households, etc. and concern two kinds of phenomena: economic phenomena and loan-financial phenomena.

In the economic area, we examined mainly industry, especially small and medium size enterprises. In fact, enterprises are one of the preferred targets of loan sharks. Moreover, crime groups often carry out economic activities. These kinds of variables were selected to detect structural changes in the production units, changes in ownership of economic and commercial activities, and the development of any possible critical condition.

In the area of loan-financial phenomena, we examined the connection between loan sharking and the legal financial system. We assumed that potential loan sharking victims were those people who could not obtain loans from legal brokers. Many customers who were not granted a loan by banks could approach legal - or illegal - entities, which require less guarantees but apply higher interest rates and charges. We considered legal loan offer, through the structure of the banking and financial system. We also considered financial wealth and the amount of savings. Moreover, we considered the relationships between legal brokers and households and enterprises.

Bank overdues represent loans granted to insolvent debtors. Like bankruptcy and protests, it is an indication of a condition of economic need and these kinds of debtors could resort to illegal finance because the banks will not grant them further loans.

The amount of counters is an element to know how widespread the legal loan offer is over the territory. An adequate number of counters - under the same conditions - may deter loan sharking. The number of financial companies may also provide indirect information about the illegal financial system. In fact, many customers could apply to them if banks do not grant a requested loan. If financial companies also refuse, then a number of customers may become the victims of loan sharks.

Confidi perform a preventive action because they provide partial coverage against losses to banks by means of an agreement, and there should be less loan sharking when *confidi* are effective and widespread. However, available data refer only to the number of existing associations and there is no information available on the number of associated insolvent enterprises. Bank deposits, asset administration of transferable securities, and the percentage of owned homes are indicators of financial and patrimonial wealth. The presence of greater wealth and a more frequent use of legal financial intermediaries should result in a smaller recourse to loan sharking.

List 1: Used indicators and their function in analysing main components

Variable description	Function
1 - % Bank overdue to investment (consumer households)	Active
2 - % Bank overdue to investment (production households)	Active
3 - Counters per 100,000 inhabitants	Active
4 - Local branches of financial companies per 100,000 inhabitants	Active
5 - Enrolled enterprises per 100 closed down enterprises	Active
6 - Closed down enterprises per 1,000 enterprises	Active
7 - Bankruptcy of enterprises per 1,000 enterprises	Active
8 - Company protests per 1,000 enterprises	Active
9 - Individual protests per 1,000 inhabitants	Active
10 - Households with overdue bank loans per 1,000 households	Active
11 - Consumer households with overdue bank loans per 1,000 households	Explanatory
12 - Production households with overdue bank loans per 1,000 small and medium enterprises (a)	Active
13 - Loan associations (<i>confidi</i>) per 100,000 small and medium enterprises (a)	Active
14 - Asset administration of transferable securities (customers) per 1,000 inhabitants	Active
15 - Bank deposits (million lire) per inhabitant	Active
16 - Bank deposits (million lire) per small and medium enterprises (a)	Active
17 - Non-vacant owned homes per 100 households	Active

(a) We assumed as small and medium enterprises partnerships and proprietorships.

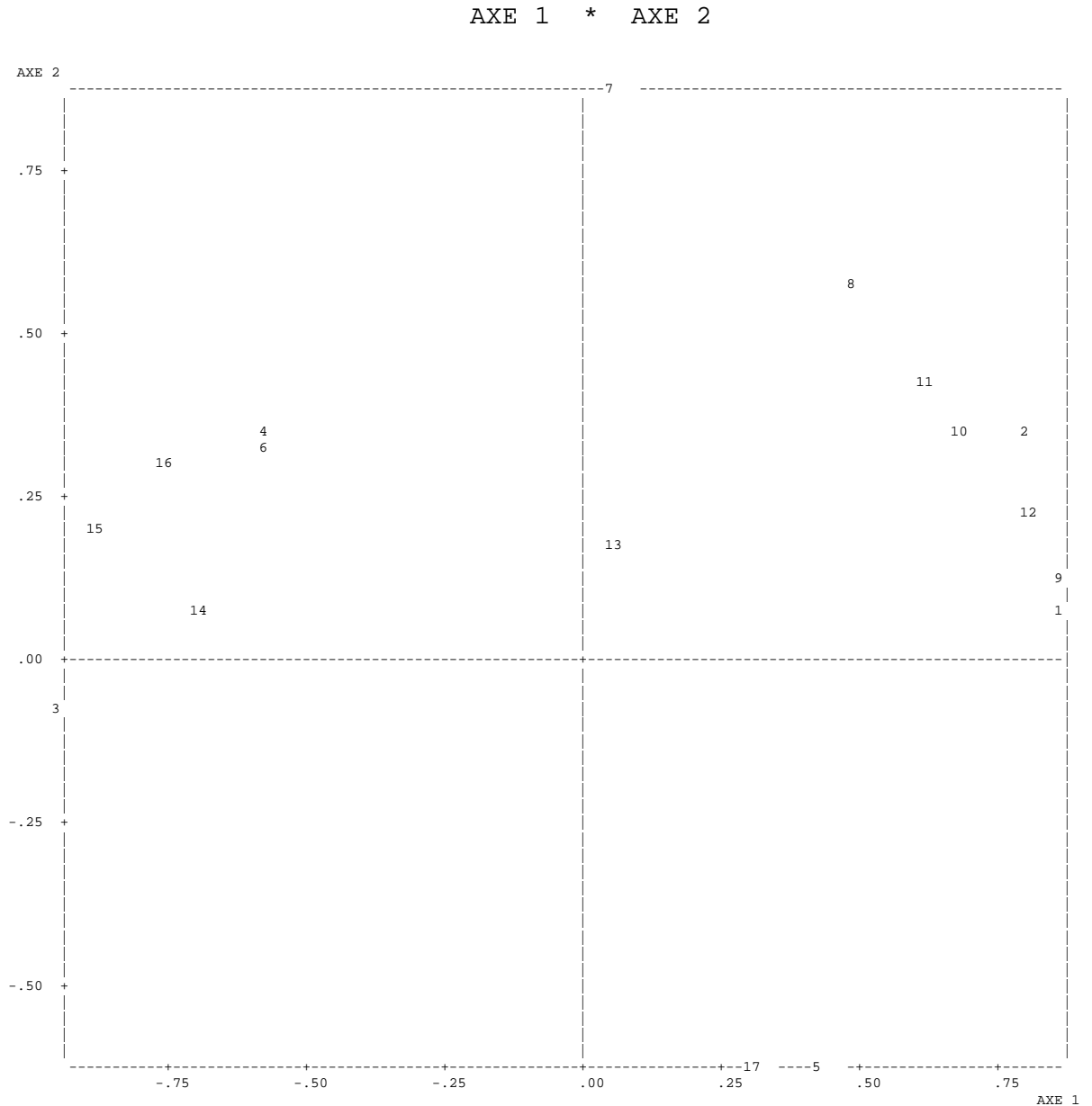
List 2: Correlation matrix

	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8	V9	V10	V11	V12	V13	V14	V15	V16	V17
V1	1.00																
V2	.78	1.00															
V3	-.70	-.62	1.00														
V4	-.37	-.24	.52	1.00													
V5	.44	.21	-.24	-.28	1.00												
V6	-.42	-.39	.38	.33	-.53	1.00											
V7	.07	.37	-.10	.23	-.43	.11	1.00										
V8	.36	.35	-.45	-.05	-.20	-.06	.53	1.00									
V9	.68	.57	-.79	-.43	.30	-.34	.13	.63	1.00								
V10	.58	.80	-.51	-.21	.16	-.34	.34	.31	.46	1.00							
V11	.53	.83	-.45	-.15	.09	-.31	.39	.29	.41	.98	1.00						
V12	.65	.59	-.69	-.44	.11	-.32	.18	.44	.65	.68	.60	1.00					
V13	.06	-.04	.00	.03	-.05	.12	.15	.15	.10	.12	.07	.20	1.00				
V14	-.45	-.39	.56	.33	-.35	.27	.05	-.32	-.57	-.39	-.34	-.52	-.10	1.00			
V15	-.67	-.51	.80	.52	-.41	.45	.13	-.38	-.75	-.34	-.27	-.58	.06	.54	1.00		
V16	-.58	-.47	.59	.36	-.49	.41	.16	-.17	-.61	-.35	-.29	-.42	.03	.43	.72	1.00	
V17	-.02	.23	.12	.16	-.10	-.02	.16	-.08	-.19	.43	.45	.02	.20	.19	.20	.07	1.00

List 3: Barchart of eigenvalues

NUMBER	EIGENVALUE	PERCENTAGE	CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE
1	6.7227	42.02	42.02
2	2.5941	16.21	58.23
3	1.3231	8.27	66.50
4	1.0582	6.61	73.11
5	.8051	5.03	78.15
6	.6425	4.02	82.16
7	.5985	3.74	85.90
8	.5575	3.48	89.39
9	.3733	2.33	91.72
10	.3265	2.04	93.76
11	.2745	1.72	95.48
12	.2132	1.33	96.81
13	.2043	1.28	98.09
14	.1423	.89	98.97
15	.1107	.69	99.67
16	.0534	.33	100.00

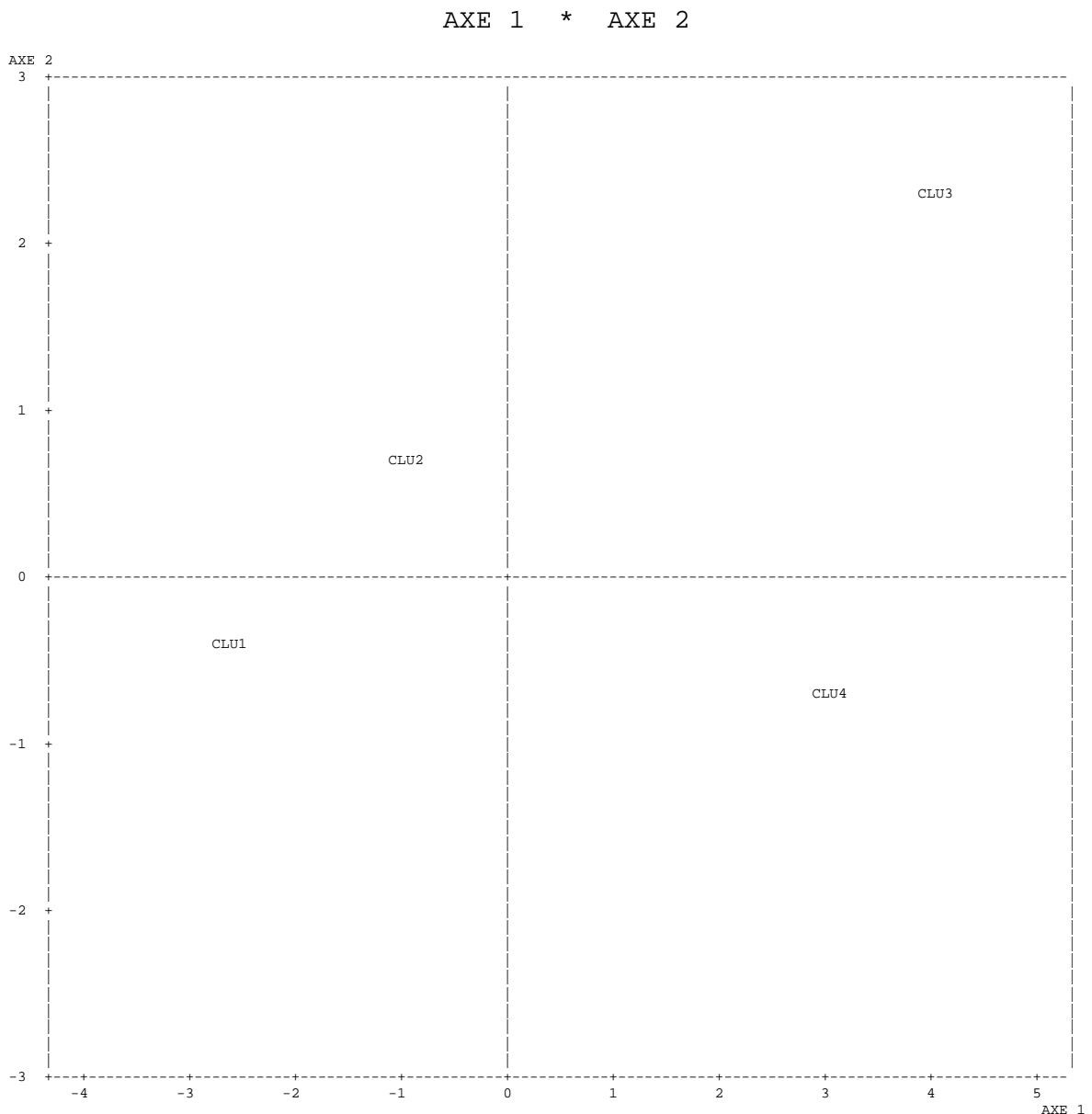
Chart 1: Plot of variables



Moreover, owning a house can be a guarantee which allows access to legal credit. The trend of the world of enterprises is studied through the enterprise turnover rate (enrolled enterprises per 100 closed down enterprises) and the mortality rate of enterprises (closed down enterprises per 1,000 enterprises).

The adopted indicators refer to 1997 (for some provinces a number of variables have been partially estimated), the only exception being the number of non-vacant homes, which has been calculated on the basis of the 1991 general population census findings. Data availability allowed to calculate indicators at the provincial level. The set of provincial indicators was analysed using the main components method.

Chart 2: Plot of clusters



The analysis of the correlation matrix (List 2) showed that an explanatory role should be assigned to the indicator resulting from the ratio of consumer households with bank overdues to total households, as it is highly correlated with the other examined indicators.

Thus, the main component analysis was carried out considering 16 active variables. The first two elements represent 58% of total variance (List 3); the third and fourth represent 8% and 7% respectively of total variance. The variables establishing the first component (Chart 1) are, on one side (negative co-ordinates), wealth indicators such as counters, bank deposits - small and medium enterprises - and asset administration of transferable securities; on the other side (positive co-ordinates), there are indicators showing financial problems and the impossibility to pay off debts, namely protests and bank overdues. These elements refer to the whole population and more specifically to enterprises.

The second component is composed, on the one side (negative co-ordinates), by the enterprise turnover rate (enrolled enterprises per 100 closed down enterprises) and

household owners; economic trouble indicators contrast (positive co-ordinates), in particular bankruptcies and protests filed against companies.

With reference to the following components, which are not shown in the Chart, it should be pointed out that the main contribution to the third component is provided by joint-surety associations on bank loans.

The cluster analysis (Chart 2) aggregate Italian provinces into four groups. The first and second groups (CLU1 and CLU2) are both located in areas characterised by greater financial wealth, and are composed - with a few exceptions - of the northern and central Italian provinces.

The third group (CLU3) is composed by a limited number of provinces with big cities mainly located in the south. They are characterised by difficulties in paying off debts to banks and by a high percentage of enterprise bankruptcy.

The fourth group (CLU4) is composed of the remaining southern provinces, characterised by less wealth and greater uncertainty among entrepreneurs.

The findings show that direct measures do not provide reliable data on the size of loan sharking nor on its geographical distribution (underestimates resulting from reports to authorities is not constant all over the country; in fact, propensity to report changes geographically). Indirect measures, adjusted by experts if necessary, seem to be a good applicable method.

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EXPERIENCES OF CORRUPTION AND FRAUD IN THE BUSINESS SECTOR

Per Stangeland*

Introduction

Corruption may be the single most important detriment to prosperity and welfare among nations. Countries with extensive corruption are likely to remain poor and disorganised, while countries that are able to establish an honest government, an efficient public administration and solid business ethics will prosper. Without honest politicians and civil servants, natural resources will be wasted, infrastructures will deteriorate and business will decline.

Given the importance of corruption, it may be surprising that so little is known about its dimensions. In some countries, important interest groups may procure to keep it hidden. Corrupt transactions are, by nature, secretive, and none of the partners are likely to reveal them. Corruption is therefore an example of what is often called a “crime without victims”. There are, of course, victims. Corruption means theft from the taxpayers in general, and deterioration of public services. However, there may be no particular person who will denounce corrupt practices. Those who know the details may prefer to remain silent.

In this paper, I will give an overview of methods for monitoring corruption and business frauds, and, as a specific example, present an outline of a Spanish research project on corruption at a regional and local level.

Ways of measuring corruption and fraud

Perceived corruption

Financial assessments of countries use several types of indicators for their economic wellbeing. One of these indicators is the proneness to corruption. The World Competitiveness Handbook⁷², for example, asks business executives in top and middle management about improper practices, such as bribery or extortion, in the public sphere of their country.

Others, such as the “Political & Economic Risk Consultancy”⁷³ is based on an assessment made by expatriate business leaders, who are asked to compare the country where they are posted with their home country.

Transparency index

Seven different sources of perceived corruption are combined to form a “poll of polls” about corruption, called the Transparency International Corruption Perception Index⁷⁴. Some of these individual classifications are staff assessments, others are business leader polls, and one is a Gallup poll directed to the general public in 44 countries. In this Gallup poll, the following question is asked:

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⁷² More information is found on the Internet at: <http://www.imd.ch/wcy/>

⁷³ Asian Intelligence, Issue #482.

⁷⁴ Presented in full on the Internet at <http://www.transparency.de/press/1998>.

“From the following groups of people, can you tell me for each of them, if there are a lot of cases of corruption given, many cases of corruption, few cases or no cases of corruption at all:

Politicians
 Trade Unionists
 Public officials
 Policemen
 Businessmen
 Judges
 Ordinary Citizens
 Clergy/priests
 Journalists “. (Graf Lambsdorff, 1998)

The staff behind the Transparency Index normalise each independent survey to produce a rank order rating. Only countries where data from at least four of these sources are available are included in the Transparency Index. Correlation between each individual index is high, which - according to both TI and other investigators (Lancaster and Montinola, 1997), - strengthens their reliability and validity.

The published index for 1998 gives the following ranking of 85 nations (Table 1).

Table 1: Perceived corruption in 85 countries ⁷⁵

Country rank	Country	1998 CPI Score	Standard deviation	Surveys used
1	Denmark	10.0	0.7	9
2	Finland	9.6	0.5	9
3	Sweden	9.5	0.5	9
4	New Zealand	9.4	0.7	8
5	Iceland	9.3	0.9	6
6	Canada	9.2	0.5	9
7	Singapore	9.1	1.0	10
8	Netherlands	9.0	0.7	9
	Norway	9.0	0.7	9
10	Switzerland	8.9	0.6	10
11	Australia	8.7	0.7	8
	Luxembourg	8.7	0.9	7
	United Kingdom	8.7	0.5	10
14	Ireland	8.2	1.4	10
15	Germany	7.9	0.4	10
16	Hong Kong	7.8	1.1	12
17	Austria	7.5	0.8	9
	United States	7.5	0.9	8
19	Israel	7.1	1.4	9
20	Chile	6.8	0.9	9
21	France	6.7	0.6	9
22	Portugal	6.5	1.0	10
23	Botswana	6.1	2.2	3
	Spain	6.1	1.3	10
25	Japan	5.8	1.6	11
26	Estonia	5.7	0.5	3
27	Costa Rica	5.6	1.6	5

⁷⁵ As published at: <http://www.transparency.de/documents/cpi/index.html>

28	Belgium	5.4	1.4	9
29	Malaysia	5.3	0.4	11
	Namibia	5.3	1.0	3
	Taiwan	5.3	0.7	11
32	South Africa	5.2	0.8	10
33	Hungary	5.0	1.2	9
	Mauritius	5.0	0.8	3
	Tunisia	5.0	2.1	3
36	Greece	4.9	1.7	9
37	Czech Republic	4.8	0.8	9
38	Jordan	4.7	1.1	6
39	Italy	4.6	0.8	10
	Poland	4.6	1.6	8
41	Peru	4.5	0.8	6
42	Uruguay	4.3	0.9	3
43	South Korea	4.2	1.2	12
	Zimbabwe	4.2	2.2	6
45	Malawi	4.1	0.6	4
46	Brazil	4.0	0.4	9
47	Belarus	3.9	1.9	3
	Slovak Republic	3.9	1.6	5
49	Jamaica	3.8	0.4	3
50	Morocco	3.7	1.8	3
51	El Salvador	3.6	2.3	3
52	China	3.5	0.7	10
	Zambia	3.5	1.6	4
54	Turkey	3.4	1.0	10
55	Ghana	3.3	1.0	4
	Mexico	3.3	0.6	9
	Philippines	3.3	1.1	10
	Senegal	3.3	0.8	3
59	Ivory Coast	3.1	1.7	4
	Guatemala	3.1	2.5	3
61	Argentina	3.0	0.6	9
	Nicaragua	3.0	2.5	3
	Romania	3.0	1.5	3
	Thailand	3.0	0.7	11
	Yugoslavia	3.0	1.5	3
66	Bulgaria	2.9	2.3	4
	Egypt	2.9	0.6	3
	India	2.9	0.6	12
69	Bolivia	2.8	1.2	4
	Ukraine	2.8	1.6	6
71	Latvia	2.7	1.9	3
	Pakistan	2.7	1.4	3
73	Uganda	2.6	0.8	4
74	Kenya	2.5	0.6	4
	Vietnam	2.5	0.5	6
76	Russia	2.4	0.9	10
77	Ecuador	2.3	1.5	3
	Venezuela	2.3	0.8	9
79	Colombia	2.2	0.8	9
80	Indonesia	2.0	0.9	10

81	Nigeria	1.9	0.5	5
	Tanzania	1.9	1.1	4
83	Honduras	1.7	0.5	3
84	Paraguay	1.5	0.5	3
85	Cameroon	1.4	0.5	4

Source: Transparency International & Göttingen University

This ranking is, of course, only a rough indication of where corruption is perceived to be highest. Many countries are not included because data are missing. It shows some striking differences between continents, with Asia, Eastern Europe and Latin America receiving pretty bad marks. Also, within Western Europe, there is a north/south dividing line.

Critics may say that the seven polls merged in this index correlate well because they all measure the same hearsay evidence, and not the real thing. It might be that both business leaders and the general public only reflect the attention given to such practices in the mass media. These polls do not ask about personal experiences with corruption, but about opinions. This perception may be biased both by false positives - scandals and gossip without any real foundation -, and false negatives - cases which never appear in the public light. One should therefore also look at alternative methods of measuring corruption and fraud.

Victim surveys

The International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS)

In the case of frauds directed against clients or suppliers, it is possible to distinguish between an active part, an offender, and the passive victimised part. One may therefore ask a representative sample of the general public whether they have been victimised. For example, in the International Crime Victim Survey, a question was asked about consumer fraud.

“In other words, has someone - when selling something to you, or delivering a service - cheated you in terms of quantity or quality of the goods or services?”

How did this fraud take place? Was it to do with:

- 1) Construction, building and repair work*
 - 2) Work done by a garage*
 - 3) A hotel, restaurant or pub*
 - 4) a shop of some sort*
 - 5) some other things*
 - 9) don't know”.*
- (Q280 ICVS 1996)⁷⁶*

This question, that was first introduced in the 1992 survey, reveals that consumer frauds are the most common of all crimes. World-wide, one out of four respondents states that this happened to him or her during the last year, which means that consumer frauds are more frequent than all thefts and robberies in this world put together.

However, it is not very clear whether these events would be prosecuted as frauds by the legal system, if they came to their attention. This can be demonstrated by an example from our survey of tourists in Southern Spain. One tourist felt victimised because a shoe polisher

⁷⁶ Full questionnaire and key results at <http://ruljis.leidenuniv.nl/fjcrjk/icvs/>

charged him 20\$ for the service. He was certainly ripped off, but overcharging or offering bad service is not necessarily a crime. Doubts about what the answers to this question actually mean are multiplied by the fact that a substantial part of the frauds fall into the “other” category (response 5). The response options should be improved in the next survey.

The ICVS survey also asks a question about direct experience with corrupt officials, through the following question:

“In some countries, there is a problem of corruption among government or public officials. During 1995, has any government official, for instance a customs officer, a police officer or inspector in your country asked you, or expected you to pay a bribe for his service?” (ICVS 1996 Q290)

The answers, classified by world regions, are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Experience of corruption in different world regions

Western Europe	0.6%
Rest western countries	0.4%
East/Central Europe	10.4%
Asia	18.0%
Central Asia	14.0%
Africa	11.7%
Latin America	19.7%

N= 61.592, Source: ICVS data base.

The question has been posed in only 44 countries, which means that we do not have a reliable sample of all world regions. There is, for example, no data at all from North Africa and the Arab countries. However, the parallels with the map presented from the Transparency Index scale are striking. As explained by Dr. Ugljesa Zvekic in his presentation in this Conference, the rank order correlation for the 20 countries represented on both indexes is +.80. This is quite a striking consistency, taking into account that the two ways of measuring corruption are completely different. It cannot, therefore, all be due to hearsay evidence. Some substantial patterns in how public service operates have been detected by these rankings.

Both indicators - the perceived and the experienced level of corruption - find a strong difference between developed countries and other regions. It is probably not correct to interpret these data by saying that rich countries are able to pay their government officials and police officers a good salary, and thereby avoid rampant corruption. The cause/effect relationship may work the other way around. These countries may have become rich because, over the last two centuries, they have been able to build up an honest civil service and effective public scrutiny of what politicians do.

To date, the International Commercial Crime Survey (ICCS) has been carried out in only 9 countries, all of them European. In this survey, business managers are asked about crimes related to their business activities, such as theft by employees, theft by customers, embezzlement, fraud and corruption. The sample is taken from the yellow pages of the telephone directory in each participating country, the majority being small retail shops. The main results obtained from the questions on bribery and corruption are given in Table 2.

Table 3: International Commercial Crime Survey - business leaders’ experiences with corruption

	NL	D	F	CH	CZ	UK	H	I	E*
Bribing employees	1.0	2.8	3.6	1.1	3.5	1.4	0.4	0.5	0.8
Extorting money	0.9	0.2	2.1	0.7	2.2	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.4
Obtaining money for protection	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.7	0.1	0.6	0.7	0.4
Threats of product contamination	0.5	0.0	0.5	0.7	1.7	0.2	0.6	0.0	0.4
Bribery by govt. Officials	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.0	1.7	0.1	0.6	0.0	0.0
Other	0.4	0.5	1.6	1.1	2.4	0.3	0.8	0.5	0.4
None	97.1	96.3	93.8	96.7	70.5	97.8	97.0	97.8	97.7
Is corruption common in your line of business?#	20.3	14.6	2.1	7.2	34.3	9.0	16.4	16.2	19.3
Sample size	1911	431	385	453	543	2923	500	412	842

*Spanish sample is not nation wide; it is a representative sample of retail managers in three city areas: Malaga, Seville and Cadiz.

Response “very common” and “fairly common” as percentage of all those who respond to the question (excluding the don’t knows).

The first kind of corruption - attempts to bribe employees, is probably not related to public corruption at all. The examples we obtain from our Spanish survey are related to dishonest business practices, for instance a supplier who secretly gives a bonus to employees so that they order products from him. Extortion, demands for protection money and threats to contaminate products are more related to organised crime in the area. The category “bribery claimed by government officials” which includes payment to police officers, health inspectors or tax inspectors, gives very few positive answers. In Italy and Spain we find no examples of such corruption at all.

We are probably at the limit here of obtaining truthful answers in a victim survey. In such cases of corruption, both the person who offers a bribe and the person who receives it may be prosecuted, so the company which pays a bribe would not like to reveal it. Besides, at least in the Spanish case, it is not very common for public servants to be bribed directly by a small shop keeper. The cases of corruption which come to light are more sophisticated and do not directly imply small businesses. Influence on public decisions is obtained through go-betweens: fiscal advisors, lawyers or politicians. The companies involved in corruption are the big ones, while small companies have to fight their way through red tape on their own.

Known corruption and fraud

A third way of monitoring corruption is to analyse cases known to control agencies, the police, the prosecutors and the courts. The advantage of this method is that the cases are well documented and investigated. The obvious disadvantage is that only a tiny and, perhaps, very biased selection of cases come that far. In some countries, one might find no court sentences for corruption at all. In other counties, after a “clean hands” campaign supported by a new political leadership, one might find several of them.

In Spain, for instance, one will presently find serving time in prison a former Minister of the Interior, the former director of the *Guardia Civil*, the former president of the autonomous region of Navarra and the former director of one of Spain’s biggest banks. The investigation of these cases reveals practices which appear to have been widespread: charging five per cent extra from builders who obtain contracts for public works. The pretext for this surcharge was the need for secret funds to combat terrorism or to finance a political party. However, most of the money has actually ended up in private bank accounts in Switzerland.

On the supply side of known corruption scandals we find bank directors who set aside substantial sums of money, through payment to fictitious consultant companies, to finance political influence, graft or private luxury.

Each penal sentence is based on extensive documentary evidence, which can be analysed by the social scientists interested in how corruption actually works. Through a secondary analysis of court cases, we can find out how the payments are actually carried out, the role

of intermediaries, how the illegal benefits are hidden and later on reinvested, etc. Court cases will not show us the real extent of corruption, but rather the *modus operandi* or the tricks of the trade. Last but not least, court cases may also show us how internal control works, and how it could be improved to prevent future corruption. How and why was the case revealed? How effective are the internal administrative controls? Is the public auditing system of any use in discovering cases of corruption? We may find the answer to such questions in the truckloads of evidence presented before the courts.

Other countries may present more pallid cases of political corruption. The Anglo-Saxon obsession to reveal details in the private life of their presidents or the royal family is to me a bizarre and irrelevant form of public amusement, of little interest to the social researcher.

Nevertheless, cases of embezzlement of public funds, graft and kick-backs on contracts sometimes come to light. They usually do so because one of the partners is dissatisfied with the deal. It may also be a case of personal revenge: the separated wife leaks details of her husband's economy to the press, or an assistant clerk who has been fired keeps photocopies of revealing documents. Such accidental circumstances have triggered serious investigations in Spain. If such factors, unrelated to the corruption itself, brought the case to the attention of the courts, the legal files may not be so biased after all. Cases which come to light in this manner may be random samples of actual practices, and can therefore be considered representative.

Action research

Action research consists in triggering and monitoring a response to a controlled stimulus. It has been used with great success to investigate consumer frauds. An example of this is the Consumer Association in Spain which produced the same simple internal error - a loose cable - in 47 TV sets, and sent them to repair in different repair shops. Two out of three shops overcharged for fictitious repairs (El País, 28/6, 1995).

The method can also be used to monitor corruption, although the set-up of the research project becomes more elaborate and expensive. A good example of this is the project carried out by Fernando de Soto in Peru in 1983 (De Soto, 1989), whereby a small clothes factory was set up with four sewing machines, in compliance with all the bureaucratic procedures required. Four students were hired to fill in forms, queue up and visit the officials, under the supervision of a lawyer. No go-betweens or personal connections were used, and bribes were only paid when they were the only possible way to obtain a result.

There were eleven different requirements to comply with, and a person of modest means takes a total of 289 days to obtain these permits. The staff members were asked for bribes on ten occasions, and had to pay two of them because there was no other way to continue. The researchers came to the conclusion that small enterprises are forced to remain in the black sector of the economy because there is no way for them to become legal. They calculate that 40% of the administrative staff of legally established companies spend their working hours complying with bureaucratic requirements. In other countries, businesses may be forced to employ or enter into partnership with Mafia-style groups, sometimes in connivance with the government.

A proposed international Red Tape Index

Action research projects show the vulnerability to corruption of a given country. The more complicated and obscure is the bureaucratic control of business activities, the greater is the incentive to pay someone who can obtain the needed permits in no time.

It would be interesting to elaborate a "Red Tape Index" in different regions of the world, measuring the time necessary to obtain needed permits. The clothes factory, one of several

examples used by de Soto, could form a part of such an index: How long does it take, and what does it cost, to establish a shop with four sewing machines? One could also include, for instance:

- To pay the fine for a parking ticket (excluding the cost of the fine, only the effort involved in locating the office where it should be paid, and then queuing up. In countries where all parking fines go to court, the cost and time involved).
- To buy a second hand car, and registering its new ownership.
- To present a bid for a public tender for construction works, in accordance with all the formal requirements and guarantees.
- To obtain a permit for house improvements (e.g. the construction of a new window and balcony overlooking a public street).
- To obtain a building permit for a 50 bed hotel.

It would be essential to monitor the actual performance of the municipal or state organs that give such licences, and not just to quote the legal requirements. It appears that bureaucratic procedures do not always follow legal requirements; in some countries, the actual procedure is simpler while in others it is more complicated⁷⁷. My hypothesis is that, the higher the score on such a Red Tape Index, the higher the level of corruption.

Regional analysis

To conclude, I will give a brief outline of a project on corruption in one specific region in Spain. The purpose of the project is to improve public administration, and not to quantify the level of corruption. Such a framework is more acceptable public authorities.

We will focus on municipal government and the way they manage building permits. The following methods will be used:

1) A detailed analysis of the court material in known cases of corruption, including civil disputes regarding alleged corrupt practices. We will focus on the *modus operandi* and irregular forms of administrative practice revealed by these cases. Why did the case become known? Who reported it? Why? Are these single events or established practices? In the case of established practices, why were they not detected before? What kind of difficulties did the investigation run into? What was the sentence? In cases where the court case does not include sufficient documentation, we will look for additional information by interviewing those in charge of the investigation (police, prosecutor, examining magistrate).

2) An analysis of the internal control mechanisms of the public administrations under study (public auditing routine procedures, disciplinary sanctions, etc.). This will be based on disciplinary sanctions against civil servants, and will try to answer the same kind of questions listed in point 1 for each case.

3) Interviews with professionals who maintain extensive contacts with one or several administrative branches. We will sample construction companies, suppliers, consultants, lawyers and architects. It will be explained to them that the motive of the project is to improve public service, and will ask for their help in sharing their experience with it. We will not ask them directly about participation in corrupt practices, since they are not likely to respond to such questions. However, we will ask them how, in their opinion, one can avoid unfair practices in public building contracts, and obtain more transparency in public administration, better economic control of public spending, etc. In this way, it is more

⁷⁷ Intents to monitor the time spent by business leaders on bureaucratic procedures in different countries have been made by some US risk assessment agencies (Political Risk Services and BERI). The Global Competitiveness Survey also contains questions on red tape as perceived by business leaders.

probable that they will offer examples of irregular or obscure practices. We will, of course, offer discretion and anonymity.

4) The elaboration of the “Red Tape Index” suggested above. In the more simple cases, collaborators will be hired to queue up and obtain the permits. In more complicated cases, such as obtaining permits to build hotels, lawyers, architects and construction companies will be asked to disclose the procedure they went through to obtain the permits.

5) A questionnaire will be sent by mail to a sample of public servants and administrative staff, preferably to their home address. It will cover the following topics:

- job satisfaction in general;
- opinion about the daily tasks carried out;
- knowledge about irregular practices on the part of colleagues or superiors; and
- a list of activities, some of which are clearly illegal while others are in a grey zone of dubious ethics. We will provide examples of each activity, and ask the respondents if they do this (once or twice, many times, every week, etc.).

Conclusions and recommendations

Corruption in the business and public sector are among the most hidden social processes that scientific research can study. However, it is not impossible to obtain information. The different methods outlined in this report have given quite interesting results. It is extremely important to establish that surveys of *perceived* and *experienced* corruption correlate with each other. It is important that questions on personal experience with fraud and corruption are repeated in the next sweep of the ICVS in 2000, and that more countries participate in it.

I would also recommend more regional surveys on the model outlined above, if possible following the same basic research design and with the aim of producing comparative data. Apart from the important contribution such surveys can give to our understanding on how public administration works (and how it does not work), they promote public awareness and open discussion of such taboo topics. And transparency is, in the long run, the most effective way to reduce corruption and fraud in the business and public sector.

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Ï ï Ñòàíáááá*

Íáííòðÿ íà èõ íáðííóþ ááæííòù äëÿ ñíòèàëííáí è ÿéííè÷-áíéíáí áèááíííòíÿíéÿ ñòðáí, ïðíáíáèòñÿ íáéí èññèááíááíéè á íáèáíòè èíððóíòèè è ïíøáííè÷-áíòáá à ááéíáíí ñáèòíðá. Íáíòíÿèé áíéòíáíò èííóáíòðèððóáòñÿ íà íáòíáíéíáèè, íáíáòíáèíé äëÿ áíÿáéáíéÿ ÿòíáí òáííáíà è áíááéÿáò íáèáíéáá èíòáðáíííá ñòðáòááèè. Èííóáíòðèððóÿ èññèááíááíéá íà èíððóíòèè, íáíí÷-íí ñíðáááéÿáíé èáè èñííéíóçíááíéá íáíáíòááíííó ñðááíòá äëÿ ÷-áíòííó òáéáé, áíçíáíí áóááò òñòáíáèòù: à) áíííðèÿòèá èíððóíòèè íóòáí ñíðíá íáíáéáíéÿ áíáíá è ááéíáíáí íèðá, á ÷-áíòííòè, í òíí íáíéíéíéí øèðíéí, ï èõ íá, ðáííðíòðáíáí òáéíá ÿáéáíéá; á) ðáííéáç í ñíáíòááííí ííóá ááðòá èíððóíòèè; á) èçááíòííá ñèó÷-áè èíððóíòèè, íáíáðòááíííá íóòáí ïðíáááíéÿ áíòòðáíéò ðáííéááíááíéè ñí ñòíðííú áííóááðíòááííé ááíéíèíòðáèè, èèè òá, ï èíðíðúí óæá áííáíáíú ïðèáíáíðú á óáíéíáííí ñóáá, è òÿçáèííòù á íòííøáíéè èíððóíòèè, áíáèèçèððóáíÿ ñ íííúíþ èññèááíááòáéííéèò ïðíóááòð. Èðíá òíáí, ïú ðáéíáíáóáí áááááíéá "Èíááèíá áþðíèðáòè-áíéíé áíéíéèòù", ðáçóéíóáòú èíðíðáíí óéàçíááèè áí íà òðóáííòè è ñéíáííòè, áíòðá÷-ááííá ïðè áííéíáíéè íðíáéííóò òðáííáèòèè ñ áèáíòÿíè çáéííúí íáðáçí. Íá íðááíéíááíéá çááèþ÷-ááòñÿ á òíí, ÷-ðí ÷-áí áíéíóá áíòðá÷-ááòñÿ òáèèò òðóáííòáé, òáí áíøá óðíááíú èíððóíòèè. Á çáéèþ-áíéá ïðèáíáèòñÿ ïðèíáð ðááéííáéííáí ïðíáèòá ïí èíððóíòèè, èíðíðúé èííáéíèðóáò íáéíðíðúá èç òáèèò íáòíáí.

* Óíèááííèòá Ì áèááè, Èííí áíéÿ.

Policy and Management Use of Criminal Justice Information in the Countries in Transition

CRIME VICTIMS IN BELARUS. THE INTERNATIONAL VICTIM SURVEY

Vladimir Dounaev*

The Round Table sessions were attended by representatives of the Belarus Parliament (National Assembly), the General Prosecutor's Office, the Ministries of Health, Social Security and Education, the National Centre for Law-making Activities, the Institute of Social and Political Research at the Administration of the President of the Republic of Belarus, institutions of higher education, and NGOs.

The Round Table was divided into two sessions that dealt with the results of the international victim survey that had been carried out the previous year. Reports of these results were distributed among the Round Table participants. Even those who were unable to attend the Round Table sessions were provided with a brochure giving a detailed description of the survey results. These results led to discussion that highlighted, in particular, serious problems in the system of collecting statistical data and the need to set up of an integrated system of victimisation data collection and processing.

The problem of formulating victimology policies in Belarus was also an important part of the Round Table discussion. The speakers noted the absence of such policies in the country, as well as of administrative structures and developed volunteer organisations capable of implementing them. All the Round Table participants were in favour of setting up a voluntary Victimology Board, and this was actually created at the end of the session from among the representatives of the state-run organisations and NGOs.

The participants of the Round Table were introduced to the recommendations and application of the UN Declaration "The Basic Principles...". A Russian version of the guidelines for the implementation of this declaration has been prepared for distribution among those organisations that are interested in this matter. During the Round Table a representative of the Belarus National Assembly spoke in favour of holding a special seminar for law makers (members of the Lower and Upper Chambers of the Belarusian Parliament) devoted to developing victimological policies, and ensuring compliance with international standards and practices of other jurisdictions when elaborating national regulations. It was suggested that UNICRI representatives should be invited to take part in this seminar.

During the discussions, the participants expressed the need for victimological studies to include problems of child and women abuse (including domestic violence). Representatives of the Church and of the Ministry of Health, as well as psychiatrists and researchers noted the need to draw the attention of state authorities and NGOs to the plight of victims of totalitarian sects whose activities have recently assumed an increasingly dangerous character.

One of the final outcomes of the Round Table was the decision to publish a victimology research yearbook. Representatives of research organisations and state-run institutions offered concrete proposals on the conduct of surveys of victims of crime and violence. The representative of the Ministry of Education suggested that a survey be conducted on child victims of domestic violence, and declared the Ministry's willingness to include such a survey in its 1999 financial budget. The EHU Centre for Gender Studies proposed the conduct of a victim survey among women prisoners in Belarus. This proposal received the

* Vice Rector, European Humanities University, Belarus.

support of the administrators of the prison for women only in Belarus, and the survey was already completed in June 1998. Other victim surveys are being planned too.

Upon the recommendation of the Round Table, the EHU designed a Course for a Master's Degree in Victimology, which was examined by a Commission of experts from the Ministry of Education and received authorisation for its implementation. It is planned to commence the training course at the beginning of the next academic year.

**ÆÐÐÒÀÛ Ì ÐÀÑÒÓÌ ÌÑÒÈ Á ÁÀÈÐÓÑÑÈÌ
Ì ÁÆÀÓÌÀÐÌÀÌÌ ÈÑÑÈÀÀÌÀÀÌÈÈ Ì
ÆÐÐÒÀÀÒ Ì ÐÀÑÒÓÌ ÌÑÒÈ**

Áèààè èð Áóìàà*

Á ðàáìðà èðóàèíàì ñòíèà «Æððòàû ìðàñðóíèàíèè á Áàèàððòè. Ìàæàóìàðìàíà àèèðèíèíàè-àñèíà èññèàáíàíàè» ìðèíèè ó-àñðèà ìðàñðóààèðòàè Ìàèíàèùíàì ñíàðàíè Áàèàððòè, Áàíàðàèùíè ìðèóðàðòó, ìèíèòàðòòà çàðàáíòðàíàíè, ìàðàçíàíè, ñìòèàèùíè çàùèòó, ìàèíàèùíàì òáìòðà çàèííààðàèùíè ààíòàèùíòè ìðè Ìðàçèàáìòà Ðàñìóàèèè Áàèàððòí, àóçíà è ìàùàñðóàáííò ìðàíèçàòèè. Ðàáìðà èðóàèíàì ñòíèà ìðèèè á ààà ñàññèè, ìà èìòìòó ìàñóààèèñì ðàçòèòòàòó ìàæàóìàðìàíàì àèèðèíèíàè-àñèíàì èññèàáíàíàè. Ñðààè ìðèàèàøàííò àèí ó-àñðèè á ðàáìðà èðóàèíàì ñòíèà áúè ðàñìòìòðàíàì òàèòò çàèè-èðàèùíàì ìð-àòà «Æððòàû ìðàñðóíèàíèè á Áàèàððòè» ñíàèèàèùí ìàðàààáííè ìà ðòñíèèè ÿçúè.

Ðàçòèòòàòó èññèàáíàíàè àúçààè àèñèòññè, ìèàçààøòð ìàíàòìàèíòó ñíçàíè àèíèè ñèòòàì ñàíðà è ìàðàáìòè àèèðèíèíàè-àñèíè ñòàèèòèè.

Ìáíè èç òáìòàèùíò òàì àèñèòññè áúè ìðíàèà òìòèòìàíè àèèðèíèíàè-àñèíè ìèèòèè á Áàèàððòè. Áùòòòààøè ìòàèèè ìòòòòàèà èàè ñàíè àèèðèíèíàè-àñèíè ìèèòèè, òàè è ààìèíèòòàèàíò ñòðòèòò èè ìàùàñðóàáííò ìðàíèçàòèè, ñíñíàíò á ìàòòíàà àðàí àúðàáìòòó ÿòàèèàòò çà àèèðèíèíàè-àñèòð ìèèòèè á Áàèàððòè. Áàá ó-àñðèè èðóàèíàì ñòíèà áúèàçàèñì çà ñíçàíèà ìàùàñðóàáííàì ñíààò ì àèèðèíèíàè, èìòìòè áúè ñòìòèòìàì ì çàààðòèè ñàññè èðóàèíàì ñòíèà èç ìðàñðóààèèàè àñóààòòàáííò è ìàùàñðóàáííò ìðàíèçàòèè.

Ó-àñðèè èðóàèíàì ñòíèà ìçíàèíèèñì ñ ðàèíàíààèè ì ìðèàíàèè Áàèàððòè ÌÌ «Ìñíàíà ìðèòèì ìðàáííòàèí àèí æàðòà ìðàñðóíèàíè è çèíòòààèíè àèàòò». Ðòñíèè ìàðàíà Ðóèíàíàà ì ìðèàíàèè ÿòè ààèèàðòèè áúè ìàíòìàèàì àèí ðàñìòìòðàíàíè ñðààè çàèòàðàíàíàíò ìðàíèçàòèè. Á òìàà çàñààíè èðóàèíàì ñòíèà ìðàñðóààèèàè Ìàèíàèùíàì Ñíàðàíè àúèàçàèñì çà ìðíààáèà ñíàèèàèùíàì ñàíèàðà àèí àáìòàòìà Áàèðòñíèàì ìðèàíàòà, ìñàíàíàì ðàçðàáìòè àúèèíèíàè-àñèíè ìèèòèè, çíèíòòàò ñ ìàæàóìàðìàíè ñàíààòàè è çàðòààèè ìðèèèè ìðè ðàçðàáìòè ìàèíàèùíàì çàèííààðàèñì. Áúè àúðàèà çàèòàðàíàíàíò á ó-àñðèè ìðàñðóààèèàè UNICRI á ðàáìðà òàèíàì ñàíèàðà.

Ó-àñðèè àèñèòññè àúðàçèè çàèòàðàíàíàíò á ðàñòèòàèè àèèðèíèíàè-àñèè èññèàáíàíàè. Ìñíàíà àíèàíè áúè ìðàèíàè ìàðàèòó ìà ñèò-àè ìàèèè, æàðòààè èìòìòàì ñòàíàíòñ àáíèè è ààè. Ìðàñðóààèè Ìðàíèààíè òàèè è Ìèíèòàðòòà çàðàáíòðàíàíè, ìèèèàòòó-èññèàáíààè èèàèè ìà ìàíàòìàèíò ó-àñòó á ðàáìðà àñóààòòàáííò è ìàùàñðóàáííò ìðàíèçàòèè óàðòò, ñàíçàíòò ñ àúçðàñðàè ÷èíèí æàðòà ààíòàèùíòè òòàèèàðòò ñàè à Áàèàððòè.

Ìáíè èç èòìàà ðàáìòó èðóàèíàì ñòíèà áúè ðàøàèà èçàààòó àèèðèíèíàè-àñèè àæàáíàè. Ìðàñðóààèèè Ìèíèòàðòòà ìàðàçíàíè áúè ñààèàì ìðàèíàè à ìàè-àíè à ìèà ìàó-íò èññèàáíàíàè Ìèíèòàðòòà òàì, ìñàíàíè ààòò - æàðòààì àíàøàíà ìàèèè.

* Áàðì àèèè Áóì àèòàðòè Óèààèèè, Ì èíè.

Öáíðð ááíááðíúð èññèááíááíéé Ááðííáéñéíáí áóíáíéðáðííáí óíéááðñèðáðà (ÁÁÓ) íðááéíæèè íðíáéð íðíááááíéý áéèèèíéíáé-áñéíáí èññèááíááíéý ñðááè æáíúéí-çáéèþ-áííúð. Ýóí èññèááíááíéé áúéí ìíóúáñðáéáíí á èþíá 1998 á. á ááèíñðááííé æáííéíé éíéíéè Ááéáðóñè.

Íí ðáéííáíááòèè éðóáéíáí ñóíéá ñ ÁÁÓ ñí ñèááóþùááí ó-ááííáí áíáà ðáøáíí íà-àòí ñááíðíáéó íááèñððíá á íáéáñðè áéèèèíéíáéè.

INTERNATIONAL CRIME VICTIM SURVEY IN LITHUANIA (1997) MAIN RESULTS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Antanas Dapsys*

Lithuania is one of the Baltic States which regained its independence in 1990, with a permanent population of almost 4 million (3,707,200 on 1 January 1997), of which more than two-thirds (68.4%) are urban residents. Statistical crime rates in Lithuania do not differ greatly from those in other Baltic countries, and in some aspects, for example, as regards the number of crimes (150-180) per 10,000 population, these indicators are somewhat lower than in the other states. One of the main indicators to evaluate the real crime situation and the efficiency of criminal justice is the number of victims, and their identification is one of the main objectives of sociological and criminological research. Since the early 1970s, Lithuanian criminologists have given particular attention to problems relating to victimisation in their research work. In 1997, the International Crime Victim Survey was carried out for the first time in Lithuania by the Lithuanian Law Institute. Its results and conclusions were discussed and positively evaluated by the participants at a Round Table held in Vilnius on 28 February 1998.

The survey was carried out using the questionnaire and methodology presented by UNICRI, adapted to the conditions of Lithuania. A total of 2,131 respondents aged 16 or more from 5 major cities and 11 districts were addressed. The answers of 1,000 of the respondents (considered the most representative ones) were selected for analysis. The collected data were then evaluated, taking into account the official social, demographic and crime statistics.

Official crime data seem to differ considerably from the data derived from the victim survey. Official crime statistics recorded about 3-4% of crime victims, while 26.9% of the respondents of the survey claimed to have been victimised in 1996 and more than 50% between 1992 and 1997. Of these, a quarter had been victimised two or more times.

The majority of the respondents (about 88%) were victims of crimes related to property: theft of personal property (200 cases, or 20%); bicycle theft (150 - 15%) or theft of mopeds, motor scooters and motor cycles (11 - 1%); theft from cars (143 - 14%) and theft of cars 924 - 2%) or car vandalism (105 - 10%); theft with a break in (128 - 13%) or attempted break in (81 - 8%), and robbery (48 cases - 5%). 117 (or 12%) respondents answered that they were victims of violent crimes (assault/ threats - 98 cases or 10% and sexual offences - 19 cases or 2%). The above data conform in general to the crime structure reflected in the official statistics.

Analysis showed a correlation between victimisation and the socio-demographic features of the victims: age (there was a prevalence of younger and middle aged people, i.e. 16-54 years); gender (with an almost even split), education (those with secondary and college education prevailed), place of residence (most of the incidents occurred in the victims' own city or neighbourhood), income status (most victims had average or below average incomes), etc. However, these features differ greatly from the mean ones, depending on the type of crime (property or violent crime).

It was possible to reveal important similarities and specific features of the victimisation circumstances regarding personal or property security: over one-third (366 cases or 37%) of the respondents became victims of crimes through direct personal contact with the offender (including stealing from a person, robberies, and other violent crimes); over two-thirds of

* Director, Institute of Law, Lithuania.

the assailants (three-quarters in the case of sexual offences) were unknown to the victim; women were pickpocketed almost twice as often as men, while men were attacked with the aim of mugging 1.4 times more often than women; victims of sexual assault were normally younger (16-44 years); the bigger the locality (city) the more there were victims of violent crimes and personal theft; women treated crimes (especially violent ones) more seriously than men, although most of the respondents considered it a rather serious event.

The average damage caused by a theft was estimated at 2617.9 Lt (or 654.5 USD). The main reasons given by the victims for reporting the offence to the police (some two-thirds) were to have their property returned and the criminals punished.

The survey also revealed interesting results on the people's attitudes towards the activity of the police and other law enforcement bodies, their opinion on consumer corruption and fraud, attitudes towards punishment, feelings of security and fear of crime, as well as the measures adopted to protect themselves and their property.

The participants of the above mentioned Round Table in Vilnius, following an evaluation of the ICVS results, stressed its importance at the national (practical, organisational) and the international (regional) levels. It was underlined that, at the national level, scientific and practical victim-oriented programmes and measures must be developed and implemented, taking into consideration crime trends and specific crime features, as well as social, cultural, economic, political, legal, organisational, resource and other circumstances and opportunities. It was recommended: (i) to prepare and implement an appropriate national concept of victimology, as an essential component of the criminological, sociological and statistical evaluation of crime, its prediction and prevention; (ii) to develop and continue scientific research and to implement training programmes for the population in the area of victimology; (iii) to prepare and implement a victimological information system, to create an appropriate data bank on victims and the physical, material and moral damage caused by crime; (iiii) to improve (create) a legal and institutional base for the protection of crime victims and witnesses and their defence (to prepare a law on the compensation of damage caused to victims of crimes, extend their legal rights, etc.); and (iiiii) to create a victim support fund.

I am pleased to announce that a working group of experts (scientists and practitioners) has now been formed in Lithuania, and is actively involved in finding solutions for the above mentioned problems and in the preparation of appropriate proposals to be presented to the government.

Emphasis was given to the comparative and practical importance of the victimisation project organised by UNICRI. Under free market conditions, not all the problems may be solved by the efforts of one country alone, but require regional and international co-operation. This is particularly important to evaluate the situation and to implement victim-oriented programmes and measures in the following areas of transnational crime control: organised and professional crimes; smuggling; narcotrafficking; illegal prostitution; trafficking in children, etc.

These are just some of the areas in which there is the need for international co-operation and co-ordination of research on victimisation and its prevention, as well as the further development of the methodology of such research. It is evident that this Conference will contribute towards solving the above mentioned problems relating to crime statistics, the protection of crime victims, and other global problems.

**Ì ÁÀÓÍÀÐÌÁÌÁ ÈÑÑÈÁÁÌÁÀÌÈÁ ÆÐÒÁ
 Ì ÐÃÑÒÓÌ ÈÁÌÈÉ Á ÈÈÒÁÁ (1997):
 Ìññáíúáðçòëüòàòú áúáíáú è ðãñ ãääòèè**

Àíòáíáñ Áàì øñ*

Èèòáá - íáíà èç áàèòèñèèò ñòðáí á 1990 áíáò áíñòòáííàèàøèò ñáíð íáçààèñèíñòú, ÷èñèí ñíòúíúò æèòáèáé ñ-òè 4 ìèèèíá (01 01 1997 - 3.707.200), èç íèò áíèáá 2/3 (68,4%) æèáòò á áíðíáàò. Ñòàðèñòè-áñèèá ñíèàçàòáèè ìðáñòóííñòè á Èèòáá á ñííáíí ìá ìèè-àðòñý ìò ñíèàçàòáèè ìðáñòóííñòè àíàííè-íúò ñòðáí, à ñí íáèíòíðú ñííáèòáì, íáíðèíáð ñí ÷èñèò ìðáñòóííèáíèé (150 - 180) ìðèòáíýèòñý ìá 10000 æèòáèáé,á ñòááíáì ýòè ñíèàçàòáèè á òáèí ìáñèíèüèí ìáíúøá, ÷áì á ýòèò ñòðáíàò. Íáíèì èç ñííáíúò ñíèàçàòáèè ìòáíèè ðáàèüíèè ñèòòáòèè ìðáñòóííñòè è ýòáèèèáííñòè èðèèèíèüíèè ðñòèòèè, ýáèýáòñý ÷èñèí æáðòá ìðáñòóííèáíèé, à èò ñíðáááèáíèá - íáíí èç áàæíáèøèò íáíðááèáíèé ñíòèíèíè-áñèèò è èðèèèíèíè-áñèèò èññèááíáíèé. Á òðòáàò èðèèèíèíèíá Èèòáú áíèáíèá áèèèèèíèíè-áñèèò ìðáíèáíá òááèýèíñú òáá á ìá-àèá 60-ò áíáíá. Á 1997 á Èèòáá Èíñòèòòòí ìðááá á ñíòðóáíè-áñòáá ñ UNDP/Áèèíðñ, ñí èíèèèèèèè è ìðè òèíáííáíèè ñíááðáèèá UNICRI/Ðèì, áíáðáúá áúèí ìðááááí Ìáæáóíáðíáíá èññèááíáíèá æáðòá ìðáñòóííèáíèé, ðáçòëüòàòú èíòíðíáí áúèè ðáññííòðáíú è ñíèò-èèè ñíèáèòáèüíòð ìòáíèò ò-áñòíèèíá «Èðòáèíáí ñòíèà» á ìáðèáíáíòá ñòðáíú (28 11 1997, Áèèíðñ).

Èññèááíáíèá ìðááááí ñí ìðááèíèáííè UNICRI áíèáòá è ìáòáíèíáèè, áááíèèðíáíáííè è òñèíáèýì Èèòáú. Áñááí áúèí ñíðíáí 2131 ðáññíááíò á áíçðáñòá ñòáðøá 16 èáò, ìðíñòèííèüí èç 5 èðòííèèèèè áíðíáí Èèòáú è 11 ðáèííá. Áèý áíáèèçà áúèè ìòáðáíú è èññèüííáíú ìòááòú 1000 ðáññíááíòá (ñí ìáíèð ýéíáðòíá ýáèýòèèèè ðáíðáçáíòáèèíèè). Ááíúá ñíðíá áúèè ìòáíáíú, ò-èòúááý ìòèèèèèíá ááíúá ñíòèèèíáí, ááííáðáòè-áñèíá è èðèèèíèüíáí ñòáðèñòè-áñèíáí áíáèèçà á ñòðáíá.

Ñíèàçàòáèè ìòèèèèèèè ñòáðèñòèèè ìðáñòóííñòè è ñíòááòñòáòðèè ááíúá ìðááááííáí áèèèèíèíè-áñèíáí ñíðíá ðáçèí ìèè-àðòñý. Ìí ááíúá ñòáðèñòèèè ÷èñèí ñíðáííáèøèò ìò ìðáñòóííèáíèé á Èèòáá ñíòááèýáò 3-4%, à ñíðí ñíèàçàè, ÷òí 1/4 (26,9%) ñíðíáíúò á 1996 áíáò è áíèüøá ñíèáíèú çà ñíèááíèá ñýòú èáò (1992-1997), ñí ìáíèð ñáìèò ðáññíááíòá, ñíòðáááèè ìò ìðáñòóííèáíèé (ìðááííáðòáíèé), à èáæáíè ÷áðááðòúè 2 è áíèáá ðáçà. Áíèüøèíòáí ñíðáííáèøèò (88%) ñíòðáááèí ìò ìðáñòóííèáíèé ìáðáèèèèíáí òáðáèèèè: èðáæ èè-ííáí èíòáííá (200 ñèò-ááá èèè 20%); èðáæ ááèíèíèíáí (150 - 15%) èèè ñííáíá, ìòíðíèèèè, ìòíðèèèíá (11 - 1%); èðáæ èç ááòííáèèè (143 - 14%) è èðáæ ááòííáèèè (24 - 2%) èèè ááòííáèèíáí ááíáèèèçà (105 - 10%); èðáæ ñ áçèíí (128 - 13%) èèè ñííòèíè áçèíá (81), à òáèèá ìáðááèíè (48 ñèò-ááá èèè 5%). 117 (èèè 12%) ðáññíááíòá ìòááòèèè, ÷òí ñòáííáèèññú æáðòáíèè áðòáèò ìáñèèíòááíúò ìðáñòóííèáíèé (íáíááíèé, òáðíç - 98 ñèò-ááá èèè 10% è ìðáñòóííèáíèé ñáèíòáèíáí òáðáèèèè - 19 ñèò-ááá èèè 2%). Óèàçáíúá ááíúá á ìðèíèèá ñíòááòñòáòðò ñòðèèèè ìðáñòóííèáíèé, ìðáæááíèè ìòèèèèíèèè ñòáðèñòèèè, ñí çáíá-áíú ñíðáááèíáí áèñíðííòèè.

Èññèááíáíèá ñíèàçàèí ìáèíòíðòð çááèñèíñòú áèèèèèèèè ìò ñíòèèèí - ááííáðáòè-áñèíáí ñíèáíèè ñíðáííáèøèò: áíçðáñòá (ìðáíáèááò èðáè ñíèáíá è ñòááíáí áíçðáñòá, ò.á. 16 - 54 èáò); ñíèà (ñí-òè ðááíá èíèè-áñòáí); ìáðáçáíáíèý (ìðáíáèááò èáòðèè ñòááíá è ñòááíá ñíáèèèèíá ìáðáçáíáíèá); ìáíòá

* Áèðáèòð Èíñòèòòá òáá, Èèòáá.

æeðæuñðàà (áfèuøèíñðàí - á náiáí áíðíraá, íáñòíñðè); áæè-èíú ííèó-àáíúò áíóíáíá (áfèuøèíñðàí - èìáþùèá ñðááíèá è íáíúøá ñðááíèó) è äð. Íáíáíí - óèàçàííúá íðèçíáèè ñòuáñðááííí íðèè-àþòñý íð ñðááíèó áæè-èí - á çààèñèííðè íð òàðàèðáðà íðáñðóíèáíèý (èìóuáñðááíííá èèè íáñèèuñðááíííá) è ááí èííèðáðíáí àèàà.

Èññèááííáíèá ñíñííáñðáííáèí áúýáèáíèþ íðáááèáííúò íñíáíííðáé è çàèííáðíííðáé íáñðíýðáèuñðá (ñèðóáòèè) áèèðèèèçàòèè íí íòííøáíèþ è èè-ííè è èìóuáñðááíííè ááçííáííííðè: áíèáá 1/3 (366 ñèó-àáá èèè 37%) íðííøáííúò ñðáèè æáððááíèè íðáñðóíèáíèý íðè íáííðááñðááíííí èè-ííí èííóàèðá ñ íðáñðóíèèèí (áèèþ-àý èðàæ è ÷-áñðíáí èèòà, áðáááæè, áðóáèá íáñèèuñðááíííúá íðáñðóíèáíèý); áíèáá 2/3 íáíááþùèó (á ñèó-àýò íðáñðóíèáíèý ñáèñóáèuñíáí òàðàèðáðà - 3/4) áíèè íáçíáèííúá æáððááíè èèòà; æáíùèíú íí-ðè á ááá ðàçà (1,7) ÷-àúá íóæ-èíí ñðáííèèèíí æáððááíè èðàæ èè-ííáí èìóuáñðáá (èàðíáííáí áíðííáñðáá), à íóæ-èíí á 1,4 ðàçà áíèuøá ííáááðáèèíí íáíááíèþ ñ óáèuþ íáðááèáíèý; æáððááíèèè íðáñðóíèáíèý ñáèñóáèuñíáí òàðàèðáðà á íñíáííí ýáèýþòñý æáíùèíú ííèíáíí (16 - 44 èáð) áíçðáñðà; ÷-áí áíèuøá íáñáèáíííèè íóíè, òáí áíèuøá ííñððááááøèò íð íáñèèuñðááíííúò íðáñðóíèáíèý è èðàæ èè-ííáí èìóuáñðáá, æáíùèíú ÷-àúá, ÷-áí íóæ-èíí íóáíèááþò íðáñðóíèáíèý (íñíáííí íáñèèuñðááíííúá) í-áíú ñáðúáçíí, òíðý íí-ðè áèý áñáò íðáðíááøèò ýóí áúíè áííðáòí-íí ñáðúáçííú íðíèñøáñðáèáí.

Íí ááííú èññèááííáíèý ñðááíèè óuáðá, íð íáííè èðàæè, ñíñðááèýáð 2617,9 Èð (èèè 654,5 áíèèáðíá ÑØÀ). Áèááíííèè íðèèááíèè íáðááíèý ííñððááááøèò á ííèèòèþ (íèíèí 2/3) ýáèýþòñý æáèáíèá ááðíóðú ñáíþ ñíáñðááíííííú è íáèàçàíèá íðáñðóíèèíá.

Á ðáçóèuðáðá èññèááííáíèèá òàèæá ííèó-áíú èìóáðáííúá ááííúá íá àèðóáèuñíèè íóáíèá íáñáèáíèý ááýðáèuñííðè ííèèòèè è áðóáèò íðááííððáíèðáèuñíúò íðááííá (áíááðèá è íè), íáíèè í èíððóíèèè è íáíáíá íððááèðáèé, áçáèýáá íá ðáçèè-íúá íáèàçàíèý, ÷-óáñðáá çàùèùáííííðè èþááè è áíýçíè íðáñðóíèáíèý, à òàèæá íððáííúò íáðáò, íáèáíèáá ÷-áíðí èíííèuçóáííúò íáñáèáíèáí, íí çàùèðá èè-íííðè è èìóuáñðáá.

Áúøá óííýíóóúá ó-áñðíèèè «Èðóáèíáí ñòíèá» á Áèèuñíá, íóáíèá ðáçóèuðáðú íáæáóíáðíáííáí èññèááííáíèý æáððá íðáñðóíèáíèý, àèóáíðèðíááèè ááí ááíèíóþ çíá-èíííðú: 1) íáèèíáèuñóþ - íðèèèááíóþ (íðáèèè-áñèóþ, íðááíèçàòèííóþ) è íáæáóíáðíáíóþ (ðááèíáèuñóþ) - ñðááíèðáèuñóþ. Áúèí ííá-áðèíóóí, ÷-òí íá íáèèíáèuñíí òðíáíá ííáóð è áíèæíú áúðú ííááíðíáèáíú è áíèííáíú á æèçíú áèèðèííèíáè-áñèèá íáó-íí - íðáèèè-áñèèá íðíáðáííú è íáðú, ó-èðóááý íñíááíííðè òáíáíííèè è íñíááíííðè èðèíèíááíííèè ñèðóáòèè á ñððáíá, à òàèæá ñíòèàèuñíúá, èóèuðóðíúá, ýèííèè-áñèèá, ííèèèè-áñèèá, íðááííúá, íðááíèçàòèíííúá, ðáñðóðííúá è áðóáèá óñèíáèý è áíçíáíííðè. Áúèí ðáèííáííáíí: (i) ííááíðíáèè è áíèííèèè á æèçíú ñííðááòñðáóþóþ íáèèíáèuñóþ áèèðèííèíáè-áñèóþ èííóáíèþ, èàè íáíðíáèííè èíííáíð èðèíèíáè-áñèíè, ñíòèííáè-áñèíè è ñðáðèñðè-áñèíè íóáíèè íðáñðóíííðè, áá íðíáííçíá è íðáááíííèè; (ii) íðíáíèæáðú è ðáçáèèáðú íáó-ííá èññèááííáíèý è áíèííèèè á æèçíú íáó-íí - íðííááòèðáèuñíèèá íðíáðáííú áèý íáñáèáíèý á íáèáñðè áèèðèííèíáè; (iii) ííááíðíáèè è áíèííèèè á æèçíú ñèñðáíó áèèðèííèíáè-áñèíè èííðíáòèè, ñíçáàðú ñííðááòñðáóþèè ááíè ááííúò í æáððááò, òèçè-áñèí, íàðáðèàèuñíí è íðáèuñíí óuáðáá, íáíáíííí íðáñðóíèáíèý; (iiii) ñíááððáíííðáííáðú íðááííóþ ááçó çàùèðú è íððáíú æáððá, à òàèæá ñáèááðáèáè íðáñðóíèáíèý(ííááíðíáèè çàèíí í áíçíáííáíèè óuáðáá æáððááí íðáñðóíèáíèý, ðáñðèðèèè íðíááíííðáèuñíúá íðááá ííñððááááøèò è íð.); (iiii) ñíçáàðú òíá íàðáðèàèuñíè è ñíòèàèuñíèè íííèè ííñððááááøèò íð íðáñðóíèáíèý.

Ñèááóáð ííá-áðèíóðú, ÷-òí íáñðíýúáá áðáíý á Èèðáá ñíçááíá ðááí-àý áðóíá ýèííáððíá (ó-áííúò è íðáèèèèíá), èíðíðáý èíðáííèáí è íáðííáèèèáí ðáøááò áúøá óèàçàííúá çáàà-è è áíðíáèè ñííðááòñðáóþùèá íðááèíáíèý íðááèðáèuñíðáò ñððáíú.

Áúeà àeòáíòeðíáàà íá òíeueí ñðááíeðáeufáý, íí è íðàeðe÷áñeàý çíá÷eííñòù íáæáóíáðíáíúò àeèðeííeíáe÷áñeèò èññeááíááeé, íðááíeçóáíúò UNICRI. Á òñeíáeýò íðeðúóíáí (ñáíáíáíáí) ðúíeà íá áñá àeèðeííeíáe÷áñeèá íðíáeáíú ííáóó áúòù ðáøáíú ñòáðáíeýíe íáííe ñòðáíú (áíñóááðñòáá). Íáíáóíáeíí íáæáííñóááðñòááííá (ðááeííáeúííá) è íáæáóíáðíáííá (áeíááeúííá) ñíððóáíe÷áñòáí á ááííe íáeàñòe. Ýóí, eíááò íñíáíá çíá÷áíeá íðe áííeíúáíeè á æeçíú áeèðeííeíáe÷áñeèò íðíáðáí è íáð á íáeàñòe eííòðíeý òðáíííáöeííáeúííe íðáñòóíííñòe: íðááíeçíááííe (eíððóííeðíááííe) è íðíóáññeííáeúííe; eííòðááíáíú; íáðeííáeçíáíá; íáeááeúííe íðííñòeðóòeè; òíðáíáeè ááòùíe (eþáüíe) è áð.

Ýóí eèøù ÷áñòù íáíðááeáíeé, á eíóíðúò íáíáóíáeíá íáæáóíáðíáíáý eííáðáöeý è eííðáeíáöeý eíóíðíáöeè àeèðeííeíáe÷áñeèò èññeááíááeé è íáð íí eííòðíeþ íðáñòóíííñòe, à òàeæá ááeúííáeøáá ðáçáeðeá íáóíáeèe òáeèò èññeááíááeé. Í÷ááeáí, ÷óí è ýðà eííóááíóeý íá áúñøáí óðíáíá á Ðeíá áíáñáò ñáíe áeèáá á ñòðáðááeþ ðáøáíeý íðíáeáí, ñáýçáíúò ñ ñíááðøáíñòáííáeáí ñòáðeñòe÷áñeíe íóáíeè íðáñòóíííñòe è áá ñíöeáeúííúò íñeááñòáeéíðóáíú ááí æáðóá, à òàeæá áðóáeè áeíááeúííúò íðíáeáí.

THE INTERNATIONAL CRIME VICTIM SURVEY IN UKRAINE

Natalia Kostenko*

The International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS) was conducted in the Ukrainian capital, Kiev, in March 1997 by the company USM (Ukrainian Surveys and Market Research) in co-operation with the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. Upon the completion of the study, analytical comments were sent to the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) of Ukraine, the Ministry of Justice, the Head of Statistical Administration, the Internal Policy Department in the President's Administration, and the analytical centre of the Chief Anti-Organised Crime Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine.

In December 1997, a round table took place involving representatives of the UNDP Office in Kiev, the Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the President's Administration, as well as researchers studying crime issues and journalists. The session was broadcasted during a national UTN channel news programme and in a programme of the MVD entitled "Situation". An article also appeared in the newspaper "Kievsky Vestnik". The following publications, based on ICVS reports, were also prepared: N. Kostenko, "Kievans (About Crime)", *Politychesky Kalendar* (Political Calendar), Issue 2, October 1997; N. Kostenko, "Hazardous Casualness (ICS in Kiev)", *Politychesky Portret Ukrainy* (Political Picture of Ukraine), No. 19, 1998. In addition, throughout 1998, the results of the ICVS were presented at various seminars and round tables dedicated to the Ukrainian parliamentary elections in March 1998.

On the basis of public discussion and comments of the authorities, it is possible to give the following evaluation of the results of the ICVS and the prospects for their application in Ukraine:

1. It would be premature, given Ukraine's current conditions represented by an undeveloped civil society, imperfect activities by the authorities and a noticeable worsening in the socio-economic situation, to expect that any public opinion survey of a non-political character would have any immediate impact. This would require a step-by step process, and making Kiev's authorities aware of the results of the ICVS is a realistic step in this direction.
2. The results of the ICVS may help to create an initial database for carrying out national surveys on citizens' victimisation, which have not been conducted in Ukraine to date.
3. There is a common negative attitude among the Ukrainian population towards criminal justice bodies, which is strengthened by the scarce trust citizens have in all the authorities. There is also little information on the measures to be used by authorities and the media to assist in increasing public awareness of their legal rights and on crime and crime prevention. The dissemination of information, through the media, on the exchange of ideas between researchers and representatives of the authorities on the results of this survey would therefore assist in sensitising the public also of the need for citizens and authorities to join efforts in combating crime.
4. The results of the ICVS point to the need for criminal justice agencies to strengthen the use of information and the media to enhance their relationship with the public. In particular, the following recommendations were made:

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- It was proposed to disseminate official statistical and MVD data on the work currently being carried out by these structures.
- The ICVS results could assist in improving the methodologies for the quantitative and qualitative research conducted by the data analysis centre of the Main Anti-Organised Crime Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine.
- Both MVD data and those of the ICVS, should be used to develop programmes to improve the public's opinion of the police and other criminal justice bodies.
- The results of the ICVS could assist in policies aimed at improving the organisational activities of criminal justice bodies, such as the reform of police structure, which was implemented in 1997-1998.

The ICVS provides the criminal justice bodies with new additional data to better understand Ukrainian crime trends and to compare them with those of other countries. They would also assist in designing crime prevention and control policies at the local and global levels.

Ì ÀǼÓÌÀǾÌÁÍÚÉ Ì ÑÌÑ ÆǾÐÒÀ Ì ÐÀÑÒÓÌ ÈÁÍÈÈ Á ÓÈÐÀÈÌÁ

Ìàòàèèÿ Èìñòáí*

ÌǼóóìàǾìáíúé ìñìñ æǾðòà ìðǻñòóíèáíèè (ICS) ìðííàèèñÿ á ñòíèèòǻ Óèðàèíú ã.Èèááá á ìàðòà 1997 ã èñííàíèáè USM (Óèðàèíèèà ìðííú è èññèááíááíèÿ ðúíèà) ñíáíáñòí ñ Èìñòèðòòí ñíòèíèáèè ÍÁÍ Óèðàèíú. Áíàèèðè-áñèèà çàíèíèè ì ðǻçóèùòàðàì èññèááíááíèÿ áúèè ìáíðàèèáíú á Ìèíèñòáðñòáí Áíóððáííèò Ááè Óèðàèíú, Ìèíèñòáðñòáí Þñòèòèè, Áèááíá ñòàðèñòè-áñèíá óíðàáèáíèá, Óíðàáèáíèá Áíóððáííèá ñèèðèèè Ááíèíèñòáòèè Ìðǻçèááíòà Óèðàèíú, Áíàèèðè-áñèèè óáíðð Áèááíáí óíðàáèáíèÿ ì áíðúáá ñ ìðàáíèçíááííèè ìðǻñòóííñòùþ ÌÁÁ Óèðàèíú.

Á áàèááðà 1997 ìðííáááí èðóáèúé ñòíè ñ ó-áñòèáì ìðǻñòàáèðòáèé UNDP á Èèááá, ÌÁÁ Óèðàèíú è ã.Èèááá, Ááíèíèñòáòèè Ìðǻçèááíòà, èññèááíáàðáèé, çàíèìáðùèòñÿ ìðííèáíáè ìðǻñòóííñòè, æóðíàèèñòíá. Èíóíðíàòèÿ í èðóáèí ñòíèá ððáííèèðíááèáñú á ìðííáíá ñíáíñòáè ÓÓÌ ì ìàèèíáèúííó èáíáèò ðáèááèááíèÿ, ìðííáíá “Ñèðóáòèÿ” ìðǻñ-ñèóáíú ÌÁÁ, áàçàðà “Èèááíèèè Ááñòíèè”.

Ìí ìàðàðèáèì ICS ñááíòíáèáíú ìóáèèèáòèè: Èìñòáíèí Í. *Èèáíèÿá ì ðí ì ðáñòóí ìñòú* - Ìèèèðè-áñèèè èàèíááðú, áúí 2, ìèòÿáðú 1997; Èìñòáíèí Í. *Ìí ãííáÿ ì ìáñáíúáííñòú* (*Ì ááíóíáðíáíúé ì ðíñ æðòà ì ðáñòóí èáèè á Èèááð*) - Ìèèèðè-áñèèè ìðððáð Óèðàèíú, n 19, 1998.

Á ðà-áíèá 1998 ã ááííúá ICS ìá ðǻç ìðǻñòàáèÿèèñú ìá ñáíèíáðáð è èðóáèúò ñòíèáò, ìñáÿùáííúò ñááíòíáèá è ðǻçóèùòàðàì Ìàðèáíáíòñèèò áúáíðíá Á Óèðàèíá á ìàðòà 1998 ã.

Ðàáèúíáÿ ìóáíèá, ìðàèðè-áñèáÿ ñèáçíñòú è ìáðñíáèðèáá ICS á Óèðàèíá, èàè ñèáçúááðò ìáñóæááíèÿ ááí ðǻçóèùòàðíá ìáúáñòááííñòùþ è ìðǻñòàáèðòáèÿè èèáñòè, ñíñòíèð á ñèááòùáí:

1. Á óñèíáèÿò ìáðàçàèòíñòè á Óèðàèíá áðàæáííèíáí ìáúáñòáá, ìáñíááððáíñòáá ááÿòáèúííñòè áèáñòíúò ñòðòèðòð, à òàèèá çáíáðííáí óóóáðáíèÿ ñíòèáèúíí-ÿèííè-áñèíè ñèðóáòèè, ìæèáàòú ìðÿííáí áèÿÿèÿ ñíðíñá ìáúáñòááíííáí ìáíèÿ á èðáíè ìáííèèðè-áñèíè ñòáðá, áàæá ñòíèú àèòóáèúííè èàè ìðíáèáíà ìðǻñòóííñòè, áúèí áú ìðàæááðáíáíí. Ýòí ìñòóíáðáèúíúé ìðíóáññ, è áíáááíèá ðǻçóèùòàðíá ICS á Èèááá ñí ñáááíèÿ áèáñòíúò ñòðòèðòð - ðááèúííèè ðáá á ÿòí ìáíðàáèáíèè.

2. Ðǻçóèùòàðú ICS ìíáòò ìñèóæèðú ìáðáííá-áèúííè èíóíðíàòèííèè ááçíè áèÿ ìðàáíèçàòèè ìàèèíáèúíúò ìðííáíá í áèèðèèèçàòèè áðàæáí, èíóíðúá ìá ìðííáèèèñú á Óèðàèíá ñí ìáñòíÿùááí áðáíáíè.

3. Ñðááè ìáñáèáíèÿ Óèðàèíú ðèðíèí ðáñíðíñòðáííáíú ìááàðèáíúá óñòáííáèè è ìðááíáí ìðááííðÿáèà, -òí óèðáíèÿáòñÿ ìáúèì ìááúñíèèì óðíáíáí áíááðèÿ áðàæááí è èðáíúì áèáñòíúì ñòðòèðòðáí. Ýóóáèèèáíñòú ìáúáèèèáí ìáíáóíáèíúò ìðííááðèðòáèúíèèò ìáð ñí ñòíðíú áèáñòè è ìáññ ìáàèà, èíóíðúá ñíñíáñòáíááèè áú óíðíèðíááíèþ ìðááíáíáí ñíçáíèÿ è ìáó-áíèþ ìáñáèáíèÿ òèáèèèçíááíúì óíðíáí çáùèðú ìò ìðǻñòóííñòè, ìááúñíèá. Ìÿÿòíó ðáñíðíñòðáííèá ñí èáíáèáí ìáàèà èíóíðíàòèè í ñíáíáñòíì ìáñóæááíèè èññèááíáàðáèÿè è ìðǻñòàáèðòáèÿè áèáñòè ðǻçóèùòàðíá ìáèóóíáðíáííáí ìðííáíá èðááè ìóíñèðòáèúíí èò áèèðèèèçàòèííáí ìíòà

* Èìñòèðòò ñíòèíèáèè ÍÁÍ Óèðàèíú.

ááçóñeíáíí ñçèðeáíí ñíááeñoáoáò íóáeè÷íé ìðíáeáíàðeçàòeè áñðñà ìðáñoóííñòè èáè òðááóðááí ñíáíáñoííí ðáøáíéý áðáæáí è áeáñòè.

4. Ðáeñíáíáàòeè ìðááíáí ìðááñðýáeà, èíòíðúá áúeè ñááeáíú íá ññíááíeè ICS, èáñáðòñý ìðáæáá áñááí ñíááðøáíñòáíááíéý ñeèðeèè èò *èíòíðí àòeíííé äðòæúííñòè* è ñáýçè ñ *íáúáñòááííñòòùð* Á ÷áñoííñòè:

- ìðááeíáeáíí óóí÷íeòú ááííúá íòeòèàeúííé ñòàðeñòeèè è ñòàðeñòeèè ÌÁÄ, ÷óí ñíòááòñòáóáò òíé ðááíðá, èíòíðáý ñááíáíý óæá ìðíáíáeòñý ýòeè ìðááíáíe;
- íá ññíááíeè ICS óóí÷íáíú íàòíáeèè èíeè÷áñoááííúò è èá÷áñoááííúò èññeááíááíeé, ìðíáíáeíúò Áíáeèðe÷áñeè Òáíðòñ Áeááííáí óíðááeáíéý ÌÁÄ ñí áíðúáá ñ ìðááíeçíááííé ìðááñoóííñòòùð;
- ìðááñòááeáííúá á ÌÁÄ Óeðáeíú áíáeèðe÷áñeèá ìàðáðeàeú ñí ðáçóeúòàðàì ICS ìðeíýòú è ñááááíeð á ðáçðááíðeá ìðíáðáí, ñíñíáíáñoáóðúèð ðáñíðíñòðáíáíeð á íáúáñòááííí ñíçíáíeè ñíçèðeáííúò ìðááñòááeáíeé í ìeèèeè è ìðááíáò ìðááñðýáeà;
- á ñòáðá ñeèðeèè ñí ñíááðøáíñòáíááíeð ìðááíeçáòeíííé ááýðáeúííñòè ìðááíá ìðááñðýáeà áíáeèðe÷áñeèá áúáíáú ICS ó÷ðáíú á ññóáñòáeáíeè ìðíáðáíú íáíáeáíéý ìðíáññeííáeúííáí èááðíáíáí ññòááá ìeèèeè, èíòíðáý ìðíáíáeòñý íá ìðíðýæáíeè 1997-1998 áá.

Ááííúá ICS ìðááñòááeýðò äeý ìðááíá ìðááñðýáeà è íáúáñòááííñòè áñíeíeðáeúíóð è ñíáóð èíòíðíáòeð, ñíçáíeýðóð çíá÷eðáeúíí óóí÷íeòú ñóúáñòáóðúò èáðòeíó ìðááñoóííñòè á Óeðáeíá á èííòáeñòá ìáæáóíáðíáíúò òáíááíóeé è ìáñòíúò ñíááííñòáé áá ðáñíðíñòðáíáíeý, à òáeæá á èííòáeñòá ñeèðeèè ìðááóíðáæáíéý è áíðúáú ñ ìðááñoóííñòòùð á æeíááeúííé è ìáñòíé ìáðñíáeèeáá.

CRIME VICTIMS IN COUNTRIES OF THE BALKAN REGION

Boyan Stankov*

A seminar on victimisation issues was held in Bulgaria on 20-21 February 1998, and brought together experts from Albania, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Romania and Yugoslavia. It was organised by UNICRI and the Council for Criminological Research of Bulgaria. During the seminar, reports of the ICVS carried out in the above-mentioned countries in 1996-97 were presented and discussed, and the following common problems were highlighted.

1. Crime is on the increase. Victimisation rates are alarming and are linked to the fundamental changes taking place during the transition period and the globalisation of crime.
2. Ineffective institutional control heightens the fear of crime and undermines the idea of a democratic society.
3. Penal policy is inconsistent because of political and economic instability. The issue of victims is underrated.

The following recommendations were adopted:

- To promote victim surveys at the national and international levels, including participation in the fourth sweep of the ICVS in the year 2000.
- As the survey results and analyses have already been presented to policy makers and the mass media in each participating country, to further promote their use in the development of effective crime prevention policies.
- To enhance the rights and protection of victims/witnesses in the criminal justice process with particular attention to women and children. Future victim surveys should pay attention to the role of victims in all phases of the criminal justice process.
- To promote international co-operation among Balkan countries for the development of common strategies on transnational organised crime.
- To promote technical co-operation and regular exchange of information among Balkan countries.
- To promote bilateral and multilateral co-operation among criminological research institutions in the Balkan countries, including information on the most important problems and exchange of literature.
- To present the results of the seminar and its report to the media and policy structures, as well as to academic communities in each participating country. It was also agreed that the report would be presented at the international Conference on "Surveying Crime: A Global Perspective".
- To enhance victim support schemes and promote the establishment of mechanisms for victim compensation beyond the criminal justice system.
- To explore the role of research in the development of training curricula for police, judges, prosecutors and defence lawyers.
- To strengthen contacts with UNICRI and the European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, affiliated to the United Nations (HEUNI).

* Deputy Chairman, Council for Criminological Research, Bulgaria.

- Ðàçàèòù ñòàìù òèíáííáíáí ñááðæàíèý æáðòá è ñòèìóèèðíáàòù ñíçáàíèá ìáòàíèçíá èííáííàòèè äèý æáðòá áíá èðèèèíàèùííè ñóáááíè ñèñòáìù.
- Óñèèèòù ðíèù èññèááíáàíèé á ðàçàèòèè ìðíáðàì ìáó-áíèý ìíèèòèè, ñóááé, èñòóíá è çàùèðíèíá.
- Óñèèèòù èíòàèòù ñ Èíòáððáæííàèùíù èññèááíáàòáèùíèè èíòèèòóòí ì ìðíáèáì ìðáñòóíííòè è ðñòèèè Íáúáæííáíùò ìáèè (ÓÍÈÈÈ) è Ááðíáèíèè èíòèèòóòí ì ìðíáèáì ìðáíòáðáùáíèý ìðáñòóíííòè, èíòèèðíááíù ñ Íáúáæííáíùè ìáèèèè (ÕÁÓÍÈ).

Setting the Research Agenda

METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS CRIME SURVEY

Bill Burnham*

One of the main components of the United Nations data base on crime and justice is the statistical data collected from governments in the five UN Surveys on Crime Trends and the Operations of Criminal Justice Systems. That data set has recently been reconfigured by NIJ/BJS of the US Dept of Justice to make analysis much easier, especially over time periods longer than the five or six years of each sweep. The CICP of UNOV has carried out the work of making it more accessible and easier to manipulate further. Some of the data have been used in the preparation of the "Global Report", and it seems *a priori* likely that research workers will make increasing use of the data set.

A possible matter of concern is the quality of the data, in terms of both the internal reliability and external validity. While it is too late to return to countries to ask for validation of certain statistics, it is feasible to assess the internal reliability. The presenter has developed a methodology for this, and created some examples of it in use on a few subsets of the data. The results have been rather disquieting; but it is emphasised that the results may not be generally true. Rather, each data subset which is to be used in any given analysis should be tested for reliability before the analysis, so that some kind of appropriate level of confidence can be assigned to the results and conclusions of the analysis. The presentation will focus on the methodology.

* United Nations (ex), United Kingdom.

Ì ÁÒÌÁÏËÏÄÈ×ÁÑÈÈÁ ÀÑÌ ÁÈÒÙ ÍÁÇÌÐÀ ÎÐÄÀÏÈÇÀÖÈÈ
ÍÁÚÁÄÈÏÁÍÛÕ ÍÀÖÈÈ Í Ì ÐÁÑÕÕÌ ÍÏÑÒÈ

Ð.Á. Á, ðíõá *

Íáíèì èç ìññáíúõ èññíáíõíá ááçú àáííúõ Íðääíèçàöèè Íáúääèíáííúõ Íáöèè í ìðáñðóíííñðè è þñðèöèè ýáèýþòñý ñðàðèñðè÷áñèèá àáííúá, ñèó÷áííúá ìð ìðááèðáèüñðá á ÿýðè Íáçìðáõ ÍÍ ñ òáíááíòèýì ìðáñðóíííñðè è òóíèöèíèðíááíèþ ñèñðáíú óáíèíáííá ìðááííóáèý. Ýòìð íááíð àáííúõ áúè íááááí ðáèíòèèáóðèðíááí ÑIJ/BJS Ááíáððáíáíòá Þñðèöèè ÑØÀ áèý óíðíúáíèý àíáèèçíá, ìñíááíí áèý áèèííúõ íáðèíáíá áíèáá ÿýðè èèè øáñðè èáð ìáæáó ìðááèüíúè áúíóñèáèè íáçìðá. CÍCP/UNOV áúííèíèè ðááíóð, ñááèèá áíèáá áíñðóííúì è ìðíñðúì ñèüçíááíèá ñèñðáííè á áóáóúáì. Íáèíòíðúá èç àáííúõ áúèè èññíèüçíááíú á ñááíòíáèá Áèíáàèüííáí ìð÷áðá è ñíáí ìðááííèíáèèðú, ÷ðí èññèááííáàðáèè áóáóð áñá ÷àúá ñèüçíááàðúñý íááíðíí àáííúõ.

Íðè ýòíí áíçííáíèè ìðíáèáííè ñíáàð ñòàðú èá÷áñðáí àáííúõ, èáè ñ òí÷èè çðáíèý áíóððáííáè íáááèííñðè, òáè è áíáøíáè áíñòíááðííñðè. Óæá ñèèøèí ñíçáí íáðáúáàðúñý è ñððáíáì çá ñáðááðæááíèáí íáèíòíðúõ ñðàðèñðèè, íáíáèí, ýáèýáðñý áíçííáíúì ñááèàðú ìðáíèó áíóððáííáè íáááèííñðè. Áíèèáá÷èè ðáçðááíðáè ìáðíáíèíáèþ ñ ýðíè óáèüþ è ñááíòíáèè íáèíòíðúá ìðèíáðú áèý óíñðááèáíèý á ñáíííáèáñðáá àáííúõ. Ðáçóèüðáàðú áúèè íáñèíèüèí òðááííáíúè, ñí áúèí óæá ñá÷áðèíóðí, ÷ðí ðáçóèüðáàðú íá áñáááá áúááþð ááðíúè. Ñèíðáá, èáæáíá ñáíííáèáñðáí àáííúõ, èíðíðíá áíèæíí èññíèüçíááàðúñý áèý ñðáááèáííúõ àíáèèçíá, áíèæíí áúðú òáñðèðíááí íá áíñòíááðííñðú ìáðáá ìðíáááíèáí àíáèèçíá òáè, ÷ðíáú ñíáí áúèí áú ìðèáàðú ðáçóèüðáàðú è çáèèþ÷áíèýì àíáèèçá ñðáááèáííúè óðíááíú áíñòíááðííñðè. Íðáçáíðáèý áóááð èííóáíðèðíááàðúñý íá ìáðíáíèíáèè.

* Íðááíèçàöèè Íáúääèíáííúõ Íáöèè, Ááèèíáðèðáíèý.

THE INTERNATIONAL CRIME VICTIM SURVEY IN CENTRAL EUROPEAN AND EURO-ASIAN REGIONS

Purev Erdenebayar*

New democracies of the Central European and Euro-Asian regions need to clarify their priority needs to make a success of the seemingly endless process of the current transition from a single-party political dictatorship based on a centrally planned economy to a multi-party democracy and free market economy. A process that allegedly causes present economic hardship and many other negative effects on their societies, including, *inter alia*, a sharp increase in criminality and a loss of credibility in their governments and elected representatives.

The strength or fate of the new democracies would largely depend on the ability of their legal system to function effectively and to deliver justice. Determination and recognition of their reality is the first important step in this direction.

In particular, today's reality is that of ever increasing numbers of people being held in prisons, while alternative strategies that are equally or more effective in controlling crime and enhancing public safety (many of which with far lower economic and social costs) remain largely ignored. Moreover, many people cannot afford access to police, prosecution services and courts, and those who can are frustrated by their noticeably high costs, lengthy delays and unpredictable results.

In these circumstances, the International Crime Victim Survey can play an invaluable role in these new democracies. Its results can be utilised not only for comparative study but also for policy making in the area of criminal justice and for formulating effective crime prevention measures both at the national and international levels. There is no question that it could assist in reforming the civil justice system by making it more responsive and efficient, and by highlighting the need for victim protection.

On the other hand, the questionnaire, which was used in previous surveys, should undergo further changes so that it can cover almost all the areas related to policy making in general. In particular, it should deal with the judiciary and corrections. It should lay more emphasis on domestic violence, abuse of power by government representatives as well as corruption. Lastly, it should take into consideration the national (domestic) peculiarity of each participating country.

* Chief of Information and Analytical Section, Criminal Police Department, Mongolia.

Ì ÁÆÄÓÍÀÐÌÄÍÛË ÍÁÇÏ Î ÆÐÒÀÀÕ Ì ÐÃÑÒÓÌ ÍÏÑÒË
À ÕÁÍÒÐÀËÛÏ-ÀÄÏÌ ÁËÑËÏ È ÁÄÐÌ-ÀÇËÀÒÑËÏ ÐÃÄËÏÁÕ

Ì óðã Ýðããããããã*

Íáúá äãíñðàðè-ãñèã ñòðãíú òáíòðàëÛÏ-ããðíããñéíãí è áãðí-àçèàòñéíãí ðããéííã äíëæíú ìðíããðèòú ñãíè ìðéíðèòáòíúã òðããíããéý, ÷-òíãú òñíãøí çãããðèòú èãòóèéñý áãñéíã-íú ìðíòãñ ìãðãíãã ìò ìãíãððèéíãí æèòáòíðñéíãí ðãæèà, ìííãúãáðúããíñý ìã ìãííãé ýéííèèã, è ìííãððèéíé äãíñðàðè è ýéííèèã ñãíããíãí ðúíëã. Ìðíòãñ, éíòíðúé ýéíãú ìãòñèããèèãããò ìãíòíýùèã ýéííè-ãñèèã òðóãííòè è ìíãèã äðóãèã ìðèòáòãëÛíú ìíèããñðãéý á òàèèò ìããñòããò, áéèð-ããò, ñðããè ìðí-èò òàèòíðã, òàèèã ðãçèèè ðííò ìðãñòóíííòè è ìããíëã äíããðéý è ìðããèòáëÛíòãò è èçãðãíú ìðããñòããèòáëýì.

Ñèèã èèè ñóãúãã òàèèò ñãúò äãíñðàðèé áóããò çããèñãòú á øèðíéé ìãðã ìò ñíííãííòè èò ìðããíãé ñèñòãíú ðããëÛÏ äãéñòãíããòú è äãðãíòèðíããòú ìðãã è ñíðããããèãíòú. ÐãøèòáëÛííòú è ìðèçãíëã èò ðããëÛííòè áóããò ìãðãúì äãæíú ðããí á ýòí ìãðããéãéè.

Á ÷ãñòííòè, á ìãíòíýúãã äðãíý ãñã áíèãã ðãñòóúãã ÷èñéí èðããé ìãòíãèòñý á òððúìãò á òí äðãíý, èãè ñíããðãíí èãíðèòðòòñý æëòáòíãèèãíúã ñòðãòããèè, éíòíðúã ìãíòíéüéí æã èèè äãæã áíèãã ýóóãèòèãíú á éíòíðéã ìðãñòóíííòè è á óèðãíèãéè ìããñòããííé áãçíãñííòè (è ìíãèã èç éíòíðúò èìãðò ãíðãçãí áíèãã ìèçéòð ýéííè-ãñéòð è ñíòèãëÛíòð ñòíèííòú). Áíèãã òíãí, ìíãèã ìã èìãðò ãííòóíã è ìíèèèè, ìããéíòáëÛíú ìðããíã è ñóãããíú ñòðòèòðã, à òã, éíòíðúã èìãðò äãí, ÷ãñòí ìíòãðòñý ðãçí-ãðíããíúìè èç-çã èò òíðíðí èçããñòíé ãíðíãñòíèííòè, ìããèòáëÛííòè è çãããðãèãè è ìãðãããèããíúìè ðãçóëÛòãòãè.

Á òàèèò òñéíãéýò Ìãæãóíãðíãíé Íáçíð í æãðòããò ìðãñòóíííòè ìãèò èãðãòú çíã-èòáëÛíòð ðíèü á æèçíè òàèèò ñãúò äãíñðàðèé. Áãí ðãçóëÛòãòú ìíãò èñíèüçíããòñý ìã òíèüéí æéý ìðíããããéý èñíãðãèèãíúò èññèããíããéé, ìí òàèèã æéý áúãíðã ìíèèèèè á ìãèãñòè óãíéíãíãí ìðãã è ñóãíðíèçãíãñòã è æéý òíðíèèèèèèè ýóóãèòèãíúò ìãð ìðããíðãðããéý ìðãñòóíèãéé, èãè ìã ìãèííãëÛíí, òàè è ìã ìãæãóíãðíãí òðíãíýò. Áãç ñííãéý ìí ìãèò òàèèã áíãñòè æèèãã á ðãóíðíèèèãéã ñèñòãíú ãðãæããíéíãí ìðãã, äãèãý äãí áíèãã ìòçúã-èãúì è ýóóãèòèãíúì, à òàèèã ìíã-ãðèèãý ìãíãóíãèííòú çãùèòú æãðòã ìðãñòóíííòè.

Ñ äðóãé ñòíðíú, á ãíðííèè, éíòíðúì ìíèüçíããèèñú æéý ìðããúãòùèò èçããéé, äíëæíú áúòú áíããíú ìãéíòíðúã èçíãíãéý ñ òãí, ÷-òíãú ìí ìã ìíèòúããòú ìí-òè ãñã ìãèãñòè, ñãýçãíúã ñ ðãçðããíòéíé ìãèé ìíèèèèè. Á ÷ãñòííòè, ìí äíëæíú çãíèãòúñý ñóãããíé ñèñòãíé è èñíãããèòáëÛíúìè ìãðãè. Ìãíãóíãèí äãòú áíèüèè æèòãíò ìã áíóððãíëã áãííðýãèè ñ ìðèíãíèãí ìãñèèèýý, çéíòíðããèãéè æèèãã ãí ñòíðíú ãííóããðñòããíúò ìðããòããèòãèé, à òàèèã ìã éíðòóíèè. Èðíã òíãí, á ìãçíðã ìãíãóíãèí ó-èòúããòú ìãèííãëÛíú ìííããíííòè èãæíé ó-ãñòãòðúãè ñòðãíú.

* Áã ãðòãí ãò Èðèí èíãéííé Ì ìèèèèè, Ì ìíãéèýý.

FOUR SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL CRIME AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE STATISTICS

Hanns von Hofer*

Future collections of international data should be made more efficient, in order to increase resources available for: extensive data quality control (especially of data stemming from official sources); and in-depth analyses of the results (such as the forthcoming "Global Report on Crime and Justice").

Thus, efforts could be made to ensure that the national authorities responsible for the dissemination of statistics feel constrained to publish basic crime and criminal justice statistics in an internationally comparable format. To this end, organisations such as UNICRI could design suitable models. It is a researcher's dream to have access to many national web-sites with similar and up to date information.

I would also like to see more publications - not standardised and written from a purely domestic standpoint - like the English Home Office's "Information on the Criminal Justice System in England and Wales" (1995), the German Federal Ministry of Justice's "Criminal Justice in Germany. Facts and Figures" (1997) or the French Ministry of Justice's "Les chiffres-clés de la Justice" (1998). The publication of such booklets should be encouraged, because they reveal important national idiosyncrasies which can easily be lost in "formatted" international comparisons. (Needless to say, these publications are of undisputed value in their own right.)

Finally, if there is a need to collect new data sets or to supplement existing sets, I would suggest choosing data relating to the means of legal coercion (such as pre-trial detention, personal search, wire-tapping, seizure/confiscation, blood testing, etc.). These legal measures and their applications are extremely important from a human rights perspective and are probably very sensitive indicators of the ways in which state power is being exercised.

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FUTURE CRIMINOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN ALBANIA

Vasilika Hysi*

Albanian society is still in a period of transition. This process is rather a difficult one, accompanied by positive and negative developments. A summary of these developments is presented as follows:

- Increase of unemployment, high levels of poverty among a large number of Albanian families, changes in life styles and in the family structure.
- Development of private enterprises and weakness of state control over them. Fiscal evasion has choked the Albanian economy.
- Increase of political conflicts at the party level as well as among individuals.
- Quantitative and qualitative changes in criminality. New types of crimes are appearing, i.e. organised crime, economic crime, traffic of drugs and weapons, prostitution, etc.
- Corruption and large-scale crime are exasperating the transition of the Albanian society.
- The cost of crime has reached high levels, particularly after 1997.
- Violence is present everywhere, particularly after 1997 when Albanians became self armed.
- The justice system and the police suffered moral, human and material consequences. These organs are still not efficient enough to fight crimes.
- Co-operation between the police and justice organs and the public has not reached the required level.
- People feel insecure about their future, given the lack of security and public order.

The main objectives of the Albanian Government are the establishment of peace and order, to fight organised crime, corruption, trafficking in firearms and drugs, prostitution, etc. The lack of fulfillment of these objectives has been a very serious barrier for the rule of law and foreign investment in Albania.

Taking into consideration the situation described above, the absence of the prognosis of crime and the appropriate strategies and policies to prevent crime and criminality, we would like to suggest the need for criminological research. (Up to now a number of national and international studies have been carried out. For example, the 1996 International Crime Victim Survey co-ordinated by UNICRI, a survey on corruption organised by the World Bank and the Albanian Center for Economic Studies, NGO surveys, etc. Studies in the area of criminal justice have been rather few, due to lack of funds and because this kind of study is in its first stages.) *This research should be part of the Action Plan. There should be theoretical research but also concrete programmes in the field of the prevention of crime and criminality.*

The research should give priority to the following issues:

1. The involvement of Albania in the International Crime Victim Survey, making some changes regarding the areas as well as the contents of the questionnaire.
2. Scientific research should involve organised crime, and crime committed by or against businessmen.
3. The timely prevention of crime should be one of the areas which should be given great attention by criminologists, sociologists and social workers.

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4. Organised crime, trafficking in arms and drugs, and prostitution should be the object of research at the national, as well as the multi-, bilateral, regional and international levels.
5. Studies of penitentiaries should aim at adopting contemporary programmes for the rehabilitation and integration of the sentenced persons into society, alternative sentences, involvement of the community, etc.
6. The reorganisation and development of the criminal justice system should be given priority by policy makers in order to create effective policies.
7. Latent crime, police and crime prevention.

Criminological studies must provide timely predictions of reforms of crime policies, in order to carry out successful scientific research. The foreign assistance of different institutions must focus on the priorities decided on by the Albanian party.

Alongside criminological studies, specialised international bodies carrying out surveys and research on crime-related issues must continue to assist in the conduct of training courses, seminars, round tables involving the participation of Albanian experts.

ÈÇÌ ÁÐÁÍÈÁ ÒÐÁÍΝΙΑ ÒÈÍΙΑ ÈÛÍÈ È Ì ÐΑΝΘΟΪ ÍÎΝÒÈ Á ÍÁÈΑΝΘÈ ÝÈÍÎ ÈÈÈ

Áαηέεεεα Õεñ*

Aεááíñεíá íáυáñòáí áñ, áυ, íαóíαεòñý á ñòáαεε íáðáóíáα. Ýòíò íðíοáññ áíñòáòí-íí òýæ, èúé, ññðíáíæáðπυέéñý íçεèεáíúìε è íááαèεáíúìε ðαçáεèεýìε. Èííñíáεò ýðεò ðαçáεèεé ðááñòááεáí á ñεááòπυáí:

- Óááεè-áíεá ááçðááíðεòú, áúñíεεá óðíáíε áááíñòε ñðááε áíεúøíáí ÷εñεá Áεááíñεèò ñáíáé, èçíáíáíεý á íáðαçá æεçíε è á ñòðóεèòðá ñáíáé.
- Ðαçáεèεá ÷áñðíúò ðááíðεýðεé è ññεááεáíεá áíñóááðñòááíñáí εííððíεý çá íεìε. Õεñεáεúíúá óεεíáíεý, çááεòøáðπυεá ýéííñεéò Áεááíεε.
- Óááεè-áíεá ñεεèε-áñεεò εííóεεéòíá εáε á íáðèε, ðáε è ñðááε εíáεáεáóáεíá.
- Èíεε-áñòááíúá è εá-áñòááíúá èçíáíáíεý á ðáñòóííñòε. Íýáεáíεá ííáúò òεííá ðáñòóííñòε, ò.á. ðááíεçíááíáý ðáñòóííñòú, ýéííñε-áñεáý ðáñòóííñòú, òíðáíáεý ðáðéíðεεáìε è ðóáεáì, ðíñòεèòóεý è ò.á.
- Èíððóíòεý è εðóíííáñøááíáý ðáñòóííñòú áúçúáááð íáíáíááíεá íáυáñòáá Áεááíεε, íαóíáýúááñý á ðáðáóíáíε ñòáαεε.
- Õáíá ðáñòóíεáíεε áñòεáεá áúñíεíáí óðíáíý, ññááíí ññεá 1997.
- Íáñεεεá ðεñóðñðáóáð áñπáó, ññááíí ññεá 1997, εíááα á Áεááíεε íáðαçíááεáñú ñáíý áðíεý.
- Ñεñòáíá ðááíñóáεý è ñεεòεý ðáðáðíáááεε ñððááíεý ðááεúíúá, ÷áéíáá-áñεεá è ðáðáðεáεúíúá ç áúðáεáðπυεìε ðñπáá ññεááñòáεýìε. Ýðε ðááíú áυ, íá áñòáòí-íí ýðááεèεáú áεý áíðυáú ñ ðáñòóííñòúπ.
- Ñíððóáíε-áñòáí íáæáó ñεεòεáé, ðááíáìε ðááíñóáεý è íáυáñòááíñòúπ ðá áñòεáεí íáíáóíáεííáí óðíáíý.
- Èπáε ÷ááñòáóðð íáíáá,æíñòú ñáíááí áóáóúááí, èç-çá íáðááèèε ááçííáñíñòε è íáυáñòááíñáí ñðýáεá.

Íññáíúá óáεε Áεááíñεíáí ðááεèðáευñðáá - óñòáíáεáíεá ðεðá è ñðýáεá, áíðυáú ñ ðááíεçíááííε ðáñòóííñòúπ, εíððóíòεáé, òíðáíáεáé íáíáñòááευííáí ððóáεý è ðáðéíðεεáìε, ðíñòεèòóεáé è ò.á. Íááñòáòí-ííá áúñíεáíεá ýðεò çááá- ýáεýáðñý í-áíú ñáðú,çíúí ááðυáðñí áεý ðááεε Çáεííá è εíñòðáíúò εíááñòεèε á Áεááíεπ.

ðεíεíáý áí áíεíáíεá ñεðóáòεπ ñεñáííóπ áúøá, ðñóðñðáεá ðíáíçíá ðáñòóíεáíεý è ññòááðñòáóπυεò ñððáðááεé è ññεèèεε ðááíðáðáúáíεý ðáñòóíεáíεý è ðáñòóííñòε, ðú òíðεì ðááéíáεèòú íáíáóíáεíñòú εðεìεíεíáε-áñεíáí εññεááíááíεý. (Áí ñááíáíýøíááí áíý, íáéíòíðá ÷εñéí íáòéííáεúíúò è εíðáðíáòéííáεúíúò óðíεíá áúεí εçó-áí. Íáíðεíáð, 1996 ðááóíáðíáíá Èññεááíááíεá ñ ðáñòóííñòε á Íáεáñòε Èíððóíòεε è á, Áεáððá ñá ðóéíáíáñòáí ΠÍÈÈÈÈ, εññεááíááíεá εíððóíòεε ðááíεçíááííá ðεðíáúí Ááíεñ è Áεááíñεéí Õáíððñ Ýéííñε-áñεíáí Èçó-áíεý, εññεááíááíεé ÍÁÍ, ò.á. Èçó-áíεé á íáεáñòε óáíεíáíáí ðááíñóáεý εíááðñý ñíáñáí ðáéí, èç-çá íááñòáèεá òííáíá è ðáéáéá ýòð áεá èçó-áíεý ðááñòááεýáð ðáðáúá øááε.) Ýðε εññεááíááíεý áíεáú áú ññòááèèòú ÷áñòú Áεèèáíáí Í εáú. Ííε áíεáú áú áúðú è òáððε-áíεεá εññεááíááíεý; á ðáéááí εííεðáíúá í ðíáðáí ðú á íáéáñòε í ðáíðáðáúáíεýí ðáñòóí εáéé è ðáñòóí ðñòε.

Èññεááíááíεá áíεáí ááðú ðéíðεèðáð ñεááòπυεì εçááíεýì:

* Óáεεíáíεé Áá ððáí áð, Õéááññεèðá Õεðáíú, Áεááíεý

8. Íðeæá-áíeá Àeááíeè á Íææóíáðíííá Ëññeáííáíeá íí Íðáñðóíííñðè á Íæeñðè Ëíððóíøè è á, Æáððá, ñíçáíeá íæíøíðúø eçíáíeé èæ á ýóíe ñáððá, òæ è á êíðáeñðá áíðíííeá.
9. Íáó-ííá eññeáííáíeá áíeæíí ðáññíàððeáaðú èçó-áíeý íá íðááíeçíááííe íðáñðóíííñðè, í ñíááðø, ííúø íðáñðóíeáíeýø áeçíáííáíe è íðíðeá íeð.
10. Ñáíááðáíííá íðááíðáðáíeá íðáñðóíeáíeé áíeæíí íðááñðáæýðú íáíó eç íæeñðáé, êíðíðáý íeææð áíeüøíá áíeíáíeá æý êðeíeííeííá, ñíøeíeííá è ñíøeæüíúð ðááí-èð.
11. Íðááíeçíááííá íðáñðóíííñðú, òíðáíeý íðóæè à è íáðeíðeèàè, íðíñðeðóøèý áñ, ýóí áíeæíí áúðú íáúáeðñ eññeáííáíeý íííííáøeííeüíúð, ááóñðíðííeè è íæðáæííeüíúð óðííáíe.
12. Èçó-áíeá eñíðáæðáeüííe ñeñðáíú áíeæíí áúðú óæüþ íðeíýðèý ñíáðáíííúð íðíáðáí æý ðááæeèðáøè è eíðááðáøè íñóæá, ííúø eþááé, áíçáðáàþùeðñý á íáúáñðáí, àeüðáðíáðeáá ñóááíúð ðáøáíeé, çàððóáíeðáeüííñðú íáúáíeý á íáúáñðáá, ò.á.
13. Ðáíðááíeçáøèý è ðáçáèðeá ñeñðáíú óáíeíííáí íðááííóæý, êíðíðíó áíeæáí áúðú ááí íðeíðeðáð ííeèðe-áñeèèè æýðáeýíè æý ñíçááíeý ýóðáèðeáííe ííeèðeèè.
14. Ñèðúðáý íðáñðóíííñðú è íðááíðáðáíeá íðáñðóíííñðè.

Èçó-áíeý êðeíeííeííeè áíeæíí íááííá-eáaðú ñáíááðáíííúá íðááñeàçáíeý ðáóíðí ííeèðeèè íðáñðóíeáíeý, æý òíí ð-òíáú ííeó-èèú óñíáøííá íáó-ííá eññeáííáíeá. Ëíñððáííáý íííú ðáçeè-íúð ó-áðáæáíeé áíeæíá óíeóñeðííáðú íðeíðeðáðú ðáøáíeé íáððeáé Àeááíeè.

Íáðýáó ñ êðeíeííeííeè-áñeèèè èçó-áíeýíè, ñíáøeàeüííá íææóíáðíííá íðááíí, ñíçáàþùeá èçó-áíeý è eññeáííáíeý áíðíííá, èáñáþùeðñý êðeíeíeüííñðè, áíeæíí íðíííeæaðú íeàçáíeá íííúè á íðíáááíeè íáó-áþùeð eóðñíá, ñáíeíáðíá, êðóæüð ñòíeíá íðeæeáeý é ó-áñðeþ ýeñíáððóíá eç Àeááíeè.

MEASURING TRANSNATIONAL ECONOMIC CRIME

Michael Levi*

The sphere of international crime statistics presents us with sufficient problems when dealing with issues that are already well known (though not always reflected upon), such as official crime statistics and individual victimisation surveys. With other, as yet less developed areas, we do not have an opportunity to harmonise before individual national structures become embedded and therefore become difficult to change. This is particularly important in the arena of crimes by and against corporations, and the still more difficult task - implicit in organised crime surveys - of marrying up crimes which may or may not have specific, definable victims with forms of offender collusion of which the victims (if any) may be ignorant or misinformed. This may be true a fortiori of attempts to measure transnational organised crime and transnational fraud, whether against individuals or against corporations and governments. The paper will discuss some of these problems and the related problems of measuring money-laundering.

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ÈÇÌ ÁÐÁÍÈÀ ÒÐÁÍÑÌÀÕÈÏÌÀËÛÏÏÈ Ì ÐÃÑÒÕÌ ÏÑÒÈ Á ÌÁÈÃÑÒÈ ÝÈÏÏ ÈÈÈ

Ì àééè Èãè*

Ñóãðà ñòàðèñòèèè ìáæáóíáðíáíé ìðãñòóííñòè ñòááèò ìáðáá ìàè àíñòàðí-ííà èíèè-áñòáí ìðíáéàì áàæá, èíááà ìú çàíèìááíñý óæá õíðíõí èçááñòíííè àíðííàìè (õíòý è ìá áñáááá õíðíõí ìðíáóíáíííè), òáèèè èàè ìèòèèáèííá ñòàðèñòèèè ì ìðãñòóííñòè è ìáçíðú ì áèèòèèèçàòèè. Ñ áðóáèè, áúá ìááíñòàðí-íí èçó-áíííè ñóáðáìè, ìú ìá èìáì áíçíæíñòè ìçíáèíèòóñý èó-øá ìðáæáá -áì ìáòèíáèííá ñòðóéòóðú çàðááðááò è, ñèááíáàðáèíí, èò áóááò òðóáí èçíáèòú. Ýóì ìíááíí ááæí á ìáèñòè ìðãñòóííáíé, ñíááðóáííó èíðíðáòèýì è ìðíèá èíðíðáòèè, è á áúá áíèáá òðóáíé çàáá-á - ìáðáçóíáááòèñý á ìáçíðáò ìðááíèçíááííé ìðãñòóííñòè - èàè ñí-áòáíèá ìðãñòóííáíé, á èíòíðú ìáóò áúòú èèè ìá áúòú ñíáòèòè-áñèèá, ìðáááèèííá æáðóáú ñ õíðíàìè ñáíáíðà ìðãñòóííèíá, èíòíðúá æáðóáú (áñèè òáèíáúá áñòú) ìáóò èáíðèðíáàòú èèè áúòú í ìèò áèçèíòíèðíááíííè. Ýóì ìæáò áúòú òáè è òáì áíèáá ìðè ìíúòèáò èçíáèòú òðáííáòèíáèííá ìðááíèçíááííó ìðãñòóííñòú è òðáííáòèíáèííá ìðáíè-áñòáí, èàè ìðíèá ìðááèííó èèò, òáè è ìðíèá èíðíðáòèè è ìðááèòáèííá. Ìáñòíýòèè áíèóíáò áóááò òáñíáòðèèáàòú ìáèíòíðúá èç ýòèò ìðíáéàì è ñáýçáííó ñ ìè ìðíáéàì èçíáðáíèý óáííáíá ìòíúááíèý áðýçíúò ááíáá.

* Èáðáèòèèè Óíèááðíèòáð, Áæèèáðèòáíèý.

INTEGRATION OF THE ICVS IN THE REGULAR CRIMINAL JUSTICE STATISTICAL PROGRAMMES

Zoran Pavlovic*

We learned a lot in the two 1992 and 1997 sweeps of the ICVS in Ljubljana and Slovenia, and we look forward to learning even more in the next sweeps - the material we obtain gets more interesting with each round. In the future we would like, among other things, to devote even more attention to the fear of crime issues and the factors influencing it, which seem to be many and complex. Finding the right question to subjectively assess the vulnerability of the respondent might be the right way to do this, because it is such an assessment that influences people's behaviour and strategies regarding taking risks or avoiding unsafe situations, and therefore also in reducing their fear of crime.

Apart from the issues addressed by the survey, we have also learned a lot about the social context in which a research project can prosper or fade out. An academic interest in crime and victims issues is quite a legitimate reason for starting and carrying out a research project. Yet, if only scientific curiosity is fulfilled by it, a lot remains to be desired.

The 1992 survey in Slovenia did not have a sponsor and therefore the Institute had to make it very cost-effective by using a minimum sample and a city survey frame. It is also unclear who the end user of the results will be if there are no sponsors. We took advantage of several opportunities to promote the survey findings among the public and to inform some police officials about its interesting highlights. Although the information was accepted with interest, it was still felt that we had not made an impact on any policy-making party, or gained a long-term application partner (while we were pleased to note that the survey method and results attracted the interest of academic circles abroad). Therefore, the structure of the 1992 UNICRI Conference in Rome made a lot of sense to us. Just to remind you, national co-ordinators and officials of Ministries of the Interior were invited to participate, with the idea of linking study findings to policy planning. Yet little changed, and we had a lot of trouble in securing financial support for the second sweep. Although the Ministry of Interior did participate in its financing, the bulk of the funds came from the Ministry of Science and Technology (UNICRI also provided some support), meaning that the project still relied mainly on academic interest. Following the second sweep, a dialogue was developed with certain offices within the Ministry of Interior; notably, the people who expressed the most interest in ICVS data were colleagues working on research and analysis duties within the Ministry, who have similar difficulties in persuading decision-makers to base their decisions on knowledge and information.

In recent years, we have also been developing a dialogue with the National Statistical Office. Upon the presentation of the results of the 1992 sweep to them, the experts from the Office soon realised that the survey addresses a significant uncovered area of information in our country, on which no national or local victim surveys are carried out and for which official crime and justice statistics do not tell the full story. Co-operation with the Office resulted in the publication we are pleased to be able to present on this occasion: an official crime and justice statistics publication for the year 1996, accompanied by a chapter on the main findings of the 1997 ICVS in Slovenia.

The publication is a "concrete" result of our co-operation, but not the only one. Several other important steps have been made during the last year. An expert co-council at the Statistical Office (composed of representatives of the Office, Ministries of Interior and Justice, State Prosecutor's Office and the Institute of Criminology) has supported an idea to establish a permanent commission for the co-ordination of crime and justice statistics. It has

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also supported an idea to include the ICVS in the official national programme of statistical research - the co-council was also the first official filter the survey had to pass through to get there.

There is no doubt that both decisions are of paramount importance for the future of the ICVS in Slovenia. The survey needs to have stable sources of financing, and needs to have its importance recognised by the official statistics managers, and thus as a result, by the end users - the policy makers. In a national context, a financial commitment does not only mean the survival of the project. It also increases the probability that the information produced will actually be used for the common good. On the other hand, co-ordination in crime and justice statistics will enhance existing information exchange, and thus allow us to do more of what we should be doing anyway, i.e. reading and interpreting ICVS data in the context of other available data on crime and the population's attitudes.

The structure of the 1998 UNICRI conference is obviously completely in line with the development of the survey in the social context of Slovenia. We very much welcome this effort to link research, official statistics and policy making into a more efficient network, in which each part would through synergy produce a better output, while the financial and human resources invested in them have already been huge. We feel that this is the right direction to take.

ΕΙΔΑΔΑΟΕΒ Ι ΕΑΙ Α ΔΑΑΟΕΒΔΙΙ ΕΔΕΙ ΕΙΑΕΥΙΙ Ι ΔΑΑΙΝΟΑΕΕ ΝΟΑΟΕΝΟΕ×ΑΝΕΕΟ Ι ΔΙΑΔΑΙ Ι

Çìðàì Ì ààéíàε-*

Ìú óçíàεε ìíáíà εç äàóó εçàáíεε Ìàεαóíàðíáííáí Ìáçíðà ì æàððààì ìðàíðóóííííðε (ICVS) 1992 ε 1997 áíáíà á Èðáεýíà ε Ñεíááíεε ε ìú ìæεääàì óçíàðú àúà áíεää εç äàóó ñεääóðùεð εçàáíεε - ìεó-ááíúε ìáìε ìàðáðεàε ñðàííàεðíý ñ εàæáúì ðàçíì áíà áíεää εíðáðáííúì. Á áóáóóàì ìú òíðáεε áú, ñðááε ìíáí áððáíáí, -ðíáú áíεúðáá áíεìáíεá óááεýεííú áíðííàì ñððàòà ìáðáá ìðàíðóóíεáíεýìε ε áεéýðùεð ìá ìáíí òáεòíðíá, εíðíðúá εàεóðíý ìíáí-εñεáííúìε ε ñεíáíúìε. Ìíεñεε ìðááεεúíí ìííðááεáííáí áíðííà áεý ñóáúáεðεáííε ìáííεε óýçáεíííðε ìððáðεáááíúð ìíæáð ìεàçàðúíý ìáεáíεáá ìðááεεúíú ðáðáíεáì, òáε εáε εìáíí òáεáý ìáííεá áεéýàð ìá ìíáááíεá εðááε ε εð ìíáçíá ìá ìðεíýðεá ðεñεá εεε εçáááεáíεý ðεñéíááííúð ñεðóáòεε, à ñεáíáíáððáεúíí òáεεá ìá ñíεááíεá εð ìíáíáíεε.

Ìáðýáó ñ òáíáìε, εíðíðúìε çáíεìááðíý ìáçíð, ìú òáεεá óçíàεε ìíáí ì ñíðεáεúíí εíðóáεíðá, á εíðíðíí ìðíáεð εññεááíáíáíεε ìíæáð ìðíðááòáðú εεε çááýíóðú. Áεáááìε-áíεεε εíðáðáí ε áíðííàì ìðàíðóóíííðε ε æàððááì ìðàíðóóíííðε ýáεýáðíý áííεá çáεíííε ìðε-εííε áεý ìá-áεá ε ðáááεçáðεε ìðíáεðá εññεááíáíáíεε. Ìáíáεí, áíεε ìðε ýðíí óáíáεáððáíðýáðíý òíεúéí áεáááìε-áíεεε εíðáðáí, òí ìíáíà àúà ìíðááðíý ñááεàðú.

Ó Ìáçíðà 1992 áíáá á Ñεíááíεε ìá áúεí ñííííðá ε ñεáíáíáððáεúíí Èííðεðóð áúíðáááí áúε ñááíðε ðáíðíáú ε ìεíεíðíó, ìáðáíε-εáðεíú ìεíεìáεúíú εíεε-áíðáíí ìðíííá ε òíεúéí á ìðááεαð áíðíáá. Èðíá òíáí, ìáýííí εðí áíεεáí áúðú εííá-íúì ñεúçíááðáεáì ñεó-áííúð ðáçóεúðáðíá á ñεó-áá ìðíðóíðáεý ñíííðíá. Ìú áíííεúçíááεεíú áíáìε áíçííáíííðýìε áεý òíáí, -ðíáú ìðííáááíáεðíááðú ðáçóεúðáðú ìáçíðá ñðááε ìáíáεáíεý ε -ðíáú ìðíεíðíðíεðíááðú ñíððóáíεéíá ìíεεðε ìá εíðáðáííúð áúáíááð. Óíðý òáεáý εíðíðáçéý áúεá ìðεíýðá ñ εíðáðáííí, ó ìáí áíá-ðáεε ìíðáááεííú áíá-àðεáíεá, -ðí ìú ìá ìεàçáεε áíçááεíðáεá ìá εðóáε, ìðεìáðùεá ìíεεðε-áíεεá ðáðáíεý, ε ìá ìáðεε ìáððíáðá ìá áεεðáεúííá áðáíý (á òí áðáíý εáε ìú ñ óáíáεáððáíðáíεáì ìáíáðεεε εíðáðáí çáððóááíúð áεáááìε-áíεεεð εðóáíá ε ìðεìáíýáìú ìáðíááì ε ìíεó-áííú ðáçóεúðáðáì). Ìýðííó ìðááíεçáðεííáý ñððóεðóðá ðεííéíε Èííðáðáíεε UNICRI á 1992 áíáó εìáεá áíεúðá çíá-áíεá áεý ìáí. Ìáííεí, -ðí áúεε ìðεáεáðáíú εííðáεíáðíðú ε ñíððóáíεε Ìεíεíðáðíðáá Áíóððáíεε Ááε ñ ìáíáðáíεáì ñáýçáðú ðáçóεúðáðú εññεááíáíáíεε ñ ìεáíεðíááíεáì ìíεεðεεε. Ìáíáεí, ìáεí -ðí εçíáíεéííú ε ìáì ìðεðεííú ìðáíáíεáðú ìíáí òððáííðáε á εçúíεáíεε òεíáííεðíááíεý áεý áðíðíáí εçááíεý. Óíðý Ìεíεíðáðíðáá Áíóððáíεε Ááε ìðεíýéí ó-áíðεá á òεíáííεðíááíεε, ìííáíúá òíáú áúεε áúááεáíú Ìεíεíðáðíðáí Ìáóεε ε Óáðííεíáεε (UNICRI òáεεá áíáí ñáíε áεεáá), -ðí ìçíá-ááð, -ðí ìðíáεð áíá àúà ìðíáíεεáε ááðæáðúíý ìá áεáááìε-áíεéí εíðáðáíá. Ìííεá áðíðíáí εçááíεý áúε çááýçáí áεáéíá ñ ìáεíðíðúìε ìáááεáìε Ìεíεíðáðíðáá Áíóððáíεε Ááε; ì-ááεáíí, ìáεáíεúðεε εíðáðáí ε ááííú Ìáçíðá ICVS áúε ìðíýáεáí εíεεáááìε, ðááíðáðùεìε á ìáεáíðε εññεááíáíáíεε ε áíáεεçá áíóððε Ìεíεíðáðíðáá Áíóððáíεε Ááε, εíðíðúá òáεεá εìáεε òððáííðε á ìíúðεá óáááεðú εεð, ìðεíεìáðùεð ðáðáíεý, ìííáúááðú ñáíε ðáðáíεý ìá çíáíεýð ε εíðíðáçéε.

Á ìííεááíεá áíáú ìú óíðáííáεεε εííðáεðú òáεεá ñ Ìáöεííáεúíú Èííðεðóðíí Ñðáðεíðεεε. Ìííεá ìðáçáíðáçéε ðáçóεúðáðíá ìáçíðá 1992 áíáá ñíððóáíεεáì

* Èííðεðóð Èðεí εííεáεε ì ðε ððεáε-áíεíí Óáεóεúðáá Ñεíááíεý.

Éíndèòóòà, yòè ìnnèààíèà ñðàçó æá ìíyèè, ÷òí òàíù Íàçíðà, èàñàpòñy ñàèòíðíà èíòíðíàòèè, ìíèà àùà íà èìàpùèòñy á íàøáé ñòðàíà, ààà ìíèà àùà íà áúèí ñààèàí íàçíðíà í æàðòààð ìðàñòóíííndè ìè íàèèíàèùíí, ìè íà ìàñòíí óðíàíyò è ì èíòíðíù íòèòèàèùííà ñòàðèñðèèè ì ìðàñòóíííndè è ñndèòèè íà ààpò ìííé èàððèíù. Á ðàçóèùòàðà ñíðóáíè-àñòàà ñ Èíndèòóòí Ñòàðèñðèèè áúèà ìààíòíàèáí àíèòíàíò, èíòíðúé ìù èìààí óáííàèùñòàèè ìðàñòààèòù ààí: íòèòèàèùííày ñòàðèñðèèè à íàèàñðè ìðàñòóíííndè è óáííàííàí ìðààà çà 1996 àíà ñ ìòààèùííé àèàáíé, ìñàyùáííé ìñíáíù ðàçóèùòàðà ICVS á 1997 àíáó à Ñèíàáíèè.

Ýòà íóáèèààòèy yàèyàòñy "èííèðàòíù", ì íà ààèíòàáííù ðàçóèùòàòí íàøáí ñíðòóáíè-àñòàà. Íííàè àðóàèà ààæííà øààè áúèè ñààèáíù á òà-áíèà ìíñèáííàí àíàà. Ñíáíàñòíúé ñíáàð ìðè Èíndèòóòà Ñòàðèñðèèè (ñíñòíyúèé èç ìðàñòàèèàðàèé Èíndèòóòà, Ìèíèòàðñòàà Áíóððáíéò Áàè è Ìèíèòàðñòàà Ñndèòèè è Èíndèòóòà Èðèèèíèàèè) ìààáðàè èààp ñíçàáíèy ìñòíyííé èíèññèè àèy èíðàèíèðíààíèy ñòàðèñðèèè á íàèàñðè ìðàñòóíííndè è ñndèòèè. Í òàèèà ìààáðàè èààp í àèèp-áíèè ICVS á íòèòèàèùííòp íàèèíàèùííòp ìðíàðàñò ñòàðèñðèè-àñèèò èññèàáííàíèè - yòíò ñíáàð áúè òàèèà ìàðàùí íòèòèàèùííù òèèùòíí, ÷àðàç èíòíðúé àíèèáí áúè ìðíèðè ìàçíð.

Áàç ñííáíèy íàà yòè ðàøáíèy èìàpò ìàðàñòàíííà çíà-áíèà àèy áóáòùááí ICVS á Ñèíàáíèè. Íàçíð íóáèèàòñy á ñòààèèùííò èñòí-íèèàð òèíàíèðíàáíèy, à òàèèà á ìðèçíáíèè ààèíñðè àáí òóíèòèè ìàíààèðàíè íòèòèàèùííé ñòàðèñðèèè è á ðàçóèùòàðà òàèèà èííà-ííèè ìèùçíààðàèyíè - ìíèèòè-àñèèè ààyòàèyíè. Á íàèèíàèùííù èííòàèñòà òèíàííàíùá íáçàòàèùñòàà íçíà-àpò íà òíèùéí àùæàáíèà ìðíàèòà. Ýòí òàèèà óááèè-èàààð øáíí, ÷òí àùàáíày èíòíðíàòèy ààèñòàèèòàèùíí áóáàð ñèóàèòù íàúáé óàèè. Ñ àðóáíé ñòíðíù, èíðàèíàòèy ñòàðèñðèèè ì ìðàñòóíííndè è èðèèèàèùííé ñndèòèè óèðáíèò ñòùàñòàòpùèé íáíáí èíòíðíàòèè è yòí ìçáíèèò íàí ñààèòù, áí àñyèíí ñèó-àà, áíèùøá, ÷àí ìù ààèààí á ìàñòíyùáà àðàíy, à ò.à. ÷èòàòù è èíòàíðàèèðíààòù àáííùá ICVS á èííòàèñòà àðóàèò èìàpùèòñy àáííùò ì ìðàñòóíííndè è ìòíøáíèy è íàíò íàñàèáíèy.

Ñòðòèòóòà èííòàðáíèè UNICRI 1998 àíàà àñòàñòàáíí ìàòíàèòñy á ìíèíí ñíðààòñòàèè ñ ðàçàèèèàí íàçíðà á ñíòèàèùíí èííòàèñòà Ñèíàáíèè. Ìù ìðèààòñòàòàí yòí òñèèèà ñàyçàòù èññèàáííàèy, íòèòèàèùííòp ñòàðèñðèèèò è ìíèèèèò á áíèàà yòòàèèèáíòp ñàòù, á èíòíðíé èàèàày ÷àñòù áóáàò àùàààòù ñ ìííùùp ñèíàðàèè èó-øòp èíòíðíàòèèp, òàè èàè óàè èíàñòèðíàáííùá òèíàííàíùá è èpàñèèà ðàñòðñù ààèñòàèèòàèùíí íàðñíù. Ìù áóíààí, ÷òí yòí ìðààèèùííé íòòù.

Conference Report

CONFERENCE REPORT

Patricia Mayhew*

The Conference on “Surveying Crime: A Global Perspective” has brought together over one hundred specialists from more than forty countries who have both considerable interest and considerable expertise in international comparisons of crime and criminal justice. They are a unique selection of criminologists, statisticians and top-level criminal justice administrators meeting for the first time ever at an international event. This international Conference is a result of joint efforts by the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Justice of the Netherlands, the Italian Institute of Statistics (ISTAT), the Council of Europe and UNICRI.

The opening session, chaired by Alberto Bradanini, Officer-in-Charge of UNICRI, explained the Conference's objective: to bring together those agencies and individuals interested in understanding and preventing crime on the basis of the most reliable information. These experts were concerned to look at quantitative and qualitative data on crime and the workings of criminal justice, both from an international as well as from a national perspective. The title of the Conference: “Surveying Crime: A Global Perspective” - reflected this. The organisers shared this view, reflecting as it does the perspective of the United Nations that the division between what is local and what is global is fast disappearing.

In the first session, and indeed in other sessions, we appreciated the immense improvement in knowledge about crime across the world. Among the responsibilities of the international community for using this new information, one should bear in mind the following goals:

- (i) firstly, to better inform academic criminological debate;
- (ii) secondly to encourage other countries to improve their statistics; and
- (i) thirdly, and most important, to improve policies on reducing crime and managing the system of criminal justice better.

Graeme Newman of the University of Albany, USA, reported the state of play with the “Global Report on Crime and Justice” that draws together data from the UN Survey of Crime Trends and the Operations of Criminal Justice Systems, and the International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS). He promised that the “Global Report” will appear next March or so. It will be a unique document, which no doubt will generate the highest level of interest. However, some of the data it contains may not reach the highest level of reliability. This point was underscored later by William Burnham in his presentation on the consolidated data of all five rounds of the UN Crime Survey carried out to date. This consolidation of data was sponsored by the National Institute of Justice, US, and is an example of the appreciative assistance given to the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programme. Professor Newman presented a summary of the main findings of the “Global Report”, among which were the following:

- First, imprisonment rates are not generally related to either crime rates or levels of economic development. Clearly, political contexts determine the “prison response” to crime, rather than the “real” threat that crime presents.
- Second, it is no longer clear, from police figures at least, that developing countries have higher violent crime rates than developed countries. In recent years, the levels have become pretty much the same - though of course it is hard to tell whether differences in reporting and recording underlie this. Nor does the ICVS show that non-industrialised

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countries have less property crime. This is an important finding, which overturns much of the traditional literature on “crime and modernisation”. This has perpetuated the notion that affluence increases the volume and value of material goods, which itself generates property crime. This idea clearly needs revisiting.

- Third, comparative criminologists were urged to take more interest in the similarities of criminal justice problems, rather than the exceptions. Indeed, the commonality of crime problems strengthens the need for effective solutions.
- Fourth, the “Global Report” showed that drug-related crime has increased more than other types of crime. In industrialised countries at least, it is clear that much acquisitive property crime is fuelled by offenders’ need for “drug money”. It may also be the case that a proportion of violent crime is due to offenders acting under the influence of drugs. The distribution of drugs as one form of transnational crime got a brief mention, but the issue of the influence of drug taking on crime within particular countries may be worth more attention from world criminologists. It was felt that drug-related crime attracted less attention at this Conference that it merited.

In the First session also, Professor Paolo Garonna, Director-General of ISTAT, gave an impressive account of the potential for improvements in sharing data on crime and criminal justice in the future. But he sounded a note of caution. He was less concerned about the amount of information which is actually available, or would be in the future, than he was about how well it is understood, and how well it is used to good effect in the development of sound crime prevention policies. Knowledge unless it is put to good use is perhaps knowledge not worth having.

Professor Garonna was also one of many speakers who took up the theme that better data integration is needed, and that this would if anything become more pressing. Two main points should be mentioned here:

- Firstly, there is a need to pool the available knowledge sensibly: international data collection exercises need to build on each other. People should not “reinvent the wheel”. For instance, the Council of Europe Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics, presented in the Third session by Gordon Barclay of the Home Office, UK, already represents a major step forward in collecting better comparative data from Council of Europe countries. Wolfgang Rau of the Council of Europe also drew our attention to other data collection initiatives within that international organism. Adam Bouloukos of the Centre for International Crime Prevention (CICP) of the United Nations Office in Vienna did the same as regards UN efforts to collect data from special surveys: the survey of firearms is one example. The main UN Crime Survey is an even more important step forward - with its distinct focus and wide geographical coverage. More awareness is needed before creating new supposedly “unique” data sets. International data, such as those from the UN and the Council of Europe, should be more widely known and used before resources are wasted on “new” international surveys.
- A second point about better data integration was that, as Professor Garonna said, crime and criminal justice statistics should be set alongside other social and economic indicators - such as unemployment and illegitimacy rates. These provide the context for understanding what is happening to crime, and what may happen to it in the future. Ideally, these contextual social and economic indicators should be incorporated into all the important criminal justice databases. Data integration also means that existing data should be used to better effect to provide more reliable measures of the things we are interested in. In the Fourth session, Kristiina Kangaspunta of the Helsinki based European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control (HEUNI), gave an excellent

presentation on how the UN Crime Survey data for North America and Europe had been analysed in this way. Complementary - not single - measures were used to develop indices of crime problem.

Tom Griffin, Head of Statistical Division, United Nations Office in Geneva, pointed out that, while there are numerous UN and other international agencies active in the area of criminal justice statistics, there is no strategic programme of technical assistance in this area, nor is there sufficient co-ordination among those active in the field.

The Second session was entirely devoted to three detailed reports of results from the ICVS. These were from Jan van Dijk of the Ministry of Justice of the Netherlands and the University of Leiden, Ugljesa Zvekic and Anna Alvazzi del Frate of UNICRI. Each has made a singular contribution to the ICVS and there was much of interest in all three presentations. First and foremost, they showed what impressive progress had been achieved with the ICVS. There are now 60 countries that have taken part. It is no wonder that Jan van Dijk remarked that, at last, criminologists from all over the world had noticed such advancement, and were beginning to give credit for such singular academic energy. The last major criminological conference on the ICVS (“Understanding Crime: Experiences of Crime and Crime Control”) was held in Rome in 1992: the amount of new information since then is impressive indeed.

The results from the ICVS covered three different spheres: industrialised countries, countries in transition, and the developing world. Two remarks are of particular importance:

- The first echoes the point made by Graeme Newman that information stretching far wider than the industrialised world is now available. Most theories of crime and crime causation have been generated from the dynamics of crime in the industrialised world. It is now possible to broaden the horizons. Countries in transition and developing countries have in the nature of things been able to add rather little to received criminological wisdom. Their voice has not been heard because their data has not been seen. But a first conclusion may be that, for instance:
 - As mentioned before, property crime unites both affluent and less affluent nations.
 - As well as property crime, countries in transition and the developing world in particular face special problems of corruption, consumer fraud and crime involving weapons - firearms most notably. On both counts this points to the need for more criminal justice assistance to be directed to countries with poorer resources.
- A second remark about the ICVS contributions relates to the question, raised from the floor, that we might want to forego traditional classifications of industrialised, transitional and developing countries to use something that might be more criminologically sensitive. This is a difficult point. The categories of industrialised, developing and transitional countries are understandable and meaningful to a wide audience. A more criminologically sophisticated categorisation might be more pleasing to specialised audience, but it would be less appropriate for other audiences. As things stand at present, these other audiences are probably those we should be speaking to most loudly. In this regard, for example, during the Round Table on “Policy and Management Use of Criminal Justice Information in the Countries in Transition”, Andrzej Siemazsko of the National Institute of Justice of Poland deplored the fact that in Poland, ICVS results that showed how poorly the police were regarded were cast aside by the police and other officials. It was not what they wanted to hear. However, the fault was not in the clarity of the message. And if more complicated messages and more complicated labels had been used in presenting ICVS results, those such as the Polish police might have been on stronger ground in rejecting the results. The results from the ICVS (and indeed other data sets such as the UN Crime

Survey) should be as “user friendly” as possible. Otherwise, they may run the risk of reducing the impact of what they have to say.

Several speakers mentioned the need for accurate validation and careful quality checks of both administrative and survey data. The ICVS is not exempt from this. For example, the recent publication of ICVS data on victimisation at the workplace in the ILO report “Violence at Work” brought to light an error with the French version of the questionnaire which resulted in the publication of erroneous “raw data” for France. The ICVS organisers wish to rectify data presented on that occasion.

In the Fourth session, Maria Giuseppina Muratore of ISTAT reported on the large-scale Italian survey of community safety. It was interesting to note that telephone interviews were deliberately chosen for this work. It is clear that these are becoming increasingly common for measuring victimisation. This gives endorsement to the ICVS itself, which used telephone interviews in industrialised countries at a time when they were fairly unusual in victim survey methodology. Nancy La Vigne of the US National Institute of Justice made a strong point about the use of computerised mapping technology - the Geographic Information Systems. These were initiated by the law enforcement agencies but now increasingly used as an analytical tool for testing theories of crime and criminal justice.

The Fifth session introduced the topic of organised crime. HEUNI’s study on Organised Crime Around the World presented a systematic overview of major trends in organised crime activities, as well as of different structures of major organised crime groups. In particular, the study highlighted that any survey of transnational organised crime must begin by conceptualising the problem. Since criminal organisations modify their structure and goals in response to changes in world markets, regulation, and counteraction by criminal justice, any serious attempt to survey organised crime needs to take full account of these, using appropriate methodology. There was a lack of firm and agreed definitions of organised crime, although Henk van de Bunt of the Ministry of Justice of the Netherlands reported on some of the attempts to specify the criteria that a definition of organised crime might meet - the European Union’s eleven criteria for one. There are difficulties in researching organised crime. Henk van de Bunt pleaded that the data that researchers collected should be shared more widely to understand the nature of organised crime better. There is also a need for complementary qualitative and quantitative research. These considerations, which emerged both from HEUNI’s and the European Union’s projects, were well illustrated by Kauko Aromaa of the Finnish National Research Institute of Legal Policy when he presented the conceptual/methodological issues and key findings related to an organised crime and business security study carried out in St. Petersburg (Russia) and the Baltic countries.

In the Sixth session, John Walker from Australia presented his fascinating estimates of money laundering across the world, impressing the audience as an example of imaginative work with crime indicators. Similarly, innovative approaches were described by Annamaria Urbano and Franco Turetta (ISTAT) with regard to a system of indirect indicators for usury, and by Per Stangeland of the University of Malaga (Spain) as regards corruption and fraud in the business sector.

During the Panel on Setting the Research Agenda, Mike Levi of the University of Cardiff, UK, gave an admirable account of the role criminologists should play in researching organised and economic crime. The very scarcity of sound information on organised crime, notwithstanding the plethora of anecdotal accounts, “mystifies” the topic. What policy maker will prefer a briefing on bicycle theft when he might have instead a briefing on trafficking in human beings? What policy maker would prefer a briefing on shop burglaries when he might have illegal trading in firearms? The same goes for the interests of the police. The more that criminologists allow these audiences to think that organised crime in its different forms has huge costs, and huge social costs, the more they will prefer to

consider it rather than common “conventional” crime. “Demystification”, as was said, is an important task for criminologists.

The Round Table on “Policy and Management Use of Criminal Justice Information in the Countries in Transition” was devoted to accounts on how the ICVS sweeps in various countries in transition had been received. Policy-oriented round tables held in Belarus (Vladimir Dounaev), Lithuania (Antanas Dapsys), Ukraine (Natalia Kostenko), and the Balkan countries (Boyan Stankov) were highlighted as an important and useful way of promoting public debate on crime and criminal justice, highlighting the status of victims, and building up partnership in crime prevention.

There were two points worth noting in particular:

- First, the surveys seem to have heightened the attention paid by policy makers to victims. In Belarus, for instance, a plan of action was being developed on the basis of the UN Declaration on Victims. Many of the speakers also mentioned a particular interest expressed in women and children and victims as emerging issues for concern. This is a good indication of the usefulness of the ICVS. Professor Zvonimir Separovic, University of Zagreb, Croatia, forcefully pleaded - from the floor - for the promotion of, and respect for, victims’ rights as human rights.
- Secondly, though, these presentations confirmed a point made over the past two days which is that there is still room for the ICVS results to be given a higher profile in the international criminal justice community. In a situation where good information about crime is still lacking for some countries, the new democracies among them, ICVS results have a key part to play.

The earlier mentioned Panel on Setting the Research Agenda dealt with a number of issues including, among others: data quality and reliability (William Burnham); more emphasis of the ICVS on domestic violence, abuse of power, corruption, organised crime, and specific peculiarities of each participating country and a need for international technical assistance (Purev Erdenebayar from Mongolia and Vasilika Hysi from Albania, and - from the floor - Vesna Nikolic-Ristanovic from Yugoslavia). Other issues raised were the preparation and dissemination of national basic crime and criminal justice statistics in an internationally comparable format and access to national and international websites, including the continuation of the ICVS website and the creation of a network for ICVS co-ordinators (Hans van Hoffer, Sweden, and – from the floor – Ksenija Turkovic, Croatia). A plea was also made for full integration of victim surveys in the national statistical programmes as is the case in Slovenia (Zoran Pavlovic). Professors van Dijk and Zvekic pleaded for the strategic development of crime surveys as a component of regular national statistical programmes as well as for the promotion of international comparative research to encompass both conventional as well as transnational organised crime.

At the closure of the Conference the Declaration and Recommendations were adopted.

ÌÒ×"Ò ÈÍÒÁÐÁÍÒÈÈ*

Èíróáðáíòèy "Èññèàáíààíèà Ìðáñoóíííòè: Æííàèuúày Ìáðñíàèòèèà" ñíáðàèà àíàñòà íèíèí ñíòíè ñíàòèàèèñòíà èç áíèàá ÷àí ñíòíèà ñòðáí, èíòíòúà èíàèè èàè áíèuúíé èíòáðáñ, òàè è çíà÷-èòáèuúíòð èñííàòáíòííòòú à Ìàèàóíàðíáíí ñòááíáíèè Ìðáñoóíííòè è óáíèíáííáí Ìðááííòáèy. Ííè Ìðááñòààèyèè óíèèèèèuúé ìòáíò èðèèèíàèèñòíà, ñòàòèñòèèíà è áíèèííòíúò èèò óáíèíáííáí Ìðááííòáèy áúñíèíáí óðíáíy, èíòíòúà áíáðáúà ñíáðàèèñú àíàñòà íà òàèí ààæíí Ìàèàóíàðíáíí ñíáúòèè. Ááííáy Ìàèàóíàðíáíáy èíróáðáíòèy - yóí ðáçóèuòàò Ìáúáàèíáíèy ñèè Ìèíèòáðíòáà Èííòðáííúò Áàè è Ñòèòèè Ìèàáðèáí, Èòàèuúííèíáí Èííòèòòòà Ñòàòèñòèè (ÈÑÒÁÒ), Ááðñíàèíèíáí Ñíààòà è ÑÍÈÈÈÈ.

Ñáññèy áúèà ìèèòúòà ñíà Ìðááñàààòáèuúòáñ Æèááðòí Áðáàáíèíè, ÑÍÈÈÈÈ, ñíyñíèè óáèu Èíróáðáíòèè: ñíáðàòú àíàñòà òá àááííòáà è èíàèèèòáèuúíá èèòà, çáíèíáíòèèy ñíèíáíèí è Ìðááóíðáèàáíèí Ìðáñoóíííòè Ìà áàçà ñííáííè è áíèàá Ìàáæííè ìòíòáòèè. Ñíàòèàèèñòú Ìçàà-áíú èçó÷-èòú èíèè-áñòáí è èà-áñòáí ááííúò Ì Ìðáñoóíííòè è ðááíòò óáíèíáííáí Ìðááííòáèy, èàè à Ìàèàóíàðíáííè, òàè è à Ìàòèíáèuúíè Ìáðñíàèòèèà. Íáçááíèà Èíróáðáíòèè: "Èññèàáíààíèà Ìðáñoóíííòè: Æííàèuúày Ìáðñíàèòèèà" - ìòðáèààò yóí. Ìðááíèçàòíòú ðáçáàèyòò ááííòð òí-èò çðáíèy, èíòíòáy ìòðáèààò Ìáíèà Ìðááíèçàòèè Ìáúáàèííúò Ìàòèè, ñíàèáñíí ÷ááí ðáçáàèíèà Ìàèò òáí, ÷òí yáèyáòñy Ìáñòíúí è ÷òí àèíáèuúíúí, áúñòòí èñ-áçáàò.

Ìà Ìáðáíè ñáññèè, è èííá÷-íí, Ìà áðòáèò ñáññèyò, Ìú áúñíèí Ìáíèèèè çíà÷-èòáèuúíá òñíáàððáííòáíáíèy á çíáíèyò Ì Ìðáñoóíííòè áí áñ, Ì ìèðá. Ñðáàè Ìòáàòñòááííúò Ì Ìàèàóíàðíáííò ñíòðòáíè-áñòáò áèy èñííèuúíáíèy yóíè ñíáíè èíòíòáòèè, èàèáúè áíèèáí èíáòú à àèàò ñèááòðòèà çáàà÷-è:

- (iii) áí-Ìáðáúò, èò÷-òá èíòíòíèèðíáàòú Ìðíòáññèíáèuúíá èðèèèíèíáè÷-áñèèà áááàòú,
- (iv) áí-áòíòúò, Ìíúòyòú áðòáèà ñòðáíí, ÷òíáú óèò÷-òèòú èò ñòàòèñòèèò, è
- (ii) á-òðáòúèò, è Ìàèáíèàá ààæíúò, óèò÷-òáíèà ñíèèòèèè ñíèðáúáíèy Ìðáñoóíííòè è óèò÷-òáíèà óíðáàèáíèy ñèòáíú óáíèíáííáí Ìðááííòáèy .

Áðyí Ìúðíáí, Óíèàáðíèòáò Ìèááíè, ÑÒÁ, ñáàèèè áíèèàá Ì ñòúáñòáòðòáí ñíèèáíèè ñí ñáíèí Æííàèuúíúí Áíèèàáñ Ì Ìðáñoóíííòè è Ìðááííòáèè, à èíòíòíí Ìáðèñíáàè àíàñòà áçyòúà ááííúà èç áíèèàá ÌÍ Ì Óáíááíòèyò Ìðáñoóíííòè è Ìíáðáòèè Ñèòáí Óáíèíáííáí Ìðááííòáèy, è èç Ìàèàóíàðíáííúò Èññèàáíààíèyò Ì Æáðòáàò Ìðáñoóíííòè (Ì È Á). Íí Ìáúáàè, ÷òí Æííàèuúíúé áíèèàá ñíyáèòñy à ñèááòðòáí Ìáðòá èèè áñèíðá. Yóí áóáàò óíèèèèuúé áíèòáíò, èíòíòúé áíá ñííáíèy áóáàò Ìðááñòáàèyòú èíòáðáñ Ìà áúñíèí óðíáíá. Íáíáèí, Ìáèíòíòúà ááííúà ñíááðáèuúèáñy à Ì Ìíáòò Ìà áííòè÷-ú áúñíèíáí óðíáíy áííòíáàðíííòè. Ááííúé Ìóíèò ðáñèòúè ñçáá Áèè Áóðíáí à ñáí, Ì áíèèàáá Ì Ìðááñòáàèè àíàñòà áñá ááííúà èçó÷-áíèè Ìyòè ðáòíáíá ñ Ìáñòíyúáá áðáíy ÌÍ ñ Ìðáñoóíííòè. Ìáúáàèíáíèà yòèò ááííúò áúèí ñííííðáçèðíááñ Ìàòèíáèuúíúí Èííòèòòòí Ìðááííòáèy, Ñíáàèííúò Òàòòíá, è yáèyáòñy Ìðèáðíí áúñíèíè Ìðèçíàòáèuúííòè çà ñííúú, Ìèàçáííòð Ìðááðáíá Ìðááíèçàòèè Ìáúáàèííúò Ìàòèè ñí Ìðááííòáàúáíèð Ìðáñoóíííòè è Óáíèíáííáí Ìðááííòáèy. Ìðíòáññíð Ìúðíáí Ìðááñòáàèè èíííáèò ñííáííúò áúáíáíá Æííàèuúíúí Áíèèàáá, ñðáàè èíòíòúò áúèè ñèááòðòèà: èíòíòúò áúèè ñèááòðòèà:

- Ìáðáíá, Ìðíòáíòííòú òððáííáí çàèèð÷-áíèy, à ñííáíí, Ìà Ìòííèòñy Ìè è Ìðíòáíòííòè Ìðáñoóíííòè, Ìè è óðíáíyí yéíííè÷-áñèíáí ðáçáàèòèy. Ìñíí, ÷òí

īēēōē-āñēēā ēīōāēñōū īāāīīāāēyōō òpðāīōp īāñōōīīñōū, āīēāā ÷āī ‘ðāāēūīāy’ óāðīçā, è ÷āī ñāīā īāñōōīīñōū.

- Āōīōīā, ñāē-āñ íā īāāñōāāēyāōñy yñīūī īō īēēōāēñēēō òēāōð īī ēðāēīāē íāðā, ÷ōī ā ðāçāēāpùēōñy ñōðāīāō ñōūāñōāōāō īōīōāīōīīñōū īāñōōīīñōē āīēūōā, ÷āī ā ðāçāēōūō ñōðāīāō. Ā īñēāāīēā āīāū, óðīāē ñōāīīāyōñy ñīāāðōāīī òāēēā æā - òīōy, ēīīā-īī, òðōāīī ñēāçāōū, āñēē āñōū ðāçīēōā ā yōīē īñīāā āāīūō è íāō ðāçīēōū ā ēīōīōīāōēē è ðāāēñōðāōēē. È òāēæā ÌÈĀ īīēāçūāāāō, ÷ōī íā-ēīāōñōðēāēūīūā ñōðāīū ēīāpō íāīūōā īāñōōīīñōē īðīōēā ñīāñōāāīīñōē. Yōī āāæīā ñāāāāīēā, ēīōīōīā í-āīū īðīāāðāāāō òðāāēōēīīāēūīōp ēēðāðāðōðō í ‘īāñōōīīñōē è īīāāðīēçāōēē’. Íā óāāēīāā-ēāāāō īīyōēā í òīī, āīāāñōāī óāāēē-ēāāāō íāū, òāīīñōāē è ā íāū, íā īāðāðēāēūīūō óāīīñōāē ñīçāā, ò ñāīā īī ñāāā īāñōōīīñōū īðīōēā ñīāñōāāīīñōē. ßñīī, ÷ōī āāīīāy ēāāy íōæāāāōñy ā īāðāñīðāīēē.
- Òðāōūā, ēðēīēñēīāē, çāīēīāpùēāñy ñðāāīāīēāī āūēē īðēāēāōāīū īðēāēā-ūī āīēūōīē ēīōāðāñ ē īīāīāīū īðīāēāīāī óāīēīāīāī īðāāīñōāēy, āīēāā ÷āī ē ēñēp-āīēyī. Èīīā-īī, ðāñīðīñōðāīāīēā īðīāēāī īāñōōīīñōē óñēēēāāāō íāīōīāēīñōū yōōāēðēāīūō ðāōāīēē.
- ×āōā, ðōīā, Āēīāāēūīūē Āīēēāā īīēāçāē, ÷ōī īāñōōīīñōū ñāyçāīīāy ñ īāðēīōēēāīē óāāēē-ēēāñū īāīīāī ā īōēē-ēā īō āðōāēō ðēīā īāñōōīīñōē. Ā īðñūōēāīīūō ñōðāīāō, īī ēðāēīāē íāðā, yōīyñīī, ÷ōī āīēūōāy ÷āñōū īāñōōīīñōē īðīōēā ñīāñōāāīīñōē è āūçūāāāōñy íāīōīāēīñōūp āīāū-ē āāīāā āēy īāðēīōēēīā. È òāēæā āīçīāēīī, ÷ōī ēāēīā-ōī ÷ēñēī īāñōōīēāīēē ñīāāðōāāōñy īīā āēēyīēāī īāðēīōēēīā. Ðāñīðīñōðāīāīēā īāðēīōēēīā, ēāē íāīā èç óīðī òðāīīāōēīīāēūīāīēē īāñōōīīñōē āūēā óīīyīōōā āīñōāōī-īī ēðāðēī, īī āñīðñū āēēyīēy īāðēīōēēīā ā īāñōōīēāīēē ā īðāāāē, íūō ñōðāīāō īīæāō çāñēōæēāāōūī āīēūōāīī āīēīāīēy ñī ñōīðīūī ēðēīēñēīāīā. ×ōāñōāīīāēīñū, ÷ōī īāñōōīīñōē ñāyçāīīē ñ īāðēīōēēāīē óāāēyēīñū íāīūōā āīēīāīēy íā ēīōāðāīōēē, ÷āī ñēāāīāāēī.

Íā Íāðāīē ñāññēē òāēæā, Īðīōāññīð Īāīēī Āāðīīā, Āāīāðāēūīūē Āēðāēōīð ÈÑÒÀÒ, āīāīðēē ñ āīēūōēī óāāæāāīēāī ī āīçīāīēūō óēō-øāīēyō, ēāñāpùēōñy ðāçāāēāīēy āāīūō īī īāñōōīīñōē è óāīēīāīāīō īðāāīñōāēp ā áóāōūāī. Íī īī āūðāçēē īðō īāāīñōīðīāēīñōē. Āāī īāēī āāñīēīēēī ēīēē-āñōāī ēīōīōīāōēē, ēīōīðāy íā ñāīī āāēā āīñōōīīā ēēē áóāāō ā áóāōūāī, ÷āī òī, íāñēīēūēī òīðīōī īīēīāāōñy yōā ēīōīōīāōēy, è ēāē òīðīōī yōī īðīēçāīāēō yōōāēō ā ðāçāēðēē çāō-āīēy īēēðēēē īāāāñōāðāūāīēy īāñōōīīñōē. Āñēē íā ēñīēūçīāāōū ēō ā íōæīī íāīðāāēāīēē, çāīēy āāñīēāçīū.

Īðīōāññīð Āāðīīā āūē òāēæā īāēī èç īīñāēō ñīēēāðīā, ēīōīðūē īīāīyē òāīō í òīī, ÷ōī ēō-øāy ēīōāāðāōēy āāīūō è íāīōīāēīñōū òīāī, ÷ōī áóāāō āīçīāēīī ñ āīēūōēī āāāēāīēāī. Çāāñū íāīōīāēīī īōīāðēðōū āāā īñīāīūō īōīēðā:

- Āī-īāðāūō, íōæīī ðāçōīī íāūāāēīēðōū āīñōōīīūā ñāāāāīēy: ēīōāðīāōēīīāēūīūā ēīēōēāðēāū ñāīðā āāīūō āīēāīū çāāēñēðōū āðōā īō āðōāā. Èpāē íā āīēāīū āū "ēçīāðāðāōū ēīēāñī". Īāīðēīāð, Īāðāīēñōī-īēē īī Īāñōōīīñōē è Ñōāðēñōēēē Óāīēīāīāī Īðāāīñōāēy Āāðīīāēñēīāī Ñīāāōā, īāāñōāāēāī íā Òðāōūāē Ñāññēē Āīðāñī Āāðēēāē èç Īēñēñōāðñōāā Āíóðāīēō Āāē, Āāēēēīāðēōāīēē, óæā īāāñōāāēē āīēūōīē øāā āīāð, ā ā ñāīðā ēō-øēō ñðāāīēðāēūīūō āāīūō èç ñōðāī Āāðīīāēñēīāī Ñīāāōā. Āīēūōāāīā Ðāó èç Āāðīīāēñēīāī Ñīāāōā, òāēæā íāðāðēē íāøā āīēīāīēā ē āðōāñō ñāīðō āāīūō ēīēōēāðēā ā ðāīēāō yōīāī íāæāōíāðīāīāī īðāāīēçīā. Āāāī Āíōēīōēīñ, Īāæāóíāðīāīūē Óāīōð īī Īāāāñōāðāūāīēp Īāñōōīēāīēē (×È×Ī) īðē Īōēñā Īāāāīēçāōēē Īāūāāē, íūō

Íaöee, á Áarí íaðaðee ðaeíá æá áíeíaeá, ÷óí eanãaðny óneey ÍÍ níaðaðu áaríúá níaöeeuúfí eñneáaríaeá: íarðeíáð, eñneáaríaeá íá íaríanðáeuúfí íðóaeè. Ínñaríá Eñneáaríaeá Íðanðóínnðe ÍÍÍ - yóí øåá áíáð, áú, áíeáá áæuíé ñ áarí íð÷, ðeeáúí ðíeóníí è øeðíeèí áaríðaðe÷ánèeí íðáaðíí. Íaríáíaeíí áíeúøá ínãáííe, ínnðe, íðáæáá ÷áí nícåaðu ííúúá íðáaríeáááíúá "óíeèaeúíúá" nìeñèè áaríúð. Íææóíáðíaríúá áaríúá, ðàèèá èàè ðá, eç ÍÍÍ è Áaðííænéíarí Níááðà, áíeáú áúðu áíeáá øeðíeí eçááñðíú è eñííeúçíáaríú, íðáæáá ÷áí ðáñððnú ííáóð óððaðeðuúny è ínðáæèðu íáñðí æey "ííáúð" íææóíáðíaríúð eñneáaríaeá.

- Áðíðíe íóíeð í èó÷øáé eíðáaðaðee áaríúð áúe ðíð, èàè Íðíðáñíð Áaðííá nêaçæ, ÷óí íðáñðóínnðu è nðaðeñðeèá óaríeíaríí íðáaríóaeý áíeáú áú áúðu ðyáñ ñ áðóaeè nìeèaeúíúeè yéíííe÷ánèeíe eíæèaðíðáíe - ðàèèè èàè ááçðáaríðeòà è íáçæííúá íðeáííðú. Ííe níaáæàð eííðáeñð æey ííeíaeíy ÷óí æá íðíeñíðeð ñ íðáñðóínnðu è ÷óí ííæáð íðíeçíeðe íáé á áóáóúáí. Eááæuúfí, yðe eííðáeñðóæuúfí nìeèaeúíúá è yéíííe÷ánèeá eíæèaðíðú áíeáú áú áúðu íáúáæííú áí áñá áæuíúá áaríúá óaríeíaríí íðáaríóaeý. Eíðááðaðeý áaríúð, ðàèèá íçíá÷ááð, ÷óí nòúáñðóínnðe áaríeè áaríúð áíeáú áú áúðu eñííeúçíáaríú ñ èó÷øèí yóðáeðíí, ÷óíáú íááñíá÷èðu áíeáá íáæuíúá íáðú ááúáé, eíðáðáñðóínnðe íáñ. Íá ÷áðá, ðíeí nãñèè, Eðeñðeèíá Eáíááñíóíðà eç Áaðííænéíarí Eíñðeðóðà íí Íðáaríðáðáíeð è Eííðíeð Íðanðóínnðe, ááçðóínnðe á Óæuúneíeè (ÓÁÓÍÉ), áæà íðeè÷íá íðááñðáæeáíeá í ðíí, èàè áaríúá eç eçó÷-áíeé ÍÍÍ í íðáñðóínnðe Nãááðíe Áíáðeèè è Áaðííú áúeè íðíaríeèeçèðíáaríú ðàèèí íáðaçíí. Áííeíeðæuúfí - íá íæíí-íí - áúeè eñííeúçíáaríú íáðú ðaçáèaðu óèaçaðæu íðíáeáí íðáñðóíeáíeý.

Òñ Áðeðóèí, Áeááá Íðáæeáíeý Nðaðeñðeèè, Íðeñ Íðáaríeçáðeè Íáúáæííúð Íaöee, á Æáíááá, ííá÷áðeíóé, ÷óí ííeá ííarí÷eñeáíúá ÍÍÍ è áðóaeá íææóíáðíaríúá ááñíðáá áæéñðáóð á íæeáñðe nðaðeñðeèé óaríeíaríí íðáaríóaeý, íáð íe nððáðáæ÷ánèeíe íðíáðáíú ðáóíe÷ánèeíe íííúè á yóíe íæeáñðe, íe áíñðáðí÷íe eñííeíæeè nðáæ ðáð, èðí ððóæèðny á áarííe nðáðá.

Áðíðay nãñney áúeá íñnyúáíá eñeèp÷èðæuúfí ððí íáðíaríúí áíeèáááí ðaçóeuðaðíá ÍÈÆÍ. Ííe áúeè íðááñðáæeáíú - Bí áarí Áeéé, eç Íeíeñðáðñðáá Þñðeèè Íeááðeáíá è eç Óíeááðñðeðáðà Eáeáíá - Óæeáúà Çááè÷ è Áííá Áeááðeè ááeu Óðaðà eç ÞÍÉÉÉ. Eáæáúé eç íeð áí, ñ náié áeèáá á ÍÈÆÍ è áñá ððè áíeèááá íðááñðáæeýè çíá÷èðæuúfíe eíðáðáñ. Íáðáúé è íñíaríe, èàè áúeí íðíá÷án èíè, yóí áúe áíá÷áðeýpùeè íðíáðáñ áíñðeáíóðúé ÍÈÆÍ. Næ÷áñ íðeíeíapð ó÷áñðeá 60 çðáí. Íá óæeèðæuúfí, ÷óí Bí áarí Áeéé ííá÷áðeíóé, ÷óí íaeííáð, eðeíeíeíeáè áñáð nððáí íeðá íðíáðeèè ðaeíe óñíáð, è íá÷æè ááðeðu yðíó áæeíñðááíííó óñeèp æeááíe÷ínnðe. Íñeáaríyy ðáñðeðáííay eííðáðáíeý eðeíeíeíeáíá ÍÈÆÍ (Ííeíaeá Íðáñðóínnðe: Íúðú Íðáñðóínnðe è Eííðíeý Íðáñðóínnðe) nñíðíyèáñú á ðeíá, á 1992: eíeè÷áñðáí ííáíe eíðíðíáðeè ñ ðáð íð áæéñðáæeðæuúfí íñðáæeýð áíá÷áðeáíeá.

Ðaçóeuðaðú ÍÈÆÍ íeðúáapð ððè ðaçeè÷íúá nðáðú: eíáóñððeæeúíúá nððáíú, nððáíú íáðíayùeáñy á íáðáðíaríe nðáæè, è ðaçáèáapùeèny íeð. Ááá ðáíáðeè íðááñðáæeýpð íñíáóð áæeínnðu:

- Íáðáay íáðíðyáð íóíeð, nãæeáíúé Áðyíí Íúþíáíí, í ðíí, ÷óí eíðíðíáðeý ðáñíðíñðáíyáðny íarííáí øeðá, ÷áí eíáóñððeæeúíúé íeð, ðáíáðú áñðóíarí. Ííæáñðáí ðáíðeè íðáñðóínnðe è íðe÷eíú áúçúáapùeá íðáñðóínnðu íðíææeá æeíaeèó íðáñðóínnðe á eíáóñððeæeúíúé íeðá. Næ÷áñ áíçííæí ðáñðeðyðu áíðeçíðú. Nððáíú, íáðíayùeáñy á íáðáðíaríe nðáæè è ðaçáèáapùeèny nððáíú íá

ĩĩãè ìðèáãàèòù ìĩĩĩ çĩĩĩè ì ìðèìèĩèĩãè. Èò ãĩèĩ ìã áũè òĩèùøáĩ, ìòĩò ÷òì èò àãĩũã ìã áũèè àèãĩ. Ì ìãðãĩã çãèèþ-ãĩèã ìĩãò áũòù òàèèì, ìãĩðèìãð:

- Èãè ìòìã-àèĩñù áùøã, ìðãñòóĩĩñòù ìðìòèã ìããñòããĩĩñòè ìãũããèĩãò àìãñòã, èãè áĩããòũã, òàè è ìãĩãã áĩããòũã ìãòèè.
- Òàèãã èãè è ìðãñòóĩĩñòù ìðìòèã ìããñòããĩĩñòè á ìòðãĩãð, ìãòĩããùèòĩã á ìãðãòĩãĩè ìòããèè è á ðãçãèããþũãĩĩñ ìèðã ãñòðã-ãþòĩã, ìĩĩããĩĩ, ìðĩãèãìù èìððòìòèè, ìòðããèðãèũèĩã ìøãĩè-ãñòãã, è ìðãñòóĩĩñòè ìããçãĩũã ì ìðòãèãì - á çĩã-èðãèũĩè ìãðã - ìããñòðãèũũ. Á ìãèò ìèó-ããò, ìòãĩãèòĩã ãĩĩ, ÷òì ãĩçĩèããò ìããòĩãèĩñòù ìèãçãĩèã áĩèùøĩè ìĩũè á òãĩèãĩĩ ìðããĩñòãèè á ìòðãĩãð ì áããĩũè ðãñòðĩãè .
- Áòìðãã ðãìãðèã ì àèèããò ÌÈÆÌ, èãããþũãĩĩ ãĩĩðĩã, ãĩçĩèèøãã èç àóãèòìðèè ì òĩ, ÷òì ìù áù òìòãèè ìðããçĩèòè òðããèòèĩĩã ðãçããèãĩèã ìããò èããñòðèãèũũũè, ìòðãĩãè, ìãòĩããùèèĩã á ìãðãòĩãĩè ìòããèè è ìã ìòèè ðãçãèòèã, àèã òĩã ÷òìãù èñĩèùçĩããòù èãòããĩðèè áĩèãã ìãòèòè-ãñèĩè èðèìèĩèĩãè. Ýòì ìèĩãèũè ìóìèò. Ì áùøãòĩãĩòòũã òðè èãòããĩðèè, ìĩãòì è ìããĩçĩã-ìù àèã øèðĩèè àóãèòìðèè. Áĩèãã èðèìèĩèĩãè-ãñèãã òòì-ìãã èèãñèèèèãòèã ìããò áũòù áĩèãã ìðããñ-ðèðãèũũã ìãòèãèũũè àóãèòìðèè, ì ãòì áóããò ìããã ììòããòñòãĩããòù ãðòãèì àóãèòìðèã. Ìãñòĩããã ìèĩãèãèã áããè çãèèþ-ããòĩã á òĩ, ÷òì ãòè ãðòãèã àóãèòìðèè ãĩçĩãĩ òã, ããã ìù áĩèãèũ ãĩãĩðèòù ìãããã ãðĩèì. Á ãòìè ìããçè, ìãĩðèìãð, á òã-ãĩèã Èðòãèĩã Ñòìèã "Ìèèèèè è Èñĩèùçĩããè Òìðããèãèã Èìòìðãèè Èðèìèĩèũũã Ìðããĩñòãèã á Ñòðãĩãð, Ìãòĩããùèèĩã á Ìãðãòĩãĩè Ñòããè", Áĩãðãè Ñãìøèì èç Ìãèèãèũũã Èìñèòòòã Ìðããĩñòãèã Ìèèùè ìããèããò ì òĩ òãèòã, ÷òì á Ìèèùã, ðãçòèùòòù ÌÈÆÌ, èìòìðũã òèãçããèè ìã òì, á èãèèò áããĩũò ðãñòðããèĩèã ìãòĩãèããñù ìèèèèãã ìèèèèãã, ãñ, ãòì ìèðũããèĩñù ìãìè ìèèèèè è ãðòãèì ìòèèèèèèè èèòãè. Ìããè ìðĩãèãã ìã èãããèãã ãĩĩñòè ìèèèèè ììãũãèã. È, ãñèè áĩèãã ìèĩãèã ììãũãèã è áĩèãã ìèĩãèũã ãðèèèè áũèè èñĩèùçĩããũ, ìðããñòãèãèũũã ðãçòèùòòù ÌÈÆÌ èìã-èòì, èãè è ìèèèèèãã ìèèèèèã, ìãèè èìãòù áĩèùøã ììããèèè ìã ìðèĩãòù ðãçòèùòòù. ðãçòèùòòù ÌÈÆÌ (è, èìã-ì, ãðòãè ìãìð áãĩũò, òãèèè èãè èç ÌÌ Èñĩèããĩããè Ìðããòìèãèã) áĩèãèũ áù áũòù èãè ìãè ìðìã àèã èñĩèùçĩããèã. Èìã-ã ìè ìãòò ìðèãããòòù è ðèèèò ìèèèèèã èèèèèè òĩã, ÷òì ìè òìòò ìèãçãòù.

Ìãèèèèè ìèèèèè òìèèèè ì ìããòìèèèè è àèèòðãòìñòè òòããðããèè è ìòìðìãèèèè èã-ãñòãã, ìðããðãã èã àãèèèèèèèèè, òàè è èññèããããòãèèèèè àãĩũã. ÌÈÆÌ ìã ìãèãèèè èñèèþ-ãèèþ. Ìãĩðèìãð, ìèèèèèè ìóãèèèèè àãĩũò ÌÈÆÌ ì ããðòããò ìã ðãã-èò ìãñòãò á ãèèèèè ÈÈÌ "Ìãèèèè ìã ðããìòã" ìðèèèèþ ìããò ìã ìøèèèè Òðãìòçèèèè àãñèè ãñìèèèè, èìòìðèè ããèããòĩã ðãçòèùòòù ìòãèèèèèèèè ìøèã-ìùò, "ìãðããðããìùò àãò" Òðãìèèè. Ìðããèèèèè ÌÈÆÌ ããèèþ èñìðããèèè àãĩũã, ìòùãñòãòþèè á ãòì ìèó-ãã.

Ìã ×ãòãðòìè ìãñèèè, Ìãèè Äèçãèèã Ìòðãòìðã èç ÈÑÒÀÒ èçèèèèè á ìãì ìèèèèè ì èðòìèèèèèèè Èòãèèèèè èññèããèèèè è áãçĩããèèè è ìãũãñòãã. Èìòããñì ìòãèèèè, ÷òì òãèèèèè èìòããþ áũèè áũããì ìããããããã ãèã ãòìè ðããòù. Ññì, ÷òì ìãããìùã òãèèèèè èìòããþ ìòããããòĩã àããããã ãèèè ììèèèè ãèçããèè ìðãèèèèèèè. Ýòì àãò ìãòããðãèèè ì òì, ÷òì ÌÈÆÌ ìãì èñĩèùçĩããè òãèèèèè èìòããþ á èããñòðèèèèè ìòðãĩãð á òì ãðãã èìãã ìè àìòãò-ì ìãã-ìù á ìãòìèèèè èññèããèèèè ããðòã. Ìãìè Èã Áèì èç Ìãèèèèèè Èìñèòòòã Ìðããĩñòãèã ÑØÀ ìòãèèè ìãðũçĩèè ìóìèò ìã èñĩèùçĩããèè òãòìèèè èññèèèèèèè èãðòìèèèèè - Ñèèèè èìòìðãèèèèè àããðãèèè. Ýòì áũèì áãããã ãããñòãñ ìðããèèèèèè, ì

oariadu oaaee:-eefnu a enneucifaalee eae afaeode:-aheee einodoiaro aey oandoeifaalee, eae oaihee idandoiinnode, oae e oafeiafaa idaanioaey.

Ia Iyoié nannee auea aaaaaa oala ia idaafeçiaaiee idandoiinnode. Eço:-aiey OAOIE ia Idaafeçiaaiee Idandoiinnode a Ieda idaanooaee nenoiadoeçedifaafue iacido çia:-eoaueuioo iaiaaeearee a aayooaeuinnode idaafeçiaaiee idandoiinnode, e daçee:-iio nodoeoood aeaaafuo adooi idaafeçiaaiee idandoiinnode. Iniaaifi eço:-aiea iieaçuaaao, -oi epaia enneaafaaree ni odainiaoeifauee idaafeçiaaiee idandoiinnode aieaei ia:-eifaduny ni eifoiarodoeçaoee idiaeeai. Inieueeo edeiefaeuifaa idaafeçaoee iiaeoeoedoboo nairi nodoeoood e çaaa:-e a iooao ia eçiafaey iedifauo duiefa, daaoeeoifaaree e idioeafaeeoadaa oafeiafaa idaanioaey, epaia nadu, çifaa iirudee enneaafaadu idaafeçiaaifop idandoiinnodu aieafu eiadu a aeao yode eçiafaey e enneucifaadu nioadaonooopuop iaofaieaep. Iaanoooi:-fi oadaa niaeaniaafi oieifaaree idaafeçiaaiee idandoiinnode, oioy Oaie aai Aoió eç Ieeneoadaa Pndoeoe Ieaaeafaia, aieeaaauaay iudaeeny iaonifaedu iaefiooia edeoaadee a aaoeieoee ia idaafeçiaaiee idandoiinnode: neioaçoedifaadu ana iaefiaaoadu edeoaadeaa Aadriaeneiaa Niaaoo a iaifi. Nouaanoopoo odooinnode a enneaafaaree idaafeçiaaiee idandoiinnode. Oaie aai Aoió ioeoeaeuifi çayaae, -oi aafuua, eifiooia enneaafaadaee niaedapo, aieafu adu daçaaefu aieaa øediee, -oiaa iiryoo idediao idaafeçiaaiee idandoiinnode eo:-øa. Yoi oaeaa iaiofaeifi aey ainefedaeuifaa ea:-andaaifaa e eiee:-andaaifaa enneaafaarey. Yode danniooiaey, eifiooia aicfeee, eae a idiaeoa OAOIE, oae e a idiaeoa Aadriaeneiaa Niaaoo, auee oioy idieeepndoeifaafu Eaeie Adriaa eç Oeiefaa Iaeifaueifaa Iao:-fi-Enneaafaadaeuefaa Einnodeoaa Idaaiaie Iieeoeee, eiaaa ii idaanooaeyee eifoiarodaeuifi-iaofaieae:-aneia eçaafeaa e eep:-aaia auafu, naçiafua ni enneaafaaree ii idaafeçiaaiee idandoiinnodu e aacriannode aeçiaa, auinefaifa a Naieo-Iaooaooaa (Dinney) e Nodaaio Aaeoeeefaia daeifa.

Ia Oaioie nannee Aaei Aieeao eç Aanooaee idaanooaee niae çaa:-aooaeuifaa noaaarey ia ioiuaaiee aafaa a ieda, aia:-aoyy aoeoioep idiaofi niaafi afaooiaa afaadaarey ni efaeoaooiaie idandoiinnode. Iiaafua iiaa iiaofau ienaee Afia Iadey Odaafi e Odaiee Ooadao (ENOA), eanapueaeny nenoiu iaioyioo efaeoaooia aey oimoiu:-andaa, e Iad Ndaiaaeafa eç Oeaaodneoada laeaae (Eniaey), ioinodeaeuifi eifiooiee e iioaie:-andaa a naeooia aeçiaa.

A Enneee ni oaep nioadaaearey enneaafaadaeuefae Iiaaiaa, Iae Eaae eç Oeaaodneoada Eadaeoo, a Aaeefaedeae, niaae idaanioaiee io:-o i diee, eifiooio edeiefae aieafu au auinefyoo a enneaafaaree idaafeçiaaiee e yeim:-aneie idandoiinnode. Aieuefae iaannooie eifiooiaee ni idaafeçiaaiee idandoiinnode, iaannody ia eçafuie dannaeçafuio afaeafia, "ienodeoeoedoo" oaió. Eaeie iieode:-aneee aayooaeu idaan:-eoaao iaifi oeaçaree ia edaeo aeinefaaa, eiaaa ii iiaao iieo:-edu oeaçaree ia aafaaia? Eaeie iieode:-aneee aayooaeu idaan:-eoaao iaifi oeaçaree ia fi:-ioep edaeo a iaacçia, eiaaa ii iiaao iieo:-edu oeaçaree ia iaeeaaaeuioop oiafaep idoeae? Oio aa nairie eioadaa aey iieeoe. xai aieuoøa edeiefae iiaeyo yoié aoeoioeae aoiadu, -oi idaafeçiaaiaay idandoiinnodu a daçee:-iio oioiaoe eiaao iadnua oafu, e adnuaafua nioeaeuifua oafu, -ai aieuoøa iie idaan:-eoaapo neifoiodeifaaduuny ia yoié, -ai iaafu:-iie idandoiinnodu. "Aaieodeoeaoy", eae auee neaçafi, aaefay çaaa:-a aey edeiefaeifa.

Çanaaiee Edoaiaa Noiea ni aifino "Iieeoea e Oidaaearee Enneucifaalee Eifiooiaee Oafeiafaa Idaaioaey a Nodaaio, Iaofayueony a Iadaoiaiee Ndaee" auee iiaayafu ief:-aooaeuifaa ioinfaey i oii, eae iie auee iieo:-afu a daçee:-iio nodaaio, iaofayueony a iaooiaiee noaaee aaeoaeeyie IEAI, edoaee nioe oaa nioofayueony a Aaeoone (Aaeaeieo Aoiiaa), Eeoa (Afaanaa Aaion), Oeaeia (Iadaeey Einaiee), e Ndaaio Aaeafaiefaa Daefia (Afyí Ndaiefa) ioiaee eae

ààæíúé éíñòðóíáíò äëý ñòèìòéèðíááíéý íóáéè÷íúò àáààòíá ïí áííðíñàì ìðáñðóííñòè è òáíéíáííò ìðááíñóáèþ, ìðéàáàý áíéüøíá çíà÷áíéà ñòàòóñò æáððá, è ñíñððíáíéà ìáððí, ðíéèò ìòííøáíéè á ìðááíòáðáüáíéè ìðáñðóííñòè.

Áúéí ìòíá÷áí àáà ñííáí ààæíúò ìóíéðá:

- Ìáðáúé, èàæáðñý, ÷òí èçó÷áíéý òááéè÷èááéè áíéíáíéà ñíéèðè÷áñéèò ääýòáéáé è æáððááì. Á Ááéàððóñè, ìáíðèíáð, ìéáí ááéñòáéé áúé ðáçáèð ìá ñííáá Ááééàðáòéè Ìíí ïí Æáððááì. Ìííáéà ñíééáðú òàéæá áúðáçéèè ñííáúé èíðáðáñ ïí ìòííøáíéþ è æáíúéíáì è ááðýì è æáððááì, èàé è èñòí÷íéèàì, èç éíðíðúò áíçíéèèè áíéíáíéý. Ýòí òíðíøéè ñíéàçàðáéü ñíéáçíñòè ÌÈÆÌ. Ìðíòáññíð Çáííéíèð Ñáíáðíáé÷, Óíéááðñèðáò á Çááðááá, Óíðááðéý ñ òááæááíéáì ñíðíñéè èç áóáèðíðèè í ìðááàò æáððá áóáòò èè ìíé ðáññóáèðáéüíúè á òááæáíéè èàé, ÷áíéíá÷áñéèá ìðááá?
- Áí-áòíðúò, ýðè ìðáçáíòáòéè ñíáðááðæááéè ìáéí ìóíéð, éíðíðúé áúé ìòíá÷áí á òá÷áíéà ñíéááíéò ááòò áíáé, í ìáíáòíáéíñòè ááðü ðáçóéüðáì ÌÈÆÌ áíéüøíé ðáçííáíñ á ìáæáóíáðíáíí ñííáüáñòáá òáíéíáííáí ìðááíñóáéý. Á ñèðóáòéè, ááá òíðíøáý èíðíðáòéý í ìðáñðóíéáíéè, áú, ìòñòðíðáóáò äëý ìáéíðíðúò ñòðáí, ñðááé ìèò ñòðáíú ñáúò ááííéðáðéé, ááá ðáçóéüðáðú ÌÈÆÌ, èíáþò èþ÷ááòþ ðíéü.

Áúøáóííýíóááý Ëíñèñéý èíáéà òáéü, ñíñðááéýý èññéááíáàðáéüñéòþ ìðíáðáíò çáíéíáðüñý ñáðéáé áííðíñá, áéþ÷áý ñðááé ìéò è òáéíé: èá÷áñðáí è ìááæíñòü ááíúò (Áéé Áóðíáì); áíéüøáá ñíá÷ééááíéá ñí ñòíðíú ÌÈÆÌ ïí áúðíáíò ìáñéèèþ, ñíéíðáéáíéá áéáñòè, éíððóíòéè, ìðááíéçíááííé ìðáñðóííñòè, è ñíáòéðè÷áñéèá ñííááíñòè èáæáíé èç ñòðáí ò÷áñðíéò, í ìáíáòíáéíñòè á ìéàçáíéè ìáæáóíáðíáíé òáðíé÷áñéíé ñííúè (Ìóðáá Áðááíéááýð èç Ìííáíéèè è Ááñéèèèà Õèñè èç Áéááíéè, è èç áóáèðíðèè – Ááñíá Ìééíéè÷ - ðèñðáííáé÷ èç Þáííéááéè). Áðóáéá áííðíñú áúéè: ñíááíòíáéà ñòàðèñòéèè ìá òáíéíáíñ ìðááíñóáéè è ìðáñðóííñòè ìá ìáòéíáéüííé ñííáá á ìáæáóíáðíáíúò ñðááíéðáéüíúò òíðíáðáò è áðíáæáíéá á ìáòéíáéüííá è ìáæáóíáðíáíúá ñáðè èíðáðíáðá, áéþ÷áý ìðíáíéæáíéá ñáðè ÌÈÆÌ è ðáçáèðéá ñáðè äëý ÌÈÆÌ èñðáéíáðíðú (Óáíñ ááí Óíòóáð, Øááðéý, è - èç áóáèðíðèè – Ëñáíéý Óòðéíáé÷, Óíðááðéý). Çáíðíñ áúé ñááéáí äëý ñíéíé èíðááðáòéè èññéááíááíéý æáððá á ìáòéíáéüíúò ñòàðèñòè÷áñéèò ìðíáðáíáò, èàé á ñéó÷áá í Ñéíááíéè (Çíðáí Ìááéíáé÷). Ìðíòáññíðá ááí Áééé è Çááéè÷ ñíðíñéèè í ñòðáðááé÷áñéí ðáçáèðéè èññéááíááíéè ìðáñðóííñòè, èàé ìá ìáíñ èíííáíòá ðááóéýðíúò ìáòéíáéüíúò ñòàðèñòè÷áñéèò ìðíáðáí, òáéæá, èàé ìðíááéæáíéá ìáæáóíáðíáííáí ñðááíéðáéüííáí èññéááíááíéý ìðááòüááý, èàé ìðáñðóííñòü ìáí÷áíé, òáé è òðáííáòéíáéüíóþ ìðááíéçíááíóþ ìðáñðóííñòü.

Ìá çáèðúðéè Ëííóáðáíéè, Ááééàðáòéý è ðáéííáíáòéè áúéè ìðéíýðü.

Programme

Programme

Day 1 Thursday 19 November

Opening

Alberto Bradanini, UNICRI; Alberto Zuliani, ISTAT; Wolfgang Rau, Council of Europe; Jan J.M. van Dijk, Ministry of Justice, The Netherlands

Introduction to the Conference

Anna Alvazzi del Frate, United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI)

1st session International Co-operation

Chair: *Alberto Bradanini, UNICRI; Jan J.M. van Dijk, Ministry of Justice, The Netherlands*

Advances in Comparative Criminology: the United Nations Global Report on Crime and Justice
Graeme Newman, University of Albany, USA

Towards an Integrated Approach to Surveying Crime: the Role of the Conference of European Statisticians

Paolo Garonna, Italian Institute of Statistics (ISTAT), Italy

The United Nations Technical Assistance in the Area of Criminal Justice Statistics

Tom Griffin, Statistical Division, UN Economic Commission for Europe

Discussion

2nd session Surveying Victims of Crime across the World: The International Crime Victim Survey

Chair: *Patricia Mayhew, Home Office, UK; Zvonimir Separovic, University of Zagreb, Croatia*

Criminal Victimisation: A Global View

Jan van Dijk, Ministry of Justice, The Netherlands

Overview of Countries in Transition

Ugljesa Zvekic, United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI)

Victims of Crime in the Developing World

Anna Alvazzi del Frate, United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI)

Discussion

3rd session Integrating Sources of Data (1)

Chair: *Wolfgang Rau, Council of Europe; Paolo Garonna, ISTAT, Italy*

The United Nations Surveys on Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems: the Future
Adam Bouloukos, Center for International Crime Prevention (CICP/UNOV)

European Sourcebook Project

Gordon Barclay, Home Office, UK

Discussion

Day 2 **Friday 20 November**

4th session **Integrating Sources of Data (2)**

Chair: Jang Jong Oh, Korean Institute of Criminology; Nancy Grosselfinger, University of Malta

Secondary Analysis of Integrated Sources of Data

Kristiina Kangaspunta, European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, affiliated with the United Nations (HEUNI)

“Citizens’ Safety” in the Italian Integrated System of Social Surveys

Linda Laura Sabbadini, Luciana Quattrociochi and Maria Giuseppina Muratore, Italian Institute of Statistics (ISTAT), Italy

Mapping for Criminal Justice Research and Practice

Nancy La Vigne, National Institute of Justice, USA

Discussion

5th session **Surveying Transnational Organised Crime**

Chair: Andrew Kohut, Statistics Canada; Beaty Naude, University of South Africa

Surveying Transnational Organised Crime: the HEUNI Report on Organised Crime around the World

Matti Joutsen, European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, affiliated with the United Nations (HEUNI)

European Union Study of Organised Crime

Henk van de Bunt, Ministry of Justice, The Netherlands

Organised Crime and Business Security

Kauko Aromaa, National Research Institute of Legal Policy, Finland

Discussion

Lunch

6th session **Surveying Economic and Financial Crime**

Chair: Michael Levi, University of Wales, UK; Nelya Beishenaliva, Minister of Justice, Kyrgyzstan

A Global Survey of Money Laundering: Some Findings

John Walker, John Walker Crime Trends Analysis, Australia

Loan sharking: A Proposal for a System of Indirect Indicators

Annamaria Urbano and Franco Turetta, Italian Institute of Statistics (ISTAT), Italy

Experiences of Corruption and Fraud in the Business Sector

Per Stangeland, University of Malaga, Spain

Discussion

Round Table: Policy and Management Use of Criminal Justice Information in the Countries in Transition

Chair: Andrzej Siemazsko, Institute of Justice, Poland; Rodica Stanoiu, Institute of Social Sciences, Romania

Presentation of Reports of Round Tables held in Belarus (Vladimir Dounaev, European Humanities University, Minsk), Lithuania (Antanas Dapsys, Law Institute of the Ministry of Justice, Vilnius), Ukraine (Natalia Kostenko, Ukrainian Survey and Market Research, Kiev) and the Seminar for the Balkan countries (Boyan Stankov, General Prosecutor's Office, Bulgaria, Sofia).

Day 3 Saturday 21 November

Panel: Setting the Research Agenda

Moderator: Ugljesa Zvekic, United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI)

Participants: Bill Burnham (United Nations [ex], United Kingdom), Jan van Dijk (Ministry of Justice, The Netherlands), Purev Erdenebayar (Criminal Police Department, Mongolia), Hanns von Hofer (University of Stockholm, Sweden), Vasilika Hysi (University of Tirana, Albania), Michael Levi (University of Wales, United Kingdom) and Zoran Pavlovic (School of Law in Ljubljana, Slovenia).

Closing session

Chair: Alberto Bradanini, UNICRI; Paolo Garonna, ISTAT, Italy; Jan van Dijk, Ministry of Justice, The Netherlands; Wolfgang Rau, Council of Europe

Presentation of the conference report, Patricia Mayhew, Home Office, UK

Closing of the Conference

Ī ðĩāðàì ì à

Áãũ 1 ×wãwã 19 Íÿáðÿ

Īðēðũðēà

Àēũááððí Áðãããíēē, ÞÍĒĒĒĒ; Àēũááððí Çōēēãíē, ĒÑÒÀÒ; Áíēũðããã Ðãó, Áãðĩãēñēēē Ñĩããò; Þí áãí Àēēē, Īēíēñðãðñðãí þñðēōēē, Īēããðēãíãũ

Āñðōíēãíēã ē Ēĩíðãðãíōēē

Áĩã Àēããōōē ããēũ Óðãðã, Ī ãðãĩēĩãēũĩē Īãó-í-ēññēãĩããðãēũñēēē Ēĩñðēðòð ÿ ĩ Ī ðãñðóí ĩñðē ē Ī ðããĩñōãēþĪðããíēçãōēē Īãũãĩēĩãĩũ Īãōēē (ÞÍĒĒĒĒ)

1^{ãÿ} ñãññēÿ Ī ããíóããðĩããñãññòðóãíē-ãñðãí

Īðããñãããðãēũñðãí: Àēũááððí Áðãããíēē, ÞÍĒĒĒĒ; Þí áãí Àēēē, Īēíēñðãðñðãí Þñðēōēē Īēããðēãíãũ

Óñĩãōē á Ñðããíēðãēũñē Ēðēĩēñĩēãēē: Āēĩããēũĩē Āíēēãã Īðããíēçãōēē Īãũããēĩ, ĩũò Īãōēē ĩ Īðãñðóíññðē ē Īðããñóãēþ
Áðãÿ Īũþ ã, Óíēããñðēðã Īēããíē, ÑØÀ

Īðããñðõÿēē Ēíðããðēðĩããĩũē Īãõĩã Ēññēããĩããēÿ Īðãñðóíññðē: Ðĩēũ Ēĩíðãðãíōēē Áãðĩãēñēēō Ñðãðēñðēē
Ī ãĩē Āãðĩãã, Ēðãēũÿñēēē Ēĩñðēðòð Ñðãðēñðēēē (ĒÑÒÀÒ), Ēðãēÿ

Òãóíē-ãñēãÿ ĩñũũ Īãũããēĩ, ĩũò Īãōēē á ĩãēãñðē ñðãðēñðēēē óãĩēĩãĩã ĩðããñóãēÿ
Óũ Āðēðóēĩ, Ñðãðēñðē-ãñēĩãĪðããēãēã Āãðĩ ãñēãÿ Ýēĩĩĩ ē-ãñēãÿ Ēĩ ēññēÿ ĪĨ

Īãñóãããíēã

2^{ãÿ} ñãññēÿ Ēññēãĩããíēãã ãððã ĩ ðãñðóí ĩñðē ãĩ ãñ ĩ ìèðã Ī ããíóããðĩããñã Ēññēãĩããíēãĩ Ēððããò Ī ðãñðóí ĩñðē

Īðããñãããðãēũñðãí: Īãððē-ÿ Īãēõũþ, Īēíēñðãðñðãí áĩóððãĩēō ããē, ĪĒ; Çãĩĩēìð Ñãĩãðĩãē-, Óíēããðñēðòð Çããðããã, Óĩðããðēÿ

Ēãððãũ ĩðãñðóíññðē: ãēĩããēũĩãã ðãññĩñððãíēã
Þí áãí Àēēē, Ī ēíēñðãðñðãí þñðēōēē, Īēããðēãíãũ

Īãðãðãññĩñððãíēã ñððãí á ĩãðãóĩãĩēē ñðããēē
Óãēũãã Çããē-, Ī ãðãĩēĩãēũĩē Īãó-í-ēññēãĩããðãēũñēēē Ēĩñðēðòð ÿ ĩ Ī ðãñðóí ĩñðē ē Ī ðããĩñōãēþĪðããíēçãōēē Īãũãĩēĩ, ĩũò Īãōēē (ÞÍĒĒĒĒ)

Ēãððãũ Īðãñðóíññðē á Ðãçãēããþũãĩñÿ Īēðã
Áĩã Àēããōōē ããēũ Óðãðã Ī ãðãĩēĩãēũĩē Īãó-í-ēññēãĩããðãēũñēēē Ēĩñðēðòð ÿ ĩ Ī ðãñðóí ĩñðē ē Ī ðããĩñōãēþĪðããíēçãōēē Īãũãĩēĩ, ĩũò Īãōēē (ÞÍĒĒĒĒ)

Īãñóãããíēã

3^{ãÿ} ñãññēÿ Īãũãĩēĩãēãēñóí-íēēĩã ããĩũò (1)

Īðããñãããðãēũñðãí: Áíēũðããĩã Ðãó, Áãðĩãēñēēē Ñĩããò; Īãĩē Āãðĩãã, ĒÑÒÀÒ, Ēðãēÿ

Ēññēããĩããíēã ĪĨ ĩãĩðããēãíēē ĩðãñðóíññðē ē ããēñðãēÿ óãĩēĩãĩũ ñēñðãĩ ĩðããñóãēÿ: áóãóũãã

Āãũ Áóēóēĩñ, Óãðð Ī ãũĩóĩãðĩãĩãĩ Ī ðãũĩãðãðãũãēÿ Ī ðãñðóí ĩñðē (×Ē×Ī /ÞĨĀ)

Īđīāēò Āāđīāēñēīāī Ēñòī÷īēēā
Āīđāīī Āāđēēāē, Ī ēīēñōđñōāī āīóōđāīēō āē, ĪĒ
Īāñōāāīēā

4^{äy} nãññèy **Íáúäíéíäèàèñòí-íèèíà äàííúò (2)**

Ïðãñäüüòäèüñòäí: **Βία Βία Ìò, Ëíðàéñéé Ëíñòèòóò Ëðèèèíèíäèè; Ìyíñè**
Äðíññäèðèíäò, Óíèääðñèòäò Ìäèüòä

Äòíðè-íúé äíäèç íáúääèí,íúò èñòí-íèèíà äàííúò
Kðèñðèíà Ëäãäñí óíòä, Ääðí äèñéé Ëíñòèòóò ÿ ÿ Ì ðäíóí ðäüíäèð Ì ðñòóí ïñðè è Ëíòðíèð ÿ ðèñíäèí,íúé è Ìðäíäèçäðèè Ìáúäèí,íúò Ìòèè (ÕÄÓÍË)

“Ääçíñññòü äðäæäí” ä èðäèüyíñéíé íáúääèí,íúé ñèñòäíä ñíòèäèüíúò èññèäáíäáíéé
Ëèíä Ëäòðä Ñäááüäèè, Ëó-äíä Ëóòòðòí-íèè è Ì äðèy Ääóçä ÿ èíä Ì óðäòíðä Ëðäèüyíñéé Ëíñòèòóò Ñòäèñðèèèè (ËÑÓÄÓ), Ëðäèèy

Ñòäíäðèçäèèy äèy èññèäáíäáíéé ä íáèàñè òáíèíäíñí ðäáíñóäèy è äèy ðäèèð-äñèíäí
íðèíäíäèy

Ìyíñè èà Äèèíä Ìäèèíäèüíúé Ëíñòèòóò Ì ðäáíñóäèy, ÑØÄ

Íáñóæäáíèä

Ïäðäðüä

5^{äy} nãññèy **Ëññèäüíäáíèèäòðäíñíäèèñäèüñé ððäáíèçíäáíñé ÿ ðñòóí ïñðè**

Ïðãñäüüòäèüñòäí: **Αιῶθρ Κιῶθ, Ñòäðèñðèèä Ëäíäü; Ääòü Ìäüü, Óíèääðñèòäò**
Ðæíé Äòðèèè

Ëññèäáíäáíèy Õðäíñíäèèñäèüñé ððäáíèçíäáíñé Ìðãñòóíññðè: Äíèèää ÕÄÓÍË íá
ððäáíèçíäáíñé Ìðãñòóíññðè ä Ìèðä
Μαθòè ðòñä, Ääðí äèñéé Ëíñòèòóò ÿ ÿ Ì ðäíóí ðäüíäèð Ì ðñòóí ïñðè è Ëíòðíèð ÿ ðèñíäèí,íúé è Ìðäíäèçäðèè Ìáúäèí,íúò Ìòèè (ÕÄÓÍË)

Ëçó-áíèä Ëðñäèñèíäí Ñíðçä ñí ððäáíèçíäáíñé ððãñòóíññðè
Õäè äáí ääÄóòð, Ì èíèñòäñòäí ðñòèèè, Ìèäüèäüü

Õðäáíèçíäáíñäy ððãñòóíññòü è ääçíñññòü äèçíäñä
Κάòéí Äðí ää, Ìäèèíäèüíúé Ëññèäüíääðäèüñéèè Ëíñòèòóò ððèäè-äñèíé Ì ïèèðèèè, Õèíèyíäèy

Íáñóæäáíèä

Íáää

6^{äy} nãññèy **Ëññèäüíäáíèèäýéíñ è-äñèíé è ðèíäíñäíé ÿ ðñòóí ïñðè**

Ïðãñäüüòäèüñòäí: **Ìäèè Ëääè, Óíèääðñèòäò Õyèüñä, ÌË; Ìäèy Ääèðäíäèèä, Ìèíèñðð**
ðñòèèè, Ëüðäüñòäí

Äèíäèüñä èññèäáíäáíèä ïòíüäáíèy äáíää : Ìäèíòíðüä Ñäáááíèy
Äáí Äíèèð, Äáíä Äíèèðä äíäèç ïü ðääèäèè ÿ ðñòóí ïñðè, Ääñòðäèèy

Ðíñòíäüè-äñòäí: ððäáíèçíäáíñä äèy ñèñòäíü èíñäáíñäí ñèäçäðäèy
Äíä äðèy Õðäáí è Õðäèí Õòððòä, Ëðäèüyíñéèè Ëíñòèòóò Ñòäèñðèèèè (ËÑÓÄÓ), Ëðäèèy

Ïñòü èíððóíòèè è ïðáíèè-äñòää ä ñäèòíðä äèçíäñä
Ì ä Ñòäíäèèä, Óíèääðñèòäò Ì äèäè, Ëñí äèy

Íáñóæääîèà

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