

## Victimisation rates

### 2.1 Introduction

Risks of victimisation can be expressed in two main ways. *Prevalence rates* are the percentage of those aged 16 or more who experienced a specific crime once or more. *Incidence rates* express the number of crimes experienced by each 100 people in the sample. These count all incidents against victims who may have experienced more than one incident. Use is made of both 'last year' (1999) incidence and prevalence rates in this chapter, but the latter are mainly chosen to compare levels of victimisation. Although prevalence rates do not reflect the number of times people are victimised, they are a simple and valid measure of the distribution of crime across national populations.

The ICVS allows prevalence rate estimates for both the calendar year preceding the survey, and for the last five years. Incidence rates can only be calculated for 'last year' incidents (see Chapter 1). Findings about the last year (1999 in the case of the 2000 ICVS) will be most accurate, because less serious incidents which took place some time ago tend to be forgotten.<sup>9</sup>

This chapter focuses on:

- Prevalence risks for the eleven main types of victimisation measured by the ICVS. (Full details of prevalence and incidence risks for 1999 are in Tables 1 to 6 in Appendix 4. Also shown are risks in the industrialised countries that have taken part in earlier sweeps of the ICVS.)
- Results from a limited number of questions about consumer fraud and corruption.
- A measure of overall risk in 1999 (based on the eleven key ICVS crimes).
- Country profiles of victimisation, seeing how different types of offences contribute to the overall picture of victimisation in different countries.
- The seriousness of crimes as perceived by their victims, and whether the picture of risk differs when seriousness is taken into account.
- An assessment of trends in crime as measured by the ICVS since the first survey in 1988.

<sup>9</sup> Memory loss explains the fact that five year victimisation rates are only three and a half times higher than calendar year rates.

A broad distinction can be drawn between property and contact crime. All of the former, with the exception of 'theft of personal property', are what were described in Chapter 1 as 'household crimes' (i.e., respondents were asked about the experience of the household as a whole). For some crimes, sub-divisions are possible by drawing on questions about the nature of what happened. Details are below.

#### **Property crime**

Theft of cars  
Theft from cars  
Vandalism to cars  
Motorcycle theft  
Bicycle theft  
Burglary with entry  
Attempted burglary  
Theft of personal property

#### **Contact crime**

Robbery  
Sexual incidents  
– Sexual assaults  
– Offensive sexual behaviour  
Assaults and threats  
– Assaults with force  
– Threats

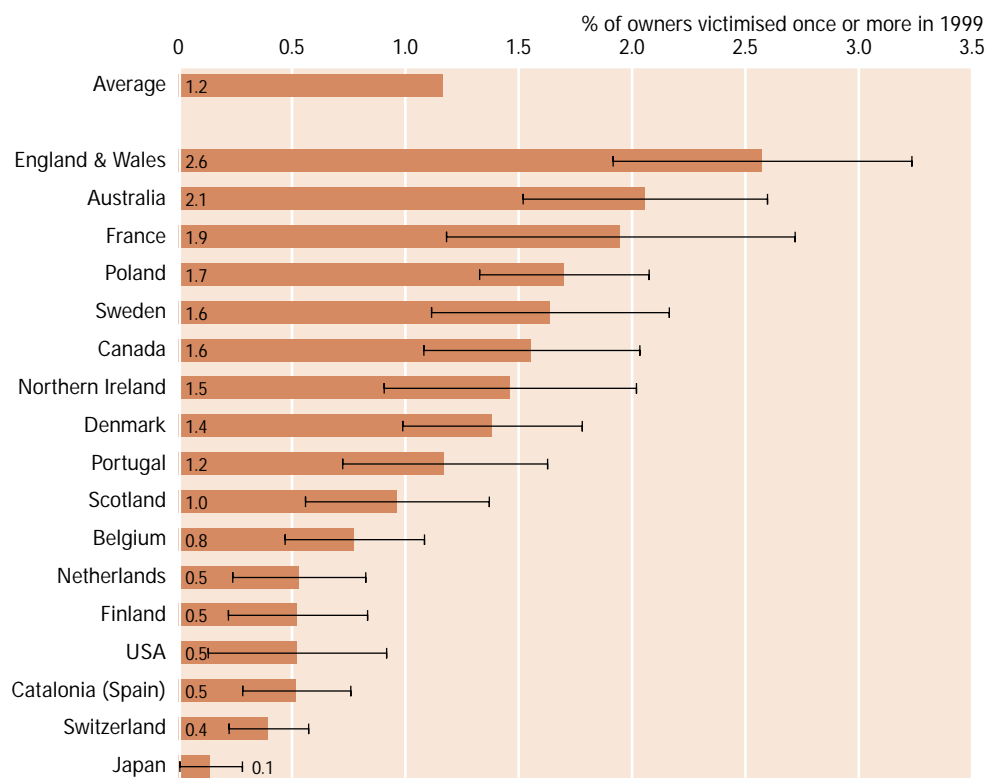
The relatively small sample sizes in the ICVS mean that it is often a matter of statistical chance which country, among those with high levels, emerges with the highest rate on any particular type of crime. However, it is almost always the case that countries with the highest rates of victimisation have rates that are statistically significantly higher than countries with the lowest rates. As a broad indication of which countries have relatively high or low rates of victimisation, then, the graphs which follow provide a sound enough guide. In some charts, error bars are shown to reflect the fact that samples of the population are taken. The error bars are set at the 10% confidence level. In other words, they show the range of risk within which there is a 90% chance that the true level of victimisation lies. (Further details of sampling error are in Appendix 2.)

### **2.2 Car-related crime**

The ICVS questions here relate to cars, vans and trucks (called 'cars' for simplicity hereafter). The relevant crimes are (i) theft of a car, (ii) theft from or out of a car, and (iii) vandalism to cars. Risks are best considered for those who said they owned cars since although ownership levels in the seventeen countries were high, there was some variation.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Ownership was highest in Australia (93%), the USA (90%), Canada (88%), and France (88%). It was lowest in Poland (61%), Scotland (76%) and Portugal (77%). The picture of risks on a full population base is very similar to owner risks – e.g., the Spearman correlation is 0.97 ( $p < 0.05$ ;  $n = 17$ ) for thefts of cars. Details of population-based prevalence risks are in Appendix 4, Table 1; population incidence risks are in Appendix 4, Table 2; and owner-based risks are in Appendix 4, Table 3.

Figure 1 Theft of cars



### *Theft of cars*

Risks for car owners were highest in England and Wales, where 2.6% had a car stolen in 1999. Risks are next highest in Australia (2.1%) and France (1.9%). Those facing lowest risks were in Japan (0.1%), Switzerland (0.4%), Catalonia, the USA, Finland, and the Netherlands (all 0.5%). Details are in Figure 1. Relatively few victims had a car stolen more than once, so the picture for incidence risks is very similar.<sup>11</sup> Cars are usually thought to be stolen for two main reasons: either for 'joyriding' (when the car is usually recovered), or for extended personal use, resale or stripping (e.g., Clarke, 1991, Fijnaut, et al., 1998). On average, seven in ten stolen cars were eventually recovered. Recovery rates were highest in Sweden (97%), Denmark (96%), Portugal (88%), Australia (85%) and the USA (80%), indicating more thefts for 'joyriding', or higher penetration perhaps of tracking devices. Those in Poland (47%), Japan (61%), Belgium (65%) and the Netherlands (65%) were least likely to get their

11 The Spearman correlation was 0.98 ( $p < 0.05$ ;  $n = 16$ ).

cars back. These patterns are very consistent over time for countries in previous ICVS sweeps.

There was little change in the proportion of stolen cars recovered between 1996 and 2000 for 11 countries with two measures. But in the European countries taking part in earlier sweeps, the proportion recovered is now lower than it was in 1992 and 1989.<sup>12</sup> The drop is consistent with a trend towards more 'professional' theft that was suggested in the 1996 ICVS – albeit not one that has seemingly continued further. The demand for second-hand or stolen cars in Eastern Europe since the opening of borders may have increased professional thefts in the first half of the 1990s. Certainly other ICVS results indicate that generally few victims of car theft in countries in Eastern Europe get their cars back (e.g., Zvekic, 1996). And, here, Poland is a good example of this. It may be that better police and border patrol activities have stemmed these somewhat since 1996 (Fijnaut, 1998).

#### *Thefts from cars*

Respondents were also asked about thefts from a car, van or truck. These covered items left in the vehicle (such as coats), equipment from within it (such as audio equipment and mobile telephones), and parts taken off it (such as wing mirrors and badges).

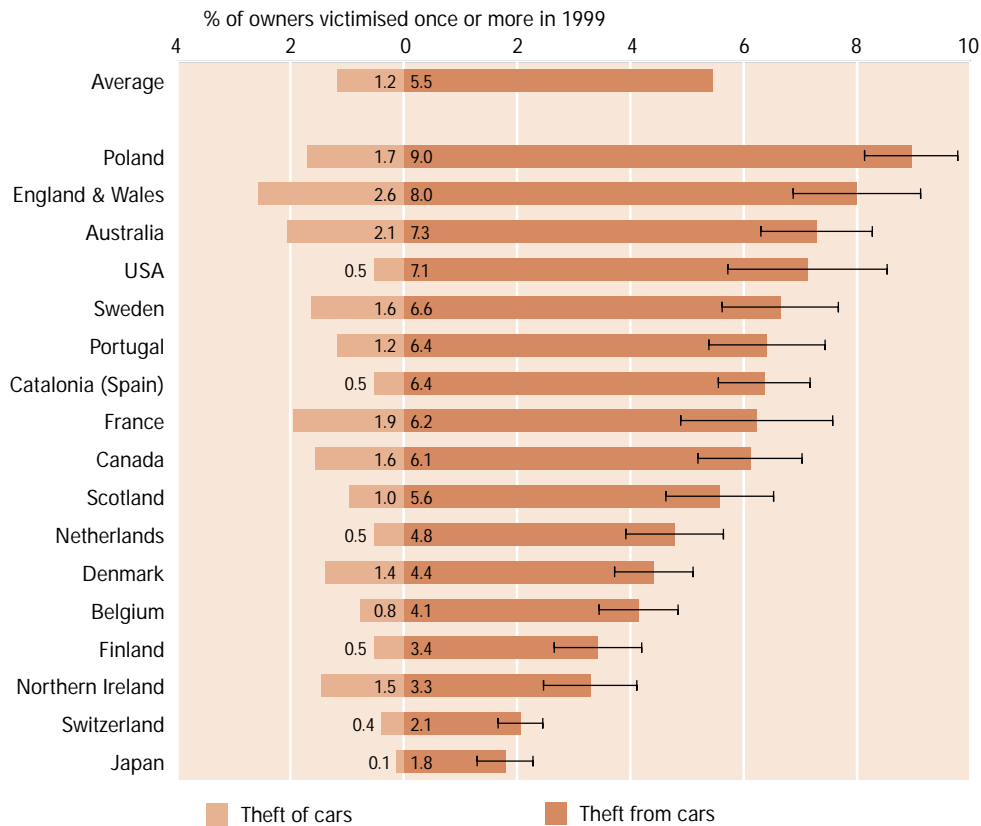
Having something stolen from or out of a car was much more common than having the car itself stolen. Those most at risk were in Poland (9% of owners had a theft from their car), England and Wales (8%), Australia (7%), and the USA (7%). The lowest risks were in Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Japan: 4% or less were victimised.

The pattern of relative risks of thefts of and from cars across the different countries is not too dissimilar, although there are some differences. For instance, while car owners in Northern Ireland fare slightly worse than average in risks of thefts of their cars, thefts from cars are lower than average. In France, too, risks of thefts of cars are comparatively high, but thefts from cars only just above the average. In contrast, risks for owners in the USA of having their car taken are relatively very low, but thefts from their cars are quite high. There is a similar picture in Catalonia. Figure 2 shows risks of thefts from car, contrasting them with risks of thefts of cars.

The pattern of where thefts took place is broadly similar to thefts of cars. On average, over half of victims (54%) said the theft from their car took place at or near home – slightly less home-based than thefts of cars (60%). This will reflect the fact that cars will be parked there longest. About one in five thefts happened elsewhere

12 This is so even excluding Poland where there has been a marked drop in recovery rates since 1989. For instance, in five European countries in the 1992 and 2000 ICVS the proportion of cars recovered fell from 78% to 68%; or from 78% to 73% without Poland. For six European countries in the 1989 and 2000 sweeps, the proportion of cars recovered fell from 74% to 69%.

Figure 2 Thefts from and of cars



Countries are sorted by 'theft from cars'.

in the city or town where people lived. Two per cent of incidents of both types took place abroad. Drawing on previous ICVS results here too (as numbers are small), the proportion of those with cars stolen abroad was higher in Belgium, Finland, and the Netherlands. Travel patterns might be a factor here.

#### *Vandalism to cars*

The highest car vandalism levels were in Scotland, Poland, England and Wales, the Netherlands, and Australia: in each, 10% or more owners had some damage to their cars in 1999. Levels were 5% or less in Northern Ireland, Japan, Denmark, Switzerland and Finland. In general, car vandalism occurs about half as often again as thefts from cars.

The relative ranking of countries with respect to vandalism and thefts from cars is relatively similar: countries with higher levels of thefts from car also tend to have

higher levels of car vandalism.<sup>13</sup> There are a few exceptions however. Owners in Scotland and the Netherlands are relatively much more prone to car vandalism, with risks about twice as those for thefts from cars. In contrast, owners in the USA, Canada, and the Nordic countries (Finland, Sweden and Denmark) fare better comparatively speaking with regard to car vandalism than thefts from cars, with risk levels for each broadly similar.

The relationship between levels of car vandalism and theft *of* cars is less strong and is only just statistically significant.<sup>14</sup> Scotland, the Netherlands and Catalonia had a worse record on vandalism than on thefts of cars, whereas the Nordic countries, Canada and Northern Ireland did better relative to risks of thefts of cars.

Where the vandalism took place shows an almost identical pattern as for theft of a car and theft from a car.

### 2.3 Motorcycle theft

There were very different levels of motorcycle ownership in the seventeen countries. Highest levels were in Japan (33% had a motorised two-wheeler), Sweden, Switzerland, Catalonia, the Netherlands, France, and Portugal (all about 20% or slightly more). Reflecting the generally small proportion of owners, theft rates for owners are substantially higher than population rates (see Tables 1 and 3 in Appendix 4). The highest risks for motorcycle owners were in Denmark, England and Wales: 4% of owners had a motorcycle stolen. Although Japan has generally low victimisation levels for most crime, thefts of motorcycles were comparatively high (3%).

In 11 of the 17 countries, risks for motorcycle were greater than the risk of a car being stolen for car owners. (In Sweden, risks were very similar). Generally, motorcycle thefts were most common where motorcycles were more frequently owned.<sup>15</sup> In other words, a more plentiful supply of targets appears to encourage rather than dampen theft 'demand'. One reason for this may be simply that more offenders are able to ride motorcycles. However, reflecting the small numbers here, the relationship between ownership and risk was not exact. Risks were higher in England and Wales, Scotland and Denmark relative to ownership levels. Switzerland had fewer thefts than ownership levels might predict.

13 The Spearman correlation is 0.68 ( $p < 0.10$ ;  $n = 17$ ).

14 The Spearman correlation between car vandalism and thefts of cars is 0.44 ( $p < 0.10$ ;  $n = 17$ ).

15 The Spearman correlation between levels of motorcycle ownership and population victimisation rates was 0.66 ( $p < 0.05$ ;  $n = 17$ ).

## 2.4 Bicycle theft

There was a similar relationship between levels of bicycle ownership and levels of bicycle theft. The highest theft risks were in Japan, Sweden, the Netherlands and Denmark. In each, about 8% of owners had a bicycle taken, and each had much higher than average ownership levels. The lowest risks were in Catalonia, Portugal and Northern Ireland, France and Australia: 3% of owners or fewer were victimised.

For all countries, bicycle owners were more likely to have a bicycle stolen (average risk 4.7%) than a car owner was to have a car stolen (average risks 1.2%). The same held for motorcycle theft (average risk 1.9%), although the difference in risks for bicycle owners and motorcycles owners was narrower in England and Wales, Portugal and the USA.

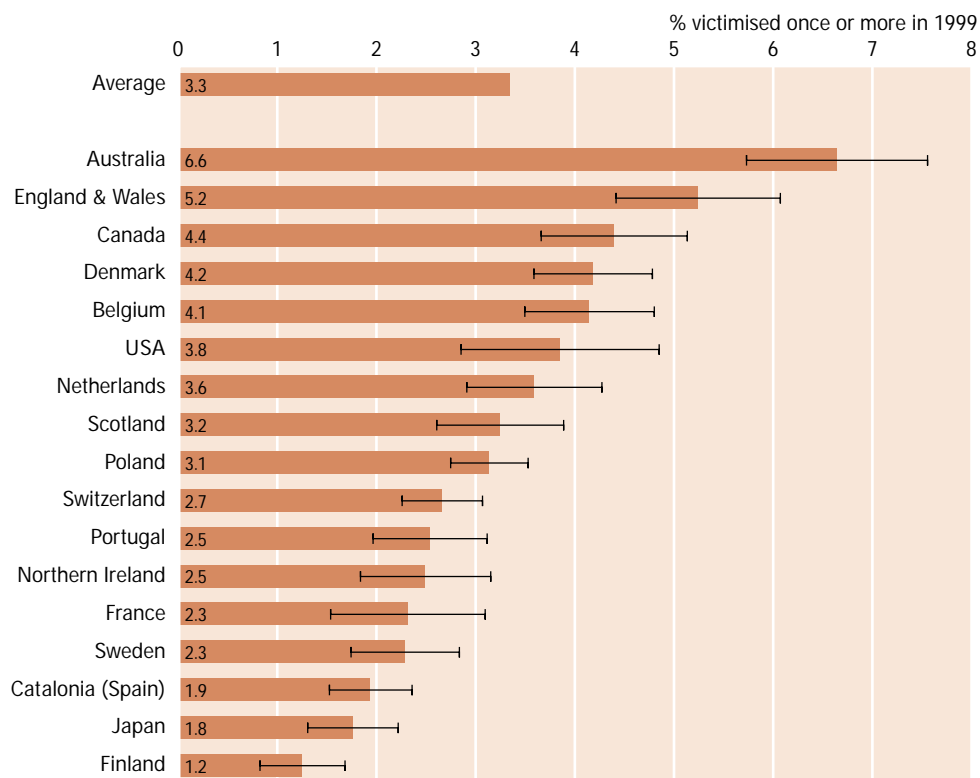
Previous analysis of ICVS results has shown a strong inverse relationship between rates of car theft and rates of bicycle theft, even when multivariate analysis has taken into account the level of urbanisation, GDP, and levels of other crime for instance (Van Dijk, 1991; Mayhew, 1991). Thus, in countries where bicycle ownership is high and bicycle theft common, stealing cars occurs less often. In the 2000 ICVS, the results were in the same direction, but slightly less strong. Of the eight countries with the highest bicycle ownership levels, seven of them were among the eight countries with highest bicycle theft rates, and five had the lowest car theft rates.

Since bicycles and motorcycles are generally used for short distances, it is no surprise that they are most often stolen from close to home (two-thirds were). About a quarter were stolen elsewhere than where people lived (with the highest figures in the Netherlands, Denmark and Japan where cycling is a common means of travel). In total, 9% of thefts took place at work, elsewhere in the country, or abroad.

## 2.5 Burglary

There was a fairly broad range in the proportion of households in 1999 that experienced one or more burglary (whether with entry, or an attempt). The highest risks were in Australia (6.6%) and England and Wales (5.2%). The lowest rates were in Catalonia, Japan, and Finland (see Figure 3). Relative positions in terms of incidents per 100 households were very similar, although the USA fared slightly worse when burglary was measured in terms of incidence, as has been found before in the ICVS. In contrast, Northern Ireland and Denmark fell back on incidence risks relative to prevalence ones.

Figure 3 Burglary and attempts

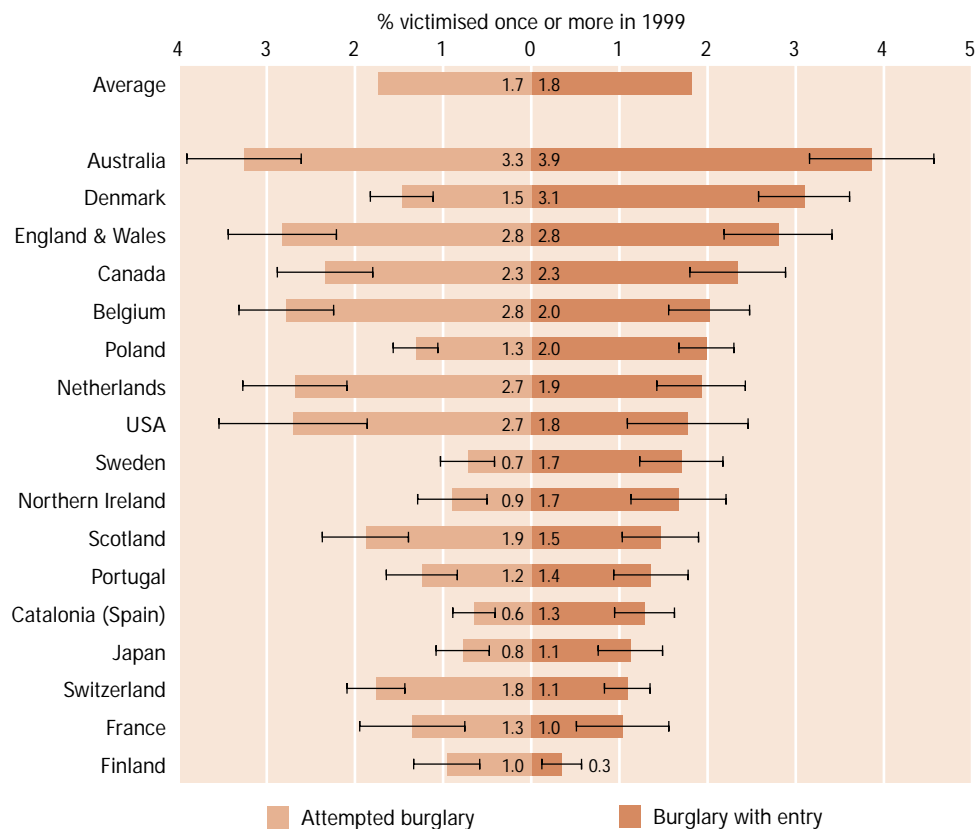


The pattern of relative risk across country is reasonably similar whether the focus is on burglary with entry or attempts.<sup>16</sup> The main difference is that, compared to their position with respect of burglary with entry, Finland, France, Scotland, and the USA fared relatively rather worse for attempts (Figure 4). In contrast, compared with the levels of attempts, the level of burglary with entry was relatively higher in Denmark, Sweden and Poland.

Nonetheless, the proportion of burglaries that involved attempts varied somewhat by country. The figures were highest in Finland (72%), France, Belgium, Scotland, the Netherlands, Switzerland, England and Wales, and the USA (all above 50%). (With the exception of Switzerland, this is similar to the results from the 1996 sweep for those countries which took part then.) In contrast, most burglars in Sweden,

16 That is, countries with a higher rate of burglary with entry also tend to have a higher rate of attempted burglaries. (The Spearman correlation was 0.69 ( $p < 0.10$ ;  $n = 17$ .)

Figure 4 Burglary with entry and attempted burglary



Countries are sorted by 'burglary with entry'.

**Denmark, Catalonia and Northern Ireland got into houses: only about a third or fewer burglaries involved attempts.**

Where there are proportionately more attempted burglaries, this might suggest that householders are better protected by security devices, so that burglars more often fail to gain entry. In the past, the ICVS results have lent some support to this.<sup>17</sup> The same pattern broadly holds in the current sweep, although the relationship was weaker due in particular to Finland, which had the highest percentage of attempted burglaries, but one of the lowest levels of security. Another outlier was Australia.

<sup>17</sup> This draws on questions which ask householders about the precautions they take against burglary (see Chapter 5). A measure of 'high' security is based on those who said they had one or more of: a burglar alarm or special door locks.

Here, the level of security was relatively high, but more burglars got into homes than would be predicted.<sup>18</sup>

## 2.6 Theft of personal property

The residual category of property crime in the ICVS is theft of personal property (such as a purse, wallet, clothing, sports or work equipment). Most of these crimes are perceived less seriously. Most thefts of personal property involved no contact between victim and offender. But in roughly a third of cases on average, the victim said they were carrying what was stolen. For present purposes, these are called cases of 'pickpocketing'.<sup>19</sup>

National rates of thefts of personal property are somewhat difficult to interpret because they are likely to be heterogeneous in nature. Taken as a whole, those in Australia (6.5%), Sweden (5.8%) and Poland (5.3%) experienced most thefts. Levels were lowest in Japan (0.5%), Portugal (1.9%), and Northern Ireland (2.2%). The picture on the basis of incidence rates was very similar.

### *Pickpocketing*

Pickpocketing was most common in Poland (4.0% were victimised once or more), echoing previous ICVS results. Rates were also relatively high in Belgium (2.1%), the Netherlands (1.9%), Denmark and Catalonia (both 1.8%), and England and Wales (1.7%). In line with previous results, rates were lowest outside Europe (i.e., in Japan, Canada, the USA), although Australia had near average levels, and within Europe, risks were particularly low in Northern Ireland.

## 2.7 Contact crimes

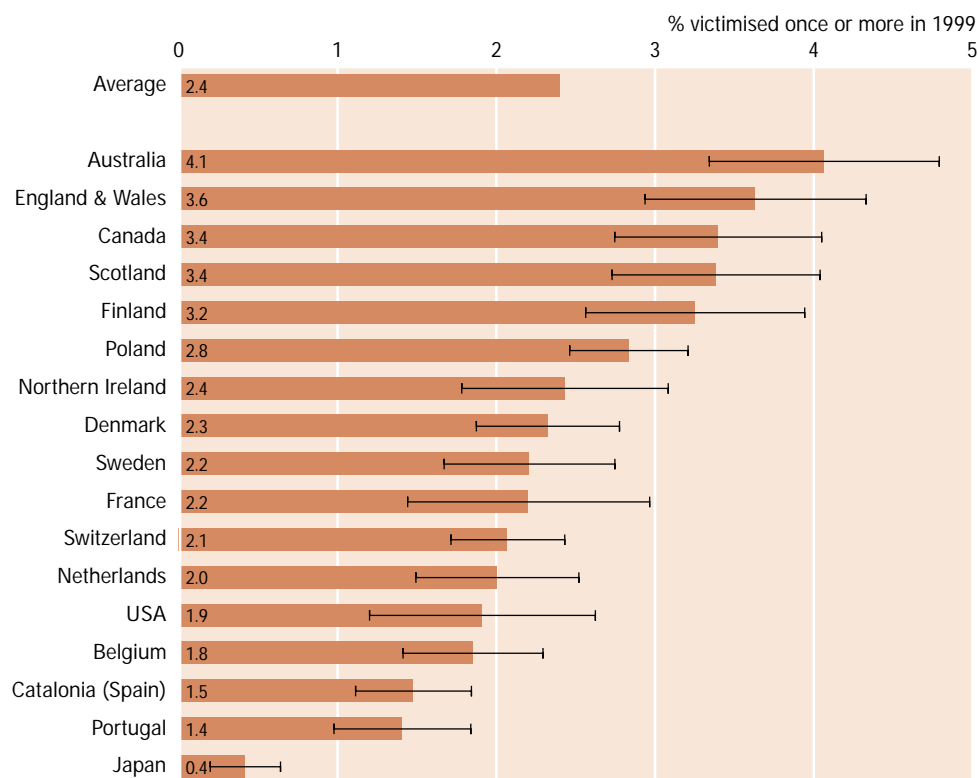
The three contact crimes in the ICVS are robbery, sexual incidents, and assaults and threats. Sexual incidents divide into sexual assault and what victims described as offensive sexual behaviour. Assaults and threats can be separated into assaults with forces and threats only.

We take first a summary measure of aggressive contact crime: robbery, sexual assaults and assaults with force (Figure 5). There is then some discussion of the

18 Taking 20 individual countries since the 1992 sweep to maximise range, the proportion of attempted burglaries was 53% in the seven countries with appreciably higher security levels, but 43% in the other countries. The Spearman correlation between the proportion of attempts and the security measure was 0.57 ( $p < 0.10$ ;  $n = 19$ , Finland excluded). The security measure here is the percentage of homes with a burglar alarm or special door locks. Incidence rates are taken to measure the proportion of attempted burglaries.

19 Information on pickpocketing was not available for Switzerland. Details of how pickpocketing rates are calculated are in Table 6, in Appendix 4.

Figure 5 Selected contact crime (robbery, sexual assault and assault with force)



three full contact crimes in turn, since the pattern of national risks differs somewhat for each. It should be borne in mind that risks are relatively low for each type of contact crime. Firm conclusions about relative vulnerability are therefore hard to draw.

The highest rates of aggressive contact crime were for those in Australia (4.1% were victimised once or more). The next highest risks were in England and Wales, Canada and Scotland (around 3.5%). There were very low risks in Japan, Portugal, and Catalonia (1.5% or less).

#### *Robbery*

The risk of robbery was comparatively low in all countries. On the face of it, risks were highest in 1999 in Poland (1.8%), Australia (1.2%), England and Wales (1.2%), Portugal (1.1%) and France (1.1%) – levels which will be statistically indistinguishable. By far the lowest risks were in Japan and Northern Ireland (0.1%).

There was some similarity in the picture of risks of robbery and pickpocketing, which may reflect fairly similar offending patterns. However, Finland, Denmark, the Netherlands and Belgium ranked rather higher on pickpocketing than they did with regard to robbery. In contrast, robbery risks were higher relative to pickpocketing in Portugal, Australia and Canada.<sup>20</sup>

#### *The details of robbery*

Approaching half of robberies and pickpocketing happen in the city or town whether victims live, with a fifth happening nearer to home. Of robbery incidents specifically, 9% happened abroad, with the highest figures for those from Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden and Japan.

About six in ten victims said that more than one offender was involved – similar to previous sweeps. According to the 2000 ICVS, multiple offenders were most common in Belgium, Northern Ireland, Poland and Scotland, although the small number of robberies involved calls for considerable caution.<sup>21</sup>

Robbery victims were asked whether the offender(s) carried a weapon of some sort. On average, in just over a third of victims said they did – similar to the 1996 ICVS. Weapons were actually used in about four in ten incidents where a weapon was present, again as in the 1996 sweep. The small numerical base makes it difficult to draw out differences between countries. But on the face of it, those in the USA, France, Catalonia, Scotland, Portugal and Canada were most likely to say a weapon was carried. In most cases, a knife had been carried (the average was one in two weapon incidents). Robbery offenders carried a gun in a fifth of incidents on average. The use of guns was most common in Catalonia and the USA.

#### *Sexual incidents*

The question put to female respondents was:

‘First, a rather personal question. People sometimes grab, touch or assault others for sexual reasons in a really offensive way. This can happen either at home, or elsewhere, for instance in a pub, the street, at school, on public transport, in cinemas, on the beach, or at one’s workplace. Over the past five years, has anyone done this to you? Please take your time to think about this.’

Measuring sexual incidents is extremely difficult in victimisation surveys, since perceptions as to what is unacceptable sexual behaviour may differ across country, as well as readiness to report incidents to an interviewer on the phone. The ICVS 2000 measures, then, need a light touch.

20 The correlation between robbery and pickpocketing was  $r=0.45$  ( $p<0.10$ ;  $n=16$ ).

21 The same pattern was not evident for instance for Belgium in 1992, and Scotland in 1996.

### *Sexual assaults*

Sexual assaults (i.e., incidents described as rape, attempted rape or indecent assaults) were less common than offensive sexual behaviour. For all countries combined, just over one per cent of women (1.3%) reported offensive sexual behaviour, but only 0.6% reported sexual assaults.

About one in a hundred women in Sweden, Finland, Australia and England and Wales reported assaults, and differences between them are statistically negligible. Women in Japan, Northern Ireland, Poland and Portugal were least at risk, though again, the differences in risk are statistically weak compared to other countries at the middle level.

### *Offensive sexual behaviour*

More women in Australia, Finland, the Netherlands, and Denmark (over 2%) reported offensive sexual behaviour than elsewhere. (Risks of sexual assault in these countries were also comparatively high, with the exception of Denmark.) There were low risks in Poland, France, Portugal, Catalonia and Northern Ireland. Again, the position with regard to sexual assaults was similar, except that rankings for sexual assaults were higher in France and Northern Ireland.

Looking at what women said about the 'last incident' that had occurred, and taking all countries together since numbers are small, offenders were known in about half of the incidents described as both offensive behaviour and sexual assault. (In a third they were known by name, and in about a sixth by sight.) In sexual assaults, partners, ex-partners, boyfriends, relative or friends were involved in one in five incidents of assault, but in a smaller proportion of incidents involving offensive behaviour – about one in ten. These results are very similar to those from the 1996 ICVS.

Most sexual incidents involved only one offender. Weapons were very rarely involved in sexual assaults.

### *Assaults and threats*

The question asked of respondents to identify assaults and threats was:

'Apart from the incidents just covered, have you over the past five years been personally attacked or threatened by someone in a way that really frightened you, either at home or elsewhere, such as in a pub, in the street, at school, on public transport, on the beach, or at your workplace?'

Overall, 3.5% of respondents indicated that they have been a victim of an assault with force or a threat of force. (Details by country are in Appendix 4, Tables 1, 2 and 6.) There were higher than average rates in Australia, Scotland, England and Wales (about 6%), and Canada (5%).

The 2000 questionnaire included an additional screening question which prompted that assaults and threats could have involved a partner, family member or a close

friend. Although the initial question does *not exclude* such incidents, the additional item did lead to more responses. For a fair comparison with the earlier sweeps, these additional responses have been excluded from assaults and threats, and from the discussion of overall victimisation. The additional responses are included though in details of incidents discussed below. On average the extra prompting lead to 0.8% more victims in 1999 (overall, 4.4% were victimised). It was somewhat higher in the Netherlands and Australia, but less in Japan, France and the USA. As with sexual incidents, differences in definitional thresholds cannot be ruled out in explaining the pattern of ICVS results. However, this should not be overstated. When asked to assess the seriousness of what had happened, there is fair consistency across country in how seriously incidents are viewed (see Table 8 in Appendix 4, and later discussion in this chapter).

#### *Assaults with force*

For the sub-set of incidents which are described as amounting to more than a threat of force, risks were highest in Scotland and England and Wales (about 3% reported having been victimised once or more). Following closely behind were Australia, Canada, Finland and Northern Ireland. Risks were lowest in Japan, Portugal and Catalonia (0.5% or less).

Looking at what was said about the 'last incident', and again taking all countries together, offenders were known in about half the incidents of both assaults and threats. Men, though, were less likely to know the offender(s) (about four in ten knew them) than women (about six in ten).

Taking assaults and threats together again, for all countries combined, weapons were said to have been used (if only as a threat) in just under a quarter of incidents. The figure was higher with male victims than females. In more than 40% of incidents in which a weapon was used, victims mentioned a knife, and in nearly 10% a gun.

Just over a third of assaults and threats and sexual incidents happened at or near home, with the proportions somewhat higher for the assaults and threats than for the sexual incidents. 16% of incidents happened at work, the most reported in the Netherlands and Sweden.

## **2.8 Consumer fraud**

The ICVS asked about consumer fraud for the first time in the 1992 sweep in industrialised countries. People were asked whether someone – when selling something to them, or delivering a service – cheated them in terms of quantity or quality of the goods or services. Although the question does not exclude serious incidents of fraud, most of the incidents reported probably amounted to cheating.

On average, 7.5% of respondents said they experienced some type of consumer fraud in 1999. Poland, Denmark, the USA, Finland, and Sweden had relatively high rates, i.e. about 10% of more were victimised. Levels of fraud were low in Japan, Northern Ireland, the Netherlands, France, and Scotland (less than 5%). For countries in previous sweeps, results were largely similar.<sup>22</sup>

Many victims (about 45% overall) did not specify where the fraud had taken place, but just over a third mentioned shops, and about one in ten mentioned building or construction work. Few incidents were reported to the police, but other agencies were notified about rather more incidents. Details by country are given in Table 5 in Appendix 4.

## 2.9 Corruption

The 1996 ICVS, introduced a question on corruption, chiefly to set the experience of those in industrialised countries alongside countries elsewhere in the world. People were asked:

‘In some countries, there is a problem of corruption among government or public officials. During 1999, 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 or her services?’

Whereas on average nearly one in five people in the developing world reported incidents involving corruption, and about one in eight in Eastern European countries (Zvekic, 1998), corruption was very uncommon in the industrialised countries. In 13 of the 16 countries, less than 0.5% reported any incident, with the figures only marginally higher in France and Portugal (just over 1%). As had been the case in the 1996 sweep, those in Poland stood out (5%), with government officials and police officers being cited most often.<sup>23</sup> Details for all countries are in Table 4 in Appendix 4.

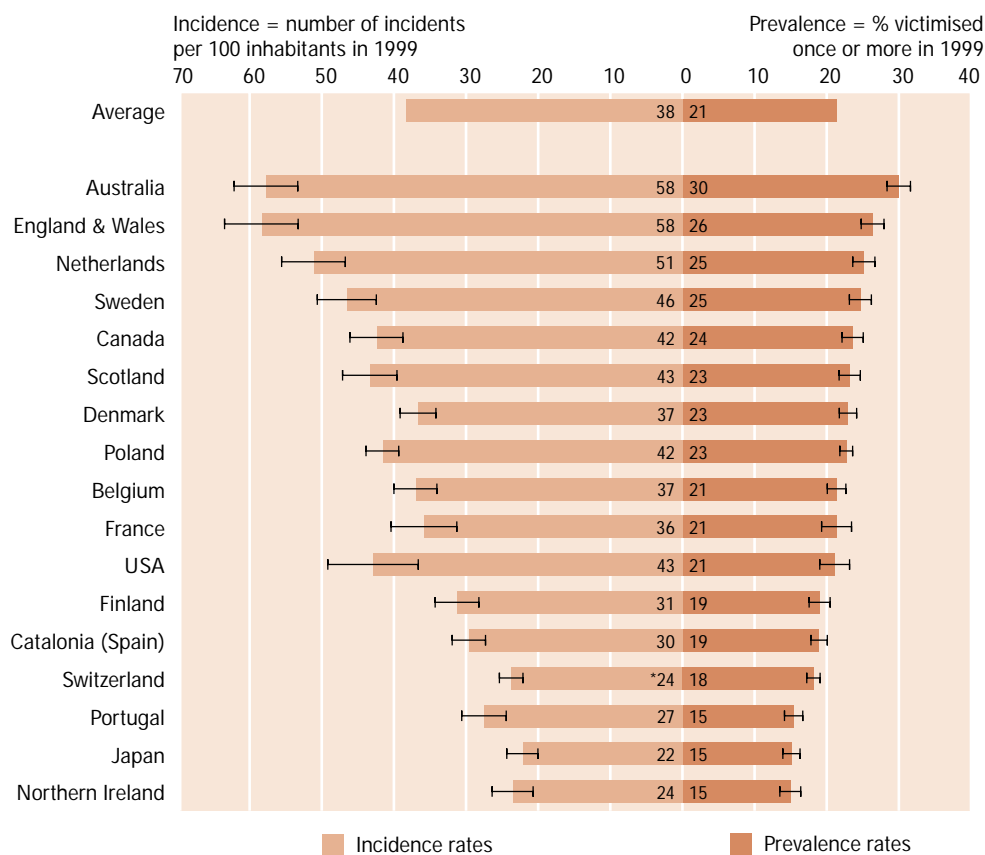
## 2.10 Overall risks

We offer two measures of the overall impact of crime in the seventeen countries. The first is the percentage of people victimised once or more in the past year by any of the eleven crimes covered – a prevalence risk. The second is the number of crimes of

<sup>22</sup> There was no information for Switzerland in 2000. In the previous survey, there was average experience of consumer fraud.

<sup>23</sup> There was no information for Switzerland in 2000. In the previous survey, very few indeed (0.2%) reported any incident of corruption.

Figure 6 Overall victimisation



Countries are sorted by prevalence rates.

\* Incidence rates for Switzerland are estimated.

all types per 100 respondents – an incidence risk. They are complementary measures of risk, and are presented in Figure 6.<sup>24</sup>

The six countries with the highest overall prevalence victimisation rates are Australia (30% of people were victimised once or more), England and Wales (26%), the Netherlands (25%) and Sweden (25%), Canada (24%) and Scotland (23%). They have significantly higher overall victimisation rates (in a statistical sense at the 10% probability level) than the average of all ICVS countries. Northern Ireland, Japan,

24 Prevalence risks for the eleven crimes are in Table 1 in Appendix 4. Incidence risks for ten crimes are in Table 2, Appendix 4. Ten crimes are shown here as incidence rates for attempted burglary are not available for 1988. Incidence risks for Switzerland for 2000 are estimated on the basis of the relationship between prevalence and incidence risks in previous sweeps.

Portugal, Switzerland and Catalonia had risks on the prevalence measure significantly lower than the average. And Northern Ireland, Japan and Portugal report significantly lower prevalence rates than any other country.

The picture on the basis of the number of crimes experienced (incidence risks) is somewhat different. Most notably, the USA fares relatively worse on incidence risks (in sixth position) than on prevalence risks (eleventh position). In contrast, Denmark and Canada fare rather better on incidence risks – although the change in positions is not as marked as with the USA. Incidence risks are highest in England and Wales, and Australia. Both have 58 incidents per 100, with risks that are statistically higher than all other countries except the Netherlands (51) with the next highest incidence risks.

On the face of it, the two measures indicate that where incidence is high relative to prevalence, there is more concentration of crime among those who are victimised. In Switzerland, Japan, Northern Ireland, Catalonia, Portugal, Finland, and Denmark, the gap between prevalence and incidence risks is narrowest, suggesting a more even spread of crime. In England and Wales, Australia, the Netherlands, Sweden and the USA, the gap is widest, suggesting that when people are victims they are more prone to repeated victimisation. A more geographical concentration of crime may be a factor.

### 2.11 Country profiles of crime

The ‘make-up’ or profile of crime in different countries will reflect the pattern of victimisation risk and the frequency of one type of victimisation relative to another. It does not say much about relative levels of victimisation, but it is a useful way of showing how the burden of crime in quantitative terms differs across country. Table 4 shows the main patterns. (The analysis is done on incidence rates, with the total number of crimes set to 100%.) Switzerland is omitted.<sup>25</sup> A fuller breakdown of all offence types, and for other sweeps is in Table 7 in Appendix 4. We start with an overview for all 16 countries combined, and then consider the features of the make-up of crime in individual countries.

#### *The general profile*

The main features of the average profile of crime are that:

- Contact crime comprises about a quarter of all crimes, with assaults and threats making up about two-thirds of these (or 15% of all crime). Robbery forms a very small proportion of contact crime, and this applies to all countries.

25 No incidence rates were available for 2000 to assess its country profile.

**Table 4** The profile of crime in different countries: (percentage of all offences: total = 100%): 2000 ICVS<sup>1</sup>

	Thefts from and of cars	Car vandalism	Motorcycle and bicycle theft	Burglary with entry and attempts	All contact crime <sup>2</sup>	Theft of personal property
Australia	18	20	4	15	29	14
Belgium	14	23	15	17	19	13
Canada	20	15	10	13	27	15
Catalonia (Spain)	25	38	4	7	14	12
Denmark	14	13	26	13	21	12
England & Wales	19	23	6	12	30	10
Finland	11	16	19	6	36	13
France	23	31	6	8	24	9
Japan	8	26	40	13	11	2
Netherlands	12	26	21	10	19	12
Northern Ireland	20	25	10	11	22	11
Poland	21	23	10	10	20	16
Portugal	29	33	4	13	14	8
Scotland	16	30	6	9	28	12
Sweden	19	14	21	7	24	16
USA	20	22	7	15	20	16
Average	18	24	13	11	22	12

1 Based on incidence rates. Percentages add to 100%.

2 Based on robbery, sexual incidents, and assaults and threats.

- Car vandalism also makes up nearly a quarter of the incidents experienced overall.
- Theft of and from cars together comprise rather less a fifth of all crimes (18%), with thefts from cars having by far the larger share (15%).
- The largest difference between countries is with regard to theft of bicycles, which reflects varying ownership rates.

The overall profile of crime according to the 2000 ICVS is very similar to that from previous ICVS sweeps, when countries taking part in each are compared.

#### *Australia*

Compared to the overall picture, crime in Australia comprises proportionately more contact crime and burglary. Compared to elsewhere, thefts of motorcycles and bicycle ('two-wheelers') are a relatively insignificant problem. This profile is similar to the 1992 survey, although there were proportionately more assaults and threats in the 1992 survey, but less car damage.

*Belgium*

Burglary in Belgium was proportionately more important in its crime make-up than elsewhere. Car-related thefts were relatively rather less significant, as was contact crime. In other respects, Belgium fits the average victimisation pattern reasonably well. Compared to 1992, car-related thefts have become a rather smaller problem, but at the expense of a greater share for contact crime.

*Canada*

Compared to the average picture, the crime profile in Canada is weighted rather more towards contact crime and thefts of personal property, and rather less towards car vandalism. The profile in the 1996 ICVS was fairly similar.

*Catalonia (Spain)*

The make-up of crime in Catalonia does not mirror the overall picture. There was proportionately much more car-related theft and car vandalism (over 60% percent of all crimes). Theft of two-wheelers formed a smaller than average proportion of all crimes, although Catalonia was unusual in having similar rates for both motorcycle and bicycle thefts, whereas elsewhere bicycle thefts predominate. Burglary and contact crime also formed a much smaller proportion of crime than elsewhere.

*Denmark*

The profile of crime in Denmark is reasonably average, although bicycle theft takes a larger than average share (about a quarter of all crimes), while offences involving cars are a relatively small problem compared to elsewhere, especially car vandalism.

*England and Wales*

The crime make-up in England and Wales is again fairly average. The main differences are that thefts of two-wheelers have a smaller share of all crime, while contact crime has a rather larger one. Since the 1996 sweep, the proportion of car-related thefts has gone down, while the proportion of contact crime has increased.

*Finland*

Finland is unusual in that over a third of all crimes are contact crimes, with the proportion of sexual incidents particularly high. There are also proportionally more thefts of two-wheelers. In contrast, burglary comprises only 6% of all crime in Finland, about half the average proportion. Car related crimes are also less dominant. The profile of crime in Finland in 1996 was almost identical.

*France*

All forms of car crime are relatively more common in France than the average profile. As against this, thefts of two-wheelers, burglary, and thefts of personal

property comprise a smaller proportion of all crimes than they tend to elsewhere. Since 1996, car vandalism has featured even more in the make-up of crime in France, and thefts of two-wheelers bicycle even less. Assaults and threats now also comprise rather more of all crime than in the 1996 sweep.

#### *Japan*

The make-up of crime in Japan is singular. Four in ten crimes were thefts of bicycles or motorcycles (overwhelmingly the former). Some other forms of crime were relatively average in terms of their share, but car-related thefts, thefts of personal property, and assaults and threats were comparatively insignificant. (The notion that any cultural 'response effect' contributes to the low figures for assaults and threats runs somewhat counter to the fact that the proportion of sexual incidents was near average.)

#### *The Netherlands*

The picture in the Netherlands is not dissimilar to Denmark. Bicycle theft accounts for about a fifth of all crimes, while the proportion of thefts of and from cars is relatively low. Other crimes are similar to the general profile. The make-up of crime in the 1996 and 2000 sweeps was very similar.

#### *Northern Ireland*

Northern Ireland's crime profile very much fits the overall average. (Car-related thefts have a very slightly higher share and thefts of two-wheelers slightly less.) Compared to the 1996 sweep, there was proportionately more car vandalism in 2000, bringing the figures more in line with the average. Theft of two-wheelers have also increased in share, again nearer to the average.

#### *Poland*

Again, the make-up of crime in Poland is reasonably average. (There is a slightly higher proportion of car-related thefts, and thefts of personal property.) Compared to the 1996 sweep, there was proportionately more car vandalism in 2000, and even more so than in 1992. Car-related thefts have also increased relative to 1996, alongside a fall in the proportionate share for contact crime.

#### *Portugal*

The profile of crime in Portugal was similar to that in Catalonia in many respects, and thus unusual. Over 60% of all offences involved cars, while thefts of two-wheelers were very low relatively in terms of share. However, the proportion of burglaries of all crime was nearer to the average in Portugal than Catalonia, while personal thefts were proportionately lower than in Catalonia.

### *Scotland*

Compared to most other countries, car vandalism accounts for a larger part of all crime in Scotland. The same applies to assaults and threats. Thefts of two-wheelers were proportionately unimportant compared to many other countries. There was a fair degree of similarity with England and Wales in the make-up of crime in Scotland. However, England and Wales was only average in relation to car vandalism, unlike Scotland. And car-related thefts and burglary were a bit more dominant in England and Wales than in Scotland in terms of the share of all crime.

In 1996, car-related thefts in Scotland were above average in terms of proportionate share, whereas in 2000 they are below average. In contrast, contact crime (particularly assaults and threats) comprise a larger share of all crime in 2000 compared to other countries, whereas in 1996 the opposite was true.

### *Sweden*

Like Finland, thefts of two-wheelers made up a much bigger share of overall crime (21%) than in many other countries – although the differences was even greater in 1996 (26%). Car vandalism featured less in the profile of crime in Sweden than elsewhere (again similar to Finland). The same was true of burglary. Contact crime was only slightly above (24% of all crimes) the average level (22%). In this respect Sweden differed from Finland where contact crime was a full 26% of all crime in Finland.

As regards changes over time, there were proportionately fewer thefts of two-wheelers in Sweden in the 2000 sweep than in 1996, relative to other countries. The share that car-related thefts made was nearer the average in 2000, whereas it had been lower than average in 1996.

### *USA*

Burglaries and thefts of personal property feature rather more in the make-up of crime in the USA than in other countries. Thefts of two-wheelers, in contrast, take a smaller share of crime. Otherwise, deviations from the average are not pronounced. Since 1996, thefts of personal property and car vandalism both increased in their share of all offences. This goes in tandem with a smaller share for assaults and threats.

### *An overview*

In sum, these country profiles may be of most interest to the countries concerned as a guide to where their dominant crime problems lie in quantitative terms. But some points are worth highlighting of more general interest. In doing so, we anticipate some of the findings in the following section on the seriousness of crime.

— On average, car vandalism forms a full quarter of the crimes experienced by ICVS respondents in industrialised countries. And the figure was higher in Catalonia,

Portugal, France and Scotland. As will be seen in the next section, though, these incidents are not usually regarded as very serious.

- Assaults and threats are not an insignificant part of the crime profiles overall: as said, they comprised 15% of the incidents mentioned. Assaults with force were regarded more seriously than threats. But threats that respondents brought into the survey count were considered on average more seriously than thefts from cars or pickpocketing.
- Catalonia and Portugal stand out against the norm in having a crime problem dominated by incidents involving cars: rather more than 60% of all the crimes counted. Japan was also unusual in that 40% of the crime counted by the ICVS involved thefts of two-wheelers. The distinctive feature of Finland was the unusually high share of all crime that sexual incidents accounted for (over a quarter).

Changes in the profile of crime in particular countries over the ICVS sweeps give a pointer to local agencies as to how the nature of crime is changing. It does not, though, necessarily point to where the biggest changes in *risk* have occurred. For instance, car-related thefts in Poland are now a more dominant feature of its 2000 crime profile than in the 1996 sweep, although there is no evidence of an actual increase in risks. This is because the balance of relative levels of victimisation has changed.

### 2.12 Seriousness of crime

In assessing the burden of crime, overall victimisation rates take no account of the nature of what happened. This means that serious crimes such as robbery are given the same weight in counting victimisation experience as more minor ones (such as bicycle theft) – even though, as shown, some countries have proportionately more minor crimes than others do. This section draws on a question, introduced in the 1992 ICVS, which asks victims to assess the seriousness of what happened. The question asked was: ‘Taking everything into account, how serious was the incident for you (or your household). Was it very serious, fairly serious or not very serious.’

The question on seriousness is used below in three ways:

- *Overall seriousness ranking*: to look at which ICVS crimes were typically felt to be the most serious, and the most minor.
- *Differences in seriousness ratings across countries*: to see whether people in different countries generally view the seriousness of different offences in a similar way.
- *A seriousness index*: to create an index of overall victimisation that takes account of both the profile of crime in different countries and how seriously it is rated.

Table 5 Seriousness of crimes according to victims in 17 countries: 2000 ICVS

	Very serious %	Fairly serious %	Not very serious %
Car theft: not recovered	57	31	11
Sexual assaults	54	30	16
Car theft: recovered	46	38	17
Robbery with weapon	45	34	21
Assault	41	34	25
Burglary with entry	40	34	25
Theft of motorcycle or moped	34	40	26
Robbery without weapon	32	38	30
Other theft of personal property	27	41	32
Threats	27	37	36
Offensive sexual behaviour	21	30	49
Attempted burglary	20	31	49
Pickpocketing	20	35	45
Bicycle theft	15	37	48
Theft from car	14	34	52
Car vandalism	13	31	56

Crimes are sorted by 'very serious'.

#### *Overall seriousness ranking*

Table 5 shows what proportion of ICVS crimes were considered very, fairly and not very serious, taking all 17 countries as a whole. Certain crimes are sub-divided (for instance thefts of cars are divided according to whether or not the car was recovered).

Car thefts where the owner did not get the car back were regarded most seriously (57% of incidents were felt to be very serious). Next most serious were sexual assaults (54%), and then car thefts even if the car was recovered (46%). The seriousness accorded to car theft is likely to reflect the sheer inconvenience of having a car taken, as well as the generally large monetary value of the loss, even though there may be compensation from insurance.

Robbery involving weapon use (45% of incidents were considered very serious) was rated on virtually the same level as thefts of recovered cars (although taking very and fairly seriously together, car thefts were considered more serious). Assaults with force (41%) were much on a par with burglaries in which someone entered the home. The least serious crimes were car vandalism (only 13% were considered very

serious), theft from cars (14%) and bicycle theft (15%). These results are similar to previous ICVS findings.

*Differences in seriousness ratings across countries*

The next issue is whether seriousness ratings for different types of offence vary across country in a way that might suggest different tolerance or attitudinal thresholds to different crimes. To analyse current results, each incident mentioned by victims in different countries was scored for seriousness. (The scores were based on a three-point scale with 'very serious' scored as 3, 'fairly serious' as 2 and 'not very serious' as 1.) The best overall measure of whether seriousness ratings for different types of offences differ across country is to look at the average scores for the 11 ICVS crimes taken together. In computing this average, each of the eleven types of crime was given equal weight so that differences between countries are not affected by variations in victimisation rates. (Full results are in Table 8 in Appendix 4.)

The mean scores for the 11 crimes did not differ very greatly by country. Ten of the seventeen countries had mean scores falling within 10% of the overall average. The general similarity of mean scores suggest that people in different countries have similar attitudinal thresholds as to the seriousness of different crimes. It also suggests that people do not differ very greatly in the *types* of incidents they are prepared to tell interviewers about.

The relatively small variations in seriousness ratings in the 2000 ICVS centred on there being comparatively high mean scores in Northern Ireland (2.2), Catalonia, Japan, England and Wales, and Poland (all 2.1). Lowest scores were found in Denmark (1.6), and Finland (1.7). These differences could reflect possible differences in the nature of crime experienced (which are not particularly well measured in the ICVS) – or some degree of variation in attitudes to crime. They could also be due to differences in connotation of the word 'serious'.

Another issue is whether the *relative* ranking of the seriousness of different crimes differs across country. The 2000 ICVS results (see Table 8 in Appendix 4) show that people in different countries judged the relative seriousness of different crimes with a fair degree of consistency, again suggesting a wide consensus about the import of conventional crime. This is in line with previous analyses on the 1992 survey (Van Dijk and Van Kesteren, 1996) and the 1996 one (Mayhew and Van Dijk, 1997). For 2000, the main results are:<sup>26</sup>

- Car theft was considered by victims as the most serious offence in half of the 16 countries (i.e., the mean scores were highest), and the second or third most serious in all the rest except Denmark.

<sup>26</sup> Motorcycle thefts are excluded from these comparisons because of particularly small numbers of victims.

- Burglary with entry was rated most seriously in four countries, and second most serious in a further six.
- Robbery was considered the most serious offence in four countries and second most serious in another four.
- In virtually all countries, car vandalism was rated as least serious, after which thefts from cars, and then bicycle theft had the lowest mean seriousness scores.

*An index of crime in relation to the seriousness*

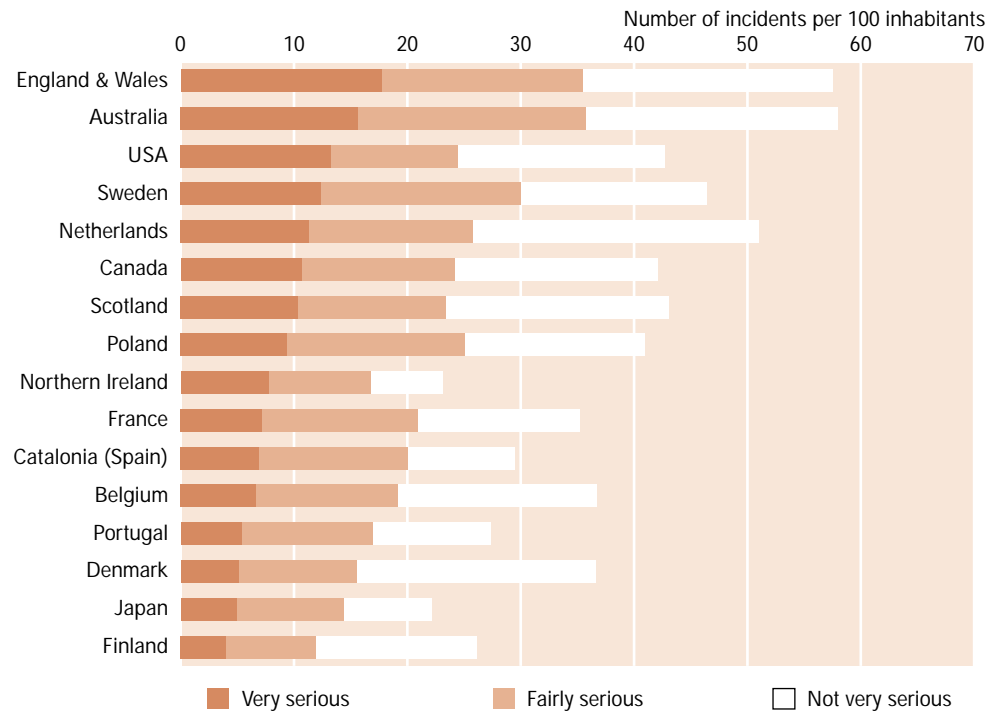
Finally, we turn to the question of whether the picture of the overall 'burden of crime' shown earlier in Figure 6 on the basis of prevalence and incidence rates changes when the seriousness of crimes as judged by victims is taken into account. The approach taken was to calculate an overall incidence rate for each country taking into account the seriousness of each component crime as judged by local victims.<sup>27, 28</sup> The results are in Figure 7, where countries are ranked by the number of 'very serious' crimes per 100 inhabitants.

How do the corrections for crime seriousness alter the 'burden of crime' picture? Most countries remain in more or less the same rank order position as in relation to overall incidence or prevalence risks. Thus, these still stand as reasonable indicators. Comparing overall prevalence risks with risks adjusted for crime seriousness, Australia, England and Wales, the Netherlands and Sweden still remain most pressured by crime. However, Denmark and Canada fall back in the relative order of countries when seriousness is taken into account. In contrast, the USA goes a fair degree higher in the list. The picture is generally similar, too, when unadjusted *incidence* risks are compared with a crime count taking seriousness into account. The USA still moves up, but less so than with the comparison with prevalence rates since it already fared worse on unadjusted incidence rates. Northern Ireland also fares rather worse when seriousness is taken into account.

27 This approach is different from that in the 1996 ICVS analysis, when overall incidence rates were weighted according to seriousness of each component crime as judged the average for the 14 countries in the 1996 analysis. The current approach allows for differences in seriousness perceptions between countries. Since these were modest, however, the general thrust of the 2000 ICVS results is similar to that from 1996.

28 Thus, for instance the 9.4 bicycle thefts per 100 inhabitants in Sweden break down into a rate of 1.6 thefts considered 'very serious' (17% of 9.4), a rate of 3.7 'fairly serious' thefts (39% of 9.4), and a rate of 4.1 'not very serious' thefts (44% of 9.4). The 2.3 burglaries per 100 inhabitants break down into a rate of 1.11 'very serious' (49% of 2.3), 0.68 'fairly serious' (30% of 2.3) and 0.46 'not very serious' (20% of 2.3). The same procedure is applied to all other crimes, and these are then added to produce an overall incidence rate divided into three seriousness levels. In Sweden, the result was a rate 12.4 'very serious' crimes per 100 inhabitants, a rate of 17.6 'fairly serious' crimes, and a rate of 16.4 'not very serious' crimes. This total is the same as the 46.4 crimes per 100 reported on earlier in the chapter.

Figure 7 Incidence rates for 16 crimes by seriousness



Countries are sorted by number of very serious crimes.

### 2.13 Trends in crime

Countries that have taken part in the ICVS more than once have usually done so to align themselves with others in the ongoing sweep rather than to provide any solid indicator of trends over time – for which sample sizes are small. What the ICVS shows in terms of trends nonetheless bears inspection.

Table 6 shows results, based on incidence rates which provide the most complete measure of all crimes experienced. Attempted burglary has been excluded as there was no measure in 1989. Offensive sexual behaviour and threats are also omitted. This is because (i) they are more likely to be susceptible to changes over time in the propensity to report to interviewers; and (ii) they were omitted in trend analysis done on the basis of the 1996 ICVS sweep. Trends in individual crime will be insufficiently reliable, but some mention is made of trend differences for property crime (all thefts and car vandalism) and violent crime (robbery, sexual assault and assault with force). The risk levels mentioned are for the year prior to the survey.

Table 6 Trends in crime

	1988	1991	1995	1999
Australia	46.3	49.5	.	↓ 44.0
Belgium	27.5	27.7	.	29.7
Canada	41.7	44.8	↓ 38.0	33.9*↓
England & Wales	27.1	↑ 47.7	49.5	46.1
Finland <sup>1</sup>	20.7	↑ 28.5	25.5	24.1*↓
France	29.4		↑ 38.9	↓ 29.7
Netherlands	41.3	↑ 49.7	51.0	↓ 42.3
Northern Ireland	21.1	.	23.1	20.7
Poland	.	37.1	36.3	36.3
Scotland	27.2		↑ 38.4	35.3*↑
Sweden	.	31.2	↑ 38.1	39.4
Switzerland <sup>2</sup>	21.3		↑ 36.3	↓ 18.4
USA <sup>3</sup>	51.0	45.5	39.5*↓	34.2*↓
7 countries	36.5	41.9		
7 countries		40.6	39.7	
11 countries			37.7	32.7

1 Finland estimate used for theft from car (2000).

2 Estimates used for crimes against property (2000).

3 Estimates used for all 10 offences (1992).

↑ and ↓ indicate that the difference compared to the *previous survey* is statistically significant (t-test;  $p < 0.10$ )

↑ indicates an increase over the previous sweep; ↓ denotes a decrease.

\* indicates, where appropriate, that the difference with one survey in between is statistically significant (t-test,  $p < 0.10$ ).

**We start with some broad conclusions, and then provide more detail. The broad conclusions are:**

- Generally speaking, the ICVS suggests that crime rose between 1988 and 1991, stabilised or fell in 1995, then fell back more in 1999. This is the dominant pattern in many individual countries.
- The picture in North America differs from that in Europe. The USA has shown consistent drops in crime since 1988. Canada had a modest increase in 1991, but lower figures in 1995 as well as in 1999, leaving overall crime levels lower than in 1988. In the three European countries with four ICVS measures (England and Wales, Finland and the Netherlands), crime levels are still higher than in 1988, despite a fall in risks in 1999. Compared with 1991, risks fell more in North America than in five of the seven European countries showing falls.
- Trends in property crime and violence differ somewhat. Overall, both increased between 1988 and 1991. Between 1991 and 1995, there are indications that

violent crime rose marginally more than property crime in four out of seven countries, though elsewhere there was little proportionate difference. Since 1995, there been a much more consistent fall in property crime. Changes in violence are variable.

*Trends between 1988-1991*

For the seven countries that can be compared here, there was an average increase from 37 incidents per 100 people in 1988 to 42 in 1991. (The increase was more marked excluding the USA.) Five of the seven countries experienced higher crime levels: England and Wales (with the highest increase), the Netherlands, Finland, Australia, and Canada. (The first three increases were statistically significant.) Crime in Belgium showed no change, and it fell in the USA (ns).

*Trends between 1991-1995*

There are again comparisons possible for seven countries. On average, crime stabilised at around 40 incidents per 100 inhabitants, but this conceals some differences. In the USA and Canada, as said, risks fell over this period, and there was a less marked fall in Finland. In Sweden, there was a statistically significantly *increase* (of 26%) in incidence rates. In the other countries, shifts were not marked, or statistically robust.

France, Scotland, Switzerland and Northern Ireland did not participate in the 1992 survey but did so in 1989. In the first three countries there were significantly higher victimisation rates in 1995 than in 1988, with the increase in Switzerland largest. Risks in Northern Ireland also rose, but the change was not statistically robust.

*Trends between 1995-1999*

Eleven countries can be compared here. On average, risks fell from 38 incidents per 100 in 1995 to 33 in 1999. There were falls in most countries. Exceptions were Sweden and Poland, where there was little change. The most statistically robust falls were in France, the Netherlands and Switzerland.

*Variations in property crime and violence*

Between 1988 and 1991, there were no very evident or consistent differences as regards trends in property crime and violence. Between 1991 and 1995, there are indications that violent crimes rose marginally more than property crime in four out of seven countries that can be compared, while elsewhere there was little proportionate difference. Of the four countries that can be compared with 1989, all showed bigger increases in violence than property crime.

Between 1995 and 1999, nine of the eleven countries with available comparisons registered a decrease in property crimes (albeit some of them small), while in two (Poland and Sweden) there was little change. For violent crime, risks rose in five

countries and fell in six – though many of the changes were relatively modest. Taking all available countries together, there was little difference in violence risks over the four years.

The concluding chapter returns to trends in crime, and looks also at the picture from police statistics.

