



**10 Years of the *Crime
Victimisation Survey
in Catalonia.*
European Experiences.
Assessment and Future
Challenges**





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Generalitat de Catalunya
Government of Catalonia
Ministry of Home Affairs,
Institutional Relations and Participation
Secretariat of Security

10 Years of the *Crime Victimization Survey in Catalonia*: European Experiences: Assessment and Future Challenges

Recull de les ponències del seminari internacional, celebrat els dies 21, 22 i 23 d'octubre de 2009 a Barcelona. – Referències bibliogràfiques

I. Catalunya. Secretaria de Seguretat II. Títol: Ten Years of the *Crime Victimization Survey in Catalonia*

1. Seguretat ciutadana – Enquestes – Catalunya – Congressos 2. Seguretat ciutadana – Enquestes – Europa – Congressos 3. Víctimes de delictes – Enquestes – Catalunya – Congressos 4. Víctimes de delictes – Enquestes – Europa – Congressos

303.6:351.75(467.1)(061.3)

10 anys d'*Enquesta de seguretat pública de Catalunya*. Experiències europees. Balanç i reptes de futur

This publication contains presentations, speeches and interventions from the International Seminar "10 Years of the *Crime Victimization Survey in Catalonia*. European Experiences. Assessment and Future Challenges", which took place in Barcelona on 21, 22 and 23 October 2009.

All the ideas and opinions expressed in the articles are exclusively the responsibility of their authors.



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First edition: Barcelona, September 2010

Print run: 300 copies

Legal Deposit: B-38.698-2010

Design: Fons Gràfic

Printing: Ramon Ruiz Bruy

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Introduction

Due to the success of the international seminar «10 Years of the *Crime Victimization Survey in Catalonia*. European Experiences. Assessment and Future Challenges», held from 21 to 23 October 2009 in Barcelona and organized by the Secretariat of Security in the Government of Catalonia, we have decided to publish the papers presented at the event in order to publicize the ideas put forward about the instruments used to measure public safety. These instruments are increasingly becoming innovative tools for gaining an enhanced understanding of security and conflictive dynamics and mapping out security policies.

Crime victimisation surveys provide information that adds to statistics and data from police records and about the public's views on security, making it possible to correlate and analyze the data to get more reliable analysis that better reflects reality and trends in the area.

The seminar featured an assessment of the history of the *Crime Victimization Survey in Catalonia*, an innovative tool in our country. In parallel it also analyzed the *Survey of Schools and Security in Catalonia* and the proposal to conduct the first survey of violence against women, featuring interviews with 14,000 women and 1,000 men. The ideas put forward help to give us a better understanding of the dynamics of conflict in this area, and this may enhance the design of preventive policies in the future.

The participation of representatives from several countries in Europe that have run public safety surveys was also extremely important. The *British Crime Survey*, the leader and model for surveys of this type, was examined and other projects were presented such as Belgium's *Moniteur de sécurité* and the new French survey *Cadre de vie et sécurité*, which is the most recent. User satisfaction surveys from English-speaking countries were also explored as interesting experiences for study and analysis.

Other aspects of the seminar, which are also to be found in this book, are an assessment of the need to open up specific areas and examine new projects being implemented in Europe in order to bring forward new ideas, perspectives and methodologies for improving the design of future surveys. It also addressed the feasibility of a European crime victimisation survey and its problems, together with the

need to develop harmonized indicators at the European level and the mechanisms required to achieve this goal. All of these tools are effective methods for making international comparisons and therefore are useful in assessing the effects of various policies across space and time.

With all of this material we hope to offer researchers and scholars of security policies and their working methods ideas for making progress in designing instruments that will make police records more effective and provide appropriate analysis for the various studies in this field. Security is not only our challenge; it is also our institutional commitment.

Jesús Solores

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Crime Surveys as Tools of Policy-making

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and Criminal Justice Statistics" Project*



International comparisons: an impossible adventure?¹

We all agree that international comparative research is necessary. Policy-makers need benchmarks because it is important to know where we stand now in comparison to twenty years ago, or why we are worse or better off than others. Policy makers, at least if they are interested in the wider picture, also want to have these differences explained. Why are we where we are, why one approach does or does not work, what we currently do, where may we be in ten years if present trends continue, and what can we do to influence future changes. This has actually been a concern of policy-makers over long periods. In the area of crime, the first obvious need is to know the development of crime across space and time. *Quêtelet* began comparing justice and conviction data in the 1830's. He made the assumption that the so-called "dark figure" would remain constant across time and space. However, this assumption is no longer shared by the scientific community, and has now been contested by *Quêtelet's* contemporaries, such as the Genevan *de Candolle* who has since correctly identified the various sources of shortcomings in crime statistics.

There are obvious obstacles to legal definitions – these are the statistical problems with which all lawyers are familiar. However, when it comes to comparing police data, legal definitions are not that important. Much more problematic are the different ways in which police forces all over the world classify offences for statistical purposes. Even if offences are not uniformly defined across Europe, the question of whether the police count offences at the time they are reported, or after a successful prosecution (input vs. output statistics), is far more important. The situation is even worse when we look at how repeat, and particularly serial offences, are recorded. Sweden, for example, in cases of domestic violence or sexual abuse, counts all past incidences as having been committed at once, if necessary by extrapolation. If, for example, a woman reports having been assaulted by her spouse, the police will ask whether this incident is unique or whether similar events have happened before. In the latter case, they will ask how often and how long the relationship lasted – and finally record a possible 100 incidences of domestic assault if the vic-

¹ References and data can be obtained from the author. Write to martin.killias@rwi.uzh.ch

tim complains having been assaulted once per week in a relationship that lasted for two years. All these difficulties have plagued statistical comparisons – particularly across international borders – since such endeavours began. This led fairly quickly to general pessimism. When we started the *European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics*, many observers felt it was pointless to undertake a compilation of statistics across Europe. For my part, I was more optimistic because I was familiar with the *American Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics*. As America has fifty States each with their own legislation, I could not accept that we might fail where they have succeeded.

Although it may sound strange, I must tell you that after our first meeting we would probably have gone home never to meet again had our Committee's secretary not arranged an excursion to a beautiful and majestic castle after which we visited a congenial inn where we had excellent Alsace specialties. After that evening, everyone was feeling more relaxed and the general conclusion was that, even if comparing statistics sounded impossible to many of our number, we should continue to meet at Strasbourg in the future. So, an excellent dinner and congenial company saved the project, and pessimism rapidly faded away once we delved more deeply into the matter. Indeed, we understood that comparing statistics implies comparing offence definitions and counting conventions. Countries using output statistics will obviously have lower crime rates than countries which count offences at the input stage, or countries which count serial offences (such as repeated domestic abuse or drug trafficking) as separate incidents. These will have dramatically higher rates than those who count all multiple crimes as one single event. *Marcelo Aebi* (University of Lausanne and Autonomous University of Barcelona) and *Hanns von Hofer* (University of Stockholm) have documented the effects of such conventions, based on data from the *European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics* (ESB). For example, according to the International Crime Victimization Surveys, Sweden has, according to the ESB about seven times more police-recorded cases of rape per 100,000 of the population than Spain, whereas the two countries have quite similar rates of rape and sexual assault.

Crime surveys and the renaissance of international comparative research

This brings me to crime victimisation surveys. These studies began in the 1960's when President Lyndon B. Johnson faced a difficult re-election campaign. His republican opponent, Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater, had made crime an issue, probably for the first time in an electoral campaign in a western country. President Johnson, felt rather unprepared on that issue, as are liberals and left wing politicians today when confronted with the problem of crime. He did what politicians always in these circumstances - he appointed a committee. This committee was chaired by his justice minister, Attorney-General Katzenbach, who published a famous report in 1967 under the very American title of "The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society".

The committee also discussed the issue of benchmarks for measuring crime. It felt that the FBI index, the official police statistics of

the United States, was unsatisfactory and that surveys might provide a better measure of crime. After a couple of pilot surveys in several American cities, the Bureau of Justice Statistics developed, from 1973, a National Crime Survey that later was re-named the *National Crime Victimization Survey*. At that time, subjective indicators were the big new fashion in social sciences. Rather than trying to measure difficult concepts, such as crime, inflation, housing or unemployment, by asking people what they thought about such things, monetary inflation, the value of real estate or state of the labour market were seen as better alternatives. Crime was an obvious candidate to be measured through subjective indicators. Rather than counting offences actually committed or reported, the public at large could be asked whether they had experienced crime or how safe they felt whilst walking in their neighbourhood.

Soon after the first pilot surveys conducted in American cities, Marshall B. Clinard (who died recently on 30 May, 2010, at the age of 98) developed in the seventies that surveys could become formidable tools for comparison of crime across international borders. With the crime victimisation surveys conducted in Zurich and in Stuttgart (Germany) in 1973, Clinard produced the first crime surveys outside the United States, and the first international comparison based on crime surveys to date. Indeed, international surveys require uniform offence definitions and standardised sampling and interview methods. Of course, supplementary questions are possible in all participating countries, but the key questions have to be identical. The importance of the standardisation of questionnaires and fieldwork has been shown by Richard Block, another American criminologist, during the 1980's. He tried to compare crime rates across several countries by breaking down data from existing national surveys, which surveys had been conducted since the 1970's and early 1980's, in England, the Netherlands and in Switzerland. Indeed, this endeavour turned out to be relatively unsatisfactory and stimulated the search for truly international surveys. The realisation of such plans, however, needed the technical innovation of computer-assisted telephone interviews (CATI) which first became available in the 1980's.

Innovative research techniques

This new technique was first used in Switzerland through a national survey. In 1984, Switzerland had, at this time, an unusually high telephone-per-household ratio of 98%, thus creating favourable conditions for survey companies to offer CATI surveys. This they began doing. Besides far lower costs (less than 15 percent of a traditional personal interview), CATI offers a series of advantages that are highly relevant for crime victimisation surveys. Probably the most important being the use of electronic questionnaires, which allow highly complex filters. If a respondent tells the interviewer that he or she was the victim of robbery, for example, he or she will go through perhaps 50 questions concerning stolen items, reports to insurance companies or to the police, the reaction of the police, whether there were injuries, the nature and treatment of any injuries etc. If the respondent did not experience robbery, all these questions will be skipped. In the case of a paper questionnaire, these questions would obviously

be printed, and the interviewer would have to turn dozens of pages to find the next appropriate question. The respondent might well be discouraged when he or she sees the interviewer opening a questionnaire as thick as a phone book. On the 'phone, however, most interviews did not last more than 10 to 15 minutes, and only very few interviews (with seriously victimised respondents) lasted as much as one hour. The complexity of filters is therefore, a critical feature whenever the interviewer has to ask many questions to a few people (and few questions to many people), as typically in the case of crime surveys. CATI offers invaluable advantages in this respect.

Another advantage is anonymity. As studies on policies towards AIDS revealed (where very embarrassing questions had to be asked in surveys), CATI turned out to offer more anonymity to respondents compared with other interview methods. Meeting a subject personally means sacrificing some anonymity of the interaction, especially in smaller countries, since it is never certain that the interviewer will not sit on the same panel or meet in the same club or pub a few weeks later.

However, the critical advantage may still be costs. If less money is spent per interview, it is possible to provide a larger sample. Given the difference in price compared to face-to-face interviews, CATI allows the interviewing of six times more people. Assuming that serious crimes may hit perhaps one percent of the sample, in any given year, interviewing a sample of 1,000 people will mean locating an estimated 10 victims of serious assault. With such numbers, you cannot conduct sophisticated analyses. If a budget allows for interviewing 6,000 people, however, it will be easy to find 60 victims and be able to successfully refine the study. Therefore, lower costs per interview directly affect the scientific potential of a survey.

I am particularly pleased to be speaking about these issues here in Barcelona, as it was here that the international crime victimisation survey was designed, during a meeting of Jan van Dijk, Pat Mayhew and me with our Catalan friends in 1988. Given the past experience with the Swiss national crime surveys of 1984 and 1987, it was decided that we would adopt CATI as the interview method. With the low budgets that this method required, participating in the survey became possible for 11 countries in Europe, Australia, Canada and the United States.

The method is less important than the way of asking questions

After the publication of the key findings, the ICVS was heavily criticised. It was said that we investigated serious and eventually traumatic experiences of people through a market research instrument designed for the sale of shampoo or cosmetic products. Many people also felt that face-to-face interviews would have been much better suited for this theme. The point is, however, that if we had opted for face-to-face interviews rather than CATI, the international survey would never have got off the ground for budgetary reasons. Many countries could afford 30,000 €, but with a sum six times this budget, maybe 3 or 4 countries would have been able to participate. Alternative methods, such as mail questionnaires, have become outdated.

CATI was compared experimentally in the Netherlands, in Switzerland and in Germany with face-to-face surveys and mail questionnaires. In all instances, the common conclusion was that the interview method does not really matter. However, what is important is how questions are worded, although much less attention is usually given to the questionnaire's design. Particularly important is how events are located on a time-line. The usual way of asking "what did happen to you *over the last 12 months*" typically produces plenty of wrong temporal locations. It is far more precise to ask respondents to relate what has happened to them during the past five years (or what comes to their mind), and to ask in a second question more precisely when it actually happened (ie during the current year, the last year, the year before or longer ago). All these conclusions have recently been confirmed in connection with the *International Self-reported Delinquency Project*. Again, it is not the interview method (Internet vs. paper-pencil questionnaires) that matters, but the way questions (particularly those regarding temporal location) are phrased.

An interesting question is why Europeans (such as the designers of the Swedish and the French crime surveys) stick so much to the usual "*last 12-months*" formula. The reason may be the difficulty in departing from a standard pertaining in America, and the fact that the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) uses a similar format. The design of the American NCVS required, however, that the same household be interviewed every six months, i.e seven times in all over three and a half years. When visiting a household, the interviewer knows what the interviewee had reported during the preceding interviews and can, therefore, make sure that the newly reported incident is not a repeat of a previously reported incident. This design is extremely expensive and unaffordable in Europe. Being unable to follow the American model, we should obviously adapt our questionnaires to our surveys' design. Outside the Netherlands and Switzerland, no-one has ever thought to query the efficacy of the flat "12-months formula" rigorously, despite the huge samples (and the considerable budgets) in England, Sweden and France. As the experiments conducted in the Netherlands by Annette Scherpenzeel suggest, the 12-months limit produces crime rates that are between 100 and 200 percent too high. There is good reason to presume that the French and Swedish survey rates are similarly inflated.

There are three more reasons for asking victims about incidents that are older than 12 months. Firstly, we do not find many victims of serious crimes in any given sample. If we ask about the last five years, we may have a much better base for statistical analyses. Secondly, it can be more than frustrating for the victim (and the interviewer) if a very serious crime cannot be taken into account because it happened shortly before the 12-months limit. Thirdly, policy-makers will certainly be interested in seeing how the reaction by the police and other bodies (such as victim support schemes) are evaluated by the victims. The successful prosecution of an offence usually takes more than twelve months. If we do not care about older events, policy-makers simply will never get crucial information on how the victims feel about the way in which their case was dealt with.

The Barcelona initiative was a success story. In 1990, we started with 14 countries. In 1992, there were already twenty. In 1996, the questionnaire was revised and enlarged by including offences such

as corruption. The two studies of 2000 and 2005 followed the same line and covered in all roughly 60 nations. In 2010, given the boom of cell phones, CATI may no longer be the method of choice. With the increase in household Internet access, this medium will become a survey tool, and CATI will serve as an additional option for others. This new survey will be experimental in nature and limited to five EU countries (Netherlands, United Kingdom, Denmark, Germany and Poland) and Switzerland. Since the Swiss survey will officially be independent, we can add a number of additional experimental tests that may be useful for the future ICVS (or EU survey) model.

Measuring new offences through surveys

The ICVS was also innovative in measuring corruption. By asking respondents whether they had ever bribed an official (or were asked, by an official, for a bribe) during the last 5 years, and then more precisely when and under what circumstances, we were able to produce an interval scale of all participating countries. Transparency International, on the other hand, produces a rank order scale. Unfortunately, the two measures do not correlate as perfectly as one might expect because the Transparency International Index (TI) awards considerable weight to minimal differences (as we have them in Western Europe) that, on the ICVS scale, never would be considered as statistically significant, and reduces huge differences in the extent of corruption in other parts of the World to just a matter of a few ranks. A further problem is how TI measures corruption, namely through perceptions (or, if one wants to say it frankly, prejudice). I have tried many times but never succeeded in getting more information on what they actually measure. I believe the ICVS offers a far more reliable and better method of measuring in the future. It allows us to measure critical variables concerning possible causes of corruption, such as undue delays in the bureaucratic handling of legitimate citizen demands. For example, one might imagine an item in the questionnaire asking respondents how long it may take, in their country, to receive a new driver's licence once one has lost it. Theft of handbags or purses with a driver's licence can happen in any country around the world. Therefore, respondents all over the world would be in a situation to answer such a question, and the differences that are found might be revealing. Recently, I learned from an Italian student whose bag was stolen with the driver's licence in it that it had taken nine months for him to get a duplicate – in a similar situation, it took me three days in my own country.

Statistics and surveys as trend indicators

Crime surveys are helpful also when it comes to assessing crime trends. Generally speaking, survey-based crime trends match trends in police-recorded crime rather well. Crime surveys allow an assessment of whether victims are increasingly inclined to report victimisations to the police. Indeed, this does not seem to be the case in most countries and in more substantial terms. Crime surveys as such also show, by the way, that – contrary to theft – violent crime has not

generally decreased in Europe, as many observers may believe. The American experience does not necessarily reach Europe with a delay of some years, as many may intuitively presume. There are, however, surprisingly varying trends *between* countries that, so far, are not really understood. As far as violence is concerned, the changes may be related to a revolution in leisure-time activities and other routine activities that have not so far been fully documented.

When we look at the match between police-recorded and survey-measured crime *across countries*, we find surprisingly good correlations for offences like burglary, theft of personal items and assault. I should add, however, that the police data are from the European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics (ESB) where considerable efforts were made to “streamline” definitions and counting conventions as far as possible. The exception is robbery, but this crime often concerns businesses that are not covered in crime surveys.

In sum, therefore, police-recorded data (as collected in the ESB) can compete with survey-data under certain conditions. Surveys may, despite these encouraging results, still be better at grasping international (or interregional) differences, whereas police-recorded crime may be more efficient at identifying crime *trends*. The reason is that counting conventions vary considerably from country to country, but much less so over time. The police and insurance companies dealing with injuries deal probably with more serious forms of violence, whereas surveys may be heavily biased towards more trivial forms of assault.

In any case, the question is not to know whether police or survey data should be preferred, but how survey-measures could be made more meaningful. My suggestion, therefore, is that we should collect more relevant *independent* variables to better understand why crime increases or decreases. It would be extremely helpful to have more data on lifestyle, routine activities, night life, drinking habits, drug abuse etc. Surveys can very well explain cross-national differences (or variations over time). To offer you an example, last night I was meeting a friend here in Barcelona for dinner. At around 11 PM, he told me that he would have to leave in about ten minutes because his last train (to reach his home in the suburbs) was departing in about 20 minutes. *Tempi passati*, in my country. Today, trains run in Zurich and other major Swiss urban areas throughout the night. That has dramatically changed life styles and, of course, produced an increase of violent crime. If one hundred thousand young people meet in the city centre between midnight and six in the morning, why should this leave crime unaffected? Unfortunately, we have so far, very little comparative data available that include these variables.

How to make crime surveys even more relevant

In future victimisation surveys, we should pay more attention to characteristics of offenders. It is easy to ask victims of contact crimes whether the offender was male or female, how old he or she might approximately have been, and whether the victim thinks he or she was of local or foreign origin. The International Crime Victimization Survey never collected such data. If it had, as I suggested in 1990,

we would have a lot of crucial information available on the role of migration on crime beyond bald police statistics. Unfortunately, we missed this opportunity but we may still try in the future.

In sum, crime surveys are indispensable for policy makers to see where they stand, predict future trends and how things might be changed. In order to achieve these goals, it is important that crime surveys include many relevant independent variables, that they take into account past events (and not just victimisations experienced over the last 12 months), and that they can be repeated regularly (though not necessarily annually). In other words, it is crucial that they respect certain budgetary limits and that no single aspect is being favoured at the expense of others. For example, it would be most unfortunate to extend samples beyond 10,000 or 20,000 interviews, or to use expensive interview methods such as face-to-face interviews. Such choices, whatever statistical arguments may be advanced in their favour, will necessarily require crucial changes, such as the array of independent variables. That will leave policy-makers with highly sophisticated crime measures, but without explanatory variables that may help to understand differences, trends and changes. Policy-makers will hardly find much interest in such surveys – it is easy to guess that, at the next budgetary crisis and given their huge costs, they will be the easy targets for cuts.

The Survey on Victimisation and Opinions on Security of Barcelona: a Strategic Option for a Public Security Policy

Josep M. Lahosa

Director of the Prevention Services Division. Barcelona City Council



In 1984 Barcelona Council took into consideration a survey method to assess the impact of victimisation and insecurity on life in the city. This was a contributing factor to the approaches adopted by the Technical Committee for Urban Security, which was set up by mayor Pasqual Maragall at the end of 1983.

It would be appropriate to briefly outline the context in which mayor Maragall made that decision which, in the light of the time it was adopted, can be deemed as exceptional.

At the end of the 1970s, European cities, as driving forces for values, lifestyles and social and political benchmarks, were witnessing what can be described as a crisis of confidence. The central core of this crisis lay in the limitations and lack of ability of public intervention models to address new circumstances emerging within the urban setting, specifically, the difficulties encountered by the labour market in absorbing new workers and the difficulties encountered by the community to re-conceive the values of socialisation and the role to be played in it by agents for cultural conveyance: the family, the school, the media, politics or the control system.

Despite the heightened nature of the phenomenon, in Spain this situation was not perceived until the eighties at the time when the first democratic election processes were being held and, in particular, the first local elections. Indeed, it is important to point out that because the political priority was the transition from a dictatorship to democracy, full consideration to the aforementioned crisis was not given until subsequently. Moreover, when it did cast a cloud over Spain the processes for the restructuring and organisation of the new political and administrative structures along with public services would heighten its intensity.

On this context, Spain's cities witnessed an intense situation that we have denoted the "episode of fear", in other words, a widespread increase in the sense of insecurity and growing demand for security policies and, in particular, services as a result. This was the first boom period for the private security sector.

Barcelona also witnessed its share of the impact of these circumstances, although the information available to the municipal government (social services, judicial and police statistics, etc.), did not appear to back a causal relationship between the heightened nature

of the episode and the reality in terms of crime, even though crime was on the increase¹.

Maragall appointed Josep M^a Socias Humbert², charged with coordinating the work of the Technical Committee for Urban Security³, which would be known as the Socias Committee, whose purpose was “to prepare the programme of action that defined the basic areas of activity and submitted to the government team motions for measures to ensure effective actions in terms of public security”. The decree establishing the Committee⁴ expressly set out the open, cross-disciplinary nature of the municipal government’s perspective on public affairs and on security in the city. Along these lines, when considering the organisational scope of the Committee, its ten specific working groups: children, young people, schools, drugs, foreigners, policing, administration of justice, the prison system, security in shops and the media, along with the analysis group, it goes to demonstrate the complex, cross-disciplinary, multi-faceted perspective of the city and the issues affecting it.

The extent of its approaches, the composition of the Committee, the flow of ideas generated and discussed by the more than one hundred people who took part along with the conclusions and recommendations made⁵ all made it possible to build the main lines of thought that shaped the conceptual structure forming the foundation for the local public security policy of Barcelona. One of these main lines of thought is to uphold a constant line of analysis on crime in the city.

Knowledge about (in)security and municipality

Embarking on a process of compiling data on security, especially on the part of a local authority and considering we are taking about 1984, that is, just after the second local elections when Spain’s system of democracy was still being established, was by no means an easy assignment. The perspective held at the time – and which is still held – regarding the issue of security as being the responsibility of the central government, the lack of trust regarding the use that could be made of data that was not controlled by the security mechanisms of the State, the likelihood of the so-called “dark figure” being known and the undeniable clash that would arise among official data – statistics and those obtained by means of different methods and tools – along with the lack of academic references and other research of this kind, was one of the political and academic challenges to be overcome at the time.

The Committee’s working plan unfolded in three stages: the first involved an analysis; the second involved the methodological definition of the working criteria and initial recommendations on the parameters forming the basis for the public security policy proposal that would replace the model applicable at the time; and the third was to define the proposals for action on security in Barcelona using the work carried out by the ten theme-based groups.

With regard to this seminar we shall only refer to the first stage – the analysis – and more specifically the early years of the Survey on Victimization and Opinions on Security in Barcelona (SVB).

During the first stage of analysing the various (poor, incomplete

1 We consider that an interest-based management of the entrenched powers, still favoured towards the former regime, indeed of the Ledesma reform, leads to the release from prison of thousands of prisoners in pre-trial custody (“The remarkable increase in crimes since the criminal reform of 1983 led to the release of 7000 pre-trial prisoners stopped the socialists in their tracks as they yielded to the demands of the great right wing coalition owing to the psychosis brought about by citizen insecurity. *El País* 1.04.1984).

2 Who had been mayor of the city between December 1976 and January 1979.

3 Decree from the mayor’s office dated 23 December 1983.

4 The Committee was formed by municipal coordinators for social services, youth and sports, public health, citizen protection and by a district services director, a judge from the Provincial Court of Barcelona, a magistrate from the court of first instance in Barcelona, a lawyer, a district councillor, a notary, an economist, two university lecturers and a representative from the Higher Police Command of Barcelona. The decree for the establishment of the committee also envisaged the need to set up sector-based working groups.

5 Strategies for a security police. Socias report. Barcelona City Council. Col·lecció Estudis i Recerques. Sèrie Protecció Ciutadana issue no. 2. 1986.

and often poorly prepared) indicators on security/insecurity, it was identified that there was a need for a general diagnosis to be conducted on crime and insecurity and to try and address the causes thereof. Accordingly, one of the first resolutions made by the Committee was to set up an analysis group⁶ entrusted with preparing reports that would deal with issues such as the following: the scope of the feeling of insecurity and criminal activity, the organisation of the control mechanism – both classic security means and social and justice administration mechanisms –, the links between them and the scope for citizen participation, as well as the social and economic conditioning factors behind urban security.

The main sources of information included:

1. A survey on public security with two basic goals: gaining an acquaintance of the extent of victimisation, and drawing opinions from the population on security, policing, justice and administration.
2. Information from the Higher Police Force, the national police force and the Guardia Urbana.
3. Information from the justice administration.
4. Information from the departments of youth affairs, health and social services of Barcelona City Council.

The Barcelona survey (SVB)

The early diagnosis of the Technical Committee for Urban Security considered that public security must be addressed from the standpoint of being socially established and structured based on objective elements – criminal acts, experiences – and on subjective elements – perceptions, fear, etc. Showing this on the context of the seminar may seem nonsensical; even so, during the early years of the survey it was necessary to repeat it often.

As Sabaté has mentioned⁷, in terms of crime and security various definitions coexist for what can be described as a criminal event; the legal/criminal definition, the definition offered by the police and the definition given by citizens who lack understanding of legal notions. As a result, when preparing mechanisms for researching and analysing information, these differing situations must be taken into consideration.

Therefore, if a public policy needs to take into consideration an approach to knowledge based on society's definition of crime or (in) security, along with objective aspects and the social construction aspect, we would need to structure the compilation of knowledge on the basis of both aspects and to set up a tool for analysis that would enable us to address this twofold circumstance: the objective aspect (the impact of crimes) and the subjective aspect (perceptions, opinions, fear, etc.). Indeed, the decision was made to make use of a survey as the most suitable method to acquire this knowledge. We were, and indeed still are, certain that this is the best way of addressing the actual issue of victimisation and (in)security since, rather than gauging the activities of the various services, it strives to gauge what has occurred with citizens. Likewise, it is a tool that is able to measure the impact and subjective aspects, people's fears, and it similarly makes it possible to partition the various areas as needed. If

6 I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to its members Manel Garriga (director), Pedro Cabezas, Jaume Guardia, Jordi Mirats, Josep M^a Raya, Miquel Sanllehí, Montserrat Solsona, Montserrat Vendrell and, in particular, Dr Juli Sabaté i Delgado who for more than twenty-three years has been involved in research into crime in Barcelona, and similarly to Josep M^a Aragay, whilst acknowledging the work of other academics who also contributed to this pool of knowledge: namely, Francisco Pascual, Elisabeth Torrelles and Anna Alabart.

7 "L'enquesta de victimització de Barcelona i de l'Àrea Metropolitana, vint-i-dos anys". Barcelona: Barcelona Institute of Regional and Metropolitan Studies, 2005.

the survey is conducted with regard to timeframes that make sense to those being interviewed, it does not encounter the timing difficulties that affect statistics in relation to judicial activities (judgments referring back to incidents from previous years) or indeed statistics on police activities (the resolution of cases in periods that are not related to when the crimes were committed).

The Survey on Victimisation and Opinions on Security in Barcelona did not stem from a clash with other tools of knowledge, such as police and judicial statistics, rather it was justified on both the conceptual depiction of what people consider to be the realities unfolding in the city, that is: citizen participation when deciding on their own needs and ensuring policies are in line with the situations taking place in the various areas of the city; and also on the conviction that security is also the responsibility of local governments and that the local management thereof called for new tools and approaches.

With regard to these approaches it was necessary to carry out major educational activities in the political sphere – that is, within the confines of the City where a tendency to contrast police data with information from the survey led to misinformation and contradictions in discourse and communications policy – and when it comes to the socialisation of the data from the survey within the participating bodies: the security boards of Barcelona and the districts.

Certain methodological traits of the Barcelona survey

One of the major traits of the survey on account of the time when the SVB was launched (1984) is its regularity. The SVB was decided to be conducted on a yearly basis, a fact criticised as superfluous although we have always asked ourselves: how useful is it to obtain victimisation rates and opinions from citizens on a three- or five-yearly basis in order to manage security if we are dealing with a tool of knowledge that is needed to define public policies and not merely an academic exercise?

Indeed, the city is one of the most vital and richest social organisations and those governing it are required to have capacity to adapt and to understand the changes taking place. Any knowledge strategy must consider these needs for adaptation and incorporate them into the tools and methods used. The adaptation to the reality taking place in the city is the reason why some of the methodological traits of the Barcelona survey were adopted.

The structure of the SVB, in terms of the sample and the analysis, is urban in nature, as indeed is the phenomenon being examined. Along these lines, in the initial years of the survey, the sample was structured according to the population in each district with samples exceeding 7000 participants. Subsequently, during the process when it merged with the Survey on Public Security of Catalonia, and after making the adjustments needed to pursue the indicators, the sample used stood at some 400 participants for each district of Barcelona, with a margin of error standing at $\pm 1.33\%$ for the city as a whole and $\pm 4.3\%$ for the districts at most.

In our view for analysing social phenomena – and victimisation and (in)security are foremost in the process in cities – another meth-

odological feature of the SVB has to do with the characteristics of the individuals being surveyed. We decided to establish the individual as the primary source of information, as opposed to the decision made with the American National Crime Survey or the British Crime Survey, which focussed on the nuclear family or the home. It was essential to lend the same level of significance to males and females, senior citizens and young people, without mediating answers.

The first operation marked the start of a long period of research on security in Barcelona. It unfolded in March and April 1984 on the subject of victimisation from the previous year. Its territorial scope exceeded the administrative boundaries of Barcelona city. Indeed, the municipal district of Barcelona, as is the case with most cities and towns, is currently a merely administrative factor rather than a social one. Assessing social relations and victimisation is one such factor which calls for analyses that take into consideration the context of an actual city. In the case of Barcelona, we can consider it a metropolitan city. Accordingly, the first survey defined a sample for Barcelona (4550 participants) and for two cities which at the time formed part of the so-called Barcelona metropolitan corporation: Gavà (500) and Santa Coloma de Gramanet (500). Five years later, the SVB was extended to metropolitan areas and its own specific series of analysis was launched.

If we look at the first questionnaire and its results we can see certain limitations in terms of knowledge. However, the work carried out over a period of more than twenty-five years by the academic team at the City Council has enabled us to assess the various changes introduced into the questionnaire, to enrich it, to establish new indicators and to reject those that have proven ineffective for knowledge. The list of indicators used and created is extensive: victimisation rates; the identification of security indicators for various areas (personal, vehicle, home, business and shopping) as independent variables; rates of risk for vehicles and shops; links between victimisation maps and fear; the observance of security offered in citizens' most familiar areas – their local neighbourhood; the workings of crime based on economic gain; the link between mobility and crime; the analysis of the psychological and financial costs of victimisation; and complaint rates and confidence levels in the system.

Another significant aspect of the SVB is the urban structure of the city, to learn what happens in Barcelona. However, it is also important to find out what occurs in each of the city's ten districts: are there any differences? What is the impact of victimisation and (in)security in the city centre and the outlying neighbourhoods? Are there differences that can be linked to their social structures and to the main activities unfolded in each district?

Research carried out with an extensive territorial scope – major cities, a country, regions, metropolitan areas – must consider, when defining the operational goals of the research and the structure of the sample covered, this territorial scope; otherwise, an ecological fallacy will be created, that is, the entire zone examined will be given a homogeneity that does not correspond to the reality⁸.

⁸ Rural and urban areas are merged, as are industrial and service-based zones. In the case of a city, a better-off district is placed on the same standing as a poorer neighbourhood, that is, is Les Corts on the same footing as Sant Andreu?

Associated research

The main indicators in the SVB are well-known owing to their public presentation and the publication of the results. Reference shall be made to: *L'enquesta de victimització de Barcelona i de l'Àrea Metropolitana, vint-i-dos anys*, by Juli Sabaté, published by the Barcelona Institute of Regional and Metropolitan Studies in 2005. This work presents the theoretical, conceptual aspects of this long period of research into crime, along with the main statistics, results and conclusions.

However, there are other less well-known areas of research relating to the SVB, which may be of interest in this seminar because they are derivatives of the line of study into crime promoted by Barcelona City Council. Although the main research was formed by the SVB, thanks to its yearly statistical operations, research has been conducted on drugs, justice administration, policing, young people and an eight-year study focussing on security and public areas.

Here is a brief summary of the latest research:

Since victimisation is a scarce variable, analysing it requires large samples to attain statistically relevant data. Likewise, in the case of Barcelona, the need to gain an acquaintance of the specific nature of the impact of victimisation on a local district-based level led to the formation of a sample, over the course of the period from 1984 to 2000, of nigh on 7000 participants each year. The need for efficient management of public resources made available for research into crime – which is uncommon and thus essential – led us to turn to good account the scale of the sample.

By incorporating certain questions into the survey from the outset, and subsequently by breaking the sample of 7000 participants down into thirds, we asked three opinion questions. Although few actually experience victimisation, everyone has an opinion. For instance, from a victimisation sample (7000), one third (2106) were given a questionnaire on their opinions about security, another third (2106) were given a survey on mobility, and the remainder (some 3000) were given a survey on public areas.

Aside from knowledge on victimisation and opinions on security in the city's districts, once again with the invaluable contributions of professors Sabaté and Aragay, we at the Prevention Services Division⁹, in conjunction with the district-based technical prevention secretariats¹⁰, considered deepening this knowledge by embarking on a line of research into the urban areas of a city and how it affects perceptions on security.

Despite the developments brought about by academic disciplines with regard to the analysis of perception of the local area, in relation to security it is necessary to point out there have been scant theoretical and empirical productions. It was necessary in this respect to develop in establishing tools of analysis (questionnaires) and lines of study. Indeed, throughout this period of research (1998-2002) a new focus was lent to the study on urban areas and security: steering away from the perceptions of citizens on their local neighbourhoods to focussing on determining the key elements in assuring security, in social terms (people, social use of areas) and in terms of physical or morphological features (lighting, street furniture, dimension, open or closed areas, etc.).

⁹ The division in charge of research into crime attached to Barcelona City Council.

¹⁰ The district-based technical prevention secretariats assess district departments in decision-making. They examine and interpret the local reality and its social construction in terms of security.

Security in Barcelona's emblematic areas

The analysis began in 1998 by including in the questionnaire certain questions on frequency of use and levels of security in twelve areas considered to be emblematic in the city. The responses enable us to determine the extent to which twelve areas are used and to build three scales on frequency:

1. The most frequented areas: central areas in terms of institutions, recreation and symbolism: Plaça Catalunya, the Ramblas, the shopping area in Passeig de Gràcia/Rambla Catalunya and the Barri Gòtic.
2. A second group is formed by areas that were establishing their status as new city hubs: the beaches (and/or Vila Olímpica), Illa Diagonal, Maremàgnum, Glòries shopping centre.
3. A third group is formed by the city's major parks: Montjuïc, Parc de la Ciutadella, Collserola/Tibidabo, Parc Güell.

Likewise, the assessment of the level of security formed three major areas: shopping areas, major agglomerations or hubs and major urban parks in the city:

1. The safest: the area around Passeig de Gràcia-Rambla Catalunya, Illa Diagonal, Maremàgnum shopping centre.
2. The four agglomerations or city hubs (central to a certain extent): Plaça Catalunya, the beaches (Vila Olímpica), the Ramblas and the Barri Gòtic.
3. Lastly, there are the following least safer areas: Montjuïc. Collserola/Tibidabo, Parc de la Ciutadella, Parc Güell.

Public areas generating insecurity

We focussed our observations on gaining an acquaintance of preferences for using areas (those surveyed had to choose an option from the opposed pairings proposed) and how they are assessed as offering security (based on the assessment of the above pairings adding one more: poorly-/well-lit street).

The following table compares and associates preferences and security confirming that there is a relationship between preference and security.

People prefer: light, company, proximity and open areas as well as the security afforded by familiar areas with light (by day, in a lit street and an open area) and accompanied where there are many people.

- One's own neighbourhood is the safest (7.53), the city centre is considered less safe (6.67) and any other neighbourhood less safer still (6).

Another line of work seeks to discover whether there is a relationship between the structure of areas and the security they offer.

Preferences in terms of areas and security level

preference	percentage	level of security	rating
daytime	90.9	daytime	8.28
near home	78.4	near home	7.75
in company	77.2	in company	8.30
in an open area	68.6	in an open area	7.39
few people	57.5	few people	6.45
public transport	64.6	in a lit street	8.03
preference	percentage	level of security	rating
night-time	9.1	night-time	5.96
away from home	21.6	away from home	6.59
alone	22.8	alone	7.27
in a closed area	31.4	in a closed area	7.25
many people	42.5	many people	6.91
private transport	35.4	in a dark street	4.76

Elements in the physical area affecting the perception of security

83.6	many people	few people	16.4
95.3	wide streets	narrow streets	4.7
96.8	open areas	areas with nooks	3.3
90.2	modern areas	areas in the old town	9.8
86.1	residential areas	office areas	13.9

The perception of security in various areas and public facilities in the city

One of the aspects we examined was the perception of security in relation to the various public areas and facilities in the city. This issue was addressed by including a list of areas and facilities for which people were asked how often they used them and how secure they felt.

From the responses of those interviewed confirmation is given of the theory surrounding the security afforded by all things familiar. The safest areas are shops and cultural and sports facilities, while the least safe areas are considered to be recreational zones and public, open areas.

50.7% of those interviewed attributed greatest security to food stores and 12% considered cinemas, theatres and museums to be safest. In any event, surprisingly only 8.6% believed that primary schools (CEIP) were the safest.

The analyses show that an area can be safe or unsafe owing to the people (who live or travel to the area), rather than due to its physical features. Each of these arguments (relating to people and place) is broken down into its main components and the individuals

Level of security according to areas and public facilities

Neighbourhood areas	security	frequency
food stores	8.00	6.81
other shops (stationers, kiosks, etc.)	7.77	6.16
cinemas, theatres, museums (if any)	7.47	3.65
primary schools	7.09	1.74
sports centres (if any)	7.03	2.79
bus stops	6.70	4.96
squares (if any)	6.69	4.52
secondary schools	6.66	1.38
parks (if any)	6.35	4.25
bars	6.31	2.86
underground stations	6.02	5.19
nightclubs (if any)	4.52	1.41

interviewed decide which affect the places they have defined as safer or the least safe.

We can see how security or insecurity in an area depends more on the people rather than the physical environment.

- 84.3% of those interviewed agreed that the security of an area depended on the people and only 50.2% considered that it depended on the environment.
- As far as insecurity is concerned, 72.1% of those interviewed considered that it depended on the people while a mere 43.8% agreed that an area's features had a greater influence.

Furthermore, 21.6% attribute security to the people in the area. 16.3% mentioned the good reputation or atmosphere in the area. 12.4% considered that surveillance makes it secure. 9.2% are satisfied with the physical features (design, lighting).

The foremost link established is the tie between insecurity in parks and squares owing to young people and drugs: half of the perceptions of insecurity in parks and squares is on account of this pairing: young people and drugs.

Changes in the urban structure and public areas giving rise to security or insecurity

Changes giving rise to an increased feeling of security are more frequent than those giving rise to insecurity. Work in streets and other urban changes were the two most frequently mentioned factors for security (almost 60% of mentions given). The three least mentioned changes related to "newcomers" or "people departing", and changes in which the participant mentioned drugs expressly (reduction, treatment, etc.).

Contrariwise, the three most frequently mentioned changes in insecurity were "newcomers", "changes relating specifically to (in)security", and "other social changes (bars opening and closing, night-

People and place: effect on (in)security

Reasons for security and insecurity	% security	% insecurity
PEOPLE?:	84.3	72.1
are calm / conflictive	76.0	46.0
are familiar / unfamiliar	67.9	54.0
are of all ages	67.8	
have a good / bad reputation	61.2	49.6
are local / foreigners	35.9	22.9
THE AREA?:	50.2	43.8
has a pleasant / poor atmosphere	46.6	34.8
is well- / poorly-lit	46.4	32.8
good / poor upkeep of facilities	45.3	30.0
is familiar / unfamiliar	43.6	25.1
size allows / doesn't allow for its use by all kinds of people	39.7	22.0
good / poorly maintained street furniture	38.3	27.1
has a good / bad reputation	38.0	29.8

Arguments regarding security and insecurity

REASONS	security	insecurity
proximity or personal distance	35.1	0.3
the people	21.6	10.6
reputation, atmosphere, surveillance	28.7	17.5
physical structure	9.2	31.1
residents	4.3	6.8
proximity to an area, centre, institution	0.1	0.8
level of income and/or central location	0.3	-
drugs (drug addicts, dealers, market)	-	15.1
young people (conflictive people, tribes, skaters, etc)	-	14.6
other problems	-	2.5
others	0.7	0.9

clubs, civic centres, schools, hostels, etc.)". The least mentioned factors include "major infrastructure works", "works – or a lack thereof – in dwellings" and "other urban changes".

Use of areas and the perceived level of security. Influence of structural elements

In 2000 we focussed the research on two aspects, the first on use of areas, especially secure use, identifying preferences in terms of coexistence or sharing, as well as insecure uses. The second attempted to classify the areas considered as criminally notorious.

Changes lending a neighbourhood security

changes making a neighbourhood more secure	% responses
work in the street (refurbishments, opening or closing streets, squares, landscaping, etc.)	33.5
other urban changes (pedestrian areas, lighting, cleaning, etc.)	24.3
changes relating to security: police stations, headquarters, crimes	23.8
social changes (bars opening or closing, nightclubs, civic centres, hostels)	5.2
works on dwellings (demolitions, refurbishments, etc.)	4.4
major works (for the Olympics, ring roads, MACBA, Diagonal Mar, infrastructure)	3.6
newcomers	3.3
people departing	1.4
specific references to drugs	0.6
Total	100.0

Changes giving a neighbourhood insecurity

changes making a neighbourhood less secure	% responses
newcomers	36.6
changes relating to security: police stations, headquarters, crimes	17.9
social changes (bars opening or closing, nightclubs, civic centres, hostels)	17.2
work in the street (refurbishments, opening or closing streets, squares, landscaping, etc.)	10.4
specific references to drugs	8.2
other urban changes (pedestrian areas, lighting, cleaning, etc.)	6.0
works on dwellings (demolitions, refurbishments, etc.)	2.2
major works (for the Olympics, ring roads, MACBA, Diagonal Mar, infrastructure)	0.7
people departing	0.7
Total	100.0

By definition, public areas can be shared by people from all walks of life for all manner of purposes. Accordingly, a study of preferences sought to discover what kind of people would be willing to share a park or square. There were two major possibilities considered for using public areas (taking into consideration excessive schematic categorisation): static use, i.e., resting, or dynamic use for activities.

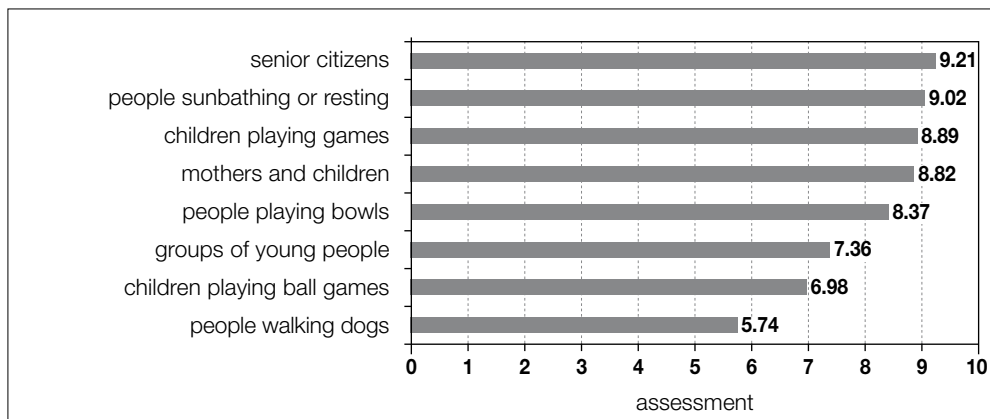
The assessments clearly show a preference for static use and rest, mainly by senior citizens (resting, sunbathing, often the elderly), as well as mothers and children engaging in peaceful activities.

The least favoured are dogs (the people who walk them), young people, and children playing ball games.

Two conclusions were drawn from the analysis:

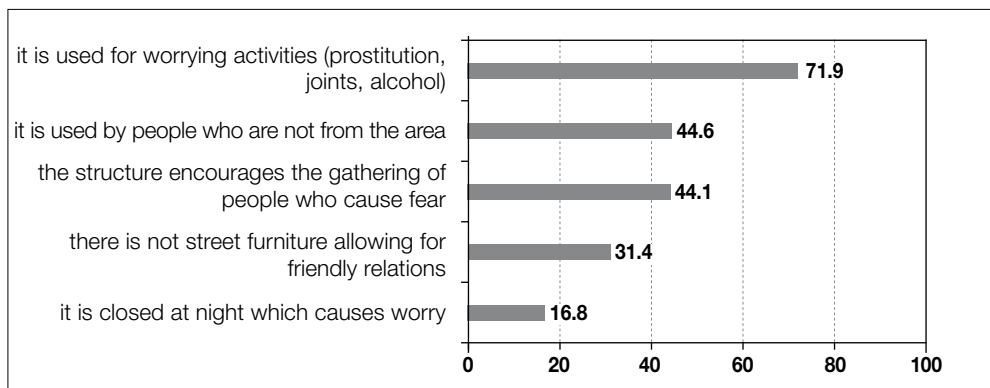
- The level of association depends on the inconvenience caused by the various activities taking place simultaneously: ball games and resting, dogs and children, etc.
- Two types of associations are observed. All groups involving children, senior citizens, people resting and people playing bowls, on the one hand; and children playing ball games, groups of young people and people walking their dogs, on the other.

Preferences regarding the characteristics and activities conducted by people sharing areas



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Reasons why an area may be considered insecure



The highest association established related to static uses:

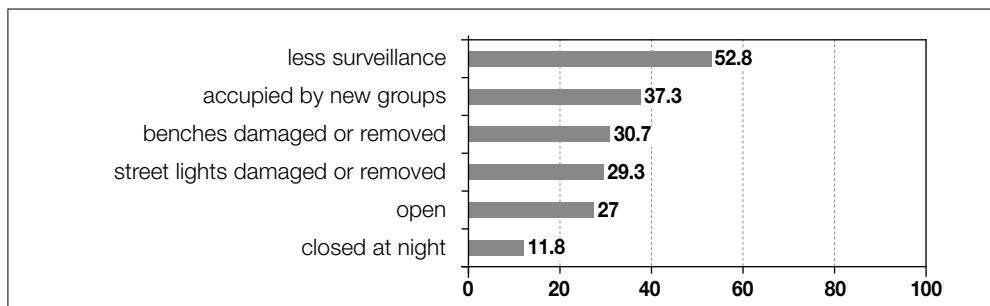
- People willing to share squares with children (playing or with their mothers) are also willing to share it with other groups, especially those who engage in static uses (senior citizens and people resting).
- This preference is less prevalent in the case of young people and those walking dogs.

As regards dynamic uses, the relationship between them in terms of preference is less prevalent:

- The highest relationship is between children playing ball games and groups of young people.
- The lowest association relates to people walking dogs and all other groups (both dynamic and static).

The likelihood that an area has become insecure in recent months led us to pose the following question: “if you were not previously

Changes in areas that have affected the perception of greater insecurity



worried about an area but it now causes fear, why do you think it has changed?”.

In half of the cases examined the reason given is the drop in surveillance and policing. Other changes seemed to have a lesser effect on the perception of insecurity:

- 37.3% were occupied by new groups
- around 30% had suffered vandalism

It would also appear that the opening of areas created greater insecurity (27%) than closing them (11.8%).

One evident conclusion is that people's preferences led to the partitioning of independent areas between them according to the activities they engaged in, creating specialist areas. This is the opposite of what people consider to be a public citizens' area involving a mix of uses and socialisation as one of the main purposes. This indeed is a major public policy challenge. There is a need to achieve a public area that creates identity, ensuring that areas can be considered as genuine places, having importance to citizens. This would allow people to have a sense of belonging as a vital component to building more socially coherent and secure cities.

This aspect of building a city must be underlined in the commitment undertaken by Barcelona's municipal authorities. Financial resources as needed must be devoted to expand on this area of research into crime in the city, along with the will to define public policies. This must also address public security based on innovative knowledge which currently constitutes the heritage of all in the academic sphere, and from the standpoint of the public authorities and citizens.

*The Catalan Crime
Victimisation Survey
(Enquesta de Seguretat Pública
de Catalunya – ESPC)*

Bernat Jesús Gondra

Director of the Catalan Crime Victimisation Survey



Origins and development

At the initiative of the City Council, the first ever Catalan victimisation survey was conducted in Barcelona in 1984. Preparations for the operation and the drawing up of the final reports were carried out by a team comprised by Anna Alabart, Josep Maria Aragay and Juli Sabaté, as well as by those in charge of the municipal prevention services, in particular Josep Maria Lahosa and María Paz Molinas. It is noteworthy that, after the first edition, the Barcelona victimisation survey has been carried out every year without fail. What is more, in 1989 it was extended to encompass the 27 municipalities in the metropolitan area of Barcelona, also conducted on a yearly basis.

Between 1984 and 1991 the sample was chosen using a system of random routes, and as of 1992 homes were chosen based on lists of landline telephone numbers always choosing at random one of the residents from each home with 16 years of age or over. Consequently, as of 1991 the interview was always conducted over the phone and as of 2000 it has been conducted with the support of the CATI, or Computer Assisted Telephone Interview system. During the nineties, approximately 7000 interviews were conducted with regard to Barcelona city and in excess of 5500 in the remaining municipalities in the metropolitan area.

At the same time, in 1999 the Government of Catalonia began a pilot test scheme for a major survey on security and policing in Catalonia, also conducted on a yearly basis. The existence of two statistical operations in similar or identical fields of study triggered the need to merge the studies for reasons of cost and in order to comply with current statistical regulations. Accordingly, as of 2002 one single fieldwork operation has been carried out with a common questionnaire and modules adapted to the needs of each institution.

The unification of these operations called for a host of cooperation agreements to be signed. In particular, the Government of Catalonia, Barcelona City Council and the Commonwealth of Municipalities of the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona jointly bear the cost of the operation, in conjunction with the Catalan Statistics Institute which is formally entrusted with supervising the operation since the ESPC is a part of the body of official Catalan statistics.

The samples for this joint operation reached a maximum in 2002 with in excess of 18,000 interviews throughout Catalonia, though recently the number has been around the 14,000 mark. The preparation of the sample is not proportional so as to ensure that in the pertinent regions a margin of statistical error is accounted for in an acceptable manner. In addition, municipalities that so wish can increase the sample in their districts and are only required to cover the costs entailed by the additional sample in their region, though few councils have taken up this opportunity.

For the remainder, for the immediate future it will be necessary to take into consideration the ever-growing use of the mobile phone and the increase in the number of landline telephone users who do not appear in the phone records. The presence of landlines is already below 80% in Spain, a development that is particularly heightened among young people and the foreign population. According to the study by Isabel Peleteiro and José Andrés Gabardo, “people without a landline at home are younger than the average (with almost 8 years’ difference compared with the population as a whole), and account for a larger proportion of single, divorced and employed individuals (with the employment rate being 18% higher among this group than the population at large), and almost a quarter of them are foreign. This is probably their most distinguishing trait: although lack of a landline stands at a rate of 16% among Spaniards, among foreigners resident in Spain the figure reaches 60%¹. No definitive decision has yet been made regarding the ESPC sample, but it is clear that this is a major issue that will make it necessary to incorporate changes.

The questionnaire scheme and the range of crimes

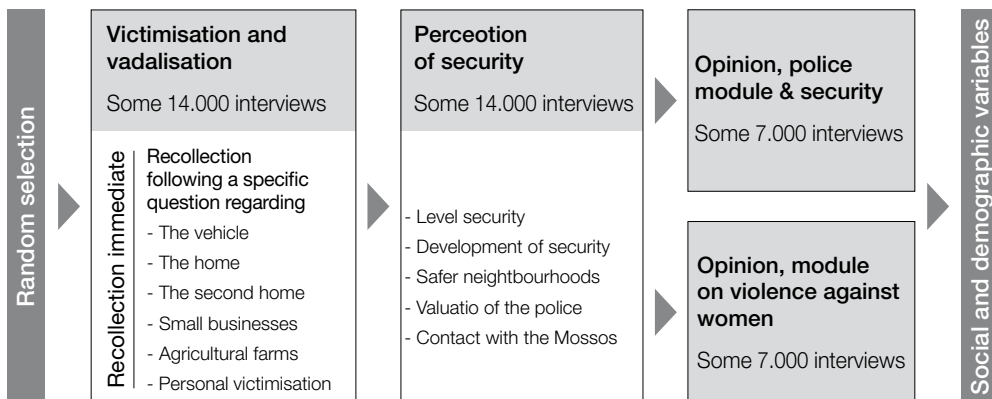
Victimisation is a statistically uncommon event, though when it comes to security, policing, traffic, domestic violence or anti-social behaviour, for instance, almost everyone has something to say. Thus, over the years, a questionnaire scheme has been adopted in which questions on uncommon variables, especially victimisation questions, were posed to the entire sample, whereas the opinion variables formed two or three blocks (depending on the year) which were administered in random to half or a third of the sample.

In other words, in some years, opinion modules with population groups of 4000 to 5000 individuals have been used, entailing acceptable margins of error, except when requirements are established for breaking down regions into smaller municipalities or districts.

The average length of an interview is 16 minutes and the fieldwork begins in early January. This is considered the ideal moment to ask questions on victimisation relating to events from “the previous year”. For instance, a question is posed as to whether “last year, a burglary or attempted burglary took place in your home”. Consequently, the data on victimisation experienced is gathered throughout the first quarter of the year but relates to the previous year. Even so, the subjective perception of security levels, for instance “rate the level of security in your local area...” refers to the time when the interview is conducted. This explains the differences in the dates in the ESPC tables. Schematically, the victimisation data refers to the previous year and the data on perceptions relates to the time when the fieldwork is being carried out.

Within the ESPC, questions on victimisation focus on a range of incidents that excludes victimless crimes (especially drug dealing) or

¹ Peleteiro, I. and Gabardo, J.M. (2006), “Los hogares “exclusivamente móviles” en la investigación telefónica de audiencia”, *Metodología de Encuestas*, volume 8, pp. 113-136.



crimes committed against legal entities (especially against companies) with the exception of thefts, robberies and vandalism against small businesses which are included in the ESPC. In our information system, surveys on the consumption of drugs were traditionally the responsibility of the Ministry of Health while the carrying out of company victimisation surveys is a plan that may be the subject of its own distinguished operation in the future.

The forms of victimisation studied in the ESPC also failed to include victimisation of 16-year-old minors or specific forms of violence against women. When it comes to minors, the domestic services of the Government of Catalonia opted to conduct a specific survey every four years: the *Survey on security and coexistence in schools of Catalonia* (ECESC), which has already been conducted twice and will be re-released in the 2010-2011 academic year. This operation is conducted in a school setting with significantly lower costs than the general survey, and no replies are virtually restricted to absenteeism. Indeed, there is greater scope for adapting the questionnaire and administering the interview to suit the specific needs of this sector of the population.

Along a similar line, it was considered preferable for forms of violence affecting women to be subject to a specific victimisation survey: the *Survey on violence against women in Catalonia* (ECMC), which was conducted for the first time in spring 2010 and, in principle, would be carried out every four years. Nonetheless, consideration is being given to the possibility of including a module on violence against women into the ESPC in the future.

All in all, schematically, the crimes examined in the ESPC are as follows:

Incidents studied in the Public Security Survey of Catalonia

Spontaneous recollection (based on a general question at the start of the interview)

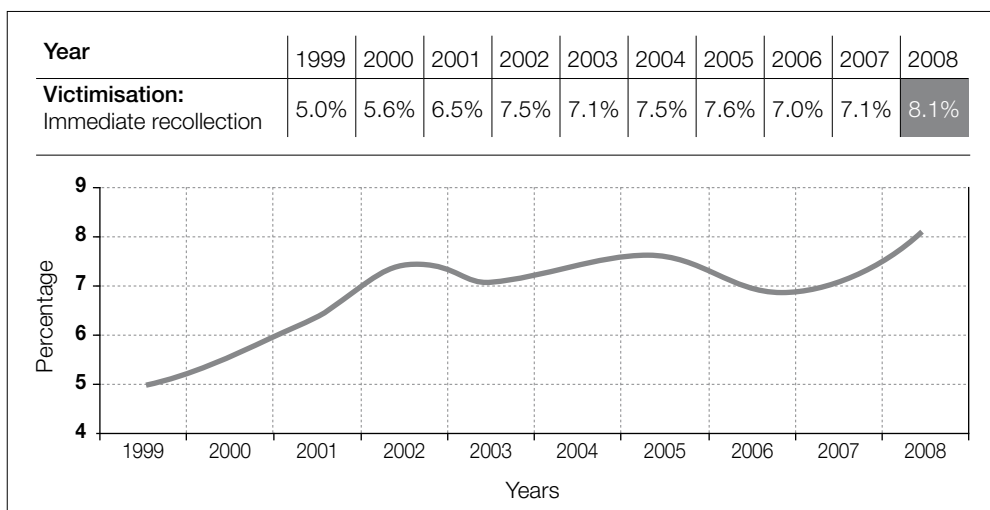
Do you recall whether last year (2008) you were the victim of any crime (theft, robbery, assault, etc.)?

Prevalence (based on specific questions on the following areas of victimisation)

Incidents	Victimisation	Crimes endangering personal security
		Vehicle theft
		Attempted vehicle theft
		Theft from inside a vehicle
		Theft of vehicle accessories
		Crimes affecting the main home
		Burglary
		Attempted burglary
		Crimes affecting a second residence
		Burglary
		Attempted burglary
		Crimes affecting trade or business
		Robbery inside a shop or business
		Attempted robbery inside a shop or business
		Theft inside a shop or business
		Attempted theft inside a shop or business
		Crimes against agriculture
		Theft of agricultural machinery, field produce or livestock
		Attempted theft of agricultural machinery, field produce or livestock
		Localised victimisation
		Robbery
		Attempted robbery
		Snatching
		Attempted snatching
		Theft of bag or wallet
		Attempted theft of bag or wallet
		Theft of mobile phone
		Attempted theft of mobile phone
		Physical assault
		Attempted physical assault
		Threats, coercion or intimidation
	Vandalism	Vandalism of vehicle accessories or objects
		Vandalism at a home
		Vandalism at a second residence
		Vandalism in a shop, business or to produce
		Vandalism of agricultural machinery, produce

Development of spontaneous recollection of victimisation, 1999 – 2008

Percentage of individuals who immediately remember having been victims of any crime



Victimisation and feelings of insecurity

Immediate recollections and having fallen victim to a crime

Spontaneous recollection of victimisation having taken place throughout the previous year is an unusual indicator in other victimisation surveys and, accordingly, calls for further remarks. These are obtained directly from the initial question in the questionnaire: “Do you recall whether you suffered any crime last year (theft, robbery, assault, etc.)?”, and the results obtained from previous years are shown in the previous table².

As stated already, the fieldwork of the ESPC is carried out during the early months of the year to make it easier for victims to recall events witnessed in the previous year. However, this initial question in the survey does not gauge the percentage of victims, but rather the percentage of those who immediately recollect having witnessed such events immediately. Throughout the interview, when planning more specific questions, events are recalled that do not fit in with the spontaneous perception of what is considered a crime, and such events are immediately forgotten or not considered sufficiently important to the person being interviewed.

Accordingly, this data does not measure prevalence throughout the year, that is, the total percentage of those who have been subject to an unlawful incident during that year, rather it gauges the percentage of those who retain a vivid recollection of the experience. Along these lines, the variable is in fact an indicator of impact since the results gauge the trace of the events in the victim’s memory. We should point out that this indicator has increased: in the 2009 edition of the ESPC 8.1% of those interviewed immediately recalled having fallen victim to a theft or an assault during 2008, and this figure is the highest recorded in the past ten years.

² “Gross” indicator: (respondents with spontaneous recollections of victimisation/total interviews) x 100.

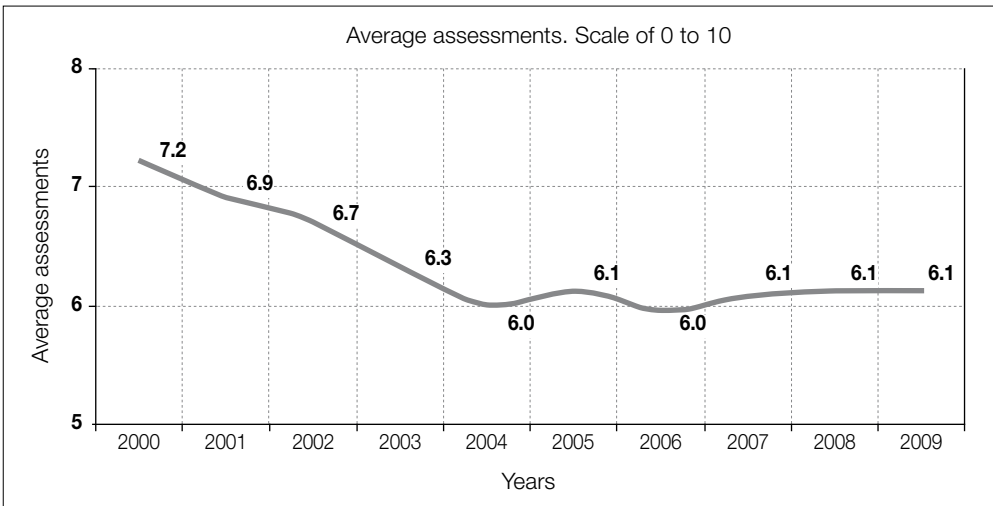
The events they most recall are those which entail a certain degree of violence or intimidation, such as robberies or snatchings. We could even say, in general terms, that the proximity of the assailant has an impact, whereby, in approximate figures, in terms of personal security the immediate recollection can exceed 60% of the prevalence, whereas, in terms of incidents committed against vehicles, the immediate recollection does not even reach 20%.

In the case of the remainder, incidents that are immediately recalled show the greatest level of worry (7.8 compared with 6.8 on a scale of 0 to 10). The psychological impact is also more heightened (6.5 compared with 5.6 on a scale of 0 to 10). Also, these events are reported to a greater extent: crimes (including vandalism) which are immediately recalled were reported in 2008 at a rate of 56.2% of all cases, while incidents that are recalled subsequently to the interview were only reported in 25.5% of cases.

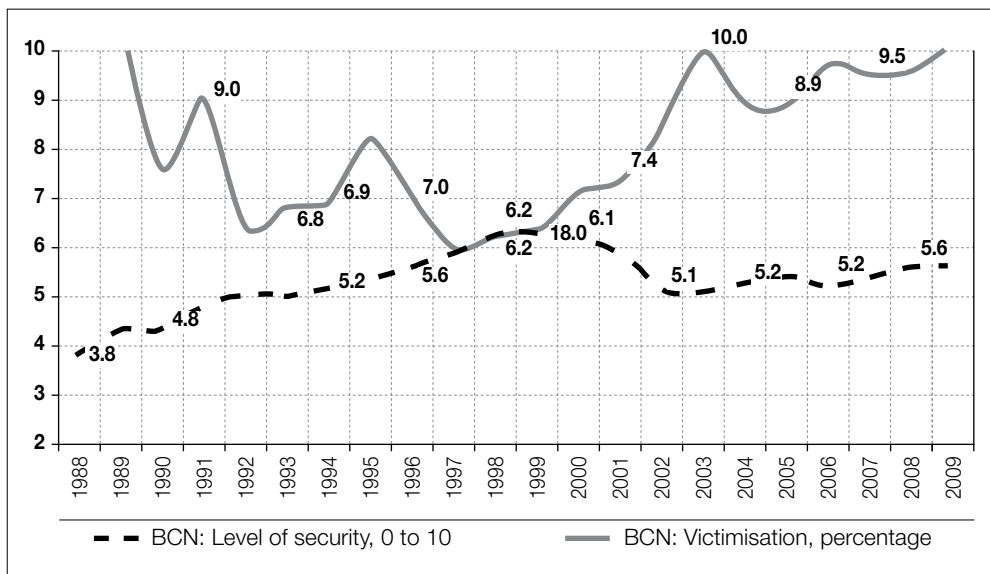
Victimisation suffered and perceptions of security levels

In addition, the spontaneous recollection of having been a victim to an event is highly related to the subjective perception regarding the level of security. In the ESPC, the subjective perception regarding the level of security is obtained by means of a text that seeks to avoid emotional burdens characteristic of questions on fear. The formulation is literally the following: “Rate on a scale of 0 (the lowest) to 10 (the highest) the level of security in your area”. The results are as follows: The correlation between the perception of the level of security and a spontaneous recollection of victimisation is high and, of course, inverse, with a linear Pearson’s coefficient of -0.909. In other words, when the spontaneous recollection among victims is the highest, the perception of security among the population as a whole is lowest. This calculation is based on only ten editions of the survey and, accordingly, does not make it possible to draw definitive conclusions, though it does point to the fact that there is a heightened associa-

Level of security in the area of residence, 2000-2009



Spontaneous recollection of victimisation and perception of the level of security, Barcelona, 1988 - 2009



tion between the number of individuals who immediately recall having been victims (8.1% in 2009 or 1180 persons) and the perception of the level of security drawn from the responses in the valuations given by all the members of the sample (14,983 persons).

Notwithstanding, the longest running series in Catalonia – Barcelona – does not show such a strong correlation. With comparable questions and 22 editions (1988-2009), the general shape of the curves insinuates such an association and, accordingly, two curves have been drawn on the same chart so that the scale represents the percentage of the sample that immediately recalls having been a victim in the case of spontaneous recollections and also represents a scale of 0 (lowest) to 10 (highest) in the case of the perception of security.

Even so, in this instance the association is weaker: specifically, the linear Pearson's coefficient is -0.612. Indeed, there are more heightened associations, such as the correlation between the prevalence of criminal victimisation (without vandalism) and the perception of the level of security (-0.883), but to obtain this indicator many questions must be posed, and the specific focus on the immediate recollection lies in the simplicity of the manner in which they are formulated.

The prevalence of victimisation

As stated, the ESPC systematically focuses on unlawful incidents within six highly independent fields of victimisation: vehicle-related crime, that affecting homes, second homes, shops or small businesses, agriculture and personal security. The formulation of specific questions on victimisation in any one of these fields makes it possible to detect incidents that are not spontaneously mentioned in the replies to an initial general question. In order to calculate the prevalence, therefore, questions are posed for each of the six fields and, if applicable, insistence is placed on typical victimisation experiences

(thefts, assaults, threats, coercion, etc.) and on vandalism of private property, in other words, damages suffered by citizens.

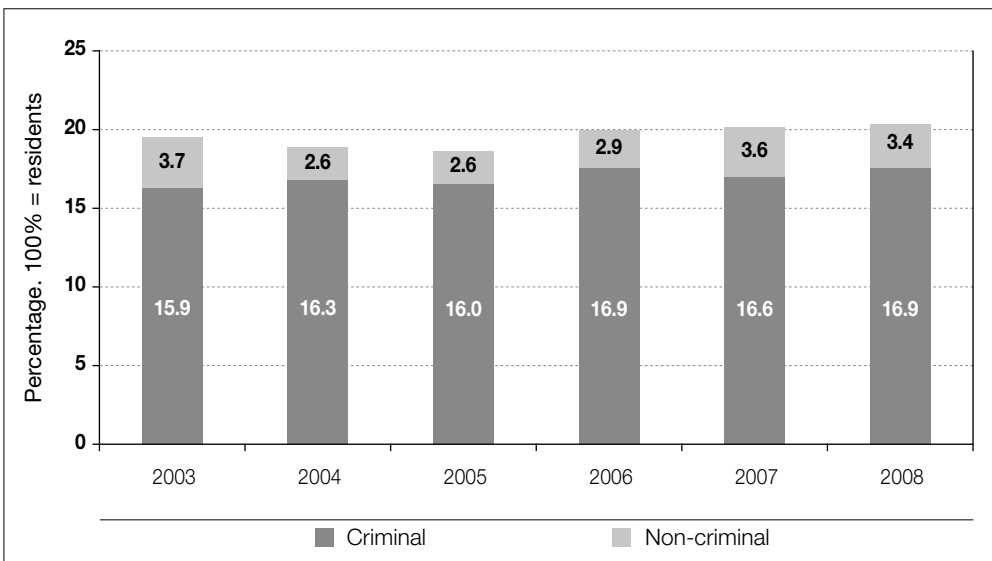
As we have seen, the spontaneous recollection compiles information on events having a major impact while the prevalence, in other words, the percentage of individuals who recall having fallen victims to thefts, assaults, threats or coercion (victimisation) or damages (vandalism), after replying to a systematic range of questions, provides a broader record of the unlawful incidents to which citizens fall victim. Indeed, the data on prevalence includes incidents that the victims themselves do not even consider as crime.

We shall begin by presenting victimisation without vandalism, that is, without damage to private property.

As we can see, people who consider they have been the victim of a criminal act (theft, assault, threats or coercion, etc.) in 2008 account for 16.9% of the resident population and the victims of unlawful incidents that they did not consider criminal in nature account for a further 3.4%. The overall prevalence of victimisation, that is, the total percentage of actual victims of any incident over the previous year has therefore remained stable. The changes are far too slight to be significant: the number of victims of events that they consider to be crimes has risen by 0.3% and the number of victims of unlawful incidents that they did not actually consider to be criminal in nature has fallen by 0.2%, variations that are not significant.

Moreover, the distribution of victimisation according to territory is also an area that does not vary greatly from one year to the next. If we focus on victimisation considered by the victims as criminal acts, we can see that Barcelona, the Camp de Tarragona, Girona and the Terres de l'Ebre have higher than average levels of victimisation. This is a fact that has remained so throughout Catalan studies on victimisation, with the significant exception of the Girona counties which had traditionally been below the average until 2008.

Prevalence of victimisation, 2003-2008



Distribution of criminal victimisation according to territory, 2004 - 2008

Number of victims as a percentage of the total population

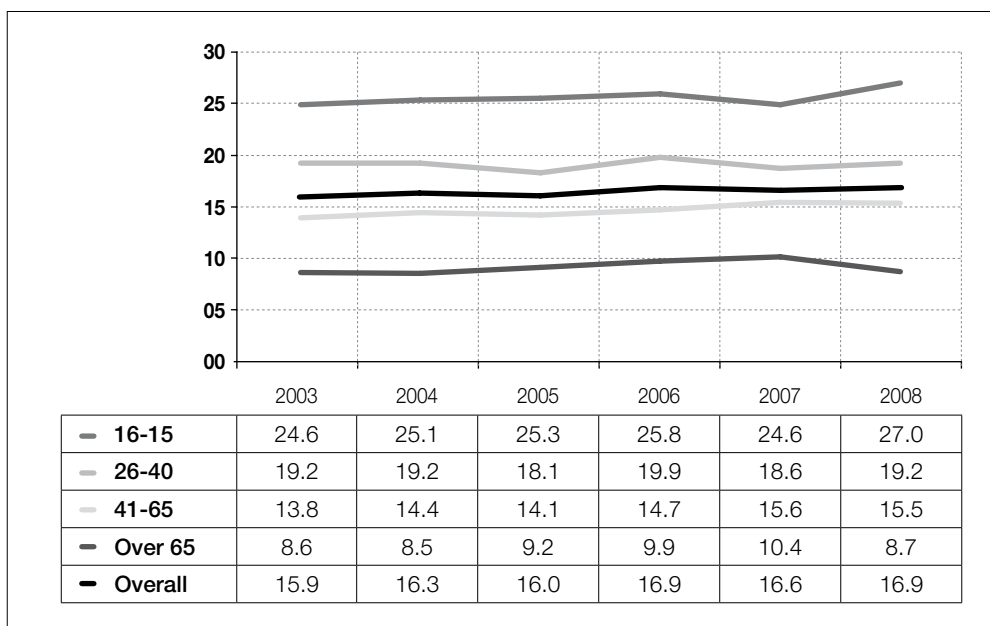
Territorial areas	Prevalence of criminal victimisation				
	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Barcelona	20.2	20.7	21.1	20.5	20.1
Metropolitan area of BCN	15.9	15.0	15.8	16.1	16.0
Camp de Tarragona	18.6	18.5	19.9	18.2	18.2
Terres de l'Ebre	17.8	17.9	16.6	18.7	19.2
Girona region	15.7	14.1	15.3	15.0	18.3
Central counties	9.5	9.6	12.8	10.6	10.7
Ponent region	10.6	12.4	12.6*	15.2	12.8
Western Pyrenees	8.7	6.0		9.4	7.6
TOTAL	16.3	16.0	16,9	16.7	16.9

* 2006 did not establish any differences between the Ponent region and the Western Pyrenees region.

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Prevalence of *criminal* victimisation according to age groups

Except theft or robberies of mobile phones. Number of victims as a percentage of the total in their age group.



Indeed, Barcelona has always had higher rates of victimisation than the average because it is a centralised focal point entailing a greater level of victimising activities. Nonetheless, in previous editions of the ESPC it was noteworthy that the difference with regard to the Catalan average was growing; in other words, the numbers were going up gradually each year during the first half of the decade although this trend seems to have modified somewhat.

The distribution of victimisation according to ages is also worthy of remark. It is often affirmed that young people fall victim to crimes more frequently than the rest of the population and this is confirmed by the data from the ESPC. If we only refer to victimisation of what is considered crime by the victims themselves, we can see that the youngest group in the population systematically falls victim to a greater extent than the remainder and, what is worse: the increase we have detected has specifically been concentrated among this group.

Areas of victimisation

In recent years, victimisation according to areas has shown that there has been a constant increase in crimes endangering personal security, that is to say, victimisation involving contact (robberies of bags and wallets, thefts, snatchings, burglaries, assaults, etc.). In this respect, one of the most notable aspects of the 2009 survey is the stability of this indicator for the third year running. The first indication that it was becoming steady was made evident in 2007, but it was only observed if mobile phone theft was excluded. In 2008 stability was detected for all types of crimes and in some cases a fall has been recorded.

Later on we will return to the foremost forms of victimisation involving contact, but for now we shall highlight the fact that this stability is highly generalised, even in the case of vehicles (unauthorised use, vehicle theft, theft from inside, damages, etc.) because in 2008 an increase is observed in comparison to 2007 (7.4% compared to 6.8% in 2007). Even so, the levels recorded for 2008 are not alarmingly greater than the average for the period.

We can see the data recorded since 1999:

Criminal and non-criminal victimisation according to area, 1999 – 2008

Number of victims as a percentage of the total population for six areas

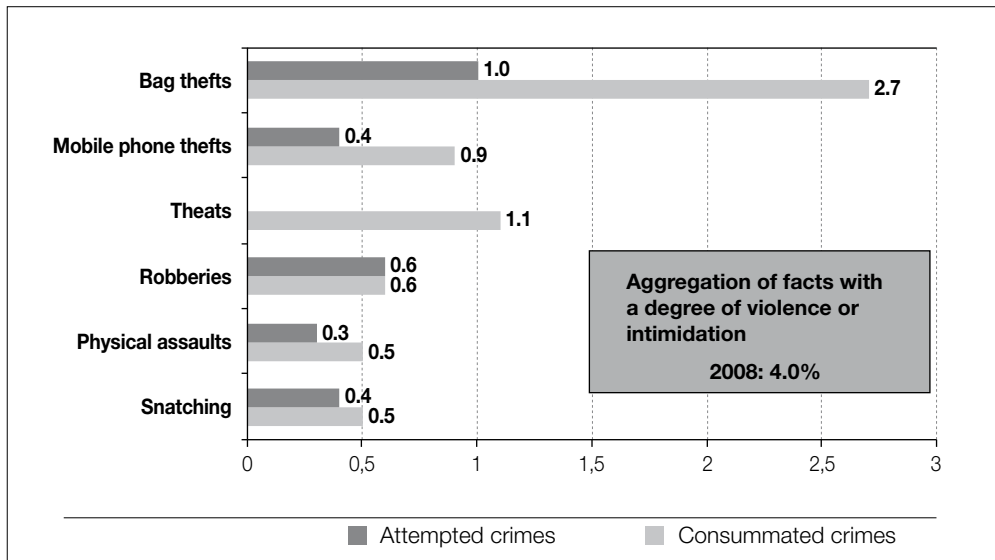
Criminal and non-criminal victimisation with the exception of mobile phone theft*

Prevalence of criminal and non-criminal* victimisation	1999	2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Against vehicles	7.4	6.4	6.4	7.6	7.4	6.9	8.6	6.8	7.4
Against the home	1.6	1.8	1.6	1.7	1.8	1.1	2.1	1.9	1.8
Against the second residence	0.7	0.9	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.7
Against small businesses	0.7	1.1	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.1	0.9
Against agriculture	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.8	1.0
Against personal security	3.7	5.6	6.3	7.1	7.9	8.2	8.8	8.7	8.8
Crimes against personal security (assaults, threats, burglaries, snatchings and bag thefts)									
Consummated or attempted crimes									
With a motive									
Only criminal incidents				7.3	8.0	8.1	7.8	9.0	8.3
With a motive									
Criminal and non-criminal incidents				8.7	9.6	9.7	9.7	10.3	9.9

*The difference between criminal and non-criminal victimisation was incorporated into the ESPC to study victimisation in 2003. During that edition of the ESPC a specific question was introduced about mobile phone theft.

Victimisation endangering personal security, 2008

Crimes the victims consider to be criminal



With regard to victimisation endangering personal security, although a significant number of incidents have taken place without violence or intimidation (especially thefts of bags or wallets), we need to acknowledge that the most difficult core of the problem – consummated robberies and physical assaults – account for a significant figure (1.1%), and even less so if we take into account the attempted crimes of this kind (which would place the figure at 2.0%). This is without mentioning that the additional inclusion of snatchings and threats, either attempted or consummated, account for a substantial 4.0%.

Although bag theft is still the foremost type of victimisation mentioned in this area, which indeed has not fallen in frequency, it is clear that crimes entailing a certain degree of violence or intimidation, that is, robberies, physical assaults, snatchings and threats, whether attempted or consummated, have a particularly notable impact on the victims causing the greatest social alarm. In this regard, the drops recorded in the latest edition of the ESPC are still insufficient, but it does show that the change is heading in the right direction.

All crimes experienced. Vandalism

We have already seen that, despite the stability of certain figures, there are also increases in victimisation and its subjective impact. Along these lines, we previously pointed out that there was an increase in spontaneous recollections of victimisation and we can state that there is an increase in incidents that the victims themselves consider to be unlawful but not criminal, that is, a range of experiences that often focus on anti-social behaviour directly suffered. The fact that they are not considered criminal by the victims does not mean they are insignificant.

It can even be affirmed that the increase in experiences of this type is one of the characteristics of 2008. We should add that the increases

Overall indicators of criminal and non-criminal incidents, 2004 - 2008

Overall incident percentage 100% = population aged 16 or over		2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Criminal incidents	Victimisation	16.3	16.0	16.9	16.7	16.9
	Vandalism	5.0	6.0	4.8	7.2	6.8
TOTAL VICTIMS OF CRIMINAL INCIDENTS		19.7	20.4	20.2	23.4	21.6
Non-criminal Incidents	Victimisation	2.5	2.5	2.9	2.4	3.4
	Vandalism	2.5	2.5	2.9	2.4	3.4
TOTAL VICTIMS OF NON-CRIMINAL INCIDENTS		3.9	4.0	4.0	4.3	6.3

are not alarming but they are significant. In order to determine their significance compared with all incidents, we have drawn up a general summary of indicators of prevalence, criminal and non-criminal incidents, in terms of victimisation (thefts, assaults, threats, etc.) and vandalism (damage to private property), as it can be seen above.

The consolidated indicators are not the arithmetical sum of the partial indicators as the same person may have been subject to victimisation and, furthermore, may have been victim to an act of vandalism.

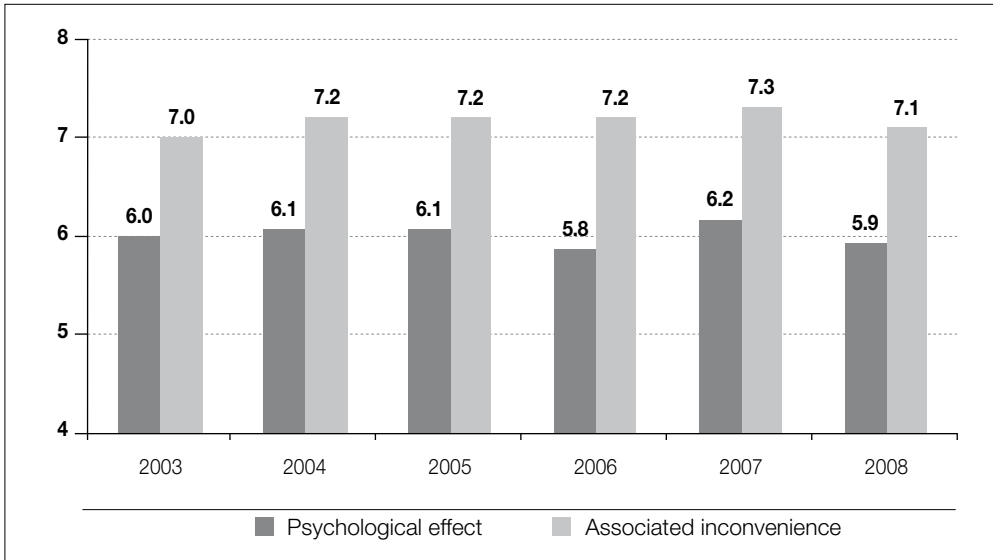
In any event, the overall data show stability in the case of criminal events and a significant increase in experiences that the victims themselves did not consider criminal. In other words, the current situation appears, in part, to be characterised by stability in the case of typical victimisation whilst an increase has taken place in terms of vandalism.

Subjective effect

The degree to which victims have been affected in subjective terms is gauged in the ESPC by two indicators on a scale of 0 (not at all) to 10 (substantially). The first indicator assesses the inconvenience associated with the incident ("Rate the inconvenience caused by this incident") while the second seeks to address the psychological effects of the crime for the victim ("Rate how the event affected you psychologically"). Considering the statistical prevalence of the less severe incidents it would not be surprising that the average valuation of the inconvenience is greater than the psychological effects. In this year's edition, relating to victimisation suffered during 2008, associated inconvenience received an average rating of 7.1 points, highly similar to 2007, and a psychological effect of 5.9 points, 0.3 points below the previous edition's figure, though in line with the stability trend we have been mentioning.

In the period from 1999 to 2002 a slight though constant increase was noted in the psychological effect rising from 5.2 in 1999 to 6.0 in 2003, along with an increase in the inconvenience associated with victimisation which also rose slightly (from 6.6 to 7.0). However, as of 2003 these indicators remained notably stable. The psychological effect moves over a range of 0.4 while the associated inconvenience moves over a range of 0.3 meaning that, technically speaking, the impact is analogous.

Subjective effect on victimisation, 1999-2008



The differences in comparison to the previous period should be interpreted with caution because to a certain extent they are due to a modification in the calculation bases introduced in 2003. In the period from 1999 to 2002 the calculation was based on the most important incidents that the victims had suffered, and as of 2004 it was based on all incidents. Even so, the change in this criterion for calculation should have led the indicator to fall, and indeed it has remained stable, which leads us to conclude that, in actual fact, first an increase took place then the indicators stabilised.

For the remainder, these increases are unequally distributed according to areas and population groups. Certain kinds of victimisation, such as crimes against homes (whether consummated or attempted) and crimes endangering individuals with violence or intimidation are those that cause the greatest inconvenience and the greatest psychological effect, an occurrence that is especially heightened among groups that feel more vulnerable.

As next table shows, in general terms, the psychological effect is lower among young people and males. In the 2009 edition of the ESPC, victims in the 16 to 25 year age range report an average psychological effect of 5.2 out of 10 while those who are 65 years or older rate this effect at 7.1 points. The average for males stands at 5.4 while for females it stands at 6.6. On the other hand, the distribution of inconvenience associated with victimisation is similar for all age groups.

Distances aside, the same phenomenon occurs in any relatively vulnerable population group: victimisation has a greater effect on those in a relatively weak position. For example, those victims with lower income point to a psychological effect of 7.2 on a scale of 0 to 10 as opposed to 5.2 points recorded by those with higher earnings.

Distribution of psychological effect according to gender and age. ESPC, 2009

Psychological effect	Averages. Scale of 0 to 10						TOTAL
	Gender		Age				
	Men	Women	16 - 25	26 - 40	41 - 64	65 & over	
Vehicle	5.5	6.1	5.2	5.7	5.9	6.6	5.7
Home	5.7	7.2	5.5	6.1	7.1	6.6	6.4
Second home	6.4	7.1	4.0	6.6	7.5	6.5	6.7
Business	5.7	6.8	4.7	6.2	5.9	6.6	6.0
Primary sector	6.3	5.9	5.0	6.7	5.9	6.8	6.1
Personal security: OVERALL	5.0	7.0	5.2	6.0	6.7	6.9	6.1
THREATS	4.9	7.8	5.4	5.9	6.8	8.4	6.2
PHYSICAL ASSAULT ATTEMPT	3.8	7.6	4.6	5.1	4.8	7.4	5.0
PHYSICAL ASSAULT	5.9	7.9	6.2	7.4	7.4	6.4	6.8
TOTAL	5.4	6.6	5.2	5.9	6.3	6.8	5.9

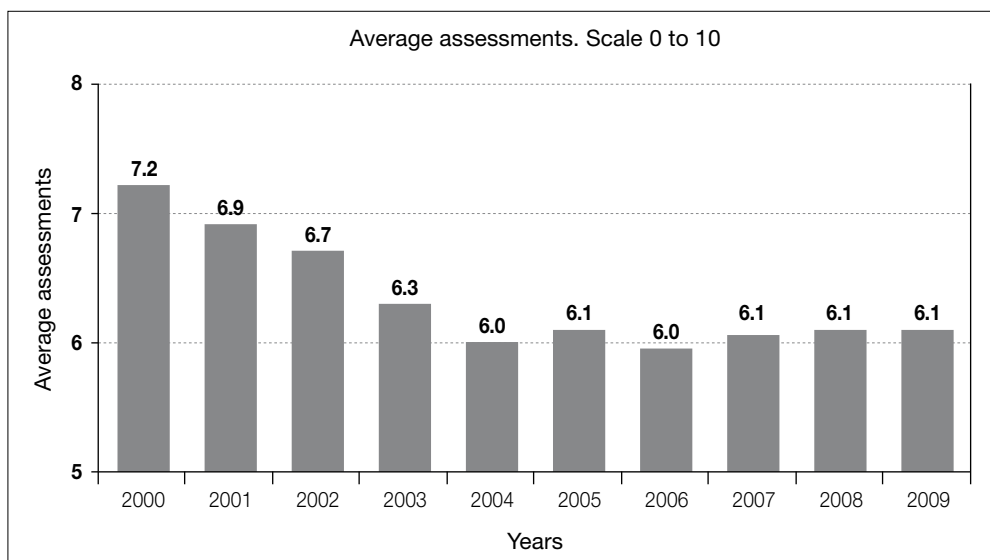
Feelings of security and valuation of the police

Perceptions on security

As we have stated already, during the first quarter of 2009 the Catalan population assessed the level of security present in their local areas giving an average rating of 6.1 out of 10. Therefore, the rating was identical or similar to that given in previous editions of the ESPC.

These figures are far from the ratings recorded around 2000, which were around the 7 point mark, but they do confirm that perceptions are steady despite there currently being signs of a deterioration. We can see this in a chart:

Level of security in the town of residence, 2000-2009



Evolution of security in the area of residence, 1999 - 2008

Vertical percentages

Question: What is your opinion regarding the manner in which security has evolved in your local area over the past year?

	1999	2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
It has improved	32.8	26.7	22.5	21.2	23.0	21.2	20.3	22.9	20.9
It hasn't changed	54.4	55.4	59.1	52.2	52.3	52.0	48.5	54.3	54.9
It has worsened	10.1	14.8	14.2	20.3	20.3	21.8	23.7	18.7	19.9
DK/NA	2.6	3.2	4.1	6.2	4.4	5.1	7.5	4.1	4.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Future evolution of security in the area of residence

ESPC editions 2004 – 2009

Year	It will improve	It will not change	It will worsen	DK/NA	Difference Improve - Worsen
2004	33.7	31.4	15.3	19.6	+18.4
2005	35.0	27.8	21.4	15.8	+ 13.6
2006	30.6	34.9	19.1	15.4	+11.5
2007	26.3	31.3	21.1	21.3	+ 5.2
2008	29.0	38.8	17.1	15.2	+11.9
2009	23.3	37.6	26.3	12.9	-3.0

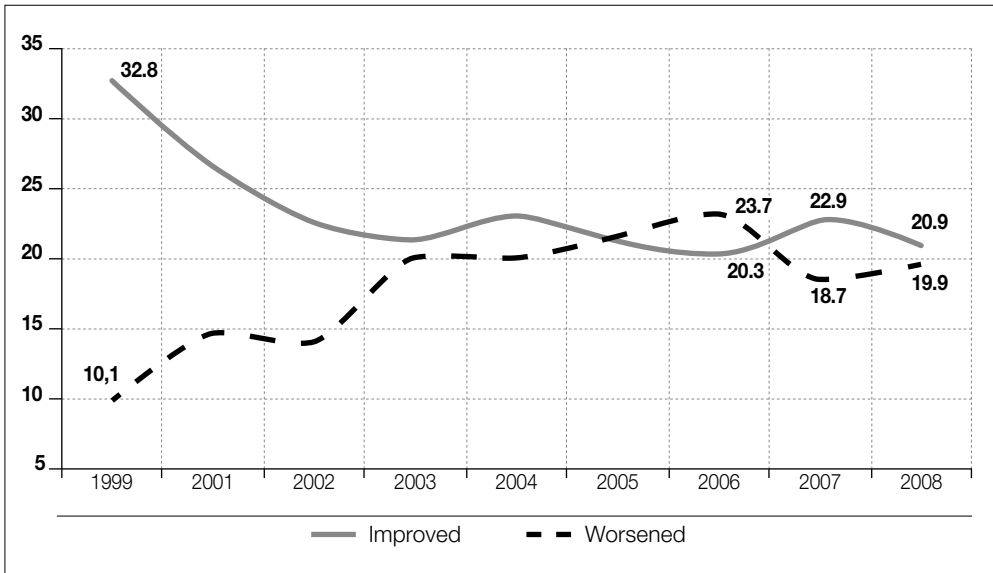
On the other hand, responses to a supplementary question in the ESPC (“What is your opinion regarding the manner in which security has evolved in your local area over the past year?”) show a more critical perspective. Those who believe the situation remains the same, who did form the majority (54.3% in 2007), are now increasing by some points (54.9% in 2008). However, in particular, the percentage of those who believe the situation has worsened has increased by more than one point (from 18.7% to 19.9%) and the percentage of those who believe that things have improved has fallen by two points (from 22.9% to 20.9%).

We can see this in the table on the top of this page.

In addition, this increase in critical opinions has taken place on a context characterised by a vigorous increase in those who think that the situation will get worse in the immediate future. The responses to the ESPC question on this latter point (“How do you think security will evolve in your local area during the coming year?”) have shown the most pessimistic response since this question was first asked in 2004. We can see this in greater detail in the second table of above.

This development is clearly cause for concern. Significant, increasing minorities of the population think that security has worsened (19.9%) or tends to get worse (26.3%). This is especially relevant if we consider that the optimistic proportion of the population, the group expecting improvements in future, was greater in terms of the numbers than the pessimistic group between 2004 and 2008. However, the difference in favour of the optimistic group, which was as

Perception on the development of security, 1998 - 2008



much as 18 points in 2004, has gradually been decreasing, and this year the relationship is the reverse, whereby the group that considers that security will get worse over the next year is three points higher than those who expect it will improve.

Nonetheless, it is also true that the average valuation of the security level has remained steady in the region of 6.1 out of 10 since 2004 (see chart 6). The deterioration in future expectations does not allow us to affirm that security levels have currently dropped. Along these lines, the perception of how public security has evolved in recent years clearly shows us that there has been a downward trend that is still not reflected in the average rating for current security levels. In short, the current security level is still stable, but the variables measuring its previous development and possible future development show that the situation does give cause for concern.

We can see this in the previous chart by comparing the development of population groups that believe security has improved to those that believe it has worsened in order to highlight the variations characterising current perceptions on the development of security.

We will not go into detail describing the territorial distribution of these indicators because they are highly correlated to levels of victimisation. In other words, those territories showing higher victimisation also have lower ratings for security levels. In the ESPC, the perception of security levels and victimisation is analogous and shows how useful subjective indicators can be in carrying out quick measures.

Assessment of police services

The assessment of the service provided by the Mossos d'Esquadra autonomous police of Catalonia shows a downward trend that is constant, albeit gradual, for the period between 2000 and 2007, and the rating later stabilises around 6.5 out of 10. The assessment of the

services provided by municipal police also dropped slightly over the first half of the decade and later stabilised, in this case to in the region of 6 points. We can see this evolution in detail in a table that does not include the ratings for national forces in recent years since a rating for these services was no longer requested as of 2007.

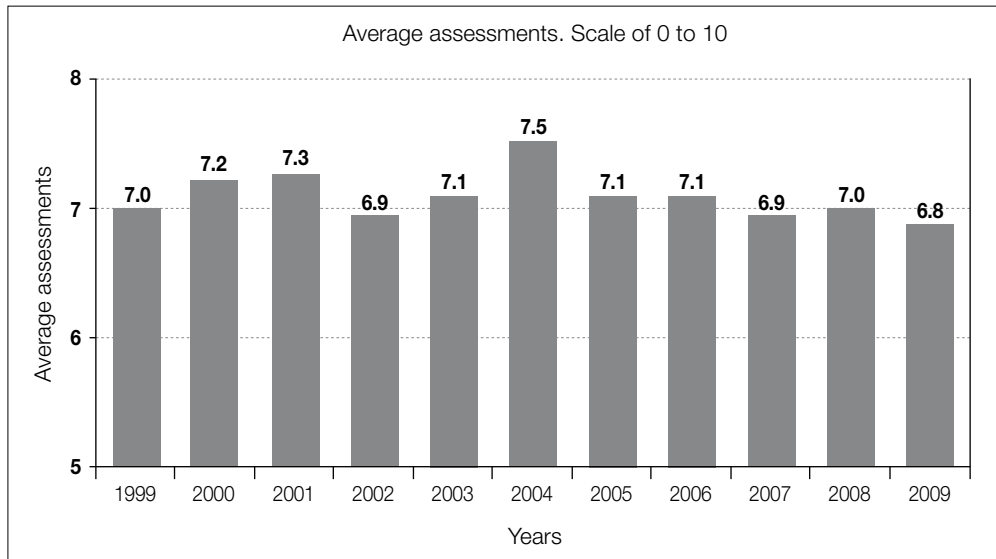
A slight drop took place in the ratings for all police forces during the first half of the decade and this development could be associated to the increase in victimisation witnessed during that time. Nonetheless, the drop in the ratings given to the Mossos d'Esquadra appears to be the result of certain additional factors, such as a downward readjustment of expectations brought about by their deployment.

Over the course of this time, the replacement of national forces by the Mossos d'Esquadra has been monitored in a distinguished manner in the ESPC. The survey assessed the work carried out by the various police forces as a whole ("... please rate the service they provide overall") and it assessed the process for replacing national force by the Mossos d'Esquadra. Generally speaking, the work carried out by the Mossos d'Esquadra was given a much more critical assessment than the replacement process; therefore, the final serv-

Overall valuation of police services 2000 - 2009
Average ratings on a scale of 0 to 10

Police services	2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Mossos d'Esquadra	7.3	6.7	7.0	7.0	6.8	6.7	6.5	6.6	6.5
Local police	6.5	6.1	6.2	6.2	5.9	6.0	6.0	6.1	6.1
National police	6.6	6.3	6.5	6.4	6.2	6.3	-	-	-
Civil Guard	6.5	6.3	6.4	6.5	6.2	6.1	-	-	-

Assessment of the deployment of the Mossos d'Esquadra, 1999-2009



ice assessed was always below the public policy of substitution, and it almost always received ratings of more than 7 points out of 10.

Accordingly, Catalan public opinion has steadily remained in favour of the new policing model, and this has given rise to expectations that have not always been met in reality. In all likelihood, this difference between expectations and the service ultimately received is behind the drop in the ratings given to the Mossos d'Esquadra.

By way of comparison, we can see in the previous table the ratings received over the course of the period in which the national forces were replaced by the police of the Government of Catalonia

Monographic modules in specific fields

An example: the development of attitudes on violence against women

In each edition of the ESPC an entire module is devoted in monographic terms to a relevant issue for domestic security, such as anti-social behaviour, immigration, youth conflicts or citizens values with regard to violence against women. Considering that the ESPC is an established statistical operation between the autonomous government and the municipalities in the metropolitan area of Barcelona, it is common for this module to be devoted to local problems, especially relating to coexistence in public areas and anti-social behaviour.

Even so, in 2008 this module was devoting to examining people's attitudes on violence against women. An empirical verification was conducted on the development of citizens values in this field during a time characterised for the preparation of more cutting public programmes.

The main problems in Catalonia. Spontaneous responses, ESPC 2008

No more than three responses

The most recurring problems (sum of 3 mentions exceeding 5%)	SUM of % 3 mentions		Mentioned 1st	Mentioned 2nd	Mentioned 3rd
	2007	2008	2008		
Public insecurity	44.2	34.0	18.1	10.5	5.4
Immigration	35.1	30.2	18.3	8.1	3.7
Unemployment. labour conditions	20.7	26.2	10.1	10.9	5.2
Housing	23.6	17.9	8.8	5.7	3.4
Financial problems	5.7	13.3	5.4	4.0	3.9
Infrastructure	8.6	6.5	1.9	2.7	1.9
Healthcare		5.4	1.1	2.0	2.3
Education	4.9	5.2	1.4	2.1	1.7
Anti-social behaviour, dirt	7.2	4.9	1.7	1.8	1.4
...
Violence against women	1.1	1.8	0.6	0.7	0.5
Don't know / No answer	55.6	75.3	17.7	34.6	25.9
TOTAL (n=7.087)	300		100%	100%	100%

The ESPC points out that, in an open question (“...which three main problems does Catalan society face today?”), violence against women was not prominent among major citizen concerns, standing at 17 in the classification.

Nevertheless, when moving to closed questions rather than open ones, explicitly asking about the importance of a host of problems on a scale of 0 to 10, violence against women received higher ratings than public insecurity or anti-social behaviour. It could be said that violence against women did not spontaneously form part of the imagination in terms of insecurity, but that it was considered one of the foremost problems.

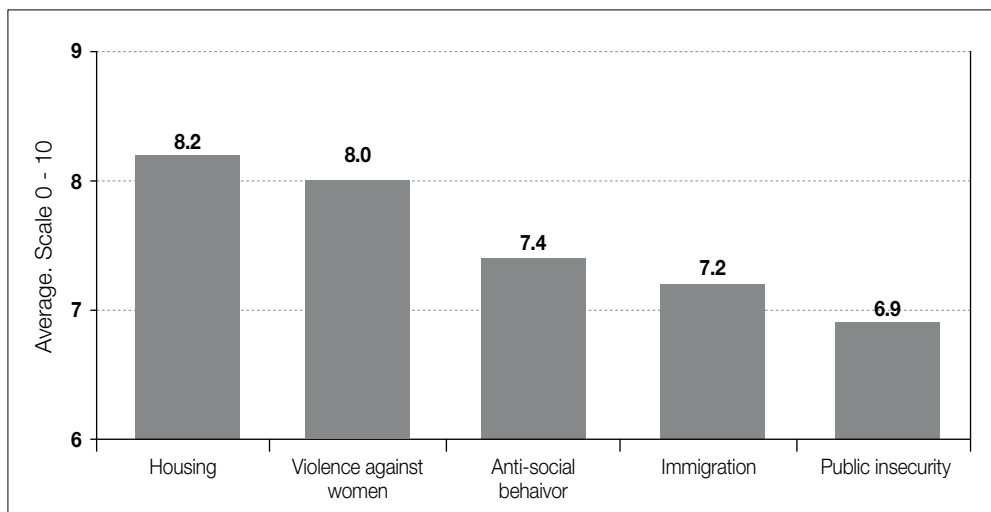
In this context, it is necessary to specify the notions that exist among the population regarding domestic violence and how they have evolved over time. To do this, it was suggested that the individuals interviewed should rate the extent to which a host of conduct constituted forms of domestic violence. The instances studied and the average ratings obtained are as shown in the first table next page.

Initially, it could be stated that there is an increase in the consideration given to this conduct since 2003. When the data is broken down according to genders we can see that the increase has been generalised among both men and women, with sharp increases in certain instances such as controlling money, controlling relations with other individuals of opposite sex and criticising or ridiculing a partner.

The consideration is substantial for all socio-demographic areas, but it increases depending on the level of studies and family income. When it comes to distribution according to age, often a comparison is made between young people, who are more equal in terms of ratings, and senior citizens, who are more subject to traditional values, which falls in line with the data obtained, but it does call for certain specifications. The average consideration increases slightly from 16 to 50 years and then falls, but always remains at high levels, in other words, above 7 on a scale from 0 to 10.

Assessment of the importance of various problems in Catalonia, ESPC 2008

Closed questions. Ratings on a scale of 0 to 10



Assessment of problematic conduct that could arise between couples

Development over time 2003 – 2009

Question posed: “To what extent do you consider the following conduct to be violence towards your partner? Rate them from 0 (not at all) to 10 (completely)?”

Conduct	Valuation. Average. Scale of 0 to 10		
	2003	2004	2008
To have a strong discussion and smack the partner in the face	8.2	9.1	9.3
To have a strong discussion and throw an object to the partner	8.1	9.2	9.1
To oblige the partner to have sexual relations	--	--	9.1
To prevent the partner from disposing of money to pay for daily expenses	6.8	7.9	8.6
To criticize or ridicule what the partner does	6.9	7.8	8.5
To not let the partner speak to other individuals of the opposite sex	6.7	7.8	8.6
To never take the partner's opinion into consideration	--	7.9	8.6
To control where the partner is and what the partner is doing at any time	--	--	8.4
To control the partner's relationship with relatives and friends	6.4	7.7	--

Assessment of problematic conduct that may arise between couples

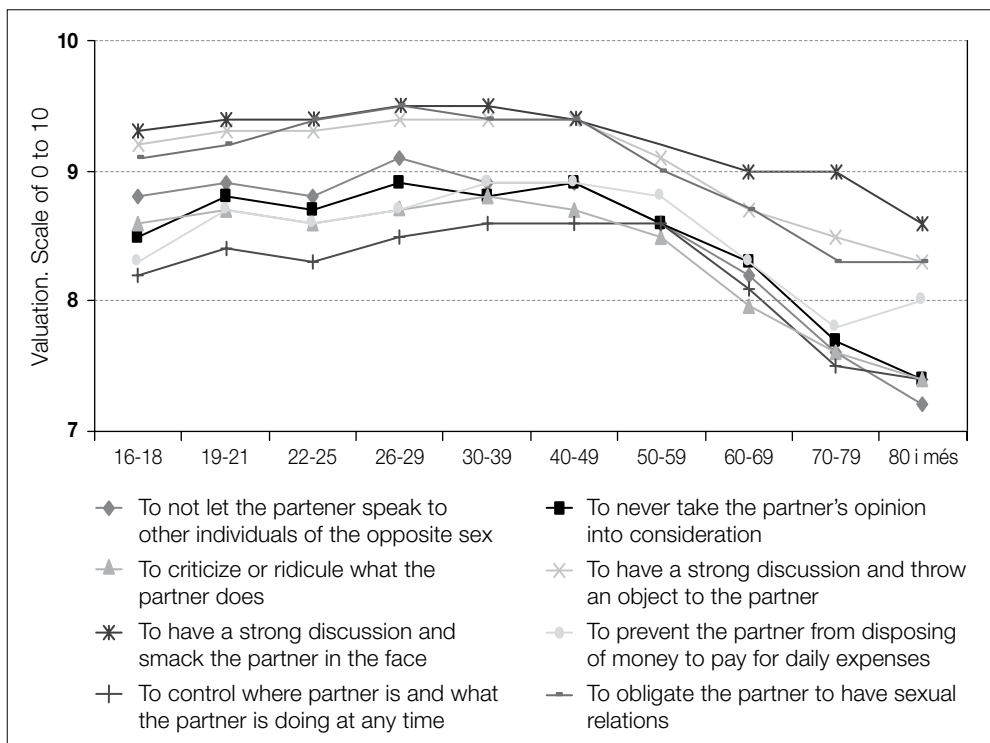
Distribution according to gender

Question: “To what extent do you consider the following conduct to be violence towards your partner? Rate them from 0 (not at all) to 10 (completely)?”

Conduct	Valuation. Average. Scale of 0 to 10		
	Men	Women	Total
To have a strong discussion and smack the partner in the face	9.1	9.4	9.3
To have a strong discussion and throw an object to the partner	8.9	9.3	9.1
To oblige the partner to have sexual relations	8.8	9.3	9.1
To prevent the partner from disposing of money to pay for daily expenses	8.4 (6.5)*	8.9	8.6 (6.8)*
To not let the partner speak to other individuals of the opposite sex	8.4 (6.5)*	8.9 (6.9)*	8.6 (6.7)*
To never take the partner's opinion into consideration	8.3	8.8	8.6
To criticize or ridicule what the partner does	8.2 (6.7)*	8.8	8.5 (6.9)*
To control where the partner is and what the partner is doing at any time	8.1	8.7	8.4

* Average ratings lower than 7 points on a scale of 0 to 10 obtained in the 2003 edition of the ESPC are marked in brackets in order to highlight the particular increase in the social considerations given in these areas.

Accordingly, generally speaking it can be stated that there is an overall increase in the social connotation given to violence against women, which does not exclude its persistence among minority groups who tend to consider certain conduct of little importance or who limit their classification as referring to physical assault. These sectors of the population can be quantified in a more direct manner,



identifying the percentage of the sample that rates the portrayal with lower scores.

In other words, between 2.4% and 5.2% of the Catalan population tends to trivialise this conduct (ratings of 0 to 4) and between 12% and 27% consider them to be minor (ratings of 5 to 6), which entails a substantial change with regard to the situation in 2003, though it is far from constituting a satisfactory situation.

For the remainder, some individuals tend to consider that all these instances are trivial or, on the other hand, that they all have the same severity. Accordingly, we can classify the individuals in the sample with regard to all the variables in a simultaneous manner in mutually excluding groups, trying to maximise homogeneity within each group and heterogeneity between groups.

In this respect, several possible classifications have been studied and a 5-group solution has been offered to make it possible to compare developments since 2003. The first group includes individuals who tend to rate all conduct below 4 points out of 10, and it was considered that a rating like this meant that they considered that the depiction of violence was practically inexistent. The second group comprises individuals who tend to depict explicitly violent conduct (such as a blow/smack or throwing an object) but who are relatively permissive with conduct such as refusing money (5.1), not allowing partners to speak with individuals of the opposite sex (4.7) or controlling where they are and what they do at any time (4.7). The remaining groups have been formed according to a growing depiction within all these areas of conduct.

Rating of the portrayal of eight examples of violence against women

Percentage of the population that gives the depiction a rating of less than 7 points out of 10

Conduct	Total population %.		Scale of 0 to 10
	Values 0-4	Values 5-6	Average
To have a strong discussion and smack the partner in the face	2.4%	12.2%	9.3
To have a strong discussion and throw an object to the partner	3.0%	14.4%	9.1
To oblige the partner to have sexual relations	3.3%	14.6%	9.1
To prevent the partner from disposing of money to pay for daily expense To prevent the partner from disposing of money to pay for daily expenses	4.2%	22.6%	8.6
To not let the partner speak to other individuals of the opposite sex	4.6%	23.8%	8.6
To never take the partner's opinion into consideration	4.8%	24.2%	8.6
To criticize or ridicule what the partner does	4.9%	25.7%	8.5
To control where the partner is and what the partner is doing at any time	5.2%	26.8%	8.4

Groups according to the depiction associated to six instances of violence against women

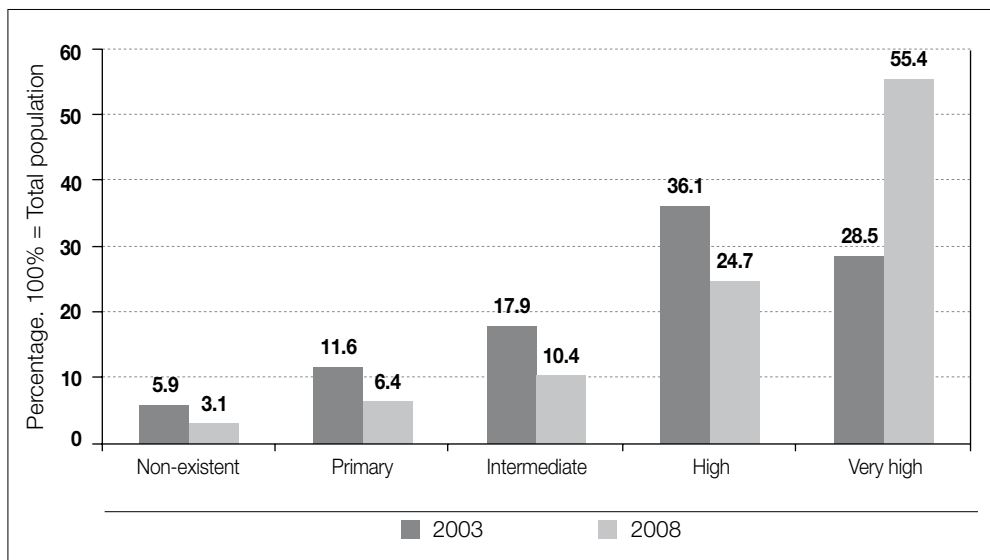
Average depiction in six instances. ESPC 2003 and 2008

Group	Average valuations. Scale of 0 to 10											
	Blow/Smack		Throwing an object		Criticize, ridicule		Refusing money		Not allowing partners to speak with individuals of the sex opposite		Controlling where they are and what they do	
Associated depiction	2003	2008	2003	2008	2003	2008	2003	2008	2003	2008	2003	2008
Non existent	2.7	3.3	2.7	3.3	2.2	3.9	2.4	3.7	1.7	3.2	2.1	3.6
Primary	8.8	8.1	8.6	7.7	4.8	5.7	4.1	5.1	3.1	4.7	2.7	4.7
Intermediate	6.2	8.5	5.9	7.8	5.9	6.0	5.4	8.2	5.6	6.8	5.5	8.1
High	8.8	9.3	8.6	9.3	7.2	8.6	7.2	7.8	7.3	8.7	6.6	7.3
Very high	9.7	9.9	9.6	9.8	9.3	9.5	9.2	9.8	9.3	9.7	9.1	9.7
Total	8.2	9.3	8.1	9.1	7.0	8.5	6.8	8.6	6.7	8.7	6.4	8.4

Using the same grouping criteria as those applied in 2003 makes it possible to observe that the ratings, in other words, the depictions, have increase for all groups, but not only is there a more critical attitude among all the groups considered, there are major differences in terms of scale.

We could say that violence against women is lent a depiction of growing intensity by ever increasing sectors of the population, that is to say, not only has the depiction been given a more heightened nature, the population groups that are more profoundly opposed to all forms of male chauvinist attitudes have also grown.

Groups according to the depiction associated with six instances of violence against women



The population group expressing high depictions has increased by more than 25 points compared to 2003. The minority for which the depiction is virtually non-existent has decreased from 5.9% to 3.1% and the sector of the population we have denoted as “the primary sector”, that is, those who only react in the face of incidents involving physical violence, but which is permissive with regard to other forms of violence against women, has decreased.

In short, it has been proposed to distribute the sample into five groups, but it is clear that there are similarities between them, especially among those who give a high and very high rating to the depictions and also among those who describe the depictions as primary and non-existent. In theory, these two populations assess the incidents from different viewpoints that are almost in stark contrast. The first group seems to base its assessments on equal rights and moral integrity while the second group seems to view its assessments on the basis of problems that are hard to avoid and to which they are resigned, albeit by establishing certain limitations. Between these highly different groups a transition is detected in terms of sensitivity, represented by the intermediate group which is inclined to correct such conduct without emphasising its significance. Indeed, we can hypothesise on the following three distinct trends, three major areas of sensitivity:

1. Sensitivity for equality: the events raise the issue of fundamental rights
2. Sensitivity for settlement: the events raise the issue of coexistence
3. Resigned sensitivity: only physical assault poses problems, and not always

We could say that the various stances are ordered in an arch which, on one side accepts conventional gender inequalities and on the other side aspires for constitutional equality among men and women. The curve is asymmetrical, that is, clearly inclined towards sensitivity in terms of equality.

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Crime Surveys in Spain. Future Challenges



Crime Surveys in Catalonia

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Surveys in Catalonia dealing with the issues of victimisation and security go back as far as 25 years. In 1984 Barcelona City Council promoted the *Victimisation survey and opinions on security of Barcelona* (VSB) and several years later – in 1990 – it was extended to encompass the greater metropolitan area of Barcelona (*Victimisation survey in Barcelona metropolitan area* – VSBMA). In 1999 the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of Catalonia fostered a pilot project in order to conduct a security survey addressed to the Catalan people. This led to the establishment of the *Crime Victimisation Survey of Catalonia* (*Enquesta de seguretat pública de Catalunya* – ESPC) which came to form part of the Catalonia Statistics Plan some two years later.

In 2002 the ESPC and the VSB-VSBMA underwent a merger process. The synergies stemming from it made it possible to reap the benefits of the (scientific, political and economic) economies of scale pertaining to both operations. A common questionnaire was prepared dealing with victimisation which was accompanied by specific blocks of questions that could be adapted to suit the specific informational needs of each institution (those attached to local councils and those attached to the Ministry of Home Affairs for Catalonia as a whole). Ever since, the specific blocks have enabled the study on victimisation and the way security is perceived to be supplemented with other useful aspects such as citizens' opinions on the way in which the autonomous regional police have been deployed and have taken on authority, the frequency of and the assessment given to dealings between the Catalan population and the police forces, perceptions on civic-mindedness and conflicts of coexistence in neighbourhoods and violence against women. The fusion of both operations also led to a unique sample being created and one single fieldwork operation being conducted in order to achieve the greatest level of efficiency and the establishment of comparable indicators for the various territorial divisions (Barcelona and the districts, the metropolitan area, police regions, etc.).

Ever since they were first conducted, victimisation and security surveys in Catalonia have served as an essential source of statistical information for the public security system. The Government of Catalonia has gradually assumed ever-increasing authority in terms of public security and the police meaning there has been a need to

benefit from information making it possible to examine and assess the way in which the security model was being implemented throughout Catalonia. Surveys became a means of support in this process of police transition and assumption of authority. At the same time, the effects of changes occurring in the circumstances of Catalan society were gradually incorporated into the way in which the perception of insecurity was examined by studying issues such as anti-social behaviour and conflicts of coexistence in public areas. Accordingly, surveys allowed adaptations to be made in line with the requirements of Catalonia by including specific questions in the surveys, depending on the informational and analysis-related needs at any given time. This is how the ESPC and the VSB-VSBMA have weaved their story with the same vicissitudes witnessed in the public security policy and the development of Catalan society hitherto.

The Barcelona Institute of Regional and Metropolitan Studies (IERMB) has worked in the field of public security and coexistence ever since the VSB was expanded to encompass the metropolitan area in 1990. Since then, thanks to the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of Catalonia, Barcelona City Council and the Commonwealth of Municipalities of the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona, the Institute's research team has worked on preparing databases on public security, contributing to both the preparation of questionnaires and the examination of the results thus obtained. The experience gained over the years has unquestionably made it possible to assert that victimisation surveys have established themselves as a vital way of gaining an acquaintance of the reality of Catalan society in terms of crime. Indeed, at times when the security and the police model have undergone changes, security surveys have made it possible to glean information about the extent to which the population has been exposed to the most common forms of criminal activity and they have made it easier to examine dealings between the population and the police forces, whilst providing information on how security is perceived in Catalonia.

Future challenges

Following the completion of the implementation process by which the police of the Government of Catalonia-Mossos d'Esquadra (PG-ME) have taken over the pertinent duties and thanks to major improvements in technologies for compiling information and using police force statistics systems, it seems an appropriate juncture to look back and take stock, to look at developments, limitations and future challenges posed in victimisation and security surveys conducted in Catalonia. This article seeks to summarise the reflections of the IERMB research team in the light of questions raised regarding the use and potential for such surveys. Broadly speaking, we consider that the main challenges posed are as follows:

1. Consolidating victimisation surveys.
2. Progressing in terms of territorial analysis and comparability.
3. Progressing in terms of knowledge on perceptions of insecurity.
4. Regaining the potential of surveys for conveying citizens' opinions.
5. Making up for knowledge limitations.

Consolidating victimisation surveys

In a host of traditional studies, American (and subsequently British) researchers demonstrated that the detection and resolution of crimes often depends not on what the police forces are able to do, but rather on the fact that their actual ability to act is often restricted on account of the information that reaches them through citizens¹. Indeed, the lack of motivation to file a complaint may lead to less crimes being recorded by the police forces, and this is despite an increase in the number of individuals who fall victim to these crimes. Contrariwise, when citizens are forthcoming in reporting certain events, the number of complaints recorded by the police forces may increase, even though the actual number of crimes has remained the same.

Since the second half of the 20th century, the analysis of crimes that go unreported has witnessed unprecedented progress on account of victimisation surveys. These studies show the benefits of gathering statistics on the actual number of crimes a population falls victim to by asking them how often they feel they have suffered events that could be considered criminal in nature. They also make it possible to ascertain how many of these events have actually been reported to the police or court authorities.

Indicators on victimisation and complaints have established themselves as a firm source of information for examining and studying the reality of public security in Catalonia with a range of statistics covering more than 25 years in the case of Barcelona city, 20 years in the case of the metropolitan area and 10 years for Catalonia at large. Moreover, these surveys constituted the only overall source of statistics regarding domestic security in Catalonia as the Mossos d'Esquadra² police were being deployed. Accordingly, they are part and parcel of Catalonia's public security information tools as they naturally supplement police records³.

Nonetheless, with the deployment process complete and since technological developments have made it possible to standardise the procedures for compiling and handling the data brought to the attention of the police forces, the public security researchers and managers of Catalonia are faced with a similar challenge to that posed in the United States a number of years ago: examining the potential for a comparative analysis of police statistics and victimisation surveys.

Comparisons of the results of victimisation surveys with police records have always entailed an attempt to determine the dark figure of crime in order to measure a presumed *true level of crime*⁴. This approach has been especially significant in the United States, where the National Crime Victimisations Survey (NCVS) of the Bureau of Justice Statistics was prepared in order to supplement the data gleaned from the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Both sources of information share many similarities allowing for a comparison to be made, though significant methodological and technical differences can be identified.

This possibility would be somewhat more difficult in Catalonia since data sources have not been standardised. However, such differences could subsequently be addressed. Even so, it is necessary to be aware that these sources cannot be combined in order to obtain a single measure of data on the level of criminality within a society or country⁵. As a result, many authors have highlighted the unique, distinguished nature of these two sources of information. With this

1 DIXON, David. "Why Don't the Police Stop Crime?", published in: ORTIZ, Íñigo and PONCE, Juli (coords.), *Convivencia ciudadana, seguridad pública y urbanismo. Diez textos fundamentales del panorama internacional*. Fundación Democracia y Gobierno Local, 2008.

2 GONDRA, Josu. *Els indicadors en l'àmbit de la seguretat interior: sobre la mesura de resultats*, published in: Revista Apunts de Seguretat, issue no. 3, April 2009. Ministry of Home Affairs, Institutional Relations and Participation. Government of Catalonia.

3 Ministry of Home Affairs, Institutional Relations and Participation, *Enquesta de seguretat pública de Catalunya. Síntesi de resultats*. Edició 2006. Government of Catalonia, 2006.

4 VAN DIJK, Jan. *Approcher la vérité en matière de délinquance. La comparaison des données d'enquêtes en population générale avec les statistiques de police sur la délinquance enregistrée*. Brochure no. 4. CRIMPREV, 2009.

5 VAN DIJK, Jan. *Op. cit.*, 2009.

consideration in mind, the aim should be to integrate and supplement information (rather than combining it) to make it possible to gain a broader overview of the problem of crime, providing aspects that will make it easier to identify and understand likely variations in the data obtained.

Progressing in terms of territorial analysis and comparability

Social and demographic changes in recent years have changed the outlooks of cities and towns throughout Catalonia in terms of the living conditions of their inhabitants and the situation with regard to security. This has compelled the authorities to swiftly adapt to these new circumstances. In light of the increasing complexity of the causes and processes that lead to insecurity, it is necessary to draw up a security system that will enable the towns and regions of Catalonia to set common goals and ensure efficient use of research, endowing them with the knowledge they need to find their own solutions to the specific security challenges they may face at any given time.

The various editions of the VSB and, as of 1990, the survey applicable to the metropolitan area, have made it possible to compare and endorse this methodology as a pertinent tool when it comes to management of security in urban areas. In this respect, the full potential of victimisation surveys should be yielded in order to provide as clear an overview as possible regarding the constantly changing circumstances of public insecurity problems, ensuring that formulae are put in place to enable access to and use of information on public security and coexistence for all the towns and clusters of towns in Catalonia.

This need is especially heightened on a local and, particularly, a regional level. The increasing distance between work and home has led to a change in people's mobility patterns and, in turn, the potential for crime and the likelihood of victimisation. It also entailed the emergence of several common problems, some of which are highly interrelated as are, for instance, population flows. Consequently, the potential of the surveys conducted in Catalonia needs to be fostered as they serve as instruments for managing public security on a local basis.

Being able to better identify the circumstances in which Catalonia is shrouded will enable us to benefit from regularly updated information on public security, heightening the potential to handle the data in cartographical terms. It will also call for endeavours to ensure constant adaptation to these new circumstances.

Being able to constantly adapt surveys to the circumstances of the areas has clear benefits, though it does make it more difficult to compare the results on an international basis. Owing to the cost entailed, a standardised comparative study must be rather limited in terms of its goals and the sample size. This will inevitably restrict the potential of international surveys to provide reliable forecasts since the samples for such studies often only take into consideration the most heavily populated cities in each country, a factor which raises clear doubts about their representativeness⁶. What is more, the quest for comparative data substantially limits the questionnaire's potential to be adapted to the needs and circumstances of each country⁷.

6 DAMMERT, Lucía (dir.). *¿Políticas de seguridad a ciegas?: desafíos para la construcción de sistemas de información en América Latina*. FLACSO, 2008.

7 ZAUBERMAN, René (dir.). *Victimation et insécurité en Europe*. Un bilan des enquêtes et de leurs usages. L'Harmattan. Paris, 2008

The difficulties posed by this model became evident in Catalonia in 1996 when a victimisation survey was promoted in line with the methodological criteria and the questionnaire of the International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS). In many countries, as with Catalonia, these studies were not continued and the decision was made to keep a victimisation survey in accordance with Catalonia's own needs for information. This led to broad heterogeneity in the number of studies conducted on victimisation. Nonetheless, many of these studies bear great similarities with respect to methodology.

Recently, Eurostat began to produce projections on changes in the police statistics of the various Member States of the EU and associated countries⁸. These studies are based on the idea of some authors who noticed that remission and record rates remain more or less stable in each country, whereby the statistics for crimes recorded by the police could be used to measure changes in various countries over a period of time. Similarly, it may be possible, or even appropriate, to take part in the preparation of a system of indicators regarding the development of crime, coexistence and public security on a European or even international scale which could benefit from existing research and studies. Indeed, the use of this system should be fostered where these surveys are not in place.

Progressing in terms of knowledge on perceptions of insecurity

Given of the increasing complexity of the causes and processes that lead to a climate of public insecurity, several initiatives have cropped up in Europe acknowledging the need to ensure that an assessment of the threats and the strategies that address the various public security problems should incorporate an extensive range of knowledge. This change of paradigm is based on the affirmation that the stability and social atmosphere in cities can also generate fear among the population.

Security or the lack of it that the residents of a city attribute to their neighbourhood or town is more than merely about fear of crime; rather, it is an indicator on the quality of life and social cohesion in a city⁹. The towns and cities of Catalonia have witnessed rapid growth, giving rise to specific challenges when it comes to public security: demographic and social growth, marked by an increase in the population among the elderly and among children and young people; an increase and diversification of the foreign population, with heightened migration having taken place in recent years; the establishment of tourism as a vital sector to the Catalan economy; and the expansion of cities beyond their administrative boundaries, meaning metropolitan areas are more than simply urban structures. All in all, these challenges have brought about new circumstances, giving rise to problems in coexistence when it comes to the use of limited public areas, currently one of the main causes of conflict among citizens and insecurity.

Managing these problems must be one of the main concerns of public security and prevention policies, a process that must involve preventing and eradicating crime, whilst fostering more secure everyday living conditions, transversality and improvements to the quality of services. Along these lines, one vital aspect of victimisation and security surveys lies in their ability to provide information on the way

8 TAVARES, Cynthia and THOMAS, Geoffrey. *Crime and Criminal Justice. Statistics in focus. Population and social conditions*, Eurostat Report (European Communities), 2008.

9 LAHOSA, Josep M. and MOLINAS, Paz. *La seguretat, un compromís de la ciutat. Model Barcelona. Quaderns de gestió*. Aula Barcelona, 2003.

security is perceived and subjectively witnessed by the population. As a result, they are one of the few instruments that are able to provide information on both the objective aspect of public security (victimisation rates and categorisation of crimes affecting a population) and the subjective aspect of security (all areas affecting the establishment by society of security).

Regaining the potential of surveys for conveying citizens' opinions

Aside from serving as a component for reflection, information on public security must constitute a tool for providing operational solutions to security challenges, giving specific information about how effective the protection services are (police, legal authorities and the community) when it comes to preventing crime and raising the feeling of security.

Nonetheless, security studies in Catalonia have placed greater emphasis on quantifying and examining the issue of public insecurity and the manner in which it manifests itself, rather than assessing the impact that actions carried out by the authorities have on public security. Consequently, there is a lack of indicators that would make it possible to suitably and extensively gauge the actual impact of the various security policies when it comes to crime and how safe the population feels¹⁰.

In this regard, the challenge is to reap the benefits of the potential provided by victimisation and security surveys in offering information that is useful to assess how the public security system operates. Therefore, the need is for data to be provided on public satisfaction with police services, an assessment of and expectations in relation to public security policies or indeed the operation of the justice system. This would make it possible to set up a system for assessment which, in addition to indicators based on police records, would become an instrument for the purposes of assessing the impact of public security policies and the extent to which citizens are satisfied with the public security system. Indeed, this instrument could make it possible to gain an acquaintance of the extent and manner in which the actions of each player have a bearing on public security¹¹.

Making up for knowledge shortcomings

Police statistics provide an accurate overview of the general manner in which crime has unfolded in highly stable institutional settings¹². However, the results of national reports and other studies point to the fact that police statistics are not reliable indicators on the levels and trends of mass crime, even if they are vital to assessing severe, less common crimes¹³. On the other hand, victimisation surveys are an excellent instrument for gauging conventional crimes but not when it comes to quantifying and categorising the specific phenomena of crime. This is mainly due to the fact that victimisation surveys have their own limitations stemming from the methodology used. They generally focus on a representative sample of the population that has resided in an area for more than 15 years and they are conducted while the respondents are at home (either over the phone or face-to-face). Lastly, the surveys are time-limited; therefore, the questionnaires cannot delve into the issues to the extent that researchers would like.

10 CURBET, Jaume; GONZÁLEZ, Carlos and MURRIÀ, Marta. *Inseguretat ciutadana, el fet i la percepció. L'estat de public security a l'Àrea Metropolitana de Barcelona, 2007*. Report of the Barcelona Institute of Regional and Metropolitan Studies, 2007.

11 In Great Britain, for instance, the system of indicators provided by the British Crime Survey (BCS), and the administrative and police records is one of the key systems for assessing the police.

12 GONDRA, Josu. *Op. Cit.*, 2009.

13 VAN DIJK, Jan. *Op. Cit.*, 2009.

As a result, general victimisation surveys only take into consideration individual victims who have fallen victim to crimes endangering their personal security or property, specifically, by conventional criminals¹⁴, and they exclude certain manifestations of crime such as those affecting children and young people (violence in school, for instance), those affecting non-residents (tourists, non-resident workers, etc.) and unconventional crime with group victims (fraud, corruption, endangerment of public health, etc.). They are likewise not an ideal instrument for gauging domestic victimisation (against senior citizens, children and women) because interviews are conducted in the very setting where such an assault may have taken place meaning that the response to such events may bear a major deficit. Moreover, they operate with margins of error stemming from the size of the sample and these margins increase when the results are unrelated owing to the various subpopulations that comprise said sample, whereby they do not make it possible to examine phenomena affecting small percentages of the population in a reliable manner (crimes affecting stores and businesses, violence against women, cybercrime, and so on).

A study of specific populations and problems, aside from conventional petty crimes, would call for specific studies to be prepared based on the methodology of the surveys and on an analysis of data from other sources, such as police statistics. To glean a much more in-depth analysis of the situation in terms of public security, it is necessary to place emphasis on the most common manifestations of crime affecting a large proportion of the population (for instance, petty theft) as well as other manifestations that broaden the perception of insecurity even if it is not so widespread (for instance, violent acts such as murder), whilst implementing concrete studies taking into consideration the most vulnerable groups of society including young people, senior citizens or women.

Conclusions

The emergence of new risks and insecurities, repeated anxieties with regard to social change, new conflicts in terms of coexistence affecting quality of life and the feeling of insecurity on the part of the population, and systems for preventing and controlling crime that are not entirely efficient are all aspects that have led to the goals of the security system to change. By turning to good account the experience provided thus far by teams of experts and the politicians in charge of victimisation and security surveys in Catalonia, along with international experiences, there is a manifest need to set up instruments in order to examine public security in its various differing facets. The challenges raised throughout this article are summarised below.

- Given the suitability of assuring knowledge-based public security policies there is a need to set up a system of indicators that will make it possible to integrate the various sources of information on the development of crime, public insecurity and coexistence (victimisation surveys and opinions on security, statistics from the police and legal authorities, data on calls according to the requests and complaints of citizens in relation

14 SABATÉ, Juli.
L'enquesta de victimització de Barcelona i de l'Àrea Metropolitana, vint-i-dos anys, una proposta d'anàlisi de la seguretat urbana des de l'administració local. Barcelona Institute of Regional and Metropolitan Studies, 2005.

to conflicts of coexistence, data from municipal registries, statistics on mobility and the living conditions of the population, as well as on citizens' expectations and opinions, etc.).

- Given the debate on the possible implementation of a victimisation and security survey providing data that can be compared among EU Member States there is a need to ensure that such a survey will be implemented by taking advantage of the methodological progress made since the first victimisation surveys and it should not overlook the examination of smaller territorial settings such as towns and metropolitan areas, assuring formulae for local and regional access to and use of information that will make it possible for public security management knowledge and research to be efficiently used.
- Given changes in the way people understand and experience security in the light of the demographic and social changes that have taken place in Catalonia in recent years there is a need to harness the potential of victimisation surveys to study all the processes that give rise to insecurity, including a fear of crime, whilst placing specific emphasis on the issue of conflicts of coexistence and use of public areas and the impact that such matters have on the sensation of security.
- Given the lack of a well-established system for assessing the effect of public security policies on public security itself there is a need for studies to focus on setting up a system of indicators to evaluate the actions carried out to prevent crime and manage the levels of fear.
- Given the methodological and knowledge-related limitations of victimisation surveys there is a need to improve information systems on specific problems in terms of public security based on conducting concrete studies on crime phenomena and, particularly, vulnerable groups by means of surveys and by using other sources of information.

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Twenty-five Years of Constitutional Culture in Public Security: a Critical Reflection on the Organisation of Public Policies

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Constitutionalism: democratisation and the State of autonomous communities (asymmetry and conflicts of authority)

The goals of the constituent process of 1978 included democratisation and modernisation of public security. Accordingly, the traditional legal and political notion of *public order* – deemed as a general operating clause of government intervention – was formally being replaced by the new notion of *public security*. The emerging constitutional model shaped the subject in the statutory foundations as a mission (article 104 of the Spanish Constitution) and also as a competence (article 149.1.29 of the Spanish Constitution).

Although in terms of guaranteeing rights and freedoms public security attained widespread consensus, when it came to discussing the territorial and political model of organisation it became a controversial issue. The constituent debate and, subsequently, the statutory debate would make it possible to see the heightened conflict among the various perspectives on the State model represented and backed by the various political forces having parliamentary representation. Indeed, the profound, complex relationship existing between the conceptual system of security and public order was patent or, when extrapolated to a broader doctrine-related plain, between the limitations of State sovereignty and the political decentralisation within the new constitutional system.

Despite being built around the formal attribution to the State of exclusive competence for public security, the article that ultimately came into force (149.1.29 of the Spanish Constitution) also laid the foundations for an initial framework that could, with appropriate political backing, make it possible to build a variable geometry when it comes to the acknowledgment of a unique system for certain nations, such as Catalonia and the Basque Country, which had their own police forces.

Shortly afterwards, the 1979 Statute established regulations for public security in articles 13 and 14. Nonetheless, the model was not concluded and remained postponed for future projections of the Organic Law on Security Forces and Bodies, which were to a certain degree already determined by missions specifically incumbent

on the State in the selfsame Statute (article 13.4), on account at the time of the lack of an organic law. In 1986 the government approved Organic Law 2/1986, dated 13 March, on Security Forces and Bodies (LOFCS), which supplemented and, consequently, completed the constitutional body of law laid down in articles 104.2, 148.1.22 and 149.1.29 of the Spanish Constitution. Accordingly, seven years after the Statute a regulation came into force which employed the appropriate material reserve seeking to help supplement the model for distributing competence in this field. Aside from being restrictive for Catalan self-government, it also generated a large body of technical confusion as a result of the loop of remissions among the Constitution, the Statute and the regulation itself, a fact that was heightened on account of the second final provision that exempted Catalonia from the application of this aspect to a certain extent (unlike the Basque Country that was bound by its full application).

The content of this organic law is deeply entrenched in public security and policing which, whilst waiving a constitutional evolution of public security having a broader perspective in terms of content with shared competences, in the case of Catalonia, it clearly demonstrated the consequences of the explicit reference to the Statute of 1979 in future national legislation. At the time, self-government for public security was still pending activation owing to these conditioning factors. It was still being fermented and bore the hallmarks of a basic regulation that formally restricted the potential to implement the most material aspects of political autonomy. This is a situation which, as demonstrated below, will need to be overcome by *de facto* rather than by *de jure* actions, one that must be addressed by means of an institutional and political pact rather than by the approval or reform of legislation or doctrine that favour the superiority of centralised powers.

The period between 1994 and 1997 formed a vital era in understanding the nature of the process by which the self-government of Catalonia evolved in terms of public security. As a result of several political and institutional agreements during the sixth and seventh legislatures of the Council of Ministers of Spain¹, the gradual implementation of self-government resulted in significant developments such as the localised deployment of the Mossos d'Esquadra police (gradually taking on the capacity of a governing authority with the missions of ensuring public security and public order), the removal of the figure of civil governors (the reform of the peripheral administration of the State) and the transfer of executive authority in the field of highways and traffic (the first and only instance when article 150.2 of the Spanish Constitution was availed in the case of Catalonia). These advances substantially contributed to transforming the Government of Catalonia into the key, standard authority in charge of security in Catalonia².

Accordingly, the paralysis was being overcome; in other words, the restrictive reading was being overcome in relation to the model that had been installed progressively in the period as of 1978. Thus, the institutional route contributed to a construal and a forward-approach reform of legislation in favour of self-government to the extent that in 2003 the Parliament approved Law 4/2003, dated 7 April, organising the *public security* system in Catalonia which, for the first time, incorporated the notion of public security within the context of

1 Agreements between the State and the Government of Catalonia stemming from the decided stance adopted by the parliamentary group *Convergència i Unió* for the swearing in and support of the Prime Ministers of the Spanish Government, initially the Socialist Party (1993) and subsequently the People's Party (1996).

2 The regional deployment took place on account of resolutions from the Security Board of Catalonia on 17 October 1994, the removal of the civil governors owing to Law 6/1997, dated 14 April, on the organisation and operation of the general administration of the State (LOFAGE) and the transfer of authority in the field of traffic pursuant to Organic Law 6/1997, dated 25 December, transferring executive authority in the sphere of traffic and highways to the autonomous community of Catalonia.

the authority of the Government of Catalonia. The purpose of this law was to supplement the Catalan body of regulations comprised by laws on coordination of the local police forces (1991), the police of the Government of Catalonia-Mossos d'Esquadra (1994) and laws on civil protection and the Catalan Highways Agency (1997), helping to shape a unique public security setting specific to Catalonia³.

Public policies as a service rather than as a model (the *Crime Victimisation Survey of Catalonia – Enquesta de seguretat pública de Catalunya – ESPC, as the foundation*)

The finalisation of the first stage of the regional deployment of the Mossos d'Esquadra along with the taking on of powers with regard to highways and traffic by the Government of Catalonia in no way constituted the completion of the process by which said government was assuming authority for public security. However, it did entail an essential change of course. Although the arrival of the executive draft still lacked the definitive stage involving implementation in the metropolitan areas of Catalonia – especially in the case of the Barcelona area, though also in relation to the Tarragona metropolitan area – it did highlight the need to trigger the debate and planning in terms of public security policies. That is to say, the executive dimension for the establishment and organisation of public services needed to be supplemented by the determination of goals and priorities on which the actions and authority in the sphere would focus.

From bygone times and up to the constitutional period that began with the new democratic system, the public security sector had been establishing ties strictly with the task of policing. In other words, the establishment of equivalence between security and police, between the body and the mission had become an ongoing and persistent reality. Consequently, the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of Catalonia deemed it vital to develop in both political and intellectual terms to favour this transition towards more substantive and instrumental standpoints.

Designing and implementing Catalonia's own policies:

In the case of Catalonia and the State at large, public policies, deemed as strategic decisions made by the public institutions and authorities in order to have a bearing on and try to turn around certain phenomena affecting modern society, did not benefit from even the slightest of established doctrine or tradition in the sphere of security. It goes beyond saying that Catalonia did not benefit from the experience or reflection of decades – or even centuries – of democratic governance that other States and nations were building up in terms of their track record for constitutional systems on rights and freedoms. Indeed, there was no background or values close to those that had been developed by countries that fronted the most highly revered systems and organisations in terms of public security and the police. England and the Anglo Saxon world at large are the foremost examples in this respect. However, the centralist and militarist traditions that had determined the way Spain developed over the past two centuries was even seen to be a far cry from those traditions which, despite adopting a major centralist

³ During the era prior to the start of implementing its authority in terms of public security, the Parliament approved Law 16/1991, dated 10 July, on local police forces and Law 10/1994, dated 11 July, on the police of the Government of Catalonia-Mossos d'Esquadra. Subsequently, Law 4/1997, dated 20 May, on civil protection in Catalonia and Law 14/1997, dated 24 December, setting up the Catalan Highways Agency, were enacted.

and uniform stance and system, had benefitted from periods of steady democracy, as is the case with France or Italy, for instance.

Consequently, the field of security not only entailed the general difficulty of setting up tools for modernising the management of public policies – a problem that is also evident in other areas of the public administration – rather, the complexity was heightened by the connotations that had been attached to the mission of security in Spain's more recent history. It is necessary to consider that the transformation of this area of competence into a guarantee of rights and freedoms rather than a clause for intervention and control on the part of a dictatorial government did not go back beyond the new constitutional system that was established in 1978.

Therefore, the challenge of progressing government action on a path towards a culture for the preparation and implementation of specific policies by the Government of Catalonia in terms of public security is one that is vitally important, albeit with its major complexities. The pace would not only depend on the necessary organisational alterations to make it possible, it would also, and more importantly, be reliant on the gradual consolidation of the Government of Catalonia as the main institution responsible for security throughout Catalonia, whilst also depending on an ability to interact within the institutional and social context that shrouded Catalonia at the turn of the 21st century.

Having reached that point it would be appropriate, in accordance with what has been stated thus far, to determine the content of the notion of public policies so as to identify the minimum common denominator that sought to guide the then future efforts of the Government of Catalonia. To do so, the well-established definition of the political scientist from the Autonomous University of Barcelona, Joan Subirats, would be useful: "Public policies must be considered motions for publicly regulating the many problems and conflicts facing modern societies. All public policies entail the allocation of resources and opportunities, beyond commercial logic, among the various social groups whose interests and preferences come into conflict. As a result, policies involve options in essence that are rooted in values, paradigms and ideas. In a somewhat explicit manner, they bring regulatory concepts and references into the sphere of collective decision-making. All of this takes place on a context of specific dealings among the various political players".⁴

This summarised theoretical approach enables us to incorporate elements that sought to influence the policy of the government and indeed the Ministry of Home Affairs attached to it during the period pertaining to the previous legislature: namely from 1999 to 2003. Along these lines, the establishment of the Ministry of Home Affairs, segregated from what had been the Ministry of Governance since 1980, helped to make this new approach easier.⁵ The new ministry would allow for a unique classification of authority in the field of public security, whilst allowing for a formal manifestation of their equivalence to similar peer bodies both nationally and internationally.

Aside from its patent symbolic value within the institutional framework of a State that had traditionally kept such classifications for the central authorities, the adoption of the designation "Home Affairs" implicitly entailed a clear, decisive statement of principles: the Government of Catalonia aspired to standardise its role as a general, stand-

4 Subirats, J. and Gomà, R. *Políticas públicas en España. Contenidos, redes de actores y niveles de gobierno*, Ariel, Barcelona, 1998. In the sphere of public security policies, the latest contribution from the following is noteworthy: Recasens, A., *La seguridad y sus políticas*, Atelier, Barcelona, 2007.

5 The Ministry of Home Affairs was set up by means of Decree 297/1999, dated 26 November, for establishing and reorganising the ministries attached to the Government of Catalonia (Official Journal of the Government of Catalonia 3025, 29/11/1999). The political background leading to this restructuring answered to a large extent to the balance between the forces that formed the government coalition. Indeed, J. A. Duran i Lleida was appointed as the leader of the new Ministry of Governance and Institutional Relations.

ard public authority for establishing public order in Catalonia. Indeed, the Catalan political system allowed public security competences to attain their own profile and setting. The Ministry of Home Affairs was set up in 1999 and has remained as an independent body ever since, with the exception of the period from 2002 to 2003 when it also took on authority in the field of justice for a transitional period.⁶

The course on which the Minister of Governance, Xavier Pomés, had embarked upon in his appearance before the Catalan Parliament in 1998 would become much clearer just over a year later. In February 2000 he returned to the Commission for Justice, Law and Public Security in his latest capacity as the leader of the Ministry of Home Affairs and his intentions did not come under the traditional auspices of the “Catalan police model”, rather, he was making an appeal for the first time directly to security policies: “Informative session of the Minister of Home Affairs to report on the structure and policies that his new ministry would promote”.⁷ This meant that the precedents of the informative sessions for presenting the *Master Plan for the Deployment of the Police of the Government of Catalonia-Mossos d’Esquadra* held on 13 March 1997, and for reporting on the Catalan police model held on 3 November 1998 had laid the foundations to a material rather than an instrumental approach, at least in terms of the government’s future priorities. Although the appearance of 1998 already set out the intent to steer towards more substantive perspectives in the field of security, in practice the announcement of the territorial deployment in Region I – the first and second metropolitan crowns of Barcelona – rather than in the Camp de Tarragona area, as initially envisaged in the 1997 master plan, formed the focus of all attention in that session.

The survey as evidence of persistent shortcomings

As is widely known, in this context and with these conditioning factors, in 1999 the pilot scheme for the Crime Victimization Survey of Catalonia was set up. The ESPC stemming from a calling to serve as an instrument which, inasmuch as it supplemented the administrative and judicial statistics on crimes reported to the justice system and the police, could help to provide useful information needed to make the decisions on which public security policies would be based.

Its multi-sector and cross-disciplinary content when it comes to compiling data (victimisation, perception and opinion), taking as a reference its predecessor in the form of the Victimization Survey of Barcelona – with which it merged a few years later – justified its incorporation into the Draft Law on the Public Security System of Catalonia that was ultimately and unanimously approved in April 2003 by the Catalan parliamentary groups. Accordingly, the survey came to form part of the security system of Catalonia aimed at endowing Catalonia with its own policies for this issue that is so central to the entire political community. Indeed, the law regulated a host of authorities, structures and instruments that were supposed to provide the preparation and implementation of public policies in a system of cooperation among the various administrative levels and institutions: local authorities, the Government of Catalonia and the State government as well as representatives of judicial authorities.

The legislation was both ambitious and complex because its primary foundation was not coordination based on imperative, but rath-

⁶ Decree 284/2002, dated 19 November, on the partial structuring and restructuring of several ministries attached to the Government of Catalonia saw the merger of the Ministries of Home Affairs and Justice in order to optimise resources and coordinate the policies being unfolded in related sectors. In practice, in light of the short-term duration of the restructuring, the effects of this reorganisation barely had an effect on formal aspects.

⁷ Informative session within the Commission for Justice, Law and Public Security held on Thursday 17 February 2000, Journal of Sessions of the Parliament of Catalonia, 6th legislature, C-6, pp 3-21.

er cooperative coordination; in other words, seeking to establish synergies among the various players in the system in accordance with their respective responsibilities and capacities. It is within this context that local security plans would unfold under the umbrella of the General Security Plan for Catalonia. This context also formed the essence of the Government Commission for Security, the Security Board of Catalonia and the regional organisation that coincides with the areas currently named *veguerías*: feudal land divisions in Catalonia.

Now, more than six years after the approval of that legislation and three years after the entry into force of the new Statute – that acknowledges and strengthens Catalonia’s ability to endow itself with its own policies, in spite of appeals alleging unconstitutionality – we can maintain that the organisation of Catalonia’s own security policies is a sensitive issue that still depends on Catalan self-government and the work of the executive branch of the Catalan government. The principles and instruments that must contribute to the effective establishment of these policies are pending application or, in the best of cases, only have a merely formal or incipient existence. By way of example, one only needs to mention the lack of interdepartmental coordination on the Government Commission for Security or the institutional formalism with which the preparation of the General Security Plan of Catalonia is imbued.

This situation constitutes a shadow of a reflection on twenty-five years which, in other aspects, has many bright, positive areas, as detailed in this article. In order to do the issue justice and strike a balance, it is necessary to highlight the fact that the *administrational* emphasis in providing a public security service is in all likelihood the result of two centuries in which there has been no democratic constitutional culture and a centralist inertia, rather than being the responsibilities of the more immediately modern authorities. Even so, twenty-five years later, the pre-constitutional background is now losing ground as an explanation and reason for the situation of the present, and indeed of the future.

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The *Moniteur de Sécurité* of Belgium

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Introduction

The *Security Monitor*, organised by the Belgian Federal Police (Directorate of Operative Police Information, Management Data Service), is a standardised telephone survey of the Belgian population. It includes questions on the problems of neighbourhoods, the feeling of insecurity, victimisation and filing claims, contact between citizens and the police force, the performance of police services and the personal characteristics of the people surveyed.

Security Monitor is based on the Dutch *Politiemonitor*, but is a Belgian version.¹ Since 2008, the *Nederlandse Politiemonitor* has been repeated, together with other surveys, in *Veiligheidsmonitor Rijk*. The choice of this name is probably logical, but there is a certain risk of confusing it with the Belgian *Security Monitor*, which has been in existence since 1997.

The basic purpose of the survey is to determine the opinion of the population so as to develop a better security and police policy and evaluate the policy implemented so far on a local and federal level.

The *Security Monitor*, as a complement to the instruments available apart from the official police and justice statistics, enables having a view of the phenomenon of security/insecurity. Apart from determining the population's needs in regard to security and police, the *Security Monitor* provides data that enables gaining an insight to the real figures for security and victimisation in Belgium. Police statistics for criminality only include offences that have been reported to the police. The *Security Monitor* is a tool that enables gaining an idea of these unreported offences. This number of offences that are out of police control, and which do not appear in police statistics, form what is called the dark number². The *Security Monitor* is an instrument that enables obtaining an insight into effective criminality and victimisation.

¹ Politiemonitor Bevolking. Landelijke rapportage, meting 2001, Politie Den Haag/Hilversum, June 2001, 116 pages.

² The dark number corresponds to the number of criminal offences that have not been reported or declared.

Background

At the beginning of **1997**, at the request of the Home Minister, the *Security Monitor* was implemented for the first time on a federal level on the one hand and a local level on the other, in cities and municipalities that had a local security plan (creation of projects for social prevention to fight against insecurity) and in inter-police pilot areas. The survey of the Belgian *Security Monitor* is based on the Netherlands Police Monitor (*Nederlandse Politie-monitor*), but adapted to the Belgian situation.

In **1998**, a second population survey appeared. Even though there were few changes on a method and content level, the 1998 *Security Monitor* included some improvements, mainly relatives to the size of the sample to increase precision and especially to obtain significant results on a more precise geographic scale. Furthermore, municipalities that did not have a local security plan could be included by means of local adhesions.

A printed version of the *Security Monitor* was produced in about seventy municipalities, at a neighbourhood level, as a more economic alternative to telephone surveys. It was also decided to carry out the *Security Monitor* every two years because an annual organisation (at a budget and analysis level) was too complex. This enables giving priority to other projects related to the use of the data from the *Security Monitor*.

At the end of 1999, the Home Minister wanted to give priority on the **2000** survey to the government's federal security plan. A working group was commissioned to carry out this research and this led to certain adaptations such as considering the priorities of the federal security plan on the part of the survey dedicated to police activities and including sexual offences in the victimisation module. As a result of these adaptations, the survey became too long and so the prevention module was deleted.

In **2002**, the survey of the fourth *Security Monitor* did not undergo any changes in its content. However there was an important modification in regard to the sample. As a result of police reforms and the creation of police areas, it was no longer convenient to work with interpolice pilot zones. Instead of performing the local *Monitor* in 20 interpolice pilot zones, it was applied to 22 pilot police zones. It was also decided to consider the fact that the 29 municipalities with local security plan could form a police area with other municipalities. In order to maintain the comparison with previous years and continue having results on a zone level, additional surveys were carried out in other municipalities of the police area.

The surveys of the *Security Monitor* for **2004** were also carried out in municipalities that had a local security and prevention plan, as well as other municipalities that formed part of the same police area (58). This meant the sample was larger as this new survey included 73 municipalities instead of the 29 for 2002. Furthermore, the federal sample increased from 6,000 to 12,000 surveys in order to obtain more reliable results and reduce the confidence intervals.

The **2006** survey sample was identical to that of 2004. It was composed of 73 municipalities with a local security and prevention plan as well as other municipalities that formed part of pluri-municipal zones. The federal sample was maintained at 12,000 surveys

and there were 14 local adhesions, three of which extended their samples.

Finally, in **2008-2009** the *Security Monitor* survey was performed for the seventh time at a level of all Belgium on the one hand, and a local level on the other (municipalities and police areas). The last *Security Monitor* covered more than 37,000 homes.

A telephone survey

Since the beginning of the *Security Monitor*, and considering the large number of surveys to be completed, it was decided to use a telephone survey. This method has proved to be an instrument for performing surveys with several advantages. In comparison with a face to face interview, and a survey sent by post, the telephone survey has many points in its favour in terms of flexibility. Obviously it enables performing a greater number of interviews in a relatively short period of time. It also offers a considerable number of advantages in the method, mainly in terms of automatic coding. Furthermore, economically, a telephone interview is cheaper than face-to-face interviews. There is no wasted time or costs related to displacement of the interviewers. Furthermore, the number of answers is relatively high and contact with the interviewer remains anonymous. Finally, this technique for performing surveys enables ensuring scrupulous control of the whole data collection process (see the CATI system, among others). In spite of the advantages offered by a telephone interview in comparison with other techniques, it is an instrument that also has considerable limits that must be considered when interpreting the data. We are evidently aware of the biases that could derive from a telephone survey because part of the population no longer has a fixed telephone line. But at the moment there is no other sure alternative for performing a survey of this importance. Deeper investigation³ has been made of the possibility of performing mixed mode surveys (with Internet or ordinary mail, for example) in an attempt to reduce the bias generated by a telephone survey.

This *mixed-mode* method has the advantage of reaching people who do not have a fixed line through another channel such as postal surveys or the Internet, or even face-to-face. It is the result of studies that show that interviewees that do not have a fixed line have a different profile from those that do have one. People who live in flats, youths, independent people, labourers, significantly less often have a fixed line. These citizens could then participate in the survey in writing. One important difficulty is “mixing” the different modes (telephone and written), as one of the conclusions of the research is that interviewees give slightly different answers depending on the method used.

Potential interviewees (gross sample, approximately 2.5 times the size of the sample) first receive a letter of presentation in the name of the governor of their region telling them about the initiative and inviting them to participate in the poll. For each telephone number there were ten attempts to contact the person interviewed. Potential interviewees were also provided a free-call phone number to ask for more information about the survey and to report any possible problems.

³ De Waele Maarten, Heerwegh Dirk en Geert Loosveldt, 2008, Leuven, NOTESUMO: 'Nonresponse to a Telephone Survey such as the Security Monitor' Deel II: Evaluatie van een mixed mode survey design: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek, 143 p.

The sample

The sample of the *Security Monitor* comprises 12,000 people and considers the Belgian population over 15 years of age. In order to ensure maximum representativeness, each home is selected at random from among the numbers in the telephone directory. The random character of the poll is maintained during the telephone contact by selecting the person interviewed according to the “birthday” method (the person from the family participating in the survey is the one who first celebrates their birthday). The composition of this sample comes from two sources: local monitors on the one hand and surveys specifically carried out for the federal level on the other.

The criteria for selecting the interviewees are pre-established by stratification considering the distribution of the population (over 15 years of age) in the different regions, provinces and types of municipalities. Furthermore, the federal sample was also subjected to post-stratification according to age and sex. This post-stratification was performed on the level of the province and type of municipalities, and is useful when certain population groups are over-represented in the sample of interviewees.

The questionnaire

The survey includes the following parts:

1. **Contact:** The person interviewed is the member of the family over 15 years of age who first celebrates their birthday. The interviewers have received training to motivate the interviewees to participate. The letter of presentation they received or the possibility of calling the free-phone number increases the index of participation.

2. **Problems of the suburb or neighbourhood:** The first questions are about seventeen suburban problems identified by citizens. They are asked to what extent they see something as a problem and not the frequency with which something occurs in the neighbourhood.

3. **Assessment of police performance:** The first questions are related to Belgian police in general and the following questions are relative to the police of the area or municipality of the person interviewed.

4. **Feeling of insecurity:** After a general question on the feeling of insecurity, the questions are related to avoidance behaviour and the risk of being the victim of a crime over the next 12 months.

5. **Be a victim and take legal action:** This part begins with two questions on their situation as a victim during the last 5 years. This is followed by questions about the last 12 months. Offences are divided into two groups:

- Those committed against the home: The interviewee or member of their family has been a victim (assault with robbery, attempted breaking and entering, car theft, robbery of property from the car, damage to a vehicle, motorcycle theft, damage to a motorcycle, theft of a motorscooter, bicycle theft and destruction).
- Those committed against the person: whether the same interviewee, not members of the family, has been a victim (robbery

with violence, robbery without violence, robbery in absence of the victim, physical violence, threat of resorting to physical violence, offence of car theft, offences of sexual character and other offences).

The following questions were asked about all types of offences:

- Were you the victim?
- How many times over the last twelve months?
- How many times between 1 July 2008 and 31 December 2008?

The interviewee is asked other questions related to the last five times they have been the victim of the crime in question.

- Did it occur during the day or at night?
- Did you notify any police service?
- Did the declaration to the police take place in the same municipality or police area?
- Which police service of which municipality took the declaration?

This additional information is collected to compare it with other police statistics and to deduct the dark number.

6. Other contact with the police: These questions are related to occasional contacts that they may have with police services apart from victimisation: in the event of an offence, an administrative certificate, asking for an address, or talking with the police agent of the suburb, etc.

7. Personal details: The final questions deal with the social and demographic characteristics of the interviewees in order to cross these profiles with the answers given to other questions. The main questions in this part are about age, the highest education certificate obtained, profession, family situation, job stability, income, type of housing, etc.

One of the objectives of the use of the *Security Monitor* survey is to identify tendencies. It has to find the balance between adaptation or not of the questions after police reform, police initiatives, the reactions of the people interviewed and the interviewers, for example. These adaptations imply adding, deleting or changing questions and this reduces the possibility of establishing comparisons over time. The few modifications to the survey have not had a basic impact on the comparison of results, and this enables the *Security Monitor* to make a correct assessment of the security perceived by citizens over the years (between 1997 and 2008-2009). The large number of surveys provides the possibility of working with smaller confidence intervals and this enables drawing more reliable and representative conclusions for Belgium as a whole.

Index of participation in the survey

Performing the 37,000 telephone interviews for the 2008 *Security Monitor* required using 86,975 numbers, of which 19,133 did not result in any communication. Knowing the number of negatives and the number of interviews achieved enables calculating the index of participation. In 2008, this index of participation was 63%, a high figure for a telephone survey. Participation is mainly encouraged by

sending an official letter of presentation, signed by the governor of the province in question, to potential interviewees. Having a free-call number also enables verifying the authenticity of the survey and asking for any additional information.

Considering that in a telephone survey there is a real possibility of not answering, we wanted to understand the nature and scope of these cases from the qualitative point of view. This is because the representativeness of the survey could be affected as soon as the profile of the people interviewed deviates systematically from that of the population. It is very important to attempt to make all interviewees collaborate and to question everybody. Certain necessary precautions are taken to reduce the number of negatives. Only professional interviewers were contracted and they were given precise instructions to encourage and motivate the people interviewed to participate in the survey. Obviously, all these precautions could not prevent a certain level of non-response. For this reason we tried to determine the characteristics of the people who did not respond. The profile of these interviewees who refuse to participate in the *Security Monitor* survey is determined by a separate survey that lasts about 3 minutes. This short questionnaire only asks the reason for refusing and a number (reduced) of social and demographic data. This enables us to examine the profile of the people who refuse to respond and establish whether this differs or not from the people who do respond.

Comparison with the profile of interviewees who participated in the *Security Monitor* survey shows that people who refuse to answer are especially elderly people, women, interviewees with no higher education or only a primary education certificate. The response to the question "In general, do you believe that in Belgium the police services do a good job?" shows that interviewees who participate in the complete survey are more positive (88%) than those who only answer the questionnaire on refusal to participate (56%). Obviously, the opinions are not clearly more negative, because only 8% of interviewees answer negatively in both cases. The difference comes from the 25% of interviewees who do not want to give their opinion about the question on the questionnaire about their refusal to participate.

When asked for this reason the interviewees do not want to participate in the survey, 35% answer that they are not interested.

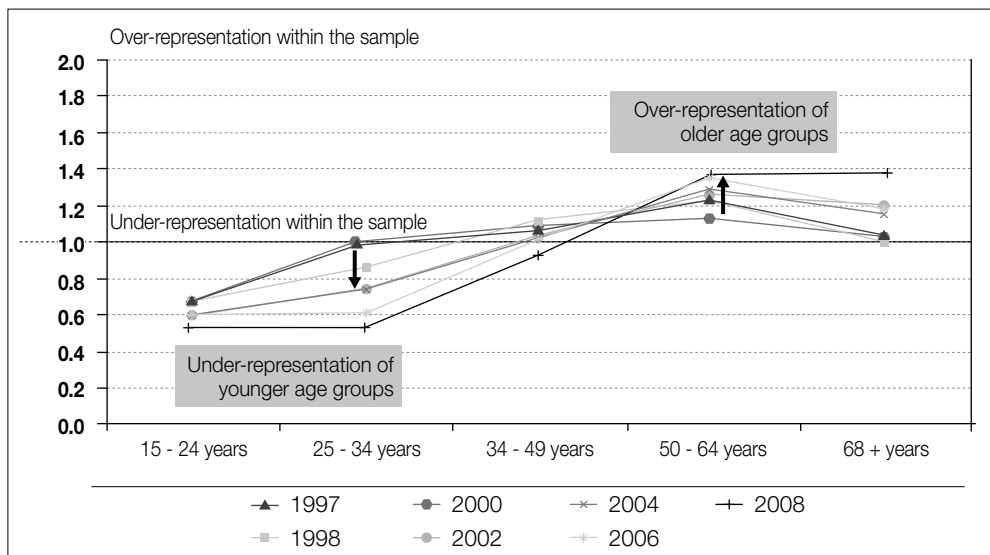
Profile of interviewees

The distribution of the sample was compared to the real population distribution in Belgium according to age and sex. The distribution between men and women in the sample is similar to that of the population.

The most represented age group is 35-49 years. The least represented age groups are the younger classes, 15-24 years and 25-34 years, and who probably more often have a mobile phone and not a fixed line. On the other hand, higher age groups (50-64 years and over 65 years) are over-represented in the sample. This under- and over-representation of certain age groups in the population was already observed in the past, but is more accentuated year after year.

Considering the under-representation of the younger age groups, other ways of performing the survey should be investigated (Internet,

Over- and under-representation of age groups in the 1997-2008 sample



post). Obviously, this requires studying the viability of combining the results obtained with these different types of surveys, by phone on one hand and Internet on the other (mixed-mode).

At the moment we are using a weighting, called post-stratification, according to the age and sex of the interviewees to overcome these distribution differences. This means assigning a weight (more or less) to each interviewee in the sample (age and sex) they belong to is under- or over-represented in the sample.

Results

After data collection by the Surveys Office, the Federal Police Data Management Department CGOP/B writes reports based on different profiles for the Federal and Local surveys. These reports include frequency tables for the majority of questions that appear in each module of the questionnaire. Based on the tables presented, it is possible to discern the evolution of the survey results in time and space in relation to the situation of 1997, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006 and 2008. This report also offers an analysis of the results in function of the general characteristics of citizens such as age, sex, educational level, and professional activity. Apart from this table-based report, there is also a comparative report containing an analysis of the main results of the survey over time (2006, 2008) and space (regions, provinces, districts, types of municipalities, categories of the police areas and judicial districts).

Finally, the *Security Monitor* team also makes an analysis of the table reports on a federal level. In the report on main tendencies, the results are compared to the previous edition and it also includes

the most significant results between 1997 and 2008 in both text and chart form (graphs). The main and most significant results of the 2008-2009 analysis for Belgium are shown below.

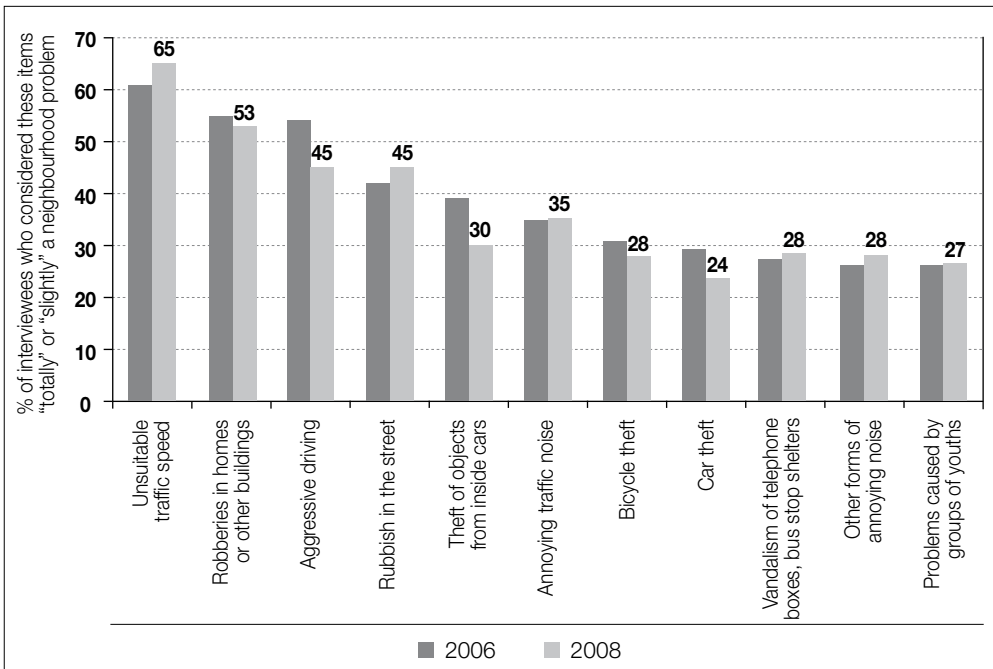
Neighbourhood problems

Among the seventeen neighbourhood problems considered, four have most effect on citizens: the *unsuitable traffic speed* (65%), *breaking and entering* (53%), *road rage* (45%) and *rubbish in the street* (45%). Almost half the citizens interviewed consider these four situations as “totally” or “slightly” problematic. In comparison with 2006, the problem of rubbish in the street affects citizens more.

These four problems are not the only ones people are concerned about. There are other problems considered important to citizens. The following problems are considered as important by more than one out of every three citizens interviewed: traffic noise, theft of property from cars, other forms of noise, bicycle theft, vandalism of bus stop shelters and the problems caused by groups of youths.

It is also necessary to highlight various statistically significant increases over the last two years (2006-2008). Citizens are basically more concerned about unsuitable traffic speed (increase from 61 to 65 %), rubbish in the street (increase from 42% to 45%), other forms of noise (small increase from 26% to 28%) and graffiti on walls or buildings (increase from 21.5 to 24%) than in 2008 or 2006. On the

Neighbourhood problems. Comparison 2006-2008. The graph shows the answers given to the question as “totally” and “slightly”: “Do the following situations constitute a problem in your neighbourhood?”



other hand, some neighbourhood problems have shown a reduction, such as aggressive driving (reduction of 10%: from 54% to 45%), theft of property from cars (from 39% to 30%) and car theft (from 30% to 24%).

Feeling of insecurity

Evolution of the feeling of insecurity over time

After the increase in the proportion of people interviewed who “always” and “often” feel insecure between 1997 and 2002, the feeling of insecurity shows a significant reduction from 2002 to stabilise at approximately 8% of the people interviewed who “always” and “often” feel insecure in 2008-2009 on a national level.

Feeling of insecurity according to personal characteristics

The feeling of insecurity is perceived in a rather varied way among the population. It is more present among elderly people, especially those over 65. On the other hand, the people interviewed in the 35 to 49 age group consider themselves in a situation of insecurity less often than the general population in the sample. As for other age groups, it is difficult to conclude whether there are considerable differences because the differences observed are not significant.

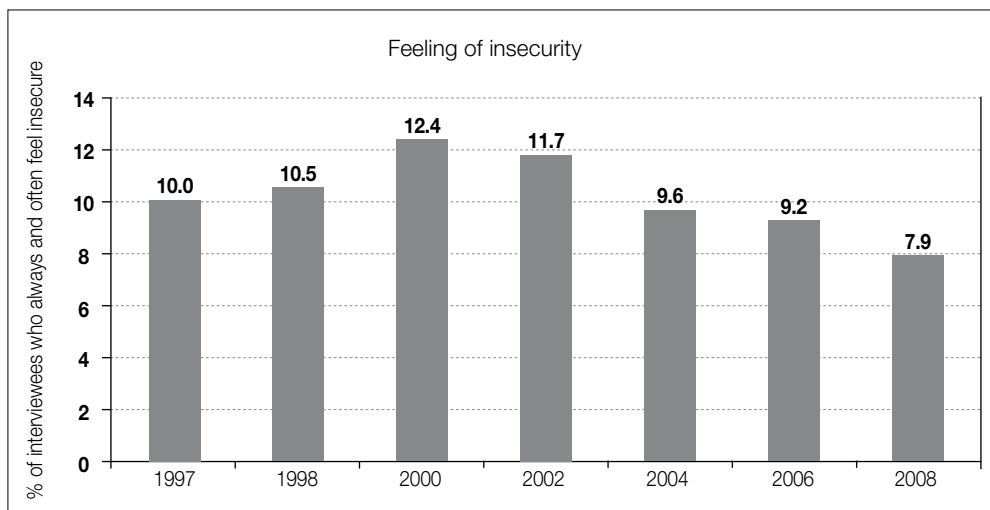
Insecurity is also more perceived by women than men.

On a level of professional activities, active people feel less insecurity than pensioners and the unemployed population. In the latter case, we accept the hypothesis that the insecurity measurement is less a feeling of insecurity in itself, but rather a social insecurity related to job instability for example.

Finally, the interviewees with higher education feel safer than people who only have secondary or lower education.

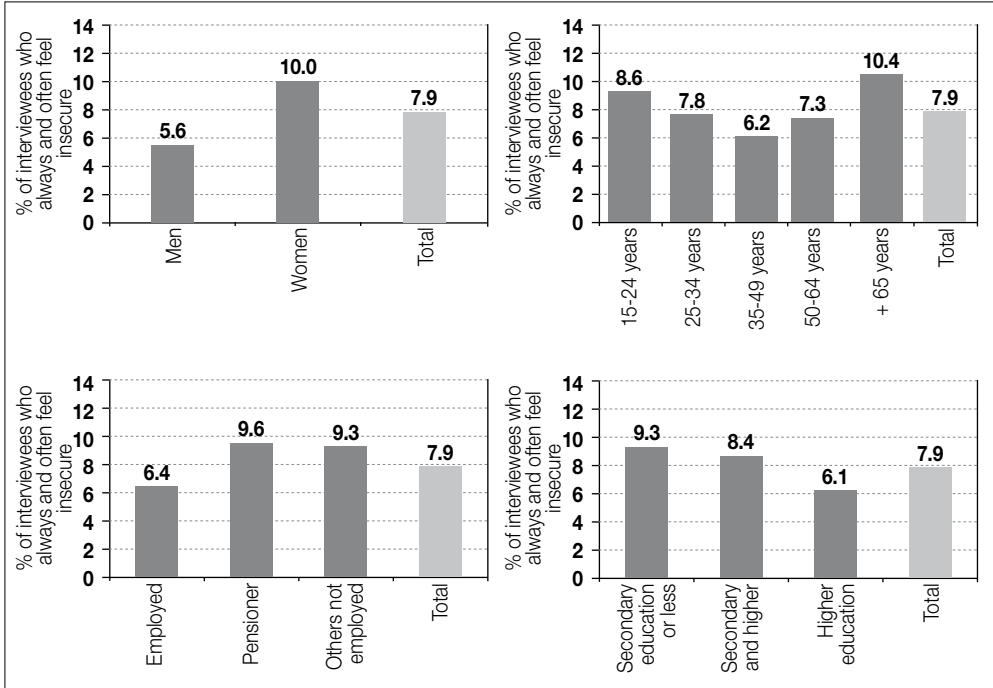
Feeling of insecurity. Comparison between 1997 and 2008.

General question regarding the feeling of insecurity: “Do you sometimes feel insecure? Does this occur always, often, sometimes, rarely or never?”



Feeling of insecurity according to personal characteristics for 2008. According to sex, age groups, professional activity and educational level.

General question on the feeling of insecurity: “Do you sometimes feel insecure? Answer: always and often insecure”

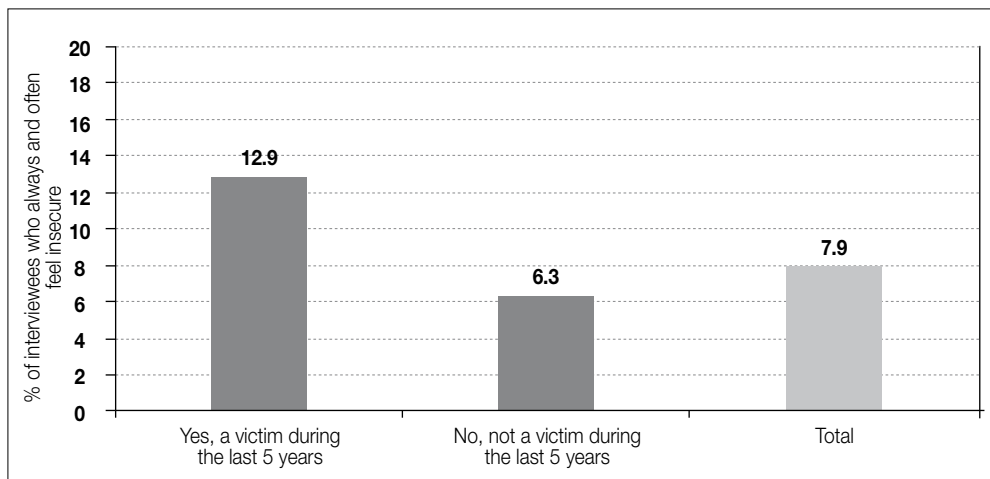


Relationship between feeling of insecurity and victimisation

There is also an association between other characteristics of the interviewees and the feeling of insecurity such as having been the victim of a crime during the last five years.

The citizens interviewed who have been victims during the last five years of one or more crimes have a statistically significant feeling of more (always and often) insecurity than the remainder. The percentage of interviewees who feel insecure doubles when they have been victims of a crime during the last five years; 12.9% feel insecure compared to 6.3% of people who have not been victims of any crime during this period.

Feeling of insecurity according to whether or not the person has been victim of a crime or not during the last five years. Data for 2008



Victimisation

Crimes against the home

Crimes against the home include victimisation of members of the family and offences against property in the home.

The crime of “damage to the car” is that most suffered during the last twelve months by all citizens interviewed (16% of victim homes in 2008). Three other offences of which citizens have been victims during the last twelve months are described below: “bicycle theft”, “vandalism” and the “theft of property from cars” (from 5 to 6% of homes in 2008).

Crimes against persons

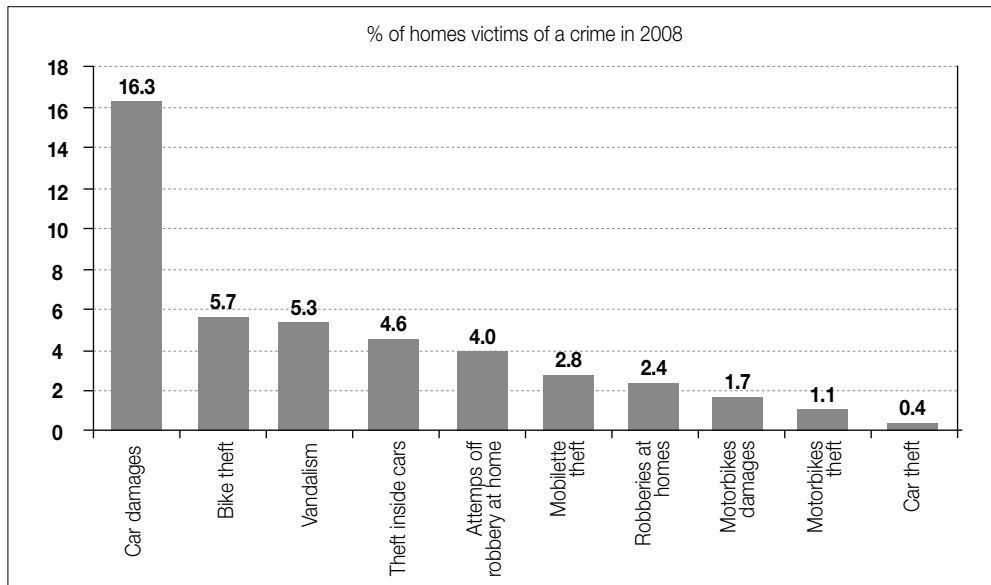
Since 1997, the concept “threat of physical violence” leads the offences against people most often suffered by citizens during the last twelve months. It also shows that one out of every hundred Belgians has been victim of a sexual crime during the last twelve months, a figure that is practically unchanged over the years. Nevertheless there is a slight increase between 2006 and 2008.

Reporting and declaration

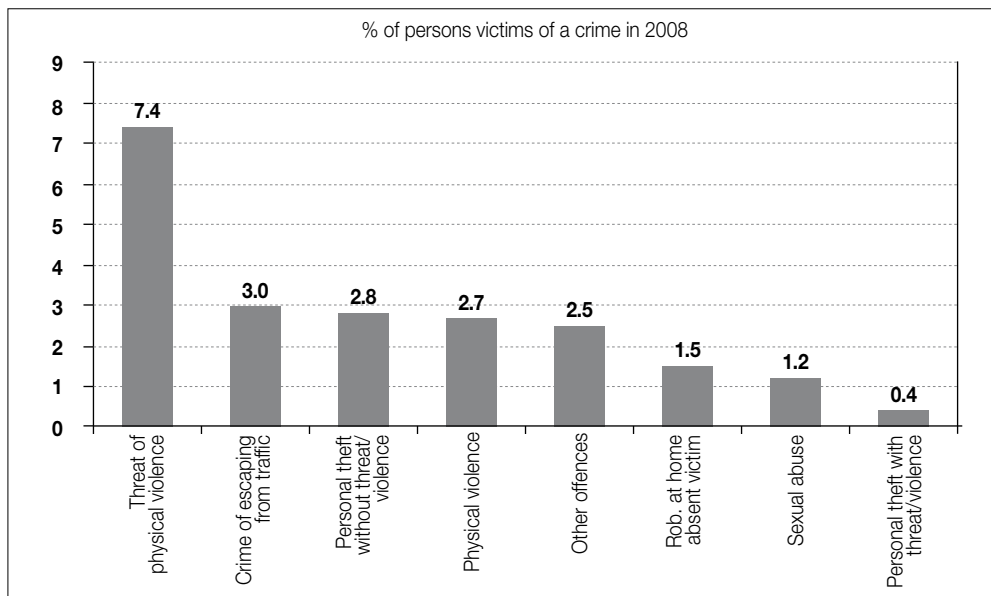
The results of the *Security Monitor* also provide a picture of the effective (or real) criminality in Belgium and the different regions, provinces, districts, municipalities and types of police area. Police statistics for criminality only include crimes that have been reported to the police. Some crimes, such as bicycle theft, are not reported or seldom so (nor are they declared, therefore, there is no police report), and this means that the total number of bicycles stolen is unknown.

The *Security Monitor* is a tool that enables gaining an idea of these unreported offences. The interviewee was asked whether they had been a victim, **and if so**, whether they reported the incident. The number of people who **did not** report the crime are then

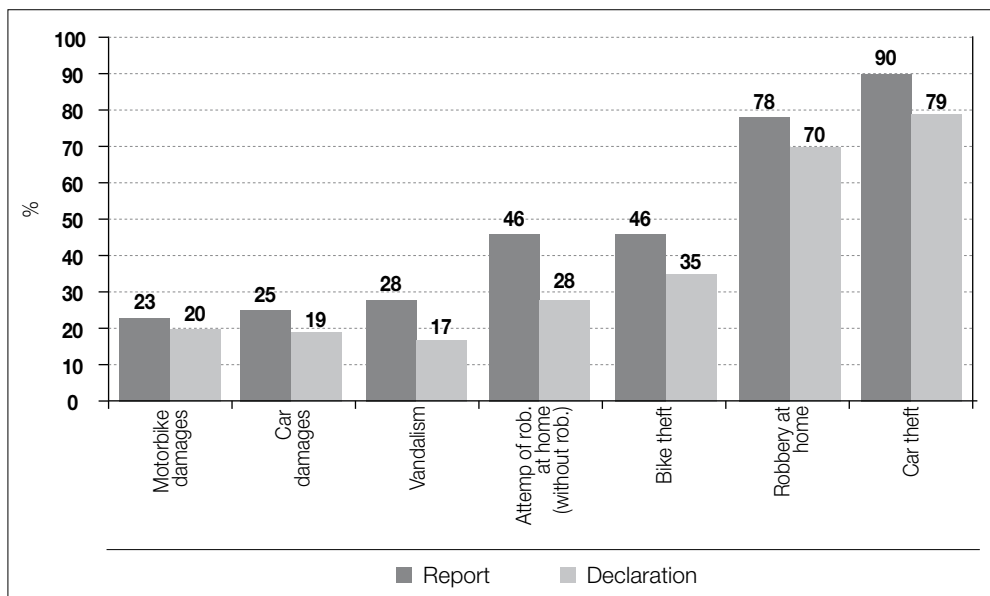
Crimes against the home in 2008, expressed as a percentage of homes victims of a crime



Crimes against persons in 2008, expressed as a percentage of persons victims of a crime



Reporting and declaration of crimes against the home in 2008



counted to enable obtaining a picture of the effective criminality and victimisation.

The graph showing the number of crimes reported and declared also shows that a report does not automatically lead to signing a declaration. On average, only 30% of crimes against the home mentioned on the questionnaire are reported. This means that there is a dark number of 70% (8.7% of which is a grey number). This is the case, basically, of attempted robbery at home (28% of declarations compared to 46% reported, that is a grey figure of 18% and a dark number of 72%) and bicycle theft (35% of declarations compared to 46% reported, that is a grey number of 11% and a dark number of 65%). On the other hand, the percentage of declarations of car theft and robberies at home is higher. Obviously, there are fewer declarations than reports.

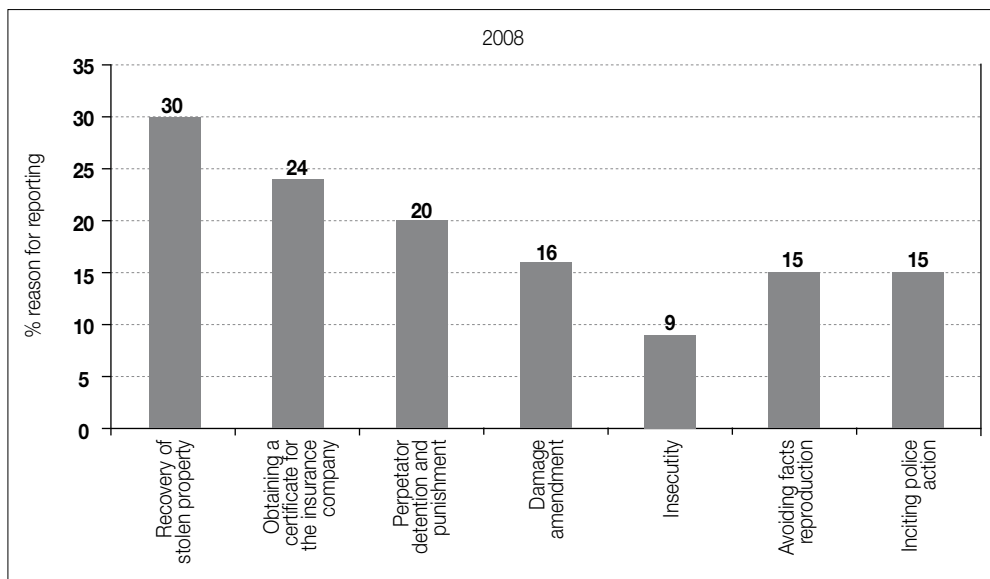
Details of the last crime

Other questions are asked about the specific circumstances of the last reported crime suffered by the interviewees. These questions reveal that in one third of cases the report is not made by the victim themselves, mainly in the case of the younger age group. The report of the last crime that occurred during the last twelve months is made, in one out of two cases, in the police station.

Main reasons for reporting a crime to the police services

The reason for reporting the (last) crime to the police is, just like in previous years, "wanting to recover the stolen property" (30%). Two others important reasons mentioned by interviewees are "to obtain a certificate for the insurance company" and "to catch and punish the perpetrator".

Main reasons for reporting (the last crime) in 2008



Main reasons for not reporting a crime to the police

The main reasons mentioned by interviewees for not reporting a crime to the police were: “because it is of no use” and “because the case is not serious enough”. The other main reasons for not reporting a crime were: “because it is not serious”, “because they do nothing” and “because I have too little information about the crime”.

Satisfaction after of the contact with the police

Regarding the general satisfaction of victims relative to contact with the police as a result of the last victimisation, this contact is more often considered positive (55% are satisfied or very satisfied) than negative (28% are unsatisfied or very unsatisfied).

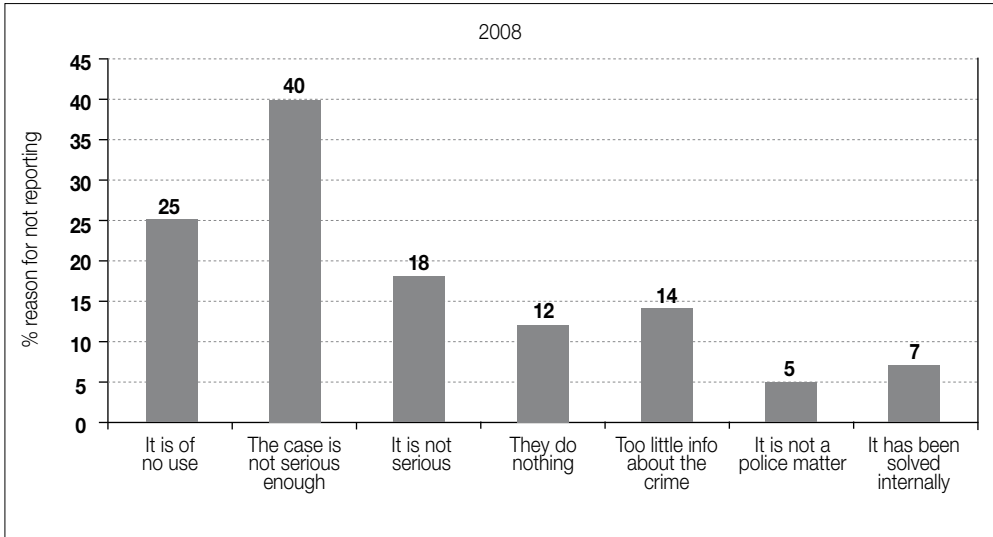
Contacts between the population and police services apart from reporting a victimisation

Regarding the satisfaction of citizens in relation to contact with the police services, approximately 70% of the inhabitants of Belgium say they are satisfied or very satisfied with their last contact with police services. Dividing the reasons for satisfaction depending on the type of satisfaction, the results show that approximately 80% of citizens are (very) satisfied with the accessibility and availability of police services, 83% with the behaviour of police services and 74% with the result of the police action.

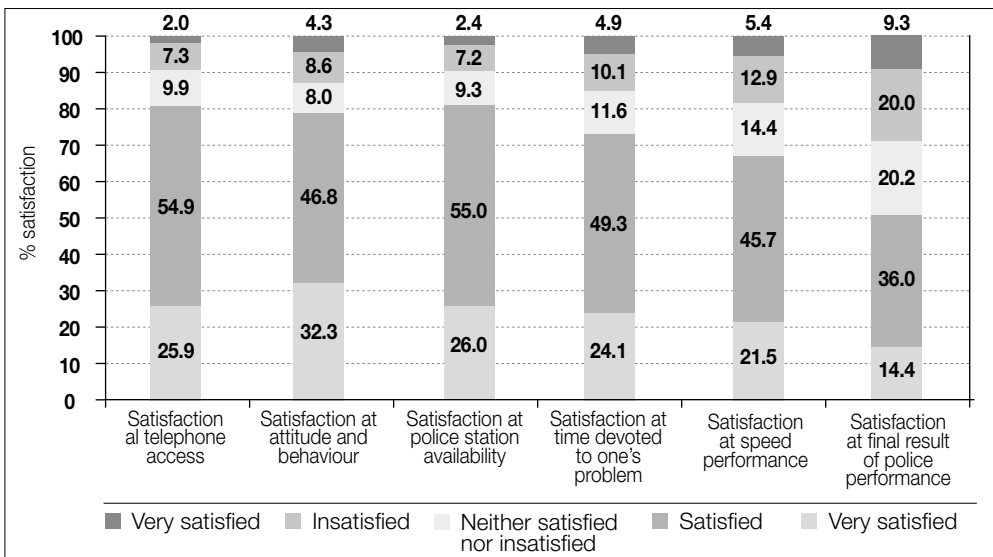
The relative satisfaction with “contacts with the police services” shows a significant difference between the victims of a crime and the people who go to the police for other reasons (administrative purposes, application for a certificate, offence, etc.).

This difference is the most important in the framework of the results regarding police action. Victims are significantly less satisfied

Main reasons for not reporting (the last crime) in 2008



Satisfaction after contact with the police for 2008



(14%) than non-victims (32%). In addition, the satisfaction related to availability and accessibility of police services is vastly different: 26% of victims are very satisfied compared to 34% in the case of non-victims. Finally, the “satisfaction relative to the attitude and behaviour of police services” is higher in both cases and the difference between victims and non-victims is lower in the case of the satisfaction with police action and accessibility, even though not significant (39% in the case of victims, 32% in that of non-victims).

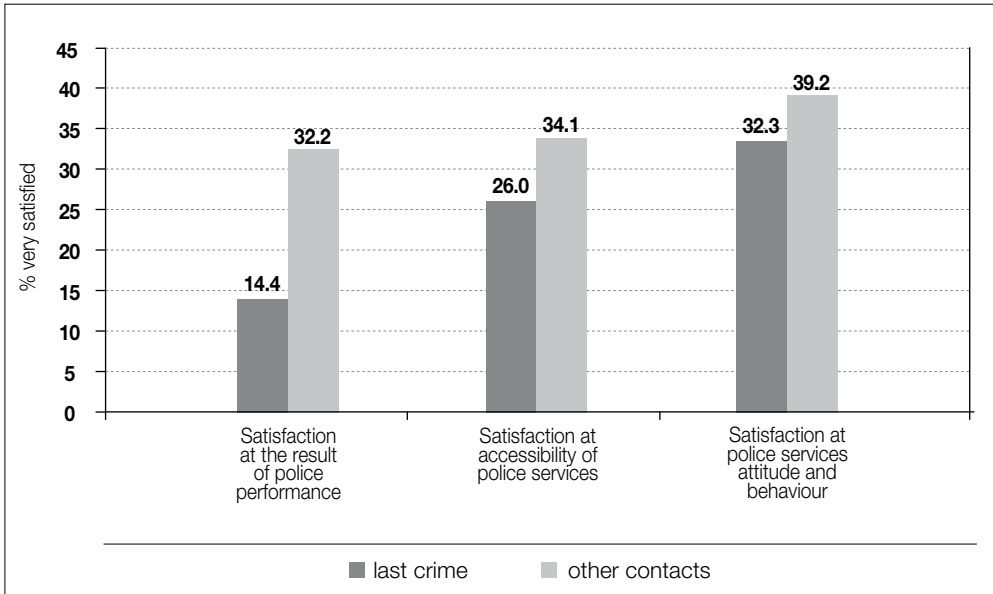
Performance of police services

On a federal level, the majority of citizens, that is 89.2%, consider the police services do a good (even very good) job in Belgium. The citizens that consider the police services do a poor (or very poor) job in Belgium only represent 9% of the population. The remaining 2% were people who had no opinion in this regard.

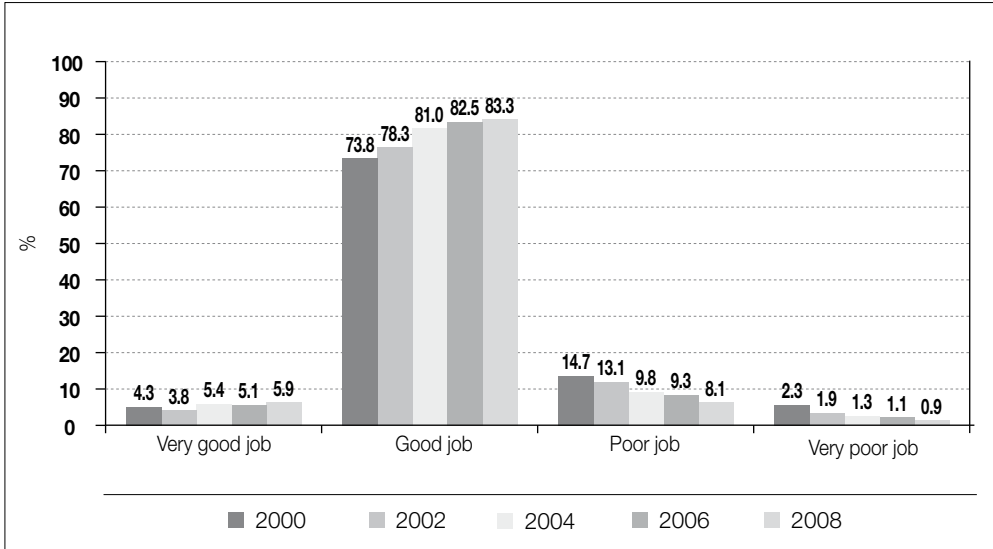
The qualities of the police when performing their job, including involvement in the job, sense of responsibility and citizen service are recognised by practically 50% of citizens interviewed.

The situation is slightly different regarding the treatment of people independent of their nationality, religion, social level or sex (36%). In the case of this last quality, a larger number of citizens interviewed considered police did not really pay attention to them (16%), even ignoring them (7%) when performing their job.

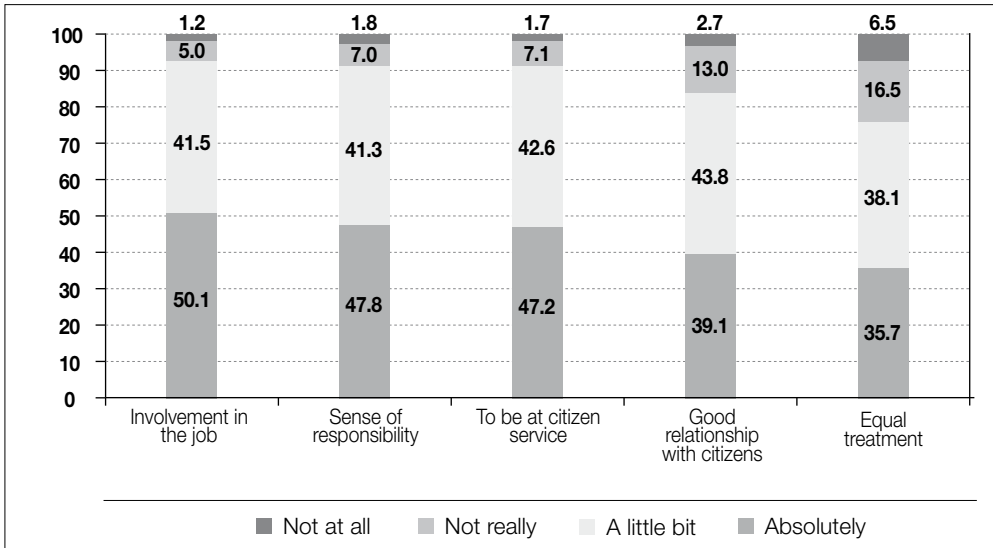
Comparison between citizen satisfaction with the police service for the last crime and other contacts (2008)



General assessment of police performance in Belgium for 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006 and 2008



Recognised qualities of the police when performing their job, Data for 2008. The problem of equality when dealing with citizens



Why Victims' Voices Matter for Improving Policing

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Introduction

Public confidence in the police service is important. This is based on a growing recognition that public trust and confidence is vital in two interrelated ways. Firstly, in a democratic society people expect, and have a right to expect, that the police will be trustworthy, competent, and ethical, and focussed on the needs of local people. Secondly, there is a large body of evidence which suggests that people who have trust and confidence in the police, who regard the police as legitimate, are more likely to be satisfied with individual encounters with officers, to defer to police authority, to come forward and offer information or assistance when needed, and are perhaps more likely to obey the law (Bradford 2009; Tyler 1990; Tyler and Huo 2002; Tyler and Fagan 2008).

Ideas about the variegated nature of public opinion have heavily influenced government interest in citizen confidence in public services. US work consistently finds that opinions about, for example, the efficacy of the police in fighting crime are distinct from impressions of the fairness and transparency of officer's behaviour (Tyler 1990; Tyler and Huo 2002; Reisig *et al.* 2007). And wider views are equally relevant – people's concerns about crime, perceptions of low-level disorder in their area, and ideas about social cohesion all have significant impacts on people's opinions of the police (Girling, Loader and Sparks 2000; Jackson and Bradford 2009; Loader and Mulcahy 2003). Broad social changes, such as the 'decline in deference' and increasing consumerism are also likely to have had significant impacts on public confidence in policing (Jones and Newburn 2002; Loader and Mulcahy 2003; Reiner 2000).

Crime victim surveys are important ways to capture the general public's experiences with crime and with their interface with justice. My topic for this presentation is a look at speaking to victims themselves about the service they receive from the police. In England and Wales, the Labour government began to build foundations for inserting people's voices as a mirror and a steer for improvement in key public services. From April 2004, police services were required to survey victims and report publicly the findings.

Routinely tapping the voices of victims of crime is part of a legacy in the whole of government to ask how people feel about the public services they receive (and for which they pay taxes). In 2002, the Cabinet Office published a study that showed that when people were asked about their opinions of public services, they expressed more negative opinions about services for which they had no direct experience. When asked about their local service (or direct experience with a service) people rated these experiences much higher. For example, if people were asked about how they felt about the National Health Service, they would rate this much lower than how they felt about the services they received from their own doctor. However there were two services that were exceptions to this: policing and the railways. It was this finding that ultimately led to the establishment of statutory police service user satisfaction surveys.

The paradox about the link between police contact and satisfaction has been the subject of research and debate. Skogan (2006) proposes that police-public interface is doomed to unhappiness. His research continuously demonstrates that people's trust and satisfaction in policing diminishes through contact. However, Jackson, Bradford and Stanko (2009) found a glimmer of hope. The research, based on the London Metropolitan Police Service (MPS or the Met) Public Attitude Survey (PAS), shows that good contact buffers people's feelings of unhappiness following police contact. The most important legacy of contact, as Jackson and Bradford confirm also using the Met's PAS, is that fairness – how people feel they are treated – is critical to people's opinions of policing. If people feel fairly treated during contact, then their opinions of the police should not necessarily be diminished by contact.

Victim surveys are not without controversy. Most controversially perhaps is that the survey findings are used as a high-level performance measure for the police service. It was one of the key features of the Police Performance Assessment Framework (PPAF), which came into being in April 2004, and is now replaced by a new Her Majesty's Inspectorate for Constabularies (HMIC) performance landscape. Nonetheless, victim satisfaction with treatment by the police is a key factor in measuring good (and better) policing in England and Wales.

In this talk, I would like to start with a quick review of the Met's User Satisfaction Survey, move to a discussion of the key drivers of public satisfaction (as modelled from the survey findings itself), and offer some discussion of how to use the survey to problem solve and improve responsiveness to victims. Then I would like to turn to a discussion of some of the dilemmas we have faced in using a survey for improvement. I will raise questions about those voices excluded from the survey – especially victims of high harm and sensitive crime such as rape. Finally, I will conclude by mentioning the benefits of victims' voices in the agenda for police reform.

Some background: User satisfaction surveys for police

In England and Wales, work began in 2003 in the Home Office to introduce a way of capturing victims' experiences of policing services. The User Satisfaction Survey (USS) (it began as the Victim Satisfaction Survey) was designed and placed on a statutory (legal) footing,

requiring the 43 police services in England and Wales to ask a basic list of a suite of questions of five groups of 'users' of police services. The group of users are victims of car crime, some victims of violent crime, victims of burglary, victims of racist incidents and those involved in car traffic collisions. These questions were based on earlier research, again from the Cabinet Office, that established the basic drivers of public satisfaction with policing. Key information is therefore gathered on: ease of initial contact, how seriously and respectfully people felt police treated them, what people felt about police actions, and follow up information, and overall satisfaction with the service they receive from the police.

The Home Office – the government department which manages policing in England and Wales, and takes the key national lead for crime reduction, security and immigration – issued standard guidance to all police services in 2004, mandating that the 43 police services routinely collect feedback from victims of crime and users of their service. A standard questionnaire has clear national guidance, which specifies the manner in which the survey is conducted. Until 2008 police forces could choose to conduct their surveys either through the post or via the telephone. The MPS has always used telephone surveys to contact victims, and now all police forces across England and Wales use the same methodology.

The following core questions, in the given order, should be asked of all users:

INITIAL CONTACT¹

Are you satisfied, dissatisfied or neither with how easy it was to contact someone who could assist you?

ACTIONS

Are you satisfied, dissatisfied or neither with the actions taken by the police?

FOLLOW UP

Are you satisfied, dissatisfied or neither with how well you were kept informed of progress?

TREATMENT

Are you satisfied, dissatisfied or neither with the way you were treated by the police officers and staff who dealt with you?

WHOLE EXPERIENCE

Taking the whole experience into account, are you satisfied, dissatisfied, or neither with the service provided by the police in this case?

Source: Home Office Guidance 2009/10 User Satisfaction Surveys

Data comparing the 43 police services – and particularly those forces which are most comparable (known as the most similar family of police services) are available to those within the police service to compare results and to learn from each other about how best to improve. Until last year, the Home Office published a yearly summary. There are currently changes underway, with the control over measuring police performance moving from the Home Office to the HMIC, and it is uncertain whether the findings of victims' satisfaction will be publicly available with comparisons among police forces.

¹ The reporting and analysis of the first core satisfaction question (ease of contact) should be based only on responses from those who had contacted the police themselves about this incident.

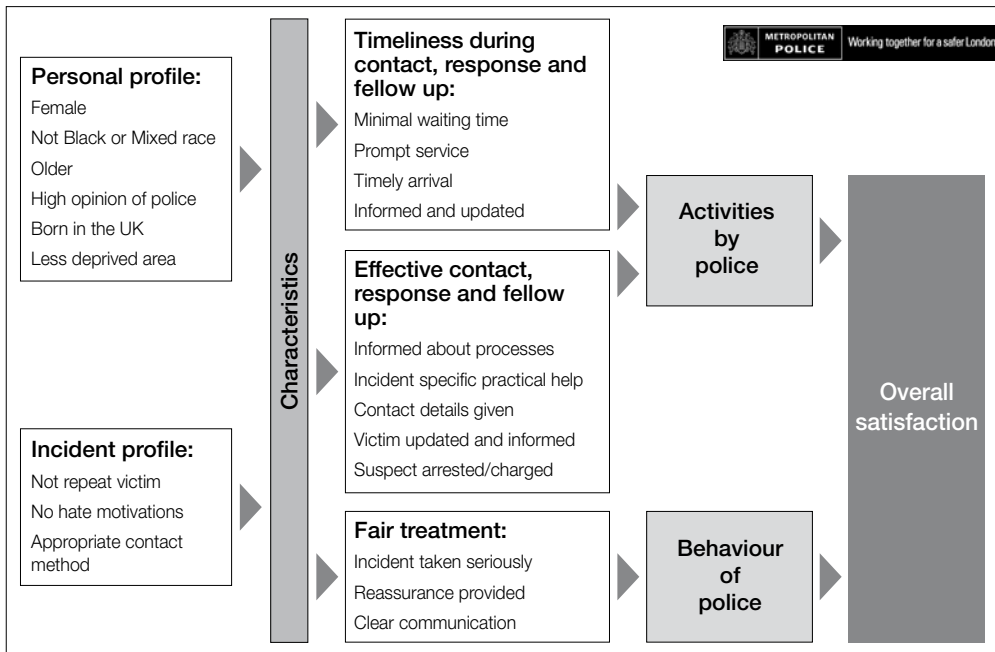
The London Metropolitan Police User Satisfaction Survey

The MPS's USS is conducted on a rolling basis throughout the year, using a stratified sample of victims. On an annual basis, over 18,000 victims are interviewed, broadly reflecting the victim population of London. The large sample size enables comparisons between demographic characteristics of victims, as well as comparisons between victims of different kinds of crime. Routinely there is an exploration of the satisfaction 'gap' for white versus Black/minority/ethnic victims.

The MPS USS explores the experiences of five 'types' of victims who reported to police: car crime, burglary, (some forms of) violent crime, road traffic collisions, and racial incidents. Alongside the quantitative survey, my unit has also conducted qualitative research exploring victims' expectations of policing, and hosting focus groups to learn more about what might contribute to why victims may be less satisfied by police service than others.

The key drivers of public satisfaction (as modelled from the survey findings itself) are shown below:

The Satisfaction Model



What matters to victims?

Three main aspects of how people feel significantly influence their satisfaction with contact with police:

- Timeliness: minimal waiting time; prompt service; timely arrival (and attendance) and being kept informed and updated about what happened as a result;
- Police responding appropriately, telling people about what happens next, giving practical help; contact details of the officer who responded to the call and whom to contact later if necessary; and whether a suspect was arrested or charged as a consequence;
- Victims feeling reassured: was what they reported taken seriously? Did they feel fairly treated?

Victims clearly value being treated fairly and seriously. We know from the data that over 90% of those interviewed found it easy to contact the police, and that this has improved over the lifetime of the survey (increasing from 85% in 2005/6 for instance to 92% now). Where there is need for improvement is in the manner that people are kept informed about the progress of their crime (was anyone arrested for the offence?).

In terms of advising the police service as a consequence of the survey, we try to emphasize that there are things that police can do as a follow-up to taking a report of a crime or road traffic collision (an example of a common reason why people contact police). These are grouped into POLICE ACTIONS, for the purpose of improvement. There are also ways that police can behave that make victims feel that their concerns are taken seriously and are matters deserving police attention. These could be referred to as POLICE BEHAVIOUR.

Are all victims equally satisfied with policing services?

There is a gap in overall satisfaction of police services: white victims are more satisfied overall and victims of violence are the least satisfied. For both white and non-white victims, prior opinions of police are strongly linked to age. And prior opinions serve as a filter to being satisfied with policing services.

Another contribution to dissatisfaction is that victims of violence (and non-white victims) are more likely to be victims of repeat victimisation. Therefore thinking about improvement must be grounded in a more holistic analysis of police/citizen encounters, as well as knowing which victims perhaps are more likely to be targets of violence or live in higher crime areas. The MPS analysis shows that deprivation has a negative association with levels of satisfaction with the police. Black/minority/ethnic victims are far more likely to live in deprived areas of London. These victims are also more likely to feel that police are 'unable' or 'unwilling' to take the kind of action necessary to challenge patterns of crime these victims face. Finally the data here underscore the importance of treating citizens fairly. As Skogan (2009) says, 'Quality matters' in police/citizen encounters and negative encounters resonate much farther than the individual contact. People share their experiences with others. This is why knowing how victims are treated by the police is so important. Monitoring such victim/po-

lice encounters is important in measuring how well the police service the whole of the community. The MPS USS asks people about their prior opinion of the police, and whether it changes following the reporting of a crime (Bradford 2009). Victims' assessments of contacts they have with police are not only assessments of the contact, but are also influenced by their prior opinions.

How to use the survey to problem solve and improve responsiveness to victims

I would like to move on to a discussion of some of the dilemmas we have faced in using a survey for improvement.

Driving police improvement from the perspective of its users remains ongoing. Police officers are often (sometimes) sceptical of what the public say about policing. Comment and critique has a history. There is a complex legacy of how people have experienced state control, state responsiveness, and how 'the public' as individuals fit into to complexity of social hierarchies which exist in any country and area. Policing is contested, and contestable, and bringing victims' voices into the framework of policing performance and improvement is no bad thing. But understanding the voices is as complex as understanding the society within which policing takes place. Bringing people's voices into the heart of police improvement requires 'the police', as a service provider (still perhaps inaccessible to the general public) to be willing to be publicly transparent. There is a need to translate these findings into practical actions for the police organisation. There is a need to share the findings with the public.

One of the key challenges is to find a way to apply the findings to 'change' the way police treat the public. Survey results are reported as an outcome of contact, but the exact 'problem' is not specified. If ease of contact is rated as very satisfactory by 88% of people, does this mean that police need to review their systems for contact? Is the problem of the 12% of the survey respondents who say they are unhappy with their ability to contact police the result of antiquated police processes and systems? Is there a wider social problem with the distribution and quality of public services in London, such as poor housing and security, that increases someone's vulnerability to being a victim of crime? Recall that we know for instance that a contribution to the satisfaction gap between white and Black/minority victims is deprivation and repeat victimisation.

Police should be addressing how to stop repeat victimisation as a consequence. Criminological evidence suggests that repeat victimisation has a draining impact on people's quality of life. Deprivation is largely out of the hands of police, but deprivation and higher crime rates are linked, and addressing hot spots for offending is clearly within the remit of policing. That said, survey findings do not in and of themselves immediately lead to concrete actions toward improvement of services. This takes another form of problem solving which might not sit comfortably with police officers more used to managing 'crime' not 'people's satisfaction'.

There is usually a time lag when improvement is designed before people's opinions change. One example of improvement had to do with the way the MPS managed people's dissatisfaction in dealing

with road traffic collisions. The MPS has put a great deal of work into updating the way in which reports about road collisions were recorded. There has been an improvement in the way people feel about police contact in situations of road collisions, some of which has come from a clearer administrative process. Another example is that victims who report crime at police station front counters are unhappier than those who use 999 to contact the police. While there has been a programme to improve front counters in the MPS, this improvement is slow and has yet to demonstrate that it has changed the quality of the services these victims receive from the MPS.

The acceptance of survey data or results within the organisation has not always been easy, particularly if the message was unfavourable or indicated that a change to operational activity. Introducing a target for improvement based on the way victims feel has been a hard pill to swallow for an organisation, which has historically been judged on 'reducing crime'.

What about victims of very serious crime: how do we find out how they feel about the police service they receive?

The government guidelines largely exclude very vulnerable victims and victims of very serious crimes in the standard surveys. The MPS is designing a survey aimed specifically at asking victims of rape about their experiences of policing in London. This remains a contentious arena, where even various criminal justice agencies do not yet agree on whether such a survey is a good idea. However, I am convinced that it is critical to reach out to these victims as well, for it is ultimately the hallmark of a mature police service in a functioning democracy to ask even the most vulnerable how they feel about the service they receive following even the most traumatic of incidents. Of course, these victims can always refuse. But in order to make policing better, it is the experiences of the most vulnerable that must be captured for improvement.

Does satisfaction of victims with police service matter?

Finally, I would like to close my presentation by returning to the question: does victim satisfaction matter? I would say that it does. The MPS USS tells us some things about how people feel about reporting of some kinds of crime. Victims value having an accessible, fair and competent public service. Perhaps people's expectations of a public service are more demanding in Western democratic societies, especially in Europe. We will learn more for instance in the next few years about how Europeans differ in their public trust in criminal justice. Funded by the European Commission under the aegis of the 7th Framework Programme, the JUSTIS project seeks to develop survey-based indicators of public trust in criminal justice. At the very least, victims must have some trust in police in order to report crime. And in order to fight crime, police must have the trust of the public, because it is often through their assistance that crime is challenged. Moreover, there is a growing body of research into 'procedural jus-

tice' that shows that trust in justice is central to people's preparedness to comply with the law.

Encounter based interpersonal trust is what is being 'tested' through asking victims how satisfied they are with police contact. Victims' feelings about police contact over matters of victimisation are critical not only in their relations with the police, but that victims themselves share their experience with family and friends, who in turn can learn about how fair or competent police appear to the eyes of a person-in-need. Victim's voices must be heard – not as justification for punishing offenders – but so that the police service itself can be better prepared to be a state resource for help. This is ultimately – to me – the critical justification for understanding how to use victim surveys to improve policing. Carefully understood and analysed, victims' voices should lead to better policing, and with clear accountability in a democratic state, policing should be to the benefit of the public. Victim satisfaction is just one form of quality check on this benefit.

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Useful websites to learn more about England and Wales

Metropolitan Police Service, London:
<www.met.police.uk>

Market Research Society code of conduct and guidelines:
<www.mrs.org.uk>

Office for Public Services Reform (OPSR)
- Principles of customer feedback & ideal framework for research in public services:
<www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/opsr/publications/>

Home Office:
<www.homeoffice.gov.uk>

The Quality of Service Commitment:
<<http://police.homeoffice.gov.uk/news-and-publications/publication/police-reform/quality-of-service-commitment>>

Victims Code:
<<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/documents/victims-code-of-practice>>

British Crime Survey:
<<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/bcs1.html>>

England and Wales, National Indicator Set:
<<http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/localgovernment/nationalindicator>>

England and Wales, Place Survey:
<<http://www.lga.gov.uk/lga/aio/279196>>
<<http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/localgovernment/newplacesurvey>>

Analysis of Policing and Community Safety (APACS):
<<http://police.homeoffice.gov.uk/apacs>>

Appendix – Indicative Survey Questions taken from the Metropolitan Police Service User Satisfaction Survey (Sept 2009)

Excluding the one I have called you about today, have you been the victim of any OTHER incident in the last 12 months?

- Yes
- No

How did you contact the police about the incident? Was it ...

- By 999 call
- By other telephone call
- By personal visit to a police station
- Direct to a police officer on the street/near the incident
- Via the internet/e-mail
- The police contacted you
- Other means (please specify)
- Don't know/can't remember

Did you get to speak to someone in a reasonable time?

- Yes
- No
- Don't know

If you had to queue at the police station, approximately how long did you have to wait before speaking to the station reception officer?

- I did not have to wait
- Under 5 minutes
- 5 to 10 minutes
- 11 to 30 minutes
- 31 to 60 minutes
- Over 1 hour
- Don't know/can't remember

Were you told how long it would take for somebody to visit you? (IF YES, QUANTIFY)

- Yes – I was told they would be there asap
- Yes – I was given a specific time frame
- Yes – I made an appointment for a visit
- No
- Don't know

Did the police meet their time frame? (READ OUT)

- Yes – they arrived when they said they would
- No – they took longer than they said they would
- The police arrived quicker than they said, and that was ok
- The police arrived quicker than they said, and this wasn't ok
- The police phoned back to rearrange when they would visit
- Don't know/can't remember

Give practical help? (e.g. with making premises secure, getting you home)

- Yes
- No
- Not applicable
- Don't know

Explain what was going to happen and why?

- Yes
- No
- Not applicable
- Don't know

Why did the police contact you again?

- To ask for more information about your incident
- To give you more information about your incident (eg crime reference)
- To provide you with contact details
- To tell you property had been recovered
- To tell you about an action they had taken
- To tell you the investigation was closed
- To tell you the investigation is still ongoing
- To tell you there had been an arrest
- Don't know/can't remember
- Other (Please Specify)

Did you have to ask for updates or were they provided without asking?

- Provided without asking
- Had to ask
- Weren't provided and didn't ask
- Weren't provided but did ask
- Not applicable
- Don't know

Thinking about the attitude of the police officers and other police staff who dealt with you, were fair in the way they dealt with you?

- Yes
- No
- Not applicable
- Don't know

Thinking about the attitude of the police officers and other police staff who dealt with you, did they appear to take the matter seriously?

- Yes
- No
- Not applicable
- Don't know

Overall, do you think the police response was at the appropriate level given the severity of your incident? (IF NO, PROBE : "Do you feel the response was too much or not enough?")

- Yes - At the appropriate level
- No - Response was too much
- No - Response was not enough
- Don't know

Did you consider yourself to be vulnerable in this instance? This could have been because of your age, a disability or personal circumstances.

- Yes
- No
- Don't know

Prior to this experience was your overall opinion of the police ...?

- Generally high
- Generally low
- Mixed
- No opinion

As a result of your contact with the police on this occasion, please tell me if your opinion of the police is now better, worse or has not changed?

- Unchanged
- Better opinion
- Worse opinion
- Don't know

The French National Victimisation Survey

Christophe Soullez

Director of the Observatoire National de la Délinquance, France



Between January and March 2008, the INSEE carried out a national victimisation survey entitled “Cadre de vie et sécurité” for the second consecutive year as part of a partnership with the Observatoire National de la Délinquance (OND)¹. More than 17,000 households and, within them, more than 17,000 people aged 14 and over, were questioned about offences affecting them in 2006 or 2007.

One of the purposes of the INSEE-INHES/OND annual victimisation survey is to form a picture - together with “État 4001”, the tool for recording crimes and offences reported by the police forces - making it possible to statistically analyse the development of certain types of crime: crime against people (physical or sexual violence, threats or injuries) and crimes against property (theft with or without violence, vandalism).

After many decades, thanks to “État 4001” it is possible to find out about the changes in the figures for different types of reported crimes and offences recorded by the police forces. In the absence of additional information, it may be tempting to confuse an increase or reduction of 2% in the number of burglaries at homes recorded (one of the crime indexes in État 4001) with a similar scale development in the number of crimes of this type actually committed. However, all crimes committed are not necessarily brought to the attention of the police in the form of a complaint.

Presenting statistics for recorded crimes as if they were all crimes committed amounts to considering that crime the police services are not aware of does not exist. From scratches on car bodywork to threats and insults made by a neighbour, an attempted snatch theft in the street or even blows received from someone close may, for various reasons, never be brought to police attention.

Role of victimisation surveys in measuring crime

Recorded crime is only part of the crime committed. It is impossible to measure the latter directly but, as the Americans have since the 1970s and the British have since the 1980s, it is possible to question a sample of the population about the crimes they have recently been victims of in order to estimate the frequency of crimes occurring, which may or may not have been followed by a complaint. This type of direct survey of potential victims of criminal acts is called a “victimisation survey”.

¹ This survey was carried out once again in January and February 2009. The first results were published in the OND's annual report in November 2009. The results of this new survey were not yet available when the attached text was completed, so this presentation concerns the 2008 survey.

The OND is strongly inspired by American examples, with the NCVS (*National Crime Victimization Survey*) from the Department of Justice, and above all British ones, with the BCS (*British Crime Survey*), in developing victim surveys in France. In January 2007, the partnership established with INSEE following the survey of household living conditions in 2005 undertook the launch of a set of annual victimisation surveys called “Cadre de vie et sécurité”.

For the OND, the annual nature of the “Lifestyle and Security” surveys has always seemed a necessity. As the OND maintains, these surveys are indispensable for analysing the development of the number of crimes recorded by the police against people or against property – statistics published every month in the OND’s recorded crime bulletin.

The first french victimisation surveys

In 1996, when permanent surveys on household **living conditions (PCV)** were established, INSEE included questions on victimisation in the annual January survey. Questions on burglary, car-related thefts, simple theft and aggression were asked as part of this survey between 1996 and 2004. Statistics on these victimisations were published in the National Crime Observatory’s first annual report in March 2005. The PCV surveys from 1996 to 2004 involved questioning an average of 5,500 households and 11,000 individuals.

The PCV survey system was established in such a way that additional one-off surveys could be added to the basic questionnaires. In 1999, the Institute of Advanced Internal Security Studies (IHESI) originated an additional questionnaire about victimisation. The INSEE did not publish studies using this questionnaire. It was IHESI researchers who carried out the analysis work². The extension of the 1999 PCV survey involved questioning 5,500 households and 10,600 individuals aged 14 and over.

Since it was set up, one of the priority actions of the OND has been to establish a victimisation survey programme. The idea of this programme was at once to offer a short-term response and to establish a long-lasting instrument that it was impossible to develop in a short period. It was planned to use the INSEE PCV surveys temporarily to obtain victimisation indicators quickly³, while at the same time working on a new battery of specialised surveys devoted strictly to victimisation.

In January 2005 and then in January 2006, the PCV questionnaire was reworked. The part devoted to victimisation evolved in the sense of measuring crimes suffered by households or individuals better, taking account of the lessons from the first-generation PCV surveys and, in particular the “Victimisation” extension of 1999. At the request of the national crime observatory, an additional questionnaire entitled “Cadre de vie et sécurité” was added in order to extend the list of victimisations studied. The 2005 and 2006 PCV surveys covered 6,200 households and 12,200 individuals. The additional module “Cadre de vie et sécurité” covered 7,500 households (of which 1,200 were in sensitive urban areas) and 12,000 individuals (2,400 in sensitive urban areas).

The first true INSEE-OND victimisation survey took place in January and February 2007.

² ‘Mesurer la délinquance à partir du témoignage des victimes: l’enquête pilote IHESI-INSEE de janvier 1999’ (Measuring crime based on victims’ testimony: the pilot IHESI-INSEE survey) by Jean-Paul Grémy (IHESI, 2001)

³ See ‘Grand angle n°2’, INHES/OND, October 2005

The 2007 national victimisation survey

A new questionnaire was introduced in 2007. It is devoted exclusively to security and victimisation issues and their consequences for the daily lives of the people questioned. In 2007 new questions and subjects were introduced. These were added to reused questions identical to those in previous “Cadre de vie et sécurité” surveys and modified questions.

The new features of the 2007 survey also concerned its development, which is called the administration protocol. In the PCV surveys, the questionnaire consisted of three parts: the description of the members of the household (what the INSEE calls the “common core household” or TCM), the “household” level questionnaire and the individual questionnaire. The last of these was aimed at everyone in the household aged 14 and over (with a limit of five). If a person aged 14 or more who should have answered the individual questionnaire was absent, other members of the household could answer for them (except for opinion questions). The person answering in place of a member of the household is called a “proxy”.

The first three phases of the 2007 “Cadre de vie et sécurité” survey were developed according to this system. However, after the TCM, the face-to-face household and individual questionnaire⁴, a self-administered questionnaire devoted to so-called sensitive violence (sexual or domestic violence) was put to people aged between 18 and 75.

The protocol for the 2007 survey no longer established the questioning of more than one person aged over 14 or the use of a proxy in place of a respondent randomly selected to answer. Since then, in each household surveyed, a single person aged 14 or over has answered the individual questionnaire face to face and under no circumstances may another member of the household answer in his or her place.

Consequently, by contrast to the PCV surveys, the number of households questioned in January, February and March 2007 was 17,496, equal to the number of people aged 14 and over interviewed, and each of them answered all the individual questions.

A publication schedule depending on the nature of the data

In January 2008, when the OND published the statistics with the indicators relating to recorded crime, and particularly those concerning crimes against property and crimes of deliberate physical violence, the INSEE researchers had begun to visit the first households in the 2008 “Cadre de vie et sécurité” survey. The collection of the survey on the ground was completed at the end of March, after more than 17,000 households had agreed to answer it.

It took several months of work to obtain the “Cadre de vie et sécurité” survey database, unlike the statistics for recorded crime, for which the central police directorate (DCPJ) needed less than 10 days to state that there had been an increase. This difference is related to the nature of the two statistical sources.

The “État 4001”, the tool making it possible to register recorded crime, works like a counter: each procedure is coded according to

⁴ Remember that the PCV and “Cadre de vie et sécurité” surveys are INSEE surveys collected personally from the household by an INSEE researcher at an arranged meeting. The researchers have laptop computers programmed to allow them to read the questions, entering the answers of the people surveyed and moving on to the next one

one of around 100 recording nomenclature indices for crimes and offences. Once it has been entered, it is added to those that have preceded it during the period under consideration. At the end of the month, the DCPJ receives the total obtained for each index from all the police services and units in charge of recording crime and collates them. The final annual figure is obtained after a consolidation phase, making it possible to include crime recorded during the half year but not transmitted at the end of a particular month for procedural reasons.

The establishment of the “Cadre de vie et sécurité” survey database follows a completely different pattern. The survey is carried out on the ground by INSEE researchers using laptop computers. It involves three questionnaires: two face-to-face questionnaires, with the INSEE researcher asking questions read from a screen to the people surveyed and entering their answers using the computer keyboard, and a self-administered questionnaire for which the person surveyed reads and answers the questions without the intervention of the researcher.

A more complex survey process

The first face-to-face questionnaire is aimed at the household living in the home surveyed: it involves asking the people in the household, above all a person called the “head of the household” or main breadwinner, about crimes such as theft or vandalism suffered by the household’s property, which may include the home or vehicles (cars, motorcycles or bicycles).

The individual face-to-face questionnaire is put to a person aged 14 or more from the household, drawn at random depending on their date of birth. This random draw makes the responses representative. If the person chosen at random cannot answer, the survey cannot proceed. The individual crimes covered in this questionnaire are personal theft, with or without violence or threats and violence during theft committed by a person who does not live with the person surveyed, as well as threats and injuries.

The self-administered questionnaire concerns so-called “sensitive” violence, sexual violence or physical violence committed by a person living with the person surveyed. For legal reasons, this is aimed only at people aged over 18 and people aged 75 or over, for practical reasons connected with the collection method⁵.

These three questionnaires specific to the “Cadre de vie et sécurité” survey are preceded by an introductory questionnaire common to all surveys run by INSEE which makes it possible to describe the socio-demographic profile of all members of the household. In total, the computer storage of a survey is made up of many files, each of them comprising hundreds or even around a thousand responses, of which those to the self-administered questionnaire are locked. After the interview, they must be sent to INSEE’s regional offices to undergo detailed processing, with many stages of verification, changes of computer formats, and data enrichment or adjustment to the national base of the survey.

⁵ By definition, it must be possible to answer the self-administered questionnaire without the intervention of the researcher or a third party. This requires a certain degree of autonomy, notably in reading the questions and entering the answers. The age limit of 75 was decided on because it seemed that beyond this threshold it would often be difficult or impossible to administer the questionnaire. This decision was backed up by the experience of the 2007 survey as certain people, most often those aged over 60, provided incoherent responses due to practical difficulties. The protocol was later amended in such a way that the age limit remained at 75.

First results in the autumn

In 2005 and 2006, the OND had followed the publication schedule of the INSEE household living conditions survey, with which it had been associated. The results were published in October 2005 and December 2006 respectively. The OND steering committee decided that, for 2007, the first year of the national “Cadre de vie et sécurité” victim survey, the Annual Report, previously published in March, would coincide with the availability of the first results of the survey. The month of November was therefore chosen as the date for publishing the annual report.

That is why the third OND annual report was made public in November 2007, with its first articles those concerning that year’s “Cadre de vie et sécurité” survey. On this date, comparisons with the household lifestyle surveys of 2005 and 2006 were possible for some crimes, but in a rather limited way⁶.

In 2008, after two “Cadre de vie et sécurité” surveys, **it is therefore possible, for the first time following the launch of the battery of annual surveys, to compare results over time, both between the two surveys and with those of the “État 4001”**. It was such an important stage because, as the OND recalled after it was set up, it is, above all, developments and trends that reveal current phenomena, provided they are taken from statistical sources that are stable from one year to another. In time, after several annual “Cadre de vie et sécurité” surveys, the OND will be able to establish statistical series made up of several points, as is already possible for certain offences.

Two types of statistical operation

If the analysis of the results of the 2007 and 2008 “Cadre de vie et sécurité” surveys can be carried out to show developments, in the short term there can be more structural objectives. It is then a case of adding the two surveys to make a total of households or people questioned exceeding 34,000, making it possible to study the populations of victims or the characteristics of the crimes in more detail.

All crimes or offences covered in the survey are introduced by a question, called the filter question, constructed based on the following model: “In 2006 or 2007 were you a victim of...?” In order to help those surveyed to remember incidents occurring two years before the survey, the question is preceded and followed by elements specifying the definition of crimes or even examples.

As an illustration, we might mention questions from the individual questionnaire about personal theft:

“Returning to security matters but now looking at issues that concern you personally, that is, excluding anything that might have happened in the course of a theft from the home or vehicle-related theft.

First of all, we are going to cover any thefts you may have suffered:

in 2006 or 2007 were you personally the victim of a theft or attempted theft with physical violence or threats? Examples: theft with blows and injuries, handbag or mobile phone snatches, theft with verbal threats or using a weapon, extortion or attempted extortion...

⁶ See “Victimisation and the feeling of insecurity in 2006”, the annual OND report, November 2007.

in 2006 or 2007 were you personally the victim of a theft or attempted theft without physical violence or threats? Examples: theft by a pickpocket, theft of a briefcase or bag, of a coat, a mobile phone or any other personal belongings in a public place (restaurant, cloakroom) or at your place of work or study.”

For each crime, these introductory victimisation questions distinguish people declaring themselves to be victims from others. The former then answer a full questionnaire about the crime or crimes suffered, while the others continue with the survey that includes many questions about crime and the feeling of insecurity in everyday life.

The victimisation description form begins by naming and dating the offences. Two main short-term indicators can thereby be obtained about the offences suffered: their prevalence and incidence during the past year. Prevalence is the proportion of households where people aged 14 and over declare they have been victims of at least one offence and incidence is the cumulative number of offences suffered⁷.

For each offence, the victims describe its characteristics, the nature of the crime suffered, the physical, psychological or material consequences and any sequels, such as the lodging of a complaint. The crime before the last one suffered, if any, is also described, but more succinctly.

One survey, two ways of asking questions about violence

The individual face-to-face questionnaire in the “Cadre de vie et sécurité” survey is aimed at one person aged 14 and over in the surveyed household. The person is chosen at random depending on their date of birth. The number of people aged 14 and over questioned is therefore equal to the number of households surveyed. This is established at 17,176 for the survey collected between January and March 2008, a number slightly down on the household sample size for the 2007 survey, which was 17,496 (table 1).

The face-to-face individual questionnaire makes it possible to cover two types of violence: thefts with violence and some physical violence (that committed by people not living with the person surveyed).

“Sensitive” violence is measured using an adapted protocol very different from the survey’s individual questionnaire. It appeared obvious when the “Cadre de vie et sécurité” survey was designed that questions considered as the most “sensitive” (those on sexual violence, including the most serious crimes, such as rape, or those about violence within the family, committed by a partner, a relative, a child or others) could not be asked by the INSEE researcher at a face-to-face interview.

It was necessary to think of a more impersonal questioning method to prevent refusal to go over with a researcher events that were painful or that the victim might even see as shameful. The questioning methods even had to meet confidentiality requirements in order to avoid the person surveyed finding it impossible to refer to violence suffered by one or more of them members of the household in the presence of other members.

However, in November 2005, the INSEE had carried out a Ministry of Health survey entitled “Life Events and Health”, which, after a

⁷ To prevent a single household or a single person aged 14 or over having too great a weight in terms of incidence, the number of offences suffered during the past year included in the calculation is limited to 10.

People aged 14 and over questioned in the 2007 and 2008 “Cadre de vie et sécurité” surveys. Number of people aged between 18 and 75 in a position to answer the self-administered questionnaire and the proportion of people who answered this questionnaire

	2007 ‘Cadre de vie et sécurité’ Survey		2008 ‘Cadre de vie et sécurité’ Survey	
	Number	%	Number	%
People aged 14 and over who answered the face to face questionnaire	17,496		17,176	
People aged between de 14 and 17	551		563	
People aged between de 18 and 75	15,053	100.0	14,686	100.0
People aged between de 18 and 75 who answered the self-administered questionnaire on ‘sensitive violence’	14,182	94.2	13,719	93.4
People aged between de 18 and 75 who did not answered the self-administered questionnaire on ‘sensitive violence’	871	5.8	967	6.6
People aged 76 and over	1,892		1,927	

Source: INSEE, 2007 and 2008 ‘Cadre de vie et sécurité’ surveys

face-to-face questionnaire also covering victimisations but this time concerning their health, was intended to ask people aged between 18 and 75 about risky practices in terms of health (alcohol consumption, drug use and sexual behaviour). A self-administered questionnaire had then been chosen. A “self-administered” questionnaire is understood as one in which the people surveyed read the questions for themselves, without any outside intervention, and answer them alone. They are put in a situation where no-one present in the same room knows the questions being answered or the responses.

The OND took the protocol for the self-administered questionnaire in the “Life Events and Health” survey, with which the INSEE had already gained experience, in order to cover sensitive violence. It also kept the age limits for that survey, which, from the initial sample questioned face to face, excluded children aged between 14 and 17 and people aged over 75 at the time of the survey.

At the time of the 2007 survey, and very similarly in 2008, there were around 550 people aged between 14 and 17 and 1,900 people aged over 75 who answered only the face-to-face questionnaire and not the self-administered questionnaire on “sensitive violence”, due to the chosen age limits.

The age limits imposed must not be interpreted as a lack of interest in violence suffered by children or those aged over 75.

To put the self-administered questionnaire about sensitive violence to a minor, it would have been necessary to ask for legal authorisation from his/her parents. This would undoubtedly have led the INSEE researcher to describe the subjects to be covered, including violence committed within the household. It appears impossible to measure a violent phenomenon without the agreement of a potential perpetrator being required.

The upper age limit, set at 75 for the “Life events and health” survey, was decided for practical reasons. The answers to the self-administered questionnaire are entered by the people surveyed using a computer keyboard. However, by definition, the people surveyed may not ask for the intervention of a third party to enter their answers. They must know how to use the keyboard. The upper age limit is, therefore, the result of an estimated age above which it is difficult to respond autonomously to a questionnaire using a computer keyboard.

A more extensive study of violence on a smaller sample

Between January and March 2008, 14,686 people aged between 18 and 75 answered the face-to-face questionnaire in the “Cadre de vie et sécurité” survey. According to information entered by the INSEE researchers, 328 of them could not answer the self-administered survey in French. Translating a shortened version of it into 4 languages (Arabic, Turkish, Portuguese and German) made it possible to question 129 people. The list of languages was not established according to the prevalence of foreign languages within the population but according to the languages most often spoken by people who could not answer in French.

In total, 93.4% of the people aged between 18 and 75 who should have answered the self-administered questionnaire actually did so. The sample questioned in 2008 on “sensitive” violence was made up of 13,719 people aged between 18 and 75.

The response rate to the self-administered questionnaire is lower in 2008 than for the first “Cadre de vie et sécurité” survey. In 2007, 94.2 % of people aged between 18 and 75 from the face-to-face sample had answered the self-administered questionnaire – a total of 14,182.

In 2008, 967 people aged between 18 and 75 stopped the survey after the face-to-face questionnaire. The language barrier explains the presence of 199 people among these “non-respondents”. In 2007, there were 871, of whom 206 did not understand French.

For each “Cadre de vie et sécurité” survey two different samples are used: the sample aged 14 and over questioned face-to-face, forming the reference concerning measuring crimes against people other than “sensitive violence”, and the sample aged between 18 and 75, who answered the self-administered questionnaire, making it possible to pick up the phenomena of physical or sexual violence, including that where the perpetrator lives with the person surveyed.

For both, the issue of biased selection of the individual respondents arises. Like all INSEE household surveys, the “Cadre de vie et sécurité” survey is aimed at the people living in a home. This excludes people housed in an institution, a retirement home, a hospital or even a refuge, and those who have nowhere to stay, including the homeless.

The victims are not all accessible to surveys of the general population

In particular, refuges for victims of violence obviously raise a problem when it comes to quantitative measurement. More than a problem of

exhaustiveness it is a problem of sample selection. In effect, before leaving their homes, the future victims of violence housed in a refuge form part of the population surveyed by INSEE. It is, therefore, theoretically possible to question people living in a context of violence that will lead them to see refuge in an institution. However, in establishing figures for violence over a given period, crimes suffered by people housed in institutions when the survey is carried out will be missing.

Selection bias may also occur in the way contact is made between the household and the INSEE researcher. One might suppose that households in which violence is most present are among those most likely to refuse on principle to open their doors to a researcher. All kinds of hypotheses might be put forward about the households that do not answer. In the absence of information from them, it is difficult to get information or confirmation.

The study of non-response through refusal remains to be made by the “Cadre de vie et sécurité” survey. However, one might recall that there are methods called “adjustments” which are designed to correct this, among other things.

Everyone who answers the survey is given a numerical value - a weight - whose sum for the whole sample corresponds to the estimated size of the population. That is 42.9 million people aged between 18 and 75 years. The total weight for people from the sample (or weighting) is calculated in various stages, the last of which consists of making it correspond to the characteristics of the population with a series of variables called “adjustment variables”. **This involves making the distribution of the sample match that of the population using an algorithm called the “marginal adjustment”, based on criteria like sex, age, household profile or the geographical location of the home.**

The adjustment or marginal references are traditionally provided in INSEE’s household surveys for the survey used. This situation will be greatly changed from 2008 onwards, with the publication of results of a population census obtained using a new method.

Population categories most unlikely to answer the survey – we might mention the example of households where the reference person is young – are given a stronger weighting when it comes to adjustment than others. Conversely, if, still by way of example, the response rate is higher in one region than elsewhere, the average weighting for each individual in that region will be lower.

While the sample questioned is representative of the population with its responses, the marginal adjustment corrects the effects of non-response. However, if a type of population more at risk of victimisation is not accessible, adjustment cannot correct for their absence. The study of non-response consists precisely of researching its impact on the phenomena in question.

It has been possible to analyse the refusal by certain people aged between 18 and 75 who have answered the face-to-face questionnaire to answer the self-administered questionnaire. Unlike the households that did not open their doors to the INSEE researchers, these cases of partial refusal come when we have considerable information about the person surveyed from the face-to-face questionnaire. It is then a case of determining the factors that could explain, in the statistical sense of the term, non-response.

Victims of physical and sexual violence in 2005 and 2006

It seems that, according to their answers to the survey questions, almost 2 million people aged between 18 and 60 – a figure of 5.6% of the total – suffered physical or sexual violence during 2005-2006.

The number of people who were victims of at least one act of physical violence in 2005 or 2006 has been evaluated at more than 1.6 million, corresponding to 4.7% of people aged between 18 and 60. This includes 930,000 victims of physical violence committed by a person not living with them, known as violence outside the home, and, on the other hand, 820,000 victims where the perpetrator does live with them (violence in the home). 2.6% and 2.3% of people aged between 18 and 60 respectively declared that they had suffered violence outside the home and violence in the home, bearing in mind that there are some cumulative cases (0.3% aged between 18 and 60). Little or poorly known until now, physical violence within the home is revealed as a frequent phenomenon comparable to that of other physical violence.

These estimates were obtained from a sample of more than 11,200 people aged between 18 and 60 questioned during the first quarter of 2007.

Proportion of people aged between 18 and 60 stating that they have suffered at least one act of violence in 2005 and 2006, according to the type of violence (physical or sexual) and sex

	All people aged between 18 & 60		Men aged between 18 & 60		Women aged between 18 & 60	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
All people aged between 18 and 60	35,292,000	100.0	17,361,000	100.0	17,931,000	100.0
People stating that they have suffered at least one act of physical or sexual violence in 2005 or 2006*	1,990,000	5.6	892,000	5.1	1,098,000	6.1
<i>Including</i>						
People stating that they have suffered at least one act of physical violence in 2005 or 2006	1,653,000	4.7	799,000	4.6	854,000	4.8
People stating that they have suffered at least one act of sexual violence in 2005 or 2006	473,000	1.3	117,000	0.7	357,000	2.0
People stating that they have suffered no acts of violence in 2005 or 2006**	33,302,000	94.4	16,469,000	94.9	16,833,000	93.9

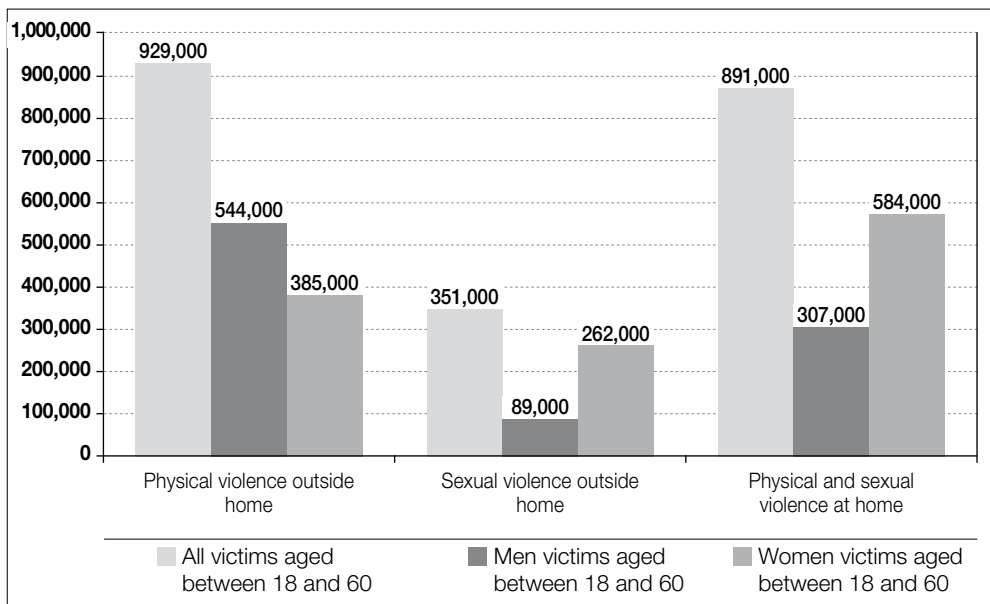
Field: People aged between 18 and 60

Source: Individual questionnaires⁸, 2007 'Cadre de vie et sécurité', INSEE

* Whether or not perpetrator of the violence live with the person surveyed

** Including the answers 'Don't know' and refusals: 0.6 % of 18 to 60 years old answered 'Don't know' or no 'Refuse' to at least one of three questions about violence on the self-administered. 0.2% chose 'Don't know' or 'Refuse' for each of the three questions.

Number of people aged between 18 and 60 stating that they have been victims of physical or sexual violence in 2005 or 2006



Field: People aged between 18 and 60

Source: Individuals questionnaires, 2007 'Cadre de vie et sécurité', INSEE

Questioned successively about sexual violence outside the home and then that inside it, 1.3% of people aged between 18 and 60 stated that they had suffered at least one act of sexual violence (outside or inside the home) in 2005 or 2006. The number of victims is evaluated as being around 475,000, of whom three quarters - 350,000 - suffered sexual violence outside the home. They represent 1% of people aged between 18 and 60.

Victims of sexual violence within the home are less numerous (less than 150,000 victims in 2 years - 0.4 % of 18- to 60-year-olds). Most often, they also suffered physical violence inside their homes. Based on this, violence in the home can be understood as a phenomenon including victims of both physical and sexual violence from a person living with them. It includes 890,000 victims - 2.5% of 18- to 60-year-olds.

Based on the typology of physical or sexual violence established in this way, it can be stated that men form the majority of victims of physical violence outside the home, while sexual violence outside the home and physical and sexual violence inside the home most often affect women.

In 2005 or 2006, almost 550,000 men were victims of physical violence outside the home, together with 385,000 women. This corresponds to 3.1% of men aged between 18 and 60 and 2.1% of women. Conversely, 3% of women aged between 18 and 60 state that they have suffered violence inside the home, together with 1.7% of men, corresponding to more than 530,000 women victims and 300,000 men. The male/female ratio is still more unbalanced when it

8 Face-to-face questionnaire and self-administered questionnaire (see methodological preamble).

comes to sexual violence outside the home: while 260,000 women were victims in 2005 or 2006 – a figure of 1.5% - this figure is less than 100,000 for male victims - 0.5%.

Taking all forms of violence together, almost 1.1 million women aged between 18 and 60 were victims in 2005 and 2006, along with around 900,000 men. Although in previous surveys not explicitly and distinctively including sexual and domestic violence the proportion of male victims of violence was higher than that for women, **a proportion of women victims of 6.1 % can now be observed – significantly higher than that for men (5.1 %)**. While it is confirmed that there are fewer women victims of physical violence outside the home than men, overall women are more often exposed to physical or sexual violence.

Characteristics of offences suffered

The context within which violence happens has a strong impact on its repetition during the two-year study period: victims outside the home most often stated that they had suffered a single act, while the majority of victims of a person living with them had suffered two offences or more. In particular, almost half the women aged between 18 and 60 who were victims of violence within the home declared at least 3 acts in 2005-2006.

The proportion of victims suffering injuries resulting from physical violence inside or outside the home was around 40%. The frequency of violence outside the home resulting in injuries does not differ depending on sex. By contrast, while 50% of women victims of violence in the home suffered injuries, the proportion of male victims similarly affected did not exceed 20%. **There is therefore a strong disparity between male and female victims of violence in the family in terms of number, frequency, seriousness of physical attacks and also psychological consequences.** Almost 53% of women victims of physical violence in the home state that the acts suffered caused them quite considerable or considerable psychological harm. This proportion is half as large for male victims.

It is estimated that the number of victims of rape and attempted rape is around 230,000, of whom just over 130,000 suffered rape – 28.3% of victims of sexual violence aged between 18 and 60 in 2005 and 2006. The number of men stating they had been victims of rape is almost zero, which means that the 130,000 rape victims are almost exclusively women.

The perpetrators of violence

Almost 88% of the perpetrators of physical violence outside the home are men, and when the victim is also a man, this proportion reaches 95%. 78% of women victims of physical violence outside the home were victims of men but 17.8% were victims of another woman. For this type of violence, men are mostly (58.8%) victims of strangers, while the perpetrator is personally known to 55% of women victims. For 32% of them it is an ex-partner: in 2005 and 2006, about 120,000 women were victims of physical violence by an ex-partner.

Almost 6 times out of 10, the victims of sexual violence outside the home know the perpetrator of the attack. For 43.5% of them, it is a person personally known to them and for 16.1% it is a person known by sight.

For more than 50% of the 890,000 victims of physical or sexual violence in the home – 450,000 people – their partner is the perpetrator of the act suffered. It can therefore be measured that 1.8% of people aged between 18 and 60 living in a couple were victims of physical or sexual violence by their partner in 2005 or 2006. This proportion reaches 2.6% among women aged between 18 and 60 living in a couple. It is estimated that the number of women who were victims of their partner in the two years was more than 330,000. This is three times the figure for men declaring themselves to have been victims of their partner.

The seriousness of the consequences of violence suffered between partners is very different depending on the sex of the victims. Less than 10% of male victims of violence in the home where the perpetrator is their partner state that they were injured, while this was the case for 48% of the women victims.

Reporting violence

The proportion of the victims of sexual violence outside the home or violence in the home who have made a complaint does not exceed 10%. **What might be called the complaint rate established for sexual violence outside the home is established at 8.4% and, for violence in the home, at 8.8 %.** These values are particularly low, particularly when compared with the frequency of complaints in cases of physical violence outside the home: this stands at 28.8%, which is not, however, an intrinsically high rate.

Even though the complaint rate rises in the case of rape or attempted rape or in cases of physical violence in the home resulting in injuries – the crimes that might be identified as the most serious – it remains low: it is below 12% for rapes and attempted rape and does not exceed 16% for violence in the home with injuries.

The proportion of women victims of violence committed by their partner who have complained is below 8%. No man among those questioned in the survey took this step, which means that this is very rare. The low complaint rate among women living with the partner they state is responsible for violence against them at the time of the survey is in contrast with the complaint rate of almost 50% among women declaring that they are victims of their ex-partner.

More than 75% of victims of sexual violence outside the home and 84% of victims of violence in the home have not made any report to the police, either as a formal complaint or merely to register the incident. Questioned about the reasons for what is known as “non-reporting”, the victims of sexual violence explain almost 2 times in 3 that “it wouldn’t achieve anything” or even that they prefer “to find another solution”. This reason crops up even more often with victims of violence in the home, with more than 77% giving it for making no report. This desire to find another solution is even mentioned by more than 82% of female victims of violence in the home.

The profile of victims of physical violence in the 2007 and 2008 “Cadre de vie et sécurité” surveys

Profile of people aged between 18 and 60 who declared themselves to be victims of physical violence in the two years established us-

ing the cumulative results for the first two “Cadre de vie et sécurité” surveys.

It is possible to add the samples for the 2007 and 2008 “Cadre de vie et sécurité” surveys in order to form a set of more than 22,000 people aged between 18 and 60. They were questioned about acts of violence suffered over two years, in 2005-2006 or 2006-2007, depending on the date when the people surveyed answered the INSEE researchers.

It is estimated that, in two years, 1,680,000 people aged between 18 and 60 – or 4.8% of the total – have declared that they have suffered at least one act of physical violence (not including theft or sexual violence). This could be violence committed by a person not living with the person surveyed - “outside the home” - or violence where the perpetrator lives with the person surveyed - “violence in the home”. This requires the establishment of a self-administered questionnaire.

More than 46% of the victims of physical violence over these 2 years declared they had been subjected to at least one act of physical violence within their home. Around 800,000 people aged between 18 and 60, or 2.3 % of the total, come into this category. The estimated number of victims of violence outside the home is almost a million - 2.8% of those aged between 18 and 60 - and 0.3 of them stated that they had also suffered at least one act of physical violence outside or inside the home.

Male and female victims of violence

The proportion of men and women aged between 18 and 60 who are victims of violence during the two years is close to 4.7% for men and 4.9% for women. However, the types of violence they most often declare are very different.

Of around 810,000 male victims over two years, around two out of three (72.5%) declared at least one act of violence outside the home and less than one third suffered at least one act of violence within the home (32.5%). More than 60% of the female victims during the two years, totalling around 870,000, suffered violence within the home.

The proportion of women aged between 18 and 60 who were victims of violence in the home stands at 3% - double that for men declaring themselves to be victims of the same offences. Conversely, 3.4% of men suffered violence outside the home over 2 years - 1.2 points more than for women (2.2%).

Based on their declaration, almost 80% of women victims of violence over two years were targeted by a personal acquaintance. The perpetrator of at least one act of violence is the partner or ex-partner for 42.3% of women victims and a family member for 21.4% of them.

In two years, less than 18% of women victims suffered at least one act of violence by a stranger. This proportion reaches 43.8% for male victims aged between 18 and 60, so almost one male victim in two has suffered at least one act of violence from a stranger. Conversely, less than 15% of them were targeted at least once during the period by a member of the family (13.3%) or a partner (14.3%).

Overall, 1.4% of people aged between 18 and 60 stated they had been victims of a partner or ex-partner in two years. This proportion

exceeds 2% for women aged between 18 and 60 (2.1%) – a value three times that observed in men aged between 18 and 60 (0.7%).

Around 20% of victims made a complaint for at least one of the acts suffered in two years. This frequency varies little between the sexes, standing at 21.5% for male victims and 19.3% for women.

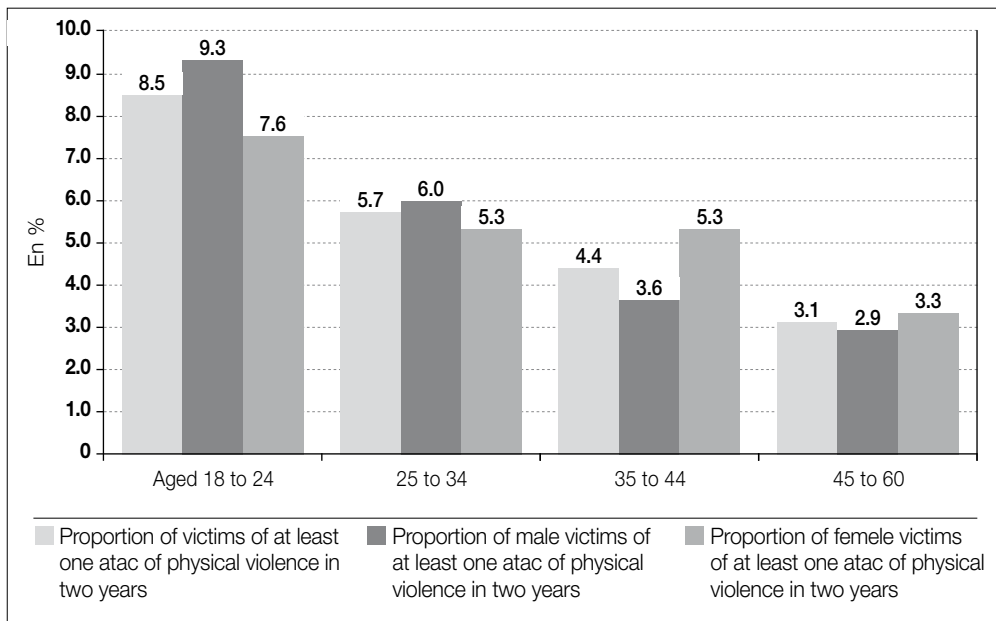
The age of the victims of physical violence

Men aged between 18 and 25 make up the category of the population most exposed to physical violence: more than 9% of them stated they had suffered at least one act of physical violence in two years. The proportion of them who had been victims of strangers was 5%.

For men, the rate of physical violence declared in 2 years decreases with age: it varies notably from 6% for those aged 25-34 to less than 3% for those aged 45-60, standing at 3.6% for those aged 35-44. After the age of 25, the proportion of women victims is higher than that for men of the same age: it stands at 5.3% for women aged between 25 and 34 and for those between 35 and 44. It is lower for those aged 45-60 (3.3 %).

It is the youngest women – women aged between 18 and 24 – who most often state that they have suffered physical violence in the two-year period: 7.6% come into this category. This age group is distinguished by the rate of physical violence committed by someone personally known to them: almost 6%. Notably, the rate is 3% for violence by a member of the family (other than a partner or ex-partner).

Proportion of people aged between 18 and 60 who state they have been victims of an act of physical violence in the two-year period, according to age and sex



Source: INSEE, 2008 and 2008 'Cadre de vie et sécurité' surveys

The main personal characteristics of victims of violence or their households

Separated or divorced people aged between 18 and 60 stated more often than others that they had suffered physical violence in the two-year period. Their declared rate of violence of 7.6% is higher and even very much higher than that of single people (6.6%), people living as a couple but not married (5.3%) and particularly married people (3.5%).

More than 8% of separated or divorced women have suffered at least one act of physical violence in the two-year period and for 3.3% of them it has been perpetrated by a partner or ex-partner.

More than 8.6% of people aged between 18 and 60 belonging to single-parent families state that they have been victims of at least one act of violence in the two-year period, while for all other types of household this proportion does not exceed 4.5%. It is the frequency of violence whose perpetrator is personally known to the victim, and particularly members of the family, that explains this difference: in single-parent families, 6.4% of those aged between 18 and 60 declared violence by a personal acquaintance, and for 3.1% this was a member of the family. The rates, of 3% and to 1% respectively, are lower in the other types of household. These crime rates are a result of risk factors already mentioned, such as being aged under 25 for children of these families, and being separated or divorced for adults.

More than 7% of unemployed people aged between 18 and 60 stated that they suffered physical violence in the two-year period – 3 points higher than the figure for economically active people with jobs. This gap is not due to strangers, as 1.3% of people aged between 18 and 60 with a job and 1.7% of unemployed people suffered at least one act from a stranger in the two-year period. By contrast, the proportion of victims of a perpetrator personally known to them is twice as high among the unemployed – 5.3% compared to 2.6% for economically active people with jobs.

Almost 6.7% of people aged between 18 and 60 in rented housing (other than public low-rent housing) and 6.4% of tenants in public low-rent housing state that they suffered physical violence during the two-year period. These percentages are twice as high as those for home-owners, other than home-buyers (3.3 %).

Those aged between 18 and 60 in rented housing declare physical violence outside the home and violence by their partners or ex-partners more than others. More than 4.2% of people aged between 18 and 60 in rented homes other than public low-rent housing were victims of violence outside the home and 2.2% victims of violence by a partner or ex-partner. These rates for people in public low-rent housing are 3.9% and 1.8% respectively. These values are in contrast to those for home owners other than home buyers, where 1.8% are victims of violence outside the home and 0.8% victims of violence perpetrated by a partner or ex-partner.

Physical violence committed by the current partner

Almost 1.5% of people aged between 18 and 60 living in a couple stated they had suffered at least one act of physical violence (other than sexual violence) from their partner at the time of the survey. This crime rate rises to more than 2% for women aged between 18 and 60 living in a couple and to less than 1% for men.

Proportion of people aged between 18 and 60 living in a couple who have stated they have been the victim of physical violence by their current partner (at the time of the survey) in the two-year period, according to sex and according to qualification level and employment of the person surveyed or their partner

	People aged between 18 and 60 living in a couple		Men aged between 18 and 60 living in a couple		Women aged between 18 and 60 living in a couple	
	Characteristic of the person surveyed	Characteristic of their partner	Characteristic of the men surveyed	Characteristic of their partner	Characteristic of the women surveyed	Characteristic of their partner
Proportion of people stating they have been a victim of physical violence by their current partner (in %)	1.5	-	0.9	-	2.1	-
Qualification level						
No qualification	1.5	1.4	0.7	0.5	2.3	2.1
Secondary school qualification /	2.2	1.7	0.6	0.3	3.5	3.2
Post-school vocational qualification /	1.1	1.3	0.6	0.4	1.7	1.9
Baccalauréat	1.7	1.9	1.1	1.2	2.1	2.7
Higher education qualification	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.4
Employment status						
Economically actives with a job	1.4	1.5	0.9	0.9	1.9	2.0
Unemployed	2.5	2.3	0.6	0.8	3.8	4.6

Source: 2007 and 2008 'Cadre de vie et sécurité' surveys

It is women aged between 18 and 24 who are most often victims of violence from the current partner: more than 3.1% of them declare at least one act of violence in the two-year period. This proportion is quite stable in older women, as it is 1.9% for the 25-34 and 45-60 age groups and 2.1% for those aged between 35 and 44. For men it strongly decreases with age, from 2.9% for those aged between 18 and 24 to less than 0.5% for those aged 45-60.

Women with secondary school level studies state more often than other women aged between 18 and 60 that they have suffered physical violence from their current partner: the rate of violence declared is established at 3.5% for them, while it is 2.3% for unqualified women.

A situation of unemployment for women, but also for their partners, is a factor explaining exposure to violence by a current partner: 3.8 % of women aged between 18 and 60 state that they have suffered at least one act of violence by their partner. This rate reaches 4.6% for women whose partner is unemployed. If the woman or her partner have a job, these proportions do not exceed 2%.

Men aged between 18 and 60 whose partner has "Baccalauréat" level qualifications or higher, declare physical violence by their current partner more often: 1.2 % of men aged between 18 and 60 whose

partner holds the Baccalauréat state that they have been a victim of at least one act of violence by their current partner in the two-year period and 1.4% if the partner has a higher education qualification. For men with less qualified partners, this rate of violence in the two-year period is less than 0.5 %.

Victimisation in 2006 and 2007

It is estimated that in 2007, households and people aged over 14 suffered 4,615,000 thefts and attempted thefts. This figure is lower than for 2006, when 4,876,000 thefts and attempted thefts were declared.

Around 2.2 million households – 8.3% of them – suffered theft or attempted theft affecting their property, vehicles or homes. This is a significant reduction compared to 2006⁹. Almost 9% of households declared at least one theft or attempted theft in 2006. The number of thefts and attempted thefts declared by households has also fallen significantly over a year. It moved from almost 3,050,000 to 2,900,000 between 2006 and 2007.

This development results from the fall in the most frequent type of theft: thefts and attempted thefts linked to cars. In 2007, 1,562,000 of households declared they had suffered it, representing more than half of the thefts and attempted thefts affecting their property. This figure is 6.3% lower than in 2006, when there were 1,670,000 declared car-related thefts and attempted thefts.

For other types of theft (thefts linked to homes), including burglaries, and thefts linked to two-wheeled vehicles (bicycles, motorbikes and others), the number of offences suffered was stable overall. In 2007, households declared almost 890,000 thefts and attempted thefts from homes and around 450,000 thefts and attempted thefts of two-wheeled vehicles.

Just over 1,250,000 people aged 14 and over also stated they had suffered at least one personal theft in 2007, and, of these, 308,000 were victims of at least one theft or attempted theft with violence or threats. They represent 2.5% and 0.6% of people aged 14 and over respectively. In a year, the proportion of people who were victims of at least one theft reduced significantly – 0.3 points – while that for victims of theft with violence and threats was quite stable.

It is estimated that 1,715,000 thefts and attempted thefts affected people aged 14 and over in 2007. In 2006 this figure stood at 1,835,000, higher but was not significantly different from that for 2007. By contrast, the fall from 1,354,000 personal thefts without violence or threats in 2006 to less than 1.2 million in 2007 is significant. This trend differs from that observed for thefts with violence and threats, where the figure stood at 518,000 in 2007. This was slightly up on the year before but the increase was not significant and it is considered that the number of declarations is stable.

Just over a third of thefts and attempted thefts suffered in 2007 - 35.6% - were followed by a complaint. This rate fell compared to 2006, when it stood at 36.3 %. It is estimated that the number of thefts and attempted thefts for which victims, households or people aged 14 and over made a complaint moved from 1,771,000 in 2006 to 1,644,000 in 2007, a reduction of 7.2%.

⁹ Statistical term indicating the variations established in the survey with an uncertainty of less than 10%

Comparison of “Cadre de vie et sécurité” and “État 4001” surveys: Changes between 2006 and 2007 in the number of thefts and attempted thefts suffered by households and people aged 14 and over, in the number resulting in a complaint and in the number of recorded thefts against individuals and similar

	Estimate of the number of offences suffered			Estimate of the number of offences followed by a complaint		
	2006	2007	Changes (in %)	2006	2007	Changes (in %)
Total thefts and attempted thefts declared in the ‘Cadre de vie et sécurité’ surveys	4,876,000	4,615,000	-5.4	1,771,000	1,644,000	-7.2
				Recorded crimes		
				2006	2007	Changes (in %)
Thefts against individuals and similar recorded by the la Police**				1,781,05	1,651,259	-7.3

Source:

* INSEE, 2007 and 2008 ‘Cadre de vie et sécurité’ surveys

**Annual *État 4001*, DCPJ

These figures are very close to those which the national crime observatory published in 2008 based on data on crimes recorded by the police. Considering only offences corresponding to thefts and attempted thefts against individuals, considered as personal thefts, a total of 1,781,051 recorded thefts is obtained for 2006 and 1,651,259 in 2007 – a reduction of 7.3 %.

From the results of the “Lifestyle and Security” survey, it is not only the number of thefts leading to complaints but all declared thefts – including the majority not subject to a complaint – whose number fell over the year. The downward trend emerging in January 2008 with statistics on recorded thefts is therefore confirmed by data drawn from the victimisation survey.

If there had been a divergence between the two sources, the reverse conclusion would have been reached.

The “Cadre de vie et sécurité” survey was conceived taking the British Home Office survey known as the British Crime Survey (BCS), which is carried out every year in England and Wales, as its international reference. In terms of thefts, it is therefore possible to make a comparison between the two victimisation surveys.

Questioned about offences suffered over the past 12 months, the English and Welsh households surveyed between April 2007 and March 2008 stated that they were victims of almost 2.7 million thefts related to vehicles or homes (house, flat and outbuildings), a figure of 11.3 thefts per 100 homes. Thanks to the “Cadre de vie et sécurité” survey, we have an almost equivalent set of thefts and attempted thefts, where the number of offences per 100 homes is established at 10.6 for 2007. Bearing in mind that this value is slightly

under-estimated (around 0.5 points) compared to the one calculated according to the BCS rules, we can say that the frequency of thefts of property from homes is very close to that on the other side of the Channel. Moreover, over a year, the figure developed following the same downward trend in England and Wales as in France.

The number of personal thefts declared by people aged 16 and over in England and Wales fell, according to the BCS, by 8.1% in the year to September 2007, a change quite close to that in personal thefts and attempted thefts declared by those aged 14 and over in France between 2006 and 2007 – 6.5%. By contrast, the number of personal thefts declared per 100 people is higher in England and Wales – 4.3 per 100 people aged 16 and over in the 12 months, according to the BCS 2007/08, compared to 3.4 per 100 people aged 14 and over in France in 2007.

The Observatoire National de la Délinquance (OND) is one of the three departments making up the administrative public institution, the “National Institute of Advanced Security Studies” (decree n° 2004-750 of 27 July 2004).

The National Crime Observatory is led by a body known as the steering committee. This is autonomous and it is the only body that can decide and determine the choice of orientations and objectives, studies and research within the areas and missions established for the OND.

The purpose of the Steering Committee is to define a strategy to ensure the reliability and relevance of statistical data concerning security. It is made up of 17 representatives of civil society and, as well as the Director of the INHES in a consultative role, of 11 representatives of the State (National Defence, Justice and Interior, but also Finance, Transport, Town Planning, Overseas, Research and National Education)

The Steering Committee of the national crime observatory was officially established on 4 November 2003 by the Minister of the Interior. It is currently chaired by Alain BAUER, lecturer in criminology at the CNAM.

Missions and resources

The national crime observatory has the following missions:

1. To collect statistical data concerning crime from all ministerial departments and public or private bodies, finding out directly or indirectly about any kinds of crime against people or property;
2. To make use of the data collected, particularly in overall or specific crime analysis;
3. To report the conclusions drawn from these analyses to the interested ministers and observatory partners;
4. To ensure that the indicators, data collection and analysis are coherent;
5. To facilitate exchanges with other observatories, particularly the Observatory of Sensitive Urban Areas;
6. To promote a network of correspondents;
7. To organise the communication of this data to the public

In November 2003, the Minister of the Interior decided to set up the National Crime Observatory as part of the National Institute of Advanced Security Studies with the principal mission of making crime statistics more readable. So, in order to end the controversy and criticism over the figures produced by the Ministry of the Interior and, above all, to dedramatise the situation surrounding the figures, crime statistics cease to be the private domain of the Minister of the Interior.

The work of the national crime observatory, notably associated with the general directions of the French police and gendarmerie forces, has, for three years, contributed to a better understanding of the development of crime. This has made it possible to establish tools intended to better anticipate changing trends and, above all, to explain what crime figures are and what they are not.

Moreover, in February 2006, the Minister of the Interior entrusted the National Crime Observatory with the exclusive duty of publishing the monthly figures for crimes recorded by the police services. The two police directorates maintain control of communication connected to the activity of the services.

Combining Indicators: Crime Surveys and Police Records. The British Experience

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Background

This paper seeks to outline how crime has been measured within England and Wales, how these statistics are currently reported by the Home Office and some discussion on the advantages and disadvantages of this approach. The paper will also identify some future developments and challenges to the measurement and presentation of crime statistics within England and Wales.

How do we measure crime within England and Wales?

The measurement of crime has a long history within England and Wales as the police have been recording crime and reporting this to the Home Office since 1857 (see Smith, 2006). However, crime statistics generate much debate and interest from a variety of potential users such as the media, politicians and the general public, as well as academics and practitioners. Everyone, it appears, has an opinion about crime. Nevertheless, how crime has been measured and used by the Home Office has changed over time.

Within England and Wales, crime was originally measured using incidents of crime recorded by the police. For instance, Home Office records show that in 1857, around 92,000 crimes were recorded by the police compared with nearly 5 million in 2008/09 (Home Office, 1998; Walker et al, 2009). However, whilst it has been a mandatory requirement for police forces to collate counts of crime, the classification of crime and how it has been recorded has changed somewhat. Recent developments include changes to the Home Office's counting rules for police recorded crime as well as the introduction of the National Crime Recording Standards to ensure more consistency across police forces in defining and recording crimes (see Simmons et al, 2003; Smith 2006).

The strengths and weaknesses of such statistics however are widely known and often debated. For instance, such figures are only able to include crimes that are reported and subsequently recorded by the police. As a consequence, it is difficult to interpret trends in police recorded crime as changes may reflect differences in the way

people report crimes. For instance, victims may feel more able to report crimes following national campaigns that increase awareness of specific issues. Crimes recorded by the police are also affected by changes in legislation (e.g. what is or is not classified as illegal), police recording practices which can change the way in which crimes are classified or operational policies, such as local priorities and interventions by police (Smith and Hoare, 2009).

As a consequence, the Home Office recognised that police records of crime were insufficient by themselves in the development and monitoring of policy. There was increasing demand for more to be known about the impact of crime on victims, risk factors associated with crime, actual levels of crime (including that which is not reported to the police) as well as perceptions of crime and agencies such as the police (Hough and Mayhew, 1983; Hough et al, 2007).

With the aim of addressing these questions, the British Crime Survey (BCS) was established in 1982. It is a household survey of experiences and perceptions of crime. It surveys adults aged 16 and over, living in private households within England and Wales. Data is collected using face-to-face interviews and self-completion modules are used for more sensitive topics such as drug usage and domestic violence.

The survey was initially conceived as a research tool which ran every two to four years, interviewing up to 16,000 people. However, since 2001 the survey has been run continuously, which has allowed an increased sample size. For instance, in 2008/09 over 46,000 interviews were achieved. This has enabled the BCS to be used for performance monitoring of the 43 individual police forces within England and Wales in addition to its original aims (Smith and Hoare, 2009; Jansson, 2007).

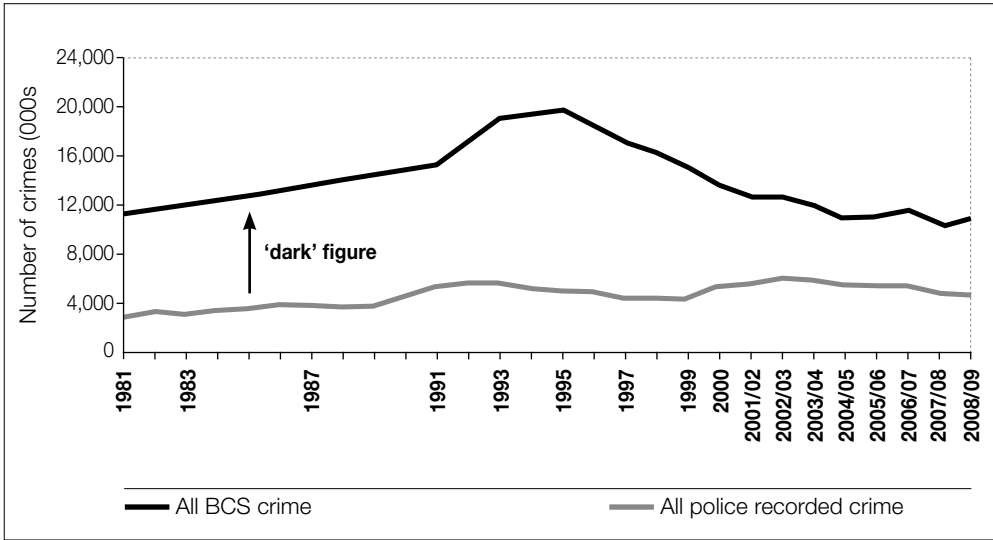
Whilst the BCS is undoubtedly one of the most famous crime surveys, additional surveys have also been conducted on behalf of the Home Office. These surveys include the Commercial Victimization Survey (in 1994 and 2002) which measures crime against retail and manufacturing businesses and the Offending Crime and Justice Survey (between 2003 and 2006) which sought to measure victimisation and offending amongst young people aged between 10 and 25 (see Shury et al, 2005; Roe and Ashe, 2008). These surveys provide information on commercial crime and an understanding of crime experienced and perpetrated by young people. However, crime within England and Wales is mainly measured and regularly assessed through the combined publication of estimates from the BCS in conjunction with police recorded crime.

How do we report on crime in England and Wales?

Since 2002, the Home Office has published annually a report which combines the reporting of police recorded crime and the BCS results. This has enabled these differing statistics to be presented together in order to provide the public and other users with a more comprehensive picture of crime within England and Wales than can be obtained from presenting either series alone (Simmons et al, 2002).

One of the most striking uses of this kind of publication is that it clearly shows the differences in the amount of crime estimated by

BCS and recorded crime trends, 1981 to 2008/09



the BCS in comparison with police records (see Figure above). As this chart shows, if the Home Office were to rely upon police records alone it would result in a substantial underestimate of the changing levels of crime over time. For instance, in 2008/09 the police recorded substantially fewer crimes (4.7 million) compared with the 10.7 million measured by the BCS (Walker et al, 2009).

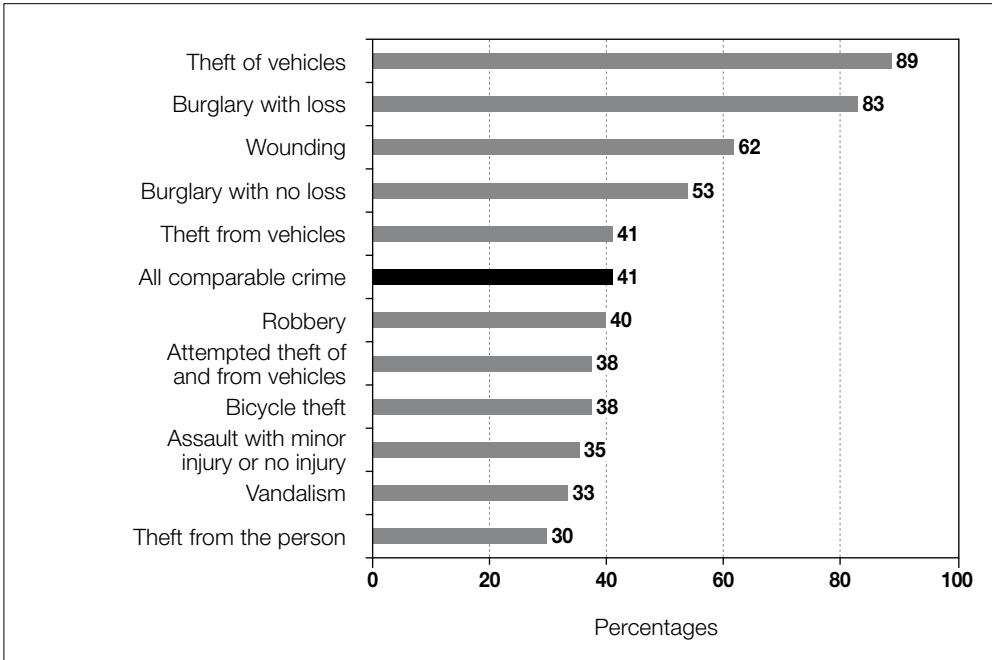
This difference, often referred to as the 'dark figure' of crime is due to the BCS being able to capture crimes that people experience, irrespective of whether they subsequently report them to the police. The 2008/09 BCS estimates that the police came to know about 41 per cent of incidents of crime (Hoare, 2009).

The BCS has also consistently shown over time that reporting rates vary considerably depending upon the crime type experienced. For instance, the BCS shows that in 2008/09 89 per cent of thefts of vehicles were reported to the police compared with only 33 per cent of incidents of vandalism (see Figure next page). The main reason people cite for not reporting crimes, across all crime types, is that they believe that the crimes are too trivial, involved no loss or that the police would/could not do much about it (Hoare, 2009).

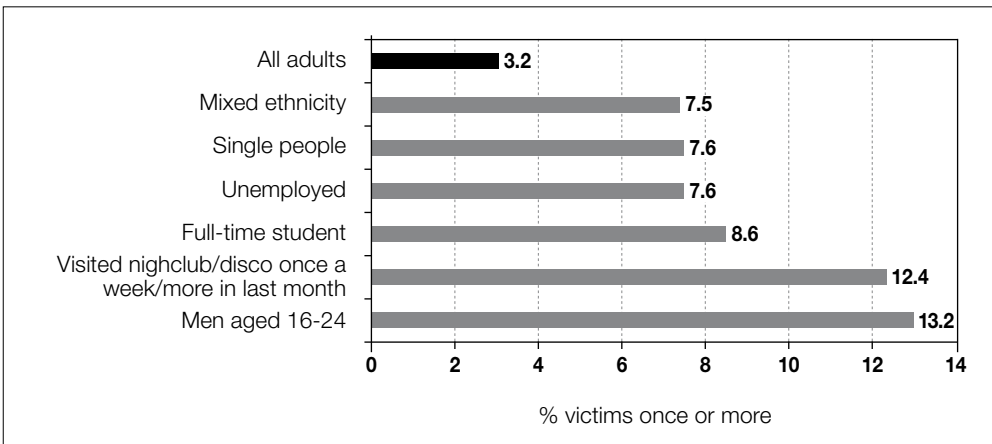
The BCS is also able to show differences between individuals and households in terms of their risk of being a victim of crime as measured by the BCS over time. For instance, the 2008/09 BCS estimates that that the overall risk of being a victim of violent crime in England and Wales is 3.2 per cent (Walker et al, 2009). However, whilst overall victimisation has fallen over time the distribution of risks has remained similar with men (4.4%), particularly young males (13.2%) being most likely to experience violence (see second Figure next page).

Whilst the BCS is good for providing estimates of crime, especially high volume crimes like burglary, it is much less reliable for rarer crime such as robbery, as fewer people interviewed are likely to have

Reporting rates, 2008/09 BCS

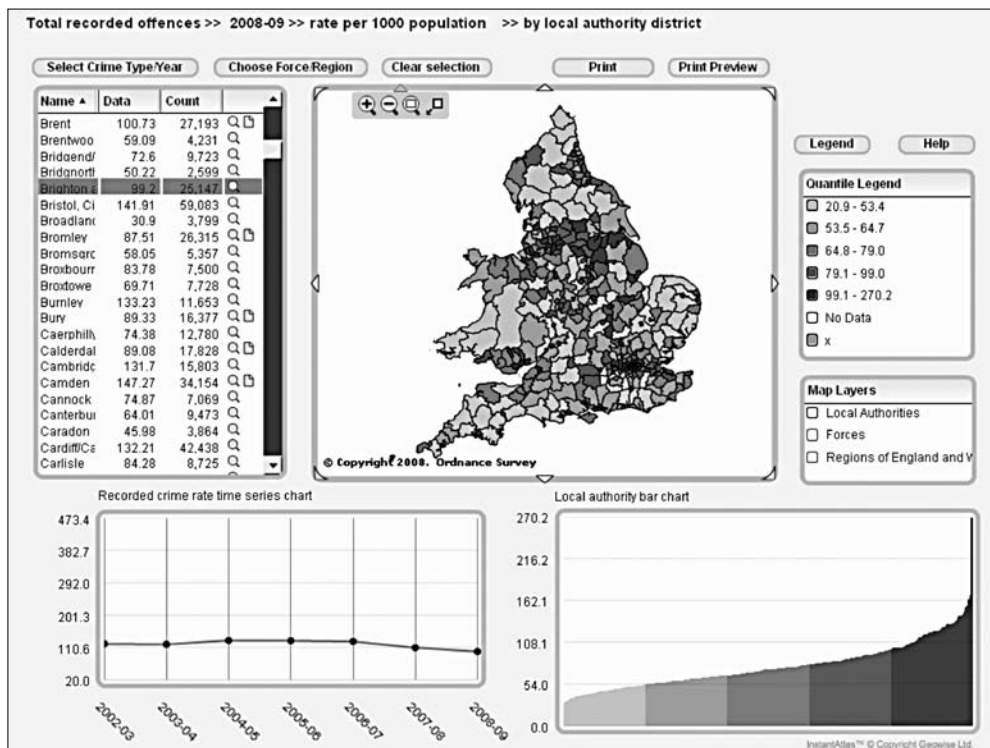


Adults most at risk of violence, 2008/09 BCS



such experiences. Also, as the BCS estimates crime based on victims accounts, police recorded crime is also the only possible source for homicide statistics. Furthermore, because the BCS is designed to provide estimates of crime at a national and regional police force level, police recorded crime is the only data able to assess levels of crime at a local level. Such information is increasingly used to generate maps of crime within police forces e.g. local authority or town (see Higgins and Millard, 2009).

Interactive maps of local authority level police recorded crime on the Home Office website

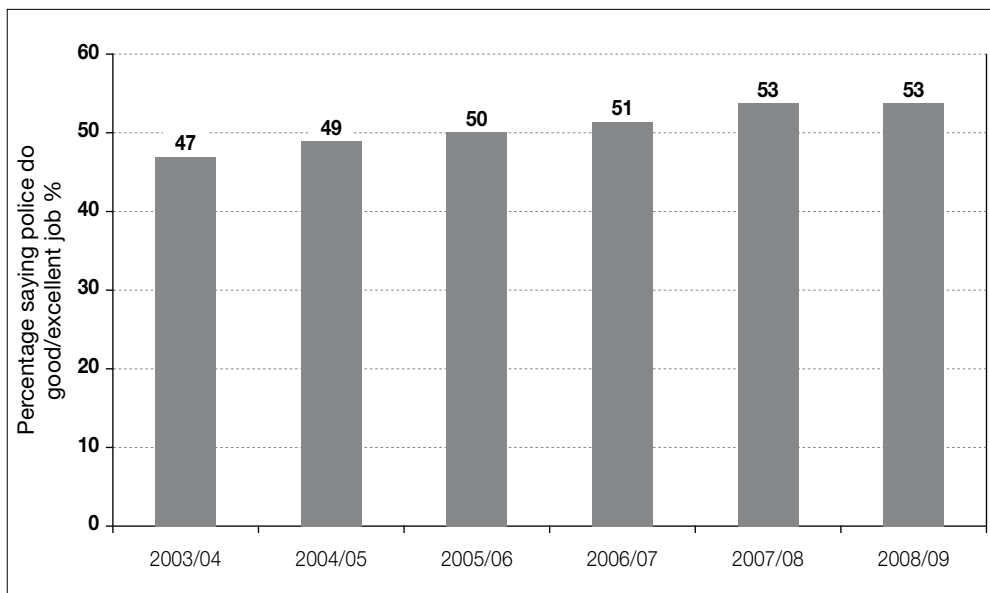


Whilst police recorded crime was designed at its inception to monitor the performance of the police, the BCS has only recently been adapted for this purpose. The drive for both sets of statistics to be used in this way comes, in part, from the need for Government to be more accountable to the public in outlining what they intend to focus upon via Public Service Agreements, and to be able to assess the success of this. Both police recorded crime and the BCS have been utilised in this way (Walker et al, 2009; Kershaw et al, 2008).

For instance, an old Home Office target was to reduce crime by 15 per cent between 2005 and 2008 (Kershaw et al, 2008). The BCS was used to measure the overall crime level within England and Wales, as it is unaffected by reporting or recording practices. However, the BCS is unable to provide reliable estimates below a police force area level. As a consequence a subset of police recorded crimes, which are comparable with the BCS, were used to assess crime levels in local areas (see Jansson et al, 2009).

The strengths and weaknesses of police recorded crime and the BCS, as discussed earlier, are reflected in the current set of targets (see Walker et al, 2009). Each data source has been selected to assess different priorities. For instance, the BCS is used to assess public perceptions only. This includes people's ratings of the police working in partnership with other agencies in dealing with both crime and antisocial behaviour, perceptions of problematic drug and alcohol

Trends in ratings of the local police, 2003/04 to 2008/09



usage and ratings of the criminal justice system. The police recorded crime data is used to measure rarer crimes such as serious acquisitive crimes and violence resulting in injury.

However, whilst old targets have been superseded by new measures, which assess current priorities, it can be very difficult to stop collecting and/or publishing data that has been used to assess old priorities. This can be due to a variety of reasons, such as agencies setting local targets using old measures and wanting a national figure for comparison, users preferring old measures and/or people wishing to use old measures to assess the new measures (see figure above; Thorpe and Hall, 2009). This can add to confusion amongst users of crime statistics when deciding which is the correct measure to use and whether new measures are better than their predecessors.

The challenges of publishing crime statistics?

As already discussed the Home Office publishes BCS and police recorded crime in a combined publication as this provides a more comprehensive and complementary series of data on crime than could be achieved by publishing these statistics separately. So far this paper has mainly focussed upon the strengths of this approach. Yet a combined publication can attract criticism as well as misinterpretation, deliberate or otherwise, from a variety of potential users such as the general public, the media, academics and politicians.

One area where this regularly happens is when both sets of data provide differing estimates of the same crime, especially if this crime is high profile, such as violence. As discussed the BCS is not good at providing reliable estimates for rarer crimes such as robbery, al-

though it does publish such statistics. As a consequence the Home Office uses police recorded crime to monitor such crimes. However, such statistics are often portrayed incorrectly in the media as reports tend to focus either on the difference between these estimates as a sign of weakness in the statistics or cite the source which shows the highest 'increase' (see Waterhouse, 2008; Telegraph.co.uk, 2005).

Another related problem in presenting a combined publication for readers is the concept of change within administrative records, such as police recorded crime versus figures generated using a survey. The concept of change being statistically significant or not is hard for non-statisticians to understand when interpreting the BCS. This can lead to confusion and frustration when such statistics are presented next to police recorded crime which is less complicated to describe as they count actual crimes, rather than estimations (Smith, 2006).

As a consequence, these statistics can have very mixed coverage in the media and can be manipulated and/or misinterpreted to match the story of the day. For example, violent crime or burglary is 'soaring' (see Easton, 2009 for a further discussion of this type of issue). Increasingly, this has led to debates focussing upon which figures are correct and trust in statistics rather than in what is happening to crime in England and Wales.

Future directions in measurement of crime

In part as a response to these problems the production and publication of crime statistics has come under increased scrutiny in the last few years. For instance, two independent reviews of crime statistics were published in 2006 by the Statistics Commission and Professor Adrian Smith. Both these reviews recommended changes in the production and release of crime statistics to restore public trust, such as a clearer distinction between police recorded crime and the BCS when publishing together. They also recommended changes to police recorded crime categories and widening the scope of the BCS (see Smith, 2006; Statistics Commission, 2006).

More recently, the production and publication of crime statistics has changed, in part reflecting the recommendations identified by these reviews but also wider changes that have been introduced across government in England and Wales. For instance, statistics of sufficient quality and importance are now designated as National Statistics¹ since 2008 (both police recorded crime and the BCS have this status). This ensures that strict rules and a code of practice are now in force in relation to these statistics that stipulate when such data is published (e.g. the date of publication is pre-announced to the public). The code of practice also specifies how pre-release access for policymakers and politicians should be organised. Furthermore, all Government departments now have a chief statistician responsible for overseeing such statistics who reports directly to the chief statistician of England and Wales. This is designed to remove perceptions of political interference (real or imagined) and increase confidence in government statistics².

Other developments include an increasing demand for the production of more detailed data, using fewer resources and within shorter time frames within England and Wales. In response to this, a

1 This is awarded by the UK Statistics Authority, which is an independent organisation that was created in 2008. It was created to oversee the production and publication of official statistics eg to provide independent scrutiny and ensure good practice.
See: <http://www.ons.gov.uk/about-statistics/ns-standard>

2 For more information see <http://www.statisticsauthority.gov.uk/>

Data Hub has been created for the Home Office to be able to analyse directly data stored by police forces, rather than ask police forces routinely to provide aggregated data. Also, since January 2009, the BCS survey has been extended to include those aged 10 to 15. The first results for this age-group will be published in spring 2010 (see Walker et al, 2009; Smith and Hoare, 2009).

Crime statistics are also increasingly being generated and/or published directly by users outside the Home Office. For instance, the police are starting to publish on-line monthly local crime data as well as undertaking local victimisation surveys. Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary are using performance data, such as police recorded crime and the BCS, which are collected centrally in conjunction with local surveys undertaken by the police to inform their assessment of police forces. Also the National Police Improvement Agency (NPIA) was created in 2007 to support the police and improve the way policing works. And finally, more and more data is being made available to the public for secondary analysis of data collected by the Home Office, which can challenge and/or assess Government publications and priorities (See Walker et al, 2009; NPIA, 2009).

Conclusion

This paper has hopefully shown that there are many advantages to combining different types of crime statistics (e.g. survey and administrative) within a single series of publications. In particular, this approach utilises the strengths of each set of statistics which enables a more comprehensive presentation of crime. However, this approach can also highlight the differences between the figures which can be both confusing and prone to misuse. Nonetheless, debates around the presentation of crime statistics is not a new dilemma and is likely to continue, as the demand for statistics and the regulation of its production is likely to increase in the future.

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Specific Topics



Surveys Using ICVS Methodology in Spain

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Introduction

The victimisation survey model used the most frequently on internationally, designed with the aim, among others, of making comparisons between countries, is the International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS) by the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI), Leiden University (Holland), the Dutch Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement (NSCR) and the Dutch Ministry of Justice (WODC). There were five international rounds in 1989, 1992, 1996, 2000 and 2004.

Since 1978, several victimisation surveys have been conducted in Spain. In principle, these should provide knowledge on the evolution of crime, however this is unfortunately not possible, because these surveys were conducted using different tools for gathering data.

At the same time, the use of ICVS methodology to understand victimisation in our country has been infrequent. Spain participated in the 1989 and 2005 rounds. Catalonia, through the Centre for Studies and Specialised Training, conducted its own surveys in 1993 and 1996, and the latter one was included in the international report of the same year. Data about Madrid was gathered from the European survey in 2005 (EU ICS), coordinated by UNICRI and a consortium of organizations from various countries.

The Malaga section of the Andalusian Inter-University Institute of Criminology (I.A.I.C) carried out an initial survey on victimisation using the ICVS methodology in 1993 and 1994. This survey was a provincial survey.

In 2005 and after the Andalusia Delinquency Observatory (Observatorio de la delincuencia en Andalucía (ODA)) had been created, a project was started in eight Andalusian cities, to carry out surveys on victimisation using ICVS methodology. The results of the surveys included in this project were reflected in the drafting of the ODA Reports of 2006, 2007 and 2008.

Realising that it would be a good idea to carry out a national survey and on the basis of the experience acquired over the years; at the beginning of this year, a new round of ICVS surveys was initiated. These surveys were aimed at people from all over the country living in towns with more than 50,000 inhabitants, producing the 2009 ODA Report

ODA Reports: ICVS methodology

Some of the most relevant information provided by the various ODA reports is the compared analysis of the results, although there are many other interesting aspects from a criminology point of view that have come to lights thanks to these surveys.

Focusing on the comparative aspect and given the short space of time available for the presentation, we consider there to be three comparison scopes that the use of ICVS methodology in our surveys has allowed for, at a space and time level:

- Evolution of the aspects studied in Malaga city
- Comparison of the results of eight Andalusian cities with each other and with Madrid and other European and world capitals.
- Temporary perspective of Spain: The results in Spain of various years have been compared

As stated in the report “Victimisation in an international perspective” related to the European and international surveys of 2004 and 2005, the questionnaires standardized with the aim to compare the results allow us to identify statistical differences regarding the level of victimisation, they also provide “the identification of tendencies and attitudes towards crime, prevention, police activity and sentences, as well as the use of preventive measures, the need for support from the victims and the attention they receive”¹.

Let’s go on to present some of these results.

Malaga city

The general social perception of growing crime and lack of safety on the streets has also affected Malaga city. As in other areas of Spain, news items regularly published on crime levels in the city usually highlights that it is on the rise.

The results presented in the 2006 ODA Report showed that if we compare the changes in the victimisation and report rates in both the surveys carried out in Malaga in 1994 and 2005, it is interesting that, despite the six point fall in the percentage of victims from one year to another (from 34% to 28%), the average number of crimes reported has increased significantly (from 35.2% up to 41.3%) (graph 1). Official figures seem to show an increase in crime in Malaga, however, this situation would be caused by larger numbers of police reports from citizens rather than by an increase in criminal activity.

Another result that shows a change in the inhabitants of Malaga occurs in the scope of punitive attitudes. As mentioned, the ICVS poses a so-called stage case. A practical situation where a *20-year-old man who is found guilty of stealing from a house for the second time is proposed. This time he stole a television*. The questions established aim to obtain information regarding how the sample citizens would sentence a case with these characteristics.

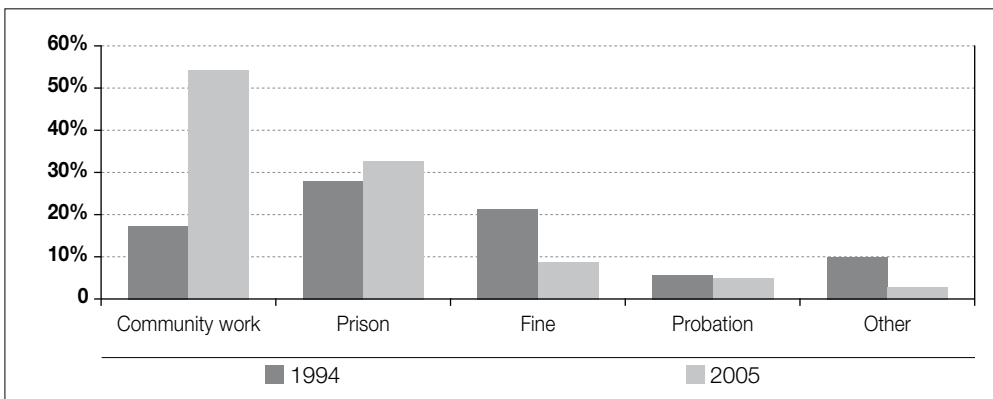
The second graph shows how in 1994 the preferred option of the surveyed population of Malaga would be to punish the man with a prison sentence, followed by a fine. Over one decade, the opinions have turned towards formal answers which are more repairing and integrating with most people surveyed choosing community work.

¹ Cfr. Van Dijk, J. et al.: *Victimitzación en la perspectiva internacional*. Translated by the Instituto Ciudadano de Estudios sobre la Inseguridad, Mèxic. WODC, 2007, p. 170.

Evolution of victimisation and reporting rates in Malaga

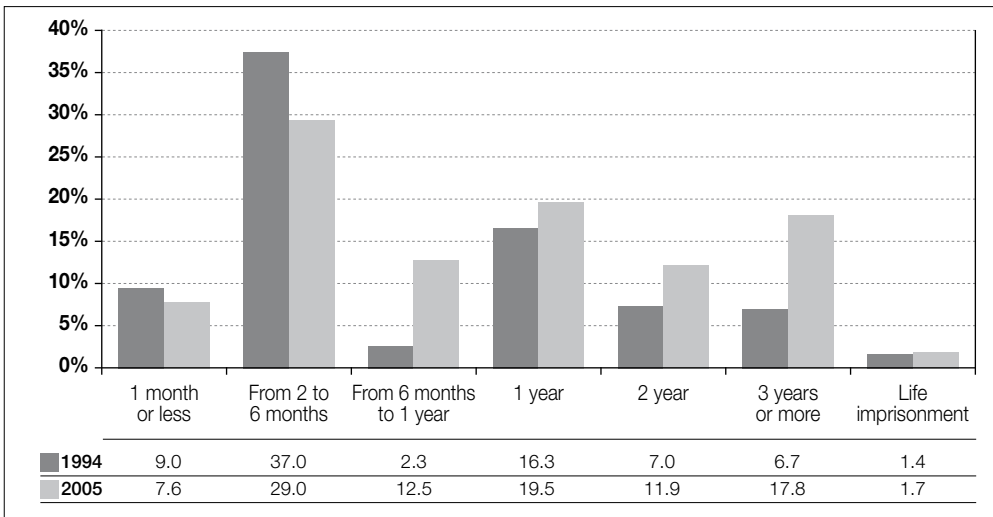


Comparison of attitude towards punishment in Malaga



Analysing other aspects of these answers, we have ascertained that those who decided the man should be imprisoned opted, in the last year, for a longer sentence. If we compare the results from 1994 and 2005, it can be deduced that, after more than 10 years, the population considers that the prison sentence be last longer. This can be seen in graph 3. Between 1994 and 2005 the number of people who believe the prison sentence should be one month or less and from two to six months increased significantly, except for a life sentence, the opinions on this hypothetical case recommended a prison sentence of between six months and more than three years.

Opinion of the population regarding the duration of the prison sentences in the hypothetical case in Malaga



Comparison of eight Andalusian cities at national and international level

The shortage of official crime data and specifically of police figures to give a clear view of crime situation once again becomes evident when the results of the Andalusian cities are compared.

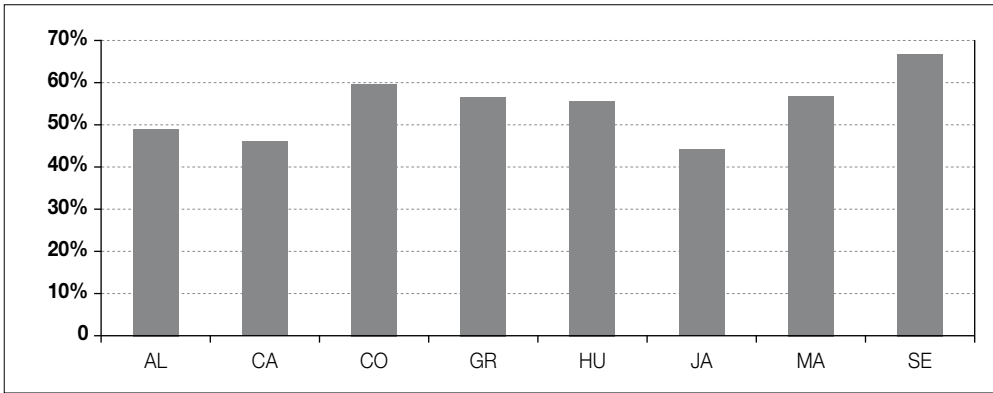
Thus the crime reporting rates obtained confirm what the police figures show: Malaga is the Andalusian city with the highest number of citizens reporting criminal activity to the police. However, their victimisation and incidence rates are below those of the other eight Andalusian cities.

Another interesting conclusion we reached from the comparison of the surveys carried out on is the relationship between victimisation and reporting rates of eleven crimes that have been studied (table in page 158).

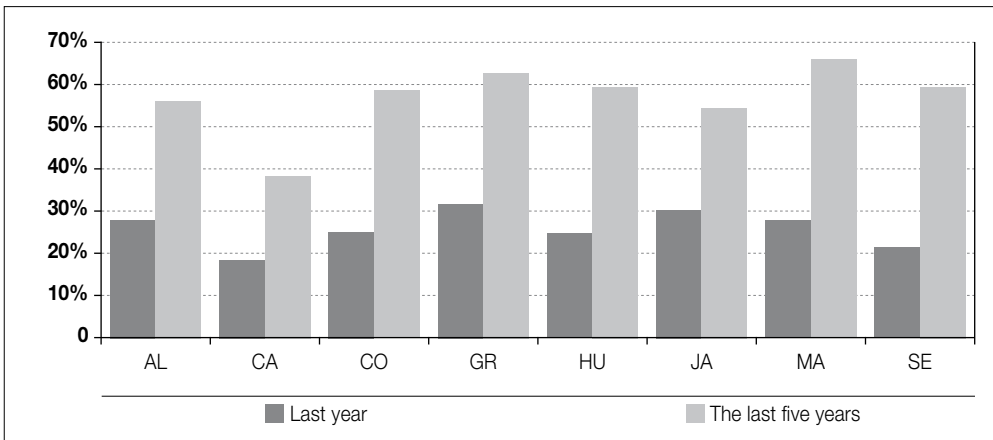
From this table we made three groups with the crimes according to their prevalence:

1. Crimes with high victimisation and medium or low reporting. These are the crimes that the population suffer more frequently and none of them stand out for having a high report rate.
2. Crimes with medium victimisation and a low or medium reporting rate. The criminal behaviours in these groups are part of personal crimes and do not present relevant rates of prevalence or reporting.
3. Crimes with low prevalence and various reporting levels. These crimes have a lower victimisation rate than the rest, but are differentiated due to the behaviour of the victim when it comes to reporting the crime to the police. So, car and motorbike theft and house burglaries have a high reporting

Crime reporting rates of the eight cities in Andalusia



Victimisation rates in the eight cities in Andalusia



rate, that is, the unreported figures for these crimes is low. In contrast, sexual assault is characterised by the fact that the women who suffer this type of crime very rarely report it to the police and therefore many of these crimes go unreported and do not appear in the official figures.

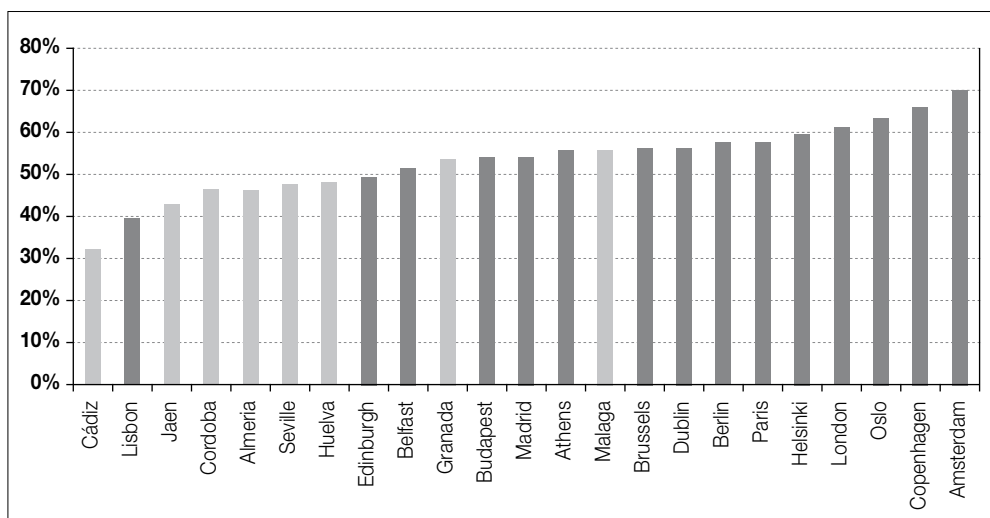
Official police figures give a view of the criminal activity that must be completed with the victimisation surveys. So, according to police reports, crimes that entail stealing cars and burglaries are frequent, while according to our victimisation surveys, the prevalence of these behaviours is low. This empirical data discredits the social situation shown by the official statistics. That is why the victimisation surveys must be taken into account when deciding the fields of action of the police and the resources assigned to crime prevention.

The last data we will show you in this sector is a graph comparing the victimisation rate of ten crimes in the cities of Andalusia in comparison to other European capitals.

List of victimisation and reporting rates

		VICTIMISATION		
		HIGH	MEDIUM	LOW
Reporting	HIGH	-	-	- Car theft - Motorbike theft - Home burglary
	MEDIUM	- Theft of object from car	- Violent robbery - Sneak theft	- Attempted burglary at home
	LOW	- Damage to cars	- Bicycle theft - Assault and battery	- Sexual assault

Comparison of victimisation rates of Andalusian cities and European capitals (ten crimes)



Temporary perspective of Spain

Conducting the ICVS survey in 2008 at state level has allowed us to draw lines showing the evolution of victimisation and reporting in Spain, comparing the results obtained with those from previous international surveys.

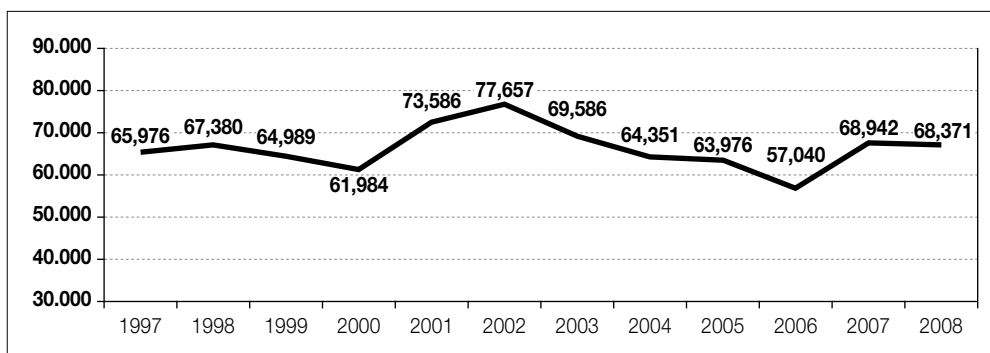
As an example we are going to comment on the results obtained with the violent robbery.

According to the third edition of the European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics in 2003, Spain continues to be the country in our environment, along with Belgium, with the most violent per 100,000 inhabitants². Internally, police records show very irregular evolution of many rises and falls; with no trend towards improvement.

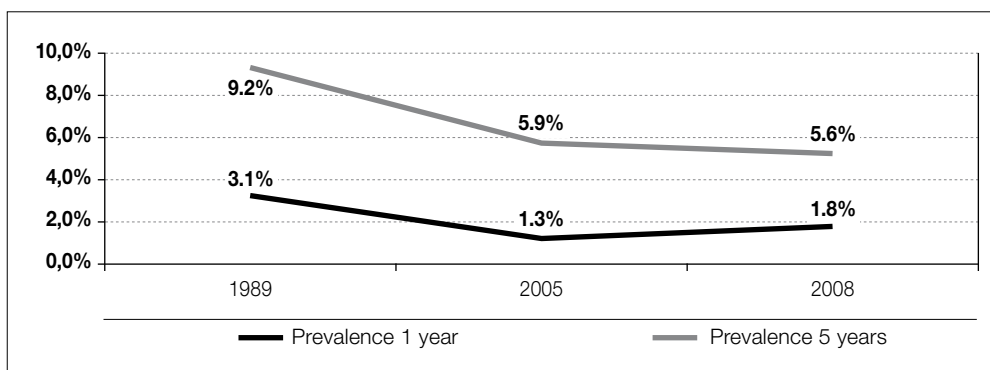
The results of the subsequent surveys on victimisation complete this outlook. The EU ICS 2005 report states that the violent robbery

² European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics. 3rd edition. WODC, 2006, p. 44.

Evolution of violent robberies and intimidation in Spain



Evolution of victimisation rates of violent robbery in Spain



rates at an international level are not very high and that there is a general trend towards them decreasing; highlighting the Spanish situation in this dynamic, because its evolution in this sense between 1989 and 2005 is striking³. If we add the new information provided by the survey conducted, this confirms that this decreasing tendency has been maintained in our country according to the data from the five years prior to this survey being conducted. The numbers referring to the previous year are relatively stable during the last period and far from the levels of 1989.

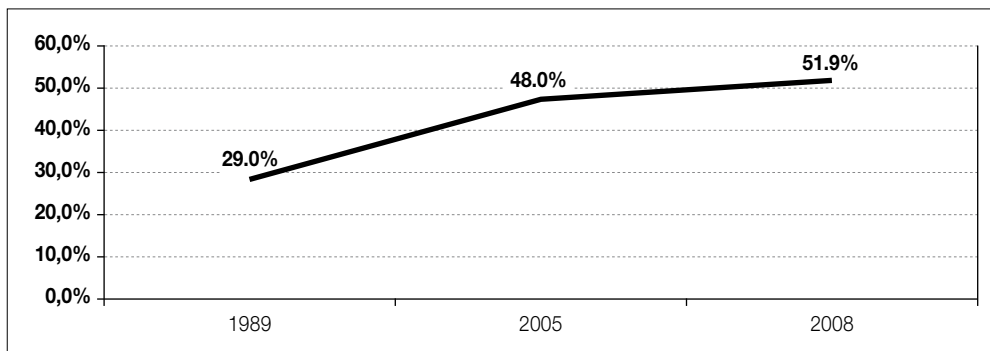
If we analyse the data regarding the police reports, in 2008, for just over half the cases, the victim files a police report (51.9%). This number shows a constant increase in the reports filed regarding this type of crime since 1989⁴, as can be seen in the first graph next page. This information helps us to understand the irregular behaviour of the official figures.

Beyond the criminal activity itself, there is another element that can be compared and which provides information that should be taken into account regarding police management, which is citizen opinion on how the police act in their area when it comes to taking control of crime. In Spain, the perception of the good job carried out

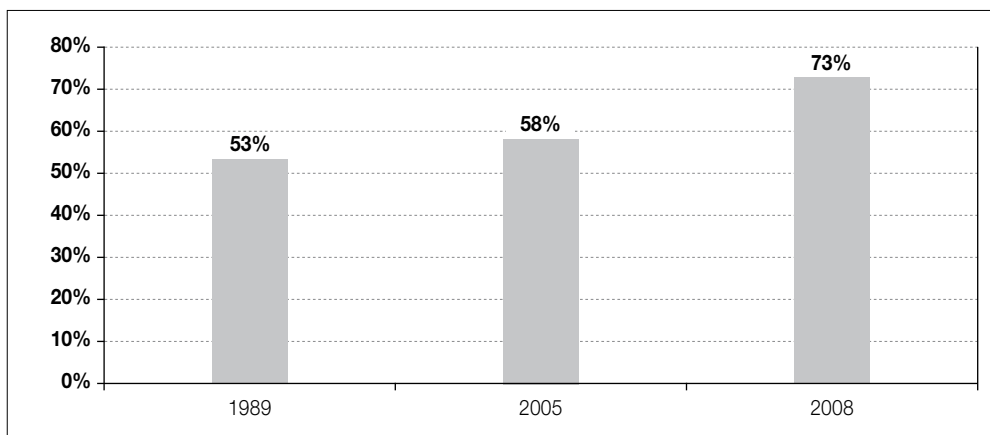
³ Cfr. VAN DIJK, J. / VAN KESTEREN, J./ SMIT, P.: *Op. cit.* (2007), Page 73 and subsequent.

⁴ Cfr. VAN DIJK, J. ; VAN KESTEREN, J. i SMIT, P. *Op. cit.* (2007), p. 265.

Evolution of reporting rates



Police do a good job when controlling crime in their area



by the police force has done nothing but increase over the studied period, as can be seen in the graph just above. This contributes positive information that reinforces the work carried out by the public law enforcement.

In short

The victimisation survey must become a tool that can frequently complete the information related to the crime derived from the official statistics drafted by the police, as they show aspects which help to improve the effectiveness compared to the criminal activity by providing a more complete image.

Conducting these surveys using the ICVS questionnaire allows us to obtain highly valuable national and international comparisons. Additionally, long-term surveillance of the evolution of victimisation and reports, the particularization of the trends in different crimes, the use of preventive measures by the citizens, police activity to control crime and the support received by the victims are some of the subjects about which we need information in order to be more effective controlling crime and managing connected areas.

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Surveys on School Violence. The Catalan Perspective

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As indicated in the title of this paper I will present some of the main aspects of two studies on school violence carried out in Catalonia, in which I had the honour and pleasure to actively participate. The former during the 2000-2001 academic year, an XXX representative sample of secondary students, aged approximately between 12 and 18 years. The latter took place during the 2005-2006 academic year, on a total of 10,414 boys and girls, not only in secondary schools but also in primary schools, ESO (Mandatory Secondary Education), baccaureate and intermediate vocational training courses, in other words, of the levels corresponding to ages ranging between 8 to 18 years. Both surveys can be consulted in the Catalan Language and in Spanish on the Catalan Government website, in the ministries of Education and Home Affairs.

Both surveys were conducted as a joint initiative of the ministries of Education and Home Affairs, with the objective of obtaining in depth knowledge of the behaviour, attitude and values which affect the coexistence of pupils in the educational centres of Catalonia at the aforementioned levels. The General Secretariat for Youth also took part in the design and implementation of the surveys. The Statistical Institute of Catalonia designed a representative sample of the pupil and field work and data recording and purging was carried out by the company DEP Consultoria Estratègica.

Many studies, or even the majority of those dealing with school violence refer to violence within the school and even violence in school classrooms. Other surveys deal with youth violence in general and, if possible, differentiate between students and non students, but within a same student world, youth people between certain ages. The Catalanian surveys we are referring to are not strictly comparable to either of the two previous models, although they are still pertinent to surveys on school violence. They are not rigorously comparable as they take into account the two universes of both of the previous models. On the one hand they deal with the violence that can be generated and can take place "within the school" and also the violence that takes place "outside the school", but only regarding students within the age range, not including the youths aged between 16 and 18 years (no longer covered by compulsory education but who have left and are working or unemployed).

There are at least two reasons for this decision. With youth violence in mind, the academic department of the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of Catalonia wanted to further explore the problem of so-called school violence, the violence produced (as active or passive agent, as offender or as victim) among adolescents and young students. However, given the primary area of responsibility of the Ministry of Home Affairs, such a survey could not be restricted to studying violence “within the” school. It was decided to administer the questionnaire for self-completion in the classroom, rather than at home, but it was difficult to understand the scarcity of information about violence within the school where the questionnaire was given. So it was inevitable, and desirable, for the Department of Education to take part in the projects. Hence the configuration of the questionnaire, which covers aspects of school violence, inside and outside of the educational centre.

There is another reason that, scientifically speaking, we consider are more powerful and which supports this decision based on convenience, which was the study sponsor, the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of Catalonia. To sum up in a few words: When it comes to young people in education, it is increasingly less valid to differentiate between violence “within the school” and violence “outside the school”, to understand the manifestations of youth violence, especially when these are significant, physical and sexual aggressions.

Scientific investigations point out the growing incidence, especially in the southern European area, that schools are no longer enclosed places, meaning they are no longer, as they once were, a separate world from the surrounding environment, a place where violence was not found, whatever the interpretation of the word violence. We can no longer speak of a violent world and of a non-violent world, depending on which side of the school walls we are standing. The school, even the classroom, are not a privileged places where the only legitimate and legitimised violence that some call symbolic violence, others call physiological violence and, in times which have thankfully passed, was even called physical violence, “spare the rod, spoil the child” but always in one direction, from the teacher (or the educational centre) towards the student. The most palpable proof of this is found in certain governments’ recommendations to physically strengthen the school walls in an effort to lessen the osmosis between “inside” and “outside” the school premises, without of course returning to the previous situation.

As important as this is, it does not get to the bottom of the question. This is not only a problem regarding physical location of the manifestations of physical violence among students. Neither are we thinking only of the bi-directional aspect of such violence (from teachers, framework personnel or directors towards students and, vice versa, from students towards teachers or educational personnel), but also the most important, at least statistically, which is the horizontal violence among the students themselves. We think, and this is one of our hypotheses, that in more than one case, youngsters who are violent in the classroom may also be violent outside the classroom. Although it may be legitimate to study strategies for managing this violent behaviour in schools, we consider, if our hypothesis is correct, that we will not get to the bottom of the problem if we fail to study the

student as a whole. This entails, among other things, avoiding creating a “hermetically sealed” school in which the violent behaviour of its students become a hermetically sealed department.

Of course, studies of school violence cover many aspects of the students that take place outside school: social class, habitat, family environment, surrounding in which the educational centre is located, etc. These are known as external factors that have an impact on violent behaviour inside schools. Evidently, this aspect cannot be set aside. But we feel the need to take it one step further. We must analyse, where possible, the students’ overall behaviour in and out of school, during the academic year and holidays, with the aim of profiling, as precisely as possible, the behaviour, attitude and values of adolescents and young people in the field we are studying without forgetting the way that adolescents view their own violent behaviour, when this occurs. This is where we come across another basic hypothesis of these studies.

Violence among young people is not necessarily or is it exclusively a behaviour that is the consequence of certain basic social-demographic conditioning factors (age, gender, social class, habitat, family environment, geographic, ethnic or racial origin, etc). Neither is it a response to bad management of the educational centre, or even a response to physical, symbolic or psychological violence emanating from teachers or the school structure of each specific centre or of the “school system” in general. Without denying the pertinence and relevance of those factors, we feel it is key to introduce the role which today’s youths give to self-building their nomic universe in a society in which socialisation is carried out in an experimental manner rather than a reconstructive one, still critical, of their legacy from the school, as it is one of the most important traditional socialisation agents. This is why it is so important to study which values and value systems are dominant in the students we analyse.

This set of pre-assumptions, violence inside and outside of the school, multi-directional violence, global analysis of the student and, particularly of the student’s nomic dimension, will explain some of the more relevant aspects of these surveys. Let’s take a short look.

Fear among students

Let’s start by the most important point. Many students are afraid to go to school. This fear has increased over recent years. Not necessarily because there is more violence in the classroom. By consulting existing studies which use comparable methodologies to study the evolution of the proportion of violent behaviour among students in recent years, the data indicates that the level of violence has not grown in numbers but has remained at the same level, and on the most serious occasions, has increased, although the concept “serious” requires a specific discussion which I will address further on. There is sufficient data to support this basic idea, which I been repeating over recent years. School violence in particular and youth violence, in general, are not increasing but the most serious incidents are increasing. Because they are newsworthy, they get media coverage and create a “social constructionism” of school violence. This is what leads to social alarm and fear.

To illustrate the levels of violence we are referring to, let's look at some figures from the latest Spanish study. When comparing the data from the study carried out by the Spanish Ombudsman in 2000 with a similar study from 2005-2006, according to the authors, we reach the conclusion that "there has been a decrease of certain types of incidents of mistreatment due to abuse of power. More specifically, the types of mistreatment which have significantly decreased are "insults" (from 39.1 per cent to 27.1 per cent) and "offensive nicknames" (from 37.7 per cent to 26.7 per cent), "ignoring" behaviour (from 15.1 per cent to 10.5 per cent) and "hiding other people's things" (from 22 per cent to 16 per cent), as well as "threats to cause fear" (from 9.8 per cent to 6.4 per cent) and "sexual harassment" (from 2 per cent to 0.9 per cent). Indirect verbal harassment or "swearing" are at similar levels, as are the active social exclusion or "not allowing to participate", direct physical aggression (hitting) as well as the indirect type (stealing or destroying property) and the more severe types of "threats". (Page 238). We, both in the Catalanian study (as in the other study in the Basque region from 2006¹) reached the same conclusions. When referring to police and court records, the conclusions are the same².

There is another indicator of the level and evolution of fear existing in the educational centres. The empirical observation is that for students, the feeling that there is no discipline increases when it is more than probable that discipline in these centres has increased over the past 10 or 20 years. In fact, in light of the studies we have analysed, the proportion of secondary students who consider there is less discipline that needed has increased significantly throughout this decade. More than one third of Catalanian secondary school students are demanding more discipline at school, when less than a quarter of students believe that the current levels of discipline are excessive. The remaining 40% consider that the level of discipline is as it should be. The imbalance is obvious. There are more students who believe there is a discipline deficit than an excess. This is surprising, considering that at this point we are referring exclusively to secondary school students, who are the best protected due to their age and physical corpulence. I do not have the evolutionary data over time of primary school students but I am sure that the number will be even more overwhelming towards an increasing demand for discipline than in secondary education.

In short, it is obvious that there is an increase in the feeling of unsafeness among students, probably in response to a combination of problems which is not limited to mistreatment, but also to the effect that certain extreme behaviour has on media. Having said this, we cannot avoid the reality of the mistreatment which seems to have an important strategic position among the situations that threaten the norms for coexistence in school. Now we are not only referring to an ethical and standard reproach which the mistreatment deserves, but we also to the capacity to obtain a wide and enthusiastic reaction in favour of coexistence with positive effects on all areas, including the disciplinary and teaching areas.

In the second Catalanian Report, the results indicate that a total of 16% of all students during 2005-2006 academic year, are afraid or very afraid of suffering mistreatment. The number is significant, although it is clearly higher than in primary education. It is evident that

1 Javier Elzo and Maria Teresa Laespada (co-directors), Arostegui E., Elzo J., García del Moral, N., González de Audikana M., Laespada M.T., Mugeta U., Sarabia I., Sanz M., Vega A., (writers), *"Drogas y Escuela VII. Las drogas en escolares de Euskadi veinticinco años después"*. Edit. Universidad de Deusto. Bilbao 2008, 599 pages.

2 In our book *"Los jóvenes y la felicidad"*, Editorial PPC, 2006, we include a lot of data in chapter two, with trends that confirm previous years. Visit the website of the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Justice for the dates subsequent to our book.

the sense of fear varies with age and gender, as girls are generally more frightened than boys.. The detailed study of the phenomenon also shows the variation of fear associated to the end of primary school and beginning of secondary school, especially for girls. Subsequently to this, their feeling of fear will be continuous, although among girls it falls significantly, only slightly above 9%, who express a sense of fear when they are at school above the age of 17 years (2.3% in the case of boys).

These numbers are powerful and must be taken into account from several points of view. Firstly, we must insist on the transitional problems between primary and secondary education. During the first year of Mandatory Secondary Education (ESO), which represents the first step from primary education to secondary school when students are 11 or 12 years old, there are significant increases in the level of fear of these students: 70% of girls and 30% of boys. This leads us to think that the reception process into ESO could be improved.

Beyond this *organisational* reflection, the data points towards an elemental direction which is particularly refractory to fast or superficial processes. Fear is clearly related to the age, we could even say correlates with physical strength: this would mean that girls and the comparatively younger students, because of their age in the school course are the most afraid, simply because they feel weaker. They perceive that the victims are selected among the students with more difficulties to defend themselves, and the first difficulty is generally physical, although it is by no means the only difficulty, but it is the most basic.

What's more, the protection afforded by the school organisation has no effect on the basic fact that those who are less able to defend themselves are more likely to be the victims of injustice and are in particular danger of being the focus of continuous negative actions that are often not detected or which are trivialised. When the school finally intervenes, the results do not always help the victim. In extreme cases, this can cause additional difficulties, especially when referring to wrongly diagnosed problems, in which the systematically negative actions that the victim suffers can be compared to their emotional responses, generating situations of false impartiality which contribute to humiliate the victim, to intensify their isolation and erode their self-esteem.

To what extent are parents and teachers aware of the mistreatment that takes place?

The fact that these boys and girls suffering intentional negative actions exist mean that it is a matter of urgency to know whether they need help. The answer is obviously yes. In round numbers, it can be said that one in every three students who has suffered continuous violence from their classmates asks for *a little of help* and one in five asks for *a lot of help*. Transferring these numbers to the total number of students, we are talking about 5% needing *a lot of help* and 8% needing *a little help*. I insist, these are significant numbers.

Taking into account that continuous negative actions clearly decrease with age, it is not surprising that the number of students

who need help also decreases with age. It is easy to understand that, insofar as help is concerned, the intervention of teachers and parents is essential, especially when considering that the definition of mistreatment assumes an imbalance of strength and a relative degree of isolation of the victims, which makes them suspicious of the effectiveness of self-defence strategies or self-regulation of the groups of students. In this sense, in the Catalonian survey, victims were asked: What did you do when other students mistreated you? And, according to their answers, telling the teacher or parents is the preferred strategy (37.6% of victims told their teachers; 37.9% told their mothers or fathers, not necessarily the same). According to our knowledge, this is the most appropriate strategy.

This is precisely why we need to rule out that these numbers can be interpreted negatively, pointing out that a high percentage of the affected students fail to inform adults of the problem. There are many who stay quiet. This means we can confirm (or might at least suspect, as the surveys are run exclusively by students) that teachers and parents do not always know about the problems with coexistence that affect students. The extent of parental ignorance regarding these problems, seems to be higher than the degree which is generally acknowledged.

It is hard to imagine parents or teachers doing nothing when presented with a case of intentional and continuous negative actions towards girls or boys in a relatively weak situation. Therefore, the passiveness or the ineffective intervention of adults is a consequence of their lack of knowledge or of a wrong diagnosis of the facts. This question is particularly relevant because, at the ages in which the problem is more frequent, for the younger ones, adults have resources to intervene in an effective manner. Even during their adolescence, when the actions become less frequent but the seriousness of the cases can increase, intervention by parents or the by school generally resolves the problem.

In this sense, it must be recognised that *bullying* has not always been among the problems given highest priority by the education system, perhaps because the general schooling process and the education reform considered material and human resources and with the educational level achieved or to be achieved more important. Even problems with violence or victimisation involving bullying among equals, which generally entail forms of micro-victimisation, were often confused with disruption problems or treated as irrelevant matters. They said they were childish matters. It seems as though the facts have been perceived without diagnosing the problem or, more specifically, without differentiating among the various problems, with the corresponding effect on the effectiveness of the way they are dealt with.

If we stop to think about the existence of divergences and overlaps among the degree of knowledge of the parents and teachers, we can see that there are various reasons for this. In the second Catalonian investigation we propose to differentiate among five segments of bullied students using a scale from those who state that both their parents and teacher know what is going on, to those who state that neither their parents nor their teachers know what is happening. A sixth segment, including a significant 9.3% of victims who do not answer either of these questions.

Very high, high or comprehensive knowledge of the problem (both parties, either the parents or teachers, are aware of everything) accounts for fewer than 25% of the victims. Additionally, in 27% of the cases we register a degree of knowledge which we could classify as medium or intermediate (both parts are aware of something...). The rest, that is, more than 41% state that the adults in their lives have little, very little or no knowledge of the negative treatment they are suffering. As we can see, this is not a minor issue, as the decrease in continuous negative actions inside the schools typically requires the intervention of adults, and this means they need to have more information than the levels we are registering. In this sense, we find a serious problem that needs to be resolved, that is, the bullying being covered up by the students who are the victims. We would also add that while some of this abuse is suffered in silence, improvements in coexistence, which are real, as can be seen from the fall in the number of cases of abuse we have mentioned above, are all too often too slow and not recognised to the extent they should be. This is why it is so important to introduce mechanisms that will lead to quick detection of bullying, which will make it easier for the bullied students to create awareness of the situation they are suffering.

The importance of the student self-assessment

The Catalan surveys give a detailed analysis the personal, subjective dimension, the one that involves the social agent, the students in this case, evaluating the bullying they have suffered, as well as the bullying they have been responsible for, in the roles of victim as well as victimiser. This allows us to determine not only the level of violence they have exerted, but also the degree, the seriousness of it, from the students themselves. We believe this point is essential and is very specific to the Catalan studies, allowing us, among other things, to determine how certain aggressive or violent behaviours that, in a seriousness ranking, might seem to be less significant (psychological disdain or making fun) when compared to others which seem to be more important (physical violence) are actually perceived, felt and valued as being more serious by the bullied students.

The “educational centre” effect

By having access to a large number of primary school students, with a significant number of classrooms where the questionnaire could be completed, has allowed us to ascertain the possible importance of the schools and their own, specific dynamics, when we come to explaining the different levels of bullying. These explanations were unsuccessful when using other indicators that were used in thorough statistic analysis. In fact, school violence, in “each educational centre” cannot be explained, exclusively, by the origin of the students or by the social class they belong to, by the geographic location of the school (in the centre of large cities or on the outskirts, for example), or by the fact that it is a private or public school, religious or secular, etc. We maintain that, without forgetting the importance of global and general plans, education is the responsibility of the society as a

whole, we must pay attention to the singularities of each educational centre. We already had this idea in mind when preparing the survey in 2001 which is not particularly innovative. Here we quote the last lines of an old article written by the well-known French sociologist, expert on subjects related to adolescents with problems, Francois Dubet, who states the following:

"If school violence can be largely explained by the nature of cultural and structural demands that weigh on educational centres and by the characteristics of the neighbourhoods and towns in question, we must check whether comparable centres, from this point of view, suffer from the same types and degrees of violence. Also, some middle-class educational centres that should be very quiet are actually not. Educational centres and local educational policies have specific capacities to face the problems caused by violence. High schools and other comparable institutions have very different "climates". Some of them "broken down", while others have "re-established" themselves. The update of global mechanisms should not stop us from taking into account the existence of margins for action, initiatives and response, which are the ones that should be studied more precisely.³

Are immigrant students more violent?

Many people believe that immigrants are more violent and that they bully their classmates in the classroom, more than the natives. The real situation is quite different, as the second study carried out by Catalonian researchers shows.

In global figures, 18.8% of those born in Catalonia are subjected to negative actions once or more time per week, and for the equivalent number for those born outside of Catalonia is 23.4%. 4.6% more. It would be added that, beyond the geographic origin of the students, here there are also substantial differences between primary and secondary education that reflect the way that the problem becomes less serious with age among the global population, including natives, although there can be added problems among immigrants.

The data obtained shows that the problem affects larger numbers of younger students in primary schools, and this suggests a certain relation with difficulties associated with linguistic communication. In general, the students which are from more distant social-linguistic scopes have more coexistence problems, especially when the communication problems are accompanied by cultural or social differences. The girls and boys of African origin are especially affected by this problem.

Students from foreign countries, especially the younger ones, are subject to more negative actions (objective victimisation) and have more difficulties to relate to their classmates. Having analysed the data we would add that the seriousness with which the bullying suffered is viewed (subjective victimisation) is 1.2 points above that registered for the students born in Catalonia. Therefore, so to the worst objective victimisation suffered is also the most subjective.

Perhaps the root of this matter lies somewhere else. An evolution based on educational stages allows us to see the problem in perspective. Foreign students affected by intentional negative actions

³ "Les mutations du système scolaire et les violences à l'école" in a special edition of the journal "Les cahiers de la sécurité intérieure", in No. 15, 1st quarter, 1.994, page 26, entitled, justly, "La violence à l'école", with contributions from pedagogues, educators, police, students, supervisors from schools... The magazine is published by the Institut des Hautes Etudes de la Sécurité Intérieure, in Paris.

that they consider to be particularly serious, allows us to see that the problem is concentrated in primary education that is also higher than that suffered by native students but, and here is the difference from what we talked about in the subsequent evolution, once they reach secondary school, we see that this level becomes equal or lower than that of the native students.

The conclusion is obvious. Foreign students suffer more bullying in primary school than native students. The problem increases as the social, cultural and linguistic differences increase. Foreign students that continue in the educational system, when they finish secondary education, are equally or even better integrated as the native students. The next question is to understand which group of students of foreign origin has travelled through the entire educational process and which one has left before reaching successfully finishing the secondary education system. *In effect, knowing that problems involving school violence, are always more serious, in each category of students, native and foreign, during the primary stage, that are even worse among immigrants and that this internal correlation disappears and, even, changes direction in secondary school means that we can't help but ask what factors converge that lead to this reversal of correlations during primary and secondary education.* A question that, among other reasons, due to the low sub-sample of immigrants, we have not yet been able to study this, but which seems key for the future integration of immigrants in our society.

In any case, there is a very important conclusion that should be retained. This conclusion is that if the society aims to retain immigrants in school until the end of the mandatory education, the school seems to become a very strong integrating agent for foreign students that have moved to Catalonia.

Typology of secondary students

In both the Catalanian studies we have drafted the typology paths of secondary students. Remember that a typology aims to segment a population into different groups made up of individuals with similarities among each other and differences from the rest. In statistical terms, the aim is to form groups with the maximum intergroup variation and minimal differences among the members of the same group. Obviously, we can build, during each investigation, different typologies depending on the available information, the variables which are the subject matter of the investigation and, even the number of groups which we want to form.

Restricting ourselves to the Typology provided in the latest Catalanian study, in the attached table, we gather the results obtained

Summary: retained typology of secondary students (2005-2006)

TYPE 1:	With particularly strong aggressive tendencies	1.0%
TYPE 2:	With particularly strong tendencies to break the law	12.2%
TYPE 3:	With particularly strong antisocial tendencies in public spaces	27.3%
TYPE 4:	Integrated and normative	59.5%

We have based the Typology on three groups of factors which we consider to be relevant and interrelated:

1. **The source of the values** (*where do people learn the most important things to live?*)
2. **The score of the values** (*to what extent is a long list of aspects important (having good friends, collaborate with NGOs, play video games, flirts, etc) for students?*)
3. **Self-blame**, that is, acknowledging the infractions that the student has committed, inside and outside of the school.

The reason for this selection is due to the hypothesis that there is a significant relation between the value system of a person and their behaviour, without going into the problem regarding the causes, which would fall outside the scope of this report. This is how typology provides data about value systems and different types of problematic behaviour of the students and allows us to study the correlations between these variables, as was already done during the 2000-2001 academic year, although the exact same variable have not been kept for the 2005-2006 academic year, meaning it is not possible to make a strict comparison.

In any case, the data obtained has allowed us to group the students into four internally uniform segments, especially with regard to values, and with relatively different behaviours, particularly with regard to actions against coexistence.

Looking towards the future: a theoretical proposal of four types of school violence

To end this communication I am going to briefly talk about a typology of four modalities of school violence that we have proposed to the scientific community in recent years. This is a modified extension of reading suggestions by French experts on this subject (Debarbieux and Dubet, among others).

Internal violence associated to overcrowding, to the inherent problems of the educational system itself, to the conflicts between manifest objectives and the latent structures of the educational system. Violence which is **external** to the school, violence in society, the society in which the school is located and affects the incidences within the school itself. **Anti-school** violence, sometimes as a consequence of problems which are inherent to the school (a classification considered to be unfair, an argument with a teacher, etc.) that the student turns on the educational centre, against staff, mainly teachers, or against the furniture. Sometimes, and this is a different type within the same section, students consider the school, the obligation to go to school, an obstacle against their emancipation or their immediate objectives and they rebel using violence. Finally, **identificatory** violence also external to the school, also anti-school, seeing the school as an institution that prevents the students from growing and developing their own collective identity, whether it is real or pretended, is irrelevant, but it is "their identity", that they believe has been harmed. Students see school as an institutional agent with the power to prevent them from developing their own personal and collective identity. In these four types of violence we are talking about different types of logic that need different approaches in order to be resolved.

All four types are the symptoms and manifestations of four types of school failure. The first one comes from the institution itself, from the educational system organisation. Whether it is structural, due to maladjustments in the way students and teachers are organised, whether it is curricular, by the selection and prioritization of specific contents instead of others, due to the optimization of certain objectives of the educational system, the aim is to transmit knowledge, to prepare students for the world of work or to educate young people to become citizens.

In the second type, the failure will be caused by a withdrawal of each centre to a mere transmission of knowledge regardless of the specific context in which it is inserted. Here, failure will be caused by training without taking into account where this takes place, the geographic circumstances and the students who have to be taught. Obviously the Spanish context is not identical to the context in Colombia, Argentina or Mexico, to name but a few countries. In each country, even each town, we have to carefully study the surroundings of each educational centre. Similar consideration must be given to the third type of school failure, especially when referring to the decision of the students to leave school because they don't see any use for going to school, as they can comfortably support their needs outside the school. This is what happens in certain tourist resorts with a significant need for a young, cheap workforce. Another is where there is a significant lack of economic resources in the household.

Finally, the fourth type of identificatory violence can, of course, entail school absenteeism, lack of interest in the lessons received and even an uprising against them than can even be viewed by students as vehicles for national de-identification. This is what we have seen in some students in the Basque Country, it occurs frequently in France, and will occur increasingly in Spain as it is already an immigrant country. I believe that this topic will be considered key in Spain over the coming years and decades.

The European Crime Victimisation Project

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The development phase

The EU Action Plan to Measure Crime and Criminal Justice

The need to monitor crime and safety issues for the purpose of informing policy-making has led to the development of statistical systems on crime and criminal justice in every European country. Typically these cover several stages of the criminal justice system, from police reports through prosecutions to convictions and penal measures, and most countries publish statistics relating to some or all of these stages. However, due to their differing historical development, national justice systems vary greatly, and for this and associated reasons (such as differing reporting and measuring practices), it is not possible directly to compare crime figures from different countries, which makes it unsafe to draw any conclusions about trends at a European level.

This problem has become progressively more critical as the European Union has developed, and was specifically highlighted by the European Council in the Hague Programme in 2004. The Council noted the difficulty of developing a system of comparable crime statistics and went on to observe that some progress was being made to tackle this problem:

[...] the European Council welcomes the initiative of the Commission to establish European instruments for collecting, analysing and comparing information on crime and victimisation and their respective trends in Member States, using national statistics and other sources of information as agreed indicators. Eurostat should be tasked with the definition of such data and its collection from the Member States¹

In fulfilment of this mandate, Eurostat (the Statistical Office of the European Communities) participated actively in the drawing up of an Action Plan for *Developing a comprehensive and coherent EU strategy to measure crime and criminal justice*². The responsibility for this Action Plan lay with the Commission's General-Directorate for Justice, Freedom and Security (DG JLS), but the wide scope of crime and security issues implied the involvement of many other DG's

¹ The Hague Programme: Strengthening Freedom, Security and Justice in the European Union, Official Journal of the European Union, C 053, 3.3.2005, page 1 <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2005:053:0001:0014:EN:PDF>,

² Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council and the European Economic and Social Committee – Developing a comprehensive and coherent strategy to measure crime and criminal justice : an EU Action Plan 2006-2010 <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2006:0437:FIN:EN:PDF>

(including for example Environment, Research, Internal Market, Taxations and Customs Union) and other agencies such as EMCDDA (the European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Abuse), EUROJUST and EUROPOL. The Action Plan, which covers the five-year period 2006-2010, has been progressively monitored by the Commission services. The progress already made under the Action Plan will certainly form the basis of further work in this area when its term expires next year.

Eurostat's statistical programme is conducted within the framework of the European Statistical System as described in the recent Regulation 223/2009 on European statistics³. The implementation of the Action Plan therefore involved the setting up of a Working Group of national representatives from the statistical authorities of the 27 Member States of the European Union. This group has met annually since 2007 and has been responsible for the statistical dimension of the Action Plan.

In parallel, an Expert Group was set up to advise on the user requirements for statistics on crime and criminal justice⁴. This group (in which, like the Eurostat Working Group, all Member States are represented) has a vital role under the Action Plan to propose indicators for development by statisticians. The national representatives in the two groups are not the same persons, but they liaise closely to facilitate a symbiotic development process.

A European Victimisation Survey

Surveys represent an alternative approach to administrative records, for measuring crime. It is evident that the two types of source will not produce the same results, and indeed in most cases, they are measuring different phenomena. It might be suggested that a similar situation exists in the field of employment statistics, where figures both from surveys and from administrative sources are collected, and where statisticians have an important responsibility to distinguish between these instruments and to be able to explain their differences. Figures from the European Labour Force Survey are vital in obtaining an overall view of the labour market in the European Union, where they offer a degree of comparability not possible from administrative sources, although the latter may also be used to make the necessary adjustments for certain estimates.

Similarly in the field of crime statistics, surveys offer a valid complement to the information obtained from police or court records. The likelihood of differences in legal codes being eliminated seems so remote that the difficulties of implementing a common victimisation survey seem relatively minor by comparison.

Household surveys on crime victimisation have been conducted at some time in most of the European countries, and in about half of them such surveys take place on a regular basis. Some attempts have been made in the past to compare the results from such surveys, but these have mostly served to underline the conclusion that to achieve any real comparability, the surveys must have been conceived according to some general basic methodology.

This was, therefore, the background to the decision to include development of a European Victimisation Survey as one of the constituent elements of the Action Plan⁵. To avoid pre-judging the issue, the Action Plan referred to a *common survey (module)*, which was to

3 Regulation (EC) No. 223/2009 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 March 2009 on European Statistics, Official Journal of the European Union, L 87, 31.3.2009, page 164 http://www.statistics.gr/portal/page/portal/ESYE/BUCKET/General/RegulationEuropStats223_09OJL8731March09en.pdf

4 Commission Decision of 7 August 2006 setting up a group of experts on the policy needs for data on crime and criminal justice (2006/581/EC), Official Journal of the European Union, L 234, 29.8.2006, page 29. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2006:234:0029:0032:EN:PDF>

5 See section 4.3 of the Action Plan at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2006:0437:FIN:EN:PDF>

be interpreted as a set of questions on victimisation, rather than to a survey as such. This module could therefore be either a complete questionnaire or a part of a questionnaire, depending on whether the ultimate implementation were to take the form of a dedicated survey or part of an existing household survey or omnibus survey.

The development of the European Victimization Survey falls within the mandate of the Working Group as discussed above, but in view of the technical nature of this activity a dedicated Task Force was set up which reports back to the full Working Group. This Task Force has met twice, to date, in 2007 and 2009, and its next meeting will take place in 2010. Regular contacts between members of the Task Force and Working Group are assured through the medium of the dedicated CIRCA website which is available only to members of these groups⁶.

Preparing the ground

In the initial stages of developing a module, use was made of existing collaboration which had already taken place between the European Commission and various other international participants during the period running up to the establishment of the Action Plan.

International Crime Victimization survey

The International Crime Victims Survey (ICVS) is a research exercise which has been conducted on five occasions to date (1989, 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004)⁷. The last wave was carried out with some financial support from the European Commission in some EU Member States, where it was therefore called EU-ICS. Sampling is done mostly by telephone, with questionnaires largely limited to a fixed set of common crimes, and relatively small samples (typically around 2,000 per country). A sixth wave will be carried out in 2009 in a small number of countries (United Kingdom, Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, plus some non-European countries) and again some financing from the European Commission has been requested.

CRIMPREV project

The European Commission has also funded a number of other research projects through the various Framework Programmes supervised by DG Research. Mention may be made for example of the CRIMPREV initiative (under the 6th Framework Programme) which includes a number of projects related to victimisation⁸. Among the reports produced to date is a study of *Victimisation and Insecurity in Europe* which includes a review of the utilisation of existing surveys⁹.

Collaboration with United Nations agencies

Beginning in 2005 a task force organised jointly by the United Nations Office for Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) developed a database of existing victimisation surveys, based on the responses to a questionnaire sent to UN countries. The task force comprised members from about ten countries including several EU Member States (Italy, Poland, Netherlands, UK, Czech Republic) as well as Eurostat. This information was then kindly placed at Eurostat's disposal by the UNODC and UNECE, and proved an essential starting point for subsequent work. The database is regularly maintained by the UNECE and UNODC.

The UNODC/UNECE task force has also prepared a manual to

⁶ CIRCA website on statistics on crime and criminal justice (protected access) at: <http://circa.europa.eu/Members/irc/dsis/crimestat/home>

⁷ Intertec, the International Crime Victims Survey: <http://rechten.uvt.nl/icvs/>

⁸ Crimprev, Assessing Deviance Crime and Prevention in Europe <http://www.crimprev.eu/germ/index.php?id=4>

⁹ R Zaubermann (ed.), *Victimisation and Insecurity in Europe* (2009) <http://www.cesdip.fr/spip.php?article397>

provide guidelines for the development of victimisation surveys. The draft was approved by the CES (Conference of European Statisticians) Bureau on 8-10 June 2009 and the final version will be published on the websites of the UNODC and UNECE later this year in English, with translations into other languages following later.

HEUNI study

During 2006-2007, the European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control (HEUNI), a United Nations agency based at Helsinki, undertook, at Eurostats' request, a detailed analysis of the situation in the EU with respect to current victimisation surveys. This study identifies the main characteristics of the respective surveys, highlighting common features.

Development of a methodology

As mentioned above, the Eurostat Task Force on victimisation was created by the Working Group for Statistics on Crime and Criminal Justice at its meeting of 1-2 March 2007. This Task Force met for the first time on 28-29 June 2007, and adopted the following mandate based on the proposal of the Working Group:

- *Establish a methodology for a survey module on victimisation, taking account of relevant experiences at national and international level, and in particular the work of the UNECE/UNODC task force on victimisation surveys and the study carried out under a Eurostat grant by HEUNI*
- *Examine the results of testing the survey module on victimisation in Member States, explore the feasibility of the module and reach conclusions*
- *Based on the evaluation of the testing, propose an approach for implementing a survey module on victimisation at European level*
- *Report to the Working Group for Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics on each stage of the above activities*

The first meeting was devoted to achieving the first point of the above mandate. At that meeting, a questionnaire was adopted for testing in a selection of Member States. The basis taken for this questionnaire included the experiences gained from previous surveys on victimisation, at both national and international level. The original ICVS questionnaire (itself based on earlier national models) served as a starting-point, but there was also a political mandate to take account of more recent policy requirements as expressed by users, especially through the medium of the DG JLS Expert Group on policy needs for data on crime and criminal justice¹⁰.

Those specific proposals for additional material which were retained for the version to be tested included for example :

- 'Feeling safe and worries about crime', including fear of going out, fear of physical attack, terrorism, etc (Section B)
- 'Other victimisation issues', including phishing, identity fraud, computer security (Section E)
- 'Other safety issues', including fear of becoming a victim, protection measures and possession of weapons (Section F)
- Specific 'Violence issues' for self-completion, including sexual offences, harassment and domestic violence (Section G)

10 Commission Decision of 7 August 2006 setting up a group of experts on the policy needs for data on crime and criminal justice (2006/581/EC), Official Journal of the European Union, L 234, 29.8.2006, page 29. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2006:234:0029:032:EN:PDF>

This extremely broad approach naturally resulted in a very lengthy questionnaire. However, it was considered that the evaluation process would provide the opportunity to weigh up the relative merits and practical problems emerging from the testing exercise. It would therefore be possible during the evaluation, to reduce the questionnaire, based on a number of factors including technical feasibility, policy relevance, economic considerations, etc.

A report on the work of the Eurostat Task Force was duly made to the Working Group in 2008. On 4-5 June 2009, a second meeting of the Task Force took place to begin to address the second and third points of the mandate, namely to examine the results of the pilot exercises so far as these were available, and to discuss methods of implementing a survey module at European level. The conclusions of the meeting were as follows:

- *The projects to pilot a EU victimisation survey module in the Member States will be concluded over the coming months in accordance with the timetables set out in the individual grant agreements*
- *The team of experts will monitor the progress of these projects and provide Eurostat with a regular evaluation of the results*
- *The team of experts will also follow the ongoing ICVS 2 victimisation survey and take this into account in its recommendations*
- *The team of experts will provide a proposal for a questionnaire (or several alternative questionnaires) as contractually agreed, and this will be presented to the Task Force for consideration at its next meeting in 2010*
- *The final results of the piloting exercises will be examined by the Task Force on Victimization at its next meeting in 2010*
- *The report of this meeting will be presented to the Eurostat Working Group at its next meeting in 2010.*

The piloting phase

Call for proposals

Following the agreement on a methodology at the Task Force meeting on 28-29 June 2007, Eurostat published in August 2007 a call for proposals to translate the agreed module (which had been developed in English) into national languages and to test it in a fieldwork environment. The objective was to enable an evaluation to be made of the feasibility of the module and to serve as a basis for recommendations concerning implementation in line with the EU Action Plan. These recommendations will address the issue of how the module should be implemented.

The EU Member States were invited to translate this victimisation survey module into national languages and to make proposals for carrying out suitable testing procedures in a personal interview environment using a sample drawn from the national population. This call for proposals was therefore addressed to national statistical authorities (either statistical offices or government ministries) who were responsible for collecting crime statistics at national level and had concluded a Framework Partnership Agreement with the European Commission in the context of the programme *Prevention of and fight*

against crime in the Area of Activity EU Statistics on Crime and Criminal Justice¹¹. The actions were funded up to 70% or, where justification was provided, up to 95%.

It was intended to obtain the maximum possible range of information concerning alternative ways of implementing a crime victimisation module, so Member States will be given considerable freedom concerning the testing approach.

The module provided as an annex to this call for proposals consisted of the following sections:

- A Respondent and household characteristics
- B Feeling safe and worries about crime
- C Screening questions
- D Victim form
- E Other victimisation issues
- F Other safety issues
- G Violence

Sections A-D were considered to be the priority areas. Section A was based upon the recommendations on Core Social Variables established by the Eurostat task force on Core Social Variables¹².

The method of drawing the sample might be chosen by the Member State. Individuals might be selected, or households (all members of the household or only selected members). It was considered important, however, to ensure a roughly equal balance of men and women, and an adequate representation of young persons (age under 25).

Interviews might be conducted either face-to-face using laptop computers (Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing - CAPI) or by telephone (Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing - CATI). It was recommended that Member States should use both methods for different sub-sets of the sample, in order to make it possible to assess the advantages and disadvantages of each mode for this type of survey module. Sections of the questionnaire on sensitive subjects, such as sexual offences, might be handled through self-completion on computer or in writing. The module might be tested as a stand-alone survey or as part of a larger survey vehicle (or both). Splitting of the sample into smaller groups to thoroughly test all possibilities was recommended.

The average sample size in each Member State was expected to be about a thousand individuals, depending on the cost involved. Face-to-face interviews are inevitably considerably more expensive than telephone interviews.

Before conducting fieldwork, it might be considered appropriate to carry out cognitive testing of the translated survey module using survey laboratory facilities where available.

Results to be obtained

The output from the project takes the form of three reports, transmitted to Eurostat as MS-Word documents in English.

1. A report on the activity of translating the victimisation survey module from English into a national language. The report contains as an annex the full text of the victimisation survey module in the national language. The translation should be carried out by native speakers with an excellent command of English and in-depth knowledge of the field of crime and criminal justice. The original translation should be checked by at least one other translator meeting these requirements.

11 Commission Decision of 12 February 2007 Establishing the Specific Programme Prevention of and Fight Against Crime (2007/125/JHA), Official Journal of the European Union, L 58, 24.2.2007, page 7 <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2007:058:0007:0012:EN:PDF>

12 Eurostat, Task Force on Core Social Variables, June 2007 http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/product_details/publication?p_product_code=KS-RA-07-006

Back-translation might be found an appropriate way of further checking the translation.

The report highlights specific experiences relating to the translation process. In particular, difficulties with translating concepts or phrases should be recorded, together with the solutions considered and adopted. The translation of specific crime types might be of critical importance in assessing the results of the testing.

Countries in which English is the national language were asked to propose a revised version proposing linguistic improvements, without affecting the structure of the questionnaire or the meaning of the questions. In these cases, reasons were to be given for proposed alterations and any specific issues relating to the national context should be discussed.

This report was to be transmitted to Eurostat *three months* after the start of the pilot project.

2. A report on the approach adopted for testing the victimisation survey module. This should cover all relevant aspects of the testing, including

- Issues arising from cognitive testing
- Sample design
- Choice of interview mode (preferably both CAPI and CATI)
- Timing of interviews
- Number and profile of interviewers

Reasons should be given for the choice of approach (sample design, interview mode, etc.)

This report was to be transmitted to Eurostat *six months* after the start of the pilot project.

3. A quality report, including the following aspects:

- Response rates
- Organisational aspects of the testing
- Description of any difficulties encountered (particularly comprehension, co-operation, etc)
- Comparison of the results with data from any other crime survey conducted in this Member State
- Comparison of the results with data from national administrative sources
- Reference period preferred for the analysis of results and the reasoning behind the decision (the questionnaire permits analysis of incidents either over the last twelve months or alternatively in the last calendar year)
- Breakdown of responses for each question
- An assessment of the results achieved for each question and the utility of the question
- An estimate of the cost of implementing such a module at national level
- Conclusions and recommendations for further actions

This report should be transmitted to Eurostat *twelve months* after the start of the pilot project.

Response to the call for proposals

The use of the DG JLS Framework Partnership arrangements considerably prolonged the evaluation of the calls for proposals, as the Council Decision setting up the Specific Programme on the Prevention of and Fight Against Crime required consultation of the Programme

Committee before any resources could be allocated¹³, while the actual decision to make this allocation required a further Commission Decision¹⁴. Consequently it was mid-2008 before grant agreements could be drawn up between Eurostat and the selected national authorities.

The table provided in the annex gives the names of the seventeen organisations who signed the agreements to translate and test the victimisation module, and it also provides information concerning the state of work currently in progress. The exercises were all originally planned to run for twelve months as specified in the call for proposals, but the starting-dates were not identical (because of individual circumstances in the countries concerned), and additionally the timetables have in some cases had to be subsequently revised, again for various different reasons. The financial crisis and associated recession over the last year have in some cases severely disrupted the planning arrangements of national authorities. Therefore while the majority of these exercises have just terminated or will soon do so, others will continue to run on into 2010.

The evaluation phase

The evaluation of the exercises described above will be the responsibility of the Eurostat Task Force in accordance with the mandate given above. To assist the Task Force in this process, a team of international experts with experience in the field of victimisation surveys was appointed, from the universities of Tilburg (Netherlands) and Lausanne (Switzerland)¹⁵. The tasks of this team of experts are outlined below.

A report on latest developments in each Member State in crime victimisation

The team of experts will provide a 'state of the art' report on the latest developments in each Member State in the field of crime victimisation since 2004, i.e. current debates, plans for future developments etc. Relevant issues to be explored will include policy requirements and the response to the crime victimisation survey and survey output. This will take account of previous research, including the work of the UN-ECE/UNODC task force on victimisation surveys and that of HEUNI (the European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control) carried out for Eurostat. Pilot exercises or testing activities being conducted or planned will be described in detail, with a full account of the rationale of such developments and all relevant technical details. Such activities will be placed in the national and international context, and conclusions will be drawn concerning their aims, results and effectiveness.

This will be accompanied by the production of an inventory of all surveys and survey modules with a crime victimisation dimension. This inventory will include all significant information concerning the surveys/modules in question, including contact details, survey content, historical development, sample design and all other methodological details. This inventory will be presented in a format that facilitates easy comparison and cross-reference across the various identified survey instruments. Surveys with specific target coverage (such as women or foreigners) will be included but should be clearly identified as such. Surveys with an international dimension such as

13 Commission Decision of 12 February 2007 Establishing the Specific Programme Prevention of and Fight Against Crime (2007/125/JHA), Official Journal of the European Union, L 58, 24.2.2007, page 7 <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2007:058:0007:0012:EN:PDF>

14 Commission Decision of 31 July 2008 on the attribution of action grants for translating and testing a victimisation survey module (2008/679/JHA), Official Journal of the European Union, L 221, 19.8.2008, page 34 <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2008:221:0034:0035:EN:PDF>

15 European Publications Office, Tenders Electronic Daily, Contract notice 2008/S125/165931. http://ted.europa.eu/Exec?DataFlow=N_one_doc_access.dfil&Template=TED/N_one_result_detail_curr.tm&docnumber=165931-2008&docId=165931-2008&StatLang=EN

the International Crime Victimization Survey will also be covered, so as to provide details on the national aspect in each Member State (national sample, organisation, etc.). The report will include a critical assessment of the specific aims and objectives of each survey in relation to the policy background, and an evaluation of the extent to which these are being met.

A description of recent work in Member States including results of questionnaire

The team of experts will collect the necessary information for assessing the effectiveness of the piloting of the EU crime victimisation module in each participating Member State. This will require engaging the relevant authorities in each of the EU Member States. Member State engagement should take the form of a structured questionnaire to ensure consistency of findings across Member States; the questionnaire respondents should include Member State personnel involved in implementing the 'pilot' and also personnel from Member State Justice and Home Affairs ministries as prospective policy users of such survey output; the questionnaire is to enable Member States to report on their experience of implementing the survey.

An assessment of pilot exercises of EU victimisation survey module

A formal assessment of the outcome of the pilot exercises. The following three reports required from each Member State as part of the piloting exercise will be used as a basis:

a) Reports on translating the victimisation survey module from English into a national language. (These reports should in each case contain, as an annex, the full text of the victimisation survey module in the national language, carried out by native speakers with an excellent command of English and in-depth knowledge of the field of crime and criminal justice. The original translation should be checked by at least one other translator meeting these requirements. Back-translation may be found an appropriate way of further checking the translation). The report should highlight specific experiences relating to the translation process. In particular, difficulties with translating concepts or phrases should be recorded, together with the solutions considered and adopted. The translation of specific crime types may be of critical importance in assessing the results of the testing.

b) Reports on the approaches adopted during testing of the victimisation survey module. This should cover all relevant aspects of the testing, including:

- Issues arising from cognitive testing
- Sample design
- Choice of interview mode (preferably both CAPI and CATI)
- Timing of interviews
- Number and profile of interviewers

Reasons should be given for the choice of approach (sample design, interview mode, etc.).

c) Reports on quality covering the following

- Response rates
- Organisational aspects of the testing
- Description of any difficulties encountered (particularly comprehension, co-operation, etc.)

- Comparison of the results with data from any other crime survey conducted in this Member State
- Comparison of the results with data from national administrative sources
- Reference period preferred for the analysis of results and reason for doing so (the questionnaire permits analysis of incidents either over the last twelve months or alternatively in the last calendar year)
- Breakdown of responses for each question
- An assessment of the results achieved for each question and the utility of the question
- An estimate of the cost of implementing such a module at national level
- Conclusions and recommendations for further actions

A strategic analysis of future development of coverage of victimisation at EU level

The team of experts will provide a strategic analysis of the future development of coverage of victimisation at EU level, based upon the conclusions from the three preceding activities. This should focus on both the policy requirements and the technical considerations. In this context, the respective deliberations of the Expert Group on the policy needs for data on crime and criminal justice and the Eurostat Working Group on crime and criminal justice statistics and the task force on victimisation will be explored and examined in depth. Other views will be canvassed as appropriate from leading participants in this area. Bearing in mind the aim stated in the Action Plan to implement a victimisation survey module, the team of experts will examine alternative approaches for fulfilling this objective, with due consideration of all the relevant aspects on both policy and technical levels. Detailed calculations will be provided of the expected cost of all solutions put forward.

Account will be taken of the latest developments within the European Statistical System including the existence of, or planning for, other social surveys. In particular the state of development of multi-purpose or omnibus surveys which might provide a suitable vehicle for a victimisation module will be examined. In presenting alternative scenarios, the team of experts will give a reasoned assessment, supported by reference to evaluation findings, of the advantages and disadvantages of each.

Evaluation by the Eurostat Task Force

The next meeting of the Eurostat Task Force is scheduled for April 2010. By this stage the pilot exercises will have finished (with possibly isolated exceptions). In addition, the work of the team of experts will be well advanced and the reports described above will be available, in draft form if not in their final state. The Task Force will therefore be in a position to make its recommendations, based upon the experiences from the piloting exercises, as to the feasibility of implementing a European Victimization Survey and what form this implementation should take. It remains to be seen how far the proposal of the Task Force resembles the general outline of the module being tested, and what other implementation options the Task Force will consider appropriate. In the light of this, a strategic decision can be reached on the next steps.

Table of participating organisations and state of development

Organisation	Satart date	Translation report available after 3 months	Testing approach available after 6 months	Quality report available after 12 months
Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention	01/09/2008	Received 16/12/2008	Received 1/03/2009	Due 31/08/2009
Department Statistics Government of Lithuania	01/09/2008	Received 23/01/2009	Received 27/2/2009	Due 31/08/2009
National Statistical Institute Portugal	15/12/2008	Received 16/4/2009	Received 3/8/2009	Due 31/12/2009
Statistics Denmark	01/09/2008	Received 11/12/2008	Received 2/3/2009	Due 31/08/2009
Statistical Office Slovak Republic	01/11/2008	Received 2/3/2009	Received 11/5/2009	Due 31/10/2009
Institute of Justice Poland	01/09/2008	Received 29/01/2009	Due 1/9/2009	Due 28/02/2009
Federal Statistical Office Germany	01/09/2008	Received 28/11/2008	Received 30/6/2009	Due 31/05/2010
Statistics Austria	01/08/2008	Received 27/11/2008	Received 6/3/2009	Due 31/10/2009
HEUNI, Finland	01/07/2008	Received 14/10/2008	Received 19/12/008	Due 28/02/2010
Ministry for Home Affairs Catalonia	01/06/2008	Received 4/12/2008	Received 3/3/2009	Received 10/07/09
Statistical Office, Republic of Slovenia	01/09/2008	Received 31/12/2008	Received 2/6/2009	Due 31/08/2009
Istituto Nazionale di Statistica ISTAT, Italy	01/09/2008	Received 17/12/2008	Received 12/5/2009	Due 31/08/2009
Central Statistical Bureau, Latvia	01/09/2008	Received 28/11/2008	Received 27/2//2009	Due 31/08/2009
Secretariat of State for Security, Spain	01/09/2008	Received 23/12/2008	Received 9/2/2009	Received 4/3/2009
Czech National Statistical Office	01/10/2008	Received 31/12/2008	Received 23/03/2009	Due 31/9/2009
Hungary National Statistical Office	01/10/2008	Received 23/12/2008	Received 30/03/2009	Due 31/9/2009
Cyprus National Statistical Office	01/10/2008	Received 9/1/2009	Received 30/03/2009	Due 31/9/2009

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Is a European-wide Crime Victimisation Survey Feasible?



Introduction

The idea of a European-wide crime victimisation survey is attractive to statisticians, criminologists and policy-makers alike, for a number of reasons. It is generally acknowledged that variations in recording and reporting practices, as well as the differences in the history and development of the legal structures in the Member States of the European Union, make it extremely unsafe to compare figures from the police and criminal courts of different countries. A concerted effort is currently being made to arrive at a common classification system through which such statistics could be made more comparable, but it may reasonably be questioned how far this process is limited by the powerful effect of historical development on national criminal codes.

By contrast, victimisation surveys offer a more promising prospect of comparability. They have a far shorter history than police-recorded crime, and the concepts used tend to be more general and more flexible than those in the criminal code. The supposition therefore is that developing a European survey can be regarded as a statisticians' problem, which can be more readily resolved than the intractable issues traditionally debated by lawyers and criminologists.

This tacit assumption lay behind the decision to include the development of such a survey within the EU Action Plan on *Developing a comprehensive and coherent strategy to measure crime and criminal justice in the European Union*¹ The present communication presents in summary form some of the results of the research conducted with this aim in mind. The research was conducted for Eurostat by a team of experts from the universities of Tilburg (Netherlands) and Lausanne (Switzerland), particularly by Professor Marcelo Aebi and Antonia Linde. Their work is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

The research makes available a review of the historical evolution and the current situation in respect of the collection of survey data on victimisation, at the EU level and individually in each one of the 27 Member States. The review includes national surveys, academic/research studies, pilot exercises, and international surveys. It takes into account previous work conducted in this area by a number of earlier groups, including the UNECE/UNODC task force, HEUNI on behalf of Eurostat and the CRIMPREV Network. The review includes,

1 Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council and the European Economic and Social Committee *Developing a comprehensive and coherent strategy to measure crime and criminal justice : an EU Action Plan 2006-2010* COM (2006) 437 final <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:52006DC0437:EN:NOT>

whenever possible, the following information for each survey: year of the survey, frequency of the survey, type of survey (victimisation, multipurpose, etc.), questionnaire used, type of sample (national, city, etc.), size of the sample, response rate, methodology, financing institution and implementing institution.

The policy objectives of crime victim surveys can be analysed according to their influence on criminal policies decisions as well as public policies. According to the analysis conducted by Zaubermann (2008) their use ranges from intensive to low. In summary it may be said that in England & Wales the British Crime Survey has become the main measure of crime and is used to evaluate the results of the crime policies introduced by the government, for example the Crime and Disorder Act of 1998. In Belgium, the Security Monitor is linked explicitly to the local security contracts passed between the federal state and towns and the *Politiemonitor Bevolking* constitutes an integral part of the police organisation. In Spain, there are no indications of its use for policy objectives at the National Level or at the level of Catalonia. In France, the results of national surveys are being used by the National Observatory on Destitute Urban Areas (*Observatoire national des zones urbaines sensibles*) and the National Observatory on Delinquency (*Observatoire national de la délinquance*) although police statistics seem to remain the main source of information on crime. In Germany, victim surveys have no clear impact on national or regional policies, even if recent local surveys were financed by municipal authorities. In Italy, surveys seem to have no impact at the national level, but regions such as Emilia Romagna are making use of them. In sum, some national states and regions are using victim surveys as a tool for orienting for crime prevention and safety policies. At the same time, thematic surveys on specific populations –such as women and young people– are having a notable impact, namely in Spain, for violence against women and in Germany, for school violence (Zaubermann, 2008).

The experience of EU countries in implementing victimisation surveys

The participation of EU countries in victimisation surveys is summarised below.

1) *The ICVS (International Crime Victims Survey) has been conducted five times: 1989–1992–1996–2000–2005 (EU ICS in the EU15 + 3 countries)*

- 26 countries participated at least once
 - Only Cyprus has never participated
 - Four countries and regions participated in the five sweeps
 - Finland
 - The Netherlands
 - Poland
 - UK: England & Wales
 - Six countries and regions participated in four sweeps
 - Belgium
 - Estonia (conducted 5 times)
 - France
 - Sweden

- UK : Northern Ireland
- UK : Scotland
- Five countries participated in three sweeps
 - Bulgaria
 - Czech Republic
 - Latvia (1995, 1998 and 2000)
 - Lithuania
 - Slovenia
- Two countries are currently using it as their National Crime Survey
 - Bulgaria
 - Estonia

2) *ICVS 2 - International Crime Victims Survey 2 - Pilot Study -*

- Three European countries participated in a pilot study using a short version of the ICVS questionnaire in January 2009:
 - Sweden
 - Germany
 - UK: England & Wales
- The survey will be conducted in 2009 with samples of 4,000 respondents in six European countries:
 - Canada This country is not in Europe
 - Denmark
 - Germany
 - The Netherlands
 - Sweden
 - UK: England & Wales

3) *Eurobarometer* Nowhere is this word explained

- 1996: Included a series of questions on victimisation
- The questions on fear of crime included in 1996, were also included in 2000 and 2002 (which included also other questions on public safety)
- The EU15 countries participated in the 1996 Eurobarometer.

4) *Periodical National Surveys*

- 12 countries + 1 region have periodical national surveys:
 - Belgium (Security Monitor 1997, biannual since 98)
 - Bulgaria (ICVS: 1997, 2002-04-05-07-08-09)
 - Denmark (1996, annual since 2005)
 - Estonia (ICVS: 1993, 1995, 2000, 2005 and 2009)
 - Finland (Finnish National Survey, periodically since 1980)
 - France (Living conditions of Household Surveys 1996-2006; Framework of Life and Security, annual since 2005)
 - Ireland (Quarterly National Household Surveys, every 3 years since 1998; Garda Public Attitudes Survey (annual since 2002)
 - Italy (Italian Citizens' Safety Survey, every 5 years since 1997/8; Everyday Life Aspects, annual since 1993)
 - The Netherlands (1974-1980: National Victimisation Survey; 1980-2005: Crime Victim Survey; 1980-2005: Permanent Survey on Living conditions; 2005-2008: National Security Monitor; since 2009: Integral Security Monitor; Police Monitor: 1993-2001 every two years, annual since then)

- Romania (Living conditions survey, from 2001 to 2006)
- Catalonia (Spain) (Crime Victimization Survey of Catalonia, annual since 1999)
- Sweden (Living conditions survey, annual since 1978; Swedish Crime Survey, annual since 2006)
- United Kingdom (BCS, periodically from 1982 to 2000)
- England & Wales (BCS, continuously since 2001)
- Northern Ireland (Northern Ireland Crime Survey, periodically since 1994)
- Scotland (Scottish Crime Survey, periodically since 1993)

5) *Non Periodical National Surveys*

- 11 countries have conducted at least one non periodical national survey
 - Bulgaria
 - Czech Republic
 - Denmark
 - France
 - Germany
 - Greece
 - Hungary
 - Ireland
 - Italy
 - Luxembourg
 - Portugal

6) *Pilot study on the EU victimisation survey module*

- 17 Countries and regions are conducting this pilot study
 - Austria
 - Cyprus
 - Czech Republic
 - Denmark
 - Finland
 - Germany
 - Hungary
 - Italy
 - Latvia
 - Lithuania
 - Poland
 - Portugal
 - Slovak Republic
 - Slovenia
 - Spain + Catalonia
 - Sweden

7) *IVAWS - International Violence Against Women Survey*

- 3 countries participated in this survey
 - Denmark (2003)
 - Greece (2003)
 - Poland (2004)

8) *National Violence Against Women Surveys*

- 6 countries have conducted such surveys
 - Finland (1997 and 2005)

- France (2000)
- Italy (2006)
- The Netherlands (1996, 1997 and 2009)
- Spain (1999 and 2002)
- Sweden (1999 and 2000)

9) ICBS / ICCS - The first International Commercial Crime Survey (ICCS)

- 11 countries have conducted this survey (sometimes with city samples)
 - Bulgaria (2000)
 - Czech Republic (1994)
 - Finland (1994)
 - France (1994)
 - Germany (1994)
 - Hungary (1994 and 2000)
 - Italy (1994)
 - Lithuania (2000)
 - The Netherlands (1994)
 - Romania (2000)
 - UK: England & Wales (1994)

10) National Business Surveys

- 4 countries have conducted such surveys
 - Bulgaria (2002, 2004 and 2005)
 - Estonia (1998)
 - Finland (1996 and 1997)
 - The Netherlands (annual since 2004)

11) EU-MIDIS European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey Fundamental Rights Agency : Pilot Victim Survey on Ethnic Minorities and Immigrants

- 6 countries have participated in the pilot in 2006/7
 - Austria
 - Belgium
 - Bulgaria
 - Italy
 - Romania
 - Slovak Republic

EU-MIDIS European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey

- The 27 EU countries participated in this survey in 2009.

Interview modes used by the Member States

CATI (Computer assisted telephone interviewing)

- 19 countries have used this method of interviewing
- 8 countries have not applied CATI
 - Bulgaria
 - Cyprus
 - Estonia
 - Lithuania
 - (Malta)
 - Poland

- Romania
- Slovak Republic

Face to face interviewing

- 26 countries have used this method of interviewing
- In Malta the methodology of the 1996 ICVS is not specified.

Considerations for the development of a European-wide crime victimisation survey

As has been described in another presentation prepared for this seminar, some preparatory work has already been undertaken with a European-wide victimisation survey in view. On the basis of the experiences obtained to date, the following observations may be offered.

The questionnaire

Perhaps the most obvious single element which would facilitate comparability is a common questionnaire. Experience suggests that attempts to compare results from existing surveys with different questionnaires have little chance of success. Although it might be argued that the process of translation in itself introduces some element of potential comparability, experience of monitoring this process is already available from other European surveys as well as from the piloting of the current EU victimisation module.

A detailed study has been made of existing victimisation surveys for the purpose of the EU victimisation module, which suggests that it should be possible to find common ground upon which a questionnaire could be based, although there will obviously be room for discussion as to which topics should be included or excluded. There is little reason to suppose that specific topics are intrinsically more important to some countries than to others, so in principle agreement on political priorities should be achievable. From a more technical perspective, the process of designing a questionnaire for the EU victimisation module in a situation where no specific constraints existed on the length of the module resulted in a final product which may be too long for a production environment. This process, however, made it possible to investigate a variety of different options for subjects to be included in the questionnaire. The results of the pilot surveys should facilitate the process of eliminating topics which could not be satisfactorily covered and this will contribute to a clearer view of the ideal European-wide questionnaire.

Agreement on this area is only one aspect of the methodology to be agreed, and it also impacts upon other considerations. For example, it is generally agreed that the time limit for a telephone interview must be shorter than could be acceptable for a face-to-face interview. The sampling technique used will also be different in the latter case (where the basis would be a list of postal addresses) than in the former (where it could be based on a list of telephone numbers).

Interview modes

The issue of the interview mode has many ramifications. It has been argued that only face-to-face interviews offer the degree of confidentiality that will encourage respondents to give information about

victimisation (especially on certain sensitive topics), but this feeling is not always shared by countries which have mainly used telephone interviews. Among the often-cited disadvantages of sampling by telephone numbers is that mobile phones, which are now almost universal, may not be included in the sampling frame, while landlines often include filtering possibilities which enable the owner to ignore potentially unwanted calls. In some countries it may be possible to include mobile numbers, and random dialling is a technique which may be feasible.

The respondent may be asked to complete the survey himself, either in its entirety (for example, by returning it by post) or partially. Partial completion for sensitive questions is an option (using a computer) for face-to-face interviews, but obviously not for telephone interviews, where a different technique must be used. The difficulty of ensuring a satisfactory (and unbiased) response rate, which is one of the main problems with postal surveys, exists equally with online surveys. Even assuming satisfactory Internet penetration, it is not yet clear how respondents can be encouraged to participate to a satisfactory extent.

Costs

It seems evident that face-to-face interviews (which from other perspectives might seem the most satisfactory approach) will also be the most expensive. For a variety of reasons it is difficult to obtain figures which could apply to all countries, but a minimum of 100 euros per face-to-face interview seems feasible, whereas telephone interviews might cost about half of this.

Each potential interview mode has its adherents and its opponents. Some existing national surveys use a mixture of modes, as do some European surveys in other areas. It may therefore be that the essential exercise would be to agree on a policy as to which mode would be appropriate in which context.

The way forward

A European-wide survey on victimisation would almost certainly need to be a dedicated survey rather than a module in an existing survey, as has been suggested as an alternative. The EU Action Plan referred to a *victimisation survey module* as a way of leaving this issue open, but the testing procedure has suggested that the specificities of the topic are such that it would be difficult to combine with other issues, and in addition most existing surveys already have a full programme for several years to come.

European statistics are currently undergoing a general process of re-examination referred to as a *Vision for the next decade*,² and the re-engineering of social statistics forms part of this development. If a new victimisation survey were to form part of this initiative, the most straightforward case would be that of countries which have currently had none or only limited experience in this area. Those which already conduct surveys on a regular basis would need to choose between several options. To switch to the European survey might risk losing existing time-series (depending on how far the two diverged), whereas operating both surveys in parallel, apart from the expense involved, would create the problem of explaining the differences to users. It might be conceivable in some cases to use data from exist-

² Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council *On the production method of EU statistics : a Vision for the next decade* COM (2009) 404 final
http://www.cc.cec/home/dgser/sg/sgvista/i/sgv2/repo/repo.cfm?institution=COMM&doc_to_browse=COM/2009/0404&lng=en

ing surveys to provide input to the European results, but again this would depend on the characteristics of the national survey. An interesting possibility which is raised in the *Vision for the next decade* is that sample sizes might, in some cases, be calculated so as to produce European estimates rather than national figures, which would certainly imply savings. This might influence the choice between the options outlined above, but clearly each case would need to be examined on an individual basis and would ultimately be a decision for the country concerned.

Conclusions

There is no question that implementing a European-wide survey would be a challenging and time-consuming task. The issues touched upon above lie in several different areas. Technically, agreement would need to be reached on the questionnaire and sampling methodology. The financial burden would undoubtedly be considerable and require careful planning. Legislation would almost certainly need to be drafted. Perhaps most importantly, the political will would need to be present to support this venture and where necessary to make compromises between national and international needs.

However European-wide surveys do exist and provide data which is reliable and widely-used. EU-SILC (Social Inclusion and Living Conditions) and the EU Labour Force Survey may be cited as international instruments based upon data collection exercises at national level. In some cases national surveys were gradually adapted to achieve a greater degree of comparability while in others Member States opted to implement a methodology which had been discussed and agreed during a consultative process. Adoption of a European survey on victimisation would probably need a combination of both these approaches. However there is every reason to believe that, if the political will to do this exists, this aim could be achieved.

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The question of the feasibility of a European victimisation survey cannot be understood as a whole. Various aspects must be considered.

The objectives

We must necessarily start by obtaining a consensus on the objectives of the survey and what we want to obtain from it. Without this, every State has a different survey in mind and none of them is feasible. The first stage therefore consists of seeking a compromise on the objectives which will serve as a guide for designing the survey. The jointly agreed objectives will be needed to be used as a basis for deciding the characteristics of the survey.

Concerning the plan for a European Union victimisation survey that could be carried out in 2013, in the light of the debates held in Luxembourg at the beginning of June 2009, we might say that consensus on the objectives has not yet been obtained. There is a clear gap between those backing an ambitious European survey that could be used as a national victimisation survey in each country, and the countries that want a “light” survey. A compromise must therefore be found between these two positions, in the knowledge that, although this issue has not yet been dealt with very explicitly, the finance allocated for the survey will necessarily be one of the elements that will condition, firstly, the objectives of the survey and, secondly, some of the conditions for carrying it out.

In any case, one principal objective has been expressed by Eurostat: that of comparing the situation of victimisation in the different European Union countries.

This choice, which seems to be an obvious one, has important consequences because the priority is not to seek the most precise measurement in each country, but rather the possibility of obtaining indicators for comparing Lisbon with Vilnius or Dublin with Nicosia.

Another objective was also expressed in Luxembourg: that of making the survey a continuation of previous international surveys, such as the ICVS. It will therefore not be possible to make all the positions converge without concessions from the different parties.

Without this, and without a precise, common objective, the survey will be practically impossible to design.

To give a good example, the OND, which had expressed the wish that the European survey should be based on existing national surveys in countries that had them, accepts the idea that comparison requires a different kind of project. The prospect of having to comment on surveys on the same subject which will undoubtedly give different results will therefore not be an easy task.

On this point too, it will be a good idea for States that already have a national survey to reflect very early on, with the European authorities, on the way they are going to talk about them. Considering the sensitivity of security and crime issues, and taking account the difficulties we have run up against in establishing a victimisation survey, it is essential that the European survey and the national survey do not come into conflict, and that the detractors of victimisation surveys or simply the media are not allowed to call into question the results of national surveys that contradict those of the European survey.

Experience

Once the objectives have been defined, the question of viability is related to the means to carry it out. We can therefore consider a survey as an object defined by a questionnaire and a protocol; that is, a set of characteristics such as the way it is administered, a way of selecting the people surveyed or the collection details. We might wonder, then, whether it is possible to design such a device at the level of more than one European country.

The writing of a national victimisation survey questionnaire, a task which the OND and INSEE undertook from 2004 to 2006 for the “Cadre de vie et sécurité” survey, is a complex operation requiring many tests in order to correct unclear formulation, incoherence and even contradictions that emerge under real conditions. This difficulty must be multiplied by the number of countries taking part in the European survey in order to imagine the size of the challenge involved in writing a common victimisation survey understood by all.

In order to have a chance of success, it must be based in each country on teams with experience in surveys of the general population and, if possible, in victimisation surveys. In passing, it must be pointed out that experience must not develop into dogmatism.

After 3 national surveys between 2007 and 2009, preceded by two light surveys in 2005 and 2006, we have been able to observe the extent to which nothing can replace tests on the ground, the final test being the survey itself.

The design team for the survey “Cadre de vie et sécurité” has made different kinds of mistakes, some more embarrassing than others, and the ones that were not spotted in time, that is, during the tests, had to be corrected after the first or even the second survey. From this one can conclude that it is necessary to move forward prudently, knowing that ideas or proposals cannot be assumed to be good before they have been confirmed on the ground. Writing a questionnaire ought to be a path full of questions and doubts rather than certainties.

The questionnaire

Armed with this kind of experience, the national designers in each country must determine, in consultation with their European opposite numbers, the content of the questions, finding the formulation best adapted to each language and to each country, depending on its culture, traditions and methods of stopping crime.

One of the challenges consists of establishing a single list of offences (victimisations) for the survey even if they are not classified or defined in the same way in the different national judicial systems. Offences that can be the subject of a common question in all countries are ones which can be defined very simply in ordinary language. Car theft is one example. But, even for these, things are not as simple as it initially appears. Car theft, for example, can take on different meanings depending on whether the vehicle has been borrowed without the owner's consent and then returned or definitively stolen, or taken with that intention, because the idea of an attempt to steal must also be introduced.

Another example illustrating the difficulty of drawing up a single list of offences: thefts from homes. The French word currently used to designate this is "cambriolage". However, "cambriolage" includes only theft from homes when there has been forced entry: that is intrusion by breaking a door or window. By extension, it also includes climbing in or using false keys.

In the "Cadre de vie et sécurité" victimisation survey, two questions are therefore asked about thefts from homes, one about "cambriolage" and the other about thefts without force. By contrast, however, in English the term "burglary" is more general than "cambriolage", as it includes thefts from homes with or without force. A common concept can therefore be found covering all thefts from homes, but this means that, in French, the question will not concern only "cambriolage".

The OND's work in comparing offences in the national CVS and BCS shows the point to which many nuances may affect the same subject. Still talking about thefts from homes, the French survey does not specify whether it is talking about the current home or a previous one the person has since moved from (there is a date for the month of the incident and a month when the person moved into their current home to identify households who work victims in a previous home). Meanwhile, in the BCS, the same questions are asked in duplicate concerning the current home and the previous one, if any.

The protocol

Many States would like to extend the list of offences questions asked about to domestic and sexual violence. However, in this case, it is impossible to envisage this type of question without raising the issue of sample size and the way people are questioned.

Sexual or domestic violence, where it must also be specified whether this is physical and/or psychological, are rare victimisations compared to other types of victimisation, such as crimes against household property.

They can only, therefore, be used for reference and, above all, the results can only be made use of as representative if the sample size

is large enough. Too small a sample will make it impossible to obtain results for this type of victimisation. It will be necessary to study this issue, which goes back to the question of objectives but is also linked to the problems of financing the survey, very soon.

Moreover, the way people are questioned is also an element of the survey protocol. To obtain usable answers on the most sensitive types of violence, a protocol must be established that puts the people surveyed in a situation where they will answer as sincerely as possible in complete confidentiality.

However, the most suitable protocol for each country may be different. It may be the telephone survey, the questionnaire on paper or the self-administered questionnaire using a questionnaire recorded on tape. However, different protocols make the objective of comparable surveys difficult to achieve.

We are therefore faced with a paradox. As a priority, we would like to compare European countries for a type of violence which the authorities generally have little or no information on in terms of complaints registered, because victims do not make statements to the police. This concerns, firstly, domestic violence and, in particular, violence within a couple, and sexual violence. However, these are matters which we might assume cannot be tackled under the same conditions from one country to other.

A single protocol, the face-to-face survey or a telephone survey to mention the two main examples, may lead to under-declaration in one country, or might be misunderstood or poorly received, making comparisons impossible. However, by definition, a different protocol between countries makes any comparison a fragile one.

Organisation

Writing questionnaires and determining the national protocols for a European survey are complex operations and we have mentioned only certain aspects of them. We might also think that, between one country and another, the age from which people are surveyed, the sampling base and certain issues on attitude with regard to the police or the penal system would be something of a puzzle to resolve.

On paper, the complexity of the task does not seem insurmountable. It requires time and effective organisation. Getting different design teams to work together and, above all, making them converge towards a common project requires a plan so that it can be achieved. On this issue the meeting at Eurostat in June 2009 is likely to have raised some concerns.

If we look more specifically at the viability of the project being drawn up, we can see that the methodological choices which must be decided for the 2013 survey are being discussed by agents who are considering them in terms that are quite far apart and, for the moment, consensus seems difficult to achieve.

There are projects prior to the 2013 survey, such as the ICVS survey, which create tensions between those who want the European survey to be solidly inspired by them and those who want an independent project.

The most important features of the 2013 survey – the way the survey is administered and the sample size – are still under discus-

sion. A questionnaire has been tested in several countries and it is still being tried out in others. Voices have already been raised wanting to shorten and simplify it. These positions would have a tendency to lighten the project at the risk of seriously limiting its interest.

A big meeting should be planned to agree the objectives, not meetings where the national positions are expressed in parallel. This would result in a goal and a method for achieving it. Several draft surveys could then be submitted to the decision-makers in order to ask them for a precise financial budget.

The survey, in its most limited and therefore least expensive form, would concentrate on the objectives declared essential when the agreement is reached.

It might be considered that two conditions must come together to make a European victimisation survey feasible. A central service, like Eurostat, establishing efficient organisation, and national representatives ready to make concessions in order to achieve a common project.

Bernat Jesús Gondra

Director of the Catalan Crime Victimization Survey
(Enquesta de seguretat pública de Catalunya)

The European Victimization Survey: a Perspective from Catalonia

In Spain, statistics in relation to security issues are surrounded in problems when it comes to comparability. Firstly, only official Catalan statistics envisage conducting regular victimisation surveys, meaning that the results for Catalonia cannot be compared to those obtained in other communities. Furthermore, police statistics have been affected by changes in terms of regulations and organisation which also restrict their potential for comparability. In particular, the deployment of autonomous police forces in the Basque Country and Catalonia has entailed statistics being prepared specifically by these bodies, highly advanced in terms of progress although they show shortcomings in terms of their integration into the common system.

With regard to official statistics and the indicators that stem from them, comparability is a vital component. Indeed, it is one of the benefits that inspire all other activities. For instance, data on known crimes, even when compiled with the most stringent of processes, are conventional in nature: a form of calculating is established, clearly based on the Spanish Criminal Code, though within this methodology pragmatic considerations (it must be inexpensive, it must be simple, etc.) or valuation issues (certain incidents will be excluded, others will not...) are highly decisive. These options are not based on a scientific theory that determines what to measure and how to measure it, nor indeed is there any consensus that serves to guide the options adopted in preparing a statistical classification based on the criminal classification (what incorporations are made, what aggravating and mitigating circumstances are specified, etc.) or when determining the units to gauge each section (when complaints are counted, when several incidents are retained from a single procedure, when it is preferable to count victims...). The final counts, the identification criteria, almost all aspects comprising a statistical regulation are based on conventions; it is even the case that options having a broad scope, such as the role of the victim in police statistics, are the result of conventions. Moreover, once the statistical project is defined and subject to trial, no modifications shall be introduced to it unless they are well justified.

It is these comparability problems that most affect police statistics in Catalonia and Spain. Firstly, the deployment of the Mossos d'Esquadra police has had unavoidable effects on the preparation of statistics which have been heightened by the incorporation of local Catalan police forces into the police information system and due to the lack of shared regulation and a common registry-related tradition to all the police forces involved. It could almost be said that it lack and still lacks a "statistics culture". It does not suffice for statistical regulations to be similar; even when they are identical, differences occur in registry customs and an endeavour must be made when it comes to training, motivation and inspection in order to conserve comparability. Indeed, this is without taking into consideration the fact that the officials in charge of introducing the data may devote a greater or lesser degree of attention to this task depending on work loads and organisational values. Beyond question, all of these aspects have a bearing on the quality and comparability of data.

These comparability problems may appear to lack any seeming solution in the international sphere because, to add insult to injury, the very legal systems on which they are based also differ. In other words, in every country, data is compiled on differing criminal classifications, obtained on the basis of varying complaints customs, recorded using alternative counting units according to distinct recording procedures, and so forth. It is clear that this data should not be compared without exercising caution, stating at least the events chosen for comparison, the counting units used and the rate of complaints. We still have a long way to go before we will be in a position to make comparisons of this kind on an ordinary level. Nonetheless, we do hope to advance on a European scale towards the establishment of a kind of Uniform Crime Report, promoted by Eurostat, based on the homogenous register of a selection of common criminal offences in the Member States of the EU.

In the context of Spain, at the end of 2007 the Ministry of Home Affairs set up a Domestic Security Study Bureau (GESI according to the Spanish acronym), which was entrusted with developing the Statistics System on Crimes, as it was called, which was intended to foster uniform statistics among all police forces in Spain. The progress made by GESI is substantial though we should not underestimate the endeavours that remain. A great deal of work must be done, especially in the conceptual sphere. Police statistics must be focussed on making assessment and decision-making easier and on steering clear of ornamental routines or those based on past events. On this basis, it is necessary to reconsider the data that must be kept in relation to the victim, the context, deploying technical regulations, improving conceptual univocity, uniformity in compilation methods, the definition of indicators, training and statutory development, etc.

In short, the progress has been significant but a lot remains to be done. In order to overcome the modernisation shortcoming that victimisation statistics for Spain still fall victim to, these shortfalls should perhaps start to be recognised. Without casting doubt on the improvements witnessed, or on the endeavours undertaken, or indeed the value of the professionals working in this sphere, we must begin to acknowledge that the progress has not been sufficient. The difficulties entailed by making area-based comparisons (for instance, between Madrid and Barcelona) or time-based comparisons (for

instance, the development of crimes known in Catalonia as of the year 2000) shows the scale of the problem: at present, all of these comparisons are burdened by the need to add data obtained using methodologies that are not strictly comparative; similar, though not identical.

What is more, Spain has not implemented a victimisation survey to cover all the autonomous communities and, until very recently, studies involving survey instruments on the subject of security and policing were approached as opinion-based studies. Indeed, we could even say that today some confuse opinion studies, which seek to weigh up what citizens are thinking, with victimisation studies, which seek to gauge what citizens have witnessed in terms of security (unlawful acts, insecurity, etc.). In actual fact, it was not the Spanish institutions that recognised the need to supplement police statistics with data obtained through surveys; rather, it was European institutions that recommended this approach.

In other words, to date, all surveys on security prepared by the central government and Spain (some ten opinion studies and more than a dozen barometers with isolated questions on home affairs and justice since 1978), have been conducted by the *Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas* (CIS), that is, an official opinion study centre, in accordance with a logic that is unavoidably centred on an opinion-based dimension of problems. Exceptionally, in 1995, in conjunction with the Ministry of Home Affairs, the CIS conducted a survey on security and policing involving some 15,000 interviews, which bore the structural hallmark of a victimisation survey, though it was not continued.

Fortunately, the period in which opinion surveys were deemed to supplement police statistics is slowly being put behind us and currently the central government has launched promising initiatives in terms of victimisation studies. Particularly worth highlighting is the National Statistics Institute (INE according to its abbreviation in Spanish), the official statistics body of Spain, which participates in the pilot test for the European security survey promoted by Eurostat, the European statistics agency. Contributions to this pilot scheme were also given by the Ministry of Home Affairs, Institutional Relations and Participation of the Government of Catalonia and the Catalan Statistics Institute. The inclusion of the INE into victimisation studies, with its resources and experience, may constitute a qualitative leap in developing statistics on crime and insecurity and, accordingly, it is a process that must be given particular emphasis in order to avoid encountering the problems that usually affect these opportunities for improvement.

Firstly, it will be necessary to avoid a national victimisation survey being conducted without the involvement of its main users, in other words, the Ministry of Home Affairs, and without the involvement of the security and police services of the autonomous communities, particularly the interior services of Catalonia, which benefit from a regular survey instrument and have demonstrated their interest in this field for a number of years. It is clear that a victimisation survey may have other users (the justice authorities, the towns, the academic community...); however, in practice, these interior services tend to show a particular concern for this data, and they are among the few parties who have, as the case may be, shown willingness to provide significant financial contributions to obtain them.

There is a good reason why the major victimisation surveys in Europe have been developed on the basis of the interest shown by interior services. The British Crime Survey is directly promoted by the Home Office, the Belgian Monitor de Sécurité is conducted by the federal police force, the Dutch Politie monitor Bevolking – the largest victimisation survey in the world in relation to the country's population – is also attached to the interior services and the French victimisation survey is based on an agreement between the Observatoire National de la Délinquance from the Ministry of Home Affairs and the French official statistics institute: INSEE (Institut National de la Statistique et des Études Économiques). We could provide other types of examples, but we do not wish to delve into the realm of local surveys, sporadic surveys or those that do not contribute to systems of indicators.

Secondly, Spanish interior administrations should have a strategy in order to implement their system of statistics and, in particular, their own survey instruments, independently from the European initiative. Beyond expressing out support for the Eurostat initiative and acknowledging the beneficial role it can play for the modernisation of the Spanish statistics system, we should also point out that it will likely have a host of limitations that we must address with our own resources. In the first instance, the European-wide Crime Victimization Survey will be launched in 2013 and it is foreseeable that it will for some time remain an irregular publication, perhaps being produced every four years. In light of this, we in Catalonia are in a position to confirm that we will maintain our own operation in this regard: the Crime Victimization Survey of Catalonia, which will be conducted in the years when its European counterpart is not carried out. It would also be appropriate for the central administration of the State to organise its own solution in this regard. Indeed, it would be ideal if these complementary initiatives could be carried out in coordination with one another.

It is too soon to make any statement on specific operations, though we can envision a range of synergy-based solutions whereby a European survey operation could fall in line with survey operations being carried out at a national or autonomous regional level, where desired: a telephone panel could be set up based on a European survey carried out on a face-to-face basis, or one could study in greater depth the differences in results from surveys carried out over the phone or those carried out face-to-face in order to build up a benchmark series – in terms of times and locations – based on face-to-face surveys. As mentioned, if there are no better alternatives, in Catalonia we would keep the Crime Victimization Survey of Catalonia for those years when the European survey is not conducted. In any event, there are many solutions and we shall not go into specific detail at the moment, but it is important to highlight the fact that the Eurostat initiative has not only its own specific value, but it also provides an opportunity to modernise our statistics system in the field of security by incorporating survey instruments into the official statistics of interior services.

The Political Culture of Catalan Society

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Introduction

The low turnout in the elections to the Parliament of Catalonia in 2006 (56%) and in the local elections in 2007 (53%) placed the concepts of political detachment, democratic discomfort, disillusionment, etc., at the heart of the debate. Indeed, in a changing world, with financial rather than political globalisation, societies try to find benchmarks endowing them with greater security for the future and one which is uncertain. 1979 serves as a reference in order to explain what is happening to us as a society. It was the year of “disillusionment”. Democracy, the recently established political system, did not meet the expectations of society. The crisis, unemployment, inflation, the closed doors to Europe and a very complex internal political situation that would lead the country to a military overthrow attempt are all aspects that form the background to this concept. 1982 was the year of change in all senses.

The situation today is somewhat similar: loss of points of reference and leadership, crisis, unemployment, lack of expectations... And we have indicators showing us what the situation is like. I do not wish to talk about detachment or democratic discomfort. I believe it is much more interesting to analyse the political culture of Catalan society in the light of surveys, as well as the interpretative keys stemming from them.

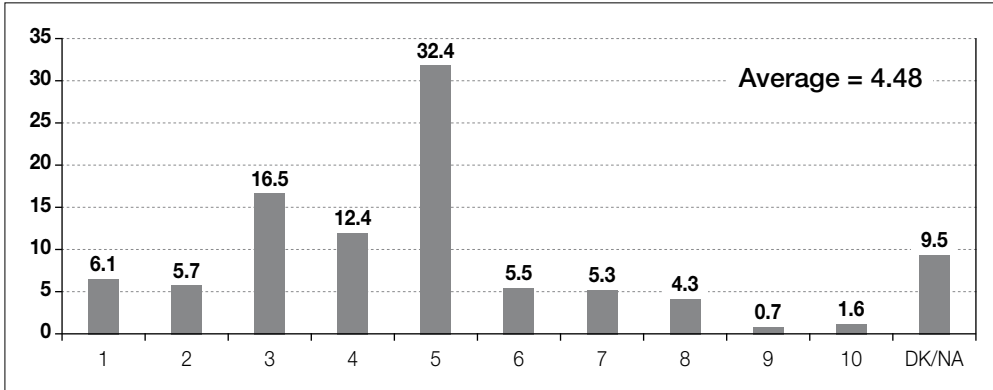
Having generally analysed political culture, the question we will try to answer is thus: does Catalan society have the necessary networks in place to address the new issues posed today and which will be posed in the future unhindered?

The data set out in this article has been obtained from the CEO surveys.

Ideological stance on the left-right scale

On the scale regarding ideological stance, where 1 is far left and 10 is far right, the most normal position, with a broad difference in comparison with the rest, is 5, roughly the central value on the scale, with a slight inclination towards the left. In particular, the average position (excluding DK/NA) is 4.48.

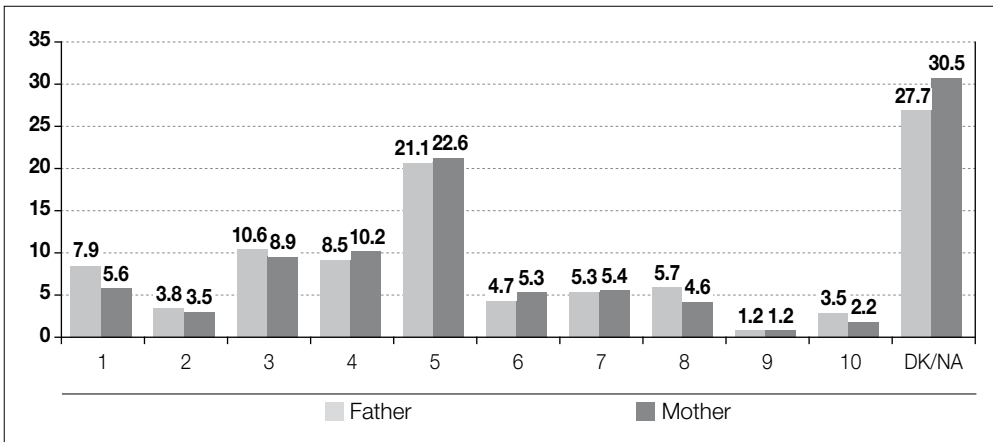
Ideological scale of the respondent
(1=far left; 10=far right)



Ideological stance of parents

The following chart shows the stance of the respondent's parents in relation to the same ideological scale. Worth noting is a substantial increase in the number of individuals who do not give any answer (DK/NA) which slightly reduces central stances. It also shows that it is more difficult to identify the ideology of the mother compared to the father. The average for the stance of the father is 4.75 and for the mother it is 4.78; therefore, both parents are perceived as being slightly more right-wing than the respondent, especially the mother, despite both of them being included within the left-wing block.

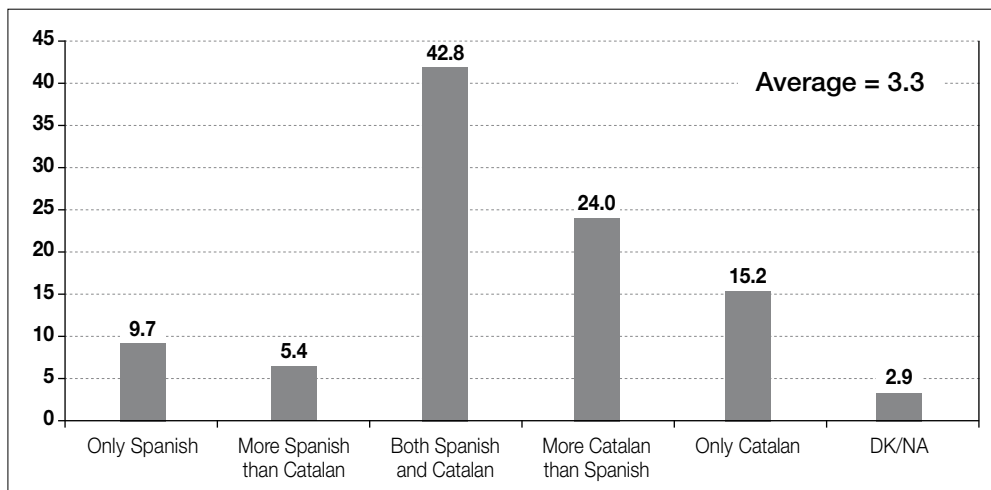
Ideological scale of the respondent's parents
(1=far left; 10=far right)



Sense of belonging

Most Catalans feel that they are both Catalan and Spanish. The second most frequently mentioned answer, accounting for a fourth of all answers, is “more Catalan than Spanish” (24%). The extremes, which reflect exclusive senses of belonging (Catalan or Spanish) account for another fourth of respondents (24.9%), with a greater representation of those who only feel Catalan (15.2%). The average on the scale stands at 3.3, midway between the dual sense of belonging and “more Catalan than Spanish”.

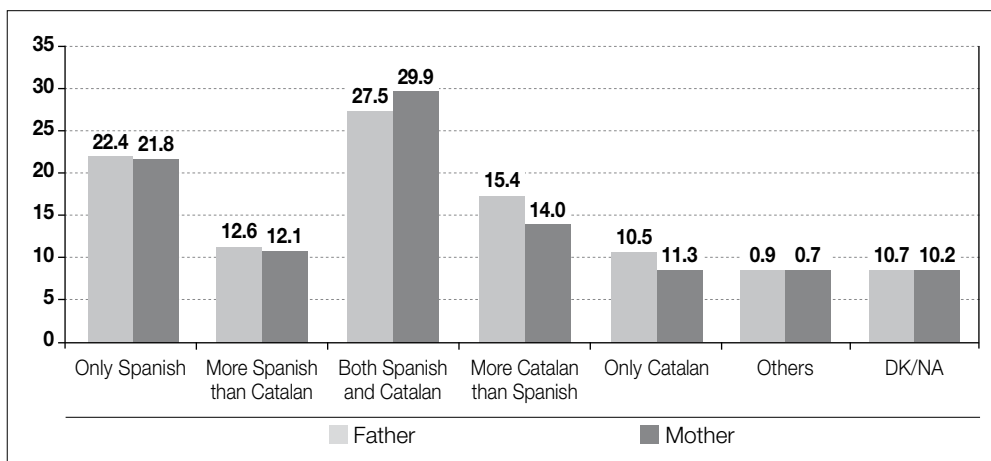
Sense of belonging of the respondent



Sense of belonging of parents

An average of respondents believes their parents are more Spanish. The average for fathers is 2.76 and for mothers it is 2.79.

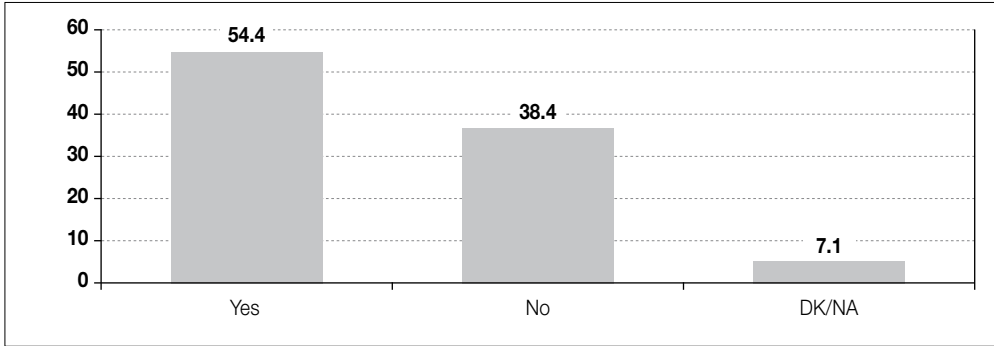
Sense of belonging of the respondent's parents



Definition of Catalonia

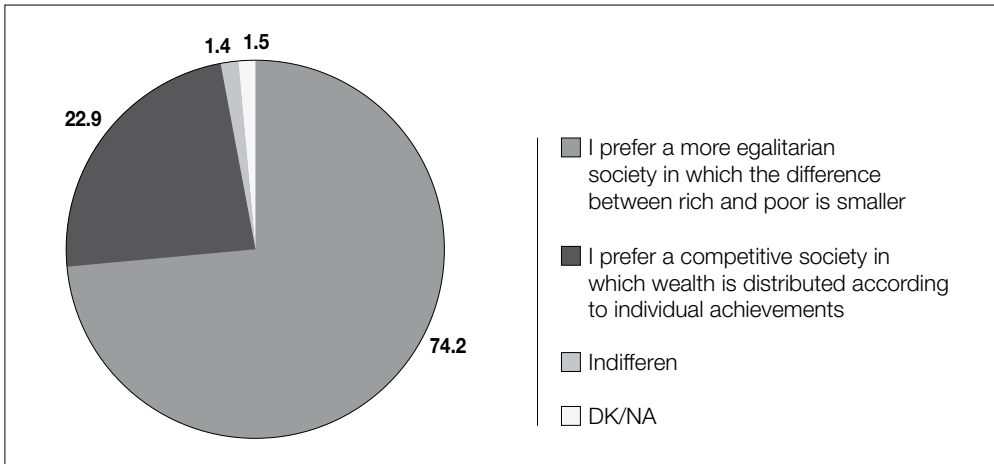
More than half of respondents (54.5%) state that they consider Catalonia to be a nation within the Spanish State. Those who oppose this statement account for 38.4% of respondents.

Do you think that Catalonia is a nation within the Spanish State?



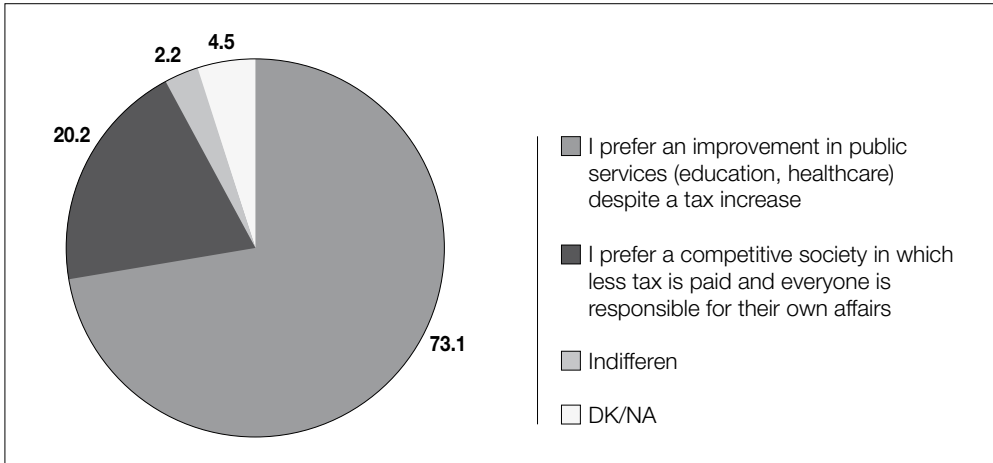
Competitive society vs. egalitarian society (1)

Approximately three fourths of Catalans (74.2%) prefer a more egalitarian society in which the difference between rich and poor is reduced, rather than a competitive society in which wealth is distributed according to individual achievements (22.9%).



Competitive society vs. egalitarian society (2)

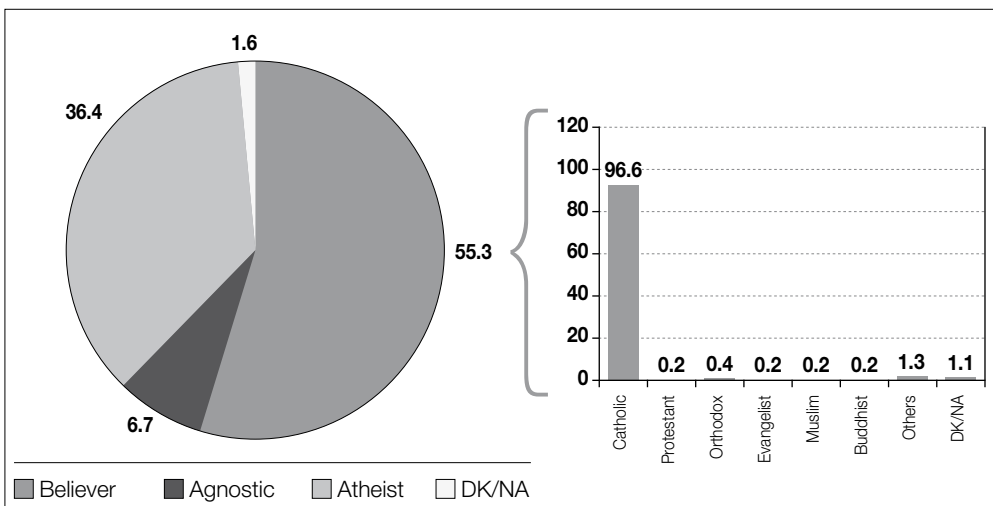
Three out of four Catalans prefer to pay more taxes if this entails an improvement in public services (73.1%), rather than living in a competitive society in which less taxes are paid and everyone is responsible for their own affairs (20.2%).



Religion

More than half of Catalans (55.3%) consider themselves as believers, as opposed to 36.4% who openly declare that they are atheists and 6.7% who define themselves as agnostic. Among believers, religious catholic practice is virtually hegemonic, although other minority religions also present in Catalonia are practiced.

How do you consider yourself in terms of religion?

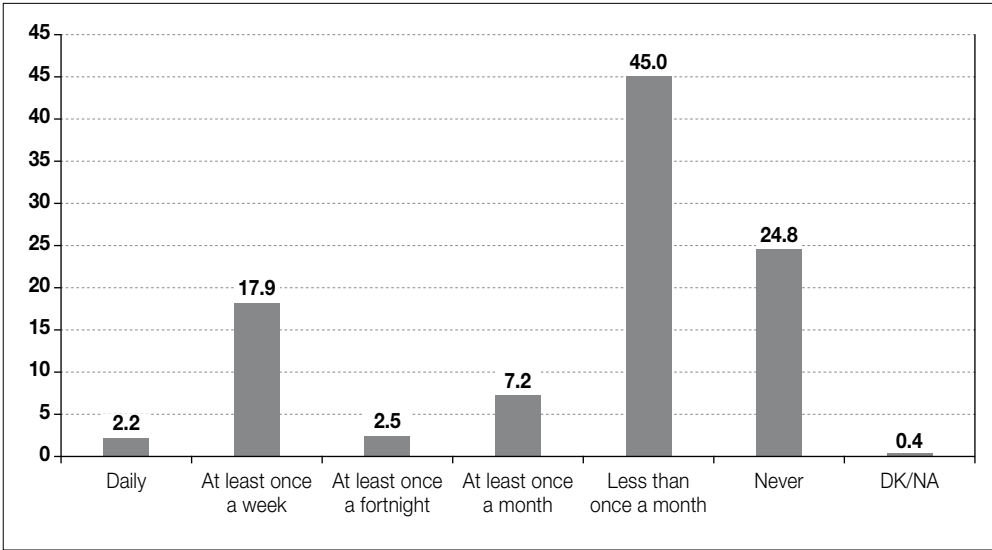


Religious practice

Religious practice does not for most Catalans entail regular attendance to religious services, since nigh on 45% of Catalans who declare themselves as believers state that they occasionally attend religious services less than once a month; and one out of every four believers (24.8%) acknowledge that they never attend such services. Contrariwise, only a fifth (20.1%) of all believers attend religious services at least once a week.

How often do you attend religious services?

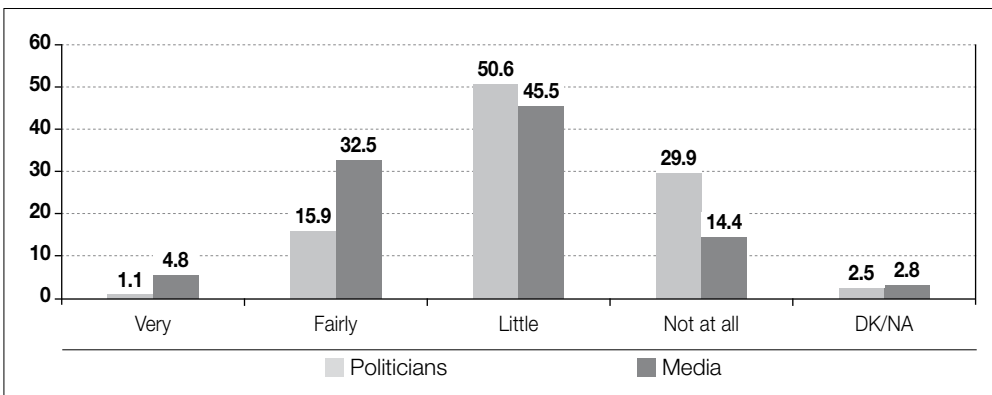
(Sample: believers)



Trust in politicians / the media

As a whole, 6 out of every 10 Catalans do not or hardly trust the media. Also, the trust placed in politicians is less prominent since the lack of trust among the population for this group is 80.5%.

How trustworthy are politicians / the media?

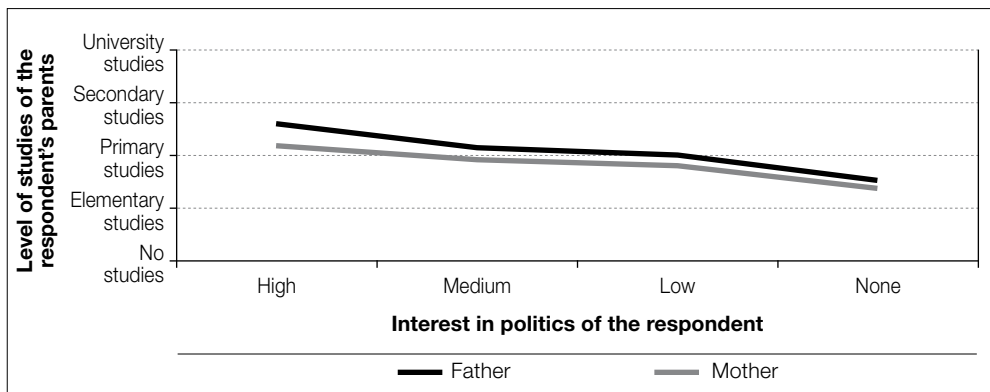


The transfer of political values from parents to children

Interest in politics of the respondent according to the level of studies of the parents

As can be seen in the chart, as the level of studies of the parents grows, the extent to which the respondents are interested in politics is also higher. This can be clearly seen in the extremes (high and no interest). Thus, in the case of those who are “highly interested”, both parents have completed primary education; whereas, the parents of those who are “not interested” tend not to have completed primary education, on average.

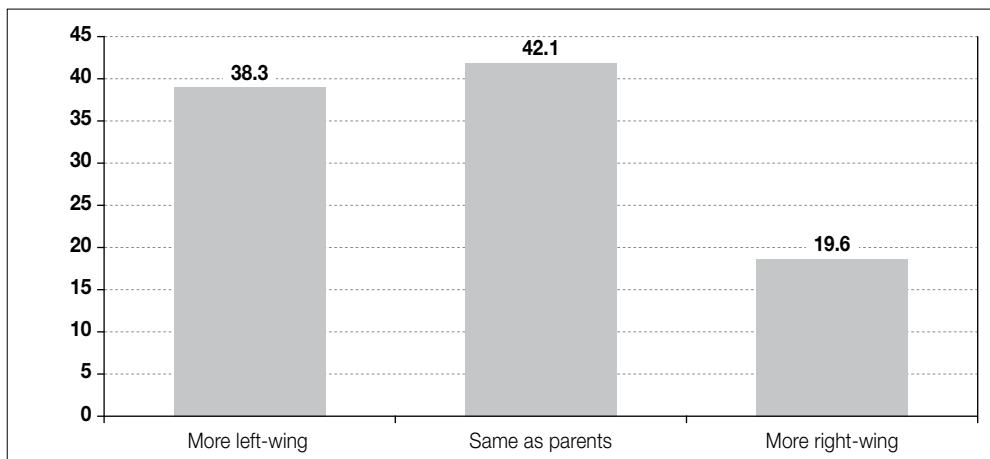
Interest in politics of the respondent according to the level of studies of the parents



Comparison between the ideology of parents and their children

With regard to the situation on the left-right scale, a comparison between parents and children shows that most children are ideologically akin to their parents (42.1%). Even so, of those who differ from their parents, a large majority swing further to the left of their parents (38.3%), while those situated to the right account for only 19.6% of respondents.

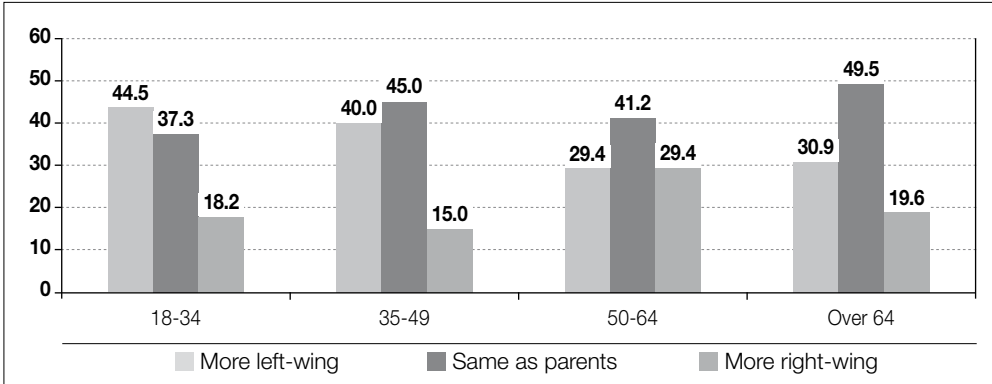
Comparison between the ideology of the respondent and the parents



Comparison between the ideology of parents and their children according to the age of the respondent

By making the same comparison as shown in the previous chart but according to the age of the respondent, it is shown that young people between 18 and 34 years of age differ most from their parents while those with more than 64 years of age tend to coincide with their parents, well above the average. It is also shown that those who swing further to the left of their parents broadly exceed those who swing further to the right, at least among young people and those under 50 years of age, and a balance is observed among groups in the 50 to 64 age range.

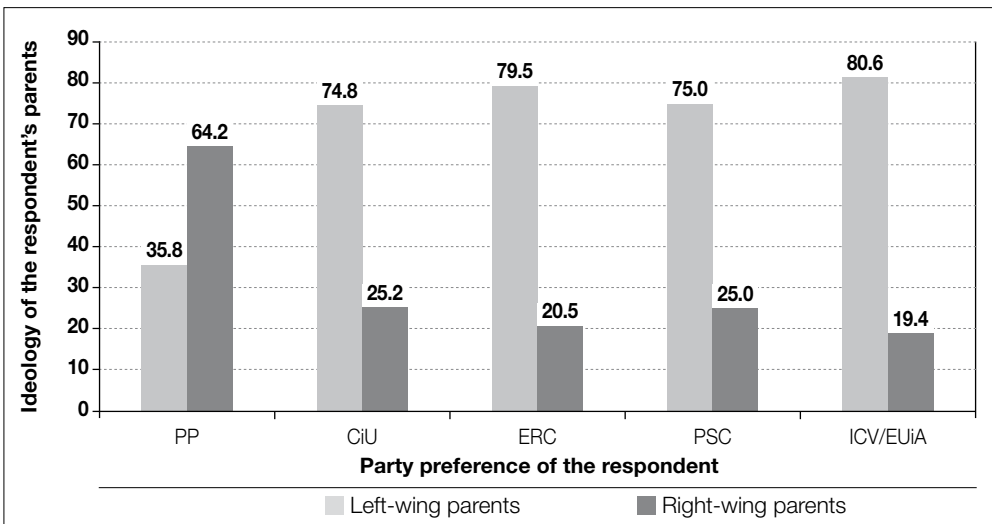
Comparison between the ideology of the respondent and the parents according to age



Comparison of preferences in political parties of the respondents and the ideology of their parents

Below is a chart showing the impact of parents' political ideology on the tendencies of their children in terms of their party of preference. For instance, 35.8% of those who favour the PP have parents whose ideology swings to the left, while the remaining 64.2% of those who favour the People's Party stem from right-wing families. As far as those who prefer other political parties are concerned, almost three in every four favour socialist politics, stemming from left-wing homes.

Preferences of the respondent according to parents' ideology

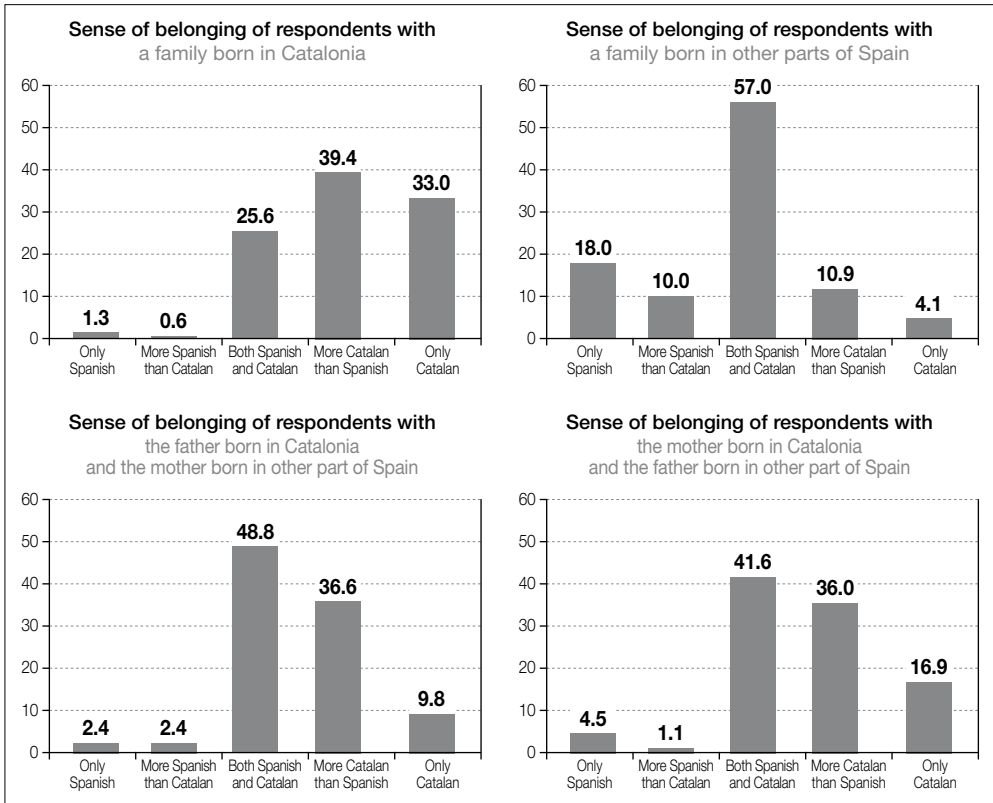
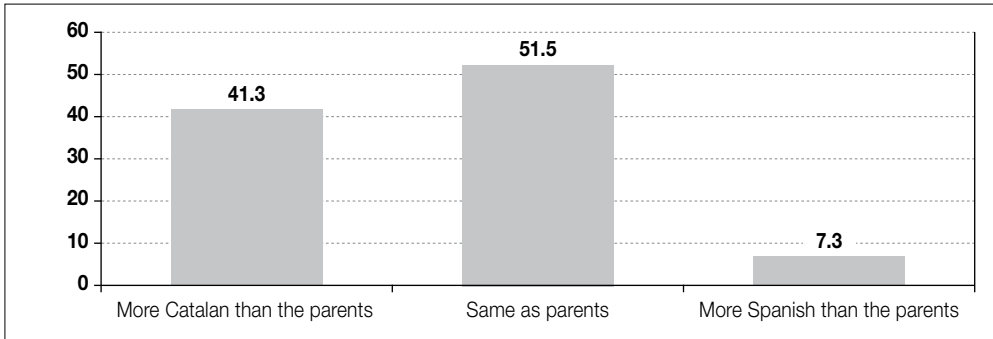


Comparison of the respondent's sense of belonging and that of their parents

More than half of those surveyed (51.5%) were on the same footing as their parents as far as the sense of belonging is concerned. Of those who did show a difference, most considered themselves to be more Catalan than their parents (41.3%) with only 7.3% stating that they feel more Spanish than their parents.

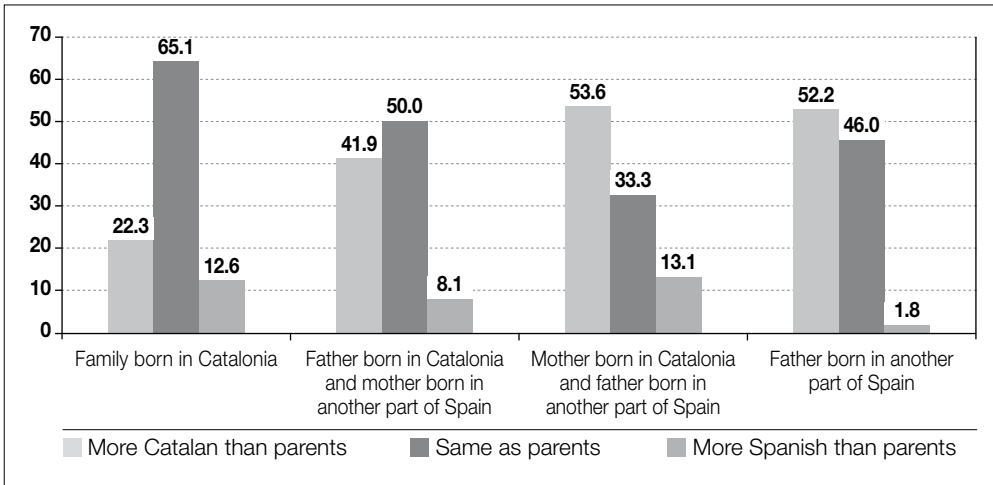
These charts show the respondent's sense of belonging according to their parents' places of birth. The majority of children of parents born in Catalonia feel "more Catalan than Spanish" and "only Catalan" (72.4%). 25.6% consider that they are both Spanish and Catalan, and only 1.9% feel more or only Spanish.

Comparison between the sense of belonging of the respondent and the parents

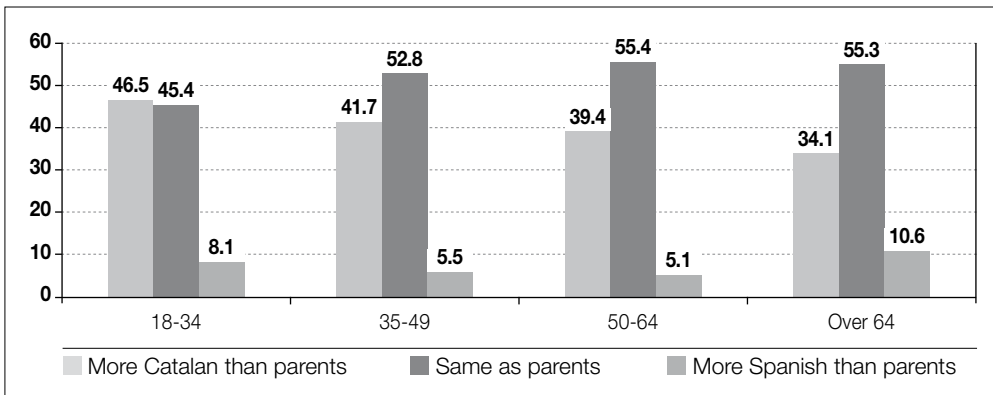


Of those surveyed with a parent born in Catalonia and the other born elsewhere in Spain, the percentage of those who feel more Catalan than Spanish or only Catalan falls. This drop is greater if the father was born in Catalonia rather than the mother. Specifically, respondents born to a father born in Catalonia and a mother from elsewhere in Spain and who feel more Catalan than Spanish or only Catalan account for 46.4%, while the same group when the situation of the parents is reversed stands at 52.9%. Those surveyed with both parents having been born outside Catalonia but in Spain basically feel as Spanish as they do Catalan (57%). The group of those who consider themselves more Catalan falls to a mere 15%, while those who feel more Spanish are almost double this (28%). As a whole, the parents' place of birth has a bearing on the children's sense of belonging. A child with both parents having been born in Catalonia feels more Catalan than the child of a family having one Catalan parent. In turn, said child feels more Catalan than a child with both parents having been born elsewhere in Spain.

Sense of belonging in relation to the parents according to their place of birth



Sense of belonging in relation to parents according to age



The previous chart compares the sense of belonging of the respondent and that of their parents according to whether the parents have been born in or outside Catalonia. Almost two thirds (65.1%) of those surveyed with both parents having been born in Catalonia show the same sense of belonging as their parents. 22.3% feel more Catalan, 10% more than those who feel more Spanish than their parents. In families where the mother has been born in Catalonia and the father elsewhere, the child feels more Catalan than their parents (53.6%). However, if the father was born in Catalonia the child's sense of belonging will be similar to that of their parents (50%). As regards children with both parents having been born in other parts of Spain, most of them feel more Catalan than their parents (52.2%). Those having the same sense of belonging as their parents account for 46%, while very few consider themselves as being more Spanish (1.8%). As a whole, the data shows an increase in the Catalan sense of belonging, especially prevalent among children with parents born outside Catalonia.

If we look at the differences in the sense of belonging between parents and children according to age groups we can see that the older the individual, the more similarities there are with their parents' sense of belonging. Among the youngest group (18 to 34 years) those who feel more Catalan than their parents slightly outweigh those who have the same sense of belonging as their parents. The older the age group, the more the sense of belonging is similar to that of the parents.

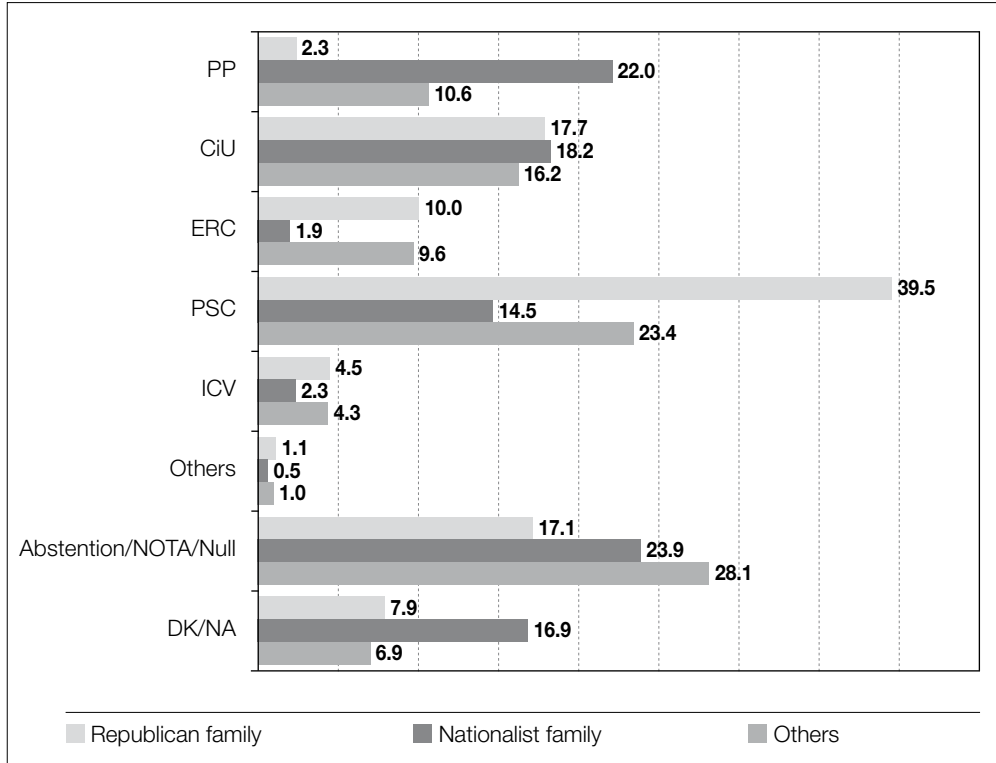
The Civil War

One of the most interesting aspects of political culture is the transition of values between generations and how historical memories are handed down from one generation to the next. By comparing the electoral map for the February 1936 elections and the elections for 1977 we can see that the ideological preferences in *both Spains* is upheld. Indeed, it is not possible to understand electoral behaviour in Catalonia without outlining the backbone of territorial Carlism. The chart in next page shows the divisions of the parents from the respondents according to the side they supported during the Civil War and voting records in the latest elections to the Parliament of Catalonia.

Ideological left-right profiles

- Men are slightly more left-wing than women.
- Those over 64 years of age are more conservative, while young people and those between 50 and 64 years are more left-wing.
- Believers are more conservative than agnostics and atheists. Attendance to religious services is directly proportional to conservatism: the more frequently an individual attends, the more conservative they are.
- Those born in Catalonia are more left-wing than those born elsewhere in Spain. There are no ideological differences compared with the parents' place of birth.
- Single people and those without children are more left-wing.

Votes in the regional autonomous elections of 2006 according to parents group during the Civil War



- Depending on the employment situation, students tend to swing most to the left along with the unemployed. Pensioners and housewives are the two most conservative groups.
- Entrepreneurs and professionals are more conservative than standard employees.
- In private companies, employees are more left-wing than those in middle management. In turn, these are more left-wing than the managers.
- On the other hand, in the public administration no such relationship exists: the most conservative group is formed by first level officials (E) along with the top managers (A), i.e., both extremes of the iceberg. Second level managers (B) are as left-wing as the ancillary workers (D), and administrative workers are among those who swing furthest to the left (C).
- As regards the educational level, those without studies and those with basic studies are more conservative, while those with university studies are more left-wing.
- Those having pursued studies in a state-subsidised school are more left-wing than those who studies in a state school. The most conservative group is formed by those who studies in a private school.
- The greater the level of education of the respondents' mothers, the more left-wing said respondents are. This association also

occurs with regard to the level of education of the father, but not to the same extent.

- Those surveyed who basically use Spanish at home, at work or with friends are more conservative.
- Those who use other languages aside from Catalan and Spanish are more left-wing.
- Those who consider themselves upper class (a small proportion of the sample) are more conservative, following by those at the other end of the spectrum: the lower class. The middle class is the most progressive group in ideological terms.
- Those surveyed living in homes with greater income are also more conservative, although those with less purchasing power (less than 900 euros) are among the most conservative groups.

Sense of belonging

- The sense of belonging of men and women is practically the same.
- The Catalan sense of belonging is most present among the youngest age group (18 to 34).
- Agnostics and atheists show a higher Catalan sense of belonging than believers.
- Those born in Catalonia feel more Catalan than those born in other parts of Spain. Having a parent born in Catalonia also has an influence on whether the respondent feels more Catalan, but not as much as the latter's own place of birth.
- Single people and those without children feel more Catalan.
- Those who are within the working population, whether they are in employment or unemployed at a given time, and students, feel more Catalan than pensioners and housewives.
- Standard employees, whether or not they are temporary, tend to feel more Catalan than the remainder.
- In private companies, directors and middle management feel more Catalan than employees.
- Within the public administration, top managers and second level managers feel more Catalan than the remainder.
- As far as the level of education is concerned, those without an education or with only a basic and primary education feel more Spanish than those with secondary or university education.
- Those who have studies in a private or state-subsidised school feel more Catalan than those who went to a state school.
- Respondents with parents having a university education feel more Catalan than the remainder.
- Respondents who basically use Catalan at home, at work and with friends feel significantly more Catalan than those who only use Spanish.
- Those who speak languages other than Catalan and Spanish tend to feel more Catalan.

With the exception of those who feel upper class (a small proportion of the sample), there are a few differences in terms of the sense of belonging among the various social classes.

When it comes to family income, a slight trend shows that those on the highest incomes feel more Catalan than the remainder.

Main problems in Catalonia

The host of surveys of the Public Opinion Barometer provides elements for analysing two problems perceived as important: public insecurity and immigration. The combination of both problems, in addition to unemployment, the financial situation and political dissatisfaction, can form a combination that should be taken into consideration.

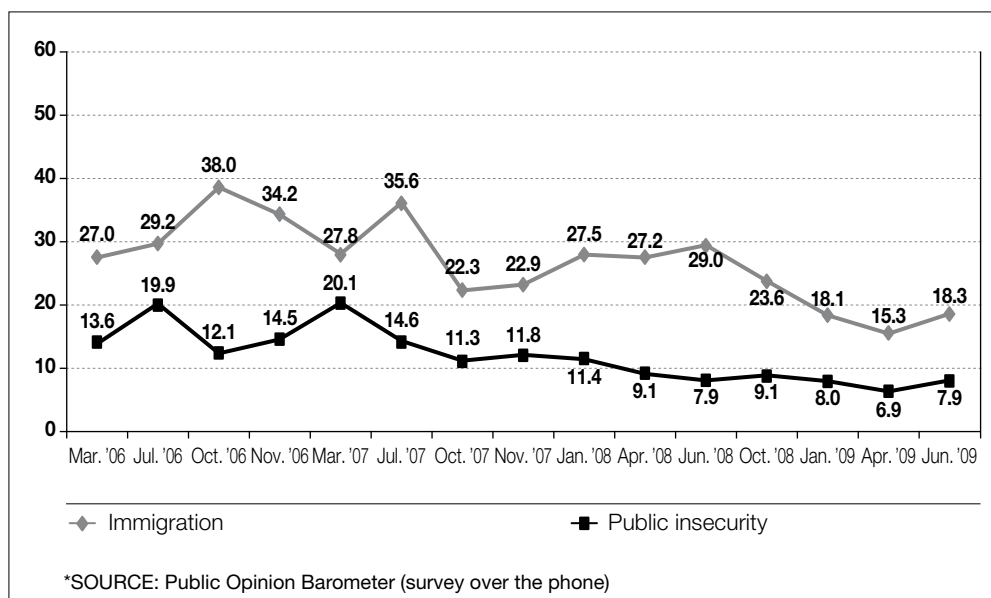
The combination of problems as a future problem or as elements that can show the strength of the system based on the analysis of the social capital of Catalan society enables all kinds of social networks to work in order to integrate and ensure social coexistence.

Next pages charts show which networks must provide an answer to the problems society faces: the family, friends, trust and social cohesion are the basis upon which a society is built.

Robert Putnam wrote the book on social capital: *Bowling Alone*. The question posed to Catalonia is whether we go alone or whether we stand together as a united group of relatives and friends?

Security- and immigration-related problems in Catalonia

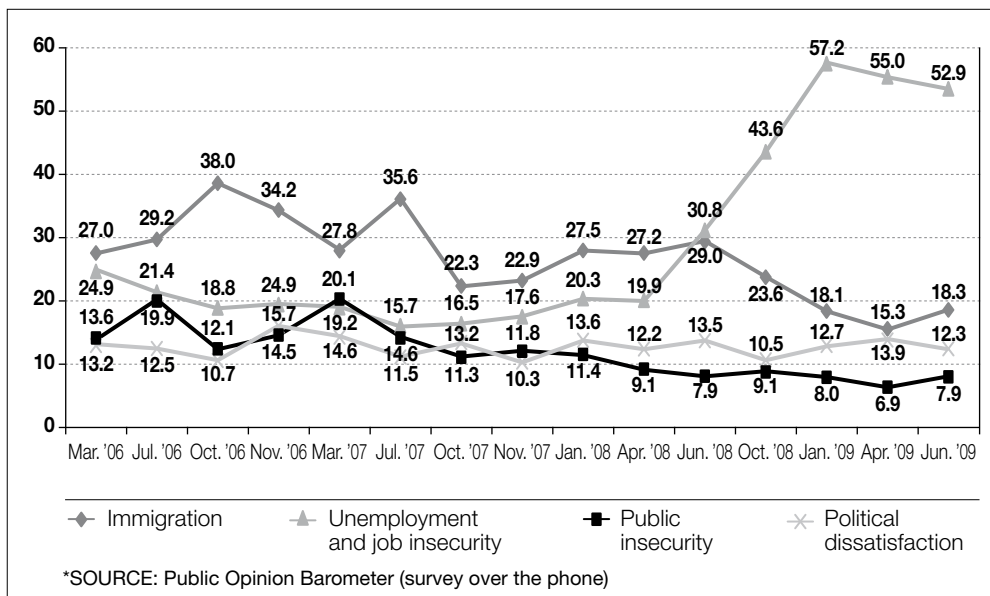
P.1 In your opinion, which are the main problems Catalonia is currently facing?
(More than one answer may be given; results in percentages)



Security- and immigration-related problems in Catalonia

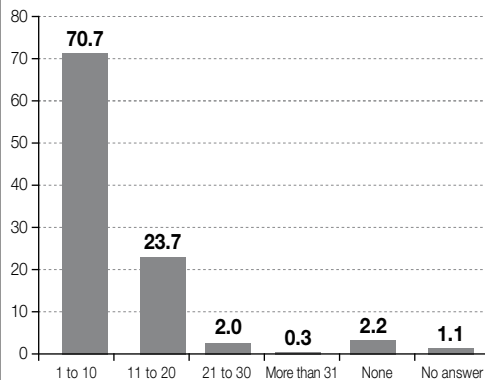
P.1 In your opinion, which are the main problems Catalonia is currently facing?

(More than one answer may be given; results in percentages)

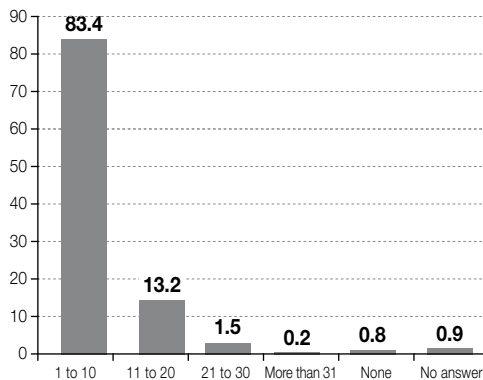


Family networks

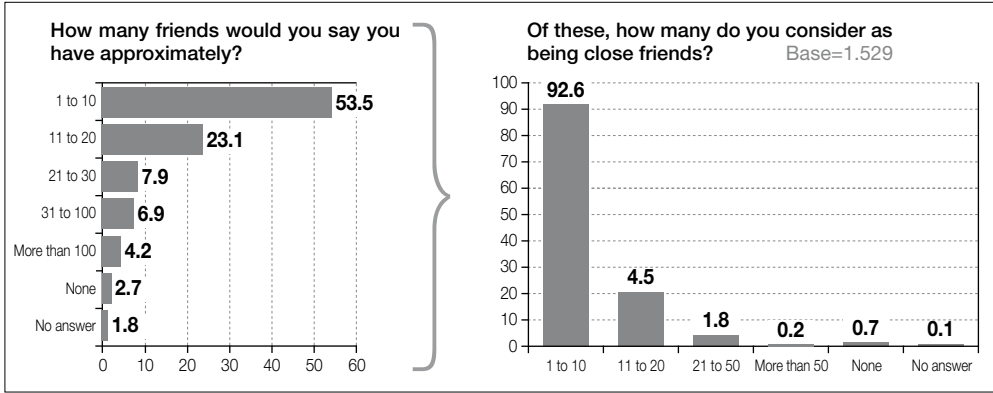
How many relatives do you regularly keep in touch with, without counting those living with you?



Taking into consideration all your relatives, including those with whom you live, how many do you keep a close relationship with?



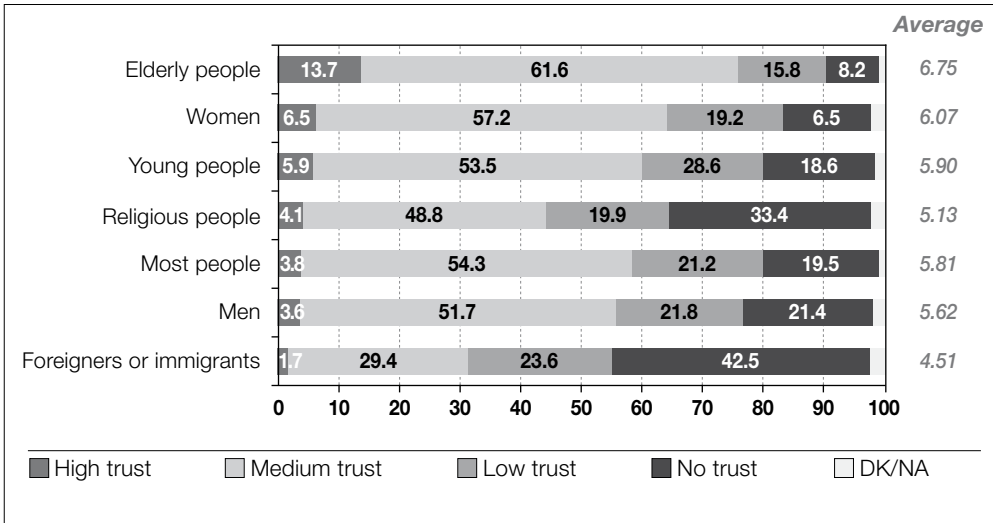
Friends networks



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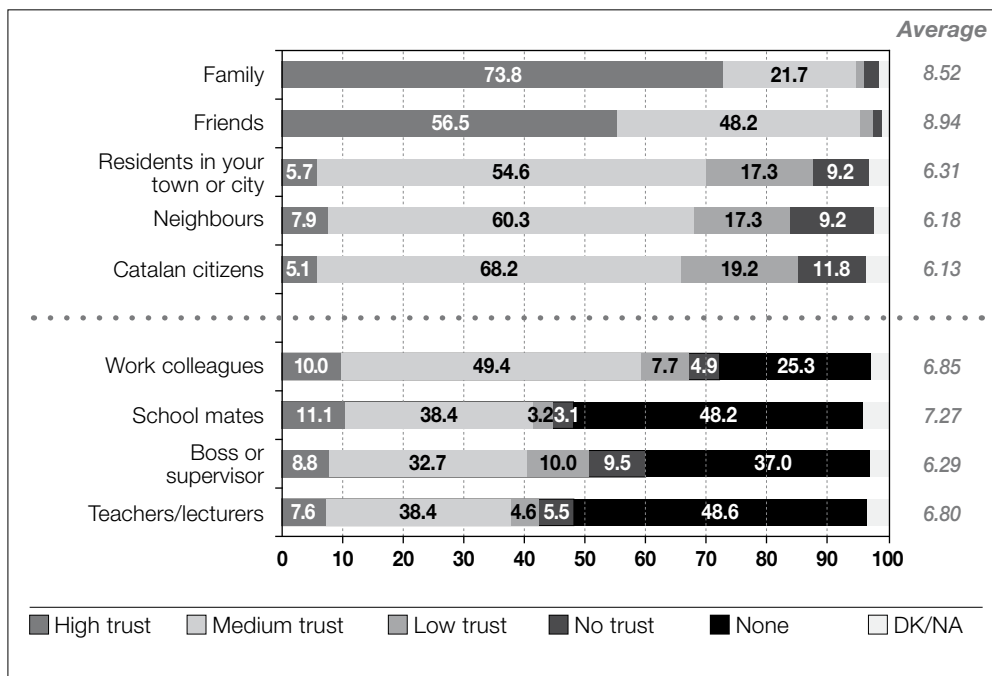
Trust in general

On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is no trust and 10 is high trust, to what extent do you trust...



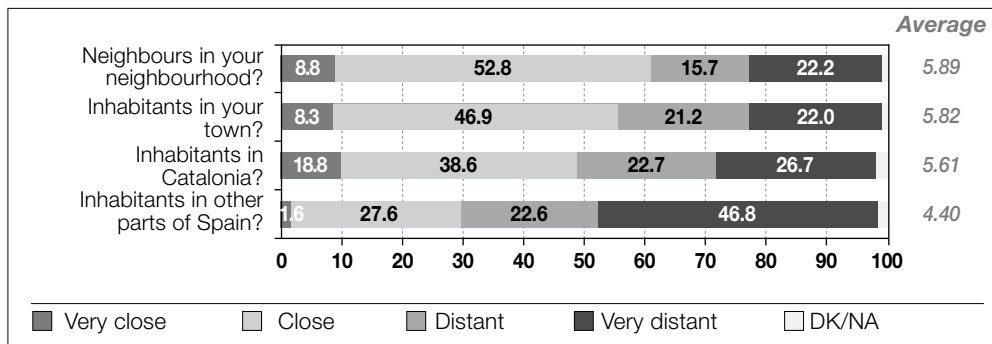
Trust in networks

I will now read out a series of groups or people. To what extent do you trust each of them on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is no trust and 10 is complete trust?



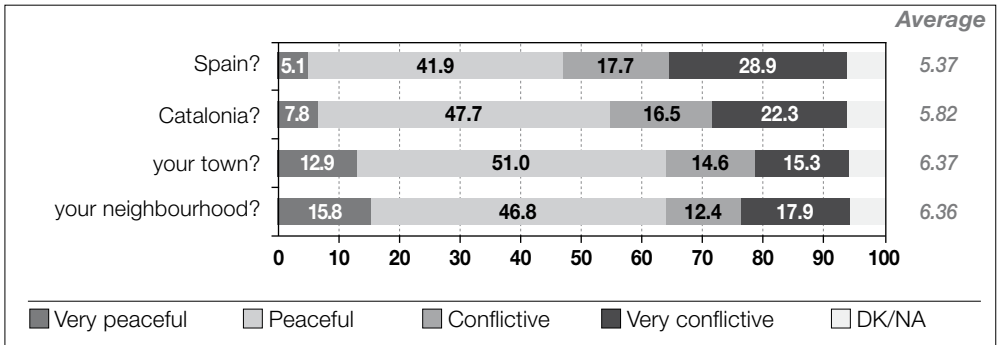
Social cohesion

On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is distant and 10 is very close, to what extent do you feel close to...



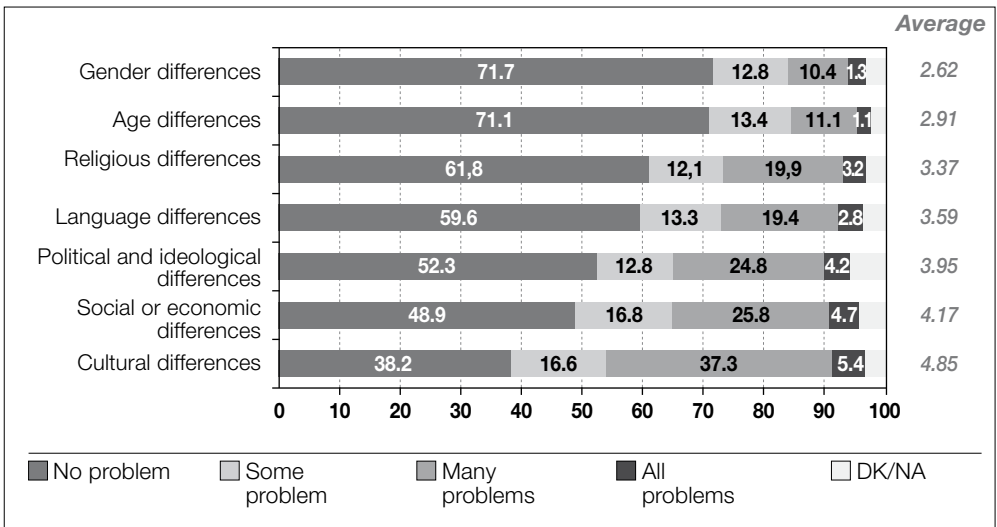
Social cohesion

On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is very conflictive and 10 is very peaceful, how would you describe the social situation in...



Social cohesion

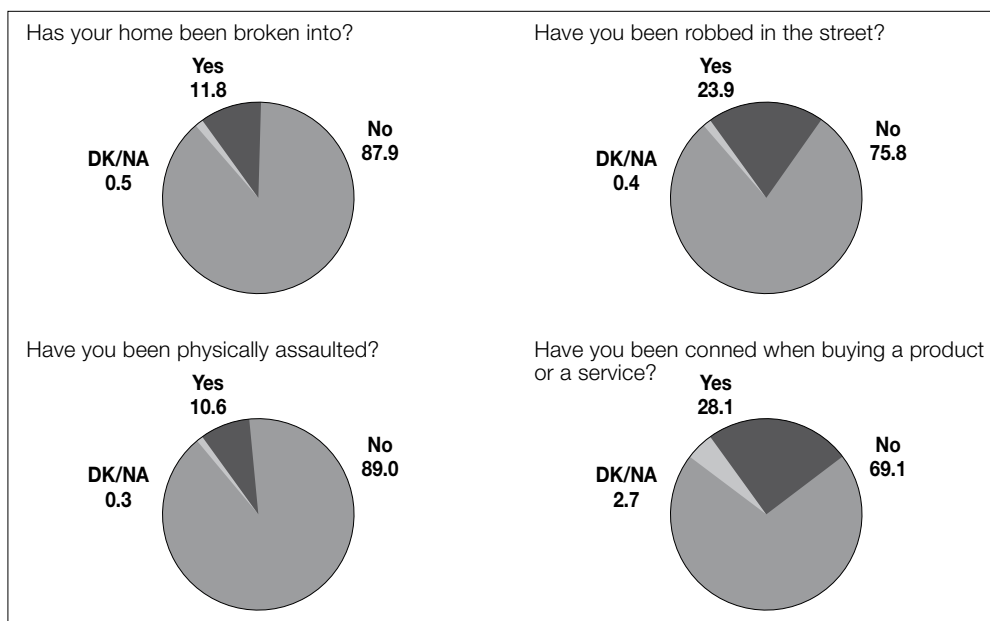
On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is no problem and 10 is all problems, to what extent do the following differences cause or may cause problems in your neighbourhood:



Finally, in the survey on social capital, security is also a key element in order to find out the percentage of individuals that have been robbed, assaulted or conned in the last five years. This is not an answer from the victimisation survey, but it cannot be neglected: home burglaries 11.8%, street robberies 23.9%, physical assaults 10.6% and shopping cons 28.1%.

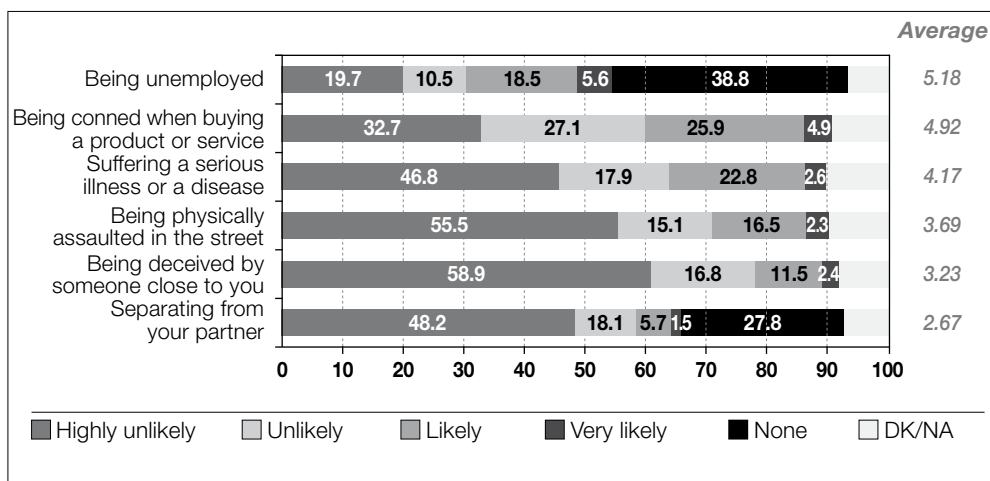
Security

In the last 5 years...



Security

On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is highly unlikely and 10 is very likely, to what extent do you think that any of the following may occur to you during the next 5 years?



Conclusion

The aim of this article was not to interpret the data; rather, emphasis has been placed on the description of the data, since it was designed to generate food for thought as opposed to ensuring that the data is interpreted in such a way as to pave the way for a particular course of action.

Detachment? Democratic discomfort? No. Values. Political culture. Social culture. The data portray an evolving society. However, the data also point out which are the stable and durable elements. Public opinion is highly stable and changes at a slow pace in its structural indicators, which are important for the analysis. Indeed, the analysis of data gives rise to a basic democratic right: to reflect and discuss.

This was the purpose of this article: to prompt the debate.

10 Years of the *Crime
Victimisation Survey in Catalonia.*
European Experiences.
Assessment and Future
Challenges

Closure

Joan Delort

*Secretary of Security
Ministry of Home Affairs,
Institutional Relations and Participation
Government of Catalonia*



Why the Crime Victimization Survey?

First of all, I would like to thank all of you for your participation in this seminar whose purpose was to analyse the 10 years of our Crime Victimization Survey and, based on the incorporation of other European experiences and perspectives, identify the challenges facing us in the immediate future while also determining long term strategic actions.

Making an analysis of the activities carried by the respective national and international bodies over the last few years shows that there have not been many opportunities for technicians, analysts, and prescribers in the world of statistic analysis and public opinion to coincide in space and time with the people having responsibility in the specific field of victimisation. During the last few days we have had the chance to meet each other and share experiences with leaders in various specialties from different places of origin. And we have been able to discuss their experience and knowledge with them.

The question that has been asked since the beginning of the seminar and what led us to hold it was: **Why to conduct a victimisation survey?** In view of the few experiences compared and discussed here, the answer is not simple.

There are many Public Administrative bodies with competence over the security of citizens whose specific actions, and therefore presumably their policies, are guided by the reports presented by the police system. There are records, and the records are what is reported; therefore, what is not reported is not recorded. It seems to be a first degree equation, simple to solve. Based on this premise, and although old but no less used today, tens of years ago criminology developed and published the concept of *dark number* as something which criminally exists but which citizens have not reported and which everybody accepts, but this is not why analysis and conclusions are no longer exclusively based on police records. The problem is that one thing is what happens, another what is reported and, finally, quite another what is recorded.

We therefore accept that not everything that happens is reported and that the degree of reporting by citizens shows considerable variation depending on different situations, including: confidence in the police, accessibility of police services, the almost imperative need to

report something to be able to compensate the damage or stolen property, and the degree to which the crime has personally affected the victim.

We could even reach the paradox that who best reports and records -speaking from a police point of view obviously- is penalised by the comparison. Effectively, *doing it better* implies having more importance, and whoever has more importance appears as being worse. Lets us consider an example from our experience. In Catalonia the records in the police data system are entered by the group of Catalan police organisations, those that depend on Catalan Public Administrative bodies, the Police of the Generalitat -Mossos d'Esquadra and local police forces. They provide a not negligible 20% of all records of crimes and misdemeanours. In Spain this only occurs in Catalonia and so the data provided by other security related administrative bodies only includes that from their own police forces. The Ministry of the Interior therefore presents the data from the security forces of the State. Comparatively, the police data -records of crimes and misdemeanours- are always higher because from the outset they are *penalised* by the 20% of local police forces that are not included in State statistics.

But furthermore, it is well known that police records show all that, having emerged from initial opacity, is communicated to the police. And there are crimes whose nature or perception of little importance, will never be recorded, others, simply hidden. Is there enough, do we do enough with police records to guide security policies? This is the dilemma. For us the answer is no. It is necessary to know the dark number, and the slightly dark number, the nuances and, also of extreme importance, the perspective of security from the point of view of the receptor of these public services, the citizen, and not only the service provider, the police. This is the reason behind this long series of surveys in Catalonia and Barcelona.

The importance of these surveys as an alternative source that necessary to gain an understanding of the reality

During this seminar it has been made quite clear that police data only reflects part of the reality, not all, and that the surveys are necessary because they also provide other types of information. At the same time it is important to note however that the police data is extremely useful and rich because it also provides information that the surveys do not include. That is, **the surveys are not designed to substitute police data, but to complement it.** It is necessary to resort to as much complementary data as possible. The English enter everything, even *performance* indicators and the French are in the process of also working with data from the Justice Administration.

The method used for surveys: face-to-face, telephone, Internet ...

This has been a recurrent subject in almost all the discussions, and the organisation of the seminar has also shown special interest in

improvement of the measurement instruments and their efficiency. Obtaining more and better, with competitive costs and high reliability, is a challenge, and more so in the current period of inevitable and necessary restraint.

Even though some participants championed the idea that face-to-face interviews were by far the best (in simple terms), the first speaker (Dr. Killias) revolutionised the conference room when he explained that the large number of face-to-face surveys conducted by English and Americans were considered an incredible waste of money as everyone believed they were not necessary and that telephone interviews provided sufficient information. The same was said by the representative of the *Barcelona Institute of Regional and Metropolitan Studies* and that of the Belgian *Moniteur de Sécurité* who even mentioned the virtues of this method, and that it is necessary to explore the possibilities of Internet in the immediate future.

In the resulting direct debate among various speakers, all accepted that perhaps it would depend more on the type of information or the type of target whether a face-to-face interview would be more recommendable, even though they accepted that there are cases where the information is good enough when obtained using other, more economic, means. Notwithstanding, it is necessary to consider that the type of method used could influence one type of response or another and that of the sample is not well balanced, this could also condition the profile of the responses.

Crossing data

There is the generalised opinion (in coherence with that mentioned in the first part) that it is necessary to diversify the sources and instruments used to obtain information to ensure a good understanding of the delinquency, security, police work, etcetera. We all believe that it is necessary to use all the data available. Nevertheless, everyone coincided, *Home Office* included, that **they cannot be used together because they provide different information**. The data complement each other or can be used for mutual comparison, but they cannot be used together, they cannot be “combined”. Even the representative of the Home Office recommended that when publishing reports from various sources, it is better to explain them separately as otherwise confusion is accentuated and the information delegitimised because if this data is not put in its respective context, it could be perceived as being contradictory.

The recommended procedure is therefore to provide a separate explanation and, in any case, make comparisons in different sections, with special emphasis on justifying the reasons for these results.

Other types of surveys

During the whole seminar there was discussion of the need to work on specific areas in a different way, either with self-administrated modules within the general questionnaire (French model where the module of violence in the home is self-administrated by computer), or with specific surveys on youths (Catalonia and a French project),

gender-based violence, or survey user satisfaction. In the latter case, the clearest model was that of the *Metropolitan Police*, as Belgium incorporate questions on the police in the general questionnaire, as does Catalonia.

Comparability

There is evident importance of having parameters that can be compared between territories and countries. In this sense, the problem in Spain of the non-existence of a general questionnaire for the whole region becomes apparent, or at least a group of complementary surveys based on homologation and standardisation of parameters and methods, in spite of Spanish participation in the *International Crime Victimization Survey* every five years.

Comparability is necessary to be able to situate the field territorial subject to analysis in relation to other territories [and countries] in comparable terms. That is to say, using the same components to measure quantities and qualities and the weighting and 'translation' of trans-national indicators that may have different meanings on a local level.

This means it is more and more recommendable to have a European Crime Victimization Questionnaire that provides a comparable vision between countries and territories based on overcoming these territorial differences and their heterogeneity. A European Questionnaire, apart from providing comparability between countries and territories, would enable diversifying efforts in various areas of interest for security forces, beyond those of criminality, and include others that are specific to user satisfaction and additional studies of two-year, three-year or five-year character.

And finally, and perhaps for this reason as important as the beginning

Will we be capable of maintaining the measurements obtained in the research of citizen opinions and police records away from political or media manipulation? Playing with security is playing with fire. Not assuming reality is too.

Make it, inevitably, provide us with advanced instruments and procedures in police records, and at the same time surveys that incorporate the understanding and knowledge of the dark side of reality and the opinion of citizens about security and the services that have to guarantee it.

This is the challenge and this is our commitment.

Thank you very much once again for your attendance here, and my thanks also to the people on my team who have made this seminar possible.

