

B

The Burden of Property Crime

Introducing the ICVS

As discussed above, the International Crime Victims Survey will be used here as the principal source of information on the level of common crime across countries (also referred to as volume crime). Most of the data used are from the 1996, 2000, and 2005 sweeps of the ICVS. Where appropriate, data from other sources, such as from official police administrations, will be added on an ad hoc basis. In this chapter, the focus will be on frequently occurring property crimes. Violent crimes will be the topic of the next chapter. Chapter 5 will look at the determinants of common crimes and In Chapter 6, we will discuss global and regional trends in crime over time.

The ICVS collects information on experiences of crime for 10 “common crimes.” Among the 10 types of crime, some are “household crimes,” that is, those that can be seen as affecting the household at large. For these crimes, respondents are asked to report on all incidents experienced by the family. The first group of crimes deals with the vehicles owned by the respondent or his or her household: theft of car, theft from car, theft of bicycle, and theft of motorcycle.¹ The second group refers to burglary and attempted burglary. The third group of crimes refers to victimization experienced by the respondent *personally*: robbery, theft of personal property, threat or assault, and sexual offenses.

The ICVS provides an overall measure of victimization by common crimes: the percentage of those ages 16 or over who experienced, over the previous 12 months, one or more of the 10 main types of common crimes covered by the questionnaire. These percentages are called the *one-year victimization prevalence rates*.

Cross-validation of crime survey findings with information on police-recorded crimes has proven to be problematic. Estimates of the total number of crimes committed based on extrapolations of survey results are typically much higher than the number of crimes recorded by the police. As explained, crimes are filtered out through

nonreporting by victims and nonrecording by the police. The one type of crime least affected by such filtering is, besides homicide, theft of car. Most car thefts are reported to the police and duly recorded. Concerning this type of crime, the estimated total of crimes committed according to survey research should be roughly the same as the officially recorded number. Studies comparing the estimated number of car thefts according to crime victimization surveys with number of car thefts recorded by the police have indeed shown a high level of agreement (Van Dijk & Steinmetz, 1980). This concurrence suggests that interviewing samples of the public can indeed yield reliable estimates of the true levels of common crime.²

Although crime victimization surveys possess their own specific limitations and methodological weaknesses, they are by now generally regarded as the best available source of information on the level of common crimes.³ Topical methodological issues concerning national surveys such as the National Crime Survey in the United States and the British Crime Survey in England and Wales are discussed in Hough and Maxfield (2007). Discussions on key methodological issues concerning the ICVS can be found in various reports (e.g., Block, 1993; Kury, 2001; Mayhew & Van Dijk, 1992; Nieuwbeerta, 2002; Van Dijk, Van Kesteren, & Smit, 2007; Van Kesteren, Mayhew, & Nieuwbeerta, 2000). Recurrent concerns relate to the quality of methods and techniques of data collection employed and the extent of standardization achieved. In a recent review of international crime surveying, Lynch (2006) came to the conclusion that nation-specific surveys, which are typically better funded, produce higher-quality data on individual nations but that the ICVS provides more comparable data across countries. A brief description of some of these technical issues is included in Appendix A.

Through standardization of the questionnaire and basic features of the sampling design, the ICVS indeed produces victimization rates that can reliably be compared across countries. In many developing countries, the ICVS has for logistical and cost reasons been carried out only in the capital city (for example, in Johannesburg, Buenos Aires, and Djakarta) usually with samples sizes of 1,000 people. In developed countries, the surveys were usually carried out among samples of the national population of 2,000 per country. For the purpose of cross-country comparisons, we have calculated the victimization rates of inhabitants of capital or other main cities of developed countries.⁴ In the ICVS 2005, booster samples were drawn from inhabitants of capital cities of around 1,000 per country. Cross-country comparisons made in this chapter pertain to the percentages of inhabitants of capital or other main cities who were victimized by crime over the past 12 months (one-year urban victimization prevalence rates).

Comparing urban victimization rates of countries brings the additional advantage that the impact of different degrees of urbanization on national crime rates (to be discussed in Chapter 5) is eliminated. On the downside, the comparison of urban rates ignores victimization in rural areas, which might show a different picture. In most countries, levels of crime are significantly lower in rural areas. However, it should be borne in mind that currently more than half of the world's population lives in urban areas and that this proportion keeps increasing. These demographic facts support our focus on urban victimization rates in international comparisons. National rates are used in Chapter 6 to illustrate trends of crime over time in selected countries.⁵

Only a few countries have taken part in all five rounds of the ICVS conducted so far. For the comparisons, we have included the results of the latest surveys available for each country from 1996 onward. Data presented are from countries where ICVS-based surveys were last carried out in either 2005 or 2000, supplemented with some data of 1996 surveys. In the tables with victimization rates of individual countries and in the various maps, we have added the results of five countries that took part only in 1992 (China, Egypt, Tunisia, Tanzania, and Papua New Guinea). Since these rates fall outside the chosen reference period of 1996–2005, they are marked with an asterisk in the tables. ICVS data are available on 78 countries, but the total numbers vary per variable because of missing data values (e.g., overall victimization rates cannot be calculated for countries that have changed one of the questions on the 10 different crime types). Comparisons are primarily made between the rates of world regions. North America is represented by Canada and the United States and Oceania by Australia and New Zealand. Western Europe is represented by 20 countries and eastern/central Europe by 18. For Latin America, regional rates were calculated using data from seven countries in South America, including Brazil and Argentina and two from Central America (Mexico and Costa Rica).⁶ Asia is represented by eight countries, including Japan, Hong Kong/China, and Indonesia. The data set for Africa comprises seven countries including South Africa and Nigeria. For an overview of all participating countries and/or cities, see Appendix A.

Overall Levels of Crime

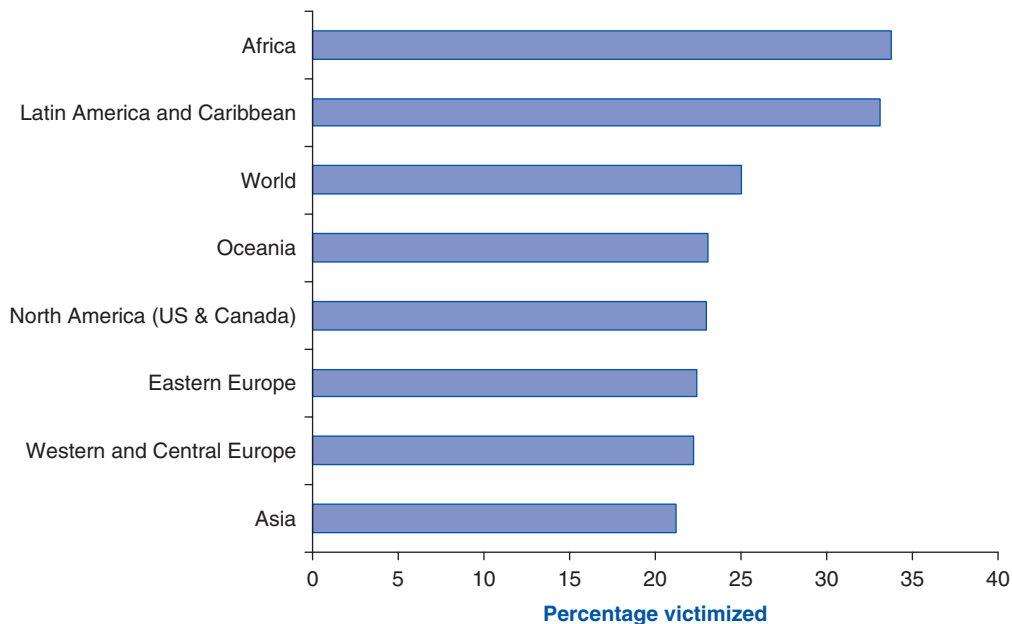
Figure 3.1 shows the regional distribution of one-year prevalence rates of victimization by any of the 10 mentioned crimes among people living in capital cities (typically with 1,000,000 inhabitants or more).

The results of the ICVS 1996–2005 show that on average, one in four citizens (25%) living in urban areas was the victim of at least one form of crime over the 12 months preceding the interview. This result confirms that real levels of crime are several times higher than those recorded by the police because of nonreporting by victims or nonrecording by the police. In selected Western countries, analyses have shown real crime level to be four to five times larger than police-recorded crime, especially violent and sexual crime (Van Dijk & Steinmetz, 1980). The gap between actual and recorded crime is much larger in developing countries since reporting and recording rates are considerably lower, as discussed in the previous chapter. Globally, the number of real volume crimes committed can be roughly estimated as at least 10 times higher than those recorded. Global recorded crime can rightly be described as just the tip of the iceberg.

Regional rates do not differ more than 10 percentage points from the global average. Victimization rates are highest for city dwellers in Latin America (34%) and Africa (33%) and lowest in Asia (21%). Variation in overall victimization among regions consisting mainly of developed countries is minimal.

As we will see below, variation between regional rates is significantly larger for specific types of crime. Lower rates for some types of crime seem to be offset by higher rates in other criminal domains. As a result, regional rates vary within the range of 21% to 34%. No world region is immune from high levels of volume crime in urban areas.

❖ **Figure 3.1** Overall Percentages of General Public in Urban Areas Victimized by Any of 10 Types of Common Crime During the Past 12 Months, by World Region



Source: ICVS, 1996–2005.

It is noteworthy that the variation in regional rates does not fully conform to the commonly held notion that levels of crime are driven by poverty. The low crime rate in Asia is clearly at odds with this notion. The fact that the level of crime in eastern Europe is identical to that of more affluent central and western European countries also belies easy generalizations about the relationships between poverty and crime. We will return to this issue in Chapter 5 on the determinants of crime.

For methodological reasons, ICVS survey questionnaires ask about victimization experiences during the past 5 years before asking detailed information on incidents during the past 12 months. Rates on most recent experiences are known to be more reliable and are therefore used as the basis for calculating victimization rates. Information on the 5-year reference period provides a rough indication of the prevalence of criminal victimization over a longer period of time. Globally, over a 5-year period, two out of three inhabitants of big cities were victimized by a crime at least once. In Europe and North America, roughly one in two are victimized once or more in the course of 5 years according to the latest available data (Van Dijk, Van Kesteren, & Smit, 2007). This finding confirms that criminal victimization is no longer a rare event for those living in the big cities of today's world. To be confronted with crime has become an almost normal feature of life for those living in an urban setting anywhere in world.

As previously stated, this book aims to present statistics on the levels of crime *in* all world regions as well as in as many individual countries possible. Table 3.1 shows

❖ **Table 3.1** World Ranking of Countries According to Victimization of the Public in Urban Areas by any Crime in the Course of One Year, Rank Number, and Percentage of Victims per Year

Fifteen Countries With the Highest Rates					
1	Colombia	48.7	6	Peru	41.0
2	Zimbabwe	46.8	7	Mongolia	40.6
3	Costa Rica	43.5	8	Bolivia	38.9
4	Swaziland	43.4	9	Mozambique	37.7
5	Cambodia	41.3	10	Tanzania*	37.6
11	Tunisia*	35.9	12	Namibia	35.1
13	Paraguay	34.5	14	Zambia	34.4
15	Slovak Republic	32.4			
Fifteen Countries With Medium-High Rates					
16	United Kingdom	32.0	30	Ireland	25.7
19	Argentina	31.2	31	New Zealand	25.9
21	India	29.7	34	South Africa	25.7
26	Lesotho	27.3	37	United States	23.3
28	Netherlands	27.0	38	Russian Federation	23.1
39	Norway	21.5	46	China*	21.6
51	Switzerland	20.1	53	Canada	19.1
56	Brazil	18.4			
Fifteen Countries With the Lowest Rates					
58	Turkey	17.9	63	Italy	16.6
59	France	17.8	64	Spain	13.7
60	Austria	17.2	65	Greece	13.5
61	Australia	16.9	66	Croatia	12.9
62	Korea, Rep.	16.7	67	Hungary	12.6
68	Japan	10.8	69	Portugal	9.7
70	Philippines	9.1	71	Hong Kong, China	7.8
72	Azerbaijan	7.7			

Source: ICVS, 1992, 1996–2005, latest survey available.

* Countries with data from ICVS, 1992.

the ranking of countries on the basis of one-year overall victimization rates, based on results of ICVS surveys carried out in the period 1996–2005. For three countries, data were included from the 1992 survey (indicated by an asterisk).

In interpreting countries' rates, it must be borne in mind that they are based on relatively small samples with an average size of 1,000 respondents. The actual rates among the population may deviate from the ones given here. As a general rule, there is less than a 10% chance that the overall victimization rates of the city population deviate more than three percentage points from the rates of the samples. Individual countries' rates, then, cannot be seen as exactly right but provide a reliable indicator of which countries have relatively high, moderately high, or relatively low rates of victimization among their urban populations. Full details of all country prevalence rates are given in Appendix B, and underlying sample sizes are given in Appendix A.

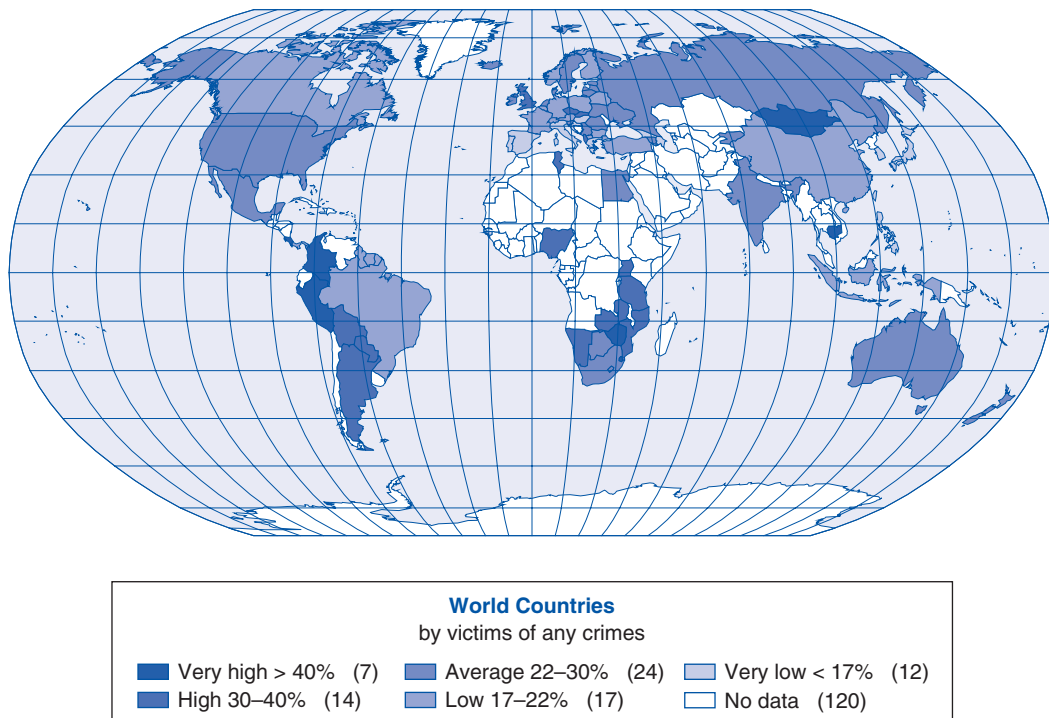
The countries with the highest prevalence rates for common crime are mainly from Latin America or sub-Saharan Africa, with the exception of Mongolia, Cambodia, and Estonia. Very high prevalence rates for most types of crime were also found in Papua New Guinea (overall rate not available).⁷

Europe and North American countries are almost without exception situated in the middle category. Contrary to common perception, overall rates of volume crime—such as burglary, robbery, and assault and threats—are not higher in the United States than in most parts of western Europe. In fact, U.S. rates are significantly lower than those of, for example, England and Wales and the Netherlands. Ireland and Iceland also stand out as European countries with relatively high crime rates. The overall rate of Canada is somewhat below the means of the European Union and the United States. In the latest round of the ICVS, Australia, represented by Sydney, emerged as a relatively low-crime country.

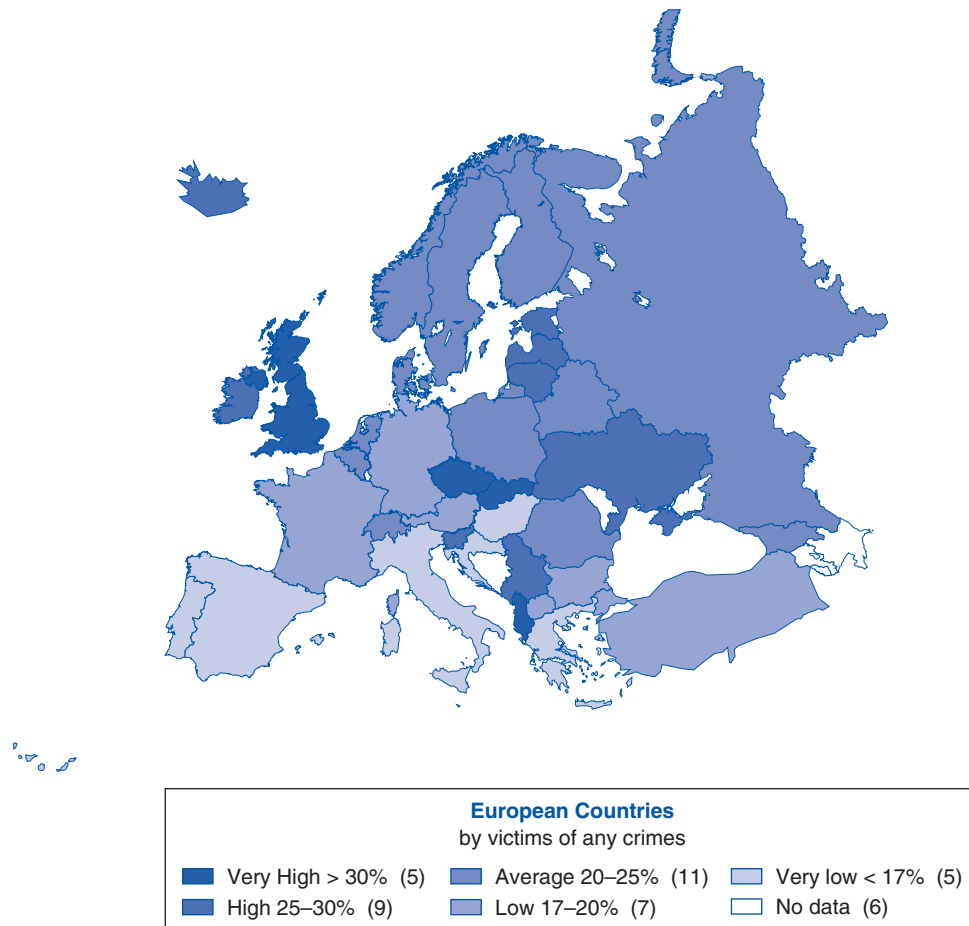
Countries with the lowest rates form a fairly mixed group with a strong representation of eastern European and affluent Asian countries (Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong), middle-income ones (China), and poor ones (Philippines, Indonesia, Azerbaijan). Switzerland and Norway used to be countries with the safest main cities in western Europe, but according to the latest ICVS round, this position has been taken over by Austria, Italy, Spain, and Greece.

Figures 3.2 and 3.3 show the world and European maps of victimization by common crimes around 2000.

❖ **Figure 3.2** World Map of Victimization by Any Common Crime (2000)



Source: ICVS, 1992, 1996–2005.

❖ **Figure 3.3** European Map of Victimization by Any Common Crime (2000)

Source: ICVS, 1996–2005.

Other Measures of the Crime Burden

The victimization prevalence rates are the percentages of those ages 16 years and older who experienced any crime once or more. It provides a rough measure of exposure to common crime, disregarding both the number of victimizations per respondent (one or more times during the year) and their seriousness (ranging from bicycle thefts to car thefts and sexual violence). Critics have pointed out that comparing overall prevalence rates of countries may lead to erroneous conclusions on the comparative burdens of crime of respective national populations.

In previous reports on the ICVS, overall prevalence rates (percentage of population victimized at least once by any of the 10 types of crime) have been supplemented by incidence rates (total numbers of victimizations of crime experienced per 100,000 people). The prevalence and incidence rates appeared to show similar rankings of the countries. Countries scoring the highest on prevalence rates scored equally high on incidence rates (Van Kesteren, Mayhew, & Nieuwbeerta, 2000). One of the few exceptions is the somewhat higher rank number of the United States on incidence rates than on prevalence rates. The comparatively higher rank on incidence rates suggests that in the United States, there is more concentration of crime among certain subpopulations. However, incidence rates of the United States are also lower than those of several western European countries. The observation that the United States can no longer be regarded as a high-crime country in terms of overall victimization by common crime still stands.

Perhaps more to the point than the issue of victimization frequencies is the criticism that overall prevalence rates may imply comparing minor crimes such as bicycle thefts or cases of pickpocketing with more serious crimes such as robberies or sexual assaults. In previous publications, we have looked into this issue as well. In the surveys, the seriousness of different types of crime was assessed through special follow-up questions to all respondents reporting being victimized (“How seriously would you rate this incident?”). As expected, sexual assaults and car thefts were deemed more serious than simple thefts. Incidence rates were recalculated for each country taking into account the seriousness of each type of crime as judged by the victims. In other words, victimization experiences were weighed for perceived seriousness per type of crime. The results showed that most countries kept exactly the same rank number in the weighted incidence rates as in relation to overall incidence rates (Mayhew & Van Dijk, 1997). In conclusion, the unweighted overall prevalence victimization rate presented here, however rough, stands as a reasonable comparative indicator of the overall burden of common crime of countries.⁸

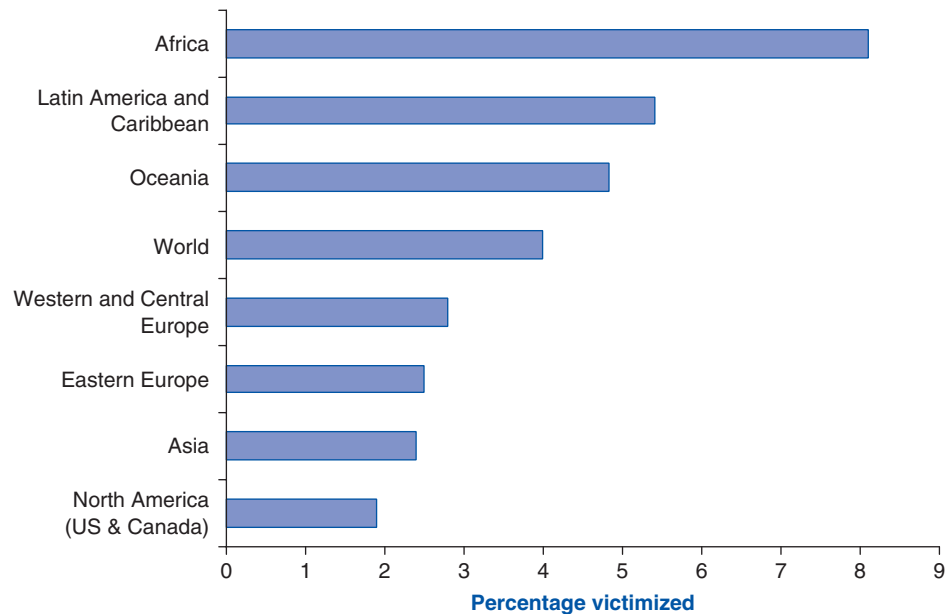
Burglary

In this chapter, the focus will be on victimization by property crime. The first topic is burglary. The ICVS questionnaire asks respondents whether anyone did actually get into their house or flat without permission and steal or try to steal something. Figure 3.4 shows the regional, one-year victimization rates for domestic burglary in urban areas.

ICVS results show that households in urban Africa, Latin America, and Oceania (Australia, New Zealand) are most at risk. The European, Asian, and North American regions showed risks below the global average.⁹

The distribution of rates for attempted burglary shows a similar pattern with highest rates in Africa and Latin America (see Appendix B). In many developed countries, there are, however, more attempted burglaries than completed burglaries, and in many developing countries, completed burglaries are more common (Alvazzi del Frate & Van Kesteren, 2001). One explanation for this difference is the higher prevalence of security measures against burglaries in many Western countries, especially in the United Kingdom, Australia, and the United States (Van Kesteren, Mayhew, & Nieuwbeerta, 2000). In these countries, investments in security precautions such as

❖ **Figure 3.4** Percentages of the Public in Urban Areas Victimized by Household Burglary During the Past 12 Months, by World Region



Source: ICVS, 1996–2005.

burglar alarms seem to result in higher proportions of *failed* burglaries. The topic of crime prevention and its impact on levels and trends of crime will be discussed in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6.

A new and worrisome crime trend in some countries is *home invasions*, whereby burglars enter occupied houses with the use of force to steal property (Hicks & Sansfacon, 1999). This type of crime combines elements of burglary with those of robbery. It is one of the types of crime that instill great fear among urban communities in Africa. Many home invasions are recorded by the police as residential robberies. In the United States, residential robberies account for 13.5 % of all recorded robberies. They have been analyzed as a specialty of Asian gangs, usually targeting families in their own communities (Dunlap, 1997). In South Africa, house robberies recorded by the police have continued to increase to a rate of 21.7 per 100,000 people in 2005 (www.Institute for Security Studies).

The consequences of burglary in terms of monetary value may vary widely in different contexts. While in the industrialized world burglars frequently steal objects of a high value, such as audio/video equipment, jewelry, or computers, burglary in developing countries is often aimed at stealing food, household appliances, linen, or cutlery. Regardless of the economic losses, victims regard burglaries as very serious since it is a violation of their privacy in the domestic sphere. It is therefore a crime with high psychological impact and is well remembered by survey respondents (Mawby, 2001).

Since people universally keep a large part of their properties in their homes or apartments, household burglary is a crime to which inhabitants of all countries are similarly exposed. Researchers tasked to estimate the level of property crime with just one indicator are well advised to choose victimization by domestic burglary. Burglary victimization rates have proven to be the best statistical predictors of overall victimization by common crime (Van Dijk, 1999).

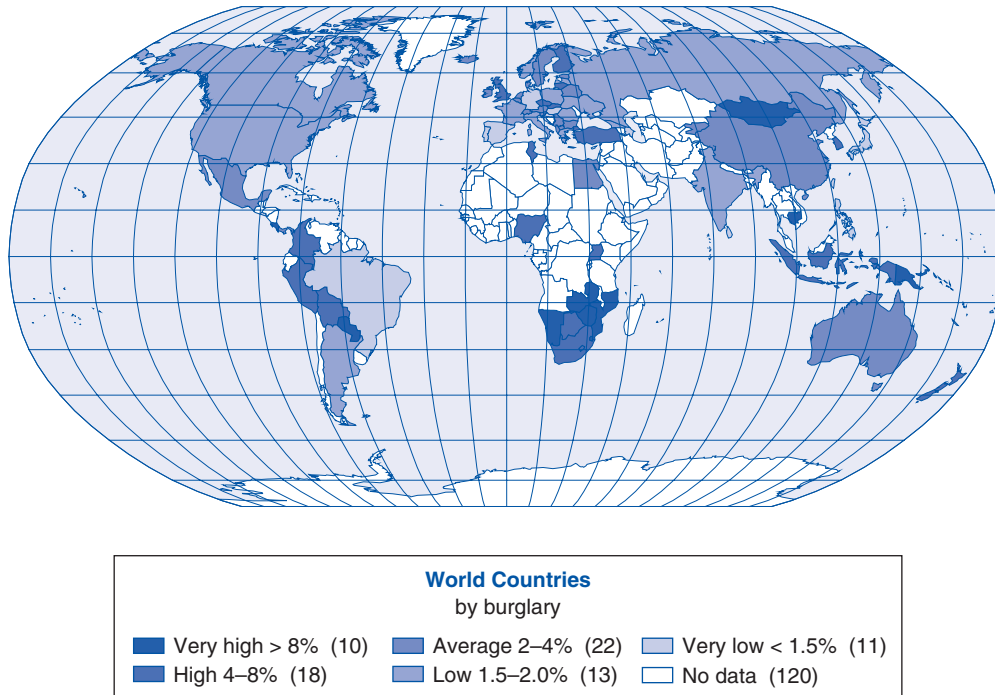
❖ **Table 3.2** World Ranking of Countries According to Urban Victimization Rates for Household Burglary in the Course of One Year, Rank Number, and Percentage of Victims per Year (Source: ICVS, 1992, 1996–2005, latest survey available)

Fourteen Countries With the Highest Rates								
1	Cambodia	15.8	6	Swaziland	9.4	11	Bolivia	7.7
2	Papua, N. G.	14.4	7	Costa Rica	8.5	12	Tunisia*	7.2
3	Mozambique	12.6	8	Paraguay	8.2	13	Peru	6.8
4	Zambia	10.8	9	Namibia	8.1	14	Botswana	6.8
5	Zimbabwe	10.7	10	Mongolia	8.0	15	Czech Republic	6.7
Fifteen Countries With Medium-High Rates								
19	South Africa	5.4	37	Switzerland	2.7	47	Netherlands	2.1
22	Turkey	4.6	41	Georgia	2.6	48	Sweden	2.1
24	United Kingdom	4.5	42	Belarus	2.6	52	Norway	1.9
29	Slovenia	3.5	44	China*	2.3	54	Canada	1.9
30	Mexico	3.5	45	Australia	2.2	55	United States	1.9
Fifteen Countries With the Lowest Rates								
57	Poland	1.8	62	Croatia	1.3	67	Spain	1.1
58	Russian Federation	1.8	63	Brazil	1.3	68	Japan	0.7
59	Greece	1.7	64	Hungary	1.2	69	Portugal	0.7
60	Italy	1.5	65	Philippines	1.2	70	Azerbaijan	0.6
61	Romania	1.5	66	Germany	1.1	71	Hong Kong, China	0.6

Source: ICVS, 1992, 1996–2005, latest survey available.

*Countries with data from ICVS, 1992.

Cambodia and Papua New Guinea stand out as the countries with the highest burglary rates together with several southern African countries, including South Africa. A question on domestic burglary in the Afrobarometer indicates similarly high rates in other sub-Saharan countries, not just in southern Africa but in Kenya and Uganda as well (Afrobarometer, 2004; UNODC, 2005). The comparatively high levels of burglaries in Costa Rica (8.5%), Mongolia (8%), Bolivia (7.7%), Tunisia (7.2%), the Czech Republic (6.7%), and the United Kingdom (4.5%) are also worth mentioning.

❖ **Figure 3.5** World Map of Household Burglary (2000)

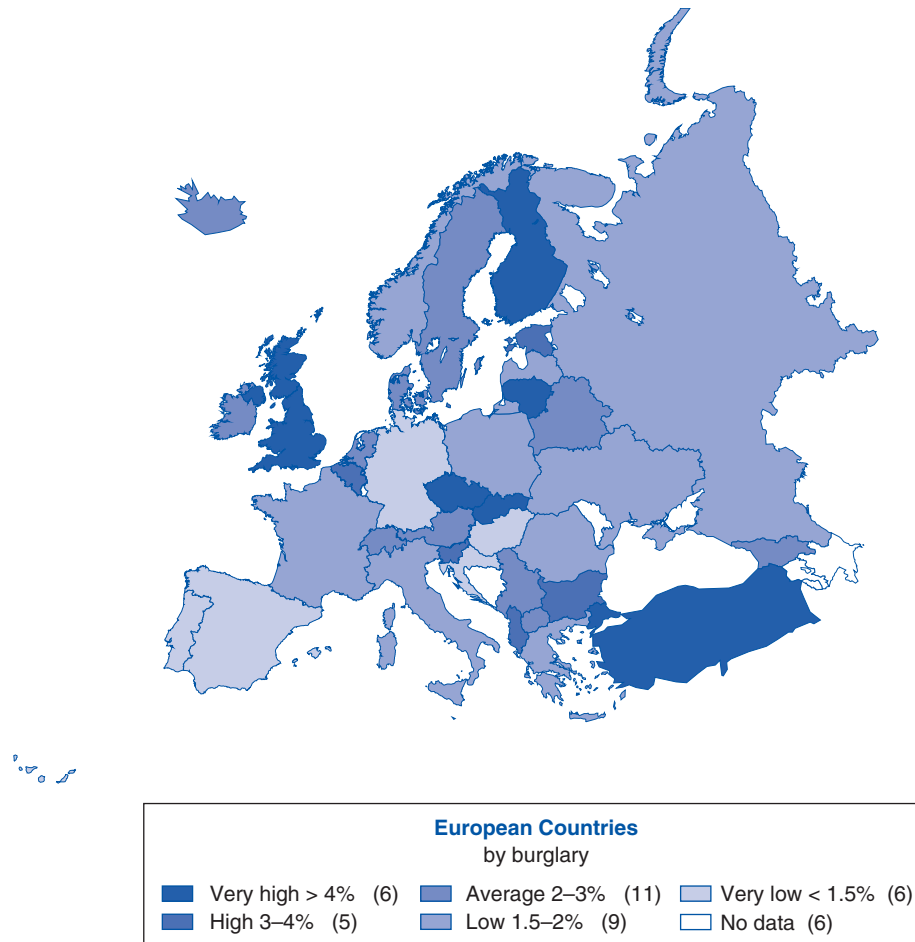
Source: ICVS, 1996-2005.

Figures 3.5 and 3.6 show the world and European maps for household burglary around 2000.

Theft and Frauds

The ICVS contains a question on experiences with personal theft such as theft of purses, wallets, clothing, or equipment. Victims of such thefts are asked whether they were carrying what was stolen. Those answering in the affirmative are classified as victims of pickpocketing. Figure 3.7 shows the regional rates.

The distribution of regional rates is somewhat exceptional. The crime of pickpocketing seems comparatively rare in North America and Australia and New Zealand. The countries of eastern Europe find themselves in an unusual high-rate place, at the same level as Latin America, Asia, and Africa. Pickpocketing is three times more common in eastern Europe than in western Europe with rates in central Europe lying somewhere in between. This high-rate position of eastern Europe differs from the more modest positions of the region on the world rankings for other types of property crimes. A possible explanation for the unusual distribution

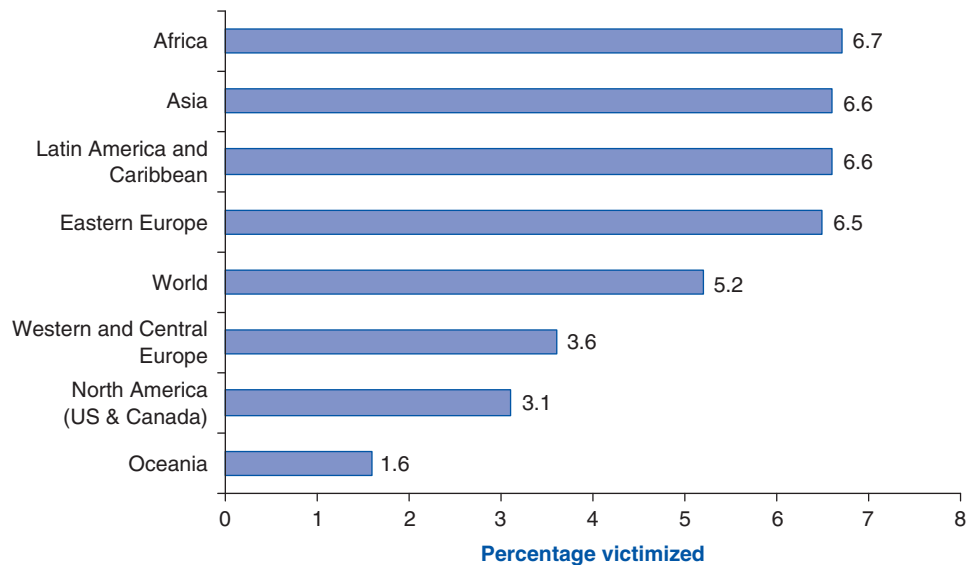
❖ **Figure 3.6** European Map of Household Burglary (2000)

Source: ICVS, 1996-2005

of pickpocketing is common modes of mass transportation. In regions and countries that rely heavily on public transportation such as trains and city trams, there are more opportunities for pickpocketing than in countries where cars are the dominant form of transportation. Another explanation could be that pickpocketing, as a sophisticated form of property crime, requires the development of skills that are transferred within local criminal subcultures from generation to generation. Such subcultures might be more prevalent on the European continent than in the Anglo-Saxon world by tradition.

National victimization rates for pickpocketing seem to show little variation within regions (see Appendix B).

❖ **Figure 3.7** Percentages of the Public in Urban Areas Victimized by Pickpocketing During the Past 12 Months, by World Region



Source: ICVS, 1996–2005.

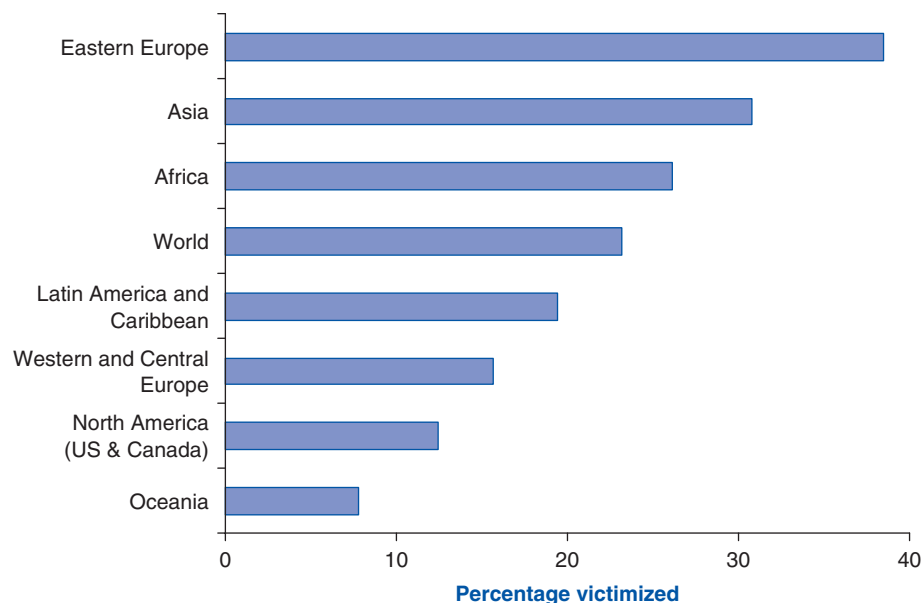
Consumer Fraud

The ICVS asks whether the respondent has been the victim of a consumer fraud over the past year, focusing on cheating in commerce or the services industry. The most common frauds occurred in shops or during construction or repair work or in a garage. Globally, less than 1% of the cases had been reported to the police or any other authority. Figure 3.8 shows the regional prevalence rates for consumer fraud.

Consumer fraud shows more variation across regions than any other type of crime. Thirty eight percent of the respondents from eastern Europe actually experienced a consumer fraud of this type, followed by 30% in Asia and 26% in Africa (Figure 3.8). In Australia and New Zealand, consumer fraud is comparatively rare. The high rates in eastern Europe have been interpreted as a side effect of the transition from a planned economy—coupled with a huge black market—toward a regulated market economy (Svekics, 1998). The extent of consumer fraud seems to be higher in newly emerging market economies where consumer protection is poor. Regulation of markets can be expected to be weaker in countries where the size of the informal sector is large. The victimization rates for fraud were found to be related to the size of the informal economy as perceived by business executives ($r = .42, p < 0.005, n = 80$).¹⁰

Within regions, variation is limited (see Appendix B for the country rates). Almost all countries in the highest category are either in eastern Europe, Asia, or in northern

❖ **Figure 3.8** Percentages of the Public in Urban Areas Victimized by Fraud During the Past 12 Months, by World Region



Source: ICVS, 1996–2005.

or sub-Saharan Africa. Lowest rates were found in Japan, South Africa, several EU countries, Canada, and Switzerland.

Victims of consumer fraud were asked in which type of situation the incident had taken place. In the 2005 wave of the ICVS, victims were specifically asked whether the fraud had been Internet based. On the country level, 45% of victims said the fraud had taken place in a shop. Eleven percent mentioned either building or construction work or a garage. Nine percent mentioned shopping on the Internet. This implies that 1% of the national respondents have been victimized by a fraud on the Internet. Among city inhabitants the victimization rate was 1.5%. Internet-based frauds have reached prevalence rates that are similar to those of common crimes such as car theft or pick-pocketing. The topic of Internet-based crimes will be revisited in Chapter 8.

Car Crimes

The ICVS interview screener inquiries open with a question about whether the household owns one or more cars and whether any of these cars have been stolen. Subsequent questions ask about theft from cars (both items left in the car and car parts) and car vandalism. In the 2005 round of the ICVS, the question about car vandalism was deleted to shorten the interview. The ICVS also contains questions on theft of bicycles and motorcycles, but for brevity's sake, these results will not be presented here in full

(see Appendix B for results). Some analytical findings on the relationship between vehicle ownership rates and vehicle-related thefts will be taken up in Chapter 5.

Car Theft and Joyriding

While a number of cars are stolen for the purpose of joyriding, others are sold in domestic or transnational markets for stolen vehicles or are dismantled. In Australia and North America, around 80% of the stolen cars are eventually recovered. In these regions, most cases of car theft comprise joyriding. In most European and Asian countries, on average more than half of stolen cars are recovered. The recovery rate is lowest in developing countries, notably in Africa (45%) and Latin America (48%) and in Poland (34%) and Hungary (35%). In developed countries, recovery rates show a declining trend, indicating a shift toward more professional types of theft, probably in response to better protection (Van Dijk, Van Kesteren, & Smit, 2007).

It would be wrong to assume that cases of joyriding are not serious. In many cases, cars recovered after being stolen had been seriously damaged. In the judgment of victims, both car theft and joyriding are judged to be among the most serious forms of common crimes covered by the ICVS (Van Dijk, 1999). In fact, victim respondents in Africa, Latin America, Asia, and central and eastern Europe consider both car theft and joyriding to be the most serious types of crime, more serious even than sexual violence or robbery. Respondents in Australia, North America, and western Europe rank the seriousness of car thefts lower than sexual violence and robbery with a weapon but higher than household burglary and any other crime. Apparently, many owners are much attached to their cars and resent losing them due to a criminal act.

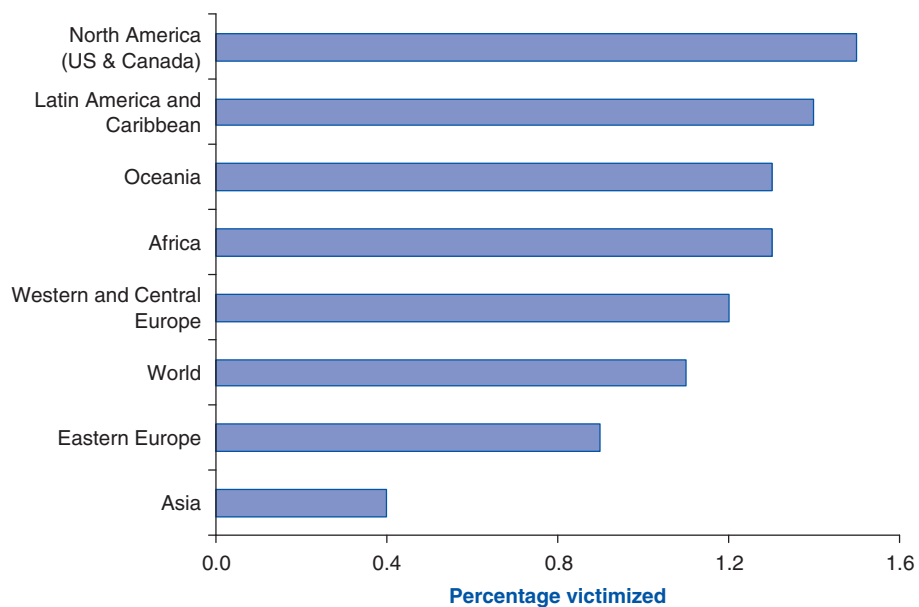
Figure 3.9 shows the regional rates of victimization by car theft, including joyriding.

Regional rates for car theft show a distribution across regions that is almost the mirror image of overall victimization by any crime or of burglary. Rates in North America and Oceania (Australia and New Zealand) are among the highest. Lowest rates are found in eastern Europe, and Asia. Obviously, the level of car theft, as it is for other car-related crimes, is strongly dependent on national rates of car ownership. Where more households own cars, the prevalence of such crimes is higher. Car crimes are a prime example of how affluence-related opportunities of crime can drive up the volume of common crime. In recent years, better antitheft protection of cars seems to have reduced the availability of easy targets for car theft and joyriding in more-affluent countries. We will return to this issue in Chapters 5 and 6 when discussing the macrosocial causes of crime and trends in common crime, respectively.

To give a better picture of the risks for owners, rates were calculated for the percentages of owners victimized by these crimes in the course of a year. Figure 3.10 shows the results.

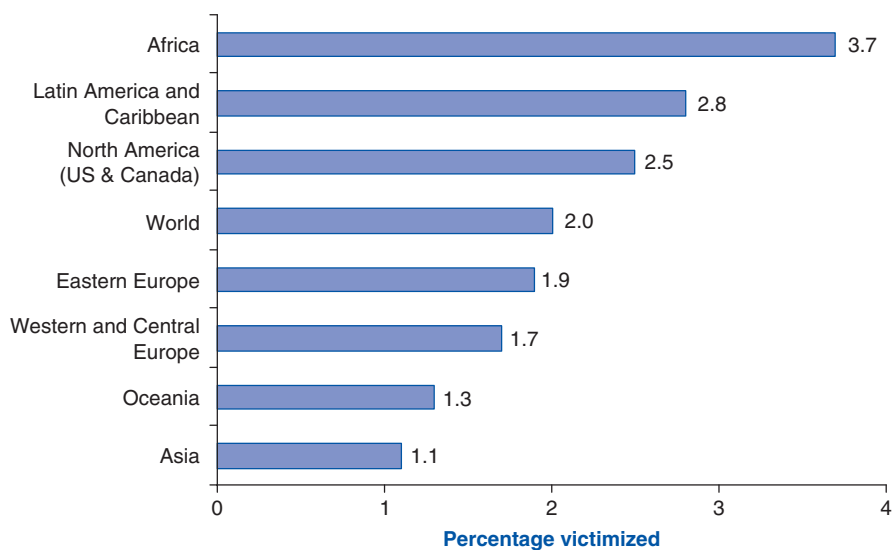
Car owners' victimization rates for car theft are, of course, higher than the general population's victimization rates for car theft. The differences are most marked in regions where car ownership is comparatively low (Africa and Latin America). The ranking of regions in terms of car owners' risks is almost the reverse of that of general victimization risks and resembles that of overall victimization rates. The risks to owners of cars—and to those renting a car abroad—are 50% higher in Africa and Latin

❖ **Figure 3.9** Percentages of the Public in Urban Areas Victimized by Car Theft or Joyriding During the Past 12 Months, by World Region



Source: ICVS, 1996–2005.

❖ **Figure 3.10** Percentages of Car Owners in Urban Areas Victimized by Car Theft or Joyriding During the Past 12 Months



Source: ICVS, 1996–2005.

❖ **Table 3.3** World Ranking of Countries According to Victimization of Car Owners in Urban Areas by Theft of a Car in the Course of One Year, Rank Number, and Percentage of Victims per Year.

Fifteen Countries With the Highest Rates					
1	Papua New Guinea*	9.8	6	Tanzania*	5.7
2	Mozambique	7.5	7	Tunisia*	4.6
3	South Africa	7.1	8	Argentina	3.9
4	Swaziland	6.3	9	Italy	3.7
5	Brazil	6.0	10	Czech Republic	3.5
11	Colombia	3.5	12	Albania	3.5
13	Ireland	3.5	14	Zambia	3.2
15	Slovak Republic	3.0			
Fifteen Countries With Medium-High Rates					
18	United States	2.7	34	United Kingdom	2.0
19	Mexico	2.6	35	New Zealand	1.9
20	Portugal	2.6	36	Latvia	1.9
26	Belarus	2.2	42	Peru	1.5
27	Ukraine	2.2	48	Zimbabwe	1.2
49	Norway	1.2	50	Belgium	1.1
51	Iceland	1.1	55	Netherlands	1.0
56	Canada	1.0			
Fifteen Countries With the Lowest Rates					
58	India	0.9	63	Germany	0.6
59	Slovenia	0.8	64	China	0.6
60	Indonesia	0.8	65	Austria	0.5
61	Australia	0.8	66	Macedonia, FYR	0.5
62	Hungary	0.6	67	Korea, Rep.	0.4
68	Switzerland	0.3	69	France	0.3
70	Japan	0.2	71	Romania	0.2
72	Hong Kong, China	0.0			

Source: ICVS, 1992, 1996–2005, latest survey available.

* Countries with data from ICVS, 1992.

America than globally. Risks of losing one's car to a criminal act are by far the lowest in Asia and Australia. Table 3.3 shows national rates.

As can be seen in Table 3.3, ownership risks are highest in Papua New Guinea (1992), Mozambique, and South Africa. Risks for owners in Europe are highest in Italy, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Ireland, Portugal, and the United Kingdom.

Car Hijacking

In recent years, some countries, most notably in Africa, have been increasingly confronted with the very serious crime of car hijacking, a hybrid of car theft and robbery. In the African version of the ICVS, carried out in 2000, a question was added about experiences with this type of crime (Prinsloo & Naudé, 2001). More than 1% of the ICVS respondents in African countries indicated they were victims of car hijacking.

This brings the actual victimization rate in Africa to an even higher level. In South Africa (Johannesburg) and Swaziland (Mbabane), the victimization rates for car hijacking was above 2% per year.¹¹ According to police figures, car hijacking has reached a plateau in South Africa recently, probably as a result of focused policing.

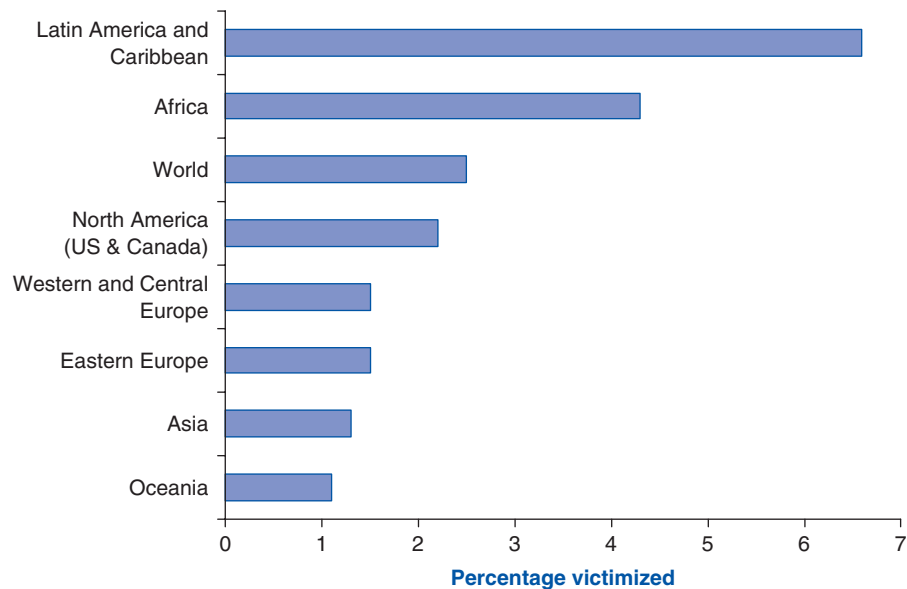
Robbery

Robbery is a property crime that involves the use of violence. In the ICVS, robbery is defined by the question, “Has anyone taken something from you by using force or threatening you or tried to do so?” It is a well-established fact that robberies at gun- or knifepoint are especially traumatizing for victims, much more so than cases of pick-pocketing. We will focus our discussion on these most severe cases of robbery.

Figure 3.11 shows regional victimization rates for robbery.

Many robberies are committed by groups of perpetrators. On average, about 6 in 10 said that more than one offender was involved. Something was actually stolen in about half of the cases. Robbery victims were asked whether the offender(s) carried a weapon of some sort. In the fifth round of the ICVS, on average, more than a third of victims (38%) in main cities said the offender(s) did—an increase compared to the

❖ **Figure 3.11** Percentages of the Public Victimized by Robbery in the Course of One Year, by World Region



Source: ICVS, 1996–2005.

findings in previous sweeps (Van Dijk, Van Kesteren, & Smit, 2007). In 18.6% of robberies, a knife was carried, and in 12.4% of robberies, the perpetrator carried a gun.

By far the highest rates for robbery were observed in Latin America (7% on a yearly basis). The risk for individual citizens to be victimized by robbery is three times higher in this region than the global average. This makes the crime of street robbery one of the defining elements of the crime profile of Latin America. Robberies in Latin America are often carried out with the use of a gun. In Brazil, for example, more than half of all robberies are at gunpoint, and in Mexico, a third are. In Argentina, 13% of robberies were at gunpoint. In Latin American countries, so-called “express robberies”—named after American Express credit cards—have become a significant new trend: In such cases, victims are held at gun- or knifepoint until they provide some form of ransom, often by drawing money from an automatic bank teller machine (e.g., using their American Express cards).

Robbery risks are also comparatively high in urban areas in Africa. In Johannesburg (South Africa), almost half of robberies were at gunpoint. The overall prevalence of robberies is lower in Africa than in Latin America. As said, in Latin American countries, robberies are more commonly carried out with the use of guns. Availability of guns across Latin America may explain higher rates of robberies in the region. In North America, robbery rates are twice as high in the United States (2.3%) as they are in Canada (1.0%). A quarter of robberies in New York (United States) are at gunpoint, compared to 13% in Canada in urban areas. Differential gun ownership might be one of the factors determining these differences.

In Europe, Asia, and Oceania, the risk of being robbed remains below 2% per year everywhere and can therefore be regarded as a rare event. On average, 5% of robberies in cities in these regions are at gunpoint. The typical case of robbery in these regions is a case of bag snatching. These low rates of robbery, especially of robberies at gunpoint, in Europe, Asia, and Oceania coincide with moderately low rates for violent crimes, such as assaults or homicides, as will be shown in the next chapter. Table 3.4 shows country rates for robbery.

Robbery have reached crisis levels in the main cities of Costa Rica, Argentina, Colombia, Paraguay, Bolivia, and Brazil with more than 5 in every 10 persons victimized per year. People living or staying in several southern and eastern African cities are also especially at risk to be robbed. Moderately high levels of robbery are found in southern Europe (Spain, Italy, and France). The latter three countries are the main holiday destinations in Europe. High prevalence of robberies should be of concern to tourists, who happen to be prime targets of street robberies around sights and recreational areas. Moderately high rates are also observed in central eastern Europe (Estonia, Poland, and Russia). In these countries as well, tourists are especially at risk. Countries with low robbery rates can be found in northern Europe, including the Netherlands and Austria and across Asia. Inhabitants' risk of being robbed in most Asian countries seems comparatively remote.

Figures 3.12 and 3.13 show the global and European maps.

❖ **Table 3.4** World Ranking of Countries According to Victimization of the Public in Urban Areas by Robbery in the Course of One Year, Rank Number, and Percentage of Victims per Year

Fifteen Countries With the Highest Rates					
1	Tanzania*	16.4	6	Colombia	8.6
2	Tunisia*	13.8	7	Egypt, Arab Rep.*	8.4
3	Costa Rica	10.0	8	Mozambique	7.6
4	Argentina	10.0	9	Peru	7.4
5	Papua, New Guinea	9.8	10	Paraguay	6.7
11	Bolivia	6.6	12	South Africa	5.5
			13	China*	5.3
			14	Brazil	5.2
			15	Namibia	5.0
Fifteen Countries With Medium-High Rates					
22	Albania	2.9	46	Slovak Republic	1.2
25	Belgium	2.5	47	France	1.2
28	Russian Federation	2.4	48	Denmark	1.2
29	United States	2.3	49	Germany	1.2
36	Cambodia	1.8	50	Macedonia, FYR	1.1
51	New Zealand	1.1	54	Netherlands	1.1
			55	Australia	1.1
			56	Norway	1.0
			57	Canada	1.0
Fifteen Countries With the Lowest Rates					
58	Panama	0.9	63	Iceland	0.7
59	Turkey	0.9	64	Sweden	0.7
60	Romania	0.8	65	Greece	0.7
61	Austria	0.8	66	Croatia	0.6
62	Italy	0.7	67	Indonesia	0.5
68	Czech Republic	0.5	69	Hong Kong, China	0.4
			70	Japan	0.4
			71	Korea, Rep.	0.3
			72	Philippines	0.3

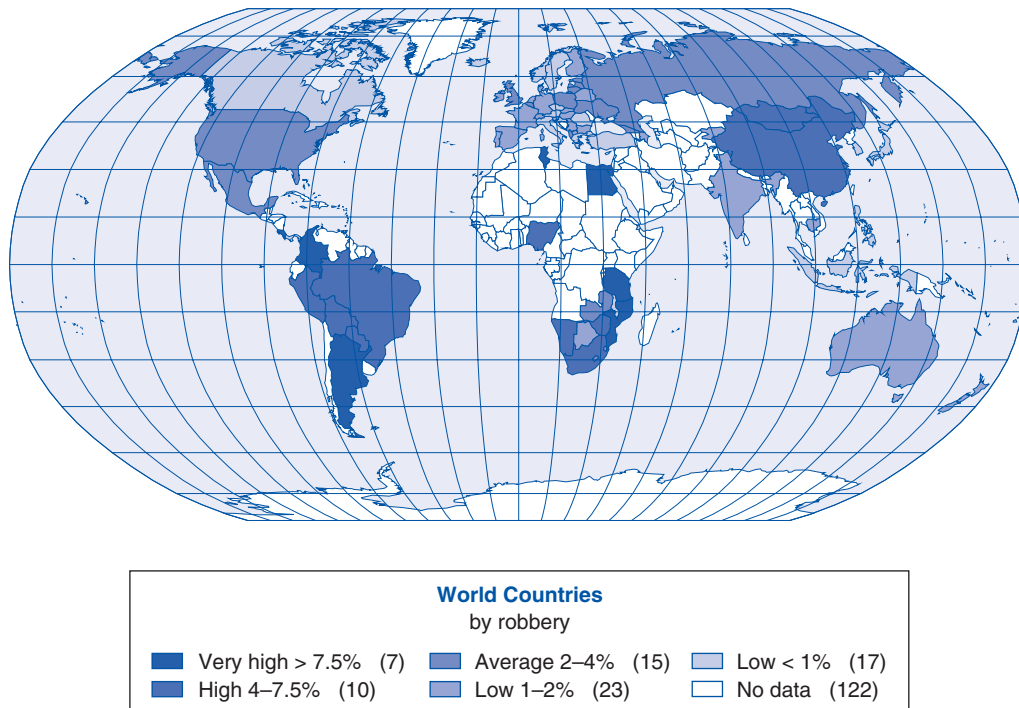
Source: ICVS, 1992, 1996–2005, latest survey available.

* Countries with data from ICVS, 1992.

Kidnapping

The phenomenon of kidnapping has reportedly grown considerably in the past decade, most notably in Latin America but also in parts of the Middle East, Asia, and Africa. The practice of kidnapping itself, which consists of unlawfully detaining one or more persons against their will for the purpose of demanding for their liberation an economic gain or other material benefit, or in order to oblige someone to do or abstain from doing something, has traumatic implications for victims and their families. A growing tendency is for organized-crime groups to resort to kidnapping, especially kidnapping for the purpose of extortion, as a method of accumulating capital or collecting debts.

While it remains difficult to give a clear indication of the overall level of kidnappings across the globe, reports from several countries most affected by the crime suggest that there may be an estimated 20,000 to 30,000 kidnappings every year, with notable increases in several countries.¹² It is estimated that serious cases of kidnapping reported across the globe have increased significantly over the past several years.¹³ In

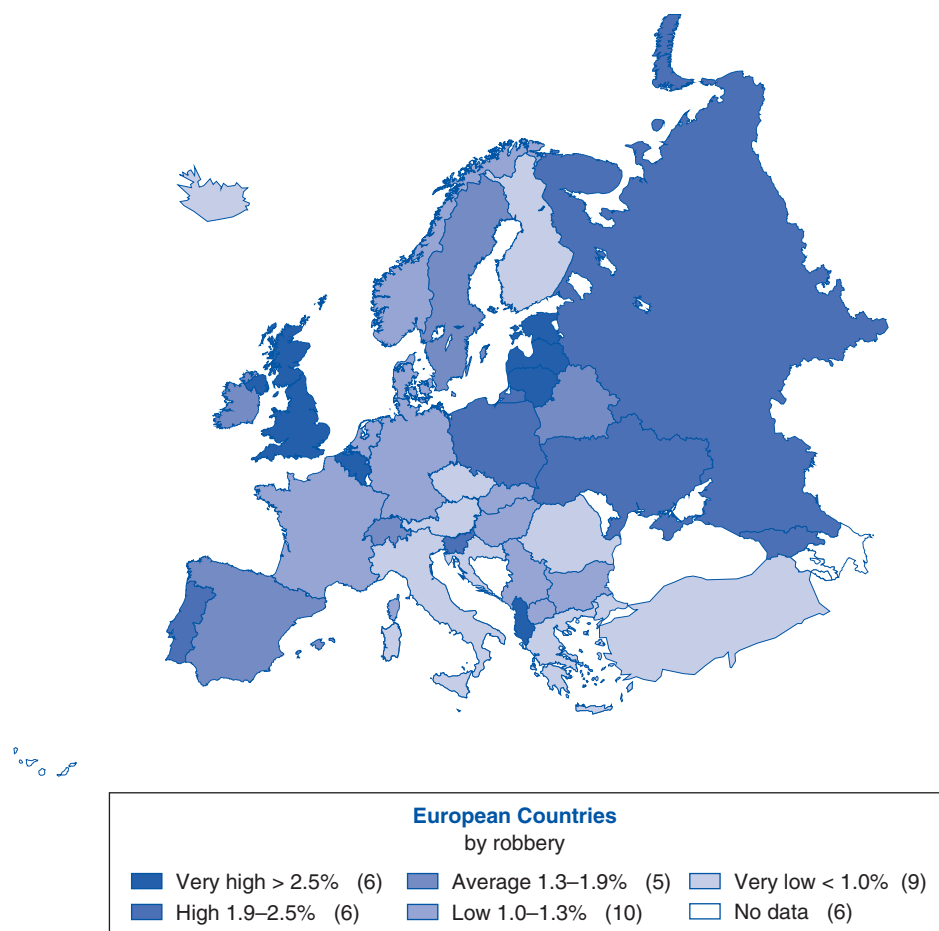
❖ **Figure 3.12** World Map of Street Robbery (2000)

Source: ICVS, 1992, 1996–2005.

Colombia, where kidnapping with extortion has assumed dramatic proportions over the past decade, successes in countering the problem are now being reported. There was a decline from 1,468 reported cases in 2003 to 746 reported cases in 2004.¹⁴

Lack or inaccuracy of reporting is a key impediment to assessing the true extent and nature of the problem. There are various reasons including the following three: (1) Many victims do not report their kidnapping because they are afraid of potential retaliation or they suspect that local police are implicated (Pelton, 2003). (2) A substantial percentage of kidnappings in some jurisdictions is conducted between or within organized-crime groups and thus are not brought to the attention of the authorities. (3) Finally, in many circumstances, kidnappings are resolved quietly through the payment of the ransom under the condition of not reporting the incident to the authorities.

Data on kidnapping have been collected by the Eighth UN Crime Survey, collecting data on 2001 and 2002. Thirty-five countries reported on such crime, thus showing the limited availability of official statistics in this respect. Furthermore, some additional statistics on kidnapping were available through a survey conducted by UNODC in 2003, thus bringing the total of responding countries to 49.¹⁵

❖ **Figure 3.13** European Map of Street Robbery (2000)

Source: ICVS, 1996–2005.

As with all police-recorded crime statistics, kidnapping statistics can at best give a tentative impression of regional distribution of risks that ought to be followed up by further research. At the regional level, the highest rates were observed in Africa, followed by the Americas, Europe, and Asia. Fourteen countries showed rates of police-recorded kidnappings of above 1 per 100,000 people. According to media reports, kidnapping has reached crisis levels in Haiti, where ordinary middle-class families and their children have increasingly become targets (*The Economist*, June, 18, 2005).

The Heavy Crime Burden of the Business Sector

Victimization through common crimes is usually associated with the public at large. In reality, the business sector is a prime target group of many forms of property crime.

Crimes committed against businesses are not accurately reflected in police figures for the same reason as other crimes. To collect better information on commercial victimization across countries, a special survey was launched. The International Crime Business Survey (ICBS) was carried out in 1992 among, initially, samples of retailers in nine European countries, Australia, and South Africa (Mirrlees-Black & Ross, 1995; Naudé, 1994; Naudé, Prinsloo, & Martins, 1999; Van Dijk & Terlouw, 1996; Walker, 1994). The questionnaire was modeled after the ICVS and contained a similar range of common crimes.¹⁶ Table 3.5 presents an overview of the main findings of the first survey with regard to retailers.

The results show that most retail businesses are regularly victimized by common crime. Victimization percentages vary across countries. Rates are significantly higher in South Africa (not included for technical reasons). The lowest rates are found in Switzerland and Italy.

The corporate victimization percentages are many times higher than those of private persons. This is not only true for theft (e.g., shoplifting) but for burglary as well. On the basis of the survey, Mirrlees-Black and Ross estimated that the retail and manufacturing industries in the United Kingdom suffered some 148,000 burglaries in 1993 (Mawby, 2001). Studies of the total costs of crime have indicated that the total damages resulting from property crime of the corporate sector surpass those of the public at large in the Netherlands (Van Dijk, Sagel-Grande, & Toornvliet, 2002). Using Australian data, Mayhew (2003) estimated that commercial burglaries account for 18% of all burglaries and 32% of the total costs.

The ranking of countries according to level of private victimization and that of commercial victimization is largely in agreement (Van Dijk & Terlouw, 1996). Car thefts, for example, are more common in South Africa, the United Kingdom, Australia, and Italy on both counts. Both domestic and commercial burglaries are most

❖ **Table 3.5** Percentages of Retailers Victimized by Common Crimes Over the Past Year in Eight Countries

Country	Burglary	Theft of Company Vehicles	Total Theft by Persons	Fraud by Personnel	Fraud by Outsiders	Robbery	Assault
Netherlands	34.7%	3.0%	66.4%	3.0%	11.3%	4.4%	11.0%
Germany	28.7%	3.1%	63.5%	3.1%	27.6%	4.6%	5.7%
France	31.6%	9.4%	61.3%	1.3%	42.3%	5.2%	7.3%
Switzerland	24.9%	1.5%	60.5%	1.3%	13.6%	1.5%	3.4%
Czech Republic	40.0%	4.7%	72.3%	6.0%	21.2%	5.6%	10.3%
United Kingdom	36.9%	10.0%	61.7%	2.5%	21.0%	4.0%	17.6%
Hungary	35.9%	1.5%	83.0%	2.9%	11.2%	4.2%	22.6%
Italy	14.4%	9.1%	44.5%	1.6%	24.7%	1.4%	1.0%

Source: ICBS, 1992–1993.

prevalent in South Africa, the Czech Republic, Australia, and the United Kingdom. Italy is a comparatively nonviolent country according to both the ICVS and the ICBS. This is an important finding since it suggests that country rankings based on ICVS results can be generalized to rankings of volume crime across the board.

With funding from the Dutch Ministry of Development Cooperation, the surveys were replicated among small and medium-sized businesses in nine central-eastern European cities in 2000, including but not limited to retailers.¹⁷ In order to enhance the significance of the study for the region, the questionnaire was revised and extended with questions focusing on complex crimes such as corruption of public officials. Results on complex crimes will be presented in Chapter 5 and Chapter 7. The results of the survey on common crimes in eastern Europe cannot be compared with those of the first ICBS due to changes in the questionnaire. Victimization rates in eastern Europe seem generally somewhat lower than in western Europe, with the exception of fraud by employees. Twelve percent of businesses reported fraud by employees, a much higher rate than what was found in the western European countries and Australia. The highest fraud-by-employee rates were found in Minsk, Belarus (24%), and Tirana, Albania (18%).

Recently international accounting firms have taken an interest in crime surveying. The most recent victimization survey of companies across the world indicates that 45% of all respondents had suffered from some form of economic crime in the course of the past 2 years. These global results indicate an increase on previous surveys, which holds across regions (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2005).¹⁸ Prevalence rates remained the highest by far among companies in Africa. A similar survey of global companies in 2004 found that just under one half of respondents (47%) had experienced a significant fraud in the past year (Ernst & Young, 2004). According to these two surveys, half or more of the perpetrators of economic crimes are company insiders (managers or staff). Where the perpetrator could be established, organized-crime groups were believed to be responsible in 6% of such cases.¹⁹

Costs for Businesses

Victimization surveys among households are increasingly supplemented by business victimization surveys, but the latter have not yet yielded much internationally comparable data on a global scale. The surveys among business leaders of the World Economic Forum provide a subjective indicator of the extent of business victimization by common crime through the inclusion of a question about the business costs of common crime and violence: Do common crime and violence (e.g., street muggings and firms being looted) impose significant costs on businesses? The item covers the business sector's equivalent of the household questions on burglary and street violence in the ICVS.

The results show that business executives in Latin America and Africa are most concerned about common crime. Medium to high rates of concern are found in Europe and Asia. Concerns about crime are lowest in North America and Oceania. The perceptions of business leaders of risks to their businesses roughly mirror those of individual persons concerning the risks to their households, as measured in the ICVS. The ranking of countries on both rates is very similar. Somewhat surprising is the comparatively high concern among Asian business executives, given the relatively low crime rates in most Asian countries according to the ICVS.

Results from surveys among the business sector demonstrate how critically important they are to obtaining a comprehensive picture of the total burden of property crime of society. The results of commercially conducted surveys also point to the need for more standardization of instruments and greater transparency regarding country results (data are often not publicly available). Having said this, the growing interest of the business and financial services sector in funding surveying victimization by crime across countries is a boon for the epidemiology of crime, to be welcomed by the community of criminologists. In Chapters 7 and 8, surveys among business executives will be used extensively as a principal novel source of information on organized crime and other complex types of crime.

In the next chapter, an overview will be given of the levels of violent crimes across the world. And in Chapter 5, some general conclusions will be drawn on the determinants of common crimes across the world. In Chapter 6, we will discuss trends in common crime over time and regional profiles.

SUMMARY POINTS/IN CONCLUSION

- Results of the ICVS 1996–2005 on 78 countries from all world regions show that globally, one in four inhabitants of urban areas are hit by common crime once or more per year. Over a 5-year period, the average victimization risk is two in three. Criminal victimization must be regarded as a statistically normal aspect of life in today's world. The numbers reported by the public in the surveys are more than 10 times higher than those recorded by the police. Only a small part of these billions of victimizations per year ever show up in police statistics of recorded crime.

- According to the surveys, levels of common crime are highest among the urban population in Africa and Latin America and lowest in Asia. Rates of the other parts of the world are near the global average. Overall victimization rates in the United States, Canada, and Australia are lower than in many western European countries.

- Victimization rates for specific types of property crime show more variation across regions and countries. Burglary rates vary between a high of 8% per year in Africa and a low of less than 2% per year in North America (Canada and the United States). In defiance

of common perceptions, burglary rates in the United States are much below those in most western European countries and even lower than those in Asia. In terms of household burglary, the United States has become a low-crime country.

- The distribution of robbery rates across world regions also shows huge variation. Rates of robbery are the highest by far in Latin America (6.5% per year) and Africa (4.5%). Robbery rates are below 2% in Australia, Asia, eastern Europe, and western and central Europe. The rate of North America is close to the world average of 2.5% (United States: 2.3%).

- A small minority of robberies are committed by perpetrators carrying weapons: On average, 18.6% of perpetrators carry a knife, and 12.4% carry a gun. Robberies are most often carried out at gunpoint in Latin American countries (Brazil, over 50%; Mexico, 30%) and in South Africa (47%). Among developed countries, the United States stands out with 27% of robberies at gunpoint in New York City, compared to 13% in Canadian cities and even lower percentages in western European and Asian cities (on average, 5%).

- Rates of pickpocketing and consumer fraud each show uniquely different distributions. For pickpocketing, rates are highest in Africa (6.7%),

Asia (6.6%), Latin America (6.6%), and eastern Europe (6.6%). Rates are considerably lower across the rest of the Western world (Australia, 1.6%; North America, 3.1%; and western and central Europe, 3.6%). For pickpocketing, the high rates of Asia and eastern Europe and the low rates in North America and Australia stand out. The low rate of pickpocketing in the United States contrasts with its comparatively high rate of robbery.

- Rates for consumer fraud are by far the highest in eastern Europe and the lowest in Australia, North America, and western and central Europe. The distribution of rates suggests special problems with consumer fraud in countries with economies in transition where free markets are not yet well regulated and consumer protection is underdeveloped.

- The distribution of car-related crime is the reverse of that of other types of property crimes, with the highest rates found in Australia and North America. However, if rates are recalculated for car owners only, the familiar distribution reappears with rates highest in Africa and Latin America. The high rates of victimization among the general public in Australia and North

America are obviously related to the higher prevalence of car ownership in these countries. This issue will be taken up again in Chapter 5.

- Levels of victimization for all types of property crime except pickpocketing are comparatively low in Asia. This is true for both developing countries in the region such as Indonesia and Cambodia and for developed countries such as Japan and Hong Kong/China.

- Rates of victimization by crime of the business sector found in special surveys among this target group show distributions similar to the ones found in the ICVS, suggesting that the ranking of regions and countries on the basis of the ICVS results concerning households can be generalized to common crime in general. Asian businesspeople, however, perceive relatively large losses from common crime.

- One of the most worrying trends is the increase in several developing countries of new types of property crime with the use of force besides robberies at gunpoint. These new types of violent property crime include car hijacking, home invasions, and kidnapping for the purpose of extortion.

Notes

1. In the first four sweeps of the survey, a question was included about car vandalism. To shorten the questionnaire, this item was deleted in 2005. Overall victimization rates of surveys conducted up to 2000 refer to victimization by any of 11 crimes. In comparisons with results of later surveys, overall victimization rates have been recalculated for 10 crimes only.

2. Analyses have also confirmed, as discussed in Chapter 2, the broad agreement between the ranking of countries according to rates of victimizations, adjusted for reporting to the police, and rankings on the basis of police-recorded crimes (Van Dijk, Mayhew, & Killias, 1990).

3. One of the most straightforward methods to validate victimization survey results is the reverse record check whereby incidents reported by respondents to interviewers are subsequently traced back in police records. In studies in the United States and the Netherlands, 68% and 81%, respectively, could be traced back in the police records (Schneider, 1978; Van Dijk, 1992).

4. Rates for the United States in 2005 are based on a booster sample of the population of New York City ($n = 1,000$). Australia is represented by a booster sample of Sydney ($n = 1,500$) and Switzerland by a booster sample of Zurich ($n = 500$). Canadian rates are based on a subsample of 765 respondents residing in cities with 100,000 or more inhabitants. Similarly rates of New Zealand, Japan, Mexico, and Bulgaria are based on urban samples (see Appendix A). All

other countries, samples were used from the capital city, except in Brazil, where samples from Rio and São Paulo were used.

5. In the older sweeps of the ICVS, no booster samples were drawn from capital cities of developed countries, and trend analyses are therefore possible using only the national data.

6. Brazil is represented with rates from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

7. Data on Papua New Guinea are available only in printed form and cannot be used for special computations.

8. As will be discussed in later chapters, different pictures emerge when the prevalence of homicides and uncommon crimes such as organized crime and corruption are included in the equation.

9. Police-recorded burglary, as recorded by the UN Crime Surveys, was highest in Oceania, while the ICVS results indicate that the most affected regions were Africa and Latin America, which in turn showed the lowest rates in police data. As discussed in the previous chapter, rates of police-recorded burglaries give no useful information on the actual prevalence of crimes such as burglary across regions or countries.

10. Surveys of the World Economic Forum (2003).

11. Car hijacking rates were much lower in Botswana (0.3%) and Namibia (0.1%).

12. See the report of the UN Secretary-General, *International Cooperation in the Prevention, Combating, and Elimination of Kidnapping and in Providing Assistance to Victims*, Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice, 13th Session, Vienna, May 2004, E/CN.15/2004/7.

13. This is according to insurance company reports.

14. Consolidated results for 2004 of the Democratic Security Policy as presented by the Minister of Defense. (Data supplied by the Colombian Permanent Mission in Vienna, January 2005)

15. Based on Ecosoc resolution 2002/16. See E/CN.15/2003/7, *International Cooperation in the Prevention, Combating, and Elimination of Kidnapping and in Providing Assistance to Victims*.

16. A more detailed description of the history and methodology of the ICBS is given in Appendix A.

17. The survey was conducted by UNICRI in nine central-eastern European cities within the framework of the project Assessing Violence, Corruption, and Organized Crime in Eastern-Central European Countries (see the Methodology section in Appendix A for details).

18. PricewaterhouseCoopers (2005), *Global Economic Crime Survey 2005*, in collaboration with Martin Luther University, Economy and Crime Research Center. Comparisons with previous surveys are hazardous due to significant changes in both the sampling design and questionnaires used. No results on individual countries are in the public domain.

19. Ernst & Young (2004), *Fraud: The Unmanaged Risk*.

