



Work Package 2
State of the art:
Crime trends

2.1

Review of existing efforts to describe trends at european level

by: Ana Pérez Cepeda, Demelsa Benito Sánchez



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The FIDUCIA research project (New European Crimes and Trust-based Policy) is co-funded by the European Commission under the 7th Framework Programme for Research and Development. FIDUCIA will shed light on a number of distinctively ‘new European’ criminal behaviours that have emerged in the last decade as a consequence of developments in technology and the increased mobility of populations across Europe. The central idea behind the project is that public trust in justice is important for social regulation, and FIDUCIA proposes a ‘trust-based’ policy model in relation to emerging forms of criminality.

Work Package 2 synthesizes much of the existing literature regarding crime trends in Europe, and offers a context against which different approaches to the regulation of crime can be assessed in a comparative perspective. This deliverable — ‘Review of existing efforts to describe crime trends at European level’ — reviews work up to the present time, covering the content, scope, and relevance of existing efforts to describe trends at the European level. Many organisations across Europe, and the world, collect crime data through police statistics of recorded crime, victimisation surveys or self-reported delinquency surveys. Thus, the current body of crime data resources is relatively large, and reviewing all of the sources would exceed the reasonable limits of this report. Therefore, only the most representative datasets at the European level and worldwide have been analysed within this deliverable. These datasets include: the European Crime and Safety Survey, the European Social Survey, the European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics, the European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey, the Eurostat Crime Statistics (‘Statistics in focus’), the International Crime Victims Survey, the International Self-Report Delinquency Survey, the International Violence Against Women Survey and the UN Surveys on Crime Trends and Criminal Justice Systems. This report summarises the results of that review by focussing on various factors such as the organisation, years covered, geographical coverage, types of crime, weaknesses, strengths and relevance of the data source.

1. DATA COLLECTION MECHANISMS: RECORDED DATA AND SURVEY-BASED DATA

Criminologists have used police statistics to measure crime since the first half of the nineteenth century, when the first police statistics of recorded crime were developed (Aebi & Linde 2012). Nowadays, police statistics are the most readily available dataset other than victimisation surveys and self-reported delinquency surveys. However, the weaknesses of official statistics are widely known. By definition, such figures only include crimes that are reported to and subsequently recorded by the police; so consequently, they ignore the ‘dark figure’ of unreported or unrecorded crime.

In addition, there are factors that determine the outcome of police statistics on recorded crime to the extent that making reliable comparisons of crime across countries is difficult. According to von Hofer (2000), three such factors can be identified: statistical, legal and substantive factors. Statistical factors refer to the way in which crime statistics are elaborated (e.g. statistics are affected by the moment at which an offence is recorded, either at the time of reporting to the police, or later on). Legal factors include, among others, the way the crime is defined in the relevant legislation, as well as various related aspects of the judicial process. Substantive factors refer to the propensity to report and to record offences, as well as to the actual crime levels. Aebi (2010) adds criminal policy factors, which refer to crime and crime prevention policies applied by a country, and may affect the other three factors mentioned. For instance, the application

of a zero-tolerance policy should lead to an increase in the offences recorded by the police, at least during the first months of its application, because if the police are interested in every offence, the number of recorded offences should increase.

All aforementioned factors make it difficult to draw reliable comparisons on crime across countries (or even within a country over time). Although that does not mean that police statistics suffer from the lack of any validity, it does mean they are an insufficient means of measuring crime and therefore need to be complemented. For this reason, alternative methods to measure crime have been introduced: victimisation surveys and self-reported delinquency studies.

Instead of counting offences reported to the police, victimisation surveys ask the public at large whether they have experienced crime. However, comparing the results from national victimisation surveys such as the National Crime Victimization Survey in the United States and the British Crime Survey also presents challenges because the questionnaires and methodologies differ (Lewis 2012, van Dijk et al. 2007b). Nevertheless, victimisation surveys devised by international organizations (especially the International Crime Victims Survey, see 3.1 below) using uniform offence definitions and standardized sampling and interview methods allow scholars to draw reliable comparisons on crime. Therefore, they have become the preferred source of information on levels of crime in many developed countries (van Dijk et al. 2007b). Unfortunately, representative victimisation surveys are scarce among the developing countries (Heiskanen 2010).

In self-reported delinquency studies, individuals — usually juveniles — are asked if they have engaged in delinquent behaviours. Since the first studies, the self-report methodology has become much more sophisticated in design, making it more reliable and valid. Therefore, along with victimisation surveys, they are nowadays widely accepted as important tools to measure crime. If the studies are conducted using the same questionnaire and the same methodology, they are an alternative to the official statistics on recorded crime for making reliable cross-national comparisons. The general view is that a combination of official recorded data and survey-based data is the best way to go about assessing crime (Alvazzi del Frate 2010).

This report examines the most representative crime indicators in existence, based either on official recorded data or on surveys.

2. REVIEW AND SUMMARY OF THE MOST REPRESENTATIVE CRIME DATASETS

Presently, there is quite a large number of indicators (both official statistics and survey-based data) that can be used in measuring crime. Analysing all of them would exceed the reasonable limits of this report. Therefore, only the most representative indicators are analysed in the next sections. Specifically, ten datasets are considered in detail below. The first five datasets cover the entire world, while the remaining sets cover European countries (see table 1).

3. WORLDWIDE DATASETS

The most important worldwide datasets on crime are reviewed in this section, focusing on the organization which collects the information, the years covered, the geographical coverage, the types of crime, the weaknesses, the strengths and the relevance of the data source.

Table 1. List of datasets on crime worldwide and at European level

Coverage	Crime data source
Worldwide	1. International Crime Victims Survey (ICVS) 2. International Self-Report Delinquency Survey 3. International Violence Against Women Survey (IVAWS) 4. UN Surveys on Crime Trends and Criminal Justice Systems (UN-CTS) 5. Organized Crime Indicators
European level	1. European Crime and Safety Survey (EU ICS) 2. European Social Survey (ESS) 3. European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice statistics 4. European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU MIDIS) 5. Eurostat Crime statistics ("Statistics in focus")

3.1. INTERNATIONAL CRIME VICTIMS SURVEY¹

The International Crime Victims Survey (ICVS) is a programme of standardised sample surveys that evaluate selected homeowners’ experiences with crime, policing, crime prevention and feelings of insecurity in a large number of countries. The ICVS became operational in 1989, with the main objective of advancing international comparative criminological research beyond the constraints of officially recorded crime. The next sweeps took place in 1992, 1996, 2000 and 2004/2005. Over that period, the database included 325,454 individual respondents in 78 different countries (nation-wide in 37 countries). In 2009, a new sweep was conducted in five European countries (Denmark, Germany, The Netherlands, Sweden and United Kingdom) and in Canada. The results of this latest sweep had not been made available to the public at the time of writing this deliverable (May 2012).

The first ICVS was coordinated by the Dutch Ministry of Justice (WODC). Since the early 1990s, the ICVS has been mainly coordinated by the United Nations Inter-regional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI), and has been expanded to Eastern Central Europe and developing countries. In 2005, the European Commission co-financed the European Survey on Crime and Safety (see below 4.1), which overlapped with the 2005 ICVS.

The fifth round of the ICVS (2004/2005; referred to below as ICVS-5) gathered data from 30 countries, including the majority of the developed countries, and data from 33 main cities of a selection of developed and developing countries. Altogether, the ICVS-5 collected data from 38 countries. For the first time, data was available on Hong Kong (Special Administrative Region of China) and Istanbul (Turkey). Surveys were also done in Buenos Aires (Argentina), Johannesburg (Republic of South Africa), Lima (Peru), Maputo (Mozambique), Mexico, Phnom Penh (Cambodia), and Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo (Brazil).

The sample size is generally around 2 000 people per country. In most countries the survey was carried out among samples of the national population and a booster sample of the population living in the main cities. EU Member States, for example, divided their sample size into a larger national section with a targeted size of 1 200 people and a relatively smaller main city part with a targeted size of 800 people. Participants (the people polled) are 16 years of age or older (van Dijk et al. 2007b).

The data is collected by two means: Computer Assisted Telephone Interviews (CATI) and face-to-face interviews. CATI was employed in 24 of the 30 country surveys. Interviews were carried out via fixed telephones, with the exception of Finland, where an additional sub-sample was interviewed via mobile phones. The difference in Finland was due to the emerging trend among specific population groups to exclusively use

1. Contributor to this section: Rita Haverkamp.

mobile phones, which is stronger than anywhere else in Europe. Face-to-face interviews were carried out in Poland, Estonia, Bulgaria, Turkey (Istanbul), Japan and in all developing countries.²

ICVS provides a measure of common crimes to which the general public is exposed, including relatively minor offences as well as more serious crimes:

- Vehicle related crimes: theft of a car, theft from a car, theft of a motorcycle or moped, and theft of a bicycle;
- Burglary, attempted burglary and theft of personal property;
- Contact crimes: robbery, sexual offences, and assault and threat.

For the types of crimes covered, the ICVS asks about incidents that largely accord with legal definitions of common offences, using colloquial language. Respondents are asked about victimisation by ten types of common crime that they themselves or their household may have experienced. Household crimes are those which can be seen as affecting the household at large, and respondents report on all incidents known to them. The questionnaire covered the following as separate household crimes: car theft (including joyriding), theft from or out of a car, motorcycle theft, bicycle theft, burglary and attempted burglary. For personal crimes, respondents report on what happened to them personally. Types of personal crimes included are sexual incidents (including serious incidents like rape and other sexual assaults), threats and assaults (including assaults with force), robbery and theft of personal property (including pickpocketing) (van Dijk et al. 2007b).

Through a set of special questions the survey also gathers information on non-conventional crimes such as street-level corruption (bribe-seeking by public officials), consumer fraud (including Internet-based fraud and credit card fraud), drug-related problems and hate crimes (in the EU).

ICVS is ‘the largest ever multi-national effort to apply the science of criminology to measuring and comparing rates and trends in the harm of crime, how it affects victims, and how crime victims perceive the governmental responses to their crimes.’ This was declared by the Co-Chair of the International Jury for the Stockholm Prize, Professor Lawrence Shermann, when Professor Jan van Dijk was awarded with the 2012 Stockholm Prize in Criminology for his sustained leadership of the ICVS since 1989.

ICVS is widely accepted as one of the most important tools to measure and compare crime across countries. Scholars have pointed out many reasons to prefer ICVS over official statistics on recorded crime (see, among the most recent literature, e.g. Lewis. 2012, Tseloni et al. 2010, and van Dijk et al. 2007b). First, it overcomes the well-known shortcomings of the police statistics (different definitions of the types of crime, different recording practices and counting rules, differences in willingness of the public to report crimes to the police, etc.). Second, standardised questionnaires are employed in all countries, allowing for more reliable comparisons than with separate surveys conducted differently, in different countries at different times. Finally, the data is not influenced by agencies affected by political or ideological ideas of governments of the individual countries.

However, ICVS suffers from certain limits that are pointed out, for example, by the authors of the report, *Criminal Victimisation in International Perspective – Key findings from the 2004/2005 ICVS and EU ICS* (van Dijk, et al. 2007b). For instance, full standardisation of all design aspects has proven to be unattainable, especially in developing countries. Although there are no reasons to assume that comparability has in any way been systematically compromised, results may have been affected in individual countries in unknown ways due to divergent design features (mode of interviewing, period in which the fieldwork was done) and relatively small samples interviewed (2 000 in most countries and 800 in most cities). In addition, the ICVS ignores victimisation by

2. A detailed description of the ICVS methodology is available in van Dijk et al. 2007b.

complex crimes, such as grand corruption or organized crime. ICVS-based prevalence rates cannot be reliably used as an indicator of these other types of crime. Furthermore, the sample of countries included in the ICVS has changed somewhat from one sweep to the next, which can make the analysis of trends over time difficult (Tseloni et al. 2010). Only Canada, England & Wales, Finland, the United States and the Netherlands have taken part in the five ICVS rounds.

3.2. INTERNATIONAL SELF-REPORT DELINQUENCY STUDY³

The first International Self-Report Delinquency Study (ISRD) was launched in 1992 by the Research and Documentation Centre (WODC) of the Dutch Ministry of Justice with the following objectives: to examine cross-national variability in patterns of self-reported delinquent behaviour; to measure the relative rank-ordering of prevalence of different types of juvenile delinquency in industrialized countries; to study cross-national variability in self-reported behaviours; and to contribute to the methodological development of the self-reported method (Junger-Tas 2010). The study was based on self-report delinquency data collected in 13 countries.⁴ The target group was aged 12-18. Six of the countries used school-based samples, while the rest used samples based on population; some used city-based samples; other used national samples.

The interesting outcomes of the first comparative study (see Junger-Tas et al. 1994) encouraged the organizers to carry out a second study (ISRD-2). Data collection for the ISRD-2 took place between November 2005 and February 2007 with a larger number of countries and an expanded questionnaire.

ISRD-2 is a large international collaborative study of delinquency and victimization of 12-15-year-old students. As the primary sampling unit, it used 7th, 8th and 9th grade classes, stratified by school type. Most of the countries (22) used city-based sampling, averaging about 700 students from a large city or metropolitan area, 700 from a medium-sized city and 700 from a cluster of small towns; altogether, samples of about 2 100 students per country. However, nine countries opted for national samples.⁵

The questionnaire was collectively produced by the participants in a number of workshops. It has a core module, which every participant has to include in order to be part of the ISRD-2 study, and additional modules of questions to fit the interests of individual countries because countries differ in many respects, such as to their administrative structure, geography, size of population, degree of urbanization and culture, as well as in research resources. Most of the questions are closed-ended, often with an ‘other’ open-ended response possibility. The questions focus on social demographic background information (including immigration status), family, neighbourhood, school, leisure activities, and friends. There are also questions about major life events, attitudes toward violence, and (low) self-control. The questions are mostly drawn from social control and opportunity theories. A major part of the survey consists of questions about 12 different types of delinquency: carrying a weapon, group fights, assault, extortion, snatching, vandalism, shoplifting, bike theft, theft from a car, car theft, burglary and drug dealing. Students were also asked about substance use (drugs and alcohol) and victimisation (including bullying). Questions on substance use were not treated as measures of delinquency. The questionnaires were usually completed in a classroom setting, using pencil and paper. Nevertheless, a few countries (e.g. Switzerland) used a computerized administration of the questionnaires.

The selection of countries for the ISRD-2 was not based on a random sampling of the nations in the world, but on the shared interest among researchers working in universities, research institutes and government agencies in these countries. 31 countries took part in the ISRD-2, most of which are European: 15 Western European countries

3. Contributor to this section: Nieves Sanz Mulas.

4. Belgium, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, New Zealand, Northern Ireland, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, The Netherlands and the United States (Nebraska).

5. A detailed description of the ISRD-2 methodology is available in Junger-Tas et al. 2010.

(12 of which are EU Member States),⁶ 10 Eastern European countries,⁷ Canada and the United States⁸ and, for the first time, some countries outside Europe and North America.⁹

The ISRD-2 faced enormous challenges. First, each participating country had to obtain its own funding (with the exception of six Central and Eastern European countries which were funded by the EU) since there is not a central funding agency. Second, many problems related to language, cultural misunderstanding, and logistical and practical issues were found because of the large number of foreign collaborators. Finally, most countries faced some problems with respect to executing the classroom-based sample plan (e.g. parental consent was often not given or severely limited the response rate).

Despite these challenges, the ISRD-2 was eventually carried out and yielded findings of considerable interest for both academics and policymakers. As is well known, most of the existing available international tools for measuring crime refer only to adult criminal behaviour. However, youth crime is perceived as a major problem in many countries. In this context, the ISRD-2 study offers useful information to policymakers in participating countries, enabling them to adapt their youth policies in terms of social policy, education, prevention and youth welfare. Similarly, the ISRD-2 study will permit scholars to identify delinquency trends in a growing number of countries, while simultaneously testing criminological theories (Junger-Tas 2010).

3.3. INTERNATIONAL VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN SURVEY¹⁰

The International Violence Against Women Survey (IVAWS) is an international, comparative survey on violence perpetrated by men against women. The IVAWS project was initiated in 1997 by HEUNI. Currently, the project is coordinated by HEUNI with inputs from the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), the United Nations Inter-regional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI) and Statistics Canada.

The IVAWS relies largely on the network, infrastructure and methodology of the ICVS. It uses both telephone and face-to-face interviews. In countries with adequate telephone coverage, and a history of telephone interviewing, CATI was used. In developing countries and countries with inadequate telephone coverage, however, face-to-face interviews were preferred.

A pilot study was initiated in November 2001, with Canada carrying out a 100-respondent pilot study at the end of the year. During the next year, pilot studies took place in 12 countries, including Argentina, Australia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Indonesia, Italy, Kazakhstan, Philippines, Poland, Serbia, Switzerland and Ukraine. After more testing and discussion, the questionnaire was finalised and now is available for use in fully-fledged surveys. Fully-fledged surveys have been carried out in 11 countries: Australia, China (Hong Kong), Costa Rica, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Greece, Italy, Mozambique, the Philippines, Poland and Switzerland.

The IVAWS measures two different types of violence against women: physical (including threats of physical violence) and sexual (including unwanted sexual touching). The most recent incidents of partner violence and non-partner violence are then explored in closer detail. Case details include information including possible injuries, need for medical care, reporting (or not reporting) to the police, and the respondent’s views on how her voice was heard.

The IVAWS faces some challenges. Interviewing women directly about their experiences of physical, sexual and psychological violence raises some important ethical and methodological questions for researchers. The sensitivity of these issues raises questions about trust, confidentiality, and about the safety of respondents and interviewers,

6. Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, The Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, plus Iceland, Norway and Switzerland.

7. Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Slovenia, plus Armenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Russia.

8. Four states were represented: Illinois, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Texas.

9. Aruba, the Netherlands Antilles, Suriname and Venezuela.

10. Contributor to this section: María C. Gorjón Barranco.

as emotional trauma may be re-induced when talking about these experiences. Therefore, interviewers (only females) need to be equipped to encourage the completion of the questionnaire. However, not too much pressure should be put on interviewers or respondents if respondents refuse to participate in the survey.

In order to minimise initial refusals, interviewers introduce the IVAWS as a survey on personal safety, not as a survey on violence. In addition, efforts are taken to ensure that the interview can be conducted in private. If the respondent is unavailable for participation, measures are taken to reschedule or relocate the interview. In order to accommodate themselves to different scenarios during fieldwork, interviewers and researchers need to familiarise themselves with the community and the different social and cultural issues in the areas where they are interviewing (e.g. intergenerational households, high unemployment, dowry, customary marriages, polygamous marriages, etc.) (Nevala 2005).

Finally, it is worth noting that the IVAWS offers a basis for national action and debate on the issue, especially in countries where there is little or no information on the extent of men’s violence against women.

3.4. UN SURVEYS ON CRIME TRENDS AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEMS¹¹

The United Nations Survey of Crime Trends and Criminal Justice Systems (UN-CTS) has been carried out since 1984 by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). At first, five-year intervals were used, but since then, intervals have shortened. The 11th and 12th sweeps, which are currently being analysed, cover three years from 2007 to 2009. Currently, data is being collected from member States regarding 2010, and the intention is to continue collecting information annually.

The United Nations Secretariat prepares a questionnaire to be sent to all UN Member States, asking for statistical data on reported offences. Information is also requested regarding various indicators of performance of the criminal justice system. The questionnaire is sent out in Excel format, which is intended to simplify responding and analysis.

Each Member State determines its own coordinating body, which may be, for example, a central statistical office, the office of the Prime Minister, or the Ministry of Justice.

Due to ‘questionnaire fatigue’, the UN Secretariat has been forced to simplify the questionnaire time and time again. Earlier questionnaires covered a broad spectrum of offences. The most recent sweep asks for crime data on intentional homicide, assault, sexual violence, robbery, kidnapping, theft, motor vehicle theft and burglary only. Working definitions of each offence are included in the questionnaire. Data is also requested on the total number of persons brought into formal contact with the police and/or the criminal justice system. Some additional questions concern, for example, the number of each type of offences in the largest city, and the number of foreign victims of violence.

The data requested is based on official statistics voluntarily submitted to the UN Secretariat. This fact has a number of weaknesses and strengths. As major weaknesses, for instance, the following can be named:

- The *general* non-response rate is very large. Even when responses are received, many questions remain unanswered (i.e. the *item* non-response rate is very large). Approximately 50% of all Member States actually complete the survey, and many of those do not complete it all (Lewis 2012). It is not clear if the statistics are unavailable, or if the respondent simply did not fill out the questionnaire as fully as possible.
- It is not necessarily clear whether the respondents are in fact sufficiently knowl-

11. Contributors to this section: Markku Heiskanen, Anniina Jokinen, Matti Joutsen and Minna Viuhko.

edgeable to respond correctly.

- The questionnaire is sent out in the six official UN languages. In many countries, the competent authorities do not necessarily have a working knowledge of any of these languages.
- Although the respondents are asked if the data reported complies with the definition given to each offence, this option is rarely used.
- Year-to-year comparability is hampered because no data is collected on possible changes in the legal definitions of offences.
- In many (in particular non-European) countries, the statistics reported to the UN Secretariat may be ‘massaged’, e.g. underreported.
- Since the data gathered refers to official data, it does not include hidden crime.
- All in all, data is only available for a few types of offences, for some countries, and for some time periods. The data provided may be erroneous or intentionally misleading, and will certainly, even at best, show only part of actual crime.

On the other hand, the following strengths of this source of crime data must be underlined: The data has been collected for almost thirty years and, thus, provides a source for following long-term developments. Since it is official data, it reflects the activity of the police and the courts in respect to the offence categories used, and in this respect long-term changes are of interest. In addition, validation of the data has indicated that, by and large, national-level data tends to correlate well with other available sources of crime data.

The UN data provides, in a way, a suitable ‘first point of call’ when looking at crime statistics internationally. The dataset is — or should be — the same as what can be secured by requesting statistics directly from the authorities of each country. Within the European context, the value of the UN dataset is somewhat offset by the fact that the European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics covers at least the same ground, and is in many ways broader, more rigorous, and more reliable.

From the point of view of the Member States of the European Union, this data source provides in addition an archive which can be ‘mined’ for indications of long-term developments. Many — but not all — EU Member States respond to the UN questionnaire, and in general the responses given by EU Member States are among the most comprehensive ones provided.

The UN data also provides a point of reference, since comparisons can be made to long-term developments in other European countries, and in other regions.

The processing of the data, which has been spearheaded by European working groups coordinated by HEUNI, and by global analysis coordinated by the UNODC, has improved general awareness of inherent limitations on the comparability of statistical data, has attempted to improve national data collection procedures, and has also stimulated alternative data collection exercises.

3.5. OTHER DATASETS: MEASURING ORGANIZED CRIME¹²

Organized crime and other forms of so-called emerging crime simply cannot be measured by official statistics or victimisation surveys. Official statistics do not show the true extent of this criminal activity. For instance, low rates of court cases on organised crime may be due to police corruption and political interference in prosecuting and sentencing. Therefore, low rates may point to high rather than low prevalence of this type of crime. Neither do victimisation surveys in households show the real extent of this criminal activity since ordinary households are not directly victimised by organized crime (van Dijk 2007a). Therefore, other sources have been explored. This section introduces some of them. Prof. Jan van Dijk has carried out various attempts to develop

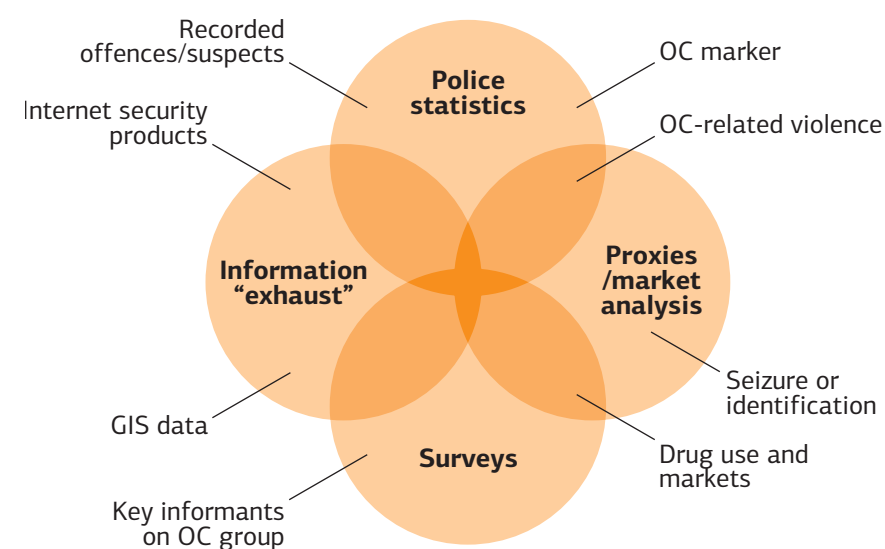
12. Contributors to this section: Markku Heiskanen, Anniina Jokinen, Matti Joutsen and Minna Viuhko.

indicators of organized crime (see, among others, van Dijk 2008, van Dijk 2007a, van Dijk 2007b). Earlier efforts include HEUNI's work on developing the so-called indexes of various forms of crime (e.g. motor vehicle crime, violent crime and corruption), that would be more robust than the basic statistics (see for example Aromaa et al. 2003). The UN Secretariat is currently looking at various indicators of the extent of emerging forms of crime (see for example Malby 2012).

The assumption is that organized crime and many forms of emerging crime are typically hidden crime (which, as a result, is not reflected in official statistics) but are also conceptually rather vague, and, thus, would not necessarily fit in with existing legal definitions. This obviously hampers international comparisons.

In such a case, the first point of call would be victimisation surveys. However, once again many forms of organized crime and corruption may involve victims who have either consented to the offence, or who, for a variety of other reasons (threat, shame, unwillingness to regard oneself as a victim), would not be willing to volunteer information to the authorities or to a researcher. Other potential sources thus need to be explored.

The following figure, taken from Malby (2012), shows the four main potential sources of data with examples for each source:



The concepts of police statistics and victimisation surveys are already familiar. Victimisation surveys directed at businesses include the International Commercial Crime Survey, which has been replicated and expanded, with more attention to corruption and extortion (see van Dijk 2008). The EU Member States included in various sweeps were Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Romania and United Kingdom. These surveys showed that the prevalence of racketeering was high in Eastern Europe, but the phenomenon was also to be found in Central and Western Europe.

The 'surveys' category includes surveys of 'key informants'. For example, businesspeople may have first-hand experience with corruption and organized crime as it relates to their business activity. Accordingly, Van Dijk has used World Economic Forum data on the perception held by business leaders of obstacles to doing business — and one such obstacle is the prevalence of organized crime. He notes (van Dijk 2008, p. 154) that the responses appear to be remarkably stable. He has combined the results with those of the World Bank and EBRD surveys and other surveys of international

security experts to form an index of organized crime, covering a total of 156 countries, including almost all EU Member States. These again show that the level of racketeering in Europe increases from West to East (ibid., pp. 154-156). Van Dijk has correlated this index with data on the perception of corruption (ibid., pp. 159-161; among the countries covered are 23 EU Member States). The results for the EU Member States also suggest a positive correlation between the two. Another exercise involved comparing the index with perceptions of the scope of shadow economy; a strong correlation was found (ibid., pp. 161-162). Bringing all of these together, van Dijk constructs a 'composite organized-crime index' (ibid., pp. 162-169 and 359-362). Again, most EU Member States are included.

Transparency International (TI) has, for an extended period of time now, brought together different surveys regarding the perception of corruption. Van Dijk compares these with other available measures, and concludes that the TI results are 'moderately strongly' correlated with experiences of victimisation through corruption (ibid., pp. 182-187, at p 187). The Centre on Organized Crime has carried out a pilot study gauging perceptions of organized crime among the general public in Bulgaria, FYR of Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia.

Market measures look at such factors as the movement of illicit goods (cigarettes, drugs, persons), or alternatively at changes in demand. While such data may be poor at indicating the scope of the market, it can help in suggesting an expansion or contraction; in other words trends in the market, and consequently in organised crime.

'Proxies' refers to datasets which in themselves can *reflect* the scope of crime. If, for example, organized crime is typified by the use of extreme violence, one can look at the number of unsolved homicides or, more specifically, the number of young male victims of firearm-related homicides as an indicator of organized crime. This data is being collected in the context of the UN surveys and is currently being analysed by the UNODC (ibid., pp. 157-159).

Information 'exhaust' refers to information that is gathered for other purposes, but which may reflect changes as a result of changes in crime. Examples include data on the installation of security devices in computer systems (correlation with the perception/reality of computer crime), the installation of home burglar alarms (correlation with the perception/reality of residential burglary), and the number of stolen motor vehicles that remain untraced (correlation with organized theft).

The indicators mentioned above provide the best available option to measure the immeasurable: hidden crime, organized crime and emerging forms of crime. Depending on the dataset used, the data itself will be quite reliable (as is the case with stolen motor vehicles that have not been recovered; due to car insurance, the reporting rate in Europe presumably is near 100 %). However, datasets that are based on perceptions are inherently dependent on the validity of this perception, and on how the persons in question define the phenomenon. Similarly, using one dataset to assess something for which it was not designed is risky. Ultimately, and as is the case with all 'reflections', the image may be quite different from reality.

4. DATASETS AT THE EUROPEAN LEVEL

This section reviews the most important existing datasets on crime at the European level, focussing again on the organization which collects the information, the years covered, the geographical coverage, the types of crime, the weaknesses, and the strengths and weaknesses as well as the relevance of the data source.

4.1. EUROPEAN CRIME AND SAFETY SURVEY¹³

The last wave of the ICVS was carried out with some financial support from the European Commission in some EU Member States, where it was, therefore, called the European Union International Crime and Safety Survey (EU ICS). A European consortium led by Gallup Europe comprising UNICRI (Italy), Gallup Hungary, the Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law (Germany), CEPS/INSTEAD (Luxembourg) and GeoX (Hungary) conducted the survey.

The consortium received a grant from the European Commission, DG Research, to carry out the EU ICS survey in 2005 among the ‘old’ 15 EU Member States,¹⁴ and committed to include at least three of the ‘new’ members (Poland, Estonia and Hungary).

Fieldwork for the EU ICS was conducted by Gallup Europe in the 15 ‘old’ EU Member States and Hungary, using the so-called ICVS methodology. Data collection in Estonia and Poland was organized independently in 2004/2005, but in close consultation with the EU ICS consortium. Both countries used elements of the same standardised methodology, including the adjusted ICVS questionnaire.

CATI was employed in 16 of the 18 country surveys. Interviews were carried out via fixed telephones, with the exception of Finland, where an additional sub-sample was interviewed via mobile phones. Face-to-face interviews were conducted in Poland and Estonia.¹⁵ All in all, both modes produced the same prevalence rates.

The subjects of the survey were residents of the countries mentioned and aged 16 and older. The targeted number of actual interviews in most countries was 2 000. The samples were divided into a larger national part (with a targeted size of 1 200) and a relatively smaller capital city part (targeted N = 800). No additional interviews were conducted in the capital cities of Luxembourg, Poland and Estonia.

The types of crime included are identical to those included in the previous ICVS, such as vehicle-related crimes (theft of cars, thefts from or out of cars, motorcycle theft and bicycle theft), burglary, theft of personal property and pickpocketing, and contact crimes (robbery, sexual offences, and assaults and threats). Through a set of special questions the survey also collects information on non-conventional crimes such as petty corruption (bribe-seeking by public officials) and consumer fraud.

The most important changes to the ICVS questionnaire for the 2005 EU ICS were: an additional newly designed question on ‘hate crimes’, including those against immigrants, inclusion of a question on exposure to drug-related problems that was previously used in three Eurobarometer surveys, deletion of the question on car vandalism and of some other secondary questions in order to reduce the length of the interview, and translations of new questions in their relevant languages made by Gallup Europe (van Dijk et al. 2007b).

As it was already noted with respect to the ICVS, the EU ICS overcomes the well-known shortcomings of the police statistics on recorded crime. Therefore, if the EU ICS is repeated in coming years it will enable true comparisons of the levels of crime across Europe.

4.2. EUROPEAN SOCIAL SURVEY¹⁶

The project under which the European Social Survey (ESS) is carried out is directed by a Core Scientific Team led by Rory Fitzgerald from the Centre for Comparative Social Surveys at City University London (United Kingdom). The six other institutions represented are: NSD (Norway), GESIS (Germany), The Netherlands Institute for Social Research/SCP (Netherlands), Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Spain), University of Leuven (Belgium) and University of Ljubljana (Slovenia). Except for the aforementioned exam-

13. Contributor to this section: Rita Haverkamp.

14. Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and United Kingdom (England/Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland).

15. A detailed description of the EU ICS methodology is available in van Dijk et al. 2007a.

16. Contributors to this section: Maria Doichinova and Maria Yordanova.

ples, every respondent country has a partner organization or institution which carries out the survey in practice.

The ESS is a biennial survey, the first round of which was carried out in 2002. Round 5 was carried out in 2010. Round 6 is presently being prepared. Final datasets are usually published on the ESS data server six to nine months after the field work has been carried out.

The geographical coverage has been extended, with Round 5 reaching 26 countries.¹⁷

The ESS is a repeat cross-sectional survey. The unit of analysis is individual (persons aged 15 and over) residents in private households, regardless of their nationality, citizenship, language or legal status, living in the participating countries. The survey involves strict random probability sampling, a minimum target response rate of 70% and rigorous translation protocols. The hour-long face-to-face interview includes questions divided into ‘core modules’, which remain relatively constant in every round, and two or three rotating modules which vary with every round. The last round (2010) had two rotating modules — ‘Work, Family and Well-being: The Implications of Economic Recession’, and ‘Trust in Criminal Justice’. The latter captures information on trust, legitimacy, cooperation and compliance in relation to criminal justice. It also tests theories of institutional legitimacy. It was elaborated as a direct outcome of the project EURO-JUSTIS, funded under the FP7, which was carried out by part of the FIDUCIA project team (see Hough & Sato 2011).

The core module of all survey rounds includes a question on the trust of the interviewees in the police and the justice system. The concept of trust is rooted in the interviewees’ assessments of crime trends in terms of the rates of the most common and visible crimes, and of the overall effectiveness of the police and the justice system in the country.

One of the ‘rotating’ modules of Round 5, which provides an in-depth focus on a series of particular academic or policy concerns, regards public trust in the police and courts. It includes information on the citizens’ experience with the police and courts (how often has the interviewee interacted with them, to what extent were they satisfied with their work, are the police and courts treating victims/defendants equally, are they successful in solving criminal cases, what are the levels of corruption, etc.) In addition, the survey measures to what extent the interviewees’ moral views match their views of the police and laws, to what extent they tend to back the decisions of the police and courts, and to what extent they are willing to cooperate with the police/courts by calling the police, testifying, etc.

The ESS also measures the levels of tolerance towards people with a different sexual orientation, ethnic background, race, religion or social status. In the core module of Round 5 there are questions on whether interviewees have been subjected to discrimination and on what grounds.

All rounds include questions on personal security — whether the interviewee or a member of their household has been a victim of burglary or physical assault during the last five years.

Another question concerns the perception of safety — how safe does the interviewee feel walking in their residential area.

The questions measuring the perception of fear of crime have evolved during Round 5 of the survey to include the fear of one’s home being burgled as well as fear of becoming a victim of violent crime, and how these fears affect the quality of the interviewee’s life.

The ESS asks questions measuring the interviewees’ inclination to commit a specific crime such as making an exaggerated or false insurance claim, or committing a

17. Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France (not including Corsica and other overseas territories), Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Israel and the Jewish population residing in the West Bank, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal (Mainland), Russian Federation, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain (including the North-African cities of Ceuta and Melilla), Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine and the United Kingdom (the Channel Islands, the Isle of Man, and the area north of the Caledonian Canal in Scotland - that is most of the Highlands and the Islands regions - are excluded).

traffic offence such as speeding or crossing red light, and how likely they believe that this would be punished.

In terms of completeness the ESS covers far fewer types of crimes than the ICVS. Having in mind the profile of the ESS, which is not designed to be a victim survey, it covers questions on burglary and physical assault and stresses the sense of security of citizens in view of the crime rate in their country.

The ESS fails to register the repeatability of a crime, since it does not ask how many times the respondent has been a victim of crime during the previous five years. This should be kept in mind when interpreting the ESS data.

On the other hand, the ESS has a few strengths that deserve to be mentioned. The ESS Round 5 measures not only the interviewees' perceptions about the chance of becoming a victim of crime, but also their moral views which would allow them to commit a crime (to the extent to which the respondents are prepared to admit this in an interview).

Since it is biennial, the survey makes it possible to follow the prevalence of the types of crimes which are part of the core unit in some 30 countries in Europe, going beyond the borders of the European Union. Thus, the ESS proves to be a valuable source to be used together with other types of crime surveys and mainly as a source of contextual data on the living conditions of the population and the relation with the assessment of crime trends in the country in question.

The type of respondents selected and the period of five years, during which the respondents report being crime victims, fits the UNICRI methodology for the ICVS, which allows comparability with many crime surveys.

4.3. EUROPEAN SOURCEBOOK OF CRIME AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE STATISTICS¹⁸

The European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics (European Sourcebook) has four consecutive editions, each developed by a Group of Experts with the support of different international institutions and national governments. The first edition was developed and published on the initiative of the Council of Europe. The second edition was developed with the financial support of government agencies from the United Kingdom (Home Office), Switzerland (Ministry of Foreign Affairs through the University of Lausanne School of Criminal Sciences) and the Netherlands (Ministry of Justice), and was published by the Dutch Ministry of Justice. The third edition was again published by the Dutch Ministry of Justice and was compiled thanks to the support of several institutions and organizations (the Swiss Federal Office of Statistics and the Dutch Ministry of Justice provided financial and logistic support, the French Centre for Sociological Research on Law and Criminal Justice Institutions – CESDIP assisted in data validation, the European Commission, the German Federal Ministry of Justice and the British Home Office organised one meeting each, etc.). Finally, the fourth edition, published by the Dutch Ministry of Justice, was developed with the support of the European Commission through a project financed under the AGIS Programme.

The European Sourcebook is not based on a specifically designed survey but is rather an instrument for collecting official statistics and data from sociological surveys carried out in the area of crime and criminal justice. Information was collected through a network of national correspondents. The majority of national correspondents were either public officials (representatives of judicial authorities, national statistical offices, etc.) or researchers (working for universities or other research institutes). Each national correspondent collected the data on their own country and used this to fill in the European Sourcebook questionnaire. The collected data were then validated and recalculated into ratios per 100 000 in population.

18. Contributor to this section: Dimitar Markov.

This dataset is divided into five chapters: police data (information on offences and suspected offenders known to the police, and information on police staff in each country), prosecution statistics (information on the steps of decision-making at the prosecutorial level, such as initiating and abandoning prosecutions, bringing cases to court and sanctioning offenders by summary decisions, compulsory measures during criminal proceedings, etc.), conviction statistics (information on persons who have been convicted, e.g. found guilty according to the law, or have committed one of the selected offences), correctional statistics (information on the number and the capacity of penal institutions, and data regarding the 'stock' and 'flow' of non-custodial sentences) and survey data (data from the ICVS regarding offences experienced and reported to the police, as well as on attitudes towards the police, and data from the ISRD).

As noted, the European Sourcebook has four consecutive editions, each covering a different period of time. The first edition was published in 1999 and covers the time frame 1990-1996, the second edition, published in 2003, covers the period 1995-2000, the third edition was published in 2006 and covers the years 2000-2003, and finally the fourth edition was published in 2010, covering the 2003-2007 period.

This source includes data about European countries only. Each of the four editions has a slightly different geographical coverage. The first edition offers data on 36 countries, the second edition, on 40 countries, the third edition, on 37 countries, and the fourth edition, on 42 countries.¹⁹

The European Sourcebook covers several criminal offences, providing a standard definition for each of them and listing the countries which were not able to meet entirely the definition, with an indication of which elements of the definition they were unable to meet. With a few exceptions, all editions covered the following categories of crimes: total criminal offences, traffic offences, intentional homicide, bodily injury (assault), aggravated bodily injury (assault) (this subcategory was included for the first time in the fourth edition), rape, sexual assault (this category of offences was included for the first time in the fourth edition), sexual abuse of minors (this category of offences was included for the first time in the fourth edition), robbery, armed robbery (this subcategory was used only in the first edition), theft, theft of a motor vehicle, bicycle theft (this subcategory was included only in the first edition), burglary, domestic burglary, fraud (this category of offences was included for the first time in the fourth edition), offences against the confidentiality, integrity and availability of computer data and systems, money laundering, corruption in the public sector, drug offences, drug trafficking, and aggravated drug trafficking (this subcategory was introduced for the first time in the fourth edition).

This source of crime data suffers from certain flaws. As explained by an explicit disclaimer included by the authors in each edition, one of the major weaknesses of this instrument is the limited comparability of the data. Although the aim of the European Sourcebook is to present comparable information on crime and criminal justice in Europe, both the chronological comparison of data for one country and the international comparison between countries should not be over-interpreted. There are various reasons for the limited comparability. Within one country, changes from one year to another might be due not only to the increase or decrease in the number of offences, but also to changes in the legislation or modifications in the rules for collecting and presenting statistics. International comparison is even more difficult because countries differ widely in the way in which they organise their police and court systems, they define their legal concepts, and they collect and present their statistics. According to the European Sourcebook 'In fact, the lack of uniform definitions of offences, of common measuring instruments and of common methodology makes comparisons between countries extremely hazardous' (Aebi, M.; de Cavarlay, B; Barclay, G. et al.

19. Participating countries in the fourth edition are: Albania, Armenia, Austria, Belgium, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Moldova, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, FYR of Macedonia, Turkey, Ukraine and United Kingdom (England/Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland).

2010, p. 22). To avoid misinterpretation of data, the European Sourcebook provides numerous footnotes and technical information explaining the figures in each table.

Another shortcoming of the European Sourcebook is the fact that not all data is available for all countries. In general, the European Sourcebook presents only the data collected by the national correspondents. Where such data was not available, the figures for the respective countries are missing. In fact, there are many tables where information is available for less than half of the countries.

Despite the comparability issue, the European Sourcebook is a unique Europe-wide instrument for the collection and presentation of statistics on crime and criminal justice. Among the advantages of the European Sourcebook are, for instance, the methodology for data collection and presentation (aimed at ensuring maximum information accuracy by introducing standard definitions of offences and providing detailed country-by-country explanations of what is actually reported), the opportunities (although subject to significant limitations) for comparative analysis, and the broad scope in terms of geographical coverage and types of offences (in particular with the inclusion of the new categories of offences in the most recent edition).

4.4. EUROPEAN UNION MINORITIES AND DISCRIMINATION SURVEY²⁰

The European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU MIDIS) (see FRA 2009) is the first study on the rights of minorities in Europe. The contractor which undertook the survey is Gallup Europe under the supervision of FRA (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights) staff. Overall, 23 500 immigrants, national and ethnic minority persons representing all 27 EU Member States were interviewed face-to-face during 2008. The respondents were selected predominantly in 22 of the 27 Member States through random sampling procedures. A sample of between 500 and 1 500 respondents were interviewed in each EU Member State. In addition, 5 000 members of the majority population, living in the same areas as the minorities, were interviewed face-to-face in 10 Member States. This allowed the comparison of results concerning certain key questions.

Groups of respondents in each Member State were selected for interview on the basis of:

- information supplied to the FRA by its Racism and Xenophobia Network (RAXEN) of 27 National Focal Points (NFPs), which provide the Agency with detailed national annual reports on the vulnerability of different minorities to discrimination and victimisation in each Member State;
- identification of the largest minority group or groups in each country, which had to reach a minimum overall size of 5% to be sufficient for random sampling in specific areas;
- availability to be surveyed in more than one Member State, which allowed for the creation of ‘aggregate’ groups (such as ‘North Africans’) for comparison of results between countries.

The results of this survey are representative for the groups surveyed in the areas where the research was undertaken.

The survey sampled persons (male and female) aged 16 years and older who: 1. self-identify themselves as belonging to one of the immigrant, national minority or ethnic minority groups selected for sampling in each Member State; 2. are usually residents of one of the sampled cities or areas of the Member State being surveyed; 3. have been residents of the Member States for at least one year; and 4. have sufficient command of (one of the) the national language(s) of the Member State being surveyed to take part in a

20. Contributors to this section: Hasan Bükür, Osman Dolu and Şener Uludağ.

simple conversation with the interviewer.

In each household that contained persons from the designated target groups, up to three eligible persons were invited to take part in the survey.

Overall experiences of criminal victimisation across five types of crime, specifically property crime (theft of or from a vehicle, burglary and theft of other personal property) and in-person crime such as experiences of assault or threat, and serious harassment, were observed in the survey, including whether any of these crimes were committed with a racist motive.

This study aims to detect discriminatory criminal justice procedures against minorities. The study also is an attempt to understand various crime victimisations experienced by minorities in EU countries since 2003. Since it is a cross-sectional and self-reported study it has the limitations and weaknesses inherent in such studies. However, it provides a great deal of information regarding minorities in conflict with the law, and the perceptions that minorities have of the police, law and order.

Among the weaknesses of this source of data, it should be mentioned that the questionnaire does not contain a sufficient number of questions (variables) to measure all of the potent factors which may have an impact on crime victimisation. In addition, the sample size of this survey is not enough for detecting a possible correlation between crime victimisation variables and other independent variables.

As to its strengths, using a standard questionnaire and survey procedures facilitates comparison between countries. Furthermore, well organised and detailed sample selection procedures enhance the quality and reliability of the survey.

Finally, EU MIDIS questions how the crime statistics came into existence in the first place by questioning whether the police in Europe approach minorities differently than they do ‘real Europeans’. Thus, EU MIDIS allows us to question the validity and reliability of crime statistics in Europe.

4.5. EUROSTAT CRIME STATISTICS (‘Statistics in Focus’)²¹

Eurostat is the statistical office of the European Union. It received a mandate under the 2004 *Hague Programme*²² to develop comparable statistics on crime and criminal justice. A series of measures towards this end were completed under the 2006-10 *EU Action Plan on Developing a comprehensive and coherent EU strategy to measure crime and criminal justice*.²³ Since the conclusion of the Action Plan, the system is being enhanced and extended as part of the implementation of the 2009 *Stockholm Programme*.²⁴

The methodology used in this publication draws upon a methodology developed by the European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics. In particular, the definition and measurement of criminal offences, and the Surveys on Crime Trends and Criminal Justice Systems conducted by the UNODC. Countries were asked to adhere to a standard definition when assembling the figures and to provide details regarding any divergences.

The results of the data collection are presented in the so-called ‘Statistics in focus’ publication series. The source of information on crime numbers for these statistics is the formal police records of the contributing countries. In addition, the data includes the size of the prison population and the number of police officers.

The most recent publication was in 2012, ‘Crime and Criminal Justice - Issue number 6/2012’ (see Tavares et al. 2012.), which is based on the number of offences recorded by the police during the period 2006-2009.

The years for which information is available are as follows:

- Total crime — time series are available from 1950 for some countries (Denmark,

21. Contributors to this section: Hasan Bükür, Osman Dolu and Şener Uludağ.

22. The Hague Programme: Strengthening Freedom, Security and Justice in the European Union. Official Journal C53 of 03 March 2005.

23. Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council and the European Economic and Social Committee. Developing a comprehensive and coherent EU strategy to measure crime and criminal justice: An EU Action Plan 2006-2010 (COM (2006) 437 Final of 07 August 2006).

24. The Stockholm Programme — An Open and Secure Europe Serving and Protecting Citizens. Official Journal C115 of 04 May 2010.

Germany, Estonia, France, Ireland, the Netherlands, Poland, Finland, United Kingdom: England & Wales) and from 1980 for most other countries.

- Specific offences — time series are available from 1993.
- Police officers — time series are available from 1993.
- Prison population — time series are available from 1987.

Data collection covers not only the current 27 EU Member States, but also EU candidate countries (Croatia, Montenegro, FYR of Macedonia, Turkey), EU potential candidate countries (Albania, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Kosovo, Serbia), European Free Trade Association/European Economics Area (EFTA/EEA) countries (Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, Switzerland), other European countries, such as the Russian Federation, and Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries, such as Canada, Japan, New Zealand, the United States and South Africa.

The topics covered include total crime (offences against the penal code or criminal code), homicide, violent crime, robbery, domestic burglary, motor vehicle theft and drug trafficking, as well as the prison population and the number of police officers.

This data source is composed of official statistics from several countries so it faces the respective challenges of being an international data source. Each contributing country has its own way of defining and measuring certain crimes, which differs considerably in approach and coverage. Thus, it is necessary to be cautious before directly comparing trends across the contributing countries. The following issues must be considered when assessing the number of crimes per country: differences in the legal and criminal justice systems, differences across societies with respect to reporting crimes to the police and differences with respect to police practices for recording reported crime, the point at which crime is measured and the way in which multiple offences are recorded.

In addition to data on the number of crimes officially recorded and submitted by the police, this source also covers prison populations. Similar to the police and their practices, there are certain issues regarding the prison figures that should be considered when making assessments based on those numbers. Figures for the prison population may be affected by the following factors: the workload (number of cases dealt with) of courts, the percentage receiving a custodial sentence out of the total sentences decided by the courts, differences across the countries in the length of the imprisonment sentences imposed for a certain crime, differences across the countries in respect of the size of the population on remand, the date of the survey, especially where amnesties (or other early release arrangements) apply, and differences across the countries with respect to pre-trial and on-trial detaining practices (the legal systems of some countries may be more prone to keeping suspects in detention before and during the trial which, consequently, increases the size of the inmate population).

However, this dataset also has some strong points, such as the number and the type of the countries covered. As mentioned above, the data provides information on the EU Member States, candidate countries, selected potential candidate countries and EFTA/EEA countries. In addition, information has also been collected and is made available on the Eurostat website for some other countries outside Europe.

Regarding the differences in defining certain crimes, which were mentioned as a potential weakness above, the relevant SDMX (Statistical Data and Metadata eXchange) files of the data provide details of the divergence of national figures from the proposed standard definition. This is actually a positive step towards understanding which part of the information is more comparable than the others when making general inferences from the data.

5. USE OF EXISTING DATASETS

The previous two sections reviewed the main existing datasets on crime. In this section, there will be a brief summary of the extent to which those datasets are utilized.

Most of the analysed datasets are primarily used in academic research in the field of criminal law and criminology. In fact, there is a large number of academic studies that have been based on those sources of crime data. Mentioning all of them would not be possible in this report, so a few examples will be provided. Among the most recent literature in which ICVS findings are cited are Tseloni et al. (2010) and van Dijk (2007b). UN-CTS results are used in Harrendorf et al. (2010) and ESS findings are used in Ceobanu (2011), Fitzgerald et al. (2012) and Kääriäinen & Sirén (2011). Some academic studies do not focus only on one of those datasets, but compare the results of different datasets (see for example Aebi et al. 2002). On the other hand, it appears that datasets on specific subjects, such as the IVAWS and the EU MIDIS, are less used by researchers.

The attention paid by researchers to the datasets mentioned does not correlate to the attention paid by policymakers. In fact, the relevance of those tools for policymakers is rather limited (a topic that will be analysed in depth in D.2.2), whether we consider official statistics on recorded crime or survey-based data. With respect to the official statistics, the European Sourcebook itself admits that ‘the issue of whether or not it is good practice to use official criminal justice statistics for decision-making in crime policy or for conducting scientific studies is one of the classic debates of criminology.’ As previously mentioned, official statistics face a large number of challenges (e.g. hidden crime). However, victimisation surveys offer an alternative for policymakers when developing crime policy. Nevertheless, the influence of victimisation surveys on the process of crime policy decision-making ranges from intensive to low in a certain number of European countries, as Zauberman’s research (2008) has shown. According to this study, in England and Wales, the British Crime Survey has become the ordinary point of reference when measuring crime and it is used in support of the evaluation of policies developed by the government. In Belgium, the Security Monitor is linked explicitly to the local security contracts passed between the federal state and the towns, and the *Politiemonitor Bevolking* constitutes an integral part of the police organisation. In Spain, including Catalonia, victimisation surveys do not seem to have influenced the crime policy. In France, the results of national surveys are being used by the *Observatoire national des zones urbaines sensibles* and the *Observatoire national de la délinquance*. In Germany, victimisation surveys have no notable impact on public policies, notwithstanding the fact that the local surveys have been commissioned by municipal authorities in support of prevention and security programmes. Furthermore, surveys in Italy are not drawn upon by policymakers with the exception of certain regions (Emilia Romagna) and a few municipalities (Modena, Bologna). Thematic surveys on specific populations (e.g. those focused on violence against women or on young people), however, seem to have notable impact, as has been seen with the surveys on violence against women in Spain and with the surveys on school violence in Germany. Zauberman’s study mainly refers to national victimization surveys, not to the international victimisation surveys mentioned in this report. However, Zauberman does point out that the ICVS has very limited use, essentially due to the small size of samples that cannot compete with national surveys.

In addition, it must be underlined that most of the analysed datasets only focus on common crime to which the general public is exposed (theft, burglary, assault, etc.), but they ignore the so-called ‘new’ forms of crime, specifically those forms of crime mentioned in art. 83.1 TFEU.²⁵ As a consequence, EU policymakers cannot draw upon those datasets when developing crime policy related to ‘new’ forms of crime.

25. Terrorism, trafficking in human beings and sexual exploitation of women and children, illicit drug trafficking, illicit trafficking in firearms, money laundering, corruption, counterfeiting of means of payment, computer crime and organized crime.

6. CONCLUSION

The analysis of the most representative sources of data on crime leads us to the following conclusions.

1. At present, data on crime and criminal justice is collected by several organisations worldwide, and, at the European level, for different purposes such as making comparisons of crime trends. Each dataset, be it official recorded data or survey-based data, has its advantages and disadvantages.
2. On one hand, official recorded data might be used for measuring crime trends within one country over time. However, it does not allow for making reliable comparisons of crime trends across countries, owing to the different procedures followed in each country when recording and reporting offences, and the different legal definitions of the types of crime. In addition, official figures ignore hidden crime. Even within an individual country, official recorded data must be used cautiously because changes in crime trends might be due not only to the increase or decrease in the number of offences, but also to changes in the legislation or modifications in the rules for collecting and presenting statistics. On the other hand, survey-based data reflects the amount of hidden crime and, if the surveys are carried out using standardised methodology and questionnaires, reliable international comparisons on crime are possible.
3. Notwithstanding the large number of existing datasets on crime, they are not being used to their full potential. They are primarily employed by researchers to compare crime trends across countries. Policymakers, however, barely use them for developing crime policy. This seems to be a consequence of the existing disconnect between researchers, who can read and interpret the data, and policymakers, who would use the data. Therefore, it is necessary to encourage cooperation between academia and policymakers, opening a path towards evidence-based policy. However, getting research into practice is a difficult process. In order to achieve it, better dissemination of research findings among policymakers is crucial. Thus, crime data should be produced in a form that senior policymakers can understand and use. Nonetheless, simplifying the data for presentation purposes can lead to misleading interpretations.
4. Most of the existing datasets focus on conventional crime and ignore emerging forms of criminality, such as organized crime and grand corruption. Therefore, there is need for more and improved indicators of these new forms of crime, especially with respect to the ones that the FIDUCIA project intends to examine: trafficking in human beings, trafficking of goods, criminalisation of migration and ethnic minorities, and cyber-crimes.

APPENDIX 1: ELECTRONIC SOURCES OF INFORMATION

European Crime and Safety Survey (EU ICS)
<http://www.europeansafetyobservatory.eu/>

European Social Survey (ESS)
<http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/>

European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics
<http://europeansourcebook.org/>

European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EE MIDIS)
http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/eu-midis/index_en.htm

Eurostat Crime Statistics (“Statistics in Focus”)
<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/crime/introduction>

International Crime Victims Survey (ICVS)
<http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/Crime-Victims-Survey.html>

International Self-reported Delinquency Study
<http://webapp5.rrz.uni-hamburg.de/ISRDI/JDEB/>

International Violence against Women Survey (IVAWS)
<http://www.heuni.fi/12859.htm>

UN Surveys on Crime Trends and the Operations of Criminal Justice Systems (CTS)
<http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/United-Nations-Surveys-on-Crime-Trends-and-the-Operations-of-Criminal-Justice-Systems.html>