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**LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
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THE CONTRIBUTION OF VICTIM SURVEYS

by

Xin Ren

A thesis
presented to the University of Ottawa
- in fulfillment of the
thesis requirement for the degree of
Master of Arts (Criminology)



Xin Ren, Ottawa, Canada, 1986.

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"The goal of ensuring that the government be fair, just and decent in its treatment of citizens was never intended to be restricted to just the handling of citizens suspected of violating the law. The ideal is to make all government contacts with all citizens fair and decent. A system of government that scrupulously observes the rights of defendants but treats victims of crime with callous indifference does not meet the ideal."

--- Samuel Dash

From W.F. McDonald (1976)

Criminal Justice and the Victim

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a literature review of the contribution of the victim survey study to criminology research.

The main contributions can be summarized into four subgroups: (1) significant improvement in the measure of crime, in which public perceptions and victims' opinions about crime have been related to the systematic information about crime problems, (2) discovery of multiple impacts of crime on victims and their relatives, so that the identification of victims involves not only their suffering but their demands for assistance, (3) recognition of victims of crime through an access of the criminal justice system, thereby creating serious reflection by the public on government policies, and (4) active changes to provide assistance to victims of crime, which actually means a whole range of human services in the society. These practical measures have brought a revolutionary alteration to the study of victims.

The research thus not only gained status through explanation and interpretation of victimization, but also put the results of the research into concrete actions. Finally, the possibilities of further development of victim

survey study as well as the scientific utility of survey outcomes has been explored. The development of victimology, and the use of the victim survey study are rapidly expanding both North America and many other countries.

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Xin Ren

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INTRODUCTION

Victims of crime as a subject of study in criminology was first undertaken by Von Hentig(1887-1974). In the last two decades a lot of progresses have been achieved by studying victims of crime. Through these significant studies, the victims of crime, who have long been ignored, are now seen as one of the determinative factors in criminalization and victimization. Thus, a new subject of study--victimology--was born. Victimology, at its early stage, focused only on the role of victims of crime in the maturation process of victimization.

In the past ten years, however, a significant shift from studying the cause of victimization to assisting the victims of crime has occurred. It has been gradually recognized that victims of crime are not only the ones who suffer as a result of crime, but also who demand reinforcement and equal rights from society. Therefore, hundreds of victim assistance projects have been set up to assist the victims of crime. Such a practice brought a series of new theoretical challenges which early victimology did not deal with. Thus, a second stage of victimology had to develop.

Victimology, in its new form, pays attention to the interests of victims. Since the mid-1960s, victimology has developed rapidly in the United States simultaneously with victim survey studies and has since attracted international dimensions.

In 1973, "The International Symposium on Victimology" was held in Jerusalem, in which the terms 'victimology' and 'victim of crime', and the relationship between victim and offender were first analyzed. In 1975, Viano organized "The International Study Institute on Victimology" in Bellagio, the first time that methodology of victimology was brought to attention. In 1976, "The Second International Symposium on Victimology" was held in Boston. In the symposium, the victim's role in crime prevention and crime control were discussed. Three years later, "The Third International Symposium on Victimology" was held in Munster, West falia (FRG). At that symposium, the "World Society of Victimology" was established in order to advance victimological research and practice, and to promote discussion of the issues concerning victims throughout the world. In 1982, "The Fourth International Symposium on Victimology" was held in Tokyo to exchange ideas in victimology between the East and the West. Two years later, in Dubrovnick, the "International Workshop on Victim Rights" was held in cooperation with the United Nations projects of crime prevention and criminal justice. Meanwhile, a Post-Graduate Program on Victimology

was also set up in Yugoslavia to encourage more recruits to this new 'subject. "The Fifth International Symposium on Victimology" is scheduled to be held in Zagreb, Yugoslavia in August of 1985.

In the field of victimology, victim survey study is an important component which provides useful and reliable information about the victim's role in the whole range of criminality and criminal justice proceedings, and about the effects of crime upon victims. With the help of this type of information, victimology develops rapidly, and the shortcomings of crime data provided by police statistics are overcome. Simply speaking, the new method applies both interview and questionnaire surveys the random samples in the general population. Thus, for the first time, the general public and the victims of crime are connected in the sense of the victim's attitudes toward crimes and the criminal justice system.

My present thesis attempts to demonstrate the contribution of victim survey study to the criminal justice practice and to criminology and victimology. My study will mainly focus on the recent findings of those victim survey studies conducted in the United States, Canada, Britain and Australia, etc, related to the development of practical reforms regarding the assistance of victims of crime.

In the Chapter I, a brief historical review on the development of the surveys of victims of crime is presented. I further classify the typology of victim survey in term of different purposes and focuses of the surveys, and trace various issues on the victim survey as a new instrument in measuring crime.

Chapter II through IV, I focus on the following three aspects through the findings of victim survey: (i) crime perspective, (ii) victim suffering financial loss, physical injury, emotional trauma and effects of victimization upon the victim's family and friends, (iii) victim's experience with the criminal justice system.

In Chapter V, the two main contributions of victim survey study are generalized. In practice, various assistance programs for the victims of crime are established upon the findings of the surveys. In theory, the findings of the victim survey regarding the victim's perspective and role in victimility and criminality set a new avenue and a new criterion to test hypotheses of the etiology of criminalization in traditional criminology.

The last chapter will summarize some considerations about the development of victim survey study and the effective utility of the data from the survey in practice. Since the victim survey as a systematical study has been used only in the recent years, the work of evaluating the victim survey

study is still lacking. Therefore, my present thesis attempts to illustrate the importance of evaluating the surveys.

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Chapter I

SURVEYING VICTIMS OF CRIME

1.1 INTRODUCTION

A review of research literature on criminological issues reveals that is known little about any possible contribution of victim to commission of crime, with a few exceptions, and the potential relationship between offender and victim, as well as the perspective of victim per se. The reason for such an omission is that criminological research has been traditionally based upon the official measurement of crime by tabulating the volume of crimes reported to the police. This measurement constitutes the broad-based information available on the incidence of crime. But it has been limited to two independent sets of data: enumerations of crime known to the police compiled at local level, and characteristics of offenders based on arrest, judicial, and prison records (Inciardi, 1976). these data are usually collected primarily for the internal purpose of the criminal justice system, other than what criminologists desire.

It is obvious that the victims of crime have been totally excluded from the official statistics as well as from the scholars' vision. Consequently, the reliability of criminological research has been weakened due to such a questionable and uncomparable research data on which the criminological research relied. On the other hand, the criminal justice policy and law enforcement planning have been inefficacious in crime control, since their designs are based upon these statistical data. Thus, the following questions are still unanswered: how many crime are there exactly? who are those victims? and why they become the victims of crime?

To respond to above mentioned questions, a significant method in measuring volume of crime -- victim survey study -- was produced in the 1960s. It provides a new type of evidence about crime, criminals, victims and the criminal justice system. It has also produced new ways of testing those hypotheses deduced from previous theories of criminology. For the first time, the victim of crime becomes an important subject in the field of criminology.

1.2 THE HISTORY OF THE VICTIM SURVEY STUDY

If we look at the history of victim survey study, we can acknowledge that the history has been divided into three major periods.

1.2.1 From 1940 to 1960:

In this period, the study of the victim was brought to attention to criminologists. However, the study was essentially based upon police statistics other than the data collected by the criminologists themselves.

In the field of victimology, Dr. Von Hentig has been long recognized as the pioneer who was particularly interested in dramatizing and analyzing the victim as an active participant, even a determining influence, in criminal acts (Schneider, H.J. 1984). In his paper entitled "Remarks on the Interaction of Perpetrator and Victim" (1941), Von Hentig indicates that there are at least three varieties of crime which can illustrate the victim's contribution to crime: 1) murder, 2) sex crimes such as rape and incest, and 3) confidence games. He classifies four different types of individuals who are victims susceptible to murder (i) depressive individual, (ii) greedy individual, (iii) tormenter, and (iv) wanton individual. Of course, what Von Hentig does is not to try to blame the victim for crime, but only tries to show that murder may be the result of

interaction between perpetrator and victim. However, he does not go further to discuss the victims of sexual assault and fraud. Von Hentig's works have had a significant impact on victimization study, such that a high-level interest in victim study has developed.

After Von Hentig, more detailed studies on the perspectives of victim were produced by many criminologists. For instance, Mendelsohn published his paper "New Bio-Psycho-Social Horizons: Victimology" in 1947; Ellenberger did his study on psychological relationship between the criminal and his victim in 1954; Wolfgang published his book, Pattern in Criminal Homicide, in 1958; Mendelsohn in 1963 wrote another paper, "The Origin of the Doctrine of Victimology"; Amir studied the pattern of forcible rape in 1971, and so on. This list tells us that since Von Hentig, a number of criminologists have paid close attention to victim's and criminal's roles in the crime commitment. But, the weakness of most of these studies is that they were based only on the police statistics. Therefore, the real perspective of victims from the victim's view still remained unknown.

1.2.2 From the mid-1960s to the 1970s:

This is the period of the first surveys of victims of crime. The U.S. government suggested and sponsored the first victimization survey in 1965. This new type of public opinion survey exhibits a fact that the criminal justice system shows little awareness about crime incidence in communities.

During the 1960s, the American government and criminologists started to develop a new method to overcome the shortcomings associated with the statistics based only upon the record from police, court and prison. The method is called ' victim survey ' when applied by criminological researchers, and is also called ' victimization survey ' when conducted by the criminal justice authority, to gather data from those representative samples of various communities.

The first pilot survey of victimization was designed by the Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (LEAJ) in the United States. "The major objective was to conduct a pilot study to design and field-test methods to be used in surveys of the public for gaining currently unavailable information regarding the impact and incidence of crime" (Biderman, Johnson, McIntyre, and Weir, 1967).

Primarily, in the mid-1960s, the LEAJ, who was trying to seek new knowledge about crime in the United States,

sponsored three victimization surveys. The first was conducted by Biderman and was aimed at developing reliable and practical survey procedures for measuring crime. The second was directed by Reiss and was a survey of high crime areas in the following three American cities: Washington, D.C., Boston and Chicago. The survey gathered the significant data on incidence of victimization and citizen's attitudes toward crime and criminal justice system. The third was conducted by the National Opinion Research Centre(NORC) and was designed to generate estimate of victimization rates and the status of public opinion for the nation as a whole. The findings of these three surveys caused a considerable stir, because they discovered substantially more crimes than the local police departments, who forwarded them to the National Statistics of Justice. Later, NORC, via its General Social Surveys, continue to collect victimization data. Hindelang has named this early period of victimization survey as the first generation of survey(Hindelang,1976). However, the most extensive and qualitative national victimization survey was undertaken by the U.S. Bureau of Census on behalf of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration(LEAA) as the part of the National Crime Survey Program(NCS) of the U.S. Department of Justice. The federal government of the United States has developed that major survey program, which is called LEAA/Census National Crime Panel, since 1972. By now,

the Census Bureau has conducted survey every six months by either interview or questionnaire with over 10,000 households or persons who are 12 years or older. This later period of survey has been nominated as the second generation of victimization survey(Hindelang,1976).

1.2.3 From late-1970s to 1980s:

During this period, there was an extension of the use of surveys in more countries, the systematic and permanent settlement of major crime surveys in some countries. However, the surveys are not only limited to the observation of the rate of victimization and the perspectives of victims, but also relate to the victim's attitude, needs, and existing services toward the victims and their families.

By the end of 1975, victimization survey had been carried out, either by academic researchers or by government or private research organizations, in Canada, Australia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Switzerland, England, Holland, West Germany, Belgium, Poland, Japan and Mexico(Sparks,1977; Skogan,1977; Schneider,1982). In 1977, Waller and Okihiro conducted one burglary survey in Toronto. In that survey, for the first time, the focus was on understanding the victim experiences of having their homes burglarized and to view society reaction towards the victims. In the same year, Sparks, Genn and Dodd conducted a

at measuring public perceptions of crime, estimating the effects of victimization on the victims' attitudes toward the criminal justice system, and on the victims' social lives. These surveys have provided a better way to understand the effect of crime on the victims and special needs of victims..

In the 1980s, victim survey has shifted its focus on the victims' needs and the services system. For example, Brown and Yantzi's survey on victims and witnesses needs in Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario, Canada(1980), Examined the forms of victim' and witness' needs, and the availability of those services to the victims. In 1983, Elias published his book on the evaluation of the compensation program to the victims of crime. Elias discussed the impacts of compensation on the victims' attitude towards the criminal justice system and government policy, and further, compensation and the victims' rehabilitation as well as on the victims' cooperative behaviour with the government and the criminal justice system. These works have greatly promoted need for assistance to the victims of crime, and encouraged policymakers to reconsider legislation about the victims of crime.

In short, the evolution of victim survey research has been put into two types: (i) there is a shifting of criminologists' attention from the classification of the

types of victim and victims' personal, social characteristics to the classification of the processes of victimization; (ii) The victim survey research has altered its emphasis from looking at crime impact on the victims and their urgent needs to the harmonization between desire and availability and the quantitative and qualitative study concerning services.

1.3 TYPOLOGY OF THE VICTIM SURVEY STUDY

In the field of social science research, the survey is a data-collection method in which an instrument is used to solicit responses from a sample of a respondent who represent a random selected sample of a population. the basic types of the survey include both interview survey and the questionnaire survey. It has been recognized that the general trend in social research is that, when the economic situation allows, the interview survey is favored over the questionnaire. The saving cost in questionnaire survey is usually outweighed by the loss of precision of information(Nan Lin, 1976).

the victim survey study has been that way from its very beginning. All victim survey studies are conducted either through interview survey or through questionnaire, or through both. However, the quality of the survey depends largely on the ability of the instrument and skill of

interviewers, in order to solicit unbiased and valid responses from the respondents.

The victim survey has been defined as a means to discover persons unaware of crime and potential victims by asking a representative sample of the population whether they have suffered from any of various types of crime in a recent period (Biderman, 1973:157; Glaser, 1974:41; Dodge, Lentzner and Shenk, 1976:1). However, since most surveys have been conducted either by the government official agencies or by the researchers and they have different purposes and interests in doing the surveys, there is a distinction between that definition and practical surveys. In the practical survey, the sample survey conducted by the government for the purpose of counting crime is called a 'victimization survey', however, the survey undertaken by the researchers for the aim of assisting victims of crime is called a 'victim survey'.

Victimization survey is primarily designed to seek new information about crime and is aimed at developing reliable and practical survey procedures for measuring the incidence of crime. Although both government policymakers and researchers complain that the police statistics are superficial, the pressure for an extensive national victimization survey does not come from the theoretical development in criminology, but comes from the public and

government's concern about the wave of high risk in street crime(Larson,1984). Nevertheless, the criminal justice system is only to see the victims as complainant or witness regarding the crime event in order to account for the frequency of crime rather than to see victim as victim who has suffered from crime, even though the victim has become its unit and focus in victimization survey.

However, the results of the victimization survey displays that a number of victims are unknown to the criminal justice system. Therefore, this fact forces many researchers to turn their attention to the perspective of victims who play a significant role in the commitment of crime. This type of victim survey provides better information about the impact of crime on the victims, their role in crime event and their social, mental and legal needs and rights. Victim survey has also provided better suggestions in serving victims of crime and their families and in reforming the legislation and the criminal justice system concerning victim of crime.

Besides the above classification of survey, certain specific types of survey according to their particular designs and focuses have been also developed during the last two decades. These surveys can be categorized as the following:

1.3.1 General Population Victimization Survey

This survey is also called government victimization survey, which is done either at national level or at local level. By now, there are about twenty countries which have conducted it. For instance, the United States has its "National Crime Survey"(NCS); Canada has the "Urban Victimization Survey"; Britain has its "British Crime Survey"; an Australia has the "General Social Survey Crime Victims".

These surveys concentrate mainly on the conventional crime or predatory street crime such as robbery, rape, burglary, larceny, theft and assault. the surveys are based on the assumption that the victim of crime is designed by the law which forces respondents and researchers to differentiate acts as crime according the law(Glaser, 1974). The findings through this survey contribute a better estimate of the incidence of crimes actually occurring rather than what is available from statistics recorded by police. This survey also tries to explore the reason behind citizen's failure in reporting crime to police. Meanwhile, this survey intends to acknowledge the nature of crime and the characteristics of victims.

However, this survey has been tied in the certain technique used in the survey and in its original design,

design,¹ so that some very important categories of crime, such as murder, fraud, child abuse, wife battering and so-called "white collar crime" have been totally excluded from the survey. Apparently, this survey upon its primary purpose attempts only to collect data on physical and financial consequences of crime on the victims. Naturally, it ignores the emotional effects of crime on the victims and their relatives.

In addition, it should be mentioned that only a few government willing to spend a lot of money on such survey in counting crimes. In fact, only the government of the United States conducts the victimization survey every year.

1.3.2 Surveying Public Attitudes Toward Crime

The public opinion towards crime, victims and the criminal justice system has been the part of victim survey study. There is a difference in attitude between victims of crime and the non-victims toward crime, fear of crime, and criminal justice system. In general, the public have no knowledge about the plight of victims and the performance of the criminal justice system at all.

¹ This limitation will be further discussed in the later section of this chapter.

The most common public attitude survey on victims of crime is used to survey public fear of crime, such as Skogan and Klecka's study on the fear of crime(1977), the British Crime Survey(1982) which includes a surveying public fear of crime as a part of the project, and Skogan and Maxfield's study(1981) on the public reaction to crime. It has been found that there is widespread fear of crime among the public, especially among the urban residents. The fear of crime has different influences or consequences among different social groups of people of various ages and sexes. The elderly and women are more prone to fear of crime than the young and males are.

1.3.3 Survey on the Specific Types of Victims

This type of survey is specifically focused on the victims of rape, robbery and burglary. Among them, the sexual assault victims are paid the most attention by research workers. The findings through surveys have demonstrated the fact that there is a huge number of hidden sex crimes against women, that is never known to the police. In recent years, surveys on sexual assault victims have attempted to study "home crime" such as child abuse and wife battering. For example, in 1974, Russel conducted an interview survey on rape victims. She has found that for the different types of rape victim, the cause of rape and

the impact of forcible sex crime on the victims vary. In 1979, the Criminal Justice Research Centre published a report of the survey on rape victimization in 26 American cities (McDermott, 1979). This report provided a national data on the victims' characters, their relationship with the offenders and some consequences of rape to the victims. Brickman and Briere conducted a survey on rape and sexual assault in Winnipeg in 1980. The study provides the quantitative information about the various characteristics of rape victim and about the consequences of rape to the victims. Furthermore, the survey also has tried to observe the families who are the victims of homicide or rape. These studies have confirmed what Wolfgang (1958) and Amir (1971) have already showed in their studies. The evidence from these surveys shows that there is a correlation between victim and offender in the crime of homicide and of rape.

In addition, the survey on the specific types of victim is also designed to examine the victimization among the different groups of victims, such as women, the elderly, and minority victims, etc. The finding from the survey has discovered that the severity of aftermath of crime is different on various social groups of victims (McMurray, H.L. 1983).

This type of survey has the significant contribution to the development of victim study. First of all, it discovers

This type of survey has the significant contribution to the development of victim study. First of all, it discovers a huge number of hidden or "invisible" crime, that is, family violence, such as wives battering, children abuse. This kind of crime has never been appeared in the official statistics. Secondly, it offers us a better understanding of the impact of crime on the victims and of the consequences to the victims families. Thirdly, it is known that a number of surveys attempt to provide new information on crime prevention. Waller and Okihiro's burglary victimization survey in Toronto is a good example. Finally, by these surveys, the public attention has been brought in the victims' needs and the services for them.

1.3.4 Survey on the Victims Needs and the Victims Services

This survey has been developed only in the recent years and it is an important extension of the development of victim survey study. For example, Canadian justice officials and the U.S. National Organization for Victim Assistance (NOVA) have conducted their own surveys on the victims' general needs and the existence of various services to them. In 1982, Drennan-Searson also conducted a survey on the victims services in Ottawa-Calton area. In the same year, a survey on the victims' needs and their helpers was conducted in New York city by Friedman. In 1984, Crime Victim Compensation Board in State of New York conducted a

general survey on the victims' needs and the services in which the survey evaluated the compensation program. These surveys strongly suggest that government and community services should work together to support the victims of crime.

In recent years, the survey has shifted its emphasis from surveying the general services in meeting victims' needs to surveying the suitability of existing programs to support the victims demands and to surveying the quality of available services (NOVA, 1983; Stelmackers, 1985). Through the shifting, we have found that whether the victims' services can establish its own standard in helping the victims of crime is related to that whether the legislation and the judicial system can set up their own laws regarding the victims of crime.

1.4 METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES REGARDING THE VICTIM SURVEY

It is clear that the victim survey has number of advantages over the traditional police collection of crime data which is well accepted. The surveys are better than the police statistics not only because of their substantive findings, but also because they attempted to solve several methodological problems involved in collecting crime data by means of the sample survey. These problems are as follows:

1.4.1 Reference Period

The basic concept of victim survey is to use the random selected samples to survey the incidence of victimization of households and to interview the personal victimization of certain crime in the non-institutionalized resident population at a given age or older during a given period.

In the questionnaire and in the interview format, the respondents are asked about if a particular victimization has been occurred during any specific length of time proceeding the interview and questionnaire. This specific length of time is called the reference period of survey. In most cases, the reference period is taken to be six to twelve months, for example, NCS in the United States, the Urban Victimization Survey in Canada(1982) and General Social Survey on Victim of Crime in Australia(1975 and 1983). However, in some cases, the reference period is extended to three or even five years. For instance, Waller and Okihiro' burglary survey in Toronto(1976) has covered its reference period for three years, ² and one proceeding victimization survey in Poland uses five years as its reference period. However, since the reference period affects the reliability of the result of survey, namely, the memory cannot last too long, the reference period as an important element has been priorly taken into account of

² However, one year of reference period was used in their data statistics due to the effect of telescoping

design of victim survey.

1.4.2 Sample Selection

The main impediment to the use of victim surveys is the financial cost, because a large sample size is possible only if enough funds are available to the surveyers. So, the sample size issue usually reduce to a cost issue. Therefore, it can be done to save the cost of survey by decreasing the proportion of the non-victim among the interviewees, so that the same member of interview can cover a large proportion of victims. Garofalo' study(1981) explains how we can achieve it through three ways. First, survey those individuals already known as having been victimized before, which mostly resources from the police file. But, this sample might be not representative of the victim population. Secondly, conduct the survey in a geographic area where is known to have the high incidence of victimization. But, the problem of less precision of the entire victim population remains. Thirdly, extend the reference period in order to cover more victims of crime. But, the danger is that the victims lose their memories of experiences of victimization.

1.4.3 Memory Effects

It is true that people tend to forget the victimization that they suffered. So, victimization are often not recalled accurately by respondents when they are interviewed. Having forgotten the minor criminal event is very common phenomenon. The most important thing of the victim survey turns out to be that the victim tends to recall the victimization as a more recent event than when it did actually occur. This problem is called "forward telescoping problem" and it can affect the victim survey in a certain way: an event that actually occurred before the start of the reference period. Since the effects of memory become more acute as the length of the reference period is extended, there is a major trade-off that must be made in victim surveying: longer reference periods only allow the use of smaller samples, although they simultaneously jeopardize the accuracy of respondent recall. Penick's study(1976) in the United States indicates that telescoping, both forward and backward, however, does not necessarily affect the estimates of victimization within a given reference period which is usually one year period. The events may be telescoped within the reference period and may also be telescoped into the reference period. Thereby, the event gains and losses from telescoping about balance out. The determination of the length of the reference period becomes the key issue in reducing the telescoping problem.

1.5 THE LIMITATION OF THE VICTIM SURVEY

Since the term "victim survey" potentially assumes "victim" as person or organization who has been violated by a crime, it directly forces the victim survey study into differentiating acts designated by law as "crime", according to how definitely their victims can be specified. Otherwise, since the collection of the data in the survey merely stems from its interviewees and respondents, the definition of the "victim" becomes a more complicated process. The identification of the victims of crime is not only determined by how the law defines the crime and its victims, but also is influenced by the recognition of victims of crime in society in terms of public opinion about criminal events. Therefore, the coverage of the notion of victim in the survey becomes one of the most important strategic decision in the designation of the survey.

It is commonly known that victim surveys are concerned with main categories of "common crime", but not all types of crime. It is well known that certain crimes are studied in the victim survey since government is interested in their frequent occurrence. These crimes are studied in the survey because they have been conventionally recognized by society as "predatory crimes" or as "street crimes such as theft, rape, assault burglary, robbery, larceny (Glaser, 1974; Skogan and Klecka,; 1977)". However, all data from surveys

reflected the reality of victims standing on. For instance, the crimes which involved the friends or the relatives are rarely recalled in the interviews and responses. It has a good example in the case of assault (Skogan and Klecka, 1977). Similarly, some victims may also intentionally avoid to report or to recall their victimization experiences simply because of the fear of stigma and offenders' threat. The surveys show that only less than half of rape victims tell their experiences (U.S. Dept. of Justice, 1979; Solicitor General Canada, 1983). The reliability of the data on rape from the victim survey has been debated. Furthermore, most of victim survey studies have long covered the crimes against persons and household, but rarely covered the crimes against business. It is true that the victim survey studies conducted by the government or the researchers have excluded the victim of business from most surveys. The U.S. government is the only one who surveyed crimes against business before 1976. Thus, for us, the institutional victimization has been little known.

In addition, certain crimes which are excluded from the victim survey may be "victimless" in nature. As we know, the victim survey relies heavily on the responses of those who were attacked by the criminals. If the participants in a criminal transaction are willingly involved in it, it would be difficult to depend upon them as informants. Some

examples of this are drug offenses, gambling, illegal abortion. Another type of crime which is excluded from the survey is murder or attempted murder. The basic condition of the survey is the sample who is chosen. However, since murder victims might dead , it is almost impossible to have them as samples in the survey. In recent years, a theory that murder victims should also involve the victim's family and friends in order to discover the effect of murder in the society has been developed. Another reason is that some crime victims are excluded from the survey may be that the victims of crimes are totally unaware of their suffering. Many white collar crimes such as fraud, embezzling and Rong-Run victims(Violation of pure,food and drugs statutes) as well are in these categories missing from the sample of the surveys.

To sum up, it is not possible to study all types of crime by applying the victim survey method. Since the policy makers prefer to study certain crimes to others, and since the ability and statutes of victims of crime vary, the victim survey has been forced to concentrate its focus on the "predatory offences". Thus, apparently, the determination of what is covered in the survey is influenced by both researchers' technical judgement and government and public interest in certain types of crime.

Chapter. II

THE EXTEND OF VICTIMIZATION SURVEY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The victim survey study is an ad hoc device for the multiple purposes of systematic knowledge on victim, offender, and the relationship between them as well as the criminal justice system. Its data cover more scope than the police records do. As a matter of fact, the survey was initiated by the government official for its internal purpose. In 1967, the LEAJ has clearly claimed that the purpose of the victimization survey is to provide the "additional information about the nature and the extent of our crime problem and the relative effectiveness of different programs to control crime" (The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967:22). Apparently, since the purpose of the victimization survey is to measure the nature and the distribution of crime incidence, it will bring less attention to the perspectives of victims.

In the early period of the development of victimization survey, the interest in the survey was to account for the crime, to analyze the risk of victimization and to discover the unreported crime problem. Following the general findings of the victimization surveys, for the first time, provide the better information about the actual incidence of crime in the communities, and about the people in high risk of being victimized, as well as about the cause of failure to report the crime by citizens. Because of these significant findings the victimization surveys have become an essential reference on volume of crime and on the recognition of victims of crime for both policy makers and social researchers. However, the data from the victim survey by no means can replace police statistics, especially when the police data can well overcome the limitations of the victimization survey in various ways.

2.2 COUNTING CRIME.

The findings of victimization surveys have confirmed that the incidence of crime is much higher than the volume of the official statistics. In 1965, NORC survey found that the rate of the forcible rape is three-and-a-half times higher than the reported rate; burglary are three-times greater; aggravated assault and larceny of \$50 and over are actually more than double; and the rate of robbery is even five times

higher than the reported rate. The overall number of personal injury crimes reported to NORC survey was almost twice the Uniform Crime Report(UCR) rate and the amount of property crimes was more than twice as much as police recorded (Inciardi, 1976).

Compared with the police figure, the fact that the victimization survey has discovered is that the criminal justice system known only a small number of crimes in the total actual crimes occurred (Table 1). For instance, in 1973, the comparison of data from the victimization survey and the police record in the United States indicated that the incidence of larceny and burglary had the highest percentages in both survey data and police figure (for larceny, 60.3% in the survey data, 50% in the police record; for burglary, 21.2% in the survey data and 29% in the police record). Furthermore, the survey data give us more meaningful information about the distribution of these incidence. The stimulation shows that the business has the highest burglary rate. It is twice as much as the rate in private houses(204:92 per 1,000 inhabitants). The stimulation also shows that the risk of robbery is more than five times in business institutions than that in individuals(39:7 per 1,000 populations).

Table 1 Comparison of the Police Data and Survey Data
on the Rate of the Victimization in the United
States, 1973.¹ (per 1,000 population)

Type of Crime ²	Police Data ³		Survey Data ⁴	
	<u>Rate</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Rate</u>	<u>Percent</u>
<u>Personal Crimes</u>				
Rape	0.25	0.5	1.8	0.4
Robbery	1.83	4.0	6.7	2.9
Assault	2.00	5.0	24.7	10.8
Larceny	20.72	50.0	91.1	39.9
<u>Household Crimes</u>				
Burglary	12.23	29.0	91.5	17.4
Larceny	---	---	106.8	20.4
Vehicle theft	4.43	11.0	19.0	3.6
<u>Business Crimes</u>				
Burglary	---	---	203.7	3.8
Robbery	---	---	38.8	0.7
<u>Total</u>		99.5		99.9

1. Persons twelve or over (female for rape).

2. Includes attempted.

3. Source: Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics-1983,
U.S. Department of Justice.

4. Source: Sample Survey of Victims of Crime, Skogan (1976)
p.4.

Since the victimization surveys obtain information about crime directly from the member of public, these surveys hold the promises of measuring the "dark figure" of crime which is never reported to the police, and of overcoming the well-known problems associated with police statistics. The data in the survey show not only the amount of incidences of crime and the distribution of crime, but also the trend of the alteration of crime in the various categories (Table 2). Between 1978 and 1981, the crimes of violence increased 4.7 percent, in which the crime of robbery increased at the highest rate among the other three crimes (rape, robbery, and assault). On the contrary, the property crimes against person declined 12 percent during that period. Compared with the police statistics, the estimate of the incidence of violent crime through the surveys is approximately five to six times higher, and the estimate of risk of property crimes through the survey is twice greater than police estimated (Table 3). In some categories, such as assault and larceny, only 20 to 30 percent of those victims are known to police. Consequently, there is a huge "dark number" of victimization to disappear from the official statistics.

An evaluative study by Shneider (1981), in comparing the victimization data with those of the police record, also indicates that the victimization survey data generally produce a slightly higher estimate of the seriousness of the crimes than that of the police information about the same

Table 2. Estimate Member and Rate (per 1,000 population or household, 12 or over) of Crime Victimization in the United States, 1978-1981.

Type of Crime	1978	1979	1980	1981	Change% (78-81)
<u>Crimes of violence</u>					4.7
Rape	171,000 (1.0)	192,000 (1.1)	174,000 (0.9)	178,000 (1.0)	-2.1
Robbery	1,038,000 (5.9)	1,116,000 (6.3)	1,209,000 (6.6)	1,381,000 (7.4)	25.8
Assault	4,732,000 (26.9)	4,851,000 (27.2)	4,747,000 (25.8)	5,024,000 (27.0)	0.4
<u>Crime of Theft</u>					
Larceny with contact	594,000 (3.1)	511,000 (2.9)	558,000 (3.0)	605,000 (3.3)	4.2
Larceny without contact	16,501,000 (93.6)	15,871,000 (89.0)	14,742,000 (80.0)	15,258,000 (81.9)	-12.6
<u>Household Crimes</u>					
Burglary	6,704,000 (86.0)	6,685,400 (84.1)	6,973,000 (84.3)	7,394,000 (87.9)	2.3
Larceny	9,351,900 (119.9)	10,630,100 (133.7)	10,648,000 (126.5)	10,176,000 (121.0)	0.9
Vehicle theft	1,365,100 (17.5)	1,329,800 (17.5)	1,381,000 (16.7)	1,439,000 (17.1)	- 2.3

Source: Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics-1983,
U.S.Department of Justice. pp.321-25, 350.

Table 3. Comparison of Estimate of Rate (per 100,000 inhabitants) of Offenses Known to Police and Estimate from the victimization, surveys in the United States, 1978-81.

Type of crime	1978		1979		1980		1981	
	<u>police</u>	<u>survey</u>	<u>police</u>	<u>survey</u>	<u>police</u>	<u>survey</u>	<u>police</u>	<u>survey</u>
Total crime index	5,109.3		5,521.5		5,899.9		5,799.9	
Violent crime	486.9	3,370	553.5	3,450	580.8	3,330	576.9	3,530
Property crime	4,622.4	9,680	4,986.0	9,190	5,319.1	8,300	5,223.0	8,510
Rape	30.8	100	34.5	110	36.4	90	35.6	100
Robbery	191.3	590	212.1	630	243.5	660	250.6	740
Assault	225.9	2,690	279.1	2,720	290.6	2,580	380.9	2,700
Burglary	1,423.7	8,600	1,491.1	8,410	1,668.2	8,430	1,623.1	8,790
Larceny	2,743.9	21,670	2,988.	22,560	3,156.	20,950	3,122	20,610
Vehicle theft	454.7	1,750	498.5	1,750	494.6	1,670	468.7	1,710

Source: Police data is from UCR, Sourcebook of criminal Justice Statistics, p.370.

Survey data is from NCS, Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics, p.350.

crimes. In this study, two different types of seriousness measures, the amount of telescoping and the amount of difference in dollar loss, are used as indicators to determine whether there is any systematic over-estimation or under-estimation of the seriousness in the survey data, as compared with police records of the same event. As a matter of fact, although the survey data show the higher estimate of dollar loss than the police estimate, the weak and insignificant correlations between time lag and overestimation of seriousness suggest that the respondents of survey do not systematically accentuate the seriousness of the crime as time passes, nor do they systematically distort the event in such a way as to recall it as being less serious than the event recorded by police. Obviously, the data of the survey is considered as a reliable way of estimating the crime incidence.

2.3 UNREPORTED CRIME

The victims of crime play two profound roles in the criminal justice proceeding. First, they are the victims of the particular crimes. Secondly, victims are the witnesses of criminal events. At this point, victims are called the "gatekeeper" of the criminal justice system(Hindelang and Gottfredson,1976). They affect whether the particular actions should be brought to crime events, and determine

whether the suspected criminal events should be reported to the authority. Since police force rarely view the crimes in a progressive way, they must depend upon citizens and victims in informing them about the possible criminal events. A study by Black and Reiss(1967) Shows that there are about 85 percent of the incidents investigated by police which are notified by the victims or citizens. However, the consequence of the victimization survey show that there is a great number of victims failing to report the crime to the police. This consequence of the survey is actually more shocking than the crime themselves. An estimate made by the Bureau of Census of the United States in 1972 for LEAA reported that the range of unreported rate of crime was approximately from 1.5 to 5 among 13 American large cities (See Table 4).

The first victimization survey in the United States conducted by the NORC in 1967 reported that only about half the crimes indexed by the survey in 1966 were reported to police(Ennis,1967). The Reporting rate are varied with the nature of crime. The victims of violent crimes are more prone to report their victimization to the police than those of property crimes(Table 5). In the cases of the property crimes the victims often fail to report their victimization unless they are seriously violated or have something to gain, for example, being able to collect on an insurance if a crime is reported to police, which is especially true in cases of vehicle theft and business burglary and robbery.

Table 4. Estimate of Ratio of Reported and Unreported crime
Among 13 American Cities, 1972.

Cities Studied	Ratio of Unreported crime to Reported crime
Philadelphia	5.1 to 1
Denver	2.9 to 1
Los Angeles	2.9 to 1
Chicago	2.8 to 1
Detroit	2.7 to 1
Dallas	2.6 to 1
Portland	2.6 to 1
Cleveland	2.4 to 1
Atlanta	2.3 to 1
Baltimore	2.2 to 1
New York	2.1 to 1
St. Louis	1.5 to 1
Newark	1.4 to 1

Source: Criminal Statistics and Victim Survey Research for Effective
Law Enforcement Planning, Inciardi (1976), p.185.

**Table 5. Estimated Percent of Personal Household and Business
Victimization not Reported to Police, 1973-1981, by
the Type of Victimization in the United States.**

Type of victi- mization	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
<u>Personal victi- mization</u>									
Rape	51	47	44	46	44	49	48	57	42
Robbery with injury	35	37	34	36	33	33	35	28	31
Robbery without injury	43	41	41	40	35	44	34	38	39
Assault	55	54	54	52	55	56	54	52	53
Larceny with contact	66	65	65	63	62	64	64	63	58
Larceny without contact	77	75	73	73	74	74	74	71	72
<u>Household victimization</u>									
Burglary	52	51	51	51	50	52	51	48	47
Larceny	74	74	72	72	74	75	74	72	73
Vehicle theft	31	32	28	30	31	33	30	29	33
<u>Business victimization</u>									
Robbery	14	10	9	12	*	*	*	*	*
Burglary	21	19	18	25	*	*	*	*	*

*: Data are not available any more.

Source: Sourcebook of Criminal Justice-1983, U.S. Department of
Justice, p.308-309.

The reasons that many citizens fail to report their victimization to police have been repeatedly illustrated by the victimization survey studies. Two common reasons can be given for not reporting the victimization: (i) the victims believe that nothing could have been done by the police, and (ii) they also believe that the crimes were not important enough to bring to the police attention (Table 6).

Even in the case of crimes reported to police, there are still differences between the severity of victimization and the reason of non-notification of their victimization to police. Almost all the victims of crime of violence are unlike others who experienced the crimes of property to suggest that the matters (victimization) are not important enough, and they more often state that it was a personal matter and fear of reprisal by offenders than those victims of property crimes. The rape victims rather frequently express that reason that they are unwilling to report their victimization to police is the fear of the negative attitude by police officer. It is also found that among the cases of rape and assault, if we consider the victim-offender relationship, victimizations which involved strangers are more likely to be reported to police than those which involved non-strangers (NCS, 1978).

However, the reason that victims report their victimization to police are much less studied. Although some

Table 6. The Estimate Rate of Victimization not Reported to Police by the Type of Victimization and the Reason given for Failing to Report.

Reasons	Rape		Robbery		Assult		Larceny		Burglary		Larceny		Vehicle theft	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Nothing could be done	19.4	52	21	54	9	51	25	64	23	58	22	64	18	57
Too minor	13.2	26	15	56	27	63	18	62	23	65	39	71	16	56
Police negative attitude	--	43	9	12	7	--	9	5	10	7	10	7	8	--
Didn't want to take time	--	--	6	--	2	--	3	--	2	--	2	--	3	--
Private matter	--	27	15	22	32	29	5	13	9	8	8	7	12	--
Fear of reprisal	--	33	7	10	4	11	1	2	1	3	1	1	1	--
Reported to sb. else	--	--	9	--	13	7	15	27	7	7	3	7	8	--
Protect offender	--	16	--	9	--	16	--	5	--	5	--	3	--	--
Nothing taken	--	33	--	47	--	28	--	16	--	42	--	8	--	51
Did want to get involved	--	--	--	33	--	24	--	24	--	20	--	26	--	19
Other	--	--	39	--	16	--	47	--	44	--	32	--	52	--

Sources: 1. : Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics-1983, U.S. Department of Justice.

2. : Urban Victimization Survey: Bulletin, Solicitor General Canada, 1983.

studies are available to reach this aspect, the findings vary and are different. Conklin's study(1975) found that the reason for reporting crime are that victims felt they had been seriously injured and that they believed to have a chance to get the lost properties back, this gain must also outweigh the effort of calling police and the psychological cost of getting involved with the legal system. But, Simth and Maness' burglary study(1976) shows that obligation is the common reason for citizens' reporting the crime. Victims claim that they report their victimization experiences because they hope to alert the police and other people to than danger.

In general, the confidence in the ability of police to catch the offenders and in the possibility of punishing the offenders, or the expectation in recovering the lost property or damage, has a significant effect on the likelihood of reporting crimes. Both studies of non-reported crimes and reported crimes have provided the interpretation in the various ways.

2.4 THE CHARACTERISTICS OF VICTIMS

The incidence of victimization has a varied pattern of vulnerability among different segments of population. Some nationwide victimization surveys have repeatedly showed that some groups of population appear to be highly susceptible to

crime whereas others are relatively untouched. the characteristics of both victims and offenders can be indicated in terms of the natural features, i.e. sex, age, race, or in terms of the socio-economic features, i.e. marriage, education, annual family income. The most considerable relationship between victim and offender. Such a finding has a meaningful effect on the explanation of the culpability of crime commitment in various categories.

2.4.1 The Natural Characteristics of Victims

1. Sex : Through the study of the data concerning victimization, we have found that the risk of crime victimization is much higher to male than to female (NCS, 1978; Victimization Survey in Australia, 1975)(Table 7). Men who are robbed and assaulted are twice as much as women. Men are also more likely to be the victims of personal larceny than women. On the contrary, women are more likely to be the victims of larceny with personal contact than men. It is not surprised at all that women raped have highest percentage. Women are estimated to be about seven or eight times higher than men to be the victims of sexual assault(NCS, 1978; Solicitor General Canada, 1983).
2. Age : Young persons are frequently the victims of criminal attack in violent crimes and in theft(Figure

Table 7. The Victimization Rates of Persons age 12 or over
by the Type of Crime and Sex of Victims
(per 1,000 porpulation age 12 or over in the United States
age 15 or over in Australia
age 16 or over in Canada)

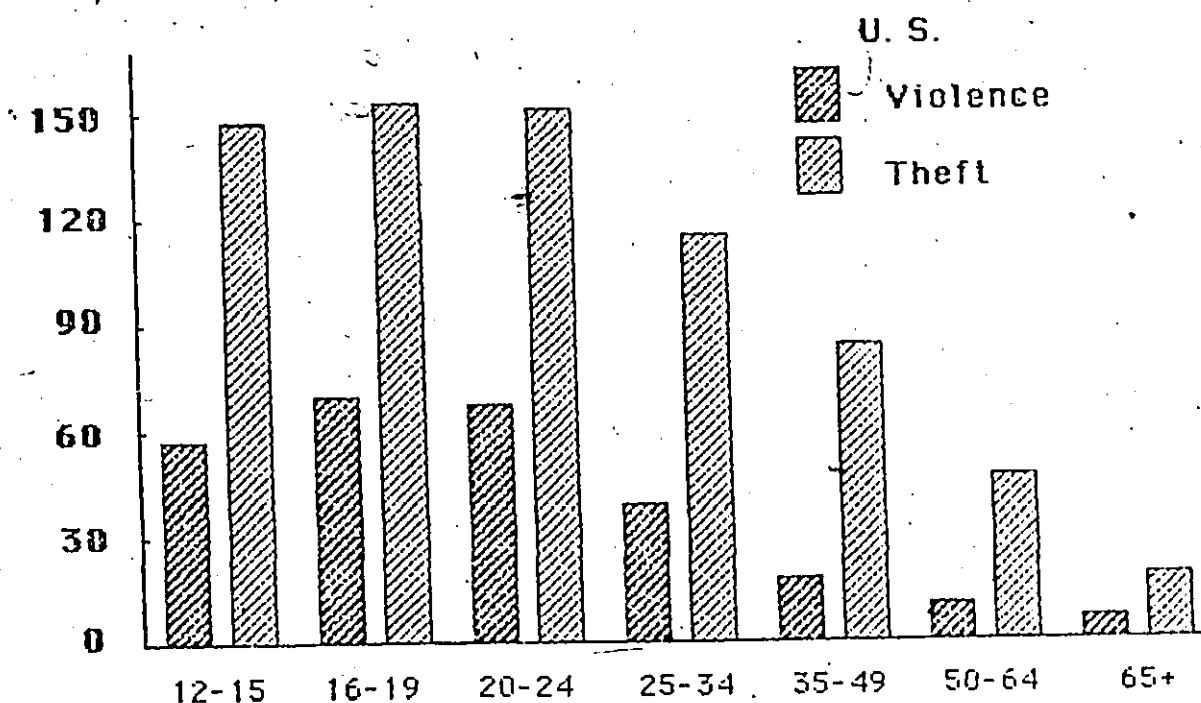
Type of Crime	Both sexes			Male			Female		
	U.S.	AUS.	CAN.	U.S.	AUS.	CAN.	U.S.	AUS.	CAN.
Violent Crimes	33.7	--	70	45.7	--	90	22.8	--	53
Rape	1.0	0.95	3.5	0.2	0.0	0.8	1.7	1.9	5.8
Assault	26.9	23.1	57	37.2	37.8	79	17.4	8.5	39
Robbery	5.9	1.7	10	8.3	1.7	13	3.7	1.7	39
Crime of Theft	96.8	73.6	70	105.6	88.6	66	88.7	59.1	74
Larceny with Contact	3.1	--	--	2.7	--	--	3.5	--	--
Larceny without Contact	93.6	--	--	102.9	--	--	85.1	--	--

U.S.: NCS, 1978.

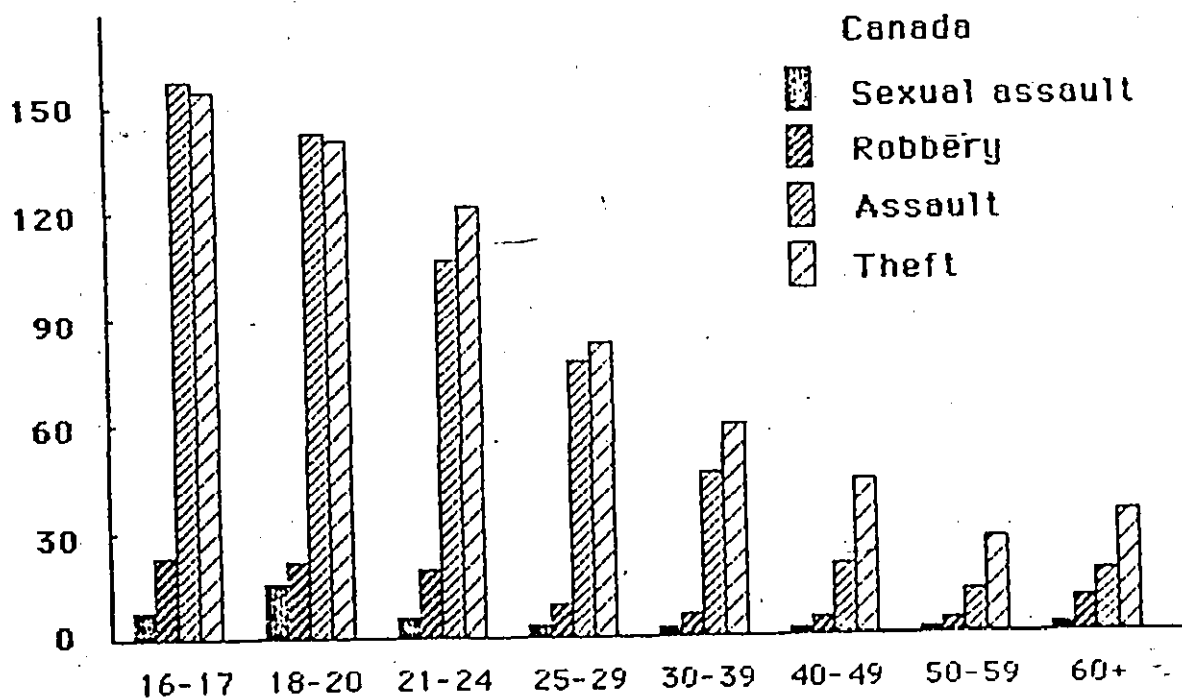
AUS: NCVS, 1979.

CAN: Urban Victimization Survey, 1982.

Figure 1. Incident Rates by Age (per 1,000 household,
per 1,000 persons)



Resource: Criminal Victimization in the U. S., 1978, p 21. U. S. Dept. of Justice



Resource: Programs Branch User Report #1984-51, p.33,
Solicitor General Canada, 1984.

1) The study shows that the group of age 12 to 24 has the highest victimization rate and the victimization rates beyond this age group decline with the age increased. For instance, risk of being robbed was seven times higher for young male than for young female, and risk of being assaulted was 1.5 times for young men than for young women.

3. Race : The race figure is a particular indicator in American index of victimization survey. The American victimization surveys found that blacks experience violent crimes at an overall rate higher than that for either whites or other minorities, whereas whites are more likely to be the victims of personal property crime than blacks. In household victimization, both blacks and whites have the similar rates in household larceny, but blacks have a slightly higher rates to be the victims in residential burglary (U.S. NCS, 1978).

2.4.2 The Socio-Economic Characteristics of Victims

1. Marriage : It is true that the divorced or separated individuals have the highest rates in violent and theft victimization. Nevertheless, married men have double higher rate of being the victimization of violent crimes than married women. Both married men and women have the similar rate in the victimization of theft.

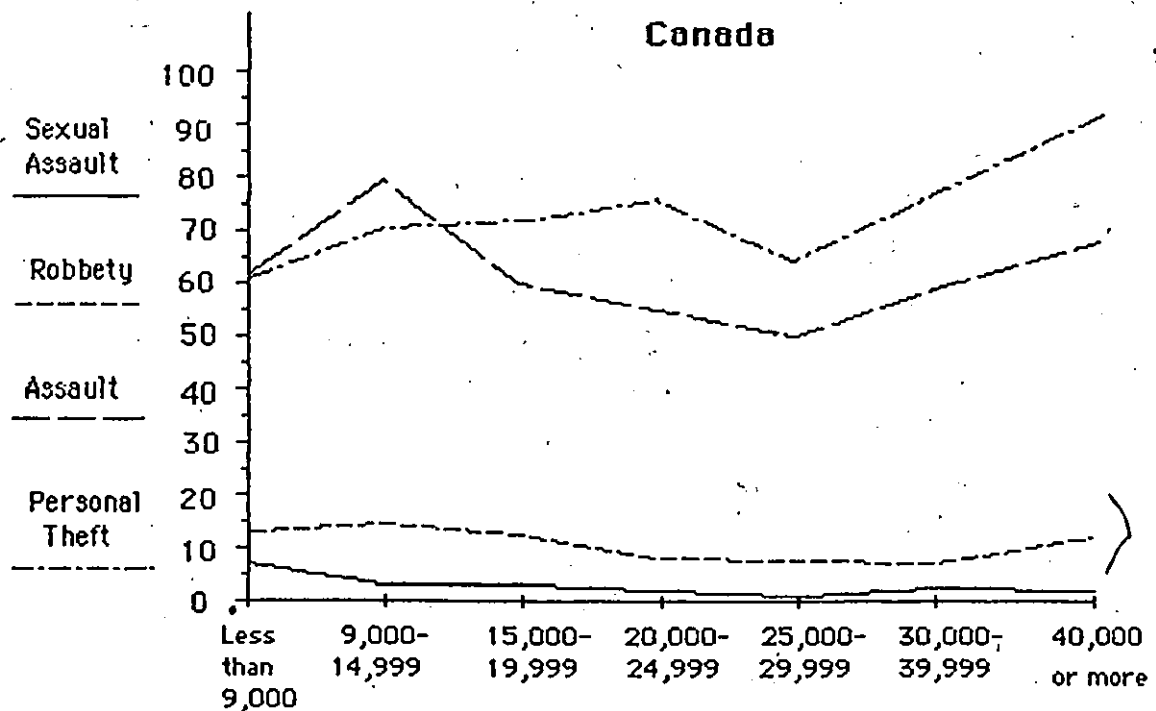
2. The Educational Attainment : Individuals with college or higher education have the higher risk to be the victims of both violent crimes and theft than those who have no education or less education(NCS, 1978).

3. Family Income : The relationship between income and victimization rates has been studied in various victimization surveys. As one may expected, the family with higher income has more possibilities to be the victims of property crime such as burglary, personal and household larceny. on the contrary, lower income individuals or families are more likely to suffer the victimization of violent crime such as rape, assault and robbery(Figure 2).

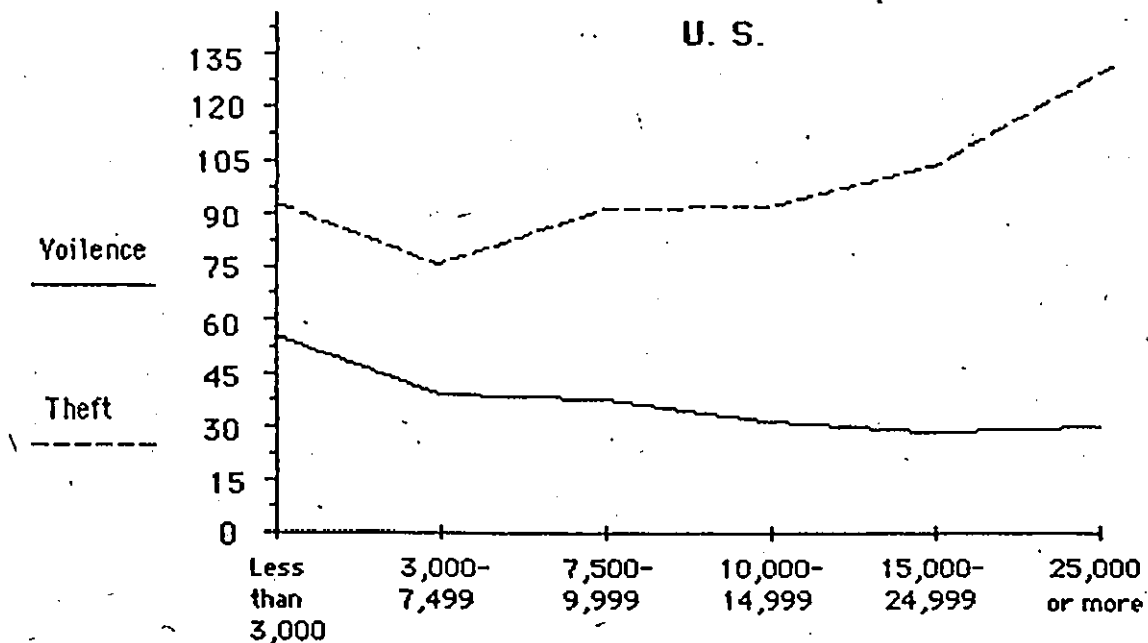
2.4.3 The Relationship between Victim and Offender

The surveys discovered that victims do not know their assailants, and that there are more than half of victims who are attacked by strangers. If we compare the figure of the violent crime with that of property crime, we will find that victims of violent crime have the higher possibility to be attacked by persons whom the victims know than the victims of property crime. Furthermore, the findings of the surveys have the new evidence in the considerable relationship between the victims of rape or assault and their offenders. One survey conducted in the United States shows that one

Figure 2. Victimization rates by type of crime and family income (per 1,000 population)



Resource: Bulletin: Victims of Crime, 1983, Solicitor General Canada.



Resource: Criminal Victimization in the U. S. , 1978, Dept. of Justice.

third of rape victims and over half of assault victims were attacked by their acquaintances. Since many rape and assault victims are attacked by the acquaintances, those victims are often unwilling to report their victimization due to avoid the attackers' retaliation or protect offenders. This may partly explain why the lowest reporting rates are of the categories of rape and assault.

2.5 FEAR OF CRIME

Regarding the public attitudes towards the crime problem, the finding of "fear" and "concern" can be thought to be appropriate (Harris, 1968). An individual may be involved in a crime (concern), but he may not be in the least afraid to victimized (fear)(Waller and Okihiro, 1978). The feeling of fear can affect a large number of people, but the feeling of concern may only influence much less people.

In the recent years, the perception or attitude of the public toward crime has been explored by a number of studies. It is found that the fear of crime can have the very significant ramifications on the way of life of affected persons. The level of fear has been also undulated with the crime waves (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981).

According to the studies regarding the fear of crime, the public have only a little worry about their safety. As a

matter of fact, over half of population are not afraid of being victimized at all (Table 8). In particular, there is little difference between victim and non-victim regarding the fear about their personal safety during the day. Even so, in some communities, especially in the urban metropolitan areas, there is still a relatively high level of fear of crime among the public (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1978; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981). In rural area or small town, people are less worried about their safety. Thus, it seems to be true that there is a correlation between the level of fear about crimes and the size of the community. Cook et al (1976) indicates that the fear is less likely among the residents who live in the small communities, and the level of fear begins to increase following the rise of population in places over 100,000. As well, Decker et al (1982) provides the similar evidence that urban structure is an important factor of causing the public fear of crime.

The studies also explore that there is a variation on the levels of fear about crime among the different groups of people by age and sex. Females and elderly more often feel somewhat unsafe (Table 9) (Skogan, 1977; Waller and Okihiro, 1978; Biles and Whitrod, 1981; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; British Crime Survey, 1983; Solicitor General Canada, 1983). It is apparent that vulnerable persons, whose social or physical circumstances make them feel more open to be attacked, and be less able to resist, or be less able to

Table 8. Distribution of Fear of Crime

Degree of Worry	percent			
	Canada	Australia	U.S.	
very much	6.8	9.0	<u>non-victim</u>	<u>victim</u>
much	6.7	0.0	23.3	31.5
somewhat	14.0	16.2	24.5	23.0
a little	31.2	47.9	38.6	35.4
not at all	41.3	26.7	13.5	10.0
total	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0

Table 8.1 Proportion of Fear among Victim and non-Victim

type of victimization	<u>Ratio</u>			
	victim non-victim		female male	
	v	n	v	n
rape	1.5	: 1	1.4: 1	1.3:0
robbery	1.3	: 1	1.3: 1	1.6:1
purse snatch	1.4	: 1	1.1: 1	1 :1
physical attack	1.3	: 1	1.2: 1	1.2:1
physical injury	1.4	: 1		
physical injury with medical care required	1.6	: 1		

Source: Canada: Waller and Okihiro(1978) Burglary: The Victim and The Public, p.81.

Australia: Biles and Whitrod(1982) Fear of Crime in Australia, p.222.

U.S.: Skogan and Klecka(1977) The Fear of Crime, p.62.

Table 9. Fear for Personal Safety After Dark and Risk of "Street Crime".

Sex and Age	% Feeling very Unsafe	% Victims of "Street Crime"
<u>Men</u>		
16-30	1	7.7
31-60	4	1.6
61	7	0.6
<u>Women</u>		
16-30	16	2.8
31-60	35	1.4
61	37	1.2

Question: "How safe do you feel walking alone in this area after dark?". Weighted data; unweighted N 10,905.

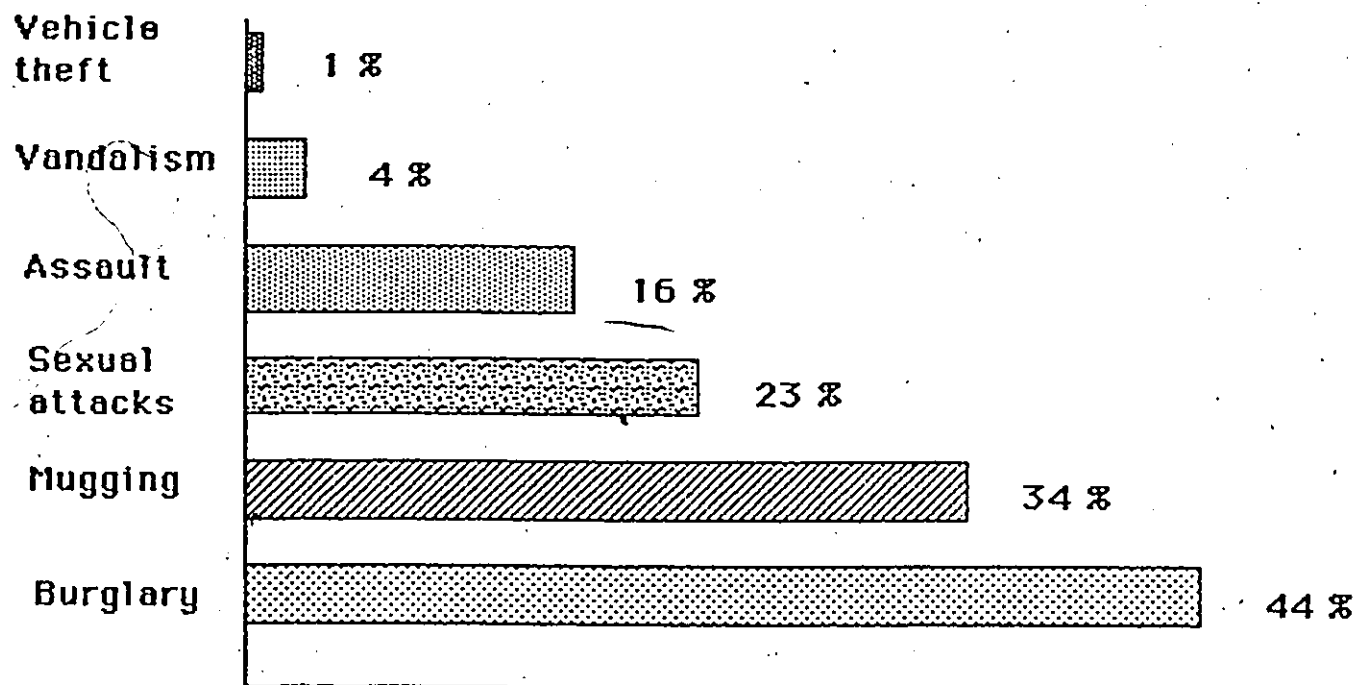
Source: The British Crime Survey: First Report 1983. Hough and Mayhew, 1983. p. 25.

cope with the aftermath of crime, are more often to have the feeling of fear about crime.

Some studies have illustrated the relation of the nature of crime and the levels of fear. There are different levels of fear between victim and non-victim upon the different types of crime. For example, people have more fear on violent crime than on property crime (Table 9). One study shows that the victims of sexual assault and physically injured have the greatest fear about crime. However, one exceptable example was found in the British Crime Survey which shows that the biggest fear of crime is of burglary (Figure 3).

Families with low income and with less education and those who live in the high density housing are more fearful than others. However, as we know, the fear of crime is strongly related to the dimension of personal vulnerability. It is more often for young males to be attacked in personal crimes, But, in fact, young males rarely express that they fear about crime. Nevertheless to say, the fear of crime has a strong effect on changing a person's routine behaviour. As a matter of fact, more and more urban residents have limited their activities during the evening hours. Criminologists suggest that pre-occupation with crime is out of all proportion to the risk; that fear is needlessly reducing the quality of people's lives; and that fear of crime can itself

Figure 3. Crimes which cause most anxiety: percent of "worried" respondents mentioning each type of crime.



Question: What sorts of crime do you worry about most? (Multiple answers allowed) weighted data; unweighted. n=6610

Resource: The British Crime Survey, 1983, p.24.

lead to crime -- by turning cities at night into empty, forbidding places. Lately, the level of fear have become an important indicator in measuring the quality of urban life and effectiveness of crime prevention.

Chapter III

THE CONSEQUENCES OF CRIME TO ITS VICTIMS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In tradition, the impact of crime has been measured in terms of the harm caused to society as a whole by violation of law, but not in terms of the effect of the crime on its victims, their families and their communities. Although the concept of victim's loss from crime is usually considered, it is scarcely emphasized that what property is taken or damaged, or that what the offender gets away with and if the victims were injured (Karmen, 1984; Mayhew, 1985).

Victim surveys have changed this traditional view of crime and its consequence. They found that the consequences of crime on its victims are not only the financial loss and the physical injury, but also the extremely sustained emotional trauma and the involvement of their relatives as well.

In this chapter, I would like to describe the effects of crime on its victims through the analysis of various findings from a number of victim survey studies. The basic effects of crime on its victims are classified into the

following categories: (i) financial loss, (ii) physical injury, (iii) emotional trauma, (iv) aftermath on the victims' relatives, and (v) the suffering from participation of the criminal justice proceeding. Such a classification has been widely accepted by victimological researchers (Waller, 1982; Mayhew, 1985).

However, the argument about the severity and the persistence of effects of victimization and about the scope of urgent or long-term effectiveness of victimization on the victims still remain to be dealt with. The main reason for these arguments is that little work has been done on quantitatively measuring the victims' emotional sufferance in order to provide a criterion to the practice of mental health services. Since such an insufficiency exists, many researchers tend to overemphasize the visible severity of effects of victimization on the one hand, and underemphasize the invisible affects on the other.

In this chapter, I will discuss the details of those four impacts of crime (financial loss, physical injury, emotional trauma, and effects on victims' families) on its victims. The sufferance of victims from cooperation with the criminal justice system will be presented in the next chapter.

3.2 THE ECONOMIC LOSS OF VICTIMIZATION

The economic loss from victimization is a widespread form of victims' experience from crime. The type of loss can be divided into two aspects as follows: (i) direct loss, attributable to the offences themselves, such as property stolen, property damaged, medical and judicial expenses, and (ii) indirect loss, attributable to the reaction to the criminal behaviour, such as loss of time from work either because of injury or because of involving with the criminal justice system, and installation of security precautions, etc. (Conklin, 1975; Waller, 1982; Drennan-Searson, 1982; Bucuralus, 1984).

Of the financial loss, the victims' money or property being stolen are the most direct result. In 1978, NCS reported that about 96 percent of victims of personal larcenies and 69 percent of personal robberies involved that kind of loss. For the household victims, their properties stolen and damaged occurred in 90 percent of the total household victimization cases (Table 10). A similar high percentage of financial loss from victimization was also found in a survey conducted in State of New York in 1984. More than three-quarter of the victims are estimated to suffer from economic loss. But, 50 percent of those who suffered from financial loss have only the loss of \$50 or less. A few victims even never bother to report the loss of

Table 10. The Economic Loss by Type of Crime and Type of Loss

Type of crime	Total loss	loss from damage	loss from theft	loss of time from work
<u>all personal</u>				
<u>crimes</u>	77.1%	71.7%	12.6%	5.1%
<u>crime of vio-</u>				
<u>lence</u>	24.0	11.1	15.0	10.5
rape	32.9	20.2	17.1	17.8
robbery	69.2	60.0	20.3	13.7
assault	13.8	---	13.8	9.5
<u>crime of theft</u>	95.6	92.8	11.7	3.3
larceny with				
contact	89.4	88.1	2.8	3.3
larceny without				
contact	95.8	93.0	12.0	3.3
<u>crimes of house-</u>				
<u>hold</u>	90.0	79.0	22.5	5.3
burglary	84.1	62.6	40.5	6.6
larceny	95.1	93.1	7.8	2.6
Vehicle theft	85.0	63.0	35.2	18.0

--- Represents not applicable.

Source: Criminal victimization in the United State, 1978. p.63.
Department of JUstice.

their time from work and from medical expenses as the result of crime, which range from 10 to 20 percent. Among those victims of crime, the victims of violent crimes are more likely to suffer from those two categories of loss than the victims of property crimes. In other word, the nature of crime has a determining effect on the levels of financial loss from victimization.

Many studies have further shown that the opportunity for the victims to recover the stolen property or money and to reimburse their financial expenses as a result of crime is extremely rare. According to one study, there was approximately 16 million more than \$50 loss events in 1978 in the United States, but the recover of this kind of loss was rare(Waller, 1982). Similarly, the victimization survey conducted ineight, American cities shows that only one percent of victims is the estimated value of the lost property categorized as "none", whereas the four out of five victims financial loss are never recovered(Hindelang, 1976). Although some kind of compensation, restitution or insurance programs are available to the victims, the victims often hardly meet those requirement simply because their unawareness or their socio-economic capability. Thus, for most victims of crime, the experience of financial loss as a result of victimization is neither a fact that victims may not be upset at all(Karmen,1984), nor a fact that the victimization is "happy crime" because the victim can

relieve an old lemon and get a new one from his/her insurance company(Plate,1975). The insurance as a resource of recovering the financial loss to the victims varies in terms of the type of victimization and of the different social groups. For instance, the victims of household and business burglary are more likely to obtain their financial recovery from their insurance payoff(Hindelang,1976), but many poor victims of property crimes are unable to gain this kind of compensation since they are unable to afford the insurance premium(Waller and Okihiro,1978). It is no doubt that the economic impact of crime hits the poor most heavily(U.S.Dept. of Justice,1983).

A survey conducted in State of New York found that most reimbursements for financial loss are for the medical expenses, but only one-third of the victims who reported medical bill received. The worse one is that only one of ten of victims who reported property loss or damage was reimbursed(Table 11)(Bucuralus, 1984).

Besides victims' direct economic loss, the victimization often causes its victim to take extra security precautions after the incident, such as to install more locks and stronger windows, barricade, and doors or to get a dog(Waller and Okihiro, 1978). Knudten' study in 1976 found that in this category, the average cost for hardware improvement is \$51. However, most household victims didn't

Table 11 Economic Loss of Victimization By Type of Crime

Type of loss	<u>Type of crime</u>					
	Total	Mugging	Robbery	Assault	Burglary	Other
*Base	448	54	135	61	175	33
*Have money or property stolen	78%	85%	96%	24	91	37
*property damage	40	11	41	34	55	38
*loss of Time from work due to investigation	19	13	22	26	18	14
*physical injury	19	40	9	74	1	24
*medical treatment	15	24	5	60	1	26
*loss of time from work due to injury	9	15	2	35	4	9
*loss of time from work due to judicial involving	6	2	35	14	4	3

Source: Crime Victims Compensation Board, State of New York, (1984) Victims of Crime: A Research Report of Experiencing Victimization.

take any precaution after the incident at all. The reason for this is that people who were the victims of property crimes are much less afraid of crime than those who were the victims of violent crimes.

3.3 THE PHYSICAL INJURY

The physical injury is another impact of crime on the victims. It ranges from minor abrasions to crippling paralysis, even to death. It has been estimated that over 1.5 million Americans suffer from physical injury each year as a result of violent crime. Some indexed crimes such as rape, assault, robbery are usually reported to involve physical injury of the victims. NCS data in 1980 show that over two million injuries resulted from violent crimes other than homicide, and thirty percent in total rape, robbery and assault victims were physically injured. The same estimate has been proved by a number of studies such as Conklin(1972), Hindelang et al(1978), Solicitor General Canada(1979), U.S.Department of Justice(1983). Among these physical injuries, 15 percent of them required some kind of medical attention; 8 percent required hospital care. Furthermore, the possibility of injury was greater for female than for male, even where the rape cases were not accounted for the analysis.

The victim survey studies also found that the relationship between victim and offender can influence the likelihood of injury and the level of severity of injury. Although the relationship of victim and offender may tend to vary with the type of crime, the opportunity of being injured is still very high even when the assailant is an acquaintance or relative rather than a stranger. However, victims who are attacked by their acquaintances are more likely to report their physical injury than those who are attacked by stranger (U.S. Department of Justice, 1983).

Goffredson and Hindelang's study (1976) indicates that the severity of injury is also associated with the presence and type of weapon in personal victimization (Table 12). The study found that victims run the higher risk of being injured from the offenders with a stick, bottle or other weapon than those who used a gun or a knife. A robbery victimization study in the United States discovered a similar result. The reason of this result can be explained in terms of the relationship between victims' response and the type of crime, in which the victims tend to resist physically toward their unarmed attackers. Victims are more often use self-defense to cope with those unarmed offenders than to those attackers with a gun or a knife. Consequently, these victims run a high risk to be seriously injured.

Table 12. The Precentage of all Victimization Resulted
Injury by Presence of weapon.

Presence of weapon	Injury*		Injury**	
	<u>yes</u>	<u>no</u>	<u>yes</u>	<u>no</u>
Weapon	30	70		
Noweapon	24	76		
Total	27	32		

Type of Weapon

Gun	17	83	17	83
Knife	28	72	25	75
Other	52	48	53	47
Unarmed	--	--	34	66

Source: *Hindelang, M.J. (1976) Criminal Victimization in Eight American Cities, Cambridg, Mssachusetts: Ballinger Publishing Company.

**Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics--1983, p.15.

It is true that most household victims are rarely injured since they have less chances to be physically contacted by the criminals. However, we have found that most violent victimization in general do not result in seriously physical (U.S.Department of Justice,1983; Mayhew,1984).

3.4 THE EMOTIONAL TRAUMA

Crimes not only bring the monetary and physical disasters to their victims, but also have the brutal violation on the victims' emotion. Actually, the emotional trauma, or so-called "invisible wound"(Waller, 1982) is the most widespread, lingering and crucial effect on the victims.

The discovery of the impact of crime on its victims' emotion can be found in the following surveys: The survey of the victims of rape conducted by Burgess and Holmstrom(U.S.) in 1974, Kirchoff and Kirchoff(West Germany) in 1984; the survey of the victims of robbery conducted by Conklin(U.S.) in 1972, Cook in 1976, and Giroux in 1977; and the survey of the victims of burglary conducted by Waller and Okihiro(Canada) in 1978, Bourque in 1978, Maguire in 1980, and Maguire and Bennett(U.S.) in 1982. Through these surveys, the emotional trauma is found not only to be suffered by the victims of crime, but also by their families, friends, even by those helpers(Friedman,1981; Waller,1982, 1983 and 1985).

It is recognized by the World Health Organization(WHO,1980) that there is a wide distribution of psychological consequences of violence among the public health, and that such a stressful stimuli can produce temporary and long-term dysfunctions for human being. There is an correlation between traumatic event and late sequence such as cardio-vascular change, endocrine changes and a variety of psychological or symptoms. The most common psychological symptoms of the emotional trauma include fear, shame, guilt, anger, depression, nervousness and the feeling of loneliness, helpless, distraction and isolation(Symonds,1975; Biles and Braithwaite et al,1979; Waller, 1982 and 1983).

The emotional trauma of the victims has been classified by the National Organization for Victim Assistance(NOVA) in the United States into the following aspects: (i) the feeling of Humiliation, violence and fear, (ii) isolation and withdrawal as being less understood the stress, and (iii) the depression and physical ailments from tension. With the emotional trauma, some physical symptom such as headache, nausea often occur. A surprised result revealed by some victim survey studies is that the emotional trauma occurred not only in those crimes against persons, but also the crimes such as break and enter against property(Waller and Okihiro,1978; Bourque et al,1978; Bard and Sangrey,1979; Biles et al,1979; Morris,1983).

The course of emotional trauma is classified in three overlapping and recurring phases. In the first phase, victims experience shock, disbelief, confusion and numbness. In this stage, they need to talk to people about what happened to them. Therefore, those crisis interventions are very helpful to victims in reducing their mental crisis and in re-establishing their capability to deal with the following criminal justice process. In the second phase, victims feel fear, shame, sadness, pain and anger. This phase is the most important period to victims to struggle with their mental and social pressures in order to transfer to the third phase. Reckless' study (1967) claimed that the recoiled phase is important to victims to rehabilitate, but it is also dangerous to them in their further living, because some victims may become "Victim-doer-victim" and may commit suicide due to their shame and sadness. Furthermore, victims may also generate a desire to revenge their attackers or to extend their hostility to the whole world in general (Kinnon, 1981). If victims well overcome the pressures in the second phase, they will be in the third phase -- re-organization. In this phase, victims gradually assimilate their painful experiences of the victimization with the help of establishing their new goal of life and of pursuing their new life and become emotionally stronger and regain their identities and dignities. Many of them even become active helper in assisting other victims.

In general, the impact of crime can become a long-term psychological trauma to the victims. The intensity and lingering length of the trauma depends upon the severity of crimes, the victim's personality and the mental treatment and intervention. Generally, rape victims have the most serious and longer emotional trauma among those victims of indexed crimes in the surveys. Female and elderly victims of crime have more serious emotional trauma than male and young victims.

3.5 THE EFFECTS OF CRIME ON VICTIMS RELATIVES

It is not surprised that the consequence of a crime effects not only on the victims him/herself but also on his/her relatives as well. Victim's family and friends thus become so-called "indirect victims".

Surveys have also found that most victims of crime share their aftermath of victimization not only economically but also emotionally with their families and friends at first. These families and friends, therefore, also hold the feelings of fear, shame, sadness and anger. Furthermore, their reaction such as blame or rejection may become "second injury" to victims(Symonds, 1980). A recent study on child abuse and women battering shows that a child may become the victim of abuse by his/her mother who is the battered wife(Magnuson,1983). Another study also shows that

the consequence of rape may cause the breakdown of family relationship. It is estimated that one half of rape victims who were married at the time of the offence will be separated or divorced within one year after the incident(waller, 1982).

Friedman, who conducted a survey in State of New York in 1982, showed ~~that~~ the consequence of victimization also affects victim helpers. About eight percent of supporters or helpers suffered various psychological problems such as fear and suspicions(Friedman, 1982).

In summary. crimes either against person, or against property, have financial, physical and emotional impact on victims and their families and friends. It is thus necessary to assist the victims of crime to obtain the financial , medical, mental and social assistance in order to overcome the impact of victimization, and to deal with their own difficulties from the criminal justice system.

Chapter IV

VICTIM'S EXPERIENCE WITH THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the past decade, the role of victim of crime in the criminal justice procedure and the response of the criminal justice system to victim of crime risen into prominence in the field of criminology. Many social researchers have turned their focuses on victim's experience with the criminal justice system; victim's view and attitude toward the law, the judicial system(Police, prosecutor and judge) and the cooperation with the system.

After the victim survey studies have explored the cause of victims' failure to report crime to police, a series of problems regarding the relationship between victim and the criminal justice system have been reasonably studied. We have long known the importance of the cooperation between the victims of crime and the criminal justice system. In a simplistic way, the numbers and types of cases entering the system appear largely to be determined by the reporting behaviour of victims and witnesses, not action initiated by the police officers(Clarke and Hough, 1980; Bottomley and Coleman, 1981; Maguire and Bennett, 1982).

A Gallop Poll found that more than 70 percent of all arrests are made through the reports of victims and witnesses, and in more than half of all criminal cases, the witnesses are presented when police arrive (Shotland, 1985). Similarly, a survey conducted by Black and Reiss (1967) shows that the notification of criminal cases by citizens accounts for about 85 percent of incidents investigated by police. Apparently, the victims of crime play a dramatically important role as "gatekeeper" (Hindelang and Gottfredson, 1976) in the criminal justice system.

On the other hand, victims of crime also play another role as ignored "orphan" (Waller, 1982; Amernic, 1984) in the criminal justice system. Once a victim reports the crime to police -- the gateway of the system, he/she often experiences postponement, delay, rescheduling, abuse and many other inconveniences concerned. As a matter of fact, the major reason for this ignorance and injustice is that the criminal case is considered as one in which the offender commits a criminal act against the state rather than against the victim. Under the contemporary law in most industrialized countries, the consequence of crime is a matter of struggle between the protector of the interest of the state and the potential criminals who violate the state interest. The victim has no place to stand in the whole process, even though he/she seriously involved. Obviously, the current law produces a dilemma to the principle of the

law per se and to the criminal justice system in pursuing its justice.

The criminal justice authority has both powers in determining whether a criminal should be arrested and charged without any consideration of victim's opinion, and in summoning the victim as witness to perform his/her legal obligation to provide the evidence. Thus, at best, victims' rights are totally ignored, and at worst, victims of crime may become the victims of the bureaucracy of criminal justice system.

In the present chapter, I discuss the victims' sufferance from the criminal justice system, and the impact of this sufferance on the victims' attitudes toward the criminal justice system, as well as the effect of the victims' attitudes on their cooperation with the criminal justice authority.

4.2 THE VICTIM AND THE LAW.

The central issue on the victim and the law is what the victims' role is in the law. It has been acknowledged that the role of victim of crime has not been considered as an important party in the criminal justice procedure. The origin of such a misconception can be traced back to the early English law. During that period, society based on kinship ties and the tribal organization, functioned without the

centralized system of criminal justice, and without the apparent distinction between a civil wrong and a criminal wrong, assigned a prominent role to presumed victims in resolving "criminal" disputes. In the society, victims and their kins were expected to put things right by avenging what they perceived as crimes against them. "All crime was against the family; it was the family that was regarded as having committed the crimes of its members; it was the family that had to stone, or carry out the blood-feud (Traill, 1899:5). Explicitly, during that period, the crime was considered as all acts against victims and their families. Later, it became more complicated as the King emerged as the authority and protector of the populace. The King proclaimed the social order of the state. Thus, if someone committed a crime, he encroached not only on the victim's right but also on the King's peace, namely, the "social order". The wrong-doer was, therefore, accountable to the victim and to the King, or equally, the state. He must pay a fine to the King or was subject to physical punishment. As time passed by, the church and the state replaced the victim as the central actor in the criminal justice proceeding. Crime became a public relationship between the offender and the state in which the victim of crime is excluded.

John Hagan (1983) studied the relationship between the victim as an individual or an organizational participant and

the criminal justice system as a "loosely coupled system". His study shows that when these two parties join together, their contradictory pursuits produce a basic dilemma, that is, on the one hand, justice should be done to the victims of crime; on the other hand, it may conflict with the interest of the criminal justice system if justice is meant to victims. Dash has a similar claim; "The goal of ensuring that the government be fair, just, and decent in its treatment of citizen was never intended to be restricted to just the handling of citizens suspected of violating the law. The ideal is to make all government contacts with all citizens fair and decent. A system of government that scrupulously observes the rights of defendants but treats victims of crime with callous indifference does not meet the ideal"(Dash, 1976:9).

In fact, the victim's rights are neither sanctioned in both criminal law and Charter of Rights, nor represent by any government institutional agents. It is a paradox that, on the one hand, victims are the part of citizens who are protected by the law and the criminal justice system, on the other, they are excluded or rejected by the law and the law enforcement. Therefore, it is a reality that the written law is one thing, but its practice is another.

4.3 VICTIM AND POLICE

Many people have had some experience with police on matter related to legal help or supervision. It is estimated that about 40 percent adults approach police annually for legal help (Hough and Mayhew, 1983). Apparently, the victims who, much at first contact police are able to move through the whole criminal justice procedure. Thus, the result of contacting with police directly effects the smoothness of further process.

It is understandable that police is usually the first to contact with by the victim of crime and to deal with the victim's shock, sadness, confusion and even injury. However, the satisfaction of victims in police performance to handle these situations is not as much as we expected. There is a remarkable differences between groups of people. It has been found that elderly people are more satisfied than young people, women are more satisfied than men, and non-manual workers are more satisfied than manual workers. Police in the rural areas or in small communities has often the better record on their evaluation than those who are in the urban areas. Only one out of five young men in the inner city felt that police had been "very helpful" compared with four out of five elderly women in rural areas (Hough and Mayhew, 1983). In short, elderly and female people are more likely to have the positive attitude toward police performance in

dealing the victims of crime. However, one exception is that observed by the Urban Victimization Survey in Canada(1982). These respondents who were the victims of sexual assault claimed that because of the negative attitude of police toward them, they didn't want to report their victimization to the police. In this sample of the category of rape victims, hundred percent were female. that is to say, almost half of women victims were upset about their treatment by the police about the sexual assault crime.

Many victims of crime have complained that they have been treated insensibly and impolitely by police officers. After having called the police for the criminal attack, they often have to accept the face of cheerless and desolative shoulder. In 1973, the Police Department of Sacramento and Fremont studied the police response to victims and witnesses. Their survey shows that there is a high degree of concern for victims among the police officers, but victims often fell irritated and frustrated in dealing with the police. Victims of crime frequently report that they have suffered insensitivity, reluctance and ignorance from the police. They also feel dissatisfied with the police in failing to inform them about the progress of the cases, or delaying to return their properties which are used as the evidence against the offenders.

Victims of crime also often experience disbelief and discrimination from the police. In particular, it is true in the cases of sexual assault and domestic violence. Martin (1979), in a study of spousal crime, notes that the police may utilize a call screening process to prioritize their calls, in which case they may, selectively, fail to respond to particular classes of calls such as complaints of spousal assault. When a female victim reported her spousal battering, the police officer might either disbelieve the severity of the act or sympathize with the potential criminal's situation, so that he might refuse to search for the offender who was not present at the scene, or discourage the victim from making a citizen's arrest. One survey on the police response to domestic crime finds that 19 percent of police officers admit that they would avoid an arrest in case of domestic assault whenever it is possible (Loving, 1980). As a matter of fact, both police officer's bias and spousal assault's perception play the key role in replacing law enforcement's response to domestic violence which is due to the belief that domestic victimization is conceived of as the private matter between the citizen and the police officer.

Moreover, the victims' satisfaction is related to the process in which the victims dealt with the police. Shapland's survey on the victims attitudes toward police in two towns in the Midland (1983) discovered that the police

prompt response determines if the victim is satisfied with the police performance. However, the most important factor, which determines the victims' satisfaction, is the police officers attitude toward the victims, rather than what they have actually done to the cases. In other words, the victims satisfaction is likely influenced by the process of contacting with police, rather than by the result of contact (Shapland, 1983). Maguire (1982) and Howley (1982) also pointed out that there is a discrepancy between police's pursuit and victims' expectation. Police officers may consider that the importance of their performance is to appear "professional" and "efficient", whereas victim is to look for the help, reassurance and sympathy from the police. Thus, it is undoubted that the police officers who lack of the knowledge of victims sufferance and expectation would cause the victims' satisfaction.

Because of such a experience, a second victimization may occur. For instance, a rape victim may commit suicide as the result of shame and unfair treatment by those whom are first official contacted with by the victim, and in most cases, they are the police investigation officers. A homicide may also occur to the victim of spousal violence for reason of non-response from the police after he/she called. The failure to deal with victim's emergency call in a sensitive and fair way by the police may lead to other serious consequences. A study on psychological intervention to

victims of crime finds out that whether police officers can provide primarily necessary intervention for victims in maintaining their mental and emotional stability effect the subsequent function of criminal justice proceeding. At this point, police is the key in the criminal justice system.

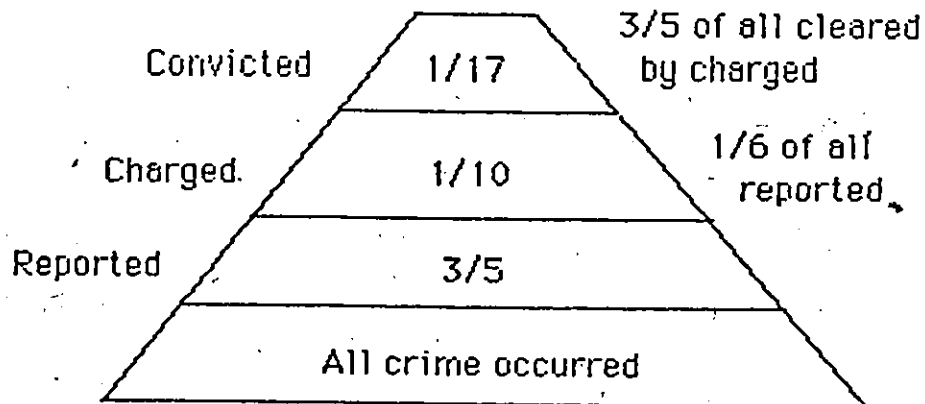
4.4 VICTIM'S UNDERGOING IN THE JUDICIAL PROCESS

Besides the victim survey on the victims experiences with police, another type of survey should be mentioned. This type of survey concentrates on how victims of crime deal with the judicial process. It mainly focuses on the victims' role and their opinions in the court. There are various studies here worth to be mentioned: Williams' study (1976) on the effects of victims' characteristics on the disposition of violent crime; Mackay's study (1976) on the victims of assault outside the courtroom; Knudten's study (1976) on the victims' perception of the administration of criminal justice ; Becker's report (1976) on the victims and the criminal process; Hagan's survey (1983) on the victims' change perceptions before and after the court; McLeod's study (1983) on the failure of cooperation of victims of domestic assault with the prosecution; and Bonta's study (1983) on the victims satisfaction and their attitudes toward the restitution.

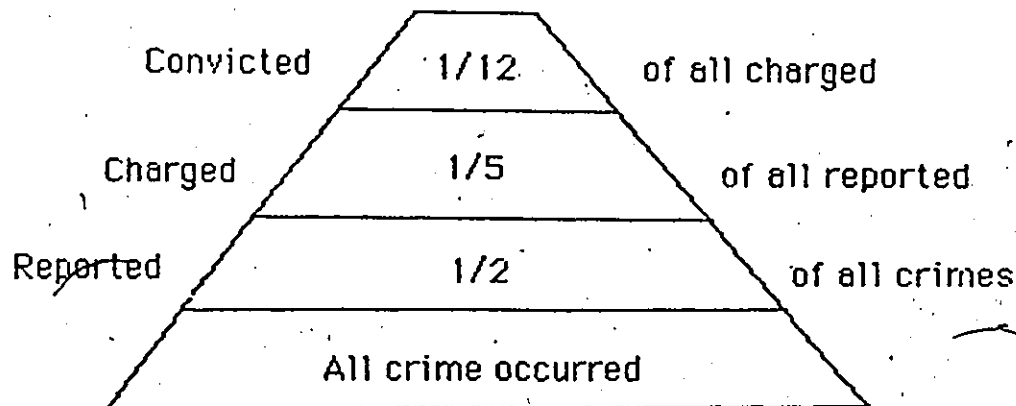
One fact that these studies have explored is that less than half of victims reported their victimization, and only one out of five among these cases leads to an arrest and one in twelve results in a conviction (Figure 4). Furthermore, it has also been found out that only 6 percent of victims can manage to bring their cases to the courts and among those about 42 percent to trial. That is to say, only less than 3 percent of victims can get their cases into maximum penetration in the criminal justice system (Ennis, 1967).

Because of the ordeals that victims have to suffer through the judicial process, it should not be surprised to learn that many victims did not want to report their victimization. Even for this small proportion of victims who are involved with the criminal justice system, they have found that it is not a pleasant thing to deal with the criminal justice authority. Although the victim is an essential party in the crime event, the justice can be done only in terms of the state's interest and then offender's human rights rather than the victims interest. Further, if a defendant is convicted and is fined, then the money goes to the state instead of to the victim. Consequently, the state gets the benefit from its citizen's victimization. Victims of crime gets nothing but the pain and frustration from participation in the system.

Figure 4. Attribution of Cases Through Criminal Justice procedure



Resource: Selected Criminal Trend, Solicitor General Canada, 1983.

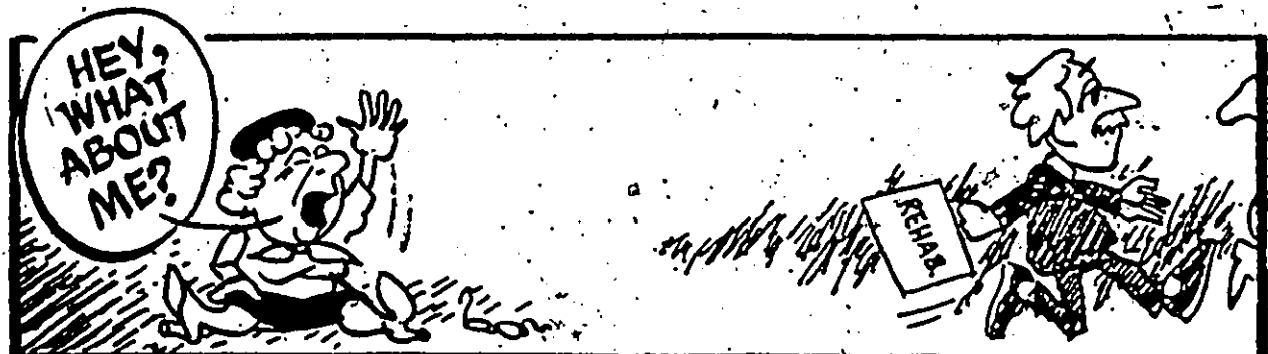
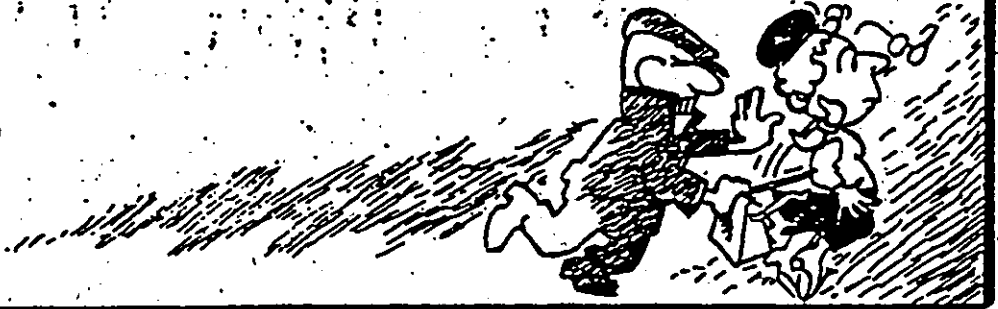


Resource: "Justice on Trial", Newsweek, March 8, 1971 p. 16.

Furthermore, one survey conducted by the news reporter in the United States indicates that 90 to 95 percent of all criminal cases are settled by plea-bargaining. It means that it is routine to a criminal charged with felony crime such as armed robbery, which could be sentenced to 25 years in jail, to cop0out to a lesser charge of petty larceny, which leads to only one year imprisonment or even less. We have found that in the whole process of legal bargaining, the consult action occurred only between the prosecutor, the judge, defendant lawyer and the criminal, the victim of crime is rather excluded from such consultation. In other words, in the legal process, the victims opinion regarding the impact of crime is totally ignored. Hagan's study (1983) shows that the majority of victim of all types of crime considered that the sentences imposed by the courts are too easy.

Thus, apparently, what a victim undergoes from the criminal justice procedure is usually the emotional sufferance, frustration and various inconveniences (Figure 5). They suffered emotional trauma because they have to accept the fact that the crime event is a matter between the state and the criminal, and the crime event is treated as a routine by the legal professionals (judge, prosecutor, lawyer and correctional officer). They experienced frustration because their opinions regarding the cases are ignored. They underwent many social and personal

*Refugee
the Citizen*



Reforms have been directed toward protecting the rights of the accused — but what about the victim

Citizen, Ottawa, 12.1.81 Focus

Figure 5 Victims Experience From the Criminal Justice system

<u>First Stage</u>	<u>Second stage</u>	<u>Third Stage</u>
Report to police	Pre-trial	Trial
-less chance to criminal to be arrested -insensible questioning by the investigation officers -delay to return the stolen property -No information about the result of the case after reporting	-being requested -cost for arrange transportation -loss of time from work -less information on the progress of case -fear the retaliation if criminal is on bail -No right to present opinion on bail -having difficulty to get restitution and compensation	-delay trial. -changing schedule -arranging transportation by self -pay to the baby sitter -waiting in the uncomfortable room in the court -no right to present opinion about sentencing -no right to appeal -performing the witness' responsibility only -no right to make statement of impact of crime on themselves in the court.

inconveniences because they have to spend their time, money for performing the citizen's legal obligation of convicting a potential criminal. In some worse cases, victims even have to sell their properties in order to cover the expensive legal expenses. Because of these reasons, it is not difficult at all to understand why so many victims do not want to report their victimization and do not want to involve in the system. Many victims and witnesses who cooperated with the system often complain that they were not treated properly and say that they would not cooperate with the system again. One rape victim after went the court complains that "I don't want be involved in this business again, ... I don't need the aggravation. I think very little of the system ... I don't think anybody's protected by it. ... As far as justice goes --- don't even say law and justice in same sentence ... You come up empty no matter what happens" (Bard and Sangrey, 1979). This clearly shows that the current criminal justice system fails to meet the victims' needs and to protect their rights.

Chapter V

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE VICTIM SURVEY TO PRACTICE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Since the victim survey has been introduced, society has gradually recognized the fact that the victims of crime suffer many financial, physical and psychological hardships and that they experience many frustrations, inconveniences as a ramification of their cooperation with the criminal justice system. It is also accepted that victims of crime are actually the forgotten party in the legal process. This recognition has served to reorient human services and the criminal justice policy. the discovery of the impact of crime on the victims and victims plight challenges our social, health and legal systems and forces the government and public to consider the long ignored party in the society --- victims, their desires and rights. As Mr. Gerald Ford claims, "for too long the law has centred its attention more on the rights of the criminal than on the victim. It is high time we reversed this trend and put the highest priority on victim and potential victim" (Whitrod, 1980:38).

We know that for more than a decade a number of victim services programs have been established by private agencies or by government authorities in some countries. The improvement of victim services has been mainly in the United States, Canada and in some European countries. For example, in the United States, one significant legislation on the victim's equal rights has been brought into force. Therefore, the public and government are paying more and more attention to victims. People are starting to re-examine the social policy and legal system regarding the victim's rights and needs.

In this chapter, I propose to examine the following four aspects of variety of application of survey results as new information system: (i) public health system, (ii) legal system, (iii) social services, and (iv) government policy. My discussion will focus on the difficulties of setting up the specific programs to help the victims of crime and on the gap between the needs of victims and the existing services provided by the various agencies:

5.2 THE PUBLIC HEALTH SYSTEM

The public health system is essentially responsible for the promotion of preventive health care of the victims of crime. It has demonstrated the increasing efficiency in identifying certain types of victims like rape or spousal

violence or child abuse victims and in providing the medical evidence for various forms of violent crime. There are two major services offered by the public health system.

5.2.1 General Health Services

Hospitals, where the public receive the general medical care and the special psychiatric treatment, remain the primary institution where provides the emergency, acute and chronic health care services. Emergency treatment is the most frequent and helpful service to the victims who were injured in the violent crime (Table 13). About four out of ten victims of violent crimes were injured and were required some medical attention (Hindelang, 1976; Fujimoto, 1982; Briencman and Briere, 1980; Kinnon, 1981) However, in fact, only small proportion of those victims received the hospital treatment. Among those who had the hospital treatment, about one out of six stays overnight or longer in the hospital. The average length of staying in the hospital is only one day for a victim who has been assaulted with a theft and five hours per victim who was assaulted without theft (Hindelang, 1976).

Victims often complain that they have been treated in an insensitive way by medical professionals. They have to wait for a long-time to receive a treatment which lasts less than 10 minutes. One rape study by Hick and Plantt (1976)

Table 13. Medical Treatment Sought by the Victims in Ottawa.

Type of Medical treatment	Victims seeking medical treatments	
	N.	
Emergency room only	17	63
Doctor	8	30
Prescribed medication	6	22
Hospitalization	2	7
Other (Dentist, eye specialist, etc.)	7	26

N-40, Frequency of victims seeking medical treatment.

Source: Drennan-Searson (1982) Crime victim Needs and Services, Ottawa, Ontario. Department of Criminology, University of Ottawa.

explores that 34 percent of victims of rape spent more than six hours in waiting-room for medical examination. It indicates that many medical professionals treat their particular patients --- the victims of crime --- with the insensitivity and have less awareness about the emotional trauma which these victims have suffered.

Hospitals also have another function through cooperating with the legal system to provide evidence and to identify the victims of crime of rape. It has been found that the improper treatment of victim by the medical professional might cause a difficult judicial proceeding and aggravation to the victims.

In recent years, hospitals have established some special programs to serve for the victims of crime. For instance, in Canada, the Child Protection Centre of Children's Hospital in Winnipeg provides the provincial base of multidisciplinary clinical expertise in the prevention and the treatment of child abuse and neglect (Weiler and Desgagne, 1984). However, this kind of victim service projects which is placed in the hospital is still quite rare in most industrialized countries.

5.2.2 The Mental Health Services

In many industrialized countries such as the United States, Canada, England, the network of the mental health services has been well developed. It is effective in the provision of crisis intervention. However, this kind of services has not been applied to the victims of crime. As we see, many victims of crime have suffered the emotional trauma and psychological frustration. It is no doubt that these victims badly need some sort of mental health services. Unfortunately, the mental health services have not met the victims' needs.

A survey on victim services by the Department of Justice Canada (Weiler and Desgagne, 1983) reported that only a few mental health services for victims of crime have been set up in the health institutions and voluntary agencies.

According to the authoritative definition of the mental health, the victims of crime are not seen as the mental health patients. Therefore, the victims have no need to get professional counselling. The issue that whether victims who have suffered psychological trauma should be considered to be mentally ill is still disputed among the mental health professionals (Salasin, 1981; WHO, 1980). Even that those professionals recognize the victims' needs for having the mental health services, do not always know how to treat those victims, because none of those professionals have had

any specific training in that field. As a matter of fact, there is no any special program available designed and developed for dealing with victims' mental problem as a result of the victimization (Waller, 1985). Thus, compared with the improvement of social and legal services, the mental health services are very much underdeveloped.

5:3 THE LEGAL SYSTEM

As we discussed in Chapter 4, the fact that criminal justice system fail to well deal with the victims of crime has been frequently discovered in a number of the victim survey studies. Since the, pressure from the public and the victims' movement have forced the system to reconsider its policy regarding the victims. In the past decade, especially in the past two years, some countries improved their reform process of the criminal justice system. For instance, legislation regarding the victims' rights has been successfully passed in some states of the United States and in some provinces of Canada. The legislation in the field of victims' needs and rights addresses some issues such as counselling, confidentiality, bail reform, victim name and address protections, etc. (U.S. Presidential Task Force, 1983; Canadian Federal-Provincial Task Force, 1983). The reforms of the criminal-justice process and policy include as follows:

5.3.1 The Financial Assistance

As we know, the victims of crime often experience various financial hardship such as the loss of money and valuables, medical bills and so on. Therefore, a kind of the financial assistance certainly needed. such an assistance can include the following three spheres:

1. Compensation by the Sate : The program addresses on the provision of the financial assistance to the victims of violent crime and their dependents. But it would be rare to cover victim's property loss. The purpose of the fund set up by the state is to compensate the injured victims of violent crime. Under this program, a victim may recover even though the offender has not been apprehended or, if captured and convicted, is without funds. The victim's eligibility for the compensation is determined by whether the victim reported his/her victimization and by how the victim cooperates with the criminal justice system. Naturally, the victim must also show his/her financial hardship.

The earliest legislation to compensate the victims of crime was passed in New Zealand in 1964. A comprehensive worldwide survey conducted by Schafer in 1980 found that until 1970s, only a few countries had established victim compensation law. For example,

in France, the law provides that victim of an auto accident should get the money for the damage regardless if the offender is caught or not. in Switzerland, the funds have derived from the sale of confiscated articles to provide financial resources for victims who press their claims through the court. In Ireland and in England, the compensation law requires the assistance for the personal injury. In the late of 1970s, the program of compensation for the victims brought a lot of public attention. A Gallup Poll survey showed that 62 percent of the national sample in the United States thought the government should do something to support this program, and that only 29 percent disagree. Since then, the program of the compensation for victims have broadly developed in some countries like Canada, Australia, etc.

In the 1980s, millions of dollars have been spent in those compensation programs. A survey on crime cost estimates that in 1975, a total of 48 million dollars was spent in the United States for the compensation of victims of rape, aggravated assault, robbery and homicide. This amount was less than 2 percent of total amount claimed by all victims of crime (\$48 million : \$248.4 million) (Table 14)(Jones, 1979). In 1984, the NOVA reported that as

Table 14.

The Cost of Victim Compensation
in the United States (million dollars)

Awards	Estimated cost	Total cost
(1) Medical expense	44.2	6.6
(a) Rape, aggravated assault and robbery	43.4	
(b) Simple assault	0.8	
(2) Disability loss of earnings	109.1	16.4
(a) Rape, aggravated assault and robbery	92.8	
(b) Simple assault	16.3	
(3) Homicide loss of support	95.1	25.0
(4) Total	248.4	48.0

Source: "The Cost of Victim Compensation", in Gray, C.A. (1981)
The Cost of Crime, Beverly Hills/London: Sage.

an implementation of the Victims of Crime Act of 1984, a federal fund of \$70 - 100 million was established to the compensation program and the victim assistance program (NOVA, 1985). A large number of victims of violent crime whose attackers have never been identified or convicted could thus benefit by this program. According to a victimization survey in the United States in 1974, there were a total of six million crimes of rape, robbery, assault, pocket picking, and purse snatching in the year. As a result, 10 percent of the victims required medical attention and 7 percent of them required hospital treatment. Since the compensation program had been set up, those individual victims who were not covered by any private or public recovery programs were able to be substantially assisted by the compensation program American Bar Association, 1981; NOVA, 1984).

However, a survey in the State of New York (1984) on the victim services found that of the total number of victims of violent crime, there were only 3 percent of victims who could receive the compensation from the state in medical expenses. About 60 percent of victims who applied for reimbursement of the medical expenses did not receive the financial assistance from the compensation program. Furthermore, the victims who need the compensation

for their medical expenses are less aware of such a program available (Table 15). It is understandable that most of victims of violent crime do not benefit by this program only they are unaware that this program is available.

2. Restitution by the Offender : The restitution is another important source in refunding victims' property loss and damage. Under this program, the victims can be reimbursed by the offenders. However, the primary purpose of restitution is not to assist victims but to benefit the offender based on the principle of decreasing the number of offenders in the incarceration. Of course, this program can be only implied to those cases in which the offenders are identified.

The first formal restitution put into practice was in Alameda County, California in 1966 by a local judge (Harding, 1982). Five years later, a major impetus in terms of the restitution project was the establishment of the Minnesota Restitution Centre where it basically deals with the incarcerated property offenders who were paroled in order to pay the restitution to the victims. At the same time, Britain also set up a similar program under the Criminal Justice Act of 1972.

Table 15. Victim/Witness Assistance Program Services Received

Base: 448	yes %	No %	Not apply %	Not sure %
Information on your case status	10	81	8	1
Security information or assistance	8	89	3	#
The property back or money to relpace the property	6	85	9	#
Legal assistance	4	92	4	-
Information and referrals for services	4	91	5	#
Assistance in dealing with the police, court or social services	4	90	6	-
Emotional or psychological counseling	3	92	5	#
Compensation for medical expenses	3	60	37	#
Compensation for stolen property	3	88	9	-
Personal protection	3	93	4	#
Transportation to the court	2	56	42	-
Compensation for loss of earnings or support	2	77	21	-
Relocation or help in finding a new residence	1	85	14	-
Day care for your children	#	70	29	#

Question: After the crime occurred, did you receive (Read
each item) from any social service or government
agency?

Source: Bucuvalas (1983) Victims of Crime. p.34.

Some studies of evaluation of restitution indicated that the criminal justice officials, the legal public, the victims and the offenders evaluate restitution in a favourable light (Heinz et al, 1976; Hudson and Chesney, 1977; Hudson and Galaway, 1980). Later, a detailed evaluation on the restitution found that there are different levels of satisfaction on the restitution projects. In the project, the satisfaction of the victims is much less than that of the offenders. Moreover, the victims had less favourable attitudes toward the project at the probation level (Harding, 1982).

A survey on Rideau-Carleton Restitution Program in the Ottawa-Carleton Detention Centre (Ontario, Canada) conducted by Bonta (1983) reported that, in fact, although victim-offender meetings have emphasized in the restitution process, there was only 4 percent of the restitution victims to be reported to meet offenders. Therefore, only a very small proportion of restitution order has been fulfilled by the offenders.

However, we also must consider the limitation of the restitution in practice. First, the restitution can not be used to the cases of serious crime such as armed robbery, rape, homicide. Secondly, since

victimization survey has found that a number of victims of property crime are the insured businesses and organizations the restitution are naturally limited only to the individual victims (Bonta, 1983).

Recently, there is a tendency in encouraging to increase to use the restitution based upon two main purposes: (i) rehabilitation, that is, - to divert more offenders from the incarceration; (ii) to reimburse the victims financial loss (Canadian Federal-Provincial Task force, 1983). By now, over 20 states in the United States have established legislation dealing with restitution (NOVA, 1984). In Canada, under the sections 653, 654 and 655 of the Criminal Code, restitution is imposed as an additional sentence for an indictable offender (Martin's Criminal Code, 1983).

Generally, restitution allows the state-funded compensation program to concentrate on those cases in which the perpetrators of crime have not been identified. It is also true that while the compensation and the restitution are available, these programs will definitely encourage more victims of crime to report their victimization and to testify in the courts.

5.3.2 Police Assistance

Police force has started to improve the quality of their services to the victims of crime. In Canada, the Edmonton Victim Services Unit in the Department of Police was set up in 1979. In Calgary, a police force information program was established to provide the information in the case files to the victims and other involved parties like insurance company. In the United States, a Sex-Crime Investigation Unit which was set up in the police force in the New York City hires the women officers to deal with the cases which involve the female victims (Keefe and O'Reilly, 1977).

Generally speaking, police have recognized that the mental pressure of victims of crime can be overwhelming if complicated by police poor attitudes and insensitive questioning during the investigation. They have been aware that the presence of a sympathetic, understanding, supportive figure is of great value to the further psychological well-being of victims and continued cooperation of the victim in the judicial process. The Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police have assigned a special priority to this subject. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police has embarked on active development of police-based direct services to victims.

5.3.3 Court-Based Services

This type of assistance is a developing area of services to the victims of crime. It includes three services (1) court services, (2) civil suit service and (3) victim-offender reconciliation program.

1. Court Service : There are number of kinds of assistance to be provided by court to the victims. They are as follows: (a) the reception centre in the courthouse; (b) transportation; (c) day care service for victims' children; (d) the escort service to protect victims from harassment or intimidation; (e) information service about the court schedule and the progress of the cases; (f) witness alert service to reduce the amount of unnecessary time which the victims spend in the courthouse; (g) translator for victims to understand the legal proceeding; (h) witness fee (approximately \$10 dollars) for victims to partially cover the cost of their presence in their presence in court (Drennan-Serson, 1982). In addition, the victim advocate is also provided for the purposes of returning stolen property and of notifying the victims' employers as well as advising the victims to access to the criminal justice process.
2. Civil Suit Service : Civil suit action is another possible avenue to victims of crime to be recovered financially and emotionally. A civil suit can be

usually taken into two forms: (1) a suit against the perpetrator and (2) a suit against third party, such as a correctional agency. If a victim is eligible, he/she may obtain the legal aid to pursue this action. However, this action does not work as efficiently as we might expect. Many victims never pursue this action because they believe that the time and effort they sent were not worth the end results. Moreover, some victims do not pursue the civil action, because they may think that their rights might be extinguished once the offender was punished. other hand, the victims may also not successfully pursue the civil action, because of the offenders' limited capability to repay to the victims. "Therefor, the tort suit, although in theory available to assist the crime victim, is powerless to do so" (Linden, 1975:224).

3. Victim-Offender Reconciliation : It aims at bring the offender and victim together to mediate or to reconcile their different demands. Its primary purpose is to divert the perpetrator from the judicial system and to seek an alternative way of dealing with crime in the community. So, the nature of this process limits this kind of reconciliation to be used only in the cases of minor crime. In fact, this reconciliation program can indeed help the

victims of minor crime to avoid those inconveniences from participating the judicial process, and to get a type of recovery directly from the perpetrators.

5.3.4 Reform of Legislation

There has also been a great improvement in the criminal justice process regarding the victims' legal rights. The rights of victims and witnesses have been recognized accordingly by those judicial professionals such as prosecutors, judges and legislators.

Overall, many laws regarding the victims' rights have been passed in some countries during the past couple of years. This legislation covers a wide sphere including victim notification, protecting victim/witness from intimidation, the return of property, victim impact statement in the court proceeding, ombudsman and counsel for victim, bail reform, employer's obligation and protection of elderly, child, domestic violence victims, etc. (U.S. President's Task Force, 1980; American Bar Association, 1981; Canadian Task Force, 1983; NOVA, 1984).

As the part of the movement, many legal professional organization have also published a series of documents to advise their professional members how to treat the victims of crime properly. Even training programs for the legal professionals are up in some states or provinces in North America (NOVA, 1985).

However, to date, there has been no survey to touch the field of the impact of legislation on victims' rights and needs. It is certain that we have insufficient knowledge about how far and in what ways different victims want and can be more closely involved in penal process. Moreover, there is little known about the public attitude toward new legislation and about the effects of the legal assistance programs on the victims' lives. Thus, all reforms of legislation in the North America are in the stage of "exploration"

5.4 THE SOCIAL SERVICES

The social services to the victims of crime are usually set up in the various communities or in the private and government agencies. These social services include some general forms for public like medical insurance such as Ontario health insurance plan in Canada, and special services for the victims of crime like Victim Services Agency in the New York city, the Victim Assistance Program of Salvation Army in Ottawa, rape crisis centre, the Children' Aid Society, the wives battered house, Mother against Drunk-driving and so on.

The social welfare institutions or programs sponsored by the federal and the provincial government are an important resource of help to victims of crime. For example, the

Canada and Quebec Pension Plans (CPP/QPP), the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP) and General Welfare Assistance Act, medical and hospitalization, all these programmes are federal-provincial cost-sharing arrangements that were developed between 1950-1970. Each of these programs is of significance to victims of crime. Victims of crime may be assisted by CPP/QPP through their disability pension and surviving spouse provisions. They may also receive help from municipal social assistance programs through the CAP for short or long-term income support for victims (Norquay and Weiler, 1981).

Frequently, as a result of violent crime, many victims may require medical attention and treatment. In this regard, medical insurance sponsored by the government such as Canada's Medical Scheme is of much help to the injured victims. As a matter of fact, Canadians are generally guaranteed access to health care regardless of their economic circumstance, which makes it possible that financial loss suffered by the victims of violence, in most cases, medical expenses, can be recovered partially. At this point, the social welfare policy in the United States has been severely criticized because victims of crime have no access to free medical care services.

In addition, a legal aid services have been provided to the victims of crime. For example, the Ontario Legal Aid

Plan (OLAP) has been established to provide legal services for those individuals who lack sufficient means to privately retain a lawyer. However, sometimes victims might have difficulty to receive such legal aid services because of the eligibility of financial requirement (Mackinnon, 1982).

Crime prevention program is another essential service to the victims of crime. It is known that most of crime prevention programs have been efficiently used by ex-victims rather for those potential victims (Rae, S.G. 1982). Moreover, those crime prevention programs against violent crime may work better than those programs against property crime. The reason, perhaps, is that victims of property crime such as burglary are less feared about crime than those of violent crimes. (Waller and Okihiro, 1978). However, there is a dire need for public education about crime prevention so that potential victims will not be victimized. Further, a community-based crime prevention service may also needed to overcome the insufficient services provided by the policy, especially for victims of crime.

Apart from those officially institutionalized victim social services, there are lot of private organized victim services providing special services to the victims of crime. For ex ample, rape crisis centres provide a comprehensive services to rape victims, houses and shelters offer

emergency services to those women who are victims of domestic violence. But the question whether those services work efficiently and properly has been raised by many researchers. For instance, most of those services are either voluntary or self-sponsored agencies. Therefore, the fund is the most fundamental problem to them to make things work. Aside from the money problem, they also face the danger of inexperience since many of their staff are untrained volunteers.

By examining all these different services for the victims of crime, we have found one common difficulty is: on the one hand, there is a big demand to develop those services and there is a increased tendency to develop comprehensive services agencies to assist victims of crime, but, on the other hand, there is a serious lack networking to connect those various services to offer effective and rapid help to the victims. Furthermore, since the victim services have been set up by many organizations and various individuals, the standard of the services in measuring the efficiency and propriety of treatment varies. There is a urgent need for establishing a system of studying quality of services.

5.5 SOCIAL POLICY

As was discussed in Chapter IV, the assessment of the victims' and public opinion on the government policy on the crime problem is a vital objective of the victim survey studies. This assessment offers a better understanding for the political attitudes that may affect a victim's willingness to cooperate with government law enforcement efforts, and to seek government assistance in times of need. This assessment also reflects the efficiency and the suitability of the social policy regarding the crime problem.

The report from the surveys of human and social services program regarding the victims' needs shows that the victims' attitude towards the efficiency of government as unresponsive, and they feel they could not affect the social policy as individuals.

Therefore, the findings of the surveys suggest policy-maker had to reorient the social policy concerning victims' sufferings. First, policy-makers should reconsider the strategy of crime prevention. To strengthen crime control does not mean combating crime only by increasing the use of police force, but rather means to undercut the real sources of victimization. For achieving this purpose, a victim-oriented crime prevention policy is necessary.

Secondly, reinforcement to victims and their dependents should be not understood only as raising more money and to set up more institutions to serve victims, but also to redistribute public wealth and social welfare, because those victims are often forgotten.

Thirdly, the policy of supporting victims of crime should not be seen as one to take from the criminals' interests and rights to give to the victims' needs. The victims should be protected by the state and the criminal justice system. Thus, the new policy on criminal justice system should be a guide to practice, in which the victims' rights and needs are protected as equally as those of the criminals' rights and interests are protected.

Finally, the assistance in victims' financial loss, includes compensation and restitution programs, etc. should not be viewed as for the government and the criminal justice systems' own purpose and interest. To support the victims and their families financially it to fulfill the social and government responsibility in dealing with crime. It is not a deal to buy the victims' support for the government policy.

In conclusion, we should keep it in mind that all victims of crime are human beings and they have the right to be helped by our social policy and to be protected by the criminal justice system. It is the time for the policy-makers to face the reality of the victims' plight caused by

the crime and to realize the shortcomings in both theory and practice, and further to rebuild a suitable policy in order to meet the victims' rights and needs.

Chapter VI

FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE VICTIM SURVEY STUDY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In terms of mobilization of assistance of victims, the development of victim survey studies have made a lot of progress and indeed a contribution to the society as a whole in the last ten years. It is a reality, as Zauberman claims, "rarely in the history of research in social sciences has so much been done for one single problem in so short a time"(Zauberman, 1984:3).. The discovery for the victim survey studies has tremendously attracted government and public attention to victims of crime, by which the society is not only looking at victims' role and plight in a sense, but also taking action to help victims of crime.

On the other hand, the victim survey study as a new series of information about crime and victims has introduced new factors to test those hypotheses deduced from prior criminological theory and to evaluate needs of victims and results of crime policy. However, for realizing this tremendous potential contribution of victim survey data, we should have better knowledge about the purpose, content and use of victim survey data.

In this chapter, the discussion centers on the argument about scientific utility of survey data. In the first part, the victim survey and development of victimology is explored. With great progress of victim assistance movement in an international view, victimology has undergone for two dramatic stages. Since the revolutionary change in terms of the social concern with victims of crime during the last ten years, victimology not only takes victims into account as main factors in cause of victimization, but also propose human reinforcement to victims of crime.

In the second part, various applications of victim surveys data will be discussed. Recently, more and more government institutions and private agencies have adopted the surveys' data as referent information in their policymaking and programs evaluating. Thus, there is an urgent need in insuring that the data will be used fairly and efficiently. The uses can be divided into four categories according to the different purposes of application : (i) policy analysis, (ii) scientific research, (iii) administrative evaluation and (iv) the general public and professional education.

Finally, the issue concerning further development of victim survey study from methodological and theoretical point of view will be explored. The basic principle of these discussion is to provide some ideal and analysis to make the

utility of the 'victim surveys' data more economical, that is to say, the result of the data should be worthy of the time, money, and effort sent by the public and society.

6.2 VICTIM SURVEY AND VICTIMOLOGY

Although victim study has had forty years history, the real science of victimology has only been developed lately by means of victim survey. Victimology, like other social sciences, has applied the epidemiological procedures to its selected phenomenon --- victimization. The study of the epidemiology in victimology seeks to establish a relationship between the observable entities and the events, by means of constructing a statistical formulation. According to the study, the terms and the variables in the epidemiological statements normally apply to the sets of objects or events that have an observational similarity, either directly apparent, or rendered explicit by some operationalizing definition. By using this method, the victim survey has provided a series of useful data to prove those interpretation on the phenomenon of victimization.

The survey also helps us to redefine the concept of victim of crime in terms of its discovery of the socioopsychological characteristics of victims. According to the new definition, a victim of crime is not only a person or an organization who was attacked by an act which is

stated by law as crime, but also a person or an organization who is the "doer-sufferer" (Mendelsohn, 1976). Such a definition has clearly distinguished the victim of crime from those religious, medical, non-legal and traditional definitions of victim of crime.

The factors of determining victimization are the preliminary sectors studied by the victim survey. As we have been discussed, the purpose of survey is to discover the determining factors which would directly or indirectly cause victimization. For example, Smigel and Ross' survey (1970) reported that in many cases, victims are not chosen at random or by mere chance, but rather carefully selected according to the characteristics of criminals and victims under certain circumstances. They concluded that the crime event are not only determined by those well known elements of criminals (such as criminal's social characteristics, environment, and the subculture in a certain social structure), but also by the elements of victims and the interaction between the criminal and the victim. Therefore, the victim here becomes the important participant in the crime event. They may consciously or unconsciously motive the victimization and naturalize the process of victimization. In other words, the motive of the deviant act may be stimulated by the victim's behaviour. Many techniques of naturalization use the victim as an agent of justification and auto-legitimization, such as attributing

inferior qualities or virtues of the victim, faulting the behaviour of the victim, devaluating the victim's worth and making him/her appear as deserving such fate personally or behaviourally (Fattach, 1976).

In social Psychology, the feelings of empathy, compassion, rejection, hostility and emotional detachment are functions of social proximity or social distance or the degree of social interaction. Accordingly, the social distinct individuals and groups are more likely to be the target of victimization in rational crimes (crime against property), while the socially close individuals and groups are more likely to be the target of emotional or passionate crime (crime against person). The data from the survey studies completely verify the above theoretical hypotheses.

Based upon the findings of the victim survey studies, victimology can be approached at two levels : (1) the micro-level, which is mostly interested by psychologists and psychiatrists. In this level, people are studying those psychological factors and the process of victimization. They also pay attention to the psychological impact of crime on the victims and their families. (2) The macro-level, which is the focus of sociologists, criminologists and political scientists. They are interested in the socio-economic cause of victimization and various social, economic and legal aftermath of crime on the victims of crime. In

recent years, victimology has shifted its attention from the classification of the types of victim to the classification of the process of victimization. such a transition certainly has contributed a great deal to practice of design of criminal justice policy and strategies of crime prevention as well as improvement of the intervention of victimization.

As has been well know, victimization is the dangerous and painful violation of people's live. It brings serious fear to all of us. In order to prevent crimes and victimization, we should not only strengthen the law enforcement, but also should prevent ourselves to be the target of victimization. On the other hand, criminals are only minority of the whole population, but have been the object of an entire branch of science --- criminology. While victimization is dangerous to everyone, but it is not covered by any science. In this sense, a scientific study of victimization --- victimology is indire need. Significantly, since the method of victim survey study applied, victimology not only remain necessary, but also becomes real. Recently, with the development and extension of the victim survey from accounting for crime and victimization to observing the aftereffect of victimization on the victims and victims' needs, a new study of victiminology is eventually realized in terms of studying the victims of crime as the victim, and sufferer of crime as well as legitimate demander.

In summary, what we should realize here is that without the contribution of the victim survey study conducted by many researchers in different countries, this new approach of victimology is absolutely impossible. In a word, victimology was not fully developed as an independent science until the victim survey study shifts from its qualitative definition to its quantitative analysis. Furthermore, victim survey study has become a subject within victimology and this can be considered as an significant development. Criminologists are interested in victim of crime not only from the theoretical point of view, they also take active action in assisting them in various ways. therefore, it is time to say that victimology has become a full-fledged study.

6.3 EFFECTIVE USUS OF VICTIM SURVEY DATA

Essentially, the data of victim survey have been used for different purposes. For example, McMullan, jr et,all (1981). classified the use of National Crime Survy into six types (Table 16). In general, these uses can be categorized into four different types : (1) victim survey as social indicators, (2) executive and administrative evaluation, (3) scientific research, and (4) education for the public and professional. The victim survey data have been growingly used for these goals. Ina sense, utility of victim survey data can be either directly to employ the findings of

Table 16. Type of Use Classifications

Type	Definition
Scientific research	Use in research such as that involving tests of (criminological) theories of deterrence, changes in type of crime over time, social reaction to fear of crime, and the relationship of crime to the social structure and economic conditions. Most of social science research use falls in this general category.
Policy research	Use in applied research specifically designed to assist in a policy decision rather than just to advance scientific knowledge. Usually performed by legislative or executive staff, consulting agency, or policy research institute. Studies to predict the effects of policies are considered to be policy research studies rather than planning or evaluation.
Social indicator	Use of data for their characteristics as quantifiable measures reflecting the magnitude or extent of social change. As specially related to victimization, the measures might be rates, quantities, change rates, trends, or risk levels. Analysis to prepare social indicators is included, but scientific research that may produce better indicators is not.
Planning and administration	Use in the selection and administering of appropriate steps to carry out the policies set by the decisionmakers.
Evaluation	Evaluation measures the efficiency, effectiveness, or efficacy of the implemented plans.
Teaching	Use in a classroom exercise is similar to social-indicator use, but this distinction is useful in assessing academic uses.

surveys in various sphere combined with local circumstance, or indirectly use the survey method to collect its own victimization data pertinent to local needs.

6.3.1 Use Victim Survey as Social Indicators

Many authors have pointed out that victim survey study has produced important social indicators to both academic researchers for evaluating government policy and policy-makers for orienting their decision-making (waller, 1982; Zauberman, 1985). Certainly, content of victim survey such as rate and trend of victimization, effects of crime upon victims, fear of crime have been derived from a general consideration to define social indicators of certain "states of society". These social indicators, exactly like economic indicators, have greatly contributed to the orientation of government policy. it is believed that personal safety as one of the social indicators of well-being, or in formal terms, as one of the indicators of "life, liberty, security of person and the enjoyment of property"(Canadian Bill of Rights), which could be measured with a fair degree of reliability by using victim survey technique. For instance, the surveys on the fear of crime have concluded that lack of attention on the impact of crime on the victims caused great public fear of crime and inefficiently preventing crime. This type of feeling can change personal life and interpersonal relationship so that the quality of city life is on the decline (Skogan, 1977 and 1978).

In fact, it has been known that the crime policy has been inefficient in reducing crime, however, the victim surveys have demonstrated the reason why the crime policy failed, that is, victim of crime has not been taken into account in the design of crime policy. The financial loss, physical injury, emotional trauma and dissatisfaction with the justice system suffered by the victims should be taken into account by the policy-makers in the process of making crime policy.

Furthermore, the victim survey also provides dependable basis for policy-makers and legislators. For example, victims' financial loss, the use of weapons by the criminal against the victims and victims' personal, socio-economic characteristics are important social indicators for debate in the Senate on the issues of victim compensation, gun control, and the coverage of social welfare regarding victims of crime etc; therefore, it can be summarized that victim survey is not only an information system about crime and victims, but also series of social indicators for orienting social policy and jurisdiction.

6.3.2 The Use Survey Data for Executive Evaluation

Sofar, some countries have adopted victim survey data as routine information to assess the criminal justice

administration and legislation. In this regard, the United States is the best example. It has been reported that the seven LEAA offices now are routine users of NCS publications, reading new reports to observe any trend that may signal a change in national crime patterns. They also present to congressional hearing on crime and also obtain feedback from Congress (McMullan, 1981).

Legislative committee also uses victim survey data to propose legislative procedures such as victim compensation legislation, victims rights in the courtroom, etc. Furthermore, it has been repeatedly suggested by victim surveys that victims often felt emotional trauma, frustration and anger with the present criminal justice system, which are caused not only by the result of their contact with the justice officers, rather by the negative attitudes of these legal professionals. Because of this type of information shown by the survey, some legal organizations such as the American Bar Association, The National District Attorney Association and Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police have taken a giant step, for instance, in proposing some guidelines for legal professionals and establishing services substitution meeting victims' needs (NOVA, 1985; Canadian Council of Social Development, 1985).

In addition, it has been found that local and specific types of victim surveys have a number of benefits for the

administrators and governors; that is, the local and specific type of victim surveys seem to have more programs relevant to the communities. For example, burglary survey by Waller and Okihiro in Toronto(1978) and compensation survey by Ellias in Newark, and Brooklyn (1983) provide a programmatic application afford for local government agencies.

6.3.3 The Use of Victim Survey Data for Academic Research

In recent years, there has been an increase of using victim survey data for the professional researchers. such use generates many theoretical issues to the research workers in different fields. for example, the World Health Society has cited the empirical evidence about impact of crime on victims' emotion and psychology to guide these health professionals to recognize the victims special needs from them. Similarly, the World Federation for Mental Health and the World Psychiatric Association have also taken positive action in encouraging theoretical research and establishing new policy and implementation committee to bring a change of mental health services to victims of crime in view of the findings of victim survey study. They recommend that "it is essential to begin consciousness raising, services networking, and further development of mental health training, services, research, and evaluation toward improved services for victims of crime"(WFMH, 1982:1).

In the criminological society, victim survey data have also been used. the victim survey has become an important branch in the criminological research. Moreover, the World Society on Victimology has connected with other relative organization. For example, the 5th International Symposium on victimology proposes a draft of declaration of victims rights to the 7th United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offender. This action is intended to remedy the suffering of victims of crime and abuses of power through an international action. It will be a significant step the movement in promoting the rights of the victims of crime.

Another most frequent use of victim survey data is in the crime prevention research. Besides the traditional conceptions of crime prevention such as "defensible space", "avoidable opportunity and motivation", the surveys have oriented to preventing crime in a guide by theoretical hypotheses of interpersonal creation. For instance, the survey shows that there is a common or homogeneous explanation in the risk of victimization as in certain individual behaviour and in certain group of people. It assumes that certain persons, or personal behaviour is somewhat vulnerable to personal victimization (Lamborn, 1981). On the other cases, the physical characteristics of the residences and the coherence of neighborhoods are important factors associated with crime against household.

Recently, the so-called rational crime, i.e. property crime and passionate crime, i.e. violent crime seem to be studied separately. Subsequently, there is a growing research literature focusing on the so-called "acquaintance crime" (Waller, 1982), which displayed mammoth numbers of domestic violence in the society. The literature brought a conceptualized development in criminological research. Naturally, the prevention of these family crimes such as child abuse, wives battering has to be differ from the prevention of property crime such as burglary.

However, the use of victim survey data in the scientific researches in the past has been criticized. The problem lies in the methods adopted by the researchers. Despite the fact that these researches make use of the surveys' data, they offer neither explanation of the data themselves nor any theoretical hypotheses to explain the data. Thus, there is strong recommendation for growing use of the surveys' knowledge in interpretive research in criminological field.

6.3.4 The Use of Surveys Knowledge for Education

In the past ten years, victims of crime have attracted a lot attention and interest among the professional and public. Because of the publicity, both general public as well as the professional not only concern themselves the

problem of crime as such, but also concern themselves with the victims of crime. Therefore, the victim movement has become a public movement.

According to McMullan's survey (1981), there is approximately 250 journal articles, books, literature, comprehensive plans, professional organization guidelines and many other documents have either been specially issued or been related to the findings of victimization survey in the United States. Yet, the victim surveys' data, especially, the specific types of victim surveys have even been used. In the past couple of years, hundreds of thousands of documents issued about victims of crime have been applied either for training those professionals who regard the victims for educating the public and those potential victims.

For example, one publication about crime prevention made by Mayhew (1980) has explicitly proposed so-called "Victim-oriented publicity" in order to alert potential victims of crime taking better security precaution to prevent crime. Her study mainly emphasized on property crime caused by the victims behavioural opportunity. Throughout the victim-oriented campaigns, physical crime prevention are proposed.

Another example is Graber's study "Crime News and the Public" (1980), in which, the author tried to describe the public image about crime through viewing victims' characteristics. In the study, she compares the data from

different Polls made by the journals with the statistics of victimization survey in the United States. She summarized that the images about victims conveyed by the Tribune parallel with the data of NCS. The mass communication presents not only about crime, criminals and the criminal justice system, but also about the victims. Subsequently, the public begin to know more about victims of crime through the mass media publicity.

Again, between the later 1970s and the beginning of 1980s, the general institution about victim survey method and the findings of the survey have entered the university textbooks. Moreover, many educational institutions have provide the literature on victim study. This types of education may contribute a long-term advantage for further significant changes in the légal professional attitudes toward victims of crime. At this point, the educational utility of the victim survey data may be a strategical stage in dispelling the ignorance , misunderstanding and injustice treatment about victims.

To sum up, the victim survey have provided a broad range of applications to our society. However, most uses of these information are more or less for policymaking, legislation and justice administration, whereas the application of the surveys' data in the scientific research still remains relatively insufficient. In most cases, researchers question

the reliability and accuracy of data which is due to mainly to the technique and design adopted by the surveyers. The educational use of the information about victims of crime may even more influential on the general public than on the professional society. In other words, the professionals are beyond the public concern about victims of crime.

6.4 FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF VICTIM SURVEY

In pursuit of efficient use of the victim survey data, we must pay attention to the possible development of theory and methodological, and potential problem regarding its results for further research.

6.4.1 Methodological Problems

Explicitly, since victim survey has been conducted for two decades, it has raised many important methodological questions, which have not only effect on the its further development, but also interference on the possibility of extensive use of the survey data. In general, the most recognized methodological problems includes following :

1. Questionnaires Formulation : Victim survey is usually collected through a wide variety of data about a representative sample of victimization. Thus, the questionnaire or the subject of interview refers the complicated content. It tries not only to show the

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distribution, and the trend of crime, both physical and financial outcome of crime to victims, but also tries to measure the emotional feeling and attitude of victims of crime; therefore, the problem raised is that whether those questionnaires are formulatable and whether emotional variables are definable in practice. Rifai (1982) examines the problem of the design of questionnaire surveying fear of crime and impact of victimization. In his study, it has been found that very often the questionnaire legal defined by surveyers have relegated into suggestive, speculative questions during the responsive process. Therefore, the reliability of the questionnaires become questionable and responses are difficult to translate into quantifiable components.

It has been strongly suggested that more rigorous testing of survey questions is need to be employed prior to implementation. In order to define certain questions such as the cause of crime, the manifestation of fear of crime and the emotional consequences of victimization, joined research works among justice practitioners, criminologists, legal professionals, sociologists, psychologists and psychoratrists are urgently needed. The survey data without such basic formulative testing cannot be used efficiently. The superficial services of mental

health to victims may be a good example : the degree of reliability on the measurement of the victims' emotional trauma directly determines whether mental health workers can deliver effective services to victims of crime.

2. Shortcoming of the Coverage of the Survey : As has been mentioned in Chapter I, victim survey studies, which rely heavily on the performance of respondents, are limited in those perceived street crimes. If the victims were unaware they were victims or they were willing or happy to cooperate with criminals, those victimizations do not appear in the survey data.

another shortcoming is the design process of the survey. As have been known responses given to question implicitly imply both knowledge of the legal definition and the perception of normal definition of the question, hence the application of both definitions is detrimental to contracting the coverage of the survey. The questions used in the survey must avoid using legal or normal terms in order to reduce the possibility of the failure in answering those questions by the respondents. Biderman (1975) suggests that a good way to solve this problem is to describe in detail the types of behaviour in order to avoid the victims' self making

judgement. Thus, a terminological research would be necessary.

3. establishing Special Samples : As a matter of fact, victimization is rare phenomenon among the public and distributes unequal, it requires a large size of samples, which are costly. Thus, it has proposed by many researchers that it is necessary to establish a special sample either from police file or from a high risk of crime area (Mayhew, 1984), in order to concentrate victims volume among a same size of samples. On the other hand, a special sample in certain crime can be established. This kind of sample can have good representation of physical, in vehemental characteristics of crime. Likewise, this selection of sample may closely be connected with programmatic result of application.

6.4.2 The Cost of Victim Survey Study

The victim survey is an expensive method in collecting crime data. As the officer of the U.S. Census Bureau states: "a well-designed, well-executed personal interview survey (crime victimization survey) of 1,000 households would generally be expected to cost \$75,000 - \$100,000, depending upon specification" (Turner, 1973). Moreover, in many cases, researchers need samples many times that size. The solution, besides selection of sample, is the increasing using of

telephone interview instead face-to-face interview. Tuchfarber, jr et al (1976) conducted a evaluative study on telephone interview survey, the method of which is called Random Digit Dialing (RDD). Their study concludes that RDD is a reliable survey method based on comparison of RDD data with NCS data in three categories : characteristics of victims, victimization rates and citizen attitudes. it is estimated that an RDD survey can be conducted with saving up to 70 or 75 percent over one, done by personal interview. However, the shortcoming of this methods is that some very important samples might be omitted simply because they do not have telephones at all, for instance, many poors are living in high crime areas without a personal phone. Moreover, because no truly definition experiment has been conducted in detail about the consequences of the mode of interview for data on victimization, therefore, the support of using the RDD has been suspected (Skogan, 1981).

Here, Sparks et al's work (1977) should be mentioned. In his victim survey, platituted an elaborated interview method has been used. During the interview, the respondents were asked a series of questions on their recent outstanding events such as holidays, illnesses, marriages, births and work, etc. Consequently, the victimization events are able to be related to victims' routine life. Significantly, Sparks' work obtained a very high rate of recollection with a very slight loss of memory over a period of ten months,

which has great contribution to the possible reduction of expenses of survey. By using special interview, the cost of survey may also be reduced through increase rate of recollection of victimization events and accuracy of data collection.

6.4.3 Analysis of Data of Victim Surveys

As have been shown at the beginning of this chapter, different approaches of methodological issues in victim survey studies have been put forward. Evidently, most researchers have concentrated methods used in large size of samples of general population survey about rate of victimization, characteristics of victims and criminals. The main utility of those analyses aims at testing the reliability of data and comparing these data with the police statistics. Nevertheless, the small sample survey and victims attitudes surveys have rarely been evaluated methodologically and theoretically. Thus, it should not be surprised that conclusions are often generated by the same types of surveys. Because of this lack of evaluation, many data of victim survey have not been used efficiently as expected by researchers.

In 1982, Waller has published an analytical study about victim survey entitled "Victimization Studies as Guides to Action". In it he analyses the design of survey  the use of

the findings of the surveys, and he strongly recommends some policy-oriented research on victim survey as he and Okihiro did on burglary survey in 1978. He claims that the object of study in the survey should be conducted according to the categories of the policy-oriented research (Zauberman, 1985). He also emphasizes the importance of the evaluation of victim survey, arguing that without such evaluative analysis, the findings of survey would not be able to be directly used in practice due to the existing distinction between "survey data" and "explained data".

In addition, the victim surveys have generated some new theoretical hypotheses such as the "lifestyle theory" (Shneider, 1982) and the "acquaintance violence theory" (Waller, 1982). Under these hypotheses, victims of crime are assumed to have contributed the victimization events by either their vulnerable behaviour or their passionate interpersonal reaction. Hence, victims can be viewed not just as abstract conception derived from the legal definition, but as important component of the penal conception, which takes the specific form in the motivation of criminality. The testing of these hypotheses naturally, perhaps, becomes a new point of departure for further development of victim survey studies.

Furthermore, the findings of the surveys show that victimization has always taken a shape of social and psychological circle. Not only the proceeding of victimization, but also the experience of victims afterwards runs through a psychological process. The psychology of victimization may be reasonably need for interpreting the dynamic function of the psychology of the victims in victimization events. In doing so, the object of victim survey also need to relate to a focus of psychological perspectives among different actors involved in the events, that is, criminologists, criminal justice practitioners, social services workers, victims families, etc. The research on this respect, so far, is not very satisfactory. We are still unaware what the mechanism of psychological circle and its functions are.

To sum up, although victim survey studies have made a lot of progress in the last twenty years, however, many areas are still unexplored. The methodological application as well as the theoretical explanation with regard to victim survey have been studied only superficially. If the survey data are to be used more widely in the further, researchers should take a strategical consideration of the design of the studies that they should be victim-oriented just as the offender-oriented statistics done by the police, rather than crime-oriented or offender-oriented survey. If the survey studies follow this direction, victim surveys can be

developed into a wide range of information on victims, rather than what is the interpretation of these surveys.

CONCLUSION

To summarize the issues we have discussed above, we now have a clear view of the contribution of victim surveys to the criminal justice practice and the development of the criminological theory. The contributions of the surveys not only offer the theoretical grounds in improving the law enforcement and in developing various criminological research in victims of crime, but also open a new avenue to public to access to the process of criminal justice and government policymaking.

For many years, both criminal law and criminology in many industrialized countries have ignored the victims of crime, and their roles in crime events. Traditionally, the victims of crime are regarded as nothing but the witness. Thus, victims of crime are naturally excluded from both sights of policy makers and criminologists, and become the forgotten party in the criminal justice proceeding.

In the first chapter of my thesis, in order to understand the contribution of the victim survey, I turn to look at the historical development of the victim survey study. We have seen the inefficiency of crime control policy, even through the law has been enforced, and have seen the increasing

number of crime on the street. We also have learned that government and criminologists complain that they lack of the comparable and precise information about the crime distribution, the alteration of trends and indicators of testing the crime control policy. Based upon this situation, started from mid-1960s, criminologists and government have turned their attention to the victims of crime in order to establish a better way to control crime. They formed the victimization survey to meet this need. Since then, millions of dollars and enormous manpower have been spent in the victim survey studies and in the victim assistance programs. In the past two decades, the victim survey had three different periods of development. Now the "victimization survey" and "victim survey", as we have classified in Chapter 1, trend to be reciprocal. Particularly, the victimization survey has adopted more and more features of victim survey. But, both of them focus their attention on the victims of crime and the victims' attitudes toward the criminal justice system. As the British Crime Survey reported, the purpose of the survey is not only to account crime, but also to explore the fear of crime among the victims and general public as well as the reaction of public to the crime prevention policy.

The victim surveys include four types: general population victimization survey; public attitude survey; specific types of victim survey, and victims' needs and services survey.

These surveys, of course, cannot cover the whole field of victimology and have a number of limitations in various spheres. Therefore, they cannot replace the police statistics.

In the second chapter, I examine one of the contribution of the victimization survey: to account crime. The findings of the surveys exhibit that the estimated rate of victimization for homicide, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, and auto theft is more than twice the rate indicated by police data. Furthermore, only a small proportion of violent crime was reported by the respondents in most of the surveys. Therefore, it is a fact that serious crimes are statistically rare phenomena. The findings of the surveys present a detailed picture of the characteristics of victims. In general, people who are male, young, single and poor run high risk of being victims of violent and property crimes.

In the third chapter, I try to describe several forms of crime impact on the victims and their families and friends. These forms of crime impact include financial loss, physical injury, emotional trauma and the consequences on victims' relatives.

In the fourth chapter, I study the victims' suffering from the criminal justice system as a result of coping cooperated with it. In the current law, there is a delima

on the status of victims of crime and the practice of the criminal justice system. Therefore, victims frequently experience the frustration and the inconveniences when they have to go through the justice process. Thus, it is true that they first are the victims of crime and secondly are the victims of criminal justice system. The surveys have shown that only a few victims are really satisfied with the result of the justice process. Generally, the victims of crime felt that they are not fairly treated by the criminal justice system, at least are not treated as good as the criminals in the criminal justice system.

The various contributions of victim surveys to the practical field have been described in Chapter 5. Chief among these is that the victim surveys have shown that public have serious doubts about the effectiveness of the judicial system and victims of crime have various urgent needs. In an attempt to capture public support, many victim assistance programs have been established in providing governmental and communal justice services. These services refer to such broad human resources as public health, legal services, social services as well as policy decision and legislation. However, the lack and inefficiency of victim services are an universal problem. To solve these problems, the victim services have generated a new subject of survey on victim as victim services themselves. Although this kind of survey information is just beginning to undertake, it is an entire victim-oriented survey study.

Finally, the discussion is addressed on further development of victim survey. As a matter of fact, research workers either in North America or in European countries, have recently begun to turn their attention to theoretical analysis of victim survey information. There is a hot debate among researchers on methodological issues, such as Skogan (1981), Biderman (1973), Sparks (1977) and Zauberman (1985) studies. Some researchers have paid attention on various and efficient utility of victim surveys' data, for example, McMullan jr. et al (1978) waller (1982) studies. As these theoretical analyses begin to feedback into the process of design of victim surveys and of data collection, more theoretically and practically relevant variables will be collected and substantial cross-cultural theoretical development may be within the grasp of the world's criminologists. Many of these theoretical analyses will create a new subject of survey on victims. Eventually, the entire victim-oriented victim survey studies will be realized. In so doing, the victimization data will not only help policy makers to rank the relative priority of crime control and many other issues on the policy agenda, they will also help researchers in winnowing through generation of criminological theories which will eventually lead to further development of victim surveys. At this point, the development of victim survey holds key promise to further developments of crime statistics, criminological theories

and victimological researcher by uncovering the potentially abundant virgin soil.

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