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A Global Perspective on Young People as Offenders and Victims

First Results from the ISRD3 Study

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Foreword

A Global Perspective on Young People as Offenders and Victims is the latest report of research from the International Self-Report Delinquency Study, a bold, imaginative, and innovative collaboration that is providing scientific criminology with basic data about crime and delinquency of considerable importance. The idea that standardized data about the nature of delinquency and victimization could be collected reliably from respondents from countries around the world was a breathtaking idea and one many criminologists would not have thought possible. Differences in language, legal systems, demography, and economic development all cautioned against such an ambitious venture. The meaning of delinquency and adolescence was too variable and too culturally dependent to suppose that a single instrument with common questions about problem behaviors could provide meaningful data, even if an administrative system could be devised to collect the data.

And yet here we are, at the third wave of data collection, and the level of participation, the survey quality, and the significance of the research all continue to increase with each administration. The result is a database with such significance that scientific criminology simply must pay attention. Both the methodological insights and the substantive findings of the ISRD are substantial, and the data are loaded with theoretical and policy significance for criminology.

This monograph, along with the studies being published from the second wave of the project, is a testament to the triumph of a scientific disposition over data-free speculation. The scope of this project is large and ambitious, and the criminological community owes a debt of gratitude to the architects of these surveys: for their determination to overcome the many obstacles to the project, for their contributions to measurement and survey design issues, for their careful descriptions of procedures, for their studies of limitations to the data, and for their realized commitment to making their data publicly available in a short period of time.

The ISRD is an evolving collaboration among a number of scholars, across a long period of time. It is a "learning survey," such that over repeated administrations the principals carefully preserve aspects of the survey that make administrations comparable while providing mechanisms to allow new issues to be addressed. They balance collection of important socio-demographic respondent characteristics with

a concern for providing information from respondents pertinent to evolving theoretical and policy concerns. And, realizing that many will look to these data for purposes of comparing levels of offending and victimization between countries or over time, they offer appropriate cautions and stress important limitations to the data for those purposes while stressing the overriding value of the survey for the study of correlates and putative causes.

The project deploys a common, well-honed instrument to collect data about delinquency, victimization, and related problem behaviors from samples of adolescents (generally 12–16) around the world. It uses school samples in a cross-sectional design and includes standard etiological questions about family, peer, school, and leisure-time activities. The self-report instrument as well as the set of independent variables has been subject to excellent methods work and the instrument is carefully crafted to allow examination of well-selected policy and theory questions. Remarkably, the authors of the survey routinely build in items and procedures to facilitate methodological study. Individually, some of the samples are relatively large and, in aggregate, provide what is likely the largest and most versatile dataset of self-reported delinquency in existence.

Sample surveys of victimization and crime are one of the major advances in scientific criminology, and these scholars take advantage of substantial research experience using these methods (among these authors are, of course, some of the pioneers of advances in survey techniques in criminology). They show what a large, carefully crafted cross-sectional design focused on an appropriate population (young teens) can provide. As a result, opportunities for causal analysis and useful assessments of public policy issues are substantial in each wave of their survey. (This is especially welcome in an age of small-sample, passive observational designs following subjects past the interesting ages of criminal involvement and fraught with problems of selection bias.)

As a result, the long-term importance of the ISRD is difficult to overestimate. Sample surveys of crime and victimization have taught us many things difficult or impossible to learn by reliance on official data alone (see, e.g., Gottfredson 1986). They teach us about the true nature of ordinary crime and delinquency, about the criminal justice process and how it selects and filters events and people, about the importance of the concept of opportunity and situations as causes of crime in addition to the role of personal characteristics, and about features of delinquency and crime that transcend societies and cultures.

One methodological decision in the design of these surveys that has been of enormous importance to criminology is the adoption of common-sense, incident-based behavioral descriptions of crime and delinquency. This feature (pioneered in the initial victimization surveys) allows flexibility in the creation of dependent variables, strips them from the traditional, narrow focus on legal or moral acts, helps distinguish respondent causes from situational causes, facilitates connections among otherwise seemingly widely disparate problem behaviors, and enables comparisons among groups with differing legal or cultural ideas of delinquency and crime.

From the ISRD surveys, fundamental facts about delinquency and victimization are documented which are substantial and transcend the various societies in the dataset. These common facts about victimization, crime, and delinquency surely must now command the attention of valid scientific explanations. Just a few examples: they underscore the important role of parents, schools, gender, and peers everywhere; they reinforce the image of versatility of problem behaviors, of the victimization/offending connection, and the importance of settings in which delinquency tends to more frequently occur. This monograph shows how cyber-victimization is an important component to adolescent life throughout the world and that excessively harsh parental treatment should command our attention. The authors also show that decisions by adolescents to invoke the authorities as a result of victimization they experience depend on features of the events, such as the extent of harm and the relationship between the victim and offender, more so than attitudes towards authority.

The findings of ISDR3 remind us that crimes and delinquencies are events—that they require for their occurrence both the offender or delinquent (or an individual predisposed to act in ways that facilitates delinquent acts) and also "targets" and opportunities. This distinction, between crime and criminality, made obvious and important by this research, may go a long way in helping to understand the between-society differences found in the data. Because the situational factors necessary for crime—the distribution of goods, victims, opportunities, and services—vary from time to time and across societies, they are likely to be important causes of variation in victimization across societies. Since this distinction is readily built into theories of delinquency causation, these data suggest that the common differentiation among theories as "micro" and "macro" is unnecessary. Time spent outside of adult supervision with peers, the availability of attractive (to teens) goods (such as bicycles and cars) or victims, and the availability of drugs and alcohol are all event-based causes of crime and delinquency that can be explored, along with the individual-level respondent data known to cause delinquency, with data such as these.

Among the very strong design features of ISRD3 is its focus on early adolescence. This is correct for many reasons but includes the fact that the teen years is the period of maximum participation in problem behaviors and will thus result in meaningful distributions on the dependent variable. Young teens are able (and for the most part, willing) to participate in the required survey tasks. Their age is proximate to the time of the most important causal variables for delinquency (and hence crime). They have not yet begun to experience the huge, inexorable decline in crime with increasing age. Because of the school context, large samples that include most of the population are available. This cross-sectional design, with its emphasis on a rich array of independent variables, standard instruments administered in a standard way, samples large enough for meaningful statistical analysis, and close identity in time between causal variables and criterion variables, is perhaps the best nonexperimental method we have to study causation in criminology.

A Global Perspective on Young People as Offenders and Victims carries on the tradition of the ISRD of concern about the measurement properties of the self-report instruments. In this volume are studies of differential response, using innovative

methods to investigate social desirability effects and their impact on country-level uses of the data. Understanding the relations among respondent characteristics and self-report responses has important implications for the use of self-report data for causal study. Differential validity by country, or other respondent characteristics of explanatory interest (say, self-control), provides important information necessary for testing casual arguments with self-report data. A laudable concern for the limitations of the data is a hallmark of this volume and also of previous work by these authors (see, e.g., Marshall and Enzmann 2012).

Publication of the first findings from ISRD3 is an exciting event. This is, of course, only a preliminary sampling of the vast potential of these data. But already the evidence is in: the design and execution of this major research project provides information that will enrich criminology for years to come.

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Contents

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Chapter 1
Introduction to the International Self-Report Delinquency Study (ISRD3)

The young are often considered our greatest resource; children are viewed as human capital that society depends on for continued growth and sustainability. Children also deserve special protection against violence (United Nations 1990; Council of Europe 2015). That is why we are willing to invest a lot in improving youth policies, building better educational systems, stronger families, and happier communities. Children are also the cause of great worries among parents, educators, police, and other adults, particularly during the teenage years, which are times of turmoil and transition, when youth rebel against adults, get involved in risky behavior, and start experimenting with illegal behavior. Young people are also vulnerable to being exploited and victimized, not only by strangers, but also by their peers, their parents, or other trusted adults. This report provides international evidence about their experiences, drawing from the first results of the third round of the International Self-Report Delinquency Study (ISRD3).

1.1 ISRD1: The First Pioneering Effort (1991–1992)

The International Self-Report Delinquency (ISRD) project consists of a network of researchers from a number of countries who agree to adhere to the ISRD protocol, and who have been successful in securing local or national funding. The International Self-Report Delinquency study was launched in 1990 by the Dutch Research and Documentation Center (WODC). The project was inspired by the frustration experienced by a handful of European and American survey researchers who were interested in obtaining a comparative picture of the nature and extent of delinquency in Europe and the USA, but were obstructed by the lack of comparability of both police and survey data (Klein 1989). Now, looking back some 25 years, the answer to the dilemma seems obvious: Create a basic core instrument that is acceptable to all international partners, who will agree to follow basic methodological procedures (related to sampling, data collection, and coding) so comparability may be achieved.

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With the partial and regional exception of the comparative Nordic Draftee Research project in the early 1960s (Kivivuori 2011), the ISRD1 measurement was the first internationally comparative criminological project to use the self-report delinquency method (Junger-Tas et al. 1994). Today, several international self-report surveys that do follow standardized research protocols are ongoing, but these are of more recent origin (e.g., Hibell et al. 2004, 2012). Under the leadership of Josine Junger-Tas, the first international workshop with interested collaborators was held in the Netherlands some 25 years ago, marking the modest start of the ISRD project—with little expectation that the survey would grow to its current size.

Data collection took place in 1991 and 1992 in three Anglophone countries [Northern Ireland, England and Wales, the USA (Nebraska)], five countries from North-West Europe (the Netherlands, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Finland), and three countries from Southern Europe (Italy, Spain, Portugal). Respondents were aged between 14 and 21; some samples were national, others city-based; most—but not all—surveys were conducted in a school setting. In some cases, personal interviews were used; other partners used self-administered paper-and-pencil questionnaires. The first report, consisting mainly of descriptive findings, was published in 1994 (Junger-Tas et al. 1994), but it took almost a decade before the second publication with more advanced analyses and theoretical interpretations was published (Junger-Tas et al. 2003). This delay was due to a myriad of challenges such as lack of staff, funding, and turnover of data managers, but one should not underestimate the challenges at that time of creating workable and valid merged datasets. Advances in technology and communication have diminished these challenges significantly since ISRD1, as evidenced by the much shorter time it took for the second round of the ISRD to move from its planning and data collection stage to its first publications.

1.2 ISRD2: Striving to Maximize Standardization (2006–2008)[1]

In retrospect, the first round of the International Self-Report Study was a kind of *pilot* study, a test of sorts to see if it would be possible to implement such large-scale international collaborative effort on the politically and culturally sensitive topic of juvenile delinquency. It was the first time a standardized self-report delinquency survey was conducted with more than ten participant countries in Europe and the USA. The results were encouraging, the observed patterns and theoretical correlates appeared reasonable, and the validity and reliability of the core instrument had been firmly established (Marshall and Webb 1994; Zhang et al. 2000). At the 2002 conference of the European Society of Criminology in Toledo, the main outcomes of ISRD1 were presented and plans were made to repeat the study, and to consider the possibility of starting a *series* of surveys that would enable us to measure trends in youth delinquent behavior over time.

One of the most important lessons learned from ISRD1 was the need to *maximize standardization*. Variations in questionnaire content and administration, sampling designs, and coding schemes made comparisons based on ISRD1 data difficult, in particular those focusing on estimates of prevalence of delinquency. Determined to prevent

[1] For more information on the methodology and design of ISRD2, see Marshall and Enzmann (2012).

such problems in the second round, considerable time and effort was invested in developing the ISRD2 protocol which included detailed information on the comparative design and methodology (i.e., survey instruments and sampling design, and rules for coding data and data entry). The basic design and methodology were produced by the ISRD Steering Committee, but many details were finalized only after extensive discussions and consultations with participating researchers. More details on the methodology and the basic research protocol of the ISRD project is provided in the next chapter, but important to note here is that—from its very inception—the project tried to be a truly collaborative and participatory experience for all national researchers. Efforts were made to make all partners feel truly invested in maintaining the integrity of the ISRD comparative design. Although not always completely successful, the *flexible standardization* which more accurately describes the final outcome of the ISRD2 appears to have markedly improved the comparability of the ISRD2 results compared to the first round.

The project was kept manageable by maintaining the main focus on Europe, but ISRD2 expanded the geographical coverage of the study by including new EU member states from Central and Eastern Europe. ISRD2 was conducted in 15 Western European countries, and ten Central and Eastern European countries. The USA and Canada were also part of the study, as were Venezuela and Aruba together with the Netherlands Antilles, and Suriname. The ISRD2 design was a *city-based* sampling design, but reflecting the needs of some of the participants, in the end a *mixed sampling strategy* was used, where countries with a national sample oversampled at least one large city, to facilitate city-based comparisons between all participating countries. The ISRD2 was a *school-based* survey, drawing randomly selected samples from 7th, 8th, and 9th year classes (representing 12–16 year olds) in the selected cities or region. Between 2006 and 2008, the second round of the ISRD collected data among a total of 67,883 young people in 31 countries (44,962 of whom were from 68 large and medium cities and 60 small towns).

The core questionnaire underwent considerable modification and expansion for the second round. Many of the original self-reported offending questions were retained, as were some of the background questions related to family, peers, and school. Victimization questions were added. Additional items to test components of social bonding and social control theory, self-control theory, routine activities/opportunities theory, and social disorganization/collective efficacy theory were included. When making these adjustments, we kept in mind that—in order for the ISRD to provide valid findings on trends and changes over time—it is of paramount importance to maintain a core set of items that remain unchanged in the different rounds of the survey. This point is addressed in the next chapter.

This chapter will *not* provide a detailed overview of the ISRD2 findings. The merged dataset has been available for analysis for the scientific community for several years, and there are by now numerous publications reporting on the analysis of single country, regions, or all countries (e.g., Aussems et al. 2013; Blaya and Gatti 2010; Botchkovar et al. 2015; Bräker et al. 2013; Buriánek and Podaná 2009; Egli et al. 2010; Enzmann 2013; Enzmann and Junger-Tas 2009; Enzmann et al. 2010; Gatti et al. 2011, 2015; Gavray et al. 2013; Haymoz and Gatti 2010; Junger-Tas et al. 2010, 2012; Kapardis 2013; Kask et al. 2013; Killias et al. 2010; Lucia and Killias 2011; Maniglio and Innamorati 2014; Margaryan 2008; Markina and Saar 2009;

Marshall and Maljević 2013; Muftić et al. 2014; Pauwels et al. 2011; Podaná and Buriánek 2013; Posick and Rocque 2015; Ren et al. 2015; Rocque et al. 2015; Savoie 2007; Savolainen et al. in press; Steketee and Gruszczyńska 2010; Webb et al. 2011).[2]

A few observations are worth making, however. First, experiences with ISRD2 data showed that *grouping countries* makes the analysis of a large number of countries more manageable, and we shall follow this practice in several instances in the current monograph. An important analytic tool used in the analysis of the large ISRD2 dataset has been the classification of countries into clusters based on different welfare regimes (Esping-Andersen 1990; Saint-Arnaud & Bernard 2003).[3] Grouping the ISRD2 countries into six country clusters (Anglo-Saxon, West-European, Scandinavian, Mediterranean, Post-Socialist, and Latin-American) has proven to be a heuristically useful way to tackle the challenging task of exploring international differences and similarities in delinquency and victimization and their correlates. For example, the highest level of delinquency was found in the wealthiest countries (Anglo-Saxon, West-European, and Scandinavian clusters), whereas the Mediterranean, Post-Socialist, and Latin-American countries have lower levels. The age of onset of offending is quite similar in all country clusters, with shoplifting and vandalism having the lowest age of onset, with the age of onset for serious offenses higher everywhere. In all clusters, girls commit fewer offenses than boys, but there is a wide between- and within-cluster variation in the levels of gender disparity. Violent victimization rates are highest in the Post-Socialist, Latin-American, and Anglo-Saxon clusters, and lowest in Northern Europe, followed by Western Europe. As these few instances illustrate, the data reveal both striking similarities and surprising differences between country clusters; similarities and differences that are echoed in virtually all analyses, regardless of whether there is a comparison between only two countries, a group of countries, or all countries simultaneously.

1.3 ISRD3: Continuing to Build on a Solid Foundation (2012–2017)

Efforts to maximize standardization and cooperation in ISRD2 through (1) regular workshops, (2) standardized computer procedures to facilitate sampling and survey administration, and data coding and data entry; and (3) requiring national technical reports, created a solid infrastructure on which to build the next sweep of the international collaborative study (ISRD3). By 2010 we had finalized a useable merged international ISRD2 dataset, and published technical reports and substantive publications. At this point, we started discussions about how to make ISRD3 better and sustainable as an ongoing international survey. We wanted to maintain the three core objectives of the ISRD *and* do this in a comparative context:

[2] The data for ISRD2 are freely available to download for researchers at participating institutions on the ICPSR (Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research) website, including all pertinent documentation on the questionnaire and sampling procdures: https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/ICPSR/studies/34658.

[3] In the current volume, we have not followed the same typology for analyzing ISRD3 data because of the wider range of nations involved.

- To measure the prevalence and incidence of offending and victimization
- To test theories about correlates of offending and victimization
- To develop policy-relevant recommendations

In order to maintain comparability with ISRD2 (and in as far as possible with ISRD1), we also wanted to *minimize* the changes to the core instrument and the ISRD research design. On the other hand, we wanted to build in enough flexibility to accommodate the ever-changing national and international context of offending and victimization. Through regular meetings and through consultation with the ISRD research community, the ISRD3 research protocol was developed and approved; in December 2012, Denmark was the first country to implement the third round of the ISRD.

An exciting new dimension of the third round of the ISRD is that—in addition to a large number of European countries—now a wide range of countries from across the globe are participating. At the time of writing, a total of 27 countries had completed data collection and made their data available for inclusion in a merged international dataset. Several other countries will be added to the ISRD3 project in the near future. Some countries simply have not been able to complete the data collection yet, while a handful of additional countries have only recently been able to join the third sweep and are still preparing for field work. Such is the organic nature of the International Self-Report Study. It represents an emerging group of international researchers with a joint passion working to better understand the experiences and problems of young people in the hope of creating a better future.

1.4 Key Issues in ISRD3 First Findings in Brief

Though data collection for ISRD3 was still ongoing in several countries at the time of writing, we decided not to wait until all data collection was finished before publishing findings. This monograph presents the first findings on self-reported offending and victimization for the 27 countries for which comparative ISRD3 data are available.[4] Thus, this brief is based on the participation of 62,636 young people in cities or regions of Armenia, Austria, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, Kosovo, Lithuania, Macedonia, the Netherlands, Serbia, Switzerland, Ukraine, the UK, the USA, and Venezuela.

The primary goal of the ISRD project is theory-testing and the search for mechanisms that explain delinquency in a manner that enables us to factor in national differences and contextual sources of influence. Secondarily, the project produces information that gives local stakeholders information about the specific patterns of youth crime in their areas.[5] In addition to these goals, the project enables the comparison of delinquency patterns in various areas and cities—which is the focus of the current publication.

[4] At the time of writing, there were 33 ISRD3 participants who had signed the collaboration agreement and 26 had finished data collection and supplied a technical report by early 2017. The US data should be considered preliminary and incomplete since data collection in the USA was still ongoing at the time of writing.

[5] The follow-up questions used in online data collection additionally serve this purpose.

However, we aim to do more than simply presenting delinquency patterns in various areas and cities across the world. We want to also highlight—from a *social indicators* perspective—the problem of relying on official police data as the best measure of the dimensions of youth crime and victimization. At the same time, from a *methodological* perspective, we want to stress the limits to self-report delinquency surveys, especially in a comparative context. And finally, we want to place a range of problems to do with youth crime and victimization more firmly on countries' policy agendas—such as parental use of violence against their children.

Chapter 2
Methodology and Description of the Sample

The ISRD has two distinguishing features as a comparative study of youth crime and victimization: (1) the large number and cultural diversity of participating countries and (2) the explicitly comparative design. As many have noted before us, the cross-national survey approach presents serious challenges and problems, methodologically as well as logistically. How to overcome the many challenges integral to comparative survey research has been a preoccupation of a long tradition of scholars in the field of cultural anthropology, sociology, political science, and criminology, with few clear solutions (Allardt 1990; Armer and Grimshaw 1973; Bennett 2009; Elder 1976; Howard et al. 2000; Kohn 1987; Karstedt 2001; Marshall and Marshall 1983; Nelken 2009, 2010; Prezworski and Teune 1970; Ragin, 1987; Rokkan 1968; Smelser, 1976, 2003; Van de Vijver and Tanzer 2004). We have done our best to deal with these challenges throughout the project, but there are certain problems which simply cannot be solved, particularly when dealing with such a large and varied sample of research sites across the globe. Awareness of these problems is the best weapon against oversimplification or misinterpretation of the results (Marshall and Enzmann 2012, 21).

Table 2.1 summarizes some of the core data features in the emerging ISRD3 dataset. It clearly shows differences between the manner in which the data were collected in the participating countries, cautioning us to keep in mind that some of the national differences discussed below may reflect methodological differences, rather than real differences.[1]

[1] More in-depth information about the strengths, problems, and possible sources of divergence in national data collection is available in the country's technical reports (Buriánek et al. 2015; Bezic 2015; Farren and Kammigan 2015; Gavray 2015; Killias and Lukash 2015; Kivivuori et al. 2014; Libak Pedersen 2013; Rodriguez et al. 2014; Stevkovic and Nikolic-Ristanovic 2015). At this point, we have not yet received all the technical reports. Once they are complete, they will be available through the ISRD website.

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Table 2.1 Data collection in the participating countries: Basic sample features

	Data collection					Sample				Responding patterns	
Country	Time	Method	Consent policy	External survey admin. (%)	Teacher presence (%)[a]	No. of students	No. of cities	School access rate (%)[b]	Student response rate (%)[c]	Openness (reversed) (%)[e]	Relevin users (%)[f]
Armenia	2015	Online	Opt-out	100	–	796	1	62	92	27.6	0.1
Austria	2013	Online	Mixed	0	100	6492	9[g]	41	70	16.8	0.9
Belgium	2013–14	p & p	Opt-out	100	35	3492	4	68	84	15.6	0.8
Bosnia and Herzegovina	2014–15	Online				2991	9[g]			30.6	0.4
Cape Verde	2016	Online				1687	8[g]			39.3	1.1
Croatia	2013	p & p	Opt-in	100	13	1740	2	80	59	8.4	1.5
Czech Republic	2013	p & p	Opt-out	100	38	3455	48[g]	58	83	7.0	0.5
Denmark	2012	Online	Opt-out	0	100	1669	2	82	90	12.1	0.3
Estonia	2013–14	Online	Opt-out	100	–	3737	2	67	83	12.3	1.0
Finland	2013	Online	Mixed	100	25	2192	2	96	84	6.5	0.7
France	2015	Mixed	Mixed	100	89	1819	2	51	80	12.4	–
Germany	2015	Mixed	Opt-out	100	100	2957	2	30	79	9.6	0.7
India	2013–15	Mixed	Opt-out	100	75	323	2	35	52	22.3	3.8
Indonesia	2013–14	Online	Opt-out	100	10	1780	4	77	100	45.7	0.2
Italy	2013–14	Mixed[d]	Opt-in	100	–	3486	8	61	86	12.5	0.8
Kosovo	2013	Online	Opt-out	100	20	1080	2	92	84	31.1	1.8
Lithuania	2013	p & p				2765	5			17.8	1.1
Macedonia	2014	Online	rc	100	–	1233	9[g]	96	78	30.6	2.7
Netherlands	2015–16	Online	Opt-out	100	88	1884	3	19	86	16.9	1.0
Portugal	2015–16	Mixed				1869	3			19.6	–

Serbia	2013–14	Online	Opt-out	100	4	647	2	75	92	22.3	0.0
Slovakia	2015	p & p	Opt-out	100	0	2391	2	65	80	14.0	1.0
Switzerland	2013	Online	Opt-out	0	100	4072	22[g]	75	92	12.6	1.4
Ukraine	2013	Online	Opt-out	100	80	1651	2	100	85	25.6	0.5
UK	2014–15	Mixed	Opt-out	100	77	2110	4	19	82	19.3	1.0
USA	2015–17	Online	Opt-in	100		1920	3	29[h]		18.5	0.5
Venezuela	2013–15	p & p	rc	100	100	2398	2	81	66	29.7	1.4
27 countries	2012–17	15/6/6				62,636					

p & p paper and pencil, *rc* respondent consent only; Country notes: *Belgium:* Student response rate refers to Wallonia. *Croatia:* Technical report gives 41% as the proportion of students whose parents declined participation; the student participation rate is calculated from this figure. *Denmark:* Class access rate is given instead of school access rate. *India:* Grade 9 students, only

[a]% of data collection situations where teacher was present

[b]% of schools granting research access, from the initially sampled schools

[c]% students responding, from the student body of the classes participating in the study

[d]In 7 of 8 cities p & p

[e]% of respondents indicating they would "definitely not" admit to marihuana use, had they used it

[f]% of students admitting to the use of the fictive drug "Relevin"

[g]National sample, figure indicating locations/cantons

[h]In one of three cities

2.1 Sampling

The data collection patterns of the ISRD3 project are summarized in Table 2.1. According to the research protocol, samples were to be *city-based*, covering students from grades 7 to 9, corresponding to age categories 12–14, 13–15, and 14–16. The ISRD project uses city sampling because the main research goal is theoretical explanation rather than the production of national statistics (Marshall and Enzmann 2012, 27). An additional consideration is that large countries are unlikely to be able to afford to collect data in a random selection of schools all over the country. Each national participant was asked to collect data in two large cities, with the aim of collecting 900 cases (300 7th graders, 300 8th graders, and 300 9th graders) in each city, for a minimum number of cases of 1800 per country. Yet, as Table 2.1 shows, the size and types of cities vary across countries and some countries have opted for broader or national samples. For instance, the Czech Republic and Switzerland use broader sampling frames than the other countries. These variations from the sampling design reflect differing local budgets, needs, and other practical factors. Therefore, due to sample heterogeneity, we should refrain from overgeneralizing the findings to entire countries. The survey should not be considered representative of the whole population of young people in these countries but instead of 7th–9th grade students in those cities or regions in which the data were collected. However, for ease of presentation, we have presented findings in this monograph by country rather than by city (Table 2.1).[2] The selection of countries included in this primary report reflects the timing of data collection rather than any substantive consideration about countries that are of interest to compare.

2.1.1 Description of the Sample

The present report is based on a total sample of 62,636 students in 3511 school classes collected in 27 countries and in 86 cities or larger regions. The sample sizes across countries range from 647 in Serbia, 796 in Armenia, and 1080 in Kosovo to 3737 in Estonia, 4072 in Switzerland, and 6492 in Austria[3]; 13 of the 27 countries have samples between 1600 and 2400 cases. Excluding India and Austria, the mean sample size is 2230 cases.

There is a very slight overrepresentation of females (50.5%); using weights (see Sect. 2.1.2) does not change this substantially (weighted data: 50.7% females). The

[2] This is in line with our recommendation regarding ISRD2 data. There we recommended that—in order to maximize comparability of prevalence estimates based on a mix of city based and national samples—only survey data collected in cities should be used for prevalence estimates (Marshall and Enzmann 2012, 32).

[3] India is a special case with only $n = 323$ grade 9 students, thus lacking grade 7–8 students. When presenting totals of all countries or of groups of countries, data from India will be excluded.

Table 2.2 Age distribution of total sample

Age	*n*	%
≤11	296	0.5
12	6815	12.5
13	17,768	30.2
14	19,884	32.5
15	13,631	20.2
≥16	3072	4.1

Notes: India excluded, $n = 61{,}466$; percentages: weighted data

sample is also slightly biased in the direction of older students even after applying population weights where available (see Table 2.2).

The overrepresentation of older students is (among others) due to the fact that the primary sampling units are not individual students but school classes: because of the sampling design, students who had to repeat a class are underrepresented in grade 7 classes and overrepresented in grade 9 classes. This is the reason why in analyses comparing younger to older students we will not use age but grade as a proxy for age—grade is far less confounded by repeating a class than the variable age.[4] After applying available population weights (and excluding India), the sample is more or less equally distributed across 7th grade (33.6%), 8th grade (33.5%), and 9th grade students (32.8%).

When comparing crime rates across countries, one should keep in mind that we are actually comparing rates of crime in selected cities (or regions) of each country. Additionally, the population of students in these countries, cities, or regions is culturally and ethnically more or less diverse. This can be seen by comparing the sample composition of the countries according to the migration background of the respondents. Whereas overall 24.1% of the students are first- or second-generation migrants, this percentage differs substantially between groups of countries: It is highest in the USA (50.7%) followed by countries in Western Europe (41.5%), in Southern Europe (29.6%), and by Nordic countries (22.4%). The percentage of students with migration background is least in the Balkans (17.4%), the Post-Socialist countries (13.8%), and the non-European countries (7.5%).[5]

2.1.2 Weighting and the Problem of Clustered Data

In some of the countries, there were problems related to non-coverage as well as nonresponse, producing samples that over- or underrepresent the target population (i.e., 7th, 8th, and 9th grade classes) in the selected cities. Nonresponse is certainly

[4] The overrepresented older students who are repeating a class are likely to score higher on other correlated measures—such as self-reported offending.

[5] Weighted data, India excluded.

an issue for concern, but not necessarily associated with selection bias (see Peytchev 2013). Where possible we will use population weights in order to make the sample more representative. Unfortunately, at the time of this writing, the information needed to produce these weights was only available for a small number of countries (Austria, Finland, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Portugal, Switzerland, the UK, the USA). Such population weights will only influence the point estimates such as prevalence rates, but not their confidence intervals.

Additionally, we are using weights to make sure that each country contributes equally to the overall total. Ideally, each national participant was to collect data on a total of 1800 7th, 8th, and 9th graders, but that did not always happen (e.g., compare Austria with $n = 6492$ cases to Serbia with $n = 647$). Therefore, when creating descriptive statistics (e.g., of prevalence or incidence rates of victimization or offending) for the *total* sample, or for *groups* of countries, weights have been calculated to give each country equal weight (see Marshall and Enzmann 2012, 33 for a description of the method we used).

Important, but different from the issue of weight, is the question of how to adjust for the clustering of students within classes (i.e., the design effects). We used a sampling design with classrooms as primary sampling units, for which we adjusted through the use of survey (svy:) commands in Stata (a possible alternative is the use of the "complex samples" module in SPSS). Adjusting for design effects is relevant in tests of significance and in calculating confidence intervals (whereas weights are relevant when the correct point estimate such as means are important). If clustering is not taken into account, standard errors are underestimated and consequently confidence intervals are too narrow and *p*-values are too small.

2.1.3 A School-Based Survey

The ISRD is a school-based study with school classes as primary sampling units. Like ISRD2, the ISRD3 has seventh, eighth, and ninth graders as the target population. The upper limit of ninth grade was chosen because in some countries this ends the age of compulsory education. In the ISRD3 research design, samples would be stratified according to school type and grade level. The ISRD3 stratified, multi-stage sampling plan required a number of steps.[6] First, a listing of all secondary schools which included in principle youth between the ages of 12 and 16 (grades 7–9) was to be created. This included public and private schools, vocational, technical, and academic schools. Then, a listing of all seventh, eighth, and ninth grade classes was constructed. By selecting classes randomly from these listings, the number of

[6] In order to facilitate drawing comparable random samples, research partners had access to a pre-programmed software package ("Survey Manager"). This is an Excel program especially written for the ISRD3 study to manage the list of schools and classes to draw random samples of classes and to manage survey administration.

students drawn was proportional to the number of pupils in each school type. All students in the randomly selected classrooms were to be asked to participate. Not surprisingly, the actual achieved samples frequently do not reflect the ideal sampling design, for reasons detailed below.

School-based delinquency research has the merit of including socially disadvantaged youth groups that would be more difficult to reach in home-based interviews (Naplava and Oberwittler 2002). On the other hand, the school context creates specific challenges that need to be acknowledged in the interpretation of results. The decision of schools to participate, and of students to respond, can be related to the core outcomes of the study[7] (Courser et al. 2009; Marshall 2010). Probably, the most relevant challenges relate to securing access to schools and consent procedures, which reflect the activities of important gatekeepers, such as principals and municipal school administrations. In the ISRD2, there was considerable variation in school participation rates (Marshall and Enzmann 2012, 37–38), and this is also the case in ISRD3 (see Table 2.1). As can be seen, school access and response rates remain a source of data variation (see Table 2.1). In both the UK and the Netherlands, less than one-fifth of the approached schools agreed to participate in ISRD3, in sharp contrast with Ukraine (100%), Finland (96%), and Macedonia (96%). Such variation is not exceptional in cross-national projects. For instance, in the 2011 European School Survey Project on Alcohol and Other Drugs (ESPAD), school participation rates ranged from 6 to 100%, while student response rates ranged from 78 to 95% (Hibell et al. 2012, 43).

The variation internationally in student response rates is much less pronounced than the willingness of the schools to participate. Table 2.1 shows that the lowest student response rate (59%) was found in Croatia, with a 100% participation rate in Indonesia. National differences in individual-level response rates can be partially related to differences in consent requirements and procedures. The so-called opt-in policy, where young people need written consent from parents in order to take part in the study, reduces response rates and may reduce observed delinquency rates (Courser et al. 2009; Marshall 2010). These challenges of comparative research reflect differential cultural and legal traditions and perceptions of school-based research, ultimately reflecting deeply held cultural notions about the relative importance of protecting children *with* research, and protecting them *from* research. Generally, countries showing high school refusal rates may also show high individual-level loss of data because both reflect the gatekeeping activities of the principals and school administrators.

Teacher presence during data collection is also a factor which introduces variation to the sample. ISRD data collection guidelines recommend that the administration of the surveys should be supervised by external research assistants rather than by teachers. In practice, there are differential procedures as teacher supervision is less costly especially in large countries (Marshall and Enzmann 2012, 59). Teachers

[7] For example, schools with high proportions of challenging students may be less prepared to take part; and at the student level, both offending and refusing to take part in a survey can be seen as forms of noncompliance.

may also insist on remaining in the class. For instance, the Finnish data collection involved outside research assistants as data collectors in all classes; an unexpected finding was that in 25 per cent of classes, teachers had remained throughout the duration of data collection (Kivivuori et al. 2014). While the impact of teachers' presence remains to be investigated, prior experimental research suggests that supervision effects are small (Kivivuori et al. 2013).

Apart from variations associated with research design and data collection, it is of course possible that students are differentially accustomed to, and familiar with, surveys probing sensitive research topics. The ISRD survey includes some questions designed to flag associated validity threats. Table 2.1 shows the basic indicators for two of these: the percentage of students who say they would not admit to cannabis use in the survey even if they *had* done so (the so-called response integrity question), and the percentage of students who reported using the nonexistent drug "Relevin." As can be seen in Table 2.1, regarding both response integrity questions there is considerable variation between countries. We will come back to the important issue of socially desirable response patterns—and their implications for trusting the self-reported offending estimates—in later chapters.

2.2 The ISRD3 Questionnaire[8]

The ISRD project uses standardized questionnaires—with care taken to ensure linguistic equivalence in translation—to maximize cross-country comparability. Yet, even full standardization does not guarantee that respondent interpretation is the same everywhere. In addition to the factors discussed above, there are less tangible external and cultural factors which cannot be directly assessed by examining sample features like those shown in Table 2.1. For instance, the interpretation and meaning of questions and terms can differ in different cultural contexts. The sensitivity to perceive conflicts as violence reflects cultural differences between social groups and across time (Kivivuori 2014; Lynch and Addington 2015). Differential cultural sensitivity of various social groups can impact both police reporting and survey reporting. It is possible that such factors could also impact cross-national comparisons. For example, asking about the use of physical force by parents, or being victimized by hate crime, may be interpreted differently by young people living in South America as compared to those in Northern Europe (Rodriguez et al. 2015). Some of the cultural differences in understanding question formulations can be explored in the future by using the follow-up questions which are available for countries using online data collection.

[8] For a detailed description of the changes in questionnaire content and structure between ISRD2 and ISRD3, see Marshall et al. 2013 (ISRD Technical Report 1—available on website).

2.2.1 Content and Structure of ISRD3 Questionnaire

The ISRD project's ambition is to be a study which repeatedly collects data from comparable (but not identical) samples in regular intervals. ISRD1 (1992–1993) was considered a pilot study; ISRD2 (2006–2008) was the first full-fledged implementation of the design. When re-evaluating the ISRD questionnaire for ISRD3 and subsequent sweeps, we decided that there should be a modular structure with a *core set of fixed questions, and a flexible part which will vary from sweep to sweep.* This flexibility allows us to respond to the most recent developments in the area of delinquency in each sweep.[9] The ISRD3 questionnaire also allowed for the addition of country-level optional modules, located at the end of the questionnaire.

A primary objective of ISRD is theory-testing and development. ISRD3 includes items designed to test social bonding and social control, self-control, routine activity/opportunity theory, and social disorganization/collective efficacy (comparable to ISRD2), as well as Procedural Justice Theory, Institutional Anomie Theory, and Situational Action Theory. Of primary importance for the present report are the items on victimization and offending.[10] The ISRD3 questionnaire consists of ten modules: (1) Demographic background, (2) Family, (3) School, (4) Victimization, (5) Leisure and peers, (6) Morality, Self-Control and Neighborhood, (7) Offending, (8) Substance use, (9) Institutional Anomie theory, (10) Procedural Justice questions, and a final question measuring response integrity.

2.2.2 Paper-and-Pencil and Computerized (Online) Versions

There are two versions of the questionnaire: paper-and-pencil and electronic. Just under two thirds of the questionnaires were done online (63.0%; n = 39,460), the remainders being completed using the paper-and-pencil version (37.0%; n = 23,176). Online (computerized) data collection is of course more cost-effective than paper-and-pencil administration, and we found that most countries preferred that option, either by itself or in combination with paper-and-pencil (see Table 2.1). In order to make sure that the electronic version did not deviate from the basic paper-and-pencil version, we used the paper-and-pencil version as the basic model of the questionnaire; the electronic version is exactly the same, with the exception of a number of additional follow-up questions (on victimization and offending) which are asked at the end (in order not to influence the responses to the other questions). Since student completion of the online version goes faster than the paper-and-pencil version, we took advantage of this by adding a limited number of follow-up questions to the online version, but not to the paper-and-pencil version.

[9] The next sweep ISRD4 is planned for 2020.

[10] See Appendix 1 and 2 for the victimization and offending questions.

Previous research by Lucia et al. (2007) has suggested that the mode of questionnaire administration (online vs. paper and pencil) yields broadly comparable results. In ISRD3, we included a methodological experiment to test this out. Preliminary analysis generally supports this conclusion. However, there were two differences: (1) the schools were less likely to participate with online surveys compared to paper-and-pencil surveys; and (2) the effects on prevalence estimates are minor, but in those cases where there are effects, the online version produced higher prevalence rates. Also important to note is that for some countries, we used Fluid Surveys software, an *offline* computer program, rather than the EFS-Survey software for online surveys (see Sect. 2.2.4). From the point of view of respondents, there should be no difference between the online and offline survey experience.

2.2.3 Length of Questionnaire

The length of questionnaires for young people is always a concern (with risks associated with boredom and limited attention spans). Our goal was to limit completion time to about 45 min or less (which should fit into one lesson hour). For selected countries, the average duration of questionnaire completion can be assessed. Thus, the median duration for Finland was 23 min and for Estonia 30 min. Since national teams were allowed to include country-specific modules at the end of the questionnaire, the differences in duration are likely to reflect the length of such modules. On the other hand, it is also possible that responding time reflects computer literacy and other cultural factors. Additional information and analysis of missing data, nonresponse and so on is not yet available.

2.2.4 Translation of Questionnaire

English is used as the common language for the ISRD project. The original questionnaire was translated by the respective national participants. In some instances, the translated version was back translated in English, but this was not done by all participants. In order to increase the standardization of the translated online questionnaires, most participants used the EFS-Survey software provided by UniPark (http://www.unipark.com/en/).

2.2.5 Timing of Data Collection

As Table 2.1 shows, the data used in this report have been collected between 2012 and 2017, spanning a period of 6 years. Data collection was still ongoing in some countries at the time of writing. The timing of data collection can be a significant

factor influencing comparative results. There has been a general crime drop in developed countries over recent decades (van Dijk and Tseloni 2012). Specifically on youth crime, countries with continuous national self-report surveys have observed decreasing trends, some of which have been steep (Kivivuori and Bernburg 2011, 405–407). For example, the *Finnish Self-Report Delinquency Study* indicates a decline in common offending and victimization types from 2012 to 2016 (Näsi 2016), a similar trend has been observed in Denmark (Balvig 2017). Clearly, a data collection window of five to 6 years may yield differences reflecting temporal change rather than enduring country or city-level differences. The reader should bear in mind current crime trends for two reasons. First, the overall crime drop forms a general societal context in which youth victimization and justice reactions take place. Second, the temporal spread of data collection implies that the ISRD project is strong on theoretical analysis but less reliable for comparisons of national or city-level differences in offending and victimization.

2.3 ISRD Data: Proceed with Caution

From the outset, we realized that it is impossible to reach complete standardization of ISRD3 design and methodology and we are satisfied that we have obtained a sound degree of *flexible* standardization. Importantly, we strive towards being transparent about the manner and degree in which individual samples differ from the ideal design and from one another. The technical reports provided by collaborating researchers are an important tool to determine whether the results reflect *substantive* differences, rather than methodological artifacts. Awaiting closer scrutiny of these technical reports, the ISRD3 data may now be used with confidence, as long as we remember the following.

Caution should be used when focusing on *estimates of rates of delinquency*. Because of the methodological differences in nature and character of the ISRD3 samples (see Table 2.1), direct comparisons should be avoided of delinquency rates between countries, or—more accurately—the cities in those countries. By the same token, we also caution against making direct comparisons between delinquency rates of the ISRD2 and the ISRD3 samples. Although there is considerable overlap, ISRD2 and ISRD3 differ in aspects of design and layout of the questionnaire and method of administration.

Another confounding factor is the effect of social desirability on the self-reported levels of delinquency, a factor which appears to vary systematically between countries. This issue will be further discussed in detail in Chap. 3, where we present delinquencies estimates within the context of national differences in willingness to be open about delinquent behavior. However, we expect that the effect of social desirability likely will be strongest on self-reporting of *offending*, more so than on self-reporting of *victimization*. For that reason, we feel more comfortable presenting estimates of *victimization* rates across countries in Chap. 4 although we remain fully aware that any such direct comparisons are fraught with many potential pitfalls.

The strength of the ISRD3 data is that they provide a wealth of information on the socio-demographic background, social context, and attitudes of the students—which allow for the testing and modeling of criminological theories. Although we have only made occasional use of the follow-up questions in this monograph, these additional data provide us with a fuller picture of the dimensions of the reported offenses and victimization.

Chapter 3
Self-Reported Offending in Global Surveys: A Stocktaking

Self-report delinquency surveys were developed during the 1930s and 1940s so that criminology would no longer be dependent on the administrative statistics generated by criminal justice systems. The groundbreaking method was invented in the USA, from whence it spread to Scandinavia and to other developed nations of the West (Kivivuori 2011). The first internationally comparative self-report survey, the Nordic Draftee Study (1961–1964), was limited to four Nordic countries sharing similar cultural and political traditions and extremely homogenous populations (Kivivuori and Bernburg 2011, 408–410). *Clearly, the method was born, and evolved for decades, in a specific cultural and societal context*. Indeed, most of the methodological studies on the reliability and validity of the self-report survey also derived from the same context of affluent Western nations. In today's globalizing world, it is important to ask whether the method can be applied in other parts of the world, with different cultural heritages and socio-political contexts. Can we trust the responses of young people to anonymous questionnaires? Will they tell us—and everywhere to the same degree—the truth about what has happened to them, what kinds of things they have done, or what they think?

3.1 Self-Reported Delinquency Estimates Should Not Be Directly Compared Across Nations

The science of survey research has advanced tremendously, and we can place a reasonable degree of confidence in our findings. Generally, the self-report method is regarded as reliable and sufficiently valid method of measuring both unrecorded and recorded delinquency. Indeed, the self-report method has become the major instrument of data collection in the field of delinquency, and its validity has been supported by a variety of sources. This in spite of the fact that its criticisms are many and diverse: It has been argued that it only will capture the less serious offenses

D. Enzmann et al., *A Global Perspective on Young People as Offenders and Victims*, SpringerBriefs in Criminology, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-63233-9_3

among the group of non-serious offenders and that the responses—particularly to questions dealing with offending and substance use—may be vulnerable to social desirability. Many agree that self-report surveys may be appropriate and valid to test theoretical correlates, but much more skepticism exists with respect to the validity of self-report surveys as the basis for estimates about the (true) level and nature of offending (See, for example, Junger-Tas and Marshall 1999; Thornberry and Krohn 2003; Kivivuori 2007, 17–33; Krohn et al. 2010). This caution is even more urgent when focusing on providing estimates of levels of offending *cross-nationally*.

The ISRD2 estimates of delinquency as well as alcohol and drug use have been validated by comparing them against the results of other similar surveys. Since it was found that ISRD2 offending estimates were compatible with those provided in the Peterborough Study (Wikström and Butterworth 2006) as well as a Dutch self-report study (Van der Laan and Blom 2006), a case was made for the *convergent validity* of the ISRD2 delinquency estimates (Marshall and Enzmann 2012, 61). And cross-validation of ISRD2 measures of alcohol and drug use in a large number of Western countries (ESPAD, see Hibell et al. 2004), as well as in the USA (Marshall and He 2010) provided additional support for the validity of ISRD2 data. At the time of writing, we have not yet examined if ISRD3 estimates are in line with what has been found in comparable self-report surveys in individual participating countries. However, even if we find this to be the case in domestic surveys (as we expect), there still remain questions about the use of these estimates for comparative purposes.

The ISRD2 data were also analyzed with regard to their international comparability with police data. We compared ISRD2 offending rates with European Sourcebook police-based data. We looked at three offense categories with a limited number of European countries, and we were not surprised to find only a weak to moderate level of convergence of different measures (see Enzmann et al. 2010).[1] We concluded that "[W]e find police statistics—even in a cross-national context—may be a reasonably valid measure of crime" (Enzmann et al. 2010, 176). However, at the time we were puzzled by the partially contradictory trends in self-reported offending and victimization in the ISRD2 data, particularly in the Post-Socialist countries where countries with higher levels of self-reported victimization showed lower levels of self-reported offending. This was counterintuitive, since one would expect that self-report offending and victimization data would match, in that countries with high levels of victimization also would be more likely to have higher levels of offending. We speculated that "The willingness to report one's behavior candidly may also vary between countries," and we further argued that "The hypothesis of differential validity should become a routine empirical dimension for comparative criminological self-report studies" (Enzmann et al. 2010, 178; see also Kivivuori 2007, 27–32; Pauwels and Svensson 2008).

In this brief chapter, we report on how ISRD3 has incorporated a test of the impact of cultural variability on self-report responses to questions about offending. The results below show that concerns about cultural variability (that is in the social

[1] For robbery, $\rho = .38$; assault $\rho = .55$, and $\rho = .59$ (Enzmann et al. 2010). The ISRD2 publications consistently caution against comparing absolute estimates of delinquency and victimization; rather we employ the *relative* rankings of countries on self-report delinquency and victimization (Enzmann et al. 2010; Marshall and Enzmann 2012).

desirability related to admitting delinquent behavior) are empirically supported and that caution is warranted when making direct cross-national comparisons of estimates of offending. Ironically, in the following paragraphs we cannot avoid presenting comparative statements about self-reported levels of offending found in our samples since these estimates provide the basis of our empirical argument.

3.2 Response Integrity Question: The Crosswise Model as a Method to Gauge Social Desirability

The ISRD3 questionnaire includes a large number of questions related to the students' background, family, friends, school, leisure activities, and opinions, and—once students have agreed to participate in the survey—most of them are likely to respond to these questions in a reasonable and honest manner (Marshall 2014). However, the main focus of the survey is about involvement in illegal or socially undesirable behavior. After all, a major objective of our study is to test theoretical correlates of delinquency and victimization; self-reported offending and victimization are key dependent variables. We are not the first survey researchers to note that the accurate measurement of sensitive issues such as personal, illegal, or socially undesirable behavior is a major challenge: respondents tend to conceal offenses against the law and deny violations of social norm (Jann et al. 2012, 33). We are well aware that such systematic response errors lead to social desirability bias in prevalence estimates of the sensitive behaviors of interest (for an overview, see Tourangeau and Yan 2007).

A large amount of missing data may create additional challenges if direct questions about sensitive behaviors are asked (Jann et al. 2012). A number of statistical methods, such as the well-known Randomized Response Technique (RRT) have been proposed to adjust for the assumed social desirability bias and to provide corrected estimates. For the ISRD3 study, we opted for the more recently developed variant of the crosswise model (Yu et al. 2008) as a way of statistically correcting for systematic response bias. In the crosswise model, the respondent is asked two questions each carrying a yes/no response: a sensitive question and a nonsensitive question. They are then asked simply to say whether their answers to the two questions were the same ("yes" to both or "no" to both) or different ("yes" to one and "no" to the other). The nonsensitive question is one for which the probability distribution is known. This allows the researcher to estimate the proportion of the sample answering "yes" to the sensitive question, without any individual respondent having to answer the sensitive question directly (for additional background on this method, see Jann et al. 2012; Enzmann 2017). Based on a small experiment, Jann et al. (2012) concluded that the crosswise model appears to provide better results than alternative methods, and argued for additional testing of this approach under different populations.[2] Box 3.1 displays the so-called *response integrity question* (i.e., the questions related to the crosswise model) in our questionnaire.

[2] Jann et al. tested the crosswise model on university students. Our respondents are much younger

In the next section, we present the estimates of self-reported offending within the context of what we have learned by including this additional integrity question as a "safety check" in the ISRD3 questionnaire. As we will show, of particular interest is our finding that there are considerable differences between country samples in the concordance between responses to the integrity question and responses to conventional self-report items. This confirms our recommendation to approach direct comparisons of self-report estimates with a healthy dose of caution.

3.3 Impact of Social Desirability on Self-Report Estimates of Offending

The ISRD 3 questionnaire includes 14 questions designed to tap the level of delinquency. The items asked about "last year" or "ever" being involved in graffiti, vandalism, shoplifting, burglary, bike theft, car theft, illegal downloading, stealing from a car, stealing from a person, carrying a weapon, robbery, group fight, assault, and drug sales.[3] In this brief, we will not report on the overall level of delinquency, nor on the individual items. Rather, we will focus on shoplifting, burglary, assault, and robbery because these four offenses are measured twice: both directly and indirectly (through the crosswise model) and therefore allow us to illustrate our argument concerning the cultural variability in validity of self-report delinquency questions.

Figure 3.1 below shows the last-year prevalence rates of self-report delinquency (shoplifting, burglary, assault, robbery *combined*) based on the crosswise model and direct question (on delinquency). Countries are ranked based on the level of self-reported delinquency through the direct questions.[4]

Figure 3.1 presents the confidence levels for the responses to the direct questions (in orange), as well as for the responses to the indirect question (in red). When interpreting the figures, it is important to take into consideration the width of the confidence intervals. That is, larger confidence intervals imply a lower level of precision. This reflects, among other things, the size and composition of the sample (for example, India has a small sample of just over 300 students). The very magnitude of the confidence interval provides one of the many cautions against making direct comparisons between absolute estimates.

As a general rule, countries with overlapping confidence intervals may not be viewed as being significantly different from one another.[5] For example, the seven

(12–16) and therefore we used this question only for the 9th graders. We use the crosswise model for four offending items (shoplifting, robbery, assault, and burglary) but not for any of the victimization questions.

[3] See Appendix 2. A number of countries also included a question about animal cruelty.

[4] France and Denmark did not include the integrity question.

[5] Strictly speaking, if two CI error bars overlap by not more than half of the average arm length, the difference of point estimates (such as reporting rates) can be considered to be statistically significant at $p < 0.05$ (see Cumming and Finch 2005). However, this holds only for single comparisons, not for multiple comparisons, and not for correlated data such as matched data or repeated measures.

Box 3.1 Response Integrity Question

The last part of this questionnaire

Please read the following instruction carefully:

Next, we have a new type of question to provide additional protection to your privacy. We will ask you now two questions, but you will give us only one answer.

Please think first about how you would honestly answer each of the two questions (either with *Yes* or with *No*) but do not write these answers down:

Question 1: *Is your mother's birthday in January, February, or March?*
(if you really don't know, make a most likely guess)

Question 2: *Did you commit one of the following criminal offenses in the last 12 months?*
Shoplifting, robbery, assault resulting in an injury, or burglary

Now, please mark option (A) or option (B) depending on your answers:

- If your answer to both questions is the same (both *YES* or both *NO*), tick option (A)
- If your answers to both questions are different (one *YES* and one *NO*), tick option (B)

(Your privacy remains protected because we do not know your answers to the separate questions. With the help of statistical procedures, however, we can compute to how many people overall the second question applies.)

What are your answers to the two questions?
Tick ONE box

- ☐ *NO* to both questions or *YES* to both questions
- ☐ *YES* to one of the questions and *NO* to the other

countries on the top of the figure (the USA, Switzerland, Belgium, Finland, Serbia, Italy, and Portugal) all have overlapping confidence intervals, implying that the prevalence rate of the USA (18%) may not be significantly different from Portugal (13%).

Figure 3.1 shows that, based on the self-reports, in the majority of ISRD3 countries, less than one out of every ten pupils report involvement in any offenses of shoplifting, burglary, assault or robbery last year. The USA, Switzerland, and Belgium are highest, with a prevalence rate of more than 15%. India, Kosovo, Armenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Indonesia are lowest, with prevalence rates of less than 5% for these four offenses combined.

Of more interest than the estimates based on the *direc*t questions are how they compare to the estimates derived from the *indirect* integrity question. First of all, there is clear variability in the degree of convergence between the results of the direct and the indirect question for the different countries, which suggests that there is differential validity of the self-report responses for the ISRD3 countries. For instance,

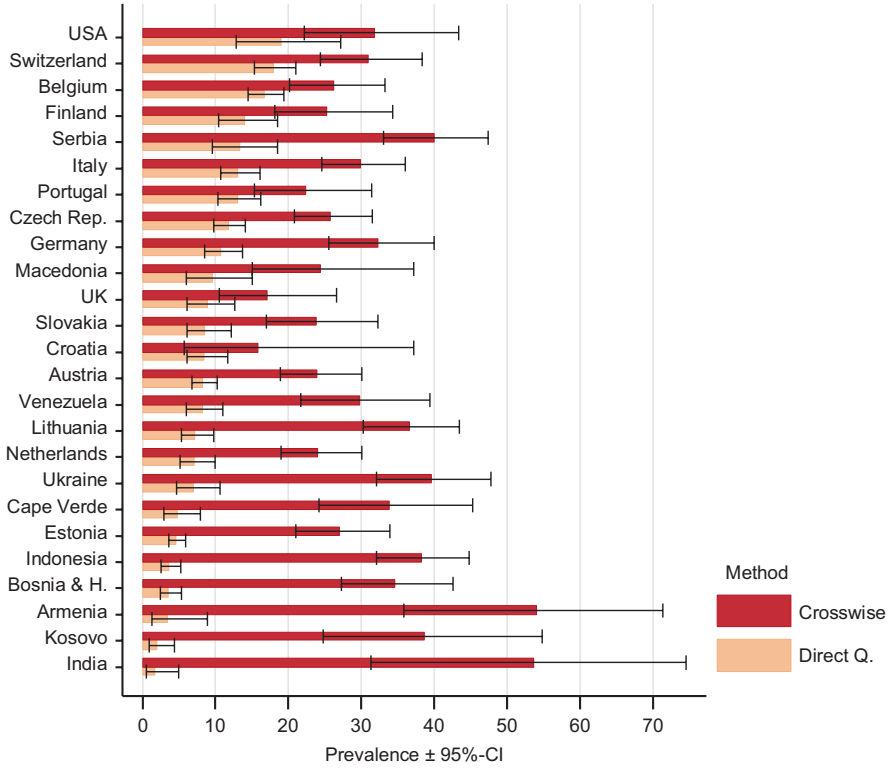

Fig. 3.1 Prevalence of self-reported delinquency measured directly and estimated by the crosswise model (grade 9 students, $n = 19{,}367$)

Croatia, Belgium, the UK, and Portugal show more similarity between direct and indirect estimates (measured by the difference between the bars) than India, Armenia, or Kosovo. If we interpret the gap between direct and indirect estimates as a measure of unwillingness or the inability to provide truthful answers, then the results indicate that the ISRD3 study may be a less appropriate method in some countries compared to others. However, perhaps the most striking observation in Fig. 3.1 is that countries with the lowest direct estimates tend to have higher levels of indirect estimates. For instance, whereas India and Armenia report the lowest levels of self-reported delinquency (based on the direct questions), they show the highest rates based on the indirect question (prevalence rates of over 50%). Conversely, the USA manifests the highest offending prevalence rate based on the direct questions, but when indirect integrity questions are used, ten countries have higher prevalence.

3.4 Social Desirability: Additional Findings

3.4.1 The Openness Question

The crosswise model is an indirect method to elicit a larger proportion of positive responses to socially undesirable and sensitive questions (Jann et al. 2012). As we just discussed, this method strongly suggests that responses to the self-report offending questions in ISRD3 may not be valid measures of youth people's behavior. In addition to the indirect method of gauging respondents' ability or willingness to respond candidly to questions about shoplifting, burglary, assault, and robbery described above, we also included a direct question meant to tap willingness to be open about deviant behavior. The question asked: "*Imagine* you had used cannabis/marijuana/hash, would you have said so in this questionnaire?"[6] Originally adapted from the ESPAD project (Hibell et al. 2004; see also Kivivuori 2007, 29–30), this question type has been previously used in individual-level analysis of underreporting offenses in a self-report delinquency survey (Laajasalo et al. 2014).[7] We refer to this as the *openness* question. Not surprisingly, the percentage of students who responded that they would (definitely or probably) not admit to socially undesirable behavior such as using marihuana differs between the 27 countries. In a few countries, only about one in nine of students say that they would lie (Czech Republic, Croatia, and Finland), and there are also outliers on the other extreme (Cape Verde, Indonesia) where about half of the responses suggest that the answers would not be truthful.

Figure 3.2 below shows the country-level correlation between social desirability as measured through the indirect (integrity) question, and admitting that one probably or definitely would lie (direct openness question) (Spearman's $\rho = .52$, $p = .008$). The correlation is moderate, but suggests that both approaches tap cultural variability with regard to the validity of self-report measures of delinquency.

3.4.2 Human Development Index

There is a large literature on cultural variability in the ability of surveys to measure socially sensitive behavior and attitudes (Johnson and van de Vijver 2003; Lalwani et al. 2006; Mneimneh et al. 2015; van Hemert et al. 2002). The tension between the survey methods' need for objectivity, standardization, and quantification on the one hand, and the demands of being true to the uniqueness of cultures which may be gauged better qualitatively through ethnography or in-depth case studies cannot

[6] This question is a Catch 22 of sorts since one could argue that it is actually socially desirable for students who are taking the survey to lie on this particular question.

[7] That study indicated that openness to respond to crime questions varies by sociodemographic and individual-level personality factors. Here, we focus only on average differences between countries.

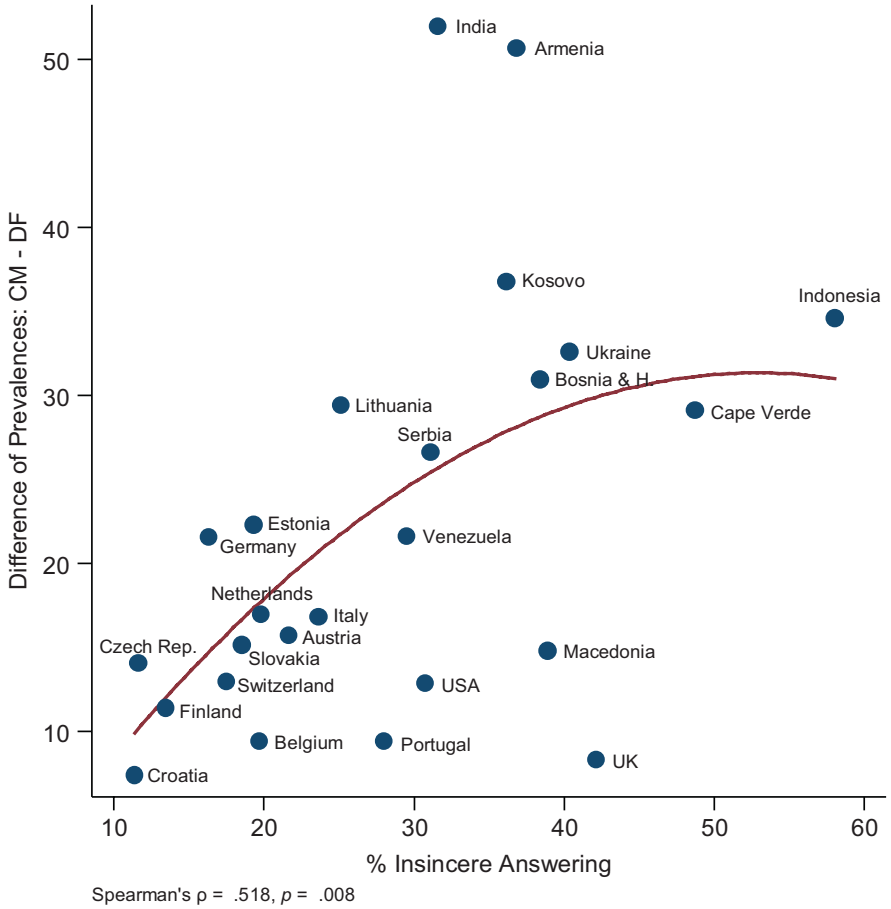

Fig. 3.2 Relationship between openness question (*horizontal axis*) and difference between direct and crosswise questions (*vertical axis*)

easily be solved.[8] It is therefore not surprising at all that we find a large measure of variability in the validity of the responses between samples from across the world. Responding to surveys is, after all, a social behavior. Throughout the project, we have taken a "research as social activity" perspective, where we try to understand and appreciate the social processes which shape our research process (cf. Marshall and Enzmann 2012, 21). Survey research in a small town in India has a very different meaning than in a large city in the USA, or a mid-size town in Croatia or Switzerland. How people respond to a social survey reflects their particular social, cultural, economic, and political environment, much as their experience with crime and victimization and substance use are shaped by this same context. In order to

[8] The growing importance of mixed methods (e.g., Creswell 2014) is one way to try to resolve this tension.

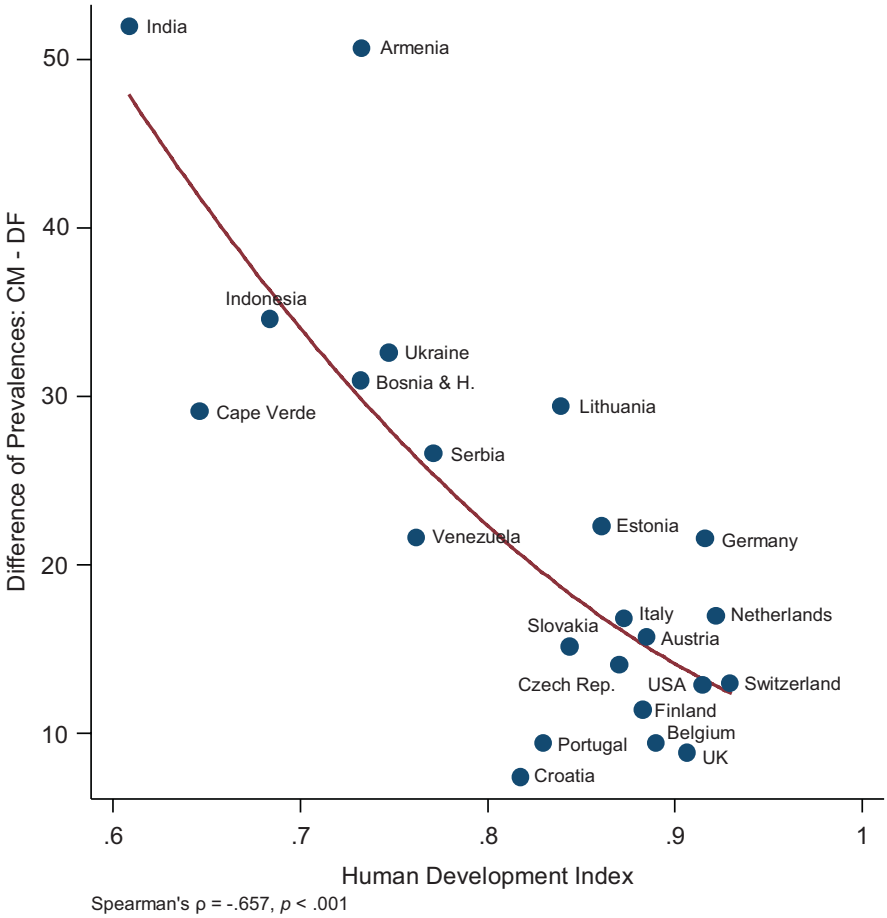

Fig. 3.3 Relationship between social desirability effect and human development index

illustrate this point, Fig. 3.3 shows the relationship between the social desirability effect (measured by the integrity question and operationalized as the difference of prevalence between the crosswise and direct questions related to shoplifting, burglary, assault, and robbery) and the Human Development Index (HDI).[9] We find a moderate negative relationship between these two measures (Spearman's $\rho = -.66$, $p < .001$). That is, countries that score higher on the HDI tend to score lower with regard to the social desirability effect, suggesting that these countries are more familiar with social surveys, or are less worried about expressing socially undesirable behavior.

[9] The HDI is a summary measure of three dimensions of human development: Health (life expectancy at birth), education (years of schooling for adults aged 25+ years), and economic wealth (gross national income per capita), see United Nations Development Programme (2015).

3.5 Self-Report Measures of Offending in Comparative Research: An Assessment

Because of increasing globalization and the need for internationally comparative research such as the ISRD, it is important to study the validity of survey research methods in cross-cultural designs. The findings reported in this chapter suggest that the self-report delinquency (offending) survey may not be uniformly valid outside the social–cultural realm in which it was originally invented. Countries with relatively low levels of human development appear less receptive to the self-report offending survey tradition, even when anonymous responding is guaranteed (see Fig. 3.3 above). This could reflect lack of general social trust, lack of trust towards research, and/or cognitive unfamiliarity with surveys. Even attitude-related factors could be relevant, making responding easier in cultural contexts where (minor) delinquency is culturally normalized rather than regarded as serious (Kivivuori 2007, 27–28).

Based on our findings, we made a deliberate choice to present our early findings on self-reported delinquency in the context of the issue of social desirability. As we have shown here, social desirability effects vary significantly between countries and are culturally specific. This is of crucial importance when analyzing the findings across 27 or more countries, such as is the ambition of the ISRD3. While doing this, we also illustrated how the crosswise model allows the statistical adjustment of delinquency rates although this is only of secondary importance. The crosswise model is not (yet) a proven method that ensures the validity of the resulting estimates, but we feel confident that it has been a useful exercise to illustrate the potential of contributing to the systematic investigation of the cross-cultural validity of self-report findings (cf. Pauwels and Svensson 2008). Moreover, our findings on the cultural variation in the validity of the self-report offending survey motivated the structure of this report of topline findings. We decided not to present tables showing prevalence and incidence rates of offending for the samples in the 27 countries because to a relevant degree, such tables would have reflected validity threats rather than offending differentials.[10]

If there is one important "takeaway point," it is that we should not rely on self-report measures of delinquency as measures of the volume of crime in comparative research which crosses the boundaries of major cultural and economic divides, as captured here by the Human Development Index. This is of course not a total critique of the offending survey: its validity in single-country research, in comparisons of culturally economically similar countries, and in longitudinal research in single countries, has not been here examined. Additionally—and arguably more important—self-reported delinquency data can be used for testing theories if measures of social desirable responding (either at the individual level or at the country level) are used as control variables in regression models that seek to explain delinquent behavior. However, for reasons explained in this chapter, and elaborated on in the next chapter, we view self-reports related to *victimization* as much more useful indicators of the level and nature of crime than self-reported offending.

[10] Offending-based analyses are likely to become available soon in other studies using the ISRD3 dataset.

Chapter 4
Young People as Victims of Crime

Criminologists have been conducting victimization surveys for many decades, primarily because they are considered a better way of measuring the volume of crime than police records (de Castelbajac 2013). These surveys also have proven to be a useful source of information about fear of crime, attitudes to crime and justice, police reporting behavior, and self-protection measures. Victimization surveys show that criminal victimization is more widespread than official records indicate, that crimes often go unreported to the police, and that family and acquaintances are frequently the culprits of physical, sexual, or emotional abuse. Indeed, young people are less likely than adults to report victimizations to the police (Bosick et al. 2012), suggesting that underreporting among young people should be a major policy concern.

The International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS) has been conducted six times across the globe since the early 1990s; however, the ICVS does not sample children below the age of sixteen. Although the ISRD3 focuses primarily on self-reported delinquency and its correlates, it nevertheless fills an important gap in covering victim experiences among the 12–16-year-old age group, and whether the police were notified. Victimization information for young teenagers has been scarce. The ISRD3 fills this void, drawing on a large sample covering many different countries. And—importantly—we believe that these victimization data provide a more accurate picture of the impact of crime on young people.

4.1 Measures of Victimization and Police Notification

This chapter presents initial ISRD3 findings on victimization from 27 countries. We present data for (1) victimization in the previous year and (2) whether the police were notified of this victimization. Data are weighted for those countries where

D. Enzmann et al., *A Global Perspective on Young People as Offenders and Victims*, SpringerBriefs in Criminology, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-63233-9_4

population weights are available; additionally, for all countries the confidence intervals of prevalence rates take into account the clustering of students within classes. The questions and their sequence in the questionnaire are shown in Appendix 1. Each criminal victimization question was followed by an additional question on whether the incident/s were reported to the police.

4.1.1 Victimization Measures

The ISRD3 includes six questions about "some bad things that may have happened to you." We tried to tap into things that may happen to young people frequently (e.g., theft or cyberbullying) and things that can be serious (e.g., assault or being beaten up by parents). We asked about *life-time prevalence* (i.e., did this ever happen to you?), as well as *last-year prevalence* (did this happen over the last year?). Because 15 year olds have a higher likelihood of "ever" having been victimized than 12 year olds, it is more useful to look at "last year" prevalence, where age is not confounded with the accumulation of victimization experiences over the life span. Therefore, we will focus only on *last year* prevalence in reporting our findings below. For those who reported victimization, we asked "*How often* has this happened to you in the past 12 months?" This allows us to calculate last year *incidence or frequency rates.* The wording of victimization items in the questionnaire has been designed to be specific as possible to minimize bias associated with cultural interpretation.

Patterns of victimization are presented under four headings: "Core crimes" (robbery, theft, and assault) (Sect. 4.2), cyberbullying (Sect. 4.3), hate crime (Sect. 4.4), and parental use of physical force (Sect. 4. 5). The questions and their sequence in the questionnaire are shown in Appendix 1. Except for parental violence, each victimization question was followed by an additional question on whether the incident/s were reported to the police.

Table 4.1 Robbery, assault, and theft victimization ("core crimes") for total sample

	Prevalence			Incidents per 100		
	%	95%-CI	*n*	#	95%-CI	*n*
Robbery	4.8	4.6–5.1	61,922	10.1	9.4–10.9	61,881
Assault	4.6	4.4–4.9	61,917	9.4	8.7–10.1	61,874
Theft	23.1	22.5–23.7	61,655	43.5	41.8–45.3	61,595
Total	27.3	26.7–28.0	62,168	62.6	60.3–65.1	62,162

Note: Excluding India

4.1.2 Police Notification Measures

In this report, we also show (incidence-based) rates of police notification of victimization, as well as the reporting frequency per 100 incidents. It should be noted that the police notification rate is a complex measure which simultaneously captures multiple social processes. In short, the police notification rate reflects crime seriousness, aspects of victim–offender relationship, and societal factors (see Box 4.1 below for more information). It is important to take account of police notification rates when interpreting official statistics of recorded crimes (Enzmann 2012).

Box 4.1 Interpretation of Police Notification Rates

How should we interpret different police notification rates in different research locations?

Previous research suggests that the following factors are important in determining whether crimes are reported to the police:

1. *Offense seriousness.* Reporting an incident to the police is strongly influenced by offense seriousness; the higher the perceived seriousness of a crime, the greater the probability that a victim will report his or her victimization to the police (Goudriaan et al. 2004, 959). A frequent reason for not reporting an incident is that it was "not serious enough." In contrast, incidents involving an *injury* to the victim are likely to be reported (Hart and Rennison 2003, 4). Thus, a high police notification rate can reflect a high prevalence of serious and (for violence) injury-causing cases. Similarly, a low police notification rate can mean that the offenses tend to be less serious.
2. *Victim–offender relationship.* The relationship between the victim and the offender is a strong predictor of victim help-seeking decisions. Acts committed by strangers are more likely to be reported to the police (Kaukinen 2002; Hart and Rennison 2003; Bosick et al. 2012). Thus, a high police notification rate can reflect a high prevalence of offenses committed by strangers. Correspondingly, a low police notification rate can reflect that many of the offenses take place between previously acquainted persons, for instance in the school yard.
3. *External factors*. Police notification can also reflect external factors related to the general social context (Goudriaan et al. 2004), cultural sensitivity to see conflicts as criminal (Kivivuori 2014), trust in the police, and beliefs about police competence and fairness. Thus, a high notification rate could reflect high trust towards the police, or lack of alternative and informal sources of conflict resolution. And conversely, a low police notification rate can reflect low trust in the police, or availability of informal conflict resolution mechanisms.

Table 4.2 Robbery victimization

	Last year prevalence					Last year incidence (freq per 100)					Incidence-based reporting					Rep. inc. (freq per 100)		
Country	Prev.	95%-CI		% Miss.	Valid *n*	Incid	95%-CI		% Miss.	Valid *n*	% Incid	95%-CI		% Miss.	Valid *n*	Incid	95%-CI	
Cape Verde	11.2	9.4	13.2	0.2	1684	26.2	20.9	32.9	0.3	1682	36.6	29.3	44.7	11.8	164	9.6	7.7	11.7
Indonesia	8.1	6.6	10.0	0.0	1780	18.4	14.0	24.2	0.0	1780	19.1	13.7	26.0	2.1	142	3.5	2.5	4.8
India	2.9	1.6	5.3	3.1	313	4.8	2.0	11.3	3.1	313	50.0	9.7	90.3	11.1	8	2.4	0.5	4.3
Venezuela	7.8	6.7	9.1	5.1	2276	13.1	10.8	15.8	5.1	2275	21.7	16.2	28.5	17.6	145	2.8	2.1	3.7
USA	4.0	2.8	5.7	1.3	1895	7.2	5.2	10.1	1.4	1893	12.7	5.8	25.5	6.4	73	0.9	0.4	1.8
Austria	4.7	4.0	5.4	0.1	6485	11.7	9.6	14.3	0.2	6479	19.4	14.0	26.2	2.5	271	2.3	1.6	3.1
Germany	4.7	3.8	5.8	0.7	2936	7.7	5.9	10.0	0.8	2933	22.6	15.6	31.7	4.7	121	1.7	1.2	2.4
Switzerland	3.0	2.4	3.7	0.2	4064	7.0	5.2	9.4	0.3	4061	11.8	5.4	23.9	2.4	121	0.8	0.4	1.7
Netherlands	4.9	3.9	6.1	0.1	1882	9.7	6.2	15.0	0.2	1880	18.7	11.5	29.0	6.3	89	1.8	1.1	2.8
Belgium	3.8	3.2	4.5	1.5	3438	8.0	6.2	10.3	1.6	3437	16.7	11.1	24.3	3.1	126	1.3	0.9	1.9
UK	4.4	3.5	5.6	0.9	2092	10.1	6.8	15.1	1.0	2089	20.5	8.4	42.0	7.3	76	2.1	0.9	4.3
Serbia	7.3	5.4	9.8	0.0	647	14.5	10.0	21.0	0.0	647	28.7	17.2	43.9	0.0	47	4.2	2.5	6.4
Macedonia	5.5	4.1	7.4	0.0	1233	11.6	8.1	16.7	0.0	1233	22.5	14.4	33.3	8.8	62	2.6	1.7	3.9
Croatia	3.8	2.9	4.9	0.7	1728	11.5	7.4	17.6	0.7	1728	10.7	5.1	21.1	1.5	64	1.2	0.6	2.4
Bosnia and Herzegovina	4.7	3.9	5.7	0.1	2987	9.5	7.3	12.4	0.2	2985	23.0	16.4	31.2	8.0	127	2.2	1.6	3.0
Kosovo	6.1	4.8	7.8	0.0	1080	17.2	12.4	24.0	0.1	1079	26.2	14.6	42.5	4.6	62	4.5	2.5	7.3
Finland	7.9	6.6	9.4	0.0	2191	15.8	12.9	19.5	0.1	2189	5.1	1.6	14.9	1.2	165	0.8	0.3	2.4

Denmark	2.8	2.0	3.8	0.2	1666	7.2	4.9	10.5	0.3	1664	12.6	5.7	25.7	0.0	44	0.9	0.4	1.8
France	5.2	3.7	7.1	0.4	1812	9.7	6.7	14.0	0.4	1812	31.4	21.7	43.0	3.7	78	3.0	2.1	4.2
Italy	3.6	3.0	4.4	0.9	3456	8.0	6.1	10.4	0.9	3453	18.0	11.8	26.6	7.4	113	1.4	0.9	2.1
Portugal	4.6	3.2	6.6	0.2	1866	7.5	4.4	12.8	0.2	1865	13.6	5.4	30.3	6.1	46	1.0	0.4	2.3
Estonia	2.8	2.3	3.4	0.1	3734	6.6	4.9	9.0	0.2	3731	21.1	14.0	30.6	2.0	99	1.4	0.9	2.0
Ukraine	4.2	3.2	5.6	0.0	1651	6.2	4.4	8.8	0.1	1649	16.2	9.3	26.7	2.9	66	1.0	0.6	1.7
Czech Rep.	3.7	3.0	4.5	0.5	3437	5.7	4.5	7.3	0.5	3436	11.7	7.7	17.4	3.2	122	0.7	0.4	1.0
Slovakia	2.4	1.9	3.2	0.7	2375	5.2	3.6	7.4	0.7	2375	6.6	2.9	14.3	3.4	56	0.3	0.2	0.7
Lithuania	3.5	2.8	4.4	1.2	2731	5.5	3.8	7.8	1.3	2730	30.1	20.8	41.3	6.3	89	1.6	1.1	2.3
Armenia	1.1	0.6	2.3	0.0	796	2.3	1.0	5.2	0.0	796	0.0			0.0	9	0.0		
Total	4.8	4.6	5.1	0.6	61,922	10.1	9.4	10.9	0.7	61,881	20.4	18.4	22.5	5.3	2577	2.1	1.9	2.3

Table 4.3 Assault victimization

	Last year prevalence					Last year incidence (freq per 100)					Incidence-based reporting					Rep. inc. (freq per 100)		
Country	Prev.	95%-CI		% Miss.	Valid *n*	Incid	95%-CI		% Miss.	valid *n*	% Incid	95%-CI		% Miss.	Valid *n*	Incid	95%-CI	
Cape Verde	5.1	4.0	6.5	0.1	1686	12.2	8.9	16.7	0.1	1686	36.5	23.8	51.5	15.1	73	4.5	2.9	6.3
Indonesia	9.3	8.0	10.8	0.0	1780	16.0	13.0	19.8	0.0	1780	12.5	8.7	17.5	1.8	162	2.0	1.4	2.8
India	5.4	3.5	8.3	3.4	312	14.1	6.6	30.2	3.4	312	15.4	3.6	46.8	17.6	14	2.2	0.5	6.6
Venezuela	1.8	1.3	2.5	3.8	2308	2.8	1.8	4.5	3.8	2308	16.1	7.3	31.6	19.0	34	0.5	0.2	0.9
USA	3.8	2.3	6.1	1.4	1894	7.8	4.2	14.6	1.5	1891	17.0	6.3	38.5	2.5	77	1.3	0.5	3.0
Austria	5.5	4.8	6.3	0.1	6483	13.3	11.0	16.0	0.2	6479	18.5	14.0	24.0	2.3	341	2.5	1.9	3.2
Germany	5.2	4.3	6.3	0.8	2934	9.7	7.4	12.6	0.9	2930	28.4	20.2	38.5	4.4	131	2.7	1.9	3.7
Switzerland	3.6	2.9	4.5	0.1	4067	8.9	5.7	13.9	0.2	4065	16.6	8.9	28.8	2.1	137	1.5	0.8	2.6
Netherlands	4.3	3.3	5.6	0.1	1883	7.8	5.6	10.8	0.1	1882	13.0	5.5	27.7	5.0	95	1.0	0.4	2.2
Belgium	4.6	3.9	5.4	1.7	3432	8.6	6.9	10.7	1.8	3429	18.4	12.4	26.5	5.8	146	1.6	1.1	2.3
UK	4.8	3.6	6.3	0.6	2097	9.1	6.7	12.4	0.7	2096	22.5	13.7	34.6	9.4	87	2.1	1.2	3.2
Serbia	7.3	5.5	9.5	0.2	646	16.3	10.7	24.6	0.2	646	27.7	17.6	40.8	4.3	45	4.5	2.9	6.6
Macedonia	6.2	4.8	7.9	0.0	1233	13.7	9.7	19.4	0.1	1232	24.5	15.3	36.8	5.3	71	3.4	2.1	5.0
Croatia	3.6	2.7	4.8	1.0	1723	9.1	6.1	13.5	1.0	1722	9.9	4.8	19.4	4.9	58	0.9	0.4	1.8
Bosnia and Herzegovina	6.5	5.6	7.5	0.2	2984	12.3	10.2	14.8	0.3	2983	23.9	17.8	31.4	4.6	185	2.9	2.2	3.9
Kosovo	1.4	0.9	2.2	0.0	1080	2.1	1.1	4.1	0.0	1080	54.5	33.2	74.3	6.7	14	1.2	0.7	1.6
Finland	2.8	2.1	3.8	0.0	2192	7.9	5.1	12.4	0.0	2191	9.2	4.3	18.4	1.4	71	0.7	0.3	1.5
Denmark	3.2	2.5	4.1	0.4	1663	8.9	5.5	14.6	0.8	1655	16.2	6.9	33.7	2.2	45	1.4	0.6	3.0

France	6.5	4.9	8.6	0.8	1804	14.2	9.8	20.7	0.9	1803	21.9	14.2	32.2	3.8	102	3.1	2.0	4.6
Italy	4.0	3.3	4.8	0.9	3453	9.1	6.9	12.0	1.1	3449	10.2	6.8	15.2	5.2	127	0.9	0.6	1.4
Portugal	1.8	1.1	2.9	0.2	1866	2.7	1.4	5.2	0.2	1866	11.6	3.3	33.7	0.0	30	0.3	0.1	0.9
Estonia	7.7	6.7	8.8	0.1	3734	14.3	11.8	17.3	0.2	3729	15.9	11.5	21.7	2.5	274	2.3	1.6	3.1
Ukraine	3.9	3.1	5.0	0.0	1651	9.8	6.1	15.8	0.1	1650	11.1	6.2	19.1	0.0	64	1.1	0.6	1.9
Czech Rep.	4.1	3.4	4.9	0.8	3429	6.6	5.3	8.1	0.8	3429	11.7	7.7	17.4	3.6	135	0.8	0.5	1.1
Slovakia	4.3	3.5	5.2	0.9	2369	6.8	5.3	8.8	1.0	2368	7.7	4.0	14.3	6.9	94	0.5	0.3	1.0
Lithuania	3.9	3.3	4.7	1.3	2730	7.1	5.4	9.3	1.3	2730	25.9	18.3	35.2	10.3	96	1.8	1.3	2.5
Armenia	5.7	4.3	7.5	0.0	796	6.9	4.9	9.8	0.1	795	21.2	11.5	35.7	6.8	41	1.5	0.8	2.5
Total	4.6	4.4	4.9	0.6	61,917	9.4	8.7	10.1	0.7	61,874	19.0	17.1	21.0	4.5	2735	1.8	1.6	2.0

Table 4.4 Theft victimization

	Last year prevalence					Last year incidence (freq per 100)					Incidence-based reporting					Rep. inc. (freq per 100)		
Country	Prev.	95%-CI		% Miss.	Valid *n*	Incid	95%-CI		% Miss.	Valid *n*	% Incid	95%-CI		% Miss.	Valid *n*	Incid	95%-CI	
Cape Verde	42.3	39.0	45.8	0.2	1684	124.1	109.3	140.9	0.2	1683	20.6	17.4	24.2	5.5	673	25.6	21.6	30.1
Indonesia	29.8	27.2	32.6	0.0	1780	71.4	63.3	80.5	0.0	1780	7.6	5.9	9.8	0.9	526	5.4	4.2	7.0
India	18.8	13.5	25.7	3.1	313	35.5	23.5	53.6	3.1	313	15.8	8.9	26.6	8.5	54	5.6	3.2	9.4
Venezuela	18.8	16.6	21.3	7.1	2227	34.5	29.4	40.4	7.1	2227	9.6	7.0	13.0	28.4	300	3.3	2.4	4.5
USA	32.6	28.5	36.9	1.4	1894	69.5	56.3	85.8	1.5	1892	12.7	6.7	22.5	2.5	582	8.8	4.7	15.7
Austria	33.0	31.2	34.9	0.1	6484	64.3	58.7	70.4	0.3	6473	20.1	17.8	22.6	1.0	2171	12.9	11.5	14.6
Germany	32.3	29.1	35.7	1.5	2913	54.8	47.9	62.7	1.6	2909	21.7	18.5	25.2	2.9	896	11.9	10.1	13.8
Switzerland	26.7	24.0	29.6	0.2	4065	51.4	44.4	59.5	0.2	4062	15.2	12.6	18.4	1.4	1069	7.8	6.5	9.4
Netherlands	25.5	23.3	27.8	0.1	1883	43.0	36.4	50.8	0.1	1882	20.3	16.6	24.7	3.8	477	8.7	7.1	10.6
Belgium	25.0	23.4	26.7	2.4	3409	42.0	38.1	46.3	2.5	3405	15.8	13.6	18.3	6.4	795	6.6	5.7	7.7
UK	19.1	17.0	21.4	1.5	2079	31.8	26.9	37.5	1.5	2078	19.0	15.0	23.8	4.6	370	6.0	4.8	7.6
Serbia	25.9	22.2	30.0	0.5	644	53.7	42.7	67.6	0.5	644	27.3	21.8	33.6	3.0	162	14.7	11.7	18.0
Macedonia	24.3	20.5	28.6	0.0	1233	45.3	37.1	55.3	0.0	1233	19.1	14.9	24.2	2.3	293	8.6	6.7	10.9
Croatia	21.1	18.6	23.8	1.7	1711	34.7	29.6	40.8	1.7	1711	13.8	10.8	17.5	0.3	360	4.8	3.8	6.1
Bosnia and Herzegovina	18.2	16.5	19.9	0.4	2979	31.5	28.0	35.5	0.5	2975	20.9	17.7	24.4	3.7	517	6.6	5.6	7.7
Kosovo	12.8	10.8	15.0	0.0	1080	23.2	19.1	28.3	0.0	1080	27.4	19.9	36.3	4.3	132	6.4	4.6	8.4

Finland	25.6	22.9	28.4	0.0	2192	44.4	39.4	50.1	0.0	2192	15.5	12.4	19.2	0.0	582	6.9	5.5	8.5
Denmark	19.2	17.2	21.3	0.3	1664	34.7	30.2	39.9	0.8	1656	22.2	18.2	26.8	1.0	309	7.7	6.3	9.3
France	18.8	15.8	22.2	1.0	1801	33.2	26.9	40.8	1.1	1799	11.8	8.8	15.7	3.0	321	3.9	2.9	5.2
Italy	22.1	20.1	24.3	1.8	3424	40.4	35.5	45.9	1.9	3420	15.4	13.1	18.0	5.4	712	6.2	5.3	7.3
Portugal	19.8	16.9	23.1	0.5	1859	33.5	25.8	43.3	0.5	1859	12.0	8.0	17.5	1.6	306	4.0	2.7	5.8
Estonia	22.0	20.5	23.7	0.2	3731	36.0	33.0	39.3	0.3	3727	14.7	12.4	17.3	1.2	808	5.3	4.5	6.2
Ukraine	19.8	17.5	22.3	0.0	1651	34.7	29.6	40.8	0.1	1650	17.6	14.3	21.4	2.1	319	6.1	5.0	7.4
Czech Rep.	25.2	23.5	27.1	1.6	3399	38.6	35.3	42.2	1.7	3395	14.1	12.1	16.3	4.9	812	5.4	4.7	6.3
Slovakia	15.2	13.7	17.0	1.5	2356	24.6	21.3	28.5	1.5	2354	14.7	11.5	18.7	5.6	337	3.6	2.8	4.6
Lithuania	14.4	13.0	16.0	1.7	2717	19.7	17.2	22.6	1.8	2714	22.0	18.2	26.4	4.4	372	4.3	3.6	5.2
Armenia	10.6	8.0	13.9	0.0	796	15.1	11.4	20.0	0.1	795	8.4	4.4	15.4	1.2	82	1.3	0.7	2.3
Total	23.1	22.5	23.7	1.1	61,655	43.5	41.8	45.3	1.2	61,595	17.1	16.2	18.0	3.6	14,283	7.4	7.1	7.8

Table 4.5 Victimization by core crimes by country cluster

Country cluster	Last year prevalence				Last year incidence (freq. per 100)			
	Prev.	95%-CI	% Miss.	Valid *n*	Incid.	95%-CI	% Miss.	Valid *n*
Non EU	36.0	33.9–38.1	0.4	5840	105.2	95.6–115.7	0.4	5840
USA	34.5	30.4–38.8	1.2	1897	84.4	68.9–103.4	1.2	1897
Western EU	30.7	29.5–31.9	0.2	20,970	66.1	62.5–69.8	0.2	20,966
Balkans	25.3	23.6–27.0	0.1	7682	61.0	55.3–67.4	0.1	7682
Nordic countries	26.4	24.5–28.4	0.1	3859	59.3	53.8–65.5	0.1	3858
Southern EU	24.1	22.3–26.0	0.2	7162	52.3	46.4–58.8	0.2	7162
Post Socialist	22.1	21.1–23.2	0.3	14,758	41.7	39.0–44.6	0.3	14,757
Total	27.3	26.7–28.0	0.2	62,168	62.6	60.3–65.1	0.2	62,162

Notes: Excluding India

Table 4.6 Police notification of "core crime" victimizations

Country cluster	Incidence-based reporting				Reported inc. per 100	
	% Incidents	95%-CI	% Miss.	*n*	#	95%-CI
Non EU	17.6	15.7–19.6	8.9	1828	18.5	16.6–20.7
USA	13.3	8.1–21.0	2.5	635	11.2	6.8–17.7
Western EU	18.9	17.7–20.2	2.2	6521	12.5	11.7–13.3
Balkans	22.2	19.9–24.7	3.0	1834	13.5	12.1–15.1
Nordic Countries	15.4	13.2–18.0	0.0	1038	9.1	7.8–10.7
Southern EU	15.1	13.1–17.3	3.4	1580	7.9	6.8–9.0
Post Socialist	15.4	14.2–16.7	3.0	3341	6.4	5.9–7.0
Total	17.8	17.0–18.7	3.2	16,777	11.1	10.6–11.7

Notes: Excluding India

4.1.3 Statistics

In Tables 4.1 to 4.6 and 4.7 to 4.12 in the next sections, the left hand side of each table presents statistics on *prevalence,* and related confidence intervals. (Prevalence refers to the percentage of respondents who were victimized at least once in the preceding year.) Since the sample sizes and thus sampling errors of countries are different, we present the 95% confidence intervals in the tables. We also present the

last year *incidence rate per 100 students*. (Incidence refers to the number of victimization events or incidents in the preceding year.) The incidence rate is always higher than the prevalence rate, and it better reflects the volume of victimization (see also Enzmann 2012, 153).

With regard to police notification, it should be noted that the absolute number of persons in the sample reporting crimes to the police is very small. This is also reflected in the wider confidence intervals. To highlight that the police notification rates are based on small *N*s, the tables give the number of victims in each sample. Due to differences in sample and population sizes, the absolute numbers of victims should not be compared across countries. The right hand side of each table shows (incidence-based) rates of police notification of victimization, as well as the reporting frequency per 100 incidents.

4.1.4 Country Clusters

For simplification of presentation, we present some of our findings based on grouped data. We grouped the countries into seven clusters: (1) Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland; $n = 3861$), (2) Western Europe (Austria, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, the UK; $n = 21{,}007$), (3) Southern European countries (France, Italy, Portugal; $n = 7174$); (4) Post-Socialist Eastern European countries (Armenia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Lithuania, Slovak Republic, Ukraine; $n = 14{,}795$), (5) the Balkans (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Republic of the Kosovo, Serbia; $n = 7691$), (6) other non-European countries (Cape Verde, India, Indonesia, Venezuela; $n = 6188$), and (7) the USA. We decided not to group the USA with the other non-European countries because it is a western, prosperous country more like many of the European countries. At the same time, we do not feel that the USA could meaningfully be grouped with any of the European clusters.[1]

In order to maintain consistency throughout the chapter, we will use the same rank ordering of country clusters (and ranking of countries within each cluster) for Tables 4.1–4.8 (Tables 4.9–4.12 will use a slightly different presentation, explained in Sect. 4.5). The ordering of the clusters was determined by the combined incidence rates for core crimes (assault, robbery, theft) in each cluster (see Sect. 4.2 for explanation of "core crimes"). Within each cluster, the countries have again been ordered according to the same combined incidence rate.

[1] We need to reiterate here that the data for the USA are still incomplete and preliminary and likely will be adjusted later.

Table 4.7 Cyberbullying

	Last year prevalence					Last year incidence (freq per 100)					Incidence-based reporting					Rep. inc. (freq per 100)		
Country	Prev.	95%-CI		% Miss.	Valid *n*	Incid	95%-CI		% Miss.	Valid *n*	% Incid	95%-CI		% Miss.	Valid *n*	Incid	95%-CI	
Cape Verde	10.0	8.7	11.6	0.2	1684	34.2	27.4	42.7	0.2	1684	16.1	10.7	23.5	5.3	160	5.5	3.7	8.0
Indonesia	30.2	27.5	33.1	0.0	1780	109.8	95.6	126.1	0.0	1780	4.0	2.9	5.4	0.7	534	4.3	3.2	5.9
India	7.1	4.3	11.4	3.4	312	21.8	11.5	41.4	3.4	312	10.6	3.3	29.4	9.1	20	2.3	0.7	6.4
Venezuela	12.0	10.4	13.8	7.7	2214	38.2	31.4	46.5	7.7	2214	1.9	0.9	4.3	29.4	187	0.7	0.3	1.6
USA	18.7	15.1	23.1	1.5	1891	131.4	86.9	198.9	1.7	1888	2.2	1.2	4.3	1.9	359	3.0	1.5	5.7
Austria	13.9	12.7	15.1	0.2	6482	48.3	42.0	55.4	0.2	6478	6.6	4.7	9.2	0.3	922	3.2	2.3	4.4
Germany	12.4	11.0	13.9	1.3	2920	36.2	30.1	43.5	1.3	2918	4.6	2.6	8.0	4.8	337	1.7	0.9	2.9
Switzerland	8.6	7.2	10.2	0.2	4062	32.1	24.6	41.9	0.3	4061	11.8	7.0	19.0	1.2	327	3.8	2.3	6.1
Netherlands	18.5	16.2	21.1	0.1	1882	80.5	64.7	100.2	0.2	1881	2.8	1.8	4.5	3.3	325	2.3	1.4	3.6
Belgium	15.3	13.8	17.0	4.0	3352	53.8	45.5	63.7	4.2	3345	2.1	1.4	3.2	5.9	476	1.2	0.8	1.7
UK	14.3	12.7	16.1	1.8	2072	84.0	65.7	107.6	1.8	2072	6.4	2.6	14.7	3.8	277	5.4	2.2	12.3
Serbia	15.0	12.9	17.4	0.0	647	64.0	42.8	95.8	0.3	645	4.9	2.4	9.5	2.1	94	3.1	1.6	6.1
Macedonia	16.4	14.1	18.9	0.0	1233	51.9	41.5	65.0	0.1	1232	5.0	3.1	7.9	4.0	193	2.6	1.6	4.1
Croatia	13.7	12.0	15.5	1.8	1709	62.1	50.1	77.0	1.8	1709	2.6	1.1	6.3	0.4	233	1.6	0.7	3.9
Bosnia and Herzegovina	15.1	13.4	16.9	0.6	2973	52.7	44.3	62.8	0.7	2971	5.6	4.0	7.8	3.4	432	2.9	2.1	4.1
Kosovo	12.9	10.8	15.3	0.0	1080	35.0	27.3	44.9	0.0	1080	15.5	10.9	21.6	2.9	135	5.4	3.8	7.6
Finland	13.4	11.6	15.3	0.0	2192	62.6	50.7	77.4	0.1	2190	1.0	0.5	2.0	0.7	291	0.6	0.3	1.3

Denmark	8.2	7.0	9.5	1.1	1651	39.5	29.7	52.7	1.6	1642	0.5	0.1	2.0	1.6	124	0.2	0.0	0.8
France	12.2	10.3	14.4	1.2	1798	56.7	41.7	77.0	1.2	1798	7.6	3.8	14.7	6.9	201	4.3	2.1	8.3
Italy	15.8	14.4	17.2	3.1	3377	62.1	53.5	72.1	3.2	3373	5.0	3.3	7.6	6.8	493	3.1	2.1	4.7
Portugal	6.3	5.1	7.8	0.4	1861	19.7	11.6	33.7	0.4	1861	0.6	0.2	2.3	4.8	100	0.1	0.0	0.5
Estonia	15.9	14.4	17.6	0.2	3731	99.7	83.2	119.5	0.5	3718	4.3	2.6	6.9	2.1	570	4.3	2.6	6.9
Ukraine	16.7	15.1	18.5	0.0	1651	66.7	55.3	80.6	0.2	1648	1.6	0.9	3.0	1.1	271	1.1	0.6	2.0
Czech Rep.	14.2	13.0	15.6	2.4	3371	47.1	40.3	55.2	2.6	3366	1.9	1.2	3.1	4.0	455	0.9	0.6	1.5
Slovakia	14.1	12.5	15.8	3.0	2320	55.6	46.4	66.6	3.0	2320	1.1	0.6	2.0	6.4	305	0.6	0.3	1.1
Lithuania	14.6	13.1	16.1	2.9	2684	66.1	54.0	80.9	3.2	2677	0.8	0.5	1.5	5.7	362	0.5	0.3	1.0
Armenia	7.0	5.6	8.8	0.0	796	31.9	18.0	56.7	0.1	795	1.2	0.3	4.2	3.6	53	0.4	0.1	1.3
Total	14.1	13.6	14.5	1.4	61,413	58.3	55.0	61.8	1.6	61,346	4.1	3.6	4.7	4.0	8216	2.4	2.1	2.8

Table 4.8 Hate crime victimization

	Last year prevalence					Last year incidence (freq per 100)					Incidence-based reporting					Rep. inc. (freq per 100)		
Country	Prev.	95%-CI		% Miss.	Valid *n*	Incid	95%-CI		% Miss.	Valid *n*	% Incid	95%-CI		% Miss.	Valid *n*	Incid	95%-CI	
Cape Verde	6.7	5.3	8.4	0.1	1686	30.0	21.8	41.2	0.2	1684	14.5	9.0	22.7	8.1	102	4.4	2.7	6.8
Indonesia	6.4	5.1	8.0	0.0	1780	19.8	15.3	25.7	0.0	1780	4.3	2.1	8.3	0.9	113	0.8	0.4	1.6
India	2.6	1.0	6.5	3.1	313	5.4	2.0	14.8	3.1	313	5.9	0.4	49.8	0.0	8	0.3	0.0	2.7
Venezuela	3.8	3.1	4.6	4.5	2289	12.5	8.7	18.0	4.5	2289	5.1	1.8	13.8	32.2	59	0.6	0.2	1.7
USA	4.9	3.3	7.2	1.3	1895	16.9	10.9	26.3	1.4	1893	18.4	9.1	33.8	4.9	98	3.1	1.5	5.7
Austria	6.6	5.7	7.6	0.2	6481	29.9	23.5	38.0	0.3	6474	15.7	10.9	22.1	1.9	413	4.7	3.3	6.6
Germany	6.1	4.9	7.6	1.0	2927	24.7	15.8	38.6	1.0	2927	5.2	2.2	11.8	5.7	150	1.3	0.6	2.9
Switzerland	5.5	4.5	6.6	0.2	4064	22.5	17.4	29.0	0.3	4060	7.0	3.5	13.7	2.0	195	1.6	0.8	3.1
Netherlands	6.2	4.9	7.7	0.1	1883	28.2	20.3	39.3	0.3	1878	13.1	6.8	23.7	4.1	117	3.7	1.9	6.7
Belgium	5.0	4.3	5.9	2.3	3413	16.1	12.6	20.6	2.4	3409	4.7	2.8	7.7	6.0	158	0.8	0.5	1.2
UK	6.0	4.9	7.2	0.8	2094	25.1	18.5	34.1	0.9	2091	6.8	3.2	14.2	6.2	106	1.7	0.8	3.6
Serbia	4.3	2.9	6.4	0.0	647	11.0	6.8	17.9	0.3	645	22.5	9.7	44.2	7.1	26	2.5	1.1	4.9
Macedonia	7.5	5.6	9.9	0.0	1233	26.6	18.6	38.2	0.1	1232	11.3	6.3	19.4	5.5	86	3.0	1.7	5.2
Croatia	2.5	1.9	3.3	0.7	1727	10.5	6.2	17.8	0.8	1726	6.0	1.8	18.3	0.0	42	0.6	0.2	1.9
Bosnia and Herzegovina	3.3	2.8	4.0	0.1	2987	11.3	8.5	14.9	0.2	2985	12.7	8.1	19.6	4.1	94	1.4	0.9	2.2
Kosovo	1.5	1.0	2.2	0.0	1080	4.3	2.1	8.5	0.0	1080	33.3	19.5	50.8	6.3	15	1.4	0.8	2.2
Finland	5.1	3.9	6.5	0.0	2191	16.5	11.8	23.2	0.2	2187	3.6	1.5	8.5	2.8	104	0.6	0.2	1.4
Denmark	3.2	2.4	4.2	0.2	1666	9.7	6.6	14.1	0.2	1666	4.3	2.0	9.4	0.0	53	0.4	0.2	0.9

France	4.3	3.3	5.6	0.6	1808	13.4	9.5	19.0	0.6	1808	13.4	5.7	28.6	5.6	67	1.8	0.8	3.8
Italy	3.9	3.3	4.6	1.2	3444	16.2	12.5	20.9	1.3	3440	5.2	2.8	9.4	6.9	121	0.8	0.5	1.5
Portugal	2.8	1.7	4.6	0.4	1861	7.2	4.0	12.6	0.5	1860	3.0	0.7	11.4	7.7	36	0.2	0.1	0.8
Estonia	6.4	5.6	7.2	0.1	3732	27.5	22.2	34.1	0.4	3721	4.0	2.1	7.6	4.4	216	1.1	0.6	2.1
Ukraine	2.2	1.6	3.1	0.0	1651	12.9	6.9	24.4	0.1	1649	0.5	0.1	4.1	5.6	34	0.1	0.0	0.5
Czech Rep.	4.1	3.4	4.9	0.9	3425	14.8	11.3	19.5	1.0	3422	3.0	1.4	6.3	3.6	132	0.4	0.2	0.9
Slovakia	2.7	2.1	3.4	0.9	2370	8.8	6.2	12.4	0.9	2370	4.1	1.6	10.0	3.2	61	0.4	0.1	0.9
Lithuania	3.0	2.4	3.7	1.5	2724	8.4	6.1	11.5	1.5	2723	1.8	0.7	4.8	7.4	75	0.2	0.1	0.4
Armenia	2.0	1.2	3.4	0.0	796	6.2	3.2	12.0	0.0	796	0.0			6.3	15	0.0		
Total	4.5	4.2	4.7	0.7	61,854	16.6	15.4	17.9	0.8	61,795	8.8	7.5	10.3	4.8	2688	1.5	1.2	1.7

4.2 "Core Crimes": Robbery, Assault, and Theft

There are at least three ways in which it is possible to present the findings: estimates based on the entire combined sample of the 27 countries (n = 62,636); comparisons between the seven clusters, or we can compare and contrast prevalence and incidence among the 27 country samples separately. We will make use of all three approaches in this chapter, but we will start with presenting the big picture based on the total sample. Table 4.1 shows the prevalence and frequency of victimization by assault, robbery, or theft for the *total sample*. Overall, the most prevalent and most frequent offense experienced is theft (23%, 43.5 per 100), the least prevalent and least frequent serious assault (5%, 9.4 per 100).

Because both assault and robbery are fairly infrequent events, in parts of this chapter we have *combined assault, robbery, and theft together—as representing "core crimes."* These three offenses probably represent forms of traditional crime in most people's minds; furthermore, they are all frequently reported to the police. We discuss these three crime types together because they represent the traditional crimes that play an important role in official police statistics which makes the issue of reporting (to the police) behavior of special interest. Police notification is less relevant for the "newer" crime categories such as cyberbullying and hate crime, and victims of physical violence committed by their parents are most unlikely to notify the police. But before we focus on the "core crimes" category, we provide a commentary on each of these three offenses *separately*: robbery, assault, and theft.

4.2.1 Robbery

This question asked about crimes where someone had stolen money or other property from the respondent using force or threat. The question is likely to capture a wide range of behaviors, from a school yard bully demanding money from a smaller child to an adult stranger robbing a child of their mobile phone on the street. While robbery tends to be associated with "street muggings" committed by strangers, it should be remembered that for many young people, robberies are committed at school, by people known to the victim. The findings are shown in Table 4.2.

There are a few noteworthy observations to guide our interpretation of Table 4.2 (and all subsequent comparable tables). First, there is considerable variation in the number of cases representing each country influencing the representativeness of the (city-based) national samples. Second, the actual number of victims (of each selected crime) is relatively small (see last column under incidence-based reporting). Third, some countries have a rather large number of missing values on some of the questions (particularly those related to number of incidents and reporting to the police). Fourth, there is considerable variation between countries with regard to the width of the confidence intervals of the estimates.

There were 10.1 incidents of robbery for each 100 7th–9th graders in the total sample, with an average prevalence rate of 5% (Note that India is not included in the total rate because it has a sample of 300 9th graders only). Thus, for the entire sample, almost one in 20 students responded that they had been the victim of robbery in the preceding year. Cape Verde students report the highest prevalence levels of victimization (11%), followed by Indonesia (8%). The lowest levels of robbery are found in Armenia (1%), Slovakia (2%), and India (3%).

Considering the average levels of robbery within each of the seven country clusters, we find that the non-European cluster reports the highest prevalence (9%), as well as incidence (19.2 per 100 students). This very heterogeneous cluster includes the two highest prevalence rates (Cape Verde 11%, Indonesia 8%), as well as high-ranked Venezuela (8%), but also India with one of the lowest rates (3%).

Following the non-European cluster are the Balkan and Nordic clusters with similar prevalence rates (5%). The two countries comprising the Nordic cluster show marked differences (Denmark 3%; Finland 8%[2]), whereas the differences between the five Balkan countries appear less pronounced.

The Western and Southern European clusters have comparable prevalence rates (4%), with limited variation between countries. For instance, in the Western European cluster, the lowest rate is Switzerland (3%), and the highest are the Netherlands, France, and Portugal (5%), closely followed by Italy (4%). The incidence rates also are quite comparable between countries. Prevalence rates in the USA seem quite close to those reported in Western and Southern Europe (4%), with comparable incidence rate (7.2 per 100 students).

Overall, the lowest level of prevalence is found in the Post-Socialist cluster (3%), with fairly limited variation between countries. Prevalence rates ranged between 1% (Armenia) and 4% (Ukraine), and incidence rates ranged between 2.3 (Armenia) and 6.6 (Estonia).

Countries with higher victimization rates do not always have higher *police notification rates.* That is illustrated by India (with a low level of robbery victimization) and Cape Verde (relatively high levels of victimization), both among the highest police notification rates (India 50% and Cape Verde 37%[3]). France (31%), Lithuania (30%), and Serbia (29%) also have relatively high police notification rates. The lowest police notification rates are in Armenia (0%), Finland (5%), and Slovakia (7%), also low rates are in Croatia (11%), the Czech Republic (12%), Switzerland (12%), Denmark (13%), and the USA (13%). As with other types of victimization, police notification of robbery victimization may reflect multiple factors. Thus, low reporting rates can reflect lesser average seriousness of victimizations, closer victim-offender relationships, less trust in the police or availability of alternative conflict resolution mechanisms. We will come back to this later in the chapter.

[2] Based on the online follow-ups, the Finnish "excess" cases were concentrated to shopping mall incidents.

[3] However, note that both India and Cape Verde have a relatively high level of missing data (11% and 12%, respectively)

4.2.2 Assault

The assault question covered acts of violence that required the victim to seek medical assistance, and this taps serious assaults. Thus, it is unsurprising that a fairly small proportion of pupils in the 27 countries report being assaulted in the last year: the overall prevalence rate is 5% (overall frequency: 9.4 per 100 students). Table 4.3 shows the data by country cluster and country.

Indonesia (9%), Estonia (8%), Serbia (7%), and Bosinen and Herzegovina (7%) emerge as countries with highest prevalence while Venezuela and Portugal (2%) and Kosovo (1%) cluster at the bottom. Most of the countries have assault victimization rates in the range of 3–5%, with incidence rates per 100 students ranging between 6 and 13.

When looking at differences between country clusters, the Nordic countries show the lowest prevalence (3%), and the non-EU countries are high on average (5%), but note that this average reflects a very high rate in the Cape Verde sample. The Balkan, Post-Socialist, and Western EU countries have a somewhat higher average assault rate than the Southern EU and the USA (5% vs. 4%).

The rates of police notification were comparatively low in Slovakia (8% of assault victimization incidents were reported to the police), Finland (9%), Croatia and Italy (10%), and the Ukraine (11%). On the other hand, police notification rates were high in Kosovo (55%), Cape Verde (37%), Germany and Serbia (28%), and Lithuania (26%). The extremely high notification rate in Kosovo has a very wide confidence interval due to the small number of victims. As noted above, the police notification rates can capture offense seriousness, victim–offender relationship, or external cultural and social factors. Thus, a low percentage of reporting can reflect non-serious victimizations, high presence of incidents involving acquainted persons (as in playground cases), and low trust in the police, or the availability of informal conflict resolution mechanisms.

4.2.3 Theft

This type of victimization covers cases where something was stolen from the respondent. The 12-month prevalence, incidence rates, and reporting rates are shown in Table 4.4.

Not surprisingly, overall, theft was the most prevalent type of victimization. For the entire sample, the 12-month prevalence is 23%, and the incidence rate is 43.5 victimizations per 100 respondents. Low prevalence countries are Armenia (11%), Kosovo (13%), Lithuania (14%), and Slovakia (15%). High prevalence is found in Cape Verde (42%), the USA and Austria (33%), Germany (32%), and Indonesia (30%).

What can we say about this when aggregating the information by country cluster? The highest level of prevalence for theft is observed in the USA (33%), followed closely by the non-EU cluster (30%). Not surprisingly, both of these have also high incidence rates (69.5 and 76.7 per 100, resp.). The prevalence rate of Western EU occupies a middle position (27%), and the Post-Socialist countries report on average the lowest rate of theft (18%).

In regard to police notification, less than one in five (17%) incidents across the total sample was reported to the police. Reporting rates were highest in Kosovo and Serbia (27%) followed by Denmark, Lithuania, and Germany (22%). They were lowest in Indonesia and Armenia (8%), Venezuela (10%), and France and Portugal (12%).

4.2.4 Core Crimes: How Do Country Clusters Differ?

This section takes a step back from the fine-grained detail of the individual crime types (of robbery, assault, and theft victimizations) in the previous sections, and presents findings for these crimes aggregated into our "core crime" category. As before, we have grouped the 27 countries into 7 smaller clusters. Table 4.5 represents the prevalence and frequency of "core crime" victimizations by country cluster.

There are significant differences between country clusters. That is, prevalence rates for the core crimes are most frequent in the non-European cluster (36%), followed by the USA (34%), Western Europe (31%), Nordic Europe (26%), the Balkans (25%), Southern European countries (24%), and least frequent in the Post-Socialist countries (22%).

Figure 4.1 below presents incidence rates for core crimes for the 27 countries, grouped by country cluster. The graphic shows visually the considerable between-country variation within the six clusters; it also shows variations between countries in the width of confidence intervals. Notable examples of wide confidence intervals (and thus lower level of sample accuracy) are India, Cape Verde. and Serbia.

4.2.5 Police Notification of Core Crimes: How Do Country Clusters Differ?

Table 4.6 shows that the rates for reporting core crimes to the police vary by cluster. The incidence-based reporting rates (i.e., percentage of victimizations reported to the police) for the core crimes clearly differ between country clusters: The highest percentage is found in the Balkans (22%), followed by Western Europe (19%), non-European countries (18%), and Northern Europe, the Post-Socialist and the Southern European countries (15%). Students in the USA appear to be least likely to report their victimization to the police (13%).

Figure 4.2 below provides a visual representation of the incidence-based reporting rate for core crimes for the 27 countries, grouped in the seven country clusters. Note the large confidence intervals, reflecting the small sample sizes of victims.

Many studies have shown that only a fraction of offenses will actually be reported to the police, especially for frequent and less serious cases. The most important reasons for not reporting are the minor nature of the offense, followed by the belief that the police will not be willing or able to do anything about it. Solving conflicts without involving the police is most likely for violent offenses with direct social

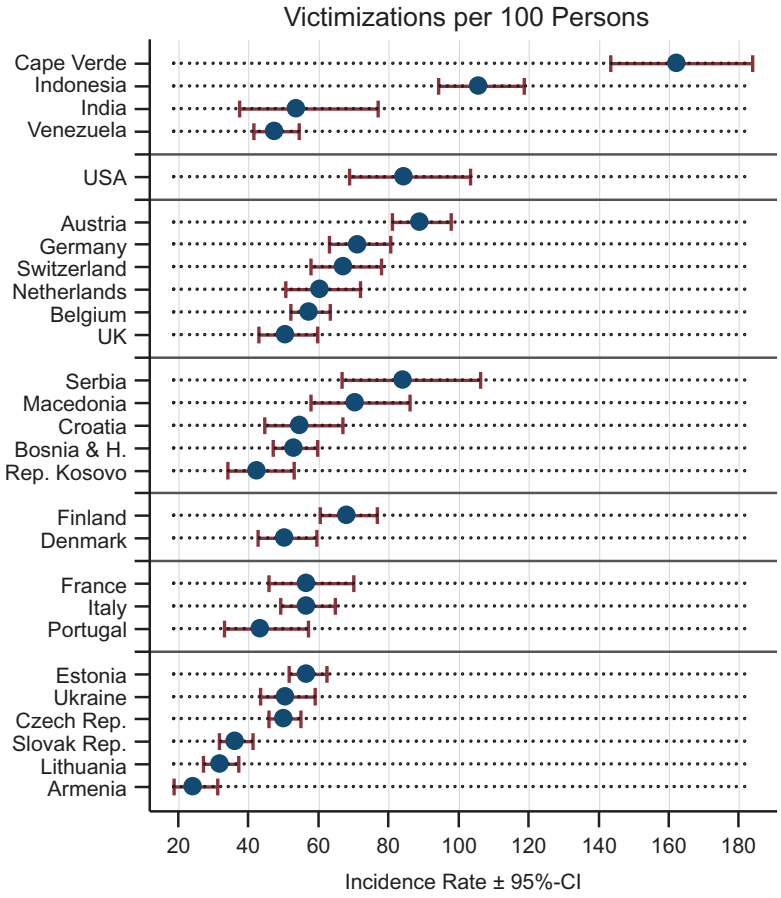

Fig. 4.1 "Core crime" victimization

interaction between victim and offender (Goudriaan et al. 2004). As a consequence, prevalence and incidence rates in victim surveys will most likely differ considerably from estimates obtained from official police statistics. As we already have argued, because the reporting rates differ also considerably between countries, comparisons of crime rates between countries should be based wherever possible on victim surveys using the same design and survey methodology. This problem has already been illustrated using ISRD2 data (Enzmann 2012), but can also be shown using data of the ISRD3 study, employing our combined "core crime" measure of assault, robbery, and theft.

Figure 4.3 below displays the incidence rates for the core crimes committed per 100 respondents (horizontal axis) and incidence rates for core crimes *reported to the police* (vertical axis). The survey cannot say what proportion of *reported* cases get *recorded*

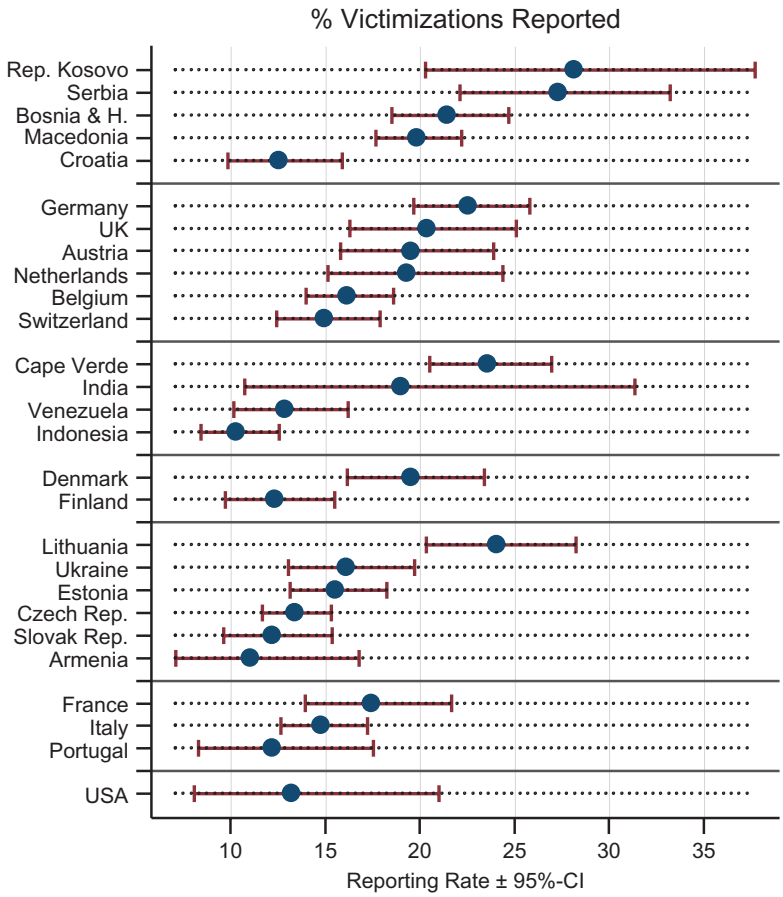

Fig. 4.2 Notification of police by country cluster ("Core Crimes")

by the police. But even if the police recorded fully all cases reported to them[4], the official police statistics would reflect the actual rank order of the volume of crime by country only poorly. For example, the actual volume of core crimes in Kosovo and in Indonesia is vastly different (42.6/100 vs. 105.8/100), the volume of reported core crimes is quite similar (12.0/100 vs. 10.9/100). On the other hand, the volume of core crimes experienced in Finland and Germany is similar (68.2/100 vs. 71.4/100), whereas the volume of core crimes as it would appear in official police statistics differs by the factor two (8.4/100 vs. 16.1/100). This confirms what has already been shown in ISRD2—that extreme caution is necessary when comparing the volume of crimes based on official police statistics in international comparative studies.

[4] However, the assumption that police will record all crimes that are reported is clearly untenable, as many national crime surveys indicate. It is highly likely that police recording practice will differ across countries (see Luneev 1997; Enzmann 2015; Lysova and Shchitov 2015).

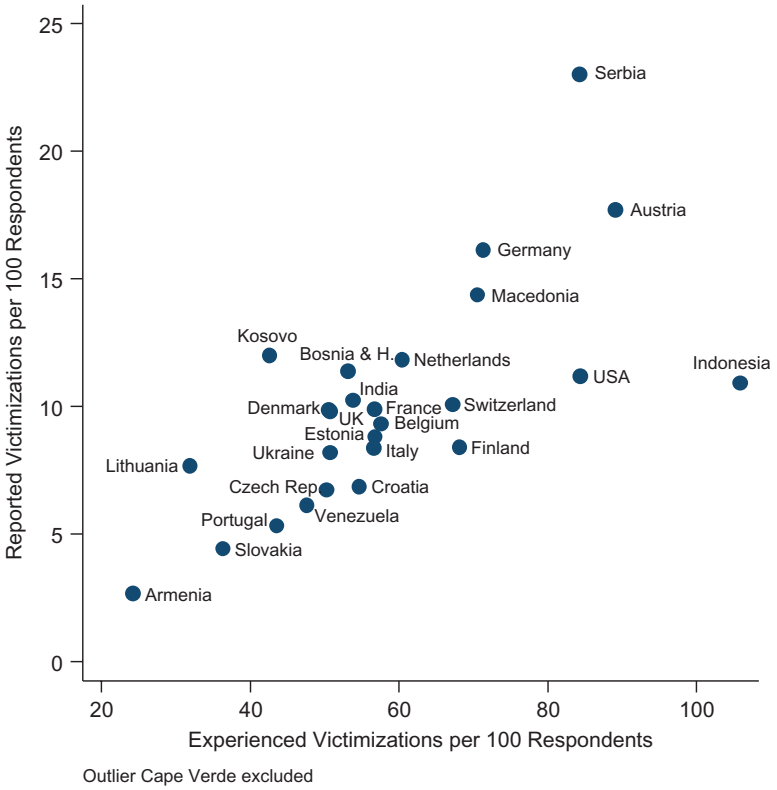

Fig. 4.3 Experienced vs. reported "core crime" victimizations per 100 juveniles by country

4.2.6 Is Police Notification Related to Perceptions of the Police?

Overall police reporting rates are rather low in our sample (see Table 4.6), but we also note considerable differences in the likelihood of police notification between the 12–16 year olds from the 27 countries (see Fig. 4.2, as well as Tables 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4). There are several reasons for low reporting rates, such as the low level of seriousness or damage, but an equally important one may be the level of trust in the police among young people, or their perceptions of police legitimacy. For instance, the relatively low reporting rate in the northern European countries and the USA as compared to the non-European countries could either be explained by the relatively minor nature of the average offense (and *vice versa* the greater seriousness of average offenses in the non-European countries), or by lower levels trust in or less perceived legitimacy of the police in Northern Europe and the USA. We know, for example, from the International Crime Victim Survey and the European Social

Survey (Hough et al. 2013) that there are considerable national differences in the perceptions of the police, but these surveys are conducted among adults. We know much less about the perceptions of the police among 12–16 year olds. In the ISRD3 questionnaire, we included a number of items that are designed to test aspects of procedural justice theory (Jackson et al. 2011, 2012). *Procedural justice theory* assumes that people will obey the law if their personal morality tells them that obeying the law is the right thing to do and if they believe that law enforcement officials rightly have authority over them. Procedural justice theory is thus concerned with normative mode of compliance. We make use of the ISRD3 procedural justice measures to see if national differences in rates of reporting to the police may be related to differences in trust in police and perceptions of police legitimacy.

To measure perceptions of trust, four items have been used: One item to measure the estimated speed by which the police would arrive at the scene of a crime (perceived effectiveness), and three items asking whether respondents feel that the police treat them with respect, fairly, and explain decisions. Perceptions of police legitimacy were measured by four items: One item asking whether respondents think it is their duty to do what the police tell them even if they don't agree with the reasons, and three items measuring alignment of morality and behavior of the police and the respondents (ISRD3 Working Group 2013, 17f.). Because of the complexity of the questions, we asked these questions only of the 9th graders (14/16 year olds) in our sample.

Figure 4.4 below shows the level of trust and perception of legitimacy of the police among youth in the 27 countries. The overall mean of trust (on a scale between 0 and 100) in the total sample of grade 9 students is 45.0 (95%-CI: 44.2–45.9) whereas the overall mean of legitimacy (on a scale between 0 and 100) is higher (58.0; 95%-CI: 57.3–58.7)—both scores correlate with $r = .54$ ($p < .001$). Thus, the patterns for both dimensions appear quite comparable among the countries. Denmark and Finland, the two Nordic countries have the highest level of trust in the police and perceive the police as quite legitimate. We also noted that Finnish youth appeared to have a low police notification rate, which may suggest then that perhaps the seriousness of the offenses in Finland may be rather low. Very low levels of trust in the police are reported by students in Cape Verde, Venezuela, Ukraine, and Serbia. It is difficult to summarize the observations based on the different clusters since most clusters (with the exception of the Nordic countries and Western Europe) show a high degree of within-cluster variation. In spite of this, we can observe general tendencies however. Juveniles in the non-European countries show the significantly lowest trust in the police (39.6, 95%-CI: 37.5–41.7), followed by the Balkans (42.9, 95%-CI: 41.1–44.8), the Post-Socialist (43.1, 95%-CI: 42.0–44.3), and the Southern European countries (43.4, 95%-CI: 42.1–44.8), followed by a significantly higher value in the USA (48.5, 95%-CI: 44.4–52.5) and the Western European country cluster (49.3, 95%-CI: 48.3–50.8) and again a significantly higher value in the Northern Europe country cluster (55.7, 95%-CI: 54.0–57.4). The differences in perceived legitimacy of the police are less pronounced, the lowest values are in the Post-Socialist (55.0, 95%-CI: 53.9–56.1) and Southern European countries (56.0, 95%-CI: 54.5–57.5), similar values in the Western European countries (56.9, 95%-CI: 55.9–57.9), non-European countries (58.2, 95%-CI: 56.0–60.3), the USA (58.7,

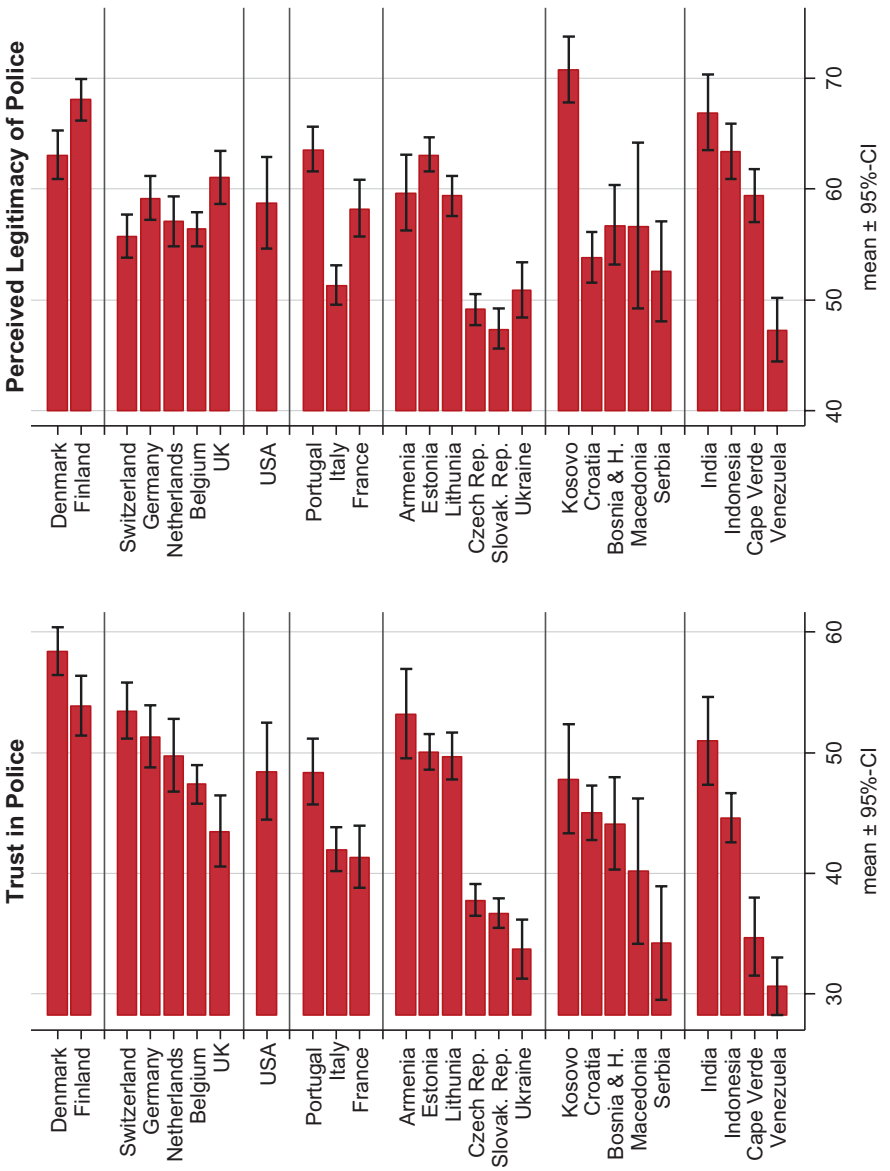

Fig. 4.4 Perceptions of trust in police and legitimacy of police

95%-CI: 54.6–62.9), and in the Balkans (58.9, 95%-CI: 56.9–60.8), and the significantly highest value in the Northern European countries (66.1, 95%-CI: 64.6–67.6).

Although on the country-level trust in the police and perceived legitimacy of the police are not significantly correlated with reporting behavior, on the individual level a significant effect of legitimacy on reporting behavior can be observed: The proportion of those juveniles who report a robbery to the police to those who do not

is 21% higher if their perceived legitimacy of the police increases by one standard deviation unit. Thus, the comparatively low rate of reporting in the Northern European countries seems to be a function of the minor nature of offenses in those countries rather than low levels of trust and perceived legitimacy.

In sum, contrary to our expectations, at this point it appears that police notification behavior is not directly related to the youth's perceptions of the police. Police reporting can reflect other factors, such as offense seriousness or the presence of alternative conflict resolution mechanisms. However, although the effect of trust and legitimacy on reporting behavior appears to be either nonexistent or rather small in the current sample, a substantive and significant effect of victimization experiences on trust in the police and on perceived legitimacy can be observed: Those who were victimized during the last 12 months show significantly lower trust in the police and significantly lower levels of perceived legitimacy of the police than those who were not victimized. This effect is similar in all country clusters. This finding points to a possible negative (or positive) spiral: The more (often) young people become victimized, the less they tend to feel obliged to obey authorities and the law. Effective crime prevention and building trust in the police and the legitimacy of the justice system are going hand in hand.

4.3 Cyberbullying

Radical changes in communication technologies over the recent decades have created opportunity structures for entirely novel crimes, and new ways of committing traditional crimes (Yar 2005). For instance, bullying behavior may have moved to the internet and social media, yielding a new type of crime, cyberbullying. There is clearly a shortage of internationally comparative research in regard to this type of victimization (Näsi et al. 2015). To explore this, the ISRD3 respondents were asked, "Have anyone made fun of you or teased you seriously in a hurtful way through e-mail, instant messaging, and a chat room, on a website, or through a text message sent to your mobile phone?"

In the full sample, 14% of students had experienced cyberbullying during the 12-month recall period (see Table 4.7). Countries with high prevalence rates included Indonesia (30%), the USA, and the Netherlands (19%). Portugal (6%) and Armenia and India (7%) were among the countries with lowest cyberbullying prevalence rates.

Generally, there is a high correlation between cyberbullying prevalence and incidence, but three countries stand out as high incidence countries: the USA (131.4 per 100), Indonesia (109.8 per 100), Estonia (99.7 per 100), and the UK (84.0 per 100) have higher incidence rates than could be expected from their prevalence rates: where children are victims of cyberbullying in these countries, they tend to be frequent victims. In the future, it would be useful to have information about levels of access to the internet, and about levels of daily online usage, so that this victimization type could be adjusted to reflect exposure to opportunities.

When country clusters are compared, the prevalence of cyberbullying victimization is highest in the USA (19%), a finding that could reflect both access to the internet and the time spent at risk in online communications. However, the non-European cluster manifests the second highest prevalence (17%). The lowest prevalence rates are found in the Nordic and the Southern European cluster (11%).

The rates of police notification ranged from the low of 0.5% to the high of 16%. The full sample average of 4% makes this victimization type the least likely of any ISRD3 crime type to be reported to the police. Countries with high police notification rates included Cape Verde and Kosovo (16%), Switzerland (12%), and India (11%). The lowest rates were found in Denmark (0.5%), Portugal (0.6%), and Lithuania (0.8%). Interestingly, both North European countries in the sample (Denmark and Finland) showed low police reporting rates. Indeed, as noted above, there is a reason to believe that low rates of police notification do not reflect distrust of the police; rather, they may reflect the minor nature of the average incident.

4.4 Hate Crime Victimization

Over the recent years and decades, crimes motivated by hate towards particular identity groups have emerged as a social problem. In this area, the use of official statistics as a basis of international comparison can be particularly challenging as crime definitions and legal principles vary even more than other crime types (Garland and Chakraborti 2012). Clearly, survey research is needed to explore the extent and correlates of hate-based victimization and offending. For this reason, the ISRD3 incorporated a question on hate-based victimization. Respondents were asked whether someone had "threatened you with violence or committed physical violence against you because of your religion, the language you speak, the color of your skin, your social or ethnic background, or for similar reasons." While the question does not explicitly refer to emotional states such as hate, we use the term "hate crime" to denote the sort of event that the question was intended to identify.

Compared to other crime types, the prevalence of hate crime is not very high. In the full ISRD3 sample, 4% of the respondents had been victims of hate crime during the past 12 months (see Table 4.8). Highest prevalence rates were found in Macedonia, Cape Verde, and Austria (7%). In contrast, Kosovo, Armenia, Ukraine, and Croatia had low prevalence rates in the range 1–2%. The incidence rates of hate crime victimization ranged from the low of Kosovo (4%) to the high of Cape Verde (30%). There was a very high country-level correlation between prevalence and incidence.

Of the country clusters, Western Europe manifested the highest prevalence of hate crime (6%), while the largely Eastern European Post-Socialist cluster (3%), Southern Europe and the Balkans (4%) had the lowest. In Western Europe, the prevalence of hate crime victimization was very consistent, ranging from 5% to 7%. The 2005 ICVS found a somewhat lower victimization prevalence rate of 2.8% among the adult population of Western Europe (Van Kesteren 2016, 148). This could reflect the higher risks of hate crime for young people, or temporal changes in the risk.

Overall, the geographical patterns of hate crime prevalence appear partially counterintuitive in the sense that clusters with recent histories of ethnic strife (the Balkans and some of the Post-Socialist countries), or buffer/transit positions in mass immigration movements (Southern Europe), appear to manifest *lower* levels of hate crime than the affluent Western Europe and the USA. Preliminary examination of follow-up responses appears to suggest that students from affluent nations may use a wider concept of identity-based violence than youths from other nations, so that less serious incidents are included (Kivivuori 2015). Future research should address the problem of how varying cultural sensitivity impacts peoples' perceptions as to what kind of social conflicts are regarded as identity-based violence.

Overall, a larger proportion of hate crimes (9%) than cyberbullying (4%) is reported to the police, even though the rate of police notification is still markedly lower than in the core crime types of robbery (20%), assault (19%), and theft (17%). In hate crime, the highest police notification rates were along the "Balkan route" to Central Europe, in Kosovo (33%), Serbia (23%), and Austria (16%). Since Bosnia and Herzegovina also had above-average police reporting rate, the findings could reflect above-average intensity or seriousness of the hate crime incidents in this area, rather than trust towards the police.[5] The USA also has a rather high police notification rate (18%).

4.5 The Problem of Parental Violence

The ISRD3 included two measures of the *use of physical force by parents*. Key conventions and declarations on the rights of the child adopted by the United Nations and the Council of Europe require that children are protected from all forms of violence, including violence by close relatives and within families (United Nations 1990; for a summary of current legislation in different countries, see Council of Europe 2015).

The first of the two questions probed incidents involving hitting, slapping, and shoving. We label this behavior as *parental physical force*. The second question probed incidents involving hitting with an object, punching, kicking, or beating up the child. This more serious type of domestic violence is labelled *parental maltreatment*. Both questions included the prompt that the respondent should include cases where the parent committed such acts as a punishment for something the child had done. These questions did not incorporate a follow-up on police notification.

Tables 4.9–4.12 present the findings on (a) the prevalence of parental physical force (% of students who report that a parent has used physical force over the last year), and (b) the incidence (frequency) of parental physical force over the last year per victim. The latter measures the intensity (or magnitude) of the parental maltreatment that the child experiences (rather than the volume of victimization per student, as employed in Tables 4.2–4.8). We present the findings in these tables using a different rank ordering to that in Tables 4.2–4.8 on robbery, assault, and theft (core crimes),

[5] Croatia is an exception to this pattern.

Table 4.9 Parental use of force

	Last year prevalence					Last year incidence per victim				
Country	Prev.	95%-CI		% Miss.	Valid *n*	Vict. incid.	95%-CI		% Miss.	Valid *n*
USA	23.9	20.4	27.8	2.1	1880	5.3	4.2	6.6	0.2	450
Indonesia	30.7	28.2	33.4	0.0	1780	3.4	3.1	3.8	0.0	547
Cape Verde	16.1	14.2	18.3	0.4	1680	4.4	3.6	5.2	0.4	270
Venezuela	20.0	17.9	22.3	9.9	2160	3.2	2.9	3.7	0.0	432
India	20.0	14.1	27.6	5.6	305	6.0	4.4	8.2	0.0	61
Italy	26.6	24.6	28.6	5.2	3305	4.3	3.9	4.7	0.7	872
France	26.7	23.9	29.7	3.8	1749	5.3	4.6	6.2	1.4	426
Portugal	21.5	17.0	26.9	2.7	1819	4.1	3.4	4.9	1.0	306
Netherlands	18.9	16.4	21.6	0.2	1880	4.0	3.5	4.7	0.0	362
Switzerland	19.0	17.2	20.9	0.4	4057	4.4	3.9	4.9	0.1	742
Belgium	21.4	19.9	22.9	5.7	3292	3.8	3.4	4.3	1.1	695
Germany	12.4	11.2	13.8	1.6	2911	4.3	3.2	5.8	0.6	338
Austria	16.7	15.5	18.0	0.3	6473	4.2	3.7	4.7	0.6	1072
UK	12.8	10.3	15.8	2.0	2067	5.5	4.6	6.6	3.0	263
Czech Rep.	39.2	37.4	41.0	5.2	3277	4.5	4.1	4.8	0.7	1275
Estonia	15.7	14.4	17.1	0.2	3728	4.2	3.8	4.7	0.2	584
Slovakia	21.5	19.7	23.4	4.0	2296	3.2	2.8	3.6	0.0	493
Ukraine	21.6	19.3	24.2	0.0	1651	4.2	3.6	4.9	0.6	355
Lithuania	18.0	16.4	19.8	3.9	2657	3.2	2.9	3.6	0.2	478
Armenia	12.9	10.5	15.8	0.0	796	2.6	2.2	3.0	1.0	102
Croatia	22.2	20.2	24.4	2.9	1690	2.9	2.6	3.3	0.0	376
Serbia	25.7	21.9	30.0	0.3	645	3.4	2.6	4.3	0.6	165
Bosnia and Herzegovina	21.3	19.6	23.2	0.9	2965	3.6	3.2	4.0	0.9	627
Macedonia	17.1	14.2	20.5	0.0	1233	2.7	2.3	3.3	0.0	211
Kosovo	11.3	9.4	13.6	0.0	1080	3.2	2.7	3.8	0.0	122
Finland	12.7	11.1	14.6	0.1	2190	3.2	2.7	3.8	0.0	257
Denmark	3.5	2.7	4.5	1.0	1652	3.4	2.4	4.9	19.0	47
Total	19.6	19.0	20.2	2.2	60,913	3.9	3.8	4.1	0.6	11,867

Notes: The sample of India consists of grade 9 students, only; total excluding India

cyberbullying and hate crime (where the level of core crime victimization determined the rank ordering throughout). Instead, we have sorted the country clusters (as well as the countries within each country cluster) by the prevalence of parental maltreatment (the more severe form of use of physical violence).

Table 4.9 shows that about one in five students ($n = 11,867$) reports that he or she had experienced parental physical force in the last year (prevalence 20%). Among the students who reported parental use of force, this happened–on average–four times over the past year (4.1 per victim). About 2.2% of the total sample did not answer this question: missing responses are highest in Venezuela (9.9%), Belgium (5.7%), India (5.6%), Italy (5.6%), and the Czech Republic (5.2%) The follow-up question concerning the frequency of physical punishment over the last year has

Table 4.10 Parental use of physical force by country cluster

Country cluster	Last year prevalence					Last year incidence per victim				
	Prev.	95%-CI		% Miss.	Valid *n*	Vict. incid.	95%-CI		% Miss.	Valid *n*
USA	23.9	20.4	27.8	2.1	1880	5.3	4.2	6.6	0.2	450
Non EU	22.3	20.8	23.8	4.2	5620	3.6	3.3	3.9	0.1	1249
Southern EU	25.0	23.0	27.0	4.2	6873	4.6	4.2	5.0	0.9	1604
Western EU	16.9	16.0	17.7	1.6	20,680	4.3	4.0	4.6	0.7	3472
Post Socialist	21.5	20.4	22.7	2.6	14,405	3.8	3.6	4.0	0.4	3287
Balkans	19.5	18.2	21.0	1.0	7613	3.2	2.9	3.5	0.5	1501
Nordic Countries	8.1	7.0	9.4	0.5	3842	3.3	2.8	3.8	3.5	304
Total	19.6	19.0	20.2	2.2	60,913	3.9	3.8	4.1	0.6	11,867

Notes: Excluding India

overall a low level of missing answers (0.6%), with the notable exception of Denmark (19.0%).[6]

There is substantial variation in the use of force in the countries represented here. The Czech Republic (39%), Indonesia (31%), France and Italy (27%), Serbia (26%) and the USA (24%) rank highest, while only 4% of Danish youths had experienced physical force by parents. Although there is considerable variation between countries in the *proportion* of students who report physical force by parents, there is also variation between countries with regard to the *frequency* with which students receive physical punishment: Compare India, where those kids whose parents used physical force experienced this on average 6 times in the last year with Armenia, where this happens less than three times in the last year.

Table 4.10 shows the prevalence as well as frequency of parental use of physical force by country cluster. The Southern European cluster shows both the highest prevalence rate (25%) and a high frequency rate (5 incidents over the past year per victim). Regarding the prevalence rate the USA rank second highest (24%) and show the highest frequency rate (5 incidents per victim). The non-EU countries and the Post-Socialist countries appear fairly comparable (respectively 21% and 22%), but it should be noted that—using 95% confidence intervals—Southern Europe, the USA, Post-Socialist countries, and the non-EU countries are not significantly different. Western Europe and the Balkans appear to have significantly lower prevalence levels, but when focusing on the confidence intervals of the last year incidence per victim, the differences between these two country clusters and the rest are less clear cut. The Nordic countries stand out as the group with the lowest prevalence (8%) as well as among the lower frequency clusters.

Table 4.11 shows the rates of more serious physical maltreatment by parents, and Table 4.12 shows the rates grouped by country cluster. As expected, these figures

[6] Note that this figure is based on a small sample of cases.

Table 4.11 Parental maltreatment

	Last year prevalence					Last year incidence per victim				
Country	Prev.	95%-CI		% Miss.	Valid *n*	Vict. incid.	95%-CI		% Miss.	Valid *n*
USA	11.2	9.0	13.8	1.9	1884	3.8	2.5	5.9	0.6	172
Indonesia	10.8	9.2	12.6	0.0	1780	3.0	2.5	3.7	0.0	192
Cape Verde	9.8	8.2	11.8	0.5	1679	4.0	3.3	4.7	0.6	164
Venezuela	9.8	8.5	11.3	7.0	2229	3.3	2.7	4.0	0.0	218
India	8.5	5.7	12.4	5.0	307	4.5	2.6	8.0	0.0	26
Italy	6.6	5.6	7.7	2.3	3407	4.6	3.8	5.7	1.8	220
France	5.6	4.2	7.4	1.4	1793	8.1	6.0	11.0	1.1	86
Portugal	5.1	3.6	7.0	1.0	1851	3.6	2.5	5.1	3.5	55
Netherlands	5.3	4.1	6.9	0.2	1880	5.1	3.9	6.7	0.0	119
Switzerland	5.3	4.3	6.5	0.2	4062	4.7	3.6	6.1	0.0	211
Belgium	5.1	4.4	5.9	2.7	3397	4.0	3.2	4.9	3.5	166
Germany	4.2	3.2	5.5	1.0	2927	4.1	3.0	5.8	0.0	119
Austria	3.7	3.2	4.3	0.3	6473	5.6	4.3	7.1	0.8	246
UK	3.6	2.6	4.8	1.2	2085	7.7	3.3	18.0	4.2	68
Czech Rep.	7.3	6.5	8.3	1.8	3394	3.6	3.0	4.2	1.2	246
Estonia	4.8	4.1	5.6	0.3	3725	3.9	3.2	4.7	1.1	177
Slovakia	4.0	3.3	4.9	1.8	2348	3.9	2.8	5.4	0.0	95
Ukraine	3.8	2.8	5.0	0.0	1651	5.3	3.7	7.6	1.6	61
Lithuania	3.8	3.1	4.5	1.6	2720	2.7	2.1	3.6	0.0	102
Armenia	2.3	1.5	3.4	0.0	796	6.5	2.5	17.1	0.0	18
Croatia	4.7	3.7	6.0	1.8	1708	3.7	2.7	5.1	0.0	81
Serbia	4.5	3.0	6.7	0.2	646	3.7	1.7	8.3	3.4	28
Bosnia and Herzegovina	4.3	3.5	5.2	0.8	2968	5.7	4.3	7.5	1.6	125
Macedonia	4.1	3.0	5.6	0.0	1233	2.5	1.9	3.2	2.0	50
Kosovo	1.2	0.7	2.0	0.3	1077	5.8	1.5	21.8	0.0	13
Finland	2.9	2.2	3.7	0.0	2192	2.8	2.1	3.8	0.0	62
Denmark	0.4	0.2	0.8	0.9	1654	14.6	4.1	52.1	16.7	5
Total	5.2	4.9	5.4	1.2	61,559	4.3	3.9	4.6	1.0	3099

Notes: The sample of India consists of grade 9 students, only; total excluding India

are lower than the less serious forms reported above. For the entire sample, 5% (n = 3099) reported that they had been hit with an object, kicked or beaten up by parents, on average four times over the last year. The highest rates are reported in the USA and Indonesia (11%), Cape Verde and Venezuela (10%), and India (8%). The lowest rates are shown for Denmark (0.4%), Kosovo (1%), and Armenia (2%). These three lowest ranked countries present interesting cases where the prevalence rates are very low, but the frequency of maltreatment is rather high (Denmark 15, Kosovo 6, Armenia 7).

Table 4.12 Parental maltreatment by country cluster

Country cluster	Last year prevalence					Last year incidence per victim				
	Prev.	95%-CI		% Miss.	Valid *n*	Vict. incid.	95%-CI		% Miss.	Valid *n*
USA	11.2	9.0	13.8	1.9	1884	3.8	2.5	5.9	0.6	172
Non EU	10.1	9.2	11.1	3.0	5688	3.4	3.1	3.8	0.2	574
Southern EU	5.8	5.0	6.6	1.7	7051	5.5	4.5	6.6	1.9	361
Western EU	4.5	4.1	5.0	0.9	20,824	5.1	4.2	6.2	1.2	929
Post Socialist	4.3	3.9	4.7	1.1	14,634	4.1	3.4	4.8	0.9	699
Balkans	3.8	3.3	4.4	0.8	7632	4.0	3.2	5.1	1.3	297
Nordic Countries	1.6	1.2	2.1	0.4	3846	4.0	2.4	6.6	1.5	67
Total	5.2	4.9	5.4	1.2	61,559	4.3	3.9	4.6	1.0	3099

Notes: Excluding India

Because of the relatively small group of students who indicated that they suffered parental maltreatment over the past year ($n = 3099$), the confidence intervals for the estimates are rather wide and less precise which makes it more difficult to make statements about country and cluster differences. However, examination of Table 4.12 suggests that the USA and non-EU clusters (at the higher end) as well as the Nordic cluster (at the lower end) are both outliers with regard to the use of serious parental maltreatment of children. The Southern European cluster also appears to have distinct higher levels than Western Europe, Balkans, and the Nordic countries.

4.5.1 Country-Level Association Between Parental Physical Force and Maltreatment

The link between parental physical force and more serious maltreatment can be seen in Fig. 4.5 below. Differences in the prevalence of use of parental physical force may partially reflect differential national legislation, or the presence of subcultures which accept corporal punishment. Since police notification of domestic incidents is likely to be very low, the ISRD3 questionnaire did not contain a question on that dimension.

There is a relatively strong country-level correlation between the prevalence of parental physical force and more serious maltreatment. The correlation is the highest between any two ISRD3 victimization items in the current selection of 27 countries (Pearson's $r = .59$, $p = .001$, $n = 27$). In Fig. 4.5, the interconnectedness of these two phenomena is highlighted by a scatterplot. Denmark emerges as the country with lowest level of parental physical force and maltreatment.

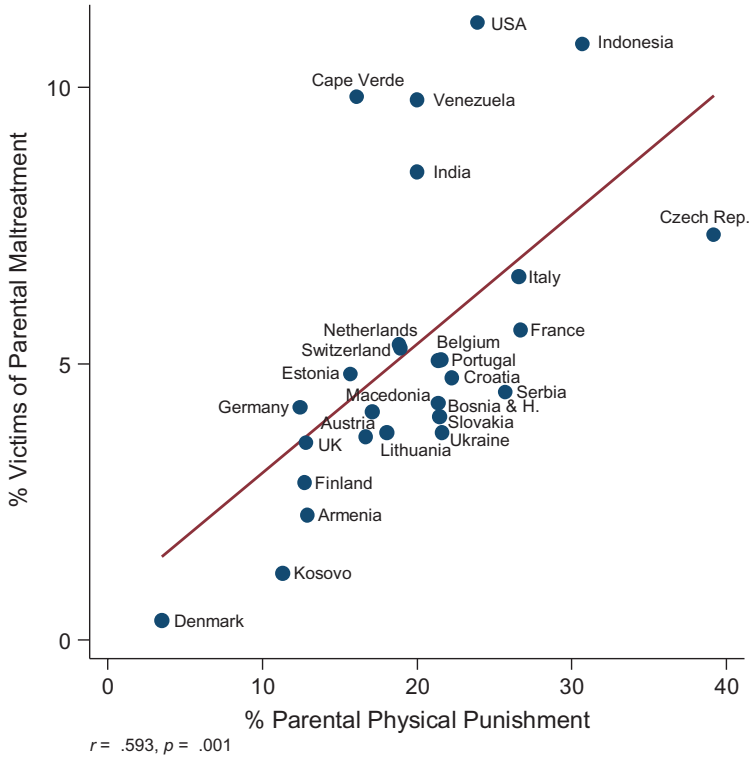

Fig. 4.5 Country-level association between parental physical force and child maltreatment

4.5.2 Country-Level Association Between Human Development Index and Child Maltreatment

Cultural acceptance of use of physical force by parents to discipline their children varies across the globe. Not surprisingly, then, the ISRD3 data confirms this (see Tables 4.9–4.12), by showing significant differences between countries with regard to mild or more serious parental use of physical force. The Human Development Index as a measure of poverty/deprivation represents a combination of indicators measuring life expectancy, education, and per capita income. Figure 4.6 below shows that—on the level of countries—the average prevalence of parental child maltreatment (serious physical violence) is not systematically correlated with the HDI; Spearman's rank correlation is not significant ($\rho = -.20$; $p = .344$). A closer look at the scatterplot shows two groups of countries and two outliers: A group of non-European countries with a low HDI and high prevalence rates of child maltreatment (Cape Verde, India, Indonesia, and Venezuela), the group of European countries with higher HDI and medium prevalence rates of child maltreatment, the USA with high HDI and a very high level of child maltreatment, and Denmark with high HDI and a very low level of child maltreatment.

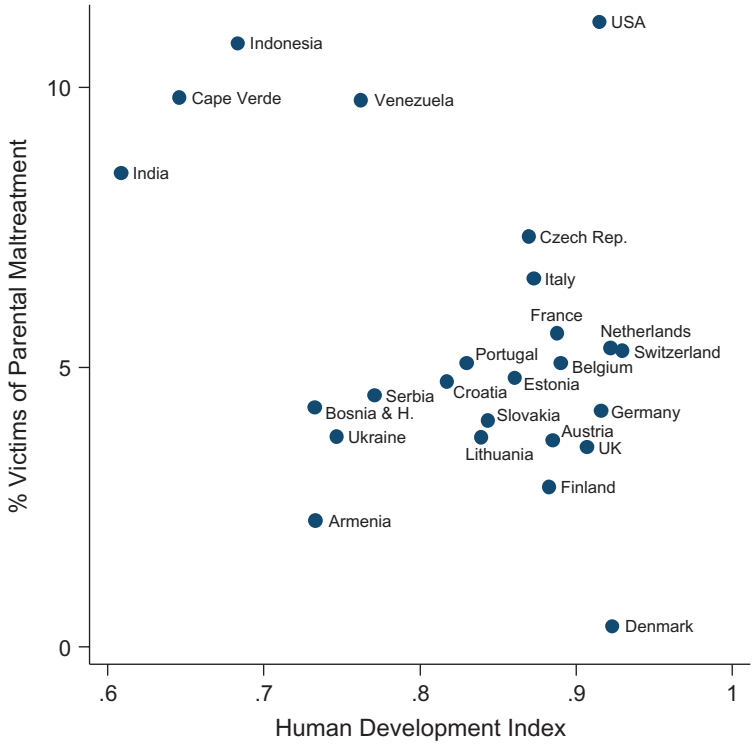

Fig. 4.6 Country-level association between human development index and child maltreatment

However, a closer look reveals that the countries are not homogenous regarding the cultural background of the population. Especially in the Western European cluster, there are large groups of ethnic minorities with a migration background from countries with a lower HDI (see Sect. 2.1.1). Additionally, in the USA social minority status is ascribed along racial characteristics and by a long history of racial segregation. A logistic multilevel model that predicts the experience of parental child maltreatment on the individual level by migration background ("native born" students vs. second- or first-generation migrants) together with HDI on the country level shows that the highest level of child maltreatment has been experienced by first-generation migrants, followed by second-generation migrants, the least by native born students (that include third-generation migrants) (Table 4.13).[7]

Compared to native born students, the percentage of child maltreatment among the first-generation migrants predicted from the model is 4.2% higher whereas among second-generation migrants it is "only" 2.4% higher, an indication that may

[7] The values of HDI are centered at the total mean and standardized by two standard deviations in order to make the size of the odds ratios compatible to effects of the dichotomous dummy variables of migration status (see Gelman 2008).

Table 4.13 Logistic multilevel model to predict child maltreatment by migration status and HDI

	Odds ratio	Std. Err.	*z*	*p*	95%-CI
Fixed effects					
Migration background (base: native)					
Second gen. migr.	2.19	0.287	5.99	< .001	1.69–2.83
First gen. migr.	1.66	0.184	4.54	< .001	1.33–2.06
HDI	0.54	0.133	–2.51	.012	0.33–0.87
Random effects					
var (country)	0.314	0.173			0.107–0.922
var (class)	0.190	0.034			0.135–0.269

Notes: 25 countries, 3403 school classes, n = 59,447; robust standard errors; HDI centered and standardized by 2 standard deviations

Table 4.14 Logistic multilevel model to predict child maltreatment in the USA sample

	Odds ratio	Std. Err.	*t*	*p*	95%-CI
Race (base: White)					
Black	4.03	2.25	2.50	.014	1.34–12.14
Asian	3.31	2.11	1.87	.063	0.94–11.68
Hispanic White	3.75	1.75	2.83	.005	1.49–9.43
Hispanic Non-White	3.32	2.14	1.86	.065	0.93–11.89
Other	4.12	2.43	2.40	.018	1.28–13.25
Migration background (base: native)					
Second gen. migr.	0.53	0.21	–1.60	.113	0.24–1.16
First gen. migr.	0.75	0.27	–0.79	.430	0.36–1.54
City (base: East)					
South	2.12	0.67	2.39	.018	1.14–3.95
Midwest	1.68	0.38	2.29	.024	1.07–2.63

Notes: n = 1883 in 129 school classes; linearized standard errors

suggest that over time the parenting style slowly adapts to the parenting style among natives in the country. Additionally, after statistically controlling for migration status, the effect of HDI is substantial and statistically significant: If the HDI increases by 2 standard deviations, the odds of becoming a victim of child maltreatment is almost halved. Expressed in percentages, on average the model predicted percentage of child maltreatment is about 2.6% lower if the HDI increases by 2 standard deviations.

However, the rather high level of parental child maltreatment in the USA despite the high HDI in this country is still unexplained. Although it is possible that it reflects the biased nature of the US sample, and that this difference may become less pronounced once all data for the USA are collected, we did decide to take a closer look at the US data in order to explore possible reasons for its deviant position with regard to child maltreatment (see Table 4.14). Interestingly, results of a logistic regression model to predict parental child maltreatment by race or ethnicity, migration background, and the city of the respondents show that in the USA migration

background is *not* associated with an increased victimization risk. Instead, self-reported racial or ethnic identity, i.e., not being non-Hispanic white[8] (see Table 4.14), appears to be an important risk factor. Translating the effects in model estimated percentages of parental child maltreatment shows that all students who identify themselves as anything other than "white" are at an increased risk, whereas the percentages of victims is 4.4% among white (non-Hispanic) students (95%-CI: 1.2–7.6), the rates are significantly higher in the other groups: 15.6% among black (95%-CI: 7.0–24.1), 14.6% among white Hispanics (95%-CI: 9.1–20.1), and 15.8% in the "other" group (95%-CI: 6.0%–25.7%). The rate for the "white" group of students (4.4%) is similar to the reported rates for the Western European cluster. The higher rates among Black and Hispanic students are consistent with US research and theory on higher levels of intergenerational violence and use of physical force (Fontes 2002; Dakil et al. 2011; see also Anderson 1999). At the same time, results show that there are significant differences between the three US cities from which the students are sampled.

The other extreme are students from the Danish city: Here the prevalence rate of parental child maltreatment is clearly the lowest. A likely explanation is the comparatively long history of banishing corporal punishment by law in the Nordic countries. Starting in 1979 in Sweden and since then spreading over Europe and beyond, physical punishment by parents (and others) is banned by law in a growing number of countries (Gershoff and Bitensky 2007; Commissioner for Human Rights 2008; Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children 2009).

The findings on parental use of violence are new and important. The use of parental physical violence of any sort is clearly widespread, and one in twenty of the ISRD3 sample has been the victim of more serious maltreatment—which would constitute criminal offenses in many countries. There is some—limited—indication that parental use of violence is a function of low scores on the Human Development Index, but our preliminary analysis suggest that the picture is more complex than that. That is, country-level human development (HDI) does have a small but significant effect on levels of child maltreatment, but—controlling for that macro-level effect—*migrant status* appears to be a significant risk factor for parental maltreatment. Notable exception to this is the USA, with its relatively high level of maltreatment, high level of HDI, but where *race and ethnic minority status* (rather than migrant status) is related to higher levels of self-reported child maltreatment by parents.[9] In this brief section, we explored the link between parental violence and only one macro-level structural indicator (HDI) which is but weakly related to

[8] The US questionnaire asked about racial and ethnic identification as follows: "Do you think of yourself as (1) White (not Spanish/Hispanic/Latino), (2) Black or African American, (3) American Indian or Alaska Native, (4) Asian, (5) Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, (6) White Spanish/Hispanic/Latino, (7) Non-White Spanish/Hispanic/Latino or (8) Other?" This is consistent with common use by the US census. Note that in the current analysis, white Spanish students are treated as distinct from those students who identified themselves as simply "white."

[9] Elliott and Urquiza (2006) have made a strong argument that the issue of the role of ethnicity, race, and culture in child maltreatment in the USA is complex and in need of additional exploration. This is also true for other national contexts.

parental child maltreatment. Other cultural factors that promote the differential acceptance of violence as a means of responsible parenting and that may explain higher levels of use of physical violence by parents between and within countries need to be investigated more thoroughly. Clearly, there is scope for more detailed analysis of ISRD3 findings on this issue.

4.6 Takeaway Points on Victimization

The primary purpose of this chapter was to present detailed substantive findings concerning estimates of victimization across the 27 ISRD3 countries for which we currently have data available. The first part of the chapter focused on "core crimes" (theft, assault, and robbery) and—consistent with other sources—theft is the most typical victimization; assault and robbery occur much less frequently across all countries. Levels of core crimes do vary, however, among countries and country clusters. Overall, non-EU countries, Western Europe, and the USA appear to have higher levels of core crime victimization, whereas the Post-Socialist countries tend to have the lowest levels. We were particularly interested in the level of reporting to the police of these victimizations (since this is how police statistics are produced), and we found that only a relatively small proportion of core crime victimizations were reported—an interesting but not novel observation. A more significant finding is that there are considerable national differences in the likelihood that a young person will notify the police, thereby confirming that we should not use official police records as a comparative measure of the volume of crime. We additionally observed that differences in police notification are unlikely to reflect levels of trust towards the police.

A second takeaway point concerns the relatively new forms of victimization: cyberbullying and hate crime.[10] Although relatively small proportions of young people are touched by these behaviors, we find these forms of victimization in all 27 countries, albeit at different levels.

A third takeaway point is that the use of physical violence by parents appears to remain a significant problem, in spite of changing public attitudes and legislation. That is, in all countries there are young people who report that their parents have hit them with an object, punched, kicked, or beaten them up. Our preliminary analysis has provided some interesting insights on how migrant status, race, and ethnicity, in interplay with macro-level factors such as a country's level of development may help us understand under what kind of conditions young people are most vulnerable to such maltreatment.

[10] Hate crime is not, of course, a new form of victimization, but its classification within criminal statistics and criminological research is recent.

Chapter 5
Summary and Conclusions

This monograph has presented headline findings from the third sweep of the International Self-Report Delinquency Study. ISRD3 is a major research undertaking and it has produced a unique and extensive database about young people's experience of crime, both as victims and as offenders. The findings presented here are the first significant statement of findings, but we should stress that they are neither comprehensive nor complete. Further countries will be added to the dataset over the next year or so, and undoubtedly we shall identify glitches that need to be sorted out in the existing dataset. At the time of writing (Spring 2017), we plan to deposit the dataset in a data archive by the end of 2017, and to update it at regular intervals thereafter. We hope that over time it proves a valuable resource for the academic community.

ISRD began life fitting comfortably within the social indicators tradition, the aim being to "compare and contrast" young people's offending and its correlates in different, largely European, countries. As the survey has grown, the limits of this aspiration have become increasingly clear to us. The self-report survey method may work well for comparative research across relatively homogenous countries and cultures, but as Chap. 3 convincingly demonstrates, the broader the cultural differences between countries under examination, the more cautious one should be about the use of this method. On the other hand, some early analysis of ISRD3 data (Dias et al. 2016; Killias and Monnet-Lukash 2016) attests to the robustness of the self-report method even in culturally quite dissimilar countries. There is no doubt, however, that the ISRD3 is first and foremost as a research survey designed to test theories, and only secondarily as a means of generating international social indicators.

Perhaps paradoxically, therefore, this monograph limits itself to the presentation of methodological findings, on the one hand, and to descriptive findings about offending and victimization, on the other. The reason for this is that methodological and descriptive analyses are necessary precursors to the sort of theory-testing that forms the central ambition of ISRD3. The next phase of ISRD3 involves more intensive analysis that addresses the theoretical issues that informed the design of the

D. Enzmann et al., *A Global Perspective on Young People as Offenders and Victims*, SpringerBriefs in Criminology, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-63233-9_5

questionnaire. To list only those topics of which the authors are aware, work is in hand to test aspects of Situational Action Theory (SAT), Institutional Anomie Theory (IAT), and Procedural Justice Theory. Analysis is also ongoing to develop the work that began in ISRD2 to examine processes of social bonding and social control. A further book is in preparation on factors that support or erode social cohesion as these affect young people with migrant backgrounds.

While the book does not address such theoretical issues in any depth, it nevertheless presents what we hope are important methodological and substantive findings. This final chapter offers a *resumé* of these findings.

5.1 Methodological Reflections

The key methodological findings in Chap. 3 relate to self-reported offending as an approach to crime measurement. The history of the self-report delinquency study can be seen as a gradual unfolding and specification of the scope and conditions of the method; this progress has taken place in the course of empirical research (Kivivuori 2011). As the method is being applied in international research by the ISRD project, and as its coverage has increased from ISRD1 to ISRD3 to a more global reach, it is only natural that similar specifications emerge regarding cross-cultural applicability.

The core finding in Chap. 3 is that there are cross-cultural differences in young people' preparedness to report details of their own offending, even in an anonymous survey. While people in the affluent West may live in a "confessing society" shaped by deep religious traditions and modern therapy culture (Foucault 1990 [1976]; Kivivuori 2011, 5–6), other parts of the world may not follow this cultural trend. Indeed, as shown in this research, the idea of a survey that guarantees confidentiality is interpreted and understood very differently in different cultural contexts. (How "cultural" these conditions are remains a matter of interpretation.) The cluster of countries which manifested comparatively high response integrity was found above the threshold of 0.8 in terms of human development index (HDI). Thus, it is conceivable that as a country develops and crosses that threshold, its young people will develop a more trusting orientation towards social science research. Future research may be able to test this.

The main conclusion we reach in Chap. 3 is that there needs to be considerable caution in using self-report data in comparative research because of the validity threats that we have demonstrated. Future comparative research that uses the self-report method needs to ensure that there is sufficient cultural homogeneity to justify its use, and this may imply restricting some uses of the self-report method to more regionally limited comparisons.

While the validity variation detected in our international research is important, we stress that these analyses do not amount to a complete demolition of the offending survey as a criminological method. In the first place, self-report survey items can play a central part in theory-testing that does not require precise volume

estimates of crime. The findings in Chap. 3 do nothing to undermine the central claim of self-report surveys that they can usefully differentiate between people who are more, or less, prepared to engage in offending. Leaving that aside, single-country studies, studies comparing culturally or economically homogenous country clusters,[1] and longitudinal surveys in such contexts are not necessarily threatened by the current findings. Of course, we know that there can be validity differentials also at the level of social groups and individuals (Laajasalo et al. 2014). Indeed, current globalization and migration processes can imply that some of the validity variation now observed in international comparisons "migrate" to involve also single-country studies.

5.2 Victimization of Youth: The Global Perspective

Chapter 4 shifted the focus from young people's offending to their experience as victims of crime. As discussed, the main goal of the ISRD3 project is to explore the theoretical risk factors of youth crime and victimization. Ranking cities, countries, or clusters in terms of crime is thus not a goal as such. Describing the data is however an important preliminary step for more in-depth analyses. It is conceivable that some risk factors of crime are frequency dependent so that some are more (or less) relevant in low (or high) crime contexts.

We have taken the view that the validity threats identified in Chap. 3 to the self-report offending survey have much less applicability to surveys that ask about victimization though more research is needed on the cultural embeddedness of the victim survey. After all, the rise of victim sensitivity (Kivivuori 2014; Lynch and Addington 2015) very likely has not taken place at the same pace everywhere in the world, and there can be cultural differentials in how shameful it is to become a victim of crime. Asking direct questions on response openness, as well as using the crosswise model, in the study of victim responding would be an important addition to future research agendas in criminology. Until such research proves otherwise, however, our view is that comparative research on young people's experience of crime can probably generate reliable and valid findings on victimization.

Certainly, the findings presented in Chap. 4 are coherent, consistent with findings from other victimization surveys using adult respondents, and have plenty of surface validity. When comparing the seven clusters in terms of youth victimization, we found that in most dimensions, the group of non-European countries tended to manifest highest levels of victimization. The USA also tended to show high victimization prevalence rates, but its pattern was inconsistent. Interestingly, young Americans were not particularly prone to be victimized by violent offenses such as robbery, but they had (in cluster-based comparison) the highest likelihood of

[1] Like the first internationally comparative self-report crime survey, the Nordic Draftee Study (1961–1964), which compared four Nordic countries, and also the ISRD1 sweep (1991–1992) with European/American coverage.

cyberbullying and theft victimization. The high incidence rate of cyberbullying in the USA may simply reflect exposure to greater opportunity due to a broader dissemination of electronic devices.

Our findings on hate crime are new and important. The Western European cluster had the highest hate crime victimization level. The South European, Post-Socialist, and Balkan clusters appear to have lower victimization rates in a comparison of clusters. This finding on hate crime was surprising.

5.3 Reporting to the Police Reflects Aspects of Crime, Not Trust

Chapter 4 presents findings not only on victimization but also on reporting to the police. Like victimization surveys across the world that focus on adults, ISRD3 shows that only a minority of crimes committed against young people are reported to the police. One in five robbery cases (20%) and assaults (19%) are notified. The percentages of reported incidents are even lower for theft (17%), hate crime (9%), and cyberbullying (4%). While these figures describe the complete ISRD3 sample, the country-specific figures vary considerably. Clearly, one of the significant lessons of this research is that police statistics cannot be considered a reliable indicator of crimes against young people.[2]

When comparing the police reporting rates of the participating countries, we encountered a surprising finding: countries which are often regarded as high on trust appeared to manifest low reporting rates. One of the main findings emerging from the analyses is that police reporting rates do not seem to link primarily to distrust in the police. Therefore, we need to consider other factors which might explain police reporting behavior. It is possible that reporting rates reflect the average seriousness of offenses: in countries where the incidents tend to be serious in terms of injuries, etc., the likelihood of reporting could be higher. Victim–offender relationship could also impact reporting as people are more likely to report incidents involving strangers as perpetrators. Finally, low reporting rates could reflect the presence of alternative conflict resolution mechanisms. For instance, the Nordic countries have legal cultures which try to divert youths from the criminal justice system, encouraging alternative reactions rather than judicializing conflicts. Thus, if these interpretations hold true, high police notification rates could be indicators of anomie, that is, relative cultural inability to deploy informal social control in conflict situations.

Furthermore, the likelihood of police contact could be related, on a more fundamental level, to cultural notions of violence. Studies in adult samples suggest that cultural sensitivity is a factor that impacts survey responding between social groups

[2] With that said, official homicide statistics are considered to be a valid indicator of crime, but in the ISRD3 age category their use is limited by the extremely low homicide rate among 12–16 year olds, both in regard to offending and victimization. However, comparison of country/city homicide rates and survey-based findings on violence could be explored in future studies.

and over time (Kivivuori 2014; Lynch and Addington 2015). Thus, it could be possible that broader notions of violence inspire people to report less serious incidents, which in turn are less likely to be reported to the police. Therefore, affluence could boost victimization prevalence and suppress police reporting rates when compared to less affluent regions still using more limited social notions of violence. At the current state of knowledge, this is more like a hypothesis than a finding. However, such a hypothesis could be explored in future international surveys, for example, by asking youths to say whether they consider specific scenarios as violence.

5.4 Domestic Violence Against Children

Chapter 4 also includes some important and novel findings on domestic violence against children. As a repeated survey instrument, the ISRD project is sensitive to the emergence of new crime and victimization types, and old types which are justly receiving more attention in contemporary societies. Domestic violence against children is an old menace which is increasingly defined as a serious problem. Acknowledging this, the steering committee decided to raise the question of domestic violence against children to the ISRD3 research agenda. In this regard, the current report shows selected descriptive findings, such as the link between high human development and low prevalence of domestic violence against children (with the USA as an outlier in this respect— with more violence than could be predicted on the basis of its HDI score).

The findings on parental use of violence suggest that our two measures—of the use of force, on the one hand, and of more serious maltreatment on the other—are different manifestations of the same problem (there is a reasonable correlation between the two problems). Additionally, there is extensive variation between countries on both measures, and clearly there is scope for more analysis to identify the characteristics of countries with high levels of parental violence. The analysis here of an (loose) association between the Human Development Index and maltreatment is suggestive but further research may be able to identify more specific country-level or individual-level predictors of maltreatment. The considerable variations in use of parental physical force on their children between countries—and within countries between migrants and natives, or different racial or ethnic groups—is likely related to differences in cultural differences in childrearing practices. In view of the fact that international conventions require that children are protected from all forms of violence, including violence by close relatives and within families, this is an issue which demands immediate attention of researchers and policymakers alike.

5.5 ISRD3: A Work in Progress

We hope that the findings presented in this monograph are of both methodological and substantive interest. The findings on the limitations to cross-cultural use of self-report methods with young people are clearly of importance—but we think that the combination of self-report offending items and questions on victimization can produce an impressive range of insightful findings. Cross-cultural comparisons of victimization findings for young people are likely to be much more robust, but it would be comforting to have firm evidence to this effect.

The ISRD Steering Committee—together with the wider partnership in participating countries—is keen to make progress on further sweeps of the survey. Our target date for ISRD4 is 2020, but this is dependent on funding. To date, the ISRD methodology has been in a process of evolution, and there are clear limits to analysis of trends across the three sweeps conducted to date. In future sweeps, we think it is important to preserve the integrity of the questionnaire's modular structure, with a core set of questions that remain unchanged over time, and thus permit reliable trend analysis on the country-level. At the same time, the inclusion of variable modules—whether fielded by all countries or limited subsets of countries, will add to the versatility of ISRD.

There are some more specific exhortations we can offer. In the future, the analyses based on the ISRD could benefit from a closer look at the follow-up questions attached to online data collection. These could give additional insight to the locally specific patterns of crime which are of considerable interest to policy stakeholders. While we were unable to utilize the online follow-ups in this report due to time constraints, further research is clearly warranted. Second, future sweeps of the project would benefit from increased synchronization of data collection, as youth crime and victimization can show relatively short-term temporal fluctuations (see Sect. 2.2.5 above). This is important for the local policymaker because the meaning and implications of local findings can be fully revealed only when the comparative backdrop is available. The first data collector gets standalone percentages, but lacks reference points to judge their typicality or abnormality in the contemporary urban landscape. Also, the attention span of the local stakeholder tends to be shorter than in basic research. Taken together, the pragmatic and policy level greatly benefits from international research. In the interpretation of national and local city-level findings, local insight grows from global perspective.

Appendix 1: ISRD3 Victimization Questions

Some bad things that may have happened to you
Try to remember: Did any of the following things ever happen to you? If so, was it reported to the police?

(a) Someone wanted you to give them money or something else (like a watch, shoes, mobile phone) and threatened you if you refused?

Has this ever happened to you?
○ **no** (If no, continue with question b)
○ **yes** How often has this happened to you in the last 12 months? ___ **times**
How many of these incidents were reported to the police? ___ **incidents**

(b) Someone hit you violently or hurt you—so much that you needed to see a doctor?
(c) Something was stolen from you (such as a book, money, mobile phone, sport equipment, bicycle …)?
(d) Someone threatened you with violence or committed physical violence against you because of your religion, the language you speak, the color of your skin, your social or ethnic background, or for similar reasons?
(e) Has anyone made fun of you or teased you seriously in a hurtful way through e-mail, instant messaging, in a chat room, on a website, or through a text message sent to your mobile phone?
(f) Has your mother or father (or your stepmother or stepfather) ever hit, slapped, or shoved you? (Include also times when this was punishment for something you had done.)*
(g) Has your mother or father (or your stepmother or stepfather) ever hit you with an object, punched, or kicked you forcefully or beat you up? (Include also times when this was punishment for something you had done.)*

* No follow-up question on reporting to the police

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Appendix 2: ISRD3 Self-Reported Delinquency Questions

About things young people sometimes do
Have you ever done any of the following, and if so, how often within the last 12 months?

(a) Painted on a wall, train, subway, or bus (graffiti)?

○ **no**
○ **yes** → how often **in the last 12 months?** ____ times

(b) Damaged something on purpose, such as a bus shelter, a window, a car, or a seat in the bus or train?
(c) Stolen something from a shop or department store?
(d) Broken into a building to steal something?
(e) Stolen a bicycle?
(f) Stolen a motorbike or car?
(g) Stolen something off or from of a car?
(h) Used a weapon, force, or threat of force to get money or things from someone?
(i) Stolen something from a person without force or threat?
(j) Carried a weapon, such as a stick, knife, gun, or chain?
(k) Taken part in a group fight in a football stadium, on the street, or other public place?
(l) Beaten someone up or hurt someone with stick or knife so badly that the person was injured?
(m) Illegally downloaded music or films from the Internet?
(n) Sold any drugs or help someone selling drugs?

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