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

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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

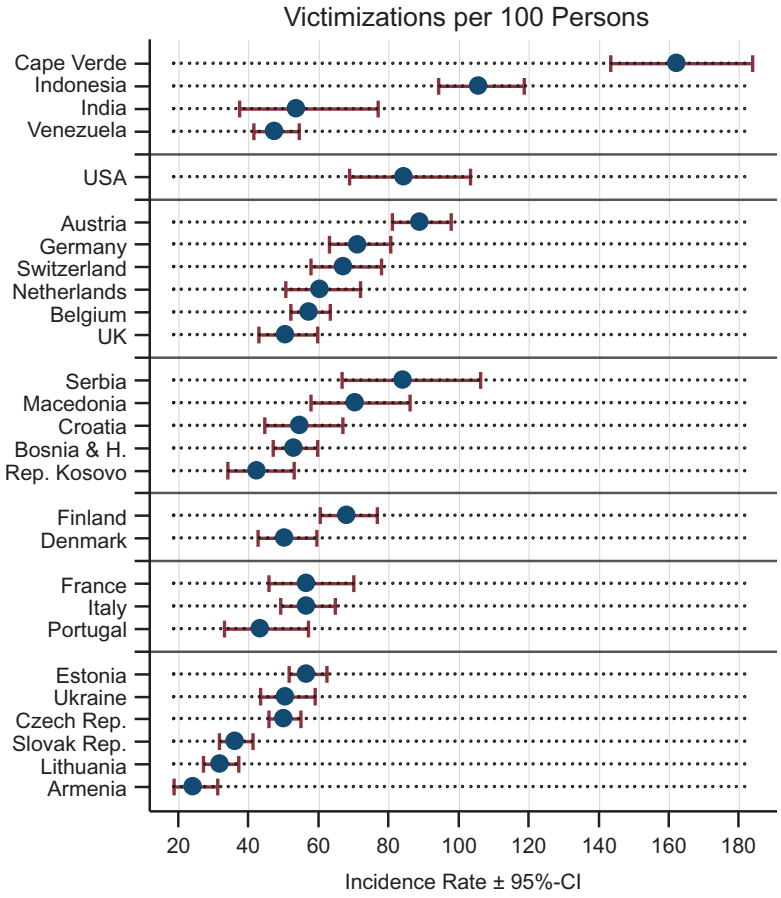

Fig. 4.1 "Core crime" victimization

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*

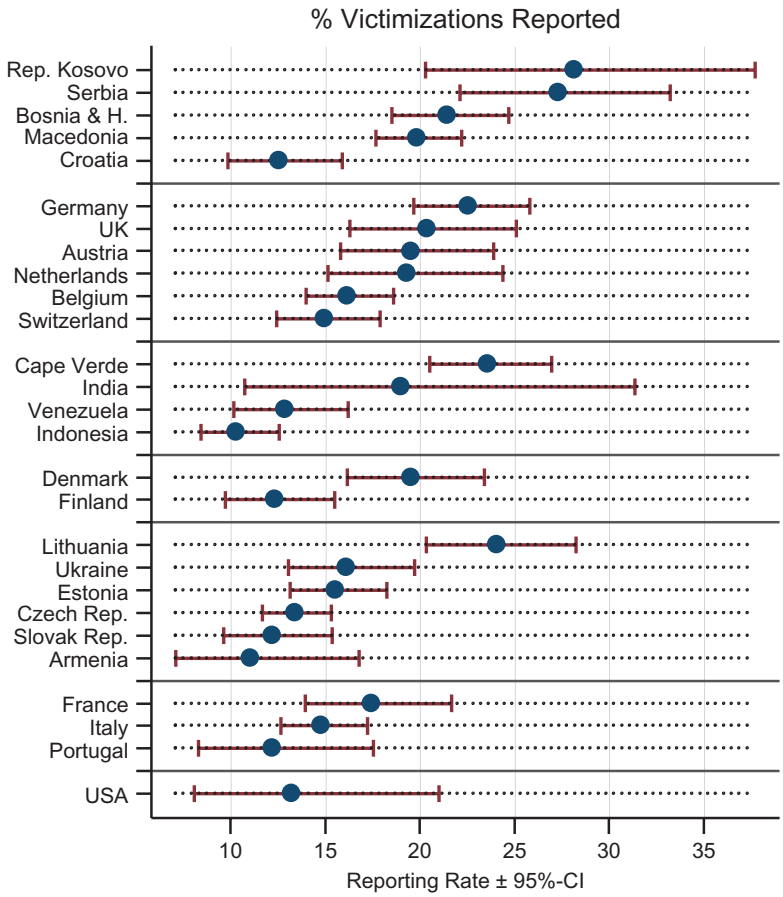

Fig. 4.2 Notification of police by country cluster ("Core Crimes")

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).

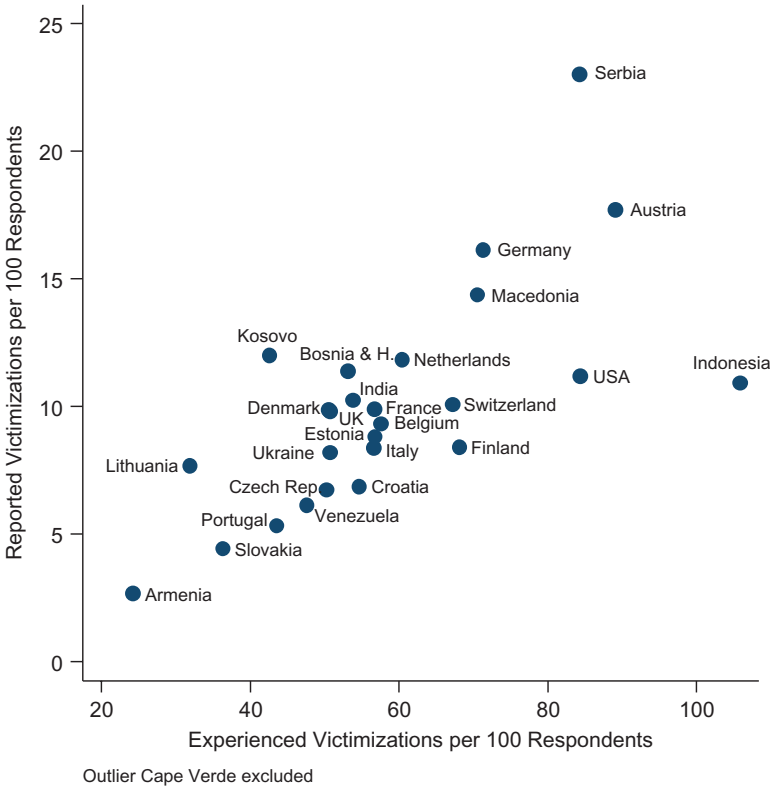

Fig. 4.3 Experienced vs. reported "core crime" victimizations per 100 juveniles by country

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,

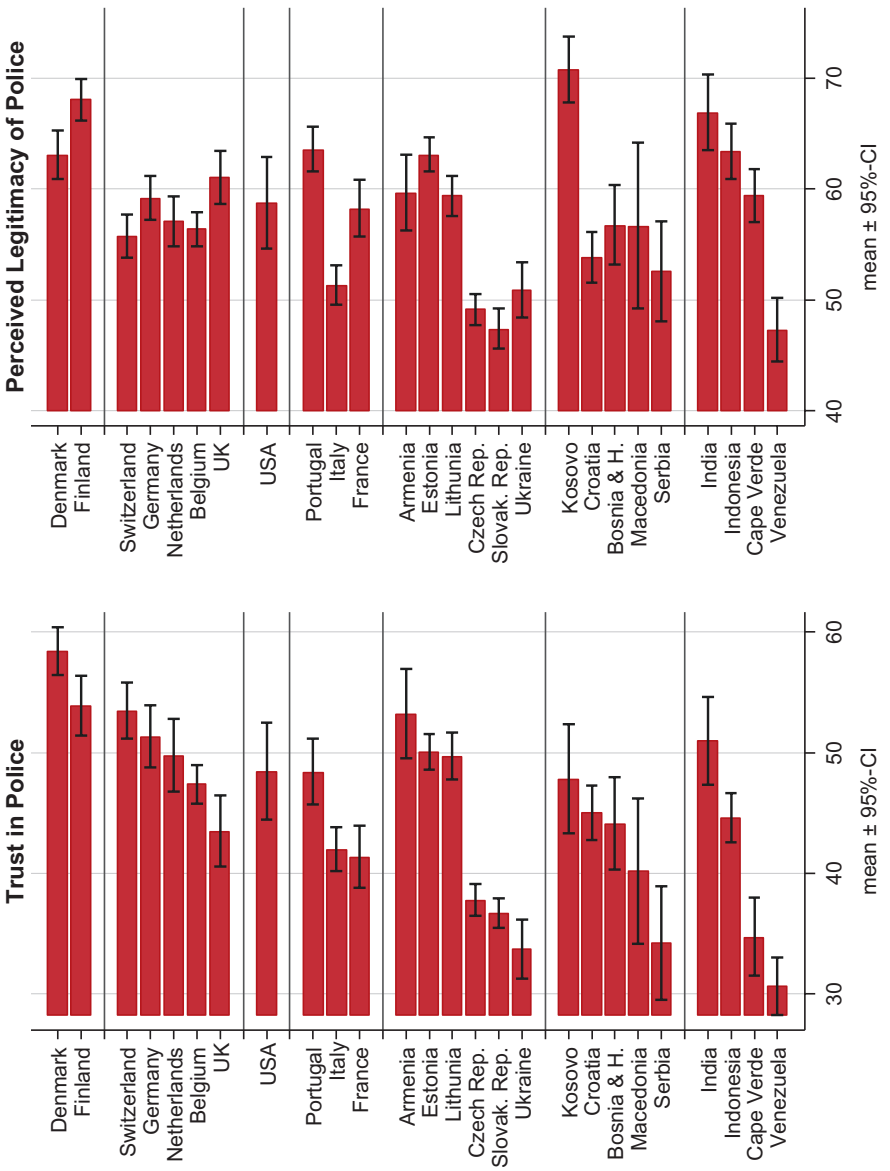

Fig. 4.4 Perceptions of trust in police and legitimacy of police

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.

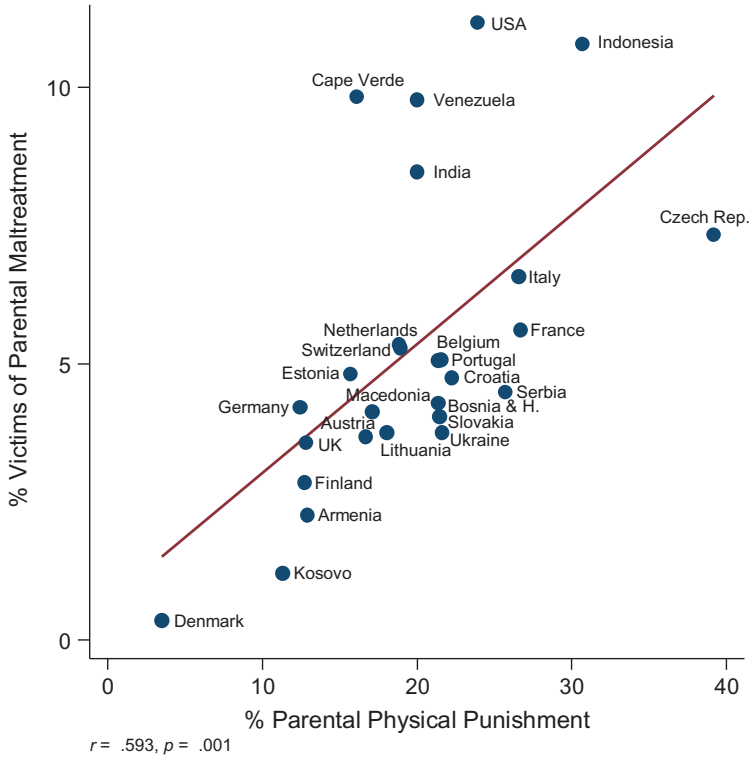

Fig. 4.5 Country-level association between parental physical force and child maltreatment

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.

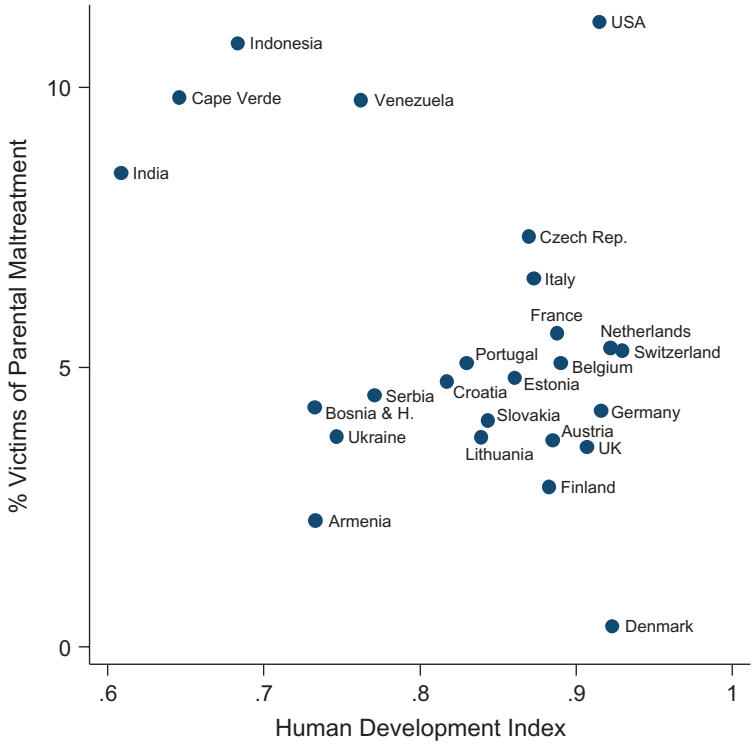

Fig. 4.6 Country-level association between human development index and child maltreatment

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.