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THE ICVS IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

Anna Alvazzi del Frate and John van Kesteren*

ABSTRACT

The ICVS started in the industrialized world. However, its potential for providing information on crime and victimization from developing countries was immediately apparent. Since 1990 the participation of developing countries became larger and larger. As of today, 29 developing countries took part in the ICVS at least once. More have already expressed their interest in joining the project and will probably do so in 2004.

The ICVS database on developing countries contains a wealth of information that has no precedents. The survey can provide an overview on crime and victimization problems rarely available in developing countries. Although comparisons with the industrialized countries may be difficult, the ICVS database represents one of the best sources to measure crime-related issues across the world.

This article presents results from 23 main cities from three global regions: Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Developing countries very often show high victimization rates, especially for property-related crime. Crimes are reported to the police less frequently than in the industrialized world. Some types of crime, such as car hijacking in Southern Africa, reflect special risks run by citizens in specific parts of the world.

Introduction

In 1990 it was deemed important to extend participation in the International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS) to developing countries. With this perspective, a meeting of a group of experts from Asia, Africa, and Latin America and the ICVS promoters took place at UNICRI in Rome. The questionnaire was adapted according to the experts' suggestions in order to reflect the needs of face-to-face interviewing in developing countries. A first group of thirteen developing countries took part in the 1992 ICVS (Zvekic and Alvazzi del Frate 1995). Thereafter, the participation of developing countries became larger and larger. As of today, 29 developing countries took part in the ICVS at least once.¹ More have already expressed their interest in joining the project and will probably do so in 2004.

Over time, the methodology of the ICVS in developing countries has become more and more refined. With the advent of regional sub-coordination, a special questionnaire for Africa was developed that included questions on theft of livestock and car hijacking, two types of crime that are frequent in Southern Africa. The ICVS database on developing countries contains a wealth of information that has no precedents. The survey can provide an overview on crime and vic-

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timization problems rarely available in developing countries.

Comparisons with the industrialized countries may be difficult. First of all, for obvious reasons, the survey was carried out using face-to-face interviews rather than telephone interviews in developing countries. In addition, in the developing countries (as well as in the majority of Central-Eastern European countries), the ICVS was carried out among the inhabitants of one or more major cities instead of a national sample.

This article presents results from 23 main cities from three global regions: Africa, Asia, and Latin America.² Table 1 summarizes the languages used and the methodology. Most of the surveys were carried out in 2000: for seven cities the only data available dated back to 1996 or 1998 and 4 cities were surveyed after the main round of 2000. Since methodological issues have been extensively analyzed in other publications, this article will mainly focus on survey results.

Table 1. Participation, Methodology and Languages used in the International Crime (Victim) Survey in Developing Countries

	Year	Sample Size	Urban	Rural	Technique [*]	Language
Africa						
Botswana (Gaborone)	2000	1,197	1,197		F/F	English, Setswana
Lesotho (Maseru)	2000	1,010	1,010		F/F	English +
Mozambique (4 cities)	2002	2,851	2,193	658	F/F	Portuguese +
Namibia (Windhoek)	2000	1,074	1,074		F/F	English +
Nigeria (Lagos)	1998	1,012	1,012		F/F	English +
South Africa (Johannesburg)	2000	1,221	1,221		F/F	English +
Swaziland (Mbabane)	2000	1,057	1,057		F/F	English +
Uganda (Kampala)	2000	1,000	1,000		F/F	English, Luganda
Zambia (Lusaka)	2000	1,050	1,050		F/F	English +
Zimbabwe (Harare)	1996	1,006	1,006		F/F	English, Shona
Asia						
Cambodia (Phnom Penh)	2001	3,155	1,160	1,995	F/F	Khmer
India (Mumbai)	1996	1,200	1,014	186	F/F	English, Hindi
Indonesia (Jakarta)	1996	700	500	200	F/F	Bahasa Indonesia
Korea (Seoul) ³	2000	2043	2,043		F/F	Korean
Mongolia (Ulaanbaatar)	2000	944	944		F/F	Mongolian
Philippines (Manila)	2000	1,501	1,501		F/F	English, Filipino
Latin America						
Argentina (Buenos Aires)	2001	8,931	8,931		F/F	Spanish
Bolivia (La Paz)	1996	1,000	1,000		F/F	Spanish
Brazil (Rio de Janeiro)	2001	961	961		F/F	Portuguese
Colombia (Bogotá)	2000	1,017	1,017		F/F	Spanish
Costa Rica (San José)	1996	1,000	701	299	F/F	Spanish
Panama (Panama)	2000	903	903		F/F	Spanish
Paraguay (Asunción)	1996	587	587		F/F	Spanish

* F/F = Face-to-face.

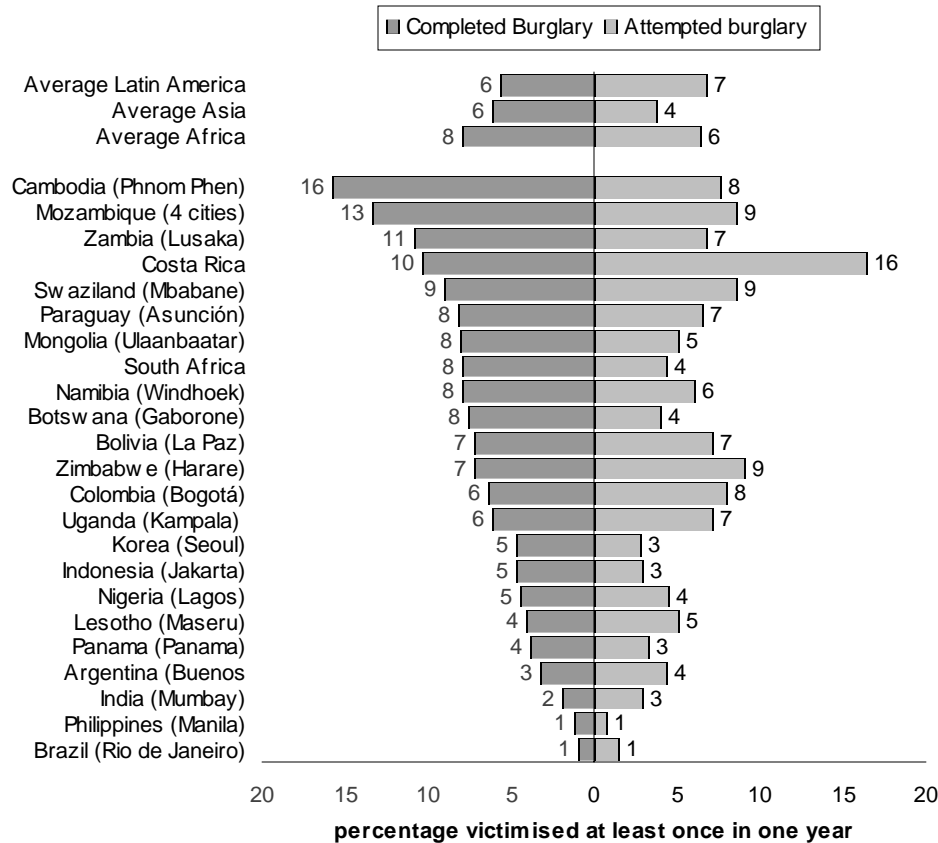
+ Multiple languages were used.

Experiences of Victimization⁴

The highest victimization rates, on average, were observed for theft of personal property, between 10 and 11 percent on average for the three global regions. Although at the regional level there is almost no difference observed, there are quite important differences between countries. Countries range from Korea (2 percent) and Panama (4 percent) up to Zimbabwe (23 percent). This crime type is

considered one of the least serious; quite often it is petty theft and pickpocketing. The ICVS questionnaire is constructed in such a way that it excludes from this category theft from the house or from cars as well as thefts involving force or threat.

Graph 1. Completed and attempted burglaries



Burglaries

The highest rate across the board (15 percent) was observed in Cambodia. On average, however, Africa was the region in which survey respondents were more often affected by burglary and attempted burglary. In particular, Mozambique and Zambia showed the highest burglary rates in the African region. With regard to other countries, Costa Rica has a victimization rate for completed burglaries of over 10 percent. The lowest victimization rates (less than 2 percent) were found in India, the Philippines, and Brazil. The amount of attempted burglaries are roughly of the same magnitude, the correlation between the two is .67 (N=22, $p < .05$). Costa Rica stands out with a very high rate of attempted burglaries of 16 percent.

In Asia, there are consistently less attempts than completed burglaries and this is also the case in some countries in Latin America and Africa. Here it may be worthwhile to stimulate the population to take preventive measures against burglary. If applied properly, a good portion of the burglaries observed could be prevented.

Theft of Livestock

Ownership of livestock is quite common in southern Africa. In the main cities under investigation (data from 5 countries are available), on average 25 percent of the households own livestock. On average 12 percent have had at least one of their animals stolen in the year preceding the survey. Owners in Mozambique and Zambia run the highest risk, at 15 and 19 percent, respectively. Even the lowest rate observed (7 percent in South Africa) is quite high.

Table 2. Ownership of Livestock and Theft of Livestock in Africa

	Ownership of Livestock	Theft of Livestock (Owners)
Africa		
Botswana (Gaborone)	35.4	9.2
Mozambique (4 cities)	41.0	14.6
Namibia (Windhoek)	25.6	9.4
South Africa (Johannesburg)	9.4	7.2
Zambia (Lusaka)	15.2	19.4
Average	25.3	12.0

Car-Related Crimes

The availability of cars in developing countries is still very limited. It should be noted that the level of car ownership varies considerably from country to country. Approximately half of the respondents were car owners in Latin America, while roughly a third of the households were car owners in Asia and Africa. Twenty percent or less of the households own a car in Mozambique, the Philippines, and India. Four countries in Latin America show ownership rates over 50 percent, with Costa Rica near 80 percent. In Asia, South Korea has ownership rates of over 50 percent as well.

Victimization rates for vehicle owners provide information about the actual risk of the target group, the vehicle owners. Table 3 shows the one-year prevalence rates for theft from cars (the most frequent car-related crime), car theft, and car hijacking.

The victimization rates for theft of a car exclude the cases where the car was stolen using force or threat with force. However, hijacking of cars is a serious and often committed crime in southern Africa and for this reason a specific set of items was added to the African version of the questionnaire. Data on car hijack-

Table 3. Ownership and Percentage of Owners At Least Once Victim of Theft of Cars, Car Hijacking and Theft From Cars

	Car Ownership	Theft of Car (Owners)	Car Hijacking (Owners)*	Theft From Car (Owners)
Africa				
Botswana (Gaborone)	34.1	0.9	0.7	12.3
Lesotho (Maseru)	26.7	2.6	1.1	10.5
Mozambique (4 cities)	20.0	5.0	1.3	16.4
Namibia (Windhoek)	55.8	1.8	0.2	12.0
Nigeria (Lagos)	36.8	4.3	—	8.4
South Africa (Johannesburg)	41.7	8.2	6.0	9.4
Swaziland (Mbabane)	44.8	6.0	4.9	14.3
Uganda (Kampala)	28.3	1.1	—	16.6
Zambia (Lusaka)	24.1	3.3	6.0	11.6
Zimbabwe (Harare)	30.9	1.2	—	21.2
Average	34.3	3.4	2.9	13.3
Asia				
Cambodia (Phnom Phen)	22.3	0.4	—	19.7
India (Mumbai)	17.5	0.9	—	9.2
Indonesia (Jakarta)	39.8	0.0	—	4.6
Korea (Seoul)	65.9	0.3	—	3.6
Mongolia (Ulaanbaatar)	34.0	1.8	—	24.7
Philippines (Manilla)	10.3	1.0	—	7.8
Average	31.6	0.7	—	11.6
Latin America				
Argentina (Buenos Aires)	57.2	5.4	—	13.8
Bolivia (La Paz)	25.1	1.3	—	19.8
Brazil (Rio de Janeiro)	45.0	3.6	—	2.7
Colombia (Bogotá)	53.0	1.9	—	9.7
Costa Rica	79.3	3.2	—	26.5
Panama (Panama)	49.4	2.0	—	10.9
Paraguay (Asunción)	59.9	2.0	—	8.0
Average	52.7	2.8	—	13.1

* Information on car hijacking is only available for seven southern African countries.

ing are available for 7 African countries. In South Africa, 6 percent of the owners had their cars hijacked, in Swaziland 5 percent. Such rates are only slightly lower than the “normal” thefts. The violent thefts of cars even outnumber the “normal” thefts in Zambia (6 percent to 3.3 percent).

With regard to theft of cars, Africa and Latin America show similar victimization rates on average, 2.8 and 3.4 percent, respectively. Car thefts in Asia are very rare, with less than 1 percent of the owners who were victims over the past twelve months. Differences between countries are considerable. Five percent or more of the owners had their car stolen in Mozambique, South Africa, Swaziland, and Argentina. But in five countries in Asia, yearly theft rates were 1 percent or less. Cars are generally stolen for two main reasons, either to sell as a whole or to sell in parts. Both require technical skills, storage, and transport facilities. There are therefore quite often crime organizations or networks involved.

Theft from a car shows little difference between the three regions, but again large differences between countries. More than 20 percent of the owners had

something stolen from their cars in Zimbabwe, Mongolia, and Costa Rica. Brazil, Indonesia, and South Korea show victimization rates of less than 5 percent.

Contact Crime

The contact crimes consist of robbery (theft involving force or threat), sexual offences, and assaults and threats. The main characteristic of this type of crime is that there is contact between offender and victim, whereas in all the other crimes in the ICVS the offender generally avoids contact with the offender. Although robbery is a type of theft, it shares more characteristics with contact crimes than with property crimes (see Alvazzi del Frate and van Kesteren 2002).

Robbery is lowest in Asia, 1.4 percent on average with Ulaanbaatar being the city with the highest rate at 3.9 percent. Victimization rates in Africa range between 1.8 in Botswana to 5.8 in South Africa. Even higher rates are found in Latin America where, with the exception of Panama (1 percent), all countries are at 5 percent or above, with a maximum of 11 percent in Argentina.

Assaults and threats are, on average, highest in Africa; 6.1 percent of the population has been assaulted and/or threatened with violence. The highest rate was observed in Zimbabwe at 12 percent. Even without Zimbabwe, the average for Africa would still be higher than in Latin America (4.1 percent). Latin American countries range from 2.3 percent in Panama to 8.9 percent in Costa Rica. Violence is lowest in Asia, 3 percent on average.

Comparison between these two types of crimes is of interest. We can assume that in the case of a robbery the offender pursues material and/or financial gain, which is not the case with assaults and threats. The percentage of victims of robbery is half of that of assaults and threats in Asia, in Africa two-thirds, and in Latin America there are more robberies than assaults and threats. In the industrialized countries, the robberies are less than a quarter of the amount of assaults and threats (van Kesteren et al. 2000). This indicates that material gain is more often a drive to commit a violent crime in developing countries than in the rich industrialized countries.

Victimization of Women

Women and men are both subject to criminal victimization. For some crimes, however, women may run higher or lower risks, while for other crimes they are, conventionally, the exclusive potential and/or real victims. The latter category includes various types of sex-related incidents.

At the outset, it should be highlighted that, despite standard methodology, the ICVS revealed that the cultural messages in different contexts or the wording of the questions might elicit different answers in different languages, countries, and cultural contexts. This appears to be critical for sexual incidents (Alvazzi del Frate and Patrignani 1995).

Therefore, the interpretation of the ICVS results on sexual incidents needs to be looked at with special caution. In fact, for this issue more than in other parts of the survey, special attention should be paid to the terminology used and, for example, the exact meaning attached to the words “incident,” “assault,” and “crime” should be carefully weighed. It has been argued that the wording of the first question on sexual incidents⁵ might not be as clear as other questions referring to various victimization experiences, since it does not evoke a unique type of crime, but quite a wide range of events.

In order to correct for any possible distortions in reporting to the survey, either in the direction of over-reporting or under-reporting, a special survey on violence against women, the International Violence against Women Survey,⁶ has been developed and will soon be carried out in several countries across the world.

The countries can be divided into three groups. First, Korea, Mongolia, Philippines, Argentina, and Panama show very low victimization rates of less than 1 percent. A large group of 15 countries vary between 1 percent and 5 percent victimization. The third group show high victimization rates of over 5 percent: these countries are Colombia (5.1 percent), India (7 percent), and Nigeria (8.4 percent).

Corruption

The ICVS has an advantage over the other sources of information on corruption in that it provides for a measurement of the magnitude based on the direct experience of citizens and targets it to public officials. In other words, it attempts to capture the magnitude of bribery by public officials, which is probably the most diffused and most conventional form of corruption.⁷ Despite a number of limitations of victim surveys, including the ICVS (Zvekic 1996), it appears that the ICVS offers better measures of corruption than any other surveys or official criminal justice statistics. According to the ICVS findings, bribery of public officials is more diffused in the developing world and Central-Eastern European countries, and almost negligible in the industrialized world.

The highest rates of bribery of public officials (20 percent on average) were observed in Asian countries with Indonesia (41 percent) and Cambodia (29 percent) ranking first and second, respectively. Korea and The Philippines, on the other hand, are below 5 percent. Large differences are also observed in Africa, with Botswana and Namibia near 5 percent and Nigeria, Zambia, and Uganda at 30 percent and higher. Sixteen percent of the population, on average, has been confronted with a corrupt official in Latin America, ranging from 5 percent in Argentina to 25 percent in Bolivia.

There is no consistency in the rates observed in the countries even within regions. ICVS data compared with the score on the Transparency Corruption Perception Index 2000 for 17 countries reveals a correlation of .61 ($N=17$, $p<.05$).

From among the various public officials involved in bribery, police officers appear to be the category most frequently mentioned by the respondents, par-

ticularly in Latin American and African countries. It appears that bribes were also very frequently requested by transit inspectors at the Panama strait, who hold a crucial position for the local economy.

Consumer Fraud

Similar to corruption, consumer fraud is experienced more in the developing world and in countries in transition than in the industrialized world, both Old and New. This tells a lot about the protection of citizens as consumers as well as about the standard quality of goods and services.

Table 4. One Year Prevalence Rates for Bribery

Africa	Asia	Latin America
Botswana (Gaborone)	5.7	
Lesotho (Maseru)	19.2	
Mozambique (4 cities)	26.5	
Namibia (Windhoek)	5.4	
Nigeria (Lagos)	29.8	Cambodia (Phnom Phen)
South Africa (Johannesburg)	12.1	India (Mumbai)
Swaziland (Mbabane)	16.5	Indonesia (Jakarta)
Uganda (Kampala)	34.6	Korea (Seoul)
Zambia (Lusaka)	9.9	Mongolia (Ulaanbaatar)
Zimbabwe (Harare)	7.2	Philippines (Manila)
Average	16.7	Average
		Argentina (Buenos Aires)
		Bolivia (La Paz)
		Brazil (Rio de Janeiro)
		Colombia (Bogotá)
		Costa Rica
		Panama (Panama)
		Paraguay (Asunción)
		Average

The lowest observed rate (6 percent) of some form of consumer fraud was found in Brazil (1996 data only as information on consumer fraud from the 2001 survey was not available at the time of writing this article). A group of six countries have rates varying between 10 and 20 percent, but the majority of the countries have rates over 20 percent. In Uganda and Zambia this is even over 40 percent.

Victims of fraud were asked to identify the last premises or services for which they felt they were in some way cheated. Across the board, citizens were mostly subject to cheating while purchasing goods at shops. This is very consistent in all countries. However, it is notable that in Brazil and Zimbabwe fraud more often occurred in relation to construction and repair work. This suggests that, more frequently than in other developing countries, such incidents may have happened involving high amounts of money.

Correlates of Victimization

Weapons used in Committing Crimes

Sometimes, the offenders used a weapon to commit robberies, assaults, and sexual assaults. It should be noted that the ICVS question was referring to any type of weapon or an object used as a weapon.⁸

Robberies were definitely the type of crime most frequently committed with weapons. In some countries, such as Argentina, Colombia, Cambodia, Indonesia, and South Africa, the offenders were armed in approximately three-

quarters of the robberies. Weapons were least used in India (6 percent).

Weapons were less often used in cases of assaults and threats, but still in around 30 percent of the cases, weapons were present. This again conforms that the robberies are more intentionally committed than assaults and threats. Weapons were least often used in case of sexual offences, 15 percent on average in Africa, 4 percent on average in Asia, and 6 percent in Latin America.

Reporting to the Police

Although the ICVS results have so far demonstrated that the victimization experience was perceived by the vast majority of victims as very serious or fairly serious (and in most cases it was perceived as a crime), very often victims considered that small losses were not worth the burden of going to the police station, filling in forms and answering questions, which were sometimes perceived as embarrassing.

According to the ICVS, only a small portion of crimes were reported to the police and very frequently they were not those perceived by victims as the most grave.

There are, however, important variations across countries as to the volume and type of crime known to the police, and admitted into police administrative records. The ICVS provides considerable information on the differences across countries in crimes experienced by victims, and those reported to the police. It does not, however, provide information on the way in which reported crimes are officially admitted into police records.⁹

The crime with the highest reporting rates is theft of a car; over 80 percent of the thefts are reported. Burglary is the next crime that is often reported. In Africa, 57 percent of burglaries are reported; in Latin America, 49 percent; and in Asia, 37 percent.

Least often reported are theft of personal property (probably because of the limited value of the stolen goods) and sexual offences. Although the absolute levels of reporting differ between countries, the pattern described above is valid for almost all countries. Car thefts and burglaries are reported most often and followed by sexual offences.

The countries with the best overall reporting patterns were India, Swaziland, Botswana, South Africa, and Panama (more than 40 percent on average). On the contrary, crimes were least reported (less than 30 percent on average) in The Philippines, Bolivia, Uganda, Korea, Argentina, Colombia, and Mozambique.

Satisfaction with the Police

The ICVS also provides indicators of the strength of police-community relations. This is obtained through the analysis of the degree of satisfaction of victims upon

reporting to the police, and the reasons given by victims who were dissatisfied with the way the police handle cases once they were reported. The analysis of these results is particularly important since it enters into the delicate police-citizens relationship. The responses given to this question were provided by people who had already willingly approached the police to report their experience of vic-

Table 5. Reporting to the Police for Seven Crimes

	Theft of Car	Burglary	Theft from a Car	Assault & Threats	Robbery	Theft of Personal Property	Sexual Offences
Africa							
Botswana (Gaborone)	89.5	71.1	67.9	15.1	39.2	34.4	10.8
Eswatini (Maseru)	86.4	61.1	32.3	16.2	26.8	16.6	12.7
Zimbabwe (4 cities)	81.8	26.2	22.7	23.0	19.9	11.6	23.6
Namibia (Windhoek)	95.7	63.2	57.7	12.8	28.7	14.2	10.3
Nigeria (Lagos)	89.7	44.9	28.7	17.5	36.9	13.2	10.2
South Africa (Johannesburg)	92.1	60.6	48.9	15.8	35.4	28.5	38.2
South Africa (Mbabane)	94.0	83.3	53.7	12.9	50.0	24.5	12.3
Uganda (Kampala)	75.0	23.7	20.0	9.2	14.5	5.5	17.5
Zambia (Lusaka)	100.0	63.3	48.9	10.7	29.1	14.1	14.0
Zimbabwe (Harare)	100.0	72.5	56.0	14.6	41.9	22.5	8.2
Average	90.4	57.0	43.7	14.7	32.2	18.4	15.8
Asia							
Cambodia (Phnom Penh)	100.0	16.6	6.3	31.9	50.5	9.6	5.9
India (Mumbai)	100.0	66.8	84.6	28.6	52.3	22.0	8.5
Indonesia (Jakarta)	100.0	9.2	14.1	19.5	45.4	29.9	..
South Korea (Seoul)	73.7	35.6	10.2	19.5	31.0	15.8	5.0
Mongolia (Ulaanbaatar)	90.9	75.7	31.0	25.8	36.3	10.5	4.0
Philippines (Manila)	40.0	20.4	14.8	25.0	16.0	5.1	8.3
Average	84.1	37.4	26.8	25.0	38.6	15.5	6.4
Latin America							
Argentina (Buenos Aires)	81.1	42.1	17.8	18.3	19.5	15.9	5.2
Bolivia (La Paz)	83.6	29.7	10.9	11.9	14.0	2.7	8.4
Brazil (Rio de Janeiro)	99.0	31.0	23.0	30.0	24.0	12.0	21.0
Colombia (Bogotá)	81.1	42.1	17.8	18.3	19.5	15.9	5.2
Dominican Republic	82.9	42.4	20.2	29.4	23.4	16.8	8.1
Panama (Panama)	83.9	88.4	27.1	29.7	30.5	25.4	23.8
Paraguay (Asunción)	98.5	41.9	25.3	42.8	20.8	22.1	0.8
Average	87.3	48.6	18.6	20.6	20.3	13.8	7.8

timization, thus, carrying with them some expectations for either solving the case or recovering their property.

In Western Europe and the New World, more than 60 percent of victims said they were satisfied with the way they were treated after reporting burglary and/or contact crimes. In developing countries, the respondents' perception of police performance in dealing with reported crimes is much lower, only around 30 percent for burglary and robbery. In the developing world, victims felt they received better treatment when reporting contact crimes than burglary. Maybe the expectation for recovery of stolen goods was too high, thus leading to an inevitable disappointment. In the industrialized world, the extensive adoption of insurance policies may lead to a confusing interpretation of reporting patterns and satisfaction with the police upon reporting. However, in developing countries those victims most satisfied with the police were, on average, those in Africa,

while the least satisfied were in Asia. Differences between countries were sometimes quite big.

With regard to burglary, the most frequently mentioned reasons for dissatisfaction with the police upon reporting were: “the police did not do enough” and “the police were not interested.” In general, disinterest on the part of the police was mentioned by 41 percent of the victims in Latin America.

Victims of robbery across the globe tend to emphasize that the police “did not do enough” and “were not interested” (from a peak of 54 percent in Latin America to 22 percent in Africa). More than 70 percent of victims of robbery in Asia are dissatisfied with the police because the offender was not found and the goods were not recovered. Around 40 percent of victims of robbery from Africa, Latin America, and countries in transition express the same view. These two rea-

Table 6. Percentage of Victims Satisfied with the Police on Reporting for 3 Types of Crime* and Satisfaction with Police in Controlling Crime Locally**

	Satisfied with the Police on Reporting			Satisfaction with Police in Controlling Crime Locally		
	Burglary	Robbery	Assault & Threats	Very or Fairly Good	Fairly or Very Poor Job	Don't Know
Africa						
Botswana (Gaborone)	41.7	34.4	50.0	65.7	33.7	0.6
Lesotho (Maseru)	26.0	40.9	42.6	26.4	53.9	19.6
Mozambique (4 cities)	30.7	37.3	37.2	52.8	39.0	8.2
Namibia (Windhoek)	42.5	46.7	57.4	30.2	49.8	20.1
Nigeria (Lagos)	45.9	40.0	71.4	41.4	41.3	17.3
South Africa (Johannesburg)	28.6	40.0	51.2	45.7	53.4	1.0
Swaziland (Mbabane)	32.6	36.2	27.8	23.7	54.4	21.8
Uganda (Kampala)	22.6	54.2	57.9	64.9	35.0	0.1
Zambia (Lusaka)	20.0	24.2	45.0	51.8	48.2	0.4
Zimbabwe (Harare)	28.0	35.5	56.4	46.9	38.7	14.4
Average	31.9	38.9	49.7	44.9	44.7	10.3
Asia						
Cambodia (Phnom Phen)	54.7	46.8	45.0	65.1	34.9	0.0
India (Mumbai)	41.2	69.7	43.9	48.2	29.5	22.4
Indonesia (Jakarta)	14.1	—	31.8	23.9	38.4	37.5
Korea (Seoul)	15.6	11.1	26.7	63.4	36.6	0.0
Mongolia (Ulaanbaatar)	14.0	10.8	46.4	28.9	71.2	0.0
Philippines (Manila)	20.0	25.0	50.0	80.9	18.1	0.0
Average	26.6	32.7	40.6	51.7	38.1	10.0
Latin America						
Argentina (Buenos Aires)	26.3	54.4	55.2	32.6	51.9	15.6
Bolivia (La Paz)	14.2	11.4	25.4	11.2	80.1	8.7
Brazil (Rio de Janeiro)	47.0	60.0	61.0	19.4	71.0	9.6
Colombia (Bogotá)	20.0	28.3	21.3	18.6	76.0	5.5
Costa Rica	30.4	38.2	34.6	32.5	66.8	0.7
Panama (Panama)	30.8	16.7	57.1	43.9	51.9	4.2
Paraguay (Asunción)	29.5	30.1	45.7	37.6	48.5	13.9
Average	28.5	30.6	49.3	28.0	63.7	8.3

*As regards victims of sexual offences, due to the very low reporting rates, it is not possible to calculate rates of satisfaction upon reporting.

** It should be noted that the text question used in 2000 was slightly different from the past, since it prompted five possible categories of response (a very good job, a fairly good job, a fairly poor job, a very poor job, don't know) rather than four.

sons for dissatisfaction are less prominent among the victims of robbery from Western Europe and the New World, although the latter give more importance to the offender being caught rather than to the goods been recovered.

The victims of assault/threats single out that the reasons for dissatisfac-

tion with the police reaction to reporting the crime have to do with the police not doing enough and not finding the offender. In addition, victims complain that the police were incorrect/impolite, which is more characteristic of victims' assessment of police attitudes in the developing world and in countries in transition. This factor indicates certain features of police culture that sometimes lacks respect for particular needs and expectations of victims of violence.

Satisfaction with the Police in Controlling Crime

Apart from the opinion of victims, all respondents were asked about their opinion of how good the police are in controlling crime in the local area. The most satisfied are the respondents in Asia. Over 50 percent say the police do a very good or fairly good job, ranging from 24 percent in Indonesia to 80 percent in the Philippines. In the ten African countries, on average 45 percent believe the police do a good job. This ranges from 25 percent in Swaziland and Lesotho to 65 percent in Uganda and Botswana. Least satisfied are the respondents in Latin America, only 28 percent on average. Panama stands out here with 44 percent of the population satisfied, although in Bolivia, Brazil, and Costa Rica the percentage of people "satisfied" was below 20 percent.

The correlation between this general opinion on the police and the opinion of the victims of three different crimes who reported their crime to the police is low and not statistically significant. This is an indication that the global image of the police and their direct performance in terms of assistance to victims are two entirely different things.

Attitudes Toward Punishment

The ICVS asked respondents about sanctioning options, which are *usually* present in most criminal justice systems.¹⁰ However, for comparative reasons the choice was limited, thus some options were not actually available in all countries, and some that were available were not included in the question. There were some problems of interpretation linked with the target of theft in the hypothetical case: namely, a color TV set, the value of which varies across countries.

Prison sentence is the preferred sentence in all of the countries that we discuss here: 63 percent on average in Africa, 57 percent in Asia, and 50 percent in Latin America. Community service was the second most often mentioned sanction: in Latin America, 24 percent (a fine received 8 percent of the votes); and in Asia, 21 percent (fine was chosen only 11 percent). In 5 of the African countries a fine was preferred over community service. Both sanctions were about equally popular in Africa on average.

Table 7. Favored Sentence for a Young Recidivist Burglar

	Fine	Prison	Community Service	Suspended Sentence	Other
Africa					
Botswana (Gaborone)	19.7	57.8	14.3	0.3	6.0
Eswatini (Maseru)	11.9	59.0	18.1	1.4	7.6
Mozambique (4 cities)	22.0	48.1	20.4	0.7	4.5
Namibia (Windhoek)	12.6	58.7	19.5	4.8	2.5
Nigeria (Lagos)	6.1	66.8	11.9	1.3	8.2
South Africa (Johannesburg)	9.6	66.4	16.2	4.1	3.1
Swaziland (Mbabane)	13.5	62.5	18.0	0.9	2.2
Uganda (Kampala)	15.2	60.9	10.3	0.9	10.7
Zambia (Lusaka)	10.6	73.0	8.6	2.2	2.3
Zimbabwe (Harare)	7.9	79.4	6.2	2.5	1.9
Average	12.8	63.2	14.4	1.9	4.9
Asia					
Cambodia (Phnom Penh)	16.6	63.7	3.6	6.2	7.2
India (Mumbai)	10.7	64.0	12.7	1.9	1.6
Indonesia (Jakarta)	2.5	74.5	8.1	3.0	3.0
South Korea (Seoul)	8.0	20.9	62.0	4.7	1.4
Ulaanbaatar (Ulaanbaatar)	10.6	39.6	35.2	3.1	6.4
Philippines (Manila)	16.1	76.3	4.1	0.9	1.3
Average	10.8	56.5	20.9	3.3	3.5
Latin America					
Argentina (Buenos Aires)	2.9	55.1	23.5	2.8	7.9
Bolivia (La Paz)	8.3	39.0	19.8	18.3	8.6
Brazil (Rio de Janeiro)	—	—	—	—	—
Colombia (Bogotá)	12.3	47.6	32.4	2.2	3.9
Dominican Republic	7.6	58.2	21.7	1.7	8.4
Panama (Panama)	11.6	56.9	22.4	6.4	1.8
Paraguay (Asunción)	7.4	57.7	22.0	2.9	5.7
Average	8.4	52.4	23.6	5.7	6.1

Fear of Crime

ICVS indicators of fear of crime refer to (a) feeling unsafe in the street after dark, (b) likelihood of burglary, and (c) feeling unsafe at home after dark. Victims of crime, both male and female, generally show greater fear of crime than the average respondent.

(a) Feeling unsafe in the street after dark

The first indicator of fear of crime refers to perceived insecurity in the street after dark. Respondents were asked whether they felt very safe, fairly safe, a bit unsafe, or very unsafe. More than half of the respondents feel very or fairly safe, and there is not much difference between the three global regions; 60 percent on average in Africa, 55 percent in Asia, and 56 percent in Latin America. Countries that stand out because of low percentages of feeling safe are Mozambique, Indonesia, and Argentina. The safest countries, according to the respondents, are Nigeria, Uganda, The Philippines, and Bolivia, all over 80 percent.

Over 60 percent of the population in Mozambique, Indonesia, Argentina, and Colombia feel fairly or very unsafe after dark. The respondents consider

Nigeria, Uganda, Philippines, and Bolivia as the safest places. On average, however, the African continent is regarded the most unsafe.

(b) Fear of burglary

The respondents were asked whether they felt that a burglary was likely to occur in their household in the next twelve months. The majority of the respondents from Latin America and Africa were concerned about the possibility of a break-in in the near future. The people in Asia, however, do not consider the risk to be very high.

The correlation between the fear at night and the more rational assessment of risk for burglary is very low, and not statistically significant.

Table 8. Likelihood of Burglary

	Very Likely	Likely	Not Very Likely	Don't Know
Africa				
Botswana (Gaborone)	13.7	38.8	32.9	14.6
Eswatini (Maseru)	29.5	36.8	21.4	12.3
Mozambique (4 cities)	10.3	47.3	22.2	19.7
Namibia (Windhoek)	15.2	43.0	26.6	15.2
Nigeria (Lagos)	12.1	22.4	53.8	11.8
South Africa (Johannesburg)	31.1	37.0	25.3	6.6
Swaziland (Mbabane)	29.9	37.1	13.3	19.7
Uganda (Kampala)	4.2	37.7	44.8	12.7
Zambia (Lusaka)	18.2	41.9	21.4	18.4
Zimbabwe (Harare)	13.3	40.5	35.3	10.8
Average	17.8	38.2	29.7	14.5
Asia				
Cambodia Phnom Penh(Phnom Penh)	2.5	17.7	22.0	57.8
India (Mumbai)	2.8	6.0	49.1	42.2
Indonesia (Jakarta)	1.1	33.7	31.3	33.9
Korea (Seoul)	2.7	28.3	53.0	16.0
Mongolia (Ulaanbaatar)	2.9	18.0	51.2	28.0
Philippines (Manila)	1.9	9.6	64.9	23.6
Average	2.3	18.9	45.2	33.6
Latin America				
Argentina (Buenos Aires)	12.7	44.7	31.5	11.1
Bolivia (La Paz)	13.8	50.0	26.4	9.8
Brazil (Rio de Janeiro)	9.0	49.0	19	23
Colombia (Bogotá)	7.9	34.5	44.6	13.0
Dominican Republic	14.2	43.7	38.4	3.7
Panama (Panama)	10.8	29.9	48.1	11.2
Paraguay (Asunción)	15.8	39.6	36.8	7.7
Average	10.2	40.3	39.0	10.4

Conclusions

The data presented above represents a selection of the most important issues dealt with by the ICVS that were particularly relevant to developing countries. The ICVS shows that the overall victimization risks of citizens in developing countries are higher for all property-related types of crime, while the risk for assault with force is approximately the same across participating developing countries. However, rates for “contact crime” in some Latin American countries were among the highest observed among the 70+ countries participating in the ICVS. Women were especially at risk, having been much more frequently exposed to serious sexual assaults than in most participating countries. Furthermore, a weapon was used in committing many of such crimes, thus increasing the danger for the victims. Developing countries also show very high levels of corruption and consumer fraud.

Reporting crimes to the police is lower than in industrialized countries, although patterns are consistent in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The highest reporting rates are found for car theft and burglary and the lowest for theft of personal property and sexual offences. Less than 50 percent of the victims who reported to the police were satisfied with the way the police handled their case. The least satisfied were the victims of burglary. Overall satisfaction with the police in controlling crime in the local area is also quite low.

More than half of the respondents in Latin America and Africa thought that becoming a victim of burglary in the coming year was likely or very likely. However, not too many respondents feel unsafe at night or avoid places because of the fear of crime.

The ICVS provides a unique insight in the victimization patterns in developing countries, as well as in the relation between citizens and the police, fear of crime, and crime prevention. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to maintain a steady number of participating countries. If the ICVS were to be repeated regularly in the developing world, it might help in evaluating development and progress on crime prevention policies and support to victims of crime.

APPENDIX

Table A1. Contact Crimes: Percentage of the Respondents That Have Been Victimized At Least Once

	Robbery	Assault and Threats	Sexual Offences (Women)
Africa			
Botswana (Gaborone)	1.8	3.7	2.8
Lesotho (Maseru)	2.0	4.3	3.9
Mozambique (4 cities)(4 cities)	5.4	4.7	1.3
Namibia (Windhoek)	4.9	4.4	2.5
Nigeria (Lagos)	4.6	6.2	8.4
South Africa (Johannesburg)	5.8	7.0	1.7
Swaziland (Mbabane)	3.6	6.8	3.2
Uganda (Kampala)	4.5	5.0	1.2
Zambia (Lusaka)	2.6	6.7	3.0
Zimbabwe (Harare)	4.8	12.2	2.4
Average	4.0	6.1	3.0
Asia			
Cambodia (Phnom Phen)	1.8	6.8	1.4
India (Mumbai)	1.2	3.0	7.0
Indonesia (Jakarta)	0.8	1.5	3.1
Korea (Seoul)	0.3	1.2	0.7
Mongolia (Ulaanbaatar)	3.9	4.6	0.8
Philippines (Manila)	0.2	0.8	0.2
Average	1.4	3.0	2.2
Latin America			
Argentina (Buenos Aires)	10.8	2.6	0.9
Bolivia (La Paz)	6.6	6.0	1.8
Brazil (Rio de Janeiro)	5.0	2.1	1.3
Colombia (Bogotá)	8.6	3.8	5.1
Costa Rica	9.1	8.9	3.1
Panama (Panama)	0.9	2.3	0.3
Paraguay (Asunción)	6.7	3.0	4.4
Average	6.8	4.1	2.5

Table A2. Percentage Consumer Fraud and Where the Fraud Took Place the Last Time

	Consumer Fraud	Construction Repair	Car Garage	Hotel	Shop	Other	Don't Know
Africa							
Botswana (Gaborone)	23.7	6.8	9.6	12.1	67.9	3.2	0.4
Lesotho (Maseru)	22.4	9.7	3.1	2.2	65.0	19.0	0.9
Mozambique (4 cities)	30.2	12.1	7.1	3.5	44.9	32.3	
Namibia (Windhoek)	19.8	18.7	9.6	6.7	45.9	18.7	0.5
Nigeria (Lagos)	29.9	11.2	2.6	6.3	44.9	32.0	3.0
South Africa (Johannesburg)	10.0	14.3	5.9	2.5	60.5	16.8	0.0
Swaziland (Mbabane)	23.3	14.8	12.2	7.8	51.3	13.0	0.9
Uganda (Kampala)	50.2	16.7	7.0	7.8	66.3	3.0	
Zambia (Lusaka)	43.6	4.0	1.8	2.5	51.1	40.1	0.4
Zimbabwe (Harare)	27.0	22.9	2.7	1.8	50.4	22.2	
Average	28.1	13.1	6.2	5.3	54.8	20.0	0.6
Asia							
Cambodia Phnom Penh	40.0	5.6	4.2	1.9	50.4	37.9	
India (Mumbai)	39.6	7.0	4.0	5.3	66.0	17.7	
Indonesia (Jakarta)	28.2	7.2	13.5	2.1	58.9	18.3	
Korea (Seoul)	11.2	8.8		7.0	68.4	13.2	2.6
Mongolia (Ulaanbaatar)	32.0	5.0		2.6	77.5	14.9	2.6
Philippines (Manila)	14.6	0.9	0.9	0.9	55.7	41.6	
Average	27.6	5.7	5.7	3.3	62.8	23.9	1.3
Latin America							
Argentina (Buenos Aires)	20.3	5.1	1.0	0.8	47.3	44.6	1.2
Bolivia (La Paz)	22.3	12.2	4.1	3.6	37.5	42.0	0.4
Brazil 1996 (Rio de Janeiro)	5.9	25.2	14.3	0.4	60.1		
Colombia (Bogotá)	32.3	13.1	14.0	22.3	27.4	23.2	
Costa Rica	19.3	8.9	1.8	3.0	46.9	37.8	1.6
Panama (Panama)	11.4	11.7	8.7	4.9	69.9	3.9	1.0
Paraguay (Asunción)	25.5	4.9	4.2	2.8	53.2	34.8	
Average	19.6	12.0	7.7	5.8	49.3	24.8	0.5

Table A3. Percentage of Assaults and Threats, Robberies and Sexual Offences Committed with Weapons

	Robbery	Assault & Threat	Sexual Offences
Africa			
Botswana (Gaborone)	44.3	23.9	10.8
Lesotho (Maseru)	43.9	46.1	20.6
Mozambique (4 cities)	37.0	39.9	21.7
Namibia (Windhoek)	58.3	34.0	13.8
Nigeria (Lagos)	42.3	23.8	5.1
South Africa (Johannesburg)	79.0	60.1	39.0
Swaziland (Mbabane)	45.5	35.8	11.6
Uganda (Kampala)	—	—	—
Zambia (Lusaka)	41.8	29.2	6.3
Zimbabwe (Harare)	51.0	19.8	9.7
Average	49.2	34.7	15.4
Asia			
Cambodia (Phnom Penh)	77.1	24.7	16.2
India (Mumbai)	5.6	28.6	0.7
Indonesia (Jakarta)	71.2	44.0	0.0
Korea (Seoul)	24.1	19.2	2.5
Mongolia (Ulaanbaatar)	24.5	20.7	4.0
Philippines (Manila)	56.0	31.3	0.0
Average	43.1	28.1	3.9
Latin America			
Argentina (Buenos Aires)	74.9	32.5	3.1
Bolivia (La Paz)	51.0	38.7	0.0
Brazil (Rio de Janeiro)	66.0	46.0	12.0
Colombia (Bogotá)	71.6	43.0	6.0
Costa Rica	45.7	37.7	—
Panama (Panama)	49.2	32.4	14.3
Paraguay (Asunción)	21.8	32.1	2.3
Average	58.9	33.0	6.2

Table A4. How Safe Do You Feel Outside and At Home After Dark?

	How safe do you feel outside walking alone in your area after dark?					How safe do you feel when you are home alone after dark?*				
	Very Safe	Fairly Safe	A Bit Unsafe	Very Unsafe	Don't Know	Very Safe	Fairly Safe	A Bit Unsafe	Very Unsafe	Don't Know
Africa										
Mozambique (4 cities)	3.0	32.3	38.9	24.3	1.5	4.8	44.9	33.4	16.4	4.8
Nigeria (Lagos)	47.2	40.4	5.8	6.5						
Uganda (Kampala)	45.7	44.9	7.7	1.6	.1					
Zimbabwe (Harare)	25.7	23.8	20.2	26.9	3.3					
Average	30.4	35.4	18.2	14.8	1.2					
Asia										
Cambodia (Phnom Phen)	8.4	44.0	45.1	2.5		9.5	50.5	38.3	1.8	9.5
India (Mumbai)	14.7	32.0	34.3	18.5	0.5					
Indonesia (Jakarta)	3.9	14.5	46.3	35.3						
Korea (Seoul)	21.4	56.6	19.2	2.7		27.3	56.1	15.1	1.5	27.3
Mongolia (Ulaanbaatar)	4.6	41.6	43.2	10.6		17.5	53.3	26.3	3.3	17.5
Philippines (Manila)	40.1	52.9	6.3	0.7		36.3	53.3	9.5	0.9	36.3
Average	15.5	40.3	32.4	11.7	0.5	22.7	53.3	22.3	1.9	22.7
Latin America										
Argentina (Buenos Aires)	5.2	24.8	35.4	34.6		20.0	46.4	23.9	9.7	20.0
Bolivia (La Paz)	56.0	31.7	8.9	3.2	0.2					
Brazil (Rio de Janeiro)	13.0	30.0	36.0	21						
Colombia (Bogotá)	12.9	18.3	49.2	19.7						
Costa Rica	32.0	31.3	17.7	18.6	0.3	38.8	33.1	23.0	5.0	38.8
Panama (Panama)	28.0	25.5	30.3	16.2		49	31.5	15.1	4.4	49
Paraguay (Asunción)	36.4	21.1	18.5	22.1	1.8					
Average	25.5	31.1	26.8	16.2	0.8	43.9	32.3	19.1	4.7	43.9

*this item was introduced in the 2000 questionnaire, however, for Africa, only data from Mozambique are available

NOTES

- Results from the surveys in developing countries have been published in Alvazzi del Frate, van Dijk and Zvekic (1993), Zvekic and Alvazzi del Frate (1995), Alvazzi del Frate (1998), Alvazzi del Frate (2002), Naudè and Prinsloo (2002).
- For the purpose of analysis in this article, it was decided to drop countries for which the only data available date back to 1992-94 (China, Egypt, Papua New Guinea, Tanzania, and Tunisia).
- Throughout this article, "Korea" will indicate the Republic of Korea.
- All victimisation data refer to the one-year period preceding the interview.
- The first question reads as follows: "People sometimes grab, touch or assault others for sexual reasons in a really offensive way. This can happen either inside one's house or elsewhere, for instance in a pub, the street, at school, on public transport, in cinemas, on the beach or at one's workplace. Over the past five years has anyone done this to you?"
- International Violence Against Women Survey (IVAWS), promoted and co-ordinat-

ed by the European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control (HEUNI), UNICRI, and Statistics Canada.

- 7 “In some areas there is a problem of corruption among government or public officials. During (last year) has any government official, for instance a customs officer, police officer or inspector in your country, asked you or expected you to pay a bribe for his service?” Following this question respondents were asked to identify the category of public official, whether it was reported to the police (public prosecutor) or other public or private agency.
- 8 The text of the question addressed to victims read as follows: “Did (any of) the offender(s) have a knife, a gun, another weapon or something used as a weapon?”
- 9 For the results of the 1992-94 ICVS related to policing see Zvekic (1997).
- 10 The question was as follows: “People have different ideas about the sentences which should be given to offenders. Take for instance the case of a man 21 years old who is found guilty of a burglary for the second time. This time he stole a colour TV. Which of the following sentences do you consider the most appropriate for such a case: fine, prison, community service, suspended sentence or any other sentence?” If the interviewee opted for imprisonment, he/she was asked to specify the length.

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