

Summary

Introduction

The idea of international research project on insecurities in big European cities first originated at the end of the 1990s and should be attributed to Prof. Klaus Sessar who, at that time was head of the Chair of Criminology and Juvenile Law at the University of Hamburg Law Faculty. It was then envisioned that the research would focus on the phenomenon of insecurities in big cities in a way that goes beyond the narrowly defined traditional approach to fear of crime in modern criminology. The goal was to diagnose the phenomenon in a broader, interdisciplinary context, not only within the framework of criminology, but also that of urban sociology. The important aspect of the project should constitute also the question of how to reduce fear of crime and urban anxieties, especially in the framework of contemporary theories of community crime prevention. In other words, an equally important task is not only to create an appropriate crime prevention strategy, but also a strategy aimed at dealing with the fear of crime and a sense of insecurity among the inhabitants of big cities. The clarification of the main project objectives, as well as the completion of the research consortium, took several months throughout the period of 1999–2000. Preparations for the research significantly accelerated, since the Fifth Framework Program of the European Commission for the period of 1998–2002 was announced, which opened new opportunities for financing research projects. The project proposal and its financing were approved by the European Commission in January 2001 (contract HPSE-CT-2001-00052). Notably, the Polish portion of the project received additional funding from the Scientific Research Committee (decision 158/E-338/SPB/5.PR UE/DZ 164/2002-2004 of 6 October 2002). The actual funding of the project by the European Commission started on October 15th 2001 and was completed on June 15th 2004.

The research consortium included research centres from Austria, Germany, The Netherlands, Poland, and Hungary and the researched cities were respectively Vienna, Hamburg, Amsterdam, Cracow, and Budapest. Prof. Klaus Sessar and the University in Hamburg coordinated the project, and Martin Weinrich was its main administrative manager. Hamburg was also represented in the consortium by Prof. Ingrid Breckner and Dr Heike Herrmann (of the Department of Urban Sociology at the Hamburg Polytechnic), as well as Wolfgang Keller, Wiro Nestler and Daniela Trunk, assistants from the University of Hamburg. Austria was represented in the consortium by the Institute of Sociology of Law and Criminal Sociology (Institut für Rechts- und Kriminalsoziologie) in Vienna, and Dr Gerhard Hanak, Dr Wolfgang Stangl and Dr Inge Karazman-Morawetz were representatives. Holland was represented by Prof. Irene Sagel-Grande and Dr Leo Tornvliet (University in Groningen) and Prof. Manuela Du Bois-Reymond (University of Leiden). Hungary was represented by the National Institute of Criminology (Országos

Kriminológiai Intézet) in Budapest and its director at that time Prof. Ferenc Irk, together with a team of researchers: Dr Tünde Barabás, Dr József Kó, Dr Robert Kovács. And finally Cracow was represented by Prof. Krzysztof Krajewski from the Department of Criminology of the Jagiellonian University and Dr Janina Czapska from the Department of Sociology of Law of the Jagiellonian University. Paweł Wodka, at that time student of sociology at the Jagiellonian University participated, for a few months in the project and was later replaced by a PhD student Anna Jurczak, from the Institute of Sociology of the Jagiellonian University (who unfortunately tragically died in April of 2007). Both, quantitative, and qualitative interviews in Cracow, as well as coding of questionnaires, producing the data set and statistical analyses were conducted by the CEM Market and Public Opinion Research Institute which chaired by professor Jan Jerschina at that time from the Faculty of Management at the Jagiellonian University. The CEM Institute was also represented by Justyna Bugaj, Krystyna Leśniewska, and Łukasz Pytliński.

In each of the participating cities, a series of research work packages were done. These included: preparation of the problem profile of each city, based on existing official data, research results, and literature review (WP1); quantitative survey of a specifically selected sample of residents in two districts in each city (WP2); qualitative survey of a group of randomly selected respondents who participated in the earlier quantitative survey (WP3); analysis of crime prevention programs implemented in each city (WP4); and preparation of the final report (WP5). This book presents only partial results of the problem profile of each city, as well as comparative results of the quantitative survey, and a more detailed analysis of its results in Cracow.

Basic assumptions of the Insecurities in European Cities project from the perspective of criminology and urban sociology

Various types of insecurities present in big cities have increasingly become a theme of research in criminology and urban sociology. The starting point is the long established pattern of concentration of high levels of crime in urban centres. Research evidence also points to a spatially diverse patterns of crime within cities. In earlier approaches, crime and insecurities that results from it were not treated separately. It wasn't until the mid-20th century, when the separation of these two issues was recognized through specific research on crime. One of the primary findings that resulted from this research was the assertion that the level of fear cannot be explained by the real threats resulting from crime. Therefore, the question arise as to whether fear of crime is not an element of the broader social concerns and anxieties? Thus, the phenomenon of the fear of crime was placed within a broader discourse about the risk in postmodern societies in a way, such as that presented by Ulrich Beck. What characterizes this modern type of risks is the fact that on the one hand knowledge about their nature diminishes continuously in the society (they acquire still more and more mysterious character), and on the other they become still more and more difficult to manage and control and evade all types of decisions.

The approach of urban sociology towards these issues displays a whole range of similarities to the criminological approach, such as that discussed earlier. For a long time in urban sociology, the concept of the city has become a leading motif or the 'central point', concentrating insecurities. Currently, in the field of urban sociology, the correlation between typical urban threats (crime) and the urban feelings of insecurity has been replaced by a distinction between the sense of insecurity stemming from threats and the sense of insecurity that is spatially conditioned. Accordingly to this the focal point in the research moves towards specific types of space. Particular urban areas could generate a sense of insecurity simply because threatening situations take place there. But also they could generate a sense of insecurity because they are perceived as unsafe, unfamiliar and uninviting. In the latter, the urban space, as perceived by the sense of insecurity of its inhabitants, is treated as a social construct, which is shaped through a process of perception and labelling. From this point of view, there is no such thing as space 'in itself'. a safe or unsafe space does not constitute, therefore, a full representation of reality but is rather a result of the patterns of its perception and interpretation by each person.

An increasingly dangerous world, a society in fear, fear within cities, a fear of different places in these cities; all these are generalizations of certain feelings which initially

were regarded in individual categories but later led to the emergence of some sort of collectively felt forms of insecurity. Moreover, fear of crime is more and more often placed in a broader context, which means that crime as main cause of fear of crime does not exhaust the meaning of this phenomenon. If, therefore, the fear of crime is a part of a broader category of fears and anxieties, then the fear of crime itself has to be related rather more to the trends in those general fears and anxieties than to the trends in crime. A definite confirmation of the above statements came from observations of the radical changes that took place after 1989 in Germany. Immediately after unification a still very low crime rate in big cities of East Germany, was accompanied by them being engulfed by fear of crime. In West German cities, in contrast, a much higher crime rate, was accompanied by a much lower level of fear of crime. Paradoxically, later on, when the crime rate in Eastern Germany catch up with that of Western Germany, fear of crime there started to decrease.

The notion of the fear of crime emerged in the 1960s from a debate on crime in the United States. This debate was a result of the dramatic increase in the number of offences registered by police statistics and victimization research. In criminology, fear of crime was treated and researched as an external phenomenon, remaining within the context of traditional interest in crime. It was then overlooked that the academic research on the phenomenon of the fear of crime actually may contribute to the growing fear. Subsequently, this 'created' fear is subject to further research using same tools which contributed to its creation (meaning the phenomenon of fear may depend on the academic research).

Research evidence from psychology and physiology suggests that the physical effects of fear include symptoms such as higher blood pressure, an increase in adrenaline level, limited ability to respond properly to external stimuli. In the case of the fear of crime, these symptoms are not observed. Thus, it was necessary to assume that existence of this form of fear may be interfered from certain type of attitudes. But how can they be measured? Initially, in the United States, fear of crime was measured by a question: 'How safe do you feel when you walk alone in your neighbourhood after dusk' with a range of answers: 'very safe', 'rather safe', 'rather unsafe', 'very unsafe'. This question often used in surveys as the so called standard question refers, however, neither to crime nor to violence. Therefore, it is still uncertain what is the reason for the respondents' sense of insecurity expressed eventually in answers to this question.

The introduction of qualitative methods to research on fear of crime contributed to a more accurate understanding of the above phenomena. Significant variations were revealed. When compared to in-depth interviews, interviews based on quantitative questionnaires show usually a much higher level of the fear of crime. The explanation to this lies in spatial and temporal variables which can not be included broadly enough in quantitative questionnaires, as well as a tendency among the respondents to generalize their answers when they are not directly questioned regarding spatial and temporal aspects. In-depth interviews indicate that answers to questions of quantitative questionnaires which indicate high levels of fear of crime may result from single events or particular phenomena which are of a transitory nature.

While trying to combine all these issues, as well as some that have not been discussed here, a question arises as to whether the problems faced by the research on fear of crime

result from inadequate questions (methodological problem) or whether the fear of crime can be caused by factors other than crime itself? There is a growing scepticism towards the assumption that what we are measuring as the fear of crime is the actual fear of crime. This makes the question what this fear is really all about more relevant. What first comes to mind in this context is urban decay. International research on fear of crime uses the following terms to describe this phenomenon: social disorganisation, social disorder and physical disorder, often put together under one term 'incivility'. The reason for combining fear of crime with the above phenomena is an empirical correlation between any signs of disorder and an increase in crime rates. Recently, there is a tendency to construct models which no longer explain fear of crime by referring to crime but rather explain the phenomenon of fear of crime by the same factors that are used to explain crime. Consequently, hypotheses referring to these two phenomena may be formulated in an identical way. For example, socially unstable neighbourhoods, which are inhabited by people of a low socio-economic status and are ethnically diverse, are characterized by lower social cohesion, weak social control (both public and private) as well as serious problems with social order. All this leads to both, an increase in crime and of fear of crime.

All questions and initiatives centred on issues such as insecurities, fear and anxiety obviously aim towards decreasing the levels of these phenomena. What really put the problem of crime prevention in the centre of criminological research was the spread of the view that when it comes to preventing crime, such methods as tougher punishment or extra powers for the police are not the most effective, since crime depends more on various, complex social processes. The starting point for this was the 'broken window' theory. According to this concept, a broken window which is not fixed immediately leads to more broken windows eventually leading to the destruction of the entire house, which leads to the destruction of more houses in the neighbourhood. This then leads to an increase in the sense of insecurity among the inhabitants. They eventually withdraw from the community life and public spaces and criminal activities start to fill in. Thus, there is a need to fix immediately the first broken window. This theory was the basis of the 'zero tolerance' strategy adopted by the New York City police in the 1990s. Its motto was: we can eliminate problems in their most embryonic stage and by reacting in a very rigorous way against all, even very minor forms of social disorder. To call this strategy a preventive method is, however, an exaggeration as it is hard to imagine prevention in a more repressive way. The cornerstone of the 'broken window' theory, which correctly recognizes the need to repair urban space in danger of degradation in order to increase the sense of security of the inhabitants (as long as there is more to this theory than just treating symptoms), is absent in the 'zero tolerance' policy which focuses exclusively on chasing petty criminals and public order violators.

There are also other less restrictive models than 'zero tolerance' which focus on the cooperation between local communities, citizens and the police. The main notion here is the community crime prevention (CPP). In this approach, the main goal is not necessarily direct crime prevention as a tool of reducing fear. It focuses rather on improving the living standards in a community. In order to decrease opportunities to commit crimes and increase the sense of security among citizens, efforts concentrate on 'personal space' and immediate surroundings of the citizens in which they function daily, meet, and communicate with each other. In this context, the role of the police needs to be explained. The

notion of holistic solutions based on a partnership approach towards multi-dimensional and complex problems requires that the police take a role of an institution which specializes in both, law enforcement and crime prevention. Such model of policing means not only making decisions (what constitutes usually main type of police routine) but also solving problems. In this context, the term community policing (CP), was coined. Community policing entails a proactive nature of police actions and its participation in community activities which improve the quality of life. This type of policing becomes a special element in the complex system of social control, yet it is closely connected to other aspects of social life. Within its framework the police should always, whenever and wherever it is possible, be ready to help to revitalize neighbourhoods, to support and coordinate initiatives undertaken by the local communities and to provide adequate education (regarding safety). Police which is focused on a community closely cooperate with all local institutions. For that reason it should abandon its traditional, exclusively reactive approach and play an adequate role in recognizing and solving common problems regarding crime and public order.

Characteristics of the prevalence and trends in recorded crime in Cracow in the period of 1990–2005 as compared to Amsterdam, Budapest, Hamburg, and Vienna

In criminology it is widely assumed, that there is a direct relationship between the level of urbanization and crime. Two factors explain this phenomenon. First of all, cities, especially big cities, are perceived as crime-prone social and physical milieus. A city is a very unique type of social structure which can lead to the creation of social disorder. Secondly, urban centres are not only social structures that generate crime but also a type of social structure that impedes effective functioning of social control. Before 1990 in Polish criminology a few papers were written about the relationship between urbanization and crime. First of all, it was indicated that crime rates in urban centres are higher than in rural areas. Second, it was suggested that cities in Poland do not necessarily generate crime as much as they attract it. Many offences are namely committed in the cities, but by offenders who do not necessarily live in them.

Another issue of great importance for the analysis of the crime situation and patterns in Cracow is the problem of the relationship between crime and rapid social change. Before 1990 subject of particular interest in Polish criminology was the problem of influence intense industrialization exerts on crime in the areas undergoing such processes. Observations and conclusions on these influences which regarded rather local level and limited range phenomena became after the fall of the communist regime in the year 1989 subject of interest on the macro-scale. Poland, like other Eastern and Central European countries, entered a new phase of the deep political, economic and social transformation, a process that was accompanied by the serious growth of crime. Polish criminology after 1990 paid relatively little attention to research on causal relations between the transformation and crime. More effort has been devoted to the analysis of the available statistical data regarding recorded crime which concentrated on changes in crime trends and its structure. One of the main questions asked referred to an attempt to distinguish between what constituted result of real changes in the phenomenon of crime (its authentic increase) and what constituted just a statistical artefact, resulting from changes in the patterns of reporting offences by victims, and changes in the patterns of registering these offences by the police, as well as changes in the scope of criminalization.

The analysis of data on crime in Cracow indicates that throughout the entire period since 1989, crime rate in Cracow was higher than the national level. The same regards crime trends in Cracow as compared with national trends, as crime was growing in Cracow faster than in Poland. The fifteen years, 1990–2005, can be divided (both at the

national and at Cracow level) into two quite distinct sub-periods, namely 1990–1996 and 1997–2005. In the first period, after the ‘big bang’ of recorded offences in 1990, crime in Poland remained for a few years relatively stable. In Cracow, however, it was subject to various fluctuations: the city experienced an increase in crime in the years 1991–1993 after which a significant drop was recorded. However, from 1997 onwards, the recorded crime rate in Poland began to grow significantly. This process lasted until 2003. In 2004 the crime growth levelled off, and in 2005, it changed into a crime drop that continued in the years 2006 and 2007. The registered crime trends in Cracow in that period was very similar. At the same time, however, an increase in the crime rate was much more sharper. We can therefore state that, in that period of time a differentiation in of the crime rate between Cracow and the rest of Poland took place. This would indicate that in highly urbanized areas, certain social and economic processes took place which accelerated the growth of crime. It indicates also a growing gap in crime rates between urban centres on the one side, and rural areas and the national average on the other. In consequence, today Cracow scores relatively high among big cities in Poland when it comes to the recorded crime rate. In 2000, it was on the sixth place and in 2005 it was on the fifth place nationally, as opposed to being twelve in 1991.

The next step is an analysis of trends in selected types of violent offences (homicide, bodily injury, assault, rape, and robbery), and selected property offences (burglary and theft). The trends in the rates of these types of criminal acts in Cracow were characterized by a number of particularities, especially when compared to the national situation. For the entire period after the year 1989, Cracow recorded higher rates of these offences – with the exception of homicide and rape – than the national average and this gap was growing with time. This was particularly true in case of offences against property such as burglary and theft. But it was quite similar in the case of robbery. a somewhat more encouraging pattern existed in case of other violent offences, which developed in a way similar to the national level and the gap in their rates between Cracow and the rest of Poland was not so substantial. It all suggests that Cracow, as a metropolis, has special problems with property offences, both of violent and non-violent character.

The main change in the structure of recorded crime in Poland between 2000 and 2005 was a significant increase in the proportion of road traffic offences and drug offences. This all led to a decrease in the share of offences against property. These changes were resulted mainly from changes in legislation: reclassification of drunken driving from an administrative offence to a criminal offence as well as criminalization of possessing small quantities of drugs for own consumption. The share of other types of crime in the overall volume of registered offences, including crimes against person, was relatively small and stable (even if one considers some changes which took place in their rates). The structure of recorded crime in Cracow had its own peculiarities. Dynamic growth of offences against property (including robbery), which has been noted in Cracow since the mid-1990s, was reflected in a much higher share of such offences in the structure of registered offences than it was the case on the national level. At the same time, when we take into account high density of traffic in Cracow, it is quite surprising that the share of traffic offences is relatively low, especially when compared to the situation in the rest of the country. What is also quite surprising is the proportion of drug offences among all offences in Cracow. All in all, we can say that property offences dominate in the

structure of recorded crime in Cracow. At the same time Cracow does not seem to be a metropolitan area experiencing especially serious problems with violent offences.

How does Poland compare to other countries participating in the research project In-Sec (Austria, the Netherlands, Germany, Hungary) and Cracow to the other participating cities (Amsterdam, Budapest, Hamburg, Vienna)? While making these kinds of comparisons, one has to keep in mind that the value of international comparisons of police statistical data is problematic and limited. This limitation regards more comparisons of crime rates than crime rates trends. The problem is that the volume of crime in a given country does not necessarily depend only on the number of acts defined by the law as criminal, but also, if not above all, on the scope of criminalization existing under a particular jurisdiction. It does not mean obviously that international comparisons based on police statistical data are pointless. They have their own value, especially in reference to trends of crime. An analysis of the existing data shows that countries which participated in the InSec project can be divided into three groups. Germany and The Netherlands can be regarded as high-crime countries with a relatively high rates of recorded crime, while Poland and Hungary belong rather to low-crime countries. And Poland, despite a sharp growth of crime in the period of 1996–2004, has still the lowest crime rate of all 5 countries. Austria places itself between these two groups. This was the case especially in the second half of the 1990s. After that period Austria faced quite a dynamic growth of crime which moved this country closer to Germany and The Netherlands. Despite the widespread belief in Poland that the country is being engulfed by a wave of crime which is completely out of control, the police data indicates otherwise.

A comparison of the crime trends in five countries also leads to interesting conclusions. The most stable situation could be observed in Germany. In The Netherlands, with the exception of the 2004–2005 period, the accelerating growing trend was present. The same refers to Austria, which during the period of 2000–2003, with the exception of 2001, registered also growth of recorded crime. Evidently, this tendency was not particularly spectacular, especially when compared to what was recorded at the same time in Poland. The truth, however, is that these changes in crime rate in Austria took place at a very different (much higher) level than in Poland. Finally, the only country, from all five, that noted a significant drop in recorded crime rate during that period was Hungary.

Somewhat different conclusions can be drawn from the data on the trends in crime rates in the cities participating in the InSec project. Their ranking order is comparable to the ranking order of respective countries, although during the years 1995–2005 some changes could be noted. In the early 2000s, Amsterdam and Hamburg had a similarly high crime rate, while in Cracow it remained still pretty low. Budapest and Vienna were both in a moderate position. However, by 2005, the situation changed significantly: in Amsterdam and Hamburg, crime rates dropped substantially, while in Vienna they had gone up dramatically. a similar growth was noted in Cracow while in Budapest crime rate remained at the similar level. Despite a drop in the crime rate, Hamburg remained the most dangerous city. The crime rate was there much, much higher than it was in Cracow (almost double as high). In Vienna this rate was slightly lower than in Hamburg. And Amsterdam moved to the third position, but with crime rates much lower than in Hamburg and Vienna. However, despite this drop in crime rates in Amsterdam and a long

growing tendency in Cracow, the registered offences rate in Cracow was still almost half of that for Amsterdam. And it was still slightly lower than the one for Budapest.

In conclusion, based on this analysis, one can say that Cracow and Poland look rather unfavourable when it comes to the trends of recorded crime. The situation looks different, however, when one takes into account situation in all five countries and cities. Then it becomes clear that despite a serious growth, recorded crime rate in Cracow, when compared to other cities, remains at a still relatively low level, as Cracow is still far away in this respect from Amsterdam, Hamburg, or Vienna. It managed only to 'catch up' with Budapest. One can therefore say that when it comes to recorded crime there is still a substantial distance between Eastern European cities which participated in the InSec project and Western European ones.

Insecurities, Anxieties, Fear of Crime and Levels of Victimization in the Five Cities

The primary object of interest in the Insecurities in European Cities project was the socio-spatial aspect of the phenomenon of fear of crime. Specifically, the research focused on the urban aspect of insecurity, including the phenomenon of the fear of crime as a result of crime itself as well as different kinds of incivility. The main challenge for the quantitative part of the project was selection of research areas in each city. First of all these areas, at least to some degree, were expected to constitute hot spots of crime and other problems. Admittedly, to find such areas in some cities was not always easy. It proved to be particularly difficult in Budapest and Cracow. Although in these two cities, there are certainly 'better' and 'worse', 'safer' or 'less safe', or simply dangerous neighbourhoods, the disparities in this respect within their territories are not as evident as they may be in some Western European cities. This refers not only to infrastructure, social structure, or ethnic composition but also to the intensity of social problems, crime and other similar phenomena. Simply, in the 'post-communist' cities these phenomena are usually more evenly spread.

The selection of research area was conditioned primarily by the type of urban substance, what was essential for the analysis of the spatial component and central to the research hypothesis. That is why, in each city, as the first research area, an older neighbourhood with buildings from the turn of the 20th century or at the latest 1920s was to be selected. The second research area was to include a modern residential neighbourhood built after the Second World War which would have a more peripheral character yet be dominated by high-rise apartment housing.

In each city the following number of interviews was conducted (due to technical reasons the sample in Hamburg was smaller than the one in other cities): Amsterdam: 1.000 (De Baarsjes: 507, Zuidooost: 483); Budapest: 1.001 (Ferencváros/IX district: 500; Budafok-Tétény/XXII district: 501); Hamburg: 861 (Wilhelmsburg: 404; Steilshoop/Bramfeld: 457); Cracow: 1.088 (Kazimierz/Grzegórzki: 546; Nowy Bieżanów: 542); Vienna: 1.079 (Leopoldstadt: 590; Transdanubien: 589). In all surveyed cities, research was conducted in 2002.

The first issue addressed to in the survey questionnaire was respondents assessment of the neighbourhood in terms of satisfaction with the place of their residence, the nature of social ties in the neighbourhood, as well as its general atmosphere, especially in terms of safety. Answer patterns to these questions make it possible to distinguish among all the five cities two categories. The first one, represented by Cracow and Vienna, is characterized by a high degree of satisfaction with the respondents' place of residence and

strong social ties (especially in Cracow) as well as a lack of differences between both research areas in these two cities. The second one, represented by Amsterdam, Budapest, and Hamburg, was characterized by much lower general satisfaction, and visible differences in the level of satisfaction between the two research areas. Surprisingly, answers to the next question regarding the atmosphere in the neighbourhood in terms of it being 'safe' or 'unsafe' remain in substantial contrast to the answers given by respondents to the first question. What is striking here is the difference between Vienna and Cracow and the fact that Cracow appears to be 'the worst' from all participating in the research project cities, having in both research areas the highest proportion of respondents being of the opinion that their neighbourhood is not safe.

Interesting conclusions can be drawn from answers given by residents from all five cities regarding global problems. It was Cracow where respondents revealed the highest degree of fears and anxieties about global problems. At the same time those fears and anxieties had mostly very little to do with the local context. In other words, residents of both research areas in Cracow regard events that take place in the contemporary world as a very important problem even though they do not necessarily affect them, their neighbourhood, their city, or their country. A good example of such a problem could be the issue of nuclear power plants. In Hamburg and Vienna, a high degree of anxiety caused by this problem could be well explained. In Germany, the problem of nuclear energy is a very sensitive political issue. Similarly, in Austria, during the period preceding the survey, the problem of the Czech nuclear power plant in Temelin became an important topic in the public debate. In this context, it is quite surprising that the residents of Cracow are concerned about nuclear power plants to the same extent as the residents of Hamburg or Vienna. All this despite the fact, that there are no nuclear plants in Poland and nuclear energy was not subject to any serious public debate since the 1980s. A similarly high level of concern was expressed by the respondents in Cracow regarding the global problem of mass unemployment. This may be somehow understandable, as unemployment is a very serious problem throughout Central and Eastern Europe. What is more interesting, is why there is a large difference in the level of this concern between Cracow and Budapest. Although the unemployment rate in Hungary is lower than in Poland, both countries are characterized by the same 'transformation syndrome' from a central planning system to market economy. Yet, when it comes to the level of concern caused by the mass unemployment, Budapest places itself closer to Vienna, which has not undergone any economic transformation, and belongs to wealthiest European cities, with stable economy. Similarly, a high level of anxiety was noted in Cracow in case of the conflict between the Western world and Islam, wars, cross-border crime, and terrorism. From all five cities concerns with these problems reached the highest level in Cracow. Yet, these problems do not affect Cracow's residents as directly as they sometimes do affect residents of other four cities.

Next, the analysis focused on the concerns and anxieties regarding the city. Again, Cracow, as indicated by the survey results, scored here 'worst', as most anxious of the five cities. Undoubtedly, unemployment is one of the most serious problem in contemporary urban centres, especially in Eastern and Central Europe. Nonetheless, in Cracow, the level of concern and anxiety caused by this problem in the city, when compared to other cities, is still somewhat surprising. Especially given the fact that unemployment

rate in Cracow is considerably lower than the Polish average. In this context, it is again worth mentioning Budapest where the unemployment rate is lower but not to such a degree that one would expect such a difference in the level of concern with this problem between the two cities. Answers to questions regarding crime showed a similar level of anxiety in both cities. Distribution of answers to the question regarding concern with crime as a social problem shows that Budapest and Cracow score highest in that respect, having highest levels of anxieties about crime. However, considering crime statistics for all five cities, situation should be somewhat different. In terms of official statistical data, both Cracow and Budapest are still rather safe cities, where recorded crime is much lower than in Amsterdam, Hamburg, and Vienna.

Cracow has also very high level of concern with such social problems as poverty, drugs, school violence, and hooliganism. As a matter of fact, Cracow took here usually the lead. For example, the level of anxiety caused by drug dealing and presence of drug addicts on the streets was comparable only to Hamburg, and much, much higher than in Amsterdam. It is true that since 1990, the problem of drug addiction in Poland has grown and became a serious social problem. Yet, it is still nowhere near as prevalent as it is in Germany, or the Netherlands. What is even more surprising is the degree of anxiety concerning the phenomenon of school violence. Cracow scored here particularly high. It compares here only to Hamburg, although, even there it is much lower. Interestingly enough, in both cities, the problem of school violence was in 1999 subject to the survey using the same questionnaire. It revealed a comparable degree of prevalence of different forms of school violence in both cities, which do not necessarily justify in objective terms differences in perceptions of this problem established by the InSec project.

The final block of questions focused on the concerns regarding neighbourhoods of residence of the respondents. Here, opinions expressed by the respondents in Cracow reflected the actual problems more adequately. The best example may constitute the question on the presence in the neighbourhood of demolished, ruined buildings. The percentage of answers indicating concern with such phenomena was the lowest in Vienna, which is really considered to be one of the 'best maintained' European cities. It was also quite low in Hamburg and Amsterdam. In Cracow, respondents in Nowy Bieżanów also revealed a low level of concern with this problem. However, Kazimierz/Grzegórzki in Cracow and Ferencváros in Budapest stood out as most severely affected by the problem of the run-down buildings. It can be said, therefore, that demolished, ruined buildings constitute a specific problem for urban centres in Central Europe where it is regarded accordingly as a serious, or even a very serious problem. Similar conclusions may be derived from answers regarding such problems as wall graffiti, youth and drunks 'hanging around' (the last is by no means surprising considering Polish drinking habits), as well as from answers to questions regarding street and domestic violence. Similarly, answers to the question regarding presence of the police on the streets present an interesting picture of the state of concerns in all five cities. Except for Budapest, no other city had such a high level of dissatisfaction with the insufficient police presence on the streets as it was the case in Cracow. It is not clear, whether it means that there is more police presence on the streets of all other cities, or, maybe, the public order and crime situation in these cities is so much better than in Cracow, that residents do not perceive a need for the greater police presence? In Cracow, regardless of the real situation, residents seem

to think that the institutions of law enforcement do not perform as expected. This may actually lead to a sense of alienation among residents faced with various problems and reinforce anxieties and fears.

An important task of the quantitative part of the research project was to obtain information regarding the assessment of the victimization risk, or the so called cognitive component of the fear of crime. Here, again, Cracow showed a decisive lead. This was particularly noticeable in reference to violent crime like bodily injury or assault. But as a matter of fact, similar situation could be observed in reference to offences against property: simple theft, burglary, or car theft. The level of cognitive fear of crime may be confronted with the data obtained on direct victimization of the respondents. The picture that emerges is again quite surprising. When it comes to the general prevalence rate of victimization, Cracow, as compared to the other four cities, emerges as a quite average place. It is also worth pointing out that the ranking of five cities according to victimization level does not correspond to the ranking based on official crime statistics. General level of victimization in Cracow and Budapest does not differ substantially from that observed in the other three cities, while differences in regard to recorded crime are quite significant. In the years 1995–2005 namely Amsterdam, Hamburg and Vienna had a much higher official crime rate than Cracow and Budapest. Similar picture and ranking order of five cities emerge when data on specific types of offences are considered, namely theft, car theft, burglary, sexual assault, assault and robbery.

Summing up, Cracow is undoubtedly a city which differs substantially from other four cities in both, the level and intensity of various insecurities and anxieties, including the fear of crime. It seems that it may be justified to speak even about something like a specific ‘culture of anxiety’ being present in Cracow. Moreover, when one compares the data obtained in Cracow with the data obtained in Vienna, it is possible to notice that the latter represents an opposite pattern of an ‘absence-of-fear culture’ or a ‘positive-attitude-to-life culture’. The point is, that the low level of anxiety and insecurity that is so characteristic for the residents of Vienna does not mean that there are no real problems and dangers in the city. Objectively of course, Vienna is not a dangerous city. Nonetheless, in some cases prevalence rate of direct victimisation experiences there was higher than in Cracow. Yet, this does not seem to affect seriously the Viennese. a serious question remains. Why, considering similar levels of victimisation as compared with Vienna, residents of Cracow reveal such a high level of the fear of crime but also of the other forms of anxieties and concerns?

The Sense of Security of Cracow's Residents

The chapter analyzes research results regarding three main components of the fear of crime (cognitive, emotional, and behavioural) as well as their interrelations and factors that influence the level of fear. Responses to all questions and new complex variables, which were created for the purpose of this analysis (indices and scales) were correlated with socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents, which enabled researchers to verify the hypothesis on how these factors influence fear. Complex variables, which were created based on the answers to detailed questions, enabled a deeper analysis and search for new findings. Because the fear of crime was analyzed in a broader context of the participants' responses towards various threats and forms of behaviour, the analysis will first present the level of fear of crime and, subsequently, the micro, mezo and macro-social factors that influence it.

Based on the breakdown of the respondents' socio-demographic characteristics a factor analysis of five status classes was constructed, which included: level of education, income, and type of employment. It turned out that the respondents' age did not influence their social status. It is probably a result of the ongoing changes due to which many young, entrepreneurial people reach high social positions and incomes. Such positions are also reached by older respondents whose careers were more gradual and often started before the economic transformation. The lower social status group included both young people who graduated from a vocational school and took low-paid jobs or are unemployed and the elderly who live off modest pensions.

A relatively high level of fear can be derived from the responses to questions that were to measure the subjective assessments of victimization risk in the near future. The highest rank was given to a probability of burglary. Second in the rank was a probability of various forms of harassment, and third was given to theft. Two scales of subjective assessment of fear were constructed based on how respondents assessed the probability of becoming victims to crime. The assessment of the risk of being a victim to physical attack was influenced by the respondents' age, social status, and frequency of taking preventive actions, both in an active and passive sense. A subjective assessment of risk of being victim to a physical attack was also correlated to a sense of anxiety related to crime in the city and neighbourhood. Assessments of the risk of being victim to crime against property (these were used only towards respondents who owned a car) were not influenced by sex, age, education level, or social status and place of residence of the respondents. This assessment of risk correlates with the assessment of risk of being victim to physical attack, assessment of dangers in the streets of the neighbourhood, activities such as walks and social gatherings as well as – although to a lower degree – assessment of insecurities in the city.

One of the indicators of fear of crime is a fear of leaving home after dusk due to fear of becoming victim to a crime. The so-called standard question referring to this emotional state has been severely criticized in literature. Therefore, in the InSec research a different, more complex method of diagnosis of these fears was used. First, the respondent was asked how often he/she leaves his place of residence after dusk. Factor analysis enabled researchers to establish three categories of motives for not leaving home after dusk: 1) I fear darkness, I don't feel physically fit, 2) I like to stay home, I have housework to do, 3) I fear going out by myself, I fear that somebody will attack me, I fear that something bad will happen to me. Staying home in the evenings, regardless of the motive, was declared by respondents sharing similar socio-demographic characteristics: mostly women and the elderly of a lower social status. An experience of victimization did not play an important role, even in the case of respondents who feared becoming victim to crime or some other undefined threat. This is further confirmed by a strong correlation between answers to a question how often does a respondent leave a house after dusk and a choice not leave the house after dusk as an effective crime prevention method.

In both research areas, typical reactions towards potential crime threat included relatively simple and cheap methods of passive protection, most often avoiding a situation or person who could be a source of danger. Adherence to this method is correlated to the respondent's gender but not age. Active forms of protection, what is less frequent, are used more often by middle-aged respondents, what is related to their economic status (protecting apartments and cars). These choices were not influenced by previous victimization experiences. There is a positive correlation between the choice of passive protection and the index of global fears, the assessment of insecurities in the city, the danger of violence in the neighbourhood, street dangers in the neighbourhood, as well as dangers which result from the state of the neighbourhood and the subjective assessment of the risk of physical attack.

Analysis of factors that could influence the level of fear of crime included the degree of optimism/pessimism in regard to selected issues as well as the victimization experiences of the respondents. Although much attention was given to 'global fears', the residents of both surveyed areas were not too pessimistic about the future of the world, although they were more optimistic about their own future and believed that they live in accordance to their earlier expectations and plans and that they manage everyday life difficulties quite well. Based on these questions, an index of the respondent's 'personal resources' was created. It turned out that the level of these resources is correlated to the trust in public and judicial institutions, trust in social institutions, cultural and sport activities, and satisfaction with the neighbourhood, as well as with the level of social integration. Yet, it was negatively correlated with the index of global fears, anxieties caused by crime in the city, general anxieties, street dangers in the neighbourhood, and a subjective assessment of physical attack. A strong belief in the ability to influence the course of one's life (personal resources) was strongly correlated with the level of education, employment, and social status of the respondent.

About one third of the respondents have been victims to crime in the last three years preceding the survey. The frequency of becoming a victim to crime grew with respondents' level of education. In both research fields, crime against property dominated. Direct experience of victimization was less often declared by younger respondents. There

is a statistically significant correlation between a social status and experience of victimization: the higher the status, the more experiences of victimization.

In the explanation of the origin of the fear of crime, the most important are theories regarding the nearest environment. In our research, local problems also took a central position. Social interactions and perceptions of the respondents' neighbourhood were analyzed. The level of integration between neighbours, which was measured through questions regarding the quality of relations with neighbours and readiness to take up common actions with them, was positively correlated with the index of satisfaction with living in the neighbourhood, trust in public institutions and law and justice system, social institutions, as well as with all types of respondents' social activities.

In both research areas, respondents assessed the most serious dangers and threats in their neighbourhood in a different way. In Kazimierz/Grzegórzki it was the insufficient police presence in the streets, presence of drunks on the streets, filth and trash on the streets, vandalism, and groups of youth 'hanging around'. In Nowy Bieżanów, it was insufficient police presence in the streets, groups of youth 'hanging around', insufficient possibilities to pass free time, vandalism, and again drunks being present on the streets. Based on these responses three scales were built. They included: a scale of the threat of violence, a scale of street threats, and a scale of concerns about the state of the neighbourhood (mainly physical signs of neglect). A high level of anxiety about all problems of the neighbourhood was expressed by respondents who highly assessed the probability of becoming victim to a crime against person as well as those who would use passive methods of protection. Also, concern was generalized in its nature in a sense that noticing problems in one area was connected to similar assessments of the other categories of problems.

From the list of ideas on how to reduce problems in the neighbourhood as the most effective respondents noted: severe forms of punishment for criminals, increased presence of the police in the streets as well as increasing the police's powers. As least effective were considered such as hiring a private security firm, civic patrols, and more active role of the Church in the neighbourhood. Answers to these questions were strongly influenced by the age of the respondents. A factor analysis enabled researchers to distinguish four factors: 1) active involvement of members of the neighbourhood in its affairs; 2) protection of the weakest; 3) improvement in the work of law enforcement agencies; 4) improvements in infrastructure. Respondents know their neighbourhoods quite well, present a coherent image of existing threats and methods of dealing with them, and these assessments influence the level of satisfaction with the neighbourhood.

Respondents choosing similar prevention methods share a similar socio-demographic profile. Opinions are also often related to the elements of the feelings of security through a correlation with the choice of passive preventive measures or an assessment of the importance of criminal threats in the city. Also they are in a positive correlation with 'global fears'.

The level of satisfaction with living in their neighbourhood, as expressed by the respondents, is quite high and the assessments obtained in both research areas are similar. In this context, it is worth highlighting that there is a statistically significant correlation between the perception of the neighbourhood as safe and a high level of satisfaction with it. This indicates that the opinion about safety influences a general view of the neigh-

bourhood. Such a correlation was noted only between the high level of satisfaction with the neighbourhood and the level of its familiarity.

The respondents highly assess the quality of life in their neighbourhoods although there are some differences in opinions regarding such issues as public transportation, assistance of the police when in need, ability to leave at night, and spending free time (sport fields, parks etc.) Here, socio-demographic characteristics did not influence opinions. The scale of satisfaction with the neighbourhood's infrastructure correlates with the following variables: the level of integration between neighbours, personal wealth, trust in public and judicial institutions, trust in social institutions, and the level of activity related to leaving the house. Negatively it correlates with the index of global fears, insecurity due to crime in the city, general anxiety in the city, street threats in the neighbourhood, as well as threats that result from the physical state of the neighbourhood.

Two detailed research hypotheses can be drawn from the basic hypotheses that were made in the InSec research. The first one assumes existence of the direct relationship between the fear of crime and the different forms and intensity of activities of the respondents as well as an indirect correlation between these variables through conditioning the forms of activities with the characteristics of the neighbourhood in which the respondents live. Several questions were used to outline the ways in which the respondents spend their free time. Based on the analysis of the variables (with Varimax rotation) three factors representing three different types of activity emerged: **culture and sports; social work and charity; and congregating with friends, walks and outings** (later on referred to as recreation). In Cracow, the surveyed residents choose leisure activities that do not require many financial resources and are available for people of all income and social status. They include: meeting friends, walks, and outings. Social work and volunteering are much less popular. Respondents who choose more active forms of leisure perceive less threats in the city and their neighbourhood, are more integrated in their neighbourhood and to a greater degree take on active protection than passive.

At the intermediate social level the analysis involved the relationship between a sense of security and the respondents' views of Cracow as a city. Based on the obtained results a scale of insecurities related to crime in the city was created and included the following variables: crime, corruption and cronyism in public institutions, drug dealing, drug addicts in the streets, assaults, thefts and mugging on public transportation, school violence, football hooligans, and youth 'hanging around' in the streets. An attempt to create a scale of social distress did not bring satisfactory results. Variables, which were assumed to create such a scale (unemployment, poverty, degradation of natural environment, too modest means to spend free time, unsatisfactory health care system, panhandlers and the homeless) do not make a homogenous scale. In the answers of the respondents, anxiety related to crime problems in the city are correlated with threats of violence in the neighbourhood, threats in the streets in the neighbourhood, threats that result from the physical state of the neighbourhood, a subjective assessment of the risk of a physical attack, and some passive defence mechanisms, but also with the index of global fears. They were not, however, correlated with the socio-demographic variables.

Two factors emerged from the assessment of fears in the macro-social scale of the surveyed residents of Cracow. The first factor ('global fears') comprises: deterioration of natural environment, nuclear power plants, mass unemployment, conflict be-

tween Islam and the Western world, epidemics, wars, international crime and terrorism. The second factor (demographic threat) included the following variables: overpopulation, migration from poorer to richer countries. 'Global fears' were significantly correlated with opinions regarding threats in the neighbourhood and the city as well as with the assessment of the risk of becoming victim to physical attack and passive defence mechanisms. Critical assessment of personal security and security in the city was related to a pessimistic view of the world.

Residents of Cracow presented their attitudes towards global, city-level and neighbourhood problems and threats and assessed their own risk of becoming a victim to crime. Our research confirmed a correlation found by earlier research, that the level of fear increases with the social and physical distance between the respondent and threat or problem. From all concerns and anxieties the highest ranks were given to mass unemployment as a global problem and unemployment as a Cracow problem. The second position in the ranking was given to poverty as an urban problem. Therefore, it can be said that social problems were of central importance to survey respondents.

The survey also confirmed a correlation between such variables as gender and age and their influence on the fear of crime, although this correlation is a little bit more complex. a category of respondents with extreme views can be distinguished. Most likely they represent an authoritative attitude, which can be confirmed by their socio-demographic characteristics. One of the more notable individual variables around which different types and activities were organized was the choice of passive forms of protection. The Cracow research proved the legitimacy of correlating the fear of crime with the perception of problems in the respondents' area of residence. Also, it enabled an investigation into the emergence of different generalizations which manifest themselves in relation to the opinions on the different forms of space: respondents' neighbourhood, district, city and world. This correlation between the local fears and the perception of global problems came as a surprise. Our research also confirmed the hypothesis that there can be a distinction between social and individual attitudes, which are not identical, but which can correlate with each other, similarly to individual attitudes towards specific dangers.