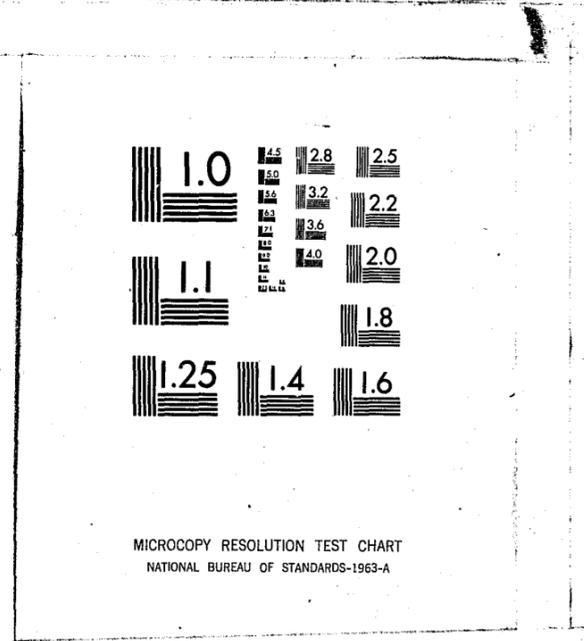


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FEMALE VICTIMS OF MINOR CRIMES

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*The willingness of female victims to notify
and the recording policy of the policy for criminal incidents*

Carl H.D. Steinmetz

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1. Introduction

In this article, differences in dealing with criminal incidents in which male or female victims are involved, are the subject of study. It is striking that such an approach should be considered unnecessary by the Central Bureau of Statistics, (C.B.S.), because it does not differentiate between female or male victims, neither on the level of any of the criminal incidents that come to the knowledge of the police nor on the level of the policy when dismissing charges R.D.C-research¹⁾ showed in the meantime that such an approach is not so senseless. For assault (not causing grievous bodily harm) incidents with female victims have been dismissed more often by the Public Prosecutor than was the case with male victims ($2^2 = 12.6$ df = 1). The inaccessibility of the C.B.S.-statistics with respect to the differentiation in male and female victims brought us to consider the RDC-victim-surveys²⁾ as the startingpoint. The risk of becoming a victim of one of the ten incidents³⁾, the willingness of citizens to notify the police and the recording policy of the police can be studied by means of victim-surveys.

In this article in the first instance the different victim percentages of female and male respondents are given briefly. For victim percentages make it clear in what incidents mainly female notifiers can be found.

In second instance the connection between notifying willingness, the recording policy and the policy not to prosecute are described. The description of these relations aims at tracing roughly the differences in dealing with incidents concerning male and/or female victims. In the third instance the differences in notifying willingness and recording policy of the police, where a difference is made between incidents without harm or injury and incidents with damage or injury, are described. These incidents will cover male and female victims.

1) Policy to dismiss a charge, F.J.M. van Straelen (in preparation), Research and Documentation Centre.
2) Van Dijk, J.J.M. and C.H.D. Steinmetz, RDC-victim-surveys 1974-1979, June 1979.

3) The ten incidents are: bicycle theft, theft of moped, theft of and from car, burglary, pick pocketing, damage to property, indecent assault in the street, threatening or violent behavior in the street and "hit and run accidents".

These descriptions can be done according to classification into property incidents and violence incidents. The property incidents are divided into incidents whereby mainly a family (household incidents) can become victimized (theft of and from a car, burglary and vandalism), and property incidents directed against a person (theft of bicycle and pick pocketing). The violence incidents consist of threatening or violent behaviour and indecent assault in the street.

2. Female victimization probabilities

The probability that females will become victims of minor crimes is increasing gradually ⁴⁾. Several explanations for this phenomenon can be pointed out, namely: increasing emancipation ⁵⁾, more leisure time spent outdoors ⁶⁾ and a decreasing of the period of motherhood. These explanations are an indication of a changing feminine lifestyle, which comes down on the one hand to a greater participation in the social system by working outdoors and on the other hand to a replacement of recreational activities at home by spending spare time outdoors. The changing use of leisure time can be the result of a stronger individualization of woman as well as men. From the victimization studies it appeared that women with children working at home, just as elderly people, do not become so often a victim of minor crimes as do girls and women of twenty-four or younger whose victimization probabilities are comparatively the same as those of men and boys of the same age-group. In Dutch society woman with children are still very much tied to their traditional and family role ⁷⁾.

The degree in which public places (amusement centres, station halls etc.), where potential delinquents often stay, are being frequented is called the proximity factor. Being in such places is principally determined by the social way of life.

In the bigger Dutch cities this social way of life will lead more often to victimization than in rural municipalities when visiting for instance amusement centres (namely in Amsterdam there are more potential delinquents than in rural municipalities) ⁸⁾.

4) In 1976 the probability for females was 15.2% and for males 20.5%, while in 1977 16.3% of the Dutch women became a victim and 19.8% of the men. The same tendency can be found by the female victims of two or more incidents (1976 females: 3.0%; males: 5.2% and 1977 females: 3.7%; males: 5.0%).

5) The Coming Twenty-five years; The Scientific Counsel for the Scientific Governmental Policy, 1977.

6) Social and Cultural Reports 1974, 1976 and 1978; Social and Cultural Planning Office, Rijswijk, The Netherlands.

7) Comparative crime victimization surveys: some problems and results; M.B. Clinard and J. Junger-Tas, 1979.

8) The degree of urbanisation is indicative of the coherence between the areas where the delinquents live and commit their crimes (C. van der Werff, 1966, C.B.S.).

In the victim risk analysis (R.D.C. June 1979) apart from the proximity factor also the exposure factor (the degree in which potential delinquents get the opportunity to commit a crime) and the attractiveness factor (the degree in which some one is a visible attractive goal for potential delinquents) are given as a source of explanation for the risk of becoming a victim of minor crimes.

Because it is to be expected that the number of female victims will increase gradually one can wonder for what incidents it is a question of such developments. In other words of what incidents woman become more often (or equally often) a victim than do men (see also appendix, table 1).

A. In 1977 and 1978 it appeared that women more often than men become victims of the incidents of pick pocketing⁹⁾ and indecent assault¹⁰⁾ in the street. Purses on shopping bags lying there for all to see (exposure factor) together with being in busy anonymous places such as shopping centres and markets (proximity of potential delinquents) and the impossibility to look after other people's and one's own property because of the coming and going of masses of people can be a explanation for the greater number of female victims.

In 1976, however, women became still equally often a victim as men of the offence of pick pocketing, which was not the case in 1977 and 1978. Whether one can speak of a changing composition of the group of victims or of an increasing anonymity in the more metropolitan great shopping centre only the future will tell us. Attractive sexual features of the victim and the impossibility of calling for help (for instance nurses going home from their work at unseasonable times) play a role in the occurrence of indecent assault.

B. In 1977 women became as equally often as men a victim of theft of a moped. The same holds for the offences in which the family becomes a victim namely theft of or from a car or burglary. The main intention with these property incidents is the attractiveness of objects. Moreover, being absent plays an important rôle in connection with burglaries in

9) Victim percentages of pick pocketing in 1977. Men: 2.1%; women: 2.7%, 1978: men: 2.2%; women: 2.8%.

10) Victim percentages of indecent assault at public places in 1977: men: 0.7%; women: 2.2%, 1978: men: 0.6%; women: 2.0%.

private houses. Being absent from home frequently is mainly caused by working out doors¹¹⁾ or by out going activities that account for a large proportion of leisure time. The same applies possibly for theft of or from a car since more than two thirds of these incidents take place or occur in front of a private house.

Given the earlier outlined developments it is to be expected that in any case the number of burglaries will increase (in future men als well as women will be absent from home more often).

C. Of the other incidents in 1977 men became more often a victim than women bicycle theft threatening/violence in the street, and "hit and run" accidents.

The same is true for vandalism. Although these damaged objects consisted for threequarters of motorcars, motor spare parts or moped spare parts and in this respect damages to household property, male respondents became yet more often a victim of this incident. An explanation for this may be that men more often than women find themselves in situations (commuter traffic, places for going out, etc. where the motor car will be damaged.

In these situations it is possible that they take the damage afflicted to their cars more or less personally, with the result that their wives will not see this damage as a victim experience but more as a damage resulting from inconvenience.

11) Due to the great number of women working outdoors in the U.S.A. there are more burglaries than in the Netherlands; Richard Block (unpublished).

3. The relations between the notifying willingness of female victims, the recording policy of the police and the non prosecuting policy of the Ministry of Justice with incidents concerning female victims

In general women notify the police about their victim experiences as equally often as men (1976: women 48% and men 46%; 1977: women 43% and men 43%), at least judging from the ten incidents of the R.D.C.-victim surveys.

The police also do not discriminate between male and female respondents when making a report (1976: women 59% and men 65%; 1977: women 58% and men 57%). Both the notifying willingness of the citizens and the reporting policy of the police have the tendency that a good 25% percent of the minor crimes can be officially¹²⁾ founded in the criminal statistics (monthly statistics police and justice).

When one relies on the combined effect of the willingness to notify and reporting policy, then the incidents of indecent assault in the street (70% of the victims are women) and threatening or violent behavior in the street (70% of the victims are men) prove to be represented least in the registration. For victims of indecent assault in the street it holds that in 1976, 1977 and 1978, 23.7, 7.4, 5.5 respectively were represented in the registered statistics. Incidents with victims of threatening or violent behavior in the street were in 1976, 1977 and 1978, 7.2%, 7.3% and 12.9% respectively represented in the registered statistics.

Without entering into the matter of the similarities and/or differences of the violence component of the two incidents it appeared from the proportionally low notifying and recording percentages¹³⁾ that neither the police nor the victims take this matter seriously.

A comparison between the violence and the property incidents indicates

12) RDC-victim surveys 1974-1979 showed that about 30% of the initial recordings of the police did not result in the criminal statistics. (unfounded). See also Richard Block and Carolyn R. Block; A look in the black box: The Transformation of Robbery Incidents into Official Robbery Statistics; October 1978.

13) RDC-victim surveys 1974-1979.

that the chance for property incidents to be found in the registered statistics is five times as great (50%). For vandalism, however, the chance is one and a half times as great (+ 15%). Such diverting differences raise the question of what weight must be given to the one or the other criminal incident by victims and police. From the RDC-inquiries it appeared that victims judge the criminal incidents with mixed feelings. It appeared in the case of violence incidents that the victims do not report their experiences because a great number of incidents (more than half of them) were already solved by the victims themselves, also probably they consider the criminal cases not worthy of punishment. Concerning property incidents, citizens are of the opinion that they see their victim experiences indeed as a violation of their existence, but that they do not notify the police, because they think that the police can or will not do anything.

Moreover property incidents (with the exception of vandalism) are notified in more than 60% of the incidents and violence incidents in more than 25% of the criminal cases, while this comes down for vandalism to more than 25% of the incidents. It is clear that the number of notifiers concerning property incidents is proportionally much greater than with violence incidents.

The recording policy of the police gives the following picture namely more initial records when property incidents are notified (about 70%) and fewer initial records with violence incidents (about 45%). Notifications of vandalism, however, are recorded in about 40% of the incidents.

The citizens and the police seem, when we rely on notification and recording percentages, to take property incidents more seriously than violence incidents.

With respect to property incidents the recording policy proves to be influenced by two tendencies. The first is based on the increase of the number of property incidents (input) especially the number of vandalism incidents and the second is the increasing number of non prosecuting criminal cases of the Ministry of Justice (testing criteria). In the case of violence incidents the increase of the number

of criminal incidents is not so great by far, whilst here also the non prosecuting incidents do increase.

If we can dwell for a while on the subject of non-prosecuting policy then the non-prosecuting percentage with indecent assault criminal cases (1970: 62% and 1976: 75%) is most striking compared to the non-prosecuting percentages of larceny (1970: 48% and 1976: 60%) and vandalism cases (1970:49% and 1976: 58%), whilst the non-prosecuting percentage of assault: (not causing grievous bodily harm) comes down to 44% in 1970 and 53% in 1976. Roughly speaking it boils down to the fact that something like two or three percent of all indecent assault incidents and five or six percent of all assault cases (not causing grievous bodily harm) end in a prosecution, whilst the chance of prosecution with property incidents (with the exception of vandalism incidents) is about 25%. For vandalism incidents this chance of being prosecuted is eight or nine percent.

It is not by far our intention to plead for a more stringent prosecuting policy. On the contrary we have in mind to unfold the priorities (differences in non-prosecuting percentages) of the Counsel of Public Prosecutors and the farreaching consequences of such priorities. The consequences of non-prosecuting policy do not derive only from a changing more restrictive recording policy (as a direct result of it) but also from the changing conceptions of citizens concerning the prosecution system (as an indirect result). These notions of citizens might result in forms of taking the law into one's own hands such as citizen militia, civil surveillance services, strong arm boys etc.

With respect to indecent assault incidents one could propose that since the Ministry of Justice so often does not prosecute, possible female notifiers are deterred and in future are forced to mind their own business¹⁴⁾. Also the police attuning to the non-prosecuting policy of the Ministry of Justice will settle increasingly fewer notifications of this type of incident with an initial record.

14) Jeanne Doomen, Delict and Delinquent, November 1977.

The aforementioned results raise the question whether the policy of the Counsel of Public Prosecutors with respect to indecent assault incidents might be generalized to the other incidents with female victim. Owing to a lack of data in general we are unable to give an answer, although assault (not causing grievous bodily harm) incidents concerning female victims lead more often to non-prosecuting than those similar cases with male victims. Moreover the research ¹⁵⁾ into non-prosecuting policy proved that, independent of the number of cases with women, more often non-prosecution is executed when the relation delinquent-victim is a family relation.

15) Straelen, F.W.M. van and C. van der Werff, Gelet op de ernst van het gepleegde delict, Tijdschrift voor Criminologie, 19e jrg., february 1977.

4. Differences in notifying willingness of citizens and the recording policy of the police with respect to criminal incidents with or without damage/injury in cases with male or female victims

On the basis of notifying behavior of men or women with the ten earlier mentioned criminal incidents in the R.D.C.-victim surveys and recording policy of the police in the case of male or female notifiers (which one suspects are both consequences of the non-prosecuting policy of the Ministry of Justice), one has to conclude that in general differences between women ¹⁶⁾ and men concerning the willingness to notify and dealing with criminal incidents on the police level do not exist (see also table two and three appendix). This outcome agrees with the results of the research project Recording Policy from which it appeared that judgement of the seriousness of criminal incidents from police and citizens are much more similar to each other than those of Public Prosecutors on the one hand and police and citizens on the other hand.

R.D.C.-research ¹⁷⁾ showed that the damage/injury component (degree of seriousness) of a criminal incident turns the scale for citizens, police and Public Prosecutors when they have to decide to notify, to make an initial record or to prosecute.

One might wonder if the judgement of seriousness is based on factors other than physical injury or material damage, when decisions have to be made about notifying or making an initial record.

In this article we restrict ourselves to factors (excepting injury or damage) which can be attributed to the victim (this means no delinquent specific factors such as former convictions, social class etc.). These former factors play a part in criminal incidents in which the amount of

16) Exceptions are the incidents bicycle theft and pickpocketing in 1976 of which it was found that notifications of men did lead more often to an initial record (bicycle theft: $X^2 = 4.1$, $df=1$ and pickpocketing: $X^2 = 6.7$, $df=1$).

17) In coming to a decision for notifying or making an initial record, the threshold values (the amount of damage or injury) are much closer to each other in comparison to the threshold value of the decision to prosecute indeed (Victimsurveys 1974-1979). Moreover it appeared from the report Recording Policy Criminal Cases by W. Buikhuisen and J.J.M. van Dijk, RDC, 1975.

injury or damage is limited, i.e. in those situations where injury or damage allow a greater degree of freedom in decision-taking.

In such situations it is not clear what kind of criteria are used by the police when they have to make up their mind whether or not to make an initial record.

Because of the fact that these criteria are hardly specified or not specified at all it is not unthinkable that the personal "norms and values" system is of principal importance. On the other hand, however, one can imagine that such a moral judgement will also play a part in cases where victims are seriously injured or their property is damaged.

The latter could mean a transgression of the bounds of tolerance such as ill-treatment of a woman which causes very serious injury. The aforementioned transgression can be a cause for the police, by means of an initial record, to deal with such criminal incidents concerning female victims more often than for similar incidents with male victims.

In the RDC-victim surveys we find the following results which are partly a confirmation of the aforementioned formulated hypotheses. (see also appendix table four and five).

a) For the property incidents in which a household becomes victim (burglary, theft from a car and vandalism) it holds that in 1977, in the case of damage of f 100,-- or less, female victims more often notify the police ($\chi^2 = 6.0$ df = 1), whilst their notification less often than those of male victims result in an initial record ($\chi^2 = 2.01$ df = 1 p = .84). In criminal incidents with damage of f 100,-- or more female victims notify the police more often of the incident ($\chi^2 = 2.6$ df = 1 p = .89). These notifications, however, lead more often to an initial record than do notifications of male victims. In 1976 though we do not find a difference in recording policy for either the seriousness-categories of the property incidents.

b) In 1977 with property incidents such as pickpocketing and bicycle theft in which persons become victims there are no differences to be found in the notifying behavior between male and female persons. Neither do notifications of the different sex-groups lead to a different kind of dealing of incidents on police level.

One exception is the criminal incident of pickpocketing in 1976 in which women, incurring a damage of f 100,-- or less, less often experienced that police made an initial record (1976: $\chi^2 = 10.5$ df = 1). No data of bicycle theft incidents) are available for 1976.

c) As to violent/threatening behavior without injury in the street in 1977 there is no difference to be found in willingness to notify between male and female victims. The same is true for the police who do not make any difference in their recording policy between female and male notifiers concerning incidents without injury. In 1976 incidents of threatening or violent behaviour without injury were more often notified by women ($\chi^2 = 9.4$ df = 1) but the initial records made up by the police were outnumbered by the initial records for male victims ($\chi^2 = 2.2$ df = 1 p = .86). With regard to incidents of threatening or violent behaviour combined with injury in 1977 there was no difference in willingness to notify whilst notifications of women more often lead to a initial record. ($\chi^2 = 3.5$ df = 1 p = .94). The latter fact is contradicted by the result from 1976 where no difference in recording policy was to be found as to female or male victims.

d) As to incidents of indecent assault, it is clear that in 1977 men did not make notification of their victim experience if they had not been injured. In such incidents where victims incurred injury, female victims notified the police slightly less often than did male victims. ($\chi^2 = 2.6$ df = 1 p = .89), whilst the police in the two cases equally often made an initial record. The same results can be detected in 1977.

In the first place it appears from the results that female victims in general notify the police about their victim experiences slightly more often. One is inclined to think that they more often than men consider incidents with a comparable seriousness as a violation of their personal

well-being. It is more plausible, however, that women -given their lesser chances of victimization- have less experience as to the police's dealing of the criminal incidents notified by them. So they are not aware of the restrictive character inherent in the recording policy of the police. One might therefore expect that women, owing to their fewer experiences concerning the police's dealing with their notifications and inspite of the restrictive character of the recording policy, will for the time being continue to notify more often than men.

It seems however that inspite of the contradicting results the police take notifications of women more seriously when there is talk of injury or material damage in the sense that such notifications more often lead to initial recording than comparable notifications from men. The idea "suppose that this had happened to my wife or daughter" might be of importance for the policeman when dealing with incidents of a more serious character. For the hypothesis that the police less often write an initial report of notifications for female victims without injury than for male victims, we find but a weak confirmation. Here the police could play with the idea "again such a dull little criminal incident". In any case these two hypotheses still need to be tested by further research.

5. Discussion

From the results mentioned earlier The Ministry of Justice namely the Council of Public Prosecutors is the motivating force in the Criminal Justice System.

The Counsel of Public Prosecutors appears to operate on the one hand as a "trend setter" (decriminalising of minor crimes) with all its consequences such as the direct influence on the recording policy and the indirect influence on the citizens willingness to notify. The selective attention for property incidents is an example of the Counsel of Public Prosecutors' attitude towards selective decriminalizing. One could say that the selective attention among the members of the Counsel of Public Prosecutors for property incidents has its reflection on the recording policy and the willingness to notify. The effect of this reflection has given concrete form to the extremely low notification and recording percentages of incidence of violence especially incidents of indecent assault (70% of which are female victims). For the rest it is a question of whether the Counsel of Public Prosecutors as "trend setter" has to look for other means of dealing with minor crimes (a structural approach is indicated such as community policing) because legal inequality on the basis of unequal chances of decriminalizing also does not seem "comme il faut".

On the other hand it is possible to see the Counsel of Public Prosecutors as the extension of "moral" judgements based on the existing social roles of "man-woman", in which it is assumed that generally the man is favored. In particular, we refer here, to the role of "*Pater Familias*", which is derived from Roman Law.

In it only the man was recognized as the head of the household and therefore the probable notifier of a criminal incident. One of the consequences of the role of "*Pater Familias*" is the fact that the systems of police and of justice do not react, or scarcely react on notifications and/or on criminal cases brought before the Public Prosecutor, when there is talk of restricted seriousness. In these systems people think that the man (head of the household) should notify and that it can't be very serious if he sends his wife. On the contrary, if there is talk of a serious

criminal incident then the Counsel of Public Prosecutors and the Police will protect the woman against society in punishing the offender more severely. In other words they assume the role of "Pater Familias". With this image in mind one might predict that in future this will be affected by participation of women in "working" society and the decline of domestic ties.

Moreover participation of women in "working" society is already to be seen in the increase of chances of female victimization. Burglary incidents for instance will increase when the lifestyle of a woman converges to that of a man. Because the changing feminine lifestyle will affect the amount of time dwellings are left alone.

Our last hypothesis will be that changing feminine victimization rates will be followed by a decrease of their willingness to notify the police. This will happen if and only if the Counsel of Public Prosecutors do not find an alternative way of dealing with the increasing amount of minor criminal incidents.

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Appendix

tabel 1

victim percentages of male and female respondents.
(N of the sample is about 10.000 respondents).

	1976			1977		
	male	female	total	male	female	total
bicycle theft	5.8	5.1	5.4	6.5	5.3	5.9
theft of a moped	-	-	4.0	4.8	3.4	4.2
theft from a car	3.3	2.6	3.0	2.2	2.4	2.3
theft of a car	0.7	0.3	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6
pickpocketing	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.1	2.7	2.4
burglary	1.2	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.2
indecent assault in the street	1.0	1.6	1.3	0.7	2.2	1.5
threatening/violent behavior in the street	3.7	1.4	2.5	3.9	1.3	2.6
"hit and run" accidents	1.3	0.7	1.0	1.3	0.6	0.9
vandalism	7.6	4.2	5.9	8.0	5.7	6.8

tabel 2

notification percentages of male and female respondents

	1976		1977	
	male	female	male	female
bicycle theft	76% N=254	64% N=229	64% N=271	64% N=239
theft of a moped	-	-	100% N=47	-
theft from a car	62% N=109	69% N=81	61% N=80	68% N=84
pickpocketing	55% N=155	57% N=157	46% N=121	47% N=159
burglary	77% N=65	91% N=53	84% N=67	78% N=73
indecent assault in the street	30% N=44	30% N=88	10% N=39	16% N=124
threatening/violent behavior in the street	24% N=193	29% N=66	25% N=210	24% N=80
"hit and run" accidents	40% N=63	38% N=37	40% N=72	21% N=34
vandalism	27% N=381	24% N=217	25% N=448	27% N=326

tabel 3

recording percentages of male and female respondents.

	1976		1977	
	male	female	male	female
bicycle theft	73% N=193	64% N=147	62% N=173	62% N=152
moped theft	-	-	81% N=47	80% N=20
theft from a car	84% N=68	75% N=56	78% N=49	75% N=57
pickpocketing	67% N=85	47% N=89	64% N=56	57% N=74
burglary	70% N=50	81% N=48	57% N=56	75% N=57
indecent assault in the street	92% N=13	73% N=26	50% N=4	45% N=20
threatening/violent behavior in the street	30% N=47	21% N=19	23% N=53	42% N=19
"hit and run" accidents	-	-	-	-
vandalism	45% N=103	39% N=51	41% N=111	33% N=89

Table 4

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Willingness to notify in 1976 and 1977 in cases of male or female victims.

	1976				1977				
	number of victims		notification percentages		number of victims		notification percentages		
	man	woman	man	woman	man	woman	man	woman	
threatening/violent behavior in the street									
- no injury	117	49	11%	31%	148	52	23%	21%	$\chi^2=9.4$ $p=.94$ $\chi^2=.07$
- injury	65	5	51%	40%	52	13	27%	54%	
indecent assault in the street									
- no injury	37	77	19%	29%	16	103	0%	13%	$\chi^2=1.2$ $\chi^2=2.6$ $p=.89$
- injury	5	11	80%	36%	3	7	100%	43%	
bicycle theft									
- did come back	-	-	-	-	221	193	63%	64%	$\chi^2=.10$
- did not come back	-	-	-	-	33	31	73%	65%	$\chi^2=.50$
pickpocketing									
- f100,--	67	94	46%	53%	80	102	36%	39%	$\chi^2=10.5$ $\chi^2=.70$
- f100,--	57	37	71%	59%	29	45	69%	64%	$\chi^2=.20$
household incidents									
- f100,--	270	170	23%	29%	302	242	20%	29%	$\chi^2=2.3$ $p=.87$ $\chi^2=1.1$
- f100,--	224	135	60%	66%	230	154	57%	66%	$\chi^2=6.0$ $\chi^2=2.6$ $p=.89$

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Table 5: Recording policy in 1976 en 1977 in cases of criminal incidents where male or female were the motifiens.

	1976				1977				
	motifications		percentages initial record		motifications		percentages initial record		
	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	
threatening/violent behavior in the street									
- no injury	13	15	54%	27%	34	11	24%	18%	$\chi^2=2.2$ $p=.86$ $\chi^2=.14$
- injury	33	2	27%	-	14	7	29%	36%	$\chi^2=3.5$ $p=.94$
indecent assault in the street +)									
- no injury	7	22	86%	68%	0	13	-	38%	-
- injury	4	4	75%	75%	3	3	67%	67%	-
bicycle theft									
- did come					24	20	33%	46%	$\chi^2=2.08$ $p=.85$
- did not come back					139	124	69%	65%	$\chi^2=.42$
pickpocketing									
- f100,--	31	50	71%	34%	29	40	45%	58%	$\chi^2=10.5$ $p=.999$ $\chi^2=.65$
- f100,--	41	22	85%	77%	20	29	75%	66%	$\chi^2=.14$ $\chi^2=.50$
household incidents ++)									
- f100,--	62	50	39%	50%	59	69	44%	32%	$\chi^2=1.4$ $p=.844$ $\chi^2=6.2$ $p=.999$
- f100,--	135	89	76%	75%	132	101	69%	83%	

+) Hieronder vallen zowel aanrandingen als verkrachtingen.

++) Dit is een in de slachtofferstudies gehanteerde categorie misdrijven waarvan in de meeste gevallen een "huishouden" slachtoffer werd, zoals inbraak, vernieling, auto-diefstal of diefstal uit de auto.

END