

## Chapter 2

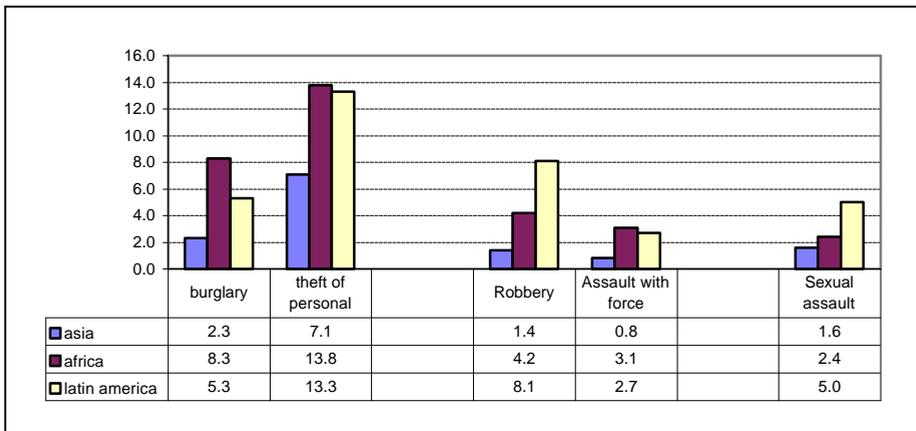
### EXPERIENCES OF VICTIMISATION

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#### An overview of victimisation in the developing world

Data on victimisation from the three regions show that Asia consistently ranks the lowest for all types of crime, while Africa and Latin America share first place for all types of crime. All regions appear mostly affected by theft (7% in Asia and 13% in Africa and Latin America), while victimisation rates for all other types of crime are much lower. Rates between 5 and 8% were observed for burglary in Africa, and for robbery, burglary and sexual assault in Latin America.

Figure 1 - Victimization rates for selected types of crime, by regions

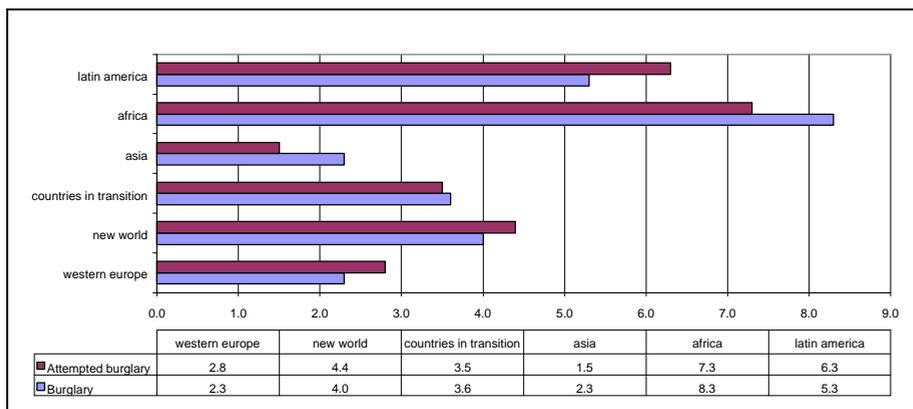


*Burglary and attempted burglary*

Burglary is the typical household crime. The ICVS questionnaire included questions on victimisation experiences for burglary and attempted burglary. The regions in which the survey respondents were more often affected by these types of crime were Latin America and Africa, while lower levels of risk were observed in the other regions. Rates for burglary and attempted burglary are very close to each other in most regions, with burglaries exceeding attempts in Asia and Africa.

As regards the developing countries participating in the ICVS (Table 5), the highest rates of burglary and attempted burglary were observed in Tanzania. One-year burglary rates above 10% were also observed in some other countries in the African region (Uganda, Zimbabwe and Botswana). The countries with the lowest risk of burglary were India, Brazil, The Philippines, China and Egypt. The average deviation from the regional mean was lowest in Asia and highest in Africa. In fact, in the latter region victimisation rates ranged from a minimum of less than 3% in Egypt to a maximum of 19% in Tanzania.

**Figure 2 - Burglary and attempts, by regions**



**Table 5** - Burglary and attempts, developing countries

		Burglary	Attempted burglary
<b>Asia</b>			
	Indonesia	3.9	2.5
	Philippines	2.0	1.6
	India	1.4	2.0
	China	2.3	0.2
<b>Africa</b>			
	Uganda	11.7	11.7
	Egypt	2.6	4.4
	South Africa	6.3	3.7
	Tanzania	19.0	12.9
	Tunisia	7.2	3.6
	Zimbabwe	10.7	9.0
	Botswana	10.4	4.6
<b>Latin America</b>			
	Costa Rica	7.3	8.5
	Brazil	1.9	2.8
	Argentina	5.5	5.5
	Bolivia	6.7	8.5
	Paraguay	8.2	6.5
	Colombia	6.0	9.7

### *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 a quarter of the respondents in Asia said there was one or more household car, while in other developing countries rates between 40 and 50% were found in the sample. Slightly more than half of the respondents were car owners in countries in transition, while, as expected, cars are more widely distributed in Western Europe and the New World, with ownership rates close to 90%. Furthermore, in the latter regions many households have at their disposal more than one car. In fact, more than 60% of the respondents in the New World and more than 30% in Western Europe declared ownership of at least two cars, while this

was the case with 18% in Latin America, 17% in Africa, 10% in the countries in transition and 5% only in Asia.

**Table 6** - Car ownership in developing countries, 1992-96

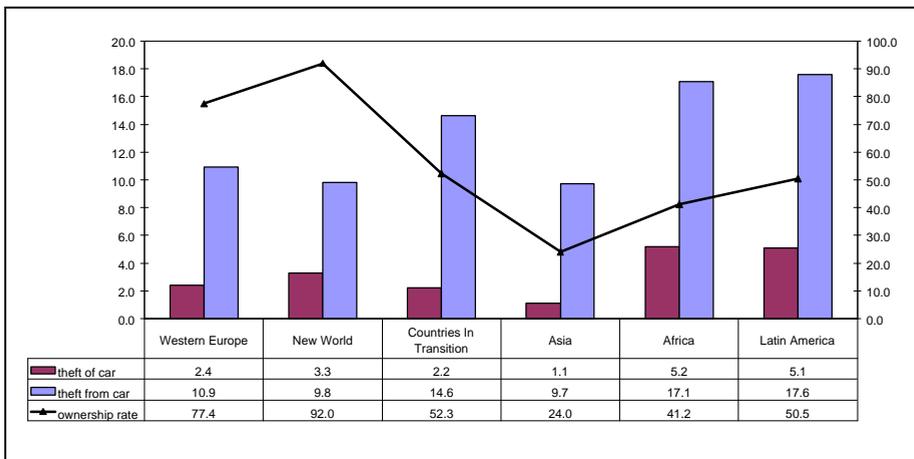
	Car ownership rate 1992	Car ownership rate 1996	Average rate 1992-96
<b>Asia</b>			
Indonesia	51.0	60.6	44.8
Philippines	17.5	16.0	16.9
India	19.7	17.5	18.7
China	4.5		4.5
<b>Africa</b>			
Uganda	42.9	37.0	40.0
Egypt	34.0		34.0
South Africa	42.4	48.8	45.6
Tanzania	50.0		50.0
Tunisia	42.2		42.2
Zimbabwe		30.9	30.9
Botswana		43.0	43.0
<b>Latin America</b>			
Costa Rica	43.1	46.1	44.5
Brazil	38.0	53.7	45.8
Argentina	73.3	69.2	71.3
Bolivia		23.1	23.1
Paraguay		59.9	60.0
Colombia		62.9	63.0

The car owners were asked whether any of the household cars (including trucks and vans) had been stolen. Cars taken away for the purpose of "joyriding" are covered by the question, and - as is dealt with in Chapter 3 - more than 70% of cars in Western Europe and the New World are actually recovered.

Victimisation rates for vehicle theft can be expressed in two forms: as rates of the total sample and as rates for vehicle owners. Since the latter provide more information about the real risk of the target group, that is, the vehicle owners, we will concentrate our analysis on them. Figure 3 shows the one-year prevalence rates for car theft in the world regions compared to ownership rates.

Risks of car theft for owners were the highest in Africa and Latin America, followed by the New World. Theft from car was highest in Latin America, Africa and countries in transition. With the exception of Asia, where low ownership rates corresponded to low rates of car theft, it appears that no clear pattern can be identified to suggest more or less risk for car owners in the regions with higher/lower ownership rates. However, a negative correlation was found at the regional level between risk for theft from car (i.e., car parts, accessories, objects left in the car, etc.) and car ownership, thus suggesting that – at the global level - car owners in the regions where there is less availability of cars may be more exposed to the risk of theft from car than of car theft ( $r = 0,328$   $N=6$ ).

**Figure 3** - Ownership rates and one-year victimisation rates for theft of cars and theft from cars (car owners), by world regions, 1996



At the country level, car theft rates of more than 5% were observed in South Africa, Argentina, Uganda, Tanzania and Colombia. Theft from car was particularly frequent (with rates equal to or higher than 20%) in Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Colombia, Costa Rica and Argentina. Within the group of developing countries, a positive correlation was found between theft of car and rates of car ownership at the country level

(0.631 N=17). A weaker correlation also exists between theft from car and car ownership (0.371 N=17). These findings suggest that in developing countries a higher availability of cars may indeed lead to a higher risk of car theft and theft from car, thus reverting the findings observed at the global level.

**Table 7** - Theft from and of cars (owners), developing countries

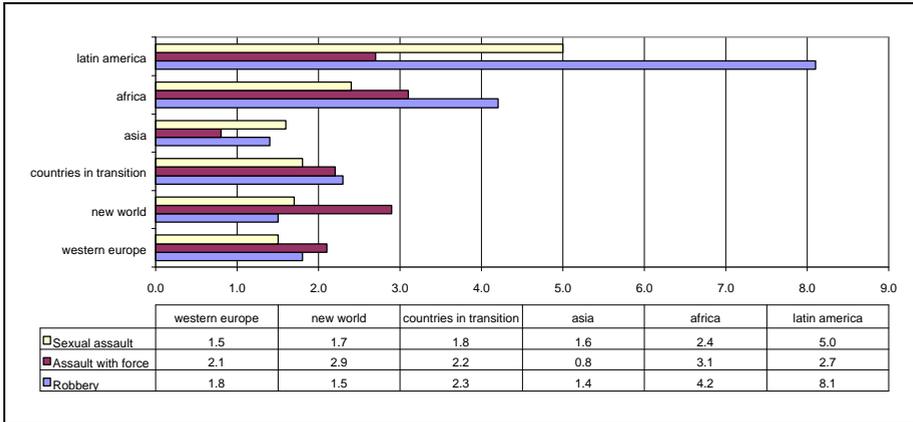
		Theft of car	Theft from car
<b>Asia</b>			
	Indonesia	0.8	9.2
	Philippines	1.9	8.5
	India	1.3	11.6
	China	1.1	11.2
<b>Africa</b>			
	Uganda	5.9	15.9
	Egypt	2.9	13.6
	South Africa	7.6	14.0
	Tanzania	5.8	25.7
	Tunisia	4.6	17.8
	Zimbabwe	1.3	21.2
	Botswana	1.8	15.6
<b>Latin America</b>			
	Costa Rica	3.5	19.8
	Brazil	4.2	13.4
	Argentina	7.2	19.8
	Bolivia	0.9	18.2
	Paraguay	2.0	8.0
	Colombia	5.4	22.1

### *Contact crime*

Data presented in the “contact crime” group, with the exception of robbery, have been further elaborated with respect to the original categories as per the ICVS questionnaire. A breakdown of “sexual incidents” and “assault/threat” has been computed to include only the portion involving violence, i.e. “sexual assaults”, including rapes,

attempted rapes and indecent assaults (“offensive behaviour” excluded) and “assaults with force” (threats excluded).<sup>1</sup>

**Figure 4 - Contact crime, by regions**



The smallest difference between the groups of countries are related to assault with force, for which the developing and industrialised countries show similar risks. As noted above, the risk of violent crime is more equally distributed across the world than property crime.

- 1 The procedure used to calculate the one-year risk of sexual assault versus offensive behaviour is the same followed by Mayhew and van Dijk in *Criminal Victimization in Eleven Industrialised Countries*, op. cit, i.e., on the basis of the information on the nature of the incident provided by victims, for those who were victimised only once in the year preceding the interview, the ratio of sexual assaults to offensive behaviour was applied to the prevalence rate for sexual incidents. Next, for “double” victims whose last incident was not a sexual assault, an estimate was made of the chance that the previous victimisation was such an assault. In the same fashion, the number of sexual assault victims was estimated among triple and other multiple victims. The same procedures were applied to distinguish assaults with force as against threats from the overall category of assaults/threats. See P. Mayhew, J.J.M. van Dijk, *Criminal Victimization in Eleven Industrialised Countries*. The Hague: WODC, 1997, footnote 17 on page 31.

Robbery, a violent crime aimed at stealing property from the victim, is more frequent in Africa and Latin America where property crime is also higher than in the rest of the world.

Victimisation rates, especially for violent crime, appear lower however in Asia than in all the other regions of the world.

At the country level (Table 8), assault with force was highest in Zimbabwe and South Africa (around 6%), followed by Botswana, Brazil, Colombia, Bolivia and Argentina, all with rates around 3%.

The highest robbery rates (more than 10%) were observed in Brazil and Colombia, followed by all the other Latin American countries and Tunisia with rates around 6%. Risks for robbery were lowest in Asia, Egypt and Botswana.

**Table 8 - Contact crime, developing countries**

	Robbery	Assault with force	Sexual assault
<b>Asia</b>			
Indonesia	1.2	1.1	2.7
Philippines	2.4	0.4	0.3
India	0.8	0.8	1.9
China	0.9	0.9	1.6
<b>Africa</b>			
Uganda	4.4	2.4	4.5
Egypt	1.9	0.9	3.1
South Africa	4.6	5.6	2.3
Tunisia	6.3	0.5	1.9
Zimbabwe	4.8	6.7	2.2
Botswana	2.0	3.7	0.8
<b>Latin America</b>			
Costa Rica	5.8	1.9	4.3
Brazil	11.3	3.6	8.0
Argentina	6.6	2.9	5.8
Bolivia	6.2	3.0	1.4
Paraguay	6.7	1.1	2.7
Colombia	10.6	3.6	5.0

*Victimisation of women*

Women are subject to criminal victimisation as men are; yet, for some crimes women may run higher or lower risks, while for some others they are the conventionally 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 in the wording of the questions might elicit different answers in different languages, countries and cultural contexts. This appears to be critical for sexual incidents.

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 incidents<sup>2</sup> might not be as clear as other questions referring to various victimisation experiences, since it does not evoke a unique type of crime, but quite a wide range of events.

This contributes in some way to distortions in reporting to the survey, either in the direction of over-reporting or under-reporting. In some of the most industrialised countries covered by the ICVS it was noted

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2 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”? Further specific issues addressed included rape, attempted rape, relationship with the offender.

that high sensitivity to the gender issue corresponded to high rates of victimisation reported to the survey.

Since the ICVS is a household survey, reporting to the survey might be reduced because sexual incidents and assaults often happen within the family. The ICVS itself was not specifically designed to deal with domestic violence, and in some cultural contexts the fact that the survey is carried out in the household may further reduce reporting. For example, in some developing countries face-to-face interviews were often carried out in the presence of other members of the family which might have precluded the respondent from revealing victimisation experiences suffered in the household and involving the partner, relatives or friends.

The administration of the survey attempted to mitigate some problems of sensitivity to issues raised by the questionnaire. Both male and female interviewers were included in the survey teams. Nevertheless, certain difficulties with data collection were reported due to a particular sensitivity in certain cultural settings related to experiences with sexual incidents and assault, their definition and readiness to report them to the interviewer.

Women in Latin America, in particular in Brazil and Argentina, were those most frequently exposed to sexual victimisation, while lower levels of victimisation were observed in the other world regions.

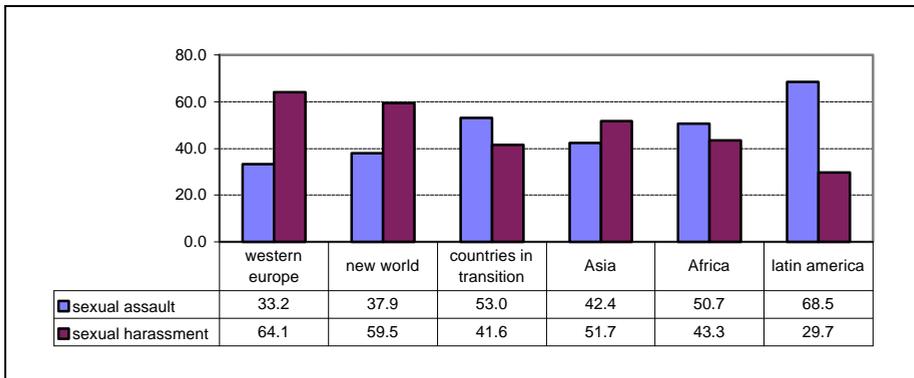
The victims were asked to provide a description of what happened and invited to describe the incident as rape, attempted rape, indecent assault or offensive behaviour. Depending on the type of victimisation experienced, it is possible to break down sexual incidents into two main categories, namely “sexual assault”, including rape, attempted rape and indecent assault and “sexual harassment”, which includes offensive behaviour. Table 9 shows that, on average, approximately half of the incidents were defined as “offensive behaviour” or sexual harassment.

Women in Africa were those more frequently exposed to rapes and attempted rapes and these types of offences counted for approximately a quarter of the sexual incidents in Latin America and countries in transition.

**Table 9** - Sexual incidents. Percentage of incidents by type, by regions, 1992-96

	Sexual incidents	Sexual assault including =>	Rape	Attempted rape	Indecent assault	Offensive behaviour/ Sexual harassment	Don't know
Western Europe	100.0	33.2	3.7	4.7	24.8	64.1	2.7
New World	100.0	37.9	3.5	11.7	22.7	59.5	2.6
Countries in Transition	100.0	53.0	5.5	22.7	24.8	41.6	5.4
Asia	100.0	42.4	1.6	5.8	35.0	51.7	5.9
Africa	100.0	50.7	12.1	23.9	14.7	43.3	6.0
Latin America	100.0	68.5	5.4	20.4	42.7	29.7	1.8

**Figure 5** - Type of sexual victimisation, by regions



As Figure 5 shows, sexual harassment exceeded assault in Western Europe, the New World and Asia. In the other regions, sexual victimisation experienced by women was mostly of a violent nature. The highest risk of sexual assault was observed in Latin America, with

approximately 70% of the incidents described as rapes, attempted rapes or indecent assaults.

At the country level, Table 10 shows that in all Latin American countries sexual assault rates were notably higher than those of sexual harassment. In the other regions, a prevalence of sexual assault was noticed in South Africa, Uganda and Indonesia, while a majority of incidents of a less serious nature was registered in the other countries.

**Table 10** - Prevalence victimisation rates for sexual assault and sexual harassment, developing countries

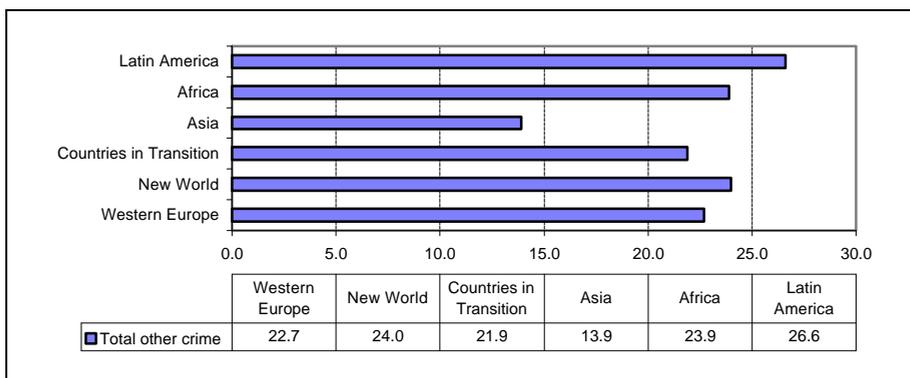
		Sexual assault	Sexual harassment
<b>Asia</b>			
	Indonesia	2.7	1.6
	Philippines	0.3	0.7
	India	1.9	2.1
	China	1.6	4.4
<b>Africa</b>			
	Uganda	4.5	1.9
	Egypt	3.1	7.8
	South Africa	2.3	0.9
	Tunisia	1.9	3.7
	Zimbabwe	2.2	2.3
	Botswana	0.8	1.7
<b>Latin America</b>			
	Costa Rica	4.3	3.5
	Brazil	8.0	1.4
	Argentina	5.8	3.8
	Bolivia	1.4	1.2
	Paraguay	2.7	2.1
	Colombia	5.0	4.4

### *Other crimes surveyed by the ICVS*

Apart from the types of crime which have been dealt with so far, other forms of victimisation covered by the questionnaire included car vandalism, theft of motorcycle, theft of bicycle, theft of personal property and assault without force. During the year preceding the interviews, approximately a quarter of the respondents all over the

participating countries experienced at least one of these types of victimisation.

**Figure 6** - Other crime (car vandalism - theft of motorcycle - theft of bicycle - theft of personal property – assault without force/threats), by regions



**Table 11** - Other crime (car vandalism - theft of motorcycle - theft of bicycle - theft of personal property – assault without force/threats), by developing countries

	Car vandalism	Theft of motorcycle	Theft of bicycle	Theft of personal property	Assault without force / threat	Total other crime
<b>Asia</b>						
Indonesia	2.3	1.6	2.0	5.5	3.0	14.4
Philippines	0.9	0.1	2.0	7.1	0.9	11.0
India	0.7	0.4	1.0	10.6	1.5	14.2
China	0.2	0.1	10.5	5.0	1.3	17.1
<b>Africa</b>						
Uganda	2.0	0.5	2.4	19.2	4.8	28.9
Egypt	2.4	0.5	1.0	9.6	1.3	14.8
South Africa	3.9	0.2	2.5	8.0	5.2	19.8
Tanzania	6.7	0.9	2.8	17.8	n.a.	28.2
Tunisia	3.9	2.1	3.8	14.4	0.6	24.8
Zimbabwe	2.3	0.1	1.0	20.6	8.7	32.7
Botswana	2.3	0.0	1.4	6.7	3.8	14.2
<b>Latin America</b>						
Costa Rica	6.3	0.5	4.3	9.8	2.8	23.7
Brazil	5.6	0.4	1.8	9.9	4.5	22.2
Argentina	5.9	2.1	3.7	15.0	4.0	30.7
Bolivia	3.2	0.0	2.1	17.0	4.1	26.4
Paraguay	4.3	0.7	3.1	11.6	2.0	21.7

Colombia	6.2	0.5	5.2	16.2	7.0	35.1
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Among such types of victimisation, theft of personal property appears to be the most frequent, exceeding 10% in nine out of seventeen countries. Apart from that, the only type of crime which also reached the 10% threshold was theft of bicycle in China, which is known as one of the most frequent incidents that may occur to Chinese citizens.

Car vandalism and threat were more frequently observed in Latin American countries than in the other developing countries.

### Country profiles of crime

The crime profile is calculated on the number of incidents that happened in the year preceding the interview. If the respondent was a victim “last year”, the interviewer asked how many times the victimisation occurred last year. The profile thus represents in what measure each type of crime contributed to the crime structure of each participating country.

**Table 12** - Profile of crime by regions (% of all offences: total = 100%)

	Theft of and from cars	Car vandalism	Bicycle and motorcycle thefts	Burglary and attempts	Thefts of personal property	Other personal crime*
Western Europe	16	24	15	9	13	23
New World	21	17	9	16	12	26
Countries in transition	23	15	6	15	23	20
Asia	10	5	17	17	31	22
Africa	13	6	5	27	23	27
Latin America	16	11	5	19	21	27

\* other personal crime: robbery, assaults/threats, sexual offences.

Different levels of car ownership affect the weight of car-related crimes which represent – on average – 27% in Latin America, 19% in Africa and 15% only in Asia. This is a marked difference with respect to the industrialised countries (Western Europe and New World), where car-related crimes represented 40% of all incidents observed in

1996. In the countries in transition, vehicle-related crimes are also close to 40%, but a higher frequency of personal theft makes the structure different from the industrial countries.

**Table 13** - Profile of crime by countries (% of all offences: total = 100%)

	Theft of and from cars	Car vandalism	Bicycle and motorcycle thefts	Burglary and attempts	Thefts of personal property	Other personal crime*
<b>Asia</b>						
Indonesia	17	10	9	23	20	21
Philippines	10	5	9	20	34	22
India	10	3	5	15	47	20
China	2	1	45	9	21	23
<b>Africa</b>						
Uganda	13	3	3	33	28	19
Egypt	14	8	3	19	21	35
South Africa	19	8	5	20	15	34
Tunisia	5	11	13	23	29	19
Zimbabwe	9	3	1	30	29	28
Botswana	16	5	3	38	14	25
<b>Latin America</b>						
Costa Rica	16	15	7	25	15	21
Brazil	13	15	3	7	19	43
Argentina	26	8	6	14	21	25
Bolivia	8	10	3	24	33	22
Paraguay	9	11	8	28	23	21
Colombia	21	7	5	18	17	32

\* Other personal crime: robbery, assaults/threats, sexual offences.

An evident difference in patterns among the three groups of developing countries is observed for bicycle and motorcycle thefts, which represented 17% on average in Asia and 5% only in Africa and Latin America. It should be considered that the vast majority of these incidents happened in China, where theft of bicycle alone represented 45% of all the events recorded by the ICVS in that country.

The proportion of burglaries and attempts was highest in Africa, with an average of 26% compared to less than 20% in the other developing regions. In all three groups, more than 70% of the crimes are

property-related. The portion of “contact crimes” represents slightly more than a quarter of the incidents in Latin America and Africa and something less (21%) in Asia. The highest share of personal crimes was observed in Brazil (43%, half of which being robberies), followed by Egypt (35%, with a high portion of sexual offences) and South Africa (34%, more than half of which were assaults/threats).

### **Corruption and consumer fraud<sup>3</sup>**

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.<sup>4</sup> Despite a number of limits of victim surveys, including the ICVS<sup>5</sup>, it appears that they offer better measures of corruption than any other surveys or official criminal justice statistics.

The item of corruption was included for the first time in the second sweep of the ICVS (1992-94) and even then it was administered only

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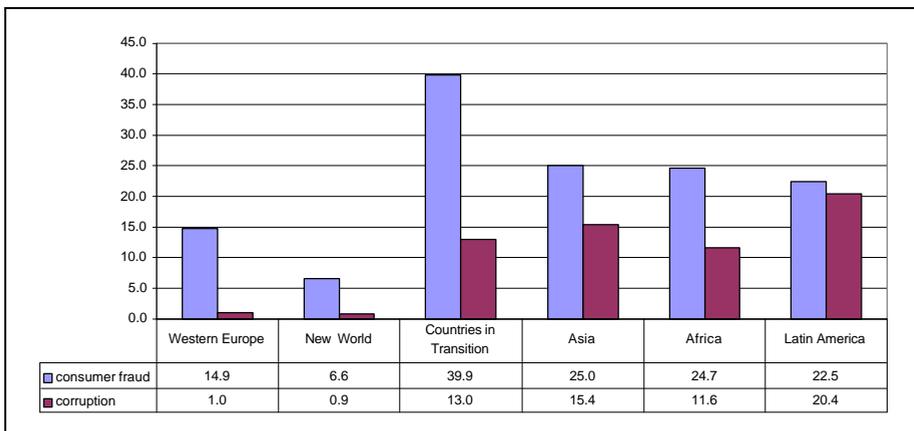
3 The section on corruption and consumer fraud is based on a draft prepared by Ugljesa Zvekic for *Criminal Victimization across the World* (forthcoming).

4 “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 the respondents were asked to identify the category of public official, and whether it was reported to the police (public prosecutor) or to another public or private agency.

5 U. Zvekic. “International Crime (Victim) Survey: Comparative Advantages and Disadvantages”. In *International Criminal Justice Review*, Vol. 6 1996.

in the developing countries and countries in transition. Pilots carried out in the industrialised countries revealed at the time that it was a rare event and thus corruption was not included in the questionnaire administered in the industrialised world. However, the period between the second and third sweeps of the ICVS witnessed the disclosure of a number of serious cases of corruption in some industrialised countries, which indicated that it would be worth including the corruption item for all countries participating in the ICVS. Another reason was comparative and political: the ICVS should provide for international comparison and the exclusion of an item would limit such an objective. On the other hand, it was felt that maintaining the corruption item for the developing world and countries in transition only would be prejudicial and politically unacceptable. Therefore, the question on corruption was included in the standard questionnaire for the third sweep of the ICVS (1996-97), both in the face-to-face and CATI versions.

**Figure 7 - Corruption and consumer fraud. Aggregate data for one year, by regions, 1996**



Together with corruption, consumer fraud is one of the most common forms of citizens' victimisation across the board. In the ICVS this type

of victimisation regarded a number of ways in which citizens were cheated in the quantity and quality of goods attained and services received.<sup>6</sup>

### *Corruption*

The analysis of the ICVS results (see Figure 7) clearly reveals that bribery of public officials is more diffused in the developing world, followed by countries in transition, and is almost negligible in the industrialised world.

Bribery by public officials therefore appears as a problem mostly affecting the developing world and countries in transition. In the third sweep of the ICVS, the highest levels of bribery are exhibited in Latin America, Asia, Africa and countries in transition, all of which are far beyond the 10% threshold. Levels of bribery in the industrialised countries are much lower - not even reaching one percent of the cases. This result appears to indicate that street level corruption of public officials is not a serious problem in the industrialised world.

While possible explanations cover a range of factors, including specific cultural ones, these findings do indicate that it is most likely that street level corruption by public officials has to do with the standards of public administration, on the one hand, and with the overall position of citizens, on the other. Bribery by public officials is therefore less likely in societies in which there is more public-service orientation on the

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6 The respondents were asked the following question: “ Last year, were you the victim of a consumer fraud? In other words, has someone when selling something to you or delivering a service cheated you in terms of quantity or quality of the goods/services?”. Furthermore, the respondents were asked “How did this fraud take place (last time)? Was it to do with: construction or repair work; work done by garage; a hotel, restaurant or pub; a shop of some sort” and then whether it was reported to the police or some other public or private agency.

part of civil servants who are also better paid and trained, and in which accountability and transparency are at a higher stake.

This is further supported by an analysis of the overall rates of crime types dealt with by the ICVS on a regional level. Indeed, in both sweeps of the ICVS, corruption was, together with consumer fraud, the most common form of victimisation of citizens in the developing world. The same holds true for countries in transition. On average, bribery is second to consumer fraud, the most diffused form of victimisation of citizens in all but the industrialised world.

While there is a clear pattern of the diffusion of bribery by public officials in different regions of the world, this is not the case with respect to individual participating countries. Similarly to the official criminal justice statistics on bribery, the ICVS also reveals certain fluctuations.

Asia shows quite a fluctuating situation regarding the levels of bribery: high in Indonesia (one third of the sample) and India (a quarter of the respondents) to low in China and The Philippines (less than 6%). In Africa, high levels of bribery were in particular recorded in Egypt (32%), Uganda (26%) and Tunisia (15%), while the other African countries showed rates below 8%.

**Table 14** - One year prevalence rates for bribery, developing countries

Asia (%)		Africa (%)		Latin America (%)	
Indonesia	32.9	Egypt	31.9	Argentina	29.0
The Philippines	4.7	South Africa	7.6	Bolivia	25.9
India	23.1	Tunisia	14.6	Brazil	17.9
China	5.6	Uganda	25.6	Costa Rica	11.1
		Zimbabwe	7.2	Paraguay	13.8
		Botswana	2.9	Colombia	19.2

Finally, Latin American countries exhibited the highest average rate of bribery by public officials (20%), with Argentina (29%) and Bolivia (26%) ranking first and second in the region as regards levels of

corruption.

There appears to be a high level of consistency among different sources of information on corruption, at least in terms of indicating that its “elementary” or street level form is more present in the developing world and countries in transition than in the industrialised world. Transparency International and the University of Göttingen elaborate the TI-Corruption Perception Index, a comparative assessment of a country's integrity performance.<sup>7</sup> The index is an assessment of the corruption level in 52 countries as perceived by business people, risk analysts and the general public and puts together seven different sources.<sup>8</sup>

From among 52 countries ranked, the last 22 are all developing countries, with the exception of Romania and Russia (countries in transition). This tends to support the view that corruption is more diffused in the developing world and in countries in transition. From a business/market perspective, this might have to do with a lack of formal and informal regulatory mechanisms supporting good governance.

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7 Internet Center for Corruption Research: Internet Corruption Perception Index homepage <http://www.gwdg.de/~uwwv/icr.htm>.

8 As per the background information provided by the Internet Center for Corruption Research, sources include “two surveys from the Institute for Management Development in Lausanne, Switzerland (World Competitiveness Yearbook); one from the Political & Economic Risk Consultancy Ltd. in Hong Kong (Asian Intelligence Issue #482); one by Gallup International (50th Anniversary Survey); two assessments by DRI/McGraw-Hill (Global Risk Service) and the Political Risk Services, East Syracuse, New York (International Country Risk Guide); plus finally a survey conducted at Göttingen University via internet (<http://www.uni-goettingen.de/~uwwv>) which gives contributors the possibility for anonymous contributions and also directly approaches employees of multinational firms and institutions”.

**Table 15** - TI Corruption Perception Index, 1997

Rank	Country	Score-97	Rank	Country	Score-97
1	Denmark	9.94	27	Czech Republic	5.20
2	Finland	9.48	28	Hungary	5.18
3	Sweden	9.35	29	Poland	5.08
4	New Zealand	9.23	30	Italy	5.03
5	Canada	9.10	31	Taiwan	5.02
6	Netherlands	9.03	32	Malaysia	5.01
7	Norway	8.92	33	South Africa	4.95
8	Australia	8.86	34	South Korea	4.29
9	Singapore	8.66	35	Uruguay	4.14
10	Luxembourg	8.61	36	Brazil	3.56
11	Switzerland	8.61	37	Romania	3.44
12	Ireland	8.28	38	Turkey	3.21
13	Germany	8.23	39	Thailand	3.06
14	United Kingdom	8.22	40	Philippines	3.05
15	Israel	7.97	41	China	2.88
16	USA	7.61	42	Argentina	2.81
17	Austria	7.61	43	Vietnam	2.79
18	Hong Kong	7.28	44	Venezuela	2.77
19	Portugal	6.97	45	India	2.75
20	France	6.66	46	Indonesia	2.72
21	Japan	6.57	47	Mexico	2.66
22	Costa Rica	6.45	48	Pakistan	2.53
23	Chile	6.05	49	Russia	2.27
24	Spain	5.90	50	Colombia	2.23
25	Greece	5.35	51	Bolivia	2.05
26	Belgium	5.25	52	Nigeria	1.76

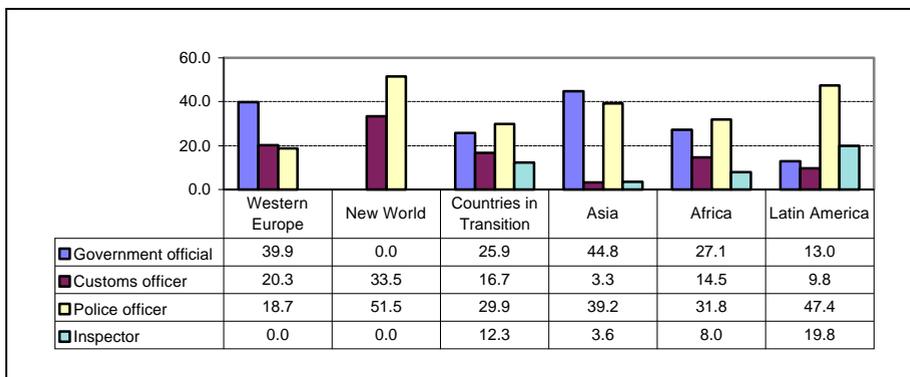
0=perceived to be totally corrupt, 10=perceived to be totally clean

Indeed, both the TI ranking and the ICVS analysis support the finding that corruption is more present in the developing world and countries in transition than in the industrialised world. Matching ranks from the TI and ICVS provide a Spearman correlation coefficient of 0.908 (N=22). At the minimum, it can be hypothesised that bribery as a “way of getting things done” is present both in business and public administration sectors in several developing countries and countries in transition. What is however difficult to decide is whether there is a relationship between measures of bribery in public administration and perceived “cleanness” of the business sector, on the one hand, and more serious forms of corruption involving political and financial power centres, on the other. A high statistical correlation tends to

indicate that this might be the case although the evidence is not decisive.

Both the ICVS and the TI index are based on perceived corruption and do not provide for direct measurement of the magnitude and type of corruption. It is not clear whether the information refers to street level corruption or to more serious forms of corrupt transactions involving centres of political and economic power, organised crime and other powerful social actors. It might be hypothesised that high street level corruption indicates the presence of serious forms of corruption as well. However, low street level corruption does not indicate the absence of serious forms of corruption. We often get to know about serious forms when a particular political and situational context exists in which judicial and other authorities initiate prosecution of corruption cases. We learn of these from the mass media, and since the influence of the mass media is stronger in the industrialised world, we tend to know more about more serious cases of corruption taking place in the industrialised countries. In developing countries quite often corruption cases are disclosed only after or in the course of changing political rulers. Corruption transparency goes hand in hand with democracy and accountability.

From among the various public officials, police officers appear to be the category most involved in bribery, particularly in Latin America and the New World. In Asia and in countries in transition, police officers are second to government officials. Customs officers rank high on the bribery-prone scale, particularly in Africa, countries in transition and in the New World, while inspectors' involvement is high in Latin America and in countries in transition.

**Figure 8** - Type of public official involved in bribery, by regions**Table 16** - Type of public official involved in bribery, developing countries

	Government official	Customs officer	Police officer	Inspector	Other	Do not know
<b>Asia</b>						
Indonesia	38.1	1.8	52.2		7.9	
Philippines	47.3	6.2	33.3	2.9	10.4	
India	55.7	5.2	18.3	9.9	11.0	
<b>Africa</b>						
Uganda	31.3	17.4	28.7	3.8	18.8	
South Africa	9.3	2.3	46.1	18.7	23.6	
Zimbabwe	26.5	15.6	30.5	13.7	13.7	
Botswana	43.6	20.5	20.9		15.0	
<b>Latin America</b>						
Costa Rica	9.3	4.7	23.2	53.2	8.1	1.6
Brazil	6.0	17.9	49.8	26.3		
Argentina	3.5	7.9	71.3	16.8	0.4	
Bolivia	19.2	4.1	43.5	17.1	15.3	0.8
Paraguay	24.4	13.2	28.3	30.5	2.9	0.7
Colombia	22.1	13.4	32.3	3.9	28.3	

### *Consumer fraud*

Similarly to corruption, consumer fraud is more experienced in the developing world and countries in transition than in the industrialised

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.

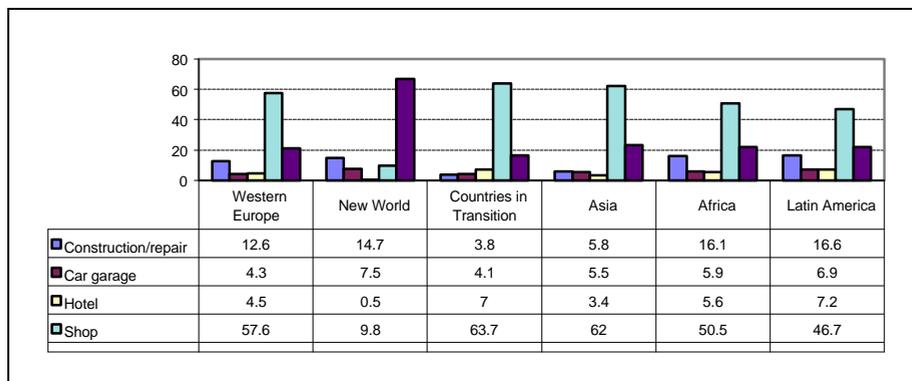
The lowest rate of consumer fraud is found in the New World while the highest is in Africa and in countries in transition. There are great variations between countries in Africa ranging from 89% and 60% in Tanzania and Tunisia respectively, to 10% in South Africa. More consistency in victimisation rates for fraud among countries in the regions was observed in Asia and Latin America.

**Table 17** - Consumer fraud, developing countries

Asia (%)		Africa (%)		Latin America (%)	
Indonesia	18.8	Egypt	48.6	Argentina	35.6
The Philippines	20.8	South Africa	10.4	Bolivia	20.7
India	38.6	Tunisia	59.5	Brazil	17.0
China	32.3	Uganda	57.7	Costa Rica	19.3
		Zimbabwe	27.0	Paraguay	25.5
		Botswana	13.7	Colombia	28.5
		Tanzania	88.8		

### *Type of consumer fraud*

Victims of fraud were asked to identify the premises in which, or services for which they felt they were in some way cheated the last time. Across the board (with the exception of the New World, where most victims had problems with construction repairs or some other business), citizens were mostly subject to cheating while purchasing goods in shops. This holds true for Western Europe (although the category “others” figures substantially as well), for the developing world and in countries in transition. On average, between 10 and 60% of consumer fraud victims pointed out that they were cheated when purchasing goods followed by “cheats” related to construction work and repairs. However, it should be noted that citizens from the developing world and countries in transition were victimised almost twice more frequently than those in the industrialised world.

**Figure 9** - Type of consumer fraud, by regions

At the country level, it was notable that in Brazil and Argentina fraud more often occurred in relation to construction work and car garage, thus suggesting that more frequently than in other developing countries such incidents may have happened involving high amounts of money.

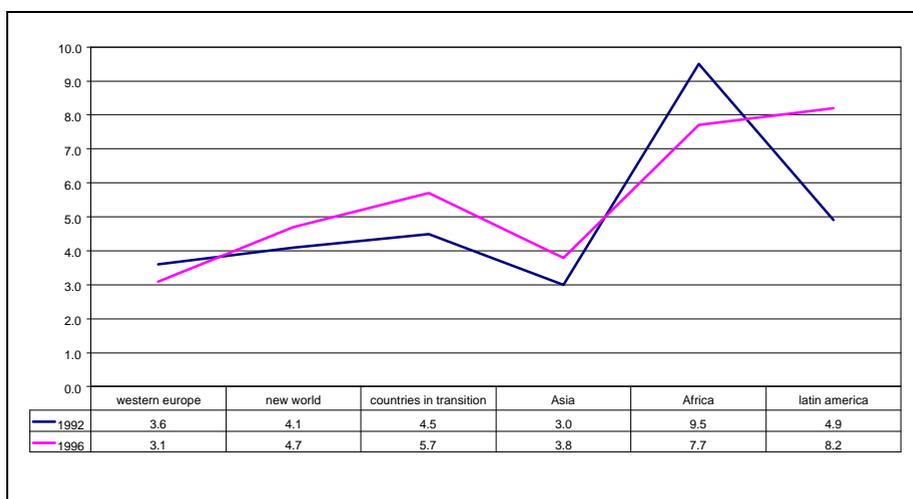
**Table 18** - Type of consumer fraud, by countries

	Construction/repair	Car garage	Hotel	Shop	Other	Don't know
<b>Asia</b>						
Indonesia	6.3	11.9	1.6	51.8	28.4	
Philippines	2.3	1.2	1.3	65.7	29.3	0.3
India	7.0	4.0	5.3	66.0	17.7	
<b>Africa</b>						
Uganda	14.2	7.5	7.1	51.8	19.5	
South Africa	11.4	3.9	8.9	48.6	27.2	
Zimbabwe	22.9	2.7	1.8	50.4	22.2	
Botswana	9.8	10.4	6.2	46.5	27.0	
<b>Latin America</b>						
Costa Rica	8.9	1.8	3.0	46.9	37.8	1.6
Brazil	25.2	14.3	0.4	60.1		
Argentina	24.6	13.9	10.8	44.4	6.2	
Bolivia	11.5	4.3	2.5	32.8	47.5	1.4
Paraguay	4.9	4.2	2.8	53.2	34.8	
Colombia	18.1	2.3	11.6	53.4	13.8	0.8

### Trends in victimisation: 1992-1996

An analysis of the regional trends is made possible by comparing victimisation rates in the countries which participated in both the 1992 and 1996 sweeps of the ICVS. Such a comparison reveals that victimisation rates are consistent in most regions and modest variations have been registered. Latin America was an exception, with sharp increases in victimisation rates observed in Argentina and Brazil.

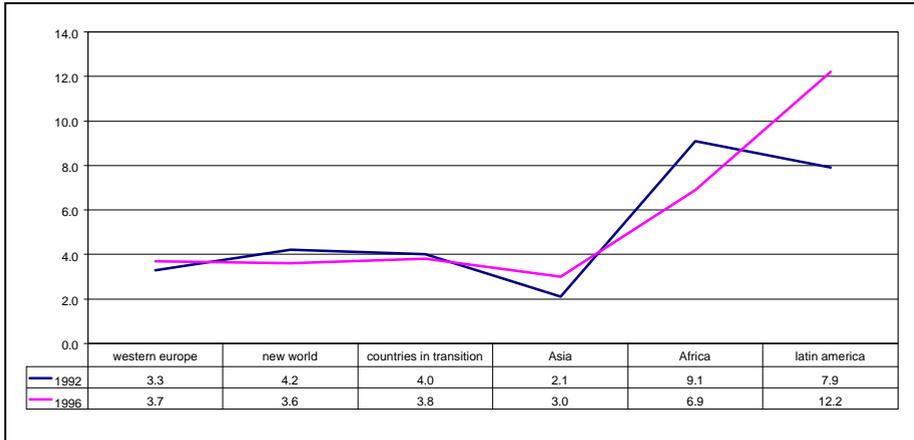
Figure 10 - 1992-1996 trends in property crime, by regions



It should be noted, however, that longitudinal analysis in developing countries should take into account possible inconsistencies in sampling procedure between the two surveys. This problem has been brought to the attention of the International Working Group by the survey coordinators in Brazil and Uganda. Thus, some caution should be used in the interpretation of victimisation trends from developing countries. In order to reduce the risk of misinterpretation, comparisons at the regional level only include countries which took part in both the 1992 and 1996 ICVS. A first set of data is presented by groups of crimes, i.e. property crime (averaging rates for burglary, theft of car, theft of

personal property – Figure 10) and violent crime (averaging rates of assault, robbery and sexual assault – Figure 11).

**Figure 11** - 1992-1996 trends in violent crime, by regions



Property crime increased by more than 1% in countries in transition (+1.2%) and Latin America (+3.3%). An opposite trend was instead observed in Africa (-1.8%), while the remaining regions were almost stable, showing a slight decrease in Western Europe and small variations in the direction of increase in the New World and Asia.

Rates of violent crime were almost stable in Western Europe, the New World, countries in transition, and Asia. A decrease of 2.2% was observed in Africa. Again, 1996 rates for violent crime in Latin America were much higher than in 1992 (+4.3%).

At the country level, Table 19 shows that in the Asian and African countries that participated in the ICVS twice there was a general decrease of victimisation rates. India represented an exception, mostly due to a sharp increase in personal theft.

All the Asian countries and Uganda showed a decrease in theft of car

rates; burglaries decreased in The Philippines, Uganda and South Africa; personal theft decreased in Indonesia, The Philippines and Uganda; robbery went down in all the Asian (with the exception of India) and African countries; and, finally, assault in 1996 was lower than in 1992 in The Philippines, Uganda and South Africa.

**Table 19** - 1992-96 trends, developing countries, 5 crime categories

	Car theft			Burglary			Personal theft			Robbery			Assault		
	1992	1996	Diff.	1992	1996	Diff.	1992	1996	Diff.	1992	1996	Diff.	1992	1996	Diff.
<b>Asia</b>															
Indonesia	1.3	0.7	-0.5	3.0	5.0	2.0	7.5	5.6	-1.9	1.4	0.6	-0.8	1.6	2.6	1.0
Philippines	1.9	1.0	-0.9	2.9	1.6	-1.3	9.2	4.6	-4.6	2.7	1.5	-1.2	1.6	0.7	-0.9
India	1.7	1.1	-0.6	1.2	2.1	0.9	3.8	17.6	13.8	0.4	1.5	1.1	1.1	3.2	2.1
<b>Africa</b>															
Uganda	6.6	5.2	-1.4	14.2	8.6	-5.6	23.6	14.8	-8.8	6.9	2.2	-4.7	7.7	6.1	-1.6
South Africa	7.4	8.1	0.7	7.2	6.8	-0.4	5.5	10.4	4.9	5.4	4.7	-0.7	8.4	8.1	-0.3
<b>Latin America</b>															
Costa Rica	1.3	2.6	1.3	5.5	8.6	3.1	7.4	12.1	4.7	1.5	10.0	8.5	3.3	5.0	1.7
Brazil	3.4	5.3	1.8	1.4	2.6	1.2	7.2	12.6	5.4	8.8	12.2	3.4	4.8	5.5	0.7
Argentina	6.6	6.6	-0.1	2.9	7.5	4.6	7.9	22.0	14.1	4.7	6.4	1.7	4.8	7.3	2.5

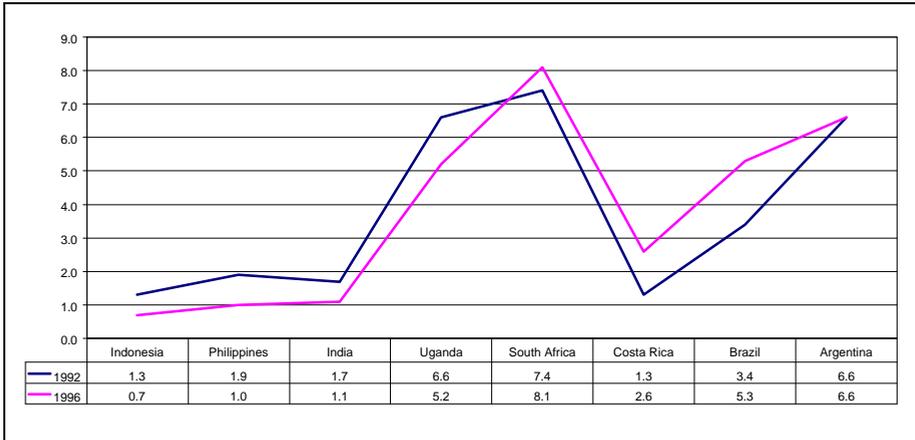
On the contrary, all types of crime increased in all the Latin American countries, with the exception of theft of car in Argentina, with the most marked variations being observed in Costa Rica (robbery +8.5%), Argentina (personal theft +14.1%) and Brazil (personal theft +5.4%).

### *Car theft and assault with force*

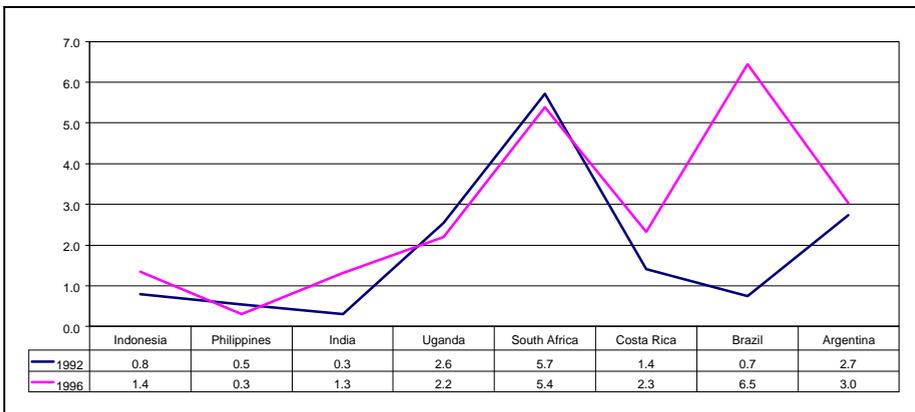
Figure 12 shows the 1992-96 trend for theft of car in eight developing countries which participated in both sweeps of the ICVS. Victimization rates show small variations, contained within 2%. A perfect match was found in Argentina. A decrease was observed in four countries: Indonesia, The Philippines, India and Uganda (the latter being the only one showing a variation of more than 1%). Finally, in three countries (South Africa, Costa Rica and Brazil), the 1996 rates were higher than those observed in 1992, with Costa Rica

(+1.3%) and Brazil (+1.9%) being those showing the biggest variations.

**Figure 12 - 1992-96 trends in theft of car, developing countries**



**Figure 13 - 1992-96 trends in assault with force, developing countries**



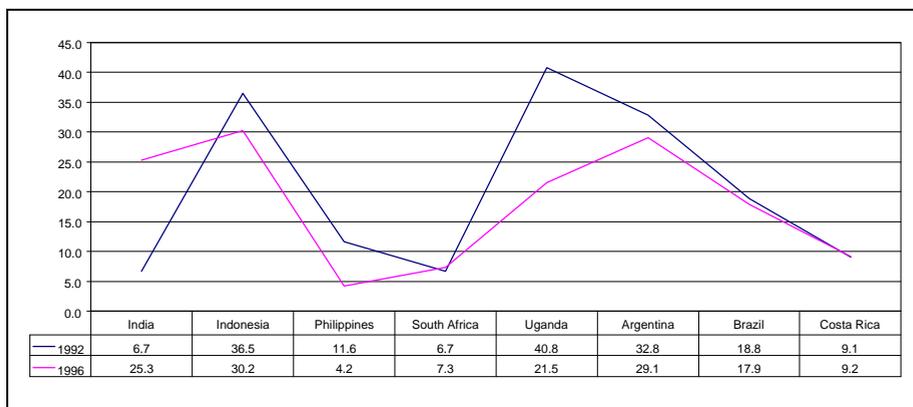
Trends for assault with force are shown in Figure 13, which again reveals small differences between the two periods. In all the countries, the variations observed were below 1%, with the exception of Brazil

(+5.8%). The 1996 rates were slightly higher than those for 1992 in Indonesia, India, Costa Rica and Argentina. On the other hand, assault rates slightly decreased in The Philippines, Uganda and South Africa. The analysis of data regarding assault without force shows a more evident increase between 1992 and 1996 in Indonesia, India, Costa Rica and Argentina, although the increase/decrease pattern was the same.

*Corruption and consumer fraud*

The analysis of the 1992-96 trends in corruption and consumer fraud reveals a high level of consistency between the two surveys in most developing countries, with a slight decrease of victimisation rates for both types of event.

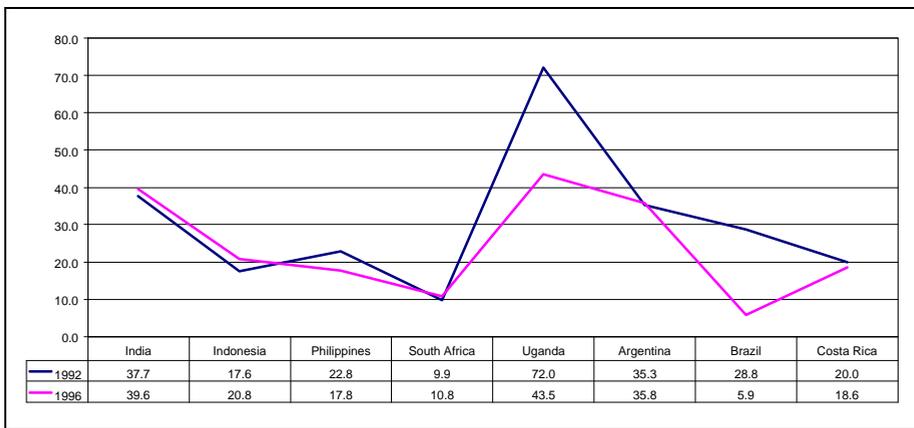
**Figure 14** - 1992-96 trends in corruption, developing countries



The 1996 ICVS showed lower rates of corruption in most of the countries which took part in both sweeps (Figure 14). The highest consistency between the two observations was encountered in South Africa, Brazil, Costa Rica and Argentina. India instead showed the biggest difference between 1992 and 1996, going from 7% up to 25%. Consumer fraud rates were very similar in the two sweeps in India,

Indonesia, The Philippines, South Africa, Argentina and Costa Rica, while in Uganda (-28.5%) and Brazil (-22.9%) the 1996 rates were substantially lower than those observed in 1992. Again, this finding may reveal that the different composition of the sample interviewed in the latter two countries in 1996 may have influenced some perceptions. In particular, it is possible that the inclusion of more respondents from high residential status areas may have reduced the percentage of those having been cheated in their purchases.

**Figure 15** - 1992-96 trends in consumer fraud, developing countries



In conclusion, an acceptable level of consistency was observed in the two sweeps of the ICVS for which an analysis is presented here. The overall picture of victimisation has not changed much between 1992 and 1996 in the participating developing countries. As noted earlier, some changes in sampling procedures may justify the more marked differences observed in Brazil and Uganda, which appeared however for some types of crime only. These results represent a first basis for a longitudinal study which will be improved with the repetition of the ICVS in the year 2000.