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# STUDIES ON CRIMINOLOGY

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## FOREWORD

This thematic issue<sup>1</sup> of the journal *Acta Universitatis Carolinae* appears in the series *Studia Sociologica* and has a specific focus. It tackles the topical questions of criminological research in the Czech Republic. Its modest ambition is to show the reader the state of Czech criminology. We realize that the results presented here are just part of the general view and the articles selected represent almost exclusively the projects being dealt with at the Department of Sociology of the Faculty of Arts of Charles University. On the other hand, it may be said that none of them has a locally or regionally limited character: Most of the results are part of important international projects, such as ISRD, IVAWS or Eurojustis. Thus, the reader can be sure that he or she will easily find broader and relevant theoretical and analytical frameworks when employing our research results. It was not our intention to present merely an obligatory and informative study, such as a national story about Czech criminology that the reader will skim through and put down. Should Czech criminology develop successfully, it must point to comparative projects and broad international collaboration. From this point of view, this collection also aims to provide our postgraduate students with access to the scene to show their readiness and talent.

The introductory review paper representing Czech criminology is a study by M. Scheinost, Director of Institute of Criminology and Crime Prevention in Prague. It is devoted to the history of Czech criminology and makes comments on its actual institutional state. The article by J. Buriánek summarizes the experience of the transformation of Czech society after 1989, highlighting public opinion. It shows crime rates trends and the impacts on the fear of crime. The number of people who did not feel safe was increasing at first but then decreased due to the growing number of corruption complaints. In spite of that, public opinion is rather stable now, a phenomenon analytically dealt with by P. Homolová in her study on trust in institutions. Among other things, her article indicates that the first reaction to T. Tyler's conception took place in our research as early as the late 1990s.

Two other articles use data from an ISRD project currently under way, but the reports concern somewhat different project phases. The first paper, authored by Z. Podaná and E. Moravcová, is based on the first data processing on youth delinquency in the Czech

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<sup>1</sup> Most of the papers in this volume represent a grant scheme of Charles University PRVOUK 07 as part of the sub-project "Sociology of lifestyle, actors and institutions". However, the data analyzed here were often collected thanks to some other grant agencies that shall be named separately.

Republic. It offers quite novel and significant information. As a matter of fact, the Czech Republic was among the first countries to collect relevant data. The article by E. Moravcová, dealing with participation in a gang, in a sense completes her long-time interest in the topic by offering deep methodological insight into the problem. The study by S. Píkalová represents some aspects related to victim issues of our research lines, especially a grant project dealing with intimate partner violence. Basic information on the victims of home violence against women is excerpted from the latest data with the aim of demonstrating developments over the last 10 years.

Because this volume devoted exclusively to criminology is the first one to appear in this series, we can hope that it will trigger a new series of criminological studies, which in the future could provide a platform for authors from other institutes in the Czech Republic as well as contributors from abroad. The subjects presented offer a number of opportunities to work on separate, bilateral research or publishing projects. For these reasons we will be appreciated if our editorial move goes over the limit of Czech criminology as occasionally presented at the ESC Prague 2014 annual conference. After all, the fact that Czech criminology has been assigned this task can be taken as its contribution to international collaboration and a challenge for its further development.

*Jiří Buriánek*



## CZECH CRIMINOLOGY: HISTORY AND THE PRESENT DAY

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### ABSTRACT

This review paper outlines the development of Czech criminology that began, thanks to the initiative of some lawyers such as Josef Prušák, judge and professor at Charles University, during the end of the 19th century. The book-length study *Suicide as a Social Mass Phenomenon of Modern Civilization*, written by Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk in 1878, represented the emerging interest of sociology on this topic. The concept of criminology was quite common even in the first half of the 20th century. However, after 1948 the development of criminology was suppressed. Only one research institute established in 1960 continued to advance in criminological research. After 1989 criminology no longer seemed restricted by artificial factors such as ideological barriers of vulgarized marxisme. High quality criminological evidence was deemed necessary, especially considering the drastic increase in the number of crime rates. Due to this factor, crime became a primary concern. Ideological barriers broke down at long last, and Czech criminology began quickly absorbing international evidence and establishing contacts abroad.

**Key words:** Criminology, Czech Republic, origins, development

Although the institutional foundation of Czech criminology was only built in the 1960s, the roots of the discipline go back much further, namely to the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. As in other European countries, early Czech criminological thought grew out of two sources: legal science and sociology of social problems. While this was not exceptional vis-à-vis other countries, it largely determined future debates, some of which continue to this day. For example, one conversial topic involves whether criminology's position in the system of scientific disciplines is closer to penal law or sociology. Anyone engaging in this rather academic debate should be well-informed about the founding fathers of Czech criminology, whose approach was shaped primarily by the subject matter rather than by formal considerations or preconceptions. By studying criminality from the specific perspectives of their original disciplines while intricately crossing the boundaries between them, the founding fathers laid the foundation of criminology as an independent and chiefly interdisciplinary field.

In 1890 Josef Prušák, a lawyer, judge and penal law professor at Charles University, used the term "criminal science" to refer to studies of crime as a social phenomenon caused by individual, social and natural factors. He distinguished between "criminal anthropology", which investigates the perpetrator's personality and "criminal sociology", which asks about the social roots of crime. He also disseminated the findings of contemporary European criminology masters, including Cesare Lombroso and Raffaele Garofalo.

By the 1920s the term “criminology” was used regularly to refer to studies of crime with continued distinction between two perspectives on criminality: the study of perpetrator personality and the study of the social context of crime. Given its roots in legal science, one might expect criminology to favor the former perspective, namely the study of perpetrators and correction, but the Czech legal scientists who stood at the cradle of Czech criminology were inclined to take a broader perspective on crime as a social phenomenon.

Prušák published studies entitled *Introduction to Criminal Aetiology* in 1890 and *Criminal Noetics* in 1904. Vladimír Solnař, another outstanding Czech legal scholar who greatly contributed to the inception of Czech criminology, published a study on *Criminality in the Czech Lands 1914–1922* from the perspectives of criminal aetiology and penal law reform. At the same time, legal scholar František Procházka pursued perpetrator personality studies. He published *Discourses on Criminals: Introduction to Criminal Psychology and Sociology* in 1925. Other significant figures of Czech legal science made a difference in the field of criminology as well. For example, Augustin Mířička saw criminology as part of a broadly defined science of penal law as did Jaroslav Kallab and others.

Criminology’s view of criminality as a social phenomenon and a social problem was further emphasized by the works of some leading sociologists who studied social pathologies. Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk’s classic *Suicide as a Social Mass Phenomenon of Modern Civilization* from 1878 and *The Social Question* from 1898 are two of these works. (Masaryk’s book on suicide was recently cited by a study of Turkish criminologists at Uludag University entitled *Suicide behaviors: Turkish case study with a regional suicide map from 2008 to 2009* and presented at the 16th World Congress of Criminology in Kobe, Japan during 2011.) A number of Masaryk’s students focused on social pathologies. Sociologist Emanuel Chalupný even organized an extensive research study of capital punishment and published the results in 1923.

In other words, the young Czech field of criminology during the first half of the 20th century was not represented by “genuine” criminologists; instead, criminological studies of crime issues were developed by both legal scholars and sociologists. The focus was primarily on the theorizing of criminology while empirical approaches relied mainly on existing statistical data. The works of European criminology masters such as Cesare Beccaria, Cesare Lombroso, Raffaele Garofalo, Franz von Liszt, Willem A. Bongers and others were known in the Czech expert community, especially among legal scholars pursuing criminology studies. This positive development was further enhanced by the growth of related disciplines, in particular by forensic psychology and forensic sciences in general (*Kriminalistik*). Studies by Czech forensic scientists published during the 1930s (e.g. by Josef Šejnoha) featured criminological perspectives on the subject matter.

### **The socialist *intermezzo***

This promising development was brutally interrupted under the Nazi occupation. Until then, criminological thought and criminological approaches had been primarily pursued in academia; this was no longer possible after the shutdown of Czech universities.

Unfortunately, shortly after the end of World War II came the communist coup d'état of 1948, which started another sad chapter. Czech humanities were generally oppressed by vulgar Marxism, and some disciplines were completely rejected as "bourgeois pseudo-science". Criminology, too, went through dark times, regarded as unnecessary by the official ideology because crime was explained either as a temporary relic of the previous class society, which would vanish naturally with the evolution of a classless society and new social conditions, or as a manifestation of intensified class conflict and resistance by the toppled exploiting class, designating it as a basically political issue. Criminology ceased to develop, access to statistical data on crime was restricted, and some data were even made confidential for some time.

Relatively soon, it became obvious that an ideological approach could not resolve problems concerning crime. Of course, crime had not disappeared from the brand new so-called socialist society, and it could no longer be ignored, downplayed or outright denied. Mottoes were not the solution, and practical evidence-based recipes were necessary. This necessity helped renew interest in the study of crime. Paradoxically, it might seem that criminology was resurrected by the totalitarian regime, which ideologically deformed or completely negated most of the humanities. Nevertheless, the establishment of a small institution, the Research Institute for Forensic Sciences (*Vědeckovýzkumný ústav kriminalistiky*) was the result of a reality check rather than the regime's benevolence. The institution was soon renamed The Research Institute for Criminology (*Výzkumný ústav kriminologický*) and started focusing on multidisciplinary empirical criminological studies.

Besides the Research Institute for Criminology, there was a Criminology Unit at the Department of Penal Law, a joint establishment of the Faculty of Law at Charles University in Prague, and the Institute of State and Law at the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

The Research Institute for Criminology was originally established jointly by the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Interior and the Attorney General. In 1966 it was placed under the exclusive competence of the Attorney General. In spite of ideological restrictions, under the leadership of its founding director, Ladislav Schubert, and especially under Oto Novotný, the Institute was active in both the dissemination of theoretical evidence from countries that had enjoyed uninterrupted existence of the discipline, and the pursuit of original empirical research focusing on youth crime, criminal recidivism, crime trends, prison aftercare, etc. Its strong orientation on empirical research somewhat helped overcome ideological obstacles with regard to theorizing. The results of these studies were published in a special series by the Institute, including a remarkable work on youth crime by Otakar Osmančík and Zdeněk Švancar.

In another series entitled *Studies, Information, Commentaries*, translations of selected international criminology texts were published, mainly under the leadership of Alfréd Kudlík.

It was and perhaps continues to be the fate of Czech criminology that its journey could not avoid straits and hardships. The so-called Prague Spring of 1968 and its abrupt ending resulted in the "normalization" era of the 1970s, when ideological and political control was once again tightened. The evolution of criminology was interrupted; ideological pressures increased repeatedly; and the Research Institute for Criminology was criticized for non-Marxist deviations. Some of its researchers were even forced to give up scientific work and quit.

Criminology survived under these conditions, even if its actors had to more-or-less submit to ideological control. In 1971, the Criminology Unit at the Department of Penal Law published the book, *Czechoslovak Criminology*, edited by Alfréd Kudlík, Jiří Nezkusil and Gustav Přenosil, which dealt with both the general foundations of criminology and some special problems of crime. In 1978 the first Czech criminology textbook was published by a collective of authors led by the Research Institute for Criminology director Jiří Nezkusil. Nevertheless, its message was distorted by contemporary ideology. The Institute continued its empirical tradition and achieved interesting findings, for example with regard to perpetrator personality, youth delinquency or group criminality (see e.g. Oldřich Suchý, *Recidiva [Recidivism]*, Volumes I and II; Zdeněk Karabec et al., *Střednědobá prognóza vývoje kriminality [Mid-term forecast of the development of criminality]*; collective of authors, *Osobnost pachatele [Perpetrator personality]*, Volumes I and II). Criminology instruction at faculties of law was resumed.

Between 1966 and 1980, the Department of Corrections also ran a Penology Research Institute led by Jiří Čepelák. Penal theory and practice were studied there. Unfortunately, the Department of Corrections shut it down as “redundant” in 1980 and replaced it with a small Penology Unit, which could not fully compensate its functions. In other words, while the institutional foundation of criminology survived the 1970s and 1980s in reduced form, quality in the field was maintained primarily thanks to the efforts of individual professionals.

### **Breaking the walls**

Profound social changes after 1989 opened up new horizons for criminology studies. The Research Institute for Criminology transformed its activities, too. Some of its workers who had been forced to leave in the 1970s were able to return. One of them, Otakar Osmančík, became its director for the new era.

Criminology's growth seemed no longer to be restricted by artificial factors. High-quality criminological evidence seemed clearly necessary, especially given a drastic increase in recorded crime rates and the fact that crime became one of people's primary concerns. Ideological barriers broke down at long last, and Czech criminology began quickly to absorb international evidence and to establish contacts abroad.

Empirical research developed dynamically. It was given decisive importance in the field, given the fact that the extent of crime problems – old and new – went far beyond the existing capacities of Czech criminology. Unfortunately, the priority of empirical research in line with the practical needs of penal legislative efforts, penal policy, crime prevention, correction and other areas left little room for the growth of theoretical reflection.

At present, the main institutional foundation of Czech criminology is constituted by the former Research Institute for Criminology, which was renamed the Institute for Criminology and Social Prevention in 1990. Since 1994 the Institute has been managed by the Ministry of Justice. It studies primarily the manifestations and causes of criminality and related social pathologies; it conducts research and analysis in the fields of law and justice; it deals with penal policy and crime control from the perspectives of criminal justice as well as prevention; it gathers and archives criminological, legal and related

information; and it publishes the results of original research as well as translations of international sources in its own series of approximately 10 publications per year.

In 2000 it expanded its activities to include penological research because the specialized penology institute shutdown in 1980 was never re-established, except for a few professionals with part-time involvement in penological research at the Department of Corrections Education Institute.

The Institute for Criminology and Social Prevention also secures numerous international contacts for Czech criminology. It is a member of the International Criminology Society, the International Association of Penal Law (AIDP), the World Society of Victimology (WSV), the European Crime Prevention Network and the International Scientific and Professional Advisory Council of the United Nations (ISPAC). Furthermore, it maintains regular contacts with the European Society of Criminology (ESC) and other international expert organizations.

The Department of Criminology at the Police Academy is another criminological institution. Its primary mission involves education.

To date, criminology is not taught as a special program in the Czech Republic. Therefore, as in the past, criminologists are recruited from the ranks of legal science, sociology, psychology or other scientific disciplines. Criminology evolves as a typical interdisciplinary field. This makes the existence of a specialized criminology institution even more important, just like the involvement of professionals with different backgrounds in the implementation of criminological projects at other institutions. This framework allows for a smooth and informed process of the gradual transformation of experts from different fields into criminologists.

With the exception of the Police Academy, criminology is not taught as an independent program. Typically, it is included in teaching blocks on forensic disciplines at faculties of law, or it can be studied as an elective course. Several faculties also teach the criminology curriculum in their programs in sociology, social work, social policy and security studies, to name a few. As a positive trend, criminological approaches are reflected in the work of other, non-criminological institutions focusing on issues like drug use, public attitudes to crime, domestic violence and victimization, for example.

The interest of undergraduate and graduate students in criminology and its topics has increased. At the same time, criminology has been taught at an increasing number of colleges beyond the traditional institutions, sometimes under different names. New programs that include the criminology curriculum have been accredited.

Criminologists' efforts have resulted in the preparation and publication of some fundamental, constitutive literature of Czech origin. Besides shorter educational texts, two modern criminology textbooks have been published: one by a collective of authors around the departments of penal law in Brno and Pilsen led by Josef Kuchta and Helena Válková and another one by a collective from the Faculty of Law of Charles University in Prague, the Institute of Criminology and Social Prevention and the Police Academy led by Oto Novotný and Josef Zapletal. There has been a flow of special studies, papers and articles based on concrete research efforts. A small dictionary of criminology and several books on the methods of criminological research have been published. Criminology studies have provided evidence for lawmaking as well as systematic policy measures in areas such as alternative sentencing, crime prevention system and others.

While there is no specialized criminological journal in the Czech Republic, criminology studies and research results are regularly published in scholarly journals on forensic sciences, penal law, public prosecution or security studies (*Kriminalistika*, *Trestněprávní revue*, *Státní zastupitelství* and *Bezpečnostní teorie a praxe*, etc.).

For many years, issues of criminality and social pathologies have been addressed by the Social Pathology Section of the Masaryk Czech Sociological Association. At its annual seminars, researchers and academics meet with practitioners and outreach workers. Thus, the section provides the field with not only a broader professional background but also with practical reflection on research findings.

Increased interest in criminology at academic institutions and among students also triggered the establishment of the Czech Criminology Society in 2012, with a surprisingly high turnout. The Society's more than 150 members are recruited from academics and college students in the fields of law, sociology, psychology, social work, pedagogy and others. The second largest category of members constitutes research staff from not only the Institute of Criminology and Social Prevention but also from other research institutes in the Academy of Sciences. About one-tenth of the members are crime control practitioners from the police, courts, public prosecutor's offices and correctional facilities, while other members come from NGOs and local governments. There are also representatives of other institutions, such as the Czech Statistical Office, private businesses, mental health institutions, counselling psychology, attorneys-at-law, the Czech School Inspectorate, the Ministry of the Interior and others. Overall, experts from over 50 different institutions came together in the Czech Criminology Society during 2013. The society promotes expertise through seminars and conferences. In 2014, it will work with the Faculties of Law and Arts at Prague's Charles University to organize the 14th Annual Conference of the ESC *Criminology of Europe: Inspiration by Diversity* in the capital Czech city.

However, Czech criminology arguably does not yet have a sufficient foundation. It would be helpful to be able to respond more extensively to a range of crime-related problems, both old and new, as well as to crime tendencies and trends. This holds true for current theorizing about crime-related issues, too. It is also necessary to promote the sufficient development of applied criminology to help evaluate the effects of legislative and other measures of criminal policy in the fields of repression and prevention.

On one hand, the small domestic foundation and limited capacity of Czech criminology does not prevent it from following the majority of basic topics studied internationally, including the globalization of crime, organized and cross-border crime, drug trafficking, human trafficking, effects of social change on crime and victimization as well as social exclusion and its effects. It strives to investigate developments in extremism and its manifestations. On the other hand, it undoubtedly has to devote more attention to issues surrounding the coexistence and conflicts among cultures, multiculturalism and related ethnic and social conflicts as well as the frequent criminal manifestations there of.

Czech criminology is still falling behind in its effort to integrate with international scientific sphere and expert activities. In other words, Czech criminological institutions and criminologists need to become more involved in international expert societies, speak at international events, organize such events at home and finally liaise with the relevant international expert organizations in order to make a difference in the international expert field. The criminological conference in Prague planned for 2014 should be helpful

in this regard. It is an opportunity to strengthen the position, authority and foundation of Czech criminology in Czech and international contexts.

Although the existing capacity is insufficient for reflecting on these issues and keeping in mind that it is necessary to prioritize between topics and issues, Czech criminology should keep striving to answer the following questions of orientation, in particular:

1. How is the subject of our attention changing – crime, social pathologies and criminogenic factors in today's globalized world with its mass migration, social and ethnic differences, ideological and cultural conflicts, terrorism, global economic and organized crime, global economic processes and their social pathological effects? How are these global phenomena and effects shaping the Czech situation?
2. How can we split our attention between these global threats and their reflection in the Czech Republic, on one hand, and traditional criminology issues, on the other hand? In other words, how is this possible among the above-mentioned new social risks and the traditional forms of crime such as regular property and street crime that are undoubtedly perceived by people as the most immediate sources of threat and harm?
3. What kind of conceptual framework and theoretical background can we form to better generalize and interpret existing empirical evidence? How can we contextualize concrete findings that have been and will continue to be the primary result of Czech criminologists' work in order to draw a more accurate picture of crime and criminogenic factors in our society? To what extent can existing criminological theories explain findings about the evolution of crime in a transforming society?
4. How can we focus criminological investigations on the effectiveness of different legal and other institutes and organizational measures in practice (legislation, operation of the judiciary and correctional systems, alternative sentencing, mediation, prevention methods and measures, etc.), the measurement and evaluation of their impacts on crime, its prevention and social pathologies as well as criminogenic factors? How can we tap the limited resources of Czech criminology, which are largely occupied by these exercises, so that the findings are also utilized in practice?

Answers to these questions can be clarified by studying social demand. However, how we set our priorities also depends on criminologists' ability to define problems that deserve priority attention, justify their choices and persuade their clients-recipients of the resulting evidence. This is certainly a significant challenge facing Czech criminology.

As criminologists, we believe the formulation and effective implementation of a good criminal policy requires knowledge about the phenomenology and aetiology of crime, its manifestations and causes and its broader social context, including those social pathologies that are not punishable by law but facilitate crime or constitute a criminogenic environment. This, in turn, requires permanent persuasion, not only by employing a set of marketing techniques but also by producing and offering high-quality evidence.

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## FROM PATIENCE TO PROBLEMS: THE CZECH EXPERIENCE OF THE TRANSITION

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### ABSTRACT

This chapter describes the recent development of the fear of crime as surveyed in the Czech Republic. The dynamics of fear and concerns are increasing now. During the period of economic crisis, some concerns should have increased, but there is a new subject of concerns, maybe even a new scapegoat: corruption. This text examines the processes of the still continuing fear reduction and the influence of both the victimization and the local conditions on the fear of crime. The second part demonstrates both an extreme rise in the concern about corruption and the element of bribery in everyday practices as well. The transition to democracy in the Czech Republic after 1989 offered a picture of a “patient” society accepting necessary social costs of the change. The conclusion on a “risk normalization” covers two features: the patient reaction of people to the increase of crime rates after 1989 and the increasing differentiation of attitudes according to the local aspects (represented by city size).

**Key words:** fear of crime, concerns, corruption

The transition to democracy in the Czech Republic after 1989 offered a picture of a “patient” society accepting necessary social costs of the change. Our key explanatory concept of the “risk normalization” (Buriánek 1997, 2001, 2003) covers two features: the patient reaction of people to the increase of crime rates after 1989 and the increasing differentiation of attitudes according to the local aspects represented by city size. We will tackle the problem of “patience” repeatedly supposing that the potential for adaptation is limited. The basic question thus could be articulated in a very simple way: What is prevailing now—paradoxes or realism in public opinion? Systemic compliance, moral panic or a decrease in civic participation and a continuing resignation?

The aim of this paper<sup>1</sup> is to describe the recent development in the field of the fear of crime studies within the scope of crime surveys in the Czech Republic. The dynamics of fear and concern are increasing now. Nevertheless, it could be assumed that in the period of economic crisis some concerns should have increased, but there is a new subject of concerns, maybe a new scapegoat: corruption. So we would like to:

- outline recent development in the perception of security risks by the Czech Republic,
- analyze the processes of the still continuing fear reduction,

<sup>1</sup> Paper supported by research scheme PRVOUK 07, project “Sociology of lifestyle, actors and institutions”.

- examine the so-called paradox of fear and the influence of both the victimization and the local conditions on the fear of crime,
- demonstrate the rise in the concern about corruption.

We consider the strong concern about corruption as a new risk, as a powder-keg, which could be easily misused in political discourse.

The basic frame of reference could be outlined by two opposite views formulated by German leading criminologist Klaus Sessar's (2001) thesis on both a "generalization of risks perception" and the role of social deprivation in the social transition reflecting the situation in Germany in the 1990s. Klaus Boers' (2003) view stressing the role of the individual copying of the social environment – community, locality and vulnerability, among others – opens the way to the distinction between the fear of crime and the other "concerns" and leans toward a more detailed analysis (see his "inter-actionist model" presented at the Strasbourg 2003 EC conference). This dichotomy corresponds to the list of theories of the fear of crime offered by Jonathan Jackson et al. (2009b: 182–183), where concerns focusing on victimization, risk perception and environmental disorder could be taken as a micro-sociological view. The structural change and generalized anxiety offer a macro-sociological explanation. However, our approach is much more "historical" than the structural or confirmative one.

### **The Data and the Methodology**

We have no intention to enlarge the debate about the fear of crime measurement troubles (see Ferraro 1995; Skogan 1987; Boers 1991, 2002; Holloway, Jefferson 1997: 256; Walklate 1998). We have reflected on the criticism of S. Farrall et al. (1997) (also see Lee, Farrall 2009). We used three types of indicators in our surveys:

- Standard questions (*Do you feel safe on the streets when walking outdoors in the evenings after dark?*)
- Concrete items batteries (the first one measuring "fear", while the second one considers the probability of a criminal act, both using 10-point scales)
- Experience/exposition items (*How often did you feel unsafe outside in the evenings last year?*)

We have tried to combine the expression of an emotion (fear) with both the more rational cognitive evaluation (probability) and the experience (behavioral aspect). The possibility of an integration of sociological and psychological aspects was discussed by J. Jackson (2009a).

Our data form a homogeneous time series due to our long-term cooperation with the Home Office. However, a gap between 2004 and 2005 represents a relatively minor difficulty. We are working with:

- Surveys "Security risks", which were carried out from 1998 to 2005, F2F interviewing, samples of about 1400 respondents from age 15, quota sampling method
- Survey "Actor 2006", based on the same methodology, N = 1939
- Security Risks Survey 2007, N = 1390

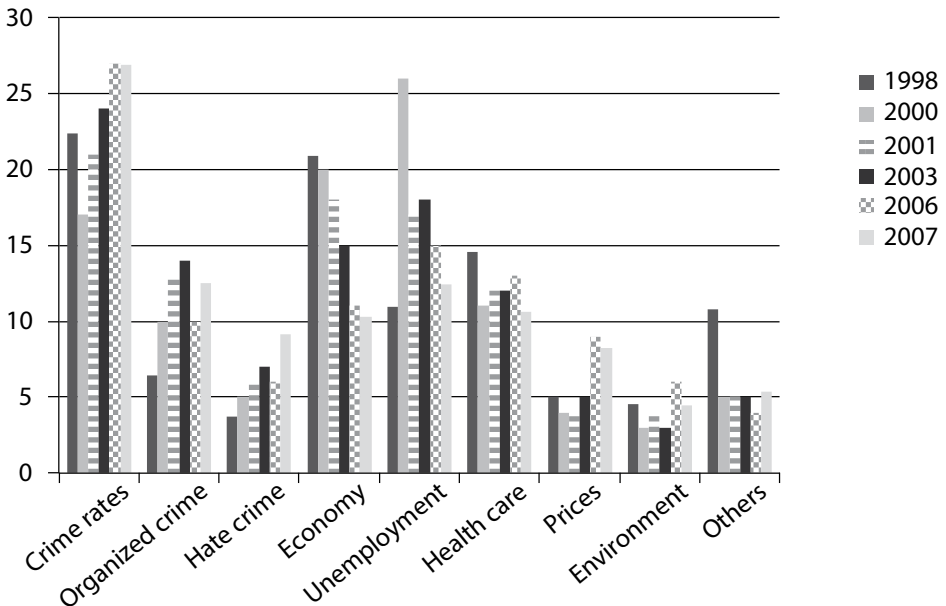
- EUREQUAL 2007, N = 994 (research on social inequalities)
- Survey on corruption in Prague 2009, N = 584
- Actor 2011 for the international project EUROJUSTIS (This was a pilot project for the ESS 2011, data collection in February, N = 1199, F2F, population 18+.)
- Actor 2011 (December), N = 1109, quota sampling

International context is provided by the ESS (European Social Survey, Round 5, 2010), which was implemented in the Czech Republic during February 2011.

### The Fear of Crime Development

The people surveyed expressed the view that crime rates represented a dominating problem in society. However, our data have shown (Graph 1) that in the period of the economic depression (1997–1999), the concern was realistically transferred to economic issues.

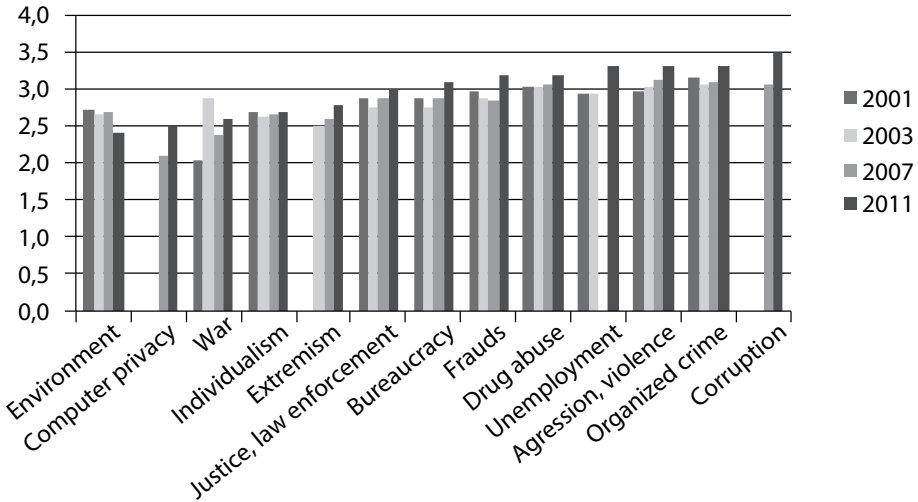
Nevertheless, nowadays corruption is becoming the biggest problem in the Czech Republic. This means that the long-term dominance of crime rates in general as the greatest subject of public concern is over. Unemployment is now in second place. In an open question asked at the end of 2011, in the first two places 40 percent of respondents mentioned explicitly corruption (in the first place 19 percent, in the second place 21 percent).



Graph 1: Crime as the Biggest Problem up to 2007

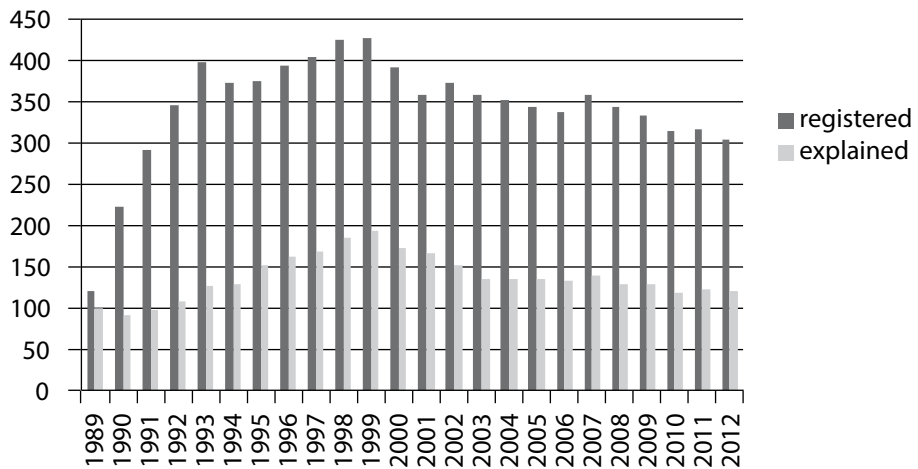
A similar result is provided by a standardized battery examining concerns over social problems (Graph 2). After we added the item on corruption into the menu during 2007,

it became obvious that it occupied a leading position. The shift in the last four years is noticeable. It is evident that the concerns have increased slightly in almost all items. The concern of environmental care has decreased, though.



**Graph 2:** Concerned by Social Problems from 2001 to 2011 (Means on a scale of 1 to 4 = very concerned)

The fear of crime never corresponds precisely to the crime rate figures (Graph 3). There is a correlation between decreasing crime rates after 2000 and the continually increasing feeling of safety. Nevertheless, criminality has probably been perceived all that time as a good challenge for amelioration from the point of view of citizens.



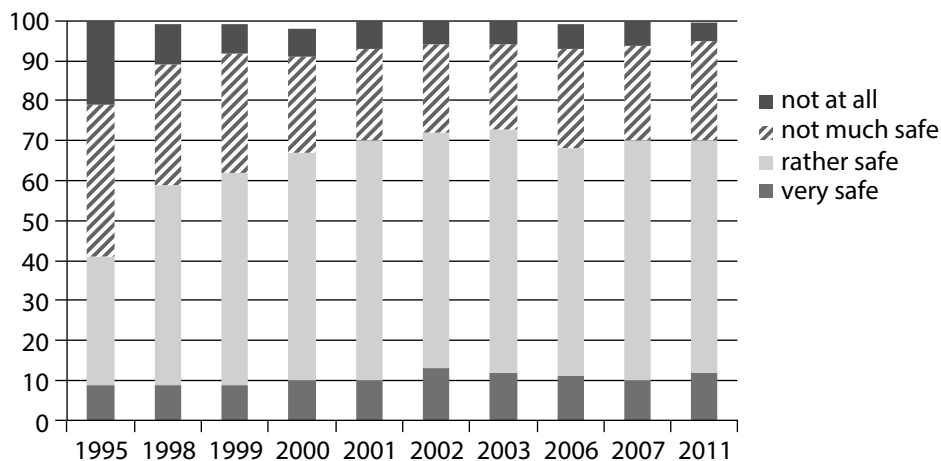
**Graph 3:** Crime Rates in the CR (Police statistics, in thousands)

Although the trends in crime rates are mostly positive, there is no reason to overestimate their practical relevance to everyday life. It should be demonstrated in Table 1 that the personal victimization experience (prevalence) remained on the same level, only having dropped down in the recent period. The proportion of the people reporting the event to the police is also stabilized.

**Table 1:** Personal victim experience and willingness for reporting

During	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2005	2006	2010	2011
Prevalence (%)	19	24	25	23	26	23	28	10	10
<b>Victim reported the event (%)</b>						<b>2000</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2011</b>
1. Yes, to the Police						53	56	52	56
2. Yes, to another organization						2	2	3	3
3. No, only to the closest relatives						24	17	16	21
4. No, not at all						20	26	29	10

The basic indicator of fear confirms the positive trend of the risk perception by the Czech public (Graph 4). On the other hand, the potential for the further amendment is evidently limited. One reason is that we have revealed a relatively strong influence of the city size (including the differentiation by the victimization prevalence in Table 2). It represents a substantial argument in the debate on the role of “universalistic” attitudes supported by media influence, or on the contrary, on the role of the real recognition of the local condition, of the community.

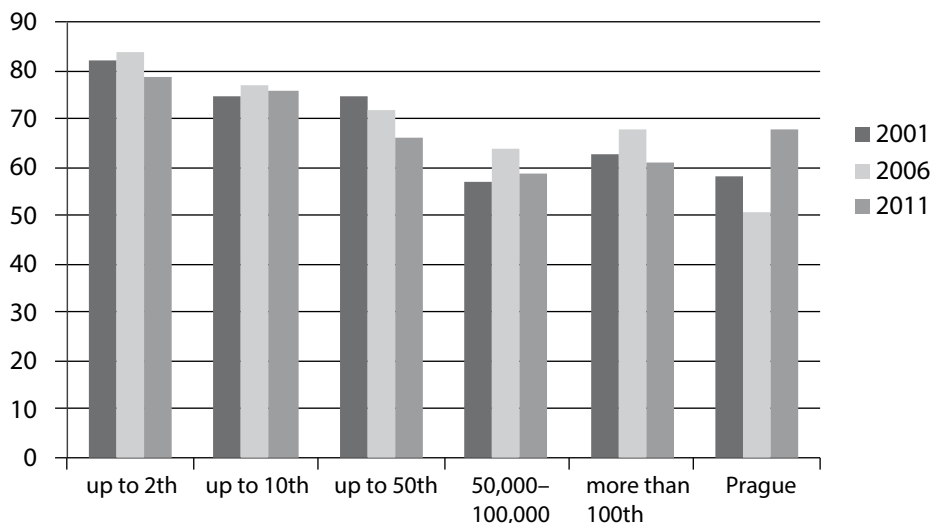


**Graph 4:** Fear of Crime (Feeling of Safety While Outside in the Evenings)

Note: The rest up to 100 percent = DNK

The position of the Czech Republic among European countries looks rather well. According to the results of ESS 2008, the fear of crime index 1.8 is close to Finland, the Netherlands, Sweden or Germany (Croatia and Norway occupied a top position approaching to 1.5; on the opposite side the index for Greece and Bulgaria overlapped 2.3). The medium level of fear corresponds to the relatively low level of social risks here, which correlates with the fear of crime across Europe. It should be taken as a confirmation of Sessar's thesis, but looking on the internal differentiation inside the country, Boers' view comes back into the game.

As shown in Graph 5, local trends differ. The position of Prague is exceptional (the positive trend turned over and became more realistic), but there is another interesting ranking of medium-size cities with about 50,000 inhabitants, where the feeling of safety is relatively low, and the tendency is also unfavorable.



**Graph 5:** Local Trends Differ (Proportion of people feeling very or rather safe, %)

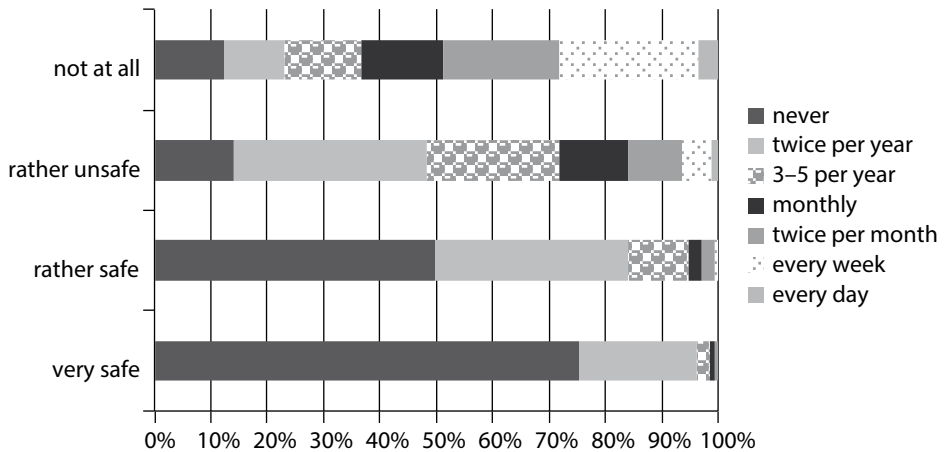
### The Further Associations of the Fear of Crime

Table 2 has given evidence for the influence of both gender and victimization on the fear of crime (see also Killias, Clerici 2000). The response pattern of men is probably less dramatic. The actual difference between male and female victimization prevalence is statistically insignificant. A similar association should be observed when analyzing the role of age.

**Table 2: Fear (Evenings on Streets) by Victimization and Gender (2007)**

		Fear of crime						
Victim		Low	2	3	High	DNK		
1	Male	9.9	59.2	23.8	7.2	-	100	
YES	Female	3.9	45.6	32.5	17	0.5	100	
	TOTAL	7	52.7	28	11.9	0.2	100	
2	Male	15.8	63.5	17.8	2.2	0.4	100	
NO	Female	8.4	54.1	29.6	6.9	0.9	100	
	TOTAL	12	58.7	23.9	4.7	0.7	100	

The implementation of the control question “How often did you feel unsafe outside in the evenings?” did not fortify the arguments against the general measure of fear (Farrall, Gadd 2004). The scope of responses brings a bit of precision. The positive message is that the correlation coefficient (gamma) is rather high (0.66)! According to Graph 6, the declared fear is usually combined with the declared experience of fear. The type “fear without experience of fear” represents only one-tenth (or let’s say one-fifth) of those who feel “not at all safe” on the streets in the evenings.



**Graph 6: Validity of the Fear Measure (Feeling Safe and Fear Experience Frequency, 2007)**

This alternative question has confirmed the continuing positive trend in the fear of crime reduction.

**Table 3:** Faced the Real Fear Experience Evenings on the Street (%)

	2007	2011
Never	41.7	45.1
Once or twice	31.5	32.5
3 to 5 times	13.1	9.5
6 to 10 times	5.1	4.4
Monthly	4.8	4.1
Every week	3.2	2.9
Every day	0.5	0.8
Another situation	0.4	0.6
	100	100

We would like to sum up our findings into a simple conclusion stressing the observable realism in the fear of crime declarations because:

- Fear correlates with the risk exposition perception (“experience”).
- Both Fear and Risk exposition correlate with victimization.
- Fear corresponds to the local conditions.

We can illustrate our thesis by a preliminary regression analysis. Table 4 contains one of simplified models incorporating variables that explain the reasons for the feeling of fear. It is not surprising that in the fear “construction” the estimated risk of violent attacks is more relevant than the others. We have also calculated the model for men and women separately so some small differences have been identified. (Among men, the fear of assault plays an important role while among women, the fear of robbery is high on the list.)

**Table 4:** Regression Analysis for the Fear Experience

Model		Unstandardized Coef.		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	0.53	0.25	2.093	0.037	
	Sex (F)	0.61	0.07	<b>0.23</b>	8.754	0.000
	City size	0.11	0.02	<b>0.13</b>	5.089	0.000
	Not victimized	-0.5	0.08	<b>-0.16</b>	-6.476	0.000
	Fear robbery	0.08	0.02	<b>0.16</b>	4.571	0.000
	Fear violence	0.1	0.02	<b>0.18</b>	5.313	0.000
	Fear burglary	0.02	0.02	0.03	1.122	0.262
	Fear theft	0.01	0.02	0.03	0.828	0.408
	Fear murder	-0.04	0.02	-0.08	-2.338	0.02
	Satisf. with Police	0.07	0.04	0.04	1.76	0.079

Dependent Variable: Fear experience R = 0.47, Rsq = 0.22



## The Content of Fear

The concrete identification of particular risk is widely recommended. In the recent period we have reduced our batteries of probability estimation because the differences between fear (concerns) and probability are continually diminishing. We would like to present here only the top of the ladder of fears of the Czech Republic (Table 5) and the selection of the most important events in the respect of the probability (Table 6).

**Table 5:** Most Frequent Fears (Means at a 10-point scale)

	2002	2003	2006	2007
Thefts	6.4	6.6	6.5	6.9
Burglary	6.3	6.3	6.1	6.7
Traffic accidents	6.1	6.1	–	7.0
Car theft	6.0	5.9	5.8	6.4
Fraud	5.7	5.6	5.1	5.9

The position of the most relevant risks is very fixed. The recent “return” of the fear of fraud could be interpreted as the result of the government’s insufficient handling of this issue. The public opinion is “realistic” regarding the structure of criminality as reflected in statistics. The small increase in concrete concerns should be examined as well. This is a challenge for another survey.

**Table 6:** Estimated Probability of Criminal Victimization in Selected Items (Means at a 10-point scale)

	2001	2002	2003	2006
Car theft	5.4	5.4	5.6	5.5
Burglary	5.5	5.4	5.7	5.5
Robbery	4.0	4.0	4.2	4.3
Violent attack	3.7	3.6	3.7	3.8
Rape	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.8

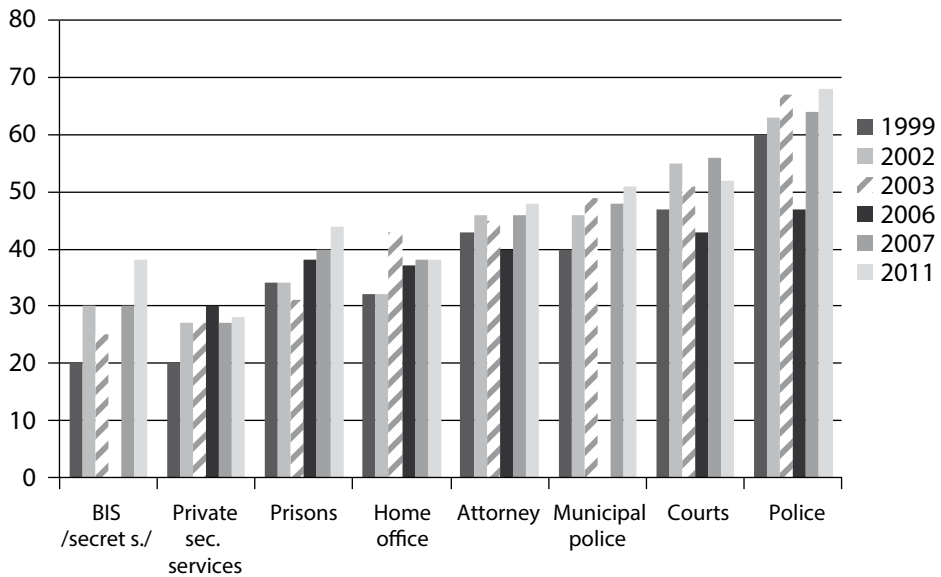
The presentation of the total numbers could be misleading in some cases. Concerned about the risk of sexual abuse, we have to distinguish between male and female perception. The fear of car theft is more relevant to those people who have owned a car. As shown in Table 7, the differentiation should be taken into account, although the fear of car theft is relatively generalized. (There is no fatal absence of logic: People without a car could be afraid that their friends, relatives or their companies will experience car theft.)

**Table 7: Status and Fear (Probability from 1 to 10 = maximum, 2007)**

	Car theft	Burglary	Robbery	Rape	Violence
Male	5.63	5.34	4.01	2.09	3.74
Female	5.39	5.62	<b>4.62</b>	<b>3.56</b>	3.93
Car owners	5.85	5.5	4.26	2.79	3.77
Without car	3.93	5.44	4.58	3.02	<b>4.17</b>

We can take car ownership as a rough measure of social status as well. In that case we have to mention the higher fear declared by the lower class in respect to violent, physical attacks.

As a bonus, we add information about trust in institutions,<sup>2</sup> such as the authorities. It has confirmed our positive picture of growing potential for adaptation (Graph 7). The dropout in 2006 could have been caused because the context of the questionnaire was a bit different. There is practically no change in the distribution of attitudes (Table 8) concerning satisfaction with the Police.



**Graph 7: Trust in Institutions (% of very trusted + rather trusted)**

<sup>2</sup> More detailed analysis can be found in this volume in the study by P. Homolová.

**Table 8:** Satisfaction with the Police (%)

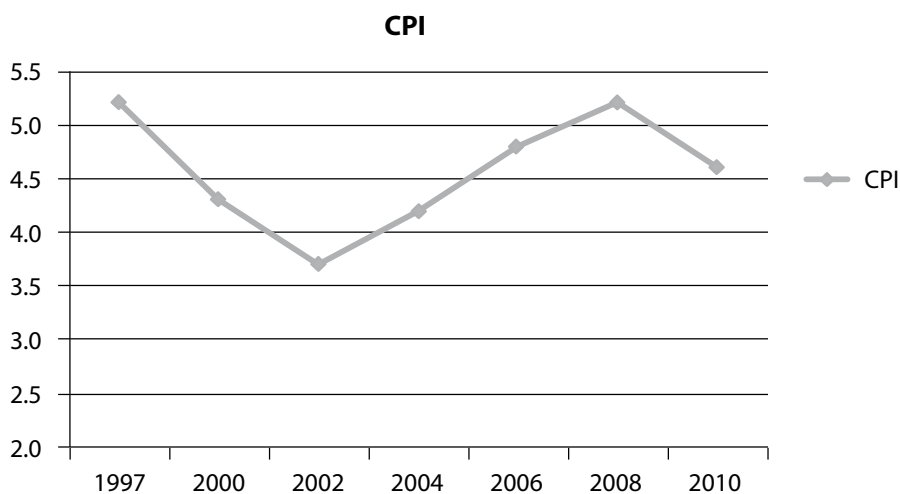
	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2006	2007	2011
Very satisfied	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2
Rather sat.	24	22	23	27	28	23	25	34
It depends	53	51	54	51	49	48	48	48
Rather dissatisfied	19	22	18	18	17	22	21	12
Very dissatisfied	3	5	4	3	5	5	4	3

### Corruption as a New Fear?

As stated above, the complementary aim of this study is to explore the dramatic increase in the fear of corruption in this country as well. Although at first glance the use of the concept of moral panic seems to be appropriate in this context, we do not believe that the state of public opinion in this respect fulfills all these characteristics. However, it offers an alternative interpretation due to the fact that the phenomenon is associated with active participation of the population, and declared attitudes – one way or another – are related to life experience. Therefore, they are not merely processing external stimuli, e.g. information made public by the media. We also assume that the degree of concern about corruption is still relatively subdued by solid trust in institutions; on the other hand, it may escalate under the influence of social deprivation.

From a methodological point of view, we find the topic challenging enough. In addition to determining the attitudes, we want to verify the possibility not only of detecting the feelings and opinions, but also of asking people directly about the involvement in the processes of everyday corruption (although apparently “minor”). Then it would be possible to discuss the topic not only in terms of fear or concerns but also in terms of experience. Only after that does the fundamental question make sense. It shapes the specific climate of corruption.

Previously, we also raised the issue of who is actually concerned about corruption, so we would like to mention our former paper on a corrupt climate (Buriánek 2009). This article fulfills its objective to show the position of the Czech Republic in an international context. As is apparent from the available resources (Jansa, Bureš 2011), Transparency International ranked the Czech Republic according to its CPI (Corruption Perception Index) in 53th place in the world (2010). The attached graph also shows that after the “crisis” around 2002, there has been a further decline in the index, i.e. the estimated increase in corruption.



**Graph 8:** Corruption Perception Index in the Czech Republic  
 Note: An index value 10 indicates the minimum level of corruption.  
 (Source: Jansa, Bureš, 2011, p. 28)

Since corruption very quickly became the number one problem that disturbs people, we could expect that it will change the view of the respondents on the level or stage of corruption. The standard used indicator confirmed the dramatic trend surprisingly clearly (Table 9): It not only decreased the proportion of the undecided, but it clearly starts to dominate the share of those who perceive corruption as organized or even system penetrating. It should mean that corruption permeates all areas of life and becomes a necessary condition for the functioning of most social systems.

**Table 9:** Development of Opinion on Corruption in the Czech Republic (%)

Developmental stage of corruption	2002	2003	2007	II/2011	XII/2011
Isolated, accidental	14	13	11	8	5
Frequent, but still occasional	31	34	36	29	22
Organized	22	24	28	38	45
Systemic corruption	12	11	14	21	24
Do not know	21	18	12	4	3
	100	100	100	100	100

These opinions do not show significant social differentiation – they represent general beliefs. However, a sub-trend is beginning to emerge. Members of the lower class see the situation more sharply (at least 77 percent perceive corruption as organized) than the upper middle class (63 percent).

Hand in hand with this tendency, we see a clear correlation between concern over corruption and assessment of the current political system (Table 10). There is also a link to political orientation (toward the left).

**Table 10:** Associations of the Corruption Stage Evaluation (Average values on scales)

	Current political system	Left-Right
Stage of development of corruption	1 to 10	1 to 7
Rare and random, accidental	7.1	4.6
Systematic, but feisty, occasional	7.6	4.3
Organized corruption	4.9	4.0
Systemic corruption	3.9	3.6
TOTAL	5.4	4.0
N	1070	1057

We have an opportunity to note that the spectrum of the left-right political orientation scale shifted to the middle of the scale, although it was deflected to the right during the long-term period after the Velvet Revolution. Whether it is only affected by concerns over corruption is something we cannot yet clearly demonstrate empirically.

**Table 11:** Corruption and Citizens Feeling Safe on the Street in the Evenings (Actor 2011)

Feeling safe	“Corruption and bribes are encountered at every step ...”				
	Absolutely true	Rather true	Not quite	Totally untrue	
Very safe	50.5	26.7	20.8	2.0	100
Rather safe	45.5	41.3	12.3	0.9	100
Not too safe	54.8	35.7	7.4	2.2	100
Not at all safe	71.4	25.0	3.6		100
Total	50.7	37.0	10.9	1.3	100

Because of the subjective perception of the situation, it is not surprising that we have found a correlation between corruption concern and the feeling of safety outside during evenings. From this perspective, it would seem that it is a component of a broader cluster of attitudes, which is only emphasized differently at different stages of development. Further analysis should be carried out to illuminate the lifestyle practices in still more detail.

### **Corruption in Everyday Life Practice**

Our first attempt at ascertaining the degree of citizens’ involvement in corruption practices was made in 2007. We asked about bids received or made, and on this basis we can make an idea of the degree of the population involvement in cycles of corruption. This proportion was estimated to be one-quarter (recognizing that we deal with a self-reporting methodology). More important, however, was the ability to compare the attitudes of those who are involved with the rest of the population.

**Table 12:** Offers of Bribes by Social Status (2007, shares in %)

	Offer of a bribe		
	received	given	“Corruption grows ...” statement
Lower class	12	15	64
Lower middle	13	16	57
Middle	19	15	48
Upper middle	40	29	35
TOTAL	19	17	51

It appears that a bigger corruption potential occurs at the level of the upper classes and that these “insiders” express tolerant attitudes toward corruption. In this case it is the share of those who in the question on the development of corruption accepted the answer that it is growing. They also have significantly positive “balance” of bids. We have to note that status is determined by the subjective opinion of the respondent.

Those who received a bid pronounced more fear of corruption (in the research in 2007, measured on a 10-point scale), but they also demonstrated a higher degree of tolerance in relation to both offering bribes and accepting kickbacks.

**Table 13:** Effect of Participation on Attitudes to Corruption (Range 1 to 10, means)

Bribe	Fear of corruption	Tolerance to offering	Tolerance to bribery
Was offered	5.3	3.32	3.76
Not offered	3.98	2.87	3.4

The people involved, however, do not differ from the others in the view on the stage of corruption in the country. Experience thus influences rather specific attitudes, but it has no demonstrable effect on an overall assessment of the situation.

A closer look at the involvement of citizens in the corruption cycle is reflected in a specialized research conducted in Prague during 2009. Outside a supply circle, there remained 69 percent of respondents, so less than one-third was involved. Twelve percent offered a bribe while nine percent received an offer. Ten percent of the respondents were involved in both directions. Moreover, in this survey the reply was followed by a question asking whether the offer was realized or the bribe was accepted. Although the answer may not have been entirely sincere, offered bribes proved to have been “finalized” in about one-third of the cases, while the offers made by the respondents were accepted in half of the cases. It should be added that the supply issues were related explicitly to a period of one (last) year! It turns out that corruption is reproduced in everyday life quite intensively, although accurate estimates of the number or amount or severity of bribes will be difficult to reach.

But this is true also for statistical records on the police because the willingness to report corruption is relatively low. In this survey, 45 percent of respondents stated that the report does not make sense, and only one-fifth of the respondents would call the police.

One-third would prefer anonymous lines, but these are currently being canceled due to low efficiency.

Reluctance to report has apparently nothing to do with confidence in the police because it has recently been increasing slightly. Sixty-eight percent of citizens currently trust the police to some degree (in the courts it is only 52 percent). A total of 37 percent of the respondents are more or less satisfied with police work while 45 percent answered that “it depends”.

In the EUROJUSTIS project<sup>3</sup> the wording of questions was renewed with an emphasis on a good or bad job in the respect of police performance, but even here it was confirmed that the police are perceived better (average 2.8 on a 5-point scale) than courts (3.1). However, in respect to the frequency of corruption in the police and justice, the police came out considerably worse – averages on a scale from 0 to 10 were 5.2 and 5.1. Summing up the two ratings, it is possible to create an overall index of the level of corruption in the police and the courts, which has nearly ideal, i.e. a normal distribution (mean 10.3, standard deviation 3.9). This allows us to reliably show the different views in each category of the Czech population (Table 14).

Critical opinion was expressed by those who intensely watch television as well as by those respondents who do not watch television at all. Of course, we also examined a daily tabloids monitoring, but there no statistical association appeared. The most critical opinions come from people with basic education, members of the lower class having trouble making ends meet. Even here the greatest concern is declared by relative “outsiders”, people with the lowest corruption potential.

This is probably caused by a general attitude combined with a degree of anxiety. A respondent’s own experience with the police (a contact in the past two years) does not impair evaluation of both components; on the contrary, it improves them slightly (average 10.0), although we can simultaneously find a higher rate of delinquency among these respondents.

In order to analyze some other relationships, we have created a comprehensive measure of delinquency and of the degree of respecting the law (i.e. compliance – based on two items from the battery ESS). We compared acquired variables on the basis of correlations and then tentatively put them in multiple linear regression (with the level of corruption as the dependent variable). In the first step we found that the perception of corruption has little to do either with delinquency or with normativity (in terms of willingness to obey the law). Correlations indicate the presence of certain delinquent cluster variables, which correspond well to lower self-control (Travis Hirschi, Michael Gottfredson). Correlations are statistically significant but rather weak.

In the regression model, a certain degree of influence was retained by tolerance of theft and lower self-control. From the other variables applied, only assessment of household income played a certain role. (Age, gender and delinquent tendency had no significant effect.) The explanatory power of the model, however, was, generally speaking, very weak. Thus, corruption perception represents a relatively independent parameter, which is difficult to predict, although a link to the (low) social status there remains confirmed.

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<sup>3</sup> We joined the project later. Nevertheless, we conducted the pilot study in the Czech Republic respecting international design (adding some traditional measures at the end of the questionnaire).

**Table 14:** Who Assumes a Higher Level of Corruption among Police Officers and Judges (Composite index from 0 to 20)

EUROJUSTIS 2011 Level of corruption (police + courts)			Mean	N	St. dev.
		TOTAL	10.3		
Time spent watching TV					
No, not watching TV			10.7	20	3.4
Less than half an hour a day			10.3	43	3.9
Half an hour to an hour a day			9.6	127	4.0
From one to two hours			10.1	306	3.8
About two to three hours			10.1	411	3.9
More than three hours			11.2	265	4.0
ETA 0.129**					
Reads the major national dailies	Yes		10.1	721	3.9
	No		110.7	445	4.0
ETA 0.075*					
Corruption		Not at all concerned about	9.9	34	3.6
Very concerned			10.7	735	3.8
ETA 0.120**					
The basic level of education			11.2	174	3.8
ETA 0.095*					
Opinion on household income:		Enables carefree life	9.5	70	3.8
It is very tough to deal with current income			11.5	29	3.5
ETA 0.129***					
Status		Lower class	11.2		
Upper middle			9.4		
Prague inhabitants			11		

In conclusion, we compared the situation in the Czech Republic with most European countries participating in the European Social Survey Research (Table 15). We have created a ladder based on the evaluation of corruption within the police, but it is obvious that it is very similar to an evaluation of the courts. For clarity's sake, we demonstrated both extreme groups and the group near the center (average). Even though we see that the average range covers some post-communist countries, the Czechs find themselves near the bottom of the ladder.



**Table 15:** ESS 2010: Selected Countries Ordered by the Police Corruptibility (Means)

	Police works well/badly (1–5)	Police corruption (0–10)	Corruption courts (0–10)
Denmark	2.12	1.61	1.9
Norway	2.29	2.8	1.69
Finland	2.4	2.19	2.20
Estonia	2.42	3.88	3.84
Belgium	2.35	3.90	3.32
Mean ESS score	2.53	4.15	3.83
Spain	2.31	4.22	4.38
Slovenia	2.52	4.23	5.12
Greece	2.86	5.49	5.98
Czech Republic	2.67	5.57	5.37
Bulgaria	2.60	5.72	6.48
Russia	3.15	6.65	5.81
Ukraine	3.41	7.42	7.40

## Conclusions

Specific questions on corruption in the police and the courts (as used in ESS) differentiated well across countries, but in terms of places where corruption occurs, it is just a small section. Therefore, a general indicator of development stages should be used for the purposes of international comparison because it does not react so sensitively to social differentiation. Gradually, it would be appropriate to introduce direct inquiries into the involvement in corruption circle, at least in respect to the bid offers. It turns out that direct questions on the subject are not so sensitive. From this we can deduce, however, a less favorable conclusion: To speak of corruption in our country is normal.

Corruption perception is based on attitude, but to some extent it reflects personal experience and the potential involvement. Insiders are less concerned about corruption and are more forgiving, as if they were better “adapted”. The mechanism of neutralization (David Matza) may also play a role. The people who are sensitive seem to be socially frustrated and angry (Jackson 2004). There could be a multiplied effect of deprivation at work (also in the sense of frustration that they “missed the right train” – for details see Buriánek 2009). Therefore, it remains true that indices derived from surveys of public opinion constitute only a relatively crude measure. In fact, our findings agree with analyses done by Michael L. Smith and Petr Matějů (Smith 2008: 53).

Czech society today is characterized by high levels of concern and negative assessment of the level of corruption. This situation is probably partly reinforced by the media, but in our opinion it is mainly a reflection of the state of the political scene. In this way it becomes a certain political risk in terms of both growing dissatisfaction and potential electoral votes that may be acquired by populist parties promising a quick solution. A certain advantage is perhaps the fact that the concern is still dampened by the trust in institutions, apparently also by some reliance on abstract systems (Anthony Giddens, see also Lee, Farrall 2009).

Our rather descriptive analysis of the public opinion perception of risk leads to a couple of obvious conclusions:

- Perception of risks is not paradoxical. Public opinion is realistic. Fear tends to be differentiated (socially, locally).
- An even stronger influence of the local conditions, including disorganization, should be supposed. The correlation with the character of the area of housing was also proven.
- During the transition, Czech society was “patient” and highly adaptive (probably due to the strong and generalized social expectations).
- The trust in institutions and “general attitudes” are stabilized, probably in part due to a decrease in crime rate during the last period.
- Concerns about corruption represent a new concretization (new subject or new streaming) of fear.
- However, they are also based on personal experience with bribery.

Our research has so far shown that corruption is not just a problem of public opinion, a widespread idea only. We could not speak about moral panic because up to one-third of the population may be involved in the chain of corruption that infiltrates everyday life. So it is not only the impact of the ongoing cases revealed at the highest level of politics and government, since the gradual erosion of standards occurs in everyday practices. Corruption has become a part of life (at least of some groups or strata).

Following the critical texts of the Czech philosopher Václav Bělohradský, we can recall the question of whether corruption means a pure deviant phenomenon or an inherent part of the system, which is based on the market principle using money as the key medium (and on the interrelated social inequality). But then we must ask why we find so much less fear of corruption in Denmark and other western democracies. It could mean that in the confrontation between democracy, or at least procedural justice, and pure profit a certain symbiosis is possible. It seems, however, that we boarded a train, which has only a few first class cars, and the wheels are pulling away strongly and somewhat ominously rumbling. The relatively positive message is that Czech society remains highly adaptive and relatively fearless. Nevertheless, the normalization of corruption could steer the train in a dangerous direction.

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**TRUST IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND COMPLIANCE  
WITH THE LAW IN CZECH SOCIETY: TESTING  
THE NORMATIVE HYPOTHESIS ON 1999 AND 2011 SAMPLES**

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**ABSTRACT**

Normative theory of compliance highlights trust in criminal justice institutions as a substantial factor that fuels their legitimacy, legitimacy of the law and following of the law. Our study is aimed at examining both the normative and instrumental aspects of compliance with the law in Czech society, namely trust in the police and the criminal courts and their perceived legitimacy, personal morality and perceived risk of sanctions. Its purpose was to empirically verify the model of compliance as suggested by Jackson et al. (2011) within Czech context, assuming an important role of trust in procedural fairness of the police and the courts in shaping compliant behavior. A review of attitudes toward criminal justice implied potential constraints to the validity of the model in Czech society, mainly in respect to low levels of trust and perceived legitimacy of the police and the courts. Nevertheless, the empirical analysis based on structural equation modeling with use of two representative datasets (ESS Round 5 2010, *Bezpečnostní rizika 1999*) indicates trust in police procedural fairness to be – in contrast to the perceived risk of sanctions – a strong factor in predicting compliance. The obligation to obey the law, shaped mainly by trust in procedural fairness and personal morality appear to be comparatively the most important predictors of compliance in the Czech Republic. The model was not significant in the case of courts and for the 1999 dataset, probably due to poor internal consistency of several constructs.

**Key words:** criminal justice, procedural fairness, trust, legitimacy, compliance

**Introduction**

The presented study was initiated by a simple question posed by American psychologist T.R. Tyler in the late 1980s and a subsequent answer that he gave a couple of years later, based on a huge body of research in American context. The question was: Why people obey the law? (Tyler 1990), and it redirected the traditional criminological focus from the causes of crime to the causes of compliance or the consensual following of the laws. The given answer is a normative one, considering trust in criminal justice institutions as a significant factor of people's willingness to comply with the law (Tyler 1990). That accords with the hypothesized nature of the power of institutions in Western societies. In the process of differentiation, institutions became experts, whose specialized knowledge and practice cannot be easily controlled anymore (Luhmann 1973, Giddens 2010). Thus, it can be assumed that trust of people in postmodern institutions represents an important source of their legitimacy (which is a significant source of compliance with

the law). However, there are differences likely to exist in the salience of the effect of trust on compliance depending on the social context.

Our research regards potential normative and instrumental aspects of people's compliance with the law<sup>1</sup> in Czech society. Its aim was to empirically verify the model of supposed predictors of compliance proposed by Jackson et al. (2012) within the *Eurojustis* project<sup>2</sup>. The structural model inspired by the theory and research on compliance by Tyler (1990) examines effects of personal morality, perceived risk of punishment for crossing the law and particularly trust in the police and the criminal courts, their perceived legitimacy and the legitimacy of the law in relation to compliance. The subsequent aim of our study was to gain a brief insight in dynamics of the observed relations within Czech society. We used two representative datasets stemming from two research studies on trust in criminal justice in the Czech Republic: *European Social Survey 2010*<sup>3</sup>, *Round 5* and *Bezpečnostní rizika 1999*<sup>4</sup>. The quantitative analysis was based on structural equation modeling in order to estimate the relative importance of normative and instrumental predictors in relation to compliant behavior, which in our eyes can be helpful for finding valuable guidelines for making criminal policy in the Czech Republic.

## 1. Tyler's normative theory of compliance

The theoretical basis of our research draws on the conclusions of studies on criminal behavior and attitudes carried out by American social psychologist Tyler. His *Chicago Study* (1984–5) has provided empirical support for the hypothesis of the dominant influence of normative factors in comparison to instrumental ones in relation to compliance with the law. The research results led Tyler to believe that “people comply with the law not so much because they fear punishment as because they feel that legal authorities are legitimate and that their actions are generally fair” (Tyler 1990). According to Tyler's model, consensual following of the law and willingness to cooperate with the police and the courts may be strengthened primarily through people's experience with the authorities showing them a procedurally fair approach.<sup>5</sup> When people are convinced that the police and the courts treat them with respect and that their behavior is neutral, they are willing to submit to the decisions of those institutions. They also are more satisfied with the

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<sup>1</sup> The term is understood as one's submission to the external demands placed on him/her by an authority figure (Šikl 1998). The emphasis is put on voluntariness and proactivity of such behavior, and thus the semantic distinction of compliance and obedience. Compliance should therefore be set apart from non-deviant and conform behavior in general.

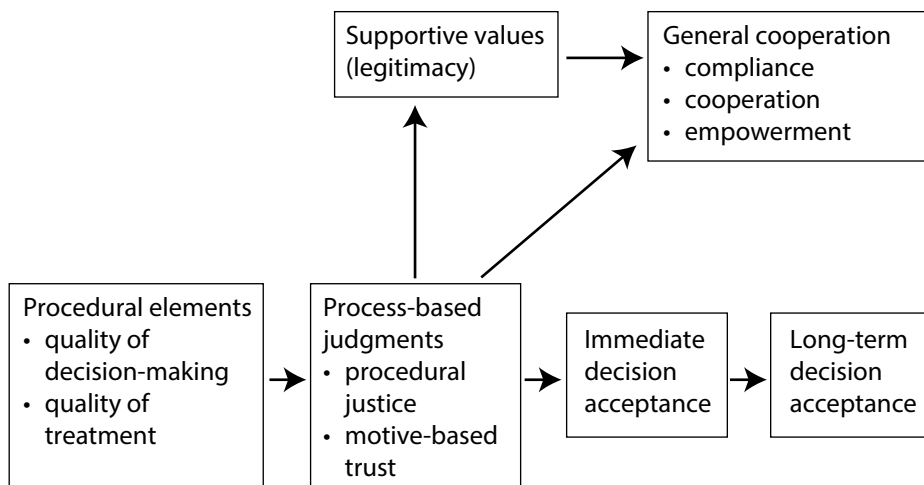
<sup>2</sup> Research project (2008–2011) funded under the European Commission's 7th Framework Programme for Research. See <http://eurojustis.eu/> for more information.

<sup>3</sup> Czech data for ESS 2010, Round 5 were gathered during 2011.

<sup>4</sup> Research project funded under the Ministry of the Interior in the Czech Republic: MVČR 19982000001: “*The Security Risks – Concept, Data, Policy*”.

<sup>5</sup> The first systematic studies on procedural justice were carried out during the 1970s by Thibaut and Walker, when it became clear that distributive justice does not always yield a decisive influence on satisfaction with interaction and its results, and hence nor for successful conflict resolution (Thibaut, Walker 1975 in Tyler, Lind 2001). In a series of in vitro experiments, the authors found that the perceived fairness of procedures has an impact on satisfaction with the outcome of a decision made by a third party and the willingness to accept that decision.

decisions and perceive the institutions as authorized to enforce the law (Tyler 2003, see Figure 1). The effect, seemingly present on a long-term scale, was found to be relatively stable across different social arrangements (valid for all types of social situations as defined by Deutsch, in both hierarchical and non-hierarchical layouts and in political, legal, managerial, interpersonal, family and educational contexts). No significant differences in the strength of the effect were found in respect to gender, age, ethnicity, education and income level (Tyler, Lind 2001).



**Figure 1:** The assumed relations of trust in the police and the criminal courts and compliance with the law (Tyler 2003 in Bottoms, Tankebe 2012: 122)

Tyler interprets the effect of procedural fairness mainly by referring to psychic phenomena. According to him, people consider the institutional procedural fairness to be a signal of their high social standing within the community, which strengthens their sense of group membership and thus their felt obligation to follow the rules of the group. Due to the heuristic function, fairness of procedures might be subjectively even more important than any potential gains out of the process (distributive fairness, Tyler 2006). Tyler nevertheless lists several factors that may affect the salience of the identified effect of perceived procedural fairness on compliance or selection of criteria used for assessment of procedural fairness. Among these, he specifically points out on consensus within one's group, stressing that the larger the consensus, the stronger the effect of procedural fairness. He also highlights the effect of social categorization, attesting that the effect of procedural fairness is supposed to be weaker within one's outgroup. Another factor is the effect of one's identification with the group or with the institution, meaning that the lesser the identification, the weaker the effect (Tyler, Lind 2001). That is related to the influence of perceived institutional legitimacy – it has been found that the decision of authorities with low legitimacy is accepted rather with respect to favorability of the results of procedures than to the fairness of those procedures (Tyler, Lind 2001). Brockner

et al. pointed to the influence of cultural values – e.g. members of a society characterized with “low distance from power” (according to Hofstede’s Power Distance Index) take fairness of procedures into account more than members of a society with “high distance from power” (Brockner et al. 2001).

In our opinion, the above-stated findings suggest the need to examine the validity of Tyler’s findings in other cultural contexts.

## 2. Institutional legitimacy in Czech context

The institutional legitimacy entails normative as well as instrumental aspects (Bottoms, Tankebe 2012, Fagan 2008). After thorough analysis of the concept, Bottoms and Tankebe propose to operationalize institutional legitimacy as a multidimensional construct, using at least three indicators – institutional legality, procedural fairness and effectiveness. However, there might be differences in the relative importance of the components depending on the social and political context (Sherman 2002, Smith 2007). Inglehart and Welzel found that in post-communist countries, the perceived legitimacy of the regime might be based more on instrumental factors (its performance/effectiveness) rather than stemming from faith in the values that it may embody (Inglehart, Welzel 2005). That could be called *ex post* evaluation of legitimacy (assessment of actual performance of the system) as opposed to *ex ante* legitimacy, which encompasses evaluation of the rules of governance (Linek 2010). This should be reflected in the following analysis of Czech data: it can be expected that especially in the older dataset from 1999 the instrumental factors of legitimacy and compliance will not be negligible. Even within normative components of institutional legitimacy there might exist substantial differences. As Smith (2007) points out, the way of legitimization of institutions of criminal justice might be quite different across various societies and communities due to their various values.

The legitimacy of the institutions of criminal justice should be seen in a broader framework of the political culture. In this context, the particular impact of corruption, which is a long-term feature of Czech political culture,<sup>6</sup> should be taken into account. There is evidence for considerable corruption in the Czech criminal justice system as well (Frič 2001). According to the study by Grodeland (2007), despite reforms of Czech judiciary after 1989, there persist practices from the Communist period (e.g. using informal networks of contacts) in the Czech system of justice, inferring that no adequate transformation of social norms inside or outside the judicial system occurred. Data from *ESS 2010 Round 5* show that conviction of the injustice of the police decisions is believed by approximately 40 percent of Czechs<sup>7</sup>, which is the fourth highest proportion among all countries participating in ESS after Russia, Israel and Bulgaria (ESS 2010, Round 5).

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<sup>6</sup> According to the international corruption index CPI based on the evaluation of independent institutions, corruption in the Czech Republic in 2011 was comparable to the situation in 2001 (after a slight improvement in the years 2006–2009). The Czech Republic received 4.4 points out of 10, with 10 being the best condition. In the ranking of other evaluated countries (in 2011 there were 183 of them) the Czech Republic holds the 57th – 59th place together with Namibia and Saudi Arabia (Transparency International, Corruption Perceptions Index 2011).

<sup>7</sup> A proportion of “never” and “not very often” answers considering the question, “How often do you think that the police make impartial decisions?”



### 3. Methods

The methodology of our study draws on the *Eurojustis* project (Hough, Jackson et al. 2010). The project was aimed at constructing a valid research tool that would make it possible to test Tyler's hypotheses within the European context and compare the strength of factors influencing people's willingness to obey the laws across European countries. This could subsequently help with identifying guidelines for making penal policy at the European Union level as well as identifying evaluative criteria for measuring its effectiveness (Hough, Jackson et al. 2010). Based on a study of a representative sample of the population of England and Wales in 2010, Hough, Jackson et al. (2012) suggested a structural model of relations between trust in the police and the courts, their perceived legitimacy, compliance with the law and cooperation with criminal justice institutions. The *Eurojustis* team also proposed a set of questions covering the topic, which was included in the *European Social Survey 2011, Round 5 (D module)*. That makes it possible to verify the assumptions of procedural fairness theory of compliance in 26 European countries, including the Czech Republic. *Czech ESS 2010, Round 5* sample served as the main data source in our study. The other sample used in the study comes from the *Bezpečnostní rizika* survey taken in 1999. Data were analyzed with the use of structural equation modeling.<sup>8</sup>

In order to compare data from 2011 and 1999, we attempted to construct similar scales out of items used in 1999 research, though it applied a different questionnaire. For this reason it was not possible to create fully compatible constructs or models. The analysis of the older data file concerns only the relation of trust in the police and its perceived legitimacy to compliance, operationalized with partly different sets of indicators than in 2011. Therefore, the comparative part of the research should be understood as highly approximative, employing the qualitative more than quantitative point of view.

#### 3.1 Data collection

For the purpose of the analysis, two representative datasets were used: a data file from *European Social Survey, Round 5*, collected from January to March 2011, and a data file from the Czech survey *Bezpečnostní rizika*, recorded in May 1999.

The data for ESS in the Czech Republic was gathered by the research agency *Factum Invenio, s.r.o.*, which conducted standardized face to face interviews recorded by the papi method. Respondents aged 15 and over were selected through a stratified three-stage random sampling. A total of 2,387 valid questionnaires were obtained (a total return rate 70.16 percent). The administered questionnaire consisted of several thematic parts. The *Trust in Justice* module utilized in this study contains a total of 45 questions (module D – for the full questionnaire see <http://ess.nsd.uib.no/ess/round5/>).

The collection of the data in *Security Risks* research was conducted by the research agency *Universitas* throughout the Czech Republic. In the survey employing standardized interviews recorded by the papi method, respondents of age higher than 14 were selected

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<sup>8</sup> All statistical procedures were performed using the trial version of IBM SPSS 20 (structural modeling in IBM SPSS Amos 20).

with quota sampling (by gender, age, highest education and economic activity). A total of 1,361 valid questionnaires were obtained (Buriánek 2001). The questionnaire consisted of questions on several topics. (For the English version of the items used in the scales of the tested model, see Appendix.)

### 3.2 The structure of the tested model

The basic model (Figure 2) consists of five constructs: personal morality, the perceived risk of punishment for committing selected offenses, trust in the police and the criminal courts, the perceived legitimacy of the police and the criminal courts, the perceived legitimacy of the law (felt obligation to follow the law) and compliance with the law. Compliance with the law and personal morality appear as manifest variables in the model, while perceived risk of punishment and trust and legitimacy constructs are treated as latent variables estimated by measured indicators. The model was tested separately for data on police in 1999 (2p) and 2011 (1p) as well as for data on courts in 2011 (1s).

#### 3.2.1 Constructs based on the ESS data

In the 2011 sample, trust in the police and trust in the criminal courts were derived from three indicators: trust in their effectiveness, in their procedural fairness<sup>9</sup> and in their distributive fairness. Perceived legitimacy of the police was also derived from three indicators: felt obligation to obey the police, sense of shared values with the police and beliefs about its legality. Compliance was operationalized through noncompliant behavior, based on self-reported frequency of committing insurance fraud, buying goods that might have been stolen and committing a traffic offense in the previous five years. The perceived risk of punishment was measured with questions on the perceived likelihood of apprehension in the event these offenses were committed in the Czech Republic. Personal morality was measured with questions on assessment of the level of morality of each of those three acts.

#### 3.2.2 Constructs based on the 1999 data

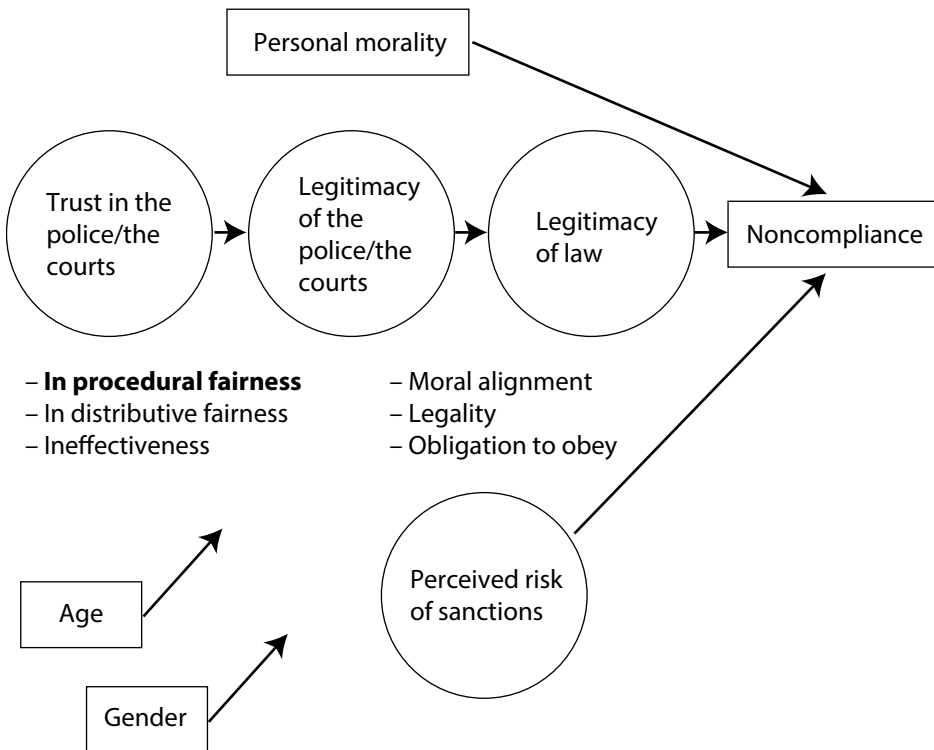
Trust in the police in the data file from 1999 was derived from trust in police effectiveness (questions 44a, 45c, 45f),<sup>10</sup> its procedural fairness (44f, 45j) and its distributive fairness (44c) in accordance with the ESS theoretical model. The items quite overlap semantically with the ESS items. However, there are fewer of them. The perceived legitimacy of the police was estimated according to the perception of shared values with the police (44e) and its perceived legality (45m). None of the questions in the 1999 survey was suitable for operationalization of the obligation to obey the police. The obligation to follow the law was compiled from the 55a and 55b items. Thus, there were several changes in the operationalization of legitimacy in comparison to the ESS model – the scale of police legality was lacking, and the number of items for the constructs was lower. The

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<sup>9</sup> Procedural fairness was operationalized in accordance to Tyler's theory as respectful, neutral and transparent conduct on the part of these institutions.

<sup>10</sup> See Appendix for the 1999 questionnaire.

noncompliance scale was created as a summary index out of questions on self-reported probabilities of committing five selected offenses by the respondent (traffic offense, environmentally unsound behavior etc., items 56a–56e). These offenses are different than those included in the ESS questionnaire. Moreover, the respondents were asked only about hypothetical committing (*Imagine yourself as a car driver (no matter how real it is). Do you think you could become one of those who without much hesitation stop at a “No stopping” sign in the city?, etc.*). The perceived risk of sanctions was estimated by asking the respondent about the likelihood of apprehension and punishment of perpetrators of selected offenses (theft of a bicycle, a wallet or a car, 53a–53c). Compared to the ESS questionnaire, the selected offenses differ from those enrolled in the scales of noncompliance and personal morality. The personal morality scale consists of items 57-6 (moral evaluation of undocumented employing), 57-13 (moral evaluation of purchasing goods that might have been stolen) and 57-14 (moral evaluation of taking bribes or service in return). The items were selected out of 10 items with the aim to choose relatively consistent ones that would also be compatible with the items used in ESS. The items have been estimated by Cronbach’s coefficient of internal consistency of the scale. The coefficient of the final selection is 0.78.



**Figure 2:** Basic version of the tested model (originated from the model by Hough et al. 2010)

### 3.3 Theoretical basis for the model structure

The model is comprised of both instrumental and normative factors, which corresponds to the twofold conception of compliant respectively conform behavior in criminology. On one hand, there is a cluster of instrumental theories holding the notion that people act with free will and seek utmost gain from their actions. That is ensured by rational calculation of expected costs and benefits of certain behavior. Therefore, classically oriented criminal policy emphasizes the repressive strategy of deterrence and general and situational prevention, with the aim to increase the perceived risk of illegal actions. As a result, there is a growing demand on institutions of criminal justice in regard to its efficacy, coercive force, etc. (Hough et al. 2010) The strategy of crime fighting (crime-control model), however, is costly and can lead to the alienation of individuals from institutions. Normative theories of action on the other side consider values as the key attribute in the interpretation of human motivation and action. Compliance with the law is then explained with reference to internal moral or ethical obligation to obey the law and follow the decisions of the institutions of criminal justice. That stems from the personal belief that such behavior is right and responsible. The main assumption of theoretists in this group is that the majority of the population follows the law if such behavior embodies an internalized value for them, regardless of whether it brings explicit advantages. Thus, in comparison to the instrumental approaches emphasizing formal social control processes, the normative theories ascribe more importance to self-regulation.

## 4. Hypotheses

*A. The proposed revised model of compliance with the law will be generally acceptable for Czech data and both normative (trust in procedural fairness, perceived legitimacy of the police, the courts and the laws, personal morality) and instrumental (perceived risk of sanctions, trust in effectiveness, trust in distributive fairness) factors will be significant in relation to compliance.*

It can be assumed that the basic factors of compliance in the model as factors derived from the main types of motives of human agency, based on the hedonistic and value principles, cover the main potential aspects of compliance. Moreover, the power of the model to explain the differences in levels of compliance was empirically verified in many social contexts (Schulhofer, Tyler, Huq 2010; Jackson et al. 2012). Furthermore, given the observed benevolent morality of the Czechs, low trust in procedural fairness of the police and the courts and their low perceived legitimacy (ESS 2010, Round 5), it can be expected that normative factors alone cannot explain the compliance with the law. In addition, instrumental factors (trust in effectiveness) have been identified as relevant to legitimize institutions within the cluster of post-communist societies (Inglehart, Welzel 2005).

*B. The effect of procedural fairness will be less salient in Czech data than in British pilot data and less salient in the 1999 Czech sample in comparison to the 2011 Czech ESS sample.*

The current data obtained through ESS 2010 Round 5 point to the relatively low satisfaction of the Czechs with the work of the police and the courts compared to other participating countries as well as to lower overall confidence in these authorities. In 1999 trust in the police and the courts was even lower than in 2011 (CVVM, Šamanová 2012). In

1995 approximately one-third of the population showed signs of social frustration and of alienation from the institutions (Rabušic, Mareš 1996). It is expected that in such a situation normative factors would be of less importance. Furthermore, given the assumption of a higher PDI index in the Czech Republic (Hofstede, Rose 2001) (for countries with higher PDI, a weaker effect of procedural justice was detected, Brockner et al. 2001) and the low legitimacy of the police and the courts in the Czech Republic (for institutions with low perceived legitimacy a weaker effect of procedural justice is assumed, Tyler, Lind 2001), we suggest that trust in procedural fairness will not have more importance than other components of trust in the police and the courts for their perceived legitimacy and for compliance.

## 5. Empirical analysis results

### 5.1 Internal consistency of the scales

**Table 1:** Internal consistency of the scales and subscales of the model (Cronbach's alpha)

Main scale	Subscale	2011		1999	
		N of items	$\alpha$	N of items	$\alpha$
<b>Trust in the police</b>		8	0.767	6	0.73
	Trust in police effectiveness	3	0.774	3	0.57
	Trust in police distributive fairness	2	0.621	1	–
	Trust in police procedural fairness	3	0.800	2	0.56
<b>Trust in the courts</b>		4	0.470	–	–
	Trust in the courts' effectiveness	1	–	–	–
	Trust in the courts' distributive fairness	2	0.599	–	–
	Trust in the courts' procedural fairness	1	–	–	–
<b>Perceived legitimacy of the police</b>		8	0.770	2	0.56
	Obligation to obey the police	3	0.938	–	–
	Moral alignment with the police	3	0.847	1	–
	Perceived police legality	2	0.305	1	–
<b>Perceived legitimacy of the courts and the law</b>		6	0.580	–	–
	Obligation to obey the law and the courts' decisions	3	0.508	–	–
	Moral alignment with the courts	x	x	–	–
	Perceived legality of the courts	3	0.690	–	–
<b>*Perceived courts' legitimacy</b>		4	0.468	–	–
	Obligation to obey the courts	1	–	–	–
	Perceived legality of the courts	3	0.690	–	–
<b>*Perceived law legitimacy</b>		2	0.314	2	0.46
<b>Perceived risk of sanctions</b>		3	0.823	3	0.72
<b>Personal morality</b>		3	0.787	3	0.78
<b>Noncompliance</b>		3	0.356	5	0.68

For the results of internal reliability analysis of all the main scales of the model, assessed with Cronbach's alpha, see Table 1. Although most of the scales yielded satisfactory estimates, the analysis showed some shortcomings. The low internal consistency of some of the constructs is likely due to the small number of items used (e.g. trust in the courts was measured only with four items while trust in the police was measured with eight items). Considering the functioning of the trust and legitimacy constructs in the model only as of their individual components assuming rather loose reciprocal links, (Jackson et al. 2011a), their overall low internal consistency does not pose any serious problems. More problematic could be the low internal consistency of the compliance scale, the perceived legitimacy of the law and the perceived legality of the police in 2011. The comparison of averages achieved at the subscales of compliance shows a relatively large difference in the frequency of committing. Traffic offenses are committed relatively more frequently than insurance fraud or buying goods that might have been stolen. In this sense, the scale is not uniform, which leads to its low internal reliability. (Nevertheless, the items are at a similar level in terms of moral evaluation.) It would therefore be appropriate to extend the range of the compliance and trust in the courts scales with more items. For further work with the compliance scale weighted values were used.

## 5.2 Attitudes of the Czechs toward criminal justice in 2011 and 1999

For distribution of the attitudes in both years see Tables 2 and 3. The most interesting find is probably the paradox between the moderately strong obligation to obey (the police, the courts and the law) and the relatively high noncompliance. According to the final report of ESS 2010 Round 5, the Czech position is beyond the general trend of the somewhat linear relationship between the obligation to obey and noncompliance (Jackson et al. 2011b). It seems that the commitment to obey the law may not be a significant predictor of compliant behavior in the Czech environment. Czechs consider the police and the courts' activities to be rather negative, with the exception of trust in police effectiveness in 2011. Trust in effectiveness of the police is higher in 2011 than in 1999, which might be connected to the perceived risk of sanctions that has risen as well. On the contrary, there seems to be a stable low level of trust in procedural and distributive fairness of the police and the courts as well as low perceived moral alignment and their low perceived legality. Thus, we might expect that compliance will be positively affected rather by perceived risk of sanctions and trust in the effectiveness of the police, though the original assumptions make them comparatively less important (Jackson et al. 2012). The strongest predictor of compliance according to Jackson et al. should be personal morality. Czech society, however, seems rather benevolent in regard to morals, according to the data from both samples. The preliminary assessment of the data thus indicates that the proposed theoretical model for the Czech population may not be very functional, in that the included predictors would not explain the variance in compliance to a satisfactory extent.

**Table 2:** Perceived risk of sanctions, personal morality and self-reported frequency of committing selected offenses in the Czech sample in 2011 (in %)<sup>11</sup>

<b>D 4–6. How likely is it that you would be caught and punished in the Czech Republic if you ...</b>	Not at all likely	Not very likely	Likely	Very likely	Don't know
made an exaggerated or false insurance claim	16.5	21.0	36.3	21.9	4.1
bought something you thought might be stolen	19.7	33.7	27.7	14.3	4.4
committed a traffic offense like speeding or crossing a red light	12.5	27.3	35.7	21.0	3.3
<b>D 1–3. How wrong do you consider these ways of behaving to be ...</b>	Not wrong at all	A bit wrong	Wrong	Seriously wrong	Don't know
make an exaggerated or false insurance claim	6.3	14.8	39.0	38.7	1.2
buy something you thought might be stolen	5.6	19.7	41.2	31.8	1.6
commit a traffic offense like speeding or crossing a red light	3.7	24.3	42.3	28.4	1.3
<b>D 43–46. How often have you done each of these things in the last five years?</b>	Never	Once	Twice	3×–4×	5× and more
made an exaggerated or false insurance claim	93.6	3.2	0.9	0.4	0.04
bought something you thought might be stolen	81.3	8.5	2.8	1.2	0.4
committed a traffic offense like speeding or crossing a red light	57.3	12.4	10.4	6.2	8.4

Source: European Social Survey 2010, Round 5

**Table 3:** Perceived risk of sanctions, personal morality and self-reported likelihood of potential committing selected offenses in the Czech sample in 1999 (in %)

<b>Q. 53 How likely is it in the Czech Rep. that the offender will be tracked down and punished for ...</b>	Average likelihood in %					Don't know
theft of a bicycle at the house where you live	22.5					0
theft of a wallet on the street, in a shop	17.4					0
theft of a car	22.7					0
<b>Q. 57 How do you assess the following behavior ...</b>	Not at all bad (9.10)	Not very bad (7.8)	Rather bad (5.6)	Bad (3.4)	Very bad (1.2)	Don't know
undocumented employing (without paying for employees' insurance)	3.5	7.3	17.4	27.2	43.4	1.2
buying an item that might have been stolen	6.5	13.9	27.7	24.4	25.6	2.0
taking bribes or service in return	2.9	10.1	20.0	24.5	41.0	1.5

Source: Bezpečnostní rizika 1999

<sup>11</sup> The rest of 100 percent are missing values and responses “don't know” (if those are not stated in the table).

Q. 56 Imagine yourself as a driver (no matter how real it is) – do you think that you could become one of those who ...	No	Rarely	Yes	Don't know
a. without much hesitation stop at “No stopping” sign in the city and go get something	45.8	43.6	10.3	0.3
b. exceed the speed limit wherever controls cannot be assumed	40.1	42.4	17.3	0.2
c. if caught after committing an offense, offer a bribe to the police officer for a “reasonable solution”	74.7	19.1	5.9	0.3
d. get rid of an old tire by leaving it at a pile of rubbish in their surroundings	80.2	15.9	3.5	0.3
e. having damaged another car when parking nearby, they would try to disappear before the owner comes	69.0	23.9	6.8	0.3

### 5.3 Correlational analysis

Despite the revealed specifics in Czech attitudes toward the criminal justice system discussed in the previous chapter, the analysis of correlations between the constructs (see Tables 4 and 5), confirmed a number of theoretical assumptions. In particular, we observed a connection between trust in police procedural fairness and its perceived legitimacy and also a connection between personal morality and the obligation to obey the law to noncompliance. However, the correlation analysis shows weak links of several components of police legitimacy to the obligation to obey the law and to noncompliance, which is contradicting the conclusions of Jackson et al. (2012).

Remarkably, the correlation matrices for the data from both studied years are very similar, despite different indicators constituting the respective constructs in both samples. This could indicate achieving suitable conditions for the mutual comparison of the structural models in both years.

**Table 4:** Correlations between scales of the model for the police (Czech datafile ESS 2010, N = 1198, Spearman correlation coefficient, bootstrapped values)

	Personal morality	Perceived risk of sanctions	Trust in police effectiveness	Trust in police procedural fairness	Trust in police distributive fairness	Moral alignment with the police	Obligation to obey the police	Police legality	Obligation to obey the law
Noncompliance	-.326**	-.086**	-.105**	-.042	-.087**	-.107**	-.093**	-.009	-.215**
Personal morality	1.000	.278**	.192**	.131**	.119**	.203**	.132**	.067*	.276**
Perceived risk of sanctions		1.000	.123**	.073*	.071*	.073*	.116**	.021	.113**
Trust in police effectiveness			1.000	.520**	.315**	.479**	.182**	.273**	.153**
Trust in police procedural fairness				1.000	.411**	.552**	.215**	.351**	.173**
Trust in police distributive fairness					1.000	.360**	.115**	.237**	.149**
Moral alignment with the police						1.000	.315**	.232**	.240**
Obligation to obey the police							1.000	.058*	.185**
Police legality								1.000	.118**

\* Significant at 0.05 level

\*\* Significant at 0.01 level



**Table 5:** Correlations between scales of the model for the police (Czech datafile Bezpečnostní rizika 1999, N=1297, Spearman correlation coefficient, bootstrapped values)

	Personal morality	Perceived risk of sanctions	Trust in police effectiveness	Trust in police procedural fairness	Trust in police distributive fairness	Moral alignment with police	Police legality	Obligation to obey the law
Noncompliance	-.420**	.009	-.023	-.127**	-.143**	-.086**	-.046	-.207**
Personal morality	1.000	-.004	.016	.099**	.034	.055*	.073**	.247**
Perceived risk of sanctions			-.295**	-.197**	-.160**	-.279**	-.193**	-.004
Trust in police effectiveness			1.000	.475**	.373**	.508**	.332**	.018
Trust in police procedural fairness				1.000	.385**	.567**	.316**	.106**
Trust in police distributive fairness					1.000	.441**	.267**	.052
Moral alignment with police						1.000	.389**	.062*
Police legality							1.000	.025

\* Significant at 0.05 level

\*\* Significant at 0.01 level

#### 5.4 Data adjustment

Prior to the analysis several transformations were made in order to adjust the data to a form suitable for applying the structural modeling procedures. The data in “noncompliance” and “personal morality” variables were not evenly distributed (which is understandable if we consider the nature of the variables) and measured at four- and three-point scales. Therefore, the “personal morality” variable was dichotomized before entering the structural analysis. In the category labelled as “moral” (marked “1”) 78.5 percent of the respondents were included; the “immoral” group (marked “0”) counted as 21.5 percent of the respondents. In 1999 the “moral” group after dichotomizing was made up of 73.4 percent of the respondents while 24.2 percent of the respondents can be designated as the “immoral” group. The dichotomization of the variable “noncompliance” was not performed because structural analysis in AMOS software does not allow for the response variable of binary character. For model fit calculation and estimating the significance of the relations, a bootstrapping procedure that utilizes abnormally distributed data was used.

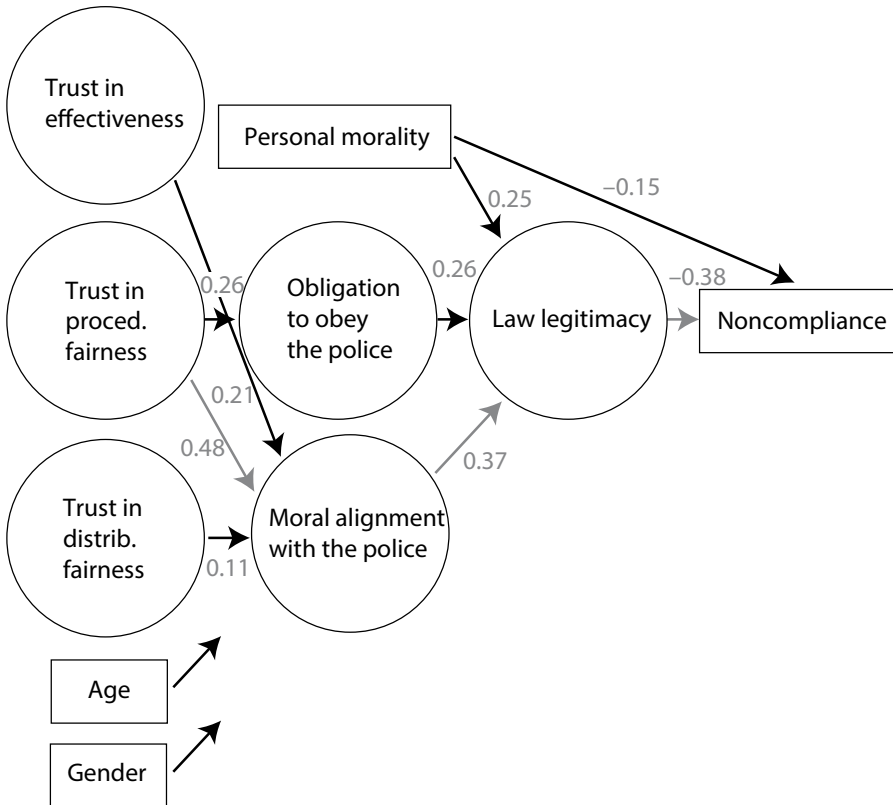
Overall, at 11.7 percent of the sample that included 280 people in the 2011 sample and at 4.7 percent involving 64 people in the 1999 sample, at least one answer was missing. In the analysis of missing values, there were no significant specific patterns found. For the purpose of structural modeling with applying bootstrapping procedures, the missing values in 2011 were replaced by using the EM method, available in the *Multiple Value Analysis* in SPSS. Missing values in 1999 were replaced with the median of the two nearest values.

#### 5.5 Structural analysis

The analysis using structural modeling brought partial support for the validity of Tyler’s normative hypothesis within Czech society. The model was acceptable concerning

the police in the 2011 sample (1p model), while it was not confirmed in regard to the courts (1s model) and for the data from 1999 (2p model), which might be mainly due to the low internal consistency of several scales.

Trust in police procedural fairness in Czech society – as opposed to perceived risk of sanctions – proved to be an important indirect factor in predicting compliance. For the final 1p model of compliance, see Figure 3. For the complete list of significant standardized regression coefficients of the 1p model, see Table 6. According to the value of the chi-square test, the model appeared not to be very suitable for the given data. (The null hypothesis of concordance of the covariance matrices was rejected at the level of  $p$  lower than 0.005.) A similar result was achieved with Bollen-Stine test ( $p$  lower than 0.005) used due to the uneven distribution of the data of the individual variables. Nevertheless, regarding a large sample size in which the statistical power of the chi-square test is strongly manifested, it is advisable to take into account other indicators of model quality, such as the relative  $\chi^2$ , RMSEA, CFI and TLI measures (Urbánek 2000). Those indicate relatively good quality of the model in this case (relative  $\chi^2 = 4.81$ , the RMSEA index = 0.04, CFI = 0.96, TLI = 0.95).



**Figure 3:** Final model 1p of relations between trust in the police and noncompliance with the law, including the standardized regression coefficients (Czech datafile ESS 2010, Round 5)  $\chi^2 = 737$ ,  $df = 156$ ,  $p < 0.0005$ . CFI = 0.96, TLI = 0.95, RMSEA = 0.04

There was no evidence of a direct or indirect influence of perceived risk of sanctions and the perceived legality of the police on compliance with the law, which is consistent with the assumptions of Lind and Tyler (2001) and the pilot study of Jackson et al. (2012). The perceived legality of the police and the perceived risk of sanctions were therefore excluded from the final 1p model. These findings partly contradict our A hypothesis – the results give evidence for a greater impact of normative factors and a lower impact of instrumental factors than we expected. Obligation to follow the law (influenced mainly by trust in procedural fairness of the police) and personal morality seem to be comparatively the most important predictors of compliance with the law in Czech society.

**Table 6:** Standardized regression coefficients in the final model 1p (Czech datafile ESS 2010, Round 5) significant at 0.005 level

moral alignment with police	←	trust in police procedural fairness	<b>0.480</b>
obligation to obey police	←	trust in police procedural fairness	<b>0.260</b>
moral alignment with police	←	trust in police distributive fairness	0.114
moral alignment with police	←	trust in police effectiveness	0.213
moral alignment with police	←	age	0.084
moral alignment with police	←	personal morality (dichot.)	0.038
obligation to obey police	←	personal morality (dichot.)	0.074
obligation to obey the law	←	obligation to obey police	<b>0.261</b>
obligation to obey the law	←	moral alignment with police	<b>0.369</b>
obligation to obey the law	←	age	0.141
obligation to obey the law	←	gender	0.170
obligation to obey the law	←	personal morality (dichot.)	<b>0.251</b>
noncompliance	←	personal morality (dichot.)	-0.151
noncompliance	←	obligation to obey the law	<b>-0.379</b>
noncompliance	←	obligation to obey police	0.068

Furthermore, the effect of the obligation to obey the law on compliance seems to be of greater importance in the Czech than in the British context. In addition, it transmits the effect of personal morality (in both years) and the effect of sense of shared values with the police (in 2011), which in the UK sample affects compliance mainly directly, even as its most important predictor. The significance of obligation to obey the law corresponds with a relatively strong orientation of Czechs on following rules. This factor was identified in ESS 2010, 5th Round (according to a comparison of countries on one item from the Schwartz battery of value orientations, based on weighted values through *Nesstar Web View*).

Another (rather preliminary) finding of the empirical analysis is a weaker involvement of trust in procedural fairness as regards the courts (1s model) in comparison to the police (1p model). Trust in distributive fairness and effectiveness appears to be comparatively more important for the perceived legitimacy of the courts than for the police. However, the indicators of the model 1s related to the courts in 2011 suggest rather poor quality of

the model (relative  $\chi^2 = 9.68$ , RMSEA = 0.06, CFI = 0.89, TLI = 0.82). Therefore, further evidence would be needed to verify this assumption.

In the Czech samples from both years, the observed direct effect of trust in police procedural fairness on the moral alignment with the police was weaker than in the England and Wales pilot study (Jackson et al. 2012) and at the same time there was a greater effect of trust in police distributive fairness in Czech samples. A relatively lower importance of procedural fairness over distributive fairness was also found in the data from 1999 compared to the data from 2011. These findings are in accordance to our B hypothesis, though it would need further examining considering the poor quality of the model (relative  $\chi^2 = 882$ , RMSEA = 0.10, CFI = 0.73, TLI = 0.57).

## Discussion

The assumptions were confirmed only partially, which, however, should be viewed positively. The results of the analysis suggest a greater importance of procedural fairness and normative factors in general on compliance with the law in Czech society than was expected, especially with regard to the low perceived legitimacy of criminal justice institutions in Czech society. That might give the impression that the effect is fairly universal across different social contexts. However, with regard to the overall analysis results, we incline to accept the assumption that the effect of procedural fairness is indispensably influenced by the social context. A weaker direct effect of trust in police procedural fairness on moral alignment with the police and a greater effect of trust in police distributive justice was observed in the Czech samples from both years compared to the England and Wales pilot data. We also found a lower importance of procedural fairness in 1999 compared to 2011.

However, even if we accepted the model of compliance with the law regarding the police in the 2011 sample as it was designed by Jackson et al. (2012), it worked worse for the indicators related to the courts and appeared to be inadequate when tested on the data from 1999. There the factors of police perceived legitimacy had no significant effect on compliance. This inadequacy, however, could point to certain methodological shortcomings rather than to inappropriateness of the normative hypothesis itself. Specifically, there may be an inadequate or inaccurate coverage of several constructs, e.g. of perceived police legitimacy in 1999. Similar causes may led to worse suitability of the 1s model for the courts in the data from ESS, where the number of the items related to the courts was restricted. The problems with legitimacy indicators correspond to the low internal consistency of those scales.

The main limit of this study in our view lies primarily in different operationalization of the constructs in the data from 1999 and 2011, which impedes drawing unambiguous conclusions from their comparison. Besides this, there is another deficiency that regards the operationalization of noncompliance with a rather narrow range of indicators. Apart from that, the under-representation of the items on courts legitimacy in 2011 and on police legitimacy in 1999 can be considered to be rather restraining.

Despite these facts, the analysis succeeded in bringing basic answers to the questions set out and provoked a number of inspiring ideas for further study of compliance with

the law. It would be possible to follow up with a comparative analysis of the relations for various social groups and strata in Czech society. That could lead to a specification of the model of compliance with the law, strengthening its explanatory value within Czech context. For this purpose, it would be appropriate to elaborate the noncompliance scale and extend the perceived legitimacy scales. It might also be revealing to address the implied issue of the role of general attitudes in contrast to interactionally built trust in Czech context. We suppose that a general orientation toward abiding by the rules – an orientation that seems to be strong in Czech society – might play a significant role in the perception of the institutional legitimacy and in compliant behavior, quite independently of their actual performance. Furthermore, we would like to attend to the indicated distinctions in Czech police and courts legitimacy factors.

## Conclusion

With regard to the results of the analysis, we incline to accept the assumption that in the Czech environment the procedural fairness effect on the perceived legitimacy of the criminal justice system and on compliance with the law is valid. However, it is likely that its strength might vary according to the context. The effect seems to be weaker in 1999 than in 2011, probably largely due to the lower levels of trust in the police and the courts and their lower perceived legitimacy connected to a high level of perceived corruption within the criminal justice system. Despite the stated shortcomings of our work, we believe that the results make it possible to accept the assumption that normatively oriented criminal policy aimed at fair procedures of the police may substantially affect public trust in the police, its perceived legitimacy and a long-term willingness to follow the law in the Czech Republic.

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## APPENDIX

### "BEZPEČNOSTNÍ RIZIKA" SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE 1999 (SELECTED ITEMS)

#### **Trust in police procedural fairness**

45. *Try to assess the following police behavior.  
(1 = almost always, 2 = very often, 3 = from time to time, 4 = not very often, 5 = almost never)*
- 45f. The police treat victims of crime seriously and help them.
- 45j. The police try to behave politely and decently.

#### **Trust in police distributive fairness**

44. *I will now read several statements on police monitoring of obeying the laws in your municipality. State how much you agree or disagree with the statements.  
(1 = strongly agree, 2 = somewhat agree, 3 = do not know, 4 = somewhat disagree, 5 = strongly disagree)*
- 44c. The police treat everyone the same, irrespective of who it is.

#### **Trust in police effectiveness**

- 44a. I am satisfied with the way the police protect my residence neighbourhood.
- 45c. The police try to prevent crime.
- 45d. Help from the police is quick and accessible.

#### **Police legitimacy: moral alignment with the police**

- 44e. The police is a real "friend and assistant" to the citizens.

#### **Police legitimacy: police legality**

- 45m. There often arose doubts about the trustworthiness and incorruptibility of the police.

#### **Obligation to obey the law**

55. *Please state your personal opinion (agreement or disagreement) with the following statements.  
(1 = totally agree, 2 = somewhat agree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = totally disagree)*
- 55a. People like me have to follow the law even if it does not correspond to their personal belief.
- 55b. For people like me there are only a few reasons for following the laws.

#### **Perceived risk of sanctions**

53. Yet we are interested in your ideas about the success of the police in fighting crime. Please try to estimate the likelihood that the offender will be tracked down and punished for the selected offenses: (A rough estimate in percentage from 1 to 99%, meaning from the minimum to the maximum likelihood, is enough.)

- a. The theft of a bicycle at the house where you live.
- b. The theft of a wallet on the street or in a shop.
- c. The theft of a car.

**Personal morality**

57. *How do you assess the following behavior?*

*(1 = very bad ..., 10 = not bad at all)*

- 6. Undocumented employing (without paying for insurance of the employees).
- 13. Buying something that might have been stolen.
- 14. Taking bribes or service in return.

**Noncompliance**

And now try to imagine yourself as a car driver (no matter how real it is). Do you think you could become one of those who ...

*(1 = yes, 2 = rarely, 3 = no)*

- a. stop without much hesitation at a “No stopping” sign in the city and go get something
- b. exceed the speed limit wherever controls cannot be assumed
- c. offer a bribe to the police officer for a “reasonable solution” if caught after committing an offense
- d. get rid of an old tire by leaving it at a pile of other rubbish in their surroundings
- e. having damaged another car when parking nearby, they would try to disappear before the owner comes



## JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC: FIRST RESULTS OF THE ISRD-3 SELF-REPORT SURVEY\*

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### ABSTRACT

The article discusses the actual state of juvenile delinquency in the Czech Republic and its development in the last decade. The main source of data is the International Self-Report Delinquency Study (ISRD) whose second sweep took place in 2006–2007 and its third sweep during the spring of 2013. Firstly, prevalences of delinquency from ISRD-3 are presented. Secondly, the development of delinquency rates between the two sweeps of ISRD is described and compared to the trend based on official police data. Thirdly, the article focuses on shifts in findings between ISRD-2 and ISRD-3. Special attention is paid to the trend of lowering gender differences in certain types of offending that has continued after 2007.

**Key words:** ISRD, juvenile delinquency, self-report survey, gender

### Introduction

Juvenile delinquency has traditionally represented a phenomenon that influences social debate in a significant way. Regardless of the fact that every breach of rules disrupts the established social order and triggers negative reactions of the public, there are several serious reasons for studying the rate and causes of delinquent behavior of young people in particular. As proven by many studies (Gottfredson, Hirschi 1990; Moffitt 1993; Tremblay 2007; Piquero, Farrington, Blumstein 2007), it is possible to observe roots of this behavior already during early childhood, reaching its peak during the adolescence time period. Moreover, a majority of experts support the idea that possibilities of effective prevention and a probability of the individual's correction significantly decrease as people get older. This is why a large part of programs on primary and secondary prevention focuses primarily on juveniles, as there are chances that they might be more easily reintegrated into regular life, and therefore are more likely to be re-socialized.

Currently, there are two important sources of data that inform us about juvenile delinquency: official statistics and research based on the self-report method. Although police statistics represent a well accessible source of long-term data, they have been criticized due to a variety of reasons. One of the main problems of the official statistics is that they do not provide information about all forms of crime, or delinquency, as the case may be.

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We can find there only those illegal acts that were discovered or filed by the police and that are often called “registered crime”. Latent crime remains undisclosed to us. Furthermore, the quality of such data is decreased by the way the committed criminal acts are recorded; among others, it is an underrepresentation (e.g. women) or an overrepresentation (e.g. ethnicity or national minorities) of certain groups of population or variations in definitions of the criminal acts that can be found in the law (Aebi 2006). From the point of view of sociological research, a detailed data analysis is hindered by limited information regarding the offenders we get from the official statistics. Factors such as family background, education or individual features of the offender are not recorded by the police representatives, something which, to a large extent, complicates, for example, the verification of various criminological theories.

The mentioned information can be, nevertheless, obtained using self-report surveys, in which individual respondents testify about the delinquent acts they have committed during a certain time period (Podaná, Buriánek 2007). Even these surveys have, however, limitations of their own. Their disadvantages include, for example: the fact that they are financially and organizationally demanding, they are not suitable for use with age groups other than adolescents, inaccuracies connected with the formulation of questions in the questionnaire or difficulties which the respondents have when arranging life events correctly in terms of time sequence. Especially in the early days of using this type of tool, we sometimes encountered problems caused by using the concepts of problematic and deviant behavior interchangeably, which led to an unrealistically high prevalence of delinquency (Aebi 2006). Despite the above-mentioned problems, self-report surveys are regarded as a fairly reliable method of measuring juvenile delinquency, and that is why its usage has spread all around the world (Junger-Tas, Marshall 1999; Steketee et al. 2008; Thornberry, Krohn 2000).

The article discusses the actual state and development of juvenile delinquency in the Czech Republic. Its goal is to map the prevalence and development of delinquent behavior of juveniles based on two self-report surveys conducted in this country and also to verify the trend of lowering gender differences in committing delinquent forms of behavior.

### **International Self-Report Delinquency Study (ISRD)**

The ISRD research, carried out by the Department of Sociology at the Faculty of Arts, Charles University, is the first nationwide representative self-report survey on juvenile delinquency ever implemented in the Czech Republic. The authors of this article are familiar with only one pre-existing study: the “Research on School Juveniles 1999” conducted in Pilsen. Some partial studies have also been published by the Institute of Criminology and Social Prevention or academic workplaces within the departments of sociology, social work, addictology and pedagogical faculties.

The main goal of the ISRD research is to provide data on the prevalence and incidence of delinquent and problem behavior as well as to capture variables that strongly correlate with such behavior (for example age, gender, an individual’s social status, family background or lifestyle). In the Czech Republic the research has been already conducted twice. The first sweep (ISRD-2), with more than 30 European countries taking part in

it, took place in 2006–2007, and the second one (ISRD-3) in spring 2013. Both of these studies are grounded in the contemporary criminological theories. The ISRD-2 is based mainly on the social control theory of T. Hirschi (1969/2008) and on the Gottfredson and Hirschi’s general theory of crime (1990) while the ISRD-3 also tests the situational action theory of Wikström (2004), the procedural fairness theory of Tyler (2006) and the institutional anomie theory of Messner and Rosenfeld (1994/2007).

In order to secure a maximal possible comparability of data among the countries involved in the study, a unified standardized questionnaire was created. The target population of both sweeps were elementary and secondary (grammar) school students of the seventh, eighth and ninth grades, approximately 12 to 15 years old. The data collection at schools was done during one lesson, and each of the students had a right to refuse to participate in the research. The same right was also granted to the students’ parents who had been informed about the data collection beforehand. The project was supported by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, and in 2013 also by the Municipal Council of Pilsen, which eased the whole process due to a low number of local schools. Carrying out the ISRD-2 research was possible thanks to the European Commission’s Daphne grant, while the subsequent ISRD-3 was backed up by the Charles University’s PRVOUK grant together with a student research project of the Charles University Grant Agency (for the data collection in Pilsen).

### Data and methodological issues

The main source of data is the survey called International Self-Report Delinquency Study (ISRD). All countries that participated in the ISRD research could have chosen between a national representative sampling with two oversampled large cities or simply a city-based sample (Steketee, Moll, Kapardis 2008; ISRD3 Steering Committee 2011). As mentioned before, the Czech Republic lacks representative research on juvenile delinquency; therefore, the first option was chosen.

**Table 1:** Basic characteristics of the ISRD sampling units

	ISRD-2		ISRD-3	
	abs.	%	abs.	%
N (total)	2279		2007	
<b>Sex</b>				
Men	1112	49.0	988	49.4
Women	1159	51.0	1014	50.6
<b>Grade</b>				
7.	713	31.3	680	33.9
8.	770	33.8	705	35.1
9.	795	34.9	623	31.0
<b>School type</b>				
Elementary school	1976	86.7	1715	85.4
Secondary school	303	13.3	292	14.6

Source: ISRD-2 and ISRD-3. Weighted data, valid percentage

As the numbers of respondents in the selected larger cities – Prague and Pilsen – were higher, we shall, for the subsequent analysis, use weighted data that reduce the oversampling and provide representative results for the juvenile population in the given year for the entire Czech Republic. Table 1 shows basic characteristics of the sampling units in both research waves. A total of 3245 respondents participated in ISRD-2 (2279 after weighting); 3462 in ISRD-3 (2007 after weighting). A half of the sample were men (49 percent). The average age of the students was about 14.

Compared to the second sweep, the ISRD-3 questionnaire underwent numerous changes, concerning also the formulation of the questions measuring delinquency. Thus, for the purpose of the comparative analysis, we include only those forms of delinquent behavior that were measured by both sweeps with the same or very similar questions. These delinquent acts are presented in Table 2. The exact wording of all delinquency questions of both research studies is listed in Appendix 1. On top of the delinquency forms listed in Table 2, the ISRD-3 research encompassed three other offenses – graffiti, theft from a person and animal cruelty. We will state their prevalence in the presentation of the basic ISRD-3 findings.

Finally, we will shortly mention the differences in formulations and the format of the delinquency questions in both research studies that might have influenced the collected findings. In several cases, a subtle question reformulation occurred (concerning group fight and drug dealing), at other times broadening or narrowing down of the definition of a certain offense (bicycle theft, carrying a weapon, robbery and assault; see Appendix 1). In most cases the change in the definition resulted in a broader scope of acts regarded as delinquent, and, thus, it led to a possible prevalence increase in ISRD-3.<sup>1</sup> Beside the reformulation of some of the questions, there was also a format change of the entire delinquency section. While in ISRD-2 the basic filter question measuring a lifetime prevalence of a certain act was usually accompanied by six follow-up questions, in ISRD-3 it was complemented by only one question on last year's incidence. This change, which enabled a reduction in the number of pages focused on delinquency from seven to one and a half, could have led, according to the findings of the previous Enzmann's study (2013), to an increase in willingness to answer the given questions and, therefore, to prevalence increase. To summarize the changes between ISRD-2 and ISRD-3, it can be stated that if they influenced the findings somehow, they could lead to higher estimates of the delinquency prevalence in ISRD-3.

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<sup>1</sup> It was only the bicycle theft, where the question in ISRD-2 referred to the moped and scooter as well. We believe, nevertheless, that these types of vehicles are not very common in the Czech Republic and, therefore, narrowing the definition cannot practically influence the results.

**Table 2:** Comparable delinquent acts in ISRD-2 and ISRD-3

	Type	Severity	Offense
Offenses	Property	minor	shoplifting
		serious	car theft, car break-in, bicycle theft, burglary
	Violent	minor	group fight, carrying a weapon
		serious	robbery/extortion, assault
	Other	minor	vandalism
		serious	drug dealing

Source: ISRD-2 and ISRD-3

## Results

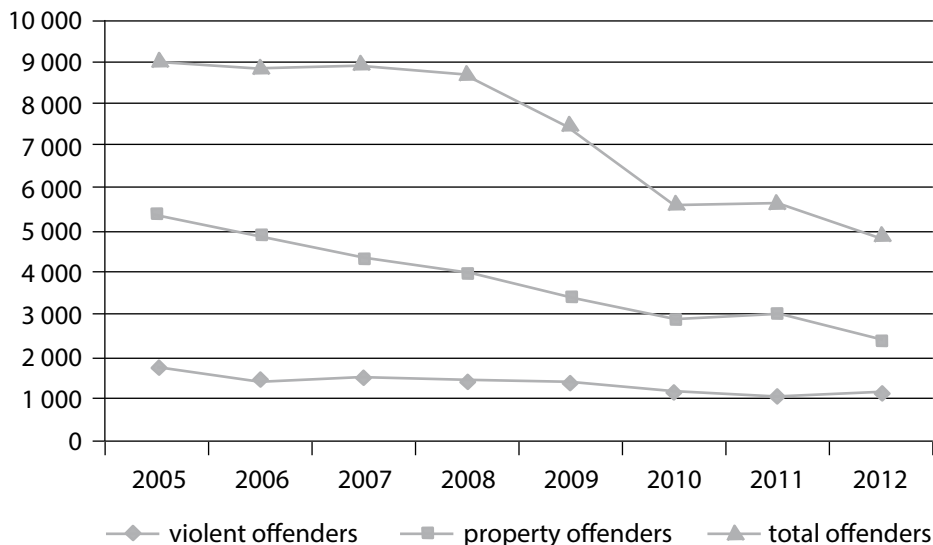
Firstly, we shall focus on prevalence rates for each of the forms of delinquency from the actual ISRD-3 research (Table 3). The highest lifetime prevalence can be found for shoplifting (13 percent) and vandalism (11 percent). The juveniles also frequently admit to carrying a weapon and participation in a group fight (both 10 percent), graffiti (9 percent) and theft from a person (8 percent). Committing other forms of delinquency that are mostly more serious was admitted by less than 4 percent of the children. Last year's delict prevalence reaches a lower level; the biggest decrease can be found in shoplifting (8 percent) while in terms of other common forms of delinquency, the prevalence decreases always by 2 percent points compared to the lifetime prevalence. Four out of 10 children (38 percent) admitted committing at least one of the delicts included in the ISRD-3 research during lifetime while three out of 10 admitted committing at least one form of delinquency last year.

The above-mentioned results are indeed interesting as such; we can, however, obtain a more complex picture when comparing these results with the previous ISRD-2 sweep, which would enable us to assess the development of juvenile delinquency between 2006 and 2013. Before doing so, however, we can look at the juvenile crime trend as registered by the Police in the Czech Republic. Graph 1 shows the number of child offenders under 18 years of age between 2005 and 2012 based on police statistics (CR Police 2012): it clearly shows a significant decrease of total delinquency in this time period, specifically by 38 percent between 2006 and 2012 (during the referential time period of the ISRD research). We can find a significant decrease especially in the property offenses which decreased by 51 percent during this period, but there was a substantial decrease of violent offenses as well (by 45 percent).

**Table 3:** Prevalence of individual delinquency forms and cumulative index in ISRD-3

	Lifetime prevalence		Last year prevalence	
	%	C.I.	%	C.I.
<b>Property offenses</b>				
shoplifting	13.3	(11.8; 14.9)	8.4	(7.2; 9.7)
theft from a person	8.3	(7.1; 9.6)	5.7	(4.7; 6.9)
burglary	0.9	(0.6; 1.5)	0.7	(0.4; 1.2)
car break	1.1	(0.7; 1.7)	0.6	(0.3; 1.1)
car theft	0.6	(0.4; 1.1)	0.4	(0.2; 0.9)
bike theft	0.7	(0.4; 1.2)	0.4	(0.2; 0.8)
<b>Violent offenses</b>				
group fight	9.5	(8.3; 10.9)	8.1	(7.0; 9.4)
carrying a weapon	10.1	(8.8; 11.5)	7.9	(6.7; 9.2)
assault	1.7	(1.2; 2.3)	1.1	(0.7; 1.7)
robbery	0.8	(0.5; 1.3)	0.4	(0.1; 0.7)
<b>Other offenses</b>				
vandalism	10.9	(9.6; 12.4)	9.2	(8.0; 10.6)
graffiti	9.2	(8.0; 10.6)	6.9	(5.9; 8.2)
drug dealing	3.6	(2.8; 4.5)	3.0	(2.3; 3.9)
animal cruelty	3.9	(3.1; 4.9)	2.7	(2.1; 3.6)
<i>delinquency (any out of 14 offenses)</i>	38.2	(36.1; 40.4)	30.2	(28.2; 32.3)

Source: ISRD-3. Weighted data



**Graph 1:** Trend of the child offenders' rate (under 18 years of age) prosecuted/investigated by the police  
Source: Police of the Czech Republic (own calculations)

The comparison of delinquency based on the ISRD-2 and ISRD-3 surveys is presented by Table 4. Cumulative indexes (property, violent and total delinquency) illustrate that at each of these indexes a significant decline of lifetime delinquency prevalence occurs – as for the property offenses by 41 percent, in terms of the violent delinquency by 31 percent, and the total delinquency decreased by 21 percent. This trend, therefore, very well reflects the decline in crime rates identified by the police statistics.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the same delinquency indicators for last year's figures do not manifest any significant differences between the two sweeps, indicating that in this case the delinquency level remains roughly the same. But, if we take into account the above-mentioned methodological differences in both research studies, which might lead to a delinquency increase in ISRD-3, we can conclude that, based on the ISRD self-report survey, juvenile delinquency in the Czech Republic did not increase between 2006 and 2013: either it stagnated or it could have declined a little – and in case of the lifetime experience with delinquent behavior, a significant decline is apparent.

**Table 4:** Prevalence of the individual forms of delinquency and cumulative indexes: comparison of ISRD-2 and ISRD-3

	Lifetime prevalence (%)		Last year prevalence (%)	
	ISRD-2	ISRD-3	ISRD-2	ISRD-3
<b>Property offenses</b>				
shoplifting	<b>22.5</b>	<b>13.3</b>	<b>6.5</b>	<b>8.4</b>
burglary	1.1	0.9	0.4	0.7
car break-in	<b>1.9</b>	<b>1.1</b>	0.9	0.6
car theft	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.4
bike theft	1.2	0.7	0.6	0.4
<b>Violent offenses</b>				
group fight	<b>19.8</b>	<b>9.5</b>	<b>11.3</b>	<b>8.1</b>
carrying a weapon	10.3	10.1	6.8	7.9
assault	1.3	1.7	0.6	1.1
robbery	1.4	0.8	0.8	0.4
<b>Other offenses</b>				
vandalism	11.5	10.9	<b>7.2</b>	<b>9.2</b>
drug dealing	3.9	3.6	2.6	3.0
<i>property offenses</i>	<b>24.4</b>	<b>14.5</b>	8.0	9.5
<i>violent offenses</i>	<b>25.0</b>	<b>17.2</b>	16.3	14.1
<i>delinquency</i>	<b>40.3</b>	<b>31.9</b>	23.9	25.5

Source: ISRD-2 and ISRD-3. Weighted data, significant differences ( $\alpha = 0.05$ ) between ISRD-2 and ISRD-3 are in bold

<sup>2</sup> Of course, the police statistics and the self-report survey are not directly comparable because each source describes a different part of the crime as a whole.

Looking at the differences in the particular forms of delinquency (Table 4), we can find a considerable decline (statistically significant) between the ISRD-2 and ISRD-3 of shoplifting (from 23 percent to 13 percent), group fight (from 20 percent to 10 percent) and theft from a car (from 2 percent to 1 percent). The group fight figures also went through a decline in last year prevalence (from 11 percent to 8 percent). On the contrary, a significant increase can be found in vandalism rates (from 7 percent to 9 percent) and, surprisingly even in case of shoplifting (from 6.5 percent to 8.4 percent). There is, therefore, a certain discrepancy between the lifetime delinquency trend and last year's delinquency.

In general, it can be noted that compared to ISRD-2, ISRD-3 brings more closely together the lifetime prevalence and last year's prevalence rates. A possible interpretation of this would be that the number of children who had committed a delinquent act at a younger age and refrained from delinquency later on is declining. However, we believe that this result might be at least partially influenced by the change in the delinquency questions' design of the sweeps, since the large amount of follow-up questions for each offense in ISRD-2 might have discouraged the respondents from stating truthful answers for each delict's last year prevalence.<sup>3</sup> If this hypothesis were right, it would mean that the last year's prevalence estimates are undervalued in ISRD-2 compared to the ISRD-3.

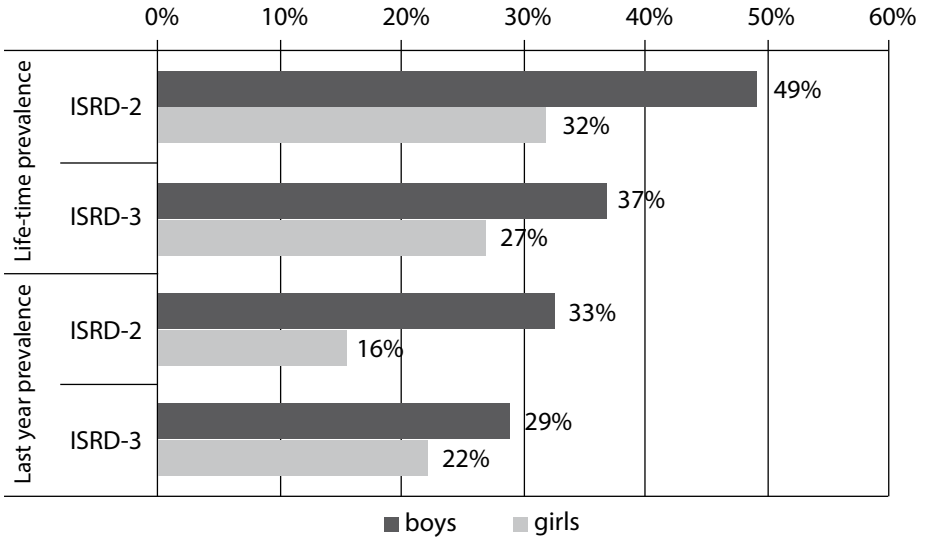
Furthermore, we have focused on comparing the delinquency rates of girls and boys and on a possible shift in their delinquency between the ISRD-2 and ISRD-3 research studies. As we have already suggested, the self-report delinquency survey has only a short tradition in the Czech Republic and prior to the ISRD-2 research, only one local self-report survey was ever held during 1999, and this dealt, among other things, with the delinquency of ninth grade students of elementary schools. A comparison of these two studies – which, however, has considerable methodological constraints – led to a hypothesis that in the Czech Republic there could be a mutual approximation of delinquency prevalence of girls and boys, at least in the common nonviolent offences of shoplifting and vandalism (Podaná 2008). A trend of lowering gender differences in delinquency has been recognized in other European countries as well (Gatti, Rocca 2013). Therefore, it was important for us to verify whether this trend can be found in the Czech Republic also in a later time period, i.e. in the ISRD-2 and ISRD-3 researches.

Graph 2 captures the differences in the cumulative index of delinquency, both lifetime and last year, between girls and boys and both ISRD sweeps. In case of the lifetime prevalence, the trend has been consistent; girls show a lower delinquency rate compared to boys, while between the ISRD-2 and ISRD-3 there has been an apparent decline of delinquent individuals. However, this decline is stronger with boys; the differences between girls and boys dropped from the original 17 to 10 percentage points in ISRD-3. However, the numbers of the last year's delinquency indicator are very different. The decline in prevalence between ISRD-2 and ISRD-3 is not present anymore (in line with the above-presented results, see Table 4) – as regards boys the decline is insignificant, but as regards girls there is a rather distinct increase of prevalence from 16 percent to 22 percent. This fact results in a considerable reduction of differences between girls and boys, where the original half-representation of female offenders, compared to boys, increased to three-fourths.

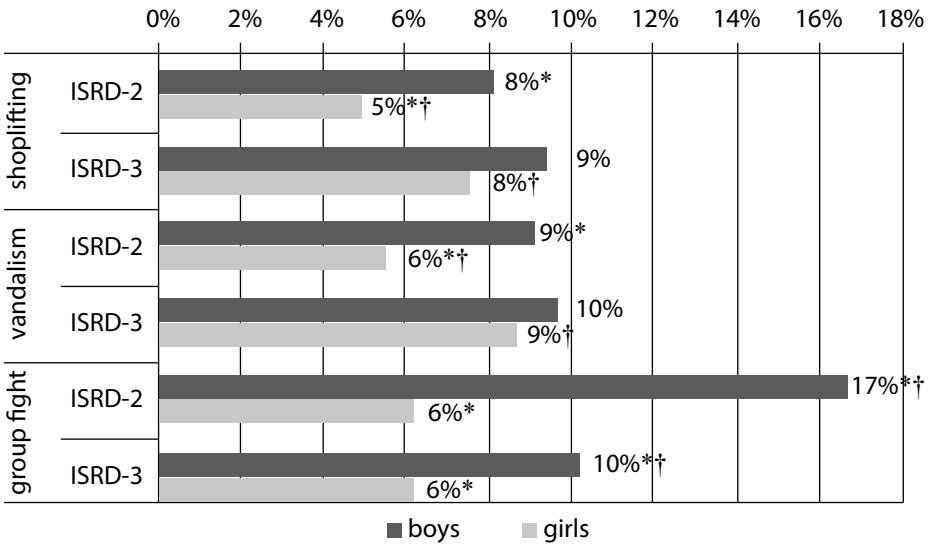
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<sup>3</sup> This way the respondents avoided the follow-up question on last year's incidence.





**Graph 2:** Delinquency based on gender in ISRD-2 and ISRD-3  
 Source: ISRD-2 and ISRD-3. Weighted data. The differences between the girls and boys are statistically significant in each sweep ( $\alpha = 0.05$ ). There was a significant change between ISRD-2 and ISRD-3 for both girls and boys, with the exception of last year's delinquency prevalence.



**Graph 3:** Prevalence of selected offenses for last year in ISRD-2 and ISRD-3 based on gender  
 Source: ISRD-2 and ISRD-3. Weighted data

\* a significant difference between boys and girls in the respective sweep

† a significant difference between ISRD-2 and ISRD-3 for girls and boys

If we focus on those offenses that show a significant increase or decline in last year's prevalence between ISRD-2 and ISRD-3, regardless of whether we look at the statistics for girls or for boys, we can identify the same acts that have proven significant regardless of gender (see Table 4), i.e. shoplifting, vandalism and group fights (see Graph 3). The first two manifest the same pattern that shows a significant increase between the sweeps only at the girls' rates, the result of which is that the original significant difference between the two genders in ISRD-2 becomes insignificant in ISRD-3. On the other hand, in case of the group fight, the prevalence for boys rapidly decreases from the original 17 percent to 10 percent, while for girls it remains unchanged (6 percent). It can be, therefore, noted that shifts in prevalences of delinquency for last year between ISRD-2 and ISRD-3 are gender specific. However, if we focused on the lifetime prevalences (the results are not presented here), we would not find similar results for shoplifting or for group fight, where the decline in prevalence is the highest; in both of these cases, there is a significant decrease of these delicts visible for both genders.

## Conclusion

The aim of this article was to introduce the basic delinquency prevalence rates from the current ISRD-3 research, to evaluate the delinquency development in time by comparing the third sweep, which took place in the Czech Republic during 2013, with the ISRD-2 from 2006–2007, and to verify the hypothesis on a trend of lowering gap between delinquent acts committed by boys and girls. In general, it can be concluded that ISRD-3 research has proven that the delinquency is not uncommon among Czech juveniles – at least one delict from the group of offenses included in the research was committed by at least one-third of children and one-fourth admitted some delinquency during the last 12 months. The most widespread are the less serious misdemeanours, such as vandalism, shoplifting, participation in a group fight or carrying a weapon.

In comparison with the ISRD-2 research, which was held approximately six years ago, there has been a distinct decline in the lifetime delinquency. Nevertheless, last year's delinquency has remained roughly the same. As a consequence of certain methodological changes in the ISRD research design, we can assume to get a higher prevalence of delinquency in the ISRD-3, while, in reality, there might have been even a decrease in prevalence of delinquency during last year between the ISRD-2 and ISRD-3. The results are consistent with the official police statistics that conveniently complement them.

The comparison of boys' and girls' delinquency showed that between the ISRD-2 and ISRD-3 there was a decline in prevalence of offending – this phenomenon was more evident with boys. To summarize, the gap between the girls' and boys' delinquency decreased in the ISRD-3. As regards last year's delinquency indicator, there was a significant increase in the delinquency of girls. These changes are especially apparent at the following three delicts: shoplifting, vandalism and group fights. Thus, the data suggest a gradual lowering of gender gap in delinquency in time.

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## APPENDIX

### Questions about the life-time delinquency prevalence in ISRD-2

- Did you ever damage something on purpose, such as a bus shelter, a window, a car or a seat on the bus or train?
- Did you ever steal something from a shop or a department store?
- Did you ever break into a building with the purpose to steal something?
- Did you ever steal a bicycle, moped or scooter?
- Did you ever steal a motorbike or car?
- Did you ever use your computer for 'hacking'?
- Did you ever steal something out of or from a car?
- Did you ever snatch a purse, bag or something else from a person?
- Did you ever carry a weapon, such as a stick, knife, or chain (not a pocket-knife)?
- Did you ever threaten somebody with a weapon or to beat them up, just to get money or other things from them?
- Did you ever participate in a group fight on the school playground, a football stadium, the streets or in any public place?
- Did you ever intentionally beat up someone or hurt him with a stick or knife, so badly that he/she had to see a doctor?
- Did you ever sell any (soft or hard) drugs or act as an intermediary?

### Questions about the life-time delinquency prevalence in ISRD-3

- Have you ever ...
- ... painted on a wall, train, subway or bus (graffiti)?
- ... damaged something on purpose, such as a bus shelter, a window, a car or a seat on the bus or train ?
- ... stolen something from a shop or department store?
- ... broken into a building to steal something?
- ... stolen a bicycle?
- ... stolen a motorbike or car?
- ... stolen something off or from a car?
- ... used a weapon, force or threat of force to get money or things from someone?
- ... stolen something from a person without force or threat?
- ... carried a weapon, such as a stick, knife, gun, or chain?
- ... taken part in a group fight in a football stadium, on the street or other public place?
- ... beaten someone up or hurt someone with a stick or knife so badly that the person was injured?
- ... sold any drugs or helped someone selling drugs?
- ... hurt an animal on purpose?

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## METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF GANG MEMBERSHIP: THE CASE OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC\*

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### ABSTRACT

Research into gangs has been primarily concentrated in the USA for many years. The important step leading to a more intensive analysis of this phenomenon in Europe has been made by creating a uniform gang definition of Eurogang research group, which has been operationalized and integrated in two waves of the International Self-Report Delinquency Study (ISRD-2 and ISRD-3). The objective of this paper is to introduce methodological issues of the definition and offer possibilities for its revision. Data suggest that each type of definition used in our study may generate a different group of respondents. Although the multivariate analysis of factors influencing gang membership demonstrates some intersections, delinquency rates among gang members defined using different definitions vary considerably.

**Key words:** gang, juvenile delinquency, Eurogang definition, ISRD-2, ISRD-3

### Introduction

While research into gangs has had quite a long tradition in the United States, in Europe we began studying them only much later, although it is precisely the group nature that constitutes one of the most important features of juvenile delinquency (Warr 2002; Matoušek, Kroftová 2003). One possible reason for this reluctance might be the so-called Eurogang paradox, i.e. the belief that American gangs are represented by highly organized units involved in extremely severe crime. On the contrary, what can be considered as a paradox is the fact that “real” gangs in America only rarely correspond to that stereotype, which resulted into the denial of the existence of gangs in Europe (Gatti, Haymoz, Schadee 2011; Klein et al. 2001: xii).

Already in the 1930s the gang is defined by Trasher, a significant American author; the definition reads: “The gang is an interstitial group originally formed spontaneously, and then integrated through conflict. It is characterized by the following types of behavior: meeting face to face, milling, movement through space as a unit, conflict, and planning. The result of this collective behavior is the development of tradition, unreflective internal structure, esprit de corps, solidarity, morale, group awareness, and attachment to a local

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territory” (Trasher 1927, cit. Bjerregaard 2002: 33). Gang definitions according to Miller (1975, cit. Ball, Curry 1995) or Curry and Spergel (1988, cit. Siegel, Welsh 2011) followed. Also some more extensive studies on gangs were drawn up further to Thrasher’s work: for instance *Delinquent Boys* (1955) by Albert Cohen and *Delinquency and Opportunity* (1960) by Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin.

In the 1990s, it was Ball and Curry (1995) who dealt with the issue of defining the gang. According to them, definitions of a certain term are often worded with respect to their future function and specific use (qualitative research of life in a gang; international comparison of gang members’ prevalence rates, etc.). Hence, no wonder that it is an uneasy task to define the gang. While one group of researchers still seeks a universal gang definition allowing its research across continents as well as cultures, others point out that such a definition cannot be unequivocally worded. For example, Haymoz (2010) is convinced that preferring one or another definition to the others results in obtaining completely different conclusions within various delinquency studies. Researchers should thus seek to formulate a single general gang definition permitting a more detailed research of the phenomenon in question on an international level. However, Petersen (2000) warns that one single gang definition will never exist as the gang nature differs in each society, and, besides, each researcher has a different idea of how such groups should be defined.

In terms of content, we have to ensure that the gang definition is neither too broad nor too narrow (Robinson 1954; Ball, Curry 1995). Both extreme cases usually result in including other social groups or, to the contrary, in ignoring a certain part of reality. This problem has been often dealt with by means of creating various gang typologies (e.g. Cloward and Ohlin’s typology) (Ball, Curry 1995). Similarly, Medina et al. (2013) prove that also the gang definition according to the Eurogang group (see below) and its subsequent operationalization may lead to the identification of a separate group, the typical activity of which is recreational drug use. The authors believe that such individuals can be hardly classed as a gang by criminological benchmarks, and it is therefore desirable that they are either fully excluded or analyzed separately from delinquent gang members.

Many studies focusing on gang definition have also argued about the suitability of identifying gang members based on delinquent activities. As Ball and Curry (1995) point out, definitions including illegal activities tend to minimize any further theoretical differences among gangs other than just delinquency rates. Characteristics such as friendship or common interests, generally considered as positive, are thus left out or directly excluded from the gang definition. Also Bjerregaard (2002) advises against including illegal activities into gang definitions. In many respects, their inclusion presents a tautology as we examine gangs especially in order to explain crime or delinquency in society, so we cannot consider criminal behavior as one of the main characteristics of a gang. On the contrary, according to Klein and Crawford (1967) society does not condemn gangs because of their normal behavior. It is the “delinquent product” of such a group that arouses a social reaction. Hence, the group’s delinquent nature may be considered one of the main criteria, indispensable for defining a gang member.

Currently, Malcolm Klein belongs among the most important authors dealing with gang membership. At the end of the 20th century, the Eurogang group was created under his leadership. Based on a number of common workshops, the group has defined the main characteristics of a gang: group nature, duration in time, spending free time

in public places, existence of group identity and committing illegal activities. A gang is “any durable, street-oriented youth group whose identity includes involvement in illegal activity” (Weerman et al. 2009: 20).

This article is dedicated to one of the most current gang definitions, the formulation of which has been connected with the Eurogang group. The definition has been operationalized and subsequently integrated into ISRD-2 and ISRD-3, i.e. two waves of International Self-Report Delinquency Study organized in the Czech Republic. Discussions on the appropriateness of the definition started already upon implementation of the ISRD-2 research; at the same time there were first analyses seeking to expand the original battery of questions – offered by the Eurogang group to identify a gang member – by other possible indicators (Gatti 2010). On the contrary, other studies suggest that even a single question can measure a respondent’s gang membership in a positive way (Esbensen et al. 2001). This issue is discussed in further detail in the first part of this paper, being followed by an evaluation of the delinquent nature of all previously defined gang groups. The final part hereof presents an analysis of factors allowing the best prediction of the gang membership. Differences among the analyzed groups could suggest how the given gang definitions work and what kind of respondents are identified based on them.

### **International Self-Report Delinquency Study (ISRD)**

The ISRD aims at deepening current knowledge in the area of juvenile delinquency as well as at enabling comparative studies on the said issue. In 2006–2007, 33 countries, including the Czech Republic, took part in the second wave of the study. The study focused on primary and secondary grammar school pupils aged approximately 12 to 16 years (seventh, eighth and ninth grades). A questionnaire form containing questions about family, school, neighborhood, leisure time spending, delinquent friends, attitude toward violence, self-control, victimization and the delinquency as such has been created in order to maximize comparability of international data (Podaná, Buriánek 2007). It was the first time that indicators, which were developed by the Eurogang group based on the above-stated definition, were included in the study to measure gang membership. Also, the third wave has been realized in a similar way. Although there have been a lot of modifications in the questionnaire, the indicators measuring gang membership remained unchanged.<sup>1</sup> Data for the Czech Republic were collected in spring 2013; however, this stage of the study is still pending in some participating countries. Hence, we have to do with the most current data describing the delinquency of Czech youth.

A national representative sample with an oversample for two cities, Prague and Pilsen, was opted for both the study waves. As ISRD is preferentially focused on data collection at city level (Steketee, Moll, Kapardis 2008), data on the two cities mentioned are used in the first part of this study, presenting prevalence rates of gang delinquency. Such data are suitable for direct comparison of prevalence rates with other countries participating in the study. The full unweighted data set are used for multinomial logistic regression

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<sup>1</sup> The Czech team introduced the Eurogang indicators at the end of the Czech version of the ISRD-3 questionnaire.

where the increased number of respondents may significantly influence precision of the regression coefficient estimates.

**Table 1:** Basic characteristics of samples

	ISRD-2		ISRD-3	
	abs.	%	abs.	%
N	3,245		3,462	
Prague	725	22.3	855	24.7
Pilsen	500	15.4	834	24.1
National sample	2,020	62.3	1,773	51.2

Note: unweighted data

Source: ISRD-2 and ISRD-3

Table 1 shows respondent numbers for both ISRD waves. A total of 3,245 respondents took part in the 2006–2007 study, 725 respondents in Prague and 500 in Pilsen. In 2013 the sample amounted to 3,462 respondents, 855 of them were from Prague and 834 from Pilsen. Both samples included approximately a half of women and a half of men. The pupils’ average age oscillated at about 14 years. In most cases, respondents were represented by pupils born in the Czech Republic and attending primary school.

### **ISRD Gang Definition and Possibilities for its Revision**

According to the Eurogang group, there are four core questions measuring gang membership. A respondent was identified as a gang member under Eurogang if he/she answered affirmatively all the following questions:

1. Does this group spend a lot of time together in public places like the park, the street, shopping areas, or the neighborhood?
2. How long has this group existed?
3. Is doing illegal things (against the law) accepted by or okay for your group?
4. Do people in your group actually do illegal things (against the law) together?

Although the Eurogang group uses only the said indicators (core definitional questions) to identify a gang member, they have suggested also other, complementary questions (descriptors), the use of which is recommended for a more detailed gang research. One of them is also the so-called self-identification question: “Do you consider your group of friends to be a gang?” This question is not indispensable, according to Eurogang, for deciding on a respondent’s gang membership, but it can be seen as a complement to the other four. “It can be used to see whether gang members perceive themselves as such” (Weerman et al. 2009: 30).

However, Gatti’s research (2010) indicates that this question could represent an important link in identifying a respondent as a gang member. While existing research has been oriented at differentiating respondents as gang members and non-members, Gatti assumes the existence of a continuum of “gangness”, i.e. the existence of social groups



showing some, but not all, gang characteristics. He measures the existence of that continuum using the Mokken scale; in addition to the four core Eurogang gang membership indicators, his analysis includes also the complementary self-identification question.

**Table 2:** Using the Mokken scale to evaluate the process of a respondent’s identification as a gang member within ISRD-2<sup>2</sup>

Indicators	Hi
How long has this group existed?	0.77
Does this group spend a lot of time together in public places like the park, the street, shopping areas, or the neighborhood?	0.68
Do people in your group actually do illegal things (against the law) together?	0.58
Is doing illegal things (against the law) accepted by or okay for your group?	0.57
<b>Do you consider your group of friends to be a gang?</b>	0.44

Source: Gatti’s presentation at the EUROCRIM conference, 10 Sept 2010. Analysis of 63 large and medium-sized cities in 30 countries participating in ISRD-2, N = 40 678.

The Mokken scale is a hierarchical scaling method similar to the Guttman scale, assuming the existence of a latent variable. It is represented by a series of indicators closely related to the latent variable. The indicators as such must have a hierarchical nature: we can expect that a respondent who answers a “more demanding” question affirmatively will also answer those questions that are “less demanding” affirmatively. A respondent’s individual score on the scale is represented by his total number of affirmative answers (Van Schuur 2003).

Analysis results shown in Table 2 indicate the existence of a scale measuring one latent variable: gang membership. Loevinger’s Hi<sup>3</sup> coefficient shows the number of errors for individual questions; an error means an affirmative answer to a “more demanding” question and a negative answer to a “less demanding” question. If the Hi coefficient stands for a value lower than 0.30, the indicator should be eliminated as it does not form a continuum homogeneous with the other questions. Nevertheless, in our case, also the coefficient for the last question – “Do you consider your group of friends to be a gang?” – equals 0.44, and the question has thus its significance in terms of identifying a respondent as a gang member. That is why Gatti (2010) recommends that the question should be included among the above-stated questions defined by the Eurogang group.

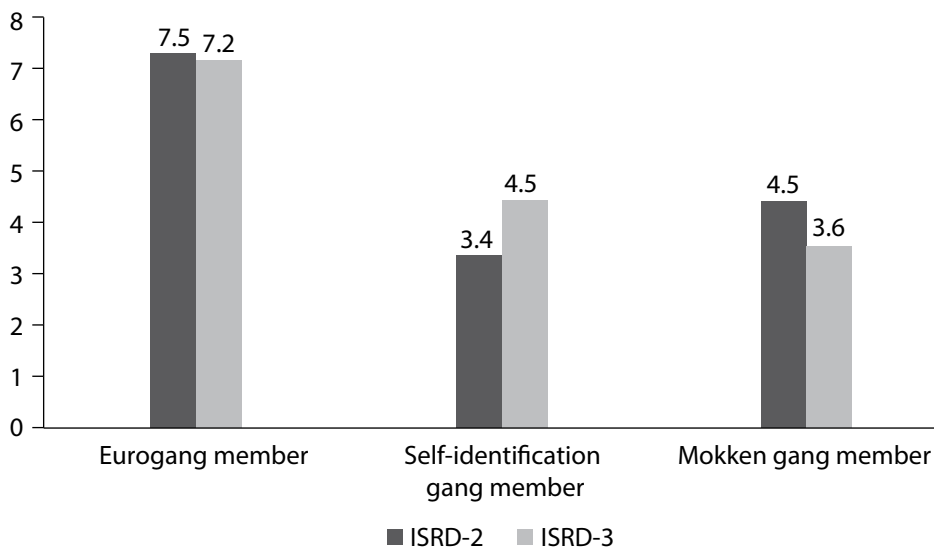
Some authors further state that the self-identification question itself could very well define gang members. This form of definition is used in the United States. The Eurogang researchers avoid it mainly for their fear that the expression “gang” might not be understood by all study participants, and they point out that the appropriateness of this technique may be questionable in other countries despite the fact that it has been quite successfully applied in the USA, where the majority of people understand very well what a gang means (Weerman et al. 2009). And indeed, Esbensen et al. (2001: 123), who car-

<sup>2</sup> As the ISRD third wave data collection has not been completed in all participating countries, the scale has been so far verified just on ISRD-2 data.

<sup>3</sup> Calculation: comparison of the probability of errors in question order with the probability of such order if the questions are not correlated.

ried out a study on students in 11 American states, concluded in their paper that “the simple question ‘Have you ever been a gang member?’ was understood by the respondents in such a manner that one can surmise that there exists a shared understanding of what this term means, not only by former or current gang members, but also by nongang youth”. They consider the self-identification technique as an especially robust gang membership measure that allows dividing respondents in gang members and non-members (Esbensen et al. 2001). We decided to verify such assumptions by comparing the gang members defined only based on that question with those defined based on Eurogang criteria or the Mokken scale.

The understated chart compares the numbers of ISRD-2 and ISRD-3 gang members, whereby all the above-stated definition approaches have been taken into account. Gang members were identified based on Eurogang and based on the Mokken scale outcomes as well as based on the self-identification question. Each respondent who answered affirmatively all of the four above-stated questions was identified as a gang member under the Eurogang definition. A respondent who – in addition to that – gave also an affirmative response to the self-identification question was identified as a gang member in line with the Mokken scale. A respondent who gave the affirmative response but answered at least one of the four Eurogang questions negatively was assigned to the third group to be analyzed, the so-called self-identified gang members.



**Graph 1:** Numbers of ISRD-2 and ISRD-3 gang members using different definition concepts (%)<sup>4</sup>

Note:  $N_{\text{ISRD-2}} = 1225$ ,  $N_{\text{ISRD-3}} = 1689$

Source: ISRD-2 and ISRD-3

<sup>4</sup> Members of other groups – i.e. respondents who have a group of friends but did not give an affirmative answer to the self-identification question and, at the same time, to one of the Eurogang questions, or those who declared having no group of friends – are not shown in the chart for the sake of clarity.

Graph 1 shows that the highest number of gang members is identified in accordance with the Eurogang logic both within the ISRD-2 (8 percent) and the ISRD-3 (7 percent) data. The other two approaches result in lower numbers. While the number of gangs slightly declines using the Mokken scale, there has been an increase in those who termed their group a gang, without any account to their answers to the remaining questions. As boys predominate in the respondent group defined this way, we can assume that they find it less difficult to call their group a gang, or they may be even doing so because they find such a term very attractive.

Consequently, we asked why these respondents were not identified as gang members under the Mokken scale. The most frequent variants are shown in the Table 3, demonstrating that more than a half of the respondents (52 percent) declare that they do not accept or/and do illegal things (Eurogang questions no. 3 and no. 4, see above). Almost one-fifth (18 percent) of respondents state that in addition to not doing illegal things, they do not spend a lot of time together in public places. A lower incidence of delinquent activities (of self-identified gang members) is also further evidenced by the delinquency indicator.

**Table 3:** Grounds for not assigning respondents to a gang under the Mokken scale

Ground	abs.	%
The group does not spend a lot of time together in public places and, at the same time, does not accept and do illegal things	14	18
The group does not accept and do illegal things	29	38
The group does not do illegal things	11	14
Other	22	29
<b>Total</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>100</b>

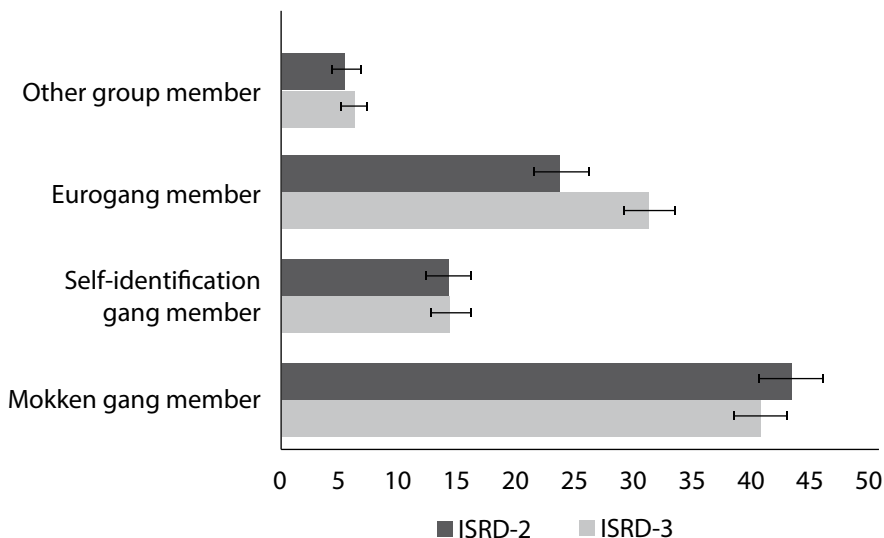
Source: ISRD-3

In terms of describing the above-mentioned groups, it might be interesting to see how such groups differ from those respondents who have a group of friends but do not meet the conditions to be assigned to one of the gangs in question. Hence, the following text offers a comparison of delinquency (overall and by types of acts) committed by the groups being analyzed, as well as a comparison of factors that may predict membership in such groups. The factors will be divided in individual (self-control, personal morality) and social (family, school, risk behavior).

### **Delinquent Nature of Gangs**

Only delinquent acts that were measured by an identical or a very similar question in both study waves have been compared in order to avoid possible misinterpretations or distortions of results. A total of 11 delinquent acts were subject to comparison: intentional damage to property; theft in a shop or in a supermarket; burglary; bicycle theft; motorbike or car theft; car break-in; using a weapon or force to get hold of money or some property; carrying a weapon; participation in a group fight; hitting or hurting someone

with a stick resulting in an injury; and drug dealing. Committing at least two delinquent acts in a recent period (12 months in our case) represents the main delinquency indicator. Such an a indicator focuses especially on individuals delinquent at present. The two-act limit guarantees that the act has not represented only a sporadic and thus a probably random incident (Podaná, Buriánek 2007).



**Graph 2:** Gang members according to the delinquency indicator – at least two delinquent acts in a recent period (%)

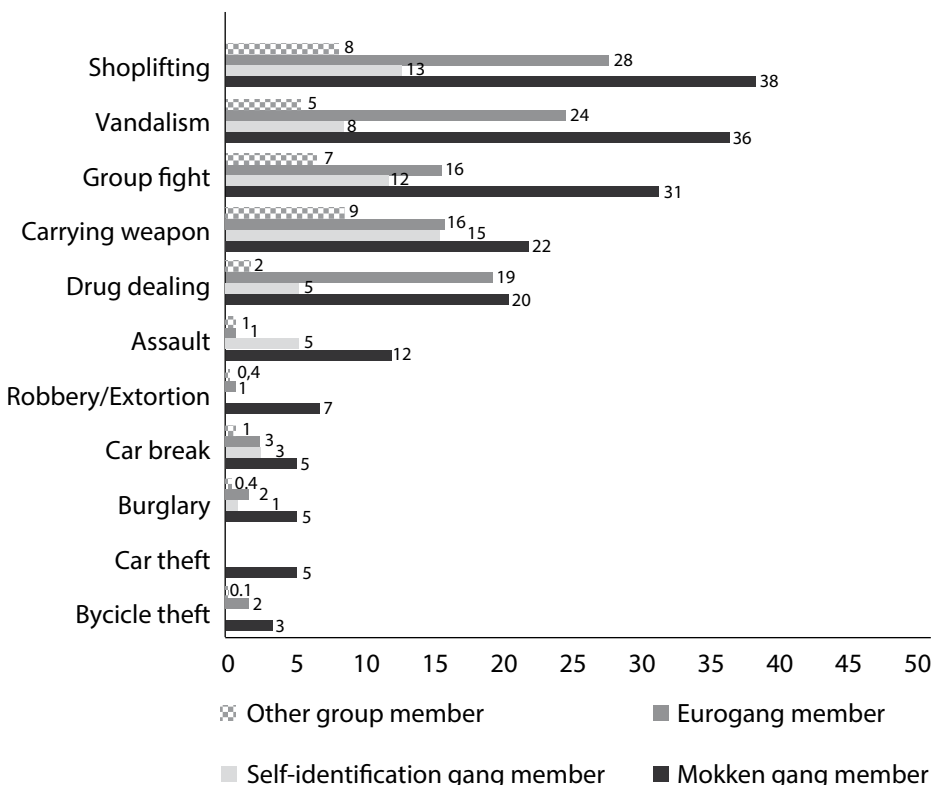
Note:  $N_{ISRD-2} = 1225$ ,  $N_{ISRD-3} = 1689$ ; two-sided 95% confidence intervals. Respondents who declared they had no group of friends are not included in the chart.

Source: ISRD-2 and ISRD-3

Graph 2 presents a comparison of delinquency indicators for all groups analyzed, including respondents from other groups both for the ISRD-2 and the ISRD-3 data. Data indicate that the Eurogang members' delinquent nature has been even more significant than in 2006–2007. The same indicator has slightly decreased for Mokken scale gangs. Especially the self-identified gang members can be expected not to commit delinquent acts to such an extent and as frequently as members of other analyzed gang groups even though they identify themselves and their group of friends as a gang. On the whole, gang members defined under the Mokken scale appear to be the most delinquent ones (44 percent for ISRD-2 and 41 percent for ISRD-3) while there are considerable differences in delinquency rates of gang members defined in line with different approaches.

Prevalence of delinquent acts has been calculated in order to find out which of them can best characterize the respondent groups being analyzed. The calculation has been based only on ISRD-3 data, which reflect the current level of prevalence in a better way. Figure 3 shows that especially the following acts are frequently committed by gang members: shoplifting; vandalism; group fight; carrying a weapon and drug dealing. In relation to all the acts mentioned, gang members are always more delinquent than other groups

of friends. Nevertheless, it is especially the gang members defined under the Eurogang criteria or under Mokken scale who are engaged in delinquent activities. The latter score high also in less frequent delinquent acts such as assaulting or hurting a person with a stick resulting in an injury (12 percent); using a weapon or force to get hold of money or a thing (7 percent); or motorcycle or car theft (5 percent). However, it needs to be pointed out that in the said cases the analysis is based on a very limited number of respondents.



**Graph 3:** Prevalence of delinquency for individual gang groups (%) in ISRD-3  
 Note: N<sub>ISRD-3</sub> = 1689. Respondents who declared they had no group of friends are not presented in the chart.  
 Source: ISRD-3

### Factors Predicting Gang Membership

Only ISRD third wave data were used to calculate factors providing the best prediction of membership in the gang types being analyzed as those data are more up to date and thus better reflect current developments in the field.

*Dependent variable.* In our case, the dependent variable is represented by the above-mentioned respondent groups in question, i.e. gang members in accordance with the

Eurogang group; self-identified gang members; gang members identified based on the Mokken scale; and members of other respondent groups.

*Controlled variables.* Respondents' sex and age present controlled variables; sex has been recoded as a binary variable where the 1 value is assigned to men, and age feeds into the analysis as a cardinal variable with a minimum of 11 and a maximum of 17 years of age.

*Individual factors.* Individual factors include an individual's self-control and personal morality, i.e. prosocial behavior of an individual. The ISRD-3 measures self-control using a battery of nine questions. The scale is internally consistent, which is proven by Cronbach's alpha (0.79). It feeds into the analysis as a weighted summation index where 1 and 4 mean an individual's low and high self-control, respectively. Also personal morality, measured by a battery of eight questions (Cronbach's alpha = 0.75), feeds into the analysis as a weighted summation index with the values equalling to 1 and 4 for strong and weak personal morality, respectively.

*Social factors.* Family structure (1 = single parent family), family bonds, truancy (1 = yes), and an individual's risk behavior in his/her leisure time were included among social factors that might affect gang membership. All the variables mentioned except for the one measuring parent-child relationship quality are of binary nature. Parent-child relationship has been measured using a weighted summation index where 1 means that a respondent gets on very well with his/her parents (or a single parent) whereas 5 expresses very bad relationships within the family. An individual's risk behavior has been measured through questions about his or her habitual leisure time activities. Activities such as fighting with friends and seeking conflicts with other peers, doing some forbidden things, using alcohol or drugs, and hassling or frightening others just for fun have been taken into account.

## Results

Table 4 presents the results of multinomial logistic regression. The reference category is represented by respondents from other groups, and all the results interpreted below shall be related to this respondent group. We believe that comparing gang members defined by us with this respondent group brings more advantages than their comparison with respondents who are not closer specified. Thus, the analysis was limited to the issue of social groups and their members.

The overall model is significant and explains almost one-third of the variability of the dependent variable (Nagelkerke  $R^2 = 0.285$ ) provided that all the variables mentioned above are included. Model 1 operates only with controlled variables; Model 2 analyses the individual factors as well; and Model 3 represents the overall model predicting gang membership.

While in the case of the first two gang groups in question sex remains significant even if individual and social factors are taken into consideration, the said does not apply to gang members defined under the Mokken scale. Consequently, there are probably no differences in gender composition between this group and other groups of friends. The fact that women have a greater chance to become members of a gang defined in line with

the Eurogang group (OR = 0.585) whereas it is mainly men who identify themselves as a gang (OR = 1.671) has been found interesting. One of plausible interpretations may be that it is rather men who consider calling their group a gang as a means to increase their social status among peers, and identifying themselves as such is therefore more attractive for them than for women, who are more careful and might have more fear of such a term.

The theme of self-control has been dealt with by Gottfredson and Hirshi (1990). According to them, an individual with low self-control is characterized especially by high impulsiveness and insensitivity. He/she is focused on short-term goals and on physical, non-verbal and risky behavior, resulting in his/her involvement in crime. Low self-control in combination with opportunity to commit (an often not planned) crime presents the underlying cause of delinquent behavior. Model 2 highlights the significance of individual characteristics in terms of gang membership. Low self-control and weak personal morality are typical for all gang groups. Individual factors also remain significant in the final model, the overall one (Model 3). There is only one exception: respondents who did identify themselves as gang members. In this case, self-control is no longer as significant as in other gang groups. Nevertheless, it still remains marginally significant:  $\alpha < 0.1$ . Consequently, the statement that respondents who show low levels of self-control and weak personal morality have a greater chance to be involved in a gang than in other peer groups seems to be valid.

Significance of family bonds has been already pointed out by, among others, Aebi (2010) or Matoušek and Kroftová (2003). According to Aebi (2010), the significance of family structure extinguishes if the family dynamics (relationships between family members) is identical or at least similar in all family types (complete, monoparental, composed). In other words, what is important in relation to an individual's delinquent behavior is not whether his or her family consists of both or just a single parent, but whether the monoparental and composed families resemble complete families in terms of the quality of family bonds. Matoušek and Kroftová (2003) suggest that an individual's personal development significantly depends on the quality of bonds between the child and its parents and/or other family members. Our data confirm such assumptions to a great extent. While the quality of family bonds considerably influences whether an individual becomes a gang member, family structure remains insignificant for all the groups. The only exception is represented by self-identified gang members where the variable measuring family bonds appears to be insignificant as well. Leisure time risk behavior represents the main social factor predicting membership in such a group. A person manifesting risk behavior has a three times higher chance (OR = 2.959) to become a self-identified gang member.

Factors predicting Eurogang gang membership and Mokken scale gang membership are identical in the majority of cases. It is only truancy that presents an exception: while this variable is significant for the former respondent group, the same does not apply for the latter one. Those who have experienced skipping of school classes demonstrate an almost 1.5 times higher chance to become members of a gang defined in line with the Eurogang group (OR = 1.458). And it is truancy that poses one of current problems related to juvenile delinquency. Garry (1996), among others, states that pupils playing truant show a higher chance to get involved in illegal activities, such as drug abuse and trafficking, alcohol intake or committing violence.

**Table 4:** Multinomial regression

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	b	OR	b	OR	b	OR
<b>Eurogang gang member</b>						
<i>Control</i>						
Gender (1 = male)	-0.305 *	0.737	-0.545 **	0.580	-0.537 **	0.585
Age (scale)	0.432 **	1.540	0.376 **	1.457	0.281 **	1.325
<i>Individual factors</i>						
Self-control (index)			-1.229 **	0.293	-0.834 **	0.434
Personal morality (index)			1.356 **	3.879	0.917 **	2.501
<i>Social factors</i>						
Family structure (1 = single parent)					-0.028	0.973
Family bonds (index)					0.287 **	1.333
Truancy (1 = yes)					0.377 *	1.458
Risk behavior (1 = yes)					1.795 **	6.017
Constant	-8.140		-6.577		-7.195	
<b>Self-identified gang member</b>						
<i>Control</i>						
Gender (1 = male)	0.748 **	2.112	0.562 **	1.753	0.513 *	1.671
Age (scale)	0.049	1.050	-0.071	0.931	-0.185 a	0.831
<i>Individual factors</i>						
Self-control (index)			-0.642 **	0.526	-0.424 a	0.654
Personal morality (index)			0.993 **	2.700	0.655 *	1.924
<i>Social factors</i>						
Family structure (1 = single parent)					-0.166	0.847
Family bonds (index)					0.128	1.136
Truancy (1 = yes)					0.172	1.187
Risk behavior (1 = yes)					1.085 **	2.959
Constant	-3.797		-2.136		-1.302	
<b>Mokken gang member</b>						
<i>Control</i>						
Gender (1 = male)	0.428 *	1.534	0.121	1.128	0.242	1.274
Age (scale)	0.237 *	1.267	0.201 a	1.223	0.069	1.072
<i>Individual factors</i>						
Self-control (index)			-2.158 **	0.116	-1.613 **	0.199
Personal morality (index)			1.407 **	4.085	1.044 **	2.841
<i>Social factors</i>						
Family structure (1 = single parent)					0.340	1.405
Family bonds (index)					0.279 *	1.322
Truancy (1 = yes)					0.273	1.314
Risk behavior (1 = yes)					1.794 **	6.012
Constant	-6.470		-3.192		-3.830	
<b>Nagelkerke R<sup>2</sup></b>		<b>0.035</b>		<b>0.196</b>		<b>0.285</b>
<b>N</b>		<b>2654</b>		<b>2445</b>		<b>2135</b>

Note: OR = odds ratio. The dependent variable is gang membership. The reference category: other group member. \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01; a = marginally significant (p < 0.1).

Source: ISRD 3



The overall results demonstrate an intersection of three core factors predicting gang membership: self-control, personal morality and risk behavior.

## **Discussion and Conclusion**

This study looks into current trends in defining gang members. Three groups of gangs were defined based on previous research, and they were then compared with other respondent groups by means of the prevalence rates of delinquency and the factors that can predict the said membership. The paper aimed at explaining the difference between members of the gangs in question and respondents who do have a group of friends, but who were not identified as gang members.

The data analysis has shown that the Eurogang definition generates somewhat higher number of gang members than other two gang definitions. An interesting find is that the difference in the extent of delinquent activities committed by individual respondent groups appears to be statistically significant in both study waves. The most frequent delinquent activities include shoplifting, vandalism, group fight and carrying a weapon as well as drug dealing. The fact that respondents who identified their group as a gang do apparently not commit as many delinquent activities as other gang groups has been proven by both the prevalence rates calculated and the analysis of “non-affirmative responses”, which shows reasons of elimination of such respondents from gangs defined using the Mokken scale. This supports our assumption that self-identification may play the role of an attractive label in terms of gang membership. Nevertheless, this respondent group is still involved in delinquent activities to a considerably higher extent than other groups of friends. The most delinquent respondents are found within Mokken scale gangs.

Some partial assumptions resulting from other studies on similar topics have been confirmed also for the youth in the Czech Republic by means of a multivariate analysis. Low self-control and weak personal morality are connected with a higher degree of delinquency. Family structure does not play an important role in the prediction of gang membership; it is the quality of family bonds that can be considered as a significant factor. Analysis indicates that poor family bonds predict gang membership in all gang groups except for the one in which the members did identify themselves as a gang. This group membership is influenced especially by the respondents' risk behavior in their leisure time. This variable together with personal integrity and self-control appears to be significant for all the gang groups analyzed.

We have been aware of the two main limits of this paper: lower respondent numbers in individual gang groups feeding into the analysis, and the narrowing of results of delinquency prevalence rates only to urban gangs. In terms of research into gangs, respondent numbers present a ubiquitous problem. Lower rates may have a negative effect especially on the results of multinomial regression, more precisely on odds ratio (OR). That is why we decided to use the full unweighted set of ISRD third wave data. However, higher confidence intervals have been found in relation to the variable measuring respondents' risk behavior. It is thus necessary to take into account that in this case the odds ratio may be distorted to some extent. Nevertheless, the outcomes presented seem to be very logical, and they correspond to conclusions of other studies dealing with gangs and meth-

odological issues of their definition (for instance, Esbensen et. al. 2001; Haymoz 2010; Moravcová 2012; Matsuda, Esbensen, Carson 2012).

Furthermore, only respondents from two large cities in the Czech Republic, Prague and Pilsen, were included in the analysis of delinquency prevalence. This was done especially because the ISRD study is preferentially focused on data collection in cities (a minimum of two big cities in each country; what is meant by “big city” is left to researchers in the given country and depends on the relative importance of a given city or town). Although participating countries could opt for a national representative sample, which is the case of the Czech Republic, the majority of them have collected or will collect data at the city level. Hence, we have limited the analysis of delinquency prevalence only to such data in order to ensure a higher comparability of results presented herein with international data. Besides, gangs are often considered to be a predominantly urban phenomenon.

Defining gangs and their members poses an uneasy task, which often depends on the researcher and the issue being dealt with at a given moment. A situation favorable to the adoption of a single universal gang definition will be rare. Therefore, already at the very beginning of an analysis a thorough consideration should be given to the selection of a definition approach to be applied as each type of definition may generate a different group of respondents showing different characteristics and may thus lead to completely different results.

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**VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN INTIMATE PARTNERSHIPS:  
FIRST FINDINGS OF FOLLOW-UP RESEARCH TO IVAWS 2003\***

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**ABSTRACT**

In January 2003 the Czech Republic participated in the *International Violence Against Women Survey* (IVAWS), which was a collaborative project of UNICRI, HEUNI and Statistics Canada. After a 10-year period, a need of a consequential research, comparative to IVAWS 2003, appears to be necessary to tackle the main trends in the field of study. The project *Intimate Partner Violence: Follow-up Research to IVAWS 2003* represents a continuation of the main themes of the IVAWS 2003. Concurrently, some new phenomena, especially violence against men and stalking victimization, have emerged in intimate partner violence related debate. The aim of the project is not only a simple replication of the IVAWS 2003 study. It strives to research the phenomenon of the violence in intimate partnership in its complexity, diversity and dynamics. Furthermore, it also focuses on some new issues, which have not been yet adequately analyzed in the Czech Republic, i.e. female-to-male intimate partner violence and the phenomenon of stalking victimization. What is the incidence of different forms of female intimate victimization in 2013 compared to 2003? How has the perception of violent behavior between intimate partners changed – if it has changed – in Czech society? These are some of many questions we are attempting to answer via our research. The article introduces the first findings from the survey sector dealing with male-to-female violence carried out in the Czech Republic in July 2013.

**Key words:** violence, women, intimate partners

Intimate partner violence as a topic of sociological research has been an area of scientific interest in Western sociology since the end of the 1970s (see Dobash, Dobash 1979; Walker 1979; Straus, Gelles, Steinmetz 1980). The concentration on this area is connected to the expansion of the sociology of gender and other related topics. Thus, during the last decades, a large number of surveys looking on intimate partner violence have been conducted in developed countries. These surveys brought important findings not only about the incidence and frequency of the violence and its forms, but they also brought a variety of other information closely connected to this topic: the approach and work of the police, the cooperation with NGOs, the judicial practice of the cases of intimate partner violence, the psychology of the victims and the aggressors, predictors or correlates of the origins of violence, etc. A comparative survey is a crucial tool to examine these aspects. Due to the essential role of the cultural conditionality – perceptions, forms of violence

\* The article presents the results of research “Intimate Partner Violence (2013)” (grant of The Grant Agency of the Czech Republic n. 404/12/2452).

and reactions to it vary by country (see Johnson, Ollus, Nevala 2008) – the comparative surveys can help to answer certain questions concerning the origins and development of intimate partner violence.

In the Czech Republic the area of intimate partner violence has been only systematically researched since 1989. One of the first representative surveys conducted in the Czech Republic was the International Violence Against Women Survey (IVAWS), which took place in 2003. This survey remains the first and only comparative project in this very area. IVAWS is therefore a basic study for the contemporary research of intimate partner violence from the perspective of the content as well as of the methodology. In the following part of this article, the most important aspects of this extensive project will be mentioned. For the detailed results of the IVAWS survey in the Czech Republic, see (Pikálková 2003, Buriánek, Pikálková 2013); for the findings in different countries including comparative analyses, see (Johnson, Ollus, Nevala 2008 or Killias et al. 2005).

### **About the IVAWS (2003)**

The main aim of the International Violence Against Women Survey (IVAWS) was to obtain high quality and reliable information on violence against women from more than 20 countries around the world. The IVAWS project was a joint project by UNICRI (United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute), HEUNI (European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control) and Statistics Canada. The team coordinating this project was comprised of researchers from the three organizations mentioned above.<sup>1</sup>

The goal of the study was to ascertain the incidence of the violence against women, types of violent behavior, including sexual violence and its frequency (lifelong, five-year period and one-year period of victimization). The subject of the study was the violence from the side of the partner (current or former husband/partner/boyfriend) as well as the violence from a different man than partner (friend, acquaintance, relation, stranger).

- The occurrence and frequency of the psychological violence against women (humiliation, threatening, limitation of contacts to the outside world);
- Other characteristics connected to violence: physical injuries, necessity of medical examination, alcohol, drugs;
- Attitudes and perception of the victims linked to various forms of violent behavior between partners;
- Police notification (reported x did not report) and the work of police, reasons for not reporting to the police, satisfied (or dissatisfied) with the work of the police;
- Victimization and experience with violence during childhood (until 16 years old) in the family of the respondent and her partner.

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<sup>1</sup> The participation of the Czech Republic on this survey was through a grant GA ČR for the year 2003 to 2004, institutionally the Faculty of Arts (Charles University) and the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic.

## The methodology of IVAWS

Due to the international scope of the survey, the methodology was identical for all the countries where the survey took place. The method was based on the international survey ICVS (International Crime Victim Survey). Data were collected from the representative sample of female adults (over 18 years old); the sample size included 1,980 respondents. The data were collected from May to October 2003. The sampling method consisted of a two-level probability sampling (1) randomly selected household, (2) selection of the respondent by the use of the “birthday rule”. Due to the sensitivity of the researched topic, the interviewers were strictly female. There was face to face training focused particularly on the specifics of the topic of violence against women before the survey took place.

The results of the IVAWS add very important pieces of knowledge to the sociological discussion about domestic violence. Despite the fact that the data are relatively old (10 years), the IVAWS is so far the most extensive and valuable dataset concerning this topic in the Czech Republic. Even though this survey was not the first attempt of research on this topic,<sup>2</sup> the collected data are comprehensive, and in our conditions they are the most extensive set of figures covering a wide range of specific areas linked to the topic of violence against women. Therefore, the survey provides an essential base for the research on sociological aspects of domestic violence. With the help of this survey, one can examine not only the quantitative aspects of this issue (rates, proportions, frequencies, etc. connected to victimization), but, with equal importance, one can examine the qualitative aspects (social and cultural context of events, attitudes, evaluation, reciprocal relations among facts), which accompany and permeate the quantitative sphere, and which lie in the center of the scientific research as well.

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Ten years after the IVAWS took place, there was a growing need for a new sociological survey, which could be comparable to IVAWS and which could examine the new trends and aspects of intimate partner violence. We were interested in finding out how the problematics of intimate partner violence have changed during the past 10 years, not only concerning physical and psychological forms of violence and their frequencies, but also concerning the attitudes toward violent behavior, tolerance to these forms of behavior, cooperation with the police or NGOs, etc. Moreover, relatively new phenomena emerged in the area, such as stalking. Therefore, the need of evaluating the current situation in the same way as IVAWS did become increasingly acute. We were especially interested in the following topics: What is the incidence of the various forms of violent behavior between intimate partners in the Czech Republic in 2013 compared to 2003? What is the change (if there is any) in the perception of society toward violent behavior in the intimate partner relationship? What are the main characteristics of violence against men in intimate partner relationship? Does violence against men differ significantly in some aspects from violence against women? Is stalking a significant problem in the Czech Republic? These

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<sup>2</sup> For instance see surveys “Bezpečnostní rizika 1999” (grant MV ČR) or “Bezpečnost občanů 2001” (grant MV ČR), both of them conducted by the agency UNIVERSITAS.

topics form the base for the current survey called “Intimate partner violence against women: On the first results of the survey following up the International Violence Against Women Survey” (later as Violence 2013). This survey is trying to record the main trends connected to the change and contexts in the area of the intimate partner violence in Czech society. However, it is important to emphasize that this survey is not just a replication on IVAWS, but it is a complex tool for exploring this issue in its complete scope. This is also due to the fact that this survey includes new topics (e.g. violence against men, stalking), which have not been scientifically explored in the Czech Republic yet.

### **The aims and methodology of the survey “Intimate partner violence 2013” (Violence 2013)**

The aims and the content of the survey can be summarized as follows:

- Specifying the ranges of the female victimization in and out of the intimate partner relationship following the methodology of IVAWS (lifelong, five-year period, and one-year period of victimization). Part of the survey exploration is also a periodicity/temporality of the attacks as the indicator for the dynamics and escalation of the conflicts, and finally, the profile of the “typical” violent incident in intimate partner relationship;
- Contrary to the IVAWS, where the survey was focused on violence against women from intimate partners and other men as well, the current survey is more focused on intimate partner violence;
- Comparison of the results with the data from IVAWS 2003 and analysis of the main trends during the decade;
- Specifying the ranges of male victimization with the use of the IVAWS methodology; the main characteristics of the intimate partner violence against men;
- Forms of psychological violence; the scale measuring the control of the victim’s behavior by the intimate partner;
- Strategies of coping with intimate partner violence; reactions to the violence; cooperation with the police;
- Stalking (frequencies, types) as a new phenomenon in the area of intimate partner violence;
- Characteristics of the family of the victim and her partner as possible correlators of the victimization; analysis of the intergenerational transfer of violent behavior; other predictors of the victimization (socio-economic factors, personality factors).

### **Methodology**

The methodology of the current follow-up survey is based on two schemas, which was necessary to integrate – first, it is the link to the IVAWS 2003, and second, the possibility of comparison of the data from two sectors – research on violence against women and against men.



The data were collected randomly (random walk) for both sub-projects (survey of violence against women and against men in an intimate partner relationship). Then, face to face CAPI interview was used.

Intimate partner violence against men sub-project:

- Representative sample of 1,000 men aged 18–70; data collection – September 2012

Intimate partner violence against women sub-project:

- Representative sample of 1,500 women aged 18–70; data collection – July 2013

The interviewers were trained before the survey took place. Only female interviewers were used in the sub-project violence against women.

In the following part, this paper focuses only on the sub-survey violence against women and presents the first results as a follow-up on the IVAWS.

### **Incidence and types of physical violence inside the intimate partner relationship and out of it**

The following three tables show the proportion of women who reported to be at least once a victim of a specific type of violence during their lifetime (Table 1), during the last five years (Table 2), and during the last year (Table 3) in the years 2003 and 2013. Violent attacks could have been either from partners (current husband/partner, former husband/partner) or from a different man than partner (relation, friend/colleague/acquaintance, stranger – this is recorded in the category “out of the intimate partner relationship”).

**Table 1:** Adult lifetime rates of violence by type of assault and victim relationship to perpetrator in 2013 and 2003

	Violence 2013						IVAWS 2003					
	Partner violence		Non-partner violence		Total		Partner violence		Non-partner violence		Total	
	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
Threatened to hurt	126	8.4	115	7.7	242	16.1	466	23.5	264	13.3	670	33.8
Threw/hit with something	98	6.5	52	3.5	158	10.5	305	15.4	72	3.6	375	18.9
Pushed, grabbed, twisted arm, pulled hair	134	8.9	101	6.7	243	16.2	450	22.7	206	10.4	639	32.3
Slapped, kicked, bit, hit with a fist	176	11.7	118	7.9	309	20.6	500	25.3	150	7.6	628	31.7
Strangled, suffocated, burned	25	1.7	7	0.5	34	2.3	83	4.2	23	1.2	105	5.3
Used/threatened to use a knife or gun	14	0.9	7	0.5	21	1.4	59	3.0	36	1.8	96	4.8
Other physical violence	10	0.7	20	1.3	33	2.2	67	3.4	52	2.6	118	6.0
Forced sexual intercourse	35	2.3	26	1.7	65	4.3	140	7.1	69	3.5	206	10.4
Attempted forced sexual intercourse	36	2.4	37	2.5	75	5.0	123	6.2	163	8.2	279	14.1
Unwanted sexual touching	28	1.9	116	7.7	150	10.0	94	4.7	457	23.1	545	27.5
Forced sex with someone else	6	0.4	5	0.3	18	1.2	14	0.7	15	0.8	32	1.6
Other sexual violence	4	0.3	1	0.1	5	0.3	7	0.4	23	1.2	31	1.6
<b>Total physical and sexual assault</b>	<b>259</b>	<b>17.2</b>	<b>327</b>	<b>21.8</b>	<b>544</b>	<b>36.2</b>	<b>746</b>	<b>37.7</b>	<b>737</b>	<b>37.2</b>	<b>1,167</b>	<b>58.9</b>
<b>Total number of respondents</b>	<b>1,502</b>		<b>1,502</b>		<b>1,502</b>		<b>1,980</b>		<b>1,980</b>		<b>1,980</b>	

**Table 2:** Five-year rates of violence by type of assault and victim relationship to perpetrator in 2013 and 2003

	Violence 2013						IVAWS 2003					
	Partner violence		Non-partner violence		Total		Partner violence		Non-partner violence		Total	
	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
Threatened to hurt	43	2.9	30	2.0	73	4.9	245	12.4	112	5.7	344	17.4
Threw/hit with something	32	2.1	5	0.3	37	2.5	146	7.4	35	1.8	179	9.0
Pushed, grabbed, twisted arm, pulled hair	55	3.7	19	1.3	73	4.9	225	11.4	111	5.6	326	16.5
Slapped, kicked, bit, hit with a fist	58	3.9	17	1.1	72	4.8	250	12.6	63	3.2	309	15.6
Strangled, suffocated, burned	9	0.6	1	0.1	10	0.7	35	1.8	13	0.7	48	2.4
Used/threatened to use a knife or gun	1	0.1	3	0.2	4	0.3	26	1.3	17	0.9	43	2.2
Other physical violence	2	0.1	4	0.3	5	0.3	29	1.5	26	1.3	54	2.7
Forced sexual intercourse	7	0.5	4	0.3	11	0.7	75	3.8	14	0.7	89	4.5
Attempted forced sexual intercourse	15	0.1	4	0.3	19	1.3	62	3.1	56	2.8	114	5.8
Unwanted sexual touching	11	0.7	26	1.7	36	2.4	43	2.2	205	10.4	247	12.5
Forced sex with someone else	3	0.2	2	0.1	5	0.3	4	0.2	4	0.2	8	0.4
Other sexual violence	1	0.1	1	0.1	2	0.1	5	0.3	10	0.5	15	0.8
<b>Total physical and sexual assault</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>6.7</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>5.3</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>11.0</b>	<b>414</b>	<b>20.9</b>	<b>357</b>	<b>18.0</b>	<b>670</b>	<b>33.8</b>
<b>Total number of respondents</b>	<b>1,502</b>		<b>1,502</b>		<b>1,502</b>		<b>1,980</b>		<b>1,980</b>		<b>1,980</b>	

**Table 3:** One-year rates of violence by type of assault and victim relationship to perpetrator in 2013 and 2003

	Violence 2013						IVAWS 2003					
	Partner violence		Non-partner violence		Total		Partner violence		Non-partner violence		Total	
	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
Threatened to hurt	13	0.9	5	0.3	18	1.2	108	5.5	42	2.1	148	7.5
Threw/hit with something	9	0.6	-	-	9	0.6	55	2.8	15	0.8	70	3.5
Pushed, grabbed, twisted arm, pulled hair	16	1.1	3	0.2	19	1.3	94	4.7	40	2.0	134	6.8
Slapped, kicked, bit, hit with a fist	16	1.1	6	0.4	22	1.5	90	4.5	25	1.3	115	5.8
Strangled, suffocated, burned	2	0.1	-	-	2	0.1	11	0.6	6	0.3	17	0.9
Used/threatened to use a knife or gun	-	-	1	0.1	1	0.1	5	0.3	8	0.4	13	0.7
Other physical violence	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	0.4	14	0.7	22	1.1
Forced sexual intercourse	1	0.1	1	0.1	2	0.1	21	1.1	1	0.1	22	1.1
Attempted forced sexual intercourse	1	0.1	-	-	1	0.1	16	0.8	17	0.9	32	1.6
Unwanted sexual touching	2	0.1	5	0.3	7	0.5	12	0.6	66	3.3	78	3.9
Forced sex with someone else	1	0.1	-	-	1	0.1	3	0.2	2	0.1	5	0.3
Other sexual violence	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	0.3	5	0.3
<b>Total physical and sexual assault</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>1.4</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>1.0</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>2.3</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>9.0</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>6.9</b>	<b>299</b>	<b>15.1</b>
<b>Total number of respondents</b>	<b>1,502</b>		<b>1,502</b>		<b>1,502</b>		<b>1,980</b>		<b>1,980</b>			<b>1,980</b>

First, we will take a look at the rates of victimization in the current survey Violence 2013. About 17 percent of the women in the Czech Republic experienced at least one of the forms of violence from their intimate partner (current or former husband/partner). A slightly higher proportion of women (22 percent) experienced violence from a man other than their partner, most frequently by a stranger or a friend/acquaintance. In total, more than a third of the respondents (36 percent) have experienced at least one of the forms of aggression.

When we compare the results from both of the surveys (Violence 2013 and IVAWS 2003), it is visible that the rates of victimization by the intimate partner from 2003 are at least about two or three times higher. Generally, there is a lower incidence of violent behavior when compared to the year 2003 even in the cases of “out of the intimate partner relationship”; however, the tendency here is not so strong. These figures show the lifelong experience with violence; the numbers are not influenced by the generation of respondents or by the changes in society. Therefore, the differences in the results between the two surveys have to be found in the methodology (see the conclusion).

Let us focus on the five-year and one-year rates of victimization, which are visible from Tables 2 and 3. The rates of victimization in the last five years or in the last year show the “real” risk of victimization more accurately than the rates for the lifelong victimization, especially in the case of year rates. These figures show higher probability that the woman becomes a victim of aggression (in one of the measured categories of attackers) during one or five years. Rates of five-year or one-year victimization are logically lower than the lifelong rates, which are also influenced by the age/generation of respondents. According to the results of the survey Violence 2013, the total probability that a woman experiences violence from a man during five years is about 11 percent. (In 2003 it was 34 percent). The probability that the attack is from the intimate partner is higher (almost 7 percent) in comparison to the probability of violence from a man outside of the intimate partner relationship (5 percent). If we look at the results from the one-year period, we can see that the probability that a woman experiences violence is much lower (1.4 percent from the intimate partner, 1 percent out of the intimate partner relationship). In this case there is the biggest difference between the two surveys – in 2003 the rates on victimization were seven times higher. We will address the possible reasons for these discrepancies later, and now we will focus on the most frequent types of violence.

According to the survey Violence 2013, the most frequent types of violence are: slap/kick/bite/punch; push/grab/twist arms/pull hair and threat to hurt physically. One-fifth of the respondents experienced the first type of physical violence; the second two types were experienced by around 16 percent of respondents. Among the relatively frequently mentioned types of violence are also touching in a sexual way (10 percent), mostly out of an intimate partner relationship and throwing things / hitting with a thing (10.5 percent). About 2 percent admitted having experience with serious types of violence such as strangling/burning or use of a knife/gun, including the threat of using a knife or gun. However, 4 to 5 percent of the women experienced an attempt to force them into sexual intercourse or forced sexual intercourse.

The structure of one-year and five-year rates of victimization according to types of attacks are similar to the lifelong rates; however, the one-year rates are so low that it is difficult to analyze them in detail. According to the survey, during the five-year period,

there is a 5 percent chance that a woman will experience types of violence such as pushing, grabbing, twisting arms, pulling hair, slapping, kicking, biting or punching as well as receiving threats to do physical harm.

If we take a look at the structure of violent incidents in the intimate partner relationship and out of the intimate partner relationship, we can tell that the victimization from the intimate partner is higher in all cases except for touching in a sexual way; other physical violence; and slightly also in the attempt of forced sexual intercourse. The probability of violent behavior from the partner is higher in the cases of “less serious” forms of violence (threatening, pushing) as well as in the more serious attacks (slapping, punching, strangling) or forced sexual intercourse. For instance, the proportion of women who experienced slapping, kicking, biting or punching by their intimate partner during the last five years is about 4 percent. On the other hand, only 1 percent experienced the same type of attacks from a man other than their partner. In the case of pushing or grabbing, the chance of attack from the intimate partner is three times higher than the chance of attack from a man with whom the woman does not have an intimate relationship. The only types of violence where the incidence of attack out of the intimate relationship is much higher than in the intimate relationship is touching in a sexual way; in case of the lifelong rates 2 percent mentioned this type of violence in an intimate relationship, but almost 8 percent experienced touching in a sexual way out of the intimate relationship.

The structure of the types of the violent behavior according to whether they occurred in the intimate relationship or out of it corresponds (with small exceptions) to the structure described in the IVAWS 2003. (One of these exceptions is, for example, the variable other physical violence, which in the IVAWS was more frequent inside the intimate partner relationship; in the current survey it is more frequent outside of the intimate relationship.) It can be asserted that the strong differences between the two surveys are probably only in the frequencies and incidences, and fortunately not in the structure. I will address this issue more specifically in the conclusion.

One can conclude that the trend has remained unchanged in the past 10 years. Regarding female victims, violent forms of behavior and attacks are concentrated at a higher range inside the intimate partner relationship than outside of it. With the exception of sexual violence, all the physical attacks, both less and more severe, are rather focused inside the intimate partner relationships when compared to the situations in which the attacker is a stranger, friend or acquaintance. The main form of violence women experience from outside the intimate relationship is touching in a sexual way.

### **Profile of the violent incident in the intimate partner relationship and the subjective perception of the incident**

#### Profile of the violent incident

The following part is concentrated on the detailed description of the “typical” violent incident. In other words, it is a description of the profile of violent behavior by the male-partner against women in both years – 2003 and 2013. The description of the violent incident is based on interviews with women who described the particular incident

they experienced (one, if they experienced just one, or the latest, if they experienced more violent incidents) from different points of view.

The following table shows a detailed structure of the violent incident broken into different forms of physical aggression inside the intimate partner relationship (Table 4). From the comparison of the intimate partner violent incidents in the years 2003 and 2013, one can conclude that there have not been major changes. The structure of the particular forms of violent behavior in 2013 corresponds with the structure visible from the results of IVAWS in 2003.

According to the results of Violence 2013, almost 67 percent of women who experienced a form of violence from their partners mentioned that part of the incident was a slap (in 2003, it was 61 percent, which shows a slight increase). Almost half of those mentioned pushing, grabbing, twisting arms, pulling hair (compared to 56 percent in 2003). Thirty-four percent of respondents (35 percent in 2003) had things thrown at them or were hit by something. A quarter of the respondents mentioned punching (the same amount, 25 percent, in 2003). More severe forms were present relatively frequently as well – biting (12 percent), strangling (8 percent), use or threat of using a knife or a gun (more than 6 percent of women). A considerable number of women mentioned other forms of physical violence (12 percent in 2013, 8 percent in 2003). The biggest differences between the forms of physical violence during 2003 and 2013 include pushing, grabbing and threatening to hurt physically, where there is a decrease in frequencies compared to 2003. However, the number of women who mentioned slapping increased in comparison to 2003.

Sexual violence is a major part of the typical violent incident; this can be seen from the results in both years. Attempt to force a women to have sexual intercourse was mentioned by 17 percent of the respondents (13 percent in 2003), touching sexually and forced sexual intercourse was mentioned by about 13 percent or 14 percent of the women. High proportions of women mentioned forced sexual activity with someone else or other sexual violence; however, due to very small absolute numbers, these figures are rather for better orientation.

The data from the current survey show that, in the case of the typical intimate partnership violence, there have not been any major changes over time. This survey, along with IVAWS, showed that the aggression within the intimate relationship (if there is one) can frequently lead to even more severe forms of violence, such as being slapped or being hit with a thing, and in 17 percent there is also sexual violence involved.

**Table 4:** Thinking of the (most recent) incident,<sup>3</sup> which of the things that you mentioned happened during that incident?  
*Only women who experienced partner violence; 2013 and 2003*

	Violence 2013		Violence 2013		IVAWS 2003		Violence 2013		IVAWS 2003		Violence 2013	
	abs.	%	%	(N = 1980)	% of those who experienced any partner violence (= 259)	% of those who experienced any partner violence (= 717)	Do not know	No answer				
Threatened to hurt	131	8.7	20.8	50.6	57.3	8	12					
Threw/hit with something	88	5.9	12.6	34.0	34.7	11	7					
Pushed, grabbed, twisted arm, pulled hair	126	8.4	20.3	48.6	56.1	10	9					
Slapped	173	11.5	22.2	66.8	61.2	4	9					
Kicked, bit	32	2.1	5.7	12.4	15.8	7	9					
Hit with a fist	59	3.9	9.0	22.8	24.8	5	12					
Strangled	21	1.4	3.1	8.1	8.5	7	10					
Suffocated	2	0.1	1.6	0.8	4.5	8	9					
Burned, scalded	1	0.1	0.9	0.4	2.4	4	6					
Used/threatened to use a knife or gun	16	1.1	1.9	6.2	5.3	3	7					
Other physical violence	32	2.1	3.0	12.4	8.4	13	6					
Forced sexual intercourse	35	2.3	4.6	13.5	12.7	2	9					
Attempted forced sexual intercourse	44	2.9	4.5	17.0	12.6	7	6					
Unwanted sexual touching	37	2.5	4.8	14.3	13.2	5	9					
Forced sex with someone else	4	0.3	0.5	15.4	1.3	4	8					
Other sexual violence	4	0.3	0.9	15.4	2.1	3	9					
<b>Total physical and sexual assault</b>	<b>259</b>	<b>17.2</b>	<b>36.2</b>									
<b>Total number of respondents</b>	<b>1,502</b>											

<sup>3</sup> If there was more than one incident, the woman was describing the most recent one.



## Subjective perception of incident

Part of both surveys aspired to analyze the attitudes of the violence victims connected to how the women perceived the violent incidents they experienced. The following part shows only the first results drawn from the extensive section focusing on these perceptions. Table 5 shows the subjective perception of the seriousness of the incident; Table 6 shows the range of its legal seriousness.

**Table 5:** Taking everything into account, how serious was this incident for you at the time?

	Violence 2013			IVAWS 2003		
	abs.	%	% of those who experienced any partner violence	abs.	%	% of those who experienced any partner violence
Very serious	63	4.2	24.3	184	9.3	25.7
Somewhat serious	112	7.5	43.2	308	15.6	43.0
Not very serious	68	4.5	26.3	180	9.1	25.1
Don't know / Can't remember	8	0.5	3.1	31	1.6	4.3
Refused / No answer	8	0.5	3.1	14	0.7	2.0
<b>Total partner violence</b>	<b>259</b>	<b>5.8</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>717</b>	<b>36.2</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Total number of respondents</b>	<b>1,502</b>			<b>1,980</b>		

About one-fourth of the women, who experienced intimate partner violence, answered that the incident was very serious in 2003 and in 2013 as well. Forty-three percent of the respondents answered that the incident was somewhat serious, the same number as in the 2003 survey. One could say that three-quarters of the women who experienced intimate partner violence think that this behavior is a serious problem. The results of both surveys are almost identical; the difference is only within decimal numbers. It is important to emphasize that the perception of the violent incident is connected to the seriousness of the attack. A woman who was beaten by her partner will have a different attitude than a woman who was “just” threatened. These issues will be analyzed in other studies; the aim of this article is just to show general attitudes toward perception of violence.

One can conclude that intimate partner violence is perceived as a serious issue by the majority of female-victims. These attitudes are most likely consistent over time; the results of the perceived violence have not changed much from the 2003 survey.

Along with the subjective perception of the seriousness of situation, we also examined whether the women consider the incident to be a crime. We asked them if they think the incident was (1) a crime, (2) wrong but not a crime or (3) just something that happens.

The attitudes of women concerning the crime evaluation are relatively identical in both of the years measured, even though they show a slight move toward fatalism, which is mirrored in the increase in the answer of “just something that happens”. According to the current survey, 40 percent of women who experienced intimate partner violence eval-

uated the incident as “just something that happens” (compared to 34 percent of women in 2003). One-fifth of the women evaluated the incident as a crime (20 percent in 2003), and a similar number of women (about 30 percent in both years) stated that it was “wrong but not a crime”. The data also show that women are unsure in the evaluation whether the incident was a criminal act. One can see that the answer “I don’t know” is very frequent, especially when compared to the previous question about the subjective perception of the seriousness of the situation. This shows that women are somehow “not ready,” not used to or not willing to think about intimate partner violence in terms of a criminal act. However, even in this question it will be necessary to analyze in detail the types of attitudes in connection to the types of attacks. One can conclude that the tolerance of Czech female-victims toward intimate partner violence is relatively high and, compared to the previous survey, is even increasing.

**Table 6:** Did you regard the incident as a crime, wrong but not a crime or something that just happens?

	Violence 2013			IVAWS 2003		
	abs.	%	% of those who experienced any partner violence	abs.	%	% of those who experienced any partner violence
A crime	44	2.9	17.0	146	7.4	20.4
Wrong but not a crime	77	5.1	29.7	228	11.5	31.8
Just something that happens	105	7.0	40.5	246	12.4	34.3
Don’t know / Can’t remember	24	1.6	9.3	78	3.9	10.9
Refused / No answer	9	0.6	3.5	19	1.0	2.6
<b>Total partner violence</b>	<b>259</b>	<b>5.8</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>717</b>	<b>36.2</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Total number of respondents</b>	<b>1,502</b>			<b>1,980</b>		

## Conclusion

In this paper, we presented the first results of Violence 2013, and we compared them roughly to the data from the 10-year old IVAWS study. First, we found out that the incidence and frequencies of intimate partner violence are much lower (three or four times, according to the type of attack) in the Violence 2013 survey than in the IVAWS. There were some differences in the victimization of women outside of the intimate partner relationship. These discrepancies could not be the results of some objective changes in society or due to shifts in the women’s statements. However, when we analyzed only the female-victims (in the typical profile of the violent incident part), we realized that these typical profiles are identical in both years – the differences are very small (by units of percentage) – see Table 4. Moreover, the subjective perception of the incident and the attitudes of the victims concerning whether the incident was a criminal act, wrong but not a crime, or just something that happens, are not significantly different between 2003 and 2013. It is evident that the current survey recorded a considerably lower number of female-victims; however, those surveyed gave similar answers as in the IVAWS (profile of

the incident, perception of the incident). In other words, the structure of intimate partner violence has not changed much in the past 10 years. It is thus important to explain the discussed discrepancies, which are most likely due to the methodology. In the following part we will describe the main reasons, which are, in our opinion, behind the different results in the IVAWS and Violence 2013 surveys.

### **1) Quality and methodological approaches of the training of the interviewers**

In 2003, when the IVAWS survey was conducted, the preparation area (most importantly the training of the interviewers) was led by a unified, international “plan” and was prepared in detail. The collection of data was conducted by the agency UNIVERSITAS, an agency with much experience with sociological surveys. In the Czech Republic, according to the international rules of the IVAWS methodology, the training of the interviewers was prepared and led by the researchers. There was training done in larger cities, and a face to face method was used. The interviewers were informed in detail about the importance and the societal contribution of this survey, and it was emphasized that they should try to unearth any sort of information that could be connected to intimate partner violence, e.g. by the use of the repeated questions in the questionnaire.

On the other hand, the survey Violence 2013 was conducted (including the interviewers’ training) by an agency that specializes mainly in market research. The training was not executed by the face to face method, and detailed information about the survey was absent.

These facts could, in our opinion as well as in (Killias 2006), majorly influence the number of female-victims who were detected by the survey.

### **2) Type of interview: CAPI (Violence 2013) vs. paper questionnaire (IVAWS 2003) – both face to face**

Whilst the IVAWS survey was conducted by the use of paper questionnaire (due to the unified international methodology), the 2013 survey was conducted by CAPI (computer-aided personal interviewing) method. The type of interviewing could also have had an influence on the assessment of the individual partner violence victims. Respondents could become, for various reasons, “scared” of the computer, and they could refuse to answer. This is another factor that could also decrease the total proportion of female-victims.

### **3) The mood in society**

In 2003, when the IVAWS survey was conducted, the societal mood concerning domestic violence and violence against women was very intense. It was still a new topic at that time not only in Czech sociology but also in society itself. It was frequently discussed in the scientific environment as well as in the context of the experts from the public (sociologists, psychologists, lawyers) and in the media. Moreover, new legislation that could help to solve the problem with domestic violence was prepared at that time, which also made people more interested in this topic. In our opinion, these and related social factors could in some way influence the results of both surveys.

\* \* \*

In this article we tried to show the main reasons that could stand behind the vast differences in the incidences in the violent forms of behavior by men between the two surveys – Violence 2013 and IVAWS 2003. Clearly, this list is not complete, and there will be more analyses to specify even more relevant reasons. However, the analysis of the profile on violent incident showed that the discrepancies in the results do not lie in the structural level; therefore, it is possible to compare both datasets, at least to some extent.

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