Bundeskriminalamt

BKA

The 2017 German Victimisation Survey

Victimisation, crime-related attitudes and perceptions of insecurity and crime in Germany

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The 2017 German Victimisation Survey is carried out with financial support from the European Union's Internal Security Fund.


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Preface

As megatrends, globalisation and digitisation are bringing about rapid changes, including in Germany. They are opening up a range of new opportunities, not only in the fields of economics, science and culture, but also in the way we access information, communicate with each other and participate in political and societal decision-making processes.

But these new opportunities are being undermined by a highly uneven distribution of the benefits of globalisation and digitisation. This is a worrying development, since the resulting inequalities not only increase the risk of transnational conflicts, struggles over resource allocation and mass migration, but also threaten civil peace and social cohesion in the societies affected by these developments. The direct and indirect repercussions caused by such tensions are being felt across Germany as well, for instance in the form of an ongoing terrorist threat on our continent, an increasingly harsh political discourse, political radicalisation and forms of politically motivated crime, as well as through the ways in which organised crime and criminal clan structures are challenging the rule of law.

These developments are fuelling a feeling of insecurity, which in the wake of digitisation is being amplified by the fact that, on the one hand, access to information is becoming easier, faster and more comprehensive, while, on the other hand, the authenticity of that very information is becoming increasingly difficult to validate. Free and unrestricted access to knowledge and information is a precious good, as it promotes informational participation for broad segments of society and increases transparency and democratic control. At the same time, however, it is also becoming easier to disseminate inaccurate information on a large scale, or even launch targeted disinformation campaigns or manipulate public opinion in a time in which the need for reliable sources is greater than ever. This is especially true for safety, where “fake news” can have a momentous impact in a very short space of time.

Although representative studies and surveys have shown the current level of safety in Germany to be relatively high, various surveys have indicated that the German public often perceives the risks to be higher. This is why representative victimisation surveys and other tools are indispensable. They make visible the gap between perception and fear, on the one hand, and statistics and scientific findings, on the other. This knowledge can help us to design targeted information campaigns to dispel such perceived threats and feelings of insecurity.

Representative victimisation surveys can also help us to identify actual increases in crime rates, introduce appropriate countermeasures and update official crime figures by shedding light on the dark figure of unreported or hidden crime. In addition, knowing the reasons why victims report, or choose not to report, an offence they have experienced will also allow us to improve criminal prosecution approaches in the future. Enriched by comprehensive insights into crime-relevant factors, victimisation surveys have the potential to deliver the crucial insights needed to successfully address the safety-related challenges of the present.

Following up on the first German Victimisation Survey (Deutscher Viktimisierungssurvey, DVS) undertaken in 2012, the 2017 survey provides us with fresh sets of data to assess the development of crime and crime-related attitudes in Germany. Based on a nationwide, representative sample of the German population aged 16 and over, the 2017 survey not only yields insights regarding the current security situation and perceived safety across the population, it also allows us to draw conclusions by looking at the developments and changes since 2012.

At the same time, we have improved the survey and updated it in order to address current issues. For the first time, it now enables us to identify experiences related to prejudice-motivated violent crimes, and to perform more in-depth analyses of new forms of victimisation driven by cybercrime. Questions addressing experiences with and attitudes towards public prosecution offices and courts have also been added. The findings underline how important it is to conduct reliable nationwide victimisation surveys on a regular basis, to ensure their consistency and comparability over time, and to update them in sync with societal needs. For this reason, we are currently preparing a regular nationwide victimisation survey which we will be conducting more frequently in the future.

In summary, the results confirm that Germany is a safe country. This applies to both the country's actual crime levels as well as the level of perceived safety. Average fear of crime has slightly risen compared to 2012, but still remains at a positively low level.

But as encouraging as these figures may be, we should not let the grass grow under our feet. Both actual and perceived feelings of safety are largely based on the confidence that people put in security authorities. This confidence must be maintained: through professional, effective, proportionate and legitimate police work, through responsiveness and transparency as well as by proving that the police remains an effective force even in times of dynamic change. As an indispensable tool for recording actual and perceived levels of crime, the German victimisation survey helps to ensure that security authorities' tools and resources are available where they are needed most – to provide maximum safety for our open society.

Holger Münch
President of the Federal Criminal Police Office

Content

1 Introduction

This report presents the key results of the 2017 German victimisation survey (DVS 2017).[1] It contains detailed insights into victims' experiences irrespective of offences recorded by the police, perceived safety, or trust in the police and the judicial system. Given that the present survey is largely a repetition of the 2012 survey, developments can also be traced concerning the security situation and perceived safety in Germany since 2012.

One of the main aims of the 2017 survey is to shed more light on the so-called dark figure of unreported or hidden crime in Germany. Whether an offence remains hidden or not primarily depends on whether victims choose to report the offence to the police. Seeing that the 2017 survey examined both victims' experiences and their reporting behaviour, the survey allows us to draw detailed conclusions concerning the security situation in Germany. A further central aim has been to record perceived safety and the population's trust in the police and the judicial system. There are certain forms of crime, however, that a population survey such as the German victimisation survey cannot take into account, including insurance fraud or environmental offences, as these offences do not victimise individuals.

In addition to the core issues contained in the 2012 survey, the 2017 survey has been updated in order to obtain evidence-based data gauging the impact of concerns that are presently shaping public and political debates. The survey now covers the experiences of victims of hate crimes, for instance. A further innovation enables us to identify victimisation rates for various online offences committed in the 12 months preceding the survey. Questions have also been added to assess fear of terrorist attacks, avoidance behaviour as well as experiences with and attitudes towards the judicial system.[2]

The findings presented here are the result of an initial analysis and reflect the key results of the 2017 survey, taking into account differences in age, sex, migrant background and community size. Additional research will explore why results differ across these groups, and take into account additional factors, including social circumstances.[3] Given that persons with roots in Turkey and the countries of the former Soviet Union constitute the largest migrant groups in Germany, the survey primarily considered these two demographic groups when examining migrant background. The survey's data do not allow for a separate analysis of persons who arrived in Germany in the wake of the 2015 migrant movement. Members of this demographic group often still live in refugee accommodation centres, which is why they are difficult to contact and are not included in the population living in private households.

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[1] The 2017 German Victimisation Survey is a research project carried out by the Federal Criminal Police Office as part of the government strategy "Wellbeing in Germany" with financial support from the European Union's Internal Security Fund. The first German Victimisation Survey was conducted in 2012 as part of a project titled "Barometer Sicherheit in Deutschland" (German Security Barometer). It was carried out in cooperation with the Department of Criminology at the Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law (MPICC), which has again served as a project partner in evaluating the 2017 survey data. A number of people have actively supported and/or contributed their expertise to the design of the 2017 survey and this publication. Special thanks are extended to Professor Klaus Boers (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster), Professor Marc Coester (Hochschule für Wirtschaft und Recht Berlin), Professor Eva Groß (Police Academy Hamburg) as well as Felix Gräbener, Dr Sarantis Tachtsoglou and Jens Vick at the Federal Criminal Police Office.

[2] For a list of all changes to the questionnaire, see Table 32 in the appendix. The full questionnaire is available to download from the website of the Federal Criminal Police Office: **www.bka.de/FragebogenDVS2017**

[3] Follow-up publications focusing on individual topics will be made available in the course of the project via the website of the Federal Criminal Police Office.

2 Data collection and sample size

The 2017 victimisation survey is based on a representative demographic survey commissioned by the Federal Criminal Police Office. Between 10 July 2017 and 5 January 2018, a total of 31,192 respondents participated in a telephone survey titled "Living situation and safety in Germany".[4] The interviews were carried out by infas Institute for Applied Social Sciences, an independent social research institute. In order to be able to trace changes between the 2012 and the 2017 survey, the current survey was administered in a similar fashion. The survey's methodology report provides further details and is available online at the website of the Federal Criminal Police Office.[5] Table 1 lists the study's key characteristics.

Table 1: Study design

Name of the survey	Living situation and safety in Germany
Target population	Population living in private households in Germany aged 16 and over
Survey method	Computer-assisted telephone interviewing (CATI)
Survey instrument	CATI questionnaire
Survey languages	German, Turkish and Russian
Sample	*Base sample* Dual-frame design: 75% landline sample/25% mobile phone sample (gross sample) *Additional onomastic sample* Drawn from lists using onomastic procedures to reach persons of Turkish origin via landline and mobile phone.
Interviewing period	10 July 2017 – 5 January 2018
Selection of respondents	Landline: last birthday method Mobile phone subscriptions: main user
Response rate (AAPOR RR 4)	Base sample: 14% Additional onomastic sample: 11%
Interviews evaluated	Base sample: 30,180 Additional onomastic sample: 1,012

Persons eligible to complete the survey were persons aged 16 and over living in a private household with access to a landline or mobile phone. The survey was conducted using computer-assisted telephone interviews (CATI). 73% of respondents were surveyed via landline, 27% via their mobile phones. To allow respondents with a limited command of German to participate in the survey, the questionnaire was also made available in Turkish and Russian. When necessary, the survey was conducted by bilingual interviewers.

Participants were randomly selected using two different methods: for the base sample, randomly generated landline and mobile phone numbers were used, drawing on the established Gabler-Häder design (Häder/Gabler 1998). This procedure is necessary because 1) publicly accessible directories,

[4] Only very few interviews were carried out between 1 and 5 January 2018. Even though the report addresses the 2017 survey, evaluation includes the few interviews conducted in 2018.
[5] The methodology report is available to download at **www.bka.de/MethodenberichtDVS2017**. For more on the methodology of victimisation surveys in general, see Guzy et al. 2015.

such as telephone directories, no longer offer a representative sampling frame, and 2) a considerable segment of the population has mobile phones only and can no longer be reached by landline. If the call was answered, either the phone's main user was asked to complete the survey (when calling a mobile phone), or the person in the household (when calling a landline) who most recently celebrated a birthday (last birthday method). This procedure generates many more telephone numbers than ultimately needed for the survey because a considerable part of the numbers generated are either not in service, or may not be suitable (for instance, because they are linked to an institution or business), or the person contacted is not available to participate in the survey for various reasons. Effectively, interviewers were able to conduct full or partial interviews with the respondents of 14% of the telephone numbers called.[6]

A different procedure was used on the additional onomastic sample. In order to build a representative population of migrants from Turkey,[7] an additional sample was drawn based on entries in current telephone directories. Here, the focus was on entries with surnames suggesting that respondents would be of Turkish origin or descent. The selection of surnames was based on onomastic research (Humpert/Schneiderheinze 2002). In total, interviews were conducted with respondents reached at 11% of telephone numbers linked to subscribers with a Turkish background. Approximately 48% of interviews from the onomastic sample were conducted in Turkish, and approx. 10% were partially completed in Turkish. As for the base sample, a total of 1.2% of interviews were completed in a foreign language (0.3% in Turkish; 0.9% in Russian). Interviews lasted 22 minutes on average in the base sample, with foreign-language interviews taking longer to complete (28 minutes on average). Correspondingly, interviews in the onomastic sample took 26 minutes on average to complete.

Large sections of the questionnaire were adopted from the previous 2012 survey.[8] This questionnaire and its translations were subject to comprehensive assessment prior to the launch of the 2012 survey; so-called pretests were used to assess both the quality of individual questions (which were part of a so-called cognitive interview) and of the full questionnaire. The same procedure was repeated prior to the 2017 survey.

The questionnaire is divided into a core module and additional modules exploring various topics. While all respondents completed the core module, additional questions (for instance, concerning trust in the police or respondents' feeling of safety) were administered only to some participants. This was possible due to the fact that measuring attitudes across the population does not require samples as large as those needed to measure victimisation. In this way, the survey was able to generate considerably more content without increasing interview length than by interviewing the entire sample. The additional modules were assigned randomly.

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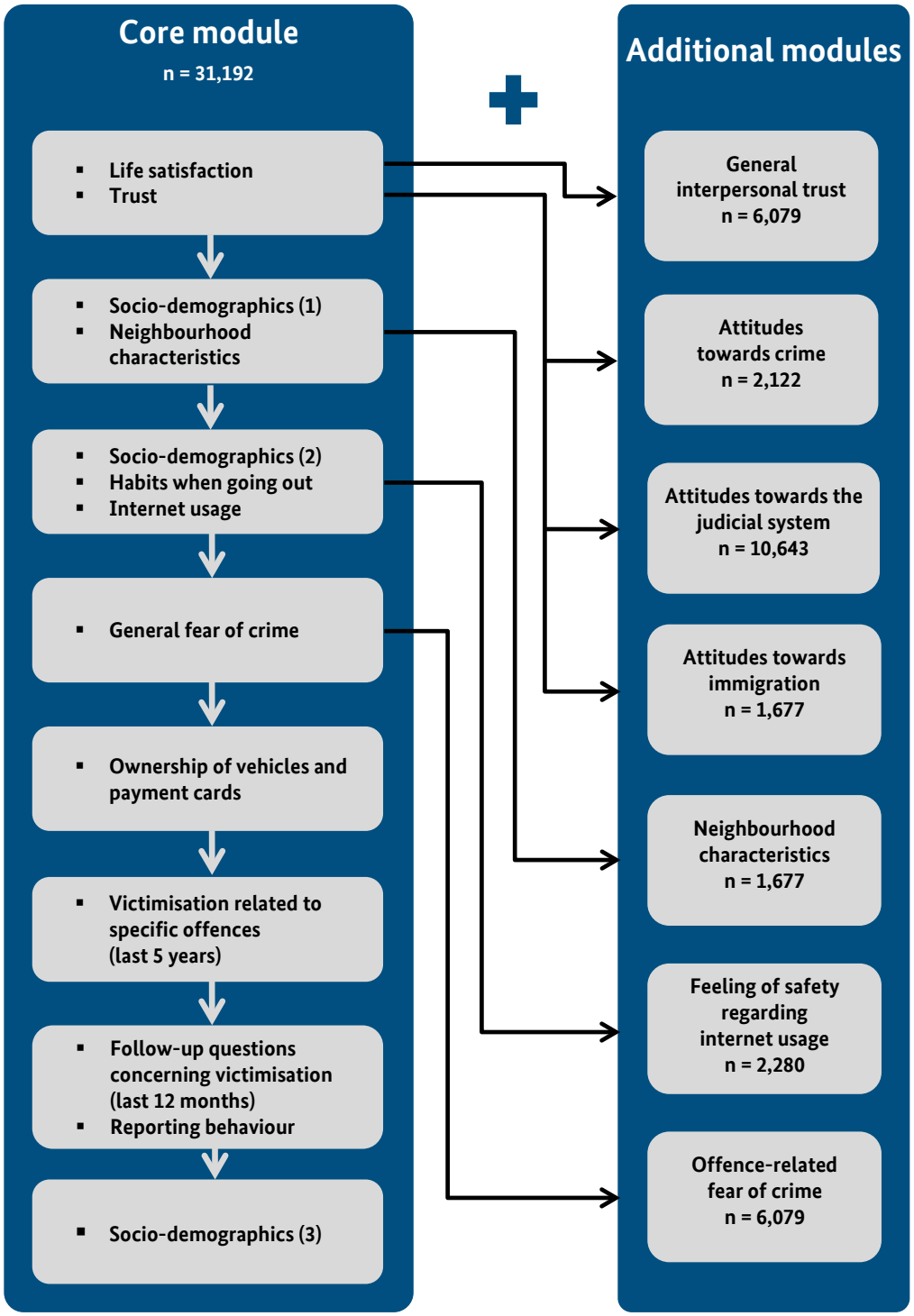
[6] The response rate was calculated using the method laid down by the American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) and conforms with the AAPOR-RR-4 standard (AAPOR 2016).

[7] An adult with a migrant background is defined as someone who exclusively holds one or more foreign passports and/or was born abroad (outside the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany) and moved to Germany after 1949, or has at least one parent who was born abroad and moved to Germany after 1949.

[8] The questionnaires of both survey waves can be accessed via the website of the Federal Criminal Police Office. For a list of all changes to the questionnaire, see Table 32 in the appendix.

Figure 1: Questionnaire structure



Survey design weights were used to take into account the differing selection probabilities of the landline, mobile phone and additional onomastic samples in the statistical analysis. Weighting was improved compared to 2012, which has also affected estimates based on the 2012 survey. Therefore, the results presented here may deviate slightly from the results reported in 2012. All in all, participants reflect the distribution of the key characteristics of the German population aged 16 and over. The analysis took into consideration the distribution of sex, age, education, employment,

migrant background, household size, population of the respective federal state as well as BIK community size classes. Deviations in these categories from the 2016 micro-census results were counterbalanced in the 2017 report by adjusting the design weights during calibration.

Presentation of the results

The results presented here are estimates. Based on participants' responses, the respective value for the entire German population aged 16 and over was estimated with the help of statistical methods. It should be kept in mind that estimates are generally more accurate the more individuals participate in the survey. Some offences, however, are rare, and correspondingly, there will be few victims among the survey's respondents. Subsequent analyses, which may be aimed at understanding victims' reasons for reporting a crime, for instance, then further reduce the number of cases to leave only those victims who actually reported the incident to the police. The case numbers given in the figures and tables represent the number of individuals who were asked the respective question during the interview. In some instances, some of these respondents did not provide a valid response, or gave "Don't know" responses, for instance. The respective results do not include these responses.

The inaccuracy of the results associated with low case numbers is taken into consideration by illustrating the 95% Confidence Interval in the bar charts. The Confidence Interval shows the range across which the true values for the population surveyed can be expected to be found with a probability of 95%. Thin lines have therefore been added to the ends of the bars in the figures, as well as two parallel vertical lines to indicate the upper and lower bounds of the respective Confidence Interval. For the prevalence rate of personal theft in 2017, for instance (see Figure 4), the Confidence Interval is between 2.8% and 3.4%. This means that there is a less than 5% chance that the actual value across the population surveyed is *below* 2.8% and *above* 3.4%.

3 Victims and their experiences

The survey's core module comprised questions aimed at understanding the experiences of crime victims. Their responses help to improve estimates on the dark figure of crime in Germany. Victimisation was recorded for two different recall periods: for the period since 2012, i.e. the five years preceding the interview,[9] and the last 12 months preceding the interview.[10] These diverging recall periods were chosen to counterbalance the tendency among respondents to misremember incidents they experienced in the more distant past as having taken place in the last 12 months (Skogan 1975). The risk of overestimating the overall crime level in the last 12 months due to inaccurately recalled incidents can be minimised by covering the last five years in advance.

Both waves recorded victims' experiences related to the following offences:

- Bicycle theft
- Vehicle theft
- Theft of motorbikes, mopeds, scooters
- Theft of other personal property
- Burglary with theft, attempted burglary with theft
- Fraud in goods and services (fraud in connection with the purchase of goods or the delivery of services)
- Payment card fraud (credit cards, debit cards or bank customer data)
- Robbery
- Assault
- Damage caused by malware
- Phishing (use of fraudulent emails to trick users into revealing passwords, etc.)
- Pharming (use of forged websites to trick users into revealing passwords, etc.)

In some cases, it is not just the respondent, but the entire household that is affected by the offence. For this reason, the survey specifically asked respondents whether it was them "or any other person in their household" who experienced the offence (so-called household offences). This question was included whenever respondents stated they had experienced burglary with theft, attempted burglary with theft, bicycle theft, or theft of vehicles or motorbikes, etc. In terms of the remaining offences, it can be assumed that they primarily affect individuals, and not entire households. Here,

[9] Respondents who took part in the survey in early 2018 were asked about their victimisation experiences since 2013.
[10] Although the interviews were carried out in 2017 and 2018 and the full reference period covers the years 2016 and 2017, the report will simply refer to the "2017 reference period" to indicate the reference period for the 2017 survey. The same applies for the 2012 reference period.

the survey only asked respondents whether they had experienced the respective offences, so-called personal offences, in the recall period.[11]

3.1 COMPARABILITY WITH POLICE-RECORDED CRIME STATISTICS

The following results on the prevalence and incidence of victimisation cannot be directly compared to the data on the respective offences published in the annual Police Crime Statistics (PCS) reports. There are several reasons for this (Birkel 2015):

- **Differing demographic populations:** Police Crime Statistics cover offences committed in Germany, irrespective of whether the victims are German residents, tourists, business travellers, military personnel stationed in Germany, etc. In addition, the victim's age is not relevant. The present survey, by contrast, only covers the experiences of victims who were members of a private household in Germany and aged 16 and over at the time the survey was undertaken. Thus, the survey does not take into account the victimisation of homeless people, prisoners and other groups who are not counted among the population living in private households.[12] This means that while instances of victimisation experienced by the relatives of members of the groups mentioned above are included in Police Crime Statistics – i.e. provided the offence is reported to the police –, they are not part of the data obtained in the survey.

- **Differing recall periods:** The data published in the annual PCS reports are recorded by date, i.e. they refer to offences for which investigations were concluded in the year reported on – irrespective of when the offence was committed, which may be prior to that year. The victimisation survey, by contrast, covers all incidents which respondents remember as having been committed in the recall period. Also, PCS data are generally recorded by calendar year, whereas the present survey defines the 12 months preceding the interview as its recall period.[13] Given that the interviews took place over a period covering several months, this 12-month period is not identical for all respondents. Therefore, the data for this recall period cannot be compared with official PCS data for a specific calendar year (e.g. 2017).

- **Differing victims:** Police Crime Statistics also cover offences that harm businesses or other legal entities. The current survey, by contrast, only covers incidents that have immediately affected respondents (or their households). Offences harming businesses and other non-human legal entities play a significant role especially when taking into view offences against property (such as theft and fraud in goods and services). PCS data, however, do not strictly

[11] Personal offences and household offences were weighted separately in order to be able to calculate overall crime levels for each respective population.
[12] Including these groups in general population surveys is fraught with difficulties due to various challenges (concerning sampling, accessibility, etc.); the present survey, too, was unable to close this gap.
[13] Results for the longer reference period (the last five years) are also not suitable for comparison with the PCS since respondents were only asked if, but not how often, they had experienced a particular offence. However, PCS do not separately record whether an individual was victimised only once or multiple times, which means that here, too, data cannot be compared.

set such incidents apart (especially in the case of theft offences),[14] which is why they cannot be factored out of published PCS records and are only of limited use in comparisons.

- **Identification of repeat offenders:** In Police Crime Statistics, repeat victimisation through the same crime types and the same offender are treated as repeat offences and are consequently filed as one case. The current survey counts each individual incident because in cases of repeat victimisation it is impossible to establish whether the offender was the same person.

- **Distinction between households and persons:** Some offences were surveyed at the household level (see above). PCS data are used to calculate the incidence rates (definition below) of respective offences per capita, whereas the incidence rates presented in this report are calculated in relation to the number of households. Therefore, they cannot be compared to the crime levels published in the PCS reports.

- **Subjective classification of offences:** Offences covered by Police Crime Statistics are classified by police officers who base their decisions on the results of their investigations and – at least broadly[15] – on criteria set out by criminal law. Victimisation surveys, including the current report, exclusively rely on the responses to questions that give only vague definitions of crimes in order to ensure they are sufficiently understood and specific enough. Therefore, it cannot be ascertained whether victimisation cases recorded by the survey can be assigned to the offence classes used to classify PCS data.

- **Differing offences classes:** Police Crime Statistics partially use offence codes that do not match the offence classes covered in the survey. This is the case, for instance, for phishing and pharming: depending on the circumstances (which the survey does not record), Police Crime Statistics will code such offences as "forgery of data intended to provide proof", "interception of data" according to section 202b of the German Criminal Code (Strafgesetzbuch) or "deception in the context of data processing" (in each case using the internet as a means of crime). However, these categories at the same time also cover offences such as falsification of evidence that are not carried out using phishing or pharming practices.

Due to these limitations, the current report will not compare survey results with PCS data.[16]

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[14] Taking into view the victim's occupation is not helpful here, as PCS data only cover highly specialised occupations (such as private security contractor, money messenger, taxi driver, law enforcement officer, rescue services). Also, evaluations for this characteristic are not published on a regular basis.

[15] Crimes are ultimately assessed by the public prosecutor or – in the case of an indictment – by a court.

[16] Of course, this does not imply that it is per se impossible to compare data from the victimisation survey with PCS data. With regard to certain offences (such as assault), comparisons that draw on specially compiled data from the PCS database and fully exploit individual data records (for instance, in order to analyse offences where the victims are known to the police, or to select cases in which the victims were at least 16 years of age) are quite useful, albeit difficult to undertake. Such evaluations will be integrated into future analyses.

3.2 VICTIMISATION

There are different ways of representing the overall volume of victimisation. In the following, the report will distinguish between prevalence rates and incidence rates.

Prevalence rate

Prevalence rates calculate the proportion of persons living in Germany aged 16 and over who have been victimised once or more in a given period. In terms of household offences, i.e. offences in which the entire household is victimized, the prevalence rate reflects the proportion of all private households in Germany that are affected.

Incidence rate

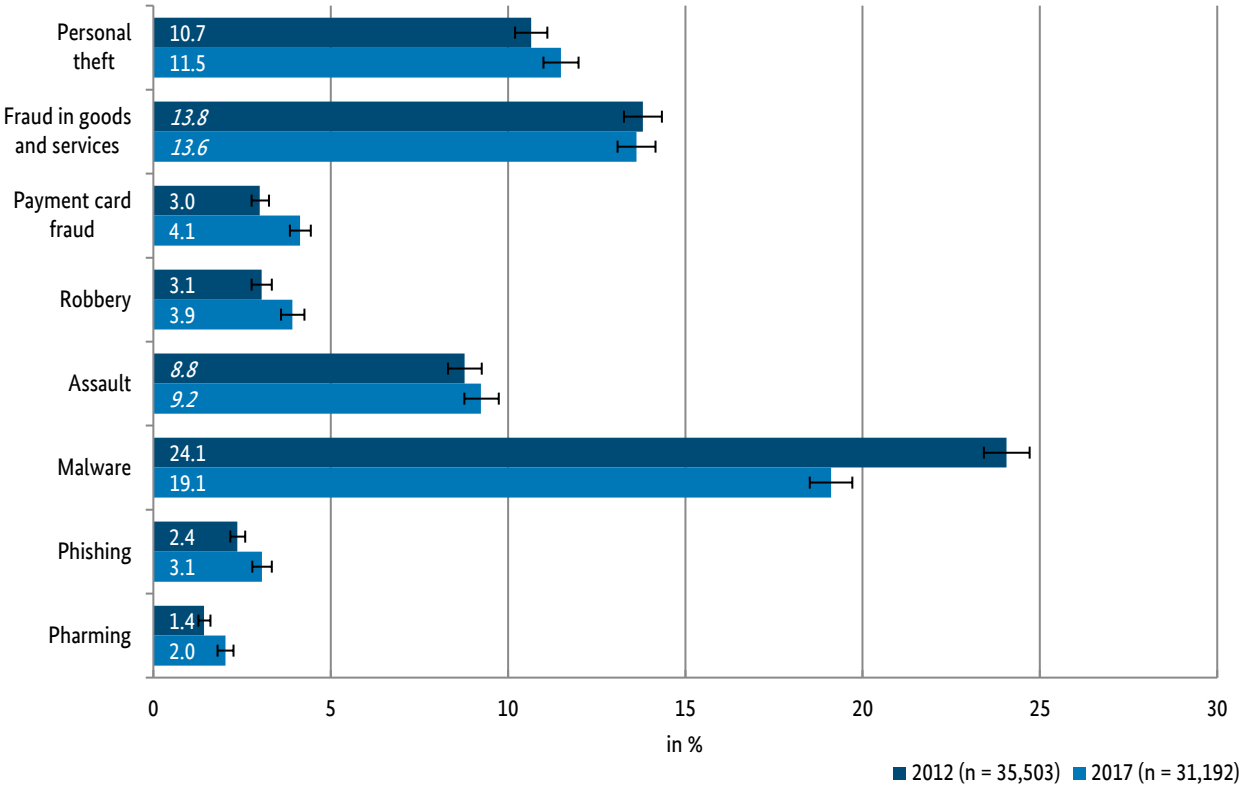
An incidence rate reflects the number of victimisation incidents within a given period per 1,000 inhabitants. In terms of household offences, the incidence rate reflects the number of victimisation incidents per 1,000 households.

In the following, the report will explore prevalence rates over the last five years in chapter 3.2.1 and then move on to address prevalence and incidence rates over the last 12 months in chapter 3.2.2.

3.2.1 Victimisation experiences in the last five years

In both survey waves, respondents were asked if they had in the last five years, i.e. since early 2012[17] or early 2007, respectively – experienced one of the offences listed in Figure 2. The full questions can be found in the appendix.

Figure 2: Percentage of victims of personal offences in the last five years (prevalence rate)



Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences to 2012 figures are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

With regard to personal theft, payment card fraud and robbery as well as the online offences of phishing and pharming, victimisation has increased over the last five years, whereas the proportion of victims who experienced data loss or other damages caused by malware (viruses, worms, or Trojans) has dropped. Assault and fraud in goods and services remain at a similar level compared to 2012.

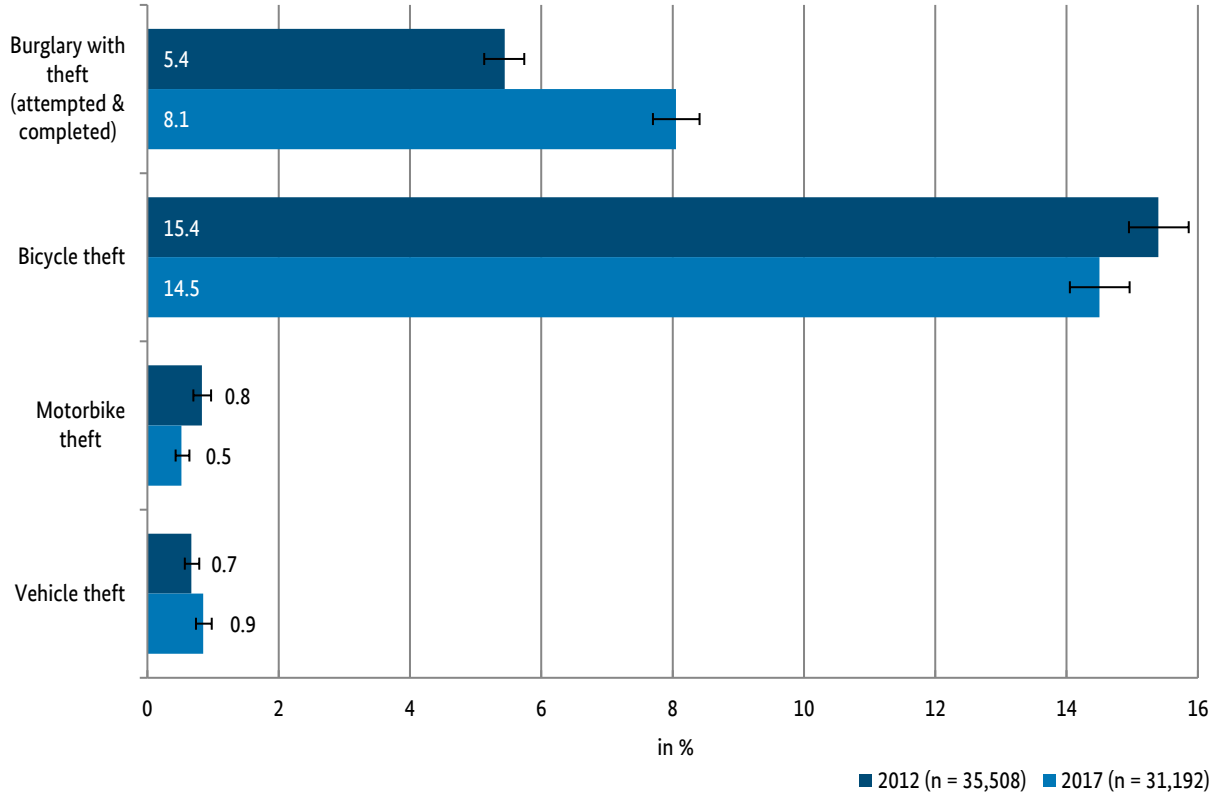
Despite the decline in malware victimisation, this offence remains the most common type of victimisation recorded. Between 2012 and 2017, almost one in five persons aged 16 and over (19.1%) experienced damage from a malware intrusion. With regard to the remaining offences, there have been no significant changes compared with the results of the 2012 survey. The second most common offence was fraud in goods and services (13.6%), followed by personal theft (11.5%) and assault (9.2%). Payment card fraud (4.1%), robbery (3.9%) as well as phishing[18] (3.1%) and pharming[19] (2.0%) are markedly less frequent.

[17] For persons interviewed in early 2018, the beginning of the reference period was early 2013.
[18] Phishing refers to the practice of using fraudulent emails to trick users into revealing passwords, etc.
[19] Pharming refers to the practice of using forged websites to trick users into revealing passwords, etc.

Regarding online offences, it can be assumed that most victims remain unaware of the fact that they have been attacked and therefore do not mention such offences when interviewed (Dornseif 2005, pp. 45). The reported prevalence rates only give an approximate impression of actual crime rates. The same applies to fraud in goods and services, where it is also to be expected that incidents that are not relevant under criminal law will also be reported as victimisation experiences, as the boundaries between questionable but nevertheless legal and illegal business practices are blurred.

The following picture emerges for household offences:

Figure 3: Percentage of victims of household offences over the last five years (prevalence rate)



Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences to 2012 figures are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%.

The proportion of households that in the last five years experienced (attempted) burglary with theft increased from 5.4% in 2012 to 8.1% in 2017.[20] The proportion of households that had a car, van or other vehicle stolen in the five years preceding the survey has also risen from 0.7% to 0.9%. By contrast, the prevalence rate of bicycle theft fell slightly from 15.4% to 14.5%, while the proportion of households who had a moped, motorbike or scooter stolen in the last five years dropped from 0.8% to 0.5%.

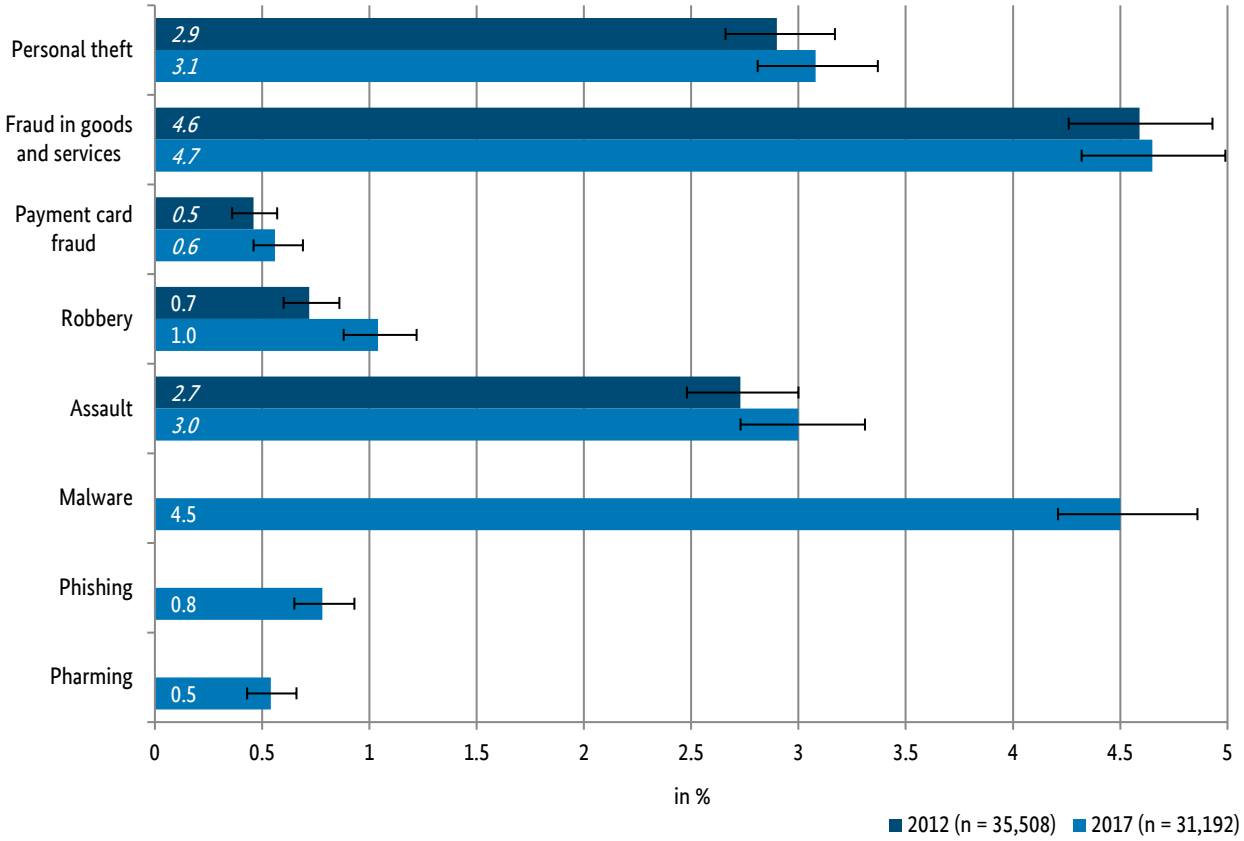
3.2.2 Victimisation experiences in the last 12 months

Respondents who indicated that they had been victimised in the last five years were asked whether these events had taken place within the last 12 months. If so, the respondents were asked further

[20] The data required to distinguish between attempted and completed burglaries with theft were only recorded for burglaries in the last 12 months. Therefore, burglaries – and attempted burglaries – with theft can only be evaluated for the 5-year reference period.

questions. This allows us to describe crime levels in greater detail. Among other things, respondents were not only asked whether, but also how often they had been victimised in the last 12 months. This makes it possible to calculate the incidence rate, i.e. the absolute number of victimisation incidents per 1,000 inhabitants. With the help of the additional data, it is also possible to identify only those cases that took place in Germany. The following prevalence and incidence rates are limited to these cases.

Figure 4: Percentage of victims of personal offences in the last 12 months (prevalence rate)



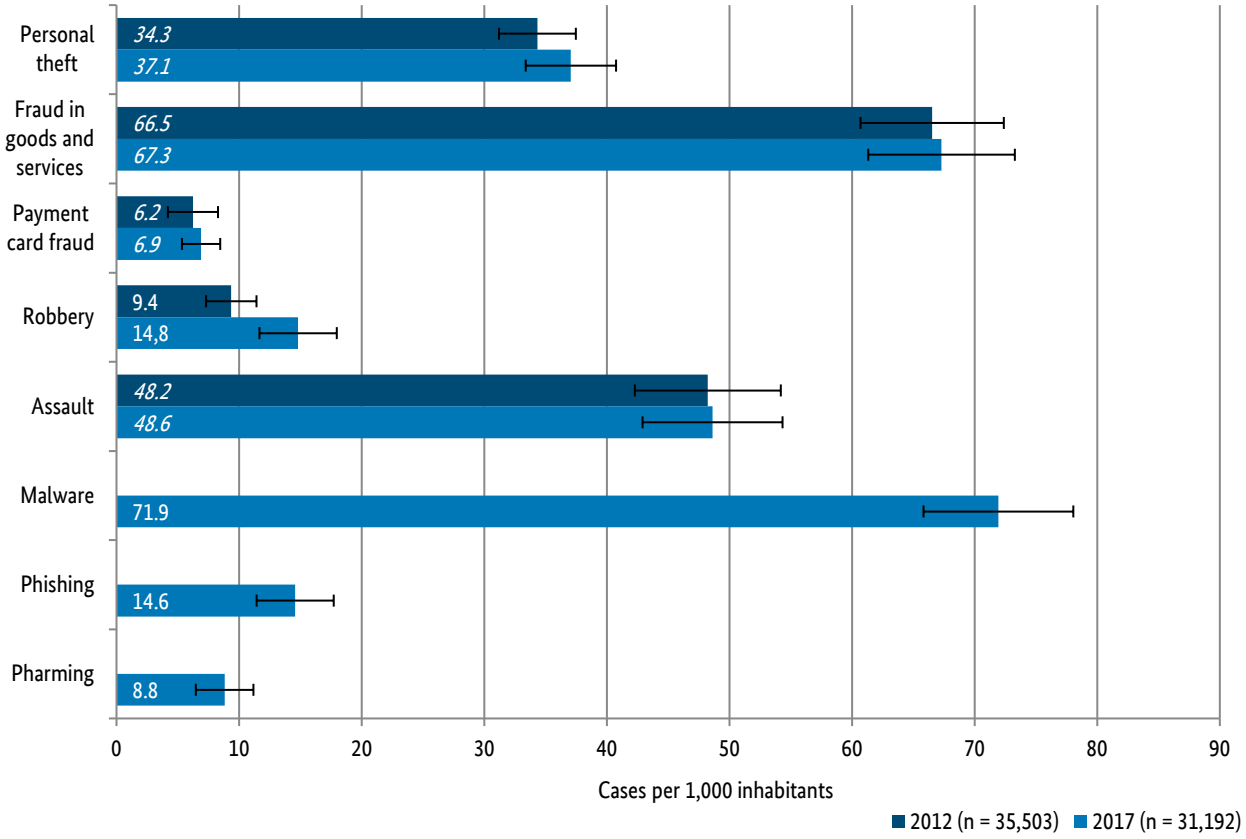
Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences to 2012 figures are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

The percentage of persons who were victims of robbery in the 12 months preceding the interview increased from 0.7% in 2012 to 1.0% in 2017. With regard to other personal offences, the data show no statistically significant changes between the two survey waves. The 2012 survey did not record online offences – malware, phishing and pharming – for the 12-month reference period, which is why a comparison between the 2012 and 2017 surveys regarding these crimes is not possible.

Fraud in goods and services has the highest prevalence rate. 4.7% of inhabitants aged 16 and over living in Germany have experienced such an offence in the last 12 months. At 4.5%, the prevalence rate of damage caused by malware is similar, followed by personal theft (3.1%) and assault (3.0%). Victimisation is significantly lower for robbery (1.0%), phishing (0.8%), payment card fraud (0.6%) and pharming (0.5%).

A similar picture emerges when looking at the number of victimisation experiences per 1,000 inhabitants instead of the proportion of victims.

Figure 5: Number of victimisation experiences for personal offences in the last 12 months per 1,000 inhabitants (incidence rate)



Note: Based on the F-test, differences to 2012 figures are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

As with the prevalence rates, a comparison between the 2012 and 2017 incidence rates reveals a statistically significant increase in crime levels only in the case of robbery. In the 12 months preceding the 2012 survey, there were an average of 9.4 victimisation experiences associated with robbery per 1,000 inhabitants across Germany. Five years on, in the 12 months preceding the 2017 survey, this average had risen to 14.8 experiences per 1,000 inhabitants. However, there were no statistically significant changes in incidence rates between the two surveys for other personal offences.

As the prevalence rates presented in Figure 4 show, the number of victims who experienced fraud in goods and services (4.7%) and damage caused by malware (4.5%) is almost identical. However, in terms of incidence rate (figure 5), damage caused by malware is slightly less frequent than fraud in goods and services. This is due to the fact that individual persons are more likely to become a repeat victim of malware intrusions than of fraud in goods and services. This phenomenon becomes even more evident when taking into view the relationship between personal theft and assault. The proportion of persons who have been repeatedly victimised in the last 12 months is significantly higher for assault than for personal theft.

Table 2: Percentage of victims of personal offences in the last 12 months (prevalence rate) by sex and age (in %), 2017

	Total	Sex		Age (in years)						
		Men	Women	16–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55–64	65–74	> 74
Personal theft	3.1	*3.1*	*3.0*	6.6	4.6	3.1	3.0	2.0	1.3	1.4
Fraud in goods and services	4.7	5.1	4.2	7.5	7.5	5.7	4.2	3.6	2.5	1.6
Payment card fraud	0.6	*0.6*	*0.6*	1.0	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.4
Robbery	1.0	1.3	0.8	3.5	1.2	1.0	0.8	0.5	0.4	0.4
Assault	3.0	4.0	2.0	10.4	4.6	2.8	2.3	1.4	0.6	0.2
Malware	4.5	5.2	3.9	6.9	6.4	5.7	4.7	4.2	2.5	1.2
Phishing	0.8	0.9	0.6	1.1	0.9	1.0	0.9	0.7	0.7	0.2
Pharming	0.5	*0.6*	*0.4*	0.9	1.1	1.0	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.1

Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences between groups are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.[21]

Table 3: Number of victimisation experiences in the last 12 months per 1,000 inhabitants (incidence rate) by sex and age, 2017

	Total	Sex		Age (in years)						
		Men	Women	16–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55–64	65–74	> 74
Personal theft	37.1	*37.4*	*36.7*	86.7	50.6	34.2	36.9	24.2	16.9	16.1
Fraud in goods and services	67.3	*72.9*	*61.9*	109.4	118.3	77.7	59.2	53	34.7	20.6
Payment card fraud	6.9	*7.4*	*6.4*	*10.9*	*10.6*	*8.3*	*6.3*	*3.9*	*4.0*	*4.8*
Robbery	14.8	*17.7*	*12.0*	49.7	18.4	12.2	9.9	11.1	4.1	4.8
Assault	48.6	63.4	34.5	166.8	78.7	42.1	39.8	21.2	8.4	2.8
Malware	71.9	84.5	59.9	123.8	91.7	80.4	75.7	67.9	38.8	25.1
Phishing	14.6	*17.2*	*12.1*	21.8	17.4	15.3	16.6	12.3	13.8	5.2
Pharming	8.8	*11.0*	*6.8*	12.9	21.1	15.8	7.1	2.8	1.3	0.5

Note: Based on the F-test, differences between groups are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

[21] This means that if differences between groups are statistically significant based on the Chi-Square test, there is a correlation between the phenomenon under consideration (in this case, the percentage of victims) and the respective characteristics (in this case, sex and age).

In terms of assault and malware offences, both the prevalence rate and the incidence rate are higher among men than women. While 2% of women have been a victim of assault in the last 12 months, the figure for men is 4%. Incidence rates show a similar gender ratio. In approx. 35 cases per 1,000 inhabitants, the victims are female, while men account for approx. 63 cases.

Although prevalence rates are higher among men than women for fraud in goods and services, robbery and phishing, incidence rates do not reveal there to be any statistically demonstrable gender differences. This means there are more cases in which men are victimised than cases involving female victims, while the percentage of victims across the sexes is roughly the same.

Alongside gender, age is another relevant factor influencing the likelihood of victimisation. For all offences, differences across age groups are significant, as victim rates tend to decline with age. The risk of experiencing the offences mentioned is therefore higher among young persons than old persons.

The risk of experiencing victimisation is also linked to individuals' migrant background.[22] In this context, it is not only relevant whether persons have a migrant background or not, but also where they come from. Table 4 and Table 5 report the victim rates for personal offences by migrant background.

Table 4: Percentage of victims of personal offences in the last 12 months (prevalence rate), by migrant background (in %), 2017

	Total	No migrant background n = 24,159	Migrant background		
			Turkish n = 1,243	Former Soviet Union n = 991	Other n = 3,169
Personal theft	3.1	3.0	*3.3*	*2.7*	*3.7*
Fraud in goods and services	4.7	4.3	6.3	*5.2*	5.8
Payment card fraud	0.6	0.5	0.2	*1.3*	*0.6*
Robbery	1.0	1.1	*1.7*	*0.6*	*0.8*
Assault	3.0	2.7	*3.7*	*4.5*	*3.4*
Malware	4.5	4.3	*6.0*	7.0	*4.7*
Phishing	0.8	0.8	*1.1*	*0.7*	*0.9*
Pharming	0.5	0.5	*0.8*	*1.1*	*0.7*

Note: Differences between persons with and without a migrant background are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.[23]

[22] For the definition of "migrant background", see footnote 7.
[23] Regression models were estimated in order to verify that group differences were statistically significant across persons with and without a migrant background. The types of migrant background were included in the model as dummy variables, with "No migrant background" serving as the reference category.

Table 5: Number of victimisation experiences in the last 12 months per 1,000 inhabitants (incidence rate), by migrant background, 2017

	Total	No migrant background n = 24,159	Migrant background		
			Turkish n = 1,243	Former Soviet Union n = 991	Other n = 3,169
Personal theft	37.1	36.2	*38.4*	*31.9*	*42.8*
Fraud in goods and services	67.3	58.9	100.9	*91.5*	87.9
Payment card fraud	6.9	6.9	2.0	*14.7*	*6.5*
Robbery	14.8	14.4	*20.5*	*8.4*	*16.2*
Assault	48.6	42.0	*60.6*	*88.6*	*58.3*
Malware	71.9	67.2	109.0	109.8	*75.1*
Phishing	14.6	14.7	*24.9*	*9.8*	*15.8*
Pharming	8.8	7.2	*12.0*	*23.8*	*12.1*

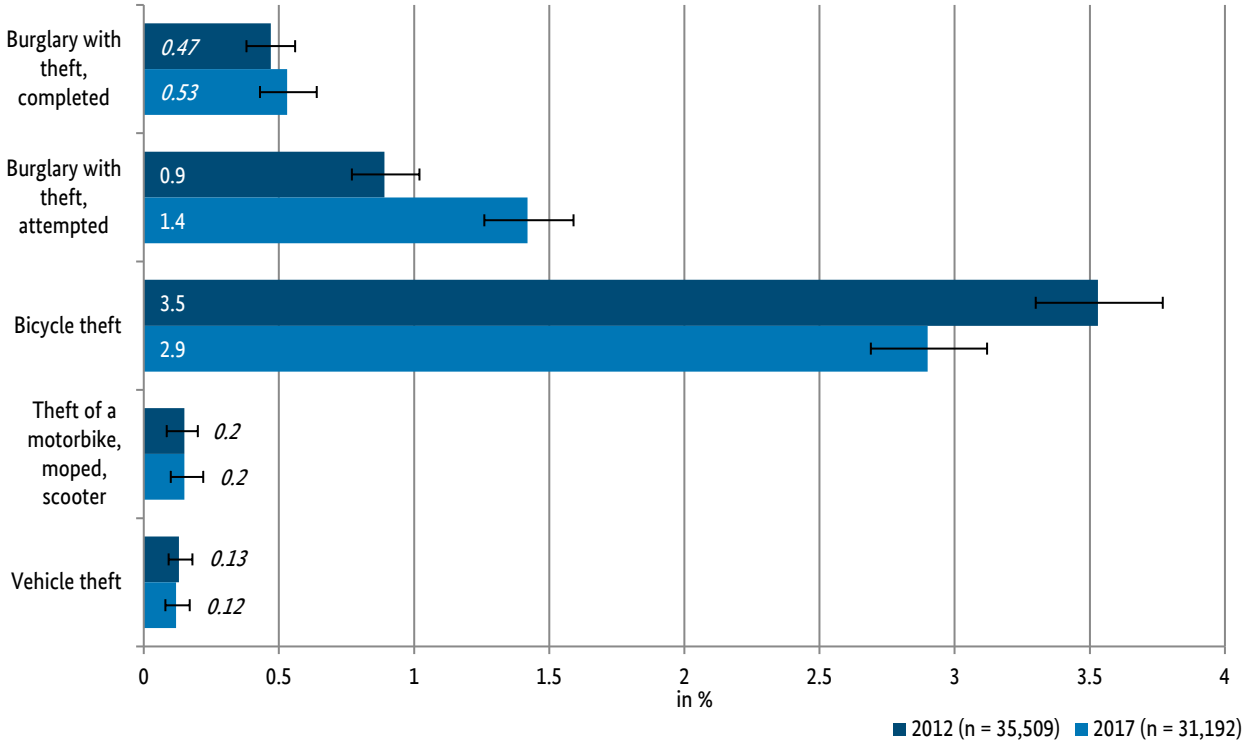
Note: Differences between persons with and without a migrant background are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics (see footnote 23).

Persons of Turkish origin more often become victims of fraud in goods and services and malware attacks than persons without a migrant background. In this context, it is interesting to note that the incidence rate of fraud in goods and services, at 100.9 victims per 1,000 inhabitants, is markedly higher than among persons without a migrant background (58.9 victims per 1,000 inhabitants). A comparable gap applies to malware intrusions. Here, an incidence rate of 109 victimisation experiences per 1,000 inhabitants among the population with a Turkish background contrasts with the incidence rate of 67.2 in the non-migrant population. By contrast, with regard to payment card fraud, victimisation rates among persons of Turkish origin are lower than those for persons without a migrant background.

In terms of the population with a post-Soviet background, both the percentage of victims of malware attacks (prevalence rate) and the number of victimisation experiences per 1,000 persons (incidence rate) are significantly higher than among persons without a migrant background. Here, too, there is a considerable gap between the incidence rate among the population with a post-Soviet background (109.8) and the non-migrant population (67.2).

Persons with other migrant backgrounds, by contrast, more frequently experience fraud in goods and services than persons without a migrant background. Statistically speaking, both the prevalence rate (5.8%) and the incidence rate (87.9) are significantly higher than for persons without a migrant background (prevalence rate: 4.3%; incidence rate: 58.9).

Figure 6: Percentage of victims of household offences in the last 12 months (prevalence rate)

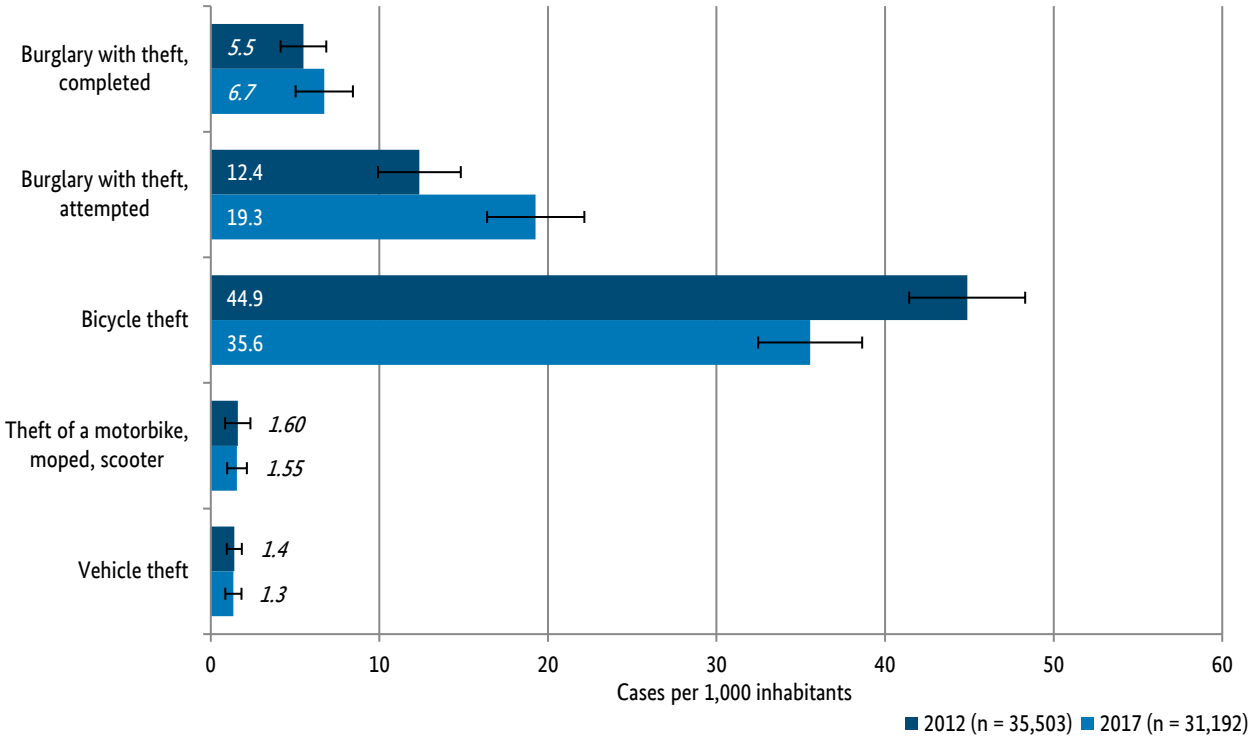


Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences to 2012 figures are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

The percentage of private households in Germany that had at least one bicycle stolen in the 12 months preceding the survey fell from 3.5% in 2012 to 2.9% in 2017. This contrasts with a rise in the proportion of households that experienced an attempted or completed burglary without theft (increase from 0.9% to 1.4%). As for other household offences, the obtained data show no statistically significant changes between the 2012 and 2017 surveys.

For the 2017 reference period, the proportion of households that experienced only an attempted burglary is considerably higher than the proportion of households that fell victim to a completed burglary (1.4% vs 0.5%), a discrepancy that was less pronounced in 2012. The proportion of households that experienced motorbike theft (0.2%) or vehic1le theft (0.1%) in the same period is relatively small compared to other offences.

Figure 7: Number of victimisation experiences for household offences in the last 12 months per 1,000 inhabitants (incidence rate)



Note: Based on the F-test, differences to 2012 figures are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

Despite a statistically significant decline between 2012 and 2017, bicycle theft remains the most common household offence. The 2017 reference period saw an average of 35.6 bicycle thefts per 1,000 households, i.e. about nine cases per 1,000 households less than in 2012.

The incidence rate for attempted burglary, on the other hand, rose from 12.4 to 19.3. At 6.7 cases per 1,000 households, the number of completed burglaries is comparable to 2012. However, when attempted and completed burglaries are considered in relation to each other, the data obtained for the 2017 reference period reveal that approx. 26% of burglaries were completed, while 74% of incidents remained attempts. Five years earlier, the rate of completed burglaries had been 31%. This decline may be due to an increase in effective protection measures.

For the 2017 reference period, motorbike and vehicle theft remained at roughly the same level as in 2012. On average across Germany, 1.6 motorbikes and 1.3 vehicles were stolen per 1,000 households.[24]

[24] Victimisation rates for household offences by sex, age and migrant background were not carried out as such an analysis would require obtaining information about all household members. However, only one household member was surveyed who – representing the entire household – provided information on victimisation incidents experienced in that household.

3.2.3 Hate crime-related victimisation experiences

Hate crimes

Hate crimes include offences in which offenders select their victims on the basis of their affiliation with a specific social group. The victim's social affiliation may, for instance, refer to their religion, ethnicity, skin colour or sexual orientation. These offences are primarily motivated by prejudices against the social group to which the victim belongs, and by committing such an offence, the offender seeks to harm the social group as a whole.[25]

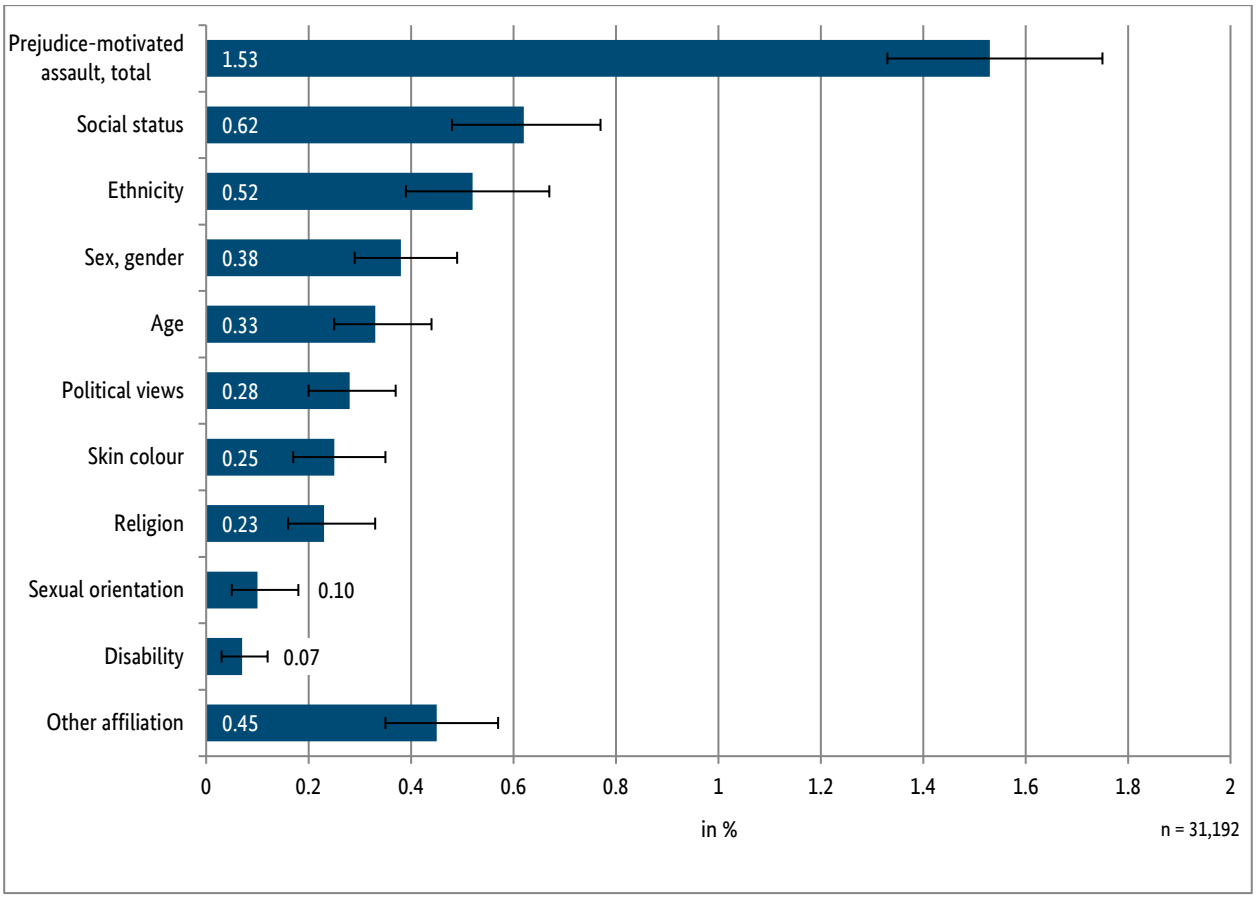
With regard to assault and robbery, the 2017 survey recorded whether these offences were motivated by hate. If so, victims were asked to state which aspect of their identity they believed had motivated the offence. For this purpose, persons who had experienced assault or robbery were asked the following question:

> *Offenders may have various reasons for choosing their victims, including age, ethnicity, skin colour or any other characteristic that may indicate their belonging to a particular social group. For the mentioned incident, do you believe the offender, or offenders, selected you based on ...*
>
> *... your religion*
> *... your sexual orientation*
> *... your sex or gender identity*
> *... a disability you may have*
> *... your skin colour*
> *... your ethnicity*
> *... your age*
> *... your political views*
> *... your social status*
> *... any other aspect of your identity that may indicate your belonging to a specific social group, namely ... (text input field)*

Respondents had the option to list multiple characteristics which they believed had influenced their victimisation. Since this question was not included in the 2012 survey, it is not possible to compare the two survey waves. Obtaining results for prejudice-motivated robbery will also require additional in-depth analyses. In the following, the report will therefore only discuss prejudice-motivated assault.

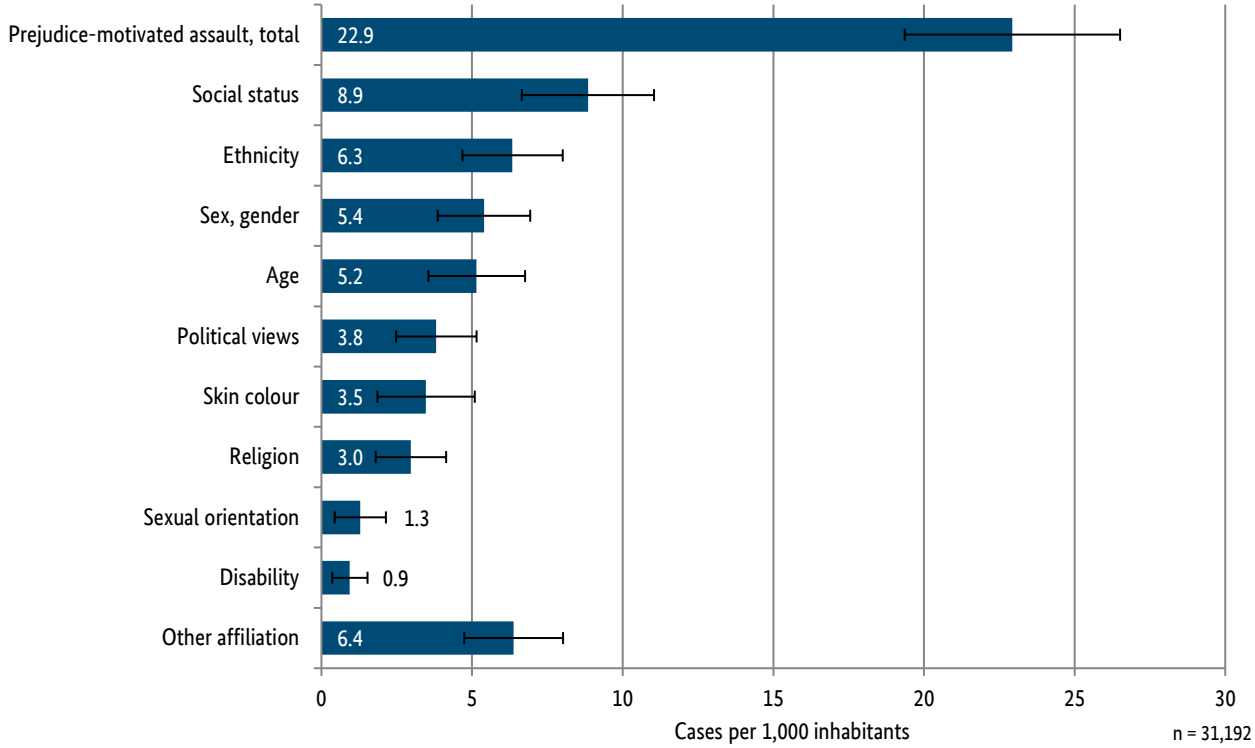
[25] For further information on hate crimes, see, for instance, Coester (2008).

Figure 8: Percentage of victims of prejudice-motivated assault in the last 12 months (prevalence rate)



In the 2017 reference period, 1.5% of persons aged 16 and over living in Germany experienced prejudice-motivated assault. The most frequent motivation, at 0.6%, is the victim's social status, followed by ethnicity (0.5%) and sex and gender identity (0.4%). The remaining characteristics are only very rarely the cause of prejudice-motivated assault, with values ranging from 0.1% to 0.3%. At 0.5%, assaults motivated by the victim's affiliation with "other social groups" are relatively frequent. This category covers cases where respondents made use of the option to name the group they belong to. However, these text responses have not been reviewed to establish whether they contain cases that ought to be assigned to one of the other categories.

Figure 9: Number of prejudice-motivated assaults in the last 12 months per 1,000 inhabitants (incidence rate)



The 2017 reference period saw an average of 22.9 cases of prejudice-motivated assault per 1,000 inhabitants. Ranked by frequency, the reasons that victims cite as the motivating factor for their victimisation reflect the prevalence rates considered above: the most frequent cases are those where persons believe they were assaulted due to their social status. Here, the national average is about nine incidents per 1,000 inhabitants, followed by victimisation due to ethnicity (6.3 cases per 1,000 inhabitants). Sexual orientation and disability are only rarely cited as a motivating factor, accounting for merely 1.3 incidents and 0.9 incidents per 1,000 inhabitants, respectively. Here, again, the motivations cited by respondents in the category “other social groups” still require reviewing.

Table 6: Percentage of prejudice-motivated assaults in the last 12 months (prevalence rate) by sex and age, 2017

	Total	Sex		Age (in years)						
		Men	Women	16–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55–64	65–74	> 74
Prejudice-motivated assaults (total)	1.5	1.9	1.2	5.1	2.5	1.3	1.2	0.9	0.3	0.1
Social status	0.6	0.8	0.5	1.6	1.3	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.1	0.1
Ethnicity	0.5	0.7	0.3	1.8	1.2	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1
Sex, gender	0.4	0.1	0.6	1.2	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.0
Age	0.3	*0.4*	*0.3*	1.5	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.1
Political views	0.3	0.4	0.2	1.1	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0
Skin colour	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.7	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0
Religion	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.8	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Sexual orientation	0.1	*0.1*	*0.2*	0.6	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Disability	0.1	*0.1*	*0.1*	*0.1*	*0.1*	*0.1*	*0.0*	*0.1*	*0.0*	*0.0*
Other affiliation	0.5	0.6	0.3	1.3	0.5	0.4	0.6	0.3	0.0	0.0

Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences between groups are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

Table 7: Number of prejudice-motivated assaults in the last 12 months per 1,000 inhabitants (incidence rate) by sex and age, 2017

	Total	Sex		Age (in years)						
		Men	Women	16–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55–64	65–74	> 74
Prejudice-motivated assaults (total)	22.9	27.9	18.2	68.8	40.2	17.3	20.1	14.4	4.0	1.9
Social status	8.9	*9.9*	*7.8*	21.5.	18.8	5.5	7.1	6.8	2.2	1.1
Ethnicity	6.3	8.1	4.7	21.9	13.4	3.8	3.9	1.1	1.6	1.4
Sex, gender	5.4	1.8	8.8	14.4	7.7	5.7	4.5	4.2	2.8	0
Age	5.2	*6.0*	*4.3*	22.3	5.6	1.2	3.2	4.2	1.8	1.2
Political views	3.8	5.6	2.1	13.1	7.0	2.7	3.3	1.7	0.4	0
Skin colour	3.5	*4.8*	*2.2*	8.0	10.4	2.4	1.8	1.6	0.8	0.5
Religion	3.0	*3.9*	*2.1*	10.7	6.9	1.9	1.7	0.5	0.2	0.5
Sexual orientation	1.3	*0.6*	*2.0*	7.5	1.7	0.2	0.9	0	0	0
Disability	0.9	*0.9*	*0.9*	1.1	1.5	1.0	0.3	1.9	0.9	0
Other affiliation	6.4	9.3	3.6	14.2	6.1	6.4	11.5	5.0	0.2	0

Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences between groups are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

The prevalence rate, i.e. the percentage of persons who have experienced prejudice-motivated assault, is higher among men (1.9%) than women (1.2%). On the other hand, gender differences vary depending on the perceived motive of the offender. For assaults due to age, sexual orientation or disability, the prevalence rate is roughly the same for women and men, whereas women are much more frequently victimised due to their sex or gender identity than men.

Similarly, with regard to the incidence rate, i.e. the number of prejudice-motivated assaults per 1,000 inhabitants, males are victimised more frequently (27.9) than women (18.2). Here, too, gender differences vary depending on the perceived motive of the offender. In terms of assault motivated by ethnicity or political views, there are more cases per 1,000 inhabitants involving male victims, while women are more frequently assaulted because of their sex or gender identity.

The risk of becoming a victim of prejudice-motivated assault clearly decreases with age. Across almost all victimisation characteristics, 16- to 24-year-olds are much more likely to experience offences than older persons. One exception is skin colour, where the incidence rate was highest for persons aged 25 to 34. Age does not seem to affect the risk of experiencing assault due to a disability.

Table 8: Proportion of victims of prejudice-motivated assault in the last 12 months (prevalence rate) by migrant background (in %), 2017

	Total	No migrant background n = 24,159	Migrant background		
			Turkish n = 1,243	former Soviet Union n = 991	Other n = 3,169
Prejudice-motivated assaults (total)	1.5	1.4	*1.7*	*2.2*	*1.8*
Social status	0.6	0.5	*0.7*	*1.1*	*0.8*
Ethnicity	0.5	0.4	1.3	*0.6*	1.0
Sex, gender	0.4	0.4	*0.4*	*0.8*	*0.3*
Age	0.3	0.3	*0.7*	*0.4*	*0.3*
Political views	0.3	0.3	*0.6*	*0.2*	*0.3*
Skin colour	0.3	0.2	*0.9*	*0.1*	*0.3*
Religion	0.2	0.1	1.0	*0.3*	*0.5*
Sexual orientation	0.1	0.1	*0.0*	*0.0*	*0.0*
Disability	0.1	0.0	*0.0*	*0.1*	*0.2*
Other affiliation	0.5	0.5	*0.5*	*0.6*	*0.4*

Note: Differences between persons with and without a migrant background are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics (see footnote 23).

Table 9: Number of prejudice-motivated assaults in the last 12 months per 1,000 inhabitants (incidence rate) by migrant background, 2017

	Total	No migrant background n = 24,159	Migrant background		
			Turkish n = 1,243	former Soviet Union n = 991	Other n = 3,169
Prejudice-motivated assaults (total)	22.9	20.8	*29.5*	*28.2*	*28.6*
Social status	8.9	8.1	*7.2*	*13.9*	*11.1*
Ethnicity	6.3	4.2	15.9	*9.3*	12.3
Sex, gender	5.4	5.0	*7.2*	*8.2*	*4.5*
Age	5.2	4.2	*8.8*	*7.2*	*7.8*
Political views	3.8	3.4	*11.0*	*2.6*	*4.9*
Skin colour	3.5	2.6	*10.7*	*0.9*	*5.5*
Religion	3.0	1.5	11.8	*5.1*	*6.5*
Sexual orientation	1.3	1.6	*0.3*	*0.5*	*0.7*
Disability	0.9	0.4	*0.3*	*1.4*	*2.6*
Other affiliation	6.4	7.0	*5.0*	*5.7*	*4.6*

Note: Differences between persons with and without a migrant background are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics (see footnote 23).

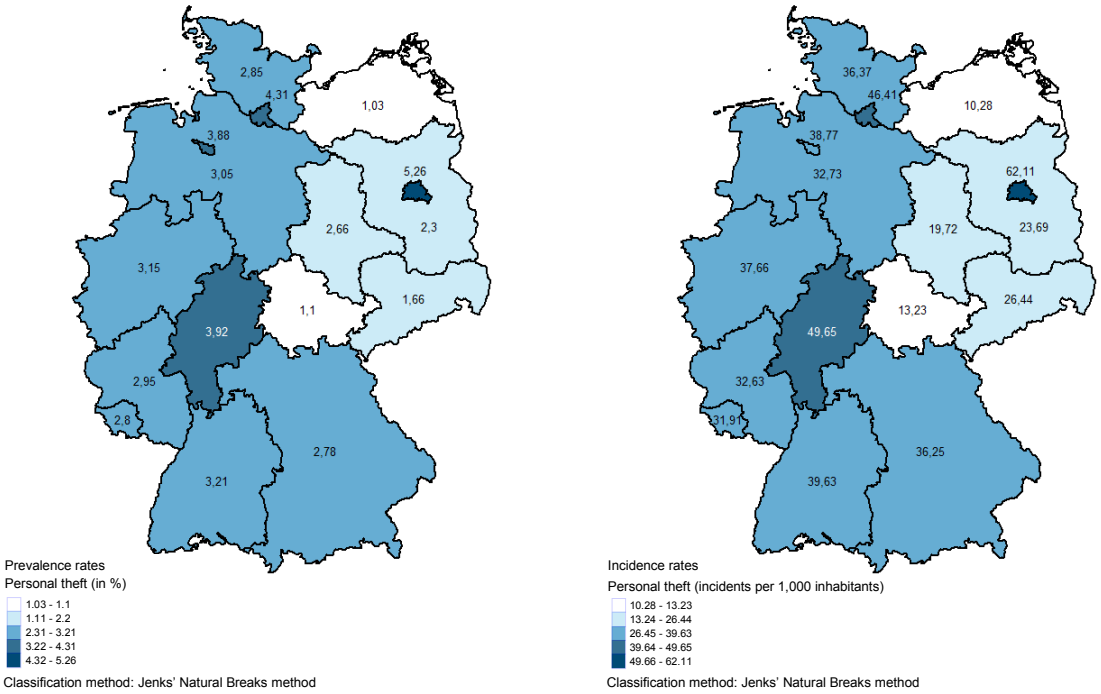
The proportion of persons assaulted due to their ethnicity or religious affiliation is significantly higher for the population with a Turkish background than for the non-migrant population. While the population with a Turkish background is associated with a prevalence rate of 1% and an incidence rate of 11.8 in cases of assault motivated by religious bias, the figures for non-migrant persons are 0.1% (prevalence rate) and 1.5 (incidence rate).

Similarly, it is the populations with roots neither in Turkey nor the former Soviet Union that more frequently experience assault motivated by ethnic bias (prevalence rate: 1%; incidence rate: 12.3) compared to the non-migrant population (prevalence rate: 0.4%; incidence rate: 4.2), while differences between the non-migrant population and the population with a migrant background in the former Soviet states remain statistically insignificant.

3.2.4 Regional distribution of victimisation experiences

The risk of falling victim to an offence varies considerably between federal states. The maps displayed in figures 10 to 19 show the prevalence and incidence rates for individual offences by federal state.[26] Theft of motorcycles, etc., as well as of cars are excluded here as the occurrence of these crimes was so rare that estimates of the total victimisation figure for individual states either could not, or only very inaccurately, be provided.[27] This was also the case with regard to completed burglaries. Therefore, both completed and attempted burglaries were grouped together for the purpose of regional analysis.

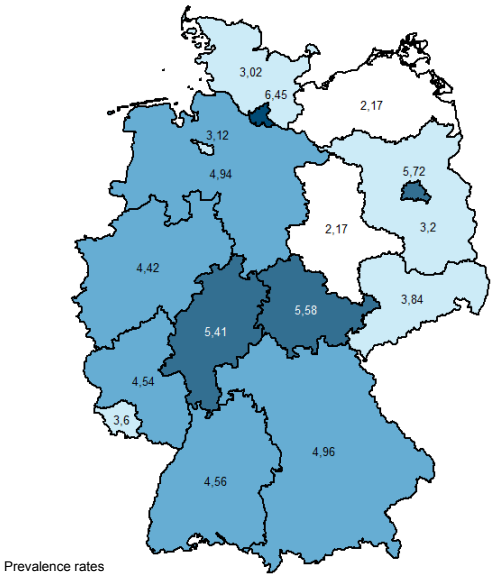
Figure 10: Prevalence and incidence rates for personal theft by federal state (last 12 months)



[26] The various shades of blue that appear in the following maps indicate groupings of federal states that demonstrate similar prevalence and incidence rates. These classifications were determined using Jenks' Natural Breaks method, a statistical data clustering method whereby similar values are grouped together into different classes and the differences between the resulting classes is maximised. Natural breaks are data-specific classifications and are thus not appropriate for comparing multiple maps created using different underlying data (de Lange 2006, 264). It should be noted that the findings subsequently reported in this paper are not directly comparable with PCS figures recorded for each federal state. When allocating results to a particular region, PCS data focus on the location of the crime as opposed to the victim's place of residence, which is critical for the analysis conducted here.

[27] For some federal states, the sample contains no victims (based on the twelve-month period prior to the interview). Of course, this does not imply that no thefts of motorcycles, etc., occurred in these areas, but that there is such a low prevalence of victims in such regions that even when rather large random samples of the affected population are taken, there is a high probability that they will not record any victims of that offence.

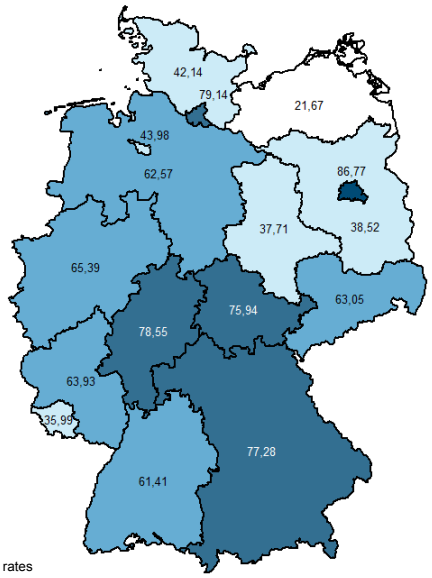
Figure 11: Prevalence and incidence rates for fraud in goods and services by federal state (last 12 months)



Prevalence rates
Fraud in goods and services (in %)

- 2.17
- 2.18 - 3.84
- 3.85 - 4.96
- 4.97 - 5.72
- 5.73 - 6.45

Classification method: Jenks' Natural Breaks method

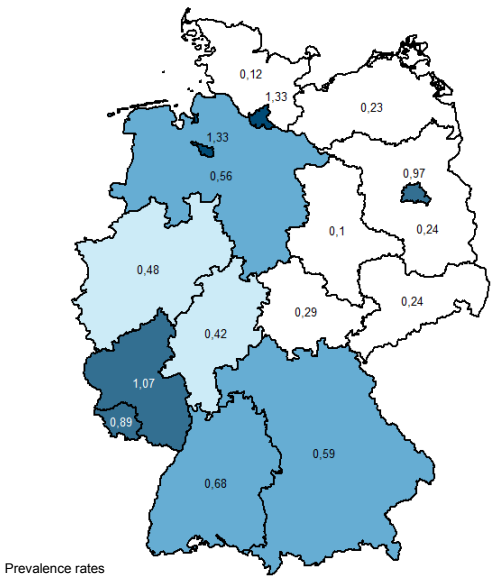


Incidence rates
Fraud in goods and services (incidents per 1,000 inhabitants)

- 21.67
- 21.68 - 43.98
- 43.99 - 65.39
- 65.4 - 79.14
- 79.15 - 86.77

Classification method: Jenks' Natural Breaks method

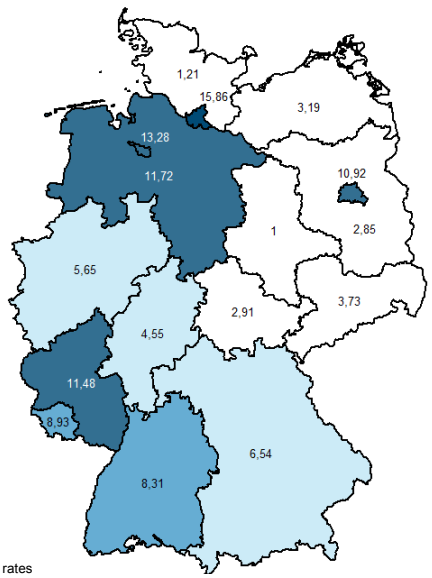
Figure 12: Prevalence and incidence rates for payment card fraud by federal state (last 12 months)



Prevalence rates
Payment card fraud (in %)

- 0.1 - 0.29
- 0.3 - 0.48
- 0.49 - 0.68
- 0.69 - 1.07
- 1.08 - 1.33

Classification method: Jenks' Natural Breaks method

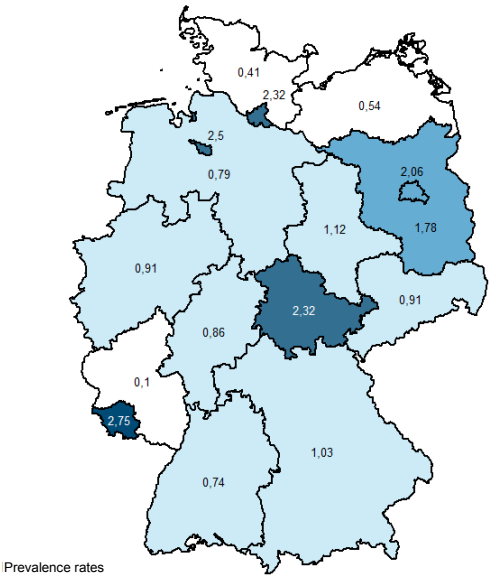


Incidence rates
Payment card fraud (incidents per 1,000 inhabitants)

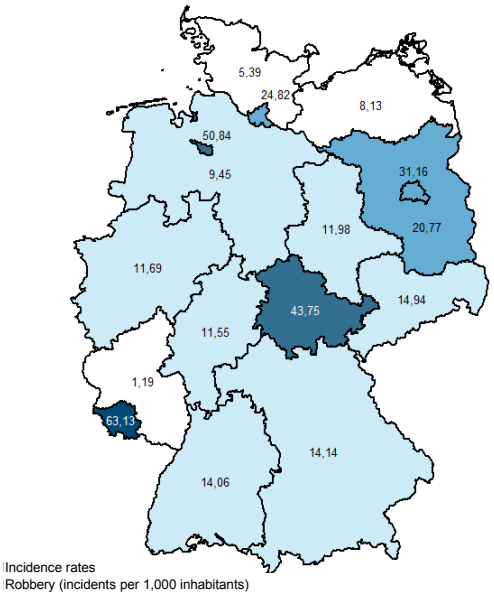
- 1 - 3.73
- 3.74 - 6.54
- 6.55 - 8.93
- 8.94 - 13.28
- 13.29 - 15.86

Classification method: Jenks' Natural Breaks method

Figure 13: Prevalence and incidence rates for robbery by federal state (last 12 months)

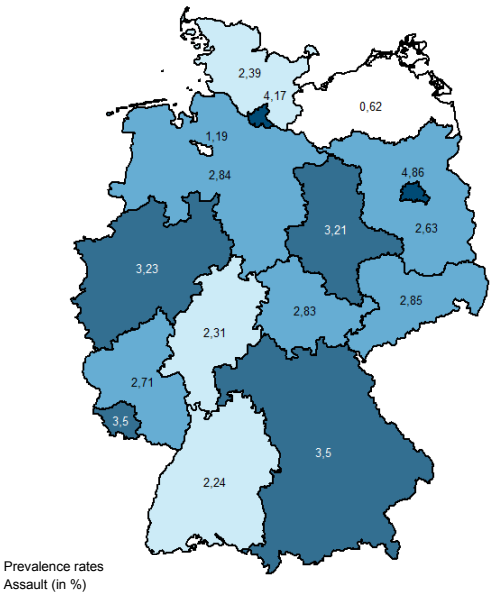


Classification method: Jenks' Natural Breaks method

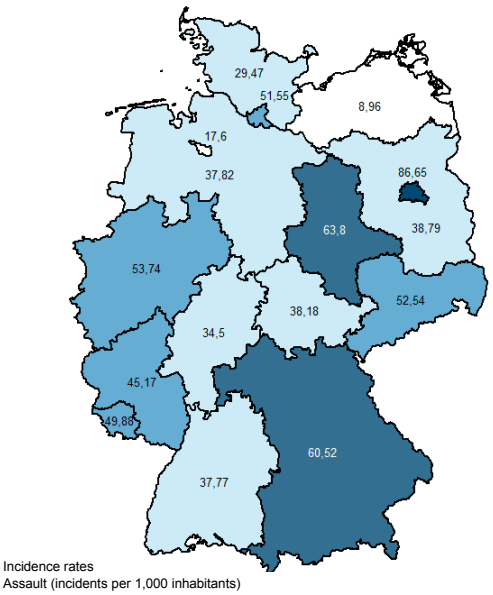


Classification method: Jenks' Natural Breaks method

Figure 14: Prevalence and incidence rates for assault by federal state (last 12 months)

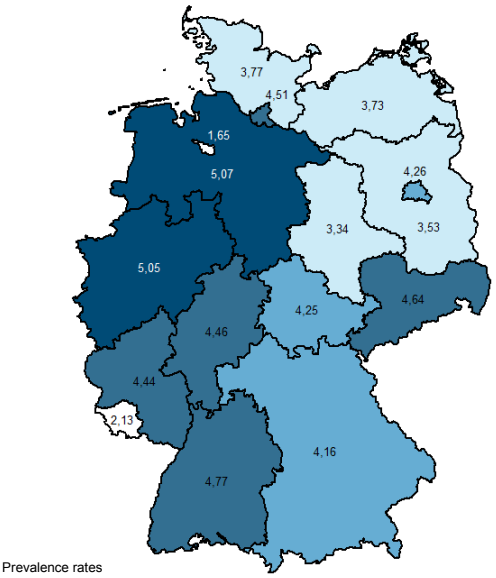


Classification method: Jenks' Natural Breaks method



Classification method: Jenks' Natural Breaks method

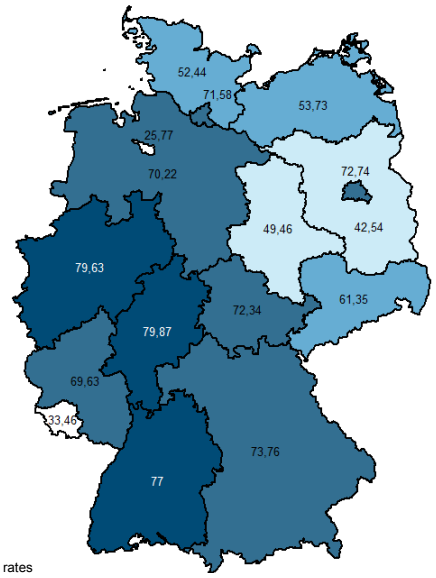
Figure 15: Prevalence and incidence rates for damages caused by malware by federal state (last 12 months)



Prevalence rates
Damages caused by malware (in %)

1.65 - 2.13
2.14 - 3.77
3.78 - 4.26
4.27 - 4.77
4.78 - 5.07

Classification method: Jenks' Natural Breaks method

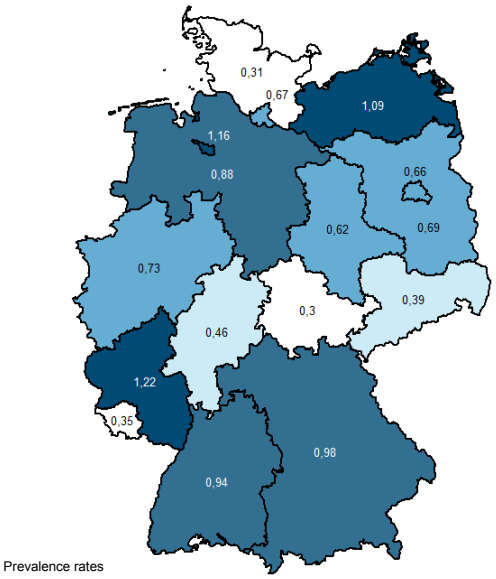


Incidence rates
Damages caused by malware (incidents per 1,000 inhabitants)

25.77 - 33.46
33.47 - 49.46
49.47 - 61.35
61.36 - 73.76
73.77 - 79.87

Classification method: Jenks' Natural Breaks method

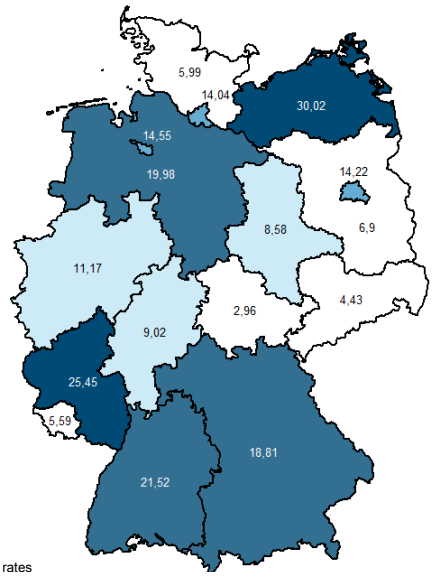
Figure 16: Prevalence and incidence rates for damages caused by phishing by federal state (last 12 months)



Prevalence rates
Phishing (in %)

0.3 - 0.35
0.36 - 0.46
0.47 - 0.73
0.74 - 0.98
0.99 - 1.22

Classification method: Jenks' Natural Breaks method



Incidence rates
Phishing (incidents per 1,000 inhabitants)

2.96 - 6.9
7 - 11.17
11.18 - 14.55
14.56 - 21.52
21.53 - 30.02

Classification method: Jenks' Natural Breaks method

Figure 17: Prevalence and incidence rates for damages caused by pharming by federal state (last 12 months)

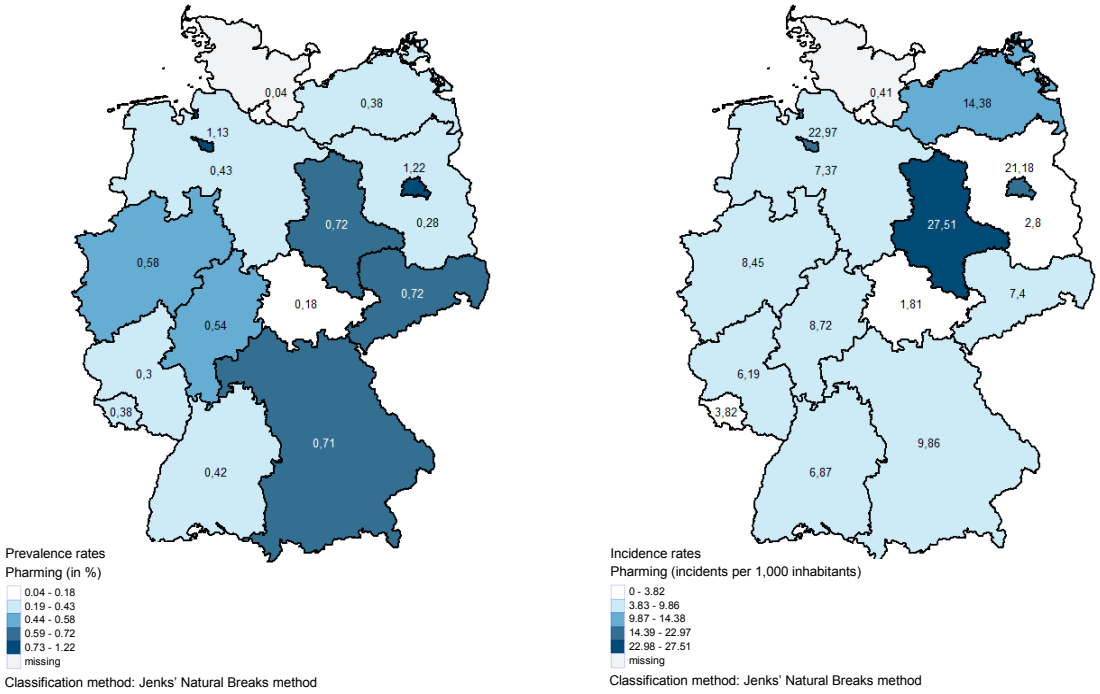


Figure 18: Prevalence and incidence rates for burglary with theft by federal state (last 12 months)

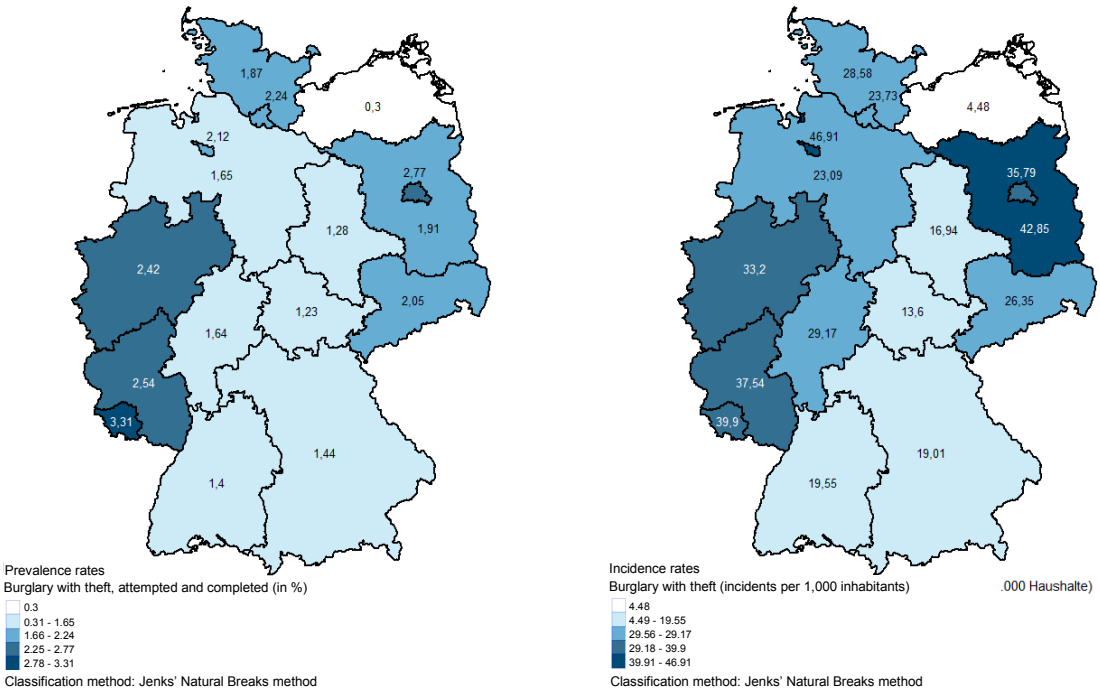
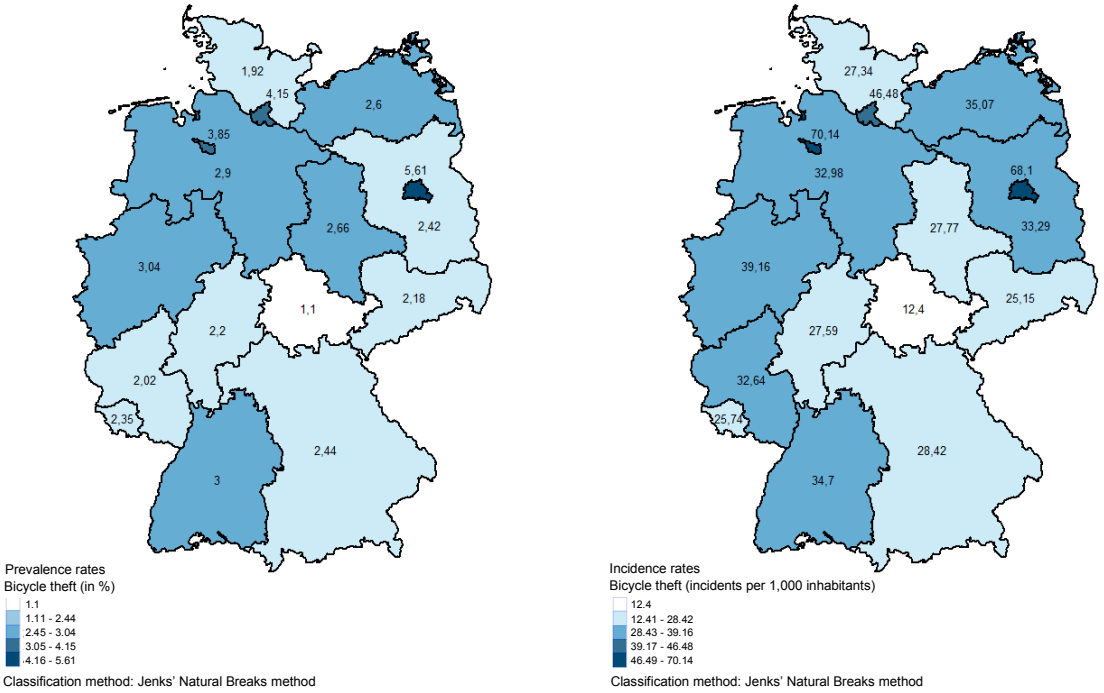


Figure 19: Prevalence and incidence rates for bicycle theft by federal state (last 12 months)



For all offences, the data show variations across federal states both in terms of prevalence and incidence rates. However, it is important to note that in some federal states only a small number of persons were surveyed, which affects the accuracy of estimated figures. As a consequence, statistical data to support these variations are only partially available (see Tables 33 to 47 in the appendix).[28] Nonetheless, it is still possible to discern certain trends: a particularly high number of victims and victimisation experiences is frequently shown in the city-states of Hamburg, Berlin and (to a slightly lesser extent) Bremen. Furthermore, high prevalence and incidence rates can be observed in the heavily urbanised state of North Rhine-Westphalia as well as in Rhineland-Palatinate, a more rural state. The lowest rates occur in the eastern federal states and in Schleswig-Holstein. In terms of spatial distribution, the areas where victimisation is concentrated differ slightly to those recorded in the 2012 survey (for example, Rhineland-Palatinate was not heavily affected by crime, whereas Thuringia and Schleswig-Holstein were, and Saarland was one of the states that recorded the lowest

[28] With regard to payment card fraud and phishing, there was no statistical evidence to suggest differences either in prevalence or incidence rates between the individual federal states. This is why there are no tables showing statistically significant differences for these crimes in the appendix. In addition to the sampling error, the following issue led to statistical evidence being available for only a few differences: 120 paired comparisons need to be carried out in order to statistically verify variations between federal states. Given the error margin of 5% established for each individual comparison, it is expected that chance alone will result in six of these 120 tests producing statistically significant differences (i.e. it cannot be assumed that identical rates can be achieved), even though the rates for the states in question do not, in fact, differ. In order to reduce this risk, a Holm-Bonferroni correction was carried out (Holm 1979), which ensures that the error margin for the simultaneous collective testing of 120 value pairs for differences remains at 5% throughout, i.e. for every one hundred simultaneous comparisons of 120 values, five will include a result that is only statistically significant by chance. This method produces greater statistical power (i.e. is better at identifying actual differences) than the standard Bonferroni correction, although it is considered to be just as conservative (Abdi 2010; Bender/Lange 2001, 345). This correction inevitably also led to an increase in the threshold that renders a difference statistically visible.

rates; Birkel et al. 2014).[29] Depending on the offence, a wide variety of regional patterns can be observed: levels of personal theft are high in the city-states and Hesse, as well as in the other western federal states (albeit to a lesser extent), whereas they are lower in eastern Germany (excluding Berlin).

If terms of comparisons between federal states, there is statistical evidence to support the difference between the state with the highest rates (Berlin) and the other eastern federal states (with the exception of Saxony in terms of the incidence rate). The same applies to differences between the three western states with the highest crime levels – Hesse, Baden-Württemberg and North Rhine-Westphalia –, on the one hand, and the two federal states that reported the lowest prevalence and incidence rates – Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and Thuringia –, on the other.[30]

There is no gap between east and west with regard to burglary with theft (including attempts) and bicycle theft. Here, some of the eastern federal states experience similar rates to those in the west. In terms of burglary with theft, Brandenburg is actually one of the states with the highest incidence rates alongside the city-states, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhineland-Palatinate and Saarland. Bicycle theft occurs most notably in the city-states as well as in the north (with the exception of Schleswig-Holstein) and in the south-west of Germany. With regard to the rate of domestic burglaries, the variations between Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, which has the lowest incidence of domestic burglaries, and a small number of federal states with a higher rate of incidence and a sufficient sample size (most notably Berlin, North Rhine-Westphalia and Saxony) are statistically significant. In terms of bicycle theft, there is statistical evidence showing differences between Berlin and a number of states that are less or only moderately affected (Brandenburg, Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Hesse, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhineland-Palatinate, Schleswig-Holstein, Saxony and Thuringia). Similarly, there are significant differences between Thuringia and federal states showing a medium to high prevalence of bicycle theft (Baden-Württemberg, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia).

In terms of property offences (specifically fraud in goods and services and payment card fraud), the highest rates are in the city-states (with the exception of Bremen with regard to fraud in goods and services) as well as some non-city-states, i.e., in terms of fraud in goods and services, Thuringia, Hesse and – with regard to the incidence rate – Bavaria, while Rhineland-Palatinate, Saarland (prevalence) and Lower Saxony (incidence) are those most affected with regard to payment card fraud. While statistical proof of differences between federal states for fraud in goods and services is scarce,[31] there is no statistical proof at all with regard to the occurrence of payment card fraud.

With regard to robbery, the city-states, Saarland and Thuringia are those most heavily impacted. When directly comparing two federal states, there is only statistical evidence to confirm that the rate of occurrence in Bavaria and North Rhine-Westphalia (and Berlin in terms of incidence) is higher than in Rhineland-Palatinate, the state with the lowest rates. However, with regard to assault, high rates of occurrence can be established in a greater number of states: Berlin, Hamburg, Saxony-Anhalt and Bavaria. If prevalence rates are considered, North Rhine-Westphalia and Saarland can

[29] This observation is purely descriptive. There are no statistical data available to confirm this shift in regional concentrations of crime since 2012. It is worth underlining again (see footnote 26) that the maps displayed here cannot be compared with those contained in the report on the 2012 survey (Birkel et al. 2014).
[30] There is also statistical evidence to support the contrast between Bavaria and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern with regard to the incidence rate.
[31] This applies to differences between states with the lowest rate of prevalence (Saxony-Anhalt) or the lowest rate of incidence (Mecklenburg-Vorpommern) and Berlin, Bavaria, Hesse and – with regard to incidence – North Rhine-Westphalia.

also be added to the list. Worthy of note here is the low rate of occurrence in the city-state of Bremen, which has the second-lowest figure both in terms of prevalence and incidence. There is statistical evidence to confirm the differences between the state that is least affected (Mecklenburg-Vorpommern) and some of those states that are more greatly affected and had a sufficient sample size (Berlin, Bavaria, North Rhine-Westphalia).[32]

With regard to offences occurring during internet usage, no overarching geographical pattern can be observed. With respect to damage caused by malware, it is worth noting that the city-states only marginally stand out as being heavily affected. Here the highest prevalence rate is recorded in Lower Saxony, the highest rate of incidence is in Hesse, but most other western states also show a high rate of occurrence. Bremen stands out as having the lowest rates. A pair comparison between the federal states highlights the statistical evidence showing that the prevalence rate in Bremen is lower than in North Rhine-Westphalia and in Lower Saxony.[33] With regard to the loss of sensitive data through fraudulent emails (phishing), occurrences of the crime seem to be focused in two regions: the north (Lower Saxony and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern) as well as in the south and west (Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg, Rhineland-Palatinate).[34] With regard to pharming (a similar phenomenon where the victim is directed towards forged websites where they are asked to disclose sensitive data), there appears to be a slightly different geographical spread. The regions most heavily affected are the city-states of Bremen and Berlin – Hamburg, by contrast, has the lowest rates – as well as Saxony-Anhalt; in terms of prevalence, Bavaria and Saxony are also heavily affected. A paired comparison of federal states highlights the statistical evidence that the occurrence of offences in Bavaria and North Rhine-Westphalia is higher than in Hamburg.[35]

[32] Moreover, the prevalence rate in Berlin is significantly higher than that of Bremen.
[33] With regard to the incidence rates, no regional differences can be shown.
[34] There was no statistical evidence for differences between the prevalence and incidence rates (see footnote 28).
[35] In those states with the highest prevalence and incidence rates, the sample sizes are too small to yield sufficient statistical data to confirm a contrast to those states that are less affected.

4 Reporting behaviour

Whether an offence is known to the police – and thus included within official crime statistics – depends in most cases on whether the offence is reported to the police. Those offences documented by the police are known as the so-called *Hellfeld* or known figure. Changes to the known figure, i.e. a rise or a fall in police-recorded offences, thus do not invariably reflect an actual change in the rate of crime. Increases and decreases in the number of incidents registered in the PCS can also come about if more or fewer offences are reported but the level of crime stays the same. By the same token, it is also conceivable that a stable crime rate is the result of an actual change in the level of crime that is being counterbalanced by a contrasting development in the willingness of victims to report incidents to the police (Enzmann 2015, 518). Reporting behaviour (as reflected by the reporting rates) is therefore key to developing appropriate interpretations of the data on the official known figure and any changes to this data, and to allowing researchers to build a realistic picture of the current crime situation (Enzmann 2015, 511).[36]

4.1 REPORTING RATES

The following question was used to establish whether an offence was reported to the police:[37]

> *Were the police informed about the incident in question that occurred between (same month of the previous year in which interview is being carried out) and today?*

Only incidents that occurred in the twelve months prior to the interview were considered. If an interviewee had fallen victim to a specific crime multiple times within this period, a maximum of five victimisations per interviewee were documented. Furthermore, this question was only asked in relation to offences that had taken place in Germany. Incidents that had taken place outside of Germany were not recorded.

The answers given to this specific question can be used to calculate the proportion of those victimisation cases that were made known to the police. The reporting rates shown in this survey were calculated as follows:

$$\textit{Reporting rate} = \frac{\textit{reported incidents}}{\textit{reported incidents} + \textit{unreported incidents}}$$

The figures for reported incidents and the number of unreported incidents were both taken from the survey data collected during both DVS waves.[38] Figure 20 shows the reporting rates for personal

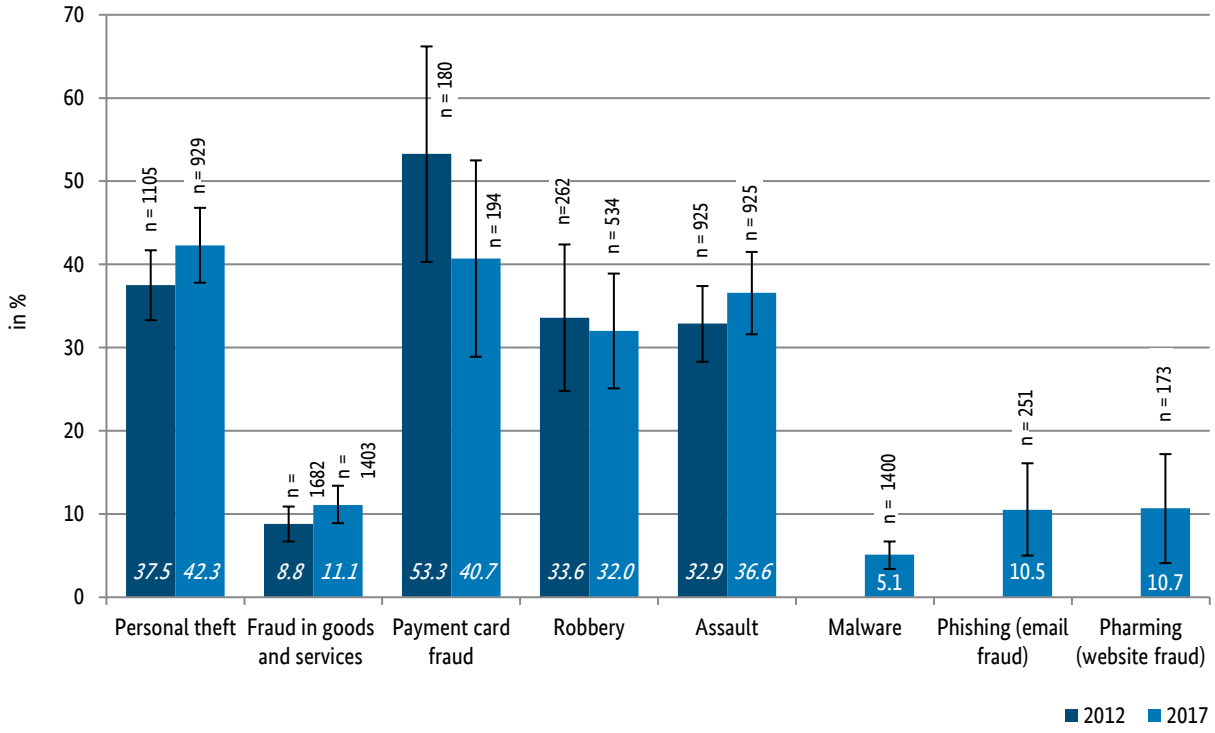
[36] A direct comparison of the estimated rate of reported offences based on crime victim surveys with the relevant corresponding value compiled using PCS data (i.e. known figures) is only possible to a limited extent. This is due to several reasons, one of which being that the PCS records not only offences that have been reported by the victim, but also those that have been reported by witnesses or documented during police checks or other investigatory work carried out by the police. A direct comparison would "only make sense for offences [...] that were documented almost exclusively following reports made by victims or witnesses [...]. This primarily includes damage to property, theft offences, robbery, assault offences and sexual violence" (Enzmann 2015, 513). For further limitations on the comparability of data on known and unreported crimes, see Enzmann 2015, pp. 513.

[37] This question was asked in relation to every type of offence up to a maximum of five incidents.

[38] For more on dark figure ratios where calculations are based on the figures of known crime, see Schwind et al. 2001, pp. 138.

offences for 2012 and 2017. The offences listed in this category differ from household offences in that it is usually only the interviewee who has been victimised and not the entire household in which they are living.

Figure 20: Reporting rates for personal victimisation experiences in the last 12 months

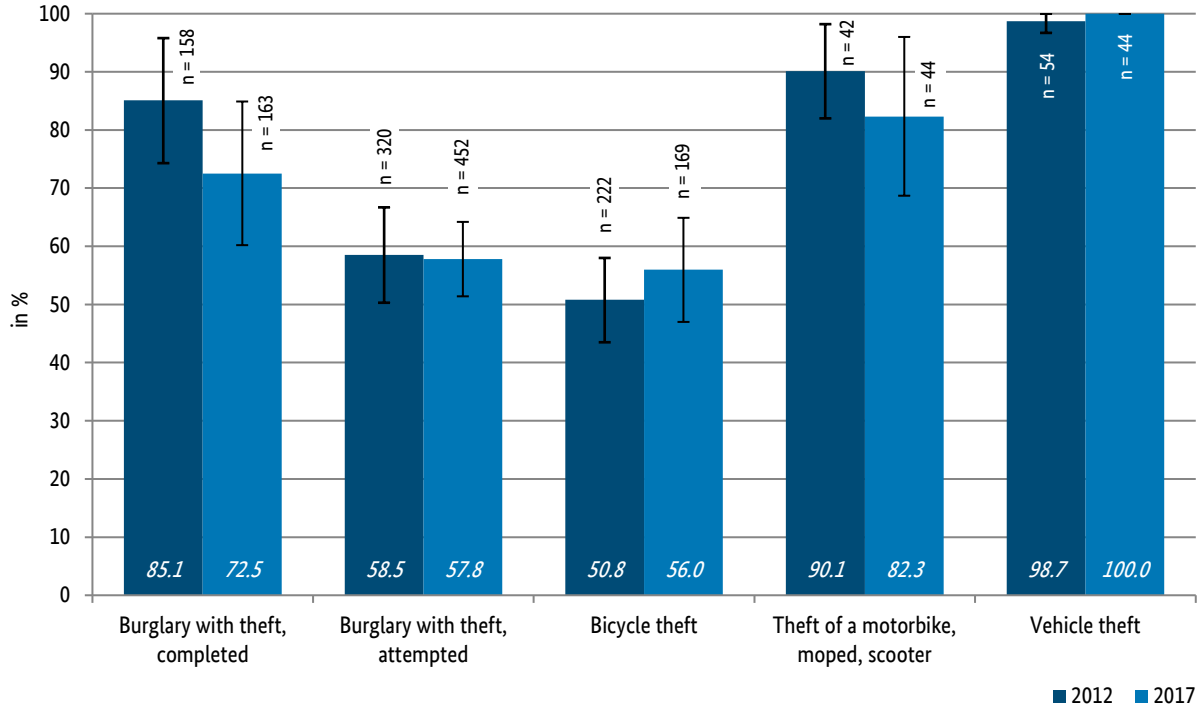


Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, none of the differences to 2012 figures is statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%.

Among personal offences, personal theft and payment card fraud are the most reported offences, each showing a reporting rate of over 40%. The figure is slightly lower for the violent offences of robbery and assault. Approximately one third of those who experienced these crimes reported the incident to the police. However, victims of fraud in goods and services as well as those who fall victim to cybercrime (malware, phishing and pharming) are far less likely to go to the police. Here, the reporting rate stands at just over 10%, with victims of malware attacks only reporting approx. 5% of incidents. In terms of changes that have taken place in the last five years, there is no evidence suggesting statistically significant differences between the figures reported for 2012 and 2017 for any of the offences investigated here. It is not possible to compare current figures for malware, phishing and pharming, as data on the reporting behaviour for these crimes were not collected previously.

Figure 21 shows the reporting rates for household offences for 2012 and 2017. As household offences usually affect the entire household, interviewees were asked if they or any other person who was living with them in the same household had been victimised.

Figure 21: Reporting rates for household victimisation experiences in the last 12 months



Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, none of the differences to 2012 figures is statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%.

The reporting rates for household offences are higher than those for personal offences. This is true for all of the offences surveyed in this category. The reporting rates for completed burglary (72.5%) as well as car (100%) and motorcycle theft (82.3%) are particularly high. As was the case in 2012, the reporting rates for attempted burglary with theft (57.8%) and bicycle theft (56%) are also slightly lower in 2017. Overall, no statistically significant changes between the two survey years are observed.

4.2 REASONS FOR/AGAINST REPORTING A CRIME

Those surveyed were given the opportunity to state why they did or did not report an offence to the police.[39] If a victim reported their experience of victimisation, they were asked to choose from the list of reasons given in Table 10. Multiple answers were possible.

Table 10: Reasons for reporting by offence (in %)

		You should always report a crime.	So that it doesn't happen again.	So that the offender is punished.	To receive damages from the offender/ get the stolen item back.	Because it was a serious crime.	To receive compensa-tion from my insurer.	Because official documents (e.g. a passport) were stolen.[40]
Burglary	2012 (n = 184)	*97.2*	*92.4*	98.4	*76.6*	*63.6*	*62.3*	*12.6*
	2017 (n = 192)	*95.7*	*93.1*	92.2	*67.7*	*70.6*	*59.1*	*12.8*
Attempted burglary	2012 (n = 145)	*97.7*	*95.7*	95.2	*42*	*54.8*	*45.7*	–
	2017 (n = 208)	*95.2*	*94.2*	85.5	*32.4*	*47.5*	*45.6*	–
Car theft	2012 (n = 52)	*95.5*	*90.2*	*92.7*	*95.3*	*90.8*	*73.2*	*26.7*
	2017 (n = 43)	*94.4*	*91.5*	*95.1*	*80.9*	*78.3*	*58.5*	*16*
Motorcycle theft	2012 (n = 36)	*94.2*	95.3	*86.9*	86.1	*65.3*	*48.3*	*4*
	2017 (n = 37)	*77.1*	65.7	*78.8*	93.2	*61.4*	*52.6*	*1.8*
Bicycle theft	2012 (n = 660)	*92.9*	*86*	*80.4*	*93.2*	28.6	*60.2*	–
	2017 (n = 600)	*94.1*	*87*	*84.5*	*89.2*	37.5	*59.9*	–
Personal theft	2012 (n = 430)	*95.3*	*89.8*	*86.4*	*86*	*41.9*	*33.3*	–
	2017 (n = 395)	*94.1*	*89.6*	*86.6*	*81.8*	*42.3*	*35.7*	–
Assault	2012 (n = 312)	83.5	*92.3*	*85.2*	*21.5*	*54.5*	*6.9*	–
	2017 (n = 253)	91.3	*95.3*	*84*	*32*	*60.5*	*11.4*	–
Robbery	2012 (n = 104)	*88.8*	98.5	*93.3*	74.7	*65.4*	31.9	*27.3*
	2017 (n = 106)	*95.8*	90.9	*91.4*	50.1	*68.2*	15.2	*31.5*
Fraud	2012 (n = 134)	*92.2*	*96.2*	*92.7*	*79.9*	*50.6*	*7*	–
	2017 (n = 169)	*92.5*	*90.1*	*90.6*	*82.1*	*52.1*	*12.6*	–
Payment card fraud	2012 (n = 80)	*98.5*	*94.7*	*97.1*	*62.6*	*74*	*28.6*	–
	2017 (n = 77)	*95.2*	*85.3*	*91.7*	*58.6*	*67.7*	*31.9*	–
Malware	2012 (n = 0)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2017 (n = 78)	*98*	*96.6*	*92.3*	*41.2*	*57.3*	*15*	–
Phishing	2012 (n = 0)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2017 (n = 31)	*94.5*	*97.9*	*100*	*67.9*	*84.4*	*19.8*	–

Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences to 2012 figures are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics. As it was possible to give multiple answers, responses referring to one offence can add up to more than 100%. A dark grey has been used to indicate the most frequently selected answer in each line. Various shades of grey are used to indicate the answers' order of popularity by offence and by year (from light to dark).

[39] If an interviewee had stated that they had fallen victim to offences listed in a particular category multiple times in the last twelve months, reasons for and against reporting the offence were only requested for their most recent experience of victimisation in this category.

[40] This was only asked to victims of theft who stated that something was actually taken from them during the incident.

The most frequently mentioned reasons for reporting an offence are "You should always report a crime", "So that it doesn't happen again" and "So that the offender is punished" (each was selected in over 80% of responses). It is worth pointing out the high number of respondents who selected "You should always report a crime", as it indicates the value-based and/or prescriptive origins of reporting behaviour. The sole exception is with regard to motorcycle theft: here, the respondents' overriding motivation is the hope of retrieving the stolen good. Reporting an incident for the purpose of claiming damages is frequently given as a response with regard to those offences that are either typically linked to a high financial loss or where it is necessary to report the crime to the police in order to make a claim with an insurer.

Here, too, there is also relatively little change between the two survey waves. Significant changes are only observed for individual reasons and offences, and without any discernible pattern.

Table 11: Reasons for not reporting by offence (in %)

		Because you did not think the incident was serious enough?	Because the police wouldn't have done/been able to do anything about it?	Because you or someone in your family resolved the matter?	Because you were frightened of or didn't want to involve the police?	Because you did not have insurance?	Because the incident was reported to another administra-tive body?	Because you were afraid of retaliation?
Burglary	2012 (n = 24)	*78*	*65.6*	*35.3*	*32.8*	*26.5*	*3*	*8.8*
	2017 (n = 57)	*59.2*	*65.3*	*33.5*	*27.7*	*18.8*	*6.3*	*11.8*
Attempted burglary	2012 (n = 129)	*76.4*	*71.3*	*41*	*3.9*	*6*	*4.3*	*3.6*
	2017 (n = 168)	*64.3*	*74.7*	*35.5*	*4.9*	*6.9*	*1.4*	*7.6*
Bicycle theft	2012 (n = 599)	*52.7*	*78.2*	*13.9*	7.1	*24.5*	*2.4*	*0.7*
	2017 (n = 405)	*48.1*	*72.2*	*11.7*	3.2	*22.5*	*1.7*	*1.2*
Personal theft	2012 (n = 646)	73.8	*70.4*	*20.1*	*3.1*	*15.4*	*8.8*	1.6
	2017 (n = 507)	66.1	*74.2*	*18.1*	*5.9*	*16.4*	*8.7*	5.4
Assault	2012 (n = 595)	*66.5*	*52.7*	54.8	*14.7*	*1.1*	*5.4*	11.7
	2017 (n = 460)	*63.7*	*47.5*	43.7	*10.1*	*1.5*	*4.3*	6.7
Robbery	2012 (n = 152)	*62.6*	*50.9*	*52.6*	21.7	*6.1*	*7.8*	16.2
	2017 (n = 156)	*55.3*	*61.2*	*50*	8.5	*2.6*	*2.1*	9.2
Fraud	2012 (n = 1,542)	*69.7*	*60.3*	*49.5*	6.9	5.2	*10.5*	*2.4*
	2017 (n = 1,220)	*68.9*	*56.4*	*47.4*	3.8	8.4	*10.2*	*1.7*
Payment card fraud	2012 (n = 93)	*58.3*	*36*	*54.2*	*7*	*2.5*	*3.7*	*3.1*
	2017 (n = 112)	*55.1*	*52.3*	*60.7*	*4.1*	*2*	*10.3*	*15.1*
Malware	2012 (n = 0)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2017 (n = 1,349)	*79*	*66.1*	–	*3.8*	*8*	*4.4*	*0.8*
Phishing	2012 (n = 0)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2017 (n = 218)	*60.6*	*5.7*	–	*51.1*	*13.6*	*35.8*	*4.2*
Pharming	2012 (n = 0)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2017 (n = 150)	*70.2*	*56.1*	–	*1.7*	*6.6*	*9.3*	*2.8*

Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences to 2012 figures are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics. As it was possible to give multiple answers, responses referring to one offence can add up to more than 100%. A dark grey has been used to indicate the most frequently selected answer in each line. Various shades of grey are used to indicate the answers' order of popularity by offence and by year (from light to dark).

Table 11 shows that with regard to not reporting a crime, the two reasons that dominate for most offences are “Because you did not think the incident was serious enough” and “Because the police wouldn’t have done/been able to do anything about it” (61–79%). One exception is payment card fraud, where 61% of victims state that either they or someone in their family resolved the matter. This reason is also given relatively frequently for the remaining offences (12–50%). Respondents chose the other responses far less often (2–28%). One marked exception to this is phishing, where the number of respondents who chose “Because the incident was reported to another administrative body” (36%) and “Because you were frightened of or didn’t want to involve the police” (51%) is notably higher. Also worthy of note is the fact that for the offence of burglary, interviewees relatively frequently responded with “Because you were frightened of or didn’t want to involve the police” (28%). Although, on the whole, this reason is stated far less often than others with regard to burglary, when compared with other offences, it is striking just how often it is mentioned.

Once again, the data show relatively little change in comparison to the figures from the 2012 survey. Significant changes are broadly observed for individual reasons and offences, and without any discernible pattern. The only response which was less frequently given in the 2017 survey (across all offences) was “Because you were frightened of or didn’t want to involve the police”.

5 Perceptions of insecurity and crime

In addition to the objective crime situation, perceptions of safety play a crucial role both for people's quality of life and for the well-being of the community. Fear and feelings of insecurity may not only lead to avoidance behaviour and protective behavioural strategies, a loss of trust and social withdrawal, they can also weaken social cohesion at both the local and wider societal level. Moreover, concern about the threat of crime is closely linked to other relevant social questions and issues, such as quality of life and housing, the integration of minorities, attitudes towards those perceived as "others", trust in the state, the justice system and the police, and even people's political views.

However, subjective safety cannot merely be explained by looking at the objective crime situation: a feeling of threat often weighs heavier than the actual risk, and many people's perceptions of crime as a social issue are felt more keenly than their own sense of personal risk. This discrepancy has long been recognised within the field, but in light of current social challenges, the gap between perceived safety and objective threats to security appears to be growing. While just a few years ago there was still evidence of a long-term downwards trend in fear of crime in Germany (Dittmann 2009; Hummelsheim 2017), more recent surveys suggest that perceptions of insecurity in the country have started to rise again in recent years (R+V Versicherung "Die Ängste der Deutschen" [The Fears of Germans], European Social Survey 2016).

Against this background, the 2017 German Victimisation Survey offers fresh insight into how perceived safety in the country has evolved since 2012, focusing primarily on people's perception of personal safety. Feelings of insecurity and fear of crime comprise only one aspect of perceptions of crime, namely the emotional element. Social psychological research has suggested that three different components of crime perception exist: 1. The affective (emotional) component, which includes feelings of insecurity and fear of crime, 2. the cognitive component, i.e. the perceived risk of falling victim to a crime, and 3. the conative (behavioural) component, which refers to specific avoidance measures taken in response to feelings of insecurity in order to avoid victimisation.

The German Victimisation Survey uses different indicators to measure these various dimensions of perceived safety. On the one hand, there is a global indicator that records unspecified feelings of insecurity not related to certain crime types: the so-called standard item is widely used and measures feelings of insecurity in the neighbourhood after dark. On the other hand, there are more specific measures used to record personal fear of crime. Here, respondents are asked about their fear of falling victim to specified crime(s). The interviewees' level of fear is gauged by assessing the intensity of their anxiety about falling victim to a specific offence, such as robbery, burglary or assault. How large they deem the risk to be (cognitive level) is measured by asking the respondent how likely they think they are to fall victim to a specific offence within the next twelve months. Finally, the conative dimension is assessed by asking questions concerning avoidance behaviour. Unlike affective and cognitive aspects, this dimension is being recorded in the 2017 DVS for the first time.

The following section presents selected survey results concerning subjective feelings of safety among the population. Here, the analysis primarily explores the relationships that exist between sex

and age, migrant background as well as spatial distribution. Particular attention has been paid to highlighting the development of subjective safety since 2012.

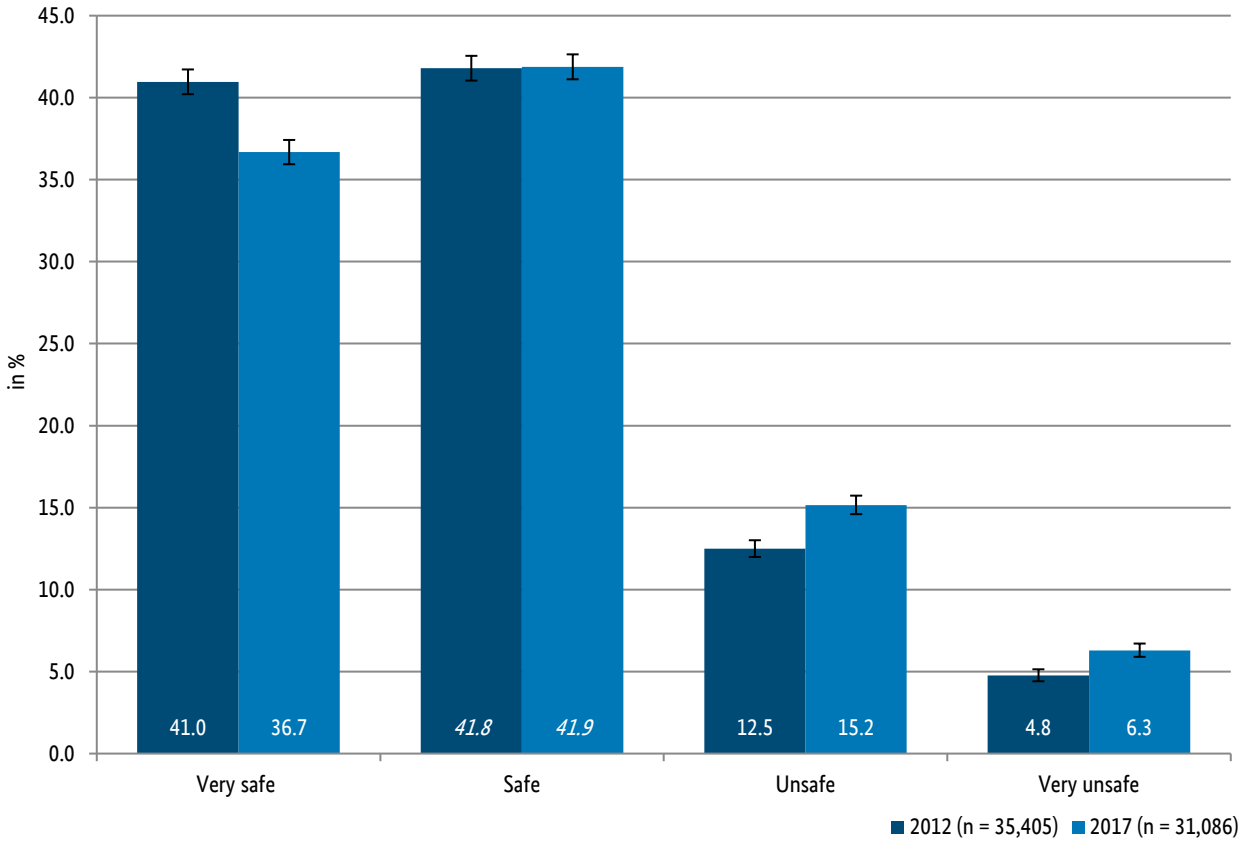
5.1 FEELINGS OF INSECURITY AND FEAR OF CRIME (AFFECTIVE DIMENSION)

Unspecified, crime-related feelings of insecurity in the neighbourhood were recorded by measuring responses to the following question:

> *How safe do you – or would you – feel walking alone in your neighbourhood after dark? Very safe, safe, unsafe, very unsafe?*

A total of 78.6% of the population state that they would feel very or quite safe in their neighbourhood at night. Although this means that the majority feels reasonably safe, when compared to 2012, the percentage of those who feel quite or very unsafe has actually increased (see Figure 22). In 2017, 21.5% of citizens feel unsafe; in 2012, this figure stood at 17.3%.

Figure 22: Feelings of insecurity in the neighbourhood, 2012 and 2017



Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences to 2012 figures are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

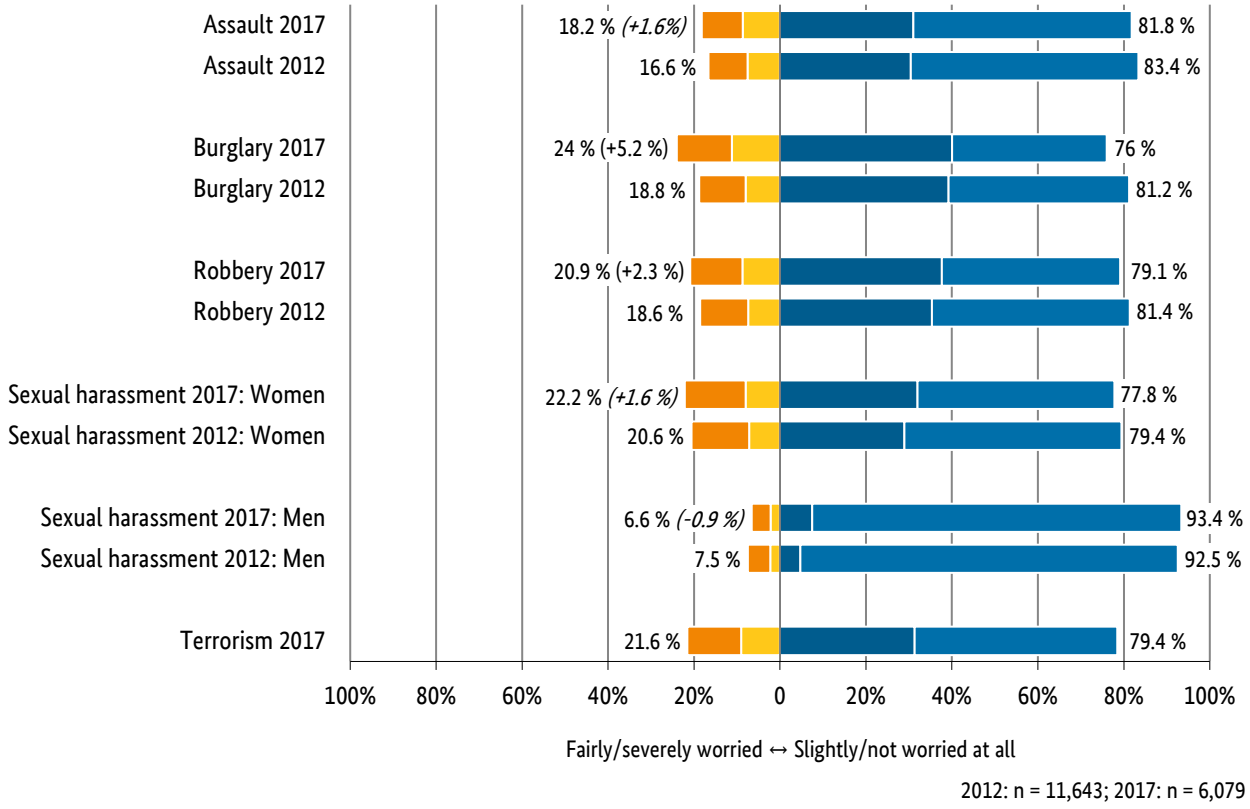
Compared to 2012, a smaller proportion of the population feels very safe or is not at all worried about falling victim to a crime. Instead, a larger number of people feel quite or very unsafe. This picture is confirmed by the population's fear of specific crimes (see Figure 23).

In order to obtain data on the population's concerns about specific crimes, interviewees were asked the following questions:

To what extent are you worried about ...
... being hit and injured in an attack?
... your apartment or house being broken into?
... being robbed?
... falling victim to sexual harassment?
... being a victim of a terrorist attack?

Respondents could choose from the following answers: *not at all worried*, *slightly worried*, *fairly worried*, *severely worried*.

Figure 23: Fear of specific offences, 2017 (difference in percentage points to 2012 figures in brackets)



2012: n = 11,643; 2017: n = 6,079

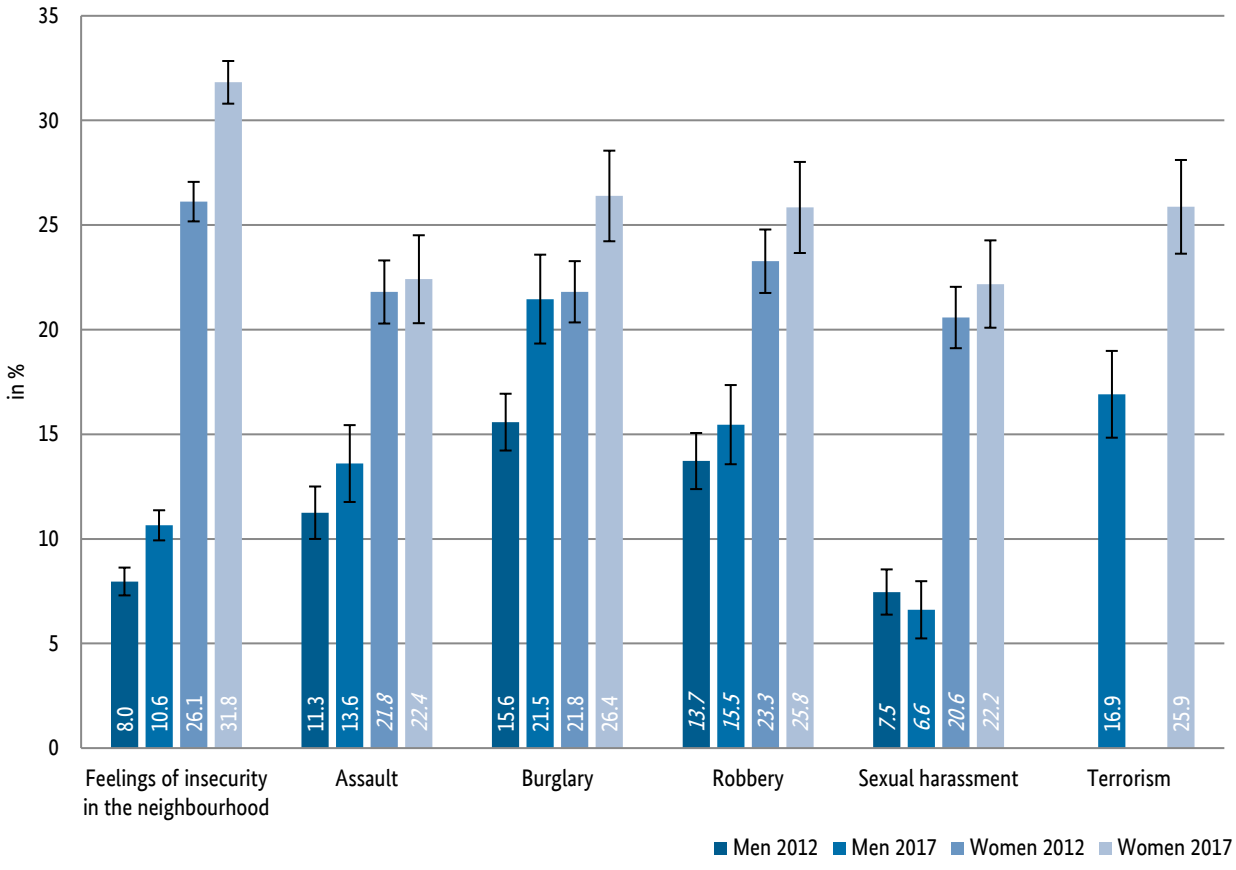
Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences to 2012 figures are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

In comparison to the data for 2012, fear of falling victim to domestic burglary has increased significantly. In 2017, one in four (24%) is fairly or severly worried that someone might break into their apartment or house. In 2012, it was still only one in five (19%). Domestic burglary is thus the most feared crime. Fear of robbery has also increased by around two percentage points to approx. 21%. There is no marked change with regard to people's fear of assault. 18% of the population stated that they were fairly or severely worried about being hit and injured in an attack (2012: approx. 17%). Concerns about falling victim to sexual harassment were expressed by just under 15% of the overall population. When the figures are analysed by sex, unsurprisingly, more women (22%) than men (just under 7%) are affected. Here, too, there are no notable changes to the 2012 figures.

The 2017 survey wave was the first time that respondents were asked to state their level of concern about falling victim to a terrorist attack. Overall, just under 22% of the population is fairly or severely worried about being personally affected by a terrorist attack, with almost 13% even expressing an extreme level of concern.

On the whole, the empirical findings show that the population's fear of crime has increased since 2012. However, certain segments of the population appear to be more severely affected by this development than others.

Figure 24: Fear of crime by sex, 2012 and 2017 (feeling of insecurity: very/quite unsafe and fear of a specific crime: severely/fairly worried)



Feelings of insecurity in the neighbourhood 2012: n = 35,405; 2017: n = 31,086
Offence-specific fear of crime 2012: n = 11,643; 2017: n = 6,079

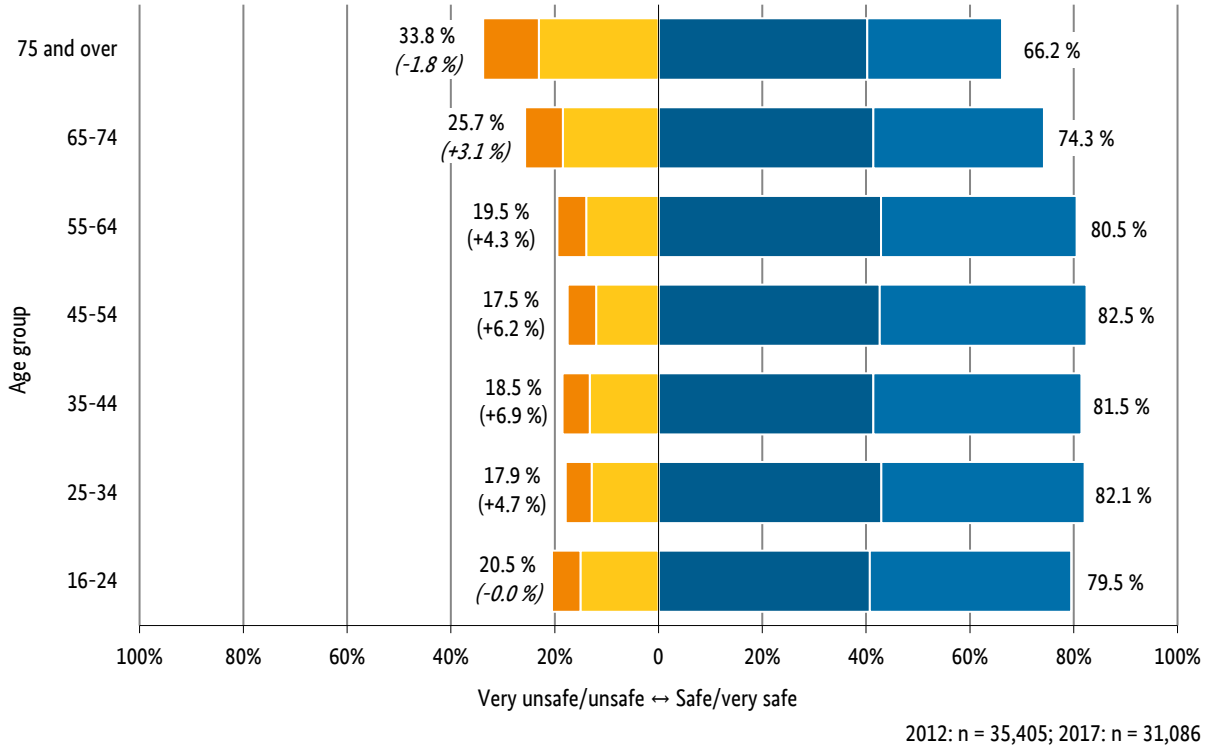
Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, all differences between men and women are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

It is widely recognised that perceived safety differs considerably between men and women (Birkel et al. 2014). Yet women are not only affected by fear of crime to a much larger extent than men. Feelings of insecurity have also risen more sharply among women since 2012 (see Figure 24).

However, feelings of insecurity in the neighbourhood have increased significantly among both men and women since 2012. The portion of men who state that they feel quite or very unsafe in their neighbourhood rose by just under three percentage points, standing at around 11% in 2017. Among women, feelings of insecurity rose by just under six percentage points to 32%. In terms of overall perceived safety, then, the difference between the sexes has become even more pronounced.

The usual gender gap also invariably appears with regard to fear of specific crimes. A much higher number of women fear assault (22% compared to 14% of men), burglary (26% compared to 22% of men), robbery (26% compared to 16% of men), a terrorist attack (26% compared to 17% of men) and sexual harassment (22% compared to 7% of men). However, when examining crime-specific fear, fewer changes can be noted since 2012 than with regard to feelings of safety in the neighbourhood (with the exception of fear of burglary).

Figure 25: Feelings of insecurity in the neighbourhood by age, 2017 (difference in percentage points to 2012 figures in brackets)



Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences to 2012 figures are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

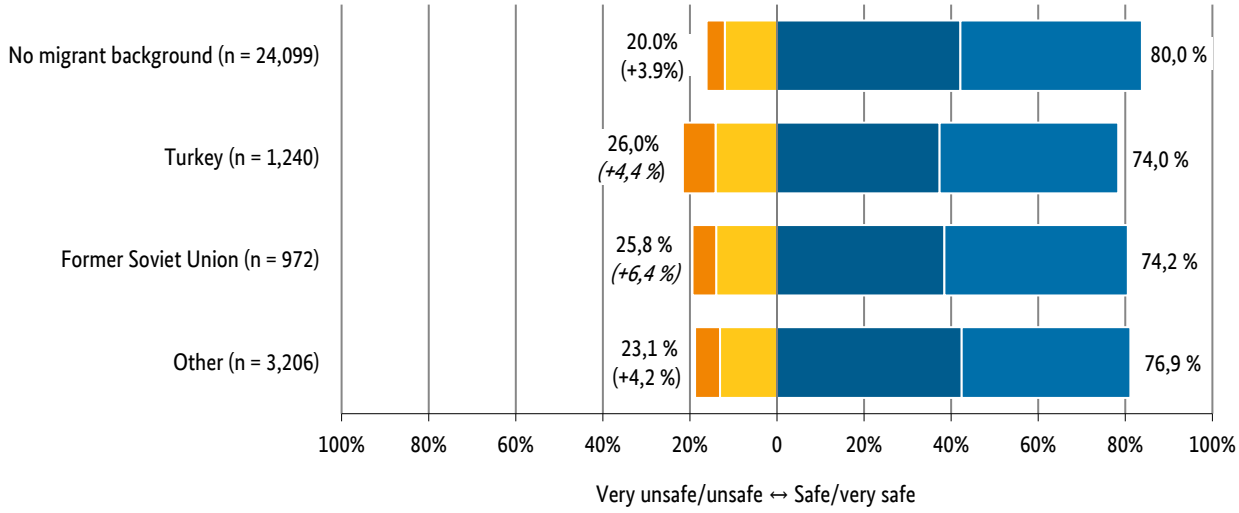
Alongside sex, age also plays a key role in perceived safety. Figure 25 shows that both older as well as younger persons feel more unsafe in their neighbourhood than middle-aged residents. In the youngest age group (16- to 24-year-olds), around one in five (21%) feels quite or very unsafe; among those over 75, this figure is one in three (34%). Those who feel most safe are respondents aged between 25 and 54. This correlation between age and fear of crime, whereby those who are middle-aged feel safer than those who are either younger or older, was already documented in the 2012 survey (Birkel et al. 2014). Interestingly, however, it is among these middle-aged respondents (those

aged between 35 and 54) that subjective insecurity increased most sharply between 2012 and 2017. Here, the figure has risen by between six and seven percentage points. There is no notable change among the youngest and oldest age groups.

Upon analysing the correlation between age and fear of specific offences, the link appears strongest with regard to fear of assault and of sexual harassment. Fear of assault is most widespread among the youngest age group of 16- to 24-year-olds (24%). However, in comparison to 2012 data, the oldest age group (75 and over) also expressed a greater fear of violence (23%). In response to the question concerning being hit and injured in an attack, the group of middle-aged respondents showed the lowest levels of fear. A similar link emerges with regard to concerns about being injured during a robbery: here, too, both the younger and older respondents are most fearful. Another correlation can be noted with regard to fear of sexual harassment. While younger respondents are the most concerned, anxiety appears to decrease notably with age. Fear of burglary and terrorism, on the other hand, does not seem to vary with age.

As the empirical findings show, feelings of insecurity are also closely linked to experiences of migration (see Figure 26).

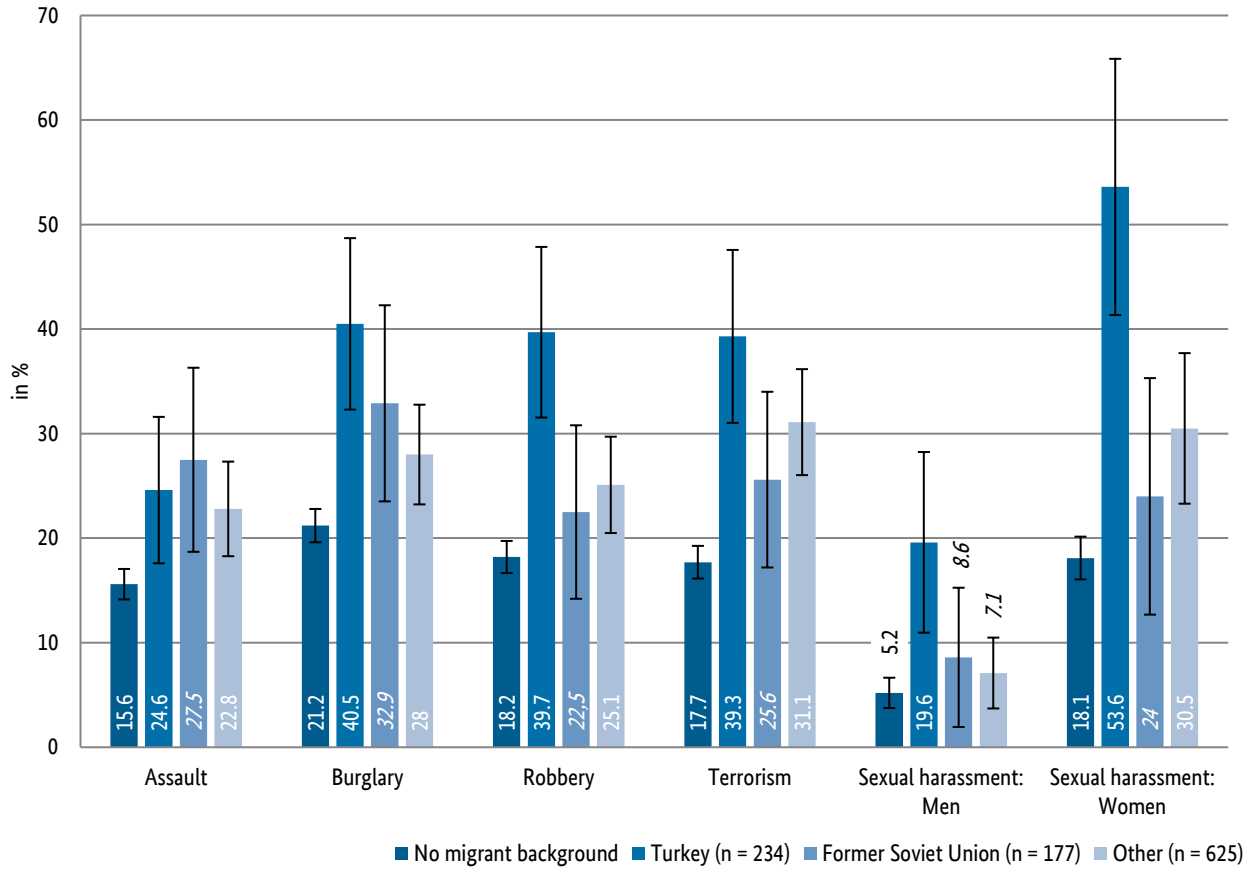
Figure 26: Feelings of insecurity in the neighbourhood by migrant background, 2017 (difference in percentage points to 2012 figures in brackets)



Note: All differences between persons with and without a migrant background are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5% (see footnote 23). Similarly, based on the Chi-Square test, differences to 2012 figures are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

Persons with a migrant background, i.e. immigrants and their children, stated significantly more often that they felt unsafe in their neighbourhoods. They also tend to feel more concerned about falling victim to crime than the native population. Of the two migrant groups that were focused on in the DVS, i.e. persons from Turkey and the former Soviet Union, roughly one in four feels unsafe in their neighbourhood (approx. 26% in each group); among non-migrant German respondents, it was only one in five (20%). Analyses of data collected in the 2012 DVS wave attributed this increased sense of insecurity to these groups' lower social status and the different neighbourhoods they inhabit (Birkel et al. 2016). Furthermore, people with a migrant background are – across all offences – more worried about falling victim to a specific crime than those without a migrant background (see Figure 27).

Figure 27: Fear of experiencing a specific crime by migrant background, 2017



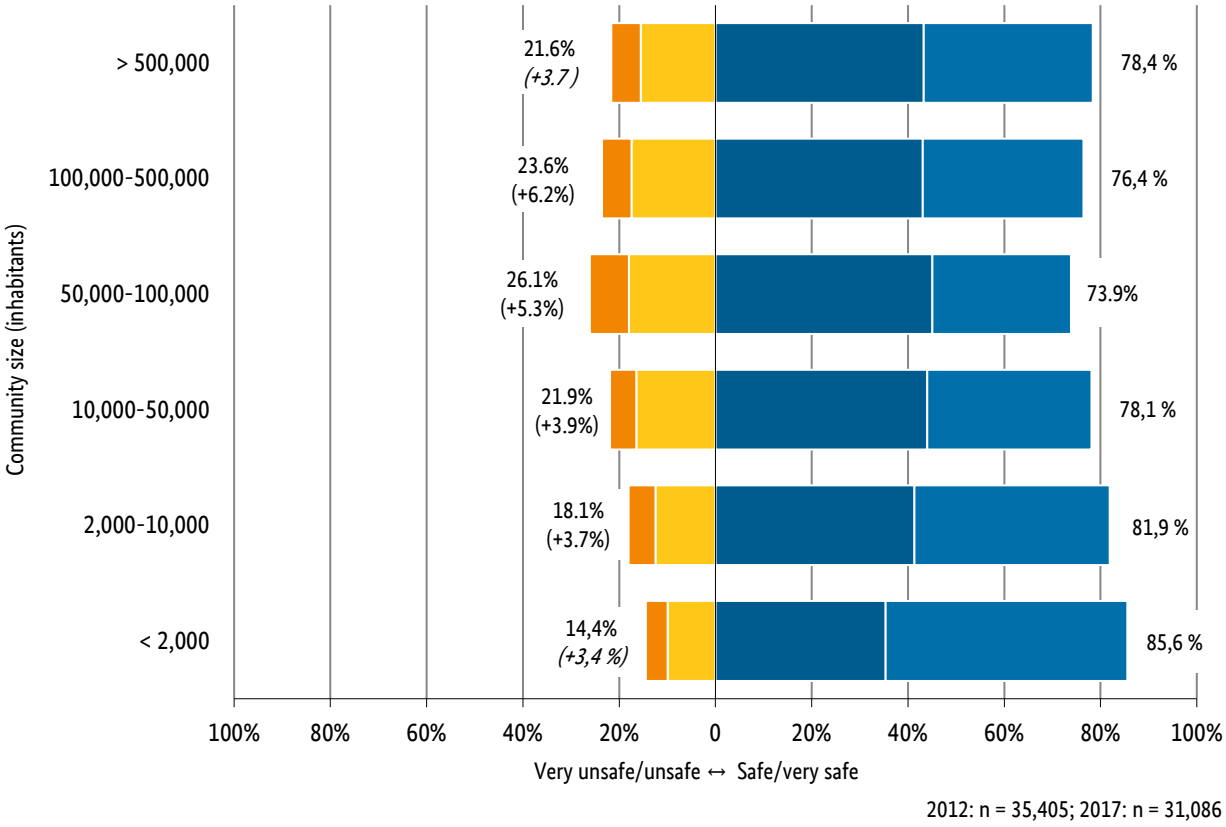
Note: All differences between persons with and without a migrant background are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics (see footnote 23).

Here, feelings of insecurity are heavily pronounced among respondents of Turkish origin: 40% of this group are worried about falling victim to burglary, robbery or a terrorist attack. The proportion of those who feel concerned is thus twice as high as it is among the non-migrant population. It is also notable that approx. one in two women of Turkish origin feels fairly or severely worried about becoming a victim of sexual harassment (approx. 54%). Among women without a migrant background, this figure stands at just 18%; for women whose origins are in the former Soviet Union, it is 24%. On the whole, persons of Turkish origin tend to be more worried about crime than respondents originating from a country of the former Soviet Union. For the latter, the rates of concern are only slightly higher compared to interviewees of Turkish origin with regard to assault. As the group of interviewees originating from other countries is highly diverse, it is not possible to draw any substantive conclusions from the results.

Spatial context and fear of crime

As was already the case in 2012, the data for 2017 show that feelings of insecurity in the neighbourhood increase continuously up until a community size of 100,000 inhabitants and then start to fall slightly in larger cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants (see Figure 28). Very small areas with fewer than 2,000 inhabitants have a comparatively smaller proportion of citizens who are fearful of crime (14%). However, at 26%, the proportion is the largest in medium-sized towns with between 50,000 and 100,000 inhabitants. In large cities with more than 500,000 inhabitants, roughly 22% of the population are afraid to walk alone at night through their neighbourhood.

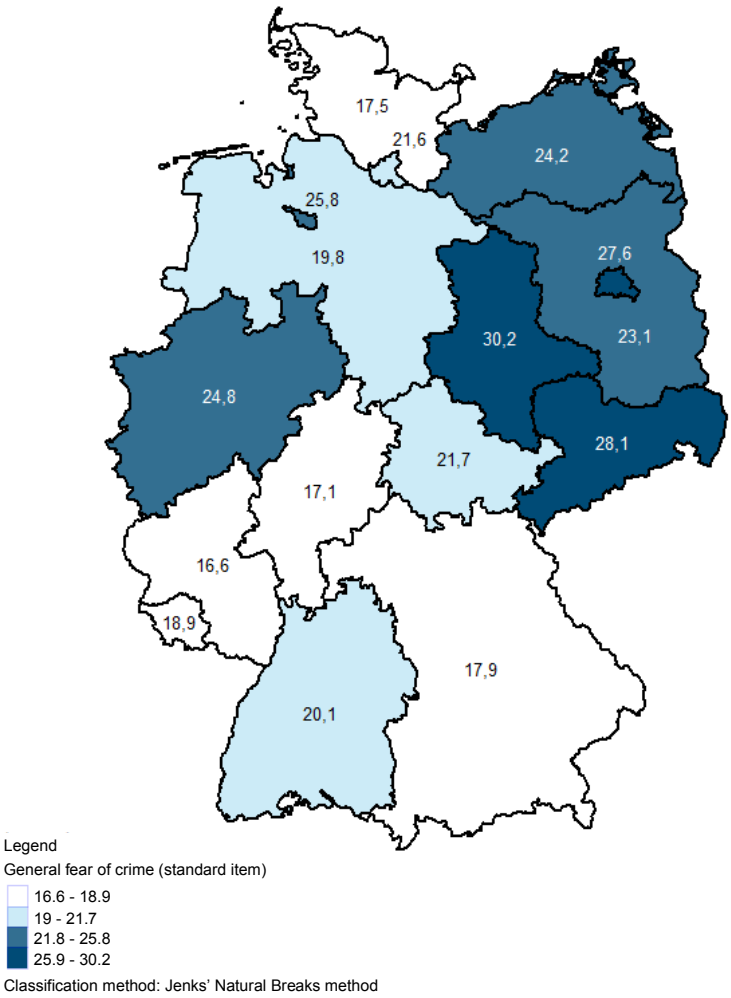
Figure 28: Feeling of insecurity in the neighbourhood by community size, 2017 (difference in percentage points to 2012 figures in brackets)



Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences to 2012 figures are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

It is notable that since 2012 perceived insecurity has increased most markedly in medium-sized towns. This means that fear of crime has increased at a disproportionately high rate (by approx. five to six percentage points) in areas where fear was already highest in 2012. An examination by community size of the levels of fear expressed with regard to specific offences did not yield any obvious differences. Only one trend can be observed: fear of assault and robbery increases slightly in line with community size; statistically speaking, however, this correlation is only marginal.

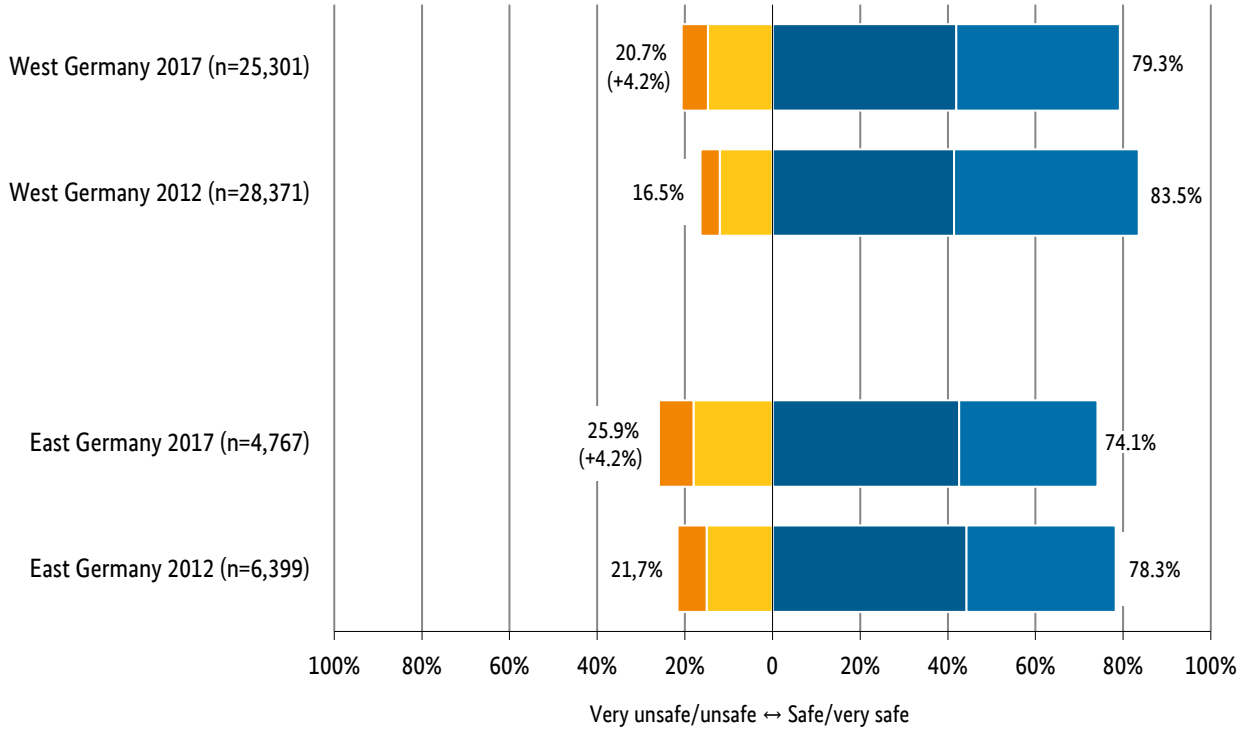
Figure 29: Proportion of the population in the federal states who feel unsafe in their neighbourhood (in %), 2017 (n = 31,086)



Perceived insecurity has shown an upwards trend in almost every federal state since 2012. This change has been particularly marked and statistically significant in Baden-Württemberg (+8 percentage points), Saxony-Anhalt (+7.6 percentage points), Saxony (+6.4 percentage points), Bavaria (+5.5 percentage points), Lower Saxony (+5.3 percentage points) and in North Rhine-Westphalia (+4.1 percentage points), all of which have seen a rise in the number of people who feel quite or very unsafe in their neighbourhood. Fear of crime is highest in Saxony-Anhalt (30%) together with Saxony and Berlin (28% each), while it is lowest in Rhineland-Palatinate and Hesse (17% each) along with Schleswig-Holstein and Bavaria (18% each) (see Figure 29).[41]

[41] The classification shown by the various shades of blue in Figure 29 were produced using Jenks' Natural Breaks method (see footnote 26). It should be noted that there is only partial statistical evidence to support the differences between the federal states. For a list of the differences between the federal states that are statistically significant, see Table 48 in the appendix. For details on the methodology used, please refer to footnote 28.

Figure 30: Feelings of insecurity in the neighbourhood: comparison between east and west Germany, 2017 (difference in percentage points to 2012 figures in brackets)



Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, changes to 2012 figures are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%.

When the results are separated out into Germany's former east and west, it is clear that the population's feeling of insecurity has increased similarly in both parts of the country by around four percentage points. The differences that have come to characterise the east/west divide thus remain relatively unchanged: in east Germany, around one in four feels unsafe in their neighbourhood (26%); in the west, it is one in five (21%). The data for specific offences show that persons in east Germany are significantly more afraid of falling victim to robbery and terrorist attacks than persons living in west Germany.

5.2 PERCEIVED RISK OF BEING VICTIMISED (COGNITIVE DIMENSION)

While the previous section explored feelings of insecurity or the fear of specific offences, our analysis will now turn to evaluating the cognitive dimension of perceived safety. This dimension encourages interviewees to take a more conscious approach to reflecting on attitudes to crime. Respondents are asked for their opinion on how likely they think it is that they will fall victim to a specific offence. Specifically, the survey included the following question:

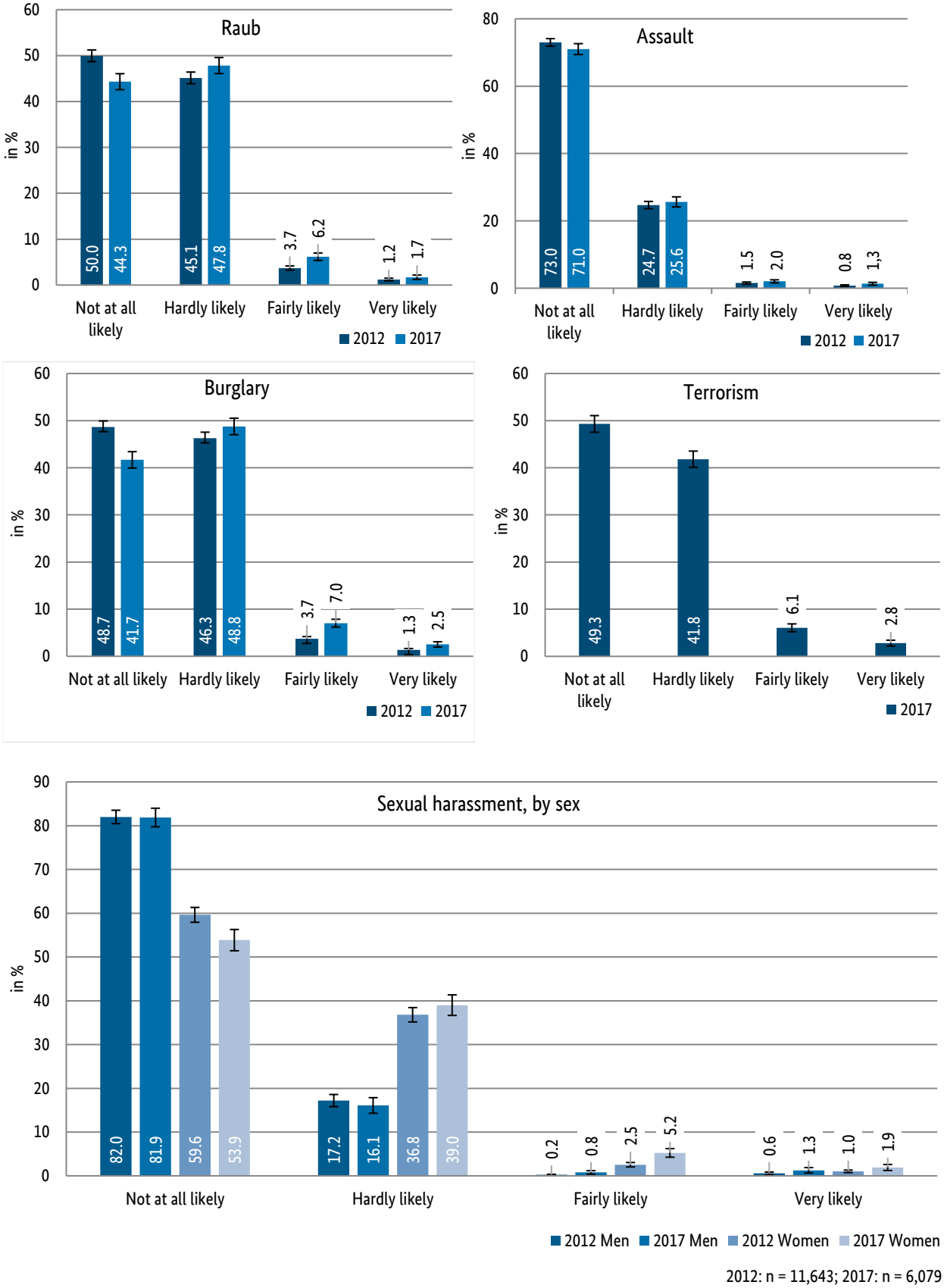
In your opinion, how likely are you in the next twelve months ...
... to be injured in an attack?
... to have your apartment or house broken into?
... to be robbed?
... to fall victim to sexual harassment?
... to be a victim of a terrorist attack?

For each question, the respondent could answer: *not at all likely*, *hardly likely*, fairly *likely*, *very likely*.

An analysis of respondents' perceived risk shows that a clear majority believes it is unlikely that they will be affected by crime within the coming year. In particular, the risk of being injured in an attack or of being a male victim of sexual harassment was considered to be very low. Overall, approx. 3% believe they are at a quite or very high risk of assault, and only around 2% of men assume they might be sexually harassed. Approx. 7% of women, on the other hand, see sexual harassment as a possible risk. However, Germans believe they are most likely to fall victim to a burglary (10%). Falling victim to a terrorist attack is also perceived as a risk by 9% of respondents. In general, however, the perceived risk of falling victim to personal crime remains quite low.

While there has been no notable change in the perceived risk of assault since 2012, the perceived risk of being burgled has risen markedly (see Figure 31). The proportion of those who believe that it is (quite or very) likely that their apartment or house will be burgled has almost doubled since 2012, rising to just under 10% in 2017 (2012: 5%). This subsequently means that not only are more persons afraid of a possible burglary than in 2012, but that more believe it is likely that they could fall victim to this crime in the coming months. This increase in perceived risk of burglary mirrors the development of the actual burglary risk in the years observed (see development of prevalence and incidence rates for (attempted) burglary on p. 18). The perceived risk of falling victim to robbery has also increased: just under 8% believe that they could fall victim to this crime in the coming months. In 2012 this figure stood at 5%. This perception also reflects an increase in the actual risk (see development of prevalence and incidence rates for robbery on p. 13). In terms of the likelihood of being sexually harassed, the perceived risk has risen slightly (although not significantly from a statistical viewpoint) among women, while there was no noteworthy change among men.

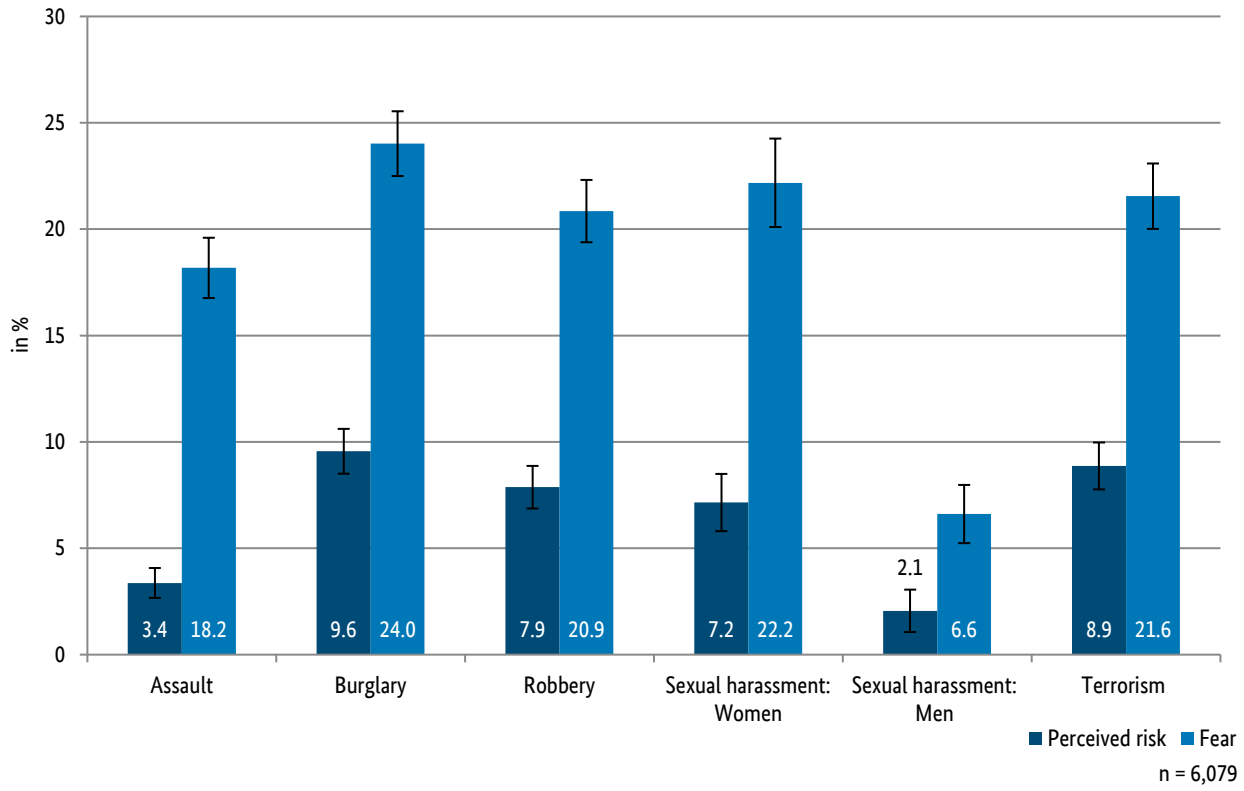
Figure 31: Perceived likelihood of falling victim to a specific offence in the next twelve months (in %), 2012 and 2017



2012: n = 11,643; 2017: n = 6,079

Note: All differences to 2012 figures, as well as those between men and women, are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%.

Figure 32: Offence-specific perception of risk (quite or very likely, in %) versus offence-specific fear (quite or very concerned, in %), 2017



If the perceived risk of victimisation is compared with levels of fear concerning a specific offence, it is noticeable that, comparatively speaking, there are many persons who are afraid of offences even though their perceived risk of falling victim to crime tends to be quite low (see Figure 32). For example, 18% of the population stated that they were quite or very concerned about being injured in an attack, while only 3% considered it (quite or very) likely that they would experience such an attack in the next twelve months.

The gap between feelings of insecurity and perceived risk appears to be particularly large among women. While women are far more likely than men to feel insecure, their perception of risk (with the exception of sexual harassment) is not substantially higher than that of men. The emerging gender differences are thus minor and not statistically significant.

The correlation between age and perception of risk is also less notable than between age and fear of crime. It is predominantly younger persons who feel they are at serious risk of being injured in an attack. The older respondents are, the less likely they think they are to become a victim of assault. This corresponds to the actual risk of becoming a victim of assault, which also decreases with age (see p. 14). Sexual harassment is predominantly perceived to be a risk by younger women, with females aged between 25 and 35 stating that they felt most at risk (13%). Here, too, the perceived risk of victimisation decreases continuously with age.

If the data for perceived risk are examined in consideration of migrant background, parallels can be drawn with fear of crime. Respondents without a migrant background perceive their risk of victimisation as lower compared to those with a migrant background. This trend can be observed across all offences. Respondents of Turkish origin tend to perceive their risk to be higher than those from other countries.

While there is a slight correlation between fear of specific offences and the community size, there are slightly stronger links between the community size and the perception of risk. The perceived risk of falling victim to assault, burglary or sexual harassment increases in line with the size of the place of residence.

Compared to fear of crime, there are fewer pronounced differences between the federal states with regard to the perceived risk of falling victim to a crime, although a statistically significant difference between east and west Germany can be noted. Respondents in east Germany are not only more concerned about falling victim to robbery or a terrorist attack, they also perceive the actual risk to be higher than those from west Germany.

5.3 AVOIDANCE BEHAVIOUR (CONATIVE DIMENSION)

The third dimension of feelings of insecurity concerns avoidance behaviour. Those who are concerned about falling victim to crime and thus feel unsafe may try to avoid potential dangers. Feelings of insecurity can lead many to avoid certain places or to limit their activities after nightfall. These precautionary measures are primarily intended to avoid the risk of harassment, physical and sexual assault, and robbery in public places. For the first time, the 2017 survey included the following questions regarding respondents' avoidance behaviour:

> *People may use a range of behavioural approaches in order to avoid falling victim to crime. I am going to read you a list of different behaviours. After each one, I would like you to tell me if it is something you do always, often, sometimes, occasionally or never.*
>
> *In order to avoid falling victim to crime, I …*
> *… avoid certain roads, squares and parks.*
> *… avoid people who look threatening.*
> *… take detours.*
> *… avoid being out alone after nightfall.*

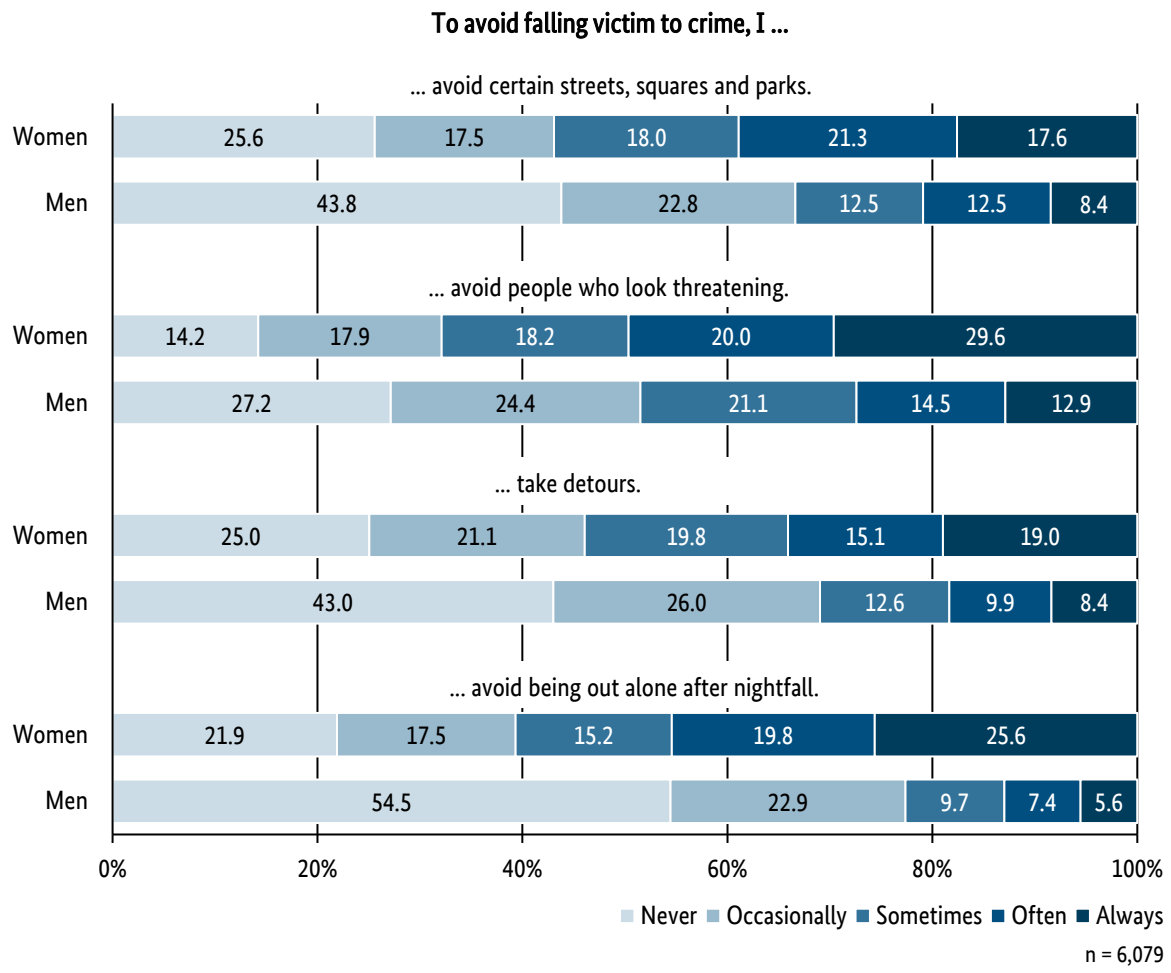
The answers to these four questions provide information on respondents' restraints to spatial mobility in their everyday lives as a consequence of perceived insecurity. As these questions were not yet included in the 2012 survey, it is not possible to draw any conclusions about how this behaviour has changed over time.

Numerous studies have shown that these precautionary and avoidance behaviours are more pronounced among people who see themselves as physically or psychologically vulnerable and thus fear that the consequences will be more severe should they be victimised. This may explain why women and older persons in particular have displayed pronounced avoidance behaviour in several studies despite the fact that their risk of being victimised is lower than it is for other groups. However, this may not be a contradiction, as cautious behaviour can in fact lower the level of risk. For older persons and people with health problems, however, limited mobility not only reflects their conscious efforts to avoid being victimised, but also the fact that they generally lead less active lives.

Alongside individual characteristics, socio-spatial conditions in an individual's neighbourhood also play a key role in the spread of avoidance behaviour. However, there is generally no strong correlation with recorded levels of street crime; rather, such behaviour is linked to social issues that trigger feelings of insecurity. In most cities, there are sites that are considered unsafe, such as parks

and squares, and the less frequented they are, the more unsafe they seem. Such places also largely look neglected and pose a challenge to urban planners.

Figure 33: Avoidance behaviour by sex, 2017



Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, all differences between men and women are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%.

The 2017 survey findings show that the vast majority of the population avoids places or situations at least occasionally in order to minimise the risk of being victimised, and that a much larger number of women do this compared to men. Roughly half of men and three quarters of women at least occasionally avoid certain streets, squares and parks, and also avoid walking alone at night (see Figure 33). Slightly more women and men take detours and avoid people who look threatening. However, such behaviours are only routine for a much smaller number of respondents: only 21% of men and 39% of women either often or always avoid certain streets, squares and parks, and 13% of men and 45% of women often or always avoid being out alone after nightfall (see Figure 33). Almost half of women limit their everyday activities due to their feelings of insecurity. As can be seen in tables 12 and 13, the gender gap is especially pronounced with regard to the number of men and women who avoid being out alone after nightfall.

Table 12: How often respondents avoid walking alone at night, by age and sex (in %), 2017

	Sex	Total n = 6,079	Age (in years)						
			16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	> 74
Never	Men	54.5	53.7	66.0	57.0	54.7	51.7	51.4	43.3
	Women	21.9	18.7	19.6	15.8	25.9	23.0	25.2	23.2
Occasionally/ sometimes	Men	32.6	34.0	29.6	32.0	31.5	36.8	30.5	33.9
	Women	32.7	35.8	36.4	37.7	37.8	32.5	28.0	20.7
Often/always	Men	13.0	12.4	4.5	11.1	13.9	11.5	18.1	22.8
	Women	45.4	45.6	44.0	46.5	36.4	44.5	46.8	56.2

Note: The differences between men and women are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%.

Table 13: Avoidance of certain streets, squares or parks, by age and sex (in %), 2017

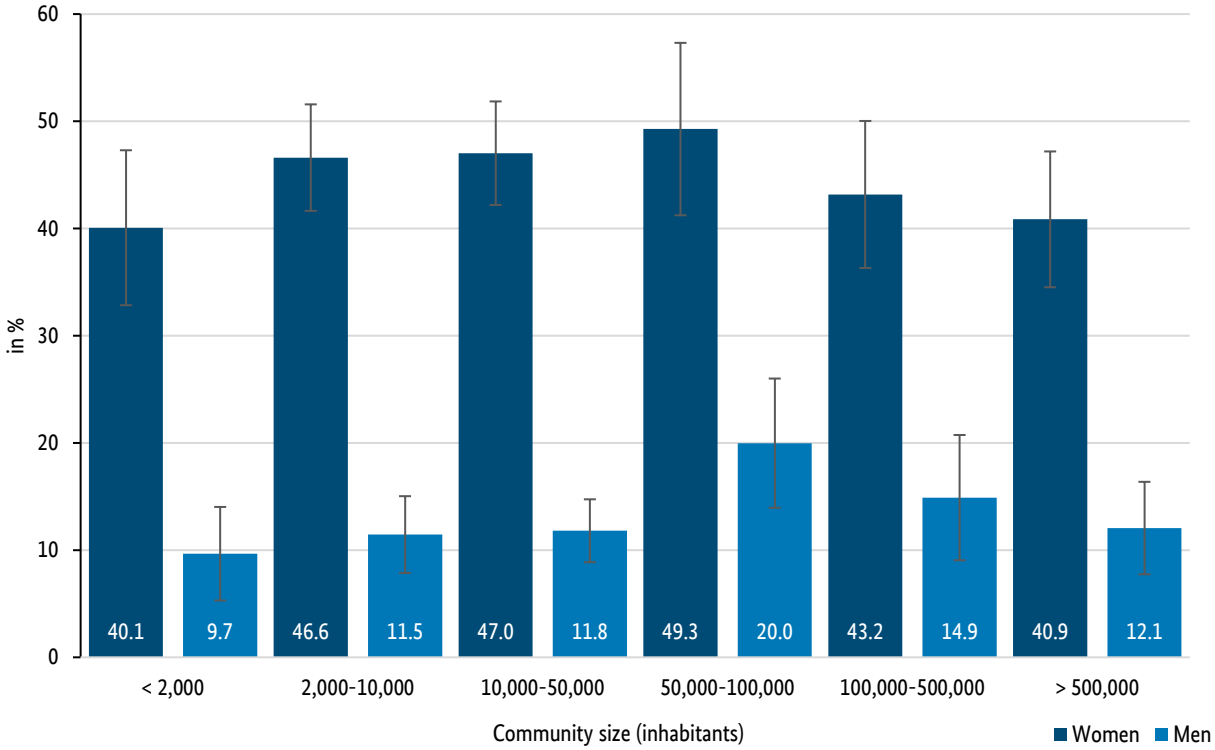
	Sex	Total n = 6,079	Age (in years)						
			16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	> 74
Never	Men	43.8	49.2	51.6	41.9	40.7	44.5	39.4	39.7
	Women	25.6	27.9	21.3	19.9	23.7	24.8	25.5	36.3
Occasionally/ sometimes	Men	35.3	32.6	34.3	37.2	37.1	32.2	34.7	39.0
	Women	35.6	33.6	46.6	34.7	30.5	35.3	34.5	30.8
Often/always	Men	20.9	18.2	14.2	20.9	22.3	23.4	25.9	21.3
	Women	38.9	33.6	32.1	45.4	45.8	39.9	40.0	32.9

Note: The differences between men and women are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%.

If these results are compared with those for fear of crime, the avoidance behaviour is more prevalent among men and, especially, among women than feelings of insecurity in the neighbourhood and the affective fear of assault and robbery. Even among women who feel very safe in their neighbourhood, more than half avoid being out alone after nightfall; one fifth stated that they do so regularly or always. This underlines the fact that for many women, restricting their movement is a fact of life.

There is no evidence of a trend towards more pronounced avoidance behaviour among older respondents. Although the proportion of men and women who frequently or always avoid being alone in a public place at night is increasing in the middle-aged groups, and is at its highest among those aged 75 and over, this trend is not very pronounced, and it does not apply to the avoidance of certain streets, squares and parks. Here, there is no statistically significant age difference among men, while women in the middle-age groups (35–54) exercise the most caution. When these results are compared with the age distribution of affective fear of crime, it is notable that although younger persons are those who most fear violence and sexual assault, they are less likely to avoid potential dangers. This is possibly linked to younger people having a subjectively lower sense of vulnerability and a more active lifestyle.

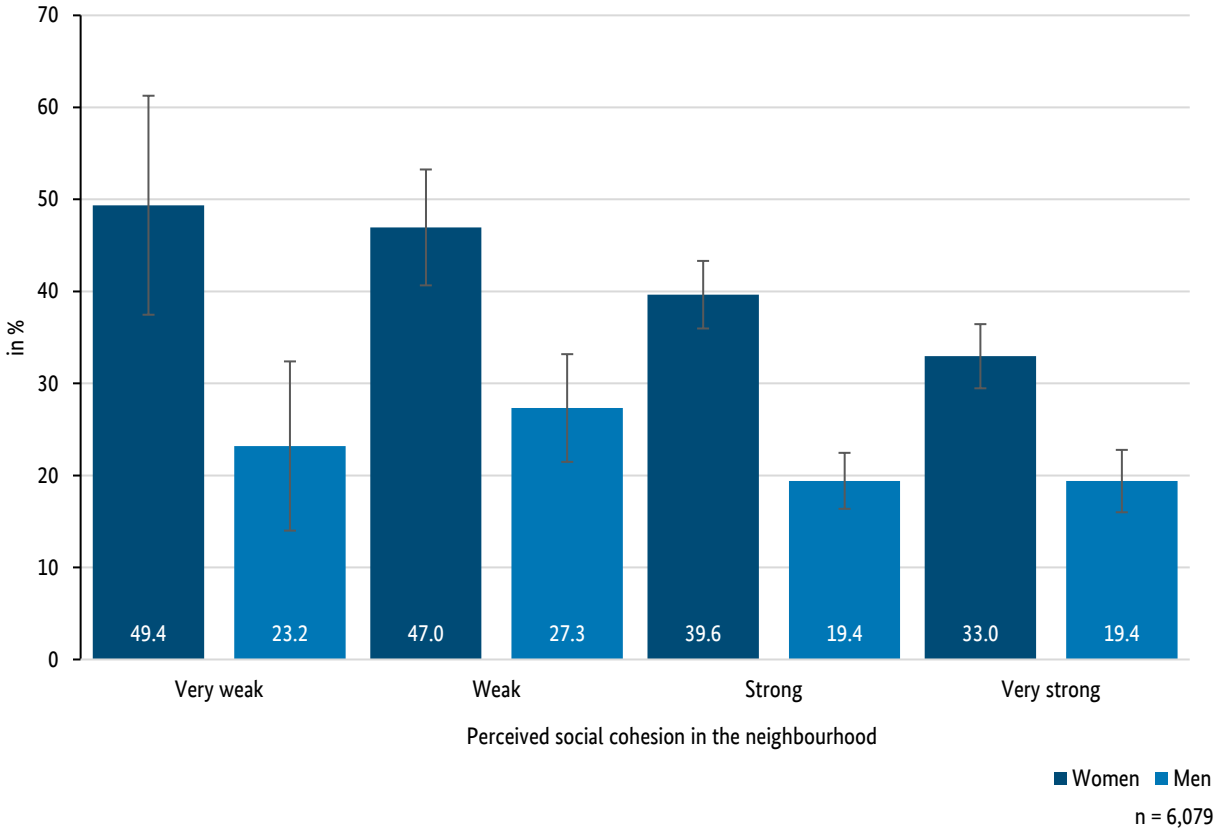
Figure 34: Avoiding being outside alone after nightfall, by community size and sex (often and always, in %), 2017



Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, all differences between men and women are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%.

Even a differentiation based on the community size does not reveal any obvious differences in avoidance behaviour. Respondents in medium-sized towns of 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants are most likely to state that they often or always avoid being alone in a public place at night, which tallies with their feeling of insecurity. However, these differences are only slight and not statistically significant (see Figure 34). Only men in medium-sized towns show a greater, statistically significant tendency towards avoiding certain streets, squares and parks.

Figure 35: Avoidance of certain streets, squares and parks, by social cohesion in the neighbourhood and sex (often and always, in %), 2017



Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, all differences between men and women are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%.

Feelings of insecurity in the neighbourhood and avoidance behaviour are closely linked to the levels of trust and social cohesion among residents. Those who hold a positive view of social cohesion in the neighbourhood are far less likely to avoid certain places, and this particularly applies to women (see Figure 35). Avoiding areas at night is – for both men and women – strongly linked to a perceived lack of social cohesion. The DVS measured social cohesion in the neighbourhood by asking respondents a series of questions on perceived willingness to help, adherence to norms and mutual trust.

6 Experiences with the police and trust in public institutions

As the authority responsible for maintaining security and order, the police receive particular attention in society. It is undisputed that, in addition to the quality of police action, the public image and the resulting trust in the police are elementary components of police work.

In the 2017 German Victimisation Survey, questions regarding experiences with and attitudes towards the police were generally collected within the module "Crime-related attitudes". The basis was a random subsample of 2,100 persons. This survey, in analogy to the one conducted in 2012, recorded the reasons why respondents came into contact with the police and whether they were satisfied with the encounter. If they were dissatisfied, they were asked to provide reasons. Moreover, three questions regarding trust in the police were also taken into account: trust in the effectiveness of the police in combatting crime, trust in fair and appropriate police action (procedural justice) and the ability of the police to treat all people equally regardless of their social class (distributive justice).[42]

In addition, victims of crime whose experiences became known to the police were asked how satisfied they were with the way the police dealt with the incident (in the case of several incidents of victimisation within the last twelve months, the question was asked for the last offence) and what, if any, were the reasons for the unsatisfactory encounter. Although these latter questions were not part of the "Crime-related attitudes" module, they will be evaluated in this section because of their relevance.[43]

6.1 EXPERIENCES WITH THE POLICE

Experiences with the police (especially the reason for and overall assessment of the encounter) often play a crucial role in influencing attitudes towards the police (Schweer 2006, Kääriäinen 2007). Respondents were therefore asked whether they had had contact with the police during the last twelve months and what was the reason for the last contact:

Have you had any contact with the police in the last twelve months for any reason? Irrespective of whether the contact took place in person, by telephone or via the internet.

If the interviewee confirmed contact, the following was asked:

---

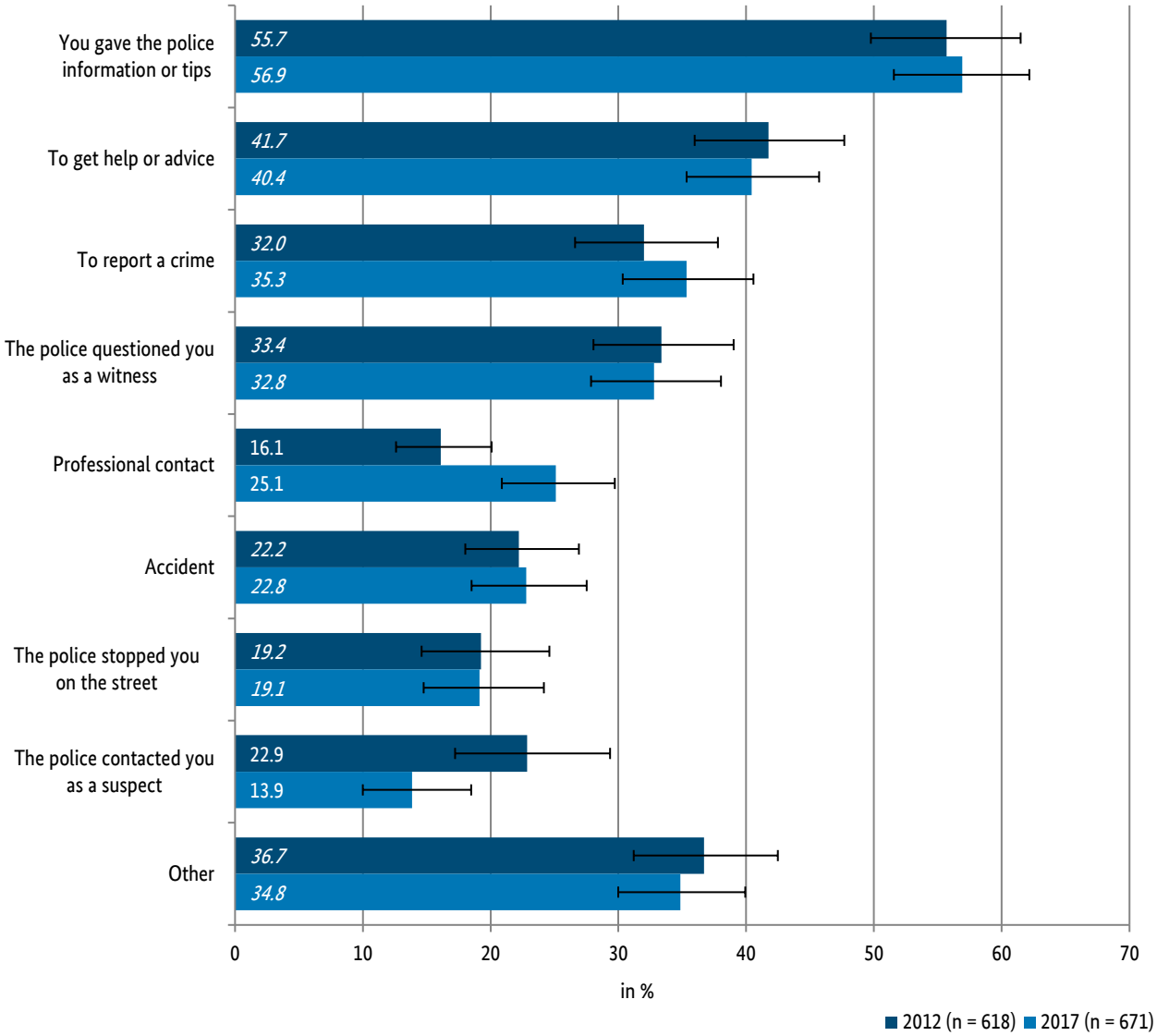
[42] In 2017, questions on social and economic deprivation and on indirect experiences with the police were added in order to better understand the factors influencing confidence in the police. However, the results will only be evaluated in detail in later publications.

[43] When interpreting the following results, it must be borne in mind that the 2012 German Victimisation Survey was part of the "Barometer Sicherheit in Deutschland" (German Security Barometer) project funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (for details, please refer to the project homepage at https://basid.mpicc.de/de/startseite.html). As a result, the research consortium (consisting of the Universities of Freiburg, Düsseldorf and Berlin, the Fraunhofer Institute, the Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law, the International Centre for Ethics in the Sciences and Humanities and the Federal Criminal Police Office) was communicated as the primary client of the survey. In 2017, however, the survey was conducted solely on behalf of the BKA. This could have led to a so-called sponsorship effect, i.e. more people with a positive connection to the police might have agreed to take part in the survey.

Please recall the last time you had contact with the police. What was the reason for this? Please only answer with regard to the last occurrence.

- *To report a crime?*
- *Did the police stop you on the street?*
- *Were you questioned by the police as a witness?*
- *Was an accident the reason for the contact?*
- *Have you been contacted by the police as a suspect, for example, due to a misdemeanour or other conduct?*
- *Have you had professional contact with the police?*
- *Did you give the police any information or tips?*
- *To get help or advice?*
- *For another reason not mentioned here?*

Figure 36: Reason for police contact (multiple answers possible)

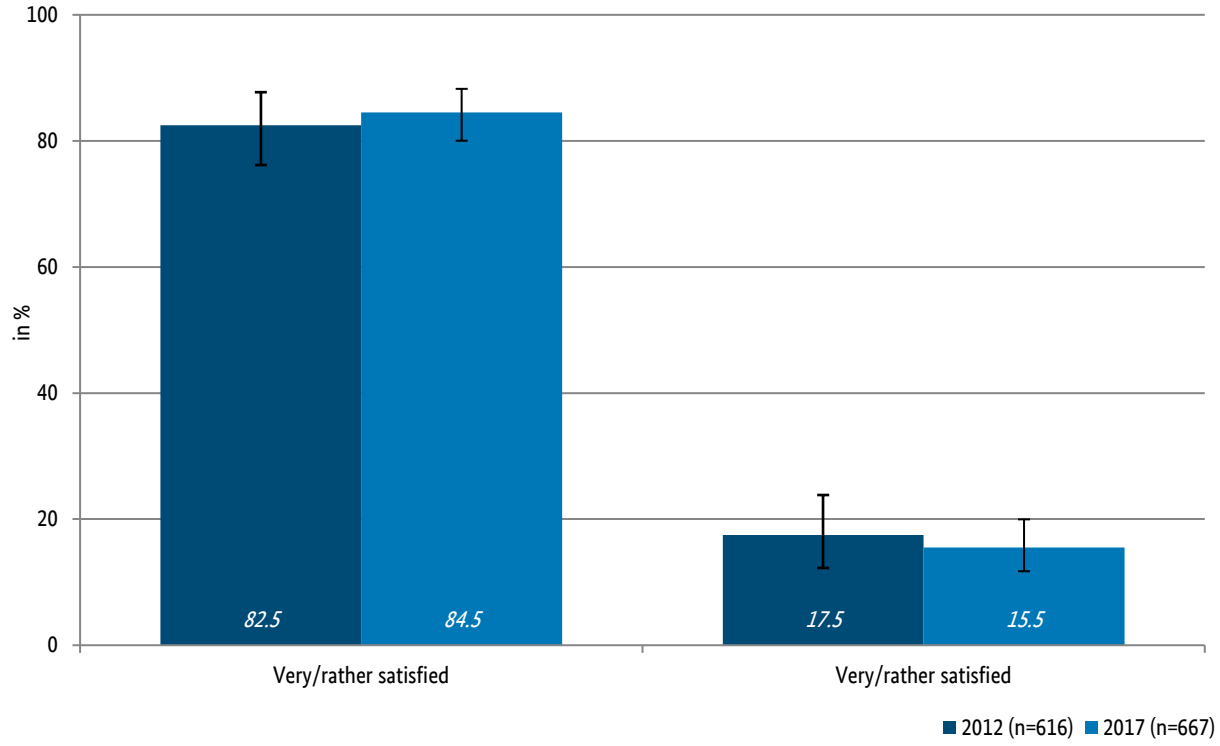


Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences to 2012 figures are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

Similar to the responses given in 2012, 29.5% of all persons living in Germany over the age of 16 had contact with the police in the twelve months prior to the survey (27.3% in 2012). The most frequently cited reasons are "To give the police information or tips" (55.7%) and "To get help or advice" (41.7%). Compared to 2012, only the reasons "professional contact" and "the police contacted you as a suspect" show significant differences. While the proportion of people who had professional contact with the police in the last twelve months increased from 16.1% to 25.1%, the proportion of people contacted by the police as suspects decreased from 22.9% to 13.9%. Persons who had contact with the police within the last twelve months were also asked how satisfied they were with the last encounter. For this, the following question was asked:

> *How satisfied were you with the way the police treated you the last time this happened? Were you very satisfied, rather satisfied, rather dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?*

Figure 37: Satisfaction with the last police encounter



Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, none of the differences to 2012 figures is statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%.

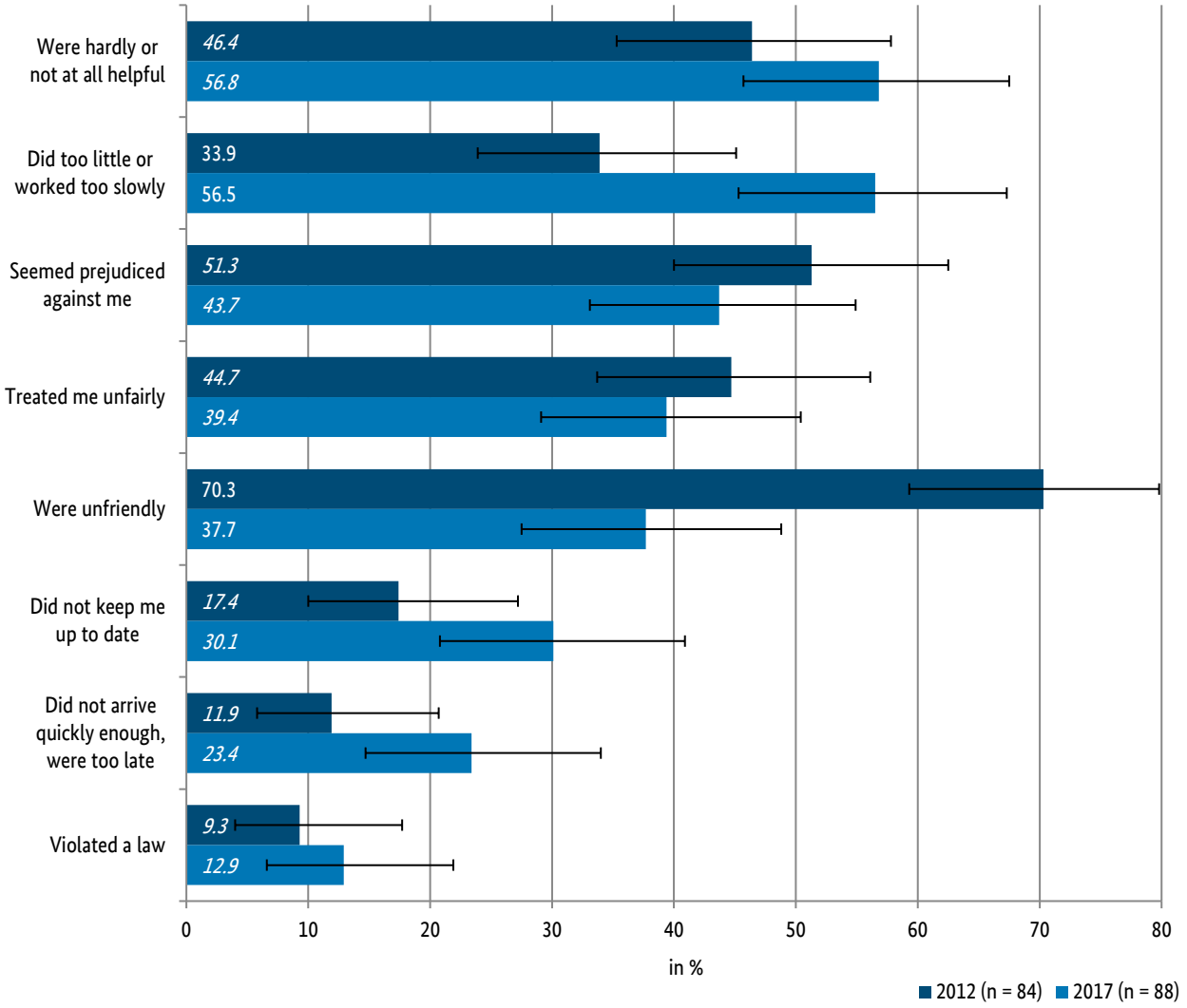
A large proportion (85%) of the population state that they were very or rather satisfied with their last contact with the police. As in 2012, the proportion is thus at a comparably high level.

Those persons who were rather or very dissatisfied with their last police encounter were then asked about the reason for their dissatisfaction:

> *Why were you dissatisfied?*
>
> *I will read you a list of various reasons. Please tell me which of them apply to you. (Multiple answers are possible.)*
>
> *The police ...*
> *... did not arrive quickly enough.*
> *... were hardly or not at all helpful.*

... did too little or worked too slowly.
... were unfriendly.
... treated me unfairly.
... did not keep me up to date.
... seemed prejudiced against me.

Figure 38: Reasons for unsatisfactory police encounters



Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences to 2012 figures are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

Among the reasons for unsatisfactory police contact, “Did too little or worked too slowly” and “Was not helpful” (around 57% each) or “Treated me unfairly” (39.4%) as well as “Seemed prejudiced against me” (43.7%) dominate. In terms of ranking, the distribution is somewhat different from 2012. However, significant changes can only be observed (also due to the small number of cases and the associated loss of precision) for the reasons “Was unfriendly” and “Did too little”. Whereas in 2012, 70.3% of all persons who were dissatisfied with their contact with the police within the last twelve months stated unfriendliness as one reason, in 2017 it is only half that (37.7%). By contrast, in 2017, a far higher number of respondents (56.5%) stated that the police had done too little or worked too slowly. In the 2012 survey, the figure was 33.9%.

6.2 POLICE ASSESSMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF VICTIMISATION

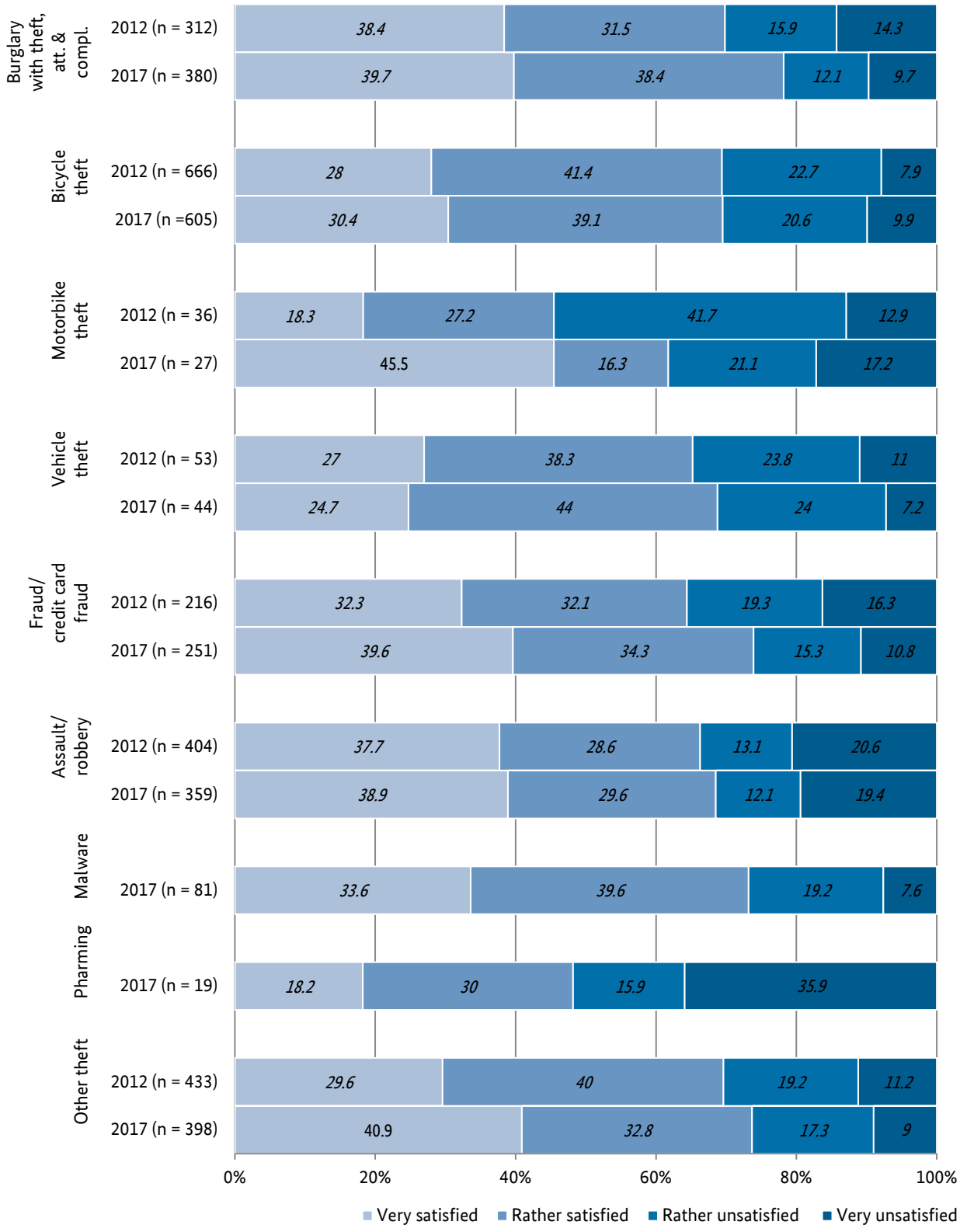
Victimisation is generally a severe experience for those affected. The victims hope that the police will provide help and usually have high expectations. How they assess the police in the context of victimisation is therefore an important indicator of police work; it can also have a significant influence upon trust in the police. Victims were therefore asked how satisfied they were with how the police dealt with them during their most recent reported victimisation and what reasons there might have been for unsatisfactory contact (regardless of who informed the police). For this, the following questions were asked:

> *How satisfied were you with how the police dealt with the incident? Were you very satisfied, rather satisfied, rather unsatisfied or very unsatisfied?*

If rather or very unsatisfied:

> *For what reason were you dissatisfied? I will read out a list of various reasons. Please tell me whether the reason applies to your situation or not.*
>
> – *The police did too little or worked too slowly.*
> – *The police were not interested.*
> – *The police did not keep me properly informed*
> – *The police did not find or apprehend the offender(s).*
> – *The police treated me impolitely or incorrectly.*
> – *The police did not arrive quickly enough.*
> – *I had the impression that the police were prejudiced against me.*

Figure 39: Satisfaction with police contact during the last (or only) victimisation by type of offence



Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences to 2012 are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

If the categories "very satisfied" and "rather satisfied" are considered together, the results of the 2017 survey do not show vast discrepancies between offences. With the exception of the offence of pharming, the majority of the victims (between 62 and 74%) are very or rather satisfied with the way the police dealt with them (see Figure 39). Unsurprisingly, this proportion ranks somewhat lower than for cases of police contact that did not arise as the result of a victimisation.

In a five-year comparison, there are hardly any significant developments in the assessment of police contacts. Only in the case of motorcycle and other theft did the proportion of persons who were very satisfied increase significantly. For the other offences, however, there is a slight tendency towards an increase in the number of "very satisfied" and "rather satisfied" cases. The poor assessment given by victims of pharming is notable (only 38% of the victims were very or rather satisfied). Here again, however, the small number of cases must be taken into account.[44]

Those persons who were more or less dissatisfied with their contact with the police in connection with their last known incident of victimisation were asked to provide reasons for their dissatisfaction. Table 14 shows the percentage shares of the various reasons for dissatisfaction with the police.

Table 14: Reasons for dissatisfaction with the police during the last victimisation (in %)

	Attempted/ completed burglary with theft		Bicycle theft		(Credit card) fraud		Assault/robbery		Theft	
	2012 n = 78	2017 n = 81	2012 n = 184	2017 n = 173	2012 n = 64	2017 n = 68	2012 n = 1,524	2017 n = 117	2012 n = 129	2017 n = 102
The police did too little or worked too slowly.	*80.8*	*73.3*	*71.8*	*73.3*	97.0	87.5	*77.1*	*72.8*	89.3	73.1
The police were not interested.	*62.5*	*63.2*	*58.9*	*62.2*	*50.6*	*45.6*	*57.9*	*64.5*	*58.4*	*62.7*
The police did not keep me up to date.	*62.0*	*62.0*	*57.4*	*64.1*	*69*	*64.8*	*53.3*	*50.8*	*61.1*	*60.9*
The police did not find or arrest the perpetrator(s).	90.4	77.5	96.4	89.1	*78.6*	*60.1*	*59.3*	*51.0*	92.7	79.0
The police treated me rudely or improperly.	*18.7*	*24.5*	*7.8*	*9.8*	*10.7*	*17.9*	*46.3*	*44.4*	*19.0*	*25.2*
The police did not arrive quickly enough.	*45.6*	*42.9*	*14.3*	*15.8*	*21.3*	*14.1*	*40.7*	*39.6*	*20.5*	*14.7*
I had the impression the police were prejudiced against me.	*30.3*	*30.4*	*13.5*	*11.2*	*31.0*	*9.7*	*48.8*	*38.7*	*12.7*	*21.5*

Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences to 2012 are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

[44] The small number of cases is due to the fact that very few of the interviewees were victims of pharming who had reported their victimisation to the police. Estimates of the true value in the population tend, as a rule, to become more accurate the more people are interviewed. The value given here is thus inaccurate.

It can be seen that in 2017, two reasons for dissatisfaction with the police are predominant across nearly all offences: “The police did too little or worked too slowly” with over 70% and “The police did not find the perpetrator(s) or did not arrest them” with between 51 and 93%. “The police were not interested” or “The police did not keep me up to date” are mentioned somewhat more rarely with 46-65%. Reasons concerning social interaction (“The police treated me impolitely or improperly”, “I had the impression that the police were prejudiced against me”) are mentioned much less frequently (10-46%) and are particularly important in cases of assault and robbery as well as burglary offences (including attempted burglary).

6.3 TRUST IN THE POLICE

Given that the police is an institution endowed with special rights, trust in the police is a fundamental basis for the democratic rule of law. Here “trust” refers to the general belief that an institution – in this case, the police – performs its duties with the right intentions and is competent to fulfil the tasks assigned to it (Jackson et al. 2011).

Trust in the police was measured in the German Victimisation Survey on the basis of the recommendations of the EURO-JUSTIS project, which provides a valid and practicable concept for measuring trust in the police (Hough/Sato 2011 or Jackson et al. 2011). For reasons of space, it was not possible to follow all recommendations; consequently only one question for each of the three central sub-concepts was considered with regard to trust in the police: the assessment of the effectiveness of police work in combatting crime, the assessment of the use of force by the police (procedural justice) and the assessment of equal treatment by the police (distributive justice).

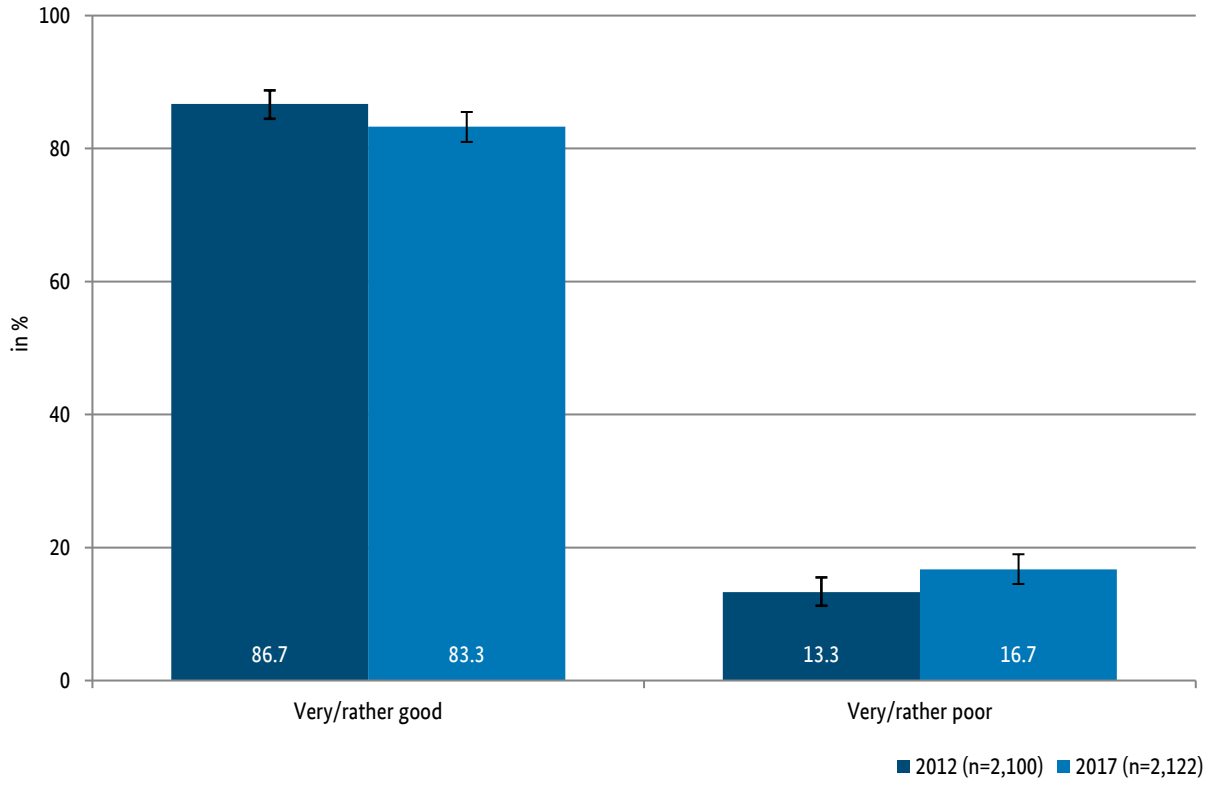
In the following, the results of these questions will be presented and compared with the results of the 2012 survey. Since trust in the police can vary depending on age, sex and migrant background, the results are also reported separately for these attributes.

Assessment of the effectiveness of police work

In order to measure the effectiveness of police work, respondents were asked to evaluate police crime control. For this, the following question was asked:

> *How good do you think the local police is in controlling crime?*
> *Very good, rather good, rather poor or very poor?*

Figure 40: Assessment of the effectiveness of police work



Note: The differences between persons with and without a migrant background are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics (see footnote 23). In some cases, the proportion of missing values is higher than 5% (see appendix).

A large part of the population (83%) rates the local police's efforts in combatting crime as very or rather good. With a difference of 3.4%, this proportion is significantly lower than five years ago.

Table 15: Assessment of the effectiveness of police work by sex and age (in %), 2017

	Total n = 2,122	Sex		Age (in years)						
		Men	Women	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	> 74
Very/rather good	83.3	79.6	87.0	*80.0*	*79.7*	*80.5*	*83.7*	*81.9*	*88.1*	*90.2*
Rather/very poor	16.7	20.5	13.0	*20.0*	*20.3*	*19.5*	*16.3*	*18.1*	*11.9*	*9.8*

Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences between groups are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

Table 16: Assessment of police effectiveness by migrant background (in %), 2017

	Total	No migrant background n = 1,668	Migrant background		
			Turkish n = 76	Former Soviet Union n = 49	Other n = 220
Very/fairly good	82.9	*82.3*	*74.8*	*74.9*	88.6
Fairly/very poor	17.1	*17.7*	*25.2*	*25.1*	11.4

Note: The differences between persons with and without a migrant background are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics (see footnote 23). In some cases, the proportion of missing values is higher than 5% (see appendix).

It can be seen that women tend to have a higher level of trust in the police than men. While 79.6% of all men think that the police do a very or rather good job in combatting crime, the figure for women is significantly higher at 87%. Although confidence in the effectiveness of police work does not show statistically relevant variations by age, people in the 55 and over age group tend to have greater confidence in the police the older they are.

With regard to migrant background, there are significant differences only between persons with an "other migrant background" and persons without a migrant background: the proportion who think that the police do a very or fairly good job is 88.6%, which is significantly higher than the proportion of persons without a migrant background (82.3%). Although the differences between migrants from Turkey and the former Soviet Union and persons without a migrant background are not statistically significant (especially due to the small number of respondents with the corresponding migrant background), they are striking: the effectiveness of police work in combatting crime is rated in both migrant groups as very good or fairly good (around 75%) much less frequently than by persons without a migrant background (82%).

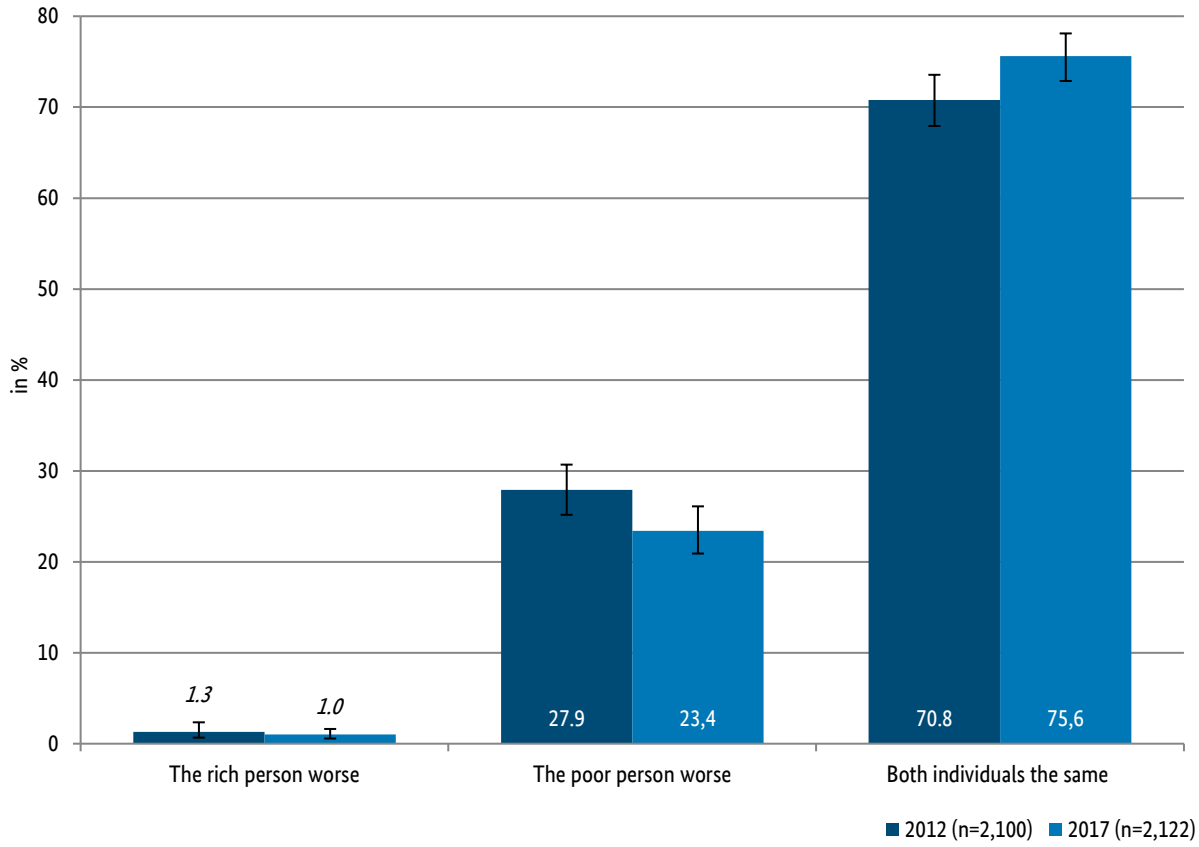
Assessment of equal treatment by the police (distributive justice)

Another important dimension of trust in the police is the belief that all people are treated equally by the police, regardless of the social group to which they belong. This also means that a person must not be discriminated by their economic status. The extent to which respondents have confidence in this form of distributive fairness was determined by the following question:

Suppose a rich and a poor person report a crime to the police. Do the police treat ...

... the rich person worse,
... the poor person worse,
... or both individuals the same?

Figure 41: Assessment of equal treatment by the police



Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences to 2012 figures are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

In 2017, almost exactly three quarters of all persons living in Germany aged 16 and over say that they expect the police – in the event of a criminal complaint – to treat a poor and a rich person equally (75.6%). Compared to 2012, this proportion has risen significantly by almost five percentage points. At the same time, the proportion of those who believe that the police treat the poor person worse has fallen by 4.5 percentage points to 23.4%. This is a much better assessment of distributive fairness than five years ago.

Table 17: Assessment of equal treatment by the police by sex and age (in %), 2017

	Total n = 2,122	Sex		Age						
		Men	Women	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	> 74
The rich person worse	1.0	*7.3*	*1.3*	*0.9*	*0.8*	*1.3*	*2.0*	*0.3*	*1.1*	*0.2*
The poor person worse	23.4	*23.9*	*23.0*	*25.0*	*25.3*	*28.3*	*18.5*	*23.9*	*23.0*	*21.3*
Both individuals the same	75.6	*75.4*	*75.8*	*74.1*	*73.9*	*70.5*	*79.6*	*75.8*	*75.9*	*78.5*

Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, none of the differences between the groups is statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%.

Table 18: Assessment of equal treatment by the police by migrant background (in %), 2017

	Total	No migrant background n = 1,668	Migrant background		
			Turkish n = 76	Former Soviet Union n = 49	Other n = 220
The rich person worse	1.0	*0.9*	*3.5*	*0.8*	*1.1*
The poor person worse	23.1	*21.9*	*31.6*	*25.6*	*25.8*
Both individuals the same	75.9	*77.3*	*64.9*	*73.6*	*73.1*

Note: None of the differences between individuals with and without a migrant background is statistically significant at a probability of error below 5% (see footnote 23).

The assessment of equal treatment by the police is more or less equally high among all age groups. There are also no significant differences with regard to sex or migrant background. It is worth mentioning, however, that people with a Turkish migrant background have less trust in the police. At around 35%, they assume far more frequently than people without a migrant background that a poor or a rich person would receive worse treatment from the police.

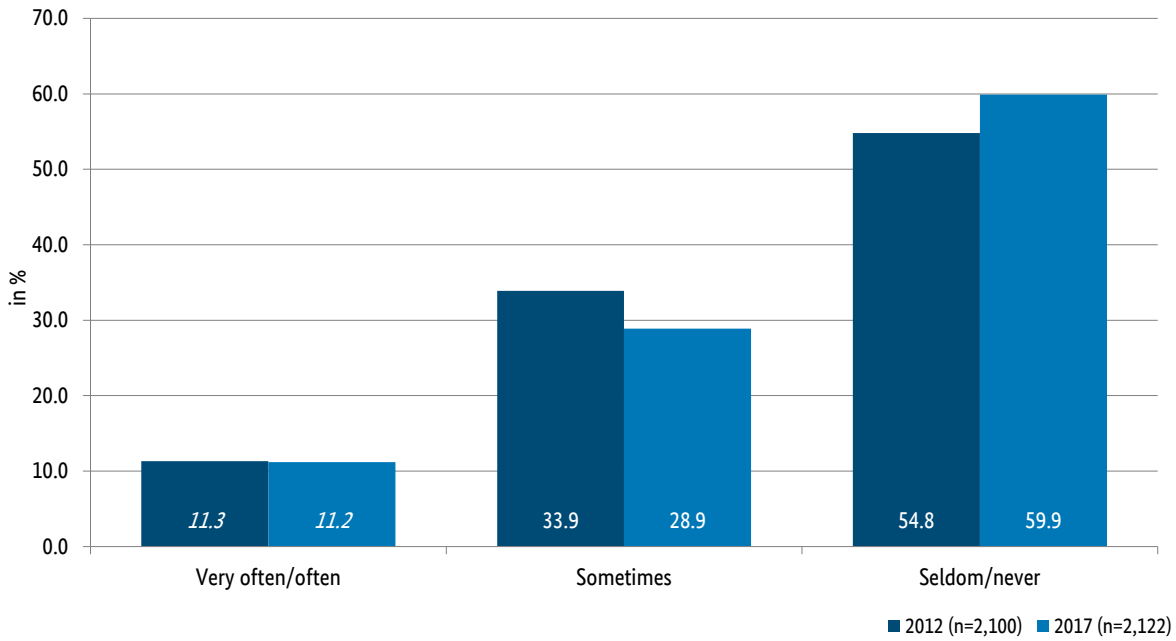
Assessment of the use of force by the police (procedural justice)

Another key dimension of trust in the police is so-called procedural justice. This is the case when the police exercise their power appropriately and behave fairly towards others. The perception of procedural justice is an essential prerequisite for cooperative behaviour with the police.

The following question was asked to measure procedural fairness of the police:

> *How often does the local police use more force than would be legally or situationally necessary? Very often/often/sometimes/seldom/never?*

Figure 42: Assessment of the use of force by the police, 2012 and 2017



Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences to 2012 figures are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics

The results show that around 60% of the population thinks that the police rarely or never use more force than is legally or situationally necessary. At around five percentage points, this proportion is significantly higher than in 2012. Trust in procedural justice has thus increased, even though the proportion of those who expect the police to very often or often use force more than is legally or situationally required has remained constant at around 11%. The proportion of people who sometimes think this has decreased significantly: whereas 33.9% were still of this opinion in 2012, this has fallen to only 28.9% five years on.

Table 19: Assessment of the use of force by the police according to age and sex (in %), 2017

	Total n = 2,122	Sex		Age						
		Men	Women	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	> 74
Very often/often	11.2	8.2	14.2	*13.6*	*11.2*	*11.9*	*8.2*	*10.6*	*9.3*	*16.7*
Sometimes	28.9	23.9	33.7	*27.3*	*34.5*	*30.9*	*30.4*	*25.9*	*29.2*	*22.4*
Seldom/never	59.9	67.9	52.1	*59.1*	*54.3*	*57.2*	*61.5*	*63.6*	*61.6*	*60.9*

Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences between groups are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

Table 20: Assessment of the use of force by the police by migrant background (in %), 2017

	Total	No migrant background n = 1,668	Migrant background		
			Turkish n = 76	Former Soviet Union n = 49	Other n = 220
Very often/often	11.3	10.0	*22.5*	*4.0*	*12.6*
Sometimes	28.8	27.9	*26.7*	13.5	*36.0*
Seldom/never	59.9	62.2	*50.8*	*62.5*	51.5

Note: The differences between persons with and without a migrant background are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics (see footnote 23). In some cases, the proportion of missing values is higher than 5% (see appendix).

The proportion of people who think that the police use more force than is legally and situationally appropriate is significantly higher for women (14.2%) than men (8.2%). The proportion of women citing “sometimes” is also significantly higher at 33.7% than that of men (23.9%). This is particularly interesting because, although women judge the police more negatively than men in this respect, they assess the effectiveness of police work better overall. There are no statistically significant differences between the age groups.

Regarding the influence of migrant background on the assessment of the use of force, the results point to different effects. While people from the former Soviet Union say with significantly greater frequency (24%) that the police use more force than legally or situationally required, people from other migrant backgrounds think with significantly greater frequency (51.5%) that the police rarely or never do so. Although 22.5% of migrants from Turkey also state much more frequently that the police very often or often use disproportionately more force than persons without a migrant background (10%), the differences are not statistically significant due to the small number of Turkish migrants interviewed in the module.

What is the overall picture of the analyses and results presented?

The police in Germany continue to enjoy a very high level of trust. A large part of the population rates the effectiveness of police work as very or rather good and expects the police to behave fairly. Nevertheless, compared to 2012, the effectiveness of police work is rated somewhat worse, while the positive ratings of procedural and distributive justice have increased.

This is also reflected in the assessment of contacts with the police. Although the proportion of satisfactory police encounters is at a level comparable to 2012, unsatisfactory encounters are more frequently attributed to reasons relating to the quality of work, while reasons relating to personal interaction are less frequently cited.

A mixed picture emerges with regard to group differences depending on age, sex and migrant background. While women are more confident in the effectiveness of police work, they are more critical in assessing procedural justice. The migrant background of a person plays a statistically significant role only in isolated cases. Here, however, it must be taken into account that in some cases only a few responses from interviewees with a migrant background are available, making analysis more difficult.

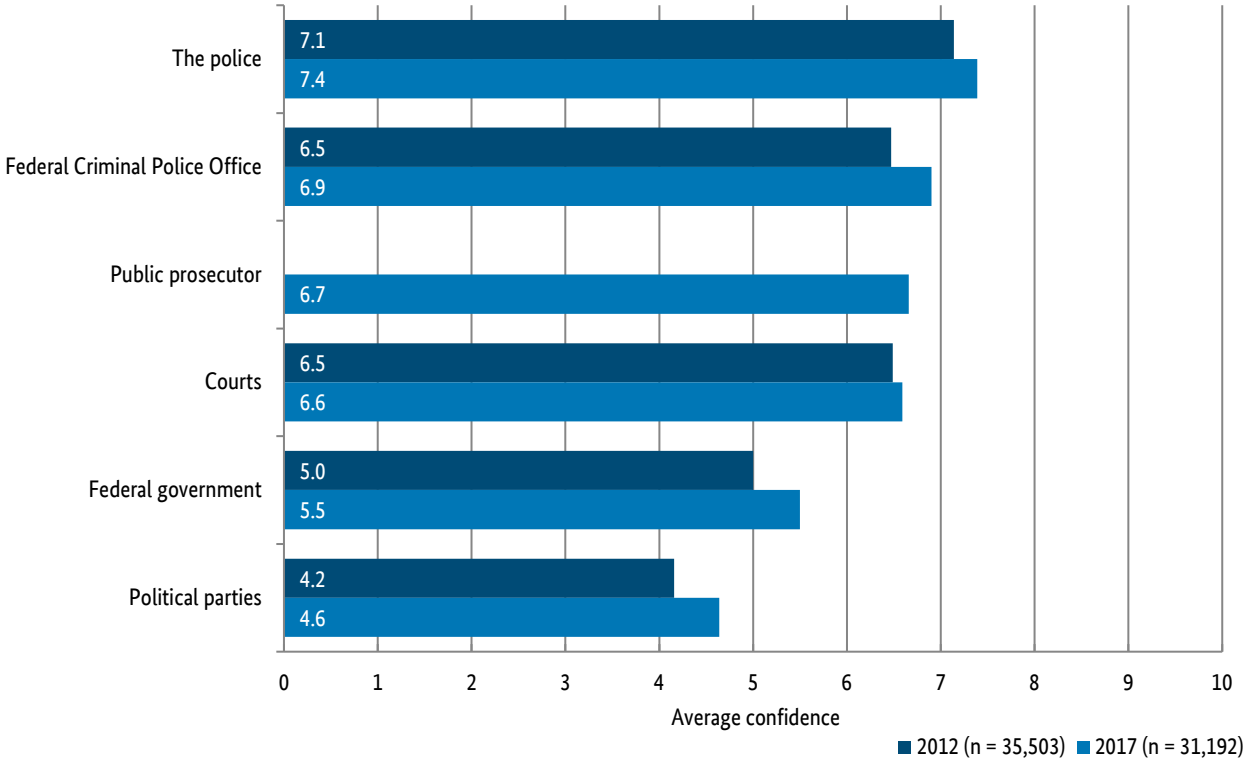
Thus, in assessing the results across all three questions, regardless of their statistical significance, the tendency is that migrants from Turkey and the former Soviet Union are somewhat more critical of the police. Significant age differences cannot be observed in any of the dimensions of trust in the police examined here.

6.4 INSTITUTIONAL TRUST

Trust in national and political institutions is an indispensable pillar of democracy and can be seen as an indicator of the stability of the political system. In the German Victimisation Survey, respondents were therefore asked the following question:

> *I will now list a number of public institutions and organisations. After I say the name, please tell me how much confidence you have in each one. Please answer again on a scale from 0 to 10. 0 means no confidence at all, 10 means a very high level of confidence. Give your opinion by choosing a number from this scale.*
>
> *How do you feel about ...*
> *... the federal government?*
> *... the courts?*
> *... the police?*
> *... the political parties?*
> *... the Federal Criminal Police Office?*
> *... the public prosecutor's office?*

Figure 43: Institutional trust by type of institution



Note: The differences to 2012 figures are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%. In some cases, the proportion of missing values is higher than 5% (see appendix).

The results confirm the findings produced by other studies (e.g. GfK Global Trust Report; General Population Survey [ALLBUS]), which have shown that the police receive the highest level of trust compared with other institutions. In a five-year comparison, this high level of confidence has risen minimally, but significantly, from an average of 7.1 to 7.4. Confidence in the BKA (Federal Criminal Police Office) is at a level comparable to the confidence in the police in general and has also risen slightly since 2012 (2012: 6.5; 2017: 6.9). The high level of confidence in the police is followed by trust in the public prosecutor's office (2017: 6.7) and in the courts (2012: 6.5; 2017: 6.6). Confidence in the federal government (2012: 5.0; 2017: 5.5) and in political parties (2012: 4.2; 2017: 4.6) follows, but there is a considerable gap. What is striking here is that since 2012, institutional trust has increased, albeit only slightly. This finding is, of course, subject to particular uncertainty insofar as it cannot be completely ruled out that the project context, which changed from 2012 to 2017, had a distorting effect on the results (see footnote 43).[45]

[45] However, the results of other surveys, such as the European Social Survey, ALLBUS (own analyses) or the ARD-DeutschlandTREND (Infratest dimap 2018), also indicate that confidence in the police and other state institutions increased somewhat between 2012 and 2017/2018.

Table 21: Institutional trust by sex and age, 2017 (mean)

	Total n = 31,192	Sex		Age						
		Men	Women	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	> 74
BKA	7.0	6.9	7.1	*7.3*	*7.1*	*7.0*	*7.0*	*6.8*	*6.7*	*6.6*
Police	7.4	7.3	7.5	*7.4*	*7.4*	*7.4*	*7.4*	*7.4*	*7.4*	*7.5*
The courts	6.6	*6.6*	*6.6*	*7.1*	*7.0*	*6.7*	*6.6*	*6.4*	*6.2*	*6.0*
The public prosecutor's office	6.7	*6.6*	*6.7*	*7.0*	*6.9*	*6.7*	*6.7*	*6.5*	*6.4*	*6.2*

Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences between groups are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

Table 22: Institutional trust by migrant background, 2017 (mean)

Institution	Total	No migrant background n = 24,159	Migrant background		
			Turkish n = 1,243	Former Soviet Union n = 991	Others n = 3,169
BKA	7.0	6.9	6.7	*7.0*	7.1
Police	7.4	7.4	7.1	*7.3*	7.6
The courts	6.6	6.5	6.8	6.8	6.8
The public prosecutor's office	6.7	6.6	*6.8*	*6.9*	6.8

Note: The differences between persons with and without a migrant background are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics (see footnote 23). In some cases, the proportion of missing values lies in part over 5% (see appendix).

Women have slightly higher trust in the police and the BKA than men. While persons of Turkish origin express somewhat less confidence than persons without a migrant background, the confidence of persons with other migrant backgrounds is somewhat higher across all institutions. Trust in the courts and the public prosecutor's office is significantly higher for all three migrant groups than for persons without a migrant background. However, the "ranking" of the institutions based on the level of confidence placed in them remains the same across all migrant groups. With regard to age, there is a negative correlation with institutional trust, i.e. trust slightly decreases with age.

7 Experiences with and attitudes towards the justice system and state punishment

The attitudes of citizens towards the justice system play an important role in maintaining the rule of law within society. The willingness of individuals to comply with existing laws, legal requirements and judicial decisions is highly influenced by their satisfaction with the institutions of the judicial system and by their positive assessment of their work (Hough/Sato 2011). A person's attitude towards the justice system is again largely based on their experiences gained through direct contact with institutions of the judicial system.

In order to measure experiences with and attitudes towards the justice system, the 2017 German Victimisation Survey – similar to the measurement of trust in the police (subchapter 6.3) – took into account the recommendations of the EURO-JUSTIS project, which has developed indicators to measure public trust in the justice system uniformly and validly across EU member states (CORDIS 2018). The survey was conducted to ascertain whether and for what reasons the respondents had contact with a court and how satisfied they were with the outcome of the proceedings. In addition, three questions were asked regarding trust in the courts: trust in the courts' effectiveness in identifying guilt and innocence, trust in equal treatment in court (distributive justice) and trust in the courts to make fair and impartial decisions (procedural justice) were surveyed.

The results presented here are based on a random sub-sample of 10,600 persons. These persons were asked about their experiences with courts. They also provided information on their trust in the work of the German courts.

The assessments of these questions are presented below. Some of the results are shown separately according to the sex, age and migrant background of the interviewees. Since attitudes towards the justice system were not examined in DVS 2012, a comparison with the survey conducted at that time is not possible.

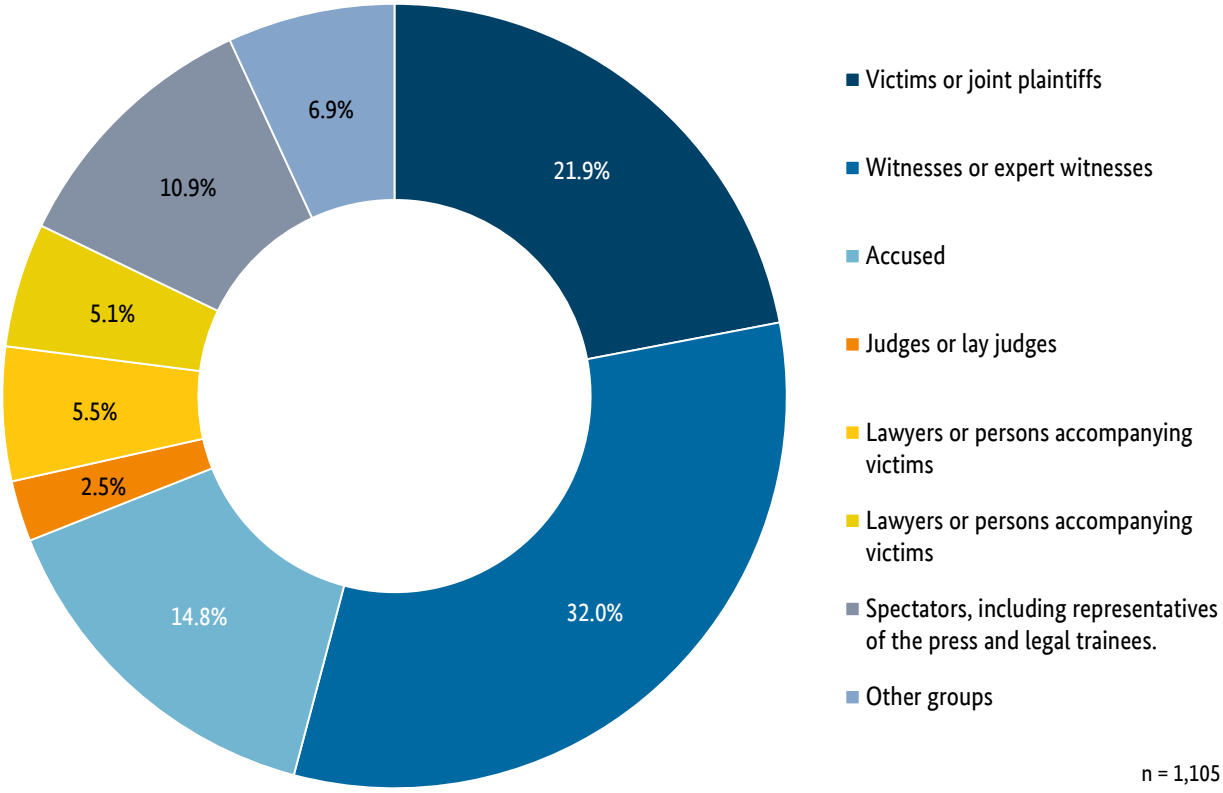
7.1 EXPERIENCES WITH THE COURTS

Direct experiences with courts during criminal proceedings can be decisive in determining attitudes towards the courts (Tyler 2007, 26). In the years between 2012 and 2017, about 11% of the population aged 16 and over had contact with a court in the context of criminal proceedings. In order to determine their role when last in contact with a court, they were asked the following question:

> *I would now like you to think about the last time that you had contact with a court in connection with a criminal case. In the process, were you ...*
>
> *... a victim or joint plaintiff?*
> *... a witness or expert witness?*
> *... a defendant?*
> *... a prosecutor?*
> *... a judge or lay judge?*
> *... an attorney or a companion of the victim?*

... a lawyer or a companion of the defendant?
... an observer at the trial, including as a press representative or legal trainee?
... present in another role?

Figure 44: Persons with contact to a court in the last five years



About one third of those who had had contact with a court in the five years preceding the interview were involved in the trial as witnesses or expert witnesses (32%). A further 21.9% were victims or joint plaintiffs and 14.8% were defendants. The lawyers of the latter two groups, together with other persons accompanying the accused, account for 10.6% of all persons. A further 2.5% were judges or lay judges. The proportion of spectators was 10.9%[46] and a further 6.9% were involved in the trial in another role. Also empirically recorded, but not shown here are public prosecutors, who account for 0.4%.

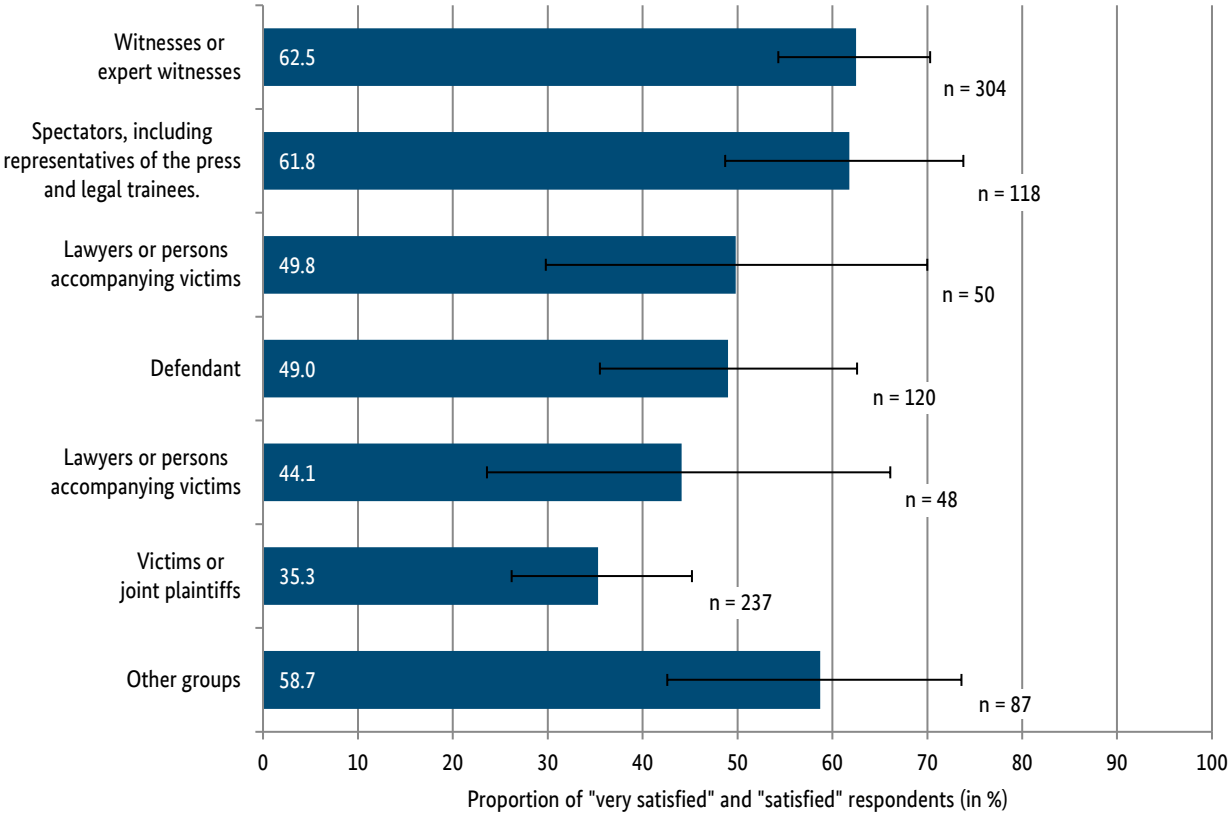
These persons were asked the following question:

> *On this last occasion, when you had contact with a court in connection with a criminal trial, how satisfied were you with the outcome of the trial? Were you very satisfied, rather satisfied, rather dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?*

Shown in Figure 45 is the proportion of those persons who tended to have had positive experiences, i.e. who responded that they were either “very satisfied” or “rather satisfied” with the outcome of proceedings.

[46] This category also includes representatives of the press and legal trainees.

Figure 45: Satisfaction with the outcome of the court proceedings by group



Overall, 52% of the respondents were “very satisfied” or “rather satisfied” with the outcome of the last court case. Even though Figure 45 indicates certain differences between the various groups, the interviewees’ responses offer little to no evidence to suggest statistically significant differences between the groups. The statistical evidence only supports the marked difference between the group of victims and joint plaintiffs, on the one hand, and the witnesses and expert witnesses, as well as the spectators and press representatives, on the other. Victims and joint plaintiffs are significantly more often dissatisfied with the outcome of the last trial than persons from the other two groups mentioned. While only 35% of victims and joint plaintiffs were satisfied with the outcome of the last trial, this figure stands at over 60% among witnesses, expert witnesses, viewers and representatives of the press. Similarly, satisfaction is high among those who do not belong to any of the specified groups (“other groups” category). About half of the lawyers and those accompanying victims, as well as half of the defendants, are also satisfied with the outcome of the last trial. Among the lawyers and those accompanying defendants, the proportion is about 44%.

7.2 TRUST IN THE COURTS

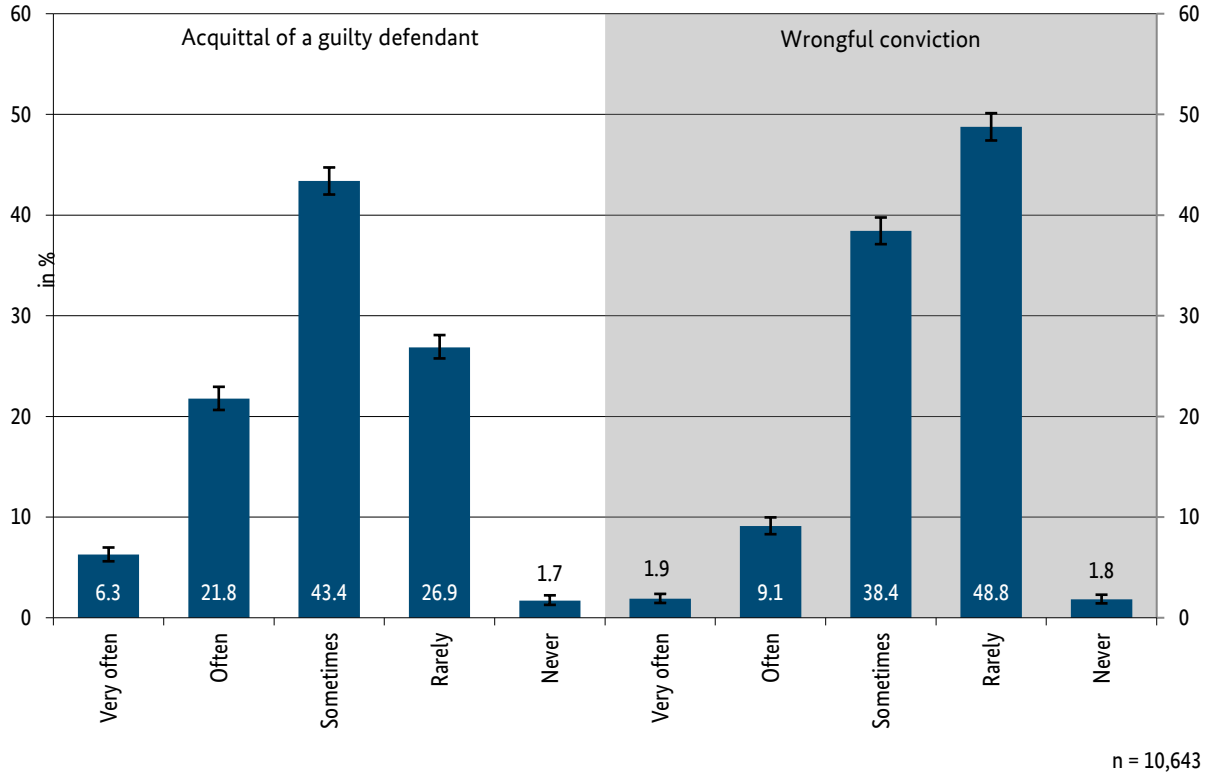
The population's trust in the institutions of a country's judicial system is crucial to ensuring the legitimacy of these institutions and thus an important prerequisite for a functioning constitutional state (Fuchs et al. 2002). In this context, "trust" refers to the general belief that an institution – the courts, for example – performs its duties with the right intentions and is competent to fulfil the tasks assigned to it (Jackson et al. 2011).

Assessment of the effectiveness of the courts

The effectiveness of the courts is defined as their ability to detect the innocence of persons who are falsely suspected of having committed a crime, but also to identify guilty persons, even if they claim to be innocent. Trust in the effectiveness of the courts therefore reflects trust in their ability to make the right decisions. In order to measure this trust among the population, respondents were asked the following questions:

> *How often do you think courts make mistakes that result in guilty persons going unpunished, i.e. not being handed down a sentence? Very often, often, sometimes, rarely, never?*
>
> *And how often do you think innocent people are wrongly convicted? Very often, often, sometimes, rarely, never?*

Figure 46: Assessment of the effectiveness of the courts



Approx. 29% of the population believe that the courts rarely or never falsely acquit a guilty person. Approximately 43% believe that this sometimes happens, while 28% of the population believe that the courts often or very often acquit guilty persons. In terms of the opposite scenario, i.e. where innocent people are wrongly convicted, the public's trust in the courts is somewhat higher. About half of them believe that the courts rarely or never make such a mistake. About 38% think that this happens only sometimes and only about 11% of the population think that the courts often or very often convict innocent people.

However, as can be seen in Table 23, there are differences between men and women, and between different age groups.

Table 23: Assessment of the effectiveness of courts by sex and age (in %)

Incorrect decision	Opinion	Total n = 10,648	Sex		Age						
			Men	Women	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	>74
Acquittal of a guilty defendant	Never/seldom	28.0	33.7	23.5	31.6	31.8	31.6	28.4	25.4	26.5	24.8
	Sometimes	43.4	40.4	46.4	43.4	44.1	41.7	44.6	47.6	39.9	40.1
	Often/very often	28.6	25.9	30.2	25.0	24.2	26.7	27.0	27.1	33.6	35.1
Wrongful conviction	Never/seldom	50.6	58.2	43.0	*46.8*	*53.5*	*50.6*	*49.8*	*49.4*	*50.9*	*53.1*
	Sometimes	38.4	33.5	43.3	*37.0*	*36.8*	*41.3*	*38.5*	*41.4*	*37.8*	*35.0*
	Often/very often	11.0	8.2	13.7	16.2	9.7	8.1	11.7	9.2	11.3	12.0

Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences between groups are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

Women have less trust than men in the ability of the courts to identify offenders and innocent people. While about 34% of men think that the courts rarely or never acquit guilty persons, the figure for women is only about 24%. The difference is even greater when it comes to the false conviction of innocent people. Here, about 58% of men and 43% of women believe that courts rarely or never make such mistakes.

There are also significant differences between age groups. Trust in the courts to identify offenders decreases with age. While about one in three 16-24-year-olds (32%) believe that courts never or rarely allow guilty persons to go unpunished, only one in four aged over 65 (25%) share this opinion. At the same time, the belief that the courts often or very often erroneously allow offenders to go unpunished increases with age, from 25% among 16-24-year-olds to around 35% among people aged 75 and over. No comparable difference between the age groups is discernible with regard to the incorrect conviction of innocent persons.

Table 24: Assessment of the effectiveness of courts by migrant background

Incorrect decision/Opinion	Opinion	Total	No migrant background n = 24,159	Migrant background		
				Turkey n = 1,243	Former Soviet Union n = 991	Other n = 3,169
Acquittal of a guilty defendant	Never/seldom	28.0	26.7	35.1	37.6	33.3
	Sometimes	43.4	45.3	36.7	37.2	*41.5*
	Often/very often	28.6	28.0	*28.0*	*36.1*	*25.2*
Wrongful conviction	Never/seldom	50.6	50.8	*46.5*	*44.5*	*52.9*
	Sometimes	38.4	39.1	*33.9*	*41.7*	*36.0*
	Often/very often	11.0	10.1	19.6	*13.8*	*11.1*

Note: The differences between persons with and without a migrant background are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics (see footnote 23). In some cases, the proportion of missing values is higher than 5% (see appendix).

Persons with a migrant background have greater trust in the ability of courts to identify offenders as such than persons without a migrant background. This also applies when respondents from Turkey, countries of the former Soviet Union, and other countries are considered separately. All three groups are significantly more likely than persons without a migrant background to believe that the courts never or rarely erroneously fail to punish offenders. While 27% of respondents without a migrant background believe that the courts rarely or never acquit guilty defendants, between 33% and 38% of respondents with a migrant background do.

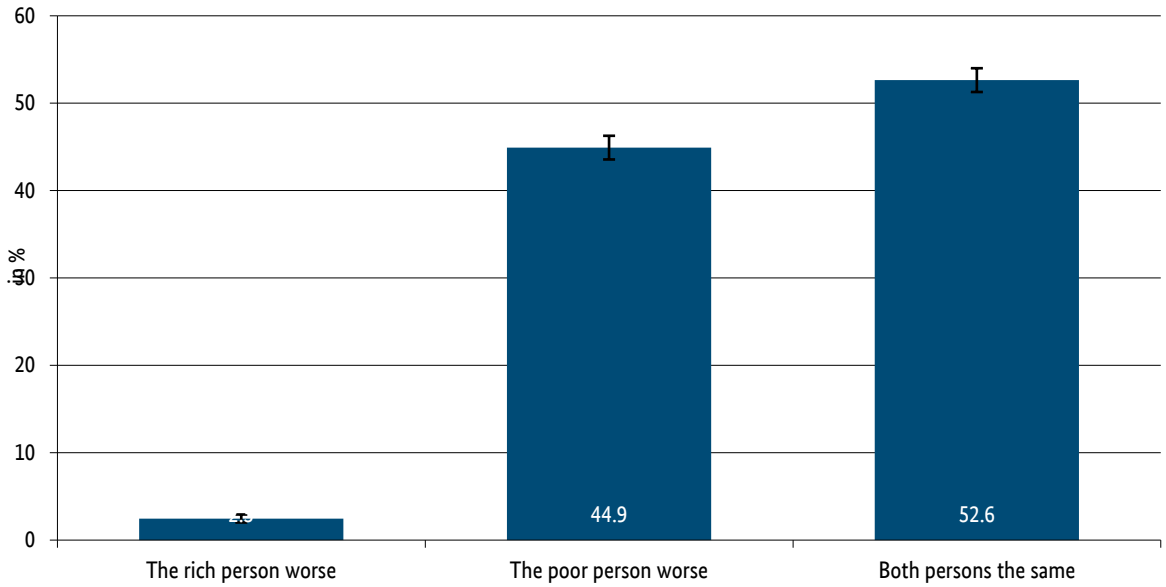
In terms of trust in the courts to identify innocent persons, respondents with and without a migrant background differ only insignificantly. Only persons with a Turkish migrant background are statistically significantly more likely to believe that courts often or very often convict innocent persons (19.6%) than those without a migrant background (10.1%).

Assessment of equal treatment in court (distributive justice)

A further element that underpins trust in the courts is fair and unprejudiced decision-making. This is based on the idea that all people have an equal chance of fair treatment in court, regardless of which social group they belong to. This also means that a person must not be advantaged or disadvantaged by their economic status. The extent to which respondents have trust in the courts' distributive justice was determined by asking the following question:

> *Suppose a rich and a poor person are charged with the same crime in court. Do you think the court will treat ...*
>
> *... the rich person worse?*
> *... the poor person worse?*
> *... both persons the same?*

Figure 47: Opinion on equal treatment in court



n = 10,319

Slightly more than half of the population believe that a person's wealth is irrelevant to the court's ruling. About 45% believe that poor people are treated worse in court than rich people. Only 2.5% of the population believe that it is the other way around, i.e. a rich person is treated worse in court than a poor person.

Table 25: Assessment of equal treatment in court by sex and age (in %)

	Total n = 10,643	Sex		Age						
		Men	Women	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	> 74
Poor person worse	44.9	*45.7*	*44.2*	39.0	42.7	43.4	43.5	47.6	49.8	48.9
Both persons the same	52.6	*51.7*	*53.6*	56.6	54.5	54.9	54.1	50.8	47.9	48.9
Rich person worse	2.5	*2.7*	*2.2*	4.4	2.8	1.8	2.4	1.7	2.3	2.2

Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences between groups are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

Men and women express an almost equal level of trust in the courts' provision of equal treatment. However, trust in the courts decreases with age. While 56.6% of 16-24-year-olds still believe that the rich and the poor are treated equally in court, this is the opinion of only 48.9% of persons over 74 years of age. At the same time, the proportion of people who think that the poor are treated worse is increasing. The opinion that the rich are treated worse tends to decrease with age. It is interesting to note that the proportion of people of this opinion decreases rapidly with age, but seems to stabilise at around 2% from the age category 45-54 upwards.

Table 26: Assessment of equal treatment in court by migrant background (in %)

	Total	No migrant background n = 8,257	Migrant background		
			Turkish n = 407	Former Soviet Union n = 334	Other n = 1,087
Poor person worse	44.9	45.7	*50.0*	*45.1*	38.2
Both persons the same	52.6	51.8	*48.8*	*52.5*	59.1
Rich person worse	2.5	2.4	*1.2*	*2.4*	*2.7*

Note: The differences between persons with and without a migrant background are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics (see footnote 23). In some cases, the proportion of missing values is higher than 5% (see appendix).

With regard to the connection between migrant background and trust in equal treatment by the courts, a distinction must be made between different migrant groups. Persons with a migrant background who do not originate from Turkey or a state of the former Soviet Union have greater trust in the distributive justice of the courts than persons without a migrant background. They are more likely to think that the courts treat the poor and the rich equally, and less likely to think that poor people are treated worse.

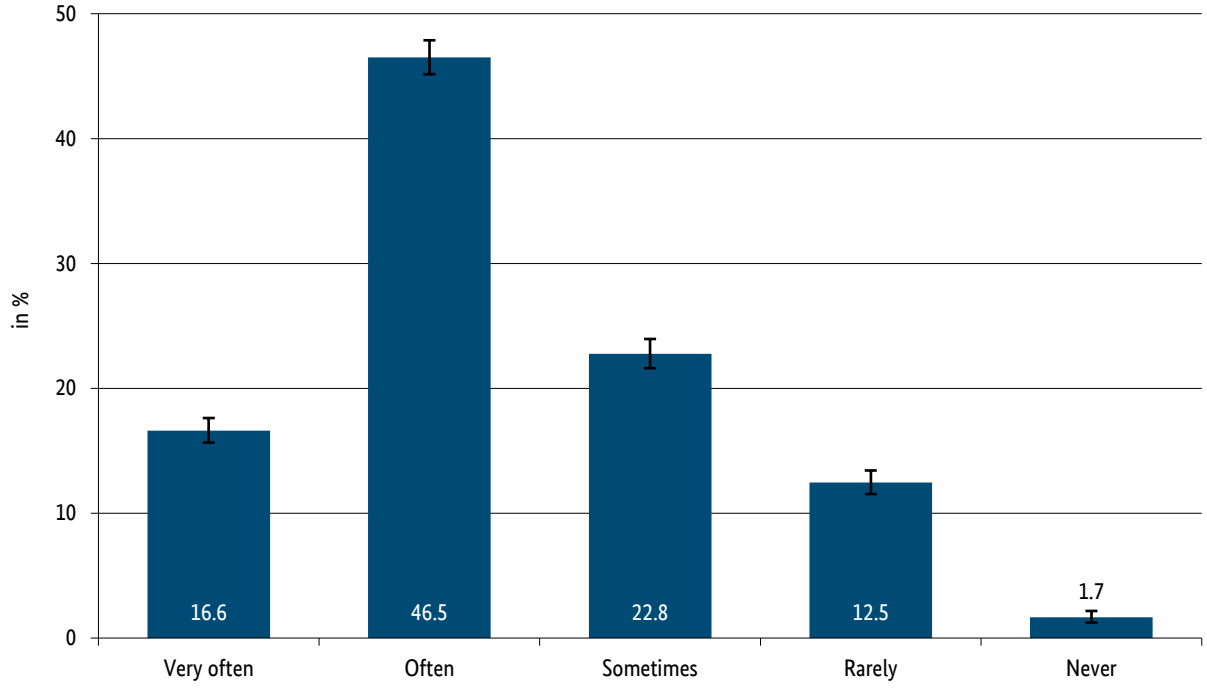
On the other hand, there are no statistically significant differences between persons originating from Turkey or a state of the former Soviet Union and persons without a migrant background with regard to trust in equal treatment by the courts.

Assessment of fair and impartial decisions by the courts (procedural justice)

Trust in procedural justice refers to the judicial process of decision-making. This includes whether respondents trust the courts to use their competencies and powers conscientiously, but also whether they trust the courts to judge fairly and impartially. To measure this component of trust, participants were asked the following question:

> *How often do you think courts make fair and impartial decisions based on the evidence available to them? Very often, often, sometimes, rarely, never?*

Figure 48: Assessment of fair and impartial decisions by the courts



n = 10,242

The majority of the population (63%) believe that the courts often or very often make fair and impartial decisions. Another 22.7% of the population believe that they do so only sometimes and the remaining 14.2% think that the courts rarely or never make fair and impartial decisions.

Table 27: Assessment of fair and impartial court decisions by sex and age (in %)

Opinion	Total n = 10,643	Sex		Age						
		Men	Women	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	> 74
Never/rarely	14.1	15.7	12.5	12.8	12.5	14.7	12.9	13.5	15.5	18.3
Sometimes	22.8	19.8	25.7	25.5	24.9	18.3	21.4	22.1	21.7	27.1
Often/very often	63.1	64.5	61.8	*61.7*	*62.6*	*67.0*	*65.8*	*64.4*	*62.8*	*54.6*

Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences between groups are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

There are slight differences between the sexes in terms of trust in fair and impartial decisions by the courts. The middle category, where respondents believe that courts "sometimes" respond fairly and impartially, is more pronounced among women (25.7%) than among men (19.8%). On the other hand, men more often assign their opinions to the marginal categories of "never/rarely" and "often/very often".

When considering opinions by age, the low trust over 74-year-olds have in the courts to make fair and impartial decisions is striking. Only slightly more than half of this age group has a high level of trust in the courts in this respect (54.6%). At 18.3%, however, the opinion that the courts never or rarely make fair and impartial decisions is more pronounced than in all other age groups. The 35-44

age group also stands out. Here the middle category "sometimes" is less pronounced than in other age groups. On the other hand, the marginal categories of "never/rarely" and "often/very often" are strongly pronounced.

Table 28: Assessment of fair and impartial decisions by the courts according to migrant background (in %)

Opinion	Total	No migrant background n = 8,257	Migrant background		
			Turkish n = 407	Former Soviet Union n =334	Other n = 1,087
Never/rarely	14.1	12.5	25.9	19.4	*16.0*
Sometimes	22.8	22.0	*26.1*	*24.9*	*23.6*
Often/very often	63.1	65.6	48.0	55.7	60.4

Note: The differences between persons with and without a migrant background are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics (see footnote 23). In some cases, the proportion of missing values is higher than 5% (see appendix).

With regard to fair and impartial decisions by the courts, persons from Turkey or a country of the former Soviet Union have significantly lower trust in the German courts than persons without a migrant background. At 12.5%, the proportion of persons without a migrant background who believe that the courts never or rarely make fair and impartial decisions is considerably lower than among those with a migrant background (Turkey: 25.9%; former Soviet Union: 19.4%). On the other hand, persons without a migrant background are more likely to believe that the courts often or very often judge fairly and impartially (65.6%) than persons with a migrant background (48-60%, depending on their country of origin). The difference between people with and without a migrant background is particularly pronounced with regard to respondents of Turkish origin.

7.3 ATTITUDES TOWARDS PUNISHMENT

Punitive attitudes are opinions on how the state should react to criminal offences or on which sanctions are deemed just for various offences (Obergfell-Fuchs/Kury 2004). Thus, punitive attitudes are highly significant for criminal policy; as an expression of society's penal needs, they help legitimise crime control and implemented sanction practice.

In order to measure the concept, a differentiation by Kury et al. (2004) was used in this study, with the focus placed on punitive attitudes at the individual level. Two dimensions of punitive attitudes are distinguished: 1) the assessment of the purpose of punishment (why should the state react punitively and to what end?) and 2) the assessment of appropriate forms of reaction (which "punishment" is considered appropriate?), whereby the latter can be further differentiated with regard to the type as well as the severity of punishment. In the 2017 German Victimisation Survey, the two dimensions were taken into account, and both the importance of different forms of punishment and the appropriate state responses to various types of crime were investigated. The results of these questions, which were collected as part of a submodule with a total of 2,200 respondents, are presented below.

Assessing the purpose of punishment

The questions used to measure the population's attitudes on the purpose of punishment were based on considerations drawn from criminal theory. In order to consider both absolute and relative

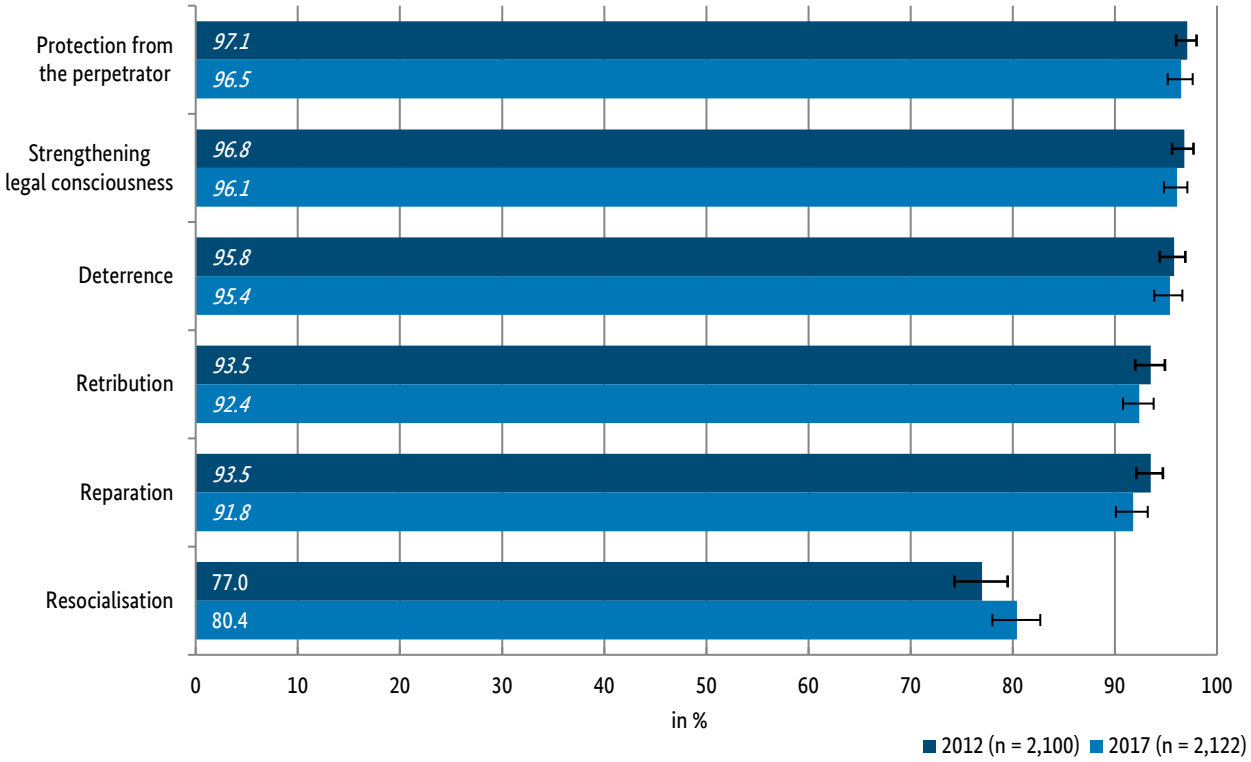
criminal theories, respondents were asked to assess the following punitive purposes in terms of their importance:

- protection of the public from the perpetrator,
- boosting social confidence in the legal system,
- reparation,
- retribution,
- resocialisation of the perpetrator,
- deterrence from committing further offences.

For this purpose, the following question was put to the respondents:

> *There are various purposes to the imposition of penalties. For each of the following, tell me whether you find the objective very important, rather important, not very important or not at all important.*
>
> – *The perpetrator should be deterred from committing further crimes.*
> – *The perpetrator should be helped to lead a crime-free life.*
> – *The perpetrator should atone for their crime.*
> – *The perpetrator should put right the damage they have caused.*
> – *The population's awareness and knowledge of the law should be strengthened.*
> – *Society should be protected from the perpetrator.*

Figure 49: Assessment of the purpose of punishment (very important/rather important)



Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences to 2012 figures are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

The results show that, with one exception, all of the punishment purposes considered are deemed to be very or rather important, with over 90% expressing such views in each category. Only resocialisation, with an overall approval rating of 80.4%, is distinctly viewed as less important than the other purposes. However, it is widely accepted by the population and its approval has risen significantly from 77% to 80.4% since 2012. There are no statistically significant changes for the remaining punishment purposes.

Table 29: Assessment of punishment purposes by sex and age, DVS 2017 (very important/rather important, in %)

	Total n = 2,122	Sex		Age						
		Men	Women	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	> 74
Protection from the perpetrator	96.6	*96.2*	*96.8*	93.0	93.0	95.9	98.6	96.5	98.9	99.0
Strengthening legal consciousness	96.1	*95.1*	*97.0*	92.4	96.0	93.1	96.1	97.4	98.0	89.9
Reparation	91.8	*91.4*	*92.1*	*83.8*	*90.5*	*88.9*	*92.2*	*93.4*	*96.2*	*95.8*
Retribution	92.4	*92.3*	*92.5*	86.1	85.6	93.7	92.5	95.8	94.8	96.3
Resocialisation	80.4	*78.8*	*82.0*	*80.2*	*81.1*	*82.2*	*79.2*	*78.0*	*81.8*	*81.8*
Deterrence	95.4	*95.9*	*94.9*	95.9	88.2	97.1	95.7	97.8	95.7	96.7

Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences between groups are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

Table 30: Assessment of punishment purposes by migrant background in 2017 (very important/rather important, in %)

	Total	No migrant background n = 168	Migrant background		
			Turkey n = 76	Former Soviet Union n = 49	Other n = 220
Protection from the perpetrator	96.4	97.3	*94.5*	*97.3*	93.1
Strengthening legal consciousness	96.0	96.0	*97.3*	*98.5*	*95.5*
Reparation	91.9	91.3	*95.7*	99.2	*92.4*
Retribution	92.4	92.3	*96.8*	*91.6*	*91.9*
Resocialisation	80.7	80.1	*76.5*	*89.6*	*82.8*
Deterrence	95.3	96.5	*91.5*	*97.8*	91.0

Note: The differences between persons with and without a migrant background are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics (see footnote 23).

Table 29 and Table 30 show the assessment of punishment purposes based on age, sex and migrant background. While no differences can be observed between the sexes, there are sometimes considerable differences between age groups in terms of the assessment of punishment purposes. The positive correlation between age and the purposes of deterrence, protection from the offender and retaliation is particularly clear: these are considered more important with age. Generally, however, it can be said that all age groups are strongly in favour of the punishment purposes outlined here.

For persons with other migrant backgrounds, deterrence (91%) and protection from the perpetrator (93.1%) are less important than for persons without a migrant background (around 97% in each case).

In contrast, persons from the former Soviet Union (99%) state significantly more frequently that reparation is important compared to those without a migrant background (91.9%).

Opinions on appropriate sanctions

Beyond the various purposes of punishment, punitive attitudes also comprise opinions regarding the nature and severity of sanctions. In order to measure these concepts, the DVS followed methodological recommendations (see e.g. Suhling et al. 2005) and compiled various representative scenarios for the offences of assault, theft, damage to property, robbery, fraud and, in 2017, burglary with theft. Several case studies (so-called vignettes) were developed for each offence. They differ from one another in terms of the circumstances of the crime and the severity of the consequences but remain constant with regard to the perpetrator and the victim.

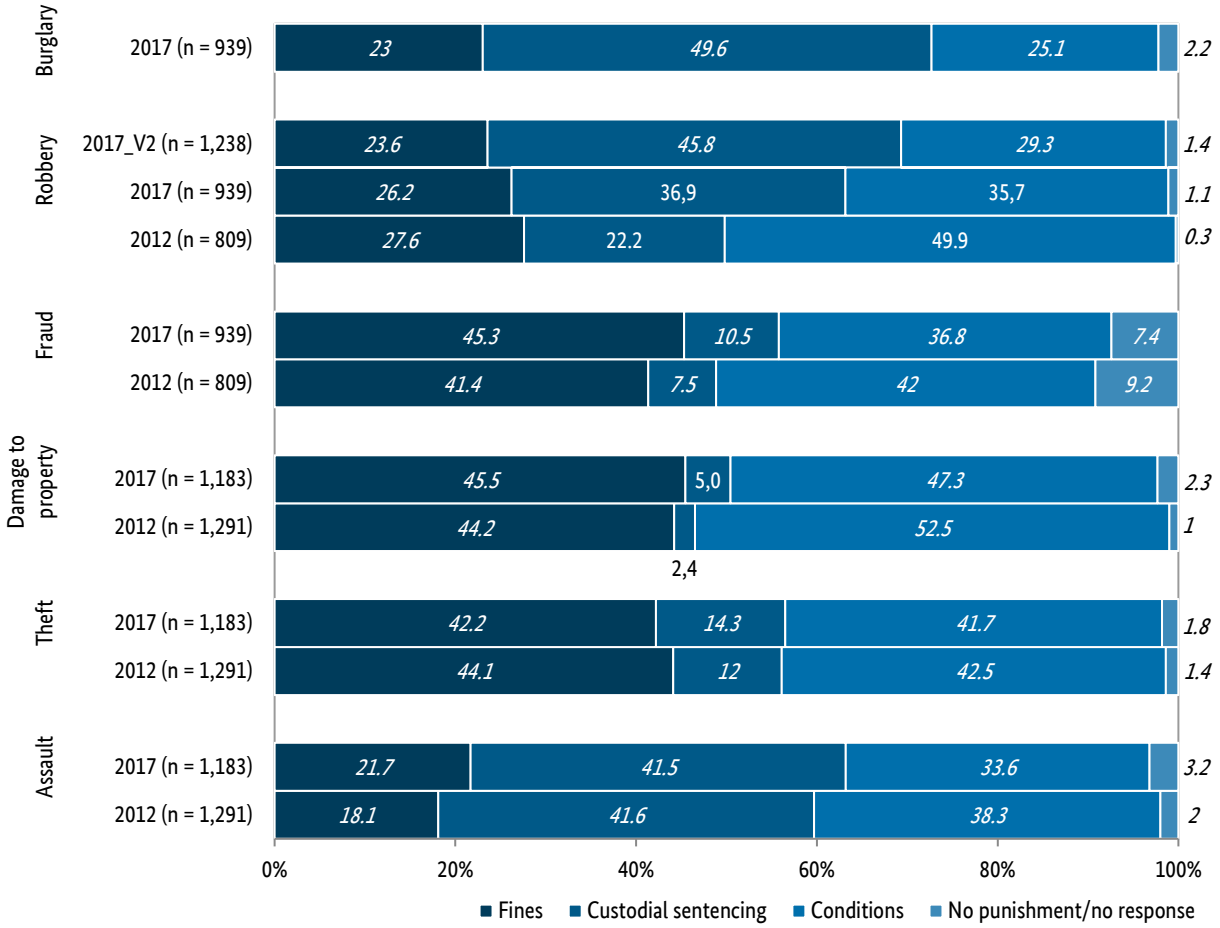
The respondents were presented with two to three vignettes concerning different offences ("Between Subject Vignette Design"), which were grouped into so-called vignette sets. Within these vignette sets, respondents were asked to indicate for each vignette which criminal response they considered to be most appropriate. At the first level, respondents were able to choose from the following response options:

- *impose a fine,*
- *custodial sentence with or without probation,*
- *no conviction, but obligation to meet certain conditions, such as community service or reparation,*
- *no punishment or response.*

If the interviewee chose "custodial sentence", they were then asked whether the sentence should be suspended with probation and what length of sentence would be preferred. If the answer category "obligation to meet certain conditions" was selected, the interviewee was asked what type of condition would be preferred (community service, reparation, victim-offender mediation, educational or psychological measures, other conditions). The exact wording used in the vignettes, the generation of the vignette sets as well as the wording of possible answers can be found in the appendix (from page 101).

In the following section, the results of these questions are presented in aggregated form for offence-specific vignette sets and compared with the results from 2012. When comparing the results with the 2012 survey, however, it should be noted that the 2017 survey included for the first time a set of vignettes on domestic burglary, and that the robbery vignettes were supplemented by a new case description (S) in order to ensure a better comparison with the results on assault. Thus, in addition to the vignette set for robbery, which was generated in analogy to the 2012 survey for comparison purposes, an expanded version including the new vignette is presented here (2017_V2).

Figure 50: Appropriate form of sanction by type of offence (vignette sets)



Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences to 2012 figures are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

The results in Figure 50 show that the spread of responses across the offences can be divided into two groups: while in the case of theft, damage to property and fraud (i.e. offences in which the focus is on financial loss), the forms of sanctions – fines and conditions ordered by the court – are cited with roughly equal frequency (between 37% and 47%); in the case of burglary, robbery and assault, custodial sentencing dominates with percentages between 42% and 50% (followed by conditions with 25-34% and fines with 22-24%).[47] Custodial sentences are rarely mentioned with regard to property offences (especially property damage) (5-14%). No punishment or response is rarely regarded as the most appropriate form of sanction for the offences investigated here: with one exception, the proportion is less than 3%. In the case of fraud, 7.4% of the population do not consider punishment to be the most appropriate criminal response.

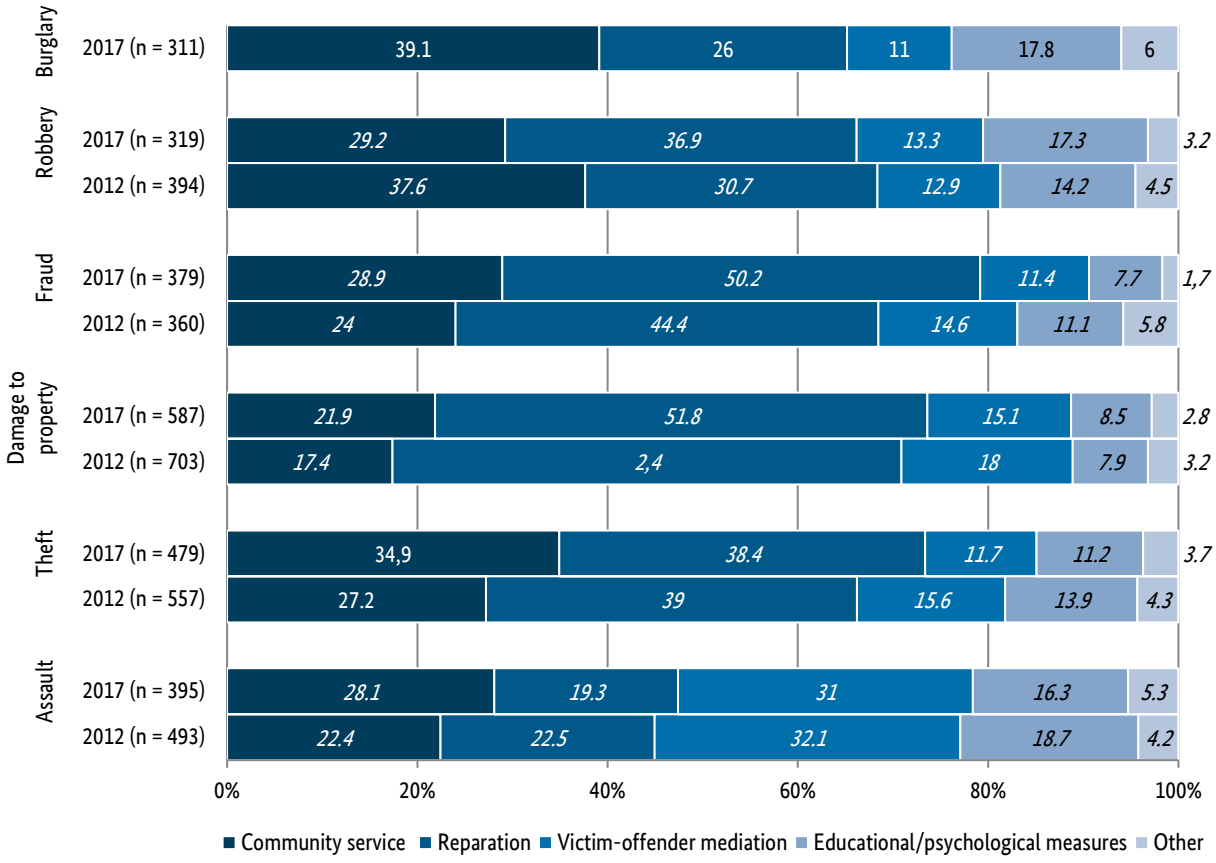
A five-year comparison shows hardly any significant developments. Only for robbery is there a significantly higher proportion of respondents who consider a custodial sentence most appropriate (37%, up from 22%), while the proportion of respondents who prefer conditions has decreased significantly (from 50% to 36%). This result is remarkable in that victimisation rates for robbery have also increased significantly since 2012. For the remaining offences, there have been no significant

[47] For the comparison carried out here, the case of robbery was based on the vignette set (2017_V2), which was supplemented by the vignette S.

changes compared to 2012 in terms of the sanctions preferred by respondents, especially with regard to custodial sentences (as an indication of stricter/more punitive attitudes towards sanctions). In addition, it can be seen (as expected) that the distribution of responses between robbery (2017_V2) and assault has been adjusted through the addition of the new robbery vignette and that the forms of sanctions judged to be appropriate are now very similar for both offences. Remarkably – and yet unsurprisingly when considered in light of the public discussion triggered by the rise in burglaries – it can also be observed that, at around 50%, custodial sentences were by far most frequently cited as the most appropriate form of sanction for burglary in comparison to other offences. This may be related to the fact that crime-specific fear is also highest for burglary (see subchapter 5.1).

Principally, however, broad support among the population for the various forms of sanctions can be seen across all offences, and a clear distinction is made between the various forms of offences (in particular, between property offences and offences where there is direct contact between the perpetrator and the victim) in the choice of the most appropriate penal response.

Figure 51: Preferred type of condition



Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences to 2012 figures are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

Figure 51 illustrates that distributions of the preferred types of condition vary by offence. Although these results are to be interpreted with caution due to the small sample size, there is an overall tendency towards similar distributions for the property offences of theft, damage to property and fraud. Accordingly, restitution dominates with 39-52%, followed by community service (22-35%) and victim-offender mediation (12-15%). A similar ranking can also be found for robbery (compensation: 37%, community service: 29%, victim-offender mediation: 13%), whereby the strong similarity to theft is surprising – not least given the markedly different distribution for assault

offences: for example, among the vignettes for assault, victim-offender mediation (31%) is mentioned most frequently, closely followed by community service (28.1%). Compensation and educational/psychological measures are mentioned much less frequently (16% and 19% respectively). In the case of burglary, on the other hand, charitable work dominates (39.1%) – in complete contrast to all other offences – followed by reparation (26%) and victim compensation (11%).

In a five-year comparison, with the exception of community service work, no changes with regard to theft prove to be statistically significant. However, across all offences, there is a slight tendency for community service to be mentioned more frequently.

Table 31: Preferred type and duration of prison sentences

Imprisonment for ...		Imprisonment			
		suspended sentence		without probation	
		proportion (as % of line)	duration (in months)	proportion (as % of line)	duration (in months)
Assault	2012 (n = 526)	*54.4*	*16.8*	*45.6*	*16.8*
	2017 (n = 496)	*55*	*17.7*	*45*	*19*
Theft	2012 (n = 156)	*78.1*	*11.1*	*21.9*	*11.3*
	2017 (n = 162)	*72.4*	*9.6*	*27.6*	*18.6*
Property damage	2012 (n = 28)	*59.5*	*9.8*	*40.5*	*4.0*
	2017 (n = 49)	*55.7*	*8.4*	*44.3*	*6.9*
Fraud	2012 (n = 63)	*60.2*	*18.2*	*39.8*	*7.2*
	2017 (n = 79)	*58.2*	*13.2*	*41.8*	*10.1*
Robbery	2012 (n = 191)	*66.7*	*12.6*	*33.3*	8.9
	2017 (n = 337)	*64.6*	*16.9*	*35.4*	16
Burglary	2017 (n = 640)	*61.8*	*15.5*	*38.2*	*17.1*

Note: Based on the Chi-Square test, differences to 2012 are statistically significant at a probability of error below 5%, except for values in italics.

Table 31 shows that, for the scenarios presented across all offences, imprisonment with probation are more frequently deemed appropriate than imprisonment without probation. Of all those who consider prison sentences to be the most appropriate punitive response, 55-65% think that, depending on the offence, a suspended sentence should follow. In contrast, 28-44% of those who prefer imprisonment for the scenarios presented are in favour of imprisonment without probation.

Crime-specific differences can also be observed in the preferred duration of imprisonment. These vary for custodial sentences with and without probation between 18 and 19 months (assault) and seven or rather six months (property damage). In this context, imprisonment without probation tends to include slightly longer sentences than imprisonment with probation. Furthermore, in terms of the length of the sentence, the order of the offences differs somewhat from that of suspended sentencing.

Significant changes since 2012 can only be observed in the average duration of suspended sentences for robbery offences. This has increased from nine to 16 months.

8 Summary and outlook

With the second wave of the German Victimisation Survey (DVS), it has been possible for the first time in many years to make statements about the development of crime incidence and crime-related attitudes in Germany on the basis of a large-scale repeated, nationwide survey that is representative of the entire resident population aged 16 and over. Hence, in addition to the central findings of the 2017 survey, this report presents changes compared to the 2012 survey. This section will first summarise the main findings before looking ahead to future regular nationwide victimisation surveys.

What is the overall picture painted by the individual findings presented in previous chapters? The results – which are summarised again below – show that Germany is still a fairly safe country, both in terms of the actual exposure to crime and perceived safety (Birkel et al. 2014, 91).

Victim experiences

Experiences as *victims of crimes* are rare events. In Germany, victim experiences involving lighter forms of crime, such as damage caused by malware, fraud in goods and services, personal theft or bicycle theft, are most widespread. By contrast, at most 1% of the population is affected by serious crimes such as robbery, burglary with theft and vehicle theft. A little more frequent, with a victim rate of 3%, is assault. In the opinion of those affected, a considerable number of assault cases are motivated by prejudices that relate especially to the social status or ethnicity of the victim, but also frequently to their skin colour or religious affiliation.

There are clear regional differences in the prevalence and incidence of victimisation, some of which have changed since 2012. Generally – but not across all offences – the large city-states of Hamburg and Berlin, and frequently Bremen, North Rhine-Westphalia and Rhineland-Palatinate, report higher levels of crime than the federal states in the east of the Federal Republic and Schleswig-Holstein. The southern states usually have a medium level of victimisation.

Experiences as victims of crime generally affect men (with the exception of personal theft, fraud in goods and services and payment card fraud) and younger persons in particular. In the case of some offences (fraud in goods and services, damage caused by malware), persons with a migrant background are affected more frequently than Germans without a migrant background; in some cases, this depends on their country of origin. However, people of Turkish origin are less likely to become victims of payment card fraud than residents without a migrant background.

If experiences of victimisation from the twelve months before the survey are considered, changes since the last DVS survey in 2012 can be observed in some areas of crime: the number of robbery offences and cases of attempted (but not completed) burglary with theft have increased, while bicycle thefts have decreased. Calculated over the last five years, there has also been an increase in personal theft, car theft, payment card fraud, phishing and pharming, while fewer citizens experience the theft of a motorcycle, moped or similar vehicles or suffer malware attacks. Overall, no fundamental change in the crime level between 2012 and 2017 can be observed.

Further analyses will need to clarify the extent to which these findings produced by the DVS can be consolidated with police-reported crime rates. While, for example, there are similar trends for both

unreported and reported rates of burglary with theft, the picture is more complicated for robbery.[48] Independently of this, the consistency of the results concerning experiences of victimisation, robbery-related fear of crime and penal needs suggests that the situation in this area of crime has intensified and requires more attention.

Reporting behaviour

Reporting behaviour has not changed since the first survey in 2012; the differences observed cannot be statistically confirmed. As in 2012, there are still considerable differences in how crimes are reported to the police, depending on the type of offence: cases of motorised vehicle theft are almost always reported (as it is a prerequisite for insurers to pay out benefits) and most completed domestic burglaries are reported for the same reason. Incidents of fraud in goods and services and victimisation that occurs through internet use are very rarely – i.e. one in ten cases or less – reported to the police. The frequency with which victims report violent crimes and other property crimes fluctuates between these two poles. The motives cited for reporting a crime are, in particular, the perception of such an action being standard practice ("criminal offences should always be reported"), efforts to avoid further victimisation and the need to punish the perpetrator. In the case of vehicle theft, the hope of retrieving the stolen vehicle or receiving compensation from the offender is also a very frequently cited motive for reporting the crime. The dominant reasons for not reporting a crime, on the other hand, are an offence's low level of severity and the assumption that police investigations have little chance of success; in the case of violent and fraudulent offences, an informal arrangement (victims resolving the matter themselves) is also frequently mentioned.

Fear of crime

With regard to fear of crime, the empirical findings indicate an increase in feelings of insecurity among the population since 2012. The proportion of the population who feel insecure at night in their neighbourhood has risen by four percentage points from 17.3% in 2012 to 21.5%. Although this increase tends to affect all population groups and regions, it increasingly affects women, middle-age groups and residents of medium-sized cities. With regard to specific crimes, fear of burglary has notably increased. The fear of being robbed has also increased slightly, but statistically significantly. For both offences, this perception corresponds to an actual increase in the risk of burglary and robbery in the years under consideration, and also to a rise in the number of domestic burglary cases recorded in police crime statistics (which was recently followed by a decline) as well as coverage of the issue in the press and in terms of criminal policy. With regard to robbery, citizens' penal needs have also increased (see below). Overall, however, the population's perceived risk of falling victim to crime increased considerably less than perceived insecurity between 2012 and 2017.

An increase in perceptions of insecurity can also be seen in other representative surveys, particularly since 2015 (e.g. European Social Survey or the study by R+V Versicherung titled "Die Ängste der Deutschen" [The Fears of Germans]) and could be linked to social developments taking place as a result of migration and refugee flows and the associated public discussions in the media and politics. This is because fear of crime is closely linked to other perceptions of social problems. In

[48] However, the known figure data reported in the Police Crime Statistics (PCS) cannot be easily compared with the results of the German Victimisation Survey. Thus, the divergence of the two data sources does not necessarily imply that one of them misrepresents the actual development of the incidence of robbery offences. For comparability between DVS and PCS, see chapter 3.1 above. For comparisons between PCS and the results of victim surveys in general, see Heinz (2015).

this respect, the rise in fear of crime is hardly surprising, and the question arises as to how long this development is likely to last.

The assessment of personal crime risks remains at a fairly low level. However, people with a migrant background differ considerably from native Germans in their perception of crime. In general, the latter feel safer and perceive their risk of victimisation to be lower than people with a migrant background. The Turkish population, in particular, tends to feel more insecure and at greater risk of victimisation than people from other countries of origin. It seems reasonable to assume that this heightened sensitivity is mainly related to the social circumstances of this group.

There is still a gap between east and west Germany: east Germans not only feel more insecure in their neighbourhood and are more afraid of robberies and terrorist attacks than west Germans, but they also perceive the risk of falling victim to robbery or terrorism to be greater. This contrasts with a similar or even lower exposure to actual experiences of victimisation.

To avoid falling victim to crime, a large majority of the population at least occasionally avoids certain places or situations – and women do so to a far greater extent than men. Even among the women who feel very safe in their neighbourhood, more than half avoid being alone in a public place at night, with a fifth even doing so often or always. This result shows that restrictions on freedom of movement are a fact of life for many women.

Confidence in police and courts

Although the population's perception of safety regarding crime has declined since 2012, general confidence in law enforcement institutions and the police has increased over the same period. The police in general, the Federal Criminal Police Office (BKA), the public prosecutor's office and the courts receive the highest level of confidence compared to other institutions (the political parties and the federal government). According to the 2017 survey, confidence in the police, the Federal Criminal Police Office and the courts, as well as confidence in the other institutions,[49] has increased somewhat compared to 2012, although this finding is subject to a certain degree of uncertainty for reasons already mentioned (see footnote 43).

A differentiated recording of variable dimensions of trust in the police confirms that a positive picture prevails among citizens. The majority of the population is of the opinion that the police do a good job in combatting crime (trust in the effectiveness of the police), treat people equally irrespective of their social status (trust in distributive fairness) and never or rarely use more force than is required by law or the situation (procedural fairness). Trust in the police is more or less equally pronounced across all age groups. Sex also only plays a role in isolated cases (women rate the effectiveness of the police more positively, but procedural fairness more negatively than men). The migrant background also only plays a statistically significant role in isolated cases, although this is also a consequence of the small sample size for individual countries of origin. Regardless of the statistical significance, there is a tendency for migrants from Turkey and the former Soviet Union to be more critical of the police than people without a migrant background.

A similar analysis of different aspects of trust in the courts shows that they, too, are predominantly viewed positively by citizens with regard to effectiveness as well as distributive and procedural fairness. In terms of the assessment of whether a poor and a rich person are treated equally by the court, however, the courts score somewhat less favourably than the police. In addition, the trust

[49] Confidence in the public prosecutor's office was not recorded in the DVS 2012.

placed in the German courts by persons with a migrant background differs from that of Germans without a migrant background. Migrants have less trust in the procedural fairness of the courts compared to the non-migrant population, but they rate their effectiveness with regard to the risk of a guilty person being acquitted higher. However, persons of Turkish origin are also more often of the opinion that innocent persons are convicted "often" or "very often".

In addition to trust in the police and courts, the German Victimisation Survey also examined how citizens evaluate various purposes of punishment and which criminal sanctions they consider appropriate for various criminal offences. It appears that protection from the offender, increased legal awareness and deterrence are the punitive purposes most often considered important, whereas rehabilitation of the offender is mentioned least frequently (although it was still cited very often). The assessment of punitive purposes shows little movement over time. The only change from 2012 to 2017 that can be demonstrated is that resocialisation is seen somewhat more often as an important or very important punishment objective. With regard to forms of sanctions, a custodial sentence is most often regarded as appropriate for violent crimes and burglary with theft, while a fine or condition is considered appropriate for other offences involving property or assets. Preferences regarding forms of sanctions for various offences are stable over time; only in the case of robbery is there a significantly higher proportion of respondents who consider a prison sentence to be the most appropriate punishment. However, there are no clear indications that attitudes towards punishment are becoming more severe.

Outlook

This report has only been able to provide an initial overview of the most important findings from the 2017 survey. The presentation was predominantly descriptive in nature. An analysis of correlations under consideration of multiple characteristics in order to produce a more detailed explanation of the findings was omitted. Hence, this publication needs to be supplemented by in-depth analyses, not only in terms of robbery offences and with regard to the already mentioned comparison of findings on the development of victimisation experiences with the PCS' reported crime rates. Some of the results shown here offer a starting point for such a step. This applies, for example, to the importance of migrant background, which has been shown several times, especially with regard to feelings of security, or the east-west gap in terms of fear of crime. Likewise, the results of the 2017 survey on prejudice-motivated violent crimes or the factors determining confidence in institutions, particularly vis-à-vis the police and the justice system, also require in-depth assessment. Finally, the question arises as to how the observed changes between the two survey waves can be explained. Therefore, more in-depth analyses of the data of the two DVS waves are planned and will be published in a volume in the BKA series "Police and Research" as well as in further publications.

The findings presented on changes between the two DVS survey periods not only contain numerous points of departure for in-depth analyses, but they also illustrate how beneficial repeated victimisation surveys are, and underline the need – one which experts have been repeatedly stating for some time – to carry out a nationwide survey such as this on a permanent basis and at regular intervals. At the end of 2017, the Permanent Conference of the Ministers and Senators of the Interior of the Federal Government and the Federal States (IMK) called for such a survey to be carried out every two years in the future and commissioned the Federal Criminal Police Office to carry it out with the participation of interested federal states. As it stands, the first wave of the

survey is to be carried out in 2020 under the title "Security and Crime in Germany" (SKiD).[50] In view of the rapid changes in the field of communication media and the declining willingness of citizens to participate in telephone surveys, this future survey will deliberately provide for a different survey methodology than the DVS, namely a written postal survey in combination with an online survey. The questionnaire, which will be shorter in the future, will not contain any questions on some of the topics covered by the DVS (e.g. penal attitudes, trust in courts and the public prosecutor's office, leisure behaviour). In this respect, the decision taken by the IMK in no way makes the 2017 survey obsolete – instead, it is a question of making use of the diverse analysis options it offers, some of which will no longer be available at SKiD.

[50] For further information on SKiD, see the corresponding details on the BKA homepage (www.bka.de/DE/UnsereAufgaben/Forschung/ForschungsprojekteUndErgebnisse/Dunkelfeldforschung/dark field research_node.html) [German only].

Appendix

Table 32: Changes to the questionnaire compared with the 2012 survey

Deleted contents	
State of health	Question 101
Media use	Block 400 complete (originally: module 2)
Control beliefs	Question 500/501 (originally: module 5)
Fear of crime last 7 days	Block 700 complete (originally: module 1)
In the event of robbery: questions about reporting on victimisation in the media	Questions 1713-1719, 1728 to 1734
In the event of assault and battery: Questions about reporting on victimisation in the media	Questions 1913-1919, 1929 to 1935
Country of grandparents' birth	Questions 2011 and 2012
New contents	
Expansion of the row of items to include trust in the public prosecutor's office	Question 103, Item I
Indirect experience with the police	Questions 309 and 310
Confidence in the courts	Questions 311-313, 317, 321-324 (partly in module 2, partly independently)
Malware damage	Block 3000
Phishing: disclosure of confidential data after receiving a fraudulent e-mail	Block 3100
Pharming: disclosure of access data after redirection to a forged website	Block 3200
Social and economic deprivation	Questions 318-320 (in module 2)
1 additional vignette for robbery	Question 308 (vignette S in module 2)
3 additional vignettes for domestic burglary	Question 308 (vignette W-T in module 2)
Insertion of an item for fear of terrorist attacks in the rows for affective and cognitive offence-specific fear of crime	Questions 619, Item E/ Question 708, Item E (in module 5)
Impact of fear of terrorist attacks on the quality of life	Question 625 (in module 5)
Row of items for conative fear of crime	Question 709
In the event of robbery: Questions to determine whether victimisation can be attributed to hate crimes, and to which characteristic the perpetrator's motivation may have been related	Questions 1756 and 1758
In the event of assault and battery: Questions to determine whether victimisation can be attributed to hate crimes, and to which characteristic the perpetrator's motivation may have been related	Questions 1951 and 1953
Recording of religious affiliation if the person has indicated that they have been a victim of hate crime on account of their religion	Question 2024

Questions to record experiences of victimisation in the last five years

Attempted burglary with theft

Within the last five years, i.e. since the beginning of 2012, did someone attempt to break into your apartment and not succeed? I.e. did you or any other person notice, for example, that a lock or door was broken, a window was smashed, or that the door around the lock was scratched?

1: yes
2: no
97: refused to answer
98: don't know

Vehicle theft

Please tell me if the following happened since the beginning of 2012 at least once to you or any other person who was living with you in the same household.

A: A bicycle was stolen.
B: A moped, scooter or motorcycle was stolen.
C: A car, van or other motorised vehicle, – e.g. a motor home – was stolen.

1: yes
2: no
97: refused to answer
98: don't know

Consumer fraud

These questions are about you personally.
Since the beginning of 2012, have you at least once fallen victim to fraud when buying or paying for a service or goods, e.g. from a salesperson or trader? I.e. were you deliberately deceived or lied to and thus induced to pay more than the service or product was worth?

1: yes
2: no
97: refused to answer
98: don't know

Fraud using illegally obtained debit cards with PIN/credit cards

Has anyone used your credit card, debit card/Girocard or your bank customer card without permission since the beginning of 2012, e.g. to withdraw money, to purchase something or to order something?

1: yes
2: no
95: respondent has not owned any of these cards since 2012
97: refused to answer
98: don't know

Victimisation with internet use

Please consider your internet use for private purposes. In the period since the beginning of 2012, have you been affected by any of the following security problems?

A: Your computer(s) being infected, e.g. by viruses, worms or Trojans, causing data loss or damage.

B: Disclosure of confidential data, such as your account number or PIN code, after being prompted to do so in an e-mail with a fraudulent sender address.

C: Redirection to a forged website on which you have disclosed your access data, e.g. for online banking, when logging in.

1: yes
2: no
95: don't use e-mail
95: don't use online banking
97: refused to answer
98: don't know

Robbery

Since the beginning of 2012, has anyone taken something from you, by using force, or threatening you? Please mention any cases where this happened, even if it was only attempted.

1: yes
2: no
97: refused to answer
98: don't know

Other theft

Now I would like to ask you about nonviolent theft.
We have already talked about the theft of vehicles and the theft of objects in the event of burglary. But now I would like to talk to you about those forms of theft that we have not yet discussed and which were also nonviolent. Here we mean, for example, the theft of bags, purses, clothing, jewellery or sports equipment.
Have you personally been a victim of any of these thefts since the beginning of 2012?

1: yes
2: no
97: refused to answer
98: don't know

Assault

Now I would like to ask you about incidents in which physical violence was used against you personally, without something having been taken away from you or this having been attempted. Please think back to the time since the beginning of 2012. Tell us if at least one of the following incidents happened to you during this time.

A: Someone has deliberately sprayed you with tear gas, pepper spray or another harmful substance at least once since the beginning of 2012.

B: Someone has intentionally attacked you at least once since early 2012 with a knife, pistol, brass knuckles, or with another weapon or object.

1: yes
2: no
97: refused to answer
98: don't know

Someone can also be assaulted physically without the use of weapons or other items, where the attacker's aim is to intentionally inflict physical damage or pain.
Please think back over the last five years, i.e. the time since the beginning of 2012. Tell us if at least one of the following incidents happened to you during this time.

A: Someone intentionally beat, kicked or strangled you at least once since early 2012 to cause you physical harm or pain.

B: Someone intentionally burned you at least once since early 2012.

C: Since early 2012, someone intentionally assaulted you at least once in another way to cause you physical harm or pain.

1: yes
2: no
97: refused to answer
98: don't know

Proportion of missing values in chapters 6 and 7

Proportion of missing values in Figure 40: Assessment of the effectiveness of police work (in %)

	2012	2017
Assessment of the effectiveness of police work	9.6	10.8

Proportion of missing values in Table 16: Assessment of police effectiveness by migrant background (in %)

	No migrant background	Migrant background		
		Turkish	former Soviet Union	Other
Assessment of the effectiveness of police work	10.4	11.8	18.4	9.6

Proportion of missing values in Table 20: Assessment of the use of force by the police by migrant background (in %)

	No migrant background	Migrant background		
		Turkish	Former Soviet Union	Other
Assessment of the use of force by the police	6.7	9.2	16.3	9.5

Proportion of missing values in Figure 43: Confidence in institutions by type of institution (in %)

	2012	2017
BKA	10.2	11.1
The public prosecutor's office	-	9.8

Proportion of missing values in Table 22: Institutional trust by migrant background, DVS 2017 (mean): Confidence in institutions by migrant background (in %)

	No migrant background	Migrant background		
		Turkish	Former Soviet Union	Other
BKA	10.3	13.7	18.7	10.6
The courts	5.0	7.6	14.3	5.4
The public prosecutor's office	9.0	10.5	20.1	9.9

Proportion of missing values in Table 24: Effectiveness of the courts by migrant background (in %)

	No migrant background	Migrant background		
		Turkish	Former Soviet Union	Other
Guilty – acquitted	3.3	7.1	11.4	3.7
Innocent – convicted	2.1	6.6	8.4	2.8

Proportion of missing values in Table 26: Equal treatment in court by migrant background (in %)

	No migrant background	Migrant background		
		Turkish	Former Soviet Union	Other
Equal treatment in court	2.8	4.2	5.7	3.1

Proportion of missing values in Table 28: Assessment of fair and impartial decisions by courts according to migrant background (in %)

	No migrant background	Migrant background		
		Turkish	Former Soviet Union	Other
Assessment of decision	2.3	9.6	12.0	4.4

Creation of vignette sets

The respondents were randomly assigned to the respective vignette sets. In addition, the response categories were randomised to avoid sequence effects.

Set 1 3rd vignette from offence 1 + 1st vignette from offence 2 + 1st vignette from offence 3 + 1st vignette from offence 6 (C + E + I + T)
Set 2 4th vignette from offence 1 + 2nd vignette from offence 2 + 2nd vignette from offence 3 (D + F + J)
Set 3 1st vignette from offence 1 + 3rd vignette from offence 2 + 3rd vignette from offence 3 (A + G + K)
Set 4 2nd vignette from offence 1 + 4th vignette from offence 2 + 4th vignette from offence 3 + 4th vignette from offence 5 (B + H + L + S)
Set 5 1st vignette from offence 4 + 3rd vignette from offence 5 + 2nd vignette from offence 6 (M + R + U)
Set 6 2nd vignette from offence 4 + 1st vignette from offence 5 + 3rd vignette from offence 6 (N + P + V)
Set 7 3rd vignette from offence 4 + 2nd vignette from offence 5 + 4th vignette from offence 6 (O + Q + W)

Wording of vignettes

I will now read out various scenarios. Then I will ask you how the state should respond to this action. In each case, the person in question is a thirty-year-old man named Jan who has no criminal record, is single and employed.

Assault

A: *Jan is involved in a traffic accident with an unknown man, also 30 years old. Both parties get into an argument because they think the other is to blame. Out of rage, Jan pushes the other driver, who falls down and slightly injures his arm.*

B: *Jan is involved in a traffic accident with an unknown man who is also 30 years old. Both parties get into an argument because they think the other is to blame. Out of rage, Jan gets his baseball bat out of the car and hits the other driver so hard that he loses consciousness and has to be treated in hospital for a week due to a head injury.*

C: *Jan has been bothered by the loud music being played by his new 30-year-old neighbour (who he does not know) for quite some time. He decides "to stick it to" his neighbour next time there's a noise disturbance. The next time it's noisy, Jan rings his neighbour's doorbell. When he opens the door, Jan pushes him so hard that he falls down and slightly injures his arm.*

D: *Jan has been bothered by the loud music being played by his new 30-year-old neighbour (who he does not know). He decides "to stick it to" his neighbour next time there's a noise disturbance. The next time it's noisy, Jan rings his neighbour's doorbell. When he opens the door, Jan hits him with a baseball bat so hard that he loses consciousness and has to be treated in hospital for a week due to a head injury.*

Theft

E: *In a restaurant, Jan sits next to another 30-year-old man who has left his watch worth 50 euros lying on the table. When no one is looking, Jan pockets the watch, which he likes the look of, and leaves the restaurant.*

F: *In a restaurant, Jan is sitting next to another 30-year-old man who has left his watch worth 1,000 euros lying on the table. When no one is looking, Jan pockets the watch, which he likes the look of, and leaves the restaurant.*

G: *To supplement his monthly salary, Jan goes to a flea market. He discovers an old vase worth 50 euros being sold by a 30-year-old private dealer. When no one is looking, he puts the vase in his backpack, makes a quick exit and sells it to another dealer.*

H: *To supplement his monthly salary, Jan goes to a flea market. He discovers an old vase worth 1,000 euros being sold by a 30-year-old private dealer. When no one is looking, he puts the vase in his backpack, makes a quick exit and sells it to another dealer.*

Property damage

I: *Jan is loitering around in the evening and out of boredom, he spontaneously kicks in the fence of a 30-year-old neighbour, who he does not know. The damage amounts to 50 euros.*

J: *Jan is loitering around in the evening and out of boredom, he spontaneously kicks in the fence of a 30-year-old neighbour, who he does not know. The damage amounts to 1,000 euros.*

K: *Jan has been bothered for quite some time by the loud engine noise of the car of a 30-year-old neighbour, who he does not know. Jan decides "to stick it to him" and one night breaks off the wing mirrors of the car. The repair costs amount to 1,000 euros.*

L: *Jan has been bothered for quite some time by the loud engine noise of the car of a 30-year-old neighbour, who he does not know. Jan decides "to stick it to him" and one night breaks off the car's windscreen wipers. The repair costs amount to 50 euros.*

Fraud

M: *In order to supplement his monthly salary, Jan tries to sell a worthless vase for 50 euros online, claiming it is an antique vase. A 30-year-old man buys the vase for the price indicated, but notices he has been fooled too late to hold Jan to account.*

N: *In order to supplement his monthly salary, Jan tries to sell a worthless vase for 1,000 euros online, claiming it is an antique vase. A 30-year-old man buys the vase for the price indicated, but notices he has been fooled too late to hold Jan to account.*

O: *In order to earn some money for a party at the weekend, Jan tries to sell a defective, worthless clock for 50 euros at the flea market, claiming it to be fully functional. A 30-year-old man buys the clock for the indicated price, but notices he has been fooled too late to hold Jan to account.*

Robbery

P: *On the street, Jan sees a 30-year-old man approaching with an old vase worth 50 euros. To supplement his monthly salary, Jan runs towards the man, pushes him, snatches the vase out of his hand and flees successfully. Jan then sells the vase to an antiques dealer.*

Q: *On the street, Jan sees a 30-year-old man approaching with an old vase worth 1,000 euros. To supplement his monthly salary, Jan runs towards the man, pushes him, snatches the vase out of his hand and flees successfully. Jan then sells the vase to an antiques dealer.*

R: *On the street, Jan sees a 30-year-old man with a shoulder bag approaching. To earn some money for a weekend party, Jan pushes the man, snatches his bag from him and flees successfully. The bag contains objects worth 50 euros.*

S: *On the street, Jan sees a 30-year-old man with a shoulder bag approaching. To supplement his monthly salary, Jan hits the man with a baseball bat so hard that he loses consciousness and has to be treated in hospital for a week due to a head injury. Jan snatches the man's bag and flees successfully. The bag contains objects worth 50 euros.*

Domestic burglary

T: *While the residents are on vacation, Jan breaks into the apartment of an unknown family via the balcony door. He takes the TV worth 1,000 euros and leaves the apartment without rummaging through it.*

U: *While the residents are on vacation, Jan breaks into the apartment of an unknown family via the balcony door. He takes 50 euros in cash and leaves the apartment without rummaging through it.*

V: *While the residents are on vacation, Jan breaks into the apartment of an unknown family via the balcony door. He devastates the apartment and takes the TV worth 1,000 euros.*

W: *While the residents are sleeping, Jan breaks into the apartment of a family unknown to him via the balcony door. He takes 50 euros in cash and leaves the apartment without rummaging through it.*

Wording of response categories

How do you think the state should respond to this action? I will (again) read out different possibilities. Please tell me which of these responses you consider most appropriate in this case.

1: A fine

2: A custodial sentence with or without probation

3: No conviction, but an obligation to meet certain conditions, such as community service or reparation.

4: No penalty or response

97: Refused to answer.

98: Don't know.

If response 2 ("custodial sentence") was selected

And in your opinion, should the prison sentence be suspended, i.e. should the offender only go to prison if they break certain rules of conduct, or should the prison sentence be served in prison, without probation?

1: Prison sentence with probation

2: Prison sentence without probation

(Follow-up question for "Prison sentence with probation": And how long do you think the prison sentence should be? ___ years ___ months)

If response 3 ("condition") was selected:

I will read a list of various possibilities. Please tell me which of the following conditions you consider most appropriate in this case.

1: Community service

2: Compensation for the damage caused, e.g. financial compensation.

3: Mediation of the conflict between perpetrator and victim

4: Pedagogical or psychological measures

5: Other conditions

Table 33: Statistically significant state differences, personal theft – prevalence

Federal state	Statistically significant deviation (p ≤ 0.05) from:
Schleswig-Holstein (SH)	–
Hamburg (HH)	–
Lower Saxony (NI)	–
Bremen (HB)	–
North Rhine-Westphalia (NW)	MV, TH
Hesse (HE)	MV, TH
Rhineland-Palatinate (RP)	–
Baden-Württemberg (BW)	MV, TH
Bavaria (BY)	–
Saarland (SL)	–
Berlin (BE)	MV, SN, ST, TH
Brandenburg (BB)	–
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (MV)	BE, BW, HE, NW
Saxony (SN)	BE
Saxony-Anhalt (ST)	BE
Thuringia (TH)	BE, BW, HE, NW

Number of cases: n = 30,011

Table 34: Statistically significant state differences, personal theft – incidence

Federal state	Statistically significant deviation (p ≤ 0.05) from:
Schleswig-Holstein (SH)	–
Hamburg (HH)	–
Lower Saxony (NI)	–
Bremen (HB)	–
North Rhine-Westphalia (NW)	MV, TH
Hesse (HE)	MV, TH
Rhineland-Palatinate (RP)	–
Baden-Württemberg (BW)	MV, TH
Bavaria (BY)	MV
Saarland (SL)	–
Berlin (BE)	MV, ST, TH
Brandenburg (BB)	–
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (MV)	BE, BW, BY, HE, NW
Saxony (SN)	–
Saxony-Anhalt (ST)	BE
Thuringia (TH)	BE, BW, HE, NW

Number of cases: n = 30,011

Table 35: Statistically significant state differences, consumer fraud – prevalence

Federal state	Statistically significant deviation (p ≤ 0.05) from:
Schleswig-Holstein (SH)	–
Hamburg (HH)	–
Lower Saxony (NI)	–
Bremen (HB)	–
North Rhine-Westphalia (NW)	–
Hesse (HE)	ST
Rhineland-Palatinate (RP)	–
Baden-Württemberg (BW)	–
Bavaria (BY)	ST
Saarland (SL)	–
Berlin (BE)	ST
Brandenburg (BB)	–
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (MV)	–
Saxony (SN)	–
Saxony-Anhalt (ST)	BE, BY, HE
Thuringia (TH)	–

Number of cases: n = 29,911

Table 36: Statistically significant state differences, consumer fraud – incidence rates

Federal state	Statistically significant deviation (p ≤ 0.05) from:
Schleswig-Holstein (SH)	–
Hamburg (HH)	–
Lower Saxony (NI)	–
Bremen (HB)	–
North Rhine-Westphalia (NW)	MV
Hesse (HE)	MV
Rhineland-Palatinate (RP)	–
Baden-Württemberg (BW)	–
Bavaria (BY)	MV
Saarland (SL)	–
Berlin (BE)	MV
Brandenburg (BB)	–
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (MV)	BE, BY, HE, NW
Saxony (SN)	–
Saxony-Anhalt (ST)	–
Thuringia (TH)	–

Number of cases: n = 29,911

Table 37: Statistically significant state differences, robbery – prevalence rate

Federal state	Statistically significant deviation (p ≤ 0.05) from:
Schleswig-Holstein (SH)	–
Hamburg (HH)	–
Lower Saxony (NI)	–
Bremen (HB)	–
North Rhine-Westphalia (NW)	RP
Hesse (HE)	–
Rhineland-Palatinate (RP)	BE, BY, NW
Baden-Württemberg (BW)	–
Bavaria (BY)	RP
Saarland (SL)	–
Berlin (BE)	RP
Brandenburg (BB)	–
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (MV)	–
Saxony (SN)	–
Saxony-Anhalt (ST)	–
Thuringia (TH)	–

Number of cases: n = 30,125

Table 38: Statistically significant state differences, robbery – incidence rates

Federal state	Statistically significant deviation (p ≤ 0.05) from:
Schleswig-Holstein (SH)	–
Hamburg (HH)	–
Lower Saxony (NI)	–
Bremen (HB)	–
North Rhine-Westphalia (NW)	RP
Hesse (HE)	–
Rhineland-Palatinate (RP)	BY, NW
Baden-Württemberg (BW)	–
Bavaria (BY)	RP
Saarland (SL)	–
Berlin (BE)	–
Brandenburg (BB)	–
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (MV)	–
Saxony (SN)	–
Saxony-Anhalt (ST)	–
Thuringia (TH)	–

Number of cases: n = 30,125

Table 39: Statistically significant state differences, physical assault – prevalence rates

Federal state	Statistically significant deviation (p ≤ 0.05) from:
Schleswig-Holstein (SH)	–
Hamburg (HH)	–
Lower Saxony (NI)	MV
Bremen (HB)	BE
North Rhine-Westphalia (NW)	MV
Hesse (HE)	–
Rhineland-Palatinate (RP)	–
Baden-Württemberg (BW)	–
Bavaria (BY)	MV
Saarland (SL)	–
Berlin (BE)	HB, MV
Brandenburg (BB)	–
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (MV)	BE, BY, NI, NW
Saxony (SN)	–
Saxony-Anhalt (ST)	–
Thuringia (TH)	–

Number of cases: n = 30,077

Table 40: Statistically significant state differences, physical assault – incidence rates

Federal state	Statistically significant deviation (p ≤ 0.05) from:
Schleswig-Holstein (SH)	–
Hamburg (HH)	–
Lower Saxony (NI)	–
Bremen (HB)	–
North Rhine-Westphalia (NW)	MV
Hesse (HE)	–
Rhineland-Palatinate (RP)	–
Baden-Württemberg (BW)	–
Bavaria (BY)	MV
Saarland (SL)	–
Berlin (BE)	MV
Brandenburg (BB)	–
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (MV)	BE, BY, NW
Saxony (SN)	–
Saxony-Anhalt (ST)	–
Thuringia (TH)	–

Number of cases: n = 30,077

Table 41: Statistically significant state differences, damage caused by malware – prevalence rates

Federal state	Statistically significant deviation (p ≤ 0.05) from:
Schleswig-Holstein (SH)	–
Hamburg (HH)	–
Lower Saxony (NI)	HB
Bremen (HB)	BW, NI, NW
North Rhine-Westphalia (NW)	HB
Hesse (HE)	–
Rhineland-Palatinate (RP)	–
Baden-Württemberg (BW)	HB
Bavaria (BY)	–
Saarland (SL)	–
Berlin (BE)	–
Brandenburg (BB)	–
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (MV)	–
Saxony (SN)	–
Saxony-Anhalt (ST)	–
Thuringia (TH)	–

Number of cases: n = 29,872

Table 42: Statistically significant state differences, pharming – prevalence rates

Federal state	Statistically significant deviation (p ≤ 0.05) from:
Schleswig-Holstein (SH)	–
Hamburg (HH)	BY, NW
Lower Saxony (NI)	–
Bremen (HB)	–
North Rhine-Westphalia (NW)	HH
Hesse (HE)	–
Rhineland-Palatinate (RP)	–
Baden-Württemberg (BW)	–
Bavaria (BY)	HH
Saarland (SL)	–
Berlin (BE)	–
Brandenburg (BB)	–
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (MV)	–
Saxony (SN)	–
Saxony-Anhalt (ST)	–
Thuringia (TH)	–

Note: SH was excluded from the pair comparisons as there are no pharming victims in the sample in SH.
Number of cases: n = 29,026

Table 43: Statistically significant state differences, pharming – incidence rates

Federal state	Statistically significant deviation (p ≤ 0.05) from:
Schleswig-Holstein (SH)	–
Hamburg (HH)	BY, NW
Lower Saxony (NI)	–
Bremen (HB)	–
North Rhine-Westphalia (NW)	HH
Hesse (HE)	
Rhineland-Palatinate (RP)	
Baden-Württemberg (BW)	
Bavaria (BY)	HH
Saarland (SL)	
Berlin (BE)	
Brandenburg (BB)	
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (MV)	
Saxony (SN)	
Saxony-Anhalt (ST)	
Thuringia (TH)	–

Note: SH was excluded from the pair comparisons as there are no pharming victims in the sample in SH.
Number of cases: n = 29,020

Table 44: Statistically significant differences across federal states, burglary (attempted & completed) – prevalence rates

Federal state	Statistically significant deviation (p ≤ 0.05) from:
Schleswig-Holstein (SH)	–
Hamburg (HH)	–
Lower Saxony (NI)	MV
Bremen (HB)	–
North Rhine-Westphalia (NW)	MV
Hesse (HE)	–
Rhineland-Palatinate (RP)	–
Baden-Württemberg (BW)	MV
Bavaria (BY)	MV
Saarland (SL)	–
Berlin (BE)	MV
Brandenburg (BB)	–
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (MV)	BE, BW, BY, NI, NW, SN
Saxony (SN)	MV
Saxony-Anhalt (ST)	–
Thuringia (TH)	–

Number of cases: n = 30,037

Table 45: Statistically significant differences across federal states, burglary (attempted + completed) – incidence rates

Federal state	Statistically significant deviation (p ≤ 0.05) from:
Schleswig-Holstein (SH)	–
Hamburg (HH)	–
Lower Saxony (NI)	–
Bremen (HB)	–
North Rhine-Westphalia (NW)	MV
Hesse (HE)	–
Rhineland-Palatinate (RP)	–
Baden-Württemberg (BW)	–
Bavaria (BY)	–
Saarland (SL)	–
Berlin (BE)	MV
Brandenburg (BB)	
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (MV)	BE, NW, SN
Saxony (SN)	MV
Saxony-Anhalt (ST)	–
Thuringia (TH)	–

Number of cases: n = 30,037

Table 46: Statistically significant differences across federal states, bicycle theft – prevalence rates

Federal state	Statistically significant deviation (p ≤ 0.05) from:
Schleswig-Holstein (SH)	BE
Hamburg (HH)	–
Lower Saxony (NI)	BE, TH
Bremen (HB)	–
North Rhine-Westphalia (NW)	BE, TH
Hesse (HE)	BE
Rhineland-Palatinate (RP)	BE
Baden-Württemberg (BW)	BE, TH
Bavaria (BY)	BE
Saarland (SL)	–
Berlin (BE)	BB, BW, BY, HE, NI, NW, RP, SH, SN, TH
Brandenburg (BB)	BE
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (MV)	–
Saxony (SN)	BE
Saxony-Anhalt (ST)	–
Thuringia (TH)	BE, BW, NI, NW

Number of cases: n = 30,069

Table 47: Statistically significant differences across federal states, bicycle theft – incidence rates

Federal state	Statistically significant deviation (p ≤ 0.05) from:
Schleswig-Holstein (SH)	BE
Hamburg (HH)	–
Lower Saxony (NI)	BE, TH
Bremen (HB)	–
North Rhine-Westphalia (NW)	BE, TH
Hesse (HE)	BE
Rhineland-Palatinate (RP)	–
Baden-Württemberg (BW)	BE, TH
Bavaria (BY)	BE
Saarland (SL)	–
Berlin (BE)	BW, BY, HE, NI, NW, SH, SN, ST, TH
Brandenburg (BB)	–
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (MV)	–
Saxony (SN)	BE
Saxony-Anhalt (ST)	BE
Thuringia (TH)	BE, BW, NI, NW

Number of cases: n = 30,069

Table 48: Statistically significant differences across federal state, general fear of crime (mean value comparison)

Federal state	Statistically significant deviation (p ≤ 0.05) from:
Schleswig-Holstein (SH)	BE, NW, SN, ST
Hamburg (HH)	-
Lower Saxony (NI)	BE, NW, SN, ST
Bremen (HB)	-
North Rhine-Westphalia (NW)	BW, BY, HE, NI, RP, SH
Hesse (HE)	BE, NW, SN, ST
Rhineland-Palatinate (RP)	BE, NW, SN, ST
Baden-Württemberg (BW)	BE, NW, SN, ST
Bavaria (BY)	BB, BE, NW, SN, ST
Saarland (SL)	-
Berlin (BE)	BW, BY, HE, NI, RP, SH
Brandenburg (BB)	BY
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (MV)	-
Saxony (SN)	BW, BY, HE, NI, RP, SH
Saxony-Anhalt (ST)	BW, BY, HE, NI, RP, SH
Thuringia (TH)	-

Number of cases: n = 30,068

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Imprint

Publisher

Federal Criminal Police Office, 65173 Wiesbaden, Germany

Published

November 2019

V 1.1

Design

Federal Criminal Police Office, 65173 Wiesbaden, Germany

Picture credits

Federal Criminal Police Office

Editing

Wissenschaftslektorat Zimmermann, Magdeburg

Translation: Lyam Bittar, Daniel Fischer, Nivene Raafat

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