

Victimization in Close Relationships: On the "Darkness of Dark Figures"

Peter Wetzels and Wolfgang Bilsky

Paper presented at the Fourth European Conference of Law and Psychology
Barcelona, 6-9 April, 1994

1994

VICTIMIZATION IN CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS: ON THE "DARKNESS OF DARK FIGURES"

Peter Wetzels and Wolfgang Bilsky

INTRODUCTION

Detailed knowledge of the amount and the structure of crime is of central interest to politicians and administrators in almost every society. Information of this kind is highly relevant with respect to political and social planning and legal decision making. Aside from this criminal and social policy, access to sound empirical data on the prevalence and incidence of different forms of crime is important within other domains as well. Research into fear of crime and public attitudes towards crime and punishment, for instance, needs valid information about previous criminal victimizations of the persons under study. In every explanatory model of fear of crime, for example, persons' experiences with criminal acts serve as one of the central independent variables (see Fattah, 1993; Kury, 1993). If information about victimization is not reliable and valid, however, the conclusions drawn will be misleading.

One standard source of information are victims' reports to the police on the criminal incidents which happened to them. Victims' reporting behavior as well as the recording behavior of police officers are crucial to official *police crime statistics*. Consequently, comprehensive and reliable reporting behavior is a necessary but not sufficient condition for a politically and scientifically useful data base. It is well known, however, that many criminal events never come to the knowledge of the authorities. This is why victims are frequently called the gate-keepers of the criminal justice system. The reliability of police statistics is further affected by the fact that the proportion of crime which is not reported to the police is neither constant over time nor across different kinds of offences (see for example the results of the British Crime Survey; c.f. Mayhew & Maung, 1992). Thus, different crime rates calculated on the basis of police statistics may better reflect changes of reporting and recording behavior than actual changes in the

amount and the structure of crime. Because of these shortcomings, police statistics are only a rather poor indicator of the actual amount of crime experienced and an unreliable guide to changes in crime rates (Mayhew, 1993).

Representative *victim surveys* are seen as one means to overcome (at least partly) the double bias of underreporting and underrecording which is inherent to police crime statistics. One of the major purposes of victim surveys is to register all criminal offences as either reported or unreported to the police in order to calculate so-called *dark figures* (i.e., the ratio of reported and not reported criminal incidents). These dark figures can then be used to estimate the amount of crime within a given society with respect to the offences and the population under study.

While this procedure seems quite promising at first glance, the range of criminal incidents which can be detected by victim surveys is restricted by sampling procedures and methods of data collection. Firstly, representative surveys are mostly based on household samples, thus focusing on incidents which can happen to private persons and their household. They normally disregard several other forms of crime, for instance victimless crime and crime against business. Secondly, interview methods are based on retrospective questioning. This means that data are restricted to those victimizing incidents which are experienced consciously and which furthermore are accessible to recall and retrieval processes. Within these limits, victim surveys strive to paint a picture as complete as possible of the crime burden of the population under study.

However, there are some additional shortcomings of victim surveys, which have been mentioned by numerous researchers for many years. These researchers have stressed the fact that violent crimes committed by non-strangers are not identified reliably by victim surveys. Consequently, the amount of violent crime is seriously underestimated.

Twenty years ago Biderman already wrote, for example, that assaults "... in a high proportion involve as victim and offender family members, lovers, and others who have an ongoing social relationship to each other. ... 'crime' may not be the category of the mental card file under which that event is stored by the respondent and hence is not an event to which his memory

associates when in the context of an interview about crimes, he is asked whether an event of a certain type happened to him" (Biderman, 1975, p.162). Sparks (1981, p.23) argued similarly, when stating that "many crimes by spouses, family members, etc., are not mentioned to survey interviewers". More recently Heidensohn (1991) supposed that the British Crime Survey might underestimate the rate of domestic assault in particular because of the interview setting. This setting did not exclude the possibility that the interviewees were in the same room with their assailants during the interview, thus inhibiting respondents to mention violent acts experienced within that particular relationship. Lynch (1993, p.173) commented on the same topic: "Many events that clearly satisfy the conceptual definition of crime are not regarded as such, because they are committed by intimates or acquaintances or because retribution is exacted instantaneously. These do not enter into the frame of reference when the respondent's mind is on crime". Gottfredson (1986, p.261) has noted, that a possible underestimation of non-stranger assaults in victim surveys would in turn lead to an overestimation of the proportion of violent acts outside the home. Consequently, the picture of the spatial correlates of violent victimization as painted by victim surveys might be seriously distorted. Smith (1994) pointed to the fact that these methodological problems of victim surveys leads to a particular underreporting of violent victimization experiences of female respondents to survey interviewers. Consequently there is a certain gender bias in the estimation of victimization risks by victim survey measures.

EVIDENCE FROM PAST RESEARCH ON FAMILY VIOLENCE

Interestingly enough, the problem of underestimation of violent victimization has obviously been recognized since the early beginning of victim survey research. Furthermore, coincidental with the development of victim survey research, the importance of intrafamily violence has more and more been recognized within the social sciences. Today family violence researchers constitute an established interdisciplinary scientific community with its own specialized journals and conferences. Unfortunately however, family violence research has developed quite separately from criminology in general and from victim survey research in particular until today (see Hotaling, Straus & Lincoln, 1989; Smith, 1994). This is surprising, taking into account that most forms of behavior labelled as family violence clearly meet legal definitions of crime in most societies. Although the problem of underreporting of physical and sexual victimization

experiences in victim surveys has thus been known for more than twenty years, and despite the fact that during that period family violence researchers have developed both theoretical concepts and empirical methods (including survey measures) to analyze just this problem of violence between closely related persons, this know-how has not been incorporated into criminological victim survey research. Only very recently there have been efforts of criminologists to improve the measurement of family violence and rape by victimization surveys (see Bachman & Taylor, 1994). The NCVS (National Crime Victimization Survey, formerly National Crime Survey, NCS) has been redesigned and the new survey methodology was implemented in 100% of the NCVS sample in July 1993. Estimates based on this new survey methodology, however, are not published yet, they are announced to become available in fall 1994.

In accordance with the above cited statements of criminologists, survey research on family violence provides empirical evidence that criminological victim surveys seriously underestimate the amount of physical violence occurring within families or family-like settings. This finding holds for both, face-to-face-interviews as carried out in the first national survey on family violence in the USA in 1975 (Straus, Gelles & Steinmetz, 1980), and telephone interviews used in the second national survey in the USA in 1985 (Straus & Gelles, 1990). The National Family Violence Resurvey (NFVR), for example, carried out by telephone interviews in 1985, yielded markedly higher incidence rates of physical violence between marital partners than the US National Crime Survey (NCS). Straus and Gelles (1990) reported the incidence rate revealed by the NFVR to be 73 times higher than the comparable NCS rate (see also Bachman & Taylor, 1994, pp.502).

This comparison, however, has to be treated cautiously because different measures were employed in the respective surveys. Nevertheless, because of positive results of validation studies of the NFVR-measure (the Conflict Tactics Scale; Straus, 1990), it seems unreasonable to attribute these discrepancies entirely to measurement error (i.e. overreporting in the NFVR). Instead, as Straus and Gelles (1990, p.99) stated, "The most likely reason for this tremendous discrepancy lies in differences between the context of the NCS and the other studies. The NCS is presented to respondents as a study of crime, whereas the others are presented as studies on

family problems. The difficulty with a 'crime survey' as the context of determining incidence rates of intrafamily violence is that most people think of being kicked by their spouse as wrong, but not a 'crime' in legal sense".

HYPOTHESES

The statements cited above and the results of previous family violence research point to the central role of the victim-offender-relationship in studying violent victimization: Similar events are likely to be interpreted quite differently when different social contexts are focused upon (e.g., family vs non-family relations). From a cognitive psychological point of view it seems quite clear that schemes of social roles and scripts of social events will affect encoding and subsequent retrieval of events. With respect to violent encounters between victims and offenders, these cognitive schemes and scripts are particularly dependent on the relationship between the actors involved.

Research on family violence up to now has used several categories of victim-offender relations. As Weis (1989) pointed out, there are at least three different kinds of relation which are treated under the more general heading of family violence: (1) Kin relationship, i.e. victim and offender are related through birth or marriage; (2) intimate relationship, i.e. victim and offender know each other in a close and personal way; (3) domestic relationship, i.e. victim and offender share the same household. While different legal criteria may apply to these forms of interpersonal relations, all of them share one central psychological feature: They differ from relationships to acquaintances and strangers with respect to shared biographical experiences and a higher degree of mutual personal involvement. To emphasize this common feature, interpersonal relations which are characterized by a high degree of mutual personal involvement are labelled *close relationships* therefore. Used in this sense, the concept of close relationship is very similar to the psychological definition of family given by Schneewind (1991).

As regards the interacting persons' own perspective, social relations can be distinguished according to the intensity of normative, socially attributed and/or subjectively experienced closeness. Thus, *close relationship* is a *fuzzy concept*, which is at least partly specified by

subjective and interindividually varying criteria. This means, that marital partnership or blood relationship, for example, may or may not be experienced as close, depending on the perceived quality of the respective interpersonal relation.

It is of special importance for victimological research to know that there are some explicit rules that guide and control social interactions in close relationships. These rules guarantee the protection of the relation against meddling from outside, thus being a necessary prerequisite of privacy and intimacy. They are part of *role schemes*, i.e. of cognitive structures that organize one's knowledge about appropriate behavior in certain social situations. Furthermore, there exist *event schemes* or *scripts* which describe (and prescribe) appropriate behavioral sequences in frequently reoccurring situations. Such schemes facilitate the application of special categories to individual instances and events in order to identify them as members of a larger, more familiar group. Following these lines of reasoning, it is plausible to assume that the processes of perception, evaluation, classification, memorizing, and recall of events within close relationships are very different from those outside.

The psychological characteristics outlined before have some crucial consequences for the choice of adequate methods in surveying victimization experiences in close relationships (Wetzels, 1993). First, special *instructions* are necessary to direct the interviewees' attention towards the focal interest of the study, i.e. close relations. Otherwise, cognitive schemes relevant for recall and retrieval of the interesting events will not be activated. Second, the *interview setting* must guarantee the interviewee's talking about victimization experiences without risking a violation of privacy.

Considering the aforementioned results of previous research and theoretical reasoning, we hypothesized that conventional methods of victim survey research lead to a serious underestimation of the prevalence of violent victimization experiences. More specifically we put forward the following three hypotheses:

1. Research strategies and interview techniques employed in most victim surveys until today lead to a systematic *underestimation* of *violent* crimes, especially of physical violence. Underestimation is attributed to the fact that victim surveys are less likely to identify this aforementioned form of victimization within *family settings* and other *close social relationships* - despite the fact that the victimizing events meet legal criteria.
2. Underestimation of *violent* victimization is disproportionately high in certain *subpopulations*. Especially prevalence rates of violence against women and elderly people will more often be underestimated by conventional victim surveys.
3. By far the *most violent* victimizations in close relationships which are not reported to interviewers during face-to-face-interviews in victim surveys are not reported to the police either. Consequently, dark figures calculated on the basis of victim survey research are supposed to underestimate the actual amount of violent crime not reported to the police. There is a considerable number of criminal incidents which, while experienced by the respondents and meeting legal criteria of crime, are neither reported in survey interviews nor to the police. These incidents form what is called the *double dark figure* of police crime statistics and victim survey research (Schneider, 1993, p.47).

Furthermore, we contend that this remaining part of the dark field of crime can be considerably reduced by some methodological improvements as outlined below. Particularly by integrating measures from family violence research into criminological victim surveys valid identification of victims of violence, especially victims of closely related offenders, is supposed to be clearly enhanced.

METHOD

In the KFN-victim survey realized in spring 1992 we tried to improve conventional interviewing in victim surveys by using an additional research kit for investigating victimization in close relationships. Following a face-to-face-interview similar to those of other victim surveys, interviewees received a *drop-off questionnaire* together with an unmarked envelope and a seal. This questionnaire was introduced as a set of questions on family conflicts and problems with

closely related persons. Having filled in this questionnaire in absence of the interviewer, the respondents put it into the envelope, sealed the envelope and handed it over to the interviewer who returned after about forty minutes. This procedure guarantees that the attention of the interviewees is directed towards the sensitive topic of experiences in close relationships and indicates that the respondents' answers will be treated anonymously and confidentially.

In the conventional face-to-face-interview, two items addressed *victimization by assault* without special emphasis on a particular victim-offender-relationship. Respondents who reported at least one incident of assault with or without a weapon during the last five years were classified as victims of assault.

In the drop-off questionnaire, two measures of victimization by physical violence were included. The first one was an adaptation of the *conflict tactics scale* (CTS) which is widely used in research on family violence (Straus, 1990). It contains ten different acts of physical violence by family or household members. Subjects who reported to have experienced at least one of these violent acts during the last five years were classified as victims of physical violence by a closely related offender. The second measure was a *one-item-measure of assault* (with or without a weapon). It was quite similar to the two items used in the face-to-face-interview but explicitly restricted to victimization by closely related offenders. Here again, each respondent who reported having been assaulted during the last five years was classified as victim of assault by a closely related offender.

In face-to-face-interviews, *reporting behavior for assault* was recorded for every victim who indicated that this has been the most serious incident within the last five years. In the drop-off questionnaire, reporting behavior was recorded for the one-item measure only. Every victim who indicated that the offender was a household member was asked whether this experience had been reported to the police.

A sample of 15.771 persons representative of german speaking inhabitants of the old and new federal states of Germany aged 16 years or more was surveyed. A subsample of 5.851 partici-

pants of the face-to-face-interview was also asked to fill in the drop-off-questionnaire. Only 2.4% of these subjects refused to participate in this additional study, resulting in a reasonably high response rate of 97.6%, i.e. 5.711 respondents, 3.255 of them being 16 to 59 years of age and 2.456 respondents being 60 years or more.

RESULTS

If differences in the social context of questioning (i.e., face-to-face-interview without emphasis on a special form of victim-offender-relationship vs drop-off-questionnaire with emphasis on incidents in close relationships) were in fact irrelevant with respect to recall and retrieval of victimizing experiences, those respondents reporting violent victimization in close relationships should have mentioned an assault in face-to-face-interviews too. In correspondence with our *first hypothesis*, however, a considerable number of violent victimizations was only identified by the drop-off questionnaire.

Figure 1 shows that 648 victims of physical violence who were identified by the CTS total violence score were not identified as victims of violence in conventional face-to-face-interviews. This amounts to nearly three quarters (73.4%) of the total number of victims identified in our study.

The possible objection, that this discrepancy is nothing but a methodological artifact resulting from different numbers of items, was checked in a second step by means of the aforementioned one-item measure of assault in the drop-off questionnaire. This measure was compared to the two-item measure of assault in face-to-face-interviews. As expected, the additional number of victims identified by the one-item-measure is in fact lower than that identified by the CTS. Nevertheless, there is still a proportion of 44.9% of victims additionally identified by the one-item-measure of the drop-off-questionnaire.

According to our *second hypothesis*, we expected the proportion of victims only identified by the drop-off procedure to be higher for *women* and *elderly persons*; i.e., taking victims additionally identified by the drop-off measures into consideration, the increase in prevalence

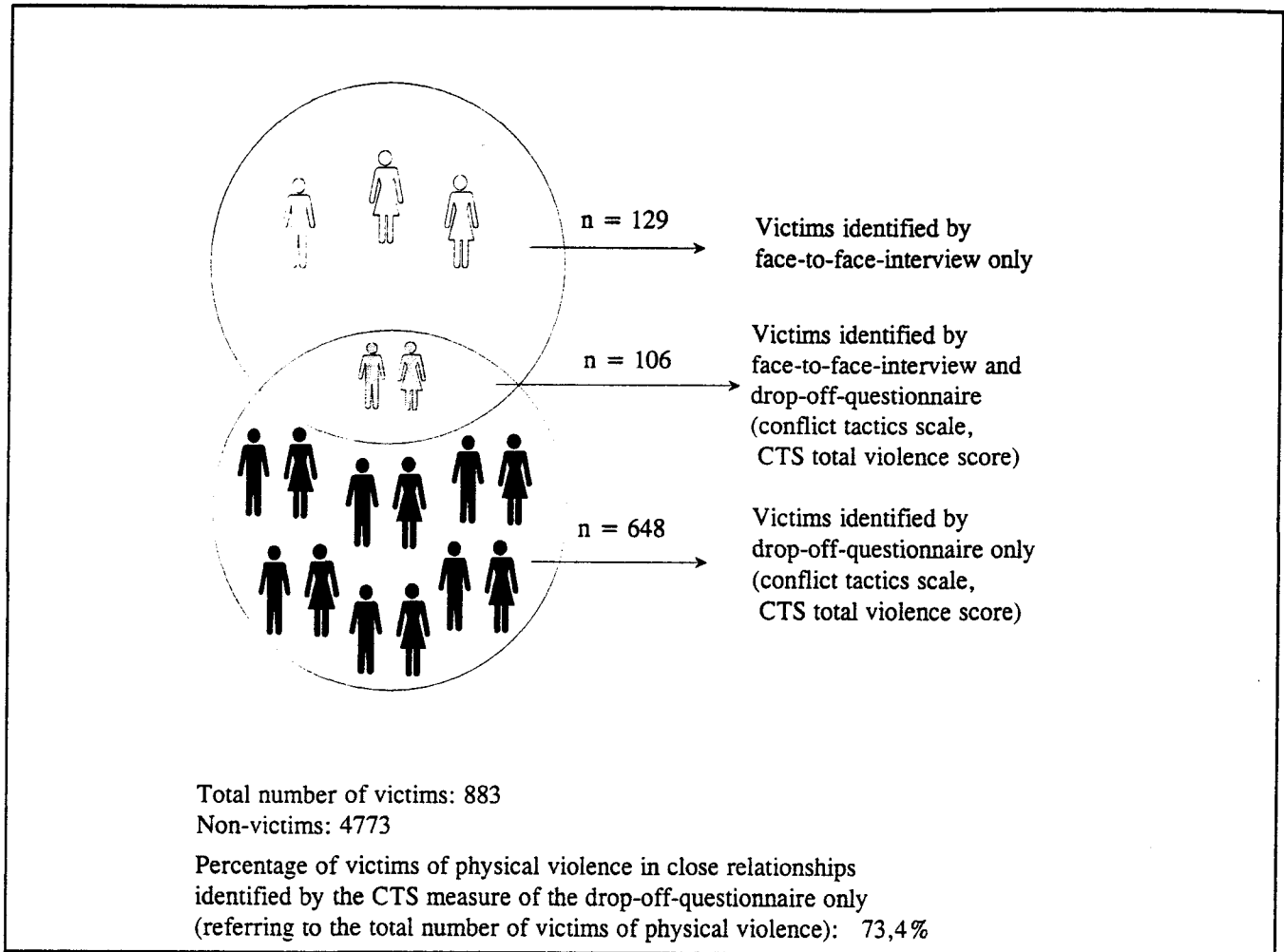


Figure 1: Identification of victims of physical violence (1987-1991) by face-to-face-interview and drop-off-questionnaire

rates of violent victimization should be substantially higher for women and elderly persons.

As can be seen from Figure 2, both parts of this hypothesis were convincingly supported by our data when calculating the number of victims identified by both survey- and drop-off measures and comparing the respective percentages of victims only identified by the drop-off measures with regard to sex and age. There are clear differences with regard to sex and age in the rates of victims identified additionally by means of the drop-off questionnaire. Furthermore, rates also differ depending on the type of measure used. It is interesting to note, that sex-related differences are more pronounced for the one-item-measure. This is in line with results from previous research, which showed that the CTS total violence score used here typically yields

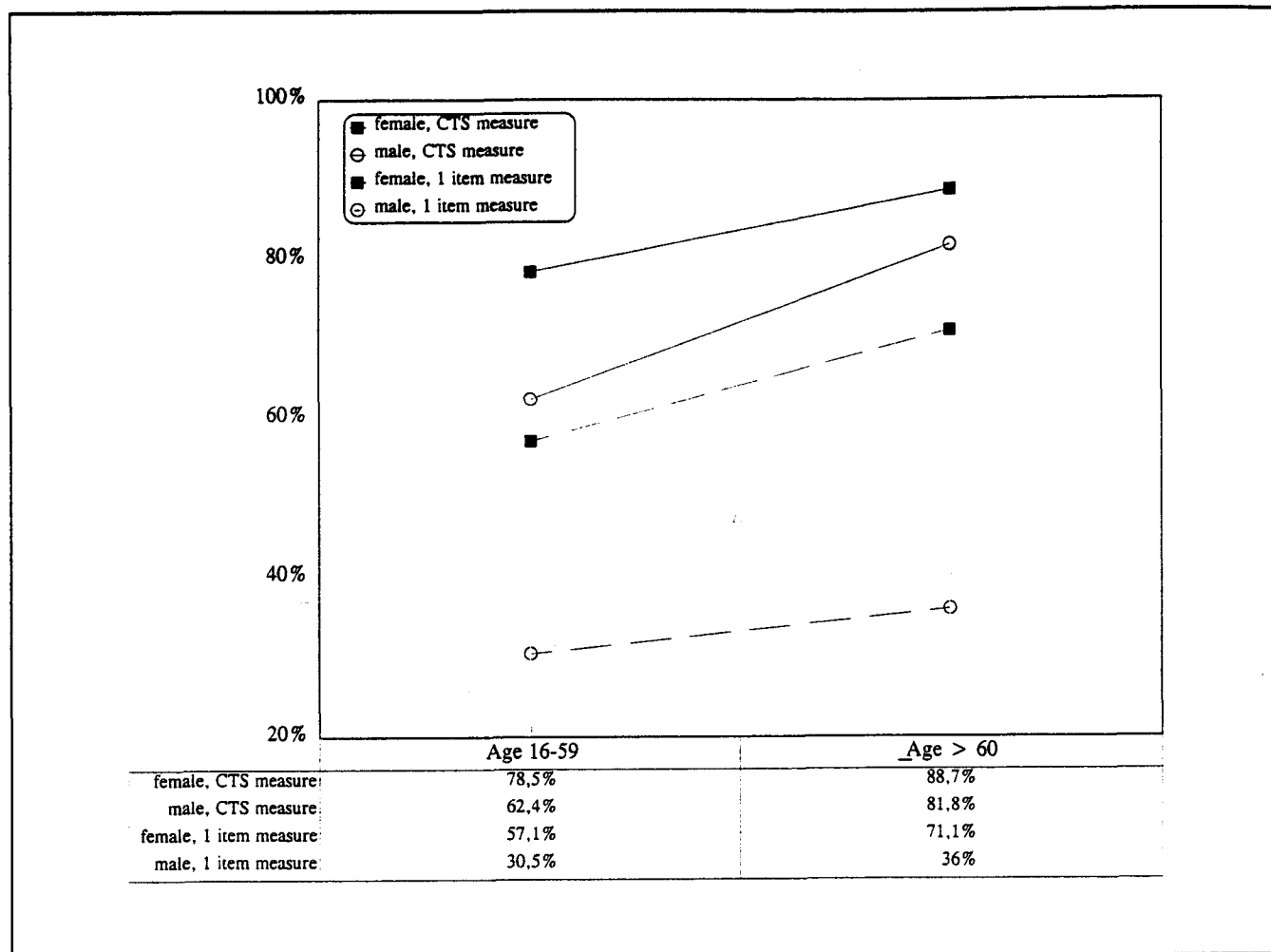


Figure 2: Victims additionally identified by drop-off measures, by age, sex, and measure

very similar victimization rates for men and women. A closer look at the measures employed reveals, that the one-item-measure is less sensitive to minor forms of physical violence than the CTS (Wetzels et al., 1994, p.153). Thus, the greater differences with regard to sex revealed by the one-item-measure indicate that victimizations by physical violence in close relationships are probably more often serious for female victims than for male victims.

Victimization risks are generally lower for women as compared to men if only those rates of assault are taken into account that are derived from conventional face-to-face-interviews. This result has been replicated several times by different victim surveys (c.f. Gottfredson, 1986). In the KFN-survey the same results emerged when prevalence rates were computed on the basis of the face-to-face screening interview. The five year prevalence rate for assault, for instance,

is 8.61% for men aged 16 to 59 years compared to only 4.3% for women of the same age group. However, when victimization experiences in close relationships as identified by the two drop-off measures are additionally taken into account, this difference is markedly diminished (men: 12.38%; women: 10.71%). This indicates, that for women a significantly greater proportion of victimization experiences takes place inside close relationships. If the analysis on the basis of the one-item drop-off measure is restricted to incidents committed by offenders living together with the victim in the same household, women below the age of 60 show a higher prevalence rate of assault (4,2%) compared to men (3,0%), indicating that the home is a place of risk of victimization especially for women. This indicates that for women the home is a more risky place of physical violence.

Conforming to our *third hypothesis*, we expected that most of those experiences of physical violence in close relationships which are not reported in face-to-face-interviews but captured by the drop-off questionnaire are not reported to the police either (forming the so-called "double dark figure" of victim surveys and police crime statistics). Our conclusions are based on empirical evidence of 175 victims of assault identified in face-to-face-interviews, and 145 additional victims of assault by household members identified exclusively by the one-item measure of the drop-off questionnaire. While 34.9% of the victimizations in face-to-face-interviews were reported to the police, the respective rate of those exclusively identified in the drop-off (i.e. victimizations in close relationships) is 4.8% (see Table 1). Thus, if the dark figure of assault is computed on the basis of conventional face-to-face-interviews, we would end up with a ratio of 1:1.8 of reported to unreported incidents of assault. In other words, for every ten victims who reported their victimization to the police, there are eighteen additional victims who did not. If, however, victimizations identified in the drop-off were considered as well, this ratio would increase to 1:3.7. Consequently, the usual interview procedures of victim surveys lead to a clear underestimation of the amount of assaults which never becomes known to the police.

Table 1: Reporting behavior and dark figure estimates of assault

	reported	not reported	total
victims identified in face-to-face-interviews	61 34,9%	114 65,1%	175
victims identified by drop-off-questionnaire only	7 4,8%	138 95,2%	145
total	68 21,3%	252 78,8%	320

(chi-square=42,73, df=1, p<.0001)

Dark figure estimates of assault by survey measures

(i.e. ratio of "reported" and "not reported" incidents of assault)

1. usual crime survey measure (face-to-face-interview): 1 : 1,8
2. usual crime survey plus additional questionnaire on victimization in close relationships: 1 : 3,7

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Research strategies and interview techniques employed in most victim surveys until today lead to a heavy underestimation of violent crimes, particularly physical violence. This underestimation is caused by the fact that victim surveys are less likely to identify violent victimizations in close relationships. This is so although the victimizing events meet legal criteria of criminal law. Furthermore, most of the violent incidents within close relationships which are not reported to survey interviewers are not reported to the police either. Finally the results indicate, that for individuals living in private households - especially for women - the risk of violent victimization by a closely related offender is far greater than that of violent victimization by a stranger or casual acquaintance. In this regard, both victim surveys and police crime statistics paint a

seriously distorted picture of the amount and the spatial and social correlates of violent crimes against individuals until today. As could be shown, the drop-off method combined with instructions focusing on close relationships seems to be one means to overcome this shortcoming of previous victim surveys.

It remains unclear, however, whether the described improvement in measuring violent victimization experiences is caused by a) differences in data collection (oral interview vs. written questionnaire), b) the changed focus and context of questioning (questions about crime vs questions about family conflicts), or c) an interaction of both. Kury (1994), who compared different methods of data collection, found that written questionnaires are less affected by social desirability. Furthermore, postally screened respondents reported more victimizing incidents than those interviewed orally. Although these results should be interpreted cautiously because of differences in return rate (written questionnaire 48.9%; oral interview 57.8%; see Kury 1994, p.26), they indicate that the aforementioned differences could only be found for minor victimizations and not for more serious incidents of personal victimization (c.f. Kury & Würger 1993, p. 148). Intrafamily violence, however, is a serious form of personal victimization. Consequently, we conclude that the improvement of measuring victimization in close relationships by the drop-off questionnaire is not only attributable to differences in the mode of interviewing (orally vs. written). As comparisons of the results from the NFVR and the NCS (both conducted orally) reveal, the way of introducing a questionnaire is of central importance for categorizing and memorizing victimizing events. We suppose that in the course of a survey on criminal victimization both aspects, (a) the introduction of questions on intrafamily violence as unrelated to crime but related to family conflict, and (b) a change from the oral to the written mode of questioning, help to improve the respondents' recall and, at the same time, increase their willingness to report the recalled incidents to the researcher. Thus, the interaction of both factors probably produces the outlined results. One of them alone might not be sufficient to adequately identify victims of violence in close relationships in a criminological victim survey. Following our results it remains questionable, for instance, whether the methodological improvements of the NCVS (c.f. Bachman & Taylor, 1994) will sufficiently solve the problem of underreporting of victimization by physical and or sexual violence at the hand of family

members, because neither the interview setting nor the contextual characteristics of the interview have been changed substantially.

The results outlined in this paper have additional considerable implications for answering some other research questions as well. Firstly, when correlations between *fear of crime* and *criminal victimization* are calculated on the basis of face-to-face-interviews only, they are likely to be rather low. This, however, might be attributable to a methodological artifact resulting from the fact that those forms of victimization which are typical particularly for elderly people and for women (i.e. victimizations in close relations) are obviously underestimated by this conventional research approach. Secondly, and in line with this, the so-called *fear-victimization-paradox* which states that women as well as elderly people have a low risk of criminal victimization while exhibiting relatively high levels of fear might be nothing but the consequence of a conceptual failure of conventional interview procedures to adequately focus on violent victimization, including those experienced in close relationships (for results of correlations between fear of crime and victimization experiences, taking into account victimization by closely related offenders see Bilsky & Wetzels, 1994). In the light of these considerations, we would recommend that further victimological research should take all forms of violent incidents into account - whether outside or inside close relationships - in order to achieve valid conclusions about the amount and the development of crime and its psychological and social correlates.

REFERENCES

- Bachman, R. & Taylor, B.M. (1994). The measurement of family violence and rape by the redesigned national crime victimization survey. *Justice Quarterly*, 11 (3), 499-512.
- Biderman, A.D. (1975). Victimology and victimization surveys. In I. Drapkin & E. Viano (Eds.), *Victimology: A new focus. Vol. III: Crimes, victims, and justice* (pp. 153-169). Lexington, MA: Lexington.
- Bilsky, W. & Wetzels, P. (1994). *Myths and facts about the fear-victimization relationship*. KFN-Forschungsberichte Nr. 26. Hannover: KFN.
- Fattah, E.A. (1993). Research on fear of crime: some common conceptual and measurement problems. In W. Bilsky, C. Pfeiffer & P. Wetzels (Eds.), *Fear of Crime and Criminal Victimization* (pp. 139-157). Stuttgart: Enke.

- Gottfredson, M.R. (1986). Substantive contributions of victimization surveys. In M. Tonry & N. Morris (Eds.), *Crime and Justice, an annual review of research, Vol. 7* (pp. 251-287). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Heidensohn, F.M. (1991). Women as perpetrators and victims of crime - A sociological perspective. *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 158, 1045-1058.
- Kury, H. (1994). Zum Einfluß der Art der Datenerhebung auf die Ergebnisse von Umfragen. *Monatsschrift für Kriminologie und Strafrechtsreform*, 77 (1), 22-33.
- Kury, H. & Würger, M. (1993). The influence of the type of data collection method on the results of the victim surveys. In A.A. del Frate, U. Zvekic & J.J.M. van Dijk (Eds.), *Understanding crime, experiences of crime, and crime control* (pp. 137-152). Rome: UNICRI.
- Kury, H. & Würger, M. (1993). Opfererfahrung und Kriminalitätsfurcht. Ein Beitrag zur Viktimisierungsperspektive. In G. Kaiser & H. Kury (Eds.), *Criminological research in the 1990's*, (pp. 411-462). Freiburg: Max-Planck-Institut für ausländisches und internationales Strafrecht.
- Lynch, J.P. (1993). The effects of survey design on reporting in victimization surveys - The United States experience. In W. Bilsky, C. Pfeiffer & P. Wetzels (Eds.), *Fear of Crime and Criminal Victimization* (pp. 159-186). Stuttgart: Enke.
- Mayhew, P. (1993). Reporting Crime to the Police. In W. Bilsky, C. Pfeiffer & P. Wetzels (Eds.), *Fear of Crime and Criminal Victimization* (pp. 139-157). Stuttgart: Enke.
- Mayhew, P. & Maung, N.A. (1992). *Surveying crime: findings from the 1992 British Crime Survey*. Home Office Research and Statistics Department: Research Findings No. 2. London: HMSO.
- Schneider, H.J. (1993). *Einführung in die Kriminologie*. (3. Aufl.) Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Schneewind, K. A. (1991). *Familienpsychologie*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Smith, M.D. (1994). Enhancing the quality of survey data on violence against women: a feminist approach. *Gender & Society*, 8 (1), 109-127.
- Sparks, R.F. (1981). Surveys of victimization - an optimistic assessment. In M. Tonry & N. Morris (Eds.), *Crime and Justice, an Annual Review of Research, Vol. 3* (pp. 1-60). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Straus, M.A. (1990). Measuring intrafamily conflict and violence: The Conflict Tactics (CT) Scales. In M.A. Straus & R.J. Gelles (Eds.), *Physical violence in American families* (pp. 29-47). New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- Straus, M.A., Gelles, R.J. & Steinmetz, S. (1980). *Behind closed doors*. Garden city: Anchor/Doubleday.
- Straus, M.A. & Gelles, R.J. (1990). How violent are American families? Estimates from the national family violence resurvey and other studies. In M.A. Straus & R.J. Gelles (Eds.),

Physical violence in American families (pp. 95-131). New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Weis, J.G. (1989). Family violence research methodology and design. In L. Ohlin & M. Tonry (Eds.), *Family violence. Crime and Justice: A review of research*, Vol. 11, (pp. 117-162). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wetzels, P. (1993). Victimization experiences in close relationships: Another blank in victim surveys. In W. Bilsky, C. Pfeiffer & P. Wetzels (Eds.), *Fear of Crime and Criminal Victimization* (pp. 245-267). Stuttgart: Enke.

Wetzels, P., Greve, W., Mecklenburg, E., Bilsky, W. & Pfeiffer, C. (in press). *Kriminalität im Leben älterer Menschen*. Baden-Baden: Nomos.