

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES REGARDING FEAR OF CRIME

Natasha Peovska, PhD¹

Faculty of Security – Skopje, University “St. Kliment Ohridski”, Bitola, North Macedonia

INTRODUCTION

Fear of crime is a significant sociological, criminological and psychological fact. Considerations about fear of crime both in research and theoretical contexts have been predominant in recent research in contemporary criminology (Bačanović & Jovanova, 2012). The initial research initiatives on the fear of crime began and developed in the 60s of the last century when, in addition to the attention and interest of public policy makers in determining the actual rates of crime, victimology research was also developed (Lewis & Salem, 1986, p. 4).

From the very beginning, theorists and researchers encountered numerous theoretical and methodological problems and difficulties while doing research on the fear of crime. These are perfectly understandable because fear of crime is an extremely complex phenomenon. Fear of crime is difficult to define as it can refer to opinions, emotions and beliefs that relate to the vulnerability of the individual, their loved ones and the wider community (National Crime Council, 2009). This phenomenon cannot be discussed like other material phenomena or other natural phenomena, nor like the crime rate, the death rate, etc. (Bačanović & Jovanova, 2012) That is why certain authors (Lee, 2007) believe that the fear of crime by nature and by definition is subjective (Lee, 2007), which does not mean that if it is subjective, it is also unrealistic!

According to Ferraro & LaGrange, a major problem with the conceptualization of fear of crime (1987) is the generic concept of the term “fear of crime”. They suggest that crime refers to different kinds of activities and that the fear of victimization depends on the type of crime that is considered. They state that to obtain valid and reliable indicators of fear of crime, it is best to specify the type of crime to the respondent rather than leave it to his own inference (Williams, McShane, Akers, 2020). In that sense, the most comprehensive definition that reflects the fear of crime contains three aspects, *an emotional aspect* (or an affective aspect, if we add the indicators of unspecified fear) which is expressed in a series of emotions arising from the perception of the possibility of victimization (that is, anxiety and the intensity of the impact on the future life caused by the probability of victimization), *the cognitive aspect* that includes the perception of the likelihood/risk of becoming a victim as well as the severity of the consequences that could arise from the possible victimization, and *the behavioural aspect* that includes security precautions people take to avoid or reduce the probability and consequences of becoming a victim (Fattah and Sacco, 1989 cited in Bačanović & Jovanova, 2012). Gabriel and Greve (2003) argue that all three aspects should exceed the threshold value for a state to be labelled as fear. A person should perceive a situation as threatening and thus feel afraid (affective experience), which results in fearful behaviour (avoidance or self-protection) (Erčulj & Meško, 2022).

¹ natasa.peovska@uklo.edu.mk



THEORETICAL EXPLANATIONS FOR FEAR OF CRIME

In various disciplines, numerous theoretical explanations can be found for the fear of crime. These always start with *the concept of vulnerability*. *This concept implies that the physical and social characteristics of the individual contribute to the fear of crime*. People who cannot run fast or lack physical strength to defend themselves from attackers, cannot afford to protect their homes, or because it will take them longer than average to recover from property and physical injuries from crime, their fear of crime will be higher (Wattanasin, 2003, pp. 22, 52). Some people perceive themselves as physically vulnerable or unable to defend themselves or their property from attack under certain conditions. Others, who are perceived as socially vulnerable, are afraid of the higher possibility of being exposed to victimization. Social vulnerability implies increased exposure to victimization because of a series of factors (Doležal, 2009, p. 59). Most often, the economic situation in combination with the level of education can influence individual social vulnerability. Thus, some persons who lack funds that would increase their personal and home security may have increased social vulnerability. Most often, social vulnerability relates to who the individual lives with, what his social relations are, how much help he has, as well as his marital status. Additionally, living in a poor neighbourhood with a high crime rate often presents an increased potential for victimization. *Major vulnerable groups identified based on these criteria can be women, the elderly, and the poor*. For example, more serious consequences are expected to occur among women, old people, as well as among people with weak or impaired health (physical factors), among victims without social network assistance (social factors), as well as in areas where assistance is not available (situational factors). When we discuss the fear of crime among elderly people, the concept of vulnerability explains that the fear can be seen as an appropriate response given the fact that they are aware of their vulnerability and resilience. First, the elderly are often not fast enough and suffer from a certain disadvantage that makes it difficult for them to evade an attacker or defend themselves against those who might attack or harass them (Skogan, 1978: 10). According to Skogan, the biggest reason for higher level of fear of crime lies in their lack of resources to deal with victimization and its consequences. O'Bryant explains that the elderly have neither good health nor time to compensate for physical and material damages and have difficulty recovering from broken bones or other serious injuries, so the effects of crime can be significantly more severe for them (Wynne, 2008). This point of view can generally explain the higher level of fear of crime among the elderly, but in any case, it is necessary to consider their social vulnerability also (whether the elderly live alone or in a community with other family members). Researchers examining differences in the level of fear of crime among the elderly have concluded that those who live in areas without social cohesion and those who are socially isolated can contribute to a higher level of fear of crime among this group (Lee et. al, 2020).

When we analyse the fear of crime among women, there is an explanation that their higher level of fear lies in their higher perceptions of personal vulnerability (Boers, 2003). Women are more likely to experience fear due to their greater physical and social vulnerability. Warr, for example, points out that *"women judge that potential victimization is serious, and from here, despite having the same objective level of risk of victimization as men, they have a higher level of fear"*. *Perceptions of serious consequences can affect women to have a higher level of fear*, and this may be reinforced if the women assess that they may lose control in situations of threatened victimization such as when they lack effective defences, safeguards or opportunities to escape because they can be physically weaker than the average attacker. Often, they feel they have less control over their personal and public space and are often seen as easy targets for crime (Meško, 2007). According to Pain, women show a greater level of fear in public places than in private places, despite private places being the most common location where they are victimized. Pain also points out that there is a higher level of fear of crime among younger women than among older ones. That is, the more helpless a woman feels, the higher is their fear of crime (Meško, 2007).



As a conclusion, this concept of vulnerability refers to the interaction of the following three factors: probability of victimization, severity of the foreseen consequences, and a feeling of not having control over the first two factors (Tolle, 2001 cited in Doležal, 2009). This theoretical concept is most often considered when examining a socio-demographic model, in which it is assumed that sociodemographic characteristics determine people's fear of crime.

The second concept of fear of crime refers to *the victimisation concept*, which considers that fear is caused by high crime rates that lead to a high level of fear of becoming a victim (European Crime Prevention Network, 2004). According to this concept, the fear of crime is seen partly as a product of experience with victimization. Personal experience of victimisation or finding out about another's experience of crime (through family, friends, relatives, acquaintances and from the media) can influence the emergence of fear of crime. The thesis of imagined victimization and the psychology of risk indicates that the fear of victimization exists when individual imagine themselves in such a situation, which can contribute to the emergence of a feeling of personal vulnerability (Ruuskanen, Jokinen, Yordanova, Markov, & Ilcheva, 2009, p. 183). Regarding the connection between personal victimization and the fear of crime, studies show mixed results (Jovanova & Trajanovska, 2013). Some authors in their research found a strong relationship (Scott, 2003; Tseloni & Zarafonitou, 2008, Fox, Nobles & Piquero, 2009; McNeeley & Stutzenberger, 2013 cited in Köseoglu, 2021) while some others found that such a relationship either does not exist or is quite weak (Lee, 1982; Quann and Hung, 2002, Curiel & Bishop, 2018). For indirect (vicarious) victimisation, there are research results that show a strong relationship with the fear of crime (Doležal, 2009). The research conducted in Finland found out that the young residents who had an indirect experience with crime (some of their friends were victimized) have a higher fear of crime, and among the elderly, the fear is higher when they have indirect experience through news and rumours (gossip) (Ruuskanen, et. al., 2009). Clarke and Lewis (1982) have determined that indirect victimization perhaps is not enough to generate fear, however, it is a significant source of information for the crime that affects the perceptions of the individual for the safety in the neighbourhood and these perceptions can affect the individual assessment of the risk from victimization (Wattanasin, 2003).

The third concept is *social control*, which considers that the fear of crime is caused by the feeling of lack of social control. This concept covers concerns about perceived disorder in the community and increasing social disorder (European Crime Prevention Network, 2004). This concept is based on the fact that the lack of social control is a greater source of fear than the objective risk of victimization. Therefore, neighbourhood disunity and criminality in that area is only a manifestation of the social disorder that can have a disturbing effect on the residents. The present physical signs of disorganisation or disorder (bad facades, neglected parks, scattered garbage) suggest a lack of care and an absence of informal social control that can lead to a bad resident's perception (Doležal, 2009). Lack of social trust and informal social control is considered to greatly worsen feelings of safety and increase perceptions of risk in their environment (Ruuskanen, et. al., 2009).

There is also *an ecological concept* that analyses the impact of space on fear of crime by associating irregularities in the space with social problems (Sipahi, 2022). This concept relates fear of crime with the place of residence, arguing that fear of crime is associated more with urban than rural environments and that research data shows that inner-city residents report a higher degree of fear of crime than the residents of the peripheral parts of the city. Some authors connect the city's physical appearance with the level of fear of crime, indicating that the design of the environment in which they live can play a positive role in the perception of citizens. Within the ecological concept framework, certain characteristics of social relations between residents in the environment are stated and connected with the level of fear of crime. Accordingly, it is considered that social integration, social cohesion, satisfaction with



the neighbourhood and the feeling of loneliness may have a direct impact on the level of fear of crime. But in this case, there can be discussion whether the fear of crime would be a dependent or independent variable, whether the fear of crime results from disturbed social cohesion, solidarity, and integration in the neighbourhood or whether the fear of crime is one of the reasons for the appearance of these neighbourhood changes.

All previously elaborated concepts are introduced in the social demographic model for an explanation of fear of crime. But there is another model that introduces a psychological dimension when explaining the fear of crime (Meško, Areh, & Kury, 2004). Warr's study (1982) explains how contextual variables have an indirect influence on the fear of crime through individual perception. In that sense, sometimes research results show that the fear of crime is more correlated with the perception of a high crime rate rather than the official data for crime rate. Van der Wurff and his collaborators are guided by the concept of a defended space as a space in which the situation itself is perceived by possible victims as ideal for criminal activity. This model is also called social psychological, which includes the perception of the individual to what extent 1) he sees himself as *a target (the attractivity component)* 2) *the criminal intent of other individuals or certain groups (the evil intent component)*, relates to the wrongdoer's role in the phenomenon and is represented by the extent to which a person attributes criminal intentions to another individual or particular group; 3) the degree of self-assurance and feeling of control that a person has concerning possible threat or assault by another. In principle, it is a question of two related sub-factors: one's own power and the power of the other (*the power component*); and 4) *criminalized area*, that has to do with the situation in which a crime may take place. The emphasis is on characteristics of place and time and the presence of others. It is a question of the extent to which a situation lends itself to criminal activities in the eyes of a possible victim, i.e. of how much the situation facilitates crime or the attacker/offender (Meško, et. al., 2004). This research is the first one on the fear of crime in the field of psychology that highlights the importance of the way how we perceive ourselves, others and the world in which we live in terms of the emergence of fear of crime.

The trend in further research and explanations should be directed more towards an interactive model of fear of crime explanation (Boers, 2003, p. 16), without looking for a causal effect, given that previous theoretical explanations for fear of crime are not adequate for such complex, interactive relationships whose overall structural and processual context characterizes the phenomenon of fear of crime.

MEASURING FEAR OF CRIME

There is considerable theoretical confusion regarding the meaning and measurement of fear of crime. This confusion has a long history. More broadly, is "fear of crime" simply a measure of fear of crime, or is there perhaps some other attribute in addition to it that might be better characterized as "uncertainty that comes with modern living" "quality of life" "perception of disorganization" or "urban care" (Wattanasin, 2003:41).

There is a history of doubts and dilemmas about the validity and reliability of measuring fear of crime. Even at the beginning of the research on the fear of crime, the operationalization and measuring were faced with certain difficulties, originating primarily from the existing dilemmas regarding the theoretical determination of the fear of crime. Some of the theorists believe that when we measure the fear of crime, the questionnaires used as an instrument, are too direct to effectively determine the public's perceptions of crime (Jackson, 2005, p. 298) and their level of the fear of crime.



Other criticism relies on the fact that the fear of crime was measured through a single indicator, which could not cover all segments of the fear of crime as a complex phenomenon, nor could it be tied to certain criminal acts. Ferraro argues that, in numerous research studies, the fear of crime is measured and analysed through one indicator and most often as a global measure (May et al., 2004). Generally, fear of crime was measured only through the following question: “How safe do you feel walking alone at night in your area/neighbourhood (or around)?” Criticisms of this question point to the fact that the question fails to separate the fear of crime from the risk of victimization and general fears that are not necessarily related to the fear of crime (National Crime Council, 2009:10). Garofalo, among others, points out that none of these global questions mentions crime specifically; for example, the question refers to crime implicitly instead of explicitly (Wattanasin, 2003). This kind of question cannot express the specificity of the fear of crime as a phenomenon, as it can artificially raise the level of its occurrence because through these questions the emotions of anxiety are generalized, and no distinction is made between the emotions arising from different kinds of crime. A respondent’s feeling of unsafety walking around alone at night could be a result of the fear of dark, fear of dogs, or simply fear of being alone (Dozier, 2009). Additionally, what exactly “neighbourhood” or “some areas” mean is still open to different interpretations by different people. Third, respondents who are asked about their perception of safety when they are out alone, maybe is an activity that can be rare for many of them. This would be quite relevant, especially for old people (Dozier, 2009, p. 44). It is thought that this way of asking the question may generate higher levels of fear of crime or feeling of unsafety among women and old people than among men and young people. For that reason, in addition to this question, which would in one way measure the general fear of the individual, other standard questions for operationalization can be related to their concern regarding specific crimes, their perception of the likelihood of victimization and possible consequences for them in case they become a victim of a specific crime (Sessar, 2008).

Considering all the above mentioned, the question is whether the questions used are correct and/or whether there are factors other than crime that can activate the fear of crime. Such questions can also be criticized from the point of view that emotions can be present, but they can be at a low level, or they can appear strongly but be transient (Jackson, 2005). These questions do not consider the situations in which fear of crime appears, its frequency and its intensity (Ferraro and Gadd, 2004) or they do not investigate when, where and with whom the fear of crime appears nor how often the respondents reported that they felt fear. Some researchers even have concerns about the respondents’ ability to accurately express their fear of crime (National Crime Council, 2009, p. 11). For example, the male respondents can show less fear of crime, in an attempt to be consistent with the social pressure to appear stronger and more self-confident in the society.

According to Ferraro and LaGrange’s (1987) perceptions of crime can be separated into three categories: judgments (about the risk of crime), values (concern), and emotions (fear)” (Etopio and Berthelot, 2022 cited in Saker et al, 2023). Measures from the first group examine the cognitive evaluations or perceived possibilities of becoming a victim of crime. The second group of measures requires values or the level of concern about crime/victimization, and the third set examines the emotions that can arise from the possibility of becoming victim. Because the authors defined the fear of crime as “a negative emotional reaction to crime or the symbols associated with crime”, they argued that the fear of crime should be limited to the emotional component, maintaining that it is “conceptually distinct” from concern and perceived risk. But, if the fear of crime is conceptually limited to an emotional reaction caused by the signs of crime, many researchers call it the fear of crime, but in fact *they measure judgement* (Krannich, Berry, & Greider, 1989; Rountree & Land, 1996; Wilcox, Quesenberry, & Jones, 2003), *or values* (Lane & Meeker, 2000) *or a mix of both* (Block, 1971; Conklin, 1971; Doob & MacDonald, 1979; Lewis & Maxfield, 1980; McCoy et al., 1996 cited in Van Beek, 2004). This approach of



the authors can jeopardize content validity, in terms of representation of the entire construct (Haynes et al., 1995 cited in Etopio, 2022). In other words, the measure does not represent the entirety of the fear of crime construct (Etopio, 2022).

Fattah and Sacco (1998) try to introduce some clarity regarding the definition through which the fear of crime can be properly operationalized and measured. They first note that fear is both a psychological and an emotional response to a threat, but the researchers exclusively emphasize the emotional aspect of the fear of crime. Second, what they underline is that “the answers to general questions refer more to the assumed or expected than to the real fear”. For clarification, they suggest empirical measures that can be grouped into three broad categories, **cognitive**, **affective**, and **behavioural**. Cognitive are those that attempt to measure fear by determining the respondents’ beliefs regarding the extent and possibility of criminal victimization. In this category, Fattah and Sacco include not only questions that refer to the level of local crime but also those that require the respondents’ assessment of the possibility of becoming a victim of specific crimes (Wattanasin, 2003, pp. 46-47). In this aspect, Warr (1984) developed a 16-item measure that asks participants to indicate their level of fear of different crimes (Etopio, 2022). The authors in the affective aspect of the fear of crime include several global measures, Figgie’s unspecified fear, and questions involving concern about the fear of becoming a victim of specific criminal acts, or according to Figgie’s terminology “specific fear”. Measures that measure the affective aspect of fear have no objective external reality to which they can be compared. Therefore, it is not possible to talk about whether the answers to such questions are irrational or unjustified. Fattah and Sacco introduce measures that measure fear through people’s behaviours (a behavioural aspect of the fear of crime). For example, Ollenburger asked a question that refers to the extent of security measures that are needed for the individual to feel protected or as a reaction to previous victimization. These behavioural measures were added to the other two indicators, affective measures of unspecified fear and cognitive measures. However, the authors emphasize that behavioural measures do not tell us how respondents really behave, but how they say they behave. It is still argued that these behaviours may be more consequences than indicators of the fear of crime (Van Beek, 2004). Perhaps this is the most appropriate operationalization of the fear of crime, which despite all certain remarks, can be accepted as the most appropriate when we measure such a complex phenomenon.

In the last two decades, in the questionnaires about the fear of crime, questions related to the media are also introduced, to determine the relationship between them. However, in this part, there are certain dilemmas about the formulation of the questions about the media. For example, it is not only important to gather information on how much the media are consumed, but for what kind of purposes they are mostly used, what information respondents receive and the intensity of daily consumption of crime-related information. Furthermore, the questions related to the type of media and the media credibility should be included to improve the operationalization of the connection between the media and the level of fear of crime (Jovanova & Bacanovic, 2012).

CONCLUSION

Fear of crime is a very complex phenomenon that always causes dilemmas regarding definition, theoretical explanation and measurement. In that sense, there are still discussions as to whether fear of crime is an emotion, opinion or belief about the vulnerability of the individual. Considering that fear of crime is researched in many different disciplines (within criminology, victimology, sociology, psychology, or psychiatry), there are different definitions of fear of crime. One of the most comprehensive definitions (Fattah & Sacco, 1989 cited in Bačanović & Jovanova, 2012) that reflects the complexity



of the fear of crime, contains three aspects, an emotional aspect (or an affective aspect, if we add the indicators of unspecified fear), the cognitive aspect that includes the perception of the likelihood/risk of becoming a victim as well as the severity of the consequences that could arise from the possible victimization, and the behavioural aspect that includes security precautions people take to avoid or reduce the probability and consequences of becoming a victim.

Many theoretical explanations about the fear of crime can be found in the relevant literature, which can contribute to the explanation of such a complex phenomenon. Generally, the fear of crime is explained by the concept of vulnerability, victimisation concept, social control, and ecological concept. These concepts are part of the social demographic model, but recent research has introduced and tested the social psychological model based on the model of Van der Wurff et al. (1989). Further research and theoretical explanation should be directed toward interactive models as more adequate models for the explanation of the fear of crime.

The complexity of the fear of crime also poses numerous methodological challenges in terms of measuring. However, through a critical review of the existing knowledge and research on the fear of crime, some methodological aspects can be improved to obtain more reliable data on the fear of crime as a significant indicator of people's feeling of safety in society.

REFERENCES

- Baćanović, O., & Jovanova, N. (2012). Fear of Crime among Inhabitants of Skopje. *Journal of Criminal Justice and Security*, 14 (4), pp. 478-500. Retrieved from https://www.fvv.um.si/rv/arhiv/2012-4/06_FoC_Skopje.pdf
- Boers, K. (2003). Crime, Fear of Crime and the Operation of Crime Control in the Light of Victim Surveys and Other Empirical Studies. *22nd Criminological Research Conference*. Strasbourg: European Committee on crime problems.
- Curiel P. R., and S. Bishop (2018). Fear of crime: the impact of different distributions of victimisation. *Palgrave Communications*, 4 (1), pp. 46-54
- Dolezal, D. (2009). Understanding the fear of criminality. *Croatian journal of rehabilitation research*, 45 (2), pp. 55-68.
- Dozier, A. (2009). *Factors Influencing the Attitudes of College Students Toward Rehabilitation or Punishment of Criminal Offenders*. Texas State University, Public Administration Program Applied Research Projects
- Etopio, L., Berthelot, E.R. (2022). Defining and Measuring Fear of Crime: A New Validated Scale Created from Emotion Theory, Qualitative Interviews, and Factor Analyses. *Criminology, Criminal Justice, Law & Society* 23 (1), pp. 46-67.
- Erčulj, V., Meško, G. (2022) Fear of Crime – Measurement of Fear of Ordinary Crimes and Fear of Crimes in Cyberspace, *Revija za kriminalistiko in kriminologijo*, 73 (4), pp. 308-318
- European Crime Prevention Network. (2004). *A Review of Scientifically Evaluated Good Practices for Reducing Feelings of Insecurity or Fear of Crime in the EU Member States*. European Commission Directorate-General for Freedom, Security and Justice, Brussels.
- Fattah, E. A., & Sacco, V. F. (1989). *Crime and victimization of the elderly*. New York: Springer.



- Fox, K. A., M. R. Nobles, and A. R. Piquero (2009), "Gender, crime victimization and fear of crime", *Security Journal*, 22 (1), pp. 24-39
- Haynes, S. N., Richard, D. C. S., & Kubany, E. S. (1995). Content validity in psychological assessment: A functional approach to content and methods. *Psychological Assessment*, 7(3), pp. 238–247.
- Jackson, J. (2005). Validating new measures of the fear of crime. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 8 (4), pp. 297-315. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13645570500299165>
- Jovanova, N., Trajanovska, V. (2013) *Connection between criminal victimization and fear of crime*. In: Collection of papers from International Scientific Conference "The Balkans between past and future: security, conflict resolution and Euro-Atlantic integration". Faculty of Security-Skopje.
- Jovanova, N., Bacanovic, O. (2012) *Media Influence on Fear of Crime*. In: Collection of papers from International Scientific Conference Security and Euro Atlantic Perspectives of The Balkans, Police Science and Police Profession (States And Perspectives). Faculty of Security-Skopje.
- Köseoglu, M. (2021) Fear of crime perceptions of university students. *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas*, [Online], 96
- Lee, G.R. (1982): Residential location and fear of crime among the elderly. *Rural Sociology*, 47 (4), pp. 655-669
- Lee, M. (2007). The fear of crime debates: Questions of power and governance. In SMB Curtis (Ed.), *Public sociologies: Lessons and trans-Tasman comparisons*, TASA & SAANZ joint conference proceedings. Auckland: University of Auckland.
- Lee, H. D., Reyns, B. W., Kim, D., & Maher, C. (2020). Fear of Crime out West: Determinants of Fear of Property and Violent Crime in Five States. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 64(12), pp. 1299-1316. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624X20909238>
- Lewis, D., & Salem, G. (1986). *Fear of Crime: Incivility and the Production of a Social Problem*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- May, D., Wells, J., Minor, K., Colb, K., Angel, E., & Cline, F. (2004). *Criminal victimization experiences, fear of crime, perceptions of risk and opinion of criminal justice agents among a sample of Kentucky Residents - Final report*. Center for criminal justice education and research, Department of correctional and juvenile justice studies, College of justice and security. Eastern Kentucky University.
- McNeeley, S., and A. Stutzenberger (2013), "Victimization, risk perception and the desire to move", *An International Journal of Evidence-based Research, Policy, and Practice*, 8 (4), pp. 446-464
- Meško, G., Areh, I., & Kury, H. (2004). Testing social-demographic and social psychological models of fear of crime in Slovenia. In G. Meško, M. Pagon, & B. Dobovšek (Eds.), *Policing in Central and Eastern Europe: Dilemmas of contemporary criminal justice* (pp. 642-655). Ljubljana: Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security.
- Meško, G. (2007) "Police Efforts in the Reduction of Fear of Crime in Local Communities – Big Expectations and Questionable Effects", *Sociologija. Mintis ir veiksmas*, 20, pp. 70–91. doi:10.15388/SocMintVei.2007.2.6038.
- National Crime Council (2009). *Fear of crime in Ireland and its impact on quality of life: A report*. Dublin: Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform. Retrieved from https://www.drugsandalcohol.ie/12324/1/Fear_of_Crime_in_Ireland.pdf



- Quann, N. and Hung, K. (2002). Victimization experience and the fear of crime. A cross-national study, in P. Nieuwbeerta (Ed.), *Crime victimization in comparative perspective. Results from the International Crime Victims Survey, 1989-2000*, NSCR, BJU, Den Haag, 301-316
- Ruuskanen, E., Jokinen, A., Yordanova, M., Markov, D., & Ilcheva, M. (2009). *Indicators of public confidence in criminal justice for policy assessment*. European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control. Helsinki: Criminal Justice Press.
- Saker, M., Mercea, D. & Myers, C. A. (2023). "Wayfearing" and the city: Exploring how experiential fear of crime frames the mobilities of women students at a city-based university using a bespoke chat-bot app. *Mobile Media and Communication*, 12(1), pp. 131- 151. doi: 10.1177/20501579231203556
- Sessar, K. (2008). Fear of crime or fear of risk? Some considerations resulting from fear of crime studies and their political implications. In H. Kury (Ed.), *Fear of Crime – Punitiveness. New Developments in Theory and Research* (pp. 25–32). Bochum: Brockmeyer.
- Scott, H. (2003) Stranger danger: explaining women's fear of crime. *Western Criminology Review*, 4, 3, pp. 203-214.
- Sipahi, E. B. (2022). Evaluating Fear of Crime in the City from Ecological Perspective: A Study on Female University Students in Turkey. *ICONARP International Journal of Architecture and Planning*, 10 (1), 115-135. DOI: 10.15320/ICONARP.2022.196
- Skogan W., (1978), The Fear of Crime Among the Elderly, *National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS.org)*, document no. 82425.
- Tseloni, A., & Zarafonitou, C. (2008). Fear of crime and victimisation: A multivariate multilevel analysis of competing measurements. *European Journal of Criminology*, 5(1), pp. 387-409. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1477370808095123>
- Tolle, E. (2001) Origin of Fear. retrieved from <https://healthy.net/2005/12/06/the-origin-of-fear/>
- Van Beek, G. (2004). *Fear of crime - feeling unsafe and (in)secure in the risk society*.
- Warr. M. (1982). The accuracy of public beliefs about crime: Further evidence. *Criminology*, 20, pp. 185-204
- Wattanasin, K. (2003). *Fear of crime among people in Klong Toey Slum*. Doctoral dissertation, Mahidol University, Bangkok. Retrieved from <http://www.li.mahidol.ac.th/thesis/2546/cd359/4037605.pdf>
- Williams, F. P., McShane, M. D., Akers, R. L. (2000). Worry About Victimization: An Alternative and Reliable Measure for Fear of Crime. *Western Criminology Review* 2(2), retrieved on 10.08.2024 <http://www.westerncriminology.org/documents/WCR/v02n2/williams/williams.html>
- Wynne, T. (2008). An investigation into the fear of crime: Is there a link between the fear of crime and the likelihood of victimization. *Internet Journal of Criminology*, 1, pp. 1-29

