

Fear of Crime among Inhabitants of Skopje

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Purpose:

The article gives basic notes about fear of crime as an important issue in contemporary criminology, describes certain characteristics of fear of crime in Skopje, and compares socio-demographic variables and the socio-psychological model of fear of crime proposed by Van der Wurff, Van Staaldin and Stringer (1989).

Design/Methods/Approach:

The study employed a multi-stage random probability sampling method for a survey among citizens of urban areas of the capital of the Republic of Macedonia (Skopje) using face-to-face interviews conducted in March, 2009.

Findings:

The results showed that the respondents felt relatively safe in their neighbourhood; however, 67% of them pointed out that there were certain parts in the city where they didn't want to go. The results show that greater fear of crime occurs among women, the elderly, those who think that woods are unsafe, those who fear they are not capable of chasing potential assailants, and those who sometimes imagine that someone would obstruct their path and when they go out make sure to take a safe route. Comparing the results of the regression analysis, the socio-psychological model does not explain fear of crime among respondents (R-Square, adj-0.25) more than socio-demographic model. This indicates that further research should employ new psychological variables for better operationalization of existing models.

Research Limitations/Implications:

The results refer only to urban areas of Skopje. Improvements should be made to the questions used in the questionnaire paying special attention to the operationalization of the impact of the media on fear of crime.

Originality/Value:

The article will contribute to raising the importance of the issue of fear of crime as a significant part of criminal policy especially in the Republic of Macedonia.

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Keywords: fear of crime, survey, Skopje, Macedonia

Strah pred kriminaliteto med prebivalci Skopja

Namen prispevka:

Članek podaja osnovne podatke o strahu pred kriminaliteto kot pomembnem vidiku sodobne kriminologije, opisuje določene značilnosti strahu pred kriminaliteto v Skopju in primerja spremenljivke sociodemografskega in socialnopsihološkega modela strahu pred kriminaliteto po Van der Wurffu, Van Staalduinenu in Stringerju (1989).

Oblike/metode/pristop:

Raziskava je temeljila na večstopenjskem slučajnostnem vzorčenju gospodinjev med prebivalci mestnih območij glavnega mesta Makedonije. V Skopju so za raziskavo v marcu 2009 raziskovalci uporabili neposredni strukturirani intervju.

Ugotovitve:

Rezultati so pokazali, da se anketiranci v soseski počutijo relativno varne, kljub temu pa jih je 67 % navedlo, da obstajajo določeni deli mesta, kamor niso želeli iti. Rezultati kažejo, da se večji del strahu pred kriminaliteto pojavlja pri starejših ženskah, tistih, ki menijo, da so gozdovi nevarni, tistih, ki se bojijo, da ne morajo zasledovati potencialnega napadalca in pri tistih, ki si včasih predstavljajo, da jih bo nekdo oviral na njihovi poti in zato raje izberejo varnejšo. Če primerjamo rezultate regresijske analize, socialnopsihološki model ne pojasni strahu pred kriminaliteto med anketiranci (R-kvadrat 0.25) bistveno bolj kot sociodemografski model. To kaže, da je potrebno pri nadaljnjih raziskavah uporabljati nove psihološke spremenljivke za boljšo operacionalizacijo obstoječih modelov.

Omejitve raziskave:

Rezultati se nanašajo le na mestne dele Skopja. Izboljšave je potrebno narediti pri vprašanjih, uporabljenih v vprašalniku, s posebnim poudarkom na operacionalizaciji vpliva medijev na strah pred kriminaliteto.

Izvirnost:

Članek bo prispeval k večanju pomena vprašanja strahu pred kriminaliteto kot pomembnega dela kriminalitetne politike, še posebno v Republiki Makedoniji.

UDK: 343.9(497.7)

Ključne besede: strah pred kriminaliteto, anketa, Skopje, Makedonija

1 INTRODUCTION

Considerations about fear of crime both in research and theoretical contexts have been predominant in recent research in contemporary criminology. The significance of the exploration of fear of crime has not weakened, but is deemed as one of the most researched topics in international criminology today.

Consideration of the issue of fear of crime came to the forefront in the 1930s in the US press (National Crime Council, 2009); it was put forward in order to explain the public reaction to crime, identifying it as citizens' concern related to urban disorder in USA and raise in criminality in the United Kingdom. The modern

manifestation of fear of crime as the subject of research in USA was initiated by the President's Crime Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (Biderman, Johnson, McIntyre, & Weir, 1967)

The interest in fear of crime as an issue in western societies has been related to certain sociological, demographic and other changes taking place in many countries. (Meško, Fallshore, Rep, & Huisman, 2007). Boomkens argues that "these three structural, social, demographic and psychological transformations of modern societies have resulted in the creation of a new social and political climate in which safety has become a central issue" (in Meško, Fallshore, Muratbegović, & Fields, 2008). The global processes of individualization, flexibilisation and the process of globalization of economic and cultural relations, have had destructive effects on urban communities. These effects include the breakdown of traditional society which has been characterized by social cohesion, predictable economic environments and local specificity, and thus a higher share of the citizens' feeling of safety (Meško et al., 2008) and lower level of fear of crime.

The development of research in relation to fear of crime in Europe has been less intensive than in US. Also the term of "fear of crime" as such had not been known in Europe prior to the 1960s. In the United Kingdom, fear of crime started to be officially surveyed in 1982 as part of the British Crime Survey. Surveys of crime, victimisation and feelings of safety have been conducted not only in Western European countries and the US, but also in Central and Eastern European countries. Four substantial criminological surveys were conducted in Slovenia in which fear of crime was researched, the first survey taking place in 1992, the second in 1996/97, the third in 2000/2001, and the fourth one in 2009. Two surveys were conducted in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2001 by researchers at the Lausanne University under the UN peace mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina, and again in 2009 (Meško et al., 2008). In Croatia and Serbia, fear of crime related surveys were conducted in their capitals in 2009 simultaneously with the surveys in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia, Serbia and Macedonia.

In Germany, fear of crime as a topic of survey research was insignificantly included before the 1989 reversal. Since then, the interest in surveying fear of crime has increased significantly. Along with pressure for political and economic reforms and reforms in the social welfare system, large increases in crime and levels of fear of crime were identified in this country (Boers, 2003), which was reflected in certain surveys carried out in relation to these issues. Surveys in Germany were initially conducted at the local level and mostly by academic institutions, but later some surveys, either local or regional, were conducted in order to find out the results of the safety policy as experienced by the general public (Robert, Zauberman, Recasens i Brunet, & Rodriguez Basanta, 2008).

The emergence of the issue of the fear of crime and research to measure it stems from the relationship of crime, victimisation and fear of crime as phenomena and processes. It is commonly perceived that crime and victimisation also generate certain subjective reaction by people, such as fear of crime. In essence, reflexions are along the lines that fear of crime is one of the ways in which crime and victimisation affect people and the way in which they react, although fear of crime (and its level) on the other hand does not necessarily reflect the real rates of crime

and victimisation. This paradox or inconsistency between the rate of crime and victimisation, and fear of crime has been confirmed in many countries, including the United Kingdom. Until a few years before the New Labourers were elected to power in May 1997, crime rates had been rising according to both police statistics and British Crime Surveys' results. Having gained power, the main goal under their agenda was prevention and reduction of crime in the mid 1990's, followed by a reduction in the number of crimes reported to police and in the surveys of the Home Office, meaning that the crime rate dropped by 30% and accordingly, the risk of victimisation became the lowest in the last 20 years (Franko, 2007).

Fear of crime studies follow a socio-psychological frame of reference: "crime is perceived as stress factor for the public and thus fear is perceived as indicator of psycho-social stress moderated by crime" (Groenemeyer, 2009). There is a perception that increases in the rate of crime feeds the fear of crime and induces certain behaviour patterns to avoid certain situations (especially by urban women) (Young, 2004). According to some (Balkin, 1979), fear of crime is a rational response to the real action of crime and where differences between the rates of crime and fear of crime occur, they are a result of the wrong "factual" measures against crime, which in turn value inadequately the real risk of crime. If we accept the view that fear of crime is a reflection of prior victimisation, we often see that some groups show higher levels of fear of crime than their victimization rate, which indicates that victimisation is not a direct generator of fear (Pantazis, 1997)! Feminist movement might be right when taking the position that surveys fail to detect the total number of women who are victims of attacks. There are considerations leading along the lines that fear of crime may also escalate due to crime or experienced victimisation (directly or indirectly), as well as due to the activity of pressure groups representing victims, role of police and politicians, activities of private security firms chasing business opportunities and insurance companies, and the key role of parts of media news through overabundant information on violent crime applying sensationalists techniques and comments on crime that capture the imagination of the public (McLaughlin & Muncie, 2001).

It is therefore very hard to establish what exactly is the generator of fear of crime, which leads to several concepts in theory to explain fear of crime, ranging from the victimological perspective (Covington & Taylor, 1991; Scott, 2003), the concept of vulnerability (physical and social) (Hale, 1996; Jackson, 2009; Doležar, 2009), as well as the concept of incivilities (Kohm, 2009; LaGrange, Ferraro, & Supancic, 1992; Van der Wurff et al., 1989; Vandeviver, 2011). In the latest research, the fourth and most recent approach combines the three previous approaches and explores the interplay between sociological and (social) psychological factors and fear of crime.

2 BASIC THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF FEAR OF CRIME

It is evident that theorists and researchers have coped with numerous theoretical and methodological difficulties from the very beginning of fear of crime research.

Such discussions are probably justified given the fact that fear of crime is a remarkably complex phenomenon (National Crime Council, 2009). In view of the great number of authors dealing with this issue and evolution of fear of crime research, we will present part of these theoretical and methodological dilemmas.

It may be concluded with certainty that fear of crime cannot be discussed as other material phenomena, as other natural occurrences, as rate of crime, or as mortality rate. Therefore, some authors (Lee, 2007) maintain that fear of crime both by its nature and definition is subjective, which does not mean that if subjective, it is unreal! Difficulties associated with the definition of fear of crime are concentrated exactly around the fact that fear of crime is connected with a number of emotional conditions, views or perceptions (Sanderson, 2006). One of the problems is the question what exactly "the fear of crime" means!

In reviewing the literature, we come across the notion that exploration of fear of crime is an interdisciplinary field, though many investigations approach it from a single disciplinary perspective. There are many definitions and theories explaining the fear of crime by different disciplines, from psychology (Van der Wurff et al., 1989), sociology (Rountree & Land, 1996), criminology (Kennedy & Sacco, 1998) and psychiatry (Lindesay, 1991; Fairhead, Pfeifer, & Thompson, 2004). All of them propose different indicators of the presence of this phenomenon (Van Beek, 2004). Here we may ask the question of whether fear of crime is sociological, psychological, criminological, biological concept, or something else? All of this highlights the fact that there has been no firm consensus reached as yet with regard to the definition of the concept of fear of crime. In the literature, psychological orientation in fear of crime research commonly defines fear of crime as an emotional reaction to the risk of crime which is perceived as personal threat (Boers, 2003). For instance, Garofalo recognized a psychological dimension in the following definition: fear is emotional reaction characterized by the feeling of danger and anxiety (in McConnell, 2008). According to Warr (2000), who advocates the psychological dimension, fear of crime is neither cognitive nor behavioural process, but is an emotion, a feeling or alarm to dread caused by an awareness or expectation of danger. Consequently, fear is perceived as an urgent response to a concrete threat, but fear of crime may also occur in absence of any threat or danger. Anxiety, on the other hand, occurs in the absence of any threat (Lee, 2007). Ferraro and LaGrange initially defined fear of crime as negative emotional reaction generated by crime or symbols associated with crime (in Warr, 2000).

Another group of authors attributes a different dimension to fear of crime. It is defined as "a feeling of personal safety in the community" (see also Warr, 2000), as a combination of cognitive (risk perception) and emotional response (Rountree & Land, 1996), and as a feeling of insecurity in a given environment (Doležar, 2009).

Among broader definitions, we may mention the definition of Pain, Williams, and Hudson (2000), who initiated a survey under the working definition of fear of crime as a wide array of emotional and practical reactions and actions to crime, and various conditions of disorder that individuals and communities may have (see Van Beek, 2004). Glasnović-Đoni (2006) provided broader definition where fear of crime stands for experiences of an individual or a community which occur as beliefs, perceptions or emotions in relation to crime or public order, having negative effect

on their feelings, thoughts, attitudes and quality of life. This definition can be criticized for placing fear of crime in a negative context. We do, however, wonder if we may ascribe only a negative designation to fear of crime?

Due to its complex nature, some authors maintained that fear of crime should comprise three aspects, namely the affective aspect, cognitive aspect and behavioural aspect (see Fattah & Sacco 1989; Hale, 1996), although Kury and Obergfell-Fuchs (2008) were able to extract two factors in their research which they identified as cognitive and emotional fear.

Whereas there are difficulties in defining fear of crime, even more discussions and difficulties appear with the methodological aspects of fear of crime measurement. Criticisms concerning the argument that fear of crime is measured through a single indicator (an issue that does not mention crime specifically, i.e., refers to crime implicitly rather than explicitly) have been successfully dealt with (Wattanasin, 2003). This issue can in no way articulate the specific nature of fear of crime as a phenomenon, while there is a danger to augment the level of its presence artificially, because these issues make generalizations of emotions out of anxieties and no distinction is made between emotions generated by different types of crime. Respondents and their feeling of insecurity to go around alone at night may be a result of fear of darkness, dogs or simply the fear of staying alone (Dozier, 2009)! A particular dilemma is posed by doubts as to the extent to which the applied methodology is adequate to measure fear where emotions of respondents may exist, but they may be at low level or occur strongly but to be transient (Jackson, 2005). Another criticism is that questions often do not take into account circumstances under which fear of crime occurs, as well as its frequency and intensity (Farrall & Gadd, 2004); for example, they do not investigate when, where and with whom fear of crime occurs, nor how frequently respondents reported to have experienced fear (National Crime Council, 2009).

When it comes to researching fear of crime, in addition to the quantitative approach, it is especially important to apply qualitative approaches as well (in depth interview with respondents) in order to carry out a profound analysis of a complex issue like this, as well as better identify the reasons for the fear with some individuals, which should include, in addition to socio-demographic, certain psychological reasons for this phenomenon.

In the frames of investigations concerning fear of crime during the last several years, surveys also include questions referring to the media in order to establish the link between them. For the purpose of more relevant examinations of this link, it is necessary to get information not only of the extent to which the media are used and the source of their information on crime and victimization, but it is also important to include questions on what the media are most frequently used for and what kind of information they mainly get. If we want to acquire valid results, it is of particular importance to include question on the average of information on crime and victimisations received in a day, from what type of media and what is the credibility of the medium from which they get data on crime and victimisation. In reality, information on crime may appear in different types of television or radio programmes, as well as under different journalistic columns on the Internet which

should be subject of further research. All of these suggestions are aimed at more precise determination of the influence of media on fear of crime.

3 TRADITION OF RESEARCH ABOUT FEELING OF SAFETY (OR FEAR OF CRIME) IN THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Experience in the Republic of Macedonia in the areas of criminological and victimological research (including also those related to the feeling of safety and fear of crime) is limited. We should especially point out the lack of comprehensive empirical criminological and victimological investigations which, have been conducted only for certain subjects such as family violence and corruption. The fact that the Republic of Macedonia has so far only once (in 1996) been involved in the International Crime Victimization Survey indicate no continuity in research. This does not allow for comparison of data obtained in given time periods and drawing of specific conclusions. The results from the International Crime Victimization Survey show that among countries in transition, the citizens in Macedonia experienced the highest levels of street safety (among other citizens from Croatia, Slovenia, Hungary and Mongolia), and are the most fearful of being burglarized in the near future (among Bulgaria, Russia, Slovenia, Yugoslavia, the Slovak Republic, Lithuania and Kyrgyzstan) (Zvekic, 1998). Yet this research comprised only a few questions as indicators of fear of crime, which is not sufficient to explore a complex phenomenon like this one. Fear of crime was partially dealt with in the frames work of research on human development conducted by the Institute for Sociological, Political and Legal Research in the Republic of Macedonia in 2001. From among numerous aspects determining safety, few questions measuring fear of crime were included as well. The survey confirmed that women have higher level of fear than man, younger relative to older respondents and citizens of the country felt relatively safe when moving in the evening in the neighbourhood of their residence. In 2009, for the first time, a project team of the Faculty of Security-Skopje was involved as part of a regional survey on the feeling of safety in the capitals of five countries of the former Yugoslavia, and as such it is the first of this kind in our country.

4 METHOD

The survey "Feeling of safety among Skopje inhabitants" was conducted by a project team of the Faculty of Security- Skopje, in March 2009.

Survey technique and instrument– with regard to data collection, interview (face to face interview) was used in the survey. The instrument used in the survey was a *questionnaire with several blocks of questions*: Fear of victimisation, Seriousness of consequences of victims, Perception of risk of victimisation, Self-efficacy, Collective efficacy, Trust in institutions); we should also mention Van Der Wurff's model that contained 3 blocks: Socio-demographic variables (age, gender, household, education, employment, earlier victimisation); Social psychological

components (attractiveness, evil intent, power, criminalisable space); and Fear of crime vignettes (six situations).

Sample selection – The survey was conducted on a sample of 394 respondents and it was divided into seven core areas covering urban parts of the City of Skopje.

This survey used a *multi-stage random sample* – steps in sample design (Primary sampling units, Sampling Points, Households and Respondents). First, core areas of the city in which the survey will be conducted were defined. The target group was the population from urban parts of the city, excluding the suburban and rural population. The primary goal of selecting urban areas of Skopje City was the fact that fear of crime as a phenomenon is associated with large cities and urban areas. After that, the points were specified – the streets and part of streets included in the survey. Then, initial point and direction of movement of the interviewers (from cross street / shop / cafe / object /from the left side till the end of the street / building) were specified. Because it is a large city, 10 respondents per one unit were included in the sample.

Sample of households - the selection of households in residential districts included every tenth flat and in districts with houses every seventh house. The method of selection of respondents within the household precisely specified: *Selection of respondents* with the technique of “the first annual birthday coming”. Such adults are a properly selected respondent. There was no opportunity for “exchange” with another member of the household. Interviewer made every possible effort with the selected person: three visits (contacts) if the person at that moment is not at his/her home or not available for any reason.

Selection of interviewers and supervisors - they were selected from final year students, postgraduates, doctoral students with research experience.

Type of supervision - the supervisors checked two interviews per unit by calling the household that was interviewed.

Method of data processing - The results were processed by method of descriptive statistics using SPSS 17.

4.1 Sample description

The survey involved 394 respondents in Skopje districts of *Aerodrom, Butel, Gazi Baba, Madzari, Gjorche Petrov, Karposh, Kisela Voda and Centar*.

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Table 1:
Sample characteristics

Research sample	n	%
Respondents	394	
G gender		
Men	191	48.60
Women	202	51.40
Age		
18-20	49	11.0
21-30	96	24.0
31-40	39	10.0
41-50	40	10.0
51-60	69	17.0
61-70	53	14.0
over 70	53	14.0
Education		
Primary school	18	4.57
High school	213	54.06
College	21	5.33
University degree	130	32.99
After graduated studies	12	3.05
Marital status		
Single	134	34.01
Married	200	50.76
Extramarital	8	2.03
Divorced	12	3.05
Widower	40	10.15
Work activity		
Permanent employment	118	30.89
Temporary employment	31	8.12
Students	71	18.59
Unemployed	46	12.02
Waiting for work	5	1.33
Housewife	11	2.88
Pensioner (retired person)	100	26.18

5 RESULTS

Based on certain questions concerning the citizens' feeling of safety, i.e., how safe respondents felt in their neighbourhood, the means from the descriptive statistics about respondents answers indicated that they felt relatively safe in their neighbourhood (which corresponds with the results of the previous survey of the Institute for Sociological, Political and Legal Research in human development in 2001). However, when we came to the question of whether there were parts of the city where they wouldn't like to go alone at night, a high percentage (67.3%) of the

respondents answered that there were such parts of the city. The most frequent places where they wouldn't like to walk alone at night included settlements such as Bit Pazar, Avtokomanda, Arachinovo, Turkish Old Bazaar, Chair, Saraj, Gazi Baba, settlements populated by a majority of persons of Albanian ethnic origin (similar results were obtained in the survey of the Student's attitudes toward criminality, conducted in 2009 by a project team of the Faculty of Security-Skopje). Given that the Republic of Macedonia went through an armed conflict in 2001, perhaps these results were expected because most of the respondents come from districts predominantly inhabited by citizens of Macedonian nationality, who still consider certain parts of the city populated by citizens of Albanian ethnic origin still dangerous and out of control of the state.

Based on descriptive statistics of the fear of specific type of crimes, we may note that respondents had the highest level of concern with regard to property crimes (burglary in apartment and theft) and consequently the estimate of the respondents was that there was a much higher probability for them to experience those crimes during the next 12 months. With regard to consequences of possible victimisation and how it would influence their life in the city, consequences would be greater for them if they were to become victims of burglary in apartment and theft. Respondents also emphasized that the consequences would be harsher if they became victims of physical assault but believed that the probability of becoming a victim of that type of crime is lower than for other crimes listed in the questionnaire. Fear of property crime is also notable in behaviour patterns (with behavioural aspect) exhibited much more frequently for the purpose of protection against potential victimisation from property crimes (e.g.: I avoid carrying large amounts of money). Within the behavioral aspect the measure "Always taking something to defend myself" is at least used by the respondents which may be an indication that they actually think that there is no high probability to attack them.

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Table 2:
Descriptive
Statistics for
fear of concrete
types of crime

Descriptive Statistics				
	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	SD
Upset of the situation	Min-1 (very upset)	Max-5 (no upset)		
Robbery	1	5	2.22	1.23
Fraud	1	5	2.36	1.23
Physical Attack/Fight	1	5	2.03	1.36
Theft	1	5	1.86	1.17
Burglary In Apartment	1	5	1.55	1.06
The influence of becoming victims of some crime acts on their lives	Min-1 (very strong)	Max-5 (no influence)		
Robbery	1	5	2.37	1.07
Fraud	1	5	2.46	1.01
Physical Attack/Fight	1	5	1.95	1.11
Theft	1	5	1.99	1.00
Burglary In Apartment	1	5	1.59	.86
Who Often You Alone At Night Around	1	5	2.89	1.45
Perception about probability for becoming victims in next 12 months	Min-1 (very possible)	Max-5 (impossible)		
Robbery	1	5	3.04	1.20
Fraud	1	5	2.96	1.20
Physical Attack/Fight	1	5	3.29	1.16
Theft	1	5	2.77	1.19
Burglary In Apartment	1	5	2.91	1.18
Who hard will be the consequences if they would be victims in next 12 months?	Min-1 (very hard consequences)	Max-5 (no consequences)		
Robbery	1	5	2.29	1.08
Fraud	1	5	2.44	1.12
Physical Attack/Fight	1	5	1.87	1.08
Theft	1	5	1.90	.99
Burglary In Apartment	1	5	1.51	.86
Behavioural aspect	Min-1 (always)	Max-5 (never)		
Avoid Certain Streets, Areas And Parks	1	5	2.76	1.33
Try To Avoid Strangers They Meet At Night	1	5	2.69	1.38
Avoid Using Public Transport At Night	1	5	3.52	1.45
Avoid carrying large amounts of money	1	5	2.20	1.42
Leaving The Apartment At Night Only If Necessary	1	5	3.02	1.58
Always Taking Something To Defend Myself	1	5	4.56	.93

The Van der Wurff model. In addition to the presentation of the above results, the goal of this work is to carry out analysis by using Van der Wurff's model. In order to establish the results of the socio-psychological model, we have taken into account the measure of the fear of crime employed by Van der Wurff et al. (1989), which relies on vignettes discussed earlier that outline six situations. These vignettes have the benefit of providing the measurement of complex phenomena in social contexts. Each of these vignettes (shown below in the Table 3) is followed by questions on associated feelings of unsafety in the scale from 1 (very unsafe) to 5 (very safe). These six 'unsafety' questions are summated and used as the measure of the 'fear of crime' (as the dependent variable)¹. (Meško, Areh, & Kury, 2004). According to the results, the situations "A Car" and "To a party" represent the most threatening circumstances. The reason is probably that in fact they are quite likely to happen in real life – the same results in research from Slovenia in 2001). In the situation "Doorbell" and "Telephone" in which respondents said that they would feel less threatened than in other situations, (mean 3.10/3.26) maybe due to the fact that the lack of direct contact with potential attacker impacts their feeling of safety in such situations because they are in their homes and for that reason they will feel more secure.

6 vignettes - degree of unsafety in specific situations	Mean	SD
Doorbell: One evening you're at home on your own. It's late. The doorbell rings, but you're not expecting anyone.	3.10	1.10
Car: One evening you go out to put the dustbin out. You see two men walking around a parked car. When they see you looking at them, they begin to walk toward you.	2.41	1.00
Party: You've been invited to a party in a neighbourhood you are not familiar with. Early that evening you take the bus. When you got off you still have a long way to walk. Suddenly you realise that you're lost. A group of youths is following you and begins to make unpleasant remarks at you.	2.43	.96
Bus stop: One afternoon you're standing at the bus stop near to you home, when a group of 15-16 year olds comes along. They begin kicking the bus stop and putting graffiti on the bus shelter.	2.85	1.08
Telephone: You're going out one evening. You're ready and just about to leave when the phone rings. You answer. At the other end, you hear only irregular breathing. You ask who's there. They hang up.	3.26	1.12
Café: You're traveling through a part town where you've never been before. You got into a café where is a large group of local boys.	2.97	.95

Table 3:
Mean of 6 vignettes - degree of unsafety in specific situations

Scale 1 (very unsafe) – 5 (very safe)

¹ Each of the vignettes was employed in accordance with the procedures outlined by Van der Wurff et al. (1989). In the next analysis the dependent variable (fear of crime) is the new variable-component that come from the factor analysis of these six 'unsafety' questions (see also Meško & Farrall, 1999).

5.1 Factor analysis

Using factor analysis of the six situations (unsafety questions), a factor called fear of crime was a dependent variable.

Table 4:
Factor Analysis

Situation	Factor loading
Doorbell	.74
Car	.72
To a party	.71
Bus stop	.71
Telephone	.75
Café	.64

N = 394, KMO: .83, 50.95 % of variance explained with the factor “fear of crime”

Between these six unsafety questions exists a positive correlation (from .26 to .51) and good homogeneity. The Cronbach Alpha coefficient for internal consistency is .81. The factor analysis loaded one factor that explained 50.95% of total variance and cumulative eigenvalue of 3.06. We called this factor fear of crime with an average factor loading of .71 with a range from .64 (Café) to .75 (Telephone).

5.2 Correlation and regression

As part of our survey, we used and tested both models: the socio-demographic and social-psychological model based on the model of Van der Wurff et al. (1989). The socio-demographic model focuses on age, gender, household, education, employment, earlier victimisation, while the social-psychological model includes dimensions of fear of crime and specific situations, which can be easily imagined by the majority of people and connected to their feelings of insecurity and fear (attractiveness, evil intent, power, criminalisable space).

By correlating the new variable (fear of crime) and elements of socio-demographic and social-psychological model, we obtained the following results:

Overview of the results of correlation with socio-demographic variables

From the correlation results, we notice that the correlation exists between fear of crime and age, education and the perception of woods (un)safety. The results show that there is a correlation between the age of the respondents and fear of crime, but this connection is not very strong.

Despite the considerations in the relevant literature that social class (education and financial status) is correlated with fear of crime, the results did not confirm fully the thesis that people from lower social classes have higher levels of fear of crime. Perhaps one explanation why the Skopje sample does not confirm the thesis that low financial status has an influence on higher levels of fear of crime is that the research is conducted in areas in which there are no significant differences or there is some relative homogeneity in terms of the financial status of the respondents.

Perhaps in further research, the sample should include areas of the city in which the majority of people with high financial status are living.

Socio-demographic variables	Correlation with fear of crime
Age	-.16**
Education	.18**
Financial status	-.09
Previous victimisation	.04
Socialize with other people	-.03
Stop and talk to people in my neighbourhood	.09
Home owner	-.09
Household composition	.12*
Safe parks	-.10*
Safe woods	-.24**
Safe shops	-.11*
Safe streets	-.15*

Table 5
Correlation of
fear of crime
with socio-
demographic
variables

Legend :

**Significance at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*Significance at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Within the research on fear of crime, the relationships between whether people can determine the feeling of safety and the level of fear of crime is often explored. It is thought that communities that have more social integration, residents feel that they are part of the neighborhood and make efforts to develop positive relationships within their community, which in turn contributes to a lower fear of crime (Zondi Musa, 2000). The research indicated high social cohesion among people in the neighborhood (about 70% of respondents), but the results do not confirm the correlation between fear of crime and certain social characteristics ("socialize with other people", "Stop and talk to people in my neighborhood"), while when there is less socialization and communication between people from neighborhood, they have higher levels of fear of crime. But maybe the question here is the difficulty to impose order causation: whether fear of crime is a consequence of loss of social relationships and communication or fear of crime is one of the possible explanations for these changes (Van Beek, 2004).

When it comes to some characteristics of community, the impact of whether the respondents live in their own apartment or a rented apartment on fear of crime is often explored. Our results do not confirm that there is a connection between fear of crime and ownership of property (apartment), although there are some research results that show that tenants have up to 2.5 times higher levels of fear of crime (National Crime Council, 2009). In communities in which instability is present because of the migration of their inhabitants, this can contribute to people not being familiar with their neighborhoods and for that reason they have low

social cohesion often associated with high levels of fear of crime (National Crime Council, 2009).

Overview of the results of correlation of fear of crime with socio-psychological variables²

Table 6
Correlation of
fear of crime
with socio-
psychological
variables

Socio-psychological variables ²	Correlation with fear of crime
I think that bad people jeopardise me.	-.13*
I think that people are jealous of me.	-.14*
I generally trust strangers.	.10
I distrust some people in my surroundings.	.00
I think I'm capable of chasing potential assailants.	.37**
I generally stay out of disputes.	.02
When I'm on my way home, sometimes imagine that someone would obstruct my path.	-.34**
When I have to go out, I make sure that I take a safe route.	-.23 **

Legend:

** Significance at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

*Significance at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

The correlation between fear of crime and certain social-psychological variables shows that there is higher correlation between fear of crime and concrete variables. This means that the component “criminalisable space” (“those who sometimes imagine that someone would obstruct their path” and “those who when going out, make sure that they take a safe route”), is in correlation with fear of crime. The highest correlation is noted between fear of crime and the perception of respondents “capable of chasing a potential assailant”, meaning that those respondents who generally think they have less power to cope with the potential assailant have a higher level of fear of crime. This should mean that the respondents who have the perception that they are more vulnerable about their physical condition or that they do not have the power to defend themselves from potential assailant, normally will feel higher fear of crime.

The correlations show that higher levels of fear of crime are exhibited by the older respondents, those who perceive woods as unsafe places, those who think that they are not capable of chasing potential assailants, those who sometimes imagine that someone would obstruct their path, and those who when going out, make sure that they take a safe route.

² Each of these statements was followed by the question “Could you tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements?” [response codes = 1 (strongly disagree), 2 (disagree), 3 (don't know), 4 (agree), 5 (strongly agree)]

Regression analysis of Socio-demographic and Socio-psychological models

Regression analysis was conducted in order to confirm the validity of the socio-demographic model and social-psychological models (data presented in Table 7). Despite the expectation that the socio-psychological model (including set of variables like attractiveness, evil intent, power, criminalisable space) might explain fear of crime in higher percentage, the R-Square value is low.

Model	Coefficients				
	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Socio-demographic variables					
Gender	-.61	.10	-.30	-6.02	.00
Age	.06	.03	.11	1.63	.10
Education	.11	.03	.19	3.84	.00
Work Activity	-.04	.02	-.10	-1.82	.07
Financial Status	.033	.062	.027	.53	.60
Previous Victimization	.05	.12	.02	.45	.65
Household Composition	.06	.04	.08	1.54	.12
Home Owner	-.02	.14	-.01	-.14	.89
Health In Past Year	.13	.05	.14	2.67	.01
Friends In Neighbourhood	.09	.07	.07	1.32	.19
Chat With Friends	-.01	.05	-.01	-.18	.85
Walking Alone At Night	.14	.04	.21	3.78	.00
(Un)Safe - Streets	.01	.14	.00	.07	.94
(Un)Safe- Shops	-.26	.17	-.08	-1.47	.14
(Un)Safe Parks	.14	.13	.07	1.08	.28
(Un)Safe Woods	-.40	.12	-.19	-3.27	.00
R-Square (adj.)			.30		
Socio-psychological variables					
Target	-.05	.04	-.07	-1.54	.12
Jealousy	-.06	.04	-.08	-1.70	.09
Attackers	.26	.03	.36	7.86	.00
Rows	.02	.04	.02	.51	.61
Trust	.05	.03	.06	1.41	.16
Distrust	.03	.03	.04	.94	.34
Obstruction	-.16	.03	-.23	-4.81	.00
Safe Route	-.08	.03	-.12	-2.62	.01
R-Square (adj.)			.25		

Table 7
Regression analysis of fear of crime with socio-demographic and socio-psychological variables

The regression analysis of the social-demographic model shows that again gender, “(un)safe woods” and “walking alone at night” and “health In past year”

have a stronger impact on the level of fear of crime (in combination with other variables), but the regression show that there is no statistically significant impact of age in combination with other social demographical variables on fear of crime. This means that the influence of age on fear of crime is dropping when we put it in combination with other variables.

In the social-psychological model, it can be noticed that only the items from the component “criminalisable space” and “power” have a stronger statistically significant impact on fear of crime. As with the correlation analysis, regression shows that the variable “attacker” has the highest influence on fear of crime. This means that the social-psychological model has to include other (new) psychological variables with the purpose of higher level of explanation of fear of crime.

5.3 Chi square tests

In order to identify the differences between individual groups based on certain characteristics, we used the chi square test. On the basis of prior analyses, we ascertained that gender was a factor of great influence on fear of crime, which was also confirmed by the results of the chi square test indicating that women had higher levels of fear. This is especially true in relation to anxiety and consequences of potential victimization by certain crimes, as well as higher levels of fear indicated by the six vignettes. Differences are also seen in relation to the issue of whether they are able to defend themselves or run away from potential attacker, how able they are to overpower the potential attacker, and when they imagine that “someone would obstruct their path” or “when they have to go out somewhere, make sure that take a safe route”. The results are confirmed through discriminant analysis. This is expected because these results were confirmed in other research (Bennett & Flavin, 1994; McCoy, Wooldredge, Cullen, Dubeck, & Browning, 1996; McCrea, Shyy, Western, & Stimson, 2005; Baur, 2007) and this supports the assumption as can be found in the relevant literature of an existing perspective of vulnerability.

There are no statistically significant differences between individual age groups, though there is some linear increase in fear with the increase in age in the situation “bus and telephone”, which indicates that despite the higher risk for younger persons, older ones regard themselves more vulnerable in such situations.

With reference to respondents of different financial statuses, no statistically significant differences were noted between them, except with the vignette (situation) “bus” (though not so strong), but there is an indication that those of lower financial standing feel higher levels of fear. This could be a result of their higher susceptibility to such situations (if they haven’t got a car) than respondents with a better financial status.

6 DISCUSSION

In spite of respondents’ statement that they feel relatively safe in their neighbourhood, the data indicate that approximately 67% of the respondents mentioned certain parts of the city where they would never go alone at night,

especially in those settlements located on the north side of Vardar River (populated mostly by population of the Albanian ethnic community) *is sufficient indicator for the institutions of the system that they should take measures to increase the feeling of safety in these parts as well*. It can also be noted that their anxiety grows when it comes to possible victimisation by property crimes. If we take into account that, according to official statistics of the Republic of Macedonia, around 40% of the total crime rate is accounted for by property crimes and if we add the data that only 17% of respondents have insured their apartment in some way, then their anxiety related to possible victimisation is not unexpectedly the highest with regard to these crimes.

In order to test Van Der Wurff's model on the basis of the results obtained through completed analyses, we may conclude that although certain psychological variables have been inserted in the survey of fear of crime (according to his model), only a few of them have statistically relevant influence ("I think I'm capable of chasing potential assailants", "When I have to go out somewhere, I make sure that I take a safe route" and "When I'm on my way home, I sometimes imagine that someone would obstruct my path"), while other psychological variables do not have statistically relevant influences. This finding was also confirmed in the survey in Slovenia (Meško, 2000). According to the results of the regression analysis, the socio-psychological model does not explain fear of crime to a great extent, which indicates the necessity to include new psychological characteristics or better elaboration of existing ones. Apart from testing Van Der Wurff's model, further research should test other characteristics as well, including both psychological and sociological characteristics not incorporated in this model. It is especially important to focus further research on exploring the influence of media on fear of crime, but with improved elaboration of the establishment of their influence, given the fact that questions contained in the questionnaire were not sufficient to lead to certain conclusions.

In regards to the socio-demographic model, gender is again the strongest predictor of fear of crime, noting great differences between respondents of male and female, especially in relation to direct danger. There are numerous theoretical explanations as to why women have higher levels of fear relative to men. Ferraro (1995) introduced the concept or the effect known as "shadow of sexual assault" to explain fear of crime among women, pointing out that *all that may have a "shadow effect" on women's perception of possible victimisation of other types of crimes* (Wynne, 2008). Stanko (1995) argues that settling the paradox of higher levels of fear among women lies in the assessment or recognition of wide spectrum of hidden violence against women, especially in domestic violence and sexual assault (Silvestri & Cronother-Dokey, 2008), threats and insults which do not appear even in official statistics or victimological surveys.

Representatives of the feminist Movement explain fear among women in their writings as realistic assessments of endemic violence of men over women, including behaviour that is rarely qualified as crime (Stanko, 1995). Nonetheless, when women talk about the feeling of unsafety, they demonstrate high levels of risk awareness. Riger, Gordon, and Lebailly (1978) reveal that women that have felt less able to defend themselves from attack, show lower levels of fear. Warr

(2000), for example, points out that perceptions of serious consequences will make women have higher levels of fear and this can be strengthened if a woman estimates that she could lose control in circumstances of potential victimisation threatening her; for example, if they come to feel inadequate to provide an efficient defence, protection measures or opportunities to run away because they may be physically less capable than an average attacker (also confirmed in our survey). It is of particular importance if we take into account an explanation which could clarify to a great extent why female respondents in the Skopje survey sample have higher level of fear.

The process of socialization leading to gender differences in behaviour between men and women could be the cause of this paradox. Accordingly, women are not born with an intrinsic fear of crime, but they get socialized so to think they are vulnerable to assault (Smartt, 2006). For example, if they go out alone at night, parents, family or media stress this fear and women accept it. As a result of traditional distribution of gender roles in society (still present in Macedonian society), men hide and do not publically report their fear of crime. In relation to the previous explanation, one may say that traditionally distributed roles can generate lower level of self-confidence and lower autonomy with women compared to men, which can lead to women getting to believe that they are more vulnerable. Some authors, for instance, claim that greater fear among women could be caused by the feeling of passiveness and dependence, which is from its side a reflection of the reality characterized by greater power of men in a gender stratified society stemming from the differences in the process of socialization between men and women (Wattanasin, 2003). One of the authors of the feminist movement, Walklate, underlines that in a debate of the fear of crime, one could state that (young) men are those who behave irrationally in relation to their greater exposure at risk of crime, while still declare lower level of fear of crime (in Mawby & Walklate, 1994).

With regard to a complex phenomenon such as fear of crime, the first conclusion about this topic is that we cannot make insight analysis and discussion if we focus solely on quantitative surveys. What is important is to select certain group of respondents to be covered by qualitative surveys (carrying out an insight interview) in order to explain better the linkage of fear of crime with certain characteristics, processes or conditions.

Changes in attitudes and perceptions concerning penalties, changes in the perception of the efficiency of certain authorities, institutions and organizations in society, could provide to a certain extent the answer to the fear of crime. Thus, whenever there is an articulated fear of crime among the population, the public most often puts pressure on governments to do something about crime, and this can certainly be taken advantage by political parties using crime and fear of crime as a significant issue for elections and pre-election campaigns (Farrall & Murray, 2008).

Based on the above, future research and explanations regarding fear of crime and relations with other circumstances should focus more on the search for an interactive model, because only such model is appropriate for complex and interactive relations of this kind, which characterize the phenomenon of fear of crime in total. Therefore, it is necessary *to place the fear of crime in a wider context,*

i.e. to consider it integrally with other dominant unsafeties in our society that could have reciprocal influence in determining the general feeling of safety with an individual.

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