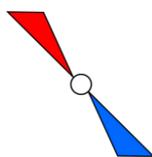


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<p><26/c></p>  <p>Key:</p> <p>Footprint ConEn1 Footprint ConEn2 Footprint ConEn3</p>	<p>Hammersmith and Fulham attempted to put the findings of the BCS into an inner city context. One aspect of this was to focus on the experiences of particular groups: the poor, women and ethnic minorities. In the words of Kinsey et al. (1986) 'It needs emphasizing that crime and fear of crime hit working class women more than any other major section of society.' In particular, these local surveys suggested that the fear that young women had concerning sexual assault was quite justified. Jones, et al. (1986) found that in Islington during the period covered there were about 1200 cases of sexual assault. Of these only 21 per cent were reported to the police and only an estimated 9 per cent were recorded in the criminal statistics. Young females are 18 times more likely to be sexually assaulted than those over 45. Class shows itself in the fact that women who are council tenants are three times more likely to be sexually assaulted, than those who are owner-occupiers. The 1982 and 1984 BCS between them only uncovered two cases of attempted rape and 17 and 18 sexual assaults respectively (Jones et al. 1986, p.69). R. Hall (1985) suggested this under-reporting is perhaps partly because the BCS used some male interviewers. This was not supported by the results of the ICS, whose authors claim that their male interviewers actually uncovered more cases of sexual assault than did female interviewers. What was undoubtedly important, however, was that the ICS briefed and trained its interviewers to deal with the part of the questionnaire which dealt with sexual offences, and indeed when a case was uncovered by a male interviewer he always offered a follow-up interview conducted by a woman. These were usually declined (Jones et al. 1985, p.71). A survey by Living Magazine (14.8.89) which questioned 1,000 women, found that one-third had received obscene phone calls in the last year, 20 per cent of this group more than once, yet only 26 per cent had told the police, 13 per cent had been interfered with and 87 per cent of these kept silent; 9 per cent had suffered indecent exposure and 92 per cent failed to report this. Of the sample 49 per cent felt that being pestered by men was inevitable. The rise in recorded sexual offences (Criminal Statistics 1988) is usually explained as an artefact of more sensitive and sophisticated police recording procedures and improved victim treatment, rather than a real underlying change, but hard evidence to support this is not clear. A major problem is still undoubtedly women's negative attitudes towards the police stemming from their historically well-founded fears that the police do little in</p> <p>cases of domestic violence</p> <p>, and are unsympathetic to sexual offences. The local surveys have also emphasised the impact of domestic violence on women. As Walklate points out: incorporating an understanding of domestic violence, in particular, begins to alter somewhat the influence of gender as variable in the patterning of victimization as compared with BCS findings. (Walklate 1989, p.37) Domestic violence against women probably has the greatest number of unreported offences. In the United States the FBI believes it is probably ten times more underreported than rape (quoted in Smith</p>
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1989). The 1982 BCS found that **10 per cent** of **assault victims** were **women who has been attacked by present or previous husbands or boyfriends** (Hough and Mayhew 1983). The 1984 survey estimated just over **200,000 incidents** of **domestic assault** in England and Wales in 1983. It found in **12.5 per cent** of **assaults and crimes of violence the respondent reported the involvement of family, lover or ex-lovers**. Hough and Mayhew (1988) regard these figures as underestimates and Worrall and Pease's (1986) re-analysis of the BCS data which looked at all crimes, and attempted crimes, involving contact and where the victim could identify whether or not they **knew the offender**, found that women were much more likely to say that they **knew the offender well** and that **the offender was a spouse** in nearly **40 per cent of cases**. The ICS showed, that while, as we have seen, **domestic violence** was a considerable problem, comprising an estimated **22 per cent** of all assaults in the borough, it was one usually not taken very seriously by the police. The London Strategy Policy Unit (1986) suggests that this estimate would mean an annual figure of over three quarters of a million for London as a whole. The Metropolitan Police as a whole receive over 1,000 calls concerned with **domestic violence** from women each week (Cowell, et al. 1986). As well as being victims of **crime** women also suffer from the effects of fear of **crime**. We noted above the MCS findings of self-imposed curfew by many women in Merseyside. The ICS paints a similar picture: 'women generally, and particularly older and black women, feel it is necessary to restrict their behaviour and avoid certain situations as a precaution against crime. In this sense, the Islington Crime Survey helps to illustrate that a 'curfew on women' appears to be implicitly operative. (Jones et al., 1986, p. 169; italics in original) RACE AND CRIME One of the hidden agendas in the crime statistics issues has already been raised in our examination of the phenomenon of mugging. We have seen how the issue of race